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Reviews:

The Cross in *The Dream of the Rood*: Martyr, Patron and Image of Christ

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The Old English poem, *The Dream of the Rood*, exists in two main versions: two brief extracts carved in runes on the Ruthwell Cross in Dumfriesshire and a much longer text in a tenth-century manuscript at Vercelli in northern Italy.[1] The runic inscriptions on the Ruthwell Cross are accompanied by carvings of biblical scenes and scenes connected with the eucharist which relate Christ's death on the cross to the Lenten themes of initiation and repentance.[2] The Vercelli text, on the other hand, encloses the cross's description of Christ's death within passages celebrating the cross itself, the gold and jewels with which relics of the cross were covered, the veneration offered to these relics and to other crosses, and the role of the cross as Christ's messenger leading the dying believer into God's banqueting hall. The Ruthwell Cross therefore adopts a historical and liturgical approach to the subject of Christ's death, whereas *The Dream of the Rood* is more concerned with individual devotion. As Eamonn Ó Carragáin says, 'The *Dream* subordinates historical realism to theological coherence.'[3]

The opening vision of the poem (ll. 1-23) describes an object which constantly shifts its shape from jewelled treasure to towering tree, sometimes streaming with blood, at other times honoured with garments. It is only when the sign seen by the dreamer begins to speak, describing Christ's death and its own role in that death (ll. 24-94), that the reader or listener realizes that the vision is of the cross on which Christ died. But the enigma of the opening lines of the poem is only finally solved through the address by the cross to the dreamer (ll. 95-121) and, finally, the dreamer's own reflections on what he has seen and heard (ll. 122-56). In a sense, therefore, the poem needs to be studied in reverse order, starting with its third and fourth sections (ll. 95-156).

The address by the cross to the dreamer (ll. 95-121) interprets the account of Christ's death and the part played in that death by the cross in relation to the

Last Judgement, when Christ will ask where the man is who is willing to taste death as he did on the cross:

> Frineð he for þære mænige hwær se man sie,
> se ðe for Dryhtnes naman deaðes wolde
> biteres onbyrigan, swa he ær on ðam beame dyde.
> *(Dream of the Rood*, ll. 112-14)
> [He will ask before the multitude, where the man is who for the
> Lord's name would be willing to taste bitter death as he once did
> upon the cross.]

The lines recall Christ's words in the gospels, 'Anyone who does not take his cross and follow in my footsteps is not worthy of me' (Matt. 10.39, see also Matt. 16.24, Mark 8.34, Luke 9.23). There is, therefore, a requirement of martyrdom for those hoping to enter heaven. As the poet says,

> Ac ðurh ða rode sceal rice gesecan,
> of eorðwege æghwylc sawl,
> seo þe mid Wealdende wunian þenceð.
> *(Dream of the Rood*, ll. 119-21)
> [But every soul that thinks to live with the Ruler must, on its path
> from the earth, seek the kingdom through the cross.]

The cross claims that suffering alongside Christ is the means to salvation. The dreamer, on the other hand, concludes that salvation depends on devotion to the cross, which becomes his patron and protector, his *mundbyrd* who will lead him into heaven, where he will join his friends and all the saints at God's banqueting table (ll. 122-56). The image of the divine feast derives ultimately from Christ's words to his disciples at the Last Supper in St Luke's Gospel: 'Now I confer a kingdom on you, just as my Father conferred one on me; you will eat and drink at my table in my kingdom, and you will sit on thrones to judge the twelve tribes of Israel' (Luke 22.29-30), but it is also a common theme in the fourth-century paintings in the Roman catacombs. Early Christian funerary art tended to pass over the fact of death; instead, the deceased person was shown alive in Paradise, standing as an orant in a flowery landscape[4] or seated at a banqueting table accompanied by figures labelled 'Irene' and 'Agape' who serve those seated at table.[5] The banquet scene is adapted from representations of the eucharist or of

the miracle at the Marriage of Cana, both of which were interpreted as symbols of the life of heaven.[6] This image of the heavenly banquet is essentially an early Christian one, but it is still found in the prayers of the early ninth-century Book of Nunnaminster, the Royal Prayerbook and the Book of Cerne. The prayer of S. John the Evangelist in the Book of Cerne calls on Christ to lead the penitent 'ad convivium aepularum tuarum, ubi aepulantur omnes amici tui tecum'.[7] The Book of Nunnaminster talks of the wedding banquet which the penitent hopes to enter, clothed in a wedding garment[8] and in a prayer about the Last Judgement asks to hear Christ saying, 'Venite benedicti Patris mei, percipite regnum quod vobis paratum est ab origine mundi, ubi sancti sine fine requiescunt, et ibi aepulentur omnes amici tui'.[9] The version of this prayer in the Royal Prayerbook visualizes Christ at the Last Judgement wiping away the speaker's sins and calling the blessed into the kingdom prepared for them from the beginning of the world. 'Tunc', says the penitent, 'introduc me in thalamum regni tui ubi epulantur tecum omnes amici tui' [Then, introduce me into the wedding hall of your kingdom, where all your friends feast with you].[10] Whereas in this prayer it is Christ who leads the penitent into heaven, in the catacomb paintings the deceased person is led into heaven by a saint. For example, a painting in the Catacomb of Domitilla dated shortly after 356 shows Veneranda led into Paradise by S. Petronilla, and a slightly earlier painting in the Hypogeum of the Syncretists shows Vibia led into Paradise to take part in the banquet which is depicted to the right of the scene.[11]

In *The Dream of the Rood* the role taken in these paintings by the saints is transferred to the cross, a detail which links the Old English poem to early Christian representations of the martyrs and to the cult of the saints. Whereas in the earliest of the catacomb paintings God's power to save the believer is represented by pictures of incidents from the Old and New Testaments such as the saving of Isaac from death at his father's hands or Daniel in the lions' den, the mosaics in the basilicas erected after Constantine's conversion to Christianity extend the theme of deliverance to show the miraculous triumph over death of the martyrs as the result of divine intervention. These mosaics not only show saints being introduced into heaven by more senior saints, as in the sixth-century apse mosaic of the church of SS. Cosmas and Damian,[12] but introduce a new theme: that of the martyr standing next to a jewelled cross or offering a crown to Christ. The church of S. Stefano Rotondo, built in imitation of the church of the Holy Sepulchre between 468 and 483, contains a chapel with a mosaic celebrating the transfer during the pontificate of Theodore I (642-49) of the relics of the martyred

saints Primus and Felician. The mosaic shows the two saints standing beside a jewelled cross which is surmounted by a bust of Christ. The cross is thought to represent the cross erected by Constantine on the rock of Golgotha in the early fourth century.[13] In the apse mosaic of the sixth-century basilica of S. Apollinare in Classe, Ravenna, S. Apollinaris stands in a flowery landscape, raising his hands towards a jewelled cross which is outlined against a starry sky. The cross, which is accompanied by the *alpha* and *omega* and the words *salus mundi*, has a representation of Christ's head at its centre and symbolizes the relics of the cross, encased in gold and jewels, the cross which will appear in the sky at the Last Judgement, and Christ himself, the beginning and the end, the salvation of the world. The saint, shown in an attitude of prayer behind the altar of the church, not only intercedes for other Christians but, by standing next to the cross, shows that his sacrifice is modelled on Christ's and that he owes his victory to him.[14]

Like the martyrs, the cross of *The Dream of the Rood* owes its power of intercession to its imitation of Christ, in sharing his death on the cross. Like Christ, it still bears the marks of the nails:

> Þurhdrifan hi me mid deorcan næglum; on me syndon þa dolg gesiene,
> opene inwidhlemmas. Ne dorste ic hira nænigum sceððan.
> Bysmeredon hie unc butu ætgædere. Eall ic wæs mid blode bestemed,
> begoten of þæs guman sidan, siððan he hæfde his gast onsended.
> *(Dream of the Rood*, ll. 46-49)
>
> [They drove me through with with dark nails: the wounds are visible upon me, open, malicious gashes. I did not dare harm any of them. They mocked us both together. I was all drenched with blood poured out from the man's side after he had sent forth his spirit.]

Like Christ, the cross is taken down from its place and buried in the earth; like Christ it enjoys a resurrection and glorification:

> Þa us man fyllan ongan
> ealle to eorðan; þæt wæs egeslic wyrd!
> Bedealf us man on deopan seaþe. Hwæðre me þær Dryhtnes
>   þegnas,
> freondas gefrunon,
> gyredon me golde ond seolfre.
> *(Dream of the Rood*, ll. 73-77)

[Then men began to cut us all down to the ground: that was a terrible fate. They buried us in a deep pit. However, the Lord's servants, his friends, found me there, decked me with gold and silver.]

But the cross of *The Dream of the Rood* does not simply imitate Christ. Like the cross in the apse mosaic of S. Apollinare in Classe and the jewelled crosses crowned with a head of Christ which replace the figure of the crucified Christ on some of the sixth-century Palestinian ampullae at Monza,[15] or the jewel-studded cross adored by angels on a sixth-century silver paten at Leningrad,[16] the jewelled cross of the opening vision of the poem is a symbol of Christ himself. It is seen once to have bled on the right side (ll. 19-20); it changes constantly from an object covered in treasure to something dripping with blood; it is adored by men, angels and the whole of creation (ll. 11-12).

This identification of cross and Christ is developed through two other images in the opening lines of the poem: the tree towering up to heaven (ll. 4-5) and the tree of victory, honoured with garments (ll. 13-15). Parallels to both symbols can be found in early Christian art. Just as the cross of the poem is both a jewelled object and a tree, so the jewelled cross depicted on the Leningrad paten stands on a star-covered globe, representing the cosmos, and above a representation of the four rivers of Paradise, linking it to the Tree of Life in the Garden of Eden (Genesis 2.9) and the tree by the River of Life in the Apocalypse (Apoc. 22.2). The same idea is expressed by the scene on three of the Monza ampullae where the central cross in the crucifixion scene is shown covered with leaves to symbolize Christ as the true Tree of Life.[17] The theme of Christ as the Tree of Life is further developed on two of the sixth-century ampullae at Bobbio where the tree-cross symbolizes the risen and glorified Christ. The first ampulla shows a cross composed of leafy branches set against a star-covered mandorla and accompanied by two standing angels; above the cross is a bust of Christ and below it is a rocky hill which represents Golgotha. The second shows a similar cross, again accompanied by two standing angels, and, above, a representation of Christ enthroned within a star-studded mandorla supported by two flying angels.[18]

The identification of Christ with the Tree of Life is not confined to the art of the period. Early theologians regularly identified Christ as the Tree of Life, drawing on a verse from the Apocalypse which states, 'If anyone has ears to hear, let him listen to what the Spirit is saying to the churches: those who prove victorious I will feed from the tree of life set in God's paradise' (Apoc. 2.7). Ambrose, commenting on the Apocalypse, says, 'Paradisus igitur Ecclesiam

significat: lignum vero vitae in medio paradisi Christus est in medio Ecclesiae suae' [Therefore Paradise symbolizes the church; the Tree of Life in the centre of Paradise is Christ in the middle of his church].[19] Bede describes the Tree of Life in the Garden of Eden as a figure of Christ and claims that the angel was placed at the entrance to Eden after the Fall in case 'ad lignum vitae, qui est Christus Dominus, penetrare concupiscimus' [in case we wished to go in to the Tree of Life, which is Christ the Lord].[20] He quotes Augustine, who says of human destiny, 'Esse autem ibi cum Christo, hoc est esse cum vitae ligno' [For to be there with Christ is to be with the Tree of Life].[21] The identification of Christ with the Tree of Life became the norm in the early mediaeval period. Paschasius Radbertus in his treatise on the eucharist says, 'Arbor quidem ligni vitae Christus nunc in ecclesia est cuius imago in paradiso arbor illa fuit' [The tree of the wood of life is now Christ in the church, whose image was that tree in Paradise].[22] Ælfric says in the *Hexameron*, 'ðæt we inn moton gaan to ðam upplican Paradise, to ðam lifes treowe, ðæt is se leofa Hælend, ðe ðæt ece lif forgifð ðam ðe hine lufiað' [that we may go in to that Paradise above, to the Tree of Life, that is the beloved Saviour who gives eternal life to those who love him].[23] The identification of Christ with the Tree of Life is found, too, in the liturgy for the Feast of the Invention of the Cross in a prayer included in the eighth-century Sacramentary of Gellone and, later, in the section of the Leofric Missal compiled originally for Plegmund, archbishop of Canterbury (890-923):[24]

> Deus cui cunctae oboediunt creaturae et omnia verbo tuae fecisti
> in sapientia, supplices quesumus ineffabilem clementiam tuam, ut
> quos per lignum sanctae crucis filii tui pio cruore es dignatus
> redimere, tu qui es lignum vitae paradisique reparator, omnibus in te
> credentibus dira serpentis venena extinguas, et per gratiam spiritus
> sancti, poculum salutis semper infundas, Per eundem dominum.[25]
> [O God whom all creatures obey, and who have made everything
> in wisdom through your word, we humbly beg your ineffable
> mercy that, through the grace of the Holy Spirit, you who are the
> Tree of Life and the restorer of Paradise will constantly pour out
> the cup of salvation on those whom you deigned to redeem
> through the wood of the holy cross and the sacred blood of your
> son, and will extinguish the dreadful poison of the serpent for all
> who believe in you, through the same Lord.]

The cross of the opening vision of *The Dream of the Rood*, therefore, represents the relics of the cross, encased in gold and jewels and venerated by humans, the Tree of Life in the Garden of Eden and in God's new creation, and Christ himself who is symbolized by the jewelled crosses of S. Stefano Rotondo and S. Apollinare in Classe. and by the tree-crosses which replace the figure of Christ on the Monza and Bobbio ampullae. But the cross of the opening vision is also honoured with garments (l. 15) and changes in hangings and colours (l. 22), details which introduce a third symbol of Christ: the trophy which celebrates an imperial victory.

It is sometimes suggested that the changing colours of the cross in the opening lines of *The Dream of the Rood* refer to changes in the type of cross or crucifix carried at different times in the liturgical year or to the different liturgical colours, while the garments have been associated with the veils which covered statues and images during Lent and which were removed at Easter.[26] There is no indication that the poet was thinking in liturgical terms, however: the whole emphasis of the poem is eschatological and focuses on the death of the poet and the final judgement. A more convincing suggestion is that the cross is clothed in light (l. 5, *leohte bewunden*), by analogy with the light which surrounds Christ, who is described in Psalm 103.2 as *amictus lumine sicut vestimento*.[27] There is, however, another possibility.

In an article on *The Dream of the Rood* published in 1970, I suggested that the description of the cross as honoured with garments was a reference to a trophy-cross in which a purple imperial robe was draped across the arms of the cross in the manner of the military trophies of the classical period.[28] The parallels I gave—a carving of a trophy-cross from Aïoun-Berich in North Africa, a fragment of a fourth-century sarcophagus in the Lateran, and the vault mosaic from the Arian Baptistry at Ravenna, which shows a procession of apostles approaching a cross draped with a purple cloth—were all Mediterranean, and I could point to no English examples of this iconography. It is now possible to rectify this omission, and to show that the trophy-cross was known to English artists in the eighth century.

A ninth-century manuscript of Sedulius's *Carmen paschale* in the Plantin-Moretus Museum at Antwerp contains a picture of a trophy-cross accompanied by symbols of the four evangelists.[29] The cross is draped with a cloth which hangs in a deep curve in front of the cross-bar like the military cloak of classical trophies and the drapery on the trophy-cross from Aïoun-Berich mentioned above. The Antwerp manuscript was written at Liège but is believed to have been copied

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from an Anglo-Saxon manuscript of the eighth century which derived either directly or indirectly from a copy of the *Carmen paschale* brought to England in the early eighth century by Cuthwine, Bishop of Dunwich.[30] Bede states that Cuthwine brought an illustrated copy of the life of St Paul from Rome to England and it has been suggested on the basis of an inscription on f. 68v of the Antwerp manuscript that he also owned an illustrated copy of Sedulius's poem.[31]

The representation of the draped cross in the Antwerp Sedulius manuscript illustrates a passage towards the end of Book I of the *Carmen paschale*. The lines immediately adjacent to the picture describe the four beasts of the Apocalypse, who symbolize the four evangelists, singing with one voice in praise of Christ:

> Quatuor hi proceres una te voce canentes
> Tempora ceu totidem latum sparguntur in orbem.
> [Of you these four with one voice sing aloud as do the seasons
> spread upon the earth].[32]

The lines are based on the description of the four beasts who stand before God's throne in the Apocalypse and who sing to God, 'Holy, holy, holy is the Lord God, the Almighty; he was, he is and he is to come' (Apoc. 4.6-8). Early mediaeval artists interpreted this scene in several different ways. Carolingian manuscript art regularly depicts the *Agnus Dei*, or an enthroned figure of Christ, surrounded by representations of the four evangelists and their symbols.[33] In Hiberno-Saxon gospel-books the unity of the gospels is often symbolized by a design of a cross, representing Christ, surrounded by the symbols of the evangelists.[34] A similar motif is seen in a fourth-century mosaic in the church of Santa Pudenziana in Rome which shows Christ seated among his apostles; at the top of the scene is a jewelled cross with symbols of the evangelists arranged two to each side.[35] The scene as a whole represents the heavenly Jerusalem. The design on the triumphal arch of the basilica of Sancta Maria Maggiore, Rome, shows a jewelled cross standing on a throne below which is the sealed scroll of the Apocalypse (Apoc. 5.1); to the sides are representations of SS. Peter and Paul, together with symbols of the evangelists.[36] Like the jewelled crosses in these mosaics, the draped cross of the Sedulius manuscript is a symbol of Christ and the reference in the text to the beasts singing *una voce* links the scene to statements such as that in Jerome's preface to the gospels, the *Plures fuisse*, that the four gospels, though differing in details, sprang from a single source, namely Christ.[37] But whereas the enthroned or jewelled crosses emphasize Christ's royal and glorified status, the trophy-cross

stresses his victory over death. Like the representation of Christ triumphing over the asp and the basilisk in the Archiepiscopal Chapel, Ravenna, where Christ is dressed in the armour and purple cloak of the Roman emperors, or the representation of the Harrowing of Hell in the ninth-century Stuttgart Psalter[38] where Christ still wears the imperial purple cloak, the trophy-cross adapts a motif from Roman imperial art to present Christ's death on the cross as a military victory.[39] The passage which precedes the description of the evangelists praising Christ in the *Carmen paschale* describes heaven, the goal of those who fight in Christ's army, as follows:

> En signo sacrata crucis vexilla coruscant,
> En regis pia castra micant, tuba clamat erilis,
> Militibus sua porta patet: qui militat intret,
> Ianua vos aeterna vocat, quae ianua Christus.
> Aurea perpetuae capietis praemia vitae,
> Arma quibus Domini tota virtute geruntur
> Et fixum est in fronte decus.
> [Behold the streaming banners of the Cross, behold the gleaming bulwarks of the King, the lordly trumpet sounds, the gates swing free, the everlasting door invites all those who soldier for the Lord—the door is Christ. The golden gains of everlasting life await you there, who bear the arms of Christ with honour and his ensign in the van.][40]

The trophy-cross pictured in the Sedulius manuscript would be an appropriate illustration of this passage with its military imagery. And there are other military images in the poem. For example, Christ's death is described as a military victory and his resurrection is celebrated by the gift of a trophy to the day on which it occurred.[41]

Sedulius's poem, which is an epic narrative, is very different from *The Dream of the Rood*; they do, however, share a number of details in their treatment of the subject of Christ's death. In the *Carmen paschale* Christ embraces the cross in order to rule over the world and in *The Dream of the Rood* the cross raises up the powerful king.[42] Christ is described as the young hero, 'ongyrede hine þa geong hæleð' (l. 39) and the cross is described as wounded with arrows, 'eall ic wæs mid strælum forwundod' (l. 62). In both poems the natural world weeps at Christ's death,[43] and in both, there is great stress on the darkness which covered the world at Christ's death.[44] The last theme is, of course, well-known[45] and there is therefore no

need to suggest direct influence from Sedulius on *The Dream of the Rood*.[46] On the other hand, the *Carmen paschale* was a standard school-book in the early Middle Ages and was well-known in Anglo-Saxon England.[47] It is therefore possible that it contributed to the approach to the subject of Christ's death in *The Dream of the Rood* even though it was clearly not its main source, and that it was from an illustrated copy of the *Carmen paschale* that the poet took the idea of representing the cross as a trophy draped with a military cloak.

There are, however, other possibilities, for the cross is regularly described as a trophy. Venantius Fortunatus's hymn, *Pange lingua*, opens with the following lines:

> Pange, lingua, gloriosi prelium certaminis
> et super crucis tropheo dic triumphum nobile,
> qualiter redemptor orbis immolatus vicerit.
> [Sing, my tongue, the glorious battle,
> Sing the ending of the fray;
> Now above the Cross, the trophy,
> Sound the loud triumphant lay;
> Tell how Christ, the world's Redeemer,
> As a Victim won the day.][48]

Bede begins a hymn for the Feast of S. Andrew with the following words:

> Salve, tropaeum gloriae,
> Salve, sacrum victoriae
> Signum, Deus quo perditum
> Mundum redemit mortuus![49]
> [Hail, trophy of glory, hail holy sign of victory,
> by which a dead God redeemed a lost world.]

Ambrose describes Christ stripping himself in terms of a king laying aside his *regalia vestimenta*. and, commenting on Simon of Cyrene carrying Christ's cross, says, 'Sed iam tropaeum suum victor adtollat'.[50] Simon, who follows behind Christ, is like the servant who carries the victor's trophy. The royal theme, of the emperor with his purple robes and the trophy which celebrates his victory over his enemies, is seen again in Augustine's commentary on Psalm 90 where he says, 'In ipso tabernaculo [the flesh] Imperator militavit pro nobis'.[51] Bede, describing Oswald erecting a wooden cross before the battle of Heavenfield and, like

Constantine before the battle at the Milvian Bridge, calling on God to help him, refers to the cross as a trophy: the place of battle, he says, is called 'Caelestis Campus, quod certo utique praesagio futurorum antiquitus nomen accepit; significans nimirum quod ibidem caeleste erigendum tropeum, caelestis inchoanda victoria, caelestia usque hodie forent miracula celebranda' [This place is called in English Heavenfield, and in Latin Caelestis campus, a name which it certainly received in days of old as an omen of future happenings; it signified that a heavenly sign was to be erected there, a heavenly victory won, and that heavenly miracles were to take place there continuing to this day.][52]

To those familiar with the themes of early Christian art and literature, therefore, the opening passage of *The Dream of the Rood* hints at a very complex symbolism. In relation to the cross itself the poem celebrates the veneration of the relics of the cross, the role of the cross as the tree on which Christ, the second Adam, did away with the punishment incurred by the first Adam when he ate the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge, the cross's participation in Christ's sufferings and consequent sharing in his triumph and, finally, the cross's status as the trophy which celebrates Christ's victory over death. In relation to Christ himself the shifting vision recalls Christ's glorified status after his resurrection, contrasting it with his body bleeding on the cross, his role as the one who gives the fruit of eternal life to his followers and his great victory over death, a death which the poet now faces. As the poet says,

> Se Sunu wæs sigorfæst on þam siðfæte,
> mihtig ond spedig, þa he mid manigeo com,
> gasta weorode, on Godes rice,
> Anwealda ælmihtig, englum to blisse,
> ond eallum ðam halgum þam þe on heofonum ær
> wunedon on wuldre, þa heora Wealdend cwom,
> ælmihtig god, þær his eðel wæs.
>
> > (*Dream of the Rood*, ll. 150-56)
>
> [The Son was victorious in that expedition, powerful and successful, when he came with a multitude, a great company of souls, into God's kingdom, the almighty ruler, a joy to the angels and to all the saints who previously lived in the heavens, in glory, when their ruler, almighty God, came where his homeland was.]

NOTES

[1]   Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare CXVII, ed. by G. P. Krapp, *The Vercelli Book*, ASPR II (New York: Columbia University Press, 1932).

[2]   E. Ó Carragáin, *Ritual and the Rood. Liturgical Images and the Old English Poems of the 'Dream of the Rood' Tradition* (London: British Library and University of Toronto Press, 2005), chs 3-4, pp. 120-222.

[3]   Ó Carragáin, *Ritual and the Rood*, p. 331.

[4]   A. Grabar, *Martyrium. Recherches sur le culte des reliques et l'art chrétien antique*, 2 vols (London: Variorum Reprints, 1972), II, pp. 7-38.

[5]   Joseph Wilpert, *Die Malereien der Katakomben Roms* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1903), II.xxi.118, pp. 470-78, pls 133/1-2, 157/1-2 and 184.

[6]   Wilpert, *Die Malereien der Katakomben*, I.ii. 29, pp. 48-50 and II, p. 303.

[7]   Cambridge University Library, MS Ll. 1. 10, ff. 78v-79r, *The Prayer Book of Aedeluald the Bishop, commonly Called the Book of Cerne*, ed. by A. B. Kuypers (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1902), No. 60, pp. 156-57.

[8]   BL, MS Harley 2965, ff. 26v-27r, *An Ancient Manuscript of the Eighth or Ninth Century Formerly Belonging to St Mary's Abbey, or Nunnaminster, Winchester*, ed. by W. de G. Birch, Hampshire Record Society (London, 1889), No. 28, pp. 71-72; cf. Matt. 22.12.

[9]   Ibid., f. 32v, No. 48, pp. 80-81; cf. Matt. 25.34.

[10]   BL, MS Royal 2 A. xx, f.38v, Kuypers, *Book of Cerne*, p. 217.

[11]   Wilpert, *Die Malereien der Katakomben*, pls 213 and 132/1; A. Grabar, *The Beginnings of Christian Art 200-395*, trans. by S. Gilbert and J. Emmons (London: Thames and Hudson, 1967), pls 231 and 245; Grabar, *Martyrium*, II, pp. 33-35.

[12]   A. Grabar, *Byzantium from the Death of Theodosius to the Rise of Islam*, trans. S. Gilbert and J. Emmons (London: Thames and Hudson, 1966), pl. 146.

[13]   W. Oakeshott, *The Mosaics of Rome from the Third to the Fourteenth Centuries* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1967), pp. 153-54, pl. 91.

[14]   Grabar, *Martyrium*, II, pp. 48 and 75; Grabar, *Byzantium*, pls 148, 151 and 153.

[15]   A. Grabar, *Ampoules de Terre Sainte (Monza-Bobbio)* (Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1958), nos 5, 6, 8, 14 and 15, figs XI, XII, XIII, XXVI and XXVIII..

[16]   G. Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art*, trans by J. Seligman (London: Lund Humphries, 1971-72), 2 vols, II, pl. 6.

[17]   Grabar, *Ampoules*, nos 9, 10 and 11, figs XIV, XVI and XVIII.

[18]   Grabar, *Ampoules*, Bobbio nos 1 and 2, figs XXXII and XXXIII.

[19]   Ambrose, *In Apocalypsin Expositio*, De visione prima, ii.7, PL 17, 778.

[20]   Bede, *In Genesim*, I.iii.24, ed. by C. W. Jones, CCSL, 118A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1967), pp. 71-72.

[21]   Augustine, *Contra adversarium legis et prophetarum*, I.xv.26, PL 42, 616.

[22]   Paschasius Radbertus, *De corpore et sanguine Domini*, vii, ed. by B. Paulus, CCCM 16 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1969), p. 39.

[23]   *Exameron Anglice or The Old English Hexameron*, ed. by S. J. Crawford, *Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa* X (Hamburg, 1921, repr. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1968), ll. 512-14, pp. 71-72.

[24]   *The Leofric Missal*, ed. by N. Orchard, 2 vols, HBS 113-14 (London: Boydell Press, 2002), I, 1.

[25]   Ibid., II, pp. 258-59, No. 1444. Also in *Liber sacramentorum Gellonensis*, ed. by A. Dumas, CCSL 159-159A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1981), No. 945, p. 127; *Ælfwine's Prayerbook (London, British Library, Cotton Titus D. xxvi + xxvii)*, ed. by B. Günzel, HBS 108 (London: Boydell Press, 1993), No. 50 (2), p. 132; *The Leofric Collectar (Harl. MS.2961)*, ed. by E. S. Dewick and W. H. Frere, 2 vols, HBS 45 and 56 (London: Harrison and Sons, 1914 and 1921), I, p. 170; *The Portiforium of Saint Wulstan (Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 391)*, ed. by A. Hughes, 2 vols, HBS 89-90 (London: Faith Press, 1958-60), I, p. 124.

[26]   H. R. Patch, 'Liturgical Influence in *The Dream of the Rood*', PMLA, 34 (1919), 233-57 (pp. 249-51), and *The Dream of the Rood*, ed. by M. Swanton (Exeter: Exeter University Press, rev. ed., 1987), pp. 110-11 and 115. For a summary of the various suggestions see J. Smith, 'The Garments that Honour the Cross in *The Dream of the Rood*', *Anglo-Saxon England* 4 (1975), 29-35 (pp. 29-31).

[27]   Smith, 'The Garments that Honour the Cross', p. 33.

[28]   Barbara C. Raw, '*The Dream of the Rood* and its Connections with early Christian Art', *Medium Ævum*, 39 (1970), 239-56, esp. pp. 245-46 and n. 32.

[29]   Antwerp, Museum Plantin-Moretus, M. 17.4, 13r, J. J. G. Alexander, *Insular Manuscripts 6th to the 9th Century*, Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles 1 (London: Harvey Miller, 1978), No. 65, p. 83, pl. 290.

[30]   B. Bischoff, 'Panorama der Handschriftenüberlieferung aus der Zeit Karls des Grossen', *Karl der Grosse, Lebenswerk und Nachleben II. Das geistige Leben*, ed. by B. Bischoff (Düsseldorf: L. Schwann, 1965), pp. 233-54 (p. 235); A. Grabar and K. Nordenfalk, *Early Mediaeval Painting from the Fourth to the Eleventh Century*, trans. S. Gilbert (New York: Skira, 1957), p. 122.

[31]   W. Levison, *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1946), pp. 133-4; Bede, *Liber quaestionum* ii, PL 93, 456. The inscription reads, 'Finit. Fines. Fines. Cudwini'.

[32]   *Carmen paschale*, I.359-60, ed. by J. Huemer, CSEL 10 (Vienna, 1885), p. 42; trans. R. A. Swanson, 'Easter Poem. Coelius Sedulius: *Carmen Paschale*, Book I; A Translation', *Classical Journal*, 52 (1957), 289-97 (p. 297).

[33]   H. L. Kessler, *The Illustrated Bibles from Tours* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1977), pls 47-52, 55, 61-68.

[34]   See Alexander, *Insular Manuscripts 6th to the 9th Century*, pls 13, 81, 114, 231, 246, 250 and 325.

[35]   Reproduced in Grabar, *Byzantium*, pl. 145.

[36]   Schiller, *Iconography*, I, pl. 52.

[37]   Jerome, 'Plures fuisse', in J. Wordsworth and H. J. White, *Novum testamentum Domini Nostri Iesu Christi Latine* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1889-98), I, pp. 11-14.

[38]   Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Cod. Bibl. fol. 23, f. 107v, reprod. *Der Stuttgarter Bilderpsalter, Bibl. fol. 23. Württembergische Landesbibliothek Stuttgart*, ed. by W. Hoffman et al., 2 vols (Stuttgart: E. Schreiber, 1965-8).

[39]   See A. Grabar, *L'empereur dans l'art byzantin* (Paris: Les belles lettres, 1936), espec. pp. 237-43, and E. H. Kantorowicz, 'Gods in Uniform', in his *Selected Studies* (New York: J. J. Augustin, 1965), pp. 7-24, esp. p. 19 and pls 7 and 8.

[40]   *Carmen paschale* I, 337-43, CSEL 10, pp. 40-1, trans. by Swanson, 'Easter Poem', p. 296.

[41]   *Carmen paschale* V, 319-22 and 332-6, CSEL 10, pp. 137-39; C. P. E. Springer, *The Gospel as Epic in Late Antiquity. The paschale carmen of Sedulius* (Leiden: Brill, 1988), p. 75.

[42]   *Carmen paschale* V, 195, CSEL 10, p. 128; *Dream of the Rood*, l. 44.

[43]   *Carmen paschale* V, 235-39, CSEL 10, pp. 131-2; *Dream of the Rood*, ll. 55-56.

[44]   *Carmen paschale* V, 232-40, CSEL 10, pp. 131-2; *Dream of the Rood*, ll. 52-55.

[45]   Barbara Raw, 'A new parallel to the prayer *De tenebris* in the Book of Nunnaminster (British Library, Harley MS 2965, f. 28r-v)', *Electronic British Library Journal*, (2004), Item 1, pp. 1-9.

[46]   For a slightly different view of the relationship between Sedulius and *The Dream of the Rood* see Ó Carragáin, *Ritual; and Belief*, pp. 4-7.

[47]   Springer, *The Gospel as Epic*, pp. 129-30; Helmut Gneuss lists six manuscripts of Sedulius written or based in England, see 'A preliminary list of manuscripts written or owned in England up to 1100', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 9 (1981), 1-60.

[48]   Inge B. Milfull, *The Hymns of the Anglo-Saxon Church. A Study and Edition of the 'Durham Hymnal'*, CSASE 17 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 441, No. 143; trans. *The English Hymnal*, No. 95.

[49]   Bede, *Hymni et preces* xiii, In natali sancti Andreae, *Liber hymnorum*, ed. by J. Fraipont, CCSL 122 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1955), p. 437.

[50] Ambrose, *Expositio evangelii secundum Lucam*, X. 107, 108 and 109, ed. by M. Adriaen, CCSL 14 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1957), p. 376.

[51] Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, ed. by E. Dekkers and J. Fraipont, 3 vols, CCSL 38, 39 and 40 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1956), Psalm XC.5, vol. 39, p. 1270; Kantorowicz, 'Gods in Uniform', p. 19.

[52] *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. by B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969, repr. 1991), III.2, pp. 216-17.

'Ða Gregorius gamenode mid his wordum': Old English Versions of Gregory's Bilingual Puns

Emily V. Thornbury

The story of St Gregory's encounter with some Anglian slave-boys in a Roman marketplace became so central to the narrative of the English conversion that, from the time of Bede, scholars have been forced to reckon with it whether they believed it or not.[1] As a story, indeed, the episode has much to recommend it; commentators have used it as proof of themes as diverse as the formation of English nationhood and the unnatural vices of the Roman clergy.[2] As it portrays the encounter between the ancient language and civilization of Rome and a few innocents from the far and heathen north in a way highly flattering to the latter, it is unsurprising that English writers recorded the story first, and preserved it the longest.

Versions of the encounter almost invariably fall into two parts.[3] The first describes the beauty of the slave-boys,[4] and Gregory's regret at their heathenism; the second recounts his enquiries about their origin, and his interpretation of the names given. As preserved in chapter 9 of the *Vita S. Gregorii* of the Anonymous of Whitby, the latter part is fairly brief, the questions and responses amounting only to a few lines:

> Deo intus admonente, cuius gentis fuissent, inquisivit. [...]
> Cumque responderent, 'Anguli dicuntur, illi de quibus sumus,' ille
> dixit, 'Angeli Dei.' Deinde dixit, 'Rex gentis illius, quomodo
> nominatur?' Et dixerunt, 'Aelli.' Et ille ait, 'Alleluia. Laus enim
> Dei esse debet illic.' Tribus quoque illius nomen de qua erant
> proprię requisivit. Et dixerunt, 'Deirę.' Et ille dixit, 'De ira Dei
> confugientes ad fidem.'
> [with God's inward prompting, he asked, of what race they came.
> [...] And when they replied, 'The people of whom we come are

called *Anguli*,' he replied, 'Angels of God.' Then he said, 'The king of this race, what is his name?' And they said, 'Aelli.' And he said, 'Alleluia. The praise of God belongs in that place.' He enquired also as to the name of their own tribe. And they said, 'Deirae.' And he said, 'From the wrath of God they flee to the faith.'] [5]

Bede's version may well have been entirely independent. It is slightly more diffuse, but considerably more elegant:

Rursus ergo interrogauit, quod esset uocabulum gentis illius. Responsum est, quod Angli uocarentur. At ille: 'Bene,' inquit; 'nam et angelicam habent faciem, et tales angelorum in caelis decet esse coheredes. Quod habet nomen ipsa prouincia, de qua isti sunt adlati?' Responsum est, quod Deiri uocarentur idem prouinciales. At ille: 'Bene,' inquit, 'Deiri; de ira eruti, et ad misericordiam Christi uocati. Rex prouinciae illius quomodo appellatur?' Responsum est, quod Aelli diceretur. At ille adludens ad nomen ait: 'Alleluia, laudem Dei Creatoris illis in partibus oportet cantari.'

[Once more, therefore, he asked what the name of their race might be. He was told that they were called *Angli*. 'Good,' he said; 'for they have an angelic appearance, and such people deserve to be co-heirs with the angels in heaven. What is the name of the province, from which they were taken?' He was told that the people of that region were called *Deiri*. He replied, '*Deiri* is right: snatched from ire, and called to Christ's mercy. What is the king of their province called?' He was told, that he was called Aelli. And he, playing upon the name, said 'Alleluia; it is right that the praise of the Creator should be sung in those regions.'] [6]

Here, the puns have been carefully but not obtrusively explained, and the realistic touch of the interpreter allows Gregory to be the only direct speaker in the passage. Moreover, the sequence of questions in Bede's account not only moves more smoothly from general to specific information than does the Whitby version; it also concludes with an implicit statement of Gregory's resolution to convert the English, which makes his subsequent declaration of this intention to

the pope seem less abrupt. Bede's account of this episode became the standard one, and later writers—such as Paul the Deacon[7] and William of Malmesbury[8]—adhere to his sequence, and often his words, in recounting the episode.

The customary description of Gregory's replies as 'puns' has often tended to lead commentators to see his speech as frivolous or joking. This is by no means accurate, as Howe has explained:

> For a man like Gregory, wordplay offered a powerful means to apprehend God's truth as contained in human language. The episode [...] translates the unintelligible terms of a pagan, Germanic language into the meaningful terms of a Christian, Latin language. [...] As Gregory demonstrates, each name associated with this pagan people—Angli, Deiri, and Ælle—has an erroneous meaning in heathendom and a true meaning in Christendom.[9]

One might also say that the act of performing exegesis of these names elevates them to a status like that of Biblical names, which were endlessly productive of such interpretation: thus also proving the English worthy of conversion.

To a degree, the conversion itself assisted Gregory's flock in rendering this story in the vernacular. By the time of the translation of the *Old English Bede*, two of Gregory's three puns were easily recognisable in English as well as Latin:

> Eft he frægn, hwæt seo þeod nemned wære, þe heo of cwomon. Ondswarede him mon þæt heo Ongle nemde wæron. Cwæð he: Wel þæt swa mæg: forðon heo ænlice onsyne habbað, 7 eac swylce gedafonað, þæt heo engla æfenerfeweardas in heofonum sy. Þa gyt he furðor frægn 7 cwæð: Hwæt hatte seo mægð, þe þa cneohtas hider of lædde wæron. Þa ondswarede him mon 7 cwæð, þæt heo Dere nemde wæron. Cwæð he: Wel þæt is cweden Dere, *de ira eruti*; heo sculon of Godes yrre beon abrogdene, 7 to Cristes mildheortnesse gecegde. Ða gyt he ahsode hwæt heora cyning haten wære: 7 him mon ondswarade 7 cwæð, þætte he Æll haten wære. Ond þa plegode he mid his wordum to þæm noman 7 cwæð: Alleluia, þæt gedafenað, þætte Godes lof usses scyppendes in þæm dælum sungen sy.

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[He asked again, what the race might be called, from which they
came. He was told that they were called *Ongle*. He said: 'It is well
that it is so: for they have unequalled countenances, and for such
people it is fitting that they should be the equal heirs of angels in
heaven.' Then he enquired yet again and said: 'What is the tribe
called, from which the young men were brought?' Then he was
answered, and told that they were called *Dere*. He said: 'It is very
properly called *Dere* (*de ira eruti*); they must be rescued from
God's wrath, and brought to Christ's mercy.' Then he also asked
what their king was called: and he was answered, and told that he
was called *Æll*. And then with his words he played upon the
name, and said: 'Alleluia, it is fitting, that the praise of God our
Creator should be sung in that region.'] [10]

The ecclesiastical Latin words *angelus* and *alleluia* (themselves borrowed from
Greek and Hebrew) were naturalized enough in English that extended explanation
was unnecessary. The word *engle* could mean either 'English' or 'angels'; while
the translator of the *Old English Bede*[11] seems to have preferred to spell the tribal
name in <o> (as in this passage), it seems—if the Tanner manuscript's reading is
correct—that he thought the pun obvious enough to enable him to attempt to
create a rhetorical contrast between *ænlice onsyne* and *æfenerfeweardas*
('unequalled appearance' and 'equal heirs'), instead of reiterating the boys' angelic
appearance. His cleverness, as it happens, seems to have created problems for
later copyists. Oxford, Corpus Christi College, 279 has *engceli* over an erasure,
while Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 41 has the comical reading
englisce onsyne:[12] both, presumably, were striving toward the more Bedan
englelice in Cambridge, University Library Kk.3.18.[13]

The pun on *Deira*, however, proved troublesome. In Old English, the word
was usually spelled *Dere*. It is not entirely clear how this name was pronounced,
especially in the earlier period;[14] however, it certainly bore no resemblance to any
English word for anger. The translator, therefore, was forced to provide a gloss in
Latin to account for Gregory's comment.

Ælfric, it is now generally accepted, relied on the Old English version of
Bede in his account of this episode in his homily on Gregory in the second series
of *Catholic Homilies*.[15] He appears to draw on the translation nowhere else, and it
has been several times suggested that he knew the story of the Anglian slave-boys

as an extract.[16] Although containing very close verbal similarities to the *Old English Bede*, however, his version is not identical:

> Eft he axode hu ðære ðeode nama wære. þe hi of comon; Him
> wæs geandwyrd. þæt hi angle genemnode wæron; Þa cwæð he.
> rihtlice hi sind Angle gehatene. for ðan ðe hi engla wlite habbað.
> and swilcum gedafenað þæt hi on heofonum engla geferan beon;
> Gyt ða Gregorius befran. hu ðære scire nama wære. þe ða cnapan
> of alædde wæron; Him man sæde. þæt ða scirmen wæron dere
> gehatene; Gregorius andwyrde. Wel hi sind dere gehatene. for ðan
> ðe hi sind fram graman generode. and to cristes mildheortnysse
> gecygede; Gyt ða he befran. Hu is ðære leode cyning gehaten?
> Him wæs geandswarod þæt se cyning Ælle gehaten wære; Hwæt
> ða Gregorius gamenode mid his wordum to ðam naman. and
> cwæð; Hit gedafenað þæt alleluia sy gesungen on ðam lande. to
> lofe þæs ælmihtigan scyppendes;
> [He asked again, what the name of the race was from which they
> came. It was told him that they were called *Angle*. Then he said,
> 'They are justly called *Angle*, for they have the beauty of angels,
> and it is fitting for such people that they should be the
> companions of angels in heaven.' Again Gregory asked, what the
> name of the district was, from which the boys had been taken. He
> was told that the people of that district were called *Dere*. Gregory
> answered, 'They are very properly called *Dere*, for they shall be
> saved from wrath, and called to Christ's mercy.' Once more he
> asked, 'What is the king of that people called?' And he was told in
> reply that the king was called *Ælle*. Now, then Gregory with his
> words played upon the name, and said, 'It is fitting that *alleluia*
> should be sung in that land, in praise of the almighty Creator.'] [17]

Ælfric's stylistic improvements upon this passage in many ways resemble Bede's refinements upon the Whitby version. The word-order is more smoothly idiomatic, and the final sentence in particular shows the stylized chiastic alliteration that would become one of the hallmarks of Ælfric's *kunstprosa*. But the puns, in particular, are treated quite differently. The *Old English Bede*'s *ænlice onsyne* has been replaced with *engla wlite* (perhaps in consultation with the Latin *Historia ecclesiastica*).[18] This renders the play more obvious; but the final pun on

Ælle—alleluia has been made somewhat more difficult by the separation of the two words. The most immediately noticeable change, however, is the omission of the gloss: as Godden notes, 'Ælfric seems to lose the point by not citing the Latin base of the pun, *de ira*'.[19]

As I read it, there are three potential explanations for this omission. One is negligence; though as Ælfric was generally a careful reviser of his own work, he might have been expected to have corrected so easily remediable an oversight.[20] Another and perhaps more likely explanation is that this story was so well known to Ælfric's audience that the Latin form of the pun needed no gloss. This possibility is ultimately unverifiable, but on its behalf we might cite Ælfric's apparent prior knowledge of the story in Old English, and one certain (though post-Conquest) instance of the separate circulation of an Old English text of the episode.[21] At the same time, Ælfric's assertion at the beginning of the homily that 'Alfred's' Old English translation of Bede was not very well-known, would seem to argue against this explanation.[22] One further option, however, deserves consideration: namely, that Ælfric was attempting a quite different pun on *Dere*.

The Old English word *dēore* ('precious' or 'beloved') probably sounded sufficiently like *Dēre* for an Anglo-Saxon hearer to appreciate such wordplay: in this case, Gregory's reply would be translated as 'They are very properly called *dear*, for they shall be redeemed from wrath, and called to God's mercy.' The double (and here triple) meaning of *deor* would have resonated with audiences familiar with the Biblical metaphor of Christ redeeming mankind from its enslavement to the devil with the purchase-price of his blood. Archbishop Wulfstan was particularly fond of this idea, and these clauses from the law-code *V Æthelred* are typical of his usage:

> 2. 7 ures hlafordes gerædnes 7 his witena is, þæt man Cristene menn 7 unforworhte of earde ne sylle, ne huru on hæþene leode, ac beorge man georne, þæt man þa sawla ne forfare, þe Crist mid his agenum life gebohte.
> [...]
> 3.1. Ac elles geræde man friðlice steora folce to þearfe 7 ne forspille for lytlum Godes handgeweorc 7 his agenne ceap, þe he deore gebohte.

> [2. And the decision of our lord and his counsellors is, that innocent Christian people should not be sold out of the country,

and certainly not to heathen nations: but rather great care should be taken, that those souls should not be lost, which Christ purchased with his own life. […]
3.1. But on the contrary, merciful judgements should be made for the good of the people; do not destroy for a small offence God's handiwork and his own purchase, which He dearly bought.] [23]

The context of this metaphor in *V Æthelred* is also characteristic: Wulfstan frequently used the language of the 'dear bargain' in discussing the treatment of slaves[24] and overuse of the death penalty,[25] but also referred to it in more general Christian teaching.[26]

Ælfric was also certainly familiar with the image; he used it, for instance, in his homily for St Bartholomew's Day in his First Series of *Catholic Homilies*:

þu ælmihtiga god on þam ðe abraham gelyfde. and isaac and iacob. þu ðe asendest þinne ancennedan sunu. þæt he us alysde mid his deorwurþum blode fram deofles þeowdome. and hæfþ us geworht þe to bearnum;
[Thou almighty God, in whom Abraham believed, and Isaac, and Jacob: thou who sent thine only-begotten Son, so that with his precious blood he might redeem us from the devil's captivity, and has made us thy children.] [27]

This language is found throughout the New Testament, but is perhaps most clearly expressed in the first chapter of I Peter:

18. scientes quod non corruptibilibus argento vel auro redempti estis de vana vestra conversatione paternae traditionis, 19. sed pretioso sanguine quasi Agni incontaminati et inmaculati Christi, 20. praecogniti quidem ante constitutionem mundi, manifestati autem novissimis temporibus propter vos, 21. qui per ipsum fideles estis in Deum, qui suscitavit eum a mortuis et dedit ei gloriam, ut fides vestra et spes esset in Deum.
[Knowing that you were not redeemed with corruptible things as gold or silver, from your vain conversation of the tradition of your fathers: 19. But with the precious blood of Christ, as of a lamb unspotted and undefiled, 20. Foreknown indeed before the

foundation of the world, but manifested in the last times for you,
21. Who through him are faithful in God, who raised him up from
the dead, and hath given him glory, that your faith and hope might
be in God.] (Douay-Rheims Version) [28]

On several levels, this passage is peculiarly appropriate to the scene of Gregory's
encounter with the slave-boys. Both figuratively and literally, the Deiran slaves
require to be redeemed 'de vana [...] conversatione paternae traditionis'; they are
being sold for 'corruptibilibus argento vel auro' but—as Gregory, soon to be pope
and apostle in the tradition of Peter, recognizes—on a more profound level they
have already been purchased 'pretioso sanguine [...] Agni'. This text, and similar
Biblical instances of the metaphor of redemption, are sufficiently relevant—and
indeed sufficiently central to the Christian discourse of conversion—that the word
deor might readily occur to an Anglo-Saxon commenting on, or hearing of, slaves
in need of salvation.

　　Ælfric does not expand on this episode here or elsewhere, so it is
impossible to finally confirm whether he was indeed punning on *Dere/deore*.
From the evidence of his homily and the corresponding episode in the *Old
English Bede*, though, it is clear that the pun on *Deiri/de ira*, relying as it does on
a prepositional phrase in Latin, was the most difficult for writers in English to
render as it stood in Latin sources on Gregory. After the Anglo-Saxon period, we
find the author of the *South English Legendary*'s account of Gregory taking bold
measures to solve this problem:

>　Þis holyman faste hom byhuld · an stonde he gan astonde
>　He esste wat þe children were · and of wuche londe
>　Þe marchans sede Engliss hi beoþ · & of Engelond inome
>　Such is þe kunde of alle men · þat of þulke londe beoþ icome
>　　　Wel aȝte sede þe godeman · þat lond beo god & riche
>　Þe men beoþ wel Englisse ycluped · for hy beoþ englise iliche
>　ȝif þe lond is such as þe men · name is haþ by riȝte
>　Engliss lond it aȝte beo · and engliss þer on aliȝte
>　And suche men aȝte in heuene beo · engliss yuere

[This holy man looked at them keenly, and stood astonished; he
asked what race the children were, and from which land they
came. The merchants said, 'They are English, and taken from
England: all men who come from that land are of this sort.' The

righteous man said, 'Well may that land be excellent and rich; the people are properly named *Engliss*, for they are like angels: if the land is like the people, it bears its name by right—*Engliss* land it deserves to be, and angels to dwell therein; and such men deserve to be the companions of angels in heaven.'] [29]

Here, the pun on *Angli/angeli* (easily rendered as *Engliss/englis* in the writer's dialect) stands alone, as the central linguistic element of Gregory's response. Notably, while Gregory's question as to whether the people in their country were Christian or heathen *precedes* the pun in earlier accounts, it immediately follows this passage in the *South English Legendary*. Like Ælfric,[30] the Middle English text has collapsed the place and race of origin of the slaves into the single category of *Engliss*, making unnecessary the second set of questions eliciting the puns. The emphasis placed upon the excellence of England itself, as well as the beauty of its people, is in keeping with the often-noted pro-English sentiments of the *Legendary*.[31] The author's reduction of the narrative to its barest elements reveals his idea of what was most essential to the story: England's merited place in Christendom, and Gregory's affection for the nation. The specificity of earlier versions—the children's origin in Deira under King Ælle[32]—was outside the author's purpose; clearly, what mattered was that Gregory saw that England was 'a lond fol of so vair folk · þat aȝte beo engliss vere' [A land full of such fair people, who ought to be the companions of angels].[33]

The episode of Gregory and the Anglian slaves was from the beginning considered a pivotal moment in the history of the English people. Part of its longevity as a narrative must be attributed to the fact that—whether or not it happened—it reflects genuinely-held ideas about the centrality of language to belief.[34] In the story, the still-heathen English names are converted to Christian purposes, as a symbolic proxy for their bearers. When, some centuries later, the English came to translate the story into that very language, the success of Gregory's endeavour might be judged by the ease with which two of his puns, on *Angli/angeli* and *Ælle/alleluia*, could be transferred to the 'baptized' language, enriched as it had been by Christian-Latin vocabulary.[35] When difficulties arose in presenting the bilingual wordplay to monolingual English-speakers, early English translators used a variety of strategies: either by inserting and translating the Latin, as in the case of the author of the *Old English Bede*, or through constructing new wordplay in English, as Ælfric arguably did with *Dere/deore*, and the *Old English Bede* author with *ænlice*. The pared-down version in the

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South English Legendary, on the other hand, reveals in its choice of emphasis a large part of the episode's enduring appeal: the story argued for the beauty and importance of the English people—and their language—even in the far-distant heart of Christendom.[36] It is unsurprising, then, that the English should have exerted themselves to present this moment to their countrymen in their own language.[37]

NOTES

[1]   That Bede was sceptical about the episode's authenticity is commonly deduced from his attribution of the story to 'tradition'—for instance: 'Haec iuxta opinionem, quam ab antiquis accepimus' [These events, according to the report which we have received from of old: *Historia ecclesiastica* II.i]—and its placement at the *end* of the account of Gregory's life, following his epitaph. Frequently cited on this point is a brief comment by Patrick Wormald, 'Bede, the *Bretwaldas* and the Origins of the *Gens Anglorum*', in *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society*, ed. by Patrick Wormald, with Donald Bullough and Roger Collins (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983), pp. 99-129 (p. 124); see also Nicholas Howe, *Migration and Mythmaking in Anglo-Saxon England* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989), p. 119, and Mechthild Gretsch, 'Ælfric and Gregory the Great', in *Ælfric's Lives of Canonised Popes*, ed. by Donald Scragg, Old English Newsletter Subsidia 30 (Kalamazoo, MI: The Medieval Institute, 2001), pp. 11-54 (pp. 16 and 23).

[2]   On the first, see Howe, *Migration and Mythmaking*, esp. pp. 118-23, and more recently Kathy Lavazzo, 'Another Country: Ælfric and the Production of English Identity', *New Medieval Literatures*, 3 (1999), 67-93. Allen Franzten discusses the Protestant polemicist John Bale's salacious interpretation of the episode in 'Bede and Bawdy Bale: Gregory the Great, Angels, and the "Angli"', in *Anglo-Saxonism and the Construction of Social Identity*, ed. by Allen J. Frantzen and John D. Niles (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 1997), pp. 17-39.

[3]   In many, the sequel—in which Gregory begs the pope to be allowed to lead a mission to England, but is prevented from doing so—immediately follows the story.

[4]   The age varies between accounts; since in the earliest, the Anonymous of Whitby writes that 'quidam pulchros fuisse pueros dicunt et quidam vero crispos iuvenes et decoros' [some say they were beautiful boys, and some, on the other hand, that they were handsome, curly-haired youths], we must assume that this uncertainty is insoluble. The *South English Legendary* specifies 'swete children þreo' [three sweet children], but the number may be a product of the rhyme.

[5]   *The Earliest Life of Gregory the Great, by an Anonymous Monk of Whitby*, ed. by Bertram Colgrave (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), p. 90. Unless specified, all translations are my own.

[6]   *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. by Bertram Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford: Clarendon, 1969), pp. 132-34.

[7]   *Vita S. Gregorii*, ch. XV, in Walter Stuhlfath, *Gregor I. der Grosse* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1913), pp. 106-07.

[8]   *Gesta regum Anglorum*, I, 45, in *William of Malmesbury: Gesta Regum Anglorum: The History of the English Kings*, ed. by R. A. B. Mynors, R. M. Thomson and M. Winterbottom, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998-99), I, p. 62.

[9]   Howe, *Migration and Mythmaking*, p. 119.

[10]   *The Old English Version of Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. by Thomas Miller, EETS 95, 110, 2 vols (London: Trübner, 1890–98), I, p. 96.

[11]   Presuming, that is, that the spellings in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Tanner 10—Miller's base text—reflect the archetype's spellings more or less accurately: the question, however, is far beyond this article's scope.

[12]   *OE Bede*, II, pp. 80-81.

[13]   It is very possible that this is in fact closest to the archetypal reading; though, if so, it seems somewhat odd that O and B (and indeed T) had such difficulty with it.

[14]   The etymology of *Deira* is notoriously obscure, though it is usually considered to be of British derivation. For two recent conjectures, see Andrew Breeze, 'The Origin of the Name *Deira*', *Transactions of the Yorkshire Dialect Society*, 19 (1997), 35-39, and J. G. F. Hind, '*Elmet* and *Deira*—Forest Names in Yorkshire?', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, 28 (1980), 541-52. Breeze suggests a derivation from **de-uir*, 'brave men', while Hind argues for a source in an earlier form of modern Welsh *deri/deiri*, 'oak grove/forest'. Hind writes of the passage in the *Historia ecclesiastica* that the 'pun, quoted as it is by the Northumbrian Bede, probably indicates that the vowel in *Deira* was a diphthong and not simply a long vowel' (p. 551). There are other possible explanations, however; for instance, if the episode was a literary invention, it is not impossible that the pun was visual, not aural (though this would seem to contradict the hints of Bede and the Anonymous of Whitby that the story circulated orally).

[15]   Dorothy Whitelock, 'The Old English Bede', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 48 (1962), 57-90 (pp. 58-59 and esp. n. 10), and M. R. Godden, 'The Sources for Ælfric's Homily on St Gregory', *Anglia* 86 (1968), 79-88 (pp. 85-86); against this, however, see Gretsch, 'Ælfric and Gregory', p. 48.

[16]   Ibid., p. 59 and n. 18; also Peter Clemoes, 'Late Old English Literature', in *Tenth-Century Studies*, ed. by David Parsons (London: Phillimore, 1975), pp. 103-14 (p. 105). Clemoes speculates that Ælfric may have known the tale as a schoolroom set text.

[17]   *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The Second Series: Text*, ed. by Malcolm Godden, EETS s.s. 5 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), no. 9, pp. 72-80 (p. 75).

[18]   Alternatively, he may merely have known a version with a reading more like CUL Kk.3.18's *englelice*.

[19]   *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: Introduction, Commentary and Glossary*, ed. by Malcolm Godden, EETS s.s. 18 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 406.

[20]   For detailed accounts of Ælfric's revision of his own work, see Peter Clemoes, 'History of the Manuscript: Origin and Contemporary Correction and Revision,' in *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: Basic Readings*, ed. by Mary P. Richards (New York: Garland, 1994), pp. 345-62 (reprinted from the preface to the EEMF facsimile of London, British Library, Royal 7.C.xii); Paul E. Szarmach, 'Ælfric Revises: The Lives of Martin and the Idea of the Author', in *Unlocking the Wordhord: Anglo-Saxon Studies in Memory of Edward B. Irving, Jr*, ed. by Mark C. Amodio and Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), pp. 38-61; and *Second Series*, pp. xxi-xxiv.

[21]   Godden's X^c, Cotton Faustina A.x, a short excerpt in 'a twelfth-century hand' (*Second Series*, p. lv: the text, damaged by binders, is printed in the textual notes on p. 74). Note, however, that this is *Ælfric's* version: there is no evidence for the separate circulation of this episode from the *Old English Bede*.

[22]   *Second Series*, p. 72: '[...] seo foresæde boc (i.e. 'historia anglorum ða ðe Ælfred cyning of ledene on englisc awende') nis eow eallum cuð' [this aforesaid book (i.e., the *Historia anglorum*, which King Alfred translated from Latin into English), is not known to all of you].

[23]   *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, ed. by F. Liebermann, 3 vols (Halle: Niemeyer, 1903-16), I, p. 238.

[24]   See also, e.g., the *Sermo Lupi*, in *The Homilies of Wulfstan*, ed. by Dorothy Bethurum (Oxford: Clarendon, 1957), no. XX^c, p. 270, ll. 90-1, and *II Cnut* §3 (*Gesetze*, p. 310).

[25]   See *VI Æthelred* §10.1 and *II Cnut* §2.1 (*Gesetze*, pp. 250 and 309-10).

[26]   See his *Sermo in .XL.*, in *Homilies*, ed. by Bethurum, no. XIV, p. 234, ll. 42-43; *I Cnut* §18.3 (*Gesetze*, p. 300) and *Institutes of Polity*, 'Be eallum cristenum mannum' (*Die 'Institutes of Polity, Civil and Ecclesiastical'*, ed. by Karl Jost, Schweizer anglistische Arbeiten 47 (Bern: Francke, 1959), pp. 156-57.

[27]   *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The First Series: Text*, ed. by Peter Clemoes, EETS s.s. 17 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 445. The insertion of *deorwurðe* here seems to have been an innovation of Ælfric's (cf. the passage from the *Passio Bartholomei* in Godden, *Introduction*, p. 262). In Ælfric's *Glossary*, *deorwurðe* is listed as the equivalent of Latin *pretiosus*: see *Ælfrics Grammatik und Glossar*, ed. by Julius Zupitza (Berlin: Weidmannsche, 1880), p. 320.

[28]   I Peter 1:18-21.

[29]   *The South English Legendary*, ed. by Charlotte d'Evelyn and Anna J. Mill, EETS 235-36, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1956), I, pp. 81-82 (lines 23-31).

[30]   In the first half of the episode, where Bede has the merchants tell Gregory that the boys are *de Britannia insula* (*OE Bede: of Breotone ealonde*), Ælfric has *of engla lande*; as Godden notes, 'Ælfric's *engla* rather spoils the point of the [following] question and answer' (*Introduction*, p. 406). Whether this similarity indicates that the *SE Legendary* has used—and

improved on—Ælfric's text is unclear—but note the correspondence of *engliss yuere* with *engla geferan*, neither of which is an exact translation of *angelorum* […] *coheredes*.

31   See, for instance, Jill Frederick, 'The *South English Legendary*: Anglo-Saxon Saints and National Identity', in *Literary Appropriations of the Anglo-Saxons from the Thirteenth to the Twentieth Century*, ed. by Donald Scragg and Carole Weinberg, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 29 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 57-73, and Klaus P. Jankofsky, 'National Characteristics in the Portrayal of English Saints in the *South English Legendary*', in *Images of Sainthood in Medieval Europe*, ed. by Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski and Timea Szell (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991), pp. 81-93.

32   Interestingly, however, Ælle's part in the conversion story was not forgotten, and attracted a set of stories to his name in the later Middle Ages: see John Frankis, 'King Ælle and the Conversion of the English: the Development of a Legend from Bede to Chaucer', in *Literary Appropriations*, pp. 74-92.

33   *South English Legendary* I, p. 82 (line 36).

34   See, for instance, Kees Dekker, 'Pentecost and Linguistic Self-Consciousness in Anglo-Saxon England: Bede and Ælfric', *JEGP* 104 (2005), 345-72, esp. p. 351: 'Gregory's initiative […] should be seen in the light of the prophecy of Pentecost'. See also Robert Stanton, *The Culture of Translation in Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge: Brewer, 2002), esp. pp. 65-66, and Howe, *Migration and Mythmaking*, pp. 118-23.

35   In the course of his examination of why *England* and *English* came to designate the nation and its language even under Saxon domination, Wormald argues for the historical impact of this very pun, both in Latin, and, later, English: see 'Bede, the *Bretwaldas*, and the Origins', pp. 124-29.

36   See Lavezzo, 'Another Country', for arguments on Ælfric's perception of this.

37   I am indebted for the inspiration for this article to the members of Paul Szarmach's 2006 NEH Summer Seminar on Holy Men and Holy Women in Anglo-Saxon England: most especially to Stephen Stallcup.

A Paw in Every Pie:
Wulfstan and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle Again

Sara M. Pons-Sanz

More than eighty years ago Karl Jost published his seminal article on the poems (if they can be called so) included in annals 959 in the D- and E-texts of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (hereafter ChronD 959 and ChronE 959, respectively) and 975 in the D-text (hereafter ChronD 975).[1] His main concern was to establish the relationship between ChronD 959.2-19 = ChronE 959.3-26 and Ælfric's epilogue to his translation of the Book of Judges (= ÆJudgEp). Jost concluded that the author of the poem must have relied on the Ælfrician text and not the other way round.[2] He reached this conclusion by comparing the language of the text with that of the compositions by Archbishop Wulfstan II of York and noticing that the poem shows some non-Wulfstanian lexical features (many of them suggested by the wording of the original Ælfrician passage) amongst predominantly Wulfstanian phraseology, i.e. the lexical traits which one might expect in one of the archbishop's reworkings. Despite the stylistic similarities which the two poems share with the works commonly included in the archbishop's canon, Jost was not yet prepared to discard completely the possibility that the poems might have been written by someone other than Wulfstan who was familiar with his style.[3] The dismissal of this idea came a few years later, when he readily presented in his *Wulfstanstudien* the poem in *ChronD 975* as a Wulfstanian composition and that in *ChronD 959* = *ChronE 959* as one of the archbishop's reworkings of previous texts.[4] Since then the two compositions have frequently been included without much hesitation in the ever-mushrooming Wulfstanian canon.[5]

    The attribution of these compositions to the archbishop is indeed in keeping, from an extra-linguistic point of view, with (1) his tendency to rework previous compositions, mainly by Ælfric (cp. his version in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 201 of the first Pastoral Letter in Old English which Ælfric

sent him [hereafter *WÆLet* 2], *Cnut 1020* or the so-called 'compilation on status');[6] (2) his deep admiration and respect for Edgar as an example of a rightful king who established just laws in accordance with the divine commandments;[7] and (3) his general concern for the well-being of the Church and its representatives.[8] Furthermore, given that the version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle which lies, broadly speaking, under those recorded in London, British Library, Cotton MS Tiberius B.iv (= MS D) and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud MS Misc. 636 (= MS E) is supposed to have been in the province of York between 966 and *ca*1031,[9] it is very easy to imagine a scenario in which Wulfstan, who held the archbishopric of York from 1002 to 1023,[10] could have composed these texts and had them entered in the local version of the Chronicle. Finally, Wulfstan's involvement in this nationalistic work would not be at odds either with his wide-ranging interests.[11]

From a linguistic perspective, this assignation is much more problematic, on the one hand, because of the above-mentioned presence of lexical items and collocations which are not recorded anywhere else in Wulfstan's *oevre*; and on the other hand, and closely associated with this, because the identification of Wulfstan's canon does not rely on fully unproblematic principles, which leaves some texts in grey areas of authorship (as exemplified by the two poems discussed here). The analysis in this paper will have to rely on the study of the vocabulary of the works which are currently accepted to have been composed or reworked by Wulfstan,[12] an approach which necessarily imposes some limitations on the reliability of the conclusions.

Jost did study many of the lexical issues dealt with in this paper in detail. However, as has been noted above, his main concern was the relationship between the text in ChronD 959.2-19 = ChronE 959.3-26 and the Ælfrician composition, whereas the relationship of the poems with the Wulfstanian works *per se* and other Old English texts was not duly analysed. The present paper follows this line of research further so as to reassess whether the poems should be assigned to Wulfstan himself or should rather be attributed to someone else who was familiar with his extremely catchy style.[13] One has to remember that Wulfstan was a very influential figure in eleventh-century England and it is therefore not strange that his linguistic traits permeated (through conscious or unconscious means) the language of later authors.[14]

The analysis of the lexical choices of the poem recorded in ChronD 959.2-19 = ChronE 959.3-26 should leave aside those non-Wulfstanian expressions which have been suggested by the original Ælfrician text, given that, as stated above, the

presence, because of constrained usage, of lexical items which do not belong to Wulfstan's active repertoire is a well-known feature of his reworkings.[15] Thus, one should exclude the following phrases and clauses from any argument on authorship:

(1) 'Wunode on sibbe' [dwelled in peace] (ChronD 959.3 = ChronE 959.4): albeit recorded more than one hundred times in the *Corpus of Old English* (hereafter *COE*), the phrase *on sibbe* is not attested in Wulfstan's canon; instead, the archbishop's works record once an equivalent phrase with *frið* 'peace, security, protection' (WHom 19 51) and equivalent phrases with *grið* 'truce, peace, protection' on various occasions (e.g. WHom 19 50, WHom 20.1 75 = WHom 20.2 86 = WHom 20.3 82). Even though this collocation is not present in the text which is the direct source of the poem (viz. ÆJudgEp 82-87: 'Eadgar [...] wide geond land'), it appears immediately before in a context referring to King Æthelstan ('he on sibbe wunode siþþan mid his leode' [he dwelled in peace afterwards with his people] in ÆJudgEp 82).

