

SELIM

Journal of the Spanish Society for Medieval English Language and Literature

Revista de la Sociedad Española de Lengua y Literatura Inglesa Medieval

Nº 7, 1997

CONTENTS

ARTICLES

Douglas GRAY: Fayttes of armes and of chyvalrye.	5
Purificacion RIBES TRAYER: Guenevere speaks: from Malory to Mnookin.	33
Jorge Luis BUENO ALONSO: New trends, old paths or viceversa: <i>Wulf & Eadwacer</i> .	51
Javier CALLE MARTIN & Antonio MIRANDA GARCIA: On the quantity of <i> in Old English words ending in -lic and -lice.	83
Xavier CAMPOS VILANOVA: The Latin Sources of one of Ælfric's Old English Homilies on Saint Stephen.	97
Antonio R. LEÓN SENDRA: Discourse and community in the late 14th century.	125
Jordi SANCHEZ MARTI: Chaucer's Knight and the Hundred Years War.	153
Ricardo J. SOLA BUIL: Dramatic Perspective in Chaucer's <i>The Canterbury Tales</i> and <i>Troilus and Criseyde</i> .	161
María José ÁLVAREZ-FAEDO: The role of the church in the incipient medieval drama: from street theatre to morality plays.	181

REVIEWS & NOTICES

- Antonio BRAVO GARCIA: O'Keeffe O'Brien Katherine ed.
1997: *Reading Old English Texts*. 195
- Jorge Luis BUENO ALONSO: Bravo, Antonio 1998: *Fe y literatura en el período anglosajón, ss.VII-XI (la plegaria como texto literario)*. & Bravo, Antonio 1998: *Los lays heroicos y los cantos épicos cortos en el inglés antiguo*. 207
- Begoña CRESPO GARCIA: Wright, Laura 1996: *Sources of London English. Medieval Thames Vocabulary*. 214
- José María GUTIÉRREZ ARRANZ & Ricardo J. SOLA BUIL: Carol Poster and Richard Utz, eds. 1996: *Disputatio. An International Transdisciplinary Journal of the Late Middle Ages. Vol. I. The Late Medieval Epistle*. 218
- Trinidad GUZMÁN GONZÁLEZ: Lass, Roger 1997. *Historical linguistics and language change*. 227
- Antonio BRAVO GARCIA: Old and Middle English Bibliography 1997-1998. 238

ARTICLES

FAYTTES OF ARMES AND OF CHYVALRYE

Malory's *Morte Darthur*, as Caxton entitled it in his print of 1485, is well known and widely admired. This paper will try to relate it to an important part of its literary and cultural background, the fifteenth-century 'literature of knighthood' or 'literature of nobility', which is not well known and not admired at all. It was partly provoked by reading an examination script in which the candidate, discussing *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, remarked that 'the fact that Gawain's armour freezes in the cold demonstrates the failure of the code of chivalry as such'. I know that beneath the unfortunate wording he (or she) was attempting to make an arguable point, but several things worried me. The tendency, for instance, to resort to rather absolute abstractions: the word *code* probably suggests something much more monolithic and legal than the not easily definable *mélange* of physical and ethical and practical ideals included under the term 'chivalry'. It seemed to me also that the candidate probably thought the 'chivalry' was not only obviously insufficient and 'flawed'-and therefore ought to be 'criticised' by any proper writer-but was also in decline, a symptom of the 'waning of the Middle Ages'. I suspected that any celebration of the noble life would not be favourably received, and that works which 'subverted' it would certainly be preferred. I rather wanted to quote back a song from Gilbert and Sullivan's *Iolanthe* (which makes some gentle fun at the expense of the House of Lords) when the lovesick Lord Tolloller and the peers plead:

Spurn not the nobly born
with love affected
Nor treat with virtuous scorn
the well-connected!
High rank involves no shame,
We boast an equal claim
With him of humble name
To be respected!

... Hearts just as pure and fair
May beat in Belgrave Square
As in the lowly air of Seven Dials.

The majority of us, of course, are not nobly born, and do not share the enthusiasm of the medieval noble classes for warfare, hunting, and for ruling the lower classes as well as defending them. Many of the nobly born loved fighting, whether in real wars or in the ritualised tournaments and *pas d'armes*, which were partly serious, partly 'play'. They undoubtedly cherished their favoured position in the social hierarchy and their political power. No doubt their outlook was conservative and limited (sometimes deliberately). And the shortcomings and faults of actual fifteenth-century nobles are evident enough in chronicles and historical documents. Warwick the Kingmaker was hardly a 'parfit gentil knight', and even the acknowledged 'flowers of chivalry' sometimes have distinct blots on their escutcheons. But what is important for the literary and cultural historian is to try to *understand* something of the role, tastes, and ideology of the English nobility (not only of the relatively few great and powerful families, but the lesser gentry who were becoming of particular importance in the literary culture)-as an audience for 'courtly' literature, as patrons, and, sometimes as authors or translators of it. 'Ideology' is perhaps too grand a term for the overlapping and sometimes inconsistent patterns of thought involved - 'chivalry' in all its variations (involving martial prowess, noble and courteous behaviour, piety and devotion), formal 'religion' (equally varied), and 'learning' (including occasionally the 'new learning' which was beginning to spread from Italy).

The English 'literature of nobility' (i.e. literature by, for, and concerning the noble classes) is an interestingly diverse web of works, forming a colourful background to 'courtly' fiction, of which the most characteristic form is the chivalric romance, still often read in French as well as in English, and, increasingly, in prose. The romance tradition was diverse and extensive, including not only the favourite old stories of Arthur, Alexander, Troy and Thebes, but the newer French and Burgundian Romances.

In the later Middle Ages both social structures and the techniques of warfare were changing -although this is rarely directly reflected in romance, a form notoriously selective in 'realism'. There we do not expect to find much about gunpowder or artillery, or the practicalities of active service -the

provision of feathers for the archers of carts to carry the food- or the growing professionalism of soldiers and captains, or (in the Hundred Years War) the growing involvement of the civilian population and the shift from open warfare and great pitched battles to sieges of castles and towns.¹ There were, however, some striking continuities: military orders of knighthood continue to be founded; chivalric personal encounters still take place in the midst of large campaigns. In the late medieval world some dissident voices (often, though not always, clerical ones) were raised against the excesses of war, and an anti-chivalric strand emerges in humanism which is the source of Ascham's condemnation of Malory's book for its 'bold bawdry and open manslaughter'.² There is popular burlesque (like *The Tournament of Tottenham*), and even within courtly romance some ironic and comic detachment -though that is usually fairly carefully 'contained' (as in the case of Malory's Sir Dinadan). Courtly romance does not allow much space for voices expressing hostile or 'subversive' views -though the bitter and sorrowful voices of the mothers of Tristram and Perceval do have a powerful resonance- but in the hands of its best practitioners it is made to reveal the horror as well as the glory of war. Some of the strategies, techniques and problems of martial behaviour discussed in manuals are touched on in romances. There are also echoes and reflections of real-life situations and contemporary questions.³

Reports of the death of chivalry in this period are greatly exaggerated. The continuing popularity of romance and of the related 'literature of knighthood' rather supports the view that there was 'an Indian summer of English chivalry'.⁴ It is significant that the period is flanked by the French text of Froissart's *Chronicles* (which end in 1400), a celebration of the 'honourable enterprises, noble adventures and deeds of arms' in the wars between France and England, and by its English translation by Lord Berners (printed 1523, 1525) of which the preface echoes Froissart's praise of the 'famous acts':

¹ C. T. Allmand, *The Hundred Years' War: England and France at War c.1300-c.1450* (Cambridge, 1985. See also Allmand, ed., *War, Literature and politics in the Late Middle Ages* (Liverpool, 1976).

² Robert P. Adams, 'Bold Bawdry and Open Manslaughter', *Huntingdon Library Quarterly* 23 (1959- 60), 33-48.

³ Examples include the Middle English romance *Capystranus* (the siege of Belgrade), the French *Le Jouvencel* (the latter part of the Hundred Years War), the Catalan *Tirant lo Blanc* (the siege of Rhodes, 1444).

⁴ A. B. Ferguson *The Indian Summer of English Chivalry* (Durham, NC, 1960).

‘what pleasure shall it be to the noble gentylmen of Englande to se, beholde and rede the highe enterprises, famous ectes, and glorious dedes done and atchyved by their valyant aunceytours’.¹ The *Chronicles* are a good example of the limitations and of the breadth of sympathy of the ‘literature of nobility’. Froissart is deeply committed to chivalric ideals, but also portrays with feeling the violence and horror of warfare -as in the Black Prince’s sack of Limoges, in which three thousand men, women and children perished.

There were captains and knights who were regarded as genuine ‘flowers of chivalry’, men who seemed to their contemporaries to embody its ideals. They were celebrated in ‘chivalric biographies’, sometimes a mixture of romance and chronicle. The best known is that by the ‘loyal Serviteur’ of the Chevalier Bayard (1527), but there were others -of Boucicaut, Lalaing, La Trémoille.² The genre seems to have flourished in France: in England, apart from the account of the Black Prince by the Chandos Herald, the ‘flowers of chivalry’ -like Sir Walter Manny (d. 1372) or Sir John Chandos (d. 1370) - usually remain in the pages of the chroniclers.³ Richard Beauchamp, the Earl of Warwick (d. 1439), ‘the fadre of curteisy’, is commemorated by a splendid effigy on his tomb in his chapel in the church of St Mary, Warwick, and celebrated (long after his death) in a fine pictorial biography consisting of a series of ‘pageants’ from his life drawn in pencil and accompanied by explanatory commentaries, recording his ‘notable actes of chevalry and knyghtly demenaunce’. We see him being knighted, receiving the Order of the Garter, jousting, fighting, going on pilgrimage (and being honourably received by Sir Baltiridam, ‘the Soldans lieutenant’, who had heard that he was the descendent of Sir Guy of Warwick, ‘whoes life they hadde there in bokes of their langage’), at Calais meeting the Emperor (who assures the king ‘that no prince cristyn, for wisdom, norture and manhode, hadde suche a no er knyght

¹ ed. W. P. Ker (London, 1901), I, p. 6; see George Kane, ‘An Accident of History: Lord Berner’s Translation of Froissart’s Chronicles’, *Chaucer Review* 21 (1986), 217-225.

² *La tres ioyeuse plaisante et recreative histoire xomposée par le loyal serviteur des faiz gestes triumphes et prouesses du bon chevalier sans paour et sans reproche le gentil seigneur de Bayart* (ed. J. H. Roman, Paris 1878); *Le livre des fais du bon messire Jehan le Maingre dit Boucicaut* (ed. D. Lalande, Geneve, 1985); Chastelain, *Livre des faits du bon Messire Jacques de Lalaing*, in *Oeuvres* ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove, vol.8 (Brussels, 1866); Jean Bouchet, *Le Panegyric du Chevallier sans Reproche ou mémoires de la Trémoille* (1527, repr. Paris, 1826).

³ *The Chandos Herald* is ed. M. K. Pope and E. C. Lodge (Oxford, 1910).

as he hadde of therle of warrewyk; addyng erto that, if al curtesye were lost, yet myght hit be founde ageyn on hym and so euer after, by the Emperours auctorite, was called the fadre of Curteisy'), and lying sick at Rouen.¹ An account of the acta of Sir John Fastolf (d. 1459), one of the last great English generals of the Hundred Years War, who had fought at Agincourt and Rouen, was projected by his secretary William Worcester, but only notes remain.² In Scotland (where the 'heroic narrative, blending chronicle, epic and romance, seen in Barbour's *Bruce*, had been continued in Hary's *Wallace* (c. 1475-8) the poet Dunbar promised to write the story of the victories of Lord Berbard Stewart of Aubigny, a famous Scottish general in the service of the King of France, who played a prominent part in the invasions of Italy and was praised as a 'tres gentil et vertueux capitaine' and a 'grand chevalier sans reproche'. He visited Scotland in 1508, but died in that same year. The longer poem remained unwritten, it seems, but we have an eloquent poem of welcome as well as a lament for this 'flour of chevelrie'.³

The 'literature of nobility' contains some surprises for the modern reader. The work which gives me my title, *The Fayttes of Armes and of Chyualrye* translated and printed by Caxton in 1489-90 at the request of Henry VII), specifically directed to 'thende that euery gentylman born to armes & all manere men of werre captayns/ souldiours/ vytayllers & all other shold haue knowlege how they ought to behaue thym in the fayttes of warre & of bataylles' is actually the work of a woman -the remarkable Christine de Pisan, whose books were well known among the literate and noble classes of fifteenth-century England.⁴ She is now better known for her other works, but her authorship of this one is perhaps not too surprising. She was an encyclopaedic, almost a 'professional' writer, and, like some of her male counterparts, ready to turn her hand to all kinds of subject at the request of a patron (in this case, rather vaguely, 'noble men in thoffyce of armes'. She delicately alludes to the

¹ MS BL Cotton Julius E iv, reproduced in a Roxburghe Club Facsimile (1908).

² K. B. McFarlane, 'William Worcester: A Preliminary Survey', in J. Conway Davies, ed., *Studies Presented to Sir Hilary Jenkinson* (Oxford, 1957), 208-9.

³ Douglas Gray, 'A Scottish 'Flower of Chivalry' and his Book', *Words. Wai-te-ata Studies in English* 4 (1974), 22-33.

⁴ Ed. A. T. P. Byles, EETS 189 (London, 1932). See C. C. Willard in *Essays in Honor of Louis F. Solano* ed. R. J. Cormier and V. T. Holmes (Chapel Hill, 1970). Although Christine makes a joke about herself as author of such a manual, I am not sure that the Prologue is (A. Barratt ed., *Women's Writing in Middle English*, London, 1992, p. 139) 'a studied masterpiece of irony'.

apparent unusualness of a woman writing this kind of material - 'this is a thyng not accustomed & out of vsage to wymen/ whiche comynly do not entremete but to spynne on the distaf and ocupie them in thynges of housold'- but requests the noble state of chivalry not to take it amiss in the light of their lady Minerva, who is said to have discovered the art of making harness of iron and steel.¹ In fact, probably most of the 'clerks' who wrote similar treatises had as little actual experience of fighting as she did.

It is a good and sensible work which seems to have been found useful. The French text of *Les faits d'armes* survives in a number of MSS and also made its way into print. Like other books of this kind it is a compilation of 'the doctryne gyuen by many auctors', military advice drawn from a number of sources, classical and medieval. She uses the late Latin *Epitoma rei militaris* of Vegetius, a work that was extremely popular in the Middle Ages (and especially in the later Middle Ages because of its discussion of attacking towns and castles), and the *Stratagemata* of Frontinus (first century AD), which contains historical anecdotes and exempla of use to generals. These treatises contain practical advice on a wide range of topics -sieges, truces, drawing up an army for battle, naval warfare, the use of spies, how to withdraw. Christine adapts this with discrimination: thus she does not use the specifically Roman technical information in Vegetius (Book II). This material sometimes appears in translations of Vegetius, but it is hard to see a sixteenth-century French general deriving much practical benefit from Book II, chapter 24, 'Comment on peult resister aux charriots a faultx et aux elephans en bataille'. She also made use of an equally popular medieval work, *L'Arbre des batailles*, by the Benedictine monk Honoré Bonet or Bouve (c. 1343-c. 1400).² The tree ('l'arbre de deuil') is sometimes pictured in the MSS: 'in its branches can be seen Emperor and Pope, rival kings, knights and serfs, all engaged in deadly conflict, while its branches and its trunk are drenched with blood'.³ Bonet's

¹ And she was born in 'grete grece', whixh is now called Apulia and Calabria in Italy (and Christine is also 'a woman ytalien'). Christina in other words refers to Minerva as 'the goddes of armes' (Othea XC). In the City of Ladies, among several references, she remarks (I, 38, 5) that nobles should remember 'that the customs of bearing arms, of dividing armies into battalions, and of fighting in ordered ranks, came to them from a woman and were given to them by a woman'.

² It was translated into Scots as *The Buke of the Law of Armyes* by Sir Gilbert Hay (1456), ed. J. H. Stevenson, Gilbert of the Haye's Prose Manuscript, vol. 1, STS 44 (Edinburgh, 1901).

³ Byles, p. xlvii.

sorrow at the state of Christendom probably struck a responsive chord in Christine, who elsewhere laments the sad state of France, and is clearly no lover of war for its own sake. Bonet's interest in the laws of war and his relatively humane attitudes also find and echo. His condemnation of treachery (as against lawful stratagems) is emphasised by an addition -how can one trust that a safe conduct will be secure nowadays, 'see yng the lytel trouthe and fydelyte that this day renneth thrughe al the worlde'¹ (a sentiment with which Malory would have sympathised). Like Bonet, Christine is opposed to pillaging: soldiers should be properly paid. Sometimes she disagrees with him. Bonet allows the slaying of prisoners in the heat of battle; Christine specifies only those that present a danger to the prince. She includes information from contemporary 'wyse knyghtes that be expert in the sayde thynges of armes' and she adds references to contemporary campaigns. She prefers peaceful negotiation, and quotes approvingly the wise King of France Charles V (whom she greatly admires): when men said to him that it was 'a gee shame... that with money he recouered his fortresses that som of his enemyes held and kept from hym wrongfully/ see yng that he was of might grete ynoughe for to haue recouered thym by strengthe', he replied, 'it seemith me... that that which may be bought ought not to be bought with mannys blode'.² At the same time she can imagine vividly the excitement of desperately defending a town against attackers (expanded from a bald statement in Vegetius).³ Like many others, she laments modern decadence -the ancients did not have their children brought up in courts to learn pride and lechery, nor to wear wanton clothing. Young men should be educated for knighthood. Out of her sources she weaves a fascinating mosaic of information (on sieges, guns and gunpowder, the stores required for a garrison of two hundred men), advice (e.g. on the problem of civilians -should an English student at Paris be taken prisoner and held to ransom?).⁴

Caxton had already printed before this 'art of war' another military book, *The Book of the Ordre of chyualry* (1483-5, dedicated to Richard III), which he translated from the French *Le livre de l'ordre de chevalerie*, an expanded

¹ Byles, pp. 247-8.

² Byles, pp. 128-9.

³ See Byles, pp. 175-7.

⁴ Byles, pp. 226-9.

version of a work by the Catalan mystic and martyr Ramón Lull (1235-1315).¹ This too was a popular and influential work. It is not a general treatise on war but a more narrowly focused disquisition on knighthood. It emphasises the connection of priesthood with knighthood and the symbolic significance of the knight's weapons and armour (his spear is truth, his helmet shame, etc.). It was devised, it says, by an old knight who had become a hermit (similar to those found in the pages of Malory), and given to a squire who was journeying to a court to be knighted. The various chapters discuss the beginning of chivalry and its 'office', how a squire should learn from a knight (as he does in a number of chivalric romances). A knight is a 'defender of the faith and a defender of his lord; he must hunt, and exercise himself, but also follow virtue, for he should have courage of soul rather than strength of body'. Lull's vision of an ideal knight (combining virtue with social duty) is significant for the 'shared ideology' of the 'literature of nobility': 'to a knyght apperteyneth to speke nobly and curtoisly/ and to haue fayr harnoyes and to be wel cladde/ and to holde a good household/ and an honest hows... curto-sye and chyvalry concorden togyder/ for vylaynous and foule wordes ben ageynst thordre of chyvalrye/ pryualte and æqueyntaunce of good folke/ loyalte & trouthe/ hardynesse/ largesse/ honeste/ humylyte/ pyte.'² Caxton says that he translated the book at the request of 'a gentyl and noble esquey', and goes on to lament how in these late days the order of chivalry has been forgotten. Formerly the noble acts of the knights of England were renowned throughout the world, and the thought of King Arthur and the knights of the Round Table whose noble acts 'occupye so many large volumes' provokes a famous exclamation: 'O ye knyghtes of Englonde where is the custome an vsage of noble chyualry that was vsed in tho dayes/ what do ye now/ but go to the baynes & playe at dyse...'. they should read, he says, the noble volumes of the Grail, Lancelot, Tristram, Perceforest, Percival, Gawain, and many others; and recall the noble acts of later times – in what is a roll-call of English 'floweres of chivalry': Richard the Lionheart, Edward I, and Edward III and his nobles sons, Sir Robert Knolles, Sir John Hawkwood, Sir John Chandos, Sir Walter Manny ('read Froissart'), and that victorious and

¹ Ed. A. T. P. Byles, EETS 168 (London, 1926). There is an independent Scottish version by Gilbert Hay, *The buke of the Order of Knychthede*, ed. J. H. Stevenson, *Gilbert of the Haye's Prose Manuscript*, vol. 2, STS 62 (Edinburgh, 1914). BL MS Harley 6149 has a Scottish version of Caxton, compiled by Adam Loutfut (1494).

² Byles, p. 113.

noble King Harry the Fifth and the captains under him –his noble brethren, Montacute the Earl of Salisbury, ‘and many other whoos names shyne gloriously by their vertuous noblesse & actes that they did in thonour of thordre of chyualry’. How many knights nowadays, he asks, have the use and the exercise of a knight? Caxton recommends to the King the holding of regular tourneys, and to knights the reading of the treatise. It is an interesting testimony to the relevance which this material was thought to have, and to emotional aftermath of the loss of France (significantly Richard III is given his full title, ‘Kyng of Englonde and of Fraunce’) and the nostalgic memory of the great English knights of the past.

Both of these treatises were published after Malory’s book was written, but their French originals were available earlier, together with many other examples of this kind of literature. And ‘arts of war’ continued to be written in the following century –by Lord Bernard Stewart, who, helped by his secretary, made additions to *La nef des batailles* by Robert de Barsac or Barsat, sometimes alluding to his own campaigns;¹ by Machiavelli, and others.

Around these rather specialised books there is a much larger group of works of advice and ‘good counsel’ (sometimes the literary equivalents of the actual wise counsellors so prized in medieval polity). These include the ‘courtesy books’ that offer training in polite behaviour, good manners, and etiquette for young gentlemen and the young of the ‘emerging’ gentry.² These also live on into the sixteenth century. Although the English examples are generally very ‘practical’ and narrowly focused, much less self-conscious and intellectual than famous later Italian examples such as Castiglione’s *Cortegiano*, they do give hints of ‘Renaissance self-fashioning’ and of the high idealised courtesy of *The Faerie Queene* (courtesy, says one, came down from heaven when Gabriel greeted Mary). There are also ‘mirrors for princes’, books of advice for rulers, in the tradition of such influential manuals as *De regimine principum* of Giles of Rome or the *Secreta Secretorum*.³ These are common and were, it seems, read avidly: although the discussions of

¹ Gray, pp. 29-32.

² A number are printed in F. J. Furnivall, *The Babees Book*, EETS 32 (London, 1868). See the study by Jonathan Nicholls, *The Matter of Courtesy* (Woodbridge, 1983).

³ Cf. K. Bornstein, ‘Reflections of Plitical Theory and Political Fact in Fifteenth-Century Mirrors for the Prince’ in *Medieval Studies in Honor of Lillian Herlands Hornstein* ed. J. B. Bessinger and R. R. Raymo (New York, 1976), pp. 76-85.

governance are primarily designed for kings and princes, the works seem to have been widely used for their practical general advice. This material often makes its way into other literary forms –thus the fifteenth-century Scottish romance *Lancelot of the Laik* contains a long disquisition on the duties of a ruler.

There is an even larger group of ‘educational’ works, concerned with more general moral advice. These are often neglected or ignored, but seem to form a significant part of the ‘literature of nobility’. Here we find noblemen and gentlemen as translators and authors, and are able to place them in the intellectual currents of the time. Examples include *The Dicts and Sayings of the Philosophers* translated by Earl Rivers (Anthony Woodville, formerly Lord Scales, and an important political figure), printed by Caxton in 1477.¹ Rivers says that the translation was suggested to him by Louis de Bretilles in 1473 on a pilgrimage to Compostela. The French original, the *Dits Moraulx* of Tignonville, comes ultimately from an Arabic book, *Mokhtar el-Hikam*, which was translated into Spanish in the first half of the thirteenth century and then into Latin. It is a collection of the sayings and ‘sentences’ and ‘examples’ of famous ancient philosophers, Pythagoras, for instance, says to an old man who was ashamed to learn, ‘Whi hast thou shame for to lerne? Cunnyng is more worth to the in the ende of thi dayes thanne it was in the begynnynge’. Another English translation was made by Stephen Scrope (d. 1472) for his father-in-law Sir John Falstolf (a version which was corrected by William Worcester, Falstolf’s secretary and –probably- Scrope’s literary executor). Scrope also translated another work of Christine de Pisan which was extremely popular in late medieval England.² The *Epistre Othéa* (written c. 1400) is an encyclopaedic guide to the figures of ancient myth and legend presented in the form of a letter from Othea, goddess of prudence, to the hero Hector, offering him (and the medieval ‘good knight’) moral instruction in the ideals of chivalry, earthly and spiritual. Its treatment of the ancient world owes nothing to the new humanist philological and archaeological learning of Italy; in its enthusiastic engagement with the matter of the old stories and

¹ See the facsimile edition by William Blades (London 1877). Other versions are ed C. F. Bühler, EETS 211 (London, 1941). Four of the surviving MSS contain pictures of the philosophers (e.g. Diogenes with his barrel and a book and pence).

² Ed. C. F. Bühler, EETS 264 (London, 1970).

with their contemporary relevance it belongs to an older and wider tradition of 'medieval humanism'.¹

William Worcester also stands in this tradition: 'he read the classics as he studied modern authors, to use what they taught him. He was less interested in their manner than in their content'.² He was a layman, a towns man's son who may have belonged to the fringes of the gentry, and spent a busy life in the service of Fastolf. He was an antiquarian -his *Itineraries* foreshadow the great achievements of the following century - and also a translator - he turned a French version of Cicero's *De senectute* into English for his noble patron. His most direct contribution to the 'literature of nobility' however, is a very interesting one-the *Boke of Noblesse*, a work of vernacular propaganda which urges the revival of chivalry and the resumption of the war in France³. It seems to have been twice revised: probably originally designed to encourage Henry VI to continue the warlike policy of his father, then revised for the Yorkists in 1472 just before the hostilities were resumed, and finally with some additions offered to Edward IV in 1475. It contains notable *exempla* of courage and chivalry in the manner of the treatises discussed above, uses a good deal of their traditional matter, and discusses many of the same questions: when it is lawful to make war on those of Christian blood; the proper payment of soldiers; the need for young men to exercise themselves, etc. He cites 'Vegetius in his booke of Chevalrie' and Christine de Pisan (who, he thinks, wrote Bonet's *Tree of Battles*). The book's bellicose tone and fierce reiteration of the English claims no doubt reflect the views of Fastolf himself, who is referred to once or twice as 'myne author'. His prudent provisioning of his men (providing enough corn for six months) is praised, and there is (in the account of Publius Decius a nice anecdote about the distinction Fastolf used to make between a 'hardy man' and a 'manly man':

Hyt ys to remember that I hafe herd myne autor Fastolfe sey, whan he had yong knights and nobles at his solace, how that there be twey maner condicions of manly men, and one ys a manly man called, another ys an hardye man; but he seyde the manly man ys

¹ See Douglas Gray, 'Humanism and Humanisms in Late Medieval Literature' in Sergio Rossi and Dianella Savoia, *Italy and the English Renaissance* (Milan, 1989), and the references given there.

² McFarlane, p. 214.

³ Ed. J. G. Nichols (London 1860).

more to be commended, more then the hardy man; for the hardy man that sodenly, without dicrecion of gode avysement, avauncyth hym in the felde allone, but he levyth hys felyshyp destrussed. And the manly man, ys polcie is that, or he avaunce hym and hys felyshyp at skirmishe or sodeyn recountre, hee wille so discretely avaunce hym that he wille entend to hafe the ovyr hand of hys adversarye, and safe hymself and hys felyshyp.¹

The English claims are supported by a list of the English triumphs of the past and (like Caxton's later *Ordre of Chyualry*) examples of great heroes, including Arthur, Edmund Ironside, William the Conqueror, Richard the Lion-heart, Edward I, Edward III, and Henry V (to whose conquest of Normandy a chapter is devoted). His rhetorical 'exortacion of a courageous disposicion for a reformation of a wrong done' again makes us think of Caxton:

O then, ye worshipfulle men of the Englysshe nacion, which bene descendid of the noble Brutis bloode of Troy, suffre yey not than youre highe auncien couragis to be revalid ne desceived by youre said adversaries of Fraunce a t this tyme, neither in tymr to come; ne in this manner to be rebucked and put aback, to youre uttermost deshounore and reproche in the sighte of straunge nacions... For were ye not sometyme tho that thoroughe youre grete prowess, corages, feersnes, manlinesse, and of strenght overlaid and put in subgeccion the gret myghte and power of the feers and puissant fighters of alle strunge nacions that presumed to set ayenst this lande?²

From quite a different tradition comes the *Declamacion of Noblesse*, a translation of a humanist dialogue on true nobility (the nobility of soul as against that of lineage) by Buonacorso da Montemagno made by John Tiptoft, earl of Worcester (d.1470), who also translated Cicero's *De amicitia*.³ He had been at Oxford with William Worcester, but was of course from the high

¹ Nichols, p. 65.

² Nichols p. 9. As in the case of Caxton's lament quoted above, this is not concerned with the failure of any 'code', but with men's failure to live up to the ideals of chivalry.

³ See R. J. Mitchell, *John Tiptoft* (London, 1938); Douglas Gray, 'Some Pre-Elizabethan Examples of an Elizabethan Art' in Edward Chaney and Peter Mack, eds., *England and the Continental Renaissance: Essays in Honour of J. B. Trapp* (Woodbridge, 1990).

nobility. He became Constable of England (and noted for his ruthlessness) and composed ordinances (1466) for the conduct of tournaments. He was apparently the first English secular lord after Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, to interest himself in the new Italian humanism. On his way to the Holy Land he visited Florence and attended some lectures. He collected books: those surviving include humanistic MSS of newly discovered works by Lucretius and Tacitus, a humanistic commentary on Juvenal - alongside devotional works and Lydgate's *Fall of Princes*.¹

Tiptof's library is distinctly different in content and taste from the typical English collections of the 'literature of nobility' of which we have a number of examples, some from the top of the social scale, some from the households of the gentry. The fine MS BL Royal 15 E VI, which Sir John Talbot, the first Earl of Shrewsbury, and a famous 'flower of chivalry', presented to Margaret of Anjou when he escorted her to England for her marriage to Henry VI in 1445, is a compendium of French works probably representative of the tastes of both recipient and donor. Its contents include *chansons de geste* and romances, Christine de Pisan's *Livre des faits d'armes*, Bonet's *L'Arbre des batailles*, a French translation of *De regimine principum*, Chartier's *Breviaire des nobles*, genealogies and chronicles, and the statutes of the Order of the Garter, of which Talbot was a knight. Another splendid MS, BL Royal 14 E ii, made in Bruges for Edward IV, contains *Le chemin de vaillance*, by Jean de Couecy, Christine de Pisan's *L'Epistre Othea*, Chartier's *Breviaire*, and *L'Ordre de chevalerie*, the French version of Lull's treatise.

From the East Anglian gentry, we have an interesting example in the 'Grete Boke' (now MS BL Landsowne 285) of John Paston II (d.1479). His father John I (d.1466) had established connections with Fastolf, and on his death was named as one of the executors, an appointment which led to long litigation with others executors. John II claimed Fastolf's Caister state. He was a courtier, and in 1468 was in Bruges with his brother. John III, for the marriage of Margaret of York to Charles the Bold. (The magnificent spectacles moved his brother to say in a letter, 'I herd never of non lyek to it save Kyng Artourys cort').² John II was interested in tournaments and in books. One he

¹ See R. Weiss, 'The Library of John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester', *Bodleian Quarterly Record* 8 (1935-38), 157-64, 234-5.

² *The Paston Letters and Papers of the Fifteenth Century* ed. N. Davis (Oxford, 1976), vol. 1, No. 330.

possessed, 'a boke de Othea' is perhaps the translation by Scrope. He also possessed 'Tully de senectute and de amicitia', and a copy of Caxton's print of *The Game and Playe of the Chesse* (1475), an encyclopaedic 'educational' work.¹ His 'Grete Boke' in particular shows his interest in chivalry and courtly literature and his connections with noble figures such as Fastolf and Anthony Woodville.² Compiled under Fastolf's directions, it is a commonplace book which includes such items as the form of the ceremony for creating Knights of the Bath, ordinances of war made by Henry V and Montacute the Earl of Salisbury, instructions for organising 'jousts of peace', the feat of arms performed by Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, against the three French Knights at Guines in 1415, and other challenges, feats of arms, tournaments and jousts and pas d'armes (e. g. at Smithfield in 1467 between Anthony Woodville, Lord Scales, and Antoine, Grand Bastard of Burgundy, at Bruges in 1468 (the year the Paston brothers were there) the challenge of Antoine, Grand Bastard of Burgundy, to the pas à l'Abre d'Or), together with more substantial works - an English translation of Vegetius, and a *Book of Governance of Kings and Princes* (Lydgate and Burgh's *Secrets of Old Philosophers* from the *Secreta Secretorum*).

Against this background Caxton's evident interest in the 'literature of nobility' does not seem at all strange. It reflects the tastes of his patrons (nobles, knights, squires) and his own, and forms a substantial part of his publishing 'list'. Besides the treatises and books already mentioned, it includes 'courtesy books', moral works (like the translation by Earl Rivers of the *Moral proverbs* of Christine de Pisan), the *Royal Book* ('A Book for a King', but done at the request of a mercer, and therefore like other 'mirrors for princes' read by a much wider audience), chronicles, romances of Troy (including his *Eneydos*), and chivalric romances, including Malory.³

It is to the fictional part of the 'literature of knighthood' that we must return. This is not as entirely separate and clearly demarcated as modern readers might suppose. The books of counsel we have been discussing have an

¹ Ed. W. E. A. Axon (London, 1883).

² BL MS Lansdowne 265, Ed. G. Lester, *Sir John Paston's 'Grete Boke'. A Descriptive Catalogue with an Intro of British Library MS Lansdowne 285* (Cambridge: Brewer, 1984).

