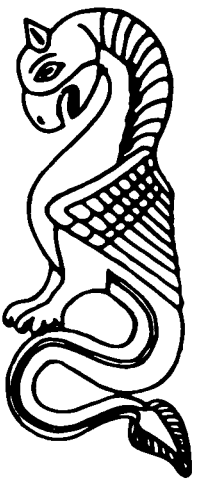
Leeds Studies in English

New Series XXXI

2000



Leeds Studies in English
School of English
University of Leeds
2000

Leeds Studies in English

New Series XXXI

Leeds Studies in English

Leeds Studies in English is an annual publication from the School of English, University of Leeds, England. It is an international refereed journal publishing articles on Old and Middle English literature, Old Icelandic language and literature, and the historical study of the English language.

Editorial Board:

Catherine Batt, *Editor*
Pam Armitage
Elizabeth Baldwin
Paul Hammond
Joyce Hill, *Chair*
Rory McTurk
Peter Meredith
Oliver Pickering
Mary Swan
Andrew Wawn

Notes for Contributors

Contributors are requested to follow the *Style Book* of the Modern Humanities Research Association, 5th edition (London: 1996). The language of publication is English and translations should normally be supplied for quotations in languages other than English. Each contributor will receive twenty offprints. Contributions from the UK should be accompanied by a large stamped addressed envelope; those from overseas should be accompanied by a large self-addressed envelope and the appropriate value of International Reply Coupons. All contributions should be sent to: The Editor, *Leeds Studies in English*, School of English, University of Leeds, Leeds LS2 9JT, England.

Reviews

Copies of books for review should be sent to Catherine Batt at the above address.

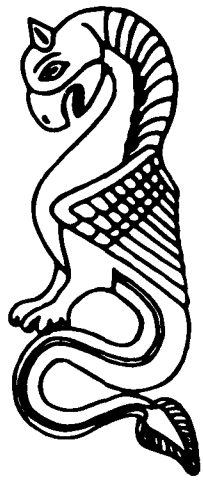
Leeds Studies in English

New Series XXXI

2000

Edited by

Catherine Batt



Leeds Studies in English
School of English
University of Leeds
2000

© *Leeds Studies in English* 2000
School of English
University of Leeds
Leeds, England

ISSN 0075-8566

Contents

An Abbreviated Middle English Prose translation of the *Elucidarius* 1
C. W. Marx *University of Wales, Lampeter*

Feasts of Saint Michael the Archangel in the Liturgy of the Early Anglo-Saxon Church: Evidence from the Eighth and Ninth Centuries 55
Richard F. Johnson *William Rainey Harper College*

Lawman and the Scandinavian Connection 81
John Frankis *Newcastle upon Tyne*

Reading Narratives of Rape: The Story of Lucretia in Chaucer, Gower and Christine de Pizan 115
Louise Sylvester *University of London*

'In the Twinkling of an Eye': The English of Scripture before Tyndale 145
Richard Marsden *University of Nottingham*

Middle English Verse Proverbs: The Problem of Classification 173
Valerie Edden and Caroline Thompson *University of Birmingham*

The Heresiarch, The Virgin, The Recluse, The Vowess, The Priest: Some Medieval Audiences for Pelagius's *Epistle to Demetrias* 205
E. A. Jones *University of Exeter*

Preaching at Syon Abbey 229
Susan Powell *University of Salford*

Did John Donne Read Chaucer, And Does It Matter? 269
John F. Plummer III *Vanderbilt University*

Reviews 293

An Abbreviated Middle English Prose translation of the *Elucidarius*

C. W. Marx

I: Introduction

This article is an edition of a previously unnoticed Middle English prose translation of the Latin text known as the *Elucidarius* of Honorius Augustodunensis (*c.* 1070 to *c.* 1140), found in National Library of Wales manuscript Peniarth 12.[1] Details of the career of Honorius Augustodunensis are sketchy, but the work of Valerie Flint has done much to give it coherence and to offer plausible answers to a number of uncertainties.[2] He has been referred to as Honorius 'of Autun' but his association with that city has now been rejected. Honorius was in England for the early part of his career where he was a follower of Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury (1093-1109). The *Elucidarius* dates from this period, and some of the earliest and most authoritative manuscripts are of English provenance. Its account of the redemption shows the influence of Anselm's *Cur Deus Homo* (1098) possibly prior to its publication, because there is evidence to suggest that the *Elucidarius* may date from as early as 1096.[3]

The *Elucidarius* is a dialogue between a master and a pupil and is designed to make accessible some of the central doctrines of Christianity from the creation to the final judgement. It was a very popular work in the Middle Ages; the most recent census places the number of manuscripts of the the Latin text at 336.[4] There is a printing of the Latin text in the *Patrologia Latina*,[5] and in 1954 Yves Lefèvre published a new edition based on manuscripts in French libraries; he did not consult manuscripts in other European collections.[6] Nevertheless, Lefèvre's work gave the fullest account thus far of the textual history of the Latin *Elucidarius*, and subsequently, using the evidence of manuscripts of English provenance found in British collections, Valerie Flint has been able to give a more precise picture of the relationships of the different manuscript traditions and versions.[7]

The Latin manuscripts, along with the large number and variety of vernacular translations and adaptations, are testimony to the importance of the *Elucidarius* to medieval religious and spiritual life. There are translations and adaptations in most European Romance languages and in German, Old Norse, and Welsh.[8] The medieval French tradition is particularly interesting and complex.[9] On the other hand, the number of translations into English is relatively small with only three known versions prior to the discovery of the text in Peniarth 12,[10] although parts of it were used in the compilation of the *Cursor Mundi*.[11] The three translations are (1) the twelfth-century fragments in BL MS Cotton Vespasian D.xiv,[12] (2) the late fourteenth or early fifteenth-century translation of book one and five chapters of book two, found in Cambridge, St John's College MS G.25 and Cambridge University Library MS Ii.vi.26,[13] and (3) the printings by Wynkyn de Worde (*STC* 13685.5 and 13686) dated 1507 and 1523 (?). The second version is of interest because the compiler's revisions in a number of places and the addition of fourteen questions and answers suggest Wycliffite sympathies.[14]

II: Peniarth 12

National Library of Wales manuscript Peniarth 12 is a composite manuscript with fragments in different hands of different dates.[15] Evans's description used the older pagination, but what follows refers to modern foliation. The codicological history of the manuscript is complex, but the basis of it is a Welsh language manuscript with the inscription 'Llyfr Hugh Evans yw hwn Anno 1583' (This is Hugh Evans's book, 1583) (f. 79^{V}). This is a paper manuscript approximately 10 x 7 inches; in terms of modern foliation it consists of ff. 12-38, 67-81, written in one hand which is that of the inscription. The Middle English *Elucidarius* is found on ff. 1-11^{V} which is paper and approximately the same dimensions as the Welsh language manuscript. The hand is of the fourth quarter of the fifteenth century. Folios 12-38, 39-58 and 67-73 contain a Welsh language *Elucidarius*,[16] ff. 39-58 being an early fifteenth-century vellum fragment of the text around which Hugh Evans constructed his text.[17] These folios are followed by other religious writings in Welsh (ff. 74-81^{V}), with the exception of a Latin text of the Creed (f. 73^{V}). Necessary modern conservation work has meant that it is impossible to discover the original physical make-up of the paper manuscript. One hypothesis for the juxtaposition of the Welsh and English texts of the *Elucidarius* is that the compiler, Hugh Evans, beginning with the Welsh version, wrote the series of Welsh religious texts on the blank paper leaves of the fifteenth-

century paper manuscript already containing the Middle English text. On the other hand, the paper of ff. 1-11 is more faded and worn than that of the Welsh portion of the manuscript, and another explanation might be that Hugh Evans joined ff. 1-11 to his paper manuscript in which he had compiled or planned to compile his collection of Welsh religious texts, beginning with the already well known and well established Welsh version of the *Elucidarius*. Whichever explanation is the more convincing, the juxtaposition of the two versions of the text was no doubt purposeful, and part of a programme to compile a group of religious texts mainly in Welsh.

The manuscript has been bound in 8 parchment folios from a fifteenth-century liturgical manuscript, now numbered ff. iii and iv at the beginning and ff. 82-87 at the end. Folios 86-87^{v} contain an English language text (ending imperfectly), also previously unnoticed, of 'Instructions on preparing for death'.[18]

III: The Language of the Elucidarius in Peniarth 12

On the basis of my census of the linguistic forms of the fragment of Peniarth 12 containing the *Elucidarius* (ff. 1-11), Professor Angus McIntosh has indicated that the scribe's language is of the late fifteenth century, and could have originated in SW Worcestershire or S Herefordshire, with the latter as the most likely location. It is not highly distinctive dialectally, and there is little evidence of earlier forms, which suggests that the language of the manuscript is close to that of the translation. Of the linguistic profiles from Herefordshire and Worcestershire given in the *Linguistic Atlas of Late Medieval English*,[19] the language of the fragment of Peniarth 12 shows the closest correspondence with LP 7481 which is of the language of hands A and B of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson B 173.[20] This manuscript is of the middle of the fifteenth century and contains a text of the prose *Brut* ending at 1431.[21] Internal evidence associates the manuscript with a number of sites in west Herefordshire including Abbey Dore, and the *Linguistic Atlas* places LP 7481 in the extreme west of Herefordshire, near the Welsh border.[22] The linguistic profile of the fragment of Peniarth 12 that follows is necessarily selective.

THESE these
SHE sche (she)
HER hur
IT hit
THEY they (þey) ((he, thay))
THEM hem ((them, þem))
THEIR þer (her, hur, ther, there)
SUCH suche
WHICH whiche ((which))
MANY many
MAN man
ANY eny
MUCH moche (muche) ((much))
ARE byn ((be, byne, ben))
IS is
WAS was
SHALL *sg:* schall (schal, shall)
pl: schall, schull
SHOULD *sg:* schulde (schuld)
WILL *sg:* woll
WOULD *sg:* wolde (wold)
FROM from, fro ((ffro))
AFTER after
THEN then ((þen))
THAN than (then)
THOUGH though, thouȝ
IF yef
AGAINST ayenst
BEFORE afore
YET yet
STRENGTH strength
DEATH dethe ((deþe))
EARTH erthe
NOT not
WORLD worlde (world)
WORK worche
MIGHT *vb:* myght (mighte)
WHEN when
Sb pl: -s, -is (-es)
Pres part: -yng, -ing
Str pt pl: -en, -yn, --, (ne)
ASK aske, ask-
BEFORE *pr:* afore
BOTH bothe (boþe)
BUT but ((butt))
CALL *ppl:* callid, clepid, clepte, ycallid, callyde, called
CHURCH churche (chyrche)
DAY *pl:* daies
DIE *pt:* died
DID *pt:* did
EYE *sg:* ye
FATHER fader
FIRE fire (fyre)
FIRST furste, furst (firste, first, fyrst)
GATE yate
GIVE *ppl:* geve
GOOD good ((gode))
HAS hathe, hath ((haþe))
HAUE *inf:* haue
pt-sg: had (hed)
HIGH hie (hye)
HILL hill
HIM hym
I y
LITTLE litill, litull
MOTHER moder
NEITHER + NOR noþer . . . nor (noþer . . . noþer, noþer, noþer . . . ne)
SAY sey (say)
SEE *pt-sg:* say
SELF selfe, self
SIN *sb:* synne (syn)
SON son ((sonne, sone))
SOUL soule
SUN sone
THEE the
THIRD thrid
THOU thou ((thow, þou))
THY + *vow:* thyn, thi
UNTIL tyll
WENT wente (went)
WHETHER weþer (whare)
WHY why ((whi))
WITHOUT without
YE ye
YOU you

This linguistic profile contains 84 tests, 64 of which were also used to construct LP 7481. Of those 64 tests applied to the language of the fragment of Peniarth 12, 49 correspond with majority or minority features of LP 7481. The linguistic profile of Peniarth 12, although not identical with LP 7481, shows a close affinity with it. Some of the differences could be accounted for as the result of late fifteenth-century 'modernizing' of the language. The minority forms 'clepid' and 'clepte' in Peniarth 12 have not been counted among the correspondences with LP 7481. LP 7481 has only the form 'cleped' for the past participle, while the majority forms in Peniarth 12 derive from 'call'. Peniarth 12's minority forms 'clepid' and 'clepte' may be survivals of an earlier dialectal feature that was gradually being replaced. The process of 'modernizing' may obscure an even closer affinity between the languages of the Peniarth 12 fragment and LP 7481.

The place names found in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson B 173, which was used to construct LP 7481, are all from west Herefordshire in a region known as Ergyng (Archenfield) which 'disappeared definitively into Herefordshire but remained Welsh-speaking for three hundred years' after the act of union (1536).[23] Gwyn Williams further describes Ergyng as an area which was 'to produce so many Welsh notables that it begins to look like some lowland Snowdonia with a West Country accent'.[24] Here the landowners and gentry were Welsh speaking, and these households provided the main context for the preservation of manuscripts. That the language of the Peniarth 12 fragment may be from west Herefordshire and therefore this same region, goes some way to explain its survival in what is predominantly a post-medieval Welsh language compilation.

IV: The design of the text

This section examines how the compiler worked with the source, and from that will attempt to discover something of the design and purpose of this Middle English version of the *Elucidarius*. A medieval translator cannot always be assumed to have been guided by the sole purpose of rendering the original as accurately as possible. A translator would *use* a text in a number of different ways; translation could mean – and frequently did mean – adaptation of an important text for a different purpose or audience. Medieval translation needs to be seen as involving several processes, and some of the processes involved in the compilation of this Middle English text will become apparent in the discussion that follows.

It is important at the beginning to acknowledge that the compiler worked in

such a way that the question of the language of the translator's examplar cannot be finally resolved. However, two types of evidence suggest Latin. First, passages discussed below that reproduce the sense of the original seem at the same time to be drawing directly on the Latin vocabulary; there is little to suggest an intermediary. Where there are departures from the original – and these are many – they seem purposeful, part of the design of the compiler. Second, one passage of Middle English in particular is awkward and problematic in such a way as to suggest that at this point the translator had difficulty with the Latin text:

> For anon as Eue was made, sche was preuaricate. And the iij owre after was preuaricate, and then they put names to bestis, and þe sext owre was woman made, and anon sche presumyd to ete of the appyll, and so she toke parte þerof to Adam, whiche for hur loue did ete therof, wherefore at nyne of the clocke God put hem out of Paradise. (30/2-6)

The counterpart in the Latin reads:

> Quia, mox ut mulier fuit creata, confestim est praevaricata; tertia hora vir creatus imposuit nomina animalibus; hora sexta mulier formata continuo de vetito pomo praesumpsit viroque mortem porrexit, qui ob ejus amorem comedit; et mox, hora nona, Dominus de paradiso eos ejecit. (I.91)
>
> [For, as soon as the woman was created, immediately she sinned. At the third hour, the man, who had been created, named the animals. At the sixth hour the woman, who had been formed, straightaway took of the forbidden fruit, and offered death to the man, who ate it because of his love for her. And soon afterwards, at the ninth hour, the Lord expelled them from Paradise.]

The first phrase of the Latin version reads, 'As soon as the woman was created, immediately she sinned (*est praevaricata*)'. The translator renders the verb element by element, 'was preuaricate', but does not understand its sense. The *MED* records only 'prevaricatour, prevaricatrice'. The next phrase of the Latin reads, 'at the third hour, the man, who had been created, named the animals'; in the Middle English this is rendered as, 'And the iij owre after was preuaricate . . .'. In these two instances the

Middle English makes little sense, and the problems stem from the Latin, either the translator's misunderstanding of the verb *praevaricor*, or an error in the exemplar. Both types of evidence are not decisive, but the balance of probability favours a Latin source.

The evidence of the text edited by Schmitt suggests that this passage of Latin presented some difficulties for translators:

> For anoon as þe womman was maid, soone aftir sche was pryued fro þe grete lordschip þat sche hadde to breke goddes heestis, & leide deeþ bifore hir husbonde, þat was dampned for to moche loue schewynge to hir & to litil to god.[25]

Here the translator evades the more difficult aspects of the Latin text.

The original Latin text of the *Elucidarius* is in three books, and its content and structure are set out below; references are to book and chapter divisions in the Lefèvre edition.

Table One
Latin *Elucidarius*

Book I: De Divinis Rebus	
I.1	prologue
I.2-15	God, the Trinity
I.16-26	creation
I.27-56	angels, devils
I.57-93	creation and fall of human kind
I.94-118	redemption
I.119-140	incarnation and life of Christ
I.141-161	passion of Christ and the redemption
I.162-176	ascension of Christ
I.177-184	the body of Christ and the Eucharist
I.185-202	the priesthood and corrupt priests
Book II: De Rebus Ecclesiasticis	
II.2-20	evil, sin, and sinners
II.21-33	providence and predestination
II.34-45	creation of souls, corruption of souls, baptism
II.46-51	marriage and impediments

II.52-66	the estates, religious and secular
II.67-77	forgiveness of sins, acts of penance and devotion
II.78-87	condition of humanity; relations between God and humanity
II.88-93	guardian angels; role of devils
II.94-105	extreme unction, death, and burial
Book III: De Futura Vita	
III.1-11	departure of the spirit after death; Paradise; Purgatory
III.12-23	the fate of the damned after death; Hell
III.24-32	the state of souls before the Judgement
III.33-37	the Antichrist
III.38-49	the general resurrection
III.50-78	the Judgement
III.79-121	eternal blessedness

The second table shows the content of the late fourteenth or early fifteenth-century Middle English prose text of the *Elucidarius* edited by Schmitt from two manuscripts: Cambridge, St John's College MS G.25, and Cambridge, University Library MS Ii.6.26.

Table 2
Schmitt edition of the ME prose *Elucidarius*

I.1	Prologue
I.2-6, 10-15	God, the Trinity
I.16-21, 23-26	creation
I.27-36, 40-50, 54-56	angels, devils
I.57-59, 61, 63, 65-73, 75-77, 82-85, 87-93	creation and fall of human kind
I.94-104, 107-108, 112-118	redemption
I.119-125, 130-134, 138-139	incarnation and life of Christ
I.141-146, 148, 160-161	passion of Christ and the redemption
I.162, 166, 168-170, 173-176	ascension of Christ
I.178-179, 181-182	the body of Christ and the Eucharist
I.185-188, 195-198	the priesthood and corrupt priests
Eleven questions and answers not found in the Latin text (Schmitt, pp. 29-31)	
II.8	religious orders
One question and answer not found in the Latin text (Schmitt, p. 32)	
II.3-4, 6-7	evil, sin, and sinners

Two questions and answers not found in the Latin text (Schmitt, pp. 34-35)

The third table shows the parts of the Latin that are represented in the Middle English prose text in Peniarth 12; references in bold are to book and chapter divisions in the Lefèvre Latin edition, followed in brackets by page and line references in the Middle English text. Indentation indicates that references are uncertain; these are discussed below. The manuscript shows that at some stage an exemplar had been damaged so that the text breaks off at III.59.[26]

Table three
The Middle English *Elucidarius* in Peniarth 12

I.1 (26/1-3 Myn . . . this): prologue
I.2-3, 6 (26/3-20 Hit . . . fire): God, the Trinity
I.62-63 (26/21-25): creation of human kind
I.29-40, 45, 48, 50, 56 (26/26 - 28/15): angels, fall of the angels, devils
I.68-71, 74-76, 79-82, 85-91, 93 (28/16 - 30/8): creation and fall of human kind
I.120, 126, 130 (30/9-24): incarnation and life of Christ
I.147-149, 159-161 (30/25 - 31/21): passion of Christ, redemption, descent into Hell
I.164-165, 167-169, 172-174 (31/22 - 32/22): resurrection and ascension
I.179 (32/23-28): body of Christ and the sacraments
I.190, 198 (32/29 - 33/8): corrupt priests
II.2, 17, 19 (33/9 - 34/10): evil, sin, sinners
II.22 (34/11-14): providence
II.44-45 (34/15-18): those conceived in adultery
II.53-62 (34/19 - 35/31): the estates, religious and secular
II.68-70, 72, 77 (35/32 - 36/17): forgiveness of sins, acts of penance and devotion
II.79 (36/18-26): condition of humanity; time of death
II.88-92 (36/27 - 37/17): guardian angels; role of devils
III.1-23 (37/18-25): fate of souls after death
III.30 (37/26 - 38/5): state of souls before Judgement
II.92-93 (38/12-20 But . . . Hell): role of the devils
III.14 (38/26 - 39/4 Maister . . . lemmys): fate of the damned after death; the pains of Hell
III.18 (39/4-8 And . . . ordeynd): fate of the damned after death
II.94, 100-104 (39/14-31 And . . . theryn): extreme unction; despair; death and

burial
III. 13, 19-23 (39/32 - 40/19): Hell, fate of the damned after death
III.25, 30, 32 (40/20-31): state of souls before the Judgement
III.33-35, 37 (40/32 - 41/27): the Antichrist
III.39, 45, 43, 44, 47, 49 (41/28 - 42/20): general resurrection
III.51-52, 54-56, 59 (42/21 - 43/17): Judgement

The three tables show that while the compiler of the text edited by Schmitt was prepared to alter the text by adding new questions and answers at two strategic points – and we discover that elsewhere he altered the emphasis in some passages[27] – he followed closely the structure and content of the Latin original as far as the beginning of book II. This is in sharp contrast to Peniarth 12's radical approach to the original. In Peniarth 12 the Latin *Elucidarius* is represented in the Middle English text in a fragmentary way; of a possible 368 chapters of the Latin text, 120 have counterparts in the Middle English – this does not include those marked as doubtful in table three, and to which at best the text only alludes. This means that roughly one third of the Latin text is in some way incorporated into the Middle English text. The Commentary and the discussion of the compiler's strategies that follows show that even where the compiler uses chapters from the Latin, he frequently omits large portions, or changes the substance of chapters. In the light of what emerges about the compiler's treatment of the Latin text, it would be more accurate to say that less than one quarter of the Latin is represented in the English text. This degree of selectivity encourages us to investigate the design and purpose of this version of the text, and the processes by which a compiler adapted a popular work for an imagined audience. This version might be explained in whole or in part in terms of the exemplar of the translation, that is, that some or all of the features of selection and design of this version were features of a Latin recension. This hypothesis remains a possibility, but none of the evidence provided by the work of Lefèvre on the Latin and French texts and the editions of the French texts by Martha Kleinhans and Henning Düwell suggest an exemplar for the text in Peniarth 12.[28]

At this stage something should be said about the Latin textual tradition from which the Middle English text of Peniarth 12 derives. In his edition of the Latin text, Lefèvre concluded that his 'short text' was the original, and he printed passages – that he considered additions – from two separate textual traditions in two distinct ways. Valerie Flint has demonstrated that although Lefèvre was basically correct in the way he isolated the separate families of manuscripts, he was incorrect in his conclusion that the 'short text' represented the original version; it would be better referred to as

the 'shortened text'.[29] Nevertheless, where the highly selective text of Peniarth 12 runs parallel to the Latin, there are no instances where the Middle English contains translations of those passages that occur in the longer versions and that were identified by Lefèvre as additions.[30] This evidence links the Middle English text of Peniarth 12 to the 'shortened text' of the Latin, the manuscripts of which are late ones.

The design and purpose of the Middle English text are suggested as much by what has been omitted as by what has been retained of the Latin text. We cannot be certain that every omission or selection of material is purposeful or part of the same campaign of translation and revision. However, in the light of tables one and three, several features about the Middle English text emerge. The Middle English version is not concerned with historical doctrine; it includes nothing of the *Elucidarius*'s discussion of the doctrine of the redemption (I.94-119). And, it is not concerned with the subtleties of theological argument; although the text includes questions from the Latin concerning God and the Trinity (I.2-15), the Middle English uses only three of those chapters (I.2-3, 6), and ignores a long series of questions on the nature of God, heavenly beings, and the first stages of creation (I.7-28), for example: 'Cum omnipotentia vel summa clementia de Patre praedicetur, quare non mater vocatur?' (I.7), 'Scit Deus omnia?' (I.13), 'Sentiunt elementa Deum?' (I.21), 'Quare novem angelorum?' (I.24). For the life of Christ, beginning with questions on the incarnation (I.120-140), the Middle English has only 3 chapters (I.120, 126, 130), but represents the passion of Christ and Christ's work of redemption (I.141-161) more fully, but still selectively, using 6 chapters (I.147-149, 159-161). Although the compiler includes questions such as 'Cur voluit nasci de virgine?' (I.120), and 'Cur jacuit in sepulcro duas noctes et unum diem?' (I.159), questions such as 'Quare in triginta annis nec docuit nec signum fecit?' (I.137) and 'Quid dedit ei Pater pro hoc merito?' (I.154) are ignored. For the final sequence of book I on the body of Christ, the Eucharist, the role of priests, and the issue of efficacy of the sacraments administered by corrupt priests (I.177-202), the Middle English has only 3 chapters (I.179, 190, 198). In contrast, these are a particularly important subject for the version of the *Elucidarius* edited by Schmitt, where they may have been made controversial through possible Wycliffite influence.[31] The compilation acknowledges the main subjects of the Latin text, but has selected chapters in a judicious way to provide what the compiler perceived as materials essential to the church's teaching on creation, fall, and Christ's passion, and the role of priests.

Book II of the Latin is concerned with human salvation in the world through the church. From this, questions of providence and predestination (II.22-33) are represented by only one chapter (II.22), on the nature of providence, and from the

sequence on the creation of souls, corruption of souls and baptism (II.34-45) there are only two chapters in the Middle English, those concerning whether a soul is harmed that was conceived in an adulterous relationship (II. 44-45). There are no chapters reflecting the questions on marriage and impediments to marriage (II.46-51). On the other hand, the compiler takes over much of the sequence on the estates, both religious and secular (II.53-62), and the chapters concerning forgiveness of sins, acts of penance and devotion. Of the questions on the condition of human kind and the relationship between God and human kind (II.78-87) only one, II.79 on the hour of one's death, appears in the Middle English, but almost the whole of the sequence on guardian angels and the role of devils has been included (II.88-93). Again, the interest of the text is less on doctrine and abstract concepts such as predestination and the creation and corruption of souls, and more on the immediate and practical aspects of forgiveness of sins, salvation and protection for the soul from the forces of the Devil. An important feature of this version is the emphasis on the salvation of the individual: it omits questions such as those concerning marriage, and focuses on the questions of the salvation of members of religious and secular estates through which individuals define their identities in the world.

The range of subjects of the chapters from the first part of book III (1-32) on the fates of souls after death appear in the Middle English, although the compiler has used them selectively, and has altered the order of the materials. The later questions of book III (33 ff.), the Antichrist, the general resurrection, and the Judgement are fully represented in the Middle English, although it breaks off in the midst of III.59 because of damage to the exemplar. As with the emphasis in the material drawn from book II, here the text is concerned with the salvation of the soul and the fate of the soul after death, in Heaven or Hell, something that was of profound importance to individuals in the Middle Ages.

Apart from the compiler's selection of materials from the standard text of the *Elucidarius*, the most radical revision comes in 37/18 - 39/14. This is of a piece, and is placed between materials drawn from II.92 and II.94. It comes in the context of 36/27 - 37/17 which is drawn from II.88-92 and which concerns angels and how spirits – both good and evil – appear to individuals on earth; 37/18 - 39/14 begins with the question of the different fates of the spirits of human beings after death, and this is the subject of book III of the Latin, 'De futura vita'. Thus, 37/18-25 might refer in general terms to Latin III.1-28. The next paragraph, 37/26 - 38/5, addresses the question of the appearance on earth of souls after death, which is taken up in III.30, but the debt of the Middle English for specific details is slight:

> . . .[Animae] quae autem in poenis sunt, non apparent, nisi ab angelis permittantur, ut pro liberatione sua rogent aut liberatae gaudium suum amicis suis nuntient. [Animae] quae in inferno sunt, nulli apparere possunt; si autem aliquando videntur apparere sive in somnis sive vigilantibus, non ipsae, sed daemones creduntur in illarum specie, qui etiam in angelos lucis se transfigurant, ut decipiant . . . . (III.30)
>
> [Souls which are in punishment may not appear unless they are permitted by the angels, so that they may ask for their freedom or, having been freed, may announce their joy to their friends. Souls which are in Hell, may in no way appear. If, however, they seem to appear at any time, either in sleep or to those who are awake, it is not they, but are believed to be devils who have taken their form, who indeed may transform themselves into angels of light so that they may practise deception.]

The question raised in 38/12-13 is based on II.92-93: 'Sunt daemones hominibus insidiantes?' and 'Possunt [daemones] obsidere quos volunt?'. But the answer in the Middle English (38/14-15) is more practical and immediate teaching on the consequences of committing sin, concluding with a warning about the pains of Hell. At this point the compiler introduces material taken directly from book III of the Latin (38/26 - 39/4: Latin III.14) on the pains of Hell. The list in the sentence 39/4-8 is drawn from III.18, but has been adapted to the context of the vernacular text. The address of the pupil to the master (ME 39/9-14) has a precedent in III.1, and this leads to the question with which this passage ends (39/14-15) and which has been taken from II.94, 'Quid valet olei unctio infirmis?'. Here the compiler has returned to roughly the point in the Latin text from which he departed at 37/18. As a whole, this passage shows more extensive revisions than are found elsewhere in this version, and that these revisions were carried out self-consciously is suggested by a remark in 40/1, '. . . and in this hell byn the peynes that Y rehersid afore'. The context of the remark is the abbreviation of III.13 on the nature of Hell which in the Latin leads to an account of the pains of Hell, III.14, a passage that in the Middle English has been moved to the earlier context (38/26 - 39/4). The revision is characterized by the self-assured way in which the compiler is prepared to improvise and to develop the text. It is a measure of the compiler's sense of purpose that he takes such radical steps to summarize and revise such a large portion of the original, and that he locates it in a

new context.

But, what is that purpose? The passage 39/4-8 provides one indication:

> And, sone, therfore exorte all these proude men, enuyouse men, gylefull men, gloteouse men, dronkyn men, lecherouse men, these manslears, cruell thefis, these maynteners of false maters by extorcion, advowtrers, ffalse lyars, blasphemars, bakebytars; for these the peynes of Hell byn ordeynd.

The counterpart for this in the Latin text is:

> **D.** Qui sunt membra ejus [Diaboli]? **M.** Superbi, invidi, fraudulenti, infidi, gulosi, ebriosi, luxuriosi, homicidae, crudeles, fures, praedones, latrones, immundi, avari, adulteri, fornicatores, mendaces, perjuri, blasphemi, malefici, detractores, discordes. Qui in his fuerint inventi ibunt in praedicta supplicia nunquam redituri. (III.18)

> [**Pupil**: Who are members of the Devil's company? **Master**: The proud, the envious, the deceitful, the faithless, the gluttonous, the drunkards, the lecherous, the murderers, the cruel, the thieves, the robbers, the bandits, the impure, the greedy, the adulterers, the fornicators, the liars, the perjurers, the blasphemers, the evil doers, the disparagers, the quarrelsome. Whoever is found among these will go into the foresaid torments never to return.]

In the vernacular text the pupil is being instructed – almost commanded – to warn individuals about their sinful activities, and to this is attached the threat of the pains of Hell. The vernacular text is designed here to serve almost a preacherly function and to construct an audience of the sinful.

Revisions of the original are not confined to this one passage, and many of the distinctive features of this Middle English version of the *Elucidarius* emerge in the ways in which the compiler treats the Latin text. These in turn reflect strategies to make the text more accessible, more practical, and more persuasive in terms of an implied audience. In answer to the question in I.87, 'Fuit scientia boni et mali in illo pomo?' the Latin has:

> Non in pomo, sed in transgressione. Ante peccatum scivit homo bonum et malum, bonum per experientiam, malum per scientiam; post peccatum autem scivit malum per experientiam, bonum tantum per scientiam. (I.87)
>
> [Not in the apple, but in the sin. Before sin, man knew good and evil, good through what he had experienced, evil through knowledge. After sin, however, he knew evil through what he had experienced, and good only through knowledge.]

The Middle English version reads:

> Nay, forsothe, not in the appull only, but in the transgressioun. So the appill myght haue ben take that whoso had ete of hym he schulde haue had all maner of connyng and knowleche of good and eke evill. (29/26-28)

The Middle English renders the first sentence but the introduction of 'only' adjusts the sense slightly. This prepares the way for the second sentence which bears little relation to the Latin, and contradicts the sense of the first Latin sentence. The Middle English evades the subtleties of the Latin and reproduces something more familiar which is closer to the sense of Genesis ii.17. This instance, and others, reveal aspects of the translator's strategy, to offer simple, uncomplicated explanations, and where necessary to override the sense of the Latin.

Some instances of revision show that one of the compiler's strengths is that he is able to harness the vernacular to create distinctive treatments of the raw materials of the Latin; in other words, the compiler is not a slave to the source. An example of this comes early in the text:

> The godhede is in the Trinite whos ymage, as hit is saide, hath a soule inasmuche that he hath yn hymselfe thre pryncypall thingis, that is to sey, he hath mynde, by the whiche he thynkith at oonys all thingis that byn paste and byn to comme; he hath also vndyrstonding, by the whiche all invisibill present thingis he vnderstondith; he hath also will, by the whiche all euyll he puttith away and takith to hym all goodnesse. And this, the soule of God, is callyde a spirituall fire. And God hymself is callid a

> spirituall substaunce. And this Y sey, my childe, that in the Trinite is but oon god, that is to sey but oon spirituall fire. (26/13-20)

At the basis of the Middle English is a short passage from I.6: 'Ex Patre omnia, per Filium omnia, in Spiritu Sancto omnia. Pater memoria, Filius intelligentia, Spiritus Sanctus voluntas intelligitur' ['From the Father all things, through the Son all things, in the Holy Spirit all things. The Father is understood to be memory, the Son understanding, the Holy Spirit the will']. The compiler has used the Latin to develop the idea of the Trinity and the implications of the metaphor of the spiritual fire, the soul of God. The metaphor is unique to the Middle English at this point, but has been drawn from elsewhere in the Latin text. Honorius accounts for the 'natura angelica' ['angelic nature'] as 'spiritualis ignis, ut dicitur, "qui facit angelos de flamma ignis" (Hebrews i.7)' (I.29) ['spiritual fire, as it is said, "who made the angels from the flame of fire"']. And in answer to the question about the origin of spiritual substance he gives the answer: 'Ex spirituali igne, ut creditur, in qua imago et similitudo Dei exprimitur' (I.60) ['From spiritual fire, as it is believed, in which the image and likeness of God are expressed']. Whereas the Latin (I.4-9) goes on to explain why the terms Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are used, the Middle English continues by developing the notion of the Trinity and avoids the fine distinctions of I.4-9. The work of the compiler here reflects considerable self-assurance and sense of purpose.

If the translator purposefully avoids rendering subtle arguments and precise distinctions in the Latin, he shows skill in developing imagery and metaphors. One strategy is to extend imagery in the Latin text. On the question of whether illegitimacy means that children are denied salvation, the Latin uses the simile: '. . . sicut nec tritico nocet, si furatum per furem fuerit seminatum' (II.44) ['just as it is not harmful to wheat if, having been stolen by a thief, it should be planted']. The Middle English text reads: '. . . no more than hit is hurte to whete when hit is thefe stolen; and sowen hit woll grow neuer the worse' (34/16-17). The translator has developed the conceit in idiomatic English. Elsewhere the pupil asks why Christ died on the cross, to which the master replies: 'Ut quadrifidum mundum salvaret' (I.149) ['so that he might save the four corners of the world']; the Middle English has this version of the answer:

> For like as a crosse hathe iiij cornars, right so haþe this worlde iiij quarters, and so the crosse that he died vpon betokynde the iiij quarterds worlde whiche was sauyd and redemyd ayeyne by that crosse. (30/33 - 31/1)

Whereas the Latin uses a metaphor, the translator draws out what is implicit and expands the metaphor into a double simile. The effect is less subtle and more explicit. The compiler will also introduce new metaphors. I.74 has the simile, 'sicut oculus se levat ad videndum, ita sine delectatione illud sensibile membrum perageret suum officium' ['as the eye lifts itself to see, so without pleasure the sexual organ would have carried out its function']. The Middle English version reads: 'And as the ye of a man beholdith sodenly that thing that he remembrith without eny labur or delectacion, right so schall that membre do his dere office' (28/31-33). The translator has developed this simile by moving the notion of 'sine delectatione' from the reference to the image, and by making the image more familiar in human terms – the experience of sudden recognition. At I.79 the Latin asks the question concerning Adam and Eve in the garden: 'Erant nudi?', to which the answer is: 'Nudi erant et non plus de illis membris quam de oculis erubescebant' ['They were naked and no more ashamed about their sexual organs than their eyes']. The Middle English reads: '. . . for þey schamyd no more that tyme of ther membris then a fayre woman dothe now of her clere and bewtifull face' (29/7-8). Here a more vivid and extensive comparison has been substituted for the phrase 'quam de oculis'.

The compiler's confidence with language includes developing didactic arguments and refining theological concepts for the audience of the Middle English text. He is able to create a narrative out of a traditionally formulated problem: 'Aliquando devorat lupus hominem et caro hominis vertitur in suam carnem; lupum vero ursus, ursum leo. Quomodo resurget ex his homo?' (III.45) ['When a wolf eats a man, and the flesh of the man is turned into his flesh, and a bear eats the wolf, and a lion eats the bear, how shall a man rise again from these?']. The Middle English version addresses the same issue, but is more expansive and less succinct:

> Maister, oþerwhiles a man is by aventure myschevide oþer with thefis oþer wilde bestis, and so lieth in the wildernesse till foulis and bestis han deuowrid hym and the nature of man ther by sustentacion is turned to the nature of an unresonable beste. How schall he rise at the dome or no? (41/35 - 42/3)

Here the question is conceived more as an exemplum than as a conundrum. The compiler of the *Cursor Mundi* develops this passage from the Latin *Elucidarius* in a similar way as an exemplum:

> A sample sal i sceu yow þar-bi

Þat i fand, of sant gregori.
Þar he was in a stede sum-quar,
An crafti clerc and wis o lare
And asked him a questiun
Of a wolf and a leon,
And of þe thrid þat was a man,
Quer-of þe tale þus bigan.[32]

On the question of sin II.2 reads:

> Omnia autem quae fecit Deus subsistunt; omnis vero substantia bona est, sed malum non habet substantiam: igitur malum nihil est. Quod autem malum dicitur nihil est aliud quam ubi non est bonum, sicut caecitas ubi non est visus aut tenebrae ubi non est lux, cum caecitas et tenebrae non sint substantiae. (II.2)
>
> [Everything which God made subsists; every substance is good, but evil does not have substance; therefore, evil is nothing. However, what is called evil is nothing else than where there is no good, just as blindness where there is no sight or shadows where there is no light, since blindness and shadows are not substances.]

The Middle English follows this (33/21-27), but embellishes the argument:

> . . . And so Y sey the, my son, that synne is nothing ellis but lacke of goodnesse. Where is synne, ther is no goodnesse, and þer is no goodnesse there is synne. And so, to conclude schortly, synne is nothing but absens of grace, and so synne may well be lykenyd to darkenesse for where is no light, ther is darkenesse. Right so, where is no grace, whiche is light of the soule, there is synne, whiche is darkenesse of the soule. (33/26-31)

The translator reformulates the argument and the simile (*sicut caecitas . . .*) by introducing the term 'grace' and the idea of 'grace' as the light of the soul, which are not referred to in the Latin, and by using grace in place of the concept of *substantia*. The compiler is sensitive to the effects of language; clearly the notion of 'grace' would

be more immediate to his imagined audience than the Aristotelian concept of 'substance'. The way in which the compiler treats the difficult concept of the sin against the Holy Ghost again shows confidence with language:

> **D.** Quae est 'blasphemia Spiritus Sancti, quae non remittitur neque in hoc saeculo neque in futuro?' (Matthew xii.31-32). **M.** Impoenitentia et diffidentia. In Spiritu Sancto datur remissio peccatorum; qui igitur de gratia Spiritus Sancti diffidit et non poenitet, hic blasphemat Spiritum Sanctum et hoc est irremissibile peccatum. (II.100)
>
> [**The pupil**: What is 'blasphemy against the Holy Spirit which is not remitted either in this world or in the world to come?'. **The master**: Impenitence and lack of faith. Remission of sins is given through the Holy Spirit; therefore, whoever does not believe in the grace of the Holy Spirit and does not repent, blasphemes against the Holy Spirit and this is an irredeemable sin.]

The Middle English reads:

> **D.** What is this, the syn in þe holy goste? **M.** Hit is no noþer but mystrust in ioynyd penaunce and that is called dispeyre. And whosoeuere is in this synne, he schall neuer be forgeve here nor yn the worlde that is to com. (39/20-23)

In its second sentence, the answer incorporates part of the quotation from Matthew xii.31-2 from the question in the Latin version. Here the Middle English is not a translation of the Latin but a succinct and idiomatic definition of what the compiler calls 'despeyre', introduced as a vernacular term.

The feature of the Middle English text that does most to set this version apart from the Latin and to reveal its function, is the way aspects of the text are used in a preacherly fashion to formulate moral arguments or warnings against dangers to the soul. The treatment of the following passage illustrates this strategy:

> **D.** Cur jacuit in sepulcro duas noctes et unum diem? **M.** Duae noctes significant nostras duas mortes, unam corporis, alteram

> animae; dies significat suam mortem, quae fuit lux nostrarum mortium; unam abstulit, alteram ad exercitium electis reliquit, quam denuo veniens exterminabit. (I.159)
>
> [**The pupil**: Why did he lie in the tomb for two nights and one day? **The master**: The two nights signify our two deaths, one of the body, the other of the spirit. The day signifies his death, which was the light of our deaths. He took one and left the other as a trial for the elect, which at his coming again he will destroy.]

The translator follows the first part of the Latin closely but he develops more fully the sense of the last clause ('unam abstulit . . . exterminabit'):

> Then oon of oure dethes he toke away from vs that was dethe of the soule, and that oþer dethe he lefte behynde whiche we die now-a-daies, that is, dethe of the body, by the whiche dethe, when he cometh ageyne at the day of the grete and dredfull iugement, he schall deme euery man after the way of rightfulnesse. (31/5-9)

For the first half of the Latin the compiler *translates* in the strict sense of the term, but where the Latin is succinct, almost cryptic, the compiler abandons translation in favour of explanations and warnings about the final judgement. Another instance of this preacherly strategy comes in ME 35/3-15 (Maister . . . dampnacion); the counterpart in the Latin is:

> **D.** Habent spem joculatores? **M.** Nullam. Tota namque intentione ministri sunt Satanae; de ipsis dicitur: "Deum non cognoverunt; ideo Deus sprevit eos et Dominus subsannabit eos, quia derisores deridentur" (Psalm ii.4) (II.58)
>
> [**The pupil**: Do jesters have hope (of salvation)? **The master**: None, for in all their doings they are ministers of the Devil, of whom it was said, 'They do not recognize God, and so God has spurned them, and the Lord will mock them, because the derisors will be derided'.]

The translator expands on the implications of the question and develops the answer into a homily against boasting about sins committed. The master urges on the pupil the role of instructing sinners: 'Therfore, my sonne . . . Y charge the that thou avise euery synner . . .'. In the context of the account of the fall of humankind, the translator uses the text for another preacherly warning:

> **D.** Locutus est serpens? **M.** Diabolus locutus est per serpentem, ut hodie loquitur per obsessum hominem, quemadmodum angelus locutus est per asinam, cum nec serpens nec asina scirent quid per eos verba illa sonarent. (I.85)
>
> [**The pupil**: Did the serpent speak? **The master**: The Devil spoke through the serpent, as today he speaks through man possessed, just as the angel spoke through an ass, since neither the serpent nor the ass knew what those words said through them.]
>
> **D.** Did the serpent speke to Eue? **M:** Nay, but the Deuyll speke in the serpente as they do now-a-daies by dede men, by the whiche many a man is gretely bygylid. And all is no more but temptacion of the Devill to make hem lye vpon a soule wrengfully which is to euery man that so dothe grete perile to his soule (29/17-21)

The translator follows the Latin up to 'by dede men', after which he abandons the source and uses the context to introduce a warning concerning the Devil's deceit. The episode of the Devil speaking to Eve is made to apply to the dangers faced by individuals in contemporary terms. Generally, the compiler uses strategies of persuasion and introduces practical didacticism into the Middle English text.

Several processes have gone into the construction of this Middle English version of the *Elucidarius*. The compiler has used close translation of the Latin original; he has developed images, metaphors and similes from the Latin into idiomatic vernacular expression; he has introduced new metaphors and similes; and he has introduced theological and religious language in a vernacular form. The compiler has also undertaken a radical programme of selection and restructuring of the original. And finally, the compiler has introduced into the text a preacherly strategy whereby many of the issues raised in the text are applied to the spiritual

needs of the audience. The imagined audience for the Middle English version is not theologically sophisticated, but nevertheless needs to understand essentials of salvation and the means to salvation through the church. The text addresses anxieties about souls conceived in adultery and the efficacy of the sacraments administered by corrupt priests. It also confronts the audience with the terrors of the afterlife for those who fail to work out their salvation within the framework of the church. This version of the *Elucidarius*, while it is not in itself a sermon, is a useful teaching aid and characterized by an important element of practical didacticism. What is remarkable about this text is the self-assurance of the compiler, particularly in the way he uses language. Within the constraints of his didactic purpose, he has produced a distinctive vernacular version of a text that was central to medieval religious life.

The edited text uses modern punctuation, capitalization and word division. Abbreviations have been silently expanded. Emendations are enclosed in square brackets, and omissions are signalled by $^{+}$. The apparatus records all rejected readings and scribal corrections.

NOTES

[1] I am grateful to the National Library of Wales for permission to reproduce the text in NLW MS Peniarth 12, ff. 1-11, and to the staff of the Reading Room of the Department of Manuscripts and Records of the NLW for their help in making this manuscript available. I wish to acknowledge the help and advice that I have received from Janet Burton and Oliver Pickering in preparing this article.

[2] Valerie Flint has published extensively on many aspects of the career and writings of Honorius Augustodunensis. She has gathered together a number of her articles in: *Ideas in the Medieval West: texts and their contexts* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1988). And, she has usefully summarized and up-dated her work on Honorius in: *Honorius Augustodunensis of Regensburg*, Historical and Religious Writers of the Latin West, Authors of the Middle Ages, 6 (Aldershot: Variorum, 1995).

[3] Flint, *Honorius Augustodunensis of Regensburg*, pp. 3-7.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 162; Dagmar Gottschall, ed., *Das 'Elucidarium' des Honorius Augustodunensis: Untersuchungen zu seiner Überlieferungs- und Rezeptionsgeschichte im deutschsprachigen Raum mit Ausgabe der niederdeutschen Übersetzung* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1992), pp. 297-306. Gottschall gives a list of 329 manuscripts and fragments, to which Flint adds seven.

[5] *Elucidarium sive Dialogus de Summa Totius Christianae Theologiae*, *PL* 172.1109-1176.

[6] Yves Lefèvre, *L'Elucidarium et les Lucidaires*, Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 180 (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1954).

[7] 'The Original Text of the *Elucidarium* of Honorius Augustodunensis from the Twelfth Century English Manuscripts', *Scriptorium*, 18 (1964), pp. 91-4.

[8] Flint, *Honorius Augustodunensis of Regensburg*, p. 131; Gottschall, ed., *Das 'Elucidarium' des Honorius Augustodunensis*; Ernstpeter Ruhe, ed., *Elucidarium und Lucidaires: Zur Rezeption des Werks von Honorius Augustodunensis in der Romania und in England* (Wiesbaden: Dr Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1993); *Elucidarius in Old Norse Translation*, ed. by Evelyn Scherabon Firchow and Kaaren Grimstad (Reykjavík: Stofnun Arnan Magnussonar, 1989). The Welsh version survives in over 20 manuscripts from the fourteenth to the eighteenth century; see: D. Simon Evans, *Medieval Religious Literature*, Writers of Wales (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1986), pp. 62-3. The Welsh text has been edited from Oxford, Jesus College MS 119 in: *The Elucidarium and other tracts in Welsh from Llyvyr Agkyr Llandewivrevi A.D. 1346*, ed. by J. Morris Jones and John Rhys (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1894).

[9] Lefèvre, *L'Elucidarium et Les Lucidaires*, pp. 269-329; Martha Kleinhans, ed., *'Lucidere vault tant a dire comme donnant lumiere': Untersuchung und Edition der Prosaversionen 2, 4 und 5 des 'Elucidarium'* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1993); Henning Düwell, ed., *Eine Altfranzösische Übersetzung des Elucidarium: Edition des Elucidaire der Handschrift Lambeth Palace 431*, Beiträge zur romanischen Philologie des Mittelalters, 7 (München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1974).

[10] English language prose texts of the *Elucidarius* or *Lucidarie* are listed under items 257 and 454 in R. E. Lewis, N. F. Blake, and A. S. G. Edwards, *The Index of Printed Middle English Prose* (New York: Garland, 1985). See also 'Elucidarium' in Francis Lee Utley, 'Dialogues, Debates, and Catechisms' in *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English 1050-1500*, vol. 3, ed. by Albert E. Hartung (Hamden, Conn: The Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1972), pp. 741-2, 899-900.

[11] John J. Thompson, *'The Cursor Mundi': Poem, Texts and Contexts*, Medium Ævum Monographs, 19 (Oxford: Society for the Study of Medieval Languages and Literature, 1998), pp. 100, 159-68.

[12] Max Förster, 'Two Notes on Old English Dialogue Literature', in *An English Miscellany presented to Dr. Furnivall in honour of his seventy-fifth birthday* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1901), pp. 86-106 (86-101); the text printed corresponds to Lefèvre's edition I.164, 166-174 (pp. 390-92). *Early English Homilies from the Twelfth Century MS Vesp. D. XIV*, ed. by Rubie D-N. Warner, EETS OS 152 (1907), pp. 140-43 (Lefèvre II.2-16, pp. 405-412) and 144-45 (Lefèvre I.164, 166-74, pp. 390-92).

[13] Friedrich Schmitt, ed., *Die Mittelenglische Version des Elucidariums des Honorius Augustodunensis* (Burghausen: W. Trinkl, 1909).

[14] Martha Kleinhans, 'Zwischen Orthodoxie und Häresie: Die Englischsprachige Rezeption des Elucidarium', in Ruhe, ed., *Elucidarium und Lucidaires: Zur Rezeption des Werks von Honorius Augustodunensis in der Romania und in England*, pp. 291-324.

[15] The manuscript is described in J. Gwenogvryn Evans, *The First Portion of the Welsh Manuscripts at Peniarth, Towyn, Merioneth*, Report on Manuscripts in the Welsh Language, vol. I, part II (London: Historical Manuscripts Commission, 1899), pp. 323-5.

[16] This is a text of the Welsh *Elucidarius* edited from Oxford, Jesus College MS 119 in *The Elucidarium and other tracts in Welsh from Llyvyr Agkyr Llandewivrevi A.D. 1346*, pp. 5-76.

[17] In his description of the manuscript, J. Gwenogvryn Evans demonstrates the relationship of the text in ff. 39-58 to the main text of the *Elucidarius*. This fragment was originally part of the *Red Book of Talgarth* (NLW Llanstephan MS 27). A second fragment, ff. 59-66, originally numbered pp. 117-32, was removed to Peniarth 4 in 1940. The contents are listed in Evans's description.

[18] This is the 'A' version; see *IPMEP* 460 and P. S. Jolliffe, *A Check-List of Middle English Prose Writings of Spiritual Guidance* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1974), L.5 and N.9. For the counterpart to the text in Peniarth 12 see William Masskell, ed., *Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, 3 vols (London: William Pickering, 1846-47), III, pp. 353-6.

[19] Angus McIntosh, M. L. Samuels, Michael Benskin, *A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English*, 4 vols (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1986), III, pp. 161-175, pp. 550-564.

[20] *Ibid.*, III, pp. 172-3.

[21] F. D. W. Brie, *Geschichte und Quellen der mittelenglischen Prosachronik: the Brut of England oder The Chronicles of England* (Marburg: N. G. Elwert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1905), pp. 92-3; Lister M. Matheson, *The Prose 'Brut': the development of a Middle English Chronicle*, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 180 (Tempe, Arizona, 1998), pp. 101-102, 312.

[22] See 'Key map 2', *LALME* II, p. 384.

[23] Gwyn A. Williams, *When Was Wales?* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1985), p. 119.

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 68.

[25] Schmitt, ed., *Die mittelenglische Version des Elucidariums*, p. 15.

[26] There are 122 paragraphs in book III of the Lefèvre Latin edition.

[27] On the changes of emphasis see Martha Kleinhans, 'Zwischen Orthodoxie und Häresie', pp. 298-306.

[28] See above notes 9 and 13. Martha Kleinhans (pp. 262-633) conveniently provides a synoptic edition of the Old French prose versions 2, 4 and 5 along with the Latin text.

[29] Flint, 'The Original Text of the *Elucidarium*'.

[30] See the Commentary under: 26/21-25; 27/2-24; 27/32 - 28/11; 28/16-27; 30/9-16; 30/25 - 31/1; 31/2-21; 32/29-35; 34/15-18; 34/19 - 35/31; 36/27 - 37/17.

[31] See Martha Kleinhans, 'Zwischen Orthodoxie und Häresie', pp. 298-306.

[32] R. Morris, ed., *Cursor Mundi*, 7 vols, EETS OS 57, 59, 62, 66, 68, 99, 101 (1874-93), IV, pp. 1308-10; the lines given are ll. 22887-94; the narrative runs to l. 22933.

NLW Peniarth 12 (*olim* Hengwrt 202), fols. 1^{r}–11^{v}

fol. 1^{r}

Myn owne dere maister, in wey of informacyon Y beseche you that ye woll awnswere to me to all suche questions as Y schall aske you, in whiche questions Y am yet fer from the very trew way of vndyrstonding. And my furst question schall be this. Hit is saide that no man can tell what is God, whiche seying is full derke and contrary to oure feith that we schulde worschipp that thing that we know not. Therfore, my gentill maister, tell me what thing is God?

The maister: God, as ferforthe as man may know, is a spirituall substaunce.

The chylde: Maister, Y pray you tell me also how Y schall vndyrstond that in the Trinite is but o God?

M: Thus, in the sone ther byn thre thyngis that may not be departid from oþer. The fyrst is fyry substaunce, the secunde is brightnesse, the thrid is heete. In this firy [substaunce] we vndyrstonde the Fader; in the brightnesse the Sone; in the heete the Holy Goste. The godhede is in the Trinite whos ymage, as hit is saide, hath a soule inasmuche that he hath yn hymselfe thre pryncypall thingis, that is to sey, he hath mynde, by the whiche he thynkith at oonys all thingis that byn paste and byn to comme; he hath also vndyrstonding, by the whiche all invisibill present thingis he vnderstondith; he hath also will, by the whiche all euyll he puttith away and takith to hym all goodnesse. And this, the soule of God, is callyde a spirituall fire. And God hymself is callid a spirituall substaunce. And this Y sey, my childe, that in the Trinite is but oon god, that is to sey but oon spirituall fire.

The childe: Maister, did God make man with hondis or no?

M: Nay, sone, but only by his commaundement.

The childe: Why did God make man of so vnclene a mater?

M: To the grete and more schame of his enmye, the Deuyll, that so vile and so fraile a thing schulde enter into euerlastyng ioy ffro the whiche ioy he fell adown.

D: Yet, Y pray you, tell me whate is the nature of angelis?

M: Hit is a [f. 1^{v}] spirituall fire as hit is preuyd by scripture that God made angels of a flam of fire.

D: Han Angels names or no?

M: Nay, for ther is so grete connyng in angels that they nede no names. Michael,

Gabriel, Raphael byn not names but only as by office.

D: How [did] Lucifer contary to God?

M: When he say hymself excell all the orders of angels in ioy and worschip, then he wolde haue byn egall with God or gretter than God.

D: How wolde he haue byn egall or grettyr?

M: A bettyr astate then God hed geve to hym he wolde haue had notwithstonding his will.

D: What befill of hym then?

M: Anon, he was caste out from the hie palice of pease vnto the euerlasting prison of peyne.

D: Knew he his fall or no?

M: Nay, forsothe.

D: How long was Lucifer in hevyn after he was made?

M: Not fully an owre, for anon as he was made, he fell adoun.

D: Whi was he ther no lengyr?

M: Leste that he schulde haue tastid and know eny thing of the hye conning and preueteis of Hevyn.

D: What did oþer angels that fill with hym?

M: They concentid to his will; and thought yef he myght haue had his will forto haue bynn gretter then God, þat they then wolde haue had a grettyr power then they hed at that tyme.

D: What become of hem?

M: Som of hem were caste into Hell with hym, and som into the darkenesse of the eyre in the whiche they brenn as in Hell unto this day.

D: Whi did not God make angels suche that they myght not synne?

M: For rightfulnesse only, that they mighte of þer owne merite deserve the grete rewarde of euerlasting lif, for and they hed byn so made that they myght not haue synnyd, then they had byn in maner as bonde, and so by rightfulnesse they schulde haue had no rewarde, for God did geve hem fre will and vndirstonding to chese good and to leve all euyll. And yef they had so do, then of right they schulde haue had rewarde.

D: Maister, know deuyllis all thingis as angels don?

M: Nay, forsothe, they know noþing of future [f. 2^{r}] thingis, and that knowleche that

they haue is only of angelike nature, whiche was geve þem at ther creacion. And so þey know noþing of tyme to com but only hit be by Godis grete sufferaunce. And also thought and will no man knowith but only God, thouȝ comyn seying be contrarye. Therfore, thought and thing that is to com is reservide only to God and to suche that he woll geve power by revelacyon.

D: May they do all thyng that they wold?

M: Nay; good they noþer will to do noþer woll not [to do]. All evill they be euer redy [to do] as ferforthe as they may.

D: What rewarde had good angels?

M: After the fall of evill angels, they hed to hur rewarde that þey were made so stedfaste that though they wolde synne, they may not.

D: Know gode angels all thing?

M: Þer is no thing vndure nature and kinde but they know hit, for all that euer they know or may do, they do hit by the hye and grete power of God. And all that euer they woll do, thay may do hit without eny difficulte.

D: Maister, Y pray you tell where man was made?

M: In Ebron, and þen he was put into Paradise.

D: What is Paradise?

M: My childe, Paradise is a place moste merieste in the est, in the whiche place ther growen dyuerse trees of kynde which bere frutis of grete vertu ayenst dyuerse sikenesses. Sum hed suche vertu that yef thou ete of his frute thou scholdiste neuer hungre, noþer þurste, and of som thou schuldiste neuer wery. And yef thou ete of som maner frute, þou scholdiste neuer wax elde, whiche frute spryngith of the tre of life, and whoso etith of hym, he schall neuer dye.

D: Where was Eue made?

M: In Paradise of the side of man being aslepe. And so likewise as they be in flesche oon, so they scholde alway be oon in will and mynd.

D: How schulde the office of generacion haue ben do and Adam hed not synnyd?

M: I schall tell you: likewise as thou woldyste put thi oun honde into thyn other, right so schulde that sensible membre do [f. 2^{v}] his office without eny maner concupiscence. And as the ye of a man beholdith sodenly that thing that he remembrith without eny labur or delectacion, right so schall that membre do his dere office.

D: What wise schulde the moder [haue] bere the childe?

M: Forsothe, without all sorowe and vnclennesse.

D: Schulde the children haue byn as feble then as now without speche?

M: Nay truly, my sone, for anon as they were bore, he schulde haue walkid and spokyn, and the furst mete that he schulde haue etyn schuld haue be of the tre of life, and so he schulde haue be euermore in oone astate euer in age and goodnesse.

D: Was Adam and Eue nakid & bare when they were in Paradise?

M: Ye, forsothe, for þey schamyd no more that tyme of ther membris then a fayre woman dothe now of her clere and bewtifull face.

D: Why schamed they not as well afore they hed synned as they dyd after ther synne?

M: For, afore that they synnyd they hed no maner of concupiscence nor voluptuosite of that membre whiche they schame most now of, and for because þat they haue so moche concupiscence only in that membre, therfore hit is assigned by God to haue hit in moste scham of all oþer.

D: Did they se God in Paradise?

M: Ye, forsothe; likewise as Abraham and oþer prophetis say hym, that is, as he did ascende.

D: Did the serpent speke to Eue?

M: Nay, but the Deuyll speke in the serpente as they do now-a-daies by dede men, by the whiche many a man is gretely bygylid. And all is no more but temptacion of the Devill to make hem lye vpon a soule wren[g]fully whiche is to euery man that so dothe grete perile to his soule.

D: Why did he apere in likenesse of a serpent raþer than yn lykenesse of anoþer beste?

M: For a serpent is so slevery and so crokid in all cursidnesse, like to the Deuill.

D: Was ther connyng boþe of good and ill in that appill, as hit is seide in scripture?

M: Nay, forsothe, not in the appull only, but in the transgressioun. So the appill myght haue ben take that whoso had ete of hym he schulde haue had all maner of [f. 3^{r}] connyng and knowleche of good and eke evill.

D: Schulde ther haue be bore eny euyll and cursid peple in Paradyse and Adam had not synnyd?

M: Nay, forsothe, but good and vertuos.

D: How long was Adam and Eue in Paradise?

M: Seven owris.

D: And why no lengyr?

M: For anon as Eue was made, sche was preuaricate. And the iij owre after was preuaricate, and then they put names to bestis, and þe sext owre was woman made, and anon sche presumyd to ete of the appyll, and so she toke parte þerof to Adam, whiche for hur loue did ete therof, wherefore at nyne of the clocke God put hem out of Paradise.

D: Where went Adam fro thens?

M: Into Ebron, and þer was the furst gener[a]cioun of Adam.

D: Whi wolde God be borne of a mayde, oþerwise than the lawe of kynde requireth?

M: Y schall [tell] the foure maner wise God made man. The furst wise was without fader and moder, as Adam whos fader and moder was the erthe. The secunde wise was of a man wonly, as Eue was of a rib of Adam. The thrid wise was of man and woman as they be boren now-a-dayes. And the iiijth wise was only of a woman. And so he was borne of a woman, and for as moche that dethe entrid to mankynd by a woman, therfore the hie gentilnesse of his mercy wold that lyfe euerlasting schulde com by a woman ageyne, whiche woman was that Blessed Virgyne Marye.

D: How and in what wise did a maide bere Criste?

M: Without eny defoule or dissese. Anon the yate beyng schete, he entrid into the clene cloyster of his moderis wombe, ther taking and ioynyng to hym manis nature. The same palice ayen beyng schete and close, he wente forth as a spouse from his propur place.

D: Knew God in his yong age al thing as now?

M: Ye, forsothe, he knew playnly all thing as God, in whom was also all tresouris of wisdome and connyng yhid.

D: Maister, yet hit is said in scripture that the Fader betraiede the Sonne and the Sonne betrayed hymselfe. What synnyd Iudas then when [f. 3^{v}] he betraied God?

M: I sey that the Fader betrayed þe Son and Son betraied hymself oonly for cherite. And Iudas betrayed God only for false covetise.

D: For what cause wolde Criste dye vpon a tre?

M: For as moche that man loste his ioy and fill from his ioy by a tre, he wolde that man schulde be bought ageyne by a tre in more spite of mannis enmye, the fende.

D: Whi died he vpon a cros?

M: For like as a crosse hathe iiij cornars, right so haþe this worlde iiij quarters, and so the crosse that he died vpon betokynde the iiij quarterds worlde whiche was sauyd and

redemyd ayeyne by that crosse.

D: Whi lay God two nyghtis and oon day in this sepulcure and no lengyr?

M: For this cause: the ij nyghtis betokenyth the ij deþes of mankinde, that is to say, the dethe of the soule and the dethe of the body. And the day betokenyth the deþe of hymself, whiche dethe was light of all oure deþes. Then oon of oure dethes he toke away from vs that was dethe of the soule, and that oþer dethe he lefte behynde whiche we die now-a-daies, that is, dethe of the body, by the whiche dethe, when he cometh ageyne at the day of the grete and dredfull iugement, he schall deme euery man after the way of rightfulnesse.

D: Wheþer wente the soule of God after his dethe?

M: Vnto the euerlastyng hevenly Paradise, for he seide to the thefe that was hongid on his right syde, this wordis, 'This day thou schalt be with me in Paradise'.

D: What tyme did God descende vnto Hell after his dethe?

M: In the myddis of the nyght of his resurrexcion, for like as God send his angel into Egypte to ouercom Egipte at myddis of the nyght, the same oure Criste robbid Hell of suche bodies as that were afore in Paradise. And with strength and victory of his hie godhede ther he toke hem all with hym, and in his goyng he visetid his owne body beyng in the sepulcure, and ther toke hit vp from [f. 4^{r}] dethe to lyfe as we all belevyth. Nerthelese, som sayne that fro the owre of his dethe vnto the owre of his resurrexcioun, he was in Hell and wente forth so fro thens with all his electe soules vnto his resurrexcion. But myn oppynyoun is not so.

D: Why rose he in the furst daye of the weke rather than in anoþer day?

M: For his hie will was that thike day the worlde schulde be renewid and bought as hit was made on, for on the Sonday hit was furst made.

D: Why rose he the iij day fro his resurrexcion?

M: For his mercifull will was to saue all mankynde whiche was dede [in] iij maner wise, that is, afore the lawe, and vnder the law, and vnder grace, and that we schulde also bothe in worde, in dede, and in thought, arise agayne in the perfite feith of the very Trinite.

D: What forme had God after his resurrexcion?

M: Seven tymes brighter then the son.

D: Vnder what forme did his disciplis se hym?

M: In the forme as they saye hym byfore-tyme.

D: Apperid Cryste yclothid or nakid to his discipils?

M: The clothing that he had was of þe eyre only, whiche cloþing, when he did ascende, they wente into the eyre agayne.

D: Did he ascende allone and nobody with hym, or no?

M: Nay, for as many as rose with hym at his resurrexcion did ascende with hym at his ascencion.

D: Vnder whate forme and lykenes did Criste ascende from his discipils?

M: Fro the erthe into the clowdis of the eyre he was in the forme whiche [he] was in afore his passioun. And so fro that tyme that the clowdis had receuyd hym, he was in the forme that he apperid to his discipils in the hill when he made his praier to the Fader.

D: What is the cause that God did not ascende as sone as he was resyn fro dethe to lyfe?

M: Son, þat schall Y tell the, for iij causis. The furste cause was þat his discipils and oþer schulde not stonde in doute of his resurrexcion, but that they schulde playnly say that [f. 4^{v}] he was reson. And for that cause he did bothe ete and drynke with hem as mencyon is made in the tyme of Ester afore the ascencion. The secunde cause was that he wold fulfill the seyng of the theologgis and of the foure euaungelistis, whos seyng was this, 'And after that xl dayes he wolde ascende'. The iij cause is this, that forasmoche that holi chyrche, whiche is clepid the body of Criste, schall suffir at the comyng of Antecriste a grete passion and a persecucyon, then withyn xl daies after will he sende his grace and mercy downe to the distruccion of Antecriste, and to the sesyng of the temptacioun of the pepyll.

D: Whate wise is the churche ycallid the body of Criste and good pepyll his membyrs?

M: Like as the body of man is inherit to the hed and gouernyd by hym, right so is the churche by the sacramentis of the body of Criste $^{+}$ inyoined to hym, and so the body of Crist and the churche byn called as oon body, of whiche body all rightfull folke in ordyr byn gouernyd as membris of the body.

D: Maister, may synfull prestis make sacrate and make a perfite sacrament by the vertu of worde.

M: Son, Y sey to the that, the most sinfull preste in the world alife, by the wordis that he rehersith is ymade the blessid holy sacrament, for the prest dothe but reherse and Crist dothe halow hit. And Y sey the furþermore, that the worst preste on lyve cannot apeyre the sacrament, and the beste preste on lyve cannot amende hit ne make hit in no degre bettyr, for hit is hie goodnesse without eny comparyson.

D: May prestis lowse and bynde, as hit is said in holy churche?

M: Ye, forsothe, in this wise euery prest is an officer vnder Criste, and so God lowsith and byndith by the mynistracion of the preste, wherfore euery preste stonding within the lawis of the churche owith to be worshipte gretely of euery man, for thouȝ he be good or though he be evill, and thou worschipe the preste, thow doste worschip God, whiche is his maister. But and so be that a prest stonde exclude fro the lawe and serveys [f. 5^{r}] of the churche, thow owist not of no dewte to do hym reverence, but all only grete dispising and more than thou woldyst do to a laife man.

D: Maister, hit is seide that synne and all euyll is nothing, and yef hit be so, why did God dampne angels and man when he dothe nothing? And yef synne schulde be enything, then we must sey that God made firste synne, for we sey that God made al thing, and no þing was made without hym. And so hit must folowe herof that God schulde be the causer of all euyll, and so therby hit muste folow also that onrightfully he dothe dampne men for synne.

M: Son, thou haste movide of many grete and sotell questions whiche thow desirideste of me to haue the trew wey of vndirstonding of hem, but now thou askiste of me here a grete question to the whiche Y were right lothe to awnswer but yef that thou wolde suffur gentely and abide tyll tyme of grace come, for hit is so sotell a question that youthe hathe not naturall power to vnderstonde hym but by the menys of grace.

M: Son, thou schalte furste take for t[r]owith that God made al thing that euer bare substaunce, bothe corporall substaunce as man and incorporall substaunce as angels, wherefore inasmuche that synne is no maner of substaunce, hit must nedis folow that God made not synne, and also hit is recordid in scripture that God behilde euer all thing as hit was made and say well that hit was good, and synne is not good; therfore, synne muste nedis be nothing. And so Y sey the, my son, that synne is nothing ellis but lacke of goodnesse. Where is synne, ther is no goodnesse, and þer is no goodnesse there is synne. And so, to conclude schortly, synne is nothing but absens of grace, and so synne may well be lykenyd to darkenesse for where is no light, ther is darkenesse. Right so, where is no grace, whiche is light of the soule, ther is synne, whiche is darkenesse of the soule. Then, my son, thou schalt sey [f.5^{v}] that God rightfully dothe dampne all suche that don wickidnesse, for hit is a thing that God ordeynd schulde not be don, for hit is contrary to his commaundemente, whiche was that man schulde do good and leve ill. Now, my son, take good hede to this lesson, and Y schall teche the more after that.

D: Of whom comyn all these dignitees in erthe?

M: Of God, for ther is noþer dignite ne power but of God whe þer hit be good or evill. Yef hit be good, hit is of God, for all goodnesse commythe of hym. And yef hit be evill, hit is of hym, for he sufferith to be for som cause deseruyd afore.

D: Schall kingis and prestis and men of grete degrees haue gretter merite then oþer lowe degreis?

M: And so be that þer wordes and dedis and examples byn good to the good examples of oþer subiectis, they schall haue as grete a degre in ioy aboue oþer as they haue here above ther subiectis. But and her examples byn evill, by the whiche examplis oþer peple byne the worse, then schall they haue as grete degreis in peyne afore oþer as they haue now in the erthe.

D: Maister, whate is the hie providence of God?

M: Son, the providence of God is the whele of the hie wisedom of the whele Trinite by the whiche euery person beholdith and seithe all thing that byne paste & byn to com presently.

D: Is hit no hurte to soules whos bodies byn getyn in advowtri?

M: Nay, and they haue ther whole Cristendom no more than hit is hurte to whete when hit is thefe stolen; and sowen hit woll grow neuer the worse. Also, the childe schall bere no blame of þe faderis synne nor the fader the childis.

D: What sey ye, maister, by the religiouse peple?

M: Y sey, yef they leve relygiously after the rule of her ordre, they schull be iugis in Hevyn with Criste. And yef they leve not well after her ordris, they schull be the moost wreched peple in her peyne perpetuall.

D: And what sey ye by knyghtis and suche other seculer gentillmen?

M: Of hem byn but few good, for with extorcion they lyve and gete there leving, and therfore they [f. 6^{r}] schall haue hur meritis with that outrages extorcionar, Lucifer, whiche was king of pride and envye, and of hem hit is seide also in scripture, that the daies of hem schull faile in hur owne vanites, and the ferefull wrath of God schall descende evyn vpon them.

D: What hope han these merchaundes?

M: A litill or non, for with catelis and wilis they gete her good, and therfore [with] that wily serpente, the Deuyll, schall suche [haue] her rewarde. And of hem hit is seide also, 'and all suche that truste in the multitude of there richese, even as schepe they schull bren in Hell, and dethe euerlasting schall fede hem'.

D: And what sey ye by all craftismen?

M: Forsothe, the most parte don pari[s]he, for with fraudes and gilis they worche to gete her levyng.

D: Maister, Y pray you hertely, tell me what schall betide of suche men that scham not of synne but woll reherse hit, and lawȝ and be mery to hyre of hit.

M: Son, Y sey that all suche byn as good as without the mercy of God yef man myght so sey, for Y sey that God may not of his grete rightfulnesse geve grace to suche oon that refusith grace, for he that dothe synne and of that syn makith a reherse in wey of his disporte, Y sey that he and all suche byn out of hope. And he that is out of hope, is out of mercy; wherefore, Y say playnly, whoso makith his boste and ioyethe in reherse of hys syn, God cannot of rightfulnesse geve hym mercy at the day of rightfull iugemente. Therfore, my sonne, in parte of my rewarde, Y charge the that thou avise euery synner neuer to ioy in rehersing þerof, but so be that hit be vnder forme of confession that he hathe suche grace that hit schulde come to his mynde and to take penaunce for hit, for though a man synne, yet he is the childe of saluacion, but and he synne and ioy theryn, then is he the childe of dampnacion. Also, some ther byn [f. 6^{v}] that don opyn penaunce, and they make but a disporte þerof, som for manslawȝter and som for o syn and som for other, and all suche byn derisors and lawȝars to skorne of Crist. And of them hit is saide, 'God schall geve to hur flesche wormes ymmortall and fire inextinguible for þer rewarde'.

D: And what sey ye of these that byn foles boren?

M: They schull be savid among children forasmoche as þey can do no bettyr as children cannot; þerfore, they schull be savid. But, Y mene not thus of these feyned fooles; þerfore, beware all suche that feyne hemsylf folis, and han wisedom ynough yef hit be well ocupied.

D: And what sey ye of these plowmen?

M: The most parte of hem schull be savid, for they gete þer leving with grete and sore laboure of ther owne body, without eny sotell wile or gile.

D: But, maister, what schall Y sey of childryn? Whate schall betide of hem?

M: Also many that beryn lyfe within the space and tyme of speche, they schall be savide, but after they com to age that they can oones speke, and specyally to the tyme of v yere, then Y say that som ben savid and som byn dampned.

D: Maister, how many manerwise may synne be lowsid fro a man?

M: Seven manerwise. And the firste is by baptym; the secunde by martyrdome; the iij by confession and penaunce; the iiij by teeris of weping for his synne; the v by almusdede and almusgeving; the vj by indulgence of pardonis; the vijth by workis of

cherite, for cherite opynnith the multitude of synnes.

D: But maister, whate availith confession?

M: For hit availith as muche as thy firste Cristendome, for like as the sacramente of baptym toke awaye all originall synnes, so dothe the sacrament of confession take awaye all actuall synnes.

D: Availith penaunce and almusdede and a man be in syn?

M: Forsothe, loke what hit availith to ley a medycyn to a sore when hit is stoppid with oþer mater; right so hit availith a man to do penaunce when he is in synne. But yet, by my counseill, [f. 7^{r}] what case euer thou stond yn, love well to do bothe penaunce and almusdede in wey of good hope, for therin lieth the grete mercy of God.

D: Maister, is hit grete merite to vse grete pilgrymages as Ierusalem and Rome and oþer place of deuocion?

M: Son, hit is good so hit may be vsid, butt myne oppynyon is that hit were as good and as grete a rewarde [he] schulde haue to geve his mony at home to suche that leve in grete pouerte, as many oon dothe. And many oon also gothe on pilgrymage to his disporte, to ete and drinke and se many disportis, whiche iorney vailith but litull after myn opynyon.

D: Maister, hit is seid that euery man hathe his oure of dethe assigned at the first oure of his birth.

M: Son, hit is ordeynyd euery man on lyve how long he schall lyve in this worlde, whiche teerme no man noþer by clergy nor non oþer connyng cannot make schorter ne lengur, for hit is seid, 'Thow hast ordeyned to man his termys whiche schall not passe'. But hit may com dyuerse wise as by fors of armes in bataile and in oþerwise also, by veneme poysenyd, by hauking, by fyre, and many dyuerse wise. Nerthelesse, what the meritis of oure blessid moder and virgyne, Marie, and of oþer seintis of Hevyn may do, Y cannot discryve.

D: Haue euery man an angell to wayte opon hym as hit is seide?

M: Euery soule of euery creature resonable hathe an angell to wayte vpon hym to present to God and all the companye of Hevyn the dedis that he dothe in erthe whare they byn good or yll.

D: What thing nedith to be presentide to God when he knowith hit as sone as hit is don?

M: Y sey that [þe] presenting that thyn angell presentith $^{+}$ to God of ther good dedis, is noþing ellis but forto make God and his angels to ioy of hem, and yef hit be evill

dedis to grete indyngnacion of hem. Hereof is recorde in scripture where hit is saide, 'hit is grete ioy to God of a synner when he dothe penaunce', that is to sey, when [f. 7^{v}] he levithe hys synne and then dothe penaunce.

D: Byn angelis owrely watyng apon euery man?

M: Nay, they byn in Hevyn, but with a momente of an ye they woll be here in erthe and in Heven ayen, for they come neuer to man but when he is in will to syn, and then he is redy to vnderstonde the manis will. Yef he refrayne þe temptacion and syn not, anon with the twynkelyng of an ye thyn angell is in Hevyn and tellith God and all the angelis that byn with hym.

D: How don angelis appere to men in erthe?

M: Forsothe, in manis likenesse euermore without eny disseyte, and for thes same cause, for þer is no creature corporall that hathe power to se an angell in his propur likenesse, nor no maner spirite, good nor ill, and therfore, bothe angelis and oþer spiritis take them a corporall substaunce in the eyre when they com, that the corporate bodies of the erthe may haue power to se them. But suche evill spirites appere to man oftentymes in dyuerse lykenesse of dyuerse bestis in kinde, and that only be cause of gile.

And here, my sone, Y schall tell the furþermore that the spirite of a man, after som menis appynyon, as sone as hit is departid from the corporat body in erthe hit gothe streyght oþer to Hevyn oþer to Hell, oþer to Purgatory. And this thou schalte beleve well, that yef a soule be ones in Hevyn, he schall neuer com out therof, and yef he com ones in Hell, he schall neuer com out therof. Then hit is a comyn seyng that the soules that byn in Purgatory byn yn wey of saluacion. Then, son, as muche as ther byn dyuerse hevyns, thou schalt vndyrstond ther byn dyuerse hellis, and dyuerse purgatorys, and yn eueriche of these byn dyuerse degreis of ioy and peyn.

Then my son, marke well this litill lessoun. Som men sey that the spirite of a man schall not apere in erthe after he dissese, but thereto thou schalt sey that thyn oppynyon is this, that a soule, whiche Y call the spirite [f. 8^{r}] of man, may haue his purgatory bothe in the eyre and also in the erthe, but here is the disseite of men: they byn so full of iugement anon that they woll deme a soule, and sey by the soule of suche a man or suche a woman gothe [the Deuyll to tempte pepill]. But Y schall tell the how thou schalte know wheþer hit be the Deuyll that gothe to tempte pepill or wheþer hit byn soules in her purgatorye conducid by her gode angell to seke after som helpe and grace. And this thowe schalt knowe: yef hit be noþer savid nor dampned but in wey of saluacion, hit schall apere in likenesse of a ferefull goste goyng from his grave and in non oþer likenesse to manis sight. And yef hit apere in eny oþer

lykenesse as men sey som dothe apere like a dogge & in dyuerse lykenesse of bestis, then beware, for that is no good spirite. But, son, thou schalt not sey that eny spirite, noþer savid noþer dampned, dothe towche the erthe, for ther is no þing may tewche erthe but hit be erthely hitsylf, and angelis and all spiritis haue noþer flesche ne boon, nor noþing that is corporat terrestre.

D: Maister, Y thanke you hyly for this lessoun, and also of youre excellent wisedom considering my symple and yong wit, that ye set this noble and subtile mater vnder so gentill and easy teermys, ffor hit were right perelouse to my lernyng and hit were set vnder youre soleyn termes of rethoryk, but the gentill writyng of youre subtile sentens hathe geve me a superabundable swetenesse to conduse and [breue] all these commendable queriblis to my memorable mynde whiche is clepte the cloyster of connyng. But, maister, Y muste aske you furthermore wheþer devillis haue power to nye and hurt men in erthe or no.

M: Son, thou doyst neuer euyll dede but the Devill is at the firste begynnyng and at the ende. And as sone as thou haste doone, he tarieth not but gothe his way and presentithe that [f. 8^{v}] dede to the prowde prince of pride, Lucifer, and to all the devilis of Hell. And, my son, take gode hede hereof, ther is no dede that euer man dothe in erthe, be hit do neuer so prevey, but God knowith hit and all the angelis in Hevyn. Yef hit be good and yef hit be evill, God knowith and all the seyntis in Hevyn and all the devils in Hell. Þerfore, beware, my childe, and þynke when thou arte about to do a synne prevely; thynke how many byn redy to beholde the, and at the hie day of rightfull iugement when þe secunde persone of the Trinite schall haue sight and iugement of euery manis dedis, ther thou thyself schall recorde and deme thyn owne dedis, for ther schall thou haue noon oþer witnesse ne recorde but þyn owne dedis and þiself. Yef they byn good, thou schalte haue ioy; yef they be ill, euerlasting peyne.

D: Maister, what byn these peynes of Hell that ye sey byn euerlasting?

M: Son, this souerayn sentens that Y schall to the now reherse Y charge the by obedience that thou neuer hit trauerse. And first thow schalte vndyrstonde that ther ben ix peynes in Hell whiche byn callid spirituall peynes. And the furste of hem is this. The furst is fire, whiche and he be ones ytende, all the water in the see hathe no power to quenche hym. The secunde peyne is intollerable cold, and of these ij peyns is weping and grisbatting with tethe. The iij peyne is wormes immortall, as serpentis and dragons whiche schull neuer dye, but like as suche leve in the water, so dothe they leve in mennis soulis. The iiijth peyne is a stenche without mesure and comparison. The v peyne is skorging and betyng of fyndis. The vj peyne is palpable darkenesse, as hit is callid in scripture the londe of darkenesse, where is euermore

peyne without all mesure and euerlasting lif in wrechednesse. The vijth peyne is dedely confusion of synners. The viij peyne is orrible sight of devilis and dragons [f. 9^{r}] and wrechid crye of weping and weyling. The ix peyne is bondis of fire whiche constrayne all the proporcions of man and his lemmys. And, sone, therfore exorte all these proude men, enuyouse men, gylefull men, gloteouse men, dronkyn men, lecherouse men, these manslears, cruell thefis, these maynteners of false maters by extorcion, advowtrers, ffalse lyars, blasphemars, bakebytars; for these the peynes of Hell byn ordeynd.

D: O thou reducer of resons rethorizid, that with thy noble nurture th[u]s sapiently doste enforce me wiht a sad solempnysacion whiche my ignorant intelleccion now is somwhat clarified with a full clene contemplacion, but that the dredefull declaracion of youre moraliteis hath ybrought my body into a depe darkenesse and my soule into a peynfull pensifenes. But yet my dere maister, in confortacion of my carefulnesse, tell me what remedy is that man may kepe hym fro these seide peynes of Hell. And firste tell me what avaylith anuelyng?

M: Son, hit wypith awey all synnes confessid, but whosoeuer that is anoyntid and is in syn, that sacramente profityth hym not but raþer is aye[n]ste hym, wherfore that sacrament is ordeyned last of all the vij to be mynystrid, and for this cause that a man schulde stonde clene from all synne.

D: What is this, the syn in þe holy goste?

M: Hit is no noþer but mystrust in ioynyd penaunce and that is called dispeyre. And whosoeuere is in this synne, he schall neuer be forgeve here nor yn the worlde that is to com.

D: Ys hit eny hurte to the soule of a good man yef he die sodenly?

M: Nothing at all, for he neuer diethe sodenly that eueryday thynkith forto dye, and Y sey the, that whate dethe euer a good man die, his goodnesse schall neuer be takyn fro hym. And where euer a good man [f. 9^{v}] be beryed, hit hurtith not the soule of hym; right so the contraryewise where euer a evill man be beried, hit availith hym neueradell. But and so be that a soule be yn purgatorye, hit profitith hym that the body lieth in eny holy place as in churche or churcheyarde for the prayers that byn seide theryn.

D: Maister, Y pray yow, yet tell me what thing is Hell?

M: Son, ther byn ij hellis, principall, that is, the hie Hell and the low Hell. The hie Hell is that oon parte of $^{+}$ the lowiste party of the worlde whiche is full of peynes, and that other hell is spirituall fyre whiche may neuer be queyntyd, and this is benethe

erthe, and in this hell byn the peynes that Y rehersid afore.

D: But, maister, schulde savid men se them that lye in peynes of Hell?

M: Ye, for the more ioy of hemself, remembryng that they hed suche grace in erthe to rule hem so forto serue þat sempiternall ioy and to avoide that perpetuall peynes. And all evill men schull se the savid souls vnto þe day of the dome, but after the iugement they schall neuer se them but that sight, as they se, is no refreschyng to them but raþer encresing of ther peyne. And thouȝ the fader beyng in ioy se his son in Hell, he schall not onys haue pyte ne sorow therfor, but raþer ioy þerof, for ther is recorde in scripture: 'Letabitur iustus cum viderit vindictam peccatorum; a rightfull man schall ioy in the vengeaunce of synne'.

D: Woll not they praye to God for hem that lye in Hell peynes?

M: And they wolde so do, then they wrought agaynes God, a[s] any man that praith for a soule that is onys dampned.

D: In whiche Hell were rightfull men afore the commyng of Criste?

M: In the hier Hell whiche is ioyned to the lower so nye that the soules that byn in the toon may see the peynes of bothe, yet þike soules that were þer [f. 10^{r}] at that tyme hed not suche peynes as soules haue þer now, for that peyne was nothyng but darkenesse oonly, and therto recordith scripture this seying: 'To them that dwellid in the kyngdome of the schadow of dethe, now light is sprongyn to them'.

