II

Old English Literature

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This chapter has ten sections: 1. Bibliography; 2. Manuscript Studies, Palaeography and Facsimiles; 3. Social, Cultural and Intellectual Background; 4. Literature: General; 5. The Exeter Book; 6. The Poems of the Vercelli Book; 7. The Junius Manuscript; 8. The Beowulf Manuscript; 9. Other Poems; 10. Prose. Sections 1, 2, 3 and 10 are by Mary Swan; sections 4 and 9 are by Stacy Klein with contributions by Mary Swan; sections 5 to 8 are by Stacy Klein.

1. Bibliography


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ASE 33(2004) 283–393 contains the bibliography for 2003. The latest Subsidia volume of Old English Newsletter is Wilcox, ed., Old English Scholarship and Bibliography: Essays in Honor of Carl T. Berkhout. It opens with an introduction by Wilcox (pp. 1–3), an appreciation (pp. 5–15) by J.R. Hall of Berkhout, who produced the Old English Newsletter Bibliography from 1976 to 2000, and a list of Berkhout’s publications to date. The first section of essays proper in the volume is ‘Anglo-Saxon Scholars’, and contains Helen Damico’s ‘Reclaiming Anglo-Saxon Scholars’ (pp. 23–39), which discusses work on scholars of things Anglo-Saxon, and Andrew Prescott’s ‘Robin Flower and Laurence Nowell’ (pp. 41–61), which studies two particular examples, and has as its appendix the text of reports on the books and manuscripts associated with Nowell which were donated to the British Museum in 1934. The second section of the collection is ‘Old English Bibliography’, and consists of ‘“On sidne sæ”: Beowulf and the Bibliographers’ by Robert J. Hasenfratz (pp. 63–71), which gives a critical overview of bibliographic tools and describes what is needed; E.G. Stanley’s ‘An Ideal Bibliography: “Printed Books . . . Carefully Collected and Methodically Compiled”’ (pp. 73–83), a manifesto for the ideal bibliography; and Thomas N. Hall, ‘The Bibliography of Anglo-Saxon Sermon Manuscripts’ (pp. 85–105), which highlights the lack of work on Anglo-Latin sermon manuscripts from the Anglo-Saxon and early Anglo-Norman periods, discusses five particular examples, and gives a tabulated summary of their shared contents. Berkhout himself contributes ‘The Bibliography of Old English: Back to the Future’ (pp. 107–19), in which he charts the evolution of the OEN Bibliography and makes a case for its future being electronic. It is a fitting postscript to Berkhout’s work for the Bibliography, and to his essay, to report that the OEN Bibliography has now been turned into a database, searchable via the new OEN website <http://www.oenewsletter.org/OENDB/index.php>.

2. Manuscript Studies, Palaeography and Facsimiles

Bernard J. Muir's A Digital Facsimile of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Junius 11 is published this year as a CD-ROM, the first in the Bodleian
Digital Texts series. It is a rich resource, including a complete facsimile, hyperlinked transcription and translation of texts, introduction, art-historical commentary, search facility and excellent magnification capacity, and will no doubt open up study of this manuscript and allow students working on its poetry to explore the importance of seeing it in context.

Lionarons, ed., *Old English Literature in its Manuscript Context*, is the result of a 1997 National Endowment for the Humanities Summer Seminar on this topic at the Parker Library, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. The volume contains several studies of specific texts, reviewed in the appropriate sections below, and two essays whose central focus is the discipline of manuscript studies. Lionarons’s introduction, ‘Manuscript Context and Materialist Philology’ (pp. 1–9), underlines the importance of manuscript study for the understanding of texts, and the fact that it ‘raises fundamental questions about the ways in which we read and understand literature, questions not only about a work’s textual meaning, but about the nature of textuality, questions not only about authors and scribes, but about what Michel Foucault has called the “author function” as it applies to a manuscript culture’ (p. 2). Robert M. Butler’s ‘Glastonbury and the Early History of the *Exeter Book*’ (in Lionarons, ed., pp. 173–215) explores evidence for the provenance of the *Exeter Book* and of the closely scribally related Lambeth Palace MS 149 before the beginning of Leofric’s pontificate at Exeter, and for their place of production, and constructs a case for Glastonbury as the most likely location for both, and for Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 41 having been at Glastonbury before its acquisition by Leofric for Exeter.

‘Pre-Conquest Manuscripts from Malmesbury Abbey and John Leland’s Letter to Beatus Rhenanus Concerning a Lost Copy of Tertullian’s Works’ (*ASE* 33[2004] 195–223) are the subject of study by James P. Carley and Pierre Petitmengin. From an examination of evidence for Leland’s appropriation of Malmesbury books, Carley and Petitmengin turn to focus on the Tertullian manuscript, which they trace through to its probable destruction in the second sack of Mechelen in 1580. The appendix to the article is an edition and translation of the recently discovered letter of Leland to Beatus Rhenanus, which refers to the manuscript.

Matthew T. Hussey examines ‘The Franco-Saxon *Synonyma* in the Ragynrudis Codex: Anglo-Saxon Design in a Luxeuil-Scripted Booklet’ (*Scriptorium* 85[2004] 227–38). The manuscript in question is the eighth-century Fulda, Bibliothek des Bischoflichen Priesterseminars, Bonifatianus 2 (CLA 1197). Hussey argues that its text of the *Synonyma* was produced in Frankia or Germany under Anglo-Saxon influence, and suggests that it was used by Boniface or one of his circle.

Mechthild Gretsch presents what may well be a new example of post-Conquest Old English: ‘The Taunton Fragment: A New Text from Anglo-Saxon England’ (*ASE* 33[2004] 145–93). This is Taunton, Somerset County Record Office, DD/SAS C/1193/77; four leaves of expositions and homilies on the pericopes for the fifth, sixth, seventh and eighth Sundays after Pentecost, which were written in the middle of the eleventh century or slightly later, and none of which is attested in other surviving manuscripts. Gretsch describes the fragment in detail, edits and translates its contents, and discusses its language.
In order to account for some of the odd features of its language use, Gretsch considers the possibility that its author was not a native speaker of Old English, in passing suggests that the author might have come to England ‘in the wake of the Norman Conquest’ (p. 192 n. 116), and notes Michael Gullick’s assessment of the fragments as written in the second half of the eleventh century, and after the Norman Conquest (p. 193 n. 121).

Oliver Traxel’s *Language Change, Writing and Textual Interference in Post-Conquest Old English Manuscripts: The Evidence of Cambridge, University Library, II. 1. 33* is an extremely detailed study of this important witness to the production of Old English after the Conquest. Traxel’s close examination of the scribal hands and careful analysis of the additions and alterations in English, French and Latin, including later medieval glosses, sets each element of the manuscript in the context of the whole, and gives a significant new perspective on the manuscript.


For Timothy Graham’s study of Hatton 20, see Section 1 above. Richard Emms’s essay on the early Anglo-Saxon manuscripts of St Augustine’s, Canterbury, is reviewed in Section 3, below.

### 3. Social, Cultural and Intellectual Background

Four of the essays in *Gender and Empire (JMEMS 34:i[2004])*, edited by Clare A. Lees and Gillian R. Overing, focus on Anglo-Saxon topics. Lees and Overing’s introduction (*JMEMS* 34:i[2004] 1–16) sets out the conceptual terms for the volume and sketches its scope. In ‘Northumbrian Identity in the Eighth Century: The Ruthwell and Bewcastle Monuments; Style, Classification, Class, and the Form of Ideology’ (*JMEMS* 34:i[2004] 95–145), Fred Orton tracks the links between style and ideology in these two monuments by scrutinizing their differences and their ‘continuity of ideas’ (p. 125) about death, kingship and women. Nicholas Howe explores ‘Rome: Capital of Anglo-Saxon England’ (*JMEMS* 34:i[2004] 147–72), starting with the 816 *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* reference to ‘the school of the English’ in Rome, and working through other uses of Rome in the *Chronicle*, Bede’s *Ecclesiastical History*, Cynewulf’s *Fates of the Apostles, Elene*, and those texts translated as part of the Alfredian programme which relate to Rome. David Townsend’s ‘The Naked Truth of the King’s Affections in the Old English *Apollonius of Tyre*’ (*JMEMS* 34:i[2004] 173–95) focuses on the point in the narrative at which Apollonius has to strip to catch the attention of the king, and its potential for ‘a productive...tension between foreign and vernacular social expectations’ (p. 177).

and focuses on King Æthelwulf’s granting, recorded in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle entry for 855, of one-tenth of his lands as alms. In ‘Pristina Libertas: Liberty and the Anglo-Saxons Revisited’ (TRHS 14[2004] 47–71), Julia Crick traces the transmission of the concept of and language for liberty from late antique sources to Anglo-Saxon England, and shows how it is applied in monastic contexts and thus becomes part of a written tradition which is itself transmitted into post-Conquest institutional memory. The appendices to the article list charters which make reference to libertas.

In Retribution, Repentance, and Reconciliation (StCH 40[2004]), edited by Kate Cooper and Jeremy Gregory, Christopher M. Scargill examines ‘A Token of Repentance and Reconciliation: Oswiu and the Murder of King Oswine’ (StCH 40[2004] 39–46), shows how Oswiu’s endowment of land in Deira and Bernicia signalled a reconciliation between the two peoples, and argues that Bede drew on a traditional view of Oswiu as guilty.

Victoria Thompson’s ‘The View from the Edge: Dying, Power and Vision in Late Anglo-Saxon England’ (ASSAH 12[2003] 92–7) (= Boundaries in Early Medieval Britain, edited by David Griffiths, Andrew Reynolds and Sarah Semple) surveys the classification of dying in Anglo-Saxon medical discourse, and then takes as its focus accounts of dying in Ælfric’s First Series Catholic Homily on the Holy Innocents and his Life of St Edmund, the Regularis Concordia and the Vita Eadwardi regis.

Landscapes of Monastic Foundation: The Establishment of Religious Houses in East Anglia c.650–1200, by Tim Pestell, provides a thorough examination of the material culture and documentary evidence for this important Anglo-Saxon religious network. Urban Growth and the Medieval Church: Gloucester and Worcester, by Nigel Baker and Richard Holt, includes chapters on both Gloucester and Worcester and the Church before 1100. In ‘St Augustine’s Abbey, Canterbury, and the “First Books of the Whole English Church”’ (in Swanson, ed., The Church and the Book, pp. 32–45), Richard Emms investigates the identities and current whereabouts of the early medieval books described in the early fifteenth century by Thomas of Elmham as being at St Augustine’s, and explores reasons for their being believed to have belonged to Augustine himself.

‘Abbot Leofsige of Mettlach: An English monk in Flanders and Upper Lotharingia in the Late Tenth Century’ (ASE 33[2004] 109–44) is the subject of Michael Hare’s study. Hare reviews our knowledge of Leofsige’s career, including his time at St Peter’s Ghent, his commissioning of a new church for the monastery of Mettlach and his composition or commissioning of verse epitaphs for the tombs of his predecessors there, his book donations, and his activities as a physician. The appendix to the article notes references in the Miracula S. Liutwini and the Vita S. Adalberti to English pilgrims at Mettlach and Egmond.

