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by one of the contributors to the book. The Aragon itinerary presents views of Daroca, Zaragoza, Barcelona, Valencia, and Tarragona among other cities. For example, van den Wyngaerde's view of the Aragonese capital of Zaragoza, as introduced by Kagan, shows the city to its advantage. Depicted from an imagined vantage point, Zaragoza was a wealthy and prosperous city; local landmarks such as the Jesuit college and the bridge over the Ebro are identifiable. Other landmarks in the scene, such as the cathedral, are exaggerated to provide the viewer with definite focal points. Present in the picture are the surrounding agricultural districts, completing the view of Zaragoza.

Included in the Aragon itinerary is the view of Monzón, a small but important Aragonese town. van den Wyngaerde probably traveled here with the royal court. Fernando Marías gives the viewer a short guided tour through the scene, pointing out the more noteworthy sites, such as the town's brothels, slaughterhouses, walled gardens, and monastery. Such telling descriptions are available for other cities in any of the given itineraries.

The volume has been expensively and exquisitely produced; the reproductions convey the subtle browns and grays in the shading of van den Wyngaerde's washes and successfully convey the detail of his work. Many of the city views fold out, enabling the reader to see the entire view of the city unobstructed. This book is valuable to the historian of Spain or renaissance city planning as well as to the art historian, detailing the methods used by van den Wyngaerde and gathering together his works, which have been dispersed to various cities in Europe. *Spanish Cities of the Golden Age* makes many important contributions, but perhaps its greatest achievement is that it has collected into one volume historically and topographically accurate representations of sixteenth-century Spanish cities.

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**Nicholas Howe**, *Migration and Mythmaking in Anglo-Saxon England*.  
New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1989. xiii + 198.

In this no-thrills survey of what he views as the governing myth of Anglo-Saxon cultural identity, Nicholas Howe suggests that Bede, Boniface, Wulfstan, and the *Exodus*- and *Beowulf*-poets conceptualized the ancestral fifth-century migration to England "as a founding event in the ec-

clesiastical history of the Anglo-Saxons" (143). His main assumption is that the Anglo-Saxons defined themselves as a Christian *folc* by equating themselves with the chosen race of Israel. Even as the Israelites had to cross the Red Sea before obtaining the "New" Law of Moses, so the Channel migration served as a necessary forerunner of the English nation's conversion. The memory of tribal migration shared among the settlers' descendants thus gave their continued occupation of England a "theological warrant" as they faced the increasing threat of Danish invasion.

Howe's initial suppositions intrigue, for they seem to promise supporting exemplification of the tendency whereby early medieval propagandists patterned definitions of kingship and government upon Old Testament precursors. Yet he fails to develop his discussion beyond the general observation that the migration myth provided the politically fragmented Anglo-Saxon peoples with a much-needed symbol of cultural unity. His study does little more than list examples of migration and biblical exodus in texts that are already so thoroughly analyzed that his readings tend toward redundancy. As Howe struggles to give some coherent meaning to this interesting but scattered listing, he relies upon specious reasoning and a constant qualification of pertinent information to carry his argument.

The overly general nature of Howe's study becomes apparent as soon as he tries to rationalize his position on the tricky issue of whether the Anglo-Saxons ever had a sense of communal identity. While he concedes throughout his book that the English were hardly a politically or even linguistically unified race at this time, he maintains that they nonetheless required and achieved a cultural oneness through the "spiritual ideal" of migration as religious conversion. Granted that Patrick Wormald and others have already examined how Christianity provided a cultural meeting point for the Anglo-Saxons (cf. Wormald's article in *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society: Studies Presented to J. M. Wallace-Hadrill*. Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1983), one might expect Howe to explain how and, more importantly, why his variation upon their work provides "a more encompassing vision of the past than Wormald acknowledges" (6). An account of how myth actually shapes historical perspective in semiliterate societies might give his project greater depth. Yet Howe ignores the greater implications of his topic, attempting to support his equation of migration with conversion through constant repetition of his thesis rather than careful definition of it.

Chapters One and Two detail the making and persistence of the migration myth. According to Howe, the Anglo-Saxons began early to distinguish themselves from their continental relatives as a nation destined for salvation. In the single most provocative statement of the book, he suggests

that they consequently conceived of salvation history more in terms of geography than of chronological time: "As they understood, the movement from continental origins to island home embodied the movement from past to present. By evoking the geography of the northern world, the myth translated chronology into a spatial pattern" (34).

This may strike the reader as an idea more characteristic of modernist writers like Gertrude Stein or William Gass than of Boniface or Bede. Yet Howe's presentation of vernacular references to a pattern of geographical migration from a pagan homeland via the sea to a Christian island at first seems plausible. Wulfstan adds urgency to his plea for reform in *Sermo ad Anglos* by citing Gildas's account of an earlier people who for their sins were vanquished by tribes destined for salvation. Bede stresses the motif of the ocean voyage as a means of grace by jumping from his description of the Anglo-Saxon invasions immediately to Augustine's crossing. Boniface consciously reenacts the Augustinian mission by sailing back over the Channel to Germany and subsequently implies in his letters that the hardships of mariners serve as metaphors for the difficulties of conversion.