D: Do not soules in Hevyn pray for hur frendis?

M: Ye, forsothe, and for all suche that pray to them to helpe them from her synne.

D: May soules that byn in Hevyn appere when they woll?

M: Ye, forsothe, and when they woll and to whomeuer they woll, but soules that byn in peyn, may not do so but yef they be lad by her angell. And soules that byn onys dampnyd schall neuer appere.

D: Whereof comen these dremys, Maister?

M: Som com of God, forto know som thing to com or that is a paste by revelacyoun, and herto recordith the story of Ioseph. And som com of the Devyll as forto bryng hym into som sodeyn myschefe of dethe or madnesse, as hit hathe be sayne. And som comen of a manis owne sensualite as forto dreme of that thing that he seithe or þinkithe moche vpon in the day tyme.

[D]: Now, mayster, yet and Y durste, Y wolde fayne hyre somwhate of Antecriste.

M: Sone, Antecriste was borne in grete Babylone of a strompet, and he was fulfilled with the Devill or he was borne, and yn all evill he was norschide and brought vp.

And he schall be emperoure of all this worlde, and all mankynde schall be holde vnder his yocke and obeysaunce oþer for love or for fere, for he schall haue richesse of this worlde and he schall haue obeysaunce for drede, and he schall haue connyng, for he schall haue an incredyble eloquens of all maner craftis and scripture. And he schall ouercom moche pepill with his fallible signes and myraclis that he schall schew, for he schall commaunde the fire to discende from the hye Hevyn above, and [f. 10^{v}] all his aduersariis he schall haue power to destroy hem with his worde and to reise dede men from ther grave to bere hym witnesse that he was God and come to geve the dome.

D: But, maister, schall he haue power to reise very bodies and to make hem speke?

M: Nay, but the Devill is redy to obey his commaundemente, and gothe to som body whos soule is dampnid, and of that cadauer he hath power. And so the Devill spekith ther in likenesse of that body that somtyme levid in that coorse. Then schall Enok and Hely com and couerte the peple aȝeyn by hur preching, and all that lyfe han at that tyme schull haue grete maysterdom for the most parte.

D: In whate age schull they two com?

M: In the same age as they were when they were takyn vp from the erthe, and they two schull be slayne of Antecriste also, and iij yere and an half he schall opteyne all the worlde. Then he schall make hym a tente in the Mow[n]te of Oliuete in the whiche he schall be fownde sodenly ded with the spirite of the worde of God. And then ther schall be xl daies of space lafte for suche that were ouercom with the fallible gyles of Antecriste to amende þem, and to turne them. But forto sey that at þek xl daies ende the doome schall be, Y woll not so sey, for ther was non mortall creature that euer had that knowleche of God. For the oure of iugement schall com so sodenly that þeke that ben alyve and in ther occupacions schull be take sodenly vp into the eyre, and there theke that byn good, there angelis byn redy when the body is ravesched from the soule to leden hym to that rightfull iuge.

D: What is the resurrexcion of men?

M: Ther byn ij resurrexcions as ther beyn too dethes, oone of the soule, anoþer of the body. When a man synnyth, then the soule i[s] dede and is beried in the body as a dede body in his grave. And when he is schrevyn and hathe don his penaunce, þen he is reson as from that dethe to lyfe. And this is oon resurrexcion. Anoþer resurrexcion [is] at the day of doom, and ther bothe the body and the soule schull rise whole to-[f. 11^{r}]-gedyr.

D: Maister, oþerwhiles a man is by aventure myschevide oþer with thefis oþer wilde

bestis, and so lieth in the wildernesse till foulis and bestis han deuowrid hym and the nature of man ther by sustentacion is turned to the nature of a vnresonable beste. How schall he rise at the dome or no?

M: Forsothe, my son, he schall arise, for he þat made all þing of nought can right well discern and know the flesche of man fro the flesche of a hert or a lyon or a bere or eny suche vnresonable creaturis, and whate fawte or differaunce that eny man had here in erthe, he schall be so perfite at that tyme that he schall not lacke as moche as oon here of his body, and this thou schalte feithefully beleve.

D: How schull they arise that dye in the moderis bely?

M: Y sey the that all the resonable creaturis that euer had onys the spirite of lyfe schull aryse, and they schall be of as perfite a stature as theke þat were xl wynter in the worlde, for ther euery man schall apere in the age of xxx wynter, but yet thou schall take þis for trowthe, that suche as byn boren with ij heddis, at þe day of doom schull haue ij bodies, and euery body his soule without eny difformite. But suche [as] haue vj fyngers on on honde or vj toys on oon fote, they schall not do so, for that commythe of contrary cause of the whiche these naturall philosophurs doon trete.

D: Whate manner bodies schull rightfull men haue at the day of iugement?

M: They schull haue bodies ymmortall and incorruptible, and as bright as a schynyng glasse and dampnyd men sowlis schull haue bodies corruptible and immortall whiche schull euer be yn peyne.

D: In what forme schall Crist com to doom?

M: In the same forme as he did ascende, with all the ordris of angelis with hym. And angelis schull bere a crosse afore hym, and with the voice of a trumpe all coorsis schull be reysid and all the elementis schull be gretely trobled with a grete tempast of fire and of colde, ffor this is recordyd in scripture, 'Fyre schulle goo [f. 11^{v}] afore hym, and in his Trinite a ferefull tempast'.

D: Schall the iugemente be in the vale of Iosaphat?

M: The Vale of Iosaphat is the vale of iugement, and euermore a vale is nye som hill; right so, the vale is callid this worlde and the hill is callid the hevyn an hye. Then, my son, Y sey that the iugemente schall be in the Vale of Iosephat, þat is to sey, in this worlde, in the eyre, where all riȝtfull men schull stonde vpon the right honde of Criste, and all oþer vpon the lyfte honde. And that right side is noþing ellis to vnderstonde but ioy, and that oþer side but Hell.

D: In whate foorme schall Criste apere that day?

M: He schall apere to his chosene men in that foorme as he did apere to his disciplis in the hill, and to reprevid men he schall apere in that foorme as he was doon vpon the crosse.

D: Schall there be the same crosse as he died vpon?

M: Nay, but there schall apere a light in maner of a crosse whiche schall be brighter than the son.

D: Why schall the son of man, whiche is callid the secund persone in Trynite, geve iugement that day?

M: For, sone, hit is a grete reson that he schulde geve iugemente to whom the trespas was doon, and the trespas that man and angell did was to the sone of man, that is, the secunde persone in Trynite. But yet thou schalt not þinke but ther is bothe the Fader and the Holy Goste worching the same iugemente, with the Sone; and, my childe, þou schall feithfully beleve also that where euer be the Fader, þer is the Son and the Holy Goste, for wher euer is on of þeke thre, ther byn all thre, and eueriche of hem perfite God in hymself.

D: How schall the iugement be doon?

M: The iugement schall be devydid in fowre ordris. The fyrste ordre schall be [. . .]

Apparatus

26/12 substaunce] *om.* MS.

27/2 did] *om.* MS.

28/7 to do] do to MS; All] + suche *dotted for deletion* MS; 8 to do] *om.* MS; 34 haue] *om.* MS.

29/20 wrengfully] wrenfully MS.

30/8 generacioun] genercioun MS; 10 tell] *om.* MS.

31/26 in] *om.* MS.

32/7 he] *om.* MS; 11 that] + d *stroked through* MS; 26 Criste] Criste is MS.

33/21 trowith] towith MS; 27 goodnesse (2)] + ther is syn *dotted for deletion* MS.

34/30 with] *om.* MS; 31 haue] *om.* MS.

35/1 parishe] parithe MS; 12 euery] + man *dotted for deletion* MS.

36/14 he] *om.* MS; 33 þe] þer MS; presentith] + is MS.

37/31 the ... pepill] *om.* MS; 34 noþer] + d *stroked through* MS.

38/10 breue] breuely MS; 29 ben] + otiose stroke MS.

39/9 thus] this MS; 17 ayenste] ayeste MS; 34 of (1)] + is MS.

40/12 as] ar MS; 18 that] + pray for hure frendis *dotted for deletion* MS; 32 D] *om.* MS.

41/30 is] in MS; 33 is] *om.* MS; 35 wilde] + S *stroked through* MS.

42/14 as] *om.* MS.

43/17 The text breaks off at this point.

COMMENTARY

References to the Middle English text are to page and line number(s) (1/1). References to the Latin text of the *Elucidarius* are to book and chapter in the Lefèvre edition (I.1).

26/1–3 Myne ... this (I.1): The Latin text reads: **Discipulus** – Gloriose magister, rogo ut ad inquisita mihi ne pigriteris respondere ad honorem Dei et utilitatem Ecclesiae. **Magister** Equidem faciam quantum vires ipse dabit; nec me labor iste gravabit' (I.1) [**The pupil** Honourable master, I ask that you should not be reluctant to give a reply to me to the things I have asked, to the honour of God and the benefit of the Church. **The master**: Indeed, I will do so as much as God will give me strength, nor will this task burden me]. The Middle English shifts the emphasis to the more personal and everyday; the 'discipulus' is asking for 'informacyon', and he, rather than the master, signals the 'furst question'.

26/3–7 Hit ... substaunce (I.2): The Latin phrase 'valde absurdum' is expanded in the Middle English to 'whiche seying is ful derke and contrary to our feith'. In response to the question 'what thing is God?', the answer follows the Latin for the first sentence, but omits 'tam inestimabilis pulchritudinis, tam ineffabilis suavitatis, ut angeli, qui solem septuplo sua vincunt pulchritudine, jugiter desiderent in eum insatiabiliter prospicere' [both of inestimable beauty and of unutterable sweetness, so that the angels, who by their beauty exceed the sun by sevenfold, desire perpetually to gaze insatiably on him]; that is, the vernacular omits the more complex formulations of the concept.

26/8–13 The chylde ... Holy Goste (I.3), but with the omission of 'ut, si velis inde splendorem segregare, prives mundum sole; et, si iterum calorem tentes sejungere, careas sole' [so that, if you wish to separate the splendour from it, you deprive the world of the sun; and, if you try a second time to separate its heat, you lack the sun]; the effect is to remove a more complex expression. For the remainder of the paragraph (**26/13–20 The godhede ... spirituall fire**) the compiler has used a short passage in I.6, on which see Introduction, pp. 15-16.

26/12 substaunce: The emendation is by analogy with the phrase 'fyry substaunce' in 26/11.

26/21–25 (I.62–63): This passage is introduced abruptly, and is out of sequence with the order of the materials in the Latin. The Middle English does not translate any material marked by Lefèvre as additional to I.63.

26/26 – 27/1 (I.29–31): '... that God made angels of a flame of fire' (Hebrews i.7). Here the Middle English omits a further comment on the origin of names for the angels: 'Magis sunt agnomina, quia ab accidenti sunt eis ab hominibus imposita, cum ea non habeant in caelis propria; unde et primus angelus ab accidenti Sathael, id est Deo contrarius, nomen accepit' [They are rather names given because of office, because they have been imposed on them by men by chance, since they may not have their own names in Heaven. Therefore, the first angel, Sathael, took this name which means 'contrary of God' by chance]. The more complex arguments are omitted from the Middle English.

27/2–24 (I.32–40): This passage on the fall of the angels follows the Latin closely, with only a few omissions. The phrase in ME 27/6-7 'notwithstonding his will' translates 'Deo invito'. The Latin continues with 'arripere et aliis per tyrannidem imperare' [to snatch and rule over others by tyranny], which is not translated in the Middle English. The sentence in ME 27/9-10 continues in the Latin with 'sicut prius pulcherrimus, ita post factus est nigerrimus; qui prius splendidissimus, postea tenebrosissimus; qui prius omni honore laudabilis, post omni horrore execrabilis' [the one who was formerly the most beautiful, afterwards became the most black; the one who was formerly the most brilliant, afterwards became the most gloomy; the one who was formerly praiseworthy in all honour, afterwards became detestable in all terror]. This kind of rhetorical embellishment is out of place in the Middle English version. The Middle English does not translate any material marked by Lefèvre as additional (I.37a).

27/25–31 (I.45).

27/32 – 28/11 (I.48–50): The translation omits the first three lines of I.48, and begins with 'Futura nesciunt', which has the effect of making the answer more direct. The Middle English does not translate any material marked by Lefèvre as additional (I.48a).

28/8 to do: The emendation is by analogy with the intended phrase 'to do' in 28/7.

28/12–15 (I.56).

28/16–27 (I.68–71): The Middle English does not translate any material marked by Lefèvre as additional (I.171a).

28/28 – 29/5 (I.74–76): On **28/31–33 And as ... office** see Introduction, p. 17.

28/34 haue: The context demands the past tense.

29/6–16 (I.79–82): On **29/7–8 for þey ... face** see Introduction, p. 17.

29/17 – 30/6 (I.85–91). On **29/17–21** see Introduction, p. 21. On the treatment of I.87 in **29/26–28**, see Introduction, pp. 14-15. On the sense of **30/2–6**, see Introduction, pp. 6-7.

30/7–8 (I.93): The translator uses only the question and the first sentence ('In Hebron est reversus, ubi et creatus').

30/9–16 (I.120): The Middle English does not translate any material marked by Lefèvre as additional (I.120a).

30/10 tell: The emendation is conjectured and based on the demands of the context.

30/17–21 (I.126): 'as a spouse from his propur place' (Psalm xviii.6).

30/22–24 (I.130): 'in whom was also all tresouris of wisdome and connyng yhid' (Colossians ii.3).

30/25 – 31/1 (I.147–149): 'that the Fader betraiede the Sonne and the Sonne betrayed hymselfe' (Romans viii.32; Ephesians v.2). The Middle English does not translate any material marked by Lefèvre as additional (I.149a).

30/33 – 31/1: See Introduction, pp. 16-17.

31/2–21 (I.159–161): On **31/5–9** see Introduction, p. 20. **31/12** 'This day thou schalt be with me in Paradise' (Luke xxiii.43). The Middle English does not translate any material marked by Lefèvre as additional (I.161a).

31/22–29 (I.164–65): In the Latin the reply in I.164 reads, 'Ut ea die mundum innovaret, qua eum creaverat' [So that he might renew the world on the day on which he had created it]. This is expanded in ME 31/23–24.

31/26 in: The omission can be explained as a confusion over minims where 'iij' follows.

31/30 – 32/2 (I.167–69).

32/3–22 (I.172–174): The latter part of the answer of I.173 reads, 'susceptus autem a nubibus, ea qua in monte apparuit' [having been taken up by the clouds, he appeared there on that mountain]; this is expanded in the Middle English (32/7–10) to give a fuller explanation. ME 32/16–18 expands on the Latin of I.174 in a similar way, to make explicit what is implicit in the original. The latter part of I.174 reads, ' ... deinde post quadraginta dies creditur caelum ascensura' [then after forty days it is believed he will ascend into Heaven]; the Middle English reading (32/19–22) gives a more vivid account of last things.

32/7 he: The omission can be explained as the result of eyeskip; the previous word ends with '-he'.

32/23–28 (I.179): The Middle English uses only the first sentence of the Latin.

32/26 Criste] Criste is MS: The second 'is' in the clause is redundant.

32/29–35 (I.190): The Latin for the question of I.190 reads 'Conficiunt corpus Domini tales' [can such men make the body of Christ], where the context is the larger question of corrupt priests. In the Middle English this issue is first mentioned at this point, and so the question has been expanded to introduce it. The last clause of the Latin I.190 is a simile, 'sicut solis radius a caeno cloacae non sordidatur nec a sanctuario splendificatur' [just as the ray of the sun is not defiled by the filth of a drain nor brightened by a sanctuary]; the Middle English replaces this with the less vivid phrase, 'for hit is hie goodnesse without eny comparyson'. The Middle English does not translate any material marked by Lefèvre as additional to I.190.

33/1–8 (I.198): The translation is selective.

33/9–35: This is based on Latin II.2, but is embellished and simplified. 33/15–20 have no counterpart in the Latin. In 33/21–35 the translator has used the Latin, but paraphrased the argument. See Introduction pp. 18-19. ME 33/24–25 '... hit is recordid in scripture ... hit was good' (Genesis i.31).

33/36 – 34/3 (II.17): The Latin text includes 'non est potestas nisi a Deo' [there is no power but of God] (Romans xiii.1) which is paraphrased as part of the Middle English.

34/4–10: This is based on II.19 but is much abbreviated. The question in the Latin refers to 'prelati' but the Middle English expands on the implications of this to include a range of types that exercise power. The answer in the Middle English is not a translation of any one part of the Latin, but the formulation is a succinct summary of what is implicit there.

34/11–14 (II.22).

34/15–18: This is drawn selectively from II.44-45; the emphasis in the Middle English is on the effects of a child conceived in adultery, whereas the Latin refers as well to children born of relations between members of religious orders. The sentence 'Also, the childe ... the childis', based on the Latin (II.45) is from Ezechiel xviii.20. See Introduction p. 16. The Middle English does not translate any material marked by Lefèvre as additional to II.44.

34/19 – 35/31 (II.53-62): ME 34/21–22 'they schull be the moost wreched peple in her peyne perpetuall' paraphrases II.53 'descendunt in infernum viventes' (Numbers xvi.30). ME 34/26–27 'and of hem hit is seide ... vanites' is based on Psalm lxxvii.33, and ME 34/27–28 'the ferefull wrath ... vpon them' is based on Psalm lxxvii.30, in II.54. ME 34/32 'and all suche that truste ... there richese' is based on Judith ix.9 in II.57. ME 35/18–19 'God schall geve ... rewarde' is based on Judith xvi.21 in II.59. ME 35/25–27 paraphrases 'Labores manuum qui manducant beati sunt' (Psalm cxxvii.2) in II.61. On **35/3–15** see Introduction, p. 20. The Middle English does not translate any material marked by Lefèvre as additional to II.54.

34/30–31 with and **haue:** The syntax is faulty; the emendations are conjectured on the basis of the demands of the context.

35/32 – 36/5 (II.68-70): In the Latin the list of the ways in which sin may be released is embellished with biblical references; these have been omitted in the Middle English except for the phrase 'for cherite opynnith the multitude of synnes' (I Peter iv.8).

36/6–10 (II.72): The sentence 'But yet ... mercy of God' has no precedent in the Latin, but is typical of one type of addition, those giving (preacherly) advice. See Introduction, pp. 20-22.

36/11–17 (II.77): The Middle English is abbreviated from the Latin, and the second sentence is a paraphrase. Here and elsewhere embellishments are presented as opinions of the 'Maister'.

36/14 he: The syntax is awkward. The Latin (II.77) reads: 'Melius est pecuniam cum qua ituri sunt in pauperes expendere' [it is better to spend on the poor the money with which they are to journey]; the implied subject of the subordinate clause is third person plural ('It is better that they ...'). In the Middle English the phrase 'his mony' implies that the subject of the subordinate clause is 'he', hence the emendation: '... my opinion is that it would be (for him) as good and as great a reward (if) he should be required to give away his money at home ...'.

36/18–26 (II.79): 'Thow has ordeyned ... schall not passe' (Job xiv.5). The final sentence ('Nerthelesse ... discryve') does not have a basis in the Latin.

36/27 – 37/17 (II.88–92): 37/2 'hit is grete ioy ... penaunce' is from Luke xv.10 in II.89. The final sentence ('But suche ... be cause of gile') is a brief summary of II.92. The Middle English does not translate any material marked by Lefèvre as additional to II.91 and 92.

36/33 þe: The scribe probably mistook a superscript 'e' for the abbreviation for 'er'. The reading 'is' in the manuscript is otiose.

37/7 Yef he refrayne þe temptacion: 'refrayne' is used as a transitive verb in the sense 'exercise control over' (*MED* refreinen *v* (2), 2 (b)).

37/18 – 39/15: On this passage see Introduction, pp. 12-14. ME 38/26 is from III.14, and 38/30 – 39/4 'The furst ... and his lemmys' is also from III.14. The remainder of the paragraph, 39/4–8 'And ... ordeynd', is based on III.18. ME 38/32 'weping and

grisbatting with tethe' (Matthew xxiv.51); 38/36 – 39/1 'the londe ... wrechednesse' (Job x.22).

37/31 the Deuyll to tempte pepill: The manuscript reading is awkward; the emendation is by analogy with ME 37/32 'the Deuyll ... pepill'.

38/10 breue: The manuscript reading, the adverb 'breuely', does not make sense in context; the emended reading is the infinitive 'breue' with the sense 'report or tell (sth.)' (*MED* breven *v*, 3 (a)). The other infinitive in this context, 'conduse', has the sense 'guide, lead' (*MED* conducen *v*). The reading 'queriblis' has the sense 'debate, dispute' (*MED* querele *n.* 1 (b)).

38/30 ytende: 'set alight' (*MED* tenden *v.*).

39/9–10 thus: The error in the MS probably resulted from a confusion over minims; 'thus' is used here as an adverbial intensifier (*MED* thus *adv.* 10 (a)). The sense of 'enforce' is 'aid, or give support' (*MED* enforcen *v.* 3 (c)). For 'solempnysacion' the *MED* (solempnisacioun *n.*) gives only 'religious or ceremonial celebration' and 'religious rites'; the word would appear to be used here figuratively.

39/14 what remedy ... Hell: 'what remedy is (there) by which a man may keep himself from the pains of Hell'.

39/14–19 And firste ... synne (II.94): The clause 'wherfor ... synne' has no basis in the Latin.

39/15 anuelyng: 'sacrament of extreme unction' (*MED* enoiling *ger.*).

39/20–31 (II.100–104): On **39/20–23** see Introduction pp. 19-20. The answer (39/21–23) incorporates part of the quotation from Matthew xii.31-2 from the question of II.100: 'he schall neuer be forgeve here nor yn the worlde that is to com'. The question in 39/24 is for II.101, but the answer draws piecemeal from II.101, 103–4.

39/21 ioynyd penaunce: 'prescribed or imposed penance' (*MED* enjoinen *v.* 1 (c)).

39/32 – 40/1 (III.13): The text has been abbreviated. The final clause, 'in this hell

byn the peynes that Y rehersid afore', refers back to ME 38/26 – 39/4 which was drawn from the Latin III.14.

39/34: The reading 'is' in the manuscript is otiose.

40/2–19 (III.19–23): The text has been abbreviated; the answer for III.20 has been merged with that for III.19, and the answer for III.23 has been merged with that for III.22. ME 40/9–10 'Letabitur iustus ... vengeaunce of synne' (Psalm lvii.11) in III.20. ME 40/18–19, 'To them that dwellid ... to them' (Isaiah ix.2) in III.23.

40/20–21 (III.25): The text has been abbreviated.

40/22–25 (III.30): The text has been abbreviated.

40/26–31 (III.32).

40/32 – 41/27 (III.33–35, 37): The answer for III.37 has been incorporated into the answer for III.35, and begins at 41/20; 41/24–27 'For the oure ... rightfull iuge' is an addition.

41/14 couerte: an attested spelling for 'converten' (*MED*).

41/28–34 (III.39): The Latin text of the question uses the phrase 'resurrectio prima', from Revelations xx.5.

41/3 is: The context requires a verb.

41/35 – 42/8 (III.45): On **41/35 – 42/3 Maister oþerwhiles ... or no**, see Introduction, pp. 17-18. **41/35 oþerwhiles**, *adv.* 'sometimes, at times' (*MED* otherwhiles *adv.* (a)).

42/9–16: This passage is made up of material drawn from a number of different parts of the Latin. The question is from III.43, 'Resurgent qui in matribus sunt mortui?', and the answer is from III.43, 44, and 47. ME 42/14–16, 'But suche ... doon trete', is an addition by the compiler.

42/14 as: The emendation is required by the context.

42/17–20 (III.49).

42/21–33 (III.51–2): 'Fyre ... tempast' (Psalm xlix.3).

42/34 – 43/15 (III.54–6).

43/16–17 (III.59): The text breaks off in mid-sentence, approximately two-thirds of the way along the line; there are at least four blank lines on the remainder of the folio. This suggests that the scribe's exemplar was faulty and that the present fragment has not been damaged.

Feasts of Saint Michael the Archangel in the Liturgy of the Early Anglo-Saxon Church: Evidence from the Eighth and Ninth Centuries

Richard F. Johnson

Although never formally canonized by the church, St Michael enjoyed considerable popularity from the earliest days of his cult in the ancient Near East.[1] Sacred shrines and healing springs, each associated with a legend of the archangel, dotted the seismic landscape of ancient Phrygia and Pisidia. While local popularity, however one gauges it, is an important aspect of *cultus*, the true measure of a saint's *cultus* must also take into account such evidence as devotional texts (liturgical and non-liturgical alike), homilies, iconography, church dedications, and ultimately formal canonization. As Michael Lapidge has pointed out in his study of the cult of St Æthelwold, however, the process of the canonization of a saint and the development of a formal liturgical celebration of that saint on an appointed day in the early Middle Ages was 'a much less formal affair than it was to become in later centuries'.[2] Indeed, the process of papal canonization was not established until the late twelfth century.

The evidence of a formal celebration of St Michael's feasts in Anglo-Saxon liturgy falls into two periods. The earliest evidence is from the eighth and ninth centuries. Although there are few surviving liturgical books from this early period,[3] the extant evidence consists of notices in calendars and martyrologies, mass-sets in two fragmentary sacramentaries, and a number of prayers in books of private devotion.[4] The second period, the tenth and eleventh centuries, witnessed the development of formal liturgical celebrations as a direct result of the eccelesiastical reforms of the tenth century. Following an initial discussion of the Archangel's primary feast days in the West, this essay considers the evidence for the celebration of a liturgical feast in the early Anglo-Saxon church.

St Michael's Feast Days

At his cultic centres across Asia Minor, the Archangel was invoked in accordance with his stature as a healer long before formal liturgical festivals became the normative means of expressing devotion to him. After the Eastern church began to formalize devotions to Michael, possibly in the late fourth or early fifth centuries (i.e., in the aftermath of the first Council of Laodicea), the Archangel came to enjoy a number of different feast days in the East. For example, September 6 marks the miracle at Chonae in the Greek, Russian, and Ethiopic churches.[5] June 8 in the Menology of Sirletus commemorates the dedication of Constantine's church to St Michael at Sosthenion.[6] In the Ethiopic church, Michael is celebrated on June 6 and the twelfth day of every month.[7]

Traditionally in the West, however, St Michael has been celebrated on two principal feast days, May 8 and September 29, both of which originated with the cult of the Archangel in Italy. Though no longer celebrated in the Roman calendar, the date May 8 holds special significance for the cult of St Michael since it allegedly marks the day of both the Archangel's legendary apparition to consecrate his own church and his intercession on behalf of the Sipontans in their victory over the pagan Neapolitans. This date is commemorated in an early ninth-century Corbie martyrology as 'inventio sancti Michaelis archangeli in Monte Gargano'.[8] According to Giorgio Otranto, the feast day of May 8 was introduced by the Lombards in the late eighth or early ninth century to commemorate the legendary apparitions of the Archangel on Monte Gargano narrated in the 'Liber de Apparitione'.[9] The late ninth-century metrical calendar of Abbot Erchembert of Monte Cassino (881-904) includes the May 8 feast.[10] The mention of a reading for May 8 in the late seventh-century Lindisfarne Gospels (London, BL, Cotton MS Nero D. iv; Gneuss 343[11]), however, suggests that Otranto's dating is not entirely accurate. Since the Lindisfarne list of liturgical Gospel readings has connections with southern Italy, and especially the church of Naples, Otranto's date ought to be pushed earlier, perhaps closer to the early seventh century.[12] Although the Lindisfarne reading would seem to imply that there existed an Insular tradition of celebrating the May 8 feast, the earliest mention of this feast in Irish texts occurs in the Martyrologies of Tallaght and Oengus under May 9 (a day later than the Lombard date).[13] The fact that these martyrologies date from the early ninth century does not entirely contradict Otranto's hypothesis, but might indicate closer ties between Ireland and Italy than has been suggested.

Although the date September 29 is the festival most frequently associated with the Archangel in the West, the earliest reference in a western liturgical text to St

Michael's autumnal feast day occurs in the so-called 'Sacramentary of Leo' at September 30.[14] As the liturgist Cyrille Vogel has pointed out, the Sacramentary of Leo has been incorrectly attributed to Pope Leo the Great and is not properly a sacramentary at all; instead it is a collection of 'libelli missarum' (small booklets containing the *formulae* of one or more masses) copied into the manuscript Verona, Bibilioteca capitolare, codex 85 (olim 80) in the first quarter of the seventh century.[15] The entry for September 30 in the September 'libellus' of the Verona manuscript marks the fifth-century dedication of a basilica on the Via Salaria, and includes four mass-sets containing prayers in honour of St Michael (none of which, however, constitutes a complete mass) and one in honour of the angels.[16] The nineteenth-century Italian scholar, G. B. de Rossi, was of the opinion that this church on the Via Salaria must have been constructed in the middle of the fifth century since before that period there is no substantive evidence of its existence.[17] A church dedicated to St Michael is mentioned in the *Liber Pontificalis* as being enlarged during the papacy of Pope Symmachus (498-514): 'Item ad archangelum Michahel basilicam ampliavit'.[18] Although the editor of the *Liber Pontificalis*, L. Duchesne, argues that this enlarged church is different from the Salarian church,[19] it seems most likely that the enlargement in fact took place at the church on the Via Salaria. This church was still standing in the mid-seventh century as it is mentioned in *De locis sanctis martyrum*: 'ecclesiam sancti Michaelis vii. milliario ab Urbe'.[20]

Despite the September 30 entry in the Leonine sacramentary, most later sacramentaries and martyrologies mark the festival at September 29. Thus, the dedication of the Salarian church is marked at September 29 in the early eighth-century *Codex Epternacensis* of the Hieronymian martyrology.[21] Although the seventh-century Gelasian Sacramentary only marks September 29 with 'Orationes in sancti archangeli Michaelis', the eighth-century Gregorian Sacramentary commemorates the dedication of the Salarian church.[22]

The Archangel's appearance on Monte Gargano and the dedication of his church on the Salarian Way are conflated in a single commemoration at September 29 in several martyrologies. The ninth-century martyrology of Hrabanus Maurus, for example, suggests that the September feast marks the dedication of the Archangel's sanctuary on Monte Gargano: 'Dedicatio ecclesiae sancti Angeli Michaelis in monte Gargano'.[23] Similarly, Ado of Vienne (c. 800-875), in a long notice at September 29, recounts the legendary account of Michael's appearances at Monte Gargano (BHL 5948).[24] Usuard of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, who clearly used Ado's martyrology to compile his own martyrology sometime between 850-877, also conflates the two commemorations at September 29.[25]

A possible solution to the conundrum of the date of Michael's September feast, however, may lie in the notices for September 29 in Ado's Martyrology and the so-called *Romanum Parvum*, or Lesser Martyrology. In addition to recounting the Gargano legend, Ado mentions at the end of his entry the dedication of a church to St Michael by a Pope Boniface on the summit of the Mole of Hadrian: 'Sed non multo post Romae venerabilis etiam Bonifacius pontifex ecclesiam sancti Michaelis nomine constructam dedicavit in summitate Circi cryptiam'.[26] Similarly, in a notice in the *Romanum Parvum*, a church at Rome is mentioned: 'Et Romae, dedicatio ecclesiae ejusdem archangeli, a B<eato> Bonifacio papa constructae in circo, qui locus inter nubes dicitur'.[27] From these entries, it seems that a second church to St Michael was constructed and became associated with the date September 29. Such a church is mentioned in a list of urban churches appended to the text of the *De locis sanctorum martyrum*.[28] Given the mid-seventh-century date of the *De locis* and the description of the church in the two martyrologies, it seems likely that this second church is to be identified with the chapel dedicated to the Archangel on the summit of the Moles Hadriani, the construction of which the legend attributes to Pope Boniface IV (608-615). Although there is some debate as to which Boniface actually built the summit chapel (Boniface III, IV, or V),[29] Boniface IV is the most likely candidate since he is credited with another major construction project involving the christianization of a major pagan monument. In 609, Pope Boniface IV converted into a Basilica dedicated to St Mary and the Martyrs the Roman Pantheon and in the process instituted the feast of All Saints.

The legendary association of the Archangel with the Moles Hadriani, however, begins in the early days of the pontificate of Gregory the Great. According to this legend, Gregory led a procession through the streets of Rome for three days, praying for the cessation of a plague and singing what would later become known as the Greater Litanies. On the third day, as the procession approached the Moles Hadriani, St Michael appeared in full view of the procession at the summit of the mausoleum, sheathing a bloody sword. According to the legend, the plague ceased to ravish the city after this apparition.[30] Although the legend is most likely a later invention, it is not implausible that Gregory first began the efforts to christianize this pagan monument by perhaps dedicating a chapel in its summit to St Michael, or by replacing the image of the Emperor on the summit with one of the Archangel.[31]

Despite these many confusions, however, it seems plausible to suggest the following scenario. September 30 seems originally to have marked a local celebration at Rome of the dedication of the Archangel's church on the Salarian Way. The dedication of the Salarian church became superseded by that of the summit chapel on

the Moles Hadriani, perhaps because of the more recent chapel's proximity to the center of the city. Over time the actual dedications became confused, and September 29 became associated with the Salarian dedication. The September 30 date seems to have been abandoned in favour of September 29 sometime between the composition of the *Veronensis* (scholarly opinion on the date of composition of the so-called Sacramentary of Leo varies from the mid-fifth century to the late sixth century),[32] and the early eighth-century date of the Hieronymian martyrology.

Ultimately, the local festival commemorating the dedication of the fifth-century Salarian church became overshadowed by the celebration of the more spectacular alleged apparition on Monte Gargano in the late fifth century. Although it is impossible to say with any certainty why the September 29 date ultimately prevailed over the May 8 feast day, it may be that the Roman church, in an effort to shape an ecclesiastically sanctioned liturgical devotion to the Archangel, felt compelled to honour the date of an actual church dedication in lieu of a legendary apparition. Thus, while the May 8 feast would not have been copied into later sacramentaries and martyrologies, the persistent popular appeal of the legend of the apparitions on Monte Gargano would eventually cause it to be conflated with the celebration of the church dedication at the single September 29 date.

St Michael in Anglo-Saxon Liturgy: the Eighth and Ninth Centuries

The earliest Anglo-Saxon evidence of a liturgical feast of St Michael is found in calendars and martyrologies dating from the eighth and ninth centuries. Although calendars and martyrologies are not strictly books of the liturgy, they are organized according to the liturgical year and list saints who are commemorated by feasts during the year. Calendars and martyrologies were also important reference tools for those who composed and arranged liturgical texts, and thereby made an indirect contribution to the liturgy. Together these texts provide early evidence of a formal liturgical *cultus* of St Michael in Anglo-Saxon England. Furthermore, as Michael Lapidge has shown, calendars and other paraliturgical texts considered in conjunction with more formal liturgical books (such as sacramentaries and missals) suggest the degree of liturgical veneration a particular saint enjoyed.[33]

The first calendar to mark September 29 is the early eighth-century calendar of St Willibrord (658-739).[34] The sole manuscript of the calendar (Paris, BN, MS Lat. 10837; Gneuss 897) is thought to have been written in Northumbria for Willibrord's own use and to contain a marginal entry in his own hand.[35] As in the Gelasian

Sacramentary, the notice for September 29 in Willibrord's calendar makes no mention of a church dedication. At this early date, it seems that St Michael's feast day was recognized in northern England as simply a day in honour of the Archangel, with no connection to the dedication of the church on the Salarian Way.[36]

At the end of the *Historia ecclesiastica*, Bede mentions among his completed works a 'martyrologium de nataliciis sanctorum martyrum diebus'.[37] The manuscripts of Bede's Martyrology fall into two recensions, designated 'Bede' and 'Bede^2' by the first editor, Dom Henri Quentin.[38] The first recension was written around the year 725 and consists of notices ending at July 25th. This recension does not mark the Michael feast at May 8. The second recension, 'Bede^2', was written slightly later than the first, but was completed before Bede's death in 735. Although this recension clearly commemorates the dedication of a church to St Michael, it does not specify a particular church, either at Rome or Monte Gargano.[39] By the early ninth century, however, the Martyrology of Florus, which has been shown to be based in part on the recensions of Bede, specifically designates the dedication of the church at Rome: 'Romae, dedicatio basilicae sancti Michaelis archangeli'.[40] Such a development suggests that by the early ninth century Roman efforts on the continent to establish an ecclesiastically sanctioned feast commemorating the dedication of the Salarian church had extended to the northern regions of the Frankish realm.

In addition to the notice in Bede's Martyrology, corroborating early evidence of an established celebration of Michael's feast day at September 29th is found in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. Both the Parker and Laud (Peterborough) Chronicles contain a notice for the year 759 [761] which marks the consecration of Bishop Bregowise as taking place at Michaelmas (September 29).[41]

Perhaps best described as a paraliturgical 'metrical martyrology', an early English metrical calendar offers similar testimony to a formal celebration of Michael's feasts in the eighth and ninth centuries.[42] The late eighth-century Metrical Calendar from York consists of 82 hexameter lines, commemorating only selected days of the liturgical year.[43] The fact that it contains a notice for the Archangel's September 29 feast underscores the importance of this liturgical celebration: 'Michaelis ternas templi dedicatio sacrat'.[44] As in Bede's Martyrology, however, the notice marks a dedication commemoration but does not specify a particular church. Furthermore, the Mercian provenance of the oldest manuscript of this calendar (London, BL, Cotton MS Vespasian B. vi; Gneuss 385) reiterates the significance of this festival in the northern, and generally Celtic, regions of England in the eighth and ninth centuries.

The only early English text to include both feasts of St Michael is the ninth-century *Old English Martyrology*.[45] The entry for May 8 is brief, consisting of only

42 words, and unremarkable:

> On ðone eahteþan dæg þæs monðes bið þæt S<an>c<t>e Michaheles cirice ærest funden wæs on ðæm munte Gargano, þær se mon wæs ofscoten mid his agenre stræle, mid þy þe he wolde ðone fearr sceotan se stod on þæs scræfes dura.[46]

The entry abstracts the barest essentials of the Monte Gargano legend from the popular Latin account (BHL 5948). The use of the verb *findan* (to find, discover), however, suggests a familiarity with certain continental descriptions of the May feast. In a Corbie martyrology of the early ninth century, May 8 is marked as 'inventio sancti Michaelis archangeli in monte Gargano'.[47] Similarly, a manuscript of the *Liber Pontificalis* describes the discovery of the church of St Michael using the term *invenire* (to discover, find), the verbal form of *inventio*: 'Huius temporibus inventa est aecclesia sancti angeli in monte Gargano'.[48] According to the Bosworth-Toller Anglo-Saxon dictionary, the Old English verb *findan* can gloss the Latin term *invenire*.[49] Given the essential 'Latinity' of the Old English Martyrologist, to borrow a phrase from J. E. Cross,[50] it is not unlikely that the author was familiar with such continental sources as the Corbie martyrology and the *Liber Pontificalis*.[51]

The notice for September 29, however, is infinitely more illuminating. Not only does this entry shed some light on the martyrologist's method of composition,[52] but it also provides an interesting point of comparison with the anonymous St Michael homily in CCCC MS 41, a manuscript with abundant Irish connections.[53]

> On ðone .xxviiii. dæg þæs monðes bið S<an>c<t>e Michaelis cirican gehalgung in Tracla þære ceastre in Eraclę ðære mægðe. Feonda menigo com to þære ceastre ond hy ymbsæton. Þa ceasterware þurh þreora daga fæsten ánmodlice bædon [God] fultumes, ond bædon þæt he him þone ætywde þurh S<an>c<t>e Michahel. Ða ðy þriddan dæge stod S<an>c<t>e Michahel ofer ðære ceastre gete ond hæfde fyren sweord in his honda. Þa wæron ða fynd abregede mid þy egesan ond hy gewiton ónweg, ond þa ceasterwara wunedon gesunde. Ond þær wæs getimbred S<an>c<t>e Michaheles cirice, ond seo wæs gehalgod on ðone dæg þe we mærsiað S<an>c<t>e Michaheles gemynd.[54]

Although George Herzfeld, the first English editor of the text, assumed that

this notice derived from the sources of BHL 5948,[55] J. E. Cross has shown that the account printed under September 29 differs in significant details from the Latin account of the legend. Cross has pointed out that while the *Old English Martyrology* notice for September 29 and the St Michael homily in Corpus 41 (§ 23)[56] relate the same story, they each present new information not found in the other. Cross therefore concludes that they are each independently derived from an 'unrecorded story about St Michael (very probably in Latin) which was circulating in England by the ninth-century date of the Martyrology'.[57]

A closer examination of the text, however, reveals that the notice is slightly more complex than either Herzfeld or Cross suggest. The notice is comprised of three distinct layers of narrative (see Figure 1 below). The first layer (M^1 and M^2) is typical of other entries in this martyrology and serves as introduction and conclusion for the entry. The second layer (S^1 and S^2) comprises the details of the legendary account of the battle of the Sipontans against the pagan Neapolitans found in BHL 5948. The two S-layers envelope the third layer (G) which consists of an image from the legend of Michael's appearance on the summit of the Moles Hadriani before the procession led by Gregory the Great. Thus, the entry can be visualized in the following envelope pattern: M^1-S^1-G-S^2-M^2 (see Figure 1 below).

M^1: On ðone .xxviiii. dæg þæs monðes bið S<an>c<t>e Michaelis cirician gehalgung in Tracla þære ceastre in Eraclę ðære mægðe.

S^1: Feonda menigo com to þære ceastre ond hy ymbsæton. Þa ceasterware þurh þreora daga fæsten ánmodlice bædon [God] fultumes, ond bædon þæt he him þone ætywde þurh S<an>c<t>e Michahel.

G: Ða ðy þriddan dæge stod S<an>c<t>e Michahel ofer ðære ceastre gete ond hæfde fyren sweord in his honda.

S^2: Þa wæron ða fynd abregede mid þy egesan ond hy gewiton ónweg, ond þa ceasterwara wunedon gesunde.

M^2: Ond þær wæs getimbred S<an>c<t>e Michaheles cirice, ond seo wæs gehalgod on ðone dæg þe we mærsiað S<an>c<t>e Michaheles gemynd.

Figure 1. Narrative Layers of *Old English Martyrology* for 29 September.

M^1, which opens the notice, contains two anomalies: the names of the town, Tracla, and of the province, Eraclæ. In his note to this entry, Herzfeld suggests that this might be a confusion resulting from a misreading of a source martyrological entry.[58] Herzfeld cites the Hieronymian martyrology and that of Usuard as two possible sources of the anomaly.[59] Perhaps the most likely source of the confusion, however, would be an entry similar to that found in the roughly contemporary martyrology of Hrabanus Maurus. The relevant portion of the entry for September 29 reads, 'Dedicatio ecclesiae sancti Angeli Michaelis in monte Gargano in Thracia civitate Eraclea natale Eutici [Eutichii] Plautii'.[60] The order of the two elements of the entry (i.e., the mention of the dedication of Michael's church *before* the mention of the martyrdom of Eutichus and Plautus) suggests the possibility of the misunderstanding. Thus, despite Cross's objection to Herzfeld's conclusion, it is possible that even a skilled reader of Latin might conflate the two elements of this entry.

As Cross suggested, the sources of BHL 5948 clearly inform this entry. The S^1 and S^2 portions of the entry are abstracted from those sources, summarizing details found in the 'Liber de Apparitione'.[61] Another legendary apparition, however, seems to have influenced the central image of the entry. Michael and his fiery sword in the G section are almost certainly related to the legend of Michael's appearance above the Moles Hadriani in which Michael is seen sheathing a bloody sword atop the mausoleum. M^2, the conclusion of the entry, is typical of other endings in the Martyrology in reminding the reader of the significance of the feast day.

In his exemplary work on the sources of the Old English Martyrology, J. E. Cross has shown that the Martyrologist was a fluent scholar of Latin and an excellent abstracter of details 'who often echoed snatches of speech verbatim, and who reflected images from [his] sources'.[62] Although the entry for September 29 does not contain any 'snatches of speech verbatim', the composite nature of the notice is certainly in keeping with the Martyrologist's method of composition and suggests to this reader the use of at least two, if not three, separate sources.

Although there is a relative abundance of Michael material in calendars and martyrologies from this early period, the evidence of massbooks is extremely slight since there are very few extant copies of this type of book.[63] There are six fragmentary books from the eighth century, but none of these contains a mass for September 29.[64] The earliest massbook which contains a mass for the September feast is the Leofric Missal (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 579; Gneuss 585), a composite codex comprised of three layers of liturgical material.[65] The core of the manuscript, Leofric A, is a Gregorian sacramentary thought to have been composed in northeast France (most likely in the Arras-Cambrai region) shortly before A.D. 900.[66]

For the September 29 feast, the Leofric Missal contains only three prayers: an opening *Collecta*, a *Super Oblata*, and a *Præfatio*. The opening Collect acknowledges the Lord's perfect ordering of the activities of angels and of men, and beseeches the Lord for the protection of the angels.[67] Although Michael is not mentioned by name, his leadership among the angels is understood. The second prayer once again does not mention Michael by name and continues the theme of angelic intervention and protection.[68] The Preface mentions Michael by name, honouring his status as chief of the celestial host.[69]

The second layer of liturgical material, Leofric B, was added after the manuscript came to England in the early tenth century.[70] Leofric B consists of a tenth-century calendar and computistical material, and will be discussed in the next section. The third group of additional material, Leofric C, is more problematic. Although Warren dates Leofric C to the eleventh century and assigns it to Exeter, recent work has suggested that some of the material Warren designated C does not properly belong to that group of additions.[71] Among the group of masses in Leofric C, however, there occurs a 'Missa de sancto Michahele' which differs considerably from the Leofric A mass-set. Although the masses in Leofric C are generally more complete than those in A, this is not true of the mass for Michael. The mass-set for Michael in Leofric C consists only of an opening *Collecta*, a *Secreta*, and a *Postcommunio*. In general, however, these prayers are more specific to Michael: two mention his name and his traditional roles as intercessor and protector of the faithful. Given Exeter's connections with Irish devotional traditions, the specificity of the Michael prayers should not be surprising.

Perhaps the most abundant body of evidence in the early Anglo-Saxon period of devotion to Michael is found in a number of prayers in four private devotional books composed ca. 800. Although private devotional texts such as prayers were rarely intended for liturgical use, prayers were often borrowed, in part or whole, directly from mass or Office and therefore contribute to an understanding of the formation of a liturgical cult of Michael in Anglo-Saxon England. The four devotional books are wholly English in origin, but are each clearly influenced by the Irish tradition of private prayer:[72] London, BL, MS Harley 7653; London, BL, MS Royal 2. A. xx (Royal Prayer-Book); London, BL, MS Harley 2965 (Book of Nunnaminster); Cambridge, University Library, MS Ll.1.10 (Book of Cerne).

Harley 7653 (Gneuss 443) survives as a fragment of seven folios.[73] It contains an acephalous litany and seven prayers. It seems likely that Michael was included in his usual place at the head of the archangels after the Virgin in the litany, but since the beginning of the litany is missing, it is impossible to say. Although there is not

a prayer addressed to the Archangel individually, Michael is mentioned in one of the prayers, at the head of a list of archangels:

> Michaelem s<an>c<tu>m et gloriosu<m> deprecor
> Rafael et Uriel Gabriel et Raguel
> Heremiel et Azael ut suscipiant anima<m> mea<m> . . . [74]

Despite the Irish affinities of this manuscript, this particular list of archangels has little if any connection with similar Irish lists. While the names of the first four archangels agree with the Irish lists,[75] the last three do not. As Warren points out, Raguel, Heremiel, and Azael are each found in the following apocryphal books of the Old Testament: Raguel and Azael are in I Enoch 20:4 and 8:1 (spelled Azazel) respectively; Heremiel in II Esdras (i.e., the Fourth Book of Ezra) 4:36.[76] Nonetheless, it should be noted that Michael is clearly the leader of the archangels who as a group are honoured in this prayer as psychopomps.

The Royal Prayer-Book (Gneuss 450) includes gospel extracts, canticles, prayers, hymns, and a litany.[77] As in the Harley 7653 fragment, the Royal manuscript contains no prayer to Michael alone. The Archangel is, however, mentioned in the long prayer 'Oratio sancti Hygbaldi abbatis'.[78] In the passage on Michael, the Archangel is honoured as guardian and conveyor of the souls of the faithful to heaven. The Michael passage occurs within a larger segment of the 'Oratio sancti Hygbaldi abbatis', beginning at the top of folio 18r of the Royal Prayer-Book and continuing to the bottom of folio 19v. This very same segment is found in the Book of Cerne as an 'Item alia' prayer (Kuypers 1).[79] Although Mary Clayton pointed to the Marian reference in this passage as being part of the long 'Oratio',[80] it is likely that the passage is a separate text that is in fact a copy of the Cerne prayer.[81] In the Royal Prayer-Book, St Michael is also found in the litany, just after Christ and before Gabriel, Raphael, John the Baptist, and Mary.

The third collection of prayers is found in the Book of Nunnaminster (Gneuss 432), which also includes a series of prayers on the life and Passion of Christ.[82] An individual prayer to St Michael occurs in this manuscript, followed by one to the Virgin and one to John the Baptist. The Nunnaminster prayer to Michael, 'Orat<io> ad s<an>cti mich[aelis]', invokes the Archangel as a powerful intercessor before the Lord and as psychopomp.

> S<an>c<t>e michael archangele qui uenisti in adiutoriu<m>
> populo d<e>i, Subueni mihi aput altissimu<m> iudice<m>,

> ut mihi peccatori donet remissionem delictorum meoru<m>, Propter magna<m> miserationu<m> tuaru<m> clementia<m>. Exaudi me s<an>c<t>e michael inuocante<m> te, Adiuva me maiestatem tuam adorante<m>. Interpelle p<ro> me gemescente Et fac me castu<m> ab omnib<u>s peccatis. Insuper ob[se]cro te pr<ae>clarum atq<ue> decore<m> summæ diuinita[tis] ministru<m>, Ut in nouissimo die benigne suscipi[as] anima<m> mea<m> in sinu tuo s<an>c<t>issimo, Et per[du]cas ea<m> in locu<m> refrigerii pacis et lucis et q<ui>etis, [ubi] s<an>c<t>oru<m> animae cum laetitia et innumerabili [ga]udio futuru<m> iudiciu<m> et gloria<m> beatae resur[re]ctionis expectant. P<er> eum qui uiuit et reg[nat in sae]cula s<ae>c<u>lor<um>. Amen.[83]

The prayer first beseeches the Archangel to intercede with the Lord in order that He might cleanse the sinner of his transgressions. After several more appeals to the Archangel's compassion, the prayer then implores Michael to conduct the sinner's soul to paradise on the Last Day. André Wilmart discusses this prayer briefly as an early form of a fourteenth-century prayer in CCCC MS 284.[84] This prayer is also found in the Book of Cerne (Kuypers 53), and two eleventh-century Anglo-Saxon manuscripts: Arundel 155 (the so-called Eadui Psalter), where it is glossed in Old English, and Arundel 60 (the Arundel Psalter).[85] In the Book of Nunnaminster, Michael is also mentioned in the so-called Lorica of Laidcenn, a prayer which is found in two other Anglo-Saxon manuscripts where it is glossed in Old English: Cambridge, University Library, MS Ll.1.10 (the Book of Cerne); and London, BL, MS Harley 585 (the so-called *Lacnunga*; Gneuss 421).[86]

The Book of Cerne (Gneuss 28) contains a collection of gospel extracts, an acrostic poem spelling the name 'Æthilwald', a series of prayers, a Breviate Psalter, and a text of the Harrowing of Hell.[87] Although there has been some debate over the subject since Kuypers' diplomatic edition of the text appeared, the manuscript is generally thought to date from the early ninth century and to be of Mercian origin.[88] Of the seventy-four prayers in the Book of Cerne, only one is addressed to St Michael alone (Kuypers 53: 'Oratio ad archangelum Michaheli'). This is the same prayer found in the Book of Nunnaminster under the rubric 'Oratio ad s<an>c<t>i Mich[aelis]'. Michael is also mentioned in passsing in five other prayers: 1, 4 (the Lorica of Laidcenn), 18, 29, and 54. As has already been discussed above, Cerne 1 refers to

Michael primarily in his role as psychopomp.

Cerne 4 is the so-called Lorica of Laidcenn (or Gildas), a Latin text known to have originated in Ireland,[89] with an Old English interlinear gloss. The Lorica invokes Michael, together with Gabriel and the Cherubim and Seraphim, for protection against foes. Of these four angelic beings, Michael's name alone is not glossed in Old English in the Cerne version of the Lorica. Gabriel is glossed as 'ȝodes strenȝu' (the strength of God); Cherubim as 'wisdomes ȝefylnes' (the fulfillment of God's wisdom); and Seraphim as 'ȝodes lufu onbernes' (the fervor of God's love).[90] In the *Lacnunga* Lorica, however, Michael's name is glossed as 'swa swa ȝod' (just like God).[91] As the Grattan/Singer edition of the *Lacnunga* text points out, the Old English gloss suggests a familiarity with the interpretation of the angelic names found in Isidore's *Etymologiae*.[92] According to Isidore, 'Michael interpretatur, Qui sicut Deus'.[93] Since there are Anglo-Saxon manuscripts of Isidore from the eighth century and the earliest manuscripts in which the Lorica of Gildas appear are of the ninth century (the Books of Nunnaminster and the Book of Cerne), it is possible that the Anglo-Saxon glosses reflect a degree of Isidorean influence. Thus, although the Lorica itself is clearly a product of the Irish imagination, the glosses suggest a familiarity with the Mediterranean Roman culture represented by the works of Isidore of Seville.

Cerne 18 is an 'Oratio ad Dominum' which once again honours Michael in his role as guardian and conveyor of the souls of the faithful. This prayer has analogues in Alcuin's *De psalmorum usu Liber*,[94] the Eadui Psalter (London, BL, MS Arundel 155, fol. 177v), and the Galba Prayer-Book (London, BL, Cotton MS Galba A.xiv, fol. 48v).

Cerne 29 is a close variation of the prayer in Harley 7653 which includes a list of the archangels. Aside from other differences in the contents of the prayer, the list of archangels in the Harley manuscript includes the names Raguel, Heremiel, and Azael. These names do not occur in any Irish lists of archangels, and it is noteworthy that they are suppressed in the list in Cerne 29. As in the Harley prayer, Michael heads the group of archangels and they are deemed worthy of praise for their roles as psychopomps at the final judgment.

Cerne 54 includes another list of archangels and attaches to each special devotion:

> Gabrihel esto mihi lurica.
> Michaehel esto mihi baltheus.
> Raphahel esto mihi scutum.
> Urihel esto mihi protector.

Rumihel esto mihi defensor.
Phannihel esto mihi sanitas.[95]

The names of the archangels are wholly Irish in spirit, corresponding exactly with other lists in Irish sources.[96] This prayer also appears in the so-called *Collectanea* of Pseudo-Bede, where the last two names are spelled 'Rumiel' and 'Paniel'.[97]

The significance of the Michaeline prayers in these four collections lies in the strong Irish affiliations of the manuscripts and in the sheer number of prayers which either address or invoke the Archangel. Neither the Harley nor the Royal Prayer-Book contains a prayer to St Michael, but both contain prayers which invoke the Archangel, often in conjunction with the other archangels. As Mary Clayton has suggested in connection with the development of prayers to the Virgin Mary,[98] it is possible that prayers to Michael alone began as extracts from prayers whose devotional scope included other saints and archangels. Such a process perhaps can be seen occurring with the separation of the segment of the 'Oratio sancti Hygbaldi abbatis' from the Royal Prayer-Book and its installation as an independent prayer in the Book of Cerne. In the Books of Nunnaminster and Cerne, an independent prayer to Michael is found. Of the sixty-four prayers in the Book of Nunnaminster, only three are addressed to individual saints: one prayer each to the Virgin, Michael and John the Baptist. Although only one of the seventy-four prayers in the Book of Cerne is addressed to St Michael (there are three each to the Virgin and John the Baptist), his frequent mention in other prayers suggests his importance as an intercessor.

Conclusion

From the liturgical evidence of the eighth and ninth centuries, two conclusions can be drawn. First, in this early period, Irish influence is clearly discernible in the calendars and prayers. The calendars suggest the *cultus* of the Archangel in the eighth and ninth centuries was strongest in the northern regions of England and generally in the Celtic areas of the realm. The prayers of the era are clearly inspired by Irish devotional traditions and the Irish affiliations of the manuscripts corroborate this hypothesis. In the tenth and eleventh centuries, however, discernible Irish influence will be diffused as general devotion to the Archangel becomes the norm in the aftermath of the tenth-century Benedictine reforms. Secondly, it is also evident, especially in the prayers, that devotion to St Michael is undergoing in this period a process of selectivity. The Archangel is being singled out from the group of

archangels and being recognized independently as a powerful intercessor and psychopomp. The number of prayers devoted to the Archangel independently underscores this process, which will evolve in the next period with the development of liturgical hymns to the Archangel.[99]

NOTES

[1] The issue of the canonization of an angel would, of course, be a problematic one. Although there could not possibly be any bodily relics since the Archangel is an incorporeal being, Mont Saint-Michel claimed to possess the Archangel's sword and shield (on which, see Jean Laporte, 'L'Épée et le Bouclier Dits "De Saint Michel"', in *Millénaire Monastique du Mont Saint-Michel*, 6 vols., ed. by J. Laporte and others (Paris: Bibliothèque d'histoire et d'archéologie chrétiennes, 1966), II, 397-410). Despite his asomatic nature, St Michael has been provided with a *vita*-of-sorts in the hagiographical foundation myth of Monte Gargano (BHL 5948, under the heading 'Michael archangelus' in *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina Antiquae et Mediae Aetatis*, ed. by Bollandists, Subsidia Hagiographica 6, 2 vols (Brussels, 1898-1901), II, 868-69 and *Novum Supplementum*, ed. by H. Fros, Subsidia Hagiographica 12 (Brussels, 1986), pp. 644-46).

[2] M. Lapidge and M. Winterbottom, *Wulfstan of Winchester: Life of St Æthelwold* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), pp. cxii-cxliii (p. cxii).

[3] The most comprehensive single work on the vast field of Anglo-Saxon liturgical materials is *The Liturgical Books of Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. by Richard Pfaff, *Old English Newsletter, Subsidia* vol. 23 (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1995). For discussion of the extant evidence, see H. Gneuss, 'Liturgical Books in Anglo-Saxon England and their Old English terminology', in *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies Presented to Peter Clemoes on the Occasion of his Sixty-fifth Birthday*, ed. by M. Lapidge and H. Gneuss (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 91-141 (p. 94); and David Dumville, *Liturgy and the Ecclesiastical History of Late Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 1992), especially chapter four, 'Liturgical Books from late Anglo-Saxon England: A Review of Some Historical Problems' (pp. 96-152).

[4] Although such paraliturgical texts as calendars and private devotional books do not form part of the official liturgy, these texts are included in this discussion for two reasons. First, there seems to have been a parallel relationship in practice between formal liturgical texts (such as missals, sacramentaries, and graduals) and paraliturgical texts (such as calendars, legendaries, and prayer-books), especially in the eighth and ninth centuries. Furthermore, Helmut Gneuss includes such paraliturgical texts as calendars, legendaries, and private prayer-books in his seminal discussion of Anglo-Saxon liturgical books (see the previous note). And secondly, paraliturgical texts are included in this discussion because they serve as valuable witnesses to the practice of devotion.

[5] *Acta Sanctorum quotquot orbe coluntur . . .* (hereafter *AASS*), *Septembris*, ed. by Ioannes Bollandus and others (Antwerp, 1643; reprinted Brussels: Greuse, 1865-70), VIII,

7.

[6] *AASS, Septembris,* VIII, 7

[7] *AASS, Septembris,* VIII, 7. See also E. A. W. Budge, *The Book of Saints of the Ethiopian Church*, 6 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1928), IV, 986-92 (June 6); and each volume for the twelfth day of the month.

[8] 'Discovery of St Michael the Archangel at Monte Gargano', *AASS, Septembris*, VIII, 6. The term 'inventio' (finding, discovery) with regard to St Michael seems to refer to the 'discovery' of the mountaintop sanctuary on Monte Gargano as narrated in BHL 5948 (on which see note 1).

[9] 'Il "Liber de Apparitione" e il culto di S. Michele sul Gargano nella documentazione liturgica altomedievale', *Vetera Christianorum*, 18 (1981), 423-42 (p. 440).

[10] I would like to thank Prof. Gordon Whatley for bringing this calendar to my attention. Abbot Erchembert's calendar is a redaction of the so-called Metrical Calendar of York (on which see below), and is discussed by A. Wilmart in his article, 'Un témoin anglo-saxon du calendrier métrique d'York', *Revue Bénédictine*, 46 (1954), 41-69 (p. 69). This continental calendar is also discussed by M. Lapidge, 'A Tenth-Century Metrical Calendar from Ramsey', *Revue Bénédictine*, 94 (1984), 326-69 (pp. 339-41).

[11] The designation 'Gneuss' refers to the number assigned to the manuscript by Helmut Gneuss, 'A preliminary list of manuscripts written or owned in England up to 1100', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 9 (1981), 1-60.

[12] For the Italian connections of the list, see G. Morin, 'La liturgie de Naples au temps de saint Grégoire d'après deux évangéliaires du septième siècle', *Revue Bénédictine*, 11 (1891), 481-93, 529-37.

[13] Tallaght commemorates the 'Revelatio Michaelis archangeli', most likely a reference to his apparition on Monte Gargano (Best and Lawlor, *Martyrology of Tallaght*, Henry Bradshaw Society (hereafter HBS) 68 [London: Harrison, 1929], p. 41). Similarly, Oengus marks 'Foillsigud mór Michéil don bith' [The great manifestation of Michael], with some manuscripts adding a reference to Monte Gargano (Stokes, *Martyrology of Oengus*, HBS 29 [London: Harrison, 1905], pp. 123, 130-31).

[14] *Patrologiae cursus complete, Series Latina* (hereafter PL), ed. by J.-P. Migne, 221 vols. (Paris: Garnier, 1844-65), vol. 55, cols. 22-156 (col. 105): 'Pridie Kalendas Octobres. Natale Basilicae Angeli in [Via] Salaria' [Eve of the Kalends of October. Feast of the Basilica of the Angel on the (Via) Salaria].

[15] Vogel also advocates the use of the term *Veronensis* to refer to this particular collection. For a discussion of the chronology of the Verona manuscript, see Cyrille Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction*, trans. by William G. Storey and Niels Krogh Rasmussen (Washington, D.C.: The Pastoral Press, 1986), pp. 38-46.

[16] For a brief description of the Michael entry in the Veronensis (Sacramentary of Leo), see D. M. Hope, *The Leonine Sacramentary: A Reassessment of its Nature and Purpose* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 32.

[17] 'Epitome libri de locis sanctorum martyrum,' *Bulletino di Archeologia*, 2 (1871), 146.

[18] L. Duchesne, *Le Liber pontificalis*, 2 vols. (Paris: Ernst Thorin, 1886), I, 262.

[19] *Le Liber pontificalis*, I, 268, n. 36.

[20] 'Church of St Michael at the seventh milestone from the city'. PL 101, col. 1365.

[21] *AASS, Novembris* II, 532: 'Romae via Salutaria [sic] miliario VI dedicatio sancti Michaelis' [At Rome (on the) via Salaria at the sixth milestone the dedication (of the church) of St Michael].

[22] Both sacramentaries are printed in PL 74. The entry in the Gelasian sacramentary is at col. 1177. The notice in the Gregorian sacramentary reads, 'Dedicatio basilicae sancti Michahelis' [Dedication of the basilica of St Michael] (col. 134).

[23] 'Dedication of the church of the angel St Michael on Monte Gargano'. PL 110, col. 1171.

[24] PL 123, cols 368-69.

[25] PL 124, col. 518. See also Dom Jacques Dubois, *Le Martyrologe d'Usuard*, Subsidia Hagiographica 40 (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1965), p. 311.

[26] 'But not much later [presumably not long after the Gargano apparition], at Rome the venerable pontiff Boniface dedicated a church constructed in the name of St Michael on the summit of the Circus crypt'. PL 123, col. 569.

[27] 'And at Rome, the dedication of a church to the archangel, which the Blessed Pope Boniface constructed in the circus which place was called "among the clouds"'. PL 123, col. 170.

[28] PL 101, col. 1565.

[29] Boniface III was pope for nine months in 607. Boniface V was pope from 619-625. For a summary of the various positions in this debate, see *AASS, Septembris* VIII, 70-71.

[30] The legend is summarized in many places, the most accessible of which is *AASS, Septembris* VIII, 70-71.

[31] Western Catholicism long recognized the didactic value of images and was even known to exploit pagan art forms in its evangelizing efforts. Pope Gregory's letter to Abbot Mellitus, whom Gregory had sent to Anglo-Saxon England to aid Augustine in his evangelizing mission, is perhaps the most famous exposition of this pope's approach to the dilemma of pagan monuments, shrines, idols, and images (*Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. by B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), pp. 106-09). In the letter, Gregory declares that the temples of the British should

not be destroyed, only the idols within them. For if the temples are well-built, he argues, they can be made to serve the worship of the true God. It does not seem improbable that such a process may have taken place with regard to Hadrian's mausoleum.

[32] See above, note 15.

[33] Lapidge and Winterbottom, *Wulfstan of Winchester*, p. cxl.

[34] H. A. Wilson, *The Calendar of St Willibrord*, HBS 55 (London: Harrison, 1918).

[35] *Calendar of St Willibrord*, fol. 38b.

[36] It is interesting to note that in the ninth-century metrical Irish *Martyrology of Oengus*, the notice for September 29 in the principal manuscript also suggests a general festival in honour of the Archangel. Although a secondary manuscript mentions the dedication of a "basilicae Michaelis," the entry in the primary Oengus manuscript commemorates St Michael's battle with the dragon of Revelation 12:7-9 and his slaying of Antichrist (Stokes, *Martyrology of Oengus*, pp. 197, 212-13).

[37] *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, pp. 570-71.

[38] H. Quentin, *Les Martyrologes historiques du Moyen Age. Etude sur la formation du martyrologe romain* (Paris: Gabalda, 1908), pp. 18-20.

[39] The entry reads, 'Dedicatio ecclesiae sancti Michaelis archangeli' (Dom Jacques Dubois and Genevieve Renaud, *Edition Pratique des Martyrologes de Bède, de l'Anonyme Lyonnais et de Florus* (Paris: Editions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1976), p. 33.

[40] Dubois and Renaud, *Edition Pratique*, p. 33.

[41] G. N. Garmonsway, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (London: Dent, 1953; rpr. 1984), p. 50. All other notices in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle marking this feast are from the eleventh and twelfth centuries: 1011, 1014, 1066, 1086, 1095, 1097, 1098, 1100, 1101, 1102, 1103, 1106, 1119, 1125, 1126, and 1129.

[42] The terms 'metrical' or 'poetical' martyrology were first used by J. Hennig, 'Studies in the Literary Tradition of the "Martyrologium Poeticum"', in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 56 C (1954), 197-226. In a collection of his essays, David Dumville continues the usage (see especially 'Liturgical Books from Late Anglo-Saxon England: A Review of Some Historical Problems', in *Liturgy and the Ecclesiastical History of Late Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 1992), pp. 96-152 (p. 112)).

[43] The calendar has been edited by André Wilmart, 'Un témoin anglo-saxon du calendrier métrique d'York', *Revue Bénédictine*, 46 (1934), 41-69. It should be noted that the 'Martyrologium Poeticum' Hennig refers to in his article (see previous note) is in fact this same Metrical Calendar from York. Michael Lapidge has suggested that 'a date . . . in the third quarter of the eighth century would best suit the available evidence' ('A Tenth-Century Metrical Calendar from Ramsey', *Revue Bénédictine*, 94 [1984], 326-69 [p. 331]).

[44] Wilmart, 'Un témoin anglo-saxon', p. 65.

[45] Günter Kotzor, *Das altenglische Martyrologium*, 2 vols., Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, Abhandlungen, N.F. 88/1,2 (Munich, 1981).

[46] *Das altenglische Martyrologium*, II, 96: 'On the eighth day of this month is [the day] when Saint Michael's church was first found [i.e., discovered] on the mount Gargano, where the man was shot with his own arrow, with which he would shoot that bull that stood in the door of the cave.'

[47] 'In this time the church of the holy angel on Monte Gargano is discovered.' *AASS, Septembris* VIII, 6B.

[48] L. Duchesne, *Le Liber pontificalis*, I, 255, n. 2.

[49] Joseph Bosworth and T. Northcote Toller, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1954).

[50] J. E. Cross, 'The Latinity of the Ninth-Century Old English Martyrologist', in *Studies in Earlier Old English Prose*, ed. by P. Szarmach (Binghamton, NY: SUNY Press, 1982), pp. 275-99.

[51] J. E. Cross, 'On the library of the Old English martyrologist', in *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies Presented to Peter Clemoes on the Occasion of his Sixty-fifth Birthday*, ed. by M. Lapidge and H. Gneuss, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 227-49 (p. 243).

[52] See J. E. Cross, 'An Unrecorded Tradition of St Michael in Old English Texts', *Notes & Queries*, n.s. 28, no. 1 (February, 1981), 11-13; and 'The Latinity of the Ninth-Century Old English Martyrologist' (see above, n. 50).

[53] Raymond J. S. Grant, *Three Homilies from Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 41* (Ottawa: Tecumseh Press, 1982).

[54] Kotzor, *Das altenglische Martyrologium*, II, 223-24: 'On the twenty-ninth day of this month is [the day] the consecration in the town of Tracla in the province of Eraclae. A host of enemies came to the town and surrounded it. The citizens through a three-days' fast steadfastly prayed to [God] for help and prayed that he reveal [His will] to them through Saint Michael. Then on the third day St Michael stood over the gate of the town and had a fiery sword in his hand. The enemies were gripped with terror, and they withdrew, and the citizens remained unhurt. And there was built [at that place] St Michael's church, and it was consecrated on the day when we honor the memory of St Michael.'

[55] *Old English Martyrology*, EETS OS 116 (London: Kegan Paul, 1900), p. xli, p. 236. Herzfeld refers to the version printed by B. Mombritius, *Sanctuarium seu Vitae Sanctorum*, 2nd ed., 2 vols (Paris, 1910), I, 219.

[56] Grant, *Three Homilies*, p. 63.

[57] Cross, 'An Unrecorded Tradition', p. 13.

[58] Herzfeld, *Old English Martyrology*, p. 236.

[59] *Old English Martyrology*, p. 236. The eleventh-century Ricemarch psalter and martyrology, which is one of the variant manuscripts of the Hieronymian martyrology consulted by the Bollandists, could represent an entry similar to the Old English Martyrologist's source (H. J. Lawlor, *The Psalter and Martyrology of Ricemarch*, HBS 47 (London: Harrison, 1914)). The entry for September 29 reads, 'In Tracia civitate Eraclae natale Eutici et Plauti et dedicatio basilicae beati archangeli Michaelis' [In Thracia the city of Eraclae the birth (into eternal life; i.e., the death) of Eutichus and Plautus and the dedication of the basilica of the holy archangel Michael] (*AASS, Novembris* II, 532). Less likely is Herzfeld's suggestion of the martyrology of Usuard (PL 124, cols 517-18).

[60] 'Dedication of the church of the angel St Michael in Monte Gargano in Thracia in the city of Eraclea the birth (i.e., the death) of Eutichus and Plautus.' PL 110, col. 1171.

[61] See the edition by G. Waitz, in *Monumenta Germaniae historica, Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum* (Hanover: Hahn, 1878), pp. 540-43 (p. 541 (§ 2)).

[62] J. E. Cross, 'On the library of the Old English martyrologist', p. 229.

[63] The term 'massbook' is used here to refer to both sacramentaries and missals, since these two forms were not generically distinct in the Anglo-Saxon period.

[64] For a discussion of all extant massbooks from the Anglo-Saxon period, see Richard Pfaff, 'Massbooks', in *The Liturgical Books of Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. by R. Pfaff (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1995), pp. 7-34 (p. 9).

[65] The manuscript has been edited by F. E. Warren, *The Leofric Missal* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1883).

[66] *Leofric Missal*, pp. xl-xliii. Derek Turner and Christopher Hohler, however, suggest that Leofric A was written in southwestern England by a continental scribe in the early tenth century (Turner, *The Missal of New Minster* (London, 1962), pp. vi-vii; and Hohler, 'Some service-books of the later Saxon Church', in *Tenth-Century Studies*, ed. by D. Parsons (Chichester, 1975), pp. 69-70, pp. 78-80).

[67] *Leofric Missal*, p. 162. 'Deus qui miro ordine angelorum ministeria hominumque dispensas, concede propitius ut quibus tibi ministrantibus in cælo semper assistunt, ab his in terra nostra uita muniatur. Per dominum.' [Lord, who ordains the services of angels and of men in a wonderful order, mercifully grant that those angels who serve you in Heaven may be our guardians on earth.]

[68] *Leofric Missal*, p. 162. 'Hostias tibi, domine, laudis offerimus, suppliciter deprecantes, ut easdem angelico pro nobis interueniente suffragio et placatus accipias, et ad salutem nostram prouenire concedas. Per.' [We beg you, Lord, to accept our sacrifice of praise and grant that it may bring us nearer to salvation, through the prayers of the angels who plead for us.]

[69] *Leofric Missal*, p. 162. 'V<ere> D<ignum> æterne deus. Sancti michahelis archangeli merita predicantes. Quamuis enim nobis sit omnis angelica ueneranda sublimitas, quæ in maiestatis tuæ consistit conspectu, illa tamen est propensius honoranda, quæ in eius ordinis dignitate cælestis militiæ meruit principatum. Per christum.' The opening of this prayer is an abbreviation of the prefatory 'Vere Dignum' prayer, which is followed by a prayer to St Michael. [O God Truly Worthy. Those foretelling the merits of the holy archangel Michael. Even though the entire angelic sublimity is revered by us, which (sublimity) remains in the sight of your majesty, that one is more properly honoured who in his worthiness merited the leadership of the heavenly forces.]

[70] *Leofric Missal*, p. xxvii.

[71] For a summary of this view, see Pfaff, 'Massbooks', p. 13 (full reference at n. 64).

[72] Thomas Bestul, 'Continental Sources of Anglo-Saxon Devotional Writing', in *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture*, ed. by P. Szarmach and V. D. Oggins, Studies in Medieval Culture 20 (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1986), pp. 103-26 (pp. 104-11). See also Kathleen Hughes, 'Some Aspects of Irish Influence in Early English Private Prayer', *Studia Celtica*, 5 (1970), 48-61.

[73] Although the manuscript is unpublished, it is discussed in relation to the Antiphonary of Bangor by F. E. Warren, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, HBS 10 (London: Harrison, 1895), pp. 83-97. The manuscript is among those published in microfiche facsimile in volume 1 (ASM 1.9) of the *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts in Microfiche Facsimile* series (hereafter ASMMF), ed. by Phillip Pulsiano, A. N. Doane, and R. E. Buckalew (Binghamton, New York: Center for Medieval and Early Renaisance Studies, 1994).

[74] 'Entreat holy and glorious Michael / Raphael and Uriel and Gabriel and Raguel / Heremiel and Azael that they might protect (receive) my soul . . .' Warren discusses this list in his Appendix (p. 92). The transcription above is taken from the microfiche facsimile of the manuscript (ASM 1.9).

[75] Irish lists of archangels occur in the following places: T. P. O'Nowlan, 'A Prayer to the Archangels for each Day of the Week', *Ériu*, 2 (1905), 92-94; Thomas P. O'Nolan, 'Imchlód Aingel', in *Miscellany Presented to Kuno Meyer*, ed. by O. Bergin and C. Marstrander (Halle, 1912), pp. 253-7 (p. 255); R. E. McNally, *Der irische Liber de numeris* (Munich, 1957), p. 127; W. Stokes, *The Saltair Na Rann* (Oxford, 1883), p. 12; G. Dottin, 'Une rédaction moderne du Teanga Bithnua', *Revue Celtique*, 28 (1907), 277-307 (p. 299); and in an unpublished Irish prose dialogue, *Dúan in choícat ceist*, which Charles Wright and Frederick Biggs are preparing for publication (I would like to thank Prof. Wright for sharing with me a draft of the portion of the dialogue which includes the list of archangels).

[76] Warren, *Antiphonary of Bangor*, p. 92. I Enoch is translated in H. F. D. Sparks, *The Apocryphal Old Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), pp. 184-319. The Fourth

Book of Ezra is translated in James H. Charlesworth, *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, 2 vols. (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1983), I, 525-559.

[77] The text is included in the Appendix of A. B. Kuypers' edition of the Book of Cerne, *The Prayer Book of the Aeduald the Bishop commonly called the Book of Cerne* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1902), pp. 200-25. The manuscript of the Royal Prayer-Book is available in microfiche facsimile in volume 1 of the ASMMF series (ASM 1.8).

[78] *Book of Cerne,* p. 208. On this prayer, see Hughes, 'Some Aspects of Irish Influence', pp. 56-57 (see above, note 72).

[79] *Book of Cerne*, pp. 80-82.

[80] Mary Clayton, *The Cult of the Virgin Mary in Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 97.

[81] The last line of folio 17v, which reads, "d<omi>ni n<ost>ri i<e>hsu xp<is>ti qui uiuit et regnat in secula seculorum," supports this hypothesis. Furthermore, the editors of the ASMMF series list this passage as a separate prayer.

[82] Walter de Gray Birch, *An Ancient Manuscript of the Eighth or Ninth Century Formerly Belonging to St Mary's Abbey or Nunnaminster, Winchester*, Hampshire Record Society (London and Winchester, 1889). The manuscript is available in microfiche facsimile in volume 1 of the ASMMF series (ASM 1.6).

[83] This transcription is taken from the microfiche facsimile (ASM 1.6). Letters between square brackets [ ] indicate material lost in the gutter and pointed brackets < > indicate expansions. 'Saint Michael, archangel who has come to help God's people, assist me before the Highest Judge so that He grants me remission for all my transgressions, by the great mercy of your compassion. Hear me St Michael as I invoke you, assist me adoring your majesty, intercede for me bewailing and make me clean from all sins. Moreoever (I) beseech and entreat very earnestly, servant of the divinity, so that in the last day kindly take my soul in your most holy breast and conduct it to that refreshing peace and quiet where all the souls of teh saints await future judgement and glorious resurrection with joy and indescribable joy, through Him who lives and reigns forever and ever. Amen.'

[84] *Auteurs spirituels et textes dévots du moyen age latin* (Paris: Bloud et Gay, 1932, rpr. 1971), pp. 210-13.

[85] For a discussion of these manuscripts, see below. In addition to the Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, Wilmart lists three continental manuscripts (*Auteurs spirituels*, p. 211, n. 1).

[86] The Lorica of Laidcenn is discussed in the following section with the prayers from the Book of Cerne.

[87] A. B. Kuypers, *The Prayer Book of Aedeluald the Bishop commonly called the Book of Cerne* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1902). An important new study of

this book has appeared by Michelle P. Brown, *The Book of Cerne: Prayer, Patronage, and Power in Ninth-Century England* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), see especially her description and list of the contents of the manuscript, pp. 18-20.

[88] David Dumville, however, has argued that the manuscript should be dated to the eighth-century episcopate of Æthilwald of Lindisfarne, who held that see from 721/24 to 740 ('Liturgical Drama and Panegyric Responsory from the Eighth Century? A Re-Examinaton of the Origin and Contents of the Ninth-Century Section of the Book of Cerne', *Journal of Theological Studies*, n.s. 23 (1972), 374-406).

[89] Michael Herren, 'The Authorship, Date of Composition and Provenance of the so-called *Lorica Gildæ*', *Ériu*, 24 (1973), 35-51 (especially p. 38).

[90] Kuypers, *The Prayer Book of Aedeluald*, p. 85.

[91] *Lacnunga* has been edited and translated by J. H. G. Grattan and Charles Singer in *Anglo-Saxon Magic and Medicine* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1952). The Lorica appears on pages 131-47. The main part of the manuscript, which includes the Lorica (fols 152r-157r), has been dated by Ker to s. x/xi. A microfiche facsimile of the *Lacnunga* manuscript is available in volume 1 of the ASMMF series (ASM 1.5). In his description of the manuscript, A. N. Doane suggests that Ker's dating of the manuscript ought to be revised to the 'first decade of the 11c.' (p. 26).

[92] Grattan and Singer, *Anglo-Saxon Magic and Medicine*, p. 133, n. 7.

[93] W. M. Lindsay, *Etymologiarum sive Originum*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press,
1911), I, 275-76: 'Michael is interpreted, who is like God?' An examination of Isidore's interpretation of the other names mentioned in the Lorica corroborates the suggestion. According to Isidore, cherubim are interpreted as 'plenitudo scientiae' [fullness of knowledge]; seraphim as 'ardentes vel incendentes' [burning or flaming]; and Gabriel as 'fortitudo Dei' [strength of God].

[94] PL 101, cols 465-508 (col. 476).

[95] 'Gabriel is my lorica. / Michael is my belt. / Raphael is my shield. / Uriel is my protector. / Rumiel is my defender. / Phanniel is my health.' Kuypers, *The Prayer Book of Aedeluald*, p. 153. A similar prayer is copied into an Irish manuscript of the fifteenth to sixteenth century (Trinity College MS H.3.17[1336]): 'Gabrial esto mihi lorica capitis mei. Micael esto mihi galia speci mei. Palathel esto mihi sanitas. Irafin esto mihi claritas. Serafin esto mihi comitatus. I[n] nomine dei patris et filii et spiritus sancti in saecula saeculorum. amen.' [Gabriel is my breastplate (and) my hood. Michael is my helmet (and) my hope. Palathiel is my health. Irafin is my light. Seraphim is my congregation. In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, forever and ever. Amen.] (R. I. Best, 'Some Irish Charms', *Ériu*, 16 (1952), 27-31 (pp. 31-32).

[96] See above, note 75.

[97] PL 94, cols 561-62.

[98] Clayton, *The Cult of the Virgin Mary*, p. 98.

[99] I would like to thank my friends and colleagues Thomas N. Hall of the University of Illinois at Chicago, John C. Arnold of the University of Rochester, and Thomas Tipton of the College of DuPage for reviewing and commenting on early drafts of this essay.

Lawman and the Scandinavian Connection

John Frankis

Previous attempts to identify possible Scandinavian elements in Lawman's *Brut* are conveniently listed by Françoise le Saux but, rightly in my view, she finds them unconvincing and she concludes, 'The quest for Scandinavian influence on the *Brut* thus leads to a dead end'.[1] The finality of this judgement need not preclude further investigation however, and the present study aims to point to elements in Lawman's poem that are absent from his main sources (especially Wace, *Le Roman de Brut*) and are best explained as reflecting material that derived in one way or another from the Scandinavian settlements in England. The main reason for undertaking the quest for Scandinavian elements in the poem lies of course in what le Saux calls (p. 130) 'Laȝamon's puzzling Scandinavian name' (representing ON *Lagaman-*, 'man of laws', Icelandic *Lögmaðr*, 'law-man': see *OED* s.v. *lawman*, and *MED* s.v. *laue-man*), presumably on the assumption that possession of a Scandinavian name might be associated with access to tales and other lore of Scandinavian origin. The very rarity of the poet's name has led to the suggestion from Rosamund Allen that Laȝamon is not a personal name but a cognomen consisting of an occupational title, though she admits that the way it is used in the poem hardly supports this. In fact, until the late Middle Ages such cognomens seem not to have been used in isolation but only as an appendage to a Christian name (of the type Robert Lawman).[2] Until clear parallels can be found in the twelfth or early thirteenth centuries, it is safer to continue to regard it as a well attested, if fairly uncommon, given name, and as such it provides a convenient starting-point for a reconsideration of what may be called the Scandinavian connection of the poem (echoing the title of le Saux's chapter on 'The French Connection').

Half a century ago J. S. P. Tatlock was much concerned with what he saw as the problem of how a man in the West Midlands in the years around 1200 came to have a name of undoubted Scandinavian origin.[3] His study of the distribution

of the name *Laȝamon* showed that, while there were examples (in varying spellings) in the old Danelaw, as well as in the wider Scandinavian world, the name was otherwise unrecorded in the West Midlands, and he attached great significance to the uniqueness of this occurrence. If he had been able to study the distribution of Scandinavian personal-names in post-conquest England more widely, a huge task obviously outside the scope of his work, he would have found that in the Danelaw, where personal names of Scandinavian origin were most plentiful, *Laȝamon* was a good deal less common than many other Scandinavian names, though a precise percentage would be difficult to arrive at; and he would further have found that in the West Midlands (as elsewhere outside the Danelaw) personal-names of Scandinavian origin do occur in the post-conquest period, so that the appearance of one *Laȝamon* among them might well represent something not too far from an expected percentage, rather than being the uniquely significant rarity that he thought. This information about the incidence of Scandinavian personal names outside the Danelaw was not available to Tatlock and in consequence he devised an enchanting fiction concerning Lawman's family background; his arguments are interesting and not groundless, but they are aimed at solving what is in fact a non-problem concerning Scandinavian names in the West Midlands.[4] In recent years this question has received more careful, if less fanciful, attention, particularly since the late Eric Dobson pointed to the existence in the West Midlands of landholders with Scandinavian names in order to explain the presence of a number of Scandinavian loanwords in the 'AB language' of the early thirteenth century.[5] Professor R. I. Page has rightly warned us against trying to make deductions from personal names concerning the native language of the holders (or rather the givers) of such names;[6] all that need be claimed for the present purpose, however, is that a tradition of Scandinavian name-giving in a family might mean nothing more (but also perhaps nothing less) than the existence at some time in the past of some element of Scandinavian ancestry, and the recurrence of certain Scandinavian names in a family might have helped to perpetuate knowledge of this ancestry, particularly if the names concerned were of a distinctive or relatively unfamiliar form. There is some evidence that, at least in some places and periods, there was social pressure from native speakers of English to avoid the perpetuation of distinctively Scandinavian names: Cecily Clark cites tenth-century evidence for some preference among families of Scandinavian descent for names with forms equally acceptable to both communities, while the twelfth century saw a general decline in names of both Old English and Old Norse origin; Gillian Fellows Jensen has also pointed out

that some Danish settlers in the eleventh century felt themselves at risk from hostile English neighbours, which might also have discouraged the perpetuation of distinctively Scandinavian names.[7] Twelfth-century parents who gave their son an unusual name of Scandinavian origin presumably had some good reason for swimming against the prevailing onomastic current.