Antonia Gransden surveys ‘The Cult of St Mary at Beodericisworth and then in Bury St Edmunds Abbey to c.1150’ (JEH 55[2004] 627–53) to show that the cult of St Mary continued to thrive at the site from its beginnings, despite the popularity from the reign of Athelstan onwards of that of St Edmund, and that Anselm was amongst its supporters. The ways in which
Anglo-Saxon traditions were deployed in the post-Conquest period continue to attract attention. Paul Hayward’s ‘Gregory the Great as “Apostle of the English” in Post-Conquest Canterbury’ (JEH 55[2004] 19–57) shows how Lanfranc’s and Anselm’s promotion of the cult of Gregory, ‘far from being benign support of a worthy Anglo-Saxon observance, was an act of aggression targeted at their opponents’ (p. 21), and that the opponents in question were the monks of St Augustine’s.

Five of the essays in Cavill, ed., The Christian Tradition in Anglo-Saxon England: Approaches to Current Scholarship and Teaching, address the contexts of production of Anglo-Saxon literature. Catherine Cubitt’s ‘Images of St Peter: The Clergy and the Religious Life in Anglo-Saxon England’ (pp. 41–54) discusses the challenges of teaching the religious history of the early Middle Ages, and offers a case study which draws on references to and images of St Peter being tonsured like a clerk, which she uses to open out questions of the role of secular clergy. In ‘Scandinavians and “Cultural Paganism” in Late Anglo-Saxon England’ (pp. 55–68), Judith Jesch considers Scandinavian and English textual evidence—the latter including lawcodes and Wulfstan’s Sermo Lupi ad Anglos—for this phenomenon. Elisabeth Okasha’s examination of ‘Memorial Stones or Grave-Stones?’ (pp. 91–101) addresses the fundamental question of the function of stones from Anglo-Saxon England which are inscribed with a personal name, and suggests two possible answers: ‘personal commemorative stones’ and a ‘lapidiary liber vitae’. Barbara Raw shows how the study of Anglo-Saxon art can illuminate and expand students’ understanding of devotional practices, in ‘Pictures: The Books of the Unlearned?’ (pp. 103–19). Jonathan M. Wooding considers ‘Some Issues in the Teaching of Insular Medieval Theology’ (pp. 193–203) using data from a survey of students on the MA in Celtic Christianity at University of Wales Lampeter. Other essays from this collection are reviewed in Sections 5, 8, 9 and 10 below.

Many of the essays in Carver, ed., The Cross Goes North, offer new insights into the material, cultural and ideological contexts for the production of Anglo-Saxon literature. In particular, the following are of relevance: Carver’s introduction: ‘Northern Europeans Negotiate their Future’ (p. 3–13); ‘Roman Britain: A Failed Promise’, by William H.C. Frend (pp. 79–91); ‘Where Are the Christians? Late Roman Cemeteries in Britain’, by Christopher Spary-Green (pp. 93–107); David Petts’s ‘Votive Deposits and Christian Practice in Late Roman Britain’ (pp. 109–18); Jeremy Knight’s ‘Basilicas and Barrows: Christian Origins in Wales and Western Britain’ (pp. 119–126); ‘Making a Christian Landscape: Early Medieval Cornwall’, by Sam Turner (pp. 171–94); ‘Anglo-Saxon Pagan and Early Christian Attitudes to the Dead’, by Audrey L. Meaney (pp. 229–41); ‘The Adaptation of the Anglo-Saxon Royal Courts to Christianity’, by Barbara Yorke (pp. 243–57); Helen Geake’s ‘The Control of Burial Practice in Middle Anglo-Saxon England’ (pp. 259–69); ‘The Straight and Narrow Way: Fenland Causeways and the Conversion of the Landscape in the Witham Valley, Lincolnshire’, by David Stocker and Paul Everson (pp. 271–88); ‘Three Ages of Conversion at Kirkdale, North Yorkshire’, by Philip Rahtz and Lorna Watts (pp. 289–309); ‘The Confusion of Conversion: Streanæshalch, Strensall and Whitby and the Northumbrian Church’, by P.S. Barnwell, L.A.S. Butler and C.J. Dunn (pp. 311–26);
John Higgitt’s ‘Design and Meaning in Early Medieval Inscriptions in Britain and Ireland’ (pp. 327–38); Elisabeth Okasha’s ‘Spaces Between Words: Word Separation in Anglo-Saxon Inscriptions’ (pp. 339–50); ‘Sacraments in Stone: The Mysteries of Christ in Anglo-Saxon Sculpture’, by Jane Hawkes (pp. 351–70); ‘Alcuin’s Narratives of Evangelism: The Life of St Wilfrid and the Northumbrian Hagiographical Tradition’, by Kate Rambridge (pp. 371–81); Julian D. Richards’s ‘Pagans and Christians at a Frontier: Viking Burial in the Danelaw’ (pp. 383–95); Catherine E. Karkov’s ‘The Body of St Æthelthryth: Desire, Conversion and Reform in Anglo-Saxon England’ (pp. 397–411); and ‘St Botulph: An English Saint in Scandinavia’, by John Toy (pp. 565–70).

Population movements in migration-period Britain continue to generate new, and often revisionist, research. Paul Barnwell’s focus is ‘Britons and Warriors in Post-Roman South-East England’ (ASSAH 12[2003] 1–8), and he examines the ways in which Gildas’s and Bede’s accounts have determined scholarly understanding, and the possibility that ‘Britain was subject to some of the common currents of the fifth- and sixth-century western Empire’ (p. 1). K.R. Dark reassesses the evidence from texts, place names, cemetery archaeology and inscribed stones for ‘Large-Scale Population Movements into and from Britain South of Hadrian’s Wall in the Fourth to Sixth Centuries AD’ (RMSt 29[2003] 31–49), and concludes that there were perhaps only two such migrations: Britons from the east in the late fourth and fifth centuries, and Germanic people into the same areas in the mid-fifth century and later.

Anglo-Saxon England and its internal and international political connections are the subject of more scrutiny. Many of the essays in Reuter, ed., Alfred the Great: Papers from the Eleventh-Centenary Conferences, deal with political aspects of his reign. Those of particular relevance to this section are ‘Placing King Alfred’ by James Campbell (pp. 3–23); ‘Ædificia nova: Treasures of Alfred’s Reign’, by Leslie Webster (pp. 79–103); ‘Alfredian Government: The West Saxon Inheritance’ by Nicholas Brooks pp. 153–73); Mark Blackburn’s ‘Alfred’s Coinage Reforms in Context’ (pp. 199–217); ‘The Origins of Alfred’s Urban Policies’ by David Hill (pp. 219–33); ‘Alfred and London’ by Derek Keene (pp. 235–49); Pauline Stafford’s ‘Succession and Inheritance: A Gendered Perspective on Alfred’s Family History’ (pp. 251–64); ‘Alfred the Great, the micel hæden here and the Viking Threat’ by Richard Abels (pp. 265–79); Janet L. Nelson’s ‘Alfred’s Carolingian Contemporaries’ (pp. 293–310); ‘Alfred the Great and Arnulf of Carinthia: A Comparison’ by Anton Scharer (pp. 311–21); ‘Alfred’s Contemporaries: Irish, Welsh, Scots and Breton’ by Wendy Davies (pp. 323–37); Jonathan Shepard’s ‘The Ruler as Instructor, Pastor and Wise: Leo VI of Byzantium and Symeon of Bulgaria’ (pp. 339–58); and Barbara Yorke’s ‘Alfredism: The Use and Abuse of King Alfred’s Reputation in Later Centuries’ (pp. 361–80). The essays in this collection which discuss Alfredian textual productions are discussed in Section 10 below.

Five of the essays in Evans, ed., Lordship and Learning: Studies in Memory of Trevor Aston deal with Anglo-Saxon political and social developments: ‘The Making of Nations in Britain and Ireland in the Early Middle Ages’
(pp. 11–37) by T.M. Charles-Edwards; Eric John’s ‘The Annals of St Neots and the Defeat of the Vikings’ (pp. 51–62); ‘Cola’s tūn: Rural Social Structure in Late Anglo-Saxon Devon’ (pp. 63–78) by Rosamond Faith; Trevor Aston’s ‘The Ancestry of English Feudalism’ (pp. 79–93); and ‘What’s in a Construct? The “Gentry” in Anglo-Saxon England’ (pp. 95–107) by Peter Coss.

In Northumbria, 500–1100: Creation and Destruction of a Kingdom, David Rollason draws on a variety of sources, from the archaeological to the textual, and shows how they compare as evidence for the evolution of this kingdom. Ian Howard’s study of Swein Forkbeard’s Invasions and the Danish Conquest of England, 991–1017 looks at the Scandinavian attacks, English responses to them and how these events are recorded in textual sources, and argues that ‘members of the English establishment, and King Æthelred in particular, were not so much the victims of events as used to be supposed’ (p. xiv). Rollason also edits, along with A.J. Piper, Margaret Harvey and Lynda Rollason, The Durham ‘Liber Vitae’ and its Context. This first-ever book-length study of the manuscript contains a wealth of useful essays. Those which deal with the Anglo-Saxon period are: ‘The Durham Liber Vitae and Sir Robert Cotton’ (pp. 3–15) by Colin G.C. Tite; ‘The Make-Up of the Liber Vitae: The Codicology of the Manuscript’ (pp. 17–42) by Michael Gullick; Jan Gerchow’s ‘The Original Core of the Durham Liber Vitae’ (pp. 45–61); ‘Nothing But Names: The Scandinavian Personal Names in the Later Part of the Durham Liber Vitae’ (pp. 87–96) by John Insley; ‘Anglo-Norman Names Recorded in the Durham Liber Vitae’ (pp. 97–107) by John S. Moore; ‘A Survey of the Early Medieval Confraternity Books from the Continent’ (pp. 141–7) by Dietrich Geuenich; Simon Keynes’s ‘The Liber Vitae of New Minster, Winchester’ (pp. 149–63); and ‘How Was a Confraternity Made? The Evidence of Charters’ (pp. 207–19) by Arnold Angenendt.

In ‘England and the Irish-Sea Zone in the Eleventh Century’ (Anglo-Norman Studies 26[2004] 55–73) Clare Downham re-examines the significance of Ireland for English politics before the English invasion of 1171. For the later Anglo-Saxon period, Downham charts religious links, trade and royal involvement, all of which reveal important connections.