³ On the 'chivalric' additions made by Caxton to his own translations, see N. F. Blake, *Caxton and his World* (London, 1969), pp. 129-131.

obvious connection with the ideology of knighthood that infuses the chivalric romance. Some romances (like *Lancelot of the Laik*) have a closer connection. Others draw both on such books and on real life experience. The best known example is *Le Jouvencel* of Jean de Bueil (1406-1477),¹ an 'autobiographical' romance and a *roman à clef*, in which places and persons can be identified (the 'grand capitaine' is La Hire, the Jouvencel Jean de Bueil, Baudouyn the Duke of Bedford, etc.). It is also a kind of moral *Bildungsroman* in which a young poor gentleman comes to the highest honours through good conduct, patience and good fortune. It contains much advice on martial matters, and it also gives a sense of closeness to the actual combats of the Hundred Years War -in a surprise attack the soldiers crawl forward with their helmets covered so that they do not shine. It shares the material found in the practical handbooks, but endows it not only with a sense of realism but also with an enthusiastic, almost mystical, commitment to the ideals of comradeship and 'felyship'. Its famous eulogy of the just war and the soldier's calling, which modern readers often find disturbing, would no doubt have been endorsed by many of the late medieval 'flowers of chivalry':

War is a joyous thing. In it you hear and see many fine things, and learn much that is good. When it is in a good cause, it is just... and when war is undertaken in this cause it is a delightful calling, and good for young men. For they are loved by God and by the world. In war one loves and is loved... there comes a sweetness to the heart of loyalty and pity to see one's friend who so valiantly exposes his body in order to accomplish the commandment of our creator. And then you are prepared to go and die or live with him, and for your love never abandon him. In this there comes a delight such that no one who has not experienced it can comprehend...

There is certainly nothing as explicit as this in Malory's book, and when we turn to it from the 'literature of knighthood', although eventually we come to see some underlying similarities of great importance, at first it is the differences which we notice. It is not filled with disquisitions on tactics and the art of war. Still less is it any kind of didactic manual. Nor is it a *roman à clef*. Attempts to find any close correspondence between actual English cam-

¹ Ed. C. Favre and L. Lecestre (Société de l'histoire de la France, Paris, 1887). The work is described by its editors as 'sous sa forme romanesque, un véritable traité d'éducation militaire et morale, appuyé d'exemples et d'allusions historiques'.

paings or political events and the events of the narrative have not been successful. No doubt some passages may well have been written with some thought to the troubled English situation (like the famous passage on the instability of Englishmen) but they are rather general (and safely so?). As Peter Field has said, 'it is easier and more compatible with the generosity of spirit that informs the *Morte Darthur* to suppose that Malory's sympathies were aroused less by causes than by individuals behaving chivalrously in difficult circumstances'.¹ It is perhaps legitimate to suppose a particular depth of feeling behind some remarks like 'thenne stood the reame in grete stronge, and many wende to have ben king', or the sympathetic introduction of the poor knight Balin, or perhaps the tribulations of Tristram as a prisoner.² Peter Field has pointed out that at the end of his book Malory added an allusion to crusading, where after Lancelot's death he made Hector, Bors, and his other companions go to the Holy Land as Lancelot had already commanded, where they did 'many bataylles upon the myscreantes, or Turkes. And there they dyed upon a Good fryday for Goddes sake'. It seems relevant, as Field notes, that Malory's powerful uncle sir Robert Malory was Prior of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem from 1432 until his death in 1439/40, a great magnate and a crusader.³

Even after Peter Field's research, many questions about Malory's life and his role in the events of his time remain unanswered. The legal records do not exactly suggest a 'flower of chivalry', a 'chevalier sans peur et sans reproche', but it is not clear that the alternative extreme, a picturesque ruffian sitting in prison writing a nostalgic and idealised book of chivalry is any more likely. A member of the Warwickshire gentry (and involved in characteristic networks of links with neighbours, kinsmen, and lords), perhaps with some military experience in Gascony, he seems to have been ambitious and influential, and was increasingly involved (in a period when private quarrels overlapped with, or became, political ones) in national politics. The remarkable series of charges brought against him from 1443 would, if all proved true, add up to quite a criminal record even in those turbulent times. Mostly they

¹ Peter Field, *The Life and Times of Sir Thomas Malory* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1993), p. 124.

² Field, pp. 124- 5. All quotations from Malory are taken from the edition of E. Vinaver (Oxford, 1947); references are to the page numbers in Vinaver.

³ Field, pp. 80- 82.

were not brought to trial -in those days accusations were easily and frequently made. Moreover, it is sometimes difficult to know if what is called theft or extortion is in fact that, or rather a forcible repossession (perhaps on the instructions of a superior). Some charges, certainly, are exaggerated; others conjure up some entertaining vignettes -as the occasion on which (allegedly) he and his men led off seven cows, three hundred and thirty-five sheep and a cart through the quiet lanes of Warwickshire. He seems to have acquired the reputation of a troublemaker, and perhaps more importantly, of one who could raise a body of armed men. Like others, he followed different lords in turn. His various imprisonments seem to be politically motivated.

The few, though flamboyant, 'facts' of his biography do not help very much in placing him in the cultural patterns of the time, beyond demonstrating that he led a different kind of life from that of a gentleman with chivalric interests like John Paston II or the great lords like Rivers and Tiptoft. His own book however does give us a few leads. Not surprisingly, there is no hint of the intense interest in classical literature characteristic of a humanist like Tiptoft, or even of the more practical engagement with it found in William Worcester. This may be partly due to the nature of Malory's sources, but not entirely, I suspect. The nearest he comes to the topic of 'true nobility' not based on lineage is a remark of Balin: 'A, fayre damesell, ... worthynes and good taccis and also good dedis is nat only ain araymente, but manhode and worship ys hyd within a mannes person; and many a worshipfull knyght ys nat knowyn unto all people' (63). Consistently, 'manhode and worship' are qualities expected in those of noble birth (though they are not always found). Noble birth may be 'hyd within a mannes person', but is there to be discovered -as it is in the case of Sir Gareth (where Gawain and Lancelot -but not Kay- are acute enough to recognise it early). Sir Torre, the son of Pellinore and a peasant woman, derives his prowess, according to Arthur, from his father. 'Manhode and worship' and the other qualities that make up 'chivalry' are central concerns of the whole book.¹

The most obvious, and the most important, difference between Malory and the majority of the authors of the manuals is that he was a creative artist, who made an original work out of his translation of French and English books. And he was a creative artist of a very special kind. He was not an in-

¹ See the fine study by Andrew Lynch, *Malory's Book of Arms* (Woodbridge, 1997).

tellectual writer, with the studied self-consciousness of a Chaucer, but one whose imagination was intensely dramatic. His own general reflections, when they occur, are not always very clear. Much clearer and much more impressive is what emerges from his dramatic scenes -the confrontations and the reactions of characters, what actually happens, and what the deeds of men reveal. (It will be by now evident that 'deeds' -acts, faits, etc.- is a key term and a key concept in the literature of knighthood). This, of course, means that it is not easy to extract a clear, unified, and coherent 'ideology' from the book, and very difficult to separate Malory's ethics or ideas from his literary techniques, structures, or characteristic features of style.¹ What emerges is not a fully consistent 'ethic', but rather emotional and dramatic mirror or a chivalric world, a limited world, but one which is intensely perceived and felt.

Caxton's enthusiastic preface to Malory's book fits in into the 'literature of knighthood' and into his own programme of the publication of chivalric works. Acknowledging his audience's request 'from 'many noble and dyvers gentylmen of tys royame of Englund') for the printing of the stories of the Grail and of Arthur, 'whyche ought moost to be remembred emonge us Englysshemen tofore al other Crysten kynges', and disposing of the questions about Arthur's historicity, he presents Malory's book as a model:

... to the entente that noble man may see and lerne the noble actes of chyvalrye, the jentyl and vertuous dedes that somme knyghtes used in tho dayes, by whyche they came to honour, and how ther that were vycious were punysshed and ofte put to shame and rebuke; humbly bysechyng al noble lordes and ladyes wyth al other estates, of what estate or degree they ben of, that shal see and rede in this seyd book and werke, that they take the good and honest actes in their rememnbraunce, and to folowe the same...

It will be noted that he has 'widened' his audience to accord with the known readership of the literature of knighthood, and that he suggests an explicitly moral reading. But he also senses the inclusiveness of the book's moral world. 'For herein may be seen noble chyvalrye, curtosye, humanyté, frendlynnesse, hardynesse, love, frendshyp, cowardyse, murdre, hate, vertue, and synne...

¹ See Lynch 125- 6.

What first strikes the reader of Malory is his highly distinctive style and manner. He uses a limited vocabulary like that of his thirteenth-century French originals (from our point of view it is fortunate that he used these rather than the more elaborate French and Burgundian romances fashionable in his own day), and by constant rhythmical repetition produces a style that is both mesmerising and emotional, and which gives a curious emphasis to certain 'charged' key terms of value. Sometimes this is done in a way which suggests almost a musical pattern of emphasis. When Gareth defends himself to the king for having left his fellowship to help Sir Lancelot we have an elaborate descant on 'worshyp':

'My lorde', seyde sir Gareth, 'he made me knyght, and whan I saw hym so hard bestad, methought hit was my worshyp to helpe hym. For I saw hym do so muche dedis of armys, and so many noble knyghtes ayenste hym, that whan I undirstode that he was sir Launcelot du Lake I shamed to se so many good knyghtes ayenste hym alone'.

'Now, truly', seyde kynge Arthur unto sir Gareth, 'ye say well, and worshypfully have ye done, and to youreselff grete worshyp. And all the dayes of my lyff', seyde kynge Arthure unto sir Gareth, 'wyte you well I shall love you and truste you the more battir. For ever hit ys', seyde kynge Arthure, 'a worshypfull knyghtes dede to helpe and sucoure antother worshypfull knyght whan he seeth hym in daungere. For ever a worshypfull man woll be lothe to se a worshypfull man shamed, and he that ys of no worshyp and medelyth with cowardise never shall he shew jantilves nor for maner of goodnes where he seeth a man in daungere, for than woll a cowarde never shew mercy. And allwayes a good man woll do ever to another man as he wolde be done to hymselff'. (1114)

The episode (which is a dramatic realisation of a chivalric doctrine found in the manuals) is brought to a conclusion by great feasting, and a remark from the narrator which seems to combine approbation with a hint of melancholy, nostalgia and, perhaps, bitterness: 'And he that was curteyse, trew, and faythefull to hys frynde was that tyme cherysshed'.

The reiteration of these words which embody chivalric norms emphasise the deeply felt values of a limited noble class, but also have a wider interest

for 'al other estates' (as implied at the end of Arthur's speech) celebrating more generally noble and heroic qualities, letting us, as Mark Lambert says, 'recognise more clearly in ourselves, not what true nobility is, but what it is like to view some kind of nobility as the centre and gauge of experience.'¹ There are occasional general 'statements' from the narrator or from a character, ranging from Malory on 'vertuose love' or Arthur's charge to his knights-

never to do outorage nothir morthir, and allwayes to fle treson, and to gyff mercy unto hym that askith mercy, uppon payne of forfiture of their worship and lordship of kyng Arthure for evirmore; and allwayes to do ladyes, damesels, and jantilwomen and wydowes socour: extrengethe hem in hir ryghtes, and never to enforce them uppon payne of dethe. Also that no man take no batayles in a wrongeful quarell for no love ne for no wordlis goodis... (120)

(which is probably the nearest thing in the book to a 'code' of chivalry) to proverbs or remarks on matters of war. (Sir John Falstolf would have approved of the emphasis put by Arthur and Tristram on the value of prudence: 'youre corrage and youre hardynesse nerehande had you destroyed, for and ye had turned agayne ye had loste no worshyp, for I calle hit but foly to abyde whan knyghtes bene overmacched' (217); 'mangode is nat worth but yf hit be medled with wysdome' (700). More often, however, 'sentence' emerges from scenes, actions, what goes without saying. The voice of the narrator often sounds like that of a chronicler, sometimes blending with those of the characters, often sounding as if he was an eyewitness of the events he presents. 'Wit ye well I saw it done' says the mysterious knight at the beginning of *A Connecticut Yankee at King Arthur's court*: Twain, the great parodist of Malory, has unerringly seized on a key feature of his technique. Readers are carried along as if mesmerised by this truth-telling voice with its insistent, often formulaic, repetitions of key-words and patterns. The syntax is simple and often paratactic. There is often 'an impression of careful, accurate record-keeping'.²

¹ Mark Lambert, *Malory: Style and Vision in Le Morte Arthur* (New Haven, 1975), p. ix. See P. E. Tucker, 'Chivalry in the Morte' in J. A. W. Bennett, *Essays on Malory* (Oxford, 1963).

² Lambert, p. 49. Cf. Lynch (p. 31), 'the formulaic nature of the description functions as a guarantee of authority; the story follows an approved course, and

The formulaic similes and phrases used in battle scenes ('hurteled togydys lyke two rammes', 'hurteled togedys as two wylde bullys', etc.) give a plain generalised background to the violent actions, but one which is often suffused with emotion. And just as the characteristic plain and limited vocabulary allows Malory sometimes to achieve a special effect by the use of and unusual word, so it is here with a suddenly vivid or realistically violent detail - Arthur 'gaff hym suche a buffette on his hede that the bloode com oute at hes erys, nose and mowthe'. A precise circumstantial detail will have the same function: (during a pause in the fighting) 'they sette hem downe upon two molehyllys ther besydys the fyghtyng place, and aythier of them unlaced othir helmys, and toke the colde wynde' (323). These are carefully used to build up the scene of horror at the end of Balin and Balan - 'thenne Balan yede on al four feet and handes, and put of the helme of his broder, and myght not knowe hym by the vysage, it was so ful of hewen and bledde...' (90).

By this curious combination of the formulaic and the realistic, battle scenes are made genuinely exciting, not only because the outcome often hangs in the balance, but because we are made to share the reactions and the comments of participants and bystanders (and the occasional emotional choric exclamation of the narrator), and sometimes the thoughts of the knights themselves:

'so at that tyme com in the Knyght with the Two Swerdis and hes Brothir, but they dud so mervaylously that the kynge and all the knyghtes mervayled of them. And all they that behelde them seyde they were sente frome hevyn as angels other devilles frome helle. And kynge Arthure seyde hymself they were the doughtyeste knyghtes that ever he sawe, for they gaff such strokes that all men had wondir of hem... But allwayes kynge Lotte hylde hym everin the fore-fronte and dud mervaylous dedis of armys; for all his oste was borne up by nys hondys, for he abode all knyghtes. Alas, he myght nat endure, the whych was grete pité!'. (76-7)

Malory can catch the excitement and the emotional tension of an encounter:

simulates a general judgement shared by the knightly peer group in response to known events'.

and than they foughte togiders, that the noyse and the sowne
range by the watir and woode. Wherefeore kynge Ban oand Bors
mede hem redy and dressed thire shyldis and harneysse, and were
so currageous that thir enemyes shhoke and byverd for egirnesse.

And there are moments when, as in the *Jouvencel*, we are made to feel close to actual medieval warfare, as when ‘the scowte-wacche by hir oste cryed: ‘Lordis, to armes! For here be oure enemyes at youre honde!’’, or at the last battle when the pillagers come into the field to despoil the bodies of the dead.¹ The battle scenes, it must be stressed, though not to the taste of many modern readers are absolutely central to the unfolding of the epic tale and to the creation of its emotional and moral world. There is often, alongside the horror and the suffering, a sense of exhilaration at the ‘merveillous dedes of armes’:

So forewithalle kynge Arthur sette upon hem in their lodgyng, and
syre Bawdewyn, syreKay, and Syr Brastias slewe on the right hand
and on the lyfte hand, that if was merveylle; and alweyes kynge
Arthur on horsback lsyd on with a swerd and dyd maerveillous
dedes of armes, that many of the kynges had grete joye of his
dedes and hardynesse.

Malory’s sources presented him with a variety of military encounters, which by implication contain a number of the topics discussed in the manuals of the art of war. Besides the individual fights, the common stock of romance, there are jousts and tournaments (sometimes large ones), mêlées, ambushes, sieges,² and great pitched battles. For the large battles we are sometimes given an indication of the numbers involved. For instance, at the beginning

¹ Malory picks up this vivid detail from *Le Morte Arthur*: the pillaging of the dead was a feature of medieval warfare, often casually recorded. Froissart notes that when the king of France’s men look for the body of Philip van Artevelde after the battle of Roosebeke (1382) the dead ‘had already been stripped from head to foot’. Later, at Flodden (1513), it was reported to Wolsey that ‘king, bishops, lordes, knights, nobles, and others were not so soon slain but forthwith despoiled out of thair harnais and array and lefte lying naked in the felde’.

² See Malcolm Hebron, *The Medieval Siege. Theme and Image in Middle English Romance* (Oxford, 1997). In Malory sieges mostly serve as a background to other encounters, but there is some descriptive detail: ‘ther was many pavylions and tentys and a fayre castell, and there was much smoke and grete notse’ (319); at the siege of Joyous Gard the defenders issue out to battle; at Benwick ladders are set up.

of the book the kings and their supporters hostile to Arthur raise a great army: 'hir hole oste was of clene men of armys: on horseback was fully fyffty thousand, and on foote ten thousand of good mennes bodyes' (26). Occasionally the disposition of an army is mentioned: Sir Tristram 'lete his oste be deaparted in six batailles, and ordayned sir Dynas the Seneschall to have the vaward, and the other good knights to rule the remenaunte' (621). There are references to the 'searching' of wounds by surgeons, to foraging and 'foreryders', and a number of appreciative comments - 'that was well stryken', seyde kynge Arthure (129), 'the Rede Knyghte was a wyly knyght in fyghtyng, and that taught Bewmaynes to be wise' (323).

The qualities of the good knight include physical courage, strength and athleticism (all of which have to be 'proved'). The few detailed references imply something of an ideal promising young warrior described by Christine de Pisan (deriving from Vegetius) - 'of whom the eyen and spirites were open and moevable/ that had a streyght hede a large grete sholders and well shapen armes long and bygge and wel made... bygge thyres/ leggys streyght... aboue al othir thyng... the vigour and courage and ... the swift-ness of the body...' ¹ Thus when Torre appears before the king he can be recognised as a potential king: 'he is 'a fayre yonge man of eyghtene yere of age', bigger than his brothers, and says Aries the cowherd, 'woll nat laboure for nothyng that my wyff and I may do, but allwey he woll be shotynge, ao casting dartes, and glad for to se batayles and to beholde knyghtes' - 'than the kynge behelde hym faste and saw he was passyngly well made of his yerys' (483). Sir Lamorak impresses Tristram in battle because he is 'so bygge and so well-brethed', and Tristram echoes this when he laments Lamorak's death: 'hit was over grete pité, for I dare say he was the clennyst-myghted man and the beste-wynded of his ayge that was on lyve. For I knew hym that he was one of the best knyghtes that ever I mette wythal but yf hit were sir Launcelot' (698). Outstanding deeds of physical courage and fighting skill merit the word 'prowess' - as Arthur exclaims admiringly of Lancelot, 'Jesu mercy... he ys a mervaylous knyght of proues !' (1174). ² But to qualify as a

¹ Byles, p. 35.

² It is Arthur's physical courage which at first is largely influential in drawing men to him: 'all men of worship seyde hit was myrry to be under such a chyffayne that wolde putte hys person in adventure as other poure knyghtes ded' (54). See Lynch, chapter 2.

‘flower of chivalry’ (as Arthur is called by Lamorak) or ‘chief of knighthood’ (as Lancelot is called by sir Persant) inner qualities are necessary.

Here Malory’s dramatic narrative comes closer to the ‘literature of knighthood’, assuming the same chivalric ideology. Characteristically this emerges from scenes, actions, comments from characters and the narrator, and through the repetition of his charged key-words. ‘Worship is clearly very highly esteemed: it goes well beyond ‘prowess’, although that forms an important part of it. Like other noble qualities it is not for him simply an abstract ethical ideal, but has a strong social dimension: it must be acknowledged by others; although it is an inner quality, its external appearance is important. Like ‘honour’ (its near synonym) it seems to be an essential part of a good knight, which can be lost, or destroyed, through ‘shame’.¹ It is intricately involved with ‘fellowship’ (another highly charged word). The book demonstrates the intensity of the bonds of loyalty to lord, companions in arms, and kinsmen, and also the tensions in them which may be aroused by personalities and events. In the end these become destructive, and lead to the final tragedy, and in the last books the phrase ‘the noble felyshyp of the Rounde Table is brokyn for ever’ is repeated like a melancholy leitmotif. Throughout the work the emotional power of the bonds of knighthood is constantly in evidence. After a battle Gawain and Marhaus ‘toke of her helmys and eyther kyssed other and there they swore togdys eythyr to love other as brethirne’ (161). There are emotional partings and reunions, when ‘than was there grete joy amonge them’ (779).

Knightly virtues are often sharply contrasted with their opposites - fidelity or ‘trouthe’ with treachery or treason, for instance. Such virtues, although central to knighthood, are not restricted to any ‘courtly code’. ‘Trouthe’, for instance, was not only celebrated in literature of other kinds, notably the epic, but was important in medieval life itself. Characteristically Malory’s interests are both closely focused on knightly society but also bear on a wider human society. ‘Good’ knights and ‘bad’ knights are usually also sharply contrasted. Against the ‘flowers of chivalry’ stand figures like the

¹ ‘Shame’ is also a strongly charged word, and given the same kind of emphatic repetition: thus Palomydes rounds on Morgan: ‘thes is a shamefull and a vylaunce usage for a quene to use, and namely to make suche warre uppon her owne lorde that is called the floure of chevalry that is crystyn othir hethyn, and with all my harte I woll destroy that shamefull custom’.

cowardly king Mark or Mordred. More rarely, there are knights who stand between the extremes, like Sir Kay: when Tristram meets him and learns his name (and instantly knows his reputation, how he is 'named') he states it explicitly - 'A, sir, ys that your name?' ... 'Now wyte you well that ye are named the shamefullys knyght of your tunge that now ys lyvyng. Howbehit ye ar called a good knyght, but ye are called unfortunate and passyng overthwart of youre tunge' (488). More interesting are those 'good knights' who are sometimes shown acting badly - like some real-life 'flowers of chivalry' such as the Black Prince at Limoges). The most notable case is, of course, Gawain's change into a grimly vengeful figure.

Eulogies of 'good knights' are sometimes very close to the chivalric biography. The famous threnody of Hector over Lancelot, which is unusually elaborate and formal for Malory, besides its repetition of his charged key-words, rehearses the qualities and achievements of a late medieval 'flower of chivalry':

... thou were never matched of erthely knyghtes hande. And thou were the curtest knyght that ever bare shelde ! And thou were the truest frende to thy lovar that ever bestrade hors, and thou were the trewest emonge prees of knyghtes, and thou was the mekest man and the jentyllest that ever ete in halle emonge ladyes, and thou were the sternest knyght to thy mortal foo that ever put spare in the reeste (1259).

All this, together with the evident delight in chivalric ceremonial, ritual and 'game', indicates an emotional with an admiration of the knightly life. But the story ends in disaster. This, I feel sure, involves something less abstract and more subtle than the 'failure of the code of chivalry'. Malory does not seem to endorse the austere condemnation of 'earthly chivalry' in the *Queste del Graal*, but many of his readers have felt that his narrative does not show that ideals of chivalry have their limitations. If Malory thought this he does not say it explicitly. It is a question of having to trust the tale rather than the teller? To a certain extent it is, but it is a little more complicated. The teller's voice is sometimes sad or perturbed, perhaps suggesting an awareness of some contradictions and tensions, but for much of the time it seems 'innocent' (like the voices of his paragons of chivalry), continually insisting on the importance of fidelity, while the unfolding events reveal the tensions

so cruelly felt by Lancelot. A more clerkly writer may very well have felt impelled to express an 'attitude' about the conflict of loyalty he faces. However, as Miko says, 'judgement in Malory is neither so rigorous nor so easy as a moral system might imply'.¹ Malory's refusal to condemn, the generosity (or the 'looseness') of his ethical views (if indeed they can be called views) might distress a moralist like Ascham, but can also be taken as an evidence of the inclusive breadth of a remarkable creative imagination. Indeed, his treatment of the Lancelot/ Guinevere/ Arthur relationship and the fall of the Round Table makes it a genuinely tragic story. He is concerned not to judge but to see the pity and the horror of it all. And elsewhere in the work, in spite of his liking for moderation, his sympathy can lead him to an impressive portrayal of those who act 'out of measure', with tragic excess, like the Maid of Astolat. The battles are often against chaos (which threatens Arthur's kingdom at its beginning and at its end) in defence of order, and what C. S. Lewis called the 'civilisation of the heart'. That is overwhelmed by darkness and treachery. Miko's remark about 'the inadequacy of any idealistic system' and that 'chivalry too easily ignores the fact that men are often petty creatures',² have a good deal of force, but are perhaps a little too abstract. Malory's book shows from the beginning examples of the pettiness and wickedness of men -and *men*, not exclusively knights. It is not simply a tragedy of knighthood but a tragedy of humanity. Malory's refusal to explain, to offer a framework of *ethos* increases the pathos of the end. His good knights 'take the adventure' with courage and fortitude. Galahad's message to Lancelot - 'bydde hym remember of this world unstable' - clearly has great significance for Malory, who seems to feel deeply the traditional view of the instability of this world, an instability which his book shows derives from a variety of causes, including destiny, chance, the characters and actions of men. He certainly had not read the *Iliad*, but what has been said of its ending is true of his: 'its humanity does not float in shallow optimism: it is firmly and deeply rooted in an awareness of human reality and suffering'.³ Caxton was surely right to see the book as a mirror of chivalric, but also of human, life: 'forherein may be seen noble chyvalrye, curtosye, humanyté, frendlynnesse, hardynesse, love, frendshyp, cowardysse, murdre, hate, vertue, and synne.'

¹ Stephen J. Miko, 'Malory and the Chivalric Order', *Medium Aevum* 35 (1966) 211.

² Miko, pp. 213, 221.

³ Oliver Taplin, *Homeric Soundings* (Oxford, 1992), p. 283 (quoting Colin Macleod).

Douglas Gray
University of Oxford

* † *

GUENEVERE SPEAKS: FROM MALORY TO MNOOKIN

A number of authors, from the Middle Ages up to the end of the twentieth century, have felt attracted to the mystery which has always surrounded the final years of Queen Guenevere's life, from the moment she entered the convent of Almesbury after her relationship with Lancelot was discovered. Keeping our study within the bounds of English speaking authors, we will take Malory's *Morte Darthur* as a point of departure for our analysis, since the beautiful description that we find in the last book of his work has been a constant source of reference for an important number of authors, particularly from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.¹

Our interest centres on Wendy M. Mnookin's poem "Guenever Speaks" (1987), written five centuries after Malory's Work, but still heavily dependant upon it. It expressly makes use of certain passages which Mnookin versifies and adapts, transforming them into the frame of reference for her own interpretation of Guenevere's mysterious life within the convent walls. She

¹ Editorial aspects regarding the printing of Malory's Work are of importance when considering what edition poets from different ages have used. Since, in the case of Mnookin's reelaboration of Malory's text it is logical that she has benefited from the most authoritative text, that is, the one carefully edited by Eugene Vinaver in 1947 (and later often reprinted and enlarged), based on the Winchester manuscript, discovered in 1934. However, it cannot be forgotten that the text edited by W. Caxton in 1485 (Cfr. Lawlor, J. & Cowen, J. 1969) not only was reprinted five times after its first publication (1498, 1529, 1559, 1582, 1634), but served as the basis for other editions, such as the 1816 and 1817, and even for the more scholarly ones of 1891, as well as for Vinaver's first edition of 1929, previous to the discovery of the Winchester Manuscript. It must therefore be born in mind that most literary works derived from Malory's *Morte Darthur* previous to the 1947 edition are indebted to the text rendered by Caxton. Of special interest for our study is Southey's 1817 edition which was in all certainty employed by William Morris for *The Defence of Guenevere and other Poems*, as well as by Algernon Charles Swinburne for his *The Day Before the Trial* (1860). Cfr. on this matter A. S. G. Edwards, 1996: 241-253 as well as James Douglas Merryman, 1973, and David Staines, 1973: 439-64 and 1982.

allows us to hear her own voice, which, speaking in the first person, enables us to enter her private world.

As we survey the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the echoes of Guinevere's words reach us in a variety of ways. At times she sounds feeble and weak, as in the case of Mnookin, whereas on other occasions her voice is clear and daring, or even, at times, firm and balanced.

It is even possible that the same author depicts her in two antithetical ways. This is the case with William Morris "Defence of Guinevere" and "King Arthur's Tomb", both published in 1858.¹ Since, whereas in the first poem, Guenevere is self-sufficient to face a jury before whom she doesn't regret her past behaviour, but whom she indicts and boldly threatens,

*(...) she stood right up, and never shrunk,
But spoke on bravely, glorious lady fair!
(...) Nevertheless you, O Sir Gawaine, lie,
whatever may have happened through these years
(...) let God's justice work! Gawaine, I say,
See me hew down your proofs.
(...) Therefore, my lords, take heed lest you be blent
With all this wickedness; say no rash word
Against me.*

in "King Arthur's Tomb" she looks terror-stricken and shows clear signs of mental confusion,

*(...) she went slow,
As one walks to be slain, her eyes did lack
Half her old glory, yea, alas! the glow
Had left her face and hands
(...) "I am not mad, but I am sick; they cling,*

¹ Cfr. on these poems Dennis R. Balch, 1975: 61-70; and, on the possibilities of interpreting the justification which Guenevere offers for her past and present behaviour before the jury regarding the difficulty of judging fairly from the appearance of things, cfr. James P. Carley, 1990: 20-22. In his article, Carley reconsiders the interpretation of the example which Guenevere provides to explain her situation. She argues that she chooses the blue piece of cloth because of its celestial implications, but the angel informs her that, against all predictions, it means hell, whereas the red cloth, surprisingly, leads to salvation.

God's curses, unto such as I am"

which reveals itself in contradictory and incongruous attitudes on her part towards Lancelot, who exclaims:

*"Yea, she is mad: thy heavy law, O Lord,
Is very tight about her now, and grips
Her poor heart."*

Unlike Morris, John Masefield's portrait of Guenevere in the two poems he publishes in 1928 "Gwenivere Tells" and "The Death of Lancelot as told by Gwenivere", insists on the same side of her character, which in both cases appears self-confident and well-balanced. These two poems constitute, in my opinion, the best homage to the memory of this mythic character who, without raising her voice against anyone or feeling anguished at the idea of the unknown or at the closeness of death, nevertheless adopts a constant attitude towards the beloved one, that neither old age nor death ever lessens:

*Now he lay dead, old, old, with silver hair,
I had not ever thought of him as old...
... I went to search
For flowers for him dead, my king of men.
(...) Myself shall follow when it be God's will;
But whatsoe'er my death be, good or ill,
Surely my love will burn within me still.
(...) Death cannot make so great a fire drowse.*

Neither phantasmagoric visions¹ nor feelings of oppressive blame or a struggle against the wish to see the beloved are to be found in this poem. All bonds, not only conjugal but also religious and kingly, are broken for love's sake without ever showing a sign or regret:

*What though I broke both nun's and marriage vows?
April will out, however hard the boughs.*

¹ In "King Arthur's Tomb" we are told: "... a spasm took / Her face and all her frame / ... terribly she shook."

The tone of Guenevere in these poems is clearly different from the plaintive and interested voice which resounds in the text “Guenevere”(1911) by the American author Sara Teasdale. There she painfully regrets the loss of her queenly privileges, which she contrasts with the fleeting and painful pleasure she derives from her relationship with Lancelot,¹ which in no moment proves completely satisfactory:

I was a *queen*, and he who loved me best
Made me a *woman* for a night and day
And now I go *unqueen*ed for ever more.

Even though we could have been led to believe that the figure of the king would have received greater emphasis in this poem, Guenevere hastens to state that her rights to the crown are hereditary:

I was a queen, the daughter of a king.

and it is therefore unnecessary to stress her relationship with king Arthur, who, however, had been a central figure in A. Tennyson’s emblematic poem “Guinevere” (1859).² There the most intimate feelings of a martial king had been shown in all its intensity, for after having made Guenevere realize the degree of her sin (which, according to the king, had given rise to the kingdom’s instability, including the death of numberless knights as well as Mordred’s treason and the Saxon attacks):

Bear with me for the last time *while I show*,
Ev’n for thy sake, *the sin which thou hast*
sinned.

he nevertheless felt deeply touched by a slight movement his wife made when, fallen upon her knees, she came an inch closer to him:

He paused, *and in the pause she crept*

¹ These are Guenevere’s words: “...I was weak, / And in my breast I felt a wild, sick pain. / Quickly he came behind me, caught my arms, / That ached behind his touch... / All this grows bitter that once was so sweet.”

² Cfr. J. Philip Eggers, 1971 and Maureen Fries, 1991: 44-55.

an inch
Nearer, and laid her hands about his feet.
(...) *Arthur then admitted* that he still loved her:
(...) *My doom is, I love thee still.*
Let no man dream but that I love thee still.

and revealed the strong attraction that he felt for her (he tenderly recalled the past when he played with Guenevere's hair and let her know how passionately her imperial beauty still moved him).

But how to take last leave of all I loved?
O golden hair, with which I used to play
Not knowing! O imperial-moulded form,
And beauty such as never woman wore.

These words on the part of the king elicit Guenevere's reaction when she is left by herself after the king's farewell. We then hear her exclaim that she also loves him, even though he may never be aware of it since he has promised never to see Guenevere again:

Is there none
will tell the king I love him tho' so late?

Guenevere's response to Arthur's words of love in Tennyson's poem looks very different from her reaction in Algernon Charles Swinburne's *The Day Before the Trial* (1860), where Arthur's most humane portrayal is to be found. He repeatedly says: "my wife, that loves not me", while calling Guenevere's beauty and her cold look to mind.

For all these years she grew more fair,
(...) *But ever as I looked on her*
Her face seemed fierce and thin.

This king who, like Tennyson's,¹ is jealous of Lancelot:

¹ These are King Arthur's words: "I am thine husband, not a smaller soul, / Nor Lancelot, nor another."

*Down to my hands the blood went hot
in a dull hate of Launcelot
For all the praise of her he got.*

unlike him, places his love for Guenevere before his kingly duties. He complains of the weight of the crown upon his head:

*... and on my head
the gold crown seemed not gold but lead*

while referring to Guenevere, not as queen but as wife:

*I had the name of King to bear,
And watch the eyes of Guenevere,
My wife, who loves not me.*

And, above all, he expresses his anguish and fear before the imminence of Guenevere's trial:

King Arthur says being alone
*Now the day comes near and near
I feel its hot breath, and see it clear,
How strange it is and full of fear,
And I grow old waiting here,
Grow sick with pain of Guenevere.*

which sharply contrasts with the king's attitude in other texts where he is usually depicted as cold¹ and distant.²

¹ Guenevere's recollections on his first encounter with Arthur in the text by Tennyson is eloquent: "And moving thro' the past unconsciously, / Came to that point where first she saw the / King / ... glanced at him, thought / him cold / high, self-contain'd, and passionless." And, later on, when she is visited by him in Almesbury, his sternness is stressed: "... then came silence, then a / voice / Monotonous and hollow like a ghost's / Denouncing judgement, but tho' changed, / the King's."