There is no doubt, on the evidence of place-names and of regional linguistic variation in Middle English (phonological, grammatical and above all lexical) that the Scandinavian linguistic presence was strongest in certain regions of the old Danelaw, above all in Yorkshire, Lincolnshire and some adjoining midland counties, and in parts of the North-West, all areas of Scandinavian settlement in the ninth and early tenth centuries. What we are now in a better position to assess than was possible twenty and more years ago is the impact of the Danish invasion of the late tenth and early eleventh centuries, culminating in the reign of Cnut and his sons, for a number of recent studies have advanced our knowledge of that previously rather elusive topic.[8] Of particular relevance to the linguistic impact are several studies of Danish settlement under Cnut and especially the outstanding articles on the Danish language in England by Roberta Frank and Gillian Fellows Jensen.[9] From the historical studies in Lawson and Rumble it is clear that Cnut gave lands to many of his followers in areas outside the old Danelaw, not least in Worcestershire.[10] The linguistic impact of this land-giving was obviously nothing like so great as that of the earlier settlements in the North and in the East Midlands, but it seems to have been enough to account for the presence in West Midland English speech of a number of ON loanwords (i.e. to have produced some small lexical impact but no detectable grammatical or phonological impact) and to have established a limited tradition, presumably in particular families, of Scandinavian name-giving. In postulating the existence of a family-tradition of name-giving I admit to following what seems to me a reasonable assumption based on knowledge of naming in later periods in England and several other countries, including Iceland: I have not attempted the kind of survey of Anglo-Saxon and post-conquest documents that might substantiate this postulation, and I am not at all sure that detailed evidence of naming over several generations in one family (outside the mainly Anglo-Norman aristocracy, of course) is anywhere available. The Anglo-Saxons were extremely conservative in name-giving, as is indicated by their resistance to non-English names (e.g. biblical names and Latin saints' names) until well after the conquest, and this conservatism may likewise have discouraged the use of Scandinavian names, except in families that wished to perpetuate the memory of Scandinavian

ancestors. These assumptions may seem to be slightly at variance with a statement by the acknowledged expert in this field, Dr Gillian Fellows Jensen, who writes that men in England with Scandinavian names 'may not even have had a drop of Danish blood in their veins and have been given their Scandinavian names by English parents simply because Scandinavian names were fashionable in the Danelaw in the Viking period'.[11] Such a fashion, whatever evidence there may be for it, is certainly more credible in the intensively Scandinavianized society of the Danelaw in the Viking period than in the West Midlands in the late twelfth century, where the giving of a Scandinavian name, particularly so uncommon a name as *Laȝamon*, seems to me to mark a deliberate, even demonstrative, attitude that is best explained in terms of a family-tradition deriving from a Scandinavian ancestor, though the influence of godparents can probably not be excluded (relevant parallels might not be easy to find as records are so haphazard). Part of Tatlock's suggestion thus seems to me basically reasonable: if a man with a native English name *Leouenað* (representing OE *Leofnoð*)[12] has a son with the relatively uncommon Scandinavian name *Laȝamon*, either Leovenað came from a family with mixed English and Scandinavian names (a possibility that Tatlock did not envisage, and one for which one would wish to seek parallels) or he had married into a family with a tradition of Scandinavian name-giving, which was Tatlock's preference and the basis of his speculations. Unfortunately evidence is lacking as to whether Lawman's mother, whose soul we are asked to pray for (line 34) without knowing her name, was to any degree of Scandinavian descent, but numerous examples in Icelandic sagas attest to a common tradition of naming a son after the mother's father.[13] The presence of a Scandinavian name in Worcestershire (though admittedly the poet only tells us where he lived, not where he was born) is less puzzling than it seemed in Tatlock's day, and a good deal less puzzling than some other fall-out from the reign of Cnut, such as the presence in a post-conquest Canterbury manuscript of an ON pagan runic charm.[14] On the eve of the conquest there was some degree of Danish presence pretty well all over England and something of this presumably still survived in varying forms a hundred years later about the probable time of Lawman's birth. An inheritance of Scandinavian names need not be combined with an inheritance of oral traditions of Scandinavian origin, but the possibility is reasonable enough to merit some consideration. That Scandinavian legendary material did survive in the West Midlands is shown by the poem *Annot and John* ('Ichot a burde in a bour ase beryl so bryht') in the early fourteenth-century MS Harley 2253, whose final stanza includes references to several Norse legendary

figures: *Regnas* (line 42), a name compounded on *Ragn-* (*Rögn-, Regn-*), evidently someone celebrated for wisdom, *Byrne* (line 44), presumably *Björn*, an unidentified boar-slayer, and *Hilde* (line 48), clearly *Hildr* in her role as a healer.[15]

All this naturally leads to asking whether there is any trace in Lawman's writing of any special interest in, or knowledge of, Scandinavian matters, whether historical, legendary, literary or even linguistic. The possibility of linguistic knowledge can be ruled out fairly easily: Lawman, like other West Midland writers of the thirteenth century, uses some words of Scandinavian origin, but there is nothing in his usage to suggest that he had experienced any contact with a spoken Scandinavian language, still less that he actually spoke such a language himself. For example, *hustinge* (430, 3275, 5758, 6482) is used in what had become the normal English sense, 'an assembly for deliberative purposes, especially one summoned by a king or other leader' (*OED*), with nothing to suggest the special legal status that the *húsþing* had in Scandinavia; indeed, in one case Lawman seems to equate it with the *witena-gemot*, an Anglo-Saxon assembly that may have had a rather different status (cf. *OED* s.v. husting): *þat hustinge wes god, hit wes witene-imot* (5759).[16] Even more telling is Lawman's handling of the ME reflex of ON *drengr*: eleventh-century Danish usage is well attested in numerous runic inscriptions that record that the man commemorated was a *góðr drengr*, 'a noble warrior, a good man' (perhaps in the sense of 'a reliable comrade', though the word may have referred to a more specific social rank).[17] As a loanword in Old English *dreng* seems to be applied specifically to Scandinavians, as in *The Battle of Maldon* 149. The ME *Havelok*, a text from the Danelaw with a prominent ON linguistic element, regularly has the form *dreng(es)*, but Lawman only uses the more anglicised form (see note under *OED* dreng) *dring* (e.g. 2271), sometimes compounded as *here-dring(es)* (14819); more frequently he varies it by blending with ME *þring* (OE *geþring*), 'troop, company of warriors' (cf. 14439), to produce the quite un-Scandinavian form *þring*, 'man, warrior' (15844), also compounded as *here-þringes* (11877, 12132, 12274).[18] From evidence such as this one can reasonably conclude that Lawman's language as reflected in the Caligula MS shows no Scandinavian linguistic influence other than might be generally expected in the English of the West Midlands in the early thirteenth century. An ignorance of any Scandinavian language is also reflected in Lawman's treatment of personal names of Scandinavian origin. There are several episodes in the *Historia Regum Britanniae* in which Geoffrey of Monmouth gives the names of various Scandinavian people, and from these Tatlock deduces that

Geoffrey's knowledge was derived from hearsay as well as from written sources; many of the alleged Scandinavian names in Geoffrey, he shows, are the names of known Scandinavian churchmen, including some who were actually English.[19] It is indicative of the limitations of Lawman's linguistic knowledge that he generally follows Wace in giving a garbled form of such names, so that their possible Scandinavian origin is no longer apparent. For example, Geoffrey's *Elsingius*, probably meaning '(man) from *Helsinge*' (a common Scandinavian place-name), becomes *Elfinges* in Wace and is further anglicised to *Alfinge* in Lawman 2182; and Geoffrey's *Guichtalacus*, perhaps from ON *Vígleikr*, becomes *Gudlac* in Wace, 2443 etc., and *Godlac* in Lawman, 2241 and 2253. Lawman, like Wace, does not in fact seem to have had any clear idea of what constituted a typically Scandinavian name, which need not of course preclude his knowing that his own name was of Scandinavian origin.

This slender linguistic evidence may be supplemented by two onomastic items that are slightly more informative. First, when Wace (*RB* 1522-24)[20] alleges that an original name *Eborac* has been corrupted by the French into *Evrewic*, Lawman sets out the facts more accurately. Beginning with the Welsh form of the name, he goes on to assert that *Eborac* was transformed by strangers who arrived there (presumably the English) into *Eoverwic*, but northern men (and this is Lawman's addition) then called it *3eorc*:

> Þa heo wes icleped Kaer Ebrauc, seððen wes icleped Eborac,
> Seoððen comen vncuðe men, & Eoverwic heo haten;
> & þa norþerne men, nis hit nawiht ȝeare,
> þurh ane unþewe 3eorc heo ihæhten. (1334-37)
>
> [Then it was called Kaer Ebrauc, and later Eborac; then strangers came and named it Eoverwic; then, not very long ago, northern men with their peculiar habits named it York.]

Lawman's *norþerne men* may only refer to people who live in the north of England rather than to 'north-men' in the sense of Norsemen, Scandinavians (leaving aside the question as to whether for Lawman people who live in the north of England might include people of Scandinavian descent), but Lawman interestingly says *nis hit nawiht ȝeare*, 'it was not at all long ago', making it clear that for him the name York was relatively new, with all that that implies concerning a view of English history. At any rate, Lawman was clearly aware of

the local name for York, which, as far as I know, appears in no other southern and western ME documents at this period: forms like *Everwich, Everwick* are not only regular in Lawman[21] but also persist at least until the fourteenth century outside the Danelaw, and are regular in Anglo-Norman texts.[22] Forms of the type *Everwic(h)* are normal over most of the country in fact, until replaced by the hitherto localised form *York* from the late fourteenth century onwards.[23] Even in the north forms closer to the Old English persist remarkably late, so that *Castleford's Chronicle* (a fourteenth-century northern text surviving in a fifteenth-century manuscript) regularly has the hybrid (Latin-English) form *Eborwik* in the text, though *Yorke* appears in three rubrics, presumably later additions, and *Yiorkschire* once in the text, while one of the northern texts in MS Cotton Galba E. ix (early s.xv, of northern origin) has *Eurwik*.[24] Lawman's knowledge of the local name of York is, I would say, surprising in a Worcestershire man at this time (or indeed, at any time up to the fifteenth century); its implications for his wider knowledge are obviously uncertain, but it seems to imply some contact with the Anglo-Scandinavian society that had evolved the distinctive local form of the name, virtually in defiance of national usage.

The second onomastic example is more revealing because it is more explicit. Geoffrey of Monmouth relates his version of the widespread tale of the deceptive land-purchase, the story of the town that acquired its name when Hengest measured out the land for it, as it were, on a shoe-string (the motif of the deceptive land-purchase in Geoffrey is presumably modelled on the legend of the founding of Carthage: see Virgil, *Æneid* I. 370). In Latin, Geoffrey tells us, it was named *Castrum Corrigie*, from Latin *corrigia*, 'shoe-lace', giving the Welsh *Kaercarrei*, later translated into English as *Thanceastre* (*HRB* VI. 11). Wace explains the name *Kaer Carrei* more fully and gives a better form for the English name, *Thwangcastre* (*RB* 6917-24: cf. OE *þwang*, 'thong, shoe-lace'). Lawman, however, gives not only the British and English names, but adds some surprising information that is not in any source:

> Þa þe burh wes al ȝare, þa scop he hire nome:
> he hæhte heo ful iwis Kaer Carrai an Bruttisc,
> & Ænglisce cnihtes heo cleopeden Þwongchastre;
> nu and aueremare þe nome stondeð þere,
> & for nan oðere gome næueden þæ burh þene nome,
> a þet come Densce men, and driuen ut þa Bruttes,
> þene þridde nome heo þer sætte, & Lanecastel hine hæhten,

> & for swulche gomen þæ tun haf[d]e þas þreo nomen. (7102-09)
>
> [When the town was complete, he devised a name for it: he called it in fact Kaer Carrai in British, and English knights called it Thwongchastre; now and evermore the name remains there, and the town had that name for no other reason than this trick, until Danish men came and drove out the Britons and gave it its third name, calling it Lanecastel; because of these tricks [*or* these people] the town had these three names.]

The town concerned is presumably Caistor in Lincolnshire and recorded medieval references to this place show two distinct forms, *Caster* and *Thwangcastre* (with obvious spelling variants).[25] Nothing like Lawman's form *Lanecastel*, which is presumably the same name as appears in other parts of England as Lancaster or Lanchester, is recorded for this place.[26] However, five manuscripts of Wace insert into his account a couplet not included in Arnold's edited text:[27]

> Premierement ot nun Thwancastre
> Or l'apelent plusur Lancastre
>
> [At first its name was Thwancastre, but now many people call it Lancastre.]

Assuming (with Arnold) that these lines do not go back to Wace, some French copyist must have confused the unfamiliar name *Thwancastre* with the more familiar *Lancastre* and introduced this erroneous identification, and Lawman may have worked from a Wace-manuscript with this insertion. What is remarkable however is that Lawman should have analysed *Lancastre* as a third name specifically of Danish origin. A Danish form of *Thwangceaster* might be expected to use the cognate ON *þvengr*, 'thong' (giving ME **Þwengcaster*), but this is nowhere attested; a possible justification for Lawman's statement is that his *Lanecastel* may represent an authentic name compounded on the roughly synonymous ON *lengja*, 'long piece, strip' (giving ME **Lengecaster*), but again there is no evidence that any such name existed for this place. It is not important for my purpose, however, whether Lawman's form of the name is authentic or even plausible, or whether it derives from the error of a French copyist unfamiliar

with English place-names; what matters is that he chose to explain it as he does, because his explanation shows that he was aware of the process whereby some English places were renamed by Danish immigrants. Indeed, the probable explanation for the two forms of the Lincolnshire name current in medieval documents is that one derives from an original OE **Þwangceaster* (not recorded in the Anglo-Saxon period, but the OE specific is paralleled by *Thong*, Kent, and the regular initial palatalisation of the generic is attested by Caligula *-chastre* and Otho *-chestre*), while *Caster* is a form adapted morphologically and phonetically by Danish settlers, so Lawman was quite right in saying that the place has a Danish name as well as an English name. That Lawman knew in principle of the Danish influence on English place-names seems to me remarkable and I would say that it argues some acquaintance with the history and geography of the Danelaw. Lawman is of course wrong if he claims (as in the Caligula MS) that the Danes drove out *þa Bruttes*, the British inhabitants, but here the Otho MS states that the Danes drove out the *cnihtes* (i.e. the English knights, *Ænglisce cnihtes*, referred to in 7104), and in this detail Otho may better represent what the poet originally wrote. Some knowledge of the East Midlands is incidentally borne out by Lawman's reference (not in Geoffrey or Wace) to Arthur's returning from his Scandinavian travels and landing at Grimsby (11323), showing that Lawman's knowledge of English geography was broader than has been suggested.[28] Whether Lawman came by such knowledge by hearsay or through intelligent observation on the travels that he claims to have made (14-15) must presumably remain uncertain, but his knowledge that there was a Danish settlement in England, and that this had some influence on English place-names, casts an unexpected light on the poet, particularly in view of the fact that neither Geoffrey nor Wace makes reference to either of these subjects. Numerous English chroniclers before Lawman refer to Danes settling in England in the Anglo-Saxon period, but I believe that Lawman is the first writer to note that such settlement could lead to a change in a place-name.

The linguistic and onomastic evidence given here is limited in its implications, but a somewhat fuller picture emerges when we look at references in Lawman's poem to the Scandinavian countries and peoples.

The term Scandinavia, referring to Norway, Sweden and Denmark, is modern in that sense and does not of course appear in Geoffrey of Monmouth, Wace or Lawman, but something like the later concept of Scandinavia can be deduced from references in Geoffrey that are broadly followed by Wace and Lawman. Geoffrey refers several times to a nucleus of Norway and Denmark

(*HRB* iii.1-4, 11-12; vi.1-3, 7; viii.3; x.6-7), and in two passages he adds to this a periphery consisting of Iceland, Gotland and Orkney (*HRB* ix. 10 and 12), while he twice refers to 'the six islands' of Ireland, Iceland, Gotland, Orkney, Norway and Denmark (ix.19 and xi.7). In the twelfth century Orkney was still part of the Norwegian kingdom so it naturally counts as a Scandinavian province; Ireland is connected with the Scandinavian world because the Norse colony in the south-east still retained some separate identity in the twelfth century (specifically Norwegian, according to Giraldus Cambrensis), and furthermore there were Norse settlers who came to England by way of Ireland rather than directly from Scandinavia, and whose presence in England is commemorated in names such as Irby, Ireby, Irton and Ireton.[29] Sweden is not named by Geoffrey, but is represented in so far as Gotland may refer to part of Sweden, either the mainland province of Götland or (more plausibly) the Baltic island of Gotland (Tatlock p. 107). This geographical system is followed by Wace (9704-10, 10304-10 and 11133-40) and, with some rearrangement, by Lawman (11211-281, 11529-665 and 12166-70). Lawman's *Gutlonde* need not refer however to the same place as Geoffrey's Gotland; it more probably refers to Jutland, as this is clearly the sense of *Gutlande* in a contemporary AN text that paraphrases Bede's Angles, Saxons and Jutes (*HE* I. 15) as

> Ceus de Suessune e les Engleis
> E de Gutlande les Guteis.[30]
>
> [People of the Saxons and the English and the Jutes from Jutland.]

In general it may be said that references to Scandinavia in Geoffrey of Monmouth are usually somewhat amplified by Wace, and Wace's references are usually expanded by Lawman. Obviously there are many parts of Lawman's narrative that show this kind of expansion and it is not in any way limited to the Scandinavian episodes,[31] but one can say that a source-reference to Scandinavia is a factor that triggers expansion in Lawman's narrative. It is in fact as if Lawman were familiar with tales about Scandinavians, especially, but by no means only, as invaders of England, and he occasionally develops his source material to make it conform to aspects of such tales. An examination of the passages concerned shows what sort of associations the Scandinavian world had for Lawman.

The first Scandinavian episode (*HRB* III. 1-7, Wace 2390-2514), referring

to Norway, shows no substantial additions in Lawman's version (2181-2390). The second however (*HRB* V. 16, Wace 6079-6436) shows some interesting changes. This is in the curious transformation of the Ursula-legend, in which the arch-villains are named by Geoffrey as *Wanis,* king of the Huns, and *Melga,* king of the Picts; Wace (6079-81) gives these men a more clearly eastern origin, making Wanis king of *Hungrie* and Melga king of *Scice,* i.e. Scythia, the supposed homeland of the Picts in Geoffrey (*HRB* IV.17, from Bede, *HE* I. 1; cf. Wace 5165). Lawman however changes these eastern kings into earls from Norway: *Þa weoren ut of Norweiȝen tweien eorles iuaren* (5993) – it is almost as if he were aware of the Scandinavian associations of the title 'earl' – and he adds that they had been declared outlaws in Denmark and Norway (5995). Later the two pagan leaders are said to travel to the places mentioned by Wace, Wanis to *Hungrie* and Melga to *Scise* (5999-6000). From this one might deduce that the nautical savagery ascribed to these two leaders by Geoffrey and Wace seemed to Lawman to be appropriate to men from Norway, a place not referred to in either source. Their conduct presumably reminded Lawman of accounts of viking atrocities, which he may have known about from written sources or merely by hearsay. Lawman may thus have been motivated by a sense that Norway was a natural country for brutes like Wanis and Melga to come from; to make them Norwegian was to make them preordained to piracy and murder, and to make them outlaws was simply to expand on this natural tendency. If that is so, this anti-Norwegian attitude is modified in the subsequent more favourable representation of the Norwegians when they become part of the Arthurian empire and assist in Arthur's conquests (11528-668, 12138-70), though one might see Arthur's influence at work here: Norwegian ferocity becomes more acceptable when serving a good cause, or at least when it is directed against enemies rather than friends. Alternatively, the status of Wanis and Melga as outlaws may characterise them as criminals condemned by their own people, and thus as being exceptional rather than typical.

Much here depends on how one interprets the Scandinavian loanword 'outlaws', for it could be argued that Lawman shapes his narrative so as to avoid a general condemnation of all Norwegians; Wanis, Melga and their men are outlaws: *heo weren iqueden vtlaȝen* (5995), 'they had been proclaimed outlaws' (rather than simply 'they were said to be outlaws'): that is to say, they had been repudiated by their own society and the legal ring of the phrase implies a clear condemnation.[32] A comparison may again be made with the AN *La Vie Seint Edmund le Rei,* in which the killers of St Edmund are described not as Danes (as

in *ASC* and Ælfric's *Life of St Edmund* for example), but as members of a piratical outlaw-community living in a secluded corner of the Danish coast and hated by their kinsmen the Jutes: *Kar uthlages furent en mer,* 'for they lived on the sea as outlaws (pirates)'.[33] As I have suggested elsewhere, the Anglo-Norman author in this way identifies the killers as coming from Denmark, but avoids the general condemnation of Danes that Ælfric and other Anglo-Saxon writers had been happy to make two hundred years earlier. This might be seen as reflecting a pro-Danish sympathy among post-conquest descendants of Danish settlers in the Danelaw, an attitude exemplified in several texts from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries whose authors dissociate the perpetrators of atrocities, above all the notorious Yngvar and Ubbe, from the Danish population at large.[34] It could therefore be argued that the potential anti-Scandinavianism implicit in Lawman's making Wanis and Melga Norwegians is modified by making them outlaws, outcasts from their own community, and when they muster a large army, it is by assembling outlawed criminals from all over Scandinavia:

> heo hafden of Gutlonde utlaȝen stronge
> of Neorewæi & of Denemarke, men swiðe starke. (6165-66)
>
> [They had strong outlaws from Jutland, from Norway and from Denmark, very powerful men.]

The term outlaw has, however, some ambiguity in Lawman; as used in relation to Wanis and Melga it indicates criminality, reinforced by the quasi-legal terminology of the phrase *iqueden vtlaȝen.* With one or two exceptions, however, Lawman uses the term 'outlaw' only of seafarers, as appears early in the poem, *In þære sæ heo funden vtlawen* (644; nautical outlaws are also implied in 563); the word thus seems to have the sense (attested in French and Anglo-Norman) of 'pirate',[35] and (with the same exceptions) he restricts it to men from the northern world (Scandinavia and associated lands), so that it means in effect 'Scandinavian pirate' or 'viking'. One apparent exception is when the Roman *keiser* refers to the invading Britons as *utlaȝen* (13662, translating Wace 12506, *robeur u laruncel*), but the point here is presumably that the Romans see the Britons as foreign invaders coming from across the sea, so the word 'outlaws' here has the same associations as elsewhere, namely pirates coming from the north. As already noted, the evil Melga and Wanis, whose conduct is implicitly compared to that of the Scandinavian invaders described in Anglo-Saxon records, had been declared

outlaws (5995), have fifteen ships full of outlaws (6025) and assemble more outlaws from Jutland, Norway and Denmark (6165-66), and in this story outlaws are clearly marked by their behaviour as criminals; but later in the poem the term outlaw has less hostile associations when it is applied to the men of Orkney who serve king Arthur. There is a partial source for this in Wace, who refers to the king of Orkney as having outlaws among his followers (using the Scandinavian loanword in its French form):

> E Gonvais, li reis d'Orchenie,
> Ki maint utlage out en baillie. (10309-10)
>
> [And Gonvais, king of Orkney, who had many outlaws under his control.]

In Lawman this becomes *and Gonwæis of Orcaneie king, utlaȝen deorling* (12170), a variant of the phrase used earlier, *þer wes Gonwais þe king, Orkaneies deorling* (11891; also applied in 11893 to the Danish king and in 12166 to the Irish king); phrases elsewhere in Lawman including the word *deorling* clearly imply an element of praise, so collocation with *utlaȝe* may show a more approving authorial attitude to outlaws.[36] In England the romanticisation of the outlaw as hero had already appeared before Lawman's time in Gaimar's account of Hereward, where *utlage* is collocated with *gentilz*:[37]

> Des utlages mult i aveit,
> Un gentilz hom lur sire esteit
> Qui Hereward aveit a nun (5461-63; cf. 5458 and 5528).
>
> [There were many outlaws, a noble man named Hereward was their leader.]

Gaimar's Hereward, like the later English heroes of the greenwood, is however a land-based figure fighting against tyrannous rulers, and Lawman's nautical outlaws seem independent of this tradition; nor do they have any obvious resemblance to the outlaw-heroes of Icelandic literature, who are typically the victims of unjust legal condemnation. In one case, however, Lawman applies the term outlaw without any nautical overtones: *Osric Edwines sune dude utlaȝen wune* (15609), 'Edwin's son Osric lived as an outlaw', where the word seems to

mean simply 'refugee', and points to something more like the outlaw-hero of both English and Icelandic tradition.[38] In general, however, Lawman's references to outlaws, in spite of their tendency to be applied to Scandinavians, are apparently independent of both the English and the Icelandic outlaw-traditions, while having in most cases clear associations with Lawman's Scandinavian world (Norway, Denmark and Orkney).

The next Scandinavian reference comes in a passage where Wace refers to Danes and Norwegians (6555-58), who are alleged to be planning an attack on Britain; here Lawman expands the list to include the people of Norway, Denmark, Russia, *Gutlonde* and Frisia (6648-52). This is obviously a broader view of the whole complex of peoples east of the North Sea; the inclusion of Frisians is presumably due to their reputation as seafaring people, but the reference to Russia is surprising: it is apparently envisaged as being close enough to participate in a Scandinavian invasion of Britain and thus as being in some way a part of the Scandinavian world. Reference to Russia in connection with Scandinavia appears elsewhere in Lawman and it has surprising implications

The next relevant episode marks the beginning of the expansion of Arthur's empire. Before undertaking his southward move against the Roman empire, Arthur secures his northern and eastern flanks. This Scandinavian campaign has a rapid continuity in Geoffrey (*HRB* IX. 10-12), but Wace, followed by Lawman, expands the narrative and divides it into two (Wace 9703-30, 9805-94; Lawman 11208-323, 11545-654) by inserting a long passage bringing Arthur back to Britain (Wace 9731-804, Lawman 11324-544). Wace considerably expands Geoffrey's narrative here, and Lawman further expands Wace's version. Wace introduces his account with a few names, Gonvais of Orchenie, Doldani of Gotland (both named in Geoffrey) and Rummaret of Wenelande (Wace's addition), and Lawman augments the list by inserting an invention of his own, Ælcus, king of Iceland, and his son Esscol (11208-233). The former name is of unknown origin (perhaps a Latinised version of an OE name compounded on *Ealh-*), but the latter is presumably a form of Danish *Eskil* (OI *Ásketill*), a name that Geoffrey, Wace and Lawman all use elsewhere in varying forms; it is presumably a coincidence that the names *Eskilli atque Alkilli* are paired in Saxo, *Gesta Danorum*, VIII. xi. 1 (the second name may represent Danish *Alfkil*). Lawman's mention of Iceland among Scandinavian countries at this point is of no great significance in itself for there are references to Iceland elsewhere in both Geoffrey (*HRB* IX. 10 and 19) and Wace (9704, 11133), while his invention of a king of Iceland shows that he had no knowledge of Icelandic history and society;

what is striking here is the detail that Lawman adds about the king's family, when Ælcus explains that his wife, Esscol's mother, is a daughter of the king of Russia:

> His moder ich habbe to wife, þas kinges dohter of Rusie. (11227)

Russia is never named anywhere by Geoffrey or Wace, so Lawman's reference to it as a place that has connections with Scandinavia is an individual contribution of his own. A third reference to Russia in connection with Scandinavia occurs in 11258-315. Here Arthur's tour of the Scandinavian world, following Geoffrey and Wace, takes in *Gutlande* (Geoffrey IX. 10 and Wace 9709), and however we interpret this name it clearly refers to some part of Scandinavia. When Arthur arrives there, *Doldanim*, the king of *Gutlonde* (Geoffrey *Doldavius*, Wace *Doldani*), presents his sons and tells Arthur about his family in a passage unparalleled in either source:

> Her ich bringe tweiene, mine sunen beiene:
> heore moder is kinges istreon, quene heo is min aȝene;
> Ich tache þe mine leofen sunen, miseolf ich wulle þi mon bicumen:
> ich heo biȝat mid ræflac ut of Rusie. (11275-78)
>
> [Here I bring these two, both my sons: their mother is of royal birth, she is my own queen; I give you my dear sons: I acquired her from Russia by robbery.]

Lawman thus gives us three references to Russia (6650, 11227 and 11278), all with no identified source, and each time in connection with Scandinavia; in the first Russia is listed among countries east of the North Sea, implying some proximity to Scandinavia, and in the other two Russia is a place from which Scandinavian rulers acquire their wives. Early medieval Scandinavian connections with Russia and the Slavonic world in general are a historical fact that is well known to us today, but it is strikingly absent from the historical sources that we ordinarily think of as available to Lawman: references to Russia are in fact non-existent in English chronicles of the twelfth century (such as Florence of Worcester, Simeon of Durham, William of Malmesbury, Henry Huntingdon, William of Newburgh and of course Wace and Gaimar). The name

Russia seems to begin to appear in English chronicles only after 1240 as a result of the Tartar expansion into Eastern Europe, for example, in the continuation of Gervase of Canterbury (s.a. 1240). Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, has several references to Tartar attacks on *Russcia* from 1241 onwards, and he mentions under 1250 Danish conquests south of the Baltic that included part of Russia.[39] Matthew Paris's reference under 1250 is the earliest I have found by an English author (apart from Lawman) to name Russia in connection with Scandinavia. There is only one English writer I know of before Lawman who names Russia at all and that is Hue de Rotelande, the author of two long Anglo-Norman verse-romances, *Ipomedon* and *Protheselaus*, both written before c.1190. Hue lived near Hereford and wrote as if personally acquainted with Walter Map, so in both time and place he was not far removed from Lawman, though he may have moved in a different intellectual milieu. Each of Hue's poems names Russia, but only as a vaguely remote place, not in any way connected with Scandinavia.[40] One other AN romance, *Waldef*, likewise mentions Russia in a list of countries ranging from Normandy to Sicily but not including any reference to Scandinavia; *Waldef*, though it ranges widely, is firmly centred in East Anglia and may include some material of Anglo-Scandinavian origin, but it is not likely to antedate Lawman.[41] Scandinavian sources are of course another matter, and Scandinavian-Slavonic marriage connections, obviously frequent in history, are often mentioned in texts such as *Heimskringla* and Saxo Grammaticus;[42] Lawman need not have known of any particular one of these in order to have had a general impression of frequent Scandinavian connections with north-eastern Europe, including marriage-connections, but his source would presumably have to have been oral and his specific reference to Russia in connection with Scandinavia is striking. The name Russia is, as mentioned, rare in English sources in any language before the mid-thirteenth century, and it is of course a name that developed relatively late. It is not a Classical name like Dacia (regularly applied in the Middle Ages and later to Denmark) and Scythia (applied loosely to vague eastern regions); nor was it a name like Wendland that had long been familiar in the west (Lawman 11301, *Winetlonde*, clearly representing the OE *Weonodland, Winodlande* named in the OE *Orosius*; whether Wace's *Wenelande, Genelande*, 9710, refers to Wendland is open to question, but Lawman evidently took it to do so). Whatever its origin, Russia is a name that arose after the Scandinavian colonisation of the east and does not appear in western texts until about 1200 or later; it is of course mentioned several times by Saxo in the early thirteenth century. The most likely explanation for Lawman's use of the name is that he had access to mention of

Russia in an Anglo-Scandinavian oral tradition of Scandinavian history, though there is some uncertainty whether the name *Russia* had replaced the ON names *Garðar* or *Garðaríki* among Danish speakers by the reign of Cnut: if not, Lawman's knowledge might derive from later contacts between England and Scandinavia. Lawman is presumably the first person writing in English to name Russia, though not the first Englishman to name it, since Hue de Rotelande preceded him, but he is the first to mention a Russian connection with Scandinavia, unless he wrote, rather implausibly I would say, after about 1250; by connecting Russia with Scandinavia Lawman shows more authentic historical knowledge than those authors like Hue de Rotelande who simply name it as a vaguely remote place.

Mention should perhaps be made of what must be a curious coincidence: Saxo Grammaticus generally refers to Russia as *Ruscia* and to its inhabitants as *Ruteni*, a name obviously connected with the later *Ruthenia* (now part of Ukraine); Matthew Paris also refers to Tartar attacks on the *Ruthenos* (s.a.1241: *ed.cit.* IV.113). The name Ruteni, though it never appears in Wace or Lawman, is several times applied by Geoffrey of Monmouth to the inhabitants of a coastal region bordering on north-eastern Gaul (*HRB* iv.1; ix. 12, 19; x. 6, 10, 12); here it is an unrelated name of Classical origin and the sources of Geoffrey's usage are traced by Tatlock (pp. 94-5). Geoffrey names the leader of the Ruteni as Holdin, who in Wace becomes Holdin, count of Flanders (10163, 10313, 12375, 12742, 13007-08), and in Lawman Howeldin of *Bulune* (Otho *Boloyne*, 'Boulogne', 12065-66) and *of Flandres þe eorl Howeldin* (12173): Flanders is obviously the general region referred to by Geoffrey, so Wace and Lawman give us a modernising translation of Geoffrey's Ruteni. There is no connection between the Classical Ruteni of Geoffrey and the Slavonic Ruteni of Saxo and Matthew Paris, and the coincidence of names can have no bearing on Lawman's references to Russia.

If Lawman's references to Russia as a thematic adjunct of Scandinavia are striking, his reference, *à propos* of Doldanim of Gutlonde (11278), to wife-stealing as an apparently acceptable route to marriage, and particularly to the abduction of the daughter of a king as a means to a socially advantageous marriage, is even more surprising. We are not concerned here with savage attacks on women as referred to in the Ursula story, which are obviously condemned, nor with any historical incidence of rape or abduction, such as is condemned in early English laws; what seems to underlie Lawman's apparently casual reference, 'I got her from Russia by robbery', is an assumption that among Scandinavians, at least

in legend and fiction, abduction by force (*reaflac*, 'robbery') is a legitimate, even respectable, way of acquiring a wife, to whom one is subsequently bound by the same ties of loyalty and fidelity as apply in any other marriage. Doldanim seems quite proud of his wife, as if wife-acquisition by robbery were something of a status symbol: 'I managed to steal her from the king of Russia' is no mean boast, particularly if, like the king of Russia mentioned in 6650, the woman's father has at his command *ræhȝest alre cnihten*, 'the fiercest of all knights'. At any rate, the Otho scribe omits line 11278, as if it did not fit in with his view of things, and even in Caligula it looks misplaced (syntactically it ought to follow line 11276, and the text is so emended in the translations of Barron and Weinberg and of Allen). I know of nothing in any Anglo-Saxon tradition, whether history, legend or fiction, that illustrates the assumption that abduction is a praiseworthy route to marriage. No doubt there were occasional incidents of abduction in actual history at various times, as is implied by the Anglo-Saxon legislation against abduction and rape,[43] but abduction in real life is clearly regarded as an offence and there is nothing in English social history or legend at all resembling Doldanim's complacent pride in his achievement. Tales about the abduction of a nun arise, of course, from quite different social circumstances and are not relevant here; when Æðelwald of Wessex, the king's cousin, was frustrated in his attempt to abduct a nun (*ASC* A.901), he went over to the Danes (*ASC* A.904-05), but that was in order to seek support for a rebellion, not to take lessons in successful wife-stealing, and he was killed. Any story or attitude that may once have been connected with the name of Hroðgar's queen, *Wealhþeow*, 'foreign slave', remains unexplained by the *Beowulf* poet, and whatever conjectures we may choose to make are hardly admissible as evidence. It is possible that the Anglo-Saxons knew a version of the legend of Heðin and Hild that is preserved in later Icelandic and German writings, but the references to *Henden* (*Widsith* 21: emend to *Heoden*?) and the *Heodeningas* (*Deor* 36) offer no suggestion that for the Anglo-Saxons this story involved an abduction, and an eleventh-century Anglo-Latin version of the Hild-legend specifically omits the abduction-motif.[44] Some kind of abduction legend evidently underlies Geoffrey of Monmouth's story of Locrinus and Estrildis (*HRB* II. 2-5, Wace 1315-1440, Lawman 1105-24), but the story contrasts the unstable union based on abduction with the ideally stable relationship of marriage; the episode clearly does not constitute any sort of model for Lawman's introduction of the abduction motif with reference to a Scandinavian king. If however there are no obvious abduction-tales in earlier English sources, they are abundant in Scandinavian legend, especially as

represented in Icelandic sources.

The fundamental abduction-legend, arguably the model for some subsequent literary manifestations of the theme, is the Hild-story, which evidently originated in the south Baltic area and spread north to Scandinavia and south to Germany, being well attested in both literatures. This story is referred to in a number of Scandinavian versions, some of which concentrate on the endless battle (the *Hjaðningavíg*) that subsequently came to be associated with the conflict; not all versions mention the abduction of Hildr that is the cause of the conflict, but this is given prominent reference in two important sources, the skaldic poem *Háttalykill* and Snorri's *Skáldskaparmál*, as well as in the later *Sörla þáttr*.[45] The earliest ON version, the *Ragnarsdrápa*, does not mention the abduction, nor does the Anglo-Latin version printed by Malone, but the prominence of the abduction motif in the MHG *Kudrun*, as well as in several ON versions, shows that it was part of the original legend. The beginning of the story is given succinctly by Snorri Sturluson:

> Konungr sá, er Högni er nefndr, átti dóttur, er Hildr hét; hana tók at herfangi konungr sá, er Heðinn hét Hjarrandason.
>
> [The king named Högni had a daughter called Hildr; another king whose name was Heðinn, son of Hjarrandi, carried her off as war-booty (i.e. on a raid).]

Perhaps influenced by this legend, the abduction theme appears frequently in Icelandic writing. The abduction usually involves a woman of superior social status, the daughter of a king or a rich man, and although her father may often object, the daughter seldom seems to. The motif appears in Snorri's *Heimskringla, Hálfdanar saga svarta*,[46] where Hálfdan the Black acquires a wife by seizing Ragnhildr, the daughter of a minor Norwegian king (she actually suffers a double abduction); as Hálfdan's wife she became the mother of Haraldr hárfagri, who united Norway and founded the Norwegian royal dynasty, so abduction is here part of a legend of dynastic origins. Lower down the social scale, in *Færeyinga saga* the mysterious Norwegian recluse Úlfr had been outlawed after abducting Ragnhildr, the daughter of a royal official.[47] In both these cases one notes that the woman abducted has a name compounded on *-hildr*, perhaps showing some influence from the Hild-legend.[48] In Snorri's version of the Hild-legend Heðinn and Hildr seek refuge on the Orkney island of Hoy, and the motif of an island

refuge, present in so many versions of the Hild-story, appears in an abduction-tale related in *Egils saga Skallagrímssonar*, chapt.32, where the young man Björn carries off the daughter of a local Norwegian chieftain and they flee to the Shetland island of Mousa; their daughter subsequently marries Egil's brother and their descendants were prominent in Iceland, so that here too abduction is an important part of family-origins.[49] Wife-stealing as a prelude to begetting a hero and founding a dynasty appears in a striking transformation of Danish history in the Icelandic *Knýtlinga saga*, ch. 78, where the Danish king Erik the Good (d. 1103) is said, quite falsely, to have acquired his wife Bóthild by carrying her off as spoils of war: *Eiríkr konungr hafði tekit at herfangi frú Bóthildi* (using the same phrase, *taka at herfangi*, 'to carry off as booty', as Snorri had used in his version of the original Hildr-story): their son was the saintly Knut Lavard, progenitor of a line of great Danish kings, the Valdemars, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The actual historical status of Erik and his wife is reflected in England by the appearance of their names in the Durham *Liber Vitae* (London, BL MS Cotton Domitian A.vii, f. 51v) in a place of honour at the head of a page, *Eiric rex danorum, Botild regina.*[50] It is remarkable that, when the author of *Knýtlinga saga* wishes to romanticise a normal royal married relationship, he transforms it (perhaps encouraged by the fact that the queen had a name compounded on *-hild*) into an abduction, a striking testimony to the prominence of this theme in Scandinavian fiction.[51] The occurrence of the theme of abduction in Saxo Grammaticus shows that it was not a purely Icelandic literary fashion but a more general Scandinavian motif that Lawman had received in some form.[52] To the material on abduction and dynastic origins may be added the story told by William of Jumièges (*Gesta* ii. 6) about Rollo, the progenitor of the dukes of Normandy. Rollo sacked and destroyed the town of Bayeux, *in qua quamdam nobilissimam puellam nomine Popam, filiam scilicet Berengerii illustris uiri, capiens non multo post more Danico sibi copulauit* ['where he seized a certain noble girl named Popa, the daughter of a prominent man Berengar, and soon afterwards he bound her to himself in the Danish manner' (my translation)]; from them subsequent dukes of Normandy were descended.[53]

The abduction tale seems in general to be foreign to the English tradition, but there is one narrative, apparently developed in the Anglo-Scandinavian world, that seems to bear some trace of the convention. The tale has a core of historicity, and Scandinavian sources that deal with the events concerned surprisingly do not present them as a tale of abduction (perhaps because no dynastic origins were

involved), but there are elements of the legendary pattern in the version narrated by an English historian. According to Snorri Sturluson's *Óláfs saga helga*, ch. 122, king Óláfr had an illegitimate son by Alfhildr, a handmaid of good family, and the boy was baptised Magnús; after Ólaf's death Magnús eventually became king of Norway, and the ensuing rivalry between Alfhildr, the young king's mother, and Ástriðr, Óláf's widow, is narrated by Snorri in *Magnús saga góða* (ch. 7 and 9); nothing in Snorri's narrative suggests any sort of abduction tale, and there is no implication that Alfhildr was anything other than a Norwegian. Concerning the same characters, however, William of Malmesbury in his *Gesta Pontificum* (V. 259) tells a tale that, while broadly agreeing with Snorri's version, adds numerous details, some of which appear historical, while others conform more closely to the legendary abduction pattern.[54] According to William, Elfhildis was an English girl who was seized during the late tenth-century Scandinavian invasions and allocated as spoils of war (*in partem prædæ*) to a Norwegian leader who died soon after; then the Norwegian king, whom William does not name, took her to Norway and made her his mistress, concealing the relationship from his wife. Elfhildis bore a son named Magnus, who was brought up by a bishop and became king after his father's death, but who died after a reign of no more than a year and a half (William evidently did not know of Magnus's twelve-year reign). Elfhildis then returned to England and eventually, after undergoing a miraculous cure at the shrine of St Aldhelm at Malmesbury, she became an anchoress, living beside the monastic church there, and when she died (presumably about the middle of the eleventh century) she was buried at Malmesbury. William's role as the Malmesbury chronicler probably guarantees the historicity of the latter part of his story of Elfhildis, but his account of her earlier life looks as if it might have been coloured by Scandinavian abduction tales: the double abduction is reminiscent of Snorri's tale of Hálfdan svarti and Ragnhildr, and William's phrase *in partem prædæ* closely resembles Snorri's phrase *at herfangi* in his summary of the Hild legend. *Elfhildis* is a Latinisation of either OE *Ælfhild* or ON *Alfhildr*; recorded examples of the OE name are all late enough to be borrowings from ON, so Elfhildis may have been from an Anglo-Scandinavian family. It is tempting to conjecture that William had heard an account of Alfhild's early life that had been developed in the Anglo-Scandinavian community and had been shaped by the fact that the woman concerned had a name compounded on *–hild.* This may seem a far cry from Lawman's brief reference to wife-acquisition by abduction, but it illustrates how the abduction-motif might have circulated among people of Scandinavian descent in England

and so been transmitted to Lawman.

One final episode in Lawman's poem may be mentioned for its Scandinavian connection, though it does not involve any explicit reference to Scandinavia and its exact significance is uncertain. When the pagan inhabitants of Dorchester show their scorn for St Augustine by hanging rays' tails on his cloak (Wace, *RB* 13719-26, not in Geoffrey of Monmouth), Lawman embroiders the action by stating that they throw at him not only stones (as noted by le Saux, p. 162), but also, perhaps surprisingly, bones:

> and nomen tailes of reh3en
> and hangede on his cape an elchere halue,
> and bihalues urnen, and wurpen hine mid banen,
> and seoðde 3eiden him on mid 3eomerliche stanen. (14751-54)
>
> [They took rays' tails and hung them on either side of his cape, and they ran beside him pelting him with bones, and then they shouted abuse, shamefully throwing stones.]

There is a possible literary source for the practice of throwing bones as a sign of contempt in the OE chronicle account of the martyrdom of Archbishop Ælfheah: *& hine þa þær oftorfodon mid banum & mid hryðera heafdum* (*ASC*, MS E, s.a. 1012: 'and then they pelted him there with bones and cattle-heads'); the bone-throwers were of course members one of the Scandinavian armies assisting Cnut in his conquest of England. This detail of bone-throwing is retained by Florence of Worcester and Simeon of Durham, but it is not mentioned in accounts of the archbishop's death by other chroniclers (William of Malmesbury or Henry of Huntingdon or Gaimar); nor does it appear in lives of St Ælfheah, either the *Vita Elfegi* by Osbern of Canterbury or the rather later *South English Legendary*.[55] Lawman may have come across bone-throwing with reference to Ælfheah in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, though knowledge of this work is nowhere obvious in Lawman's poem.[56] If Lawman had not come across bone-throwing as a Danish gesture of contempt in one of the chronicles that mention it, he may have been aware of an oral tradition concerning this peculiarly Scandinavian (perhaps specifically Danish) custom. In the legendary tales of ancient Danish heroes preserved in the Icelandic *Hrólfs saga Kraka* there is the well-known account of how the hero Böðvar Bjarki came to the help of a man who had been so pelted

with bones that he had built himself a shield-wall of bones to hide behind.[57] The historicity of the custom is proved not only by the account of the death of Ælfheah but even more forcefully by the Danish *Lex Castrensis* ('Law of Retainers'), written in the twelfth century by Sven Aggesen but claiming to record customs that were already ancient when established by Cnut in England; it is stipulated there that a persistent offender against court-custom should be 'pelted with bones at any man's pleasure'.[58] Here the bone-throwing is not merely a form of unruly behaviour, but a social sanction allowed by law, so that we see it from the viewpoint of the thrower rather than the target. If Lawman knew of bone-throwing as a Danish custom, the question remains as to why he should have ascribed it to pagan Saxons expressing their contempt for a Christian missionary. This perhaps supports a source in some account of the martyrdom of Archbishop Ælfheah, and Lawman may have regarded bone-throwing, or even wished to represent it, less as a specifically Danish gesture of social disapproval than as a general pagan gesture of contempt for Christian clergy. A further consideration is that Lawman may have felt (with some justification) that the symbolism of rays' tails was a little recondite and not sufficiently clear in its implications, and might profitably be helped out with some more obvious gesture of contempt, but it is interesting that he should have turned for this to such a characteristically Scandinavian custom, even though he does not mention that that is what it was.

Lawman's knowledge of Scandinavian people and traditions is thus not at all systematic or extensive: he shows no knowledge of any form of Scandinavian language and no understanding of Scandinavian names; on the other hand he did know that some places in England had been renamed by Danish settlers, which is a rather remarkable piece of knowledge that can hardly have come from any written source. Not surprisingly in view of Anglo-Saxon denunciations of viking atrocities, Lawman associated Norway and Denmark with brutal attacks on Christian communities, but his use of the word outlaw in this connection is ambiguous in that it is mainly, but not entirely, condemnatory: written sources could account for a knowledge of Scandinavian atrocities, but the element of moral ambivalence towards outlaws suggests the influence of an oral tradition concerning outlaw-heroes, though Lawman's Scandinavian nautical outlaws do not quite accord with either the English or the Icelandic literary tradition. Source references to Scandinavian countries (Norway, Denmark, Iceland and *Gutlonde*) trigger some striking innovations: Lawman refers to Russia as, in some sense, an adjunct of Scandinavia; his use of the name Russia is most unusual for an English writer and he particularly associates Russia with Scandinavian royal marriages,

which surely argues some knowledge of Scandinavian affairs, presumably from oral tradition as there was so little in writing before the second half of the thirteenth century. His inconspicuous reference to wife-acquisition by abduction is meagre evidence, but it suggests some knowledge of a basic motif of Scandinavian legend that has no counterpart in English legend. Finally, when Lawman wants to represent pagan misbehaviour, he gives it a distinctively Scandinavian flavour by introducing a reference to bone-throwing, though for this he could have had a literary source. The striking thing about these factors is that in thirteenth-century England they all seem to be unique to Lawman: when his source refers to Scandinavia, it has the effect of opening up some store of memories of matters that must mostly derive from Anglo-Scandinavian oral tradition, a body of ideas and assumptions that first circulated among English people of Scandinavian descent; of course subsequent circulation could have been much wider, perhaps even to a point where the possession of a Scandinavian name might be an irrelevance, though it seems reasonable to assume that an oral tradition of Scandinavian material may have been stronger in a family that perpetuated a tradition of Scandinavian name-giving. Even the implicit denunciation of viking atrocities is not inconsistent with Anglo-Scandinavian attitudes: indeed, there is evidence that settlers of Scandinavian descent often took pains to dissociate themselves from the atrocities of their pagan ancestors. As I have mentioned elsewhere, the cult of St Edmund seems to have been fostered by the Danish rulers of East Anglia, and Cnut, the Danish king of England, was celebrated in particular for his patronage of the monastery of St Edmund, who was killed by Ívarr, reputedly Cnut's ancestor, and for his personal involvement in the translation of the relics of St Ælfheah, who had been killed by men assisting Cnut in his conquest of England.[59] Furthermore, the first *vita* of that saint was written by Osbern of Canterbury, whose name (from ON Ásbjörn) also suggests Scandinavian ancestry (his fellow Canterbury monk, Eadmer, shortly afterwards wrote a *vita* of another Archbishop of Canterbury, St Odo, pointing out that Odo's ancestors were Danes who came over with that same Ingvar who murdered St Edmund). How much of this distinctive Anglo-Danish tradition might have been available to Lawman is uncertain, but I have tried to argue that fragments of it surface in his writing even though his subject-matter offers relatively little scope for insertions on English history. One wonders what kind of a poem Lawman might have written if he had been given a copy of Gaimar instead of Wace.

NOTES

An earlier version of this paper was read at the International Congress on Laȝamon's *Brut* at the University of New Brunswick, Saint John, N.B., Canada, in July 1997, and at a meeting of the Medieval Research Seminar at the University of Newcastle upon Tyne in October 1997. I am indebted to the editors of *Leeds Studies in English* for numerous helpful suggestions.

[1] Françoise le Saux, *Laȝamon's Brut, the Poem and its Sources*, Arthurian Studies XIX (Cambridge: Brewer, 1989), p. 188, n. 13; James I. McNelis III, 'Laȝamon as Auctor', in *The Text and Tradition of Laȝamon's Brut*, ed. by Françoise le Saux (Cambridge: Brewer, 1994), pp. 253-72, suggests (p. 255) that Lawman knew a Norse version of the tale of the incendiary birds, but the argument is inconclusive.

[2] *Lawman: Brut*, trans. by Rosamund Allen (London: Dent, 1992), introduction, pp. xxiii-xxiv. Examples given in *MED* s.v. *laue-man*, sense (b) 'in surnames', all (with the sole exception of our poet) show it added to a conventional Christian name: *Hugo Lageman, Robertus Lauman, Giles Lagheman* etc.; cf. Gustav Fransson, *Middle English Surnames of Occupation, 1100-1350*, Lund Studies in English 3 (Lund: Gleerup, 1935), p. 20. See also examples cited in P. H. Reaney, *Dictionary of British Surnames* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1976), p. 211, s.v. *Lawman*. On forms of the poet's name see P. J. Frankis, 'Laȝamon's English Sources', in *J .R. R. Tolkien, Scolar and Storyteller*, ed. by Mary Salu and Robert T. Farrell (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1979), pp. 64-75 (note on p. 75); Allen, p. xxxvi, gives a sensible note on the pronunciation. *Laȝamon* (Caligula MS) and *Laweman* (Otho MS) are likely to be variant spellings of the same pronunciation.

[3] J. S. P. Tatlock, *The Legendary History of Britain* (Berkeley: California University Press, 1950), pp. 483-531, esp. 510-14 and 528-30; more recently on the name see also Gillian Fellows Jensen, *Scandinavian Personal Names in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire* (Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, 1968), p. 183 and works there cited.

[4] Tatlock pp. 529-30; on wider name-studies see Fellows Jensen, *Personal Names*; I use the term Danelaw as a convenient shorthand for those areas of the North and of the East Midlands in which intensive Scandinavian settlement occurred: for an evaluation of the term see Pauline Stafford, 'The Scandinavian Impact. The Danes and the Danelaw', *History Today*, 36 (1986), 17-23. Tatlock's arguments depend in part on his view of Lawman's knowledge of Ireland, which in turn rests on an assumption that Lawman wrote too early to have been influenced by the writings of Giraldus Cambrensis: this whole subject needs re-examination.

[5] E. J. Dobson, *The Origins of Ancrene Wisse* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), pp. 118-21 and 369-79. Some of the material that I cite here on the Danish element in post-conquest England is also used in my 'Sidelights on post-conquest Canterbury: towards a context for an

Old Norse runic charm', to appear in *Nottingham Medieval Studies*.

[6] R. I. Page, 'How long did the Scandinavian language survive in England? The epigraphical evidence', in *England before the Conquest*, ed. by P. Clemoes and Kathleen Hughes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), pp. 165-81; for later views see M. L. Samuels, 'The Great Scandinavian Belt', in *Middle English Dialectology, essays on some principles and problems*, ed. by Angus McIntosh, M. L. Samuels and Margaret Laing (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1989), pp. 107-15. For a recent survey of the whole question see Michael Barnes, 'Norse in the British Isles', in, *Viking Revaluations*, ed. by A. Faulkes and R. Perkins (London: Viking Society, 1993), pp. 65-84.

[7] Cecily Clark, 'On Dating the *Battle of Maldon*: certain evidence reviewed', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 27 (1983), 1-22 (p. 13); Cecily Clark, 'English Personal Names c. 650-1300: some prosopographical bearings', *Medieval Prosopography*, 8 (1987), 31-60 (p. 42); Gillian Fellows Jensen, *The Vikings and their Victims: the Verdict of the Names*, Dorothea Coke Memorial Lecture (London: Viking Society, 1995), p. 13.

[8] See especially M. K. Lawson, *Cnut. The Danes in England in the Early Eleventh Century* (London: Longman, 1993), and *The Reign of Cnut*, ed. by A. R. Rumble (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1994).

[9] Lawson pp. 163-74; Simon Keynes, 'Cnut's earls' (Rumble pp. 43-88), and Nicholas Hooper, 'Military developments' (Rumble pp. 89-100); Roberta Frank, 'King Cnut in the verse of his skalds' (Rumble pp. 106-24), and Gillian Fellows Jensen, 'Danish place-names and personal names in England' (Rumble pp. 125-40).

[10] See Dobson, *Origins* (as n. 5), Lawson pp. 165-68, and Ann Williams, 'Cockles amongst the wheat: Danes and English in the Western Midlands in the first half of the eleventh century', *Midland History*, 11 (1986), 1-22; see also J. Insley, 'Some Scandinavian personal names in South-West England from post-conquest records', *Studia Anthroponymica Scandinavica*, 3 (1985), 23-58, esp. 46-53.

[11] Fellows Jensen, in Rumble, p. 126; I am mindful of her warning concerning 'the unwary meddler . . . releasing a host of quirky theories to plague the scholastic world' (p. 125), and of the possibility of exposing the world to that risk. Fellows Jensen, *Victims*, gives various examples of families with mixed OE and ON names, which are generally assumed to derive from mixed marriages, particularly cases of a Danish man with an English woman, but in the most striking case (p. 19) we lack information about the family-history.

[12] For examples see W. G. Searle, *Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1897), p. 329. The Otho MS describes *Laweman* as *Leucais sone*, where *Leuca* represents OE *Leofeca*, a hypocoristic form of a name compounded on *Leof-*: see e.g. *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, ed. by John Earle and Charles Plummer, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1899), henceforth referred to as *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and

abbreviated *ASC*, II. 183-84; I suspect that the simultaneous currency of both a full form and an abbreviated (hypocoristic) form of an OE name for the same person in the twelfth century or later is uncommon.

[13] Fellows Jensen, *Personal Names*, p. 183, identifies *Lagmann, Lageman* as originally a Swedish name that was borrowed into Danish; since Cnut's army included a number of Swedes, some of whom might have received lands in England, Swedish ancestry cannot be excluded: see Sven B. F. Jansson, *Swedish Vikings in England, the Evidence of the Rune Stones*, Dorothea Coke Memorial Lecture (London: Viking Society, 1966), and Sven B. F. Jansson, *The Runes of Sweden* (London: Phoenix House, 1962), pp. 49-61. The genealogies in the early chapters of Icelandic family-sagas nearly all include at least one example of a son named after his mother's father: e.g. *Egils saga Skalla-Grímssonar*, chs.1 (Úlfr), and 23 (Ketill hængr); *Grettis saga Ásmundarsonar*, chs. 3 and 11 (Ófeigr Grettir); *Laxdæla saga*, chs.1 (Ketill), and 3 (Kjallak); *Eyrbyggja saga*, ch. 1 (Björn); in *Grettis saga*, ch. 13, Þorsteinn is named after his mother's brother.

[14] *Danmarks Runeindskrifter*, ed. by Lis Jacobsen and Erik Moltke (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1942), no. 419; see my article cited in note 5.

[15] See *The Harley Lyrics*, ed. by G. L. Brook (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1948), pp. 31-32, and *English Lyrics of the XIIIth Century*, ed. by Carleton Brown (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1932), pp. 136-38 and 226-28; also R. M. Wilson, *The Lost Literature of Medieval England* (London: Methuen, 1970), pp. 133-34. There is no obvious discrepancy between the language of the poet and that of the copyist, and the local references suggest a West Midland horizon (Brown's term, p. 225) for the poet; Brown is probably mistaken in trying to identify *Regnas* and *Byrne* with specific characters in *Orkneyinga saga* and he does not specify Hildr's role as a healer: on the last see also Gunter Müller, 'Zur Heilkraft der Walküre', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, 10 (1976), 350-61; on the Hild-legend see further below. Most other names in this stanza are apparently Welsh.

[16] All references are to *Laȝamon: Brut*, ed. by G. L. Brook and R. F. Leslie, 2 vols, EETS os 250 and 277 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963 and 1978), but I insert my own punctuation.

[17] For examples see *Danmarks Runeindskrifter*, nos. 68, 77, 127, 262, 268, 276, 288, 289, 339, 389. On the question of the status of *dreng* see *The Battle of Maldon*, ed. by D. G. Scragg (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1981), p. 77 (149n.), but the phrase 'when the *drengjar* besieged Hedeby' on the Haddeby Stone, *Danmarks Runeindskrifter* no.1, shows that a more general sense (e.g. 'warriors, comrades') was also in use.

[18] On some of the linguistic issues involved see John Frankis, 'Word-formation by blending in the vocabulary of Middle English alliterative verse', in *Five Hundred Years of Words and Sounds, a Festschrift for Eric Dobson*, ed. by E. G. Stanley and Douglas Gray

(Cambridge: Brewer, 1983), pp. 29-38.

[19] Tatlock pp. 139-46.

[20] References are to *Le Roman de Brut par Wace*, ed. by Ivor Arnold, 2 vols, SATF (Paris: Société des anciens textes français, 1938-40), henceforth abbreviated *RB*. References to Geoffrey of Monmouth follow the book and chapter numbers in *The Historia Regum Britanniae of Geoffrey of Monmouth*, ed. by Acton Griscom (London and New York, 1929), henceforth abbreviated *HRB*.

[21] With a few exceptions (5179, 5192, 8349) Caligula has forms with an initial digraph representing the OE diphthong *eo* (see 5204, 5310, 8271, 8351, 10184, 11022, 14203, 14208), and with two exceptions (5179, *Euerwicke*, 14208, *Eouerwike*) the second element is *-wic*; Otho has *Euerwich* throughout, except for the defective reading in 14208, *....wike*. Wace regularly has forms like *Evrevic*.

[22] ME texts before c.1350 with forms like *Euerwic(h)* are too numerous to mention, but Robert of Gloucester's *Chronicle*, while normally having *Euerwike* (e.g. 367), has a passage in one manuscript explaining that it is called *York also thorgh light speche*: cited by Gillian Fellows Jensen, 'York', *Leeds Studies in English*, 18 (1987), 141-55 (p. 150), from Madden's *Layamon* III. 315, which in turn quotes *Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle*, ed. Thomas Hearne (Oxford, 1724), I. 27-28 (footnote); this is in fact from a late manuscript of the poem (London, College of Arms, MS 58), which is one of a group that have insertions deriving from Lawman: see *The Metrical Chronicle of Robert of Gloucester*, ed. by W. Aldis Wright, RS 86 (London: Longman, 1887), I. xxxiii-xxxvii; the lines in Hearne are not cited by Wright, though *York also thorgh light speche* looks very like a rendering of Lawman's *þurh ane unþewe 3eorc heo ihæhten*. AN texts with forms like *Everwic(h)* include Gaimar, *Waldef, Gui de Warewic* and Matthew Paris, *St Aedward*.

[23] For a detailed study see Fellows Jensen, 'York', which incidentally states (p. 150) that Lawman's *norþerne men* 'must surely denote the Scandinavian settlers' rather than merely 'the inhabitants of Yorkshire'.

[24] *Castleford's Chronicle*, ed. by C. D. Eckhardt, 2 vols, EETS os 305-06 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 25379 and frequently thereafter, 27788, 27949, 28075, 33094; *The Poems of Laurence Minot*, ed. by J. Hall (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1897), p. 103 (*Prophecies of Merlin*, 43: 'þe ta fote in Eurwik').

[25] See *Place Names of Lincolnshire*, ed. by Kenneth Cameron, EPNS 64-65 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986-8), II. 87; the *Caster* forms are earliest (from the tenth century), the *Thwang-* forms are recorded only from the late twelfth century. See also Eilert Ekwall, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1951), pp. 444-45, s.v. *Thong,* and A.D. Mills, *Dictionary of English Place-Names* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), p. 325, s.v. *Thong*, postulating the sense 'narrow strip of land'.

Le Saux (1989), p. 188, n. 13, rightly dismisses the suggestion that the motif of land measured with an oxhide thong indicates Scandinavian influence: on this widely current legend see Rory McTurk, *Studies in 'Ragnars saga Loðbrókar' and its Major Scandinavian Analogues*, Medium Ævum Monographs, n.s. 15, (Oxford: Society for the Study of Medieval Languages and Literature, 1991), pp. 243-45. See further Allen's note, p. 435.

[26] See Ekwall, p. 272, s.v.

[27] Wace, *RB*, p. 367, textual notes to line 6924, and cf. Tatlock p. 24, n. 8.

[28] Tatlock pp. 500-02, discussed by le Saux (1989) pp. 145 and 223.

[29] *Giraldi Cambrensis Topographia Hibernica*, ed. by James F. Dimock, RS 21, Vol. 5 (London: Longman, 1867), pp. 186-87. On Irby etc. see David Burnley, 'Lexis and Semantics', in *The Cambridge History of the English Language*, II. *1066-1472*, ed. by Norman Blake (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 409-99 (417-18). *Annales Cambriæ*, ed. by J. W. ab Ithel, RS 20 (London: Longman, 1860), refers (p. 31, s.a. 1098) to a Norwegian force under king Magnus Barefoot as *de Hibernia piratas*: cf. n. 36 below.

[30] *La Vie Seint Edmund le Rei*, ed. by Hilding Kjellman (Gothenburg: Kungl. Vetenskaps- och Vitterhets Samhälles Handlingar, 1935; repr. Geneva: Slatkine, 1974), p. 9, lines 177-78. In OE *Gotland* may refer either to the Baltic island or to Jutland: see *The Old English Orosius*, ed. Janet Bately, EETS ss 6 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), pp. 195-97, notes on 16/11 and 16/28. Lawman's *Gutlonde* is consistently (and in my opinion correctly) translated as 'Jutland' in *Laȝamon's Arthur: the Arthurian Section of Laȝamon's Brut*, ed. and trans. by W. R. J. Barron and S. C. Weinberg (Harlow: Longman, 1989) and in *Lawman, Brut*, trans. by Allen.

[31] On the whole question of Lawman's treatment of Wace see Françoise le Saux (1989), pp. 24-58, esp. pp. 43-58, for additions and expansions.

[32] As in *ASC* MS E, s.a. 1014, *Da cwæð man Swegen eorl utlah*, 'then earl Swegen was proclaimed outlaw', and *ASC* MS E, s.a. 1052, *& cweð man utlaga Rotberd*, 'and Robert was proclaimed outlaw'. Allen (p. 155) reproduces the legal flavour by translating 5995 as 'From Denmark and from Norway they were proscribed as outlaws'.

[33] See *ASC* MSS A and E, s.a. 870, and *Seint Edmund*, ed. by Kjellman, lines 1891-1910; quotation from 1905.

[34] John Frankis, 'Views of Anglo-Saxon England in post-conquest vernacular writing', in *Orality and Literacy in Early Middle English*, ed. by Herbert Pilch, (Tübingen: Gunter Narr, 1996), pp. 227-47 (pp. 233-35, 240-41, 246).

[35] [Wace], *La partie arthurienne du Roman de Brut*, ed. by I. D. O. Arnold and M. M. Pelan (Paris: Klincksieck, 1962), p. 177, glosses *Hulague* as 'pirate'; *Anglo-Norman Dictionary*, ed. by L. W. Stone and W. Rothwell, Fasc.4 (London: Modern Humanities Research Association, 1985), p. 482, s.v. *utlage*, sense 1 'outlaw', sense 2 'pirate'; the nautical sense is not

listed in OED.

[36] Giraldus Cambrensis, *Itinerarium Kambriae*, II. 7, refers to the Norwegian force under king Magnus Barefoot that attacked Anglesey in 1098 as *ab Orchadum insulis piratæ in navibus longis*, 'pirates from the Orkney islands in longships': see *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, ed. by J. F. Dimock, RS 21, VI (London: Longman, 1868), 129; see further Henry Loyn, *The Vikings in Wales*, Dorothea Coke Memorial Lecture (London: Viking Society, 1976), pp. 7 and 12, n. 2. For phrases with *deorling* cf. *Alfred þe king, Englelondes deorling* (3148) and variants in 12214 and 13020, and see Françoise le Saux (1989), p. 221.

[37] Geffrei Gaimar, *L'Estoire des Engleis*, ed. by Alexander Bell, ANTS 14-16 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1960), lines 5457-5694; see Maurice Keen, *The Outlaws of Medieval Legend* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1977), pp. 9-38.

[38] See J. de Lange, *The Relation and Development of English and Icelandic Outlaw-Traditions* (Haarlem: H. D. Tjeenk Willink & zoon, 1935).

[39] *Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury*, ed. by William Stubbs, RS 73 (London: Longman, 1880), II. 179. Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, ed. by H. R. Luard, RS 57, 7 vols (London: Longman, 1872-83): see IV.113, 387, 635 and VI. 77, 80, 82 for Tartar attacks, and V.193 for the Danish conquests, where Frisia, as well as part of Russia, is listed; in III. 460, s.a.1237, a letter by Archbishop Germanus refers to Russia among distant eastern countries.

[40] *Ipomedon, poème de Hue de Rotelande*, ed. by A. J. Holden (Paris: Klincksieck, 1979), lines 150, 2423, 3454; *Protheselaus by Hue de Rotelande*, ed. by A. J. Holden, ANTS 47-49 (London: ANTS, 1991-93), lines 9799-9809; on Hue's social-intellectual milieu see Elizabeth Salter, *English and International: Studies in the Literature, Art and Patronage of Medieval England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 26, and compare pp. 66-70 on Lawman's milieu.

[41] *Le Roman de Waldef*, ed. by A. J. Holden (Cologny-Geneva: Fondation Martin Bodmer, 1984), line 15010: Waldef's son refers to Britain's past glories, mentioning the conquests of Belinus and Brennius (cf. *HRB* III. 8-10) but adding several places, including Russia, to those named by Geoffrey of Monmouth; Holden dates *Waldef* to the early thirteenth century but offers no evidence that would preclude a later date; n. 43 below refers to possible Scandinavian material in this poem.

[42] *Heimskringla*, ed. by Bjarni Aðalbjarnarson, Íslenzk Fornrit 26 (Reykjavik: Hið Íslenzka Fornritafélag, 1941), *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar*, ch. 22; *Óláfs saga helga*, ch. 191, 198. In subsequent references this series is abbreviated ÍF and has the same place of publication and publisher. Snorri also records that Harold Godwinson had a daughter Gyða who was married to the king of Novgorod: *Haralds saga harðráða*, ch. 97; also in Saxo XI. vi: see Saxo Grammaticus, *Danorum Regum Heroumque Historia, Books X to XVI*, ed. and trans. by Eric Christiansen, 3 vols, (Oxford: BAR International Series 84 and 118 (1-2), 1980), I. 58,

'Rutenorum regi' (Saxo regularly refers to the country as *Ruscia*, but to the inhabitants as *Ruteni*). Numerous examples of Scandinavian-Russian links, historical and legendary, are cited in Hermann Pálsson and Paul Edwards, *Vikings in Russia* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1989), esp. pp. 29-38, but the relevant Icelandic texts use the names *Garðar* or *Garðaríki* for Russia. See also Lawson, *Cnut*, pp. 9-10 and 22-24.

[43] See most recently Carole Hough, 'Alfred's *domboc* and the language of rape', *Medium Ævum*, 66 (1997), 1-27, and works there cited.

[44] *Deor* and *Widsith*: see George Philip Krapp and Elliott van Kirk Dobbie, *The Exeter Book*, Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records 3 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1936), pp. 150 (with emendation) and 179. Hild-story: Snorri Sturluson, *Edda*, ed. by Finnur Jónsson (Copenhagen: Gad, 1900), pp. 118-19: *Skáldskaparmál* 47 (50); *Kudrun*, ed. by B. Symons, Altdeutsche Textbibliothek 5 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1964), pp. 35-94: *Aventiure* 5-8. On sources see R. W. Chambers, *Widsith* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1912), pp. 100-09. Kemp Malone, 'An Anglo-Latin version of the *Hjaðningavíg*', *Speculum*, 39 (1964), 35-44.

[45] For details of all extant versions see Malone, *Speculum*. I quote from *Skáldskaparmál* 47 (50). An Eddic poem, *Helgakviða Hjörvarðssonar*, also seems to involve an abduction story, though the details are elusive.

[46] *Heimskringla*, I. 86-89.

[47] In *Flateyjarbók*, [ed. by Guðbrandur Vigfússon and C.R. Unger], 3 vols (Christiania: P.T.Malling, 1860), I. 132-37.

[48] See also *Egils saga*, chapt.7, where a man named Högni has a daughter Hildiriðr, who is abducted by Björgólfr. A name compounded on *-hild* (OE *Eosterhild*) also underlies the *Estrildis* of *HRB* II. 2-5; in *Waldef* king Erkenwald rescues *Ernild* (ON *Arnhildr* ?) from abduction and marries her (3853-4166) but she is subsequently twice abducted by Saracens (6939-90, 8331-61); this may be the reflex of a Scandinavian element in a romance composed in East Anglia, and it bears obvious resemblances to the material referred to in n. 51.

[49] *Egils saga Skallagrímssonar*, ed. by Sigurður Nordal, ÍF 2 (1933), pp. 83-85: this episode is usually regarded as being influenced by an abduction tale in *Orkneyinga saga*, ed. by Finnbogi Guðmundsson, ÍF 34 (1965), pp. 249-50, which also has the island refuge of Mousa but otherwise does not conform to the pattern.

[50] For *Knytlinga saga* see *Danakonunga sögur*, ed. by Bjarni Guðnason, ÍF 35 (1982), p. 230. For the Durham Book of Life see *Liber Vitæ Ecclesiæ Dunelmensis, a collotype facsimile*, ed. by A. H. Thompson, (Durham: Surtees Society 136, 1923), fol. 51v, where the prominent placing of the names is obscured by later interpolations. The spelling *Eiric* is remarkable for not attempting any anglicisation such as appears in *ASC* s.a. 948, 952, 954, 1016 and 1017, and also for indicating an initial diphthong.

[51] The abduction tradition is perpetuated in several Icelandic *fornaldarsögur* (tales of late composition set in the legendary past, implying that abduction was seen as a feature of life in ancient times): see for example *Gautreks saga* ch. 3, where it appears as a family trait in father and son, and *Yngvars saga víðförla* ch. 1; for *Gautreks saga* see *Seven Viking Romances*, trans. by Hermann Pálsson and Paul Edwards (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1985), pp. 138-70 (pp. 145-46), and for *Yngvars saga* see *Vikings in Russia* (n. 39 above), pp. 44-68 (44-5). Marianne E. Kalinke, *Bridal-Quest Romance in Medieval Iceland*, Islandica 46 (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990), p. 113, notes that 'Abduction as well as war is an acceptable expedient in romance when it comes to obtaining a bride'; see pp. 169 (referring to 'multiple abductions'), 176-78 and 196 for further examples. Inger M. Boberg, *Motif-Index of Early Icelandic Literature*, (Copenhagen: Bibliotheca Arnamagnæana 27, 1966), pp. 228 and 178, lists numerous examples under the headings R.10.1, *Princess (maiden) abducted*, and K. 1371, *Bride-stealing*.

[52] E.g. Gøtrik's acquisition of his wife in VIII. and cf. Othar's wooing in VII. iv. 3: see Saxo Grammaticus, *History of the Danes* [Books I-IX], trans. by Peter Fisher (Cambridge: Brewer, as one vol., 1996), pp. 271 and 208-10.

[53] See *The Gesta Normannorum Ducum of William of Jumièges, Orderic Vitalis and Robert of Torigni*, ed. by Elisabeth M. C. van Houts, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992 and 1995), I. 58 and n. 5 (on *more Danico*).

[54] *Heimskringla* II. 209-11 and III. 13-14, 18-20; William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum*, ed. by N. E. S. A. Hamilton, RS 52 (London: Longman, 1870), pp. 412-15.

[55] *Vita Elfegi*, *PL*.149, 384 (which mentions stoning: *lapidibus eum obruentes)*; *South English Legendary*, ed. by Charlotte d'Evelyn and Anna J. Mill, EETS os 235-36 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1956), pp. 148-55 (p. 154).

[56] One possible parallel is a phrase in the account of Modred's resistance to Arthur's invasion, *nom alle þa scipen þa þer oht weore* (14192), which is strikingly reminiscent of a phrase in the chronicle account of Æthelred's attempt to raise an anti-invasion fleet: [*he*] *gerædde . . . þæt man gegaderode þa scipu þe ahtes wæron* (*ASC*, MS E, s.a. 992); the verbal collocation here is not entirely accounted for by the similarity of subject-matter.

[57] *Hrólfs saga Kraka*: the relevant extract is conveniently available in E. V. Gordon, *An Introduction to Old Norse* (revised edition, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), pp. 27-29; see also *The Saga of Hrolf Kraki*, trans. by Jesse L. Byock (London: Penguin, 1998), pp. 47-52; the story is also in Saxo, trans. by Fisher, p. 54. A similar, probably derivative, bone-throwing episode also appears in *Göngu-Hrólfs saga*, ch. 26: see *Göngu-Hrólf's Saga*, trans. by Hermann Pálsson and Paul Edwards (Edinburgh: Canongate, 1980), pp. 85-86. For further examples and a full discussion see Ian McDougall, 'Serious entertainments: an examination of a peculiar type of Viking atrocity', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 22 (1993), 201-25 (pp. 215-24).

[58] Quoted from *The Works of Sven Aggesen*, trans. by Eric Christiansen, (London: Viking Society, Text Series 9, 1992), p. 35 (on the alleged connection with Cnut see pp. 32-3). *Scriptores Minores Historiæ Danicæ Medii Ævi*, ed. by M. Cl. Gertz, I (Copenhagen: Selskab for Udgivelse af Kilder til dansk Historie, 1917-18), p. 74, 'et pro arbitrio cuiuslibet ossibus eum iactandum'.

[59] On Cnut as an alleged descendant of Ívarr see Frank, 'Skalds', pp. 110-13; on Cnut's involvement in the translation of Ælfheah see Osbern, *Translatio Ælfegi*, ed. by A. R. Rumble and Rosemary Morris, in Rumble, *Cnut*, pp. 283-315; some of the material in this paragraph is dealt with in greater detail in Frankis (n. 5 above).

Reading Narratives of Rape: The Story of Lucretia in Chaucer, Gower and Christine de Pizan

Louise Sylvester

Introduction

The story of the rape of Lucretia appears in three medieval story-collections: Chaucer's poem *The Legend of Good Women*, Gower's *Confessio Amantis* and Christine de Pizan's story collection *Le Livre de la Cité des Dames*. In the prologue to the *Legend*, Chaucer informs his readers, in a narrative persona which seems closer than usual to the authorial voice, that he is required to enact a penance for his treatment of Criseyde and of love in his earlier poem *Troilus and Criseyde*. He must write about women who were faithful in love. The 'Legend of Lucrece' is the fifth narrative in this unfinished collection, which features Cleopatra, Thisbe, Dido, and Medea, among others. As this list might suggest, the work has been variously characterized as a satire against women and a satire of bad men; the women have been seen as rebels against authority, and as generally helpless and pathetic. What remains clear is the difficulties that critics have had, and continue to find, in their attempts to locate its tone securely.[1]

The structuring device of Gower's *Confessio Amantis* is that of the confession by the Lover to Genius, who functions both as priest and as devotee of Venus. The seventh book, which contains the story of the rape of Lucretia, has been the subject of much critical debate. Editors have variously suggested that in a deliberate departure from the general plan, the Confessor who says he has little or no understanding except of love is allowed to make a digression which embraces the whole field of human knowledge.[2] Conversely, Book VII has been seen as one of the essential stages in the poem's plot.[3] The subject of the *Confessio* is love, which 'reveals man's moral nature under its greatest stress',[4] while Book VII appears to focus on the proper conduct of a ruler. At the end of Book VII, however, Genius supplies a discussion 'of love which is unavised' (VII.5433), including excessive love.

Like Chaucer's, Christine de Pizan's collection of tales about women is introduced by a dramatic prologue involving the writer of the collection, both as narrator and in *propria persona*, in which the reader is shown the source of her inspiration. The text is depicted as arising out of Christine's having chanced to read an antifeminist text, an experience which prompts reactions of depression and ultimately of disbelief. De Pizan also dramatizes these reactions: instead of the god of love, three women, Reason, Rectitude and Justice, visit her, and they help her to develop her metaphor of the City of Ladies.[5] The collection rewrites stories from the Bible, from classical writers such as Livy, and from more recent history in order to vindicate the women in these texts. De Pizan positions it explicitly as a defence of women, and implicitly as an exercise in morale-building among women. This dual perspective on its intended audience needs to be borne in mind in any consideration of its contents, and of its style, as does its author's self-representation.

This paper focuses on reader-response to the male and female sexual roles posited by romance and romantic texts, and on notions of a female masochism that is erotic, rather than psychological. It explores the ways in which literature, and the responses it provokes which fuel eroticism, may have an impact when the reader arrives at a fictional narrative of rape, especially when the narrative is troped in the way that Gower, and in a slightly different and more knowing way, Chaucer, trope their narratives of the rape of Lucretia. The authors of these narratives self-consciously open up an interpretive space by choosing to tell a classical story that was almost certainly mythical. The texts are additionally removed from their modern readers by the remoteness of their dates of composition. I shall address the possibility that these medieval fictions of rape may offer their readers the opportunity to explore relationships between sexual pleasure and the literary conventions of male and female desire. These narratives may be seen to play on rituals of courtship and consummation posited in romance texts, but to offer a version of these in which the male role remains fixed. At the same time these texts appear to offer a space in which the parameters of homosocial relationships and the slippage between desire and identification with an abject sexuality may be explored.

Public Reading/Private Response

In his essay 'Placing Reading: Ancient Israel and Medieval Europe' Daniel Boyarin suggests that the thirteenth century saw the transition of reading in European culture from an oral, public activity to a private one, and argues that this transition

initiated an erotic connection between the book, its author, its protagonist and the reader. Boyarin suggests that from the newly emerged practice of private reading for pleasure came the distancing of reading from public, ritualistic and controlled space to what he terms the 'private, ludic eroticized space' of the bedroom.[6] His analysis thus offers a historical context for an approach to medieval texts founded on the notion that they may be read for pleasure. Boyarin discusses the famous narrative of Paolo and Francesca in Dante's *Inferno* as a text which both explicitly thematizes a scene of reading for private pleasure, and problematizes that practice. Boyarin thus develops Paul Saenger's study, which suggests that the transition to silent reading offered the medieval reader a sense of control over his [sic] material and provided a refuge from the kinds of group sanctions which commonly operated.[7] In particular, Saenger points to 'a revival of erotic art and the production of salacious writing' which he says was stimulated by private reading.[8]

In contrast to these views, the history of public and private reading in the late medieval period has been thoroughly reinvestigated by Joyce Coleman, who suggests that her evidence lays to rest the 'favorite myth' about 'private chambers evolving as the natural setting for private reading' and asserts that the increasing tendency of the aristocracy to favour the privacy of their own chambers 'did not affect the publicness of the reading undertaken there'.[9] Coleman argues persuasively for a number of formats for reading in this period, concluding that silent private reading was in general restricted to the kind of professional reading an author would undertake in order to produce a new text. Her analysis takes careful account of the 'special enhancement of experience', of the 'heightened intensity of communicative interaction' of the shared reading experience, and of the 'deep play involved in group hearing, the emotionality it accessed, and the identifications it fostered'.[10] I should like to suggest that the modern reader of a medieval text may also experience the eroticized pleasure of private reading even within the context of prescribed study, in the initial, private reading that must take place prior to discussion in a public and evaluative setting in which the reader's visceral responses to the text may be suppressed. This prompts the further question of whether such responses should be acknowledged and explored in a context delimited by a definition of scholarship.[11] Two kinds of pleasure are available to the reader: first, the pleasure of the consumption and interpretation of text, the erotic association of which is now well documented, and which was well understood in the medieval period.[12] There is, secondly, the particular pleasure which may be afforded by the subject matter which is simultaneously sexual and violent.[13]

Kathryn Gravdal's important book *Ravishing Maidens* set the agenda for

reading representations of rape in medieval literary texts, in particular in its focus on the ways in which rape is 'troped' within the different genres she selects for study.[14] The importance of troping in connection with the reception of rape in literary texts is emphasized by her definition of the term:

> By 'trope' I mean a literary device that presents an event in such a way that it heightens figurative elements and manipulates the reader's ordinary response by suspending or interrupting that response in order to displace the reader's focus onto other formal or thematic elements. The mimesis of rape is made tolerable when the poet tropes it as moral, comic, heroic, spiritual, or erotic.[15]

This definition underlines Gravdal's anxiety over the issue of responses that might be aroused by rape narratives. She notes of the female hagiographer Hrotsvitha that 'rather than use rape scenes to titillate her audience, she shapes them such that they disassociate female sexuality from female lust',[16] and considers that the *pastourelle* authors 'allow the audience to overcome their own inner censors or scruples and to contemplate rape with pleasure', through their use of formalized aesthetic devices such as metre or music, or 'through the use of character and narrative as intellectual defenses'. [17]

These anxieties about the possible pleasure attendant on the act of writing or of reading texts of rape are also reflected in Stephanie Jed's examination of a Renaissance version of the story of the rape of Lucretia. Jed notes that: 'To retell the story of the rape of Lucretia in the 1980s is to enter into some sort of binding relationship with all of those readers and writers who somehow found the narrative of this rape edifying, *pleasurable or even titillating*' (my italics).[18] Gravdal, Jed and others may thus be seen to set a moral agenda according to which the only proper modern reaction to the desire to retell or to re-read the story of Lucretia's rape is shame. Jed seeks a way of interacting with the text which would 'short-circuit the economy of pleasure afforded by reproducing the story of this rape'.[19] Her suggestion is 'to rehabilitate, as women readers, the humanists' practice of describing their contact with textual materials.'[20] Jed's work is thus focused on reader-response, but her discussion is directed towards the process of interacting with the physical manuscript. She does not produce a reading of the story of the rape, and she thus implies that the 'economy of pleasure' is universal. A response, to Gravdal in particular, has been put forward by Evelyn Birge Vitz, who argues for reading

medieval rape narratives within a context of the attraction of rape fantasies for both medieval and modern women.[21] What is lacking on both sides of this discussion, however, is an interrogation of the sources of the pleasure that the writing and reading of fictional rape narratives has been seen to produce.

