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Editorial Preface

With the fortieth issue of the new series of *Leeds Studies in English*, we are introducing some changes which will sustain and extend the quality and audience of the journal. *LSE* has always been published by scholars, for scholars; its purpose is to disseminate high-quality research as widely as possible. We have accordingly chosen to make *LSE* available online free-access: with the support of Leeds University Library, all volumes of the journal from its inception in 1932 through to 2008 can now be accessed via <www.leeds.ac.uk/lse>; new volumes will be made available in the same way two years after print publication.

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Alaric Hall, Leeds, August 2010

The Caesura and the Rhythmic Shape of the A-Verse in the Poems of the Alliterative Revival

Noriko Inoue and Myra Stokes

Introduction

The metre of Middle English alliterative verse is a subject which remained relatively neglected for much of the last century until a new impetus was given to it by the work of, most notably, Hoyt Duggan, whose findings regarding the rules governing the b-verse (the second half of the alliterative line) have provided a persuasive and thought-provoking focus for renewed interest in the subject.[1] Since the structure of the a-verse is now attracting attention, the present seems a timely moment in which to open the subject of the caesura: for whether or not the caesura requires to be audibly signalled by a beat at the conclusion of the a-verse is a matter that bears significantly on any theories of the metrical shape of the first half of the line. The existence of such a stress at the caesura has usually been implicitly assumed, though not often explicitly argued, and has never until recently been seriously questioned.

The fact of the caesura itself is accepted by metrists of nearly all persuasions — necessarily so, since the distinction between the a-verse and the b-verse (which forms the basis of nearly all metrical discussion of alliterative verse) presupposes some perceived division of the line into separable halves. Norman Davis represented the orthodox view when he stated that 'the long line is divided by a natural pause, or caesura, into two half-lines each of which normally contains two lifts.'[2] Duggan's work also of course rests on the assumption that 'the alliterative line is made up of two distinct half-lines (verses) divided by a caesura which usually corresponds to a phrasal boundary'; 'though some recent metrists and editors have expressed doubt about the existence of the caesura and thus of the half-line, manuscript evidence strongly supports the notion that the long line is composed of two cola separated by a metrical caesura'.[3] Some editors of Middle English alliterative verse have in fact continued the convention, regularly observed in editions of Old English verse, of presenting the text with

[1] For a recent and convenient summary of Duggan's research, see his 'Metre, Stanza, Vocabulary and Dialect', in *A Companion to the Gawain-Poet*, ed. by Derek Brewer and Jonathan Gibson (Cambridge: Brewer, 1997), pp. 221–42.

[2] *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, ed. by J. R. R. Tolkien and E. V. Gordon, 2nd rev. edn. by Norman Davis (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 148.

[3] 'Metre, Stanza', p. 228; the 'doubt' is that of generative metrists such as S. J. Keyser, A. Schiller and R. Sapora, who sometimes deny the existence of the caesura (*ibid*., n. 12).

a visible gap between the two half-lines, in order to render the caesura as visible to the eye as they implicitly assume it must have been to the ear of its original audience.[4]

It is indeed plainly critical to a proper appreciation of the metrical structure of the alliterative line that one should know where the caesura falls. The phrasal or syntactic boundary it coincides with is often quite a minor one. But in most cases the second alliterative beat of the a-verse falls indisputably on the word after which the caesura falls and thus serves to announce it ('All watz hap vpon heȝe in hallez and chambrez, With lordez and ladies, as leuest him þoȝt', *SG* 48–49).[5] Most have therefore assumed (rightly, in our view) that the caesura must be so marked, and that the word that precedes it must bear a beat, even where it does not alliterate and/or is preceded by two alliterating words. It is for this reason that many scholars have posited the so-called 'extended' a-verse, with three (or even more) beats — though, since we do not ourselves believe in constant changes in the time signature of an essentially two-beat a-verse, we view such verses as metrically 'crowded' two-beat, rather than 'extended' three-beat, ones.[6] For instance, Duggan assigns three beats and the following scansion to the a-verse of this line:[7]

x / / x x / x x /(x) / x
And now nar ȝe not fer fro þat note place *SG* 2092 aax/ax

Although Duggan treats a monosyllabic adverb as a closed-class word (which is not normally a candidate for beat), he assigns a beat to the non-alliterating monosyllabic adverb *fer* as well as to the preceding alliterating words *now* and *nar*. We are convinced that his decision to assign a beat to *fer* is right: *fer* is in fact probably the most semantically significant word in this particular a-verse; and, equally importantly, it carries phrase-final stress at the pre-caesural position, where the metre requires a beat that makes audible the boundary between the two half-lines. Certainly as concerns open-class words at the caesura in this particular text, it was established some time ago, in a weighty study by Joan Turville-Petre, that, apart from a few instances of verb + adverb, an unstressed but semantically heavy word in that position occurs only with the adjective + noun combination (where the adjective may take alliterating beat and the noun function as its unstressed continuant): 'Braydez out a bryȝt sworde' (*SG* 2319), for

[4] See, for example, *Wynnere and Wastoure*, ed. by Stephanie Trigg, Early English Text Society, o. s., 297 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990); *The Siege of Jerusalem*, ed. by Eugene Kölbing and Mabel Day, Early English Text Society, o. s., 188 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1932).

[5] Quotations from the Cotton Nero poems are from *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, ed. by J. R. R. Tolkien and E. V. Gordon, rev. by Norman Davis (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967); *Cleanness*, ed. by John J. Anderson (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1977); and *Patience*, ed. by John J. Anderson (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1969). It should be noted, however, that none of these editors assumed (as we and others now do) that an unstressed syllable at line-ending is actually required (not simply preferred), and some of the lines quoted have line-ending words in which a missing final *-e* required by the metre has not been editorially supplied.

[6] For the record, by 'beat' we mean what is described by Derek Attridge as the main rhythmic pulse in metrical verse; see Derek Attridge, *A Poetic Rhythm: An Introduction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 9. This is sometimes called ictus, and sometimes stress, though the metrical stress thus indicated should not be confused with linguistic stress, since the two do not always co-incide.

[7] Duggan, 'Metre', p. 226. We use the conventional notation in scanning: over the lines, slash marks indicate metrical stress, *x* an unstressed syllable, brackets indicating a syllable that might or might not be sounded. Meanwhile, after the line reference, *a* indicates alliterating stress; *x* non-alliterating stress; and / caesura.

example.[8] As will become apparent, even words relatively unimportant semantically appear to bear stress in this caesural position. Those who argue (as we do) for a regularly two-beat a-verse, with consequent occasional disjunction between alliteration and beat, likewise do so because they assume the necessity of a caesural beat, and we would ourselves give to the above line a notation of *(a)ax/ax* (where *(a)* stands for an alliterating word that does not take metrical ictus). Thus it is precisely because of the felt need for a caesural stress that most theorists have found themselves unable to fit all alliterative lines to the 'textbook' scansion of the *aa/ax* pattern, since a number of a-verses, especially but not exclusively in *Sir Gawain*, seem to require notations of *aaa/ax* or *aax/ax* (or — according to our own belief in consistently two-beat verses — of *(a)aa/ax* or *(a)ax/ax*).

However, Ad Putter and Judith Jefferson have recently sought to re-instate the textbook scansion as a truly universal rule: they believe, as we do, that the a-verse carries only two beats, but they argue that those two beats must always be marked by alliteration.[9] Invariable stress at the caesura is an inevitable casualty of this attractively simple and consistent rule, for by it metrical ictus can fall only on alliterating words, and lines such as the one cited would thus need to be heard and scanned as follows:

x / / x x x x x /(x) / x
And now nar ȝe not fer fro þat note place *SG* 2092 aa/ax

This results in not merely one but *three* separate lexical items without stress at the caesura. The reading would sound awkward to many, probably precisely because (since the phrasal boundary at which *fer* falls is not such as in itself to create much of a break or emphasis) it seriously blurs the boundary between the a- and the b-verses by leaving the caesura unmarked by a stress on the last word of the a-verse.[10] Putter and Jefferson support their claims (for a two-beat a-verse in which stress and alliteration always coincide) by an argument that is exceptionally coherent and clearly thought through, and one which yields, in addition, the following rhythmical rule: the a-verse 'must contain either a long initial and medial dip or, failing that, an extra-long dip or a long or heavy final dip'.[11] By 'an extra-long dip' is meant either an initial or medial long dip with four or more unstressed syllables, and a 'heavy final dip' is a final dip occupied by a monosyllabic adverb, by a verb such as 'be' or 'do', or by a syllable with secondary stress (including suffixes such as *-ly*, *-ship*, and *-less*), all of which they demonstrate are strictly avoided at the end of the line (where an unstressed syllable proper is

[8] Joan Turville-Petre, 'The Metre of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*', *English Studies*, 57 (1976), 310–28, p. 320. Variations on the adjective + noun combination — such as genitive + noun and noun + noun — could be added to that category, and some distinctions should be made with regard to her reference in this context to the 'verb + adverb combination': our own study shows that derivative adverbs (such as those with *-ly* or *-e*) in fact always receive a beat when occurring at the pre-caesural position, though simple adverbs (e.g. *down*, *up*, and *out*) are sometimes unstressed in the verb + adverb combination at the caesura, as in '**D**eliuerly he **d**ressed up', *SG* 2009; 'Bot **st**yþly he **st**art forth', *SG* 431 (see further Noriko Inoue, 'The A-Verse of the Alliterative Long Line and the Metre of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Bristol, 2002), pp. 95–107). There are, in fact, we believe, a few more instances (outside the adjective + noun and verb + simple adverb combinations) in which an open-class word occurs unstressed at the caesura; these are all assimilable to the caesura rule we posit in this article and are discussed below.

[9] Ad Putter, Judith Jefferson and Myra Stokes, *Studies in the Metre of Alliterative Verse*, Medium Aevum Monographs, n. s., 25 (Oxford: Society for the Study of Medieval Language and Literature, 2007), p. 260.

[10] Stress on *now* and *not* (which Geoffrey Russom suggested to us as a possibility) might be an alternative way of preserving a verse with only two beats, both alliterating.

[11] Putter, Jefferson and Stokes, *Studies in the Metre of Alliterative Verse*, p. 260.

required).[12] Their rules generally work for a-verses with only two potential ictus positions, but they do result in some contradictions and complications, and these would be multiplied if one attempted to apply them to crowded verses (in which three or more potential ictus positions occur) and would produce many irregular lines with regard *Sir Gawain*. These verses and this text were in fact excluded from their study of the structure of the a-verse (which concentrates on *Alexander B* and *The Siege of Troy*, with some reference to *Patience* in the conclusion), and it may well be that they would regard both as requiring special treatment. Our aim here is to highlight some of the problems raised by their theory and to suggest other rules that may be operating with regard to the caesura in particular, and to metrical stress and its relation to alliteration in general.

We would posit the following rules regarding the caesura:

(a) The a-verse must have a caesural stress, which *always* falls on the verse-final lexical item whether it is of open or closed class, *unless* the verse-final lexical item is so closely syntactically linked to the preceding one as to form a continuant of it equivalent to the unstressed syllables succeeding the stressed (root) syllable of a word — as with the second element of an adjective + noun combination ('Þat þe **b**it of þe **b**roun stel', *SG* 426a); the second element of a verb + simple adverb ('**D**eliuerly he **d**ressed vp', *SG* 2009a); an auxiliary verb following the main verb ('I **n**olde bot if I hit **n**egh myȝt', *SG* 1054a); a pronominal object after a transitive verb ('As **f**ortune wolde **f**ulsun hom', *SG* 99a); a pronominal vocative ('Bot here yow **l**akked a **l**yttel, sir', *SG* 2366a).[13] In these cases, the caesural stress falls on the root syllable of the open-class word immediately preceding the verse-closing noun or (semi-)closed class word.

(b) Only very rarely can two lexical items occur between the last beat-bearing lexical item and the caesura, but they may do so if they are so closely linked syntactically to the preceding stressed lexical item as to be an essential part of a phrase in which the stressed lexical item is a main component ('**Sch**alkez to **sch**ote at hym', *SG* 1454a; 'Þurh **m**yȝt of **M**orgne la Faye', *SG* 2446a).[14]

(c) The post-beat dip may or may not be long; though syllabic length at this position is often regarded as metrically significant,[15] we would argue that the number of syllables is irrelevant, so long as what follows the beat is a continuant lexically (the unstressed remaining syllables of the same word) or syntactically. Thus it is not the three-syllable length of the caesural 'ȝe not fer' that makes it unacceptable as a verse-final dip, for that in itself would not make for an unmetrical verse and

[12] *Op. cit.*, p. 226. The ban on virtually all non-schwa vowels in the line-ending dip is demonstrated by Nicolay Yakovlev, 'The Development of Alliterative Metre from Old to Middle English' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 2008), pp. 142–54.

[13] Other examples are 'Vn**b**arred and **b**orn open' (*SG* 2070a) and '**G**awan watz for **g**ode knawen' (*SG* 633a).

[14] Other examples are 'To **v**ouchesafe to re**v**ele hym hit' (*St Erkenwald* 121a), 'And **p**yne yow with so **p**ouer a mon' (*SG* 1538a); the latter could in fact be treated simply as a variant of the adjective + noun combination. *St Erkenwald* (*SE*) is quoted from the edition provided in *A Book of Middle English*, ed. by John A. Burrow and Thorlac Turville-Petre, 2nd edn (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996), pp. 201–14.

[15] For example, in Duggan's account of the a-verse (Duggan, 'Metre', p. 232) and, more recently, in that of Putter and Jefferson, *Studies in the Metre of Alliterative Verse*, p. 260.

can occur ('As **k**nyȝtez in **c**auelaciounz', *SG* 683a).[16]

We now wish to examine specific a-verses in which caesural stress is an important issue. Though our own larger theories of the a-verse are mostly incidental to our argument, it will probably be useful if we state here the provisional rules at which we have arrived by a close study of *Sir Gawain* in particular.[17] The a-verse can have only two metrical stresses: one (usually the first) of the three stresses sometimes detected in some verses can always be relegated to a dip; stress will normally fall on the second of the two candidates for stress and the caesural word, leaving the first to be absorbed into the verse-opening dip, where the ear is accustomed to a long dip frequently occurring (e.g. 'My *hede* **f**laȝ to my **f**ote', *SG* 2276a; 'Þe *borȝ* **b**rittened and **b**rent', *SG* 2a). The presence of a long dip between the second word and the caesural stress will confirm that those are the two places where the beat should fall; only very rarely will the absence of such a long dip dictate that stress should instead fall on the first (not the second) word and the caesural word (e.g. 'Ho **l**aȝt a *lace* **l**yȝtly', *SG* 1830a; 'And me als **f**ayn to *falle* **f**eye', *SG* 1067a; 'Of þe **d**epe *double* **d**ich', *SG* 786a). Alliteration and stress may not always coincide. The two beats may be preceded by (or, more rarely, include between them) an open-class alliterating word that serves to satisfy the expectation of alliteration but is not stressed ('A *little* **l**ut with þe **h**ede', *SG* 418a; 'Vpon þat **r**yol *red* **c**loþe', *SG* 2036a). The two stresses of the a-verse must always be separated by a confirmatory disyllabic (or longer) dip ('Þe *borȝ* **b**rittened and **b**rent', *SG* 2a; 'Vpon a **f**elle of þe **f**ayre *best*', *SG* 1359a; 'Þe *kay* **f**ot on þe **f**olde', *SG* 422a);[18] absence of such a disyllabic dip must be compensated for by an extra long opening dip or by a long and/or heavy dip at the caesura ('Vpon such a **d**ere **d**ay', *SG* 92a; 'Ne **k**est no **k**auelacion', *SG* 2275a; 'And ȝe ar **k**nyȝt **c**omlokest', *SG* 1520a).[19]

The separation of alliteration and stress that we assume to be possible is probably the only alternative to Putter and Jefferson's rules as a theoretical base from which consistently two-beat a-verses can be argued for. Where Putter and Jefferson must deny stress to any non-alliterating item in a way that is unconvincing to us (and others), we must on occasion shift it from an alliterating to a non-alliterating item in a way that will be unconvincing to them (and others); because otherwise the time-signature of the a-verse must be conceded to be randomly extendable from two to three or four beats in a way that is unconvincing to them and us (and others). It is perhaps worth recalling at this point that the conflict of metrical desiderata underlying this dissension is partly the result of historical developments in the language which had occurred in the transition from Old to Middle English and which affected

[16] Cf. 'Ne kest no kauelacion' (*SG* 2275a); other possible examples are 'I schal kysse at your comaundement' (*SG* 1303a), 'Whyssynes vpon queldepoyntes' (*SG* 877a), 'Now I þonk yow þryuandely' (*SG* 1080a), though the unstressed continuant is probably in these cases disyllabic rather than trisyllabic.

[17] See further Noriko Inoue, 'A New Theory of Alliterative A-Verses', *The Yearbook of Langland Studies*, 18 (2004), 107–32; Inoue, 'The A-Verse of the Alliterative Long Line', pp. 300–4; Noriko Inoue, 'To/For to + Infinitive and the Long Medial Dip in Alliterative A-Verses', in *Approaches to the Metre of Alliterative Verse*, ed. by Judith Jefferson and Ad Putter, Leeds Texts and Monographs, n. s., 17 (2009), pp. 59–76.

[18] On the evidence for this rule, and the strategies adopted by poets in order to satisfy it, see n. 37 below; and cf. Yakovlev, 'The Development of Alliterative Metre', p. 168.

[19] By a 'heavy' dip at the caesura, we mean one which contains either an open-class word or a suffix or syllable bearing such secondary stress as would preclude it from occurring at line-ending; as to the significance for the a-verse of a long or heavy final dip (see p. 3 and n. 11 above), we are very much in agreement with, and have been much enlightened by, the points raised by Putter and Jefferson. We are also inclined to agree with them (pp. 226–32) that an 'extra long' opening dip should be one of no less than four syllables, though this would leave quite a few irregular lines in *SG* — which typically involve an adjective + noun combination: e.g. 'Þe most kyd knyȝtez' (*SG* 51a); 'And wel bornyst brace' (*SG* 582a) — for which we cannot at present account.

the alliterative verse of the two periods. These linguistic changes have been illuminatingly pinpointed by Elizabeth Solopova in a paper entitled 'Alliteration and Prosody in Old and Middle English'.[20] She points out that, since in Germanic words stress had come to be fixed on the root syllable, which was almost invariably the opening syllable, there was in Anglo-Saxon verse an inevitable coincidence of alliteration, the first syllable and the semantic root, which all co-operated together to emphasize the *anklang*, the phonic opening, of a word. The influx of romance vocabulary changed this situation, since to alliterate on the first syllable was no longer necessarily simultaneously to alliterate on the root syllable, or vice versa. Poets treated the inherited convention of alliterating on the root and on the first syllable as giving them the option, in words beginning with *dis-*, *de-*, *con-*, *pre-*, etc., of alliterating either on the root or on the prefix. Alliteration on the prefix — 'Þenne confourme þe to Kryst' (*Cleanness* 1067a), 'Watȝ disstryed wyth distres and drawen to þe erþe' (*Cleanness* 1160), 'And presented wern as presoneres' (*Cleanness* 1217a) — introduced a licence that was evidently promptly extended to the native prefix *be-* ('Bischop Bawdewyn abof bigineȝ þe table', *SG* 112) and produced a disjunction, certainly between the alliterating syllable and the syllable stressed in speech, and potentially between alliteration and metrical stress — as Solopova believes must sometimes have happened with alliteration falling on such prefixes, though the appearance of the phenomenon in b-verses (where a mute stave seems very unlikely), as at *Cleanness* 1157 ('Danyel in his dialokeȝ devysed sumtyme'), perhaps makes it improbable that the poets intended only alliteration, without beat, to be shifted to the prefix. But it must remain at least a possibility that they or their readers (whether silently to themselves or aloud to others) realized the metre in these cases in divergent ways, finding themselves differing or hesitating (as does modern criticism in a broader way) between an inclination to follow alliteration or other logic in assuming or assigning stress. What is certain is that the phenomenon reflects a new and less stable relation between alliteration and metrical and/or speech stress, what Solopova refers to as 'the beginning of a divorce between the metrical stress, the semantic centre of the word and alliteration, which combined so regularly and effectively in Old English', something which 'must eventually have made the role of alliteration in verse less crucial'. It is certainly the case that alliteration proves a very unreliable guide to the caesural stress, which there is nevertheless strong evidence to suggest that poets intended and assumed. We will below present eight types of such evidence which indicate this stress at the caesura.

Syntactic inversion of the prepositional phrase at the pre-caesural position

We would point first of all to the *systematic* inversion that occurs in the case of prepositional phrases that occur at the pre-caesural position. For instance:

> Lepe lyȝtly me to (*SG* 292a)
> Lyȝtly lepez he hym to (*SG* 328a)

These a-verses have three potential ictus positions: two open-class words, which are accompanied by alliteration, and the preposition *to*, upon which the inversion would bestow phrasal stress. Advocates of the three-stressed or 'extended' a-verses would scan these half-lines */(x)/xx/* and */x/xxx/* respectively and class them as verses of the *aax* type. Those who believe that a-verses have always only two beats, one of which must fall at the caesura, may give them

[20] *Approaches to the Metre of Alliterative Verse*, pp. 25–39.

the notation of *(a)ax* that our own system and rules would produce. Both a-verses would then have the long (generally two-syllable) medial dip between the two (or between the second and third) stresses which our research indicates plays a critical part in indicating stress in the a-verse, and which others who have studied the a-verse (including Putter and Jefferson) also regard as significant.[21] Putter and Jefferson show that just over 80% (of nearly 800 lines in *Alexander and Dindimus* where the placement of the beats is clear) have a long medial dip that does not rely on debateable factors such as the status of final *-e*.[22] To scan the above-quoted verses by rules in which alliteration and beat must co-incide — that is, as *aa* verses — would result not only in an atypical rhythmical shape, but also in an unstressed *to* that is counter-indicated by the inversion of the preposition phrase (from preposition + noun phrase to noun phrase + preposition). The verses would be metrical by Putter and Jefferson's rules, which stipulate that an a-verse must have a long final dip, which *me/him to* would here provide, when it has neither an initial or a medial long dip. But the syntactic inversion of the prepositional phrase at the pre-caesural position appears designed precisely to confirm the beat on *to* that is required by its position at the caesura, where the boundary between the two verses is regularly so signalled (the beat reinforcing the phrasal boundary at which the caesura occurs). Since lines 292 and 328 are syntactically and lexically almost identical, it is highly unlikely that either or both are due to scribal error. They conform, moreover, to a pattern which is extremely common. We list below the occasions in *Sir Gawain*, *Cleanness* (*C*), *Patience* (*P*), *The Siege of Jerusalem* (*SJ*), *Wynnere and Wastoure* (*WW*) and in selected lines (1–1735 and 4842–5200) from *The Wars of Alexander* (*WA*) in which a similar caesural inversion occurs, preceded typically by two open-class words, normally both alliterating.[23] The preposition itself does not usually alliterate, but it sometimes does provide a third alliterating sound (as at *SG* 716 and *P* 444):

He fonde a foo hym byfore (*SG* 716)
And folke frely hym wyth (*SG* 816)
Þe lorde lufly her by (*SG* 1002)
His felaȝes fallen hym to (*SG* 1702)
And siþen ho seueres hym fro (*SG* 1797)
A rach rapes hym to (*SG* 1903)
Þe wyȝe wynnez hym to (*SG* 2050)
The haþel heldet hym fro (*SG* 2331)

Broȝten bachlereȝ hem wyth (*C* 86)
As wyȝe wo hym withinne (*C* 284)
Her wyueȝ walkeȝ hem wyth (*C* 503)
Abraham heldeȝ hem wyth (*C* 678)
Luf-lowe hem bytwene (*C* 707)
And loȝe he louteȝ hem to (*C* 798)
No worldeȝ goud hit wythinne (*C* 1048)
And speke spitously hem to (*C* 1220)
Ȝet take Torkye hem wyth (*C* 1232)

[21] Joan Turville-Petre, for instance, argues that the disyllabic (sometimes trisyllabic) dip flanked by two beats is the standard rhythm in *SG* ('The Metre of *Sir Gawain*', p. 316).

[22] *Studies in the Metre of Alliterative Verse*, p. 217.

[23] The latter three poems are quoted from *The Siege of Jerusalem*, ed. by Ralph Hanna and David Lawton, Early English Text Society, o. s., 320 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003); *The Wars of Alexander*, ed. by Hoyt N. Duggan and Thorlac Turville-Petre, Early English Text Society, s. s., 10 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989); *Wynnere and Wastoure*, ed. by Stephanie Trigg, Early English Text Society, o. s., 297 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990).

His barounes boȝed hym to (*C* 1706)
Þy rengne rafte is þe fro (*C* 1739)

Þe fayrest bynde hym abof (*P* 444)
Þaȝ hit lyttel were hym wyth (*P* 300)

He toke traimmes him with (*WA* 127)
Blyssis blythly hym abouute (*WA* 789)
Lebards lendis þaim agaynes (*WA* 3977)

With sawters seten hym by (*SJ* 478)
Þe blode fomed hem fro (*SJ* 575)
Rich rises hem fro (*SJ* 794)
Whyle noye n[eȝ]et hym [t]o (*SJ* 29)
Sone sendeþ hym to (*SJ* 210)
Sone assembled hym to (*SJ* 819)
Þan Titus tourneþ hem to (*SJ* 869)
And Titus tourneþ hem to (*SJ* 1120)

Witt wiendes me with (*WW* 226)

Inversion of preposition and pronoun is a verse phenomenon that is always metrically motivated. In iambic verse, it is most typically used in order to create a rhyme: 'That he mot nedes parte hire fro, | Sche tok him in hire armes tuo' (*Confessio Amantis* V.3639–40), 'Þer he hadde slawe him þo, | Boute his ost com him to' (*Reinbrun*).[24] Where it occurs in alliterative verse it is likewise indicative of a metrical requirement that has necessitated it. The preposition-and-pronoun phrase occurs 13 times at the end of the alliterative long line in *Sir Gawain*. Here, inversion does not occur where the disyllabic dip which the b-verse requires is already present without inversion (e.g. '**I** **n**olde go **w**yth þe', *SG* 2150b; '**f**oldez hit **t**o me', *SG* 359b).[25] The line-final beat must in these cases fall on the (uninverted) preposition, for an alliterative line must end in one (and only one) unstressed syllable, which is provided in these lines by the pronoun.[26] When inversion takes place, it *always* serves to create the long dip that the b-verse would lack without inversion and/or to preclude a double dip at line end: 'a **s**elure hir **o**uer' (*SG* 76b), '**h**asted hem **a**fter' (*SG* 1165b), '**d**ouble hym a**b**oute' (*SG* 2033b).[27] The only anomaly is the b-verse at 1221 ('to **k**arp yow wyth'), which, lacking both a long dip and a single unstressed syllable at line end, cannot in any case be correct as it stands. (Non-)occurrence of inversion at line end is thus dictated by metrical needs, in particular the need for a disyllabic dip. The same applies to the pre-caesural position, where inversion must also indicate some metrical requirement that it serves to meet, for it

[24] *Confessio Amantis* is quoted from *The English Works of John Gower*, ed. by G. C. Macaulay, Early English Text Society, e. s., 81, 82, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1900–1901). The quotation from *Reinbrun* can be found in *The Romance of Guy of Warwick*, ed. by Julius Zupitza, Early English Text Society, e. s., 42, 49, 59 (London: Trübner, 1883–91), pp. 631–73 (p. 647). In the iambics of the bob-and-wheel in *SG*, the inversion similarly occurs only to provide a rhyme, at 1473 ('hym ate', rhyming with 'forȝate') and 2089 ('hym by', rhyming with 'ful hyȝe'); elsewhere in the bob-and-wheel the normal word order of preposition and pronoun is retained, the iambic metre dictating which of the two words is stressed (see, for instance, 413, 442, 1370, 1473, 1532).

[25] Cf. 'þat ȝe **p**ut **o**n me' (*SG* 1277b), '**h**alden be **t**o me' (*SG* 1828b).

[26] For the requirement of a feminine ending, see Putter, Jefferson and Stokes, *Studies in the Metre of Alliterative Verse*, pp. 19–71.

[27] Cf. 'and **st**alked hym **n**erre' (*SG* 237b); 'and **f**rekez hem **a**fter' (*SG* 1433b); '**l**aunces hym **a**fter' (*SG* 1464b); 'and **c**loses hit hir **a**fter' (*SG* 1742b); 'he **c**arppez hem **t**ille (*SG* 1979b).

does not occur in verse except in response to metrical constraints of some kind. In the a-verses listed above, the inversion itself is not necessary to provide the long final dip which Putter and Jefferson's rules would require to compensate for the want of a long opening and medial dip, but which would equally well have been provided by an uninverted prepositional phrase. Nor is it, in fact, needed to create stress on the preposition, for caesural stress can fall on the preposition without inversion (see below), the pronoun then following as its unstressed continuant to create a single dip after the caesural stress. What the inversion does is to create the all-important disyllabic dip between the inverted preposition and the second of the two preceding alliterating words, and thereby to indicate that beats should fall on these words. For these are all subtypes of 'crowded' a-verses (those with three possible ictus positions), where an assumed caesural stress is preceded by two other alliterating open-class words, and in such verses it is the presence of a disyllabic dip between the second word and the caesural stress that confirms that stress should fall at those two points (subsuming the first alliterating word into the line-opening dip).[28] Inversion does not occur when a disyllabic dip confirms stress on the two previous items, as with '**Sch**alkez to **sch**ote at hym' (*SG* 1454a), where *at hym* forms a continuant of the caesural stress on *schote*; nor does it occur when a long dip occurring without inversion confirms stress on the preposition (or pronoun) and a preceding item, as with 'Þay **t**an hym by**t**wene hem' (*SG* 977a); 'Þat **d**roȝnw þe dor **a**fter hir' (*SG* 1188a), 'Þe þridde in **h**euen myd **h**em is þe Holy Goste' (*SJ* 115). When neither of these considerations applies, non-inversion is suspect (as we shall show below). The a-verses above should therefore be taken to have a medial long dip — which is the standard rhythm — between the second and third stresses (if the a-verse can have three metrical stresses) or to have both medial and initial long dips (if the a-verse, as we believe, has only two beats), rather than having clashing stress or a short initial and medial dip which is followed by a long and heavy final dip.

Furthermore, one could certainly not rely on natural syntactic pauses always coinciding with the caesura to mark it. For example, at *SG* 1002, 'Þe lorde lufly her by lent, as I trowe', the inversion serves not only to create a disyllabic dip and thereby to mark a caesural stress on *by*, but also to create a phrasal boundary between *by* and *lent*, which would, if the a-verse had the *normal* word order (i.e. 'Þe lorde lufly *by her* lent, as I trowe'), become virtually non-existent, as the syntactic break occurs after *lent*. The a-verse would be metrical by Putter and Jefferson's rules whether the prepositional phrase is inverted or not, since it would in either case have the pre-caesural long dip that they would regard as compensating for the lack of initial and medial long dips. But without inversion there would occur what would make itself felt as a typical crowded a-verse with three alliterating open-class words ('Þe lorde lufly by her lent') — until a following defective b-verse ('as I trowe'), lacking an alliterating stave, forced re-interpretation. Instances like this show that alliterative poets did care about the caesura and its audibility to the internal and external ear. It is in any case clear that this inversion was used specifically to create the metrically required long dip in the b-verse and, in the a-verse, the medial disyllabic dip that serves to indicate where the beats fall and to mark the caesura.

These verses should perhaps also be considered in the light of inversion at the caesura in general. This can have what is in one way the opposite effect, putting a continuant at the caesura rather than the alliterating word on which stress undoubtedly falls: 'And fres er hit falle myȝt' (*SG* 728a), with which one could compare 'I nolde bot if I hit negh myȝt' (*SG* 1054a).

[28] See p. 5 above. For those who believe in three-beat a-verses, the double dip created by inversion will be confirming the second and third beats.

With regard to complex or compound verb forms such as these, inversion could occur in subordinate clauses (especially, though not in this case exclusively, in verse), but was certainly not an invariable rule.[29] One may note that at line end, it is alliterative requirements that dictate whether or not inversion occurs with *myghte* (thus 'Er þat styngande storme stynt ne myȝt', *Cleanness* 225, but 'As to quelle all quykeȝ for qued þat myȝt falle', *Cleanness* 567). It certainly does not seem to be the case that *myȝt falle* at *SG* 728a would have been linguistically unacceptable. Conversely, the poet does not invert in order to put *fulsun* rather than *hom* at the caesura in 'As fortune wolde fulsun hom' *SG* 99a. The determining factor here seems to be a *desideratum* with regard to that all-important medial dip that separates and confirms the two stresses, and to keep it down to as near its standard two syllables as possible. Elsewhere, the pronominal object *hir* is inverted with the verb *lad* to create a disyllabic medial dip at *SG* 947a ('An oþer lady hir lad'); so is the preposition *on* with the verb *loke* at *SG* 950a ('Bot vnlyke on to loke'); but *wyth* comes after the verb at *SG* 262a ('Preue for to play wyth'), as the disyllabic medial dip is achieved by *for to*.[30] Particularly interesting is *SG* 937a ('And couþly hym knowez'), where the inversion of *hym* with *knowez* serves to create the required disyllabic medial dip, but makes the a-verse *unmetrical* by Putter and Jefferson's rules (as it lacks either a long initial dip or a heavy or long final dip), which would dictate the normal word order, 'And couþly knowez hym', with the long final dip that, by their rules, compensates for the lack of initial and medial long dip. The evidence thus consistently supports the supposition that inversion is metrically motivated; it also indicates that the poet and/or scribes regarded as metrical an a-verse with only one long dip at the medial position — even when it does not have an initial long dip or a compensatory heavy or long final dip.

With regard to the verses showing inversion of preposition and pronoun, it is certainly true that the preposition characteristically does not alliterate, and that this typical *aax* (or *(a)ax*) pattern could be taken as a counter-indication of stress on the caesural preposition. But there are in fact some clear instances of, for example, *xaa* or, in our scansion, *(x)aa*, in which the second alliteration in the a-verse is achieved by a pre-caesural closed-class word and *not* by one of the two preceding open-class words:

> Þe blode fomed hem fro (*SJ* 575) *xaa* or *(x)aa*
> No worldeȝ goud hit wythinne (*C* 1048) *axa* or *a(x)a*
> Þe fayrest bynde hym abof (*P* 444) *xaa* or *(x)aa*

If alliteration is to dictate stress assignment, the second a-verse beat must fall, in these cases, on the alliterating preposition, stress-subordinating the contextually more important but non-alliterating open-class words (*blode*, *goud*, *fayrest*), yielding a representation of *SJ* 575 as *xx/xx/*, while the other a-verses involving the *non*-alliterating preposition that we have seen above would produce, for example, *x//xxx* ('And folke frely hym wyth', *SG* 816a). Thus a-verses with a (near-)identical syntactic *and* semantic structure would have, by Putter and Jefferson's principles, to be scanned differently. Consistent scansion, on the other hand, is

[29] Thus 'Aer þann he borenn waere' (*Ormulum* 813), but 'Er þonne þet child beo ifulȝed' (*Old English Homilies*, ed. by R. Morris, Early English Text Society, o. s., 53 (London: Trübner, 1873), p. 27); 'bute he þe hraþar ȝehaeled beo' (*Peri didaxeon: eine Sammlung von Rezepten in englischer Sprache aus dem 11./12. Jahrhundert*, ed. by Max Löweneck, Erlanger Beiträge bei englischen Philologie, 12 (Erlangen: Junge, 1896), p. 33 line 32); but 'Butan he wyrde asend, nere ure nan alysed' (*Twelfth Century Homilies in MS Bodley 343*, ed. by A. O. Belfour, Early English Text Society, o. s., 137 (London: Trübner, 1909), p. 64 line 29).

[30] *For to* + infinitive constitutes a syntactic-rhythmic pattern or formula, and is used always to create a long medial dip between the infinitive verb and the root syllable of the preceding beat-bearing word; see Inoue, 'To/For to + Infinitive'.

yielded by the supposition that a beat invariably falls on the inverted preposition *whether it is alliterating or not*, because the caesura must be heralded by a beat on the last unit of sense at the end of the a-verse, and the inversion occurs precisely to produce the disyllabic dip that confirms it.

As already indicated, inversion will not occur where a long dip between them confirms stress on the two previous open-class words, or where, without inversion, a disyllabic dip confirms stress on the caesural preposition and one of the preceding open-class words. Where this is not the case, non-inversion at the caesura is certainly rare enough as to render suspect any verses in which it seems to occur. Two examples in *SJ* and *Alexander B* are cited by Putter and Jefferson:[31]

> Or princes presed in hem (*SJ* 24)
> Kairus cofli til hem (*B* 48)

However, at *SJ* 24, the reading adopted by the editors (from the L-text) is not supported by any other manuscript reading: P omits the line; A offers 'at that prynce of that pepill'; U, D and C give 'or princes on hem put'; and E gives 'or princes on hem took'. These alternative readings yield a regular rhythm with a long medial dip, and produce a-verses with a beat on the last lexical item before the caesura (*pepill*, *put* and *took*). And *B* 48 looks, in the light of the evidence so far accumulated against it, very like a scribal error for 'Kairus til hem cofli' or 'Kairus cofli hem til' (either of which would yield the standard medial long dip).

In summary, if one assumes that inversion serves to indicate and ensure a beat on the preposition to mark the caesura, all the other a-verses listed above will, whether one assumes three or two beats, have the medial long dip between two a-verse beats (in our scansion, both medial and initial long dips), which, as Putter and Jefferson themselves have also found, is the norm in the a-verse. Inversion appears, in fact, to have been one of the metrical devices that alliterative poets availed themselves of to create the disyllabic dip that confirms beat on a pre-caesural function word that would not otherwise bear stress.

Non-derivative adverbs at the pre-caesural position

A-verses that would, if alliteration dictated or indicated stress, be scanned as (x)/(x)/xxx(x)(x) do not occur only with a non-alliterating preposition at the pre-caesural position. This unusual rhythm would also occur regularly when other closed-class words — such as disyllabic non-derivative adverbs, monosyllabic adverbs and pronouns in *-self* — occur at the pre-caesural position and are preceded by two (normally alliterating) open-class words. By rules other than those of Putter and Jefferson, these would be *aax* verses if interpreted as 'extended' ones or *(a)ax* ones according to our own notion of two-stress a-verses in which the two instances of alliteration do not always correspond to the two stresses. Let us first look at disyllabic non-derivative adverbs from *Sir Gawain* (*þerat*, *þerinne*, *þerof*, *þeron*, *þerto*, *þerwith*, *abof*, *aboute*, *adoun*, *aȝayn*, *euer*, *withinne*, *þerefore*, *also*, *vpon*, *bifore*, *þeder* and *bilyve*):

> Loude laȝed he þerat (*SG* 909)
> And let lodly þerat (*SG* 1634)
> Laȝen loude þerat (*SG* 2514)

> Bolde bredden þerinne (*SG* 21)
> Þe borne blubred þerinne (*SG* 2174)

[31] *Studies in the Metre of Alliterative Verse*, pp. 226–27. *SJ* is extent in nine manuscripts, for which the editors use the abbreviations L, P, A, V, U, D, E, C and Ex.

And bi trwe tytel þerof (*SG* 480)
To telle yow tenez þerof (*SG* 547)
A kenet kryes þerof (*SG* 1701)
Þe Brutus bokez þerof (*SG* 2523)

Þe stif mon steppez þeron (*SG* 570)

With polaynez piched þerto (*SG* 576)
Þe lorde loutes þerto (*SG* 933)
Þe best boȝed þerto (*SG* 1325)

Dayntés dryuen þerwyth (*SG* 121)
With bred blent þerwith (*SG* 1610)

A meré mantile abof (*SG* 153)

A lace lapped aboute (*SG* 217)
And sturnely sturez hit aboute (*SG* 331)

Liȝt luflych adoun (*SG* 254)
Colde clengez adoun (*SG* 505)
Loutez luflych adoun (*SG* 1306)
He lyȝtes luflych adoun (*SG* 1583)

And wynter wyndez aȝayn (*SG* 530)
Þe hede hypped aȝayn (*SG* 1459)
And I schal hyȝ me hom aȝayn (*SG* 2121)

I quit-clayme hit for euer (*SG* 293)

And fayre furred wythinne (*SG* 880)
And fayre furred withinne (*SG* 2029)

Braches bayed þerefore (*SG* 1142)

Þe breme bukkez also (*SG* 1155)

Kesten clothez vpon (*SG* 1649)

Hir brest bare bifore (*SG* 1741)

Huntes hyȝed hem þeder (*SG* 1910)

Þe burne blessed hym bilyue (*SG* 2071)

If one assumes that semantics and alliteration alone determine the placement of the two beats in the a-verse, the pre-caesural adverbs above would not bear a beat, and the verses would, here again, have to be interpreted as having an (x)/(x)/xxx(x)(x) pattern, in which the lack of both medial and initial dips must be regarded as compensated for by, here again, a long (or extra long) and heavy final dip. Again, there is no instance in which the second potential stress position is followed by a final long dip which consists only of two unstressed syllables (e.g. **Þe best burne abof* instead of *SG* 73a 'Þe best burne ay abof'). Why does the final long dip in these verse always have three — or occasionally four (or even five) — unstressed syllables, while only two unstressed syllables are required to form a long final dip? We should expect to find some instances of an a-verse in which the compensating final dip is a disyllabic one. The verses make complete sense, however, if one notes instead the consistent creation of a crucial disyllabic dip separating and confirming the caesural and the preceding stress.

In the next examples, the disyllabic non-derivative adverbs are alliterating, and if these, too, were regarded as forming, in a two-beat theory of a-verses, a final dip (because semantically lighter than the preceding alliterating words), that final dip would be *extra* heavy, because the disyllabic adverb (which must bear at least secondary stress) is accompanied by alliteration, as well as sometimes *extra* long, because it consists of four (or, at *SG* 1186, possibly even five) unstressed syllables following the second alliterating open-class word. The examples are grouped, for convenience, into *þer-* adverbs, *a*-adverbs, *bi-* adverbs, a single *-day* adverb, and *-warde* adverbs:

Wyth tryed tasselez þerto (*SG* 219)
Bot teche me truly þerto (*SG* 401)

Nowel nayted onewe (*SG* 65)
Þe best burne ay abof (*SG* 73)
Of bryȝt blaunner aboue (*SG* 856)
Þe brydel barred aboute (*SG* 600)
Þe lorde luflych aloft (*SG* 981)
A bende abelef hym aboute (*SG* 2517)
And ȝelde ȝelderly aȝayn (*SG* 2325)

Þe lorde lyȝtez bilyue (*SG* 1906)
Smal sendal besides (*SG* 76)
Towres telded bytwene (*SG* 795)

Dere dame, to-day (*SG* 470)

I ne wot in worlde whederwarde (*SG* 1053)
And waytez warly þiderwarde (*SG* 1186)

Whatever decision was taken in cases where the adverb provides a third alliteration, it would certainly need to be treated as beat-bearing where it provides the only available second alliteration:

Wenten *syngyng* a**w**ay (*SJ* 1339)
With *ded* **b**odies a**b**oute (*SJ* 604)
Heye **b**onked a**b**oue (*SJ* 667)
Þe *kyng* lete **d**rawen hem a**d**oun (*SJ* 717)

Alliteration-dictated stress would thus here again result in producing different scansions for verses which otherwise have a near-identical structure. This would not necessarily invalidate it, as iambics might also, for instance, cause the beat to fall divergently on otherwise very comparable lines. But the inconsistency should at least give one pause. In contrast, presumption of a caesural stress produces consistent scansions: whether the non-derivative adverb at the pre-caesural position lacks alliteration, or provides the second or third alliteration in an a-verse, it must carry a beat, because caesural position demands and imposes a beat that is in all these cases confirmed by the crucial two-syllable dip. Metrical stress is not, after all, mechanically equatable (as opposed to often consistent) with alliteration or semantic weight — just as, in iambic and rhymed verse, stress and rhyme may not always be coincident with relative semantic weight or 'normal' linguistic stress.

Furthermore, non-derivative adverbs have distinctive distributional patterns, occurring, in the majority of cases, at the pre-caesural position. For examples, *SG* has six instances of *þerof*, five of which occur in the a-verse and all occur at the pre-caesural position, as shown below:

And bi trwe tytel **þerof** (*SG* 480a)
To telle yow tenez **þerof** (*SG* 547a)

Þat for to telle **þerof** (*SG* 1008a)
A kenet kryes **þerof** (*SG* 1701a)
Þe Brutus bokez **þerof** (*SG* 2523a)
Þe worchip **þerof** (*SG* 984b)[32]

The same is true of *þerewith*, *þereinne*, *þerto*, *þereat* and *þeron*, which occur in *SG* four, five, nine, four times and once respectively. Interestingly, *thereinne*, which could end with an unstressed syllable, occurs at both the end of the line and the pre-caesural position, while the other adverbs, which cannot end in sounded unstressed final *-e*, occur almost exclusively at the pre-caesural position:

Dayntés dryuen **þerwyth** (*SG* 121a)
And yow wrathed not **þerwyth** (*SG* 1509a)
With bred blent **þerwith** (*SG* 1610a)[33]
þerwith vche tyme (*SG* 980b)
Bolde bredden **þerinne** (*SG* 21a)
Þe borne blubred **þerinne** (*SG* 2174a)
and happed **þerinne** (*SG* 864b)
glent vp **þerinne** (*SG* 1652b)
þat knit ar **þerinne** (*SG* 1849b)
Wyth tryed tasselez **þerto** (*SG* 219a)
Bot teche me truly **þerto** (*SG* 401a)
With polaynez piched **þerto** (*SG* 576a)
Þat quen he blusched **þerto** (*SG* 650a)
And **þerto** prestly I pray (*SG* 757a)
Þe lorde loutes **þerto** (*SG* 933a)
As I am halden **þerto** (*SG* 1040a)
Þe best boȝed **þerto** (*SG* 1325a)
and **þerto** ȝe tryst (*SG* 2325b)
Loude laȝed he **þerat** (*SG* 909a)
And mony arȝed **þerat** (*SG* 1463a)
And let lodly **þerat** (*SG* 1634a)
Laȝen loude **þerat** (*SG* 2514a)
Þe stif mon steppez **þeron** (*SG* 570a)

These pre-caesural disyllabic adverbs constitute a syntactic-rhythmic pattern which alliterative poets exploited to produce one type of metrical a-verse with a long medial dip — what those who believe in three-stressed a-verses would treat as (x)/(x)/xx(x)/(x), though we would scan them as *(a)ax* lines, with the disyllabic dip between the stresses being accompanied by a long (and/or heavy) initial dip — which is the norm of the a-verse with only two clear ictus positions.[34] In any case, a-verses of this type would appear to have the disyllabic dip between the stresses observable in most a-verses.

In conclusion to this section, we list other examples (from *Cleanness*, *Patience*, *St Erkenwald* and *The Wars of Alexander*) of a non-derivative adverb at the pre-caesural position. The points already raised apply also to these a-verses. The adverb usually lacks alliteration, but sometimes provides a third instance of alliteration in the a-verse (e.g. *C* 1404, *P* 235):

[32] *Þerof* here requires emendation to *þerofe*, which is the form required at line-ending, and which appears to have been a possible one: Putter, Jefferson and Stokes, *Studies in the Metre of Alliterative Verse*, p. 53.

[33] *Blended* is a possibility here; otherwise the anomalous absence of a disyllabic dip before *-with* would indicate that the first stress should fall on *bred*, not *blent*.

[34] The exceptions would be *SG* 757 (in which *þerto* is part of the opening dip) and *SG* 1463 (where the adverb alliterates), both of which are regular *aa* a-verses.

Sewed a sekke þerabof (*P* 382)
Scoleres skelten þeratte (*C* 1554)
Þe clay þat clenges þerby (*C* 1034)
And brode baneres þerbi (*C* 1404)
Wyrk wone3 þerinne (*C* 311)
Haf halle3 þerinne (*C* 321)
And dy3t drwry þerinne (*C* 699)
Jonas joyned watz þerinne (*P* 62)
Lys loltrande þerinne (*P* 458)
Þe mecul mynster þerinne (*SE* 27)
In þe hy3e hete þerof (*C* 604)
Summe swymmed þeron (*C* 388)
Braunches bredande þeron (*C* 1482)
And sette a sakerfyse þeron (*C* 507)
Þrwe þryftyly þeron (*C* 635)
Lyfte logges þerouer (*C* 1407)
Dere dro3en þerto (*C* 1394)
Burgeys boghit þerto (*SE* 59)
Putten prises þerto (*SE* 70)
Outhire macches 3ow manly þerto (*WA* 1157)
Þe se sa3tled þerwith (*P* 232)
With koynt carneles aboue (*C* 1382)
A blewe bleant obofe (*WA* 5039)
With gargeles garnysht aboute (*SE* 48)
Bradis banars abrade (*WA* 897)
Þe rayn rueled adoun (*C* 953)
Þat drof hem dry3lych adoun (*P* 235)
And teres trillyd adoun (*SE* 322)
Anoþer nayed also (*C* 65)
Hare3, hertte3 also (*C* 391)
And dere Daniel also (*C* 1302)
Þe kyng comaunded anon (*C* 1741)
Clowde3 clustered bytwene (*C* 951)
Troched toures bitwene (*C* 1383)
Schot scharply betwene (*WA* 1422)
Outhire mete has mendid þe full mekill (*WA* 464)
Þan answars Anectanabus onane (*WA* 290)
Of fifty fayre ouerþwert (*C* 316)
Sythen Jesus has juggit today (*SE* 180)
Of teþe tenfully togeder (*C* 160)
When two true togeder (*C* 702)
Meuande mekely togeder (*C* 783)
Girdis grymly togedire (*WA* 919)
And þiker þrowen vmbeþour (*C* 1384)
And bryngeʒ butter wythal (*C* 636)
Þe hote hunger wythinne (*C* 1195)
Heʒe houses withinne (*C* 1391)
Bot wees wi3tly within (*WA* 1154)
Stoken stifly without (*WA* 1205)

Monosyllabic adverbs and other closed-class words at the pre-caesural position

Another type of a-verse that would, in alliteration-determined scansion, yield (x)/(x)/xxx(x)(x) is that in which a monosyllabic adverb occurs at the pre-caesural position. The following examples are from *SG*. Here too, by the rules posited by Putter and Jefferson, the lack of both medial and initial long dips is compensated for by a final dip which in these cases, too, is both long (involving three or even — as at *SG* 726 — four syllables) and heavy (because it contains an adverb):[35]

> Þis haþel heldez hym in (*SG* 221)
> Queme quyssewes þen (*SG* 578)
> And sayde soþly al same (*SG* 673)
> For werre wrathed hym not so much (*SG* 726)
> I schal ware my whyle wel (*SG* 1235)
> Þe swyn settez hym out (*SG* 1589)
> For þe mon merkkez hym wel (*SG* 1592)
> His surkot semed hym wel (*SG* 1929)
> Þe leude lystened ful wel (*SG* 2006)

These monosyllabic adverbs usually lack alliteration (except *SG* 673, 1235), but some of them (e.g. *in* at *SG* 221 and *out* at *SG* 1589) carry more semantic force than the preceding alliterating verbs (*heldez* and *settez*). A beat on *wel* certainly seems indicated by the word-order at *SG* 1235, 1592 and 1929, all of which would be linguistically acceptable with an earlier placement of *wel* (e.g. 'I schal ware wel my whyle'). At *SG* 2006 the metrical filler *ful* seems designed precisely to compensate for the possible syncope of the medial vowel in *lystened* and thereby to ensure to the a-verse its disyllabic medial dip (between the caesural *wel* and the root syllable of *lystened*).

Similar examples occur in *Cleanness*, *Patience*, *The Wars of Alexander* and *St. Erkenwald*. We list first a-verses with pre-caesural monosyllabic adverbs, followed by those with other closed-class words at the caesura, such as pronouns and verbs with light semantic weight. The caesural words do not normally alliterate, but sometimes provide a third alliterating word (as at *C* 1730, *WA* 53, 522, 1688, 1423, *C* 1140):

> For vertu vailes noȝt all (*WA* 103)
> Bot airis euen furth him ane (*WA* 53)
> Tilt torettis doun (*WA* 1541)
> Þe segge sesed not ȝet (*P* 369)
> Þe bisshop baythes hym ȝet (*SE* 257)
> He hates helle no more (*C* 168)
> Þe rauen raykeȝ hym forth (*C* 465)
> Clerrer counseyl con I non (*C* 1056)
> Mane menes als much (*C* 1730)
> Ne ost ordand he nane (*WA* 52)
> For wele wist þai þam nane (*WA* 1271)
> Sem soþly þat on (*C* 299)
> I hent harmes ful ofte (*SE* 232)
> Þagh men menskid him so (*SE* 258)
> Said it was sett to be so (*WA* 522)

[35] We have not included what we regard as the suspect verse at *SG* 1108 ('Swete, swap we so').

Sum with sensours & so (*WA* 1688)
Weris wondirly wele (*WA* 1423)

He holly haldes hit his (*C* 1140)
Gart hym grattest to be (*C* 1645)
Wyȝt werkemen with þat (*SE* 69)
As riche revestid as he was (*SE* 139)
Lorde, loued ȝe worþe (*C* 925)
Erne-hwed he watȝ (*C* 1698)

There are here too some instances in which the second alliterating sound is provided by the caesural closed-class word (and in which one of two open-class words does not alliterate):

Þe wedes dropeden doun (*SJ* 793)
Þe Iewes assembled were sone (*SJ* 445)
My sone is next to myself (*SJ* 970) *axa* or *(a)xa*
After harde dayeȝ wern out (*C* 442) *axa* or *(a)xa*

Elsewhere in *SJ*, *doun* occurs at the pre-caesural position either without alliteration (e.g. 'How hetterly doun' *SJ* 548, 'Castels clateren doun' *SJ* 573) or provides a third alliteration ('Þo drowen dromedaries doun' *SJ* 453). But at *SJ* 793 the adverb provides the second alliteration. So does *sone* at *SJ* 445, though the adverb occurs at the caesura without alliteration at *SJ* 1121 ('Schaftes schedred wer sone'). As was the case with some a-verses involving a pre-caesural prepositional phrase or a non-derivative adverb, a beat must fall on the alliterating closed-class words (i.e. *doun*, *sone*, *myself*, *out*), though some of them are semantically lighter than the preceding non-alliterating open-class words (e.g. *wedes*). Again, it is worth emphasizing that those who espouse a theory of a two-stress a-verse and the co-incidence of alliteration and beat would have to scan differently a-verses with a pre-caesural closed-class word, depending on whether it lacks alliteration, or provides the second or third alliteration in the half-line, while consistent scansion is produced by an assumption of stress on the last unit of sense at the caesura (in these cases a monosyllabic adverb or other function word).

Exploitation of doublet forms and metrical variants (*-ly/-lych(e)*, *to/for to*, *on/vpon*, etc.)

So far, we have argued that syntactic inversion and the syntactic-rhythmic pattern involving a non-derivative adverb are deliberate strategies that alliterative poets may have exploited to facilitate a beat on a normally unstressed closed-class word, and thereby to mark the caesura. We have also emphasized that, if a caesural beat is to be assumed, a-verses that appear to lack both medial and initial long dips (thus (x)/(x)/xxx(x)(x)) do in fact have a long medial dip (in our scansion, both medial and initial long dips), and therefore conform to the standard a-verse rhythm. One reason for our objection to the (x)/(x)/xxx(x)(x) pattern is that alliterative poets appear to make sure that a disyllabic — occasionally, trisyllabic — dip occurs between the (normally) last lexical item before the caesura and the immediately preceding open-class word (or closed-class word that is a candidate for a beat). In other words, this disyllabic dip serves to signal the approaching caesura and thereby to facilitate a beat on a closed-class word at the pre-caesural position. The poets used other means to create a disyllabic dip between the word that carries a caesural beat and the immediately preceding stave word: variation between forms that have a (near) identical meaning but are different in syllable count, such as *to/for to*, *-ly/-lyche*, *on/vpon folde*, and (*a-*) adverbs (e.g. *onewe* in 'Nowel nayted onewe', *SG* 65, *adoun* in 'Colde clengez adoun', *SG* 505). Inoue has elsewhere studied the distributional

pattern of these doublet forms within the long line, and demonstrated that the poets exploited the alternative forms where they need an extra syllable to produce a disyllabic medial dip between the word bearing a caesural beat and the immediately preceding stave word.[36] For instance:

> Wayued his berde for to wayte (*SG* 306)
> Loutez luflych adoun (*SG* 1306)

The marked forms (*for to*, *-lych*) are used here because their counterparts (*to*, *-ly*) would create only a short dip between the word that takes a beat before the caesura and the second of the two preceding open-class words. We are confident that the disyllabic dip falling between *berde* and *wayte* and between *luf-* and *-doun* confirms stress on those syllables. In the latter case, the *-lych* form was needed to avoid elision of *-ly* with *a(doun)*, an elision which would have destroyed the required medial dip between *luf-* and *doun*. If the beats were to fall on the two alliterating words (i.e. /xxxxx/x at *SG* 306 and /x/xxx at *SG* 1306), the resulting a-verses would have the long and heavy final dip (*SG* 1306) and the extra long medial dip (*SG* 306) needed by Putter and Jefferson's rules (to compensate for the want of initial and medial long dips or of the initial long dip); but these ends could have been achieved equally well by *-ly* and *to*, and the selection of the marked forms (used elsewhere in this poem only for metrical reasons)[37] would remain unexplained. A scansion determined solely by alliteration and relative semantic weight also produces another kind of inconsistency — with regard to a-verses in which prepositional phrases known as stock phrases or 'tags' (such as *on/vpon folde*) occur at the pre-caesural position. These stock phrases are normally semantically light or even redundant. When the a-verse has only two possible ictus positions, stress on the noun in the tag is uncontroversial:

> Þat watȝ for fylþe *vpon folde* (*C* 251)
> Schal no flesch *vpon folde* (*C* 356)
> Such a fole *vpon folde* (*SG* 196)
> I may be funde *vpon folde* (*SG* 396)
> And alle his afyaunce *vpon folde* (*SG* 642)
> Þer schulde no freke *vpon folde* (*SG* 1275)
> Forþi oure fader *vpon folde* (*C* 1175)

Notice that, in each case, *vpon* serves to create a medial long dip between the head noun and the root syllable of the preceding open-class word. At *SG* 676, however, the stock phrase is preceded by two alliterating open-class words:

> To fynde hys fere vpon folde (*SG* 676)

We are confident that, here too, the disyllabic medial dip (between *fere* and *folde*) which is created by the marked form *upon* indicates stress on the two syllables it separates (and thereby marks the caesura), despite the fact that *fynde* is probably in context a more significant word than *folde*. Another interesting line involving the pre-caesural *vpon folde* occurs at *C* 1147:

> To **defowle** hit euer vpon **folde** (*C* 1147)

Stress on *-fowle* and *folde* would yield an a-verse with two long dips, both initial and medial, but the medial dip is 'extra long' (at least four syllables, assuming monosyllabic pronunciation of *euer*). As Putter and Jefferson point out, an extra long dip does not normally occur with another long dip in the a-verse. The use of the marked form *vpon* — which occurs in this manuscript as a metre-dictated disyllabic alternative to monosyllabic *on*[38] — strongly indicates

[36] For *-ly*/*-lyche* and stock phrases such as *on*/*upon fold*, see Inoue, 'The A-Verse of the Alliterative Long Line', pp. 118–73. For *to*/*for to*, see Inoue, 'To/For to + Infinitive'.

[37] See Inoue, 'The A-Verse of the Alliterative Long Line', pp. 134–73, and 'To/For to + Infinitive'.

[38] See Inoue, 'The A-Verse of the Alliterative Long Line', pp. 118–34.

a beat on *euer* rather than (or as well as) on *-fowle*. Assuming stress on *euer* and *folde* yields the disyllabic dip between the stresses typical of the a-verse (and also provides the second long dip required by Putter and Jefferson's rules).

The same applies to verses involving *on/vpon hiȝ(e/hyȝt*, another stock phrase. For example:

> Heȝe halowing *on hiȝe* (*SG* 1602)
> Ȝeȝed ȝeres-ȝiftes *on hiȝ* (*SG* 67)
> Haleȝ hyȝe *vpon hyȝt* (*C* 458)

Again, if one assumes that stress falls on the two alliterating open-class words preceding the pre-caesural stock phrase, the above a-verses would all produce a long (or an extra long) and heavy final dip — the dip even being 'extra heavy' in the case of *SG* 1602 and *C* 458, where 'hiȝe/hyȝt' is alliterated. But the alternation between *on* and *vpon* is, again, metrically motivated, and occurs precisely to ensure the disyllabic dip between *hiȝe/hyȝt* and the preceding open-class word (*halowing*, *ȝiftes* and *hyȝe*). This disyllabic dip confirms that the beat falls on the flanking syllables it separates (i.e. *hiȝe/hyȝt* and *halowing*, *ȝiftes* and *hyȝe*) and thereby signals the caesura.