² The qualities that Morris's Guenevere isolates in Arthur are most telling: "... I was bought / By Arthur's great name and his little love."

In Swinburne's poem,¹ however, the lover's characteristic weakness and vulnerability are attributed to the king ("I felt half sick"), who contrasts sharply with Guenevere's callousness ("Her face seemed fierce and thin").

After this general survey of the main texts which for a period of five centuries have paid attention to the love which Guenevere feels and awakens, we return to Wendy M. Mnookin's recent poem "Guenever Speaks", where she reproduces -in a slightly modified form- fragments by Malory, placing them at the beginning and the end of her poem. These fragments, which she versifies, follow the pattern of a quotation and mention their source.

The first fragment is preceded by the heading "Guenevere learns of Arthur's Death" and it almost literally reproduces the final part of Book XXI, Section IV of *Morte Darthur* "The Day of Destiny". Mnookin in this way reminds the reader that Guenevere, after the king's death, retreated to Almesbury, where she lived in prayer and penitence, arising the people's admiration at her virtuous change.

Mnookin introduces a change into the quotation which is apparently a minor one, although when retrospectively considered, it acquires fuller sense. I am referring to the substitution of "slay" for "die" at the beginning of the poem. Mnookin writes:

And when Queen Guenever understood
King Arthur *was slain*

where Malory said:

And whan quene Gwenyver undirstood that kynge
Arthure *was dede*.

The ensuing effect is the anticipation of Guenevere's feeling of guilt which is all pervasive in the poem. Her obsession with the weight of her guilt will lead her to a prolonged vigil which might avoid the recurring nightmares which present before her in all its poignancy the deaths that her attraction for Lancelot has originated. She has no wish to contemplate again how Gaheris

¹ Cfr. David Staines, 1978: 53-70.

Gareth is killed by Lancelot when he rescues her¹ and neither does she want to see King Arthur dead after fighting against Lancelot, for, like “crazy Anne”, she feels responsible for it. The parallelism between “crazy Anne”, who killed her husband and lives entombed in a house of stone, and Guenevere, who is kept secluded in Almesbury, is increased by the juxtaposition of this image to that of Lancelot fighting Arthur dead. This, in turn, leads to Guenevere’s refusal to shut her eyes, even though they are so irritated by the lack of rest that the air when touching them is compared to pieces of broken glass.

The nuns return from morning prayers
to sleep. Three hours
until Prime. Three hours
to lie awake.
 entombed
 a stone house built around her:
 Crazy Anne: killed her husband
 eyes closed
 I see you
 fighting Arthur lying dead
Air cuts my eyes
like broken glass.
I will not close my eyes.

In the fourth and last section of Mnookin’s poem: “The Sisters Tell Lancelot of Guenevere’s Last Words”, she reproduces with certain changes the text of Malory’s *Morte Darthur*.²

Mnookin goes as far as to maintain archaisms, such as the plural form of “eye”, “eyen”, in order to make the quotation sound authentic. It is a way of driving attention away from an important and deliberate omission introduced by her to further develop the subject of the poem.

¹ This allusion to Gaheris Gareth, although elliptical, transmits the weight which the death of this knight at the hands of Lancelot had in the text by Malory, and, specifically, in the section “The Vengeance of Gawain” (Book XX, Section II, 685-700), where this character, enraged at the death of his brother, rejected all explanations given by Lancelot, and declined all offers of reconciliation on his part.

² Book XXI, Section V, ‘The Dolorous Death and Departing out of this world of Sir Launcelot and Queen Guinevere’, Thomas Malory, Works, Eugène Vinaver (ed), 1977 (2nd ed.): 718-725

Mnookin almost literally quotes Malory as follows:

Thither he cometh as fast as he may,
wherefore I beseech Almighty God:
may I never have the power
to see Lancelot
with my worldly eyen.
And thus was ever her prayer
these two days,
till she was dead.

Whereas Malory's text reads as follows:

"And hyder he cometh as faste as he may *to fetch my cors, and besyde my lord kyng Arthur he shal berye me.*" Wherefore the quene sayd in heryng of hem al, "I beseche Almyghty God that I may never have power to see syr Launcelot wyth my worldly eyen".

"And thus", said al the ladyes, "was ever hir prayer these two dayes tyl she was dede".

Mnookin explicitly omits Malory's allusion to Lancelot's reason for visiting Guenevere in the convent. It is not merely a lover's visit but that of a saintly character who has spent his last years in prayer and fasting, to the point that by means of a vision he has been announced Guenevere's agony, and commanded to give her saintly burial by her legitimate husband, King Arthur. Guenevere, whose sins have also been redeemed by a life of prayer and penitence, nevertheless fears a last meeting with Lancelot, aware that she still loves him, and therefore insistently craves God to spare her that encounter which could hinder her everlasting peace.

The two modifications introduced in Malory's text by Mnookin, that is to say, the substitution of "slay" for "die" in the first versified fragment, as well as the omission of the allusion to Guenevere's imminent death and to the aim of Lancelot's visit to the convent in the second, have important consequences for the portrayal of Guenevere. Both her feeling of self guilt is intensified and her inner tension is increased, as the result of an unattainable love which excludes the idea of eternal rest by the legitimate husband, as well

as the repentant attitude of a lover that in Malory consumes himself praying over their mutual grave.

There is, however, an important feature of Malory's depiction of Lancelot which is carefully reproduced by Mnookin in her poem, although with a significant change: I am referring to Lancelot's physical deterioration which takes place during the six weeks that mediate between Guenevere's death and his own. The difference lays in the fact that Mnookin transfers these characteristics to another character, significantly to Guenevere. In her poem, she, like Lancelot in Malory, loses her appetite, and, even though the nuns insist that she should eat (the bishop behaved in a similar way with Lancelot) she, like Lancelot, refuses to do so, visibly losing weight before been taken seriously ill, and finally expiring.

Malory describes Lancelot's final days in the following terms:

Thenne syr Launcelot *never after ete but lytel mete, nor dranke*, tyl he was dede, for than *he seekened* more and more and *dryed and dwyned awaye*. For the Bysshop nor none of his fellowes myght not make hym to ete and lytel he dranke, and he *was waxen by a kybbet shorter* than he was, that the peple coude not knowe hym. For evermore, *day and night*, he prayed ... Ever he was lyeng groveling on the tombe of kyng Arthur and quene Guenever, and there was no comforte ... Soo wythin syx wekys after, syr Launcelot *fyl seek and laye in his bedde*...

So whan syr Bors and his fellowes came to his bedde they founde hym *starke dede*; and he laye as he had *smyled*.

This last image of Lancelot's smile is also present in Mnookin's depiction of Guenevere, although in her poem it serves a different purpose. It is not employed, as in the case of Lancelot, to convey the idea of beatific happiness achieved by someone after a life of self-denial and sacrifice, but, on the contrary, it completes the characterization of Guenevere's increasing mental feebleness.

The religious interpretation of Lancelot's smile is supported by the visionary dream experienced by the bishop, which takes place at the same time as Lancelot's death. He contemplates Lancelot's triumphant entrance in

heaven, surrounded by angels. This is a means of sanctioning in a positive way Lancelot's extremely rigorous behaviour with himself during the last six weeks of his life when he didn't get any food or sleep. This positive sanction of Lancelot's final days is completely absent from Mnookin's depiction of Guenevere's progressive physical deterioration in the convent where the weight of her sins weaken her to the point that she swoons at Vespers. A single stroke on the part of Mnookin eloquently portrays Guenevere's attitude when the nuns urge her to eat:

I move the food around
and smile.

This smile is far from connoting spiritual peace, as in the case of Malory's description of Lancelot, but rather suggest an increasing mental instability, which is about to collapse, as it was the case with "crazy Anne, who killed her husband". What leads her to take some food, with the only hope of remaining awake, is precisely the dread she has of recalling her own husband's death, that assaults her whenever she closes her eyes:

I must eat some bread. A little bread
so I won't swoon. So I can stay awake.

The result of such prolonged vigil and fasting is, as with Lancelot, a visible thinness. If, according to Malory, Lancelot "was waxen by a kybbet shorter", to the point that "people coude not knowe hym", Mnookin's description of Guenevere brings to mind anorexia nervosa in its terminal phase:

lying in bed
hip bones push
against skin.

That anorexic thinness together with the smile on her face when she plays with the food complete a characterization which has been unfolded along section 2, "Guenever retreats to Almesbury", where Mnookin has invited us to have a close look at the inside of the convent, while scrutinizing the words he borrowed from Malory regarding Guenevere's behaviour:

*She lived in fasting, prayers and alm-deeds.
Never creature could make her merry.
All manner of people marvelled
how virtuously she was changed.*

That she fasted -maybe too strenuously-, we doubt not, in the same way as we are persuaded of her unvarying sadness, although its cause lies not - unlike in Malory's account- in his penitent efforts to achieve heaven, but rather in the weight of her sin that she cannot stand, as well as in the obsessive presence of Lancelot, whom she cannot remove for a single moment from her mind. This is so to such an extent that when she partakes of community tasks, such as the recollection of aromatic herbs or the reading of devotional books, Lancelot's presence becomes so powerful that she feels deeply disturbed.

But this is Guenevere's secret, and we are allowed to share it by means of the inner monologue that she mentally addresses Lancelot. In it she contrasts her apparent obedience to the instructions she receives from the nuns:

the sisters say walk,
walk in the garden, so I do. I work
in the garden ...
The sisters say read, why
don't you read?
The sisters say rest,
get some sleep ...

with her inner rebelliousness. She walks in the garden, works in it, seeks some rest, whenever she is told to do so. But, no matter her occupation, everything makes her think of Lancelot: the intense smell of the herbs she recollects (thyme, basil, cinnamon, sage, mint), however strong and able to make her dizzy, nevertheless cannot remove the smell of Lancelot, which Guenevere retains in her fingers:

Smell makes me dizzy ...
Fingers smell rich ... Spice fingers ...
*I save the smell of you
on fingers.*

Neither does the reading of devotional books succeed in bringing her peace or in removing Lancelot from her mind because she keeps inside it the letter which he sent Guenevere urging her to join him:

*Guenevere,
in you I have my earthly joy,
Leave Almesbury now
and be with me.*

Letters move and she tries to follow them but, unable to do so, she shuts the book:

Words tilt on the page.
I turn my head to follow them
scramble up
 down.
I snap the book shut to keep the words
still.

This image, together with the description of her dizziness when she collects aromatic herbs (smell makes me dizzy. I hold my head) are in line with the extreme situation of physical and mental weakness that result from her prolonged fasting and vigil.

But Guenevere's voice won't be publicly heard until the following section ("Guenever Speaks") where Sister Margaret, helping her take her daily walk, hears the sound of her voice, a distant voice which Guenevere doesn't recognize as her own:

a voice
from far away
a voice
I do not recognize

The message she transmits is brief:

I will stay at Almesbury
till I die.

She has decided to remain in Almesbury for ever, even though the thought of Lancelot and his message haunt her. The cause of her decision is stated in a concise and efficient manner:

I cannot look
at Lancelot's face
again.
I cannot lose him
again.

She doesn't feel strong enough to endure the pain of parting from him again. The fear of damnation is completely absent from the pain Guenevere feels. She is exclusively anguished at the idea of losing Lancelot again.

These words again remind us of Malory's passage where Guenevere, when visited by Lancelot at the convent, insistently craves him never to look her in the eyes again. Mnookin introduces the following change: Guenevere doesn't address these words to Lancelot but utters them to herself, being overheard by Sister Margaret.

Guenevere's plea in Malory:

"I requyre the and beseche the hartily, for all the love that ever was betwyxt us, that *thou never se me no more in the visauge*, (And I commaunde the, on Goddis behalff, that thou forsake my company)"

has been transformed into:

I cannot look
at Lancelot's face.

The pain behind the second sentence, where she explains the cause of her decision:

I cannot lose him
again

is also present in Malory's description of the pain which ensues from their parting:

There was lamentacyon as they had be stungyn wyth sperys, and many tymes they swouned.

But in spite of all the similarities, there are marked differences between Mnookin's and Malory's descriptions of the couple. One of them lies in the effect produced by the attribution to Guenevere of characteristics which in the source text belonged to Lancelot, particularly his physical deterioration, which was the consequence of his prolonged fasting and sleeplessness. At the same time, Mnookin endows Lancelot with a self-assuredness and authority which are completely absent from Malory.¹ These two changes, as well as the addition of elements which point to Guenevere's mental instability result in the loss of the balance between both characters which was present in the source text. There, although Guenevere agonized asking God never to see Lancelot again because she still felt a strong attraction for him (the quotation which Mnookin places at the end of her poem), Lancelot was nevertheless equally devoted to her. Even though he keeps the word given Guenevere of never meeting her again, and although he, like her, leads a life of penitence and prayer, after her beloved's death, he abandons himself to his own sorrowness and spends the final days of his life moaning over the tomb where Guenevere's body lies by that of her husband.

In Mnookin's poem, however, all kind of religious comfort is suppressed as well as any possible allusion to the wish of final reconciliation with Arthur. At the same time, Lancelot is depicted as a stronger character, which makes Guenevere's inner conflict more acute. Its result is her physical and mental weakness, the issue of her obsession with her own guilt, and, above all, the consequence of her inability to forget Lancelot, whom she misses every day of her life, within the convent walls.

¹ She seems to reverse precisely the change which Malory deliberately introduced in the final books of his work, where the self-contained attitude of knights and the traditional feminine silence on the subject of love are transformed into an undistinguishable language which is used by men and women alike, and where the characteristic Malorian restraint is loosened. Cfr. on this aspect Elizabeth Edwards, 1996: 51-52.

REFERENCES

- Balch, D. R. 1975: Guenevere's Fidelity to Arthur in 'the Defence of Guenevere' and 'King Arthur's Tomb'. *Victorian Poetry* 13.3-4: 61-70.
- Carley, J. P. 1990: 'Heaven's Colour, the Blue': Morris's Guenevere and the Choosing Cloths Reread. *The Journal of the William Morris Society* 9.1: 20-22.
- Edwards, A. S. G. 1996: The Reception of Malory's Morte Darthur. *Arthurian Studies XXXVII. A Companion to Malory*. Ed. Archibald, E. & Edwards, A. S. G. D. S. Brewer, Cambridge, 241-253.
- Edwards, E. 1996: The Place of Women in the Morte Darthur. *Arthurian Studies XXXVII. A Companion to Malory*. Ed. Archibald, E. & Edwards A. S. G. D. S. Brewer, Cambridge, 37-55.
- Eggers, J. P. 1971: *King Arthur's Laureate: A Study of Tennyson's Idylls of the King*. New York University Press, New York
- Fries, M. 1991: What Tennyson really did to Malory's Women. *Quondam et Futurus: A Journal of Arthurian Interpretations* 1: 44-55.
- Lupack, A. (ed.) 1992: *Modern Arthurian Literature. An Anthology of English and American Arthuriana from the Renaissance to the Present*. Garland Publishing, New York.
- Malory, T. 1976: *The Winchester Malory. A Facsimile*. English Text Society. Supplementary Series, n° 4, London.
- Malory, T. *Le Morte D'Arthur*. Ed. Lawlor, J. & Cowen, J. 1969: Penguin, Harmondsworth. (Based on Caxton's 1485 edition).
- Malory, T., *Works*. Ed. Vinaver, E. 1977 (2nd ed.): Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Merriman, J. D. 1973: *The Flower of Kings: A Study of the Arthurian Legend in England between 1485 and 1835*. Lawrence, Kansas.

- Morris, W. Ed. Lourie, M. A. 1981: *The Defence of Guenevere and Other Poems*. Garland English Texts, N. York.
- Staines, D. 1973: Morris' Treatment of his Medieval Sources in *The Defence of Guenevere and Other Poems*. *Studies in Philology* 79: 439-64.
- Staines, D. 1978: Swinburne's Arthurian World: Swinburne's Arthurian Poetry and Its Medieval Sources. *Studia Neophilologica* 50: 53-70.
- Staines, D. 1982: *Tennyson's Camelot: The Idylls of the King and its Medieval Sources*. Wilfrid Laurier University Press, Waterloo, Ontario.
- Tennyson, A. Ed. Warren, T. H. 1971: *Poems and Plays*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

* † *

NEW TRENDS, OLD PATHS OR VICE VERSA:
A LITERARY ANTHROPOLOGICAL APPROACH
TO *WULF* AND *EADWACER*

0. INTRODUCTION

For some time now, the study of Old English literature has been facing an open discussion about its future, a debate spinning around diverse attitudes. In a rather recent article, Roy Michael Liuzza (1994: 103-147) made a sort of joke about the critics' persistence in studying a fixed number of topics once and again because of the reconsideration made upon them due to the publication of critical articles on those fixed topics themselves; in other words, he ironically mentioned the existence of a sort of *metathematic (re)criticism*, which fed itself with *counterpapers* that had on their titles -with some exceptions- a very reduced number of customary expressions such as "Second Thoughts", "Reappraisal", "Revisited" or "Reconsidered". There has been also another group of critics -like W. M. Calder (1981: 242)- who have stated quite the contrary, that is: the uselessness of any kind of study about classical, ancient or medieval literature, arguing that there is nothing new to be said.

I like to bring both stances face to face -metathematic recriticism vs. "exhausted topic" school- with a clever turning of the screw to say that medieval (ancient or classical) literature is very far from being exhausted because we can go back to the same topics with new theoretical perspectives, which help us either to admit or reject what we already know, or to open new paths for research that we had never considered to tread on. Liuzza's view -totally shared by myself- was not pessimistic despite his being ironic, because a great part of the advances made on Literary Criticism come up from the reconsideration of traditional topics from innovative perspectives. The ongoing new theories of Literary Criticism -like, say, Pragmatics, Discourse

Analysis, (Inter)Textual Criticism, Relevance Theory, etc- and their analytical principles are given to the scholar devoted to medieval matters as new tools for carrying out those aforementioned reconsiderations. Although directed at first to the study of the immediate -i.e, Contemporary or XIXth century Literature, at the most-, the use of these new theories to the study of classical or medieval literature can be a good way both to shed some light on old topics and to validate the efficiency of such theories/ methodologies for the analysis of literary texts, regardless of their century of origin.

From these modern theories I have chosen Literary Anthropology -or, more accurately, "Literary Anthropological Hermeneutics" as I have recently tried to prove (Bueno 1997b)-, and in previous studies I have been offering different attempts to analyse the Old English elegiac discourse with its methodology for textual analysis (Bueno 1997a, forthcoming a & b). To study Old English elegiac poetry I have been adopting a literary anthropological approach because I think that such a perspective is the best to offer us a taxonomy of the parametres which build the Old English elegiac discourse. In my previous studies the introductory condition prevailed over the exhaustive research, because my idea was to offer different extracts of greater and more comprehensive analysis with the aim of providing the academic community with the practical and theoretical functioning of Literary Anthropology and its application to the study of Old English poetry. Now that this approach has been conveniently presented in the aforementioned studies, it is my aim -in the present article- to offer a complete literary anthropological analysis of *Wulf and Eadwacer* as a sample that will show how much can this method of textual analysis contribute to the thorough study of Old English poetry. What was presented in previous analysis will have to be added to what is going to be described here.

Basically, the literary anthropological method of textual analysis sets forth the study of the linguistic, symbolic and conceptual bases of the selected text by means of a threefold approach¹: a) study of the linguistic and paralinguistic bases of the poem, where a lexical, grammatical and textual analysis is carried out (*Ritual Level*); b) from the abstraction of the data obtained in the

¹ I do not describe here the operative devices of Literary Anthropology due to the existence of a good number of articles and theoretical treatises that state the matter, basically Poyatos 1979, 1988, Escobedo & Caramés 1994, Caramés 1978 & 1980, Bueno 1996 & 1997b.

previous level, a symbolic study of the text is developed (*Symbolic Level*). This study is based on the application of a series of analytical devices, which will unveil the contextual system upon which the conceptual world of the poem will be established; and c) deep analysis of the intelligible cultural systems, which come up from the text and set the bases of its conceptual world (*Conceptual or Thought-World Level*). In the following lines it is my intention to offer the application of these three levels of analysis to *Wulf and Eadwacer*.

1. THE RITUAL LEVEL IN W & E: VERBAL ANALYSIS

1.1. STUDY OF THE LEXICON: VOCABULARY AND ITS SEMANTICS

As a previous step to the application of the analytical devices characteristic of this method, we must divide the poem in all its constituent parts, revising the lexicon in order to study its richness. I offer next the complete vocabulary list of *Wulf and Eadwacer* (as it is edited in Krapp & Dobbie 1936: 179-180), pointing out the number of times a given word is repeated:

apecgan: 2	beaducafa	bilegde	bireÍ
biworpen	bogum	cymeÍ: 2	dogode
eac	Eadwacer	earne	eape
eglond	Fæst	fenne	geador
gedydon	Gehyrest	gesomnad	giedd
gif: 2	gife	he: 2	him
hine: 2	hit	hwæpre	hwelp
hy: 2	ic: 3	iege	ige
is: 5	lac	laÍ	Leodum
me: 3	mec	meteliste	min
mines	minum	mod	mon: 2
murnende	nales	næfre	operre
on	ond	renig	reotugu
sæt	se	seldcymas	seoce
Sindon	swylce	to: 2	tosliteÍ
pær	pæt: 2	pætte	pine: 2
pon	ponne: 2	preat: 2	pu
uncer	Uncerne	Ungelic	Ungelice

us: 2	wæltreowe	wæs: 4	weder
wena	wenum	weras	widlastum
willá: 2	wuda	wulf	Wulf: 3
Wulfes	wyn		

The previous table indicates that *Wulf and Eadwacer* is formed by a complete lexicon (Cl) of 117 words; 50 of them appear several times (Rw), and 67 are never repeated (Nrw). The Frequency Index (Fi) obtained from these data is the following:

$$Fi = Cl/Nrw = 117/67 = 1,7.$$

As it is known, the utopic index would be 1, so we can say that this poem upholds a reasonable richness of vocabulary. Besides, we have to highlight the existence of conscious repetition in the lexicon that is more frequently repeated. Thus, exception made of the preposition “on” -appearing five times-, the words whose appearance is more prominent are “is” / “wæs” -five and four times each- (past and present forms of “beon”, which emphasize certain space/ time opposition), “ic”/ “me” -three times- (focusing on the personal style of the discourse) and “Wulf” -three times- (personal noun, evidently relevant for being one of the characters mentioned in the text). As we have seen, repetition has a clear aim within the poem's general framework and follows explicit thematic reasons, which will be developed later on. This vocabulary usage is even more conscious when the poet has the possibility of repeating a lexical item and does not do it. Instead, he introduces alternative forms as it is case of the pronouns “uncer” and “uncerne” -“our”, “of us two”- and the adjectives “Ungelic”/ “ungelice” -“different”-¹ in the sentence that appears in the irregular lines 3 and 8, whose structural symmetry is enriched with such a lexical non-semantic formal variation.²

¹ Some critics (e.g. Aertesen 1994: 137) see a change of category (adverb “ungelice”/ adjective “ungelic”). However, the reasons posed for that change are not very clear, and the vast majority of critics argue for an scribal mistake or for the existence of the same adjectival category in both cases, as it is my opinion.

² The conditional sentence “willá hy hine ap_ecgan, gif he on preat_cymeí” -“They will wish to capture him if he comes with a troop (Hamer 1970: 85)”- is also repeated twice (lines 2 and 8) in a conscious way due to formulaic and thematic

Thus, there is a clear intention of using a diverse vocabulary -sometimes enigmatic and ambiguous-¹, mainly in those words holding lexical content. As it will be seen more deeply when dealing with the grammatical analysis, the 62'3 % of the vocabulary is based on nouns, verbs and adjectives, being these categories the ones in which repetition is hardly found, and when it is found, it is totally conscious. So, from the words holding a lexical content, only those previously mentioned could be considered as "main words" due to the reasons already presented. However, just as it happened in some other elegiac poetry analysed (Bueno 1997a, forthcoming a), the metrical form, the semantic fields and the rhythmic structure will play relevant roles for the poem's thematic building.

To begin with the analysis of the rhythmic structure of *Wulf and Eadwacer*, the study of the word size is going to be very useful. The obtained data present the following percentages:

1 syllable words = 58 (49,5 %)	Words x syllable (58 x 1 = 58)
2 syllable words = 38 (32,4 %)	Words x syllable (38 x 2 = 76)
3 syllable words = 18 (15,3 %)	Words x syllable (18 x 3 = 54)
4 syllable words = 3 (2,5 %)	Words x syllable (3 x 4 = 12)
Cl = 117	Word x syllable total = 200
	Total Wxs% = Total Wxs/ Cl = 200/ 117 = 1'7

reasons, emphasizing the main character's fear that something could happen to her lover. I coincide with Anne Klinck (1984: 134-135) when she said that in *Wulf and Eadwacer* "the theme of the speaker's separation from and anxiety for her lover, an enemy of her tribe, is emphasized by the repetition of two consecutive lines".

¹ If in every Anglo-Saxon text, choosing a translation means to select a particular interpretation of it, *Wulf and Eadwacer* is the model of that thought. Following the words of Marijane Osborn (1983: 182): "The ambiguities in the diction of *Wulf and Eadwacer* are of three kinds: words of clear but ambivalent meaning (lac, _preat), words of uncertain meaning (a_pecgan, dogode and later earne) and words that translate readily into modern English but may be complicated by a figurative meaning, like the name *Wulf* itself, and hwelp, bogum, wudu, giedd".

Exception made of three four-syllable words -"beaducafa", "meteliste", and "ungelice"-¹, the figures indicate a clear majority of monosyllabic and disyllabic words (81,9 %), which is the Old English average word size. So, the Anglo-Saxon style of composition is clearly marked, and the Word x Syllable percentage of 1'7 validates this statement. As the word syllabic difference is not great, we can point out that the lexicon is used in a very regular way within a highly rhythmical compositive model.

When studying the rhythmic structure of a poem, the second step consists in carrying out an analysis of the word size by counting the letters that form every word. This kind of analysis will give us new data to describe both the rhythm of the poem -external or internal- and the distribution of the phonetic units -with or without a fixed order-. We count the letters that form every word and calculate afterwards their difference line by line:

4	3	1	3	0	0	1
6	2	5	6	3	3	4

Leodum is minum swylce him mon lac gife;

4	2	3	4	1	0	3	0
6	2	4	7	3	2	2	5

willaf hy hine apecgan, gif he on preat cymel.

5	0
7	2

Ungelic is us.

2	0	2	2	0	4
4	2	2	4	2	2

Wulf is on iege, ic on operre.

¹ "Warlike man, bold warrior", "want of food, lack of food", "different". Together with Bosworth & Toller 1972 I have used Giles' (1981: 408) and Hamer's (1970: 84-85) translations. All the translations of isolated meanings made in this article are referred to these references. If it is not indicated otherwise, the translations of the poem come from Hamer's edition.

2 1 3 1 3
4 2 3 6 5 8
Fæst is pæt eglond, fenne biworpen.

2 3 2 1 1
6 8 5 3 2 3
Sindon wæltreowe weras pær on ige;

4 2 3 4 1 0 3 0
6 2 4 7 3 2 2 5 5
willað hy hine apegan, gif he on preat cymef.

6 0
8 2 2
Ungelice is us.

4 3 4 4 1
6 2 5 9 5 6
Wulfes ic mines widlastum wenum dogode;

2 0 2 0 2 1 5 4
5 3 3 5 5 3 2 7 3
ponne hit wæs renig weder ond ic reotugu sæt,

2 1 7 4 2
5 3 2 9 5 7
ponne mec se beaducafa bogum bilegde,

1 1 1 1 0 1 4 3 0
3 2 3 2 3 3 2 6 3 3
wæs me wyn to pon, wæs me hwæpre eac laf.

1 1 0 2 2
4 3 4 4 2 4

Wulf, min Wulf, wena me pine

2 3 5
5 7 4 9
seoce gedydon, pine seldcymas,

5 2 4
8 3 5 9
murnende mod, nales meteliste.

6 6 1 2 0
8 2 8 7 5 5
Gehyrest pu, Eadwacer? Ucerne earne hwelp

1 2 2
5 4 2 4
biref wulf to wuda.

0 1 4 3 0 3 5
3 3 4 8 5 5 8 3
paet mon eape toslitef paette naefre gesomnad waes,

0 1
5 5 6
uncer giedd geador.

When we divide the total amount of the differences (210) by the complete lexicon (117) we obtain a general promedium of 1'79. It seems, thus, that there is not a given continuity in the distribution of the phonetic units; so the absence of differential rhythm is clearly marked. The rhythmic structure will be marked by the different metrical patterns and by alliteration. The prevailing rhythmic structure consists of lines lacking differential rhythm and presenting perfect metrical patterns:

<p>2 3 2 1 1 6 8 5 3 2 3 Sindon wæltreowe weras pær on ige;</p>	<p>/ X / ' X / X X / X Da Sindon wæltreowe weras pær on ige A x a a x</p>
<p>2 3 5 5 7 4 9 seoce gedydon, pine seldcymas,</p>	<p>/ X X / X X / / X A seoce gedydon, pine seldcymas, C a x a x</p>
<p>5 2 4 8 3 5 9 murnende mod, nales meteliste.</p>	<p>/ ' X / X / X / X E murnende mod, nales meteliste. A a a a x</p>

68'5 percent of the lines display this structure. Only in six lines (31,5 %) we have differential rhythm appearing together with a metrical pattern. However, in the last two instances of the examples given below, the rhythm is broken at the end of the line:

<p>2 0 2 2 0 4 4 2 2 4 2 2 6 Wulf is on iege, ic on operre.</p>	<p>/ X X / X / X / X A Wulf is on iege, ic on operre. A x a a x</p>
<p>2 1 3 1 3 4 2 3 6 5 8 Fæst is pæt eglond, fenne biworpen.</p>	<p>/ X X / X / X X / X A Fæst is pæt eglond, fenne biworpen. A a x a x</p>
<p>1 1 0 2 2 4 3 4 4 2 4 Wulf, min Wulf, wena me pine</p>	<p>/ X / (X) / X X / X A Wulf, min Wulf, wena me pine A a a a x</p>

It is also very interesting to mention the distribution of the metrical patterns appearing in *Wulf and Eadwacer*:

PATTERNS	PERCENTAGES
Tipe A	58,8 %

Tipe B	8,8 %
Tipe C	17,6 %
Tipe Da	11,7 %
Tipe Db	0 %
Tipe E	2,9 %

The results obtained from these data contradict the traditional tendency (Bueno forthcoming a). From the 34 half-lines ¹ *Wulf and Eadwacer* is made of, the pattern that appears in a prevalent way is type A (58,8 %). This indicates that the poem holds a very clear active/narrative style. This feature will have to be collated with the data that will be obtained by analysing the grammatical categories of the poem later on.

An analysis of the different types of vocabulary used in this poem indicates that, basically, the lexicon of *Wulf and Eadwacer* belongs to two semantic fields. Placed in a prevailing thematic position and showing a rate of appearance higher than the other semantic field I'll mention next, we find a high number of words and groups of words devoted to express certain feeling of uneasiness, of suffering, of mental anxiety, in the poetic *persona* of the text. So, terms such as “wælreowe”, “dogode”, “widlastum wenum”, “reotugu sæt”, “wæs me **wyn** to pon, wæs me hwæpre eac **laſ**”, “seoce”, “murnende mod”, “earnne”² or even the closing sentence “pæt mon eape tosliteġpætte næfre gesomnad wæs, uncer giedd geador”³, are elements, which hold not only the presence of physical pain but also the proximity of certain spiritual affliction that distresses the poetic narrator.

In different moments throughout the text there are terms referred to the natural world: “iege”, “eglond”, “ige”, “fenne”, “renig weder”, “wulf”, “wuda”⁴ or even the name of one of the main characters because, on the one hand, it could be used as a proper name or as a nickname, and, on the other, it

¹ In the consulted edition the text is divided in 19 lines and offers four verses of a single half-line (3, 8, 17 y 19); thus, $19 \times 2 = 38 - 4 = 34$.

² "Cruel, murderous", "suffered, grieved", "far-wandering hope, distant longings", "sat mournful", "that was **joy** to me and that was also **pain** to me", "ill/ sick", "grieving heart", "wretched".

³ Trans: "Men very easily may put asunder/ That which was never joined, our song together (op. cit. p. 85)".

⁴ "Island", "island", "island", "fens", "rainy weather", "wolf", "woods".

could be playing with the metaphorical meaning of “wulf” as a wild creature, as an animal.

There is a very clear tendency towards synonymy, towards the expression of a semantic style with a wide variety of lexicon¹, which contains “a high concentration of *hapax legomena*, rare words and enigmatic imagery (Tasioulas 1996: 1)”. Both semantic fields hold a direct interrelation -i.e. the natural environment supplies the background for the mental uneasiness of the poetic *persona* - and contribute to build the symbolic/conceptual world of the poem.

1.2. GRAMMATICAL ANALYSIS

It is now time to analyse the distribution and combination of the different grammatical categories that shape the text. After dividing the text in the categories that form it, the following data are obtained:

Nouns = 30 (25,6 %)	Pronouns = 23 (19'6%)
Adjectives = 14 (11,9 %)	Prepositions = 7 (5,9 %)
Verbs = 26 (22,2 %)	Conjunctions = 4 (3,4 %)
Adverbs = 9 (7,6 %)	Demonstratives = 4 (3,4 %)
CI = 117	

A series of relevant combinations are also appreciated:

- a) Noun / not Noun = 30 / 87
- b) Verb / not Verb = 26 / 91
- c) Noun / Verb = 30 / 26
- d) Noun + Verb / Adjective + Adverb = 30 + 26 / 14 + 9 = 56 / 23

¹ This is especially clear for the word "island". The poet uses consciously three different synonyms, "iege", "eglund", "ige".

e) Noun + Verb + Adjective + Adverb / Conjunction + Preposition

$$= 30 + 26 + 14 + 9 / 4 + 7 = 79 / 11$$

These combinations -together with the data previously exposed- reveal that 47'8 % of the lexicon is formed by nominal and verbal categories. We can deduce from this fact that the text presents a very clear narrative/ evolutive style, and offers the narrator's direct judgement about his inner and outer world, a judgement that constitutes the expression of his mental experience. These results are supported by the data obtained when examining the high percentage of metrical type A patterns found in the text. It seems that there is a certain stylistic connection between the high number of A half-lines -which indicates a fluent narrative style- and the use of a high percentage of verbs and nouns -which indicates practically the same thing-.

