

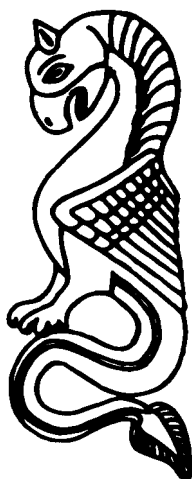
Leeds Studies in English

Article:

Carole Weinberg, "By a noble church on the bank of the Severn": A Regional View of Layamon's Brut', *Leeds Studies in English*, n.s. 26 (1995), 49-62

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Leeds Studies in English
School of English
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'By a noble church on the bank of the Severn': a Regional View of *Lazamon's Brut*

Carole Weinberg

Unlike Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae* (the source for Wace's *Roman de Brut*) and the *Roman de Brut* (Lazamon's source), where the immediate textual community seems fairly clearly defined, that of Lazamon's *Brut* has long been problematic.¹ What contemporary audience was Lazamon writing for? And what textual communities are represented by the two extant manuscripts, Cotton Caligula A.ix and Cotton Otho c.xiii, both independently derived from a common version which cannot have been the author's original? Both manuscripts, in varying degrees, show sufficient traces of the south-west-Midlands dialect to suggest that the original was written in Worcestershire; both are dated paleographically in the second half of the thirteenth century. The factors used in dating the poem itself – the evidence is both limited and ambiguous – have led critics to a range of dates between 1185 and 1225 for the composition of the 16000 line verse history.²

If the question of the audience for Lazamon's *Brut* is problematic, so is that of the national communities depicted within the *Brut* itself. Purporting to recount 'wat heo ihoten weoren and wonene heo comen / þa Englene londe ærest ahten' [what they were called and whence they came who first possessed the land of England] (ll. 8-9 in Cotton Caligula),³ and written in a form of English reminiscent of Old English literary models, the *Brut* is an account of early British kings, and a largely sympathetic portrayal of their struggles against the treacherous Saxon invaders, forerunners of the English and ancestors, therefore, of Lazamon himself. It is only within the last two thousand lines of the poem that Lazamon focusses the narrative more directly and at times sympathetically on the early English kings of Northumbria in the struggle between the British and English for sovereignty over the island. The poem ends with the British dispossessed of their land and driven into Wales, and English kings in possession of England.

The subject of the national communities created within the *Brut*, and the related question of the identity of the national communities Lazamon's work might have addressed, have both loomed large in critical work on Lazamon's text.⁴ Less critical attention has been paid, however, to the possible relevance of more local and regional contexts for the production and reception of Lazamon's poem, ways in which it might be seen as a response to local and regional concerns rather than, or as well as, national ones. The regional aspect of Middle English literature has long been recognised in the dialectal diversity of Middle English literary texts, and regional factors are coming increasingly into focus in the discussion of the emergence of certain types of medieval vernacular literature in the Middle English period.⁵ In this article I would like, firstly, to assess the relevance of certain specific geographical and ecclesiastical references in the *Brut* for an awareness of locality on Lazamon's part, and, secondly, in a more general way, to locate Lazamon and his work as part of a regional textual community in which the use of English as a literary medium has particular relevance.

The prologue of Cotton Caligula A.ix (ll. 1-35), conforms, in outline, to the conventional medieval literary prologue with its deferential reference to source material (in Lazamon's case this includes Bede and Wace), and a request for the reader/s to offer prayers for the author's soul. What is less conventional however, and striking, is the unusually personal aspect of the introduction, focussing, as it does, on the precisely localised detail, in the Caligula manuscript, of Lazamon's dwelling-place, described as 'Areley by a noble church on the bank of the Severn, close to Redstone' (ll. 3-5). Lazamon presents himself with great deliberateness, it seems, within a precisely identifiable location. The church of Areley (Areley-Kings as it is now called), is situated on a hill overlooking the modern town of Stourport in north-west Worcestershire, and it commands a magnificent view over the Severn and, on the other side, across the hills towards the Wyre forest. Lazamon's geographical identification with the Severn can be seen near the beginning of the *Brut* (ll. 1067-68), when he is describing the division of the land of Britain between the three sons of Brutus. The second son, Camber, inherits Cambria, 'that is the wild land which Welshmen love' (l. 1060), later to be called Wales. Wace, in speaking of the position of Camber's territory, identifies it geographically as north of the Severn.⁶ For Lazamon, however, whose parish, Areley, overlooked the Severn, considered a frontier river between Wales and England in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Wales lay to the west, and it is in such terms that he describes Camber's territory: 'Camber had as his own everything to the west of the Severn'