A few other kinds of verses are also relevant here:

> Nowel nayted **onewe** neuened ful ofte (*SG* 65)

This is the only occurrence of *onewe*, *newe* being consistently used elsewhere (*SG* 60, 599, 1668, 2223). The purpose of the variant is to create a disyllabic dip between *-newe* and *nayt-*, this disyllabic dip confirming the beat on those syllables.

> And lelly **louy** þy lord and his leef worthe (*C* 1066)

The infinitive is normally *luf*, as in *SG* 2421 ('[to] luf hom wel, and leue hem not'). But here the marked form *louy* serves to ensure a long medial dip (between *lou-* and *lord*), which confirms a beat on *lou-* and *lord*. The marked form also occurs at line-end, where an unstressed syllable must occur (e.g. *SG* 2095b 'þat I wel louy'). It is thus a (historically correct) form of the infinitive which the poet tends to use for metrical reasons.

Other syntactic inversions or transpositions

We have seen above the syntactic inversion of preposition + pronoun. Here, we examine other types of syntactic inversion or transposition to see whether these, too, are exploited by alliterative poets to facilitate a beat on a closed-class word at the pre-caesural position. The following a-verse has subject + past participle + be + adverb:

> Þe Iewes assembled were **sone** (*SJ* 445)

Transposition of the past participle *assembled* with the auxiliary verb *were* provides a long dip that creates and confirms beat on the adverb *sone*, which here carries alliteration. *SJ* 1121a has a near identical syntactic and syllabic structure, but with non-alliterating *sone*:

> Schaftes schedred were **sone** (*SJ* 1121)

We assume caesural stress on *sone*, a beat again facilitated and confirmed by the transposition and the resulting characteristic disyllabic dip between the two stresses of the a-verse. Other monosyllabic adverbs may figure metrically in the same way as *sone*:

> Waspasian wounded was **þer** (*SJ* 815)
> Þe dom demed was **þer** (*SJ* 989)

Here, too, syntactic transposition creates phrasal stress on the minor adverb and provides the long dip that creates and confirms that caesural stress.

Such metrical exploitation of syntactic transposition is not limited to the pre-caesural position. It occurs at the line-opening position, used, again, to facilitate a beat on minor words. For instance, adjectives such as *many*, *much*, and *such* do not normally take a beat when they occur with a noun in adjective + noun combinations (e.g. 'With much **r**euel and **r**yche', *SG* 538a). However, they may do so when they occur predicatively before *watz* or *is*; they may then be followed by a pre-caesural combination with double alliteration, thus producing a pattern annotatable as *aaa* or, in our scansion, *aa(a)*. For example:

> **M**ony watz þe **m**yry mouthe (*SG* 1447)
> **G**ret is þe **g**ode gle (*SG* 1536)

In each case, a medial long dip occurs between the minor adjectives (*mony* and *gret*) and the second potentially ictus-bearing words (the adjectives *myry* and *gode*). Here, the placement of a beat on the minor adjective may not be problematic, since it does bear alliteration. But we also take *miche* (*much*) in the following lines to bear a beat — though it is unalliterated:[39]

> And **m**iche watz þe **g**yld gere (*SG* 569)
> Wel **m**uch watz þe **w**arme water (*SG* 684)

These a-verses would be assumed by many to be *xaa* ones, though we would treat them as *xa(a)* (where the alliterating noun element of the combination does not bear metrical beat, but provides the second alliteration and forms, as a continuant of the caesurally stressed word, a caesural heavy dip).[40] One may, as J. Turville-Petre does, scan these a-verses as non-crowded ones with a beat falling on the two alliterating open-class words (e.g. *gyld* and *gere*).[41] The syntax, however, triggers, as at *SG* 1447 and 1536 above, phrasal stress on the minor adjective, which, as a result, becomes a candidate for metrical beat. In addition, these a-verses have a syntactic structure very similar to that of those quoted before them (*SG* 1447 and 1536), in which the first stress plainly falls on the predicative adjective (*mony* and *gret*). Equally importantly, the disyllabic dip between the minor adjectives and the adjective element of the combination indicates and produces a beat on these words. It would certainly seem illogical and inconsistent to scan these verses in a different way simply because the minor adjectives lack alliteration. We therefore take the metrical beats to fall on the minor adjective at verse-opening and the first element of the combination with a long medial dip between these stresses. Syntactic transposition thus occurs at both the line-opening and the pre-caesural positions, and always serves both to bestow prominence and stress on a minor word and to create the confirmatory long medial dip between that word and an immediately preceding or following beat. (It thus appears that even the norm by which the first beat in the a-verse should announce the alliteration is not an inviolable principle, and that the verses in the Middle English alliterative metre should not be scanned with mechanical prioritization of alliteration.)

The following a-verses have a syntactic pattern of past participle + pronominal subject + *was*:

> Þrow Pylat pyned he **was** (*SJ* 8)
> Þrow Pilat pyned he **was** (*SJ* 164)

[39] *Al* at *SG* 54a ('For **a**l watz þis **f**ayre folk') should perhaps also be included here.

[40] Cf. 'And **m**any was þe **b**alde berne at banned þe quile' (*WA* 157).

[41] J. Turville-Petre, p. 318: 'The rare pattern (x)xxx// is in a-verse always produced by adjective + noun: "and miche watz þe gyld gere" 569'; she cites lines 558, 662, 843 as further examples; her phrase 'the rare pattern' may imply some dissatisfaction with that pattern.

Again, we would point to the disyllabic dip confirming stress on *pyned* and *was*, and would treat the verse as an *(a)ax* one. The fact that the verse occurs twice makes it unlikely that it is a scribal corruption of 'Þrow Pylat he was pyned'.

The following a-verses have verb + pronominal subject + *nane*:

Ne ost ordand he **nane** (*WA* 52)
For wele wist þai þam **nane** (*WA* 1271)

These can be compared with the a-verses with participial adjective + pronominal subject + copula in *Cleanness*:

Erne-hwed he **watȝ** (*C* 1698)
Lorde, loued he **worþe** (*C* 925)

Again, if beat is assumed to fall on the alliterating open-class words, these six verses and others of this type would *all* have a heavy *and* long (invariably trisyllabic) dip at the final position, preceded by one or two short dips.[42] Furthermore, some of them could easily have been rephrased (as could verses in other categories we have examined) with changed order to yield a long medial dip flanked by beats on the alliterating words, if what is agreed to be the desired norm of a long dip between the stresses were something the poets felt was not achieved by the verses as they stand. As was the case with pre-caesural prepositional phrases such as *hym to*, here, too, syntactic transposition and the resulting disyllabic dip between the pre-caesural closed-class word and a preceding open-class word serve to indicate and confirm where beats should fall.

aax a-verses with a non-alliterating open-class word at the pre-caesural position

We wish now to raise the question of a-verses in which a non-alliterating *open-class* word occurs at the pre-caesural position. Such verses are particularly frequent in *Sir Gawain*,[43] because, we would argue, this poet was particularly willing to experiment with his metre, and readier to decouple alliteration and stress, and thus to produce verses that we would treat as *(a)ax* ones, though, on Putter and Jefferson's assumption of invariable co-occurrence between alliteration and beat, they would, again, have the long-tailed (x)/(x)/xxx(x)(x) pattern:

Bot mon most I algate (*SG* 141)
A littel lut with þe hede (*SG* 418)
Gauan gripped to his ax (*SG* 421)
Wyth wele walt þay þat day (*SG* 485)
Schyre schedez þe rayn (*SG* 506)
His leges lapped in stel (*SG* 575)
A hoge haþel for þe nonez (*SG* 844)
Tapitez tyȝt to þe woȝe (*SG* 858)
Schon schyrer þen snawe (*SG* 956)
Hir frount folden in sylk (*SG* 959)

[42] Excluding a very few cases like *SJ* 815 ('Waspasian wounded was þer'), where the first possible stave is occupied by a proper noun of more than two syllables.

[43] *Sir Gawain* has 28 instances (1.38%), *Cleanness* 15 (0.83%), *Patience* 4 (0.75%), *SE* 4 (1.14%), and *WA* (in the 2093 lines examined) 12 (0.57%). This pattern, however, does not occur in *Destruction of Troy* (in which the pre-caesural stress always falls on an alliterating word); for details, see Inoue, 'The A-Verse of the Alliterative Long Line', pp. 207–9.

Þe olde auncian wyf (*SG* 1001)
Let þe ladiez be fette (*SG* 1084)
And made myry al day (*SG* 1313)
Þe lorde watz lopen of his bedde (*SG* 1413)
Þe douthe dressed to þe wod (*SG* 1415)
Haden hornez to mouþe (*SG* 1446)
Gawayn grayþely at home (*SG* 1470)
And madee hym mawgref his hed (*SG* 1565)
Þe froþe femed at his mouth (*SG* 1572)
Bliþe broȝt watz hym drynk (*SG* 1684)
Wiȝt wallande joye (*SG* 1762)
Bot busk, burne, bi þi fayth (*SG* 2284)
Gawayn grayþely hit bydez (*SG* 2292)
Þe scharp schrank to þe flesche (*SG* 2313)
Dalyda dalt hym hys wyrde (*SG* 2418)
Þe duches doȝter of Tyntagelle (*SG* 2465)
Make myry in my hous (*SG* 2468)
Þat gode Gawayn watz commen (*SG* 2491)

Here again we would point to the disyllabic dip that separates the second open-class word from the word at the caesura — which it would, in any case, be difficult to argue was always the least semantically significant of the three open-class words in these verses. Certainly in the following lines, for instance,

Whyle *oure luflych lede* lys in his bedde
Gawayn grayþely at home in gerez ful ryche (*SG* 1469–70)

home has more semantic weight than the anaphoric *Gawayn*, which is a variation of the subject, 'our luflych lede'. In *SJ*, too, there are a-verses in which a non-alliterating noun at the pre-caesural position bears more semantic weight than the preceding alliterating verb at the line-opening position:

Leyþ a ladder to þe **wal** (*SJ* 1198)
Þroȝ kernels cacchen here **deþ** (*SJ* 660)
And made merueylous **lye** (*SJ* 1258)
He made inmydde[s þe] **ost** (*SJ* 1317)

We are confident that a beat must fall on the non-alliterating open-class word at the pre-caesural position, not simply because it carries semantic weight (some do so more than others), but also because absorbing the non-alliterating word into a long and heavy final dip (again, to produce the long-tailed (x)/(x)/xxx(x)(x) pattern) would blur the boundary between the half-lines and ignore the signals as to beat created by the long dip between the second open-class word and the caesural one and the lack of such a disyllabic dip between the two alliterating items. Consider also the following line:

A **hoge haþel** for þe nonez and of **hyȝhe** eldee (*SG* 844)

This a-verse would have a five syllable final dip, which is *extra* long *and* heavy (with the adverb). This scansion would certainly make the caesura metrically insignificant. Our own findings indicate that a four-syllable limit on dip length may well normally be operative *in the a-verse*;[44] a four-syllable dip will result in stress on the fifth syllable. We cannot go into the evidence for this in detail here, but we believe the following a-verse has a maximum-length dip:

[44] The limit appears to be three syllables in the b-verse, where four-syllable dips appear to be strictly avoided, at least by *Gawain*-poet; see Inoue, 'The A-Verse of the Alliterative Long Line', pp. 121–25.

I nolde bot if I hit neghe myȝte on Nw ȝeres morne (*SG* 1054)

The dip here is four syllables (five, if one believes the final *-e* of *nolde* was always sounded, as opposed to being sounded only when metrically required),[45] and is saved from being any longer by the inversion that follows (without which the four-syllable dip would have triggered quite inappropriate stress on *myȝte*). The result is one of those rare occasions where the caesural dip is a separate word (a complement so grammatically inseparable from the stressed word as to form a continuant equivalent to the unstressed syllables following the stressed syllable of the word taking the beat at the caesura; compare *SG* 633, 'Gawan watz for gode knawen, and as golde pured'). We would also suggest that in the following line the (alliterating) beat should be regarded as falling on *a*:

I hyȝt þe **a** strok and þou hit **h**atz **h**alde þe wel payed (*SG* 2341)

Assigning stress to *hyȝt* would lead to an unacceptably long dip; a non-alliterating first stress on *strok* is possible, but context would favour stress on *a* (the *one* blow promised has been delivered), followed by the maximum four-syllable dip, which, since it will result in a stress on the fifth syllable, throws double emphasis on the caesural beat on *hatz* (to which context also gives, as to *a*, a peculiar emphasis the word would not normally have).

A line not dissimilar to *SG* 844, in containing two alliterating open-class words early in the a-verse, occurs at *SG* 1313:

And made myry al day til þe mone rysed (*SG* 1313)

Here we find the customary long dip between the caesural word and the preceding stress (on the first syllable of *myry*) that confirms where the beats fall. To place the stresses on the two alliterating words would not only ignore these metrical signals, but would also somewhat unnaturally privilege the function word *made* that is placed in a 'weak' metrical position over a more operative word in a 'strong' metrical position (the caesura, where one expects the verse-final beat). For *made* is one of those technically open-class words that in fact is so common that it can be treated metrically as a function word (cf. *SG* 537, 'And he made a fare on þat fest for þe frekez sake', where *made* bears neither alliteration nor stress). And the verse prelude is where one regularly encounters open-class words that do not bear metrical ictus: for instance, where there are three alliterating open-class words in the a-verse, it is usually the first that is suppressable into the verse-prelude dip (the remaining two stresses being confirmed by a long dip between the second alliterating word and the caesural word), as in *SG* 2, 'Þe borȝ brittened and brent to brondez and askez' (though some might, of course, wish to regard such verses as 'extended' or three-beat ones). In both status and metrical position, therefore, the alliterating *made* is a less likely candidate for stress than *day*.

[45] We believe final *-e* in auxiliaries was sounded only when metrically required; the iambics of the bob-and-wheel certainly require monosyllabic forms at *SG* 2501, 'He tened quen he schulde telle'; *SG* 2504, 'When he hit schulde schewe, for schame'; *SG* 1976, 'Such worchip he wolde hym weue'; *SG* 2258, 'For drede he wolde not dare'; and *SG* 712 'Þat chapel er he myȝt sene'.

Redundant *con* in line 2295

> Þen muryly efte con he mele þe mon in þe grene (*SG* 2295)

Elsewhere in *SG*, the past tense form of *mele* is always *meled*. Why does the periphrastic form *con … mele* occur only in line 2295? If the beats were intended to fall on the two alliterating words, *muryly* and *mele*, this could have been ensured by 'Þen efte muryly he meled' (with initial and medial long dips) or by 'Þen muryly efte he meled' (with extra long medial dip), either of which would meet Putter and Jefferson's criteria for metricality. The only reason for using *con* here is to indicate a beat on *efte*, a semantically important word in this line. This is the second time that the Green Knight speaks and it vexes Gawain enormously that he does so. Gawain has asked him to strike without further unnecessary threats, and the Green Knight has said he will do so. Thus *con* is exploited to create the disyllabic dip that confirms a beat on the narratively significant *efte*.

A-verses that do not comply with Putter and Jefferson's rules

We will now look at some a-verses that do not seem to follow Putter and Jefferson's rules. In the following a-verses, only one long dip occurs (disyllabic in the first group, trisyllabic in the second), a medial one between the two beats, and the lack of the initial long dip is not, as the verses stand, compensated for by either a heavy or a long final dip:

> He dryues wyth droȝt þe dust for to ryse (*SG* 523)
> Þe alder he haylses heldande ful lowe (*SG* 972)
> Then frayned þe freke ful fayre at himseluen (*SG* 1046)
> Wat chaunce so bytydez hor cheuysaunce to chaunge (*SG* 1406)
> Þe place þat plyed þe pursaunt wythinne (*C* 1385)
> Watȝ longe and ful large and euer ilych sware (*C* 1386)

> Þay comaunded hym cof to cach þat he hade (*C* 898)
> Þen comaunded þe kyng þe knyȝt for to ryse (*SG* 366)
> And wayned hom to wynne þe worchip þerof (*SG* 984)
> Ho wayned me þis wonder your wyttez to reue (*SG* 2459)

The above-quoted lines are merely examples; an exhaustive list would be much longer. There are a significant number of similar a-verses across the alliterative poems, and it is difficult to believe that these are *all* corrupt. We are, therefore, unpersuaded that *two* long dips are (in the absence of the specified compensations) a *requirement* for *all* a-verses.[46]

Conclusion

(a) As regards the relationship between the a-verse and the b-verse, Putter and Jefferson aptly quote Bruce Hayes's claim that it is a well-known and very general principle that 'correspondence to a metrical pattern tends to be lax at the beginnings of units; strict at the ends'.[47] We think that the a-verse is more flexible as

[46] Putter and Jefferson explain such exceptions as corrupt verses which require emendation and claim that they are not (in the small corpus examined by them) more numerous than the number of irregular b-verses (see *Studies in the Metre of Alliterative Verse*, pp. 217–54).

[47] *Studies in the Metre of Alliterative Verse*, p. 219.

well as typically longer than the b-verse in that it *can* have more than the one long dip to which the b-verse is limited, and may have a long dip after the caesural beat (e.g. 'I schal **k**ysse at your **c**omaundement', *SG* 1303a), where the b-verse must end in only one unstressed syllable. We believe that it has only two stresses, and our findings to date would indicate that these stresses *must* be separated by a long dip ('Ande quen þis Bretayn watz bigged', *SG* 20a; 'Þe tulk þat þe trammes', *SG* 2a), *unless* there is an extra long opening dip ('Vpon such a dere day', *SG* 92a), or a caesural dip that is either long or (by reason of containing an open-class word or a syllable that bears secondary stress) heavy ('Of a kyngez capados', *SG* 186a; 'Of þe wynne worschip', *SG* 1032a). There is thus an area of overlap between the a-verse and the b-verse, in that a minimal a-verse ('Þe alder he haylses', *SG* 972a) would make a metrically acceptable b-verse — the examples quoted in the previous section being too numerous to allow of any other conclusion. But the a-verse is more varied, in that it can be realized in a greater range of rhythmical shapes, and it is typically longer.

(b) We would not dispute the claim that semantic weight and alliteration have an important relation to stress. But Putter and Jefferson themselves rightly argue that 'metrical set' and 'rhythm rule' take priority over semantics at line end,[48] and we believe that this also applies to the end of the a-verse. The caesural beat must fall on the last word or lexical unit before the caesura to mark the boundary between the a- and the b-verses — whatever the relative semantic significance in context of this lexical item, which may or may not alliterate. Metrical beat and alliteration often coincide, but they constitute separable systems. While beat functions to create the underlying rhythm of two-stressed verses, which was strictly observed by alliterative poets, alliteration is more heterogeneous, and, in the hands of an imaginative poet (such as the author of *SG*) was susceptible of much experimental play and separation from beat.[49]

We would thus wish to question whether such things as alliteration, semantic weight in context, or even the distinction between open and closed class can ever be fixed and invariable determinants of stress in metre. They provide sound general guides, but metrical position can override such other considerations — as in iambic verse, where only the iambic paradigm itself determines where stress should fall in a line like 'As ook, firre, birch, aspe, alder, holm, popler' (*Knight's Tale* 2921). This is not a line with the seven stresses that word class might indicate. It is a line with the normal five stresses, which in this case are separated by dips that are abnormally 'heavy' (that is, occupied by open-class words that would normally take linguistic stress). There will in fact almost always be some degree of mismatch between the metre and the relative stress the words would have outside metre, such tension being an important element of metrical music (and being one reason why the stress dictated by normal usage and context can never be an infallible guide to metrical stress). Stress in this case, at any rate, falls on *ook*, *birch*, *ald(er)*, *holm* and *(popl)èr*, and not on *firre* or *aspe* or *holm* — not because the former are semantically heavier trees or belong to a different linguistic word

[48] 'For [at the end of the line] all words (excepting only enclitic pronouns) take the beat as a matter of course' (*Studies in the Metre of Alliterative Verse*, p. 187).

[49] It could also be exploited to achieve local stylistic or overall narrative effects; see Noriko Inoue, 'The Exploitation of Meter for Stylistic Purposes in the Three Alliterative Poems of the Cotton Nero Manuscript', *POETICA*, 58 (2002), 77–96.

class, but simply because that is where the iambic beat puts it. The caesura is, we believe, a beat point in alliterative verse. And we also believe that open-class words, sometimes even alliterating ones, can similarly be relegated to the beat intervals, where they form 'heavy' dips. The four stresses seem to us to be a more basic principle of the alliterative tradition than alliteration itself. *Joseph of Arimathie*, for instance, has light and random alliteration, includes a fair number of lines that do not alliterate at all, and (if not hopelessly corrupt) appears to have been composed on a rule of four-stressed lines alliterated to taste.[50] The so-called 'classic' corpus adopts the stricter norm of *aa/ax*, but individual poets felt free to produce their own alliterative variations on the four-stressed line. Langland, as is well known, wrote verse not reducible to the same rules that govern the rest of the corpus, and is always treated as a special case.[51] The poet of *Sir Gawain* added a rhyming bob-and-wheel to sequences of alliterative long lines and went in other respects also further than most in experiments with the metre, especially in the separation of alliteration and stress, producing a-verses in which only one of the two alliterative sounds corresponds with the two stresses, and producing verses such as the following one:

> Wyle Nw ȝer watz so ȝep þat hit watz nwe cummen (*SG* 60)

The line cannot be reduced to the *aa/ax* scheme, though that scheme underlies it. If it is taken to alliterate on /n/, then the a-verse has only one alliterative stress; if on /y/, then the b-verse has no alliterating stave at all. The fact is that the two initial sounds of the adjective + noun combination are picked out in inverse order by the two succeeding stresses. Nor can this be dismissed as an accidental anomaly. The same pattern occurs at *SG* 656 (and at 90 and 541):

> Now alle þese fyue syþes for soþe were fetled on þis knyȝt

Here again the two initial letters of the adjective + noun combination are picked out in inverse order by the two succeeding stresses on so*þe* and *fetled*. This intricate music that at once satisfies and surprises the ear (meeting in an unexpected way the expectation of three stresses linked by alliteration) surely signals a poet willing to experiment with his metre and ready to break away from a rigidly inevitable *aa/ax* format — which was, in any case, as we hope to have shown, a norm rather than an unbreakable rule in alliterative verse, and a norm that the requirement of stress at the caesura not infrequently overrode.[52]

[50] A useful account of the metre of the poem can be found in T. Turville-Petre, *The Alliterative Revival* (Cambridge: Brewer, 1977), p. 23.

[51] After many years of close and careful study of the poem, Duggan has reached the conclusion that the metrical rules he perceives to have been strictly observed by other alliterative poets were often departed from by Langland (with increasing freedom in the course of the revisions from A to B, and then from B to C); see Hoyt N. Duggan, 'Notes on the Meter of *Piers Plowman*: Twenty Years On', in *Approaches to the Metre of Alliterative Verse*, pp. 159–86.

[52] We would like to express our thanks to Geoffrey Russom and to Nicolay Yakovlev for their very helpful comments on an early draft of this essay, and to Ad Putter and Judith Jefferson, who generously allowed their brains to be picked on details despite being the ostensible target of the argument.

Construing Old English in the Thirteenth Century: The Syntax of the Winteney Adaptation of the Benedictine Rule

Maria Artamonova

Introduction

More and more scholarly attention is now being paid to the period in the history of English writing between the Norman Conquest and the thirteenth century. Many studies have focused on the status of English as a learned and literary language in that time, and on the survival, copying and transmission of Old English manuscripts in the face of the challenges arising from the political situation, on the one hand, and from linguistic change, on the other. The research spearheaded by Mary Swan and Elaine Treharne, and aided by their large-scale project aimed at cataloguing and studying English manuscripts produced between 1060 and 1220,[1] has challenged the perception of this period as a 'dark age' when English texts were only produced as a result of 'antiquarian' efforts to salvage some of the Anglo-Saxon cultural heritage, or as a concession to the unlearned population who did not understand the prestigious Anglo-Norman or Latin.[2] The picture emerging from recent research is that of 'proactive efforts to provide didactic and religious texts for an English-speaking audience. Far from being archaic or antiquarian in impulse, these works and the language in which they are written are dynamic and pragmatic.'[3]

This thorough exploration and re-evaluation of Old English texts copied and revised in the two centuries after the Conquest provides the backdrop for the present investigation of syntactic revision in a post-Conquest text, namely the 'Winteney' version of the Old English Benedictine Rule, dating from the first quarter of the thirteenth century. Although the language of the Rule has been updated in the course of revision, its Old English syntax turns out to be in a remarkable state of preservation.

[1] See the website of 'The Production and Use of English Manuscripts 1066-1220' project (<http://www.le.ac.uk/english/em1060to1220/index.html>). The best introduction to the topic is offered by the contributions to *Rewriting Old English in the Twelfth Century*, ed. by Mary Swan and Elaine Treharne, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England, 30 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

[2] Cf. the description of English literary texts produced in the twelfth century as 'both thin on the ground and (…) disappointingly undistinguished' (Ian Short, 'Language and Literature', in *A Companion to the Anglo-Norman World*, ed. by Christopher Harper-Bill and Elisabeth van Houts (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2003), pp. 191–215 (p. 194).

[3] Elaine Treharne, 'Categorization, Periodization: The Silence of (the) English in the Twelfth Century', *New Medieval Literatures*, 8 (2007), 248–75 (p. 260).

Pre-Conquest Old English texts were not simply copied after 1066: they were edited, compiled, expanded and abbreviated, updated and adapted, reflecting a need for non-French vernacular materials. Although by far the most popular genre was devotional literature (represented by homilies and hagiography along with the English texts of the Gospels and Psalter), there is also evidence, *inter alia*, of Old English laws, chronicles, charters and medical texts being read and copied for a long time after the Conquest.[4] The thrust of recent research has focused on showing the practical, utilitarian nature of this activity: the manuscripts on the whole seem to have been intended for private devotional reading or preaching.[5]

Discussions of possible audiences of post-Conquest English texts often focus on the monastic context as the environment in which such texts were likely to have been produced and read. However, the picture is more complicated: although monasteries and nunneries, as well as monastic cathedrals such as Worcester or Rochester, are always cited as key centres of transmission and dissemination, the possible audience of English texts perceived for the eleventh to thirteenth centuries has been expanded to include secular canons and non-monastic religious women, parish priests (and, consequently, their lay congregations), and laypeople interested in devotional reading.[6] Many studies place a special emphasis on the role of female readers, both nuns in organized monasteries and secular religious women, as a potential audience of vernacular devotional materials; a continuity between the practices of Anglo-Saxon times and the dedicated program of writing for women in the thirteenth century exemplified by *Ancrene*

[4] A full catalogue of manuscripts and their contents is being published on the website cited above; for short descriptions of key manuscripts and their contents see, *inter alia*, Susan Irvine, 'The Compilation and Use of Manuscripts Containing English Religious Texts in the Twelfth Century', in *Rewriting Old English in the Twelfth Century*, ed. by Swan and Treharne (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 41–61 (pp. 41–42); Elaine Treharne, 'English in the Post-Conquest Period', in *A Companion to Anglo-Saxon Literature*, ed. by. Phillip Pulsiano and Elaine Treharne (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001), pp. 403–14; Mary Swan, 'Old English Textual Activity in the Reign of Henry II', in *Writers of the Reign of Henry II: Twelve Essays*, ed. by Ruth Kennedy (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), pp. 151–68 (pp. 153–54).

[5] See the contributions to *Rewriting Old English in the Twelfth Century*; Mary Swan, 'Old English Textual Activity in the Reign of Henry II', in *Writers of the Reign of Henry II: Twelve Essays*, ed. by Ruth Kennedy and Simon Meecham-Jones (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), pp. 151–68; Elaine Treharne, 'Reading from the Margins: The Uses of Old English Homiletic Manuscripts in the Post-Conquest Period', in *Beatus Vir: Studies in Early English and Norse Manuscripts in Memory of Phillip Pulsiano*, ed. by A. N. Doane and Kirsten Wolf (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2006), pp. 329–58; Aidan Conti, 'The Circulation of an Old English Homily in the Twelfth Century: New Evidence from Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 343' and Mary Swan, 'Preaching Past the Conquest: Lambeth Palace 487 and Cotton Vespasian A. XXII', in *The Old English Homily: Precedent, Practice, and Appropriation*, ed. by Aaron J. Kleist (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), pp. 365–402 and 403–23 respectively. Elaine Treharne has repeatedly discussed the possible uses of newly-copied English manuscripts in the spheres outside that of preaching; apart from the articles quoted above, see also E. Treharne, 'The Life of English in the Mid-Twelfth Century: Ralph D'Escures's Homily on the Virgin Mary', in *Writers of the Reign of Henry II: Twelve Essays*, ed. by Ruth Kennedy (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), pp. 169–86; Bella Millett, 'The Pastoral Context of the Trinity and Lambeth homilies', in *Essays in Manuscript Geography: Vernacular Manuscripts of the West Midlands from the Conquest to the Sixteenth Century*, ed. by Wendy Scase, Medieval Texts and Cultures of Northern Europe, 10 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), pp. 43–64.

[6] Apart from the works quoted above, see also Mary Swan, 'Imagining a Readership for Post-Conquest Old English Manuscripts', in *Imagining the Book*, ed. by Stephen Kelly and John J. Thompson, Medieval Texts and Cultures of Northern Europe, 7 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), pp. 145–57; Elaine Treharne, 'Bishops and Their Texts in the Later Eleventh Century: Worcester and Exeter', in *Essays in Manuscript Geography: Vernacular Manuscripts of the West Midlands from the Conquest to the Sixteenth Century*, ed. by Wendy Scase, Medieval Texts and Cultures of Northern Europe, 10 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), pp. 13–28.

Wisse and the Katherine Group texts has been noted and explored.[7] Another important link has been shown to have existed between post-Conquest production and the 'Regularis Concordia Network', owing its existence to the tenth-century Benedictine Revival; it has been claimed that we have evidence of a 'systematic program of textual transmission within those institutions most closely associated with the reform of the English Church'.[8]

Linguistic adaptation and updating is another important factor in the discussion of the use of Old English manuscripts after the Conquest. A rigid demarcation of 'Old' and 'Middle' English is not always helpful for the study of texts which have affinities with both periods, although many researchers prefer to pigeonhole the English texts copied and revised post-1066 in one of the two categories. Still, in a subtle shift of focus, the key linguistic question no longer seems to be formulated as 'When did Middle English begin?', but rather as 'When did Old English end?'. Elaine Treharne, for one, is prepared to describe texts based on pre-Conquest manuscripts as 'Old English'.[9] Various dates have been offered for the transition from Old to Middle English;[10] an approach based on the dating of manuscripts, used, for instance, in the compilation of material for the *Corpus of Middle English Verse and Prose* and the *Oxford English Dictionary*, would classify the same texts that Treharne would call 'Old English' as 'Middle English'.[11]

Aside from the problem of nomenclature, the question of whether or not tenth- or eleventh-century Old English texts were fully intelligible to the scribes who copied and revised them in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries has been much debated, and at times the same evidence has been adduced to support different points of view. On the one hand, the evidence of glossing, and especially the activity of the Tremulous Hand of Worcester, seems to suggest that by the end of the twelfth century, Old English was becoming increasingly opaque to the readers of

[7] Irvine, 'The Compilation and Use of Manuscripts Containing English Religious Texts in the Twelfth Century', p. 53; Swan, 'Imagining a Readership for Post-Conquest Old English Manuscripts', pp. 150–53, *et passim*.

[8] Elaine Treharne, 'The Life and Times of Old English Homilies for the First Sunday in Lent', in *The Power of Words: Anglo-Saxon Studies Presented to Donald G. Scragg on His Seventieth Birthday*, ed. by Hugh Magennis and Jonathan Wilcox, Medieval European Studies, 8 (Morgantown: West Virginia University Press, 2006), pp. 205–42 (p. 212).

[9] 'The argument is that Old English, usually used to refer to the language and texts written in that language from the eighth to the eleventh centuries, might more accurately be used to cover the vernacular language and texts from the twelfth century also, indeed incorporating a number of works composed as late as the twelfth century' (Treharne, 'Reading from the Margins: The Uses of Old English Homiletic Manuscripts in the Post-Conquest Period', p. 332).

[10] Useful discussions are provided in Peter Kitson, 'When Did Middle English Begin? Later than You Think', in *Studies in Middle English Linguistics*, ed. by Jasek Fisiak, Trends in Linguistics: Studies and Monographs, 103 (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1997), pp. 221–70; Hans Sauer, 'Knowledge of Old English in the Middle English Period?', in *Language History and Linguistic Modelling: A Festschrift for Jacek Fisiak on his 60th Birthday*, ed. by Raymond Hickey and Stanislaw Puppel, Trends in Linguistics, Studies and Monographs, 101 (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1997), pp. 791–814; Christopher Cannon, 'Between the Old and the Middle of English', *New Medieval Literatures*, 7 (2005), pp. 203–23.

[11] *Middle English Dictionary*, ed. by Hans Kurath and others, 20 vols (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1952–2001); this and the *Corpus of Middle English Verse and Prose* can be accessed at <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/mec/>. The thirteenth-century Winteney Version of the Benedictine Rule discussed in this article is included in the *Corpus* as a Middle English text.

pre-Conquest manuscripts.[12] The relative lack of scribal innovations in some manuscripts has been taken as a sign of the purely antiquarian value of these manuscripts, copied by scribes who might have found their language problematic. On the other hand, the 'inconsistent and rarely complete' nature of revisions to Old English texts can be viewed as an indication that these texts were intelligible to their intended audiences (and their scribes) even without a wholesale linguistic updating.[13] In his detailed examination of scribal practices in the early Middle English period, Roy Liuzza cites the opinion of Margaret Laing, who suggested that 'twelfth- and thirteenth-century copyists of Old English documents do not usually modify the text to a form of language similar to that which they themselves would write spontaneously'.[14] Andreas Fischer's examination of the changes introduced in two late manuscripts of the West Saxon Gospels likewise leads him to conclude that the lexical and morphological updating of the texts was not very extensive.[15]

We are, then, faced with a delicate balance of probabilities: there are hardly any examples of texts copied 'literatim', without at least some orthographic, morphological or syntactic updating. Even the most authoritative text of all, the Bible, was subjected to such scribal reworking. This suggests that the scribes performed a sort of mental 'translation' in their heads, automatically adjusting the linguistic forms they encountered in the text placed before them (or read aloud to them) to their own dialect or even idiolect. At the same time, the revisions were not extensive enough to warrant the label of 'translation' — in many cases, including that of the Winteney Benedictine Rule, many of the original Old English forms and structures are still in evidence, despite the revision.[16]

The very fact that Old English manuscripts were glossed, annotated, rearranged and updated for at least two centuries after the Conquest suggests that their language, give or take a few obsolete words or confusing endings, was not interpreted as a dead idiom of a gone-by

[12] See Christine Franzen, *The Tremulous Hand of Worcester: A Study of Old English in the Thirteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991); Sauer, 'Knowledge of Old English in the Middle English Period?'; Wendy Collier, 'The Tremulous Worcester Hand and Gregory's Pastoral Care', in *Rewriting Old English in the Twelfth Century*, ed. by Mary Swan and Elaine Treharne, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England, 30 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 195–208; Roy Liuzza, writing in the same volume, refers to the much-quoted note from a twelfth-century manuscript containing Old English material: 'non apreciatum propter ydioma incognita', pp. 143–65 (p. 145, n. 5).

[13] For discussions of 'modernizing' changes introduced by late revisers of Old English texts see, among others, Andreas Fischer, 'The Hatton MS of the West Saxon Gospels: The Preservation and Transmission of Old English', in *The Preservation and Transmission of Anglo-Saxon Culture: Selected Papers from the 1991 Meeting of the International Society of Anglo- Saxonists*, ed. by Paul E. Szarmach and Joel T. Rosenthal, Studies in Medieval Culture, 40 (Kalamazoo, Mich.: Medieval Institute Publications Western Michigan University, 1997), pp. 353–68 (pp. 359–61); Robert McColl Millar and Alex Nicholls, 'Ælfric's *De Initio Creaturae* and London, BL Cotton Vespasian A.xxii: Omission, Addition, Retention, and Innovation', in the same volume, pp. 431–63 (p. 437); Joana Proud, 'Old English Prose Saints' Lives in the Twelfth Century: the Evidence of the Extant Manuscripts',in *Rewriting Old English in the Twelfth Century*, ed. by Mary Swan and Elaine Treharne, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England, 30 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 117–31 (pp. 120–21); Liuzza, 'Scribal Habit'; Treharne, 'Reading from the Margins', pp. 341, 347.

[14] Liuzza, 'Scribal Habit', p. 148, n. 11.

[15] Fischer, 'The Hatton MS of the West Saxon Gospels', p. 361.

[16] This distinction between different types of scribal transmission was first suggested by Michael Benskin and Margaret Laing, 'Translations and *Mischsprachen* in Middle English Manuscripts', in *So Meny People Longages and Tonges*, ed. by Michael Benskin and M.L. Samuels (Edinburgh: Middle English Dialect Project, 1981), pp. 55–106; further discussions include Fischer, 'The Hatton MS of the West Saxon Gospels', p. 358; Liuzza, 'Scribal Habit'; Treharne, 'Reading from the Margins', pp. 342–47; Swan, 'Preaching Past the Conquest', pp. 410–13.

classical age, to be admired and preserved in a perfectly mummified state, but rather as a living source of information, instruction and inspiration, whether for private devotion or for preaching to the English-speaking congregations. Elaine Treharne's exploration of manuscript production in this period leads her to the conclusion that 'Old English in the post-Conquest period, then, is employed as a living language for the writing of formal materials; it was usable, used, and widely comprehended in a non-specialist (that is, not simply antiquarian) context'. She goes on to state that 'the annotators and glossators were perfectly able to read West Saxon up to two centuries after its literary zenith'.[17]

Further evidence of the afterlife, or rather the 'new life' of Old English after the Conquest, comes from the examination of a post-Conquest revision of the Old English Benedictine Rule. This version survives in a thirteenth-century manuscript (British Library, Cotton Claudius D III), associated with a minor Cistercian nunnery of Wintney (Hampshire) and probably originating from it. Among the contents of the trilingual manuscript (it contains items in French, Latin and English), there is a revised version of the late tenth-century Old English translation of the *Rule of St Benedict*, which is generally ascribed to Æthelwold, Bishop of Winchester.[18] The manuscript contains both the English and the Latin texts of the Rule adapted for female use, which alternate chapter by chapter, so that the reader has access to both the original and the translation.[19]

When Æthelwold's vernacular text was first disseminated, it must have carried the combined authority of the Latin Rule and of the translator himself — in his time a renowned reformer, politician, teacher and stylist.[20] In the years that followed, there was clearly enough practical demand for a vernacular Rule to ensure that it continued to be copied and read in the reformed monasteries throughout the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Out of the nine surviving manuscripts, several contain minor alterations,[21] and two can be described as revisions: the eleventh-century 'Wells Fragment' (MS Wells, Cathedral Library 7), containing fifteen chapters of the Rule, and the Winteney Version itself.

Considering how important the Benedictine Rule was for the monastic milieu of the transmission and revision of Old English texts after the Conquest; how great was the demand for formalised rules intended for various religious communities in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; and how the role of female audiences has been repeatedly explored in recent scholarship, it is surprising that this text of the Rule has not received more critical attention. The standard edition is that by Arnold Schröer, originally published in 1888, and revised by Mechthild

[17] Treharne, 'Reading from the Margins', pp. 338, 346.

[18] *Die angelsächsischen Prosabearbeitungen der Benediktinerregel*, ed. by Arnold Schröer, Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa, 2 (Kassel: Wigand, 1888). For a full discussion see Mechthild Gretsch, *Die Regula Sancti Benedicti in England und ihre altenglische Übersetzung*, Texte und Untersuchungen zur englischen Philologie, 2 (Munich: Fink, 1973) and a later version in Mechthild Gretsch, *The Intellectual Foundations of the English Benedictine Reform*, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England, 25 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 226–60; Rohini Jayatilaka, 'The Regula Sancti Benedicti in late Anglo-Saxon England' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 1996); Rohini Jayatilaka, 'The Old English Benedictine Rule: Writing for Women and Men', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 32 (2003), 147–87.

[19] The same arrangement is used in six out of nine surviving MSS containing the Old English Rule. See Gretsch, *Die Regula Sancti Benedicti in England*; *The Intellectual Foundations of the English Benedictine Reform*, pp. 226–60; Jayatilaka, 'The Old English Benedictine Rule', p. 148.

[20] See Michael Lapidge, 'Æthelwold as Scholar and Teacher', in *Bishop Æthelwold: His Career and Influence*, ed. by Barbara Yorke (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1988), pp. 89–117.

[21] Gretsch, *Die Regula Sancti Benedicti*; Jayatilaka, 'The Old English Benedictine Rule'.

Gretsch in 1978.[22] Gretsch has also produced the only full-length discussion of the language of the revision.[23] MS Cotton Claudius D III is mentioned a few times in recent discussions of post-Conquest English texts, but unlike homilies, hagiographies, Gospels and other genres, it has not been viewed within the general context of the Early Middle English period. Christopher Cannon's 2005 article, for instance, only mentions the Winteney version very briefly, but makes an important point, corroborated both by the findings of Schröer and Gretsch and by the other scholarship dealing with this period: he notes the 'surprising stability' and resilience of Old English forms in a text which was copied in the early thirteenth century.[24] Indeed, the text of the Rule contained in the Winteney manuscript is still essentially Æthelwold's Old English translation, although it has been revised, possibly on more than one occasion. Several chapters have been rewritten rather than merely altered, and the spellings and inflexions have been generally updated.[25] Gretsch's 1978 article provides a useful overview of the revision strategies and the lexical and morphological changes witnessed by the Winteney manuscript. The intention of this article is to look at the changes introduced by the reviser(s) to the syntax and word order of Æthelwold's original.

With regard to the lexical and morphological adaptation of the Old English Rule, Gretsch has presented the evidence, and it accords very well with other discussions of similar post-Conquest texts: while obsolete vocabulary has occasionally been updated, and inflectional morphology shows signs of change consistent with the processes current in Middle English, the resulting texts are still very close to their Old English exemplars.[26] Syntactic structures are larger linguistic units than morphemes and phonemes, and they can be expected to be more resilient to translation, whether from one dialect to another, or between different scribal

[22] *Die Winteney-version der Regula S. Benedicti*, ed. by Arnold Schröer (repr. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1978), reprinted with introduction by Mechthild Gretsch.

[23] Mechthild Gretsch, 'Die Winteney-Version der *Regula Sancti Benedicti*: Eine fruhmittelenglische Bearbeitung der altenglischen Prosubersetzung der Benediktinerregel', *Anglia*, 96 (1978), 310–48.

[24] Cannon, 'Between the Old and the Middle of English', pp. 208–10. Cannon credits the Winteney Version with having preserved the feminine forms from Æthelwold's putative original. Whether or not Æthelwold's original translation was intended for women or men is a contested issue: see Gretsch, *Die Regula Sancti Benedicti*, esp. pp. 179–200; in a more recent article she has claimed that Æthelwold produced both the male and the female versions (Gretsch, 'The Benedictine Rule in Old Engish: a Document of Bishop Æthelwold's Reform Politics', in *Words, Texts and Manuscripts: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Culture Presented to Helmut Gneuss*, ed. by Michael Korhammer, Karl Reichl and Hans Sauer (Cambridge: Brewer, 1992), pp. 131–58 (pp. 142–43); Rohini Jayatilaka has argued that the manuscripts show signs of several attempts 'to adapt and revise a male version for use in female communities' (Jayatilaka, 'The Old English Benedictine Rule', pp. 149–50). She has also made a strong case for the Winteney Version as a new adaptation for nuns, with some passages entirely rewritten in comparison with the male version. In view of all the evidence, it is hardly likely that the Winteney Rule has retained some features from a hypothetical early female version. Other discussions of the Winteney Rule include Alaric Hall, 'Old MacDonald had a *Fyrm*, *eo*, *eo*, *y*: Two Marginal Developments of <eo> in Old and Middle English', *Quaestio: Selected Proceedings of the Cambridge Colloquium in Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Celtic*, 2 (2001), 60–90; John Scahill, 'Trilingualism in Early Middle English Miscellanies: Languages and Literature', *The Yearbook of English Studies*, 33 (2003), 18–32.

[25] Gretsch in 'Die Winteney-version' refers to 'the reviser' ('der Bearbeiter') (e.g. p. 315), while Jayatilaka states that the text 'has evidently undergone substantial revision of several different kinds, and no doubt at different times', while also claiming that the 'adapter's revisions are not entirely consistent' (Jayatilaka, 'The Old English Benedictine Rule', p. 158). To simplify matters, I will hereafter refer to 'the Winteney revision' or 'reviser', although the possibility of multiple layers of revision in different time periods and contexts will not be disregarded.

[26] See, for instance, Fischer, 'The Hatton MS of the West Saxon Gospels'; Millar and Nicholls, 'Ælfric's *De Initio Creaturae*'; Liuzza, 'Scribal Habit'. None of these studies have much to say about syntax.

idiolects.[27] The Winteney Version would then be likely to exhibit the picture of Late Old English word order in a fairly intact state.

Æthelwold's translation of the Benedictine Rule could be cited as a textbook example of Old English prose word order. It maintains a statistically very marked distinction between different types of clauses in terms of the position of the finite verb, which normally occurs early in independent clauses and tends towards the final position in dependent clauses. The problem with this 'textbook example' of an Old English syntactic feature is that, like many such examples, it is not consistent with a fuller analysis of the corpus. A comparison of Æthelwold's syntax to other Old English texts indicates that its clear-cut distinction between different clause types should be considered idiosyncratic rather than representative. Both early texts, such as the Alfredian *Pastoral Care*, and later ones, such as the *Rule of Chrodegang* and the *Capitula Theodulfi*, exhibit a greater variability of the patterns used across different clause types.[28]

The rigid and rather stilted nature of Æthelwold's syntax means that the Winteney Version can help us to understand whether or not it presented any difficulties for later revisers, and whether they might have wanted to shift the frequency balance between different constructions closer to Middle English usage. It is even more interesting to see exactly how much could be left intact in a period when the distribution of word order patterns in the corpus was already very different from that of the tenth and eleventh centuries. An early thirteenth-century reviser might have had several more or less conscious goals:[29] bringing the English text into greater conformity with the Latin; 'updating' the obsolete language for practical purposes (an activity witnessed by many other manuscripts containing post-Conquest reworkings of Old English texts); or introducing a few stylistic changes reflecting synchronic variation rather than diachronic change. Last, but not least, the adaptation of the Rule for female use could have been a factor since it entailed a thorough scrutiny of the text.

Important though it was for the transmission of the vernacular Rule, the interchange of masculine and feminine forms and terms relating to nuns as opposed to monks does not seem to have had any impact on syntax. If the reworking of the text for a female audience is thus disregarded, we are left with three other factors (updating, checking the text against the Latin and general stylistic revision), which had a much greater potential to influence the syntactic choices of the reviser.

The Winteney manuscript contains a Latin text which, though adapted for female use and containing a few other additions and alterations which accord with the English version, is nevertheless not considered to be the immediate exemplar against which the reviser was

[27] Cf. the opinions expressed by Benskin and Laing, 'Translations and *Mischsprachen*', pp. 94 and 95: 'the morphology of a text may be systematically converted into the scribal dialect, but the syntactic rules governing the distribution of variants may even so be replicated from the exemplar'; 'compared with syntax, spelling and morphology demand much smaller spans of text to be held in mind for a complete translation to be effected. It may well be that in the normal course of copying a text, the units that a scribe takes in, glance by glance at his exemplar, are too small to encompass the larger syntactic structures, and that the syntax, though not the spelling and morphology of his copy, remains essentially that of his exemplar'.

[28] Gretsch, 'Die Winteney-version', pp. 337–38. Gretsch notes that some of the emendations in the English version of the Winteney text do not accord with the Latin readings of the same manuscript, while according with other versions of the Latin Rule of St Benedict surviving from Anglo-Saxon England. The reviser and the compiler of Claudius D III must have used different Latin texts.

[29] Gretsch, 'Die Winteney-version', pp. 315ff.

checking the Old English translation.[30] But given the general stability of the version of the Latin Benedictine Rule transmitted in England, in most cases it is possible to determine which phrases were translated anew to provide better agreement with the original text. It is less easy to distinguish which changes reflect the need to update the language and which simply betray the reviser's individual usage or stylistic preferences. Some guidance can be offered by the general course of syntactic change in Middle English. We know, for instance, that the number of verb-final clauses and head-final patterns in general would be expected to go down, dramatically in some cases, as the manuscripts reflect the departure from conservative Late West Saxon conventions.[31] It follows from the general trend of change that an emendation removing the verb from the final position or favouring a VO pattern over OV could either be triggered by a grammatical consideration (getting rid of a pattern which seemed obsolete to the scribe) or reflect a purely stylistic choice — perhaps an entirely unconscious aspect of 'aural' copying. If, on the contrary, the reviser were to introduce a change in the direction of a verb-final (VF) or OV pattern, this would be unlikely to be a case of 'updating', and so could be analysed as an instance of stylistic or pragmatic variation.

It is also noteworthy that the changes in the Winteney Version are not evenly spread. Some chapters have undergone a particularly drastic reworking, while others have been barely touched by the reviser.[32]Some parts of the more heavily revised chapters can almost be considered a new translation, providing an interesting insight into the linguistic habits of a writer who was both updating a text composed around two hundred years before and composing anew, in their own variety of English.

The Old English text of the Benedictine Rule has been fully parsed and compared to the Winteney text. For my analysis of the syntactic changes introduced by the Winteney

[30] Gretsch, 'Die Winteny-version', pp. 337–38. Gretsch notes that some of the emendations in the English version of the Winteney text do not accord with the Latin readings of the same manuscript, while according with other versions of the Latin Rule of St Benedict surviving from Anglo-Saxon England. The reviser and the compiler of Claudius D III must have used different Latin texts.

[31] Most discussions of syntactic change between Old and Middle English disregard the evidence of post-Conquest Old English texts and rely instead on the newly-composed or at least newly-compiled texts. For discussions of the transition from Old to Middle English, see, among others, Bruce Mitchell, 'Syntax and Word Order in the *Peterborough Chronicle*', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 65 (1964), 113–44; Viljo Kohonen, *On the Development of English Word Order in Religious Prose around 1000–1200*, Meddelanden från Stiftelsens för Åbo akademi forskningsinstitut, 38 (Åbo: Research Institute of the Åbo Akademi FoundationStiftelsens för Åbo akademi forskningsinstitut, 1978); Ans van Kemenade, *Syntactic Case and Morphological Case in the History of English* (Dordrecht: Foris, 1987); David Denison, *English Historical Syntax: Verbal Constructions* (London: Longman, 1993); Tony Foster and Wim van der Wurff, 'The Survival of Object–Verb Order in Middle English: Some Data', *Neophilologus*, 79 (1995), 309–27; Anthony Kroch and Ann Taylor, 'Verb movement in Old and Middle English: Dialect Variation and Language Contact', in *Parameters of Morphosyntactic Change*, ed. by Ans van Kemenade and Nigel Vincent (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 297–325; Olga Fischer, Ans van Kemenade, Willelm Koopman and Wim van der Wurff, *The Syntax of Early English* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Anthony Kroch and Ann Taylor, 'Verb-Object Order in Early Middle English', in *Diachronic Syntax: Models and Mechanisms*, ed. by Susan Pintzuk, George Tsoulas and Anthony Warner (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 132–63; Carola Trips, *From OV to VO in Early Middle English*, Linguistik Aktuell/Linguistics Today, 60 (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2002); the special issue of *English Language and Linguistics*, 9.1 (2005) on aspects of OV and VO order in the history of English, ed. by Ann Taylor and Wim van der Wurff; Susan Pintzuk and Ann Taylor, 'The Loss of OV Order in the History of English', in *The Handbook of the History of English*, ed. by Ans van Kemenade and Bettelou Los (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006), pp. 249–79.

[32] This is not haphazard. The changes reflect the application of the Rule to wider audiences of religious women, including secular canonesses: see Jayatilaka, 'The Old English Benedictine Rule', pp. 158–66; Gretsch, 'Die Winteney-version', p. 315.

reviser, I have focused on those chapters of the Rule which were not extensively rewritten and therefore still allow for a possibility of a clause-by-clause comparison with Æthelwold's original text. I will consider both the 'Latinisation' and 'modernisation' hypotheses, using the reviser's treatment of several syntactic structures to illustrate their strategies.

In what follows, the abbreviation *BenR* will be used to denote Æthelwold's translation as printed by Schröer; *BenRW* is used for the English Winteney version, and *RSBW* for the Latin Rule as preserved in the Winteney manuscript. The references to the Latin and English texts of the Winteney MS follow Schröer's edition revised by Gretsch.

Changes related to the Latin text

One of the important features of Æthelwold's translation is the fact that although for the most part idiomatic, it is still very close to the original Latin text, potentially too close for the comfort of subsequent readers and revisers. While it is quite likely that the Winteney reviser was trying to bring the text closer to the Latin in some instances (a point that Gretsch makes),[33] they could also have been uncomfortable with some phrases which might have appeared too Latinate. Some illustrative examples in the sphere of syntax are provided by the use of passives and participles.

Actives and passives

Quite a few changes introduced by the Winteney reviser involve passive and active verbs. The adapter seemed equally happy to replace actives with passives and vice versa, whether or not the corresponding Latin text supported the change. Both active and passive constructions were of course widespread in Old and Early Middle English, and could easily substitute each other. All in all, I have counted 15 instances of active phrases being replaced with passives, and 13 instances of change going in the opposite direction.

But it seems that the Winteney reviser was unhappy with one particular type of passive, that involving clauses with a personal agent represented by a prepositional object — perhaps because they seemed too Latinate. These changes account for six out of fifteen changes from passive to active:

> and eac swa þa haligan trahtas **fram namcuþum fæderum and rihtgelyfedum** geworhte synt (BenR 9.33.19)
>
> and also the sacred treatises are made by well-known fathers and righteous

> and eac heore trahtes, þe namcuþe fæderes 7 ryhtbelyuedum larþeawes geworht habbod (BenRW 9.45.5)[34]
>
> and also their treatises, which well-known fathers and righteous teachers have made

[33] Gretsch, 'Die Winteney-version', pp. 315–20. She notes that the reviser's efforts to reflect the Latin better than Æthelwold did were by no means consistent (p. 317), and that the reviser also seemed happy to deviate from the Latin in some cases and to preserve the double translations so typical for the Old English prose.

[34] The form *habbod* is quite unusual. Even though nearly any vowel could occur in unstressed inflectional endings in texts of this period, the Winteney version uses forms like *habbod/habboð*, *habbon* both in the phrases added or changed in comparison with the Old English version, and in those retained verbatim. There is also the form *habbo* ('let her have'), which Schröer emends to *habbe* (BenRW 73.12) Other forms of *habban*, such as *hafð*, *hæfeð* etc., are also in evidence. These forms of *habban* are attested in the Winteney Version alone of all the texts in the Middle English Compendium. Neither Schröer nor Gretsch mention the forms of *habban*. *-on* endings are also used with other verbs in the Winteney text, both in infinitives and in various finite forms.

> sed expositiones earum que a nominatissimus doctoribus et orthodoxis catholicis patribus facte sunt (RSBW 9.44.5)
>
> and also the explanations of them which have been made by well-known and orthodox Catholic Fathers[35]

Note that the revised text preserves the verb-final order of the main elements of the clause ('geworhte synt' in Æthelwold's version, and 'geworht habbod' in BenRW), while changing a long and cumbersome phrase from passive to active voice and removing a split heavy group ('namcuþum fæderum and rihtgelyfedum'). It is also interesting that the adjective *ryhtbelyuedum* in BenRW has preserved the dative ending surviving from the original passive clause. An important criterion in assessing variation and conscious revision is the presence of counterexamples. Although the Winteney reviser shows at least some discomfort with heavy passive constructions, they were quite happy to retain (or, in a couple of cases, even introduce), more straightforward passive phrases with a prepositional agent like 'unless the Lord's Prayer is said by the abbess'.[36]

Absolute participles

Nearly all translations from Latin into English had to handle Latin absolute constructions. Used quite persistently throughout the Old English period, absolute participles were very rare in Early Middle English texts.[37] In many cases, they were replaced by finite verbs, participial phrases (PPs), or otherwise simplified, but some were preserved and probably presented a stumbling block for later readers, especially those unfamiliar with Latin or even Latinate writing. Some of the readers of Æthelwold's translation may have found these patterns problematic: although many of the participial phrases and absolute dative participles were allowed to remain in the Winteney text, the reviser never introduces a single one.

The passage from Chapter XI of the Rule, reproduced in Table 1 below, is illustrative. There are as many as four participial constructions in the original Latin, which are all translated by absolute participles in Æthelwold's Old English version. The Winteney version, however, preserves only two of them, in a form which is suspect and could be corrupt. Of the other two absolutes, one is replaced with a subordinate clause ('þonne he beo geendod') and the other with a prepositional phrase ('æfter þare bletsunge'). These examples show how the reviser dealt with the translation challenges offered by two common Latin constructions — one of them with a ready equivalent in English, the other with an English counterpart which was rapidly falling out of use. Whether or not the Winteney reviser was striving to bring Æthelwold's Old English version into greater conformity with the Latin original, they also show signs of concern with over-complicated Latinate syntax and make attempts (admittedly

[35] The translations of the Latin text are taken from *St Benedict's Rule for Monasteries*, trans. by Leonard Joseph Doyle (Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1948), as reproduced at <http://www.osb.org/rb/text/toc.html#toc>, and adapted in a few places to suit the manuscript readings.

[36] Cf. an example where the Latin text has such a passive with a prepositional agent ('nisi in ultimo ordine oratio dominica dicatur omnibus audientibus a priore', 'unless the Lord's Prayer is said by the abbot last, with everyone listening', RSBW 13.48.21), and where the translation removes the passive ('ac se ealdor hluddre stefne eallum gehyrendum þæt gebed eal singe', BenR 13.38.16). The Winteney version reinstates the passive in its original place: 'buton þæt drihtelice gebedd … beo gesed of þare abbodesse' ('unless the Lord's Prayer… is said by the abbess', BenRW 13.49.34).

[37] Bruce Mitchell, *Old English Syntax*, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), §§3825–31; Tauno F. Mustanoja, *A Middle English Syntax*, Mémoires de la Société Néophilologique de Helsinki, 23 (Helsinki: Société Néophilologique, 1960), p. 407.

RSBW	English translation	BenR	BenRW	notes
11.46.9 **Dicto etiam uersu et benedicente *abbatissa***, legantur alie quatuor lectiones de nouo testa-mento ordine quo supra.	Then **when the verse has been said** and **the Abbess has given the blessing**, let four more lessons be read, from the New Testament, in the manner prescribed above.	11.35.15 Æfter þam fers and **gesealdre bletsunge fram þam abbode**, syn gerædde oþre feower rædinga of þære niwan cyþnesse þære ylecan endebyrdnesse, þe we bufan cwædon.	11.47.8 And sydðon þæt fers 7 **geseald þare abbodesse bletsunge**, beon geræd oþere feower rædunge of þare niwe cyðnesse þare ænbyrdnesse, þe we before cweðon.	Abs. Part. / Part (poss. corrupt in BenRW if *sydðon* is read as a conjunction)
11.46.11 Post quartum autem responsorium incipiat abbatissa ympnum 'Te Deum laudamus'; **quo perdicto** legat *sacerdos* lectionem de Euangelio. **Cum honore et *tremore* stantibus omnibus**	After the fourth responsory let the Abbess begin the hymn 'We praise You, O God'. **When this is finished**, the Abbess shall read the lesson from the book of the Gospels, **while all stand in reverence and awe**.	11.35.18 Æfter þæm glorian þæs feorþan repses beginne se abbod þæne lofsang Te deum laudamus; **þam geendedum**, ræde se abbod godspel mid arwyrðnesse and mid godcundum ege, **him eallum standendum**	11.47.11 Æfter þam ferþa repsa beginn þeo abbedesse þane lofsang: Te deum laudamus; **þonne he beo geendod**, ræde se preost þæt godspell mid arwirðnysse 7 mid godcunden ege, **heom eallum standende**.	Abs. Part. > Subordinate Clause; abs. Part. – no change
11.46.14 **qua perlecta** respondeant omnes "Amen", et subsequatur mox abbatissa hymnum "Te decet laus", et *data benedictione* incipiant matutinos	**When it has been read**, let all answer 'Amen', and let the Abbess proceed at once to the hymn 'To You be praise'. **After the blessing has been given**, let them begin the Morning Office.	11.35.21 æt þæs godspelles endunge andswarien ealle Amen , æfter ðam beginne se abbod: Te decet laus, and **geendadre bletsunge** sy dægeredsang begunnen.	11.47.14 Æt þæs godspelles endunge andswarie ealle Amen, ænd þaræfter beginne se preost: Te decet laus , 7 **æfter þare bletsunge** sy agunne se dægredsang.	Abs. Part. > Participial Phrase

Table 1: the treatment of participles in BenR and BenRW

	Main				Co-ordinate				Subordinate			
	VF	%	NVF	%	VF	%	NVF	%	VF	%	NVF	%
BenR	154	**18%**	722	**82%**	145	**50%**	147	**50%**	900	**73%**	333	**27%**
BenRW	152	**17%**	724	**83%**	134	**46%**	158	**54%**	868	**70%**	365	**30%**
ChrodR	96	**17%**	469	**83%**	64	**17%**	305	**83%**	629	**52%**	576	**48%**
SMarg	11	**5%**	218	**95%**	9	**4%**	226	**96%**	141	**29%**	351	**71%**

Table 2: the proportion of verb-final to non-verb-final syntax in main, coordinate and subordinate clauses in BenR, BenRW, ChrodR, and the early Middle English *Life of St. Margaret*.

rather clumsy and abortive in a few cases) to eliminate such difficult constructions at least on some occasions. This means that the reviser's anxiety about the precision of the translation cannot be the only explanation of the changes witnessed by the Winteney Version.