The use of 11'9 % of adjectives points out that in some combinations there is a certain impression of sensory modulation on the experience, but the general tendency indicates a greater degree of direct/ objective judgement, which shows the experience of his thought, of his pondering about the mental distress the poetic narrator is going through.

1.3. TEXTUAL ANALYSIS

The tense usage employed in the text reveal a very clear absence of modality -no modal auxiliaries¹ are found and there is a very reduced number of adverbs (only 7'6 %)-. Thus, the poet's main function is clearly expressed, his judgements are very properly defined and his statements about reality are objectively clear and real. The existence of a clear majority of verbal forms in the present tense -mainly in lines 2b/8 & 16/19- together with the insertion of some past tense forms -in lines 1, 9/15- and some brief future prospection -2a, 7a- provide the text with a certain sense of dramatic tension, with a slightly cyclic temporal asymmetry. So, from a narrative present tense, the poetic narrator describe her present state and what happened to her from the past to the very moment of narration, going back to the present time in the final lines of the poem as a sort of cyclic ending for her thoughts. The combination of both temporal perspectives enhances the dramatic style.

In *Wulf and Eadwacer* there are no worth mentioning figures of speech², and the traditional elements of Anglo-Saxon poetic diction -"kenningar", "fixed formulæ", etc- are nonexistent. Only the half-line "fenne biworpen (5b)" -"surrounded by fens"- could be understood as a fixed formula as it is a description that has been found in many Anglo-Saxon texts (Bravo 1984: 23). Nevertheless, the presence of two sentences repeated as a sort of refrain is worth mentioning: "Ungelic is us"/ "Ungelice is us" (3, 8) and "willa I hy hine apegan, gif he on preat cyme I" (2, 7). This is an stylistic fact, which only appears in this poem and in *Deor*. Its meaning is both puzzling (Tasioulas 1996, Jones 1985) and coherent with the general sense of mysterious ambiguity that covers the text from beginning to end.

2. THE RITUAL LEVEL IN W & E: NONVERBAL ANALYSIS

After having finished the study of the verbal aspect, I am going to focus next on the analysis of the nonverbal features that are built upon the distinction between the perception/ influence of the surrounding background, the

¹ For a treatment of modal auxiliaries within a literary anthropological analysis of an Old English elegy see Bueno 1998: 160.

² I use this term in a literary anthropological way. See the aforementioned bibliographical references to enhance any theoretical doubt.

relations we establish with it -Sensible World- and the synchronic/ diachronic viewpoints the text presents -Intelligible World-.

Within the sensible world we'll try to find the presence of certain literary categories -i.e. *realisms*-, which are responsible for the setting of a given communicative line. In *Wulf and Eadwacer*, this communicative line is developed through the presence of a wide number of elements that belong to the psychological realism, modulated once by an element from the physical realism. The text widely describes the psychological features of the poetic narrator -i.e. her suffering, her anguish, the pains and fears she is going through because of Wulf, etc.-, building thus a feeling of mental distress by using a good number of terms related to this particular semantic field -as I have previously explained-, which are basically enclosed in the following lines:

Wulfes ic mines widlastum wenum dogode;
ponne hit wæs renig weder ond ic reotugu sæt,
ponne mec se beaducafa bogum bilegde,
wæs me wyn to pon, wæs me hwæpre eac laf.
Wulf, min Wulf, wena me pine
seoce gedýdon, pine seldcymas,
murnende mod, nales meteliste.¹ (9-15)

Besides, in line 10 this psychological expression is connected with a particular physical feature, with the background. This background -rainy, cold, classical in a way- has an influence over the feelings of the poetic narrator who suffers, waits and ponders "ponne hit wæs *renig weder* ond ic *reotugu sæt*".² Albeit brief in length, it is worth mentioning that the environment had a certain influence over the psychological aspects, particularly in a short poem, which has been thematically built around the psychological expression of the narrator's feelings.

Among the basic topics of the Intelligible World we'll have Space and Time: the synchronic/ diachronic approach the text reveals. The space/ time

¹ Trans: "Grieved have I for my Wulf with distant longings./ Then was it rainy weather, and I sad,/ When the bold warrior laid his arms about me./ I took delight in that and also pain./ O, Wulf, my Wulf, my longing for your coming/ Has made me ill, the rareness of your visits,/ My grieving spirit, not the lack of food (*ibid.* p. 85)".

² "When it was rainy weather and I sat mourning (Giles 1981: 468)". My italics.

perspective offered by *Wulf and Eadwacer* 's poet is again twofold (Bueno forthcoming a & b). The synchronic perspective appears when we are told about the narrator's present situation, about her current personal experiences in her most immediate context. The diachronic perspective is revealed through the description of past facts, through the recalling of certain events that have a direct influence over her present time -controlling it in a way- and cast some doubts upon the future -briefly mentioned twice in lines 2 and 7-. That's how we come back to the present at the end of the poem, with a sort of structure that places the reader at the departure temporal point. The space is only one, so we move again within a single unidirectional spatial/ contextual reality upon which a bidirectional temporal line is developed. Thus, in the narrative space, different past events are narrated from that present time to be back to the present space/ time in the last lines of the poem (16-19).

3. THE SYMBOLIC LEVEL OF W & E

The analysis of the symbolic world comes from the abstraction of all the different parts the ritual level is made of. For such an aim, we'll have to use a series of analytical devices, which will be very useful to begin with the unveiling of the hidden symbols that smooth out the way to the final study of the conceptual world.

3.1. SOMATIC SYSTEM

For the analysis of the somatic system we'll have to center on the biophysical and psychological features, which are held by the characters appearing in a given text. In *Wulf and Eadwacer* we are faced with different characters who can be classified as direct or indirect as regards the degree of their being involved in the narration. The poetic narrator is the direct character, as she is the main voice of the text and develops the narrative discourse with her narration and her acts. The male characters who are mentioned by the poetic narrator could bear the indirect label: i.e, Wulf and Eadwacer.¹

¹ Two other indirect characters are also briefly mentioned: the cruel men from verse 6 –"wælreowe weras"-, presenting no physical description and showing only psychological characterization regarding their cruelty and their not very positive

We have no trace whatsoever of the latter's physical or psychological description. The poetic narrator gives us their names, although modulating the degree of affection she feels for them. Eadwacer is mentioned only once in line 16 and he is both object of a question and addressee of the final lines whose content suggest that we are facing a sort of relationship -marriage, perhaps, as we'll see later on-, which has been neither good nor lasting, because 'þæt mon eape toslitef þætte næfre gesomnad wæs, uncer giedd geador'.¹ As far as Wulf is concerned, her affections are more explicitly stated because she always connects his name with the first person singular of the personal pronoun in the genitive case "min(es)"; thus, Wulf is always "min Wulf (13)", "Wulfes mines (9)", that is to say, "my Wulf". So, the poetic narrator establishes a much more personal, direct and sentimentally involved relationship with Wulf -probably, they are lovers- than with Eadwacer (Jones 1985: 326).

No physical features of the poetic narrator are described at all. However, the use of psychological information is plentiful as it happened in other poems of the kind (Bueno forthcoming a & b). This fact makes me think that the narrative development is again subject to the poetic narrator's psychological expression, to the expression of her distress, of her pain, just as the main part of the poem (lines 9-15) states. The physical features are irrelevant, and all we are told about the poetic narrator come through psychological factors. I believe that such a focusing on the psychological is again (Bueno forthcoming b) an element that gives a universal condition to the experiences and the feelings that have been narrated and transmitted through the poem.

3.2. KYNESIC SYSTEM

The kinesic system -which joins all the elements related to the active world of the characters, to gestures, sounds, and vision- does not reveal too much. Kynetic behaviour is hardly found in *Wulf and Eadwacer*. The only kinesic instance that is worth mentioning is the verb "cymeſ" (2b, 7b) and the

attitudes towards Wulf -"willaf hy hine apegan, gif he on preat cymeſ"-; and the brave warrior -"beaducafa"- from 11a, under whose face Wulf is hidden.

¹ Trans: "Men very easily may put asunder/ That which was never joined, our song together (op. cit: p. 85)".

brief reference to the fact of sitting down, mentioned by the poetic narrator - "sæt"(10b), more connected with a psychological element ("reotugu") than with something kynesic-. These are very few references to consider kynesics as something relevant in the poem. However, there is a relevant use of the space, related to present spaces -without Wulf- and absent ones -with Wulf-, which is defined with the present and past forms of "beon" as I mentioned before.

3.3. PARALINGUISTIC SYSTEM

Something similar happens with the paralinguistic system, because there is only one brief, albeit important, paralinguistic reference in *Wulf and Eadwacer*. In the following lines we can read:

ponne mec se beaducafa bogum bilegde,
wæs me wyn to pon, wæs me hwæpre eac laġ.¹ (11-12)

The act of hugging is the only reference to gestures in all the poem. In these lines, the poetic narrator recalls Wulf's hugs as something pleasant and painful at the same time, so she connects a gesture with a psychological element, just as the kynesic expression of "sæt" was connected with a psychological behaviour. I think this very brief paralinguistic feature is important in spite of its brevity, because I do not consider it as something placed at random by the poet; it was consciously placed to keep on making a preference gradation towards both female figures, i.e. she mentions the hug -something that brings closeness- connected with Wulf and states that her relationship with Eadwacer is very easily separable as it was never well established (18-19). Thus, her being close to Wulf -what is always joined- and being apart from Eadwacer -what is always disunited- are very clearly stated by means of a metaphor in which a paralinguistic element plays an important role.

3.4. CONTEXTUAL SYSTEM

¹ Trans: "When the bold warrior laid his arms about me./ I took delight in that and also pain (op. cit: p. 85)".

As far as the relations with the environment, with the immediate context, are concerned, the only contextual system present in *Wulf and Eadwacer* is related to the natural background. Society is completely absent¹ from this poem -at least, in a direct way-, and the things we are told take place within nature, inside a non-social environment, which is free from conditionings, maybe due to the characteristics of the relationships between the poetic narrator and both male figures -lover and husband, the latter set inside the social sphere and the former totally outside it²-. I think that this can set off the importance of the personal as opposed to the social behaviours³. Thus, the explicit absence of social environment would remark not only the condition of the poetic narrator as someone who lives on the edge of society (Tasioulas;1996: 14), but also her “exiled” condition.

The previously mentioned references to isles, fens, weather, wolves and woods⁴ -connected with a given psychological state- highlight the interest that the poet has in expressing the narration of certain facts in an almost neuter environment, which is only defined by natural parameters (Gameson; 1996: 464), to remark the importance of the psychological expression, of certain personal relationships outside society, whose ideological aims would have to be dealt with deeply in the next stage of this analysis.

4. THE CONCEPTUAL LEVEL IN W & E

¹ "Leodum" -"people"- and "beaducafa" -"warlike man, bold warrior" are the two only words that belong to the semantic field of the Anglo-Saxon social sphere and are directly mentioned.

² Marriage and the poetic narrator's relationships outside marriage are topics that have been dealt with in several articles. To mention some interesting ones, Gameson 1996: 463, Whitbread 1941, Luecke 1983 and Rivers 1991.

³ Regarding this, what Hugh Magennis (1996: 114-115) points out is very interesting: "Wulf and Eadwacer illustrates strikingly the conflict between prescribed social norms and the impulsion of personal emotion, a recurrent theme throughout literature, though one not generally associated with Old English. Wulf evidently has his existence outside society (...) and the speaker in her longing for Wulf also sets herself apart from society (...) The relationship with Wulf may or may not be adulterous but it is certainly one carried on at odds with the expectations of society". Again, the social/ personal dichotomy sets clear the relevance of individual feelings in a communal society.

⁴ That is to say, "iege", "eglund", "ige", "fenne", "renig weder", "wulf", "wuda".

I will proceed now with the identification and analysis of the intelligible cultural systems that appear in the text and spin around several parametres, which build its *weltanschauung*. I offer next the study of the parametres found in *Wulf and Eadwacer*.

4.1. THE PERSONAL/PSYCHOLOGICAL EXPRESSION OF THE FEMALE 'IC'

Following the ideas that I have been developing in the previous analytical stages, I think that the main thematic core of *Wulf and Eadwacer* is composed by the personal expression of a very intense and passionate psychological/ mental state, which is revealed through the female voice of the poetic narrator.¹ The relevance of the psychological/ personal element is going to appear not only as the main thematic crux of the text, but also as the only topic that could be directly deduced from it. The other parametres found -as we'll see- are going to be based on the psychological element as well.

Basically, the poem shows how a woman expresses both her love feelings for an absent man and the anxiety she feels due to his being away²:

Leodum is minum swylce him mon lac gife;
willað hy hine apecgan, gif he on preat cymeĪ.
Ungelic is us.
Wulf is on iege, ic on operre.
Fæst is pæt eglond, fenne biworpen.
Sindon wæltreowe weras pær on ige;
willað hy hine apecgan, gif he on preat cymeĪ.
Ungelice is us.³ (1-8)

¹ Although there is total agreement in this, there are always differing voices which have never been conclusive (mainly Eliason 1974 and his senseless interpretation, which has been properly answered by Desmond 1990, and more recently, by Aertsen 1994 and Gameson 1996). I argue for a female poetic narrator not only because of the coherence of the story that is being narrated but also due to the existence of some grammatical facts: "it is the grammar that tells us so, because the adjectives *reotugu* and *seoce* have feminine inflectional endings (Aertsen 1994: 121)". Curiously enough, both adjectives belong to the psychological semantic field.

² My interpretation of the poem assumes that the most clearly inferable relationship between the main characters is the following: the female poetic narrator is Wulf's lover and Eadwacer's wife. Moreover, this has been adopted as the main interpretation by a wide number of critics.

³ Trans: "It is as though my people had been given/ A present. They will wish to capture him/ If he comes with a troop. We are apart./ Wulf is on one isle, I am on

These lines display a situation full of distress and anxiety, because she is afraid of his being away and of what could happen to him at the hands of the “waelreowe weras” who dwell in the island, perhaps due to the adverse reaction Wulf causes upon the “leodum minum” of the poetic narrator. Certainly, the conscious repetition of the “willaf” sentence emphasizes her psychological anxiety and her fear of what is to come. All this situation of distress forces her to remember how that mental suffering comes from the past. In the following lines the poetic narrator offers a very deep expression of her past feelings:

Wulfes ic mines widlastum wenum dogode;
ponne hit wæs renig weder ond ic reotugu sæt,
ponne mec se beaducafa bogum bilegde,
wæs me wyn to pon, wæs me hwæpre eac laf.¹ (9-12)

Here, the poetic narrator shows her feelings and her thoughts with deep emotion by means of a wide number of psychological expressions: personal suffering -“ic dogode”²- due to an anxious waiting -“widlastum wenum”- within a melancholic environment in which her sadness -“reotugu”- is con-

another./ Fast is that island set among the fens./ Murderous are the people who inhabit/ That island. They will wish to capture him/ If he comes with a troop. We are apart (op. cit: p. 85)". For "ungelic is us" Hamer's translation is somewhat strange to me. For different reasons I prefer "it is different with us", which has been the most adopted translation, with some variants in several cases.

¹ Trans: "Grieved have I for my Wulf with distant longings./ Then was it rainy weather, and I sad./ When the bold warrior laid his arms about me./ I took delight in that and also pain (op. cit: p. 85)". I do not understand at all the translation of "ic reotugu sæt" as "I sad", when it should read "I sat mourning/ in a sad mood, etc", which agrees more with the original text.

² I admit the MS hapax legomenon "dogode" and reject the amendment to "hogode" just as most critics do (f.i. Whitbread 1941: 152, Gameson 1996, Hamer 1970: 84-85). For different reasons, I think it would be rare, although there are a few critics who keep on doubting this without offering an alternative solution (f.i. Aertsen 1994: 137, Baker 1981). However, most of those who accept "dogode" translate it as "pursued, followed" (Gameson 1996: 458), or even keep the translation of the amendment and melt both terms, rendering it as "thought about" -which would be the translation for "hogode"- but keeping "dogode" in their editions (Aertsen 1994, Baker 1981). I understand the verb as "suffered" (just as Giles 1981 or Hamer 1970 who translates "grieved"), being this meaning supported by Bosworth & Toller (1972: 206): "**dógian**; p. ode, pp. od, To bear, suffer; -Ic dogode I suffered, Exon, 100b; Th. 380, 17; Rā, 1, 9."

nected with an adverse natural background -"renig weder" and the past moments of tenderness with the "beaducafa" are remembered. This point has been very controversial for the critics who have devoted some of their time to the study of *Wulf and Eadwacer*. The identity of the brave warrior mentioned in these lines -"beaducafa"- has been multifarious. As it always happens with controversial issues, this fact depends on the personal interpretation of each critic. Some of them state that he is her husband Eadwacer, hence the ambiguity of line 12 (Aertsen 1994, Baker 1981, Jones 1985); there are other who defend that he is Wulf (Greenfield 1986, Kerling 1980); and finally there is a constant growing number of them who state -very accurately, I think- that we have not enough clues to define it clearly, so he could be both.¹ I explain this ambiguity interpreting "beaducafa" as Wulf, because of the aforementioned paralinguistic reasons and to maintain certain thematic coherence with what the text says and my own interpretation. Thus, with these two lines (11 y 12), the poetic narrator remembers Wulf's hugs as something evidently pleasant and painful, because their relationship, being secret, has to be brief perforce. This is something which can be very easily deduced from the psychological condition of the poem -which, by the way, is very coherent with the text-, being thus resolved, in my opinion, the ambivalence of the personal expression in these lines.² After this, the poetic narrator returns to her current psychological expression:

¹ Fiona and Richard Gameson (1996: 459) are right in their explanation: "Line 11 se beaducafa: 'the battle-brave one'. The issue here is the identity of the individual in question: Wulf or Eadwacer?. It is genuinely difficult to be certain. In support of Wulf is the fact that he seems an active figure, thus fitting such an epithet, and that the embrace was a single event in the past; while in favour of Eadwacer is the circumstance that the speaker seems to be in close proximity to him and thus he presumably had greater opportunity to embrace her".

² Regarding this, it is very convenient to choose an interpretation that is coherent with the general context of the overall interpretation, as I think I have made. We all should be modest in defending our views, allowing for the rest of them, because, as Fiona and Richard Jameson said -Ibid- it is difficult to be completely sure. Aertsen's opinion (1994: 138) is also worth mentioning here: "Others think it is a reference to Wulf, but this is unlikely, perhaps even impossible, (...) and why in that case should the speaker dislike the embraces if it was Wulf who laid his arms around her? Greenfield believes that the embraces are Wulf's all right, (...) and he explains the speaker's ambivalent feelings of line 12 as resulting from 'the peril and brevity of their time together', an explanation I find improbable in the light of what follows". Greenfield's (1986: 12) view is very coherent and coincides with my own. Perhaps, Aertsen is very rigid when stating the impossibility of such an explanation, bearing in mind that the reasons he posed for such impossibility are just another inter-

Wulf, min Wulf, wena me pine
seoce gedydon, pine seldcymas,
murnende mod, nales meteliste.
Gehyrest pu, Eadwacer? Uncerne earne hwelp
bire I wulf to wuda.
pæt mon eape toslite I pætte næfre gesomnad wæs,
uncer giedd geador.¹ (13-19)

The poetic narrator states thus the anxiety of her mental state. The expression of suffering is again mental/ psychological, not physical, because neither the wish for food -"meteliste"- nor her state of loneliness is what worries the poetic narrator, being both logical situations due to her nonsocial behaviour². It is her being away from Wulf the source of all her concerns (13-15). In her only mention of Eadwacer, the poetic narrator addresses him with a final statement of individuality and negation. These lines are also controversial and subject to many interpretations. My interpretation is, again, coherent with the overall vision I'm offering. Henk Aertsen (1994: 139) summarises very properly the ambiguity of lines 16-17:

Her threat is full of ambiguities, some of which may be intentional, as *double entendres* designed to conceal the truth from Eadwacer: who are the referents of the possessive *uncerne*? what is the meaning of *earne*? who or what is the *hwelp*? who or what is the *wulf*?

pretation, as worth mentioning as the rest. It is very risky to say that something is totally impossible, specially when studying such a text as Wulf and Eadwacer.

¹ "O Wulf, my Wulf, my longing for your coming/ Has made me ill, the rareness of your visits,/ My grieving spirit, not the lack of food./ Eadwacer, do you hear me?. For a wolf/ Shall carry to the woods our wretched whelp. / Men very easily may put asunder/ That which was never joined, our song together (*op. cit.*: p. 85)".

² P. J. Frankis (1962: 172, note 32) states this possibility: "Line 15b is best interpreted not as an arbitrary comparison, but as an implication that the woman had actually been compelled by her circumstances to go short of food".

I agree with the possible conscious ambiguity of these final lines¹, and my interpretation could be framed within the metaphoric vision defended by many critics, although with some variants². Thus, I understand the following: “uncerne” = “We (Eadwacer and the poetic narrator)”, “hwelp” = “the relationship existing between Eadwacer and the poetic narrator”, “wulf” = “a metaphor hiding the name of her lover Wulf” and “bireġ to wuda” = ‘will carry to the woods’, being this a sort of idiomatic expression (Gameson 1996: 459, Keough 1976: 559), which means “to destroy, to finish, to end with”. This connects very well with the expression of the final lines 18-19, in which “uncer giedd geador” would stand for the relationship that exists between Eadwacer and the female poetic narrator; so, under “hwelp” and “giedd” the same idea is enclosed. Schematically and gloss-like, I understand that the poetic narrator tries to say the following in lines 16-19: “Do you hear, Eadwacer? Wulf will destroy what exists between you and me, if it is possible to destroy what has never existed, really”. The final lines of the poem are a very ambiguous and cryptic way of closing the expression of her mental/ psychological state, declaring a) the uselessness of a socially admitted relationship with Eadwacer, b) her distressing but supposedly rewarding relationship with Wulf, and c) the relevance of the expression of her personal feelings.

The psychological expression is the thematic and conceptual centre of *Wulf and Eadwacer*. The poem also reveals the presence of a very conscious individuality by emphasizing the personal psychological expression, which comes from the relationship with Wulf.³ So, the poetic narrator underlines that the emotions focused on herself and Wulf are personal psychological

¹ Practically in almost all the works cited in this article -and I refer the reader to them-, there is a different interpretation of these lines. “Uncerne” has been understood as “ours, Wulf’s and the poetic narrator’s” and “ours, Eadwacer’s and the poetic narrator’s”; “hwelp” has been interpreted as “their son, Wulf’s and the poetic narrator’s” and “their son, Eadwacer’s and the poetic narrator’s”. As regards “earn”, different meanings with and without amendments to the MS are offered, being “wretched”, “poor” and “coward” the most frequent. As I have explained before, there is also a metaphoric school, which is the one I have followed.

² Thus, “uncerne hwelp” is understood as a metaphor for the relationship between Eadwacer and the poetic narrator, by Fanagan 1976, or between Wulf and the poetic narrator, by Greenfield 1986 and Aertsen 1994.

³ I have already mentioned the importance of the repetition of the personal pronoun in a few lines -“ic: 3”, “me: 3”, “me, mec, min, mines, minum”- and of the repetition of Wulf, connected with possessive pronouns, pointing out a sort of preferential gradation that establishes the poetic narrator’s stronger link with Wulf.

expressions (Gameson; 1996: 463), which have manifested the importance of the personal/ psychological element as the thematic binder of the conceptual world shown in this poem.

4.2. SPACE AND TIME: THE ABSENT AND THE PRESENT

As I began to expose previously, *Wulf and Eadwacer* opens a connection between the past facts and the present situation, which is subject to the aforementioned psychological expression and describes the present to move to the past and to be back to the poetic narrator's present time again (Giles;1981: 470). So, it seems that there is some insistence in contrasting the present and the absent:

Wulf **is** on iege, ic on operre.
Fæst **is** pæt eglond, fenne biworpen.
Sindon wælreowe weras pær on ige;
willað hy hine apecgan, gif he on preat cyme I.
Ungelice **is** us.
Wulfes ic mines widlastum wenum dogode;
ponne hit **wæs** renig weder ond ic reotugu sæt,
ponne mec se beaducafa bogum bilegde,
wæs me wyn to pon, **wæs** me hwæpre eac la I.¹ (4-12)

Thus, the use of the verbs “is/ sindon” and “wæs” -past and present forms of “beon”- points out that the poetic narrator is conscious of what *exists* in her present time -distance between both lovers² who are in different and isolated spacial positions, so the poetic narrator and Wulf are in the same

¹ Trans: "Wulf **is** on one isle, I am on another./ Fast **is** that island set among the fens./ Murderous **are** the people who inhabit/ That island. They will wish to capture him/ If he comes with a troop. We are apart./ Grieved have I for my Wulf with distant longings./ Then **was** it rainy weather, and I sad./ When the bold warrior laid his arms about me./ I took delight in that and also pain (op. cit: p. 85)".

² Although the reason of their being away from each other is not directly stated, I suppose it has been due to a sort of clandestine situation. However, the critics do not agree in deciding whether Wulf belongs to the narrator's tribe or not. Maybe, the first lines shed some light in favour of their belonging to different tribes; this is more coherent with the narrator's fear. Even though, some critics (f.i., Bravo 1984: 22) point out that exile is the reason of their being apart; an exile I suppose motivated by a secret and nonsocial relationship.

time but in different spaces- and forces her mind to remember a past space/ time in which both were together. Her imagination offers a very powerful emotional recreation of the absent facts, and her comeback to reality in the following lines (13-15) emphasizes the space/ time distance from those facts, pointing out that the distressing past conditions her current distressing situation.¹ So, space and time in *Wulf and Eadwacer* -its definition, its usage- is subject to -or serves as a coherent background- the psychological expression of the poetic narrator.

4.3. THE INFLUENCE OF THE NATURAL ENVIRONMENT AS CONTEXT

When pointing out the presence of several terms referred to the natural world, I began to state that the natural background played an important role as the only contextual system, which is directly mentioned in the text, and as an element that conditions the poetic narrator's mood.

Thus, two islands -natural background, a classical symbol standing for loneliness and isolation- constitute the background where the narration is developed. The poetic narrator gives no description of her island, of her most immediate context, but she does describe the island in which her lover is forced to dwell. This description is highly negative, and in it she uses a series of descriptive elements that are frequently used in Old English poetry to define the adverse condition of nature (Bravo 1984: 23):

Wulf is on iege, ic on operre.
Fæst is pæt eglond, fenne biworpen.
Sindon wæltreowe weras pær on ige;² (4-6)

The poetic narrator is mentally absent from the environment in which she is immersed, being this a feature that emphasizes the introspective intensity of what is being told in the poem. So, the use in *variatio* of the word "is land" -"iege, eglond, ige"- is a symbol of her own private isolation, of her need for

¹ Some critics have seen in this abrupt return to the real world a sort of parallelism with the dream scene of *The Wanderer*, 45-50 (f.i. Shippey;1972: 73).

² Trans: "Wulf is on one isle, I am on another./ Fast is that island set among the fens./ Murderous are the people who inhabit/ That island (op. cit: p. 85)".

inward thinking, of the island every human being is inside himself or herself. And in that very personal island, the psychological is connected with an adverse nature only once: "Wulfes ic mines widlastum wenum dogode;/ ponne hit wæs renig weder ond ic reotugu sæt (9-10)".¹ In spite of being a brief reference, I think that connecting her suffering, -"dogode"-, her sadness and her anxious state of mind -"reotugu"- with rainy weather has not been made by chance, and it could be used just as it was used in *The Seafarer*, *The Wanderer* and *The Wife's Lament*: as the conditioning background of a psychological expression (Bueno 1998: 192-194, 261-265, 385-388).

Although another two elements belonging to nature² are also mentioned, and some critics have seen hints of sea voyages³ and of a certain kind of natural symbolic use, which is not clear in my opinion⁴, I think that the most relevant feature to take into account when studying the natural environment and its influence in *Wulf and Eadwacer* is both the mention of the isle as a meaningful background and the connection of the psychological with the natural element.

5. CONCLUSION

In 1842 Benjamin Thorpe, the first editor of the *Exeter Book*, was also the first critic to state the immense complexity of *Wulf and Eadwacer* and the extreme difficulty of its interpretation. This intertwining of complexity and difficulty has been kept through the ages, as H. Aertsen (1994: 119) points out:

The first editor of the Exeter Book, Benjamin Thorpe, wrote in 1842 in a note to what he considered to be the first of the Exeter book riddles: "Of this I can make no sense, nor am I able to arrange the

¹ Trans: "I suffered far-wandering hope of my Wulf,/ When it was rainy weather and I sat mourning (Giles;1981: p. 468)".

² "Wulf" and "wuda", which I have already explained before.

³ Bravo (1984: 22): " El viaje por mar sólo se insinúa cuando se menciona hasta tres veces la isla en la que se encuentra Wulf y ello implica que Wulf tuvo que hacer un viaje por mar desde su patria".

⁴ As regards l. 11 Peter Clemoes (1995: 177) points out: "Se beaducafa (11a) in combination with the woman weeping in rainy weather, his arms like boughs or bows, acts as a symbol of masculinity free of any particularities of identity". This symbolic use is not so clear as the previous ones, referred to the isle or even to Wulf.

verses" (...). A hundred years later Kemp Malone wrote that "Eadwacer is one of the most obscure poems in the English language. We make no attempt to interpret it.

Bearing in mind the difficulty with which the text is endowed beforehand, the critics are constantly tempted to suggest different interpretations, which have been classified by Aertsen himself (1994: 121) as inner or outer interpretations, if they are based on data taken from the poem or on mythological situations in which to insert the text. The text has been understood as a riddle, a fragment from a longer dramatic soliloquy, a charm, a dialogue about a hunting scene, a love story whose main characters are dogs, a *Frauenlied*,¹ a mother's lament for her son (Osborn 1983, Tasioulas 1996, Lücke 1983), or as a cryptic conversation between two poets (Eliason 1974).

All this multifariousness has forced some critics to think that the poem is incoherent, incomplete or subject to an old story the audience knew and we have not been able to identify yet². Perhaps, this diversity of interpretations could mean that the ambiguity is consciously aimed at by the poet (Davidson 1974). So, I think there are basically two ways of approaching *Wulf and Eadwacer*: either admitting the existence of unknown sources, which were widely known by the poem's audience, or assuming that the darkness of the text could be overcome by having a look at the psychological expression that is directly observed and narrated. I have ascribed myself to the latter, because I have understood the text as a poem in which there are a series of psychological, emotional and introspective implications, which set its thematic foundations. Using Fanagan's words (1976: 138): "no interpretation can go far wrong if we stay within the bounds of the human emotions depicted therein".

My interpretation of the text makes me think that we literary critics should understand the poem as psychological expression, which is the thematic core

¹ Aertsen 1994 and Giles 1981 make a good summary of these interpretations. I recommend their reading to get a complete bibliographical reference.

² Many sources have been suggested, but none of them have been conveniently proved. Giles (1981: 469) offers a good summary of the main ones: "Some suggestions have been: and Old Norse source; a story found in certain introductory chapters of the *Volsungasaga*; a story found in the *Hildebrandslied*; an account of the historical Eadwacer; a rendition of the Wolddietrich B story; a story from the Volundkarviða; and a story from the Frankish Dietrich legend". Calder et al (1983: 61-62) mention a new one in an Irish poem from the IXth Century called *It é saigte gona súain*, which they translate as Créide's Lament for Dínertach.

of my own understanding of *Wulf and Eadwacer*. The crux of the poem is the psychological element, the expression of what is emotional, of a feeling that could be universally shared by all the readers and hearers who have faced the text through the ages.

Although I defend a particular interpretation of *Wulf and Eadwacer*, there could be many other different viewpoints as valid as mine. However, I think that the interpretation offered in this article -together with my previously quoted studies- contributes to identify the psychological element as one of the possible foundations of an inclusive elegiac poetic discourse.¹

Jorge Luis Bueno Alonso
University of Oviedo

WORKS CITED

- Aertsen, H. 1994: *Wulf and Eadwacer: A Woman's cri de coeur- For whom?, For What? Companion to Old English Poetry*. eds. H. Aertsen & R. H. Bremer. Amsterdam: Vrije University Press. 119-144.
- Baker, P. S. 1981: The Ambiguity of *Wulf and Eadwacer*. *Studies in Philology* 78.5: 39-51.
- Bosworth, J. & Toller, N. 1972: *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bravo, A. 1984: *Wulf and Eadwacer: ¿el primer poema de amor de la literatura inglesa? El Amor en la Literatura Inglesa: Symposium*. Cadiz: University of Cadiz Press. 17-26.

¹ The development of a complete taxonomy of that inclusive elegiac poetic discourse, from a literary anthropological theoretical assumption, has been the main aim of my Ph. D. Dissertation (Bueno 1998). After offering this essay and the previously mentioned studies as an advance of my investigation in progress, it is my aim now to publish forthcomingly a volume to provide the academic community with the definitive results of my research.

- Bueno Alonso, J. L. 1996: La lingüística estilístico-estadística como base del estudio antropológico del texto. *Lenguajes Naturales y Lenguajes Formales XII*. ed. Carlos Martín Vide. Barcelona: PPU. 401-406.
- Bueno Alonso, J. L. 1997a: Anthropology and Old English: Linguistic, Symbolic and Conceptual Bases of *The Wanderer*. *Proceedings of the IXth International Conference of the Spanish Society for Medieval English Language and Literature*. eds. M. Giménez Bon & V. Olsen. Zarautz-Zaragoza: Itxaropena-Pórtico. 32-41.
- Bueno Alonso, J. L. 1997b: *Introducción a la hermenéutica literaria: bases contextuales para el estudio antropológico-literario de la poesía elegíaca en inglés antiguo*. University of Oviedo, Research thesis.
- Bueno Alonso, J. L. 1998: *Aportaciones a la hermenéutica antropológico-literaria: bases lingüísticas, simbólicas y contextuales de la poesía elegíaca del inglés antiguo*. University of Oviedo, Ph. D. Dissertation.
- Bueno Alonso, J. L. forthcoming a: Verbal and Nonverbal Communication in *The Seafarer*. *Proceedings of the Xth International Conference of the Spanish Society for Medieval English Language and Literature*. eds. P. Navarro & A. Hornero. Zaragoza: University of Zaragoza Press.
- Bueno Alonso, J. L. forthcoming b: Proxemics, Chronemics, Passing of Time and the Psychological Expression of the Self ('Ic') as key elements of *The Seafarer's Thought-World: A Literary Anthropological Reappraisal*. *Proceedings of the XIth International Conference of the Spanish Society for Medieval English Language and Literature*. eds. E. Varela et. al. Vigo: University of Vigo Press.
- Calder, D. G, Biork, R. E, Ford, P. K. & Melia, D. eds. 1983: *Sources and Analogues of Old English Poetry II: The Major Germanic and Celtic Texts in Translation*. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer. 23-70.
- Calder, W. M. III. 1981: Research Opportunities in the Modern History of Classical Scholarship. *Classical World* 74: 241-251.
- Caramés, J. L. 1978: La antropología poética: aproximación no cerrada al análisis de la poesía. *Arbor* 389: 61-69.
- Caramés, J. L. 1980: *Para una Antropología Poética: El Totemismo en la Poesía de Ted Hughes*. Salamanca: Almar.