(ll. 1067-68).

Another reference to the Severn occurs towards the end of the poem, when Lazamon is describing the three noble British rulers, Baldwin, Cadwan and Margadud, who take up arms against Alfric, the Anglo-Saxon king of Northumbria, and defeat him in battle (ll. 14924-58). Baldric is Earl of Cornwall, Cadwan is king in northern Wales, and Margadud 'the handsomest of men, ruled in southern Wales, all that fair land bounded by the Severn which flows from its upper reaches into the sea'.

A third example of a specific reference to a detail of regional interest, this time not geographical but historical, occurs in Lazamon's description of the defeat in battle of Penda, the king of the Mercians, by Cadwalan, the British king. Cadwalan with his own hands captured Penda who, Lazamon tells us in an addition to Wace, 'was the father of Mærwal, the grandfather of Mildburge' (l. 15478). St Mildburg, the daughter of King Merewalh and his wife Domne Eafe (she was from the Kentish royal family), was the founder in the late seventh century of the religious house of Much Wenlock in Shropshire, about twenty miles from Areley; she became its first abbess, and tradition claims it as the resting-place of this saint. Neglected pre-Conquest, Cluniac monks restored her foundation in 1080, and it was reported that her relics were responsible for many miracles.⁷ She seems to have been very much a local saint, and it has been suggested that the lack of an explanation of Mildburg's identity 'points towards his [Lazamon] having written for a local audience'.⁸

Lazamon's local connections may also provide an explanation for an extended reference in the *Brut* (ll. 5565-73, expanded from Wace, ll. 5720-28), relating to St Helena, British mother of the Emperor Constantine and of legendary status as the founder of the 'true Cross':

And the lady Helene, the saintly queen, went to Jerusalem with a splendid retinue and spoke with the powerful elders of the Jews, promising them very great wealth so that they would guide her in finding the Cross on which Christ, our Lord, redeemed this world. The Jews sought it out and delivered it to the queen; then she was happier than she had ever been in her life. And she remained there, by it, many years, during which time her uncle Leonin was in Rome with Constantin.

Dr Le Saux picks up this expanded reference to St Helena, noting that none of the British saints, mentioned in the *Brut*, is the object of any elaboration, except for Helena.⁹ But she offers no explanation for this additional material. The reason may, however, become clearer if we look at the local affiliations of the church where Laȝamon served as the priest. In Laȝamon's day, and later, the church at Areley was under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the church at Martley, the manor of Martley itself being an ancient royal possession – hence the later name Areley Kings for Areley. The church of Martley appears, though, to have been in the possession of William FitzOsbern, Earl of Hereford, after the Norman Conquest, since in the reign of Henry II in the following century, a royal charter confirmed the churches of Suckley and Martley with all their chapels, tithes and appurtenances to the Benedictine abbey of St Mary at Cormeilles in Normandy, founded c1060 by William FitzOsbern who, wielding considerable power in Worcestershire, had endowed the abbey with these Worcestershire properties.¹⁰ In 1291 Areley church was taxed at £5.13.4d as the 'chapel of Arleia', and it was still regarded as a dependent chapel of Martley in the middle of the seventeenth century in that the rector of Martley had the right to present the incumbent to Areley.¹¹ Martley church itself paid tithes until the mid-tenth century to St Helen's church in Worcester, claimed by the antiquary Leland as the most ancient church in Worcestershire, and most probably Romano-British in origin. The very dedication of a church to St Helena is rare in the west Midlands and unique in Worcestershire; it seems that her cult was not that popular with the English Church.¹² When in 960 AD the priest of St Helen's became a Benedictine monk at St Mary's in Worcester, the extensive possessions of the church came into the hands of the Cathedral Priory; thereafter some of the chapels over which it held pastoral control as the mother church began to detach themselves. Martley, the most distant of the chapels subservient to St Helen's, emerged as a mother church in its own right with its own chapelries, which included Areley.¹³ The local connection between St Helen's church in Worcester and Martley, of which the church at Areley was a chapelry, might well have been a factor in Laȝamon's embellishment of the detail concerning St Helena when he came to that point in Wace's narrative where she is mentioned.