New work on the cultural context of Anglo-Saxon art was published this year and last. In The Ruler Portraits of Anglo-Saxon England, Catherine E. Karkov compares her primary materials to genealogies and regnal lists in Anglo-Saxon texts. The book examines five main subjects: Alfred; Æthelstan; Edgar and the royal women of the monastic reform; Ælfgifu/Emma and Cnut; and Edward and the Godwines. Karkov’s conclusion highlights the role of the book in Anglo-Saxon ruler images, and the place of these images as part of written history. Anna Gannon’s The Iconography of Early Anglo-Saxon Coinage: Sixth to Eighth Centuries is an art-historical study of coinage from the late sixth century to c.792. It covers the numismatic background to Anglo-Saxon coinage and a very detailed analysis of its iconography.

Anglo-Saxon material culture continues to be discovered and to prompt new work. This year sees the first formal publication of the extraordinary site and finds at Prittlewell. The Prittlewell Prince: The Discovery of a Rich Anglo-Saxon Burial in Essex, by Sue Hirst with Taryn Nixon, Peter Rowsome and
Susan Wright is the Museum of London Archaeology Service’s guide to the site. Much more analytical work remains to be done, and published, in the coming years, but this is an excellent and accessible introduction, with extremely high-quality illustrations. A new edition of Gale Owen-Crocker’s *Dress in Anglo-Saxon England* is published this year. Its text is twice the length of the original version, new illustrations have been added, and account has been taken of archaeological and other research published since the completion of the first edition and of reinterpretations of older archaeological reports.

Dawn Hadley’s ‘Negotiating Gender, Family and Status in Anglo-Saxon Burial Practices, c.600–950’ (in Brubaker and Smith, eds., *Gender in the Early Medieval World: East and West*, 300–900, pp. 301–23) shows that gender, and especially masculinity, are most strongly marked in Anglo-Saxon burial displays in periods of social stress, and counters the generally accepted view by arguing that social identity continues to be expressed in burial practices after the seventh century. *Death and Dying in Later Anglo-Saxon England*, by Victoria Thompson, draws on archaeological, artistic and a wide range of textual sources from roughly the reign of Alfred to that of William I, makes a detailed study of the death and burial of Æthelflæd, Lady of the Mercians, and demonstrates amply that ‘to study death is, inevitably, to study life; the crises that death creates serve as a magnifying-glass for a culture’s deepest concerns’ (p. 7).

Post-Conquest sources of information on Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical and political figures are yielding new information. Tom Licence draws our attention to ‘Suneman and Wulfric: Two Forgotten Saints of St Benedict’s Abbey at Holme in Norfolk’ (*AnBol* 122[2004] 361–72). Drawing on references to Suneman and Wulfric in a fourteenth-century East Anglian chronicle known as the Chronicle of John of Brompton, Licence assembles evidence for the cults of these two Anglo-Saxon saints. An appendix provides an edition and translation of the relevant section of Brompton. Further post-Conquest evidence for Anglo-Saxon traditions is examined by Nicholas Grant in ‘John Leland’s List of “Places Where Saints Rest in England”’ (*AnBol* 122[2004] 373–87). Leland’s list is almost certainly a copy of a now lost pre-Conquest text, and Grant studies its contents, shows that it contains much information not in any other surviving list, estimates that it might date from the fifteenth or early sixteenth century, and gives as an appendix an annotated edition and translation of it. J.L. Grassi examines ‘The *Vita Ædwardi Regis*: The Hagiographer as Insider’ (*Anglo-Norman Studies* 26[2004] 87–102), and argues that the author did indeed have access to good information, from members of Edward’s immediate circle, on his reign, and that in places its readings are more reliable than those of other sources.

Martin K. Foys provided the Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman scholarly communities with an enormously useful resource in 2003 with the publication of his digital edition of *The Bayeux Tapestry* on CD-ROM. The high-quality images of the whole tapestry are formidably supported by a range of related images, primary texts, maps, commentaries and discussions. The whole package is extremely easy to use, and will be indispensable for specialists, teachers and students. The translation of *Domesday Book*, edited by
Ann Williams and G.H. Martin and published in hardback in 1992, was issued as a Penguin paperback in 2003, thereby making this text, so central to our understanding of late Anglo-Saxon England, easily available to a very wide readership.

Early modern interest in Old English has been a popular topic for some years now. Nancy Basler Bjorklund writes on ‘Parker’s Purpose Behind the Manuscripts: Matthew Parker in the Context of his Early Career and Sixteenth-Century Church Reform’ (in Lionarons, ed., pp. 217–41). Through an examination of Parker’s early career, Bjorklund highlights the primary role of his interest in Church reform in his acquisition of and work on Old English manuscripts.

4. Literature: General

This year has seen the publication of several new textbooks, anthologies, and readers that greatly expand the range of materials available for teaching Old English to beginning students. Richard Marsden’s much-awaited new textbook, *The Cambridge Old English Reader*, contains fifty-six individual texts, ranging from established favourites such as *The Wife’s Lament* and *The Battle of Maldon* to less well known texts such as *The Durham Proverbs* and medicinal remedies from *Bald’s Leechbook*. Each text is prefaced by a headnote that places it in its literary and historical context and is accompanied by extensive same-page glosses and notes that are intended to enable beginning students to read Old English fairly quickly. The reader also contains a comprehensive glossary at the back and a brief reference grammar of Old English and guide to grammatical terms. Stephen Pollington’s *First Steps in Old English* (first published in 1997) has come out in a revised edition. The new edition features streamlined discussions of Old English grammar, as well as a general effort to clarify and simplify the material so that beginning students with no background in language learning can teach themselves Old English at home or experience greater ease in a more formal taught course.

Daniel Donoghue’s *Old English Literature: A Short Introduction* is a welcome new resource for introducing students to the cultural, material, and historical contexts of Old English literature. Organized around five major ‘figures’ from Anglo-Saxon culture, the Vow, the Hall, the Miracle, the Pulpit, and the Scholar, this accessible introduction is based on the author’s deep knowledge of early English literature and culture and will aid students greatly in their efforts to synthesize and appreciate Old English texts. An important item from last year that escaped notice is Peter S. Baker’s *Introduction to Old English*. Baker’s innovative textbook is designed for students with little to no expertise in traditional grammar or language learning. ‘Quick Start’ sections begin most of the major chapters, allowing students to grasp the basics of grammar fairly quickly, while ‘Minitexts’ accompanying most chapters offer practice in reading and translating Old English. The book contains fourteen Old English readings and a comprehensive Old English glossary. Supplementary readings and exercises are available at the Old English
Aerobics website at <www.engl.virginia.edu/OE/OEA/> , which complements the text. Elaine Treharne’s Old and Middle English, c.890–c.1400: An Anthology is now available in a second edition. The revised edition contains three newly edited excerpts from late fourteenth-century texts: Piers Plowman, The Canterbury Tales, and Sir Gawain and the Green Knight. A very minimal amount of material from the first edition has been excised.

Fred C. Robinson’s ‘Old English’ (in Murdoch and Read, eds., Early Germanic Literature and Culture, pp. 205–33) provides a general survey of Old English literature, with attention to such topics as the amount and nature of surviving Old English poetry and prose. Robinson reviews the major genres and themes of Old English literature and offers a brief discussion of how Old English writings fit into what is commonly understood as ‘Germanic literature’. This chapter forms part of a collection that is concerned to trace the development of early medieval German literature, and, more broadly, to provide a framework for understanding Germanic literature and its origins. The chapters include: an introduction by Brian Murdoch and Malcolm Read; ‘The Concept of Germanic Antiquity’ by Heinrich Beck; ‘Origo gentis: The Literature of German Origins’ by Herwig Wolfram; ‘Germania Romana’ by Adrian Murdoch; ‘Germanic Religion and the Conversion to Christianity’ by Rudolf Simek; ‘Orality’ by R. Graeme Dunphy; ‘Runic’ by Klaus Düwel; ‘Gothic’ by Brian Murdoch; ‘Old Norse–Icelandic Literature’ by Theodor Andersson; ‘Old English’ by Fred C. Robinson; ‘Old High German and Continental Old Low German’ by Brian Murdoch; and ‘The Old Saxon Heliand’ by G. Ronald Murphy.

Jews and Judaism in pre-Conquest literature and culture are the subject of two new works this year. Andrew P. Scheil’s The Footsteps of Israel: Understanding Jews in Anglo-Saxon England is a welcome contribution to the growing body of scholarship on medieval anti-Judaism. Beginning from the observation that ‘anti-Judaic discourse existed in Anglo-Saxon England . . . without the presence of actual Jewish communities’, Scheil investigates Anglo-Saxon understandings of Jews as ‘solely a textual phenomenon’ (p. 7). He argues that medieval anti-Judaic discourse provides a valuable means of accessing the ‘deep fears, desires, and joys of Christian Anglo-Saxon culture’ (p. 7), and that studying this multi-faceted and ever-shifting discourse ‘allows us to see the play of difference within the monolith of tradition’ (p. 15). Through close readings, theoretical work, and historical analysis, Scheil outlines a prehistory to later persecutions of the Jews in England, and also elucidates the complex roles Jews and Judaism played in shaping Anglo-Saxon social identity. Individual chapters focus on Bede’s treatment of Jews and Judaism in his exegetical writings; the tradition of the populus Israhel as manifested in the works of Alcuin, Genesis A, Exodus, Daniel, and Judith; the powerful association between Jews and materiality as depicted in the Vercelli Book and the Blickling manuscript; and Ælfric’s representations of Judaism in the context of the Benedictine Reform. Janet Thomann offers additional comments on Judaism in her study of ‘The Jewish Other in Old English Narrative Poetry’ (Partial Answers: Journal of Literature and the History of Ideas 2[2004] 1–19). Through close readings of Daniel, Elene, and Judith, Thomann shows that representations of Jews in Old English poetry
‘construct and consolidate the identity of the Anglo-Saxons as a literate, Christian people’ (p. 16), and thus play an important role in the production of national cultural identity.

The complexities of dating and identifying changes in Old English verse continue to inspire rigorous scholarship. Dennis Cronan studies ‘Poetic Words, Conservatism and the Dating of Old English Poetry’ (ASE 33[2004] 23–50). His goal is to analyse evidence provided by the limited distribution of certain poetic simplexes, which might then serve as an index of the poetic conservatism of the poems in which these simplexes occur. Beginning from the premise that patterns of word distribution and usage may offer some help in the ongoing project of dating Old English poetry, Cronan finds evidence of links (with respect to word distribution) among Genesis A, Beowulf, Exodus, Maxims I, and Widsith, and concludes that ‘the most reasonable explanation of the conservative diction found in these poems is that the poems were composed in or around the eighth century’ (p. 48).

The categories of verse and prose are usefully interrogated by Thomas A. Bredehoft in two publications this year. In ‘Ælfric and Late Old English Verse’ (ASE 33[2004] 77–107), by identifying major differences between ‘classical’ and late Old English verse and then analysing Ælfric’s rhythmical compositions in the light of these differences, Bredehoft calls into question the common designation of Ælfric’s style as ‘rhythmical prose’. He argues that Ælfric’s rhythmical compositions ought to be classified as poetry, and that we must thus rethink the breadth, scope, and extent of the Old English verse tradition.