- Clemons, P. 1995: *Interactions of Thought and Language in Old English Poetry*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Davidson, A. E. 1974: Interpreting *Wulf and Eadwacer*. *Annuaire Medievale* 16: 24-32.
- Desmond, M. 1990: The Voice of Exile: Feminist Literary History and the Anonymous Anglo-Saxon Elegy. *Critical Inquiry* 16: 572-590.
- Eliason, N. E. 1974: On *Wulf and Eadwacer*. *Old English Studies in Honour of John C. Pope*. eds. R. B. Burlin & E. B. Irving Jr. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 225-234.
- Escobedo, C. & Caramés, J. L. 1994: *El Comentario de Textos Antropológico-Literario*. Oviedo: University of Oviedo Press.
- Fanagan, J. M. 1976: *Wulf and Eadwacer*: A Solution to the Critics' Riddle. *Neophilologus* 60: 137-175.
- Frankis, P. J. 1962: *Deor and Wulf and Eadwacer*: Some Conjectures. *Medium Aevum* 31: 161-175.
- Gameson, F. & R. 1996: *Wulf and Eadwacer, The Wife's Lament* and the Discovery of the individual in Old English verse. *Studies in English Language and Literature: 'Doubt Wisely'. Papers in Honour of E. G. Stanley*. M. J. Toswell & E. M. Tyler. London: Routledge. 457-474.
- Giles, R. F. 1981: *Wulf and Eadwacer*: A New Reading. *Neophilologus* 65: 468-471.
- Greenfield, S. B. 1986: *Wulf and Eadwacer*. All Passion Pent. *Anglo-Saxon England* 15: 5-14.
- Hamer, R. 1970: *A Choice of Anglo-Saxon Verse*. London: Faber & Faber. 84-85.
- Jones, F. 1985: A Note on the Interpretation of *Wulf and Eadwacer*. *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 86: 323-327.
- Keough, T. 1976: The Tension of Separation in *Wulf and Eadwacer*. *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 77: 552-560.
- Kerling, J. 1980: Another Solution to the Critics' Riddle: *Wulf and Eadwacer* Revisited. *Neophilologus* 64: 140-143.

- Klinck, A. L. 1984: The Old English Elegy as a Genre. *English Studies in Canada* 10: 129-140.
- Krapp, G. & Dobbie, E. V. K. eds. 1936: *The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records III: The Exeter Book*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Liuzza, R. M. 1994: The Return of the Repressed: Old and New Theories in Old English Literary Criticism. *Old English Shorter Poems: Basic Readings*. ed. Katherine O'Brien O'Keefe. NY: Garland. 103-147.
- Luecke, J. 1983: *Wulf and Eadwacer*: Hints for Reading *Bewoulf* and Anthropology. *The Old English Elegies: New Essays in Criticism and Research*. ed. M. Green. Rutherford: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press. 190-203.
- Magennis, H. 1996: *Images of Community in Old English Poetry*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Osborn, M. 1983: The Text and Context of *Wulf and Eadwacer*. *The Old English Elegies: New Essays in Criticism and Research*. ed. M. Green. Rutherford: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press. 174-189.
- Poyatos, F. 1979: Literary Anthropology: A New Interdisciplinary Perspective of Man. *Man and Life* 5. 3 & 4: 127-149.
- Poyatos, F. 1988: Literary Anthropology: Toward a New Interdisciplinary Area. *Literary Anthropology: A New Interdisciplinary Approach to People, Signs and Literature*. ed. F. Poyatos. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 3-49.
- Rivers, T. J. 1991: Adultery in Early Anglo-Saxon Society. *Anglo-Saxon England* 20: 19-25.
- Shippey, T. A. 1972: *Old English Verse*. London: Hutchinson. 53-79.
- Tasioulas, J. 1996: The Mother's Lament: *Wulf and Eadwacer* Reconsidered. *Medium Aevum* 65, 1: 1-18.
- Whitbread, L. 1941: A Note in *Wulf and Eadwacer*. *Medium Aevum* 10: 150-154.



ON THE QUANTITY OF <I> IN OLD ENGLISH WORDS ENDING IN -LIC AND -LICE

1. INTRODUCTION

The phonology of Old English may be characterized as having quantity or weight (Lass 1994: 36) and, as such, it exhibits a vowel inventory which comprises a contrast between durationally long and short vocalic items¹. This contrast, however, happened not to be wholly systematic and overspread among the anglosaxons as they often failed to recognize this durational feature in the pronunciation of syllables. Stutterheim (1968: 449) thus mentions that “length is not a relevant feature in the vowel systems of the OG languages” and, similarly, Jones (1989: 15) refers to the lack of standardization in Old English on this respect stating that “the relative durational contrast [...] was one which speakers had no way of predicting, the length of the vowels having to be specified in the language’s lexicon as being arbitrarily long or short”.

Actually, this was particularly true in the case of Old English adjectives and adverbs ending up with *-lic* and *-lice*, respectively. We began to realize the lack of stability in the orthography and pronunciation of these types of items when implementing an automatic morphological analyser of Old English (Miranda et al. 1997) since the computer needed to be provided with a standard rule on this respect in order to generate a reliable and proficient morphological tagging. Jones (1972: 52) thus affirms that “the orthography [...] represents the vowels sounds underlying the alternants” and thus he

¹ In some manuscripts an acute accent is occasionally used to highlight some long vowels but this device was not systematic and it might be interpreted as a sign of emphasis. Notice that the same diacritic is also found in some dictionaries and grammars (Cf. Bosworth and Toller 1991; Skeat 1993). Some other authors, however, employ a macron to indicate the presence of long vowels whereas short ones are commonly left unmarked (Cf. *pæt* instead of *dæp̄lan*, etc.).

distinguishes between the abstract level (which stands for the orthographic representation of the vowel <i>) and the superficial level (which is realized by the phonological rules of that vowel, that is, [i] and [i:]). Therefore, on the grounds of the number of references consulted, we turned out to realize that there are serious controversies concerning the vowel length of adjectives like *gelic*, *cynelic* or *sweltendlic* and of adverbs like *wurplice*, *lustlice* or *souþlice*. Therefore, in the course of this paper we intend to present (1) an overview of the current state of disagreement found in the specific literature and (2) introduce our own viewpoint proposing to interpret these types of adjectives and adverbs as exclusively long.

2. STATE OF THE ART

Various sources such as grammars, primers and dictionaries have been examined for our purposes and, on account of the data obtained from their analysis, we have finally come to the conclusion that scholars usually interpret the pronunciation of these word items from four different points of view, which may be reported as follows:

1. First of all, there are scholars who believe that both *-lic* and *-lice* are phonologically pronounced with a weak syllable. Campbell (1959: 263; 275), among some others, supports this point of view and employs adjectives and adverbs like *dæglic*, *heofonlic*, *stronglic* and *mihtelice*, respectively, and all of them orthographically represented without the macron. Campbell (1959: 263) thus reckons that a process of shortening of long vowels occurred in the second element of compounds and this fact explains why in these types of words “the formative element *-lic* underwent early shortening”.

2. Secondly, we have also found those specialists who think that both *-lic* and *-lice* should be phonologically uttered as long. This view has been actually followed by several scholars. For instance, Brook (1955), in his account on the formation of adverbs from adjectives in *-liþc* (sic), definitely decides to make use of the long <i> and, as such, he mentions words like *luflīþce*, *freþondliþce* *eornostliþce*, etc. (Brook 1955: 56-57).

This point of view is also supported by the well-known dictionary of Old English by Bosworth and Toller (1991). *An Anglosaxon Dictionary* is actually

reputed to be one of the masterpieces on the subject and it is significant that the authors prefer to use the long vowel both with adjectives and adverbs. Therefore, they maintain the same vocalic quantity in pairs of words like *leoflic*/ *leoflice*, *freondlic*/ *freondlice*, *wislic*/ *wislice*, etc.

Furthermore, Bradley's dictionary of Middle English (1994) has also been reviewed for our purposes and, likewise, we could notice how he phonologically assigns a long syllabic quantity to those adjectives and adverbs in *-lic*, *-liche* and *-liche* as he systematically conceives them pronounced as exclusively long. Skeat (1993) also agrees with Bradley's procedure and resolves to represent these types of words with a long syllable (Cf. *æurlic* and *æurlice*) and, similarly, Lass (1994: 207) employs *gelic* and *gelice* both uttered with a long vowel.

3. Thirdly, we have also noticed those who consider that there are significant phonological differences between the pronunciation of adjectives and adverbs. One of the most relevant examples is Clark Hall's creditable dictionary of Old English (1894) in which the author explicitly maintains that adjectives are in all cases pronounced with a short vowel whereas adverbs are always to be uttered as long. Clark Hall therefore provides us with contrasts like *leoflic*/ *leoflice*, *freondlic*/ *freondlice*, *wislic*/ *w^mslice* or *soupllic*/ *soupllice*, etc.

4. Finally, there is another group of scholars who do not dare to afford a definite solution towards the phonemical representation of this vowel and, on the contrary, they tend to remain somewhere in-between. This is particularly the case of Mitchell (1995) who does not make use of the macron throughout the course of the book as in *hrædlice* (1995: 52) and, paradoxically, in the glossary enclosed at the end of the book he represents both adjectives and adverbs with a long vowel. Fernández (1982) should also be included within this trend of thought since he paradoxically illustrates *-lic* and *-lice* with the macron on pages 181 and 334; but he sometimes also employs the short form of the vowel <i> on pages 225 and 399, and in some others he clearly hesitates about the length of the vowel and represents it both with the macron and the symbol of short vowels (p. 247).

Additionally, we could mention the book of C. Montes et al. (1995) in which the authors plainly affirm that adjectives and adverbs in *-lic*/ *-lice* are not always pronounced either short or long but, on the contrary, the quantity

of the vowel in these cases will exclusively depend on the stress and emphasis of each word, that is, “el sufijo *lice* puede tener vocal larga o breve dependiendo de la fuerza acentual” (Montes et al. 1995: 328). Therefore, this reason explains why words like *freuondliþce*, *hwætliþce*, *speuðliþce* and *stearliþce* are to be conceived as long whereas *heardlice*, *holdlice* and *lætlice* could be understood both with a long or a short vowel.

This controversy, however, is not solely exclusive of Old English since a similar process has been observed in the case of Wulfila’s Gothic. Thus, the kind of <i> which operates in adjectives and adverbs in *-lic/ -lice* is orthographically represented in Gothic by means of <i> and <ei>, that is, *lihts* and *leihts* (Agud et al. 1988: 31-32) and, obviously, the graphemic opposition between these graphs of Gothic completely coincides with the phonemic opposition between long and short <i>. Therefore, a conflict has arisen in the last forty years about the phonological status of the length of these two vowels, that is, “philologically oriented linguists posit a length contrast while structuralists have come to agree that length has no distinctive function in the vowel system” (Venneman 1971: 90).

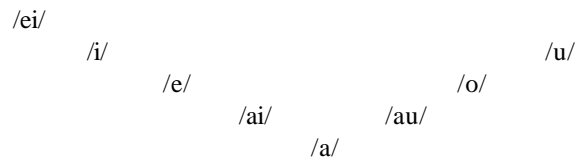
On the one hand, there is a group of scholars, Venneman in the lead (1971), who believe that there is a clear-cut differentiation between the phonetic realization of <i> and <ei> in Gothic, being two distinct sounds which reflect a different vowel length. According to this fact, Venneman argues that the few occurrences of mutual substitution between these two graphs are clearly the result of scribal errors¹. Thus, he comes to recognize the existence of length and quantity in Gothic and, therefore, they understand the phonological system of Wulfila as a set of short vowels (/i/, /ai/, /a/, /au/, /u/) and its counterpart of long ones (/ei/, /eμ/, /aiμ/, /aμ/, /auμ/, /oμ/, /uμ/).

¹ Notice that Venneman partially defends his point of view tracing these graphs back to the Greek language stating that “in the forth century <ei> always represented a long high front vowel, while <i> could represent a short or long front vowel” (Venneman 1971: 92). Agud, on the other hand, rejects the Greek antecedent of these vowels in the following terms: “no es probable que las correspondientes grafías griegas reflejen diferencias cuantitativas [...] pero lo cierto es que en gótico <ei> nota consecuentemente el resultado de la antigua <i>, del diptongo <ei> y de la contracción de dos <i>” (Agud et al. 1988: 32).

On the other hand, there is another set of scholars, especially Marchand (1955), Hamp (1958) and Jones (1958), who defend that Gothic vowels do not reveal a length contrast but, conversely, they argue that the only differences found in Wulfila's vowels are found to be a matter of tenseness and tone. Actually, it is particularly significant the following quotation by Marchand in which he states that the graphic system clearly evinces that there was no quantity and length in Gothic:

As to Wulfila's failure to signal the [...] difference between *ai* and *a*, *ui* and *u*, it has already been pointed out that none of the alphabets presumably known to Wulfila afforded a means of signalling two *a*-sounds or two *u*-sounds, since they all used one sign for all *a*-like sounds and one sign for all *u*-like sounds. It may well be, however, that the distinction had disappeared in Wulfila's dialect [...] The evidence of the graphic system indicates that there was no such difference" (Marchand 1955: 85).

As a consequence and contrary to the opinion held by Venneman, they phonologically understand the vowel system of Gothic as an unique set in which all the vowels are uttered with the same length but with slight differences in tone and tenseness¹. Thus, this system could be represented as follows:



All in all, the vowel system of Wulfila's gothic is found to be in continuous discord owing to the lack of evidences and facts leading to a systematic description. As in Old English, the question of length, and especially in the case of these adjectives and adverbs in *lihts/ leihts*, remains somehow open waiting for new approaches on the matter.

¹ Agud & al. observe on this respect that "tipológicamente este sistema de ocho o nueve timbres con sólo uno interior no resulta demasiado verosímil" (1988: 34).

3. DISCUSSION

The overall picture presented above allowed us to realize the serious controversy found in the specific literature. It is now our intention to present our own contribution on the subject and, on account of the large corpus of examples drawn from texts of the Old and Middle English period¹, we have been tempted to think that both *liȝc* and *liȝce* should be interpreted as exclusively long. Thus, our assumptions have been mainly based on the following hints:

1. First of all, we should take into account the formation of these adverbs ended up with *liȝce* in Old English. On the one hand, these types of adverbs were frequently formed from adjectives in *liȝc* by means of the addition of the suffix *-e* (identical in origin with the *-e* found in the instrumental case of adjectives), as in *gelīȝc* > *gelīȝce*, *freȝondliȝc* > *freȝondliȝce*, etc. However, on the other hand, the suffix *liȝce* as a whole was reinterpreted during the Old English period as an adverbial ending in itself and thus it was also used to form adverbs from adjectives which did not end in *-liȝc*, as in *heardliȝce*² and even from nouns such as *freȝondliȝce* ‘in a friendly manner’ or *eornostliȝce* ‘earnestly’ (Hogg 1992: 396-397).

As mentioned above, there are specialists (Cf. Clark Hall 1996) who think that adjectives in *-liȝc* are to be always conceived as short whereas adverbs in *-liȝce* should be interpreted as long. However, according to the formation of these types of adverbs in Old English, we are inclined to believe that there does not exist any justification which allows us to interpret adverbs formed with the suffix *-liȝce* as long and those ones shaped with the suffix *-e* as short. This point of view happens to be misleading since it would directly imply the existence of two variants of the same lexeme in Old English.

From an etymological point of view, however, both forms *-liȝc* and *-liȝce* are derived from the same Germanic root *-liȝka*, which was usually added to nouns with the meaning of ‘a kind of’, ‘a sort of’, etc. Moreover, in Old Germanic the word *-liȝka* was considered to be pronounced as long, that is why we do not come to agree with Clark Hall’s point of view since the ety-

¹ The texts consulted were *The Old English Holy Gospels* and *The Old English Apollonius of Tyre*, on the one hand, and *TheOrmulum* and Chaucer’s complete works, on the other.

² Notice that in these cases OE counts on several adverbial doublets, that is, those ones with the suffix *-e* (*hearde*) and those with *-liȝce* (*heardliȝce*) (Lass 1994: 207).

mological base leads us to consider *-liuc* and *-liuce* both with the same origin and, obviously, with the same length. This statement can also be supported attending to the length of the vowel in other Germanic languages, for instance, in Old Scandinavian (*-liuk*), Old High German (*-liuk*), Middle High German (*-liuch*), Old Frisian (*-liuk*) or Old Teutonic (*-liuko*) where the presence of the long vowel is observed (Cf. Feist 1923; Krahe 1977: 208-209; OED 1993).

2. Secondly, another hint inducing us to regard these adjectives and adverbs with a long vowel is based on the orthographic representation which these forms acquire in some texts of the period. One of the most outstanding examples is that of *The Old English Holy Gospels* in which it may be noticed that the translator of the Latin version sometimes employs an acute accent in order to denote a longer syllabic quantity than the rest of the syllables. Some extracts are now illustrated where this procedure occurs:

Sume cwædon he hyt is; Sume cwædon nese. ac is him *gelíc* [sic];
(*The Gospel according to St. John*, 9, 9).

Sóplíce [sic] ic eow secge p pes ferde geriht-wisud to his huse.
(*The Gospel according to St. Luke*, 18, 14).

3. Thirdly, *The Ormulum* also turned out to be a valuable asset for our purposes as the system of spelling devised by the author provides us with significant clues on the phonological nature of the vocalic quantity of *-liuc* and *-liuce*. As Mossé certainly reports, “the real interest aroused by *The Ormulum* comes from the system of spelling invented by the author and *methodically* (italics added) used by him throughout this book [...]” (Mossé 1952: 165) as he “used a system of orthographic representation designed to characterize, in a very systematic way, many features of his phonological system” (Jones 1972: 55).

As a matter of fact, the word *methodically* employed by Mossé turns out to be a key concept here as it depicts the high level of consistency and stability of the author’s spelling. Thus, the author of *The Ormulum* systematically duplicates the consonant after a vowel when the syllable is thought to be short whereas an only consonant follows the vowel when the latter is phonologically uttered as long. Therefore, from an orthographical point of view, it

happened to be very significant that the author of *The Ormulum* as a general rule tends to represent these types of adjectives and adverbs with just one <c>/ <ȳ>¹ indicating thus that in the Middle Ages, or at least in the Northern dialect in which it is written, the vowel <i> was generally pronounced as long. Notice, for instance, the form acquired by the adjectives *blipeliȳ* and *unnseȳenndliȳ* compared with the consonantal repetition of words such as *moderr*, *himmsellfenn* or *unnderr*:

Annd tatt te Laferrd Jesu Crist
Was borenn her to manne
? att time patt hiss moderr wass
I pewwdom unnderr Laferrd,
? att dide he forr to shæwenn swa
unnseȳenndliȳ mecnesse,
To tæchenn purrh himmsellfenn swa
Annd purrh hiss hallȳhe bisne
? att ȳuw pirrp beren *blipeliȳ*
? ewwdom off ȳure Laferrd
(*The Ormulum*, 3608-16).

4. Another valuable source of information has been provided by Chaucer. Methodologically, we proceeded to compile all the adjectives and adverbs in *-lich* and *-liche*² available in Chaucer's complete works in order to subsequently accomplish an analysis of these forms both from a rhyming and a metrical point of view.

Chaucer's rhyme, on the one hand, turned out to be a valuable asset for our purposes as, following Jones' statement, "rhyming evidence can [...] be important in showing historical homophony" (Jones 1972: 53). Therefore, we proceeded to examine Chaucer's poetry in order to locate those lines in which *-lich* and *-liche* appeared at the end of a line and to identify which words were mainly employed by Chaucer to rhyme with them. We could thus observe that the only rhyming word appearing with these types of adjectives and adverbs was *rich/ riche*, that is, an adjective whose first vowel is phonologically realized as long (Cf. Bradley 1994: 506) and consequently, a

¹ In *The Ormulum* the form *-lic* is frequently used before a vowel and *-liȳ* is preferred when a consonant follows.

² Notice that these items may also be represented in Chaucer as *-lych* and *-lyche*.

complete phonetic equivalence is found between the two items of the rhyme. Some examples are now illustrated on this respect:

For, as of trouthe, is there noon her *lyche*
Of al the women in this worlde *riche*
(*Anel*, 76-77).

Yit mot he doon bothe ryght, to poore and *ryche*,
Al be that hire estaat be nat *yliche*, [...]
(*LGW*, 388-89).

Apart from the rhyming evidence, on the other hand, metrics also happened to be very helpful as a way to interpret the quantity of *-lich* and *-liche*. Thus, from a metrical point of view we proceeded to analyse Chaucerian iambic pentameters in which these types of adjectives and adverbs occurred in order to realize Chaucer's tendency towards the use of stressed or unstressed syllables in these word items. As a result, we could notice that Chaucer actually takes advantage of this situation using both of these forms according to his metrical needs. Although Chaucer makes use of a certain freedom on this respect, it should be accounted that we have obtained a large number of Chaucer's lines in which the forms *-lich* and *-liche* are considered to be long. Some examples are illustrated including their metrical analysis to show how Chaucer actually regarded them uttered as long:

And *áungellych* hys wínges gán he spréde (*LGW*, 168).

He félte_a cóold swerd *sódeynliche* glyde (*KnT*, 1575).

But *tréwelích*, as yét me líst nat pléye (*Tr*, V, 987).

And háve_a mántel *róialliche*_ybóre (*GP*, 378).

As we have shown above, Chaucer clearly tends to use these adjectives and adverbs ending up with *-lich* and *-liche* with long quantity and, therefore, it should be taken as another hint which directly persuades us to think that they were actually so in the Old English period. However, their development into Contemporary English does not seem to definitely support our hypothesis about the length of these types of adjectives and adverbs as we

find forms such as *truly* or *wisely* as opposed to *manlike* or *womanlike*. This double development may be described as follows:

On the one hand, Contemporary English displays a set of adverbs built by means of the addition of the suffix *-ly*. Nowadays, this group is regarded to be the most productive as the majority of present-day adverbs are basically formed using this suffix, for example, *truly*, *bitterly*, *happily* or *soothly* (now obsolete). Historically, these types of adverbs are considered to be directly derived from the Old English long forms *-liȝc* and *-liȝce*. Today, however, *ly*-adverbs are pronounced with a short vowel since, as Jespersen (1961: 128) and Gimson (1970: 103) state, it is the result of the gradual loss of the original secondary stress and the consequent shortening of the vowel ('freond,liȝce > 'friendly).

On the contrary, although less frequent in appearance, present-day English also counts on another set of adverbs formed by means of the suffix *-like*, such as *manlike*, *queenlike*, *womanlike*, etc. in which the suffix is mainly employed to convey the meaning 'a sort of', 'in the manner of', etc. These types of structures started to develop in the second half of the XV century and they were basically formed adding the suffix *-liche* in the south whereas *-like* was preferred in the Northern dialects.

? ær wass sene patt Ƴho wass *soplike* Godess *moderr* (*The Ormulum*, 6445).

And *augellych* hys winges gan he sprede (Chaucer, *LGW*, 168).

From a historical point of view, this suffix is also directly derived from the Old English long *-liȝc* and *-liȝce* and it was the Great Vowel Shift itself which turned them into the contemporary form *-like* phonetically represented as [laɪk]. Therefore, in Jespersen's terms, "the vowel was often long, resulting in a diphthong" (Jespersen 1961: 66).

Therefore, independently of their origin and the form that these adverbs have acquired in Contemporary English, both types of adverbs must be accounted to have developed from the same Old English suffix and the diachronic evidence seems to allow us to consider both as having long quantity or weight. That is, on the one hand, *like*-adverbs are nowadays

pronounced as long maintaining thus the same quantity inherited from Old English whereas, on the other hand, adverbs in -ly have clearly undertaken a shortening process mainly caused by the gradual weakening of its original secondary stress. In fact, the shortening of the vowel is widely accepted (*Cf.* Jespersen 1961; Gimson 1970; OED 1993) and, therefore, it implies to consider the vowel <i> as etymologically long.

4. CONCLUSIONS

All in all, in the course of this paper we have attempted to outline the rather controversial issue concerning the length of these types of adjectives and adverbs in Old English. Various sources were reviewed for the purpose and an outstanding state of disagreement has been found in the specific literature. Nevertheless, we realized that there are certain clues which plainly afford us definite evidences about their length in Old English (such as their Germanic etymological origin, their development into Contemporary English, etc.).

Finally, it should be acknowledged that, in general, the question of length in Old English actually arises serious controversies amongst the specialists as it was a feature not wholly standardized and precise in the Anglo-saxon period. Therefore, length stands out as an issue in which new researching is further needed in order to reach an overall and systematic description of the subject.

Javier Calle Martín & Antonio Miranda García

University of Malaga

REFERENCES

- Agud Aparicio, A. & Fernández Álvarez, M. P. 1988: *Manual de Lengua Gótica*. Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca.
- Beck, R. C. 1978: Final Long Vowels in Gothic. *Studia Linguistica*, 29: 16-23.
- Bosworth, J. and Toller, T. N. 1991: *An Anglosaxon Dictionary*. Oxford: OUP.
- Bradley, H. ed. 1994: *A Middle English Dictionary*. Oxford: OUP.
- Brook, G. L. 1955: *An Introduction to Old English*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Campbell, A. 1959: *Old English Grammar*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Clark Hall, J. R. 1996: *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Feist, S. 1923: *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Gotischen Sprache*. Halle: Verlag von Max Niemeyer.
- Fernández, F. 1982: *Historia de la Lengua Inglesa*. Madrid: Gredos.
- Gimson, A.C. 1970: *An Introduction to the Pronunciation of English*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Hogg, R. M. ed. 1992: *The Cambridge History of the English Language*. vol. 1. Cambridge: CUP.
- Jespersen, O. 1961: *A Modern English Grammar on Historical Principles*. 7 vols. London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd.
- Jones, Ch. 1972: *An Introduction to Middle English*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.
- Jones, Ch. 1989: *A History of English Phonology*. London & New York: Longman.
- Krahe, H. 1977: *Lingüística Germánica*. Madrid: Cátedra.
- Lass, R. 1994: *Old English: A Historical Linguistic Companion*. Cambridge: CUP.

- Miranda Garcia, A., Triviño Rodríguez, J. L. and Calle Martín, J. 1997: MAOET: A Morphological Analyzer of Old English Texts. *Proceedings of the Xth International Conference of the Spanish Society for English Mediaeval Language and Literature (SELIM)*. Zaragoza, 16-18 October 1997. Forthcoming.
- Mitchell, B. 1995: *An Invitation to Old English and Anglo-Saxon England*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Montes, C. et al. 1995: *El Inglés Antiguo en el Marco de las Lenguas Germánicas Occidentales*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas.
- Mossé, F. 1952: *A Handbook of Middle English*. Baltimore & London: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Oxford English Dictionary*. 1993: 2nd. ed. on Compact Disk. Oxford: OUP.
- Primary Source Media. ed. 1995: *Chaucer Life and Times*. CD-Rom.
- Skeat, W. W. 1871: *The Gospel according to Saint Mark*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Skeat, W. W. 1878a: *The Gospel according to Saint John*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Skeat, W. W. 1878b: *The Gospel according to Saint Luke*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Skeat, W. W. 1887: *The Gospel according to Saint Matthew*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Skeat, W. W. 1993: *The Concise Dictionary of Etymology*. Hertfordshire: Wordsworth.
- Stutterheim, C. F. P. 1968: Gothic and Phonology. *Lingua*, 21: 443-454.
- Venneman, T. 1971: The Phonology of Gothic Vowels. *Language*, 47.1: 90-132.

* † *

THE LATIN SOURCES OF ONE OF ÆLFRIC'S OLD ENGLISH HOMILIES ON SAINT STEPHEN¹

To James E. Cross (July 20, 1920 — December 18, 1996), *in memoriam*.

0. INTRODUCTION

It seems that Ælfric of Eynsham (who died c.1012 A.D.), perhaps the most prolific writer of West Saxon prose of his time, wrote at least two homilies on saint Stephen.²

The first of these Ælfrician homilies about saint Stephen (Thorpe ed. 1843: I, 44-57)³ bears the title of *Passio Beati Stephani, Protomartyris*,⁴ deals with what its Latin title announces and seems to have been drawn mainly from chapters six and seven of *The Acts of the Apostles*.

The second one (Godden ed. 1979: 12-18),⁵ written in 992 A.D. (Clemoes 1959: 244) and entitled *Natali Sancti Stephani Protomartyris*, deals with the miracles attributed to the relics and places of worship to the martyr in North Africa, and closely matches material in chapters eight and nine of the twenty-

¹ This research has been possible thanks to financial support from Fundació Caixa Castelló, Bancaixa.

² One of the seven deacons first chosen by the Apostles (Acts 6, 5) and later stoned to death by the Jews (Acts 7, 54-60).

³ Ms. Cambridge University Library Gg. 3. 28, ff 3-7. (Ker 1957: 13)

⁴ Written in 989 AD. (Clemoes 1959: 244)

⁵ Ms. Cambridge University Library Gg. 3. 28, ff 138-140v. (Ker 1957: 16)

second book of Augustine of Hippo's *De Civitate Dei*.¹ (Morán ed. 1965: 713-722)

The present paper deals with the second of these homilies, supplies data revealing its Augustinian sources and yields some brief descriptions of the main translating and composing techniques Ælfric seems to have used.

0.1. HOW TO FIRST APPROACH ÆLFRIC OF EYNHAM'S LATIN SOURCES

In the Latin praefatio to his *Catholicorum Sermonum Anglice* (Thorpe ed. 1843: I, 1), Ælfric himself reveals the main sources to his collection of homilies: [...] Hos namque auctores in hac explanatione sumus sequuti, videlicet Augustinum Hipponensem, Hieronimum, Bedam, Gregorium, Smaragdum, et aliquando Haymonem.²

Later, in the Old English praefatio to his *Liber Sermonum Catholicorum in Anno Secundo*, Ælfric writes not so explicitly as before that ic hi genám of halgum godspellum, and æfter geþungenra láreowa trahtnungum hi asmeade. ? æra láreowa naman ic awrát on Íære ærran béc. on Íære ledenan forespræce [...].³ (Godden ed. 1979: 1-2)

The reach of Ælfric's knowledge and Latin input, however, goes far further than the few names above. A general map of the authors Ælfric knew and used in the composition of his own writings should include at least the names of Abbo of Fleury,⁴ Ælélwold of Winchester,⁵ Alcuin of York,¹ Amalarius,²

¹ On the one hand, Gneuss (1981: 17, 37) reports the existence of two manuscripts containing DCD, one in the Durham Cathedral Library and another in the Bodleian Library, Oxford; on the other hand, Lapidge (1985: 77, 83) says that one late Anglo-Saxon copy of Augustinus De ciuitate Dei was owned by the monastic library at Peterborough.

² "Indeed we have followed these authors in this writing, that is to say, Augustine of Hippo, Jerome, Bede, Gregory, Smaragdus and sometimes Haymo [of Auxerre]".

³ "I took them [the homilies] from the holy gospels, and looked closely into them after the writings of the pious teachers. I wrote the name of the teachers in the Latin introduction in the first book".

⁴ An author that has no contributor in the project that is called Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture (SASLC from now on). (Biggs et al. eds. 1990: 221)

⁵ An outstanding figure in Anglo-Latin learning such as Ælélwold of Winchester is also lacking an SASLC contributor. (Biggs et al. eds. 1990: 221)

Ambrose,³ Augustine of Hippo,⁴ Basil,⁵ Bede,⁶ Cassian,⁷ Cassiodorus,⁸ Caesarius of Arles,⁹ Chrysostom,¹⁰ Fulgentius the Mythographer,¹¹ Gregory,¹² Haymo of Auxerre,¹³ Hericus of Auxerre,¹⁴ Hilary of Poitiers,¹⁵ Hrabanus Maurus,¹⁶ Isidore of Seville,¹⁷ Jerome,¹⁸ Julian of Toledo,¹⁹ Martin of Braga,²⁰ Origen,²¹ Paul the Deacon,²² Petrus Chrysologus,²³ Quodvulteus of Carthage,²⁴ Ratramnus of Corbie,²⁵ Rufinus,²⁶ Sedulius Scottus,²⁷ Smaragdus,¹ and Surius² (Skeat ed. 1966: II, xlv-l; Pope ed. 1967: I,

¹ Alcuin of York is being studied in the SASLC project by D. Bullough, P. Szarmach, V. Law, F. Biggs and T. Mackay. (Biggs et al. eds. 1990: 221-2)

² Amalarius has no SASLC contributor.

³ L. Swift is Ambrose's SASLC contributor. (Biggs et al. eds. 1990: 222)

⁴ J. Kelly and J. Cavadini are the scholars with the responsibility to study the presence of Augustine in the written culture of the Anglo-Saxons. (Biggs et al. eds. 1990: 223)

⁵ W. Stoneman is Basil's SASLC contributor. (Biggs et al. 1990: 223)

⁶ G. Brown is Venerable Bede's SASLC contributor. (Biggs et al. 1990: 223)

⁷ Cassian is being studied by D. Nides. (Biggs et al. eds. 1990: 224)

⁸ J. Halporn is SASLC scholar devoted to the study of Cassiodorus. (Biggs et al. eds. 1990: 224)

⁹ J. Trahern is Caesarius's SASLC contributor. (Biggs et al. eds. 1990: 224)

¹⁰ Chrysostom has no SASLC contributor.

¹¹ Hans Sauer is Fulgentius's SASLC contributor. (Biggs et al. 1990: 227)

¹² The study of the presence of Pope Gregory the Great's writings in the culture of the Anglo-Saxons is the responsibility of M. McC. Gatch. (Biggs et al. eds. 1990: 228)

¹³ Haymo of Auxerre is being studied by F. Biggs. (Biggs et al. eds. 1990: 228)

¹⁴ Hericus of Auxerre has been forgotten in the SASLC project.