The process of selection of a narrative of rape begins with the author. The reader, who is presented in each of these three medieval texts with a collection of tales, and who may choose to overlook this particular story, then repeats this process. The decision to read this well-known story may be framed as an act of consent by the reader, who thereby supplies the lack of consent marked in the text itself. The narrative must, however, be made attractive to a readership, while not compromising the author (writer or narrative persona), whose reputation is explicitly at stake in at least two of these collections. The story of the rape of Lucretia offers its own justification, in that the origin of republicanism in Rome depends on this act of violence towards a woman.[22]

Chaucer pays particular attention to the question of audience: the narrator of the *Legend of Good Women* has been instructed to offer a penance for his previous literary treatment of women; a promise is thus implied that with the emphasis placed entirely on the virtue of the heroine, Lucretia's possible enjoyment of the rape will not be called into question. We may note here John Burrow's series of fascinating observations discussing Chaucer's strong tendency to fictionalize the process of exemplification, bringing into question the teller of the exemplum and his motives, as well as those of his audience, to subversive effect. Burrow's remark, 'if listeners use stories for their own private purposes, so, of course, do the story-tellers', invites the thought that so, of course, do writers; particularly in view of the Chaumpaigne release document of 1380.[23] Chaucer's carefully crafted artless opening reveals that there is a sense in which for him, as indeed for Christine de Pizan, this rape narrative, with its elements of sexual violence, death and legal reform, offers an exemplum for reform, both political and personal:

> Now mot I seyn the exilynge of kynges
> Of Rome, for here horible doinges,
> And of the laste kyng Tarquinius,
> As seyth Ovyde and Titus Lyvius.
> But for that cause telle I nat this storye,
> But for to preyse and drawe to memorye
> The verray wif, the verray trewe Lucresse (*LGW* 1680-1686)

The possibility of a private response to the narrative that will remain unacknowledged in the thematic economy of the text is thus suggested. Although I am interested in the ways in which these three texts may be seen to offer signs of complicity with or resistance to the reader who experiences these pleasures, the main focus here will be on the possible reading of these texts as sites in which male and female sexuality may be explored within the context of narrative frameworks more usually found in romance texts. These frameworks may be crucial in the formation, and documentation of possible erotic responses as they are encoded in literary texts. Clearly, two of these texts are male-authored and patriarchally located; for a woman reader, in particular, to experience an erotic response to the story of a rape is almost certainly intensely private; it may be seen to involve reading against her gendered subjectivity as it reveals itself in Christine de Pizan's text, as well as in feminist readings of narratives such as those of Lucretia and Philomela.[24] It seems to me, however, that all three authors of these texts acknowledge the possibility of an erotic response to these rape narratives. We need to consider, therefore, how eroticism is inscribed within or erased from these texts. As well, we need to examine the kinds of conditioning and experience that might allow readers to experience them as erotic.

Romance paradigms of sexuality

De Pizan presents the *Livre de la Cité des Dames* as a response to writings critical of women, and selects Lucretia's story specifically to refute those who allege that women want to be raped. De Pizan thus positions her narrative in opposition to the idea of female pleasure in enforced sex. Much of the literature of the medieval and later periods is predicated on the notion that sexual consummation is dependant on male desire overcoming female resistance. As Kathryn Gravdal formulates it, 'in life as in literature, male force and female submission have for centuries been coded and internalized as erotically appealing.'[25] Jill Mann suggests that the conventional pattern of courtship is 'active male, passive female. Desire is masculine, woman is its object'. She cites various examples of how this pattern was 'familiar . . . in medieval literature as doubtless also in life' and suggests that 'The ritually codified sexual rôles observable in the *Pamphilus* – male aggression, female reluctance – . . . become in themselves a source of sexual pleasure. Female reluctance feeds and heightens male desire.'[26] One may interpret the repeated representation of woman resisting rampant male desire, which results in a heightening of that desire, as contributing to a project whose aim is to underline male potency in the face of the well-documented fear of an

insatiable female sexuality. The denial of this contingency is made absolute in the representation of a sexual act which takes place without even the consent of the woman.

Georges Duby characterizes courtly love as a game which 'exalted the value which, at that period, was placed at the pinnacle of male values, and thus of all values - sexual aggression. In order to heighten the man's pleasure, he demanded that the woman suppress her desire'.[27] The close relationship between rape and courtly romance has not gone unnoticed by scholars who have remarked on 'the violence that subtends courtly discourse',[28] and noted that the 'archetypes of male attacker and female victim are particularly common to the romance form'.[29] Equally it is clear that representations of rape in Middle English texts closely shadow courtly love narratives. In the Lucretia narratives of Gower and Chaucer, the process of attraction is depicted in wholly conventional romance terms. Gower's long description is focalized entirely through Arrons (Gower's name for the rapist). It suggests that he is simply a victim of love's arrows:[30]

> The kinges Sone, which was nyh,
> And of this lady herde and syh
> The thinges as thei ben befalle,
> The resoun of hise wittes alle
> Hath lost; for love upon his part
> Cam thanne, and of his fyri dart
> With such a wounde him hath thurghsmite,
> That he mot nedes fiele and wite
> Of thilke blinde maladie,
> To which no cure of Surgerie
> Can helpe. . . . (*CA* 4847-57)

This description of Arrons's thoughts and feelings continues for another thirty lines in a manner indistinguishable from a narrative of courtly love.

As Chaucer depicts the moment of attraction it seems that it is not only Tarquin, but also the narrator who falls in love with Lucretia. This bringing in of the narrative voice further invites the reader's empathy, and the description may be compared to the moment in which Troilus first encounters Criseyde:

> Tarquinius, this proude kynges sone,
> Conceyved hath hire beaute and hyre cheere,

Hire yelwe her, hire shap, and hire manere,
Hire hew, hire wordes, that she hath compleyned
(And by no craft hire beaute nas nat feyned),
And caughte to this lady swich desyr
That in his herte brende as any fyr,
So wodly that his wit was al forgeten. (*LGW* 1745-52)

In part, then, I want to explore what kinds of responses women and men may have to this apparent ideology of sexuality as it is played out along a continuum of narrative structures which may include scenes of rape. Elaine Tuttle Hansen argues that Chaucer's poem is written both for and against a male audience, and that the narrator identifies with masculine interests and privilege.[31] These suggestions appear to foreclose a range of responses which may not be inscribed on the surface of the text, but which may nevertheless not be negated within it. Other interpretations of women's responses to their positioning in the conventional formulation may well be possible; it seems unlikely that such a well-established representation of sexual roles can have expressed the erotic excitement of men alone over the course of centuries of both male and female readerships. I should like to consider the possibility of charting a relationship between the pleasure that many women (and some gay men) derive from male supremacy in the sexual act, and the literary and conventional courtship pattern Mann describes. We may thus be able to replace the interpretation in which desire is only masculine, with one in which the sexual desire of the 'passive' partner is represented within textual depictions of courtship and sex. Women readers may situate narratives of rape (and by this I do not mean non-fictionalized accounts of real rapes) on a continuum with all the texts which operate from within an encoding of masculine and feminine sexual roles in which the woman is located in a position of powerlessness and is overwhelmed by masculine supremacy.

Studies of the encoding of female sexual responses in romantic fiction, which women read in enormous quantities, have shown that women are presented as struggling in vain against their attraction to the forceful male. Mary Talbot's study notes that such stories typically contain scenes of aggression in which the hero intimidates the heroine: 'It is his sexual forcefulness, sometimes outright aggression, that precipitates all the erotic passages.'[32] Talbot concludes her study with the statement that 'romances fill a vacuum. They provide something for which feminism has so far had little to offer; namely a celebration of women's heterosexual desire'.[33] It may be argued that the conception of female sexuality defined in popular romantic fiction is not necessarily shared by women reading other kinds of literature. Catherine

Belsey, however, locates the definitions of sexuality constructed by romantic fiction within the wider culture:

> The romance is widely held in contempt in our culture, but it draws its definitions of desire from that culture itself . . . Many of the affirmations of the romances, much of their understanding of the nature of sexuality, are readily available elsewhere, reiterated in discussions of desire, both public and private, or silently taken for granted in our personal "experience".[34]

This is not to suggest that literary conditioning is necessarily determinative in the construction of sexuality and sexual desire, but to note that such formulations may speak to the erotic desires of many women.[35] Hansen and others have argued that these narratives place the reader in the position of voyeur, and exclude the woman reader from the encoding of the situation as productive of sexual excitement. They do not wish to consider that such narratives may function as sites for female fantasy. Feminist views of female sexuality would like to reject formulations of women's desire that depend on conventional sexual roles, but the ways in which women have been positioned in texts representing male and female sexualities mean that women are quite likely to eroticize the powerless subject position.

Reading Lucretia as the passive feminine

Leo Bersani was the first to write about a sexuality in which it is the erotics of submission which is privileged. In his article 'Is the Rectum a Grave?', he argues that phallocentrism is not primarily the denial of power to women but rather 'the denial of the *value* of powerlessness in both men and women'.[36] Jonathan Dollimore glosses this as referring not to gentleness, non-aggressiveness, or even passivity, but rather to the positive potential for a sexual pleasure that crosses a threshold and shatters psychic organization.[37] We may be able to trace a source of pleasure for the woman reader of a narrative of rape as located precisely in the totality of the woman's powerlessness represented in it if we are open to the idea that sexual desire may involve a yearning to annihilate the self in ecstacy characterized by Bersani and Dollimore as the desire for a radical disintegration of the ego. Responding to Bersani's discussions, Lynda Hart persuasively suggests that 'the "passive" role is more about an attempt to "lose" (self)-consciousness, rather than the "shattering of the self" (by

which Bersani clearly means the ego).'[38] Hart goes on to consider this in relation to women's sexual responsiveness:

> Paradoxically, people who are self-conscious are not really focusing on themselves but rather, on the mirrors of the others who are watching them. They make bad actors in the realistic theater (and bad sexual partners) [. . .] Thus self-consciousness is precisely what one has to lose in order to focus on oneself. It is a "truism" that women are more inclined to this form of self-consciousness than men, having been socialized not only to attend to the needs and desires of others, but also to watch themselves being watched and conform their images to the ways they imagine themselves being seen.[39]

Bersani has suggested that 'the appeal of that dying – the desire to be shattered out of coherence – is perhaps what psychoanalysis has sought most urgently to repress.'[40] I should perhaps raise to full consciousness here the term *masochism* which has hovered beneath this discussion. Despite the historical attribution of masochism to women by psychoanalysis, Lynda Hart points out that Bersani's arguments led the way to the term's undergoing 'a theoretical renaissance in which the erotics of submission have been reclaimed as an emancipatory sexuality.'[41] While Bersani's arguments are carefully applied only to men, I want to suggest that women, too, may celebrate this theoretical reclamation. The formulations of Bersani, Dollimore, Hart, and others, provide a less reductive analysis of the ways in which sexual excitement is produced in both men and women. These formulations may therefore be productively applied to considerations of how female and male readers may approach texts in which sexualities are represented. An erotic response to fictional rape narratives may be viewed in this context, and in the context of Hart's suggestion that 'representations created *by* women *for* women who enjoy beng sexually submissive are relatively scarce'.[42]

As we approach the scene of the rape, Gower compares Arrons to a tiger waiting to catch his prey (l. 4944), and to a wolf with a lamb in its mouth (l. 4984). It would seem self-evident that we should feel pity for this lamb caught by the wolf, and yet the simile compels the reader to recognize that wolves by their nature seize lambs, in the same way, presumably, as male desire, by its nature, exercises coercion upon female resistance. As in the romance paradigm, the woman is represented as the focus of male thought and active preparation, and is shown to be powerless to prevent this

natural force. Lucretia's nakedness and physical vulnerability are juxtaposed with the nakedness of Arrons's sword:

> And thanne upon himself he caste
> A mantell, and his swerd al naked
> He tok in honde; and sche unwaked
> Abedde lay,
> [. . .]
> That lich a Lomb whanne it is sesed
> In wolves mouth, so was desesed
> Lucrece, which he naked fond: (*CA* 4964-4985)

Why does the text insist on Lucretia's nakedness? For readers of both sexes the conjunction of his sword and her nakedness may well produce erotic excitement as well as a reminder of the violence inherent in all acts of penetration.

In Chaucer's text, although we are told about Tarquin's feelings, the focus is rather on his view of Lucretia, which we are shown first from the situation of the two men spying on her, then again as we are offered a gloss on his feelings, and a third time as Tarquin compulsively remembers her:

> And by hymself he walketh soberly,
> Th'ymage of hire recordynge alwey newe:
> "Thus lay hire her, and thus fresh was hyre hewe;
> Thus sat, thus spak, thus span; this was hire chere;
> Thus fayr she was, and this was hire manere." (*LGW* 1759-63)

It is noticeable that the only narrative intervention situates the narrator alongside Tarquin, gazing at Lucretia. In between these speeches the narrative insists on Tarquin's covetous attitude to Lucretia: the term seems to confirm the mirroring of the earlier mingling of voyeurism and identification. Chaucer's depiction of the scene of the rape offers the same wolf-lamb figuration, but his text appears to draw attention to these techniques and to the effect they may produce in his audience. The narrative voice constantly interrupts the action to speak to us directly of Lucretia's plight:

> What shal she seyn? Hire wit is al ago.
> Ryght as a wolf that fynt a lomb alone,
> To whom shal she compleyne or make mone?

> What, shal she fyghte with an hardy knyght?
> Wel wot men that a woman hath no myght.
> What, shal she crye, or how shal she asterte
> That hath hire by the throte with swerd at herte?
>
> (*LGW* 1797-1803.)

His careful narrative disruptions suggest that without them we might well read the text as a conventional account of the process of courtship.

De Pizan's text insists on Lucretia's point of view, and seems to note Tarquin's entreaties, threats and drawn sword only because they are necessary to explain Lucretia's actions. The focalization remains unbroken, and the rape is narrated in one short phrase:

> elle souffry sa force (II.44.1, par. 195; she suffered his rape)[43]

Chaucer's narrative retains Lucretia's fear and paralysis as its focus. The statement that at the moment of the rape, 'She feleth no thyng, neyther foul ne fayr' (l. 1818), however, holds on to the idea that the text concerns a sexual act and that it is available for multiple interpretations. This narrative refuses to allow the reader to witness the rape, for it announces 'But now to purpos' (l. 1825), and then tells us that Tarquin has already gone. This strategy thus offers a partial refutation of its absolute insistence on the terror Lucretia experiences, for non-representation of the rape in the text forces a concentration on the act itself on the part of the reader who must imaginatively recreate it for themselves.[44] The withdrawal of the writer at this point brings into renewed focus the complexity of the reader-writer-narrative relation in the context of private reading. Finally the text seems to confirm that, as so often, male desire (the desire of a 'hardy knyght') overwhelms female resistance. This almost iconic representation is suggestive about women's affective identification with a narrative of a rape.[45]

Sexuality and Politics

Chaucer's version of the story of Lucretia in *The Legend of Good Women* and Gower's in the *Confessio Amantis* place the focus immediately on the power structures that subsequent events disrupt, rehearsing the inscription of the story of the rape of Lucretia as a founding fiction of republican identity. Jed suggests that in the

absence of an indigenous Roman legend of sexual violence appropriate to the representation of the change from a monarchy to a republican form of government, the early Roman annalists imported the legend from their neighbours in Ardea and Collatia to confer legitimacy on the new laws and institutions.[46] De Pizan's narrator alludes to the wider political context only after the narration of the rape, but in doing so focuses on the legal implications for men and women in respect of their sexual relationships consequent upon it.[47] All three narratives thus hint at the nexus of social and political structures and sexual behaviours, with the versions of Chaucer and Gower referring explicitly to government.

In his argument that sexual pleasure involves the relinquishing, as well as the exercise, of power, Bersani suggests that rather than sexual practice mimicking the structures of society, as is generally thought, it may be, rather, that social and political structures derive from the ways in which the erotically thrilling is enacted: 'The social structures from which it is often said that the eroticizing of mastery and subordination derive are perhaps themselves derivations (and sublimations) of the indissociable nature of sexual pleasure and the exercise or loss of power.'[48] Bersani's model for sexual pleasure, especially that involving loss of power, is primarily that of the gay man who has anal sex. He is thinking too, however, of sex between women and men in which men lie on top of women in order to penetrate (and thus impregnate) them. The positions of the partners in this case are less significant than the important fact that the woman is the recipient of the act. One may see the representation in all three texts of the suppression of sexual violence and the contingent institution of new laws as a way of finally confirming and at the same time cancelling the connection between the exercise or loss of power in the enactment of the erotic and in the structures of government. Sex and politics are represented as commensurable, and the possibilities of violence inherent in each as admitting of suppression by law. I should like to draw a parallel between this assumption and Bersani's characterization of contemporary discourse about sex:

> The immense body of contemporary discourse that argues for a radically revised imagination of the body's capacity for pleasure [. . .] has as its very condition of possibility a certain refusal of sex as we know it, and a frequent hidden agreement about sexuality as being, in its essence, less disturbing, less socially abrasive, less violent, more respectful of "personhood" than it has been in a male-dominated phallocentric culture.[49]

If we reject the 'pastoral project' which seeks to romanticize sex as a wholesome and egalitarian activity, a project in which feminism has been deeply implicated in its warnings against 'politically recalcitrant fantasies',[50] its appeals for the discovery 'of a new feminist eroticism and fantasy',[51] and its announcements that 'the point is to get rid of power roles as much as possible',[52] we may see the new republican laws (the establishment of which is included in each of the three narratives of Lucretia's rape) as attempting to create a society from which tyranny has been banished. In such a society erotic excitement would be initiated and sustained in the absence of the motivation of its deepest fears and drives: the exercise and the contingent loss of power.[53]

Bersani suggests that the most brutal male oppression of women may be understood as part of a domesticating, even sanitizing, project if such oppression is seen as disguising a fearful male response to the seductiveness of an image of sexual powerlessness.[54] Is this the foundation of the representation of Lucretia in these texts? Certainly her chastity is insisted on in the narratives of her rape in the *Confessio* and the *LGW*, both of which present the competition about wifely virtue as part of their narrations of the rape. In *De Mulieribus Claris*, de Pizan's source for the story of the rape, Boccaccio presents this competition, which illustrates Lucretia's extreme chasitity, as the result possibly of boredom ('The siege lasted a long time') and of a heavy drinking session ('perhaps warmed by too much wine, they began to argue about their wives' honor. As usual each one placed his own ahead of the others.').[55] In the *Cité des Dames* the episode does not appear in the redaction of the rape; it is mentioned much later, in the chapter devoted to virtue. Maureen Quilligan suggests that Christine changes the story in an essential way by shortening the narrative so that the rape and suicide are central: 'the drama of the rape is not, consequently, based upon a rivalry among Tarquin, Collatine, and the other Roman men'.[56] The displacement of the episode of the competition in de Pizan's text may lead us to consider its function in the narratives of Chaucer and Gower.

In Chaucer's version, the siege goes on for a long time without much happening, the soldiers think that they are 'half idel'. The co-text of Tarquin's speech includes the terms 'pley', 'jape' and 'lyght of tonge'; the discussion about the wives is presented as a way of soothing their feelings:[57]

> "And lat us speke of wyves, that is best;
> Preyse every man his owene as hym lest,
> And with oure speche lat us ese oure herte." (*LGW* 1702-04)

Two explanations for what follows seem to be on offer here: first, that the men are tense, they are away from their wives and their energies are not being channelled by this extremely undemanding war, and second, that their activities are in any case all motivated by a spirit of fun. The discussion seems to turn into a competition at the point at which Collatin points out that they do not need to believe one another's words, they may substitute deeds. Although he describes his wife simply as one who is esteemed by all who know her, the notion that they are to spy on Lucretia without her knowing is indicated by the secrecy with which they effect their entry into the house.

In Gower's narrative much is made of the masculine social setting in which the discussion takes place, and in particular of Arrons's role as instigator of the formal meal and of the accompanying competitive discourse:

> Arrons, which hadde his souper diht,
> A part of the chivalerie
> With him to soupe in compaignie
> Hath bede: and whan thei comen were
> And seten at the souper there,
> Among here othre wordes glade
> Arrons a gret spekinge made,
> Who hadde tho the beste wif
> Of Rome: and ther began a strif,
> For Arrons seith he hath the beste.
> So jangle thei withoute reste (*CA* 4764-74).

It is clear that the testing of the wives is the reification of what Arrons has set up, and that the competition over the wives' chastity is a way of enacting the male homosocial bonding implicit in the relationships. The episode makes (almost) explicit the way in which the primary relationships in this episode, and by extension, therefore, in the episode of the rape, are those between the men involved. As Quilligan suggests, it is 'the male groups that make sense of the homosocial exchanges in Boccaccio's story'.[58] We may see in this episode, emphasized most strongly in Gower's version, the working out of masculine hierarchies, with the woman's sexuality as the space across which the power relations move.[59]

The inclusion of the competition element of the story, with its foregrounding of the homosocial relations between the characters, positions them explicitly within a system of the exchange of women. As Gayle Rubin has pointed out, from the

standpoint of this system, the preferred female sexuality would be one which responded to the desire of others, rather than one which actively desired and sought a response.[60] It is this version of female sexuality that de Pizan has attempted to write out of her narrative of the rape, but which is inscribed in the versions by Chaucer and Gower, and which must therefore inform the reader's response to those narratives. In Gower's version we first visit Arrons's wife, and the foundation of the competition is made clear by her identification in the text as the woman 'Of which Arrons had made his avant' (l. 4877). She is depicted as enjoying herself (company unspecified), and as failing to mention her husband away at war. Gower's Lucretia, meanwhile, is 'al environed/ With wommen' (ll. 4809-10), with whom she is working on a garment for her husband while fretting about the way in which her husband's courageous behaviour will put him at the forefront in the fighting.

In the *LGW*, we visit only Lucretia. The reader gazes at her state of partial undress while it is quickly pointed out to us that she does not imagine that her privacy may be violated:

> This noble wif sat by hire beddes side
> Dischevele, for no malyce she ne thoughte (*LGW* 1719-20.)

These two lines of description appear to be unique to Chaucer.[61] The references to Lucretia's bed and her unbound hair, focalized not through Collatin and Tarquin, but seemingly offered as direct observation, and to the innocence of her thoughts mean that the scene presents a seductive image, and therefore one which may include the possibility of female desire.[62] We may note here Ann Barr Snitow's observation that mass market romances for women revitalize daily routines for their readers 'by insisting that a woman combing her hair, a woman reaching up to put a plate on a high shelf (so that her knees show beneath the hem, if only there were a viewer), a woman doing what women do all day, is in a constant state of potential sexuality. You never can tell when you may be seen'.[63] Here we may note again Lynda Hart's observations about women having been socialized to 'watch themselves being watched.'[64] Chaucer's text seems to split at this point: the abjection of femininity is essential to the homosocial interests in the text, but desire slips momentarily into identification with an image of sexual powerlessness.[65] Gravdal's tracing of the evolution of the term *ravissement*, which appeared in the thirteenth century with the sense of carrying off a woman is particularly interesting in this connection. Having gained a religious sense, the action of carrying a soul to heaven, and a secular affective meaning, the state of soul transported by joy, in the fourteenth century the

term came to mean the state of being 'carried away' emotionally, and then to refer to a state of sexual pleasure: *ravir* is to bring someone to a state of sexual ecstasy. For Gravdal, the second meaning does not replace the first, but rather it contains it, so that she suggests that the 'slippage from violent abduction to sexual pleasure . . . reveals the assumption that whatever is attractive begs to be ravished'.[66] Woman readers used to splitting their subjectivity in the reading of male-authored texts, and experienced in the paradigms of romantic novels, seem likely to identify with the beautiful, dishevelled figure unconsciously available to the male gaze, and to read such an identification as erotic.

One version of reading as a woman

In *Reinterpreting Christine de Pizan*, Earl Jeffrey Richards asks 'what happens when a woman writer enters a previously male-dominated literary culture? Does the nature of literature itself change?'[67] Susan Schibanoff has shown that de Pizan was aware of the 'immasculisation' of the woman reader, the process by which, in response to a hostile text, the female reader must change herself: she must read 'not as a woman, but as a man, for male readers, according to the topos, are neither offended nor troubled by literary mysogyny', and has suggested that in the *Querelle de la Rose* debate, Christine was not concerned with how the *Roman de la Rose* ought to be read, but rather with the ways that readers inevitably recreate the texts they read in their own images.[68] By the time she came to compose the *Cité*, she had responded to the charge that she was reading like a woman, and therefore misreading the text, and had arrived at the idea of a woman reader who may create her own readings of standard texts which often diverge considerably from earlier readings. Schibanoff is on comparatively easy ground, however, as she deals only with the woman reader confronting overtly misogynistic texts. Examination of de Pizan's version of the story of the rape of Lucretia suggests that de Pizan's editorial strategies close off a range of private responses and interpretations that narratives of rape may offer.

In both the *LGW* and the *Confessio*, the king's son is overwhelmed by love for Lucretia. This process is dispensed with in de Pizan's text in one line at the point at which the story of the rape is told:

> Tarquin l'Orguilleux, filz du roy Tarquin, fust forment espris de l'amour de ceste noble Lucresce (II.44.1, par. 195; Tarquin the

> Proud, son of King Tarquin, was greatly taken with love for this noble Lucretia)

It is not until we come to the section dealing with women who are loved for their virtues that we are informed that Lucretia's virtue is the catalyst for Tarquin's feelings. This displacement may well be motivated by de Pizan's wish to avoid the easy formulation that the chaste woman's body is fatally seductive.[69] She is careful to separate the feelings in Tarquin that that are aroused by Lucretia's virtue, and their subsequent enactment: the information that the king's son fell in love with Lucretia is enclosed by unequivocal statements of the rape that followed:

> Item, Lucresce, de laquelle cy dessus t'ay parlé, qui fut efforciée, la grant honnestété d'elle fu cause d'enamourer Tarquin plus que ne fut sa biauté. Car comme le mary d'elle fust une foiz a un soupper, la ou estoit celluy Tarquin qui puis l'efforça [. . .]
>
> (II.64.1, par. 239)

> Consider Lucretia, whom I spoke to you about before and who was raped: her great integrity was the reason why Tarquin became enamoured, much more so than because of her beauty. For once, when her husband was dining with this Tarquin (who afterwards raped her) [. . .]

We are not presented with any physical description of Lucretia, nor does de Pizan offer any motivation for Tarquin's feelings as she narrates the rape. These statements also work to ensure that the reader does not get caught up in the pleasure of narrative and begin to forget the perspective offered by the knowledge of the outcome of this story.

De Pizan thus refuses to offer the reader the pleasure of narrative, that is, she does not present a linear narrative of falling in love leading to a sexual encounter (in this case a rape), but separates these two elements so that the rape is entirely unmotivated at the point in the text at which it appears. I refer here to the pleasure of the plot versus that of the story; which de Pizan refuses the reader through the structuring of this narrative within the larger structure of her book. It may be this that has led to an assessment of de Pizan's writing as boring and stylistically tedious to read. Sheila Delany says of the *Cité*: 'I believe I have understood her subversive propagandistic effort to "rewrite woman good" in that text [. . .] Yet I have also been

terminally bored by the tedious, mind-numbing bureaucratic prose of *Cité des Dames*, imitated from the style of royal notaries and civil servants'.[70] Maureen Curnow suggests that the legal and judicial framework is an essential part of the stylistic structuring of the *Cité*. She states that 'in choosing this style Christine is constantly reminding the reader that she is presenting a defense of women', in other words, she appears as an advocate presenting the case for women.[71] De Pizan's restructuring, however, affects the narrative at all levels, and her anti-misogynist strategy causes her to deny one of the functions of literary representations of sexuality. The style of her writing, and the editorial strategies she adopts, suggest that Lucretia's story will most easily find a readership where the pleasures of narrative accompany a subject matter which remains available, even at the most submerged level, to multiple interpretations.[72]

Reading consent

I have suspended my consideration of the parts of these narratives which precede Lucretia's suicide, as this turn of the plot appears to be entirely culturally determined. Lucretia's suicide seems to foreclose the debate around the issue haunting all writers and readers to varying degrees: the question of Lucretia's possible enjoyment of the rape. As we have noted, de Pizan's purpose in re-telling this story is to refute the suggestion that women want to be raped, and for her, Lucretia's story offers an unambiguous counter-example, especially as it ends with the woman committing suicide. From a modern perspective it may be argued that de Pizan's inclusion of the suicide works not to confirm her position, but rather to suggest that the doubt about whether or not a woman might enjoy the experience of rape is strong enough to require this extreme form of refutation. Work on the testimony of those who have suffered sexual abuse, however, indicates that feelings of shame are almost ineradicable. Lynda Hart considers the paradox of the incest survivor: 'the *survivor* is also at once, indeed by definition, the one who endured the abuse. How does one cease to be, or rather become other than the *survivor and still survive?*'[73] It is clear that this paradox proves impossible for Lucretia to sustain.

Lucretia's conscious decision to submit to the rape in the source texts appears to have suggested to Chaucer and Gower an acquiescence that could be constructed as having led to enjoyment, and so, in their texts, Lucretia faints rather than actively submit to her rapist. The question of will is a complicated one, and it appears in the literature concerning sex and reproduction in texts dating from the twelfth century

onwards. The discussion focuses on the links between pleasure and conception, since it was widely believed that female seed, as well as male, was required for conception to occur, and that in women the production of seed depended on the experience of pleasure. Rape victims are specifically mentioned in *On Human Generation* where the questioner notes that women who have been raped protest and cry, and have suffered violence at the moment of intercourse, and yet have conceived.[74] The response offered is that women's pleasure is necessary for conception. Conceptions resulting from rape must then be accounted for. *On Human Generation* suggests that women move from revulsion to pleasure in rape (an interesting parallel with the movement in seduction from reluctance to acquiescence), and then invokes the human condition in general, suggesting that our reason and our flesh are often at war with one another. A woman can withold rational consent even though on the carnal level she may experience pleasure and thus emit seed (the process thought to be necessary for conception to take place):

> If in the beginning the act displeases the women raped, yet in the end it pleases [them] because of the weakness of the flesh. For there are two wills in humans, namely, the rational and the natural, which we often see fighting within us. [What] is displeasing to reason is pleasing to the flesh. And if, therefore, there is not the rational will in the raped women, there is nevertheless [the will] of carnal pleasure.[75]

In *Meanings of Sex Difference in the Middle Ages*, Joan Cadden notes that the two explanations both hinge on carnal acquiescence, but points to the greater importance accorded to intention and consent in medieval law and theology from the twelfth century onwards. The problem with Lucretia in early versions of the story is complicated by the fact that she consciously chooses to be raped rather than lose her good name after her death. As Ian Donaldson observes, 'Certain late medieval narrators were sufficiently disconcerted by this aspect of the story to vary the narrative, and allow Lucretia to swoon at the critical moment rather than exercise her moral choice'.[76]

Although de Pizan's clearly stated project is to oppose the idea that women want to be raped, she does away with the swoon; instead Lucretia attempts to reason with her attacker from a position of extreme unwillingness to undergo the sexual attack. When Tarquin threatens to kill her if she does not submit,

> elle respondi que hardiement l'occist et que mieulx amoit mourir que s'i consentir (II.44.1, par. 195; She answered that he should go ahead and kill her, for she would rather die than consent.)

The threat that she may be represented as having been taken in adultery after her death does not lead her to faint. Instead, she decides to submit to the rape because she fears that he will be believed:

> Et à brief dire, de ceste chose tant l'espoventa, penssant que on croiroit aux parolles de luy, que au paraler elle souffry sa force.
> (II.44 1, par. 195)

> In brief, he so scared her with this threat (for she thought that people would believe him) that finally she suffered his rape.[77]

It seems as if death after the rape is inevitable, for it is the only way that she can be sure of persuading her husband and everybody else that she did not want to be raped, and that she did not enjoy the experience.[78] Had she experienced seduction rather than rape, the issue would have become one of a wife's infidelity, rather than that of a violent attack on a beloved woman. Lucretia's suicide, in all three narratives, forecloses this possibility.

The enduring legends of rape seem to me to offer a trope by which authors can investigate the conventions of female sexuality (reluctance which needs to be overwhelmed by male desire, passivity) in a context in which the fear of an insatiable female sexuality is excluded. In the context of these conventions about female and male sexuality, the belief that female reluctance could change into excitement during the course of a rape, proved for the Middle Ages by the fact that rapes resulted in pregnancies, can be seen as fuelling male fears about masculine potency in the face of female desire and pleasure. In these narratives, therefore, the victim's suicide confirms her reluctance in the face of male sexual advances, and thus works to eliminate these fears. For the female reader a narrative of a rape offers an exploration of the enactment of the conventional female sexual role of reluctance overcome by male desire, and a representation of powerlessness in the sexual act. The well-documented fantasy of rape may be derived from a culturally dominant set of beliefs about the passivity or lack of female desire announced in conventional depictions of male and female sexual roles. It might speak too, to the terrifying appeal of the loss of the ego, the sexual drive for the radical disintegration of the self described by Bersani, the

desires of passivity, and the attendant loss of self-consciousness Hart discusses. As a literary topos, rape may function for the woman reader as the correlative of the erotic desire for annihilation of the self. Fictionalized narratives of rape may thus provide a locus in which to explore desires perceived as antipathetic to a feminist project. These desires may be in part the product of literary conventions laid down by male writers, and yet paradoxically these conventions may work to liberate female desire from the bounds of a dominant representation of sexuality enacted as a struggle for power which offers a reductive and limiting articulation of the possibilities of sexual pleasure.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My thanks for their support and encouragement go to Ruth Evans and to Lesley Johnson.

NOTES

[1] For a useful overview of the critical positions taken see the notes to the *Legend of Good Women* in *The Riverside Chaucer*, ed. by Larry D. Benson (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1987). All quotations from the *LGW* are from this edition.

[2] G. C. Macaulay, Introduction to his edition, *The English Works of John Gower*, 2 vols, EETS o.s. 81, 82 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1900), I, xix. Quotations from the *Confessio Amantis* are from this edition; the story of the rape of Lucretia appears in II, 363-77.

[3] Russell A. Peck, Introduction to his edition of the *Confessio Amantis* (Toronto, Buffalo and London: Toronto University Press, 1980), p. xxi.

[4] Derek Pearsall, 'Chaucer's Narrative Art' (1966) repr. in *Gower's Confessio Amantis: A Critical Anthology*, ed. by Peter Nicholson (Cambridge: Brewer, 1991), p. 64.

[5] The illustration depicting Christine and Reason clearing the Field of Letters of misogynist opinion in BL MS Add. 20698 reveals de Pizan's programme.

[6] Daniel Boyarin, 'Placing Reading: Ancient Israel and Medieval Europe' in *Summoning: Ideas of the Covenant and Interpretive Theory*, ed. by Ellen Spolsky (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993), pp. 153-86 (pp. 164-71).

[7] Paul Saenger, 'Silent Reading: Its Impact on Late Medieval Script and Society', *Viator*, 13 (1982), 367-414 (p. 399).

[8] Saenger, 'Silent Reading', pp. 412-13.

[9] Joyce Coleman, *Public Reading and the Reading Public in Late Medieval England and France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 143.

[10] Coleman, *Public Reading*, p. 30.

[11] In a recent article Graham Holderness, Bryan Loughrey and Andrew Murphy posit an opposition in Shakespeare scholarship between academic specialism which they characterize as 'dry-as-dust textual nitpicking' and criticism, that is 'the organic presence of a fully-lived critical appreciation'. See Graham Holderness, Bryan Loughrey and Andrew Murphy, '"What's the matter?" Shakespeare and Textual Theory', *Textual Practice*, 9 (1995), 93-119 (pp. 93-94). In the case of Middle English an even more deeply entrenched opposition between exegetics and new criticism is anatomized by Lee Patterson in the opening chapter of his book *Negotiating the Past: The Historical Understanding of Medieval Literature* (Madison, Wisconsin and London: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987). It is difficult not to feel that the discoveries of scholarship are more valuable than the formulation of new readings of Middle English texts.

[12] This subject is interestingly discussed by Catherine Cox in *Gender and Language in Chaucer* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1997). See especially p. 26.

[13] For an analysis of the former proposition see, for example, Victor Nell, *Lost in a Book: The Psychology of Reading for Pleasure* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988).

[14] Kathryn Gravdal, *Ravishing Maidens: Writing Rape in Medieval French Literature and Law* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991).

[15] Gravdal, *Ravishing Maidens*, p. 13.

[16] Gravdal, *Ravishing Maidens*, p. 13.

[17] Gravdal, *Ravishing Maidens*, p. 17.

[18] Stephanie H. Jed, *Chaste Thinking: The Rape of Lucretia and the Birth of Humanism* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: University of Indiana Press, 1989), p. 49. The issue of involvement raised by the reading of textual representations of violence against women is taken up by Anne Laskaya in her discussion of the Middle English poem *Emaré*. Like Gravdal, Laskaya is mainly concerned with the ways in which readers' responses may be constructed by the text. See Anne Laskaya, 'The Rhetoric of Incest in the Middle English *Emaré*' in *Violence against Women in Medieval Texts*, ed. by Anna Roberts (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998), pp. 97-114, especially p. 99. For a consideration of the ways in which Gravdal's book has influenced readings of medieval rape narratives in contemporary scholarship see my 'Reading Rape in Medieval Literature' in *Medievalism and the Academy II: Cultural Studies*, ed. by David Metzger (Cambridge: Brewer, 2000), pp. 120-35.

[19] Jed, *Chaste Thinking*, p. 49.

[20] Jed, *Chaste Thinking*, pp. 49-50.

[21] Evelyn Birge Vitz, 'Rereading Rape in Medieval Literature', *Partisan Review*, 63 (1996), 280-91. Vitz deplores recent scholarship on medieval rape narratives and finds it to be man-hating, and to be conducted in a tone of self-pity. She does not examine the meanings of fantasy, however, which she suggests as a corrective approach to these texts.

[22] As Elizabeth J. Bryan neatly formulates it 'Rape is associated with tyranny of the Tarquins. The rape of Lucretia represents an act of violence – of tyranny – so horrific it cannot go unanswered, and the rape becomes the event that motivates the overthrow of the tyrant'. See Elizabeth J. Bryan, 'Laȝamon's Four Helens: Female Figurations of Nation in the *Brut*', *Leeds Studies in English*, 26 (1995), 63-78 (p. 64).

[23] See J. A. Burrow, *Ricardian Poetry: Chaucer, Gower, Langland and the Gawain-Poet* (London: Penguin, 1992), pp. 88-89, and Gayle Margherita, 'Some Thoughts on History, Epistemology, and Rape', *Medieval Feminist Newsletter*, 11 (1991), 2-4.

[24] Maureen Quilligan observes that 'Christine rewrites Boccaccio to insert an active female subjectivity into each story'. See Maureen Quilligan, *The Allegory of Female Authority:*

Christine de Pizan's Cité des Dames (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1991), p. 160.

[25] Gravdal, *Ravishing Maidens*, p. 18. Reflecting on the female audience listening to rape scenes, Gravdal suggests that we may wish to recognize that men, like women, have been taught to view male aggressiveness as flattering.

[26] Jill Mann, *Geoffrey Chaucer: Feminist Readings* (Brighton: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1990), pp. 96-98.

[27] Georges Duby, *Love and Marriage in the Middle Ages*, trans. by Jane Dunnett (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994), p. 58.

[28] Gayle Margherita, *The Romance of Origins: Language and Sexual Difference in Middle English Literature* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994), p. 43.

[29] Corinne Saunders, 'Woman Displaced: Rape and Romance in Chaucer's *Wife of Bath's Tale*', *Arthurian Literature*, 13 (1995), 115-31 (p. 115).

[30] We may note here Michael Hoey's observation that 'it is as if the inclusion of an Object of Desire statement licenses a narrative in which the other person's body may be used for the satisfaction of the self. In other words, all it needs to make a narrative of abuse acceptable is a statement of desire aroused.' Michael Hoey, 'The Organisation of Narratives of Desire' in *Language and Desire: Encoding Sex, Romance and Intimacy*, ed. by Keith Harvey and Celia Shalom (London: Routledge, 1997), pp. 85-105 (p. 103).

[31] Elaine Tuttle Hansen, *Chaucer and the Fictions of Gender* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and Oxford: University of California Press, 1992), especially the Introduction.

[32] Mary M. Talbot, '"An Explosion Deep Inside Her": Women's Desire and Popular Romantic Fiction' in *Language and Desire*, pp. 106-22 (p. 108).

[33] Talbot, 'An Explosion', p. 118.

[34] Catherine Belsey, 'True Love: The Metaphysics of Romance', *Women: a cultural review*, 3 (1992), 181-92 (p. 191). In a stylistic exploration of heterosexual romantic encounters and sex scenes in contemporary fiction which appear to depart from many of the conventional features of romantic fiction, Shan Wareing found that 'romantic norms frequently still govern the way certain parts of novels are written – particularly romantic and sexual encounters' and concluded that 'it is evident that the tradition of the passive heroine is deeply rooted in the norms of novel writing.' See Shan Wareing, 'And Then He Kissed Her: The Reclamation of Female Characters to Submissive Roles in Contemporary Fiction' in *Feminist Linguistics in Literary Criticism*, ed. by Katie Wales, Essays and Studies 47 (Cambridge: Brewer, 1994), pp. 117-36.

[35] Belsey considers this point in the continuation of her argument: 'This is not to say that sex is the same for all of us, since we are not conditioned robots . . . But it is to insist that we in

the West cannot, as an act of will, simply step outside the metaphysics of desire which is our cultural heritage.' ('True Love', p. 191)

[36] Leo Bersani, 'Is the Rectum a Grave?' in *AIDS: Cultural Analysis, Cultural Activism*, ed. by Douglas Crimp (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1988), pp. 201-22 (p. 219).

[37] Jonathan Dollimore, 'Sex and Death', *Textual Practice*, 9 (1995), 27-53 (p. 37).

[38] Lynda Hart, *Between the Body and the Flesh: Performing Sadomasochism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), p. 116.

[39] Hart, *Between the Body and the Flesh*, p. 116.

[40] Bersani, *The Culture of Redemption* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990), pp. 100-101. See also Ann Barr Snitow's discussion of mass-market romances as pornography: 'in pornography the joys of passivity, of helpless abandon, of response without responsibility are all endlessly repeated, savored, minutely described. Again, this is a fantasy often dismissed with the pejorative "masochistic" as if passivity were in no way a pleasant or a natural condition.' Ann Barr Snitow, 'Mass Market Romance: Pornography for Women is Different' in *Powers of Desire: The Politics of Sexuality*, ed. by Ann Snitow, Christine Stansell, and Sharon Thompson (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1983), pp. 245-63 (p. 256).

[41] Hart, *Between the Body and the Flesh*, p. 87.

[42] Hart, *Between the Body and the Flesh*, p. 55.

[43] Quotations from *Le Livre de la Cité des Dames* are by part, chapter and paragraph from Maureen Curnow, 'The *Livre de la Cité des Dames* by Christine de Pisan: A Critical Edition', 2 vols (PhD dissertation, Vanderbilt University, 1975). Translations are from *The Book of the City of Ladies* trans. by Earl Jeffrey Richards (London: Pan Books, 1983).

[44] The openness of this textual strategy is described by Laskaya, though I do not think that she interrogates the process that she is describing sufficiently closely. Laskaya notes that 'texts that inscribe silent victims [. . .] separate the reader from the victims' consciousness and leave a space within which readers create (or ignore) the drama of pain that fictonal characters are imaginatively forced to enact and experience.' See 'The Rhetoric of Incest', p. 100.

[45] It is interesting to note Andrew Galloway's suggestion that Chaucer frequently uses a feminine perspective for establishing a critique of masculine assumptions. Galloway refers to the ways in which Chaucer changes the story of Lucretia that he inherited to stress, for example, Lucretia's self-consciousness of her choices within Roman ideology. He considers, however, that in spite of his sympathy with a feminine perspective, 'Chaucer finally avoids a closer identification with the women through whose eyes he looks'. See 'Chaucer's *Legend of Lucrece* and the Critique of Ideology in Fourteenth-century England', *ELH*, 60 (1993), 813-32 (pp. 825-28). My argument suggests that Chaucer's text thus enables women to read Lucretia in a way that is erotically charged, but that may not present a challenge to a woman-centred ideology. It seems clear, however, that not everyone will agree that this is possible; see Corinne

J. Saunders's observation of Gravdal's *Ravishing Maidens*: 'her reading, which relates literary rape to that which is legally forbidden yet viewed ambivalently in legal texts, is perhaps more persuasive and sympathetic than is the psychoanalytical reading of some critics who suggest that rape is an acceptable female fantasy with no relation to reality.' ('Woman Displaced', p. 116).

[46] Jed, *Chaste Thinking*, p. 4.

[47] Judith Laird points out that Lucretia's selection and manipulation of her speech takes her out of her private sphere as lover and wife and into the public realm of politics, but it is in Christine's version that a note is added about the just and fitting law for executing rapists. See 'Good Women and *Bonnes Dames*: Virtuous Females in Chaucer and Christine de Pizan', *Chaucer Review*, 30 (1995), 58-70 (p. 68). Maureen Quilligan makes the same point in *The Allegory of Female Authority*, p. 160. Narrating the rape is of course central to the story of Philomela told in the *LGW*. The point in de Pizan's redaction of the rape of Lucretia, however, is made through the reader's witnessing the rape. Although she does not explore it, Laird makes reference to this when she states that 'There is little character building of either Lucretia or Tarquin. Most of the narrative quite plainly describes the action in the bedroom' (p. 67). For her, however, the bedroom is 'where Tarquin seems far more ineffectual than Lucretia', a suggestion which seems to me to gloss over the mechanics of rape, and thus to change the meaning of this story.

[48] Bersani, 'Is the Rectum a Grave?', p. 216.

[49] Bersani, 'Is the Rectum a Grave?', p. 215.

[50] Elizabeth Cowie, 'Fantasia', in *The Woman in Question: M/f*, ed. by Parveen Adams and Elizabeth Cowie (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1990) pp. 140-96 (p. 150), cited in Hart, *Between the Body and the Flesh*, p. 97.

[51] Cowie, 'Fantasia' cited in Hart, *Between the Body and the Flesh*, p. 97.

[52] Tacie Dejanikus, 'Our Legacy' in *Off Our Backs* (November 1980), 6-9 (p. 6), cited in Hart, *Between the Body and the Flesh*, p. 194.

[53] Although it could be argued that republican laws acknowledge the necessity of regulation in this area, it seems to me that the omission of the law executing rapists in Christine's sources suggests that the new republican society is representing itself as one which will not need such laws. Just as the rape is seen to have ended tyranny, so the end of tyranny will entail the end of sexual crime: the two are presented as intimately intertwined.

[54] Bersani, 'Is the Rectum a Grave?', p. 221.

[55] Giovanni Boccaccio, *De Mulieribus Claris*, ed. by Vittorio Zaccaria, vol. 10 *Tutte le opere di Giovanni Boccaccio*, ed. by Vittore Branca (Milan: Mondadori, 1967) p. 195, translation from *Concerning Famous Women* trans. by Guido A. Guarino (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1963, repr. 1964), p. 101.

[56] Quilligan, *The Allegory of Female Authority*, p. 157. This homosocial interpretation of the competition and its consequences echoes Carolyn Dinshaw's comment on Gower's version that 'Genius's language does suggest that rape is an offense by one man against another'. See 'Rivalry, Rape and Manhood: Gower and Chaucer', in *Chaucer and Gower: Difference, Mutuality, Exchange*, ed. by R. F. Yeager (Victoria, B. C.: University of Victoria, 1991) pp. 130-52 (p. 137).

[57] The definition of *ese* is not entirely clear in the *Riverside Chaucer* glossary, but *The Chaucer Glossary*, ed. by Norman Davis, Douglas Gray, Patricia Ingham and Anne Wallace-Hadrill (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979, repr. 1983), cites *LGW*, l. 1704.

[58] Quilligan, *The Allegory of Female Authority*, p. 159.

[59] See Gayle Rubin, 'The Traffic in Women: Notes on the "Political Economy" of Sex' in *Toward an Anthropology of Women*, ed. by Rayna R. Reiter (New York and London: Monthly Review Press, 1975), pp. 157-210, and Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985, repr. 1992). The facts of the case which led to the controversial House of Lords ruling that a man cannot be convicted of rape if he genuinely believed that the woman was consenting to sex, however fanciful and unreasonable the grounds for his belief (DPP v. Morgan and others [1975], 61 Cr. App. R. 136) provide a fascinating analogue to the Lucretia story, in which the army setting is replicated, and the homosocial relationships, and the culturally determined beliefs about female sexuality similarly inform the action. Morgan, an RAF pilot, invited three of his colleagues to go home with him after an evening spent drinking and have intercourse with his wife. He told them that although she may protest and struggle, they should not pay any attention because this turned her on. The facts of the case and its implications for the law of rape are set out in Zsuzsanna Adler, *Rape on Trial* (London and New York: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1987).

[60] Rubin, 'Traffic', p. 182.

[61] Ovid implies that Lucretia is on a bed: 'Lucretia, before whose bed were baskets full of soft wool', *Ovid*, with an English translation by James George Frazer, 6 vols (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press; London: William Heinemann, 1926), *Fasti*, V, 109-19 (p. 111); in Livy's narration Lucretia is simply 'busily engaged upon her wool'. *Livy*, with an English translation by B. O. Foster, 13 vols (London: William Heinemann; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1919), I, 197-209 (p. 199). In Boccaccio's text Lucretia is 'dressed without any ornaments' (p. 102), and in de Pizan's she is 'vestue d'une simple robe' (II.64.1 par. 240; 'clothed in a simple gown'). None of the texts seems to me to imply the kind of abandonment to privacy that we see in Chaucer's.

[62] Neither the *Riverside Chaucer* glossary nor *The Chaucer Glossary* impute any sexual connotation to the notion of 'dischevele'. *The Chaucer Glossary* offers two senses: for the

moment cited here the editors suggest 'bareheaded, her hair hanging loose'. For the other usages in the *LGW*, Dido pleading with Aeneas to marry her (l. 1315), and Lucretia sending for her father, mother and husband after the rapist has fled (l. 1829), they offer 'with hair in disorder'. Although this definition may be seen as seeking to deny that Lucretia and Dido deliberately appear in public in this state, arguably this division suggests that Lucretia after she has been raped, and Dido offering to be Aeneas's 'thral, his servant in the leste degre' (l. 1313) as part of her plea that he marry her, are represented as actively sexual, and thus compromised in their femininity in which passivity is necessarily inscribed for a successful reiteration of sexuality (I am here using terms derived from Judith Butler, *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of "Sex"* [New York: Routledge, 1990]).

[63] Snitow, 'Mass Market Romance', p. 249.

[64] Hart, *Between the Body and the Flesh*, p. 116.

[65] This observation derives in part from Linda Lomperis, 'Unruly Bodies and Ruling Practices: Chaucer's *Physician's Tale* as Socially Symbolic Act', in *Feminist Approaches to the Body in Medieval Literature*, ed. by Linda Lomperis and Sarah Stanbury (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993), pp. 21-37, and from Gayle Margherita's chapter in the same volume, 'Originary Fantasies and Chaucer's *Book of the Duchess*', pp. 116-41, and from her *The Romance of Origins*.

[66] Gravdal, *Ravishing Maidens*, p. 5. See also Michael Hoey's comment on one of the heterosexual fantasies contained in *Women on Top*, Nancy Friday's anthology of women's sexual fantasies: 'here the Object of Desire is the narrator's own body. (Interestingly no equivalent text to this was found in the men's data.)' Hoey, 'Organisation of Narratives of Desire', p. 101.

[67] *Reinterpreting Christine de Pizan*, ed. by Earl Jeffrey Richards with Joan Williamson, Nadia Margolis, and Christine Reno (Athens and London: The University of Georgia Press, 1992), p. 1.

[68] Susan Schibanoff, '"Taking the Gold out of Egypt": the art of reading as a woman' (1986) repr. in *Feminist Readings in Middle English Literature: The Wife of Bath and All her Sect*, ed. by Ruth Evans and Lesley Johnson (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), pp. 221-45 (pp. 223-24)

[69] See Patricia Klindienst Joplin's discussion of the moment when Tereus sees Philomela with Pandion, in 'The Voice of the Shuttle is Ours', *Stanford Literature Review*, 1 (1984), 25-53: 'as Ovid has it, the chaste woman's body is fatally seductive. We are asked to believe that Philomela unwittingly and passively invites Tereus' desire by being what she is: pure' (pp. 33-34).

[70] Sheila Delany, '"Mothers to Think Back Through": Who Are They? The Ambiguous Example of Christine de Pizan' in *Medieval Texts and Contemporary Readers*, ed. by Laurie A.

Finke and Martin B. Shichtman (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1987), pp. 177-97 (p. 182).

[71] Curnow, 'The *Livre de la Cité des Dames*', pp. 248-250.

[72] Laird suggests in 'Good Women and *Bonnes Dames*' that in contrast to reactions to the *LGW*, there is no debate about the ambiguous tone of Christine's work. It is interesting in this context to note that Laird does not cite Delany's assessment of de Pizan's prose style. Schibanoff suggests that de Pizan's achievement is 'still undervalued' ('Taking the Gold out of Egypt', p. 239), and despite the popularity of Earl Jeffrey Richard's translation, the continued absence of an edition of the *Cité* at the time of writing seems suggestive of debate at some level.

[73] Hart, *Between the Body and the Flesh*, p. 181.

[74] *On Human Generation* is the title Joan Cadden accords to a group of question-and-answer texts consisting of dialogue copied from William of Conches' *Dragmaticon* and the *Prose Salernitan Questions*. See Joan Cadden, *Meanings of Sex Difference in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993) pp. 88-96. My thanks to Helen Cooper for suggesting this reference.

[75] See Cadden, *Meanings of Sex Difference*, p. 95. This is her translation of Cambridge University, Trinity, MS O.2.5, fol. 76ra-rb; Bibliothèque Nationale, MS lat. nouv. acq. 693, fol. 183v.

[76] Ian Donaldson, *The Rapes of Lucretia: A Myth and its Transformations* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), p. 70.

[77] Richards's translation seems to me to gloss over the senses 'submit to' and 'permit' contained in the meaning of 'souffrir'. See Godefroy, *Dictionnaire de l'Ancienne Langue Française* (Paris: Librairie des sciences et des arts, 1937-1938), and Tobler-Lommatzsch, *Altfranzösisches Wörterbuch* (Wiesbaden, Stuttgart: F. Steiner Verlag, 1973).

[78] The linking of Lucretia's suicide and her decision to submit to the rape seems to me to be crucial: the knowledge that she will afterwards refute it with her suicide is part of the decision to offer consent, under duress, to the rape. Maureen Quilligan suggests this in her summary of the story; 'Her suicide is her means of making the truth known, for her own honor and for the future honor of all women', but seems to elide the connection when she notes that 'for Christine, Lucretia slays herself to demonstrate how awful it is to be raped'. See *The Allegory of Female Authority*, pp. 157 and 159.

'In the Twinkling of an Eye': The English of Scripture before Tyndale

Richard Marsden

New versions of the Bible in English continue to appear at an astonishing rate, perpetuating a tradition which has lasted for well over a thousand years.[1] None, however, has yet achieved the success and esteem enjoyed by the King James Version of 1611, whose star may now be waning but whose linguistic influence not even the most radically 'new' English Bibles can completely escape. Whole passages of its text are still instantly recognisable to readers of the older generation, especially in the gospels, certain epistles, and the Old Testament books of law, and many phrases and figures, or simply memorable cadences, are now embedded in the English language, their biblical origin largely forgotten. The following examples will illustrate my point: 'In the twinkling of an eye', 'Eat, drink, and be merry', 'Am I my brother's keeper?', 'It rained fire and brimstone from heaven', 'If the blind lead the blind', 'Death, where is thy sting?', 'Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour', 'I stand at the door and knock'. We know that in fact a high proportion of the KJV's text was derived from the work of William Tyndale, albeit via a succession of intermediate sixteenth-century versions. About 76 per cent of the KJV's Old Testament and 84 per cent of its New Testament is Tyndale's work, according to a recent study.[2] His was the first of the great English Bibles of the Reformation, and he was put to death for his pains in 1536, even as the tide of official opposition to vernacular translation was decisively turning.[3] Tyndale has rightly been celebrated as a pioneer, and an historian of the Bible as literature has described him as being compelled in his translation to 'invent his own appropriate English'.[4] All the above examples of familiar 'KJV' scriptural idiom were in his version, and several are among those that have been cited by successive scholars of Tyndale precisely as examples of what we owe to the martyr's pen.[5]

Yet I am uneasy with what verges on a *tabula rasa* approach to the subject of Tyndale's biblical English. Translators are as much appropriators as creators. Their

task is to convey the essence of the original as directly and lucidly as they can, and the best way to do that is often by means of the familiar. Imaginative selection, sensitive manipulation, bold re-working: these are the skills (and certainly they are creative skills, possessed in abundance by Tyndale) which are required of the translator. In this paper my aim is to emphasize this aspect of the translation process by showing that Tyndale, more often than has been acknowledged, may have appropriated rather than invented when producing the words and phrasing of his biblical English, including that of many of the best known passages in his version. To this end, the selection of examples from his work which I gave above was not made entirely at random. Each of them, along with others which I give below, appears to have been in use, at least in substance and often word for word, long before the Reformation, and some as early as the thirteenth century.

The source of them, however, was not established continuous translations of scripture. A complete English Bible did already exist, of course, in the form of the late fifteenth-century 'Wycliffite' Bible, still so called although the direct involvement of the scholar John Wyclif himself in the project is unlikely.[6] It was based on the Latin Vulgate and the many surviving manuscripts fall more or less into two groups, representing respectively an earlier version, often opaquely literal, and a later one revised to present a rather more idiomatic and therefore comprehensible English text.[7] The Wycliffite Bible has sometimes been suggested as a source for Tyndale,[8] but there is no reason to demur from the conclusion reached sixty years ago by J. F. Mozley that we should accept Tyndale's own avowal, in the prologue to his second edition of the New Testament, that he translated 'without an ensample'.[9] Mozley conceded that Tyndale might have carried some Wycliffite phrases in his mind and used them unwittingly but he listed a three-point three explanation for most of the coincidences between the Wycliffite Bible and Tyndale's version: first, mere chance; second, the influence of the Vulgate on both versions (so that, for instance, both use 'pinnacle' for 'pinnaculum' in Mt 4.5); and third, Tyndale's using a phrase 'that was already current in the middle ages'.[10] The importance of Mozley's analysis has become all the more evident recently, with the finding by Jon Nielson and Royal Skousen that as much as 58 or 59 per cent of the language of the Wycliffite translators is shared by Tyndale, despite the fact that the former were translating exclusively from the Latin Vulgate, the latter with reference to the original scriptural languages, Hebrew and Greek.[11] The central explanation appears to be the coincidences which are inevitable when two translators, albeit sometimes working generations apart, translate the same basic text (even when mediated through another language) in the most direct way. I shall return to this point later, but will note here that, as Pamela Gradon has shown,

there is no convincing evidence that even Wycliffite preachers or writers used the Wycliffite Bible as a source book, despite its wide dissemination.[12] When they wished to cite passages of scripture in English, they made their own translations from the Latin lection 'at the same time as the sermon was written, straight from the Vulgate, and to suit the convenience of the preacher', and in general the sermon writers were less stringent than the translators in their fidelity to the Vulgate text.[13] The third of Mozley's points – suggesting, in effect, a natural continuity of established idiom – seems to me the most interesting but at the same time the most neglected. It forms the basis of my argument here, though I extend the idea beyond that of the general currency of particular idioms in the English language to their currency in a specifically biblical context.

For the sake of completeness, we may note that there were other translations of parts of the Bible made shortly before or contemporaneously with the Wycliffite versions. They include a version of Acts and the Catholic Epistles, probably made at the request of a female religious, and a version of the Pauline Epistles, with commentary.[14] The translations in these versions resemble that of the earlier Wycliffite version in their literalness, and their influence on later translators is just as unlikely. Before the age of Wyclif, we have to go right back to the pre-Conquest period to find a limited amount of continuous Bible translation in (Old) English. The psalms, the gospels and parts of the Old Testament were translated, and some of these versions were still being copied and used well into the twelfth century.[15] It is even possible to demonstrate some linguistic continuities between the Anglo-Saxon and later periods. Stella Brooks has traced some clear semantic connections, for instance, between Old English glossed psalters and Coverdale's sixteenth-century psalms versions,[16] and I myself have suggested the influence of Abbot Ælfric's translation of Genesis (c. 1000) on some details of later scriptural English.[17] In general, however, the huge changes in lexis and syntax which occurred in the language between the Old and Middle English periods render any search for large-scale continuity between the earlier translations and the later ones, in terms of specific words and phrasing, unproductive.[18]

Yet the lack of any previous widely used English Bible should not lead automatically to the conclusion that Tyndale developed his scriptural English from scratch. It is a paradox of the history of scripture in English that during the very period of several centuries during which ordinary English men and women had no access to large-scale versions of the Bible in their own language, they were nevertheless being exposed more than ever before, and perhaps more than ever since, to its words in that language. The vehicle of its transmission was a diffuse, but none

the less pervasive, one – the dissemination of essential scripture in the mouths, and from the pens, of preachers and teachers. Two parallel and to some extent competitive influences were at work to stimulate this process. First, the spiritual movement associated with the Dominicans and Franciscans had reached England early in the thirteenth century, and the great weapon of the friars in carrying religion to the masses was preaching, in which they were skilful and relentless. Second, a growing agitation for ecclesiastical reform in western Christendom had culminated in the promulgations of the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215, which among other things imposed confession to a parish priest as an annual duty for every Christian. A prerequisite for this was a minimum of level of instruction (not least for the priests themselves) in the basic tenets of the faith, including the meaning of the sacrament of penance. The English bishops responded by setting out their own regulations for the teaching of the people in the vernacular and the preparation of the parish clergy, whose ignorance was proverbial. The regulations were formulated on a national scale in the Constitutions issued in 1281 by the new Archbishop of Canterbury, John Peckham.

It was, then, the forces of the preaching tradition and the requirements of Christian teaching, to both the clergy and, through them, the laity, which catalyzed the explosion of didactic, homiletic, penitential, confessional, regulatory, and devotional literature in the vernacular which spread through the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries. It is witnessed in hundreds of surviving manuscripts. All these works of course owe their existence to, and derive their authority from, scripture, which they cite freely and frequently. And it is here that the modern reader will again and again stumble on the familiar – that is, on such sentences and phrases from the KJV (derived from Tyndale) as I have already highlighted.

The Source Literature

The numerous and diverse creators of the source literature were not constrained by the demands of neat genre division, and a clear chronological presentation of it is difficult, for many works as we have them are derivatives of earlier works (which may or may not survive) or versions in English of works which were originally written in Latin or French (or in both these languages).[19] A large proportion of the works has been edited for the Early English Text Society, and perusal of the Society's catalogue (ignoring the minority of pre-Conquest titles) will give some idea of the range and sheer volume of the relevant material in print. Some, however, has yet to be published. Here I do no more than cite a number of

representative works in several loose groupings. Many of these works are well known by name but are rarely read, because they fall outside the received canon of 'literary' medieval texts.

(a) *Homily and sermon.* Several twelfth-century collections of homilies survive, illustrating a continuity between Anglo-Saxon England and the period under consideration. There are notable manuscripts in Trinity College, Cambridge, and the Lambeth Palace Library.[20] Some of the Lambeth homilies are based on the work of Ælfric, but others appear to be original twelfth-century compositions, albeit perhaps based on pre-Conquest sources. A small number of Kentish sermons survive from the end of the thirteenth century, translated from French originals.[21] By the fourteenth century, 'the classic age of preaching in medieval England', sermons were especially abundant.[22] A series of fifty-one, for instance, collected c. 1400 and arranged for the church year, is in British Library Royal 18 B. xxiii; three of them are by John Mirk, an Augustinian canon from Shropshire, and he was also responsible for another important series of sermons intended for festivals of the saints and known as his *Festial*.[23] The end of the fourteenth century and beginning of the fifteenth was the era of Lollardy; the series of Wycliffite sermons recently re-edited in five volumes by Pamela Gradon and Anne Hudson has 294 items.[24]

(b) *Religious and moral treatises.* The origins of *The Lay Folks' Catechism* serve as a useful paradigm of the processes involved in the production of such works.[25] In 1357, Archbishop John Thoresby of York issued 'Instructions' for parish priests in Latin, to be expounded by them (in English) to their congregations in the province of York. Thoresby's Instructions were based on Archbishop Peckham's Constitutions. He then got a Benedictine monk called John Gaytrick to make an expanded version in English verse. This is the work now known as *The Lay Folks' Catechism*, though it is in fact more a treatise than a true catechism, dealing as it does in the staple fare offered by so many medieval treatises: the fourteen articles of belief, the ten commandments, the seven sacraments, and so on. Later still, a version of the work was made with Lollard interpolations.[26]

John Mirk, too, issued some 'Instructions for Parish priests' in English verse, c. 1400; over half of the work is devoted to confession.[27] Verse seems to have been the preferred medium for vernacular religious and moral treatises in the earlier part of our period. From the end of the twelfth century comes the massive (yet incomplete) *Ormulum*, produced perhaps in northern Lincolnshire and providing exegesis of the gospels and Acts based on the *Glossa ordinaria*.[28] A little later, in the East Midlands, four thousand lines of four-stressed couplets were produced to tell the story of *Genesis and Exodus* (and parts of Numbers and Deuteronomy), drawing heavily on

Peter Comestor's *Historia scholastica.*[29] Towards the end of the thirteenth century, the huge *Cursor Mundi* was written in the north of England, paraphrasing scripture in 30,000 lines (mostly of rhymed octosyllabics) and again using Comestor as its exegetical base.[30] Another poetical work, the *Pricke of Conscience*, is notable, if only because it appears to have been the most popular of the didactic poems, with more than one hundred manuscripts surviving, though its attractions are not obvious to us today. Its 5000 couplets were composed anonymously in the mid-fourteenth century in both Latin and English versions and deal with the wretched state of man and the world.[31] In 1303, Robert Mannyng produced his *Handlyng Synne*, a verse translation of the *Manuel des péchés*, which had been composed c. 1260 by an Englishman, perhaps William of Waddington, in Anglo-Norman verse.[32] The English version is slightly longer (with 12, 628 lines) than the original, with some material omitted but some amplified too, especially in the area of entertaining exempla. A prose version of *Handlyng Synne* was made c. 1350, probably in the London area.

Among other prose tracts is the *Ayenbite of Inwit*, a translation of a French work, the *Somme le Roi* (1279), written in the Kentish dialect by a monk of St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, in 1340.[33] Though treating many of the same themes as Mannyng's *Handlyng Synne* (the ten commandments, the twelve articles of the creed, the seven sins), this work is far more elaborately structured and is scholastic in tone. A further translation of *Somme le Roi*, made some thirty years later by an unknown writer, is known as the *Book of Vices and Virtues.*[34] The prose *Mirror of Holy Church* by St Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury (d. 1240), has as its major theme the three degrees of knowledge of God by contemplation and provides us with another example of multilingualism in didactic works.[35] It was probably composed originally in French, of which version there survive eighteen manuscripts, but there are also no fewer than twenty-eight of the Latin version, alongside a mere dozen of the English. Later there were other English versions of all or part of this work.

(c) *Regulatory texts.* One of the most well known of such texts in Middle English is the *Ancrene Wisse* (or *Ancrene Riwle*, as it is known in a few earlier manuscripts of the work). For R. W. Chambers, this work occupied 'a vital position in the history of English prose', and formed the centrepiece in his argument for the continuity of an English prose tradition from the Anglo-Saxon period up until the time of Thomas More.[36] The earliest surviving English version dates probably from c. 1200, after which numerous others copies were made, and the work was translated into both French and Latin. In language and style, the *Ancrene Wisse* has been associated with the so-called 'Katherine group' of works: lives of Saints Katherine, Margaret, and Juliana, a tract on *Holy Maidenhood*, and the allegory *Sawles Warde.*[37]

Chambers identified the needs of female religious who lacked Latin as the inspiration for such works, and thus also as a key impulse in the development and survival of English prose during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. He cited 'female' versions of the *Benedictine Rule* as another important landmark. Few today would share Chambers's high claims for the *Ancrene Wisse*, and he no doubt overestimated the competence of male religious in the reading of Latin compared with their spiritual sisters. Nevertheless, he rightly recognized the significance of religious works in the continuity of the English prose tradition.

(d) *Devotional and mystical literature*. Works of this type are on the whole better known than the more technical and didactic works I have listed so far. Centred usually on the passion of Christ, they originated in the eleventh century with the likes of John of Fécamp and St Anselm and were associated particularly with St Bernard and the Victorines in the twelfth century. Richard Rolle is the most prominent and prolific of the known exponents, and was clearly one of the most popular. He wrote in both Latin and English and, curiously, where he did versions of a work in both languages (such as his commentary on the psalter)[38], it is the Latin which survive in the greater number; but his English *The Form of Living* is extant in thirty-eight manuscripts.[39] Other writers in this mystical-devotional group are known mostly for single works and include Walter Hilton (d. 1396), with his *Ladder of Perfection*, Julian of Norwich, with her *Revelation of Divine Love* (c.1373), and the anonymous author of *The Cloud of Unknowing*.[40]

(e) *Poetry and drama*. We should note finally that scriptural quotation was not confined to the homiletic, didactic, regulatory, and mystical works which I have briefly surveyed. There is also frequent quotation in the works of writers from the 'literary' canon of Middle English – including Gower, Langland, the Gawain-poet, and Chaucer. Medieval drama, too, in its presentation of the whole cycle of biblical history in popular form, provides an obvious rich source of scriptural allusion and citation.

Some Evidence

It is, then, in the numerous Middle English sermons, homilies, handbooks, treatises, poetic paraphrases, devotional tracts, and other literature of the twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries that evidence of the continuity of biblical idiom is to be looked for. No attempt to catalogue the scriptural citations in Middle English literature has been made since 1911, when Mary W. Smyth published her *Biblical Quotations in Middle English Literature before 1350*. Smyth sought to do

for Middle English what her mentor and teacher, A. S. Cook, had done for Old English literature.[41] She had available to her only a fraction of the editions which now confound the researcher, but she had already noticed some obvious continuities between the medieval period and the KJV and compiled her own short list of 'words and phrases common to Middle English works before Wyclif and the Authorized Version'.[42] This list has been a great stimulus for my own research, and several of Smyth's examples are included among mine.[43]

In selecting the sixteen examples of 'continuity' which follow, I aim merely to give a taste of the sort of results which a more systematic and thorough search might provide. More than half of my examples (nos. 1, 3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 12, 15, and 16) have been included deliberately because they, or the idioms which are at the heart of them, have been cited by various writers on Tyndale as distinctly 'his'. Rather than restrict my evidence to precise word-for-word parallels, I have included a number of examples in which there are slight differences between the Middle English version or versions and that of Tyndale. In two interesting cases (nos. 8 and 9), the evidence points only to the possibility (though a distinct one, in my view) that certain idioms or familiar forms were not original to Tyndale. I have not given all occurrences for each example; citations from the more familiar parts of the gospels and epistles are especially numerous in homiletic works and treatises and are remarkably consistent in their forms. My examples are presented in biblical order and Tyndale's version in each case is given in the headings. For the Pentateuch, this is the version of 1530;[44] for the New Testament, it is Tyndale's revision of 1534 (though, in my examples, there is no significant modification of the 1526 version).[45] Differences from the KJV are merely orthographical, except in one case (no. 12), where I have used a passage in which the KJV revisers adopted a different verb. Citations from the earlier or later Wycliffite Bibles are indicated by 'WB1' and 'WB2', respectively, but when the differences between the two versions are merely orthographical, I cite as 'WB', using WB2's spelling.[46] In citations from all sources I retain the punctuation provided by the various editors, except where it has seemed confusing.

1. 'am I my brothers keper?' (Gen 4.9)

I have not come across the full question asked by Abel in precisely this form in any Middle English writings, but the key phrase 'my brother's keeper' may have been well known. It is found in one of the 'N-town' mystery plays, where an unpleasantly verbose Abel is given these words:

> My brothers kepere ho made me?

Syn whan was I his kepyng-knyght?
I kannot telle wher þat he be;
To kepe hym was I nevyr dyght.[47]

'Keeper' is a translation of Vulgate *custos* (itself a good rendering of the Hebrew), and it is used in WB, too, though in both versions the cumbersome syntax weakens the effect; thus WB1: 'I wote neuere; whether am I the keper of my brother?' and WB2: 'Y woot not; whether Y am the kepere of my brother?' (cf. Vulgate 'nescio num custos fratris mei sum').

2. 'Thou shalt not take the name of the Lorde thy God in vayne . . . Honoure thi father and thi mother . . . Thou shalt not beare false witnesse agenst thy neghboure' (Dt 5.11, 16, 20)[48]

The decalogue is rehearsed routinely in medieval tracts and treatises. There is some variation in the wording of the individual commandments, but often it coincides very closely, and even exactly, with Tyndale's version. In the second half of the fourteenth century, for example, readers of the *Lay Folks' Catechism* found the second commandment expressed thus: 'Thou schalt not take þe name of þy lord þy god in vayn'[49] (Vulgate: 'non usurpabis nomen Domini Dei frustra'; cf. WB2: 'Thou schalt not mystake the name of thi Lord God in veyn'). For the fourth and eighth commandments, Richard Rolle (c. 1330) wrote: 'Honoure thy fadyre and þi modyre . . . Thou sall noghte bere false wyttnes agaynes thi neghtebour.'[50] The Vulgate version of the eighth commandment uses the idiom of 'speaking', rather than 'bearing', false witness: 'Non loqueris contra proximum tuum falsum testimonium'; I shall return to this in my discussion below. Rolle's version of the second commandment uses a shorter reference to the deity than that of the *Lay Folks' Catechism*: 'Þou sall noghte take þe name of God in vayne'. The latter, on the other hand, uses 'worship' instead of 'honour' in the fourth commandment (as do several other versions of the period): 'worschipe þy fadyr and modyr'.[51] 'Honour' literally translates Latin 'honora', and the same word is used in WB: 'Onoure thi fadir and thi modir'.

3. 'ye are the salt of the erthe' (Mt 5.13)

These words of Christ to his disciples have been attributed to Tyndale but were already proverbial in the fourteenth century. We need look no further than Chaucer's *Summoner's Tale*, where they are used by the lord in his address to the hypocritical friar: 'Ye been the salt of the erthe and the sauour'.[52] And Tyndale's great enemy Sir Thomas More used the phrase in his *Heresyes*: 'Ye be the salt of the earth'.[53] The

version used in WB is the same as Tyndale's, except for the omission of the definite article before the first noun: 'ȝe ben salt of the erthe', but the article is usually included when the words are cited, as they often are, in contemporary Wycliffite writings, such as the sermon of William Taylor (1406): 'Also þe clergie shulde be þe salt of þe erþe as Crist seiþ'.[54]

4. 'O oure father which arte in heven, halowed by thy name . . . And leade vs not into temptacion, but delyver vs from evell' (Mt 6.9, 13)

Citations of the Pater Noster, from Mt 6 or Lk 11, are of course numerous in devotional and instructional literature, and much of the familiar wording seems to have been established long before Tyndale's time. In the *Lay Folks' Catechism* we read: 'Our fadyr þat art in heuyn: halwyd be þy name . . . lede vs nat in temptacioun . . . But gracius fadyr delyuere vs fro euyl'.[55] A (non-Wycliffite) sermon manuscript of the late fourteenth century follows suit: 'Halowed be þi name . . . And lede vs not into temptacioun. But delyuer vs from euyll',[56] but so also does WB: 'Oure fadir that art in heuenes, halewid be thi name . . . and lede vs not into temptacioun but delyuere vs fro yuel'. As for the wording of other parts of the prayer, the only point at which earlier versions differ notably from Tyndale's is in the rendering of Mt 6.12, 'and forgive us our trespasses as we forgive them who trespass against us'.[57] A typical early rendering, treating the Vulgate words literally ('et dimitte nobis debita nostra sicut et nos dimisimus debitoribus nostris'), is that of the thirteenth-century *The Mirror of Saint Edmund*: 'and forgyffe vs oure dettis als we forgyffe oure dettours'.[58] Another common medieval way of presenting the ideas here was with the noun 'misdeed' and its associated verb; thus, in the *Book of Vices and Virtues* we read: '(þat he wole) forȝeue vs oure mysdedes, as we forȝeueþ hem þat han mysdo to vs'.[59] But at least one writer, a Lollard, found the idea of 'trespass' more appropriate, though he retains an agent noun rather than a verbal periphrasis in the second part of the sentence: 'Forȝeue to vs oure trespaces, as we don to ure trespasouris'.[60]

5. 'Axe and it shalbe geven you. Seke and ye shall fynd. knocke and it shalbe opened vnto you' (Mt 7.7)

Medieval versions of this passage are to be found which are almost identical with that of Tyndale, the only differences being a preference in the older texts for imperative-plus-pronoun and the simple preposition 'to', rather than 'into'. This is another case where Tyndale hardly differs from WB, which has: 'Axe ȝe, and it schal be gouun to ȝou; seke ȝe, and ȝe schulen fynde; knocke ȝe, and it schal be openyd to ȝou'. In some manuscripts of WB, the imperative without pronoun is found. A Wycliffite

sermon cites the verse similarly, and again there is manuscript variation giving the imperative without pronoun.[61] A little later (c. 1443), in ch. 14 of Pecock's *The Reuele of Crysten Religioun*, we read: 'Axe ȝe and it schal be ȝouen to you, seke ȝe and ȝe schulen fynde, knocke ȝe and it schal be opened to ȝou'.[62]

6. 'If the blynde leede the blynde, boothe shall fall in to the dyche' (Mt 15.14)

A Lollard sermon-writer of the early fifteenth century writes: 'If þe blynde lede þe blynde, þei fallen boþe in þe diche'.[63] 'Ditch' translates Latin 'fovea', Greek 'βόθυνος' ('pit'), and the rendering is 'lake' in several Wycliffite sermons,[64] but not in WB: 'And if a blynd man lede a blynd man, bothe fallen doun in to the diche' (with the adverb 'doun' omitted in some manuscripts).

7. 'For where two or thre are gathered togedder in my name, there am I in the myddes of them' (Mt 18.20)

Tyndale's rendering of Christ's words to his disciples is distinguishable from the WB2 version because of his addition of the adverb which the latter lacks: 'For where tweyne [var. 'two'] or thre ben gaderid in my name, ther Y am in the myddil [var. 'myddes' in WB1] of hem' (cf. Vulgate 'sunt . . . congregati'). However, in a reference to the Matthew passage, a Lollard tract more or less contemporary with WB2 makes the addition (stylistically an excellent choice) and also modifies the copulative verb, as Tyndale does: '. . . þe kirk particuler, as were two or þre are gedrid to gidir in Cristis name'.[65]

8. 'the burthen and heet of the daye' (Mt 20.12)

The phrase is from the parable of the vineyard, in which the industrious labourers resent the fact that late-comers receive equal wages: 'These laste have wrought but one houre, and thou hast made them equall vnto vs, which have born the burthen and heet of the daye' (Tyndale). The Greek of the second part of the sentence uses a participle construction,[66] which the Vulgate renders with a relative pronoun and perfect verb: 'et pares illis nobis fecisti qui portauimus pondus diei et aestus.' WB2 stays close to this: 'and thou hast maad hem euen to vs, that han born the charge of the dai, and heete'. The effectiveness of Tyndale's version derives from his use of the more emotive 'burthen' for Greek βάρος' (Latin *pondus*) and the way he neatly and simply (though not strictly speaking accurately) makes 'day' the genitive complement of both of the abstract nouns. Perhaps this was indeed Tyndale's creation, but it is of note that something similar in principle had been done by a Kentish sermon-writer towards the end of the thirteenth century:

> and habbetþ i-þoled þe berdene of þo pine and of þo hete of al þo daie.[67]

And in connection with 'burden', it is interesting that an Anglo-Saxon translator of the gospels was using the noun already in the tenth century in this context: 'and þu dydest hig gelice us þe bæron byrþena on þises dæges hætan.'[68]

9. 'take thyne ease: eate, drinke, and be mery' (Lk 12. 19)

The is one of the most celebrated of 'Tyndale's' idioms, which translates 'ἀναπαύου, φάγε, πίε, εὐφραίνου' (cf. Vulgate 'requiesce comede bibe epulare'). But Tyndale was certainly not the first, in the context of Luke's gospel, to collocate eating and drinking with being, or making, merry. Walter Hilton, c. 1396, writes in book two of his *Ladder of Perfection*: 'And therefore they saye: Ete we, drynke we and make we mery here, for of this life we be syker [i.e. certain]'; and in the *Medytacyons of Saynt Bernarde*, 1495, there is a past-tense version: 'Ete, dranke, and made mery'.[69] Medieval versions frequently use expressions involving 'glad'; thus *The Sayings of St Bernard*: 'Þei eeten and dronken & maden hem glad'.[70] WB2 aims for a more literal rendering of the Vulgate *epulare*: 'reste thou, ete, drynke, and make feeste'.

10. 'There shalbe wepinge and gnasshinge of teth' (Lk 13.28)

Instead of Tyndale's evocative second verbal noun, WB has 'Ther schal be wepinge and betynge togidre of teeth' (cf. Greek 'ὁ βρυγμὸς τῶν ὀδόντων', Vulgate 'stridor dentium'). But a Lollard sermon-writer had set the precedent for Tyndale: 'þere shal be weping and gnasting of teeth'.[71] 'Gnash' was an alternative form of 'gnast' (a verb of Old Norse origin) and occurs also in other medieval texts in connection with the torments of hell.[72]

11. 'it rayned fyre and brymstone from heven' (Lk 17.29)

I have come across no exactly parallel Middle English form of this reference to the events at Sodom, which is made by Christ as he foretells his second coming. However, a citation of the passage in the *Pricke of Conscience* comes very close: 'It rayned fire fra heven, and brunstane' (Vulgate 'pluit ignem et sulphur de caelo').[73] We may note also that WB differs from Tyndale only in giving the verb a personal subject: 'the Lord reynede fier and brymstoon fro heuene'. The impersonal expression had been used in the *Old English Gospels*: 'hyt rinde fyr and swefl of heofone'.[74] Although 'swefel' occurred most frequently for 'sulphur' in Old English, 'brimstone' was already in use also by the later Anglo-Saxon period.[75]

12. 'father forgeve them, for they woot not what they do . . . to daye shalt thou be with me in Paradyse' (Lk 23.34, 43)

In extracts from Luke's account of the passion in the thirteenth-century *The Mirror of Saint Edmund*, we read: 'Ffadire forgyffe þame þis syne, for þay wate noghte whate þay doo', which differs from Tyndale's version only on account of the supplying of a second object for the verb ('this sin') which is in neither the Greek nor the Latin versions.[76] For Lk 23.43, *The Mirror* has: 'þis day sall þou be with me in paradyse', with its minor variation in the form of the temporal adverb but its putting, as in Tyndale, of verb before pronoun.[77] As so often, Tyndale is close also to WB: 'Ffadir forȝyue hem, for thei witen not what thei doon . . . this dai thou schalt be with me in paradise'. In the KJV, of course, Tyndale's 'woot' gives way to 'know'.

13. 'in the twinclinge of an eye' (I Cor 15.52)

This phrase is a vivid part of Paul's exposition of the mysteries of the resurrection: 'Beholde I shewe you a mystery. We shall not all slepe: but we shall all be chaunged, and that in a moment, and in the twinclinge of an eye, at the sounde of the last trompe' (Tyndale). The Greek 'ἐν ῥιπῇ ὀφθαλμοῦ' was rendered 'in ictu oculi' in the Vulgate, and WB1 showed literalism at its worst by opting for a sense of Latin *ictus* which, in other contexts, might have been appropriate but is clearly wrong here: 'in the smytinge of an yȝe'. The same was done by the equally literal translator of the Pauline Epistles in Corpus Christi College, MS. 32.[78] WB2, however, removed the nonsense by substituting 'twynklyng of an iȝe', presumably because the reviser was familiar with the received idiom in this well-known passage. 'Twinkling', to denote the speed with which the eye closes when one blinks, was well established by the fourteenth century in reference to the events of the end times adumbrated in Paul's epistle. It is used, for instance, in the *Sayings of St Bernard* (of Clairvaux), to describe the fate of ladies who, unthinking, lived the good life:

> Þey beren hem here so stout and hiȝe,
> Ac in twynklyng of an eiȝe
> Heore soules were for-loren.[79]

In the *Pricke of Conscience* (c. 1340), the souls of the saved are likened to angels, who:

> May come doune tylle erth in a moment,
> And up agayne tylle heven may flegh,
> In þe space of a twynkellyng of ane eghe.[80]

B. J. Whiting cites numerous other occurrences.[81] None seems to have the definite article before 'twinkling', which distinguishes Tyndale's version.

14. 'Deeth where is thy stynge?' (I Cor 15.55)

In this further extract from Paul's account of the end times, the Greek 'Ποῦ σου, θάνατε, τὸ κέντρον?' was rendered 'ubi es mors stimulus tuus?' in the Vulgate. WB1 and WB2 (and the version in Corpus Christi College, MS. 32)[82] chose 'prick' as a translation of *stimulus* (κέντρον): 'Deth, where is thi pricke?' This is perfectly acceptable, but Tyndale's 'sting' seems far more evocative, and has been the choice of virtually all translators since. He was not, however, the first to opt for it. As early as c. 1300, we read in the third book of *Cursor Mundi*:

> To ded i said, 'quar is þi stang?'
> Till hell, 'quar ar þi mightes strang?' [83]

'Stang' is presumably a northern dialect version of 'sting'. The verb was in use in Old English and (in the form 'styng') translates *ictus pungentis* in the ninth-century Old English version of Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*.[84]

15. 'Ye have hearde of the pacience of Iob' (Jas 5.11)

Although the phrase 'the patience of Job' has been associated particularly with Tyndale, as though he invented it, in fact it had been proverbial since at least the end of the fourteenth century. It appears in the *Book of the Mother* (c.1400): 'þe pacience of Iob ȝe hauen herd',[85] and in the *Governance of Lordschipes* (c. 1425): 'Yn þe er founden . . . þe pacience of Iob, þe chastite of Daniel'.[86] The tradition of rendering the noun (a translation of Greek 'τὴν ὑπομονὴν', which the Vulgate renders as 'sufferentium') as 'patience' rather than 'suffering' is acknowledged in some manuscripts of WB, where 'patience' is presented alongside the more literal rendering of the Latin noun: ȝe herden [var. 'han herd'] the suffring, eithir pacience, of Job'. Was this perhaps a bowing to the pressure of a well-known proverbial form? In other manuscripts, however, 'pacience' alone or 'suffring' alone is used. The fourteenth-century version of the Pauline Epistles printed by Paues uses a doublet: 'And ȝe habbeþ y-herd þe suffrynge & þe abydynge of Iob'.[87]

16. 'Beholde I stonde at the doore and knocke' (Rev 3.20)

A Lollard sermonist's version of this passage is almost identical with that of Tyndale. He cites the Vulgate words and translates, 'Þat is: "I stonde at þe dore" (þat is, of

mannes soule) "and knocke".'[88] Where Tyndale continues, 'Yf eny man heare my voyce and open the dore, I will come in vnto him and will suppe with him, and he with me', the sermonist writes: 'Whoso heereþ my voice and openeþ to me þe ȝate, I schal entre to him, and soupe wiþ him, and he wiþ me.'