In ‘The Boundaries between Verse and Prose in Old English Literature’ (in Lionarons, ed., pp. 139–72) Bredehoft examines what manuscript presentation can reveal about whether or not a text should be categorized as verse, and whether it was considered as such by Anglo-Saxon manuscript makers and readers. He shows that markers of the sort used to mark other kinds of textual boundaries are often used to distinguish verse of all kinds from surrounding prose. [MS]

John Hines’s Voices in the Past: English Literature and Archeology is an exciting new interdisciplinary study that shows how archaeology and literature may illuminate one another. Chapters 1 and 2 contain material that will be of special interest to Anglo-Saxonists. Chapter 1, ‘Text and Context’, offers an overview of the different ways in which material and literary artefacts may convey meaning, as well as a general discussion of the problems and possibilities for scholars embarking on interdisciplinary cultural history. Chapter 2, ‘Knowledge and Vision in Old English Literature’, brings these insights to bear on a range of Anglo-Saxon texts, including Beowulf, Andreas, Guthlac A, and Guthlac B. By integrating archaeological findings and textual analysis, Hines explores the extent to which Old English poetry may be guided by principles of realism, and concludes that there is a case to be made that an ‘explicit/implicit dichotomy provides a much richer reading of this literature than an idealist/realist one’ (p. 70).

Carol Parrish Jamison studies ‘Traffic of Women in Germanic Literature: The Role of the Peace Pledge in Marital Exchanges’ (Women in German
She investigates representations of female peace pledges and marriage in the female-voiced elegies, *Beowulf* and *Volsungasaga*, and concludes that ‘early Germanic women had, in fact, a number of possible responses to marital exchanges and could find ways to move well beyond the role of object, asserting their influence as mothers and diplomats’ (pp. 30–1).

Kent G. Hare examines ‘Christian Heroism and the West Saxon Achievement: The Old English Poetic Evidence’ (*MedFor* 4[2004] online, no pagination). Hare’s main goal is to analyse the complex interactions between Germanic/heroic and Christian themes in Old English verse and to show that the poetic corpus reflects a literary programme having its roots in the Alfredian period.


A number of brief essays this year provide fresh insight into individual words and phrases. R.D. Fulk writes on ‘Old English *weorc*: Where Does It Hurt? South of the Thames’ (*ANQ* 17[2004] 6–12). Fulk’s essay is, in part, a response to Roberta Frank’s critique of his earlier argument regarding the dialectal significance of the use of Old English *weorc* in the sense ‘pain’. Fulk attempts to provide further evidence for his argument that ‘in verse when we find *weorc*, which usually means labor, to have instead the meaning pain, it is because non-Anglian scribes have substituted this word for the unfamiliar but formally similar Anglian one [*waric*]’ (p. 6). Alfred Bammesberger writes on ‘Old English *lama* and its Morphological Analysis’ (*N&Q* 61[2004] 342–4). He argues that Old English *lama* must not be classified as an adjective (as one would do for modern English ‘lame’) but should be analysed as a masculine substantive. In ‘Old English *þisl* and the Origin of *Thill*’ (*N&Q* 61[2004] 5–7), Bammesberger provides a phonological explanation supporting Irene Wotherspoon’s earlier contention that *thill* ‘pole or shaft by which a wagon, cart, or other vehicle is attached to the animal drawing it’ is derived from Old English *þisl*.

An important essay from last year that escaped notice is Peter Dendale’s ‘Pain and Saint-Making in *Andreas*, Bede, and the Old English Lives of St. Margaret’ (in Karant-Nunn, ed., *Varieties of Devotion in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, pp. 39–52). Dendale’s main focus is on the role of pain in hagiogenesis (saint-making), and on tracing the extent to which Anglo-Saxon writers portray suffering as a necessary component of sanctity. Dendale shows that the majority of Anglo-Saxon saints’ lives reflect the anaesthetic tradition, in which martyrs do not actually feel the torments inflicted on them. The protracted depictions of saintly suffering in *Andreas*, the Tiberius *Life of Margaret*, and Bede’s *Martyrology* thus stand out, in Dendale’s view, as witnesses to an older, agonistic view of sanctity found in the (primarily Greek) writings of the fourth to sixth centuries, in which pain is depicted as an integral part of spiritual development.
5. The Exeter Book

The Exeter Book riddles have generated an unusually large and exciting body of scholarship this year. Rafał Borysławski studies The Old English Riddles and the Riddlic Elements of Old English Poetry in order to identify structural patterns of riddlic composition. He offers a detailed analysis of the relationship between Aldhelm’s Aenigmata and the Exeter Book riddles, and argues that both are constructed on the grounds of an identifiable structure of interrelations and interdependencies. He then analyses the Exeter Book riddles in relation to other Old English texts, and concludes that a certain predilection for the riddlic form may be found throughout the Anglo-Saxon literary corpus, suggesting that ‘the Old English world-view might have been founded on the questioning disposition of the Anglo-Saxon mind and the desire for a shrewd insight into the nature of things’ (p. 209). Anita R. Riedinger also focuses on patterns in the riddles, with particular attention to ‘The Formulaic Style in the Old English Riddles’ (SN 76[2004] 30–43). She argues that the formulaic style is a key element in enabling the riddles to create and to sustain their enigmas, and shows how the use of formulaic phrases, concepts, and themes enables the riddler to simultaneously hint at and to deflect the particular riddle’s solution. Riedinger concludes that ‘the dominant technique of the riddles, then, reveals sophisticated riddlers composing for a culturally literate audience’ (p. 40).

Two of the essays in Honegger, ed., Riddles, Knights, and Cross-Dressing Saints: Essays on Medieval English Language and Literature, deal with the Exeter Book riddles. Dieter Bitterli focuses on ‘The Survival of the Dead Cuckoo: Exeter Book Riddle 9’ (pp. 95–114). After a thorough discussion of the possible sources for the Anglo-Saxon writer’s knowledge of the cuckoo’s nesting behaviour (i.e. Pliny the Elder, Isidore of Seville, and various early Latin riddle collections), Bitterli analyses the cuckoo’s transformation from dead embryo to living fledgling as emblematic of the reader’s activity of riddle-solving: just as the young cuckoo survives at the expense of the other birds in the nest, so too, the true solution to the riddle emerges only by ‘killing’ the other, false solutions. This same collection features Susanne Kries’s ‘Fela ì ríman eða í skáldskap: Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian Approaches to Riddles and Poetic Disguises’ (pp. 139–64). Kries examines different uses of the riddle and the kenning in Old Norse and Old English texts and finds significant differences between the way these ‘poetic disguises’ are employed in the two literatures. Kries argues that while earlier Anglo-Latin enigmata and Old Norse stanzas tend to be identified as riddles by their literary contexts, such is far less often true for Old English riddles. This observation leads Kries to question whether the Exeter Book riddles should in fact been classified as a coherent body of riddling texts.

Daniel Tiffany provides a welcome analysis of theoretical issues raised by the study of Old English riddles in ‘Lyric Substance: On Riddles, Materialism, and Poetic Obscurity’ (in Brown, ed., Things, pp. 72–98). Tiffany’s interest lies in investigating ‘what lyric poetry may be able to tell us about the material substance of things and if what matters about the world in a poem holds any particular significance for the history of philosophical materialism’ (p. 75).
By studying the talking objects in the Old English riddles, Tiffany is able to shed fresh light on such complex issues as the relationship between language and the material world, and between lyric poetry and the substance of things.

Two essays this year focus on individual riddles. In ‘The Oyster and the Crab: A Riddle Duo (nos. 77 and 78) in the Exeter Book’ (MP 101[2004] 400–19), Mercedes Salvador examines the striking oppositions between the two creatures described in Riddles 77 and 78. She suggests that the two riddles were most likely designed to form a thematic pair, that the answer to Riddle 78 is the crab, and that ‘the pairing of Riddles 77 and 78 was probably intended to suggest a parallel discussion of the allegorical roles of these two animals by a monastic audience in the context of the Benedictine Reform’ (p. 419). Elena Afros studies ‘Sindrum Begrunden in Exeter Book Riddle 26: The Enigmatic Dative Case’ (N&Q 51[2004] 7–9). She argues that the phrase sindrum begrunden (6b) ought to be understood as appositive to mec (5b), and that the phrase does not express another stage of codex production but simply restates the idea that by the time it is cut with a knife the animal skin is already devoid of blemishes.

The elegies have generated a number of fine essays this year. Michael Matto’s ‘True Confessions: The Seafarer and Technologies of the Sylf’ (JEGP 103[2004] 156–79) sheds light on Anglo-Saxon understandings of personal identity. By drawing on contemporary theoretical writings and on discussions of subjectivity in Anglo-Saxon texts such as Maxims I and Solomon and Saturn, Matto is able to construct a rich and densely layered context for his subsequent analysis of selfhood in The Seafarer. Matto argues that The Seafarer dramatizes a series of transitions in the speaker’s understanding of selfhood, and concludes that the problem of the sylf in Anglo-Saxon culture must be studied in terms of Anglo-Saxon mechanisms for the production of wisdom, confessional techniques for personal salvation, the heroic and elegiac injunctions to restrain one’s inner impulses, and public rituals of communal reintegration. Melanie Heyworth’s ‘Nostalgic Evocation and Social Privilege in the Old English Elegies’ (SN 76[2004] 3–11) provides a welcome theoretical treatment of nostalgia as depicted in Old English elegies. By drawing on psychological and sociological theories of nostalgia, and by analysing nostalgia as expressed in The Wanderer, The Wife’s Lament, and The Husband’s Message, Heyworth shows that nostalgia is ‘an emotional process intrinsically linked with social sharing’ (p. 9). She concludes that ‘nostalgia…is not memory for the past’s sake alone, but is also memory that promotes and prescribes action and emotion for the present and the future’ (p. 9).

The complex representations of Christian and heroic ideals in the elegies have generated much interest. Santha Bhattacharji offers ‘An Approach to Christian Aspects of The Wanderer and The Seafarer’ (in Cavill, ed., pp. 153–61). Bhattacharji’s goal is to provide strategies for helping students grapple with the problematic issue of Christian didacticism found in the second half of The Wanderer and The Seafarer. By engaging with Derridean theories of différence and the deferral of meaning, the riddling nature of Old English poetic language, and the discussions of human effort found in the
biblical book of Ecclesiastes, Bhattacharji shows how a multi-faceted pedagogical approach may help students to appreciate and evaluate the Christian aspects of these poems. Thomas D. Hill significantly expands our understanding of Anglo-Saxon attitudes toward stoicism in his essay ‘The Unchanging Hero: A Stoic Maxim in The Wanderer and its Contexts’ (SP 101[2004] 233–49). By tracing the ideal of apatheia (equal indifference to joy or to sorrow) as depicted in Old English and Old High German texts, in classical and Christian writings, and in Old Norse–Icelandic literature, Hill shows that The Wanderer exhibits a suspicion of and a contempt for the ideal of happiness, and that such sentiments played a powerful role in Anglo-Saxon warrior culture. James M. Palmer also sheds fresh light on The Wanderer in ‘Compunctio and the Heart in the Old English Poem The Wanderer’ (Neophil 88[2004] 447–60). Palmer analyses the medically derived (now religious) doctrine of compunction as it evolved from Scripture and was developed by such writers as Climacus, Jerome, Isidore, and others, and demonstrates that ‘The Wanderer can be read as a poem about the narrator’s journey through and experience of the Divine gift of compunction’ (p. 457).