¹⁵ An author with no SASLC contributor. (Biggs et al. eds. 1990: 228)

¹⁶ William Schipper is Hrabanus Maurus's SASLC contributor. (Biggs et al. eds. 1990: 229)

¹⁷ M. Herren is Isidore's SASLC contributor. (Biggs et al. eds. 1990: 229)

¹⁸ T. Amos is Jerome's SASLC scholar. (Biggs et al. eds. 1990: 229)

¹⁹ Julian of Toledo is studied by F. Biggs et alii. (Biggs et al. eds. 1990: 230)

²⁰ Paul Szarmach is Martin of Braga's SASLC contributor. (Biggs et al. 1990: 231)

²¹ Origen is being studied by D. Nides. (Biggs et al. eds. 1990: 232)

²² James Cross was studying Paul the Deacon for the project. (Biggs et al. 1990: 233)
Jimmy –as professor Cross enjoyed being called- died on december 18th, 1996, aged 76.

²³ D. Sprunger is Chrysologus's SASLC contributor. (Biggs et al. 1990: 233)

²⁴ T. Hall is Quodvulteus's SASLC contributor. (Biggs et al. 1990: 234)

²⁵ Who is being studied by T. Leinbaugh. (Biggs et al. 1990: 234)

²⁶ P. Jackson is Rufinus's SASLC contributor. (Biggs et al. 1990: 234)

²⁷ Sedulius Scottus seems to have been forgotten in the project.

1967: I, 150-177, and *passim*), together with a number of books from the Bible and anonymous Latin works.

However, as Grundy (1991: 4) says, Ælfric treats these authorities “with a degree of freedom, substituting and rearranging where necessary [...] in order to present an orthodox viewpoint [...]”. Some of this “degree of freedom” is also explored here.

0.2. AUGUSTINE OF HIPPO WITHIN ÆLFRIC OF EYNSHAM

Needless to say, completeness is far from our present interest and possibilities. Let us only point out, on the one hand, that Pope (1967: I, 165-6) has identified longer or shorter excerpts from at least nine different books of Augustine³ in seventeen of the thirty Ælfrician homilies he edited.

On the other hand, Augustine is also visible in a number of places in the edition by Godden (1979: 12, 56, 225, and *passim*).

It is reasonable to admit with Grundy (1991: 7) that “it is not exaggeration to say that almost all the ideas contained within Ælfric’s sermons are to be found in Augustine”.

1. NATALE SANCTI STEPHANI PROTOMARTYRIS

The printed text here sourced⁴ is a transcription mainly from Cambridge University Library MS.Gg. 3. 28 (ff. 138r-140v) collated with London British Library MS. Cotton Vitellius D. xvii (ff. 140v-144r), in which “lines 38-87 [are] lost, and text defective at edges of leaves”. (Godden ed. 1979: 12)

Apart from *a*) the introduction (lines 1-7), in which Augustine’s first-person voice is offered to the receiver of the text, *AUGUSTINUS se wisa biscop spræc to his folce [...] and pus cwæþ; [...]*⁵ (Godden ed. 1979: 12), *b*) a short

¹ Smaragdus is being studied by J. Hill. (Biggs et al. 1990: 235)

² Surius’s name does not occur in the SASLC list.

³ None of them DCD.

⁴ Godden ed. 1979: 12-18.

⁵ “AUGUSTINE the wise bishop spoke to his people [...] and thus said; [...]”

persuasive fragment (lines 74-78) stating that the miracles reported are only a few out of those many attributable to the martyr, and *c*) the final doxology (lines 177-217), mainly a *scissors-and-glue* mixture of common places from the New Testament, the homily describes twelve miracles all of them derived from Augustine's *DCD* ¹XXII, 8: 8, 10, 12-22, together with two short sentences from what Morán edited as the beginning of the ninth chapter of book XXII, all included in his edition. (Morán ed. 1965: 713-722)

Despite the popularity of many of these Augustinian tales, later contained in the 13th-century Latin *Legenda Aurea*, and despite the impeccable introduction and useful notes by professor Godden (1979: ix-xcvi, 346-380), the Ælfrician homily dealt with here remains so far unsourced. Indeed, the editor states that "in assessing the authenticity of the variant readings I have taken into account manuscript distribution, scribal tendencies, the Latin sources [...]". Yet the Latin sources are not made known.

1.1. FIRST MIRACLE. THE HEALING OF THE INSANE GIRL

Sum Yponiensis mæden wearf deofolseoc. ? a gesmyrode sum mæssepreost hí mid ele pæs halgan cyfæres Stephanes, and heo pærrihte wearf gewittig;² (Godden ed. 1979: 12) derives from *DCD* XXII, 8, 8, Hipponiensem quandam virginem scio, cum se oleo perunxisset, cui pro illa orans presbyter instillaverat lacrymas suas, mox a daemonio fuisse sanatam.³ (Morán ed. 1965: 713)

Augustine's tale has been altered in the Ælfrician text by the addition of this miracle that does not belong to the Stephen series in *DCD*. What is more, in Augustine it is the insane girl who annoints herself with the oil *cui pro illa orans presbyter instillaverat lacrymas suas*. In Ælfric it is a priest that annoints the virgin *mid ele pæs halgan cyfæres Stephanes*.

¹ *DCD* = Augustine of Hippo's *De Civitate Dei*.

² "A certain maiden from Hippo was possessed by a devil. Then a priest annointed her with oil of Stephen the holy martyr and she returned immediately in her wits".

³ "I know a certain maiden from Hippo who having annointed herself with the oil into which the priest that prayed for her had poured his tears, was immediately released from the devil".

The case means a curious addition including an alteration that will become the strong base in the homily of further references to the martyr's healing oil. However, the miracle as told by Ælfric has nothing to do with the original Stephen story in Augustine's *DCD*.

1.2. SECOND MIRACLE. THE HEALING OF THE BLIND WOMAN

Sum blind wif com to pære halgan cyrcan pe wæs on wurfmynte pises eadigan weres gehalgod. and hí gebæd. and pærrihte geseah; Heo ía gewende ongan blissigende. buton latteowe. seo íe ær blind pider gelæd wæs¹ (Godden ed. 1979: 12) derives from *DCD* XXII.8.10, Ad Aquas Tibilitanas episcopo afferente Praiecto reliquias martyris gloriosissimi Stephani, ad eius memoriam veniebat magnae multitudinis concursus et occursus. Ibi caeca mulier, ut ad episcopum portantem duceretur, oravit: flores quos ferebat dedit: recepit, oculis admovit, protinus vidit. Stupentibus qui aderant, praeibat exsultans, viam carpens, et viae ducem ulterius non requirens.² (Morán ed. 1965: 714)

Ælfric seems to have omitted some original material and added some new one absent from *DCD* but necessary to the new isotopy of his narrative. Thus, in Augustine it is a blind woman who comes up to bishop Praiectus bearing the relics of Stephen. After getting her eyes in touch with some flowers she had previously offered to the bishop, the blind woman is able to see again. In Ælfric it is a blind woman who goes to a church dedicated to Stephen's memory in which she will be healed after her praying. Obviously, Ælfric is avoiding the place-name in the Augustinian miracle, the name of the bishop and the flowers. However, a new and solid reference in the Ælfrician homily has been created, *seo halge cyrcan pe wæs on wurfmynte pises*

¹ "A certain blind woman went to the holy church that was consecrated to the honour of the holy man and she asked for him and she immediately saw; so, she who first had been led blind to that place, was coming back happily without a guide".

² "As bishop Praiectus was carrying the relics of the most glorious martyr saint Stephen to the baths in Tibilis, a large crowd joined and went with him. A blind woman from the neighbourhood asked to be led up to the bishop that carried the relics. She gave some flowers she had: (the bishop) received them, placed them near her eyes and she suddenly could see. All the present admired, she went before the crowd leaping happily. She then took her way without requiring a guide".

eadigan weres gehalgod [=“the holy church that was consecrated to the honour of this holy man”].

1.3. THIRD MIRACLE. THE RESURRECTION OF EUCHARIUS

Eucharius hatte sum mæssepreost on pam lande pe is geháten his-pania. se wæs fearle geswenct mid lansumum broce. Ía gebrohte se bisop Possidius. sum íing lytles of íære foresædan cyrcan pæs eadigan stephanes. and se preost purh pæt wearf gehæled; Eft syllan him becom ðer untrummys. ? æt hé forliferde. and his lic bewunden læg. ac him man lede onuppab his agene tunican. Íe wæs gebroht fram pære cyrcan pæs eadigan cyleres. and hé of deafe aras¹; (Godden ed. 1979: 12) seems to draw from DCD XXII.8.12, Eucharius est presbyter ex Hispania, Calamae habitat, veteri morbo calculi laborabat; per memoriam supradicti martyris, quam Possidius illo advexit episcopus, salvus factus est. Idem ipse postea morbo alio praevalente, mortuus sic iacebat, ut ei iam pollices ligarentur; opitulatione memorati martyris, cum de memoria eius reportata fuisset et super iacentis corpus missa ipsius presbyteri tunica, suscitatus est.² (Morán ed. 1965: 714-715)

Ælfric follows the kernel of the Augustinian message but seems to have been pushed to take some decisions that slightly alter the original Latin hue.

1.3.1. New unimportant information is added *a)* to explain the Anglo-Saxon receiver the nature of an exotic place-name in the story, Hispania, *pæt land pe is geháten hispania*, and *b)* to link the present story to the

¹ “Eucharius was called a certain priest from the land that is named Hispania who was severely troubled by a long disease. Then bishop Possidius brought a relic from the aforesaid church of the holy Stephen and the priest was healed with that. Later again another disease went to him so that he died, and his corpse was laid wrapped, but someone covered it with his own tunic that had been brought from the church of the holy martyr, and he from death arose”.

² “Eucharius is a priest from Hispania, a dweller of Calama, who suffered from gallstones for a long time. He was healed by the relic of the same martyr, that bishop Possidius had brought. This same priest, once again, having suffered from another disease, was laying dead so that his thumbs had already been tied, resurrected thanks to the grace of the mentioned martyr. The priest’s tunic was carried to touch the relic of the saint, then the body was covered with it so that the priest suddenly came back into life”.

preceeding one, the healing of the blind woman, in which an element absent from *DCD* is introduced with the aim of setting up a strong reference to shape new isotopy; that is to say, *seo halige cyrcan pe wæs on wurlmynte pises eadigan weres gehalgod*. In Ælfric it is bishop Possidius who carries the relic of *lære foresædan cyrcan pæs eadigan Stephanes*. However, there is no “aforesaid church” in Augustine since the name of the place Possidius has taken the relic from is not mentioned at all.

1.3.2. Some original material had been altered at least twice: *a)* *morbus calculi* (=“sickness of the stone”) has lost its original referential accuracy turned into an Old English umbrella-word, *broc*, a neuter noun meaning “affliction”, “trouble”, “malady”, “sickness”, etc. (Bosworth and Toller 1983: 126), and *b)* the translator’s mediation has been required to repair a deep cultural gap between Augustine’s early-Christian Numidia and Ælfric’s Anglo-Saxon Oxfordshire. Indeed, according to Augustine’s account, romanized Numidians used to tie together the thumbs of a corpse to provide it with some symmetry and dignity. So, when Eucharius dies *ei iam pollices ligarentur* [=“his thumbs had already been tied”], something exotic to an Anglo-Saxon mind. The gap had been fittingly filled in by means of a cultural change, *his lic bewunden læg* [=“his body was laid wrapped”].

1.3.3. The name of Possidius’s episcopal city, Calama, is avoided not to puzzle the Anglo-Saxon audience with useless information.

1.4. FOURTH MIRACLE. THE CONVERSION OF MARTIAL. A CASE OF GREEK ANAGNORISIS IMPORTED

Martialis hatte sum hæfen wer. on wintrum geripod. hé onscunode micclum cristenra manna eawfæstnysse. ? a wæs his dohtor cristen swife gelyfed. and hire wer wæs on íam ylcan geara gefullod [...] Nyste hé peah ær pæt se eadiga wer stephanus on his írowunge swa clypode. ac íurh his íingunge hé wearf to fulluhte. and to íam wordum onbryd ¹(*Godden ed. 1979*) is a rendering from

¹ “Martial was called a heathen man many years old that hated greatly the religion of the Christians. His daughter was a Christian that much believed and her husband had been baptized that same year [...] However he did not know before that the

Augustine's DCD XXII.8.13, Fuit ibi vir in ordine suo primarius, nomine Martialis, aevo iam gravis, et multum a religione abhorrens christiana. Habebat sane fidelem filiam, et generum eodem anno baptizatum [...] cum haec verba beatissimi Stephani, quando lapidatus est a Iudaeis, ultima fuisse nesciret: quae huic quoque ultima fuerunt: nam non multo post etiam ipse defunctus est.¹ (Morán ed. 1965: 714-715)

An abstract of the Augustinian story may come as follows: Martial, a powerful anti-Christian nobleman is very sick and about to die. Both his daughter and son-in-law, however, are Christian. They ask him to believe in God before dying, but Martial ignores them. The son-in-law goes to pray to saint Stephen's church, where he takes some flowers from the altar. Then, the son-in-law places the flowers *ad caput* of his unbelieving father-in-law. Before dawn Martial requires the presence of the local bishop, who was out *apud Hipponem*. Instead, some priests come up to him. Surprisingly, Martial states to believe and is baptized anon. Then, just before his death, Martial miraculously utters the same last words saint Stephen had uttered before dying after stoned by the Jews, *Criste, accipe spiritum meum*.² (Acts 7: 58)

Indeed, anagnorisis³, often used as literary resource in sacred biography⁴, is a technique from Greek drama. (Heffernan 1992: 115-117)

Apart from a pair of grammatical noises and a threefold level of translating changes produced, unavoidable in this kind of textual interaction, the narrative structure of the Augustinian tale remains basically the same in the Ælfrician rendering.

holy man Stephen had said so in his martyrdom. Yet thanks to his intercession he was baptized and inspired with those words".

¹ "In that place there was a man called Martial, a most important man in his society, already an old man, that greatly hated the Christian religion. Actually he had a believing daughter and his son-in-law had been baptized in the same year [...] he did not know that these had been the last words of the glorious Stephen when stoned by the Jews. These had been too his last words for shortly after he passed away".

² "Christ, receive my soul".

³ Anagnorisis as a Greek word means "recognition".

⁴ Good examples of anagnorisis in Old English literature are given in the ninth-century Mercian Old English Martyrology, particularly the notice on saint Eugenia (Herzfeld ed. 1900: 4-6), and in Ælfric's *Lives of Saints*, especially the accounts on saint Eugenia (Skeat ed. 1966: I, 25-51), saint Euphrosyne (Skeat ed. 1966: II, 334-355) and saint Eustace. (Skeat ed. 1966: II, 190-219)

The fact of Ælfric's using a name under its genitive shape, *Martialis*, as the grammar subject of the first sentence in the tale does not alter the hue of the source message; however, to change the original value of a little preposition into another's in the target text can easily vary the original message from the source text, as it happens when the Latin preposition *ad* (=“near”, “by the side of”) is turned into Old English *under* (=“under”, “beneath”). Seemingly, this is a minor change. However, if considered together with some other alterations and additions, it confirms itself as a part in the technique Ælfric used to emphasize the idea of an immediate healing effect from the flowers *ad* (=“under”?) Martial's head.

1.4.1. Different ways to reach the same reference?

First; Martial, *vir in ordine suo primarius* (=“a most important man in his society”) becomes *sum hæfen wer* (=“a heathen man”); second, the Latin noun *gener* (=“son-in-law”) has become Old English *hire wer* (=“her husband” = “Martial's daughter's husband”), and third, the Latin prepositional phrase *ante diculum* (=“before dawn”) has been enlarged into *on pære ylcan nihte æfter his frumslæpe* [=“in that same night after his (Martial's) first sleep”].

The first alteration emphasizes the evil-natured condition of Martial before his miraculous conversion. The second alteration is absolutely meaningless. The third one, however, is another agent in Ælfric's exaggerating technique if considered both as an alteration, *on pære ylcan nihte*, and an addition, *æfter his frumslæpe*. Ælfric is evidently shortening the span between the laying of the flowers *under* Martial's head and his sudden claiming for the bishop.

1.4.2. So, two minor additions shape up a clearer target message. One, *ut christianus fieret* (=“so that he became a Christian”) has been enlarged into *pæt he cristen wurde ær his ende* (=“so that he became a Christian before his end”), and two, *ad capud* (=“near the head”) grown into *under pæs hæfenan heafod* (=“under the head of the heathen”), a double phenomenon within the same one phrase: a preposition changed and a noun postmodification added.

1.4.3. The elisions observed also imply the formation of a new target (Ælfrician) isotopy. First, *quando lapidatus est a Iudaeis* (=“when stoned by the Jews”) has been reduced to *on his ende* (=“in his end”), thus avoiding the Anglo-Saxon receiver an unpleasant, exotic and unnecessary remark. Second, the elision of a whole relative clause postmodifying *episcopum*¹ prevents the Anglo-Saxon receiver from the effects of a disturbing first-person personal pronoun², and strengthens the new isotopy for it comes apparent to the Anglo-Saxon audience that all the miracles happen in one same place, which is not the case in *DCD*.

1.5. FIFTH MIRACLE. THE HEALING OF THE THREE GOUTY MEN

pær wæron eac gehælede pry fótadlige men purh íone halgan cyðere. Twegen landes men. and an ælfeodig; pa landes me wurdon pærrihte gehælede. and íam ælfeodigan wearf geswutelod hwæt he to his fotum lecgan sceolde. and he swa dyde swa him geswutelod wæs. and seo seocnys pærrihte geswác³ (Godden ed. 1979: 13) seems a rendering from Augustine's *DCD* XXII.8.14, *Sanati sunt illic per eundem martyrem etiam podagri duo, unus civis, peregrinus unus; sed civis omni modo: peregrinus autem per revelationem quid adhiberet quando doleret, audivit; et cum hoc fecerit, dolor continuo conquiescit.*⁴ (Morán ed. 1965: 715-716)

This short tale in the homily contains a good example of Ælfric's exaggerating points of view. As seen, Augustine tells the story of *podagri duo* (=“two gouty men”). Ælfric writes of *pry fótadlige men* (=“three gouty men”).

¹ qui mecum forte tunc erat apud Hipponem [=“who was perhaps with me (Augustine) at Hippo”].

² Augustine's own voice. Let that initial AUGUSTINUS [...] cwælf be remembered.

³ “There three gouty men were also healed thanks to the martyr. Two men of this country and one foreigner. The men of this country were immediately healed. The foreigner was told what he should do to his feet. He did as told and the sickness disappeared anon”.

⁴ “Two gouty men were also healed in the same place by the same martyr, one citizen and one foreigner. The citizen was thoroughly cured and the foreigner heard a revelation showing the remedy to be applied when pain came. He applied the remedy and pain was instantly calmed”.

1.6. SIXTH MIRACLE. THE RESURRECTION OF THE CHILD A CART RUN OVER

Sum cild plegode gymeleaslice and bearn under anum yrnendum hweole. and wearf to deafe tocwysed; Seo moder pa dreorig bær pæs cildes lic to pam foresædum gemynde pæs halgan stephanes. and hit sona deedcucode and andsund æteowode¹ (Godden ed. 1979: 13) has been drawn from Augustine's DCD XXII.8.15, Audurus nomen est fundi, ubi ecclesia est, et in ea memoria Stephani martyris. Puerum quemdam parvulum, cum in area luderet, exorbitantes boves qui vehiculum trahebant, rota obtriverunt, et confestim palpitavit expirans. Hunc mater arreptum ad eandem memoriam posuit; et non solum revixit, verum etiam illaesus apparuit.² (Morán ed. 1965: 716)

As it often happens *chez* Ælfric, the name of the place in which the miracle happens, *Audurus* in this case, is strategically avoided. The Anglo-Saxon receiver is not disturbed with superfluous information and, what is more, new isotopy reinforcing the idea that all the miracles take place at one single place can be seen at work.

A minor case of elision can be also observed in the translating of this tale. In *DCD*, the vehicle running over the child is drawn by an explicit grammar subject, *exorbitantes boves* (=“runaway oxen”). In Ælfric, however, it is the boy who *bearn under anum yrnendem hweole* (=“ran under one running wheel”), with no mention to those Augustinian runaway oxen. The Latin message, nevertheless, has been basically kept.

¹ “A certain child was playing carelessly and went under a running wheel so that he was killed. The mother then frightfully took the child's body to the aforesaid memory of holy Stephen and it resurrected very soon and could go sound”.

² “Audurus is the name of a rural estate in which there is one church, and in the church there is a memory to saint Stephen. One day, a little boy was playing in a threshing floor and some runaway oxen killed him with the wheel of the cart they were pulling. The mother took the body and placed it upon the very memory and the boy not only resurrected but came out without harm”.

1.7. SEVENTH MIRACLE. THE RESURRECTION OF THE NUN

An éawfæst mynecenu læg swiþe geswenct. órwene ælcere ed-wyrpinge; pa asende man hire tunecan to pære halgan cyrcan. ac heo gewát ær se ærendreca ongear come; Hire magas íeah ofer-bræddon pæt lic mid pære tunecan. and heo sona cucu aras¹ (Godden ed. 1979: 13) seems a shortened version of DCD XXII.8.16, Sanctimonialis quaedam in vicina possessione, quae Caspaliana dicitur, cum aegritudine laboraret, ac desperaretur, ad eamdem memoriam tunica eius allata est: quae antequam revocaretur, illa defuncta est. Hac tamen tunica operuerunt cadaver eius parentes, et recepto spiritu salva facta est.² (Morán ed. 1965: 716)

Elision is once more the only phenomenon worth looking at, the Augustinian *vicina possessio, quae Caspaliana dicitur* (=“a nearby rural estate called Caspaliana”) has been dropped out in the translating process.

1.8. EIGHTH MIRACLE. THE RESURRECTION OF THE BELIEVING MAN'S DAUGHTER

Sum gelyfed man gebæd æt pære cyrcan for his adligan dehter. and hire reaf pider abær. efne ía ía he hám gecyrde. ? a urnon his híwan him togeanes. and hire forísiþ him gecyddon; He ía mid pam reafe pæt lic oferwreah. and seo dohtor pærrhte to lífe aras³ (Godden ed. 1979: 13-14) seems a shortened version from DCD XXII.8.17, Apud Hipponem Bassus quidam Syrus, ad memoriam eiusdem martyris orabat pro aegrotante et periclitante filia, eoque secum vestem eius attulerat: cum ecce pueri de domo cucurrerunt, qui ei

¹ “A pious nun laid greatly afflicted, hopeless of any recovery. Then her tunic was sent to the holy church but she died before the messenger came back home. Her relatives, however, wrapped the corpse with the tunic and she soon arose alive”.

² “The tunic of a pious woman who lived in a nearby estate called Caspaliana, as she was severely ill and hopeless, was carried to the same memory. Yet the pious woman died before the arriving of the tunic that had been touched. Her parents, however, covered the corpse with that tunic and she regained her ghost and was saved”.

³ “A certain believing man asked in that church for his ill daughter and a garment of hers he carried there. Just then he returned home. Then his servants came running up to him and informed of his daughter's death. He then with the garment wrapped the body up and the daughter immediately arose into life”.

mortuam nuntiarent. Sed cum, orante illo, ab amicis eius exciperentur, prohiberunt eos illi dicere, ne per publicum plangeret. Qui cum domum redisset iam suorum eiulatibus personantem, et vestem filiae quam ferebat, super eam proiecisset, reddita est vitae.¹ (*Morán ed. 1965: 716*)

On the one hand, Ælfric avoids names and surnames in the Augustinian tale: Hippo, an episcopal city in Numidia (Roman North Africa); Bassus, the name of the believing father, and Syrus [=“from Syria”], a denominal surname² to Bassus. On the other hand, Ælfric omits *sed cum, orante illo, ab amicis eius exciperentur, prohiberunt eos illi dicere, ne per publicum plangeret* [=“Yet, as he was praying, his friends stopped the servants and forbade them to inform him so that he did not mourn in public”], what pushes Ælfric to change the original design Augustine had originally made. Indeed, in the Old English tale, the servants inform the father as he is going home.

1.9. NINTH MIRACLE. THE RESURRECTION OF ANOTHER MAN’S SON

Eft sumes oðres mannes sunu purh untrumnyse gewát. ac ía ía his frynd pa lícſenunge gearcodon. ? a tihte heora sum pæt man pæs cnapan líc smyrian sceolde mid ele pæs halgan stephanes; Hí swa dydon. and hé geedcucode³ (*Godden ed. 1979: 14*) had been taken out from DCD XXII.8. 18, *Rursus ibidem apud nos Irenaei, cuiusdam collectarii filius, aegritudine extinctus est. Cumque ccorpus iaceret exanime, atque a lugentibus et lamentatibus exsequiae pararentur, amicorum eius quidam inter aliorum consolantium*

¹ “In Hippo, a certain Syrian called Bassus was praying at the memory of the same martyr for a daughter of his who was severely ill. He had taken with him one of the girl’s garments. Suddenly his servants came up running to him with the tidings of her death. Yet, as he was praying, his friends stopped the servants and forbade them to inform him so that he did not mourn in public. He came back home and – when nothing but weeping could be heard therein- covered her daughter’s body with the garment he had taken and she came back into life”.

³ “Similarly another man’s son died due to sickness, but when his friends had already made ready the funeral, one of them suggested that the body of the boy had to be annointed with the oil of holy Stephen. They did so and he resurrected”.

verba suggestit, ut eiusdem martyris oleo perungeretur. Factum est, et revixit.¹ (Morán ed. 1965: 716)

Almost as expected, Ælfric had omitted the only name in this tale, *Irinaeus*, some circumstances around it, and some minor prepositional phrases in the inferior level of the syntax hierarchy.

1.10. TENTH MIRACLE. THE RESURRECTION OF THE NOBLEMAN'S SON

Eft sum pegen brohte his suna lic to íam foresædan gemynde pæs halgan cyðeres. and mid micclum wope hine gebæd. and æfter his gebede he ahof pæt cild up geedcucod asund ² (Godden ed. 1979: 14) seems to have been taken from DCD XXII.8.19, Itemque apud nos vir tribunitius Eleusinus super memoriam Martyris, quae in suburbano eius est, aegritudine examinatum posuit infantulum filium: et post orationem, quam cum multis lacrymis ibi fudit, viventem levavit. ³ (Morán ed. 1965: 717)

The elision of *a)* the name and social condition of Eleusinus, and *b)* the relative clause postmodifying the noun nucleus *memoriam*, greatly shortens the Ælfrician rendering.

1.11. THE PERSUASIVE FRAGMENT

Gif we wyllaí ealla ía wundra. and hælía awritan. ? e we oncneowon gefremode purh íone wuldorfullan cyðere stephanum. Íonne wyrce we manega béc. ær ían íe we hí ealle gegaderion. and íeah hí

¹ "The son of a certain tax-collector called Irinaeus died here near us. As the funeral was being prepared all among weeping and tears and the body laying ghostless, one the father's friends suggested to anoint the body of the son with the oil of the same martyr. It was done and the boy resurrected".

² "Actually, a certain nobleman brought the body of his son into the aforesaid memory of the holy martyr and with great weeping prayed to him. After his praying he lifted up the boy soundly resurrected".

³ "Eleusinus, a noble man near us, placed one son of his who had died of sickness upon the memory of the martyr, which is in the suburb he used to live in. After having prayed and poured many tears, he lifted the boy up alive".

ne magon beon ealle gegaderode; Sind peah sume pe ic forsuwian ne mæg ¹ (Godden ed. 1979: 14) has the aspect of being a severe shortening from DCD XXII.8.20, [...] Si enim miracula sanitatum, ut alia taceam, ea tantummodo velim scribere, quae per hunc martyrem, id est, gloriosissimum Stephanum, facta sunt in colonia Calamensi, et in nostra, plurimi conficiendi sunt libri: nec tamen omnia colligi poterunt [...] ² (Morán ed. 1965: 717)

1.12. ELEVENTH MIRACLE. THE NOBLE WOMAN'S RING

An æpelboren wíf wearf micclum geswenct mid langsumere untrumnyse. and hire ne mihte nán læcecraeft fremian; pa lærde hi sum Iudeisc man pæt heo name ænne wernægél of sumes oxan hricge. and becnytte to anum hringe mid hire snode. and mid pam hí to nacedum lice begyrde; pa ferde heo swa begyrd to pæs halgan cyferes cyrcan. ? æt heo Íær hire hæle abæde; pa wicode heo be wege wiþ pære éa pe is gehaten BRAGADE. and on ærnemerien siþode swa swa heo gemynt hæfde; pa geseah heo licgan Íone hring on Íam wege ætforan hire foton mid snode mid ealle. and pæs micclum wundrode; pa wende heo pæt se hring toburste. oþfe seo snód toslupe; Ac Ía Ía heo afunde pone hring gehalne. and pa snóde mid eallum cnotum swa fæste gewriþen swa heo ær wæs. Ía undestod heo pæt pæt wundor gelámp purh Íæs halgan mihte. Íe heo to fundode. and micclum truwoode híre hæle toweard Íurh his gearnungum. and wearp Íone hring mid pam bendum into Íam flowendum streame; Heo ferde Ía mid bliþum mode to Íære halgan cyrcan. and Íær hire hæle gefette. ? urh Íæs halgan cyferes Íingunge; ³ (Godden ed. 1979: 14), apart from the long addition

¹ “If we wanted to write down all the miracles and healings that we know Stephen the miraculous martyr accomplished, we should make many books before gathering them and they can not be put together; however, here are some I can not pass over”.

² “If I wanted to refer only to the miraculous healings that the glorious martyr Stephen accomplished in Calama and here in Hippo –just to pass over some others– I would write many volumes. And so I would be unable to gather them all [...]”

³ A woman of noble birth was very troubled with a long malady and medicine could do no good to her. Then she knew a certain jew who gave her a stone from the loins of an ox, tied it to a ring together with a hair-band or snood of hers and girded her naked body with it. Later, so girded she went to the church of the holy martyr to ask for her health. She stopped by the side of a way near the river that is called BRAGADE and in early morning she set forth as she had decided. Then she saw the

dealing with the devil, derives from DCD XXII. 8. 21, Uzali etiam, quae colonia Uticae vicina est, multa praeclara per eundem Martyrem facta cognovimus: cuius ibi memoria longe prius quam apud nos, ad episcopo Evodio constituta est. Sed libellorum dandorum ibi consuetudo non est, vel potius non fuit: nam fortasse nunc esse iam coepit. Cum enim nuper illic essemus, Petroniam, clarissimam feminam, quae ibi mirabiliter ex magno atque diuturno, in quo medicorum adiutoria cuncta defecerant, languore sanata est, hortati sumus volente supradicto loci episcopo, ut libellum daret, qui recitaretur in populo; et obedientissime paruit. In quo posuit etiam, quod hic reticere non possum, quamvis ad ea quae hoc opus urgent, festinare compellar. A quodam Iudaeo dixit sibi fuisse persuasum, ut annulum capillatio cingulo insereret, quod sub omni veste ad nuda corporis cingeretur; qui annulus haberet sub gemma lapidem in renibus inventum bovis. Hoc alligata quasi remedio ad sancti Martyris limina veniebat. Sed profecta a Carthagine, cum in confinio fluminis Bagrae in sua possessione mansisset, surgens ut iter perageret, ante pedes suos illum iacentem annulum vidit, et capillatiam zonam qua fuerat alligatus, mirata tentavit. Quam cum omnino suis nodis firmissimis, sicut fuerat, comperisset, adstrictam, crepuisse atque exsiluisse annulum suspicata est: qui etiam ipse cum integerrimus fuisset inventus, futurae salutis quodammodo pignus de tanto miraculo se accepisse praesumpsit, atque illud vinculum solvens, simul cum eodem annulo, proiecit in flumen.¹ (Morán ed. 1965: 717-718)

ring laying on the way before her feet with all the snoods and she wondered at this. Then she thought that the ring had been broken or the snood dissolved, yet she had found the ring entire and the snood with all the knots so firmly bound as before. Then she understood that the wonder had happened through the power of the saint she aspired to and greatly trusted her health upon his merits and then she threw the ring with the bands into the flowing river. Then she went to the church with a happy attitude and there she regained her health through the intervention of the holy martyr”.

¹ “We also know that in Uzala –a colony near Utica- many wonders have happened through the intercession of this Martyr. Its [Uzala’s] bishop Evodius had carried there his [Stephen’s] relics long before bringing them to us [in Hippo], but in that place [Uzala] the practice of re-reporting the stories does not exist; better, it did not exist for the practice has been now started already. Not long ago, when we [Augustine] were there, Petronia, a wealthy woman who had been miraculously cured of a severe malady that had exhausted all the resources of the physicians, was encouraged with the licence of the local bishop to report it so that it [her miraculous healing] could be known to the people, and she obediently did so. She said something in her report that I cannot conceal here, although it pushes me to

As usual, Ælfric made his audience to miss the name of the noble woman, *Petronia*; the name of the place where the action happened, *Uzala* (which reinforces the new spatial isotopy in the West Saxon text); the name of *Evodius*, the bishop who encouraged Petronia to report her miraculous healing; Petronia's reported speech (which implies a change of the original narrative structure), and some Augustine's first-person occurrences. However, Ælfric's translation respects Augustine's kernel message.