Discussion

Many more such illustrations could be given, and many more are undoubtedly waiting to be identified. I have deliberately restricted my main examples to those in which the parallel idioms in the earlier literature are associated there with the specific scriptural passages under review. Not included, therefore, are such phrases as 'til the worldes ende' or 'the beasts of the field'. Tyndale used the former in Ex 14.13, the passage in which Moses emphasizes the finality of the Egyptians' obliteration, though the KJV opted for the more conventional 'forever'.[89] 'The world's end' is a common enough phrase in the medieval period, but usually has a locative sense. Chaucer, however, is among those who use it temporally, as part of Criseyde's rhetoric about her reputation in *Troilus and Criseyde*:

> Ne though I lyved unto the werldes ende,
> My name sholde I nevere ayeynward wynne.[90]

The second phrase was used by Tyndale in his version of Gen 3.1: 'But the serpent was sotyller than all the beastes of the felde'. It is of a type that has been identified as characteristic of Tyndale, being a very appropriate rendering of the Hebrew construct form, in which two nouns are in genitival relationship.[91] I have not found 'beasts of the field' used in any earlier version of Gen 3.1 (cf. WB1: 'lifers of the erthe' and WB2: 'lyuynge beestis of erthe', translating Vulgate '[callidior cunctis] animantibus terrae'), but it does have a scriptural pedigree. In an early fourteenth-century version of Ps. 8.7, Vulgate *pecora campi* is rendered as 'þe bestes of þe felde'.[92] WB1 and 2 translate likewise in their version of the psalm: 'beestis of the feeld', and WB2 has the same translation for Vulgate *agrestia* in its version of Wisd 19.18 (but cf. WB1 'Feeldi wilde thingus').[93] There are numerous other examples of the use of the noun-plus-of-plus-noun construction to translate two Latin nouns in genitival relationship, in English versions of both the Old and the New Testaments.[94]

Yet how significant are my examples of 'continuity', even when the idioms can be shown to reappear over a long period in successive versions of a specific scriptural

passage? The significance of some is no doubt more apparent than real, resulting from the sort of coincidences which are inevitable when two translators translate the same basic scriptural text into the same language, even if, in one case, that text has been mediated through a third language. This is a phenomenon that Mozley recognized,[95] and I have noted already the recent finding of Nielson and Skousen that as much as 58 or 59 per cent of the language of the Wycliffite translators is shared by Tyndale, despite the fact that the former were translating exclusively from the Latin Vulgate, the latter with reference to the Hebrew and Greek.[96] To take one of the most 'proverbial' of my own examples, it is difficult to see how Christ's words to the disciples in Mt 5.13 ('Ὑμεῖς εστὲ τὸ ἅλας τῆς γῆς', Vulgate 'uos estis sal terrae') could come out in English – whichever language they were translated from – as anything other than 'You are the salt of the earth', with appropriate variation in the forms of pronoun and verb, according to the period. The words and syntax are the plainest and the metaphor needs no explanation; indeed, it owes its force to simple clarity. Much scriptural language is of like simplicity and offers little scope for variation by translators.

This is undoubtedly the most likely explanation for the many coincidences between Tyndale's English and that of the Wycliffite translators. Several more of my listed examples (such as nos. 5 and 16) might, arguably, fall into this category; and numerous others involving well-known passages are to be found. To cite just one, from Matthew's account of the passion, Tyndale's 'my God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?' (Mt 27.46) is matched almost exactly by WB2: 'My God, my God, whi hast thou forsake me?' (cf. WB1: 'My God, my God, whereto [var. 'whi'] has thou forsaken mee?') The only real scope for variation would be in the translation of the Vulgate verb *derelinquisiti* (Greek 'ἐγκατέλιπες'), but 'forsake' seems to be the invariable choice in the medieval and early modern periods.[97]

There are, however, numerous instances where the inevitability of a certain choice of wording is far less obvious than this and where the argument for the establishment and transmission of a special biblical idiom looks more convincing, the more so, perhaps, when WB eschews it for a reasonable alternative. A case in point, as we have seen, is the use of 'sting' in I Cor 15.55 (my no. 14), where 'prick' would have done well enough, and apparently did do so for the Wycliffites. Did Tyndale 're-invent' this translation, or did he choose, from the alternatives available to him, the word which was already current in English in this context, and perhaps had been for at least three hundred years? In the case of 'eat, drink, and be merry' in Lk 12.19 (no. 9), too, the choice of the latter verbal phrase was certainly not dictated by the original, and several good alternatives were possible.

The example of the eighth commandment (part of my no. 2) is particularly useful in studying the mechanics of linguistic continuity in the context of biblical English. The idea involved in the commandment – 'Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour' – is so simple, and is so simply put, that significant variation in its expression in English seems on the face of it unlikely. In fact, however, 'bear' is by no means the only suitable choice of verb. The Vulgate version, from which of course all our early translators (before Tyndale) were working, one does not 'bear' false witness but 'speaks' it: 'Non loqueris contra proximum tuum falsum testimonium'. The earliest direct translation of the Vulgate commandment that I know of is in an Old English homily in a twelfth-century collection, where the Latin is translated literally: 'Ne spec þu aȝein þine nexta nana false witnesse'.[98] But at least as early as the beginning of that century, the idea of 'bearing' witness was already in place, as the entry for 1127 in *The Peterborough Chronicle* shows: 'he wæs on hæfod ða að to swerene and witnesse to berene'.[99] Its use here is of particular interest, for Peterborough is in the East Midlands, an area of much Danish settlement, and Scandinavian influences on the version of the *Chronicle* written there, especially in respect of vocabulary, are well known. It may be that the idiom 'to bear witness' should be added to the list; certainly *bera vitni* is used in the saga literature and, notably, in the earliest Norwegian laws.[100] Whatever its origin, the currency of the idiom is confirmed by its use a number of times in the *Ormulum* (c.1200), as in 'and bereþþ wittness opennliȝ';[101] and a decade or so before Rolle was writing, Robert of Brunne's *Handlyng Synne* (1303) gives us our first clear example of its use in the expression of the eighth commandment: 'Þou shalt no fals wytnes bere/ Þyn euene crystyn for to dere'.[102] Characteristically, the Wycliffite Bible opts for strict fidelity to the Latin: 'Thow shalt not spek aȝens thi neiȝbore fals witnes' (WB1) and 'Thou schalt not speke fals witnessyng aȝens thi neiȝbore' (WB2). But it is important to reiterate that literalness produces no problem here; there is nothing awkward about the concept of 'speaking' or 'declaring' false witness.

Why, therefore, did Tyndale (along with every subsequent translator, it seems) use 'bear'? The conclusion – and it is scarcely a controversial one – must be that Tyndale used the idiom which was by now the familiar English way of expressing the idea involved in the specific context of the decalogue. That idiom had been established through its use over a long period by preachers and teachers of the ten commandments. It is appropriate here to ask whether Tyndale, as the first English translator of the Old Testament who was equipped to go back behind the Latin or Greek versions to the Hebrew, chose 'bear' as the most accurate or at least the most apt rendering of the original language. In fact this was not the case. The Hebrew verb

used has the basic meaning of 'answer' or 'respond', with a specific sense, in the context of Ex 20.16 and Dt 5.17, of 'respond as a witness' or 'testify'.[103] Jerome's use of a verb meaning 'speak' in his Vulgate version was therefore itself an excellent choice.

The eighth commandment, as treated in *The Lay Folks' Catechism* and related works, which I discussed above, provides us with useful evidence of the existence of two different registers in biblical translation in the Middle English period – a literal one and an idiomatic one. We may compare Archbishop Thoresby's original Latin version of the work both with the fuller English version (the *Catechism* itself) and with a Wycliffite adaptation. In the Latin version, the eighth commandment is cited in its familiar Vulgate form, using the verb *loqueris*, but the English version is in effect a report of the commandment, not a direct translation, so literalness is not called for and the verb used is 'bere':

> The aughtand biddes us we sall bere
> No fals wittenes ogayne our euen-cristen.[104]

In the Wycliffite adaptation the method of presentation is to preface each commandment with a heading which paraphrases it, before giving the commandment itself and then an elaboration and discussion of it. Thus the section on the eighth commandment has the paraphrastic heading, 'Fals wytnesse þow noon *bere* þy neyȝbore wyttyngly to dere', but in the direct translation which follows, the verb changes: 'The eyȝten comaundement is þis. þou schalt not *speke* fals wytnesse ageyns þy neybore.'[105] The explanation for the differences here seems to be that the writer has kept as close as possible to the Latin original when claiming to cite the actual words of the Bible, and this has meant the eschewing of the long established idiom, which he used quite naturally in the heading. Tyndale, unhampered by the constraints of literalism which bound the Wycliffite translators, took up the established idiom.

There is, finally, a further dimension to the development of biblical English which warrants attention, though here I can do no more than introduce it. England in the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries was a trilingual country, at least for the educated. English, French, and Latin existed, 'not just side by side but in symbiotic relationship and drawing strength from one another; not three cultures but one culture in three voices.'[106] There is ample manuscript evidence for this state of affairs, demonstrating the ready acceptance of all three languages by both clerical and lay readers.[107] Now, although England had to wait for the Wycliffites for its first complete Bible in the vernacular, France had such a work before the end of the

thirteenth century; not only that, but French scripture, in various forms, was circulating in England, and being copied there, during the thirteenth century (or perhaps even earlier in the case of the psalter).[108] Furthermore, as we have seen, a number of the works in English which were vehicles for the transmission of well-known passages of scripture had been composed originally in French. Robert of Brunne's *Handlyng Synne* was a case in point, being a translation of the *Manuel des péchiez* made towards the end of the thirteenth century. When, therefore, we see 'que vous ne *porteȝ* mi fause tesmoygne' translated in this work as 'Þou shalt no fals wytnes *bere*', we will not be surprised; but we may perhaps go a step further and wonder whether the parallel use of the 'carrying' idiom in French might not have helped in the establishment of the idiom in English among bilingual readers. I suggest no more than the possibility of the reinforcement of an idiom already known (one possibly introduced, in this case, by the Danes). I have noted two other interesting parallels which warrant investigation. First, the 'falling face' idiom used to this day in most English versions of Gen 4.6 (though eschewed by Tyndale), and current in the general language, was in use in French versions of Gen 4.6 in the medieval period (though not in those of today). Second, the French version of Gen 3.7 used a form of Latin *bracas* (*braies*) to describe the garments hastily made by Adam and Eve out of fig-leaves ('aprons' in Tyndale), just as the Old English translator had (*wæd-brec*), and just as the translators of both the Wycliffite Bible and the Geneva Bible did (*brechis* and *breeches*, respectively).[109] Again the possibility of cross-influence ought to be considered.

Conclusion

My survey of continuity in the citation of scripture in religious literature during the three centuries before the Reformation has been unsystematic and impressionistic, but I hope that it has shown that we must be cautious about attributing to Tyndale's creative genius alone all those notable scriptural idioms which we still use, and some of which we have tended particularly to celebrate as his. Tyndale relied on no major pre-existing Bible translation in preparing his own, and yet, to an extent which is difficult to quantify but which I believe has been underestimated, he must have drawn on familiar English idiom and, moreover, often on idiom specifically associated already with well-known passages of scripture. It is easy enough to show Tyndale's great advance on the English of the Wycliffite Bible, but the huge quantity of other pre-existing scriptural verse and prose should not be ignored. Among this material is

of course the mass of Lollard sermons and treatises; as we have seen, it is not unusual for them to carry familiar idioms eschewed in the Wycliffite Bible manuscripts. Whether Tyndale appropriated established scriptural idiom consciously or unconsciously is another matter, and perhaps not an important one, though it seems to me likely that in general the process of choosing would have been an automatic one. Tyndale scholars will perhaps be able to assess likely sources of influence. Only a comprehensive index of scriptural citation in Middle English would enable us to establish the true extent of the continuity of biblical idiom between the earliest Middle English period and the Reformation. For the earlier centuries, a parallel index of representative French translations would enable the separate issue of the influence of such translations on the development of English idiom to be tested also. Collecting Middle English scriptural citation would be a mammoth task, however, made harder by the fact that so many editions of the relevant texts (including some recently published ones) fail to provide their own scriptural indexes.

In claiming that much of the biblical idiom used by Tyndale, and passed on to the KJV, may already have been familiar to users of English before the 1530s, I cast no aspersions on Tyndale's achievement. His original contribution to the evolution of the Bible in English remains, unarguably, colossal, and certainly it lies as much in the all-important area of style as in that of the choice of the individual word or phrase. The fact that Tyndale may have built on known biblical idiom for his version more often than has been acknowledged detracts not at all from our admiration for him. As the authors of modern English versions of the Bible have all too often shown, we reject the familiar at our peril.

NOTES

[1] In the 890s, the first fifty psalms were translated into Old English prose (by King Alfred) and the four gospels and much of the first seven books of the Old Testament (some of the latter by Abbot Ælfric) in the latter part of the tenth century. See below, n. 15.

[2] Jon Nielson and Royal Skousen, 'How Much of the King James Bible Is William Tyndale's? An Estimation Based on Sampling', *Reformation 3* (1998), 49–74, at 67-73.

[3] In the Old Testament, Tyndale reached the end of Chronicles and also finished Jonah; his New Testament was complete. On his life and work, see esp. David Daniell, *William Tyndale: A Biography* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994), with discussion of the translations at pp. 108–51 and 283–357, and Gerald Hammond, *The Making of the English Bible* (Manchester: Carcenet New Press, 1982), chs. 1–2. The latter is excellent on Tyndale's English style, in which, in the Old Testament, he was able to stay remarkably faithful to the original Hebrew; and on style see also G. D. Bone, 'Tindale and the English Language', in S. L. Greenslade, *The Work of William Tindale* (London and Glasgow: Blackie & Son, 1938), pp. 50–68.

[4] David Norton, *A History of the Bible as Literature. Volume 1. From Antiquity to 1700* (Cambridge: University Press, 1993), p. 85.

[5] See, for instance, J. F. Mozley, *William Tyndale* (London: SPCK, 1937), pp. 104–05, David Daniell, ed , *Tyndale's New Testament. Translated from the Greek by William Tyndale in 1534. In a modern spelling edition* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1989), pp. ix–x, and Rowland Whitehead, 'Pith and Marrow', *The Tyndale Society Journal* 12 (1999), 5–14 and 20, at 13–14. See also David Crystal, *The Cambridge Encyclopaedia of the English Language* (Cambridge: University Press, 1997), p. 64 (a list of 'KJV' influences).

[6] Its production, however, was in line with Wyclif's reforming philosophy. See Margaret Deanesly, *The Lollard Bible and Other Medieval Biblical Versions* (Cambridge: University Press, 1920; repr. w. corr. 1966), p. 225, and Anne Hudson, *Lollards and their Books* (London: Hambledon, 1985), p. 145. One of the most judicious surveys of the Wycliffite Bible remains H. Hargreaves, 'The Wycliffite Versions', in *The Cambridge History of the Bible. Vol. 2: The West from the Fathers to the Reformation*, ed. by G. W. H. Lampe (Cambridge: University Press, 1969), pp. 387–415. For editions, see below, n. 46.

[7] This is the version that used to be ascribed to John Purvey, but there is no firm evidence; see Hudson, *Lollards*, pp. 108–09.

[8] Notably by M. Ellsworth Olsen, in *The Prose of Our King James Version* (Washington, DC: Revier and Herald, 1947), p. 167.

[9] *William Tyndale*, pp. 98–109, with Tyndale quoted at p. 99. See also the comments of David Norton, *A History of the Bible as Literature* I, p. 85, n. 2. Norton discusses the literary

quality of Tyndale's translation and his concept of 'proper English' at pp. 85–104.

[10] *William Tyndale*, p. 100.

[11] 'How Much?', pp. 72–73.

[12] *English Wycliffite Sermons*, ed. by Pamela Gradon and Anne Hudson, 5 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983–96), III, pp. lxix–xcviii, with summary at xcvi–xcviii. Even today, over 250 manuscripts (chiefly of the revised form of the translation) survive, despite deliberate suppression after 1407 and the normal ravages of time.

[13] *English Wycliffite Sermons*, III, p. xcvi. It is of note that Ælfric, at the turn of the first millennium, similarly re-translated lections in his homilies independently of the continuous translations of his which became part of the *Old English Heptateuch*, and 300 years earlier, Bede appears to have felt no compulsion to use the excellent Vulgate text established in three great pandects at his monastery of Wearmouth-Jarrow when composing his (Latin) works of exegesis.

[14] *A Fourteenth Century English Biblical Version*, ed. by Anna, C. Paues (Cambridge: University Press, 1904), and *The Pauline Epistles contained in MS. Parker 32 Corpus Christi College, Cambridge*, ed. by M. J. Powell, EETS e.s. 116 (London, 1916).

[15] For details, see my '"Ask What I Am Called": The Anglo-Saxons and their Bibles', *The Bible as Book: The Manuscript Tradition*, ed. by J. L. Sharpe and K. Van Kampen (London: British Library, 1998), pp. 145–76, at 161–62; and Geoffrey Shepherd, 'English Versions of the Scriptures before Wyclif', in *The Cambridge History of the Bible. Vol. 2*, ed. by Lampe, pp. 362–87. The glossing in Old English of Latin psalters and gospel-books (often as a help in teaching Latin) was another important aspect of the 'vernacularisation' of scripture.

[16] *The Language of the Book of Common Prayer* (London: André Deutsch, 1965), pp. 152–53.

[17] 'Cain's Face, and Other Problems: the Legacy of the Earliest English Translations', *Reformation* 1 (1996), 29–51, at 39–42. Here I suggest that the use of a form of Latin *brecas* by Ælfric in his translation of Gen 3.7, for the garments made by Adam and Eve to hide their nakedness, may have influenced use of the word (as 'breeches') in later versions, including the Geneva Bible; and also that his deliberately literal rendering of Gen 4.5 may have established the 'falling face' idiom in English, which still survives (though, curiously, Tyndale eschewed it).

[18] Charles C. Butterworth, in his *The Literary Lineage of the King James Bible 1340–1611* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1941), p. 33, identifies a 'simple sturdy minimum of speech' as the Old English contribution to the continuity of scriptural English. Despite much unsupported statement and vague argument, Butterworth's work remains useful.

[19] In the following summary, I draw heavily on a number of works, including: W. A. Pantin, *The English Church in the Fourteenth Century* (Cambridge: University Press, 1955),

pp. 189–262, and J. A. W. Bennett, *Middle English Literature*, ed. by and completed by Douglas Gray (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), esp. pp. 23–67 and 291–334. See also the lucid surveys in Albert C. Baugh, *A Literary History of England* (New York and London: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1948), pp. 158–64 and 200–7, and by Alexandra Barratt, 'Works of Religious Instruction', in *Middle English Prose: A Critical Guide to major Authors and Genres*, ed. by A. S. G. Edwards (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1984), pp. 413–32. Most useful for bibliographical reference are *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English, 1050–1500*, ed. by J. Burke Severs and Albert E. Hartung (New Haven, CT: The Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1967–), esp. vol. 2; *Middle English Prose*, ed. by Edwards, chs. 1–3, 5, 9, 10, 12, and 18; and Gray, *Middle English Literature*, pp. 477–79 and 483–85.

[20] These were printed by Richard Morris, along with homiletic pieces from other manuscripts, in *Old English Homilies and Homiletic Treatises of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*, First Series, EETS 29, 34 (London, 1868) and *Old English Homilies of the Twelfth Century*, Second Series, EETS 53 (London, 1873).

[21] *An Old English Miscellany containing A Bestiary, Kentish Sermons, Proverbs of Alfred, Religious Poems of the Thirteenth Century*, ed. by R. Morris, EETS 49 (London, 1872), pp. 26–36.

[22] W. A. Pantin, *The English Church*, p. 235. On the role of the vernacular in preaching, see also G. R. Owst, *Preaching in Medieval England: An Introduction to the Sermon Manuscripts of the Period c. 1350–1450* (Cambridge: University Press, 1926), pp. 22–5.

[23] *Mirk's Festial*, ed. by T. Erbe, EETS e.s. 96 (London, 1905).

[24] *English Wycliffite Sermons* (see n. 12).

[25] *The Lay Folks' Catechism, or the English and Latin Versions of Archbishop Thoresby's Instruction for the People; together with a Wycliffite Adaptation of the same*, ed. by T. F. Simmons and H. E. Nolloth, EETS 118 (London, 1901). See Owst, *Preaching*, p. 282.

[26] Printed in parallel with the earlier versions by Simmons and Nolloth in *The Lay Folks' Catechism.*

[27] *Instructions for Parish Priests by John Myrc edited from Cotton MS. Claudius A. II.*, ed. by E. Peacock, EETS 31 (London, 1868).

[28] *Ormulum*, ed. by R. M. White, rev. by R. Holt (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1878).

[29] Ed. by O. Arngart, Lund Studies in English 36 (Lund: Gleerup, 1968).

[30] *Cursor Mundi: A Northumbrian Poem of the XIVth Century*, ed. By R. Morris, EETS 57, 59, 62, 66, 68, 99 and 101 (Oxford, 1874-93; repr. complete 1995).

[31] *The Pricke of Conscience (Stimulus Conscientiae) A Northumbrian Poem by Richard Rolle de Hampole copied and edited from manuscripts in the Library of the British Museum* [pt. 2 of The Philological Society's Early English Volume 1862-4], ed. by R. Morris (Berlin: A. Asher & Co., 1863).

[32] *Robert of Brunne's 'Handlyng Synne' A.D. 1303 with those parts of the Anglo-French treatise on which it was founded, William of Wadington's 'Manuel des Pechiez'*, ed. by F. J. Furnivall, EETS 119 and 123 (London, 1901–03)

[33] *Dan Michel's Ayenbite of Inwit, or Remorse of Conscience*, ed. by R. Morris, EETS 23 (London, 1866; rev. by P. Gradon 1965).

[34] Ed. by W. Nelson Francis, EETS 217 (London, 1942).

[35] *Religious Pieces in Prose and Verse edited from Robert Thornton's MS. (Cir. 1440) in the Lincoln Cathedral Library*, ed. by George G. Perry, EETS 26 (London, 1867), pp. 15–47.

[36] *On the Continuity of English Prose from Alfred to More and his School*, EETS 191A (London, 1932), p. xcvii.

[37] On the *Ancrene Wisse*, see Bennett, *Middle English Literature*, pp. 264–75, with a list of editions of the various versions at p. 483; and on the 'Katherine group', pp. 275–91.

[38] *The Psalter or Psalms of David, and Certain Canticles, with a Translation and Exposition by Richard Rolle of Hampole*, ed. by H. R. Bramley (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1884).

[39] *The English Writings of Richard Rolle*, ed. by H. E. Allen (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1931), pp. 82-119.

[40] *The Ladder of Perfection*, trans. by Leo Sherley-Price (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1957); *Julian of Norwich, A Revelation of Love*, ed. by Marion Glasscoe, rev. ed. (Exeter: Exeter University, 1986); *The Cloud of Unknowing*, ed. by P. Hodgson, EETS 218 (London, 1944).

[41] Yale Studies in English 41 (New York, 1911). Cook's works were his two series of *Biblical Quotations in Old English Prose Writers* (London: Macmillan, 1898, and New York: Scribner and London: Arnold, 1903).

[42] *Biblical Quotations*, pp. 288–89.

[43] I also acknowledge my general debt to Stella Brook's *The Language of the Book of Common Prayer* (see n. 16, above), which is packed with valuable insights into the development of biblical English. Especially useful are chs. 3 and 4, which examine the stylistic background of the prayer book and compare its language with that of the KJV. Butterworth, *Literary Lineage*, has a valuable appendix (pp. 245–353) which compares more than a dozen English versions (from the Wycliffite period onwards) of selected Bible passages.

[44] They are cited from *William Tyndale's Five Books of Moses Called The Pentateuch, Being a Verbatim Reprint of the Edition of M.CCCCC.XXX*, ed. by J. I. Mombert (1884), reissued with intro. by F. F. Bruce (Fontwell, Sussex: Centaur Press, 1967). Tyndale published a revision of Genesis in 1534, but there was no alteration to the passages I cite.

[45] They are cited from *The New Testament Translated by William Tyndale 1534*, ed. by N. Hardy Wallis (Cambridge: University Press, 1938).

[46] My source is *The Holy Bible Containing the Old and New Testaments with the Apocryphal Books, in the Earliest English Versions Made from the Latin Vulgate by John Wycliffe and his Followers*, ed. by J. Forshall and F. Madden (Oxford: University Press, 1850). The Wycliffite Bible is being re-edited by Conrad Lindberg: see *The Earlier Version of the Wycliffite Bible* (Stockholm: Almquist and Wiksell, 1959–97) and *The Middle English Bible* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1978–); the volumes in the latter series give earlier and later versions, along with a Latin text.

[47] *The N-Town Play: Cotton MS Vespasian D. 8*, 2 vols., ed. by S. Spector, EETS s.s. 11 and 12 (Oxford, 1991), I, 39–40: 'Who made me my brother's keeper? Since when was I his protector? I can't tell where he is; I was never appointed to guard him'.

[48] Tyndale varies the eighth commandment slightly in his Exodus version: 'Thou shalt bere no false witnesse agenst thy neghboure' (Ex 20.17).

[49] Ed. by Simmons and Holloth, p. 37.

[50] *English Prose Treatises of Richard Rolle de Hampole* ed. by George G. Perry, EETS 20 (London, 1866), pp. 10–11. Perry edits a copy (c. 1440) in the Library of Lincoln Cathedral.

[51] *Lay Folks' Catechism* ed. by Simmons and Nolloth, p. 43.

[52] *Canterbury Tales*, III. 2196, cited from *The Riverside Chaucer*, ed. by L. D. Benson, 3rd ed. (Oxford: University Press, 1988), p. 135.

[53] Cited in B. J. Whiting, with the collaboration of H. W. Whiting, *Proverbs, Sentences and Proverbial Phrases From English Writings Mainly Before 1500* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press, 1968), p. 501.

[54] *Two Wycliffite Texts: The Sermon of William Taylor 1406; The Testimony of William Thorpe 1407*, ed. by Anne Hudson, EETS 301 (Oxford, 1993) p. 11, l. 294.

[55] Ed. by Simmons and Nolloth, pp. 8, 10, and 11.

[56] *Middle English Sermons edited from British Museum MS. Royal 18 B. xxiii*, ed. by W. O. Ross, EETS 209 (London, 1940), p. 10.

[57] Cf. 'καὶ ἄφες ἡμῖν τὰ ὀφειλήματα ἡμῶν, ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφήκαμεν τοῖς ὀφειλέταις ἡμῶν'.

[58] *Religious Pieces*, ed. by Perry, p. 34

[59] Ed. by Francis, p. 111. For a similar version, see *Ayenbite of Inwit*, ed. by Morris, p. 113.

[60] *Lollard Sermons*, ed. by Gloria Cigman, EETS 294 (Oxford, 1989), p. 4.

[61] *Wycliffite Sermons*, ed. by Hudson and Gradon, III. 221.

[62] *The Reuele of Crysten Religioun by Reginald Pecock, D.D. now for the first time edited from Pierpont Morgan MS. 519*, ed. by W. C. Greet, EETS 171 (London, 1927), pp. 441–42.

[63] *Lollard Sermons*, ed. by Cigman, p. 118.

[64] See *Wycliffite Sermons*, ed. by Hudson and Gradon, I. 339 and 471.

[65] *An Apology for Lollard Doctrines, Attributed to Wicliffe. Now for the first time printed from a manuscript in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin*, ed. by J. H. Todd (London: The Camden Society, 1842), p. 17.

[66] 'καὶ ἴσους ἡμῖν αὐτούς ἐποίησας, τοῖς βαστάσασι τὸ βάρος τῆς ἡμέρας, καὶ τὸν καύσωνα' [lit. 'and thou hast made them equal to us, the having-endured the burden of the day and the burning heat'].

[67] *Old English Miscellany*, ed. by Morris, p. 34: 'and [we] have endured the burden of the suffering and of the heat of the whole day'.

[68] R. M. Liuzza, *The Old English Version of the Gospels*, EETS 304 (Oxford, 1994), p. 40: 'and you treated them like us who bore the burden in this day's heat'.

[69] Both cited in Whiting, *Proverbs* [see above, n. 53], p. 152, from editions by Winkyn de Worde, 1494 (*Medytacyons*) and 1495 (*Scala perfectionis*). For the latter see also *Ladder of Perfection*, trans. by Sherley-Price, p. 142.

[70] *The Minor Poems of the Vernon MS. Part II*, ed. by F. J. Furnivall, EETS 70 (London, 1901), p. 52, l. 187.

[71] *Lollard Sermons*, ed. by Cigman, p. 70.

[72] See, for example, *The Pricke of Conscience*, ed. by Morris, p. 198, l. 7338.

[73] Ed. by Morris, p. 132, l. 4853. Cf. 'ἔβρεξεν πῦρ καὶ θεῖον ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ'.

[74] Liuzza, *Old English Version*, p. 139.

[75] See *Early English Homilies from the Twelfth Century MS. Vesp. D. xiv*, ed. by R. D-N. Warner, EETS 152 (London, 1917), p. 143: 'heo sculen drigen brynstanes stænc on helle' ['they shall endure the stench of brimstone in hell'].

[76] *Religious Pieces*, ed. by Perry, p. 41. 'Πάτερ, ἄφες αὐτοῖς· οὐ γὰρ οἴδασιν τὶ ποιοῦσιν' and 'Pater dimitte illis non enim sciunt quid faciunt'.

[77] *Religious Pieces*, ed. by Perry, p. 42.

[78] *Pauline Epistles*, ed. by Powell, p. 97.

[79] *Minor Poems of the Vernon MS.* ed. by Furnivall, p. 521 ll. 190–92: 'They acted so proud and haughty, but in the twinkling of an eye their souls were damned'.

[80] Ed. by R. Morris, pp. 208–09, ll. 7736–38. See also p. 214, l. 7948, on the same themes: 'In a schort twynkellyng of ane eghe'.

[81] *Proverbs*, p. 615. Other sources include *The Book of Margery Kempe* and Chaucer's *Clark's Tale*.

[82] *Pauline Epistles*, ed. by Powell, p. 98.

[83] *Cursor Mundi*, ed. by Morris, III, l. 18115: 'To death I said, where is thy sting? To hell, where are your strong powers?'

[84] *The Old English Version of Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, ed. by T. Miller, EETS 95, 96, 110, 111 (London, 1890-98), p. 122.

[85] Cited in *Middle English Dictionary*, ed. by Hans Kurath and Sherman M. Kuhn (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1954–), s.v.

[86] *Three Prose Versions of the Secreta Secretorum*, ed. by Robert Steele, EETS e.s. 74 (London, 1898), p. 41. See also Whiting, *Proverbs*, p. 310.

[87] *Fourteenth Century English Biblical Version*, p. 35. Modern versions usually opt for a word which more specifically defines the nature of Job's 'patience', as in 'the perserverence of Job' (NIV) and 'the endurance of Job' (NRSV), and in one abysmal case a paraphrase is engineered: 'how Job stood firm' (NEB).

[88] *Lollard Sermons*, ed. by Cigman, p. 2.

[89] Hammond discusses Tyndale's translation here in *Making of the English Bible*, p. 39

[90] V. 1579–80, in *Riverside Chaucer*, ed. by Benson, p. 558.

[91] See the discussion by Daniell in *William Tyndale*, p. 285, and by Hammond in *Making of the English Bible*, pp. 49–53.

[92] *The Earliest Complete English Prose Psalter together with Eleven Canticles and a Translation of the Athanasian Creed. Part 1. Preface and Text*, ed. by Karl D. Bülbring, EETS 97 (London, 1891), p. 8.

[93] It is also worth noting that the use of the adjective 'subtle' in connection with the serpent of Gen. 3.1 was well established in the medieval period. Thus 'the sotell serpent' in *Lydgate's Minor Poems. The Two Nightingale Poems (A.D. 1446)*, ed. by Otto Glauning, EETS e.s. 80 (London, 1900), p. 6, l. 136.

[94] For example, 'schadewe of deeþ' and 'þe hous of þe lord' for 'umbr[a] mortis' and 'dom[us] Domini' (Ps 22) in *The Prymer or Lay Folks' Prayer Book*, ed. by H. Littlehales, EETS 105, 109 (London, 1895–7), pp. 60-61, and 'liȝt of þe worlde' for 'lux mundi' (Mt 5.14) in *Lollard Sermons*, ed. by Cigman, p. 196 (with the same version in WB). And note my examples, 'patience of Job' and 'salt of the earth', above, and 'gnashing of teeth', below.

[95] See above, p. 2.

[96] Above, p. 2.

[97] Other citations of the passage include that of Dame Eleanor Hull, written in the 1420s, in *The Seven Psalms. A Commentary on the Penitential psalms translated from French into English by Dame Eleanor Hull*, ed. by Alexandra Barratt, EETS 307 (Oxford, 1995), p. 97, and Richard Rolle, in *Richard Rolle: Prose and Verse*, ed. by S. J. Ogilvie-Thomson, EETS 293 (Oxford, 1988), p. 57.

[98] Ed. by Morris, *Old English Homilies*, First Series, p. 13. This is the earliest occurrence of 'false' collocated with 'witness' that I am aware of. *Neahgebur* (with many spelling variations) for 'neighbour' was already in use in Old English, but *nexta* (a variation of *niehsta*) seems to have been favoured in this context. Cf. the version of the commandment in the Old English translation of Exodus: 'Ne beo ðu on leasre gewitnesse ongean ðinne nextan' (*The Old*

English Heptateuch, ed. by S. J. Crawford, EETS 160 (London, 1922; repr. 1969, with the text of two additional manuscripts transcribed by N. R. Ker)), p. 262.

[99] *Two of the Saxon Chronicles in Parallel with supplementary extracts from the others*, ed. by John Earle and Charles Plummer, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1892–9), I.258: 'he was the principal one to swear the oath and bear witness'.

[100] I am indebted to Dr Judith Jesch for this information. The standard edition of the old laws of Norway is *Norges gamle love indtil 1387*, ed. by R. Keyser *et al.*, 5 vols (Oslo: Gröndahl, 1846–95); see esp. *vitni* in the glossary (V, 722–25).

[101] Ed. by White, II, 272, l. 17976; see also ll. 17942, 18909, 18929, etc.

[102] Ed. by Furnivall, p. 93, ll. 2637–8: 'Thou shalt bear no false witness in order to harm thy fellow Christian.' The term 'euene crystyn' (in a great variety of spellings) is frequently used for 'neighbour' in Middle English versions of the decalogue.

[103] F. Brown, S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1906), s.v. I am grateful to Prof. John Rogerson for guidance on the Hebrew text.

[104] Ed. by Simmons and Nolloth, p. 52: 'The eighth commands us that we bear no false witness against our fellow Christian'.

[105] Ed. by Simmons and Nolloth, p. 53.

[106] Thorlac Turville-Petre, *England the Nation: Language, Literature, and National Identity, 1290–1340* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), p. 181.

[107] See esp. *England the Nation*, pp. 185–203. On the mix of languages, see also *The Cambridge History of the English Language. Volume II. 1066–1476*, ed. by N. Blake (Cambridge: University Press, 1992), pp. 1–22, at 5–9 and 15–20.

[108] See C. A. Robson, 'Vernacular Scriptures in France', in *The Cambridge History of the Bible. Vol. 2*, ed. by Lampe, pp. 436–52. Also Deanesly, *The Lollard Bible*, pp. 141–45 and 212–14. I am indebted to Dr Rosalind Brown-Grant for encouraging me to investigate the French connection.

[109] Gen 4.6: 'Chaym fu moult corrouciez et *son voult cheoiz*', and Gen 3.7: 'et quant il virent qu'il estoient nuz, il cousirent fueilles de figuier et se firent *braies*'; cited from *La Bible française du xiii^e^ siècle: Édition critique de la Genèse*, ed. by M. Quereuil, Publications Romanes et Françaises 183 (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1988). On these two examples, see above, p. 3, and n. 17.

Middle English Verse Proverbs: The Problem of Classification

Valerie Edden and Caroline Thompson

In recent years it has become fashionable to speak of some texts, especially Middle English texts, as 'unstable', that is as being passed down by scribes and performers who saw themselves as free to adapt and expand their material and generally appropriate it for their own use. Since Paul Zumthor's coining of the term 'mouvance' for meaningful textual instability, many different forms and occurrences of the phenomenon have been uncovered and discussed.[1] Textual instability, so defined, is a phenemenon of textual transmission and does not in itself call into doubt the existence of original authorial texts which had unity and integrity. The 'Canticus Troili' may have had a subsequent life as an anthology piece in its own right, but this does not influence our view of the textual status of the whole poem from which it is excerpted. There is, however, a textual instability of a more radical kind. Derek Pearsall has suggested that there are texts which are unstable not just in their transmission but from their inception:

> The copy of one of Lydgate's moralistic refrain poems contained in the recently published facsimile of the Winchester Anthology evidently came from someone who regarded the poem as 'un ensemble ouvert'. Stanzas are omitted, others are added, and the text is handled with the greatest freedom. The poem becomes a collection of stanzaic gnomes, linked by the common refrain, its elements capable of displacement and replacement according to personal whim or the desire for topicality – a kind of do-it-yourself-kit for a poem. There is every likelihood that Lydgate regarded it in much the same way.[2]

If Pearsall is correct, Lydgate would be rather unusual in his attitude to a text for

which he claims authorship, but his attitude towards versified moral dicta need not surprise us. Such verses, including this one of Lydgate's, though written down, are characteristically fluid and unstable.

This paper considers the textual status of a number of such Middle English verse texts and goes on to consider the difficulties encountered in classifying and editing them. It takes as a starting point the moral text *A Father's Counsel to His Son* (IMEV 432)[3] and the texts related to it;[4] these texts demonstrate instability in a new and rather extreme form. Study of these – and no doubt other similar texts – draws into question even the definition of the term 'text' and just what we do and do not mean when we refer to a group of words as 'a text'.

A Father's Counsel to his Son is, at least in the version in Harley 2252, a poem of 85 lines, mainly made up of couplets, each of which embodies a proverbial statement of moral wisdom. Topics range from the encouragement of Christian virtues (for example, exhortations to be compassionate and charitable), to commonsense statements of self-preservation, antifeminist clichés and fairly cynical statements of this-worldly wisdom, much of it relating to lending, borrowing and saving (for example, 'poverte hath but frendes fewe'). As we shall see, many of these couplets can be found elsewhere, either as discrete items or combined both with other couplets from this poem or other, quite different proverbial couplets. The whole text is composed of 'building-blocks' of commonplace component units gathered into a whole as 'advice to a son'. It is one of several such compilations; one may compare *Peter Idley's Instructions to his Son* (IMEV 1540). The different manuscript texts of the Idley poem which survive vary in length, suggesting that the genre of 'Advice Poems' may be characterised as having a generously inclusive outer form, whose component parts may vary in order and in precise content rather than having a tight structure, in which the relation of individual parts to the whole is fixed.

The phrase 'these couplets', which is used in the previous paragraph and which suggests fixed and recognizable items, fails to acknowledge the fluidity and variability of the texts under discussion. One may assume that most of these proverbs had their origins in an oral culture and that their form was certainly not fixed in the late middle ages as the many written versions and variants testify. Arranged in rhyming couplets, formulaic, repetitive, in parts alliterative – i.e. 'A man with owte mercy of mercye shall mys / And he shalle haue mercy that mercifulle ys'[5] – these texts are easily memorable. They are words of warning and advice, frequently within the framework of a father addressing his son; today similar texts still circulate orally, for example: 'Early to bed and early to rise / Makes a man healthy, wealthy and wise'. Even in our own bookish culture, orally transmitted texts co-exist in different versions. We find

'Rockabye baby on the treetop' alongside 'Hushabye . . .'; one might expect a proverb given the weighty authority of Shakespeare to circulate in a stable form but 'All that glisters is not gold' (*Merchant of Venice* II.6) is frequently cited as 'All that glitters . . .'. The situation is similar to that of Middle English romance where a minstrel may have circulated the story orally, and modified it to suit a new audience.[6] The form in which such a text was eventually recorded may have been more of an accident than we suppose when we talk of the work of a single author in the sense understood by modern textual editors – with a single intended audience and a unified creative urge. It seems best to consider such texts as part of a web of inter-related texts circulating in and belonging to a whole community, rather than seeking a single author or 'original' text.

It is not even true that these proverbs always circulate as couplets. Ll. 39-46 of IMEV 432 have the rhyme scheme ababbcdc. IMEV 1540 contains seven of these lines; l. 45 is omitted to produce a stanza of rhyme royale (ababbcc). The first four lines of this block of text are also found in IMEV 3195, a text written entirely in four-line stanzas rhyming abab etc. and in IMEV 3847, where they occur in a compilation otherwise mostly made up of rhyming couplets. Other occurrences of these lines (in IMEV 558, 4137, 3088) use them selectively so that they form rhymed couplets. Maybe they circulated as rhymed couplets and were refashioned later in the form in which they are found in 432. So we are dealing with material which circulates generally in rhymed couplets, but which may be reshaped when it is incorporated into longer poems.

In their written form, these proverbs behave in a manner roughly parallel to what discourse analysts term a 'discourse colony'. Such texts are defined thus:

> a colony is a discourse whose component parts do not derive their meaning from the sequence in which they are placed. If the parts are jumbled, the utility may be affected but the meaning remains the same.[7]

Hoey distinguishes nine characteristic properties of such texts, although not all may be present in every case. Eight of these characteristics can be found to a greater or lesser extent in 432 and other related proverbial texts and may be summarised thus: the constituent parts of a colony – in this case the couplets – should be able to exist in any order without affecting the meaning of the discourse; adjacent couplets should not have a tendency to form continuous prose any more than non-adjacent couplets; an individual couplet may be separated from the others; an individual couplet may join a

different group; the couplets of any text may change through time; many of the couplets in the colony will share the same function; there should be a framing context for the colony which characterises its context – thus in the proverbs where there is a title it usually contains the word 'Instructions', or 'Proverbs' – in other words the function of the discourse is self-evident from the title; finally, 'a colony either usually has no named author or else has multiple authors who are responsible for components of the discourse but not for the whole'.[8] These characteristics define a kind of text which is not conventionally considered in scholarly circles, and as such bring a whole range of difficulties not frequently broached. Sermon exempla may be considered to present a somewhat similar case, since these stories, which circulated orally as well as in written versions, are recorded and re-recorded, both as individual tales and also incorporated into different exempla-collections.

The notion of a text as an agglomeration of separable units raises many questions. At what point is such a short textual unit no longer a text in its own right but just a common idea, or formula found in moral texts? An examination of IMEV 432 and the texts related to it raises this problem and also more general issues about defining individual textual items and distinguishing discrete items from 'versions' of the same text.

IMEV records two manuscripts at the entry for 432. The first is London, British Library Harley 2252, the commonplace book of the London mercer, John Colyns; here the text comprises 85 lines, mainly in rhymed couplets, as we have said. The second is Windsor, St George's Chapel E.I.I, which contains a text of eight couplets, of which only the first couplet resembles lines found in Harley 2252. Four lines found in the poem in this second manuscript are also found in the item recorded as IMEV 477. Although IMEV 477 does share lines with Harley 2252, the lines found in both the Windsor manuscript and IMEV 477 are not included in Harley 2252. It is at this point that fundamental questions of classification emerge: by what criteria does one distinguish variants from versions and versions from separate texts? We take as a starting point the necessity of distinguishing these two manuscript items as separate items and subsequently refer to the poem in the Windsor manuscript as 432.1.[9]

IMEV 432, thus redefined, occurs in only one manuscript; however, its constituent parts appear to have enjoyed a much wider fame. The various couplets of this 'text' have been identified, in various contexts, in over fifty manuscripts with the possibility that there may still be further undiscovered examples. These couplets are each generally extant in more than one manuscript and appear to have been widely disseminated.[10] It seems that we are not looking at *a* 'text' in 432, but rather up to

forty-two 'texts', which enjoyed some independent status, combined to form a longer piece of moral instruction. It is possible that 432 had an 'author' but what he actually did was to collect appropriate proverbial couplets together and present them in this form. His role as originator of the precise form was one more of compiler rather than author.

All the 'long' poems under consideration here are built up of other, shorter texts, usually couplets. For the purposes of classification, it is probably best to consider each compilation as a separate item and note the individual items it contains but not to list the items separately. So, for example, IMEV 77 'A man without mercy, mercy shall mysse / He shall haue mercy that mercyfulle is' is one of the couplets to be found in IMEV 3969. One of the five manuscripts containing 3969 is listed at IMEV 77; consistency would suggest that IMEV 77 is used to record only those manuscripts in which this couplet occurs as a discrete item.

Further problems of classification emerge when we consider the relationship between IMEV 432 and the other 'texts' to which it is related; these texts are listed in the Appendix. We have already pointed out that the two manuscripts items appearing under IMEV 432 are different texts with only the opening couplet shared. One text is in fact more similar to the version of IMEV 432 found in Harley 2252 than the text which we have now re-numbered 432.1. This is IMEV 430, also often entitled 'A Father's Counsel to his Son', a poem of 40 couplets, fifteen of which are also found in 432. By way of a general comparison this means that we can say that only very few of the lines present in 432.1 also occur in the longer text (432); the other, separately listed, text (430) has 37.5% of its total number of lines in 432. In each case, though these texts bear remarkable similarities, they are in many ways as different as they are similar and to classify or edit them as a single text would be to deny each one's distinctive nature. When we consider the texts related to 432, differences in length, substance and apparent usage become evident. Whilst they all appear to be of a moral or proverbial nature, not all are directed from a father to a son and whilst many focus on general moral instruction, others concentrate on one or more specific matters of moral concern. For example, whilst 432 and 430 are general in nature and addressed from a father to his son, 1640.5 lacks any framework and is specifically concerned with monetary matters, a subject which the former two texts mention only briefly.

Using 432 as a starting point, one may distinguish three main categories of text which are related to it:

1. individual couplets found in 432 which circulate independently: IMEV items 77; 81.5; 430.5; 1151; 4095.
2. Short poems which comprise moral couplets, some of which are shared by 432:

432.1; 477 (4 couplets; the final couplet is listed as a text in its own right at 513); 832; 1640.5; 3068.5; 3256.6; 3847; 3969; 4137.

3. Longer poems which incorporate lines also found in 432: 430; 558; 1540; 3088; 3195; 3502.

The complexity of the relationships between the texts is demonstrated by an attempt to chart them diagrammatically and by perceiving the shortcomings of such an attempt. Such a diagram is provided in Fig. 1. In this diagram 432 can be clearly distinguished as the central text with all its 'related' texts surrounding it. Each text is linked to 432 by a line which represents the number of lines shared between 432 and the text in question. The number of lines this line denotes is written alongside it; whilst it would be tidy if the length of the line was proportionate to the number of lines it denoted, this proved an impossible ideal to recreate – at least within the confines of a feasibly sized piece of paper. Lines are then also drawn between all other related texts, again representing the number of lines each has in common with the other. This, at least in theory, then provides a brief overview of the web-like structure of relationships between the various texts. The use of such a diagram is limited by the fact that it doesn't show exactly *which* lines are shared between the various texts, only that two texts are related to a greater or lesser extent. For example, whilst two separate texts may be related to 432 by a couplet, for example 3502 and 1151, and therefore have lines drawn in turn from each of them to 432, they may also have a line drawn between the two of them (3502 and 1151) demonstrating that they have a couplet in common. On this diagram what is not apparent is whether the couplet each of them has in common with 432 is the same one and therefore also the couplet they share with each other, or whether they each have different couplets in common with 432 and share a further couplet with each other which is, perhaps, not in 432 at all. It also fails to show how long each text is and so no indication can be gained as to whether a related text is perhaps a single couplet which has some form of independent status as well as being combined into longer texts (e.g. IMEV 77) or whether it is itself a longer text whose component parts are found in other situations. To include such figures as the length of the text would confuse still further a diagram already cluttered with numbers. Such a diagram falls short for purposes of comparison unless all the texts are available in a form to be consulted to follow up and confirm any possibilities the diagram appears to demonstrate. There is little use in a list of the links unless they can be pursued.

However, what the diagram does achieve is to make apparent the fact that little groupings appear to be occurring with various texts as focal point and so some notion of a range of 'influence' of particular texts and of shared readings is established. In

addition to the links with 432, one may notice that 4137 shares lines with 9 other texts and that there appears to be some form of inter-relationship between the group of texts 77, 832 and 3969. Most of the longer texts which contain lines in common with 432 also contain lines in common with each other which are not found in 432. The web of relationships between 432 and the 22 items listed is only one of a dozen or so such webs of proverbial verse which could be constructed after comparing similarities between related texts.

Suppose one were to approach this web of inter-related proverbial poems with an interest in IMEV 558 ('Fyrst þou sal luf god and drede'). This is a long text of 103 couplets, found in only one manuscript, London, British Library, Additional 37049 fol. 85r. It, like IMEV 432, contains a number of couplets which circulate as separate items. According to IMEV, it includes the following IMEV items: 324; 596; 900; 3088; 4177. Of these, 324 has lines in common with IMEV 317; 799; 3087 and 3102; 3088 contains two lines of 4137; since 558 contains 3088 in its entirety, it also shares lines with 4137. 4137, incidentally, begins with four lines which are found in our first text (432) as lines 23-26. 3087 in its turn is incorporated into 1418. One could continue to chart such inter-relationships, though they make for tedious reading. The point is clear.

IMEV classification is based on the assumption that each item is a single, whole text; this is fine maybe for a text such as *Patience* or even *Troilus;* for items such as these proverbial verses there are inevitable inconsistencies. In many cases a single couplet, occurring on its own in a single manuscript is given its own text number, something which in itself is sound enough practice. However, in other instances a whole group of such texts may be classed together under another single number simply by virtue, not of their being part of a single text, but simply of being placed on consecutive pages at the end of the same manuscript. 1628.8 is defined in IMEV as 'a series of disconnected proverbs'. These proverbs, which include 77, do not together form a text and one look at the manuscript confirms the fact that they are certainly disconnected with one couplet occurring here and another there, spread over a space of several folios. Additional confirmation of the unrelatedness of these texts is provided by the fact that they occur together in only one manuscript. As this manuscript is also listed under 77 with the note 'in 1628.8' it made sense to include only 77 and not repeat the same version under the heading 1628.8 with all of its unrelated texts. 1628.8 is not strictly speaking a 'text' at all.

The converse also happens. IMEV 1640.5 and IMEV 3256.6 are treated in IMEV as two separate items. However, examination of the four manuscripts containing them reveals that this is not strictly true. Cambridge Ll.5.10 and Pepys

2253 (The Maitland Manuscript) present identical texts in which the items are written in separate stanzas; the lines occur in the same order on fol. 147 in Advocates 1.1.6 (The Bannatyne Manuscript) but are written there as one continuous block of text. Elsewhere in the Bannatyne manuscript (on fol. 122) the lines occur in a different order; the first three couplets of 1640.5 are omitted altogether, the text begins with ll. 13-18; this is followed by 3256.6 and this in turn by ll. 7-12 of 1640.5. Not only do these items always occur together but they are clearly one item, not two. The decision to separate them seems to go back to Craigie's edition of the Maitland manuscript, which prints them as separate items.

It is also necessary to draw attention to the fact that differences do occur between texts in MSS grouped together under the same number. As one example, IMEV 3502 exists in four MSS which contain to all intents and purposes the same text. However, although these manuscripts contain substantially the same material, the ordering of much of the content differs between several of the manuscripts and not all of the lines which occur in one manuscript may be in another, or they may be replaced by other lines. Whether these are different versions of the same text or whether they should be classified as separate items is a matter for debate. Where this occurs we have given details in the listing of IMEV in Appendix 1.

Further than this, marginal notes and 'doodles' mean that at the most fundamental level we may encounter problems as to what was even intended to be a text. Noted in the listing of the contents of Bodl. MS Fairfax 16[11] – sandwiched between two works of Chaucer – is IMEV 513, one of the 'texts' which forms a constituent part of 432. It is described as follows:

> This is a false item; an item of marginalia which at some stage of transmission achieved the status of a piece of verse.[12]

Clearly, here there is little regard for this as a piece of text in its own right. Whilst one may doubt the intimation that this text was accidentally placed into the text by a scribe who mistook it, in its form as an item of marginalia, for a more important piece of verse, the possibility of this occurring is one worth recognising. And if a scribe was capable of mistaking the status of a piece of text, then it is surely a problem for us too.

If classifying these texts is problematic, editing them poses even greater problems. How does one edit a text which is really up to forty-two separate texts, whilst presenting all the separate versions to their true extent? If we limited the comparison to just two texts, say for example 432 and 430, which would demonstrate

just how different and yet similar the texts can be and the fact that the similarities apparently occur in couplets, we could perhaps present the bare essentials of part of the problem using a form of parallel text edition.[13] But how does one go further and show all the versions of the texts of 432 in all their apparent forms? The nature of a printed book only allows room for perhaps four or five texts facing each other, definitely not anything on the scale of twenty-two different texts, and to print texts consecutively deters a reader from close comparison of the texts because of the inconvenience of having to move repeatedly back and forth through the book. For texts such as these, which can be seen to hold only a little in the way of intrinsic literary merit on their own and whose arguably most interesting aspect lies in the relationships of the texts to one another and their background, it is vitally important that this aspect of the text is made as simple, accessible and to use an appropriate modern cliché 'user-friendly' as possible. One possible solution is to use a computer programme which enables one to present all the texts and variants and to cross-refer between them easily. Such a programme has been prepared by Caroline Thompson.[14]

Identification and classification of texts remains an essential task for the medievalist. We need to know what texts exist, where they survive and how different texts are related to each other. Unless we abandon the notion of individual 'texts' altogether and confine ourselves to discussing individual manuscript 'items', IMEV (and IMEP) remain essential reference tools. We need, however, to recognise the limitations of such indexes. For sound, practical reasons they use a system of classification by discrete items which cannot adequately take account of texts such as 'A Father's Counsel to his Son' and the inter-related web of texts which survive with it. What is demonstrated repeatedly by the inconsistencies of IMEV is precisely the problem of when we can call *a* text *the* text and when we can say that one section of a longer text has gained enough independent distinction to acquire the status of being a version or a complete text in its own right. Appendix 1 provides revised entries for all those texts which are related to IMEV 432, but it does not and cannot resolve the problems raised by texts such as these.

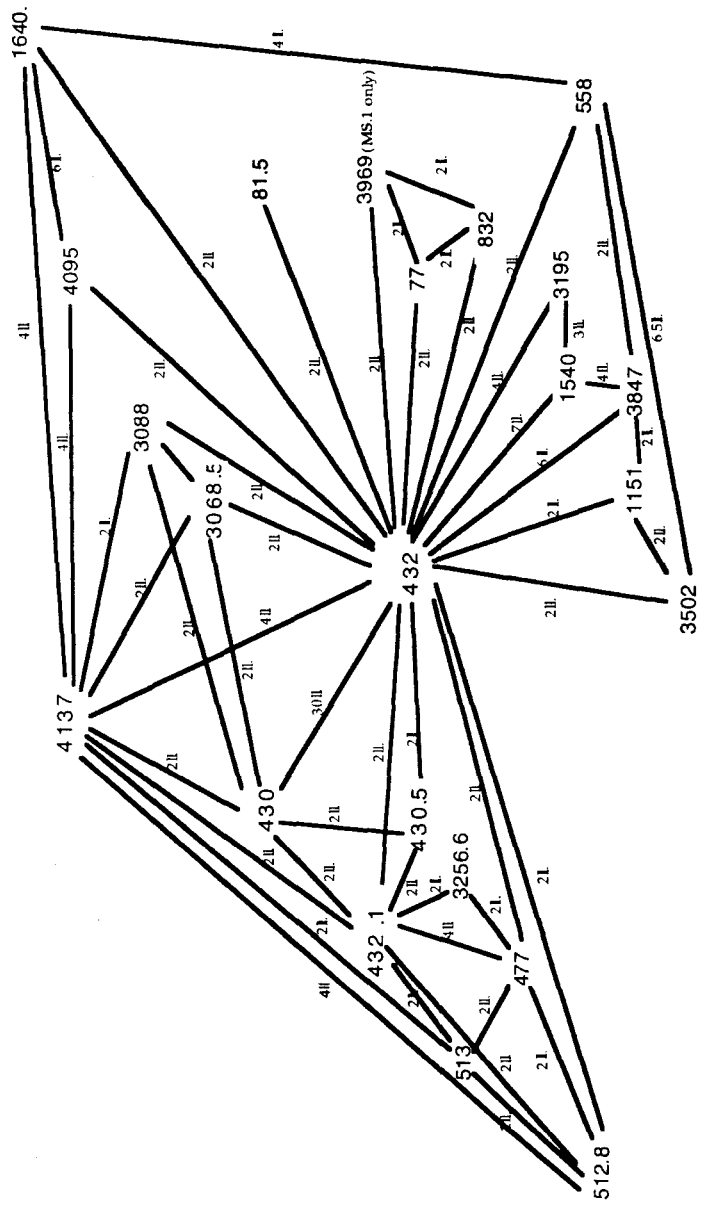


Figure 1: A Diagram of Some of the Relationships between Texts

APPENDIX 1

A FATHER'S COUNSEL TO HIS SON : TEXT LIST

All of the main texts listed are related to the two versions of IMEV **432** (**432** and **432.1**). The elements for each entry are as follows:

- IMEV number
- opening line
- basic description of text
- other related text numbers
- manuscripts
- printed editions of the text (listed by the manuscript number upon which the edition was based)

77 A man without mercy mercy shall mysse / He shalle haue mercy that mercyfulle is

One couplet on the subject of mercy.
This couplet also occurs in: **432, 832**, the Balliol College MS of **3969.**

Manuscripts
1. Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Peniarth 394, fol. 90r
2. Glasgow, Hunterian 230, fol.248v
3. London, British Library, Lansdowne 699, fol. 95v
4. London, British Library, Sloane 747, fol. 58v
5. London, British Library, Sloane 3215, fol. 38v
6. Oxford, Bodleian Library Ashmole 45, fol. 1r

Editions
MS 4. Carleton Brown, *A Register of Middle English Religious Verse*, Bibliographical Society I (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1920), p. 373.

The item recorded here as MS 4 is listed again in IMEV as part of **1628.8** – see below.

Also listed in IMEV:
Balliol 354, fol. 113v; as the text in this manuscript is also listed as a section of **3969** , it is included under this number and not as a separate item; further details can be found below at **3969**.

81.5 A nyce wyfe A backe dore / Makyth oftyn tymys a ryche man pore

On erring wives. One couplet.
This couplet also occurs in **432.**

Manuscripts
1. London, British Library, Royal 18.B.xxiii, fol. 44v
2. London, British Library, Royal 12.E.xvi, fol. 34v

Editions
MS 1. J. G. Nichols, *Boke of Noblesse*, Roxburghe Club 77 (London: Nichols, 1860), p. lvi.

G. F. Warner & J. P. Gilson, *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections* II (London: Longmans, Quaritch & Oxford University Press, 1921), p. 295.

Also listed in IMEV:
MS Harley 2252, fol. 3r; this refers to the couplet's occurrence in **432**; the item does not occur separately.

430 At my begynning Criste me spede / in grace and vertue . . .

A Father's Counsel to his Son. 40 couplets.
See Tauno F. Mustanoja, 'The Index of Middle English Verse: Corrections, Additions, Suggestions', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 49 (1948), p. 127.
Contains lines also found in: **430.5, 432, 432.1, 512.8, 558, 1640.5, 3068.5, 3088, 3195, 3502, 4095, 4137**

Manuscript
1. Oxford, Bodleian Library Rawlinson C.813, fol. 9r

Edition
MS 1. F. M. Padelford & A. R. Benham, 'The Songs in Manuscript Rawlinson C.813', *Anglia*, 31 (1908), 322-25.

430.5 At my begynning Crist me spede / In vertv and lernyng for to spede

Described by IMEV as 'a tag to be learned by a child'.
See Tauno F. Mustanoja, 'The Index of Middle English Verse: Corrections, Additions, Suggestions', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 49 (1948), 127. The first couplet of **430, 432 & 432.1.**

Manuscripts
1. Cambridge University Library Un. Ii. 6.36. flyleaf
2. Dublin, Trinity College 340, fol. 166r
3. Durham, University Library Cosin V.iii.9, fol. 17v (one line; lower margin)
4. Lincoln Cathedral Library 189, fol. 5v (2 occurrences)
5. London, British Library, Harley 3362, fol. 89r (2 occurrences)
6. London, British Library, Royal 12.E. xvi, fol. 186v (2 occurrences)
7. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS B.5 (*Olim* Bühler 5), marginal note.

Edition
MS 3. *Hoccleve's Works: The Minor Poems,* I, ed. by F. J. Furnivall, EETS e.s. 61 (1892), p. 126.

432 At owur begynninge god be owur spede / In grace . . .

A Father's Counsel to his Son. 85 lines, predominantly in couplets.
L. L. Besserman, G. Gilman & V. Weinblatt, 'Three Unpublished English Poems from the Common-place book of John Colyns (B.M. Harley 2252)', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 31 (1970), 215 refer to another version of **432**. This second version is in fact IMEV **430**.
See Tauno F. Mustanoja, 'The Index of Middle English Verse: Corrections, Additions, Suggestions', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 49 (1948), pp. 127-28.
Contains lines which are also found in one or more of all the other IMEV numbers in this list except **513** and **3256.6.**

Manuscript
1. London, British Library, Harley 2252, fol. 3r

Edition
MS 1. *Queene Elizabethes Achademy Etc.*, ed. by F. J. Furnivall, EETS e.s. 8 (1869) pp. 68-70.

432.1 At our begynyng god us spede . . . .

Eight couplets.
See Tauno F. Mustanoja, 'The Index of Middle English Verse: Corrections, Additions, Suggestions', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 49 (1948), pp. 127-28.
Contains lines which also appear in **430, 430.5, 432, 477, 512.8, 513, 558, 3256.6, 4137**

Manuscript
1. Windsor, St George's Chapel E.I.I. fol. 95v

This text is referred to as manuscript 2 of IMEV 432, but is really a completely different text with only the first two lines appearing to be somewhat similar to those in **432**.

477 Be þou nauȝt to bolde to blame / Leste þou be founde in þe same.

Moral precepts – four couplets.
Final couplet listed separately as a text in its own right (**513**).
Contains lines which also occur in **432, 432.1, 512.8, 513, 3256.6, 4137**.

Manuscript
1. Oxford, Bodleian Library Laud. Misc. 108, fol. 238v

512.8 Better it is to suffer fortoun and abyd . . .

Six couplets.

Contains lines which also appear in **430**, **432**, **432.1**, **477**, **513**, **588**, **1640.5**, **3068.5**, **3088**, **3256.6**, **3502**, **4095**, **4137**.

Manuscript
1. Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Advocates Library 1.1.6, fol. 75v

Editions
George Bannatyne, *The Bannatyne MS* (Glasgow: Hunterian Club, 1896), p. 205.
W. Tod Ritchie, *The Bannatyne Manuscript* II, STS n.s. 22 (1925), p. 187.

513 Better is to suffre and fortune abyde / and hastely to clymbe and sodeynly to slyde

The Golden Mean – a couplet.
This text is also found inscribed on an inner margin of the *Buik of Alexander*, see Ritchie, *The Buik of Alexander* I, STS n.s. xvii (1925), p. xviii.
This couplet also occurs in **432.1, 477, 512.8, 558, 3256.6, 4137**.

Manuscripts
1. Aberystwyth Peniarth, National Library of Wales MS 356, fol. 196 (preceded by IMEV 1941.5)
2. Durham, University Library Cosin V. iii.9, fol. 85v, bottom margin
3. London, British Library, Harley 655, fol. 281r (v.4)
4. London, British Library, Royal 17.D.vi, fol. 150v
5. Oxford, Bodleian Library Fairfax 16, fol. 194r
6. Oxford, Laud Misc. 108, fol. 238v (follows IMEV 477)

Editions
2. *Hoccleve's Works: The Minor Poems*, I, ed. by F. J. Furnivall, EETS e.s. 61, (1892) p. 228

558 Bot witt pas wylle / Vyce wil vertewe spylle

Moral distichs, prefixed by a quatrain: 'Fyrst þou sal luf god and drede' – 103 couplets.
This text includes lines which are also found in: **324, 906, 430, 432, 432.1,**

477, 512.8, 513, 1640.5, 3068.5, 3088, 3195, 3256.6, 3502, 3847, 4095, 4137, 4177.

Manuscript
1. London, British Library, Additional 37049, fol. 85r

Edition
MS 1. K. Brunner, 'Me Disticha (aus Hs. Add. 37049)', *Archiv*, 159 (1931), 86-92.

832 For loue of god and drede of peyne . . .

Two moral couplets advocating mercy.
Contains lines which also occur in numbers **77, 432, 3969.**

Manuscript
1. Oxford, Bodleian Library Tanner 407, fol. 35v

1151 He that in ȝouthe no vertu usit / In age all honure hym refusit

One couplet, here isolated, found elsewhere incorporated into longer texts.
See IMEV no. 1173. Similar lines also occur in *Fasciculus Morum*, see IMEV **4151** and *Fasciculus Morum: A Fourteenth-Century Preacher's Handbook*, ed. and trans. by Siegfried Wenzel (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1989) p. 90.
This couplet and variants of this text also occur in **432, 1150.5, 1817, 3502, 3847, 4151.**

Manuscripts
1. Cambridge, Caius College 433 flyleaf
2. Cambridge University Library Ff. 5.30, fol. 167r
3. Cambridge University Library Gg. 2.8, first flyleaf
4. Durham, University Library Cosin V.iii. 9, fol. 46r (right margin; imperfect)
5. Durham, University Library Cosin V.iii. 9, fol. 79r (top margin; unclear; followed by **512.5**)
6. Glasgow, Hunterian 400, flyleaf verso
7. London, British Library, Royal 17. D. xviii, fol. 99v (variant)

8. London, British Library, Royal 17. D.vi, fol. 150v
9. Nottingham University Library, Mellish LM1, fol. 20
10. Oxford, Balliol College 354, fol. 213v (follows **1817**)
11. Oxford, Bodleian Library Laud Misc. 656, fol. 115r
12. Oxford, Trinity College 49, fol. 139v (variant)
13. San Marino, Henry E. Huntington Library, HM 502, fol. 34v

Editions

MSS 4 & 5 *Hoccleve's Works: The Minor Poems*, I, ed. by F. J. Furnivall, EETS e.s. 61 (1892), pp. 169; 218.

MSS 5, 7 & 11. *Secular Lyrics of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, ed. by R. H. Robbins (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952), pp.xxxii, 81, 254.

MS 10. Ewald Flügel, 'Die Lieder des Balliol Ms. 354', *Anglia*, 26 (1903) p. 225

Songs, Carols and other Miscellaneous Poems ed. by Roman Dyboski, EETS e.s. 101 (1907), p. 140

MS 12. John M. Manly & Edith Rickert, *The Text of the Canterbury Tales* I (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1940), pp. 540; 690.

Also listed in IMEV:

12. Oxford, Bodleian Library Ashmole 1146 (variant) which appears to be an error.
13. Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 9, fol. 99r; whilst these lines can be found in this latter manuscript, they appear as a part of the longer text IMEV **3502** and are not a separate item.

1540 In the begynnyng of this litell werke / I pray to God . . .

Peter Idley's *Instructions,* in rhyme royal. Divided into two books. Part of the second book is based on Robert of Brunne's *Handlyng Synne.*

Three extracts from Book II of the *Instructions* (including one listed separately by IMEV as 1287) are listed in: Francis Lee Utley, *The Crooked Rib* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1944), nos. 22a, 41a, 93a.

The *Instructions* are discussed in *The Good Wife Taught her Daughter,* ed. by Tauno F. Mustanoja, Annales Academiæ Scientarum Fennicæ, ser. B. LXI.2 (Helsinki: 1948), p. 35, along with other texts in this edition.

Some of these lines can also be found incorporated in numbers **432, 3502, 3847.**

Manuscripts
1. Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepys 2030, fol. 19r (stanzas 1-7 wanting, not quite complete at end)
2. Cambridge University Library Ee. 4.37, fol. 1r
3. Dublin, Trinity College 160, fol. 14r [begins imperfectly at stanza 8; ends imperfectly; some leaves missing]
4. London, Britsh Library, Arundel 20, fol. 43r (begins in Book II)
5. London, British Library, Harley 172, fol. 21r [Bk I only]
6. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 181, fol. 10v [Bk I only]
7. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 416, fol. 1r
8. Oxford, Bodleian Library Eng. Poet. d.45, fol. 1r-37v (Book II only)

Editions
MSS 1-7 *Peter Idley's Instructions to His Son*, ed. by Charlotte d'Evelyn (Boston and London: Modern Language Association of America , 1935), pp. 81-210.
MSS 2, 3, 5, 6 Fritz Miessner, *Peter Idle's Instructions to his Son* (Unpublished dissertation, Greifswald, 1903), pp. 34-50.
MS 7 *Queene Elizabethes Achademy Etc.*, ed. by F. J. Furnivall, EETS e.s. 8 (1869) pp. 109-110.

Only one verse from Book I is a direct parallel to lines found in **432**, although other lines in the work also show some similarities to other texts in this list.

1628.8 Yt is folly to byene a begare yf it be wyell boyghtt . . .

Includes **77, 106.5, 1162.9, 2072.3.** This is a false entry, since these are clearly disconnected couplets and not a single item.

Manuscript
1. Glasgow, Hunterian 230, fols 247r-48v

1640.5 It þat I gif I haif/It þat I len I craiff . . .

Twelve moralizing lines on lending money.
Similar lines to the first four of this text also occur in the *Fasciculus Morum*, see:

Fasciculus Morum: A Fourteenth-Century Preacher's Handbook, ed. by Siegfried Wenzel (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1989), p. 550.
Lines included in this text can also be found in numbers 430, 432, 512.8, 558, 1297, 3068.5, 3088, 3273, 4095, 4137. This item and 3256.6 always appear together and could more usefully be categorised as a single item.

Manuscripts
1. Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepys 2553, fol. 294r
2. Cambridge University Library Ll. 5.10, fol. 57v
3. Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Advocates 1.1.6, fol. 122r (last 6 lines only)
4. Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Advocates 1.1.6, fol. 147r

Editions
MS 1. W. A. Craigie, *The Maitland Folio Manuscript*, I, STS n.s.7 (1919), p. 344.
MS 3. W. Tod Ritchie, *The Bannatyne Manuscript*, II, STS n.s. 22 (1928), p. 324.
MS 4. Allan Ramsay, *The Evergreen*, I (Edinburgh: Donaldson, 1761; repr. Glasgow: Forrester, 1876), p. 107.
W. Tod Ritchie, *The Bannatyne Manuscript*, III, STS n.s. 23 (1928), pp. 43-44.

3068.5 Salamon seyth ther is none accorde . . .
Proverbs. Fifteen couplets.
Contains lines which also appear in numbers **430, 432, 512.8, 558, 1640.5, 3088, 4095, 4137.**

Manuscript
1. Cambridge, Trinity College, O.9.38, fol. 70r
2. A fragment engraved on a frieze in Grafton Manor, Worcestershire.

Edition
MS 1. *Cambridge Middle English Lyrics,* ed. by Henry Person (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1953), pp. 52-53.
MS 2. Nikolaus Pevsner, *Worcestershire* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1968), p. 157.

3088 Sette and saue yf thow wyll haue / Waste and wante . . .

Rhyming proverbs. The texts are of varying lengths. See Rossell Hope Robbins, 'Wall Verses at Launceston Priory', *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, 200 (1964), p. 342.
Contains lines which appear in numbers **432, 558, 4137, 3068.5**.

Manuscripts
1. Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Advocates 19.3.1, fol. 61v
2. London, British Library, Additional 22,720, fol. 92r
3. London, British Library, Harley 116, fol. 170v

Edition
MS 3. T. Wright & J. O. Halliwell, *Reliquiæ Antiquæ*, I (London: Pickering, 1841), p. 316.

Also listed in IMEV:
4. London, British Library Harley 2252, fol. 3r. This reference refers to the occurrence of these lines as part of **432** and not to an instance of its independent existence. As this occurrence is already recorded under **432** it is not included here.
5. London, British Library Additional 37049, fol. 85r. In this instance the text of 3088 appears as a part of a longer series of proverbs listed here as **558**; it is not a separate item.

3195 Sone y schal þe schewe now take hede / And of suche . . .

A Father's Instructions to His Son. 2 x 12 ll. and 1 x 14 ll. stanzas.
Mustanoja discusses this: *The Good Wife Taught her Daughter*, ed. by Tauno F. Mustanoja, Annales Academiæ Scientarum Fennicæ, ser. B. LXI.2 (Helsinki: 1948), p. 67. Contains lines also found in text numbers **430, 432, 558, 1540, 3195, 3502, 3847**.

Manuscripts
1. London, British Library, Additional 25,006, fol. 11v
2. London, Lambeth Palace 853, fol. 155r [lacks last 4ll.]

Edition
2. *The Babees Book*, ed. by F. J. Furnivall, EETS o.s. 32 (1868), p. 34.

Also listed in Supplement to IMEV:
3. Buckland House – at end of Mirror of Sinners
It is suggested in the Supplement to IMEV that this MS is to be identified with the 'Throckmorton Manuscript' (also known as the Coughton Court Manuscript); this manuscript is now Lambeth Palace MS 3957. However, it does not contain this text.

3256.6 Tak tyme in tyme and no tyme defer . . .

Four moralizing couplets.
This text also contains lines also found in numbers **432.1, 477, 512.8, 513, 558, 4137.**

Manuscripts.
1. Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepys 2553, fol. 294r
2. Cambridge University Library Ll. 5.10, fol. 58r
3. Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Advocates 1.1.6, fol. 122r
4. Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Advocates 1.1.6, fol. 147r

Editions
MS 1. W.A. Craigie, *The Maitland Folio Manuscript*, I, STS n.s. 7 (1919) p. 344.
MS 4. Allan Ramsay, *The Evergreen*, I (Edinburgh: Donaldson, 1761; repr. Glasgow: Forrester, 1876), p. 107.
W. Tod Ritchie, *The Bannatyne Manuscript*, II, STS n.s. 22 (1928) pp. 43-44.

3502 The wysman seyde to hys sones / Thenk in þise prouerbis . . .

Prouerbis of Wysdom. In couplets. All texts show some variation. The 4 versions are discussed in *The Good Wife Taught her Daughter*, ed. by Tauno F. Mustanoja, Annales Academiæ Scientarum Fennicæ, ser. B. LXI.2 (Helsinki: 1948), p. 65. Contains lines also found in numbers **430, 432, 512.8, 558, 1151, 3088, 3195, 3847, 4034.6.**

Manuscripts

1. Cambridge Trinity College R. 3. 19, fol. 209v
2. Netherlands, Leyden University Vossius 9, fol. 107v
3. Oxford, Bodleian Library MS 9, fol. 99r
4. Oxford, Bodleian Library Rawlinson. poet. 33, fol. 54v (This version also includes 1416 – 'A lesson to be kept in mind by a virtuous child'.)

These 4 MSS each contain an extensive compilation of 'advice' material. Each begins with the same couplet and many couplets are contained in both texts. However, each has distinctive material and there are considerable variations in the order in which the material is presented. Each MS presents a distinct 'version' of the basic text.

Editions

MS 3. F. J. Furnivall, 'Three Middle English Poems', *Englische Studien*, 23 (1897), 442-44.

G. Schleich, 'Die Sprichwörter Hendings und die Prouerbis of Wysdom', *Anglia*, 51 (1927), 220-24.

MS 4. Julius Zupitza, 'The Prouerbis of Wysdom', *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, 90 (1893), 241.

Also listed in IMEV:

Warminster, Longleat House 29, fols 131r-46v, lower margins [var., vv. 64]. The Longleat text appears to bear no resemblance to the text contained in the other manuscripts, all of which contain a substantial body of similar material. The text indicated in this manuscript is indeed a sequence of proverbial couplets, but is not included here as none of these couplets appear to be related to any of the texts represented by IMEV **3502**.

3847 Vtter thy langage wyth gud avisement / Reule the by . . .

One stanza rime royal followed by vv. 64-67 from Peter Idle's Instructions [**1540**] and four distichs. Lines 18-19 are also mentioned in Rossell Hope Robbins, 'Wall verses at Launceston Priory', *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, 200 (1964), 342-43.

Contains lines also found in numbers **432, 558, 1151, 1540, 3195, 3502.**

Manuscript
1. Oxford, Bodleian Library Rawlinson C.86, fol. 31r

Edition
MS 1. *The Babees Book*, ed. by F. J. Furnivall, EETS o.s. 32 (1868), pp. 219-20.

3969 Wanne i ðenke ðinges ðre / ne mai hi neure bliðe ben . . .

Three sorrowful things – six lines. See also **3199.5**.
A corresponding Latin text of four lines occurs in the Balliol MS (MS 4 below) and separately without the English in MSS Ashmole 1393, fol. 51v; Cambridge, Trinity College MS O.2.53, fol. 73r and London, British Library, Royal 17.B.xviii, fol. 99r. See *English Lyrics of the XIII Century*, ed. by Carleton Brown, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1932), p. 173 and *Yorkshire Writers: Richard Rolle of Hampole* II, ed. by C. Horstman (London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1896), p. 65.
For other English versions see **695, 1615, 3711, 3712, & 3713**.

Manuscripts
1. Cambridge University Library Dd. 4.50, fol. 135r
2. Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Advocates 18.7.21, fol. 154v
3. London, British Library, Arundel 292, fol. 3v
4. London, Lambeth Palace Library MS 499, fol. 125v.
5. Oxford, Balliol College 354, fol. 213v (followed by **2072.6** ie **3969** and **2072.6** are combined to form one poem)
6. Oxford, New College 88, fol. 31r

Editions
MS 2. E. Wilson, *A Descriptive Index of the English Lyrics in John of Grimestone's Preaching Book*, Medium Aevum monographs n.s. II (Oxford: Blackwell, 1973), p. 63.
MS 3. T. Wright & J. O. Halliwell, *Reliquiæ Antiquæ*, I (London: Pickering, 1841), p. 235.
E. Mätzner, *Altenglische Sprachproben*, I. Poesie (Berlin: Wiedmann, 1867)
R. M. Garrett, 'Religious Verses from MS Arundel 292', *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, 128 (1912), 368.
M. Förster, 'Kleinere Mittelenglische Texte', *Anglia*, 42 (1918), 155.

A. J. Ellis, *Early English Pronunciation*, II, EETS e.s. 7 (1897), p. 442.

Rolf Kaiser, *Alt- und Mittelenglische Anthologie* (Berlin: Kaiser, 1954), p. 204.

Rolf Kaiser, *Medieval English* (Berlin: Kaiser,1958), p. 294.

MSS 3 & 6 *English Lyrics of the XIII Century*, ed. by Carleton Brown (Oxford: Clarendon, 1932) p. 19.

MS 5. Ewald Flügel, 'Die Lieder des Balliol Ms. 354' Anglia, 26 (1903), 226.

Roman Dyboski, *Songs, Carols and other Miscellaneous Poems*, EETS e.s. 101 (1907), p. 141.

M. Haupt & A. H. Hoffman, *Altdeutsche Blätter*, 2 (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1840), p. 142.

Rolf Kaiser, *Alt- und Mittelenglische Anthologie* (Berlin: Kaiser, 1954), p. 204.

Rolf Kaiser, *Medieval English* (Berlin: Kaiser,1958), p. 294.

4095 Who of plente wyll take no hede / Shal fynde defawte yn tyme of nede

A moralizing couplet included in a longer series of proverbs against lending money. Variants of this text can also be found in numbers **430, 432, 512.8, 558, 1640.5, 3068.5, 3088, 4137**.

Manuscript

1. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson poet. 32, fol. 55r

Edition

1. Julius Zupitza 'The Prouerbis of Wysdom', *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, 90 (1893), p. 247.

Oxford Dictionary of Proverbs, 4th edition (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), p. 507.

Also listed in IMEV:

2. Cambridge, Magdalene College Pepys 2553, fol. 294r
3. Cambridge University Library Ll. 5.10, fol. 57r
4. Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Advocates 1.1.6, fol. 122r

In each of these manuscripts the item is included in the longer text already listed and referred to as 1640.5; they are not separate items.

4137 Who-so off welth takyth non hede / he shall fynd defaut . . .

A warning against the fickleness of Fortune; 6 couplets.
See also Rossell Hope Robbins, 'Wall verses at Launceston Priory', *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, 200 (1964), pp. 338-43. Lines from this text are included in: **430, 432, 432.1, 477, 512.8, 513, 558, 860.3, 1587.8, 1640.5, 1829.2, 3068.5, 3088, 3256.6, 4095, 4137.**

Manuscripts
1. Glasgow, Hunterian 230, fol. 248v (ll. 1-2 only; variant)
2. Oxford, Balliol College 354, fol. 160r
3. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson C.86, fol. 59r (ll. 1-2 only)

Editions
MS 2. Ewald Flügel, 'Die Lieder des Balliol Ms. 354', *Anglia*, 26 (1903), 174.
R. Dyboski, *Songs, Carols and other Miscellaneous Poems*, EETS e.s.101 (1907), p. 139.
MS 3. Joseph Ames, *Typographical Antiquities*, II (London: Miller, 1810-19), p. 225.

The two lines listed under MS 1 here are not given an independent existence in IMEV but are included under **1628.8**, a series of ten disconnected proverbs. The proverbial couplets grouped under **1628.8** occur rather disjointedly over several separate pages of the manuscript rather than as any form of running text – although the scribe appears to be the same throughout. Several of them have also been recorded individually in IMEV. Their disjointed appearance suggests that separate entries would be preferable to a single corporate entry for all the couplets, viz. here and at **77, 106.5, 1162.9, 2056 and 2072.3.**

APPENDIX 2
TEXT of 432

A Father's Counsel To His Son

At owur begynnynge God be owur spede
In grace & vertue to prosede.
Be petuus & eke merciabylle;
To nedy folke be cherytabylle.
A man withowte mercy of mercy shall mys,
& he shalle haue mercy þat mercyfulle ys;
By mercye & mekenes all thinge chevythe,
By foly & hate alle wysdom remevythe.
The beste wysdom þat I can
Ys to doe welle & drede no man;
He þat yn yowþe no vertue wyll vse,
In age alle honour wylle hym refuse.
Spend no manus good in vayne,
Ffor borowurd thynge wyll home agayne.
Gyve thow trewe weyghte, mete & measure
And then shall grace with the indure.
Be not to bold for to blame
Leste þou be found in the same;
And yff on party wold fayne be awreke
Yat, man of ryghte, here þe toþer party speke.
Over þi hed loke thowe never hewe,
Poverte hathe but frendes fewe;
Whoo so of welthe takythe no hede,

14 A verb of motion is implied here, meaning: 'For a thing which is borrowed will return home again'.

15 Compare Proverbs 16:11 'A just weight and balance are the Lord's'.

19 **fayne be awreke** 'happily be avenged'

21 **hewe** 'chop' (*MED heuen* vb.1(b)). The sense of the line is perhaps best expressed in the modern phrase 'don't get above yourself'.

He shall fynde fawte in tyme of nede.
"Þis world ys mvtablle," so saythe sage,
Þerfor gader, or thow fall in age.
Kepe not þi tresure aye closyd in mew,
Suche old tresure wyll þe shame ynowe.
Whate prophyt is plente & grete tresure
& in poverte a wreche alway to endure?
Man, sobyrly þi howse begyn,
& spende no more then þou mayste wyn,
For a nyse wyfe & a backe dore
Makyth oftyn tymus a ryche man pore.
Wysdom stondyth not all by speche,
A wylfull shrew can noman teche;
He hathe wysdom at hys wylle
Þat can, with angry harte, be stylle.
What man þou serue, alway hym drede,
And hys good, as þine awne, spare.
Lett never þi wylle þi witt overlede,
Be lowly & seruysabylle & love hys welfare.
And yf þou wylte be owt of sorow & care
Hyt ys to kepe & refrayne þi tonge,
& ever in welth be ware of woo,
For þis lernyth chyldren when they be yonge.

24 **fawte** shortened form of *defaute* meaning 'lack'/'want' (*MED defaut(e* n.1(a)).

25 **saythe** 'says'. The definite article and the 3rd person ending of the verb have been elided to make a single form and avoid the clumsy phrase 'sayth the sage'.

27 **closyd in mew** 'locked away' (*MED meu(e)* n.(1) 3(a))

29 **prophyt is** In the manuscript the verb 'is' has been mistaken for a verbal ending, and is represented by a mark of suspension on 'prophyt'.

30 'And always to suffer [like] a wretch in poverty'.

31 'Set up your household modestly'.

33 **nyse wyfe** 'wanton wife' (*MED nice* adj.4.(b)).

41 ie. 'Don't let your heart rule your head'. This line is in the hortative mood, allowing more impact to rest on the central contrast of 'þi witt' and "þi will'.

Son, yf þou wyste whate thynge hyt were
Connynge to lerne & with þe to bere,
Thow wold not myspend on howre,
For of all tresure connyge ys flowur.
Yf þou wylte leve in peas & reste,
Here & see & sey the beste;
Where ever þou be, in bowur or halle,
Be mery, honeste, & lyberalle.
Beware, my son, ever of had-I-wyste
Hard ys to know whom on may trys[te];
A trysty frende ys hard to fynde,
None ys more foo þen on vnkyn[de].
Care not to myche for ony thynge
Thowghte wyll þe sone to erþe brynge.
Serve God welle & haue no drede,
He wyll þe helpe in tyme of nede.
Drede owur Lord God bothe nyght & day,
Swere none othys in ernyste or pley,
For who so dothe, Scrypture sayth soo,
Þe plage from hys howse shall not go.
Erly in the dawnynge of þe day
My son to God loke þat þou pray,
& ever haue in þi memory
For to seke hevyn moste besyly.
Acompany with them þat be oneste
And they wyll reporte of þe þe beste,
As for þis proverbe dothe specify:

56 & 58 MS. cropped.

66 Although this appears to refer to either the plagues of Egypt in Exodus or the ritual cleansing in Leviticus 4, no such line exists in the Bible.

67 MS 'dawnyge'.

70 This is a rough transl. of the Latin lines found in 430 (l.20). See Matthew 6:33 'But seek ye first the kingdom of God . . .'.