The web of local connections has now come to encompass Worcester itself, about ten miles downstream from Areley, and, in particular, Worcester Cathedral Priory. Laȝamon chose to use the English vernacular for his poem rather than Latin or French, and we know that his interest in the English past was shared by his contemporaries at Worcester Cathedral at a time when Norman prelates, often at

odds with Worcester monks, held sway. The early twelfth-century library holdings of Worcester Cathedral Priory indicate a strong interest in both Anglo-Saxon and world history, and in Anglo-Saxon lives.¹⁴ In the mid-twelfth century Worcester was itself a centre of historiography, with copies of the *Worcester Chronicle* circulating around other monasteries,¹⁵ while at the close of the century the work of the scribe known as the 'tremulous hand' in annotating Old English manuscripts shows a particular concern with the vernacular.¹⁶ The availability of Old English homiletic texts at Worcester would have given Lazamon ready access to the rhythmical prose of Ælfric which, it has been argued, was very possibly one of the sources for Lazamon's verse line.¹⁷ Lazamon himself tells us in his Prologue that, having conceived the idea of relating 'what they were called and whence they came who first possessed the land of England' (ll. 8-9), he 'travelled far and wide throughout this land, collecting the excellent books which he took as a model' (ll. 14-15). For historians to undertake extensive journeys in search of source material is well-attested in the first half of the twelfth-century, those who undertook such journeys including Oderic Vitalis, William of Malmesbury and John of Worcester.¹⁸ There was a well-established tradition of active pursuit on the part of historians of authoritative source material, the use of which is frequently though not invariably acknowledged. Lazamon thus, at the least, was placing himself within this tradition as a writer claiming respectability as a historian. But if he did, as he claims, move further afield than Areley in his pursuit of knowledge, then he had, within a fairly narrow radius, not only the well-stocked library of Worcester Cathedral, but in addition, for example, the library of Lanthony Priory near Gloucester, a house of Augustinian canons, wide-ranging in its collection of historical, theological and classical material, and a place where Old English prose was understood and valued.¹⁹

From the early twelfth century onwards, there is evidence that the Anglo-Saxon past was a preoccupation of monastic foundations such as Canterbury, Malmesbury, Durham and Worcester. The purpose was, in part, to reclaim their saints, to reassert their ancient rights and privileges threatened by the contemporary political climate. The efforts of men like Osbern of Canterbury, William of Malmesbury and John of Worcester successfully reclaimed the Anglo-Saxon past, linking it with the Norman present.²⁰ Lazamon, at Areley church c1200, would have been the beneficiary of this continuing interest in pre-Norman England. To this view of the Anglo-Saxon past Lazamon added what he obtained from his reading of Wace: a history of the British past of the island. But Lazamon's view of early

history was also one in which, by the thematic patterning of triumphs and disaster, and by such smaller details as the apparent modelling of Arthur's cognomen *Brutene deorling* (e.g ll. 12535, 13020) on the medieval title for Alfred the Great, 'England's darling', it would seem that the British and English shared a common identity as both victors and victims.