The female-voiced elegies continue to attract new analysis. In ‘Sexing Political Tropes of Conquest: “The Wife’s Lament” and Layamon’s Brut’ (in Pasternack and Weston, eds., Sex and Sexuality in Anglo-Saxon England: Essays in Memory of Daniel Gillmore Calder, pp. 203–33), Dolores Warwick Frese analyses erotic and political tropes in both The Wife’s Lament and the story of Locrin and Æstrild in Layamon’s Brut. By identifying the very similar sexual-political themes that appear in these texts, and by using Bede’s discussion of Lot’s wife in his De Arte Metrica et De Schematibus et Tropis as a frame for ‘looking back’ on the oral and textual traditions of the past, Frese reads The Wife’s Lament as a ‘poetically modeled experience of wrenching political history rather than as some purely personal account of love gone bad’ (p. 204). James J. Donohue’s ‘Of this I can make no sense’: Wulf and Eadwacer and the Destabilization of Meaning’ (MedFor 4[2004] online, no pagination) offers a useful overview of scholarship on Wulf and Eadwacer. Donohue seeks neither to offer a new interpretation of the poem nor to suggest that the poem refuses interpretation, but rather to explore how modern scholars have constructed meaning for Wulf and Eadwacer, and, more broadly, to explore the nature of meaning itself in relation to various understandings of ‘context’.

Alfred Bammesberger offers two useful notes on difficult lines and phrases. In ‘Christ I: The Beginning of the First Eala’ (N&Q 51[2004] 112–14), he re-examines lines 18–21 of Christ I, proposes that both eadga[n] (l. 20a) and oprum (l. 20b) should be taken as dative singular, and offers a new translation for lines 18–21. In ‘The Old English Phoenix, Lines 3b-6’ (N&Q 51[2004] 223–5), Bammesberger argues that lines 3b–6 do not suggest that the land of the Phoenix is inaccessible to everyone, but rather that access to this land is only granted to a few people, including both high-ranking folk and possibly also those of lower social status. For Robert M. Butler’s article on the place of production of the Exeter Book, see Section 2 above.
6. The Poems of the Vercelli Book

Elene continues to inspire new analysis. Cynthia Wittman Zollinger offers an insightful study of ‘Cynewulf’s Elene and the Patterns of the Past’ (JEGP 103[2004] 180–96). By examining Cynewulf’s treatment of legend, history, and tradition, Wittman Zollinger shows that, in Elene, Cynewulf offers an example for reuniting his own culture’s fractured past and for resolving the breach between Christianity and its Judaic roots. She offers careful close readings of the poem’s treatment of time, with particular emphasis on the tonal and thematic shifts as Cynewulf moves from pagan past to Christian future, and concludes that, despite its demonstrable failures as a historical record, Elene offers a powerful perspective on the crafting of history and on the ways in which poetry was used to establish Christian ownership of Hebrew tradition. Jane Chance revisits the complex gender dynamics of the founding of the early Church in ‘Hrotsvit’s Latin Drama Gallicanus and the Old English Epic Elene: Intercultural Founding Narratives of a Feminized Church’ (in Brown, McMillin, and Wilson, eds., Hrotsvit of Gandersheim: Contexts, Identities, Affinities, and Performances, pp. 193–210). By examining gender relations in both Gallicanus and Elene, as well as the cultural contexts in which these texts were produced, Chance shows how ‘these two roughly contemporary literary works, one Anglo-Saxon and one Saxon, form a complementary whole to illustrate the feminization of the early church, that is, reliance on female rather than male agency… and upon process as essentially spiritual rather than martial’ (p. 195).

Ananya Jahanara Kabir looks ‘Towards a Contra-Modern Aesthetics: Reading the Old English Andreas Against an Image of the Virgin of Guadalupe’ (in Petersen, Clüver, and Bell, eds., Signs of Change: Transformations of Christian Traditions and Their Representation in the Arts, 1000–1200, pp. 31–50). In this probing study of aesthetics and modernity, Kabir brings together the Old English saint’s life Andreas and a postcard image of the Virgin Mary from contemporary Mexico to show how cultural products marginalized by modernity and its aesthetics may be recuperated by breaching boundaries between the medieval and the modern. By analysing these two very different products of Christian culture in the light of aesthetic theories derived from Kant and Adorno, Kabir is able to argue for an alternative, ‘contra-modernist’ aesthetics that ‘rehabilitate[s] art as process, reception as participation and aesthetic experience as pleasure’ (p. 32).

Alfred Bammesberger investigates ‘Old English Willan Brucan in Andreas, Line 106b’ (N&Q 51[2004] 3–5) to argue that the manuscript reading willan brucan in fact represents an authorial willum brucan and that lines 105b–106 are thus correctly translated as ‘where you may forever joyfully partake of glory’. Bammesberger also comments on ‘The Half-Line Unforht Wesan in The Dream of the Rood’ (NM 105[2004] 327–30). He argues against the widely adopted emendation of unforht in line 117b to [a]nforht ‘very afraid’, and suggests that a suitable contextual meaning for unforht can be achieved by omitting ne in line 117a.
7. The Junius Manuscript

While 2003 witnessed numerous publications on the Junius 11 poems, 2004 has been relatively quiet. Phyllis Portnoy writes on ‘Biblical Remnants in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and Old English’ (in Egan and Joyal, ed., Daimonopylai: Essays in Classics and the Classical Tradition Presented to Edmund G. Berry, pp. 319–39). She traces the idea of the ‘remnant’ in early scriptural narrative, where it often denotes the survivors of a calamitous event, in the prophetic, apocryphal, and rabbinical writings, where the motif acquires messianic and then apocalyptic connotations, and finally in Christian writings, in which survival is typically depicted as salvation. Portnoy finds that the Junius Codex contains instances of the remnant motif that reflect this latter development, and concludes that ‘in its presentation of Old Testament narrative, and particularly in its usage of the ancient biblical motif of the “remnant,” it participates in a process of “learned” translation-cum-exegesis hitherto documented only in the languages and writings of the earlier [Alfredian] periods’ (p. 319).

For Bernard J. Muir’s digital edition of the manuscript, see Section 2 above.

8. The Beowulf Manuscript

The Beowulf manuscript continues to intrigue scholars. As usual, some of this year’s work is centred on translations. Beowulf: A Longman Cultural Edition offers a new critical edition by Sarah Anderson of a new verse translation by Alan Sullivan and Timothy Murphy. The most distinctive feature of this edition is that it places Beowulf in three different contexts—Latin, Old English, and Old Norse—and provides a variety of literary and historical texts for each of them. The Latin section includes excerpts from the Bible, Bede, and Asser; the Old English section contains translations of various elegies as well as excerpts from legal and historical prose, and the Old Norse section provides excerpts from the Elder Edda and Grettir’s Saga. The edition also provides nine different translations of the first twenty-one lines of Beowulf, a glossary of proper names, genealogies, and maps of Anglo-Saxon England and Denmark. Frederick Rebsamen’s Beowulf: An Updated Verse Translation is a revised version of his Beowulf: A Verse Translation [1991]. The new edition seeks mainly to improve upon the extent to which the modern English imitates the sounds and senses of the Old English poetic form. It also includes a slightly updated bibliography.

A number of studies this year take up the topic of Beowulf and subjectivity. Judy Anne White’s Hero-Ego in Search of Self: A Jungian Reading of Beowulf propose[s] an alternative means by which to examine the distinctive fusion of historical, mythological, and poetic elements that make up the whole of Beowulf (p. 1). Drawing on Jung’s understanding of psychological individuation as entailing the ego’s confrontation with personal archetypes, White analyses the poem’s three battles as representations of Beowulf’s struggle to achieve self-knowledge. She argues that this struggle is a universal
phenomenon, thus explaining why the poem continues to resonate for modern readers.

Kate Koppelman discusses ‘Fearing My Neighbor: The Intimate Other in *Beowulf* and the Old English Judith’ (*Comitatus* 35[2004] 1–21). By drawing on theories of monstrosity and ‘otherness’ proposed by Freud, Lacan, and Deleuze and Guattari, Koppelman seeks to show that, ‘for a hero or heroine to come into being at all, he or she is bound by necessity to not only come into contact with the demonic, but to take a part of that demonic identity away with him or her’ (p. 20). Russell Rutter writes on ‘Identity Politics and the Fragility of Civilization: Teaching *Beowulf* in the Context of General Education’ (*SMRT* 11[2004] 7–17). Rutter’s essay brings together personal reflections and poetic analysis to offer strategies for making *Beowulf* relevant and meaningful to General Education students.

Stefan Jurasinski produces new insights into the ways in which nineteenth-century scholarship has shaped modern understandings of *Beowulf*. In ‘The Ecstasy of Vengeance: Legal History, Old English Scholarship, and the “Feud” of Hengest’ (*RES* 55[2004] 641–61), Jurasinski shows that nineteenth-century views of vengeance and blood feud as characteristically Germanic institutions have engendered an undue emphasis on the role that these behaviours play in *Beowulf* and ultimately left us with a distorted view of the Finn episode’s legal situation. Jurasinski also evaluates ‘*Beowulf* 73: “Public Land,” Germanic Egalitarianism, and Nineteenth-Century Philology’ (*JEGP* 103[2004] 323–40). By analysing the literary and historical contexts for this vexed passage, in which we are told that Hrothgar intended to distribute all that God had given him with the exception of the *folcscaru* and the lives of men, Jurasinski shows that *Beowulf* 73 refers to the royal donation of land and that *folcscaru* refers to ancestral lands rather than to a national fund of land.