(2) 'He arærde Godes lof wide' [he exalted God's praise widely] (ChronD 959.4-5 = ChronE 959.6): the only comparable context in the Wulfstanian canon belongs to LawCn 1020 3 ('ic scolde gæhwær Godes lof upp aræran' [I should everywhere exalt God's praise]), which is included in the part of the Cnutian proclamation that maintains the text of Cnut's letter 'substantially as issued' and hence cannot be directly associated with Wulfstan.[16] In any case, the clause in *ChronD 959 = ChronE 959* relies on 'arærde Godes lof on his leode gehwær' [exalted God's praise everywhere in his nation] (ÆJudgEp 83). Notably, 'on his leode gehwær' has been replaced by 'wide', an adverb much in Wulfstan's taste (but see below).

(3) 'Wurdon underþeodde to þam ðe he wolde' [were subjected to that which he wanted] (ChronD 959.8-9 = ChronE 959.10-11): Wulfstan's original works do not otherwise attest the verb *underðeodan*, while the noun *underðeod* 'assistant, suffragan' is only recorded once (WHom 9 98), in a text which is a reworking of an Ælfrician homily where the noun occurs twice (ÆSpir 51-52 and 59-60).[17] The presence of the verb can however be explained by the close similarity between its context and Ælfric's 'him underþeodde to þam þe he wolde' [subjected them to that which he wanted] (ÆJudgEp 86).

(4) 'Wide geond þeodland' [widely throughout the land of the nation] (ChronD 959.10 = ChronE 959.13): despite Wulfstan's taste for compounds with *ðeod-* 'people, nation' as the determinant,[18] *ðeodland* is not recorded anywhere else in his canon, while it is attested on fourteen occasions in works by other authors (e.g. HomU 35.1 9). Yet, one could explain the wording in *ChronD 959 =*

ChronE 959 by relying on Ælfric's 'wide geond land' [widely throughout the land] (ÆJudgEp 87) and the presence of *ðēod* in ÆJudgEp 84 ('ofer Engla ðeode' [over the nation of the English]), because this could have prompted a person that way inclined to generate the compound.[19]

Once these phrases and clauses are left aside, the wording of the *ChronD 959* = *ChronE 959* poem can be divided into three categories: (1) expressions which are not exclusively Wulfstanian but are also somewhat common outside Wulfstan's compositions; (2) expressions which could be perceived to be Wulfstanianisms; (3) expressions which are not otherwise common in the archbishop's works. The following lines analyse the lexis of the poem in this order. When considering the figures provided below the reader should bear in mind that the archbishop's works account for approximately 2.3% of the *COE* (i.e. approximately 1/43).[20]

The first group comprises the following expressions:

(1) 'God him geuðe þæt [...]' [God granted him that [...]] (ChronD 959.3 = ChronE 959.3-4) and 'ac God him geunne þæt [...]' [but may God grant him that [...]] (ChronD 959.17 = ChronE 959.24): the combination of a personal pronoun in the dative + *geunnan* + *ðæt* is found on two occasions in the Wulfstanian canon (WHom 11 232-33 and LawVIIaAtr 8) and on more than forty occasions outside it (e.g. ÆHomM 8 15-16 and Beo 1661a-62a).

(2) 'Þa hwile þe he leofode' [as long as he lived] (ChronD 959.3 = ChronE 959.4): a similar structure with *ðā hwīle ðe* + subject + *libban* is recorded on eight occasions in the Wulfstanian canon (e.g. WHom 15 21-22) and more than forty times in non-Wulfstanian compositions.

(3) 'Earnode þæs georne' [readily merited this] (ChronD 959.4 = ChronE 959.5): the Wulfstanian canon records three contexts with *earnian* + *georne* and the same number can be found in non-Wulfstanian texts; thus, a clause such as 'ecre reste earnie man georne' [may one readily merit eternal rest] (WHom 10c 183) is comparable to 'to Gode 7 to eallum his halegum þæs georne earnian' [to merit this readily from God and all his holy men] (HomS 34 57).

(4) 'God him eac fylste þæt [...]' [God also helped him so that [...]] (ChronD 959.7 = ChronE 959.9): the structure nominal phrase / pronoun in the dative + *(ge)fylstan* + *ðæt* is recorded once in the Wulfstanian works (WPol 3 52) and nine times outside them (e.g. ÆLS [Martin] 1109 and Instr 263-64).

(5) 'Cyningas ànd eorlas georne him to bugan' [kings and earls readily submitted to him] (ChronD 959.7-8 = ChronE 959.9-10): while the coordinated nouns derive from the Ælfrician source (cp. ÆJudgEp 85), the structure *(ge)būgan* + prepositional phrase with *tō* + a member of the *georne* word-field is attested twelve times in the Wulfstanian canon (including some derivative contexts, e.g. LawVAtr 4 = LawAtrVI 2.1) and five times outside it (e.g. ÆCHom I, 18 3 19.64 and HomM 7 45).[21]

(6) 'Butan gefeohte' [without battle] (ChronD 959.9 = ChronE 959.11): this phrase goes back to its model 'buton ælcum gefeohte' [without any battle] (ÆJudgEp 85). Jost notices that Wulfstan did not favour the collocation *būtan* + *ǽlc* + noun (it is only recorded three times in his homilies).[22] Yet, the tendency towards the ellipsis of the adjective in similar structures is widespread throughout the *COE* (e.g. whereas 'butan ælcum ende' [without any end] occurs once in the Wulfstanian corpus and fifteen times outside it, 'butan ende' [without end] is recorded eighteen times in the archbishop's works and more than one hundred and seventy times in non-Wulfstanian texts).[23]

(7) 'Eal he gewilde þe he sylf wolde' [he controlled all that he himself wanted] (ChronD 959.9 = ChronE 959.12): while the verb *(ge)wyldan* is already present in the source (cp. 'gewilde his wiðerwinnan' [controlled his enemies] in ÆJudgEp 84), it is also common in the Wulfstanian canon (it occurs approximately fifteen times) and other Old English texts. However, it is noteworthy that in Wulfstan's compositions it does not collocate with inanimate objects (e.g. 'wylde hine sylfne' [may control himself] in WHom 10c 175-76), while non-Wulfstanian texts do record this collocation (e.g. 'Iosue ða gewylde eal ðæt widgylle land' [Joshua then controlled all that extensive land] in Josh 11.16 and 'he him to þeowdome gewylde ealle Ispanie 7 ealle Africe' [he subdued into his service all Hispania and Africa] in Or 5 4.119.2-3).

(8) 'He weorðode Godes naman georne' [he readily honoured God's name] (ChronD 959.11 = ChronE 959.14): while the closest structure to the wording of this clause in the Wulfstanian canon is 'on Godes naman weorðunge' [in honour of God's name] (WHom 17 17), the collocation of *weorðian* + *Godes* + noun is attested on four occasions in the Wulfstanian canon, including one derivative context ('hy Godes þeowas symle werian & weorðian' [that they may always guard and honour the servants of God] in HomU 48 62-63 = LawVIAtr 45). Outside the archbishop's works it is recorded on the same number of occasions, including HomU 59 29-30, a text with many Wulfstanian expressions. However, it is much more common both in Wulfstan's compositions and otherwise to find

the collocation *weorðian* + *God* (or something / someone associated with Him): e.g. 'God weorðodon' [honoured God] (LawVIIIAtr 43), 'we sculon eac hine æfre weorðian, Gode to wyrðminte' [we must also honour Him, according to God's glory] (ÆLet 3 127) and 'geornlicost God weorþige' [may honour God most earnestly] (ChristA,B,C 433).

(9) 'Hider in tihte' [attracted hither] (ChronD 959.16 = ChronE 959.22): *(ge)tihtan* meaning 'to invite, persuade, attract, entice', not 'to accuse', is otherwise recorded twice in Wulfstanian compositions, once with negative and once with positive connotations (viz. 'deofol ma and ma manna forlærde & getihte to heora agenre unþearfe' [the devil misguided more and more people and enticed them to their own ruin] in WHom 6 57-58 and 'his gingran georne tihte to ðam ylcan' [may readily encourage his dependants to the same] in WHom 8c 141-42, respectively). It is recorded on more than one hundred and sixty occasions in non-Wulfstanian texts, Ælfric being particularly fond of it (e.g. ÆLS [Agnes] 355 and LS 17.2 17-18).

(10) 'Bespeon to þysan earde' [attracted to this country] (ChronD 959.17 = ChronE 959.23): only two other contexts in the *COE* record the collocation *bespanan* + *tō* + dative: viz. WHom 4 16-17 ('bespannan to his unlarum' [attract to his bad teachings]) and HomM 2 20-21 ('he mæg þonne deoful þyder bespanan him sylfum æfre ecelice to genyþrunge and to forwyrde' [he may then eternally attract the devil by himself to humiliation and ruin]). The structure formed by *spanan* or other verbs with *spanan* as the root + a prepositional phrase with *tō* is recorded once in the Wulfstanian canon (WHom 5 81), while it is attested on thirty-three occasions (including derivative contexts) in non-Wulfstanian compositions.

The text contains a clear set of Wulfstanianisms, i.e. terms and collocations which are repeated time and again in the archbishop's compositions and which make his style so idiosyncratic. As already noted by Jost, they do not occur exclusively in Wulfstan's texts, but his compositions show a particularly high proportion of them.[24] However, it is precisely their recognizable character that makes them very easy to imitate and they frequently crop up in texts which are not attributable to the archbishop.[25] The typically Wulfstanian expressions in the *ChronD 959 = ChronE 959* poem are:

(1) 'Hit godode georne' (ChronD 959.2 = ChronE 959.3): as noted by Jost,[26] *gōdian* in an intransitive and impersonal use is characteristic of Wulfstan; it occurs eight times in the archbishop's corpus (including four times in derivative contexts: WHom 20.1 17 = WHom 20.2 23-24 = WHom 20.3 22-23 and

LawVAtr 36.1 = LawVIAtr 40.1 = LawIICn 11.1), while it is only recorded once in non-Wulfstanian texts ('freaum frodade, fromum godade' [for the free wisdom increased, for the bald goodness prevailed] in Rim 32).[27]

(2) 'Swyþost þara cyninga þe ær him gewurde' (ChronD 959.6 = ChronE 959.7-8): Jost adduces the combination of two structures in this expression (i.e. 'most of all kings who ever existed' [*'swyðost þara cyninga þe æfre gewurde'] + 'more than any other king who existed before him' [*'swyðor þonne ænig þara cyninga þe ær him gewurde']) as further evidence in favour of attributing this poem to Wulfstan.[28] He points out that Wulfstan was keen on structures joining *ǣr* and the superlative instead of the comparative degree of an adjective or adverb. Indeed, this structure is recorded on five occasions in Wulfstan's texts, always in the construction superlative + *þe ǣfre ǣr* 'who ever before' + verb (WHom 3 53-54, WHom 4 8-9, WHom 5 71-72 and 84-85, and WHom 18 22-23). Jost was not able to find any similar structures elsewhere, but they do exist. While one non-Wulfstanian context exhibits the same association of a superlative + *ǣr* ('þæt ðu mæge hrædlicost cumon & eðelicost to þinre agenre cyððe þonan þe ðu ær come' [so that you may go to your native land quick[er] and mo[re] nobly than you went before] in Bo 41.146.28-29), another context also uses the superlative degree where one would expect the comparative ('þone mæston hearm dydon þe æfre hired oððe here innon friðlande don sceolde' [did more harm [lit. the most] than a court or an army should do in a land at peace] in ChronE 1097.27-28).

(3) The concentration of intensifying adverbs and adverbial phrases as well as echoing doublets is often mentioned as one of Wulfstan's most characteristic traits. This poem records *georne* 'readily, eagerly' (4x), *wīde* 'widely' (2x), *swȳðe* 'very much, exceedingly' (2x), *oft and gelōme* 'often and frequently', *wīde and sīde* 'widely and extensively' and *for Gode and for worolde* 'before God and the world'. However, such high number of intensifying terms seems slightly suspicious because no other Wulfstanian composition accumulates so many of his most typical terms in such a short space. These terms should be associated with 'oftost a symble' [very often, always continuously] (ChronD 959.13 = ChronE 959.17), which does not occur anywhere else in the canon (see below) and which might point towards someone wishing to make this passage so similar to Wulfstan's style that he/she goes even further than the archbishop himself.[29] Jost identifies the use of the adverb *tō* meaning 'very' rather than indicating an excess as very typical of Wulfstanian compositions and it is in this sense that he would like to interpret the adverb in the phrase 'to fæste' (ChronD 959.16 = ChronE 959.21).[30] However, it is not necessary to accept that translation: both Swanton

and Whitelock interpret the adverb as referring to an excess and translate this phrase as 'too fast' and 'too firmly', respectively.[31]

(4) 'He dyde swa him þearf wæs' [he did as was necessary to him] (ChronD 959.4 = ChronE 959.5): the structure *dōn* + *swā* + a pronoun in the dative + *þearf* + *bēon* is recorded on thirty-nine occasions in texts attributed to Wulfstan, while it is only recorded on twelve occasions in non-Wulfstanian compositions, always in texts where the influence of the archbishop's works can be seen directly or indirectly (e.g. ChronF 954.5-6, HomU 32 2, HomS 41 63, HomS 30 191 and Scrib 3.13).[32] Notably, however, the aforementioned structure is always followed by a verb in the same tense and mood as *dōn* which explains what is or was necessary to do, while here 'earnode (þæs georne)' (see above) presents instead the consequence of Edgar's having done what he had to do.

(5) 'Godes lage lufode' [loved God's law] (ChronD 959.5 = ChronE 959.6) and 'Godes lage smeade' [meditated on God's law] (ChronD 959.11 = ChronE 959.15): it is well-known amongst Wulfstan scholars that he was—as far as one can tell from the extant Old English texts—the first author to employ consistently *lagu* (< ON *lǫg* 'law') instead of the native *ǣ(w)* to refer to divine laws.[33] Nonetheless, this usage soon became widespread and even Ælfric employed the phrase *Godes lagu* in his later writings.[34] Therefore, it is not only the presence of this phrase but also the verbs it collocates with that one should pay attention to. The collocation *Godes lage lufian* is not otherwise recorded in the archbishop's works, while his standard collocation is *God lufian and Godes lage fylgan* 'to love God and to obey God's law' (e.g. WHom 5 115, WHom 10c 40-41 and LawIICn 84.1). Yet, Wulfstanian and non-Wulfstanian compositions do record the collocation *lufian* + other terms with a similar meaning to *lagu* (e.g. 'lufige man Godes riht heonan forð' [may one love God's justice henceforth] in LawVAtr 26 = LawVIAtr 30, 'þe Godes æ lufiað' [who love God's law] in ÆLS [Maccabees] 268 and 'þe Godes bebodan lufigeð' [who love God's commandments] in Alc [Warn 35] 115). The collocation *(Godes) lage smēagan* is not very common in Wulfstan's works either: it only occurs in HomU 48 18 = LawICn 21 ('Godes laga and lara smeagean and spirian' [to meditate on and ask about God's laws and teachings']). Outside the Wulfstanian canon *smēagan* collocates in thirteen contexts either with *ǣ* or with *bebod* (e.g. 'þæt ic æ þine smeage' [that I may meditate on your law] in PPs 118.34, and 'ælce dæge geornfullice smeað ða bebodu halegra gewrita' [each day diligently meditates on the commandments of the holy writings' in CP 22.169.4-5).

(6) The poem also contains some word-plays much in Wulfstan's style:

(6.a) 'He wearð wide geond þeodland swyðe geweorðað for þam þe he weorðode Godes naman georne' [he became widely honoured throughout the land of the nation because he readily honoured God's name] (ChronD 959.10-11 = ChronE 959.13-14): the passage is dominated by the diacope based on *weorðian* and the phonetic similarity between *weorðan* and *weorðian*. Yet, similar word-plays are ubiquitous in the *COE*: e.g. 'he wearð self unweorðlice ofslagen' [he was ignobly killed] (Or 6 9.139.13-14). Furthermore, one has to pay attention as well to the non-Wulfstanian *ðēodland* (see above; cp. *weorðian Godes naman*, on which see above).

(6.b) 'Þæt his goddæda swyðran weorðan þonne misdæda' [that his good deeds may be greater than his misdeeds] (ChronD 959.17-18 = ChronE 959.24-25): the contrast between *gōddǣd* (or 'gode dæda' in *ChronE 959*) and *misdǣd* or other member of the *dǣd* word-field is recorded on ten occasions in Wulfstan's compositions, including derivative contexts (e.g. 'menn swiðor scamað nu for godan dædan swyðor þonne for misdædan' [men are now more ashamed of good deeds than of misdeeds] in WHom 20.2 145-46 = WHom 20.3 147-48). Similar word-plays are attested more than twenty times in the *COE* (ten times in Ælfrician texts, e.g. 'wyrcað dædbote eowra misdæda' [do penance for your misdeeds] in ÆLS [Memory of Saints] 132); however, non-Wulfstanian compositions do not record the specific contrast between *misdǣd* and *gōddǣd* (as a compound or a phrase).

(7) 'He elðeodige unsida lufode' [loved bad, foreign customs] (ChronD 959.14-15 = ChronE 959.20): this clause contains the typically Wulfstanian term *unsidu*, which is recorded five times in his corpus, albeit only in two different contexts (WHom 20.1 92 = WHom 20.2 133 = WHom 20.3 135 and WPol 2.1.2 33 = WPol 2.1.1 39). It is otherwise only recorded in ChrodR 1 22.10 ('ne mid unsidum ne mid ofermedum' [neither with bad customs nor with pride]), while this concept is normally expressed by *undēaw*, which is attested more than two hundred times in non-Wulfstanian texts and three times in the archbishop's works.[35] The collocation of either of these nouns with a member of the *lufian* word-field is however not common in Wulfstanian compositions (it is only recorded in WPol 2.1.2 39) or outside them (it is only recorded in HomS 49 97-98 and HomU 39 73).[36]

Equally—if not more—revealing are the structures which do not seem to have been favoured by Wulfstan. As far as the *ChronD 959 = ChronE 959* poem is concerned, these are:

(1) 'Folces frið bette' [improved people's security] (ChronD 959.5-6 = ChronE 959.7): neither in the Wulfstanian canon nor in other Old English compositions can one find the collocation *folces frið* + *bētan*, although both corpora contain similar expressions with a member of the *bētan* word-field: Wulfstan's 'ealles folces frið wyrðe betere' [the security of all the nation may become better] (HomU 41 3-4) can be compared with 'Ðis is seo gerædnys, ðe æþelred cyning & his witan geræddon, eallon folce to friþes bote' [this is the ordinance which King Æthelred and his councillors have enacted for the improvement of peace for all the nation] (LawIAtr 0.2). These structures are recorded seven times in Wulfstan's texts as opposed to four times in non-Wulfstanian compositions, the records in the two corpora being included mainly in formulaic expressions.

(2) 'Be manna gemynde' [in the memory of men] (ChronD 959.6-7 = ChronE 959.8): the noun *gemynd* tends to collocate with *on* instead of *be* (e.g. LawICn 25, ÆCHom I, 2 194.124-25 and PPs 50.4), while the collocation *be gemynde* is only recorded in Bo 42.148.9 ('be gemynde & be geæscum' [through memory and through queries]) and in LibSc 4.44, where it renders L *de recordatione* 'because of memory'.

(2) 'Wislice ræde oftost a symble' [counselled wisely very often, always continuously] (ChronD 959.12-13 = ChronE 959.17): the collocation *rǣdan* + *wīslice* is not otherwise recorded in the *COE*. Notably, non-Wulfstanian texts record the phase *wīslic rǣd* 'wise counsel' twice (ÆSpir 50-51 and Intr 210) and the phrase *unwīslic rǣd* 'unwise counsel' once (ÆLS [Cecilia] 209), while the Wulfstanian canon only records the phase *wīslic rǣd* in WHom 9 81, a context which relies on ÆSpir 50-51.[37] The adverbial list 'oftost a symble' is not recorded in the *COE* in any other context either.[38]

(4) 'Ane misdæde he dyde' [he did one misdeed] (ChronD 959.14 = ChronE 959.19): in the Wulfstanian canon, *misdǣd* collocates with *(ge)swīcan* 'to cease from, give away' (e.g. WHom 11 195-96), *(ge)bētan* 'to amend' (e.g. WHom 6 90) and *andettan* 'to confess' (e.g. WHom 14 30-31), but not with *dōn*, while this collocation is recorded in LS 9 535-36 ('bædon forgyfennesse ealra þære misdæde þe wið him gedon hæfdon' [asked for forgiveness for all the misdeeds which they had done against whim]) and BenRW 4.25.10 ('hyre misdædum, þe heo gedon hafod' [her misdeeds, which she had done]). Admittedly, one could argue that the unprecedented presence of *dōn* responds to the echoic effect which it contributes to create (*misdǣd – dōn – unsidu*) in a passage which is clearly dominated by the dentals /θ/ and /d/.

(5) 'Heþene þeawas innan þysan lande gebrohte' [brought heathen customs into this land] (ChronD 959.15-16 = ChronE 959.21):[39] the phrase *hæðen ðeaw* is not otherwise recorded in the Wulfstanian canon (cp. 'ðeawan ælðeodige' [foreign customs] in WHom 11 111 and 'hæþene unsida' [heathen bad customs] in WHom 20.1 92 = WHom 20.2 133 = WHom 20.3 135; see below), while it is recorded on five occasions in other Old English texts, including one derivative context (ChronA 616.4 = ChronE 616.3). However, given that this phrase emphasises the same idea as 'elðeodige unsida', its use could be associated with Wulfstan's fondness for *commoratio* (i.e. the repetition of the same concept through different terms), or the general tendency towards variation in poetic language. The collocation *bringan* + a prepositional phrase introduced by *innan* is otherwise only recorded in 'innan ciricean gebroht' [brought into the church] (BenR 58.99.17 = BenRWells 58.98.17 = BenRW 58.117.27). In the Wulfstanian canon *bringan* tends to collocate with a phrase introduced by *on* or *tō* instead (e.g. 'we wyllað þæt ælc freoman beon on hundrede 7 on teoðunge gebroht' [we want that each freeman be brought into a hundred or tithing] in LawIICn 20 and 'bringe man þæt to cirican' [may one bring it to church] in LawVIIaAtr 2.3). Furthermore, the prepositional phrases with *innan* + a noun in the dative recorded in the Wulfstanian canon indicate something static rather than movement (e.g. 'freondscipe rihtlice healde innan þysan earde' [may maintain friendship within this land] in LawVAtr 1.1 = LawVIAtr 8 and 'hu earmlice hit gefaran is nu ealle hwile innan þisse earman forsingodre þeode' [how wretchedly it has gone all the time now in this wretched, sinning nation] in WHom 20.2 160-61).

(6) 'Utlændisce' [foreigners] (ChronD 959.16 = ChronE 959.22): this nominalized adjective is not otherwise recorded in Wulfstan's works, but it is attested eight times, including one derivative context (ChronC 1052.42 = ChronD 1052.2.49), in other Old English texts. Still, one might want to explain its presence by referring to the *commoratio* which dominates these lines (see above).

(7) 'Deriende leoda' [damaging people] (ChronD 959.16-17 = ChronE 959.23): a nominal phrase with the present participle of *derian* + noun is only recorded once in the Wulfstanian canon (LitBen 7.1 43) and three times outside it (JDay II 232, AldV 13.1 765 and LibSc 58.53), while *underiende* 'inoffensive' is recorded twice in an equivalent phrase (Or 1 2.22.13 and Or 1 6.25.9).[40] Given that it is likely that the extant prose sections of the *Benedictine Office* represent Wulfstan's reworking of a pre-existing text,[41] one cannot discard the possibility that the presence of the structure in LitBen 7.1 43 is attributable to constrained usage.[42]

(8) 'To gescyldnesse' [to protection] (ChronD 959.18-19 = ChronE 959.26): *gescyldnes* is not a term for 'protection' favoured by Wulfstan. He was much fonder of the Norse-derived loanword *grið* (< ON *grið*) and did not use the native term in any of his compositions,[43] while the phrase *tō gescyldnesse* by itself is recorded eight times in the *COE* (e.g. ÆCHom II, 45 336-37 and Or 4 10.104.5).

(10) 'On langsuman siðe' [on the longsome journey] (ChronD 959.19 = ChronE 959.26): whereas the collocation *lang + sīð* is not uncommon in the *COE* (e.g. 'on langne sið' in GenA,B 68b and Dan 68b), the adjective *langsum* is not recorded in the same context anywhere else (cp. 'on þære langsuman fare' in ÆCHom II, 12 121.376). In general, one notes that, while Ælfric was very fond of *langsum*, Wulfstan only employed it in three different contexts (viz. WHom 8b 10, HomU 40 50 = WPol 2.1.2 31 = WPol 2.1.1.38 and WPol 2.1.1 128).

Jost insists that the author of the *ChronD 959 = ChronE 959* poem is very likely to be the same person who composed the *ChronD 975* poem because both texts start with the phrase 'on his dagum' [in his days] and share many of the traits which characterize the Wulfstanian language.[44] The phrases of the *ChronD 975* poem, therefore, need to be classified in the same three groups as those suggested for the previous poem. The following structures can be said to be common in Wulfstanian and non-Wulfstanian compositions alike:

(1) 'On his dagum' (ChronD 975.11-12): the various versions of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle record thirteen phrases containing *on* + genitive + *dagum*, excluding those from this annal and *ChronD 959 = ChronE 959*, but including seven derivative contexts (e.g. ChronA 787.2 = ChronC 787.2 = ChronD 787.2 = ChronE 787.2); these phrases can be compared with Wulfstan's 'on Æðelredes cyninges dagum' [in King Æthelred's days] (WHom 20.2 10).

(2) 'For his iugoðe' [because of his young age] (ChronD 975.12): Wulfstan's works record once a similar prepositional phrase with *for + geoguð* ('þæt cild for geogoðe sprecan ne mage' [the child may not be able to speak because of his young age] in WHom 13 27), while it is attested on three occasions in non-Wulfstanian works (e.g. 'for untrumnesse oððe for geogoðe' [because of infirmity or young age] in HomS 13 59-60).

(3) 'Godes wiþærsacan' [God's enemies] (ChronD 975.12): this phrase is recorded four times in the archbishop's works, including one derivative context (WHom 20.1 99 = WHom 20.2 140), and ten times outside them (e.g. ÆCHom I, 26 394.176).

(4) 'Þe Eadgar kyning het ær þone halgan biscop Æþælwold gestaðelian' [which King Edgar had commanded the holy bishop Æthelwold to establish] (ChronD 975.15-16): the verb *(ge)sta(ðo)lian* / *(ge)sta(ðe)lian* can similarly be found three times in the texts attributed to Wulfstan, although two of the contexts are derivative ('ac staðelige man and strangige and trimme hi georne mid wislicre Godes lage' [but one should make them steadfast, and strengthen and readily fortify them with God's wise law] in WPol 2.1.2 31 = WPol 2.1.1 38 = HomU 40 48-49), and more than two hundred and eighty times outside them (e.g. 'ic to drihtne min mod staþelige' [I shall fix my mind on the Lord] in Jul 221b-22a).[45]

Like the poem in *ChronD 959 = ChronE 959*, the poem in *ChronD 975* has some structures which are characteristic of the archbishop's works; however, again as in the previous case, not all of them argue equally strongly in favour of Wulfstan's authorship of the poem:

(1) 'Godes lage bræcon' [broke God's law] (ChronD 975.12-13): the presence of the phrase *Godes lagu* could make one think of Wulfstan immediately; however, the caveats suggested above should be borne in mind here. Furthermore, while the collocation *Godes lage + brecan* (with or without a prefix) is indeed recorded twice in the archbishop's canon (WHom 15 38 and WHom 19 5), it is also recorded on the same number of occasions outside it (ÆHomM 7 146 and 153, where the verb is *tōbrecan*).

(2) 'Godes þeowas fesedon' [put to flight God's servants] (ChronD 975.15): both Jost and Bethurum highlight the presence of the verb *fēs(i)an* in this context as further evidence in favour of the association of this poem with Wulfstan because the verb (with or without the prefix *tō*) is also recorded in WHom 19 55 and 63, and WHom 20.3 112.[46] Yet, Bethurum is wrong in stating that the verb 'appears outside this use in the Chronicle only in Wulfstan's work',[47] for it is also recorded in PrudGl 1 194, where 'fesigende' renders L *exegitans* 'forcing out' and *persequens* 'persecuting'. Furthermore, its contexts become more numerous if this verb is analysed as a non-West Saxon variant of the verb *fȳsan*.[48]

(3) 'Wydewan bestryptan oft and gelome' [often and frequently widows were robbed] (ChronD 975.16-17): this clause finds its closest parallel in 'wydewan bestrypað oft and gelome' [rob widows often and frequently] (WPol 2.1.1 97), as already noted by Jost.[49] This context could be said to provide further evidence in favour of the archbishop's authority of the poem: (1) Wulfstan's concern for the well-being of widows is recurrent in his works (e.g. 'wuduwan and steopcild hi

sculon retan' [they must comfort widows and orphans] in WPol 2.1.2 59 = WPol 2.1.1 87);[50] and (2) the verb *bestrȳpan* is recorded in three different contexts in the Wulfstanian canon (WHom 20.1 36 = WHom 20.2 42 = WHom 20.3 41, WPol 2.1.2 108 = WPol 2.1.1 213 and WPol 2.1.1 97), but only in one outside it (ChronC 1065.18).

(4) 'Fela unrihta and yfelra unlaga arysan up siððan' [many wrongs and evil injustices rose up afterwards] (ChronD 975.17): whereas the word-play involved in the pair *fela – yfel* is ubiquitous in the *COE* (e.g. 'fela yfela' in WHom 3 9 and Conf 1.1.25, 'fela yfelu' in ÆLS [Maccabees] 4), the contrast between *unriht* and *unlagu* is only recorded in Wulfstanian compositions (e.g. 'unriht rærde 7 unlaga manege ealles to wide geond ealle þas ðeode' [committed many wrongs and unlawful acts all too widely in this nation] in WHom 20.1 11 = WHom 20.2 17-18 = WHom 20.3 16-17).[51] Yet, although *unlagu* is first attested in Wulfstan's works, it was quickly adopted by other eleventh-century authors.[52] In Wulfstan's compositions *unlagu* tends to appear as the direct object of verbs referring either to 'promotion' (e.g. *[ā]rǣran*, as in WHom 20.1 11 = WHom 20.2 17 = WHom 20.3 16 and WPol 2.1.1 97) or to 'rejection' and 'extinction' (e.g. *āweorpan*, as in LawXAtrProl 2, or *āfyllan*, as in LawXAtr 2 = LawVAtr 1.1 = LawVIAtr 8 = LawCn 1018 3 = LawIICn 1). However, the collocation *unriht(wīsnes)* / *unlagu* + *(ā)rīsan* is uncommon in Wulfstanian and non-Wulfstanian compositions: it is never recorded in the archbishop's works, while *unriht(wīsnes)* appears in this collocation only twice in texts not attributable to Wulfstan ('on þam yfelan timan arist seo unrihtwisnyss' [that injustice developed in that evil time] in ÆHom 19 331-32; and the Wulfstan-sounding sentence 'on his dagan ælc riht afeoll 7 ælc unriht for Gode and for worolde up aras' [in his days every justice fell and every injustice developed before God and the world] in ChronE 1100 13-14).[53]

(5) 'Hit yfelode swiðe' [it became much worse] (ChronD 975.18): this clause offers a good *comparandum* for 'hit godode georne' in *ChronD 959 = ChronE 975* and does seem to establish a relationship between the two compositions. The Wulfstanian canon records the use of *(ge)yfelian* in an impersonal construction on five occasions (including two derivative contexts), all of them with the structure *hit + sceal + nȳde + yfelian + swȳðe* (WHom 20.1 5-6 = WHom 20.2 9 = WHom 20.3 9-10, WHom 5 14-15 and 40-41).[54] The archbishop's works show the highest concentration of this usage, for *hit + (ge)yfelian* is otherwise only attested in ChronD 1066.83 ('a syððan hit yflade swiðe' [afterwards it always got much worse]), while the grammatical subject is elliptical in ChronD 1053.14 ('him geyfelode' [he became ill]) and ChronE 1086.43 ('him geyfelade' [he became ill]).

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Interestingly, all the non-Wulfstanian contexts are recorded in passages of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle which would have been composed after Wulfstan's death. One could claim that the use of these structures has been influenced by Wulfstan's practice, but the same could be said about *ChronD 975.*[55]

Like the *ChronD 959 = ChronE 959* poem, this composition contains some terms and collocations which are not frequent in the archbishop's works:

(1) 'Ælfere ealdorman and oþre manega' [Ealdorman Ælfhere and many others] (ChronD 975.13): Whitelock notes that Wulfstan departs from common early-eleventh-century usage in that, other than when his lexical selection follows constrained usage, he prefers the Norse-derived semantic loan *eorl* (cp. ON *jarl*) over the native *ealdormann.*[56] Yet, it is likely that the selection of the native term in this case responds to the fact that Ælfhere was commonly referred to by this title (cp. ChronE 980.1 and LawIVEg 15.1).

(2) 'Munucregol myrdon' [impeded monastic rule] (ChronD 975.13-14): this collocation is not recorded anywhere else in the *COE*. *Munucregol* is also otherwise unattested in the Wulfstanian canon, while it is recorded twice in other Old English texts (e.g. ÆLS [Basil] 145). The presence of this compound could however be accounted for by referring to the alliteration which it contributes to create and the fact the Wulfstanian canon does attest other complexes with *regol* (e.g. *regollic* 'regular, canonical' and *regollagu* 'monastic law').[57] The verb *(ge)myrran*, on the other hand, is not uncommon either in Wulfstan's works, where it occurs three times, including one derivative context ('Godes lage wyrde oððe folclage myrre' [he may violate God's law or impede public law] in WPol 2.1.2 14 = WPol 2.1.1 17); or outside them, where it is recorded more than fifteen times (e.g. 'hie þone cristendom mierde leng' [it may impede Christianity longer] in Or 6 7.138.14).

(3) 'Mynstra tostæncton' [dissolved monasteries] (ChronD 975.14): the verb *tōstencan* is not otherwise attested in the archbishop's compositions, while it is recorded more than one hundred and fifty times in non-Wulfstanian texts (e.g. 'mine sceap sind tostencte' [my sheep are scattered] in ÆCHom I, 17 315.60).

(4) 'aa æfter þam' [always after that] (ChronD 975.18): the collocation $\bar{a}(a)$ + *æfter* + dative is not recorded anywhere else in the *COE*. The most common collocations with the adverb seem to be instead $\bar{a}(a)$ + *būtan ende* [always without end] (e.g. WHom 1b 40, HomU 21 79-80) and $\bar{a}(a)$ + *siððan* [always afterwards] (e.g. WHom 7a 36 and ÆHom 6 153).

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When one discards the non-Wulfstanian features which follow constrained usage, the expressions which are common in both Wulfstanian and non-Wulfstanian compositions and those which are not otherwise recorded in either corpora, as well as those features which, while having been identified as clearly Wulfstanian or clearly non-Wulfstanian, are problematic, one is left with only a handful of structures. Those which, given the extant records, may argue most strongly in favour of Wulfstan's authorship are *hit* + *gōdian / yfelian*. However, the two poems, especially that in *ChronD 959 = ChronE 959*, the longer of the two, contain a reasonable number of expressions which make one doubt this attribution. This situation allows for several speculative solutions for the puzzle presented by these compositions:

(1) They are both by Wulfstan and the non-Wulfstanian traits are to be left aside as minor deviations from his common lexical choices; they could be authorial or they could have been included in the process of transmission.
(2) Wulfstan should only be attributed the *ChronD 975* poem, while the *ChronD 959 = ChronE 959* poem was composed by someone else well-acquainted with his language, who developed a companion text (cp. the relationship between *Grið*, a Wulfstanian text, and the so-called 'Northumbrian *Grið*', which, despite only being recorded in a manuscript annotated by the hand identified as Wulfstan's, should not be assigned to him).[58] This would explain the unprecedented attack on a king for whom Wulfstan had otherwise only expressed great admiration and respect (at least as far as suggested by the extant sources).
(3) Neither poem was actually composed by Wulfstan, but by someone who was able to reproduce most of the archbishop's lexical traits (sometimes by simply copying his texts) but was betrayed by a few of his/her own choices. This is a pattern seen in so many other texts that hardly needs any further comment. His/her work could have been commissioned by Wulfstan or could have been carried out independently from him.

It is extremely difficult to decide between these three suggestions, but it is precisely this difficulty that should prevent us from attributing these poems to Wulfstan without any further caveats. Wulfstan might have liked to have a finger—or a paw, if one wants to continue with the word-play based on his name which he started himself—in almost every pie, but our eagerness to attribute Old English texts to known Anglo-Saxon authors should not lead us to present him as a person suffering from what one could describe as *generic polydactyly*.

NOTES

[1]   The titles of Old English texts are abbreviated in accordance with the online version of *The Complete Corpus of Old English in Machine Readable Form (TEI Compatible Version)*, ed. by Antonette di Paolo Healey, <http://ets.umdl.umich.edu/o/oec/>, accessed from 6 April 2006 to 20 July 2006. The editions used in this article coincide with those employed in the corpus; therefore, no bibliographical references are given for them. In *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition*, vol. 6: *MS D*, ed. by G. P. Cubbin (Cambridge: Brewer, 1996), pp. 45 n. 2, and 47 n. 3, Cubbin explains that there is nothing in the manuscript to suggest that *ChronD 959* and *ChronD 975* contain verse; accordingly, he prints the texts as prose. Similarly, one can read in *English Historical Documents*, vol. 1: *c. 500-1042*, ed. by Dorothy Whitelock, 2nd edn (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), p. 225 n. 4, that the passage in ChronD 959 2-19 = ChronE 959 3-26 is written in 'alliterative prose' much in Archbishop Wulfstan's style. *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition*, vol. 7: *MS E*, ed. by Susan Irvine (Cambridge: Brewer, 2004), p. 56, on the other hand, prints ChronE 959 3-26 as poetry, in keeping with the study by Thomas A. Bredehoft, *Textual Histories: Readings in the* Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), pp. 97-98, on the form of the compositions. For the sake of convenience, they are here referred to as *poems*, the most widely accepted term to describe them; see Angus McIntosh, 'Wulfstan's Prose', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 35 (1950), 111-42 (p. 117).

[2]   Karl Jost, 'Wulfstan und die angelsächsische Chronik', *Anglia* 47 (1923), 105-23 (p. 123).

[3]   Jost, 'Wulfstan und die angelsächsische Chronik', p. 122.

[4]   Jost, *Wulfstanstudien*, Schweizer anglistische Arbeiten: Swiss Studies in English 23 (Bern: Francke, 1950), pp. 116-17.

[5]   See, for instance, *The Homilies of Wulfstan*, ed. by Dorothy Bethurum (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), pp. 47-48. On the works which are commonly attributed to Wulfstan, see Sara M. Pons-Sanz, *Norse-Derived Vocabulary in Late Old English Texts: Wulfstan's Works, a Case Study*, North-Western European Language Evolution, Suppl. 22 (Odense: University Press of Southern Denmark, 2007), ch. 1. For some voices against such an extensive attribution, see C. E. Hohler, 'Some Service Books in the Later Saxon Church', in *Tenth-Century Studies: Essays in Commemoration of the Millennium of the Council of Winchester*

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and Regularis Concordia, ed. by David Parsons (London: Phillimore, 1975), pp. 60-93 and 217-27 (p. 225); A. G. Kennedy, 'Cnut's Law Code of 1018', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 11 (1983), 57-81 (p. 65); and Winfried Rudolf, 'Style and Composition of Napier XVIII—A Matter of Person or a Matter of Purpose?', in *Authors, Heroes, and Lovers: Essays in Medieval English Literature and Language: Selected Papers from the Studientage zum englischen Mittelalter SEM I & II (Postdam, 1999 & 2000)*, ed. by Thomas Honegger, Variations 2 (Bern: Peter Lang, 2001), pp. 107-49.

⁶ For an edition of *WÆLet 2*, which is not included in the *Corpus of Old English*, see *Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics in altenglischer und lateinischer Fassung*, ed. by Bernhard Fehr, Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa 9 (Hamburg: Grand, 1914), rpt. with a Supplement to the Introduction by Peter Clemoes (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1966), pp. 68-140. On Wulfstan's reworking of Ælfric's Pastoral Letter, see Jost, *Wulfstanstudien*, pp. 133-48; and Pons-Sanz, *Norse-Derived Vocabulary in Late Old English Texts*, pp. 90-97. On Wulfstan's reworking of *Cnut 1020*, see Dorothy Whitelock, 'Wulfstan's Authorship of Cnut's Laws', *English Historical Review*, 70 (1955), 72-85. On his 'compilation on status', see Dorothy Bethurum, 'Six Anonymous Old English Codes', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 49 (1950), 449-63; and Patrick Wormald, *The Making of English Law: King Alfred to the Twelfth Century*, vol. 1: *Legislation and its Limits* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), pp. 391-94.

⁷ See, for instance, LawVIIIAtr 43.

⁸ It is precisely on these grounds, i.e. the focus on ecclesiastical rather than political matters, that Bredehoft, *Textual Histories*, p. 109, suggests that the poem in the annal for 1011 in the C-, D- and E-texts of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle may as well be a Wulfstanian composition despite not showing any of the archbishop's typical traits other than the echoic phrases *for Gode and for worolde* 'before God and before the world'; cp. Jost, 'Wulfstan und die angelsächsische Chronik', p. 123 n. 1.

⁹ Cubbin, *MS D*, p. lxiii.

¹⁰ On Wulfstan's career, see Bethurum, *The Homilies of Wulfstan*, pp. 55-68; Andy Orchard, 'Wulfstan the Homilist', in *The Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. by M. Lapidge and others (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), pp. 494-95; Dorothy Whitelock, 'A Note on Wulfstan the Homilist', *English Historical Review*, 52 (1937), 460-65; and *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*, ed. by Dorothy Whitelock, rev. edn (Exeter: University of Exeter, 1976), pp. 7-17.

¹¹ Bethurum, *The Homilies of Wulfstan*, p. 61, describes him as a 'statesman, reformer, canonist, legislator, and homilist'.

¹² See above, n. 5.

¹³ On the scholarly history of the so-called 'Wulfstan's imitators', see Jost, *Wulfstanstudien*, pp. 110-14.

[14]   See, for instance, the Wulfstanizing efforts of the author of *HomU 27*, explored by Donald Scragg, 'Napier's "Wulfstan" Homily XXX: Its Sources, its Relationship to the Vercelli Book and its Style', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 6 (1977), 197-212 (p. 208); and Jonathan Wilcox, 'The Dissemination of Wulfstan's Homilies: The Wulfstan Tradition in Eleventh-Century Vernacular Preaching', in *England in the Eleventh Century: Proceedings of the 1990 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. by Carola Hicks, Harlaxton Medieval Studies 2 (Stamford: Whitkins, 1992), pp. 199-217 (pp. 210-11).

[15]   I owe the phrases *constrained usage* and *active repertoire* to Michael Benskin and Margaret Laing, 'Translations and *Mischsprachen* in Middle English Manuscripts', in *So meny people longages and tonges: Philological Essays in Scots and Medieval English Presented to Angus McIntosh*, ed. by Michael Benskin and M. L. Samuels (Edinburgh: Middle English Dialect Project, 1981), pp. 55-106. They use the phrases to refer mainly to orthographic and phonetic features, however, whereas the phrases are applied here to lexical items. On Wulfstan's tendency to retain in his reworkings terms which are not normally part of his active repertoire, see Pons-Sanz, *Norse-Derived Vocabulary in Late Old English Texts*, pp. 90-98, 100, 102-03, 153-54, 176-81, 189-90.

[16]   Simon Keynes, 'The Additions in Old English', in *The York Gospels: A Facsimile with Introductory Essays by Jonathan Alexander, Patrick McGurk, Simon Keynes and Bernard Barr* (London: [n. p.], 1986), pp. 81-99 (p. 96).

[17]   Wulfstan kept the verb (as well as the noun) in WÆLet 2 116. On the relationship between *WHom 9* and Ælfric's homily on the gifts of the Holy Spirit, see Bethurum, *The Homilies of Wulfstan*, pp. 304-06.

[18]   For a summary of Wulfstan's stylistic traits, see Bethurum, *The Homilies of Wulfstan*, pp. 87-98; and A. P. Orchard, 'Crying Wolf: Oral Style and the *Sermones Lupi*', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 21 (1992), 239-64.

[19]   On Wulfstan's word-formation ability, see Don W. Chapman, 'Motivations for Producing and Analyzing Compounds in Wulfstan's Sermons', in *Advances in English Historical Linguistics (1996)*, ed. by Jacek Fisiak and Marcin Krygier, Trends in Linguistics: Studies and Monographs 112 (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1998), pp. 15-21; idem, 'Germanic Tradition and Latin Learning in Wulfstan's Echoic Compounds', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 101 (2002), 1-18; and Sara M. Pons-Sanz, '*For Gode and for worolde*: Wulfstan's Differentiation of the Divine and Worldly Realms through Word-Formation Processes', *English Studies*, 85 (2004), 281-96.

[20]   While the Wulfstanian canon comprises approximately 66,600 Old English terms, the whole of the *COE* contains 3,029,324 Old English words. I would like to thank Professor Antonette di Paolo Healey for her generous help in the compilation of these figures.

[21] I use the term *word-field* as an equivalent to *word-family*, i.e. it refers to a group of terms made up by a simplex and the complexes which have that simplex either as their base (in derivatives) or as one of their lexemes (in compounds).

[22] Jost, 'Wulfstan und die angelsächsische Chronik', p. 118.

[23] In WÆLet 2 13 Wulfstan replaced the Ælfrician phrase 'butan ælcere synne' [without any sin] (ÆLet 2 13) with a completely different phrase, viz. 'on fulre clænnesse' [with full purity].

[24] Jost, 'Wulfstan und die angelsächsische Chronik', p. 108.

[25] Cp. Dorothy Whitelock, 'Archbishop Wulfstan, Homilist and Statesman', in *Essays in Medieval History: Selected from the Transactions of the Royal Historical Society on the Occasion of its Centenary*, ed. by R. W. Southern (London: Macmillan, 1968), pp. 42-60 (p. 44).

[26] Jost, 'Wulfstan und die angelsächsische Chronik', p. 109.

[27] The translation of the Riming poem relies on that provided by Ruth P. M. Lehmann, 'The Old English Riming Poem: Interpretation, Text and Translation', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 69 (1979), 437-49 (p. 444). The intransitive and impersonal use of *gōdian* is also recorded in ChronF 958.2, but this context follows ChronD 959.2 = ChronE 959.3 verbatim.

[28] Jost, 'Wulfstan und die angelsächsische Chronik', pp. 111-12.

[29] Cp. 'and geutlageden þa ealle Frencisce men þe ær unlage rærdon and undom demdon, and unræd ræddon into ðissum earde' [and outlawed all the Frenchmen who had earlier promoted illegality and passed unjust judgement and counselled bad counsel in this country] (ChronC 1052.51-53 = ChronD 1052.58-59), where Wulfstan's 'and se ðe unlage rære oððe undom gedeme' [and whoever promotes illegality or passes unjust judgement] (LawIICn 15.1) is taken one step further; see Pons-Sanz, *Norse-Derived Vocabulary in Late Old English Texts*, pp. 234-35.

[30] Jost, 'Wulfstan und die angelsächsische Chronik', p. 115; cp. Fehr, *Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics*, §159.

[31] *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, trans. and ed. by Michael Swanton, new edn (London: Phoenix Press, 2000), p. 115; Whitelock, *English Historical Documents c. 500-1042*, p. 225.

[32] On the influence of Wulfstanian compositions on the last three contexts, see *Eleven Old English Rogationtide Homilies*, ed. by Joyce Bazire and James E. Cross, King's College London Medieval Studies 4, 2nd edn (London: King's College London Medieval Studies, 1989), pp. 90 and 104-07; and Neil Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957; rpt. 1990), p. 162 (no. 130), respectively.

[33] See Andreas Fischer, 'Lexical Change in Late Old English: From *æ* to *lagu*', in *The History and the Dialects of English: Festschrift for Eduard Kolb*, ed. by Andreas Fischer, Anglistische Forschungen 203 (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1989), pp. 103-04.

[34] M. R. Godden, 'Ælfric's Changing Vocabulary', *English Studies*, 61 (1980), 206-23 (pp. 214-17).

[35] The adjective *unsideful* is recorded twice in the *COE* (viz. ÆGl 321.12 = AntGl 6 153, where it renders L *impudicus* 'shameless, unchaste'); on the relationship between Ælfric's *Glossary* and the glosses in Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, MS 32 and London, British Library, MS Additional 32246, see Robert George Gillingham, 'An Edition of Abbot Ælfric's Old English-Latin Glossary with Commentary' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Ohio State University, 1981), pp. 38-71.

[36] The collocation *lufian + ðēaw* is attested three times in the *COE*.

[37] On the relationship between these texts, see Bethurum, *The Homilies of Wulfstan*, pp. 304-06.

[38] Jost, 'Wulfstan und die angelsächsische Chronik', p. 108, suggests that the closest phrase in the Wulfstanian canon is 'wel oftost aa' [fully most often always] (WHom 6 110).

[39] On the policies of Edgar to which this statement is likely to refer, see Shashi Jayakumar, 'Some Reflections on the "Foreign Policies" of Edgar "the Peaceable"', *Haskins Society Journal*, 10 (2001), 17-37.

[40] The adjective *deriendlic* 'hurtful, mischievous' is much more favoured, particularly by Ælfric, whose works record a nominal phrase with this adjective on fourteen occasions.

[41] See *The Benedictine Office: An Old English Text*, ed. by James M. Ure (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1957), p. 25; Karl Jost, Review of *The Benedictine Office: An Old English Text*, ed. by James M. Ure, *Review of English Studies*, n.s. 10 (1959), 75-77; Peter Clemoes, 'The Old English Benedictine Office, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS. 190, and the Relations between Ælfric and Wulfstan: A Reconsideration', *Anglia*, 78 (1960), 265-83; and Pons-Sanz, *Norse-Derived Vocabulary in Late Old English Texts*, pp. 10-11.

[42] Cp. the presence of *æ* in LitBen 7.6 3; see Pons-Sanz, *Norse-Derived Vocabulary in Late Old English Texts*, pp. 96-97.

[43] On the *grið* word-field in the Wulfstanian canon, see Pons-Sanz, *Norse-Derived Vocabulary in Late Old English Texts*, ch. 4.

[44] Jost, 'Wulfstan und die angelsächsische Chronik'.

[45] The presence of this verb in *ChronD 975* might have been influenced by the fact that the same verb appears in *ChronE 975*. Jost, 'Wulfstan und die angelsächsische Chronik', p. 121, considers the latter to be the original text from which the poem was developed because of the irregular rhythmical form of 'þe Eadgar kyning het ær þone halgan biscop', which appears in the two texts. The relationship between the two texts is still unclear, though. In *The Peterborough Chronicle: The Bodleian Manuscript Laud Misc. 636*, ed. by Dorothy Whitelock, Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile 4 (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1954), p. 28, Whitelock argues instead that *ChronE 975* represents a summary of *ChronD 975*; cp. Irvine, *MS E*, p. lxi.

[46]   Jost, 'Wulfstan und die angelsächsische Chronik', pp. 119-20; Bethurum, *The Homilies of Wulfstan*, p. 47.

[47]   Bethurum, *The Homilies of Wulfstan*, p. 47.

[48]   On the forms and etymology of *fēs(i)an*, see further Sara M. Pons-Sanz, 'OE *fēs(i)an* / ME *fēsen* Revisited', *Neophilologus*, 90 (2006), 119-34.

[49]   *Die 'Institutes of Polity, Civil and Ecclesiastical': ein Werk Erzbischof Wulfstans von York*, ed. by Karl Jost, Schweizer anglistische Arbeiten: Swiss Studies in English 47 (Bern: Francke, 1959), p. 82.

[50]   This concern is not restricted to his works, though: cp. 'helpe earmra manna georne, wuduwan and steopcildan and ælþeodigra manna' [help of poor men, widows, orphans and foreigners'] (Conf 4 29.364-65) and 'þa wuduwan 7 þa stiopcild ne sceððað ge, ne hie nawer deriað' [do not injure widows or orphans, nor ever hurt them'] (LawAfEl 34); see further Stephanie Hollis, '"The Protection of God and the King": Wulfstan's Legislation on Widows', in *Wulfstan, Archbishop of York: The Proceedings of the Second Alcuin Conference*, ed. by Matthew Townend, Studies in the Early Middle Ages 10 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), pp. 443-60.

[51]   But cp. 'swa man swyðor spæc embe rihte lage, swa mann dyde mare unlaga: hy arerdon unrihte tollas, & manige oðre unriht hi dydan' [the more one spoke about just law, the more one committed unlawful acts: they levied unjust tolls and did other wrongs] (ChronE 1086.26-28).

[52]   For example, ChronC 1052.52 = ChronD 1052.2.59 and Ch 987 5 (cp. 'unlagagelde' in ChronE 1090.19); see Pons-Sanz, *Norse-Derived Vocabulary in Late Old English Texts*, pp. 234-35 and 247-48.

[53]   Cp. 'þurh þæt þonne ariseð unsehtnesse betweoh twam cyningum & twam gebroðrum' [through that then there develops enmity between two kings and two brothers] in HomU 6 8-9.

[54]   Cp. 'hit wyrsað wide mid mannum' [it becomes worse widely amongst men] (WPol 2.1.1 181).

[55]   The *ChronD 975* poem is much more restrained in its use of intensifying and echoic adverbs and adverbial phrases. It only records *oft and gelōme*, which seems to have been taken directly from the *Institutes of Polity* context (i.e. WPol 2.1.1 97), and *swȳðe*.

[56]   Dorothy Whitelock, 'Wulfstan at York', in *Medieval and Linguistic Studies in Honour of Francis Peabody Magoun*, ed. by Jess B. Bessinger and Robert P. Creed (London: Allen, 1965), pp. 214-31 (p. 226).

[57]   ChronE 975.15 has *munuclīf* 'monastic life' instead; this compound, which is not recorded in the Wulfstanian canon either, would also have maintained the alliteration.

[58]   On the 'Northumbrian *Grið*', see further Pons-Sanz, *Norse-Derived Vocabulary in Late Old English Texts*, pp. 154-55.

The Controversy about Scribe C in British Library, Cotton MSS, Julius E. VII

Michèle Bussières

1. Introduction

The eleventh-century British Library manuscript Cotton Julius E. vii contains a collection of hagiographies in Old English.[1] All but four are by Ælfric, as are the Latin and Anglo-Saxon prefaces and a few homilies and didactic texts also included there. Since the prefaces and some of the hagiographical and homiletic material are unique to Cotton Julius E. vii, this is probably the only surviving version of an Old English legendary composed by Ælfric after his *Catholic Homilies* I and II.[2] It is therefore well-known to all Ælfrician scholars, and served as the basis for W. W. Skeat's edition of *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*.[3] Two changes in the handwriting, occurring between folios 107 and 136, have attracted much attention: the intervention of a second scribe on folio 107^v is unanimously acknowledged, but whether the second break, on folio 117, is due to a third scribe taking over or to the main scribe resuming his work is still a matter of discussion. It is also worth noting that the changes just mentioned coincide with another double break: the two texts copied in folios 107-136 are the first two non-Ælfrician lives present in the manuscript and the second of these (*Mary of Egypt*) is out of place in the calendar.

One significant fact about the four non-Ælfrician texts is that they all belong to the romance type of hagiography: although different from each other, they all differ from the rest of the collection both in their style and deployment of narrative devices, notably their use of dialogue, their manipulation of point of view to arouse and control the reader's emotions,[4] and their overall separation/reunion narrative shape.[5] These features contrast significantly with the more staid narrative format favoured by the abbot of Eynsham, and render the circumstances of their inclusion worthy of investigation.

2. Scribes A, B, and C

2.1. *Distribution of the Work*

The facts under discussion are these: most of the manuscript is written by one main scribe (A) but on line 17 of folio 107^v another scribe (B) takes over and copies the first of the non-Ælfrician texts (*The Seven Sleepers*, Skeat XXIII, Ker 30); this scribe's contribution concludes at the end of folio 116^v. On folio 117^r another scribe takes up the copying of *The Seven Sleepers*, continues with *Mary of Egypt* (Skeat XXIII B, Ker 31), and finishes towards the middle of folio 136^r, leaving one and a half pages blank before scribe A begins a new text on the first folio of a new quire (folio 137, quire 19). N. R. Ker thought that the scribe responsible for folios 117-136 may have been the main scribe 'but the writing is more compressed than elsewhere'.[6] Peter Clemoes had no doubt that this was the work of a third scribe (C).[7] As the existence of this scribe is under discussion in the present paper, he will be identified as A/C. An additional mystery is the omission of one of these texts from the table of contents included on folio 4^v, after the Latin and Anglo-Saxon prefaces: the title of *Mary of Egypt* is missing—hence the number XXIII B assigned to it in Skeat.

It is generally agreed that scribe A interrupted his work after completing the copy of *Apollinaris* (Skeat XXII, Ker 29) in the middle of folio 107^v; he then took a new quire and started writing *Abdon and Sennes* (XXIV / item 32, quire 19) while B was copying the beginning of *The Seven Sleepers*, starting on folio 107^v after *Apollinaris* and going on to the end of the following quire (number 15). Scribe A/C completed *The Seven Sleepers* and proceeded with *Mary of Egypt* on quires 16 and 17, adding a smaller quire of 4 folios (instead of the usual quaternion of 8 folios) to complete his copy, but leaving a long blank at the end. The double preface and table of contents were written on two leaves: this is generally thought to have been done before A/C had copied *Mary of Egypt*, hence the absence of any reference to that work in the table of contents.

Though this theory fits the facts, its weak point lies in the explanation for the omission of *Mary of Egypt* from the table of contents. Here is a work featuring a striking story of a heroine who abandons a life of unbridled profligacy and embraces one of extreme mortification; the narrative is complex and baroque in style, and whoever copied it clearly struggled with the text, for there are omissions, errors, and occasional absurdities—in short, had *Mary of Egypt* been copied by scribe A, he is unlikely subsequently to have forgotten it and omitted

the title from the folio 4 table of contents. Although neither Ker nor Clemoes spells it out, it seems clear that this omission is one cogent argument in favour of the intervention of a third scribe (C). D. Scragg leaves the question of scribe C's existence open, but points out that this text probably derives from another source than *The Seven Sleepers*, and may therefore have been found and added to the manuscript at a late stage, as an afterthought.[8] As with the previous hypotheses, the only way to account for the omission of *Mary of Egypt* from the table of contents is to suppose that it was copied after most of the manuscript, including the table of contents, had been completed. Folio 4[v] has several blank lines after the two columns of titles, space enough for scribe A to have added this very important text to the list. Although scribe C himself could also have added the title, the hypothesis of his belated intervention over a limited number of pages makes the accidental omission of the title more likely.

The present study is an attempt to find evidence for the existence of scribe C through a detailed examination of the script and spelling of the manuscript.

2.2. Scribes A and C

2.2.1. *Variations in C's Hand*

Why was Ker so cautious in his attribution of folios 117-36? The answer may lie in the evolution that can be seen in the handwriting: in the first pages it is characterized by its emphasis on vertical lines, especially in folio 117[r] where the writing is quite compressed, as Ker noted.[9] In the first few folios copied by A/C, ascenders and descenders follow each other at close intervals, lending the hand a general spiky appearance. As B's hand is somewhat angular, with rather heavy ascenders and descenders, the compressed script of folio 117 could be interpreted as an attempt by A to smooth out the transition from B. In the following pages, the hand gradually relaxes and develops into something that could well be the main scribe's handwriting. This may well suggest that the source of Ker's hesitation was not so much the handwriting itself and more the difficulty posed by the table of contents.

As the general appearance of the script fails to provide a conclusive answer, it is necessary to look for supporting evidence, and this is provided by variable elements in scribe A's hand. While the shapes of some letters (for example, y) undergo apparently random changes, the variations in the shapes of

æ and s̲ seem to follow a pattern, so that it is possible to compare their evolution with A/C's usage.

2.2.2. *The Shape of æ in A and C*

The second element of æ can produce a ligature with the following letter and when it does so it is taller than the first element.[10] For the purposes of this study, a distinction is made between a 'low shape' of æ (figure 1 a) where e̲ barely rises above surrounding letters, and a 'tall' shape, where e̲ is distinctly taller (figure 1 b).

When æ is low, the first part of the combination, a̲, can be pear-shaped, as in Figure 1(a), or rounded, as in B's hand in Figure 2:

Figure 1

Scribe A, early style. (a) low æ with pear-shaped a̲, folio 41ʳ (b) tall æ, folio 24ʳ. This and the following illustrations derive from a microfilm reproduction of Cotton Julius E. vii. By permission of the British Library.

(a)   (b)
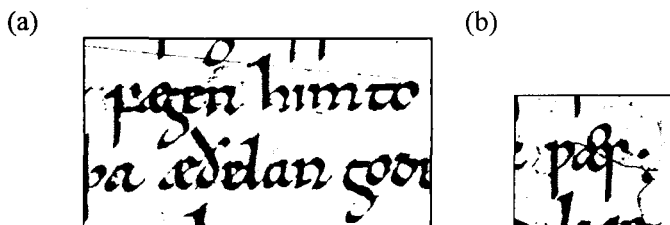
Figure 2

Scribe B, low æ with round-shaped a̲, folio 110ʳ

56
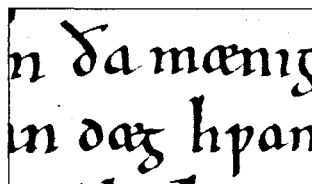
Figure 3

Scribe A, later style. (a) low æ with round-shaped a and tall æ, folio 177[r] (b) tall æ and low æ with round-shaped a, folio 219[v] (c) and (d) tall æ and several shapes of low æ, folio 222v

(a)

(b)

(c)

(d)
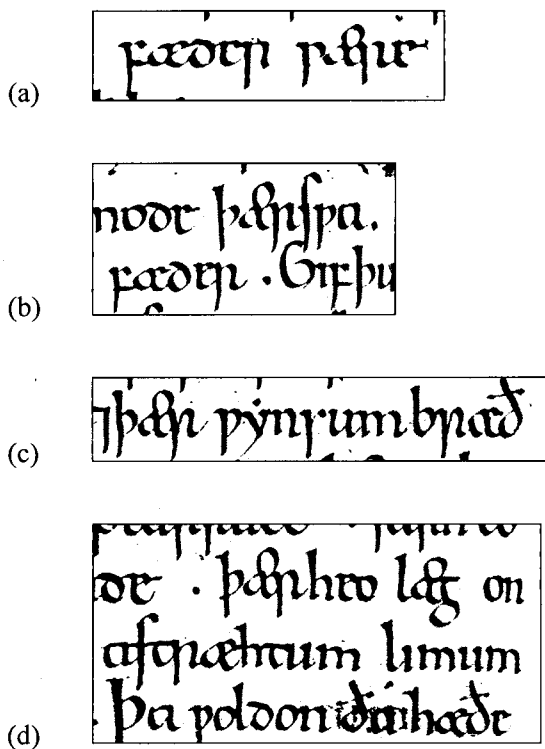
Figure 4

Scribe A/C. (a) low æ with round-shaped and pear-shaped a, folio 135[r] (b) tall and low æ with round-shaped a, folio 136[r]

(a)

(b)
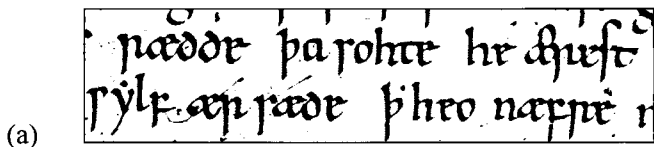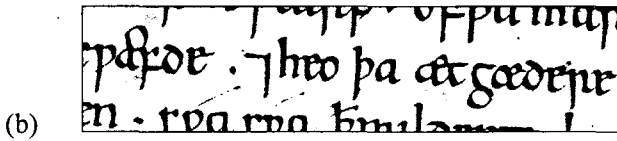
It can be seen that scribe A uses both low and tall æ forms throughout the manuscript but the first part of the ligature tends to become more rounded in the later part of his work, a shape that is not incompatible with what can be observed in A/C (Figure 4).

The following graph shows the relative frequency of tall æ, low æ with pear-shaped a, and low æ with rounded a on the recto of each folio. From top to bottom: a grey shading shows the percentage of very tall æ forms. The middle part, white with grey dots, refers to low æ with pear-shaped a, and the dark part at the bottom follows the variations in the proportion of low, round-shaped æ.

Graph 1

Shapes of æ
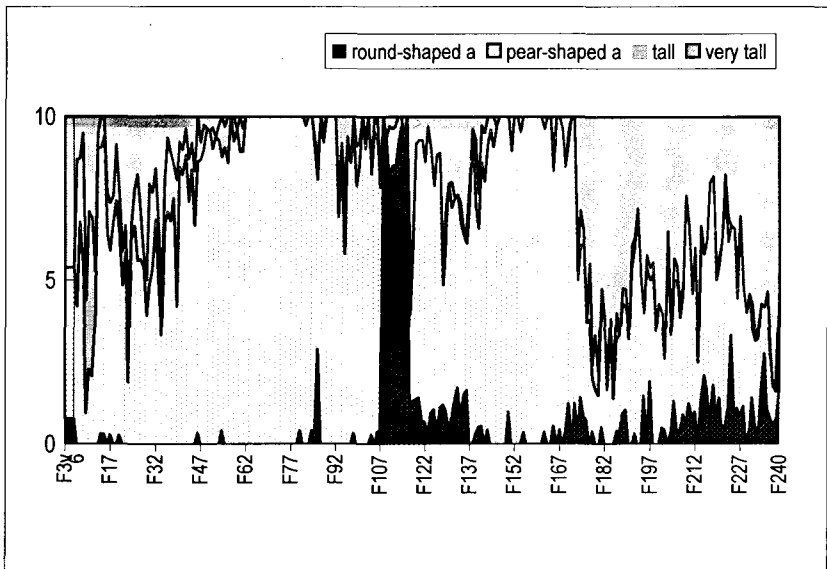
The tall column in the middle of the graph corresponds to the work of scribe B, whose æ is almost always low and round-shaped. Concerning scribe A, the graph shows that while tall æ is not unusual at the beginning of his work, low round-shaped æ is virtually absent not simply when he stops at folio 106, but also when he resumes on folio 137; the only exception (folio 86) is due to a correction by an unknown hand. Round-shaped æ appears fairly regularly after folio 170, while even in pear-shaped æ, the a becomes broader, with a top that is less pointed than in the earlier style. As in the prefaces (artificially enlarged in the graph and placed to the left of the axis), the shape of æ in folios 117-36 seems to undergo variations that are similar to those observed after folio 170.

2.2.3. *Comparative Frequency of Low s and Long s*

Since long s and low s forms are shaped differently, their comparative frequency is rather easier to study than variations in the shape of æ. In the following graph, the black line shows the number of long s forms in the recto of each folio. As before, the preface has been enlarged and placed on the left of the axis. A blank indicates the breaks from one scribe to another and folio 136 has been omitted since it is partly blank.

Graph 2

Frequency of Long s

59
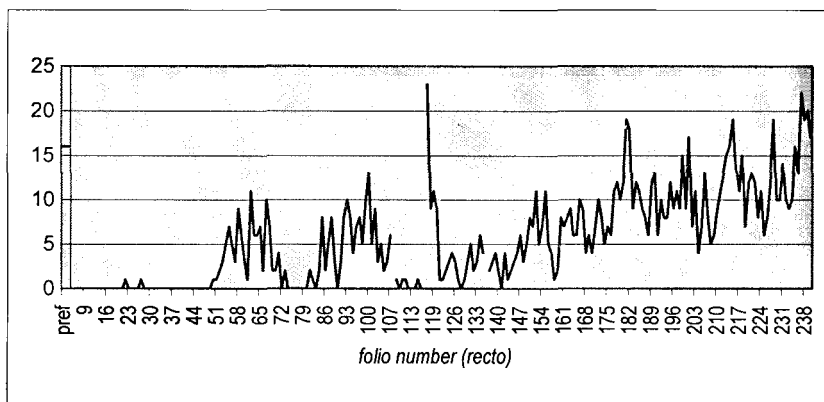
Long s̲ is virtually absent from the first fifty pages; it then crops up irregularly between folios 50 and folios 170-80; its frequency then increases quite significantly. The number of long s̲ forms in the Anglo-Saxon preface is consistent with A's usage towards the end of the manuscript. B's work is characterized by the scarcity of long s̲ forms, but the real break occurs on folios 117-19, when scribe A/C begins working: these folios, particularly f.117, show a high frequency of long s̲ forms, which then drops sharply. The use of low and long s̲ in the rest of A/C 's work is quite similar to the pattern identifiable between folios 50-106 and 137-80. This corresponds with the point made earlier: A/C's hand is most different from A's in the first two or three folios, and then becomes quite close to A's hand.