The particular relevance of Worcester Cathedral Priory to Lazamon's *Brut* lies in its dual role as a centre of interest in England's past and as a conservator of writings in the vernacular, the latter due largely to the lengthy and uninterrupted incumbency of Wulfstan II, whose canonisation on 21 April 1203 was the culmination of efforts begun in the early twelfth century and which had gathered momentum in the last decades.²¹ In the figure of Wulfstan while he lived, and in the efforts to mark his merits for posterity, continuity with his Anglo-Saxon forebears was being maintained. Lazamon's interest in the Anglo-Saxon past and his use of the vernacular replicate two areas of particular interest to Worcester Cathedral towards the end of the twelfth century. From the references in Lazamon's poem to local topography and history a certain sense of regional identity can be inferred, and his choice of subject matter and the use of English in which to express it does not perhaps seem quite so eccentric if we bear in mind the monastic libraries of the south-west Midlands in the early Middle English period.

We know that Lazamon was not alone in using the vernacular in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, although its use was not extensive; but from the south-west-Midland area we have also, for example, the Lambeth Homilies, containing material based on known Old English texts, the Katherine group of religious prose texts produced for women in conventual life, and the *Ancrene Riwe*, a practical and devotional guide for anchoresses, several extant versions testifying to its popularity.²² Though the immediate textual communities of the *Brut* and the above-mentioned religious texts may have differed, what they have in common is the use of English as their linguistic medium, and, furthermore, it is a regional form of English which derives, not from the west-Saxon tradition, but from the west-Mercian. In the case of the 'AB' language of the Corpus text of the *Ancrene Wisse* and of the homilies and saints lives in MS Bodley 34, the orthographic forms provide a direct link with Old English, and specifically west-Mercian linguistic traditions.²³ Between 1190 and 1230 this 'AB' language produced in a scriptorium, thought to be Wigmore Abbey, 'represents an attempt to establish a new *Schriftsprache*, as West Saxon had been'.²⁴ That such an attempt proved unavailing should not detract from the important point that there was sufficient interest in the

vernacular to promote a regional standard in the south-west Midlands in the early thirteenth century. Additionally, contemporaneously with the 'AB' language, other manuscripts were being produced which, differing from the 'AB' language in their linguistic forms, are still south-west Midland in provenance. One such manuscript, one of the two oldest extant manuscripts of the *Ancrene Riwe*, is British Library, Cotton Cleopatra C.vi, dated c1227-28 by Professor Dobson, its most recent editor.²⁵ The main scribe, Scribe A, who copied the whole text from an exemplar probably in the 'AB' language, was not, himself, according to Dobson, trained in the orthographic tradition of the 'AB' language, but in general his language suggests 'that he was a native of an area on the periphery – almost certainly the Eastern periphery of the district in which the 'AB' language itself was spoken. He was probably from Worcestershire'.²⁶ Jeremy Smith argues for a north-Worcestershire localisation, but accepts Dobson's thesis that Scribe A, possibly a professional scribe, a member of some small religious community, a secular priest or a domestic chaplain, while not part of the original 'AB' language community, lived at no great distance from it, since the process of copying 'depended on the regular delivery to him, and the return by him, of sections of the exemplar'.²⁷