Changes possibly aimed at updating the language

The position of the finite verb in relation to the end of the clause

It has already been mentioned above that Æthelwold's translation has a very high percentage of verb-final subordinate clauses, which make his work stand out in comparison to both earlier and later Old English prose. Therefore, nothing short of a clause-by-clause rewriting could have brought a later revision anywhere near other Late Old English or Early Middle English texts, which already show a pronounced preference for non-verb-final constructions.

This difference is illustrated statistically in Table 2. Æthelwold's Benedictine Rule and the Winteney Version are compared to the Old English *Rule of Chrodegang* (a text very similar in genre and style to the Benedictine Rule, translated a few decades after Æthelwold's text), and to the *Life of St Margaret* (an early thirteenth-century translation from Latin into English) from the Katherine Group. The table lists the percentages for verb-final (VF) and non-verb-final (NVF) clauses in the original Old English *Rule of St Benedict* (BenR), the Winteney Version (BenRW), the Old English *Rule of Chrodegang* (ChrodR) and the Early Middle English *Life of St Margaret* (SMarg). Main, coordinate and subordinate clauses are treated separately as 'MC', 'CC', and 'SC' columns in the table.[38] Just as expected, the *Rule of St Benedict* and the *Life of St Margaret* occupy the two opposite ends of the scale: Æthelwold's translation has a strong preference for verb-final patterns in subordinate clauses (73%) and a 50-50 balance in coordinate clauses, while the Early Middle English *Life of St Margaret*, just as consistently, prefers non-verb-final constructions in all clause types. Meanwhile, the early eleventh-century *Rule of Chrodegang*, too, looks a lot more innovative than the nearly contemporary Benedictine Rule, with a strong preference for non-verb-final coordinate clauses (83%) and a 50-50 balance in subordinate clauses.

One might expect that a late revision of the BenR would take the text in the same direction as the *Life of St Margaret*, and indeed the Winteney Version consistently shows more non-verb-final patterns in each clause type than the earlier BenR. What is remarkable, however, is how few in number the changes are and how little general impact on the overall picture they seem

[38] Full texts have been used in all cases. As indicated above, the figures for the two versions of the Benedictine Rule include only directly comparable clauses, i.e. those which are different only in terms of their word order. Passages rewritten by the reviser without equivalent in Æthelwold's text have not been included.

Element type	Changed to NVF	Changed to VF
Prepositional Phrase or adverb	21	6
Non-finite verb	11	1
Nominal direct object	8	1
Pronominal direct object	1	1
Nominal indirect object	3	0
Pronominal indirect object	2	0
Subject	1	3
Predicative	3	2
More than one element	11	3
Total	**61**	**17**

Table 3: switches between non-verb-final and verb-final syntax between BenR and BenRW

to have had. These changes, moreover, do not go one way, so that even a small-scale updating tendency looks far from being entirely consistent. Table 3 shows different types of elements which were moved from preverbal position in BenR to postverbal position in BenRW, and vice versa. The changes from verb-final to non verb-final order are over three times as frequent as the changes in the opposite direction. Non-finite verbs and nominal objects were moved to a postverbal position much more often than the other way round, while prepositional phrases and adverbs were a lot more flexible. But there are occasional counterexamples involving elements like direct objects. Thus we see OV 'their psalms sing' > VO 'sing their psalms':

> þonne eft æfter heora nongereorde rædan hy eft heora bec oðþe **hyra sealmas** singen (BenR 48.74.8)
>
> then again after their noon meal let them read again their books or sing their psalms

> Đonne eft æfter hire nonmete rædan hi eft on heore bec odðe syngon **heore sealmes** (BenRW 48.99.21)
>
> then again after their noon meal let them read again their books or sing their psalms

> Post refectionem autem suam uacent lectionibus **suis** aut **psalmis** (RSBW 48.98.16)
>
> after the noon meal let them apply themselves to reading or psalms

Another example is VO 'have temperance' > OV 'temperance have':

> Đeah munecas eallum tidum sceolon **forhæfdnesse** habban **fæstenes** (BenR 49.76.3)
>
> although monks at all times should hold the temperance of fasting

> Þeah mynecene on eallum tidum **læntelic lif** healden sculle (BenRW 49.101.19)
>
> although nuns at all times should have a life of temperance

> Licet omni tempora uite sanctimonalium **quadragesime** debeat **obseruationem** habere (RSBW 49.100.15)
>
> Although the life of a monk ought to have about it at all times the character of a Lenten observance

If we were to search for an explanation for those changes that seem to go against the current of language change and introduce further OV and VF constructions into a text already full of them, we might want to fall back on the hypothesis that the reviser was bringing the English text more closely into line with the Latin. But unfortunately, this explanation does not seem

to work. There is no visible correlation: while some verb-final clauses introduced in BenRW clearly mirror the order of the Latin, others clearly do not.[39] In the following example, BenR has VO order, 'bear the infirmities', while BenRW and the Latin text have OV:

> Hi mid geþylde him betweoh betende **forberen** þa untrumnessa hira lichamena and þa tyddernessa hira þeawa (BenR 72.131.18)
>
> they should with patience and in prayer endure the infirmities of their bodies and the frailties of their customs

> Hyre seocnesse ægðer ge of licaman ge of geþance sibsumlice heom beotwene **forbere** (BenRW 72.145.15)
>
> the sickness both of body and mind they should with patience endure amongst themselves

> infirmtates suas siue corporum siue morum pacientissime **tolerent** (RSBW 72.144.13)
>
> [they should] most patiently endure one another's infirmities, whether of body or of character

In the next, BenR and the Latin have VX, 'is last of the order of the community'; but BenRW places the verb *be* at the end:

> þeah he… ytemest **sy** on endebyrdnesse þære gesomnunge (BenR 64.119.4)
>
> even if he be the last of the order of the community

> þæah heo… utemest on þære endebyrdnesse þære gesomnunge **beo** (BenRW 64.131.12)
>
> even if she be the last of the order of the community

> etiamsi ultima **fuerit** in ordine congregationis (RSBW 64.130.7)
>
> even if she be the last of the order of the community.

The relatively small scale of such changes and the existence of counterexamples shows that both verb-final and non-verb-final constructions were considered acceptable in main, coordinate and subordinate clauses even at the time when when, in the overall history of English syntax, Old English verb-final patterns were on the decline. The revision (or revisions) that gave rise to the Winteney text must have happened at some point between the early eleventh and the late twelfth century. None of the changes introduced in the adapted text result in patterns unattested either in earlier Old English and later Middle English prose. Furthermore, the number of changes, though substantial, was not great enough to alter the overall preference Æthelwold's Old English Rule had for verb-final and verb-late constructions.

There is generally very little word-order variation among the surviving manuscripts of the Benedictine Rule. Some of them (like the Wells fragment and the twelfth-century MS London, British Library, Cotton Faustina A. X) sometimes deviate in their syntax and phrasing from other, earlier Old English manuscripts. It is always possible that the reviser's exemplar was idiosyncratic in some ways, which would account for some of the differences from earlier versions discussed above. However, this hypothesis does not affect the low frequency of reworked phrases.

The presence of patterns whose introduction cannot be due to linguistic innovating does not mean that updating has to be automatically ruled out elsewhere. In some areas of grammar, the updating tendency is more discernible than in others. Objects are an interesting case in point.

[39] It is, of course, impossible to account for all the possible word order patterns that may have occurred in a now-lost Latin manuscript. No extant Latin MSS bear out the final position of the verb *be* as in RSBW 64.130.7 — cf. the collation in *Benedicti Regula*, ed. by Rudolphus Hanslik, Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, 75 (Vienna: Hoelder-Pichler-Tempsky, 1960).

Nominal direct objects

All in all, BenR contains 368 clauses with preverbal nominal direct objects. These were moved to postverbal position in BenRW in 22 cases, with only three counterexamples of VO > OV in the whole Rule (see example 3 above). This accords perfectly with the expected decline of OV patterns in Middle English.

Pronominal objects

Some pronominal objects were moved to preverbal positions in the revised version. These go against the order of such Latinate phrases as BenR 53.81.20 'and ge onfengon min' ('and you received me') translating the Latin 'suscepistis me' (RSB 53.123.2). In such cases, the Winteney reviser would often substitute the more common pattern, changing the phrase to BenRW 53.105.24 'ge me underfengen'. An interesting feature of the Winteney version, entirely independent of the Latin text, is the more or less consistent removal of pronominal objects from positions in the left periphery of the clause (14 cases all in all):

> Gif **hit** þonne se abbod underfon hate (BenR 54.87.15)
>
> if the abbot orders to undertake it
>
> Gyf þonne þeo abbodesse **hit** underfon hate (BenRW 54.109.22)
>
> if the abbess orders to undertake it
>
> Ne ræde **him** mon nauðer ne Moyses boc (BenR 42.66.18)
>
> let not the Book of Moses be read to them
>
> Ne ræde man **heom** naðer ne Moyses boc (BenRW 42.89.8)
>
> let not the Book of Moses be read to them

According to the account of Old English pronominal objects proposed by Ans van Kemenade and generally accepted in later publications,[40] they were clitics that could occur both in the position immediately to the right of the conjunction (complementiser) and immediately to the right of the verb in clauses with initial *wh-*, negative and *þa*.[41] During the Middle English period, these positions were gradually becoming impossible. All the emendations in the Winteney Version place pronominal objects after the subjects (within the limits of the verb phrase) and remove them from the left periphery of the clause. There are a few clauses where no such change occurs, but (significantly) no counterexamples.

The earlier Wells revision, on the contrary, seems to be perfectly happy with this construction and even introduces several new ones where Æthelwold had something different.[42] This type of tinkering with pronouns could be an indication of a relatively late date of the revision reflected in the Winteney text.

[40] Ans van Kemenade, *Syntactic Case and Morphological Case*, pp. 112–16, 188–201; see also Willelm F. Koopman, *Word Order in Old English, with Special Reference to the Verb Phrase* (Amsterdam: Universiteit van Amsterdam, 1990), pp. 75–131 (the chapter 'Old English Clitic Pronouns: Some Remarks); Willelm F. Koopman, 'Another Look at Clitics in Old English', *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 95 (1997), 73–93.

[41] Fischer et al., *The Syntax of Early English*, p. 119.

[42] E.g. '**hine** man adræfe ut mid ealle of ðam mynstre' (BenRWells 62.112.18), corresponding to a passive phrase in Æthelwold's text: 'æt openum gyltum sy he of mynstre adræfed' (BenR 62.113.15).

Pre- and postpositions

A similar innovative tendency in BenRW, more consistent with Middle English than Old English usage, can be observed in the order of objects and prepositions (or, as they often in fact are, postpositions). When a change takes place, the postpositions are normally replaced by prepositions (*him fore* > *for hyre*; *him ætforan* > *toforan hyre*; *him mid* > *mid hire*), and the postpositions separated from their objects are brought close together:

> (8)gange **him** se ealder **togeanes** (BenR 53.83.3)
> let the superior go towards him
>
> þeo priore ga **hire togeanes** (BenRW 53.105.27)
> let the prior go towards her

Exbraciation

Another sign of possible updating witnessed by the Winteney version is offered in the so-called sentence brace, a construction in which the finite verb occurs early in the clause, and the non-finite verb occupies the final position (like the German *ich habe das Lied gesungen*). The Winteney reviser made several changes (twelve cases all in all), always removing the sentence brace and bringing the two verb forms close together. Thus, a brace involving a finite verb (v), another element (X), and non-finite verb (V) could be changed so that the intervening element was made either to precede or to follow both verbs: vXV > XvV or vVX. For example:

> Elles oþrum dagum on ðære wucan **sy** cantic **gesungen** (BenR 13.38.3)
> But on the other days of the week let there be sung a canticle
>
> Elles oðrum dægum on þare wucum **sy gesungan** an canticle of þare witegan boc (BenRW 13.49.23)
> But on the other days of the week let there be sung a canticle from the book of the Prophets
>
> Nam ceteris diebus canticum unumquemque die suo ex prophetis ... **dicatur** (RSBW 13.48.14)
> But on the other days let there be said a canticle from the Prophets.

Newly translated passages

Whatever dating we might suggest for the revision behind BenRW, no English texts written between the eleventh and the thirteenth centuries exhibit anything like Æthelwold's syntax (cf. Table 2 above). While the relatively small-scale nature of the Winteney revision seems to rule out a conscious effort to update the syntax, we can still see the reviser emending some clauses as they went along — a process mirrored by a visible, but by no means consistent, effort to update the vocabulary, spelling and morphology of the text.[43] It was inevitable that changes would occasionally go both ways, reflecting synchronic word order variation still widely available to speakers of English, but some significant examples such as the pronouns discussed above show that there is still an unpdating tendency to be discerned.

From this point of view, it is fortunate that there are several passages in the Winteney Version where the text is reworked to the extent that it can be called a new translation. This

[43] Discussed in Gretsch, 'Die Winteney-version'. See also Hall, 'Old MacDonald had a *Fyrm*'.

reworking is often purely stylistic. There are also a few passages which do not have any equivalents either in Latin or in the Old English Rule of St Benedict. They exhibit many of the syntactic features of the Middle English period:

> Sancte Benedict gywð munece cule and yesetteð mantel togeanes þære cule, and haligraft, forþan þe hit nis laga þat munecene habben cule; hodes hi magon habban, gyf hi willen, for wurche and eac þanne hi farað ut, gyf hi swa wylleð (BenRW 55.111.3)
>
> St Benedict grants a cowl for the monks and we appoint a cloak in place of the cowl and a veil, because it is not permitted that nuns should have a cowl; they can have hoods, if they wish, for work and also when they go outside, if they so wish.[44]

In this example, all the objects are postverbal, apart from the emphatic or contrastive *hodes*; there is a clear preference for verb-medial constructions; and the syntactic structures used are extremely simple and straightforward, almost to the extent of being colloquial. This is very significant, making it even more probable that whatever variety of written English was practised by the reviser, it was very different from the elaborate syntax characteristic of Æthelwold's Old English Benedictine Rule.

Conclusions

The Winteney Version is certainly the most complex of the existing revisions of the Old English Rule. The fact that the manuscript is so far removed from the time of the original composition implies both a long transmission and an inevitable evolution of the text, reflecting both the ongoing linguistic change and the varied use of the Rule by different religious communities after the Conquest. It is plausible to imagine a reviser with an agenda — whether someone trying to make the text more linguistically accessible or someone trying to bring the English text into a rigorous conformity with the Latin original. Whichever it may be, neither attempt can be said to be consistent, which leads us to suppose that scribal stylistic preferences and unconscious 'translation in transmission' are equally conceivable explanations for many of the changes witnessed by the Claudius manuscript. Moreover, the Winteney text may well reflect more than one attempt at revising the original Æthelwoldian translation.

The conclusions that can be drawn from my analysis of the syntactic revision in the Claudius text fall into two broad categories, linguistic and extralinguistic.

Linguistically, the changes can best be characterised negatively as being neither essentially Latinising nor essentially modernising: the constructions which imitated the Latin still involved perfectly acceptable vernacular patterns, while the extent of updating was not great enough to bring the text as a whole close to the prevalence of verb-medial and VO patterns evident in contemporary Middle English. The presence or absence of counterexamples in each case is an important criterion, which shows that many of the changes cannot be attributed to anything other than the reviser's personal choice. The revisions indicate a shift in frequencies as opposed to a complete disappearance of certain patterns. Considering the lateness of the Winteney manuscript and the peculiarities of Æthelwold's syntax, it is remarkable that the reworking was not more extensive. Much of the evidence of the Winteney version adds to our understanding of both synchronic and diachronic syntactic variation in Old English.

This is not the place to recount different theoretical approaches to word-order change in the history of English. Suffice it to say that the change in the frequency of surface OV and VF

[44] Trans. by Jayatilaka, 'The Old English Benedictine Rule', p. 160, n. 59.

patterns has been attributed to underlying shift from OV to VO,[45] to the competition between OV and VO grammars,[46] or to the decreasing frequency of a surface order ultimately derived from an immutable VO pattern.[47] The works by Tony Foster, Willelm Koopman and Wim van der Wurff have drawn attention to the important problem of the status of recessive and rare patterns, such as the 'object-verb' pattern which survives in limited contexts until the present day and is well-attested in Middle English.[48] My study is concerned with surface patterns rather than derivation, and with exploring the limits of variation in individual texts rather than with analysing the corpus for data representative of the period as a whole. What emerges from the examination of the Winteney text is a picture of a word order which may have seemed archaic even in Æthelwold's own time (consider Table 2 above and the comparison with the near-contemporary *Rule of Chrodegang*), and which was nevertheless preserved, with relatively minor alterations, in a text which was supposed to be read, studied and followed (and so, linguistically speaking, processed and understood) by communities of English-speaking nuns and monks in the thirteenth century.

The preservation of Æthelwoldian language cannot be explained by the authority of the Rule alone — it did not have the sacred status of the Gospels (and the manuscripts of West Saxon Gospels show the same signs of updating and alteration by post-Conquest scribes),[49] and it was changed and adapted to suit the changing audiences, with some chapters entirely rewritten.[50] No matter what reverence the vernacular Rule may have commanded in the twelfth century, the important fact remains that the Winteney reviser did not hesitate to rewrite several sections of it and make a number of changes to its vocabulary, spelling, morphology, and syntax. This reflects a need for a vernacular Rule, which would have been equally welcomed by the Cistercian nunnery in Wintney and by any other community of religious women or men in the South of England. Recent scholarship provides abundant evidence for the many uses of English in the twelfth century, and the Winteney Benedictine Rule certainly corroborates these findings.[51]

We do not know much about the use of the vernacular Rule in the reformed Benedictine monasteries and nunneries. It is quite possible that the vernacular version was a way of familiarising the novice monks and nuns with the Latin text, and the bilingual arrangement would

[45] E.g. van Kemenade, *Syntactic Case and Morphological Case*.

[46] E.g. Pintzuk, *Phrase Structures in Competition*; Pintzuk and Taylor, 'The Loss of OV Order'.

[47] E.g. Ian Roberts, 'Directionality and Word Order Change in the History of English', in *Parameters of Morphosyntactic Change*, ed. by Ans van Kemenade and Nigel Vincent (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 397–426; Theresa Biberauer and Ian Roberts, 'Changing EPP Parameters in the History of English: Accounting for Variation and Change', *English Language and Linguistics*, 9 (2005), 5–46.

[48] Tony Foster and Wim van der Wurff, 'Some notes on Word Order in Old and Middle English', *Neophilologus*, 79, 1995, 309–27; Wim van der Wurff, 'Deriving Object-verb Order in Late Middle English', *Journal of Linguistics*, 33 (1997), 485–509; Willem Koopman and Wim van der Wurff, 'Two Word Order Patterns in the History of English: Stability, Variation, and Change', in *Stability, Variation and Change of Word-Order Patterns over Time*, ed. by Rosanna Sornicola, Erich Poppe, and Ariel Shisha-Halevy, Current Issues in Linguistic Theory, 213 (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 2000), pp. 259–84.

[49] Fischer, 'The Hatton MS of the West Saxon Gospels'; Liuzza, 'Scribal Habit'.

[50] Jayatilaka, 'The Old English Benedictine Rule', pp. 158–66; Gretsch, 'Die Winteney-version', p. 315.

[51] See notes 5–7 above; cf. also Cecily Clark's evaluation of the situation in post-Conquest Canterbury: 'English, although subject to great and varied competition from French, cannot be regarded as superseded for any function, or even much discouraged'; 'People and Languages in Post-Conquest Canterbury', *Journal of Medieval History*, 2 (1976), 1–32 (p. 1).

certainly have been helpful for such a purpose.[52] It is possible that the Latin text would provide an extra prop helpful for elucidating the English text.[53] This consideration may well explain the impulse to bring some phrases closer to the Latin, which may have been the reason for some of the changes introduced in the course of revision. But whether or not the Latin text of the Rule was the object of study or a sort of extensive gloss to the English text, its presence alone does not account for the revision.

The main conclusion that emerges from this study is that the Winteney Benedictine Rule fully conforms to the tradition of post-Conquest circulation, reading, adaptation of Old English texts witnessed by many surviving manuscript and described in detail in recent scholarship. Here we have a practical and authoritative text, which would have little 'antiquarian' value, intended to be read by a community of religious women (and perhaps, men as well), and showing signs of adaptation for a specific audience. It would fit the niche later filled by the Katherine Group texts and *Ancrene Wisse*; before they came along, a vernacular Benedictine Rule must have been in great demand in nunneries, monastic cathedrals or other religious communities. While it cannot be ruled out that Æthelwold's syntax, revised or not, might have seemed unusual or archaic to later readers, this study shows that their linguistic competence was certainly flexible enough to accommodate it, even if the revision betrays that the language spoken or written by the revisers or scribes handling the text must have differed from late Old English in many respects.

[52] Bilingual manuscripts of the Benedictine Rule, in which the Latin and the English texts alternate chapter by chapter are extant from pre-conquest England as well, e.g. Oxford, Corpus Christi College 197, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 178, British Library Titus AIV, and the Wells Cathedral MS containing the Wells Fragment. It has been claimed that the bilingual arrangement may have been adopted by Æthelwold from the very start, although this is a contested issue — see Jayatilaka, 'The Old English Benedictine Rule', p. 148, n. 9.

[53] For the use of Latin to clarify the meaning of Old English texts in the late twelfth and early thirteenth century see, *inter alia*, Franzen, *The Tremulous Hand of Worcester*; Sauer, 'Knowledge of Old English in the Middle English Period?'; Collier, 'The Tremulous Worcester Hand and Gregory's *Pastoral Care*'; Treharne, 'Reading from the Margins'.

Supplication and Self-Reformation in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*

Olga Burakov-Mongan

Until recently inspired by Michel Foucault's observations on the subject of medieval auricular confession in *The History of Sexuality: Volume I*, studies of Gawain's spiritual metamorphosis in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* have predominantly focused on the romance's representations of its hero's confessional practices. For Foucault, confession constitutes 'the discourse of the self', a ritual which produces the self as subject by locating the penitent in a subordinate position to the figure of the confessor, and by providing him with the first-person speech that transforms him inwardly.[1] Considering *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* in light of Foucault's remarks, past readers of the romance have suggested that Gawain is transformed internally as a result of a series of confessional exchanges he engages in during his journey in search of the Green Knight.[2] Karma Lochrie, for example, persuasively argues that in the course of the romance Gawain 'is like Foucault's hypothetical penitent, [a knight] who authenticates himself by proclaiming "the truth which he previously concealed" '.[3]

While Foucault's theory of confession offers a very effective prism for interpreting Gawain's transformation in the romance, I would like to extend the discussion of the role of language as an instrument of self-formation and self-expression in the text beyond the confessional, considering other verbal acts that may, like confession, offer, in Emile Benveniste's famous

[1] Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality: Volume I*, trans. by Robert Hurley (New York: Vintage, 1978), pp. 61–62.

[2] See Karma Lochrie, *Covert Operations: The Medieval Uses of Secrecy* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), pp. 42–55; Gregory W. Gross, 'Secret Rules: Sex, Confession, and Truth in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*', *Arthuriana*, 4 (1994), 146–74; Anthony Low, *Aspects of Subjectivity: Society and Individuality from the Middle Ages to Shakespeare and Milton* (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 2003), pp. 22–59; Andrew James Johnston, 'The Secret of the Sacred: Confession and the Self in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*', in *Performances of the Sacred in Late Medieval England and Early Modern England*, ed. by Susanne Rupp and Tobias Döring, Internationale Forschungen zur allgemeinen und vergleichenden Literaturwissenschaft, 86 (New York: Rodopi, 2005), pp. 45–63. For studies of confession in the romance which do not adopt the Foucauldian prism, see early studies by John Burrow: 'The Two Confession Scenes in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*' *Modern Philology* 57 (1959), 73–79; and *A Reading of 'Sir Gawain and the Green Knight'* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965), pp. 106–110.

[3] Lochrie, *Covert Operations*, p. 43; the source of the quotation Foucault's *History of Sexuality*. Lochrie's study also offers a critique of Foucault's theorizing of the medieval period. For details, see pp. 1–55. For other critiques of Foucault's treatment of the Middle Ages, see Carolyn Dinshaw, *Getting Medieval: Sexualities and Communities Pre- and Postmodern* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999), pp. 191–206; Lee Patterson, *Chaucer and the Subject of History* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991), pp. 367–421.

formulation, 'the possibility of subjectivity'. Benveniste focuses in particular on speech acts beginning with the first-person singular personal pronoun *I* as 'the most obvious' example of the way in which language produces the self. Benveniste writes that

> it is in the instance of discourse in which I designates the speaker that the speaker proclaims himself as the 'subject' … Language is … the possibility of subjectivity because it contains the linguistic forms appropriate to the expression of subjectivity, and discourse provokes the emergence of subjectivity because it consists of discrete instances. In some way language puts forth 'empty forms' which each speaker, in the exercise of discourse, appropriates to himself and which he relates to his 'person', at the same time defining himself as *I* and a partner as *you*. The instance of discourse is thus constitutive of all the coordinates that define the subject.[4]

Taking a cue from Benveniste, whose theory of language allows for a consideration of the relationship between selfhood and all forms of language, I would like to consider the role that such first-person speech acts as praying and lying play in the production of Gawain's chivalric selfhood.[5] I propose that Gawain, at the outset of the romance, exemplifies a penitential ideal of a transparent and unified selfhood: a self structured inwardly around the virtue of humility and a desire for God, and expressed outwardly by his obedience to Christ and His Church. This ideal selfhood is manifested by means of the pentangled shield Gawain is armed with and the prayers he rehearses prior to entering Hautdesert, a castle where he finds shelter and celebrates Christmas during his quest in search of the Green Knight. Focusing specifically on Gawain's Pater Noster prayer — a prayer that occupies a uniquely authoritative position among all other prayers of the medieval Church — I suggest that, for Gawain, the Pater Noster is an effective instrument of self-expression and self-constitution. Unlike the Foucauldian process of subject-formation in which the subject is produced in relation to the priestly figure of a confessor, Gawain's Pater Noster stresses the knight's individual responsibility, at the same time establishing and articulating his inner and outer membership within the larger Christian community of Christ's followers. The second half of my discussion will focus on Gawain's internal transformation during and after his sojourn in the castle. To put it differently, I focus on the remaking of Gawain's virtuous inner man into an outwardly unreadable, deeply erotic interiority that, in addition to a secret libidinous desire, is also shaped by a hidden love of self.[6] As demonstrated by the knight's nameless interlocutors — the Lady of Hautdesert and a household member of Hautdesert who leads Gawain to the Green Chapel — it is a model of subjectivity that is both given voice to and brought into being by romance narratives, a point

[4] Benveniste, *Problems in General Linguistics*, trans. by Mary Elizabeth Meek (Coral Gables: University of Miami Press, 1971), p. 227.

[5] My discussion of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* owes a great intellectual debt to Katherine C. Little's recent discussion of medieval selfhood in *Confession and Resistance: Defining the Self In Late Medieval England* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006), as well as to earlier studies of gender, sex, and chivalric identities in the romance by Carolyn Dinshaw, Geraldine Heng, Karma Lochrie, and Susan Crane. For details, see Dinshaw, 'A Kiss is Just a Kiss: Heterosexuality and Its Consolations in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*', *Diacritics* (1994), 205–26; Lochrie, *Covert Operations*, pp. 42–55; and Heng, 'A Woman Wants: The Lady, Gawain, and the Forms of Seduction', *The Yale Journal of Criticism* 5 (1992), 101–34. See also Crane's *The Performance of Self: Ritual, Clothing, and Identity during the Hundred Years War* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), pp. 107–39. Throughout my discussion, I use the terms *self* and *selfhood* not to suggest that Gawain's identity is essentially permanent and unchangeable but in order to establish the difference between the processes of self-formation enacted in the romance by prayer and lying and the Foucauldian process of subject-formation.

[6] For a discussion of the inner/outer distinction in medieval literature, see Stephen Medcalf, 'Inner and Outer', in *The Later Middle Ages* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1981), pp. 108–71.

to which I will return in the conclusion of this essay.

The Pater Noster and Gawain

Before turning to examine the role praying plays in the shaping of Gawain's selfhood, it is first necessary to consider the knight's famous pentangled shield, whose symbolism anticipates the model of selfhood generated by the Pater Noster prayer the knight rehearses. Few studies of the romance fail to acknowledge the importance of the pentangled shield for understanding the narrative in general, and the figure of its bearer, in particular.[7] Ross G. Arthur's analysis of the pentangle in *Medieval Sign Theory and 'Sir Gawain and the Green Knight'* offers one of the most extensive discussions of the pentangle to date. For Arthur, the pentangle is a sign of absolute Truth, a beneficial religious icon, as well as a badge of faith or 'a sign for Truth as the object of religious faith and as the support for those who wish to maintain their faith'.[8] However, it is also possible to consider this pentangle not simply as a one-dimensional representation of its bearer's inner faith, but rather, if viewed in the light of traditional religious formulas for self-examination, as a blueprint for Gawain's inner man.[9]

This reading is first made possible when the *Gawain*-poet alerts his audience to the fact that the pentangle does not only correlate with Gawain's physical adroitness ('Fyrst he watz funden fautlez in his fyue wyttez, | And efte fayled neuer þe freke in his fyue fyngres', lines 640–41); rather, the pentangle also represents Gawain's inner world, which the poet constructs around the doctrines of the Church and the traditional penitential formulas of Christ's wounds, Mary's joys, and Christian virtues:

> And alle his afyaunce vpon folde watz in þe fyue woundez
> Þat Cryst kaȝt on þe croys, as þe crede tellez;
> And quere-so-euer þys mon in melly watz stad,
> His þro þoȝt watz in þat, þurȝ alle oþer þyngez,
> Þat alle his forsnes he feng at þe fyue joyez
> Þat þe hende heuen-quene had of hir chylde;
> At þis cause þe knyȝt comlyche hade
> In þe inore half of his schelde hir ymage depaynted,
> Þat quen he blusched þerto his belde neuer payred.
> Þe fyft fyue þat I finde þat þe frek vsed
> Watz fraunchyse and felaȝschyp forbe al þyng,
> His clannes and his cortaysye croked were neuer,

[7] For studies of the pentangle, see Catherine Batt, 'Gawain's Anti-Feminist Rant, the Pentangle, and Narrative Space', *The Yearbook of English Studies* 22 (1992), 117–39; Ross G. Arthur, *Medieval Sign Theory and 'Sir Gawain and the Green Knight'* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), and 'Gawain's Shield as *Signum*', in *Text and Matter: New Critical Perspectives on the Pearl-Poet*, ed by Robert J. Blanch, Miriam Youngerman Miller, and Julian N. Wasserman (Troy: Whitson, 1991), pp. 221–26. See also Michael Lacy, 'Armour I', and Derek Brewer, 'Armour II: The Arming Topos as Literature', in *A Companion to the 'Gawain'-Poet*, ed. by Derek Brewer, and Jonathan Gibson (Cambridge: Brewer, 1997), pp. 165–74; 175–80 [respectively].

[8] Arthur, pp. 104–5.

[9] Batt offers a rather different reading of the pentangle as an 'insufficient' sign of Gawain's 'perfect' knightly identity in 'Gawain's Anti-Feminist Rant', where she suggests that the pentangle both 'maps out a careful balance of Gawain's virtues' and creates 'a hierarchy of values', thus asking the reader 'to hold in play the possibility that Gawain's qualities might in practice be as mutually exclusive as they are potentially mutually informing' (pp. 124–25).

> And pité, þat passez alle poyntez, þyse pure fyue
> Were harder happed on þat haþel þen on any oþer. (lines 642–55)[10]

Just as the portrait of the Virgin Mary painted on the inside of Gawain's shield constructs an interiority for Gawain, whose *þoȝt*s on the battlefield, for instance, are generated by and grounded in this image, so does the fifth corner of the pentangle, representing the virtues of courtesy, pity, purity, friendship, and franchise, ground Gawain's inner man in these penitential virtues.

Critics have been divided for some time now on the value system behind the five virtues the poet attributes to Gawain, with many discussions focusing in particular on the ethos behind the virtue of *cortaysye*. Following an early study of the poem by J. A. Burrow, scholars such as Wendy Clein, Jonathan Nicholls, and Andrew James Johnston have championed Burrow's view that *cortaysye* represents a constellation of a number of specifically secular or courtly values.[11] Oddly enough, Burrow prefaces his argument that 'the virtues of Gawain's fifth five are, for the most part, distinctively secular or social in character',[12] by noting that courtesy is constructed as a specifically religious value by several authors contemporaneous with the *Gawain*-poet. Thus, for instance, Burrow quotes the poet of 'The Young Children's Book' who identifies the origins of courtesy with the Annunciation, linking this virtue to the events in the life of the Blessed Virgin:

> Clerkys þat canne þe scyens seuene
> Seys þat curtasy came fro heuen
> When Gabryell owre lady grette,
> And Elyzabeth with here mette.
> All vertus be closyde in curtasy
> And alle vyces in vilony.[13]

Even more striking is the treatment of courtesy as a specifically religious virtue in other poems attributed to the *Gawain*-poet himself, a fact over which Burrow passes quickly in his discussion of the pentangle. In *Patience* and *Cleanness*, for instance, the poet describes courtesy as a divine attribute, as well as an inner state of spiritual perfection God's priests often lack. Finally, like the author of 'The Young Children's Book', the *Gawain*-poet, too, associates courtesy with the Virgin, and calls Mary heaven's 'quen of cortasye' on five occasions in *Pearl*.[14]

Courtesy as an inner state of spiritual perfection one may achieve by means of Marian devotion seems, therefore, a more fitting interpretation of the *cortaysye* the poet attributes to Gawain in the passage describing the pentangle. If this understanding of *cortaysye* is taken into

[10] All quotations are taken from *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, ed by J. R. R. Tolkien and E. V. Gordon, 2nd edn by Norman Davis (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968).

[11] Burrow, *A Reading of 'Sir Gawain and the Green Knight'*, pp. 46–47; Wendy Clein, *Concepts of Chivalry in 'Sir Gawain and the Green Knight'* (Norman: Pilgrim, 1987), pp. 92–93; Jonathan Nicholls, *The Matter of Courtesy: Medieval Courtesy Books and the Gawain-Poet* (Woodbridge: Brewer, 1985); Andrew James Johnston, 'The Secret of the Sacred: Confession and the Self in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*', in *Performances of the Sacred in Late Medieval England and Early Modern England*, ed. by Susanne Rupp and Tobias Döring, Internationale Forschungen zur allgemeinen und vergleichenden Literaturwissenschaft, 86 (New York: Rodopi, 2005), pp. 45–63.

[12] *A Reading*, p. 47.

[13] 'The Young Children's Book', in *The Babees Book*, ed. by Frederick J. Furnivall, Early English Text Society, 32 (New York: Greenwood Press, 1969), pp. 17–25 (at p. 17).

[14] *Poems of the Pearl Manuscript*, ed. by Malcolm Andrew and Ronald Waldron (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2002), pp. 74–76, lines 432–68. For references to courtesy in *Cleanness* see p. 112, line 13, and in *Patience* p. 202, line 417.

consideration, then both the inner side of the shield, upon which Mary's image is painted, and the outer, pentangle side of the shield encourage Gawain to identify himself, whether on or away from the battlefield, in relation to the life of Christ's mother, as well as in relation to the Church's doctrinal teachings such as, for instance, the creed, which the audience is reminded of in the opening lines of the passage. Like *cortaysye*, the remaining four values of the pentangle's fifth set of ideals, that is to say mercy (*pité*), chastity (*clannes*), equity (*felaȝschyp*), and spiritual freedom (*fraunchyse*),[15] offer a psychological model that grounds Gawain's interior in traditional penitential categories of virtues (mercy, chastity) and divine gifts or rewards (equity, wisdom) that penitents seek to internalize when they model themselves on Christ and the Blessed Virgin. Like the gift of 'forsnes', or fortitude, that Gawain enjoys on the battlefield by contemplating Christ's wounds and Mary's joys, these virtues and gifts, too, necessitate thought and recollection. But this desired inner state may also be generated or internalized when one rehearses the Pater Noster, as Gawain does shortly before arriving at Hautdesert:

> Þe gome vpon Gryngolet glydez hem vnder,
> Þurȝ mony misy and myre, mon al hym one,
> Carande for his costes, lest he ne keuer schude
> To se þe seruyse of þat syre, þat on þat self nyȝt
> Of a burde watz borne oure baret to quelle;
> And þerfore sykyng he sayde, 'I beseche þe, lorde,
> And Mary, þat is myldest moder so dere,
> Of sum herber þer heȝly I myȝt here masse,
> And þy matynez to-morne, mekely I ask,
> *And þerto prestly I pray my pater and aue*
> *and crede.'*
> *He rode in his prayere,*
> *And cryed for his mysdede*. (748–60, my italics)

Due to its unique status among other medieval prayers, my analysis focuses exclusively on the Pater Noster prayer rehearsed by Gawain. The knight's other penitential utterances (the Creed, Ave Maria) are beyond the scope of my analysis here. As a prayer composed by Christ himself and recited by Him to the disciples, the Pater Noster prayer occupies a uniquely authoritative position among all other prayers of the medieval Church.[16] Translated into Old English by Ælfric and praised by the Venerable Bede in his letter to the Archbishop Egbert of York as a remedy against temptation,[17] the Pater Noster was among the first prayers medieval children were taught, and all lay men and women were expected to be able to recite it by heart.[18] Surpassing other prayers 'in auctorite and in soteltee and in profit to all Christen men', in the words of one anonymous fourteenth-century homilist,[19] the Pater Noster prayer

[15] *Fraunchyse* has a variety of meanings, both secular ('generosity', or 'magnanimity'), and religious. In its religious sense, it refers both to the privileged state of Adam and Eve before the fall, as well as to spiritual freedom, in general. It is in this latter sense that Chaucer's Parson uses it in his tale in line 452: *The Riverside Chaucer*, ed. by Larry D. Benson *et. al.* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1987), pp. 288–327 (p. 302). See also *Cursor Mundi*, ed. by Richard Morris, Early English Text Society, o. s. 57 (London: Trübner, 1874–93), p. 102, line 1637.

[16] For discussions of attitudes toward the Pater Noster throughout the Middle Ages, see F. G. A. M. Aarts, 'The Pater Noster in Medieval English Literature', *Papers on Language & Literature*, 5 (1969), 3–16; Maurice Hussey, 'The Petitions of the Pater Noster in Medieval English Literature', *Medium Aevum*, 27 (1958), 8–16; Irma Taavitsainen, 'Pater Noster: A Meditation Connected with Richard Rolle in BL Royal MS. 17.C. XVII', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 92 (1991), 31–41.

[17] See Bede, *Epistola ad Ecberctum Antistitem*, in *Baedae opera historica*, ed. by J. E. King, 2 vols (London: Heinemann, 1930), ii p. 456.

[18] *Middle English Sermons*, ed. by Woodburn O. Ross, Early Engish Text Society, o. s. 209 (London: Oxford University Press, 1940), pp. 9–12.

[19] *Middle English Sermons*, p. 48.

was thus an effective means of professing one's faith or, to put it differently, of articulating one's membership within the larger Christian community. In addition, medieval penitential writers such as John Mirk and the poet of *Speculum Vitae*, as well as anonymous writers of sermons and didactic expositions on the prayer, viewed the Pater Noster as an effective alternative to the confessional model of lay self-expression and self-reform. Unlike confession that brings into being and gives voice to the self as subject in the course of an exchange with a priest, an exchange which, as Katherine C. Little recently suggested, 'is a process that not only can be violent and invasive but leaves no choice to the speaker',[20] the Lord's Prayer stresses supplicants' direct relation to God and their individual responsibility for fashioning themselves as virtuous subjects, both inwardly and outwardly. In a widely popular late fourteenth-century didactic poem, *Speculum Vitae*, the poet for instance, theorizes the prayer's seven petitions as a method of initiating a psychological struggle within supplicants, comparing the petitions of the prayer to a sharp-edged 'picke' with which supplicants may 'grubbes and mynes [and] … til … withinne þe hert,'[21] and encouraging petitioners to assess their thoughts, their actions, and their speech in the course of reciting the prayer's petitions. To borrow from *Speculum Vitae*'s own vocabulary of interiority, a man may utter the prayer in order to make himself *haly*, cleansing his heart from the deadly vices and reshaping his inner world around a desire for Christ and the seven virtues:

> [This bede] … out of þe hert drawes
> Þe Seuen Hede-synnes þat within gnawes,
> And sette<s> seuen maner of vertus
> Instede of þam þat men suld vse […]
> Þise seuen askynges […]
> mase a man here haly to be […]
> Be clensed in þe Wille parfytely
> Of allekyns maner of fylynge,
> And lightend wele in þe Vndirstandyng,
> And parfytely confermed in þe Mynde
> In Godde and with Godde þat toke mankynde.[22]

Not unlike confession, the main purpose of which, as Thomas Tentler contends, is 'to get at sin',[23] the petitions of the Pater Noster ask supplicants to lay bare their sinful thoughts, deeds, and words; however, the self-scrutiny accomplished by the petitions of the Pater Noster extends beyond the recollection of sinful thoughts and deeds on the part of the supplicants. In addition to getting at sin, the Pater Noster petitions also encourage their speakers to shape their interiorities around the desire for Christ and the seven virtues, which replace the grid-system of sins as the major categories of the self for lay men and women. More specifically, in the course of their rehearsal of the petitions of the Pater Noster, the petitioners rid themselves of the seven vices (gluttony, lechery, avarice, sloth, anger, envy, pride), and internalize in their stead the seven virtues (soberness, chastity, mercy, prowess, equity, friendship, humility) by means of the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost (wisdom, understanding, counsel, fortitude, knowledge, piety, fear). As the author of the contemporaneous *Book of Vices and Virtues* concisely states in his exposition of the work of self-reformation that is accomplished by the prayer's petitions,

[20] *Confession and Resistance*, p. 11.

[21] *Speculum Vitae: A Reading Edition*, ed. by Ralph Hanna, Early English Text Society, o. s. 331 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 87, lines 2549–51.

[22] *Speculum Vitae*, pp. 79–80, lines 2325–28, 2331–32, 2344–48.

[23] Thomas Tentler, *Sin and Confession on the Eve of Reformation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), p. 134.

'þe seuene biddynges [of the Pater Noster] … purchasen þe seuene ȝiftes of þe Holy Gost þ[at] destroien þe seuene heuede wikkednesses of herte and setten & noreschen þe seuene vertues, bi whiche a man comeþ to þe seuene blessednesses'.[24]

The prayer thus functions as a tool of self-examination and self-reform, a mechanism postlapsarian subjects may use in order to transcend their alienation from their divine maker by fashioning an interior structured around the orthodox Christian virtues and the desire for Christ. In Gawain's case, the prayer is elicited by his humble wish to participate in the religious services on one of the most important days in the liturgical calendar. In this way, the prayer clearly identifies Gawain as a member of the Christian collective of Christ's lovers. Interestingly, the poet's depiction of Gawain's recollection of the Lord's prayer omits the rehearsal of the actual words of the prayer's petitions. Instead, the poet replaces the words of these perhaps all-too-familiar supplicatory formulas with Gawain's own petitions, all of which begin with the first person singular pronoun *I*: 'I beseche', 'I myȝt', 'I ask', 'I pray'. The first-person petitions communicate Gawain's own inner world, that is to say, his desire for a safe haven and human companionship. At the same time, since Gawain's petitions both express his inner humility and his intense desire for Christ, and enact the triumph of piety over preexistent sin ('He rode in his prayere, | And cryed for his mysdede', lines 759–60), his version of the prayer anchors his inner world within the conventional framework of penitential ideals or *costes* traditionally associated with the Pater Noster. Gawain's Pater Noster, then, fashions an inner world that is aligned with the penitential doctrines of the medieval Church and is perfectly consonant with the knight's public self-presentation. Gawain's struggle and eventual failure to preserve this correspondence between his inner world and his outward self occupies the rest of the narrative in which duplicitous supplication supplants the Pater Noster as the instrument of self-expression and self-production. It is to the examination of these acts of duplicitous supplication I turn now.

Illicit Supplication and Gawain

Duplicitous supplication and love-making go together in many late medieval romances detailing the workings of desire and the power of language to make or unmake chivalric selves.[25] Famously, however, in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, deceptive pleas fail to lead to love-making. During his stay at Hautdesert Gawain denies himself the pleasures of sex — albeit the opportunity presents itself to him on three separate occasions — exercising a great deal of self-restraint in response to his hostess' amorous petitions. Below is one of the more frequently cited passages from a speech the Lady makes on the first of the three mornings she visits Gawain in his bedroom:

> 'Nay for soþe, beau sir', sayd þat swete,
> 'ȝe schal not rise of your bedde, I rych yow better […]
> For I wene wel, iwysse, Sir Wowen, ȝe are,
> Þat alle þe worlde worchipez quere-so ȝe ride […]
> And now ȝe ar here, iwysse, and we bot oure one;

[24] *The Book of Vices and Virtues: A Fourteenth Century English Translation of the Somme Le Roi of Lorens D' Orleans*, ed. by W. Nelson Francis, Early English Text Society,o. s. 217 (London: Oxford University Press, 1942), pp. 98–104. See also sermons no. 2 and no. 9 in *Middle English Sermons*.

[25] See, for instance, Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde* in *The Riverside Chaucer*, ed. by Larry D. Benson *et. al.* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1987), pp. 473–585 (p. 496), Book 2, line 503. See also *The Squire's Tale*, pp. 169–77 (p. 175), line 554.

My lorde and his ledez ar on lenþe faren,
Oþer burnez in her bedde, and my burdez als
Þe dor drawen and dit with a derf haspe;
And syþen I haue in þis hous hym þat al lykez,
I schal ware my whyle wel, quyl hit lastez,
with tale.
Ȝe ar welcum to my cors,
Yowre awen won to wale,
Me behouez of fyne force
Your seruaunt be, and schale.' (lines 1222–40)

Readers disagree on the exact meaning of the Lady's offer of her *cors*, with some praising it as a polite reversal of Gawain's earlier offer to 'be her seruaunt' (l. 976), while others view it as a full-scale sexual solicitation.[26] However, I would argue that the Lady's offer of her *cors* identifies the Lady not only as a courteous hostess or as a would-be-adulteress. It also identifies her as a double or false speaker in the Augustinian sense: that is, someone who uses language in order to satisfy a hidden desire for deception or, to put it differently, someone whose words do not communicate her intention or meaning in any transparent manner. In two of his treatises on verbal dissimulation — 'De Mendacio' (c. 395) and 'Contra Mendacium' (c. 420) — Augustine condemns liars for their abuse of the signifying practices established by the divine maker.[27] For Augustine, liars are guilty of a defective love of self, since instead of using language to express their love for God — the only proper object of love and enjoyment — liars deploy speech to cultivate and satisfy their own passion for deception, in the process also jeopardizing their interlocutors' spiritual well-being. This Augustinian view of lying as taking pleasure in deception was shared by late medieval moralists who also condemned lying as an expression of the liar's defective love of self.[28]

Like Augustine, medieval writers on 'the sins of the tongue' warned against the inner corruption lying causes not only in liars themselves, but also in their listeners. But, unlike Augustine whose analysis sought to catalogue lies based on the circumstances of their telling, fourteenth-century writers on verbal sins classified sinful speech acts based on the identity

[26] Arthur Lindley, 'Lady Bertilak's *cors*: *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, 1237', *Notes & Queries*, 42 (1995), 23–24. See also Monica Brzezinski Potkay, 'The Violence of Courtly Exegesis in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*', in *Representing Rape in Medieval and Early Modern Literature*, ed. by Elizabeth Robertson and Christine M. Rose (New York: Palgrave, 2001), 97–124.

[27] See *Sancti Aureli Augustini De fide et symbolo: De fide et operibvs; De agone christiano; De continentia; De bono conivgali; De sancta virginitate; De bono vidvitatis; De advlterinis conivgiis lib. II; De mendacio; Contra mendacivm; De opere monachorvm; De divinatione daemonvm; De cvra pro mortvis gerenda; De patientia*, ed. by Joseph Zycha, Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, 41 (Vienna: Tempsky, 1900). For studies of the Augustinian theories of lying, see Marcia L. Colish, 'The Stoic Theory of Verbal Signification and the Problem of Lies and False Statements from Antiquity to St. Anselm', in *Archéologie du Signe*, ed. by Lucie Brind'Amour and Eugene Vance (Toronto: Pontifical Institute, 1983), pp. 17–43; C. Jan Swearingen's *Rhetoric and Irony: Western Literacy and Western Lies* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), pp. 175–214; and Edwin D. Craun, *Lies, Slander, and Obscenity in Medieval English Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

[28] Colish, 'The Stoic Theory of Verbal Signification', pp. 17–43, and Craun, *Lies, Slander, and Obscenity*, pp. 10–72.

of their tellers, in many cases associating deviant or sinful speech with women.[29] Citing St Paul's condemnation of disruptive female speech in his first letter to Timothy, fourteenth-century moralists commonly aligned women with verbal dissimulation, a linking that served to safeguard and re-inscribe the established gender hierarchies that the Lady's supplication for Gawain's love effectively reverses. By making an offer that may be interpreted as a sexual proposition, the Lady adopts a dominant stance typically associated with noble men in medieval romances,[30] later fashioning herself as an authority on chivalric selfhood. Articulated from this position of power, the Lady's duplicitous supplication seeks to produce a new Gawain, gradually unmaking the knight's penitential selfhood generated by his earlier prayer, just as he is stripped of his pentangled armor upon first entering Hautdesert.[31]

Ostensibly arriving in his bedroom in order to sway Gawain to commit adultery, the Lady hails 'Sir Wowen' (line 1226) as a man who may be harboring a desire for sexual domination, inviting him to rape her: 'me behouez of fyne force | Your seruaunt be, and schale'. Ironically, in the process of defending himself against this classification, Gawain subtly acknowledges that his self indeed may not be as stable, or as unified, as his pentangled shield and his Pater Noster would suggest, letting slip 'In god faith … gayn hit me þynkkez, | Þaȝ I be not *now* he þat ȝe of speken' (lines 1241–42, my italics).[32] Not one to acknowledge defeat, the lady appeals to the Virgin Mary to substantiate her view of Gawain, in the process substituting her own authority for that of Mary, and replacing the conventional penitential virtues with an alternative system of largely secular *costes*. The Lady constitutes these ideals as the chief categories of Gawain's selfhood:

> 'Bi Mary', quoþ þe menskful, 'me þynk hit an oþer …
> For þe costes þat I haf knowen vpon þe, knyȝt, here,
> Of bewté and debonerté and blyþe semblaunt,
> And þat I haf er herkkened and halde hit here trwee,
> Þer schulde no freke vpon folde bifore yow be chosen.' (lines 1268–75)

By attributing to Gawain the virtues of 'bewté', 'blyþe semblaunt', and 'debonerté', the Lady appears to suggest that Gawain's outward behavior is in perfect conformity with his inward self; however, the poet's treatment of the traits the Lady assigns to Gawain makes clear that these are not categories of either a unified or stable selfhood.

Bewté is shown as a poignantly transitory virtue in the scene where Gawain first encounters the Lady in the company of an ancient dame who leads the younger woman by the hand. Thus physically connected, these women form a striking 'before and after' tableau, with the 'riche

[29] Women and lies are linked in such popular didactic fourteenth-century texts as *Speculum Vitae*, *The Book of Vices and Virtues*, William Langland's *Piers Plowman*, and Chaucer's *The Parson's Tale*, to name just a few. For recent discussions of women's relation to verbal sins in the late Middle Ages, see Sandy Bardsley, *Venomous Tongues: Speech and Gender in Late Medieval England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006); and Susan E. Phillips, *Transforming Talk: The Problem with Gossip in Late Medieval England* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2007).

[30] For discussions of the gender roles in the bedroom scenes, see David Mills, 'An Analysis of the Temptation Scenes in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 67 (1968), 612–30; Myra Stokes, '*Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*: Fitt III as Debate', *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 25 (1981), 35–51; and Dinshaw, 'A Kiss is Just a Kiss', pp. 212–13.

[31] Batt offers a different assessment of the Lady's fashioning of Gawain in 'Gawain's Anti-Feminist Rant, the Pentangle, and Narrative Space', pp. 117–39, where she suggests that the Lady ' "read[s]" and evaluate[s] [Gawain] within the frame of his established literary persona … the Lady teases her guest with regard to his reputation (fostered especially by French romance)' (p. 119).

[32] Focusing likewise on Gawain's response here, Heng suggests that 'the admission of a prior identity, now supposedly defunct, at once renders the prospect of future identities, further reconfigurations, less than improbable' ('A Woman Wants', p. 114). See also Dinshaw, p. 212.

red' (line 952) complexion of the Lady sharply contrasting with the 'rugh [and] ronkled' face of the old woman, who, as the poet coolly remarks, is 'sour to se and sellyly blered' (lines 953, 963). *Blyþe* appearance as a marker of inner felicity proves equally unreliable.[33] As the poet notes at the beginning and the conclusion of the first bedroom scene, both Gawain and the Lady feign gaiety on that first morning they spend together. Gawain is pretending when he acts surprised and delighted to find the Lady in his bedroom ('Þen he wakenede, and wroth, and to hir warde torned, | And vnlouked his yȝe-lyddez, and let as hym wondered', lines 1200–1), whereas the Lady, in her turn, conceals her knowledge of Gawain's future engagement with the Green Knight under the cover of pleasantries and love-talk:

> 'Þaȝ I were burde bryȝtest', þe burde in mynde hade.
> Þe lasse luf in his lode for lur þat he soȝt
> boute hone,
> Þe dunte þat schulde hym deue' (lines 1283–86).[34]

Similarly problematic is *debonerté* — a rather capacious term the Lady uses to define Gawain's interiority. According to the *Middle English Dictionary*, *debonerté* may denote 'mercy' and 'kindness', as well as 'gentleness' or 'courtesy'.[35] On the surface, then, *debonerté* encompasses inner traits similar to those generated by the Pater Noster and the pentangle; however, in a speech replete with wordplay and double meanings,[36] the Lady defines this virtue as a willingness to indulge one's libidinous desire. Thus, on the second day of their bedroom conversations, the Lady again raises the possibility that Gawain is not who he claims to be, appealing to Gawain's 'cortaysy' (line 1491) and asking him again to prove his 'Gawain-ness' ('Sir […] if ye be Wawen, wonder me þynkkez', line 1481) by violating her or, at the very least, by forcefully kissing her:

> 'Ȝet I kende yow of kyssyng', quoþ þe clere þenne,
> 'Quere-so countenaunce is couþe quikly to clayme;
> Þat bicumes vche a knyȝt þat cortaysy vses […]
> Ȝe ar stif innoghe to constrayne wyth strenkþe, if yow lykez […]
> If any were so vilanous þat yow devaye wolde.' (lines 1489–98)

Although in his reply Gawain attempts to disassociate himself from the Lady's version of himself, his subsequent behavior displays what Geraldine Heng has diagnosed as a 'sensitivity to [the Lady's] hint of some lack or inadequacy in hi[m]'.[37] What Heng sees as 'sensitivity', I would suggest may be better understood as Gawain's gradual internalization of the illicit sexual desire the Lady attributes to him.

That Gawain is beginning to internalize, as well as to act out, the immoderate desire the Lady attributes to him in the course of her amorous pleas becomes evident later in the day when, while he dines with his hosts, Gawain experiences inner turmoil in the Lady's presence, feeling both anger and pleasure as a result of her amorous glances.[38] On the same evening

[33] For a discussion of *blyþe* as an epithet for Gawain, see Mills, 'An Analysis of the Temptation Scenes', p. 614.

[34] As the editors' notes for these lines of the poem explain, it is unclear whether it is Gawain or the Lady who acknowledges in these lines Gawain's lack of interest in love. For details, see Tolkien and Gordon, p. 110. In my treatment of the passage, I follow the editors' attribution of the lines to the Lady.

[35] *Middle English Dictionary*, ed. by Hans Kurath and others, 20 vols (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1952–2001), accessed from <http://ets.umdl.umich.edu>.

[36] See Mills, pp. 612–23.

[37] Heng, 'A Woman Wants', p. 114.

[38] See lines 1659–63.

Gawain embraces and kisses his host 'hendely' (line 1659) just like the Lady.[39] He also adopts her words as his own in the course of a literary discussion on the value of romances he holds forth with the Lady earlier in the day. Authorizing her speech by identifying herself as a reader of romances, the Lady describes the ideal knight of her choice based on the romance stories she has read:

> 'I woled wyt at yow, wyȝe', þat worþy þer sayde,
> 'And yow wrathed not þerwyth, what were þe skylle
> Þat so ȝong and so ȝepe as ȝe at þis tyme,
> So cortayse, so knyȝtyly, as ȝe ar knowen oute —
> And of alle cheualry to chose, þe chef þyng alosed
> Is þe lel layk of luf, þe lettrure of armes;
> For to telle of þis tytelet token and tyxt of her werkkez,
> How ledes for her lele luf hor lyuez han auntered,
> Endured for her drury dulful stoundez,
> And after wenged with her walour and voyded her care,
> And broȝt blysse into boure with bountees how awen—
> And ȝe ar knyȝt comlokest kyd of your elde [...]
> Oghe to a ȝonke þynk ȝern to schewe
> And teche sum tokenez of trweluf craftes. (lines 1508–20; 1526–7)[40]

By establishing herself as an authority on chivalric romances, the Lady also constructs herself here as a mediator between Gawain and the larger chivalric institution, endowing her speech with what, in *Language and Symbolic Power*, Pierre Bourdieu has termed 'performative magic'. In his analysis of performative utterances, Bourdieu notes that successful or felicitous performative speech acts are products of a power dynamic existing between their originator, who claims to speak in the name of a larger institution, and his audience, who endows the speaker's utterances with symbolic efficacy by accepting him as an authorized speaker:

> the symbolic efficacy of words is exercised only in so far as the person subjected to it recognizes the person who exercises it as authorized to do so or [...] only in so far as he fails to realize that, in submitting to it, he himself has contributed, through his recognition, to its establishment.[41]

As a reader of romances, the Lady seeks to subject Gawain, who resists her amorous advances, to her definition of chivalric selfhood which constructs the pursuit of love as both the title ('tytelet token') and the text of knightly selves. The Lady thus posits that a knight who is not a desiring subject is not a proper knight. Failing to challenge the Lady's authority as a spokesperson for chivalric knighthood, Gawain effectively invests the Lady with the power to call his selfhood into question; however, the Lady not only undermines Gawain's selfhood here, she also opens the possibility for future selves when she refers to the knight as 'ȝe at þis tyme'.

By suggesting that Gawain's present self may be inadequate and unstable, the Lady seeks to refashion him in her own, desiring image, substituting the desire for God as the chief category of the knight's inner man with a transgressive libidinous desire. It is not an accident that

[39] For a discussion of Gawain's kissing habits, see Dinshaw, 'A Kiss is Just a Kiss', p. 215. See also Jane Gilbert, 'Gender and Sexual Transgression', in *A Companion to the Gawain-Poet*, ed. by Derek Brewer and Jonathan Gibson (Cambridge: Brewer, 1997), pp. 53–69 (62–63).

[40] For a discussion of the lady as a reader of romances, see Dinshaw, 'A Kiss is Just A Kiss', p. 213.

[41] *Language and Symbolic Power*, trans. by Gino Raymond and Matthew Adamson, ed. by John B. Thomson (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991), pp. 107–16 (p. 116).

the Lady's speech is an anacoluthon, a grammatical construction which may be described, in J. Hillis Miller's words, as a 'failure to follow a single syntactical track … a narrative line that does not hang together. That shows, to anyone who notices it, that [what is being said] is … a lie'.[42] In an early study of the Lady's rhetorical style, Cecily Clark speculated that the Lady's anacoluthonic speech may be 'a representation of the devious ways a mind has to work when it is not altogether frank'.[43] While I agree with Clark's assessment of the Lady's speech as reflecting her duplicity, to my mind it seems more appropriate to consider these lines as a reflection, instead, of the dissolution the Lady's duplicitous and erotically-charged pleas cause to Gawain's self since it is Gawain who is firstly and lastly the subject of the Lady's speech. Submitting to the Lady's definition of romance, Gawain dutifully repeats it ('trwluf expoun, | And towche þe temez of tyxt and talez of armez', lines 1540–41), at the same time experiencing for the first time a pleasurable erotic fervor or *blysse* ('þay wysten | bot blysse', line 1552) which, according to the Lady, constitutes the chief category of real knights: 'and broȝt blysse into boure'.