The problem with Howe's approach, however, is that his definition of the Exodus as a type for the English migration is so broad that the tenors of the metaphor constantly change, a fact he cheerfully downplays. For instance, he remarks that Gildas's description of the British as a "latter-day Israel" aligns Vortigern with Pharaoh and his councillors with the princes of Zoan. Howe then illogically surmises that the Anglo-Saxon mercenaries employed by the king would in turn be taken by Gildas's English readers as the chosen race of Israel. While he admits that "In a literal reading, geography negates the typology because the Germanic tribes journeyed to this Egypt rather than out of it," he decides that "In a more suggestive reading, geography contains the pattern rather than the direction of experience; the ancestors of the Anglo-Saxons did cross a sea to reach their promised land" (46). The pattern, it seems, allows for numerous variations. Wulfstan can envision his people both as the descendants of a chosen, Israelite-like race *and* as sinners now subject to bondage in the tradition of the premigration Hebrews. Boniface becomes a type of auto-reversed Moses, carrying the "New Law" back across a sea to ancestral nations still imprisoned by paganism. Such readings are indeed "suggestive."

Like most myths of origin, then, Howe's claims something of the wide-ranging applicability and variability of the archetypal. In order to posit the continuity of his myth, he is only too ready to cite passages out of context and to overauthorize brief references to migration. Bede's depiction of the Anglo-Saxon and Augustinian voyages, which comprises little more than

the first book of the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, suddenly makes the work "a vernacular epic of migration" (63); Howe concludes that

While admitting the randomness of manuscript survival, I suspect no migration epic was ever composed in Anglo-Saxon England precisely because Bede had preempted the subject in his *Historia*. His vision of the migration and its effects on the culture was at once so encompassing and accessible that it left little room for another version of the story. (145)

He reads an implied allusion to the 440s invasion into the *Chronicle* entry for 793, arguing that the burnt church at Lindisfarne is meant to embody English Christianity. The sinful Anglo-Saxons, like their British forbears, must defend the island from heathen sailors as migration once more shapes history. And, in an elaborately contrived argument for Boniface's dependence upon the migration myth as inspiration for his mission, Howe misreads the saint's c. 738 letter to the English. In the excerpt quoted, Boniface urges his brethren to pity the Saxons, saying that they cry, "de uno sanguine et de uno osse sumus" (127). Howe, desiring to confirm the contrast between the Christian English and their pagan relatives, overliteralizes the quote, stating that it is "the Saxons' reference to their elemental nature as physical beings. . . . these pagans can express only their physical being; they are destitute of a spiritual language such as that used by Boniface to inspire the English to assist his mission" (127). For nonspiritual language, this is markedly reminiscent of the communal celebration of holy mass. Since Boniface here pleads for support of his mission, it makes sense that he would use the imagery of the sacrament he is trying to promote.

Howe's concluding chapter, "Beowulf and the Ancestral Homeland," is largely derivative and hardly contributes to the development his sole premise so sadly needs. Again his rationale thrives on non sequiturs. The poem, he believes, was meant as a premigration epic (since Bede, as we have seen, wrote the definitive migration tale, the *Beowulf*-poet had to content himself with recalling a preconversion narrative set in the ancestral homeland). Howe follows Beowulf as he moves from place to place in the pagan north, a land where renown was measured by how far it spreads geographically rather than by how it lasted through time. The poet's point is to show his English readers how their ancestral homeland was and remained a place of spiritual bondage, a place where the Old Law still ruled. Howe's association of the Hebrew and Anglo-Saxon exoduses with their reception of a saving "New Law" is rather confused in its terminology, for

his description of Mosaic law as "New" conflates it with the New Testament law of mercy when it should be classified as part of the "ealde riht." Although he tries to clarify the difference when he notes that the northern homeland would have been seen by the Anglo-Saxons as being under the governance of the "ealde riht," his often-repeated identification of salvation and migration tends to skew the definition. At any rate, Beowulf, in some ways a hero too visionary for his time, is forced to die under the old dispensation. His death destroys the fragile political geography of the north and marginalizes the Geats in history. In another example of specious reasoning, Howe states that the Anglo-Saxon poet chose a Geatish hero because the nation "had no role in the insular history of the Anglo-Saxons" (170) and there was no later Geatish conversion. The Geats died in Egypt, an apposite lesson to the Anglo-Saxons upon the value of their migration and concomitant conversion.

Howe's book does not lack value. When he has a text appropriate to his thesis, which he indeed finds in the Old English *Exodus*, his argument for the interconnection of migration and conversion as the defining elements of Anglo-Saxon cultural identity holds some probability. Despite his questionable use of supportive evidence, Howe has attempted the type of study that we should see more of in Anglo-Saxon literary scholarship. His focus upon geography as a force in a culture's cognitive ordering of its historical identity is brilliant, albeit poorly developed. *Migration and Mythmaking in Anglo-Saxon England* is not an exceptional piece of scholarship, but it may well be a central influence upon later works that are.

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**Gisèle Mathieu-Castellani**, *Montaigne: l'écriture de l'essai*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1988. 269.

In its reflection on some of Montaigne's *Essais*, this book skillfully conjugates two approaches, either one of which could be deemed imperialist, reductive or damaging if it were not tempered by the other. The first of these approaches gives voice to Mathieu-Castellani's consummately perceptive eye, which can follow the pulsating veins of a text and trace their bodily networks with convincing virtuosity. Her performance as *suffisant lecteur* thus answers remarkably Jules Brody's philological precepts in his *Lectures de Montaigne* (Lexington, Ky.: French Forum, 1982), and dis-