'Lyke wyll to lyke in eche company.'
Grace & good maners makyþe a man,
Woo may he be þat no good can;
Better ys to have vertu & connynge
Þan to be lewde with ryches of a kynge.
Hevy of þi herte loke þou not be,
Let honeste company comfort the.
Yf þou be trobyllyd with ynconvenyens,
Arme þe alway with invard pacyens.
Invre þe with them þat byn wyse,
Then to ryches thow shalt aryse.

74 This appears to be a translation of the Latin line found in 430 (l.24): 'Similis similem sibi querit' which is often found in religious contexts. See Bernard of Clairvaux, Sermon 82 and Guibert de Nogent, Epis. 38 & 54.
83 **invre** 'make yourself free to associate with' (*MED fre* 1c).

NOTES

[1] Paul Zumthor, *Essai de Poétique Médiévale* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1972), pp. 65-75; see also the essays in *Medieval Literature: Texts and Interpretation*, ed. by Tim William Machan (New York: Binghamton, 1991) especially Julia Boffey, 'Middle English Lyrics: Texts and Interpretation', pp. 121-38 and Sherry L. Reames, '*Mouvance* and Interpretation in Late-medieval Latin: The Legend of St. Cecilia in British Breviaries', pp. 159-89.

[2] Derek Pearsall, 'Editing Medieval Texts: Some Developments and Some Problems', *Textual Criticism and Literary Interpretation*, ed. by Jerome J. McGann (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), p. 105.

[3] For the text, see Appendix 2.

[4] For a list of such texts, see Appendix 1. This list substantially revises the entries given in IMEV and its Supplement.

[5] IMEV 432, ll. 6-7.

[6] For a discussion of this and other problems inherent in the romance genre see: A. S. G. Edwards 'Middle English Romance: The Limits of Editing, the Limits of Criticism', *Medieval Literature: Texts and Interpretation*, ed. by T. W. Machan (New York: Binghamton, 1991), pp. 91-104. Also: A. C. Baugh, 'The Middle English Romance: Some Questions of Creation, Presentation and Preservation', *Speculum*, 42 (1967), 1-31.

[7] Michael Hoey, 'The Discourse Colony: A Preliminary Study of a Neglected Discourse Type', *Talking About Text* (Birmingham: English Language Research, University of Birmingham, 1986), p. 4.

[8] ibid., p. 12.

[9] The dissimilarity between the two manuscript 'versions' of 432 has been noted before, see: Tauno Mustanoja, 'The Index of Middle English verse: Corrections, Additions, Suggestions', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 49 (1948), 126-33.

[10] John Colyns, the compiler of the commonplace book containing 432, was a London mercer, but the constituent couplets are extant in MSS from widely differing provenances, including Scotland. For example: IMEV 512.8 occurs in Advocates I.I.6, fol. 75v (The Bannatyne Manuscript) and IMEV 1640.5 occurs in Pepys 2553, fol. 294 (Maitland's folio manuscript). Both of these texts share lines in common with 432.

[11] *Bodleian Library, Manuscript Fairfax 16*, ed. by John Norton Smith (London: Scolar Press, 1979), Introduction.

[12] *Manuscript Fairfax 16*, p. xxvii.

[13] We have not included a discussion of editorial issues surrounding the parallel text edition as they have already been expressed excellently, see: Dan Embree & Elizabeth Urquhart 'The Simonie: The Case for a Parallel-Text Edition', *Manuscripts & Texts: Editorial Problems in Later Middle English Literature*, ed. by Derek Pearsall (Cambridge: Brewer, 1987), pp. 49-59. By coincidence, though *The Simonie* is a much longer text than the majority of those found here, the number of lines similar between the longest text of

The Simonie and its other two versions is 37%, a figure almost identical to the percentage of lines shared between 430 and 432, as mentioned earlier.

[14] *'At owur begynnynge God be owur spede': Some difficulties in editing Middle English Proverbial Literature* (Unpublished master's thesis, University of Birmingham, 1997).

The Heresiarch, The Virgin, The Recluse, The Vowess, The Priest: Some Medieval Audiences for Pelagius's *Epistle to Demetrias*

E. A. Jones

For one of the four great doctors of the church, St Jerome was not well served by Middle English translators. Renditions of only two works of any substance ascribed to him survive. One of these is the 'Prologue' to the earlier version of the Wycliffite Bible – a project which he would no doubt have turned in his grave to be associated with.[1] He could scarcely have been happier with the attribution to him of the other, the 'Epistle to Demetrias', written in fact (with fine irony) by his arch-opponent, the man he described, casting aspersions on his British origins as well as his often remarked corpulence, as a 'huge, bloated, Alpine dog, weighed down with Scottish oats', the heretic Pelagius.[2]

I

Pelagius wrote his *Epistula ad sacram Christi virginem Demetriadem* in 413, three years before he was condemned and excommunicated by Innocent I, having been pursued by both Jerome and Augustine, for his belief in the primacy of the human will (rather than grace) in securing salvation.[3] Demetrias, daughter of the widow Juliana, a member of the powerful Roman family of the Anicii now in exile in North Africa following the sack of Rome by Alaric the Goth, was fourteen years old when she announced her vocation to the life of virginity. Her mother and Proba (either her grandmother or her great-aunt), the head of the family, had been among the spiritually best-connected women in Rome, and Juliana was able to secure for her daughter letters of congratulation, encouragement and counsel not only from Pelagius, but also from the three men who would soon accomplish his downfall, Augustine, Jerome and Innocent.[4]

Only the first eight of Pelagius's letter's thirty chapters are what would be

called 'Pelagian' in content, attacking the 'ignorant majority' (*imperitum vulgus*) for their denial of man's innate propensity to choose good over evil.[5] As Pelagius notes, without a hint of irony, as he climbs onto his hobby-horse:

> Quoties mihi de institutione morum, et sanctae vitae conversatione dicendum est, soleo prius humanae naturae vim qualitatemque monstrare, et quid efficere possit, ostendere.
>
> [Whenever I have to speak on the subject of moral instruction and the conduct of a holy life, it is my practice first to demonstrate the power and quality of human nature and to show what it is capable of achieving (2, 1).]

With the opening of his ninth chapter, however, he drops the strident tone of the controversialist, to turn (with a disingenuous note of compromise) to the proper business of the present epistle:

> Et quoniam sufficienter de his, ut puto, diximus: nunc instituamus perfectam virginem, quae es utroque semper accensa, et naturae simul et gratiae bonum morum sanctitate testetur.
>
> [Since we have said enough on these matters in my opinion, let us now begin our instruction of a perfect virgin who by the purity of her moral life bears witness at one and the same time to the good of nature and the good of grace, since she has always drawn her inspiration from both of these sources (9, 1).]

He first exhorts Demetrias, who has elected to take upon her the life of perfection not commanded but only counselled by God, that she should not neglect to observe his commandments, to strive to eschew vices, and to practise a moderate degree of ascesis. By following this form of living, Demetrias will replace her earthly nobility with nobility of soul (22, 2). Pelagius then describes the temptations with which the envious devil will attempt to divert her from her course of perfection, and offers remedies against them, before concluding with an injunction to focus not on the trials and hardships of her ascetic way of life, but on the reward which is held out to her, for

> nullus labor durus: nullum tempus longum videri debet, quo gloria aeternitatis acquiritur.
>
> [No labour ought to seem difficult, no time too long to wait, when the prize at stake is nothing less than everlasting glory (30, 3).]

The literary excellence of the 'Epistle' has been remarked from the earliest times.[6] In the present century, Georges de Plinval has contrasted the work's eloquence with the utilitarianism which more often characterizes its author's prose:

> Le style est devenu plus noble et plus varié: des images délicates et heureuses lui confèrent un agrément nouveau; on dirait qu'un souffle de poésie, venu peut-être de l'hellénisme, a assoupli la prose austère de Pélage.[7]

It is, though, the letter's good sense and sound advice unselfconsciously offered which most impress its recent translator, Bryn Rees:

> What is most striking perhaps is Pelagius's sympathy, indeed empathy, with his young pupil, the delicacy and restraint with which he moderates his 'terrifying message'. . . . Nor is there any sign of condescension or self-regard here, none of the slick showmanship of a Jerome or of the world-weary detachment of an Augustine. The impression which we get, and which Demetrias must have got, is that of an older, wiser friend, writing with deep feeling and sincerity from his own lifetime of experience and commending the values and obligations which he himself prizes above all else.[8]

II

It was an estimation which the Middle Ages shared. Bede offers a brief but appreciative analysis of the work, commending the teaching its author provides,

> by which he excellently instructs the virgin dedicated to God,

> and indeed would have brought to completion a work most useful and wholesome, if he had taught her in all her prayers to call on divine grace, and not to trust in the freedom of her own will, and in her own strength.[9]

Bede suspected that the work was not by Jerome (mortifyingly for Jerome, one of his reasons was that the 'charm of its honeyed eloquence' ('suavitas eloquentiae demulcentis') disqualified him as a candidate for its authorship), although he did not know that Pelagius was its true author.[10] The attribution of the 'Epistle' to Jerome was, however, usual throughout the Middle Ages, and the unchallenged orthodoxy of the doctor of the church must have served as a powerful guarantor of the text's acceptability. The 'Epistle to Demetrias' is thus a nice example of a text which appears to have acquired authority only by dint of concealing its authorship. Indeed, it is interesting to speculate whether it survived because of a chance association with the name of Jerome, or whether the ascription was a fiction concocted to prevent the loss of a text whose many excellent qualities, as Bede acknowledged, made it too good to be allowed to go to waste.

Concrete testimony to the regard in which the 'Epistle' was held throughout the Middle Ages is afforded by the ninety-six extant medieval manuscripts of the work, the earliest dating from the eighth and the latest from the end of the fifteenth century.[11] There are twenty-seven manuscripts surviving in British libraries, ranging in date from the twelfth to the fifteenth century. Six twelfth- and one thirteenth-century manuscript may be identified as having belonged to English religious houses; another twelfth-century copy belonged to Merton College, Oxford.[12] The 'Epistle' also provides quotations, cited with the ascription to Jerome, in a number of English works.[13]

The Middle English translation of the 'Epistle', dating probably from the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century, is extant in six fifteenth-century manuscripts:[14]

A: London: British Library, MS Add. 10053, fols 40v-68v.[15]
Ro^1: British Library, MS Royal 17.C.xviii, fols 110v-8v.
Ro^2: British Library, MS Royal 18.A.x, fols 67r-82v.
N: Norwich: Castle Museum, MS 158.926.4g.5, fols 1r-30r.
Ra: Oxford: Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson C 894, fols 91v-7v.
Jo: Oxford: St John's College, MS 94, fols 127r-140av.

It differs from the Latin text chiefly in the careful removal of any material tainted

with the author's heresy. Thus the first eight chapters of the 'Epistle', in which Pelagius offers his preliminary exposition of the doctrine of the dignity of the human will, are excised from the Middle English text, which thus begins with chapter nine.[16] As already observed, this is the point where Pelagius himself is conscious of getting down to the proper business of his treatise – the instruction of Demetrias. Thereafter, Pelagius's text is generally free of suspect material. An important exception is the opening of chapter eleven, which attracted the particular attention of Augustine and Alypius, who wrote to Demetrias's mother Juliana in 417, advising her that they had seen a copy of Pelagius's letter to her daughter and warning her of the dangers of its sentiments, quoting the offending passage:[17]

> Habes ergo et hic per quae merito praeponaris aliis, immo hic magis. Nam corporalis nobilitas atque opulentia, tuorum intelliguntur esse, non tua. Spirituales vero divitias nullus tibi, praeter te, conferre poterit. In his ergo jure laudanda es: in his merito caeteris praeferenda es: quae nisi ex te, et in te esse non possunt.
>
> [In this respect too, then, you have possessions which rightly entitle you to be set above others, indeed even more so; for everyone realizes that your nobility in the physical sense and your wealth belong to your family, not to you, but no one except you yourself will be able to endow you with spiritual riches, and it is for these that you are rightly to be praised, for these that you are deservedly set above others, and they are things which cannot be within you unless they come from you (11, 1).]

To be fair, Pelagius seems here to be opposing Demetrias's own individual efforts to the patronage of her family, rather than to the operation of God's prevenient grace. Nevertheless, in the charged atmosphere of theological controversy, it is not difficult to see how the argument that spiritual riches can come only and exclusively from oneself, and can only be possessed if they come from oneself, could be seen to offend against the Augustinian doctrine of grace. Augustine and Alypius exclaim proleptically, 'Of course you realize what great danger there is to be feared in these words'.[18] Whether or not alerted by their comments, the Middle English translator replaces these remarks with a judiciously worded paraphrase:

> But certes, vertues & good maneres – þat arn gostly riches & fairhed of þe soule – þei arn in þi power for to haue, for þei arn gendred in þin herte.[19]

The passive construction neatly leaves the agent of the engendering of virtue in the heart unexpressed, thereby sidestepping in one clause the entire Pelagian controversy.

Other alterations to Pelagius's text in the English translation reflect the fact that it is designed for an audience less specific than that of the original 'Epistle'. Thus the translator omits the opening paragraphs of the fourteenth chapter, with their lengthy comparisons of the worldly honour associated with the consulships of Demetrias's kin with her own even more exalted vocation (14, 1-2), and where Pelagius exhorts Demetrias

> Omnis ista praeclari generis dignitas, et illustre Anicii sanguinis decus, ad animam transferantur
>
> [Let all that dignity which you derive from your famous family and the illustrious honour of the Anician blood be transferred to your soul (22, 2)]

the Middle English text has, more generally, 'I pray þe þat þu turne alle þin high[20] kynrede & al þi gentil blood to gentrye of soule' (fol. 19v). Again, Pelagius excuses his young reader from performing the works of mercy, asking her pious mother and Proba to fulfil them in her place (22, 1); the English translator, in an interesting modification, has instead:

> þis maner of bysynes of actif dedis I counseyle to oþere moore þan to þe, as to ryche men & wommen. For to hem it befalleþ to fede þe hungry, to cloþe þe naked, to visyte þe seke, & to resseyue pylgrymes & herberweles, and [for][21] hope in heuenly mede gladly for to ȝeue to Crist in pore men (fol. 19v).

This echo of the familiar societal rationale for the contemplative life suggests a possible audience for the Middle English version of the 'Epistle'.[22] One copy known to have been in the possession of a practising contemplative is **Jo**, written for his own use and completed in 1434 by John Lacy, a Dominican friar living as an anchorite, attached apparently to the priory of his order at Newcastle.[23] Found alongside prayers,

liturgical texts, guides to confession, commentaries on the commandments and deadly sins, and four of the more basic of Walter Hilton's *Eight Chapters on Perfection,* the 'Epistle' seems to have served as an informal 'form of living' for a vocation which had no canonically sanctioned rule.[24]

Three other manuscripts similarly accompany their text of the 'Epistle' predominantly with works of elementary religious instruction. Of these, **N** is probably the earliest, dating from the first half of the fifteenth century.[25] Its copy of the 'Epistle' is followed by the *Lityl Tretys* on the seven deadly sins by the Carmelite Richard of Lavynham, a commentary on the Pater Noster, and a short verse on the abuses of the age.[26] Its language suggests a Norfolk origin, and it is tempting to associate it with the flourishing of the solitary life in Norwich and its environs which appears to begin with Julian of Norwich at the turn of the century.[27] The mid-century text in **A** represents the accommodation of the 'Epistle' to a new audience. A note on fol. 83r records that it was made for John Pery, canon of the Augustinian priory of Holy Trinity, Aldgate.[28] It is accompanied by material of a slightly more advanced nature than that in **Jo** and **N**, including the *Mirror of St Edmund* and Hilton's *Eight Chapters* complete, as well as more rudimentary catechetic material on the seven deadly sins, five senses, seven works of mercy, and so on, concluding with the short treatise setting out the minimum requirements for a priest's knowledge, *Sacerdos Parochialis*.[29] **Ro^2**, meanwhile, is the only surviving manuscript of the 'Epistle' which can be shown to have been intended, as of course Pelagius's original letter was, for a female recipient. The principal work in the manuscript is a lengthy treatment of the vices and virtues translated from the French *Somme le roi*; as well as the 'Epistle', it features also brief commentaries on the commandments and vices, a treatise offering remedies against temptations, and a form of confession.[30] The latter is intended for the use of a woman, and the treatise on temptations is addressed to a 'dere sister'.[31]

The remaining two copies occur in the very closely related pair of manuscripts, **Ra** and **Ro^1**. Both are almost certainly London manuscripts of the late fifteenth century.[32] They are virtually identical in their contents, which are generally of a more advanced nature than those of the other four manuscripts of the 'Epistle'.[33] They include texts of the *Craft of Dying* and the *Treatise of Ghostly Battle;* Hilton's *Eight Chapters, Mixed Life* and a compilation based on chapters from the first book of the *Scale of Perfection;* short treatises on tribulations and on prayer, and a translation of the Ps.-Bernard *Meditationes Piissime.* They differ only in the final leaves of **Ro^1**, where it alone has a prayer in time of tribulation, and three prayers taught by the Virgin to St Bridget. Both manuscripts preserve only the later part of the 'Epistle', omitting all the opening discussion of the obligation to observe the commandments

and the discerning of vice from virtue, beginning instead with material found in the twenty-first chapter of the Latin text, advising against excess in fasting and other ascetic practices. In keeping with the emphases of their other contents, therefore, these manuscripts give a text which is concerned not with the necessary preparations for the life of perfection, but with the spiritual temptations and tribulations which attend its attainment.

It is not immediately clear for what kind of readership the manuscripts were intended. Most of the texts already mentioned are of a type often found in the ownership of pious laypeople attempting to follow a quasi-religious way of life. Hilton's *Mixed Life*, of course, is explicitly designed for, and indeed defines the nature of, such a life. At the same time, they include 'a good contemplacion for a prest or he go to masse', which appears incompatible with such an audience.[34] The 'lytil tretise aȝenes fleischly affeccyoneȝ & alle vnþrifti lustis' which immediately follows the 'Epistle' in both manuscripts is, on the other hand, written for a woman, although its author is happy to countenance its wider circulation:

> And thofe this tretis and writynge after þe maner of spech be made to women allonly and that for certeyne causis, yitt euery man havynge discrecion that redis therein may also well take his lernynge and spirituell availe þereby as itt had beene wretyn to hem also specially as itt is wretyn to women.[35]

Perhaps the most plausible conjecture is that the manuscripts were conceived as aids to the pastoral direction of laymen and -women attempting to follow the Hiltonian mixed life, such as might be of use to their confessors or other spiritual directors.[36] With the increasing appeal and the 'self-help' nature of such a life, which texts such as Hilton's helped to foster, however, it is easy enough to hypothesize a ready lay audience for these manuscript compilations.[37] Certainly by the mid-sixteenth century both manuscripts were in the possession of just the kind of London gentry family which might have provided an audience for them a century earlier.[38]

III

The 'Epistle' turns up next as part of the lengthy Middle English guide to the contemplative life, *Disce Mori*.[39] Surviving in two manuscripts, this mid-fifteenth-century compilation offers an exhaustive course in the way of perfection, beginning

with the recognition and extirpation of vice, moving through penance and ascesis to the acquisition of virtues and contemplative experience itself. It is perhaps best known for its many borrowings from the English mystics Rolle and Hilton, and its allusions to Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde,* together with the quotation of a stanza from that poem.[40]

Lee Patterson has called it 'a handbook for nuns', declaring that its intended audience 'is pretty clearly indicated by its address to Sister Alice'.[41] He also argues that the nuns for whom it was intended were the Bridgettines of Syon Abbey, from the fact that the earlier and better of the extant manuscripts (Oxford: Jesus College, MS 39) was owned by Dorothe Slyght, nun of Syon at the dissolution, and that 'although the sources . . . are known only in small part, those that are . . . are from books that were available in the Syon Abbey library'.[42] While further research into the sources of *Disce Mori* has tended to reinforce the work's Syon associations, Patterson's identification of the work as designed for the nuns there cannot be supported.[43] The work is never addressed to a '*Sister* Alice': the name appears only in a verse prologue which dedicates the text

> To you my best-beloued sustre, Dame Alice,
> Whiche þat for Cristes loue haue hoole forsake
> Þe worlde, þe flesh and þe feendes malice.[44]

Addresses in Middle English religious treatises to 'ghostly sisters' and the like are of course both commonplace and (often, no doubt) conventional; there is no evidence that they need imply an audience of nuns. Indeed, examination of *Disce Mori's* version of the 'Epistle' conclusively demonstrates that Dame Alice's forsaking of world, flesh and devil is of a fundamentally different kind.

Patterson states that the compilation's concluding 'Exhortacion' 'is specifically addressed to Sister Alice'.[45] It does not in fact refer to its recipient by name, but it is true to say that, as its opening makes clear, it is more concerned than has been the rest of the work with her specific personal circumstances:

> Suster, now ye haue herde þe comendacion of þis vertu chastite, þe whiche ye haue chosen to cloþe you yn, and avowed it to youre spouse Ihesu Crist, I wil write you in þende of þis booke, whiche treteth of vices and vertues, as ye haue red afore, a litel fourme hou ye shal lyue to þe plesance of youre seid spouse and, with his grace and helpe, so ende your lyf in his seruice þat ye

> may come to his blisse þat he bought you to (p. 538).

This 'form of living' is in fact a reworking of the English translation of the 'Epistle to Demetrias'. Like the translation, it begins in the ninth chapter of Pelagius's treatise and, in spite of some freedom in its treatment of its source, it follows the English translation closely thereafter, save that, in place of Pelagius's warnings against excess in fasting and abstinence, the compiler of *Disce Mori* substitutes the second of his two versions of the same series of extracts from Rolle's *Form of Living* which he took from one of his other sources, *Speculum Spiritualium*.[46] A few pages, including material apparently based on Rolle's *Commandment,* conclude the chapter.

His dependence on the English rather than the Latin text is readily apparent from the very first lines which he adopts. Where Pelagius has

> Scito itaque in Scripturis divinis, per quas solas potes plenam Dei intelligere voluntatem, prohiberi quaedam, concedi aliqua, nonnulla suaderi. Prohibentur mala, praecipiuntur bona; conceduntur media, perfecta suadentur (9, 2)

Disce Mori's

> If þou wolt rede it [*sc.* scripture] or here it, þere shalt þou knowe what is þe wille of oure Lorde, whiche stont in iv: in forbedyng of some þinges, and biddyng of some þinges; in suffryng of some þinges, and in consaillyng of some þinges. Alle synne, vice & wickednesse be forbeden; alle vertues, rightwisnesse and goodnesse be comanded; oþer dedes whiche be meen, as wedlok and suche oþer, be suffred; but þe best dedes, þat be þo of perfeccion, as virginite or chastitee & suche oþer, be consailled (p. 538)

is clearly derived not from the spare Latin, but from the more expansive English translation:

> In holy writte, if þou wilt loke it or here it, þow schalt mow knowen what is Goddes wille. For Goddes will þorwout holie writte standeþ in foure thynges: in forbedynge of sum þinges, [in bidding of sum thynges,] in grauntynge and sufferynge, or in

> counseilynge of som þinges. Alle synnes and wickednesses aren forboden; alle vertues and goodnesses arne commaunded and boden; oþer dedes þat arne in þe mene þat arne neþer good ne euele arne suffred; but þe beste dedes arne counseiled (fols 1r-v).[47]

Thus the qualification in the reference to the scriptures, the characteristically medieval *divisio* of the 'wille of oure Lorde', and the greater specificity as to what kinds of deeds constitute *mala, bona, media* and *perfecta* are all features of the *Disce Mori* passage clearly derived from the English text. Further details, however, such as the concrete examples of 'dedes whiche be meen' and 'þo of perfeccion', are an indication of the readiness of the compiler of the later work to supplement and alter his source.

A significant instance of such alteration occurs where the author of the English 'Epistle' (harsher in this than Pelagius had been) is offering advice as to suitable times for prayer:

> And þouȝ it be soo þat þou haue offryd al þe tyme of þi lif in Goddis seruyse, so þat þou schuldest neuere latyn houre voyd fro gostly profityng – as Dauid seiþ, 'Blyssed is he þat haþ meende of Godis lawe nyght & day' – neuerþeles, ȝet schal þou sette a certeyn tyme of certeyn howrys in which þou schal fully, with dwellyng of prayeris, tent to God & in maner of lawe fully ȝeue þin herte þat tyme to þe souerein intencion of preyere. Þe most couenable tyme, it is at mydnyȝt, or at morwin & forþ tyl it be vndorne (fols 20r-v).[48]

The compiler of *Disce Mori,* however, for his hours of prayer, suggests only

> þe morowe til it be vnderne – for it were to laborieus to þee to rise, as did þe prophet Dauid, at midnyght to pray (p. 550).

This, of course, is hardly consistent with the monastic routine, for which the Psalmist's 'Media nocte surgebam ad confitendum tibi' (Ps. 118.62) is a founding text.[49] Other advice elsewhere in this chapter 'as to þi demenyng in þi litel house with þi seruantes or oþer folke seculer' (p. 550), taken over from the 'Epistle', or the suggestion, 'If þe lust to be muche comunycatif with men or women, forbere it as muche as þou may' (p. 557), made in the chapter's independent conclusion, offer

further evidence that *Disce Mori* could not have been intended for nuns, at least of so strictly enclosed an order as the Bridgettine.

Nevertheless it is clear that Dame Alice has made a vow of chastity, and aspires to some form of religious life. Three possibilities suggest themselves: that she was a novice of the Bridgettine order, an anchoress, or a vowess. The Bridgettines were unique in requiring postulants to spend their year-long novitiate outside the monastery. Typically they would reside in its outer precincts, accustoming themselves to 'some maner obseruaunces of the . . . holy rewle' and perhaps receiving some formal instruction.[50] *Disce Mori* could have provided in one volume both instruction and a 'form of living', and in the sixteenth century the Jesus College manuscript may have served just such a purpose for Dorothe Slyght. The sheer scale of the compilation, however – in terms both of its length (just short of 650 quarto pages in the Jesus copy), and the implied cost of its production – argues against a conception of merely temporary usefulness. It seems more plausible to suggest that the work was originally commissioned from a brother of Syon, who kept a copy for his own and/or the monastery's subsequent use.[51]

Such a patron could have been an anchoress. Support for this hypothesis might be drawn from the fact that, in his preamble to the extracts from Rolle's *Form of Living* already mentioned, the compiler describes that work as having been sent 'to suche a woman as yee be' (p. 548); in his earlier version of the same extracts, he describes the recipient of the original as 'a deuoute woman recluse' (p. 350). The two comments are, however, widely separated in the compilation, and there is no reason to suppose 'suche a woman as yee be' to have the same degree of specificity as 'a deuoute woman recluse'.[52] There is a broad similarity between the demonstrable status of Dame Alice and that of a recluse – both of whom have renounced world, flesh and devil – such as might be taken to justify the phrase 'suche a woman as yee be', without making the conclusion that she was an anchoress inevitable. Although an argument *e silencio* can never be entirely conclusive, given the level of circumstantial detail found in *Disce Mori*'s version of the 'Epistle', it would be most surprising, if the text were indeed destined for an anchoress, not to find included in it any reference to her distinctive way of life. In addition (and again *e silencio*), there are no records of an anchoress attached to or connected with Syon.[53]

By contrast, Syon did maintain well-documented links with vowesses: women, in almost all cases widows, who had taken solemn (and episcopally authorized) vows of perpetual chastity, and bore some of the accoutrements – the veil and ring – of regular religion, without being subject to any formal rule or superior.[54] At the dissolution, Susan Kyngestone, vowess, widow of the steward of one of Syon's

manors in Gloucestershire, 'occupied a chamber in the precincts'.[55] Two of her sisters (one a widow) were nuns there. Their mother, Elizabeth Fettiplace, became a vowess *circa* 1522, following the death of her second husband, and her mother, Alice Beselles, another vowess, was charged board at the monastery during the 1520s, until her death in 1526.[56] Joan Marler, widow of a mayor of Coventry, lived as a vowess there until 1531.[57] A century earlier, Margaret, widow of the Duke of Clarence, had declared

> that she desires henceforth to lead a celibate life and, putting aside worldly pomps, has elected to dwell near the Augustinian monastery of St. Saviour and SS. Mary the Virgin and Bridget, Syon.

In 1428 she gained papal permission for any of the brothers, 'as often as she wishes', to leave the monastery 'up to a distance of two miles of those parts', in order to hear her confession, minister the sacraments to her, and assist her in the drawing up of her will, and in 1436 she was given leave to enter the precinct of the monastery itself.[58] The ministrations she received from the brethren were also literary: a life of St Jerome together with catechetic material was 'drawen yn-to englysh . . . vnto þe hygh pryncesse Margarete duchesse of Clarence' by Simon Wynter, brother of Syon until *circa* 1429.[59] Syon's literary links with vowesses are further evidenced by a 'Boke of the lyf of wedows', translated into English some time after 1491, and copied soon after by Robert Tailour, a scribe associated with the abbey.[60]

Another modification in *Disce Mori*'s use of the 'Epistle' adds weight to the hypothesis that this was Dame Alice's vocation. Where Pelagius congratulates his disciple that she has given up the chance of an advantageous marriage, and the English text compares the wedded life which its reader has rejected with the course of perfection s/he has undertaken, *Disce Mori* has:

> And þou had lyked to be wedded *ayene* in worldly estate, *as þou were gretly desired of men,* þou wolde þan haue do al þi besinesse þat no womman in richesse nor array shulde haue passed þee; and þerfore now be as besy þat noon othre womman passe þee in array of goode vertues (p. 540. *Disce Mori*'s additions to the Middle English text in italics).[61]

While both Bridgettine postulants and anchoresses could be, and sometimes were,

widows, the vocation of vowess was so intimately associated with the state of widowhood that it is often described simply as the order of widows.[62] It seems most probable that it was this vocation which Dame Alice had elected to follow.[63]

IV

The final incarnation of the 'Epistle to Demetrias' is also perhaps the most surprising. Soon after its completion, *Disce Mori* was used – possibly by the same author, very probably in any case by a brother of Syon – as the base text for a further compilation, prefaced by Archbishop Pecham's famous call for improved clerical education, *Ignorancia Sacerdotum*, from which it takes its name, and whose target audience and purpose is indicated clearly in its prologue:

> For as moche as after þat I, nameles, had red þe golden and famous glose which þe excellent doctour of bothe the lawes, Lyndewode, Bisshop of Seynt Dauid, made vpon this precedent constitucion, and thought it diffuse, intricat with lawe, and hard of intellecte to suche symple lettred men, nameli in lawe, as I am, though þat I therin be aggraduat, I presumed vnder supportacion and correccion of the reders herof, as God knoweth, oonli of charite and in eschewyng of ydelnesse, to drawe out of the seid glose and other werkes of hooli doctours, this ensuyng rude werk made in oure modre tunge, for diuerse causes that moued me, bi whiche I entende, after suche auctours as I haue seen, to distribute forth to symple curates [r]urales or vpplandisshe, hou thei shal declare vnto theire parisshens the matieres conteyned in the seid constitucioun in fulfillyng of þe charge leide vpon hem bi the same.[64]

Most of the rest of this prologue is taken from *Disce Mori*'s version of the 'Epistle', with a number of alterations to accommodate it to its new audience.[65] Thus the compiler omits references to Christ as 'þi spouse', changes its address from the second person to 'vs preestes' (fol. 6r and *passim*), and adds references to 'oure ordre' (fol. 6r). Typical of his technique is his treatment of *Disce Mori*'s advice concerning the temptations sent by the devil:

> Lete vs not, þerfore, helpe him in wille ayenst oureself, ne assent to hym, and as a flee he wol flee vs. As to hem þat haue forsake þe worlde, as ye haue, he is busy to turment hem with wicked þoughtes, to make hem wery of hemself, and to repent hem, and so kest hem in oueremochel heuynesse, and ween þat þe foule þoughtes come of hemself, and so holde hemself werse þan þei were afore, er þan þei toke hem to perfeccion, and more greue God. And þus, but þei beware, þenemy wol, with multitude of fantasies, so derke her wittes þat þei shal falle nerhande into dispaire; and al is fals, and wol vanyssh as dewe, and þei kepe hem in mekenesse, whiche allone, as was seide to Seint Antonye, escapeth al þe laces of þe deuel (pp. 553-54)

which becomes

> Late vs not þerfore helpe hym in wille ayenst ouresilf ne assente to hym, and as a flye he wol flee fro vs men of þe chirche, whiche haue bounde vs to þe special seruice of God. He is ful besi to turmente wiþ wicked þoughtes, to make vs wery of oure ordre and to repente vs, and so cast vs into som inconuenience, and greue oure Lord. Ayenst which is necessarie vnto vs to kepe vs euer in mekenesse, which allone, as was seide vnto Seynt Antony, escapeþ alle þe laces of þe deuel (fol. 11r).

V

This is a far cry from the fourteen-year-old virgin Demetrias, and an unlikely apotheosis for the reviled Pelagius. Other readers of the 'Epistle' encountered have included an anchorite, a vowess, male and female religious, and the laity. The repeated reappropriations of Pelagius's text by new writers for new readers says much about medieval ideas of intellectual property, and the voracious appetite for works of spiritual guidance during the later Middle Ages among both the religious and the cultivators of the various kinds of 'Mixed Life'. Ultimately, of course, they offer testimony to the enduring qualities of a text which conveys an infectious enthusiasm for the life of perfection with moderation and generosity, and combines it with detailed and practical advice. Even the most ignominious of origins could not deny a

work so evidently 'useful and wholesome' an audience. As Lawrence wrote, 'Never trust the artist. Trust the tale'. It was the function of the medieval reception of the 'Epistle to Demetrias' to save the tale from the artist who created it.[66]

NOTES

[1] Ed. C. Lindberg, *The Earlier Version of the Wycliffite Bible*, Stockholm Studies in English (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1959-), I, 26-36. Also incorporated in the later version: see J. Forshall and F. Madden, eds, *The Holy Bible . . . made from the Latin Vulgate by John Wycliffe and his Followers,* 4 vols (Oxford: at the University Press, 1850), I, 61-78.

[2] Quotation from Jerome's preface to his *Commentary on Jeremiah,* 3 (*Patrologia Latina* 24, col. 758), cited by B. R. Rees, *Pelagius: A Reluctant Heretic* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1988), p. 7. The 'Epistle to Demetrias' is item H.5 (and O.11) in P. S. Jolliffe, *A Check-List of Middle English Prose Writings of Spiritual Guidance* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1974). Jolliffe lists also the 'lityl instruction' derived from Jerome's epistle to Eustochium (H.18 and O.32) made by the Bridgettine Thomas Betson and printed in his *A Ryght Profytable Treatyse* (London, 1500), and subsequently copied by John Colman of St Mark's Hospital, Bristol (A. I. Doyle, 'Thomas Betson of Syon Abbey', *The Library,* 5th ser. 11 (1956), 115-18 at pp. 117-18; Jolliffe records only the manuscript copy).

[3] For the Latin text of the Epistle, see *Patrologia Latina* 30, cols 15-45 and 33, cols 1099-120. There is an English translation, with an introduction to which much of the following paragraph is indebted, by B. R. Rees in his *The Letters of Pelagius and his Followers* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1991), pp. 29-70. See also *Dictionnaire de spiritualité, ascétique et mystique,* ed. by J. de Guibert et al., 17 vols (Paris: Beauchesne, 1937-95), s. v. *Demétriade.* For Pelagius, see Rees, *Reluctant Heretic*; G. de Plinval, *Pélage, ses écrits, sa vie et son reforme* (Lausanne: Payot, 1943).

[4] Rees, *Letters,* p. 30. The letter of Innocent is not extant.

[5] *Epistula* 3, 1; trans. Rees, p. 38; *Patrologia Latina* 30, col. 17. Subsequent references, which will be given in the text, will be by chapter and paragraph numbers, allowing reference equally to Rees's translation (which I have adopted) and the texts in the *Patrologia.*

[6] See references in Rees, *Letters,* p. 33.

[7] *Pélage,* p. 245, quoted in *Dictionnaire de spiritualité,* loc. cit.

[8] *Letters,* p. 35.

[9] *Quibus optime virginem Deo dicatam instituit, et revera multum utile ac salubre opus perficeret, si eam divinae gratiae in omnia suffragia flagitare, et non animi sui libertate, viribusque fidere doceret* (*Patrologia Latina* 91, col. 1074), referred to by Rees, *Letters,* p. 33.

[10] Rees, *Letters,* p. 33. For Bede's comment, see *Patrologia Latina* 91, col. 1073.

[11] Listed in B. Lambert, *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana Manuscripta,* Instrumenta Patristica IV, 4 vols (Steenbrugge: Martinus Nijhoff, 1969-72), III, 1-7.

[12] To the identifications made by Lambert, add London: British Library, MS Royal 6.C.xi (Bath), Lambeth Palace, MS 356 (Llanthony prima) and Oxford: Bodleian Library, MS Bodley

365 (Merton). See N. R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, 2nd edn (London: Royal Historical Society, 1964), pp. 7, 120, 147.

[13] Thus, for example, a marginal reference identifying a quotation from 'Seint Jerom' in the fourteenth-century *Contemplations of the Dread and Love of God* (ed. by M. Connolly, EETS, os 303 (1993)), K.18-21, as taken from the *Letter to Demetrias* is not, as Connolly supposes, erroneous (pp. 16, 110); the passage is translated from Pelagius's 'Epistle', cap. 20.1 (apparently independently of the Middle English translation of the text described below). I have not found any support for the assertion of Conrad Pepler that the 'Epistle' 'in England became associated with Walter Hilton' ('John Lacy: A Dominican Contemplative', *Life of the Spirit*, 5 (1951), 397-406 at p. 400), although, as I describe below, the Middle English translation is sometimes found alongside works by him.

[14] Listed by Jolliffe, *Check-List*, item H.5.

[15] The manuscript has been misbound. To follow the text of the 'Epistle', read fols 40v-47v; 49r-v; 48r-v; 51r-v; 50r-v; 52r-68v.

[16] Three of the extant Latin manuscripts do the same: two of the twelfth century, from the Benedictine monastery of Maria Laach in the Rhineland and the Cistercians of Ter Doest near Bruges, and one of the fourteenth, from the charterhouse of Basle (Lambert, *Bibliotheca*, p. 2). There seems, however, no reason why the Middle English translator could not have reached the decision to omit chapters 1 to 8 independently.

[17] *Patrologia Latina* 33, cols 848-54, with the quotation at col. 850. Augustine and Alypius's letter is noted by Rees, *Letters*, pp. 30-31.

[18] 'Cernis nempe quanta in his verbis sit cavenda pernicies' (*Patrologia Latina* 33, col. 850).

[19] **N**, fol. 5r. All quotations will be from this manuscript, which is one of the earlier and better of the extant copies. Folio references hereafter will be given in the text. Punctuation, word-division and capitalization are editorial; abbreviations are expanded silently. I follow this procedure with quotation from manuscript texts throughout.

[20] MS 'hight'.

[21] So the other manuscripts which have this passage (**A** and **Jo**). **N** has 'to'.

[22] For a representative statement, making use of the figures of Martha and Mary, see Aelred of Rievaulx's *De Institutione Inclusarum*, c. 28 (ed. by C. H. Talbot in *Aelredi Rievallensis Opera Omnia*, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio mediaeualis, 1 (Turnholt: Brepols, 1971), pp. 635-82, at pp. 660-62). For the symbiotic relationship of society and the recluse more generally, see A. K. Warren, *Anchorites and their Patrons in Medieval England* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985).

[23] For Lacy, see Pepler, 'John Lacy'; R. M. Clay, 'Further Studies on Medieval Recluses', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 3rd ser., 16 (1953), 74-86 at pp. 75-78. The

language of the manuscript is northern, 'with a component firmly localised along the Salop-Herefords border, suggesting that John Lacy was perhaps connected with Lacy of Weobley' (*Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English*, ed. by A. McIntosh et al., 4 vols (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1986), I, 153).

[24] **Jo** is described in H. O. Coxe, *Catalogus Codicum MSS. Qui in Collegiis Aulisque Oxoniensibus Hodie Adservantur,* 2 vols (Oxford: e typographeo academico, 1852), II(6), 26-27; S. J. Ogilvie-Thomson, *Oxford College Libraries*, Index of Middle English Prose, Handlist VIII (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1991), pp. 87-89. The treatise on the commandments has been edited by J. F. Royster, *A Middle English Treatise on the Ten Commandments,* Studies in Philology, 6, 8 (1910-11).

[25] For a description, see N. R. Ker (completed by A. J. Piper), *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries,* 4 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969-92), III, 523-24.

[26] Lavynham's *A Lityl Tretys* is edited by J. P. van Zutphen (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1957); for this manuscript, see p. xlvii. The Pater Noster treatise is Jolliffe, *Check-List*, item M.9, and the verse is no. 906 in the *Index of Middle English Verse*, ed. by C. Brown and R. H. Robbins (New York: Columbia University Press for the Index Society, 1943).

[27] N. Tanner, *The Church in Late Medieval Norwich* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1984), especially pp. 57-58.

[28] 'Orate pro anima domini Johannis Pery canonici ecclesie sancte Trinitatis London infra algate qui hunc librum fieri fecit cuius anime propicietur deus Amen.' Noted Ker, *Medieval Libraries,* pp. 123, 278. The text to which this note is appended is in the same hand as the 'Epistle'.

[29] **A** is described in the *List of Additions to the MSS in the British Museum in the years MDCCCXXXVI-MDCCCXL* (London: The Trustees of the British Museum, 1843), p. 7; *A Handlist of Manuscripts containing Middle English Prose in the Additional Collection (10001-12000), British Library, London* (ed. by P. Brown) *and in the Additional Collection (12001-14000), British Library, London* (ed. by E. D. Higgs), Index of Middle English Prose, Handlist V (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1988), pp. 6-10.

[30] For a description of the manuscript, see G. F. Warner and J. P. Gilson, *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections,* 4 vols (London: The Trustees, 1921), II, 265-67. On its text of the *Somme,* see W. N. Francis, *The Book of Vices and Virtues*, EETS, os 217 (1942), pp. xxxiv-xxxv.

[31] A. I. Doyle, 'A Prayer Attributed to St Thomas Aquinas', *Dominican Studies,* 1 (1948), 229-238 at p. 230. The texts are Jolliffe, *Check-List,* items C.43 and K.3, respectively. See also C. Horstman, *The Three Kings of Cologne,* EETS, os 85 (1886), p. vi.

[32] These manuscripts have often been noted, although there remains considerable scope for further investigation of their relationship, provenance and intended audience. The most

complete discussions remain unpublished: G. R. Morgan, 'A Critical Edition of Caxton's *The Art and Craft to Know Well to Die* and *Ars Moriendi* together with the antecedent manuscript material', D. Phil. thesis, 2 vols (Oxford, 1972); V. Murray, 'An Edition of *A Tretyse of Gostly Batayle* and *Milicia Christi*', D. Phil. thesis, 2 vols (Oxford, 1972). Most writers consider **Ro**^{1} the superior of the two; that **Ra** derives directly from it is sometimes argued, but has not been conclusively proved.

[33] For a description of **Ra**, see W. D. Macray et al, *Catalogi Codicum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae,* 14 vols (Oxford: e typographeo academico, 1845-1918), VII(2), 465-67; for **Ro**^{1}, see Warner and Gilson, *Royal and King's,* II, 245-46.

[34] Jolliffe, *Check-List,* N.17.

[35] Jolliffe, *Check-List,* K.1. Quotation from **Ro**^{1}, fol. 122r.

[36] For relationships of this kind between clergy and laity, see A. I. Doyle, 'The Vere Family and Books Relating to Barking Abbey', *Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society,* 25 (1958), 222-43, at p. 236.

[37] See H. M. Carey, 'Devout Literate Lay-People and the Pursuit of the Mixed Life in Later Medieval England', *Journal of Religious History,* 14 (1987), 361-81, although she confines her discussion (unnecessarily I think) to the nobility.

[38] Morgan convincingly identifies the William Harlowys whose name appears in both manuscripts with the William Harlow, gentleman, who was buried in 1562, and whose daughter Elizabeth married Sir Martin Bowes (*'Art and Craft'*, i, 33).

[39] Jolliffe, *Check-List,* A.6. R. R. Raymo, 'Works of Religious and Philosophical Instruction' in *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English,* gen. ed. A. E. Hartung, vol. 7 (New Haven: Connecticut Academy of Arts & Sciences, 1986), item 11. I have an edition of the concluding 'Exhortacion' in preparation for Middle English Texts (Heidelberg).

[40] For the Rolle borrowings, see my 'A Chapter from Richard Rolle in Two Fifteenth-Century Compilations', *Leeds Studies in English,* n. s. 27 (1996), 139-62. For *Troilus* see L. Patterson, *Negotiating the Past* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987), pp. 115-53.

[41] *Negotiating the Past,* p. 142. For some of these objections to Patterson's assumptions regarding the audience of *Disce Mori*, see also A. M. Hutchison, 'What the Nuns Read: Literary Evidence from the English Bridgettine House, Syon Abbey', *Mediaeval Studies,* 57 (1995), 205-22 at p. 219 n. 65.

[42] *Negotiating the Past,* p. 118. For further details of Dorothe Slyght, see A. I. Doyle, '"Lectulus noster floridus": An Allegory of the Penitent Soul' in *Literature and Religion in the Later Middle Ages: Philological Studies in Honor of Siegfried Wenzel,* ed. by R. G. Newhauser and J. A. Alford (Binghamton, N.Y.: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1994), pp. 179-90 at p. 184 and n. 27. Although, as Doyle suggests (*inter alia*), it is possible that *Disce Mori* was composed for a St Albans woman and the Jesus manuscript came to Syon only when a

subsequent owner – Dorothe Slyght – became a nun there, the evidence of the work's sources, and much circumstantial evidence advanced below, convince me of a Syon origin.

[43] See my 'Jesus College, Oxford, MS 39: Signs of a Medieval Compiler at Work', *English Manuscript Studies 1100-1700,* 7 (1997), 236-48 at pp. 247-48 n. 31.

[44] Oxford: Jesus College, MS 39, p. 5. All subsequent references will be to this manuscript (which is paginated) and will be given in the text.

[45] *Negotiating the Past,* p. 119.

[46] Jones, 'A Chapter', *passim.*

[47] 'In bidding of sum thynges', missing from **N**, has been supplied from **A**.

[48] Cf. *Epistula* 23, 1, which omits the suggestion to pray at midnight.

[49] *Regula Sancti Benedicti,* 16, 4-5 (ed. by A. de Vogüé and J. Neufville, Sources Chrétiennes, 7 vols (Paris: Les éditions du Cerf, 1972-77), (II, 524). It is also quoted in the commentary on the divine office written for the nuns of Syon, *The Myroure of Oure Ladye* (ed. by J. H. Blunt, EETS, es 19 (1873), p. 12).

[50] J. Hogg, *The Rewyll of Seynt Sauioure,* Salzburger Studien zur Anglistik und Amerikanistik Bd. 6 vol. 4: *The Syon Additions for the Sisters from The British Library Manuscript Arundel 146* (Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, Universität Salzburg, 1980), p. 81. The Additions make provision, by way of an exception, for those novices 'that dwelle fer from the monastery, and kepe not the seyd ȝere in the courte withoute' (ibid., p. 83). In his will proved 1524, Sir Richard Sutton, formerly steward of the abbey, specified that the proceeds from the sale of certain of his properties should go towards 'the finding of an honest preest [*inter alia*] to . . . teche all those women that intend to be professed and admytted unto the house of Syon' (G. J. Aungier, *The History and Antiquities of Syon Monastery* (London: J. B. Nichols and Son, 1840), p. 532). Perhaps he was hoping to prevent a repeat of the intimacy which evidently grew up between James Grenehalgh and Joanna Sewell (below n. 53), almost certainly during the latter's novitiate.

[51] In this regard it may be significant that the better of the extant manuscripts (the Jesus College manuscript), which must be closely contemporary with the composition of *Disce Mori,* is not the archetype, but does appear to have been corrected against it in a hand which is also responsible for the production of the derivative compilation *Ignorancia Sacerdotum* (discussed below), and which I suspect may be the hand of the two texts' common author. Presumably the archetype went to its patron. These questions will be addressed fully in my forthcoming edition of the 'Exhortacion'.

[52] I have also raised tentatively the possibility that the 'Exhortacion', including the version of the 'Epistle', may be in some aspects of its composition separate from the rest of *Disce Mori.* See 'A Chapter', pp. 150-51.

[53] Anchorites recorded in Middlesex and London are listed by R. M. Clay, *The Hermits*

and Anchorites of England (London: Methuen, 1914), pp. 228-31. There are no relevant additions among Clay's notes for a revised edition (which I am currently preparing for publication). Joanna Sewell is once described as *Syonita Reclusa* but this, if it is any more than a reference to the strictness of the Bridgettine order, is more likely to refer to her incarceration as discipline for her over-attachment to the Carthusian of Sheen, James Grenehalgh, rather than any change of vocation to the anchoritic life. Certainly she died, in 1532, a nun of Syon. (See M. G. Sargent, *James Grenehalgh as Textual Critic,* Analecta Cartusiana 85, 2 vols (Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, Universität Salzburg, 1984), I, 105-06 and n. 76.)

[54] On this subject, which has suffered prolonged scholarly neglect, there is now a series of articles by M. C. Erler, most importantly 'English Vowed Women at the end of the Middle Ages', *Mediaeval Studies,* 57 (1995), 155-203. For vowesses connected with Syon, see her 'Syon's "Special Benefactors and Friends": Some Wowed (*sic*) Women', *Birgittiana,* 2 (1996), 209-22. (I am grateful to Virginia Bainbridge for bringing this article to my attention.) Dame Alice Hampton, vowess and benefactor of Syon, is too late for identification with the dedicatee of *Disce Mori* and, unlike her, never married. Ibid. pp. 211-17 and 221-22. My thanks to Professor Erler for her advice on these matters.

[55] F. R. Johnston, 'Syon Abbey', in *A History of the County of Middlesex*, Victoria County History 1 (London: Oxford University Press for The Institute of Historical Research, 1969), pp. 182-91 at p. 188.

[56] For these vowesses, see Erler, 'English Vowed Women', p. 175; 'The Family of Fettiplace', *Miscellenea Genealogica et Heraldica*, 5th ser., 2 (1916-17), 183-92 at p. 186; M. C. Erler, 'The Books and Lives of Three Tudor Women' in *Privileging Gender in Early Modern England,* ed. by J. R. Brink, Sixteenth Century Essays & Studies, 23 (Kirksville: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, 1993), pp. 5-17. Alice Beselles's will was proved 19 June 1526 (Erler, 'English Vowed Women', p. 202).

[57] Erler, 'Syon's "Special Benefactors and Friends"', p. 218.

[58] *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Papal Letters Vol. VIII. A. D. 1427-1447*, ed. by J. A. Twemlow (London: Mackie and Co. Ld. for His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1909), pp. 63-64 and 149; 64; 70. Noted by G. R. Keiser, 'Patronage and Piety in Fifteenth Century England', *Yale University Library Gazette,* 60 (1985), 32-46 at p. 37.

[59] Yale: University Library, MS 317, fol. 5r, quoted by Keiser, 'Piety and Patronage', p. 32. In 1429 Wynter was given papal permission, at the petition of the duchess, to remove to a less strict monastery (possibly St Albans). See Keiser, 'Piety and Patronage', p. 38.

[60] Erler, 'English Vowed Women', pp. 178-79.

[61] At p. 539 he congratulates her similarly that she has 'forsaken þe second weddyng'.

[62] Erler, 'English Vowed Women', p. 156.

[63] Vowesses' professions are generally recorded in episcopal registers, although practice seems to have varied considerably. The memoranda volume of Thomas Kempe, Bishop of London 1450-89, is unfortunately not extant. See D. M. Smith, *Guide to Bishops' Registers of England and Wales* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1981), p. 141. The register of his predecessor, Robert Gilbert (1436-48), includes a memoranda section, but this is briefer than is often the case elsewhere, and contains no vowesses' professions. See London: Guildhall Library, MS 9531/6, fols 190r-230v. It should be added that the absence of evidence from these sources also hampers (although, since the vocation tends to be more amply recorded, not as seriously) the search for an anchoress Alice.

[64] Oxford: Bodleian Library, MS Eng. th. c. 57, fol. 3r; 'rurales' is an emendation for MS 'curales'. *Ignorancia Sacerdotum* is item A.2 in Jolliffe, *Check-List.* See further Jones, 'Jesus College, Oxford, MS 39', *passim.*

[65] This fact is overlooked in the account of the correspondence between the two compilations given by J. Bazire and E. Colledge, *The Chastising of God's Children* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1957), pp. 25-29. See further Jones, 'Jesus College, Oxford, MS 39', p. 246 n. 11.

[66] Cf. D. H. Lawrence, *Studies in Classic American Literature* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1971), p. 8.

Preaching at Syon Abbey[1]

Susan Powell

The monastery of the Holy Saviour, St Mary the Virgin and St Bridget, known as Syon Abbey, was founded by Henry V in 1415 and was the only house of the Bridgettine Order to be established in England; it was dissolved in 1539.[2] During the little more than a century of its existence, the Bridgettines at Syon acquired a powerful reputation for intellectual and literary activity, a reputation also held by Henry's second foundation, the Charterhouse of Jesus of Bethlehem on the other side of the Thames at Sheen.[3] One difference between the two orders, however, lay in their relationship with the outside world. The Bridgettines were specifically enjoined to preach to the laity, whereas the Carthusians were forbidden to do so.[4]

The present study took its impetus from my curiosity as to whether three English sermons printed by Caxton in his 1491 edition of the *Festial* might be products of Syon.[5] Their context was Bridgettine, and there was reason to assume that the sermons themselves might be Bridgettine. Although published studies of Syon Abbey stressed the importance of the preaching there, they proved to be surprisingly reticent about what Syon sermons were actually like.

The reason for their reticence became obvious in my investigations into preaching at Syon. Although Syon brothers were enjoined by their Rule to preach in the vernacular to both the nuns and the people, no more than one vernacular sermon is known to be extant today (nor is there clear evidence of any Latin sermons). In the light of so little evidence, and so little investigation into the subject, this paper studies the information that can be gleaned about preaching at Syon and about Syon sermons, discusses why the evidence is so meagre, and investigates possible Syon sermons, concluding with an examination of the three *Festial* sermons in order to attempt to determine whether they might be rare survivals of the brothers' considerable output.

Syon Abbey and its Preaching

The Bridgettine order lived under the rule of St Augustine, with St Bridget's own Rule, *Regula Salvatoris*, the Rule of the Saviour, as its constitutions; there were individual Additions for each house.[6] It was a double order, established primarily for women, with a maximum of 60 nuns, 13 priests, 4 deacons, and 8 laybrothers.[7] St Bridget's eagerness to hear sermons and to read the scriptures and saints' lives in her own tongue is recorded in the details of her life prepared for the bid for canonization,[8] and one of her Revelations outlined Christ's own guidelines on preaching.[9]

The *Regula Salvatoris* required the priests (but not, it seems, the deacons)[10] to expound the gospel of the day in the vernacular in the course of the mass; in addition, they were to preach publicly on all feast days whose vigils were fasted with bread and water and on other feasts celebrated by a vigil.[11] There is some doubt as to who might make up the audience for the gospel exposition, but it is clear that, apart from the brothers themselves, the sisters would be present, as well as laymen in the outer church.[12] The preaching at Syon on feast days may have been more elaborate than on Sundays, as it was at the mother-house at Vadstena;[13] there it took place at almost any time in the morning, and the main audience would be layfolk, with varying numbers of Bridgettines in attendance too.[14] It has been estimated that about 120 sermons were preached at Vadstena each year, although fewer may have been preached at Syon.[15] What is known of Syon practice is that the sermon was to be written by the brother himself, and in order to 'recorde hys sermon' he was exempt choir duties for three days before as well as on the preaching day itself.[16]

The Syon brothers were well qualified to preach; indeed, two had served as university preachers at Cambridge before entering the community.[17] Syon brothers were not allowed to profess before the age of 25, and in practice Syon appears to have acted as an early retirement home for clergy and academics. Several brothers had already served as secular clergy in London, Essex, and East Anglia before entering the community,[18] while in the last thirty years of Syon's existence at least six Cambridge fellows were professed there.[19] Throughout its century of life, the community produced authors of high calibre and scholarship.[20]

The buildings at Syon presumably followed the Vadstena (i.e. the Bridgettine) plan, but there is no trace of them today. Bridgettine sisters and brothers lived entirely separately from each other, the sisters in buildings to the north of the church and the brothers in identical buildings to the south-west.[21] The high altar (dedicated to St Peter), together with the twelve altars dedicated to the apostles (including St Matthias) and a thirteenth dedicated to St Paul, were at the west end; the altar of the Virgin

Mary, where the sisters' mass was celebrated, was at the east end, together with the people's altar of St Bridget.[22] The brothers used the ground floor behind the high altar as their choir, while the sisters used a gallery suspended above the nave. There were clearly two libraries, one for the sisters and one for the brothers, with librarians in charge of each.[23] From 1426 the Bridgettines were involved in a move from Twickenham farther along the river to Isleworth, in order to secure more spacious accommodation, and on the new site building continued throughout much of the community's existence. Bills for 1479-80 refer to the church, chapter house, brothers' cloister, and library.[24] The church was not in fact consecrated until 1488, and even then not all building work was complete.[25] In 1490-1 new 'preaching places' were erected for both sisters and brothers, in 1494-5 there was joinery work to the 'upper chamber and the nether chamber annexed to the pulpit in the east end of our church', in 1501-2 a stone pulpit was built, and in 1518 there was work done on the pulpit in the sisters' side.[26]

There was no shortage of an audience for preaching at Syon. The famous pardons, and, from 1500, the papal dispensation which permitted the brothers to bless rosaries,[27] made the Abbey an attractive pilgrim centre, convenient to London. Syon offered numerous pardons throughout the year,[28] but the great attraction was the 1425 pardon of Martin V which offered plenary remission twelve times in the year. It was mainly available at Lammastide, throughout eight consecutive days from evensong on the eve of the feast-day of St Peter ad Vincula, but it was also granted on three days in Lent (Mid-Lent Sunday and the Monday and Saturday in the first full week of Lent) and on the Monday in Whitsun Week.[29] The Lent and Whitsun occasions were familiar periods for preaching, but Lammastide offered an out-of-season attraction.

Soon after the Pope's bull of 1425, the blind and deaf Shropshire poet, John Audelay, had heard of the pardon and wrote a stanzaic 'Salutacio Sancte Birgitte' in praise of the saint, the pardon, the Pope, and the Bridgettines.[30] In 1434 Margery Kempe arrived three days before Lammas Day 'to purchasyn hir pardon þorw þe mercy of owr Lord' and stayed at least until Lammas Day, 'þe principal day of pardon'.[31] From the late 1480s the eight-day period of plenary remission was to encompass two new and rapidly popular feasts, the Transfiguration of our Lord and the Holy Name of Jesus, celebrated on the 6th. and 7th. of August respectively.[32] These new feasts provided two extra occasions for preaching, with 300 days of indulgence allotted for listening to the preaching.[33] It must therefore be assumed that the large numbers of pilgrims at this time benefitted from the occasions on which the Syon brothers preached *ad populum.*

Having established that English sermons were preached at Syon, 'omnibus

audientibus', the next stage was to trace them. As has been noted, the *Regula Salvatoris* enjoins two types of preaching in the vernacular – exposition of the Gospel during mass and public preaching on feasts celebrated with a vigil.[34] Over 5,000 sermons survive from Vadstena, although far fewer Gospel expositions appear to be extant.[35] Since it is known that the sermons preached at Syon (if not the Gospel expositions) were written down,[36] some at least might be expected to be extant, especially given the continuous tradition of the Syon house.[37]

The Syon Catalogue for the Brothers' Library

The appropriate place to search for Syon preaching material is first of all in the Syon library catalogue. Bridgettine scholars in England are fortunate to have extant the catalogue made for the brothers' library by Thomas Betson in the early sixteenth century and continued by others up to around 1523.[38] Because the extant catalogue is of the brothers' library and not the nuns', it is almost entirely a Latin library, and there are only 26 English works and 4 in French.[39] In itself, that should not be a hindrance to tracing Syon gospel expositions and sermons, since it is most likely that, although delivered in English, they were written down in Latin.[40]

Let us consider the Gospel expositions first. Numerous volumes in the brothers' library contained quotations from the epistles and gospels for the year, and sermons on both the epistles and gospels are recorded in the catalogue.[41] The clearest reference to Gospel expositions occurs in relation to the Franciscan William of Nottingham's commentary on Clement of Lantony's gospel harmony, *Unum ex Quatuor*, which was preserved in the library in at least two separate volumes.[42] One of these volumes (H18) also contained 'Quotaciones euangeliorum tocius anni tam de sanctis quam de temporali in hoc Monasterio predicandorum secundum idem opus in principio libri [i.e. Nottingham's commentary on Clement of Lantony]', and a further volume also refers to Nottingham's commentary in relation to Gospel pericopes.[43] Although no sermons are recorded, it appears likely that at Syon Nottingham's commentary formed the basis for the Gospel expositions enjoined by St Bridget's Rule. Indeed, a redaction of Nottingham's text survives, in which the text has been abridged and arranged so as to form commentaries on the Sunday gospels according to the Sarum rite.[44]

Let us turn from the Gospel expositions to look at the sermons proper, considering first the English works listed in the catalogue. In the main, these are medical and devotional treatises, but amongst them is a sermon (what is in fact the

sole English sermon extant indisputably attributed to a Syon brother) on the Syon pardons written by Simon Wynter and another (lost) sermon by Wynter on the subject of penitence.[45] The pardon sermon survives today, in its fullest form in London, British Library Harley MS 2321, ff. 17r-62r.[46] Its subject matter, the Syon pardon, and the day on which it was preached, the feast-day of St Peter ad Vincula (1 August), make it a work of clear importance to Syon. The vigil of the feast saw the beginning of the eight-day period of Lammastide when special indulgences were granted to Syon. St Peter was accorded special status in the Bridgettine church, since the high altar was dedicated to him,[47] and *ad vincula* sermons are among the most numerous extant from the Bridgettine mother-house of Vadstena in Sweden.[48]

As a sermon, it is puzzling. It covers 45 folios of a large octavo manuscript and treats in exhaustive detail the various pardons available at Syon and any conceivable queries that might be raised with regard to those pardons. It takes the form of a 'modern' or academic sermon, based on a text, 'Tibi dabo claves regni celorum' (Matthew xvi.19), from the Gospel of the day, which is first introduced in a pro-theme and then developed in the process of the sermon as three principals, each subdivided.[49] It is patently a single sermon but seems hardly preachable as such. It may be that it was preached over several days, but even so it would hardly have made interesting listening. If such long and dry sermons were indeed preached at Syon,[50] we may have an explanation as to why that inveterate preachee, Margery Kempe, does not refer to attending the preaching on her one recorded visit to the Abbey. Shorter versions of the sermon exist,[51] and it may be that this version was never actually preached but merely retained as a full record of the Syon pardons.[52]

The only other English sermon collection recorded in the catalogue is a reference in the index to 'Rogerus frater de Syon in suis sermonibus in anglica' (S36).[53] Unfortunately, here the index and the body of the catalogue do not tally, and we can find out no more about these sermons, which appear not to be extant today.[54]

Latin sermons are frequently recorded in the catalogue.[55] Augustine's sermons alone number nearly two hundred entries,[56] and the library clearly held vast numbers of sermon collections, more than any other type of material.[57] It is hard to tell whether any of these might be in-house productions. Most are attributed to well-known sermonists, and the index to the catalogue assigns the sermons in only ten volumes to a mere three Syon brothers.[58]

It may be that preaching sermons were accessed elsewhere, perhaps with the service books in the choir, where they would be in the charge of, not the librarian, but the chanter.[59] Perhaps the brothers kept them amongst their own possessions. It may be that they were not generally considered significant enough to be taken into the

library on their author's death, and that it was not usual to donate ones own sermons to the library.[60] It may even be that they were buried with their authors.

Perhaps earlier catalogues of the library included them,[61] but Betson's job in preparing the catalogue extant today may have involved removing the brothers' own sermons, perhaps to make room for the influx of printed books, perhaps because only up-to-date material was wanted in the library.[62] There may have been special reasons why the sermons of just these three, Rogerus, Simon Wynter, and Thomas Bulde, were retained;[63] certainly one can see reason for Wynter's pardon sermon to be kept as a detailed record of the indulgences granted to Syon.

Another possibility, which does not presuppose the loss of the brothers' own sermons, is that at least some of the anonymous sermon collections donated by Syon brothers were their own work. In other words, the Syon sermons are there in the catalogue but not distinguished as such. Unfortunately, although the premiss may be correct, it is impossible to prove.[64]

It may be useful at this stage to point out the problems associated with the catalogue and the index. Betson would appear to have been meticulous in compiling them, but they did not stay that way for very long. Presumably accessions were so numerous as the printed book trade developed that the successive attempts to update the catalogue caused the discrepancies between that and the index which have been referred to already.[65] However, it is not just a matter of new accessions; in many cases Betson's entries have been erased and either left blank or had new entries written over them.[66] This is the case with the sermons attributed to Syon brothers, to which I have already referred. As I have said, the index to the catalogue assigns sermons in ten volumes to three Syon brothers. The catalogue itself, however, lists the works of only one of these men, Simon Wynter – the four volumes containing sermons by the other two have disappeared and their pressmarks have been allotted to different volumes. In fact, Wynter's are the only sermons attributed to a Syon brother which exist in the catalogue as it now stands.[67]

If we turn from Wynter's sermon to other sermons surviving from the Syon brothers' library which might have been preached at Syon, we find that only one unattributed sermon collection (and part of a single 'sermo ad clerum') is recorded in Neil Ker's and Andrew Watson's lists of over a hundred surviving volumes from Syon Abbey.[68] The collection is in a volume (referred to here as the Cox manuscript) donated by John Lawsby, a Syon priest who died in 1490.[69] He left forty volumes to the library, five of them sermon collections,[70] and the one extant volume contains thirteen Latin sermons based on Gospel or Epistle pericopes, all but one dominical sermons.[71] It is too the only one of Lawsby's five sermon collections to remain

unattributed.[72] Whether John Lawsby's volume of sermons was preached at Syon thus became a matter for investigation and will be considered further below.[73]

The Sermons Preached at Syon Abbey

By this stage of my research, it was clear that any search for Bridgettine sermons would have to extend beyond material with clear Syon connections. It was at this point that I tried to establish what a Syon sermon might be like.

In Chapter 23 of St Bridget's *Reuelaciones Extrauagantes* Christ shows the saint 'quomodo et quid predicandum est populo'[74] in relation to the preaching duties of Chapter 15 of the Rule. Briefly, those who preach Christ's truth are to use words which are simple and few, having their basis in the reading of Holy Scripture. Their sermons must not be too difficult nor too showy and fancy in structure and style but must be adapted to the capacity of the audience. Sunday preaching should expound the gospel of the day and should be based on the Bible, the words of Christ, Mary and the saints, the lives of the fathers and the miracles of the saints, and the Creed, and should offer remedies against temptations and vices. What must be avoided is tedium and talking above the heads of the listeners: 'For my most beloved Mother was a very ordinary woman, Peter a simpleton, Francis a rustic; and yet they have done more for people's souls than eloquent academics, because they had perfect love for those souls.'[75]

These words of Christ to St Bridget provide useful information on the type of sermon to be preached in the Bridgettine order. What they reveal which is relevant to the Lawsby sermons, which are largely dominical, is that the Sunday exposition of the Gospel could extend to a full dominical sermon. The relationship between the Gospel expositions at Sunday mass enjoined by the *Regula Salvatoris* and the extant Vadstena dominical sermons is discussed by Andersson and Borgehammar.[76] They offer two suggestions: firstly, that both an exposition and a sermon might have been delivered at Vadstena on Sundays;[77] secondly, that, since the dominical sermons that survive from Vadstena are often 'a sophisticated hybrid of *exposicio* and thematic sermon',[78] it might be that the Gospel exposition often took the form of a full dominical sermon. It would seem, then, that, despite the lack of explicit reference to dominical sermons in the Bridgettine Rule, such sermons were preached at Vadstena.[79]

The evidence of the *Reuelaciones Extrauagantes* also relates to the type of sermon favoured by St Bridget – that it should be simple in language and structure, largely scriptural in basis, and accessible to an unlettered audience. In this context, the

academic sermon of Simon Wynter might appear to be un-Bridgettine, as would the sermons of the Cox manuscript, which also follow the academic model of construction. Both Simon Wynter's sermon and the Lawsby sermons use scriptural and broadly catechetical material which might be seen to accord with the Revelation. More problematically, it appears likely, as Andersson and Borgehammar assume,[80] that the reference to 'ista verba mea et dilecte matris mee sanctorumque meorum'[81] is to the *Reuelaciones* themselves, which mostly take the form of the direct speech of Christ, the Virgin Mary, and occasionally the saints, to St Bridget. The major difference between Wynter's sermon and the Lawsby sermons is that Wynter's sermon, indisputably a Syon sermon, cites the works of St Bridget frequently,[82] whereas the Lawsby sermons appear not to refer to the saint at all.

The Evidence of the Vadstena Sermons

It was at this point in my research that it became clear to me that the extensive sermon material surviving from the Bridgettine mother-house at Vadstena in Sweden must be considered in order to establish how closely the guidelines of Chapter 23 of the *Reuelaciones Extravagantes* might have been followed in Bridgettine sermons. Although Syon sermons are elusive, approximately 5,000 Bridgettine sermons survive from Vadstena,[83] and research in progress is revealing valuable information about those sermons.[84]

Preliminary study of the Vadstena sermons would appear to confirm the evidence of Simon Wynter's *ad vincula* sermon in two respects: firstly, that the academic method of sermon construction (seemingly alien to the saint's Revelation) was a Bridgettine norm; secondly, that citation from the Revelations of the saint ('ista verba mea et dilecte matris mee sanctorumque meorum') is to be expected in Bridgettine sermons. Simon Wynter's single sermon may be compared with the ninety-five Vadstena *ad vincula* sermons which survive.[85] Like them, it follows the academic structure, taking its theme from the Gospel of the day and making its subject matter the captivity of sin and the means of liberation from sin, and it includes, amongst scriptural and patristic authorities and citation from canon law, *exempla* from the Revelations of St Bridget. What marks Wynter's sermon as different is, in the first case, its prolixity, and in the second, its concentration on indulgences (from which Syon derived its singularity).[86]

The use of St Bridget's Revelations would appear to mark a Bridgettine sermon more clearly than anything else. What became clear to me in correspondence about the

Vadstena sermons was that nearly every sermon included some reference to the saint. Indeed, Stephan Borgehammar has remarked, 'As source material the Revelations admirably filled the needs of a late medieval preacher. The Vadstena preachers used them constantly – I have so far (I think) never seen a Vadstena sermon without at least one quotation from St Birgitta.'[87] Despite subsequent modification of this statement,[88] it is at least clear that the use of the Revelations as both *auctoritates* and *exempla* is a clear indication of a Bridgettine sermon, perhaps the only clear indication.[89] It appears that only a clear reference to the works of St Bridget or to Syon Abbey would indicate, for example, that the Cox manuscript contains dominical sermons preached at Syon Abbey, and no such reference appears to exist.

Further evidence of the nature of Vadstena sermons has served to indicate what might have been Syon practice. Of course, Bridgettine sermons were no more original works than the mass of medieval sermons. They were constructed from material available to the brothers in their libraries, namely, collections of ready-made sermons, such as those of Jacobus de Voragine, collections of *exempla*, Bible concordances, and preaching manuals.[90] Indeed, in a reply in 1416 to the archbishop of Norway's inquiry as to how the Vadstena brothers composed their sermons, the deputy confessor-general, Finvid Simonis, pointed out that Bridgettines used no set method or pattern but collected their material from different sources by divine inspiration.[91]

Sermons with Bridgettine References

At this stage, my search for sermons preached at Syon turned to sermons without clear Syon associations but with references to the saint. The only published material relates to English, rather than Latin, contexts.[92] Although there is ample evidence of the use of Bridgettine material in tracts and treatises, the evidence for sermons is not extensive.[93] Indeed, the state of current published research suggests that only two English sermons make use of Bridgettine material. One is a sermon for the feast of the Assumption,[94] the other for the feast of St Mary Magdalene.[95]

About a third of the Assumption sermon is a translation from Chapter 20 of the Bridgettine Breviary, the *Sermo Angelicus*,[96] while the rest of the sermon makes use of material from the saint's Revelations (I, 31, 7, 20, II, 16);[97] the sermon for the feast of St Mary Magdalene has three excerpts from the Revelations (IV, 108, 76, 83).[98] It would appear at least worth investigating whether the sermons were originally written at and for Syon.

The Assumption sermon is directed at nuns who (like those at Syon) have the

Virgin Mary as their 'modyr, vowe and patronesse' by a preacher who appears to be a fellow religious.[99] The feast of the Assumption is one of those whose vigil is fasted with bread and water, and therefore one on which a sermon was preached at Bridgettine houses.[100] This particular sermon is based on the second lesson for the Saturday office from the Bridgettine Breviary, Saturday being the day devoted to the Assumption of the Virgin in the Bridgettine nuns' offices.[101] It falls into two parts, which might even be considered separate, short addresses: the first part, which ends 'Amen', deals with the Assumption itself and then lists the seven privileges granted Mary by Christ; the second allegorises the various items making up a nun's habit. The material is almost exclusively Bridgettine, although this is not acknowledged, and there is only a handful of new lines to interlink the different passages.[102]

It appears to me likely that this was composed by a Syon brother to be delivered *ad moniales*. There are arguments against the suggestion, one being that, although the evidence for Syon sermons delivered *ad populum* is sparse, the evidence of sermons delivered to the Syon sisters is non-existent.[103] For Veronica O'Mara, to whose work on this sermon I am indebted, the most compelling evidence that the Assumption sermon is not a Syon production is that the allegorisation of the nun's habit does not include the distinctive Syon crown.[104] Further, the manuscript is not of Syon provenance, although none of the texts it contains would have been strange to Syon and most would have been extremely familiar there.[105]

The manuscript consists of booklets in several different hands and East Anglian dialects, and O'Mara suggests its provenance as an East Anglian nunnery, perhaps Carrow in Norwich.[106] The Assumption sermon exists in a quire of its own in a hand of its own, and, in my opinion, is a Bridgettine sermon adapted for a different female community.[107] It is my suggestion that it was originally written by a Syon brother for the sisters at Syon, for in which other order would a preacher take as the matter for his sermon on the Assumption of the Virgin material from the Syon sisters' office devoted to the Assumption?[108]

The Mary Magdalene sermon is a more academic work and must be the product of a scholar of the calibre of the Syon brothers.[109] It appears to satisfy the criteria we have discovered for other Bridgettine sermons. It takes as its theme a Gospel text which, after a pro-theme, is developed according to three principals. It is a long sermon, although not as long as it might have been, since the preacher chooses to omit the second principal altogether.[110] The authorities cited were all to be found in the Syon brothers' library,[111] and the feastday of St Mary Magdalene was one celebrated amongst the Bridgettines by the preaching of a sermon.[112] Nevertheless, despite three citations from the *Revelations*, amongst other *exempla* and scriptural and

patristic authorities, it was clearly not written at Syon.

Indeed, O'Mara has plausibly dated one of the four interconnected sermons in the manuscript to 25 March 1414, prior to the founding of Syon Abbey.[113] Moreover, the sermons in the manuscript were all written for a male or mixed audience by a northern scribe using a West Riding of Yorkshire dialect, and there are excellent reasons for associating the manuscript with the Benedictine Abbey of St Mary, York.[114]

The Bridgettine references in the Mary Magdalene sermon are nevertheless of great interest. As O'Mara has noted: 'in using St Birgitta's *Revelationes* in the Mary Magdalene sermon [the preacher] shows himself to be one of the earliest Middle English writers and possibly the first known English homilist to do so'.[115] Although further investigation of the sermon must await Dr. O'Mara's edition, it may be noted here that there were early Yorkshire connections with the Bridgettines through the involvement of the Fitzhugh family in the first attempts to found a Bridgettine house in England.[116]

The Search for Syon Sermons

By this stage, two points had become clear in relation to the subject of my research. One was that a search for Syon sermons should be undertaken amongst collections without clear Syon associations. The Syon brothers, like the Carthusians, encouraged wide dissemination of their in-house productions through the technology of the printing press,[117] and it appears that, even before that technology became available to them, texts were copied and disseminated elsewhere, even amongst other orders. An investigation amongst the sermons of other orders might perhaps uncover more Bridgettine references. The second point was that any search for Bridgettine material would probably prove fruitful in the context of Latin sermons, the editing of which has been, perhaps understandably, but unjustifiably, neglected in this country.

The two points may be conveniently illustrated by one example.[118] Durham University Library, Cosin MS V.III.16 is a manuscript which has clear Syon associations. It contains a letter, perhaps a covering letter for the whole manuscript, addressed, perhaps by Thomas Betson, to 'Welbiloued susters in our lord Iesu Crist' (fol. 118^{r}), that is, to nuns at another convent.[119] The manuscript contains Latin sermons currently unattributed which might conceivably be sermons preached at Syon.[120]

Caxton's 1491 Edition of the Festial

We must turn at this point to the subject which motivated the present research, namely, whether three sermons printed in Caxton's 1491 edition of the *Festial* might be Bridgettine.

The *Festial* is a collection of sermons *de tempore* and *de sanctis* compiled by the Austin canon, John Mirk, probably in the 1380s.[121] It circulated widely in manuscript and was printed by Caxton first in 1483 (*STC* 17957) and then again, in a different edition,[122] in 1491 (*STC* 17959). Numerous other editions exist up to the year 1532. It is probably the most printed English work before the Reformation.

Caxton's two editions of the *Festial* were both issued in conjunction with another work, the *Quattuor Sermones*,[123] catechetical and penitential material clumsily accommodated into four preaching sermons.[124] Between the two editions, however, two new feasts were licensed for celebration, the feasts of the Transfiguration of our Lord and the Holy Name of Jesus. A third new feast, the Visitation of the Virgin, had been ordered for Canterbury even before the date of Caxton's first edition.[125] At the end of his 1491 edition of the *Festial*, Caxton therefore added three new sermons for these feasts.[126] After them he inserted the *Hamus Caritatis*, a brief treatise on the Ten Commandments of the Old Testament and the Two Precepts of the New Testament. Then he issued the whole edition, together with the *Quattuor Sermones*, still separately set up.

Undoubtedly, Caxton had dealings with Syon, and, as has been pointed out already, the Bridgettines at Isleworth and the Carthusians at Sheen and at the London Charterhouse, exploited the technology of the printing press from an early date in order to spread Bridgettine and Carthusian material produced in England and abroad.[127] But why should these three sermons added to the *Festial* be Bridgettine?

The possibility that they might be was suggested by the fact that the works issued with them, the *Quattuor Sermones* and the *Hamus Caritatis*, make use of Bridgettine material. The *Quattuor Sermones* is basically a re-working of two texts, firstly what is now known as the *Lay Folks' Catechism*, Archbishop Thoresby of York's English catechetical material issued to priests in an educational drive of 1357,[128] and then the penitential treatise known as *The Clensyng of Mannes Sowle*.[129] The Revelations of St Bridget are cited twice, much paraphrased.[130] In view of what has been said above about the Syon Assumption sermon, it is perhaps significant that there are various reasons to connect the separate elements of the *Quattuor Sermones* with an East Anglian monastic or nunnery context with interests very close to those of the Bridgettines at Syon,[131] but as it stands it is to be preached by a secular priest to

his own parishioners. It is a very clumsy piece of amalgamation and adaptation, but it may well have some connection with Syon.

The *Hamus Caritatis* is a much clearer case. In subject-matter and style, it bears strong comparison with the *Treatyse to dyspose men to be vertuously occupyed* by Thomas Betson, and I suspect that the work may even be by Betson.[132] Its title, 'the fish-hook of love', is reminiscent of that other text known at Syon, the *Stimulus Amoris*, the English version of which, attributed to Walter Hilton, was known as *The Prickynge of Love*.[133] The content is similarly directed at the pious layman: it is introduced as 'A shorte exhortacyon ofte to be shewed to the peple . . .' (sig. s4^{r}, col. a), and is addressed to a male householder with family and household responsibilities.

Its format is that of the academic sermon.[134] The theme is a Gospel text ('Doo to a nother as thou wold be done vnto', sig. s4^{r}, col. a), which is stated and developed as a pro-theme and then expanded into two principals based on the two Gospel precepts, which encompass a discussion of the Ten Commandments, so that the whole sermon deals with the commandments of the Old and New Testaments. Most importantly, it cites as *auctoritas* the Revelations of St Bridget[135] and concludes with a prayer to Christ which invokes the mediations of 'his blessid moder Mary & his holy spowsesse Saynte Brygytte and all saynts' (sig. s5^{v}, col. a). It is clearly a Syon production.

This context should serve to explain my curiosity about the three new sermons. Caxton acquired two new texts for his second edition of the *Festial*, the *Hamus Caritatis* and the three sermons. If the *Hamus* is clearly Bridgettine, might not the sermons be so too? Since it transpires that Syon sermons are so rare, the discovery of three submerged in an unexpected printed context would be of some interest. Moreover, the sermon for the Transfiguration of our Lord includes a reference to Syon: the Gospel text the preacher uses is that for the Saturday in the first full week of Lent and he notes that indulgences are available on that day – 'as is to Syon plener remyssion' (sig. R4^{r}, col. a).

Unfortunately, as will have become clear, it is not easy to establish what is a Syon sermon, even when there are citations from Bridgettine texts, as there are not in this case.[136] The usual format for a Bridgettine sermon is that of the academic sermon, but academic sermons are by no means the prerogative of Bridgettines.[137] With the exception of quotation from the Revelations, the guidelines of St Bridget were not distinct from those followed by non-Bridgettine sermon writers. The adaptation of material from traditional authorities, which was the Bridgettine method of sermon composition, was also, of course, the norm in other circles. We cannot hope, therefore, to find a particular 'Syon style' or even 'Syon material'. The only clear

indication that a sermon might have been preached at Syon would appear to be that it quotes from the saint's Revelations, which these sermons do not.

The New Sermons in Caxton's 1491 Edition of the Festial

As these facts became clear to me in the course of my research into the Syon sermons, what had seemed a probability, that the *Festial* sermons were from Syon, came to seem less likely, or at least less capable of proof. Nevertheless, Caxton acquired the sermons from somewhere, and they are not recorded elsewhere in any English collections known to me. Indeed, as far as I am aware, no sermon for the feast of the Holy Name exists, at least in the vernacular, at all.[138] Given that one of the new *Festial* sermons may be a unique example of its kind, and given that the other two sermons are rare, some investigation of the sermons would nevertheless seem to be worthwhile, with an attempt to establish some Bridgettine characteristics.

The sermons for the Visitation of the Virgin (2 July) and the Transfiguration of Our Lord (6 August), two feasts founded on scriptural events, are remarkably similar in structure to the Assumption sermon discussed above. Each begins with an exposition of the Gospel passage on which it is based[139] and then falls into two parts, showing a tendency, like the Assumption sermon (which lists the seven privileges granted Mary by Christ and then allegorises the items of a nun's habit), to list and catalogue (the three reasons Our Lady visited Elizabeth, the four times Our Lady spoke and the four miracles that ensued, the three types of sinner who offend by their speech; the nine categories of people who need not fast). The two parts of these sermons are not linked thematically or structurally: the first part of the Visitation sermon ends with an invocation to recite the 'Ave Maria';[140] the first part of the Transfiguration sermon ends with a simple 'Amen' (sig. R4^{v}, col. a), as does the Syon Assumption sermon.[141] Both the Visitation and the Transfiguration sermons include a single *narratio*. They address a lay audience and teach practical social and pious duties in a simple style which would accord with St Bridget's guidelines.

A small portion of the Visitation sermon is echoed in one of the Latin sermons from Vadstena,[142] the structure of which is relevant to the present discussion. The sermon, for the first Sunday after the Octave of the Epiphany, takes its subject-matter from the Gospel text of the wedding in Cana of Galilee. In structure it follows the two-part model already outlined, although the two parts are more clearly pro-theme and process than in the sermons under consideration. The first part cites four reasons why Christ attended the wedding and ends with the 'Ave Maria';[143] the second part

reintroduces the theme and deals with the eight categories of married men, for seven of whom marriage offers spiritual danger.

It may be foolhardy to hazard general comments on the structure of Bridgettine sermons from the narrow corpus of sermons under consideration. Nevertheless, the Revelations of St Bridget particularly urged that sermons should be simple in style and structure, and it may tentatively be suggested that a simple Bridgettine sermon might be bi-partite in structure, the first part concluding with an invocation to the Virgin or an 'Amen', and that the explanation of lists might be a method of preaching considered appropriate for a sermon *ad populum* or *ad moniales*.

It is perhaps worth pausing on the fact that the first parts of the two Visitation sermons conclude with the recitation of the Ave Maria, since this is a normal feature of Bridgettine[144] (and, perhaps, Carthusian) practice.[145] The pro-themes of sermons in the Cox manuscript occasionally end with a formulaic invitation to prayer, such as ' . . . pro gracia impetranda dicat quilibet et mente pia Pater Noster, Aue Maria' (fol.1v) or ' . . . pro gracia impetranda dicat et cetera' (fol. 47r).[146] The practice is, however, common, and academic sermons of varied origins either commence or conclude their pro-themes with the Ave Maria, perhaps together with the Pater Noster.[147]

The Visitation sermon is, naturally, centred around the Virgin Mary, and the feast was 'of special importance' to the Syon Bridgettines.[148] It deals with the virtue of silence and the vice of swearing, all congenial material to Bridgettines.[149] The authorities cited are familiar names in the Syon brothers' library.[150]

The first part of the Transfiguration sermon deals with the observance of fasting in Lent, material taken from St Vincent Ferrer;[151] the second part, on the mount of heaven, is taken from a sermon ascribed to St Augustine.[152] Both authors are well attested in the Syon library catalogue.[153] Apart from fasting, the preacher urges, as Lenten disciplines for the layman, prayer, attendance at divine service, attention to sermons, dissemination of the preacher's words in the household circle, and going to holy places where pardons may be obtained.[154] It is in this sermon that Syon is cited as a place where plenary remission may be obtained.[155]

The feast of the Holy Name of Jesus (7 August) is represented by a markedly different, and longer, sermon than the other two. This can partly be explained by the nature of the feastday itself, but the sermon is anyway not completely developed from the stage of preaching notes.[156] It does not expound the gospel of the day, although it quotes from it, but explains instead the meaning of Jesus' name as a sort of exordium and then develops as an academic sermon with three principals, the first of which is subdivided three times.[157] It is packed with *narrationes*[158] and heavily dependent on

scriptural authority, with Augustine and Bernard as additional authorities.[159] Its tone is more affective and its style more Latinate than the other two sermons.[160] It may have come from a different source, or may be by a different author, from the other two sermons.