The connection of a Worcestershire scribe with the Herefordshire affiliations of the *Ancrene Wisse* widens the area of south-west-Midland influence in the composition and copying of early Middle English texts, and offers a regional context within which *Lazamon's Brut* can be considered. Dobson's examination of the language of Scribe A in Cotton Cleopatra C.vi revealed similarities between some of his non 'AB' linguistic forms and those of the Cotton Caligula MS of *Lazamon's* poem,²⁸ linguistic forms also found in the non 'AB' features of the unfinished text of *On Ureisun of Ure Louerde*, added in an early thirteenth-century hand to fols. 65v-67r of Lambeth Palace Library MS 487.²⁹ The rest of this manuscript, dated c1200, shows linguistic similarities with the 'AB' language, but it also shares some of its linguistic features with the text of the *Ureisun* and the Caligula text of the *Brut*. Unlike the Cotton Cleopatra text of the *Ancrene Riwe* and Lambeth Palace MS 487, however, Cotton Caligula A.ix has been dated, on the basis of its script, in the latter half of the thirteenth century,³⁰ but it has been generally acknowledged that Caligula may have been copied *literatim* from its exemplar, possibly because the copyist wished to preserve linguistic forms which he recognised were archaic, but accepted as traditional.³¹

The placing of Cotton Caligula A.ix in the latter half of the thirteenth century makes the date of its copying later than the production of the 'AB' language (the

earlier date relating more directly to the regional context of the possible date of composition of the *Brut*), but contemporaneous with the production of other late thirteenth century manuscripts containing items in the vernacular and localised in the south-west Midlands. Laȝamon's verse history is the first item in Cotton Caligula A.ix, and the text appears in descriptions of the manuscript as Part I of a two part composite manuscript, with Part II (in a different though contemporaneous hand) containing French and English verse, and regarded as originally a separate MS.³² Neil Ker, noting similarities between the two parts of the MS in such features as script and layout, thought it very likely that Parts I and II belonged together from the time of copying.³³ Margaret Laing draws attention to the fact that MSS Caligula A.ix and Oxford Jesus College 29, contemporary in date, share many of the same texts including the only two extant versions of *The Owl and Nightingale*, *An Orison to our Lady*, *Doomsday*, *The Latemest Day*, *The Ten Abuses*, and *Litel Soth Sermun* (the last four short items appearing in the same order in both manuscripts).³⁴ The language of Jesus College MS has been identified as 'east Herefordshire, not far from the Worcestershire border';³⁵ a further possible link with Worcestershire emerges in the numerous correspondences which have been noted between items in the Caligula and Jesus manuscripts and the titles of works, now lost, recorded in the catalogue of Titchfield Abbey, Hampshire, founded in 1232-33, and a daughter-house of the Premonstratensian Abbey at Halesowen.³⁶

Two further manuscripts have been linked to Cotton Caligula A.ix and Jesus College 29; the two manuscripts in question are Cambridge, Trinity College 323 (B.14.39), and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 86.³⁷ John Frankis, in an article on vernacular writing in the thirteenth century, commented on the features he regarded as common to the four manuscripts:

they are all from the same period, c1260-80, and on linguistic grounds may be assigned to the same general area (the south-west Midlands; more specifically, the diocese of Worcester, or perhaps the dioceses of Worcester and Hereford); they all contain a mixture of languages (English and French in Jesus and Caligula; English, French and Latin in the other two), and all are in some sense religious, though this point needs further explanation.³⁸

Frankis thought it most likely that Cotton Caligula A.ix and Jesus College 29, taking

into account 'the dominant tone . . . of religious sobriety and conformity', were compiled by and intended for secular clergy or regular canons, that Trinity College 323, its contents strictly religious, was compiled in a house of regular or secular canons, and that Digby 86, containing more secular and miscellaneous material than the other three manuscripts, was intended for a lay mixed household, though the compiler was a cleric, 'perhaps the local parish-priest, more probably a private chaplain in a manorial household, at any rate, a member of the secular clergy'.³⁹ On the evidence of content, however, there is nothing which would exclude Cotton Caligula A.ix and Jesus College 29 from a lay rather than clerical readership; religious sobriety and conformity does not point exclusively to a clerical readership, just as a tone of ribaldry (detected in Digby 86 by Frankis), does not necessarily exclude a monastic audience.⁴⁰