B almost always prefers low to long s̲. However, A/C probably wanted to imitate the general appearance of his hand rather than the shape of individual letters, and long s̲ serves this general purpose as it allows him to compress his writing and stress verticality.

2.2.4. *œ and s̲ in A and A/C's Work*

Graph 3 shows the numbers of long s̲ forms per folio and adds the numbers of tall æ̲ (thick white line) forms, with A/C's work placed at the end. Changes in A's use of long s̲ roughly coincide with variations in low and tall æ̲, so we may divide the work of scribe A into 3 phases: from folio 5 to around folio 80, tall æ and long s̲ seem to be mutually exclusive; from folio 80 to the vicinity of folio 175 (discounting B's work and the controversial A/C passage), those two shapes appear together, with long s̲ forms seldom exceeding 10 per page and tall æ forms usually fewer than 5 per folio; finally, from around folio 175 to the end of the manuscript, both shapes are quite numerous, with æ̲ showing the greater increase, with its number often exceeding that of long s̲.

Graph 3

Tall æ and Long s
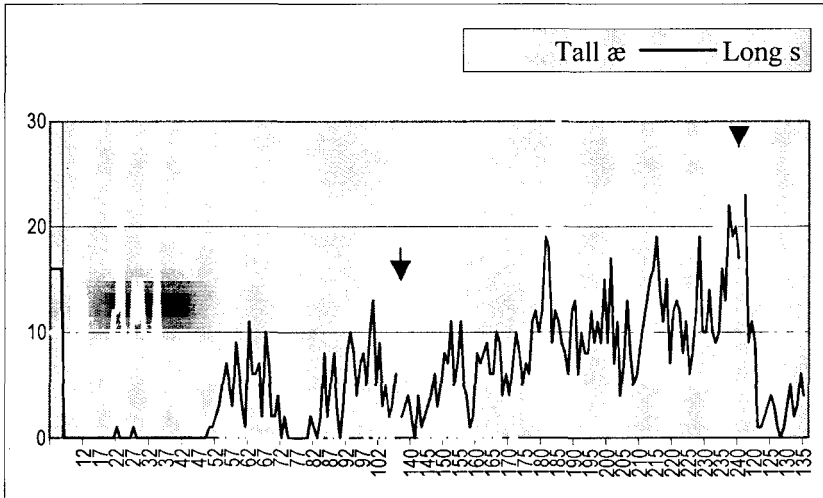
Between folios 175 and 190, tall æ is more widespread than long s, and that is also the case in A/C's work after folio 120. That may lead to the following hypothesis: supposing A and C were one scribe, he might have copied folios 117-136 somewhere around folio 175, disguising his script in folios 117-20 to make the transition from B smoother.

Eustace (another non-Ælfrician text) begins on folio 169^v and comes to an end at the bottom of folio 179^v, where it is followed by the title and the first few lines of the lengthy *Life of Saint Martin*. Graph 4 is an attempt to see how folios 117-36 (copied by A/C) would fit into the general pattern of A's use of long s and tall æ forms. D's work has been suppressed and folios 117 and 136 have been discounted because the handwriting of the former is probably deliberately distorted and because the latter is partly blank; folios 118-35 have been inserted after folio 179 (hypothesis a) and after 169 (hypothesis b), with a blank indicating the beginning and end of each insertion.

Graphs 4 (a) and (b)

(a) A/C's Work Inserted after Folio 179
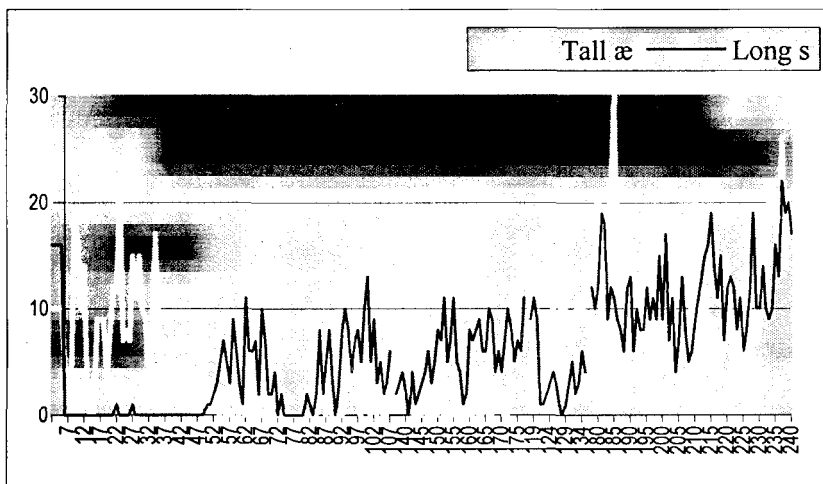
(b) A/C's Work Inserted after Folio 169
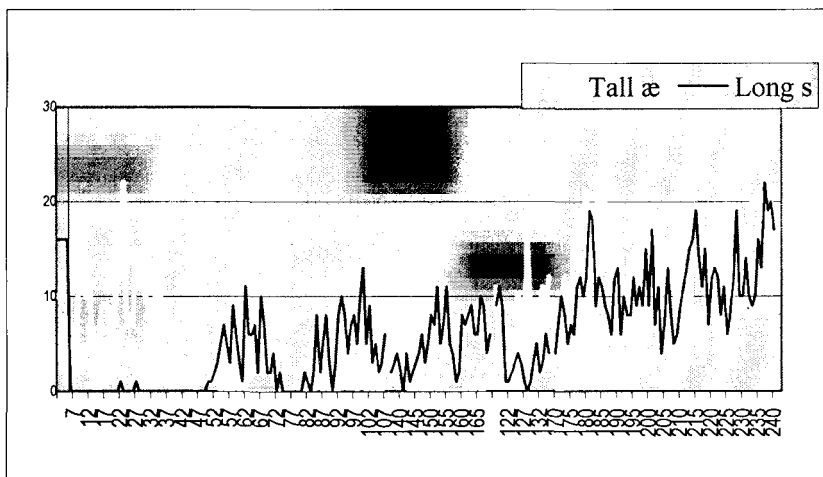
Both hypotheses are acceptable and (a) seems quite satisfactory, as it shows no significant break: supposing folios 117-35 were written by A, the

shapes of s̲ and æ̲ are more consistent with those around folio 170 than towards the end (compare with graph 3), which contradicts the hypothesis of *Mary of Egypt* having been copied when the manuscript was near completion. The presence of another non-Ælfrician text *(Eustace)* in folios 169-80 might suggest that those two non-Ælfrician texts at least, and possibly all four, were found together by the medieval editor of the collection but were this hypothesis to be corroborated, it would require further research into the transmission of those texts, which is beyond the scope of the present study. In an article discussed at greater length below, Roland Torkar suggests the opposite—that is, he makes the case for the separate transmission of *Mary of Egypt*.[11]

As there are many changes in the shapes of æ̲ and s̲ forms throughout the manuscript, the long s̲/tall æ̲ pattern does not provide conclusive evidence. Nevertheless, it does show that the evolution of æ̲ and s̲ in A/C is coherent with the general trend to be observed in the later part of the manuscript, particularly around folios 170-80.

3. Orthography

3.1. *Previous Studies*

In 1971, Roland Torkar published an article about spellings of the possessive first and second person singular *minre/minra/*þinre/þinra: they are sometimes spelt *mire/mira/*þire/þira in three of the non-Ælfrician texts, the exception being *Mary of Egypt*. Torkar concluded that the latter probably had a different origin from the other three and that the four had been added to the Ælfrician *Lives of Saints* for the first time in Cotton Julius E. vii, which does not quite exclude the possibility that *Mary of Egypt* might have been copied at the same time as *Eustace*, but makes it less likely.[12]

Torkar's article, like Scragg's examination of the origin of the Vercelli sermons, is based on the idea that scribes preserve the orthography of their exemplar.[13] However, some scribes may also have changed the orthography deliberately, although this is more likely to have happened at a later period than that of Cotton Julius E. vii.[14] Given the frailty of human nature and considering that eleventh-century spelling standards admitted of some variation, one may also suppose that a scribe might occasionally differ from his exemplar, for example if he had been trained in a slightly different tradition than that of the text he had to copy, or if he had just completed a lengthy task with

spelling conventions that differed from standard West Saxon.[15]

Whatever the case, a change in orthography can be explained in two ways: it may be due either to the use of a different exemplar if it appears at the beginning of a new text or set of texts, or to the intrusion of a new scribe if it corresponds to a change in script.

It is possible to gain an insight into scribe A's spelling habits by examining alternative spellings of the same words in a sample of folios. Among the alternative spellings thus collected, two are relevant to the problem of C's existence: the use of accents and certain <æ> spellings.

3.2. Accents

3.2.1. *General Description*

The use of accents in medieval script is notoriously erratic. In Cotton Julius E. vii, Ker notes, they 'are mainly on long monosyllables'.[16] It is true that some monosyllabic nouns (*lic, wif, lac*, etc), verbs (*stod, wat*, etc), prepositions (*to, ut*), pronouns (*hi*, irrespective of gender or number) often bear an accent, but so does the short conjunction *ac* and occasionally the verb *beo* in the third person singular, so accents are not simply used as indicators of vowel length: their role is more complex. Their greater frequency in the first few texts suggests that they may be of use to the scribe himself: they are a sign that he is copying carefully and deliberately; their presence on words such as the ubiquitous conjunction *þa* or on two successive elements in a sequence of monosyllables seems to indicate that he is making sure as he goes along that he has not omitted any word, however insignificant. One-letter words such as *a*, 'always', or *æ*, 'law', are almost always accented (besides, *æ* is written between two dots), a usage that is helpful to both scribe and reader. In many cases, accents seem to warn the reader of some difficulty or against a careless reading, as with the pronoun *hi*, which can be plural or feminine singular, or with words that are quite similar and often occur in the same texts (*lic* and *lac*, for instance); negative prefixes are often highlighted in the same way.

Another problem is that the notion of monosyllable is somewhat elusive in medieval script, as separations between words will vary with the period and the scribe. In scribe A's work, the width of gaps between words is not always the same: he tends to write monosyllables in clusters, leaving a very narrow (and

occasionally no) gap between the words; an isolated monosyllable will be placed close to the polysyllable that comes next; such clusters will then be followed by a wider gap. Prefixes and suffixes may be written separately or not. In B's script, separations between words tend to be more regular, although monosyllables may occasionally be placed rather close to the following word. Letters within words are more widely spaced than in A; nevertheless, as the space between words tends to be quite narrow, the general impression is that the page is more crowded than with the main scribe. On the other hand, A/C spaces out words in a way that is very similar to A's usage. Like A, in a few cases, he writes an accent on two successive elements of a cluster of monosyllables.

3.2.2. *Distribution of Accents*

In order to identify each scribe's idiosyncrasy in the use of accents, it is necessary to break down accented words into different categories. Monosyllables fall into three groups: (i) 'grammatical words' (broadly defined), including monosyllabic pronouns, deictics and numerals, conjunctions, prepositions and prepositional adverbs and also adverbs expressing time or frequency; (ii) monosyllabic forms of substantives and adjectives; (iii) monosyllabic verb forms; (iv) all polysyllabic words, including the polysyllabic forms of the three categories mentioned above. However, prefix/prepositional adverb + monosyllabic forms of the verb (often written separately) are treated as a sequence of two monosyllables, as are compound nouns formed with two monosyllabic elements.

The graph below shows the average number of accents for each category of words in 100 lines of text; the accents and the total number of lines were counted from the microfilm of the manuscript. The texts examined here are 4 samples of A's work and the 4 non-Ælfrician texts. As the number of accents falls very sharply after the first few texts, two samples are taken from the beginning of the manuscript (Skeat I, III, Ker 4, 6) and are followed by two long texts copied by A in the second part of the manuscript (*Maccabees* and *Martin*: Skeat XXV, XXXI, Ker 34-36, 42); these have been subdivided into 2 equal parts—(a) and (b)—so as to see whether there were significant variations within one given text. The first of the 4 non-Ælfrician texts has been subdivided according to the script: (a) was copied by B, and (b) by A/C. The text numbers used here are from Skeat, written in Arabic numerals, but *Mary of Egypt*, XXIII B in Skeat, is indicated by its initials so as to avoid any confusion with the second part of the *Seven Sleepers*.

Graph 5

Accents

Note that the first three groups (grammatical words, substantives and adjectives)
include only monosyllabic forms of those words:
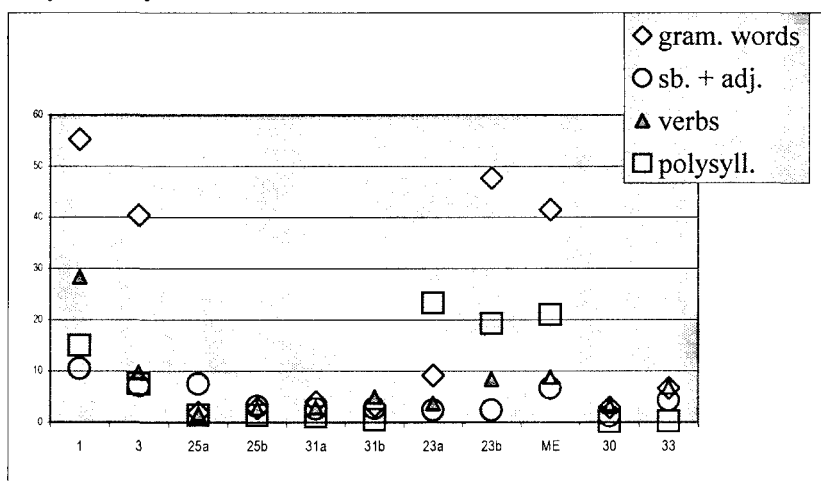
One first notes the wide difference between the earlier and the later
Ælfrician texts. In the first text (*Nativitas Domini*), the large number of accented
verbs is due to the repeated accentuation on the oft-recurring verb form 'is',
another sign that initially A seems to be afraid of skipping short words. On the
other hand, there is practically no change within either of the longer Ælfrician
texts (25 and 31); the only noticeable difference (between 25a and 25b) is easily
accounted for: in the first part of *Machabees*, Ælfric discusses the relation
between the Old Law and the New Law so the word 'æ' recurs many times, hence
the greater number of accented monosyllabic substantives.

B's work (23a) differs from A, with a large number of accents falling on
polysyllables. At first sight, A/C's use of accents seems to differ from both A
and B. Is this a clue confirming the existence of C? The data can be read quite
differently. The fairly constant number of accents on polysyllables in 23a, 23b
and ME suggests they might simply have been copied from the exemplar. Now, if
only accents on monosyllables are taken into account, one notes a general
frequency and a distribution per category which are very similar to the beginning
of the manuscript: if A does indeed tend to add accents when faced with a new or

challenging task, then the difficulty of grappling with the *Seven Sleepers* and *Mary of Egypt* (both of which are far more complex in style than Ælfrician texts and than the other two non-Ælfrician texts) would be enough to justify a return to his former usage, supposing that he had been copying those folios.

3.3. <æ> spellings

3.3.1. Frequency of <œ> for <e>

In the first few texts, many <æ> spellings occur in words that one would normally expect to be spelt <e>. <æ> is often found before nasals or liquids (*fœngon*, III, l. 351, *fœrde* III, l. 36, *wœr* – in the sense of man – II, l. 155), before palatal g (*twœgen* V, l. 144, *þœgn*, V, l. 90), in verbs that alternate æ/e (*cwœdað* V, l. 240), after w̲ (*swœfne* V, l. 461 and several of the examples quoted above) and in many other cases (*gebœdum* IV, l. 9, *œhtnysse* IV, l. 255).

Figure 5

Examples of <æ> corrected to <e>, spelt <e> in Skeat's edition: *endemes* (first line), *wel* (last line), *Eugenia*, ll. 314, 317, f. 14^r.
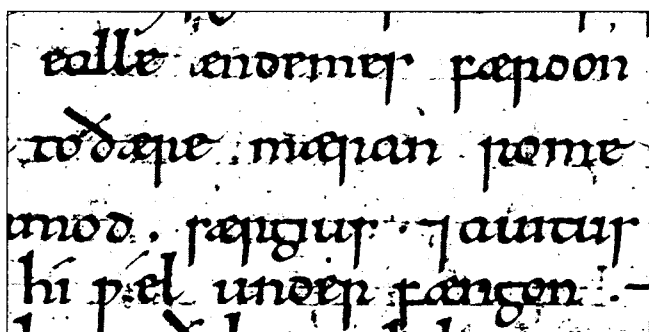
After text V, the number of <æ>spellings falls quite sharply but they do not disappear: every text copied by A (except XX, which is very short) contains a few; they are seldom corrected. Although none of these spellings are particularly surprising in an eleventh-century manuscript, we can infer from the variants given by Skeat and the normal usage in other works by Ælfric that those words were

originally spelt <e>.[17] This is corroborated by the many corrections to be found in texts I-V: the first part of the æ ligature has been erased, changing it into e. In such cases, the word is spelt <e> in Skeat: *fengon* and *ferde* in the examples given above.

The Manchester Centre for Anglo-Saxon Studies Database Project does not record the <æ> spellings of Cotton Julius E. vii that were corrected in the manuscript, since they are not printed in Skeat. Even then, a spot-check made with this tool suggests that while some <æ> for <e> spellings are quite widespread, particularly those in verbs that alternate e and æ forms, others are rare and can be taken as typical of Cotton Julius E. vii. It is the case with *wæstenum* and *þægn* in *Alban* (XIX.139, 204), and also with others, such as *twægen, swæfen, gebædhus, færde* (from *feran*), and so on.[18] For example, *þægn/ðægn* has 4 occurrences in the MANCASS Database Project, two of which come from *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, one from *Eugenia*, but in the manuscript, four similar spellings of the same word have been corrected in the next three texts and three of them do not appear in Skeat.[19]

3.3.2. *Distribution of <æ> for <e>*

The graph below shows the average number of <æ> spellings, before and after correction, in 200 lines of text. No account has been taken of endings that look like æ changed into e because we believe it to be a different type of case altogether – probably an a that was erased and replaced with e some time after the manuscript had been completed. As with graph 4, spellings and lines numberings derive from the microfilm (but in quotations line numbers refer to Skeat's edition) and the same texts have been selected.

Graph 6

<æ> for <e>
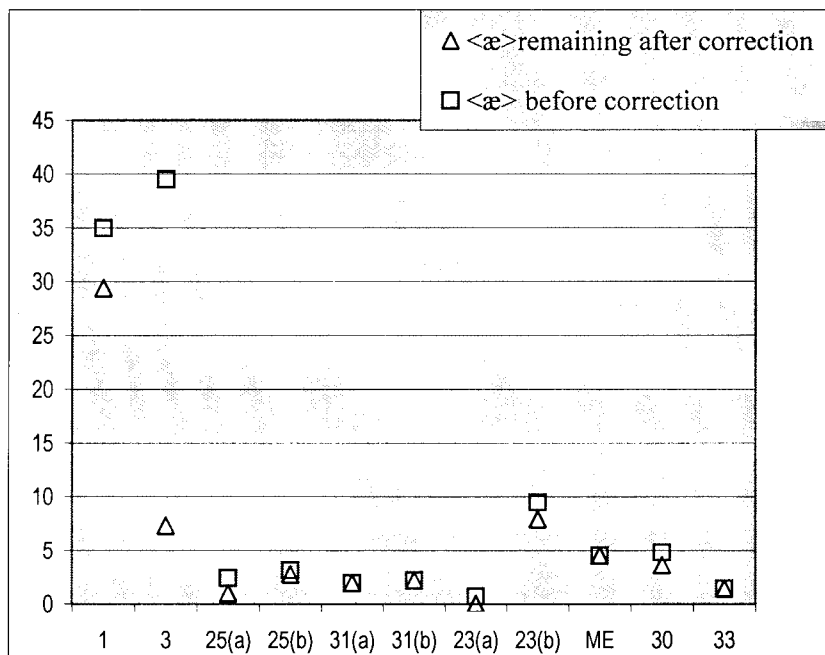
The graph shows that in the later texts copied by A <æ> spellings before correction remain stable at an average of about 2 or 3 for every 200 lines. They practically disappear when B copies the first part of the *Seven Sleepers* (23a): 2 examples in the nearly 600 lines for which he was responsible, both corrected and both in highly untypical words (*hremmas*, and *hæt*, the past tense of *hatan*, XXIII, ll. 77, 315) but as soon as A/C starts working, <æ> spellings crop up again in familiar words, as with *swæfne* and *twægen* (both spelt <e> in Skeat), XXXIII, ll. 523, 756; or *gebædhus*, *twægen*, and *ðægnas* in XXIII B, ll. 115, 518, 631. In other words, the <æ> spelling, which seems to be characteristic of scribe A, is also a distinctive trait of scribe A/C. The unavoidable inference is that C has no separate existence.

4. Conclusion

Taken in isolation this common feature could not be used as conclusive evidence but it should be noted that no other trait seems to characterize scribe C and distinguish him from scribe A. It is true that his work comprises barely a thousand lines, but that of B is even less and yet it evinces some characteristic spellings: endings in n̲g̲ are almost always written with a c̲ placed after the g̲, as with 'þingc' l. 38, 'hengc' l. 75 in the *Seven Sleepers*. This spelling is virtually non-existent in the rest of the manuscript (there are perhaps two or three instances) and it is totally absent from A/C; he also occasionally omits initial h̲, not only before r̲ ('ryðera', l. 34) but also before vowels ('æþengylde', l. 31).[20] These omissions do not appear in Skeat, as the missing letter has been added by a later corrector, whose work is the subject of an article by Geoffrey Needham.[21] As for the hand, we have seen that it is indeed different from that of Scribe A in folio 117 (a change that can easily be explained in terms of an attempted imitation of scribe B's hand on the opposite folio), but in the following folios it becomes impossible to distinguish A from C.

In the absence of any element, either in the hand or the orthography, that might characterize scribe C, the typical <æ> spellings that are shared by both A and C in Ælfrician and non-Ælfrician texts alike, but do not appear in B's work, must lead us to the conclusion that A and C are one and the same scribe.

Unfortunately, this insight fails to throw any light on the insertion of *Mary of Egypt* in the manuscript: the tall æ̲ and tall s̲ pattern examined in the present study suggests that *Mary* may have been copied at the same time as other non-Ælfrician texts, while Torkar concluded from the *minra / mira* spellings that it came from a different source and was probably copied later. That question must remain unresolved for the moment but a comparison between the surviving copies of these texts might provide a lead for further investigation.[22]

NOTES

I wish to acknowledge my debt to Professor D. Scragg for the use of orthography as a tool to research the history of a manuscript and to thank the British Library for their generosity in granting access to their resources and allowing me to use reproductions from the manuscript.

[1]   Neil R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1957, p. 567). Cotton Julius E.vii is Ker's number 162.

[2]   Peter Clemoes, 'The Chronology of Ælfric's Works', in *The Anglo-Saxons: Studies in Some Aspects of their History and their Culture Presented to Bruce Dickins.*, ed. by Peter Clemoes (London: Bowes and Bowes, 1959), pp. 212-247. British Library, Cotton MSS, Vitellius D. xviii and Otho B. x, which have a fairly large number of texts in common with Cotton Julius E vii (mixed with other works by Ælfric and a few non-Ælfrician texts), were both badly damaged in the 1731 fire.

[3]   *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, ed. by Walter W. Skeat, EETS o.s. 94, 114 (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the Early English Text Society, 1966), I, pp. vii, 553; II, pp. lxii, 474.

[4]   Hugh Magennis, 'Style and Method in the Old English Version of the Legend of the Seven Sleepers', *English Studies*, 66 (1985), 285-295; 'Contrasting Features in the Non-Ælfrician Lives in the Old English *Lives of Saints*', *Anglia*, 104 (1986), 316-348; 'St Mary of Egypt and Ælfric', in *The Legend of Mary of Egypt in Medieval Insular Hagiography* ed. by Erich Poppe and Bianca Ross; as well as his preface to *The Anonymous Old English Legend of the Seven Sleepers*, ed. by Hugh Magennis, Durham Medieval Texts (Durham: Department of English Studies, 1994).

[5]   Michèle Bussières, 'Time, History and Story-telling in Ælfric's Lives of Saints' (unpublished master's thesis, Université Blaise Pascal, Clermont-Ferrand, 1994), pp 31-41.

[6]   Neil R. Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 210.

[7]   Peter Clemoes, 'The Chronology', p. 219, note 2.

[8]   Donald G. Scragg, 'The Corpus of Anonymous Lives and their Manuscript Context', in *Holy Men and Holy Women*, ed. by Paul E. Szarmach (Albany: State University of New York, 1996), pp. 209-230.

[9]   Neil R. Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 210.

[10]   Neil R. Ker, *Catalogue*, p. xxxiii.

[11]   Roland Torkar, 'Zu den Vorlagen der Æ. Handschrift Cotton Julius E vii', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 72 (1971), 711-15 (p. 715).

[12]   Torkar, 'Zu den Vorlagen der Æ. Handschrift Cotton Julius E vii', pp. 711-15.

[13]   Donald G. Scragg, 'The Compilation of the Vercelli Book', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 2 (1973), 189-207.

[14] For different approaches to spelling from different scribes, see Roy Michael Liuzza: 'Scribal habit: the evidence of the Old English Gospels', in *Rewriting Old English in the Twelfth Century,* ed. by Mary Swan and Elaine M. Traherne (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp.143-65.

[15] Donald G. Scragg, *A History of English Spelling* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1974), pp. 15-51 about spelling standards in the Anglo-Saxon period.

[16] Neil R. Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 210.

[17] Some of the variants given by Skeat also show <æ> spellings, but not in the same places as Cotton Julius E. vii, for example *ontende* spelt *ontænde* in MS CCCC 198 and Cotton Vitellius D. xvii (*Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, V, p. 134, note 20).

[18] *MANCASS (Manchester Centre for Anglo-Saxon Studies) C11 Database Project: an inventory of script and spellings in eleventh century English,* Director: Professor Donald Scragg, Co-Director: Dr Alex Rumble, <http://www.art.man.ac.uk>

[19] III.269, 358; V.90, 306; only the third is spelt <æ> in Skeat. These examples include various case forms of *þegn* but not the verb *þegnian.*

[20] Conversely, on two successive lines, the words *ræd/rædan* ('counsel', 'to decide') begin with an intrusive *h*, later erased (XXIII.319 and 320).

[21] Geoffrey Needham, 'Additions and Alterations in Cotton MS. Julius E VII', *Review of English Studies*, 9 (1958) pp. 160-64.

[22] This study was originally part of my unpublished doctoral thesis (Université de Poitiers, 2005) under the supervision of Professor Stephen Morrison. Many thanks are due to him for his generosity, encouragement and advice.

Tree Dreams and Versions of *Harðar saga*[1]

Jamie Cochrane

Among the rich array of motifs employed in saga dreams we find one which involves a tree or a plant symbolising the unborn progeny of the dreamer.[2] This manifests itself in several different sagas and in a number of different ways. Among them is the little-known family saga that tells the story of Hörðr Grímkelsson. The text is preserved complete in a single medieval manuscript AM556a 4° (written *c.* 1475-1500) where it is titled *Hólmverja saga* ('Saga of the Isle-dwellers'). A fragment of the saga is preserved in AM564a 4° (written *c.* 1390-1425) with the title *Harðar saga Grímkelssonar*. The story is a tale of potential unfulfilled. After a preamble describing Hörðr's parents and ancestors, Hörðr himself is introduced. His early life proves a great success, as he wins wealth, renown and even an Earl's daughter for a wife during his travels abroad. Yet, upon his return to Iceland, Hörðr becomes embroiled in a dispute with his own uncle Torfi. When Hörðr burns a farmer named Auðr in his farmstead (an act of aggression that the saga never sufficiently justifies), Torfi prosecutes and, thanks to a series of mishaps, questionable alliances and misunderstandings, Hörðr is undefended in court and becomes outlawed. In contrast to the stories of his fellow Icelandic outlaws Grettir Ásmundarson and Gísli Súrsson, Hörðr's outlawry is not characterised by solitary travels. Instead he establishes himself on a small island in Hvalfjörður, the Hólmr ('Isle') of the title. The island proves a safe haven for crooks, outlaws and vagabonds and the formerly law-abiding Hörðr is gradually driven to ever-greater acts of villainy. Hörðr is finally killed when the local farmers band together, led by Indriði Þorvaldsson (another of Hörðr's kinsmen), tricking the isle-dwellers into leaving the island.

    The two dreams on which I propose to concentrate in this article occur near the beginning of the saga. Hörðr's mother Signý Valbrandsdóttir is married to Grímkell in a loveless marriage when she has the following dream:

Þat er sagt, at Signýju Valbrandsdóttur dreymdi draum einn. Hon þóttist sjá tré eitt mikit í rekkju þeira Grímkels, fagrt mjök ok svá rótmikit, at í öll húsin heima þar á bænum tóku rætr trésins, en ekki þótti henni blómit svá mikit á vera sem hon vildi. Hon sagði drauminn Þórdísi, fóstru sinni, en hon réð svá, at þau Grímkell mundu barn eiga ok mundi þat vera mikit ok virðuligt; kveðst hon hyggja þat svein vera,—'ok mun mörgum þykkja mikils um hann vert sakir framkvæmdar sinnar, en ekki kæmi mér þat á óvart, þó at eigi stæði hans hagr með inum mesta blóma, áðr lúki, sakir þess at þér þótti tréit þat it mikla eigi með svá miklum blóma sem þú vildir, ok ekki er víst, at hann hafi mikit ástríki af flestum frændum sínum.'[3]

[It is said that Signý Valbrandsdóttir dreamed a certain dream. She thought that she saw a large tree in their bed, hers and Grímkell's, very beautiful and with such large roots, that the tree's roots touched all the buildings of the farm. However it seemed to her that there was not as much blossom on the tree as she wanted. She told the dream to Þórdís, her foster-mother, and she interpreted it thus, that Signý and Grímkell would have a child and it would be large and worthy; she said that she thought it would be a boy—'and he will be thought great by many on account of his accomplishments, but it would be no surprise to me, if his affairs did not blossom at the end, because you didn't think the tree had as much blossom as you wished, and it is not certain that he will have much affection from most of his kinsmen.']

The same dream is preserved in the fragment AM564a:

Signýju dreymdi draum þann, at hon þóttist sjá tré mikit í hvílu þeira Grímkels ok fagrt mjök ok svá miklar limar á, at henni þótti taka yfir húsin öll, en engi á blómin á limunum. Hon sagði Þórdísi, fóstru sinni, drauminn. Hon réð svá, at þau Grímkell mundu barn eiga.[4]

[Signý dreamed a dream in which she thought that she saw a large tree in their bed, hers and Grímkell's, very beautiful and with such large branches on it that she thought they reached over

all the buildings, but there was no blossom on the branches. She told the dream to Þórdís, her foster mother. She interpreted it thus, that they, Signý and Grímkell, would have a child.]

As the dream indicates, Signý soon gives birth to a baby boy, Hörðr, the saga hero. As mentioned above, Hörðr's early life is a success, but he is later outlawed and killed. Some three to five years later Signý has a second dream. The AM556a text reads:

> Enn dreymdi hana draum, at hon sæja tré eitt mikit sem fyrr, í rótum mest, limamargt, ok gerði á blóm mikit. Þann draum réð fóstra hennar enn til barngetnaðar þeira á milli, ok mundi vera dóttir ok lifa eptir ætt stór, er henni sýndist limamargt tréit,—'en þar er þér þótti þat bera blóma mikinn, mun merkja siðaskipti þat, er koma mun, ok mun hennar afkvæmi hafa þá trú, sem þá er boðin, ok mun sú betri.'[5]
>
> [Again she dreamed a dream, that she saw a certain large tree as before, greatest at the roots, many branched and which produced a great bloom. Her foster-mother interpreted that dream as signifying the further conception of a child between the two of them and that it would be a daughter and a great family would live on after her, since it seemed to her the tree was many branched—'and that fact you thought it had a great deal of blossom, will signify the change in faith which is to come, and her descendants will have the faith which will be preached then, and that will be a better one.']

Again AM564a gives a slighter briefer and unfortunately partly damaged text:

> Enn dreymdi Signýju, at hon sæi tré eitt [mikit] ok ****[6] í rótum, en visnaði upp þaðan, ok væri á blómi [mikill]. Þórdís kvað hana eiga mundu meybarn ok sagði m[undu] koma frá henni mikla ætt.[7]
>
> [Again Signý dreamed, that she saw a certain large tree and **** at the roots, but was withering from the roots upwards, and there was much blossom on it. Þórdís said that she would have a girl child and said a great family would come from her.]

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Shortly afterwards Signý dies in childbirth while staying with her brother, Torfi. Torfi seems to blame the new-born baby, Þorbjörg, for her mother's death and orders her to be exposed, but the man sent to expose her decides instead to place her where she will be found and cared for. Throughout the latter half of the saga, Þorbjörg Grímkelsdóttir is one of the central characters. She is torn between loyalty to her husband Indriði and her brother Hörðr, proving loyal to her husband when Hörðr tries to separate them, but later providing refuge for Hörðr's widow and sons and pursuing vengeance for his death.

Versions of Harðar saga *and Their Relationship with* Landnámabók

To understand Signý's dreams in *Harðar saga* it is necessary first to consider the age and preservation of *Harðar saga* and its relationship to other texts, such as *Landnámabók*. Most scholars doubt that the version of the saga we have preserved in AM556a can be dated to before the fourteenth century in view of the late features in the language and the fantastic elements which occur frequently in the saga.[8] AM564a is a single page fragment of the saga collection referred to as *Pseudo-Vatnshyrna*.[9] The text of this fragment seems to reflect a shorter, more compact version of the saga. The exact relationship between these versions remains unclear. Formerly AM564a was thought to preserve an older, relatively original version of the saga, which was then expanded in AM556a.[10] More recent scholarship, however, has supported the view that the text in AM564a has been shortened and preserves a version separate from that in AM556a.[11]

There is evidence to suggest that Styrmir Kárason (d. 1245) may have been the author or composer of a version of *Harðar saga*.[12] In the final chapter of AM556a the author tells us that Styrmir prestr inn fróði considered Hörðr to be greater than other outlaws.[13] Styrmir was the author of a now lost version of *Landnámabók* and a life of Saint Ólafr (which is also lost, although several stories thought to stem from Styrmir's text are preserved in *Flateyjarbók* and Snorri's *Separate Saga of Ólafr helgi*).[14] While the evidence suggesting Styrmir's authorship of *Harðar saga* is circumstantial, it is nonetheless considerable. He was abbot at the monastery on Viðey, not that far from the saga's Hvalfjörður locale and was very distantly related to Hörðr's family. His access to Snorri Sturluson and his other literary works would suggest a man easily capable of writing such a saga.[15] All of this, taken together with the otherwise irrelevant mention of him at the end of the text, provides the basis on which to build a fairly

convincing case. Nonetheless it seems unlikely that the saga of Hörðr written by Styrmir was identical to that preserved in AM556a but was rather an earlier and somewhat different version of the story.

That a tradition regarding Hörðr Grímkelsson's life and death existed well before the advent of the fourteenth century can be seen from three references to him in *Landnámabók*. *Hauksbók* records the following account of Hörðr's mother:

> Signý hét dóttir Valþjófs, er Signýjarstaðir eru við kenndir; hana átti Grímkell, son Bjarnar gullbera; þeira synir váru þeir Hörðr, er drepinn var í Geirshólmi, ok Gnúpr, faðir Birnings, föður Gnúps, föður Eiríks Grœnlendingabyskups.[16]
>
> [The name of the daughter of Valþjófr was Signý, after whom Signýjarstaðir is named. Her husband was Grímkell, the son of Björn gullbera. Their sons were Hörðr, who was killed on Geirshólmr, and Gnúpr, the father of Birningr, the father of Gnúpr, the father of Bishop Eiríkr of the Greenlanders.]

There is some discrepancy between the presentation of Hörðr's family here and in the saga as, according to the saga, Signý's father is called Valbrandr and Valþjófr is her grandfather. The brother Gnúpr is not mentioned in *Harðar saga*, but his descendant, Eiríkr Grœnlendingabyskup, is mentioned in *Konungsannáll* for the year 1121 and *Lögmannsannáll* for the years 1112 and 1121, where it is told that he not only travelled to Greenland but also that he went in search of Vínland.[17] The *Sturlubók* redaction of *Landnámabók* also records Hörðr's family:

> Björn gullberi nam Reykjardal enn syðra ok bjó á Gullberastöðum. Hans son var Grímkell goði í Bláskógum; hann átti Signýju Valbrandsdóttur, Valþjófssonar; þeira son var Hörðr, er var fyrir Hólmsmönnum.[18]
>
> [Björn gullberi settled South Reykjardalr and lived at Gullberastaðir. His son was Grímkell goði of Bláskógar. He was married to Signý Valbrandsdóttir, Valþjófsson. Their son was Hörðr, who led the men of Hólmr.]

Thus Sturla's text agrees with the saga as regards Signý's father and grandfather, suggesting that the anomaly in *Hauksbók* is an error. *Sturlubók* also mentions Hörðr's uncle Torfi, who, in the saga, proves instrumental in having him outlawed:

Torfi [Valbrandsson] drap Kroppsmenn tólf saman, ok hann réð
mest fyrir drápi Hólmsmanna. [19]
[Torfi [Valbrandsson] killed twelve men from Kroppr altogether,
and he was most responsible for the killing of the men of Hólmr.]

The most striking reference to Hörðr's story, however, is found in both *Hauksbók*
and *Sturlubók*:

Rauðr hét maðr, er nam land et syðra upp frá Rauðsgili til Gilja
ok bjó at Rauðsgili; hans synir váru þeir Úlfr á Úlfsstöðum ok
Auðr á Auðsstöðum fyrir norðan á, er Hörðr vá. Þar hefsk af
saga Harðar Grímkelssonar ok Geirs.[20]
[There was a man was named Rauðr, who settled land in the
south from Rauðsgil to Giljar, and lived at Rauðsgil. These were
his sons: Úlfr at Úlfstaðir and Auðr at Auðsstaðir on the north of
the river, whom Hörðr killed. It is at this point that the saga of
Hörðr Grímkelsson and Geirr begins.]

From these scattered fragments we can tell that by the beginning of the fourteenth
century (*Hauksbók*, probably the later of the two redactions, is dated to between
1302-1310), a saga about Hörðr existed (in either oral or written form). In
addition to Hörðr, this saga told about his mother Signý, his father Grímkell, the
conflict with his uncle Torfi, a character named Geirr (who is Hörðr's
fosterbrother in AM556a), the burning of Auðr at Auðsstaðir, the Hólmr, the
Hólmsmenn and Hörðr's death. If such a story could be included in *Landnámabók*
at the beginning of the fourteenth century, then it may well have existed early
enough to have been known, told or written by Styrmir Kárason.

The Use of the Dream of the Tree of Descent in Harðar saga

If we return to the dreams at the beginning of *Harðar saga* we find that both
dreams use the symbol of a tree to signify the birth of a child. In the first dream
this is a male child, in the second it is a female. The tree in the first dream in the
AM556a manuscript has large roots which cover the entire house. This is
interpreted by Þórdís to mean that the child, Hörðr, will be large, worthy and well
thought of, on account of his accomplishments. The tree, however, lacks blossom.

According to the foster-mother's interpretation, this indicates that at the end of his life the child's affairs will not flourish. The foster-mother also correctly predicts the sex of the child and the fact that he will not enjoy much love from his kinsmen. The roots and their spread across the farm seem to represent the extent of Hörðr's property. The lack of blossom further up the tree in the dream represents Hörðr's lack of success in later life, in particular when he is driven into outlawry and forced to survive by stealing. The foster-mother's comment that Hörðr will not receive much love from his kinsmen relates to the fact that both his brothers-in-law and his uncle are involved in the attack in which Hörðr is killed. Thus, in Signý's first dream in AM556a, the lower parts of the tree are specifically related to the early parts of the child's life and the higher portions to his later life. There is a play on words when the foster-mother comments that his affairs in later life will not blossom. This word-play links the tree symbol in the dream linguistically as well as symbolically to its meaning. The reader's attention is drawn to the word-play by the change from reported speech to direct speech shortly before the relevant phrase.

There are several differences here from the description of the same dream in AM564a. In AM564a the tree is beautiful and lacks blossom, but it has large branches which extend over the house. Þórdís's interpretation is less detailed. She merely says that Signý and Grímkell will have a child, but gives no indication of the sex of that child. Furthermore, there is no indication of what the lack of blossom symbolises.

The tree in the second dream in AM556a is said to have large roots and limbs and a great deal of blossom. Þórdís interprets the dream as indicating that Signý will have a second child, that the child will be a girl and that a great family will descend from her. The blossom is interpreted as indicating the coming change of faith and the piety of Signý's descendants. Although the saga-author clearly intended these two dreams to function as a pair, the code by which they are interpreted is subtly different. In both dreams a tree represents unborn progeny, but in the first dream the upper portions of the tree represent the child's later life, whereas in the second they represent the child's offspring (that is, the dreamer's grandchildren and later descendants). Furthermore, in the first dream, the lack of blossom represents (in AM556a at least) a lack of prosperity, that is, Hörðr's position as an outlaw; whereas in the second dream the presence of blossom (again only in AM556a) indicates piety and Christianity. This shift of symbolism in two such clearly paired dreams shows that saga readers saw no problem in adjusting and adapting their interpretation as directed by the text.

Regardless of whether we believe the details of AM556a to have been expanded (something I will deal with later), the reader of the saga as it is preserved was expected to understand such complex and varied symbolism.

In AM564a the second dream is even more briefly related and the text is damaged. Something is said about the tree's roots, but this is undecipherable. The stem, further up from the roots, is withered (a detail missing in AM556a). Nevertheless this tree produces abundant blossom. The foster-mother says that the tree signals the birth of a female child from whom a great family will descend. It is not clear in AM564a whether the blossom relates to the success of Signý's descendants or to their piety. There is no explicit statement of what the withered stem symbolises, but it seems likely that it represents Signý's death. In both AM556a and AM564a Signý dies during the birth of Þorbjörg. Shortly after this the manuscript AM564a breaks off.

The symbolism of these two dreams might be summarised in the following way: a tree in the dream of a pregnant woman foretells the birth of a child; the point at which the tree grows, that is, the bed, is symbolic of the union between the husband and wife; the spread of the tree, either the roots or branches, indicates the extent of the wealth of the child, that is, the whole farm; the health of the tree is directly linked to the health or success of the person it represents, with the suggestion of word-play on the idea of something blossoming both literally and metaphorically; the upper parts of the tree represent the latter part of the child's life; and in the second dream (at least in AM556a) the branches indicate the descendants of the child.

The Spread of the Tree of Descent in the North

Variations of this dream can be found in a number of texts in Old Norse. For example, in *Flóamanna saga*, Þorgils ørrabeinstjúpr has a dream in which he thinks he is in Iceland and he sees five *hálmlaukar* growing from his knee. From these stalks many more grow, including one which is tremendously large and beautiful.[21] The identification of these *hálmlaukar* or *hjálmlaukar* (as the shorter version reads) is problematic. They may be leeks or garlic,[22] but may also be angelica.[23] Regardless of the exact nature of the plants, the dream is similar to that in *Harðar saga*, in that once again progeny are represented by a botanical symbol in a dream. In Þorgils's dream the five plants (or stems of a single plant) represent his five children (his son Þorleifr is excluded, perhaps because of his different

mother, or perhaps because he chooses to remain in Greenland rather than return to Iceland),[24] and the plants that grow from them represent his descendants, just as the branches do in Signý's second dream. As in Signý's dream, the location from which they grow is important. The bed has clear sexual significance in *Harðar saga*, whereas in *Flóamanna saga* the plants grow directly from his body, the knee having particular significance in relation to the concept of lineage.[25] In the dreams of Signý and Þorgils geographical or topographical details are important. In Signý's first dream, the tree covers (either with its roots or branches) the whole farm, and in Þorgils's dream it is specified that the plants grow in Iceland (while he has the dream in Greenland), indicating where his family will live. Once again word-play is used linking the unborn progeny to the symbol. In the case of *Flóamanna saga* this word-play is on the verb *kvísla*, usually used in the reflexive *kvíslask* ('to branch off' of a river or tree; relating to the noun *kvísl*, 'a branch'). In the narration of Þorgils's dream this is used first of the plant itself, and then, in the interpretation, it is used of the family symbolised by the plant. *Flóamanna saga* expands on one element not exploited by *Harðar saga* to the same extent. One particularly beautiful *laukr* is used to represent a descendant of particular note. The beauty of this *laukr* represents the piety of Þorgils's descendant Saint Þorlákr, in an exaggerated version of the motif of the blossom in Signý's second dream representing the piety of her descendants.

This type of dream is found in one other *Íslendingasaga*. At the beginning of *Bárðar saga*, Bárðr Dumbsson has a dream while he is living with his foster-father, the giant Dofri.[26] In the dream, Bárðr sees a tree growing from the hearth, coiling out through the rock of Dofri's cave and eventually shading the whole of Norway. Bárðr notices that the blossom on one branch is particularly lush and golden. This is the clearest example yet of the genealogical tree – by which I mean not only a diagrammatic means of portraying a family, but also the use of an actual tree or other plant to represent this – being used to symbolise both the individual and their descendants. The tree represents Haraldr inn hárfagri, who is also later fostered with Dofri. The branches, like the roots in Signý's first dream, represent Haraldr's dominion, which, like the tree, grows from its base in Dofri's cave so that eventually it covers all Norway. At the same time, however, the branches represent Haraldr's descendants, like the branches in Signý's second dream. The branch of particular note, which represents Saint Óláfr Haraldsson, is similar to the stem in Þorgils's dream overshadowing the others. Bárðr's dream, which is of little relevance to his saga, is exceptional in that the dreamer is not a blood relation of the person represented in the dream. The saga writer mentions a

Saga Haralds konungs Dofrafóstra at this point and it is possible that he took the dream directly from this source.

A similar dream occurs in *Hálfdanar saga svarta* in Snorri Sturluson's *Heimskringla*, where it is attributed to Queen Ragnhildr, Haraldr's mother.[27] In Ragnhildr's dream she takes from her blouse a thorn that suddenly grows into a twig, takes root, and quickly becomes a massive tree with branches spreading across Norway. The lowest part of the tree is red, the trunk green and the top white. The interpretation of this dream is not given until *Haralds saga ins hárfagra*, the next saga in Snorri's work:

> Ok þýða menn þat nú, at vitat hafi um tré þat it mikla, er móður hans sýndisk í draumi fyrir burð hans, er inn nezti hlutr tréssins var rauðr sem blóð, en þá var leggrinn upp frá fagr ok grœnn, at þat jartegndi blóma ríkis hans. En at ofanverðu var hvítt tréit, þar sýndisk þat, at hann myndi fá elli ok hæru. Kvistir ok limar tréssins boðaði afkvæmi hans, er um allt land dreifðisk, ok af hans ætt hafa verit jafnan síðan konungar í Nóregi.[28]
>
> [And now men explain what was signified by the large tree that appeared to his mother in a dream before his birth. The lowest part of the tree was red as blood, but the trunk was fair and green further up – that signified the blossoming of his kingdom. And on top the tree was white; there it showed that he would get old and hoary. The branches and limbs of the tree symbolised his offspring spreading over the whole land and the kings of Norway have been from his family ever since.]

This dream is probably the closest match so far to Signý's first dream in *Harðar saga*. As in Signý's dream, so in Ragnhildr's dream, the further up the tree one moves the later the period of Haraldr's reign that is represented. Red at the bottom of the trunk represents the violence that occurs as Haraldr seeks to unite Norway under his rulership. The green section symbolises the blossoming of his kingdom, and the same pun on the metaphorical use of 'bloom' is used in the interpretation of Ragnhildr's dream as in Signý's dream.[29] The white at the top of the tree is said to represent Haraldr's old age and hoariness. The branches once again symbolise both the descendants and also the extent of their dominion as some of the branches trail out of Norway representing the success of Ragnhildr's descendants

beyond Norway's borders. Interestingly, the motif of the single branch that out-shines or overshadows all others is missing from Ragnhildr's dream.

Alongside Ragnhildr's dream Snorri relates another similar dream. Unlike his wife, King Hálfdan rarely dreams, until he speaks to a wise man named Þorleifr who advises him to sleep in a pigsty, whereupon he has the following dream:

> Honum sýndisk sem hann væri allra manna bezt hærðr, ok var hár hans allt í lokkum, sumir síðir til jarðar, sumir í miðjan legg, sumir á kné, sumir í mjöðm eða miðja síðu, sumir eigi lengra en á háls, en sumir ekki meirr en sprottnir upp ór hausi sem knýflar, en á lokkum hans var hvers kyns litr, en einn lokkr sigraði alla með fegrð ok ljósleik ok mikilleik. Þorleifi sagði hann þann draum, en Þorleifr þýddi svá, at mikill afspringr myndi koma af honum ok myndi sá löndum ráða með miklum veg ok þó eigi allir með jafnmiklum, en einn myndi sá af hans ætt koma, er öllum myndi meiri ok œðri, ok hafa menn þat fyrir satt, at sá lokkr jartegndi inn helga Óláf konung.[30]
>
> [It seemed to him as if he had the best hair of all men and his hair was all in locks, some long down to the ground, some to half-way down his leg, some to his knees, some to his hip or middle, and some no further than to his neck and some no more than sprouting up from his skull, like horns. And on the locks was every kind of colour. But one lock surpassed all in beauty and brightness and size. He told that dream to Þorleifr and Þorleifr interpreted it this way, that a great line of descendants would come from him and would rule the land with great honour, though not all of them to the same extent, and that one would come from his family who would be greater and more honourable than the rest. And men reckon it true that that lock symbolised Saint Óláfr the king.]

This is not a dream of a tree as such, but it does work in the same way and shares many of the same characteristics as tree-dreams. There is a rough similarity between the botanical symbols and the hair of Hálfdan's dream in that both grow and both represent the unborn progeny of the dreamer. The extent of that growth represents the extent of the success of the progeny. The nature or colour of the hair is of symbolic importance, in the same way that the colour of the tree in

Ragnhildr's dream and the healthiness of the tree and the extent of its blossom in Signý's dreams are also of symbolic importance. Even the language of Hálfdan's dream is similar to the accounts of the tree-dreams—for example, the shortest locks sprout from his head. Unlike Ragnhildr's dream, for which there is no immediate source, Hálfdan's dream appears in two works thought to have been used by Snorri for *Hálfdanar saga svarta*. These are *Fagrskinna* and *Hálfdanar þáttr svarta*.[31] Snorri changes his sources comparatively little. In *Fagrskinna*, Hálfdan is naked in the dream, but otherwise the account of the dream differs little from Snorri, and both *Fagrskinna* and *Hálfdanar þáttr* conclude the interpretation of the brightest lock by extolling the virtues of Saint Óláfr: *Óláfr Haraldsson er öllum Noregs konungum er meiri með helgi sinni ok bjartari á himni ok á jörðu, svá at allir viti*[32] [Óláfr Haraldsson, who is greater in his piety and brighter in heaven and on earth than all other kings of Norway, as everyone may as well realise].

We can find an interesting variant of this motif in *Laxdæla saga*. Guðrún's fourth husband Þorkell Eyjólfsson has a dream in which his beard spreads across the whole of Breiðafjörður.[33] When he discusses this dream with his wife each of them offers a different interpretation. Þorkell explains the dream as follows: *at þar mun standa ríki mitt um allan Breiðafjörð* [it means my domination will extend over the whole of Breiðafjörður]. Guðrún gives an altogether more sensible interpretation of the dream—that it represents his drowning in that fjord. I have considered elsewhere the way in which the dream relates to its fulfilment.[34] Here, however, Þorkell's misinterpretation interests me more than Guðrún's accurate one. It seems plausible that the *Laxdæla saga* author based Þorkell's interpretation of his dream on a combination of the two dreams in *Hálfdanar saga svarta*, specifically taking the hair motif from Hálfdan's dream, but using the geographical extent of the dream-symbol in a way more similar to the tree in Ragnhildr's dream. Þorkell is presented as somewhat pompous and overreaching in *Laxdæla saga*. His bravery is never questioned, but there is little evidence of the success of his endeavours (for example, he is defeated in chapter 58 by the outlaw Grímr and, in chapter 75, fails to force Halldórr Óláfsson into selling Hjarðarholt). In Norway he compromises what had been a close friendship with King Óláfr Haraldsson by deciding to build a church to the same specifications as that of the king in Trondheim (chapter 74). Ármann Jakobsson has identified royal themes in the representation of some of the central characters in *Laxdæla saga*, particularly Unnr, Óláfr pái and Kjartan.[35] If such descriptions deliberately invited direct comparison with the presentation of royal figures in the

konungasögur, then the portrayal of Þorkell and, in particular, his incorrect interpretation of the dream may have been used as ironic comparison with the same. It seems that the *Laxdœla saga* author was not only influenced by the tree dream tradition, but intended Þorkell's interpretation as a deliberate parody of it. Through his wishful interpretation Þorkell is casting himself as 'king' of Breiðafjörður, with his dominion covering the whole fjord just as his beard does in the dream.[36] It is highly likely that the author of *Laxdœla saga* knew one or more of the *konungasögur*. It is even plausible, in the fictive world of the saga at least, that stories of Hálfdan and Ragnhildr's dreams had circulated in Iceland by Þorkell Eyjólfsson's day. The realist might argue that, since both dreams predict the sanctity of Saint Óláfr, they could not possibly have been known by that date, but since the *Laxdœla saga* author is firmly committed to a view that dreams potentially offer accurate predictions of the future (for example in Guðrún's four dreams in chapter 33), this objection need not trouble us. Þorkell's interpretation is an expression of his own ambition and desire. He believes, just as a king might, that it is his right and destiny to hold sway over the whole of the district around Breiðafjörður.

There are several further versions of the tree-dream in saga literature, though none with such obvious similarity to Signý's dreams. In *Morkinskinna*, King Sigurðr Jörsulafari dreams that he is standing at Jaðarr looking out to sea as a black cloud moves towards the land.[37] As the cloud approaches it becomes apparent that it is a tree, standing vertically with its roots in the water and its branches above. When the tree reaches the coast it breaks apart and pieces of all sizes are washed up into every bay in Norway. The same dream is also narrated in the *Magnússona saga* section of *Heimskringla*.[38] Sigurðr's dream foretells the arrival of his half-brother Haraldr Gilli, who comes to share the kingdom with him. The dream does not use the tree symbol in quite the same way as *Harðar saga*, since there is no sense of the tree growing or branching off. However, the dream is in some respects similar to the one in *Harðar saga*. Once again specific geography or topography is used. Rather than the spread of the branches or roots, it is the spread of the broken fragments that indicate the sphere of influence of Haraldr's descendants. Furthermore, the size of those pieces indicates their importance, just as the size of the tree in Signý's first dream indicates that her child will be worthy (*virðuligt*). Further examples can be found where animal dream symbols, rather than a botanical symbol, are used to represent either the extent of authority or unborn progeny, for example a bird (as in *Sverris saga*)[39] or a snake (as in *Guta saga* and *Mirmans saga*).[40]

There is even an eddic parallel to the dream of the tree of descent in stanza 40 from *Guðrúnarkviða II*. Atli tells his wife Guðrún of several ominous dreams which he has had:

> Hugða ec hér í túni   teina fallna,
> þá er ek vildigac   vaxna láta,
> rifnir með rótom,   roðnir í blóði,
> bornir á becci,   beðit mic at tyggva.[41]
>
> [I thought that here in the yard, saplings which I wanted to let grow to their full extent had fallen. Torn up by the roots, reddened in blood, [they were] brought to the benches, and [I dreamed] that I was bidden to chew them.]

Atli's dream is almost an inversion of the tree-dream motif. The two saplings or sprouts (*teinar*) represent the sons of Guðrún and Atli. The fact that these are mere shoots, rather than full-grown plants as in Signý's dreams, brings home the fact that the boys will die before they reach maturity. Rather than the extent of the plant or its lush beauty, it is the failure of the plant that is of importance in the dream, and which invites comparison with the withered stem in the second of Signý's dreams in the fragmentary text. Guðrún denies that Atli's dream is foreboding, but, unlike Þorkell Eyjólfsson, she does this through cunning, not ignorance, as she herself will kill the boys. This verse of *Guðrúnarkviða II* is imitated in a stanza by Gísli Súrsson in *Gísla saga Súrssonar*:

> Teina sák í túni
> tál-gríms vinar fölu,
> Gauts þess 's geig of veittak
> gunnbliks þáamiklu;
> nú hefr gnýstœrir geira
> grímu Þrótt of sóttan,
> þann lét lundr of lendan
> landkostuð ábranda.[42]
>
> [I saw shoots on the greatly thawed homefield [i.e. burial mound] of the tricker of the giantess's friend -grímr [i.e. Þorgrímr], that god of the glint of battle [i.e. warrior], the one that I killed. Now the stearer of the spears' din [i.e warrior, here

Gísli] has killed the Óðinn of the helmet [i.e. warrior]. The tree
of river-fires [i.e. man] granted land to the land-eager man.]

Gísli speaks this verse shortly after his secret killing of Þorgrímr goði. The
riddling kenning *tál-grímr vinar fölu* [tricker of the friend of the giantess –*grímr*]
represents Þorgrímr's name. The giantess's friend is a giant, and his tricker is Þórr,
added to the undisguised element -*grímr* (which is left almost as a clue as to how
to resolve the kenning) gives the name *Þorgrímr*. The homefield is Þorgrímr's
burial mound, which is always miraculously free of snow, perhaps because of his
dedication to Freyr in life. The similarity between *Hugða ec hér í túni teina fallna*
and *Teina sák í túni* is sufficiently striking to allow the conclusion that the *Gísla
saga* verse is a direct imitation of the eddic poem. At first the similarity would
seem to be merely linguistic and poetic imitation; however, on closer inspection it
appears that many of the themes of the *Gísla saga* verse are similar to those of the
tree-dreams above. The poet represents Þorgrímr's burial mound in terms of land,
that is as a homefield, similar to roots or branches spreading across the whole
farm in Signý's dreams. This concept is expanded in the second *helmingr* where
Gísli (assuming the speaker is he) says that he granted Þorgrímr land and
Þorgrímr is described as eager for land. Again the land in question is the burial
mound and, by extension, to be eager for land is to look forward to death.
Furthermore, not only is the preoccupation with land shared by the *Gísla saga*
verse and the tree-dreams (albeit, in the case of the verse, with possession of land
as a metaphor for death), there is also a hint of the idea of progeny, both in the
verse and in its placing in the saga. Gísli who, as the saga stresses, is a man who
dreams true dreams may already realise that he is destined to die childless. As he
looks over at Þorgrímr's burial mound he sees Þorgrímr's wife, his own sister,
Þórdís, sitting on the conveniently snow-free grass. With her would have been
Þorgrímr's son who would go on to become the famous Icelandic chieftain Snorri
goði. Thus, growing on Þorgrímr's mound are not only the literal shoots of grass,
but also Þorgrímr's metaphorical shoots, his son. Although neither a dream, nor a
tree as such, is in question here, Gísli's verse is undoubtedly a part of this puzzle,
its wording being inspired directly by *Guðrúnarkviða II*, but also making use of
the themes of a botanical symbol to represent both dominion and lineage from the
tree-dream motif more generally.

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Origins and Relationships

The image of the tree is at the very heart of pagan belief, most noticeably in the form of the world ash Yggdrasill, whose roots connect the worlds.[43] The very first humans are said to have their origins in trees, as Borr's sons found logs (*tré*) on the shore and breathed life into them.[44] The first man is named Askr ('Ash') and the first woman Embla ('Elm'). Thus, in the pagan mindset, trees are irrevocably connected to human life from its very inception. Synonyms for tree (such as *meiðr*, 'tree'; *runnr*, 'bush'; *hlynr*, 'maple') are commonly used as base-words in kennings for 'warrior', often modified by words meaning weapons, helms or shields.[45] Similarly, tree words are also used as base-words in female kennings, usually modified by references to gold, linen or jewellery.[46] This association of human life with trees seems to me quite in keeping with the dream of the genealogical tree and its use in sagas.

Of course, a pre-existing link between human life and trees does not preclude foreign influence and, indeed, such pre-existing associations would make it all the more easy for dreams of the genealogical tree to be adapted and adopted into the saga mind-set. Several scholars have tried to suggest origins for the genealogical tree in the North. Larsen associates Signý's dreams (together with those of Þorgils in *Flóamanna saga* and Ragnhildr in *Heimskringla*) with that of King Astyages, described in book I of Herodotus's *Histories*.[47] Astyages dreams that a large vine grows from the body of his daughter and overshadows all Asia. Larsen suggests that the Old French *Roman de Rou* by Robert Wace may have assisted the spread of this motif throughout Europe. In Wace's work (written *c.*1160) the dominion of William the Conqueror over Normandy is portended by his mother's dream that a tree grows from her body and shades all Normandy.[48] Joan Turville-Petre compares Signý's dreams to omens foretelling the birth of Emperor Vespasian in Suetonius's *The Twelve Caesars*.[49] Each time Vespasian's mother Vespasia Polla gives birth, an ancient oak-tree sacred to Mars puts out a new shoot. The first shoot withers quickly, representing Vespasian's elder sister, who dies in infancy. The second grows strong and represents his brother Sabinus, who becomes City Prefect of Rome. The third tree, finally, seems 'more like a tree than a branch', and represents Vespasian himself. The withered branch in Suetonius's story resembles the withered stem of the tree in Signý's second dream in AM564a, which seems to foretell her death.

Both Kelchner and Hilda Ellis Davidson identify parallels between the dream of the genealogical tree and Celtic folklore.[50] However, the most

comprehensive survey of the dream of the genealogical tree in Old Norse is that of Paul Schach.[51] In addition to several of the examples already mentioned, Schach refers to further analogues. In the first of his two articles on the subject, Schach seeks to identify sources for and borrowings from the dream of Ruodlieb's mother, in which she sees a high linden tree at the top of which she thinks she sees Ruodlieb reclining with his army.[52] While undoubtedly part of the same motif, this example has little obvious similarity to Signý's dreams. However, among the analogues cited by Schach is the dream of Saint Godehard in Wolfeherius's *Vita Godehardi episcopi Hildenesheimensis.*[53] Saint Godehard dreams of a tree standing in the courtyard of the monastery with branches spread out to form an arbour. In the dream he receives a message that the tree must be sent to the Emperor. As he digs out the tree he notices that the upper part of the tree is withered but that the roots remain healthy. Upon waking, Godehard misinterprets the dream as portending the dissolution of the monastery. The true interpretation, given somewhat later, is that the withering represents Godehard's weak physical condition (a consequence of fasting and over-exertion). The withered stem corresponding to Godehard's weakened physical condition resembles the withered trunk in Signý's second dream in AM564a.

One final possible area of influence on Signý's dreams must also be considered. The book of Isaiah contains the following prophecy:

> Then a shoot shall grow from the stock of Jesse, and a branch shall spring from his roots. The spirit of the LORD shall rest upon him, a spirit of wisdom and understanding, a spirit of counsel and power, a spirit of knowledge and the fear of the LORD. [54]

This is in essence a description of a genealogical tree. Jesse is the grandson of Boaz and father of King David, and thus an ancestor of Jesus. These lines came to be represented pictorially in Christian art across Europe. In the motif, often referred to as the tree or root of Jesse, Jesse is usually depicted lying on his back in sleep or in vision as a genealogical tree grows from his loins. Scrolls naming ancestors of Jesus are depicted on its branches. This concept, the earliest examples of which date back to the eleventh century,[55] proved an important illustration of Christ's ancestry and was used in many manuscripts and religious buildings across medieval Europe, including Scandinavia.[56] Turville-Petre considers the possibility that Snorri Sturluson knew of the motif, at least by

reputation, from the stained glass window of the Benedictine Abbey of Saint Denis in Paris.[57]

We must now return to *Harðar saga* to see what light this wealth of parallels can throw upon Signý's dreams. Firstly, if we compare the two manuscripts, then we find that elements unique to both versions seem likely to have been in the original saga. This supports the view that the two versions are independently descended from a common original. Regarding the first dream, the text of AM556a may be closer to the original. In AM556a the roots portray the extent of Hörðr's inheritance, and the top of the tree represents the poverty and ignominy of his later life. The idea of moving up the tree to indicate a later time in the progeny's life is also found in the closely related dream of Ragnhildr in *Heimskringla* and seems likely to have been in the original text of *Harðar saga*. In AM564a this idea is confused. I believe that a scribe or writer mistakenly tried to correct the dream in the version preserved in AM564a, changing the roots to branches to make the dream more closely resemble those preserved in *konungasögur*, despite the fact that this did not agree with the story of Hörðr who ended his days an outlaw. In contrast, the second dream is better preserved in AM564a. The withered trunk, which is mentioned only in the AM564a fragment, fits well with the idea of the saplings being torn up in *Guðrúnarkviða II* and resembles several of the foreign parallels. The text of AM564a, however, does show signs of being shortened, most noticeably in the character of Þórdís the foster-mother. Þórdís's interpretations of the dreams in AM564a have been shortened to the extent that they tell us almost nothing compared to AM556a, where they elucidate the more complex aspects of the dreams and give information that could not otherwise be gleaned by the reader.

But what of other examples of this dream—how might they influenced one another? One might argue that the tree image is something so basic and inherent that it is built into the human psyche at some level, but that is not to say that texts did not influence one another. There are of course dangers in suggesting directions of influence. We can rarely be totally certain that a text was known by a particular author. Nor can we be certain that we know all of the texts that might have influenced medieval writers. Several of the influences, however, are almost beyond doubt. For example, we know with relative certainty that Snorri used *Morkinskinna* as a source for some of the later portions of *Heimskringla*,[58] so that he may be assumed to have taken Sigurðr's dream from there, while also depending perhaps on other sources and influences. I have already suggested that the sources for *Hálfdanar saga svarta* in *Heimskringla* included *Fagrskinna* and

Þáttr Hálfdanar svarta and it seems probable that Hálfdan's dream came from those two sources. As the account of the dream is slightly closer to the *þáttr* than to *Fagrskinna*, it may have a relatively direct relationship to the former. Gísli's verse is a clear imitation of *Guðrúnarkviða II* and the influence of that same poem can be found in a number of verses in that saga.[59] Þorkell Eyjólfsson's interpretation of his dream in *Laxdœla saga* is a clear and conscious imitation of a *konungasaga* motif. Since it combines elements from both Hálfdan's dream and Ragnhildr's dream, the most obvious possible source is *Heimskringla* (the earliest extant version of Norwegian history to contain both of the dreams). One can be less certain about the dreams of Bárðr and Þorgils. Both *Bárðar saga* and *Flóamanna saga* are post-classical sagas. Both dreams combine the botanical symbol (as in Ragnhildr's dream) with the motif of one particular branch surpassing the others in beauty or brightness (similar to the lock of hair in Hálfdan's dream), again making *Heimskringla* the most likely candidate. Bárðr's dream in particular seems to have been lifted directly from a *konungasaga*. It predicts the same events as Ragnhildr's dream and has little to do with its present surroundings. One notes the phrase *Hafa menn þat fyrir satt* [Men say it to be true] in both *Heimskringla* and *Bárðar saga*, but whether the author knew *Heimskringla* directly or another lost text is hard to know.