The poem’s composition and formal elements continue to generate rigorous scholarship. B.R. Hutcheson analyses ‘Kaluza’s Law, The Dating of *Beowulf* and the Old English Poetic Tradition’ (*JEGP* 103[2004] 297–322). Expanding on ideas set forth in his 1995 book *Old English Poetic Metre*, Hutcheson seeks to provide further evidence that Kaluza’s law is propagated in Old English poetic texts by the Old English formulaic tradition and not by the living phonology of Old English at the time when any given poem was composed. He analyses rates of adherence to Kaluza’s law for *Beowulf* and for Old English poems written in the tenth century or later, and concludes that there is no statistical difference between these rates, and that ‘Kaluza’s law cannot be used to assign *Beowulf* to a precise date’ (p. 298). Hideki Watanabe investigates the ‘Textual Significance of the Sentences in the Form of þætwæsgodcyning in Old English Poems’ (in Hiltunen and Watanabe, eds., * Approaches to Style and Discourse in English*, pp. 135–64). Watanabe analyses this formulaic expression as found in *Beowulf* and also broadens his study to include examples in which the phrase þæt is/was followed by any two elements. He concludes that ‘this type emerges as a formula employed to end various units of a body of text’ and that while ‘the typical form is a short exclamatory sentence occupying a b-verse...there are [also] longer variants which run on into the next a-verse or full line’ (p. 152). John Miles Foley considers ‘Textualization as Mediation: The Case of Traditional Oral Epic’
This essay focuses mainly on the textualization of South Slavic oral epic, and includes brief remarks on the Homeric poems and Beowulf. Foley concludes that the apparently partial nature of Beowulf cannot be seen as a palaeographical or artistic blemish, and that ‘the “digressions” are symptomatic, not of a problematic text, but rather of the operation of traditional referentiality’ (p. 116). An item from last year that escaped notice is Chris Golston and Tomas Riad’s study of ‘Scansion and Alliteration in Beowulf’ (Jahrbuch für Internationale Germanistik 35[2003] 77–105). This essay seeks to outline a model of metrical scansion for Beowulf and to show that alliteration offers a chief aid in scanning the poem into structured metre.

Several essays this year revisit the long-standing question of Beowulf’s complex relationship to Germanic and Christian tradition. Paul Cavill studies ‘Christianity and Theology in Beowulf’ (in Cavill, ed., pp. 15–39) and shows that the Christianity found in Beowulf is neither confused nor deliberately vague. Cavill maintains that, at various points, both the poem and its characters express a New Testament understanding of God, the devil, judgement, and heaven and hell, and that the religious language and ideas of Beowulf show clear similarities to other more explicitly Christian poems. Richard Bodek’s ‘Beowulf’ (Expl 62[2004] 130–2) offers a brief new reading of Hrothgar’s ‘sermon’ as urging Beowulf to embrace traditional Germanic codes rather than Christian ones, and suggests that the speech in fact reveals God’s fickle and untrustworthy nature. Damian Fleming’s ‘Eþel-weard: The First Scribe of the Beowulf MS’ (NM 105[2004] 177–86) focuses on the scribe’s use of runes in the Beowulf manuscript. By analysing the three instances in which a rune is used rather than the term eðel, Fleming shows that runes appear at moments when the scribe is concerned to emphasize the ancient Germanic past.

Personal and social conflict in Beowulf are the subject of two new essays this year. Thomas L. Wymer and Erin F. Labbie examine ‘Civilized Rage in Beowulf’ (Heroic Age: A Journal of Early Medieval Northwestern Europe 7[2004] online, no pagination). They argue that the Beowulf-poet draws a sharp distinction between controlled and uncontrolled rage, with the former seen as beneficial to the development of social relations and nation and the latter seen as damaging to civil interaction and the formation of society. Joshua R. Eyler is concerned with ‘Reassessing the Wrestling in Beowulf’ (ELN 41[2004] 1–11). Rejecting Frank Peters’s earlier view that the wrestling scene between Beowulf and Grendel takes the form of hryggspenning (a type of Norse combat wrestling), Eyler proposes that the battle stems instead from a Greek/Roman wrestling tradition with which the Anglo-Saxons may have been more familiar.

Hough reminds us that the term beor refers primarily not to a malt-based drink but to a much more potent substance made from fermented fruit juices and honey, and that the phrase beore druncen should be translated as either ‘drunk with alcohol’ or ‘intoxicated by strong drink’. Alfred Bammesberger reconsiders ‘The Half-Line bea folces (Beowulf, 1124a)’ (NM 105[2004] 21–3). Reminding us that the usual translation of bea folces as ‘of both nations’ cannot be sustained on account of the fact that folces is clearly a genitive of the singular, Bammesberger argues that bea ‘of the two’ refers to Hnaef and his nephew and that the half-line should be translated as ‘of the troop of the two [men]’.

Two scholars this year draw on writings composed many centuries after Beowulf in order to elucidate the poem. Martin Puhvel identifies ‘A Seventeenth-Century Parallel to the Circling of Beowulf’s Barrow’ (NM 105[2004] 33–5). Noting that Robert Herrick’s poem ‘The Dirge of Jephthah’s Daughter: sung by the Virgins’ contains a reference to mourners verbally venting their grief while circling a grave, Puhvel argues that if this rite of mourning was practised as late as the seventeenth century, the similar instance in Beowulf most likely reflects contemporary Anglo-Saxon practice rather than the influence of ancient literatures. Pearl Ratunil investigates ‘A Letter from Benjamin Thorpe to George Oliver Concerning John Mitchell Kemble and Beowulf’ (N&Q 51[2004] 109–12). This letter, dated November 1832, was recently discovered in the University of Illinois at Chicago copy of Thorpe’s Grammar. Ratunil argues that the letter ‘not only demonstrates how the intersecting lines of communication between antiquarians of the early nineteenth century facilitated scholarship in Anglo-Saxon studies, but it also hints at the stir which the anticipated publication of Kemble’s Beowulf was rousing among English antiquarians in the closing months of 1832’ (p. 112).

An item from last year that escaped notice is David Herman and Becky Childs’s study of ‘Narrative and Cognition in Beowulf’ (Style 37[2003] 177–89). Taking Beowulf as their primary test case, Herman and Childs examine how narrative may support or enable human cognition, and how stories may help readers to organize varied and often conflicting bodies of knowledge.

9. Other Poems

Daniel Paul O’Donnell has produced two new essays on Caedmon’s Hymn. In ‘Numerical and Geometric Patterning in Caedmon’s Hymn’ (ANQ 17[2004] 3–11), O’Donnell revisits the question of whether the poem’s formal structures are the result of authorial purpose or pure chance, and concludes that ‘only in the case of the Hymn’s use of multiples of three and... perhaps its use of four and five as structural principles, does there seem to be compelling and for the most part consistent evidence that the patterns in question are an integral part of the poem’s design’ (p. 9). In ‘Bede’s Strategy in Paraphrasing Caedmon’s Hymn’ (JEGP 103[2004] 417–32), O’Donnell considers the change in tone that occurs midway through Bede’s Latin paraphrase of the Hymn. Building on Andy Orchard’s suggestion that several phrases in the second half of the Hymn can be accommodated within the Latin hexameter line, O’Donnell argues that
Bede’s adoption of hexameter cadences at this point in the *Hymn* ought to be understood as an aesthetic response to the increased variation found at this point in the Old English original. He concludes that ‘Bede’s careful substitution of Latin hexameter cadences for Cædmon’s appositive variation constitutes important, though implicit, evidence for contemporary recognition of the aesthetically important role such variation plays in Anglo-Saxon vernacular poetry’ (p. 430).

Two scholars this year shed light on the Ruthwell Crucifixion Poem, with particular attention to the relationship between word and image. Mary Dockray-Miller studies ‘Maternal Sexuality on the Ruthwell Cross’ (in Pasternack and Weston, eds., pp. 121–46). She focuses mainly on representations of the Virgin Mary and the maternal body as depicted on two of the monument’s panels (i.e. the Annunciation and the Flight into Egypt), with a brief discussion of how the runic inscriptions that comprise the Ruthwell Crucifixion Poem may contribute to readers’ understanding of these panels. By analysing the depictions of Mary on the Ruthwell monument in relation to other sculptures in which the annunciate Mary appears in a more abject position in relation to Gabriel, Dockray-Miller makes a fascinating case for the sculpture’s audience as possibly including women, and, more broadly, for expanding our understanding of sexuality to include ‘maternal sexuality’, in which the object of desire is neither male nor female but rather the experience of maternity itself. Chapter 2 of Maidie Hilmo’s *Medieval Images, Icons, and Illustrated Literary Texts: From the Ruthwell Cross to the Ellesmere Chaucer* focuses on ‘Visual and Verbal Manifestations of the Dual Nature of Christ on the Ruthwell Cross’. Hilmo shows that the runic passages and panels on the Ruthwell monument do not simply translate each other but rather create a ‘field of force’ that encourages readers to think associatively, both visually and verbally, and to recall other depictions of Christ’s divinity and humanity. She argues that the runes convey the sense that sacred mysteries must be unlocked by the viewer, and, more broadly, that ‘the Ruthwell Cross gives evidence of a developing intimacy between vernacular texts and visual manifestation, both accessible to an English audience gaining confidence in their own national identity and its expressions’ (p. 58).

Daniel Anlezark offers ‘Three Notes on the Old English *Meters of Boethius*’ (*N&Q* 51[2004] 10–15) in order to shed light on the vexed question of authorship. He focuses on three places in the *Meters* that exhibit substantial differences from the Old English prose version (and hence seem to challenge Alfredian authorship), and concludes that these differences can all be accounted for by other factors: the requirements of putting prose into verse, scribal alteration, and Alfred’s ongoing interest in ideas found in the *De consolatione philosophiae*. Graham P. Johnson investigates the ‘Mistranslation of *classica saeva* in the Old English *Boethius*’ (*ANQ* 17[2004] 12–18). Noting that Alfred mistranslates *classica* (in both the prose and verse versions) as *sciphere* ‘naval force’ rather than as ‘trumpet calls’, Johnson concludes that Alfred’s mistake can be attributed not to a poor knowledge of Latin but rather to a common and understandable mistranslation of an uncommon Latin word.
Michael Smith’s *Maldon and Other Translations* contains a new translation of *The Battle of Maldon*. Smith views his translation as heavily indebted to the poetry of Ezra Pound and Basil Bunting, and he seeks to suggest rather than to replicate the original Old English metre.

Graham D. Caie studies ‘Codicological Clues: Reading Old English Christian Poetry in its Manuscript Context’ (in Cavill, ed., pp. 1–14) via an examination of the poems in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 201. The poems in question—*Judgement Day II*, *An Exhortation to Christian Living*; *A Summons to Prayer*, *Lord’s Prayer* and *Gloria I*—are illuminated through Caie’s reading of them alongside another text in the manuscript, the ‘Benedictine Office’, as penitential literature for a lay audience. [MS]

Stefan Jurasinski offers an intriguing study of ‘The *Rime of King William* and its Analogues’ (*Neophil* 88[2004] 131–44). Jurasinski begins by reviewing what we know about this late eleventh-century end-rhymed poem that appears only in the *Peterborough Chronicle*’s 1087 entry, and then offers a thorough discussion of the poem’s subject and historical context: William the Conqueror’s establishment of the ‘New Forest’ (a Royal Game Preserve) and contemporary Norman legislation that prohibited poaching and sought to protect the liberty of forest animals. By analysing the *Rime* in the light of twelfth-century analogues, Jurasinski shows that it is not an illiterate production drawn from popular ballads, but rather a literate composition that takes its place at the head of a tradition of anti-forest polemics.