A fifth manuscript of south-west-Midlands provenance is British Library, Harley 4967, containing legal and school texts in Latin, but heavily glossed in French and the vernacular. The texts are dated between the first half and last quarter of the thirteenth century, and the manuscript itself belonged to the Benedictine Cathedral Priory, Worcester.⁴¹

It would seem, thus, that throughout the thirteenth century in the south-west Midlands, particularly Herefordshire and Worcestershire, there was a steady output of manuscripts containing material in the vernacular. From the admittedly cursory overview of such manuscript production it would seem that there was a great deal of overlap in the type of material produced, and a network of regional connections in the scribal input of these manuscripts. Lazamon and his work might arguably be considered as belonging to this regional community, a regional context in which there was a continuity of interest in the use of English, and in which English as a linguistic medium crossed both ecclesiastical and lay audiences. Lazamon's *Brut* appears alongside texts of interest to both types of audience, and insofar as Frankis surmises that in at least three of the manuscript collections (Cotton Caligula A.ix, Jesus College 29, and Digby 86) the compiler belonged to the world of the secular clergy, there is an interesting parallel with the description of Lazamon himself in the two extant manuscripts of the *Brut*.⁴²

The active interest in the pre-Conquest past at Worcester Cathedral Priory would have been an important factor in keeping alive an awareness and knowledge of this past, while the role played by the monastic centres in the south-west-Midlands in the preservation of writings in the vernacular, and the value accorded these writings, may well have fostered a climate of opinion in which the continued

use of the vernacular in this region in the thirteenth century was accepted and ensured. Given the evidence for activity of this kind in a regional locality which encompassed Areley Kings, and if, as I hope to have demonstrated, there is some evidence to suggest that Lazamon identified with the local and regional community, then these local and regional factors have a relevant part to play in the study of Lazamon's *Brut*.

NOTES

This is a revised version of a paper read at the First International Medieval Congress, University of Leeds, July 1994. I wish to express my thanks to Dr. Lesley Johnson for helpful discussion in relation to this topic.

¹ Receptive contexts for Geoffrey's *Historia*, Wace's *Roman de Brut*, and *Lazamon's Brut* are discussed by Felicity Riddy in 'Reading for England: Arthurian Literature and National Consciousness', *Bibliographical Bulletin of the International Arthurian Society*, 43 (1991), 314-32.

² For a detailed discussion of the two manuscripts and questions of dating, see Françoise Le Saux, *Lazamon's Brut: The Poem and its Sources* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 1-13.

³ All citations from the Cotton Caligula text of *Lazamon's Brut*, and all translations of this text are from *Lazamon's 'Brut'*, ed. and trans. W. R. J. Barron and S. C. Weinberg (Harlow, 1995). References to Cotton Otho c.xiii are from *Lazamon: Brut*, ed. G. L. Brook and R. F. Leslie, EETS os 250, 277 (London, 1963, 1978).

⁴ Recent critical studies of the national communities created in the *Brut*, and *Lazamon's* attitude towards them include Daniel Donoghue, 'Lazamon's Ambivalence', *Speculum* 65 (1990), 537-63, Lesley Johnson, 'Reading the Past in *Lazamon's Brut*', Neil Wright, 'Angles and Saxons in *Lazamon's Brut*: A Reassessment', and James Noble, 'Lazamon's 'Ambivalence' Reconsidered', all in *The Text and Tradition of Lazamon's 'Brut'*, ed. Françoise Le Saux (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 141-82.

⁵ Richard Beadle, 'Prolegomena to a Literary Geography of Later Medieval Norfolk', in *Regionalism in Late Medieval Manuscripts and Texts*, ed. Felicity Riddy (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 89-108, draws attention to the regional nature of certain types of vernacular literature, commenting that 'on the whole we still possess only partial and haphazard explanations of why, for example, a rather ambitious kind of devotional literature came to flourish in an apparently restricted area of the west midlands during the thirteenth century, whilst the northern region, from about 1300 onwards, began to produce a range of more basic instructional texts which went on to become widely disseminated throughout the country over the following two hundred years' (p. 89).