This analysis produces a very tentative schema such as that in Figure 1 (see Appendix). This is not to deny the possibility of additional influence from foreign texts, and indeed motifs created by artisans such as the tree of Jesse on church walls, at each stage. Signý's dreams are clearly most closely related to Ragnhildr's dream in *Heimskringla*. Both dreams share the concept that the upper parts of the tree represent the later stages of the progeny's life and both have word-play involving the transferred sense of blossoming. Both Schach and Turville-Petre portray the genealogical tree as a motif that Snorri Sturluson was fundamental in popularising in Iceland, and indeed my own schema suggests that his influence was important. Nevertheless, the motif was already established in various forms prior to his compilation of *Heimskringla* (for example *Morkinskinna* and *Guðrúnarkviða II*). Furthermore, ideas associating humans with trees date back to pagan creation myths. These ideas assisted the blossoming, so to speak, of the motif as the growth of monastic and secular literacy in Iceland resulted in foreign texts becoming available. As for Signý's dreams in *Harðar saga*, it is striking that the dreams show some of the hallmarks of accounts of dreams found in foreign texts but not in other Icelandic texts. Most noticeably, the withered tree-trunk in AM564a, is not found in other Icelandic versions of the dream, but is present in

Suetonius and Wolferius. This would suggest a relatively direct link with foreign texts and not one entirely dependent on Snorri's *Heimskringla*. The references to Hörðr in *Landnámabók* imply the existence of a saga about him considerably earlier than our current text and it seems entirely plausible that Styrmir Kárason fróði was its author. *Íslendinga saga* connects Styrmir with Snorri Sturluson,[60] and it is not unlikely that Styrmir lived for some time with Snorri, and was perhaps even his scribe.[61] It is possible that Styrmir's life of Saint Óláfr provided a source for Snorri's separate saga of Óláfr, but as only fragments of Styrmir's text remain, this cannot be regarded as anything more than a possibility.[62] The earliest version of *Harðar saga* may therefore not only have been contemporary with *Heimskringla*, but there may have been a direct link between the two, which in turn would mean that there was a direct relationship between Signý's dreams in *Harðar saga* and Ragnhildr's in *Heimskringla*. This proximity, if established, however, would not make it any easier to judge the direction of this influence.

Signý's dreams are interesting examples of what had become a popular motif in the later period of saga writing. There seems little doubt that this motif owed a great deal to the influence of foreign stories, literature and perhaps even art. However, this motif flourished because it fitted well with pre-existing concepts within the saga mind-set, creating cycles of influence and meta-influence. Although *Harðar saga* is rarely counted among the finest examples of the *Íslendingasögur*, these dreams are skilfully handled, foreshadowing the story with the use of techniques that are more commonly found in *konungasögur*, but which here have been naturalised to fit the more everyday world of post-settlement Iceland. While, as previous scholars have stressed, Snorri Sturluson was highly influential in the spread and flourishing of the tree-dream motif in saga literature, it seems likely that a version of *Harðar saga*, perhaps by Styrmir Kárason, existed at a similar date and that it contained two examples of the motif. One might imagine a scene at Reykjaholt while Styrmir was staying with Snorri, perhaps acting as his scribe, when the two men discussed a literary motif that one of them had read, perhaps in a foreign text or perhaps on a church wall or window, whereby future progeny could be represented in a dream using a tree symbol. That both men went on to make cunning and creative use of the motif in their texts seems likely (or nearly certain in the case of Snorri) but which of the pair encountered the idea first is hard to ascertain.

Speculation as to the Content of Styrmir's Harðar saga

Yet, the exact form the dreams took in Styrmir's saga must remain in the realm of speculation. The analysis above provides some suggestions as to the likely content of the dreams in early versions of *Harðar saga*. Yet this analysis is based primarily on the surviving text of the saga. How might Styrmir's text (if indeed it was a written saga) have differed from the extant saga and fragment? The glimpses of Hörðr's life given to us in versions of *Landnámabók* may provide some clue. The fact that the dream occurs in both extant versions suggests that it may be part of the oldest material concerning Hörðr. Looking at the evidence in *Landnámabók*, one might suppose that, in Styrmir's *Harðar saga*, Hörðr's biography was not entirely dissimilar. The reason for his conviction—the killing of Auðr at Auðsstaðir—is mentioned in *Landnámabók* and probably featured in Styrmir's story. One might even wonder whether Hörðr's uncharacteristically violent attack was better explained than in the extant text. *Landnámabók* also mentions his disagreement with Torvi (something mentioned in the foster-mother's interpretation of Signý's first dream in AM556a), and similarly his flight to the Hólmr and eventual death; these details were thus probably the same in Styrmir's *Harðar saga* as in *Landnámabók* and the preserved version of *Harðar saga*. Even his friendship with his foster-brother Geirr was probably part of this early version, as *Landnámabók* describes the island as Geirshólmr. Yet, nowhere in *Landnámabók* do we find mention of Hörðr's wife Helga or his sons Grímkell and Björn. The statement: *þeira synir váru þeir Hörðr, er drepinn var í Geirshólmi, ok Gnúpr, faðir Birnings, föður Gnúps, föður Eiríks Grœnlendingabyskup*[63] ('their [Signý and Grímkell's] sons were Hörðr, who was killed on Geirshólmr, and Gnúpr the father of Birningr, father of Bishop Eiríkr of the Greenlanders') in *Hauksbók* even seems to contrast Gnúpr's descendants with Hörðr's death on the Hólmr. In the saga, Hörðr's elder son, Grímkell, dies trying to avenge him, and his younger son Björn goes on to kill many men in revenge for his father's death, yet neither is mentioned in any other saga. This suggests that Björn and perhaps his brother were fictional. Similarly Helga and her father Earl Haraldr of Gotland are not mentioned in any other texts and therefore seem to be invented. Furthermore the fact that neither Helga nor her sons are mentioned in *Landnámabók* suggests that not only are they fictional, but that they are late additions to Hörðr's story (although *Landnámabók* by no means records the names of wives of all settlers or their descendants, one might expect such a notable attachment as an earl's daughter or the bloody vengeance meted out by

her son to receive some mention). Thus in any version of the story known to Styrmir, Hörðr may well have died childless and perhaps unmarried.

In fact, both powerful women in the story appear to be late additions, as Þorbjörg Grímkelsdóttir is not mentioned in *Landnámabók* either. Although it is hardly remarkable that a female child should not be included in a list of children or descendants, it is nonetheless surprising that not one of the passages mentioning Hörðr, Grímkell, or Signý mentions her. Conversely it is remarkable that Hörðr's brother Gnúpr, as he is named in *Hauksbók*, is not mentioned in the extant *Harðar saga* (either the complete saga or the fragment). It seems possible that in the earliest version of the saga, Hörðr's sibling was a younger brother and not a sister. Perhaps in Styrmir's *Harðar saga* the second tree-dream represented the life of Gnúpr Grímkelsson, rather than Þorbjörg, and the blossom represented his descendant Bishop Eiríkr of the Greenlanders (mentioned in *Hauksbók*, the Annals and *Flateyjarbók* and, for what it is worth, on the so-called Vínland map). The use of the tree image in this way would be entirely consistent with the beautiful branch in *Heimskringla* representing Saint Óláfr Haraldsson or with the beautiful stem in *Flóamanna saga* representing Saint Þorlákr and indeed with several of the foreign parallels. Such an explanation of the dream is perhaps even preferable to that in the preserved saga, where the blossom merely relates vaguely to the future change of faith. The fragmentary tradition about Bishop Eiríkr suggests an evangelist preaching first in Iceland, then in Greenland, and eventually seeking to do so in Vínland, and would be quite in keeping with someone whom medieval tradition had begun to regard as a potential saint, but (perhaps due to the failure of the Vínland colony) was later forgotten and became written out of the stories, in favour of two strong women and a greater emphasis on the division of loyalty between a woman's husband and her kin.

Figure 1. Possible relationships between tree dreams in Old Norse texts

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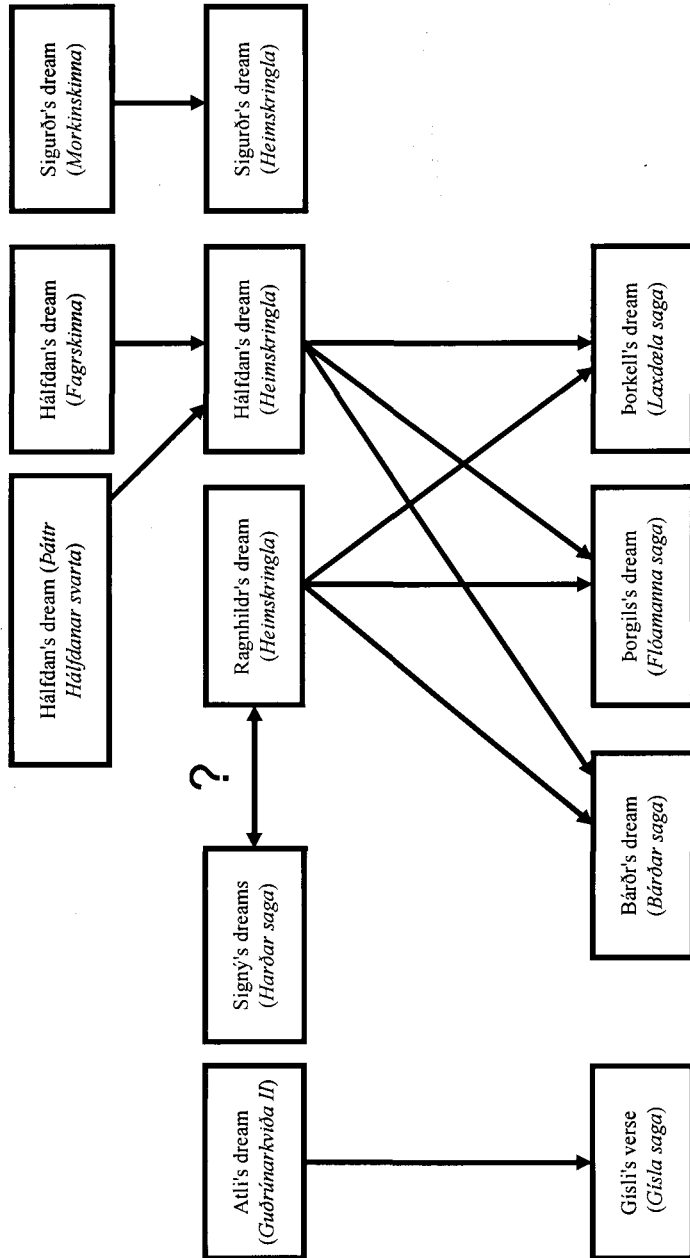
NOTES

[1] Material from this article was presented as a seminar at University College London in December 2003. I am grateful for the comments and suggestions made during the discussion. The ǫ character is represented as ö throughout.

[2] For secondary literature relating to saga dreams see Wilhelm Henzen, *Über die Träume in der altnordischen Sagalitteratur* (Leipzig: Gustav Fock, 1890); Margarete Haeckel, *Die Darstellung und Funktion des Traumes in der isländischen Familiensaga* (Hamburg: H. Proctor, 1934); Georgia Dunham Kelchner, *Dreams in Old Norse Literature and their Affinities in Folklore* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1935); Gabriel Turville-Petre, 'Dream Symbols in Old Icelandic Literature', in *Festschrift Walter Baetke dargebracht zu seinem 80. Gertburtstag am 28. März 1964*, ed. by Kurt Rudolf, Rolf Heller and Ernst Walter (Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1966), pp. 343-54; 'The Icelandic Version of the *Somniale Danielis*', in *Nordica et Anglica: Studies in Honor of Stefán Einarsson*, ed. by Allan H. Orrick (The Hague and Paris: Mouton, 1968), pp. 19-36; 'Dreams in Icelandic Tradition', in *Nine Norse Studies* (London: Viking Society for Northern Research, 1972), pp. 30-51, reprinted from *Folklore*, 69 (1958), 93-111; Richard Perkins, 'The Dreams of *Flóamanna saga*', *Saga-Book*, 19 (1974-77), 191-238; Lars Lönnroth, 'Dreams in the Sagas', *Scandinavian Studies*, 75 (2002), 455-463; J. Cochrane, 'Saying Goodbye to the Old Religion: Dreaming of the Rejected Object of Worship', in *Scandinavian and Christian Europe in the Middle Ages: Papers of the 12th International Saga Conference: Bonn/Germany, 28th July – 2nd August 2003*, ed. by Rudolf Simek and Judith Meurer (Bonn: Hausdruckerei der Universität Bonn, 2003), pp. 107-115; and J. Cochrane, *Bright Dreams and Bitter Experiences: Dreams in Six Sagas of Icelanders* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of London, 2004).

[3] *Harðar saga*, ed. by Þórhallur Vilmundarson and Bjarni Vilhjálmsson, Íslenzk fornrit 13 (Reykjavík: Hið íslenzka fornritafélag, 1991), p. 15; also see *Harðar saga*, ed. by Sture Hast, Editiones Arnamagnæanæ A6 (Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1960), pp. 126-27. Throughout this article the Íslenzk fornrit text has been quoted, though Hast's diplomatic edition has also been consulted. The translations are my own, but a translation by Robert Kellogg is available in *The Complete Sagas of Icelanders*, ed. by Viðar Hreinsson et al., 5 vols (Reykjavík: Leifur Eiríksson, 1997), II, pp. 193-236.

[4] *Harðar saga*, EA A6, pp. 126-127; *Harðar saga*, ÍF 13, p. 15.

[5] *Harðar saga*, EA A6, p. 129; *Harðar saga*, ÍF 13, pp. 18-19.

[6] Sture Hast estimates 4 or 5 illegible characters at this point: *Harðar saga*, EA A6, p. 129, note.

[7] *Harðar saga*, EA A6, p. 129; *Harðar saga*, ÍF 13, pp. 18-19.

[8]   Einar Ól. Sveinsson, *Dating the Icelandic Sagas* (London: Viking Society for Northern Research, 1958) pp. 106-07; *Harðar saga*, ÍF 13, p. xiii; Anthony Faulkes, '*Harðar saga*', in *Medieval Scandinavia: An Encyclopedia*, ed. by Phillip Pulsiano and Kirsten Wolf (New York and London: Garland, 1993), p. 269.

[9]   John McKinnell, 'The Reconstruction of Pseudo-Vatnshyrna', in *Opuscula*, 4, Bibliotheca Arnamagnæana 30 (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1970), pp. 304-38 (p. 334).

[10]   Finnur Jónsson, *Den oldnorske og oldislandske litteraturs historie*, 3 vols (Copenhagen: G. E. C. Gads forlag, 1923), II, p. 422.

[11]   Vera Lachmann, *Das Alter der Harðarsaga* (Leipzig: Mayer & Müller, 1932), pp. 7-16; Joost de Lange, *The Relation and Development of English and Icelandic Outlaw-Traditions* (Haalem: H. D. Tjeenk Willink & Zoon N.V, 1935), pp. 95-96 (de Lange agrees with Lachmann's conclusion that AM 556a and AM564a preserve separate versions, but disagrees with the suggestion that the AM564a version has been shortened); *Harðar saga*, ÍF 13, pp. xiii-xvi.

[12]   Jón Jóhannesson, *Gerðir Landnámabókar* (Reykjavík: Hið íslenzka fornritafélag, 1941), pp. 88-89; *Íslendinga sögur*, ed. by Guðni Jónsson, 13 vols (Reykjavík: Íslendingasagnaútgáfan, 1953), XII, p. xii; *Harðar saga*, ÍF 13, pp. xliv-xlviii.

[13]   *Harðar saga*, ÍF 13, p. 97.

[14]   Diana Whaley, *Heimskringla: An Introduction* (London: Viking Society for Northern Research, 1991), pp. 67-68.

[15]   On Styrmir's life see Finnur Jónsson, *Den oldnorske og oldislandske litteraturs historie*, II, pp. 661-65); see also references to him and Snorri Sturluson in *Sturlunga saga—Sturlunga saga efter membranen Króksfjarðarbók udfyldt efter Reykjarfjarðarbók*, ed. by Kr. Kålund, 2 vols (Copenhagen and Oslo (Christiania): Gydendalske Boghandel, 1906 and 1911), I, pp. 397 and 540. On his links to Hörðr and possible authorship of *Harðar saga*, see the introduction in *Harðar saga*, ÍF 13, pp. xliv-xlviii.

[16]   *Landnámabók*, ed. by Jakob Benediktsson, in *Íslendingabók, Landnámabók*, Íslenzk fornrit 1, 2 vols (Reykjavík: Hið íslenzka fornritafélag, 1968), I, p. 57.

[17]   *Annálar og nafnaskrá*, ed. by Guðni Jónsson (Reykjavík: Íslendingasagnaútgáfan, 1948), p. 13, and pp. 82-83 see also the appendix to *Grænlendinga þáttr* in *Flateyjarbók—Flateyjarbók: en Samling af norsk Konge-sagaer med indskudte mindre fortællinger om begivenheder i og udenfor Norge samt annaler*, ed. by Guðbrandur Vigfússon and C. R. Unger, 3 vols (Oslo [Christiania]: P. T. Mallings Forlagsboghandel, 1960-1968), III, p. 454.

[18]   *Landnámabók*, ÍF 1, I, p. 72.

[19]   *Landnámabók*, ÍF 1, I, p. 75.

[20]   *Landnámabók*, ÍF 1, I, p. 76.

[21]   *Flóamanna saga*, ÍF 13, pp. 294-95.

[22] Richard Cleasby, *An Icelandic-English Dictionary*, revised, enlarged and completed by Gudbrand Vigfusson [Guðbrandur Vigfússon], second edition with supplement by William A. Craigie (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), p. 266.

[23] Perkins, 'The Dreams of *Flóamanna saga*', pp. 227-32.

[24] Perkins, 'The Dreams of *Flóamanna saga*', p. 223 (note), tentatively suggests that the left knee may have represented Þorleifr's mother Guðrún. Such an interpretation is pleasing, but raises problems if one bears in mind that Þorgils in fact marries three times (though the author could scarcely portray him in the dream as having three legs).

[25] Perkins, 'The Dreams of *Flóamanna saga*', p. 226; Alexander Argüelles, *Viking Dreams: Mythological and Religious Dream Symbolism in the Old Norse Sagas* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation. University of Chicago, 1994), p. 318, note.

[26] *Bárðar saga*, ÍF 13, p. 104.

[27] Snorri Sturluson, *Heimskringla*, ed. by Bjarni Aðalbjarnarson, 3 vols, Íslenzk fornrit 26-28 (Reykjavík: Hið íslenzka fornritafélag, 1941-51), I, p. 90.

[28] *Heimskringla*, ÍF 26, I, p. 148.

[29] The same pun also operates in Óláfr's dream in *Rauðúlfs þáttr*—see *Saga Óláfs konungs hins helga: Den store saga om Olav den hellige*, ed. by Oscar Albert Johnsen and Jón Helgason, 2 vols. (Oslo: Jacob Dybwad, 1941), II, pp. 672-80; *Flateyjarbók*, II, pp. 298-301. The floral design on the belly of the figure in Óláfr's dream represents a great flowering or prosperity (*blómi*) during the reign of Óláfr kyrri; see Anthony Faulkes, *Rauðúlfs þáttr: A Study*, Studia Islandica 25 (Reykjavík: Bókaútgáfa Menningarsjóðs, 1966), p. 24. A further example of this same pun is found in a vision in *Jómsvíkinga saga*; see *Jómsvíkinga saga*, ed. by Óláfur Halldórsson (Reykjavík: Prentsmiðja Jóns Helgasonar, 1969), pp. 68-69.

[30] *Heimskringla*, I, ÍF 26, pp. 90-91; compare *Fagrskinna – Ágrip af Nóregskonunga sögum, Fagrskinna – Nóregs konunga tal*, ed. by Bjarni Einarsson, Íslenzk fornrit 29 (Reykjavík: Hið íslenzka fornritafélag, 1985), pp. 57-58, and *Flateyjarbók* (*Flateyjarbók*, I, p. 563).

[31] Joan Turville-Petre, 'A Tree Dream in Old Icelandic', *Scripta Islandica*, 39 (1988), 12-20; see previous note for relevant passages.

[32] *Flateyjarbók*, I, p. 563.

[33] *Laxdæla saga*, ed. by Einar Ól. Sveinsson, Íslenzk fornrit 5 (Reykjavík: Hið íslenzka fornritafélag, 1934), p. 215.

[34] See Jamie Cochrane, 'Some Examples of Set-Phrase Dreams in Sagas of Icelanders', in *Perkensian Rambles: A Collection of Essays in Honour of Richard Perkins*, ed. by Daisy L. Neijmann (London: University College London, 2005), pp. 43-50 (pp. 44-45).

[35] Ármann Jakobsson, 'Konungasagan Laxdæla', *Skírnir*, 172 (1998), 357-83. For a similar view see Theodore M. Andersson, *The Growth of the Medieval Icelandic Sagas (1180-1280)* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2006), pp. 133-37.

[36] It should be noted that another possible explanation for Þorkell's misinterpretation is that it represents an alternative tradition of dream interpretation stemming from European dream-books (Sofus Larsen, 'Antik og nordisk drømmetro', *Aarbøger for nordisk oldkyndighed og historie*, 3.7 (1917), 37-85 (p. 84); Turville-Petre, 'The Icelandic Version of the *Somniale Danielis*', p. 28; Argüelles, *Viking Dreams*, pp. 333-34). I think, however, that the explanation given above is preferable, primarily for its aptness in the saga context (that is, as further evidence of Þorkell's unfounded pride and ambition), to the dream-book explanation, which may have been known to the saga author, but could not have been familiar to Þorkell. Of course, it is possible that the dream-book tradition relating beards to strength and to power owes its ultimate origins to tree/beard-dreams in Greek literature (see below) and therefore may also be a very distant relative of the motif found in *Harðar saga*.

[37] *Morkinskinna*, ed. by Finnur Jónsson, Samfund til udgivelse af gammel nordisk litteratur 53 (Copenhagen: J. Jørgensen, 1932), p. 395.

[38] Snorri Sturluson, *Heimskringla*, III, ÍF 28, pp. 264-65.

[39] *Sverris saga: efter Cod. AM 327 4°*, ed. by Gustav Indrebø (Oslo [Christiania]: Jacob Dybwad, 1920), p. 3.

[40] *Guta saga: The History of the Gotlanders*, ed. by Christine Peel, Viking Society for Northern Research Text Series 12 (London: Viking Society for Northern Research, 1999), p. 2; *Mírmanns saga*, ed. by Desmond Slay, Editiones Arnamagnæanæ A17 (Copenhagen: C. A. Reitzels Forlag, 1997), p. 2.

[41] *Edda: Die Lieder des Codex Regius nebst verwandten Denkmälern*, ed. by Gustav Neckel, 3rd edn rev. by Hans Kuhn (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1962), p. 230.

[42] *Gísla saga* Súrssonar, ed. by Björn K. Þórólfsson and Guðni Jónsson, in *Vestfirðinga sögur*, Íslenzk fornrit 6 (Reykjavík: Hið íslenzka fornritafélag, 1943), p. 58. The hooked o (ö) character in the second half-line is accented.

[43] See Snorri Sturluson, *Edda: Prologue and Gylfaginning*, ed. by Anthony Faulkes (London: Viking Society for Northern Research, 1988), pp. 17-18, and *Völuspá*, stanza 19, in *Edda*, ed. by Neckel, p. 5.

[44] Snorri Sturluson, *Edda: Prologue and Gylfaginning*, p. 13, and *Völuspá*, stanza 17, in *Edda*, ed. by Neckel, p. 4.

[45] See Rudolf Meissner, *Die Kenningar der Skalden: Ein Beitrag zur skaldischen Poetik* (Bonn and Leipzig: Kurt Schroeder, 1921), pp. 266-72. Kelchner, *Dreams in Old Norse Literature*, p. 60, to my mind inexplicably, cites the use of trees in kennings as evidence pointing towards a foreign origin for the genealogical tree.

[46] See Meissner, *Die Kenningar der Skalden*, p. 410.

[47] Larsen, 'Antik og nordisk drømmetro' p. 56. See Herodotus, *Histories*, trans. by Aubrey de Sélincourt, rev. with intro. and notes by John Marincola (London: Penguin Books, 2003), p. 50.

[48] Robert Wace, *The Roman de Rou*, ed. by Anthony J. Holden, trans. by Glyn S. Burgess (Jersey: Société Jersiaise, 2002), pp. 166-67.

[49] Turville-Petre, 'A Tree Dream in Old Icelandic', p. 16. See Suetonius, *The Twelve Caesars*, trans. by Robert Graves, intro. by Michael Grant (London: Penguin Books, 1979), p. 284.

[50] Kelchner, *Dreams in Old Norse Literature*, pp. 59-60. H. R Ellis Davidson, 'Dreams in Old Norse and Old Irish Literature', in *Northern Lights: Following Folklore in North-Western Europe: Aistí in adhnó do Bho Almqvist—Essays in Honour of Bo Almqvist*, ed. by Séamas Ó Catháin (Dublin: University College Dublin Press, 2001), pp. 34-46 (pp. 36-37). See, for example, T. W. Rolleston, *The High Deeds of Finn and Other Bardic Romances of Ancient Ireland*, intro. by Stopford A. Brooke (London: George G. Harrap, 1910), p. 173; and J. F. Campbell, *Popular Tales of the West Highlands*, 2nd edn, 2 vols (Hounslow: Wildwood House, 1890), II, pp. 153-54.

[51] Paul Schach, 'Some Parallels to the Tree Dream in *Ruodlieb*', *Monatshefte*, 46 (1954), 353-64; and 'Symbolic Dreams of Future Renown in Old Icelandic Literature', *Mosaic*, 4 (1971), 51-73.

[52] *The Ruodlieb*, ed. and trans. by C. W. Grocock (Warminster, Wiltshire and Chicago: Bolchazy-Carducci and Aris and Phillips, 1985), pp. 186-87.

[53] Schach, 'Some Parallels to the Tree Dream in *Ruodlieb*', pp. 356-57. See Wolferius, *Vita Godehardi episcopi Hildenesheimensis*, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica 13: Scriptorum Tomus 11* (Hanover: Impensis Bibliopolii Avlici Hahniani, 1854), pp. 178-80.

[54] *Isaiah* 11:1-3, biblical citations come from *The New English Bible*, 2nd edn (London, etc.: The Bible Societies, Oxford University Press and Cambridge University Press, 1972).

[55] Arthur Watson, *The Early Iconography of the Tree of Jesse* (Oxford and London: Oxford University Press, 1934), p. 44.

[56] Marita Lingren-Fridell, 'Jesse rot och stam', *Kulturhistorisk leksikon for nordisk middelalder* 7, 20 vols (plus Supplement and Register) (Viborg: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1956-78; 2nd edn, 1980-82), pp. 575-78.

[57] Turville-Petre, 'A Tree Dream in Old Icelandic', p. 20.

[58] Whaley, *Heimskringla*, p. 71.

[59] See *Gísla saga*, ÍF 6, pp. 103-04 and pp. 107-09.

[60] For example, *Sturlunga saga*, I, pp. 421 and 540.

[61] *Harðar saga*, ÍF 13, pp. xlv-xlvi.

[62] Whaley, *Heimskringla*, pp. 67-68.

[63] *Landnámabók*, I, ÍF 1, p. 57.

Languages and Cultures in Contact: Vernacular Lives of St Giles and Anglo-Norman Annotations in an Anglo-Saxon Manuscript.

John Frankis

Twelfth-century vernacular literary activity in England is so varied that it is difficult to envisage some parts of it as emanating from the same society. On one hand, there were various attempts at maintaining Anglo-Saxon literary traditions: at several centres pre-conquest texts continued to be copied and new vernacular prose-works in a pre-conquest style were produced. Extant manuscripts show that there was still a readership, probably largely monastic, for texts of Anglo-Saxon religious prose, especially the homilies of Ælfric, until at least the end of the century. On the other hand, new literary conventions associated with the use of the French language are represented by several Anglo-Norman texts, including Gaimar's verse chronicle, *L'estoire des engleis*, in the first half of the century (as opposed to the Anglo-Saxon tradition of prose historiography that was maintained at Peterborough to the mid-twelfth century) and various verse narratives in the second half, like Thomas's *Tristan* and the long verse romances of Hue de Rotelande.

How far literature of continental origin, like the romances of Chrétien de Troyes, circulated in twelfth-century England is difficult to know, though there are important pieces of evidence regarding some works: the earliest and best extant manuscript of the *Chanson de Roland* was copied in England, the *Breton Lays* of Marie de France, representing a continental literary development, were probably composed in England (the earliest and most complete manuscript of them was copied in Reading in the next century), and various claims have been made for literary patronage at the Angevin court, though the products of such activity can seldom be localised with any certainty in England. On the other hand, Anglo-Norman verse composed in twelfth-century England may sometimes reflect knowledge of the literature of mainland France.

Any contact between the cultural worlds of English religious prose and French secular verse is difficult to envisage: it seems unlikely on the face of it that anyone able to read or understand French narrative verse would be interested in Anglo-Saxon homilies, and *vice versa*. Nevertheless, important aspects of the rival traditions appear in two related but contrasting works of the period, the Old English *Life of St Giles* and the Anglo-Norman *Vie de Saint Gilles*.[1] The *Life of St Giles*, though a post-conquest composition, is a work that continues the Anglo-Saxon tradition of prose narrative and vernacular religious instruction and conforms closely to the established conventions of a saint's life: nothing in its content and style would have seemed unfamiliar to Ælfric. In contrast *La Vie de Saint Gilles* represents the newer world of French verse narrative, drawing on the conventions of secular verse, frequently demonstrating the imaginative inventiveness that appears in French romances of that period, and displaying considerable linguistic virtuosity, so that it is far from typical as a saint's life. These two pieces may stand as representatives of the two contrasting linguistic and literary worlds; apart from sharing the same Latin source they have no apparent contact with each other, but there is a connection, admittedly slight, but curiously revealing.

The manuscript containing the unique surviving copy of *The Life of St Giles*, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 303, was probably compiled about the middle of the twelfth century[2] and it demonstrates the continuing interest in Anglo-Saxon literary traditions, especially vernacular prose-works of religious instruction, that was perpetuated in several important monastic scriptoria. It contains Anglo-Saxon homilies, mainly by Ælfric, and was probably compiled in Canterbury at the Cathedral Priory of Christ Church, or possibly in Rochester Cathedral Priory, both of which made important contributions to the preservation of Old English texts throughout the twelfth century; indeed, their products share sufficient common features to suggest some kind of collaboration and distinguishing between the products of these two centres is sometimes problematic. From this same south-eastern milieu at a slightly later date comes a similar collection of Anglo-Saxon homilies, Cambridge University Library, MS Ii.1.33, that contains a curious link with the Anglo-Norman *Saint Gilles*.

The Annotations in CUL MS Ii.1.33

CUL MS Ii.1.33 has received a good deal of scholarly attention because of its intrinsic interest.[3] Like the somewhat earlier Corpus manuscript of *The Life of St Giles* it is a late copy of Anglo-Saxon homilies, mainly by Ælfric, showing that interest in these texts was still lively a century or more after the Norman Conquest. This continuing post-conquest interest in pre-conquest writings, evidenced in a number of similar collections from several different monastic scriptoria, has been the subject of numerous studies.[4] Ker's dating of CUL Ms Ii.1.33 to the second half of the twelfth century has generally been accepted by subsequent scholars; there has been less unanimity concerning its provenance but Treharne has assembled a range of evidence pointing to origin in the same south-eastern area as the *St Giles* manuscript, though perhaps in Rochester rather than Canterbury.[5]

Annotations made in the margins of CUL MS Ii.1.33 at a date probably not long after its compilation cast light on aspects of its use and readership. Ker drew attention to the fact that at two points, on fols 70v and 120r, there are brief insertions in French and these were described in more detail by Pope.[6] The initial interest of these insertions is that they are apparently the work of a reader of the late twelfth century who chose to note his thoughts about two Anglo-Saxon prose texts in Anglo-Norman verse, an unusual example of interlinguistic and intercultural reaction that repays detailed examination.

The main text on both these pages is in the same hand, which shows a typical late twelfth-century blend of insular and caroline letter-forms. On fol. 70v the left margin contains an insertion in English with a similar, but not identical, mixture of letter-forms. Ker dates the main text 's.xii2' and the marginal insertion 's.xii.ex'; the two hands, main scribe and English annotator, are different in detail but of the same general type and the hand of the insertion may well be not very much later than the main hand. Because the main scribe is an accurate copyist he preserves Ælfric's language faithfully, but the language of the insertion has several late twelfth-century features. At the foot of the same page is an addition, also from the end of the twelfth century, consisting of four lines of French verse, written as two; as one might expect, there are no insular letter-forms in the French text, but the handwriting of both insertions, English and French, shows some common features, particularly the same *de* ligature in *weorðede, licgende* and *de patras*.[7] Schipper claims that both insertions are in the same hand, but, even allowing for differences that may be due to the use of different languages and a

different pen, this appears unlikely, especially when the content of the two insertions is examined in detail.[8] On fol. 120 there is another French verse-text similarly written at the foot of the page; this is certainly in the same hand as the previous French insertion. These three insertions, one English and two French, show the reactions of two late twelfth-century readers of the manuscript; my main concern is with the two French (actually Anglo-Norman) insertions because of the light they cast on the interests and provenance of this particular reader, and perhaps the location of the manuscript at the time, but all three insertions illustrate aspects of the interest that this collection had at the end of the twelfth century.

The insertions on fol. 70v are of a simple kind and their purpose is clear. This folio contains the end of Ælfric's homily on the passion of St Andrew,[9] and it looks as if this version of the story left both annotators dissatisfied because certain details are omitted by the Anglo-Saxon homilist. Latin versions of the passion of St Andrew include details of the sympathy and support that the apostle received from people close to Egeas, the pagan ruler who condemned him to death, particularly Egeas's wife Maximilla and his brother Stratocles. Ælfric mentions that the brother venerated St Andrew but does not name him; the Cambridge manuscript (like Clemoes's edited text, which is identical here) has *and his broðor heold þæs halgan Andreas lic mid micelre arwyrðnysse* [and his brother held St Andrew's body with great veneration], but after the word *broðor* the Cambridge manuscript has an insertion above the line, probably not in the hand of the main scribe, giving the name *stratocles*.[10] The scribe responsible for this was presumably aware of the name from some other version of the Andrew legend. The writer of the marginal insertion (whose hand is different from that of the supralinear insertion) carries this process even further; his entry is as follows:

> Maximilla was an læfdie inne þære burh ofer þa oðre hlæfdie. heo weorðede *saint* Andreu & com mid heore cnihte & nam þone halige licame mid mycele wyrðmunte & hine smerede mid aromate. Aromat is gemacad of godes cynnes weorte ðe wille swote stince. hu hæfde gecore ænne swiðne fairne stede on to licgende. Þær hu leide *saintes* Andreas lichame mid weorðmunte[11]
>
> [Maximilla was a lady in that city of higher rank than other ladies; she honoured Saint Andrew and came with her servant(s) and took the holy body with great reverence, and anointed it with aromat: aromat is made of herbs of a good kind that will smell

> sweet. She had chosen a very beautiful resting-place; there she
> laid Saint Andrew's body with reverence.]

The information contained in this comment could have been derived from a
number of possible sources: most probably it is adapted from a Latin Life of St
Andrew, though these details had long been familiar in Anglo-Saxon
hagiography, having been summarised in the *Old English Martyrology*:

> And þæs Egeas broðor, se wæs on naman Stratohles, and Egeas
> wif, þære nama wæs Maximille, hig bebyrigdon Andreas
> lichaman myd wyrtgemengnyssum and myd swetum stencum.
> [And Egeas's brother, Stratocles by name, and Egeas's wife,
> whose name was Maximilla, buried Andrew's body with a blend
> of sweet-smelling herbs.][12]

The insertion in the Cambridge manuscript could conceivably have been adapted
from the *Old English Martyrology*, but a Latin source is more likely and isolated
similarities of vocabulary between the *Martyrology* and the insertion may be due
to the use of a common Latin source. It is possible that the insertion is a quotation
from a lost English life of St Andrew, but it was more probably composed by the
scribe who inserted it beside Ælfric's Old English text.

      The language of the insertion has some striking features; several linguistic
details belong to the period when it was written down, supporting the suggestion
that the note was composed by the scribe; an alternative hypothesis, that the
writer was copying an earlier text, would involve linguistic adaptation of a kind
unparalleled in the main text of Ælfric's homily. Among late spellings are
wyrðmunte (OE *weorðmynte*), contrasting with *weorte* (OE *wyrtum*), and *fairne*
(OE *fægerne*); *hlæfdie* is presumably an archaic spelling and the writer's
pronunciation is reflected in *læfdie* in the same line. The form *to licgende* (an
inflected infinitive, OE *to licgenne*) has a spelling, apparently influenced by the
present participle, which is found elsewhere in early Middle English.[13] The
inflected infinitive was in increasing use in late Old English and, although it
eventually disappeared in Middle English, it remained in frequent use throughout
the twelfth century.[14] The phrase *stede on to licgende*, literally 'place in which to
lie down', probably implies a place prepared by Maximilla for her own burial, a
parallel to the biblical account of Joseph of Arimathea and the tomb of Christ
(Matthew 27. 57-60). Particularly striking is the loss of final *–n* in several words:

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stince is an infinitive (OE *stincan*) and *gecore* is a past participle (OE *gecoren*); likewise in several adjectival and nominal inflections: *þone halige licame* stands for OE *þone haligan lichaman* and *weorte* is a dative plural in which the expected *-en* inflection (from OE *wyrtum*) is further reduced; *cnihte* could be either dative singular (OE *cnihte*) or a similarly reduced plural (OE *cnihtum*), the latter perhaps giving better sense in the context. The third person feminine pronoun appears once in the normal OE form, *heo*, but twice as *hu* (possibly from OE *heo*, perhaps rather from ON *hun*), which is unusual at this date and not easily localisable;[15] if it were from ON *hun* it would point to origin in an area of Danish settlement, but the loss of final *–n* in this short text is otherwise only in unstressed syllables. Finally, the word *aromat*, a loan from French, is recorded here in English for the first time, and the writer, evidently expecting it to be unfamiliar to English readers, adds a note explaining its meaning.[16]

At the foot of fol. 70 are inserted the lines that Pope describes as 'a metrical passage in French on St Andrew':

> Icest auint en Achaia. dunt plusur unt oi parler.
> dedenz la cite de patras que u*us* auez oi numer.

In the first line *oi* is inserted above the line, presumably the scribe's own correction. Following the normal conventions for editing Old French verse this may be printed as:

> Icest avint en Achaia,
> Dunt plusur unt oi parler,
> Dedenz la cité de Patras,
> Que vus avez oi numer.
> [This happened in Achaia, of which many have heard spoken, in the city of Patras, which you have heard named.]

This identifies the place of Andrew's martyrdom, which is not named in the Anglo-Saxon text. As with the English insertion on the same page, there is no evidence that the lines are quoted from a lost life of St Andrew and there is no known French source; the rather crude style, with an easy rhyme supplied by repeating identical syntax (*oi* plus an infinitive ending in *-er*), suggests that it may be an *ad hoc* composition by the scribe who inserted it below the Old English text.[17] Like the English insertion, it supplies information available in Latin lives

of St Andrew but omitted from the Anglo-Saxon homily; since neither insertion is likely for the reasons given to be a quotation from an existing text, Schipper's suggestion that they are in the same hand implies rather implausibly that one reader chose to use two different languages and styles in order to draw attention to details omitted from the homily. It makes better sense if the two hands are different: one reader drew attention in the medium of his choice to an omission and was followed by a second reader who noted a further omission in a different medium. Which comment was written first, the English or the French, is uncertain: the foot of the page offers more space and the marginal insertion is by comparison more cramped, which suggests that the French lines were written first (this is supported by the similar placing of the Anglo-Norman insertion on fol. 120). If that is the case, the scribe of the English insertion appears to be trying to outdo his French-speaking contemporary by inserting a note that is more substantial, if less decorative.

These additions on fol. 70 may both be characterised as late twelfth-century comments on what were evidently seen as omissions from an Anglo-Saxon text, and the agreement about omissions is unrelated to the choice of language on the part of the annotators; on the other hand, clearly connected with the choice of language is the use of the older English literary form of prose and the incoming French form of rhymed verse.

The second Anglo-Norman insertion, at the foot of fol. 120, is more puzzling: its motivation is unclear but its implications may be quite far-reaching. It is as follows:

> Li uilain dit en repruuier: *de* iueune seint uiel au*er*sier.
> P*ur* ceo dit li uilain uerite: Tels lunt ki ne ten seue*nt* gre.
> Quent*re* laueir e le bricun: Ne s*unt* pas longes cu*m*paignun
> Li uilains dit la v il ueolt, Que oil ne uoit a cuer ne duelt.

A normally edited text would be:

> Li vilain dit en repruvier,
> 'De juevne seint viel aversier'.
> Pur ceo dit li vilain verité,
> 'Tels l'unt ki ne t'en sevent gré.
> Qu'entre l'aveir e le bricun
> Ne sunt pas longes cumpaignun'.

> Li vilains dit la u il veolt,
>
> 'Que oil ne voit a cuer ne duelt'.

[The peasant says in a proverb, 'From a young saint an old devil'. Therefore the peasant truly says this, 'Those people have it who are not grateful to you. As for the miser and the wastrel, they are not long companions'. The peasant says wherever he wishes (?), 'What the eye does not see does not grieve the heart'.]

A satisfactory translation is not easy as the scribe has apparently introduced some inaccuracies, either by miscopying or by misremembering. The source of the insertion was first noted by Pope in a comment combining erudition and caution: 'These three proverbs occur (though very likely not for the first time) in Guillaume de Berneville, *La Vie de Saint Gilles*'. Clemoes subsequently pointed out (citing the authority of Dr P. Rickard) that the details of wording make it clear that the insertion must indeed be a series of quotations from this particular poem.[18] This is obviously right, for the quotations are not restricted to the proverbs but include part of the context of the poem from which they are quoted. The corresponding parts of the poem read in the published text:

> Li vileins dit en repruver:
>
> 'De jofne seint veil adverser.' (ll. 89-90)

> Tels l'unt ki tei ne sevent gré.
>
> Pur ço dit li vileins verté
>
> 'K'entre l'aver e le bricun
>
> Ne sunt pas lunges compaignun.' (ll. 305-08)

> Li vileins dit: 'La oil u volt;
>
> Ke oil ne veit al quor ne dolt'. (ll. 547-48)

[The peasant says in a proverb, 'Young saint, old devil'. [. . .] The kind of people who have now got it [Giles's property] won't be grateful to you; therefore the peasant says truly that 'As for the miser and the wastrel, they aren't long companions'. [. . .] The peasant says 'The eye [goes?] where it wishes; what the eye does not see does not grieve the heart'.][19]

In the Cambridge insertion the third and fourth lines are transposed so that what had originally been part of the context (a comment on St Giles's gift of his property to the poor, as told in the preceding narrative) is now inserted rather inappropriately into the proverb about misers and wastrels. Dr Rickard (quoted in Clemoes's note) notes this mistake and also claims that ll. 7-8 of the insertion in the Cambridge manuscript (the third proverb quoted) give a reading superior to that in the edited text (*la u il veolt* instead of *la oil u volt*): this may well be true, but neither version is fully satisfactory, even though proverbs need not always follow the syntax of normal speech.[20]

These quotations in French on fol. 120 invite various comments. In the first place, they are important as the earliest surviving testimony to the existence of *La Vie de Saint Gilles*, providing an earlier *terminus ante quem* for the composition of the poem. The editors of the poem point to a *terminus post quem* of about 1170 in the names given for the magi (ll. 2113-14) and accordingly date the poem to the last third of the twelfth century,[21] but there was no firm evidence for the end of this period other than the date of the manuscript, which is ascribed to the first half of the thirteenth century. The quotations in the Cambridge manuscript show clearly that the poem was in existence by the time when they were written down, probably by the end of the twelfth century.

Secondly, unlike the French verses on fol. 70v, these quotations from *Saint Gilles* do not relate closely to the accompanying Old English text. Fol. 120 contains part of Ælfric's homily 'De memoria sanctorum', corresponding to ll. 345-76 of the edited text (the facing verso page, equally visible to the annotator, contains ll. 312-44),[22] but it is not easy to see anything in this portion of text that clearly relates to the French insertion. The homily includes an account of sins followed by a list of the virtues by which the sins may be overcome, and fol. 120 of the Cambridge MS contains the last part of this list, the virtues of Spiritual Joy, Perseverance in Good Work, True Love of God and True Humility, with a concluding exhortation; the text on the facing page, fol. 119v, introduces the list of virtues with Temperance, Chastity and Liberality. These virtues are no doubt all exemplified in the person of St Giles, but the proverbs quoted from *La Vie de Saint Gilles* do not make this point. Earlier in the same homily there is a reminiscence of Luke 9.62:[23] *Gif se yrðlincg behylt underbæc gelome ne bið he gelimplic tilia* [if the husbandman look oftentimes backward, he will be no fitting tiller],[24] and the reference to *se yrðlincg* may have prompted the annotator's mention of *li vilains*, but these lines occur some pages earlier in the manuscript. On the previous page, facing the insertion, the discussion of *largitas*, 'liberality'

(ll. 326-333) contains material that parallels the second of the French proverbs, including the sentence, *God nele þæt we beon grædige gytseras. ne eac for woruld-gylpe forwurpan ure æhta* [God willeth not that we should be greedy misers, neither throw away our goods in worldly ostentation],[25] evidently prompting the proverb on *l'aver et le bricun*, but there is no parallel to the first and third French proverbs and there is nothing like the close relationship between text and inserted comment that has been noted regarding fol. 70v.

Thirdly, by quoting proverbs introduced by the phrase *li vilains dit* the text follows a twelfth-century French literary convention found in numerous narrative poems, particularly romances. It appears most famously in the opening line of *Erec et Énide* by Chrétien de Troyes ('Li vilains dit an son respit') and in a passage apparently modelled on this, the opening of *La Mule sans Frein* ('Li vilains dist en reprovier', the same phrase as in *Saint Gilles*, l. 89);[26] there are two examples in *Le chevalier à l'épée* (ll. 416 and 1184),[27] and several examples in Breton lays, one by Marie de France (*Eliduc*, ll. 61-63) and two anonymous (*Tydorel*, ll. 165-68 and *Trot*, ll. 283-86).[28] Further examples appear in a poem written in England shortly before 1190 (hence close in time to *Saint Gilles*), *Protheselaus,* in which rustic proverbs are quoted no less than four times.[29] There is also a collection of such sayings, *Les Proverbes del Vilain*, preserved in several manuscripts and demonstrating the wide circulation of this type of proverb.[30] The alleged rustic proverbs thus connect *La Vie de Saint Gilles* with a wealth of sophisticated French literary activity, but it is hardly likely that this is the sole reason for their appearance in the Cambridge manuscript; indeed it is odd that the annotator systematically selected these *proverbes del vilain*, which are by no means the most memorable or striking lines in *La Vie de Saint Gilles*, for copying into the Cambridge manuscript. The lines are also quoted out of context: in *La Vie de Saint Gilles* it is clear that Guillaume de Berneville has an ironic purpose in introducing the first two of these proverbs, for they illustrate not popular wisdom but popular prejudice and foolishness, *vilainie* as opposed to *courtoisie*. The poet makes it clear that Giles's childhoood piety and subsequent gift of his goods to the poor are entirely praiseworthy but this behaviour is nevertheless the object of popular condemnation. The lines quoted, which may be paraphrased as 'a saintly child grows into an old devil' and 'recipients of charity aren't grateful to you, reckless generosity is as culpable as miserliness', reflect a vulgar and facile cynicism. The third proverb is quoted by Giles himself to express his fear of the corrupting power of wealth, but its potential for a more cynical application ('ignorance is bliss') suggests that Guillaume has an ironical purpose in

introducing it here. By extracting the proverbs from their literary context the annotator deprives them of any sense of irony, although irony is often associated with proverbs in *Les Proverbes del Vilain* (as it also is with the proverbs of Alfred cited in the probably later Middle English poem *The Owl and the Nightingale*, where the proverbs indicate the intellectual limitations of the speakers).[31] The motive for the quotations in the Cambridge manuscript is unclear: presumably the annotator had some purpose inaccessible today, though it is possible that his understanding of Ælfric's text or of Guillaume's poem was imperfect. Nevertheless, whether the annotator had a poor or a subtle understanding of the writings concerned is of less importance than the nature and identity of the poem quoted, for the choice of a life of St Giles, even though this source is not identified, casts a revealing light on the writer of the insertion.

The Augustinian Priory of St Giles and St Andrew at Barnwell, Cambridge.

As explained, there are two Anglo-Norman insertions by the same hand in this collection of Anglo-Saxon homilies: the first refers explicitly to the life of St Andrew and the second is extracted from a life of St Giles (though not acknowledged as such), suggesting that these saints had some significance for the annotator. The conjunction of these two saints is in fact unusual and informative for there was in the twelfth century, and apparently continued to be to the end of the middle ages, only one religious house in the whole of England dedicated to both St Andrew and St Giles, the Augustinian Priory at Barnwell, Cambridge.[32] These two saints were not traditionally linked and they are uniquely joined in the dedication of this monastery as the result of a historical accident in the early years of the house, which was founded in 1092 as a community of regular canons at a church dedicated to St Giles in Cambridge, and was moved in 1112 to the site of a hermitage dedicated to St Andrew at Barnwell; a new church dedicated to St Andrew and St Giles was consecrated in 1191.[33] This might be dismissed as a coincidence of dubious significance if it were not for a further consideration: it has been plausibly suggested that the poet who identifies himself in *La Vie de Saint Gilles* as a canon (*chanoine*, l. 3761)[34] named 'Gwillames de Bernevile' (ll. 1039 and 3765) may be using a French transformation of the English name Barnwell, thus identifying himself as a regular canon of the Augustinian Priory of Barnwell.[35] We can thus deduce with some confidence that the Anglo-Norman insertions in the Cambridge manuscript, which demonstrate a well-informed

interest in the life of St Andrew and some kind of acquaintance with a life of St Giles, were written by someone closely connected with the Priory of St Andrew and St Giles at Barnwell. In the twelfth century the only person likely to have had access to a book like the Cambridge manuscript, and certainly the only person capable of making the kind of insertions described here, would unquestionably have been a cleric (whether regular or secular), and hence he may well himself have been a canon of Barnwell, a contemporary and colleague of the author of *La Vie de Saint Gilles*. It could be further argued that the Anglo-Norman insertions in the Cambridge manuscript, by linking the cult of St Andrew and Guillaume's *La Vie de Saint Gilles,* give some support to the identification of the author of *Saint Gilles* as a canon of the Priory of St Andrew and St Giles at Barnwell. As is argued below, this identification may have some further bearing on the poem.

That a canon of Barnwell should have written *La Vie de Saint Gilles*, or that another canon should have made annotations in a manuscript of Old English homilies, is not surprising in the light of what is known about the interest that Augustinian communities had in vernacular religious writings, an interest that extended both to the composition of original works like *Saint Gilles* and to the reading of vernacular works of the Anglo-Saxon period, though the latter raises questions of access. It is well known that many English Benedictine monasteries had a post-conquest inheritance of books in the English language from the Anglo-Saxon period, and that this inheritance was in several cases substantially augmented by continued copying of Anglo-Saxon texts in the post-conquest period (as described earlier in the present discussion), but the houses of the new religious orders founded in the twelfth century had of course no such inheritance. At that date this is not likely to have been a matter of concern to the strictly monastic orders of the Cistercians (foundations in England from 1128 onwards) and Carthusians (from 1178), who had no need for books other than those in Latin, however much the position may have changed later in the Middle Ages; but the Augustinian canons (several foundations about 1090-1100), while living under a monastic rule, also undertook pastoral work among the laity, so that works of religious instruction in the vernacular, whether English or French, had an obvious relevance to their work.[36] This is in fact reflected in the surviving contents of Augustinian libraries, as was pointed out some years ago.[37] Vernacular manuscripts must have formed only a very small part of the total held in Augustinian houses and they are seldom mentioned in surviving catalogues,[38] and it may be that vernacular works were not always thought appropriate for

inclusion in a monastic library catalogue, but nevertheless an important body of manuscripts containing vernacular texts survives from Augustinian houses.

Works in Middle English and French came in the course of time to be held by, and composed in, many Augustinian monasteries, but it is remarkable that several houses evidently managed to acquire pre-conquest manuscripts in Old English or post-conquest copies of Anglo-Saxon writings; this was presumably done in the first century of their existence since texts in Old English would become progressively less relevant to pastoral work. The exact processes by which Anglo-Saxon manuscripts were acquired are however uncertain. Some Augustinian houses had their origins in pre-conquest colleges of secular priests and may conceivably have inherited Anglo-Saxon books in this way, but in other cases one must assume that such manuscripts are most likely to have been acquired from Benedictine libraries as no other source of Anglo-Saxon books is likely to have been available. The books concerned may have been acquired as gifts or as purchases, or they may have been copies, made either by Benedictine monks to meet an Augustinian need, or by Augustinian canons who had been given permission either to borrow books for copying or to make copies in Benedictine scriptoria. I know of no certain evidence bearing on these matters: one is obliged to argue in terms of reasonable conjectures, given the fact that some Augustinian houses held manuscripts of Anglo-Saxon works copied before the foundation of the houses concerned. Such conjectures may be seen as amplifying a general statement made long ago by Ker to the effect that 'Exemplars must have travelled the country unless scribes went to copy them *in situ*'.[39]

One extant manuscript may possibly contain evidence of having been lent or given to an Augustinian house: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 343, a twelfth-century collection of Old English homilies, is likely to have been compiled in the neighbourhood of Worcester, presumably in a Benedictine monastery though possibly not in the Cathedral Priory.[40] A flyleaf note referring to 'our bishop [. . .] Wulstan' was presumably written in the Worcester diocese, but another flyleaf contains part of an antiphon to St Wulfhad, an Anglo-Saxon saint who was not widely venerated but whose shrine was at the Augustinian priory dedicated to him at Stone (Stafforshire) in the neighbouring diocese of Lichfield and Coventry: the antiphon is most likely to have been copied at Stone Priory, so one may conjecture that the manuscript was sent to Stone to cater for the Augustinian interest in vernacular writing.

This whole situation may have some bearing on the question of the history of CUL MS Ii.1.33. Schipper, taking note of the prominent placing of the life of

St Æthelthryth, conjectured that the manuscript was given its present shape in Ely, which would lend support to the suggestion that the manuscript was read and annotated by a canon of nearby Barnwell. Unfortunately, however, Dr Treharne has challenged Schipper's conclusions, citing a range of evidence pointing to the probability that the Cambridge manuscript was written in the south-east, probably at Canterbury or possibly at Rochester.[41] Among the pieces of evidence linking the Cambridge manuscript to Canterbury cited by Treharne is a note of the late thirteenth century on fol. 29, which Ker had compared to a similar note in another manuscript more certainly of Canterbury origin (Durham, Cathedral Library, MS B.III.32, f.2); this thus suggests that the Cambridge manuscript, believed to have been compiled in the south-east, was still there in the late thirteenth century. If the Anglo-Norman insertions described above were made in the late twelfth century by a canon of Barnwell, then presumably either the manuscript had been lent to the Augustinian Priory and subsequently returned to its original Benedictine owners, or a canon of Barnwell went to Canterbury to read, and incidentally to annotate, the manuscript there. One may note in passing that William of Corbeil, who was Archbishop of Canterbury from 1123 to 1140, had previously been an Augustinian canon at St Osyth's Priory in Essex and so was well placed to foster collaboration between the new Augustinian order and the old-established cathedral priories (Benedictine) of Canterbury and Rochester; the entries in the Cambridge manuscript may point to the continuation of such collaboration, if indeed it existed, into the later twelfth century.[42]

The Early Vernacular Lives of St Giles.

The cult of St Giles, indirectly referred to in the Anglo-Norman insertion on fol. 120 of the Cambridge manuscript, began to spread widely in England only after the conquest and gave rise to the two vernacular lives of St Giles, the anonymous life in Old English and the Anglo-Norman life by Guillaume de Berneville (who should perhaps rather be called William of Barnwell). *La Vie de Saint Gilles* is ascribed to the late twelfth century,[43] but, as said above, the Old English life is earlier, being preserved in a manuscript from the mid-twelfth century.[44] Treharne argues that the anonymous Old English lives of St Nicholas and St Giles in the Corpus manuscript are by the same author, who translated them from Latin in the late eleventh century.[45] The scribe who copied *St Giles* tended to make occasional minor changes, mainly orthographic, in the Ælfric texts that he copied, but one

can be reasonably confident that late features of language in the text of *St Giles*, particularly as regards morphology and syntax, are due to the author rather than the copyist.[46] While most of these linguistic features, which are listed and analysed by Treharne, are compatible with composition in the late eleventh century, others fit better with a slightly later date in the early twelfth century. For example, the complete loss of dative inflections in ll. 544-46 is striking:

> Þæt wæs on Kalendas Septembris he geændode his swincfulle lif
> 7 drihten betæhte his sawle 7 Sancte Michael 7 his ængle wyrd to
> begemanne.
> [It was on the first of September that he ended his wearisome life
> and committed his soul to the Lord and to St Michael and his
> angel-host to take care of.][47]

Here *drihten* and *wyrd* are dative in function but have lost the distinctive dative inflections (OE *drihtne* and *werode*; *sancte*, also functionally dative, is an non-distinctive form that may appear in a range of different syntactical contexts). This detail of usage in *St Giles* corresponds more closely to that of the post-1121 continuations of the *Peterborough Chronicle*.[48] The use of OE *cniht*, originally 'boy' or 'servant', as a translation of Latin *militem* in *St Giles*, l. 534, is typical of usage in the period after about 1080, as appears in entries in the *Peterborough Chronicle* for the years 1083, 1086, 1087, 1090, 1094 and 1124, in all of which *cniht* has the sense of 'soldier' or 'knight'.[49] The language of *St Giles* as a whole is variable and difficult to date, and it may well contain archaic elements influenced by pre-conquest saints' lives like those by Ælfric; composition some time between 1080 and 1130 is in general likely, though a slightly later date within the first half of the twelfth century cannot be excluded. The two texts, the Old English *St Giles* and the Anglo-Norman *Saint Gilles*, may thus be separated by about half a century or slightly more, and they illustrate two competing literary forms in twelfth-century England, the older tradition of English prose narrative and the newer French fashion of rhymed verse narrative.

There is no evidence that the Anglo-Norman poet knew the English prose life, and indeed his knowledge of English is impossible to estimate; his fluent poetic style suggests that he was a native speaker of some form of French; his verse includes a few English words, but to what extent he was bilingual seems unknowable. His praise of king Flovent, *Icist Flovenz ert mult curteis, de la franceise nurreture*, 'this Flovent was very courtly, having been brought up in

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France' (1548-49), may conceivably imply that the author was himself educated in France, although, as the editors have pointed out, his knowledge of France did not extend to the current names of Arles and Nîmes (when he was faced with Latin adjectival forms of these places in his source he extemporised non-existent names in ll. 1068 and 1755).

The two vernacular lives of St Giles, though so different in style and content, seem to have used very much the same source, a Latin *Vita Sancti Egidii* that circulated widely in this period.[50] The adaptation of this source in the Old English *Life* has been analysed by Treharne in her edition, and, in spite of changes made by the author, the Old English *Life* remains a work close in form and content to the Latin source. The author apparently did not know any vernacular form of the saint's name and consistently uses the Latin *Egidius*, unlike the Anglo-Norman author, who uses only French adaptations of the name, *Gires* and *Giles*.

The Anglo-Norman Vie de Saint Gilles.

The Anglo-Norman *Vie de Saint Gilles* is in contrast a free poetic adaptation and expansion of its source, using a skilled narrative technique with abundant descriptive detail and inventive dialogue; a closer examination of the poem reveals the cultural world that underlies the second Anglo-Norman insertion in the Cambridge manuscript. The poem's religious purpose is clear: besides being a saint's life it is a celebration of the eremitical life and shows how this may develop into life under a monastic rule. The religious purpose is served by a range of thematic and stylistic features, so that its impact has much in common with that of secular narratives of the period, particularly romances. Among features that link *Saint Gilles* with secular poetry the citing of rustic proverbs, with the threefold recurrence of *li vilains dist*, has already been noted; also striking is the theme of the watchman on the tower sounding his horn to signal the coming of the dawn:

> Tost par matin, tut dreit al jur
> corne la gueite sur la tur. (ll. 1691-92)
> [As soon as morning comes, at the break of day,
> the watchman on the tower sounds his horn.]

The poet may conceivably be writing from experience of a social reality but it sounds more like the repetition of a literary motif, and the literary connotations are of interest. In *Saint Gilles* the dawn marks the beginning of the hunt that leads to the confrontation of the saint and the king, but the motif of the watchman's dawn-signal is especially associated with the lyric genre of the *alba* or song of lovers parting at dawn.[51] Guillaume presumably introduces the theme here to create atmosphere by referring to the rituals of courtly life, sharpening the contrast between the king and the hermit, but the further connotations of the *alba* would enhance the contrast between religious and secular life.

In her *Anglo-Norman Literature* Dominica Legge rightly draws attention to the poet's mastery of dramatic dialogue, quoting a passage that shows the poet's effective handling of the language of ordinary conversation.[52] The poet's ability to write passages of vivid description is no less noteworthy and his account of sea-voyages (ll. 771-806 and 883-934) shows an astonishing linguistic richness, particularly in its use of the technical terms of seafaring and seamanship. The poet was apparently familiar with sailing and the sea and he provides an remarkable insight into the language of sailors, with its blend of terminology of French, English, Dutch and Norse origin; how much of this terminology was in use in continental French, and how much was peculiar to Anglo-Norman or to a nautical *lingua franca*, remains to be determined.[53] The editors of *Saint Gilles* have compared these seafaring passages with the account of Arthur's voyage in Wace's *Roman de Brut*, ll. 11193-238; the two texts have several items of nautical vocabulary in common, but Guillaume treats the subject at greater length and includes some nautical terms that are not in Wace, so that, although he may owe a thematic debt to Wace, his use of independent material suggests a personal knowledge of seafaring terminology. Wace was apparently a pioneer in the exploitation of nautical terminolgy for poetic effect; it is of some interest that his two most notable twelfth-century successors (whether or not imitators) were both Anglo-Norman poets, possibly East Anglian contemporaries, Guillaume de Berneville and Denis Piramus, each of whom makes an important contribution to the poetic exploitation of seafaring terminology.[54]

Perhaps the most striking feature of Guillaume's style is his gift for compiling poetic lists with an accumulation of terms drawn from a wide range of linguistic styles and registers, showing an apparent delight in the potentialities of language. The nautical passages referred to are a flamboyant example of this but similar qualities appear in several shorter passages. For example, the Latin *Vita* gives no information about the sailors rescued from a storm by St Giles's prayers,

but Guillaume says that they are merchants and he amplifies this with a splendid catalogue of the wares they traded in (ll. 846-55), including numerous kinds of coloured fabrics from exotic locations (silks from Russia, cloth from Alexandria, scarlet, blue and green from Greece), as well as various spices (sugar, cinnamon, liquorice, galingale): this imaginative display of imagery is the work of a highly accomplished writer. One detail, *pailles de Russie* [l. 848, silks from Russia], is noteworthy because any reference to Russia is rare in writing in England before the mid-thirteenth century. Russia is mentioned in the late twelfth century by Hue de Rotelande and slightly later in *Waldef*, but only as a remote and unknown place, whereas Guillaume makes it clear that Russia was known as the immediate source of luxury-goods that presumably came ultimately from the East.[55] A similar catalogue of merchants' wares had been included in Ælfric's *Colloquy* for the purpose of teaching Latin, but Guillaume's use of such material for poetic effect may rather have been suggested by descriptions of fabrics and clothing and the appurtenances of wealth in French romances, especially in *Erec et Enide*.[56] Chrétien's characteristic blend of the colourful, the fantastic and the learned may be paralleled in Guillaume's descriptive writing and examples may be found in the passages describing St Giles's hermitage. Here the Latin *Vita* has brief phrases that refer to the remoteness of the hermitage (para. 9) and the trees and wild animals in the country surrounding it (paras 11 and 13).[57] Guillaume transforms these into two passages of descriptive detail, one on the theme of wild animals (ll. 1229-38), the other on trees (ll. 1921-28), each in its way casting light on the literary background of the poem.

In the former the locality sought out by St Giles is characterised in terms of its wild life:

> Entre le Rodne e Munpellers
> ert le pais large e pleners
> de granz deserz e de boscages;
> assez i out bestes sauvages,
> urs e liuns e cers e deims,
> senglers, lehes e forz farrins,
> olifans e bestes cornues,
> vivres e tygres e tortues,
> sagittaires e locerveres
> e serpenz de mutes maneres. (1229-38)[58]

> [between the Rhone and Montpellier the country was extensive
> and full of great wildernesses and forests; there were many wild
> animals, bears and lions, stags and bucks, boars, wild sows and a
> wealth of game, elephants and horned beasts, vipers and tigers
> and tortoises, centaurs and hyenas and many kinds of serpents.]

This demonstrates the poetic power of a list of names and it also exemplifies, at a
time when it was not yet common in vernacular writing, how the eremetical
wilderness may develop into the romantic forest in a way that was to be recurrent
in European writing for hundreds of years.[59] The hermit's 'desert' is full of life but
not inhabited by men. The animals in Guillaume's catalogue include both the
familiar and the exotic, the learned and the fantastic, deriving from observation
and from reading; some have traditional symbolic associations, especially the
lions and serpents, familiar in Chrétien's *Yvain* and still present in Shakespeare's
forest of Arden.[60] Several of the animals also receive mention in bestiaries, like
the earlier twelfth-century Anglo-Norman *Bestiaire* of Philippe de Thaon, which
may indicate the kind of associations that some animals had for the poet, though it
is highly unlikely that he intended anything like the allegorical interpretations
found in bestiaries. The choice of the word *olifans* (l. 1235) is of interest because
Philippe de Thaon, writing in England half a century earlier, consistently uses the
form *elefant*.[61] The form *olifans* is in fact ambiguous, referring both to the
elephant and to the ivory obtained from it, especially to Roland's famous horn, the
olifan that plays such a crucial role in the *Chanson de Roland*, so Guillaume's
choice of word adds an extra dimension to the surroundings of St Giles's
hermitage. The placing of the reference to *sagittaires et locerveres* sounds
jocularly pedantic: *locerveres* (l. 1237) may not quite be identical with the
loupscerviers [lynxes] of modern French, for Philippe de Thaon equates the term
with 'hyena', though the latter word no doubt also raises questions of identity.[62]
Leaving aside questions both of zoological identity and of bestiary-allegory, this
makes Giles's forest a more wild and curious place. As for *sagittaires*, Guillaume
presumably knew of the conventional representation in illustrated calendars of the
constellation Sagittarius as a centaur; Philippe de Thaon in his *Comput* describes
the *Sagittarie* as a human figure to the waist and below in the form of a horse (in
his *Bestiaire* he uses very similar wording in his account of the *onoscentaurus* as
human to the waist and below as an ass, explaining that *onos* is Greek for ass); so
it is safe to assume that Guillaume envisaged the *sagittaire* as a centaur, a
creature with a special significance for hermits.[63] St Jerome, in his *Life of St Paul*

the First Hermit, a fundamental text for medieval eremetic ideology, tells how St Antony went to visit St Paul the Hermit in his desert retreat and on the way met a centaur, *Hippocentaurus*, which, in a crude attempt at human speech, gave the saint helpful guidance, demonstrating that it was not a hostile creature; further on the saint met a faun or satyr, a small man with horns and goat's feet, which explained that it was not an infernal spirit but a mortal creature capable of salvation, and asked for the saint's prayers to help bring this about: the adaptation of this passage by Gervase of Tilbury and Walter Map shows that it circulated widely.[64] The *sagittaires* in Guillaume's poem thus denote a locality appropriate to the eremetic life, and may also indicate that a hermit, though removed from human society, may have a religious function in relation to the wild creatures that surround him.[65] Whether the *sagittaires* could be meaningfully linked with the *sete*, 'arrow' (Latin *sagitta*), that wounds Saint Gilles (l. 2004) is more debatable. Finally, the tortoise may seem an unexpected item in a list of *bestes sauvages*; it is possible that Guillaume knew of the powers of divination associated with it by Pliny,[66] but he may never have seen a tortoise and the reference sounds ornamental, or even playful, rather than didactic. The whole passage may imply a comparison betqween St Giles in his hermitage and Adam surrounded by animals in the Garden of Eden.