As for its Syon affiliations, the feast of the Holy Name, together with the feast of the Transfiguration, occurred within the most important preaching period in Syon, the first week of August, when plenary remission was available for both Lammas Day (1 August) and its octave.[161] The Holy Name was revered in the writings of Rolle and Hilton, favourite Syon authors,[162] and it was strongly associated with St Bridget through the Fifteen Oes, which call on the name of Jesus ('O Jhesu . . .') and which were in England attributed to a vision of the saint herself.[163] Moreover, it is tempting to surmise that this sermon, the only one known for the feast of the Holy Name of Jesus, might be the text 'De virtute nominis Ihesu cum aliis' recorded in the Syon catalogue in a large volume of sermons, tracts, and other preaching material donated by Thomas Fishbourn, the first confessor-general of Syon Abbey.[164]

Conclusion

Undoubtedly, the subject of preaching at Syon Abbey is one which demands further research. The comparison with Vadstena is one which must be pursued, and the current editing of the Vadstena Latin sermons in Sweden will undoubtedly allow further conclusions to be drawn at a future date. It is more than likely that Syon and Vadstena sermons were similar; common sources may have led to similarities in subject matter, and it may even be that at times the same sermons were preached.[165] Another area of research is, of course, the Latin sermon in England, of which numerous manuscripts remain unedited.

It is to be hoped that the present preliminary attempt to investigate Bridgettine sermons preached in England may be the forerunner of further research and the precursor of greater results. In any case, the discovery of vernacular sermons for three 'nova festa', for one of which no other English sermon is recorded, must be of some interest, and, although I have not been able to prove the *Festial* sermons Bridgettine, I hope at least to have provided some guidelines as to what a Bridgettine sermon might have been like and to have paved the way for future research on the subject of preaching at Syon Abbey.

NOTES

[1] This article was first presented as a paper to the Conference on Medieval Monastic Preaching at Downside Abbey, 2-5 April, 1997. At the time I had already corresponded with Dr Stephan Borgehammar of the Department of Theology at the University of Lund, who is working on the sermons from Vadstena Abbey which form part of the 'C' Collection at Uppsala University Library. However, it was only in re-writing the article for publication that it became clear to me that the evidence of the Bridgettine mother-house at Vadstena in Sweden was crucial in throwing light on Syon practices. The questions I needed to answer in relation to Syon were very much those addressed and answered in relation to Vadstena by Dr Borgehammar and Dr Roger Andersson in a then unpublished article, 'The Preaching of the Birgittine Friars at Vadstena Abbey (*ca* 1380-1515)', now published in *Revue Mabillon*, n.s. 8 (1997), 209-36. Dr Borgehammar answered my queries promptly and fully, making available to me both the above article and also his then unpublished lecture on 'St Birgitta, an Architect of Spiritual Reform', now published in *Birgittiana*, 5 (1998), 23-47. I wish to take this opportunity to express my gratitude to him.

[2] There is a substantial amount of published material on the English Bridgettines. See G. J. Aungier, *The History and Antiquities of Syon Monastery* (London: J. B. Nichols and Son, 1840); J. R. Fletcher, *The Story of the English Bridgettines of Syon Abbey* (Bristol: Burleigh Press for Syon Abbey, South Brent, 1933); D. Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England*, 3 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1948-59), II, 175-81, III, 212-21; *The Victoria History of the Counties of England* (hereafter *VCH*): *A History of the County of Middlesex*, I, ed. by J. S. Cockburn, H. P. F. King, K. G. T. McDonnell (London: Oxford University Press for the Institute of Historical Research, 1969), 182-91 (by F. R. Johnston); M. B. Tait, 'The Brigittine Monastery of Syon (Middlesex) with Special Reference to its Monastic Uses' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 1975); Roger Ellis, *Viderunt eam Filie Syon: The Spirituality of the English House of a Medieval Contemplative Order from its Beginnings to the Present Day*, Analecta Cartusiana, 68: 2 (Salzburg: Universität Salzburg, 1984); F. R. Johnston, 'The English Cult of St Bridget of Sweden', *Analecta Bollandiana*, 103 (1985), 75-93; Christopher de Hamel, 'The Library: The Medieval Manuscripts of Syon Abbey and their Dispersal', in *Syon Abbey: The Library of the Bridgettine Nuns and their Peregrinations after the Reformation. An Essay by Christopher de Hamel with the Manuscript at Arundel Castle* (privately printed for the Roxburghe Club, 1991), pp. 48-133 (Notes to Part I pp. 133-50, Index of Manuscripts and Early Printed Books, pp. 151-58). In addition, mention should be made of *Birgittiana*, the twice-yearly journal founded in 1996, which is edited at Odense University, Denmark and published in Naples, Italy.

[3] On Sheen, see *VCH: The Victoria History of the County of Surrey*, II, ed. by H. E. Malden (London: Constable, 1905), 89-94. On the Carthusian order, see Knowles, II, 129-38, 175, III, 222-40, and E. M. Thompson, *The Carthusian Order in England* (London: SPCK for the Church Historical Society, 1930).

[4] For the Bridgettines' obligation to preach, see further below. For the Carthusians' contrary obligation, cf. the *Consuetudines* of Guigo I (1109-36): 'Libros quippe tanquam sempiternum animarum nostrarum cibum cautissime custodire, et studiosissime volumus fieri, ut, quia ore non possumus, Dei verbum manibus praedicemus' (*Patrologia Latina* (hereafter *PL*), 153, cols. 693-4), i.e. 'We wish books indeed to be guarded most carefully as the eternal food of our souls and to be made most assiduously, so that, because we may not preach the word of God by mouth, we may do it with our hands'.

[5] For details of these sermons, see S. Powell, 'Syon, Caxton, and the *Festial*', *Birgittiana*, 2 (1996), 187-207, and 'What Caxton did to the *Festial*', *Journal of the Early Book Society*, 1 (1998), 48-77.

[6] For the successive versions of the Rule, see *Sancta Birgitta: Opera Minora 1: Regvla Salvatoris*, ed. by Sten Eklund, Samlingar utgivna av Svenska Fornskriftsällskapet (hereafter SSFS), Ser. 2, Latinska Skrifter, 8:1 (Lund: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1975). For the Additions, see *The Rewyll of Seynt Sauioure and other Middle English Brigittine Legislative Texts*, ed. by J. Hogg, 4 vols, Salzburger Studien zur Anglistik und Amerikanistik, 6 (Salzburg: Universität Salzburg, 1978-80), III: *The Syon Additions for the Brethren and the Book of Syngnes from the St Paul's Cathedral Library Manuscript* (1980). The Rule, the Additions, and the Table of Signs were earlier printed in abridged form by Aungier, pp. 243-409.

[7] *Regvla Salvatoris*, p. 118, sections 148-53 (Chapter 12).

[8] *Acta et Processus Canonizacionis Beate Birgitte*, ed. by Isak Collijn, SSFS, Ser. 2, Latinska Skrifter, 1:1 (of 10 parts) (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1924-31), 78: 'De lectura. Cum vero vacabat a labore manuum, continue relegebat vitas sanctorum et bibliam, quam sibi in lingua sua scribi fecit, et vbi poterat audire sermones proborum virorum, labori suo non parcebat in eundo ad eosdem sermones audiendos', i.e. 'Concerning reading. When she was not involved in physical labour, she continually read over the lives of the saints and the Bible, which she arranged to have written for herself in her own language, and where she could hear the sermons of good men, she did not spare her effort in going to hear those sermons'.

[9] *Den Heliga Birgittas Reuelaciones Extrauagantes*, ed. by L. Hollman, SSFS, Ser. 2, Latinska Skrifter, 5 (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1956), p. 133 (Chapter 23), which is discussed further below.

[10] The injunctions on preaching refer specifically to the thirteen priests. Andersson

and Borgehammar (pp. 219-20) note that the deacons at Vadstena were also allowed to preach, particularly on days when the priests were not enjoined to do so. Indeed, the deacon Johannes Benechini (Bridgettine Order 1416-61) was a notable preacher.

[11] *Regvla Salvatoris*, p. 121, section 174 (Chapter 15): 'Qui [sacerdotes vero isti tredecim] quidem omni die dominico euangelium illius diei in ipsa missa omnibus audientibus in materna lingua exponere tenentur cunctisque solempnitatibus, quarum vigilias seu profesta ieiunant in pane et aqua, atque aliis quibuscumque festis vigiliam habentibus publice predicare', i.e. 'Every Sunday those thirteen priests are required to expound the gospel of that day in the vernacular during mass with everyone listening, and to preach publicly on all solemn days, the vigils or eves of which they fast with bread and water, and on other feastdays which have a vigil'. Quotations are from the Π Text, 'the oldest text of Birgitta's own version that can be entirely reconstructed from the extant manuscripts' (*ibid.*, p. 21), which is close to Urban VI's bull of 1378 (Π Text, where the relevant Chapter is Chapter XIII). For a recent analysis of the various texts, see Roger Ellis, 'The Visionary and the Canon Lawyers: Papal and other Revisions to the *Regula Salvatoris* of St Bridget of Sweden', in *Prophets Abroad: the reception of continental holy women in late-medieval England*, ed. by Rosalynn Voaden (Woodbridge: Brewer, 1996), pp. 71-90. For the days of preaching at Vadstena, see Andersson and Borgehammar, pp. 220-23.

[12] Cf. *Regvla Salvatoris*, p. 121, section 171 (Chapter 15): 'Christus precipit hic, quod fratres sacerdotes dicti monasterii debeant . . . certis diebus euangelium in materna lingua *ipsis monialibus* [my italics] predicare', i.e. 'Christ commands this, that the brother priests of the said monastery ought . . . on certain days to preach the gospel in the vernacular *to the nuns themselves*', and section 174: 'Qui [sacerdotes vero isti tredecim] quidem omni die dominico euangelium illius diei in ipsa missa *omnibus audientibus* [my italics] in materna lingua exponere tenentur', i.e. 'Every Sunday those thirteen priests are required to expound the gospel of that day in the vernacular during mass *with everyone listening*'. Only the text of the Rule (section 174) can safely be taken to represent St Bridget's intentions, although the rubric (section 171) makes plain that the sisters would be a constant presence. An alternating programme of services was a distinctive feature of Bridgettine liturgy, with the brothers following the Sarum rite and the sisters using their own Bridgettine breviary (see note 97 below). Whereas the sisters were required to be present in the church throughout all the morning offices and masses, the brothers were not required to attend the nuns' offices. The number of layfolk in the church at any time was, of course, variable. See the discussion in Andersson and Borgehammar, pp. 211, 223-28.

[13] For an explanation of both types of sermon at Vadstena, see below and Andersson and Borgehammar, pp. 228-32.

[14] Andersson and Borgehammar, pp. 223-26. They cite (p. 224) a rule from a post-1450 Vadstena customary, *Liber Usuum*, which was intended for use by all the houses of the order. This stipulates that when there is preaching, the ceaseless morning liturgy should be interrupted so that any brothers or sisters who wish may attend. When I began this research, I assumed a clear distinction between sermons *ad populum* and those *ad moniales*. At Vadstena, however, the majority of sermons appear to have been preached with a lay audience in mind, and this may have been the case at Syon too. For the little evidence for sermons *ad clerum* and *ad moniales*, see below.

[15] Stephan Borgehammar, 'Preaching to Pilgrims: *Ad vincula* Sermons at Vadstena Abbey", in *A Catalogue and its Users: A Symposium on the Uppsala C Collection of Medieval Manuscripts*, ed. by Monica Hedlund, Acta Bibliothecae R. Universitatis Upsaliensis, 34 (Uppsala: Uppsala University, 1995), pp. 91-100 (p. 92). The Rule required preaching on feasts with a vigil, i.e. *c.* 25 a year, as well as on Sundays. The high estimate of 120 sermons a year is based on Vadstena practice, which from an early date exceeded the regulations, with additional preaching on other feast days and local holidays, and at some vigils, as well as sometimes at vespers (Andersson and Borgehammar, pp. 11-12). It may be that Syon similarly extended its preaching days, particularly when the Syon pardon was available.

[16] Hogg, *The Syon Additions*, p. 122, ll. 1-3: 'lv[ti] chaptyr. Of the offices of the prechours. Eche of the prechours schal besyde the sermon day haue thre hole days at lest oute of the quyer to recorde hys sermon et cetera'.

[17] William Bond (d. 1530) and Richard Reynolds (martyred 1535).

[18] For example, Thomas Betson (see below) had been rector of Wimbish, Essex and then vicar of Lissington, Lincolnshire, and John Lawsby (see below) had been rector of Little St Bartholomew, London and then vicar of Ware, Hertfordshire.

[19] John Fewterer (Pembroke Hall), John Copynger (Christ's College), William Bond (Queen's College), Richard Lache (St John's College), Richard Whitford (Queen's College), and Richard Reynolds (Corpus Christi College). See Knowles, III, 212-15.

[20] Simon Wynter (d. 1448/9), Clement Maidstone (d. 1456), Thomas Betson (d. 1516), William Bond (d. 1530), Richard Whitford (d. 1542), and John Fewterer (died after 1535) are named Syon authors. On Wynter see George R. Keiser, 'Patronage and Piety in Fifteenth-Century England: Margaret, Duchess of Clarence, Symon Wynter and Beinecke MS 317', *Yale University Library Gazette*, 60 (1985), 32-46. On Maidstone, see Monica Hedlund, '*Liber Clementis Maydeston*: Some Remarks on Cod. Ups. C 159', *English Manuscript Studies 1100-1700*, 3 (1992), 73-101. On Betson see A. I. Doyle, 'Thomas Betson of Syon Abbey', *The Library*, Fifth Series, 11 (1956), 115-18. Bond wrote *The Pilgrimage of Perfection* ([1531], [1534], *STC* 3277-8). On Whitford, see *Richard*

Whytford's The Pype or Tonne of the Lyfe of Perfection: with an Introductory Study on Whytford's Works, ed. by James Hogg, Salzburg Studies in English Literature: Elizabethan and Renaissance Studies, 89, 5 vols (Salzburg: Universität Salzburg, 1979-89), I:I (1979), and Veronica Lawrence, 'Richard Whitford and Translation', in *The Medieval Translator*, ed. by Roger Ellis and Ruth Evans (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1994), pp. 136-52. On Fewterer see Elizabeth Salter, 'Ludolphus of Saxony and his English Translators', *Medium Aevum*, 33 (1964), 26-35, and J. Rhodes, 'Deuoute Prayers in Englysshe of Thactes of Our Redemption', *The Library*, Fifth Series, 28 (1973), 149-51. See further in J. Hogg, 'The Contribution of the Brigittine Order to Late Medieval English Spirituality', in *Spiritualität Heute und Gestern: Internationaler Kongress vom 4 bis 7 August 1982*, ed. by J. Hogg, Analecta Cartusiana, 35, 3 vols (Salzburg: Universität Salzburg, 1983), III, 160-74, and Roger Ellis, 'Further Thoughts on the Spirituality of Syon Abbey', in *Mysticism and Spirituality in Medieval England*, ed. by W. F. Pollard and R. Boenig (Cambridge: Brewer, 1997), pp. 219-44.

[21] For details of the buildings as required by the Rule and as preserved at Vadstena, see *The Bridgettine Breviary of Syon Abbey*, ed. by A. J. Collins, Henry Bradshaw Society, 96 (Worcester: Stanbrook Abbey Press, 1969 for 1963), pp. xii-xvi, and Andersson and Borgehammar, pp. 223-24. The matter is explored more fully in Borgehammar, 'St Birgitta: An Architect'. For a detailed description of Vadstena Abbey, see M. Lindgren, 'Altars and Apostles: St Birgitta's Provisions for the Altars in the Abbey Church at Vadstena and their Reflection of Birgittine Spirituality', in *In Quest of the Kingdom*, ed. by A. Härdelin, Bibliotheca Theologiae Practicae, 48 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1991), pp. 245-82.

[22] R. W. Dunning, 'The Building of Syon Abbey', *Transactions of the Ancient Monuments Society*, n.s. 25 (1981), 16-26, notes (p. 18) that papal approval was given in 1480 for a non-eastern orientation for the church, but he rejects such an orientation for Syon. It is clear, however, that the western choir of Bridgettine churches, as stipulated in the architectural details in *Reuelaciones Extravagantes*, pp. 143-150 (Chapters 30-34), reflected a deliberate Bridgettine emphasis, although the celebrants always faced east.

[23] The Syon *Martiloge* (London, British Library, Additional MS 22,285) ordained a special annual Office of the Dead to benefactors of each library, which was to be recited by the custodian of that library (fols 4^{r-v}, 17^{v}-18^{r}). A 1482 ordinance for binding, repairing, writing, and limning books, made between the abbess of Syon, Elizabeth Muston, and the keeper of the men's locutory, Thomas Raile, requires Raile to 'bynde and repayre alle bookes needefulle wythine vs of bothe sydes, þat is to say, the bookes of oure queeres deliuerede to him owdere by þe Chauntrere of the brethren syde or be Chaunstresse of owre the systren syde, and þe bookes of lybraries deliuered to hym be þe kepar of þe brethrenes

librarie or be þe kepar of oure þe sistrenes librarie' (quoted from R. J. Whitwell, 'An Ordinance for Syon Library, 1482', *English Historical Review*, 25 (1910), 121-23 (p. 122)).

[24] Dunning, p. 18.

[25] *Ibid.*

[26] Dunning, pp. 18-19. Despite the explicitness of the details, the location of the pulpit(s) is not clear (if indeed they should be considered pulpits, rather than reading desks). On the evidence cited, it might appear that there were pulpits in both the brothers' and the sisters' quarters (presumably the lady abbess would address the nuns from the sisters' pulpit, given that the brothers were denied access), that the main pulpit in the church was at the east end, and that there may have been an external pulpit for the sort of open-air preaching that sometimes took place at Vadstena (Andersson and Borgehammar, pp. 227-28). There was an outside pulpit at Vadstena, but there is no evidence of a permanent pulpit inside the church (*ibid.*, note 34, p. 224).

[27] *VCH (Middlesex)*, p. 186 and note 1.

[28] There is confusion amongst scholars about the pardons available at Syon, although Simon Wynter's sermon on the subject (which is discussed below) is both explicit and exhaustive. For briefer details, see Aungier, Appendix No. VII, pp. 421-26.

[29] Urban VI had granted the *Vincula* pardon to Vadstena in 1378, five years after the saint's death. In 1425 Martin V extended the pardon to Syon, with extra privileges.

[30] *The Revelations of Saint Birgitta*, ed. by W. P. Cumming, Early English Text Society (hereafter EETS), Original Series (hereafter OS), 178 (London: Oxford University Press for the EETS, 1929 for 1928), pp. xxxi-xxxvii.

[31] *The Book of Margery Kempe*, ed. by S. B. Meech, EETS, OS 212 (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the EETS, 1961 [1940]), pp. 245, ll. 32-33 and 246, ll. 32-33.

[32] For details of the Feasts of the Transfiguration and the Holy Name (legislated for the Canterbury province in 1487 and 1488 respectively, and for York in 1489), see R. W. Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts in Later Medieval England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), pp. 13-39 and 62-83. Two of the three *Festial* sermons with which this article is ultimately concerned are for these feast-days.

[33] British Library, Harley MS 2321, fol. 27^{r} (Simon Wynter's sermon).

[34] See note 11 above.

[35] Investigation of the Vadstena Gospel expositions is still at an early stage, but Dr Borgehammar suggests that the relatively few extant Gospel expositions may be explained by the fact that the Sunday duty to expound the gospel, presumably in the form of the glossing of each verse, was a practice which would have come easily to the Bridgettine brothers and may not have been written down.

[36] See note 16 above.

[37] For the history of the Syon house after the Dissolution, with an investigation into the reasons for loss and survival of the Syon libraries, see de Hamel, pp. 111-29. In fact, despite the continuous tradition of the Syon sisters, the nuns themselves had with them during their peregrinations only a few of the original books. For a reference to volumes obtained by Richard Grafton 'ex spolijs Syon', see 'The Migration of Manuscripts from the English Medieval Libraries', in N. R. Ker, *Books, Collectors and Libraries: Studies in the Medieval Heritage*, ed. by Andrew G. Watson (London: Hambledon, [1985]), pp. 459-70 (p. 464 and footnote 1).

[38] *Catalogue of the Library of Syon Monastery, Isleworth*, ed. by Mary Bateson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1898), edited from Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 141. Bateson's account of Betson (p. xxiii, note 5) has been superseded by Doyle, who has identified Betson as the original scribe of the catalogue. It is currently being re-edited for the Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues by Dr Vincent Gillespie (*The Catalogue of the Brethren's Library of Syon Abbey*).

[39] Bateson, p. ix. Service books were kept separately, the monks' with the chantor and the nuns' with the chantress in their respective choirs (see note 23 above).

[40] The majority of Vadstena sermons are in Latin, sometimes with Swedish glosses. See note 157 below, and Andersson and Borgehammar, p. 216.

[41] Several volumes (Bateson, E51, 59, 91; H18; I16; M14, 86; P55; Q15; S23, 43) contained quotations from the epistles and gospels for the year (Bateson, Supplement to the Original Index, p. 257). Of these, Q15 also contained sermons on the epistles and gospels, and S43 contained dominical sermons on the gospels, which should probably be considered distinct from Gospel expositions. Cf. P47: 'Textus Epistolarum & Euangeliorum tam de temporali quam de sanctis per totum annum que in hoc monasterio de Syon predicanda sunt' (Supplement to the Original Index, p. 259, *sub* Syon: Sermones). See too note 64 below.

[42] Bateson, H17 and H18 (both recorded as 'Notyngham super vnum ex 4^{or} secundum Clementem lanthoniensem'). I am grateful to Dr Vincent Gillespie for alerting me to these entries.

[43] Bateson, H40 ('Tabula leccionum, Epistolarum & omnium euangeliorum sub concordancia vniformi tam dominicalium quam sanctorum festiualium & omnium sanctorum tam de proprio quam de communi per totum annum & cum quotacione euangeliorum secundum quod reperiri valeant in Notyngham super textum Clementis').

[44] For further details (including information on indices prepared for the commentary), see H. Leith Spencer, *English Preaching in the Late Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), p. 35. The redaction survives in two manuscripts, neither traceable to Syon

(Cambridge, University Library, MSS Gg.iii.31 and Kk.iii.27).

[45] Bateson, N35: 'Sermo egregius in anglica de Indulgenciis per dominum Symonem Wynter sacerdotem huius monasterii professum' (f. 49), 'Sermo eiusdem de penitencia in anglica & incipit *Penitentiam agite*' (f. 60). K43 may be the Latin version of the pardon sermon ('Sermo de Indulgenciis secundum Dominum Symonem Wynter').

[46] See Michael A. Hughes, 'The Syon "Pardon" Sermon edited from MS Harley 2321 with Introduction, Notes and Glossary' (unpublished master's thesis, University of Liverpool, 1959). An internal reference to Thomas Fishbourne, first confessor-general, as deceased dates its composition to after 13 September 1428 (Hughes, p. xxiv). The present make-up of the manuscript does not tally with the catalogue descriptions of volumes containing the sermon (see Bateson, K43 and N35). It is preceded by a Latin sermon on indulgences by Francis of Meyronnes (d. *c.* 1328), to which Wynter refers three times in his sermon (the Syon catalogue details two copies of Francis of Meyronne's sermon, D63 and D76, neither in the context of Wynter's sermon) and followed by details of the Assisi pardon, a 'breuiarium tocius veteris et noui testamenti', various historical and scriptural notes (including material on Rome and pilgrimages from England to Rome), and a *Speculum Monachorum*. Although it seems inevitable that the manuscript originated at Syon, there is no indication of its provenance and it is not listed amongst the Syon manuscripts in *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: A List of Surviving Books*, ed. by N. R. Ker, 2nd edn (London: Royal Historical Society, 1964), pp. 184-87, nor in *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: A List of Surviving Books, Supplement to the Second Edition*, ed. by A. G. Watson (London: Royal Historical Society, 1987), pp. 64-65.

[47] The special power of St Peter is referred to in *Reuelaciones Extrauagantes*, pp. 149-50. sections 15-19 (Chapter 34).

[48] On Vadstena *ad vincula* sermons, see Borgehammar, 'Preaching to pilgrims'.

[49] See Spencer, pp. 228-68, for a full discussion of the structure of late medieval sermons.

[50] Sermons may well have been long (and perhaps dry). Andersson and Borgehammar note (pp. 211-12) that Italian and Bavarian manuscripts of the *Reuelaciones Extrauagantes* have an addition to Chapter 23 stating that sermons should be measured by an hour-glass so as not to over-run. One manuscript stipulates that sermons delivered outside the church might be longer than an hour (*ibid.*, pp. 227-28).

[51] Abridged and adapted versions are found in California, Huntington Library MS HM 140, fol. 169^{r}; Cambridge, Trinity College MS B.14.54, pp. 177-99 (a palimpsest); London, BL MSS Harley 955, fols 72^{r}-76^{v} and 4012, fols 110^{r}-113^{r} (printed Aungier, pp. 422-26), and Oxford, Bodleian Library Ashmole MS 750, fols 140^{v}-141^{v}, 183^{r}. See Hughes, Appendices A and B, pp. 123-35.

[52] This may be indicated by the fact that it is a carefully corrected copy with over 200 corrections and emendations (Hughes, p. xxiv). Its survival in the vernacular may be explained if it was to be available for consultation by the sisters, but in that case its presence in the catalogue of the brothers' library is odd. For a probable Latin version of the sermon, see note 45 above.

[53] Bateson, Index *sub* Rogerus, p. 241.

[54] It may be that S36 is identical to S18 ('sermones 34 notabiles'), which Roger donated to the Abbey together with other preaching material (E47 and M37). It is not noted that S18 is in the vernacular, and the first word of the second folio ('Crisostomus') does not solve the question of whether the sermons were English or Latin.

[55] The Supplement to the Original Index includes the entry *Sermones* which lists 61 volumes containing 'sermones' and then cites a further eighteen categories of individual and collected sermons, some attributed but most not (Bateson, pp. 258-59). Amongst these, 'Sermones Evang. domin.' (P36-37, 44, 51) are unattributed dominical sermons based on the Gospel of the day.

[56] Augustine's works as a whole are listed in Bateson, Index, pp. 206-15. The sermons occupy pp. 210-5 (pp. 210-11 according to day of preaching, pp. 211-5 alphabetically according to subject matter).

[57] Tait, p. 254: 'the vast number of sermon collections, topping the list [of volumes recorded in 1428 and 1523] on both occasions, is . . . a strong indication of the serious attitude of the monks towards their preaching duties'.

[58] Rogerus: S36 (Index *sub* Rogerus, p. 241); Simon Wynter: K43, N35, ff. 49 and 60, P39, P40, R18, S21 (Index *sub* Symon, p. 242); Thomas Bulde: P41, P42, R19 (Index *sub* Bulde, p. 219 and *sub* Thomas, p. 242). Hugo Damelett, whose own sermons were indexed as S33 (Index *sub* Hugo), was not, as Bateson asserts (p. 227, footnote 7), a Syon monk but a secular priest and rector of St Peter's, Cornhill, London from 1447 to his death in 1476. (See *A Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge to 1500*, ed. by A. B. Emden (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963), *sub* Damlett, Hugh).

[59] The discussion that follows is dependent on the stimulating paper, 'The Lost Library of Syon Abbey', delivered by Dr Vincent Gillespie at the Conference on the Life, Writings and Order of St Bridget of Sweden, Buckfast Abbey, Devon, July, 1994. Any errors of fact or interpretation are, however, my own and must await correction with the publication of Dr Gillespie's new edition of the Syon catalogue.

[60] Nevertheless, Simon Wynter left four volumes of his own sermons (P39, P40, R18, S21) to the Abbey.

[61] Such must have existed because the *Additions* required the Bishop of London on visitation to ask 'If there be an inuentory or register of the bokes of the library and how

they and other bokes of study be kepte and repayred' (cited by Whitwell, p. 121).

[62] In conversation, Dr Gillespie has suggested this as the explanation for the loss of the old volumes of canon law from the catalogue.

[63] Rogerus left three volumes to the Abbey (E47, M37, S18) and may be the Rogerus Twiforde to whom ('et ceteris fratribus de Syon') Joan Buckland gave Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 630 (Ker, p. 308 *sub* Buklonde and p. 310 *sub* Twiforde). (But see Emden *sub* Twiforde.) On Wynter, see note 20 above. He left the Abbey nine volumes (K35, L26, M6, M35, P39, P40, R18, S16, S21). Nothing is known about Bulde.

[64] The main problem, which is discussed below, is the unreliability of the catalogue. Nevertheless, a study of the sermons (largely housed under pressmarks P-S) reveals donations by Syon brothers of several unattributed collections of dominical and feast-day sermons, such as they were required to preach, e.g. P36 (donated by John Bracebridge): 'Sermones Euangeliorum dominicalium. Item alii sermones pauci de magnis festiuitatibus', P37 (donated by John Pynchebek): 'Sermones dominicales', P51 (donated by John Lawsby and discussed further below): 'Sermones dominicales super Epistolas et Euangelia dominicalia cum diuersis thematibus pro vno sermone', Q14 (donated by William Wey): 'Sermones dominicales super Euangelia per totum annum. Item sermones de festis principalibus et sanctis . . .', Q16 (donated by William Fitzthomas): 'Omelie siue sermones super Euangelia dominicalia et festorum de temporali per totum annum. Omelie siue sermones super Euangelia de sanctis. Omelie siue sermones super Euangelia de communi sanctorum', Q33 (donated by Robert Denton): 'Sermones epistolarum et euangeliorum dominicalium. Sermones de sanctis', Q47 (donated by William Catisby) 'Sermones dominicales'. There are still some notable omissions. For example, Richard Reynolds left a library of 93 volumes, none of which could be his own sermons, and Richard Whitford left 18 volumes, only one containing 'Diuersi sermones' which might conceivably be his own. (For a list of the donors cited in the catalogue with some biographical information, see Bateson, Appendix I, pp. xxiii-vii.)

[65] Bateson notes that the Index 'contains many works not found in the Catalogue and omits many items in the Catalogue' (p. 202, note 1). She indicates 'incorrect references' by an asterisk.

[66] Bateson, pp. v-vi.

[67] The pardon sermon is described in the catalogue as 'egregius' (see note 45 above), which singles it out for particular notice. The term is used in relation to the Vadstena preacher, Iohannes Swenonis (d. 1390) in the *Diarium Vadstenense: The Memorial Book of Vadstena Abbey*, ed. by Claes Gejrot, Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis, Studia Latina Stockholmiensia, 32 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1988), 51/2 ('Fuit eciam predicator egregius et magne facundie'). I am grateful to Dr Gejrot for presenting me with a copy of his

edition.

[68] The 'sermo ad clerum' survives in the binding and endleaf of Cambridge, University Library Additional MS 4081 (Ker, p. 185 and de Hamel, pp. 102-03). In 1898 Bateson could trace only six extant Syon volumes (pp. xvii-viii). The number was considerably augmented by Ker, pp. 184-87 (books), pp. 308-10 (donors), and Watson, pp. 64-65. See too de Hamel, pp. 114-24 and David N. Bell, *What nuns read: books and libraries in medieval English nunneries*, Cistercian Studies Series, 158 (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1995), pp. 173-74. Bell refers to 'a sermon and prayers of St Bridget' in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 346 (now 2418), but the sermon is in fact the *Sermo Angelicus* (see note 97 below).

[69] On Lawsby, see note 18 above and Emden *sub* Lawsby, John. The manuscript is the property of Mr Gregory Stevens Cox of St Peter Port, Guernsey, to whom I am indebted for his kindness in answering my queries, in providing me with photographs of the cover and the first folio, and in visiting England in order to show me the manuscript. Mr Cox is the son of the late J. S. Cox, formerly of Morcombelake in Devon, who is cited as owner of the manuscript by Ker (p. 186 *sub* Morcombelake) and Watson (p. 65 *sub* Morcombelake).

[70] Bateson, P51-3, P55, S51.

[71] The Syon catalogue (Bateson) cites the volume under the pressmark P51: 'Sermones dominicales super Epistolas & Euangelia dominicalia cum diuersis thematibus pro vno sermone. Duodecim abusiones secundum Augustinum. Tractatus de 12^{cim} vtilitatibus tribulacionis.' It notes that the second folio begins 'filius hominis'.

[72] The sermons of P52 are by William of Auvergne, P53 by Jacobus de Voragine, P55 by Nicholas de Aquevilla, and S51 probably by Michael of Hungary. The *incipit* to the first sermon in collection P51 does not match any of the entries under the text '(Ecce) rex tuus venit' in *Repertorium der lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters: für die Zeit von 1150-1350*, ed. by J. B. Schneyer, Beitrage zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters, 43, 11 vols (Münster, 1969-90), X-XI: *Index der Textanfänge*.

[73] My investigation into the Cox manuscript ('The Cox Manuscript') currently takes the form of a University of Salford Working Paper in Literary and Cultural Studies, no. 33, which may be obtained from the European Studies Research Institute, University of Salford, Salford M5 4WT. After circulation of the Working Paper and closer scrutiny of the manuscript, the paper will be offered for wider publication.

[74] *Reuelaciones Extrauagantes*, p. 133: 'Circa XV. Capitulum regule Sancti Saluatoris . . . Christus ostendit, quomodo et quid predicandum est populo', i.e. 'Christ shows how and what must be preached to the people'.

[75] *Reuelaciones Extrauagantes*, p. 133: 'Capitulum XXIII. Christus loquitur: "Qui predicant veritatem meam, debent habere verba simplicia et pauca, in leccione sanctarum

scripturarum fundata, vt homines venientes delonge capere sufficiant et non attediantur in prolixitate et declamacione verborum superfluorum. 2 Nec debent proferre verba contorta more adulancium, nec multiplicare incisiones et distincciones capitulorum seu subtilitates leoninitatum, sed omnia moderare iuxta capacitates audiencium. Quia que populus simplex non intelligit, solet plus mirari quam edificari. 3 Ideo, si est dominica, predicantes in ista religione proponant euangelium diei et eius exposiciones, Bibliam et ista verba mea et dilecte matris mee sanctorumque meorum, Vitas patrum et miracula sanctorum, simbolum fidei, remedia quoque contra temptaciones et vicia secundum vnuscuiusque capacitatem. 4 Nam mater mea carissima simplicissima fuit, Petrus ydiota, Franciscus rusticus, et tamen plus profecerunt animabus quam magistri eloquentes, quia perfectam caritatem ad animas habuerunt."'

[76] Andersson and Borgehammar, pp. 228-32.

[77] *Ibid.*, p. 231. See the evidence above on Syon gospel expositions.

[78] *Ibid.*, p. 232.

[79] The dominical sermons of the Cox manuscript might therefore be Syon sermons. The four volumes of Simon Wynter's sermons in the Syon catalogue were dominical sermons (see note 60 above).

[80] Andersson and Borgehammar, p. 212.

[81] See note 75 above.

[82] Cf. BL, Harley MS 2321, fol 30^{v} for an example of quotation, first in Latin, then in English, from the Revelations, Book 6, Chapter 102. Hughes has calculated (p. xi) twenty separate uses of the Revelations in the sermon.

[83] Vadstena Abbey was consecrated in 1384 and dissolved by 1550. About 450 of an estimated 1400 volumes survive, approximately a fifth of them in the vernacular. The majority of the Latin volumes are in Uppsala University Library, where they form a substantial part of the 'C' Collection. About 150 of them contain a total of 12,794 sermons, 6,126 written in the Abbey itself, of which about 5,000 sermons may be considered clearly Bridgettine. See Andersson and Borgehammar, pp. 213-15. For information on the 'C' Collection and the Vadstena sermons, see *Mittelalterliche Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Uppsala: Katalog über die C-Sammlung*, ed. by Margarete Andersson-Schmitt and Monica Hedlund, Acta Bibliothecae R. Universitatis Upsaliensis, 26, 7 vols (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1988-95), *Vadstena klosters bibliothek: Ny katalog och nya forskningsmöjligheter/The Monastic Library of Medieval Vadstena: A New Catalogue and New Potentials for Research*, ed. by Monica Hedlund and Alf Härdelin, Acta Bibliothecae R. Universitatis Upsaliensis, 29 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1990), especially pp. 5-9 and 104-5 (English summaries), and Hedlund, *A Catalogue*.

[84] I am dependent for information about Vadstena sermons on the generous help of Dr Stephan Borgehammar and on the published material which he and his colleague, Dr Claes Gejrot, have made available to me. Close study of individual Vadstena sermons must await the two-volume edition currently being prepared in Sweden (see Andersson and Borgehammar, pp. 234-36).

[85] For the following comments I am dependent on Borgehammar, 'Preaching', which is based on 'a rapid (and cursory) survey of 90 of them' (p. 94).

[86] The only Vadstena *ad Vincula* sermons to deal with indulgences appear to be those of the preacher, Nicolaus Ragvaldi, confessor-general from 1501-5 (Borgehammar, 'Preaching', p. 99).

[87] Borgehammar, p. 95.

[88] In a private communication (22 April 1997): 'I must now admit that every Vadstena sermon does not have a reference to St Bridget. I know of a handful which don't. But I would still say the vast majority of them have at least one quotation from the Revelations.' See too the discussion in Andersson and Borgehammar, pp. 232-33.

[89] On the other hand, Ellis, 'Further Thoughts' (pp. 233, 237) points out that neither Betson nor Fewterer in their treatises makes use of specifically Bridgettine material (see notes 20 above and 137 below). The distinction between treatises (to be read) and sermons (to be preached) might be relevant in this issue (but see note 93 below).

[90] This information is the result of a private communication from Dr Borgehammar (24 April 1997), in which he cites an instructive example from the Vadstena collection, where a collection of sermons by Nicholas de Aquevilla has been customised for Bridgettine use, probably as a model volume for the abbey's lending library, simply by the occasional insertion of quotations from St Bridget.

[91] Andersson and Borgehammar, p. 228.

[92] To my knowledge, the existence of Bridgettine references in Latin sermons of English provenance has not been investigated.

[93] For the sometimes hazy distinction between treatises and sermons, see the discussions below on the *Quattuor Sermones* and the *Hamus Caritatis*.

[94] Cambridge, University Library MS Hh.i.11, fols 128^{r}-32^{v}. The sermon is discussed in Roger Ellis, '"Flores ad Fabricandam . . . Coronam": An Investigation into the Uses of the *Revelations* of St Bridget of Sweden in Fifteenth-Century England', *Medium Aevum*, 51 (1982), 163-86 (p. 175). It has been further investigated by V. M. O'Mara, 'An Unknown Middle English Translation of a Brigittine Work', *Notes and Queries*, 234 (1989), 162-64, and 'Preaching to Nuns in Late Medieval England', in *Medieval Monastic Preaching*, ed. by Carolyn Muessig (Leiden/Boston/Cologne: Brill, 1998), pp. 93-119. The sermon is edited by O'Mara in *A Study and Edition of Selected Middle English Sermons: Richard Alkerton's*

Easter Week Sermon preached at St Mary Spital in 1406, a Sermon on Sunday Observance, and a Nunnery Sermon for the Feast of the Assumption, Leeds Texts and Monographs, n.s., 13 (Leeds: University of Leeds, 1994), pp. 141-221.

[95] BL, Harley MS 2268, fols 199^{r}-207^{r}/208^{r}. See V.M. O'Mara, 'The "Hallowyng of þe Tabernakyll of owre Sawle" according to the Preacher of the Middle English Sermons in BL MS Harley 2268', in *Models of Holiness in Medieval Sermons: Proceedings of the International Symposium (Kalamazoo, 4-7 May 1995)*, ed. by B. M. Kienzele *et al.*, Textes et Études du Moyen Âge, 5 (Louvain-la-Neuve: Fédération Internationale des Instituts d'Études Médiévales, 1996). See too V. M. O'Mara, 'A Study of unedited Late Middle English sermons that occur singly or in small groups, with an edition of selected sermons' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Leeds, 1988), pp. 160-68. Dr O'Mara is currently preparing an edition of the sermon, with three others from the same manuscript, for publication in the Middle English Texts series.

[96] See O'Mara, *A Study*, pp. 177, 206-7, and *Sancta Birgitta: Opera Minora 2: Sermo Angelicus*, ed. by Sten Eklund, SSFS, Ser. 2, Latinska Skrifter, 8:2 (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1972). The Bridgettine sisters followed their own office, while the brothers used the Sarum rite. For the Latin version of the sisters' office, see *The Bridgettine Breviary*, and for the Middle English translation, see *The Myroure of Oure Ladye*, ed. by J. H. Blunt, EETS, Extra Series, 19 (London: Trübner, 1873). The *Myroure* is discussed in Ellis, *Syon Abbey*, pp. 115-23, and in Ann M. Hutchison, 'Devotional Reading in the Monastery and in the Late Medieval Household', in *De Cella in Seculum*, ed. by Michael G. Sargent (Cambridge: Brewer, 1989), pp. 215-27. See further note 149 below.

[97] See O'Mara, *A Study*, pp. 177-78, 213. For Book I of the Revelations, see *Sancta Birgitta Revelaciones Book I*, ed. by C.-G. Undhagen, SSFS, Ser. 2, Latinska Skrifter, 7:1 (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1978). For Book II, see *Revelationes S. Birgitte* (Lübeck: Bartholomaeus Ghotan, 1492). The material is also found in *Regvla Salvatoris*, pp. 106-7, sections 56-64 (Chapter 4).

[98] For Book IV, see Ghotan's edition cited at note 97 above.

[99] Cf. the invocation to 'sustres' (l. 6) and the references to '*owre* gloriows modyr, vowe and patronesse' (l. 2), 'þe poyntis of *oure* religion' (l. 107), and '*vs* þat be religious persones' (ll. 112-13) (my italics). O'Mara (*A Study*, pp. 204-05) is reluctant to accept that such phrasing implies that the author was a member of the same religious order as the sisters whom he addresses.

[100] Andersson and Borgehammar, p. 220.

[101] The sources are discussed fully in O'Mara, *A Study*, pp. 173-85. The second lesson for the Saturday office is based on Chapter 20 of the *Sermo Angelicus*. See further in Collins, pp. xxi-xxii, 129, and Blunt, p. 5.

[102] O'Mara sees the sermon as 'a fine example of medieval plagiarism' (p. 163), but it may be pointed out that it would not have been necessary to acknowledge sources if the original audience were themselves Bridgettines more than familiar with the material preached.

[103] There is no evidence from Syon for the preaching of sermons to the sisters and there were no special provisions for such preaching in the Rule (but see note 12 above). However, sermons for the sisters were certainly preached, if rarely, at Vadstena, and it would appear likely that some were preached at Syon too. See Andersson and Borgehammar, p. 226, and *Medieval Sermon Studies*, 39 (Spring, 1997), 45, for a synopsis of the paper, '*Aquae fluentes, flores virentes, aves cantantes*: Preaching to the Sisters of Vadstena Abbey', delivered by Maria Berggren at the Tenth Medieval Sermon Studies Symposium, Linacre College, Oxford, July 1996. O'Mara notes that the Assumption sermon 'is remarkable in that it is the single known case of a Middle English Nunnery sermon in manuscript form' ('A Study', p. 17).

[104] O'Mara, *A Study*, pp. 165-70. A more recent comment in 'Preaching to Nuns', p. 108 ('the sermon as it stands was not intended for Birgittine sisters') suggests, however, some moderation of her earlier caution. The discussion below is my own and derives from my reading of Dr O'Mara's edition and my own study of the material. It runs counter in tone and sometimes opinion to that of Dr O'Mara, to whose scholarship and to whose kindness in making available to me her material and her interpretation of it I am nevertheless indebted in numerous ways.

[105] Amongst much material which would bear detailed scrutiny, the manuscript contains chapters from Nicholas Love's *Mirror of the Blessed Life of Christ* (produced at the Carthusian house at Mount Grace), from the translation of Suso's *Orologium Sapientie*, kept in the Syon brothers' library (see Bateson, O.3), and from *The Prickynge of Love* (see notes 131 and 133 below). It also contains a version of the mass for the feast of the Holy Name of Jesus, associated with Syon (see further below). For a description of the contents, see O'Mara, *A Study*, pp. 147-52.

[106] Dr O'Mara is reluctant to commit herself on the matter of whether the manuscript is made up of booklets (*A Study*, pp. 141-52). Her suggestion that it may stem from Carrow is based on the Norfolk dialect and on similarities between the description of the nun's habit and the habit worn by Benedictine nuns (*A Study*, pp. 164-72). It is accepted by Marilyn Oliva, *The Convent and the Community in Late Medieval England: Female Monasteries in the Diocese of Norwich 1350-1540* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 1998), pp. 62-63.

[107] Andersson and Borgehammar note (p. 217) that it was Vadstena practice to lend sermon collections to local priests, where presumably they might be copied for parochial use. If the same thing was done at Syon (whether to parish priests or fellow religious or

both), it would mean that Syon sermons might easily be found outside a Bridgettine context. Indeed, O'Mara quotes a letter preserved in Durham, University Library, Cosin MS V.iii.16, fol. 118^{r-v} (discussed further below), which may have been written by Thomas Betson and which appears to suggest that 'there might be nothing unusual in Brigittine texts being used by another order' (*A Study*, p. 172). She cites too 'a specific connection between the Benedictines at Norwich and the Brigittines at Syon' (*ibid.*). The connection between Syon and East Anglia may be further strengthened by the knowledge that Syon brothers tended to stem from London, Essex, and East Anglia.

[108] O'Mara notes (*A Study*, p. 178) that 'the choice . . . was to a large extent a natural one', but does not note that it would have been so only to a Bridgettine.

[109] The sermon and its manuscript are discussed in O'Mara, 'The "Hallowyng"' and in O'Mara, *A Study*, pp. 146-78 (especially pp. 160-78), 238-39, 255, 259-60.

[110] 'For als mekylle als þe tyme passys fast away, and lang sermownys nowondayis arn haldyn tedius and yrkesome, leuyng to another tyme þe secunde principalle of owre sermown, a schorth worde of þe thyrde, and sone make an ende' (f. 203r), quoted in Spencer, p. 248.

[111] Apart from the Bible, they are Augustine (Bateson, Index *sub* Augustinus, pp. 206-15), Chrisostomus (*ibid. sub* Crisostomus, pp. 220-21), and Richard Fitzralph (*ibid. sub* Armachanus, p. 205).

[112] Andersson and Borgehammar, pp. 11 and 24.

[113] O'Mara, 'The "Hallowyng"', p. 231.

[114] See O'Mara, 'The "Hallowyng"', p. 231-32, who is, however, rather more hesitant about the date and provenance of the manuscript in note 12 to p. 231. We must await her edition for a full investigation of the manuscript and its sermons, but it may be suggested that the reference in the Mary Magdalene sermon to 'þis glorius womman Mary Mawdilane in qwase place and to qwase worchep ȝe are gedryd here' may indicate a sermon preached at the hospital of St Mary Magdalene in York. (See *VCH: A History of Yorkshire: the City of York*, ed. by P. M. Tillott (London: Oxford University Press for the Institute of Historical Research, 1961), pp. 362-64 and *A History of the County of York, East Riding*, III, ed. by K. J. Allison (London: Oxford University Press for the Institute of Historical Research, 1976), p. 109.)

[115] O'Mara, 'The "Hallowyng"', p. 235.

[116] The impetus for the founding of a house of the Bridgettine order in England would appear to have been northern in origin, involving notable Yorkshiremen such as Henry V's chamberlain, Henry Lord Fitzhugh of Tanfield, and his brother-in-law and treasurer to the king, Henry Lord Scrope of Masham. The original plan was that the house would be established on the site of the hospital of St Nicholas in York. See Jonathan Hughes,

Pastors and Visionaries: Religion and Secular Life in Late Medieval Yorkshire (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1988), p. 75, and Aungier, *passim*. On further Bridgettine connections with Yorkshire, see Nicholas Rogers, 'About the 15 "O"s, the Brigittines and Syon Abbey', *St Ansgar's Bulletin*, 80 (1984), 29-30.

[117] de Hamel notes: 'There were far more books printed for Syon than for any other English monastery' (p. 101). See note 128 below.

[118] I am, as ever, indebted to Dr Ian Doyle for alerting me to the manuscript discussed below and for his comments on it.

[119] See note 107 above and Bell, pp. 173-74.

[120] It is Dr Doyle's opinion that the manuscript, 'although addressed to another house, is in other respects surely derived from Syon' (private communication). He has not been able to identify the Latin sermons elsewhere but has detected a Bridgettine allusion in one. For the manuscript and its interesting contents (including the Revelations of St Bridget), see *Catalogi Veteres Librorum Ecclesiae Cathedralis Dunelmensis*, ed. by B. Bolfield, Surtees Society, 7 (1838), Appendix XVI, pp. 168-69 (*sub* V.III.16). It may be of interest that, like the Cox manuscript, it contains the pseudo-Peter of Blois tract on the uses of tribulation. Apart from the Cox manuscript, two other manuscripts in the Syon brothers' library contained this tract (M15, fol. 31, M38, fol. 32).

[121] For fuller details of the material treated here, see Powell, 'Caxton, Syon and the *Festial*' and 'What Caxton did to the *Festial*'.

[122] *Pace* STC 17959.

[123] *Quattuor Sermones*, ed. by N. F. Blake, Middle English Texts, 2 (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1975).

[124] See S. Powell, 'Why *Quattuor Sermones*?', in *Texts and their Contexts: Papers from the Early Book Society*, ed. by J. Scattergood and J. Boffey (Dublin: Four Courts, 1997), pp. 181-95.

[125] For the feasts of the Transfiguration and the Holy Name, see note 32 above. For details of the feast of the Visitation, see Pfaff, pp. 40-61. It had been promulgated by Pope Boniface IX in 1389 but was so little celebrated that Sixtus IV virtually re-established it in a decree of 1475. It was licensed for the province of Canterbury in 1480.

[126] For the Visitation sermon, see sigs. R1^{r}, col. a - R3^{v}, col. a, for the Transfiguration sermon sigs. R3^{v}, col. b - R6^{r}, col. b, for the Holy Name sermon sigs. R6^{r}, col. b - S3^{v}, col. b. Caxton intended from an early stage to add a sermon for the feast of the Visitation, and he includes between the sermon for Saints Peter and Paul (29 June) and that for the Translation of St Thomas of Canterbury (7 July) the direction: 'Festum Visitacionis beate Marie require in fine libri' (sig. m5v). Presumably he became aware, or was advised, while the collection was being set up, that a sermon for the feast of the Visitation of the Virgin

was essential to any contemporary collection. In practice, by the time Caxton had set up the whole of the *Festial*, the other two feasts had been licensed, and he included sermons for those feasts as well. This situation, in which the *Festial* was updated by the addition of sermons for three new feasts, may be compared to the habit of adding new feasts as a supplement to breviaries and missals. See Pfaff, p. 57: 'Nearly the final stage in [the feast of the Holy Name] becoming a fully liturgical feast is illustrated by a missal [Oxford, MS Bodley Jones 47] to which the three principal "nova festa" have been added at the end with rubrics in the margin of the sanctorale directing attention to the additions, e.g. "Festum transfigurationis domini et de nomine Jesu. Require in fine libri".'

[127] On Syon productions printed by Caxton, Wynkyn de Worde, and Pynson, see Sue Ellen Holbrook, 'Margery Kempe and Wynkyn de Worde', in *The Medieval Mystical Tradition in England: Papers Read at Dartington Hall, July, 1987*, ed. by M. Glasscoe (Cambridge: Brewer, 1987), pp. 27-46; J. T. Rhodes, 'Syon Abbey and its Religious Publications in the Sixteenth-Century', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 44 (1993), 11-25; Powell, 'Syon, Caxton, and the *Festial*', and Powell, 'What Caxton Did to the *Festial*'. On the circulation of Carthusian and Bridgettine material into the wider world, see Roger Lovatt, 'The *Imitation of Christ* in Late Medieval England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th. series, 18 (1968), 97-121, Michael G. Sargent, 'The Transmission by the English Carthusians of some Late Medieval Spiritual Writings', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 27 (1976), 225-40, Vincent Gillespie, *'Cura Pastoralis in Deserto'*, in *De Cella in Seculum*, pp. 161-81 (especially pp. 175-81), and S. Powell, 'Lady Margaret Beaufort and her Books', *The Library*, Sixth Series, 20 (1998), 197-240 (pp. 217-21).

[128] See S. Powell, 'The Transmission and Circulation of *The Lay Folks' Catechism*', in *Late-Medieval Religious Texts and their Transmission*, ed. by A. J. Minnis (Cambridge: Brewer, 1994), pp. 67-84.

[129] For further details on these texts in the context of the *Quattuor Sermones*, see Powell, 'Why *Quattuor Sermones*?', pp. 81-83.

[130] Blake, pp. 33, ll. 27-37 (cf. Revelations II, 27B) and 40, l. 24 - 41, l. 5 (Revelations IV, 16B). For Books II and IV, see Ghotan's edition cited at note 97 above.

[131] In the form in which it is found in the *Quattuor Sermones*, the *Catechism* is known only in Cambridge, Trinity College MS B.14.19 (fols 194^{r}-241^{r}), a manuscript which contains, amongst other items of interest to the Bridgettines, *The Chastising of God's Children* and *The Prickynge of Love* (on which see note 105 above). It seems likely that all the texts in the manuscript stem from East Anglia. Copies of *The Chastysing of Goddes Chyldern* were owned by the Bridgettines at Syon, as well as by the Carthusians at London, Sheen, and Hull. Chapters 19 and 20 of it are translated from the *Epistola Solitarii* of St Bridget's Spanish confessor, Alfonso Pecha, while *The Prickynge of Love* is a devotional

treatise translated and abridged from the pseudo-Bonaventuran *Stimulus Amoris*, another favourite Syon text. See *The Prickynge of Love,* ed. by Harold Kane, Salzburg Studies in English Literature, Elizabethan and Renaissance Studies, 92:10, 2 vols (Salzburg: Universität Salzburg, 1983). *The Clensyng of Mannes Sowle* is based to some degree on *The Chastysyng*, as the scribe of Oxford, Bodley MS 923 acknowledges, and a manuscript reference to Sibilla de Felton, Abbess of Barking 1394-1419, shows that it was in the Benedictine abbey of Barking by 1401 and therefore presumably composed for it. See *The Chastising of God's Children and the Treatise of Perfection of the Sons of God* ed. by Joyce Bazire and Eric Colledge (Oxford: Blackwell, 1957), pp. 36-38, and A.I. Doyle, 'Books Connected with the Vere Family and Barking Abbey', *Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society*, n.s., 25:2 (1958), pp. 222-43, especially pp. 239-40.

[132] See Powell, 'Syon, Caxton and the *Festial*', p. 203 and note 56.

[133] Bateson, M51 (Index *sub* Bonaventura: 'Idem in stimulo amoris', p. 218). See note 131 above.

[134] It is presumably a treatise in the first instance and only secondly preachable. It is not written for any particular day of the Church calendar, has a title (which a sermon would not have), and has no invocation to an audience (but nor do the three new sermons).

[135] See Powell, 'Syon, Caxton and the *Festial*', p. 203.

[136] There is no reference to St Bridget, even where, in the Transfiguration sermon, a reference to the company of saints in heaven might allow such a reference (sig. 5^{v}, col. b). Indeed, one might think that the whole sermon, which deals with the Transfiguration on the Mount of Tabor and makes comparison with the mount of heaven, might usefully have taken advantage of further comparisons with Mount Sion, if it were a Bridgettine work, as does William Bonde in *The Pilgrimage of Perfection* (quoted Ellis, 'Further Thoughts', pp. 239, 240). It may be naïve, however, to demand Bridgettine allusions in every Bridgettine work. Ellis notes the lack of references to the saint in John Fewterer's *The Mirror or Glass of Christ's Passion*: 'Given the very comprehensive nature of this material, one omission is striking. Fewterer makes no use of distinctively Brigittine material, especially St Bridget's many revelations about the Passion . . . [He] is no more willing to include the Saint than her writings in his work. Instead, he chooses as his model the thirteenth-century Beguine, St Mary of Oignies . . . ' ('Further Thoughts', p. 237).

[137] Although, as has been seen, St Bridget would appear to have favoured a simply constructed sermon, Bridgettine sermons appear to follow the academic model, with a theme based on the Gospel of the day in the case of Sunday sermons, and on a Biblical text or a liturgical quotation in the case of feast-day sermons (Andersson and Borgehammar, pp. 228-34).

[138] O'Mara finds ('A Study' p. 56) only one Visitation sermon (in Longleat House, MS

4) amongst her single and small group sermons. Dr Helen Leith Spencer has informed me that she has come across a Transfiguration sermon in a collection by Odo of Cheriton (Cambridge, University Library MS Kk.i.11 and Cambridge, Trinity College MS B.15.22). Dr Patrick Horner concurs with Dr O'Mara and Dr Spencer in having found no record of a sermon for the feast of the Holy Name. For the situation with regard to Vadstena sermons, see note 161 below.

[139] The Visitation sermon takes the Gospel text of the visit of Mary to Elizabeth (Luke i.39-47); the Transfiguration sermon takes the Gospel text of the Transfiguration of Christ on Mount Tabor (Matthew xvii.1-13).

[140] *Festial* (1491), sig. R2^{r}, col. b: 'Wherfore lete vs ofte & deuoutely saye our Aue maria this salutacion. and we maye be sure/that she wyll resalute vs ayen. and helpe vs whan we haue moost nede.'

[141] O'Mara notes (*A Study*, p. 215) that the first part of the Assumption sermon up to 'Amen' is treated in the *ordinatio* of the manuscript as if it were a pro-theme, and a gap is left after it. She points out that it is too long for a pro-theme, but, more significantly, that it does not show the thematic link with the rest of the text which is the *raison d'être* of a pro-theme.

[142] I am grateful to Dr Borgehammar for alerting me to this sermon of Acho Iohannis (1416-42). It dates from the 1430s and is preserved in the 'C' Collection in the University Library of Uppsala (C 326, fols 251^{v}, col. a - 253^{v}, col. a). A minor but interesting point of resemblance with the *Festial* Visitation sermon occurs at fol. 252^{v}, col. a, where the preacher deals with the fifth category of sinful married men, those who kill their unborn children, perhaps by mistreating their wives during pregnancy. The material, although not the authorities cited, compares with matter treated as the second reason why Mary visited Elizabeth (sig. R2^{r}, col. a). The sermon is of further interest in that, although a Bridgettine sermon, it is one of the few that contain no reference to St Bridget.

[143] 'Pro uino igitur consolacionis diuine et lumine gracie fugiamus ad gloriosam uirginem, dicens hoc: Aue' (fol. 251^{v}, col. b).

[144] On the recitation of the Ave Maria after the pro-theme of a Bridgettine sermon, see Borgehammar, 'Preaching to Pilgrims', pp. 95-96 ('from the 1420s on it does seem to be regular practice') and Andersson and Borgehammar, p. 232. It is not a feature of Simon Wynter's pardon sermon.

[145] See James Hogg, 'Early Fifteenth-Century Charterhouse Sermons', in *Medieval Monastic Preaching*, pp. 53-72, where Hogg points out that the pro-theme of these sermons ends with 'a prayer for enlightenment both for the preacher and his audience, invoking the aid of Our Lady in the process' (p. 61).

[146] The phrase 'pro gracia impetranda' is one used in Vadstena sermons (Andersson and

Borgehammar, p. 232, note 57).

[147] See Andersson and Borgehammar, p. 232. It is a characteristic of *Three Middle English Sermons from the Worcester Chapter Manuscript F.10.*, ed. by D. M. Grisedale, Leeds Texts and Monographs, 5 (Kendal: Titus Wilson, 1939) that the pro-theme should begin with a short prayer and end with the Pater Noster and the Ave Maria, 'for prayer and invocation were to be the keynote of the ante-theme' (*ibid.*, p. xiv). The York Mary Magdalene sermon, too, ends its pro-theme with a request for prayers (fol. 199^{r}).

[148] Pfaff, p. 57. Pfaff also notes (*ibid.*) a Sarum breviary of c1400 (London, MS British Library Royal 2 A xiv) which has been adapted for Syon use by a supplement containing, not only the three feasts of St Bridget (Commemmoration, Translation, and Nativity), but also the Visitation of the Virgin.

[149] The order was dedicated to Jesus, Mary and St Bridget, and devotion to Mary was central to its observances and the basis of the sisters' offices, which were dedicated on each day of the week to a different episode of the Virgin's life. See Collins, pp. ix-xxiii, and Ellis, *Syon Abbey*, pp. 26-32, 115-23. On the virtue of silence, see further in Ellis, pp. 12-14, 99-103.

[150] Apart from the Bible and canon law, they are Albertus, Augustine, Bernard, Gregory, Jerome, and Thomas Aquinas, all of whom are recorded in Bateson, *passim.*

[151] *Festial* (1491), sig. R4^{v} col. b: 'Hec Vincencius'.

[152] I am grateful to Dr Roger Ellis for this reference. He notes that parts of the sermon (sig. R5^{r}, col. b - R6^{r}, col. a) correspond to an All Saints' Day sermon ascribed to St Augustine (*PL*, 39, cols 2135-37), which is excerpted in the 9th. lectio for the 3rd. Nocturn of the office of All Saints in the Sarum rite. See *Breviarium ad Usum Insignis Ecclesiae Sarum*, ed. by F. Procter and C. Wordsworth, 3 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1879-86), III, 975-76.

[153] For St Vincent Ferrer, see Bateson, P58, P59, R28 (Index *sub* Sanctus Vincencius, p. 245); for St Augustine, see note 56 above. The *Hamus Caritatis* also quotes from these two authorities, as well as from the Bible and from St Jerome.

[154] *Festial* (1491), sig. R5*r*, col. a: 'And in like maner & wyse sholde we doo as moche as we maye in tyme of our faste in lente. entende to prayer. and to deuyne seruyce And to take good hede what is sayd at sermons & prechyng/ and of the preste whan he is in the pulpyt/ And to bere it awaye. & to doo therafter in as moche as ye maye / In rehersinge and techyng the same to your childern and seruauntes that ye haue charge & power of/ Also goynge to holy places and to pardons'.

[155] *Festial* (1491), sig. R3^{v}, col. b - R4^{r}, col. a: 'This daye is gretely pryuyleged in holy chirche. In somoche that orders ben gyue as this day thorugh all crystendom. and grete pardons ben graunted to this daye in dyuerse places. As is to syon plener remyssion'. It may

be noted that this wording is unlikely to have been original to the sermon, if it was preached at Syon. Simon Wynter refers to the house as 'þis place' (cf. MS Harley 2321, fol. 18^{r}: 'but for as muche as þer is in þis place muche indulgence and pardon not know to muche pepull . . . I purpose to spek specialli of indulgence and pardon'). The narrative of the Transfiguration of Our Lord (Matthew xvii.1-9) is the Gospel text for the Saturday in Ember Week in Lent. This may explain why Lenten material is used in a feast celebrated in August. Plenary remission was obtainable at Syon both on the Saturday in Ember Week (the first full week in Lent) and on the feast of the Transfiguration, which occurred during the octave of the feast of St Peter ad Vincula.

[156] It has either been truncated, or it is intended for augmentation at the time of delivery. The process is presented in macaronic divisions, e.g. 'That our Jhesus is of myght & power. it apereth in rerum creacione/ in demonum subiectiones/ et in miraculorum operacione/ The myght & power of Jhesu/ first I say is shewed & apereth in the creacyon & makyng of the worlde/ and of all that is therin . . .' (sig. 7^{r}, col. b), and only the first principal is fully developed. On macaronic text in the Vadstena sermons, see note 40 above.

[157] Only the first principal is subdivided and the second principal is introduced with the direction: 'Here mayst thou shew & preche. how for pyte that he hadde of mankynde/ and for to socour and releue hym of myserye þat he was in. Jhesus wold meke hymself for to be come man. and so procede yf thou wylt in his actes/ of mysery. of pouerte/ of pacyence/ & specially of the cyrcymstaunce of his passion/' (sig. S1^{v}, col. a). For the similar truncation of the second principal of the process of the York Mary Magdalene sermon, see note 111 above.

[158] There are eight *narrationes*, each of which demonstrates the efficacy of the name of Jesus.

[159] On the prominence of Augustine and Bernard in the Syon brothers' library, see Tait, pp. 259-60.

[160] It might be argued that, in the absence of a narrative to expound, the feast of the Holy Name would demand an affective tone and greater attention to formal features.

[161] The feast of the Visitation was celebrated in Vadstena from 1412 as a *totum duplex* (Andersson and Borgehammar, p. 24) and numerous sermons exist (Borgehammar, 'Preaching'), but no sermons appear to survive from Vadstena for the feasts of the Transfiguration and the Holy Name. On the popularity of the feasts in England, see Pfaff, pp. 33-39, 74-83. On the widespread devotion to the Holy Name, Pfaff comments: 'It seems that England led the way in the liturgical celebration of the Holy Name' (p. 77, note 7).

[162] See Powell, 'Syon, Caxton', pp. 198-99 and footnote 39.

[163] On the English associations of the Fifteen Oes, see Rogers, pp. 29-30, and Eamon

Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400-1580* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992), pp. 249-56. For details of a prayerbook used by a Swedish sister at Syon, which contains, amongst other items, the Fifteen Oes in Swedish and Latin, see Claes Gejrot, 'Anna Karlsdotters bönbok: En tvåspråkig handskrift från 1400-talet', in *Medeltida skrift- och språkkultur*, ed. by Inger Lidell (Stockholm: Stockholms universitet, 1994), pp. 13-60. I am grateful to Dr Gejrot for supplying me with a transcript of his article and indebted to Mr Michael Brook, formerly of the University of Nottingham, for his translation from the Swedish.

[164] Bateson, M83, fol. 92. 'The virtue of the name of Jesus' is precisely the subject of the sermon, which deals with, firstly, the might and power of the Holy Name, then the pity and succour of the Holy Name, and finally that 'Ihesus is & perpetuelly shal be to his louers rewarder & premyour' (sig. R7^{r}, col. b).

[165] In May 1415 four sisters, three novices, and two brothers left Vadstena for England to assist in the founding of the English house. The sisters were to remain at Syon all their lives. On the liaison of personnel and texts between Vadstena and Syon, see further in Gejrot, 'Anna Karlsdotters bönbok'.

Did John Donne Read Chaucer, And Does It Matter?

John F. Plummer III

> Influence remains subject-centered, a person-to-person relationship, not to be reduced to the problematic of language.
>
> Harold Bloom[1]

> In place of the notion of intersubjectivity is installed that of intertextuality.
>
> Julia Kristeva[2]

I

Ovid's elegy 13 from *Amores* Book 1, Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde* Book 3, lines 1415-1527, and John Donne's 'The Sun Rising' all feature the separation of two lovers by dawn. While it seems generally, at least tacitly, accepted that both Chaucer and Donne were familiar with Ovid's poem, no one, to my knowledge, has ever claimed to see a chain of influence running from Ovid's elegy through *Troilus and Criseyde* to Donne's lyric.[3] Indeed, given the fall from grace suffered by the concept of influence in recent years, to advance such a claim might seem pointless even if it could be defended. I would nevertheless like to make this claim, both as a matter of plausible historical fact, and also as a way of re-examining the topic of literary influence.

Let me first suggest, provisionally and in an abstract way, some reasons I see to retain the notion of influence along with that of intertextuality, and let me then characterize in somewhat more detail what 'Chaucerian influence' might consist of for a seventeenth-century reader. I will then make the best case I can for detecting the influence of Chaucer's *Troilus* in Donne's 'The Sun Rising', while suggesting some of the critical implications of such an idea.

II

The figures of Ovid, Chaucer, and Donne and their respective texts raise, in particularly rich ways, such issues as traditional notions of canonical authors and authority, learning, and regard for antiquity and trans-historically conceived notions of the subject. At the same time, in the ages-old and ubiquitous *aubade* tradition in which the three texts participate, we find literary conventions and *topoi* which escape the control of any author, exemplifying what Jonathan Culler has referred to as 'anonymous discursive practices, codes whose origins are lost, that make possible the signifying practices of later texts'.[4]

Contemporary critiques of the notion of intersubjective literary influence appear frequently to be motivated by a desire to counter the supposed explanatory authority of influence. To posit or search for a 'source' for a given text is seen in this view as an attempt to 'explain' the text, to limit the range of its meaningfulness.[5] Overlooked, perhaps, from such a perspective, is the potential of the idea of intersubjective influence to complicate and enrich, rather than limit, the meaningfulness of a given text or set of texts, for thinking about influence reminds us that writers, at least when they are being 'influenced', are also readers. As Culler has written elsewhere, 'It is his experience of reading, his notion of what readers can and will do, that enables the author to write, for to intend meanings is to assume a system of conventions and to create signs within the perspective of that system. Indeed, writing can itself be viewed as an act of critical reading, in which an author takes up a literary past and directs it toward a future.'[6] Put another way, as a single example, thinking about Chaucer reading Ovid as I myself read the *House of Fame* is enjoyable, enriches the pleasure I take as a reader, and reminds me further that being 'influenced' is not in fact a passive matter, that Chaucer's playful appropriations of Ovidian and Virgilian material demonstrate his independent agency as a reader and (re)writer.[7]

Culler observes that writing about the relation among texts tends to slide toward one extreme position or other. On the one hand, intertextuality 'is a difficult concept to use because of the vast and undefined discursive space it designates, but when one narrows it so as to make it more usable one either falls into source study of a traditional and positivistic kind (which is what the concept was designed to transcend) or else ends by naming particular texts as the pre-texts on grounds of interpretive convenience.'[8] Critiquing Harold Bloom, Culler complains that when one asks what texts constitute the intertextual space which allows another text to be meaningful, in Bloom's work 'they turn out to be the central poems of a single great precursor. And if we ask why this should be so, why the intertextual should be

compressed to a relationship between two individuals, the answer seems to be that a man can have only one father: the scenario of the family romance gives the poet but one progenitor.'[9]

The group of *aubades* by Ovid, Chaucer, and Donne, I am arguing, may be regarded both in terms of anonymous intertextuality and also, potentially, as an instance of inter-subjective influence. But the relations among this group of texts and authors illustrate how complex in fact are the affiliations among even texts and authors said to be related 'simply' by influence. On the one hand, Donne and Chaucer are beyond doubt aware of the anonymous tradition of the *aubade*; it is likely that Ovid is as well.[10] So, Chaucer reading Ovid's elegy recognizes both what he might think of as a particular poem by a favorite author and an instance of an *aubade*. Similarly, Donne would see in Ovid's text both an individual poetic achievement and an instance of, or use of, the intertextuality of the *aubade* genre. What is more, if Donne had in fact read Book III of Chaucer's *Troilus*, he would recognize that Chaucer had also read Ovid's elegy. Further, Donne would be aware of Ovid's poem both in the original and in Marlowe's (English) version[11] as well, and could if he chose see Chaucer's poem as a translation or re-writing of Ovid's poem parallel to – though historically free of – Marlowe's translation. The complexity of the relations among these texts also undercuts the inevitability of Bloom's familial, progenitive trope. Even where we imagine Donne at his most 'influenced by authority', reading Chaucer who has read Ovid, Donne is in fact reading both Chaucer and Ovid at once, since he would also read Ovid himself *outside* the context of reading Chaucer.[12] In this instance at least, though one cannot deny that a man can have only one father, the presence of the father does not rule out the simultaneous direct influence of the grandfather. Indeed, the awkwardness of that observation itself begins to suggest how limited is the utility of genealogical tropes in conceptualizing influence.

Furthermore, Chaucer is not a simple 'father' to Donne even if we ignore Ovid. The lines between inter-subjective influence and intertextuality blur when we come to consider how unstable over time and complex, even contradictory, are such author-figures as Chaucer. Paradoxically (or at least ironically), while one might expect that the influence an authorial image might exercise to be directly proportional to that author's subjective control over his text's meaning, influentiality is often a sign of the opposite, of anonymous, after-the-fact, revisionist activity over which the author has no control whatever and which (historically speaking) is more likely to reflect the cultural assumptions of the reader than of the author, because the image of an author current and most potent at any given historical point will be one constructed by contemporaries (e.g., fellow readers, teachers, scholars, reviewers) of the person

supposedly being 'influenced'. What we call Petrarchanism, for example, takes its name from the productions of one author but itself consists of a largely anonymous intertextual tradition. When Sidney writes a sonnet he is aware both that he is using a form whose greatest practitioner (as he might have believed) was Francis Petrarch, but also that he is engaged with the larger Petrarchan intertext over which Petrarch himself had no control at all, that is, the poetic output of those writers Sidney satirizes in sonnet 15 of *Astrophil and Stella*, who 'poor Petrarch's long-deceased woes / With new-born sighs and denizend wit do sing'. Similarly, the Chaucerian corpus of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century editions was well beyond Chaucer's control, made up as it was of both authentic works and anonymous apocrypha,[13] sometimes explicitly and always implicitly attributed to Chaucer, while the Chaucerian biographies in circulation with the corpus were likewise mixtures of fact and fiction. In sum, thinking about a relation of influence between Ovid and Chaucer and Donne is not simple, and any hopes (or fears) that identifying influence will settle issues, texts, or bets seem misplaced. Far from requiring or reinforcing a faith in a stable, trans-historical subject, this notion of influence is emphatically shaped by and within a matrix of particular cultural, textual, and historical specificities. Of course, by insisting upon the complexity and polysemous quality of such influence, and thereby denying that such influence inevitably attributes to Ovid or Chaucer an undue explanatory, progenitive, or signifying power, I also deny myself the right to produce my reading of that influence as a key or explanation of Donne's poem. To avoid the risk of making a wholly empty gesture, then, and to suggest that the answer to the title's question does matter, in what follows I will seek to highlight a few of the many particular features of this Chaucerian influence, especially its tendency to formulate itself as a meditation upon history and language.

III

When we turn specifically to examine Chaucer as a figure of authority in early modernity, we can hardly fail to be surprised by the degree to which this figure differs in 'life' and corpus from our current sense of him. The process reminds us, or ought to, that authors, especially 'influential' ones, are constantly in the process of being recreated and revised, along with other treasures from the past, according to the needs of the present. For Donne's generation as for several before it, Chaucer inhabited a curious temporal space, both accessible (through being ideologically compliant and malleable) and increasingly distant, the denizen of a rude, barely civil time, a 'mistie'

time in Sidney's phrase. All of which is to say he was not only a figure of the past, he had also become a figure of history, of *histoire*, whose story could and needed to be narrated according to contemporary needs. While he was a figure no longer directly accessible to living memory, and his significance appeared blurred and confused by the passage of time (whether measured in political, social, linguistic or religious terms), he was nevertheless an historical figure both in the sense of being 'storied' and in the sense of having accreted a considerable symbolic weight. Somewhat paradoxically, as Chaucer's age seemed increasingly distant from the present, he and his contemporaries like Gower and Wycliff, among other late medieval English authors, were being called on to epitomize, to legitimate, and to have helped originate, specifically English learning and values.[14] Equally paradoxically, as Chaucer's language became increasingly alien to Tudor, Elizabethan and Jacobean readers, Chaucer was held up as the great 'purifier' of the English tongue. The English language and English history, then, especially in their relation to one another, dominate Renaissance imaginings of Chaucer.

Renaissance editors of Chaucer were faced with the task of constructing his corpus, and, as Heffernan and Seth Lerer have recently reiterated,[15] were required to construct a particular image of Chaucer in order to make decisions on questions of the authenticity or spuriousness of particular texts. Such decisions do not take place in a vacuum; as Heffernan puts it, 'the judgement whether a text was genuine or not was often indebted to extra-textual biases: the complex political, social, moral and religious beliefs which informed the editor's historical imagination.'[16] For Tudor-Stuart editors, political and reformist and counter-reformist theological issues were of course prominent among such biases.

An illustration of the process may be seen in some of the work of William Thynne, Thomas Speght, and William Thynne's son Francis during the period from the 1520s through the end of the century.[17] As is well known, Thynne's 1532 edition gives us our first true collected works of Chaucer, and is in many ways a landmark event in the shaping of the Renaissance idea of Chaucer.[18] This edition includes in addition to authentic Chaucerian pieces a goodly number of spurious texts. Speght's first (1598) edition includes the same genuine works and further spurious texts, and provides the first 'life' of Chaucer to accompany a Chaucerian edition.[19] This edition provoked the *Animaduersions* of Francis Thynne[20] which propose some revisions of both the 'life' and corpus offered by Speght's first edition, and led him to issue a slightly revised edition in 1602.

Modern scholarship has in the main roundly criticised William Thynne's apparently promiscuous inclusion of so many non-Chaucerian texts in his edition.

Exceptionally, Skeat excused him on the grounds that 'those who, through ignorance or negligence, regard Thynne's edition of Chaucer as containing 'Works [wrongly] attributed to Chaucer' make a great mistake', for Thynne's title, *The Workes of Geffray Chaucer newly printed, with dyuers workes which were neuer in print before, &c*, is 'strictly and literally true.'[21] The 'dyuers workes', Skeat argues, were understood to be by writers other than Chaucer. As Francis Thynne's arguments will demonstrate, however, the title could (and would) lead readers to assume that the 1532 edition contained only Chaucerian work. In 1561, as Skeat notes, Stow issued an essentially identical edition, with the altered title of *The Woorkes of Geffrey Chaucer, newly printed with diuers Addicions which were neuer in printe before*. Perplexingly, we cannot take the new title to bespeak a new understanding of Chaucer's corpus, for, as Skeat continues, 'Stowe did not really mean what he seems to say, for it was he who first added the words – 'made by Ihon lidgate' – to the title of 'The Flower of Curtesie', and who first assigned a title (ascribing the poem to *dan Ihon lidgate*) to the poem beginning 'Consider wel'.[22] Skeat claims that 'it is clear that Thynne's [1532] intention was to print a collection of poems, including all that he could find of Chaucer and anything else of a similar character that he could lay his hands on.'[23] But one is surely in no better position to guess at Thynne's or Stow's intentions than Chaucer's, and even if one were, the point remains that the *readers* of Thynne's editions and of the subsequent even more misleadingly titled editions of Stow and Speght were going to form their impression of 'Chaucer' based on the entire corpus included in the editions from 1532 through 1687.

While we can only speculate on William Thynne's reasoning for including most of the spurious pieces, it will be helpful to focus on two which come under dispute, the *Plowman's Tale* and the *Pilgrim's Tale*. In his *Animaduersions*, Francis Thynne tells a remarkable story of his father's proposing to include the *Pilgrim's Tale* in his first edition and being warned by the king himself that the bishops were likely to oppose his plan. William asked for and received Henry's protection for his person, but 'all whiche not withstandinge, [he] was called in questione by the Bysshoppes, and heaved at by cardinall Wolseye, his olde enymye. . . .' In the end, writes Francis, 'the Cardinall caused the kinge so muche to myslyke of that tale, that chaucer must be newe printed, and that discourse of the pilgrymes tale lefte out.'[24] The *Plowman's Tale* was also disputed, says Francis, though he does not make clear whether that is because it too was anti-clerical or because – as he adds parenthetically – it was deemed by some to have been written not by Chaucer but by Thomas Wyatt senior.[25] In any case, Francis insists that both tales are genuinely Chaucerian and ought now to be printed.[26] Sometime between the (claimed) effort to print it in 1532 and Speght's *Works* in

1598, *The Pilgrim's Tale* was lost, to be rediscovered only in the eighteenth century, and only in fragmentary form, by Tyrwhitt.[27] There is a great deal of confusion here, increased by Francis Thynne's evidently imperfect knowledge of his father's editorial decisions which took place – after all – well before Francis' birth in 1545.

Tyrwhitt believed the *Pilgrim's Tale* to have been written between 1536 and 1559 (at least four years *after* Thynne's first edition), and it is, as Tyrwhitt wrote, 'impossible that anyone who had read it should ascribe it to Chaucer',[28] especially as it quotes Chaucer twice by name and refers at one point to a printed book. Certainly any modern reader would reject the fragment as spurious on grounds of style and language as well. The question is, then, how did Francis Thynne, apparently blind to the clear evidence, persuade himself that the *Pilgrim's Tale* was authentically Chaucerian? One answer may well be that Francis had never had a chance to read the *Pilgrim's Tale.* Another answer may be ideological. The process of forming the Chaucerian corpus coincided quite precisely with the process of re-forming the English church, and the Preface to Thynne's 1532 edition (actually written by Sir Brian Tuke) seeks to establish and clarify connections between Henry VIII's political and theological power and legitimacy (on the one hand) and the power of an Authoritative Chaucer to stand for and adumbrate true English values on the other hand.[29]

If Tyrwhitt is correct that *The Pilgrim's Tale* dates from no earlier than 1536 then obviously Francis Thynne is mistaken in believing his father intended to print it in his first edition, but it appears to have been very important for Thynne Junior to believe his father had stood up to the Bishops and was prepared to risk censure for letting Chaucer shine forth in his full reformist glory. As a locus of English values and authority, Chaucer was necessarily understood to be proto-Protestant. The story is all the more compelling for including the claim that William enjoyed the personal protection of Henry himself. One can be blinded, it must be admitted, by any number of extra-literary motives. Francis Thynne also reminds us that, as his uncle John Thynne told him, Chaucer might have been banned from being printed by the Acte for thadvauncement of true Religion (34 Hen. VIII) 'had yt not ben that his woorkes had byn counted but fables' (*Animadversions*, p. 10). In John Foxe's second enlarged edition of *Actes and Monumentes*, Foxe wonders that the Bishops could have failed to see Chaucer's reformist zeal, no matter how concealed 'vnder shadowes couertly, as vnder a visoure', for, he writes, 'excepte a man be *altogether blynde*, he may espye him at the full'. But because, he continues, the Bishops took his works 'but for iestes and toyes',[30] they exempted Chaucer from their censure.

On the one hand, then, we have Francis Thynne 'blind' to the implausibility of his father's having intended to publish the *Pilgrim's Tale* and to the – to our eyes –

obvious non-Chaucerian qualities of both *Pilgrim's* and *Plowman's Tales* because of his evident desire to find in Chaucer a harbinger of Henry's reformation and English political grandeur. By contrast, Foxe enjoys mocking the bishops for their blindness to Chaucer's reformism. To pursue and conclude this ocular trope in a more literally visual way, we might recall the often remarked fact that artistic forgeries of 'antique' work vary from generation to generation in how they represent 'antiquity'. Sir Kenneth Clark makes the point, speaking of restoration, that 'no artist can resist bringing an old work of art into line with the style of his own time'. 'Forgery', he adds, 'supplies confirmation for the historical imagination of its time.'[31]

As Derek Pearsall has recently demonstrated in an article on Chaucer's tomb, Catholicism, during the short reign of Mary Tudor, also sought to (re)appropriate Chaucer as a foundational figure. In 1556, Chaucer's body was moved from its original location to the tomb it now occupies by Nicholas Brigham, an officer in Mary's Exchequer. The architecture and placement of the tomb, Pearsall demonstrates, seek to identify Chaucer as emphatically Catholic, and he argues that 'the reburial of Chaucer was part of [a] larger programme of counter-reformation, a move to reappropriate England's greatest poet to the traditional faith. Just as the Protestant reformers had made Chaucer into a covert Wycliffite and honorary Protestant [. . .] so now Catholics were to redeem him for orthodoxy and at the same time demonstrate the natural and inevitable continuity of that orthodoxy. Given Chaucer's large and varied ouput, and his way of writing, it is not surprising that both cases could be made to the perfect satisfaction of their advocates.'[32]

If, by turns, Chaucer's poetic corpus was being restored as Protestant, and his physical corpse enshrined as Catholic, his biography was also being constructed under ideological constraints. Speght's Chaucer was educated at both Oxford and Cambridge, studying at Oxford with John Wyclif, 'whose opinions in religion he much affected.'[33] This Chaucer was much in the favor of powerful lords, and was, in the second year of Richard II, taken with his lands into the protection of the King himself upon the occasion of being imperiled 'by fauouring some rash attempt of the common people.'[34] Chaucer's enjoyment of such patrons seems only just, given the Renaissance estimation of his learning and literary prominence. Pearsall makes the point that Speght withdrew Chaucerian attribution of the 'Complaint of Chaucer to His Purse' (giving it to Hoccleve instead), presumably on the grounds that 'a learned and serious poet does not write comically self-deprecating appeals for money.'[35] For John Leland, Chaucer stands to English letters as Dante to Florentine, Petrarch to Italian, and Homer and Virgil to Greek and Latin respectively. He is both an appropriator (translator) of 'foreign' languages and the progenitor of his native tradition, and his aim was

to render English 'as polished as possible in all respects [. . .] Nor did he cease from his labors until he had carried our language to that height of purity, of eloquence, of conciseness and beauty, that it can justly be reckoned among the thoroughly polished languages of the world.'[36] While it was admitted that Chaucer's language was sometimes difficult (in 1546 Peter Ashton remarked that Chaucer's words 'by reason of antiquitie be almost out of vse',[37] and Speght's edition would include a glossary of hard words), he was nonetheless universally acknowledged to be, in Spenser's phrase 'well of English vndefiled' (*Faerie Queene*, 4.2.32). Commenting on the writing of history, Roger Ascham opines that liveliness in description of places and persons (both their exterior appearance and state of mind) are essential qualities for the historian. He finds these in Thucydides and Homer and 'very praiseworthily' in Chaucer as well.[38] The same complex of associations – Chaucer wrote a difficult but Classical (and yet English, not Latin) language and is the patriarch of English poets – is audible as George Gascoigne argues that 'our father Chaucer hath vsed the same libertie in feete and measures that the Latinists do vse: and who so euer do peruse and well consider his workes, he shall finde that although his lines are not alwayes of one selfe same number of Syllables, yet beyng redde by one that hath vnderstanding, the longest verse and that which hath most Syllables in it, will fall (to the eare) correspondent vnto that which hath fewest syllables in it [. . .].'[39]

Much of the apparent self-contradiction of Renaissance attitudes towards Chaucerian language is owing to the twin vicissitudes of linguistic change, especially the great vowel shift, and corrupt editions. The second Speght edition of 1602 was, as noted above, issued with a large number of changes, in response to Francis Thynne's *Animadversions*; the result was unfortunately not a better text. The 1602 Speght variant readings which have no manuscript support, and which may be presumed to reflect Speght's own editorial work, point to a pattern of uniformly distributed tinkering with the text, modernizing, ill considered rationalizing, and regularizing of meter, sometimes all at once. Particularly striking is the persistent addition of syllables to lines already regular, betokening an incomprehension of the syllabic value of final -e in Chaucer's verse. Such was, it bears remembering, the 'Chaucer' that Donne probably read. We know that this was the Chaucer that Ben Jonson read, for his copy of the 1602 Speght has survived in the Folger Shakespeare Library.[40] Anyone reading *Troilus and Criseyde* in a sixteenth-century edition will marvel that Chaucer's reputation as a poet survived at all.[41] But it did, and probably for the simple reason that someone had to fill the position of purifying and originating Englishman, and even the Chaucer represented by Renaissance editions came closer than anyone else to qualifying. One might say that the very difficulties which Middle English posed to

Elizabethan and Stuart readers, seeking their cultural roots in anxious times, threatened to set them adrift from any poetic history, let alone grandeur. The necessity of such a national poetic history to go along with Tudor-Stuart dynastic history and a national ecclesiastical history – no matter how mythical – prompted them to construct such (to our eyes) tortured arguments, arguments which sought simultaneously to distance Chaucer from the present in symbolic time, assigning him the role of English Homer or Vergil, and to bring him sufficiently near (again symbolically) to allow him to function as a plausible generator or patriarch of present English culture.