Gawain's inner transformation is completed on the morning of the third visit the Lady makes to his bedroom, when he no longer contemplates Mary's image or Her five joys. Rather, Gawain spends time enjoying the Lady's visage, exhibiting signs of the immoderate passion the Lady had implied he was concealing all along:

> He seȝ hir so glorious and gayly atyred,
> So fautles of hir fetures and of so fyne hewes,
> Wiȝt wallande joye warmed his hert.
> With smoþe smylyng and smolt þay smeten into merþe,
> Þat al watz blis and bonchef þat breke hem bitwene,
> and wynne. (lines 1760–66)

Indeed at this point, the poet foregrounds the difficulty of differentiating between the Lady and Gawain, referring to the two simply as 'hem', and noting that both experience pleasurable sensations when they resume their love-talk one last time. In Gawain's case, the 'wiȝt wallande joy' he feels is both a form of sexual pleasure discursively produced by the Lady's duplicitous supplication for his love on all three mornings,[44] and a reflection of a new mode of desiring that Gawain internalizes, one that is radically different from the desires he expressed earlier in the narrative when he prayed the Pater Noster.

Outwardly, Gawain's inner metamorphosis is marked by his acceptance of the Lady's green girdle, whose material gives little indication of the hidden 'costes þat knit ar þerinne' (line 1849). The 'costes' of the girdle or its hidden powers are an extension of the inner traits of its owner — the Lady — which she reveals in the course of her interaction with Gawain, that is to say, a will to deceive, an ambition to dominate, and, finally, the desire for sexual pleasure.[45] Deceptively 'symple in hitself', the girdle is an object of 'slyȝt', an instrument of domination which makes its bearer invincible on the battle field, as well as a sexual token, a 'luf-lace' worn by the Lady on her body, carrying 'in its function and appearance, the impress

[42] J. Hillis Miller, 'The Anacoluthonic Lie', in *Reading Narrative* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998), p. 151. The specific lines where the Lady veers off the syntactical track are 1512–18.

[43] Cecily Clark, '*Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*: Characterization by Syntax', *Essays in Criticism*, 16 (1966), 361–74 (p. 370).

[44] For a discussion of the Lady's speech as 'a form of sexual enactment', see Heng, 'A Woman Wants', pp. 101–8.

[45] For a dazzling discussion of the girdle, see Heng, 'Feminine Knots and the Other: *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*', *PMLA* 106 (1991), 500–14.

and memory of the [Lady's] body'.[46] It is also an object she pretends to give to Gawain behind her husband's back, pleading with him to keep this transaction a secret. Promising to hide the girdle from the Lady's husband, Gawain becomes an accessory to an act of deception that may be construed as an act of adultery. As Heng puts it, 'the necessity of concealment entails a guilty conspiracy of silence that instates two persons [...] in an apparent transgression against a third, in effect producing a version [...] of triangulated, adulterous love'.[47]

Accepting the girdle from the Lady, Gawain also embraces the model of selfhood the girdle represents. It is highly appropriate that the poet affords the romance audience insight into Gawain's radically transformed inner world at the conclusion of the Lady's pleading offer of the girdle. Having manifested earlier a passionate sexual desire for the Lady, Gawain here exhibits self-love, perversely accepting deception as an honorable tactic to be used against his green opponent:

> Þen kest þe knyȝt, and hit come to his hert
> Hit were a juel for þe jopardé þat hym iugged were:
> When he acheued to þe chapel his chek for to fech,
> Myȝt he haf slypped to be vnslayn, þe sleȝt were noble. (lines 1855–58)

As he departs from Hautdesert, Gawain ties the girdle around his waist in a manner that at once recalls the girdle's prior owner, the Lady, and subtly points to Gawain's own self-love since, as the poet dryly notes, Gawain is wearing the girdle 'for gode of himself' (line 2031). Before he reaches the Green Chapel, however, Gawain's self-love will also be exposed by one of Bertilak's servants, the so-called guide, who also uses duplicitous supplication in order to divert Gawain from his final destination.

Despite David Lawton's assertion that medieval scholars no longer focus exclusively on the noble and the empowered, but also analyze 'groups and activities [that are] not privileged [...] the poor, the [...] work[ing], the criminals',[48] the majority of critics have so far ignored this servile figure who stands among a very small number of people the poet affords the privilege of speaking at length in the romance. Those scholars who do address the servant in their discussions of the text predominantly analyze the man as a foil to Gawain,[49] maintaining that the servant's unscrupulous offer to help Gawain flee from the Green Knight forces the audience of the romance to consider Gawain's earlier acceptance of the girdle in a less negative light.[50] No matter what their approach to this figure, critics typically insist on referring to the man as 'the guide', even though neither Gawain nor Bertilak, nor the *Gawain*-poet for that matter, refer to him by this title. In fact, when Gawain asks Bertilak's help finding the Green Chapel, he asks for 'sum tolke to teche [...] [þe] gate to þe grene chapel' (line 1966). In response, Bertilak promises to assign him 'a seruaunt' (line 1971) who will show Gawain the way and who prefaces his speech to Gawain by addressing him as 'mayster' (line 2090). It is important to make this point for two reasons. Firstly, as a nameless servile member of Bertilak's household who seeks to instruct the knight, this man embodies the will to master characteristic of the amorous Lady who, too, begins her sexual tutelage of Gawain with an offer of servitude. Secondly, like the Lady, the nameless servant represents a group within late fourteenth-century society whose speech was frequently stigmatized by medieval moralists

[46] Heng, 'Feminine Knots', p. 505.
[47] *Ibid*., p. 507.
[48] David Lawton, 'Analytical Survey I: Literary History and Cultural Study', in *New Medieval Literatures*, ed. by Wendy Scase, Rita Copeland, and David Lawton (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), pp. 237–72 (p. 248).
[49] Burrow, p. 119; Clark, pp. 366–68; Clein, pp. 118–19.
[50] Clein, p. 118.

as deviant or false.

Throughout the period, also known as 'the age of the household',[51] domestic servants were increasingly figured as deceitful speakers both in fictional representations of servile characters and in household manuals written for and by household servants.[52] As in the case of women, the equating of servant's speech, whether unauthorized or disruptive, with falsehood served to protect and re-inscribe hierarchies within the late medieval household whose servile members were expected to fashion their selves, both inwardly and outwardly, in the image of their lord.[53] By condemning illicit servile speech as false, authors of courtesy books and household manuals established the speech of the head of the household as the only legitimate speech within the domestic realm, at the same time, suppressing all other ways of speaking within the walls of the household. In light of the period's equation of servile speech with deception or deviancy, it should not come as a surprise that, like the Lady, the servant resorts to duplicitous supplication in his exchange with Gawain.

Although he initially acknowledges Gawain's chivalric superiority and proclaims his abject love for Gawain ('And ȝe ar a lede vpon lyue þat I wel louy', line 2095), the servant later discourteously addresses Gawain as *þe* as he commands the knight to save himself, thus emerging as another figure in the romance intent on reshaping Gawain's identity. Like the Lady, the servant uses textual authorities to authorize his speech, presenting himself as a reader of romances when he appeals to such famous romance heroes as Hector, the hero of the French *Roman de Troie*, to persuade Gawain to flee from the Green Knight:

> And more he is þen any mon vpon myddelerde,
> And his body bigger þen þe best fowre
> Þat ar in Arþurez hous, Hestor, oþer oþer (lines 2100–3).[54]

Finally, displaying a penchant for the imperative, the servant pleads with Gawain to act in self-interest ('ȝe worþed þe better', line 2096), tempting him to commit an ignominious act of perjuring himself:[55]

> 'Forþy I say þe […] let þe gome one,
> And gotz away sum oþer gate, vpon Goddez halue! […]
> And I schal swere bi God and alle his gode halȝez […]
> Þat I schal lelly yow layne, and lance neuer tale

[51] David Starkey, 'The Age of the Household: Politics, Society, and the Arts c. 1350–c. 1550', in *The Later Middle Ages*, ed. by Stephen Medcalf (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1981), p. 225. See also Felicity Heal, 'Reciprocity and Exchange in the Late Medieval Household', in *Bodies and Disciplines*, eds. Barbara A. Hanawalt and David Wallace (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), pp. 179–98.

[52] See 'The Parson's Tale', *Riverside Chaucer*, p. 304 lines 505–10; *The Book of Margery Kempe*, ed. by Sanford Brown Meech and Hope Emily Allen, Early English Text Society, o. s. 212 (London: Oxford University Press, 1940), p. 113; 'The Boke of Curtasye', in *The Babees Book*, ed. by Frederick J. Furnivall, Early English Text Society, o. s. 32 (London: Trübner, 1868), pp. 299–327 (p. 316); *Patience*, in *The Poems of the Pearl Manuscript*, lines 49–55. Sinful servile speakers also abound in the *Fürstenspiegel* genre. For a discussion of servile speakers within the latter literary tradition, see Judith Fester, *Fictions of Advice: The Literature and Politics of Counsel in Late Medieval England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996).

[53] Heal, 'Reciprocity and Exchange', p. 180.

[54] The textual notes in the Tolkien and Gordon edition of the poem point out that 'Hestor appears to be a genuine variant, occurring in several French romances including the Vulgate Merlin and the Suite du Merlin' (p. 125, n. to line 2102).

[55] See also Clark, pp. 366–67.

> Þat euer ȝe fondet to fle for freke þat I wyst.' (lines 2110; 2118–19; 2122–25)[56]

Instead of encouraging him to become an adulterer, as the Lady did, the servant offers Gawain the possibility of adopting the subject position of a perjurer, whose interiority he structures around self-love and fear of death. This is the subject position the servant himself inhabits when, swearing by God and the saints, he first pledges to lie for Gawain, but then deserts him after Gawain rejects his offer to flee. On the surface, the servant fails to persuade Gawain to forswear himself. But, like the Lady's pleas, the servant's speech does effect a change in Gawain, forcing him to respond in a manner typical of false speakers: that is to say, in a manner that reveals little about their inner state.

Our first glimpse of Gawain as a false speaker whose inner world is outwardly unreadable comes after Gawain thanks the servant for his insulting offer, delivering his answer in a 'gruchyng' (line 2126) tone:

> 'Grant merci', quoþ Gawain, and *gruchyng* he sayde:
> 'Wel worth þe, wyȝe, þat woldez my gode,
> And þat lelly me layne I leue wel þou woldez.
> Bot helde þou hit neuer so holde, and I here passed,
> Founded for ferde for to fle, in fourme þat þou tellez
> I were a knyȝt kowarde, I myȝt not be excused.' (lines 2126–31, my italics)

Gruchyng is condemned by late medieval penitential writers as one of the ten sins of the mouth. It is also conventionally associated by medieval moralists with disgruntled servants who grumble against their socially superior masters.[57] And, as Chaucer's Parson reminds the Canterbury pilgrims, it is also a sin commonly known as 'the Devil's Pater Noster':

> servauntz that grucchen whan hir sovereyns bidden hem doon leveful thynges;/ and forasmuche as they dar nat at openly withseye the comaundementz of hir sovereyns, yet wol they seyn harm, and grucche […] prively for verray despit;/ whiche wordes men clepen the develes Pater noster.[58]

For Chaucer's Parson, *grucchyng* speech voices the servants' opposition to the authority of their masters, constituting the very antithesis of the Pater Noster prayer that enacts supplicants' inner submission to and love for God. In a similar way to Chaucer's Parson, when the *Gawain*-poet identifies Gawain's superficially virtuous rejection of the servant's offer as *gruchyng*, he constitutes the knight as a sinful double of his former virtuous self whose present selfhood is grounded in hiddenness or opacity. Gawain is no longer the knight whose outward behavior and language reflect his inner emotions. Instead, Gawain's grudging words outwardly express his gratitude to the man who offers him an opportunity to become 'a knyȝt kowarde', at the same time communicating little about his desire for self-preservation and his fear of death to his interlocutor (or to the audience of the romance). When Gawain does air his frustration, as he does at the Green Chapel in the concluding scenes of the romance, he does so like the typical grumbling subordinate: he directs his anger at his courtly mistress, the Lady of Hautdesert, delivering his so-called anti-feminist diatribe.

[56] The servant's offer ('lelly yow layne, and lance neuer tale') is reminiscent of the Lady's supplication to Gawain to conceal the love-token she gives him from Bertilak: 'And bisoȝht hym, for hir sake, disceuer hit neuer, | Bot to *lelly layne* fro hir lorde' (l. 1862–63, my italics). I am grateful to the anonymous *Leeds Studies in English* reviewers for bringing this instance of repetition in the text to my attention.

[57] See, for example, *The Book of Vices and Virtues*, 65; *Speculum Vitae*, p. 485 lines 14, 637–68; Chaucer's *The Parson's Tale*, p. 304 lines 505–8.

[58] Chaucer, *The Parson's Tale*, p. 304 lines 505–8.

Gawain's 'anti-feminist' tirade follows on the heels of the Green Knight's revelation of his part in the testing of Gawain at Hautdesert. Revealing himself as Bertilak de Hautdesert, the Green Knight correctly identifies love of self as the motivating force behind Gawain's concealment of the girdle ('for ȝe lufed your lyf', line 2368); however, Gawain rejects this diagnosis. Not grumbling but groaning with anger at this point, Gawain first curses the girdle itself as the seat of 'falssyng' that made him forsake his 'kynde', or his true self. Then, he accuses the girdle's original owner for his failure to return it to Bertilak in exchange for Bertilak's winnings as they had agreed, delivering a sermon against duplicitous women who lead virtuous men astray:

> Bot hit is no ferly þaȝ a fole madde,
> And þurȝ wyles of wymmen be wonen to sorȝe,
> For so watz Adam in erde with one bygyled,
> And Salamon with fele sere, and Samson eftsonez —
> Dalyda dalt hym hys wyrde — and Dauyth þerafter
> Watz blended with Barsabe, þat much bale þoled.
> Now þese were wrathed wyth her wyles, hit were a wynne huge
> To luf hom wel, and leue hem not, a leude þat couþe […]
> And alle þay were biwyled
> With wymmen þat þay vsed.
> Þaȝ I be now bigyled,
> Me þink me burde be excused. (lines 2414–28)

Gawain's tirade on the dangers of trusting women shifts the blame away from himself by aligning himself with the worthies of the Old and New Testaments and by transferring the responsibility for his failings onto women who devised and put into execution the adventure of the Green Knight. However, there is more to Gawain's sermon than its overt message to distrust women, no matter how lovable they may be. Although frowned upon by critics as unoriginal in its 'anti-feminist' sentiments or, alternatively, as self-indulgent,[59] Gawain's speech is a *tour-de-force* of false speaking.

Instead of focusing on his own transgressive behavior, Gawain publishes the transgressions of others, rehearsing the indiscretions committed by famous men (Adam, David, Solomon, and Samson) who were led astray by women. Nor is Gawain's choice of these specific biblical heroes as innocent or as random as it may first seem. All the men he mentions fall as a result of their sexual weakness, unable to resist the physical beauty of the women who deceive them. Gawain's own transgression compares favorably to the sexual failings of these men, who cause the downfall of kingdoms and nations, as in David's, Samson's, and Solomon's cases, as well as of all mankind, in that of Adam. At the same time, by putting the actions of the Lady on par with those of the biblical seductresses, Gawain encourages the identification between this woman and the morally corrupt, fallen women of the Bible, transforming the Lady's testing of his virtues into a tale of her own viciousness. Finally, a discerning medieval audience would recognize Gawain's diatribe as an instance of a literary borrowing from another fourteenth-century romance that tells the story of king Alexander and Queen Candace.[60] In the romance of *Kyng Alisaunder* (c. 1300), Alexander travels to the domain of Queen Candace where she

[59] See John Eadie, 'Sir Gawain and the Ladies of Ill-Repute', *Annuale Mediaevale*, 20 (1980), pp. 52–66 (p. 55); S. L. Clark and Julian N. Wasserman, 'Gawain's "Anti-Feminism" Reconsidered,' *Journal of the Rocky Mountain Medieval and Renaissance Association*, 6 (1985), 57–70; and Batt, 'Gawain's Anti-Feminist Rant'.

[60] I owe my awareness of this instance of literary borrowing to Eadie's 'Sir Gawain and the Ladies of Ill-Repute', p. 55.

manipulates him into becoming her lover. It is at the point when they become lovers that she speaks the lines about famous men being tricked by women, using the same sequence of names that appears in Gawain's speech in order to justify her illicit desire for Alexander.[61] Gawain's speech thus ventriloquizes a duplicitous woman who manipulates biblical examples to camouflage her own transgressive desires and conduct. It places Gawain on a par with the Lady and the servant who also exploit textual authorities to legitimize and give expression to their own illicit desires.

In putting into Gawain's mouth a speech on women's duplicity originally spoken by a duplicitous woman in another fourteenth-century romance, the *Gawain*-poet identifies Gawain's inner world — his self-love, fear of death, desire for the Lady, and anger at Bertilak and himself — with the world of romance where selves find expression who, like Queen Candace, desire differently or desire in ways that are transgressive.[62] It is highly appropriate, then, that when Gawain returns to Arthur's court, the knight's companions — those chief residents of the world of late medieval romances — dismiss Gawain's attempts to adopt the green girdle as an emblem of his moral failure, instead, choosing to wear it as a badge signifying their love for Gawain: 'for sake of þat segge, in swete to were' (line 2518). The courtiers' gesture of appropriation and revision may perhaps be regarded as an enactment of the symbolic work performed by many popular late medieval romances whose authors frequently borrow their story lines and characters from penitential sources. In the hands of romance authors these penitential materials are made to express new, sometimes deviant or transgressive desires.

It is this possibility for articulating non-orthodox ways of desiring, or non-orthodox selves, that may have provoked the condemnation of romances by such medieval moralists as the anonymous poets of *Cursor Mundi* and *Speculum Vitae*, or William Langland who in *Piers Plowman* contrasts selves produced by means of reading or reciting of romance tales with those fashioned by means of the Pater Noster prayer by having Sloth confess that

> I kan noght parfitly my *Paternoster* as the preest it syngeth,
> But I kan rymes of Robyn Hood and Randolf Erl of Chestre
> Ac neither of Oure Lorde ne of Our Lady the leeste that evere was maked.[63]

Like the poets of *Cursor Mundi*, *Speculum Vitae*, and *Piers Plowman*, the *Gawain*-poet, whose works span the divide between romances and penitential poems, contrasts the rehearsal of the Lord's Prayer as an instrument of self-expression and self-reformation with the telling of tales or the telling of lies in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*. Constituting Gawain at the beginning of his quest as a virtuous penitent through his devotion to Christ and the Virgin, the poet contrasts Gawain's rehearsal of the Pater Noster with acts of duplicitous supplication performed by the Lady and the servant who accompanies Gawain to the Green Chapel, both of whom the poet identifies as readers of romances. But the poet of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* does more than offer his audience a narrative documenting Gawain's internal transformation as a result of his encounter with readers of romances. As Sarah McNamer

[61] Eadie, p. 55. For the relevant passage in *Kyng Alisaunder*, see *Kyng Alisaunder*, ed. by G. V. Smithers, Early English Text Society, o. s. 227 (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), pp. 417–19 lines 7703–9.

[62] Nicola McDonald discusses popular medieval romances as vehicles for transgressive desire in *Pulp Fictions of Medieval England: Essays in Popular Romance*, ed. by Nicola McDonald (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), pp. 1–21.

[63] William Langland, *Piers Plowman: A Parallel Text Edition of A, B, C and Z Versions*, ed. by A. V. C. Schmidt (London and New York: Longman, 1995), p. 230 lines 5.395–97. See also the opening lines of *Speculum Vitae*, p. 6 lines 35–48; and *Cursor Mundi*, ed. by Richard K. Morris, Early English Text Society, o. s. 57, 3 vols (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1874–93), pp. 8–12 (lines 1–88).

recently argued, the romance may mirror its own performance at a Yuletide feast, a setting which is conducive to dalliance and the reading of romances. Such mirroring, according to McNamer, allows the poet to blur the boundary between the fictional world of his narrative and the world inhabited by his aristocratic audience, as well as to enlist his audience as 'extras' in his narrative, and, finally, to lead them to imagine 'a similar conversion experience'.[64] To this I would also add that, in composing a romance in which romance narratives are central to its hero's process of self-expression and self-creation, the poet also offers members of his audience a potentially rich resource upon which they themselves may draw for the purpose of reforming or expressing themselves. In this, the *Gawain*-poet anticipates another medieval compiler of devotional matter and chivalric romances — William Caxton — who a century later justifies his publication of *Le Morte d'Arthur* by presenting it as a conduct manual for noble men and women interested in learning how to 'doo after the good and leve the evyl […] alle not to vyce ne synne, but t'exersyse and folowe vertu'.[65]

[64] Sarah McNamer, 'Feeling', in *Middle English: Oxford Twenty-First Century Approaches to Literature*, ed. by Paul Strohm (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 241–57 (pp. 254–56).

[65] William Caxton, 'Preface', in *Malory's Works*, ed. by Eugène Vinaver, 2nd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), p. xv.

An Edition of Three Late Middle English Versions of a Fourteenth-Century *Regula Heremitarum*

Domenico Pezzini

Introduction

1. Eremitic literature

Eremitic literature, like eremitic life, enjoyed considerable popularity in England during the Middle Ages, to a degree which has few comparisons in other European countries.[1] An enormous number of texts were produced in the British Isles which were either rules meant to help and direct people choosing this form of religious life, or spiritual treatises written by hermits or recluses such as Rolle's works, Hilton's *Scale of Perfection*, and Julian of Norwich's *Revelations*. Among the texts which can specifically be labelled as *rules*, suffice it to mention two of the masterpieces belonging to this field: Aelred of Rievaulx's *De Institutione Inclusarum* (twelfth-century) and the anonymous *Ancrene Wisse* (thirteenth-century). Texts of this kind continued to be written both in Latin and English until the very eve of the Reformation.[2]

What is edited here for the first time is an English translation, in three versions, of a short Latin rule for hermits produced in the fourteenth century, first published by Livarius Oliger in 1928, who called it *Regula Oxoniensis*, to distinguish it from two other similar rules called *Dublinensis* and *Cantabrigensis*, from the places where the manuscripts are now held.[3] Of these rules it was the *Oxoniensis* which apparently enjoyed the widest popularity, since it was translated three times, in independent versions. We may surmise that this was probably

[1] Four out of the nine Rules described by Philippe Rouillard, 'Regole per Reclusi', in *Dizionario degli Istituti di Perfezione*, ed. by Guerrino Pelliccia and Giancarlo Rocca, 10 vols (Rome: Paoline, 1974–2003), vii, cols. 1533–36, are English. In a list provided by Livarius Oliger of Rules for recluses written between the 9th and the 13th centuries, one is from France (Grimlaicus), three are from Germany, and five from England: see 'Regula Reclusorum Angliae et Quaestiones Tres de Vita solitaria, saec. XIII–XVI', *Antonianum*, 9 (1934), 37–84 (pp. 47–49).

[2] Ann K. Warren lists thirteen extant 'Anchorite Rules' written in England, ranging 'from the briefest of hortatory and didactic epistles to major ascetic treatises': *Anchorites and Their Patrons in Medieval England* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), pp. 294–98.

[3] 'Regulae tres reclusorum et eremitarum Angliae saeculorum XIII–XIV', *Antonianum*, 3 (1928), 151–190 (introduction and *Dublinensis*), and 291–320 (*Cantabrigensis* and *Oxoniensis*). Rather surprisingly, Warren, *Anchorites and their Patrons*, does not mention the *Regula Oxoniensis*, whose versions in English are edited here, while she amalgamates the *Cantabrigensis* with Richard Rolle's *Form of Living*, an opinion disproved by Watson (see next note).

due to its being the shortest and the most practical in tone, especially by comparison with *Cantabrigensis*, from which it clearly derives. Nicholas Watson has described the contents of the Cambridge and Oxford *Regulae* in some detail, for practical purposes considering these two texts as two 'substantially different Latin versions' of an archetypal *Regula* which 'survives' in them. According to Watson, 'it seems likely that many English hermits followed precepts similar to those laid down in the *Regula*', and, while rejecting as 'baseless' the authorship long attributed to Rolle, he concludes: 'I shall assume that this work crystallizes the behaviour that Rolle's contemporaries would have recognized as proper in a hermit'.[4]

Beside the intrinsic merit of making unknown texts known, the publication of the three English translations offers a rare opportunity to analyse not only a single rendering from Latin, but to compare three different versions of the same text, and so to examine expansions, omissions and selections of various kinds, affording the possibility of guessing the reasons lying behind these different choices. In addition, since the *Oxoniensis* is incomplete, lacking the part written on the last folio, the translation allows the reconstruction of what is missing.

2. The *Regula heremitarum* as a literary genre

According to its etymological sense, a *rule* is meant to direct and regulate something. But within the rich tradition of monastic rules this is not to be taken as meaning primarily, and still less exclusively, exterior norms of behaviour. A rule is better described as a 'spiritual directory' concerned both with body and soul, or, to use a widely exploited Pauline phrasing, the exterior and interior man.[5] Predictably, the boundary between these two parts of the human being are fluid, and the two spheres overlap to a significant extent. As such, a 'rule' resembles less a code of canon law than a spiritual treatise. This quality may explain why some of these rules became devotional reading beyond the field for which they were originally produced. This seems precisely to be the case with the three versions here published, as can be deduced from the context of the manuscripts in which they are found. Before the foundation of the mendicant orders in the thirteenth century, monastic life had two forms, cenobitic and eremitic, according to whether the religious vocation was fulfilled in a community or in solitude. Solitaries were further divided in two groups: they could be either *hermits*, if they were free to move around, or *anchorites* or *recluses*, if they were enclosed in an anchorage. This second possibility was particularly suited to women for reasons of personal security, amongst others. Within the larger context of monastic legislation the rules for hermits form a special group since this vocation was very distinctive and in fact fairly rare. At the beginning of *De Institutione Inclusarum*, a rule written for his sister, who was a recluse, Aelred of Rievaulx explains and justifies the choice of a life in solitude, giving three motives:

> living in a crowd means ruin for some people; for others it will mean, if not ruin, at least injury; others again, unmoved by any apprehension, simply consider living in solitude to be more fruitful. The monks of old then chose to live as solitaries for several reasons: to avoid ruin, to escape injury, to enjoy greater freedom in expressing their ardent longing

[4] Nicholas Watson, *Richard Rolle and the Invention of Authority*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature, 13 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 44. See also p. 205, fn. 21, in which the three English versions are mentioned, and the problem of the authorship of the Latin *Regula* is discussed, with the conclusion that 'there is no grounds for thinking that Rolle wrote this work'.

[5] The title of David of Augsburg's *De exterioris et interioris hominis compositione* (c. 1240), a thirteenth-century Franciscan guide for the formation of novices and religious, is significant in and of itself.

for Christ's embrace.[6]

Freedom is a double-edged sword: it has its dangers. It is precisely because the status of a hermit, or a recluse, both male and female, was 'free' from the legislation ruling a community that it required all the more urgently to be regulated. Aelred's work is a good and successful example of how to organize anchoritic life.[7] The plan develops in three parts, the outer and the inner rule, followed by a sample of how to meditate on God's benefits past, present and future. As to its length, Aelred's work stands half way between Grimlaicus' *Regula Solitariorum* and the *Regula Oxoniensis*. The former is a huge treatise stretching over ninety columns in the *Patrologia Latina*; the latter looks more like a booklet of practical advice, being three and a half folios long.

If Aelred's work was the most popular rule for hermits, Grimlaicus' *Regula* is important for being the first, establishing thus the peculiarities of this literary genre, which is formed of a curious mixture of numerous sub-genres. Grimlaicus was a French priest of the diocese of Metz. He composed the text, which he divided into sixty-nine chapters, towards the end of the ninth century. The materials show an extraordinary variety.[8] The description of the meaning of reclusion and exhortations to the practice of virtues fit with canonical and legislative norms concerning enclosure; with rules for the organization of the liturgical office and, more generally, on how to regulate the use of time; and with norms about clothing, food and meals. In amongst all this we have commentaries on scriptural passages, interspersed with quotations from the classical Christian authors, stories drawn from the *Vitae Patrum*, and frequent complaints against the widespread corruption of the age, especially manifest in various sorts of reproachable behaviour among the very recluses to whom the *Regula* is addressed. Spiritual and biblical, narrative and legislative, hortatory and complaint passages all mingle in this complex literary genre, which can be simplified and reduced to two substantial parts which will later be distinguished as outer and inner rule, integrated with passages, whether of either biblical or patristic content, meant to be read as meditations. On this basis we can understand the progress in clarity and order of Aelred's three-part Rule, a plan he neatly summarises in his conclusion, in which, addressing his sister, he writes:

> you have now what you asked for: rules for bodily observances by which a recluse may govern the behaviour of the outward man; directions for cleansing the inner man from vices and adorning him with virtues; a threefold meditation to enable you to stir up the love of God in yourself, feed it and keep it burning.[9]

If from the background thus established we move to the *Regula Oxoniensis* we may distinguish two interesting peculiarities: its brevity, further reduced in two of the three English

[6] Quotes from Aelred of Rievaulx's *De Institutione Inclusarum* are taken from 'Rule of Life for a Recluse', trans. by Mary Paul Macpherson, in *Aelred of Rievaulx: Treatises and Pastoral Prayer*, Cistercian Father Series, 2 (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1995), pp. 43–102 (p. 45).

[7] For the dissemination of Aelred's Rule in medieval religious literature in England and beyond see Aelredo di Rievaulx, *Regola delle Recluse*, ed. by Domenico Pezzini (Milan: Paoline, 2003), pp. 90–107.

[8] Grimlaicus' *Regula* is printed in *Patrologiae cursus completus*, ed. by J.-P. Migne, 221 vols (Paris: Migne, 1844–64), ciii, cols. 575–664. On the author and his work see M. C. Chartier, 'Regula solitariorum (Regula Grimlaici)', in *Dizionario degli Istituti di Perfezione*, ed. by Guerrino Pelliccia and Giancarlo Rocca, 10 vols (Rome: Paoline, 1974–2003), vii, cols. 1598–1600. A rather detailed presentation of Grimlaicus' *Rule for solitaries*, together with another famous text, Peter the Venerable's Letter to Gilbert on eremitic life, can be found in *Regola delle Recluse*, ed. by Pezzini, pp. 27–58. See also Andrew Thornton, 'An Invitation to the Rule for Solitaries by Grimlaicus', in *The American Benedictine Review*, 59.2 (June 2008), 198–212, in which the author remarks that 'this Rule is far more than a set of regulations for an extreme form of the ascetical life, containing, as it does, a balanced theology of the contemplative life and a rationale for living the solitary life in a way that fosters spiritual, psychological and physical health' (p. 198).

[9] Aelred, *Rule of Life*, p. 102.

translations, and its stress not so much on solitude as on poverty. This is probably due to the Franciscan context in which it seems to have been produced,[10] so that the ideal of the separation from the 'world' was integrated with the choice of poverty and any other form of 'simplicity' typical of Saint Francis and his followers.

3. The *Regula Oxoniensis*

The three rules edited by Oliger, the first for anchorites and the other two for hermits, show clear connections with Aelred's treatise, although none of these rules ever quotes him or his work by name. In the Cambridge rule, which was once attributed to the young Richard Rolle, Aelred's presence is so pervasive that, in Oliger's words, it is 'just a new version of Aelred's outer rule'.[11] It is quite natural, then, to examine their contents in relation to the tripartite pattern set up by the abbot of Rievaulx: outer and inner rules, followed by material for meditation and prayer. It is clear that this material is neither so clearly divided nor so well balanced in the proportion given to each of the three sections. Concerning the *Regula Oxoniensis*, a cursory examination of the index shows that the outer regulations form the main part, although some sparks of spiritual teaching can be found here and there, for example concerning poverty (chs. I–II), or silence (ch. XII), or simplicity of life (ch. VIII). We may ask whether the strong focus on the exterior rule might have been the reason for its success. In fact, at least two of the three versions of the *Regula* are found in manuscripts which had no apparent links with a community of religious. This might, perhaps, be taken as a sign that in the fifteenth century exterior practices of religion mattered more than interior attitudes, recalling the criticisms levelled later during the Reformation.

The Oxford rule (*Ox*), which is the one used by the translators/adaptors of the three English versions, shows clear links with the Cambridge rule (five passages are quoted verbatim), together with references to the Benedictine Rule and the Rule of St Francis.[12] It differs from the Cambridge rule mainly in that it greatly reduces certain spiritual passages to concentrate on some juridical principles, practical norms of daily life, and the order of prayers. The Oxford rule has in its present condition twenty-two chapters, not numbered in the manuscript but marked by underlined headings and initial capitals.[13] However, it lacks the final part: a comparison with the longest of the three translations suggests that two or three chapters are missing. To give a cursory idea of the contents, here is the list of the chapter headings, as numbered by Oliger:

[Prologus]
I. Qualis debet esse vera paupertas
II. Quod vere pauper Christi sancte possit vivere, licet non ingrediatur religionem
III. De obedientia quam debet Deo et hominibus
IV. De voto suo faciendo
V. Qualiter recipiat res mundi
VI. De providencia in cella sua
VII. De humilitate in cibis et potibus
VIII. De vestimentis suis

[10] See Oliger, 'Regulae tres reclusorum', p. 155.
[11] Oliger, 'Regulae tres reclusorum', p. 158.
[12] It is worth noting that the extant manuscript of the Oxford rule belonged to a Franciscan community of religious, although this is not proof that it was produced there or by one of the friars. In any case no less than four passages were identified by Oliger as deriving from the Rule of St. Francis.
[13] I follow the text as edited by Oliger, 'Regulae tres reclusorum', pp. 312–20.

IX. De calciamentis suis
X. De predicatione et mendicatione
XI. De sustentacione eius per viam
XII. De silencio heremite
XIII. De abstinentia et ieiunio in domo propria
XIV. Quando licet heremite domi comedere carnem
XV. De proprietate quam habebit
XVI. De labore heremite
XVII. Quomodo debet iacere et qua hora debet pausare et qua hora surgere
XVIII. De matutinis dicendis
XIX. Quo tempore et qua hora debet dici officium pro defunctis
XX. De modo et tempore contemplacionis seu meditacionis
XXI. De hora prima dicenda
XXII. Hora qua debet heremita sacerdos missam celebrare vel laycus audire

Spirituality and practicality go hand in hand. Poverty is a major theme. Sobriety in clothing, food, and possessions is highly recommended. The chapter on preaching implies that this rule is not for recluses, and in chapter VI the fact that the hermit may live in a town or in a village is explicitly mentioned. It must be observed, however, that the chapter titles do not always directly describe the content which may be deduced from their wording: for example chapter IX (*De calciamentis suis*) is not particularly about shoes, but illustrates a modest and sober way of moving around the country. Meanwhile, chapter III (*De obedientia quam debet Deo et hominibus*) has a paragraph about the duty to tell the truth even at risk of death which apparently has no direct connection with obedience. Liturgical offices, times of fasting, hours of rest, sleep and work are dealt with rather quickly.

As Oliger signalled already in 1928,[14] there are three English versions clearly derived from the Oxford rule. The interesting point is that they have no connection with each other, and thus allow a number of synoptic observations concerning the layout of the text and especially the translation proper. They are found in MS London, British Library, Additional 34193 (fifteenth-century), folios 131r–36v; MS London, British Library, Sloane 1584 (early sixteenth-century), folios 89r–95v; MS Bristol City Reference Library 6 (dated 1502), folios 137v–140v. They will be hereafter referred to as A, S, and B respectively. While the source is common, the rendering varies greatly, as can be seen by simply considering the length of the text: while A has 4657 words, S has 2231, and B only 1454.

Although the three English versions are derived from the *Oxoniensis*, one wonders whether the text published by Oliger was in fact the one used by the translators. Two points would suggest that this is not the case. The first concerns the incipit. The opening statement starts with 'quia' ('because, for which reason') and seems to give a reason for something which is now missing. Moreover, the three English versions coincide in attributing the rule to Pope Celestine V, a claim of which there is no trace in the Latin *Oxoniensis*. Should we conclude that something has been lost right at the beginning of the text? I think so, and we may recover the possible original incipit if we take the incipit of the Sloane version, in which the sequence 'quia licet…' is preserved. In modern English it reads:

> A pope of Rome, called Celestine, made this manner of life that is written here for the life of hermits who live alone without a rule given by the holy church. He shows this reason at the beginning and says: though the state of hermits is without a rule made by the holy

[14] *Ibid*., p. 156.

church […][15]

'This reason' would render the Latin *quia*, while 'though' corresponds to *licet*. A second and more important remark concerns a 'quotation' present in the English versions and lacking in the Latin. It is a sentence attributed to St Augustine (S adds St Bernard) which is in fact by Gennadius of Marseille, whose text reads:

> Bonum est enim facultates cum dispensatione pauperibus erogare: melius est pro intentione sequendi dominum insimul donare, et absolutum sollicitudine egere cum Christo.[16]

Here are the three English translations:

> **A**: Yt is [good] to geff almus to þe pore with dyspo*n*sacyon, but it is bett*er*, for intente follynge God, ones wyll to gyff and eu*er* w*ith* Criste hevenly to lyffe.
>
> **S**: Gud, he says, itt ys to gyffe be seytt (*proper*, *suitable*) ways oft tymys erthly gudis fore God*is* love vnto poure mene, but more p*er*fecc*i*one itt ys to gyffe all that he has and folowe Cryste in pou*er*ness.
>
> **B**: It ys goode to gyfe þe poore pepyll of thy substance with dyspensacion, but it is better to gyfe þi-self intendyng to folow Crist faithfully.

The very difference between these renderings obliges us to suppose a common Latin original. Since the sentence does not appear in the *Oxoniensis*, we must conclude that there was at least one other version of the Rule containing it, which has been lost. The consequence of this is that all remarks about the correspondence between the English version and the Latin original should be taken with a certain reservation.

4. The English versions: the manuscripts

All the three manuscripts containing the three English versions of the Rule are miscellanies of some sort, but it is not easy to find any single criterion for the collection of the items they contain.

British Library Additional 34193 (228 folios) is paper and vellum, and was compiled in the fifteenth century.[17] It is a huge volume of miscellaneous character, which seems to reflect the personal taste of a collector. The main pieces it contains include *The Pilgrimage of the Soul*; a collection of liturgical hymns in Latin with an English version in royal stanzas; our *Rule for Hermits*; the *Sayings of the Philosophers*; the *Dysticha Catonis* in English, with parts in Latin; and smaller pieces such as a fragment of a life of St James the Greater, a vision, a religious poem 'Howe holsum and glade is the memory', a letter of Bernard of Chartres, a report of the synod held at Westminster on 9 Sept. 1125, and, strange as it may seem, a letter from 'Baltizar by the grace of Mahounde […] Sowdayn of Surry, Emperor of Babulon' to the king of England and France and Edward his son, offering the latter his daughter in marriage.

British Library Sloane 1584, dating from the beginning of the sixteenth century, is a small paper codex (95 folios) which seems to have belonged to a parish priest. It is signed 'Scriptum per me Johannem Gysborn canonicum de Coverham' ('written by myself, John Gysborn,

[15] 'A Pope off Rome, that hyght Celestyn, mad this maner off lyff that ys writyne here, for lyffyng off hermett*is* þ*a*t lyff*is* a-lone w*ith*-owttyne certan rewle gyvyne off holy kyrke. For that sckylle shewys he att his begynnyng and says: Thoffe all ytt be so that the state off hermettis be with-owtene rewle maid off holy kyrke […].'

[16] The sentence is taken from the *Ecclesiastica Dogmatica* by Gennadius of Marseilles. It appears in Thomas Aquinas's *Catena aurea in Matthaeum* (cap. 19, lectio 5) and is quoted again twice in the *Summa Theologica* (IIa IIae, quest. 32, art. 8; IIa IIae, quest. 186, art. 3).

[17] For a description of this manuscript see *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 19 vols (London: The Trustees, 1843–1970), ix, pp. 225–26.

canon of Coverham', f. 12r), a place-name of Norfolk or Lincolnshire, which is consonant with the language of the texts. The contents are again varied, although they appear more homogeneous, generally having a pastoral tone. There are liturgical pieces concerning the 'ministration of deacon and sub-deacon according to the Premonstratensian order'; a scattering of medical prescriptions; letter forms about how to request ecclesiastical licences; a model sermon for Easter day; questions for confessors; a form of confession and a small treatise on penances to be given as remedies against the seven deadly sins; instructions about enamelling and engraving; short passages on the pains of hell, on death, on the plague and various other illnesses; verses to the Virgin, the angels and the patriarchs; and a poem in which a woman complains about the hardness of heart of her lover, after which, as the final item in the manuscript, comes our Rule for hermits.

Bristol Public Library MS 6 (140 folios) contains mainly Latin pieces on liturgical matters.[18] We are well informed about the origin of this elegant codex. Two items are dated: the first of the Sarum sequences on 13 September 1502, and the third, an 'exposicio verborum difficilium psalterii', on 31 October 1502, 'in domo sancti Marci evangeliste iuxta Bristoliam'. A. I. Doyle states that 'the hospital of St Mark followed the Benedictine rule, and like other such institutions, was virtually a religious house'.[19] The short pieces in English concern tribulations, the discernment of spirits, the Rule for hermits, and finally, and somewhat surprisingly, the *Virtues of Rosemary*, whose leaves were to be boiled in water to make an infusion to be used to clean the skin. This last item is unique in what is otherwise a collection of religious material. This text is incomplete, and the catchword "also drye" on f. 140v indicates that the manuscript ends imperfectly.

5. The version of the *Regula Oxoniensis* in MS A

Before presenting the text of the three Middle English versions, it is worth remarking on the way each of them deals with and reacts to the Latin text they translate. The Additional version is the most complete of the three, and moreover includes the missing part of the incomplete Latin text, which appears in the other two manuscripts only in a drastically reduced form. The text is preceded by a table of contents in which the text is clearly divided in chapters each bearing a number and a title, although this is not always the same as that found in the Rule. The twenty-two surviving (probably originally twenty-five) chapters of the *Oxoniensis* have been reduced to seventeen. The difference in the numbering is due to the fact that in some cases Additional amalgamates shorter Latin chapters into larger units. This is easily seen in Table 1 below.

Oxoniensis	Additional Version
I. Qualis debet esse vera paupertas	1. Of the forsaking of this wretched world
II. Quod vere pauper Christi sancte possit vivere, licet non ingrediatur religionem	
III. De obedientia quam debet Deo et hominibus	2. Of the obedience of an hermit
IV. De voto suo faciendo	3. Of his vow

[18] This manuscript is described in N. R. Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, 5 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977–2002), ii, pp. 203–4.

[19] 'A Survey of Later Middle English Theological Literature', 2 vols (unpublished doctoral thesis, Cambridge University, 1953), ii, 297, n. 31.

V. Qualiter recipiat res mundi	4. Of his poverty
VI. De providencia in cella sua	5. Of his purveyance
VII. De humilitate in cibis et potibus	
VIII. De vestimentis suis	6. Of his clothes
IX. De calciamentis suis	7. Of his shoes
X. De predicatione et mendicatione	
XI. De sustentacione eius per viam	
XII. De silencio heremite	8. Of his silence keeping
XIII. De abstinencia et ieiunio in domo propria	9. Of his abstinence
XIV. Quando liceat heremite domi comedere carnes	10. When he shall eat flesh
XV. De proprietate quam habebit	11. Of his property
XVI. De labore heremite	
XVII. Quomodo debet iacere et qua hora debet pausare et qua hora surgere	12. When he shall lie and when he shall rise
XVIII. De matutinis dicendis	
XIX. Quo tempore et qua hora debet dici officium pro defunctis	
XX. De modo et tempore contemplacionis seu meditacionis	13. Of the manner and time of his contemplation
XXI. De hora prima dicenda	
XXII. Hora qua debet heremita sacerdos missam celebrare vel laycus audire.	14. What hour he shall do mass or hear mass
[XXIII]	15. Of silence at the table, labour and refection
[XXIV]	16. Of his shrift and housel
[XXV]	17. Of the service of a lay hermit.

Table 1: the contents of the *Oxoniensis* and Additional *regulae*

The text of this English version is marred by careless writing, exhibited in various types of errors: quite a number of words are omitted, misspelt, or simply wrong, and in some cases part of the sentence seems to be lost. A glance at the footnotes to the edition below will indicate the many corrections needed to reconstruct the text's probable original form. The difficulty of this operation is increased by the numerous expansions of the translator, which at times renders the comparison with the original Latin rather difficult. As far as the translational technique is concerned, I give here just one example in which different choices of the translator can be seen at work. It is taken from the chapter II of the Latin, which has become part of chapter I in the English version:

> Et licet per alia pia opera, prout precepta Dei et opera misericordie, observando legem matrimonii, tenendo divicias seculi bene et pie expendendo et aliis modis bene operando, vitam eternam possit adipisci, melius tamen et verius regnum Dei adquirit, qui Christum per omnem paupertatem sequitur et mundum cum mundanis rebus ob amorem Christi contempnit. Sed longe est a vera Christi paupertate, qui clam vel palam divicias congregat, nisi opus pium et oportunum vel stricta corporis necessitas hoc deposcat.
>
> And yf a man be þe preceptis of [God] and Goddis commaundmentis [or] by odur gude ocupacyons and werkis of mercy may get euerlastynge joye and blysse in kepynge the lawe

> of trewe goynge and selling, in havynge and holdynge dyvers riches of this worlde, trewly and faithefully theme spendynge, and be odur trewe menys wylle workynge, nevyr-the-lesse a man gettis the kyndome of God more verely þe wylk followis Cryste in all maner mekenes and pouerte, and for-sakkis and dyspicis þe worlde with worldely thyngis for Crystis love. Of this bere wyttenes Saynt Austyn saynng on this wysse: 'Yt is [good] to geff almus to þe pore with dysponsacyon, but it is better, for intente follynge God, ones wyll to gyff and euer with Criste hevenly to lyffe'. But he is farre fro Cristes trew pouerte þe wylke pr[i]vely and secretly gaderis to-gedyr tresurs and rychesse, but yf hit so be [that] he cast hym to do some gude þer-with, or els that þe streyte need of his body requere yt and aske [ytt].

The translation can be literal ('bene et pie expendendo'~'trewly and faithefully theme spendynge'), or expanded by a generous use of the doublet ('tenendo divicias seculi'~'in havynge and holdynge dyvers riches of this worlde'), or reduced ('opus pium et oportunum'~'some gude'), or wrong ('qui clam vel palam divicias congregat'~'þe wylke pr[i]vely and secretly gaderis to-gedyr tresurs and rychesse': here we have a doublet for *clam*, 'secretly', but the antonym *palam*, 'openly', is not translated). The first sentence shows that the translator can create a different order of clauses, but this is rarely the case. The passage also contain one of the rare additions to the Latin original, the quotation from St Augustine, but this passage may exist in one version of the *Oxoniensis* no longer extant.[20]

The main changes found in medieval translations are either expansions or additions, but the long Additional version has only two interesting relevant examples, both having to do with the hermit's devotion and prayer. In one case (ch. 12) the order of psalms, collects, antiphons etc. to be said is expanded with many details and the insertions of prayers not contemplated in the Latin rule;[21] in the other (ch. 13) the list of topics for contemplation at different hours of the day is drastically reduced. While in the first case the expansion consists mainly in indicating, by their incipits, the fifteen *psalmi graduales* simply mentioned in the Latin, or in giving the complete texts of the collects, versicles and so forth, the selection of meditative topics is more interesting and can reveal different spiritual attitudes. Suggesting themes for meditation according to the canonical daily Hours of the liturgy has a long tradition in the Church, and was particularly diffused in the Middle Ages. These themes were variously combined: normally they joined up events relating to the Incarnation, the Passion and the Resurrection of Christ; sometimes, as in our case, they also included events referring to the personal life of the devout. To indicate the selection made by the Additional translator, I give the original as Table 2 below, italicising the material which has been preserved in the translation.

[20] See p. 70 above. For other remarks on the type of translation found in these three versions, see Domenico Pezzini, 'Three Versions of a Rule for Hermits in Late Medieval England', in *35 Années de Recherche et de Spiritualité. Congrès International des Analecta Cartusiana, 23-26 Juin 2005, Chartreuse de Molsheim — France*, ed. by Robert Bindel, Analecta Cartusiana, 253 (Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, Universität Salzburg, 2007), pp. 217–29, repr. in Domenico Pezzini, *The Translation of Religious Texts in the Middle Ages*, Linguistic Insights, 69 (Bern: Lang, 2008), pp. 121–38.

[21] The prayers detailed in A correspond to material generally contained in the *Primer*, a very successful book of prayer especially widely disseminated among lay people. These are: the Hours of Blessed Mary, the Seven Penitential Psalms, the Gradual Psalms, the Litany, the Office of the Dead (*Placebo and Dirige*), the Commendations (a prayer for the dead). See *The Prymer, or Lay Folks' Prayer Book*, ed. by Henry Littlehales, Early English Text Society, o. s., 105, 109, 2 vols (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1895–97).

Matins	Doomsday
	Birth of Christ
	Passion of Christ
Prime	One must judge his own misery
	Christ is judged by the Jews
	Resurrection (MS A adds *Ascension*)
Terce	Preparation of the heart to receive discipline
	Scourging of Christ
	The sending of the Holy Ghost
Sext	Man made of ashes in the image and likeness of God
	Incarnation of Christ
	Crucifixion
Nones	One's own death
	The death of Jesus
	Ascension
Vespers	How our prayers deliver souls from Purgatory
	Christ transfixed by the spear
	Christ taken down from the Cross
	Complaint of Our Lady
Compline	*The burying of Christ*
	Christ's sweating of blood
	Doomsday
	The pains of hell and the joys of heaven

Table 2: liturgical material preserved in the Additional version

Note that some themes appear twice: Doomsday in the Latin; Ascension in the English; and Incarnation and Passion in both, although in this case it is significant that *incarnation* means more than *birth*, and *crucifixion* means less than *passion*. On the whole, it seems that the translator has left out topics dealing with man's misery, his sinful condition and the last things (death, doomsday, hell and heaven), fixing instead his entire concentration on the life of Christ, and in general choosing one event only for each Hour. This amounts to a process of devotional simplification, since normally more events were appended to an Hour to obtain a contrapuntal effect (sorrow/joy, humiliation/glory, cross/resurrection, etc.).

6. The Sloane version

The second version, of Northern provenance, has some distinctive characteristics of its own. It is written as a running text, with no titles or any visible division into chapters. A good number of chapters are not translated: V (on worldly goods), VI (on begging), X and XI (on preaching), XV (on personal property), XVIII (on offices), XX (on subjects for contemplation), XXI (on Prime), and XXII (on Mass). Others are given in a form which is reduced (XIX) or modified (A xvi).[22] These omissions form little basis on which to infer the intended audience of this version. While some of them seem to indicate the transformation of a rule into

[22] Upper case Roman numerals indicate the chapters in the Latin, while lower case Roman numerals indicate the chapters in A.

a spiritual treatise, others, such as the suppression of themes for meditation, do not readily fit this interpretation. Either way, however, a changed audience seems to be implied by the disappearance of rules dealing with preaching and begging, supplemented by others concerning people living far from home, travelling, or working in the countryside.

The assessment of the quality of the translation is less problematic. Where the two allow a comparison, S is almost always superior to A, presenting a text which is clearer, more correct, and more restrained. As an example, I give the passage translating the same section presented above:

> Fore yff all yit be so that the lyffe that euer ys lasting may be gottyne vnder the sacrament off holy matrimony, thorowe the keppyng off the commawndmentis, fleyng fro syne, neuer-the-lesse more sekerly and more perfytly commys thos mene to the blesse off hevyne that folowys Crist by þe narew way off wyllfull powrnes, and for hys love fore-sakis the world with all his lykyns, noght only þat he has but that he myght haue had, yff he had lyvyd ther-in, als other mene done, as wyttnes sant Barnerd and the holy mane sant Awsten, ther he shewys the rygth-wysse way off lyffynge: 'Gud, he says, itt ys to gyffe be seytt ways oft tymys erthly gudis fore Godis love vnto poure mene, but more perfeccione itt ys to gyffe all that he has and folowe Cryste in pouerness'; fore he says that he ys fare fro soth-faste pouernes þat other prively or openly gadyris rychis, butt yff ytt be so, to do þer-with ony gud ded, ore ellis to saue hyme fro harde bodily ned.

The adherence to the Latin is rather strict, although some changes are made, like 'bene operando' rendered by 'fleyng fro syne', or 'regnum Dei' which becomes 'the blesse of hevene'; 'omnem paupertatem' is now 'þe narew way off wyllfull powrnes'. The correct understanding of the Latin appears in the translation of 'clam vel palam' with 'other prively or openly', which in A becomes a doublet on *clam* with the omission of *palam*. The changes, omissions from and additions to the Latin are indicated in the footnotes to the text edited below.

7. The Bristol version

This version, probably the latest, is the best presented, with elegantly illuminated capitals, titles well marked out in red, and very clear handwriting. It is the shortest of the three, more like a small breviary of spiritual rules for a holy life. In passages where the comparison is possible, this is certainly the most accurate translation. The question it raises is whether this is an original selection/translation or whether it is derived from an existing one. The chapters omitted in this short rule are the same as in S, and this suggests that both may represent a second step from A, in a work which carries it further towards the production of a small spiritual treatise. The accuracy of this translator shows at least in two details. One is the perception of an underlying tripartite structure in what *Oxoniensis* presents as chapter III; the other is the fact that he gives the reference to the Augustinian work from which the quotation added in the three versions is said to be taken. I give again the passage quoted from A and S as it appears in B:

> Not-withstondyng euerlastyng lyfe may be purchesyth by meke warkys as yn kepyng the x commaundementis of God and the vii warkys of mercy, observing the law of matrimony, expendyng the ryches of the world well and mekely, and other goode warkys warkyng, never-the-lesse the kyngdum of hevyn ys gytten more better and profytelyer wyth all such that foloyng Criste with all pouerte forsaking the world with all hys descepcyons for the love of Ihesu Crist. Seynt Austyne yn hys dystynccyons of the feyth beryth wyttnes and sayth thus 'It ys goode to gyfe þe poore pepyll of thy substance with dyspensacion, but it is better to gyfe þi self intendyng to folow Crist faithfully'.

The version follows the Latin in a very neat rendering, with practically no additions except for the quotation from St Augustine, which I have discussed above (§3). The name of the author is admittedly in the form *Austyne*, and moreover there is no work by St Augustine entitled 'Distinctions of the Faith'. We may remark that the word *religio* of the original, rendered by 'convent' in S, is here translated by 'wilderness' — a term having a more general meaning, normally referring to monastic life, but applied especially to the eremitic vocation. The word appears in what we may take as a long title, in which it is said of Pope Celestine that he 'was a hermit, and was chosen out of wilderness to be pope, and afterward left the papacy and returned into the wilderness again'.

A quick survey shows that the selection of chapters corresponds almost totally to S, with the exception of *Ox* XII ('On Silence'), present in S and absent from B. Even the final chapters, for which only the comparison with A is possible, correspond in the main (xv and xvi appear in both), except for the rule concerning a lay hermit (A xvii), present in S and absent from B. This strong similarity leads one to suggest that S and B may translate a reduced form of *Oxoniensis*, which circulated together with the longer form, of which the translation is represented by A. Unlike S, B offers an elegant and ordered layout. After a Prologue bearing no specific indication, the text is divided in chapters, marked in red, and well demarcated also by the decoration of initial capitals. Here is the summary of this version:

[Prologue (I-II)]
Obedience (IIIa)
Confessyon (IIIb)
Of tyme of scilence (IIIc)
Of the vowe of pouerte and chastite (IV)
Of hys metys (VII)
Of hys clothing (VIII)
Of hoose and schone (IX)
Of abstynence (XIII)
Of the etyng of flesch (XIV)
Of laboryng w*ith* hys handdys (XVI)
Of slepyng (XVII)

The conclusion, with no specific title, gathers rules about the duty to hear the mass every day (*Ox* XXII); the keeping of silence; prayers to be said at meals (A xv), communion and confession once a week (A xvi); and a form of salutation when meeting other people. Note that chapter II in *Oxoniensis*, entitled 'De obedientia', is here split into three parts, entitled 'obedience', 'confession', and 'time of silence' respectively, a choice which perfectly captures the tripartite structure of the original Latin. While the general selection of chapters is in the main the same found is S, the rendering of single chapters is normally shorter. Here is an example, in which I have marked in italics the parts of the text selected by the translator:

> VIII. — De vestimentis suis. Vestimenta habeat secundum ordinacionem episcopi in cuius diocesi moratur vel patroni sui, si fuerit prelatus ecclesie et discretus, ita quod *vestimenta sint humilia*, videlicet *non* nimium *curiosa* vel nimium abiecta, *secundum illud beati Bernardi*, ubi dicit in persona Domini: *'Paupertatem dilexi, sordes nunquam'. Et ne detur religiosis occasio malignandi in eum, caveat omnino ne habeat habitum ullius religionis in omnibus conformem*. Die nocteque nunquam utatur prope carnem lineis, staminis vel mollibus vestimentis, sed laneis et humilibus, ut predicitur, quales inveniri possunt in regno suo in quo habitat. *Et si ex devocione iuxta carnem cilicio uti voluerit, bene licebit*, nisi fuerit in oratione contemplationis, ita quod pro nimietate vermium ex cilicio proveniencium posset impediri de contemplatione sua, et sic pocius intenderet dolori carnis quam

> contemplacioni spiritus. Cilicium igitur consciencie relinquemus.
>
> Of hys clothyng Let hys clothyng be humyle and not curius, after the sayng of Seynt Barnerd: 'I haue louyd pouerte but y neuer louyd fylth'. And loke that he gyfe noon occasyon of evyl to relygius man yn weryng any religyus habyte lyke yn all thing. And yf he wyll of devocyon were next hys flesh a cylyce it ys laufull.

Compare this very careful selection, of the kind I have elsewhere called 'summary translation',[23] with the version in S:

> It chargys noght what hewe that his clothis be, butt that thei be nother to fayre nor to fovle, for the holy mane sent Bernard says that he has lovyd wylfull pouerte for Goddis sake, butt neuer filth. Neuer-the-les ylke ane hermett awght to be ware that he wher no habbytt that ys lyke to ony oder order off relegyon, so that they that he wonnys noght among, noþer þey by hyme, ther-off ne slandar him. He may were the heyre, yff he wyll, next his fleych yff ytt lett nott grettly his deuocion in praynge for bytynge off wormis that bredis thar-vndyr. Here (*hair-cloth*, *cilice*) in his hart weres he euermore whene he thingkis off the passion off owr lord Ihesu Cryst.

This version too is selective (see A for comparison), but not as much as B, and moreover it adds the concluding sentence about a spiritual interpretation of the cilice.

8. Editorial principles

The Latin Rule has been drawn from Oliger's edition. Biblical passages, put in the footnotes by Oliger, have been reinserted into the text.

Given the brevity of the texts, I have gathered in the footnotes three types of annotations:

1. those concerning editing proper, that is corrections of wrong spellings, insertion of words missing in the text which needed to be supplied, either considering the original Latin or according to what the meaning of the sentence required;

2. the translation in modern English of words thought to be difficult to interpret, especially because of unfamiliar spelling;

3. remarks of certain choices of the translator, such as omissions or additions to the Latin original, references to biblical passages and other information and justifications for the correction of certain passages.

For the Middle English texts the following principles have been observed. Abbreviations have been expanded and marked in italics, with the exception of ampersand regularly rendered as 'and'. The abbreviation *Ihu* is expanded as *Ihesu*. The letter <þ> has been maintained; the letter <ȝ> is maintained when it corresponds to modern <y> or <gh>, while it is written as <z> when it corresponds to modern <z, s>. The punctuation, capitalization and paragraphing are editorial. Word-division follows the modern practice. A hyphen has been used to unite words which today are written without a space when they appear separated in the manuscript.

Emendations that consist in the alteration of what is written in the manuscript are denoted by square brackets [ ], and the manuscript reading is given in the footnotes. Additions required by logic or suggested by the Latin are put within angle brackets < >; when the case

[23] See Domenico Pezzini, *The Translation of Religious Texts in the Middle Ages*, Linguistic Insights, 69 (Bern: Lang, 2008), p. 85.

the Latin reference is given in the footnotes. Emendations that result in the suppression of words or letters in the manuscript are also recorded in the footnotes. Word-initial <ff> has been transcribed simply as <f>, also in words which are joined by hyphen to another word. The beginning of a new folio is indicated in round brackets. Titles and headings in red ink are shown by bold lettering. Latin words are rendered in italics when they are underlined in the manuscript.

Regula eremitarum Oxoniensis (From Oxford, Bodley Rawlinson C. 72)

[Prologus][24]

(166v) Quia[25] licet status heremitarum regula careat canonica, nichilominus tamen omnibus, qui viam vere paupertatis pro Christo Ihesu elegerunt, valde necessarium est quod sancte vivant, iuxta illud apostoli: *Hec est voluntas Dei, sanctificatio vestra* (1Th 4:3).