In the second passage the account of the trees surrounding the hermitage indicates another aspect of the eremetic life:

> virent le liu durement bel:
> tut l'unt purpris li arbreisel
> ki planté furent envirun
> e portent fruit en lur saisun:
> coinz, permeines, pesches e fies
> e alemendes e alies
> e autres fruiz assez plusurs,
> ki jettent les bones flairurs. (ll. 1921-28)[67]

[they saw the place was of great beauty, filled by the trees that had been planted all around and which bore fruit in their season: quinces, pears, peaches and figs, almonds and sorb-apples and several other fruits in great quantity that emit beautiful scents.]

Laurent notes the resemblance of this to the *locus amoenus* of secular narratives and sees it as linking the text to courtly literature. This is partly true: the topos of

the 'mixed forest' was long ago described by Curtius in his seminal study of medieval literary motifs,[68] but Guillaume's list of trees is not a 'mixed forest', it is a collection specifically of trees that bear fruit edible by man, so that it becomes a manifestation of a beneficent nature and ultimately of divine care (*planté* in l. 1923 may imply either human or divine agency), like the hind that brings sustenance to St Giles, and it further suggests the theme of the hermitage as an earthly paradise, so that Guillaume blends the *locus amoenus* of secular narratives with a tradition of eremitical writing.

Guillaume's treatment of the hermitage raises an interesting possibility. The Latin source mentions three hermits and hermitages: first, on the island visited on the voyage to Marseilles, the nameless hermit who becomes a model of the eremitical ideal for Giles (para. 7); second, Veredemius, who becomes Giles's guide into this way of life (para. 9); and third, Giles himself when he establishes his own retreat (para. 11, additional information in 13 and 14); these three hermitages are broadly similar.[69] Guillaume follows this pattern but introduces numerous original and distinctive details. The first hermitage, on a remote island, is beside a stream in which cress, a natural food-source, grows (ll. 938-99); in contrast, the hermitage of Veredemius is in a barren place (ll. 1251-70) where no food plants can grow, no leeks, chives, shallots, onions, lettuce and, in specific contrast to the island hermitage, no cress (ll. 1264-66: another of Guillaume's characteristic lists). Finally, Giles's own hermitage (ll. 1455-1540, 1916-28) combines features of the other two: it is in a *desert* [uninhabited place] (the word occurs repeatedly: ll. 1462, 1487, 1495, 1521, 1524), a cave difficult of access because of the dense growth of shrubs and trees (ll. 1463-67), but with a clear stream running over gravel in which cress grows (ll. 1468-72), enabling Giles to live on roots and (repeated again in l. 1494) cress. Cress growing in running water is represented as a basic natural resource for the hermit.[70] The first hermitage establishes a basic theme of remoteness, but the contrast between the other two is clear: according to Guillaume, but not to the Latin source, Giles makes his first abode in a barren place without water or natural food-resources (no cress), then moves to a place that is well watered and supplied with edible vegetation (a double helping, as it were, of cress and a variety of fruit). No doubt this may be seen as making a general point about faith in God's provision, but there is a striking parallel to the early history of the Augustinian community that finally settled in Barnwell. According to the *Liber Memorandum*, the early record of the house already referred to (note 33 above), the regular canons were first established at the church of St Giles beside the castle in Cambridge on a restricted

site without water that soon became inadequate to their needs. Their next patron, Pain Peveral, became aware of this:

> Uidens autem locum ubi domus eorum sita erat non sufficere ad omnes officinas canonicis suis necessarias, nec eciam aquam uiuam continere, impetrauit ille egregius Paganus Peueral a rege Henrico locum quendam extra burgum Cantebrigie a magna platea usque in riueram Cantebrigie se extendentem, et amenitate situs loci satis delectabilem. Porro de illius loci medio fonticuli satis puri et viuidi emanabant, Anglice Barnewelle, id est fontes puerorum.
>
> [Seeing now that the place where their house was situated did not suffice for all the buildings necessary for his canons and had no running water, that excellent man, Pain Peveral, requested from king Henry a certain place outside the city of Cambridge, stretching from the main road to the bank of the river in Cambridge, very delightful because of the convenience of the situation of the place. Moreover, springs of pure running water came from the middle of that place, called in English *Barnwell*, that is, 'children's springs.][71]

Guillaume's pointed contrast between Giles's first habitation on a harsh site without water and cress and his second beside running water with cress becomes more comprehensible if it is seen as reflecting the history of Guillaume's priory at Barnwell. Furthermore, the same chapter of the account of Barnwell priory goes on to tell that the new site of the priory had previously been the habitation and oratory (dedicated to St Andrew) of a holy man of God named *Godesone* (an assumed religious name, 'God's son'), who had died, leaving the place unoccupied.[72] As a result, where there had previously been a hermitage there was now a monastery, a situation mirrored in Guillaume's lines on the religious house founded by St Giles:

> Primes i out un hermitage:
> meis ore i ad un'abbaie,
> novelement est establie (ll. 3380-82)
> [First there was a hermitage there, but now there is a newly established monastery]

Barnwell was by no means the only monastery to have developed from a hermitage, but the parallel must have been striking for the canons of Barnwell in the late twelfth century.[73]

One further example of Guillaume's handling of material from secular poetry may also be connected with the poet's identity. The editors have drawn attention to a quotation from *La Chanson de Roland* in *La Vie de Saint Gilles*, when Gilles speaks of the miracle performed by God for Charlemagne:

> quant pur vus fist de noit le jur,
> en Rencevals, as porz passant,
> pur venger la mort de Rollant. (*Saint Gilles*, ll. 2892-94)
> [when [God] turned night into day for you on your way through
> the mountain-passes at Roncevaux to avenge Roland's death]

Guillaume here quotes a repeated phrase from the *Chanson de Roland*: *Si l'orrat Carles ki est az porz passant* [l. 1071: Charles will hear it [Roland's *olifan*] as he goes through the mountain-passes], and *Karles l'entent ki est as porz passant* [l. 1766: Charles hears it as he goes through the mountain-passes].[74] No doubt the fact that Charlemagne figures so prominently in the legend of St Giles prompted this reference, but it may well have been facilitated for a poet who was an Augustinian canon if what is now the oldest and best manuscript of the *Chanson de Roland* (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 23, Part II) was held in the Augustinian Abbey at Osney in the twelfth century. Bodleian MS Digby 23 at present consists of two originally separate and unrelated manuscripts: one with Chalcidius's translation of Plato's *Timaeus*, the other with *La Chanson de Roland*; a flyleaf note in the first part records that the Chalcidius was bequeathed to Osney Abbey (probably about 1263) but makes no reference to the *Chanson*, perhaps implying that the two texts were still separate at that point; however, the two parts were evidently bound together by the end of the thirteenth century, so the *Roland* manuscript was presumably already held by Osney Abbey at the time of binding. How long it had been there, and whether it was originally written there, is not known; but it is likely that the manuscript of *La Chanson de Roland* was held in the Augustinian Abbey of Osney at the time Guillaume was writing *La Vie de Saint Gilles* in the Augustinian Priory of Barnwell.[75] The interest in vernacular writing mentioned above is such a striking feature in the surviving books from the libraries of Augustinian houses that it may be presumed to result from a policy pursued throughout the Augustinian order in England (and probably in Wales too,

in the light of the fact that one of the most important repositories of medieval Welsh poetry, the Black Book of Carmarthen, was held in the Augustinian Priory of Carmarthen).[76] What kind of contacts existed between Augustinian houses is a matter on which more evidence would be welcome. Whether the interest that led Osney Abbey to hold a copy of *La Chanson de Roland* was encouraged by the fact that Roncevaux was the site of an Augustinian hospital for pilgrims is obviously more speculative.

La Vie de Saint Gilles is the work of an exceptionally gifted poet in its inventive adaptation of its source and in its connections with French secular verse from the *Chanson de Roland* to late twelfth-century romances, and it casts a striking light on the ideals, attitudes and activities of the Augustinian Canons of Barnwell Priory at the time of its composition. In marked contrast, the English *Life of Saint Giles* belongs to a very different literary world, unashamedly insular and retrospective, but illustrating an important aspect of twelfth-century English Benedictine monasticism. The interest of the annotations in CUL MS Ii.1.33 is that they show how at least one reader appeared to have had the ability to move in both worlds, though the depth of his understanding of the culture of either world must remain in some doubt.

NOTES

[1] *The Old English Life of St Nicholas with the Old English Life of St Giles*, ed. by E. M. Treharne, Leeds Texts and Monographs, n.s. 15 (University of Leeds, 1997); *La Vie de Saint Gilles*, ed. by Gaston Paris and Alphonse Bos, Société des anciens textes français (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1881), and *Guillaume de Berneville, La Vie de Saint Gilles*, ed. by Françoise Laurent (Paris: Champion, 2003). I am indebted to the anonymous readers of *LSE* for several helpful suggestions concerning the presentation of the material in this article.

[2] Treharne, *St Giles*, pp. 20-21, modifying the slightly earlier dating of N. R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), p. 99.

[3] Description in Ker, *Catalogue*, pp. 23-27, no. 18; important additional comments in *Homilies of Ælfric, a Supplementary Collection*, ed. by John C. Pope, Vol. I, EETS o.s. 259 (1967), pp. 35-39, and *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies, the First Series*, ed. by Peter Clemoes, EETS s.s. 17 (1997), pp. 25-28 (henceforth referred to as *CH* I). A detailed codicological analysis may be found in W. Schipper, 'A composite Old English homiliary from Ely: Cambr. Univ. Libr. MS Ii, 1. 33', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 8 (1983), 285-98; see further Elaine M. Treharne, 'The dates and origins of three twelfth-century Old English manuscripts', in *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts and their Heritage*, ed. by Phillip Pulsiano and Elaine M. Treharne (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), pp. 227-53.

[4] For important recent studies, with references to earlier publications, see *Rewriting Old English in the Twelfth Century*, ed. by Mary Swann and Elaine M. Treharne, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 30 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

[5] Treharne, 'Dates and origins', p. 243, points out that Schipper misinterprets Ker's dating without actually challenging it.

[6] Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 23, and Pope, *Homilies*, p. 38. The implications of other annotations in this manuscript are also discussed in Mary Swan, 'Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies* in the twelfth century', in Treharne, *Rewriting Old English*, pp. 62-82 (pp. 78-80).

[7] On the *de* ligature see Treharne, 'The dates and origins', p. 241. Further discussions are noted by M. B. Parkes, 'The date of the Oxford Manuscript of *La Chanson de Roland*: Bodleian Library MS Digby 23', *Medioevo romanzo*, 10 (1985), 161-75, reprinted in M. B. Parkes, *Scribes, Scripts and Readers* (London: Hambledon, 1991), pp. 71-89 (especially pp. 72-77).

[8] Schipper, 'Homiliary', p. 294, n. 12.

[9] Corresponding to the edited text in Clemoes, *CH* I, pp. 518-19, ll. 333-50; the *Passio* is added to the homily *Natale Sancti Andree Apostoli*.

[10] The insertion lacks serifs in both the *st* ligature and the final *s* of *stratocles*, but the scribe of the main text on fols 70v and 120 regularly uses *s* with a serif, both in the *st* ligature

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(e.g. fol. 70v, l. 5, *apostole*) and in a final position (e.g. fol. 70v, l. 19, *preostas, diocanas*; fol. 120, l. 9, *anrædnys godes weorces*); in fol. 120, l. 13, the main scribe makes a superior insertion, *caritas*, also with a serif in the final *s*.

[11] Texts transcribed from this manuscript are quoted with the permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.

[12] Quoted from *Das altenglische Martyrologium*, ed. by Günter Kotzor, 2 vols (Munich: Beck, 1981), II, p. 260. On versions of the Life of St Andrew current in Anglo-Saxon England see *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies. Introduction, Commentary and Glossary*, by Malcolm Godden, EETS s.s. 18 (2000), pp. 318-19, and more generally *Andreas and the Fates of the Apostles*, ed. by Kenneth Brooks (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961), pp. xv-xviii.

[13] See Tauno F. Mustanoja, *A Middle English Syntax*, Part I, *Parts of Speech* (Helsinki: Société Néophilologique, 1960), pp. 512-13; Mustanoja characterises the *-ende* spellings as 'southern and south-western', but the only example given (from Lawman, Otho MS) does not preclude a wider distribution, particularly at an earlier date.

[14] Treharne, *St Giles*, p. 71, sees it as a characteristic of the texts discussed by her; on the increasing use in late OE she cites Elizabeth Closs Traugott, 'Syntax', in R. M. Hogg, *The Cambridge History of the English Language*, Vol. I, *The Beginnings to 1066* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 168-289 (p. 242). See more generally Bruce Mitchell, *Old English Syntax*, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), I, pp. 387-88, para. 921.

[15] *A Linguistic Atlas of Late Medieval English*, by Angus McIntosh, M. L. Samuels and Michael Benskin, 4 vols (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1986), I, p. 309 (Dot map 17), shows locations for a range of spellings (*heo, hu(e), hoe, huhe*) that may be grouped together as regards later ME, but may need further refinement for early ME; the spread of examples is so wide as not to be helpful for localising the twelfth-century text.

[16] See *MED* s.v. aromat; the word is used several times in *Ancrene Wisse* and the Katherine Group of spices and ointments referred to in the Bible: see for example *Ancrene Wisse*, ed. by J. R. R. Tolkien, EETS o.s. 249 (1962), p. 190, referring to John 19. 39-40, and *Ancrene Wisse*, ed. by Geoffrey Shepherd (London: Nelson, 1959), p. 14, note on l. 8; the author of *Ancrene Wisse* likewise gives an explanation of the word: see ed. by Tolkien p. 192, 'Aromaz me makeð of myrre & of rechles' [Aromat is made of myrrh and incense] (referring to Canticum Canticorum 3. 6), and ed. by Shepherd, p. 15, 38n.

[17] The lines are not from A. T. Baker, 'The Passion of Saint Andrew', *MLR*, 11 (1916), 420-49, who comments on the paucity of French verse lives of apostles and he records (n. 2) only this one Life of St Andrew; nor are they from Gerald A. Bertin and Alfred Foulet, 'The Acts of Andrew in Old French Verse: the Gardner A. Sage Library Fragment', *PMLA*, 81 (1966), 451-54, which states (p. 451) that extant French Lives of St Andrew, apart from the Passion ed. by Baker and the American fragment, are all in prose.

[18] Pope, *Homilies*, p. 38; Clemoes, *CH* I, p. 28 and n. 1.

[19] Text quoted (with minor changes of punctuation) from Laurent, *Saint Gilles*, pp. 6, 19-20 and 34, who gives a rather free translation.

[20] Laurent translates the proverb in 547-48 rather freely as 'Là où est l'œil est le désir, mais loin des yeux loin du cœur.' The question-marks in my translation signal my uncertainty about both versions of the text.

[21] The *terminus post quem* of 1170 is not certain since the names of the Magi evidently had some limited currency before that date: see *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, ed. by F. L. Cross, 2nd edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1974), p. 858, s.v. Magi, and references there cited; but it is true that knowledge of the names in north-western Europe became widespread only after Frederick Barbarossa brought the supposed relics to Germany in 1162. *La Vie de Saint Gilles* survives complete in a manuscript in Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, which I have not been able to see: there is a description in Paris et Bos, pp. I-XIV.

[22] *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, ed. by Walter W. Skeat, 2 vols, EETS o.s. 76 and 82 (1881 and 1885, reprinted as one volume 1966), I, pp. 360-62; henceforth cited as *LS*.

[23] Vulgate: 'Nemo mittens manum suam ad aratrum, et respiciens retro, aptus est regno Dei'; AV: 'No man, having put his hand to the plough, and looking back, is fit for the kingdom of God.' The OE translation of the gospels here has 'nan mann þe hys hand asett on hys sulh and onbæc besyhð nys andfenge godes rice': quoted (with repunctuation) from *The Old English Version of the Gospels*, ed. by R. M. Liuzza, Vol. I, EETS o.s. 304 (1994), p. 122.

[24] Text and translation quoted from *LS*, pp. 348-49, ll. 178-79.

[25] Text and translation quoted from *LS*, pp. 358-59, ll. 329-30.

[26] *Les Romans de Chrétien de Troyes, I Erec et Enide*, ed. by Mario Roques, Classiques Français du Moyen Age 80 (Paris: Champion, 1966), p. 1; *Two Old French Gauvain Romances*, ed. by R. C. Johnston and D. D. R. Owen (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1972), pp. 61 and 101.

[27] *Two Old French Gauvain Romances*, pp. 40 and 59.

[28] *Marie de France, Lais*, ed. by Alfred Ewert (Oxford: Blackwell, 1947), p. 128 (*Eliduc*, 61-63 and note); *Les lais anonymes des XIIe et XIIIe siècles*, ed. by Prudence Mary O'Hara Tobin (Geneva: Droz, 1976), pp. 217 (*Tydorel*, ll. 165-68) and 345 (*Trot*, ll. 283-86).

[29] *Protheselaus by Hue de Rotelande*, ed. by A. J. Holden, 3 vols, ANTS 47-49 (London: Anglo-Norman Text Society, 1991-93), ll. 7094-96, 7699-701, 8767-69 and 9038-40; see also 82 note; on the date of the poem see Introduction, p.1; see also *Ipomedon, poème de Hue de Rotelande*, ed. by A. J. Holden (Paris: Klincksieck, 1979), p. 474, ll. 9487-90.

[30] Adolf Tobler, *Les Proverbes au Vilain: die Sprichwörter des gemeinen Mannes* (Leipzig: 1895); see further Ruth J. Dean, *Anglo-Norman Literature, a guide to texts and manuscripts* (London: Anglo-Norman Text Society, 1999), p. 146; the collection is preserved

mainly in continental manuscripts but also in a famous English manuscript: see *Facsimile of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 86*, with an introduction by Judith Tschann and M. B. Parkes, EETS s.s. 16 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), fols 143-49v; in this manuscript the French text is immediately preceded by the Middle English *Proverbs of Hending*, a collection apparently modelled on *Les Proverbes del Vilain*: in each work a stanza, generally of six lines, describes a common situation and follows this with a relevant proverb, followed by *Ceo dist le vilain* in the French poem or by *Quod Hending* in the English poem. This suggests that the name *Hending* should be seen as an English counterpart of *le vilain*, implying 'the handyman', 'the manual labourer'. Dean, p. 147, records (no. 261) an Anglo-Norman collection of 'li proverbes qe dit li vilains', together with two English proverbs, the latter also noted in Ker, *Catalogue*, pp. 426-7.

[31] On irony in proverbs see Eckhard Rattunde, *Li Proverbe au Vilain: Untersuchungen zur romanischen Spruchdichtung*, Studia Romanica 11 (Heidelberg: Winter, 1966), pp. 103-23; this study also cites (p.121) references to rustic proverbs in some other narrative poems. For a similar attitude in Old English see Paul Cavill, *Maxims in Old English Poetry* (Cambridge: Brewer, 1999), p. 66, referring to *ceorlisc* [rustic] and *stunte* [foolish] people who quote proverbs. *The Owl and the Nightingale*, ed. by Eric Gerald Stanley (London: Nelson, 1960), pp. 34 and 160-63; and *The Owl and the Nightingale*, ed. by Neil Cartlidge (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2001), p. 54 (note on l. 235).

[32] Alison Binns, *Dedications of Monastic Houses in England and Wales 1066-1216* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1989), pp. 51 and 119; previously referred to by M. D. Legge, *Anglo-Norman Literature and its Background* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), p. 254.

[33] *Liber Memorandorum Ecclesie de Bernewelle*, ed. by John Willis Clark (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1907), pp. 38-39, 46, 66-67 and 222.

[34] This title could refer in this period either to a secular canon (a member of the secular clergy, normally one holding a prebend in a cathedral chapter, like, for example, Wace) or to a regular canon (a member of the order of Augustinian Canons, monks living under the Rule of St Augustine).

[35] First suggested by Ezio Levi, 'Troveri ed Abbazie', *Archivo storico italiano*, 83 (1925), 45-81 (p. 65); this was long ignored but is considered more sympathetically by Legge, *Anglo-Norman Literature*, p. 254; see further M. Dominica Legge, 'Les origines de l'anglo-normand littéraire', *Revue de Linguistique Romane*, 31 (1967), 44-54 (p. 52). The commonest medieval form of 'Barnwell' is *Bernewelle*: see *Liber Memorandum*, pp. 37, 46-48, 51-55 and frequently throughout; see also *The Place-Names of Cambridgeshire*, by P. H. Reaney, English Place-Name Society Vol. 19 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1943), p. 39. The place-name element *well(e)* is normal for East Anglia in ME, but in more westerly areas a common ME reflex of West Saxon *wiell* is *will(e)*: see Eilert Ekwall, *The Oxford Dictionary of English*

Place-Names (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1951), pp. 480-81, s.v. well; it is conceivable that Guillaume knew of *–wille* as a variant of *–welle*, but more probable that he simply saw the common French place-name element *–ville* as an appropriate substitute for *welle* in a text in the French language. Cecily Clark, 'The *Liber Vitae* of Thorney Abbey and its catchment area', refers to a family named *de Barnauilla* who held lands not far from Barnwell (in Northants and Lincs) but she does not connect this family with Barnwell or with Guillaume de Berneville: see *Words, Names and History: Selected Writings of Cecily Clark*, ed. by Peter Jackson (Cambridge: Brewer, 1995), pp. 320-38 (pp. 324, 332).

[36] J. C. Dickinson, *The Origins of the Austin Canons and their Introduction into England* (London: SPCK, 1950), pp. 214-41; R. W. Southern, *Western Society and the Church in the Middle Ages* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1970), pp. 241-50; Janet Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders in Britain 1000-1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 43-52.

[37] John Frankis, 'The social context of vernacular writing in thirteenth-century England: the evidence of the manuscripts', *Thirteenth Century England* I, ed. by P. R. Coss and S. D. Lloyd (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1986), pp. 175-84 (p. 178); further material added in John Frankis, 'Towards a regional context for Lawman's *Brut*: literary activity in the dioceses of Worcester and Hereford in the twelfth century', in *Laȝamon: Contexts, Language, and Interpretation*, ed. by Rosamund Allen, Lucy Perry and Jane Roberts (London: King's College Centre for Late Antique and Medieval Studies, 2002), pp. 53-78 (p. 58). My concern was with the period before 1300, but I noted in passing that 'Augustinian literary activity in the English language continued vigorously to the end of the Middle Ages' (*Thirteenth Century England*, I. 178 and n. 19); on this subject see the magisterial study by Ralph Hanna, 'Augustinian canons and Middle English literature', in *The English Medieval Book, Studies in Memory of Jeremy Griffiths*, ed. by A. S. G. Edwards, Vincent Gillespie and Ralph Hanna (London: British Library, 2000), pp. 27-42; further references to French writings in Augustinian houses are given by Tony Hunt, *Le Chant des Chanz*, ANTS 61-62 (London: Anglo-Norman Text Society, 2004), introduction pp. 12-15 (including on p. 13 a digression on the unrelated topic of Augustinian friars).

[38] *The Libraries of the Augustinian Canons*, ed. by T. Webber and A. G. Watson, Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues 6 (London: The British Library, in association with the British Academy, 1998). David Postles, 'The learning of Austin Canons: the case of Oseney Abbey, *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 29 (1985), 32-43, is concerned with works in Latin and refers (pp. 41-43) to vernacular manuscripts only in connection with declining Latinity in the fifteenth century.

[39] N. R. Ker, *English Manuscripts in the Century after the Conquest* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960), p. 11; the examples discussed by Ker are from Benedictine houses. David N. Dumville, 'English libraries before 1066: use and abuse of manuscript evidence', revised

version in *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: Basic Readings*, ed. by Mary P. Richards (New York and London, Routledge, 1994), pp. 169-219, glances (p. 184) at the subject of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts in post-conquest religious foundations but is not concerned with the distinction between Latin and vernacular texts.

[40] *Old English Homilies from MS Bodley 343*, ed. by Susan Irvine, EETS o.s. 302 (1993), pp. xix and li-lii; Susan Irvine, 'The compilation and use of manuscripts containing Old English in the twelfth century', in *Rewriting Old English*, pp. 41-61 (pp. 55-60). Also discussed with further references in Frankis, 'Regional context', pp. 58-60.

[41] Elaine M. Treharne, 'The dates and origins', pp. 242-44.

[42] See *DNB* under Corbeil, William of; see also *The Peterborough Chronicle 1070-1154*, ed. by Cecily Clark (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2nd ed. 1970), p. 43 (ll. 1123, 32-35, and note on p. 96): 'an clerc Willelm of Curboil wæs gehaten. he was canonie of an mynstre Cicc hatte [. . .] and se kyng him geaf ðone ærcebiscopric'. Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders*, pp. 46-48, comments on episcopal encouragement of Augustinian foundations.

[43] Paris and Bos, pp. xxv-xxvii. Ulle Erika Lewes, *The Life in the Forest: the Influence of the Saint Giles Legend on the Courtly Tristan Story* (Chattanooga: Tristania Monographs, 1978), wishes to place *La Vie de Saint Gilles* earlier to make it fit in better with her theory of its widespread continental influence; her theories need not be discussed here, but they seem to be based on shared commonplaces concerning the eremetical life and the romantic forest that need not involve any direct contact between the texts concerned.

[44] See n. 2 above.

[45] Treharne, *St Giles*, pp. 74-78; on p. 130 *Saint Giles* is ascribed more vaguely to 'the second half of the eleventh century or slightly later'.

[46] Treharne, *St Giles*, pp. 62 and 75 and n. 227.

[47] Text quoted from Treharne, *St Giles* p. 147, my translation: Treharne's translation on p. 162 misinterprets this passage.

[48] Clark, *Peterborough Chronicle*, p. liii, and see p. 44 for a sentence with similar lexical and syntactical elements and with an obvious accusative inflection instead of the dative, s.a. 1123, ll. 77-78: *betæhte þa eall Engleland to geamene [. . .] þone biscop Roger*, 'he then entrusted all England to bishop Roger to take care of'.

[49] Clark, *Peterborough Chronicle*, pp. 7.17, 12.79, 16.50, 17.72, 18.7, 21.23 and 45.8, 9, 12. Treharne, *St Giles*, p. 162, l. 508, translates *cniht* as 'servant' although her Latin text, p. 206, l. 294, has *militem*: the OE text follows the Latin closely here. The late twelfth-century English insertion in CUL Ii.1.33 discussed above apparently still uses *cniht* in the sense of 'servant', though 'knight' or 'guard' might be possible.

[50] Paris and Bos postulate (p. xxxvi) that the Anglo-Norman author worked from a text like that printed in the *Acta Sanctorum*, but the later study by E. C. Jones, *Saint Gilles, essai*

d'histoire littéraire (Paris: Champion, 1914) establishes a more reliable text, edited in her Appendix A from a range of manuscripts, mainly continental. As the source of the Old English text Treharne prints a Latin *vita* from an English manuscript of the late eleventh century (Appendix 2, pp. 198-206), but it is striking that Treharne's text differs from Jones's only in very minor details. Laurent prints the *Vita Sancti Aegidii* from *Acta Sanctorum* (*Saint Gilles*, pp. 244-71; see p.XVII, note 15); this is very close to both Jones's continental text and Treharne's insular text, making it clear that the Old English and Anglo-Norman texts derive from essentially the same Latin source.

[51] The classic account is by Alfred Jeanroy, *Les origines de la poésie lyrique en France au Moyen Age*, 3rd edition (Paris: Champion, 1925), pp. 61-83, who cites (p. 79) a poem (probably from the thirteenth century), *Gaite de la tor*, with a refrain imitating the sound of the watchman's horn: for the full text with music see Friedrich Gennrich, *Altfranzösische Lieder*, 2 vols (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1955-6), II, pp. 85-88.

[52] Legge, *Anglo-Norman Literature*, pp. 254-57 (p. 256); her assertion on p. 257, following Bos and Paris, *Saint Gilles*, p. LXXXVII, that the Anglo-Norman poem was a source for Lydgate's *Life of St Giles*, needs some modification: Lydgate names the king, Giles's patron, as *Fluent*, which must ultimately derive, presumably through some unknown intermediary version, from Guillaume's *Flovent*, but there is nothing else in Lydgate's poem to suggest any knowledge of the Anglo-Norman poem: see *The Minor Poems of Lydgate: Religious Poems*, ed. by Henry Noble MacCracken, EETS e.s. 107 (1911), pp. 161-73.

[53] Laurent, p. 47, note 3, and p. 57, note 7, refers to studies on this subject.

[54] *Wace's Roman de Brut, A History of the British, Text and Translation*, by Judith Weiss (Exeter: Exeter University Press, 1999), p. 282; Laurent, *Saint Gilles*, pp. 46-58; *La Vie Seint Edmund le Rei par Denis Piramus*, ed. by Hilding Kjellmann (Göteborg: Kungl. Vetenskaps och Vitterhets Samhälles Handlingar, 1935; reprinted Geneva: Slatkin, 1974), pp. 55 and 58, ll. 1375-84 and 1449-80.

[55] For references to Russia see John Frankis, 'Lawman and the Scandinavian Connection', *Leeds Studies in English*, New Series 31 (2000), 81-113 (pp. 95-97), which does not include the reference in *Saint Gilles*.

[56] *Ælfric's Colloquy*, ed. by G. N. Garmonsway (London: Methuen, 1939), pp. 33-34, ll. 158-61. Chrétien, *Erec*, ed. Roques, ll. 1573-1610 (Enide's robe) and especially ll. 1803-10 (gifts to the vavassor); the account of Erec's robe (ll. 6674-747) has, beside the account of rich fabric, learned elements (a reference to Macrobius and the four subjects of the Quadrivium depicted on the robe) and elements of fantasy (the four *feés* who made the robe).

[57] Paragraph numbers refer to the Latin text in Laurent, *Saint Gilles*, pp. 252-8; for more precise references see the almost identical Latin text in Treharne, *St Giles*, pp.201-2, ll. 110-14, 138-43, and 169-72; the OE text here is close to the Latin.

[58]   Quoted from Laurent, *Saint Gilles*, p. 76; the translation is my own.

[59]   Corinne J. Saunders, *The Forest of Medieval Romance: Avernus, Broceliande, Arden* (Cambridge: Brewer, 1993): pp. 10-19 refer to the eremetical wilderness in relation to the forest of romance.

[60]   Further references to the medieval literary traditions involved may be found in John Frankis, 'Magic and the recluse in Arden: Shakespeare's precursors in the forest', in *Shakespearian Continuities, Essays in Honour of E. A. J. Honigmann*, ed. by John Batchelor, Tom Cain and Claire Lamont (London: Macmillan, 1997), pp. 3-22.

[61]   *Philippe de Thaun, Le Bestiaire*, ed. by Emmanuel Walberg (Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1970), pp. 53-59, ll. 1415-1612.

[62]   *Bestiaire*, p. 44, ll. 1177-79.

[63]   *Philippe de Thaon, Comput*, ed. by Ian Short, ANTS, Plain Texts Series 2 (London: Anglo-Norman Text Society, 1984), ll. 1401-08, 1727-32; *Bestiaire* ll. 1109-16. Philippe's lines may derive from Isidor of Seville: see *Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi Etymologiarum sive Originum Libri XX*, ed. by W. M. Lindsay, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911), I, III. lxxi. 30. Illustrated calendars usually show Sagittarius as human above the waist and a horse below, but the twelfth-century St Albans Psalter, f. 13, has as a biped like a Pan with two horse's legs: see the on-line facsimile published by the University of Aberdeen at http://www.abdn.ac.uk/stalbanspsalter/english/translation/trans002.shtml

[64]   *Sancti Eusebii Hieronymi Vita Sancti Pauli primi eremitae*, in *Patrologia Latina* 23, col. 23; a copy of this work was held in the twelfth century at Thorney Abbey, not far from Barnwell: see Richard Gameson, *The Manuscripts of Early Norman England (c. 1066-1130)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, for the British Academy, 1999), p. 140, no. 754; this passage of Jerome is repeated almost verbatim in Gervase of Tilbury, *Otia Imperialia*, I, 18, ed. and trans. by S. E. Banks and J. W. Binns (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002), pp. 98-99; the same account is paraphrased, but with important changes, by Walter Map, *De Nugis Curialium*, edited and translated by M. R. James, rev. by C. N. L. Brooke and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), pp. 162-65 (II. 15), where the *centaurus* is said to be a fallen angel.

[65]   In the *Vita Sancti Pauli* St Antony asks why St Paul receives beasts but turns away men: *Qui bestias recipis, hominem cur repellis?* (*PL* 23, col. 25).

[66]   *Historia Naturalis* xxxvii. 56: see Pliny, *Natural History*, ed. by D. E. Eicholz, Loeb Classical Library, 10 vols (London: Heinemann, 1962), X, pp. 290-91.

[67]   Quoted from Laurent, *Saint Gilles*, p. 122; my translation.

[68]   Ernst Robert Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, translated from the German by Willard R. Trask (New York: Harper, 1953), pp. 193-202.

[69]   See also the Latin text in Treharne, *St Giles*, pp. 198-206, ll. 81-89, 110-18, 138-46, 171-72 and 175-76.

[70] A meal of natural foodstuffs, including cress and clear spring water, is eaten by Perceval when he visits his hermit-uncle: see Chrétien de Troyes, *Le Roman de Perceval ou le Conte du Graal*, ed. by William Roach, Textes Littéraires Français (Geneva: Droz, 1959), p. 191, ll. 6499-504.

[71] Clark, *Liber Memorandorum*, p. 41, cap. 9; John Willis Clark, *The Observances in Use at the Augustinian Priory of S. Giles and S. Andrew at Barnwell, Cambridgeshire* (Cambridge: Macmillan, 1897), p. xii, quotes this passage with a translation. The etymology given for Barnwell is questionable, 'warriors' spring' would probably be better: see Reaney, *Cambridgeshire* (n. 35 above).

[72] Clark, *Liber Memorandorum*, p. 42.

[73] On Augustinian houses see Jane Herbert, 'The transformation of hermitages into Augustinian priories in twelfth-century England', in *Monks, Hermits and the Ascetic Tradition*, ed. by W. J. Sheils, Studies in Church History 22 (Oxford: Blackwell, for the Ecclesiastical History Society, 1985), pp. 131-45, and Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders*, p. 50; on Benedictine and other houses arising from hermitages see C. J. Holdsworth, 'Christina of Markyate', in *Medieval Women*, ed. by Derek Baker (Oxford: Blackwell, 1978), pp. 185-204 (pp. 187-88).

[74] Laurent, *Saint Gilles*, p. 183, and the discussion in Paris and Bos, pp. XLIV-XLV; I quote from *La Chanson de Roland*, ed. by F. Whitehead (Oxford: Blackwell, 1942), pp. 32 and 50.

[75] See Ian Short, 'The Oxford Manuscript of the *Chanson de Roland*: a palaeographic note', *Romania*, 94 (1973), 221-31 (especially p. 231, n. 1); Parkes, *Scribes, Scripts and Readers*, p. 76 and n. 22. Parkes (pp. 87-88 and n. 52) finds that the *Roland* manuscript most closely resembles a group of manuscripts bearing the signature of a royal clerk who subsequently became Bishop of Worcester; Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 433, associates this same group with the Augustinian Abbey of Cirencester. Whether this has any bearing on the Osney possession of the *Roland* manuscript remains uncertain.

[76] Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders*, p. 192; Dean, *Anglo-Norman Literature*, no. 593, refers to an Anglo-Norman poem by Simon, an Augustinian canon of Carmarthen; see Burton p. 177 for the alternation of English and Welsh control over this priory that resulted in the variation between writing in Welsh and Anglo-Norman.

The *Gawain*-Poet and Hautdesert

Andrew Breeze

Hautdesert is the territorial appellation of Sir Bertilak in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*. It occurs in line 2445 only, after Gawain has asked who his opponent is:

> 'Þat schal I telle þe trwly,' quoþ þat oþer þenne,
> 'Bertilak de Hautdesert I hat in þis londe.'[1]

Bertilak has been discussed in detail.[2] But something can still be said of *Hautdesert*. This note therefore has two objects: to survey opinion on the toponym, and suggest a new implication of it. First, the opinions, as follows.

    Modern views begin with John Burrow. He rejected Tolkien and Gordon's early suggestion that the form means 'high hermitage' (reflecting Celtic usage) and refers to the Green Chapel. He pointed out that medieval knights called themselves after their homes ('Gareth of Orkeney', and so on), which indicates Bertilak's castle, not the chapel. For a parallel formation Burrow cited Beaudesert in Warwickshire (there was another Beaudesert in Staffordshire).[3] The implications of this seem clear: Hautdesert is not the chapel but the castle, and has nothing to do with Celtic words meaning 'hermitage'.

    Burrow's arguments were accepted by Norman Davis. He took *Hautdesert* as an entirely French name meaning 'high and deserted place, elevated waste land', noting that *désert* 'solitary place, wilderness' is to this day common on maps of France. He added that the chapel was not high, but in a valley bottom; that it was not a hermitage; and that a medieval seigneur would be called after his castle (and not some obscure mound). His comment 'a specialized Celtic meaning is very unlikely to appear in so characteristically French a compound as *Hautdesert*' is worth noting, as we disagree with it below.[4]

Malcolm Andrew and Ronald Waldron compromise. They agree Hautdesert must be the castle, not the chapel, but still think its name means 'high hermitage', quoting G. V. Smithers for the notion that the Green Knight here 'performs some of the confessional functions of the spiritualized French Arthurian *Quest del saint Graal*. They also cite Avril Henry for the suggestion that the name puns on French 'high merit, great reward'.[5]

Ralph Elliott, in an important study of topography, says the name of Hautdesert is 'literally, High Wasteland or High Wilderness, a description that can appropriately be employed for the high moor and the forest tracts above the valley of the Dane.'[6] Theodore Silverstein followed Burrow and Davis. The chapel being at the bottom of a valley, it cannot be 'high', while the meaning 'hermitage' would 'seem to have to reflect a highly specialized Celtic use'. Silverstein thought the evidence for *desert* as a French element was much better, and *Hautdesert* 'would thus seem to refer to the rough upland area, or the castle in it, from which the knight would take his name.'[7]

Peter Lucas echoes and refines on Burrow and Davis. He dismisses the 'specialized Celtic meaning' of *dísert* 'hermitage' as here irrelevant. He adds detail on the English places called Beaudesert. One, nine miles west of Warwick, is by Henley-in-Arden. It passed from the de Montforts to the Beauchamps in 1369. Its church survives, but nothing is left of the castle except earthworks (at National Grid Reference SP 1566) within a deep entrenchment. The other Beaudesert appears on the map at Beaudesert Old Park (SK 0313), a valley thick with conifers six miles north-west of Lichfield. The park once had a palace (to the east, near Longdon) of the bishops of Lichfield, from whom it passed in the sixteenth century to the Paget family. Since the author of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, who spoke the dialect of the Cheshire-Staffordshire borderland, lived in the diocese of Lichfield, Lucas thinks he would know of the bishop's palace and might adapt its name for his poem. He also thinks Hautdesert 'high waste land' was originally used not of the castle or its park (still less the chapel), but of the 'wild hill with its boulders and crags' above them.[8]

John Anderson says 'Hautdesert, evidently the name of Bercilak's castle, means "high solitary place"'.[9] Derek Brewer describes *Hautdesert* as 'of course' derived from French. While the North Wales, Anglesey, and Wirral of Gawain's journey (lines 697-701) are real enough, Hautdesert might seem a mere place of romance (like Camelot). Yet its name resembles that of Beaudesert, although Brewer thinks the poem does not refer to the West Midland places so called. He considers the High Peak more relevant here, since it was closer to Gawain's journey, was called *Autepeek* in 1330, is wild country, and has many tumuli or barrows.[10] We

may note that the Peak District contains Thor's Cave (SK 0954) seven miles east of Leek, and the ravine of Lud's Church (SJ 9865), both contenders for the site of the Green Chapel.

The above survey, then, points to a consensus amongst Middle English scholars during the last forty years. *Hautdesert* is a toponym of French origin; it does not refer to the Green Chapel; and it has nothing to do with Celtic terms for 'hermitage'. Yet what follows endeavours to overturn that in part, arguing that *Hautdesert* owes something to a Celtic hermitage by Gawain's route through North Wales. It tries therefore to turn the clock back to 1925, and Tolkien and Gordon's suggestions in their first edition of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*. Let us look at the Celtic elements involved. The forms are Old Irish *disert* 'solitary place; hermit's cell, refuge' (giving Modern Irish *diseart* 'hermitage') and Welsh *diserth* 'hermitage, retreat' (cognate with Breton *deserz*). All go back to spoken Latin *disertum,* with long first vowel, from Late Latin *desertum* 'wilderness' in the Vulgate Bible. Dizzard (SX 1698), in a remote spot south of Bude (and appearing in Domesday Book as *Disart*), may give evidence for a Cornish cognate (and for early monasticism in Cornwall).[11]

In their quest for solitude, Welsh and Irish anchorites faced extremes and did not flinch. Welsh monks settled on Bardsey, 'isle of twenty thousand saints', separated from the Lleyn Peninsula of Gwynedd by a dangerous tidal surge. Irish monks lived in stone huts perched 700 feet up on Skellig Michael, a sheer rock eight miles off the coast of Kerry. Far out in the Atlantic beyond Cape Wrath is North Rona (HW 8032), described as 'utterly desolate and almost inaccessible'. Sixty miles north of Lewis, it still possesses an oratory and early Christian graveyard.[12] Given this hankering for desert places, it is no surprise that Celtic-Latin *disertum* has left a wide trace. In Ireland some 500 forms from it have been listed, including *Diseart Diarmada* or Castledermot near Carlow, Dysert O Dea (with a fine high cross) in Clare, and Dysartkevin at Glendalough in the Wicklow Mountains.[13] In Scotland are Dysart in Fife (where St Serf outfaced the Devil in a cave) and *An Diseart* near Pitlochry.[14] But it is Welsh *diserth* 'hermitage' that concerns us here. The form is attested early. It appears in *Armes Prydein* 'The Prophecy of Britain', a fiery call to arms written in late 940, after the West Saxon capitulation at Leicester to the Vikings, which it mentions. Its unknown poet hated and despised the English. Once the Welsh wreak vengeance on them, he gloats on how they will cower in the wilds; *boet perth eu disserth* 'let a bush be their refuge!'[15] Welsh *diserth* also accounts for Disserth (SO 0358) near Llandrindod Wells and Dyserth or Diserth (pronounced 'Disart' by local people) in Flintshire.[16] It is the last place, near Gawain's route through Wales, that assists us here.

Diserth (SJ 0579) has a long history, attested by sculptures of crosses at its church (of St Brigit of Kildare, an ancient dedication).[17] Henry III thought its situation on the route from Rhuddlan to Holywell and Flint was strategic. Between 1241 and 1248 he spent a fortune on its castle (modern quarrying has almost destroyed the site). Yet in 1263 a Welsh attack damaged this stronghold so badly that it was never rebuilt as such.[18] Edward I, recognizing that the castle was poorly located (it could be cut off from the hills), abandoned the site fortified at such expense by his father, and put his considerable energy into constructing a new castle at Rhuddlan.[19]

Diserth appears in official records as *Dissard* or *Disserd*.[20] So the form resembles the second element of *Hautdesert*. Yet Diserth was not the only castle in the Flintshire area. Fourteen miles south-east of it was the (long vanished) castle at Mold, often fought over by Welsh and English. The name of Mold, for centuries Flintshire's county town, is from Norman-French *Mont-hault*, attested in 1297 as *Mohaut*, and describing the 'high hill' or Bailey Hill where its castle stood.[21]

At this point we return to *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*. Lines 698-702 of the poem tell how, on his journey from North Wales to Wirral, Gawain went through the Flintshire region, either along the coast or (more probably) by the Roman road between St Asaph and Holywell:

> Alle þe iles of Anglesay on lyft half he haldez,
> And farez ouer þe fordez by þe forlondez,
> Ouer at þe Holy Hede, til he hade eft bonk
> In þe wyldrenesse of Wyrale; wonde þer bot lyte
> Þat auþer God oþer gome wyth goud hert louied.[22]

Since the poet clearly knew this area, he would be aware of both Diserth and *Mohaut* or Mold (in the marcher lordship of Moldsdale, absorbed by Flintshire in 1536). Hence, perhaps, the prompting for *Hautdesert*, taking its elements from *Disserd* and *Mohaut*, both places in *Gawain* country. The argument may be phrased thus. The poet had special knowledge of Cheshire. Medieval Cheshire had intimate links with Flintshire, since they shared the same royal administration.[23] Diserth and Mold, with conspicuous hill-top castles, therefore probably occupied part of the poet's memory and imagination. The poet certainly knew (having passed them by sea?) of the islands by Anglesey. A devout man, he likewise knew the *Holy Hede* 'holy river-source' (?) or Holywell, with its copious springs and traditions of St Gwenfrewi (a princess decapitated, but miraculously restored to life), facing Wirral

across the sands of Dee. Diserth and Mold in the Flintshire region would likewise be familiar to a Cheshire-based poet, as the Beaudeserts of the West Midlands would not be. Hence, perhaps, *Hautdesert*, a fortress *on a lawe* like those of Diserth and Mold.

But the question remains, why should castles at Diserth and Mold have suggested *Hautdesert*? Were not scores of other appellations possible for Bertilak? An answer is perhaps given by Avril Henry's paper already mentioned. It has not been much noticed, even though *hautdesert* has a parallel in the thirteenth-century French poem *Aymeri de Narbonne* (in the phrase *Et damedeu tel loier l'en rendi / Que en la fin s'amor en deservi; / Ce fu haute deserte*).[24] Yet Henry may be right in seeing special meaning in *Hautdesert*, thereby resembling Chaucer's Melibee 'honey drinker' (i.e., one enjoying worldly properity), with his wife Prudence and daughter Sophie ('wisdom'), or the allegorical places and persons of Bunyan.[25] If so, *Hautdesert* 'what is greatly deserved' (whether reward or punishment) would be unusually apt for a poem with such an emphasis on reaping what one sows; in which Gawain gets (however interpreted) his *haut(e) desert(e)*, his merited or just deserts.

A final point. There is a case for the authorship of *Sir Gawain*, together with its three associated poems, by Sir John Stanley (d. 1414), Knight of the Garter.[26] Stanley seems to have been brought up at the village of Stanley in north-west Staffordshire: if so, he would have had the same dialect as the poet. At a later date he lived at Storeton (SJ 3084) in the heart of Wirral. In 1378 he elected to do military service in Aquitaine; in 1394 he was Justice of Chester (and thus responsible for Flintshire's administration). Of special interest in the present context is his letter of 30 July 1405 to Henry IV, a report on Glendower's rebellion based on intelligence given to him by David Whitmore and Ieuan ap Maredudd, two Flintshire gentlemen. So Stanley knew Flintshire well. The language of the letter, in (excellent) French, has curious parallels with that of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*. Present discussion of *Disserd, (Mo)haut*, and *Hautdesert* does not, of course, add to the case advanced there. However, if Sir John Stanley and the poet were one and the same, the apparent knowledge of the Flintshire region shown in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* would be no surprise. It would be a further aspect of the poet's art and personality: matters likely to induce even more analysis and discussion in the twenty-first century than they did in the twentieth.[27]

NOTES

[1] *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, ed. by J. R. R. Tolkien and E. V. Gordon, 2nd edn (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), p. 67.

[2] P. R. Kitson, 'The Name of the Green Knight', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 49 (1998), 39-52.

[3] J. A. Burrow, *A Reading of 'Sir Gawain and the Green Knight'* (London: Routledge, 1965), p. 125, n. 17.

[4] *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, ed. by Tolkien and Gordon, pp. 128-29.

[5] *The Poems of the Pearl Manuscript*, ed. by Malcolm Andrew and Ronald Waldron (London: Arnold, 1978), pp. 296-97.

[6] R. W. V. Elliott, *The Gawain Country* (Leeds: University of Leeds School of English, 1984), p. 49.

[7] *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, ed. by Theodore Silverstein (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), p. 165.

[8] P. J. Lucas, 'Hautdesert in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*', *Neophilologus*, 70 (1986), 319-20.

[9] *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, ed. by J. J. Anderson (London: Everyman, 1996), p. 314.

[10] D. S. Brewer, 'Some Names', in *A Companion to the 'Gawain'-Poet*, ed. by D. S. Brewer and Jonathan Gibson (Cambridge: Brewer, 1997), pp. 191-95.

[11] *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* (Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, 1950-2002), p. 1043; Oliver Padel, *A Popular Dictionary of Cornish Place-Names* (Penzance: Alison Hodge, 1988), p. 78.

[12] Nora Chadwick, *The Age of the Saints in the Early Celtic Church* (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), p. 96; *The New Shell Guide to Scotland*, ed. by D. L. Macnie (London: Ebury Press, 1977), p. 413.

[13] Lord Killanin and M. V. Duignan, *The Shell Guide to Ireland*, 2nd edn (London: Ebury Press, 1968), pp. 153, 269, 294; Charles Thomas, *The Early Christian Archaeology of North Britain* (London: Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 33.

[14] W. J. Watson, *The History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1926), p. 256.

[15] *Armes Prydein*, ed. by Ifor Williams (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1972), pp. 64-65.

[16] Hugh Williams, *Christianity in Early Britain* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1912), p. 271.

[17] V. E. Nash-Williams, *The Early Christian Monuments of Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1950), pp. 126-27; Wendy Davies, *Patterns of Power in Early Wales* (Oxford:

Clarendon Press, 1990), p. 55.

[18]   Ian Soulsby, *The Towns of Medieval Wales* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1983), pp. 128-30.

[19]   A. J. Taylor, *The King's Works in Wales 1277-1330* (London: HMSO, 1974), p. 318.

[20]   J. Goronwy Edwards, *Calendar of Ancient Correspondence Concerning Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1935), pp. 10, 51.

[21]   Melville Richards, 'Mold', in *The Names of Towns and Cities in Britain*, ed. W. F. H. Nicolaisen (London: Batsford, 1970), pp. 136-37.

[22]   *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, ed. by Tolkien and Gordon, p. 20.

[23]   David Walker, *Medieval Wales* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 149.

[24]   Avril Henry, 'Temptation and Hunt in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*', *Medium Aevum*, 45 (1976), 187-99.

[25]   J. A. Burrow, *Ricardian Poetry* (London: Routledge, 1971), p. 79; *The Canterbury Tales*, ed. by Jill Mann (London: Penguin, 2005), pp. 1001-02.

[26]   A. C. Breeze, 'Sir John Stanley (*c.* 1350-1414) and the *Gawain*-Poet', *Arthuriana*, 14/1 (2004), 15-30.

[27]   Cf. A. C. Spearing, *Textual Subjectivity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 137-73.

Walter Hilton's *Mixed Life* and the Transformation of Clerical Discipline

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Introduction: Vernacular Theology for Clerical Readers

Recent work on late medieval English manuscripts has emphasized the importance of the miscellany as a codicological form for transmitting vernacular texts, both secular and religious.[1] Vincent Gillespie has remarked upon the burgeoning of religious miscellanies for clerical and lay readers in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, noting that although the Latin clerical miscellany was typically 'personal, practical, and occasional', of little possible use to lay readers, Archbishop Thoresby's 1357 translation of Pecham's parochial Syllabus 'stimulated the production of vernacular miscellanies by analogy with the earlier Latin collections'.[2] During the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, beyond translation of catechetical materials, new vernacular religious guides were being composed to respond to lay demand for more advanced religious education and self-discipline. These texts tended to blur boundaries between lay and professional religious knowledge, offering programs that combined basic Christian instruction with techniques of meditation and contemplation. Such guides include the anonymous compilation *Fervor Amoris,* the long spiritual guide *Book to a Mother*, and Walter Hilton's vernacular epistle on *Mixed Life*, written for a lay lord who had expressed a desire to pursue the religious life.[3]

As these works of vernacular theology were copied throughout the fifteenth century, they were widely read not only by the laity for whom they were originally intended, but also by members of the clergy who came, in Gillespie's words, 'to value and exploit the resources of this vernacular tradition of spiritual guidance'.[4] In this essay, I examine a curious instance of such clerical exploitation, speculating about the particular 'social logic'[5] and ideological meaning of an excerpt from Walter Hilton's *Mixed Life* which appears in a mid-

fifteenth-century nothern priestly miscellany, now Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Ashmole 751. This collection of Latin and English religious texts, copied primarily by a single scribe who was likely also the book's owner, has been characterized as a 'Yorkshire cleric's commonplace book'.[6] Although the scribe-owner's identity is unknown, many of the volume's texts, including Latin selections from Richard Rolle's commentaries, notes on performing the mass, instructions for parish priests on composing sermons,[7] and an English version of the ten commandments, may point to secular priestly ownership.[8]

The Ashmole manuscript also features a short extract from Hilton's *Mixed Life*: the selection includes part of Hilton's description of the three lives (active, contemplative, and mixed) and his discussion of Christ's mixed life as exemplary for both the lay lord and the prelate. Hilton's repeated references to aspects of clerical practice as exemplary for his lay addressee make it easy to see why the later priestly scribe was attracted to the *Mixed Life*. But in excerpting and editing Hilton's text, the Ashmole compiler creates a *Mixed Life* extract that effectively "exploits" Hilton's clerical focus, while removing any reference to the work's originally intended lay audience. [9] This textual suppression, as well as other changes within the extract,[10] are editorial decisions that strikingly change the function of the text, remaking it into a guide relevant solely to a priestly reader. For this scribe, it appears, the process of expanding his own devotional life implied a limit to the spiritual autonomy of the layperson, and required the redrawing of clear boundaries between priestly self and lay other.

This particular manuscript confirms that, as Jonathan Hughes has argued, in fifteenth-century Yorkshire, 'working priests were attempting to live mixed lives of contemplation and pastoral administration'.[11] But as I will show, the compiler's alterations to Hilton's work suggest a pastoral conservatism at odds with the spirit of the *Mixed Life*. Although, as Nicholas Watson has argued, even in the wake of Archbishop Arundel's restrictive Constitutions of 1409,[12] '[t]here was plenty of vernacular theological writing available in the fifteenth century for professional religious and lay people of rank',[13] we must examine manuscript context to ask whether that writing was used to efface or to reinforce conservative hierarchies of clerical/lay knowledge and practice. Consideration of the Ashmole compiler's *Mixed Life* extract against a fuller account of Hilton's *Mixed Life*, and in comparison with the better-known Lincoln Cathedal MS 91, a contemporary Yorkshire miscellany compiled by a

layman pursuing his own mixed life, will help bring to light the conservative 'social logic' of this priestly excerpt from Hilton.[14]

Hilton's Mixed Life *and the Construction of the Lay Pastor*

In order to assess the function of this fifteenth-century Hilton extract in its manuscript setting, I will first consider the *Mixed Life*'s particular form of lay pastoralism and set the relevant passages into their late-fourteenth-century context. Hilton's *Mixed Life* engages head-on with the widespread contestation of the clerical, and specifically the pastoral, ideal in the last decades of fourteenth-century England, when John Wyclif's arguments for clerical disendowment were beginning to create anxiety for the hierarchical church.[15] In constructing the life of the prelate as an ideal *imitatio Christi* for the powerful lay reader to emulate by virtue of his own worldly governance and material wealth, Hilton both endows the materially privileged layman with pastoral power and implicitly defends contemporary clerical life against the attacks of satire and religious polemic.

Walter Hilton, best known for his anchoritic guide *The Scale of Perfection*, seems to have specialized in advising people who wished to pursue the elusive *vita contemplativa*. Although his biography is sketchy, Hilton may have been, in succession, a civil lawyer, a canon lawyer, a religious solitary, and finally, for the last years of his life, an Augustinian canon: he died in 1396 at Thurgarton Priory.[16] Throughout his life, Hilton suggested that the monastic version of contemplative life was not appropriate for everyone and that the spiritually inclined might engage in contemplation without radically changing their social roles. Hilton was probably a religious solitary when he wrote the *Mixed Life* for an unidentified lay lord in the 1380s.[17] In direct response to a layman who wished to abandon the world in order to serve God without distraction, and in a more general response to contemporary visions of clerical lordship as a failure of charity, Hilton used the occasion of spiritual guidance to make the life of the lay lord an ideal vehicle for ordering charity.

In response to his spiritually ambitious lay addressee and implicitly to Wyclif's radical views of clerical propriety, which 'called into question the title of all clerics to property and all other assertions of dominion',[18] Hilton's *Mixed Life* embodies what Andrew Galloway has called 'a "new clericalism": an increasing emphasis on defining ways of life in terms of professional knowledge and a

widening extension of such knowledge beyond traditional religious or even necessarily any fixed institutional loyalties'.[19] Where Wyclif expresses concern about the way material possession threatens boundaries between lay and clerical status,[20] calling clerical pastoral authority into question, Hilton attempts to recuperate secular power and material possession as factors that enable spiritual authority for the layman and link the lay lord, the prelate, and Christ in a mutually productive cycle of *imitatio*.

Early in his epistle, Hilton strategically redirects his patron's spiritual yearning, which he calls 'þe desire of þyn herte, þat þou ʒernest greteli to serue our lord bi goostli occupacioun al holli, wiþoute lettynge or trobolynge of wordeli bisynesse',[21] into a new religious discipline founded on the combination of 'goostli occupacion' and 'wordeli bisynesse'. Glossing the Song of Songs' signal phrase 'ordinavit caritatem in me', Hilton explains,

> oure lord, ʒeuynge to me charite, sette it in ordre and in rule, þat it schulde not be lost þoruʒ myn vndiscrecioun. Riʒt so þis charite and þis desire þat oure lord haþ ʒeuen of his merci to þee is for to rulen and ordaynen hou þou schal pursue it aftir þi degree askeþ, and aftir þe lyuynge þat þou hast vsed bifore þis tyme, and aftir þe grace of vertues þat þou now hast. (ll. 82-88)

Bringing back the aforementioned 'desire' in order to yoke it with an Augustinian form of 'charite',[22] Hilton makes the layman's personal spiritual ambition inseparable from his wider charitable duty. By furthermore defining this 'charite and þis desire' as 'for to rulen and ordaynen hou þou schal pursue it', Hilton argues that this dual desire can only be fulfilled through the exercise of self-regulation. At the heart of this new discipline lies the reader's duty to reconcile his spiritual ambition to 'serve our lord' with his customary social 'degree' and form of 'lyuynge', which encompasses charitable responsibilities that must not be selfishly abandoned. Hilton's call to combine 'desire' and 'charite', 'worldly' and 'goostli', 'bifore' and 'aftir', together with his mandate to balance present spiritual desire with prior worldly life, prepare the lay reader to emulate the religious role of the prelate, whose balance of private devotion with public responsibility Hilton understands well.

But first Hilton must introduce the active and the contemplative lives in order to show how their combination might issue in what he calls the 'medled'

life. (This is the first passage that will be extracted by the Ashmole compiler). According to Hilton, the active life belongs to those who are 'lewed, [fleschli, rude and boistous] in knowyng of goostli occupacioun, for þei feelen no sauour [ne] deuocioun bi fervor of loue'. Yet they do 'haue drede of God and of þe peynes of helle' and share 'good wille to her euen-Cristene'. Such people should therefore focus on practising the 'werkes of actif liyf as bisili as þei mai in heelpe of hem self and of hire euen-Cristene' (ll. 124-31).[23] At the opposite extreme, contemplative life belongs to those who 'for þe loue of God, forsaken alle open synnes of þe world and of here flesch, and alle bisynesse, charges and gouernances of wordli goodes, and maken hem self pore and naked to þe bare nede of þe bodili kynde, and fleen fro souereynte of alle oþere men to þe seruice of God' (ll. 133-37). In the search for absolute bodily and spiritual purity, contemplatives engage in 'grete exercise of bodi, and contynuel traueile of spirit in deuoute praieres, feruent desires, and goostli meditacions' (ll. 141-43).

But it is the third life, 'þat is medelid', which Hilton finds most appropriate to his addressee, the wealthy lord. Hilton takes the complementarity of material and spiritual power as the basis for the layman's *imitatio clerici*, offering not a rule, but a lay form of pastoral care inspired by the example of Christ's own life.[24] From the start, Hilton defines his reader's 'best life' as an effect of the mingling of material and social power. Through this combination, the reader may understand his degree as parallel to that of the prelate, whose regulatory authority over himself and others grows out of the desire to 'order' charity. Following Gregory the Great's *Regula Pastoralis* (as well as ideas from Gregory's *Moralia in Iob*), Hilton associates the perfect lay imitation of the mixed life with the prelate's ideal balance between contemplation and engagement in worldly affairs. Unlike Gregory, whose prelate must grudgingly endure worldly business, Hilton emphasizes the positive complementarity of worldly affairs and spiritual pursuits and depicts prelates as fruitfully engaged in both.

Hilton argues that the reader's material power entitles him to the same pastoral privileges as a prelate. (This is the next chapter that will be adapted and altered by the Ashmole compiler). The wealthy layman's responsibility for 'keping' and 'ruling' others closely recalls Gregory the Great's paradigm of the third life, which belongs, Hilton argues,

> speciali to men of holi chirche, as to prelates and oþire curates
> which haue cure and souereynte ouer oþere men for to [kepe] and

> for to rule hem, boþe her bodies and principali here soules [. . .]
> Vnto þise men it longeþ sumtyme to vsen werkes of actif lif, in
> help and sustenaunce of hem silf and of here suggettis and of
> oþere also, and sumtyme for to leuen al manere of bisynesse
> outeward, and ȝeue hem vnto praieres and meditacions, redynge
> of hooli writ, and to oþere goostli occupacions.[25] (ll. 144-52)

Hilton places striking emphasis not only on 'cure' and sympathy, but also on 'souereynte', the ruling power that entitles the addressee to the hallowed pastoral alternation of action and contemplation. For Hilton's addressee, a 'temporal' man, sovereignty comes first, as a precondition to devotion, and in this 'souereynte', the layman's status overlaps with the 'degree' of the prelate. For as Hilton explains, the mixed life is proper not only to the rector in spiritual authority, but also to

> sum temporal men þe whiche haue souereynte wiþ moche auere
> of wordli goodis, and hauen also as it were lordschipe ouer oþere
> men for to gouerne and sustene hem, as a fadir haþ ouer his
> children, a maister ouer his seruauntes, and a lord ouere his
> tenantes, þe whiche men han also receuyed of oure lord[is] ȝift
> grace of deuocioun, and in partie sauoure of goostli occupacioun.
> Vnto þise men also longeþ [þis] medeled lif þat is boþe actif and
> contemplatif. (ll. 154-60)

Whereas Gregory had invoked Luke's warning that 'no man can serve two masters' to stress the incompatibility of earthly and spiritual duties, Hilton has innovatively expanded the 'medled lif' to the layman on the basis of his temporal possessions and responsibility to discipline others, making 'souereynte' and 'lordship' as well as care and teaching the bases for the wealthy lord's entitlement as well as the ground for similarity between the layman, the prelate, and Christ.[26]

If the lay lord's authority, derived from property and 'worldi goodis', parallels that of a prelate, who derives his authority from Christ via the keys given to Peter, then the lay reader's model for identification must be a model of infinite power and humility: Christ himself. According to Gregory, Christ embodied the first mixed life, and Hilton borrows Gregory's portrait of Christ's life with some notable adaptations. Hilton affirms that

> oure lord, for to stire summe to vse þis medled liyf, *took upon*
> *him self þe persoone of sich manere men, boþe of prelates of*
> *hooli chirche and oþere sich as aren disposid as I haue seid, and*
> *ȝaue hem ensample bi his owen worchynge* þat þei schulden usen
> þis medeled liyf as he dide. (ll. 177-81, emphasis added).[27]

Working implicitly against polemical visions of corrupt prelates, Hilton works to revive the possibility, for bishop and layman, of a Christlike alternation of charitable action with God-loving contemplation. First Hilton constructs a parallel between the life of Christ and that of the holy bishop, showing Jesus dividing his earthly life between public teaching and private contemplation. At one time, he

> comouned wiþ men and medeled wiþ men, schewynge to hem
> his deedes of merci, for he tauȝte þe vncouþ and vnkunynge bi
> his prechynge, he vesited þe sike and heeled hem of here sooris,
> he fedde þe hongry, and he comforted þe sori. And anoþer tyme
> he lefte þe conuersacioun of alle wordeli men and of his disciples
> [also], and wente in to dissert upon þe hillis, and contynued alle
> þe nyȝt in praieres aloone, as þe gospel sais. (ll. 181-88)

In his effort to posit the prelate's life as the model of Christlike perfection, Hilton presses the parallelism between 'spiritual souereynte' and 'temporal souereynte' as a function of charity, emphasizing the public 'cure and gouernance of oþere' as forms, above all, of pastoral work to which their practitioners are bound. The mixed life of the bishop involves an oscillation between the lower and higher works of charity, a combination that fulfills the double commandment to love God and neighbour and links the prelate positively to the lord:

> O tyme þei fulfilleden þe lowere part of charite bi werkes of actif
> lif, for þei were bounden þerto bi takynge of hire prelacies, and
> an oþir [tyme] þei fulfilleden þe hiȝere partie of charite in
> contemplacioun of God and of goosteli þynges bi praieres and
> meditacions, and so þei hadden [ful] charite to God and to hire
> euene-Cristen [. . .] þese men þat were in prelacie, *and oþere*

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also þat weren [hooli] temporal men. (ll. 206-20, emphasis added)

By adding 'hooli temporal men', Hilton emphasizes that this conjunction is no paradox, attributing to the worldly men the same fulness of charity as the prelates described before. He further blurs the line between men in these two states by noting, 'for siche a man þat is in spiritual souereynte as prelacie, in cure [and] gouernaunce of oþere as prelates and curates ben, or in t[em]poral souereynte as wordeli lordes and maistris aren, I hoolde þis liyf medeled best, and most bihoofful to hem as longe as þei are bounden þerto' (ll. 223-27). These forms of service are the most crucial part for Hilton of this 'best' form of 'medeled' life, the *religio* of the lord and prelate, following Christ.

Bodleian MS Ashmole 751 and the Priest's Mixed Life

If Hilton's vision of the mixed life offers the powerful layman some of the rights and responsibilities of the prelate, then it is not altogether surprising to find the work reclaimed by clerical readers in the mid-fifteenth century. Hilton's *Mixed Life* was one of many vernacular works of spiritual guidance that were eventually copied for readers in religious life: those readers that we can identify were predominantly members of religious orders. Much fifteenth-century circulation of the *Mixed Life* substantiates what A. I. Doyle has termed 'that close dependence on religious communities, in which all vernacular devotional works, even those addressed more inclusively [i.e. to laypeople] tended to remain'.[28] Many *Mixed Life* manuscripts with known provenance can be linked to religious houses, having been copied for nuns or, just as often, for monks who were usually also priests. But what does seem surprising, in the case of the Ashmole 751 *Mixed Life* extract, which combines the passage describing the three lives with the passage comparing the prelate's life to that of Christ,[29] is that in describing the 'melled lyfe', as this scribe puts it, all references to the layperson are taken out, thus rendering the *Mixed Life* an exclusive definition of the priestly life.