Two important items from last year escaped notice. Antonina Harbus has produced an intriguing study of ‘The Situation of Wisdom in *Solomon and Saturn II*’ (*SN* 75[2003] 97–103). She offers a detailed analysis of the vocabulary of wisdom and the enunciation of its mental context in *Solomon and Saturn II*, and argues that the poet portrays wisdom as a quality that is both innate and also capable of development through demonstration. Harbus concludes that the discussion between Solomon and Saturn, as well as Saturn’s growing appreciation for Solomon’s wisdom, effectively suggest that wisdom may be increased and defined through human exchange. Marijane Osborn writes on ‘Norse Ships at Maldon: The Cultural Context of *æschere* in the Old English Poem “The Battle of Maldon”’ (*NM* 104[2003] 261–80). Osborn’s goal is to examine the style of the ships that would have landed on the seaward side of Northey Island and thus to help modern readers envision how those ships might have signified for both the *Maldon*-poet and the Anglo-Saxons who fought at Maldon. In a richly detailed essay that moves from philological investigation of the term *æschere* (the poet’s term for the invading Viking army) to an analysis of early medieval shipbuilding practices, Osborn shows how the Norse ships that brought the *æschere* from far away ‘express the cultural implications of a larger confrontation, the Viking encroachment soon to colonize England’ (p. 277).

10. Prose

Pasternack and Weston, eds., *Sex and Sexuality in Anglo-Saxon England*, covers a wide range of prose texts as well as some poetry (the articles on which,
by Dolores Warwick Frese and Mary Dockray-Miller, are reviewed in Sections 5 and 9 above). The volume’s introduction, by Pasternack and Weston (pp. xix–xlix), provides a detailed analytical overview of scholarly work to date on medieval, and in particular Anglo-Saxon, sexualities, and outlines the essays to follow in the volume. Its first section, ‘Same-Sex Acts and Desires: Systems of Meaning’, contains R.D. Fulk, ‘Male Homoeroticism in the Old English Canons of Theodore’ (pp. 1–34), which notes that penitentials are ‘arbitrary witnesses’ (p. 7), and proceeds to retranslate and examine the chapter on fornication in both the Latin and Old English Canons of Theodore and to compare it to other Anglo-Saxon uses of sodomita, mollis and bædling. Weston’s ‘Sanctimoniales cum sanctimoniale: Particular Friendships and Female Community in Anglo-Saxon England’ (pp. 35–62) opens with the story of Torhtgyth, companion of Ethelburga, from Bede’s Historia Ecclesiastica, and uses this and other examples to suggest that such narratives of female homosocial relationships might be designed to provoke anxiety in a female audience, and thus to ‘stifle same-sex relationships’ (p. 37). Weston then shows how early penitentials and monastic rules and Rudolf of Fulda’s Life of Saint Leoba display similar anxieties about close female relationships. ‘Gregory’s Boys: The Homoerotic Production of English Whiteness’, by Kathy Lavezzo, is an illuminating study of Ælfric’s version of the story of Gregory’s encounter with the English slave-boys in Rome as an example of ‘the imbrication of national and queer desires in Anglo-Saxon England’ (p. 68). The second section, ‘Sexualities of the Virgin and the (Virgin) Mother’, contains Pasternack’s ‘The Sexual Practices of Virginity and Chastity in Aldhelm’s De virginitate’ (pp. 93–120), which offers a detailed reading of De virginitate as ‘a treatise on the sexual practices of virginity, virginitas, and sexual abstinence, castitas’ (p. 93), which has the effect of reinforcing the association of the feminine with procreation. Dockray-Miller’s study of the Ruthwell crucifixion poem is also in this section. The third and final section contains ‘The Language of Rape in Old English Literature and Law: Views from the Anglo-Saxon(ists)’ by Shari Horner (pp. 149–81), which draws on law codes, Apollonius of Tyre, saints’ lives, and other didactic texts to suggest that representation of and responses to sexual violence in Old English literature are numerous, and also ‘symptomatic of a larger concern with the regulation of the Christian subject’ (p. 151). Andrea Rossi-Reader’s ‘Embodying Christ, Embodying Nation: Ælfric’s Accounts of Saints Agatha and Lucy’ (pp. 183–202) shows how lives of female saints are particularly suited to nationalistic interpretations, and how Ælfric makes his female saints non-reproductive in life, and thereby productive for Christianity. Frese’s essay on ‘The Wife’s Lament’ and Layamon’s Brut closes this section and the collection.


Clare Stancliffe’s 2003 Jarrow Lecture, Bede, Wilfrid, and the Irish, examines what might account for the apparently contrasting views of the Irish expressed in the Historia Ecclesiastica and Eddius Stephanus’ Life of St Wilfrid.
An appendix to the essay considers ‘The Authenticity of the Relevant Sections of Theodore’s Iudicia’. In ‘Bede’s In Ezram et Neemiam and the Reform of the Northumbrian Church’ (Speculum 79[2004] 1–25) Scott DeGregorio argues for the understanding of Bede’s exegetical works as rooted in the political specifics of his situation. DeGregorio shows how In Ezram et Neemiam is concerned with monastic and pastoral reform in an identifiably Northumbrian context, and suggests that its intended audience would have been those in Wearmouth–Jarrow or neighbouring houses who were responsible for pastoral care.

The late Donald A. Bullough’s supremely thorough and long-awaited Alcuin: Reputation and Achievement was published this year. It includes a memoir of Bullough by Giles Constable (pp. xiii–xxv), and the main body of the text is organized into two parts. The first of which is ‘In Defence of the Biographical Approach’, and the second consists of four chapters: ‘Northumbrian Alcuin: Patria, Puerta and Adolescentia’, ‘Northumbrian Alcuin: Discit ut doceat’, ‘Between Two Courts’, and ‘Unsettled at Aachen’. For Kate Rambridge’s article on Alcuin, see Section 3 above.

‘Holiness and Masculinity in Aldhelm’s Opus geminatum de virginitate’ are examined by Emma Pettit (in Cullum and Lewis, eds., pp. 8–23) in order to show that Aldhelm takes two approaches to masculinity: one which offers men and women ‘a shared identity’ as ‘masculinized spiritual combatants’ (p. 17), and another which only masculinizes male saints in the act of performing miracles. Augustine Casiday writes on ‘St Aldhelm’s Bees (De virginitate prosa cc. IV–VI): Some Observations on a Literary Tradition’ (ASE 33[2004] 1–22). Through a reassessment of Aldhelm’s likely sources, Casiday shows how Aldhelm uses the simile of bees to praise the intellect and lifestyle of the nuns to whom his text is addressed.

Five essays in Olsen, Harbus, and Hofstra, eds., Miracles and the Miraculous in Medieval Germanic and Latin Literature, discuss Anglo-Latin and Old English prose. Michael Lapidge’s ‘Roman Martyrs and their Miracles in Anglo-Saxon England’ (pp. 95–120) surveys the work of Anglo-Saxon hagiographers, including Bede, the author of the Old English Martyrology and Ælfric, who draw on the passiones of Roman martyrs, and also discusses Abbo of Fleury’s Passio S. Eadmundi. An appendix to the article gives a Working Corpus of Roman Passiones Martyrum used in Anglo-Saxon England. In ‘The furtum sacrum of St Wihtburga and the Incorruption Story of St Etheldreda’ (pp. 121–39), Bea Blokhuis examines the two twelfth-century versions of the Life of Wihtburga and the Liber Eliensis to show how the former legend was used—and perhaps created—to glorify Æthelthryth and Ely Abbey. Jennifer Neville’s ‘Selves, Souls, and Bodies: The Assumption of the Virgin in Anglo-Saxon England’ (pp. 141–54) focuses on the version of this narrative in Blickling Homily XIII, and scrutinizes its apparent errors of translation to draw out its articulation of selfhood. ‘The Presentation of Native Saints and their Miracles in the Old English Translation of Bede’s Historia Ecclesiastica’, by Antonina Harbus (pp. 155–74), examines these parts of Bede’s text to show that its omissions and additions and changes of emphasis and expression produce ‘a cultural and temporal repositioning as well as a linguistic transformation’ of its source’ (p. 157). In ‘Miracle as Magic: Hagiographic Sources for a Group of Norse Mythographic Motifs?’
Philip Shaw suggests that some of the motifs used by Saxo Grammaticus could have been transmitted to Denmark via Old English homiletic texts which were available to Scandinavian settlers in England.

Alfredian prose generates more new research. Carolin Schreiber’s *King Alfred’s Old English Translation of Pope Gregory the Great’s ‘Regula Pastoralis’ and its Cultural Context* incorporates a study of the textual transmission, reception and Anglo-Saxon context for this work, and a partial edition based on Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 12, which is followed by a detailed commentary on annotations in the various manuscripts of the text. David Johnson’s ‘Mistranslation of Classical saeva in the Old English Boethius’ (*ANQ* 17:ii[2004] 12–18) continues the work of assessing the nature of the translation undertaken in this text, and shows how ‘the mistranslations themselves may provide insights into what was in and on Alfred’s mind’ (p. 12).

Alfredian literature and the context of its production are treated in seven of the essays in Reuter, ed., *Alfred the Great: Papers from the Eleventh-Century Conferences*. Michael Lapidge examines ‘Asser’s Reading’ (pp. 27–47) through a search of electronic databases of classical and Christian Latin authors, and suggests that Asser had access to a wider range of sources than was previously thought. In an appendix to the essay, Lapidge sets out the detail of his response to Alfred Smyth’s argument that Asser’s Life is a later forgery. David Howlett’s ‘Alfredian Arithmetic—Asserian Architectonics’ (pp. 49–61) draws on his earlier work to present an outline of the structure of Asser’s *Life of Alfred* and to make the case that it ‘is an integrated authentic work of architectonic genius’ (p. 49). In ‘The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and the Idea of Rome in Alfredian Literature’ (pp. 63–77), Susan Irvine begins by noting the striking *Chronicle* entry for 899, which reports that no mission to Rome happened in that year, and proceeds to investigate why this might have been so worthy of report. Irvine’s examination of references to Rome elsewhere in the *Chronicle* and representations of Rome in other Alfredian texts shows a high awareness of its significance ‘for England’s attempt to establish itself as a significant force in Christian history in the late ninth century’ (p. 77).

Janet Bately’s ‘The Alfredian Canon Revisited: One Hundred Years On’ (pp. 107–20) reviews scholarship on the extent of the canon, and on how much of it might be Alfred’s own work. Allen J. Frantzen studies ‘The Form and Function of the Preface in the Poetry and Prose of Alfred’s Reign’ (pp. 121–36). Drawing a distinction between a ‘prelude’—in which the reader overhears ‘the writer... talking to himself’—and an ‘overture’—which ‘speaks directly to the audience about the work’ (p. 125), Frantzen argues for the necessity of reading each Alfredian preface in the context of its manuscript. Malcolm Godden’s ‘The Player King: Identification and Self-Representation in King Alfred’s Writings’ (pp. 137–50) notes Alfred’s interest in dialogue literature and the voice-switching in texts associated with him, and argues that the Old English translations of the *Soliloquies* and of the *Consolation of Philosophy* ‘show a remarkable sympathy with the position of the thegn or adviser cast out of his king’s favour’ (p. 150). In ‘The Power of the Written Word: Alfredian England 871–899’ (pp. 175–97), Simon Keynes surveys scholarship on the written sources for Alfred’s reign, re-examines the evidence for the picture of a decline in learning and book production given in the
preface to the Old English Pastoral Care, and emphasizes the Alfredian regime’s reliance on the written word. Alice Sheppard’s Families of the King: Writing Identity in the ‘Anglo-Saxon Chronicle’ tracks the presentation of Alfred, Æthelred, Cnut and William in the different versions of the Chronicle, and argues for an overriding and coherent narrative which defines a kingdom and its people.