⁶ *Roman de Brut*, l. 1272. All references to Wace are from *Le Roman de Brut de Wace*, ed. Ivor Arnold, 2 vols. (Paris, 1938-40).

⁷ For St Mildburg's family tree, though the emphasis is on her Kentish rather than her Mercian antecedents, see D. W. Rollason, *The Mildrith Legend: A Study in Early Medieval Hagiography in England* (Leicester, 1982), p. 45.

⁸ Le Saux, p. 165.

⁹ Le Saux, p. 171 and n. 53.

¹⁰ See J. C. Bond, 'Church and Parish in Norman Worcestershire', in *Minsters and Parish Churches: The Local Church in Transition 950-1200*, ed. John Blair (Oxford, 1988), pp. 127-28, and *The Victoria History of the Counties of England: A History of Worcestershire*, IV (London, 1924), 294. Martley itself was forfeited to the Crown by FitzOsbern's son and successor, Roger, in 1077, but seems to have passed before the end of 1200 to Alan de Friese. In 1205 Martley passed to William de Frise, brother of the successor to Alan (*A History of Worcestershire*, IV, 292), but Henry II's confirmation of Martley church to Cormeilles appears to have remained in force since presentations to Martley church were occasionally made by the Prior at Newent, the cell of Cormeilles in England (*A History of Worcestershire*, IV, 295).

¹¹ *A History of Worcestershire* IV, 230.

¹² For the information concerning St Helen's church, Worcester, I am indebted to J. C. Bond, 'Church and Parish in Norman Worcestershire', pp. 130-33.

¹³ As noted above, p. 52, Martley and all its dependent chapelries were subsequently granted by William FitzOsbern, Earl of Hereford, to the Benedictine abbey of St Mary at Cormeilles in Normandy.

¹⁴ See E.A. McIntyre, *Early-twelfth-century Worcester Cathedral Priory, with special reference to the manuscripts written there* (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 1978), p. 114.

¹⁵ For Worcester as an influential centre for historical writing in the twelfth century, see Antonia Gransden, *Historical Writing in England c.550 to c.1307* (London, 1974), pp. 143-58.

¹⁶ For the work of the 'tremulous' scribe, see Christine Franzen, *The Tremulous Hand of Worcester: A Study of Old English in the Thirteenth Century* (Oxford, 1991), and the essay by Wendy Collier, 'Englishness and the Worcester Tremulous Hand', in this volume. Dr Collier argues for 'some evidence of anti-Norman feeling in Worcester in the two centuries after the Conquest, although perhaps 'anti-French' rather than 'anti-Norman' would be a more accurate term, particularly in the latter part of the period' (p. 41). Is this perhaps a local factor to be taken into account when discussing Lázamon's sense of national identity?

¹⁷ See S. K. Brehe, 'Rhythmical Alliteration': Aelfric's Prose and the Origins of Lázamon's Meter', in *The Text and Tradition of Lázamon's 'Brut'*, pp. 65-87.

¹⁸ See *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. Marjorie Chibnall, 6 vols. (Oxford 1969-80), I, 25-28, and Rodney M. Thomson, 'The Reading of William of Malmesbury', *Revue Bénédictine* 85 (1975), 362-94 (pp.392-94).

¹⁹ See Elizabeth Salter, *English and International: Studies in the Literature, Art and Patronage of Medieval England*, ed. Derek Pearsall and Nicolette Zeeman (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 68-69.

²⁰ See Antonia Gransden, 'Bede's Reputation as an Historian in Medieval England', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 32 (1981), 397-425. But see also, James Campbell 'Some Twelfth-Century Views of the Anglo-Saxon Past', in *Essays in Anglo-Saxon History* (London, 1986), pp. 209-28.