In MS Ashmole 751, a miscellany of Latin and a few English contents, we find the *Mixed Life* excerpted in a manuscript that clearly belonged to a priest charged with ministering to others, and who may also have wished to deepen his own devotional practice through reading.[30] The volume includes theological

extracts attributed to Isidore, Hugh of St. Victor, and Innocent III, practical instructions on priestly duties such as composing sermons, administering extreme unction and confession, and devotional texts by Richard Rolle and St. Bernard, as well as excerpts from *Meditationes Vitae Christi* and St. Edmund's *Speculum Ecclesiae*. In addition to these Latin contents, the volume includes an eclectic group of English texts: the *Mixed Life* extract, penitential stories translated from several Latin sources, excerpts from *Mandeville's Travels*, a tract explicating the ten commandments, and a twelve-stanza lyric, entitled 'þo sauter of Jhesu' and 'þo sauter of charite'.[31] The vast majority of the contents are in Latin, and these few English texts are copied mainly at the ends of quires.[32] This miscellany is highly idiosyncratic: its lack of finding tools and discontinuous copying of several texts mean that, in Ralph Hanna's words, 'it is unlikely that anyone other than this scribe-owner could have moved through this compilation with facility'.[33]

In this manuscript, the short extract from Hilton's *Mixed Life*, which runs from fols 45r-45v, is the first English text after an initial series of Latin texts that ends with selections from *Meditationes Vitae Christi*. The *Mixed Life* extract begins a new folio and covers about 34 lines of the printed critical edition. This extract, unique to my knowledge, combines two passages from the *Mixed Life* into a new form that offers a short definition of the priestly life in terms of the life of Christ, while excising any reference to the lay lord for whom the *Mixed Life* was originally composed. I offer a transcription of the whole extract below:[34]

> þer are thre <are> maner of lyfynges: on is actyfe, a noþer is contemplatyfe; þo thryd is made of bothe and is a melled lyfe. ¶Actyfe lyf al only longes to wordly men and wymen wyche are fleschly and boystes in knowyng of gostly ocupacion, for þai fele no sauour ne deuocyon by peynez of lufe, as oþer men dose, þai kan no skyl of it. And ȝit neuerþoles þai hafe dred of God, and of þo paynes of hell, and for þi þai fle syn. And þai hafe alway desyr to plese God and for to come to heuen, and a gode wyll to þair euencrysten. Vnto þese men it is nedful to vse werkes of actyf lyf alls bysely as þai mai in helpyng of þaim selfe and of þaire euencristen, for þai can do not elles. ¶Contemplatyf lyf alon longes to swylk men, or wymen, þat for þo lufe of God forsakes all opyn synnes of þo word and of þair flesche, and all bysenes, charge, and gouernans of wordly godes, and makes þaim pore

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and nakyd vnto þo bare ned of bodely kynde and flees fro souerente of oþer men to þo seruyse of god. ¶Vnto þes men it langes for to trauayl and occupye þaim inwardly for to gete thurgh grace of our lord clennes of hert and pes in conscience, by distroying of synnes and getyng of vertues, and so for to com to contemplacyon, þo whylk clennes may not be had withoute gret bodely excersy and continuyl trauel of spyryt and deuote prayers, desyres and gostly meditacyonce. ¶Þo thryd lyfe þat is melled langes specially to men of holy kyrke as to prelates and oþer curates þat has cure and souerente ouer oþer men, for to kepe and to rewle þaim bothe þer bodys and principaly þer sawles, in fulfyllyng of þo werkes [of] mercy bodely and gostly. Vnto þes men it langas one tyme to vse þo werkes of actyfe lyfe in helpe and sustinance of þaim selfe, and of þaire sogettes and of oþer also, and sumtyme for to lefe all bysenes oute ward and gyfe þaim for a tyme to praiers, meditacions, redynge of holy wryt and to oþer gostly ocupacions, after þai fele þaim disposed. Oure lord, for to styr sum men to vse þis melled lyfe, toke vpon hym self þo offys of men of holy kyrk as prelates and curates, and gaf to þaim ensaumple by his awen werkes, þat þai [f. 45v] schuld vse þis melled lyf as he dyd. Ffor one tyme he comyned and meld, schewand to þaim his dedis of mercy, for he kynd þo vnkonyng by his prechyng; he vysyt þo seke and heled þaim of þair sores. ¶Another tyme he left þo conuersacion of all þo worldly men and of his disciples also, and went alon in to desert opon þo hyllys and continued al nyght in prayers as þo gospel sais.

In a striking omission, the Ashmole compiler has suppressed a considerable amount of Hilton's text, partially cited in my discussion above, which in the full text links the sentence ending '[. . .] fele þaim disposed' to the sentence beginning 'Oure lord, for to styr [. . .]' The missing passage is the very one that invites the lay reader into this privileged fraternity by virtue of his status as lay ruler. The suppressed passage reads as follows in Ogilvie-Thomson's edition:

Also it longeþ generaly [to] sum temporal men þe whiche haue souereynte wiþ moche auere of wordli goodis, and hauen also as

> it were lordschipe ouer oþere men for to gouerne and sustene
> hem, as a fadir haþ ouer his children, a maister ouer his
> seruauntes, and a lord ouer his tenantes, þe whiche men han also
> receuyed of oure lord[is] ȝift grace of deuocioun, and in partie
> sauoure of goostli occupacioun. Vnto þise men also longeþ [þis]
> medled lif þat is boþe actif and contemplatif. For ȝif þise men,
> standynge þe charge and þe boond whiche þei han take, wolen
> leeue vttirli þe bisynesse of þe world, þe whiche oweþ skilfulli
> for to be vsed in fulfillynge of here chaarge, and hooli ȝyue hem
> to contemplatif liyf, þei doon not weel, for þei kepen not þe ordre
> of charite. For charite, as þou knowest weel, lieþ boþe in loue of
> God and of þin euene-Cristene, and þerfore it is resonable þat he
> þat haþ charite vse boþe in worchynge, now þe toon and now þe
> toþir. For he þat, for þe loue of God in contemplacioun, leueþ þe
> loue of his euen-Cristene, and dooþ not to hem as he ouȝte
> whanne he is bounden þerto, he fulfilliþ not charite. Also, on þe
> contrarie wise, who-so haþ [so grete] reward to werkes of actif
> liyf and to bisynesse of þe world þat, for þe loue of his euen-
> Cristene, he leeueþ goostly occupacion vttirli aftir þat God [haþ]
> dispose[d] hym þerto, he fulfilleþ not fully charite: þis is þe
> seiynge of [Seint] Gregor. Forþi oure lord, for to stire summe to
> vse þis medled liyf [. . .](ll. 154-77)

In addition to omitting this passage from his extract, the Ashmole compiler has
altered parts of the second passage included in the extract, recuperating the
description of Christ's practice to enhance its relevance to the priestly subject.
While Ogilvie-Thomson's critical edition records that Christ 'took upon him self
þe persoone of siche maner men, boþe of prelates of hooli chirche and oþere siche
as aren disposid as I haue seid',[35] thus referring back to the layman in temporal
'sovereignty', the Ashmole text reads 'toke vpon hym self þo *offys* of men of holy
kyrk as prelates and curates'. In what appears to be a variant unique among the
manuscripts, the compiler has changed 'persoone' to 'offys', making clerical status
a requirement for the practice of the mixed life and rendering the exclusion of the
layman complete. Just as the layman was removed from the first section of the
extract, the 'oþer siche' men have been omitted from the second passage, so that

the notion of Christ providing an example both to 'prelates and curates' and to interested laymen has disappeared.

I believe that we can assume with Hanna that the scribe, compiler, and user of this book were one and the same person, an individual whose constantly changing 'sense of how much of any single text was wanted' resulted in his copying texts and then adding more of the same texts in later quires, in a process that 'rendered the quires incapable of being bound in any rational manner'.[36] It thus seems logical that this scribe, whether secular or religious priest, should have been responsible for creating an extract of the *Mixed Life* to suit his own specifications.[37] In removing all references to the layman as addressee, as well as the related lay-oriented argument for the need to observe charity through a balance of 'contemplacioun' with 'werkes of actif liyf' and 'bisynesse of þe world', this extract returns Hilton's Gregorian-inspired definition of the mixed life to the priest, shaping a definition of the priestly life that elides the overlap between priest, Christ, and layman that Hilton had stressed in his lay spiritual guide. This manuscript, with its practical aim of aiding the priest by improving his theological knowledge and supporting his daily pastoral care and sacramental duties, has with these other texts restored the specific professional knowledge that separates laity and clergy. Here the layperson is implicitly understood as the object of discipline and sacramental practice rather than the reading subject.

This clerical manuscript thus offers one partial answer to the question of what might become of Hilton's model of the mixed life when an individual fifteenth-century priestly user came, in Gillespie's terms, to 'value and exploit the resources of this vernacular tradition of spiritual guidance'. For this particular clerical reader, the *Mixed Life* had to be altered in order to reinforce not the similarity but the difference between lay and clerical practice and prerogatives. By redefining the mixed life as an exclusively clerical model, this manuscript suggests that we cannot assume that 'the pursuit of the mixed life as an imitation of Christ' was always shared between priestly and lay readers.[38]

The new exclusivity of the Ashmole compiler's *Mixed Life*, its construction as a text for the priest rather than the layperson, comes into sharper relief if we consider the priestly miscellany alongside a manuscript that does offer the layman access to such a mixed life. There is another mid-fifteenth-century Yorkshire compilation featuring Hilton's *Mixed Life*: the layman Robert Thornton's 'devotional book', which occupies fols 179-279 of Lincoln Cathedral MS 91.[39] Thornton was a gentryman from Lincolnshire whose devotional leanings and

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worldly responsibilities may well have resembled those of Hilton's lay addressee.[40] As Hughes has argued, '[t]he most persuasive evidence that gentry householders consciously practised the "mixed life" and sought literature that articulated their own experiences is to be found in the library of Robert Thornton.'[41] Like the Ashmole compiler, who evidently assembled his book gradually, Thornton seems to have gathered and copied his texts over a long period of time, *c.* 1420-*c.* 1450.[42] Thornton's copy of the *Mixed Life*, sandwiched between the devotional lyric 'Þi Ioy be ilke a dele to serue þi godd to paye' and the prose treatise *An Epistle of Salvation*, lacks ll. 1-218 and is thus missing the passages I have cited above. The text begins abruptly but characteristically, with a comparison of the layman to the prelate: 'men þat ware in prelacye, and oþer also þat ware haly temperalle men, had full charite in affeccione with-in, and also in wirkinge with-owtten: and þat is propirly þis mellide lyf, þat es made bathe of actyffe lyfe and of contemplatyfe lyfe'.[43]

Although Thornton may not have envisioned himself precisely as imitating Christ, he does seem to have compiled his book of penitential and contemplative texts, some of which resemble the contents of the Ashmole manuscript,[44] to elaborate his own version of the mixed life of action and contemplation. As George Keiser has argued, Thornton's combination of texts suggests that he was was interested in educating himself in the essentials of the faith, especially in matters of 'schrift', and in exploring contemplative practices that might enhance his devotion to Christ's passion as well as give him a 'foretaste of the eternal'.[45] On catechetical matters, Thornton collected treatises on the Pater Noster, the ten commandments, the seven gifts of the holy spirit, and John Gaytryge's sermon, a Middle English expansion of Archbishop Thoresby's Catechism.[46] Thornton also copied texts covering a wide range of contemplative activity: from works focused on the passion, such as *The Previte of the Passion*, William of Nassyngton's *De Trinitate*,[47] and several passion lyrics, to works promoting somewhat more speculative approaches, including *The Mirror of St. Edmund*, originally written for enclosed religious. This last work offers guidance in affective meditation on Christ's life and on the godhead, as well as including theoretical discussion of contemplation. In treating questions such as God's 'schewing' of himself to humanity, the work treats not only 'reuelacyon' but also 'resonn':

> By resonn, commes He till þe knawynge of man one þis manere:
> —Ilke a man may wele see in hym-selfe þat at he es, and þat at

he hase bene, bot he may wele wit þat he hase noghte bene ay,
and for þat he wate wele þat sum tym he be-gan for to be; þan
was þaire sum tym when he was noghte. Bot when he was
noghte, þan moghte he one na wyese make hym-selfe; and þis
seghes man in his creature
[. . .] For-þi, sen ilke thynges erre, and þay erre noghte of thayme
selfe, þare-fore it behoues nede þat þare be ane to gyffe all
thynges to be, þat is to saye of whaym alle thynges are; þare-fore
it behoues of force þat He thurghe whaym alle thynges erre, be
with-owtten begynnynge.[48]

Using the copying and compilation of his book to explore such questions as the
proof of God's existence outside the boundaries of time, Thornton claimed access
to techniques of theological speculation as well as to a range of penitential and
contemplative modes.

Though it contains some of the same texts as Thornton's 'devotional book',
MS Ashmole 751, both in its editing of the *Mixed Life* and its subsequent English
contents, manifests the compiler's effort to return clerical terms and modes of
practice to those in clerical office. The Ashmole *Mixed Life* extract is the first of a
series of English texts: it is followed by a sequence of penitential stories and a
unique set of extracts from *Mandeville's Travels*. In this new context, this
strategically edited extract from Hilton, which aligns the priestly user of the
manuscript with 'prelates and oþire curates', installs a newly 'hierarchic relation'
between priest and layman, striking the key notes for this set of English contents,
which might have functioned as texts of self-education for the priestly compiler
and/or texts for teaching lay listeners in sermons or private contexts.

I borrow the phrase 'hierarchic relation' from Nicholas Watson, who has
argued that such a relation is absent from much vernacular theology of the late
fourteenth century. For example, *Piers Plowman* and the didactic treatise *Pore
Caitif* are works that 'evolve a "horizontal" mode of address' to depict relations of
teaching and learning among clergy and laity.[49] As I have suggested, in its
complete form, Hilton's *Mixed Life* creates similarly horizontal relations between
clerical teacher and lay learner. Watson notes that in the wake of Arundel's
Constitutions, new fifteenth-century vernacular theology, such as Nicholas Love's
Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ, installed explicitly hierarchical
relations between laity and clergy. These boundaries are manifest in Love's

depiction of lay readers as 'symple creatures þe whiche as childryn hauen nede to be fedde with mylke of ly3te doctryne & not with sadde mete of grete clargye & of hye contemplacyon'.[50]

It is intriguing to note that Love, who refers to Hilton's *Mixed Life* at the end of his own discussion of the active and contemplative lives,[51] offers an account of the lives that performs an act of clerical exclusion parallel to that of the Ashmole compiler. Love's three-part scheme, which is indebted, like Hilton's, to Gregory the Great, divides the active life into two parts and posits the contemplative life as a category lying between these two. The first part of the active life involves

> amendyng of him self as wiþdrawing fro vices & profetyng in vertues. [. . .] Þe seconde parte of actif life is, when a mannus occupacion & bisinesse, stant in þat exercise þat longeþ to þe profite of oþer men principaly, þouh it be also þerwiþ to his owne mede þe more þerby. As it is in gouernyng of oþer men & teching, & helping to þe hele of soule, as done prelates & prechours & oþer þat hauen cure of soule.[52]

Love shows his indebtedness to Hilton's *Mixed Life* in defining the exercise of the second degree of active life as involving 'gouernyng of oþer men & techyng, & helping to þe hele of soule, as done prelates & prechours & oþer þat haue cure of soule'.[53] The fact that Love offers this elevated state to prelates and preachers only, leaving out the pious layman whom Hilton had included in the analogy, suggests Love's concern to make certain that the teaching and preaching of the mixed life remain the preserve of the clergy only. As Michael Sargent observes, Love's vision 'presents a much more conservative treatment of the "mixed life", here attributed to bishops and prelates [. . .] than does Walter Hilton, whom he cites'.[54] Given the overtly anti-Lollard stance of the *Mirror*, Love's conservative recruitment of Hilton seems to stem from this ideology.[55] Love has read Hilton and, like the Ashmole compiler, improved upon his mixed life by re-clericalizing it.

Although there is no evidence in the Ashmole manuscript of anxiety specifically about Wycliffism, the striking parallel between his treatment of Hilton's work and Love's suggests that the Ashmole compiler's alterations to the *Mixed Life* may have been both practical and ideological. His desire to claim the

mixed life as his own might reflect a more generalized fifteenth-century clerical concern to reassert boundaries between lay and clerical status in the hopes of suppressing the heterodox view of religious discipline implied in the statement 'whoever is a good man, whether or not he is literate, is a priest', as one Lollard had written in 1388.[56] Although Love echoes and alters Hilton in a text expressly destined for lay reading, the nature of the Ashmole miscellany is such that its restrictive view of the mixed life was likely transmitted to laypeople who came into contact with the priestly owner.

In this clerical manuscript, then, a unique extract of the *Mixed Life* becomes part of a sequence of contents that focuses attention on priests as powerful ministers of penance. The concomitant emphasis on the layperson as penitent subject is conveyed, in combination with an insistence upon the orthodox doctrine of confession, by the rest of this sequence of English contents, notably in the next set of texts, on fols 45v-47v, a group of anecdotes excerpted from Caesarius of Heisterbach, James of Vitry, Innocent III, John Chrysostom, and the Venerable Bede. These stories, which would lend themselves readily to inclusion in sermons, focus on the effectiveness of penance, the necessity of clerical intervention, and the danger of falsifying contrition. For these stories, as for the Hilton extract, context is crucial to determining the 'social logic' of the texts. The first story, taken from Caesarius, also appears excerpted in Robert Thornton's manuscript (fol.194r), among a series of three tales relating to contrition. In the Thornton manuscript, compiled and used by a layman, the inclusion of this tale in a 'Rolle-related cluster'[57] followed by the English *Mirror of St. Edmund*, reinforces the layman's appropriation of penitential and contemplative vocabularies. But in the Ashmole sequence, the tales highlight the priest's sole control over the administration of penance.

The first story (fol. 45v) tells of a scholar 'at Paris' who

> had don many foule synnes of þo whylk he had gret schame to schryfe hym. But at þo last gret sorw of hert ouer come schame, and when he was redy to schryfe hym to þo pryoure of þo abbay of Seynt Victor, so mykyl contricion was in his hert þat for sorow he myght [not] speke a word.

The wise prior advises the penitent to write his sins on paper; the prior reads them, understands their gravity, and proceeds to show the paper to the abbot. But

the abbot sees only a blank page: the conclusion, voiced by the abbot, is that 'God has sen his contricyon and has forgyfyn hym all his synnes'. Although the power of God to forgive sins constitutes the story's miracle, the tale insists upon the intervention of the priestly figures, both for initiating the process and for confirming absolution.[58] The necessity of confession, in a written form if oracular confession is not possible, seems the critical lesson of the story from the priestly point of view.

Even more strongly than this first story, the other tale from Caesarius (fol. 47r) stresses the necessity of special priestly insight and mediation for enabling lay spiritual purification. Notably, this anecdote also appears in the composite Northern volume BL MS Harley 1022, a codex combining Latin and English pastoral materials with English texts such as Book I of Hilton's *Scale of Perfection*.[59] In this story, 'a prest þat had cure of saules sagh a woman cled in diuers clothynges and had a longe tayle þat sche drogh after hyr, in þo whylk he sagh a multitude of fendes blake and smale [. . .]'. In response to his vision, the priest

> bad hyr stand styll, sythen he called þo folk and coniured þo
> fendes þat þai schuld fle, and prayed to god þat þo folk myght se
> þat, and so þai dyd. Þen þo womon sagh þat fendes dyssayued
> hyr in pryde of clothyng, scho ȝede home and chaunged hyr
> clothes and fro þat tyme scho was ensaumpell of mekenes.

This story emphasizes the superior discernment of the priest and the absolute necessity for detecting sin that remains invisible to those without the 'cure of saules'. One can see how readily these two English stories might be lifted and placed directly into a sermon to emphasize not only the necessity for confession but also the quasi-miraculous power of priestly insight.

Likewise, the unique set of extracts from *Mandeville's Travels* that appear directly following the moral stories, although not as explicitly disciplinary as the anecdotes cited above, feature a penitential focus on using the geography of the holy land to explain typological relations between Old and New Testaments. Although it has been suggested that these extracts were copied without 'any discoverable plan',[60] I would argue that they use the logic of pilgrimage to vivify the details of Christ's passion and death. For example, in the description of Christ's agony in the garden, the extract on fol. 48r includes the following: 'And ye schal vnderstond that Oure Lord, in that nyght that He was taken, He was led

into a garden and ther tho Iewes scorned Hym and set a crowne vpon His hed so fast that tho blod ran down by many places of His vysage and His nek and His schulders'.[61] Later selections, taken from the description of the 'roundnes of tho erth', revisit Christ's cross in its legendary connection with the tree of Knowledge, depicting Christ's sacrifice as redeeming original sin while still implying the necessity for penance:

> tho tre of tho croys that we calle cypres was of tho tre that Adam ete tho appul of, and so thai fynd wryten. And so tho tre of tho cros was made of iiii. trees that bare tho gode frute, thorgh tho whylke Adam and Eue and alle that come of thaim were safed, and delyuered fro deth withoute end but yf it were thaire owne defaute.[62]

These very selective excerpts suggest the real possibility of damnation if penance is not undertaken with proper priestly supervision.

There is a haphazard quality to the Ashmole miscellany, and we should not overstate the logic of its compilation of English contents. However, the inclusion of these texts after this unique extract of the *Mixed Life* argues for a degree of thematic unity in these pastoral extracts, and for their particular relevance not only to the situation of a priest, but perhaps also to a particular clerical mood of the mid fifteenth century. The material and social power enjoyed by Walter Hilton's late-fourteenth-century addressee enabled Hilton to take spiritual and disciplinary chances, to construct his reader as a sort of prelate, and thus to enter into a wider debate about lay religious practice and clerical propriety. But Hilton's challenging response to lay spiritual ambition proved more conducive, for this fifteenth-century priestly reader, to a selective and conservative reinforcement of his own pastoral discipline in a penitential context. For this particular scribe-compiler, Hilton's vision of lay *imitatio clerici*, however orthodox, was not to be shared with the laity.

NOTES

[1] For discussion of miscellanies and anthologies, see Julia Boffey and John J. Thompson, 'Anthologies and Miscellanies: Production and Choice of Texts', in *Book Production and Publishing in Britain 1375-1475*, ed. by Jeremy Griffiths and Derek Pearsall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 279-315. Boffey and Thompson argue that 'miscellanies', which could overlap in form and function with 'commonplace books', tend not to be governed by a single logic, having perhaps been compiled in stages by individuals with different aims. Ralph Hanna finds 'miscellaneity' to be a major principle of Middle English literary culture, involving 'an oscillation between the planned and the random': Ralph Hanna III, 'Miscellaneity and Vernacularity: Conditions of Literary Production in Late Medieval England', in *The Whole Book: Cultural Perspectives on the Medieval Miscellany*, ed. by Stephen G. Nichols and Siegfried Wenzel (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996), pp. 37-51 (pp. 37-38). Any discussion of the late medieval English religious miscellany is indebted to A. I. Doyle, 'A Survey of the origins and circulation of theological writings in English in the 14th, 15th, and early 16th centuries, with special consideration of the part of the clergy therein' (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1953), which offers summaries of and commentary on hundreds of religious compilations.

[2] Vincent Gillespie, 'Vernacular Books of Religion', in *Book Production and Publishing in Britain 1375-1475*, ed. by Griffiths and Pearsall, pp. 317-44 (pp. 317, 318). Vernacular manuals such as Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson MS C.209 included translated versions of the syllabus, as well as other basic catechetical material, such as the sixteen conditions of charity and material on the name of Jesus (p. 318).

[3] For editions of these texts, see *Contemplations of the Dread and Love of God* [*Fervor Amoris*], ed. by Margaret Connolly, EETS o.s. 303 (London: Oxford University Press, 1993); *Book to a Mother: An Edition with Commentary*, ed. by Adrian James McCarthy (Salzburg: Universität Salzburg, 1981); *Walter Hilton's 'Mixed Life' Edited from Lambeth Palace MS 472*, ed. by S. J. Ogilvie-Thomson (Salzburg: Universität Salzburg, 1986).

[4] Gillespie, 'Vernacular Books of Religion', p. 321.

[5] This phrase has been coined by Gabrielle Spiegel, who argues for the need to consider texts 'within specific social sites that themselves disclose the political, economic, and social pressures that condition a culture's discourse at any given moment': Gabrielle

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Spiegel, 'History, Historicism, and the Social Logic of the Text in the Middle Ages', *Speculum*, 65 (1990), 59-86 (p. 85).

[6] Ralph Hanna, III, 'Booklets in Medieval Manuscripts', in *Pursuing History: Medieval Manuscripts and their Texts* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), pp. 21-34 (p. 28).

[7] At fol. 94v, a heading reads, 'Hec sunt de quibus presbiter parochialis specialiter debet facere sermonem et docere parochianos' [these are some things from which a parish priest might particularly make a sermon and teach his parishioners].

[8] I will discuss the volume's contents and possible ownership in greater detail below. It is impossible to assign this book definitively to a secular or a religious cleric, given the wide appeal of most of its contents. In its combination of devotional and pastoral contents, the volume resembles some of the northern books that Jonathan Hughes has examined as part of his argument for a growing interest in devotional writings among Yorkshire priests. Hughes notes, 'Many of the surviving fifteenth century manuscripts of the *Scale* [Hilton's *Scale of Perfection*] and *the Epistle on the Mixed Life* are derived from the north-midlands and are found in volumes containing pastoral material, which suggests ownership by secular clergy in York': Jonathan Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries: Religious and Secular Life in Late Medieval Yorkshire* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1988), p. 215. He speculates that the Ashmole volume was such a volume.

[9] Although Hilton emphasizes the pastoral duties that the layman shares with the clerical pastor, and although the work was later appropriated by clerical readers, the specificity of his address to a particular reader makes it unlikely, in my opinion, that Hilton's *Mixed Life* was also 'partially directed at secular clergy', as Hughes has asserted in *Pastors and Visionaries*, p. 211. As Hilary Carey points out, Hilton's particular definition of the mixed life 'can probably best be understood as a personal response to the needs and capabilities of the lay disciple for whom his treatise was written': see Hilary Carey, 'Medieval English Devout Laypeople and the Pursuit of the Mixed Life in Later Medieval England', *Journal of Religious History*, 14 (1987), 361-81 (p. 374).

[10] In her edition of Hilton's *Mixed Life*, at p. xxi, Ogilvie-Thomson describes the passage as 'two brief extracts (approximately ll. 199-53 and 177-88)'. She does not include variants from this manuscript in her critical edition, which is based upon Lambeth Palace MS 472.

[11] Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries*, p. 215.

[12] Article VII of the Constitutions decreed, [nobody [may] hereafter translate any text of sacred scripture into the English language or another language by his own authority, by way of book, pamphlet, or tract, nor may anyone read any such book, pamphlet, or tract now newly composed in the time of the said John Wycliff, or since, or to be composed hereafter, in part or in whole, publicly or in private, under pain of greater excommunication, unless the said translation be approved by the ordinary of the place, or if the matter should require it, by the

provincial council; whoever acts against this [ruling] will be punished as a promoter of heresy and error' (my translation). The Latin reads, 'nemo deinceps aliquem textum sacrae scripturae auctoritate sua in linguam Anglicanam vel aliam transferat, per viam libri, libelli, aut tractatus, nec legatur aliquis hujusmodi liber, libellus, aut tractatus jam noviter tempore dicti Johannis Wycliff, sive citra, compositus, aut inposterum componendus, in parte vel in toto, publice, vel occulte, sub majoris excommunicatis poena, quousque per loci dioecesanum, seu, si res exegerit, per concilium provinciale ipsa translatio fuerit approbata: qui contra fecerit, ut fautor haeresis et erroris similiter puniatur': *Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae*, ed. by David Wilkins (London, 1737), III, p. 317.

[13] Nicholas Watson, 'Censorship and Cultural Change in Late-Medieval England: Vernacular Theology, the Oxford Translation Debate, and Arundel's Constitutions of 1409', *Speculum*, 70 (1995), 822-64 (p. 835).

[14] The Thornton manuscript, a major source of Middle English romances and devotional texts, has been the subject of numerous studies. See George Keiser's articles, '"To Knawe God Almyghtyn": Robert Thornton's Devotional Book', *Analecta Cartusiana*, 106 (1984), 103-29, and 'Lincoln Cathedral MS 91: The Life and Milieu of the Scribe', *Studies in Bibliography*, 32 (1979), 159-79.

[15] Wyclif's biblical literalism, combined with the theory that any form of dominion, or lordship, depended absolutely upon righteousness, implied that the sin involved in accepting superfluous goods automatically condemned all clerical possessions to disendowment. See John Wyclif, *De Civili Dominio*, ed. by Reginald Lane Poole (London: Wyclif Society, 1885), 4 vols; see II, chapters 1-14, for discussion of the lordship of the righteous.

[16] For a comprehensive effort to reconstruct Hilton's biography, see J. P. H. Clark, 'Walter Hilton in Defence of the Religious Life and the Veneration of Images', *The Downside Review*, 103 (1985), 1-25 (pp. 18-20).

[17] Although the dating of the text is uncertain, verbal echoes among Hilton's *Mixed Life*, *Scale of Perfection* Book I, and Latin letters *De Imagine Peccati* and *Epistola De Utilitate et Prerogativis Religionis* suggest that these works may have been written relatively close together in time. These four share a striking similarity in their exposition of Lev. 6.12 ('Ignis in altari meo semper ardebit, et sacerdos surgens mane subiciet ligna ut ignis non extinguatur'). See *Mixed Life*, ll. 427-39, and *Scale of Perfection*, Book I, chapter 32 (edition forthcoming by Michael Sargent). *De Imagine* and *De Utilitate* are printed in *Walter Hilton's Latin Writings*, ed. by J. P. H. Clark and Cheryl Taylor (Salzburg: Salzburg: Universität Salzburg, 1987), 2 vols. For the relevant passage in *De Imagine*, see I, p. 77; for *De Utilitate*, see I, p. 168. Hilton's *De Utilitate* was written for his friend Adam Horsley, encouraging him to join the Carthusian order, which Horsley did in 1386; thus, the letter can be dated to *c*.1385. In that work, Hilton

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suggests that hé has not yet joined a religious order. If, as Michael Sargent speculates, *Scale* I, the *Mixed Life*, and *De Imagine Peccati* slightly precede the *Epistola*, then they may be roughly dated to the first half of the 1380s. I thank Michael Sargent for bringing these verbal echoes to my attention, providing these citations, and sharing the text of his edition in progress.

[18]   Wendy Scase, *'Piers Plowman' and the New Anticlericalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 52.

[19]   Andrew Galloway, 'Langland and the Schools', *The Yearbook of Langland Studies*, 6 (1992), 89-107 (p. 98).

[20]   Wyclif argues in *De Civili Dominio* (c.1376), that if 'after the endowment of the church', clerics had paid attention to the words of John the Baptist, when he said, according to Luke 3.14, 'be content with your stipends' (contenti estote stipendiis vestris), 'they would never have torn apart the realm of Christendom by insinuating themselves monstrously and presumptuously into temporal and civil lordship. Thus the rules of the Baptist in I Timothy 6.8 were obliterated': Wyclif, *De Civili Dominio* II, p. 21, ll. 17-23—the Latin reads, 'Et revera si permanerent in suis limitibus primitivis, contenti de stipendiis a communi erario secularie ministratis, nunquam tantum scidissent christianorum imperium temporale in civile dominium monstruose atque prepostere surrepentes'.

[21]   Hilton, *Mixed Life*, ed. by Ogilvie-Thomson, ll. 73-75. Unless otherwise noted, citations from the *Mixed Life* will refer to this edition, with line numbers in parentheses.

[22]   As Steele notes, 'Augustine had shown that the "lives" must be ruled by *caritas*. Whether inspired by Augustine or not, Gregory had, in effect, related the Lives to the Great Commandment of Charity, presenting the Active Life as specialising in the love of man, the Contemplative, in the love of God': F. J. Steele, *Towards a Spirituality for Lay-Folk: The Active Life in Middle English Religious Literature From the Thirteenth Century to the Fifteenth* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1995), p. 83.

[23]   As established by Gregory, whose works strongly influenced Hilton, the works of the active life consisted of feeding the hungry, teaching the ignorant, correcting the erring, bringing the proud back to the way of humility, and offering care to the sick. The Latin reads, 'Activa enim vita est, panem esurienti tribuere, uerbo sapientiae nescientem docere, errantem corrigere, ad humilitatis uiam superbientem proximum reuocare, infirmantis curam gerere': Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in Hiezechihelem Prophetam*, ed. by M. Adriaen, Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina, 142 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1971), II.ii.8.187-89.

[24]   In its constructive response to contemporary cynicism about the overlapping of temporal and spiritual lordship, the *Mixed Life* strikingly anticipates, and may perhaps influence, the arguments of the Dominican friar Roger Dymmok, who employs Latin to diffuse clerical authority as part of his own response to Wycliffite anticlericalism. In response to the

Lollard *Twelve Conclusions* of 1395, especially the Lollard critique of 'clerical involvement in secular administration', Dymmok produced a lengthy Latin treatise entitled *Liber Contra XII Errores et Hereses Lollardorum*, ed. by H. S. Cronin (London: Wyclif Society, 1922). In responding to the Lollard accusations, Fiona Somerset argues, Dymmok invites laymen as well as clerics to consider themselves as battling the heretics in a *pastoral* capacity, including under the rubric 'shepherds of the church' not only 'holy doctors' but also 'kings and princes', implying that the category 'pastor' can include 'a mixed group of important laymen and clerics': Fiona Somerset, *Clerical Discourse and Lay Audience in Late Medieval England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 114.

[25]   As Gregory had argued, the primary responsibility of the pastor (called *pastor, rector, praelatus,* or *praepositus* in turn) is to balance preservation and care of others with periods of contemplation—'Let the ruler be next to each one in sympathy, and soar above all in contemplation [. . .] that he may neither, while he seeketh things on high, despise the weakness of his neighbours, nor, being suited to the weakness of his neighbours, abandon the desire of things on high'. The Latin reads, 'Sit rector singulis compassione proximus, prae cunctis contemplatione suspensus, ut [. . .] ne aut alta petens proximorum infirma despiciat, aut infirmis proximorum congruens appetere alta derelinquat': *S. Gregorii Magni Regulae Pastoralis Liber,* trans. by R. H. Bramley (Oxford: James Parker, 1874), pp. 67-69.

[26]   Hilary Carey has called the passage 'radical' because it implies that 'secular authority can be considered tantamount to a religious vocation' ('Devout Literate Laypeople', p. 373).

[27]   Hilton models this passage on the *Regulae Pastoralis Liber* 2.5, where Gregory states, 'the Truth Himself, manifested to us by taking upon Him our manhood, in the mountain continueth in prayer, and worketh miracles in the cities, paving, that is, a way for good rulers to follow; that, although they even now long for the highest things through contemplation, they may, nevertheless, be mingled with the necessities of the weak by sympathy'. The Latin reads, 'Hinc ipsa Veritas per susceptionem nostrae humanitatis nobis ostensa, in monte orationi inhaeret, miracula in urbibus exercet, imitationis videlicet viam bonis rectoribus sternens; ut etsi jam summa contemplando appetunt, necessitatibus tamen infirmantium compatiendo misceantur' (p. 71).

[28]   Doyle, 'Survey', I, p. 218. Like the earliest witnesses to the *Mixed Life,* the Vernon manuscript (Bodleian MS Engl.theol.a.1), dating from the 1390s, and its sister manuscript, Simeon (BL, Additional MS 22283), also featuring the *Mixed Life* and compiled for a religious house, the *Mixed Life* is included in the parallel fifteenth-century volumes Bodleian MS Rawlinson C.894 and BL, Royal MS 17.c.xviii, probably made for London convents, the former for women and the latter for men (Doyle, 'Survey', I, p. 200). For a list of the *Mixed Life* manuscripts, see *Mixed Life,* ed. by Ogilvie-Thomson, p. iii. For a review of the circulation of

the *Mixed Life* in manuscript, see Doyle, 'Survey', I, pp. 198-204. The *Mixed Life* often travelled with one or both books of Hilton's more famous *Scale of Perfection*, a contemplative treatise for an anchoress, frequently returning to readers in religious houses who might make use of its guidance in their efforts to practise contemplation in the context of monastic community. The *Mixed Life* travelled with the second book of the *Scale* in BL, Harley MS 2397, which belonged to an abbess of the London Franciscan house: she bought the book in London and in turn bequeathed it to her successors at the house (Doyle, 'Survey', II, pp. 267-68).

²⁹ The extract covers approximately ll. 119-53 and 177-88 in Ogilvie-Thomson's edition, with the omission of ll. 154-76.

³⁰ Doyle suggests that the compiler might have been either secular or religious. He notes that the end of the manuscript features a note reading '"de clericis cuius ordines sint in congregacione terrenorum", and on the alienation of the goods of churches; some rough jottings seem to relate to cows and sheep and various payments, including one to or from "Archidiacon. Ebor.", but they are hardly legible. The volume shows clear pastoral interest but also strong devotional interests; in view of the accounts last mentioned, probably not a mendicant but possibly either a secular or monastic compilation' ('Survey', II, p. 77).

³¹ This lyric is divided into two in the manuscript, with these two separate headings, although it is represented as a single work in the modern edition: see *Medieval English Lyrics, A Critical Anthology*, ed. by R. T. Davies (London: Faber and Faber, 1963), pp. 146-48. For descriptions of the English prose, see *The Index of Printed Middle English Prose*, ed. by R. E. Lewis et al. (New York: Garland, 1985), items 58, 126, 233, 564. Also see *The Index of Middle English Prose Handlist IX: Manuscripts containing Middle English Prose in the Ashmole Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford*, ed. by L. M. Eldredge (Cambridge: Brewer, 1992), p. 27. For printed editions of the stories from Caesarius, see 'De inperfecta contricione', in *English Prose Treatises of Richard Rolle of Hampole, Edited from Robert Thornton's MS in the Library of Lincoln Cathedral*, ed. by George G. Perry, EETS o.s. 20, rev. edn (London: Oxford University Press, 1921), pp. 6-7, and *Yorkshire Writers: Richard Rolle of Hampole, An English Father of the Church and his Followers*, ed. by Carl Horstmann, 2 vols (London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1895), I, p. 157. For the Mandeville extracts, see M. C. Seymour, 'Secundum Iohannem Maundvyle', *English Studies in Africa*, 4 (1961), 148-58.

³² Hanna, 'Booklets', p. 28. For the full description of the manuscript, see *A Descriptive, Analytical, and Critical Catalogue of the Manuscripts Bequeathed unto the University of Oxford by Elias Ashmole*, ed. by William Henry Black (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1845), pp. 362-65.

³³ Hanna, 'Booklets', p. 29.

[34] In citing from the manuscript, I have silently expanded abbreviations, capitalized proper names, and modernized punctuation.

[35] These are ll. 178-80 in the critical edition. Ogilvie-Thomson's textual notes indicate that the reading 'persones' as opposed to 'persoone' occurs in nine manuscripts (more than half), but 'prelates and curates' is an uncommon reading, attested in only three other manuscripts: Vernon, Simeon, and Plimpton (Columbia University MS 271).

[36] Hanna, 'Booklets', p. 29.

[37] Perhaps surprisingly, this is the only known extract of the *Mixed Life*. There are, however, two extant fragments of the text, found in London, Inner Temple, MS Petyt 524 and Yale University Library MS 324 (see Ogilvie-Thomson, p. xxi).

[38] Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries*, pp. 290-91.

[39] This phrase was coined by George Keiser, in '"To Knawe God Almyghtyn": Robert Thornton's Devotional Book'. Keiser argues that the 'devotional book' should be considered as an intentionally compiled religious volume, separate from the other parts of the Thornton manuscript, which also includes a volume of secular romances and a book of medical recipes. He notes that it is not clear whether Thornton himself, or a later owner, brought the three books together into the present large volume (p. 104). Also see John J. Thompson, 'Another Look at the Religious Texts in Lincoln, Cathedral Library, MS 91', in *Late Medieval Religious Texts and Their Transmission: Essays in Honour of A. I. Doyle*, ed. by A. J. Minnis (Woodbridge: Brewer, 1994), pp. 169-88.

[40] According to Keiser, Thornton was 'a member of the minor gentry who in 1418 became lord of East Newton, in the wapentake of Ryedale, North Riding of Yorkshire': see George Keiser, 'Lincoln Cathedral MS 91', p. 160. Also see Keiser's follow-up article, 'More Light on The Life and Milieu of Robert Thornton', *Studies in Bibliography*, 36 (1983), 111-19.

[41] Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries*, p. 295.

[42] Keiser, 'Lincoln Cathedral MS 91', p. 160. Keiser notes in '"To Knawe God Almyghtyn"' that 'the incremental composition of Thornton's book precludes the possibility of any comprehensive design. Thus, whatever unity and coherence the book has derives not from the ordering of the texts, but from the fact that clearly discernible tastes and preferences governed the compiler's choice of texts' (p. 112).

[43] These lines are cited from *English Prose Treatises*, p. 27. Although Thornton's source for this incomplete copy of the *Mixed Life* is not known, Keiser has speculated, based on family connections and records, that some of Thornton's texts, including possibly his *Mixed Life*, which contains a few female address forms, were borrowed from the local nunnery of Nun Monkton: see 'More Light on the Life and Milieu of Robert Thornton', pp. 114-17.

⁴⁴ The Thornton and Ashmole manuscripts have several similar contents, of which only one is identical: a short instructive story on contrition. Other similar contents include Middle English explications of the ten commandments, the *Mirror of St. Edmund* (Thornton's in English, Ashmole's in Latin), and the fragments of the *Mixed Life*. Both compilations feature extracts from Rolle's Latin works and texts attributed to Rolle, although not the same ones. For details on Thornton's Rolle extracts, see Thompson, 'Another Look', pp. 180-81, and for details on Ashmole's, see the catalogue description and Hope Emily Allen, *Writings Ascribed to Richard Rolle, Hermit of Hampole, and Materials for his Biography* (New York: MLA, 1927), pp. 94, 130, 192, 347.

⁴⁵ Keiser, '"To Knawe God Almyghtyn"', p. 123.

⁴⁶ These short catechetical items are included on fol. 196r-v, and the sermon covers fols 213v-218v: see Keiser, '"To Knowe God Almyghtyn"', pp. 112-14.

⁴⁷ See Keiser, '"To Knawe God Almyghtyn"', p. 117.

⁴⁸ *St. Edmund's Mirror*, from *Religious Prose and Verse from the Thornton Manuscript*, ed. by George G. Perry, EETS o.s. 26 (London: Oxford University Press, 1914), p. 46.

⁴⁹ Watson, 'Censorship and Cultural Change', quoted phrases on p. 850 and p. 849.

⁵⁰ Watson, 'Censorship and Cultural Change', p. 853.

⁵¹ Love writes, 'Whereof & oþer vertuese exercise þat longeþ to contemplatif lyuyng, & specialy to a recluse, & also of medelet life, þat is to seye sumtyme actife & sumtyme contemplatif, as it longeþ to diuerse persones þat in worldly astate hauen grace of gostly loue. who so wole more pleynly [be] enformed & tauht in english tonge. let him loke þe tretees þat þe worþi clerk & holi lyuere Maister Hilton þe Chanon of Thurgarton wrote in english': Nicholas Love, *The Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ: A Reading Text, A Revised Critical Edition, based on Cambridge University Library Additional MSS 6578 and 6686 with Introduction, Notes and Glossary*, ed. by Michael G. Sargent (Exeter: Exeter University Press, 2004), p. 122.

⁵² Love, *The Mirror*, p. 118.

⁵³ Compare Hilton's statement in the *Mixed Life* that this life belongs 'speciali to men of holichirche, as to prelates and oþire curates whiche haue cure & souereynte ouer oþere men for to kepe & rule hem, boþe here bodies & principali heer soules, in fulfillynge of þe deedes of mercy bodili and goostli' (ll. 144-48).

⁵⁴ See Sargent's Explanatory Notes to Love, *The Mirror*, p. 252.

⁵⁵ See Sargent's Introduction to Love, *The Mirror* (pp. ix-xxi) for a discussion of the work's anti-Wycliffite purpose. As Watson notes, 'Love's *Mirror*, which was the first work to take advantage of the protection offered by the Constitutions, seems to embody their ideology

so well that it is tempting to speculate (with Jonathan Hughes) that it was written in part to order' ('Censorship and Cultural Change', pp. 852-53).

[56]   Cited in Anne Hudson, *The Premature Reformation: Wycliffite Texts and Lollard History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), p. 325.

[57]   Thompson, 'Another Look', p. 180.

[58]   This story from Caesarius also appears in the moral treatise *Jacob's Well*, to illustrate the discussion of the sentence of excommunication. Here the story leads directly into an exhortation to obey one's confessor—'R3yt so, whanne þe articles of þe curs be schewyd before 3ou, goth no3t awey, but pacyently heryth hem, and 3if 3e be vngylti, beth ware, & fleeth hem, and 3if 3e be gylty, be sory in herte, & dredeth hem, and louyth 3oure curate, þat warnyth 3ou of 3oure peryles! And 3erne, wyth full sorwe of herte, beeth schreuyn, & makyth amendys, be þe counseyl of 3oure confessour': see *Jacob's Well, An Englisht Treatise on the Cleansing of Man's Conscience*, ed. by Arthur Brandeis, EETS o.s. 115 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1900), pp. 12-13. I thank the *Leeds Studies in English* anonymous reader for bringing this reference to my attention.

[59]   This manuscript was probably a clerical collection, according to Doyle, who suggests that 'it may be either mendicant or monastic, some pastoral interest being almost inevitable in the case of the former, and not uncommon in the latter' ('Survey', II, p. 118). The story is printed as the first of the selection of English texts from BL, Harley MS 1022, in Horstmann, *Yorkshire Writers*, I, p. 157. Keiser notes a connection between MS Harley 1022 and the Thornton manuscript, with which it shares vernacular versions of Rolle's *Oleum Effusum* and a narrative piece. He speculates that a lost manuscript containing 'a compendious collection of Richard Rolle writings' provided the source for the Rolle texts copied into both the Thornton and Harley manuscripts ('"To Knawe God Almyghtyn"', p. 105).

[60]   Seymour, 'Secundum Iohannem Maundvyle', p. 149.

[61]   I am citing here from Seymour's edition of the Mandeville extract ('Secundum Iohannem Maundvyle', p.150, ll. 15-19). This selection appears on fol. 48r of the manuscript. Seymour has modernized punctuation, capitalization, and orthography.

[62]   Seymour, 'Secundum Iohannem Maundvyle', p. 155, ll. 200-05. This selection appears on fol. 50v of the manuscript.

Caxton's Adaptation of *The Lyfe of Saynt Paula* for *Vitas Patrum*: Holy Debt and Mary's 'Pappes' as Signs of Cultural Shaping

Sue Ellen Holbrook

Jerome, quoting Horace *Odes* 3.30.1 near the end of his *Vita Sancte Paulae*, proclaims that what he has written is a '"monument more lasting than bronze", which no lapse of time will be able to destroy'.[1] Jerome's memoir of Paula (d. 26 January 404) has indeed endured over time, passed along in its original form as well as in Latin and vernacular adaptations. Adaptations yield insight into how producers and readers of books bring their cultural repertoires to texts to make meaning of them. It is in this light that I compare here the original *vita* with the English translation made by William Caxton for the *Vitas Patrum* published by Wynkyn de Worde (Westminster, 1495) and Caxton's source-text, a French adaptation for *La vie des saintz peres* published by Nicolaus Philippe with Jean Dupre (Lyon, 15 January 1486). These vernacular renditions of Paula's *vita* have hardly been noticed, yet they reveal much about editorial shaping, all the more so because the unnamed Lyon translator worked directly from the original Latin *vita* as printed in the edition called *Vitaspatrum* published by Anton Koberger (Nuremberg, 19 May 1478). With Caxton's French source-text and, in turn, its Latin source-text at hand, the adapting methods become conspicuous.[2] In step with the Lyon translator, Caxton makes adjustments of expression, omission, and addition. Along with what is retained, some of these alterations indicate care for intelligibility and appeal to the readership of the Lyon and Westminster presses. Such revision, particularly for Caxton's version, may be demonstrated in two culturally freighted episodes: the deletion of Paula's borrowing of money to fund almsgiving (¶15), and the addition of the image of Mary nursing her newborn to the vision Paula had of Christ's birth while first visiting Bethlehem (¶10). Reshaped according to a late-medieval western cultural standpoint, the radical anti-materialism of an ascetic senatorial widow becomes comfortable 'ryght grete charytee' for the 'loue of god' (fol. lix[va]), and the 'contemplacyon' of the 'Natyuyte

of oure lorde' (fol. lvi^b), not in a cave of mystery but in a domestic stable, becomes invested with a thousand years' worth of changes in Marian devotion and inventions about the birth of Christ.

Vita Sancte Paulae *and* Vitas Patrum

Jerome's memoir of Paula falls into eight well-articulated sections. It opens with a paean of Paula's virtues (¶1-2), followed by information about her parentage, husband, and children (¶3-4). The second part is a chronological sequence highlighting her conversion to asceticism: her husband's death, her turn to the service of the Lord (¶5), her decision to emigrate to the holy land with her daughter Eustochium, and her embarkation (¶6). The third segment, also chronological, recounts her journey: the voyage to Cyprus and then Antioch, south through Syria and Palestine touring biblical sites, including Jerusalem and Bethlehem, onward to Egypt, and back to Bethlehem to build monasteries for women and men and a hospice for pilgrims (¶7-14). The fourth segment, largely topical, illustrates Paula's virtues (¶15-22); it includes a description of the order of her monasteries (¶20 de ordine monasterii) and an anecdote about an illness exacerbated by her strict regime (¶22). The fifth part (¶23-25), an ostensible digression, explains Paula's avoidance of heresy. Although this heresy is not named, Jerome represents himself debating and defeating a proponent of the belief developed by the Alexandrian Christian philosopher Origen (d. *c.*254) that 'rational creatures have through their faults and previous sins fallen to bodily conditions' (¶23 rationales creaturas ob quaedam uitia et antiqua peccata in corpora esse delapsas), and therefore at the Resurrection they will rise bodiless in a spiritualized state, whereas in orthodox belief, they will rise as Christ rose, having a real body and 'of the age of the fullness of Christ' (¶25 et in mensuram aetatis plenitudinis Christi).[3] In the seventh segment, Jerome tells of Paula's qualities of mind when studying scripture, her skill in Hebrew, Eustochium's likeness to her mother, and Paula's granddaughter (¶26). The remainder of the memoir concerns the end of Paula's life on earth, including her terminal illness, the funeral services, and Paula's legacy to Eustochium (¶27-34).

During the medieval period, *Vita Sancte Paulae* circulated in Latin in several contexts, including Jacobus of Voragine's *Legenda sanctorum* (*c.*1260), known as the *Golden Legend*, which carries an adaptation (BHL 6550), and *vitas-patrum* collections, which assemble texts about ascetics largely in Egypt,

Palestine, and other areas of the eastern empire during the fourth through seventh centuries.[4] During the 1470s, three forms of Latin *vitas-patrum* collections became available from the presses, of which the fullest and most influential was Koberger's. The whole Koberger volume, which amounts to 242 folios in four formal parts, was translated for the first printed edition in French, Philippe's *Vie des saintz peres*, which is illustrated by a cycle of woodcuts.[5] The commission is indicated in the preface on the verso of the title page, which explains that the book has been 'newly translated from Latin into French and diligently corrected in the city of Lyon' in 1486. The rhymed colophon at the end also specifies that the translator finished the work the year the book was printed (sig. R [7]). In 1491, Caxton turned the whole of the Lyon *Vie des saintz peres* into English. His preface directs us to the Philippe incunable as his source (sig. Aa ii[a]). Caxton died upon finishing the translation; four years later, de Worde brought out the English 'lyues of holy faders' under its traditional Latin title, *Vitas Patrum*, using a title page (as does Philippe, whose title is in French) and double-column print block (as do Philippe and Koberger), printing folio numbers (as does Koberger but not Philippe), dividing it into five parts (following Philippe), and incorporating woodcuts based on Philippe's.

Caxton in Westminster, de Worde there and later at his new press on Fleet Street in London, and Philippe in Lyon were sensitive to the appeal of vernacular books to clientele with interests in edifying and spiritual literature. When Caxton worked with Colard Mansion in Bruges, he produced books in French; when he founded his press in England in 1476, he emphasized compositions or translations in English, making about twenty translations of his own, usually from French, and from about 1481 on, began to include woodcuts in some. While also cultivating Latin schoolbooks and service books, de Worde (who became associated with Caxton soon after the establishment of the Westminster press) built up that programme of vernacular books with pictures, not only reproducing and re-editing staple works, such as Caxton's *Legenda Aurea*, but bringing many new texts into print. Philippe, a German originally from Bensheim, and his partner Marcus Rinehart, a German from Strasbourg, began printing in Lyon in 1477, concentrating on Latin books on theological and legal matters as well as traditional subjects of learning. As in Paris, Rouen, and other European cities, the book trade in Lyon was located around the cathedral.[6] It is within this milieu of script and print book producers and buyers, and the assorted seculars and professional religious having to do one way or another with the great cathedral, that the Lyon translator belongs. By 1480, Philippe and Rinehart began to add

illustrated books in French to their repertory. These include *Fables d'Ésope* (20 August 1480); Jean of Vignay's translation of the *Golden Legend, Légende dorée* (*c.*1477-78; *c.*1482; and by Philippe alone in 1485/86); and *Mirouer de la vie humaine* (1482). It was Philippe and Rinehart's *Ésope* that Caxton translated into English and their woodcuts that he adapted for his *Aesop* of 26 March 1484. *La vie des saintz peres* belongs to this line of vernacular illustrated editions, but Philippe did not publish it with Reinhart; rather, as the rhymed colophon indicates by the phrase 'par bon accord', he contracted the assistance of 'Jehan dupre', who is known to have managed a large establishment in Lyon from 1486 through 1495. On 8 June 1486, in what must have been another arrangement, the Paris 'Maistre Jehan Dupre libraire', as the colophon identifies him (that is, bookseller or manager of a book publication centre), brought out another edition of *La vie des saintz peres*, with a virtually identical text and copies of Philippe's drawings.[7]

The Lyon translator and Caxton, in turn, retain all of the texts and the order established by Koberger. Thus, in de Worde's edition, Part One (fol. I-Clxxv^v) consists of 165 consecutively numbered chapters, of which the first thirty-three constitute the *History of the Monks in Egypt* (*Historia Monachorum in Egypta* BHL 6524), though not called so (fol. i-xxviii); and the remaining 132 are comprised of twenty-three 'lyues and fayttes' (fol. xxviii^{va}-Clxxv^v). Part Two (fol. Clxxvi-CCCxvi^v) encompasses both the Anonymous collection of sayings (BHL 6525), which ends on folio CCxx^{va}, and also the Pelagius and John subject collection (*Adhortationes Sanctorum Patrum* BHL 6527 and 6528). Part Three (fol. CCCxvii-CCCxxx) presents 'of the rule & conuersacyon of the holy faders of Egypte' (BHL 6526), an unattributed text fusing excerpts from Sulpicius Severus's *Dialogue I* and John Cassian's *Institutes* and *Conferences*. Part Four (fol. CCCxxxi-CCCxxxvi) has the Paschasius subject collection of sayings (BHL 6531); and Part Five (fol. CCCxxxvii-CCCxlvi), which Koberger attached to his fourth part, is made up of 'smale treattys of the praysyng of virtues' (source untraced). The *Lyfe of Saynt Paula* (ch. 40) is the sixth *vita* in part one.

As is typical of vernacular translation, the Lyon text tends to have doublets for a Latin word, and Caxton's, following suit, tends to have yet more (for example, where Lyon gives 'maisonette' for *cellula*, Caxton writes 'maisonette and lytel house'). Furthermore, as we will see, the Lyon adaptor has a penchant for adding or converting statements into exhortations to the readers, a style suggesting involvement in preaching or at least an ear for the homiletic voice. Caxton follows right along with this distinctive rhetoric. In places, the Lyon translator is fairly straightforward in turning Latin into French, but often, as we will

also see, more freely expresses the gist. In the main, the Lyon adaptor, and Caxton in step, shortens the Koberger texts throughout all four parts. Largely, the methods of shortening are to omit prologues to *vitae*, to select a representative statement out of a longer passage, and to skip portions (for example, in a section of the life of *Hilarion* relaying eight miracles, Lyon and Caxton omit two).

The drive to reduce length in the whole volume by these methods applies to the life of Paula. Whereas Jacobus cuts and re-arranges, Lyon and Caxton retain the shape, order, and major contents of the original *vita*. In some segments, small-scale deletions are made, such as the etymological explanations of Gaza and Eschol, rooted in scripture, provided during Paula's travels in the Holy Land. In other places, whole units are passed over, such as the section identifying Paula's children. In Koberger, *Vita Sancte Paule* occupies thirteen folios. Even with its larger typeface, two woodcuts, and fewer abbreviations, Philippe's *Vie de Saincte Paule* is half that length, about six and a half folios, and de Worde's *Lyfe of Saynt Paula* somewhat over seven and a half.

Traces of Reader Reception

Because notes and marks added by readers to a copy of an early printed book may indicate not only its history as an artifact but also its reception as a text, this study takes notice of hitherto neglected annotations on the *Lyfe of Saynt Paula* and the other works in the copy of de Worde's *Vitas Patrum* belonging to the Paul Mellon collection (Center for British Art, Yale University, New Haven, CT). Brown ink dots and straight or squiggled lines lie in the outer and inner margins of most of this copy's 685 pages of text. Alongside and often on top of many of these ink lines, others have been made later with orange crayon, leaving an impression on the facing page. Next to numerous passages marked by the ink lines are various abbreviations for *nota bene*[8] and/or words referring to the text, such as *yre*, *poverte*, and *lytyl tyme* in the outer margin of the page presenting the first several sayings in the Anonymous collection in part two of the edition (fol. Clxxvii[b]). Whether the words were written independently of the ink lines is hard to ascertain, but they were added before the thicker crayon, for an orange line to the right of an ink squiggle runs over the initial letters of words in at least one case (fol. xxix[v] inner margin, 'faith' and beneath it 'hope'). When the Mellon copy's pages were trimmed and rebound in the eighteenth century,[9] many of the words in the left outer margin were severed, and most of those in the inner margins can no longer be seen in entirety

because the binding is too tight. Nevertheless, enough can be retrieved to determine that the script is similar throughout the book's five parts.

The first documented owner of this copy appears to be Lord Herbert of Cherbury (1583-1648), whose cipher, or entwined letters, has been drawn in brown ink on the title page,[10] but the verbal annotations were probably made closer to the time of de Worde. Half the size of the text type and relatively neat, they are made in a clerk's hand using a mixed script with Anglicana (also called 'court') and Secretary features and taking advantage of abbreviations and contractions developed for Latin. Throughout the copy, from folio v to folio CCCxxxvii, two forms of the letter *r* are discernible, one in the short shape of a *2*, and one with a long descender.[11] The long-tailed *r* features in English cursive script as early as the mid-thirteenth century, while the short form of *r* drifts in during the fifteenth century under the influence of the cursive model being imported from France, which during the sixteenth century became known as Secretary.[12] Only the short *r* appears in a 1485 grant from King Richard III written, according to Jean F. Preston and Laetitia Yeandle, by a clerk in a 'neat Secretary hand', but both forms can be seen in an example written for John Fastolf in 1451 by William Worcester in a business hand derived from court hand,[13] and also in what M. B. Parkes judges to be a 'typical example of late-fifteenth-century Anglicana' in a copy of the *Brut*.[14] Compared to examples in later sixteenth-century Secretary, especially with regard to the tell-tale long *r*, which fades away around 1525,[15] the handwriting of the verbal annotations in the Mellon copy suggests that while they could have been made at any point during the three decades subsequent to the edition's publication in 1495, the prevalence of the long *r* makes the first ten or so years most likely.

At the end of part one's first chapter, which is about 'saynt Joh*a*n the heremyte' (John of Lycopolis), an anachronistic interpolation invites the possibility that the verbal annotations are owed to the book culture interests of Carthusian monks, such as those at the London establishment or at Sheen on the south side of the Thames. After the description of John the Hermit's death on his knees while in prayer, we find, marked by a marginal *nota bene*,'¶ O ye Relygiouses of Charterhouse / and Heremytes. Well ought ye to beholde & see in this Heremyte.as in a myrrour' (fol. vii[a]). Living by himself in an individual cell in which he was occupied with manual work as well as prayer, a Charterhouse monk did, indeed, lead a hermit life resembling this Egyptian father's.[16] A major Carthusian occupation was book production, which brought the monks into association with Caxton and de Worde, who put into print form several texts

transmitted or owned in manuscript form by the Carthusians and also known to the Brigittines at Syon, across the Thames from Sheen. In 1410, Nicholas Love, Prior of the Charterhouse of Mount Grace in Yorkshire, made the English adaptation of the *Meditations on the Life of Christ* that Caxton and de Worde later printed, as we will see. Thomas Betson, the Brigittine deacon at Syon who maintained the catalogue of the brothers' library, composed the *Treatise to Dyspose Men to Be Vertuously Occupyed* printed by de Worde ([1500]). Furthermore, Carthusians and Brigittines also owned copies of books printed by Caxton and de Worde, including Walter Hilton's *Scala Perfectionis* of 1494, a special edition of which, as we will also see, was sponsored by Lady Margaret Beaufort. The Carthusian James Greenhalgh at Sheen annotated a copy of de Worde's *Scala* he was using in 1497-1500, and afterwards gave it to Joanna Sewell, a Brigittine sister at Syon.[17] Notes made on the Cambridge University Library copy of de Worde's *Vitas Patrum* reveal that by 1568 it had come to be in the company of Carthusians in exile living in the area of the Butter Market in Bruges. These men were from the London Charterhouse, but upon coming back to England after a seventeen-year stay in Bruges, they had occupied the abandoned Sheen site in 1556-58 before being forced to return to Bruges. Ten years later they were granted their own house there, which they called Sheen Anglorum.[18] The question of who contributed the marginalia of the Mellon copy awaits further investigation, but it would not be surprising to find Carthusian or Brigittine involvement.

Just as the verbal annotations are similar in script, they are consistent in character. Because the words typically echo language in the passage to which they are adjacent, they serve as finders for a portion of text, as mnemonic shorthand for a significant theme, and/or as focal points for an idea to mull over. As such, they not only mark places for other readers to note but also reflect acts of reading on the part of the person making them.[19] Frequently, the word is an abstract noun, such as *yre* mentioned earlier, which names the subject of the exhortation next to which it is written: 'yre behoueth vnto man not against some other [...] but for to be angry against hym selfe and his synnes / to the ende that more easely he maye put them from hym in amending of his lyfe' (fol. Clxxvii[b]). Thus, the annotation identifies the subject for other readers and also emphasizes an emotion to be directed towards the development of virtue. Other words are more concrete. For instance, 'Mach A' and underneath 'of grapes' are visible in the inner margin next to an anecdote in the chapter on the 'Vertues' of Macarius Alexandrian in part one. When Macarius is given a 'clustre of grapes', he sends it to an ill brother, who sends it to another brother, and so the hermits pass the fruit

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from one to another until it ends up returning to Macarius, thus illustrating the 'grete loue that they had togeder' (fol. xxv^{vb}). When that story recurs in the book of exhortations 'for to acquyer the vertue of pacyence and humylyte' in part two, the word 'grapes' again is penned in the inner margin (fol. Clxxxx). In the *Lif of Saynt Poul First Hermyte*, the sight of a crow delivering a full loaf of bread to Paul while Anthony is visiting him, rather than the usual half-loaf, is pointed to by the words 'crowe' and underneath 'lofe of brede' written in the outer margin next to '¶ And in saying suche wordes togyder.came a Crowe or a byrde whiche lete falle a loof of brede tofore thise two holy men'. The words indicate the telling of a wonder and its significance, the care God takes of hermits, as Paul remarks to Anthony: 'lete vs thynke on the goodness of our lorde [...] he is moche mercyfull & lowely [...] at thy comyng god hath multeplyed the portion.and hath sente dowble pytaunce' (fol. xxix^{va}). The letter '.O.' and a *nota bene* abbreviation are added to the outer margin next to an anecdote in part two about a brother so obedient that when summoned by his mentor, he left before finishing the letter *O* he had begun to write (fol. . CClxxxviii^v); two other versions of this story occur, both annotated with an '.O.' (fol. CCii^v inner margin, encircled by crayon, with a large crayon O in the upper margin; and fol. CCCxxiii^v outer margin, 'a lettre .O.'). The annotations of grapes, bird-delivered loaf, and *O* all provide visual images for the memorial imagination to retain.

The margins of the *Lyfe of Saynt Paula* look like those on the pages of the Mellon copy in general. They bear dark ink lines, often accompanied by crayon; eleven *nota bene* abbreviations; and on all but three of the fifteen-and-a-quarter pages, the remains of thirty verbal annotations.[20] In addition, two biblical quotations, enclosed in parentheses, are underlined in ink within the print block: Gloria in excelsis deo, from Luke 2.14 (fol. lvi^b), and Audi israhel, from Deuteronomy 27.9 (fol. lxi^a), which is underlined in crayon as well. Although scriptural quotations abound in this memoir, these are the only two retained in Latin, which Lyon-Caxton then goes on to translate. Many of the verbal annotations in the *Lyfe of Saynt Paula* reiterate words in the text next to which they have been written. For instance, 'son' is noted in the outer margin next to the passage in which Paula stops overnight at the 'brynke' of the Jordan River and 'att the sonne rysynge she remembred the Sone of Justyce' (fol. lvi^{va}). There the natural sunrise is associated with the prophecy in Malachi 4.2 that for those who feared the Lord's name the Sun of Justice (*sol iustitiae*) would arise with healing power (a prefiguration of Christ). The word 'humilite' is set in the outer margin next to the segment in which Jerome illustrates Paula's virtues, beginning with

'The fayrest of whyche is humylyte' (fol. lviii^b). The word 'foles' has been written in the inner margin next to Paula's rejoinder, based on Corinthians 4.10, to the man of religion who told her 'she semed to moche people to be as a foole & Ydyote': '¶ My brother in god we ben alle semblable and lyke / That is to saye in a place comyn where as alle the men in this worlde shall be assembled ¶ And we all ben called fooles for the loue of Jhesu Cryste' (fol. lix^a). Though missing their initial letter, '[w]yntyr' and '[h]arvest' are legible in the outer margin next to the passage from Song 2:12 that Paula hears and responds to as she dies: 'she herde oure lorde / whiche callyd her sayenge / ¶ Come to me my spowse my culuer or douue / ¶ For the wynter and the Rayne ben passed / ¶ To whom she answered / ¶ The flores ben on the erthe / The tyme of Harueste is come / I byleue to see the goodes of oure lorde in the londe of lyuynge people' (fol. lxi^{va}). As these examples suggest, the words written in the margins record events and places in Christian sacred history as well as virtues, ideas, and beliefs within a Christian paradigm, such as the attitude towards death, in which the 'harvest' is the happy release of the soul into the spiritual fulfillment for which it longs. Clearly, such verbal annotations indicate places on which readers may focus their memorial imaginations as they make meaning of the *Lyfe of Saynt Paula*. As we are about to see, those places include holy poverty and the Nativity.

Paula's Almsgiving and Debt

Paula and Jerome understood material renunciation to be an essential step in serving the Lord; for those of senatorial status, as Paula was, dispossession in order to embrace voluntary poverty was a radical act, removing wealth from circulation among the senatorial families. From beginning to end of the memoir, Jerome relates Paula's distinguished lineage to her inherited wealth, the dispersal of which yields a yet more distinguished inheritance in spiritual good *vitas*. In various sections, we find that Paula's dispossession comes through giving to the indigent, the ill, and the servants of the Lord and also financing the monasteries and pilgrims' inn she founded in Bethlehem. Within the segment of the *vita* devoted to her virtues, a lengthy subsection develops her liberality in regard to the needy (¶15). It begins with the way Paula finances her charity: in order not to turn away a request, 'she borrowed money at interest and often contracted new loans to pay off old ones'.[21] Jerome records their quarrel over this borrowing; although he reproves her, Paula prevails, and so she continued to follow the 'Lord in his

poverty, giving back to him what she had received and becoming poor for his sake. She obtained her wish at last and died leaving her daughter [Eustochium] overwhelmed with a mass of debt'.[22] Jerome then describes the way she managed her wealth so that she could help all in true need who applied to her for aid and records a long passage-weaving speech characteristic of Paula's discourse (¶16). In this, Paula evokes seven scriptural passages justifying almsgiving and its spiritual rewards. Jerome returns to the 'mass of debt' towards the end of the memoir (¶30), again referring to Eustochium, who inherits the monasteries as well as the debt.