I. — Qualis debet esse vera paupertas.

Ingredienti statum heremitarum primo oportet presentem mundum cum omnibus blandimentis eius contempnere, propriam voluntatem pro amore Dei et zelo proximi abnegare; in solo Christo Ihesu confidere, eius voluntatem die nocteque scrutare et pro posse per bona opera exequi, videlicet custodiendo decem precepta decalogi et omnia opera misericordie iugiter exercendo.

II. — Quod vere pauper Christi sancte possit vivere, licet non ingrediatur religionem.[26]

In corde et animo semper habeat illud Evangelii: *Vade et vende omnia que habes et da pauperibus et habebis thesauros in celis et veni sequere me* (Mt 19:21; Lc 18:22). Et licet per alia pia opera, prout precepta Dei et opera misericordie, observando legem matrimonii, tenendo divicias seculi bene et pie expendendo et aliis modis bene operando, vitam eternam possit adipisci, melius tamen et verius regnum Dei adquirit, qui Christum per omnem paupertatem sequitur et mundum cum mundanis rebus ob amorem Christi contempnit. Sed longe est a vera Christi paupertate, qui clam vel palam divicias congregat, nisi opus pium et oportunum vel stricta corporis necessitas hoc deposcat.

[24] The text is given here from the edition of L. Oliger, 'Regulae tres reclusorum et eremitarum Angliae saeculorum XIII–XIV', *Antonianum*, 3 (1928), 151–190 and 291–320, (pp. 312–20). Besides the Latin text proper, religious sources (Rule of St Benedict, Rule of St Francis and the *Regula Cantabrigensis*) are here indicated, while the variant readings of the manuscript, to be found in Oliger's edition, are ignored.

[25] The absence of the title of the Prologue, supplied by the editor, and the incipit 'quia', that is 'since' or 'because', which is not normal for the beginning of a sentence, seem to imply that this *Regula* lacks not only the end, but also the beginning. We may suppose that the reference to Pope Celestine V as the author, which is found in all the three versions, and possibly the General Table appearing in the Additional version, were part of the incipit of the Latin Rule now lost.

[26] *Religio* means 'religious order'. The word is rendered by 'convent' in S, and 'wilderness' in B. This second part of the title (*licet non ingrediatur in religionem*) appears as the beginning of a sentence in S and B (A does not translate it), and it seems reasonable to think that this was originally the incipit of the chapter. The hypothesis is reinforced by the fact that the second sentence of the chapter begins by 'Et licet' which suggests the presence of another *licet* at the beginning of the first sentence. Either the copyist, or the editor, has transferred it back to form part of the title.

III. — De obedientia quam debet Deo et hominibus.[27]

Soli Deo debet heremita obedientiam facere, quia ipse est abbas, prior et prepositus sui claustri, idest cordis sui, pro cuius amore omnia mundana non solum reliquit, immo per gratiam Dei voluntatem habendi deseruit. Episcopo etiam in cuius diocesi habitat et patri suo spirituali, qui noticiam habent condicionum eius, confiteri debet, et patrono loci, si fuerit prelatus ecclesie vel sacerdos bone discretionis, debet, sicut et episcopo notificare vitam et modum vite sue. Et si aliqua viderint in illo emendanda, obediat consiliis eorum propter Christum magistrum suum, qui dicit: *Qui vos audit, me audit et qui vos spernit, me spernit* (Lc 10:16).[28]

Omni tempore loquimini veritatem et neminem dubitet pro veritate dicenda, *sed* illum solum timeat *qui corpus et animam potest* (167r) mittere *in gehennam ignis* (Mt 10:28); et specialiter contra omnes iudeos, saracenos et falsos christianos catholicam fidem sancte romane ecclesie non credentes, pro huiusmodi erroribus destruendis mortem pro fide Christi subire, si oporteat, non formidet.

IV. — De voto suo faciendo.

Omnipotenti Deo faciat votum paupertatis et castitatis cum Dei adiutorio. Votum huiusmodi non debet fieri per preceptum alicuius hominis sive status, sed soli Deo, 'cui servire regnare est' faciat votum suum. Aliter enim videretur quod militaret sub regula vel homine. Sed tamen episcopo si velit faciat votum suum et secundum consilium suum vivat, si potest.

V. — Qualiter recipiat res mundi.

Heremita qui est verus pauper Christi nichil debet desiderare, habere, vel in Dei nomine petere, nisi pro stricta necessitate ad sustentationem sui corporis pertinente. Argentum vel monetam non portet per viam nisi tribus de causis, videlicet pro cella emendanda, vel pro nova construenda vel vestibus seu libris necessariis emendis vel aliis operibus nunc exercendis. Verbi gratia: Si libencius dent homines elemosinam sibi quam indigentibus, recipiat illas in nomine Domini et det pauperi qui plus indiget, et diu eas non retineat sed tempestive pauperiori eroget.

VI. — De providencia in cella sua.

Pauper heremita qui moratur in burgo, villa vel in civitate vel iuxta, ubi possit singulis diebus victum suum cotidianum comode mendicare, residuum victus sui, si quod fuerit, ante solis occasum pauperibus Christi distribuat. Si vero longe maneat a predictis, prout in villa campestri vel loco deserto, ad unum miliare vel ad duo ab hominibus distanti, tunc faciat providenciam stricte pro una septimana, videlicet a dominica in dominicam vel ab alia feria usque ad eandem feriam proximam; et si quid sibi remaneat, statim pauperibus erogetur, nisi certa ratione erga Deum seipsum legitime excusare poterit, hoc est si sit infirmus vel debilis vel infirmum custodierit vel aliqua spiritualia vel corporalia Deo placi[t]a[29] domi faciat.

[27] The Bristol version divides this chapter in three new ones concerning obedience, confession and time of silence respectively. In fact it does not seem particularly in tune with the topic of obedience, as the title runs, especially the final paragraph concerning the duty to tell the truth even at cost of one's life. It may be that in the Latin original a title introducing a new theme has disappeared.

[28] This whole paragraph corresponds almost verbatim to a passage from ch. 2 of the *Regula Cantabrigensis*: see Oliger, 'Regulae tres', pp. 304–5.

[29] placita] Oliger (or ms.?): *placida*.

VII. — De humilitate in cibis et potibus.

Non sit curiosus de cibariis corporalibus, sed pro Dei amore (167v) ipsa cibaria sociis indigentibus largiatur; et hoc est indicium magnum humilitatis et vere paupertatis.

VIII. — De vestimentis suis.[30]

Vestimenta habeat secundum ordinacionem episcopi in cuius diocesi moratur vel patroni sui, si fuerit prelatus ecclesie et discretus, ita quod vestimenta sint humilia, videlicet non nimium curiosa vel nimium abiecta, secundum illud beati Bernardi, ubi dicit in persona Domini: 'Paupertatem dilexi, sordes nunquam'.[31] Et ne detur religiosis occasio malignandi in eum, caveat omnino ne habeat habitum ullius religionis in omnibus conformem. Die nocteque nunquam utatur prope carnem lineis, staminis vel mollibus vestimentis, sed laneis et humilibus, ut predicitur, quales inveniri possunt in regno suo in quo habitat. Et si ex devocione iuxta carnem cilicio uti voluerit, bene licebit, nisi fuerit in oratione contemplationis, ita quod pro nimietate vermium ex cilicio proveniencium posset impediri de contemplatione sua, et sic pocius intenderet dolori carnis quam contemplacioni spiritus. Cilicium igitur consciencie relinquemus.

IX. — De calciamentis suis.

Non utatur caligis sed sotularibus non curiosis,[32] sed quales habere poterit pro amore Dei vel nudus pedes eat, si sine gravamine corporis hoc facere poterit; omnia tamen cum moderamine faciat. *Ve soli!* (Ecl 4:10). Sed non est solus *qui manet in caritate*, quia *in Deo manet et Deus in eo* (1Jo 4:16), ergo cum eo. Nunquam solus eat, si commode secum socius vel famulum habere poterit. Et non circuat patriam nimium, sed per servientem suum, si quem habere poterit, pro suis agendis in nuntium suum mittat, ne nimium solacium corpori suo per illicitas vagaciones tribuat et sic orationem seu devocionem suam, quod absit, per necligentiam perdat. Si vero ultra mare vel in peregrinationem longinquam transire debeat, de licencia patroni sui, si comode cum eo loqui poterit, hoc faciat. Nullam trutannizacionem vel adulacionem per patriam exerceat, sed simpliciter propter Deum victum suum et vestitum mendicet.

X. — De predicatione et mendicatione.

Si doctus sacerdos vel diaconus fuerit, ita quod predicare (168r) sciat et velit, de licencia eorum, quorum interest, verba evangelii pure ad Dei honorem 'et populi edificacionem'[33] cum fiducia et adiutorio Ihesu Christ predicet. Evangelizando igitur et mendicando, 'non oportet eum verecundari, quia dominus Ihesus Christus pro nobis omnibus se fecit pauperem (cf. 2Cor 8:9) in hoc mundo';[34] speret igitur *in Domino et* faciat *bonitatem et* inhabitando *terram* pascetur *in diviciis eius* (Ps 36:3).

[30] This chapter derives mostly from the Cambridge Rule, ch. 3 (Oliger, 'Regulae tres reclusorum', pp. 305–6).

[31] Oliger remarks that this text, not found in Bernard's works, may be an adaptation from *Vita S. Bernardi* by Geoffrey of Auxerre, ch. 2, in *Patrologiae cursus completus*, ed. by J.-P. Migne, 221 vols (Paris: Migne, 1844–64), clxxxv, cols 221–454B (col. 306B): 'In vestibus et paupertas semper placuit, sordes nunquam'.

[32] See Cambridge, ch. 3, p. 306.

[33] See *Rule of St Francis*, ch. 9 (*Opuscula Sancti Patris Francisci Assisiensis*, ed. by Caietanus Esser, Bibliotheca Franciscana Ascetica Medii Aevi, 12 (Grottaferrata: Editiones Collegii S. Bonaventurae ad Claras Aquas, 1978), p. 234).

[34] *Rule of St Francis*, ch. 6, ed. Esser, pp. 231–32, quoted almost verbatim.

XI. — De sustentacione eius per viam.

In quamcumque domum intraverit primo dicat: *Pax huic domui* (Lc 10:5), edens et bibens *que apud eos sunt* (Lc 10:7), nichil interrogans *propter conscientiam* (1Cor 10:27), sed contentus hiis *que* sibi pro Dei amore *apponuntur* (Lc 18:8).[35]

XII. — De silencio heremite.

Quia secundum Scripturam *mors et vita in manibus lingue* sunt (Prv 18:21),[36] igitur heremita ad opposiciones, Dei honorem et proximi salutem continentes vel attingentes secundum quod experitur et sentit honeste et humiliter respondat; 'verba autem ociosa', frivola et maxime inhonesta 'et ad risum moventia'[37] omnino non loquatur nec libenter audiat.

In cella autem a completorio usque post *Pretiosa*, que sequitur primam horam diei sequentis, non loquatur, nec extra cellam exeat, nisi grandis necessitas hoc deposcat, et tunc 'cum brevitate sermonis'[38] et timore Domini.

XIII. — De abstinencia et ieiunio in domo propria.

Omni tempore heremita cum in propria cella fuerit, tribus diebus in septimana ad minus ieiunet, si sanus fuerit, in pane et aqua, sed propter vigiliam noctis poterit uno genere potagii seu pulmenti vesci, si sua debilitas hoc deposcat. Ieiunabit etiam XL dies ante natale Domini et a LXX[a] usque ad pascha et, si posset sine gravamine, in crastino epiphanie hoc ieiunium incipiat,[39] et IX dies ante pentecosten et IX dies ante festum beati Michaelis, et singulis aliis diebus ieiunii per annum ab ecclesia romana constitutis. Omni die ieiunii quo ieiunat per annum, non manducabit carnes neque sanguinem nec alium, si posset habere pisses; et de uno (168v) genere pissium sit contentus, nisi caritas et presencia hospitum aliter exigat faciendum. Die vero ieiunii quo pissibus vescitur, ipso die carnibus seu sanguine, nisi urgeat causa legitima, non utatur.

XIV. — Quando liceat heremite domi comedere carnes.

In tribus eciam anni sollempnitatibus cum tribus diebus, si dies carnium fuerint, sequentibus in heremitagio suo comedere licebit [carnes], videlicet diebus natalis Domini, pasche et pentecostes, et non amplius, nisi tribus ex causis, videlicet pro gravi infirmitate seu debilitate, quousque convaluerit, pro magno labore preterito seu futuro, si necessario indigeat, vel ex precepto alicuius episcopi vel prelati seu loci patroni, si presentes fuerint. Et hoc uno die tantum et non duobus, si sanus corpore fuerit. In illo autem loco et super mensam ubi omni die comedit, minime carnes comedat, si alium locum et aliam mensam habeat, ubi illas honeste comedere posset.

[35] This chapter is based on *St Francis' Rule*, ch. 3, ed. Esser, p. 230.
[36] The same quotation appears in *Regula Benedicti*, ch. 6.
[37] *Regula Benedicti*, ch. 6.
[38] See *St Francis' Rule*, ch. 9, ed. Esser p. 234.
[39] An optional fast between Epiphany and the beginning of Lent is also suggested in the *Rule of St Francis*, ch. 3, ed. Esser, p. 229.

XV. — De proprietate quam habebit.

Licet heremite ut in rebus temporalibus proprietatem habeat, ita quod de temporalitate non superbiat, sed avaricie signum fugiat et in tempore stricte necessitatis proximo suo magis indigenti pro Dei amore subveniat de elemosinis receptis. Quicquid enim recipit, pro Dei amore recipiat et quicquid diligit in celo et in terra, in Deo et secundum Deum diligat. Quicquid etiam largitur vel quicquid boni faciat, pro Deo largiatur et propter amorem Dei totum faciat, tantumque illa que ad victum et vestitum sunt omnino necessaria, cum timore Dei salva sibi reservet.

XVI. — De labore heremite.

Qui *labores manuum suarum* manducat *beatus* est *et bene* sibi *erit* (Ps 127:2). Igitur una vice ante prandium et alia vice post, quia dicit apostolus: qui *non* laborat, non *manducet* (2Th 3:10), in ferialibus diebus tantum, in omni tempore anni, in loco suo, si legitime poterit, aliquid manibus operetur, loco et tempore oportunis. Quoniam 'ociositas inimica est anime',[40] per qu[a]m[41] diabolus multos solet decipere.[42]

XVII. — Quomodo debet iacere et qua hora debet pausare et qua hora surgere.

In tunica sua iaceat heremita cinctus zona vel corda[43] (169r) omni tempore anni. Media nocte, in quantum illam horam melius aptare potest, ad confitendum Deo surgat. A pascha autem usque ad exaltationem sancte crucis ad solis occasum cubat et ad ortum surgat et horam primam dicat et post prandium meridianum dormiat.[44] Et ab exaltacione sancte crucis usque ad pascha cum aurora diei surgat. In quadragesima vero usque ad claram diem dormiat et horam primam incipiat.

XVIII. — De matutinis dicendis.

Ante matutinum dicat ante crucem *Credo in Deum* et III *Pater noster* et quinquies *Ave Maria*; in choro *Pater noster* et *Ave Maria*. Postea XV psalmos graduales et dividantur in tres turbas: Prima pro defunctis cum Pater noster et Ave Maria, oratio *Inclina Domine* vel *Absolve*. 2a turba pro peccatis suis et pro benefactoribus suis, cum *Pater noster* et *Ave Maria*, oratio *Deus cui proprium est*. 3a turba pro sancta ecclesia et pro pace et pro cuncto populo Dei: *Pater noster* et *Ave Maria*, oratio *Pretende Domine* etc. Et tunc matutinum de Domina, postea de die, secundum usum episcopatus, in quo moratur, vel de usu curie romane, si tales libros habeat. Qui autem de omni uso canonizato licite potest uti et monastico, pro eo quod non est regulata persona nec ad chori servicium per professionem obligata.

[40] *Regula Benedicti*, ch. 48, *Cantabrigensis* ch. 4 (Oliger, p. 306).
[41] quam] *quem*.
[42] This sentence is similar to what is found in the *Sermones ad fratres in eremo commorantes*, wrongly attributed to Augustine: 'Certe multi audacia diabolica decipiuntur' (*Patrologiae cursus completus*, ed. by J.-P. Migne, 221 vols (Paris: Migne, 1844–64), xl, cols. 1235–1358 (col. 1355), l. 14).
[43] *Regula Benedicti*, ch. 22, *Cant*. ch. 3 (Oliger, 'Regulae tres reclusorum', p. 306).
[44] *Regula Benedicti*, ch. 48.

XIX. — Quo tempore et qua hora debet dici officium pro defunctis.

Ab exaltatione sancte crucis usque ad pascha ante vesperas dicatur *Placebo* et *Dirige*. Et quando de feria cantatur, tunc debet dici commendacio ante missam. Aliis vero diebus, quando sibi melius vacaverit, ante prandium dicatur commendacio. In estatis vero tempore, graciis dictis, et postea statim nona dicta, dicatur *Placebo*, et post sompnium meridianum ante vesperas *Dirige* cum laudibus dicatur. In paschali vero tempore et diebus IX lectionum dicere *Placebo* et *Dirige* nisi ex devocione minime tenetur.

XX. — De modo et tempore contemplacionis seu meditacionis.

Media nocte ante matutinum vel post, primo de die iudicii ad yma humilitatis inquirenda, et postea de natali Christi et de passione eiusdem. Ad primam iudica teipsum miserum et quomodo Christus pro te a iudeis iudicatus est et de resurrectione cogita. Ad III^{am}ad veram penitenciam et disciplinam accipiendam cor tuum prepara, et de Christi flagellatione et de (169v) missione spiritus sancti cogita. Ad VI^{am}quomodo factus est homo de luto et cinere etc. et secundum animam ad ymaginem Dei et similitudinem eius factus est, et de incarnatione Christi et de crucifixione eiusdem cogita. Ad IX^{am}de tua hora novissima et de morte Ihesu Christi et de ascencione eiusdem. Ad vesperas quomodo suffragia nostra, si iusta sint, possunt animas a purgatorio liberare, et quomodo ante vesperas Christus est lanceatus et postea de cruce depositus, et de lamentacione beate Virginis circa crucem. Ad completorium de sepultura Christi et de sudore sanguineo, quando oravit ad Patrem. Similiter cogita post de dispersione bonorum et malorum in die iudicii et de penis inferni et de gaudiis celi. Et secura mente in timore Domini et amore postea requiesce. Ad horam autem sextam et nonam brevior sit contemplacio quam ad alias horas, quia illis horis plus concupiscit caro adversus spiritum quam aliis, quia tria omni carni humane omnino sunt necessaria, videlicet cibus et potus ad nutriendum, dormicio et sompnus ad dirigendum[45] et vestimentum ad corpus tegendum et frigus depellendum.

XXI. — De hora prima dicenda.

Tempore yemali in aurora diei heremita primam de die devote incipiat et postea de beata Maria primam dicat. Similiter post terciam, sextam, nonam et completorium de die, ipsas easdem horas beate Virginis eodem modo quo ad primam devote persolvat. Hiis dictis statim post pro seipso et pro benefactoribus suis et omni populo christiano septem psalmos penitenciales cum letania decantet. Et tunc vel ante primam, si in aliquo peccato conscienciam suam lesam senserit, patri spirituali, sacerdoti, si presens fuerit, confiteatur et pro commisso penitenciam peragat salutarem.

XXII. — Hora qua debet heremita sacerdos missam celebrare vel laycus audire.

In diebus, in quibus laborare debet, dicta prima, ut premittiur, et in dominicis diebus celebret vel audiat missam et statim post finem misse, dicat: *Gaude Virgo, mater Christi*, cum versiculo: *Exaltata est* etc. cum oracione *Deus qui beatam Mariam Virginem in conceptu et partu* et cetera.

[45] Probably one should read ‘digerendum’.

The reule and the levyng of heremytys (BL MS Additional 34193)

(131r) Here begynnys the chapitoris of the reule and of the levynge of heremytys.

The fyrst chapitour ys of the for-sakyng of this wrechyd worlde
The secounde of þe obdience of an hermyte
The thyrde his[46] of his wowe
The fourte ys of his pouerte
The fyefte is of his demenyng
The vi of his clothis
The vii is of his schoune
The viii is of his sylence kepyng
The ix is of his abstyne[n]ce[47]
The x is when he shall ete flesche
The xi is of his p*ro*purte
The xii is when he shall lygge and when he shall rysse
The xiii is of þe man*er* and of þe tyme of his contemplac*i*on
The xiiii is what oure he shall do messe or here masse
The xv is of his silence at þe borde w*ith* labo*ur* and refeccion
The xvi is of his schryfte and housell
The xvii is of þe servys of a lay heremyte

Here begynnys þe Reule of heremyt*is* made and compiled of the blessed pope Celestine þe v, the wylke pope Celestine whas an heremyte or[48] he whas pope.[49]

Capitulum primum[50]

The first chapito*ur* is of forsakynge of this worlde[51] (*Ox* I)

(131v) Yt behovys hermyt*is* to dyspise and forsake þe worlde with all his mylde spechis and glosynge; his owne wyll for þe love of Cryste he must forsake sadly, and[52] stedfastely to trast in Cryst Ihesu. Also þe wylle of Cryste, bothe be day and nyght, he owis to followe and to full-fylle w*ith* all his power and myght, warkyng and doyng all man*er* of gude werk*is* and vertus occupacions, þ*a*t is to say in kepynge and fulfyllynge the x com*m*aundeme*nt*is of God all-myghty, in vsyng and hawntynge vertuosly all gude werkys of mercy (*Ox* II) that he may holsomly and holyly do þe pore man of Cryste Ihesu, and all-way that he have in his herte <and> in his sawlle the intent and the worde of the holy gospell where is wretyn on this wysse: *Vade et vende omnia que possides et da pauperibus et veni sequere me* (Mt 19:21; Lk 18:22).[53] Ow*ur* Lorde sais: 'Goe and sell all þat thow hasse and gyffe it to þe pore, and come and follow me'.

[46] The manuscript uses *is* and *his* indifferently.
[47] abstynence] *abstynece*.
[48] *or* = 'before'.
[49] This attribution of the Rule to pope Celestine v, present also in S and B, has no correspondent in *Ox*.
[50] Unlike S and B, A omits the translation of the Prologue of *Ox*, in which the need of a rule for hermits is justified precisely because their state is not 'canonized', that is not structured according to the canon law of the Church.
[51] Latin title: 'Qualis debet esse vera paupertas'.
[52] and] *and and*.
[53] The Latin quotation is underlined in the ms. This long sentence amalgamates the conclusion of ch. I, the title and the beginning of ch. II of *Ox*.

And yf a man be þe p*re*ceptis of <God> and Goddis com*m*aundme*ntis* <or> by odur gude ocupacyons and w*er*kis of mercy may get eu*er*lastynge joye and blysse in kepynge the lawe of trewe goynge and selling, in havynge and holdynge dyvers riches of this worlde, trewly and faithefully theme spendynge, and be od*ur* trewe menys wylle[54] workynge, nevyr-the-lesse a man gett*is* the kyndome of God more verely þe wylk followis Cryste in all maner mekenes and pou*er*te, and for-sakk*is* and dyspic*is* þe worlde w*ith* worldely thyng*is* for Cryst*is* love. Of this bere wyttenes Saynt Austyn saynng on this wysse: 'Yt is <good>[55] to geff almus to þe pore with dyspo*n*sacyon, but it is bett*er*, for intente follynge God, ones[56] wyll to gyff and eu*er* w*ith* Criste hevenly to lyffe'.[57] But he is farre fro Cristes trew pou*er*te þe wylke pr[i]vely[58] and secretly gaderis to-gedyr tresurs and rychesse, but yf hit 'so'[59] be <that> he cast hym to do some gude þ*er*-w*ith*, or els that þe streyte need of his body requere yt and aske [ytt].[60] Thus endis þe first chapito*ur*.

The secounde of þe obedience of an hermite (*Ox* III)

(132r) An herimite also owes to make his obedience all-only to all-myght God, for he is abote, prior and þe go*er*nour of his cloyster, þ*a*t is to say of his hert, for whosse lawe[61] he hase not for-sakyte all-only all wardely thyng*is*, but also þe varray worlde, and also his owne wylle be þe v*er*tu and grasse of Ihesu Cryste. Also he owis to notyfie and shew his lyffe to þe byschop in whos diosice he dewllis, and þe patrone of þe plase yf he be a prelate of þe kyrke, or to a prest of gude dyscression and conu*er*sac*i*on. And yf so be þ*a*t they cane fynde or fele any thynge in hym to be a-mendyed, [yt][62] be-fallys hym to obey to there counsellys and theyr correcc*i*onys for þe love of Criste hys mast*er*, þe wilk says: '<He> tha[t][63] heris yow <heris> me, and he þat dyspicys yow dyspisis me' (Lk 10:16).

Evyr þ*a*t he speke trewth and drede no man*er* for trouthe to be saide, but þ*a*t 'he drede him þat may chaste bothe body and sowlle into eu*er*-lastynge fyr' (Mt 10:28), and yet he be-hovys hym not for to drede nod*er* Ives ne Sarsonnys,[64] and in aspecyall falsse Crystyn*n* men*n* not be-levynge in þe feith of holy kyrk; for þis erysy and all oþ*er* poyntis of errysy; and to susteyne, maynten and encris þe feith of Criste, yt be-hovys hym to dye.

[54] *wylle* = 'well'.
[55] good] Lat. 'Bonum est'.
[56] *ones* = 'one's'
[57] [Of this… to lyffe]: this passage with the quotation is not in the Latin, but it appears also in B and S, where the name of St Bernard is added. The sentence is taken from the *Ecclesiastica Dogmatica* by Gennadius of Marseilles, and appears in Thomas Aquinas's *Catena aurea in Matthaeum* (cap. 19, lectio 5) quoted again twice in the *Summa Theologica* (IIa IIae, quest. 32, art. 8; IIa IIae, quest. 186, art. 3): 'Bonum est enim facultates cum dispensatione pauperibus erogare: melius est pro intentione sequendi dominum insimul donare, et absolutum sollicitudine egere cum Christo'. The translation in A is pretty literal, except for the concluding sentence in which 'egere cum Christo' (be poor with Christ) is rendered by 'live heavenly' with him. S has a more literal translation: 'folowe Cryste in pouerness'.
[58] prively] *provely*.
[59] *so* written above the line.
[60] ytt] *yett*.
[61] lawe: Lat. 'amor', S/B *loue*.
[62] yt] *yet*.
[63] that] *tha*.
[64] *Ives ne Sarsonnys* = 'Jews nor Sarrazins'.

The thirde his of hys wowe (*Ox* IV)

Eu*er*y hermite be-fallys to make his wowe of pou*er*te and of chastyte with þe helpe of God. Nevir þe lesse þe wowe of suche a man*n* owys not to [be][65] mad be þe p*re*cepte of any man*n* of[66] his state, but all-only to God, whome [to][67] serue yt is a kyngdome, or ellis yt shuld seme þ*a*t he shuld forfett agayne his rewle or agayne man*n*. But nethelesse be-fore þe bysshop yf he wyll he may make hy[s][68] wow aftyr his dyspo[si]cyon.[69]

The forthe his of his pou*er*te (*Ox* V)

He that is a very pore herimite of Cryste shud no thynge desire nor ask no thynge in God*is* name but yt be for grett indigence or streyt necessite to þe relevynge of his body. Also he shall not bere be þe way nedo*ur* gold nor sylyo*ur* nor no mony butt be thre[70] (132v) caussis, þ*a*t is to say: od*ur* to mende his selle w*ith*, or ell[71] to mak a new celle, or ellis for his clothis, or ellis for some necessary boke to be bought, or ellis to be hawnted w*ith* some othir gudde werkis of mercy. Yf so peraventure men gladly wyll gyffe hym allmesse <for> nedelyng, lett hym ressayve yt in þe name of God, and lett hym gyff yt to a porre man, and a nedyar[72] man, and þ*a*t he holde it not longe.

The fyfte of his dymenynge[73] in his celle (*Ox* VI)

A pore herimite dewllynge in a cette, or in a burgh towne, or in any od*ur* towne where he may com*m*odyusly begge his every day lyvelode and sustynaunce, be-hovis to dele þe relyff[74] of his vitalis and lyvelod, what-some-eu*er* þ*a*t he <has>,[75] be-for þe sone-sett to pore alm*us* pepull of God. And yf so be [þ*a*t][76] he dewell farre fro þe forsaide pepull, as in a deserte place, or in a grange in þe felde a myle or two for men, thane he muste make his purviaunce on owne day for all þe weke followynge, þ*a*t is to say from svnday to svnday, or from own[77] feryall day unto þe same foluynge, and that he levis be lyve[78] þ*a*t he dele to the pore, but yf so be þ*a*t he may excuse hym selfe lawfully agayne God w*ith* a resonabyll excuse, that is to say yf he <be> seke or ylle dyssposed, or ellis þ*a*t he kepe[79] a seke man, or yf so be that he do some odo*ur* gude dede at home þ*a*t is plessynge to God.

(*Ox* VII) He may not be lusty nor lycours[80] to no dilectabyll mete nor drynk*is*, butt for þe

[65] be] *me*.
[66] Lat. 'alicuius hominis sive status'. A,S,B may have read 'sive/seu' as 'sui'.
[67] to] *he*: Lat. 'cui servire regnare est'.
[68] hys] *hye*.
[69] dysposicyon] *dyspocion*.
[70] thre] *there*: Lat. 'tribus de causis'.
[71] The manuscript uses alternatively *ellis* and *ell* for 'else'.
[72] *nedyar* = 'needier, more indigent'.
[73] *dymenynge* = 'behaviour, management' (Lat. *providencia*, translated 'purviaunce' in the chapter).
[74] *relyff* = 'remains (of a meal)', Lat. 'residuum'.
[75] has] Lat. 'si quod fuerit'.
[76] þat] *þe*.
[77] *own* = 'one'.
[78] *he levis be lyve* = 'he leaves by leave': Lat. 'si quid sibi remaneat'.
[79] kepe] *peke*, Lat. 'custodierit'.
[80] *licours* = 'lecherous'.

luffe of God be-fallis to gyffe to[81] a p*re*ste[82] w*ith* his pore and nedy fellowys, for this is þe dome[83] and þe paym*en*t of very pouerte and of gret mekenes and charite

The vjte is of his clothis (*Ox* VIII)

Hyt ys levefull to a pore herimete to have his clothis fter þe ordinaunce and demenyd of þe bishop in whos dyosyce þ*a*t he dewellis, or of his patron[84] yf he be a prelate of þe kyrke, in so mykell þ*a*t [his][85] clothis must be meke, þ*a*t is to say not ovir couryose nor ou*er* slut-tisshely: vnto this acordis saynt Barnarde where he sais in latyn in this vyse: *Paupertatem dilexi and numquam sordes*: I had loved pou*er*te (133r) and mekenes, but neu*er* fylthe nor vnclenlynesse. And he must have in mynde and vmbethyn[k]e[86] devowtly and gracyosly of his holy relygyon, also þ*a*t he be well ware and a-fore p*ro*vide þ*a*t he have note [þe same][87] or þe lyke schappe in all thynge nor no od*ur* relygyon butt of hys [own],[88] and also[89] þ*a*t he may were no lynyn stamynes nor [no][90] softe shyrt*is*, butt [be]-hovis[91] hym to were meke clothys and <woollen>[92] clothys and honeste clothis als beforsaide.[93] And yf so be þ*a*t of devosyon agayne temptac*i*on of fleshe þ*a*t he wyll were herre, well and lawfully he may yf so be þ*a*t yt be thourgh his owne devocyon. But yf this be an impediment to stere hym fro þ*a*t devocyon, þ*a*t yf it be thurgh bredynge of mykell v*er*myn be-twyne þe fleshe and þe heyre [that he is intent][94] rather to þe flesshe þan to þe contemplacyon of þe sprite, rather or[95] yt shulde be so, as God for bede, w*ith*-drawe yt as for tyme, and thus we for-sake þe heyre [to][96] his conscience.

[81] gyffe to] *gyffe and to*.
[82] a preste] not in the Latin.
[83] *dome*: Lat *indicium* has evidently been read as *iudicium*, unless this was the reading of some manuscripts.
[84] The ms. has here 'yf þe be his patrone' which seems to be an unnecessary and intrusive repetition. See Lat.: 'vel patroni sui, si fuerit prelatus ecclesie et discretus'.
[85] his] *is*.
[86] vmbethynke] *vmbethynge*. The verb (other forms: umbeþenke, um(bi)thinke) means 'meditate'.
[87] þe same] *J sane*. Long J may easily be confused with þ.
[88] own] *don*.
[89] and also] *and also and also*.
[90] no] *nor*.
[91] be] *þe*.
[92] woollen] Lat. 'sed laneis'.
[93] als beforesaide] *als it saide beforsaide*.
[94] MS '*rather* or yt shulde be so, as God for bede, w*ith*-drawe yt as for tyme, *and so rather to þe flesshe þan to þe contemplacyon of þe sprite*'. As it stands the sentence in italics does not make sense and it seems clearly misplaced, probably because the copyist was misled by the repetition of 'rather'. I have anticipated the sentence putting it before 'rather or yt shulde be', since it does not come as a conclusion (suggested by 'and so') to what precedes, which is an invitation to suspend the use of the hair-cloth for a time if it becomes an impediment to prayer. I have also inserted the phrase 'that he is intent' to make sense of what in the Latin is: 'et sic pocius intenderet dolori carnis quam contemplacioni spiritus'. The verb *intenderet* has not been translated making things even more confused.
[95] *or* = 'before'.
[96] to] *of*. The translator has read 'consciencie' as a genitive of 'cilicium' instead of a dative as it should be.

The vijte off his shone (*Ox* IX)

Hose he may nott were by his religion but schone not cvryus, yf all he may[97] haue them[98] gyffyn in almus for þe l[o]ue[99] of Crest, or ellis þ*a*t he go barefote w*it*h this, þ*a*t he may do [yt][100] w*it*houtyn any grete greuau*n*ce of hys body, neu*er*-þe-lesse þ*a*t he do all thynge be his wyll w*it*h dyscressyon and moderac*i*on w*it*h mesurabylnesse.[101] Let hym be ware also þ*a*t he walke not[102] ne wunder[103] not be feld*is* nor townis alone w*it*hout a fellow or a s*er*vaunt, and also þ*a*t he goe not into þe cuntre ovyr oftyn but by his owne s*er*vaunt.[104] Whomesomeu*er* he may have to goe or to ride on his messages or on his erand*is* to be don, lete hym send to do his intent as far forthe as he may, leste he have not ovyr mykell solace and sporte vnto þe delyte of his body by vnlefull wawerynge and sup*er*fluite, þ*a*t he shulde, as God for bede, [lose][105] his dewete to p*ra*yer or his holy religion.

Also yf so be þ*a*t he caste hym to passe ouer see or more farre, and entre thes on pylgrymage, he oves to have licence of þe patron, yf he may esyly come to his speche, and in case be þ*a*t he have lycence to go, latt hym be well warre þ*a*t he vse nor excercyse no long dewellynge nor turtamyzacion[106] in þe cuntreth be þis way as he goos simpully and mekely. His lyvelode and clothyng computenly[107] he may begge in þe worship and in þe name of God.

(*Ox* X) And if so be þ*a*t he be a sufficient lerned man odo*ur* preste <who could preche>[108] þe wordis of þe holy gospel, then wyth þe leve of þe curett þ*a*t is to [say][109] of þe p*er*son vicar or p*ar*she preste of þe place þer he desyrris to preche aft*er* his dysposicion,[110] he may prech when yt be-fallis the word*is* of (133v) gospell sadely, and dyscretely to prech in þe honoure of God and þe gostely wylfare of his neybouris. In prechyng and in beggyng hym hovis not to be shamed.[111]

(*Ox* XI) In what-som-eu*er* hows he shall entyr in, furst he must say theys word*is* in latyn *pax huic domui* (Lk 10:5), þe wiche er as mykell to say as 'pes be in þis hows', etynge and drynkynge the thynges þ*a*t he sees them do (see Lk 10:7) or her*is* them say. Yt be-fallys hym nott to aske for peryshynge of his consicencie, butt it be-houes hym to holde hym content and plesyd w*it*h sich alm*us* as ys sett be-fore hym (cf. Lk 18:8) for p*re*ystis loue.[112] (*Ox* XII) Ydell word*is* and vayne and most vnhoneste word*is* he shall not speke in no wysse nor gladely here.[113]

[97] may] *may not*. Lat. 'quales habere poterit'. The translation in S and B is correct.
[98] *by* cancelled in the MS.
[99] loue] *leue*.
[100] yt] *yet*.
[101] w*it*h dyscressyon and moderac*i*on w*it*h mesurabylnesse: Lat. 'cum moderamine'.
[102] MS ~~walke not~~ walke not.
[103] *wunder* = 'wander'.
[104] servaunt] *service*. Lat. 'sed per servientem suum'; S/B: *seruaund*.
[105] lose] *and offer*. Lat. 'perdat', B *leese*. Did the translator read 'offerat' for 'perdat'?
[106] *turtamyzacion*: Lat. 'trutanizacio', from 'trutanus, trutanizare', said of people who, not wanting to work, wandered around begging through feigning a condition of poverty.
[107] *computenly* = 'conveniently, properly'.
[108] who could preche] Lat. 'ita quod predicare sciat vel velit'.
[109] say] *þis saide*.
[110] [þe leve … dysposicion] translates 'de licencia eorum quorum interest'.
[111] *Ox* has here a sentence with quotations from the *Rules* of St Francis (ch. 6) and St Benedict (ch. 6) plus Prv 18:21 which are not translated.
[112] Lat. 'pro Dei amore'.
[113] This translates only the second part of the first paragraph of ch. XII.

The viijte is of his scilence kepynge (*Ox* XII)

[Fro][114] Complyne be saide vnto aftyr Preciosa,[115] þe wylke folovys Pryme of þe day foluyng, he shall nott speke nodo*ur* w*ith*in his celle nor w*ith*owt, nor he shall passe <out>[116] w*ith*owte gretter necessite require yt, and after w*ith* þe moste short word*is* and w*ith* gret drede of God he may speke.

The ix is of his abstyne[n]ce (*Ox* XIII)

Whane an hermite is in his owne celle, he owys to faste thre days in þe weke all tymes of þe ȝerre [yf][117] so be þ*a*t he be holle[118] and welle dysposed, þ*a*t is to say þe wedynsday, þe fryday and þe sett*ur*-day,[119] and he shall fast brede and wader every fryday. Not-w*ith*-stondynge be cause of wacheyinge in þe nyght, he may ete von[120] kind pottage, or fede yf his febulnes aske ytt, or require yt. He shall faste also for þe Exaltacyon of þe Holy Crosse, þ*a*t is to say fro Holy Rode messe to Passe yf he be in his owne celle, excepte xii days, þ*a*t is to say Crystemasse day, and viii dayis be-fore Wytsonday,[121] and all þe oþ*er* days be þe ȝerre ordayned and constitute be þe holy kyrke of Rome. Eu*er*i day þ*a*t he fastis thurght þe ȝerre, he may ete no flesche, ne blode, nor wytmete,[122] nor in specyall no egg*is*,[123] yf he may gete fyssche, and þen he must holde hym content and plessed w*ith* oonys kind fysshe, but yf so be þ*a*t yt be thourgh þe causse of gestis þ*a*t he may take more vpon hym; not-with-stondynge he must do all thynge w*ith* moderacion and gude discrecyon.[124]

(134r) The x is when he shall ette fleshe (*Ox* XIV)

In þe thre solempnites of þe yerre w*ith*in iii days followynge, yf they be flesshe days, he may ette fleshe in his hermitage, þ*a*t is to say in Yolle day, Pasche day and Wyttynsvnday, and no moe butt thre causis, þ*a*t is to say: odo*ur* be gret sykenesse or febulnesse to þe tyme þ*a*t he be recomformed, for [his][125] dyly labo*ur* passed or to com, but yf he nede greterly or all, butt yf yt be thorugh þe p*re*cepte of any bysshopp or p*re*late or patrone.Yf any of thoose be present and gyffe hym licence, he may ette flesh, and yet yf he have his bodely hellth, he may ete but oon day in that plasse at þe borde that where he et*is* dayly lesse flesh late hym ette,[126] or ellis yf he have any othir plase or any othir borde wherre he may honestly ete his fleshe

[114] Fro] *for*.
[115] This is the antiphon 'Preciosa in conspectu Domini mors sanctorum eius'.
[116] out] Lat. 'nec extra cellam exeat'.
[117] yf] *ye*.
[118] *holle* = 'whole, in good health'.
[119] The specification of the days is not in the Latin.
[120] *von* = 'one'.
[121] [He shall… Wytsonday] not in the Latin, where there are different rules; 'viij dayis' translates 'ix dies'.
[122] *wytmete* = 'food prepared with milk, *lacticinium*'.
[123] [nor wytmete … eggis] for the Latin 'nec alium'.
[124] This last sentence is an addition to the Latin.
[125] his] *he*.
[126] *Late hym ette*: 'let him eat', Lat. 'minime carnes comedat'.

The xj is of his p*ro*purte (*Ox* XV)

Yt is lefeffull to any hermite þ*a*t he haue possession in temp*or*all good*is*, in so mekell þ*a*t he be gyue nott to wax provde and to syne temporaly[127] in þe syne of covetysse, and þe tyme of streyte necessite he muste helpe and soco*ur* his neybo*ur* more nedynge þan he with suche good*is* and almus be-fore rehersed in the name of God.[128] Whatsom þ*a*t he resayvis, he muste resayve þ*a*t in þe name of God, and what some evyr that he loffe ord*ur*[129] in heven or in erthe, for þe loffe of God, hit befallis hym to love hit. Whotsom-eu*er* he gyffe to any gude man for God and for the loue of God, he ys yet.[130]

(*Ox* XVI) But blessed be and welle his hym þ*a*t etis or drynk*is* thyng*is* trewly getyn w*it*h þe dylygent t*ra*vayle of his owne hand*is* (see Ps 127:2). Vnto this acordis þe apostyll: 'He þat wyll not labour, he sais, he shall not ete' (2Th 3:10). All þe tymes of þe yerre in specyall days he owys to wyrke som-what with his hand*is* a whylle afore mette and a whylle aftyr mete, so þ*a*t [be][131] don in a conve(134v)nabyll tyme, so þ*a*t he sett not ydell, for ydelnesse his a grete enmy to man*n*es sowlle, be þe wylke þe devyll hasse manny dyssayt*is* to cacche and brynge mannys soule to thorlledame.[132]

The xij is wh[e]ne[133] he shall lygge and when he schall rysse (*Ox* XVII)

Hit be-hovys an hermite to lygge in cotte,[134] gyrd w*it*h a gyrdell or w*it*h a corde. All tymes of þe ȝerre, he muste rysse at mydnyght to make knowlech[135] to God. Also fro Passe vnto Holy Rodemesse at þe sone-rysse he muste rysse P*ri*me to be saide, and after mete [l]atte[136] hym scleppe his meredyan, and fro Holly Rode-messe vnto Passe he muste rysse w*it*h fraynge of þe day, and[137] in Lenton he shall rysse at lyght day, and thane he may scleppe lawfully att aftyr Nonys.[138]

(*Ox* XVIII) Hys Mateyns he muste say be-for þe crosse. Also v Pat*er* nost*er*, v Aues and thre Cred*is*. After þe xv psalm*us*[139] for alle his gude doerr*is*,[140] and thes xv psalmus owe to be devydede in thre turbis: at þe ende of þe furst turbe hys collet shall be *Inclina*, in the ende of þe secunde turbe his collet shall be *Deus cui proprium*, at þe ende of the thryde turbe his collet shall be *Pretende*.

[127] Lat. 'de temporalitate non superbiat'. The word *temporalitas* means an ecclesiastical revenue; the translator has misinterpreted the word.
[128] Here as in the following line the phrase translates 'pro Dei amore'.
[129] *ordur* = 'either'.
[130] See the Latin: 'quicquid etiam largitur vel quicquid boni faciat pro Deo largiatur et propter amorem Dei totum faciat'. The rendering of 'quicquid boni' by 'to any gude man' is incorrect, and the clause 'he ys yet' apparently has no meaning, unless it is the beginning of what in the Latin appears as 'tantumque illa que ad victum et vestitum sunt omnino necessaria, cum timore Dei salva sibi reservet'.
[131] be] *he*.
[132] *thorlledame* = 'thralldom, slavery'.
[133] whene] *whne*.
[134] *cotte* = 'coat'.
[135] *to make knowlech* = 'to acknowledge', Lat. 'ad confitendum'.
[136] latte] *hatte*.
[137] MS 'thane he may' cancelled, probably copied from the line that follows, where it is rightly placed.
[138] Cf. Lat. 'in Quadragesima vero usque ad claram diem dormiat'.
[139] The reference is to the so-called *Psalmi graduales*, that is Ps. 119–33.
[140] *gude doerris*: a calque on 'bene-factores'.

And[141] aft*er* this ord*ur* of saynge [þer][142] followis s*er*tayne psalm*us*,[143] that is to say: ps. *Ad Dominum cum tribularer*, ps. *Levaui*, ps. *Letatus sum*, ps. *Ad te levaui*, ps. *Nisi*, and all thosse psalmus forsad shall be saide w*ith*outyn Gloria Patri. Also at the laste ende of theys psalm*us* he shall say *Requiem eternam et lux perpetua*,[144] Pater noster, Ave Maria, Et ne nos, Sed libera, A porta inferi erue, Domine exaudi, Et clamor, Oracio: *Inclina Domine aurem tuam*, <ad precem nostram et ne nos de manu tuae miserationis excludas et, quia mirabilia tua non in tenebris sed in lumine cognoscuntur, tetra peccati nostri discute fulgore virtutis tuae et fac luce radiare iustitiae, ut, qui verbum vitae fide inclinabili continemus, dilectionis in te atque proximum tuo testimonio fulgeamus>, per Christum Dominum nostrum.[145] Amen. Aft*ur* this folowis v psalm*us*[146] w*ith* Gloria Patri at þe ende of ylk on of theys, and thes er þe ps. *Qui confidunt*, ps. *In confitendo* ps. *Nisi Dominus*, ps. *Beati omnes*, ps. *Sepe expugnauerunt*, Gloria patri, Sicut erat, Kyryell*eison*, Christell*eison*, Kyryell*eison*, Pater noster, Aue Maria, Et ne nos. Sed. *Memento Domine in beneplacito populi tui, Visita* (135r) *nos in salutari tuo*, *Memor esto congregationis tue quem possedisti ab inicio*, *Domine exaudi*, *Et clamor*, *Oracio*: *Deus cui proprium est misereri semper et parcere* propiciare anime famuli tui et omnia peccata eius dimitte, vt [mortis][147] vinculis absoluta, tuam sempre m*er*eat*ur* <transire> ad vitam.[148] And aftyr this follous ord*ur*[149] v psalm*us*[150] w*ith* Gloria Patri at þe ende of ylke of them, and thesse ar they: Ps *De profundis*, ps *Domine non est*, ps *Memento* and ps *Ecce quam bonum* ps. *Ecce nunc*, Gloria Patri, Kyryell*eison*, Christell*eison*, Kyryell*eison*, Pater noster, Aue Maria, Et ne nos, Sed libera, Domine saluos fac s*er*vos tuos et ancillas tuas, Deus meus salutis mee, Domine exaudi, Et clamor, Oracio: *Pretende Domine famulis et famulabus tuis dexteram celestis auxilii, vt te toto corde perquirant, et que digne postulant assequantur.*[151] *Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.*

(XVIII) Aftyr theys he owes to be-gynne devowtely Matens of Oure Lady, and aftyr that of þe day.[152] (XIX) And fro Holly Rodemesse vnto Pashe he owis to say *Placebo* and *Diryge* be-for Evynsonge, and Commendac*i*on be-fore None.[153] Also in somor, aft*er* grace seyde, be lyffe he shall say þe IX Owre and *Placebo*, and aftyr hy[s][154] meridian slepe, be-fore

[141] All the following paragraph is an addition proper to A.

[142] þer] *þe*.

[143] Ps. 119–23.

[144] The words in italics are underlined in the MS.

[145] The integration is from *Corpus Orationum*, ed. by Eugenius Moeller, Ioannes Maria Clément and Bertrandus Coppieters, Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina, 160, 14 vols (Turnhout: Brepols, 1992–2004), 160D, p. 39 (no. 3110).

[146] Ps. 124–28, here indicated by their incipits.

[147] mortis] *meritis*.

[148] See *Corpus Orationum*, 160A, p. 134 (no. 1141).

[149] *ordur* = 'other'.

[150] Ps. 129–33.

[151] See *Corpus Orationum*, 160F, p. 135 (no. 4587).

[152] 'secundum usum episcopatus, in quo moratur, vel de usu curie romane, si tales libros habeat. Qui autem de omni usu canonizato licite potet uti et monastico, pro eo quod non est regulata persona nec ad chori servicium per professionem obligata': A *om*.

[153] 'Et quando de feria cantatur, tunc debet dici commendacio ante missam. Aliis vero diebus, quando sibi melius vacaverit, ante prandium dicatur commendacio': A translates only the last clause. The *commendacio* was a prayer for the dead. It may consist of Psalm 118 (*Beati immaculati*), Psalm 138 (*Domine probasti*), some versicles, Pater and a final Collect. A York *Primer* places the hymn *Gaude Virgo* in the Commendations (see Littlehales, *The Prymer*, lxxii).

[154] hys] *hy*.

Evynsonge he owes to say *Dyrige* w*ith* Laudes. In tyme of Passhe, in fest*is* of ix lessonys, he is not bindyn to say *Placebo* but of devocyon.

The xiij is of þe man*er* and of the tyme of his contemplacion (*Ox* XX)[155]

Aftyr Matens he owis to thynke devoutely of þe byrht of Cryste and also of his glorius passyon; aft*er* Prima of þe resurrex*i*on of Cryste and of his assencion, and aft*er* þe Thred Owre he owes to thynke of þe sonde[156] of þe Holy Goste, and after þe Sext Oure of þe Incarnacion of Cryste and the Crucifyinge of þe same. After þe IX Owre of Cryst*is* assencion and of his dethe. After Evynsonge of þe sop*ur* of Ihesu and of his puttynge downe fro þe crosse; aft*er* Complyn (135v) he owyes to haue in mynde þe berynge[157] of Cryste and his body suetynge whane he prayed to þe Fader. In þe Sext Oure and þe IX Owre he must haue a schortt*er* contemplacyon thane many od*ur* owrr*is* for in þesse ij ourris þe flesh fyghtes more fervently[158] þan in anny oþ*er* owre. For therre be thre thyng*is* þ*a*t ar nessesary all-way in mannes fleshe, þat is to say, mete and drynke to be norryssed w*ith*, scleppe and fell[159] slombrynge to be dysgestyd[160] w*ith*, and computent[161] clothynge to be cou*er*ed with.

(XXI) In wint*er* sesonne in the mornynge owes þe hermite devoutely to be-gyne Prime of þe day, and aft*er*warde of Ow*ur* Lady. The Thried, Sext and IX Howris of þe day also he shall say, and aft*ur* ylke an owre of Owre Lady. This saide anoyn for hym selfe and for all his gude doers and for all crystyn pepull, he shall be-gyne vij psalmus[162] and þe lateny, excepte þe sundays and holydays þ*a*t when he owis to be shryven of his gostely fado*ur*.

The xiiii is what owre he shall do masse or here masse (*Ox* XXII)

Prime of þe <day> fully saide, an hermite þ*a*t is a preste owis to do messe, and if he be a lay hermite, aft*er* Prime he owis to here messe. Whane messe is don, hym be-fallys be lyve to say þe salutac*i*on of Ou*ur* Lady, be þe wilke followus and thus it begynnys:

Gaude uirgo mater Christi[163]
que per aurem concepisti
Gabrielis nuncio.
Gaude quia deo plena
peperisti sine pena
cum pudoris lilio.

[155] Ch. XX of the Oxford Rule is starkly simplified in the A version. The subjects for meditation appended to the different Hours of the Day are reduced normally to one each Hour. Interestingly, what remains are the main events of Jesus' life, while all the topics dealing with personal life (creation and death) or the last things (doomsday, hell, purgatory and heaven) are eliminated. Concerning Jesus, the piercing of his breast by a spear and the complaint of Mary at the foot of the cross disappear, while the mention of the last supper is added and the ascension is named twice.

[156] *sonde* = 'dispensation, sending'.

[157] *berynge* = 'burying'.

[158] The phrase 'against the spirit' should be added. See the Latin: 'plus concupiscit caro adversus spiritum'.

[159] *fell* = 'full'.

[160] Lat. 'ad dirigendum', probably for 'digerendum', which is more congruent with the context.

[161] *competent* = 'suitable, appropriate'.

[162] These are the seven Penitential Psalms, that is Ps. 6, 31, 37, 50, 101, 129, 142.

[163] Latin text, with some small variants, in *Lateinische Hymnen des Mittelalters*, ed. by F. J. Mone, 3 vols (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1853–55), ii, pp. 163–64.

Gaude quia tui nati
quem dolebas mortem pati
fulget[164] resurreccio.
Gaude Christo ascendente
and in celis te vident[e][165]
[motu][166] fert*ur* proprio.
Gaude quod <post> ipsum scandis
et est honor tui grandis
in Celi palacio.
Vbi fructus ventris tui
per te detur nobis frui
in perhenni gaudio.

Versus: Exaltata es sancta Dei genitrix super choros angelorum ad celestia regna. Oremus: Deus qui beatam virginem <et matrem>[167] Mariam, in [conceptu et partu][168] virginitate s*er*uata, duplici gaudio letificasti, quemcumque eius gaudia filio tuo resurgente multiplicasti, presta quesumus, vt ad illud ineffabile gaudium quo assumpta gaudet in celo eius meritis et intercessione valeamus pervenire. Per Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum.

(136r) When þis orryson <and> messe ys done in feryall days, be leve he must be-gyne the Thrirde Owre, and aft*er* þ*a*t is to say: Deus misereatur nostri et Ad te leuavi et De profundis,[169] Gloria Patri, Sicut erat, Kyryell*eison*, Christell*eison*, Kyryell*eison*, Pater noster, Aue Maria, Et ne nos, Saluos[170] fac seruos tuos et ancillas tuas, Deus meus sperantes in te, Mitte eis Domine auxilium de sancto, Et de Syon tuere eos, Domine exaudi, Et clamor, Oremus: Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui vivorum dominaris simul et mortuorum, omnesque misereris [quos tuos][171] fide et opere futuros esse pren[o]sti,[172] te supplices exoramus, vt pro quibus effundere preces decreuimus, quos pie hoc presens seculum adhuc in carne retinet vel futurum iam exutos corpore suscepit, pietatis tue clemencia omnium delictorum suorum veniam et gaudia mereantur consequi eterna.[173] Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

Whan thes ar saide, late hym werke or labo*ur* som gode labo*ur* w*ith* his hand*is* where most nede requir*is* and most profitabyll. Vnto þe Sext Owre all od*ur* days þe wylke is not leueful to wirke, he owes to ocupie and spende þe tyme forsaide in v*er*tuis medytac*i*on, or in devovte p*ra*ier, or ellys in holly lessons redyng or studyinge, and fro Holy Rode messe to Passhe aft*er* þe Sext Owre, messe owes to be don. And fro Passhe to Holy Rode messe, yt owes to be aft*er* þe Thirde Owre. Any fastynge day, whan he fast*is* aft*er* þe IX Owre, he owte to do messe or to here messe. The Sext Owre sayd, Comendac*i*on followis for all Crysten

164 fulget] *fulgis*.
165 vidente] *vident*.
166 motu] *mortu*.
167 See *Corpus Orationum*, 160A, p. 234 (no. 1387): only the incipit corresponds.
168 MS has 'in conspectu virginitate', which does not make sense. Lat. has 'in conceptu et partu et cetera'. The translator must have read *conspectu* for *conceptu*. Here the Latin text of the Oxford Rule ends. The truncated last remaining chapter is in fact much shorter, since the *Gaude virgo*, the versicle and the collect, given in full in the translation, are only mentioned by their initial words in the original.
169 These are Ps. 66, 122 and 129.
170 Saluos] *Salua nos*.
171 quos tuos] *quod quos*.
172 prenosti] *prenasti*.
173 See *Corpus Orationum*, 160E, pp. 165–66 (no. 4064).

sowllis, or ellis what tyme þ*a*t he may haue beste lesour, and þ*a*t all tymes of þe ȝerre, þ*a*t it be saide be-for mete. And fro Pashe to Holy Rode messe yt owis to be saide aft*er* þe Sext Owre, except fastynge days. After this latte hym go to mete honestly.

The xv is of hys silence at þe borde with labour and refeccyon

He owes also to kepe silence at þe borde, in þe kyrke, and in þe cloist*er* and w*ith*-owte, saiynge fewe wordis and short*er*, þe wylke p*er*tyne to þe worship of God and p*ro*fite to his neybo*ur*. Also aft*er* mete or sop*er* he owes nott to goo w*ith*-out [or][174] he say this psalme *Miserere mei deus*. And he owes to go to his p*ra*ynge place and there to thanke God hyly of his gret grace. And aft*er* his merydyan (136v) þ*a*t thynge is moste nede to be don, lett hym wyrke vnto Euynsong tyme. All þe tymes of þe ȝerre, att non in fastynge dayes, or Non,[175] he owes to say [the][176] Evynsonge furst of Owre Lady, and aft*er* of þe day, and thane latte hym to goe to sop*er*.

Also in fastynge days, in þe stede of his sop*er*, late hym rede some holy lesson. The wilke redd, yf nede be, late hym drynke his collac*i*on w*ith* mesurabulnesse, for þ*e*r is no thynge more grevose to crysten-man þane excsesse or gloteny. Be-fore Complyn, also yf nede be, knowleche he [his][177] synnys, and then latte hym say: *Ivbe Domine benedicere*; thane folowes þe blyssynge: *<noctem>*[178] *quietam <et> vitam perpetuam tribuat nobis omnipotens and misericors Dominus. Amen.* Thane he shall say: *Fratres sobrii estote et vigilate in oracionibus*, and *Tu autem Domine miserere mei, Adiutorium nostrum in nomine, Qui fecit, Pater noster, Aue maria*. And aft*er* this he shall be-gyne Complyn of þe day, and aft*er* of Ou*ur* Lady, þe wilke fully done, he owes to take his discipline with iij psalmus: *Miserere mei*, *Gloria patri*, *De profundis* withouten *Gloria patri*, and yf so be þ*a*t he have w*ith* hym a prest to his fellow, late hym say *Confiteor Deo etc*, or ell late hym dyscipline hym selfe in saying of þis oryson: *Deus cui proprium*. Aft*er* þis, w*ith* all scilence and w*ith* moste holy moderac*i*on, late hym go to slepe.

This eu*er*y hermite is bonde to do þ*a*t euery ow*ur* of þe day or of þe nyght, whan eny man com*m*es w*ith* whome it be-hoves hym to speke ned*is* with, he owes to be-gyne his language and his spech be this word*is* vndyr wretyn: *Benedictum et laudandum sit dulce nomen Domini mei Iesu Christi. Amen*[179]

The xvj is of his schryfte and housell

Eu*er*y hermite, wheder he be clerke or layman, owis in þe weke at þe lest[180] to schow his lyffe and his synn*is* to a prest, and euery svnday in þe ȝerre, or ell som od*ur* day of þe [wyke],[181]

[174] or] *o*.
[175] The phrase does not make any sense, since 'non' can be interpreted to mean either 'noon' or 'None', but either way, the rule makes no sense since Evensong obviously comes after both! Unfortunately no comparison with the original Latin is possible here.
[176] the] *to*.
[177] his] *is*.
[178] noctem] There is a blank in the MS here. And since the following *et* is also lacking it may be that the copyist or a reviser has amalgamated the two phrases into one by cancelling *noctem*, giving thus: *quietam vitam perpetuam*.
[179] The same form of greeting is found in S.
[180] Ms. has here *he owes*, which is clearly redundant.
[181] wyke] *wylke*.

he owes to ressayve his Creature[182] þ*a*t is to say to be howsylde.

The xvij is of þe s*er*uise of a lay hermit

A lay hermite owes to say dayly xxiiij Pater noster and als many Aue Maria in stede of his Matens, for Prime x Pater noster and as many Aue Maria, for þe Threde and IX Owre, for euery Owre x Pater noster and as many Aue Maria. Also þ*a*t he say his Crede thrye on þe day, and as oftyn in þe nyght, at þe lest at Evynsonge x Pater noster and as many Aue Maria. At Complyn x Pater and x Aue. Also for his frend*is* and for all his gude doerr*is* xl Pater and as many Aue Maria, for *Placebo* xvj Pater noster and as many Aue, for *Dirige* with Laud*is* xxx Pater and as many Aue Maria, for Com*men*dac*i*on xx Pater noster and as many Aue. Also for hym selfe and all his gude frendis and gude doerris, and for all thos þat he is boundon to pray for, he owes mekely and devowtely to say xx Pater noster and as many Aue Maria.