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- ²¹ See Emma Mason, *St Wulfstan of Worcester c1008-1095* (Oxford 1990), pp. 254-85.
- ²² For a description of those extant manuscripts which have been identified as south-west-Midland in provenance, see Margaret Laing, *Catalogue of Sources for a Linguistic Atlas of Early Medieval English* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 111, 81-82, 124-25, 24, 74 and 77-78.
- ²³ See Jeremy Smith, 'Tradition and innovation in South-West-Midland Middle English', in *Regionalism in Late Medieval Manuscripts and Texts*, ed. Felicity Riddy, p. 59.
- ²⁴ Smith, p. 60.
- ²⁵ *The English Text of the Ancrene Riwe. Edited from B.M. Cotton MS. Cleopatra C.vi.*, EETS, os 267 (London, 1972), p. x.
- ²⁶ Dobson, pp. lxxii and xciii.
- ²⁷ Smith, pp. 60-64; Dobson, p. lv.
- ²⁸ Dobson, pp. lxxxv-ix.
- ²⁹ The items in this manuscript are listed in Laing, *Catalogue of Sources*, p. 111, and discussed by Betty Hill, 'The twelfth-century *Conduct of Life*, formerly the *Poema Morale* or *A Moral Code*', *Leeds Studies in English* 9 (1977), 97-114.
- ³⁰ *The Owl and the Nightingale*. Produced in Facsimile from Jesus College Oxford MS 29 and British Museum MS Cotton Caligula A.ix with an introduction by N. R. Ker, EETS os 251 (London, 1963), p. ix.
- ³¹ Smith, pp. 54-55, argues for such awareness on the part of early Middle English scribes. See, also, E. G. Stanley, 'Lazamon's Antiquarian Sentiments', *Medium Aevum* 38 (1969), 23-37 (pp. 23-27).
- ³² This is how the manuscript is described in Laing, *Catalogue of Sources*, pp. 69-70.
- ³³ *The Owl and the Nightingale*, p. ix.
- ³⁴ *Catalogue of Sources*, pp. 69-70 and 145-46.
- ³⁵ *A Linguistic Atlas of Late Medieval English*, ed. Angus McIntosh, M. L. Samuels and Michael Benskin, 4 vols. (Aberdeen, 1986), I, 25.
- ³⁶ See Betty Hill, 'Oxford, Jesus College MS 29: Addenda on Donation, Acquisition, Dating and Relevance of the "Broaken Leafe" Note to *The Owl and the Nightingale*', *Notes and Queries* ns 220 (1975), 98-105. R. M. Wilson lists the items in the Titchfield Abbey catalogue in 'The Medieval Library of Titchfield Abbey', *Proceedings of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society* 5 (1938-43), 150-77 and 252-76.
- ³⁷ These two manuscripts are listed and described in detail in Laing, *Catalogue of Sources*, pp. 34-37 and 129-30.
- ³⁸ 'The Social Context of Vernacular Writing in Thirteenth Century England: the Evidence of the Manuscripts', in *Thirteenth Century England* I, ed. P. R. Coss and S. D. Lloyd (Woodbridge, 1986), 175-85 (p. 181).

³⁹ *ibid.*, pp. 181-84.

⁴⁰ Ker, pp. ix-xi, and Laing, *Catalogue of Sources*, pp. 69-70 and 145-47, list the contents of Cotton Caligula A.ix and Jesus College 29.

⁴¹ Laing, *Catalogue of Sources*, p. 98.

⁴² Laȝamon, in the Cotton Caligula A.ix text, identifies himself as 'an preost . . . on leoden' [a priest in the land] (l. 1) who 'wonede at Emleȝe at æðelen are chirechen' [lived at Areley by a noble church] (l. 3). Cotton Otho c.xiii describes Laȝamon as 'a prest' [a priest] (l. 1) who 'wonede at Ernleie wið þan gode cnipte' [lived at Areley with the good knight] (l. 3).