The Lyon-Caxton adaptation of Paula's life keeps the inversion of spiritual and material inheritance and nearly all mentions of her almsgiving, but makes adjustments here and there. For example, the initial declaration is rendered in balanced, accessible terms: 'She was noble of parentes / but more noble of holynesse of lyfe / Ryche of patrymonye / But more ryche for as moche as she had renounced and forsaken the goodes of this worlde' (fol. liiii[va]). For Jerome's description of the mourning dependents (the brothers and sisters in her Bethlehem monasteries) along with Eustochium, who is left 'rich only in faith and grace' (¶2), Lyon-Caxton zeroes in on one line ('omnes suos pauperes pauperior ipsa dimisit')[23] and distills it memorably into '¶ She loued alle the tyme of her lyfe the sure astate of pouertee / ¶ For whanne she deyed she was more pore than they whom she gaaf her almesse' (fol. liiii[vb]). In the Mellon copy, this passage occasions the first verbal annotation on the text: next to it in the inner margin is an ink squiggle and 'pou*er*tee,' underlined in orange crayon. To Jerome's praise of those of high birth who reject riches (¶3), Lyon-Caxton adds criticism of those who say they have renounced all but have entered a religious order that will provide for them:

> But for asmoche as whanne some ben come of hyghe byrthe and of grete place / And they dyspyse the Rychesses of the world / They shew themselves in soo dooynge to be of the very lygnage of Jhesu Cryste / and to haue towarde hym gretter loue / thenne to theym whyche haue noughte or lytyll thinge in value ¶ And say that they renounce and forsake alle / ¶ As some done whyche putt them selfe in to Relygyon.for to haue prouysion & suretee of theyr lyuyng. (fol. liiii[vb])

In the Mellon copy, the final remark about those who put themselves in religion is marked by an ink squiggle, *nota bene*, and crayon. When the newly widowed Paula in Rome undertakes poor relief, Lyon-Caxton assumes she is distributing

her late husband's money (rather than the dowry that under Roman custom would have reverted to her): 'it is to be noted that after the deth of her husbonde Toxocius / She dystrybuted and dealed that halfe of his godes vnto the poore people' (fol. lv[a]).[24] Furthermore, the adaptation shrinks the passage on Paula's judicious management of her wealth to one pithy sentence: 'And neuer the poore departed from her.but if he hadd her almesse' (fol. lvii[vb]). It retains most of the scriptural justifications of almsgiving in the long segment following, such as 'Lyke as the water quenchyth the fyre. Soo dooth almese the synne.' This is yet another passage noted in the Mellon copy: a squiggle overlain by orange crayon is drawn alongside it and 'Almesse' written in the adjacent margin. The culminating passage of Paula's teaching on almsgiving, which refers to rolling and living stones of which the 'city of the great king in John's Apocalypse was built' and will be turned into 'sapphire and emerald and jasper' and other gems (based on Revelations 21.19-21), is converted into what must have seemed a more pointed expression for the Philippe and de Worde presses' readers, who would have included the wives of merchants: 'Her money was not atatchyd not putte to bye precious stones for to make rynges of golde to put on her fingers / As now done burgeyses wyues' (fol. lvii[vb]). In the segment exemplifying Paula's patience, the subsection on her reaction to the exhaustion of her patrimony (¶19), which involves another speech woven of scriptural quotations, is kept nearly intact, eliminating only one brief quotation and part of another long one. To the first of the retained quotations, Matthew 16.26, '¶ What prouffyteth to wynne alle the worlde.yf one lese his soule that it be dampned.what marchaundyse maye a man take in recompence of his soule', Lyon-Caxton adds a gloss: '¶ As yf she wolde saye / Lyke as the Rycheses of thys worlde ben cause of the dampnacyon of the soule' (fol. lviii[vb]). Four places in this speech are marked in the Mellon copy, beginning with that quotation. Merchants are added again, and even addressed in Lyon-Caxton's rendering of Jerome's passage towards the end commending Paula's admirable example of giving all her wealth to the poor (¶30):

> ¶ Lete us thynke thenne we myserable synnars / ¶ And pryncypally they that amasse and possesse grete Ryches & tresours / ¶ How the good lady Paula abandouned and forsoke alle her tresour for to gyue for goddis sake / ¶ Helas what cowde one more yeve / She reteyned and kepte noo thynge for herselfe / ¶ Thynke marchauntes what marchaundyses she made / Whanne she chaunged alle her golde and her syluer into thynges

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Incommutable / ¶ She forsoke alle for to haue alle. And she wolde
be ryght poore for to be Ryche / (fol. lxi^vb)

That last line is noted in the Mellon copy by an ink squiggle and *nota bene*.

Clearly, the retentions and rewritings in the Lyon-Caxton adaptation place
value on the passages about the right use of wealth, and so do the annotations in
the Mellon copy of de Worde's edition. And yet, the quarrel about debt is
completely excised from the section on Paula's virtues. After describing Paula's
humility, help to any 'poor body' she saw, and advice to the rich 'to do well', much
as Jerome does (¶15), Lyon-Caxton skips the equivalent of about thirty lines in
the Koberger Latin, and picks up the line 'No person went away from her empty-
handed' and the speech on almsgiving, as we have seen. Jerome's later reference
to the debt left to Eustochium leads into the passage on Paula's abandonment of
treasure for God's sake, quoted above, yet it too is omitted.

Considering the care given to presenting Paula's preference for a spiritual
life over wealth and to inviting readers to eschew covetousness and to give alms,
the absence of the passages on Paula's borrowing to care for paupers and leaving
behind the accumulated debt does not seem to be an accidental casualty of general
shortening. In the abridged and rearranged version of Paula's life in the mid-
thirteenth-century *Golden Legend*, Jacobus also adjusts the text to eliminate the
accumulated debt. He makes the subject of the quarrel only the prodigality of
Paula's almsgiving and omits leaving the debt to Eustochium.[25] As a Dominican
Friar Preacher in Genoa, writing probably for preachers and educators of
preachers, Jacobus may not have seen the point of broadcasting Paula's radical
attitude toward material renunciation; for the members of the order and the laity
they reached, it was caring for the poor that mattered, as homiletic theme,
individual counsel, and personal practice.[26] Similarly, the Lyon translator may
have eliminated the whole of the quarrel and the reference to debt because unlike
those about almsgiving, these passages would seem alien to the readers of *Le vie
des saintz peres*. Caxton is following the Lyon adaptor, but the message of his
translation accords with contemporary attitudes and practices regarding the right
use of wealth indicated in recent studies of London widows, and also Lady
Margaret Beaufort, mother of Henry VII.

Consider Joan Buckland (d. 1462), daughter of a London citizen and
fishmonger, who married another fishmonger and during the years of her
marriage was, in Jenny Stratford's description, 'very rich and in the first rank of
merchant's wives'.[27] During her marriage, she and her husband, Richard, gave a

sizeable monetary donation to the double house at Syon for Brigittines, mentioned earlier, which had been founded by Henry V in 1420 for an order initiated by Bridget of Sweden and finally established in 1384. When Richard died, Joan oversaw his bequests on behalf of the 'poor, the sick, hospitals and prisoners'; to the household priest and some particular friars as well the four orders in London; and for several chantries, certain churches, and work on St. Paul's Cathedral.[28] At the same time, Joan took over the management of Richard's extensive business interests, mainly in shipping, and pursued money owed by the crown to Richard so that she could, in turn, pay his creditors. In the testament she drew up for herself twelve years before she died, Joan left considerable property to a parish church, including many Latin service books; more property to some vicars; a good sum of money to the 'poor men of the fishmongers' craft of London'; and a lesser amount for the orders of friars. Ultimately, she also asked that if her country estate were to be sold, a third of the proceeds were to go to 'the poor'.[29]

Among the many kinds of patronage in which charity and largesse were linked in the life of Lady Margaret Beaufort, Michael K. Jones and Malcolm G. Underwood demonstrate that she provided housing and clothing for almsfolk at her estate of Collyweston near Stamford, paid for the schooling of almschildren and saw that they were apprenticed, fed the poor at Christmas, and gave allowances so that the offspring of her servants could move through life's 'rites of passage' in being christened, married, and buried. She also 'acted as a moneylender' for members of a 'restricted court and family circle'.[30] She herself, however, was never in debt, thriftily managing almsgiving and other acts of patronage (such as founding colleges) along with the upkeep of both the Collyweston estate and her house in London. During Lady Margaret's funeral ceremonies, alms were distributed as her body was taken to Westminster, while in London 'doles to the poor' were made and certain inmates in the jails were set free.[31] On a far less grand scale but in a similar vein, the widow Margaret Croke (d. 1491), whose husband had been a merchant of the staple in London, raised a 'charity child' as well as her own twelve progeny and apart from engaging in numerous lawsuits, lent money to both a son-in-law and one of her sons, which they failed to repay, a lapse she overlooked.[32] One last example, within the span of the Westminster press, is Alice Claver (d. 1489), a London mercer who married another London mercer (Caxton's own craft before he retired to take up the business of printing). After her husband's death, Alice's atelier of silk-workers supplied goods to Edward IV, then Richard III, and then Henry VII. She took in a widow and regularly raised almschildren whom she then apprenticed to 'good'

masters. When she died, she left a sum of money for what Ann F. Sutton calls the 'conventional bequests chosen by dying Londoners of her day': 'poor householders', 'poor girls' marriages in her parish', and inmates in 'each of the London prisons'.[33] Among Alice's male associates was William Pratte (d. 1486), a friend and patron of Caxton; William's wife, Alice, was Alice Claver's friend. No record exists of books Alice Claver owned, but Sutton suggests an attractive vignette: 'she could have read with [Pratte's] widow' Caxton's translation of a French book that William gave to him to print, the *Book of Good Manners*, which translation Caxton duly published on 8 May 1487. Alice was a prudent businesswoman, unostentatious in her habits for all that hers was a luxury trade, and filled, in Sutton's phrase, with the 'love that took in the poor'.[34]

For Christians, almsgiving to the penurious, the imprisoned, the ill, and so forth is based on the six charitable acts named in Matthew 25.35-46 when Christ, as risen King at the Last Judgment, informs the saved 'sheep' at his right hand that when they fed the hungry, gave drink to the thirsty, welcomed the stranger, clothed the naked, visited the sick, and visited the prisoners, they did so to him; the condemned 'goats' on his left hand failed to do so to the 'least of them' and therefore to him. In a variety of ways throughout the medieval period, the laity were reminded of their obligation to carry out these acts of mercy through almsgiving. In about 1440, Catherine of Cleves, Duchess of Guelders, would have seen her elegantly dressed self pictured on a page in her prayer-book putting coins from her purse into the bowls of a barefoot child, old woman, and crippled man, all badly clothed, while in the lower margin Christ behind prison bars is offered a bowl of food by a modestly dressed woman.[35] At about the same time, parishioners of All Saints on North Street in York would look up at scenes of all the acts of mercy in a stained glass window, performed by people dressed like them.[36] Just about everyone in the bourgeois and aristocratic classes would have known a special prayer to the Virgin Mary, 'Obsecro Te' (I beseech thee), in a prayer-book produced in abundance for laity throughout Europe as well as England, which includes the request, 'make me fulfill the seven works of mercy'.[37] It is within such a culture of almsgiving that Lyon-Caxton's Paula fits, as the annotations in the Mellon copy indicate. In Lyon as in London, debt and personal money-lending there would have been, almsgiving there would have been, but beggaring oneself to carry out the acts of mercy, there would not have been.

Paula's Nativity Vision

In the Latin memoir, when Paula arrives at the village of Bethlehem after visiting Jerusalem, the first place she sees is the cave (*specum*) in which the 'saviour' was born.[38] At this time, the Nativity cave lay under a basilica built by Constantine in 329. As John Wilkinson explains, the Bethlehem cave was linked with the two Jerusalem caves of Golgotha, site of the Resurrection, and the Mount of Olives, site of the Ascension, as the 'three holy caves' corresponding to the three Christian tenets of the Lord's incarnation, suffering and death, and triumph.[39] Entering this sacred space, Paula 'perceive[s] with the eyes of faith' (*cernere se fidei oculis*) an ensemble of scenes concerning the Nativity. Jerome identifies himself as ear-witness to her description of what she sees and to her commentary:

> When she looked upon the sacred inn of the virgin and the stable where 'the ox knows its owner and the ass its master's manger' [Isa. 1.3], that the words of the same prophet might be fulfilled, 'Happy are you who sow beside all waters, who let the feet of the ox and the ass range free' [Isa. 32.20], she swore in my hearing that she could perceive with the eyes of faith the infant wrapped in swaddling cloths wailing in the manger, the wise men worshipping God, the star shining overhead, the virgin mother, the attentive foster-father, the shepherds coming by night to see the word that was come to pass and thus even then to consecrate those opening phrases of the Evangelist John: 'In the beginning was the word' and 'the word was made flesh' [1.1, 14]. She declared she could see the murdered infants, the raging Herod, Joseph and Mary fleeing into Egypt, and with a mixture of tears and joy she cried, 'Hail Bethlehem, house of bread, wherein was born that bread that came down from heaven'.[40]

Paula's vision conflates elements of Matthew, which tells of the wise men seeing the star, Herod, and the flight into Egypt (2.1-13), and Luke, which tells of the swaddling cloths, manger, and shepherds (2.7-16). The detail of the infant's wailing (*uagientem*), which is repeated later, is not in apocryphal accounts or the Vulgate; it also occurs in other of Jerome's descriptions of the birth of Christ, in which it connotes the suffering the son of God experienced in taking on human corporeal form.[41] The first five elements of the vision blend the Nativity with the

Adoration of the Magi. Paula's commentary and the speech that follows the whole sequence emphasize the fulfillment of prophecy. Weaving in six passages from scripture, Paula relays the fulfillment of the prophecy of Christ's coming and aligns the event of Christ's birth with her arrival in the place of its occurrence.[42] She proclaims that 'I, miserable sinner, have been judged worthy to kiss the manger in which the baby Lord wailed, and to pray in the cave in which the virgin in labor gave birth to the infant God' (¶10 et ego, misera atque peccatrix, digna sum indicata deosculari praesepe, in quo dominus paruulus uagiit, orare in spelunca, in qua uirgo puerpera deum fudit infantem). The speech culminates in her decision, expressed through four quotations, that since her saviour chose Bethlehem, so must she: '"This is my rest" [Isaiah 28.12] for it is my Lord's native place; "Here will I dwell" [Psalms 132.14] for this spot has my Saviour chosen. "I have prepared a lamp for my Christ [Psalms 131.17]. My soul shall live unto him and my seed shall serve him [Psalms 22.31]"'.[43] Paula's experience and speech reflect the Bethlehem cave as a special location for apprehending the mystery of the incarnation.

In contrast, acts of omission, addition, expansion, and substitution make the Lyon-Caxton retelling compatible with late medieval sensibilities of affective devotion. The Lyon-Caxton text omits the inn (*diuersorium*) as well as the cave (*specum*), and describes Paula as having come 'in to the place where our lorde was borne in the stable'. Referring to what she sees as her 'contemplacyon', Lyon-Caxton cuts away the opening prophecies; eliminates the detail of wailing; omits the foster-father (Joseph) and shepherds; enlarges the Nativity sketch and links it smoothly with what she 'sawe also in her faythe', the latter word being echoed by 'faith' in the inner margin (fol. lvi[a]): the 'thre kynges worshyppyng the lytyll chylde / And the sterre that conduyted and ladde theym', the 'Innocentes there slayne', and the flight of Mary and Joseph with 'her swete sone Ihesus' into Egypt. It keeps the ensuing address to Bethlehem as the house of bread from the prophet Michah but skips over the six-quotation prophetic speech that follows, excises the second mention that the infant lord is wailing, and replaces 'cave' with 'place'. It culminates in much the same way:'¶ Also saynt Paula sayde to herselfe Ha unhappy synnar [Lyon: *maleureuse pecheresse*] that I am.God hath shewed to me more [Lyon: *fait plus de grace*] thane apperteyneth to me / ¶ Whanne now I maye kysse the Crybbe [Lyon: *creche*] wherin my lorde god laye after he was borne ¶ Also to pray in the place where the vyrgyne bare.and was deliuered of a chylde [Lyon: *la vierge leenfanta*]' (de Worde fol. lvi[ab]; Philippe sig. f ii[va]). In the outer

margin of the Mellon copy, this speech is marked by a brown ink squiggle and 'cribbe', a word that conjures a visual image.

The three most significant alterations concern the foster-father, Joseph; the place of the birth; and Mary's treatment of her newborn. Joseph is typically set apart from Mary and the infant in Nativity traditions, a phenomenon that reflects the custom of a husband not touching his wife on her lying-in bed until the purification ritual and also Joseph's role as Mary's husband, but not her baby's father.[44] In visual media, the idea that Joseph is not the father may be embodied, as André Grabar proposes, in the frequent representation of Joseph not looking at Mary and her child.[45] Moreover, the term Paula uses, *nutricium sedulum*, to refer to Joseph not as the newborn's father but as a guardian figure, creates an ambiguity that, as I will argue later, Lyon-Caxton resolves through the influence of certain retellings, especially the late-thirteenth-century Franciscan *Meditations on the Life of Christ*.

Indicative of changing traditions over the centuries are the Lyon-Caxton revisions to the 'place where our lorde was borne' by excising the inn (*diversorium*) and the cave (*specum*) and retaining only *stabulum* as 'lestabile' in Lyon and 'stable' in Caxton. For Paula and Jerome, the term 'inn' is ironic, for according to Luke 2.7 in Jerome's New Testament, Mary laid her newborn in a manger because she and Joseph found no place in the inn ('reclinauti eum in praesepio quia non erat eis locus in diuersorio');[46] Paula rectified the lack of shelter for the pregnant mother of God by founding a hospice for pilgrims 'where Mary and Joseph had been unable to find hospitality' (¶14 quia Maria et Ioseph hospitium non inuenerant). As for the *specum*, caves recur throughout the many texts that make up *Vie des saintz peres* and *Vitas Patrum*, usually serving as habitats for anchorites, but Lyon-Caxton tends to provide substitutes for *specum* and *speluncam*, such as 'hermitage'. In the case of the Nativity, however, it is not only an aversion to caves that we see but an assumption that it is the stable that matters. In Paula's vision as in Jerome's other Nativity descriptions, 'praesepe' has the specific meaning of the receptacle from which stabled beasts eat fodder, i.e., a manger. The Lyon adaptor translates *praesepe* as 'creche' and Caxton as 'Crybbe', envisioned within the stable. The importance and conception of the stable as well as the *praesepe*, and along with them the presence of an ox and an ass, developed largely through interpretations derived ultimately from two apocryphal texts, the *Protevangelium* and the *Book of Pseudo-Matthew*. The *Protevangelium*, first known as the *Book of James*, that is, Joseph's son James, is a composition in Greek that had circulated since the second century. The *Protevangelium* fills in

gaps in the accepted scriptural accounts as it tells of Mary's birth to Anne and Joachim and her childhood, expands the brief stories of Christ's birth, and elaborates on subsequent episodes in his childhood. The *Book of Pseudo-Matthew* is an eighth- or ninth-century Latin composition, which builds on the *Protevangelium*.

According to the *Protevangelium*, when Mary and Joseph approach Bethlehem, Mary announces that she must get down from the ass she is riding, led by Joseph's son, for '"the child within me presses me, to come forth"', and so Joseph finds her a cave there.[47] After the birth in the cave and the visit of the magi, when Mary hears of Herod's decree to slay the children, she 'took the child and wrapped him in swaddling clothes and laid him in an ox-manger' (§22.2), evidently farther recessed, thus explaining the manger in Luke 2.7 and 16, and perhaps implying the ass and the ox. *Pseudo-Matthew* links the ox and the ass with the Isaiah 1.3 prophecy, also recorded in the account of Paula's experience, but makes them living beasts in a stable set outside the cave. Hence, after the birth, when Mary 'went out of the cave, and entering a stable, placed the child in the manger', the ox and ass kneeled and 'adored' the child.[48] Mary's placement of the baby in the manger in the *Protevangelium* gives rise to the move out of the cave to a stable in *Pseudo-Matthew* and subsequently to the stable setting featured in pictures and retellings of the Nativity, especially during the fifteenth century, when its typical look is that of an open-sided, small, wooden structure roofed by straw or reed thatch and the manger (Lyon's crèche, Caxton's crib) as a trough holding hay for the ass and ox.

As beguiling as it is complex, the third Lyon-Caxton revision to the Nativity sketch indicates a cultural change in both Nativity traditions and Marian devotion: the addition of Mary's active involvement with her newborn. Whereas Paula in the Latin memoir sees the swaddled child in the manger and then the virgin, in Lyon-Caxton she sees Mary herself wrapping him: 'she beganne to be in contemplaycon / and remembred how the chylde was layed and wrapped in lytyll clothes by his blessyd moder [Lyon: 'elle se print a contempler come se lenfant y eust che en petis drapeeaux ennclope de sa benoite mere']'. To the sight of this maternal act, Lyon-Caxton adds that Paula, as if she had been there, then saw Mary draw out her breast to feed the infant: '¶ And lyke as she had be there drawynge oute her pappes or teetes to gyue hym souke / [et come fil eust estre illec tyrant la mamelle comme ses petiz enfant]' (de Worde fol. lvi[a]; Philippe sig. f ii[b]). The addition of Mary's acts of swaddling and nursing the Christ child arises from the convergence of two, long lines of attention to Mary with her son. One

concerns the Nativity as an event in accounts of the 'infancy cycle' of the life of Christ, such as those in the *Protevangelium* and *Pseudo-Matthew*. In Luke 2.7, Mary swaddles her son (*pannis eum inuoluit*), which is echoed by the *Pseudo-Matthew* account in which Mary wraps him before re-locating to the manger. Luke does not mention breastfeeding. However, in the *Protevangelium*, after Mary gives birth and the light recedes, the child 'went and took the breast of its mother Mary', while in the *Pseudo-Matthew*, the midwife Zelomi, after verifying by touch that Mary's hymen is intact, is amazed that 'any one should have her breasts full of milk, and that the birth of a son should show his mother to be a virgin' (§13). Yet, despite the *Protevangelium* and *Pseudo-Matthew*, retellings do not routinely include the milk-filled breasts of the newly delivered virgin mother and, apart from a very few exceptions, neither do visual representations. The other line of attention concerns the meaning of the Mother of God, or the Virgin, in incarnation theology and salvation history. In this regard, Mary is seen as an intercessor with special access to her son; it is among verbal and visual images of Mary in this role in Europe and Britain that her lactating breast tends to appear.

The Nativity Mary becomes associated with the lactating Mary (*Maria lactans*) in two texts that changed the iconography of the Nativity in the fifteenth century: the aforementioned *Meditations on the Life of Christ*, and a late-fourteenth-century account of a revelation received by Bridget of Sweden. The Nativity in the Lyon-Caxton life of Paula has common ground with both works. The topic of lactation as a Nativity element has had little notice in Marian scholarship. Therefore, to appreciate the cultural import of the Lyon-Caxton amplification of the Nativity sketch, it will be helpful first to summarize traditions of the Nativity and *Maria lactans* relevant to their eventual association in the *Meditations* and Bridget's revelation and then to see how this convergence is manifested in Lyon-Caxton.

The Traditional Nativity: Mary Reclines on the Childbed

The earliest extant visual depiction of the Nativity did not become the standard scene for this event. The earliest known picture is a fresco in Rome dated by Fabrizio Bisconti, 'according to the latest restorations', to 230-40.[49] It is located in a niche of the central 'arenaria' in the underground communal cemetery (catacomb) associated with the shrine of Priscilla on the Via Salaria in the northeast suburb of Rome.[50] This fresco depicts Mary clasping her tiny boy to the

right side of her bosom, apparently nursing him; overhead is a large, golden, circular shape among some smaller ones, presumably the star that led the magi, and to Mary's right stands a prophet, identifiable by his headgear, who may be, according to Bisconti, 'Balaam, or Isais' (quoted in the Paula memoir) or even a 'generic personification of prophecy'. It is the conjunction of a maternal image with a prophet that signifies the Nativity. According to Bisconti, the two 'iconographic tendencies' in early catacomb decoration are truncated scenes of biblical events, i.e., vignettes, and cryptic symbols. The Madonna painting belongs to the symbolic mode, not the vignette. In the juxtaposition of prophet and Madonna, Bisconti explains, the 'Old and New Testament come into intimate contact to stress the cohesion between the two Testament traditions'.[51] As we have seen in Jerome's account, that 'intimate contact' informs Paula's vision in Bethlehem. This symbolic mode of depicting the Nativity, however, was not perpetuated in other representations of the birth of Christ.

Rather, from the late sixth century onward through the fourteenth, Nativities are vignettes that consistently depict Mary reclining on a cushioned bed, a fully swaddled child in a box, and Joseph pensive and marginalized; frequently, an ox and an ass appear. Among eastern examples, such a scene is painted on one panel on a pilgrim box from Palestine dated to the late-sixth/early-seventh century. Each panel signifies by its picture a place visited by the pilgrim. Accordingly, the Nativity panel, which sets the scene within a round cavern into which a star shines, indicates Bethlehem.[52] An early instance among western representations lies in an illuminated prayer-book probably made in the north of England and bearing the date 867. The picture shows Mary, totally covered up, lying with her head on a pillow; a four-rayed star in the upper right shines over the heads of the ass and ox, under which is the tightly wrapped child in a manger; in profile at the foot of the manger is Joseph.[53] The ensemble tendency we saw in Paula's vision is evident in the five compartments painted on a page in a prayer-book made in Bohemia, c.1215, probably for Princess Agnes of Bohemia. In the upper left one, Mary reclines, fully dressed and turned on her right side; her right hand touches her head while her left extends over the wrapped-up infant in the manger, above which are the benign heads of an ox and an ass separated by a star. Joseph leaning on a cane sits between the right edge of the manger and the foot of Mary's bed. The German inscription above this scene says, 'Hie ist unser herre geborn' (here our lord is born). The following scenes are the announcement to the shepherds, the visit of the three kings, the flight into Egypt, and the slaughter of the innocents.[54] In the illustrations of the Nativity for Prime in the hours of the

virgin in prayer-books called *horae*, which were produced in the thousands primarily for the laity, the traditional configuration with a reclining, non-nursing Mary is regularly seen into the early years of the fifteenth century. An example comes from a *hora* made *c.*1415-25 in the Netherlands: under the roof of the stable, Mary, propped up on her bed, steadies the half-draped infant kneeling on her lap, his face turned towards her, his arms stretched towards a cloth offered by a female attendant; the ass and the ox peer over the manger behind her, while in the lower right corner, Joseph warms another cloth at a hearth fire in a mini-scene distancing him from the central image of Mary and son on her bed.[55]

The traditional configuration of the Nativity is also seen in fourteenth-century illustrations for legendaries arranged by the liturgical calendar, such as the *Golden Legend*, where the Nativity of the Lord is also standard. The *Golden Legend* text for the 'Birth of Our Lord Jesus Christ' consists of various exegetical commentaries but also weaves in the story of the Nativity as embellished, in part, by a version of apocryphal *Pseudo-Matthew*, which Jacobus refers to as the *Book of the Infancy of the Saviour* that a certain 'Brother Bartholomew' drew upon in his 'compilation'.[56] The Jacobus chapter does not lend itself to illustration specific to it, for the details are distributed over several sections rather than told in a consecutive scenario resembling the apocryphal stories, and the standard elements of the childbed, swaddling, and whereabouts of Joseph during the birth go unmentioned in the text. For illustrators, however, it was sufficient to signify the subject to readers by the traditional image of the Nativity in which those latter elements had their entrenched part. Hence, for example, in a *Légende dorée* produced in 1375 for Charles of Anjou (London, British Library, Additional MS 16907), the miniature depicts Mary lying on one side, resting her head on one hand, the swaddled child in a bed behind her, and Joseph to the side, his head on his arm. A *Légende dorée* made in 1382 (London, British Library, Royal MS 19 B.xxii, fol. 21ᵛ), which came into the possession of William FitzAlan, Ninth Earl of Arundel, the patron of Caxton's English *Legenda Aurea*,[57] pictures the ox and the ass, Joseph kneeling to the side, and Mary lying on a bed but holding the swaddled child.

As forecast, the Virgin's breastfeeding does not become a regular motif in Nativities, even in those depicting the midwives inherited from the *Protevangelium*, in which the first midwife sees Mary nursing her newborn and the *Pseudo-Matthew*, in which she notes aloud Mary's lactation.[58] In fact, the *Golden Legend* leaves out that part of the pronouncement by Zebel (as she is called there), as do other texts dependent on the *Golden Legend*. An instance is

the English Nativity day sermon by John Mirk, abbot of a house of Augustinian Canons at Lilleshalle in Shropshire. It occurs in the collection he composed about 1400 known as the *Festial*, which was circulated in more than one version in manuscript and eventually published by Caxton, de Worde, and the Oxford printer Theodoric Rood. In this sermon, the midwives do not show up until Mary has already 'lappid þat lovely lorde in hir clothes, and layde hym in the crybbe and maungere before þe oxe and þe asse'. Thebell (as her name is construed), therefore, does not observe the miraculous lactation; rather, she sees a newly delivered virgin mother 'withoute payne',[59] a point also emphasized in the *Meditations* and Bridget's revelation, as we will see.

Mary the Intercessor: Theotokos Hodegetria and Maria Iactans

Robin Cormack concludes from written sources that 'at least by 400, Christians were familiar with an environment of portraits of saints and of Mary, both in churches and in other structures built for the commemoration of saints and of Mary'.[60] After the Council of Ephesus ruled in 431 that Mary was Theotokos (the one who gave birth to the one who became God),[61] portraits of the Mother of God holding her infant to her chest or on her lap are found in several media spread through a wide geographical range. In these, the Christ child raises one hand in the gesture of blessing and holds a decree in the other, while Mary's open right hand points to or rests on him. In this pose, the Theotokos is known as Panagia or more generally Hodegetria, a phrase referring to her son as the 'one who shows the way'. Known as icons, the earliest extant portraits on panels of Mary in this pose date to the sixth and seventh centuries;[62] they are reputed to be copies from a painting by the evangelist Luke of the living Mary with her infant son.[63] Besides panels, Theotokos Panagia, for instance, is to be seen painted as a fresco of *c.*528 in the Catacomb of Commodilla in Rome and carved on a mid-sixth-century ivory diptych made in Constantinople for liturgical memorials.[64] A mosaic of a standing Theotokos Hodegetria made in the second half of the seventh century decorates the apse of a church in Cyprus.[65] At what may be the same time as this mosaic, an accomplished painter rendered a seated Mary cradling her son in a mural on a half column to the right of the entrance to the sanctuary of the Church of the Holy Virgin Mary at the Monastery of the Syrians in Egypt; in this recently uncovered picture, however, the composition differs, for Mary's left hand directs her full breast to the child's mouth, thus providing an early eastern image of *Maria*

lactans.[66] A seated *Maria lactans* is also depicted on a small limestone slab of the fourth-fifth century from the Fayum district, south from the Monastery of the Syrians: sitting on a folding stool, Mary holds her round right breast to her infant. This depiction is similar to one in a third-century wall painting from a house in Karanis, located in the same district, in which a seated Isis holds her right breast above her little son, Horus, who sits squarely on her lap, facing the viewers. The presence of Christians in the geographical areas in which Isis was worshipped until the end of the third century is well recognized, as is the possibility that the motif of Isis holding Horus influenced that of Mary holding her son.[67] Whether the simple Fayum stele and the elegant mural of the monastery made some two or more centuries later can be connected as remnants of an early tradition of *Maria lactans* adopted from Isis iconography has yet to be explored.

It is the non-nursing pose of Theotokos Hodegetria, or Panagia, that presents Mary as a figure of intercession and that characterizes her portrayal before and after the Iconoclast Controversy (726-842). As Bishop Photius declares in the ninth century when describing the Luke icon, Mary is 'a virgin mother carrying in her pure arms, for the common salvation of our kind, the common Creator reclining as an infant'.[68] That is, Theotokos Hodegetria intercedes with her son for 'our kind'. When images were returned to the church after having been 'scraped off', as Photius says in a sermon referring to a mosaic Theotokos Hodegretia newly made about 867 for St Sophia,[69] this representation of the intercessory Mary was perpetuated in decorative and devotional programmes passed on within Byzantium and to such places as Rome, Sicily, and northern Italy. The basic similarity of poses and scenes in these Byzantine programmes is due to respect for repetition as a way to project 'unchanging truths' and to a certain degree of church regulation to ensure tradition after the Iconoclast period.[70] If *Maria lactans* had not become recognized as a traditional subject, it would not be reiterated.

Like those Byzantine representations in which the Mother of God bears her son to us, images in various media, stories, and prayers to Mary represent her intercessory role throughout the medieval period without any reference to lactation. For instance, in the previously discussed prayer to Mary called 'Obsecro te', which is a regular element in *horae*, the petitioner asks 'Mary, holy lady, mother of God, most full of pity [. . .] fountain of pity' for help first by referring to the 'joys' and the 'sorrows' associated with her role in the incarnation and then by beseeching her to secure from 'your esteemed son the fullness of all mercy and consolation' and, to sum up the detailed list, salvation, peace, and prosperity in

every way.[71] In the 'Obsecro te' prayer, which a broad band of people knew, Mary's intercessory role is compelling. But fountain though she is, in this prayer it is not a breast brimful of milk that conveys her capacity to secure her son's aid on behalf of the petitioner. In illustrated *horae*, a Madonna miniature, alluding to the joy of Mary bearing Christ in her womb, and an owner portrait, which the first-person of 'Obsecro te' invites, are often placed at the beginning of this prayer, as Roger Wieck points out. In one such miniature, the enthroned Madonna, holding her infant son on her knee, wears a crown, a reference to another of her joys, the exaltation above angels when crowned by her son in heaven.[72] In short, *Maria lactans* is not the only image of an intercessory Mary. Rather, as the following examples will indicate, the combination of Mary's intercessory capacity with her lactation forms a distinct, if variegated, thread in Marian imagery, one pertaining to the Lyon *mamelle* and Caxton *pappe* in Paula's Nativity vision.

The Virgin's womb seems to be the part of her anatomy that most interested early writers—how the chosen Virgin conceived and what the womb was like while she was pregnant with God—but the Virgin's miraculous breast milk is sometimes linked with her virginal womb. An instance is 'Ave generosa', addressed to the 'untouched maid' (*intacta puella*), which Hildegard of Bingen composed during the 1150s for the Benedictine sisters to perform during the services in the monastery of Rupertsberg. In the fourth verse of this hymn, we hear 'O most beautiful and most tender / how greatly God delighted in you / when he set / the embrace of his warmth in you / so that his Son / took suck from you' ('ita quod Fillius eius / de te lactates est').[73] The Divine Spirit, here characterized by warmth, which entered into Mary to impregnate her (as stated in Matthew 1.20 and formulated in the Baptismal Creed of the third century), is represented in this verse as also being the force that makes her lactate at the birth of the Son. Somewhat earlier in France, in the second of four homilies on Mary for the Advent season, the Cistercian Bernard of Clairvaux similarly links womb and nursing, referring to 'nursing at her gentle breast the tender limbs of the infant God or keeping him safe within her womb'.[74] As he declares in a letter *c.* 1138-39 to the bishops of Laon, Bernard accepted completely that Mary's 'virginal fecundity' and her 'freedom from concupiscence in conceiving, and from all pain in bringing forth' were to be marvelled at and that she was to be praised as the 'mediatrix of salvation and reparatrix of the ages'.[75] Legend has it that, as a reward for Bernard's work on her behalf, the Virgin expressed a stream of milk from her breast into his mouth; a fifteenth-century Flemish painting of this apocryphal story shows her cradling her infant with her right hand and pressing the fingers of

her left hand next to the nipple on the exposed round ball of her right breast from which milk jets over the baby's head into Bernard's lips.[76] But Bernard is truly more intrigued by Mary's womb than her lactation. His very first vision, as a young novice waiting for the night office at Christmas, was that of the birth of Christ: 'The infant Word, fairer than all the sons of men, appeared before Bernard's eyes as though being born again from the womb of the Virgin Mother'.[77] Even in his homilies on Mary, Bernard does not develop Mary's role as *mediatrix* through her ability and willingness to breastfeed the infant God.

For that idea and imagery, we take an early example from Anselm, who was a monk and then prior of the Benedictine abbey of Notre Dame of Bec in Normandy before becoming Archbishop of Canterbury in 1093-1109. As Benedicta Ward points out, Anselm's Mary stands in the tradition of the Theotokos figure we have tracked.[78] In two of his three verse prayers to Mary, she is a commanding figure who must be solicited. For example, in 'Prayer to St Mary when the mind is anxious with fear', Anselm asks 'Who can more easily gain pardon for the accused / by her intercession, / than she who gave milk to him / who justly punishes or mercifully pardons all and each one?' (p. 110, ll. 25-28). In the penultimate verse of 'Prayer to St Mary to ask for her and Christ's love', he asks 'Mother of our lover who carried him in her womb / and was willing to give him milk at her breast— / are you not able or are you unwilling to grant your love to those who ask it?' (p. 126, ll. 359-61). Anselm sent these prayers to the monk Gundolf at Caen, advising 'meditating on them, since that is what they are meant for', so the reader will be 'pierced by contrition, or by love, through which we reach a concern for heavenly things' (p. 106).

The nourishment provided by Mary's milk is the central symbol of an account of a vision about salvation history experienced by the Beguine Mechthild of Magdeburg, which she relayed in Book I of the *Flowing Light of the Godhead*, composed in her native Middle Low German. This account was edited by a Dominican friar, Heinrich Halle, and translated into Latin probably by other Dominicans at the end of the thirteenth century. In a dialogue with the Soul, the Virgin Mary explains that after God chose her to be his bride and the Son to be his mother, 'my breasts became so full of the pure, spotless milk of true, generous mercy' that she 'suckled' the wise men and prophets before the Son's birth, then suckled Jesus, then suckled Holy Church under the Cross but from that became dry, and was reinvigorated from his life-giving wounds: 'Both his wounds and her breasts were open / The wounds poured forth. / The breasts flowed'. At the end of Mary's teaching, Mechthild comments that on the Last Day 'God's children—and

your children—are weaned and fully grown for eternal life. Then shall we know [. . .] the milk and even the breasts themselves, which Jesus so often kissed'.[79] We will see again this association of the blood of Christ's wounds with the breast milk of redemption.

In line with Mary's role as 'mediatrix of salvation and reparatrix of the ages' and as a personification of the Church itself, which Mechthild conveys, are images of merciful crowned Madonnas who are lactating. Starting in the earlier fourteenth century, for instance, parishioners at Fladbury in Worcestershire could look at a roundel in the stained glass of their church and see a crowned Mary offer with her right hand her nippled, elongated breast to the Christ child she holds.[80] In the quadripartite frontispiece for FitzAlan's 1382 *Légende dorée* (BL, Royal MS 19 B. xvii, fol. 5), the lower right scene depicts Christ on an arc, displaying his stigmata, while to the right kneel male saints, hands clasped, and to the left stands Mary, touching her breast. In the remaining three scenes, Mary is enthroned in the upper left, male saints are grouped in the upper right, and female in the lower left. All saints have an intercessory capability, as Jacobus points out in his chapter for All Saints: 'We need help in our weakness. Because we cannot obtain salvation by ourselves, we need the intercession of the saints'.[81] But Mary's especial potency is demonstrated here in the gesture to her breast, for her lactation relates to the wounds of her divine son as a co-sign of their shared humanity—milk and blood, which are also, then, the liquids of redemption. We see Mary's breast explicitly in this regard in a miniature of the Last Judgment for the Mass of the Dead in the previously mentioned *hora* made for Catherine of Cleves. Here too Christ, his bleeding wounds visible, is seated on an arc. In the bottom foreground, the naked dead who are being resurrected emerge from winding sheets, coffins, and crevices in the earth. To the right, John kneels, open hands raised as he looks up at Christ. To the left, Mary kneels, a smile on her gazing face, her lifted left hand open, her right hand clutching her round ball of a breast (plate 49).

Mary's special capacity to intercede is rendered in a subset of *Maria lactans* images, known as the Madonna of Humility. In these, Mary holding her suckling child sits, not on a stool or throne, but on the ground, usually on a cushion, which is a detail associated, as we will see, with the Franciscan *Meditations*. This pose may have originated in northern Europe, but as Millard Meiss argues, it was largely developed in Siena, before spreading to other parts of Europe. Mary's 'lowly posture' on the ground combined with nursing portrays not only the 'character and power which arose from her motherhood, i.e., her role as Maria mediatrix' but also her 'inclination' to intercede.[82]

Popular forms of trusting the power of Mary's milk may be more basic in expression than Anselm's meditative metric Latin prayers and manuscript illuminations, but they too are motivated by the attitude Jacobus conveyed to his Dominican brothers and, as the *Golden Legend* was reproduced in manuscript and print, to thousands of others, lay and religious alike. For instance, Mirk's sermon about Mary's five joys illustrates the Nativity with the story of Gilbert, who was nearly dead of quinsy when our Lady came to him and 'anone she toke her / fayre pape & mylkyd on his throte & wente on her wey & anone there with he was made hole' (*Festial*, Oxford, 1486; sig. pi[v]). Recorded in the commonplace book kept by Richard Hill, a London grocer, is an English poem also organized according to the joys in Mary's life. Following the first joy, the Annunciation, that of the Nativity is alluded to in the second verse by Mary's lactation: 'Whan Jhesus, thi son, on the was bore, / Full nygh thy brest thou gan hym brace; /He sowked, he sighed, he wepte full sore. / Thou fedes the flowr that never shall fade, / Wyth maydens mylke'. In the fourth verse, the speaker petitions Mary to intercede with her son for the salvation of all humanity: 'We pray the a bone: / Before thy son for us thou fall, / and pray hym, as he was on the rode done / [. . .] That we may wone withyn that wall, / Wher ever ys well without wo. / and graunt that grace unto us all'.[83] Maiden's milk feeding the child echoes Anselm and others appealing for the life-giving liquid, while the last lines recall the idea pictured in the frontispiece to FitzAlan's *Légende dorée*.

An intercessory *Maria lactans* is the focus of the xylographic woodcut on the title page for de Worde's edition of Hilton's *Scala Perfectionis*, the year before *Vitas Patrum*. The image has a similar configuration to the 'Obsecreo te' miniature in the *hora* of *c.* 1470: an enthroned and, significantly, crowned Mary cradles the little child in her right arm, while her left hand offers a long, plump breast to his mouth. To the left, a monk kneels in petition. As Edward Hodnett observes, the short Latin prayer cut underneath is 'indecipherable', indicating that the woodcutter has copied a prototype.[84] However, the prayer refers to the 'sweet names' of Jesus and the Virgin Mary and evidently relates to the devotion to the Name of Jesus. The drawing does not represent an image in Hilton's text, but it and the little prayer are significant for the woman who commissioned de Worde to put the treatise into print: Lady Margaret Beaufort. De Worde's verses at the end reflect the asymmetrical relationship a printer (like a writer) has with his patron: 'This mighty princesse hath comaunded me / Temprynt this boke her grace for to deserue' (sig. [t 5]). Not unlike the monk supplicating Mary, the printer seeks the 'mighty princess's grace', for Lady Margaret was a patron of book producers as well as a reader and eventually a translator.

However, the title page is not about her patronage of others but about that
need for protection and help through intercession. During this period of her life,
Lady Margaret not only managed her estates prudently, cared for her dependents,
gave alms to the poor, and maintained a household with largesse, as we heard
earlier, but also observed a regimen of piety enmeshed with social duty, in which
she engaged, along with women connected to her, in regular prayer and spiritual
study.[85] Hence, she had a personal interest in Hilton's treatise on the active life, the
contemplative life, and in a small, special run of de Worde's edition for Lady
Margaret, the 'mixed life'. To give patronage to a printer, moreover, entails the
expectation that others will benefit from the multiple copies produced by print
technology. Lady Margaret evidently saw herself as someone who made important
spiritual texts available to others, through script and print. For instance, she and her
daughter-in-law, Elizabeth of York, gave a copy of this special edition of Hilton's
Scala to Mary Roos, a lady in waiting, which they inscribed and Mary signed twice
as a claim of ownership.[86] Furthermore, in the version of the *Scala* that de Worde
prints, Hilton has a section on the Name of Jesus. The cult of the Holy Name, which
had been a church-accepted practice among professional religious and lay
aristocracy in Europe since the later thirteenth century, had become instituted as a
feast day in England with the aid of Lady Margaret's patronage.[87] Lady Margaret
understood, of course, that while she was petitioned for grace, so must she petition
the Lord for succour, hence her interest in the Hilton treatise and also in prayer-
books, again not only for herself but for others. One of these is the *Fifteen Oes*, a
collection of prayers Caxton prepared for her and her daughter-in-law Elizabeth, in
1491, the year he was translating the *Vie des santz peres*. To Lady Margaret, her
associates, and all those who acquired copies of de Worde's edition of Hilton's
Scala, then, the title page presents Mary as the merciful Queen whose special
intercessory capacity is signified by breastfeeding her son with all of that act's
implications for the healing liquids of milk and blood.

The Franciscan Meditations *and Bridget's* Revelations: *Mary Kneels*

We turn now to two works that had an indelible influence on the way late-
medieval people imagined the Nativity, including the Lyon translator and Caxton.
As noted, the *Meditations on the Life of Christ* was composed in Latin prose at
the end of the thirteenth century by a Franciscan author, now generally called
'Pseudo-Bonaventure'. It circulated widely in Latin script and print, and was

translated into Italian, French, and English. Love's abridged English version, which is known as the *Mirror of the Life of Christ*, was put into print by Caxton first probably in 1486 under the Latin title *Speculum Vitae Christi* with a cycle of woodcuts imported from northern France and again probably in 1490; de Worde reissued this illustrated *Speculum* several times between 1494 and 1530. As for Bridget of Sweden, the revelations she received, after being widowed in Rome in 1350 until the end of her life in 1373, had been translated into Latin by her confessors Peter of Alvastra and Peter of Skänninge from Bridget's dictation in her native Swedish. The Nativity revelation, which is among the last, is recorded in the seventh book of a collection prepared primarily by Alphonse of Jaen *c.* 1378 in connection with Bridget's canonization. Circulation of the Latin collection was widespread during the fifteenth and earlier sixteenth centuries. Caxton and de Worde were well aware of Bridget because of their strong connections with the Brigittines at Syon as well as the *Fifteen Oes*, attributed to Bridget, which was included in the *horae* they printed. An English translation closely adhering to the Latin *Revelations* was produced *c.* 1410-20 (London, BL, MS Claudius B.i); extracts are also to be found, including one of the Nativity, in a late-fifteenth-century manuscript (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson C. 41).[88]

  In both the *Meditations* and Book 7 of Bridget's *Revelations*, the Nativity sequence builds on apocryphal versions and further invented parts that fill in the gaps of the Matthew-Luke scriptural passages. Both the extended infancy cycle in the *Meditations*, which includes a revelation of the birth, and Bridget's revelation of the Nativity are keenly visual, and both retellings, especially Bridget's, influenced a shift in Nativity iconography in visual media from the reclining Mary image to the kneeling Mary image. As we consider the re-interpretations of the Nativity in each work, we begin to see the image of *Maria lactans* combine with the image of the virgin mother, though this combination will not show up in the paintings influenced by these two texts, and we begin to recognize as well the source of the *mamelle* and *pappe* and other adjustments to the Nativity in the Lyon-Caxton adaptation of Paula's vision.

  In the *Meditations*, the narrator is a Franciscan ostensibly advising a Poor Clare on how and why to meditate on Christ's humanity, but the expectation is that what he addresses to her is meant for all women and men reading this text. As the segment on the Nativity begins, we are instructed to 'feel' emotion as we 'contemplate' the events in Christ's life. To some degree we hear Anselm in this instruction, trusting that either love or contrition will enable us to engage with heavenly things. For the Franciscan, however, emotion is aimed at gaining

empathetic understanding. The narrator incites us to 'feel compassion for Him who reached these depths of humility' in 'patiently enduring' enclosure in Mary's womb for nine months. As pregnant Mary and Joseph, leading the ox and the saddled ass from which she has dismounted, are turned away from inns, we are asked to 'have pity on the Lady', only fifteen, fatigued, ashamed.[89] As in the *Golden Legend*, Joseph 'possibly' encloses the area in which they finally rest. What happens next is given as a 'revelation' received by a 'brother of our order' (in Love's version, the revelation comes from 'our lady' to this brother): on Sunday midnight the Virgin rises and stands 'erect against a column' there. Joseph, feeling 'downcast', remains sitting, but then takes hay from the manger, places it at Mary's feet, and turns away (p. 32). 'Then the Son of God came out of the womb of the mother without a murmur or lesion, in a moment. As he had been in the womb so He was now outside, on the hay at His mother's feet' (p. 33). With details to which we will return, Mary picks the newborn up, puts him on her lap, nurses him, wraps him in her head veil, which she has removed, and lays him in the manger, where the ox and ass breathe on him, for in the words of the Caxton edition of Love's version, 'they knewen by reasyon that in that cold tyme the child so simply hiled [wrapped] had need to be warmed in that manere' (sig. [c8ᵛ]). Mary then kneels to adore the swaddled child in the manger and to give thanks in prayer, and Joseph 'adored him likewise'. Joseph then pulls the hair and wool stuffing out of the ass's saddle, and puts it beside the manger so Mary can 'rest' on it. She sits down, and turns to look on her son. The revelation ends, and the narrator tells us, 'Now you have seen the rise of the consecrated prince. You have seen likewise the delivery of the celestial queen' (pp. 34-35). With a Franciscan precept on poverty and several explanations drawn from Bernard's sermons, the narrator develops the theme of humility, and then describes 'angels coming to adore their Lord' and the shepherds likewise. Finally, we are told 'You too, who lingered so long, kneel and adore your Lord God, and then His mother, and reverently greet the saintly old Joseph'. We are to 'kiss' the baby's feet, and beg Mary to hold him. 'Pick Him up and hold Him in your arms. Gaze on His face [. . .] kiss Him' (p. 38) and then give him back to the 'mother and watch her attentively as she cares for Him assiduously and wisely, nursing Him and rendering all services, and remain to help her if you can' (p. 39).

The text's visual details, supplied to make the images memorable for contemplation and thereby encourage empathetic response, include both invented and traditional elements. Unlike *Pseudo-Matthew*, this account makes us see, through the frame of someone else's vision, the birthing itself, not the *fait*

accompli. In the reported revelation, the text follows Bernard in the day and hour of the delivery and, as the *Golden Legend* also reports, in the quick and painless process of it. The warming breath from the beasts is also reported in the *Golden Legend.* Mary's standing against the pillar to deliver, however, is unique to the revelation embedded in the *Meditations.* The narrator also makes us see some invented details after the revelation: Mary nursing and wrapping the infant on her lap, implying that she is sitting; Mary kneeling, accompanied by Joseph, in adoration of the child; and Mary sitting on the saddle stuffing (in the pose of humility). Unlike *Pseudo-Matthew*, this account has neither bright light nor midwives. Also different is Joseph's presence in the space in which the birthing takes place. While elements of the traditional Nativity iconography are kept and interpreted, such as Joseph's marginalization, the additions result in removing the traditional dominant image: there is no childbed on which Mary reclines.

The effect of these expansions and substitutions on a long entrenched way of seeing the Nativity is evident in the illustrations in a fourteenth-century manuscript of an Italian translation of the *Meditations*, made probably in Siena or Pisa (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS Ital. 115). The text is meticulously close to the Latin, except for a significant element retained from the old Nativity: resisting the text, the Italian translator locates the birth in a cave. As for the drawings, some are borrowed from other sources, but many are based on the descriptions in the text. Instructions to the miniaturist have been written. Eight pictures accompany the sequence from the way into Bethlehem to the visit of the shepherds. The third of these gives the birthing: Mary stands against an ornamented pillar, while a naked baby, his lower body wrapped by the end of the Virgin's mantle, lies on the ground next to her; Joseph is seated and looking in the opposite direction; the ox and ass stare over the manger (p. 27). The instruction says only 'Here how she gives birth' (p. 410), but clearly the painter was attentive to the details of the text. For the next picture, the instructions are, in words that echo the text, 'Here how she picks Him up, embraces Him and kisses him, then washes Him with her milk' (p. 410), but the painter does not follow these. Rather, we are given an enthroned Mary holding the swaddled child in the crook of her left arm with her right hand on his lower body, their foreheads virtually touching; the two animals again stare; and Joseph has turned towards the mother and son (p. 29, top). Nothing even hints at nursing. In the fifth illustration, which matches the text and more or less the instructions, the swaddled child lies in the manger, the two animals kneel behind it, Mary is on her knees in prayer in the left foreground along with Joseph, also kneeling and crossing his arms on his chest in reverence

(p. 29, bottom). In the sixth, the instructions indicate that the saddle is to be 'at the side of the manger, where she leaned her shoulder, the stuffing under her, and her eyes on the face of the child' (p. 410). The saddle is there, Mary's elbow propped on it not the manger, but the painter has reverted to the familiar Nativity image of Mary stretched out, the ox and ass peering over the swaddled infant in the manger, and Joseph leaning on his cane (p. 30). Much later in the narrative, after a protracted series involving the magi, another picture illustrates the 'stay in the manger', for which the instruction says that the Lady is to have the child in her arms. For this, the illustrator has imported a familiar model from other contexts, for Mary is seated, not just holding her wrapped infant, but guiding her left breast into his mouth (p. 53). And yet, the illustrator did not do so for the scene following the birth, where Mary explicitly breastfeeds her newborn. What we see, then, is that despite the text and the instructions, the painting that should have shown Mary nursing fails to do so. The illustrator, evidently unused to a Nativity scene with Mary nursing and wrapping her child, resorted to a stock form of a Madonna with a lap: enthroned and non-nursing.

The revelation of the Nativity seen by Bridget of Sweden occurs while she is in Bethlehem on a Holy Land pilgrimage during the last three years of her life. As may be expected given the ensemble effect we have noted in representations of the Nativity, the vision of the Lord's birth is followed just as in the *Meditations* by the visits of the shepherds and the three magi. The revelation takes place while Bridget is in the cave of the Nativity, but unlike the sequence Paula sees, the one Bridget sees is shown to her by Mary. Bridget sees the Virgin dressed in white, her swollen womb indicating imminent delivery. With her are a dignified, old man (Joseph), an ox, and an ass; the Virgin and old man take the beasts into a cave with them, tying them to the manger. The old man goes out to fetch a candle, which he affixes to the wall, and then leaves Mary in privacy to give birth. She takes off her shoes and mantle and removes the veil from her head, revealing hair like gold spread over her shoulders. She then brings out several cloths she has prepared in which to wrap the child. Having readied herself, Mary kneels facing east, back to the manger, hands uplifted, eyes heavenward, rapt in contemplation. Suddenly, Bridget sees something move in the womb and in the 'twinkling of an eye' the son is born, giving off so much splendid brightness that the light of the candle left by Joseph is annihilated. The manner of birth is so quick that Bridget is unable to discern 'in what member [Mary] was giving birth'. But there lay the infant on the earth, 'naked and glowing' and completely clean; angels had already taken care of the afterbirth.[90] To the joyful singing of angels, Bridget sees Mary's

womb retract as it was before she conceived. When Mary, still on her knees, realizes she has given birth, she bows her head and joins her hands to pay reverence to the newborn. Eventually, after taking the chilled infant to her breast—a scene we will return to—pinching off the umbilical cord, and swaddling him limb by limb with the wool and linen cloths she had prepared, Mary together with Joseph, who has returned and 'adored the child on bended knee', places the child in the manger, and 'on bended knee they continued to adore him' (Kezel, p. 204). Visits by the shepherds and then by the magi ensue, and Mary also re-appears to Bridget to teach her the humility to be seen in the circumstances of Mary and her son at the time of the birth and now their triumph in heaven.

In the text of the revelations concerning the Nativity, Bridget emphasizes not the event or the *fait accompli* but, like the *Meditations*, the manner in which Mary gave birth. This emphasis is anticipated in Book 7 chapter one (Ellis, p. 482) and underscored in a second revelation in Bethlehem right after the Nativity, when Mary insists that 'I did als I haue now shewed vnto þe, for when I was alone, knelinge on mi knees in þe stabill, I was deliured with grete gladshipe and withouten helpe of ertheli creature' (Ellis, p. 487). The Latin adds, 'But at once I wrapped him in the small clean clothes that I had prepared long before' (Kezel, p. 204). As in the *Meditations*, the emphasis on Mary's feeling no pain accords with Bernard's pronouncement to the canons of Laon in which he defines the virginal link between conceiving and birthing: 'extol her freedom from concupiscence in conceiving, and from all pain in bringing forth' (p. xv), and in Advent Homily II that she 'conceived undefiled [. . .] and unspoiled she gave birth'; she had to be 'stainless, because he was to wipe away all our stain' (p. 15 [§1]). The other details of the manner fill in a gap both in *Pseudo-Matthew* and Bernard's vision, but they also explicitly correct the impression, as Mary says to Bridget in the Latin version, that 'my son was born in the common manner' (Kezel, p. 204). Bridget, familiar as this mother of eight was with giving birth, mystified certain realities that she added—angels had cleaned the child and made the uterus retract. Other details, namely, the kneeling position, must be correcting as well the Franciscan's interpretation in the *Meditations* in which the Virgin stands erect against the pillar. As Anthony Butkovich points out, the bended knee in prayer may be viewed as making the birth more mystical than the pillar does.[91]

Paintings of Bridget's vision of the Nativity sprang up in first in Naples,[92] where she had been venerated as a saint even before she was canonized in 1391, and then Florence and Siena.[93] The Naples picture has not been recovered, but the oldest of the three others, by Niccolo di Tommaso, shows a rocky grotto with two

angels on either side looking down at the scene filling the space. To the left, the ox and ass crouch, heads up over the manger. Enveloped in a glowing mandorla, Mary, her long hair loose, kneels, clasping her hands and stretching her arms towards the naked child near her feet. The mandorla surrounding him shines with the mystical light. To the right stands Joseph in the reverential pose of crossing his forearms on his chest and looking down. Here and in the other paintings, the manner of the birth is obliquely referenced by Mary's kneeling pose. In the text, Mary has sat down, put the newborn on her lap, refreshed him at her breast, and wrapped him before Joseph returns. But the moment crystallized in the Italian paintings, and in the many to follow this new iconography, blends her first sight of the naked radiant child on the ground with the later moment in which both human parents kneel in reverence to him. The placement on the ground and the infant's nakedness, juxtaposed with the mandorla, are reminders of the incarnated Lord's needs.

Influenced by the *Meditations* or Bridget's Revelation, the kneeling Mary pose reached *horae* by the second decade of the fifteenth century. For instance, it may be seen in the Bedford *hora* made in Paris in 1423 and about the same time in Jean, Duke of Berry's latest *hora*, the *Très Riches Heures*.[94] In the Cleves *hora*, Vespers in the Hours of the Virgin is illustrated with a specifically Brigittine Nativity. Mary, golden hair uncovered and hands outstretched, inclines over the naked child lying on a white cloth outside the stable, while Joseph kneels on his other side, a lighted taper in hand. A glowing yellow light fills the sky under a rayed half-globe of gold and illuminates the grassy hill in the background on which sheep graze near the shepherds kneeling before the angel, and falls onto the thatched roof of the stable, in which an ox is visible, and brightens the ground all around Mary, the child, and Joseph (plate 12). Nativities for Prime in four different *horae* all produced in Rouen around 1470 carry slight variations on the Cleves pattern.[95] Around 1480 men and women attending services at the church in East Harling, Norfolk, would see the new Nativity iconography in the window of Mary's Joys and Sorrows: loose, fair hair under her crown, hands upraised, Mary kneels over the unclothed baby in a shining mandorla lying in a hay-filled manger over which the ox's head leans, while the star's rays beam upon the bright child; Joseph appears to be on the right, and two nuns stand witness behind the manger.[96]

As the Rouen examples indicate, the tendency to replicate scenes through the use of shared pattern pages in books manufactured in great number, as *horae* were, helped disseminate the kneeling Mary tradition of the Nativity, so not surprisingly, this iconography entered the woodcut repertory of printers. In the

Legenda Aurea that Caxton compiled, translated, and first printed in 1483 or 1484, the double-column drawings for the life of Christ have been grouped together at the opening of the volume, beginning with the Nativity of Our Lord. This scene presents the familiar motifs of Joseph sitting on a stool by the hearth and the infant Christ lying in a manger, near the ox and ass; but the Virgin is kneeling, and although the woodcut is unpainted, the presence of light is conveyed by the rays of the star coming through the roof of the stable. Similar renditions occur, for instance, in the single-column, in-text woodcuts in the French *Golden Legend* published by the Paris Dupre in 1483 and 1489, in which Joseph leans on his cane and the child lies in a radiance, and the Lyon edition by Mathias Huss and Pierre Hongre in 1490. The new Nativity iconography is also used in the one-column woodcut that illustrates the 'Natyute of our lord Jhesu' (Part I, chapter 6) in Caxton's first edition of the *Speculum* (Love's *Mirror*). The woodcut depicts a stable over which the bright star beams through a hole in the thatched roof; on the left are the heads of the ass and ox, crouched behind a woven wicker fence; at the threshold a long-haired Mary kneels, arms stretched forward and hands clasped; the naked child lies in front of her on a cushion covered by a cloth draping from her robe, while Joseph, in the older style, leans on his staff, rather distanced from the cushioned child and his adoring mother; in the background, an angel directs an announcement to a shepherd (sig. [c 7^v]). Although this image illustrates Love's version of the *Meditations*, it is a Brigittine Nativity, as the light, Mary's hair, and overall pattern make clear. The same Nativity woodcut reappears in the subsequent editions by Caxton and de Worde. When de Worde reproduced the Caxton *Legenda Aurea* in 1493 and 1498, he replaced the double-column cut for the Nativity of Our Lord with the woodcut from the *Speculum*.[97]

The Virgin Mother's 'Pappes'

Although the earliest Italian paintings and their international progeny represent the Brigittine Nativity attentively, a significant element in the revelation as told in words is left un-pictured: the Virgin's treatment of her newborn before Joseph returns to join her in adoration. In this treatment, Bridget's text and that in the *Meditations* have marked similarities, which may suggest the influence of the *Meditations* on Bridget or her affinity with, as Butkovich says, 'Bernard's mystical religiosity' and the 'Franciscan school of piety'.[98] A close look at this part of the

Nativity in Bridget's revelation and in the *Meditations* and its counterpart in Love's *Mirror* will reveal how Lyon-Caxton came to add Mary nursing her son to Paula's vision. The similarities include each Virgin's swaddling of the child, which in Bridget's description foreshadows wrapping Christ's corpse for burial; her laying him in the manger with the ox and ass, which immediately kneel down to warm him with their breath; and her kneeling in reverence. However, the element of most concern for Paula's vision is what happens immediately after Mary sees the newborn. Bridget's version is elucidated by comparison with the description of the Nativity revealed to Mechthild of Hackborn in the Middle English *Boke of Ghostly Grace*. Mechthild's vision was first recorded by Gertrude the Great in her Latin *Liber Spiritualis Gratiae*, composed in the last decade of the thirteenth century at Helfta in eastern Germany. Helfta was a Benedictine house influenced by Bernard of Clairvaux's teaching, where both Mechthild and the younger Gertrude had grown up, been educated, and served as nuns. Mechthild's vision comes during the service at Christmas (like Bernard's). Though Bridget may not have been aware of Mechthild, their Nativity visions are similar not only in using the light from *Pseudo-Matthew* but also in describing a rapid, effortless delivery involving kneeling and the Virgin's lap and breast.

In Bridget, an act of comfort, somewhat ambiguous, takes place. After the kneeling Mary bows her head to welcome the just delivered child, he cries, 'trembling from the cold and the hardness of the pavement where he lay', and turns, reaching out his limbs and seeking 'refreshment and his mother's favour' (Kezel, p. 203). Mary picks him up and presses him 'to her breast, and with cheek and breast she warmed him with great joy and tender maternal compassion'. Does Bridget see Mary feeding or only hugging him? The English translation made *c.*1410-20, discussed earlier, also reads 'and with hir cheke and hire breste, scho warmed him with grete ioy and lykynge', yet surprisingly omits the maternal compassion (Ellis, p. 486). On the other hand, a late-fifteenth-century translator interprets this act of succour at the breast as one of feeding, giving 'pap' not 'cheek': 'and anon the blyssyd Vyrgyn hys moder ful loveyngly and reverently toke hym up into her hands and helde hym to her brest and with her pappe and her brest she made him warme wyth full grete yoye and gladness, with a moderly tender compassion' (Barrett, pp. 88-89). This translation may well be right in its understanding of the act, for suckling is conveyed by a very similar description in the *Boke of Ghostly Grace*. When Mary is 'beclepped all abowte with a lyght that come fro God', she rises at the sensation but then drops onto her knees to thank God; as she inclines her head, 'sche had sodaynlye that gloriouse child in here

lappe'.[99] Instead of giving her breast to the child, however, Mary kisses him. Mechthild, as the young nun watching the divine birth, also wants to kiss the child. Mary, holding him in her arms, takes him to her, and the 'blessede nunne' held him between her arms and with her hands 'impressede that lorde to here herte'. Later, after mass, as her vision continues, she takes him to the sisters; still leaning on Mechthild's breast, he kisses each of their hearts and 'att eche cusse, to here semynge, he sowkede full swetlye'.[100] There are three rounds in which he 'restede abowve the breste of eche of thame' and 'sowkede'. The sisters here strengthen Christ through the symbolic milk the child sucks -- their desire, goodwill, and travail in 'ghostlye excercyses'.[101] The suckled breast in Mechthild's vision and the warming pap in the late-fifteenth-century English translation of Bridget's revelation imply the image of maternal comfort readers would bring to Mary's act in the texts that say the mother took the child and warmed him at her breast.

The devout Franciscan's revelation embedded in the *Meditations* has a similar act of tender compassion, in which the 'mother stooped to pick Him up, embraced Him tenderly and, guided by the Holy Spirit, placed him in her lap and began to wash Him with her milk, her breasts filled by heaven' (Ragusa, p. 27). Love's *Mirror* skips the birthing at the pillar (apparently resisting this innovation).[102] But in accordance with Bernard's vision of the birth, the text tells that in the revelation just 'as he was conteyned in his moders wombe by the holy ghost withoute sede of man', so God's son goes 'oute of the womb withoute trauaylle or sorowe', and is suddenly at his mother's feet; then 'anone she deuotely enclynyng with souerayn ioye took hym in hir arms / and sweetly clyppyng [hugging] and kyssyng leyd hym in hyr barme [lap].and with a ful pappe as she was taught of the holy ghost wesshe hym al aboute with hir swete mylk' (sig. 8c^{r-v}). Here, as in Hildegard's hymn 'Ave generosa', we see the Holy Ghost enable Mary's lactation as well as conception of the incarnate Lord and his exit from the womb. Significantly, we also see the idea of the redemptive milk that cleanses and nourishes. Although the illustrator of that Italian manuscript resisted the instruction to draw a nursing Mary at the Nativity, in the text the *Maria lactans* of intercessory mercy merges with the virgin mother whose full pap washes the newborn Christ with her sweet milk.

The narration in both the *Meditations*, including the *Mirror* version, and Bridget's revelation recalls Bernard's 'Homily II' on the Nativity in which the incarnation is conveyed as a paradox in which God is 'suckling but giving bread to angels' and 'crying, but comforting the unhappy', and 'called a prophet mighty in deed and word, but even when his mother was nursing at her gentle breast the

tender limbs of the infant God or keeping him safe within her womb' (pp. 21-22 §9). In both the *Meditations* and Bridget, compassion matters. To Albert Ryle Kezel, commenting on Bridget's portrayal of Mary comforting her newborn at her breast with 'tender maternal compassion', the Latin word 'compassione' points to the 'thought of Good Friday and the traditional image of Our Lady of Pity'.[103] But, surely, to many readers, the full pap also evokes the Mary who will ask her wounded son for mercy on them.

Like the Mary in the revelations received by Bridget and by the devout brother in the *Meditations*, the Mary in the *Protevangelium*, and the Mary in Luke 2.7, the mother in the Lyon-Caxton interpretation of Paula's vision of the Nativity wraps her infant herself, and like the brother's mother and Bridget's—implicitly or explicitly—Lyon-Caxton's mother suckles him. Of the two descriptions, the one in the *Meditations* is closer to Lyon-Caxton, especially in that the adaptation has deleted 'wailing' from Paula's report. It may well be, then, that textual familiarity, directly recalled or indirectly absorbed, supercedes pictorial to prompt the Lyon-Caxton addition of that deceptively naturalistic detail of breastfeeding to Paula's vision, and that it is the *Meditations* that particularly colours the rendition.