A maner off lyff for lyffing off hermettis (BL MS Sloane 1584)

(89r) A Pope off Rome, that hyght Celestyn, mad this maner off lyff that ys writyne here, for lyffyng off hermett*is* þ*a*t lyff*is* a-lone w*ith*-owttyne certan rewle gyvyne off holy kyrke. For that sckylle[183] shewys he att his begynnyng and says:[184] (Prol.) Thoffe[185] all ytt be so that the state off hermettis be with-owtene rewle maid off holy kyrke, neuer-the-lesse ytt ys ned to euerylke mane þat has for the love off our lorde Ihesu Chryst chosyne a way off wyllfull pouerte for to lyffe holyly, for Sent Paule says þat the wyll off God ys that we lyff holyly in lyffe: *Hec est voluntas Dei sanctificacio vestra* (1Th 4:3).

(I, i) Fyrst ytt behouys hyme that wyll lyff holy lyfe to for-sake th*is* fals worlde and all the vanytis off this world, that ys his owne wyll and lustis off his owne flesch, for the loue off Gode (89v) allmyghty and hele off his owne sowle,[186] and truste onely in the gudnes off owre lord Ihesu Cryste, and be besy nyght and day forto do his wyll, doynge gud ded*is*, pursuande[187] hyme in all that he may, kepyng fullye the x commawndement*is*, fulfyllynge them in all his power, and the ded*is* off m*er*cye, and thene he may suithffastly, be Godys power, mane[188] and do right well.

(II, i) Thoffe all he entyr noyght in-to no con[v]ent,[189] he must thynke eu*er* one the gospel that says: 'Iff thowe wyll be p*er*fytt, go sell all that thowe has, and gyffe yit to power men, and come, p*ur*sew me, and thowe shall haue tressure in hevyne w*ith*-owt end' (Mt 19:21; Lk 18:22). Fore yff all yit be so that the lyffe that euer ys lasting may be gottyne vnder the sacrament off holy matrimony,[190] thorowe the keppyng off the commawndment*is*, fleyng fro

[182] *Creature* = 'creator'.
[183] *sckylle* = 'reason'.
[184] This statement about the author and the necessity to give a rule to a religious state which had none does not appear in the Latin text, and is preserved only in S and B. Since *Ox* begins by a 'quia', hinting at some preceding statement, we may suppose that this is the original incipit of the work.
[185] *Thoffe* = 'though'.
[186] *hele off his owne sowle*: Lat. 'et zelo proximi'.
[187] *pursuande* = 'pursuing'.
[188] *mane* = 'mean'.
[189] 'Licet non ingrediatur in religionem.' In Oliger's edition of *Ox* this clause is part of the title of ch. II, but since S does not translate the titles, it may be that this was originally the incipit of the chapter itself.
[190] *vnder the sacrament off holy matrimony*, Lat. 'observando legem matrimonii'.

syne,[191] neuer-the-lesse more sekerly and more p*er*fytly commys thos mene to the blesse off hevyne[192] that (90r) folowys Crist by þe narew way[193] off wyllfull powrnes,[194] and for hys love fore-sak*is* the world w*ith* all his lykyns, noght[195] only þat he has but that he myght haue had, yff he had lyvyd ther-in, als other mene done, as[196] wyttnes sant Barnerd[197] and the holy mane sant Awsten, ther he shewys the rygth-wysse way off lyffynge: 'Gud, he says, itt ys to gyffe be seytt[198] ways oft tymys erthly gudis fore God*is* love vnto pour*e* mene, but more p*er*fecc*i*one itt ys to gyffe all that he has and folowe Cryste in pou*er*ness'; fore he says that he ys fare fro soth-faste pou*er*nes þ*a*t other prively or openly gadyr*is* rychis, butt yff ytt be so, to do þ*er*-w*ith* ony gud ded, ore ellis to saue hyme fro harde bodily ned. Here[199] ys shewyd opynly the begynnyng off holy lyffe, the qwylke[200] butt yffe ytt spryng off þe (90v) rott off meknes, yt bryng*is* no frowt[201] to the hel[þ]e[202] off man*is* sowle.

(III, ii) And ther-for ylke[203] a hermeytt owght fyrst to be buxu*m* to God allmyghty and to his com*m*awndmentys,[204] fore he ys abbott and prior[205] off his cloister, that ys to say off his hert and off his body, for whos loue he has nott forsakyne onely that he had, butt þat myght haue had yff he had dwellyd in the world. Hyme owght also to be buxum to the byschope in whos byschopryke he ys wonnynge[206] in, and to his patron in whos place that he wonnys in. And[207] yff he be a p*re*late p*er*son ore preste and off gud and honest lyff and off dyscrec*i*on, thene awght hyme forto shewe h*is* lyff vnto hyme and wyrke after his cownsell in that att ys gud, for and[208] he here hyme, he her*is* God hyme-selfe, for so says owre lord Ihesu Crist to h*is* (91r) dyscypyllys: 'That mane that herys youe her*is* me, and that mane þat dyspycys youe dyspyc*is* me' (Lk 10:16). Iff hys patron be no prest, then hyme awght to go to hyme that maid hyme heyrmett and schewe his lyff to hyme.[209]

Ilke a heyrmett owght eu*er* more to say the sothe, and dred non erthly mane fore the sothfastnes, for hyme awe onely for to dred hyme that has pover off his body and off his sowle and may fore his trespas pyne the*m* bothe in helle (cf. Mt 10:28). Agayne Iewys and Saressyns and fals cristyne mene that says owght ore doys agayne cristyne trovthe,[210] thene[211] owght

[191] *fleyng fro syne*, Lat. 'bene operando'.
[192] *the blesse off hevyne*, Lat. 'regnum Dei'.
[193] narew way] *nare way narew way*. The phrase is an addition.
[194] *powrnes* = 'poverty'.
[195] [noght only… in pouerness] addition to the Latin.
[196] as] *as as*.
[197] The other two versions mention St Augustine only; St Bernard is proper to S. The sentence is in fact by Gennadius of Marseilles: see note to A.
[198] *seytt* = proper, suitable.
[199] This final statement, a sort of summary conclusion, is an addition.
[200] *qwylke* = which.
[201] *frowt* = fruit.
[202] helþe] *helpe*.
[203] *ylke* = each.
[204] Lat. 'Deo'.
[205] Lat. adds 'prepositus'.
[206] *wonnynge* = 'dwelling'.
[207] and] *and and*.
[208] *and* = 'if'.
[209] [Iff hys patron… his lyff to hyme]: addition.
[210] cristyne trovthe: Lat. 'catholicam fidem sancte romane ecclesie'.
[211] thene] *then thene*.

hyme[212] stedfastlye to stond for to maynteyne w*ith* all h*is* myght the trovthe off holy kyrke, and yff ned be ther-for to be redy to dye.

(IV, iii) Hermettis awe to make a vowe off wyllfull pou*er*te and off chastyte to God (91v) thorowe helpe off hyme-selfe, noght thorowe the bydynge off a-nother off his order, butt to bynd hyme sadly to God allmyghty. He may make ytt be-fore byschope, abbot or priore,[213] and do aftyr ther covnsyll and þer com*m*awndment.

(VII, v) Hyme awght nott to be besy aftyr sere[214] mett*is* and drynk*is*, and yff he haue more then he nedys hym-selffe, then go gyffe yt gladlye to theme that has more myster,[215] for that <is> ensampyll off wyllffull pou*er*te opynly shewynge off charite and off grett meknes.

(VIII, vi) It chargys noght what hewe that his clothis be, butt that thei be nother to fayre nor to fovle, for the holy mane sent Bernard says that he has lovyd wylfull pou*er*te for Goddis sake, butt neuer filth. Neu*er*-the-les ylke ane hermett awght to be ware that he wher[216] no habbytt that ys lyke to ony oder order off relegyon, so that they that he wonnys[217] noght among, noþ*er* [þ]ey[218] by hyme, ther-off nor slandar thame. He may were the heyre, yff he wyll, next his fleych yff ytt lett[219] nott grettly h*is* deuoc*i*on (92r) in praynge for bytynge off worm*is* that bred*is* thar-vndyr. Here in his hart weres he eu*er*more whene he thingk*is* off the passion off owr Lord Ihesu Cryst.[220]

(IX, vii) He shall were shone, yff he may nott go bareffott syk*er*like, os he may gett fore the loue off God allmyghty, nother to prowd nore pykyd as provd mene done were,[221] butt of all thing he has ned to kepe hyme with mesure. Hyme owght nott to go alone yff he may gett a-nother hermett with hyme, or ellis any other child or s*er*uand, nor ytt is nott full comly to compas[222] the contre yff h*is* child ore seruand may do h*is* herand*is*, and for dred of falling in temptac*i*on off flescly lust*is* thorow vanites off the world and lykynge off syȝte, for [dred of] recheles[223] deuoc*i*on and lykyng that we schuld gastely gett thorow lyght off owre soule.[224]

(XII, viii) When (92v) he ys wonand att home in his celle, fro Complyne be done to *Preciosa* be said, he schall say nore speyke w*ith* no mane no worde, nore whene he ys fro home allfarforthe as he may; and yff grett ned be that he schall owght speke, thene schall he speke schortly w*ith* dred off God all-mighty, begynnyng w*ith* *Benedicite*, and blysse hyme.

(XIII, ix) Be-for ilke a tyme of the yere awe hyme to fast iij da*is* off the weyke in h*is* celle yff he be att home, the wedynsday, fryday and the settarday. Butt yff he be seke, the

[212] hyme] *hyme to dye*. The verb seems to have been anticipated from the conclusion, but here is an obtrusion.
[213] [abbot or priore] added to the Latin.
[214] *sere* = particular.
[215] *myster* = 'need, necessity'.
[216] *wher* = 'wear'.
[217] *wonnys* = 'dwells'.
[218] þey] *ney*. This sentence is difficult to interpret. It should render the Latin 'ne detur religiosis occasio malignandi in eum', a caveat justifying the rule that the hermit should wear a habit not like one of any religious order. It seems that a phrase has been omitted. The version in A is of no help since this Latin sentence is not translated.
[219] *lett* = 'hinder, impede'.
[220] This more spiritual interpretation of the hair-cloth is an addition distinctive to S.
[221] *provd mene done were* = 'proud men do wear'.
[222] *comly to compass* = 'convenient to go around'.
[223] *recheles* = 'reckless'. The word probably renders 'per necligenciam' which in the Latin is the cause leading to a loss of devotion, not certainly an adjective applied to devotion as here. But see the following footnote.
[224] [for dred … owre soule]: the original Latin has been largely rewritten and paraphrased: 'ne nimium solacium corpori per illicitas vagaciones tribuat et sic orationem seu devocionem suam, quod absit, per necligentiam perdat'. The result is not satisfactory, and the insertion of [dred of] seems necessary to clarify the meaning of the sentence. See the much more literal translation in A.

fryday shall he fast only to bred and water. Butt yff ytt be dubbyll feste, for waking or for travyllyng, than shall he breke ij days and fast on the fryday to bred and ale and potage and whittmett yff he wyll. Forty days (93r) be-fore Pasche, the Aduent be-fore ȝole and ix days be-for Wytsonday, and ix days be-for Miȝhelmes, awe ylke ane armett to fast vnto fyschmet, and ylke a day whene he fast*is*, yf he be att home, he schall fore-bere whitt mett yff he may gett fysche, and yff do trauyll to whatt he may gett.

(XIV, x) In iij grett fest*is* in the ȝere that commis ylke a ȝere, ȝole, Pase and Wytsonday, may ylke a hermett ett flesche in his celle iij days aftyr ylke fest, butt yff they be fysche days other tymes off þe ȝere, yff he be fro home, he may ette flesch sunday, monday, tuysdaye and the thursday, and he be occupyd with besynes or trauell of his body. The wedynsday shall he fore-bere flesche, butt be th*is* skyll yff that ytt be a dubyll ffest, ore ell*is* he trauell, for than (93v) may he ette flesche, butt neu*er* in his celle butt iij princypall days as yt be be-fore said, and what-so-ever he do ore may get.[225]

(XVI, xi) Ane hermett awe ylke a day when ytt is tyme for to wyrke, a tyme be-for mett att none, and a-nother aftyr none, whene he may best for to do sume dedys w*ith* his hand*is*, for ydylnes ys enmy off crystyne mene saule, and we ar borne vnto trauell as byrd for to flye,[226] and ther-fore he that wyrkis[227] nott ys not worthy <to> ette (2Th 3:10). The p*ro*phit Dauyd says in þe sawt*er* boke that 'what mane so etys þe warke off hand*is* he ys blessyd and holy' (Ps 127:2), and well shall he be fro the deuyll that thorowe dred drawes mene to ydylnes and so gydys them the way to fallyng to syn.

(XVII, xii) Ane hermeytt awght to lyge on nyght*is* in his kyrtyll, gyrdyd w*ith* a gyrdyll, ore ellis w*ith* cord, and alfferforth as he p*er*saue ytt, ore knowe he awght to rys[228] (94r) att mydnyght, and he be att home forto say his Matyns yff he be a clerke, ore yffe he be nott letyrd, thane shall he say ther-fore, and yff he be seke ore ellys trauell sore, thane may he lyge in his bed and ryse whene hyme thynkys best, for to comfforth hyme-selfe agan that he may wyrke gud wark*is* plesy*n*g to God allmyghty. Fro Pase vnto Holy Rode day in harvest shall he go to bed whene the sone sett*is*, and ryse when the sone rysys for to say his Pryme; fro Holy Rod day on vnto Septuagesim, that ys iij wek*is* be-for clene Lenty*n*, he shall rys w*ith* the dawynge off the day, and fro thens to Pase he shall ryse w*ith* lyght day.

(XXII, xiiii) An hermeyt þ*a*t ys a prest shall one warkdays syng his masse sone after that he has said Prime, and yf he be no prest ore ellys syng nott, (94v) thene shall he here a mase alfferfurth, os he may, and right sone aftyr masse[229] vnto midday he shall wyrke with h*is* aw*n*e hand*is*, and[230] aftyr the houre of midday be sayd, he shall say com*men*dac*i*on for all crystyne savlys.

(xv) Ilke ane hermet awe to kepe sylens att mett tym*e*, butt yff grett ned make <breke> ytt or any grett lord. And whene he rysys fro his mett or fro his sopyr, he schall go to oretory

[225] This chapter is very different from the original Latin. The norms concerning the reasons for eating flesh in abstinence days have not been translated; on the other hand what is said about the hermit being far from home or travelling do not appear in the Latin.

[226] See Job 5:7: 'homo ad laborem nascitur et avis ad volatum'.

[227] wirkis] *winkis*.

[228] *rys* = 'rise'.

[229] Here ends the correspondence with *Ox* XXII, a truncated chapter of four printed lines of which the first two appear in this translation. What follows is an indication of prayers to be said after Mass, that is the sequence *Gaude Virgo*, *Mater Christi* with a versicle and a collect, which in A appear in complete form in ch. xiiii. See also this same chapter for the rule concerning manual work and the Commendation for the souls.

[230] and] *and a*.

w*ith Miserere mei de*us, and thanke God off that fod that he has hyme send.

(XIX, xiv) After mett one flesche days, shall he say att None *Placebo* and *Dirige* be-fore he slepe, and aft*er* h*is* slepe ryse sume warke to wyrke vnto Euynsong tym.[231] Alfforforth as he may, he shall say on fasting days None be-fore mett. He awght[232] eu*er*more this Rewle for to kepe: whene he any [tyme][233] aft*er* the ouris of the nyght or off the daye (95r) shall speyke w*ith* any man for any thing, loke that euery tyme his spekyng be-gyn with *Benedici*te and low[d]yng[234] off the Godis [name][235] of owr lord Ihesu Cryst.

(xvi)[236] Ilke ane hermett, als well leryd as lewd, awght iiij tymes of the ȝere for to clense hyme off his synne,[237] that is a-for ȝole, Pasce, Wyts*onda*y and Myȝhelmes, and yff he fast thes iiii tym*is* vnto fysche mett, that is to say to Lentyne mett, ilke a tyme that he fast*is* and forberis Lentyne mett whitmett, hym awe to resave the sacrament off owr lord Ihesu Cryst.

(xvii) A lewyd heyrmett for his Matins ys holdyne to say xl *pater noster* and als many *aues*, for Laud*is* xvj *pater noster* <and> als many *aues*, for Prime xij *pater noster* and als many *aues*, for Vndren, Myday, None and Complyne for ylkone off this ix *pater noster* and als many *aues*, for Evyn(95v)songe xij *pater noster* and als many *aues*. Also his *Cred[o] in Deum patrem* thrys on the day and thrys on the nyght for his freyndys and his gud-doverys shall he say ylke day thirty *pater noster* and thirty *aues*.[238]

Ane heyrmett[239] that dwellys att home in his celle this man*er* hyme awght to say, and in case that he be seyke or febyll off state, or ell*is* labur in the contray any gret trauyll, thene may he say his s*er*uys on this wysse: att morne whene he rysys vpe of his rest to say xv *pater noster* and als many *auis*, that ys for to say v for qwike and v for the ded and v for thos that God*is* mercy abydys, besekynge God off his infenit m*er*cy and helpe, and blyse hyme in his name, and thene do h*is* jornay þ*a*t he has don to do, and also att evyne, when the day ys past, say other xv *pater noster* as he dyd be for att morne, and so end his lyff w*ith* dred off God all-myghty. Amen. Finis.

[231] The time to say *Placebo* and *Dirige* are dealt with in *Ox* XIX, but the rules are different. In winter season they are to be said 'ante vesperas', while in summer season *Placebo* must be said 'postea statim nona dicta', and 'post somnium meridianum *Dirige* cum laudibus dicatur'.

[232] [He awght … lord Ihesu Cryst]: the passage is not in the Latin, but it appears in A xv, and in a reduced form in B as the final sentence of the Rule.

[233] tyme] *thynge*.

[234] lowdyng] *lowyng*, probably for *lawdyng*, 'praising'. A: 'Benedictum et laudandum sit dulce nomen Domini mei Iesu Christi'.

[235] name] *mane*.

[236] This chapter gathers rules on fasting and abstinence taken from XIV/ix and XIV/x, plus rules about shrift and communion given in A xvi, but presented here in a modified form. According to A the hermit should make his confession at least once in a week, and receive holy communion every Sunday or any other day of the week.

[237] This rule is an addition proper to S.

[238] In this version the number of Pater and Ave to be said are regularly inferior to those given in A.

[239] All this final paragraph is original.

Rewles of the lyfe heremiticalle (MS Bristol City Library 6)

(137v) Thyes are the notable rewles of the lyfe heremiticalle as they folow here after, made be pope Celestyne, which was an heremyte and chosyn for hys holynes out of wyldernes to be pope, and afterwarde left the popase and returnyd yn to wyldernes ayens.[240]

[Prol.][241] HOW be yt that the state of heremytes ys not cananizit,[242] neuer-the-lese to all thoos that haue chosyn the wayse of trew poverte for the loue of Cryste, it ys necessary that they lyue holyly accordyng to (138r) scripture sayng thus: 'Be ye holy for why y am holy',[243] and also: 'It ys the wyll of God youre holynes' (1Th 4:3).

[I] Therfor an heremyte muste dysdene thys present worlde changeable, and for the loue of God forsake hys owne wyll and trust yn God oonly, and to hys power serche hys wyll day and nyght by good werkys, that ys, yn kepyng the x commaundement*is* and excersysyng the vij werkys of mercy.

[II] For the poore man of Criste may leue ryght holyly though he enter not in wylldernes.[244] In hert and soule let hym eu*er* haue yn mynde thys text of the gospel: 'Goo and sell all that thou hast and gyfe hyt to poore pepull, and thou shalt haue tresure yn hevyn, and cume and folow me' (Mt 19:21; Lk 18:22). Not-w*ith*stondyng eu*er*lastyng lyfe may be purchesyth by meke warkys as yn kepyng the x commaundement*is* of God and the vij warkys of mercy, observing the law of matrimony, expendyng the ryches of the world well and mekely, and other goode warkys warkyng, never-the-lesse the kyngdu*m* of hevyn ys gytten more bett*er* and p*ro*fytelyer wyth all such that foloyng Criste with all pou*er*te forsaking the world w*ith* all hys descepcyons for the love of Ihesu Crist. Seynt Austyne yn hys dystynccyons of the feyth beryth wyttnes and sayth thus 'It ys goode to gyfe þe poore pepyll of thy substance with dyspensacion, but it is better to gyfe þi self intendyng to folow Crist faithfully'.[245]

(138v) **Obedience**

[IIIa] A heremyte owght to make obedience to God oonly, for he ys abbot, pryor and prepositor of hys cloister, that ys to say, of hys hert, for whos loue he hath forsakyn all thing, for who so eu*er* leve well[246] of haueyng, leuith all thyng by grace of our saveoure Ihesu Criste.

Confessyon

[IIIb] Also an heremyte owght to be confessyd at hys enteryng yn to relygyon of the byschope

[240] This is the most expanded version of a 'title' which is found in all the three versions of the *Oxoniensis*, although it is not in the original. The ascription of the Rule the Pope Celestine V has not been proved. The fact that this may be a 'title' shows in the larger characters used by the copyist, a choice which has been reproduced here.

[241] For easy reference, using the same procedure adopted for S, I mark in square brackets and large Roman numerals the corresponding chapters of the *Ox*, and in lower case Roman numerals the chapters in A which are missing in the Latin original. Scriptural quotations are inserted in the text.

[242] *cananizit* = 'canonized', that is formalized into an official 'rule', or 'canon'.

[243] This quotation from Lev 11:44 is an addition.

[244] The sentence translates the title of ch. II in the *Oxoniensis*.

[245] This reference to St Augustine is not in the Latin text, but is shared with A and S.

[246] *well* = 'will'.

of the dyosyce in the whych he doth ynhabyt hym self yn, or to þe patrone of hys place yf he be a p*re*late of the chyrch, or to a preeste of good dysposycion. To any of thes he owght to shreve hym, wher-fore yf ther were any thing yn hym amys, he mought obey to the councell of them for the loue of Criste hys master þ*a*t sayth: 'He þat heryth [you][247] heryth me and he that despysyth you despysyth me' (Lk 10:16).

Of tyme of scilence

[IIIc] For trowth and for our faythe it ys lefull to speke at all tymes yn defence of them, and yn thys case dowte no man for sayng trowth, but dowte hym oonly that hath power to send bothe body and soule yn to hell (Mt 10:28). And specyally a-gayns Iewes, Sarazens and fals christen men þat beleue not in þe chyrch; for to destroy such errours dowte not dethe yf nede be.

(139r) **Of the vowe of pou*er*te and chastite**

[IV] To all-mighty God vow he hys pou*er*te and chastite wyth the helpe of Gode. Neu*er*-the-lesse ther owght not to be no vow made by the com*m*aundmentys of any man of hys state, but to God allone by-fore the byschope, and then yf he wyll, he may make hys vowe after hys owne arbeterment.[248]

Of hys metys

[VII] That ys the iugement[249] of trew poverte and grete mekenes, that he be neu*er* curyus of hys bodily metys, but such as he getys for the loue of God, lett hym depart gladely to the nedy.

Of hys clothyng

[VIII] Let hys clothyng be humyle and not curi*us*, after the sayng of Seynt Barnerd: 'I haue louyd pou*er*te but y neu*er* louyd fylth'. And loke that he gyfe noon occasyon of evyl to relygius man yn weryng any religyus habyte lyke yn all thing. And yf he wyll of devocyon were next hys flesh a cylyce it ys laufull.

Of hoose and schone

[IX] An heremyte shulde were no hooses but oonly schone, and they owght not to be cury*us* but sych as he may haue for the loue of God, or els goo barfote yf he may for greuaunce of hys body, but see that (139r) all thyngys be don*e* wyth dyscrecyon. He owght neu*er* goo allone yf he may haue an heremyte or a s*er*uaunde wyth hym. Also he owght not to goo oftyn abowte the contrey for hys errandys but he schuld send a s*er*uand yf he may haue oone, for the yntent that hys body schuld not haue to much solace or conforte by unleful vagacyons or strayng where-throw he might leese hys devocyon or prayere by negligens, the which God forbede to happyn by ony wyse.

[247] you] *hym*. Lat: 'qui vos audit'.
[248] *arbeterment* = 'arbitrament (obsolete); free choice'.
[249] Lat. 'indicium', which the translator read as 'iudicium'. The same misreading/mistranslation in A (*dome* = 'doom') while S correctly translates by 'ensampyll'.

Of abstynence

[XIII] An heremyte being yn hys owne propyr sell owght to fast iij days yn the wyke throwghe the yere yf he be hole, that ys to say wannesday, fryday and saterday,[250] but he must fast the fryday yn brede and water, except hyt be dowbull feste, or yf he wach þat nyght for devocyon throw the whych he ys the weyker yn body: then he may take oone man*er* of potage. Also be-fore the Natyvyte of oure Lord he owght to fast xl days. Also xl days be-fore Ester. Also be-fore Whydsonday ix days. Also be-fore the feste of Seynt Mychaell the archangell ix days. Also it ys to be remembrede that all thes dayes that he fastyt throwe the yere he shall ete no whyte,[251] that ys for to say that at cu*m*unyth of mylke or eggys yf he may haue fysch. And then he owght to be content with oon man*er* of fysch, with-oute[252] charite (140r) or the presens of gystys other wyse require, or be any lauful cause he be lett.

Of the etyng of flesch

[XIV] It ys laufull for an heremyte to ete flesch yn the solennytes of þe yere wyth fowre days folowyng yf they be flesche days, that ys to say: the Natyuyte of owre Lorde, Eester[253] and Whytsonday, or yn sekenes whyles[254] he haue recoverte hys helth, and also for grete labore past or labor for to come, yf nede axyt. And also by the com*m*aundment of any pyschopp or the patrone of hys place, yf they be present. And that for oon day and no more yf he be hole

Of laboryng w*ith* hys handdys

[XVI] The apostyll sayth: 'He that laboreth not owght not to ete' (2Th 3.10). And also þe p*ro*phet sayth: 'He ys blessyde and well shalbe to hym that laboryth' (Ps 127:2). Therfore oon tyme be-fore mete, and a-nother tyme after mete, the feryall days all tymes of the yere in tyme convenyant he may werke, for 'ydelnes ys enmy to the soule',[255] by whych as it ys rede 'the devyll hath deceyvyd many soulys'.

Of slepyng[256]

[XVII] It ys for to wyte that an heremyte owght to ly yn hys cote gyrde with a gyrdyll, or wyth a corde all tymes of the yere. And when he is yn hys propyr sell, he owght dylygently to provyde how he may best dispose hym to ryse att mydnyght to pray vnto oure lorde gode. Also it (140v) ys for to be notyd that fro Ester to the Exaltac*i*on of the holy Crose he owght to go to bede at the son goyng downe, and ryse wyth the son. And fro the Exaltacyon of the Crose to Septuagesyme yn the mornyng he owght to ryse, but in Lent he may slepe tylle it be clere day.

[XXII] Also eu*er*y day let hym hyre masse yf he may, for ther to he is bownde.

[250] The specification of the days of the week is added by the translator.
[251] *whyte* = 'white meat' (eggs, milk and cheese).
[252] *with-oute* = 'except'.
[253] Eester] *Heester*.
[254] *whyles* = 'until'.
[255] *Regula Benedicti* 48,1: 'ociositas inimica est anime'.
[256] The title refers only to the first part of the chapter. The other rules concerning silence at dinner, prayer after meals, weekly communion and confession are, to be found in the final chapters in A.

[xv] Also he ys bownd to kepe scylence at dyner and at supper w*ith*-out grete cause be contrary. Alle after grace ys sayde, he owght to go yn to hys oratory wyth thys psalme 'Myserere mei De*us*', and there thank God for hys lyvyng, and pray for all thoes that he ys menteynyd by.

[xvi] Also eu*er*y heremyte owght to be com*m*enyd or howseled[257] onys a weke with dew preparacyon be-fore, that is for to say confessyd and contryte of all hys synnys. Amen.

Also or he speke to any levyng creature he owght to say 'Sit dulce nomen domini mei Ihesu Christi benedictum in secula'.[258] Deo g*ra*cias.

[257] *to be commenyd or howseled* = 'to receive communion'.
[258] This last sentence has no correspondence in the Latin, but appears also in the other versions (A xv, S XIX).

Demythologising Urban Landscapes in *Andreas*

Michael D. J. Bintley

Conceptions of the urban landscape changed dramatically over the course of the Anglo-Saxon period due to a number of socio-economic and socio-political factors, a fact which is mirrored to a certain extent by the changes in the way that these landscapes were depicted in Old English literature. By the close of the period, the towering 'work of giants' described in poems which appear to represent the state of urban foundations during the early Anglo-Saxon period had been supplanted by the sort of glorious cities, carved in wood and stone, that were central to late Anglo-Saxon ideas of power and governance. This ideological shift was necessitated in part by the Viking incursions that came, towards the end of the ninth century, to prompt the planned reoccupation and development of urban sites throughout Anglo-Saxon England. Successful mediation of this process required the guidance of steady hands, not only in surmounting many of the practical difficulties of urban regeneration and resettlement, but also in reimagining the city as a realm of virtue and good works. This paper argues that this process was accomplished, in part, by works like the Old English *Andreas*, which may have served a hitherto unrecognised role in helping urban landscapes to shed many of the negative connotations which pertained in earlier Anglo-Saxon culture, reclaiming urban landscapes for the good of God and man.

It is well known that urban life in Britain underwent significant decline following the end of the Roman period, and had probably been doing so for some time.[1] The life of Roman towns 'depended on the tax system', and once this had collapsed, their prior function as centres of trade and residence was removed.[2] Although it cannot seriously be maintained that urban sites in Britain served the same purpose in the sub-Roman period as they had during the Roman period proper, it has nevertheless been suggested that they may have continued to serve some function as administrative centres.[3] The frequent presence of so-called 'dark earth' in urban areas, identified as waste material probably related to agricultural practices, has led some to conclude that the construction of timber buildings in the sub-Roman period within the defensive embrace of Roman stone walls may imply a change in the nature of towns and cities

[1] Chris Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages: Europe and the Mediterranean 400–800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 608; John Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 247.

[2] Margaret Gelling, *The West Midlands in the Early Middle Ages* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1992), p. 21.

[3] C. J. Arnold, *Roman Britain to Saxon England* (London: Croom Helm, 1984), p. 24; Richard Reece, 'Town and Country: The End of Roman Britain', *World Archaeology*, 12 (1980), 77–92 (p. 88). K. R. Dark has similarly argued that Romano-British villas may have functioned as the centres of rural estates during this period: *Civitas to Kingdom: British Political Continuity 300–800* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1994), pp. 25–39.

rather than their 'sudden abandonment'.[4] Our primary literary-historical source for the period following the withdrawal of the Roman legions and the so-called Anglo-Saxon *adventus*, the *De Excidio et Conquestu Brittaniae of Gildas*, is not wholly reflective of the subtleties exposed by the archaeological record.[5] This is entirely to be expected, given that *De Excidio* 'is a moral tract, not a work of history', and as such is largely uninterested in specific details.[6] Gildas placed a great deal of emphasis upon the destruction and desertion of cities and fortifications, writing that 'relictis civitatibus muroque celso iterum civibus fugae' ('our citizens fled the towns and the high wall').[7] Several chapters later he writes that:

> Ita ut cunctae coloniae crebris arietibus omnesque coloni cum praepositis ecclesiae, cum sacerdotibus ac populo, mucronibus undique micantibus ac flammis crepitatibus, simul solo sternerentur, et miserabili visu in medio platearum ima turrium edito cardine evulsarum murorumque celsorum saxa, sacra altaria, cadaverum frusta, crustis ac si gelantibus purpurei cruoris tecta, velut in quodam horrendo torculari mixta viderentur.
>
> All the major towns were laid low by the repeated battering of enemy rams; laid low, too, all the inhabitants — church leaders, priests and people alike, as the swords glinted all around and the flames crackled. It was a sad sight. In the middle of the squares the foundation-stones of high walls and towers that had been torn from their lofty base, holy altars, fragments of corpses, were covered as if with a purple crust of congealed blood, appearing as though they had been mixed up in some dreadful wine-press.[8]

Nicholas Howe suggested that for Gildas, who understood these depredations to have been undertaken by a 'migratory group of barbarians who spoke Germanic dialects rather than Latin', and 'typically built in timber rather than stone', the destruction of these masonry buildings represented 'a world turned upside-down'.[9] These are the same details Bede saw fit to include in his *Historia Ecclesiastica* perhaps two centuries later, drawing directly upon Gildas,[10] when he wrote that

> ignaui propugnatores miserrime de muris tracti solo adlidebantur. quid plura? relictis ciuitatibus ac muro fugiunt disperguntur.
>
> The cowardly defenders were wretchedly dragged from the walls and dashed to the ground. In short, they deserted their cities, fled from the wall, and were scattered.[11]

He similarly claimed that

[4] Richard MacPhail, 'Soil and Botanical Studies of the "Dark Earth" ', in *The Environment of Man: The Iron Age to the Anglo-Saxon Period*, ed. by Martin Jones and Geoffrey Dimbleby, BAR, British Series, 87 (Oxford: B. A. R., 1981), pp. 309–31 (esp. pp. 325–27). A prime example of this potential sequence provided by MacPhail is Roman London; see also Arnold, *Roman Britain to Saxon England*, pp. 30–31.

[5] For a discussion of the dating of the *De Excidio*, see Dark, *Civitas to Kingdom*, pp. 258–59. In response to Herren and Higham's argument for a late fifth- or early sixth-century date, and Dumville and Lapidge's suggestion of the mid-sixth century, Dark does not think (on the basis of chronological and archaeological evidence) that the *De Excidio* suits anything but an early to middle sixth century dating.

[6] Malcolm Todd, 'Famosa Pestis and Britain in the Fifth Century', *Brittania*, 8 (1977), 319–25 (p. 321).

[7] *Gildas: 'The Ruin of Britain' and Other Works*, ed. and trans. by Michael Winterbottom, Arthurian Period Sources, 7 (London: Phillimore, 1978), p.95 (ch.19).

[8] *Gildas: The Ruin of Britain*, p. 98 (ch. 24).

[9] Nicholas Howe, 'Anglo-Saxon England and the Postcolonial Void', in *Postcolonial Approaches to the European Middle Ages: Translating Cultures*, ed. by Ananya Jahanara Kabir and Deanne Williams, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature, 54 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 25–47 (pp. 27–28).

[10] M. Miller, 'Bede's use of Gildas', *English Historical Review*, 90 (1975), 241–61 (p. 242).

[11] *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. and trans. by Bertram Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors, corr. repr. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), p. 44 (I.12). Subsequent references to Bede's *Historia* are to this edition.

> ruebant aedificia publica simul et priuata, passim sacerdotes inter altaria trucidabantur, praesules cum populis sine ullo respectu honoris ferro pariter et flammis absumebantur, nec erat qui crudeliter interemtos sepulturae traderet.
>
> Public and private buildings fell in ruins, priests were everywhere slain at their altars, prelate and people alike perished by sword and fire regardless of rank, and there was no one left to bury those who had died a cruel death.[12]

It is perhaps significant that the section of Gildas' text from which Bede derived these details may also have been the source of the 'three ships' motif, although the potential influence of other (lost) parallel sources should not be discounted.[13] This event is elevated to mythological status (if it was not entirely mythical in the first place) in Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* and the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, which describe the arrival of the first Angles and Saxons in three ships around 448, at the invitation of Vortigern, and under the command of Hengest and Horsa. As this particular myth appears to have exerted a strong hold over Anglo-Saxon ideas of origin,[14] it may be reasonable to suppose that other ideas connected with this passage in Bede's text may have proved similarly influential. The fact that Wulfstan similarly referred to the *De Excidio* as an accurate account of the 'state of the nation' at the time of the *adventus Saxonum* may therefore suggest — whatever the fact of the matter may have been — that the destruction and desertion of Roman towns and cities was held to be true throughout the period.[15] To at least some extent, this Anglo-Saxon origin mythology provides an accurate picture. Notwithstanding the degree to which archaeology has demonstrated that there was some continuity of occupation in Roman towns and villas, few claims are made that urban life was maintained in Britain in the way it seems to have been in continental Europe.[16] By contrast, early Anglo-Saxon settlements appear to have taken much the same form as those in first-century Germany that were described by Tacitus in his *Germania* of c. 98:

> nullas Germanorum populis urbes habitari satis notum est, ne pati quidem inter se iunctas sedes. colunt discreti ac diversi, ut fons, ut campus, ut nemus placuit. vicos locant non in nostrum morem conexis et cohaerentibus aedificiis: suam quisque domum spatio circumdat, sive adversus casus ignis remedium sive inscitia aedificandi. ne caementorum quidem apud illos aut tegularum usus: materia ad omnia utuntur informi et citra speciem aut delectationem.
>
> It is well known that none of the German tribes live in cities, that even individually they do not permit houses to touch each other; they live separated and scattered, as spring-water, meadow, or grove appeals to each man; they lay out their villages not, after our fashion, with buildings contiguous and connected; everyone keeps a clear space round his house, whether it be as a precaution against the chances of fire, or just through ignorance of building. They have not even learned to use quarry-stone or tiles; the timber they use for all purposes is unshaped, and stops short of all ornament or attraction.[17]

[12] *HE* I.15 (p. 52).

[13] See *Gildas: The Ruin of Britain*, p. 97; *HE* I.15 (p. 50); and *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition, Vol. 8, MS F*, ed. by Peter S. Baker (Cambridge: Brewer, 2000), pp. 19–20. Whilst Thompson considered the three ships motif to be a potentially genuine historical detail, implying a warband of less than 180 men, this seems an overly-literal interpretation of a text which does not seem to have been intended as an historical record. See E. A. Thompson, 'Gildas and the History of Britain', *Britannia*, 10 (1979), 203–26 (p. 217).

[14] Nicholas Howe, *Migration and Mythmaking in Anglo-Saxon England* (London: Yale University Press, 1989).

[15] *The Homilies of Wulfstan*, ed. by Dorothy Bethurum (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1957), pp. 267–75 (ll. 176–84). Particular reference to Gildas is made in the version of the *Sermo Lupi* found in MS Bodleian, Hatton 113.

[16] MacPhail, 'Soil and Botanical Studies of the "Dark Earth"', p. 327.

[17] *Cornelii Taciti: De Origine et Situ Germanorum*, ed. by J. G. C. Anderson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1938), ch. 16.

As Hamerow writes, Germanic-speakers' settlements of the early medieval period were sometimes 'so dispersed that some archaeologists have hesitated to call them "villages" at all'.[18] Addyman suggests that the recurrent 'nucleated' form of these settlements, clustering around hall buildings, was a product of the orthodoxies of Anglo-Saxon society, those same orthodoxies which Earl thought to have motivated the 'stubborn preservation' of these central hall-buildings throughout the period.[19] Therefore, what has been seen by both modern and ancient eyes as an apparent formlessness, a lack of 'connection and coherency' as Tacitus put it, is probably best understood as a form which both defined and was defined by the organizing principles of Germanic society.[20]

It is unsurprising, considering Tacitus' comments and the archaeology of the migration period, that Anglo-Saxon settlers found the ruins of Roman Britain to be somewhat alien; *enta geweorc* — the work of giants. Wood, the 'raw material of community', was central to their sign system, and timber was used to serve almost all architectural purposes.[21] Early use of the *enta geweorc* leitmotif is perhaps best understood through reference to the Exeter Book elegies *The Ruin* and *The Wanderer*, although the phrase is also used to denote man-made structures in *Andreas* (1235, 1495), *Elene* (31), *Maxims* II (2), and *Beowulf* (2717, 2774).[22] This is not to say that either of these poems is necessarily 'early', but rather that the common description of stone ruins as *enta geweorc* seems likely to have been an early invention. These early attitudes towards Roman architecture may be best reflected in the *The Ruin* and *The Wanderer*. This is not so say that either of these poems is necessarily 'early', but rather that the common description of stone ruins as *enta geweorc* may have been an early invention. The inhabitants of middle and late Saxon England are more likely to have been familiar with stone buildings that were in current use elsewhere in early medieval Europe than their predecessors, whether directly through international trade, pilgrimage, and other travel, or through the accounts of clerics, nobles, and other travelers. The dating of both works remains problematic, though a *terminus ad quem* is provided by the date of the Exeter Book, around 975. On the basis of archaeological details in the poem which match particular characteristics of sub-Roman Aquae Sulis, Cunliffe suggests that *The Ruin* is most likely to have been composed at some point during the eighth century by a monk associated with the ecclesiastical foundation in Bath, although Davenport notes that the late seventh is also a possibility.[23] It is also worth noting that it seems likely that there was a community capable of writing Latin-influenced religious poetry in Bath by this time: whilst the authenticity of the foundation charter for Bath

[18] Helena Hamerow, *Early Medieval Settlements: the Archaeology of Rural Communities in North-West Europe 400–900* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 93–94. Fine examples Hamerow notes are the settlements at West Stow and Mucking, although the settlement at West Heslerton provides an important exception, where a 'single, planned relocation' took place to a site that had originally been a Romano-British farm, as is the case with some other Anglo-Saxon settlements (p. 121). Dominic Powlesland has suggested that this may have been part of an early attempt 'to establish some sort of urban centre': 'The Anglo-Saxon Settlement at West Heslerton, North Yorkshire', in *Northumbria's Golden Age*, ed. by Jane Hawkes and Susan Mills (Stroud: Sutton, 1999), pp. 55–65 (esp. 58–59).

[19] Stanford University Press

[20] Hamerow, *Early Medieval Settlements*, p. 12.

[21] Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, *Of Giants: Sex, Monsters, and the Middle Ages*, Medieval Cultures, 17 (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), p. 5.

[22] *Dictionary of Old English: A to G Online*, ed. by Angus Cameron, Ashley Crandall Amos, Antonette diPaolo Healey, and others (Toronto: Dictionary of Old English Project, 2007), s.v. *ent* §b. All references to *The Ruin* and *The Wanderer* from *The Exeter Anthology of Old English Poetry; an Edition of Exeter Dean and Chapter MS 3501*, ed. by Bernard J. Muir, 2nd edn, 2 vols (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2000), i pp. 357–58, and 215–19 respectively.

[23] Barry Cunliffe, *Roman Bath Discovered*, rev. edn (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984), p. 213; Peter Davenport, *Medieval Bath Uncovered* (Stroud: Tempus, 2002), pp. 11–13.

Abbey is questionable, surviving only in a twelfth-century copy, Sims-Williams' convincing comparison of the existing foundation charter with another seventh-century charter of 'undoubted authenticity (S 1167)', suggests that whilst the foundation charter of Bath Abbey is not entirely genuine, its details are broadly correct in so far as the grant of land to abbess Berta in 675 is concerned.[24] If there is a case to be made on the basis of this and other evidence for ascribing *The Ruin* to an earlier date in the Anglo-Saxon era, it is difficult to say the same of *The Wanderer*. If there are few features which definitively suggest an early date for this poem, 'there are many which suggest, however tenuously, a late date'.[25] Whilst Leslie had suggested a date as early as the eighth century, Dunning and Bliss concluded that many of the problems associated with the dating of *The Wanderer* might be solved if it were assigned to the 'first half of the tenth century'.[26] Although it seems unlikely that *The Wanderer* is a particularly early work, and certainly neither is in in its extant form, I would nevertheless argue that these poems preserve elements of an earlier tradition for the reasons outlined above, not the least of which being that Anglo-Saxons of the middle and late-Saxon were better acquainted with traditions of building in stone than their ancestors. I would suggest that the *enta geweorc* may be one such example of this. From the way in which buildings are presented in *The Ruin* and *The Wanderer*, it is clear that the sense of otherness they perpetuated was largely a result of their grand scale and stone construction. The dilapidated landscape of *The Ruin* in which they appear evokes mixed feelings of awe and dread:

> wrætlic is þes wealstan, wyrde gebræcon,
> burgstede burston, brosnað enta geweorc.
> Hrofas sind gehrorene, hreorge torras,
> hrungeat berofen, hrim on lime,
> scearde scurbeorge scorene, gedrorene,
> ældo undereotone.

> Splendid is this wallstone, fates broke [it], the city buildings burst apart, the works of giants crumble. The rooves have collapsed, the towers tumbled, the barred gate [is] broken, frost in the plaster, ceilings agape, torn, collapsed, and consumed with age. (*Ruin* 1–6)

It is evident from the beginning of the poem that its focus is a large settlement, rather than a villa or farm, and this has most commonly been identified as the Roman town of Aquae Sulis, modern Bath, due to the poem's reference to *burnsele* ('bathing halls', 21), the phrase 'hate on hreþre' ('hot at the heart', 41), and a description of 'hate streamas' ('hot streams', 43) passing over 'harne stan' ('grey stone', 43) and down to 'þær þa baþu wæron' ('there where the baths were', 46).[27] However, there is a sense in which the exact location of the poet when he composed this verse is not of particularly great importance. *The Ruin* reflects the fact that ruined Roman stone buildings and settlements remained a very prominent feature of the Anglo-Saxon landscape throughout the period.[28] In this respect it is immaterial whether the

[24] Patrick Sims-Williams, 'Continental Influence at Bath Monastery in the Seventh Century', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 4 (1975), 1–10 (p. 2).

[25] *The Wanderer*, ed. by T. P. Dunning and A. J. Bliss (London: Methuen, 1969), pp. 102–3.

[26] *The Wanderer*, ed. by Roy F. Leslie (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1966), p. 48; *The Wanderer*, p. 104.

[27] Barry Cunliffe, 'Earth's Grip Holds Them', in *Rome and Her Northern Provinces: Papers Presented to Sheppard Frere in Honour of his Retirement from the Chair of the Archaeology of the Roman Empire, University of Oxford, 1983*, ed. by Brian Hartley and John Wacher (Gloucester: Sutton, 1983), pp. 67–83 (esp. 76–80); Davenport, *Medieval Bath Uncovered*, p.11. Also see Barry Cunliffe, *English Heritage Book of Roman Bath* (London: Batsford, 1996), p. 118; Cunliffe, *Roman Bath Discovered*, p. 214.

[28] Christine Fell, 'Perceptions of Transience', in *The Cambridge Companion to Old English Literature*, ed. by Malcolm Godden and Michael Lapidge (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 172–89 (pp. 179–80).

poem accurately depicts the ruins of a fort on Hadrian's wall, Aquae Sulis, or Babylon; here, to borrow Eliot's words, 'the intersection of the timeless moment is England and nowhere, never and always'.[29] The poet balances his landscape at a still point, frozen in time, with 'hrim on lime' ('frost in the plaster', 4), after the passing away of a 'hund cnea' ('hundred generations', 8) of men, a phrase which must, to the Anglo-Saxon mind, have suggested the whole history of mankind — King Alfred the Great, for one, having counted fewer than fifty generations between himself and Adam.[30] The ruined city, without human life, the 'living energy of meaning', appears as the skeleton of social order, still haunted by the ghosts of 'meaning and culture', its stones encapsulating 'both the possibility and the fragility of its existence'.[31] It serves only, in this respect, as a reminder of the absent joys of Anglo-Saxon communal life: the dispensing of treasure to warriors 'glædmod and goldbeorht' ('glad in mind and gold-bright', 33), 'wlonc and wingal' ('proud and wine-flushed', 34) in halls filled with 'mondreama' ('the joys of people', 23).

It is the loss of these seledreamas ('hall-joys', *Wan* 93) that also provides much of the focus of *The Wanderer*, a loss that is felt all the more keenly due to the endurance of ruined stone buildings:

> ongietan sceal gleaw hæle hu gæstlic bið
> þonne ealre þisse worulde wela weste stondeð,
> swa nu missenlice geond þisne middangeard
> winde biwaune weallas stondaþ,
> hrime bihrorene, hryðge þa ederas.
> Woniað þa winsalo, waldend licgað
> dreame bidrorene, duguð eal gecrong,
> wlonc bi wealle.
>
> The wise man will perceive how terrible it shall be when all this world stands in waste, as now in various places throughout this middle earth, wind-blown, walls stand, frost-covered, ruined buildings. The wine halls crumble, leaders lie lifeless, deprived of joys, the troop all fallen, proud by the wall. (*Wan* 73–80)

In contrast with *The Ruin*, however, the destruction of the earthly foundation here is more clearly the work of God:

> yþde swa þisne eardgeard ælda Scyppend
> oþ þæt burgwara breahtma lease
> eald enta geweorc idlu stodon.
>
> The creator of man thus laid waste this earth, so that, lacking the joyful sounds of city-dwellers, the ancient works of giants stood idle. (*Wan* 85–87)

The presentation of ruined stone buildings in these Exeter Book elegies implies the existence of a shared tradition at the time of their composition that was reaffirmed by their inclusion in the manuscript around 975.

Similar associations between Roman buildings and the dead are equally apparent in the early medieval archaeological record. There are numerous instances in which Anglo-Saxon

[29] *Four Quartets: Little Gidding*: T.S. Eliot, *Collected Poems: 1909–1962* (London: Faber and Faber, 1963), pp. 214–23 (p. 215).

[30] *Asser's Life of King Alfred, Together with the Annals of Saint Neots Erroneously Ascribed to Asser*, ed. by W. H. Stevenson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959), pp. 1–4.

[31] Jacques Derrida, 'Force and Signification', in *Writing and Difference*, trans. by Alan Bass (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1978), pp. 3–30 (pp. 5–6).

inhumation burials appear to have been made with particular deference to Roman structures. This tendency is reminiscent of the occasional inhumation of execution victims in close proximity to prehistoric burial mounds, landscape features which seem to have been used as both hundred meeting places and sites at which capital punishment may have taken place.[32] Tyler Bell's recent survey of Roman structures reused for religious purposes in early medieval England suggests that a similar mythology may have been extended to abandoned Roman buildings, where a great number of burials have been excavated that were not, however, execution burials. Although, as Bell notes, the 'available body of evidence allows few firm conclusions' to be made about the motives of those who interred their dead in these places, this feature of the archaeological record suggests that Roman ruins had similarly morbid associations to burial mounds.[33] Whilst burials focused on Roman structures are generally lacking in grave goods and phasing therefore remains problematic, radiocarbon evidence seems to indicate dates clustering around the 'late sixth and seventh centuries'.[34] This may suggest that this practice was more characteristic of migration- and conversion-period Anglo-Saxon society than it became following the efforts of the various parties ultimately responsible for the Christianisation of Anglo-Saxon England. In a fashion seemingly distinct from the reuse of barrow sites, burials of this kind seem to demonstrate an awareness of Roman structures 'as architecture', rather than clusters of stones, a characteristic which is evident from the particular alignment of burials with reference to walls and doorways, such as those at Norton Disney (Lincolnshire) and the great palace at Fishbourne (Sussex).[35] Despite this, burials do not seem to have been made with any particular recognition of the original function of these buildings (save for a predominance of reused temples in the south-west), where twenty-two burial sites (26%) 'are on or adjacent to a hypocausted structure or bathhouse'.[36]

There is probably a meaningful distinction to be made between these sorts of burials and those which reused purpose-built Roman mausolea, of which there are comparatively few, mostly associated with churches.[37] Roman mausolea with 'overlying churches probably form some of the earliest examples of reuse in Britain'.[38] One excellent example of this is the chapel at Stone-by-Faversham, some 16km from Canterbury, 'unequivocally an early rebuild' that occurred as a direct consequence of Gregory the Great's Augustinian mission in 597.[39] This site is particularly significant because it displays evidence of burials made during the settlement period, before the proposed construction of the Anglo-Saxon church, although it is also

[32] See Andrew Reynolds, *Anglo-Saxon Deviant Burial Customs* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009) for a complete survey; also Andrew Reynolds, 'The Definition and Ideology of Anglo-Saxon Execution Sites and Cemeteries', in *Death and Burial in Medieval Europe*, ed. by Guy de Boe and Frans Verhaeghe, I. A. P. rapporten/Paper of the 'Medieval Europe Brugge 1997' Conference, 2 (Zellik: Instituut voor het Archeologisch Patrimonium, 1997), pp. 33–41 (esp. 35–37); and Sarah Semple, 'A Fear of the Past: The Place of the Prehistoric Burial Mound in the Ideology of Middle and Later Anglo-Saxon England', *World Archaeology*, 30 (1998), 109–26.

[33] Tyler Bell, *The Religious Reuse of Roman Structures in Early Medieval England*, BAR, British Series, 390 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2005), pp. 38–68 (esp. p. 67).

[34] Bell, *The Religious Reuse of Roman Structures*, p. 38.

[35] Bell, *The Religious Reuse of Roman Structures*, pp. 39–43, 52. The complete corpus of 'Burials Associated with Roman Structures' excavated to date is to be found in the same text, pp. 156–89.

[36] Bell, *The Religious Reuse of Roman Structures*, pp. 61, 68.

[37] Bell, *The Religious Reuse of Roman Structures*, p. 57.

[38] See Bell, *The Religious Reuse of Roman Structures*, pp. 78–83, for a full discussion of churches constructed overlying Roman mausolea.

[39] Bell, *The Religious Reuse of Roman Structures*, p. 125.

possible that these remains may have been sub-Roman.[40] If these burials are indeed Anglo-Saxon, a potential sequence at Stone-by-Faversham presents a Roman building that became unoccupied in the late Roman period, fell into disrepair during the sub-Roman period, and was used as a site of heathen burial during the migration era, before being appropriated by Christian builders under the impetus of the Gregorian mission. Accordingly, a significant distinction may be drawn between the attitudes of heathen and Christian Anglo-Saxons towards Roman ruins that is evident from the surviving archaeological record and, arguably, features in Old English literature dating to the same period. The re-establishment of ecclesiastical centres at sites that had been significant Christian foundations during the Roman occupation was arguably a consequence of the concerted efforts of Gregory's mission to regain spiritual control of the former province of Britannia. There are over 160 churches in Britain associated with Roman structures.[41] As Bell argues, the placing of 'primary bishoprics at London and York, with twelve sees', seems to have been a decision made with the 'political and geographical layout of the former province' in mind, rather than the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms at that time, although it is possible that Gregory was only doing the best he could with the information available to him.[42] Nevertheless, as this process continued until well into the seventh and perhaps eighth centuries, it seems as if the same approach was still considered reasonable by local representatives of the Roman Church for some time to come. Bell suggests that in an architectural sense, at least, the Roman may perhaps be considered synonymous with the Christian from the seventh century onwards.[43]

Vernacular poetry may suggest that Anglo-Saxon attitudes towards walled settlements and building in stone underwent significant changes between the fifth and eleventh centuries. The cities and buildings that we encounter in *The Ruin* and *The Wanderer* are strikingly different from those found in the early twelfth century *Durham*, the only extant example in Old English of the *encomium urbis*, a literary form of rhetoric dating to ancient times in which various aspects of a city were catalogued.[44] The first eight lines of this poem are of particular relevance:

[40] Bell, *The Religious Reuse of Roman Structures*, p. 125; see also H. M. Taylor and D. D. Yonge, 'The Ruined Church at Stone-by-Faversham, a Reassessment', *Archaeological Journal*, 138 (1981), 118–45; Eric Fletcher and G. W. Meates, 'The Ruined Church of Stone-by-Faversham', *The Antiquaries Journal*, 49 (1969), 273–94; E. Fletcher and G. W. Meates, 'The Ruined Church of Stone-by-Faversham, Second Report', *The Antiquaries Journal*, 57 (1977), 67–72.

[41] Tyler Bell, 'Churches on Roman Buildings: Christian Associations and Roman Masonry in Anglo-Saxon England', *Medieval Archaeology*, 42 (1998), 1–18 (p. 1).

[42] Bell, *The Religious Reuse of Roman Structures*, p. 27. Wood argues that this desire on Gregory's part probably says as much about the 'imperial background' of his intentions as it does the 'lack of realism' behind some of his expectations. See Ian Wood, 'The Mission of Augustine of Canterbury to the English', *Speculum*, 69 (1994), 1–17 (p. 16); also Nicholas Brooks, *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1984), p. 10.

[43] Bell, 'Churches on Roman Buildings', pp. 6–7.

[44] Margaret Schlauch, 'An Old English *encomium urbis*', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 40 (1941), 14–28; noted in *The Anglo-Saxon Minor Poems*, ed. by Elliot van Kirk Dobbie, The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records, 6 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1942), p. xlv. Dobbie also notes the existence of a long Latin poem by Alcuin, written c. 780×82, 'in praise of the city and church of York' (p. xlv). However, as Wickham notes, this Latin poem spends 'most of its space on the qualities of local bishops, and very little on the urban fabric', and perhaps more likely to have catered to ecclesiastical tastes than *Durham*, which through its use of the vernacular and its broader description of the city may have appealed to both an ecclesiastical and lay audience: *Framing the Early Middle Ages*, p. 655. For further discussion of the potential Latin and Anglo-Latin contexts of *The Ruin*, see Christopher Abram, 'In Search of Lost Time: Aldhelm and *The Ruin*', *Quaestio*, 1 (2000), 23–44.

Is ðeos burch breome geond Breotenrice,
steppa gestaðolad, stanas ymbutan
wundrum gewæxen. Weor ymbeornad,
ea yðum stronge, and ðer inne wunað
feola fisca kyn on floda gemonge.
And ðær gewexen is wudafæstern micel;
wuniad in ðem wycum wilda deor monige,
in deope dalum deora ungerim.[45]

This city is famous throughout Britain, established on steep slopes and wondrously constructed with stones all about. The Wear runs past it, a strong-flowing river, and there dwell therein many kinds of fish in that teeming flood; also there has grown up a great enclosing wood.[46] In that place dwell many wild beasts in the deep dales, countless creatures. (*Dur* 1–8)

Steep slopes, water, stones, and woodland, are all united here in defence of the city. As Baker has noted, the word *fæsten*, found here in conjunction with *wuda*, is a term that seems to have been used in 'an almost metaphorical way' to describe places which, amongst other things, 'could serve as strongholds of a sort'.[47] *Durham* is clearly a far cry from the wreckage of Aquae Sulis described in *The Ruin* centuries before; it is a city at peace with the world outside its walls, rather than an *opus contra naturam*.

To some extent, the shift in Anglo-Saxon attitudes implied by the vernacular poetic tradition can be understood in purely practical terms. The transformation of the rural Anglo-Saxon settlement landscape to one that was dominated by urban centres of power occurred as a result of a number of complex factors that fall outside the scope of this discussion. The causes of this shift might be summarised as population growth, economic development, and the Viking activity, with the latter both leading to the introduction of the programme of urban fortifications known as the burghal system and promoting the development of trading centres like York and Dublin.[48] The burghal system, and other institutions like it, were intended by both ecclesiastical and secular authorities to centralise power for the benefit of both the general

[45] *The Anglo-Saxon Minor Poems*, p. 27.

[46] As Anderson notes, *wudafæstern* is emended to *wudufæsten* [n] in J. Bosworth and T. Northcote Toller, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* (London: Oxford University Press, 1898), p. 1278, which seems sensible given the poem's subsequent references to the wild beasts which dwell therein. Baker's discussion of *fæsten* in Old English place names suggests that this term had a 'more figurative use' in denoting strongholds than *burh*, and may have referred to sites that were in some way secure due to their natural inaccessibility, as seems to be the case in *Durham*. See Earl R. Anderson, 'The Uncarpentered World of Old English Poetry', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 20 (1991), 65–80 (p. 76); John Baker, 'Old English *fæsten*', in *A Commodity of Good Names*, ed. by O. J. Padel and David N. Parsons (Donington: Tyas, 2008), pp. 333–44 (esp. 334–35, 341).

[47] John Baker, 'Old English *fæsten*', in *A Commodity of Good Names: Essays in Honour of Margaret Gelling*, ed. by O. J. Padel and David N. Parsons (Donington: Tyas, 2008), pp. 333–44 (esp. p. 314).