1.13. TWELFTH MIRACLE. THE HEALING OF PAULUS AND PALLADIA

An wundorlic tacn gelamp æt pæs halgan gemynde. swa wídmare ic wene pæt feawa wæron on pære neawiste pe pæt ne gesawe. oððe ne gehyrde; Seofon gebroðru wæron. and Íreo geswustra. anre wydenan cild. on Íære byrig Cappadocia. ælfborenre mægðe; pa wearf seo modor biterlice gegremod. æfter hire weres forðsile. fram hire anum cilde to Ían swife. ? æt heo on eastertide eode to cyrcan. and wolde Íone sunu pe hi getrigde mid wyriunum gebindan; pa gemette heo ænne deofol on mannes híwe. se befrán hwider heo wolde; pæt earne wif andwyrde and cwæð. ? æt heo wolde to cyrcan gán. and pone sunu Íe hí tirigde awyran; pa andwyrde se deofol on pam menniscum híwe; Riht Íu dest and wel. gif Íu ealle Íine cild tosomne wyrigst. for Ían Íe hí ealle on andwerdnysse stodon Ía Ía se án Íe tynde. and noldon pe ealgian wið heora breðer. ne hí Íinne teonan ne besargodon. wyrig hí ealle togædere; pæt earne wif gelyfde his wælhreowum geleahste. and wearf mid maran wódnysse astyrod. eode pa to Íam fantfæte. and tolysdre hire feax. and bedypte on Íam fante. and mid micelre hatheortnysse ealle hire bearn mánfullice wirigde; Æfter pisum gecyrdre hám. and gemette ealle hire bearn mid ormætre cwylminge. cwacigende eallum limum;

accelerate the end of this work. She said that a jew had persuaded her to wear under her robes, in touch with her naked body, a snood with a ring in which a stone found in the loins of an ox had been set. Thus girded with the snood, the lady used to go to the holy martyr's church. One day, however, she left Carthage and moved to live in a estate by the side of river Bragada. When she got up to start he journey, the lady saw the ring laying before her feet. She touched her waist to check her being girded and, as she found herself perfectly girded, she thought that the ring had broken and come off. She examined the ring, saw that it was right and she then understood this wonder as a sign of her future healing. Then she undid the snood and threw it into the river together with the ring".

pa wearf heo mid micelre sarnysse fúrhslegen. ? æt heo swa micel mán gefremode. eode ía and hí sylfe on grine ahéng. ? æt heo fotum span; Witodlice se ylca deofol íe hí tihte ær to íære mánfullican wyriunge. se hí eft síllan to hire agenre hengene gelærde; pa earman bearn ne mihton ía léng for sceame on pære byrig afolian. for íære atelican cwacunge. ac ferdon wórigende geond eallum romaniscum ymbhwyrft; Twegen pissera becomon to ús. brofíer. and swuster. Paulus. and Palladia. wídcuíf fúrh heora yrmíf; Hí comon twám wucan ær eastron. and dæghwomlice geneosodon ía halgan cyrcan on pære íe wæs pæs wuldorfullan stephanes gemynd. biddende pæt he him god gegladode. and him ía ærran hæle forgeafe; pa on íam easterdæge eodon hí swa hí gewunode wæron to pære cyrcan. and se brofór hine gebæd æt pam halgum reliquium; pa wearf hé færlíce astreht. and slapendum gelicost læg. na swa íeah cwacigende swa swa him on slæpe gewunelic wæs; Efne ía hé aras and nateshwon ne cwacode. for ían íe hé wæs gehæled and stod gesúnd. sceawigende pa pe hine sceawodon; Eornostlice hwá mihte ía ía forsuwian godes herunge; Soflice seo cyrc wearf mid clypungum íæs blissigendan folces. and hí urnon to me án æfter anum færl ic inne sæt ía gearo to gánne; Ælc æfter ofrum cydde me pæt wundorlice godes tacn. and ic íæs micclum gode íancode; pa æt nextan stop inn se gehæleda cniht. and hine to minum cneowum gebígde. and ic hine to minum cosse arærde; Ic eode ía to godes íenunge. and pæt folc gebletsode. and him godes gerihtu dyde; Ic gelaífode pone gehæledan cniht to urum gereorde. and he us rehte ealle his brofíerlicere and moderlicere yrmíf racu; On íam fírdan easterlicum dæge. ic hét standan pone gehæledan brofíer ætforan íam folce. and his swuster samod. and ic him rehte ía race be endebyrdnysse; pæt folc beheold pone brofíer standan buton átelicere cwácunge. and seo swuster eallum limum egeslice cwacode; pa íe hine ær ne gesawon. and nyston fram hwilcere yrmíf godes mildheortnys hine gehælde. hí mihton tocnawan on íære swuster bifunge; pa het ic æfter íære gereccednysse hí hwæthwega ufor gán. and ic ongann be íam culan intingan hwæthwega geornlicor smeagan; Efne ía færlíce wurdon gehyrede ofre clypunga níwre blisse of pæs martyres gemynde. and pæt folc beah fýderweard; Seo cwacigende swuster eode of íam stæpum pe heo on astód to íam halgan cyfíere wolde hí gebiddan. and heo færríhte swa heo pæt gesceot hrépode læg swilce heo mid slæpe fornumen wære. and arás síllan hál; pæt folc ía mid miclere fægnunge and singalre herunge hí gelæddon to íære stowe pær heo lytle ær cwacigende stód. and micclum

fægnodon. ⁊ æt heo wæs pam breġer gelic. Íam Íe heo hwene ær
Íurh Ía egeslican bifunge ungelíc wæs; Hwæt Ía ealle samod
blissodon on godes herungum. swa micclum pæt ure earan
earfofllice mihton heora stemne aræfnian; Hwæt wæs on Íæra
blissigendra heortan buton godes geleafa. for Ían pe stephanes
blod agoten wæs?¹

¹ “A wonderful token befell in the memory of the saint. I think it was so famous that those in the neighbourhood who neither saw it nor heard of it were but a few. In the city of Cappadocia, a young widow in a family of noble birth had seven sons and three daughters. Then the mother became so much bitterly irritated after her husband’s death by one of her children that she went to the church in Paschal time and desired the son that had annoyed her bound with cursings. She then met a devil under the aspect of a man. The devil asked what she wanted. The pitiful woman answered and said that she wanted to go to the church and curse the son that had troubled her. Then the devil under human hue said: ‘You will do right and well if you do evil to all your children together, for they were all present when that one vexed you, they did not want to defend you against their brother and did not comfort your pain. Curse them all together.’ The pitiful woman believed his cruel thought and was stirred with more anger. She then went to the font for baptism, undid her hair, dipped in the font and with great rage she wickedly cursed all her offsprings. After that she returned home and found all her sons with severe sufferings, all their limbs quaking. Then she was struck by great sorrow so that she accomplished a great wickedness, she then went and hanged herself on a rope so that she moved her feet convulsively. Indeed, the same devil that had previously brought to her mind the terrible cruelties, had now induced her to her own hanging. The pitiful children could no longer endure for shame to stay in the city due to their dire trembling; however, they went wandering beyond all the Roman boundaries. Two of these came to us, one brother and one sister, Paulus and Palladia, widely known due to their misery. They arrived two weeks before Easter and everyday they visited the holy church that contained the memory of miraculous Stephen asking God for their gladdening and their previous health restored. On Easterday they went to the church as it was their wont, and the brother asked for himself to the holy relics. Then he was suddenly postrated and lay like those who sleep without quaking, however, as he was accustomed in his sleep. He just then arose and quaked by no means because he had been healed and stood looking at those who looked at him. Who could then, indeed, pass over the praising of God? Truly, the church was full with the cries of the blessing people, that there ran to me one after one up to the place I was sitting ready to go. All of them told me the wonderful token of God and I greatly thanked God for that. Then, shortly after, the healed boy came up to me, bowed down before my knees and I made him stand with one kiss of mine. I then went to the service of God, blessed the people and did the rites of God to them. I summoned the healed boy to our refecton and he told us the explanation of the evil from his brothers and mother. On the third day of Easter I ordered the healed brother to stand before the people together with his sister and I told them the explanation in an orderly way. The people beheld the brother standing without the dire quaking, yet the sister was shaking all her limbs fearfully. Those who could not see him before and did not know the misery that the mercy of God had taken him out from, could now know the sister’s quaking. After the reporting, I ordered them

(Godden ed. 1978: 15-16) has been enlarged from Augustine's DCD XXII, 8, 22 (Morán ed. 1965: 719-721):

Unum est apud nos factum, non maius quam illa quae dixi, sed tam clarum atque illustre miraculum, ut nullum arbitrer esse Hipponiensium, qui hoc non vel viderit, vel didicerit, nullum qui oblivisci ulla ratione potuerit. Decem quidam fratres (quorum septem sunt mares, tres feminae) de Caesarea Cappadociae suorum civium non ignobiles, maledicto matris recenti, patris eorum obitu destitutae, quae iniuriam sibi ad eis factam acerbissime tulit, tali poena sunt divinitus coerciti, ut horribiliter quaterentur omnes tremore membrorum: in qua foedissima specie oculos suorum civium non ferentes, quaquaversum cuique ire visum est, toto pene vagabantur orbe Romano. Ex his etiam ad nos venerunt duo, frater et soror, Paulus et Palladia, multis aliis locis misera diffamante iam cogniti. Venerunt autem ante Pascha ferme dies quindecim, ecclesiam quotidie, et in ea memoriam gloriosissimi Stephani frequentabant, orantes ut iam sibi placaretur Deus, et salutem pristinam redderet. Et illic, et quacumque ibant, convertebant in se civitatis aspectum. Nonnulli qui eos alibi viderant, causamque tremoris eorum noverant, aliis, ut cuique poterant, indicabant. Venit et Pascha, atque ipso die dominico mane, cum iam frequens populus praesens esset, et loci sancti cancellos, ubi, ubi martyrium erat, idem iuvenis orans teneret, repente postratus est, et dormienti simillimus iacuit: non tamen tremens, sicut etiam per somnum solebat. Stupentibus qui aderant, atque aliis paventibus, aliis dolentibus, cum eum quidam veellent erigere, nonnulli prohiberunt, et potius exitum exspectandum esse dixerunt. Et ecce surrexit, et non tremebat, quoniam sanatus erat, et stabat incolumis, intuens intuentes. Quis ergo se tenit a laudibus Dei? Clamantium gratulantiumque vocibus ecclesia usquequaque completa est. Inde ad me

to place themselves a bit higher and I began to inquire on this known affair a little more zealously. Just then, suddenly, more cries of new blessing were heard from the martyr's memory and the people turned their way in that direction. The quaking sister had gone from the steps she was standing on up to the holy martyr she wanted to pray and, as she dealt with the shaking, she lay as taken by sleep and then she arose perfectly hale. With great rejoicing and perpetual praise, the people led them to the place which little before she had stood quaking on, and greatly exulted that she were like her brother was, she who previously was not like him due to her fearful trembling. All those rejoiced together in praising God so loudly that our ears could hardly listen to their voices. What there was in their blessing hearts but the faith of God, whom Stephen's blood had been poured out for?"

corritur, ubi sedebam iam processurus: irruit alter quisque post alterum, omnis posterior quasi novum, quod alius prior dixerat, nuntiantes: meque gaudente et apud me gratias Deo agente, ingreditur etiam ipse cum pluribus, inclinatur ad genua mea, erigitur ad osculum meum. Procedimus ad populum, plena erat ecclesia, pernosabat vocibus gaudiorum. Deo gratias! Deo laudes! nemine tacente, hinc atque inde clamantium. Salutavi populum, et rursus eadem ferventiore voce clamabant. Facto tandem silentio, Scripturarum divinarum sunt lecta solemniter. Ubi autem ventum est ad mei sermonis locum, dixi pauca pro tempore et pro illius iucunditate laetitiae. Magis enim eos in opere divino quamdan Dei eloquentiam, non audire, sed considerare permisi. Nobiscum homo prandit, et diligenter nobis omnem suae ac maternas fraternaeque calamitatis indicavit historiam. Sequenti itaque die, post sermonem redditum, narrationis eius libellum in crastinum populo recitandum promisi. Quod cum ex dominico Paschae die tertio fieret in gradibus exedrae, in qua de superiore loquebar loco, feci stare ambos fratres, cum eorum legeretur libellus. Intuebar populus universus sexus utriusque, unum stantem sine deformi motu, alteram membris omnibus contremantem. Et qui ipsum non viderant, quid in eo divinae misericordiae factum esset, in eius sorore cernebant. Videbant enim quid in eo gratulandum, quid pro illa esset orandum. Inter haec recitato eorum libello, de conspectu populi abire eos praecepi; et de tota ipsa causa aliquanto diligentius coeperam disputare, cum ecce, me disputante, voces aliae de memoria Martyris novae congratulationis audiuntur. Conversi sunt eo qui me audiebant, coeperuntque concurrere. Illa enim ubi de gradibus descendit, in quibus steterat, ad sanctum Martyrem orare perrexerat. Quae mox ut cancellos attigit, collapsa similiter velut in somnum, sana surrexit. Dum ergo quereremus quid factum fuerit, unde iste strepitus laetus exstiterit, ingressi sunt cum illa in basilicam, ubi eramus, adducetes eam sanam de Martyris loco. Tum vero tantus ab utroque sexu admirationis clamor exortus est, ut vox continuata cum lacrymis non videretur posse finire. Perducta est ad eum locum, ubi paulo ante steterat tremens. Exsultabant eam similem fratri, cui doluerant remansisse dissimilem: et nondum fusas preces suas pro illa, iam tamen praevidiam voluntatem tam cito exauditam esse cernebant. Exsultabant in Dei laudem voce sine verbis, tanto sonitu, quantum aures nostrae ferre vix possent. Quid erat in

cordibus exsultantium, nisi fides Christi, pro qua Stephani sanguis effusus est? ¹ (Morán ed. 1965: 719-721)

¹ "One miracle, not greater than those I have spoken of, but so clear and bright that there are many witnesses among the people of Hippo having seen it there or having heard about it, a miracle that will be never forgotten, has happened here near us. Ten noble brothers (seven boys and three girls) from Caesarea of Cappadocia that had been recently cursed by their mother due to an insult they had done to her after their father's death, were punished by divine will with a pain consisting of a terrible quaking of their limbs. Not able to bear being looked up and down, they left in different ways wandering almost all the Roman empire. Two of these, two brothers, Paulus and Palladia, arrived in our city when they were already known elsewhere thanks to the fame of their misery. They arrived some fifteen days before Easter. Everyday they used to visit the church and the memory in it of the most glorious Stephen, praying God so that He should pity them and give their health back to them. Those who had previously seen them and knew the cause of their trembling told the others in their own way. Easter came and, on Sunday morning, when a large crowd was filling the church, the boy, seized to the iron gate of the holy place with the martyr's relics, suddenly fell down and lay as if he were sleeping. However, he did not quake as he previously used to. Some were shocked by pain, others by fear. Some wanted to raise him up, yet some forbade them to do so saying that it was better to wait for the outcome. Yet the young one arose without trembling for he had been healed so that he stood entirely sound looking at those who were looking. Who then did not praise God? The church was filled with clamour and thanking voices. Then, when I was ready to go, many ran to me. They came up one after the other, the last one telling the same that the first had previously told. Overjoyed and thanking God deep inside myself, I saw how the lucky one had arrived surrounded by the crowd. He cast down to my feet. I embraced him and made him stand up. We addressed to the people. The church was overcrowded. Rejoicing voices went forth and only the following words could there be heard: 'Thanks to God, blessed be God!' I greeted the people and a new clamour even more fervent could be heard. Finally, already in silence, the lessons in the divine writings were read. When the portion of my sermon arrived, I addressed some words according to the time and greatness of that joy, for I preferred them to enjoy God's eloquence in such great a work than to listen to my words. The man lunched with us and told us with full details the story of his misery together with his mother's and brothers'. Next day after the sermon I promised the people to read the account of the event. Three days after Easter Sunday, when I was reading what had been previously promised, I made the brother and the sister to place themselves on the steps of the pulpit from which I used to speak. Everybody looked at them attentively. He was perfectly quiet yet she was trembling from head to feet. Those who had not seen them before could now see in the sister what the divine mercy had done in the brother. They saw what there was in him to be thanked for and what they had to pray for her. When the reading of the lesson was over, I made them retire from the presence of the people. I had started to utter some thoughts about this story when, together with my own words, we could hear new rejoicing voices coming out from the martyr's memory. Then, those who heard them turned towards that place in crowds. The young girl had come down from the steps and gone to pray to the martyr. Just when she touched the gates, she fell as in sleep and then arose thoroughly sound. As we were asking what had happened and which was the cause of that happy crying, already

1.13.1. The long addition Ælfric makes up.

The first part of the story, at least as told by Augustine, is based upon a weak rationale. Indeed, the curse the ten brothers are victims of is justified by the latin adverb *divinitus* [=“due to divine will”]; that is, the active curse is the visible outcome of an angry widow’s praying, something with the necessary strength to provoke severe convulsions to ten people. Ælfric reshapes the story with the inclusion with a well-known agent of evil, *deofol on mannes hiwe* [= “a devil with the aspect of a man”], an expected character to a medieval mind. Indeed, in the tale by Augustine, where no devils go forth explicitly, all the children are victims of their mother’s cursing. In Ælfric, however, the mother wants to curse only one of them but the devil advises her to curse all of them. As it is known, the Ælfrician mother, horrified at her own deeds, hangs herself, a lesson added by the West Saxon writer.

1.14. THE JOINING OF TWO CHAPTERS

As previously observed, the end of *DCD XXII.8.22* is an interrogative sentence, *Quid erat in cordibus exsultantium, nisi fides Christi pro qua Stephani sanguis effusus est?*¹ (Morán ed. 1965: 721), conveniently translated by Ælfric, *Hwæt wæs on lāra blissigendra heortan buton godes geleafa. for lān pe stephanes blod agoten wæs?*², a common message where the Latin genitive *Christi* [“of Christ”] turned into Old English *godes* [“of God”] has been the only alteration observed.

healed in the martyr’s tomb, she was led in to the basilica. An outburst of happiness went forth from the mouths of men and women. Their voices, half joy half tears, went on indefinitely. She was led to the place shortly ere she had been quaking in. Those who previously had pitied her, were now overjoyed. They praised God because He had listened to their prayers even before their praying. They did not praise God with words but with meaningless voices, so loudly that our ears could hardly stand by with them. What was there in the hearts of this happy people but the faith to Christ whom Saint Stephen had poured out his blood for?”

¹ “What was there in the hearts of this happy people but the faith of Christ whom Saint Stephen had poured out his blood for?”

² “What was there in the hearts of those blessing but the faith of God for which Stephen had poured out his blood?”

Ælfric goes beyond the Stephen “stuff” in chapter eight and enters the first sentences heading DCD XXII.9, which are the source to one of his teaching gists; thus, *Hwæne mærsiaþ pas wundra mid heora sælunge. buton crist pe on soþre menniscnysse geboren wæs. and mid flæsce of deaþe aras. and mid flæsce to heofenum astah? Witodlice Ies halga cyðere. and mid æftergangen wæron gewitan pyses geleafan. and Iisum geleafan hi cyddon gecyðnysse oferswiðende pisne feondlican middaneard. na ongear feohtende ac sweltende;*¹ (Godden ed. 1979: 16-7) is a shortened rendering from *Cui, nisi huic fidei attestantur ista miracula, in qua praedicatur Christus resurrexisse in carne, et in caelum ascendisse cum carne? Quia et ipsi martyres huius fidei martyres, id est, huius fidei testes fuerunt, huic fidei testimonium perhibentes mundum inimicissimum et crudelissimum pertulerunt; eumque, non repugnando, sed moriendo vicerunt.* (Morán ed. 1965: 722)²

1.15. THE BIBLICAL SKELETON OF THE REST OF THE HOMILY

When the Augustinian source is no longer translated, there it comes a fragment that seems the product of Ælfric's own memory and “creative” method (Cross 1969); that is, a text not deriving from a single author/ text but a kind of intertextual meeting point containing a number of definable commonplaces, echoes, allusions and reminiscences mainly from the two Testaments. Thus, our aim here is to make known the biblical origin of the main ideas Ælfric is dealing with and to organise them under the following four items:

- a) Christ and Stephen compared. As expected, the Ælfrician Stephen is also the first martyr following *cristes fotswaþum* [“Christ's foot-traces”]. Both Christ and Stephen's last speeches are quoted: *Min drihten, miltsa him nyton hi hwæt hi doþ*, from Luke 23, 24 (“My Lord, forgive

¹ “What do these wonders proclaim with their evidence but Christ that was born in true human nature and arose in flesh from death and in flesh went up to heavens? Certainly, these holy witnesses together with their followers knew this faith and they call this faith the testimony that overcomes this hostile world, not fighting but dying.”

² “What do these miracles testify but the faith that preaches Christ having resurrected and gone up to heaven in flesh and soul? Martyrs have been martyrs, that is, witnesses of this truth for which they had endured a most cruel hostile world, overcoming it not by means of fighting but of dying.”

them for they know not what they do”), and *Drihten min, ne sete pu him ías dæda to synne*, from *Acts* 7, 60 (“My Lord, do not hold these deeds as a sin against them”).

- b) Dangers of cursing. One of Ælfric’s final arguments, *pæt ía wyrigendan godes rice ne geagniaí* is clearly taken from *1Corinth* 6, 9 (“so that revilers will not inherit the kingdom of God”). Indeed, the tale of the widow who cursed her children was read to the Anglo-Saxon audience as a good model showing both the dangers of cursing and the paranormal capacities of the new faith.
- c) Mutual respect between parents and children. This New Testament-oriented fragment is suddenly shaken by echoes from echoes from *Leviticus* 20, 9 *ne fæder ne moder mid teonan ne getyrion to heora wyriungum*, and one “easy” quotation from *Exodus* 20, 12 *Arwurfa pinne fæder and pine moder. ? æt pu lang líf ofer eorðan wunie*¹, followed by reminiscences from *Psalms* 34, 1, *ure tunge is gesceapen to godes herungum*,² and *Psalms* 62, 4, *Ne magon we mid anum mu íe blestian and wyrrian*.³
- d) The Christian message par excellence. The end of the text here sourced is a quotation from both *Luke* 6, 27, *He cwæí lufiaí eowre fynd, doí pam tela íe eow hatiaí*,⁴ and *Matthew* 5, 44-45, *gebiddaí for eowerum ehterum and tynendum ? æt ge beon eowres fæder bearn se íe on heofenum is*.⁵

Xavier Campos Vilanova
Universitat Jaume I, Castelló, Spain

REFERENCES

¹ “Honour your father and your mother, so that you live a long life on earth”)

² “Our tongue has been made to the praise of God.”

³ “We cannot bless and curse with one mouth.”

⁴ “He said love your enemies do good to those who hate you.”

⁵ “Ask for those who persecute you so that you may be son of the Father who is in heaven.”

- Biggs, F. M., T. D. Hill, P. E. Szarmach, eds. with the assistance of K. Hammond 1990: *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture: A Trial Version*, Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies, State University of New York at Binghamton, NY.
- Bosworth, J. and T. N. Toller 1898, 1983: *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Clemons, P. 1959: The Chronology of Ælfric's Works. Peter Clemons ed. *The Anglo-Saxons. Studies in some Aspects of their History and Culture presented to Bruce Dickins*, Bowes & Bowes, London.
- Cross, J. E. 1969: Ælfric-Mainly on Memory and Creative Method in Two *Catholic Homilies*, *Studia Neophilologica* 61.
- Diccionario Latino-Español*, 1965. Editorial Luis Vives S.A., Zaragoza.
- Godden, M., ed. 1979: *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies, The Second Series*, Early English Text Society, Oxford.
- Gneuss, H. 1981: A preliminary list of manuscripts written or owned in England up to 1100, *Anglo-Saxon England* 9.
- Grundy, L. 1991: *Books and Grace. Ælfric's Theology*, King's College London, Centre for Late Antique and Medieval Studies, London.
- Heffernan, Th. J. 1992: *Sacred Biography: Saints and their Biographers in the Middle Ages*, Oxford University Press, New York.
- Herzfeld, G. 1900: *An Old English Martyrology*, Early English Text Society, London.
- Ker, N. R., 1957: *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon*, Clarendon Press, Oxford.
- Lapidge, M. 1985: Surviving booklists from Anglo-Saxon England. M. Lapidge and H. Gneuss eds. *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England. Studies presented to Peter Clemons*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Morán, J. ed. 1965: *Obras de San Agustín*, Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, Madrid.

Pope, J. C. ed. 1967: *Homilies of Ælfric. A Supplementary Collection*, 2 vols., Early English Text Society, Oxford.

Skeat, W.W. ed. 1966: *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, 2 vols., Early English Text Society, Oxford.

Thorpe, B., ed. 1843: *The Homilies of Ælfric*, vol. 1, Richard & John E. Taylor, London.

* † *

DISCOURSE AND COMMUNITY IN THE LATE 14TH CENTURY

INTRODUCTION

The title of this article attempts to fit, at least in intention, the topic of study proposed in it as a general framework to develop a methodological approach to a better knowledge of Geoffrey Chaucer. As the title: “Discourse and Community in the late 14th Century”, at first instance, seems too general, I have taken different options in order to make it more concrete thus enabling me to provide something to be discussed.

I have thus decided, as a first choice, to pay attention to a particular subject matter: love. Love is a topic beyond time and space. This means that love was an interesting subject for people living in late 14th century London as it is still a fascinating and valid subject for us, humans of our more or less united finisecular Europe.

As is well known, Geoffrey Chaucer was a prolific author. From all his numerous works I have centered my study on *Troilus & Criseyde*, a Poem written in late 14th century London. For many critics and also for me, this Poem is the best medieval literary work dealing with love. According to C. David Benson (1991:vii) it was “Chaucer's only completed masterpiece and the greatest poem on sexual love in English”.

My second optional step is, then, related to the way I shall deal with this subject matter. My didactic approach will consist of analysing several texts from a Systemic Functional perspective.

Thus, through discourse analysis, using the traditional terminology of the three Systemic Functional parameters: field, tenor & mode, I have tried to discover how the author, Chaucer, endeavours to change or to improve the mentality of his Community on matters of love.

So before proceeding to the actual analysis, I would like to, first, establish a brief commentary of the Poem in order to refresh the memory of its plot; and, second, outline the general social attitudes on love, i.e. the accepted doctrine of love that was current in the literary works of the Middle Ages now commonly called 'courtly love'.

TROILUS AND CRISEYDE

The Poem, probably written in the 1380's, contains five books, some 8.200 lines of rhyme-royal. It is a retelling of the story of Troy highlighting a central love affair between Troilus and Criseyde. According to Pearsall (1992:170-1),

The poem also demonstrates Chaucer's now complete mastery of the rhyme royal stanza, and his power of exploiting it for every variety of poetic narrative and expression.

He shows an exemplum of this command commenting on the stanza in which the poet refers to the framework of his poem: the matter of Troy, in the following manner:

Yt is wel wist how that the Grekes stronge
In armes with a thousand shippes wente
To Troiewardes, and the cite longe
Assegeden, neigh ten yer er they stente,
And in diverse wise and oon entente,
The ravysshynge to wreken of Eleyne,
By Paris don, they wroughten al hir peyne. (I, 57-63)

The majestic surge of the first four lines, with their striking enjambment, and the ending delays, inversions and enclosures of the last three almost embody in themselves the essence of the heroic story.

The Poem deals with love in flesh and bones; it is a romance, a story, a straight narration easy to follow, in which the main characters are: *the Narrator*, according to Shepherd (1970:88), "the only one figure who reacts and changes with the sequence of the events narrated", who is in permanent connection with the reader; *Troilus*, the protagonist, Trojan hero only second

after Hector, he is an extreme idealist. *Criseyde*, daughter of the traitor Calkas, in my opinion the first feminist figure in English literature; *Pandarus*, Troilus's friend and Criseyde's uncle, their real, expedient, practical go-between; *Diomedes*, the Greek warrior, Criseyde's lover at the end of the story.

Rowe (1976: 57) comments with reference to the different characters of this poem:

What has for the most part fascinated the critics of the poem's characters is their complex psychology and the realism with which Chaucer has portrayed them, as though in its characterization the poem were only the prototype of the psychological novel.

Shoaf (1989:xxvi) gives us a general comment about this work in the conclusion of the introduction of his edition of the Poem, signalling its complexity and involution¹.

The love of Troilus and Criseyde is not unique; it is presented as an illustration of Love's wonderful works. We should not forget that most of the critics will agree on the predominant didactic aspect of all the French love-visions and many medieval literary works. This didactic element, also with respect to love, appears in this Poem embedded in the nature of things, as we can see in the first book:

For evere it was, and evere it shal byfalle,
That Love is he that alle thing may bynde,
For may no man fordon the lawe of kynde. (I, 236-8).

In this same line, Bethurum (1971:225) comments:

¹ *Troilus and Criseyde* is a long, learned poem --part epic, part tragedy, part comedy, part romance-- in which Chaucer draws on all of his wide learning to examine human relationships, primarily erotic relationships, in a context dominated by the idea of worldly mutability, and against the historical backdrop of the Trojan War: fin'amors is the code or discourse that supplies the primary vocabulary of the poem; the matter of Troy is the source of the poem's major historical events; and Boethian philosophy is the intellectual structure within which Chaucer develops his main ideas and eventually arrives at his principal conclusions --and these number among them, but are by no means restricted to, a sober conviction of the short-term untrustworthiness of the world, a healthy scepticism toward idealism and pragmatism alike, and a profound belief, all the same, in the ennobling virtues of human love, its near kinship to divine love.

If Troilus and Criseyde are illustrations of love's power, their short happiness is also an illustration of the mutability that marks all earthly life. Not for nothing did Chaucer give them their universal role.

Just to end this brief and general commentary on the Poem let us remember Mehl's (1986:65) words¹, in which he emphasizes the “challenging and often surprising experience” that the reading of the Poem implies.

COURTLY LOVE

It seems unquestionable that in the Middle Ages most literary works had a foreground frame on love matters which was called “fin'amour” with the meaning of sublime love and which has, not so long ago, been called “courtly love”. For a long time it was a kind of scholarly axiom that the poets of the European Middle Ages had created a widely accepted doctrine of courtly love, an elaborate set of rules, rooted firmly in the feudal structure of society, which regulated in detail and with the authority of a religious system every aspect of behaviour in the service of love, that is, in devotion to one's chosen lady. Didactic works, like the *Roman de la Rose* or Andreas Capellanus' treatise *De Amore* (whose claim to be a serious authority or manual of courtly love has often been grossly overstated), seem to support this theory. As a matter of fact, in the first fifty lines of this Poem, Chaucer's Narrator openly assumes that love is a religion, a kind of worship. Thus, we can observe the religious terminology used by the author in the two following stanzas:

And biddeth ek for hem that ben at ese,

¹ There is no English poem before Chaucer of equal size which is comparable to *Tr & Cr* in its careful construction, its variety and wealth of stylistic devices and its intellectual stature. The poem has been associated with the classical epic, it has been described as a medieval romance, and interpreted as a predecessor of the modern novel. This variety of interpretation alone suggests that it is not strictly modelled on any particular conventional genre but attempts something new: an ambitious and rhetorically heightened but in no way exclusive presentation of a classical story which allows discussion of almost all the fundamental problems of courtly love-poetry that occupy such a prominent position in Chaucer's early poetry. The intellectual richness and variety of this work make every fresh reading a challenging and often surprising experience, and this explains, too, why the critical debate about the poem is not likely ever to be concluded.

That God hem graunte ay good perseveraunce,
And sende hem myght hire ladies so to plesse
That it to Love be worship and plesaunce.
For so hope I my sowle best avaunce,
To prey for hem that Loves servauntz be,
And write hire wo, and lyve in charite,

And for to have of hem compassioun,
As though I were hire owne brother dere.
Now herkneth with a good entencioun,
For now wil I gon streght to my matere,
In which ye may the double sorwes here
Of Troilus, in lovyng of Criseyde,
And how that she forsook hym er she deyde. (I, 43 - 56)

Without any doubt, Shoaf (1989:xxii) is right when stating: “fin'amors was a kind of code, a discourse for governing and expressing relations among the sexes”. According to Bethurum (1971:228):

Courtly love was probably the purest form of sexual love the western world has known, being unmixed with social ambition, pride, desire of wealth, or even the laudable interests of family.

All the sources¹ Chaucer had at hand for his Poem pointed to the Neoplatonic idea of the ladder of love, that is, the love of man leads to the love of God. This belief is present in the thought of the 14th century community and it is our belief and our hypothesis here that Chaucer through his discourse tries to make his contemporaries think the unthinkable, i.e., that human love is of sufficient worth by itself.

On the other hand, what Chaucer thought about love is always present all through his other works. Thus, his definition of love is found in the first two stanzas of his Poem *The Parliament of Fowls*:

¹ Among the most important ones are the following: [Alain de Lille's *Anticlaudianus*, *De Planctu Naturae*; Macrobius's treatment of Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis*; Boecius' *De Consolatione Philosophiae*; Guillaume de Lorris & Jean de Meung's *Roman de la Rose*; Dante's *Comedy*; Benoît de Sainte-Maure's *Roman de Troie*; Guido delle Colonne's *Historia Destructionis Troiae*; Boccaccio's *Teseida*, and his direct and principal source *Il Filostrato*].

The lyf so short, the craft so long to lerne,
Th'assay so hard, so sharp the conquerynge,
The dredful joye, alwey that slit so yerne:
Al this mene I by Love, that my felynge
Astonyeth with his wonderful werkyng
So sore, iwys, that whan I on hym thynke,
Nat wot I wel wher that I flete or synke.

For al be that I knowe nat Love in dede,
Ne wot how that he quiteth folk here hyre,
Yit happeth me ful ofte in bokes reede
Of his myrakles and his crewel yre.
There rede I wel he wol be lord and syre;
I dar nat seyn, his strokes been so sore,
But "God save swich a lord!" --I can na moore.

It is precisely here, in this definition, that an important element of disagreement on Chaucer's part with the courtly love tradition can be observed, right in the first line of the second stanza quoted: *For al be that I knowe nat Love in dede*,. This element highlights the fact that Chaucer, in his own opinion about love, emphatically contrasts with most medieval and classical authors' opinions about love. He presents himself (or through his narrator) as being ignorant about amorous matters. Thus, in the first book of this Poem the author exclaims:

*For I, that God of Loves servantz serve,
Ne dar to Love, for myn unliklynnesse,
Preyen for speed, al sholde I therfore sterve,
So fer am I from his help in derknesse.
But natheles, if this may don gladnesse
To any love, and his cause availle,
Have he my thonk, and myn be this travaille!* (I, 15-21)

Let us remember that the convention exemplified in the love visions of Machaut, Froissard and other lyrical poets mainly consists of the fact that the narrator of the events or sentiments is himself implicated in them and he is writing from experience. Thus, the tradition handed down not merely from the troubadours, but also from Ovid, who himself boasts in the *Ars Amatoria* that he is a 'magister' (II, 744) and 'doctus' (III, 18) in that art, meaning a lyric

tradition, with the poet expressing his own feelings. Chaucer, on the contrary, always tries to be outside the game --either through his ignorant narrator (a comic figure himself) or by means of the reiteration of his passive role as a translator--, identifying the reader with the lover. This aim, to try to identify the reader with the lover, is, in my opinion, the reason why Chaucer openly differs from courtly love tradition in this aspect. As will be shown in the analysis, in this Poem, Chaucer, through persuasive discourse, tries to influence his Community on matters concerning the nature of human love.

CORPUS FOR ANALYSIS

Our corpus for analysis is composed of some fifty texts, all of them taken from the five books that constitute this Poem¹. I have only given here the analysis of the most relevant texts (just only sixteen) for obvious reasons of time and space.