‘Diogenes the Cynic in the Scholastic Dialogues Called De raris fabulis’ is the subject of Scott Gwara’s study (ANQ 17:i[2004] 3–6), which examines apparent confusions in this text, preserved in a tenth-century manuscript from Cornwall (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 572), and suggests that these might be the result of cultural-linguistic unfamiliarity.

Ælfrician prose, including his rhythmic prose, provides a focus for more new work. Robert Upchurch’s ‘For Pastoral Care and Political Gain: Ælfric of Eynsham’s Preaching on Marital Celibacy’ (Traditio 59[2002] 39–78) focuses on Ælfric’s ideology on celibacy in marriage, as he directed it at lay audiences for his preaching texts. Through a careful study of Ælfric’s interpretations of clænnys, Upchurch highlights the importance of observant laity for Ælfric’s project, notes Ælfric’s ‘efforts to create points of contact between lay folk and reformed clergymen’ (p. 76), and argues ‘the possibility that a disdain for the married, secular clergy in England informs, if not motivates, his exhortations to the laity to practice greater asceticism and more orthodox belief’ (p. 71).

Jane Roberts’s ‘The Rich Woman and her Sealed Letter’ (ANQ 17:ii[2004] 3-6) identifies one error in the text of Ælfric’s Life of Basil and comments on its vocabulary and interpretation. ‘Self-Mastery and Submission: Holiness and Masculinity in the Lives of Anglo-Saxon Martyr Kings’, by Edward Christie (in Cullum and Lewis, eds., pp. 143–57), focuses on Ælfric’s Lives of Oswald and Edmund, and argues that ‘the category of gender, in the particular case of Anglo-Saxon martyr kings, is... implicated in the opposed categories of pagan heroism and Christian sacrifice’ (p. 155). For Thomas Bredehoft’s study of Ælfric’s rhythmic prose, see Section 4, and for Catherine E. Karkov’s article on Æthelthryth, see Section 3, above.

Wulfstan studies are hugely advanced this year with the publication of Townend, ed., Wulfstan, Archbishop of York: The Proceedings of the Second Alcuin Conference. Together, the essays in this volume offer the first thorough overview of Wulfstan’s career and writings, and open up many important new research questions. The volume’s contents are: introduction (pp. 1–8) by Townend; ‘Archbishop Wulfstan: Eleventh-Century State Builder’ (pp. 9–27) by Patrick Wormald; Richard Dance’s ‘Sound, Fury, and Signifiers; of Wulfstan’s Language’ (pp. 29–61); ‘Re-editing Wulfstan: Where’s the Point?’ (pp. 63–91) by Andy Orchard; ‘Wulfstan’s Latin Sermons’ (pp. 93–139) by Thomas N. Hall, which includes editions and translations of the Admonitio episcoporum utilis and nine Wulfstan sermons from MS Copenhagen 1595; ‘Wulfstan and Worcester: Bishop and Clergy in the Early Eleventh Century’ (pp. 141–59) by Julia Barrow; Stephen Baxter’s ‘Archbishop Wulfstan and the Administration of God’s Property’ (pp. 161–205); ‘York Minster in the Time of Wulfstan’ (pp. 207–34) by Christopher Norton; ‘The Development of Wulfstan’s Alcuin Manuscript’ (pp. 235–78) by Gareth Mann; T.A. Heslop’s ‘Art and the Man: Archbishop Wulfstan and the York Gospelbook’
Joyce Tally Lionarons also writes on ‘Textual Identity, Homiletic Reception, and Wulfstan’s Sermo ad Populum’ (RES 55[2004] 157–82). Through a comparison of the five surviving manuscript versions of this homily and its two printed editions, Lionarons demonstrates how the identity of the text is remade. The article includes a new edition of two versions of the homily.

An important contribution to both the methodology of source-study and scholarship on the much-neglected prognostications is published this year. R.M. Liuzza’s ‘What the Thunder Said: Anglo-Saxon Brontologies and the Problem of Sources’ (RES 55[2004] 1–23) uses the Anglo-Saxon prognostics for thunder as a case-study to demonstrate the limitations of ‘placing texts in a vertical relationship of source and target’ (p. 1) which obscure the complexities of the origins and use of texts which are ‘practical, information-driven, and open to alteration and improvement’ (pp. 22–3).

Richard Scott Nokes examines evidence for ‘The several compilers of Bald’s Leechbook’ (ASE 33[2004] 51–76), makes a case for the two books of Bald’s Leechbook being the product of ‘official efforts in both church and state’ (pp. 73–4), and points to evidence from the text for the existence of professional leeches, some of whom might have been monks.

The Rule of Chrodegang is now getting some of the scholarly attention it deserves from Anglo-Saxonists. Hugely useful as a resource for work on it is Brigitte Langefeld’s new edition, The Old English Version of the Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang. This provides scholars with a full introduction to the Frankish and Anglo-Saxon contexts for the Rule, to its manuscript transmission and its late tenth-century Old English translation. Langefeld gives a detailed analysis of the language of the Old English Rule, and then edits it along with the Latin version. A modern English translation and commentary on the text are also provided.

Five of the essays in Lionarons, ed., Old English Literature in its Manuscript Context, are on late Old English prose manuscripts; all are indicative of the important continuing work on the manuscript context of this material. Sharon M. Rowley and Nancy M. Thompson both write on Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 41. Rowley’s focus is ‘Nostalgia and
the Rhetoric of Lack: The Missing Exemplar for Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, Manuscript 41’ (pp. 11–35). She starts from the observation that ‘the Old English Bede as we know it does not exist in its material contexts’ (p. 11), and examines all of the manuscript’s contents in order to prompt a revision of our understanding of orthodoxy and authority. Thompson picks up the former of these topics when she examines the manuscript for ‘Anglo-Saxon Orthodoxy’ (pp. 37–65). Through a study of its apocryphal contents, in particular the *Transitus*, Thompson offers a reminder of how much about Anglo-Saxon orthodoxy is still to be understood, and of the dangers of taking Ælfric as its measure. For Robert M. Butler’s comments on this manuscript, see Section 2 above.

‘Textual Appropriation and Scribal (Re)performance in a Composite Homily: The Case for a New Edition of Wulfstan’s *De Temporibus Anticristi*’ by Joyce Tally Lionarons (pp. 67–93) examines this homily and its Old English and Latin sources and also Dorothy Bethurum’s influential edition of it, which omits an exemplum because it is deemed to be non-authorial’ (p. 80). Lionarons gives a new edition of the homily, based on the version in Oxford, Bodleian Libary, MS Hatoon 113. Melinda J. Metzer studies ‘Multilingual Glosses, Bilingual Text: English, French, and Latin in Three Manuscripts of Ælfric’s Grammar’ (pp. 95–119) to compare the ways in which the different layers of glosses work with the text in three manuscripts: Cambridge, Trinity College R.9.17; Cambridge University Library Hh.1.10; and British Library, Cotton Faustina A.x. Possible reasons for Anglo-Norman readers using the Grammar are surveyed, and Metzer concludes that ‘the linguistic and social boundaries among the three languages of post-Conquest England were porous and fluid’ (p. 119). Paul Acker’s ‘Three Tables of Contents, One Old English Homiliary in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 178’ (pp. 121–37) compares these three layers of evidence for use of the manuscript: the first by the early eleventh-century scribe of the manuscript, the second by the twelfth-century annotator of Old English texts known as the ‘Tremulous Hand’, and the third by Archbishop Parker.

Five of the essays in Cavill, ed., *The Christian Tradition in Anglo-Saxon England*, include discussion of the teaching of Old English prose. In ‘Wrestling with the Bible: Textual Problems for the Scholar and Student’ (pp. 69–90), Richard Marsden reviews biblical textual history, identifies particular textual problems for Anglo-Saxonists, and offers a very useful survey of critical editions of the Latin Bible. In ‘Doctrine and Diagrams: Maintaining the Order of the World in *Byrhtferth’s Enchiridion*’ (pp. 121–37), Philippa Semper shows how this text, and in particular its diagrams, can aid our understanding of Anglo-Saxon Christian approaches to ordering the world, and serve as a reminder that ‘the “Christian tradition” cannot be identified as a simple entity’ (p. 137). Dabney Anderson Bankert’s ‘Medieval Conversion Narratives: Research Problems and Pedagogical Opportunities’ (pp. 141–52) reports on using in class different interpretative approaches to examples from Bede’s *Historia Ecclesiastica* and Ælfric’s *Lives of Saints*. Hugh Magennis’s ‘Approaches to Saints’ Lives’ (pp. 163–83) focuses on genre, suggests teaching strategies for students new to this material, and includes a very useful survey of bibliographical resources. ‘Men ða leofestan: Genre, the Canon, and the
Old English Homiletic Tradition’, by Mary Swan (pp. 185–92), notes ‘the very slight and skewed presence of Old English homilies in undergraduate courses’ (p. 185) and offers some ways of approaching these texts for teachers of students unfamiliar with them.

Philip Shaw’s ‘A Dead Killer? Saint Mercurius, Killer of Julian the Apostle, in the Works of William of Malmesbury’ (LeedsSE 35[2004] 1–22) tracks the development in eleventh- and twelfth-century England of the story of the killing of Julian and shows how it was transmitted through different types of Marian texts.

A very valuable study and edition of Goscelin of Saint-Bertin: The Hagiography of the Female Saints of Ely is published this year by Rosalind C. Love. The volume’s substantial introduction charts the cults of these saints from the late seventh century onwards, describes the manuscripts in which their Lives were recorded, almost all of which originate from Ely in the twelfth century, and then discusses the hagiographic and other traditions for Æthelthryth, Werburh, Wihtburh, Seaxburh and Eormenhild. Love edits and translates Goscelin’s Lectiones in festiuitate S. Sexburgh, Lectiones in natale S. Eormenfulide, Vita S. Werburge, Vita S. Wihtburge and the Miracula S. Ætheldredethe and the Vita Beate Sexburge Regine. The appendices provide editions of the two recensions of the Vita S. Ætheldredethe and of the Miracula S. Wihtburge.

David Townsend’s article on the Old English Apollonius of Tyre and Oliver Traxel’s study of Cambridge, University Library II. 1. 33 are reviewed in Section 3 above.

Books Reviewed