A pocket of ambiguity in the Latin memoir invites this revision. After describing the infant, the three magi and the star overhead, Paula refers to 'matrem uirginem' and 'nutricium sedulum', and then the shepherds. In Luke 2.6-7, Joseph is not mentioned, only Mary, 'who gave birth to her first-born son and wrapped him in swaddling cloths and laid him in a manger' ('ut pareret et peperit filium primogenitum et pannis eum inuoluit et reclinauit eum in praesepio'). Moreover, the visit by the magi described in Matthew 2.11 mentions only the 'young child and Mary his mother' ('puerum cum maria matre eius'), whereas the shepherds described in Luke 2.16 'found Mary and Joseph and the infant placed in a manger' ('inuenerunt mariam et ioseph et infantum positum in praesepio'). Although *nutricius*, meaning foster-father, logically refers to Joseph, it is possible not to see him in the sequence Paula gives, connecting Luke 2.7 and Matthew 2.11 as she moves from child to magi to mother. In fact, in his translation of Paula's vision, Aubrey Stewart gives not 'foster-father', as S. L. Greenslade and Wilkinson do, but the 'careful nursing'.[104] Lyon-Caxton's removal of Joseph may result from a similar interpretation of *nutricium sedulum* and the assumption that it is the virgin mother caring for her child, as Luke 2.7 describes. With the mother of the *Meditations* in mind, Paula's description readily summons up an image of 'his blessyde moder' not only swaddling but also suckling the child. In de Worde's edition, the account describing Paula's visit to the 'holy crosse.wheron oure lorde

was crucyfyed for the Redempcyon of mankynde' where 'many teeres she lete there thenne falle' (fol. lv^{vb}) occurs in the second column of the page, which fortuitously faces the account describing her visit to the place of the Lord's birth (fol. lvi^a). In the Mellon copy, the significance of these accounts is highlighted by the dark ink and orange crayon lines drawn alongside each. Furthermore, the word 'passion' is added to the inner margin to name the event of the Lord's death; just so, the word added to the inner margin next to the beginning of Paula's contemplation of the 'blessyd moder' wrapping her newborn and drawing out her 'pappes or teetes to gyue hym souke' names the event of his birth, 'natevete'.

When the Lyon-Caxton version of Paula's visionary experience in Bethlehem is considered within the long history of ways of reading the Nativity, filling in gaps in the biblical story of Mary, and giving popular, theological, and iconographic attention to the body of the Mother of God, we see that the changes made by Lyon-Caxton to the memoir's account result in a wider focus on Mary, bring out maternal compassion, and emphasize the Mother of God's intercessory role as it became signified by her lactating breast. In Jerome's memoir, Paula's Bethlehem experience stresses the fulfillment of prophecy regarding the incarnation of the divine son and Paula's pledge to serve her saviour, lighting a metaphorical lamp under the basilica's sanctuary in the cave of that saviour's birth, a holy place in which to meditate on the mystery of the incarnation. In Lyon-Caxton, the 'intimate contact' of Old and New Testaments is diluted. Instead, in the homely stable, another intimate contact, that of the mother's hand clothing her newborn and bringing forth her pap to feed him, communicates tender love in hard times.

In the adjustments to Paula's anti-materialist acts and to her experience in the Bethlehem cave of the Nativity, the Lyon adaptor and Caxton in agreement re-present Paula for their times. In their revision, Paula demonstrates the 'ryght grete vertues' of selfless almsgiving and holy service inspired by the Virgin Mother's tender care for the baby come to redeem our kind. Jerome's durable monument to Paula accommodates the respectful deletions and additions that shape, and thereby perpetuate, the memoir for the readers of Philippe's *Vie des saintz peres* and de Worde's *Vitas Patrum*.

NOTES

[1] Jerome's *Vita Sancte Paulae* is BHL (Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina) 6548.The translation here is by S. L. Greenslade, 'Paula the Elder', in *Handmaids of the Lord: Contemporary Descriptions of Feminine Asceticism in the First Six Christian Centuries*, ed. by Joan M. Petersen (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1996), pp. 122-67 (p. 160). Greenslade will serve for some longer quotations from the memoir of Paula, although in several cases I have supplied a more literal translation of my own or one based on Greenslade along with two or three other translations. The Latin text used is 'CVIII Epitaphium Sanctae Paulae', *Epistulae*, ed. by Isidorus Hilberg (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie, 1916), pp. 306-51. I have checked the details in Hilberg against the life of Paula in Anton Koberger's edition called in the colophon *vitaspatrum* (Nuremberg, 19 May 1478), the source-text for the French translation used by Caxton. By convention, I will cite Hilberg by paragraph number, here ¶33 exegi monumentum aere perenninus, quod nulla destruere possit uetustas. Henceforth, short quotations from Hilberg will be incorporated into the text without further identification.

[2] For this essay, the copy of Koberger in use is Oxford, Bodleian Library Auct. I Q inf. 2. 19; the copy of Philippe is Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Mitterand, Res H 366; the copy of the Paris Dupre is the one in the British Library; and the copy of de Worde is the one in the Center for British Art, Yale University, New Haven, CT. Quotations from these and other incunables will be cited in the text by printed folio number when given or signature number when not. In quotations from de Worde's *Vitas Patrum*, I have silently corrected *n* when *u* is meant, and given the punctuation used there, namely, point, virgule, and because it is often used judiciously, the paragraph mark.

[3] Greenslade, 'Paula the Elder', pp. 151, 154.

[4] The information I give comes firsthand from my research for a larger project on Paula and the presence of women in the world of *vitas patrum*.

[5] Several printers reproduced Koberger's text, including Philippe and Rinehart. The use of the printers' monogram device places it in the years 1483-87; thus, their Latin edition may have emerged by 1485, before the French version. Some slight differences between Koberger's text and Philippe and Rinehart's suggest that the Lyon translator used Koberger directly.

[6] On the location of the book trade in Lyon, see Christopher de Hamel, *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts*, 2nd edn (London: Phaidon Press, 1994), p. 198.

[7]   On Caxton's oeuvre, see George Painter, 'Chronological List of Caxton's Editions', in *William Caxton: A Quincentenary Biography of England's First Printer* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1976), pp. 211-15. For de Worde's productions, my basic source is a printout from the British Library updating H. S. Bennett, 'Handlist of Publications by Wynkyn de Worde, 1492-1535', in *English Books and Readers 1475-1557* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1952), pp. 242-76. Information on Koberger's productions comes from the *Catalogue of Books Printed in the Fifteenth Century Now in the British Museum*, Part II Germany, Eltvil-Trier (London: British Museum, 1912), pp. ix-xvii. Information on the Lyon Dupre and on Philippe and Reinhart comes from the British Museum *Catalogue*, Part VIII (1949), pp. xlvi-xlvii, lv; specifically on the *Légende dorée* from Brenda Dunn-Lardeau, 'Fifteenth and Sixteenth-Century Editions of the *Légende dorée*', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 47 (1985), 87-110 (pp. 88-89, # 3, 4, and 7); and on Caxton's use of Philippe and Rinehart's *Ésope* from Painter, pp. 138-39.

[8]   A tiny *n* is often discernible at the beginning of an ink squiggle; besides abbreviated 'no*ta* be*ne*' together, often just *n* or 'no*ta*' or just 'be*ne*' occurs; in a few places 'nota valde bene' is written (e.g., fol. CCCxvi^v outer margin). For present purposes I will refer to all of the abbreviations as *nota bene*.

[9]   *Fifty-Five Books Printed Before 1525 Representing the Works of England's First Printers: An Exhibition from the Collection of Paul Mellon* (New York: Grolier Club, 1968), p. 23. The top of a loop drawn in crayon in an upper margin (fol. lxxxxiii^v) indicates that the crayon marks, which disappear by part five, were made before the rebinding.

[10]   *Fifty-Five Books*, p. 23.

[11]   For example, fol. v inner margin, long *r* in 'brede'; fol. vii^v outer margin, short *r* in 'hor' but inner margin, long *r* in 'cole wor[tes]'; fol. xxxii^v outer margin, short *r* in 'labor'; fol. lxvi^v outer margin, long *r* in 'byrde'; fol. lxxxxi^v outer margin, long *r* in 'trees'; fol. Cviiii^v outer margin, long *r* in 'mare' and inner margin, short *r* in 'a spercle' but long *r* in the rest of the phrase 'of fyre'; fol. Clxxviii outer margin, long *r* in 'labor'; fol. CCxl outer margin, short *r* in 'candel fyre'; fol. CClv^v outer margin, long *r* in 'rust' and short *r* in 'yron'; fol. CClxxii outer margin, short *r* in 'armo[r]; fol. CCCxxxvii inner margin, long *r* in 'charete'.

[12]   M. B. Parkes, *English Cursive Book Hands, 1250-1500* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), pp. xv-xvi, xx.

[13]   *English Handwriting 1400-1650: An Introductory Manual* (Ashville, NC: Pegasus Press, 1999), Plate 8 for the 1485 document; Plate 7 for the 1451 document by Worcester.

[14]   *English Cursive Book Hands*, Plate 21 iii, in which 'Brytons' has the long *r*.

[15]   See Giles E. Dawson and Laetitia Kennedy-Skipton, *Elizabethan Handwriting 1500-1650: A Manual* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, [1966]), Plate 4 warrant of 1525 in 'fully

developed secretary hand' and Plate 5 order of 1549, neither of which has a long *r*; and Plate10 letter of *c.*1565, mainly Secretary but 'contaminated by court-hand forms', including the long *r*.

[16]   Readers of Philippe's edition in France, home of the mother-house, La Grande Chartreuse, would recognize a Charterhouse monk as leading an exemplary interior life. On the Charterhouse order in England, see David Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England*, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), I, pp. 129-38.

[17]   For the book production relations among the Carthusians, Brigittine brothers and sisters, and the Caxton and de Worde presses, see my 'Margery Kempe and Wynkyn de Worde', *The Medieval Mystical Tradition in England: Exeter Symposium IV*, ed. by Marion Glasscoe (Cambridge: Brewer, 1987), pp. 26-46 (pp. 41-42 and p. 45, note 21), and Vincent Gillespie, 'Dial M for Mystic: Mystical Texts in the Library of Syon Abbey and the Spirituality of the Syon Brethren', in *The Medieval Mystical Tradition in England, Ireland and Wales: Exeter Symposium VI*, ed. by Marion Glasscoe (Woodbridge: Brewer, 1999), pp. 241-68.

[18]   The class mark of this copy is Inc. 3. J. 1. 2. (3538). Among the notes and inscriptions are 'Diesen boech hoort to hindere [Faij?] up de boter mart' (first blank page) and 'Inglissen Cartusens' beneath which 'Shene' is written in a larger hand (sig. Aaii). For the London Carthusians in Bruges after the dissolution, see Dom Lawrence Hendriks, *The London Charterhouse: Its Monks and Its Martyrs* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, 1889), pp. 277-86.

[19]   It remains to be determined whether only one reader made the verbal annotations; from time to time, the writing is smaller and more sloped than usual. However, on changes in the same scribe's script, see Parkes, *English Cursive Book Hands*, pp. xxiv-xxv.

[20]   Folios lv, lx^v, and lxi have ink lines but no visible words or *nota bene* signs.

[21]   Greenslade, 'Paula the Elder', p. 141. ¶15 usuras tribuens uersuram quoque saepe faciebat.

[22]   ¶15 et pauperem dominum pauper spiritu sequebatur reddens ei, quod acceperat, pro ipso pauper effecta.denique consecuta est, quod optabat, et in grandi aere alieno filiam dereliquit.

[23]   Greenslade, 'Paula the Elder', p. 126: she has left those dependent on her poor, but not so poor as she was herself.

[24]   The counterpart in the Latin is ¶5 quid ergo referam amplae et nobilis domus et quondam opulentissimae omnes paene diuitias in pauperes erogatas? Greenslade, 'Paula the Elder', p. 129: In what terms shall I speak of her distinguished and noble and formerly wealthy house, almost all the riches of which she spent on the poor?

[25]   Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, trans. by William Granger Ryan, 2 vols (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), I, pp. 123, 125.

[26]   See Ryan, 'Introduction', *Golden Legend*, I, pp. xiii-xviii (pp. xiii, xvii).

[27]   'Joan Buckland (d. 1462)', in *Medieval London Widows, 1300-1500*, ed. by Caroline M. Barron and Anne F. Sutton (London: Hambledon Press, 1994), pp. 113-28 (p. 119).

[28]   'Joan Buckland', in *Medieval London Widows*, p. 122.

[29]   'Joan Buckland', in *Medieval London Widows*, pp. 126-28.

[30]   *The King's Mother: Lady Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond and Derby* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 155, 158-59, 172.

[31]   *The King's Mother*, pp. 159, 167, 237.

[32]   Kay Lacey, 'Margaret Croke (d. 1491)', in *Medieval London Widows*, pp. 143-64 (pp. 160-61, 163).

[33]   'Alice Claver, Silkwoman (d. 1489)', in *Medieval London Widows*, pp. 129-42 (p. 140).

[34]   'Alice Claver, Silkwoman', in *Medieval London Widows*, pp. 140-41.

[35]   New York, Morgan Library MS M. 945; *The Hours of Catherine of Cleves* (New York: George Braziller, 1966), plate 57. Further references will be given by plate number in the text.

[36]   Brian Coe, *Stained Glass in England: 1150-1550* (London: Allen, 1981), p. 68 and plate facing p. 97.

[37]   'Obsecro Te', trans. by Roger S. Wieck, in *Painted Prayers: the Book of Hours in Medieval and Renaissance Art* (New York: Braziler, 1997), p. 87.

[38]   'House' (domus), not cave, is given in Matthew 7.11 when the wise men visit, but the Bethlehem cave is known by the second century: see John Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims: Before the Crusades* (Warminster: Aris and Philipps, 2002), p. 286.

[39]   *Jerusalem Pilgrims*, pp. 66-67.

[40]   ¶10 atque inde specum saluatoris ingrediens, postquam uidit sacrum uirginis diuersorium et stabulum, in quo agnouit bos possessorem suum et asinus praesepe domini sui, ut impleretur illud, quod in eodem propheta scriptum est: beatus, qui seminat super aquas, ubi bos et asinus calcant, me audiente iurabat cernere se fidei oculis infantem pannis inuolutum uagientem in praesepe, deum magos adorantes, stellam fulgentem desuper; matrem uirginem, nutricium sedulum, pastores nocte uenientes, ut uiderent uerbum, quod factum erat, et iam tunc euangelistae Iohannis principium dedicarent: *in principio erat uerbum et uerbum caro factum est.* paruulos interfectos, Herodem saeuientem, Ioseph et Mariam fugientes in Aegyptum.mixtisque gaudo lacrimis loquebatur: 'salue, Bethlem, domus panis, in qua natus est ille panis, qui de caelo descendit'. Translation here and in the following quotations is based on Greenslade, 'Paula the Elder', pp. 133-34; Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims*, p. 84; and Aubrey Stewart, *The Pilgrimage of the Holy Paula* (London: Adelphi, 1887), pp. 6-7. Michah 5:2-3 is the basis for the Bethlehem quotation.

[41]   Jerome's other descriptions include 'On the Perpetual Virginity of the Blessed Mary against Helvidius', in *Saint Jerome: Dogmatic and Polemical Works*, trans. by John N. Hritzu (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1965), pp. 11-43.

[42]   The passages are Psalms 109.3; Acts 13.46; Matthew 15.24; Genesis 49.10; Psalms 130.3-5, 6; and Psalms 132.6-7.

⁴³ In Psalms 132.17, the revised standard version gives 'anointed' instead of Paula's 'Christ'; in Psalms 22. 31, the revised standard version gives 'posterity' rather than Paula's 'seed'.

⁴⁴ Jerome raises both points in 'Perpetual Virginity of the Blessed Mary'.

⁴⁵ *Christian Iconography: A Study of Its Origins* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968), p. 130.

⁴⁶ Jerome, *Nouum Testamentum Domini Nostri Iesu Christi Latinue*, 2nd edn, 3 parts (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1889), part 1. Further references to the Luke and Matthew passages on the Nativity will be from this edition of Jerome's Bible.

⁴⁷ Oscar Cullman, 'The Protevangelium of James', in *New Testament Apocrypha*, rev. edn; ed. by Wilhelm Schneemelcher; trans. and ed. by R. Mcl. Wilson (Cambridge: Clarke, 1991), pp. 421-37 (p. 434 §17.3-19.2). Further references to the *Protevangelium* will be given by section number in the text.

⁴⁸ J. K. Elliott, *The Apocryphal Jesus: Legends of the Early Church* (London: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 16 §14. Further references to Elliott's translation of *Pseudo-Matthew* will be given by section in the text.

⁴⁹ Fabrizio Bisconti, 'The Decoration of Roman Catacombs', in Vincenzo Fiocchi Nicolai, Bisconti, and Danilo Mazzoleni, *The Christian Catacombs in Rome*, 2nd edn (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2002), pp. 71-145 (p. 124); Bisconti first published the findings of the latest restorations in 1996 (see note 268).

⁵⁰ Nicolai, 'The Origin and Development of Roman Catacombs', in *Christian Catacombs*, pp. 9-69 (pp. 17-18).

⁵¹ 'Decoration of Roman Catacombs', *Christian Catacombs*, p.123; fig. 140; p. 124.

⁵² John Beckwith, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art*, 2nd edn (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979), pp. 57-58; fig.141.

⁵³ Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 293-21, fol.[8ᵛ]; *La Vie de la vierge* (La Pierre-qui-Vire: Zodiaque, 1968), plate 28.

⁵⁴ New York, Morgan Library, MS M. 739, fol. 20; Wieck, *Painted Prayers*, fig.11; discussion p. 21.

⁵⁵ New York, Morgan Library, MS M.866, fol. 33ᵛ; Wieck, *Painted Prayers*, fig. 44.

⁵⁶ *Golden Legend*, I, 38.

⁵⁷ On FitzAlan as Caxton's patron, see Painter, *William Caxton*, p. 144.

⁵⁸ A thirteenth-century exception in a Nativity miniature painted in Amiens, in which Mary sits up in bed and nurses her infant while one midwife prepares a bath, may be seen in Millard Meiss, *Painting in Florence and Siena after the Black Death* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1951), fig. 157, and a somewhat later Italian panel of the Nativity, but without the midwife and bath, in fig. 159. Lactation has also been added to the otherwise traditional configuration in the Nativity painted for Prime in the Hours of the Virgin in the *hora* made

*c.*1410-20 by a Paris workshop for René of Anjou. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS lat.1156a, fol. 48; John Harthan, *Books of Hours and Their Owners* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1977), plate 87.

[59]   'In Die Natiuitatis Domini nostri Ihesu Christi', in *The Advent and Nativity Sermons from a Fifteenth-Century Revision of John Mirk's Festial*, ed. by Susan Powell (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1981), pp. 79-85 (pp. 82-83).

[60]   *Painting the Soul: Icons, Death Masks, and Shrouds* (London: Reaktion Books, 1997), p. 73.

[61]   For the precise meaning of the title 'Theotokos', given here, see Jaroslav Pelikan, *Mary through the Centuries: Her Place in the History of Culture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), p. 53.

[62]   See Cormack, *Painting the Soul*, fig. 18 Panagia and Child, sixth century, originally at Mt Sinai; fig. 31 Panagia and Child, possibly sixth century, Church of St Maria Maggiore, Rome; and fig. 50 Panagia and Child, sixth century, St Catherine's, Mt Sinai. According to Beckwith, the Mt Sinai panel was made in Constantinople (p. 92; fig. 75). See also Beckwith, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art*, fig. 70 Theotokos Hodegetria, Rome, made when the Pantheon was 'dedicated in 609' to 'Sancta Maria ad Martyres', pp. 89-90; and fig. 72 Theotokos Hodegetria, Rome *c.*640, thought to have first been at St Maria Antiqua.

[63]   *Painting the Soul*, p. 47. For the history of the Hodegetria (Hodigitria) icon, see Cormack, *Painting the Soul*, pp. 44-64; also Beckwith, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art*, p. 88.

[64]   Bisconti, *Christian Catacombs*, catacomb mural, fig. 121; Beckwith, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art*, diptych, fig. 67.

[65]   Beckwith, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art*, fig. 71.

[66]   Gawdat Gabra, *Coptic Monasteries: Egypt's Monastic Art and Architecture* (Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2002), p. 52; plate 3.3.

[67]   See *Women and Society in Greek and Roman Egypt*, ed. by Jane Rowlandson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 51; Mary and Christ child plate 14; Isis and Horus plate 11.

[68]   Quoted in Beckwith, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art*, p. 88.

[69]   Beckwith, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art*, p. 188 discussion; fig. 154.

[70]   Cormack, *Painting the Soul*, p. 78 on repetition; pp. 27-31 on regulation.

[71]   Trans. by Wieck, *Painted Prayers*, pp. 86-87.

[72]   *Painted Prayers*, p. 88; fig. 67.

[73]   *Symphonia*, trans. by Barbara Newman (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988), pp. 122-23.

[74]   'Homily II', in *Magnificat: Homilies in Praise of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, trans. by Marie-Bernard Saïd and Grace Perigo (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1979), pp. 15-31 (pp. 21-22, §9).

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[75]   Trans. by Chrysogonus Waddell, *Magnificat*, p. xv.

[76]   *La legende de la lactation*, in Jean LeClercq, *St. Bernard et L'Esprit Cistercien* (Paris: Seul, 1966), facing p. 129; see p. 129 for discussion of this and other posthumous Bernard 'marian' legends.

[77]   Waddell, *Magnificat*, p. xv.

[78]   *The Prayers and Meditations of St Anselm*, trans. by Benedicta Ward (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1973), pp. 33, 61. References to the hymns will be given in the text.

[79]   *The Flowing Light of the Godhead*, trans. by Frank Tobin (New York: Paulist Press, 1998), pp. 50-52. Tobin is translating a Middle High German manuscript. 'Beguine' is a name for a spiritual woman living in voluntary poverty and service in a women's community outside church-recognized convents, but with the support of Dominican and Franciscan friars.

[80]   Coe, *Stained Glass*, colour plate facing p. 64.

[81]   *Golden Legend*, II, pp. 272-80 (p. 273).

[82]   *Painting in Florence and Siena*, pp. 151-52.

[83]   Quoted in Eamon Duffey, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England c.1400-1580* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), p. 283.

[84]   *English Woodcuts 1480-1535* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973), p. 180.

[85]   See Jones and Underwood, *The King's Mother*, pp. 175-80.

[86]   This signed copy of de Worde's *Scala*, which is the one I am using, belongs to the Mellon collection, the Center for British Art, Yale University.

[87]   See Jones and Underwood, *The King's Mother*, p. 176 on Lady Margaret's patronage of this cult.

[88]   The British Library manuscript has been edited by Roger Ellis, *The Liber Celestis of St Bridget of Sweden*, EETS o.s. 291 (London: Oxford University Press, 1987). The Nativity revelation in the Bodleian Rawlinson manuscript has been edited by Alexandra Barrett, *Women's Writing in Middle English* (London: Longman, 1992), pp. 88-89. Further references to these editions will be given in the text.

[89]   *Meditations on the Life of Christ: An Illustrated Manuscript of the Fourteenth Century*, trans. and ed. by Isa Ragusa, and ed. by Rosalie B. Green (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), pp. 30-31. Ragusa has chosen to translate an Italian manuscript (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS Ital. 115) that adheres closely to the Latin text as presented by editions of 1761 and 1868. Since the illustrations in this manuscript will be discussed, Ragusa's translation will be used here. Further references will be given in the text.

[90]   *Birgitta of Sweden: Life and Selected Revelations*, trans. by Albert Ryle Kezel (New York: Paulist Press, 1990), p. 203. Kezel's translation will be used here, for, as he says, it is an 'exact and accurate representation of the Latin original', p. 55. Further references will be given in the text.

[91]   *Iconography: St. Birgitta of Sweden* ([Los Angeles]: Rosan, Inc., Ecumenical Foundation of America, 1969), p. 52.

[92]   *Iconography*, p. 51.

[93]   Reproduced Butkovich, *Iconography*, pp. 54, 55, 56.

[94]   London, British Library, Additional MS 18850 in Janet Backhouse, *The Bedford Hours* (London: British Library, 1990), fig. 16; see also fig. 19; the *Très Riches Heures of Jean, Duke of Berry* (New York: George Braziller, 1969), plate 40; see also plate 120. The manuscript of the *Très Riches Heures* belongs to the Musée Condé, Chantilly.

[95]   Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 562, fol. 41^v; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS lat. 13277, fol. 49 with the taper; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 253, fol. 50; Waddeson Manor, National Trust, Rothschild Collection MS 12, fol. 49 with the bath. De Hamel, *History of Illuminated Manuscripts*, fig. 177-80.

[96]   Margaret Gallyon, *Margery Kempe of Lynn and Medieval England* (Norwich: The Canterbury Press, 1995), fig. 1 opposite p. 52. The date comes from Coe, *Stained Glass*, p. 109. In a window at St Peter Mancroft, Norwich, a long-haired blonde Mary is depicted with the naked infant on her lap as she sits up in bed, the ox at the manger looks on, and the shepherds play wind instruments; she appears to be offering her breast to the child. Reproduced in *The Nativity in Stained Glass*, ed. by Philip Ives (New York: Walker, 1977), p. 31. This scene may be the one in which Bridget points out the male sex of the child to the shepherds. Ives describes it as a fifteenth-century window with a Flemish virgin, having a 'potpourri of unrelated scraps used for the background' (p. 30).

[97]   The copies used here of Caxton's *Legenda Aurea* and the two French editions are in the Morgan Library collection (New York) as are the copies of de Worde's editions. The copies used of Caxton's and de Worde's *Speculum* are in the Cambridge University Library.

[98]   *Iconography*, p. 51.

[99]   In *Women's Writing in English*, ed. by Barrett, p. 52.

[100]   In *Women's Writing in English*, ed. by Barrett, p. 52.

[101]   In *Women's Writing in English*, ed. by Barrett, p. 55.

[102]   The pillar is omitted not only in the Caxton and de Worde editions but also in Bodleian Library, MS Brasenose College e.9, made *c.*1430, the manuscript used for *The Mirrour of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ*, ed. by Lawrence F. Powell (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908), p. 47.

[103]   *Birgitta of Sweden*, p. 307, note 789.

[104]   *Pilgrimage of the Holy Paula*, p. 7.

REVIEWS

Magnús Fjalldal, *Anglo-Saxon England in Icelandic Medieval Texts*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005. xii + 164 pp. ISBN 0802038379. £40

The main aim of this monograph is to survey and assess information about Anglo-Saxon England, the Anglo-Saxon people and the Old English language that appears in medieval Icelandic texts. It has often been proposed that many medieval Icelandic writers had a good knowledge of these subjects, but Magnús Fjalldal casts a sceptical light on this argument by investigating a range of different kinds of written texts and evaluating what they say about Anglo-Saxon topics in the light of what we are able to establish of their factual accuracy, usually on the basis of Anglo-Saxon written sources.

To subject medieval texts to modern empirically-based tests of this kind raises a number of questions of the differences between medieval and modern expectations of historical accuracy, not to speak of generic expectations. While Fjalldal is not unaware of these, his main concern is to disprove the arguments of many earlier scholars who have argued that medieval Icelandic writers were well-informed about Anglo-Saxon history, that many Old English texts were available in Iceland and that some Scandinavians, going back to the Viking Age in Britain, had a good knowledge of Old English because Germanic languages were mutually intelligible. Few of these arguments remain standing in the face of his relentless application of modern historical methods, and a good knowledge of Anglo-Saxon writings, both in Latin and English, to the Icelandic texts. These texts are principally writings that fall into the genre of history (kings' sagas and historical compilations like *Morkinskinna*) or family sagas (*Íslendingasögur*), with a few other kinds of saga (lives of English royal saints, translated history) thrown in. Fjalldall dismisses all skaldic poetry because it lacks 'information' (p. 33).

Having demonstrated through a series of blow-by-blow comparisons between supposedly accurate Icelandic sagas and Anglo-Saxon historical sources that the Icelandic texts are woefully inaccurate (Chapters 4-7), Fjalldal poses the question of why it was that medieval Icelandic writers actually mention England so often and make their heroes journey to England and win honour and fame fighting for English kings, if they really did not have much factual knowledge of

Anglo-Saxon society and history. His answer is that such representations have to be seen as political; England and English rulers contrast with Norway and Norwegian rulers for thirteenth-century Icelandic writers who had many reasons to be distrustful of Norway and Norwegian kings. Icelandic authors could portray Icelandic (and Norwegian?) heroes of the Viking Age as fighting and achieving glory in the service of English kings, who were fair, generous and friendly—and Norse-speaking—to these Scandinavian men. Anglo-Saxon England was an escapist fantasy world, whether in supposedly realistic genres or in *fornaldarsögur*.

This theory is good as far as it goes, but there remain some unanswered questions. The study seems too driven by the basic question it set out to explore (which was prompted by the research of others), so that the answer is framed in similarly empirical and restrictive terms. Fjalldal assumes that Icelandic writers were specially interested in the Anglo-Saxon period rather than in English history and culture of a period nearer to their own time, say, the twelfth to fourteenth centuries (p. 121). But surely this is contestable. There are several places in the book where evidence from the twelfth century and later could have been adduced to demonstrate close cultural ties with England, especially in religious matters, but it is not. For example, neither the influence of the cults of English saints, especially Thomas Becket, are discussed, nor do we find mention of the translation of post-Anglo-Saxon homilies of English provenance or of hagiographical works clearly derived from English sources.

The delimitation of the topic to Anglo-Saxon England alone restricts the study artificially and throws up some obvious further questions and observations. Given that for the whole period of Anglo-Saxon history up to 1066 there is virtually no written record from Scandinavia with the exception of runic inscriptions and skaldic poetry (if the latter can be regarded as genuine either in terms of attribution or veracity), it is clear that any information about Anglo-Saxon England that passed into Icelandic texts would have to derive either from Scandinavian oral tradition or from foreign written sources brought to Iceland or Norway after Anglo-Saxon times. The issue is thus firstly whether oral traditions from the Viking Age are likely to be historically accurate, to which the likely answer is 'probably not'. But a fuller study might then consider whether oral traditions can convey other kinds of meaning beyond the factual, and to this question I think the answer is 'yes'. This is the question that Fjalldal really does not address, beyond stating baldly several times that a good deal of the English

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matter in Icelandic texts belongs to the genre of the 'fairy tale' or is an obvious fantasy. To have investigated the kinds of meaning that such texts create round English themes, and to have included skaldic poetry in the study, would have produced a much more satisfying book.

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Janette Dillon, *The Cambridge Introduction to Early English Theatre*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006. xiv + 296 pp. ISBN 0 521 54251 0. £45.

The 'Cambridge introductions to Literature' are described on the cover as 'designed to introduce students to key topics and authors. Accessible and lively[...]' —which is exactly what Janette Dillon's *Early English Theatre* does and is. The book surveys the period, 1375 (roughly speaking) to 1642, from the earliest records of the Corpus Christi plays to the closing of the theatres in London at the beginning of the Civil War. It works by means of a series of topic-based chapters, creating an 'overview', rather than being 'a chronological survey' (p.xi). This allows matters such as staging lay-outs or acting styles to be given due weight, and their similarities and differences to be brought out, instead of being invisible amongst the naming of names and the dating of dates. The general discussion in the first two chapters is narrowed down through a pair of case studies which concentrate on single plays and places (Chapter 1, *Mankind* and *The Masque of Blackness*) or characters (Chapter 2, Herod and Tamburlaine). This pattern is not continued in the later chapters, 3. Writers, controllers and the place of theatre; 4. Genre and tradition; and 5. Instruction and spectacle. This is a pity in some ways since the case studies allow the opportunity to see general points applied to specific situations. Besides the conventional text and endnotes, Dillon also makes use of 'shaded' boxes to place quotations of various lengths in the middle of the text, with the intention of expanding the range of reference without interrupting the flow of the argument. I was afraid at first that this would disrupt without informing but in practice found that it worked well. Quotations of this kind would have been impossibly long for footnotes and certainly disruptive as endnotes. The book concludes with a number of Appendices: a 'Select chronology of plays etc.', a 'Chronology of events', and a brief 'Known dimensions of playing spaces'. It is difficult to tell how useful these are. I found

myself constantly wondering why something was left out or why that specific date had been chosen rather than another. And because this is not a chronological survey there is no discussion of dating in the main text. This is particularly awkward in the case of the medieval part of Appendix 1. What, for example, does 'c.1450-75' really tell us about the N.town plays? Was that the period during which they were performed? Or written? Or compiled? Or what? There are warnings (p. 213) about deducing from the list how many plays a given author might have written, when an author might have started writing, or what the concentration of plays might have been at a given time, but not about the significance of the chosen dates. I am even less sure of the value of the 'Chronology of events', though it does allow one interesting juxtaposition: '1382 Blackfriars Council condemns ten of Wyclif's propositions as heretical. Earthquake.' The Bibliography is, presumably, the 'Key suggestions for further reading' mentioned on the cover. In such a vast field it is always difficult to pick the right flowers, and tastes differ, but given the difficulties of coming to terms with medieval theatre I would have thought it useful to draw attention to some of the journals which up to a point specialise in that area, *REED Newsletter* (now *Early Theatre*) or *Medieval English Theatre*, for example; and William Tydeman (ed.), *The Medieval European Stage 500-1550* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), though European (or perhaps *because* European) would have been a useful addition.

It is in the area of medieval theatre that, perhaps expectedly, I have some reservations. The book aims to ignore the often-observed divide between medieval and early modern and to treat the period as a single one, the 'overview' allowing free movement over the whole period. While I have every sympathy with someone wanting to bring late medieval and early modern theatre periods together, there is a real danger of imbalance. The problem is, in a way, foreshadowed in Dillon's Preface. She acknowledges 'a particular debt to the collection of theatrical records assembled by [Wickham, Berry and Ingram] in *English Professional Theatre 1530-1660* [. . .] from which a significant number of my quotations from early documents are taken,' and goes on to say: 'the reason for the bias towards fuller quotation from early modern than from medieval documents is due to the much greater fullness of extant records in the later period [. . .] My debt to the collected and ongoing volumes of the REED (Records of Early English Drama) project is as great as to Wickham, Berry and Ingram, but evidence of medieval theatrical practice is disparate and locally specific in such a

way as to make its relevance often particular to the individual instance and less easily extractable from that context'. That early modern documentation is fuller than late medieval is certainly true but in what way is it less locally specific? The elaborate spectacles of the Tudor court or stagings in the Elizabethan Globe are as specific to that court and that theatre as the decoration of the York Mercers' pageant waggon is to that time and place. What is certainly true is that the medieval evidence needs more explanation, more setting in context and more discussion to make it meaningful, and in an introductory book of this kind there is simply not the space. But because Dillon quotes less from medieval sources, the medieval period feels less substantial. With the presentation of the later period in the book, there is a strong sense of being in touch with the physical reality of theatre. It is also perhaps inevitable that there is something of a London bias. Because of the proper attention paid to the growth of the professional theatre, London must take up a lot of space, but royal entries were not only made into London and Henry VII's into York in 1486, for example, would have been worth investigating alongside Richard II's into London in 1392.

There is one last medieval carp in the pond, touring. So far no absolutely clear evidence has been produced for semi-professional touring 'companies' before the end of the fifteenth century. Terminology is an on-going problem: what are *mimi, joculatores, ministralli, jocatores, pleyeres*, etc. actually doing? Local groups of performers certainly moved around locally, and town waits and servants of aristocratic households moved around more widely, but the persistent notion that there were semi-professional companies of actors travelling the country in the fourteenth and early-fifteenth century, partly supporting themselves by the performance of plays, is difficult to substantiate. Its persistence, however, allows the too easy assumption that, for example, a play like *Mankind* was a 'touring play'. An even more unsatisfactory offshoot is the idea that something like *N.town* (in some form or other) or *The Castle of Perseverance* were 'touring plays'. Has anyone counted the casts? Or calculated the cost and labour of moving sets? What never seems to be suggested is that they might have been one-off performances in a specific place and for a specific purpose. Their length and complication (*N.town* and *The Castle*) or remarkable theatrical invention (*Mankind*), doesn't necessarily imply repeated performance. Right at the end of her discussion of a touring *N.town*, Dillon (p. 70) says: 'It is more probable, however, that the script rather than the production 'toured', [. . .]'. It would have been good to have had more discussion, but I can see that once again we come up against problems of space.

Despite these reservations, I found the book entertaining, informative and stimulating. With apologies for re-asserting the old division, there is plenty to interest and whet the appetite in the discussion of medieval theatre, and in the later period it seemed to me that there was the right balance of discussion and information, and a wealth of illustration. It is also blessedly free (to an aging mind) of jargon.

PETER MEREDITH   UNIVERSITY OF LEEDS

Cristina Mourón-Figueroa, *El ciclo de York. Sociedad y cultura en la Inglaterra bajomedieval*. Santiago de Compostela: Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, 2005. 310 pp. ISBN 8481219789. €19.23.

From the 1950s onwards, there has been an increasing interest in the Corpus Christi Cycles so long forgotten and disregarded as objects of serious literary study. It is true that, as early as the year 1885, Lucy Toulmin Smith edited the longest, most complete, most lyrical, and the best preserved mystery cycle, namely, the York Cycle. However, it was nearly a hundred years before the text was again edited by Richard Beadle (1982), whose edition has come to be considered the standard version. Beadle and Peter Meredith edited a facsimile of the original text in 1984. These two editions, especially Beadle's of 1982, made the text both popular and accessible to a wider audience, while providing a reliable corpus to be studied and analysed by other scholars, such as Meg Twycross, Clifford Davidson, Alexandra Johnston, Meredith, and Margaret Rogerson. Their studies have dealt mainly with issues relating to performance, editing, and literary and dramatic criticism, occasionally including some sociocultural readings such as Olga Horner's 1998 study on maintenance and bastard feudalism. The success and revival of the York Cycle is evident in the fact that the text has been regularly performed, at least in the city of York, since 1951.

Cristina Mourón-Figueroa's *El ciclo de York: Sociedad y cultura en la Inglaterra bajomedieval* on the one hand parallels the current social importance and revival of the cycle and, on the other, contributes both to a better understanding of the text and to recent research into purely textual, literary or dramatic aspects of the York cycle. The book is written in Spanish and it should be noted that, as a result, not only its contents, but by extension, an understanding

of the social and cultural panorama of late medieval England, will be disseminated to various fields of the Spanish-speaking scientific and university communities. Because no translation of the cycle is available in Spanish, the author has made a great and most welcome effort in successfully rendering the Middle English version into Spanish, maintaining a quite acceptable level of linguistic accuracy, while preserving the text's medieval style. In spite of the fact that the translation overlooks the rhyme, rhythm, and characteristic alliterative verse, emphasis should be placed on the success with which the author has translated more specialised terms related, for example, to the activity and different tools of the guilds, forms of polite address among the characters or greetings, salutations, and exclamations.

The book is divided into seven chapters preceded by a brief introduction and preface, and concludes with some final remarks and considerations. It also includes both an appendix with a bilingual version of the titles of all the different episodes and updated bibliographical references. In chapter 1, the author briefly introduces the reader to the world of York and its cycle by explaining processional performance and the role the City Corporation and guilds played in it. She also confronts the controversial issue of authorship and copyists in addition to including a review of Biblical and apocryphal sources. This is a most necessary framing chapter which contributes to a better understanding of the literary characteristics of the sociocultural approach.

Strictly speaking, the sociocultural analysis begins in chapter 2. The author argues that King Herod, bishops Annas and Caiaphas, and Pilate embody the vices and virtues of contemporary monarchs, noblemen, and churchmen. In this way, she applies and complements studies by Stephen May on the virtues of medieval kingship, or by Mary McKisack on the hierarchy of clergymen. The social status of knights and soldiers is also described and used to exemplify the concepts of maintenance and bastard feudalism. The author considers the sociolinguistic context as well, by introducing a note on the linguistic habits of the characters and the society surrounding them.

Chapter 3 focuses on law and order. Through an exhaustive analysis of the trials of Jesus, the author describes both royal and local medieval courts, the types of judges or officials presiding over them, and the difference between secular and ecclesiastical courts, together with references to civil and canon law. Moreover, there is an accurate account of several types of royal officials and administrators (beadles, sherriffs, stewards, bailiffs, and clerks), as well as a consideration of

crimes and offences such as treason, felony or heresy along with their corresponding punishments. The various kinds of medieval courts, such as the *Hallmote* or the *Curia Regis* and the confusion of the duties of the king's officials, are brought to light in this chapter. It is also worth mentioning the author's useful application of the corpus of the differences between *trespas*, and *transgression* or *treason* and *felony*, already put forward by Paul Hyams and W. R. J. Barron, respectively. Finally, the chapter describes some of the activities of soldiers who, as those ultimately responsible for upholding law and order, arrested, tortured, and physically punished transgressors.

The working activity of trade and artisan guilds constitutes the core of chapter 4. The author offers a most interesting and convincing picture of God and Noah as master and apprentice, together with references to the actual tools and instruments used by contemporary medieval shipwrights, which results in an excellent example of real and everyday life brought onto the stage. There are also additional comments on the activities of other guilds, like the ones performed by tilethatchers or pinners. Examples related to agriculture and livestock farming are also included. However, the low number of references seems to suggest that the reader could have been spared the analysis of these two aspects.

Chapter 5 contains a well-balanced description of the cultural component of the research. The author studies several matters classified into two complementary groups: the one including everyday activities such as food, dress, funeral rites, pilgrimages, games, entertainment and ceremonies, and the other dealing with references to medieval general knowledge, including the animal world, diseases (the plague, leprosy), and popular medicine. For example, the symbolism of the animal imagery present in the York Cycle reproduces that compiled in medieval bestiaries, and the analysis presented here follows other studies such as the ones by George and Yapp, and Louis Charbonneau-Lassay.

A compelling portrait of female social roles, the status of medieval women, and the characteristics of the medieval family is given in chapter 6. The analysis is so conscientious that the real English woman of the later Middle Ages seems to become flesh and blood before our own eyes. This study of the female world is most welcome as this subject has been, in broad terms, traditionally disregarded by older generations of historians. In so doing, the author adheres to the popularity of current studies on women in general, and on medieval English women in particular. She follows studies like the ones by Georges Duby, Jeremy Goldberg and Henrietta Leyser. The depiction of Mary and Eve as embodying the

vices and virtues of real women stands out. The woman of the York Cycle is described as having a twofold nature: sometimes she is a restless worker, a caring mother, an affectionate wife or a chaste widow, but she can also become a rebel, or a gossiping and deceitful person. The misogynistic atmosphere surrounding the cycle reflects the prejudices of contemporary patriarchal society and other social constraints on women. The subjects of motherhood and education are also analysed by the author.

The final chapter considers those aspects of the Cycle related to its performance: in particular, it describes the audience of the cycle and the strategies of communication used by playwrights to fuse the ordinary with the dramatic. The public, mainly lay and illiterate, was the main reason for the existence of a cycle which is pervaded with didacticism and which successfully transmits the message of human redemption. Hans-Jürgen Diller's classification of the strategies (namely, framing, straddling, and homiletic) used by medieval playwrights to put the ordinary, real world in touch with the dramatic world is successfully applied to offer an accurate description of the characters performing these dramatic functions. References to the performance itself, such as the use of wagons or the processional character of the performance, are also included and serve to emphasize the dramatic nature of the whole text.

In short, the book functions as a coherent unit, the thorough analysis serving a twofold purpose: to describe one of the English mystery cycles from a new perspective, the sociocultural one, and, conversely, to bring the Spanish-speaking scholar or student near to the sociocultural context of late medieval England through the world of theatre.

FERNANDO ALONSO ROMERO   UNIVERSITY OF SANTIAGO
DE COMPOSTELA

Margery Kempe's Meditations: *The Context of Medieval Devotional Literature, Liturgy and Iconography*, by Naoë Kukita Yoshikawa. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2007. x + 193pp. ISBN: 978-0-7083-1910-9: £75.00

Part of the series Religion and Culture in the Middle Ages, Naoë Kukita Yoshikawa's *Margery Kempe's Meditations* examines 'Margery's meditations and their theological and devotional context by discussing the issue of the design and

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structure of the *Book* through an analysis of the importance of the way Margery's meditations are recalled and positioned among the events of her life' (p. 2). To do so, she traces the liturgical, textual, and iconographic influences upon the text and Margery's meditations to demonstrate her growing understanding of the mixed life and her spiritual progress as a bride of Christ. In this way, Yoshikawa attempts to fill an existing gap in current criticism of *The Book of Margery Kempe* by proving that the *Book*'s structure is far more coherent than is usually assumed, and by 'counteracting the kind of criticism which sees her spirituality as self-taught or inarticulate or in opposition to the Church' (p. 2).

Yoshikawa opens with a brief summary of the current state of criticism concerning Margery Kempe and her *Book* before outlining her own contribution to the subject. To help provide a context for her analysis of Kempe's text, she discusses the *Book*'s structure, meditation and mnemonic techniques, as well as Margery's terminology for her spiritual experiences, the vernacular status of her writing, and the nature of her Marian devotion. Chapter One then provides an examination of the liturgical context for Margery's conversion in Advent as well as an analysis of Margery's meditations, focusing upon the infancy of Christ and the Virgin Mary, and considering the ways in which these meditations may have been influenced by popular iconography and popular texts, such as Books of Hours.

Chapter 2 begins by examining the spiritual and geographical dimensions of Margery's pilgrimage to Jerusalem before reflecting upon Margery's mystical marriage to the Godhead in Rome and the way that the example of Bridget of Sweden shapes her new identity as a spouse of God. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the impact of Julian of Norwich upon Margery's spiritual development, in particular her 'increasing faith in the Trinity's creative and redemptive force' (p. 73). Chapter 3 is similar to the first chapter in its focus on the connections between the liturgy for and Margery's meditations upon Christ's passion. Also considered are the influence of devotional texts such as the *Meditationes vitae Christi* as well as other literature, and the role of the Virgin Mary as both *co-redemptrix* and an example of compassion.

Chapter 4 analyses Margery's final meditations upon the Purification of the Virgin and Christ's monologue about Holy Communion and the Trinity, focusing upon 'bride mysticism stressed in the liturgy' (p. 94). Included is a discussion of Margery's veneration of female saints such as Barbara, Katherine of Alexandria, and Margaret of Antioch. The work concludes with a discussion of the influence of the writings of Walter Hilton and the second part of Kempe's book as an expression of

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Margery's attempt to live a mixed life as contemplative in the world.

Yoshikawa's work is meticulously researched and convincing in its development of the context and the structure of *The Book of Margery Kempe*. Moreover, her finely nuanced analysis treats Margery's meditations and spiritual progress with a seriousness and sensitivity that allows a different Margery Kempe to emerge, less hysterical and combative than is usually seen in academic discussions of Kempe's *Book*. Yet, in its creation of a cohesive framework of texts, liturgy, and images that influence Margery and her meditations the work does not always express how Margery distinguishes herself from or is sometimes in competition with these influences. Some mention of this is made in the Introduction, but further elaboration could have been provided over the course of the work. In the same way, the subject of vernacularity could have been discussed in greater depth, and the treatment of the second part of *The Book of Margery Kempe* is very brief. On a more minor note, further provision of pictures would have helped to support discussion of the ways in which popular imagery may have influenced Margery's meditations. Nevertheless, Yoshikawa has made an important contribution to Margery scholarship, one that will change the way readers view Margery's *Book* as well as her spiritual progress.

MARTA COBB   UNIVERSITY OF LEEDS

Jane Roberts, *Guide to Scripts Used in English Writing up to 1500*. London: The British Library, 2005. xvi + 294 pp. ISBN 0712348840. £40

In this lavishly illustrated book, Jane Roberts provides the reader with a fresh 'overview of the variety of scripts used in the recording of English literature up to and a little beyond the introduction of print' (p. 1). Roberts' categorization of scripts follows the writings of Julian Brown, but also incorporates other standard terminology set by Malcom Parkes in his *English Cursive Book Hands, 1250-1500*. This overview is offered with a wealth of plates from an excellent cross-section of material from prose to poetry, from pragmatic to literary texts and musical annotations, providing a contextualization of English scripts from the sixth century to the early sixteenth century, which has not been attempted before. Such a chronologically ambitious project should be welcomed by the experienced and inexperienced reader alike. In particular, the inexperienced reader will

welcome the prefatory information and the 'General Introduction', which make the difficult subject matter of this book extremely accessible.

Guide to Scripts begins with a clear introduction, providing a sociological and historical overview of the period, and some broader observations on script names and development. Clear instructions about the adopted transcription policy and the abbreviations are included; particularly useful is the explanation of the meanings of the main range of 'nomina sacra' and other customary ways of abbreviating Latin religious terminology. The examples of abbreviations offered on pp. 10, 11and 12 are handy, as they elucidate problems which might be encountered by a beginner who is approaching the reading of medieval manuscripts for the first time, but they are also a good refresher for the more advanced scholar. The introduction is followed by a cross-section, with eight colour plates, of examples of type of scripts used in texts ranging from the 'Lindisfarne Gospels' (London, British Library, Cotton Nero D. iv, f. 259r) to the play of the Cutteleres in the York Cycle, 'Conspiracy to take Jesus' (London, British Library, Additional MS 35290, f. 113r). Roberts includes a note on the scale of the image in the caption of all the plates, a practice which should be praised as it allows the reader to get a sense of relative sizes. After the general matter, each section on the chronology of scripts is introduced with a useful summary. Each plate is accurately transcribed and the comments on the scribal palaeographical profiling are well organised. Furthermore, Roberts offers a synthetic contextual summary and a short bibliographical paragraph on the manuscript transcribed, which can be used for further research. Those plates which have been transcribed are sequentially numbered for ease of reference. Although Roberts focuses on English as the primary linguistic remit of her investigation, the selection of material includes a variety of texts which illustrate and celebrate England's linguistic diversity. This book contains facsimiles of manuscripts written both in Latin and English alongside those written in Latin, but glossed in English. All in all, this is a book that lives up to the promise made on its back cover: 'Through visual examples, the reader will be introduced gradually to vocabulary suitable for the description of the script, so the book will be suitable for both a general and a student audience'.

Roberts should be praised for the selection, wealth of material and accuracy of transcription. However, the 'General introduction' needs at times to be approached with caution. The conclusion that 'But for England, as far as manuscript studies are concerned, the Middle Ages end with the dissolution of the

monasteries in the 1530s' (p. 1) conveys a rather strange and perhaps unnecessarily dramatic association between a specific historical event and the circumstances of manuscript production. There is no doubt that the dissolution of the monasteries had an untold impact on the religious life of the country and that much of its written heritage was destroyed or went missing. However, by the 1530s book production was not only the preserve of the cloister: we need to think about different writing environments; for instance, the role of professional scriveners, secretaries in households, and the specific circumstances of the royal circle, or the urban centres. There are only cursory references to some of these issues in the various sections of the book both for the earlier and the later period (see, for instance, pp. 140-41). The development of script, *mutatis mutandis*, is part of this process. One may also wish to quibble with a few details, for instance, the unfortunate choice of labels, such as 'illiterate' (p. 1) for the Germanic settlers, which should be read as people who could not read Latin (only explained further on in the introduction). The information about the naming of script is introduced only in very general terms at pp. 3 and 4, leaving the reader to wonder when they will get more. More does come later, on pp. 6-7, but it would perhaps have been clearer if this section was all put together either before or after the section 'Preserving the past'.

The single introduction to the various sections is general and its deterministic approach—a sort of genetic development of scripts—is unnecessary. The section on the 'Gothic textualis' risks being rather misleading: should we really assume that the 'New book hands were to develop also as part of the Gothic system of scripts'? (p. 140). Roberts suggests that the cursive script of the type which developed in England after the twelfth century is derived from the 'Gothic system of scripts'. This is certainly one possible interpretation; however, scholars are still debating whether this explanation can be universally accepted. It is very much possible that cursive scripts in this period were created via a different path; that is, using an already established cursive script to which elements of the 'gothic textualis' were applied (see, for instance, the recent debate in Albert Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books* (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 123-132). Cursive scripts and gothic scripts can be considered and, potentially, explained as two different types of scripts, although a clear cut distinction is not always possible.

Plates present a further problem. Although each section has plates which are transcribed, explained and numbered, numerous extra plates are offered to the

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reader without explanation. These plates are apparently intended to 'add more information to the point', but the lack of explanation or plate number may confuse the reader even more, and leaving them wondering why London, University Library, MS V.88, for example, is included after San Marino, Henry E. Huntington Library, MS El 26 C9, but before Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 61. A note to explain the meaning of the sequence of these plates would have added clarity to their organization.

The matters outlined above are mainly organisational, and they pertain to the long list of 'desiderata' that manuscript scholars would like to see in any recent publication revolving around any aspect of the history of the book. This notwithstanding, Roberts' book should be regarded as recommended reading for a novice, a very good starting point for further research in English manuscript studies, and an excellent tool in the classroom, in particular if a paperback edition might be considered by the publisher.

ORIETTA DA ROLD   UNIVERSITY OF LEICESTER

Alessandro Scafi, *Mapping Paradise: A History of Heaven on Earth*. London: The British Library, 2006. 398 pp. ISBN 0712348778. £30

The idea that it might be possible to find the earthly paradise on a world map has in recent times been largely relegated to the province of internet eccentricity. However, as Alessandro Scafi points out, for the majority of the Christian era the location of the biblical Eden has been a matter of intense and often polemical debate. Scafi's magisterial survey of the representation of the earthly paradise on maps extends from the earliest Christian debates about translation of the text of Genesis through to twenty-first century speculation on the topic, but the focus of his book is on medieval and early modern attempts to map paradise. Scafi's starting point is to refute the now rather tired (but by no means extinct) notion that the presence of the earthly paradise on medieval maps was a piece of frippery or fantasy, typical of the unscientific thinking of the time; instead, Scafi demonstrates, it was a serious and integral feature. The argument that emerges centres around the important point that any study of medieval maps must think about temporal as well as spatial representation: it is the presence of temporal diversity on medieval *mappaemundi* that makes the presence of paradise a

necessary component, since the object of this genre of map was to provide historiographical as well as spatial representation. Makers of *mappaemundi* from the high and late Middle Ages, in other words, sought to represent human history in its full sweep from Creation through to Judgement, and for this reason it was vital to show, or at the very least to suggest, the location of the earthly paradise—along with, in the most elaborate examples, vignettes of Adam, Eve, and the serpent.

Following the work of exegesis and translation undertaken by Jerome, Augustine and others, later medieval culture inherited a paradise that was, as Scafi puts it, an 'event/place'—a moment in human history, which had a genuine location, and which continued to exist. Paradise appeared in the far east (since the Hebrew *miqedem*, which qualified 'a garden in Eden', could be translated as 'in oriente' as well as 'in principio'), and therefore at the top of a great many medieval world maps. These include well known examples such as the Beatus maps, and the Hereford, Ebstorf, Psalter, and Sawley maps. However, some of the most important work in Scafi's book lies in his careful account of the rival traditions of the location of paradise that emerged in Europe in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. It was proposed, for example, that paradise might be located at the equator (because this was the most temperate part of the earth), or in the southern hemisphere (because unreachable to the descendents of Adam in the north), or at the top of a very high mountain (if, as some argued, it had not been submerged at the time of the Flood). Scafi is able to provide evidence of the manifestation of many of these counter-traditions on maps, including on some previously unpublished items. In this regard, he is assisted by the superb reproduction of a very large number of images, many of which are usefully accompanied by the author's own explanatory line drawings.

Scafi's account of the transition of the mapping of paradise from medieval to post-medieval practices is an important part of the book's thesis, although not without some problems. According to Scafi, *mappaemundi* showed the progression of human history in six ages, from Creation to the birth of Christ, extending spatially from the far east through Asia to Jerusalem. Europe and Africa become, in this reading, spaces in which history from Christ to the mapmaker's present is shown: the argument here is for 'a mosaic of event/places and epochal zones ordered historically from east to west' (p. 129). I get the mosaic part (Hippo = Augustine; Red Sea = Exodus; Jerusalem = the time of Christ; Gog and Magog = end times), but I am not sure about the east-west order. This seems rather to delimit the possibilities for alternative readings of the maps

in question. Moreover, Scafi is forced to explain away the presence of post-Christian sites in Asia such as the burial sites of the apostles (a feature of several medieval world maps) as the products of a 'reflux movement', by which Christianity is shown to be radiated back to areas covered by epochal zones of five preceding ages (p. 130).

What is convincing about the book's argument is Scafi's careful elucidation of the changes that occurred to the mapping of paradise in the sixteenth century. Noting that from *c*.1500 almost no world map showed the earthly paradise, Scafi points out that it did not disappear from maps, merely that it shifted to a different genre of maps: instead of world maps, paradise now appeared on historical and regional maps. The reasons for this shift lie in the fifteenth-century 'rediscovery' of Claudius Ptolemy's *Geographia*, and the re-organisation of cartography such that all parts of the map were located within a grid of measurement. With the relationship between space and time now mathematically defined, to locate paradise was to assign it a particular position rather than a general vicinity 'in the east' (or wherever). The historical map of a particular region, by contrast, offered cartographers the opportunity to provide a map of a portion of the earth 'at the time of Creation', rather than a transhistorical narrative of human history. And as Scafi shows, there was no shortage of cartographers from the sixteenth through to the nineteenth centuries eager to illustrate their pet theory of the location the earthly paradise, usually in Mesopotamia, or Armenia. The unexpected leader of the post-medieval cartography of paradise appears to have been John Calvin, who illustrated his commentary on Genesis with a map of Babylon, Mesopotamia, the Tigris and Euphrates (two of the four rivers of paradise mentioned in the biblical source), and the lands of Cush and Havilah. Scafi devotes a fairly densely-packed chapter to the many refinements that subsequent cartographers made to Calvin's model—wrangling not just about the location of paradise, but also about the nature and identity of the four rivers (while the Tigris and Euphrates were straightforward enough, the Pishon and Gihon were more troublesome). Indeed, given the vibrancy of the post-medieval approaches to mapping paradise outlined by Scafi in this chapter, it may be that its title 'The Afterlife of Paradise on Maps', proclaims the death of its subject rather too early: clearly the tradition was alive and well, and, as a fascinating section on the rise of the modern discipline of Assyriology shows, the search for paradise continued to propel scholarly endeavour well into the twentieth century.

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Scafi notes early on in his book that the first serious and sustained consideration of the representation of paradise in the Middle Ages emerged from Dante studies; his survey of previous scholarship on the topic traces the familiar story of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century positivist and rather dismissive responses challenged and overturned by late twentieth-century egalitarianism (the Middle Ages as a foreign country, medievals as equals not inferiors). As he points out, however, Le Goffian notions of the 'medieval marvellous' may have replaced positivism with (equally unhelpful) romanticisations. Scafi is not a Dante-ist (as his rather banal comment that 'Dante had wide-ranging interests' (p. 182) tends to suggest), and amongst the tremendous erudition and painstaking labours evident in this book the most obvious absence is a sustained engagement with literary representations of paradise. The focus is almost entirely Latinate, with passing references to vernacular authors such as Milton. Literary scholars—and particularly scholars of vernacular literature—who are interested in the topic will therefore find Scafi's book a treasure trove: simultaneously an invaluable summation of a complex and voluminous tradition, and a stimulus to further study of the contexts and manifestation of Christian thought about the earthly paradise.

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Medieval and Cultural Studies: Essays in Honour of Stephen Knight. Edited by Ruth Evans, Helen Fulton and David Matthews. Cardiff: University of Wales Press. ISBN 10 0-7083-1958-0. £55.

The expansion of universities from the mid-1960s, and the many academic appointments made in its wake, have ensured that, forty years later, festschrifts honouring accomplished scholars from that generation are now as 'thick as autumnal leaves that strow the brooks/In Vallombrosa'. Reviews of such volumes tend to exhibit their own tetchy decorum, with ritual expressions of disapproval at the perceived lack of thematic focus, editorial consistency, or satisfactory index. No such strictures apply to the judiciously assembled, carefully edited, and decently indexed collection of essays now under review. The volume offers eighteen papers grouped around topics with which the dedicatee has long been associated—'Medieval Cultural Studies', 'Robin Hood', 'Historical Chaucer', 'The Cultural Politics of Romance', and (a tad less clearly defined) 'Cultural Politics/The Politics of Culture'.

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In the volume's cover illustration, the work of the Bostonian artist Newell Convers Wyeth (1882-1945; a pupil of Howard Pyle) we find Robin, urged on by all of his merry band except the comatose Friar Tuck, firing arrows at some hostile off-stage target. After reading the first two pieces in the Knight festschrift —the editorial introduction, and David Matthews on 'What is Medievalism'—it is tempting to interpret the picture as an allegory of medievalist scholars defending themselves against real and imagined assaults from the sheriffs of 'traditional medieval studies'. The impatience with past (and present) persecution is clearly heartfelt, theoretical legitimization is effortfully developed and anxiously deployed, and scowls are duly directed at the 'regulatory ideal of philology', 'lost nationalist desires' and the sapping effects of 'the new conservatism'. Yet there may be readers, wholly sympathetic to the medievalist cause, who are nevertheless inclined to empathise with Friar Tuck's insouciance, and to whisper (albeit guiltily) 'Oh, get *over* it', or even, in the spirit of Nike, 'Just do it'.

Most contributors do indeed 'just do it', and offer plenty of insights and aperçus along the way. The first paper I read brought back memories. Thomas Hahn's discussion of the cultural politics of Robin Hood studies in England, as reflected in the 1950s and 1960s debates between Rodney Hilton, J. C. Holt, and Maurice Keen, prompted me to recall that as a Birmingham University medieval literature student in the mid 1960s I took two medieval economic history courses with Professor Hilton. My memories are not of a tutor relentlessly striving to 'reclaim the aesthetic for the political' (p. 208; see below), or parading Marxist principles via syllabus, wall-poster, or lapel badge, but rather of stimulating pedagogical praxis, exemplary integration of research and teaching, and distinctive contributions to the exciting (and good-humoured) ideological pluralism which characterized the MA seminars that he ran jointly with the equally distinguished and very un-Marxist medieval philologist Geoffrey Shepherd. How did they manage it, without Departmental and Faculty Teaching and Learning Committees to monitor and measure their every breath and step?

Both these fine scholars would have relished W. M. Ormrod's well-documented exploration of 'the authority of writing' in English medieval outlaw tradition. Important themes are identified—the high medieval bureaucratic explosion, the document-driven culture, records as instruments of control, the rewards of forgery, the extensive reach of royal authority into regions and localities, and the role of outlaw tales in reinforcing rather than challenging the assumptions of the legal system. Helen Cooper supplements the corpus of Tudor

Robin Hood texts by offering an edition of *A Tale of Robin Hood, dialogue-wise between Watt and Jeffrey*, a brief anti-episcopal squib in which Thomas Cromwellian tract, Marprelate mindset, and Renaissance pastoral find dogged expression. The editor's fastidious exploration of manuscript context and intellectual milieu leaves my sketchy discussion of the same piece in *Cahiers Elisabethaines* (22, 1983, 87-91) eating her dust. Helen Phillips's analysis of *The Friar's Tale* argues that Chaucer evokes the robust yeoman values of the Robin Hood ballads in his narrative of seedy professionalized greed and healthy peasant scepticism. Thomas Ohlgren provides an interesting glimpse of the personal agendas that led the owners of Cambridge University Manuscript Ee.4.35 and CUL MS Ff.5.48 first to identify with the *sentence* of 'Robin Hood and the Potter' (Ee.4.35) and 'Robin Hood and the Monk' (Ff.5.48), and then to copy these texts into their respective miscellanies. Diane Speed finds a similar pattern in the manuscript provenance of the Middle English *Roland and Otuel*. The poet's approval of heroes who learn to subordinate personal prowess to the dictates of chivalric and Christian fellowship clearly appealed to a conservative Yorkshireman, Robert Thornton, who copied the poem into his celebrated manuscript compilation. Helen Fulton's focus is metropolitan rather than provincial. In her analysis of Cheapside in the age of Chaucer, she tellingly invokes the witness of *The Cook's Prologue and Tale*, inviting us to glimpse in Perkyn, the willful victualler's apprentice, a distillate image of the potential 'unmanageability of the commonalty', among the tensions, territorialism and incipient turbulence of late fourteenth-century London. The adventures in 'Lettow [...] and in Ruce' of Chaucer's *General Prologue* Knight, as reflected in the lives of Henry Bolingbroke and Henry Boucicaut, are treated by Henry Ansgar Kelly. He uncovers not so much Terry Jones's muddied mercenaries but rather two under-employed opportunists in search of the kind of heady military action of which they had been deprived following the re-empowered Richard II's decision to conclude a truce with France in June 1389. In pursuit of their next engagement the religious principles of these knights were shamelessly flexible, which was just as well in a confused Lithuanian conflict in which pagan fought alongside Christian in both the contending armies.

If the essays that explore the interfaces of history, literature, and codicology offer a steady stream of worthwhile insights, the more purely literary papers seemed rather more of a mixed bag. Larry Scanlon's 'Cultural Studies and Carnal Speech: the Long, Profane Shadow of the Fabliaux' offers a theoretically

inflected analysis of speech, sexuality and desire in *Le Chevalier qui fist les cons parler*. It could not be confused with an easy read. The same may be said of occasional passages in Ruth Evans' essay on *Sir Orfeo*—'The subjunctive is a figure for how sovereign identity consolidates itself as authoritative only through a process of intrasubjective negotiation that oscillates between actuality and potential' (p. 203). The effect of such 'for initiates only' writing now seems curiously dated. The substance of the essay is a reading of Orfeo's underworld progress in terms of the 'bare life' theories of the Italian Philosopher Giorgio Agamben—with supporting citations from the works of Michel Foucault. In particular, attention is directed at the status of the eponymous hero as a prisoner of indeterminate legal status in a nightmarish no-man's land of living death, governed by an all-powerful Fairy King. Professor Evans, noting that medieval cultural studies today 'must [...] reclaim the aesthetic for the political', duly associates Orfeo's plight with that of detainees at Guantánamo Bay, Abu Ghraib or Belmarsh Prison (or, a recidivist reader might feel tempted to add, with the anonymous killing fields of Foucault's 1950s Parisian radical student contemporary, Pol Pot). The same reclamatory impulse flickers around the edge of Stephanie Trigg's essay on Chaucer's pardoner through references to Stephen Knight's 1986 reading of the hypermobile pilgrim as a figure of early entrepreneurial capitalism. The tale is read in terms of populist resistance (as expressed through the Parson and the Host) to the 'feyned flaterye and japes' of overbearing ecclesiastical authority. The detection of a less politicized duplicity lies at the heart of Geraldine Barnes's lively analysis of *Athelstan* as crime fiction. The generic diagnostic boxes are constructed and ticked with resourcefulness and wit. Similarly, Margaret Rogerson's discussion of Geraldine McCaughrean's *A Little Lower than the Angels* and Barry Unsworth's *Morality Play* sheds light on two enterprising modern novels about medieval mystery plays, and the scholarly assumptions that underpin them. In the only essay devoted to Old Icelandic literature, Margaret Clunies Ross identifies a cultural politics behind the decline of skaldic ekphrasis (that is, poetry descriptive of pictures) in medieval Norway and its more extended life in Iceland. She suggests persuasively that, relatively early in the period for which skaldic poetry is attested, the elliptical and one-dimensional flattery of poems celebrating narratives depicted on some decorated shield, woven tapestry, or carved wainscot, was superceded in the royal courts of Norway by more direct, sustained, and wide-ranging skaldic encomium. In Iceland, however, where there was no king or official aristocracy, opportunities

remained for deft cultivation of the local 'big man' through acts of poetic flattery directed at some costly new feature of the interior décor. Finally, Sheila Delany focuses on the intriguing late- and post-medieval reception history of *Bovo de-Antona*, Elias Levita's 1507 Yiddish translation of an Italian stanzaic version of the romance known in medieval England as *Sir Bevis of Hampton*.

The volume under review concludes with 'Stephen Knight: a bibliography', the painstaking work of Lucy Sussex. There is, allegedly, an American learned society known as the 'Five Hundred and Fifty Club', whose high-achieving academic members can all boast of (or blush at) having authored, edited, or otherwise contributed to 500 articles and 50 books. The evidence of his bibliography suggests that if Professor Knight's mill keeps grinding, as we must hope it does, he stands a decent chance of achieving at least associate membership before many moons have passed.

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