[48] Richard Hodges, *Dark Age Economics: The Origins of Towns and Trade, AD 600–1000* (London: Duckworth, 1982), pp. 130, 150. Although, as Jones notes, Hodges's approach has been 'roundly criticised' for its detachment from historical and material evidence, as well as current economic market scholarship, a number of his conclusions (many of which are in fact supported by Jones) remain valuable. Jones places far less emphasis than Hodges upon the manipulation of markets by monarchs, arguing that the 'main impetus to trade [...] was provided by the Viking invaders' and the burden their attacks placed upon the Anglo-Saxon economy to 'generate and monetise surpluses', in order to fund armies or gather protection money. S. R. H. Jones, 'Transaction Costs, Institutional Change, and the Emergence of a Market Economy in Later Anglo-Saxon England', *Economic History Review*, 46 (1993), 658–78, (pp. 659, 665, 675).

populace and their rulers.[49] This conceptual resettlement required a significant reimagining of the sorts of derelict urban landscapes found in *The Ruin* and *The Wanderer*, a task that appears to have been particularly well accomplished by the literature of the Church. Discussing prehistoric and Roman monuments, Blair writes that:

> The ritual cleansing of any such places, as both a necessary and a sufficient condition for re-use, will have made sense to the English as well as to their ecclesiastical mentors.[50]

Thus, when Roman towns were 're-born as bishoprics or minsters', they would have similarly 'embodied a transfer of meaning from old (abandoned) cities to new (revitalized and holy) ones'.[51] Perhaps the finest example of one of the ways in which this process was achieved through literary encouragement is to be found in the *Andreas* of the Vercelli Book. This poem provides an account of the apocryphal journey of St. Andrew to rescue St Matthew from the clutches of a cannibalistic heathen people known as the Mermedonians, who inhabit the ruined city of Mermedonia. After freeing Matthew and other victims of the Mermedonians, Andrew — having revealed his identity — is tortured and imprisoned. When Andrew subsequently appeals to the grace of God from the confines of his jail cell, a torrent of water breaks forth from a pillar, cleansing Mermedonia and 'baptising' its inhabitants. The narrative framework of *Andreas* is established firmly by its close adherence to the particulars of its source, which Boenig considers most likely to have been a Latin version of the Greek *Praxeis*, an apocryphal life of St Andrew closely related to the *Casanatensis* and an Old English translation in the Blickling Homilies.[52] The *Andreas* poet has also long been thought to have drawn upon a text of *Beowulf* in various ways. Summarising recent scholarship on this subject, Orchard notes that the 'sheer number of parallels', as well as their 'extensive nature', strongly suggests that more is at work in the relationship between the two poems than a simple reliance upon

[49] Richard Abels notes Asser's assertion that this task was undertaken by all (perhaps not entirely willingly) 'pro communi regni necessitate' ('for the common needs of the kingdom'): *Asser's Life of King Alfred, Together with the Annals of Saint Neots*, ed, by William H. Stevenson (Oxford: Clarendon, 1959), p. 77 (ch. 91); Richard Abels, *Alfred the Great: War, Kingship and Culture in Anglo-Saxon England* (Harlow: Pearson, 1998), p. 206. Abels writes that the towns of the burghal system were 'designed to be permanent urban settlements rather than temporary refuges', and 'designed as centres of trade and royal administration, islands of royal power through which the king and his agents [...] were able to dominate the countryside': Abels, *Alfred the Great*, p. 199 (also pp. 194–207). Campbell similarly describes this 'vast system of fortifications' and the 'elaborate means of serving them' as as evidence that by West Saxon kings were 'capable of a feat of government on the largest scale' by 'the beginning of the tenth century', in James Campbell, *Essays in Anglo-Saxon History* (London: Hambledon, 1986), p. 155. See further discussion of the purposes and function of the burghal system in Alfred P. Smyth, *King Alfred the Great* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995) pp. 135–42; David Hill, 'The Origin of Alfred's Urban Policies', in *Alfred the Great: Papers from the Eleventh-Centenary Conferences*, ed. by Timothy Reuter (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2003), pp. 219–33 (esp. 229–33); Nicholas Brooks, 'Alfredian Government: the West Saxon Inheritance', in the same volume, pp. 153–73 (pp. 160–62).

[50] Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, p. 184.

[51] Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, p. 249.

[52] *The Acts of Andrew in the Country of the Cannibals*, ed. and trans. by Robert Boenig, Garland Library of Medieval Literature, 70.B (New York: Garland, 1991), pp. v–ix; *The Vercelli Book*, ed. by George P. Krapp, The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records, 2 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1932), p. xxxvi; Hugh Magennis, *Images of Community in Old English Poetry*, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England, 18 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 173. David Hamilton seems to agree, but like Whitelock advises caution: 'The Diet and Digestion of Allegory in *Andreas*', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 1 (1972), 147–58 (p. 147); Dorothy Whitelock, 'Anglo-Saxon Poetry and the Historian', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4th series, 31 (1949), 75–94 (p. 82).

a common poetic stock.[53] Accordingly, Magennis notes that one significant element of the *Andreas* poet's adaptation of his source material is the 'development of place and setting' achieved through free exploitation of 'features derived from the vernacular poetic traditions'. This serves to contribute an 'emotive dimension' to places like Mermedonia, the city of the cannibals, that is altogether absent from the poet's source material.[54] Consider, for example, the first description of Mermedonia in the poem, outside whose walls Andrew is left by his companions after the sea voyage:

> Onwoc þa wiges heard, wang sceawode
> fore burggeatum; beorgas steape,
> hleoðu hlifodon, ymbe harne stan
> tigelfagan trafu, torras stodon,
> windige weallas.
>
> Then that one hardened by battle awoke, and surveyed the plain before the city gate, where steep slopes and cliffs towered, and all over that grey stone stood towers, roofed buildings, and windy walls. (And 839–43)[55]

Most, if not all, of the urban features described, including city gates, stone ramparts, tiled rooves, towers, and wind-blown walls, are shared with the descriptions found in *The Ruin* and *The Wanderer* of Roman ruins. The phrase *windige weallas* has been taken to echo the shore-cliffs (*Beo* 572) seen by Beowulf in the first light of morning after his swimming match with Breca, since it describes Andrew's view of Mermedonia upon his awakening outside its gates.[56] Dawning light is implied at this moment in both *Beowulf* (569) and *Andreas* (836–38). It may be that the poet is alluding to the *enta geweorc* tradition in order to stir a sense of foreboding in his audience. Whilst he may be relying on oral formulaic motifs such as *harne stan* (*Ruin* 43; *Beo* 887, 1415, 2553, 2744), both here and elsewhere, this is in part because they were established pillars of an effective discourse between the poet and his listeners.[57] The poet similarly develops the scene of Andrew's 'special punishment', during which he is dragged through the streets of Mermedonia, after liberating the prisoners of the cannibals and then daring to return to the city:[58]

> Drogon deormode æfter dunscræfum,
> ymb stanhleoðo stærcedferþþe,
> efne swa wide swa wegas tolagon,
> enta ærgeweorc, innan burgum,
> stræte stanfage. Storm upp aras
> æfter ceasterhofum, cirm unlytel
> hæðnes heriges.

[53] Andy Orchard, *A Critical Companion to 'Beowulf'* (Woodbridge: Brewer, 2003), pp. 164–66. For further discussion see also Anita R. Reidinger, 'The Formulaic Relationship Between *Beowulf* and *Andreas*', in *Heroic Poetry in the Anglo-Saxon Period: Studies in Honor of Jess B. Bessinger Jr.*, ed. by Helen Damico and John Leyerle, Studies in Medieval Culture, 32 (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, 1993), pp. 283–312.

[54] Magennis, *Images of Community*, p. 173.

[55] All references to the text of the Old English *Andreas* from *Andreas and the Fates of the Apostles*, ed. by Kenneth R. Brooks (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961).

[56] All references to *Beowulf* are from *Klaeber's 'Beowulf' and the 'Fight at Finnsburg'*, ed. by R. D. Fulk, Robert E. Bjork, and John D. Niles, 4th edn, Toronto Old English Series, 21 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008).

[57] Edward B. Irving Jr., 'A reading of *Andreas*: the Poem as Poem', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 12 (1983), 215–37 (p. 231).

[58] Irving, 'A reading of *Andreas*', p. 231.

> They hauled the stubborn-spirited man [reading *deormodne*] through mountain gorges and round rocky screes as widely as the roads stretched, stone-paved highways, the former works of giants, within the cities. The commotion, the immense hubbub of the heathen horde, mounted up through the fortress dwellings. (And 1232–38)

Once again terms are encountered that we would wholly expect to find in *Beowulf* and other poems, such as the *stræte stanfage*, similarly referred to in *Beowulf* (320), yet which Irving did not think likely to have been borrowed from the earlier work largely on the grounds that the street would have to have been stone-paved to injure Andrew in the way it does.[59] It does not seem improbable, given the alliterative properties of *stræte stanfage*, that it may have been an oral formula, much like *harne stan*, that was perhaps drawn from *Beowulf* but may equally have belonged to the same ruin-vocabulary encountered elsewhere.

One further instance of this sort of reference to an older tradition marks an important turning point in *Andreas*. This is the scene in which Andrew, imprisoned by the Mermedonians, looks upon the pillars in the walls of his cell:

> He be wealle geseah wundrum fæste
> under sælwage sweras unlytle,
> stapulas standan storme bedrifene,
> eald enta geweorc.

> He observed against a wall under the side of the building, fixed remarkably firmly, some great pillars standing, weather-beaten columns, the ancient work of giants. (*And* 1492–95)

Andrew appeals to these columns, 'mihtig on modrof' ('mighty and bold in spirit', 1496), telling them that God has bidden them to burst apart and let stream forth a great torrent 'to wera cwealme' ('to the destruction of men', 1507). This is an unexpected invention. Although this section of the narrative is anchored securely in the poet's source material, his mention of 'eald enta geweorc', and 'stapulas' standing 'storme bedrifene' (a motif which seems to have been borrowed from *Beowulf*) draws directly upon the vernacular poetic tradition.[60] In effect, by calling forth the waters from beneath these pillars, Andrew makes himself master of the city through the power of God, and when the waters swell forth to encompass Mermedonia, he takes possession of the forbidding landscape and all the terms that had been associated with it, with all their associated mythologies of death and desolation. In this light, to describe the flooding of Mermedonia as a symbolic baptism of the city and its inhabitants is to state the obvious. One of the Mermedonians, a 'feasceaft hæleð' ('poor man', 1556), recognises their perilous predicament and appeals to the rest of his kinsmen, calling upon them to look to Andrew, and saying that 'us bið gearu sona | sybb æfter sorge, gif we secað to him' ('peace after sorrow will be ours immediately, if we seek it from him', 1567–68). At this, Andrew 'het streamfare stillan, stormas restan | ymbe stanhleoðu' ('commanded the running stream to be still, the storms to be at rest about the stone-piles' 1575–77). As he walked over the earth, it dried as his feet touched the surface:

> Þa se beorg tohlad,
> eorðscræf egeslic, ond þær in forlet
> flod fæðmian, fealewe wægas;
> geotende gegrind grund eall forswealg.

[59] Irving, 'A reading of *Andreas*', p. 231.

[60] See *Beowulf* (2542–49). Here, as we look down into the barrow, it is not a stream of water than bursts forth from beneath the pillars, but dragon's fire. Irving notes that in the source, it is a statue rather than a pillar to which Andrew speaks: 'A Reading of Andreas', p. 234.

> Then that mound opened, an awesome earth-grave, and therein washed the flood, the fallow waves; inward swirled that surging mass of water, the ground swallowed it whole. (*And* 1587–90)

As Irving notes, some elements of the flood's final moments are particularly interesting, as they eliminate certain unnecessary details from the sources through the addition of the *beorg* which swallows the water and fourteen of the 'worst' Mermedonians. In particular Irving questions whether the *beorg* should perhaps be considered a 'pagan grave-mound', without suggesting the potential significance of this feature.[61]

This much is clear: Mermedonia is a very different place after the flood. The negative terms used to refer to the antediluvian city are plain enough, as it is referred to once as a 'hæðnan burg' ('heathen stronghold', 111), and twice (by the sailors and by God), as a 'mæran byrig' ('infamous city', 287, 973). Following the conversion of its inhabitants after their symbolic baptism, Mermedonia becomes a place 'of admirable community'.[62] Importantly, we are shown that a 'ciricean' ('church', 1633), 'Godes tempel' ('God's temple', 1634), is built on the very spot from whence the 'flod onsprang' ('flood sprang forth', 1635), in order to help encourage the Mermedonians to give up their 'diofolgild' ('offerings to devils', 1641), and 'ealde ealhstedas' ('ancient pagan temples', 1642). It becomes a 'beorhtan byrig' ('bright city', 1649), a 'goldburg' ('golden city', 1655), and a 'winbyrig' ('wine city', 1672), in which its inhabitants may now enjoy 'secga seledream ond sincgestreon' ('the joys of men and treasure-giving', 1656). The only place that now seems to retain any negative connotations must therefore surely be the *beorg* into which the purifying waters are washed, bearing the fourteen most sinful Mermedonians beneath the earth, and presumably to hell. Barrows, as places of execution and execution burial, seem to have been a focal point for negative superstitions throughout much of the period, as is well attested in Anglo-Saxon literature, art, and archaeology, being topographical features that were particularly associated with 'supernatural entities, either singly or as collective groups'.[63] As noted above, they were sites at which the bodies of execution victims were often buried. Semple suggests that the interment of criminals in these places during the later Saxon period was deliberately undertaken in order to 'heighten the punishment of wrongdoers and extend it after death',[64] as well as serving as a 'physical sign of the alienation of these people from society'.[65] In this sense, therefore, the presence of the Church in Mermedonia serves to symbolically cleanse it of the evil that had once inhabited its walls, actively transferring negative mythologies which had been connected with stone buildings to an appropriately heathen landscape feature.[66] Thus, once more, the city becomes a sanctified space appropriate for the habitation of men in both literary and physical realms.

Those centres of godliness and good works like Durham that came into Norman hands in

[61] Irving, 'A reading of *Andreas*', p. 236.

[62] Magennis, *Images of Community*, p.174; Hugh Magennis, *Anglo-Saxon Appetites: Food and Drink and their Consumption in Old English and Related Literature* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1999), p. 25.

[63] Semple, 'A Fear of the Past', p. 113.

[64] Semple, 'A Fear of the Past', p. 123.

[65] Sarah Semple, 'Illustrations of Damnation in Late Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 32 (2003), 231–45 (p. 241).

[66] As Ellis-Davidson noted, there are examples in the archaeological record where early Christian Anglo-Saxon churches were 'sometimes built beside or even over a burial mound'; the Taplow burial, for instance, stands within the old churchyard. Hilda R. Ellis-Davidson, 'The Hill of the Dragon: Anglo-Saxon Burial Mounds in Literature and Archaeology', *Folklore*, 61 (1950), 165–85 (p. 175).

the eleventh century were clearly thought of in a rather different light to those ruined urban foundations encountered during the settlement period that are reflected in *The Ruin* and *The Wanderer*. The reoccupation, establishment, and development of urban foundations that occurred in response to a variety of factors over the course of the Anglo-Saxon period did not do so without leaving its mark on Old English literature. Successful mediation of this 'move into towns' by the Church and Crown relied as much upon modifying conceptions of urban landscapes in the Anglo-Saxon cultural imagination as it did the way in which people were to inhabit them. This is nowhere more evident than in the Old English *Andreas*, a poem which seems to illustrate a point of change in Anglo-Saxon attitudes, when urban landscapes were liberated from the negative mythologies they had acquired during the settlement period, in order to ensure the reclamation of urban space and urban ruin for the good of God and man.

Nítíða saga: A Normalised Icelandic Text and Translation

Sheryl McDonald

Nítíða saga is one of the many sagas known as native or indigenous *riddarasögur* ('knights' sagas'), and which have sometimes been called *lygisögur* ('lie-sagas') for their inclusion of non-realistic, that is, obviously fictional, plots and motifs.[1] Though interest in these types of sagas has grown in recent years,[2] indigenous *riddarasögur* have not always enjoyed acceptance among scholars,[3] despite their immense popularity in Iceland from the late Middle Ages to the early twentieth century, and there are still too few translations of Icelandic romances and especially indigenous *riddarasögur*.[4] Extensive manuscript survivals testify to the popularity of many of the indigenous *riddarasögur*, and *Nítíða saga* is no exception, extant in at least sixty-five manuscripts,[5] almost all of which are post-medieval, and the youngest of which was composed in the early twentieth century. Driscoll dates this saga to the fourteenth century;[6] it was clearly enjoyed for hundreds of years after its original composition. Further study of *Nítíða saga*, which I aim to encourage with this normalised text and translation, will contribute not only to Old Norse-Icelandic studies, but also to the growing field of medieval popular romance

[1] Geraldine Barnes, 'Romance in Iceland', in *Old Icelandic Literature and Society*, ed. by Margaret Clunies Ross (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 266–86; Matthew Driscoll, 'Late Prose Fiction (lygisögur)', in *A Companion to Old Norse-Icelandic Literature and Culture*, ed. by Rory McTurk (Oxford: Blackwell, 2005), pp. 190–204; Jürg Glauser, 'Lygisaga', in *Medieval Scandinavia: An Encyclopedia*, ed. by Phillip Pulsiano and others (New York: Garland, 1993), p. 398; Marianne E. Kalinke, 'Norse Romances (Riddararsögur)', in *Old Norse-Icelandic Literature: A Critical Guide*, ed. by Carol Clover and John Lindow (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985), pp. 316–63.

[2] Consider, for example, the many papers on native *riddarasögur* delivered at the two most recent Saga Conferences: *The Fantastic in Old Norse/Icelandic Literature: Sagas and the British Isles, Preprint Papers of the Thirteenth International Saga Conference, Durham and York, 6–12 August 2006*, ed. by John McKinnell, David Ashurst, and Donata Kick, 2 vols (Durham: Centre for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2006) [http://www.dur.ac.uk/medieval.www/sagaconf/sagapps.htm]; *Á austrvega: Saga and East Scandinavia, Preprint Papers of the Fourteenth International Saga Conference, Uppsala, 9–15 August 2009*, ed. by Agnete Ney, Henrik Williams, and Fredrik Charpentier Ljungqvist, Papers from the Department of Humanities and Social Sciences, 14, 2 vols (Gävle: Gävle University Press, 2009) [http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:hig:diva-4837].

[3] For an overview of this see Driscoll, 'Late Prose Fiction', especially pp. 196–97.

[4] Though *Seven Viking Romances*, trans. by Hermann Pálsson and Paul Edwards (London: Penguin, 1985) and *Icelandic Histories and Romances*, trans. by Ralph O'Connor (Stroud: Tempus, 2002) have certainly contributed to meeting this need, many more texts are still inaccessible to non-specialists.

[5] Marianne E. Kalinke and P. M. Mitchell, *Bibliography of Old Norse-Icelandic Romances*, Islandica, 44 (London: Cornell University Press, 1985), pp. 85–86.

[6] M. J. Driscoll, '*Nitida saga*', in *Medieval Scandinavia: An Encyclopedia*, ed. by Phillip Pulsiano and others (New York: Garland, 1993), p. 432.

studies in general.[7] It is for this reason that I have chosen to present both a normalised text of the saga and a full translation—to facilitate its study by the non-specialist, or student, who knows little or no Icelandic. While it is true that *Nítíða saga* is available in Loth's diplomatic edition with an English-language paraphrase,[8] presenting the text here with a full translation should be beneficial, especially for non-specialists. For one thing, while Loth's summary may be a fine accompaniment for the expert who can easily compare it to the accompanying un-normalised text, it is itself published in Gillian Fellows-Jensen's translation from Loth's Danish,[9] and is only cursory, glossing over some parts of the story, such as direct speech.

Nítíða saga is a relatively short, yet exciting tale, which, among other themes, draws special attention to the question of gender and its relation to power. Nítíða is not queen of France, but *meykóngur* ('maiden-king'), an appellation not uncommon among young female rulers in the indigenous *riddarasögur*. Kalinke has examined the maiden-king phenomenon in Icelandic romance,[10] and has argued that it can be interpreted as an echo of the historical situation in the Middle Ages arising when daughters were left as sole heirs after fathers and brothers had died.[11] While this interpretation is valid, maiden-kings, whether consciously based on specific historical cases or not, can also be seen as a sort of late-medieval equivalent to the strong saga women of the earlier medieval Icelandic prose fiction that some might call classical. Maiden-kings, Nítíða included, are powerful, independent, wilful women, whose power lies, to some extent, in their virginity; thus the typical maiden-king resists marriage and is usually abusive to her suitors. On this point scholarship has understood Nítíða to be an exception.[12] It is true that Nítíða is more or less civil to each of her wooers, not resorting to violence herself, but she nevertheless sanctions the slaughter of Serkland's armies, which accompany the sons of King Soldán on their mission to win Nítíða's hand; no character from Serkland, not even Soldán himself, makes it to the end of the saga alive. Nítíða also firmly turns down her other suitors and tricks them, causing great humiliation to Ingi of Constantinople, for example. Nítíða is certainly no saint. But it is true that unlike in other maiden-king romances (or 'bridal-quest romances', to use Kalinke's terminology), such as *Klári saga*,[13] Nítíða is not herself humiliated in the end, and agrees to marriage because she has found in Liforinus a man as clever and

[7] On which see Geraldine Heng, *Empire of Magic: Medieval Romance and the Politics of Cultural Fantasy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003); *Pulp Fictions of the Middle Ages: Essays in Popular Romance*, ed. by Nicola McDonald (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004); *The Spirit of Medieval English Popular Romance*, ed. by Ad Putter and Jane Gilbert (Harlow: Longman, 2000).

[8] 'Nitida saga', in *Late Medieval Icelandic Romances*, ed. by Agnete Loth, Editiones Arnamagnæanæ, 20–24, 5 vols (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1962–65), v (1965), pp. 1–37.

[9] Loth, p. xii.

[10] Marianne E. Kalinke, *Bridal-Quest Romance in Medieval Iceland*, Islandica, 46 (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1990); Marianne E. Kalinke, 'The Misogamous Maiden Kings of Icelandic Romance', *Scripta Islandica*, 37 (1986), 47–71.

[11] Kalinke, 'The Misogamous Maiden Kings', p. 60.

[12] For example, Driscoll, '*Nitida saga*', p. 432.

[13] *Clári saga*, ed. by Gustaf Cederschiöld, Altnordische Saga-Bibliothek, 12 (Halle a.S.: Max Niemeyer, 1907). It has been suggested that *Nítíða saga* is a direct response to *Klári saga* (which has traditionally been classified as a translated romance, but see Sean F. D. Hughes, '*Klári saga* as an Indigenous Romance', in *Romance and Love in Late Medieval and Early Modern Iceland: Essays in Honor of Marianne Kalinke*, ed. by Kirsten Wolf and Johanna Denzin, Islandica, 54 (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2009), pp. 135–63) and that the former portrays the *meykóngur* in an alternative, more positive light than the former. See for example Paul Bibire, 'From *riddarasaga* to *lygisaga*: The Norse Response to Romance', in *Les Sagas des Chevaliers (Riddarasögur): Actes de la Vième Conférence Internationale sur les Sagas (Toulon, Juillet 1982)*, ed. by Régis Boyer, Civilisations, 10 (Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 1985), pp. 55–74 (p. 67).

resourceful as herself, rather than because she is coerced into submission.[14]

Nítíða saga also shows impressive geographical awareness. It is set for the most part in France, but involves expeditions to and from Apulia, Constantinople, India, an indeterminate Serkland, and an area 'out by the North Pole'. Nítíða also gains possession of supernatural stones that allow her to see all regions of the world; towards the saga's end, the various countries seen in each region are listed at length.[15] But *Nítíða saga* does not only show familiarity with a wide variety of countries and regions — it also situates Iceland in relation to France (the location of the grand festivities that bring the story to a close) and to the rest of the world, in the form of an authorial-scribal aside right after a detailed description of the triple wedding feast near the saga's end: 'It is also not easily said with an unlearned tongue in the outer regions of the world, how it might be entertaining for people, what joy may be in the middle of the world when such courtiers come together'. Though obviously a modesty topos, considering that these protestations have been invalidated by the vibrant descriptions preceding them (and not to mention by the composition of the whole saga),[16] this statement still may have reinforced for its readers the notion that Iceland is marginal and Europe is central, and that the Icelandic language was 'unlearned' or unsuitable for the task at hand and Latin (or even other European vernaculars?) would be better. However, Barnes notes that *Nítíða saga* locates France at the centre of the world despite the usual medieval understanding that Jerusalem holds that honour, and argues that this reflects not only the prominent place held by Nítíða and her kingdom, but also that France's alliance with India at the end of the saga brings that peripheral kingdom into a more prominent, central, political role. In Barnes's words, in the saga's 'fantasy of geopolitical desire, the power is with the periphery, East and North'.[17] And in bringing peripheral India into the centre through partnership with Nítíða, the saga also suggests that Iceland, 'unlearned' and 'in the outer regions', might also be able to seem more central, through its ever-expanding body of literature that converses, if not allies itself, with the mainstream popular literature — romance — of Scandinavia and Europe in the late Middle Ages.

Nítíða saga has only been published once before, and it is accordingly this version of the saga that has been the basis for the present translation. Loth's edition is largely diplomatic and, except for a few readings, the text is taken from two manuscripts, both now located at the Stofnun Árna Magnússonar (AM) in Reykjavík. AM 529, 4to (sixteenth-century, vellum) provides the majority of the text but ends defective; AM 537, 4to (seventeenth-century, paper) provides the remainder of the text, from where 529 breaks off, until the end. These are the two oldest manuscripts in which the saga survives and which also preserve the saga on more than 1–2 leaves (the oldest manuscript is the late-fifteenth-century vellum, Stockholm, Royal Library, MS Perg. 8:o nr 10, VII, but preserves only one leaf of *Nítíða saga*). The present translation and normalised Icelandic text are thus based on a composite of two manuscript versions, which together only approximate what the saga may have looked like in its original written form; just as Loth edited from the oldest 'best texts', so have I translated using the

[14] Driscoll, '*Nitida saga*', p. 432.

[15] Barnes, 'Romance in Iceland', p. 272.

[16] Geraldine Barnes, 'Margin vs. Centre: Geopolitics in Nitida saga (A Cosmographical Comedy?)', in The Fantastic in Old Norse/Icelandic Literature: Sagas and the British Isles, *Preprint Papers of the Thirteenth International Saga Conference, Durham and York, 6–12 August 2006*, ed. by John McKinnell, David Ashurst, and Donata Kick, 2 vols (Durham: Centre for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2006), i, pp. 104–12 (p. 111) [http://www.dur.ac.uk/medieval.www/sagaconf/barnes.htm].

[17] Barnes, 'Margin vs. Centre', p. 110.

same approach. Loth's edition has very little critical apparatus, containing notes indicating textual variants in just five other manuscripts;[18] nor does the text presented here pretend to be a critical edition: I aim only to provide an easily readable, normalised version of *Nítíða saga*, along with an accessible, contemporary English translation. The translation is not meant to be literal, and some liberties have been taken to provide a modern rendering, again, primarily with those in mind who know little or no Icelandic. For example, while Icelandic *einn* 'one' often functions as an indefinite pronoun which might most accurately be rendered 'a certain', I have translated it simply as the indefinite article throughout. In normalising the Icelandic, I have used Modern, rather than Old, Icelandic, for that is the form of the language to which the two manuscripts seem closer. Thus, for example, Loth's *Nitida* is modernised to *Nítíða*. I have kept the characters' names consistent with those in AM 529, 4to (the earlier manuscript) to avoid confusion towards the end of the saga: when Loth's edition switches manuscripts, the spellings of the names of some characters shift slightly. Again, I do this primarily because my motivation for this translation is to present a story, not a reproduction of every scribal idiosyncrasy. All that said, I have kept the five chapter divisions from Loth's edition, for convenience's sake, and in the process of normalisation I have also attempted to introduce regular punctuation to the text.[19]

[18] These are AM 537, 4to; AM 567, 4to, XVIII; AM 568, 4to, 6–7; Stockholm, Royal Library, MS Papp. 4:o nr 31; and Copenhagen, Arnamagnæan Institute, MS Rask 32. See also Loth's brief preface (p. vii).

[19] For their help and support in many ways before, during, and after the preparation of this article, I must thank my anonymous reviewers, Catherine Batt, Sarah Cason, Alaric Hall, John Tucker, and Stephen Werronen.

Nítíða saga

I

Heyrt ungir menn eitt ævintýr og fagra frásaga frá hinum frægasta meykóngi er verið hefur í norður hálfu veraldarinnar er hét Nítíða hin fræga er stýrði sínu ríki með heiður og sóma eftir sinn föður Ríkon keisara andaðan. Þessi meykóngur sat í öndvegi heimsins í Frakklandi hinu góða og hélt Paríssborg. Hún var bæði vitur og væn, ljós og rjóð í andliti þvílíkast sem hin rauða rósa væri samtemprað við snjóhvíta lileam, augun svo skær sem karbunkulus, hörundið svo hvítt sem fíls bein, hár þvílíkt sem gull, og féll niður á jörð um hana. Hún átti eitt höfuðgull með fjórum stöplum, en upp af stöplunum var einn ari markaður, en upp af aranum stóð einn haukur ger af rauða gulli, breiðandi sína vængi fram yfir hennar skæra ásjónu jungfrúinnar að ei brenndi hana sól. Hún var svo búin að viti sem hinn fróðasti klerkur, og hinn sterkasta borgarvegg[20] mátti hún gera með sínu viti yfir annara manna vit og byrgja svo úti annara ráð, og þar kunni hún tíu ráð er aðrir kunnu eitt. Hún hafði svo fagra raust að hún svæfði fugla og fiska, dýr og öll jarðlig kvikindi, svo að unað þótti á að heyra. Hennar ríki stóð með friði og farsæld.

Ypolitus hét einn smiður í Frakklandi með meykónginum. Hann kunni allt að smíða af gulli og silfri, gleri og gimsteinum, það sem gerast mátti af manna höndum.

Nú er að segja af meykónginum, hún býr nú ferð sína heiman út á Pul. Þar stýrði ríki sú drottning er Egidía hét; hún hafði fóstrað meykóng í barn-æsku. Hún átti son er Hléskjöldur hét. Siglir drottning nú með sínu dýru fólki fagurt byrleiði, þar til er hún kemur út á Pul. Gengur frú Egidía móti meykóng, og hennar son, og öll þeirra slekt og veraldar mekt og heiður, gerandi fagra veislu í sinni höll, um allan næstan hálfan mánuð.

Einn dag veislunnar gengur meykóngur á dagþingan við sína fóstur-móður svo talandi: ‘Mér er sagt að fyrir eyju þeirri er Visio heitir ráði jarl sá er Virgilius heitir; hann er vitur og fjölkunnigur. Þessi ey liggur út undan Svíþjóð hinni köldu, út undir heimsskautið, þeirra landa er menn hafa spurn af. Í þessari eyju er vatn eitt stórt, en í vatninu er hólmi sá er Skóga-blómi heitir og svo er mér sagt að hvergi í heiminum megi finnast náttúrusteinar, epli, og læknis-grös fleiri en þar. Nú vil ég halda þangað einn skipa og son þinn Hléskjöldur með mér’.

Drottning Egidía talaði tormerki á ferðinni, og þótti háskaleg. Meykóngur varð þó að ráða, býst Hléskjöldur nú í ferð þeirra og sigla með heiður út af Pul fagurt byrleiði. Hef ég ei heyrt sagt frá þeirra ferð né farlengd fyrr en þau taka eyna Visio.

Einn dag, leggjandi skipið í einn leynivog, ganga síðan upp um eyna þar til er þau finna vatnið. Þau sjá einn bát fljótandi, taka hann og róa út í hólminn. Þar voru margar eikur með fagri fruckt og ágætum eplum. Sem þau fram koma í miðjan hólman sjá þau eitt steinker með fjórum hornum. Kerið var fullt af vatni; sinn steinn var í hverju horni kersins. Meykóngur leit í steinana; hún sá þá um allar hálfar veraldarinnar, þar með kónga og kónga sonu og hvað hver hafðist að, og allar þjóðir hvers lands og margar ýmislegar skepnur og óþjóðir. Drottning

[20] Emended from MS *hinn sterkasti borgarveggur* (Loth, p. 4).

Nítíða's Saga

I

Young people have heard an adventure and wonderful tale about the most famous maiden-king there has ever been in the northern region of the world. She was called Nítíða the Famous, and ruled her kingdom honourably and gloriously, after her father, the Emperor Ríkon, died. This maiden-king sat on the throne of the world in the good kingdom of France, and ruled in Paris. She was both wise and fair, her face bright and rosy just as if the red rose had been mingled with a snow-white lily; her eyes were as bright as a carbuncle, and her skin as white as ivory; her hair was like gold and hung down to the ground around her. She had a gold head-dress with four pillars, and up on top of the pillars, an eagle was depicted. On top of the eagle stood a hawk made of red gold, spreading its wings forward over the pure face of the young woman so that the sun did not burn her. She was as endowed with knowledge as the wisest scholar, and, surpassing other people's intelligence, she could make the strongest castle-wall with her own intellect, and thus outmaneuvre others' plans; and she knew ten answers when others knew one. She had such a beautiful voice that it made birds, fish, wild animals, and all worldly creatures sleep, so delightful was it to hear. Her kingdom enjoyed peace and prosperity.

There was a smith named Ypolitus in France with the maiden-king. He knew how to craft all things—from gold and silver, glass and gemstones—that could be made by human hands.

Now it is to be said of the maiden-king that she prepared for a journey from her home to Apulia. A queen named Egidía ruled the realm there; she had fostered the maiden-king as a child. Egidía had a son named Hléskjöldur. Queen Nítíða sailed with her nobles on a fine, favourable wind, until she arrived in Apulia. Lady Egidía and her son and all their kin went with honour and ceremony to meet the maiden-king, and held an excellent feast in the hall for the whole of the next fortnight.

One day during the feast, the maiden-king went to a meeting with her foster-mother and said, 'I have heard that beyond the island which is called Visio rules the earl who is called Virgilius; he is wise and skilled in magic. This island lies out beyond cold Sweden, out by the North Pole, the edge of those lands of which people have had reports. On the island is a large lake, and in the lake is the islet which is called The Flower of the Woods, and I have heard that nowhere in the world might one find more supernatural stones, apples, and healing herbs than there. Now I wish to travel there in a ship and to take your son Hléskjöldur with me'.

Queen Egidía raised difficulties about the journey, and thought it dangerous, but the maiden-king nevertheless decided to go, and arranged with Hléskjöldur for their journey. They sailed with ceremony out from Apulia on a beautiful, favourable wind. I have not heard tell of their journey, nor of their journey's length, before they reached the island of Visio.

One day, mooring the ship in a hidden cove, they walked up across the island until they found the lake. They saw a boat floating there, took it, and rowed out to the islet, where there were many oaks with beautiful fruit and fine apples. When they came to the middle of the islet they saw a stone vessel with four corners. The vessel was full of water, and there was a stone in each corner of the vessel. The maiden-king looked into the stones; then she saw all the regions of the world, including kings and princes and what each did, and all peoples, of every land, and many diverse creatures and monsters. The queen grew pleased at this sight,

gladdist nú við þessa sýn, takandi kerið og alla þessa steina, epli, og læknis-grös, því að hún undirstóð af sinni visku hverja náttúru hver bar. Skundar nú sínum veg aftur til skips síns, siglandi burt af Visio hvað þau máttu.

Nú er að segja að jarlinn verður vís hverju hann er ræntur. Má þar sjá mart skip siglandi og róandi eftir þeim. Sjá nú hvorir aðra. Meykóngur tók nú einn náttúrustein og brá yfir skipið og höfuð þeim öllum er innan borðs voru. Sá jarl þau aldri síðan, en þau meykóngur og Hléskjöldur halda fram ferðinni, léttandi ei fyrr en þau koma heim á Pul.

Gengur frú Egidía móti þeim með miklum prís og fagnaði. Situr nú meykóngur þar um hríð. Síðan lætur hún búa sína ferð og skipastól heim til Frakklands, beiðandi frú Egidía að Hléskjöldur hennar son fylgdi henni að styrkja hennar ríki fyrir áhlaupum hermanna. Hennar fóstur-móður veitir henni þetta sæmilega, sem allt annat það er hún beiði, út leiðandi hana með fögrum fégjöfum og ágætum dýrgripum í gulli og gimsteinum og dýrum vefjum. Skilst þessi hoflýður með miklum kærleik. Siglir meykóngur í sitt ríki með miklum heiður og veraldlegri mekt. Verður allur lands-lýður henni feginn stýrandi sínu ríki með friði og náðum.

II

Hugon er kóngur nefndur; hann réð fyrir Miklagarði. Hann átti drottning og tvö börn. Son hans hét Ingi; hann var allra manna sæmilegastur og best að íþróttum búinn. Hann lá í hernaði hvert sumar og aflaði sér svo fjár og frægðar; drap ránsmenn og víkinga, en lét friðmenn fara í náðum. Listalín hét dóttir hans; hún var fríð sýnum og vinsæl, og hlaðin kvenlegum listum.

Soldán hét kóngur; hann réð fyrir Serklandi. Hann átti þrjá sonu: hét einn Logi, annar Vélogi, þriðjungur Heiðarlogi—hann var þeirra elstur. Hann hafði svart hár og skegg. Hann var hökulangur og vangasvangur, skakktentur og skjöpulmyntur, og út-skeifur. Annað auga hans horfði á bast en annað á kvist. Hann var hermaður allmikill, og fullur upp af göldrum og gerningum og rammur að afli, og fékk sigur í hverri orrostu. Bræður hans, Logi og Vélogi, voru vænir og gildir menn og herjuðu öllum sumrum.

Blebarnius er kóngur nefndur; hann réð fyrir Indíalandi hinu mikla. Hann átti son er Liforinus hét; hann var væn að áliti, ljós og rjóður í andliti snareygður sem valur, hrokkinnhærður og fagurt hárið, herðabreiður en keikur á bringuna, kurteis, sterkur og stórmannlegur. Hann kunni vel sund og sæfarar, skot og skylmingar, tafl og rúnar og bækur að lesa, og allar íþróttir er karlmann mátti prýða. Hann átti dóttur er Sýjalín hét; hún var svo væn og listug að hún mundi forprís þótt hafa allra kvenna í veröldunni, ef ei hafði þvílíkur gimsteinn hjá verið sem Nítíða hin fræga.

Liforinus lá í hernaði bæði vetur og sumar og aflaði sér fjár og frægðar, og þótti hinn mesti garpur og kappi, hvar sem hann fram kom, og hafði sigur í hverri orrustu. Hann var svo mikill til kvenna að engi hafði náðir fyrir honum, en enga kóngs dóttur hafði hann mánaði lengur.

and took the vessel and all the stones, apples, and healing herbs, because she understood from her wisdom how magical each was. Then they hurriedly made their way back to their ship, and sailed away from Visio as best they could.

Now it is to be said that the earl Virgilius became aware that he had been robbed. It was possible to see many ships sailing and rowing after them, and then each saw the other. Then the maiden-king took a supernatural stone and quickly waved it over the ship and the heads of all who were on board. The earl never saw them again, and the maiden-king and Hléskjöldur held fast on their course, not stopping before they came home to Apulia.

Lady Egidía went to meet them joyfully and with great ceremony, and the maiden-king remained there for a while. Afterwards she had people prepare for her journey and ready her fleets of ships to go home to France, and asked lady Egidía that Hléskjöldur her son accompany her to strengthen her realm against attacks by raiders. Her foster-mother granted her this graciously, as with everything else that she asked for, and led her out with fine gifts of money, excellent jewels of gold and gemstones, and precious cloth. The retinues parted with great friendship. The maiden-king sailed to her kingdom with great honour and worldly strength. All the people of the land rejoiced at her ruling the kingdom so peacefully and gracefully.

II

There was a king named Hugon who ruled over Constantinople. He had a queen and two children. His son was called Ingi, and was the most honourable of all men and the most accomplished in athletic arts. He went plundering each summer and in doing so won himself wealth and fame; he killed robbers and vikings, but let peaceful people travel in peace. King Hugon's daughter was named Listalín; she was beautiful and popular, and skilled in feminine arts.

There was a king called Soldán who ruled over Serkland. He had three sons: one was called Logi, the second Vélogi, and the third Heiðarlogi — he was the oldest of them and his hair and beard were black. He had a long chin and thin cheeks, he was crooked-toothed, and had a twitchy, crooked mouth. One of his eyes looked inwards and the other outwards. He was a very great warrior, and knew much sorcery and witchcraft. He was physically strong and won every battle. His brothers Logi and Vélogi were promising and respected men and plundered all summer.

There was a king named Blebarnius who ruled over the great kingdom of India. He had a son called Liforinus, who was handsome in appearance, his face bright and rosy; he was sharp-eyed as a hawk, had beautiful curly hair, was broad across the shoulders with a good straight back, and was courteous, strong, and magnificent. He was a good swimmer and could sail well, and he was also good at shooting, fencing, board games and runes, reading books, and all physical activities which a man should pursue. King Blebarnius also had a daughter called Sýjalín who was so beautiful and skilled that she would have been considered the most prized of all the women in the world, if there had not been such a jewel to compare her with as Nítíða the Famous.

Liforinus engaged in plundering both winter and summer and earned himself wealth and fame, and was thought the greatest hero and champion wherever he went, and was victorious in every battle he fought. He was so keen on women that none had any peace from him, and he did not stay with any princess longer than a month.

Nú er að segja af Inga kóngi að hann býr sinn skrautlega skipastól, siglandi með fagrann býr út af Miklagarði, léttandi ei fyrr sinni ferð en hann hlóð sínum seglum framan fyrir Paríssborg. Nú sem meykóngur sá þeirra sigling og gullskotin segl, þá sendir hún Hléskjöld ofan til skipa að bjóða þessum kóngi til ágætrar veislu, ef hann fer með friði. Hléskjöldur fullgerir frúinnar erindi, gengur til skipana, heilsandi Inga kóngi, bjóðandi honum heim til hallar með öllum sínum skara. Mátti þar sjá margan stoltan riddara í hvorum tveggja flokkinum.

Meykóngur fagnar vel Inga kóngi, heiðrandi hann í orðum. Drottning spurði Inga kóng hvert erindi hans væri útan allt af Miklagarði og í svo fjarlæg lönd. Hann segir 'það er mitt erindi í þetta land að biðja yðar mér til eigin-konu, gefandi þar í móti gull og gersimar, land og þegna'.

Drottning segir 'það viti þér, Ingi kóngur, að þér hafið eingan ríkdóm til móts við mig. Hafa og lítið lönd yðar að þýða við Frakkland hið góða og tuttugu kónga ríki er þar til liggja. Nenni ég og ekki að fella mig fyrir neinum kóngi nú ríkjanda, en fullboðið er mér fyrir manna sakir, en þó þurfi þér ekki þessa mála að leita oftar'.

Kóngur verður nú reiður við orð hennar, og hugsar það að þau skulu ei skiljast við svo búið. Heldur hann burt af Frakklandi þegar byr gaf og herjar víða um sumarið.

Það var eitt kveld að þeir lágu undir ey einni, þeir sjá mann einn ganga ofan af eyjunni, heldur mikinn og aldraðan. Kóngur spurði þenna mann að nafni. Hann kveðst Refsteinn heita. Kóngur spyr ef hann væri svo sem hann hét til. Hann segir 'það ætla ég að mig skorti við engan mann kukl og galdur og fjölkyngi hvað sem gera skal'.

Kóngur mælti 'ég vil gera þig fullsælan að fé og börn þín ef þú kemur mér í hendur Nítíða bardaga-laust'.

Refsteinn segir 'fyrir þessu er mér ekki'.

Kóngur mælti 'gakk út á skip mín með mér og fullger það er þú hefir heitið, er hér gullhringur stór er ég vil gefa þér og tuttugu álnir rautt skarlat er þú skalt færa konu þinni'.

Refsteinn þakkar nú kóngi mikillega, býr sig og ganga á skip. Sigla nú in beinasta býr til Frakklands því að Refsteinn gaf þeim nógan býr og hagstæðan, svo að stóð á hverju reipi. Þeir koma að landi og leggja í einn leynivog.

Refsteinn gengur nú á land og kóngur með honum. Þá steypir Refsteinn yfir kóng kufli svörtum. Þeir ganga nú, þar til er þeir koma til skemmu drottningar. Hún var þá á leiki með sínum leikmeyjum. Kóngur undirstendur að engi maður sér hann, og gengur að meykóngi og steypir yfir hana kuflinum, gengur með hana til herskipa. Vinda síðan segl og sigla í burt og leggja sín segl ei fyrr en í Miklagarði.

Listalín gengur í móti bróður sínum og meykónginum kærlega og öll ríkisins ráð. Er drottning nú leidd í höllina með miklum heiðri og prís. Verður nú skjótt búist við ágætri veislu og brúðlaupi og þangað boðið öllu ríkissins ráði, er dýrast var í landinu. Nú er meykóngur settur í hásæti hjá Listalín og allur kvenna-skari, sem frúna skyldi til sængur leiða, og þær voru út undir beran himin komnar. Þá nemur meykóngur staðar og mælti 'litum í loftið; gætum að stjörnugangi; má þar af marka mikla visku um örlög manna'.

Now it is to be said about King Ingi that he prepared his splendid fleets, and sailed with a fair wind out from Constantinople, not stopping his journey before he furled his sails at the city of Paris. When the maiden-king saw Ingi's fleets, with their sails woven with gold, she sent Hléskjöldur down to the ships to ask this king to a handsome feast, if he came in peace. Hléskjöldur carried out this task, went to the ships, greeted King Ingi, and invited him home to the hall with all his troops. One could see there many proud knights among each of the two retinues.

The maiden-king welcomed King Ingi warmly, praising him with her words. The queen asked King Ingi what his errand might be all the way out from Constantinople and in such a distant land. He said, 'I have come to this land to ask you to be my wife; in return, I would give you gold and treasures, land and servants'.

The queen said, 'You know, King Ingi, that you have no kingdom to compare with mine. Your lands have little to add to the good kingdom of France and the twenty kings' realms it contains. In fact, I am not inclined to give myself up to any king now ruling, and I am well off enough regarding men, and you need not pursue this matter again'.

The king then became angry at her words, and thought that they must not part in this way. He headed out from France as soon as the wind permitted and plundered far and wide throughout the summer.

One evening, when Ingi's ships were lying near an island, he and his men saw a person walking down from the island who looked rather large and old. The king asked this person his name. He said he was called Fox-Stone. The king asked if he lived up to his name. Fox-Stone said, 'I don't suppose that I lack sorcery and spell-craft and wizardry compared with anyone else, whatever needs to be done'.

The king said, 'I will make you and your children very wealthy if you get me Nítíða's hand in marriage, without battle'.

Fox-Stone said, 'That's no problem for me'.

The king said, 'Come out to my ships with me and fulfil that which you have promised; here is a large gold ring which I want to give to you, and twenty ells of red scarlet which you must bring to your wife'.

Fox-Stone then thanked the king warmly and prepared himself, and they went onto the ships. Then they sailed the straightest course to France because Fox-Stone gave them enough of a favourable wind so that it filled all the sails. They came to land and moored in a hidden cove. Then Fox-Stone went onto land, along with the king. Fox-Stone cast a black cloak over the king, and they walked until they came to the queen's chamber. She was then at leisure with her maidens. The king realised that nobody could see him, and went to the maiden-king, cast the cloak over her, and took her to the warships. Then they hoisted the sails and sailed away, and did not furl their sails before reaching Constantinople.

Listalín, along with all of the kingdom's council, went lovingly to meet her brother and the maiden-king, and the queen was led into the hall with great honour and ceremony. A handsome feast and a wedding were now prepared, and all those of the kingdom's counsellors who were noblest in the land were invited to it. The maiden-king was placed in the high-seat, next to Listalín and all the women who had to lead the wife to the marriage-bed; and they had come out under the open sky. Then the maiden-king paused and said, 'Let us gaze at the heavens and keep watch over the courses of the stars; there we can gain great insights into people's fates'.

Ok eftir svo talað, bregður hún einum steini yfir höfuð sér, þann hafði hún haft úr eynni Visio. Í þessu líður drottning upp úr höndum þeirra. Hverfur hún burt úr höndum þeirra og augsýn. Hlaupa menn nú í höllina og segja kóngi þessi tíðindi. Kóngur og öll hirðin verður mjög hrygg við þenna atburð.

En næsta dag eftir kemur meykóngur heim í Frans gangandi hlægjandi í fagra höll. Verður nú allur Frakklands her henni feginn. Fer þetta nú á hvert land hversu drottning hafði Inga kóng út leikið. Unir Ingi kóngur allilla við og hyggst aftur skulu rétta á frúnni sína smán og svívirðing.

Líður nú af veturinn og þegar er vorar, leggur hann í hernað allt þetta sumar, og eitt-hvert sinn síð um kveld leggur hann undir eitt nes, takandi stórt strandhögg. Þeir sjá mann ganga ofan af nesinu. Kóngur spyr þenna mann að nafni. Hann segist Slægrefur heita. Kóngur mælti 'ég vildi að þú værir sem þú heitir til, eða kanntu nokkuð kukl?'

Slægrefur segir 'ei kann ég minni fjölkyngi en Refsteinn og ei mundi meykóngur hafa hlaupið burt úr höndum þér ef ég hefði svo nær verið sem hann var'.

Kóngur segir 'ef þú kemur drottningu svo í mitt vald sem hann, þá skal ég gefa þér þrjá kastala og gera þig jarl'.

Slægrefur segir 'ég er albúinn að fylgja þér'. Þeir ganga á skip og sigla blásanda býr hinn beinasta til Frakklands.

III

Nú er að segja af meykóngi að daglega litur hún í sína náttúrusteina að sjá um veröldina ef víkingar kæmi og vildi stríða á hennar ríki. Sér nú hvar Ingi kóngur siglir og er kominn að Frakklandi síðla eins dags. Drottning hugsar sitt ráð og kallar til sín eina arma þýgju er þjónaði í garðinum. Hún átti bónda og þrjú börn. Þau geymdu svina í garðinum. Drottning tekur nú ambáttina, hún hét Íversa. Færir hana nú úr hverju klæði takandi einn stein og lætur þýgjuna sjá sig í laugandi áður steininn í vatni einhverju, er þar var. Hún þvo og allan hennar búk, og þar með gefur hún henni mörg náttúruepli að éta, þau er hún hafði sótt í eyna. Eftir svo gert færir hún hana í skínanda drottningarbúnað setjandi hana upp á einn gullstól. Ambáttin bar þá svo skæra ásjónu sem meykóngur að hvoruga mátti kenna frá annari. Eplin báru þau náttúrulíf að hún mátti ekki mæla á næsta mánuði. Drottning leit þá í annan náttúrustein og mátti þá engi sjá hana hvort er hún sat eða stóð.

Nú er að segja að þeir Ingi kóngur eru land-fastir vörðnir. Gengur hann á land upp, og Slægrefur með honum, hinn beinasta veg til skemmu drottningar og sem þeir inn ganga sjá þeir hvar meykóngur situr með skínandi ásjónu á gullstóli. Kóngur hleypur að og steypir yfir hana svartri sveipu, og fer þegar út af skemmunni og ofan til skipa. Kóngur lætur þegar búa sæng í lyftingunni, án allri dvöl, því að þeir vildu nú flýta brúðlaupinu svo að meykóngur mátti eingin undanbrögð hafa. Þau liggja nú bæði saman alla þessa nótt með fögrum faðmlögum. Ingi kóngur unir nú vel sínu ráði; þykist nú hefnt hafa sinnar sneypu. Vinda nú seglin og létta ei sinni ferð fyrr en þeir koma til Miklagarðs.

And after saying this, she quickly waved a stone over her head, the one she had gotten from the island of Visio. At this, the queen glided up out of their grasp; she vanished out of both their grasp and their sight. People then ran into the hall and told the king this news. The king and all the court became very sad after this incident.

The next day, the maiden-king came home to France, walking laughing into her beautiful hall. All of France's people became joyful for her. The news then travelled to every land, how the queen had outwitted King Ingi. King Ingi did not like this at all and planned again how to set right the disgrace and shame he got from the lady.

Now winter passed, and when it was spring he headed out plundering, and continued all summer. On one occasion, when it was late in the evening, he lay near a headland, raiding the coast extensively. He and his men saw a person walking down from the headland. The king asked this person his name. He said he was called Sly-Fox. The king said, 'I would like it if you lived up to your name — do you know how to do any sorcery?'

Sly-Fox said, 'I don't know any less magic than Fox-Stone, and the maiden-king wouldn't have escaped your hands if I had been as near as he was'.

The king said, 'If you get the queen into my power, as he did, then I will give you three castles and make you an earl'.

Sly-Fox said, 'I am ready to follow you'. They went onto the ship and sailed with a strong wind the straightest way to France.

III

Now it is to be said of the maiden-king that she looked into her supernatural stones every day to see throughout the world if vikings were coming to attack her kingdom. She saw where King Ingi sailed, and that, late one day, he came to France. The queen thought the matter over and summoned a pitiful bondwoman who had a husband and three children. This family kept swine in the yard. The queen then took the slave woman, who was called Íversa, and undressed her. She took a stone, and had the bondwoman see herself while bathing, with the stone already in some of the water which was there. She also washed her whole body, and gave her many supernatural apples to eat—those which she had gotten from the island. After this was done, she brought in shining, queenly clothes for her and placed her up on a golden seat. By this point, the slave-woman had just as a pure a face as the maiden-king, so that no one could tell one from the other. The apples held the supernatural property that she who ate them could not speak for the next month. The queen Nítíða then looked into another supernatural stone so that, whether she sat or stood, nobody could see her.

Now it is to be said that King Ingi and his men had landed. He and Sly-Fox went up onto land, straight to the queen's chamber, and as they walked in they saw where the maiden-king sat with a shining face on a golden seat. The king ran in and cast a black hood over her, then immediately went out of the chamber and down to the ship. The king at once ordered his men to prepare a bed in the aftcastle, without any delay, because they now wanted to hurry the wedding so that the maiden-king would not be able to evade him. Then they both lay together the whole night, with tender embraces. King Ingi was then well satisfied with his plan, thinking to have avenged his disgrace. The sails were then unfurled and they did not stop their journey before they came to Constantinople.

Frú Listalín og allur lýður gengur í móti kóngi og drottningu með allri mekt heiður og veraldar prís. Er nú mikill fagnaður í Miklagarði í meykóngsins tilkomu. En að næsta mánuði liðnum var það einn dag að frú Listalín talar við kóng bróður sinn. 'Er þér engi grunur á hverja konu þú hefur heim flutt í landið. Sýnist mér tiltæki hennar ei líkt og meykóngsins og fleiri greinir aðrar er mér sagt á að vér eigim vitbrögðum að sjá.[21] Vil ég nú forvitnast um í dag að gera nokkra tilraun, en þú statt í nokkru leyni og heyr á'. Kóngur gerir nú svo.

Þenna sama dag kveður frú Listalín burt af skemmunni allar frúar og hirðkönur, svo talandi: 'Drottning mín, hvað veldur því er þér vilið eða megið við öngvan mann tala, eður þann beiska grát er aldrei gengur af yðrum augum, því að kóngur og allur lands lýður biðja svo sitja og standa hvern mann sem yður best líki'.

Hún svarar 'það veldur mínum gráti og þungum harmi að meykóngur hefur skilið mig við bónda minn og börn og mun ég hvorki sjá síðan'. Listalín spurði hvar bóndi hennar eða börn væri. Hún svarar og segir þá allt hið sanna og hversu farið hafði.

Ingi kóngur sprettur þá fram undan tjaldinu mjög reiðuri og lét fletta hana hverju klæði og drottningarskrúða og fylgir þar þá öll fegurð og blómi. Kóngur unir nú stórilla við. Fer nú og flýgur á hvert land þetta gabb og svívirðing.

Látum Inga kóng nú hvílast um tíma, en vendum sögunni í annan stað og segjum af sonum Soldáns kóngs, Heiðarloga og Véloga, að þeir spyrja hversu Ingi kóngur er út leikinn af meykóngi. Búa þeir óvígan her af Serklandi. Skipa þeir sínum skipastól til Frakklands.

Nú er að segja af meykóngi að hún heldur ei kyrru fyrir, því að hún lætur saman lesa smiðu[22] og meistara; fyrir þeim var Ypolitus. Hún lætur gera glerhimin með þeirri list að hann lék á hjólum og mátti fara inn yfir höfuðport borgarinnar og mátti þar mart herfólk á standa. Hún lét og gera díki ferlega djúpt fram fyrir skemmunni og leggja yfir veika viðu, en þar yfir var breitt skrúð og skarlat.

Nú sem kóngssynir koma í land kallar meykóngur Hléskjöld á sinn fund, og bað hann ganga til herskipa og segir honum fyrir alla hluti hverju hann skal fram fara. Hléskjöldur gengur nú til skipa og fréttir hvort kóngar fara með friði. Heiðarlogi segir 'ef drottning vill giftast öðrum hvorum okkrum bræðra, þá er þetta land og ríki frjálst fyrir okkrum hernaði, ella munum[23] við eyða landið, brenna og bæla og þyrma öngu'.

Hléskjöldur svarar 'eigi kennir meykóngur sig mann til að halda stríð við Serkja her, og svo ágæta kóngs-sonu sem þið eruð. Vil ég segja þér, Véloga,[24] trúnað meykóngs. Hún vill tala við sér hvorn ykkar og prófa visku ykkar og málsnilld. Vill hún að þú gangir snemma á hennar fund áður en bróðir þinn stendur upp, því að ég veit að hún kýs þig til bónda'. Binda þeir þetta nú með sér.

Að næstu nóttliðinni gengur Vélogi heim til borgarinnar með eitt þúsund manna, og er þeir koma undir höfuð-port borgarinnar lætur Hléskjöldur vinda fram yfir þá glerhimininn, og hella yfir þá biki og brennisteini. En Hléskjöldur gengur að þeim af borginni með skotvopnum

[21] AM 529 is corrupt here, giving 'er mér sagt á að vér sem vitbrögðum at sjá'. The emendation used here is Loth's (p. 17). Loth's other MSS offer quite different readings, though with similar senses.

[22] I have kept this unexpected accusative plural form from the MS (Loth, p. 18).

[23] Emended from MS *munu* (Loth, p. 19).

[24] Emended from MS *Vélogi* (Loth, p. 19).

Lady Listalín and all the courtiers went to meet the king and queen with all strength, honour, and worldly ceremony; there was great rejoicing in Constantinople at the maiden-king's coming. But when the next month had passed, it happened one day that Lady Listalín spoke to her brother the king and said, 'Do you not have any suspicion regarding that woman you have brought home to this country? It seems to me her actions, and many other characteristics, are not like the maiden-king's; it has been said to me that we may be looking at an illusion. I will inquire today about doing some kind of test, and you should stay in a hiding-place and listen'. The king then did so.

That same day, Lady Listalín ordered all the ladies and their maids in waiting to leave the chamber, and then said, 'My queen, why is it that you do not want to — or cannot — speak with anyone? And what causes that bitter weeping which never leaves your eyes? Because the king and all the courtiers of the land ask how to sit and stand each person as pleases you best'.

She answered, 'What causes my tears and oppressive grief is that the maiden-king has separated me from my husband and children, and I will never see them again'. Listalín asked where her husband or children might be. She then answered and told the truth about everything, and how it had happened.

King Ingi then grew very angry, came out from under the tapestry, and ordered that she should be stripped of all her clothes and queen's apparel, and all her beauty and radiance came off with them. The king was now very discontented. This mockery and disgrace then spread to every land.

We now leave King Ingi for a while, and we turn the story to another place and tell of how King Soldán's sons, Heiðarlogi and Vélogi, found out how King Ingi had been outwitted by the maiden-king. They prepared an invincible army from Serkland, and they readied their fleets of ships for France.

Now it is to be said of the maiden-king that she did not sit idle, because she summoned together her craftsmen and scholars; Ypolitus was in charge of them. She commanded them to use their skills to make a glass roof that could move on wheels and could go over the main gate of the castle so that many warriors could stand on it. She also commanded them to dig a monstrously deep ditch in front of her chamber, and to lay weak wood over it — and costly cloth and scarlet was spread over that.

When the king's sons came to the land, the maiden-king called Hléskjöldur to a meeting with her, and asked him to go to the warships and told him everything about how he should proceed. Hléskjöldur then went to the ship and asked whether the kings came in peace. Heiðarlogi said, 'If the queen wants to marry either of us brothers, then this land and kingdom will be free from our plundering; otherwise we shall destroy the land, torch and burn it, and spare nothing'.

Hléskjöldur answered, 'The maiden-king does not think herself equipped to wage war against Serkland's army and such excellent princes as you. I want to tell you, Vélogi, the maiden-king's promise: she wants each of you to speak with her, and to test your wisdom and eloquence. She wants you to go early to meet her before your brother gets up, because I know that she chooses you as husband'. They then pledged this to each other.

At the end of the next night Vélogi went up to the castle with a thousand men, and when they came under the main castle gate Hléskjöldur commanded his men to winch the glass roof down over them, and to pour pitch and sulphur over them. And Hléskjöldur attacked them

og stórum höggum. Fellur þar Vélogi og hver maður er með honum var. Er nú rudd borgin og hreinsuð af dauðum mönnum.

Nú gengur Hléskjöldur ofan til herskipa og talar svo fallit til Heiðarloga: 'Meykóngur biður þig koma á sinn fund, því að hún vill tala við ykkur báða bræðurna og prófa beggja ykkra visku og er Vélogi fyrir löngu upp kominn og situr nú í höllinni og drekkur. Vildi ég ei að hann talaði við hana; veit ég að hún kýs þig en ekki hann, fyrir sakir afls og hreysti, að verja ríki sitt. Þætti oss mál að hún giftist svo að menn stæði ei lengur í stríði og ónáðum'.

Heiðarlogi þakkar honum sinn trúnað og fyrirgöngu. Býr sig nú með tvö þúsund manna og ganga til borgarinnar í stað. En Hléskjöldur talar þá: 'Nú skulu þeir ganga til skemmu drottningar, en ég skal vitja Véloga bróður þíns og tálma fyrir honum því að ég vil að þú talir fyrri við drottningu'.

Heiðarlogi snýr fram að skemmunni, og sem þeir ganga fram á klæðin brestur niður viðurinn, en þeir steyptust í díkið. Í þessu þeysir Hléskjöldur óvígan her úr borginni og bera grjót í höfuð þeim og skotvopn og drepa hvern mann er Heiðarloga fylgdi. Nú býr Hléskjöldur út óvígan her Frakka af Paríssborg og býður þeim til bardaga, en þeir sjá ei sinn kost til varnar, höfuðingja-lausir við allan Frakka-her. Halda nú heim í Serkland. Fer og flýgur á hvert land frægð og mekt sú er meykóngur fékk.