Stephen Surigo of Milan's Latin epitaph of Chaucer, first printed by Caxton and reprinted through the sixteenth century, addresses the Pierian Muses to claim that as Virgil honored them by teaching the Latin tongue to speak more beautifully, so Chaucer, 'by the verses [that he composed] in his [British] mother tongue he made it [as] illustrious as, alas, it had once been uncouth [. . .].'[42] The dedication to Henry VIII that Sir Brian Tuke wrote for Thynne's 1532 edition likewise focuses on the twin themes of Chaucer's language and his place in English history. Tuke praises Chaucer (at length) for elevating English from the depths to which it had fallen; indeed, he writes, 'it is moche to be marueyled howe in his tyme whan doutlesse all good letters were layde a slepe throughout the worlde as the thynge whiche either by the disposycion & influence of the bodies aboue or by other ordynaunce of god semed lyke and was in daunger to haue vtterly perysshed suche an excellent poete in our tonge shulde as it were (nature repugnyng) spryng and aryse.'[43] Chaucer's achievement, Tuke continues, would have been thought a marvel had he lived in the time of Demosthenes, when eloquence and learning flourished among the Greeks, or of Cicero, 'prince of eloquence amonges latyns lyued', and so much the greater must his accomplishment be judged to have arisen during so rude a time as it did.[44] Putting it even more vigorously, Robert Braham in 1555 wrote that Chaucer was ill appreciated in his day, 'when in dede al good letters were almost aslepe, so farre was the grosenesse and barbarousnesse of that age from the vnderstandinge of so deuyne a writer.'[45] Precisely because of Chaucer's role in rescuing English as a language from such barbarism, Tuke finds it scandalous that his texts have languished in relative obscurity and have been poorly edited when they did appear. These failings are, ultimately, political failings: to neglect one's history is to neglect one's political duties. Accordingly, says Tuke (writing in the person of editor Thynne), 'lamentyng [. . .] the neglygence of the people / that haue ben in this realme who doutlesse were very remysse in the settyng forthe or auauncement either of the histories therof / to the great hynderaunce of the renoume of such noble princes and valyant conquerours & capitayns as haue ben in the same / or also of the workes or memory of the famous and excellent clerkes in all kyndes of

scyences that haue florisshed therin / of which bothe sortes it hath pleased god as highly to nobilytate this yle as any other regyon of christendome: I thought it in maner appertenant vnto my dewtie / and that of very honesty and loue to my countrey / than to put my helpyng ha[n]de to the restauracion and bringynge agayne to lyght of the said workes [. . .].'[46] This argument leads Tuke-Thynne happily enough to the moment of dedication to Henry itself, in whose 'wysedome' and 'authorite' language and history meet most productively and potently. Henry is supplicated to accept this 'ornament of the tonge of this your realme', and to extend over it 'the shylde of your most royall protectyon and defence' against unnamed detractors, foreign and native born, of 'the glorie hertofore compared / and meritoriously adquired by dyuers princes / and other of this said most noble yle [. . .].'[47] The Chaucer, then, who was available to influence Donne was quite different from our current sense of him. His authority included – if it was not bounded by – his learning, especially his work as a purifier and elevator of the English language, and his standing as a forefather of the English church and English civic values. As one who could be placed in a line with Homer and Thucydides, and author of *Troilus and Criseyde,* he was a mediator of history, both the grandeur of classical antiquity and the English past, into the present.

IV

'The Sun Rising' has consistently enjoyed an admiring response from its readers. It has been offered as a splendid example of Donne's persona as irreverent lover, as his reaffirmation of the centrality and importance of man in the universe, the new Copernican ideas notwithstanding,[48] and as a 'masterfully comic application of rhetorical rules, [. . .] a witty exercise.'[49] The sources of 'The Sun Rising' have traditionally been understood to be two: the long tradition of the *aubade*, or Dawn Song in general,[50] and more specifically Ovid's *Amores* I.xiii, in which the Ovidian lover complains indignantly to Aurora for her having arrived so early in the morning as to disturb his love-making. As the case is put by Redpath, 'It is probable that the idea of this poem was suggested to Donne by Ovid, *Amores* I. xiii; but, if it was, Donne has made many startlingly original departures.'[51] Leishmann argues that 'we can say with certainty that it was partly inspired by the thirteenth elegy of the First Book of Ovid's *Amores*, and that in spite of the characteristic differences between them, Ovid's impudent address to Aurora, telling her not to be in such a hurry, suggested Donne's impudent address to the sun.'[52] Pinka finds Donne's poem to be 'apparently derived' from Ovid's elegy, A. J. Smith refers to it as a 'a genre piece looking back to

Ovid', and Gransden adds that 'Donne's wittily reductive tone clearly derives from *Amores* I.13.'[53]

I have no wish to deny here the importance of either the *aubade* tradition as a whole or Ovid's *Amores* in particular in shaping Donne's poem. The motifs and conventions of the *aubade* tradition were everywhere available to a reader like Donne, and Ovid's *Amores* were very well known. Marlowe's translation of them into English was available (and indeed Marlowe cites this elegy in particular with terrifying irony, 'lente currite noctis equi', in his *Dr. Faustus* [1594 production, 1604 publication]). I would like to suggest, however, that we might think of Donne as having read Ovid's poem over Chaucer's shoulder. Several of the important differences between 'The Sun Rising' and Ovid's elegy, I will argue, could have been caused by Donne's memory of *Troilus and Criseyde*, III. 1415-70, a dawn song voiced by the two lovers as day terminates their first night of love, itself based on Ovid's poem

It may be helpful to divide this argument into three parts: a consideration first of the external, literary-historical evidence, followed by an examination of the internal evidence, those specific similarities between Donne's poem and Chaucer's which lead me to feel Donne had the *Troilus* passage in his mind, and finally a consideration of the possible critical implications that would follow our beginning to imagine Chaucer's text as 'intertext' between Ovid's and Donne's.

As noted earlier, even critics who compare Ovid, Chaucer, and Donne decline to claim that Donne knew Chaucer's Troilus. How plausible is it he did? We can begin[54] to answer that question by noting the probable date of The 'Sun Rising': Leishmann holds that the poem was 'certainly written after Donne's marriage'[55] in 1601, and both Redpath and Gardner feel confident in dating the poem after the 1603 accession of James I because of the 'patent reference' in the lover's injunction to the sun to 'Go tell court-huntsmen that the King will ride' to James's habit of rising early to hunt.[56] Interestingly, there seems to have been a heightened awareness of Chaucer around the turn of the century. Ann Thompson notes that 'there is an unusual cluster of Chaucerian plays around 1599-1602, which makes one wonder if Speght's new edition of Chaucer in 1598 (the first since 1561) was responsible. No less than five plays (including Shakespeare's *Troilus*) were produced during this period. It is clear from looking at their earlier work that the dramatists involved were not reading Chaucer for the first time in 1598, but the new edition may have refreshed their memories and drawn their attention to a new source of plots.'[57] In his *Variorum* edition of Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida*, Harold Hillebrand writes that most scholars agree that the play 'belongs substantially to 1601-02', and notes that the Stationers' Register for February 7, 1602/3, shows an entry for 'The book of Troilus and Cresseda as yt is

acted by my lord Chamberlens Men.'[58] Further evidence of broad interest in *Troilus and Criseyde* among Stuart readers, and of a growing recognition on their part that Chaucer's language was 'dating', is Sir Francis Kynaston's publication in 1635 of a Latin translation of books 1 and 2 of *Troilus*.[59] The congratulatory epigrams, apostrophes, and supplementary dedicatory materials by various hands which head the volume suggest the degree to which Kynaston's contemporaries were aware of, and valued – or felt they ought to – Chaucer's poem. Also reflecting the sense that Chaucer's texts had become alien but essential to preserve is a seventeenth-century English modernization of books 1-3 of *Troilus*, edited by Herbert G. Wright, who also points out that Bodleian Library, MS Add. C. 287 contains all five books of the *Troilus* in Latin, followed by the *Testament of Criseyde*, a project he is able to date to August, 1639.[60]

The case cannot be made beyond dispute, but it seems easier to believe that Donne had perused one or the other of the contemporary editions of Chaucer's poetry than that he had not, especially given that, as one of his biographers writes, Donne 'was by habit an avid and voracious reader, [. . .] and almost everything in print seems to have come under his scrutiny.'[61] Given as well the public prominence of the story of Troilus at about the date of 'The Sun Rising"s composition, and the fact that, as Spurgeon points out, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, *Troilus* 'is by far the most popular, the most generally known and the most often quoted of Chaucer's poems,[62] it is reasonable to imagine his having read Chaucer's *Troilus* in particular.

We may, then, turn to an examination of the internal evidence. Let me repeat here first, however, that in arguing the case that Donne read Chaucer's *Troilus* I do not deny either Donne's awareness – which is clearly intimate – of Ovid's elegy or his own inventiveness. I would simply modify such a judgement as Redpath's that the differences between 'The Sun Rising' and Ovid's elegy have their entire origin in 'Donne's own brilliant invention'[63] with the reminder that the classical and medieval use of *inventio* includes the reshaping of found material.

Arguably the most striking difference between Ovid's elegy and Donne's poem is the difference of addressee, the shift from Ovid's Aurora to the 'unruly Sun'. But this shift has of course already occurred in *Troilus*: Criseyde complains first to the 'blacke' and 'rakle night' (III.1429, 1437), and Troilus complains first to the 'cruell day' (III.1450), and then 'eke the sonne Titan gan he chide' (III. 1464).[64] Chaucer is participating here in a medieval confusion of Tithonus and Titan; the former is, as in Ovid, Aurora's husband and brother of Priam. While she successfully sought his immortality from the gods, she neglected to ask for his eternal youth. Hence, as Ovid implies, as spouse of so aged a husband she does not daily linger abed. The confusion,

or mingling, of Tithonus and Titan begins as early as Virgil's *Georgics*, and is found in Boccaccio's *Filocolo* 2.222, l. 173.[65] All that said, however, the substitution of sun/Titan for Aurora was nowhere so easily and forcibly available to Donne as in Chaucer's poem.

It is frequently observed that Donne's lover is highly impudent, more so than the essentially ironic Ovidian lover. As Redpath puts it, in Donne's poem, 'the sun is contemptuously apostrophized as an old busybody',[66] as seen most obviously in the lover's addressing him as 'busy old fool' (l. 1).[67] But Troilus has also already taken this step:

> [. . .] *O foole*, wel may men thee dispise
> That hast all night the dauning by thy side
> And suffrest her so sone vp fro thee rise [. . .]
> (III.1465-67, emphasis mine).

In fact both Chaucer's Criseyde and Troilus are consistently quite brazen and peremptory in address: Criseyde says of the 'blacke nyght' that she (or he?) fails in her duty to offer rest to humans and beasts alike, so that 'Wel oughten bestes to plain, & folk to chide' (III.1433), and accuses night of doing 'to shortly thine office', of being 'rakle', and engaging in 'unkinde vice' (III.1436-38); Criseyde wishes that 'God maker of kinde' would bind the night so firmly unto their hemisphere that s/he would never go again under the ground, because ' [. . .] for thou so highest out of Troie / Haue I forgone thus hastely my ioie' (III.1437-42). Troilus then chimes in with equal irreverence: the day is 'cruel', the accusor of their joy, and is envious of their love. In the familiar second person singular, he enjoins the sun to 'hold your bed, ther thow & thi morw' (III.1469).

In a set of 'bright eye' images remarkably parallel to those in 'The Sun Rising' and not found in Ovid's elegy, Troilus accuses the sun of envious spying: 'What has thou lost' he asks, and 'why sekst thou this place?' (III.1455). Comparing the sharp beams of light that stream through the chinks of shutters and doors, Troilus complains that 'euery bore hath one of thy bright eyen' (III.1453). The peeping in at every bore here is clearly evocative of Donne's images of the sun 'calling' on the lovers 'through windows and through curtains' (l. 3), and could have provoked the optical / ocular imagery of the 'reverend beams' which the lover may 'eclipse [. . .] with a wink' (l. 13). In the 1602 Speght edition, as it happens, the relevant passage reads 'For euery *bowre* hath one of thy bright iyen' (emphasis added). The reading of 'bowre' (boudoir) for 'bore' would likely not have confused Donne, but might have

stopped him long enough to set up an associative imagistic chain or cluster involving eyes, bowers, the sun, and love, and perhaps have nudged him toward his brilliant and inventive reversal of field with which he concludes the poem, demanding not that the sun depart but that he stay in the lovers' bower as its center. A combination of dismissiveness and a disregard for clarity, luminosity, and the quotidian occupations it facilitates, then, heard again in 'The Sun Rising', is brilliantly voiced by Troilus's invitation to the sun to sell his light elsewhere:

> Go sell it hem that smale seales graue
> We woll thee not, us nedeth no daie haue.
> (III.1462-63)

Troilus's injunction to Titan to 'go sell' his light elsewhere carries all the contempt of a medieval prince for a pedlar.

Let me conclude this brief marshalling of parallelisms between Donne's and Chaucer's texts by pointing tentatively to another possible echo of Donne's reading of Chaucer: in his 'Canonization', another of the four poems Gardner calls 'celebrations of union',[68] we hear the lover dismiss a friend's criticism and advice (that he not love). Whatever negative epithets may be hurled at him and his mistress, the speaker welcomes them:

> Call us what you will, we are made such by love;
> Call her one, me another fly,
> We are tapers too, and at our own cost die,
> And we in us find the Eagle and the Dove.
> (ll. 19-22)

It seems not impossible to detect here the ghost of Criseyde's claim, immediately following the *aubade* voiced between her and Troilus, that she will never forsake him:

> The game ywis so ferforth now is gon
> That first shal Phebus fallen from the sphere
> *And euerich Egle been the Doues fere*
> And every rocke out of his place sterte
> Er Troilus go out of Creseides herte.
> (III.1494-98, emphasis added)

Interestingly, in the 1602 edition Speght introduced the editorial innovation of identifying sententious phrases with a pointing hand in the margin, and the 'Egle and Doues' line was accorded this distinction.

The *topos* to which Criseyde here gives voice, the *adynaton*, can serve as a point of comparison between the three texts and their handling of common matter and metaphor. The *adynaton* is defined ('the stringing together of impossibilities') and described, and its antique roots sketched, by Curtius.[69] The *impossibilia* are of several kinds, normally involving reversals of nature, and have served an infinite variety of rhetorical strategies. One important species of this *topos* is the 'Not until the rivers run dry and birds refuse to sing' variety, commonly used as part of a lover's vow (cf. Criseyde's above), though available for other kinds of avowals as well, as for example its magnificent deployment in the opening lines of Dylan Thomas's 'Refusal to Mourn the Death, by Fire, of a Child in London'. A second version of the *adynaton* is its contribution to the myriad versions of the inexpressibility topos, for example, 'If all the sky were parchment, and all the seas were ink, and all reeds were pens and all humans good scribes, it would still not be possible to list the vices of this king (or the beauties of this woman or the virtues of the Virgin). . . .' The bibliography[70] itself on this subject would inevitably call forth such a disclaimer. As Gransden notes, we can see the Ovidian lover's complaint to Aurora as 'a mock request to Dawn to perpetrate an *adynaton* [. . .].'[71] The speaker cites the historical / mythical instances of night standing still for Jove while he made love to Alcmena, and for Luna's enjoyment of Endymion. Criseyde, of course, asks why the night did not hover over her and Troilus as long as when Alcmena lay by Jove, and then wishes that the night be fastened to their hemisphere, never again to leave. Troilus then demands that Titan regain his bed and linger there, prolonging the night. Donne's lover, finally, demands first that the sun take its light, facilitator of daily tasks and dreary business, elsewhere, and then, in an ironic and brilliant after-thought, demands that the Sun, poor decrepit thing, take up permanent station within the lovers' bedroom.

Whereas Ovid hints playfully at the possibility of the impossible, Donne demands it, decrees it, and – rhetorically speaking – accomplishes it. Ovid lists those disagreeable tasks brought on by dawn, cites the parting of lovers as the most crowningly distasteful, and implies that Aurora's seeming indifference to lovers stems from the age and impotence of her own bedmate. If she could have Cephalus in her bed again, however, he is certain she would cry out 'lente currite, noctis equi', (in Marlowe's translation) 'Stay night and runne not thus'. An *adynaton* might be accomplished, in other words, by providing a suitable lover for Aurora's bed. Donne, in strong contrast, imperiously demands first that the Sun leave, then that he stay

permanently in, their chamber. Mediating between these two positions, Ovid's wry evocation of mythic, ahistoric narratives of amorous deities, and Donne's metaphysical high-handed dismissal of history altogether ('hours, days, months, which are the rags of time') one can situate Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*. By this I mean the narrative poem itself, emphatically concerned as it is with time and history, in particular the (hi)story of a doomed city (doomed in advance by being re-narrated), and concerned with the temporal distance between its narrator and the story he narrates, and further concerned about linguistic change wrought by history and the future. But I also mean Troilus and Criseyde the characters, caught up most tragically in history, destroyed by it. Between Ovid and Donne, the former 'reminding' us of past *adynata*, gods' impossible desires realized out of time, and the latter using an argumentative lyric voice to demand the impossible and then ending his song so as to effect it, Troilus and Criseyde *remember* Jove and Luna, *wish* for the impossible halting of time, and *promise* each other timeless devotion in tropes built upon impossibilities: 'first shall Phebus fallen from the sphere'. History and time as lived by humans – not gods – is thus evoked by memories, hopes, and promises, the very stuff of narrative. Donne's lover makes no promises here (though he does frequently in the *Songs and Sonnets*), but simply declares nature to be suspended because it is surpassed by their love: 'Nothing else is' (l. 22). Chaucer's lovers cannot do this; they are constituted by a narrative while Donne's speaker is lyric. For them the outcome is tragic – Troilus does eventually experience time as standing still, but only once he has lost Criseyde. In Book V he asks the Moon to 'ren faste aboute thy spere' in anticipation of Criseyde's return (V.656), and complains that Phaethon has come back to life to steer his father's horses amiss again, the days seem to pass so slowly:

> The day is more, and lenger euery night,
> Than they ben wont to be, him thought tho
> And that the sunne went his course vnright
> By lenger way than it was wont to go
> And said, iwis I drede me euer mo
> The sunnes sonne Pheton be on liue
> And that his fathers cart amisse he driue.
>
> (5.659-65; fol. 187^{v} in Speght 1598)

In an ironic sense time does stand still, for time cannot bring her back once Criseyde has broken her promise.

Donne shifts the sun from its association with the quotidian – where he and

Ovid and Chaucer all began – to an association with importance, with value, in other words, away from both history and myth and towards symbol. He is thus able to demand that the sun stay in their room ('stay' not so much in terms of time as of position) as the centre of all value. Donne is able to do this because, again, the voice of his poem is not in history. Troilus and Criseyde are, in a history which will collapse in upon them long before rivers run uphill.

The adynaton is about time and history understood or imagined in some fashion *contra naturam*. Ovid's poem evokes it by memory, a nostalgic glance back towards an epoch of divinity; there is no serious hope for its operating here in his life. Chaucer evokes it to force our recognition of the tragic quality of history, tragic no matter how slowly or quickly that history moves. In bringing together in one passage two uses of the *adynaton*, the lovers' pleas for a suspension of nature's laws on the one hand, and Criseyde's promise on the other hand to engrave Troilus in her heart until Phebus fall from his sphere, Chaucer suggests the fruitlessness of such gestures, for we already know this is a promise that will not be kept.

Donne dismisses time and history outright, as is his prerogative as lyric poet. He, and the love that he places equally outside history, do not need and are not affected by the rags of time. Whereas the *adynaton* functions temporally in Ovid and Chaucer, or diachronically, Donne announces his shift in direction with the synchronic copula: 'She is all States, and all Princes I, / Nothing else is' (ll. 21-22). Donne's poem is thus effectively a rejection of the very *topos* upon which it is built, akin to Shakespeare's sonnets 18 and 130. This rejection or radical reformulation of the Ovidian *adynaton*, I submit, might profitably be conceived of as a consequence of Donne's reading Ovid through Chaucer's tragic vision.

NOTES

[1] *A Map of Misreading* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975), p. 77.

[2] *Semiotiké* (Paris: Seuil, 1969), p. 146.

[3] Two readers who place Donne's, Ovid's, and Chaucer's texts together are Setsuko Ikuno, 'Aubade: Chaucer and Donne', *Kiyo Tsurumi Joshi Daigaku*, no. 10 (December, 1972), pp. 49-54, and K. W. Gransden, '*Lente cvrrite, noctis eqvi*: Chaucer, *Troilus and Criseyde* 3.1422-70, Donne, *The Sun Rising* and Ovid, *Amores* I.13', in *Creative Imitation and Latin Literature*, ed. by David West and Tony Woodman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), pp. 157-71. While both scholars offer astute comparative readings of Ovid, Chaucer, and Donne, neither appears – perhaps wisely – to commit on the question of Donne's awareness of Chaucer's text; Gransden indeed implies that there is none.

[4] *The Pursuit of Signs – Semiotics, Literature, Deconstruction* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1981), p. 103.

[5] A clear analysis of the relations between intertextuality and theories of reading which accord less power to the author and more to the reader is given by Jay Clayton and Eric Rothstein in 'Figures in the Corpus: Theories of Influence and Intertextuality', in their *Influence and Intertextuality in Literary History* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991), pp. 3-36; see especially pp. 16-17.

[6] 'Prolegomena to a Theory of Reading', in *The Reader in the Text*, ed. by Susan R. Suleiman and Inge Crosman (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), p. 50.

[7] Clayton and Rothstein make this point in 'Figures', pp. 6-7, and cite Michael Baxandall, *Patterns of Intention: On the Historical Explanation of Pictures* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), who suggests reversing the terms of 'agent' and 'patient' in art historical discussions of influence.

[8] *Pursuit of Signs*, p. 109.

[9] *Pursuit of Signs*, p. 108.

[10] The Classical Greek tradition of the *aubade* with which Ovid can be presumed to be familiar is characterized, and examples thereof printed, by J. H. Mozley in *Eos: An Inquiry into the Theme of Lovers' Meetings and Partings at Dawn in Poetry*, ed. by Arthur T. Hatto (The Hague: Mouton, 1965), pp. 255-63. A particularly interesting analogue is by Meleagar of Gadara (2nd-1st c. B.C.E): 'Dawn, you plague of lovers, why are you so sluggish in wheeling round the pole, now when someone else lies warm in Demo's blanket? Yet when I held that slender darling in my arms, quickly you stood over us, with malice in the light you shed.'

[11] The translation was first published in about 1594-95.

[12] In 'The Unheard Voice: The Role of the Jailer's Daughter in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*' (unpublished MA Dissertation, University of Leeds, June, 1995), Lesley Conroy describes a similarly complex relationship among Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Chaucer's *Legend of Good Women*, and Shakespeare's *Midsummer Night's Dream*. She argues that Shakespeare's 'presentation of the Pyramus and Thisbe legend, though drawing mainly on the Ovidian text, was subtly altered by the Chaucerian version' (p. 19), and that Shakespeare's echoes of *LGW* in the course of his use of Ovid indicate '[his] knowledge of Chaucer [. . .] and his willingness to widen his perspective on classical material by using Chaucer's somewhat idiosyncratic retelling of the narrative' (p. 18). She notes, too, that of course Shakespeare knew the *Metamorphoses* both in the original and in Golding's English translation (1565-67).

[13] In 'Aspects of the Chaucerian apocrypha: animadversions on William Thynne's editions of the *Plowman's Tale*', in *Chaucer Traditions: Studies in Honour of Derek Brewer*, ed. by Ruth Morse and Barry Windeatt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 1990), pp. 155-67 (p. 161), Thomas Heffernan notes that 'with Speght's edition of 1602 virtually forty per cent of the canon was spurious, and hence Renaissance response to Chaucer was largely shaped by the editorial judgements of Pynson, Thynne, Stow and Speght'.

[14] For examples of Tudor historiographic motivations in antiquarianism, see the description of the activities of Bale and Leland by James Simpson, 'Ageism: Leland, Bale, and the Laborious Start of English Literary History, 1350-1550', in *New Medieval Literatures*, ed. by Wendy Scase, Rita Copeland, and David Lawton (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), pp. 212-35.

[15] Heffernan, 'Aspects', and Seth Lerer, *Chaucer and his Readers: Imagining the Author in Late-Medieval England* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993). The figure and reputation of Chaucer in the Renaissance has also been explored in E. Talbot Donaldson, *The Swan at the Well: Shakespeare Reading Chaucer* (New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 1985) and Alice S. Miskimin, *The Renaissance Chaucer* (New Haven: Yale University Press 1975).

[16] Heffernan, 'Aspects', p. 156.

[17] The works of William Thynne and Thomas Speght are examined in detail in *Editing Chaucer: The Great Tradition*, ed. by Paul G. Ruggiers (Norman, OK: Pilgrim Books, 1984) by James E. Blodgett (pp. 35-52) and Derek Pearsall (pp. 71-92) respectively. Thynne's 1532 edition is studied further by Brian Donaghey, 'William Thynne's Collected Edition of Chaucer: Some Bibliographical Considerations', in *Texts and Their Contexts: Papers from the Early Book Society*, ed. by John Scattergood and Julia Boffey (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1997), pp. 150-64.

[18] The 1526 Pynson included *The Canterbury Tales*, *Troilus*, and other texts, but was

printed in three separately paginated volumes.

[19] John Leland's life of Chaucer (ca. 1500-52) was part of his *Commentarie de Scriptoribus Britannicis*. The book was not printed until 1709, but was mined in manuscript by other sixteenth- and seventeenth-century biographers. See further in Derek Brewer, *Chaucer: The Critical Heritage* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978), I, 90-96.

[20] *Animaduersions vppon the Annotacions and Corrections* [. . .] *sett downe by Francis Thynne*, ed. by G.H. Kingsley; revised ed. F.J. Furnivall, EETS, o.s. 9 (London: Trübner, 1865). Henceforth cited as *Animaduersions*.

[21] Walter W. Skeat, *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer. Supplementary Volume. Chaucerian and Other Pieces* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1897), p. ix.

[22] *Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, pp. ix-x.

[23] *Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, p. x.

[24] *Animaduersions*, p. 10.

[25] *Animaduersions*, p. 10.

[26] Thynne also argues in passing that Speght was wrong to place *The Plowman's Tale* before *The Parson's Tale* in his first edition.

[27] And printed by Furnivall in *Animaduersions*, pp. 77-98.

[28] *Animaduersions*, p. 8, note 1.

[29] As in, for example, such collocations as 'Wherfore, gracious *souerayne lorde* / takynge such delyte and pleasure in the workes of *this noble clerke* [. . .]' (emphasis added), and the lament upon the loss to the realm itself of glory through the general neglect with which Chaucer's texts have been treated, as printed in the facsimile edition, *Geoffrey Chaucer: The Works, 1532*, ed. by Derek S. Brewer (London: Scolar Press, 1969), sig. Aiib-Aiiia.

[30] *Ecclesiasticall history contaynyng the Actes and Monumentes* [. . .], STC 11223 ([n.p.]: J. Daye, 1570), II, 965. Emphasis added.

[31] 'Forgeries', *History Today*, 29 (1979), 724-33 (pp. 726 and 731). As Hans Tietze put it in *Genuine and False: Copies, Imitations, Forgeries* (London: Max Parrish, 1948), p. 14, 'almost all the remnants of classical antiquity [. . .] excavated before the nineteenth century (and even well within it) have been more or less radically restored. The specialists who dominated the Italian art-market of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries provided their customers with statues and busts magically restored to their original beauty – in the opinion of art-lovers of the period'.

[32] 'Chaucer's Tomb', *Medium Ævum*, 64 (1995), 51-73 (p. 62).

[33] *The workes of our antient and learned English poet, Geffrey Chaucer*, STC 5077 (London: [Adam Islip?], 1598), sig. b.iii. The copy consulted is in the Special Collections of the Brotherton Library, University of Leeds.

[34] *The workes of our antient and learned English poet*, unpaginated.

[35] In Ruggiers, *Editing Chaucer*, p. 86.

[36] Leland's *De Gallofrido Chaucero* is printed in Eleanor Prescott Hammond, *Chaucer: A Bibliographical Manual* (New York: Peter Smith, 1933), p. 3; the quotation is from the translation printed in Brewer, *Heritage*, I, pp. 92-93. On Leland's text see further in note 17, above. The comparison to Dante and Petrarch (and Alan of Lille) is echoed by Speght in 1598.

[37] In his Preface to *A Shorte treatise upon the Turkes Chronicles, compyled by Paulus Jouius* [. . .] *translated out of Latyne into englysh by Peter Ashton*, STC 11899 ([n.p.]: E. Whitchurche, 1546), unpaginated.

[38] *A Report and Discourse written by R. Ascham, of the affaires of Germany*, STC 830 (London: J. Daye, [1570]), sig. Aiiii.

[39] 'Certayne Notes of Instruction' appended to *The Posies of George Gascoigne Esquire*, 1575, ed. by John W. Cunliffe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1907), p. 467.

[40] *STC* 5080, copy 3.

[41] Puttenham's remarks in *The arte of English poesie, 1589 [By] George Puttenham* (Menston (Yorks.): Scolar Press, 1968), p. 62, probably reflect both the loss of knowledge of how to read final -e and lack of awareness of the level of corruption of Chaucerian printed editions: 'But our auncient rymers, as Chaucer, Lydgate, and others, vsed these Cesures either very seldome, or not at all, or else very licentiously, and many time made their meetres [. . .] of such vnshapely wordes as would allow no conuenient Cesure, and therefore did let their rymes runne out at length, and neuer stayd till they come to the end [. . .]'.

[42] Printed in Caroline F.E. Spurgeon, *Five Hundred Years of Chaucer Criticism and Allusion (1357-1900)*. The Chaucer Society, 2nd ser., no. 55 (London: Oxford University Press, [1923]) pp. 59-60. The translation, by R.G.G. Coleman, is printed in Brewer, *Heritage*, I, 79.

[43] *Geoffrey Chaucer: The Works, 1532*, sig. Aii-Aiii.

[44] *Geoffrey Chaucer: The Works, 1532*, sig. Aiib.

[45] In his 'Preface to the Reader' in his edition of Lydgate's *Auncient historie* [. . .] *of warres betwixte the Grecians and the Troyans*, STC 5580 (London, 1555), unpaginated.

[46] *Geoffrey Chaucer: The Works, 1532*, sig. Aiib-Aiiia.

[47] *Geoffrey Chaucer: The Works, 1532*, sig. Aiiia.

[48] In *The Soul of Wit* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), p. 14, Murray Roston writes that the poem 'constitutes a challenge to the New Philosophy itself, provocatively reaffirming in the face of all contrary scientific evidence the pre-eminence of man in the cosmic pattern, and the impregnability of his inner experience'. Further, 'the ludicrous

depiction of the sun as a weary, ageing factotum functions metaphorically to shrink and reduce to subservience the awe-inspiring vastness and eternity of the newly discovered solar system [. . .]' (p. 77).

[49] Patricia G. Pinka, *This Dialogue of One* (University, AL: University of Alabama Press, 1982), p. 113.

[50] Thus Pinka, *Dialogue*, p. 108.

[51] *Songs and Sonets of John Donne*, ed. by Theodore Redpath, 2nd edn (New York: Saint Martin's Press: 1983), p. 233.

[52] J.B. Leishman, *The Monarch of Wit: An Analytical and Comparative Study of the Poetry of John Donne*, 4th edn (London: Hutchinson, 1959), pp. 184-85.

[53] Pinka, *Dialogue*, p. 114; A.J. Smith, *John Donne: The Songs and Sonnets* (London: Edward Arnold, 1964), p. 25; Gransden, *'Lente cvrrite, noctis eqvi'*, p. 168.

[54] To begin before the beginning, merely as an aside, Donne's mother's father was the epigrammatist and composer of interludes, John Heywood (1497?-1580?). According to the *DNB*, Heywood 'celebrated [Queen Mary's] marriage in a ballad of which the allegory recalls that of Chaucer's "Assembly of Fowls"'. His somewhat better known 'Mery Play between the Pardoner and the Frere, the Curate and Neybour Pratte' is, according to the same source, 'a contest of words between the friar and the pardoner, on whose behalf the author coolly borrows a considerable portion of the 'Prologue of the Pardoner' [. . .].'

[55] *Monarch of Wit*, p. 187.

[56] Redpath, *Songs and Sonets*, p. 234, note 7; Helen Gardner, *The Elegies, and The Songs and Sonnets* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), p. lix.

[57] *Shakespeare's Chaucer: A Study in Literary Origins* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1978), p. 30. Shakespeare's play, its handling of some of the political implications of classical material, and its relationship to Chaucer's poem are explored in Heather James's *Shakespeare's Troy: Drama, Politics, and the Translation of Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997; an admirable survey of the great variety of 'Trojan' material abroad in the period is available in Robert Kimbrough, *Shakespeare's 'Troilus and Cressida' and its Setting* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1964).

[58] *A New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare: Troilus and Cressida*, ed. by Harold N. Hillebrand (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1953), p. 365.

[59] *Amorvm Troili et Creseide. Libri duo priores Anglico-Latini* (Oxford: Iohannes Lichfield, 1635).

[60] *A Seventeenth-Century Modernisation of the First Three Books of Chaucer's 'Troilus and Criseyde'*, ed. by Herbert G. Wright, The Cooper Monographs on English and American Literature, no. 5 (Bern: Francke, 1960).

[61] Robert Bald, *John Donne, A Life* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), p.

48.

[62] *Five Hundred Years*, p. lxxvi.

[63] *Songs and Sonets*, p. 233.

[64] All quotations of *Troilus* will be taken from the 1598 Speght edition specified in note 34 above, but for the convenience of readers parenthetical reference will be given by book and line number to *The Riverside Chaucer*, ed. by L.D. Benson (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1987). The citations from Book III are from fols 173^{v}-174^{r} of Speght.

[65] See further in *The Riverside Chaucer*, p. 1043, note to l. 1064.

[66] Redpath, *Songs and Sonets*, p. 233.

[67] Citations of Donne's poems will be from Redpath; line references will be given parenthetically in the text.

[68] Gardner, *The Elegies*, p. liii.

[69] E. R. Curtius, *European Literature in the Latin Middle Ages* (New York: Pantheon, 1963), pp. 95-98.

[70] An excellent brief guide to the literature is James Marchand's 'The Adynata in Alfonso X's Cantiga 110', *Bulletin of the Cantigueiros de Santa Maria,* 1 (1988), pp. 83-90.

[71] *'Lente cvrrite'*, p. 160.

Reviews

A Thesaurus of Old English in Two Volumes. Volume I: Introduction and Thesaurus. Volume II: Index, by Jane Roberts and Christian Kay with Lynne Grundy. King's College London Medieval Studies XI. London: King's College London Centre for Late Antique and Medieval Studies, 1995. xxxv + 1555pp. ISBN complete work: 0-9522119 0 4, vol. I: 0-9522119 2 0, vol. II: 0-9522119 3 9. Price: £55.00.

This important work, the first full-scale thesaurus of Old English, has been some thirty years in the making. It evolved from material gathered at Glasgow University for the *Historical Thesaurus of English* project, but for the last twenty-six years its home has been King's College, London, whose Computing Centre supplied the essential tools for its production. There are two volumes. The first contains the thesaurus proper, with some 48,000 word-senses grouped in eighteen categories (1. The Physical World, 2. Life and Death, 3. Matter and Measurement, 4. Material Needs, and so on, ending with 17. Work and 18. Leisure), with subdivision (01 Earth, world; 01.01 Surface of the earth; 01.02 Firmament, etc). The conceptual scheme consciously echoes that of Roget, though the detail is different; sensibly, the editors have allowed the data to dictate the classification scheme, rather than slavishly follow a pre-exisiting one (and thus the *TOE* has eight fewer categories than the *Historical Thesaurus*). The scheme is set out in the four-page table of contents, which thus becomes an essential key to the work.

The second volume is an alphabetical index of all the Old English words in the thesaurus, which refers the user to the category or categories within which each word has been ordered in vol. I. As in Roget, the index is itself analytical, presenting a range of meaning-categories for each word. Reference to the relevant section of vol. I is by means of a numerical code: thus, OE *sceat* has the primary code 01.01 for its meaning 'surface of the earth', but then there are twelve other references – such as 01.01.03.01.02.01 for the meaning 'Inlet in river/sea' and 04.04.08 for 'A covering, curtain'. These codes are most irritating in their digit-rich precision, but one learns to live with them. Of course, starting with a specific Old English word and tracing its semantic field or fields is only one way of using this work. The other – and this is where a thesaurus comes into its own, especially for those involved in literary research – is to pick the semantic category first, using the contents key, and then to view all the words collected within it; then the thesaurus becomes truly what its editors call 'an inside-out dictionary'.

In their introduction, which includes an illuminating account of the development of the computerized handling of their data, Roberts and Kay are at pains to stress the provisional nature of their work (though the sheer solidity of these two large volumes lends that idea a certain irony) and their heavy dependence for their listing criteria and definitions on completed Old English dictionaries – that is, on Bosworth-Toller and Clark Hall. Though the editors were able to use the Toronto *Microfiche Concordance to Old English* as a resource, the *Dictionary of Old English* was available only late in the project, and then for very few letters. Once the *DOE* is completed, much revision of the present material, in respect of both the distribution and the meaning of words, will thus be necessary. Reliance largely on the established dictionaries leads inevitably to some omissions. For instance, I note that OE *byrþen* justifiably has entries in categories 08.01.03.03 'Anxiety', 14.01.05 'Service, obligation, duty', and 17.02.04.02.03 'Carrying, carriage (of materials)', but it should surely appear also in 11.11.02 'A hindrance', within the sub-division '(Figurative) a burden, weight', in view of its use in the Old English Gospels version of the parable of the vineyard in Mt 20.12 ('pondus diei et aestus' > 'byrþena on þises dæges hætan'). One of the most persistent problems the editors faced was inconsistent spellings in the source-works, which allow words which may be merely spelling variants one of another to appear separately. Many such inconsistencies remain, for the editors have deliberately erred on the side of caution by retaining separate word-forms rather than risk the loss of important evidence of meanings.

A prominent aspect of the presentation in vol. I is the flagging of certain words to indicate frequency and distribution. A superscript *o* indicates an apparent hapax legomenon; *q* a dubious form; *p* a word confined to poetry; and *g* a word occurring only in glosses or glossaries. The editors accept that this is a rudimentary system, based often on inadequate knowledge and suggesting clear-cut verdicts which may in fact be quite wrong. Nonetheless, the effort to be 'as informative as possible' is to be applauded, for it acts as a constant reminder of one of the fundamental (but inevitable) flaws of a work such as this: the illusion of a discrete and homogeneous wordhoard. The huge synchronic and diachronic complexities with which lexicographers of the Old English language have to grapple – early and late forms, dialectal variation – are barely visible. For serious word studies, the *TOE* (again inevitably) will raise more questions than it answers. On the other hand, never has the richness of the Old English vocabulary been so efffectively demonstrated, in a manner not open to ordinary dictionaries. Perhaps the existence of sixty words for 'A warrior, fighter', twenty-two for 'Sword', and fourteen for 'Dragon' comes as no surprise, but the fact that there are no fewer than thirty-six words or phrases which express the sense of 'to

lament, wail' (five confined to poetry, four hapax legomena) does. Similarly, one discovers that there are thirty-three words or phrases for 'to fail, come to an end', sixteen for 'gluttony, overeating, greediness', fifteen for 'always', and seven for 'buttock(s), back parts'. There is invaluable material here for the social historian as well as the linguist: see for instance the fascinating entries within section 12, 'Social interaction', with its subdivisions such 'A follower' and 'A servant, attendant'.

Frustratingly, a thesaurus is not a dictionary, and one is constantly faced with unfamiliar words, though usually their meaning-category will help to define them. In fact, as its editors note, the *TOE* complements the Oxford English Dictionary by supplying an overview of the extinct pre-1150 vocabulary which that work ignores. At the same time, one of the *TOE*'s most valuable achievements is to show us just have much of our modern vocabulary was in fact already in place (albeit often as hapax legomena or glosses) by the end of the Anglo-Saxon period: I had not been aware, for instance, of *fyrleoht*, *healfweg*, *hroftimber*, *cealdheort*, *grasian* ('graze'), *mycg* ('midge'), *brodig* ('broody'), or *hearmful*.

Whatever its avowed imperfections and its 'provisional' character, the *TOE* will become, alongside the microfiche *Concordance* and the emerging *DOE*, an indispensible tool for all Anglo-Saxonists and historians of the English language. Impeccably produced and typographically clear, it will be a source of endless interest – and of pleasure, too, for who can fail to be entranced by a work which starts with 'Earth' and ends with 'A female fiddler'?

RICHARD MARSDEN UNIVERSITY OF NOTTINGHAM

Völuspá: The Sibyl's Prophecy. edited, introduced, and annotated by Hermann Pálsson. Edinburgh: Lockharton Press, 1996. 118pp. ISBN pb: 1 874665 06 0. Price pb: £10.

Hermann Pálsson deservedly commands a central position of respect in the field of Old Icelandic studies. In his distinguished career as Professor of Old Icelandic at the University of Edinburgh, he has published a wide range of articles and books on the Icelandic sagas and the relationship between early Iceland and the Celtic nations, his most recent work in the latter sphere being *Keltar á Íslandi* ('Celts in Iceland') (Reykjavík, 1996). Hermann Pálsson's major contribution to the subject, however,

must be the way in which he has opened up the world of ancient Scandinavia for several generations of readers with his long series of saga translations created with Magnús Magnússon and Paul Edwards. These best-selling works have now dominated the field for almost forty years. Hermann Pálsson's scholarly work always demands careful attention, and not least because he has never been one for accepting the status quo. He enjoys challenging accepted opinions, and opening up new areas of discussion. In that sense this present work is no exception.

Hermann Pálsson's new annotated edition of the Eddic poem *Völuspá* is the offspring of his second recent foray into the area of Eddic studies. It is an English version (not a direct translation) of his *Völuspá með formála og skýringum*, published in Reykjavík in 1994, a work that followed up Hermann's Icelandic edition of *Hávámal* published in 1990. This English edition of *Völuspá* is almost certainly designed as a replacement for B. S. Benedikz and John McKinnell's English translation of Sigurður Nordal´s edition of *Völuspá* published in Durham and St Andrews Medieval Texts in 1978, and is thus essentially meant as a textbook for students of Old Icelandic who are reading *Völuspá* in the original for the first time. Considered from this angle, the book has both advantages and drawbacks, as will be explained below.

A new edition of *Völuspá*, like any new textbook of Old Icelandic for the foreign student, must be welcomed. This present edition is accompanied by excellent glossaries of all the various words, word-forms, proper names and placenames that appear in the poem, thus allowing anyone with a basic knowledge of the forms of Old Icelandic to piece their way through the poem alone, making reference where necessary to Hermann Pálsson's own separate careful literal translation which is supported by his notes on mythology, form and interpretation. These are generally very useful if less detailed than those given in the translation of Nordal's book. Another bonus is the up-to-date bibliography which includes reference to recent work on the poem by Helga Kress and Judy Quinn, as well as John McKinnell´s important *The One and the Many* from 1994.

A further gratifying feature is the fact that Hermann Pálsson tends to keep where possible to the text and strophe order of the main Codex Regius manuscript, rather than picking and choosing words, lines and strophes from this version and the alternatives offered by *Hauksbók* and the various manuscripts of *Snorra Edda* as many previous editors have done. The only exceptions to this rule are the unnoted but convenient use of *ividjur* ('giantesses, witches') which replaces the problematic term *íviði* in st. 2; the generally accepted use of *himiniöður* rather than *himiniodyr* in st. 5; the commonly accepted addition of *var* to the first line of st. 10; the strangely undiscussed decision to use *þrír* rather than the feminine *þriár* in st. 17; the common use of *borðveggr* rather than *borðvegr* in st. 24, and *völlum* rather than *vollo* in st. 31;

the use of *lægiarns líki* rather than the usually accepted *lægiarn líki* in st. 34 (st. 35 in other editions); the choice of *morðvarga* rather than *morðvargar* (in both R and Sn.E.) and *saug* rather than *svg* in st. 38 (39); the use of *verðaskt* rather than *verða* in st. 44 (45) and *inu* rather than *en* in st. 45 (46); the generally shortening of *angantýr* to *angan* in st. 51 (53); the frequently accepted change of *úlf* to *orm* in st. 53 (56); and the borrowing of the additional lines 'ok minnask þar/ á megindóma' from *Hauksbók*, which Hermann Pálsson follows most other commentators in adding to st. 57 (60) to form a satisfactory full-length strophe. Even though this decision to keep to the Codex Regius text naturally makes for certain minor problems, as in the case of the past tense form 'svart var þá sólskín' ('black *was* the sunshine then'), used in a reference to the future in st. 40 (41), these are problems that have to be accepted and dealt with rather than avoided. They are the forms that exist in the original, and should never be too easily rejected.

All of the above are very beneficial and praiseworthy. More controversial, however, is the argument expressed in the introduction, which should perhaps have been reserved for an article rather than a textbook. In his previous work on the Eddic poems, *Heimur Hávamála* (Reykjavík, 1990), Hermann Pálsson challenged previous beliefs by arguing that the another of the central Eddic poems, *Hávamál*, had little to do with pagan belief. On the contrary, to his mind it was largely based on medieval Christian learning and composed by a medieval Icelandic pilgrim who had had the experience of travelling to Rome and back. In this present book, Hermann has equally strong claims to make, but of quite a different nature. He argues that *Völuspá* is a 'literary masterpiece' (p. 7) rather than an oral epic (indeed, very little is said about the oral tradition here) which was composed by a woman in the early eleventh century at a time when recent fears about the possibility of a millenial apocalypse were still been comparatively fresh. Such ideas, of course, are not new. As Hermann notes, similar arguments have been previously suggested by Björn M. Olsen, and more recently, by Helga Kress in her *Máttugar meyjar* (Reykjavík, 1993). More radical, however, is Hermann's suggestion that it is 'likely that the poem was created by a poetess who was herself a practising sibyl; her great artistic achievement was to describe her own ecstatic visions of alien worlds and to evoke hidden mysteries of the past and the untold secrets of the future' (p. 14). Hermann suggests that this poetess, the 'Heiðr' mentioned in st. 22, 'belonged to the north of Norway' (p. 26) and was probably 'fostered by the Sami' (p. 30) 'in Samiland or Finnmarken' (p. 26), and brought up as a Sami (i.e.Lapp) shaman. This is a very daring argument indeed, and it needs strong support.

The evidence presented is based on the fact that the poem takes the form of a first-person account by a female *völva*, or seeress, who is describing her trance-like visions of the creation and destruction of the earth. Without question, the form and framework of the vision is clearly related to the magical ritual of *seiðr* which is

mentioned several times in the sagas, and described in most detail in the account of Þorbjörg *lítilvölva* ('the little seeress') in *Eiríks saga rauða.* Both the vision and the act of *seiðr* have parallels in the shamanistic practices still known amongst the native peoples of Lappland, Siberia and North America. Furthermore, as Hermann shows in his interesting review of the source material concerning *seiðr,* sorcery and witchcraft, it is clear that the Sami were commonly associated with magical powers and shamanism in Old Icelandic literature, a reputation they maintained in the Nordic folk belief of later centuries. For Hermann, the idea of a northern Norwegian origin to the poem is stressed first of all by the landscapes it depicts. These imply a knowledge of a bare, windswept, northern environment. At the same time, he argues, placenames in the northern parts of Norway offer parallels to the natural placename compounds found in the poem, like Eitrdalar, Slíðr, Brimir and Niðavellir. Hermann finds the direct link between the poem and the *Sami* people in the reference to the 'ill þjóð' ('evil nation') that 'Heiðr' is supposed to have been a favourite of (st. 22), and the references to the 'iötnar' that 'Heiðr' remembers in st. 2. According to Hermann, these 'iötnar' must be interpreted as Sami people, since in the sagas certain figures known to have been half-Sami are sometimes referred to as 'hálf-troll' and 'hálf-bergrísi' ('half giant').

The suggestion that *Völuspá* should be accredited to a female member of an ethnic minority makes for a fashionably interesting argument, but there are distinct weaknesses in the reasoning behind it which Hermann seems to gloss over a little too lightly. Certainly, as Hermann shows, there are very good reasons for questioning Sigurður Nordal's earlier belief that the apparent reference to earthquakes, hot springs and eruptions in the poem should underline an unquestionable Icelandic provenance to the poem. In general, the strong possibility of a Norwegian provenance for earlier versions of many the Eddic poems should never be ruled out. To that degree, this new edition of *Völuspá* is once again very refreshing. It is the attempt to nail down the poem's origin to a Sami environment and Sami culture that must be questioned.

Certainly, the suggestion that the word *jötun* (usually interpreted as meaning 'giant') should be translated as 'Sami' in this poem (and elsewhere?) is highly dubious to say the least, and rests on extremely thin ice, even if Jötunheimr, the home of the *jötnar* was believed by some to have been in the north. Such an argument runs in the face of all the other evidence about the central role of the giants given in Nordic mythology. The argument here is not helped by the fact that Hermann also goes out of his way to link the *dwarves* mentioned in the *Dvergatal* section of the poem to the Sami (often referred to as *Finnar* or Finns in the sagas), emphasising that the personal name Finnr (st. 16) must mean 'a Sami'; pointing out that Frosti (st. 16) is 'the name of a Finn in *Ynglinga saga*', and conveniently modernising the name Skáfiðr (st. 15) to read 'Skáfinnr' (then translated as meaning 'a wry Finn or Sami'). To the best of my knowledge the latter form has not been used by any other commentators, and has been

rejected by Gísli Sigurðsson in his new edition of the *Eddukvæði* (Reykjavík, 1998). Indeed, Hermann himself seems to be far from certain about the ð-nn alteration, since while he uses the form Ráðsvinnr for another dwarf name in the poem (st. 12) on p. 48, he retains the original form of Ráðsviðr everywhere else in the book, both in the notes on p. 67 and in the glossary on p. 113. Similarly, Hermann's choice of the expression 'illrar þjðar' as a key reference to the Sami seems to be another example of his pushing the facts too far, since in the Codex Regius manuscript the word *þjóðar* ('people') was crossed out, it seems by the original scribe, and replaced with the word 'brúðar', meaning young married women. All other editors tend to accept the use of this word for the text. It is noteworthy that Hermann should make no note of this manuscript alteration or the alternative in his book.

In general, there is nothing to suggest that the Sami should have been the only people to practise the shamanistic arts in early medieval Scandinavia. The account of Þorbjörg *lítilvölvi* which Hermann Pálsson quotes is a case in point. Neither *Eiríks saga rauða* nor this present edition of *Völuspá* give any reason to believe that Þorbjörg should have come from northern Norway rather than anywhere else, or that her skills and knowledge should have been limited to people from that region. On the contrary, in the saga Þorbjörg asks whether there are any women in the area who might know the *Varðlokur* chant that is necessary to her ritual: 'Hon bað ok fá sér konur þær, er kynni fræði þat, sem til seiðsins þarf ok Varðlokur hétu' (*Eiríks saga rauða*, in ÍF IV, [Reykjavík, 1935], p. 207). She obviously hopes or expects to find an assistant, which implies that she does not view *seiðr* as being a solo activity, limited to people with Sami experience. It then transpires that the chant in question is known by Guðríðr Þorbjarnardóttir, who was taught it by her nurse, Halldís, in Iceland. Once again, there is no evidence that Halldís should have come from northern Norway. In short, there is no way that we can argue the act of *seiðr* should have been limited to northern Scandinavia, and this is quite clearly supported by the other key work on the subjects of *seiðr* and shamanism carried out by Strömbäck, Dillmann and Eliade, none of whom are mentioned in the bibliography to this book.

Another problem occurs in the whole concept of arguing a single 'composer' for any of the Eddic poems except perhaps *Grípisspá*. The extant texts stress that various differing versions of *Völuspá* must have existed in the thirteenth century when the poems were collected. Furthermore, the mere fact of the matter is that it is highly unlikely that Hermann's original female poet could have written her new composition down in the early eleventh century, unless she did it on rune sticks. This raises the question of the transmission, preservation and re-creation of the poem in the oral tradition over the space of almost two hundred years, a matter which Hermann chooses not to discuss.

In general, the argument presented here is far from watertight, and this is not helped by the fact that page and publishing references for cited works are often

absent, as in the cases, for example, of the material drawn from *Örvar-Odds saga* on pp.17-18, and *Vatnsdæla saga* and *Norna-Gests þáttr* on p. 19. Worse still is the fact that Hermann uses two different systems of strophe numbering in his book. Up until p. 14, the strophe numbers refer to the strophes given in Sophus Bugge's 1867 edition of the Eddic poems, which includes additional strophes taken drawn from the version of *Völuspá* given in *Hauksbók*. Thus, on p. 13, Hermann talks about the Ragnarök section of the poem as running from st. 50-58, whereas in fact, in this book it runs from st. 47-55. On p. 14, he then states that the following section ('Rebirth') runs from st. 56-64, now all of a sudden referring to the strophes as they appear in this present book. The same problem is found on p.13 when Hermann states that the 'Geyr Garmr' refrain occurs four times, in sts 44, 49, 54, and 58, which it does in Bugge's edition. In this book (and the Codex Regius) the refrain only appears thrice, in sts 43, 46 and 55. This lack of attention to detail is unfortunate, especially in a book that is so short.

To sum up, if students are warned that it presents an argument based on conjecture rather than a statement of fact, this new edition of *Völuspá* will form a useful addition to the teaching syllabus of Old Icelandic, not least because the text is cheap, generally trustworthy, and accompanied by all the necessary aids a student could wish for, gathered in one place. Furthermore, whether Hermann Pálsson's argument about the relationship between *Völuspá* and the Sami is right or wrong, it at least serves to open up discussion on the topic. It also helps to remind us that we should not always trust that the Eddic poems should have been preserved by male oral performers, or that the Icelandic people should all be regarded as having originated in south-west Scandinavia.

TERRY GUNNELL UNIVERSITY OF ICELAND

Chivalry and Exploration 1298-1630, by Jennifer R. Goodman. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1998. iii+234pp. ISBN hb: 0-85115-700-9. Price: hb: £35.00.

As her choice of title suggests, Jennifer Goodman is concerned in this study with continuity between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. The division between the two, particularly in the field of romance, is often an artificial distinction, and she argues for a consideration of the role of chivalric literature, particularly of the fifteenth century, in understanding the role that the imagination played in sixteeth- and seventeenth-century explorations.

The book is divided into two parts. The introduction and Part One, Chivalric Literature in an Age of Exploration, put forward the case for the romance as an 'imaginative literature of travel', citing the popularity of chivalric romance in the period 1400-1600 and the reworking of romances to make them more 'historical' in appearance. Links of themes, motifs and settings between romances and 'factual' travel narratives are also discussed, for instance in the way in which the landscape of the romances indicates the geographical preoccupations of the audience. Parallels are drawn between knights and explorers, and the work as a whole sets out to offer a reinterpretation of both chivalric and exploration literature. Travel, as Goodman points out, is common in romances, and, as in historical cases, was undertaken for a variety of reasons. The most familiar 'romantic' type of travel, the quest, can also be easily applied to many exploring expeditions. Texts and stories also travel, as is seen by the number of works translated into other languages during the period.

The second part of the book consists of six case studies of individuals whose lives or works connect chivalry and exploration: Marco Polo, Gadifer de la Salle, Philippa of Lancaster and her son Henry the Navigator, Cortes, Ralegh, and Captain John Smith. In each study, the way in which narratives by and about explorers relate to and reflect the conventions of romance is considered. In the case of Marco Polo and Rustichello da Pisa, we are shown the romance writer also writing 'factual' exploration literature, and the influence of Rustichello's romance writing on Marco Polo's text is re-evaluated, not least in terms of who should be seen as the 'primary' author of the *The Travels of Marco Polo*, with Rustichello's role involving an interpretation of Marco Polo's account within a romance idiom which is known and understood by the intended audience.

Gadifer de la Salle presents another type of chivalric travel, the crusade. In this case, the conquest of the Canary Islands is problematic as the opponents are not chivalrous, powerful equals, but unarmed Stone Age tribes, which diminishes the honour the explorers can gain from fighting them. By drawing on romance conventions, Gadifer's account, aimed at royal patrons, interprets the events (including the mutiny of some of Gadifer's followers) in ways that allow him to be seen in chivalric terms. Goodman claims that 'romance elements permeate the exploration narrative' (p. 115), both in the interpretation of events and in the features of the landscape (such as the name 'l'isle Lancelot' or Lanzarote, which recalls both a previous explorer, Lancelloto Malocello, and Sir Lancelot du Lac).

In the third case study, we see that women such as Philippa of Lancaster played an important role in defining and continuing romantic traditions, a role which may be influenced by that played by damsels and queens in the romances. The

importance of nobility by birth, carried through the female line, the identification of the role which the aspirant knight is to play, and the bestowing of a defining item such as a sword, are all features found in association with women in romances.

The question of chivalric autobiography and the justification of conquest arises in the discussion of Cortes and Montezuma. What is not clear, and perhaps cannot be determined within the limits of Goodman's study, is the degree to which the fashioning of exploration in chivalric terms is a cynical ploy to present the author or the conquering culture in the best possible light, or alternatively, how far it is an unconscious self-image influenced by reading romances. For Ralegh, the ideas of chivalric romances are used to distinguish the English not only from the inhabitants of the New World, but also from other conquerors, notably the Spanish. There are a number of patterns of heroic behaviour available for the explorer and adventurer to identify with, or, alternatively, to use to present himself favourably to a monarch at home.

The life of Captain John Smith is the final illustration of this tendency to use romances in refashioning reality. Works such as *The Faerie Queene* can become chivalric manuals, and Captain Smith can present himself as behaving in ways familiar from the romances, as in the Pocahontas episode, reminiscent of the frequently found plot of the Saracen princess who falls in love with the Christian knight. The romance, however, is in this instance less a pattern for a life than a point of reference for explaining that life to others.

In her conclusion, Goodman invites more consideration of late romances in connection with travel literature, and this is certainly a field that could be further explored. I am less convinced that 'if we are to understand our ancestors, or ourselves, we need to understand our common fantasies' (p. 6). There is always a danger of attributing our fantasies to our ancestors. Accepting that late medieval romance can provide an imaginative base for exploration literature, there is scope for further discussion of the question of where the imaginative base is to be located (in the explorer, the intended audience, or the society at large, for instance?) and to what degree it is self-conscious.

The book is well-presented, with few errors, but I found the lack of a bibliography a drawback. Although works are cited in footnotes in each chapter, one often has to hunt for the first instance of a title. Furthermore, the footnotes become overpowering at times, and especially in the introduction contain too much discussion which should perhaps be part of the main body of the text. A bibliography would also help to identify one of the other problems which must surely be contributory to the neglect of late romance which Goodman complains about, that is, the lack of available

editions of many fifteenth-century romances. This is an extremely wide field, involving, as it must, the literature and history of many different countries, and Goodman rightly presents her work more as an invitation to scholars to explore the field further than as an exhaustive discussion of the question.

ELIZABETH M. S. BALDWIN PRINCE GEORGE, B.C.

Masculinities in Chaucer, edited by P. G. Beidler. Chaucer Studies XXV. Cambridge: Brewer, 1998. 252pp. ISBN 0-85991-434-8. Price: £40.00.

Peter Beidler explains in the Introduction that this volume of seventeen essays (fourteen on the *Canterbury Tales* and, somewhat disappointingly, just three on *Troilus and Criseyde*) was inspired by his and Derek Brewer's mutual recognition during the 1996 International Congress at Kalamazoo of the preponderance of papers focusing on representations of masculinity in Chaucer's works. As an introductory sample of work in this expanding critical field, this volume is reasonably engaging, offering essays on several tricky and 'reader-resistant' Tales, like those of the Monk and the Physician, or *Melibee*, as well as featuring the more familiar Tales of the Miller, the Wife of Bath and the Nun's Priest. Furthermore, the collection fully exploits the rich polymorphous potential of the title's plural term, 'masculinities': titles of papers promise exploration of, among other emphases, bourgeois, creative, abusive, ambiguous, visual, mobile, contrasting, diminishing, transforming, troublesome and 'slydyng' masculinities. Beidler's emphasis on the deliberate intent behind the selection of male and female, heterosexual and homosexual, emergent, established and retired scholars whose contributions make up this volume clearly has significance here – he rightly cites this critical mix as one of the work's chief virtues, and it clearly has much to recommend it as a pedagogical tool. However, I would suggest that one practical consequence of it is that the reader inevitably emerges with little sense of what is meant by the 'Chaucerian masculinity' (p. 3) referred to in the Introduction – indeed, such a singular concept seems to be both antithetical and superfluous to the collection's intention, and this contradiction is a source of some initial and unnecessary tension.

A quick glance at the table of contents reveals critical foci ranging over four broad thematic areas – sexual, social, political and domestic concerns – with several of the contributions inevitably addressing more than one of these closely related areas. Broadly speaking, the analyses of the Miller's Tale, the Merchant's Tale, the Physician's Tale and *Sir Thopas* explore various aspects of eroticism, sexual desire and the body; representations of bourgeois, fraternal and noble masculinities are examined through the figure of the Host, and in the Friar's and Summoner's Tales, the Knight's Tale and *Troilus*; assessments of masculine power and social roles dominate the papers on the Reeve's and Monk's tales; and, most extensively, the negotiation of masculine roles in a putative domestic setting is the critical focus on the Wife of Bath's Prologue and Tale, the Franklin's Tale, the Shipman's Tale, *Melibee*, the Nun's Priest's Tale and *Troilus*. As the ordering of the papers echoes the order of the *Canterbury Tales*, Mark Allen's paper on the Host is a particularly useful opener for the collection, exploring as it does some of the key sexual and social connotations of Middle English 'manhod' and thereby setting the tone for the range of permutations and interpretations which follow in the other papers.

A problem frequently encountered when approaching such familiar texts as the tales of the Miller, Reeve and Wife of Bath is that one is almost inevitably going to be treading a well-worn interpretative path, and despite the fresh critical slant of this volume, this is largely the case with papers on these tales – Martin Blum's paper on erotic triangles in the Miller's tale has particular difficulty in this respect, although his interpretation is refracted through some useful recent criticism. Fluctuation in the quality and coherence of the individual offerings occasionally undermines the value of the collection, and its explicit intention to offer a broad array of approaches and thereby to 'stimulate scholarly thinking about them' (p. 3) is consequently only partially realized. A lack of precision or coherence with terminology mars some of the contributions, so terms such as 'homosocial', 'homosexual' and 'homoerotic' are used without sufficient contextual explanation and in confusingly close conjunction, as if they were interchangeable – most notably in Michael D. Sharp's paper on the Monk's Tale (see especially pp. 176-77, and footnotes).

However, it must be emphasized that Peter Beidler's thoughtful consideration about the accessibility of the volume led to his using a self-confessedly 'heavy editorial hand' (p. xi) in order to restrict the length of each contribution, to enable as many papers as possible to be included without the book's size and cost soaring beyond the means of the students at whom it is primarily aimed. It seems reasonable to allow that this consideration consequently offsets the occasional lack of clarity that makes certain contributions frustrating to read, particularly as most of the papers are

amply supplied with careful and detailed footnotes which will, if pursued, send students to critics such as René Girard, Judith Butler, Eve Sedgwick and Thomas Laqueur, whose work on gender and sexuality should provide useful clarification and context. Several of the contributions also locate their analysis in a wider medieval literary context, making reference to, for example, Boccaccio, the *Roman de la Rose*, Marie de France, the exemplary and romance traditions and scientific and patristic writings.

All in all, this is a potentially useful volume for students to have access to, although I suspect that it will be used primarily as a piecemeal critical source for those working on a particular tale or fragment of the *Canterbury Tales* or *Troilus* rather than as a casebook for medieval gender studies. The papers on the Shipman's tale (examining the presentation of the marital, as well as the adulterous, intercourse in the narrative) and *Sir Thopas* (providing lively narrative analysis and wide-ranging literary and historical context) are among the more interesting contributions on offer, and there is a thought-provoking difference of opinion between Derek Brewer and Stephanie Dietrich on the description of Troilus's triumphant return to Troy. Thus it seems that Beidler's final image in the Introduction, of the contributors as a group of individuals sharing the diversity of the Canterbury pilgrims, is in many ways a fitting one for a collection which at times is as conceptually diffuse as the text which it chiefly addresses.

NICOLA CHATTEN UNIVERSITY OF ST ANDREWS

Julian of Norwich: Autobiography and Theology, by Christopher Abbott. Cambridge: Brewer, 1999. xiv + 197pp. ISBN: 0-85991-548-4. Price: £35.00

Christopher Abbott opens his study of the revelations and theology of Julian of Norwich by expressing his intention 'to map the terrain' of the text 'with a generous concept of the autobiographical' (p. 5). While most scholars stop at sifting Julian's writings for biographical clues about the famous, but largely unknown, mystic, Abbott explores 'the relationship between Julian's personal experience as she records it and the incarnational theology which she develops out of it' (p. 3). To do so, he creates a framework of autobiography from which to analyse the Long Text account

of Julian's visions. From this framework Abbott forms an often insightful reading of the text, but it also leads him to take Julian's claims of loyalty to the established Church at face value, frequently disregarding the tensions that exist between her expressed theology and Catholic doctrine, as well as the discrepancy between the egalitarian church of all believers in Christ described in her visions and the hierarchical structures of the Church in medieval Norwich.

Chapter one opens with a discussion of the difficulties that surround the study of Julian and her text – the lack of definite knowledge about her life, the fact that there is no early manuscript tradition of the Long Text – which Abbott feels leaves her vulnerable to the personal agendas of others. He hopes, however, that by placing his emphasis upon Julian's 'engagement with interlocking problems of identity, faith, religious authority and writing', that he will avoid the 'worst excesses of mythologization and projection' (p. 3). He then defines the intrinsic and formal autobiographical elements of the text itself as well as identifying the pressures upon Julian which shape and complicate the production of this text. He suggests, moreover, that Julian strategically uses these autobiographical elements to involve her reader more intimately in her spiritual journey. The second chapter analyses Julian's famous three wishes and the emotionally charged but self-centred piety they demonstrate. Abbott then describes how Julian's depiction of herself responding to her visions reveals a development into a state of greater ecclesiological awareness.

Chapters three and four, the central part of the book, are described as a diptych examining 'Julian's theological explication of the bond between Christ and humanity' (p. 80). In these chapters Abbott scrutinizes the parable of the master and servant and the intimate links between Julian's theology and the personal experience in which it is rooted. Furthermore, he notes Julian's difficulty in accepting her visions, especially in regard to God's tolerance of human sinfulness. Chapter four in particular examines Julian's use of the individual soul as the scene of the re-enactment of the 'drama of salvation' (p. 118) and the various aspects of the motherhood of Christ. The fifth and final chapter discusses 'Julian's idiom of interiority' (p. 141) as it is expressed in God, the individual, and the Virgin Mary before moving on to the more practical, pastoral dimensions of Julian's theology. Here Abbott makes comparisons between Julian's texts and other contemporary works, especially *The Cloud of Unknowing*. Julian's words on prayer and contemplation, as well as fear of and love for God, are also considered. Finally, his conclusion reaffirms the connections that exist between the different levels of Julian's text as he has defined them.

There is much to say for Abbott's close reading of Julian's depiction of her revelations. The book itself progresses smoothly from Julian's initial focus upon

herself to her ever-developing broad, yet personal, theology for all individuals. Abbott's interpretations of Julian's words are for the most part apt and well-grounded. His detailed analysis of Christ's changing garments in the parable of master and servant is particularly striking. In his writing, Abbott draws upon his knowledge of medieval theology as well as the writing of Augustine and the Evangelists. The work itself may not be revolutionary, but it offers a fascinating view of the continual unfolding of Julian's text.

The work is not, however, without its flaws. Abbott's occasional use of colloquialism, such as 'cagey' (twice on p. 1) or the idiomatic: 'Evil (or the devil) is simply bashed on the head by *Christus Victor* and that's that' (p. 119), are sometimes effective and amusing, but jarring in other instances. In a similar manner, his comments upon Victorian literature – *David Copperfield* and *Middlemarch* – in the first chapter are more distracting than illuminating. Throughout his writing, especially in the first three chapters, Abbott frequently reviews his argument so far and signals where it is going, but this signposting threatens to become mechanical and redundant. Finally, although he pays lip service to the difficulties surrounding Julian as a woman, visionary, and writer, he often smoothes over the tensions that exist between Julian's theology and the teachings of the medieval Church. Julian may demonstrate obedience to the order of her curate when she looks at his crucifix, but her views on God's tolerance of sin are not completely orthodox. Indeed, it is her desire to uphold the teaching of the Church that makes it difficult for her to accept the radical view of sin offered by her visions. Abbott, however, blames Julian's doubts upon her 'wrong-headedness' and 'irrationality' (p. 85).

Overall, in spite of its faults, Abbott offers an insightful, if not exactly groundbreaking, analysis of Julian's text seen through the lens of autobiography as it creates a theology of and from personal experience. Yet, although Abbott largely succeeds in fulfilling his expressed intentions, his perspective is sometimes too limited in that it fails to see the tensions surrounding Julian's text that paradoxically contribute to its inner harmony.

MARTA COBB UNIVERSITY OF LEEDS

Preaching, Politics and Poetry in Late-Medieval England by Alan J. Fletcher. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1998. 320 pp. ISBN 1–85182–377–8. Price:£40.00.

Given the riches in this volume, it is difficult to know how to begin a review, or, indeed, to give even a basic impression of such a varied collection within such narrow confines – the notes alone are often like whole theses in themselves, and every page turned reveals something of interest. Perhaps it is best to begin with a straightforward description: there are twelve essays in the book, of which ten are versions of earlier work published between 1981 and 1996. They are divided into three parts: 'Preaching from North to South' (with four essays); 'Sermons as Social Cement: Living and Dying according to the Preachers' (with two essays); and 'Politic Poetics: Langland and Chaucer's Negotiations of the Culture of Preaching' (with six essays).

The depth of scholarship and the wealth of information in this collection mean that from now on any postgraduate aiming to specialise in Middle English or Latin sermons in particular would be well advised to begin their studies by reading the first two parts with great care. There they will find a model – in all senses of the term – of codicological description, palaeographical debate, translation technique, source study, and editing, together with a valuable discussion of much relating to sermon study in late medieval England.

The first essay, 'Preaching to the Converted: Sermons from Fountains Abbey, Yorkshire', which has not been published before, brings to our attention a previously unnoticed example of Cistercian preaching. Fletcher carefully describes the contents of the original Latin codex, now in two manuscripts, and provides full details of the scribal hands and the composition of the manuscript, before producing an edition and exemplary translation of a macaronic sermon from the collection. The nature of this text allows him to join the debate begun by Siegfried Wenzel, and to suggest that the present sermon was aimed at the laybrothers in Fountains and that moreover the 'unpredictable lapses into English might be explicable as interference . . . from the language in which the sermon's delivery either occurred or in which it was conceived as taking place when it was being composed: English'. Such a view is very plausible and more immediately acceptable than the rigorous notion adopted by Wenzel (which basically views the written text – with its frequently idiosyncratic mix of Latin and English – as a transcript of the sermon delivered).

Essays two and three, 'The Sermon Booklets of Friar Nicholas Philip', and ' "Magnus Predicator et Devotus": A Profile of the Life, Work, and Influence of the Fifteenth-Century Oxford Preacher, John Felton', are concerned with the work of two

well-known preachers. The former, a Franciscan friar, amassed a collection of seventy sermons and sermon-related items in the form of booklets in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Lat. th. d. 1, a personal anthology that provides evidence of his peripatetic preaching career in England between 1430 and 1436. The latter was vicar of St Mary Magdalen's, Oxford, from 1397, and is best known for the *Sermones dominicales*, a model collection extant in twenty-nine manuscripts, on which Fletcher is particularly helpful, providing not only a minute investigation of the northern associations of its Middle English verses but also an edition of the same verses in context, two of its (Latin) sermons (with translations), as well as an edition of a Middle English rendering of part of Felton's Passion Sunday sermon. This sort of in-depth scrutiny that defies easy description is taken further in the next essay, 'A Hive of Industry or a Hornet's Nest?: MS Sidney Sussex College 74 and its Scribes', where the author engages in an exceptionally detailed analysis of the scribal affiliations between this Lollard-associated manuscript and various others of a less or more orthodox nature, and so brings into question the relationship of the orthodox and the unorthodox from a *scribal* viewpoint, something that has not really been considered before.

Following such detailed and painstaking work, the next two essays, ' "The Unity of the State exists in the Agreement of its Minds": A Fifteenth-Century Sermon on the Three Estates' and ' "In Die Sepulture seu Trigintali": The Late-Medieval Funeral and Memorial Sermon', are of a more discursive nature, though like essays one and three, they also make use of edited texts to make their point: the first contains an edition of a Middle English estates sermon and the second a Middle English funeral sermon. These bring to an end what might be strictly regarded as the first, and the most substantial, part of the book.

The remaining six essays 'Langland on Preaching', 'The Social Trinity of *Piers Plowman*', 'Chaucer on Churls', 'The Preaching of the Pardoner', 'The Topical Hypocrisy of the Pardoner' and 'The Summoner and the Abominable Anatomy of Antichrist', comprise only a third of the whole, and while one welcomes the head-on meeting of sermon studies and 'literature', one cannot help but feel the slightness in comparison with what has gone before. This may seem like looking a gift horse in the mouth, especially in view of the new – and illuminating – essay ('Langland on Preaching') in which Fletcher sensibly concludes that we might view Langland 'as one who took an *à la carte* approach to issues that were rapidly becoming known and censured for their Lollard currency', and thereby negotiated in his own way the same sort of dilemmas as Chaucer who in his choice of corrupt Pardoner was able to 'safely introduce the resonance of the most urgent and topical theological argument of his

day', without offending anyone. Yet the four Chaucerian essays on the fabliaux (the Miller and the Reeve) and the satires (the Pardoner and the Summoner) make one ask for more: Fletcher on the Prioress as 'preacher', for example, would be very welcome. They also serve to draw attention to the rationale of the whole collection, and it is at this point that, though full of praise for all of Fletcher's essays as *individual* essays, one begins to wonder about this book *as* a book.

In this respect I feel that the whole enterprise is poorly served by the Introduction, which at times reads like a lecture to some rather dim undergraduates on the differences between modern times and the Middle Ages. Even if towards the end it makes a plausible attempt at welding the three parts of the book together, it was always going to be obvious that this is a collection of separate articles written over a fifteen-year period: indeed one of these essays, now chapter 6, was written with another author – it is a collaborative 1981 effort with Dr Sue Powell – and it is very odd to see it being re-packaged here as part of the Fletcher *oeuvre*, while the whole lacks an overall bibliography, which would have been a godsend to us all.

Yet despite this, and despite a few minor irritations: for example, the somewhat ungracious quibbling (on p. 119, n. 1, for instance, he takes Professor Anne Hudson to task over a few millimetres when he states that the correct measurement of the folio width in Sidney Sussex 74 is 175 mm to her 165 mm, forgetting that this is a game that anyone can play), it is extremely pleasing to have all these essays available in one place. The first two parts will no doubt be consulted by student and scholar for a long time to come – and deservedly so – and the last part should be required reading for anyone who has ever dared to question the value of sermon studies for a fuller understanding of medieval 'literature'.

V. M. O'MARA UNIVERSITY OF HULL

Diane Watt, *Secretaries of God: Women Prophets in Late Medieval and Early Modern England* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1997). ix + 198 pp. ISBN 0-8599-1524-7. Price: £35.

Diane Watt investigates the ways in which women's prophecy in the late Middle Ages and the Early Modern period engaged with religious and state politics by

making a detailed study of four women prophets: Margery Kempe (born *c.*1373 and died at some point after 1439), Elizabeth Barton (1506 – 1534), Anne Askew (1521 – 1546) and Eleanor Davies (*c.*1588 – 1652). These women are united by the fact that each of them made public statements about the fate of secular or ecclesiastical officials, each believed that her prophecies were divinely inspired, and each was persecuted for her activities.

The title of the first chapter, 'Crossing the Great Divide: Continuity and Change in Women's Prophetic Experience', foregrounds the innovative nature of Watt's work in looking across the traditional medieval/Early Modern boundary and charting the experience of women prophets whose lives fall on either side of it. Too often, scholarship has focused either on the Middle Ages or on the Early Modern period, and has therefore failed to take account of continuities which span both periods, and of changes which might not simply be the result of the Reformation, or of the arrival of print culture, or of any of the other commonly-accepted markers of the medieval/Early Modern boundary. Furthermore, as Watt explains, the texts she studies have themselves been neglected or marginalised because they have been 'usually and mistakenly taken to be a marginal and "sub-literary" type of discourse' (p. 6). There has also been a tendency for texts such as these to be studied primarily as historical documents, and interdisciplinary approaches using the methodologies of both historical and literary study have been rare.

Watt devotes one chapter to each of the four women prophets. She gives a summary account of each woman's prophetic activities and career as a commentator on religious and political issues, and of the encounters with and challenges from those in authority which each woman's activities instigate. Watt's comment on Margery Kempe - that '[i]t is through her struggles and victories as well as her suffering that her literary identity is created' (p. 37) - could equally be applied to Barton, Askew and Davies, and is a succinct pointer to the relationship between the composition of the texts and the experiences of their subjects.

The Epilogue to Watt's study traces the transmission of the texts by, or about, each woman. This is a very under-researched area, and one which has the potential to reveal valuable information about changing attitudes towards women and writing and women and prophecy. It is notable, for example, that the extent of the circle of Askew's friends and sympathisers is much easier for the modern scholar to gauge than is that of Margery Kempe; and that much more detailed contextual reconstruction is possible in the case of Barton and her publications than in the case of Margery Kempe and her *Book*. This highlights the greater quantity of surviving evidence for the sixteenth century than for the fifteenth; the difficulties Margery Kempe had in getting

her book written down, as contrasted with Barton's ability to have multiple pamphlets of her work printed; and the fact that each of the women operates on a successively less local and more national scale.

As well as providing a very valuable overview of the careers of these four women, and an analysis of the textual evidence for their prophecy, Watt touches on a range of other, related issues which have wider implications. Her study maps the movement from manuscript to print culture and the implications this has for the commissioning, production and dissemination of texts by women. The development of the definition and persecution of heresy is also charted through the survey of official responses to the four women; the particular preoccupations of those concerned to police orthodoxy and punish those who deviate from it are identified, from the accusations of Lollardy levelled at Margery Kempe, through the treason of which Elizabeth Barton is found guilty and for which she is hanged, and the charges of heresy made against Anne Askew, which result in her torture and burning to death, to the prosecution and imprisonment of Eleanor Davies for infringing the publishing laws. These differences of detail highlight the changing face of orthodoxy and its upholders, but they do not obscure the fact that all four women are accused of false prophecy, and that their activities are clearly seen as a potential threat to the ecclesiastical or political status quo, and to patriarchal social power structures.

Some other topics of great interest touched on by Watt, including the possible model provided by Bridget of Sweden for more than one of the women studied, would bear more extensive examination. One important question which features in several of Watt's chapters is that of the access modern readers have to the voices of the four women. This question invites further examination of several issues: the layering of narratorial, authorial and scribal voices in each text; the extent to which retrospective authorial reshaping affects the versions of visionary or prophetic events which the women later describe in writing; and the difficulty of knowing whether we are reading words drafted or dictated by the woman prophet, or their recasting by her male scribe. The voices of these secretaries of God are mediated for us by the voices of their own secretaries, be they amanuenses, scribes or printers. Watt makes interesting remarks about some of these issues, and it would be good to see her follow the present study with a more sustained analysis of how the texts she focuses on here might advance our understanding of concepts of authorship and writing, and their intersection with concepts of gender, from the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries.

MARY SWAN UNIVERSITY OF LEEDS

Also published *by Leeds Studies in English* are the occasional series:

LEEDS TEXTS AND MONOGRAPHS
(ISSN 0075-8574)
and
LTM Medieval Drama Facsimiles
(ISSN 0143-0335)

The most recent volumes in the **LTM** series are:
The Gawain Country: Essays on the Topography of Middle English Poetry by R.W.V. Elliot (1984) 165pp.
Staging the Chester Cycle, Lectures given on the Occasion of the Production of the Cycle at Leeds in 1983, edited by David Mills (1985) vii + 123pp.
Thomas Campion: De Puluerea Coniuratione (On the Gunpowder Plot), edited by David Lindley with translation and additional notes by Robin Sowerby (1987) v + 123pp.
Úr Dölum til Dala: Guðbrandur Vigfússon Centenary Essays, edited by Rory McTurk and Andrew Wawn (1989) x + 327pp.
P. J. Cosijn: Notes on 'Beowulf', introduced, translated and annotated by Rolf H. Bremmer Jr, Jan van den Berg and David F. Johnson (1991) xxxvi + 120pp.
A Study and Edition of Selected Middle English Sermons by V. M. O'Mara (1994) xi + 245pp.
Concepts of National Identity in the Middle Ages, edited by Simon Forde, Lesley Johnson and Alan V. Murray (1995) viii + 213pp.
The Old English Life of St Nicholas with the Old English Life of St Giles by E. M. Treharne (1997) viii + 218pp.
And in the **Medieval Drama Facsimile** series:
The York Play, a facsimile of BL Additional MS 35290, with a facsimile of the *Ordo Paginarum* section of the A/Y Memorandum Book, edited by Richard Beadle and Peter Meredith (1983) lxi + 551pp., 5 colour plates.
The Chester Mystery Cycle, a facsimile of BL Harley MS 2124, edited by David Mills (1984) xxii + 288pp.

Full details of these series and of past numbers of *Leeds Studies in English*, including prices and availability, can be obtained from:

The Secretary,
Leeds Studies in English,
School of English,
University of Leeds,
Leeds LS2 9JT, U.K.

All orders should be placed with the Secretary at the above address. Those with standing orders for any series (*Leeds Studies in English*, *LTM* or the Drama Facsimiles) are entitled to a 25% discount on all publications.

Also published *by Leeds Studies in English* are the occasional series:

LEEDS TEXTS AND MONOGRAPHS
(ISSN 0075-8574)
and
LTM Medieval Drama Facsimiles
(ISSN 0143-0335)

The most recent volumes in the **LTM** series are:
The Gawain Country: Essays on the Topography of Middle English Poetry by R.W.V. Elliot (1984) 165pp.
Staging the Chester Cycle, Lectures given on the Occasion of the Production of the Cycle at Leeds in 1983, edited by David Mills (1985) vii + 123pp.
Thomas Campion: De Puluerea Coniuratione (On the Gunpowder Plot), edited by David Lindley with translation and additional notes by Robin Sowerby (1987) v + 123pp.
Úr Dölum til Dala: Guðbrandur Vigfússon Centenary Essays, edited by Rory McTurk and Andrew Wawn (1989) x + 327pp.
P. J. Cosijn: Notes on 'Beowulf', introduced, translated and annotated by Rolf H. Bremmer Jr, Jan van den Berg and David F. Johnson (1991) xxxvi + 120pp.
A Study and Edition of Selected Middle English Sermons by V. M. O'Mara (1994) xi + 245pp.
Concepts of National Identity in the Middle Ages, edited by Simon Forde, Lesley Johnson and Alan V. Murray (1995) viii + 213pp.
The Old English Life of St Nicholas with the Old English Life of St Giles by E. M. Treharne (1997) viii + 218pp.
And in the **Medieval Drama Facsimile** series:
The York Play, a facsimile of BL Additional MS 35290, with a facsimile of the *Ordo Paginarum* section of the A/Y Memorandum Book, edited by Richard Beadle and Peter Meredith (1983) lxi + 551pp., 5 colour plates.
The Chester Mystery Cycle, a facsimile of BL Harley MS 2124, edited by David Mills (1984) xxii + 288pp.

Full details of these series and of past numbers of *Leeds Studies in English*, including prices and availability, can be obtained from:

The Secretary,
Leeds Studies in English,
School of English,
University of Leeds,
Leeds LS2 9JT, U.K.

All orders should be placed with the Secretary at the above address. Those with standing orders for any series (*Leeds Studies in English*, *LTM* or the Drama Facsimiles) are entitled to a 25% discount on all publications.