IV

Nú er að segja af hinum fræga kóngi Liforino er fyrr var nefndur að hann réð út á skóg einn dag að skemmta sér. Litur hann í einu rjóðri einn stein standandi og þar nær einn dverg. Kóngssonur[25] rennir nú sínu ersi á milli steinsins og dvergsins og vígir hann útan steins. Dvergur mælti: 'Meiri frægð væri þér í að leika út meykóng í Frans en banna mér mitt inni eða heyrir þú ei þá frægð er fer og flýgur um allan heiminn af hennar mekt að hún út leikur alla kónga með sinni spekt og visku'.

Kóngur segir: 'Mart hef ég heyrt þar af sagt og ef þú vilt fylgja mér til Frakklands og vera mér hollur svo að með þínu kynstri og kukli mætti ég fá meykónginn mér til eiginnar púsu þá skyldi ég gera þig fullsælan og börn þín'.

Dvergur mælti: 'Þat mun ég upp taka að fylgja þér, heldur en missa steininn, því að ég veit að þú ert ágætur kóngur'.

Liforinus gaf honum gull-hring stóran 'ok tak af hjörð minni naut og sauði, svín og geitur, sem þeir þarfast'.

Kóngur lætur nú búa úr landi skrautlegan skipastól með dýru hoffólki, leggjandi sín segl ei fyrr en þeir komu í þær hafnir er lágu út við Paríssborg. Meykóngur vissi fyrir komu Liforini kóng, berandi á sig alla sína náttúrusteina. Gengur Hléskjöldur ofan til skipa, bjóðandi heim kónginum til virðulegrar veislu, eftir meykóngsins boði. Kóngur gengur nú á land með öllum sínum hoflýð.

Dvergurinn talar þá til hans: 'Hér er eitt gull er ég vil gefa þér; drag það á þinn fingur. Legg þína hönd með gullinu upp á beran háls meykóngs. Þá mun gullit fast við hennar ljósa líkam. Fanga hana síðan, en ég skal gera ráð fyrir að engi eftirför sé veitt'.

[25] Emended from Loth's expansion of MS *kongss* to 'kongss(on)' (Loth, p. 21).

from the castle with projectiles and great blows. Vélogi fell there, and every man who was with him. The castle was then cleared and cleansed of the dead.

Then Hléskjöldur went down to the warships and said this to Heiðarlogi: 'The maiden-king asks you to come meet with her, because she wants to speak with both of you brothers and test the wisdom of you both. Vélogi came up a good while ago, and is now sitting in the hall drinking. I didn't want him to speak with her; I know that she chooses you to defend her kingdom and not him, because of your physical strength and prowess. It seemed to us that she should marry so that people would no longer remain in conflict and unrest'.

Heiðarlogi thanked him for his good faith and his visit. He prepared himself then with two thousand men and went to the castle straight away. But then Hléskjöldur said, 'Now they must go to the queen's chamber, and I shall visit your brother Vélogi and delay him because I want you to speak with the queen first'.

Heiðarlogi turned towards the chamber, and as they went across the cloth, the wood collapsed, and they tumbled into the ditch. At this Hléskjöldur charged out of the castle with an invincible army and they threw stones and projectiles down onto their heads, and killed every man who accompanied Heiðarlogi. Then Hléskjöldur led the invincible French army from Paris and ordered them into battle, and the Serks saw they could not defend themselves without a leader against France's whole army, so they headed home to Serkland. The maiden-king's new fame and glory spread to every land.

IV

Now it is to be said about the famous King Liforinus, who was mentioned before, that he rode out into the woods one day to amuse himself. He saw in a forest-clearing a standing stone, and near it a dwarf. The prince then ran between the stone and the dwarf, and cursed him to be out of the stone. The dwarf said, 'You would gain greater fame by outwitting the maiden-king in France than preventing my entry — or have you not heard of the fame which has spread throughout all the world concerning her strength, that she outwits all kings with her foresight and wisdom?'

The king said, 'I have heard much said of this, and if you will accompany me to France and be loyal to me so that, through your magical arts and sorcery, I can get the maiden-king as my wife, then I shall make you and your children very wealthy'.

The dwarf said, 'I will agree to accompany you, rather than lose the stone, because I know that you are an excellent king'.

Liforinus gave him a large gold ring — 'And take cattle, sheep, pigs and goats from my herds, as you need them'.

The king then had a fleet of ornamented ships readied to leave his land, manned with noble courtiers, and he did not lower his sail before they came into the harbour which lay outside Paris. The maiden-king foresaw the arrival of King Liforinus because she kept all of her supernatural stones with her. Hléskjöldur walked down to the ship and invited the king home to a magnificent feast, according to the maiden-king's instructions. The king then went on land with all his courtiers.

Then the dwarf said to him, 'Here is a gold ring which I want to give to you; draw it onto your finger. Lay the hand with the ring on the bare neck of the maiden-king, and then the gold will be stuck to her radiant body. Seize her then, and I shall make sure that no chase will be made'.

Kóngur gengur nú heim til hallarinnar en drottning stendur upp í móti honum og setur hann í hásæti hjá sér með góðum orðum og kærlegu viðbragði. Liforinus tekur nú sinni hægri hendi með gullinu upp á háls drottningu; var þá föst höndin með gullinu. Kóngur grípur sinni vinstri hendi undir hennar knésbætur, springandi með frúna fram yfir borðið. Meykóngur kallar á sína menn sér til hjálpar. Hléskjöldur og allur Frakklands lýður býst til upphlaups, en hann og allir meykóngsins menn voru fastir í sínum sætum. Liforinus gengur nú til sinna manna án allri dvöl, og allur hans lýður dragandi upp sín segl flýtandi sinni ferð. Dvergurinn gefur þeim fagran býr heim til Indíalands.

Nú er að segja að kóngs dóttir, Sýjalín, gengur í móti sínum bróður og meykóngi, og allur Indíalands her með allri mekt. Þá voru hörpur og gígjur og allra handa strengfæri. Öll stræti eru þar þökt með skarlat og dýra vefi, en kórónaðir kóngar leiddu meykóng til skemmu drottningar Sýjalín. Er nú búist við virðulegri veislu og boðið til öllum Indíalands höfuðingjum.

Og það var einn dag að drottning var gengin fram undir einn lund plantaðan er stóð undir skemmunni. Þá var meykóngur allkát; hún hafði þá í hendi þann náttúrustein er hún hafði úr eynni Visio. Hún brá þá steininum upp yfir höfuð þeim báðum. Því næst líða þær báðar í loft upp svo að þær voru skjótt ur augsýn. Fara nú jungfrúar, og allt fólk það er við var á völlunum hjá lundinum hlaupa inn og sagðu kónginum þenna atburða og varð hann mjög óglaður við.

Nú er þar af að segja að drottningar koma heim í Páris, tekur meykóngur Sýjalín kóngs dóttur, og setur hana í hásæti hjá sér drekkandi af einu keri báðar og skilur hvorki svefn né mat við hana. Tók hvör að unna annari sem sinni móður.

V

Nú er að segja af Soldáni kóngi að hann fréttir lát sona sína; hann fyllist upp ferlegri reiði. Lætur ganga her ör um öll sín ríki og safnar að sér blámönnum og bannsettum hetjum og alls kyns óþjóð og ill þýði. Ætlar nú að halda þessum her til Frakklands brenna og bæla landið nema meykóngur vili giftast honum.

Það var einn dag að þær frúinnar lita í sína náttúrusteina og þær sjá hvað Soldán kóngur hefst að. Lætur meykóngur kalla Hléskjöld, svo talandi til hans: ‘Þú skalt láta ganga herör um allt landið og öll mín kónga ríki og stefna hverjum manni til, þeim er skildi gæti valdið. Hald þessum her á móti Soldáni kóngi, því að ég vil ekki hann komi í mitt ríki’.

Hléskjöldur gerir svo, og þegar herlið hans var búið, heldur hann burt af ríkinu. Sigla nú þessir skipastólar hvorir móti öðrum, og finnast undir ey einni er Kartagia heitir. Þar var víkinga bæli mikið. Þar þurfti ekki að sökum að spyrja. Taka þeir þegar að berjast er vígljóst var. Gengur Soldán kóngur hetjur hans og blámenn í gegnum lið Franseisa svo að ekki stóð við, er þá ei meira eftir en hálft það er Hléskildi fylgdi.

Annan dag árla hefst annar bardagi af nýju, og að kveldi annars dags þá stóð ei fleira upp af hans liði en fimmtán hundruð manna. Halda menn upp friðskildi, og bindur hver sár sinna manna. Nú gera menn að líta hvar mikill dreki siglir og skrautlegur og ógrynni annara skipa. Sigla nú af hafi og halda sínum seglum öðru megin undir eyna. Fer maður af drekanum og

The king then went to the hall and the queen stood up to meet him and seated him in the high-seat beside her, with good words and a loving countenance. Liforinus then placed his right hand with the gold ring up onto the queen's neck; the hand was then stuck by the ring. The king gripped under the backs of her knees with his left hand and sprang off over the table with the lady. The maiden-king called to her men for help. Hléskjöldur and all the French courtiers tried to jump up, but he and all the maiden-king's men were stuck fast in their seats. Liforinus then went to his men without any delay, and his whole army hoisted their sails, speeding his voyage. The dwarf gave them a fair wind home to India.

Now it is to be said that Princess Sýjalín went to meet her brother and the maiden-king with India's whole army and all ceremony. There were harps and fiddles and every kind of stringed instrument. All the streets there were covered with scarlet and precious woven cloths, and crowned kings led the maiden-king to the chamber of Princess Sýjalín. Then a magnificent feast was prepared and all of India's nobles were sent for.

It happened one day that princess Sýjalín had gone down to a well-tended grove that stood below the chamber. The maiden-king was very happy then: she had in her hand the supernatural stone that she had from the island of Visio. She quickly waved the stone over the heads of them both; immediately, they both glided up into the sky so that they were quickly out of sight. The young ladies went their way, and all the people who were in the fields near the grove ran in and told the king this news, and he became very downcast.

Now it is to be said that the queens came home to Paris, and the maiden-king took Princess Sýjalín and set her in the high-seat next to herself, both of them drinking from one cup, and she parted from her neither in sleep nor during meals. Each came to love the other like her own mother.

V

Now it is to be said about King Soldán that he heard about the death of his sons and was filled with terrible rage. He ordered a swift army to go throughout all his kingdom, and recruited black men and exiles and all kinds of wild and evil people. He then planned to bring this army to France to burn and ravage the land unless the maiden-king wanted to marry him.

It happened one day that the women looked into Nítíða's supernatural stones and they saw what King Soldán was beginning to do. The maiden-king called to Hléskjöldur and said to him, 'You must order an army to go throughout all the land and all my kings' kingdoms, and summon every man who can bear arms. Lead this army to meet King Soldán, because I do not want him to come into my kingdom'.

Hléskjöldur did so, and as soon as his troop was ready, he travelled away from the kingdom. Each fleet then sailed against the other, and they met at an island called Kartagia, where there was a huge lair of pirates. There was no need to discuss anything; they began fighting as soon as it was light enough for battle. King Soldán went with his warriors and black men through the French ranks so that nothing withstood him; after, no more than half the army which Hléskjöldur led was left.

Early the second day a new battle began, and by the evening of the second day, no more than fifteen hundred members of his army were still standing. People held up a peace-shield, and each bound their men's wounds. Then people noticed a great and ornamented dragon-ship approaching with an enormous number of other ships, which sailed from the sea and

allur herliður gengur á land upp með fylktu liði. Hann var digur og hár svo að hans höfuð bar upp yfir allan herinn. Hann lét geisa sitt merki gullofið fram móti Soldáni kóngi, en Hléskjöldur móti Loga. Tekst nú hið þriðjung sinn orrosta hin harðasta.

Hefja kóngar nú sitt einvígi, Liforinus og Soldán, með stórum höggum og sterku stríði. Gengur þessi að gangur allt til nætur. Að síðustu þeirra viðskipti lagði hann einum brynþvara fyrir brjóst Soldáni kóngi svo að út gékk um herðarnar. Féll hann þá dauður niður. Liforinus leitar nú að Hléskildi en hann lá þá í einum dal sár nær til ólífis, en Logi lá dauður hjá honum. Liforinus tekur upp Hléskjöld og ber ofan til skipa. Kóngur lætur nú kanna valin. Voru þar gefin grið þeim er beiddi, en allir aðrir voru drepnir.

Tekur Liforinus þar nú mikið herfang og verður frægur af þessi orrustu víða um lönd. Sigla nú heim til Indíalands með fögrum sigri. Svo er sagt að kóngur sjálfur sat yfir og græddi Hléskjöld þar til er hann ver heill. En þegar vor kom var það einn dag að kóngur gekk til sjófar og Hléskjöldur með honum. Hann mælti þá: 'Annað mun meykóngi hentilegra og hennar ríki en ég haldi þér hér lengur. Hér eru í höfn minni tíu skip er ég vil gefa þér með mönnum og herförum; skaltu ekki héðan fara sem förumaður'.

Hléskjöldur tekur nú orðlof, þakkaði kóngi sína veislu og stórar gjafir. Siglir Hléskjöldur heim til Frakklands. Verður meykóngur öll glöð við hans heimkomu.

Þetta sumar heldur Liforinus kóngur í hernað og kemur sínum skipum við Smáland. Þar ríkti sú drottning er Alduria hét; hún var móðir systir Liforini kóngs. Drottning tók við honum báðum höndum og situr hann þar í ágætri veislu.

Einn dag talar drottning við sinn frænda 'hvað veldur ógleði þinni, hvort þreyr þú á meykónginn er nú er frægust í heiminum'.

Liforinus mælti 'þú ert kölluð vitur kona og klók. Legg til ráð að ég mætti meykóng útleika og[26] ást hennar ná'.

Drottning mælti 'þar vilda ég allt til gefa þú næðir þínu yndi eftir þínum vilja. Nú er það mitt ráð, að þú siglir þetta sumar til Frakklands og nefnist Eskilvarður, sonur kóngs af Mundia, og haf þar vetursetu. Ég skal gefa þér gull það er þig skal einginn maður kenna, hvorki meykóngur né þín systir, ef þú situr þar allan þann vetur, þá er undur, ef þú fær ekki fang á henni'.

Nú tekur Liforinus[27] við þessu ráði, og býr sín fimmtán skip, siglir af stað og kemur til Frakklands um haustið. Meykóngur lætur nú bjóða honum til hallar og á tal við sig; virðist henni hann vitur maður. Drottning býður Eskilvarð að bíða þar um veturinn með sitt fólk. Það þiggur Eskilvarður kóngur og kemur jafnan til drottningar því hann var listamaður á hörpuslátt og öll hljóðfæri, hann kunni af hvoru landi að segja nokkuð. Drottning þótti að honum hin mesta gleði.

Leið nú veturinn af, að vori býst hann til ferðar. Nokkurn dag áður en hann var albúinn, talar meykóngur við hann 'þú Eskilvarður hefur jafnan skemmt okkur frú Sýjalín í vetur, með þínum hljóðfærum, og fögrum frásögum, nú vil ég að þú gangir í dag með okkur: skulum við nú skemmta þér'.

[26] The text of AM 529 ends here. As noted by Loth, 'after this word there is a lacuna (the rest of the saga = 2 ½ folios) in the MS; the [rest of the] text is taken from [AM] 537, 6r–8v' (Loth, p. 28). Of course, the edition continues sometimes to take readings from the other manuscripts mentioned in the introduction (pp. 121–22 above).

[27] Here until the end, the name is *Livorius* in the MS. As mentioned in the introduction, I have chosen to keep the names used in the previous manuscript; this applies to the following two notes as well.

steered with their sails along one side of the island. A man left the dragon-ship, and all the troops went up on land with an assembled force. This man was stout, and so tall that his head was above the whole army. He had his gold-woven banner raised against King Soldán, and Hléskjöldur went against Logi. Then they started in on the third and hardest of their battles.

The kings Liforinus and Soldán began their single combat, with great blows and violent combat. This went on until night. At the end of their exchange Liforinus thrust a spear into King Soldán's breast so that it came out through the shoulders, and he fell down dead. Liforinus then searched for Hléskjöldur, who lay in a valley, wounded to the point of death. Logi lay dead next to him. Liforinus picked up Hléskjöldur and carried him down to the ships. The king then ordered a search for the slain. A truce was given to those who asked for it, and anyone else was killed.

Liforinus then took great booty there and became famous far and wide on account of this battle. Then they sailed home to India with a noble victory. It is said that the king himself tended and healed Hléskjöldur until he was well. And one day, when spring came, the king went on a sea-voyage with Hléskjöldur. Then he said, 'It would be more befitting to the maiden-king and her kingdom for me to do otherwise than to keep you here any longer. Here in my harbour are ten ships, which I will give to you with men and war-gear; you shall not journey from here as a vagrant'.

Hléskjöldur then praised him, thanking the king for his hospitality and great gifts. He sailed home to France, and the maiden-king was very glad at his homecoming.

That summer King Liforinus went plundering and arrived with his ships at Småland. The queen who ruled there was called Alduria; she was King Liforinus's aunt. The queen took him by both hands and he sat down to a handsome feast.

One day the queen said to her kinsman, 'Why are you unhappy? Do you long for the maiden-king who now is the most famous in the world?'

Liforinus said, 'You are considered a wise and cunning woman. Give me advice so that I can outwit the maiden-king and gain her love'.

The queen said, 'I want to give you everything you need to attain joy in accordance with your wish. My suggestion for you now is that you sail this summer to France and call yourself Eskilvarður, son of the king of Mundia, and stay there over the winter. I will give you a gold ring so that nobody will know you, neither the maiden-king nor your sister. If you remain there for the whole winter, it will be a wonder if you do not get a hold on her'.

Liforinus accepted this counsel and prepared his fifteen ships, sailed from that place, and came to France in the autumn. The maiden-king then had him asked into the hall to speak with her — and she judged him a wise man. The queen asked Eskilvarður to remain there throughout the winter with his retinue. King Eskilvarður accepted, and frequently came to the queen because he was good at playing the harp and all musical instruments, and he was able to say something about every country. The queen took the greatest delight in his company.

Now winter passed, and in spring he prepared himself for a journey. One day, before he was ready, the maiden-king said to him, 'You, Eskilvarður, have always entertained me and Lady Sýjalín during the winter with your music-making and wonderful stories. Now I want you to come with us today: we shall now entertain you'.

Eskilvarður þiggur það gjarnan, og gengur með þeim í skemmuna. Meykóngur tók upp stein og bað hann í líta. Hann sá þá yfir allt Frakkland, Provintiam, Ravenam, Spaniam, Hallitiam, Friisland, Flandren, Norðmandiam, Skottland, Grikkland, og allar þær þjóðir þar byggja. Meykóngur mælti 'ekki siglir Liforinus kóngur í þessar hálfur heimsins, eða mun hann heima vera'.

Annan dag bíður drottning Eskilvarð til skemmunnar: 'þú hefur jafnan skemmt oss í vetur'. Drottning bað Eskilvarð enn líta í steininn. Þá sáu þau norður hálfuna alla, Noreg, Ísland, Færeyjar, Suðureyjar, Orkneyjar, Svíþjóð, Danmörk, England, Írland, og mörg lönd önnur, þau er hann vissi ei skil á. Drottning mælti 'mun Liforinus kóngur hinn frægi ekki sigla í þessi lönd'.

Eskilvarður sagði 'hann er fjarlægur þessum löndum'.

Meykóngur vindur upp enn einn stein, sjáandi þá nú austur hálfuna heimsins, Indíaland, Palestinam, Asiam, Serkland, og öll önnur lönd heimsins, og jafnvel um brúnabeltið, það sem ei er byggt. Drottning mælti 'bardagar miklir eru nú í Serklandi, og Ingi kóngur situr nú heima í Miklagarði og herjar hvorgi, en hvar mun Liforinus hinn frægi vera? Ég sé hann ekki heima í Indíalöndum, og ei er hann í Smálöndum hjá frændkonu sinni. Nú sjást öll úthöfin um lá og leynivoga, hvorgi er hann þar, og hvorgi er hann í öllum heiminum útan hann standi hér hjá mér'. Meykóngur talar þá 'Liforinus kóngur' segir hún, 'legg af þér dularkufl þinn. Hinn fyrsta dag er þú komst kennda ég þig. Fær þú aftur gullið Alduria,[28] því yður stendur það lítið lengur með það að fara'.

Liforinus kóngur lætur nú að orðum drottningar, leggjandi af sér gullið og nafnið, takandi upp sín tignar klæði. Frú Sýjalín[29] gengur nú að sínum bróður, og verður þeirra á milli mesti fagnaðarfundur. Meykóngur setur Liforinus kóng í hásæti hjá sér. Er þar ágæta veisla. Svo er sagt að meykóngur hafi sent í allar hálfur landsins til tuttugu kónga, er allir þjónuðu undir hennar ríki. Byrjar Liforinus kóngur nú bónorð sitt við meykóng með fagurlegum framburði og mikilli röksemd. Styrkja hans mál allir kóngar og höfðingjar að þessi ráðahagur takist. Meykóngur svarar orðum þeirra: 'Ég hefi heyrt að höfðingjum landsins leiðist stríð og ónáðir í ríkinu. Er nú og líkast að það muni fyrir liggja að fá þann kóng er yður þikir mikils háttar vera'.

Hléskjöldur mælti 'ef þér viljið mér nokkra þjónustu lengur gefa, þá vil ég að þér takið Liforinus kóng yður til herra, skal ég og ekki önnur laun þiggja, og lengur í yðar ríki vera'.

Meykóngur segir 'mikinn heiður á ég yður að launa, fyrir margan mannháska og raunir, er þér hafið minna vegna. Er það líkast ég taki þetta upp síðan og sé það allra höfðingja ráð og vilji; veit og ei æðri kóng ríkjandi en Liforinus kóng'.

Liforinus kóngur verður við þetta allglaður. Var þetta nú staðfest og ályktað með öllu ríkis ráði; skyldi brúðkaupið vera um haustið. Meykóngur talar nú til Liforinus og annara manna: 'Ég vil ekki yðar burtferð að sinni úr minni náveru, því ég meina við munum ekki lengi við kyrrt sitja mega'.

Nú er að segja af Inga kóngi, að hann spyr þessi tíðindi; verður hann reiður og kveðst öngva konu skyldi eiga útan meykóng ella liggja dauður. Lætur nú ganga herör um allt sitt ríki, og safnar saman múga og margmenni, skyldi þar koma hvor sá er skildi gæti valdið. Verður þetta

[28] From here until the end, the name is *Aldvia* in the MS.
[29] Here until the end, the name is *Suyialyn* in the MS.

Eskilvarður accepted the invitation readily, and went with them into their chamber. The maiden-king took up a stone and asked him to look into it. He then saw over all of France, Provence, Ravenna, Spain, Hallitia, Frisia, Flanders, Normandy, Scotland, Greece, and all the people living there. The maiden-king said, 'King Liforinus is not sailing in these parts of the world; might he be at home instead?'

Another day the queen asked Eskilvarður to the chamber: 'You have always entertained us during the winter'. The queen then asked Eskilvarður to look into the stone, and they saw all the northern regions: Norway, Iceland, the Faroes, the Hebrides, Orkney, Sweden, Denmark, England, Ireland, and many other lands which he could not distinguish. The queen said, 'Will King Liforinus the Famous not sail into these lands?'

Eskilvarður said, 'He is far from these lands'.

The queen raised up yet another stone and then they saw the eastern regions of the world: India, Palestine, Asia, Serkland, and all the other lands of the world, and even around the burning-belt, which is uninhabited. The queen said, 'There are now great battles in Serkland, and King Ingi is sitting at home in Constantinople and is not out raiding, but where must Liforinus the Famous be? I do not see him at home in India, and he is not in Småland with his kinswoman. Now everything is visible, from the oceans to the shoals and hidden coves; neither is he there nor is he anywhere in the whole world, unless he is standing here beside me'. Then the maiden-king said, 'King Liforinus, remove your cloak of disguise. I knew you the first day you came. Take off Alduria's ring, because it will do you no good to continue in this way any longer'.

King Liforinus then obeyed the queen's words and removed from himself both gold ring and name, and took up his noble clothing. Lady Sýjalín then went to her brother, and there was the most joyful reunion between them. The maiden-king sat King Liforinus in the high-seat beside her, and there was an excellent feast. It is said that the maiden-king had sent word to all parts of her country, to the twenty kings who served under her rule. King Liforinus then began his marriage proposal to the maiden-king with an eloquent speech and excellent judgement. All the kings and nobles at this council supported his speech, agreeing that this proposal should be taken. The maiden-king answered their words: 'I have heard that the nobles of the land are growing tired of war and unrest in the kingdom. The most likely way to forestall that is to accept the king who seems to you to be of great promise'.

Hléskjöldur said, 'If you want me to offer my service any longer, then I want you to take King Liforinus as your lord; indeed I shall not accept any other repayment, or remain any longer in your kingdom'.

The maiden-king said, 'I have great honour to repay you, for the many dangers and trials which you have had for my sake. It is most fitting that I should take this up, especially since it is the counsel and desire of all the nobles, for I do not know a nobler king ruling than King Liforinus'.

King Liforinus was delighted at this. This was now firmly arranged, and agreed with all the kingdom's councillors; the wedding was to be in autumn. The maiden-king then said to Liforinus and other men: 'I do not want you to journey away at once from my presence, because I think that we will not be able to remain at peace for very long'.

Now it is to be said of King Ingi, that he learned of these tidings and became angry and said that he would marry no woman except the maiden-king, and would otherwise lie dead. He summoned all his kingdom to war, and collected together a crowd and mob; everyone had

ótal lið, svo að sjór þótti svartur fyrir herskipum. Heldur Ingi kóngur öllum þessum skipastól í Frakkland með ákefð og reiði, því hann vildi koma áður brullaupið væri drukkið.

Nú sem Ingi kóngur var landfastur orðinn lætur hann tjalda herbúðir á landi. Liforinus kóngur ríður þegar ofan til skipa, bjóðandi Inga kóngi alla sætt og sæmd meykóngs vegna, hvað er Ingi kóngur vill ei: hann vill ei annað en berjast. Síga nú saman fylkingar. Lætur Liforinus kóngur bera sitt merki mót Inga kóngi. Tókst nú hörð orusta með geysilegum gný og mannfalli. Gengur Ingi kóngur í gegnum Frakkaher höggvandi tvö menn í hvorju höggi. Slíkt hið sama gerir Liforinus kóngur, þar sem hann fer verður meiri manxnföll í liði stólkóngs. Verður mikið mannfall af hvoru tveggja hernum, og allir vellir voru þaktir af dauðra manna líkum.

Í þrjá daga gengur þessi aðgangur, og árla hinn fjörð daginn kallar Liforinus kóngur hárri röddu til Ingja kóngs: 'Þetta er óviturlegt bragð að berjast svo, því vit látum hér þá vildustu frændur, vini, og höfðingja. Er það betra ráð að við berjumst tveir, eigi sá meykóng er hærra hlut ber af okkar viðskiptum'.

Ingi kóngur játar þessu blíðlega, og hefja þeir sitt einvígi með stórum höggum og sterkum aðgangir, bresta hlífar hvorutveggja, berast og sár á báða, en þó fleiri á Ingja kóng. Lúktist svo þeirra einvígi að Ingi kóngur féll til jarðar af mæði og blóðrás, því hann flakti allur sundur af sárum. Liforinus kóngur lætur leggja Inga kóng í veglega sæng, en hann leggst í aðra og taka þeir nú að smyrja þeirra sár með dýrum smyrslum.

Liforinus býður systur sinni, að leggja góða hönd á Inga kóng sem sinn sár. Hún gerir síns bróður boð, því hún var hinn ágætasti læknir og enn kunni hún framar í þessu en meykóngur. Færðist nú gróður í sár kónga; sér Ingi kóngur að Sýjalín er afbragð annara kvenna um öll norðurlönd að fráteknum meykóngi. Lýtur hann skjótt ástaraugum til hennar. Hefur nú sjótt sitt bónorð við kóngs dóttur. Meykóngur og allur landslýður er fylgjandi að sá ráðahagur takist að öll ríkinn fengu frið og náðir og Ingi kóngur sættist við Liforinus kóng.

Kóngurinn talar þá til Ingja kóngs: 'viljir þú gifta Hléskildi mínum góða vin og fóstbróður Listalín, þá skulu þessi ráð takast: stendur hann einn til arfs og ríkis út á Puli eftir móður sína Egidíam; þar til vil ég gefa þeim þriðjung Indíalands, og er hann þó betra verður'.

Nú gengur meykóngur og allir ríkjanna höfðingjar með þessum erindum, og með þeirra bæn og fagurlega framburði; fullgerðust þessi kaup hvorutveggju. Eru nú orð send eftir frú Listalín; kemur hún þar eftir liðinn tíma til Frakklands með dýrlegu föruneyti. Hefjast nú þessi þrjú brúðkaup í upphafi augusti mánaðar og yfir stendur allan þann mánuð með miklum veraldar-prís og blóma. Þar var fallega étið og fagurlega drukkið með allskyns matbúnaði og dýrustu drykkjum. Þar var allskyns skemmtun framinn í burtreiðum og hljóðfæraslætti, en þar sem kóngarnir gengu var niðurbreidt pell og purpuri og heiðurleg klæði. Er og ei auðsagt með ófróðri tungu í útlegðum veraldarinnar, svo mönnum verði skemmtilegt, hvor fögnuður vera mundi í miðjum heiminum af slíku hoffólki samankomnu. Stendur nú svo hófið í mikilli þessa heimsgleið með dýrlegum tilföngum. Og nú með því að öll þessa heims dýrð kann skjótt

to come there who could bear arms. Countless troops arrived, so that the sea seemed black with warships. King Ingi eagerly and angrily directed all these fleets to France, because he wanted to arrive before the wedding was over.

When King Ingi had reached land, he commanded that tents be pitched. King Liforinus rode at once down to the ships and offered King Ingi honour and a settlement on behalf of the maiden-king, which, however, King Ingi did not desire: he wanted nothing other than to fight. Then armies descended on one another. King Liforinus raised his banner against King Ingi, and then a hard battle began, with enormous noise and loss of life. King Ingi went through the army of the French killing two men with each blow. King Liforinus did the same, but, wherever he went, more casualties appeared in the army of the Byzantine Emperor Ingi. There was great loss to each of the two armies, and all the fields were covered with the corpses of the dead.

This assault went on for three days, and early on the fourth day King Liforinus called with a loud voice to King Ingi, 'It is an unwise move to fight like this, because we are losing our dearest kinsmen, friends, and nobles here. It is better counsel that the two of us fight each other: let the one who gains the upper hand in our exchange win the maiden-king'.

King Ingi agreed to this gladly, and they began their single combat with great blows and strong assaults. They broke each other's shields; both also were wounded, though King Ingi was more so. Their single combat ended with King Ingi falling to the ground from exhaustion and bleeding, for he was coming to pieces from his wounds. King Liforinus made King Ingi lie in a magnificent bed, and he lay in another, and they began to anoint their wounds with precious salves.

Liforinus asked his sister to lay her gentle hands on King Ingi's wounds. She did her brother's bidding, because she was the most excellent doctor and she knew even more about this than the maiden-king. The king's wounds then began to heal, and King Ingi saw that Sýjalín surpassed other women throughout all the northern lands, excepting the maiden-king. He quickly yielded to her loving eyes, and soon made his marriage proposal to the princess. The maiden-king and all of the land's courtiers agreed that this proposal should be accepted, so that the whole kingdom should receive peace and harmony, and King Ingi was seated beside King Liforinus.

The king said then to King Ingi, 'Should you want to marry Listalín to Hléskjöldur, my good friend and foster-brother, then this proposal would be accepted: his mother Egidía means that he is outstanding in his hereditary rights and the power of his realm, out in Apulia; and in addition I will give them a third of India — though he is worthy of more'.

Then the maiden-king and all the kingdoms' nobles went with these messages, and with their request and fine proposal; they succeeded fully in both these things. Word was sent to Lady Listalín; after a little while she came to France with a splendid entourage. Then they held these three weddings at the beginning of the month of August and they lasted the whole month, with great worldly ceremony and glory. There was excellent dining and exquisite drinking, with all kinds of dishes, and the most expensive drinks. There were all kinds of entertainment, such as jousts and musical concerts, and costly fabrics, and purple, and magnificent cloths wherever the kings walked . Indeed, it was so entertaining for everyone that it is not easily said with an unlearned tongue in the outer regions of the world what joy there may be in the middle of the world when such courtiers come together. So the celebration continued in this great worldly gladness, with costly provisions. And because all of this world's splendour can

að líða, þá voru brúðkaupinn útdrukkinn, og höfðingjarnir útleiddir með fögrum fégjöfum í gulli og gimsteinum og góðum vefjum. Skildist þar hoflýðar með fögrum friði og kærleika hvor við annan.

Siglir nú Ingi kóngur og hans frú til Miklagarðs, en Hléskjöldur og Listalín út á Pul, stýrandi þar ríki til dauðadags. Liforinus og meykóngur stýrðu Frakklandi. Áttu þau ágæt börn, son er Ríkon hét eftir sínum móður föður er síðan stýrði Frakklandi með heiður og sóma eftir þeirra dag. Og lýkur svo þessu ævintýri af hinni frægu Nítíða og Liforio kóngi.

quickly pass away, the wedding then was over, and the nobles were led out with wonderful gifts in gold and gemstones and good woven cloth. There each of the courtiers parted peacefully and lovingly.

King Ingi and his lady sailed to Constantinople, and Hléskjöldur and Listalín out to Apulia, ruling the kingdom there until they died. Liforinus and the maiden-king ruled France. They had handsome children, including a son who was called Ríkon after his mother's father, who, after their day, later ruled France with honour and glory. And so ends the adventure of Nítíða the Famous and King Liforinus.

Skelt 'Hasten' in *Cleanness* and *St Erkenwald*

Andrew Breeze

Skelt is a rare verb. It occurs solely in the poems *Cleanness*, *St Erkenwald*, and *The Destruction of Troy*, all from Cheshire or its environs. In *Cleanness* (l. 827) angels visit Lot, but his resentful wife *scelt hem in scorne*.[1] Later, when Jerusalem is attacked, skirmishes are *skelt* (1. 1186); after besiegers spot King Zedekiah fleeing the city, the alarm is *skelt* (l. 1206). When writing appears at Belshazzar's feast, scholars *skelten* (l. 1554) to it to find its meaning. The *Oxford English Dictionary* is silent on the first of these attestations, understands the second and third as '?to spread or scatter hurriedly', and the last as 'to hasten; to be diligent'. Quoting *St Erkenwald* (l. 278), it refers to those who *skeltone* or hasten to God. This attestation occurs the phrase 'Þe skilfulle and þe unskathely skelton ay to me' as a translation of the Vulgate's Psalm 14:2, 'qui ingreditur sine macula et operatur iustitiam' (the Douay Bible's 'He that walketh without spot, and worketh iustice'), where *skeltone* parallels *ingreditur* 'walks'.[2] The *Oxford English Dictionary* further cites the participle *skelting* from *The Destruction of Troy* (ll. 1089, 6042), but calls the word's origin 'obscure'.

There has been little progress since. The late J. J. Anderson took the instances in *Cleanness* as meaning respectively 'mocked', 'broke out', 'raised', and 'came hurrying'; that in *St Erkenwald* as '?hasten'; and *skeltyng of harme* in *The Destruction of Troy* as '?outbreak of trouble'. He thought the etymology was obscure, but saw possible links with Old Norse *skella* 'make to slam, clash', *skella á* 'burst out (of a gale or storm); scold', and compared Old Norse *skjalla* 'clash' and *skelkja* 'mock'. He believed the English word was perhaps from Norse *skellt*, the past participle of *skella*.[3] Translations by Andrew and Waldron resemble those of Anderson. Lot's wife 'reviled with scorn'; at the siege of Jerusalem skirmishes are 'launched'; the outcry at Zedekiah's escape is 'launched high under the skies'; Belshazzar's clerks 'hastened' to the writing to examine it.[4] *Skeltone* in *St Erkenwald* is further noted by Burrow and Turville-Petre, who render it 'hasten' and (in the light of forms quoted by the *Middle English Dictionary*, including Modern English dialectal *skelt*) hesitantly derive it from old Norse.[5]

[1] *Cleanness*, ed. by J. J. Anderson (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1977), p. 34.

[2] *A Book of Middle English*, ed. by J. A. Burrow and Thorlac Turville-Petre, 2nd edn (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996), p. 212.

[3] *Cleanness*, p. 82.

[4] *The Poems of the Pearl Manuscript*, ed. by Malcolm Andrew and Ronald Waldron (London: Arnold, 1978), pp. 146, 161, 175.

[5] *Middle English Dictionary*, ed. by Hans Kurath and others, 20 vols (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1952–2001), s.v. *skelten*; *A Book of Middle English*, pp. 212, 361.

Yet a Scandinavian etymology is unsatisfactory on semantic and phonological grounds. The correct derivation appears, rather, to be Irish. It is known that *Cleanness* and related poems contain Irish elements, due to tenth-century settlement by Norsemen from Ireland in the Wirral and beyond, where the names of Antrobus 'the settlement', Noctorum 'dry hill', and Liscard 'court of the rock' can be shown to be Irish (something rare in English toponymy).[6] The author of *Cleanness* wrote in what seems to be a Cheshire dialect.[7] He probably lived in the Wirral, perhaps at Storeton, a manor of the Stanley family.[8] Storeton is less than five miles south of Noctorum and Liscard. Given this former Gaelic presence in Cheshire, Irish elements in the dialect or narrative themes of *Cleanness* or *St Erkenwald* need cause no surprise.[9] As regards vocabulary, this includes such forms as *bobb* 'cluster' from Middle Irish *popp* 'shoot, tendril', or (in *St Erkenwald*) *art* 'direction', from Gaelic *aird* '(compass-)point'.

If, then, we seek not a Norse etymology for *scelt* but an Irish one, there is a case in Modern Irish *scaoilte* 'loosened, freed, released, discharged, let go; separated; cast away', the participle of *scaoilim* 'I loose, set free'. The meanings here resemble those of *scelt*, as with the verb-noun, where *scaoileadh tionóil* is 'dispersal of an assembly'. The parallels are still closer if we go to earlier senses of this verb in the spelling *scaílid* 'bursts, scatters, spreads' (hence *do scailetar na glais* 'the locks burst open', with third person plural simple past, in a sixteenth-century life of St Columba); 'divides, scatters, separates', of people (including troops), as with *scailit uad* 'they scatter from him, they distance themselves from him'; 'destroys' (of buildings); and even 'fires' (of cannon).[10] In tenth-century verse included in the prose saga *Serglige Con Culainn*, a warlord is referred to as one who *scaílid góu* 'scatters spears'.[11] This sense 'scatter, separate' must be old, because Middle Irish *scaílid* has cognates in Welsh *chwalu* 'to spread' and Breton *c'hoalat* 'to card (wool), to comb out and separate (wool) fibres for spinning'.[12]

So the meanings of the Irish verb (applied to the scattering of missiles and gatherings of men) overlap with those of *scelt* (used of the rapid spreading of angels, skirmishes, alarm, and learned men, and also trouble). On this basis, *scelt* will have no links with Scandinavian verbs meaning 'slam', 'clash', or 'mock'. It would refer back to the scattering of men or weapons in Irish warfare. This etymology would also vindicate the editors of the *Oxford English Dictionary*. Their tentative definition '?to spread or scatter hurriedly', with 'to hasten; to be diligent', suits borrowing from early Irish *scaílid* 'bursts, scatters, spreads; divides, separates', as the 'mocked', 'reviled', and 'launched' of later editors do not. The form will thus come, not from Norse *skellt*, the past participle of *skella* 'make to slam, clash', but from the early Irish past participle *scaílte* 'burst, scattered, spread', giving Modern Irish *scaoilte* 'loosened, freed, released, discharged, let go'.

[6] Richard Coates and Andrew Breeze, *Celtic Voices, English Places* (Stamford: Tyas, 2000), pp. 260–62; Stephen Harding, *Viking Mersey* (Birkenhead: Countrywise, 2002), pp. 43, 44.

[7] Ad Putter and Myra Stokes, 'The *Linguistic Atlas* and the Dialect of the *Gawain* Poems', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 106 (2007), 468–91; cf. R. W. Barrett, *Against All England* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2009), p. 256.

[8] A. C. Breeze, 'Sir John Stanley (*c*. 1350–1414) and the *Gawain*-Poet', *Arthuriana*, 14 (2004), 15–30, as against J. J. Anderson, *Language and Imagination in the 'Gawain'-Poems* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), 2–3.

[9] Rory McTurk, *Chaucer and the Norse and Celtic Worlds* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 90–91.

[10] *Dictionary of the Irish Language* (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1913–76), S columns 67–69.

[11] *Serglige Con Culainn*, ed. by Myles Dillon, Mediaeval and Modern Irish Series, 14 (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1953), p. 6.

[12] Joseph Vendryes, *Lexique étymologique de l'ancien irlandais: Lettres R S* (Paris: CNRS, 1974), S-28.

REVIEWS

Gregg A. Smith, *The Function of the Living Dead in Medieval Norse and Celtic Literature: Death and Desire*. Lewiston, NY: The Edward Mellen Press, 2007. 151 pp. ISBN 978-0-7734-5353-1. £64.95

This welcome volume represents a fresh and lucid look at the nature and uses of the Living Dead in medieval Norse and Celtic literature. The author aims to shed light on his subject through a broader and deeper discussion than has been seen for some time. This is accomplished by comparative, interdisciplinary work spanning archaeological, linguistic, mythological and (primarily) textual evidence.

The book is divided into four chapters. The first aims to identify what exactly constituted the 'Living Dead' among the inhabitants of ancient Ireland and Scandinavia, namely the Celtic *Tuatha Dé Danann* and the Norse *draugar*, and to elucidate how they manifest themselves in the literature. This task is unquestionably difficult, as the dead reveal themselves in a number of different ways, influenced by diverse cultures, minds and manuscripts, reflecting what was no doubt a 'patchwork of beliefs' (p. 83). Despite this, Smith successfully highlights one dominant pattern, which defines his study. In the pagan world, the dead's frequent contacts with the living mean that they 'serve as conduits of otherworldly power' to the living world. This function was picked up by medieval Christian authors who used the dead as a literary reflex to fulfil thematic roles in the Christianized sagas.

Chapter 2 examines the historical background. Smith presents evidence that in the medieval period the dead were thought to exert a profound and tangible influence on people and agricultural life — a belief that was once expressed as death-cult worship. But much of his data is gathered from a rather perfunctory survey of the archaeological evidence. It would have been helpful to see more in-depth, up-to-date archaeological works in the bibliography. Indeed works such as Neil Price's *The Viking Way* are conspicuous by their absence.[1] Smith is certainly more confident (as he states in his introduction) on the literary side of things, and here he draws upon a wide range of sagas as well as (albeit more marginally) historiographical works such as *Heimskringla*, *Flateyjarbók* and the Irish *Lebor Gabála*.

This literary evidence all leads Smith to conclude that as the dead inhabited a separate but equally real world, they could be manipulated in literary works to 'fulfill thematic needs' (p. 69). Most usefully, the dead could present mankind with esoteric knowledge. A fascinating question that is raised but not fully explored is the question of exactly why death and dying

[1] Neil S. Price, *The Viking Way: Religion and War in Late Iron Age Scandinavia*, Aun, 31 (Uppsala: Department of Archaeology and Ancient History, 2002).

impart supernatural abilities. Smith sees this as a merging of pagan and Christian ideology: the dead's powers are a combination of the author's worldview and the necessity of fulfilling certain thematic requirements.

Chapter 3 continues in a similar vein, but focuses on the process of wish-fulfilment, which can be either beneficial or harmful to heroes. Through an in-depth study of certain sagas Smith shows how the dead are placed there to mould (for better or for worse) the evolution, accomplishments and transformations of heroes such as Cú Chulainn and Grettir. Our understanding of this is aided by two flow charts at the end of the chapter.

The final chapter moves away from the dead's role as wish-fulfillers to a more complex understanding of their uses. Smith discusses this through the paradoxical situation that occurs in several sagas, when the dead seek to exploit the power of a human hero, rather than the other way round. Smith claims that in these sagas the dead are no longer used for wish-fulfillment but exploited for a 'singular intent: the glorification of the human condition' (p. 136). The distinction is an interesting one, but Smith does not go far enough in explaining why exactly this might be the case.

However, for the most part this book is a strong, thought-provoking piece of work. It is unfortunately brief, at times superficial (for example, it does not take into account much consideration of medieval Welsh literature or wider Celtic genres such as Arthurian romance) and has a similarly under-developed bibliography. Yet it fills a much-needed gap in the scholarship on a subject that has recently been as silent as a grave. The strong comparative Norse/Celtic angle is of special interest and serves to highlight just how similar the cultural attitudes to death were in medieval Scandinavia and the British Isles. Indeed, Smith seems to have a good grasp of both literatures, which makes him a welcome rarity. This book should open up new avenues for research, and due to its simple organizational layout and concise prose it would also provide eminently suitable for an undergraduate reading list. As such it is both thorough and relatively accessible to the layman. In conclusion, leaving aside a few relatively minor quibbles, the author should be commended for illuminating an increasingly popular yet so far under-researched field.

DORIAN KNIGHT UNIVERSITY COLLEGE LONDON

Janie Steen, *Verse and Virtuosity: The Adaptation of Latin Rhetoric in Old English Poetry*. Toronto Old English Series. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008. xii + 238 pp. ISBN 978-0-0802-091574. £45

Anglo-Saxonists are peculiarly lucky that so much of their subjects' literature has survived, much more so in that it has survived in more than one language. For too long, though, the literary output of the Anglo-Saxons has been divided, at least in the minds of those who have concerned themselves with its study, into two distinct spheres. Despite the overwhelming likelihood that Old English and Latin were written, in the main, by the same people; despite the significant and still largely unexplored interdependencies between the two languages on almost every level from the philological to the philosophical; and despite the relative frequency with which one was used to render the other in translation, or was written beside it, above it, below it or around it, the two distinct camps into which scholars of Old English and Anglo-Latin have divided remain stubbornly uncooperative. Old English has tended to catch the attention of students of English literature in whose intellectual backgrounds the looming figures of Chaucer, Langland and the Green Knight have long since scared off the likes of Ald-

helm, Bede and Alcuin. Anglo-Latin, on the other hand, has historically been the preserve of fugitives from university Classics departments for whom Aeneas and Cicero have proved more enduring companions than Beowulf and Wulfstan. Only relatively recently has the pioneering work of Michael Lapidge, Andy Orchard and their students made a compelling case for studying 'Anglo-Saxon Literature', both Latin and Old English, as a whole. Their work has illuminated many intriguing and, as yet, unexplored possibilities within the subject. A particularly pertinent issue remains one of cross-contamination: what impact did knowledge of Latin diction, vocabulary, poesy, rhetoric etc. have on Old English, and *vice versa*? Janie Steen's book is an attempt to address an important part of this question, and very welcome it is too.

Following a useful discussion of the nature of Classical and 'traditional' rhetoric, *Verse and Virtuosity* goes on to offer original readings of the Old English poems 'The Phoenix', 'Judgement Day II' and two Old English riddles (35 and 40, which are direct translations of two of Aldhelm's *Enigmata*); the book ends with a discussion of the poetry of Cynewulf. The poems and the riddles, which are all Old English translations of Latin works, provide rich pickings for Steen. In her analysis of 'The Phoenix', she discusses the extent to which the Latin poem's resonant Classical imagery and numerous rhetorical flourishes were recognised, understood and sensitively rendered by its Old English translator. With 'Judgement Day II', she looks at how the Old English translator grappled, not always successfully, with the powerful rhetoric of a more explicitly Christian poem. In examining the riddles, she highlights an interesting contrast between Riddle 35 (whose translator has gone to some length, she argues, to shear his verse of its Classical overtones and locate it securely within the frame of the Old English poetic tradition) and Riddle 40 (whose translator was less uncomfortable with Classical allusions). The culmination of this book is a discussion of the poetry of Cynewulf. Here, rather than examine the precise relationship between a particular Latin text and its Old English translation, Steen has the opportunity to discuss the understanding of Latin rhetoric on the part of an author who was responsible for a number of poems, none a direct translation. In demonstrating the skill with which Cynewulf was able to meld Latin rhetorical techniques with 'traditional', Old English poetic conventions, Steen reminds us of the elegance with which one of the language's very few known poets composed his work.

Steen's readings of these poems are enlightening and, so far as it goes, her methodology is solid and generally effective in proving that Latin rhetorical devices could be borrowed, more or less successfully, into Old English poetry. However, her purely literary approach to this subject can sometimes feel a little limited. Notwithstanding Steen's fine discussion of the mechanics by which knowledge of Classical rhetoric may (or, rather, may not) have been imported into Anglo-Saxon England, pertinent questions of intellectual history remain outstanding. Why, for instance, should these particular Latin poems have been translated into Old English? What differences are discernable in terms of reception, transmission and usage in Anglo-Saxon England between the vernacular and Latin forms of the texts? What can be said about the Anglo-Saxons' attitudes towards the act of translation in general? For that matter, is this something we can generalise about, or was the business of translating a text a specific, individual activity about which there was little 'accepted thinking' (the differences in how 'The Phoenix' and 'Judgement Day II' have been translated might point in this direction)? Perhaps most interesting of all is the question of how translations from Latin into Old English differed from those — admittedly far fewer in number — which went in the other direction, rendering the vernacular in Latin.

To be fair to Steen, these were not necessarily issues that she set out to address in *Verse and Virtuosity*; it is, perhaps, a testimony to the strength of her scholarship that it raises so many further questions. Overall, the detailed readings offered by Steen make this book a valuable contribution to an under-researched subject and also an important platform from which other scholars in the field might launch their own investigations.

BEN SNOOK KING'S COLLEGE LONDON

Laura Ashe, Ivana Djordjević and Judith Weiss, eds, *The Exploitations of Medieval Romance*. Studies in Medieval Romance 12. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2010. x + 191 pp. ISBN 9781843842125. £55

This volume of essays arises from the 2006 conference on Romance in Medieval Britain at the University of York. The titular 'exploitations' involve not only the expected sense of the exploitation of romance for political and social ends, but also the ways in which romance writers exploit existing motifs, genres and sources, as well as the exploitative actions and conventions that romance narrates, knowingly or unknowingly, from magic to class politics to the objectification of women. This range makes for a pleasingly diverse collection, and most of the contributions are lively, informative and likely to stimulate further readings and research.

Neil Cartlidge's opening essay argues that the fabliau *Le Chevalier qui fist les cons parler* exposes the commodification of sex and interest in material wealth latent in *Lanval*, which Marie de France's romance stylings tend to obscure. Corinne Saunders delineates the uses of magic in Middle English romance: often for love, mostly involving illusion, never altogether good. Arlyn Diamond's essay on gardens in popular romance repositions the garden away from its conventional interpretation as an aesthetic ideal of paradise and pleasure to reveal its social function as a feature of the arisocratic household. She observes that the aristocratic garden was designed to reveal wealth and status, but shows that in romance it in fact facilitates encounters between the wealthy, high-status lady of the house and the poor, low status man who seeks solitude in the garden by her window.

Judith Weiss and Anna Caughey both reveal an amusing incongruence in their chosen romances — *Gui de Warewic* and *The Buik of Kyng Alexander the Conquerour* — where in each case the hero's portrayal towards the end of his life is out of step with his earlier actions. Weiss sees Gui as appropriating the roles of both saint (despite not being very saintly) and pilgrim (which gives him an outsider's freedom to speak) from existing literary traditions. But she shows that the earlier part of the romance does not give him enough reason to plausibly repent at the end. Caughey demonstrates that the *Buik* falls into four generically distinct sections: first, Alexander's youth is written as mirror for princes focused on the military; next, a section on courtliness and love, from which Alexander stands aloof, follows, swiftly succeeded by the author's real focus, Alexander's travels and conquests involving a multitude of Wonders of the East. But all that has gone before is undercut by the final section, Alexander's tragic fall, which the author presents as the inevitable consequence of Alexander's many character flaws, none of which he has made obvious to the reader before this point, and which would logically seem to render Alexander inadequate for the exemplary role in which the author first placed him.

Rosalind Field and Melissa Furrow consider the relation between romance in England and France. Field presents an invaluable survey of the fourteenth-century Middle English romances derived from French sources, and shows that most came from readily available

Anglo-Norman texts — only when it came to meeting a new demand for Arthurian material did romance-writers seek out Continental French texts. She also raises the interesting, if unanswerable, question of why almost no new romances were written in England for nearly a hundred years before the early fourteenth century. Furrow suggests that the *chanson de geste*, which stood in opposition to romance in France, was not understood as a separate genre at all in England, but was instead central to the development of insular romance with its typically heroic ethos.

Conversely, Laura Ashe analyses late medieval chivalry as it appears in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* as an economically driven ideology distinct from the heroic warrior ethos that preceded it. Designed to produce ransoms and preserve the knightly class, it was fundamentally opposed to death in combat. This allows her to read the beheading game as a test that finds chivalry empty of value, with nothing in it worth dying for. I found this approach engaging and insightful; I would also have been interested to see the argument extended to incorporate *trawþe* into its ideological scheme somewhere between Ashe's two poles of valuable, fit for purpose Christianity and empty, valueless chivalry.

One minor quibble with this volume is that there is rather an lack of cross-referencing between the chapters. Thus two essays treat *Gui de Warewic* substantively, and two more in passing, but there is no sense of their having been informed by one another, which feels like a missed opportunity. Ivana Djordjevi's argument that Gui is represented as a crusader through specific toponyms could have been enriched by a consideration of what Weiss had to say about Gui as pilgrim and saint.

Finally, Diane Vincent's interesting proposition that the Christian-Saracen debate in *Turpines Story* was not a catechesis but a scholarly disputation intended to recall Lollard heresies left me somewhat unconvinced. As Vincent acknowledges, nothing debated in the text is a hot Lollard topic; question-and-answer dialogues continued to be read in pastorally oriented texts such as the Elicudarius throughout the fifteenth century, and the mid-century date of the text surely makes it less likely that Lollards were a 'pressing public concern' (p. 106).

But overall, this collection is both useful and enjoyable, providing a range of insights into the functions of romance and its own exploitations of its cultural hinterland.

CATHY HUME UNIVERSITY OF LEEDS

Massimiliano Bampi and Fulvio Ferrari, eds, *Lärdomber oc skämptan: Medieval Swedish Literature Reconsidered*. Samlingar utgivna av Svenska fornskriftsällskapet, serie 3: Smärre texter och undersökningar 5. Uppsala: Svenska fornskriftsällskapet, 2008. 118 pp. ISBN 978-91-976118-2-4. SEK 100.

In their introduction to this volume, the editors explain that they aimed to create

> a collection of critical essays in English, in order to inform scholars who are not specialized in Old Swedish about the richness of medieval Swedish culture. This could be of great interest not only to scholars and students in the field of Old Norse studies, but also to medievalists in general.

This aim is absolutely to be applauded, and the potential for a broad scholarly audience real. It has to be said that the collection achieves its goal more by affording *any* critical literature in English on Old Swedish than by tailoring its material to students and scholars unfamiliar with the area. Still, it is tightly focused and, for those who can actually work out how to buy a copy (a subject on which the Svenska fornskriftsällskapet's website is remarkably unforthcoming),

inexpensive.[2]

Most of the texts discussed in this volume were copied, and in some cases composed, at Vadstena Abbey — unsurprisingly, given its enormous importance in late medieval Swedish literary culture. Jonas Carlquist's contribution, 'Vernacular Devotional Literature: The Use of Pious Literature at Vadstena Abbey, Sweden', gives writing at Vadstena a deserved prominence in the book. It is actually a summary of his monograph *Vadstenasystrarnas textvärld: Studier i systrarnas skriftbrukskompetens, lärdom och textförståelse* ('The textual world of Vadstena's nuns: studies in the sisters' literacy, learning and text-comprehension'). Condensing a book into article form seems to have been tricky: we generally hear more about contexts and methods than findings. Meanwhile, conclusions like 'the ordinary nun knew as much Latin as was needed for her daily duties' (p. 45) are not very revealing without a clear sense of what those duties were; the information that Vadstena manuscripts reveal that '31 nuns had literate skills' (p. 41) is only meaningful if we are told how many nuns lived in the convent during the period studied. Nevetheless, the article will be a valuable point of access to Carlqvist's study for those not conversant with Scandinavian languages.

The collection actually opens with 'In Praise of the Copy: *Karl Magnus* in 15th-Century Sweden', an exploratory piece by Massimiliano Bampi. This will be of immediate interest to students of West Norse romance since it concerns a Swedish verse translation of the influential Norwegian *Karlamagnús saga ok kappa hans*. Bampi examines the four fifteenth-century manuscripts in which the saga survives to reconstruct the contexts in which the poem was read. He argues, rightly, that it is not enough for scholars to say that texts like *Karl Magnus* were merely meant for entertainment, which is often as far as the literary criticism and cultural history of medieval Scandinavian romance goes. What is entertaining is culturally determined, and therefore culturally revealing. Bampi's methods for seeking cultural meaning — reading romances as mirrors for princes and models for morality — are pretty traditional, and one eagerly awaits further research connecting more deeply with critical theory and the burgeoning study of European popular romance. However, Bampi's approach remains worthwhile, and moreover indicates the richness of the Old Swedish corpus. For the present reviewer — who stands as an example of the Old Norse scholar who knows less about medieval Sweden than he should — it was striking that two of the *Karl Magnus* manuscripts are from nunneries, and two were owned by noblewomen, which contrasts with late medieval Icelandic romance, which is often marked by a strong misogynistic streak and is generally assumed to have been written primary by men, for men.

The best known Old Swedish text — the closest thing Old Swedish has to a member of the literary canon — is represented by Fulvio Ferrari, in his 'Literature as a performative act: *Erikskrönikan* and the making of a nation'. Taking us through a series of different perspectives on the text, he offers arguments for reading the text as a narrative promoting solidarity among Swedish and German aristocrats — while nonetheless accepting that 'politics has hard rules, and someone has to loose [sic]' — and constructing this solidarity in opposition to heathens. These new perspectives on a key historical text will be welcome.

But the greatest success in connecting medieval Swedish material to wider currents in European literature and thought is achieved by William Layher's 'Elephants in the Garden. On Wild Beasts and *Wlwalla* in the Old Swedish *Dikten om kung Albrecht*' and Stephen A.

[2] Prospective buyers should in fact contact the society's secretary, whose contact details are available via <http://svenskafornskriftsallskapet.se>.

Mitchell's 'Spirituality and Alchemy in *Den vises sten* (1379)'. Both introduce their little-read texts deftly and analyse them in relation to wider literary contexts. The *Dikten om kung Albrecht* ('Poem on King Albrecht') uses the allegory of wild animals in a garden to expound on the rapacious reign of Albrecht III of Mecklenburg, King of Sweden 1364–89, and Layher contextualises the poem in relation to the (prose) religious garden allegories popular in the fourteenth-century German-speaking world. Foremost among the invading animals is an *Wlwalla*, which in a well turned philological exploration Layher convincingly argues to be an elephant, an animal associated in his reading with foreignness and exoticism — like Albrecht III himself. *Den vises sten* ('The philosopher's stone') is also an allegory, this time for God's love and the prospect of salvation it can bring. However, Mitchell argues that it demonstrates fourteenth-century Sweden's up-to-date engagement with Continental trends not only in Christian mystic literature but also in alchemical writing. In another passing eye-catcher for scholars of West Norse, he also suggests that 'the poem seems to allude to pagan mythological and heroic motifs (i.e. the stories of Askr, Embla, and Brynhildr)' (p. 105). Mitchell's tentativeness here is appropriate: stanza 1 describes how the stone gives a dead man senses and faculties, which is reminiscent of the gods granting these to the first humans, Askr and Embla, in Icelandic mythography; stanza 4 describes how the stone is hidden in a tower surrounded by a steel wall and a ring of fire, which is reminiscent of Brynhildr's prison in *Vǫlsunga saga*.[3] The similarities could be coincidental, but if there is a connection, it is of enormous interest both for its late date and its appearance in a region where so little mythological and legendary literature now survives.

There is, in different ways, a tentative tone to all the pieces in the volume: for example, Layher and Mitchell's contributions are short, serving primarily to whet the appetite for studying the poems that they address, while Ferrari's different angles on *Erikskrönikan* sometimes feel bitty. But this nicely conveys the sense that a world of new possibilities awaits. Readers unfamiliar with Old Swedish literature will have to work fairly hard to make the most of this volume. Indeed, it will not be obvious to all that the title means 'learning and entertainment'. But those who make the effort will be rewarded with plenty of both.

ALARIC HALL UNIVERSITY OF LEEDS

[3] *Den vises sten: En hittils okänd rimdikt från 1300-talet, efter en upsalahandskrift från år 1379*, ed. by Robert Geete, Småstycken på forn svenska, andra serien (Stockholm: Svenska fornskriftsällskapet, 1900), can now be found at <http://www.septentrionalia.net>.

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