Text one:

Book I. Lines 267-80: [falling in love]

Withinne the temple he wente hym forth pleyinge,
This Troilus, of every wight aboute,
On this lady, and now on that, lokynge,
Wher so she were of town or of withoute;
And upon cas bifel that thorough a route
His eye percede, and so depe it wente,
Til on Criseyde it smot, and ther it stente.

And sodeynly he wax therwith astoned,
And gan hir bet biholde in thrifty wise.
“O mercy, God”, thoughte he, “wher hastow woned,
That art so feyr and goodly to devise?”
Therwith his herte gan to sprede and rise,
And softe sighed, lest men myghte hym here,
And caught ayeyn his firste pleyinge chere.

¹ All the texts quoted in this article have been taken from the edition of the Poem edited by R. A. Shoaf, 1989.

FIELD: Description of Troilus's becoming enamoured of Criseyde. In this text we find an action, an event, a change of state and processes of sensing and saying. In this description there are expressions of place [*withinne the temple*, a concrete and sacred place which conceals the interior of Troilus where the action takes place], manner [*of every wight aboute, on this...on that, of town or of withoute, and upon cas, thorough a route*: all these adverbs of manner give the impression of coincidence, hazard], and means [*his eye, his herte*, rhetorical self-questioning], as circumstances associated with what is going on. The author is here conceptualising the experience of falling in love in accordance with the courtly love tenets.

TENOR: Contrastive style between external appearance and internal change of attitude. Plain style, almost cold except in his thought which at that moment is exclamatory, absolutely and intensely involved. Declarative mood and external modality. See lines 276-7.

MODE: Here we look for the way the author has organized his message by means of the units of information with which he reaches his communicative significance. We find a circumstantial adjunct of place as a marked theme (line 267) at the beginning of the text, whose function seems to be to prepare the scene by setting up an external framework of place indicating by contrast that the act of falling in love always takes place within oneself. We shall point out the discursual themes of line 276 (exclamatory) and 278 (consequential) which connect their clauses to the previous part of the text.

The rheme of line 279 formed by a finite subordinate clause expressing a meaning of finality connects the interior state of the elliptical subject of the main clause (Troilus) with his external appearance: this topic will enhance the message in the last line in which, through the fronting of a finite verb in a paratactic clause emphasis is given to the external aspect to try to conceal the internal upheaval suffered by Troilus because of his falling in love.

We see that the presuppositions involved in the thematic structures of this text are appropriate --from the point of view of creating a coherent whole-- with the event narrated. Let us remember that falling in love was a personal action in which secrecy was an important condition.

Text two:

Book II Lines 22-8: [Variety in language and love]

Ye knowe ek that in forme of speche is chaunge
Withinne a thousand yeer, and wordes tho
That hadden pris, now wonder nyce and straunge
Us thinketh hem, and yet thei spake hem so,
And spedde as wel in love as men now do;
Ek for to wynnen love in sondry ages,
In sondry londes, sondry ben usages.

FIELD: Commentary on the similarity between love and language pointing out that, although there is a common characteristic element in both, that is, their great variety throughout the ages, people manage to go on communicating and loving eternally.

The text establishes, with its chilvaric terminology, that love has different and diverse aspects and concepts by means of the use of mental processes [*knowe*, *thinketh*] which have an experiential foundation through material processes in the text [*change*, *spake*, *spedde*, *do*, *wynnen*].

TENOR: The narrator is speaking directly to the listener/ reader. The style is direct, familiar and provocative assuming a common opinion and the same background knowledge on linguistic and amorous matters.

MODE: The repetition of words such as '*ek*', & '*soundry*' try to obtain the reader's awareness and acceptance of the multiplicity of concepts about love: there is no single way of understanding love. The organisation of this text seeks an agreement to the variety of love on the part of the audience. So love is not only what books say about it but one also must take into consideration personal experience. Here the author is acting upon his community preparing them for the possibility of changing the cliché, stereotypic thoughts they have about courtly love.

Text three:

Book II. Lines 407-27: [Criseyde's claim]

With this he stynte, and caste adown the heed,

And she began to breste a-wepe anoon,
And seyde, “Allas, for wo! Why nere I deed?
For of this world the feyth is al agoon.
Allas! what sholden straunge to me doon,
When he, that for my beste frend I wende,
Ret me to love, and sholde it me defende?”

“Allas! I wolde han trusted, douteles,
That if that I, thorough my disaventure,
Hadde loved outhur hym or Achilles,
Ector, or any mannes creature,
Ye nolde han had no mercy ne mesure
On me, but alwey had me in repreve.
This false world, allas! who may it leve?”

“What! is this al the joye and al the feste?
Is this youre reed? Is this my blisful cas?
Is this the verray mede of youre byheeste?
Is al this paynted proces seyd, allas!
Right for this fyn? O lady myn, Pallas!
Thow in this dredful cas for me purveye,
For so atoned am I that I deye”.

FIELD: The situation here is to present, by means of a didactic and ironic answer, Criseyde's position strongly claiming and protesting against Pandarus's 'demand d'amour' on behalf of Troilus. It seems to be a kind of feminist rebuke to Pandarus, her dear uncle, for his 'male chauvinist' conception of Courtly love.

TENOR: The speaker here is Criseyde once she has exactly found out Pandarus's revelation. She is complaining in a very ironic, realistic tone against Pandarus's intention by means of several inquisitive rhetorical questions, exclamations and the use of modals [*sholden*, *sholde*, *wolde*, *nolde*, *may*]. At the same time, we observe that her answer is not a wholly negative one, which was probably impossible in that social framework. In any case, she is free and clever enough to denounce in a very subtle way the contradictory behaviour and attitudes on love matters of her medieval society.

MODE: The organisation of this text, through her exclamations, her rhetorical questions, her invocation to Pallas for help, has the effect on the

audience of casting some doubts on the general acceptance of courtly love as such. Let us remember that 'fin ' amour' was an invention of men, conceived as a game to win a lady.

Text four:

Book II. Lines 498-504: [Criseyde's curiosity]

Tho fillen they in other tales glade,
Tyl at the laste, "O good em," quod she tho,
"For his love, which that us bothe made,
Tel me how first ye wisten of his wo.
Woot noon of it but ye?" --He seyde, "No".--
"Kan he wel speke of love?" quod she; "I preye
Tel me, for I the bet me shal purveye".

FIELD: Through a dialogue the author enhances the idea that love and speech go together hand in hand. Also, concealment seems to be an important element of courtly love.

TENOR: In this text two actants are carrying out a dialogue. In a very casual way, Criseyde asks Pandarus two questions about love which seem fundamental for their conception of love. The first one is 'how many people know about Troilus's amorous suffering'? and about his ability as a lover, that is to say if he properly knows how to speak of love. Her eager interest greatly contrasts with her previous rebuke, although she gives as an excuse a desire to better prepare herself. The term she employs 'purveye' is the same one she used for/ in her invocation to Pallas.

MODE: The expression 'Til at the laste' used as theme gives the reader the apparent impression that these questions seem to be casuistic, as by chance, but the reader is well aware that the questions are important ones, although put in a very subtle, feministic way.

In fact, in the following line after this text, the narrator comments how Pandarus himself smiles in a very special way: "*Tho Pandarus a litel gan to smyle*," to which every reader will also smile.

Text five:

Book II. Lines 771-84: [Criseyde's thoughts about love]

That thought was this: "Allas! syn I am free,
Sholde I now love, and put in jupartie
My sikernesse, and thrallen libertee?
Allas! how dorst I thenken that folie?
May I naught wel in other folk asprie
Hire dredfull joye, hire constreinte, and hire peyne?
Ther loveth noon, that she nath why to pleyne.

"For love is yet the mooste stormy lyf,
Right of hymself, that evere was bigonne;
For evere som mystrust or nice strif
Ther is in love, som cloude is over that sonne.
Therto we wrecched wommen nothing konne,
Whan us is wo, but wepe and sitte and thinke;
Oure wrecche is this, our owen wo to drynke.

FIELD: The text is a soliloquy from Criseyde putting her thoughts about love into words. Those thoughts portray in a realistic way the common belief of that society about courtly love in which women were the loser. Waiting, worrying and weeping was a woman's lot in love, and nobody was there to succour her. This feeling, I think, would be quite general and extended among medieval women.

TENOR: The style is serious, sobre, ironic and dynamic through exclamations, an abundant / recurrent use of modality and several rhetorical questions. By means of her own reflections, Criseyde is trying to question the current ideas about courtly love.

MODE: In the last two lines there are two marked themes highlighting that for women woe was an essential characteristic of love. The expectation implied in the rhyme is if women would always agree to continue to wallow in their own misery.

Text six:

Book III. Lines 128-47: [Troilus's intention]

“What that I mene, O swete herte deere?”
Quod Troilus, “O goodly, fresshe free,
That with the stremes of youre eyen cleere
Ye wolde somtyme frendly on me see,
And thanne agreeen that I may ben he,
Withouten braunche of vice on any wise,
In trouthe alwey to don yow my servise,

“As to my lady right and chief resort,
With al my wit and al my diligence;
And I to han, right as yow list, comfort,
Under yowre yerde, egal to myn offence,
As deth, if that I breke youre deffence;
And that ye deigne me so muche honoure,
Me to comanden aught in any houre;

“And I to ben youre verray humble trewe,
Secret, and in my paynes pacient,
And evere mo desiren fresshly newe
To serve, and ben ay ylike diligent,
An with good herte al holly youre talent
Receyven wel, how sore that me smerte, --
Lo, this mene I, myn owen swete herte.”

FIELD: Proclamation of Troilus' good intention as a lover according to the tenets of courtly love. Several aspects in the text, that constitute courtly love, should be highlighted here:

- asking her for permission to accept his service.
- his service means the exclusion of any vice.
- it also implies honesty and hard work with intelligence and diligence.
- the infidelity of it means death.
- to be at her disposal at any time.
- to be a humble, discreet, patient, exclusive, diligent, joyful servant and put up with any necessary suffering.

TENOR: There is a dialogue between Troilus and Criseyde. He is speaking to her about his good intentions. The tone is familiar serious, clear, precise and true, although quite direct, and expresses deep feelings. (See first and last lines of the text). The use of modality here is appropriate to the fact that Troilus is asking her to accept his service.

MODE: In my view, in this text there is a complete cohesive knot formed by the first and the last lines with the same not only meaning but the same communicative significance. The reader is fully aware of his good intentions, which, on the other hand, completely fit in with the exemplary, hagiographic, didactic aim of courtly love.

Text seven:

Book III. Lines 1086-1106: [Troilus's swoon]

Therwith the sorwe so his herte shette,
That from his eyen fil ther nought a tere,
And every spirit his vigour in-knette,
So they astoned or oppressed were.
The felyng of his sorwe, or of his fere,
Or of aught elles, fled was out of towne;
And down he fel al sodeynly aswowne.

This was no litel sorwe for to se;
But al was hust, and Pandare up as faste,--
"O nece, pes, or we be lost!" quod he,
"Beth naught agast!" but certeyn, at the laste,
For this or that, he into bed hym caste,
And seyde, "O thef, is this a mannes herte?"
And of he rente al to his abre sherte;

And seyde, "Nece, but ye helpe us now,
Allas, youre owen Troilus is lorn!"
"Iwis, so wolde I, and I wiste how,
Ful fayn," quod she; "Allas, that I was born!"
"Yee, nece, wol ye pullen out the thorn
That stiketh in his herte," quod Pandare,
"Sey 'al foryeve', and stynt is al this fare!"

FIELD: Narration of the situation in which the lovers go to bed for the first time. First, there is a preliminary introduction made by the narrator where the audience attends in shocked surprise to Troilus' swoon. After this surprise there follows a dialogue between Pandarus and Criseyde full of exciting action.

TENOR: There are three participants: the narrator, Pandarus and Criseyde. They talk and act about Troilus' swoon. The style is at first solemn and calm, but is followed by a rapid dialogue, abrupt, intense and surprising, not exempt from irony through rhetorical questions, exclamations and use of modals.

MODE: There is a cohesive nexus present as the audience knows that the reason for Troilus' swoon is Pandarus' lie and at the same time it serves in the last line to develop the following action. There is an excellent balance between the action and the words from an ironic point of view which makes the reader smile.

Text eight:

Book III. Lines 1205-11: [Criseyde's acquiescence]

This Troilus in armes gan hire streyne,
And seyde, "O swete, as evere mot I gon,
Now be ye kaught, now is ther but we tweyne!
Now yeldeth yow, for other bote is non!"
To that Criseyde answerde thus anon,
"Ne hadde I er now, my swete herte deere,
Ben yold, ywis, I were now nought heere!"

FIELD: The situation is that one in which both lovers are in bed together. A little dialogue between them indicates that they make love physically. Apparently, the situation portrays the real winning of the lady according to courtly love tenets, but it also implies an active role on the part of the woman which is original and important to Chaucer, in order to influence the concept of love of his audience which comprised his own community and subsequent readers.

TENOR: Although the vocabulary is chivalric, its meaning is quite realistic and feminist as it shows the power of decision assigned to women in the supreme situation of two lovers. The style is direct, familiar and far reaching, and expressed by means of exclamations.

MODE: The brisk and direct answer of Criseyde to the common, generally accepted, male chauvinist power in love matters makes a strong impression on the reader because of its force and reality. The sentence 'Ne hadde I er now' as theme of the clause is the point of departure of the situation. It means that for any real love situation the willingness of the two partners is required.

Text nine:

Book III. Two excerpts:

a) Lines 1744-50: [cosmic love]

“Love, that of erthe and se hath governaunce,
Love, that his hestes hath in hevenes hye,
Love, that with an holson alliaunce
Halt peples joyned, as hym lest hem gye,
Love, that knetteth lawe of compaignie,
And couples doth in vertu for to dwelle,
Bynd this acord, that I have told and telle.

b) Lines 1772-8: [internal love]

In alle nedes, for the townes werre,
He was, and ay, the first in armes dyght,
And certeynly, but if that bokes erre,
Save Ector most ydred of any wight;
And this encre of hardynesse and myght
Com hym of love, his ladies thank to wyne,
That altered his spirit so withinne.

FIELD: The exposition of these two texts show how cosmic love and internal love are the same. They show the power of love, which is something generally accepted by all.

TENOR: In the first text Troilus is speaking. Through this Boethian song he testifies to the grandeur and power of love which is able to govern everything and unite opposites. Through this cosmic vision, Troilus is enhancing his love for Criseyde. His tone is solemn and balanced. In the second text we hear the voice of the narrator who is witnessing the effects of love in Troilus's valiant behaviour. The narrator insists on the fact that, although the source of love is within Troilus, the effects are socially beneficial for the whole of the the Troye town at war.

MODE: Several relative clauses of 'that' serve as a cohesive tie to the two texts magnifying the effects of love which is inside Troilus. It is important to note that love effects are positive and good in themselves, from a human point of view. The idea is ever present in the message that the author wishes to pass on to his audience.

Text ten:

Book IV. Two excerpts:

a) Lines 400-6: [Pandarus's alternative]

“And over al this, as thow wel woost thiselwe,
This town is ful of ladys al aboute;
And, to my doom, fairer than swiche twelve
As evere she was, shal I fynde in som route,
Yee, on or two, withouten any doute.
Forthi be glad, myn own deere brother!
If she be lost, we shal recovere an other.

b) Lines 435-48: [Troilus's answer]

But at the laste heanswerde, and seyde, “Frend,
This lechecraft, or heeled thus to be,
Were wel sittynge, if that I were a fend,
To traysen hir that trewe is unto me!
I pray God lat this counseil nevere ythe;
But do me rather sterve anon-right here,
Er I thus do as thow me woldest leere!

“She that I serve, iwis, what so thow seye,
To whom myn herte enhabit is by right,
Shal han me holly hires til that I deye.
For, Pandarus, syn I have trouthe hire hight,
I wol nat ben untrew for no wight;
But as hire man I wol ay lyve and sterve,
And nevere other creature serve.

FIELD: In these two texts there is both a contrastive idea and contrastive behaviour of two characters confronted by the same situation: Criseyde has to leave for the Greek camp. On one hand, Pandarus's alternative is to look for another one, 'on or two'. This alternative is seen to be very practical and positive as far as behaviour is concerned. On the other hand, Troilus's answer is clear-cut: he will never admit to serve any other lady, even if that signifies death. This position is a very idealistic one and corresponds to the best ideal way of love in courtly love texts.

TENOR: There is a brisk contrastive dialogue. In the first text, Pandarus tries to convince Troilus of the easy possibility of finding somebody else. In the second text, Troilus establishes and reaffirms his total fidelity only to Criseyde. The style is familiar, although clear and serious.

MODE: The communicative significance here consists of making explicit two possible solutions to the same problem of someone being in love. One is easier and more practical, the other is more coherent with one's own decision. In Troilus's speech the declarative statements maintain a serene, calm way of exposition which create the expectation that he is going to be true to Criseyde whatever cost may be involved.

Text eleven:

Book IV. Lines 1667-80: [Criseyde's words to Troilus]

“For trusteth wel, that youre estat roial,
Ne veyn delit, nor only worthinesse
Of yow in verre or torney marcial,
Ne pompe, array, nobleye, or ek richesse
Ne made me to rewe on youre destresse;
But moral vertu, grounded upon trouthe,

That was the cause I first hadde on yow routhe!

“Eke gentil herte and manhod that ye hadde,
And that ye hadde, as me thoughte, in despit
Every thyng that souned into badde,
As rudenesse and poeplissh appetit,
And that youre resoun bridledde youre delit;
This made, aboven every creature,
That I was youre, and shal while I may dure.

FIELD: Criseyde is stating the reason why she fell in love with Troilus pointing out his moral virtue as the main cause. The fact that neither royal blood, worthiness or riches were the main reasons fit perfectly with the most profound concept of courtly love.

MODE: Criseyde uses a direct but not a familiar style with a recurrent use of formal chivalric terms.

MODE: The organisation of the two stanzas of this text constitutes a coherent whole with the message that the author wants his audience to receive. Criseyde is trying to convince Troilus of her fidelity (last line) as she fell in love with him mainly because of his moral virtue (1672) and this moral virtue made him more self-controlled (1678). The author acts upon the reader in two different ways: Although he and we are aware of her betrayal he seeks the reader's involvement in accepting her good intentions. On the other hand, he points to the excellence of love whose beginning and end should lie in moral virtue beyond every circumstance or any other element.

Text twelve:

Book V. Lines 92-105: [Diomedes as donjuan]

This Diomedes, that ledde hire by the bridel,
Whan that he saugh the folke of Troie aweye,
Thoughte, “Al my labour shal nat ben on ydel,
If that I may, for somewhat shal I seye.
For at the werste it may yet shorte oure weye.
I have herd seyd ek tymes twyes twelve,
'He is a fool that wole foryete hymselfe“.

But natheles, this thoughte he wel ynough,
That, “certeynlich I am about nought,
If that I speke of love, or make it tough;
For douteles, if she have in hire thought
Hym that I gesse, he may nat ben ybrought
So soon away; but I shal fynde a meene,
That she naught wite as yet shal what I mene”.

FIELD: Diomede's soliloquy about his own strategy to try to win Criseyde. His thought concerns the nature of courtly love. The whole text is framed in a mental process in which the determining element is a material process: [*to speke of love*] with the finality of wooing her. Although there seems to be a great similarity between speaking and loving, the main component in love seems to be in the intention.

TENOR: The expression of his own thought is clearly stated in the first singular person. His intention of winning her as a way of getting “another female scalp for his collection” in Jill Mann's words is reinforced by the use of modality as a cautious strategy, by the use of hypotactical clauses following the current of pros & cons in his thought, and by citing a popular saying.

MODE: The impression of the reader is that Diomede is convinced of having a hard and difficult task. He and we know that he has nothing to lose and a lot to win. Courtly love was a masculine game, not an easy one but a valid and worthy one. Diomede appears as a real 'donjuan', a real sportsman ready to play a challenging game.

Text thirteen:

Book V. Lines 939-45: [Diomede's declaration]

“But herte myn, syn that I am youre man, --
And ben the first of whom I seche grace,--
To serve yow as hertely as I kan,
And evere shal, whil I to lyve have space,
So, er that I departe out of this place,
Ye wol me graunte that I may to-morwe,
At bettre leyser, tellen yow my sorwe.”

FIELD: Diomedes's petition to Criseyde asking to be taken to her service. His words create a perfect atmosphere of a real situation of courtly love.

TENOR: The vocabulary used [*herte, ben the first, seche grace, hertly, serve, graunte, tellen sorwe*] completely fits the courtly love setting. Chivalric tone through use of familiar and distinguished terms, as well as modals used for a prudent approach.

MODE: The organisation of the text (only one sentence with many hypotactic clauses) tries to convince the reader, together with Criseyde, of the convenience of accepting him as her servant. In fact, the author is looking for a similar situation of courtly love between Diomedes and Criseyde as it was between Troilus and Criseyde.

Text fourteen:

Book V. Lines 974-87: [Criseyde's lie]

“But as to speke of love, ywis,” she seyde,
“I hadde a lord, to whom I wedde was,
The whos myn herte al was, til that he deyde;
And other love, as help me now Pallas,
Ther in myn herte nys, ne nevere was.
And that ye ben of noble and heigh kynrede,
I have wel herd it tellen, out of drede.

“And that doth me to han so gret a wonder,
That ye wol scornen any womman so.
Ek, God woot, love and I ben fer ysonder!
I am disposed bet, so mot I go,
Unto my deth, to pleyne and maken wo.
What I shal after don, I kan nat seye;
But trewelich, as yet me list nat pleye.

FIELD: This is a very curious situation in which the surprised reader discovers how Criseyde openly lies about her love. She mentions her husband saying that in her heart there did not exist any other love (lines 977-8).

Apparently she is in a quite disinterested mood concerning love, which induces us to think that she is provoking Diomedes.

TENOR: Criseyde is speaking, her tone is direct, descriptive and plain. The only exclamation made shows her lack of interest in love. Her vocabulary is totally in agreement with the courtly love tenets. Her intention is openly expressed (line 985) “*unto my deth, to pleyne and maken wo*”. It would seem that her clear disposition to suffer --and not to play Diomedes's game -- might be interpreted as provoking his eagerness.

MODE: The most striking feature of this text for the reader is Criseyde's omission of Troilus. Perhaps she is placing Diomedes's affair and her own marriage to her dead husband on the same level, leaving Troilus out of the game. For her, Troilus comes before Diomedes and before her husband. This could be taken as a solid, concealed clue to prepare the reader to think the unthinkable.

Text fifteen:

Book V. Lines 1044-71: [Narrator's confession and Criseyde's own confession]

I fynde ek in the stories elleswhere,
Whan thorough the body hurt was Diomedes
Of Troilus, tho wepte she many a teere,
Whan that she saugh his wyde wowndes blede;
And that she took, to kepen hym, good hede;
And for to helen hym of his sorwes smerte,
Men seyn --I not-- that she yaf hym hire herte.

But trewely, the storie telleth us,
Ther made nevere woman moore wo
Than she, whan that she falsed Troilus.
She seyde, “Allas! for now is clene ago
My name of trouthe in love, for everemo!
For I have falsed oon the gentileste
That evere was, and oon the worthieste!

“Allas! of me, unto the worldes ende,

Shal neyther be ywriten nor ysonge
No good word, for thise bokes wol me shende.
O, rolled shal I ben on many a tonge!
Thorughout the world my belle shal be ronge!
And wommen moost ol haten me of alle.
Allas, that swich a cas me sholde falle!

“Thei wol seyn, in as muche as in me is,
I have hem don dishonour, weylaway!
Al be I nat the first that dide amys,
What helpeth that to don my blame away?
But syn I se ther is no bettre way,
And that to late is now for me to rewe,
To Diomedes algate I wol be trewe.

FIELD: Narrator's commentary about Criseyde's betrayal and her own confession. The whole frame is carried out by a verbal process of saying which could be a clear indication that, whether or not there existed a real betrayal, what matters is Fame --a different goddess and reality from love. The fact that the narrator insists on avoiding any responsibility for this discourse implies a certain degree of doubt about a real betrayal.

TENOR: Two participants are present in this text. The omniscient narrator and Criseyde. The narrator's style seems to be descriptive, objective and factual. Criseyde's words, highlighted by exclamations, transmit a kind of easily contagious sorrow, which has to do with Fame.

MODE: The organisation of this text emphasises the term '*falsed*' repeated twice (lines 1053 & 56) in the second stanza. It was evident for the listener/reader that Criseyde could not come back to Troye and this can be interpreted as 'falsed' to her promise of returning in ten days. The real question that the author is insinuating to his audience is that if Criseyde was really 'falsed' to Troilus in her heart. For that, a new conception of courtly love was necessary. The conception that bases love on fidelity, first and above all, to oneself, even if that oneself is a female. Let us remember that the promise made by a man to a woman did not have the same value and force as a promise made by a man to a man. And courtly love was in its beginning a masculine invention, a male game. So perhaps what the author was looking for was the possibility of understanding that she could be false to him (by

not returning) but that did not at all mean that she could not continue loving Troilus even in Diomedes's arms. Evidently, this represented the unthinkable in courtly love terms.

Text sixteen:

Book V. Lines 1835- 48: [Narrator's commentary]

O yonge, fresshe folkes, he or she,
In which that love up groweth with youre age,
Repeyareth hom fro worldly vanyte,
And of youre herte up casteth the visage
To thilke God that after his ymage
Yow made, and thynketh al nys but a faire
This world, that passeth soone as floures faire.

And loveth hym, the which that right for love
Upon a crois, oure soules for to beye,
First starf, and roos, and sit in hevene above;
For he nyl falsen no wight, dar I seye,
That wol his herte al holly on hym leye.
And syn he best to love is, and most meke,
What nedeth feyned loves for to seke?

FIELD: In the final harengue to his audience the narrator's commentary about the nature of love from a cosmic and human point of view makes men and women equal. So, courtly love should not be taken as a masculine invention to play around with, above all in this short, frail, material and natural world. The narrator tells us that love is the greatest thing, valid for its own worth, and should be taken as it comes and that one cannot interpret the message as a suggestion that all young people should take monastic vows.

TENOR: The speaker, the narrator, has a persuasive style, clear, plain, thought-provoking and intimate. The rhetorical question he throws open is what is the significance of '*feyned loves*'. The author, although exalting and enhancing divine love, is not in any way proscribing human love. In fact, he is casting a doubt on the logical sequence, common in courtly love, about its conception as a ladder.

MODE: The cohesive exhortatory appearance of the distribution of the text permits the audience to ask if human love really is the ladder to divine love or if human love is in itself noble enough as not to be 'feigne love'. It probably depends on the nature of the person who is in love and on his faithfulness to himself / herself.

CONCLUSION

I have analysed some sections of the Poem in terms of the register variables "Field, Tenor & Mode", showing how Chaucer uses persuasive discourse to convince his audience (and later audiences) of the relevance of love.

We see, in our analysis, how the linguistic choices change as the Poem proceeds towards its final moral, displaying how some discourses carry their functional importance throughout centuries to the various reader communities.

In any case, the results of the study carried out on the corpus of analysis suggest the following three statements, as a kind of conclusion:

- * Chaucer was the first great feminist in English literature.
- * His concept of love was based on faithfulness to oneself (including one's own circumstances) and on a respect for the uniqueness of the beloved.
- * He endeavoured to make his audience think what was virtually unthinkable for them in the Middle Ages as far as love matters were concerned.

Antonio R. León Sendra
Universidad de Córdoba

REFERENCES

- Bethurum, D. 1971: Chaucer's Point of View as Narrator in the Love Poems. *Chaucer Criticism Vol II*, edited by R. J. Schoeck & J. Taylor, University of Notre Dame Press.
- David Benson, C. ed. 1991: *Critical Essays on Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde and his major early poems*, Open University Press, London.
- Dodd, W. G. 1971: The System of Courtly Love. *Chaucer Criticism Vol II*, edited by R. J. Schoeck & J. Taylor, University of Notre Dame Press.
- Downing, A. & Ph. Locke, 1992: *A University Course in English Grammar*. Prentice Hall, London.
- Duby, G. & M. Perrot 1992: El modelo cortés. *Historia de las mujeres, vol 2*. Taurus, Madrid.
- Halliday, M. A. K. 1985: *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*. E. Arnold, London.
- Jordan, R. M. 1987: *Chaucer's Poetics and the Modern Reader*. University of California Press.
- León Sendra, A. R. 1985: *Troilo y Criseida*, (Traducción de *Troilus and Criseyde*). Servicio de Publicaciones. Universidad de Córdoba, Córdoba.
- Meech, S. B. 1959: *Design in Chaucer's Troilus*. Greenwood Press, New York.
- Mehl, D. 1986: *Geoffrey Chaucer: An Introduction to His Narrative*. CUP, Cambridge.
- Pearsall, D. 1992: *The Life of Geoffrey Chaucer*. Blackwell, Oxford.
- Rowe, D. W. 1976: *O Love O Charite! Contraries Harmonized in Chaucer's Troilus*. Southern Illinois University Press.
- Shepherd, G. T. 1970: The Narrator in *Troilus & Criseyde*. *Critics on Chaucer* edited by Sheila Sullivan, London.
- Shoaf, R. A ed. 1989: *Troilus and Criseyde*. Colleagues Press, East Lansing.

Steadman, J. M. 1968: 'Courtly Love' as a problem of Style. *Chaucer und Seine Zeit*, Max Niemeyer Verlag Tübingen.

* † *

CHAUCEER'S KNIGHT AND THE HUNDRED YEARS WAR

It is not surprising that the gallery of portraits which constitute the General Prologue commences with the description of the Knight, since according to Ramon Llull a knight 'of eche thousand [men] was chosen,' for being 'moost loyal / most stronge / and of most noble courage / & better enseynd and manerd than al the other' (Byles 1926: 15, Caxton's trans.). Furthermore, this same character will be chosen to begin the tale-telling game. Such a privilege allows him to establish the narrative tone for the contest, thereby becoming a central figure of the *Canterbury Tales*. The interpretation of his portrait, however, has generated noteworthy dissension among the critics. Traditional approaches have viewed the Knight as representative of the ideal of knighthood, lover of 'trouthe and honour, fredom and curteisie' (KT, l. 46). Nevertheless, among these critics there is a division between those who regard the Knight as an anachronistic figure among the group of pilgrims (e.g. Herz 1964 and Robinson 1957), and those who see him as a realistic picture of the adventurous fourteenth century knight (Keen 1983, Mann 1973 and Manly 1907). In contrast to the traditional position, an anti-thetical opinion which regards the Knight as a medieval mercenary has been proposed; this is essentially founded on a singular interpretation of the description presented by Chaucer in the Prologue (Jones 1985 and Mitchell 1964).

In this paper, I as well will focus on the depiction of the Knight in the General Prologue in order to define the ideological viewpoint that informs the Knight's actions and omissions, with the objective of attaining a better understanding of his personality, and, therefore, of his intentions as narrator.

The first feature to stand out in the Knight's portrayal is the formidable list of campaigns in which he has participated; these adventures have brought him to the contemporary boundaries of 'cristendom'. This is not so astonishing if we take into account how, in the General Prologue, each pilgrim is described as the epitome of the social group he or she represents.

Nonetheless, in this case, the degree of hyperbolization seems excessive to me, not so much for its historical magnitude as for its narrative extension.¹ Jill Mann (1973: 111-2) argues that the function of such a roll call of battles is 'to evoke the exotic aspects of foreign travel, the romance of battle in far-off lands.'² From a merely historical standpoint, this catalog of campaigns (16 lines) constitutes an inventory of the scant successes obtained in the fourteenth century by European chivalry over the heathen.

The fact that the Knight, model of chivalry, has devoted his life-long career to fighting the infidel in crusades, apparently represents an indisputable religious commitment that would turn him into a soldier of God. However, this is just the first duty of a knight,³ for the second chivalrous concern is 'to mayntene and deffende / his lord worldly or terreyn' (Byles 1926: 29, Caxton's trans.). Chaucer explains that 'ful worthy was he in his lordes werre' (*KT*, l. 47), yet this statement contains an ambiguity: is he referring to God or to his feudal lord?⁴ It does not seem plausible to come up with a clear-cut explanation of this line. We should, therefore, direct our attention to the implications inferred from the rest of the description: it is queer that there is no single allusion to the English victories of Crécy (1346), Calais (1347), Poitiers (1356), and Nájera (1367). These mark the celebrated triumphs of English knighthood, and their conspicuous absence is extremely significant, particularly for Chaucer's contemporary audience, who are immersed in the never-ending French war. Terry Jones utilizes this omission to reaffirm his criticism of the Knight; however, his conclusions show a certain narrow-mindedness for not discovering other motivations for the Knight's behavior

¹ A similar degree of exaggeration is found in the portrait of the Man of Law, but in this case its exposition is limited to two lines: 'In termes hadde he caas and doomes alle / That from the tyme of kyng William were falle' (l. 323-4).

² Muriel Bowden (1959: 51) considers the enumeration of battles as 'a chapter of romance'.

³ In John Gower's words, 'Ecclesie prima debet defendere iura' (*Vox Clamantis*, v. 5, ed. Macaulay 1902, vol. 4)

⁴ Traditionally that line has been interpreted as an allusion to God, mainly because the detailed list of battles that follows only contains campaigns religiously inspired (e.g. Hatton 1968). Other critics have proposed a more patriotic reading, suggesting that the lord is indeed the king of England (Robinson 1957: 652). But Jones (1985 ff.) assumes that line refers to the lord who has hired the Knight as a mercenary.

except for economical ones.¹ I will try to identify the presumable reasons that would justify the Knight's attitude.

The Knight's non-involvement in the Hundred Years War would ostensibly contravene the chivalrous ideal that he is believed to represent. Why does he not take part in those battles? At first sight we may think that he is one of those

qui mettent leur entente a faire lointains voiaiges, entre ceulx qui sont acoustumez, qui tousjours veulent aler pour veoir nouvelles et estranges choses et pou arrestent et ne peuent mie trouver ne estre es fais d'armes si tres lointains voiaiges ne quierent mie et qui plus s'arrestent et attendent les faiz d'armes de guerre (Geoffroi de Charny, eds. Kaeuper & Kennedy 1996: 90).

It seems evident that our Knight must have developed a certain taste for traveling and knowing foreign countries; for instance, he has just come from a journey ('he was late ycome from his viage', *KT*, l. 77), and has already set off for Canterbury. Nonetheless, his motivations for undertaking distant crusades are beyond mere wanderlust: he goes to accomplish objectives which are religiously sound, putting his life at risk. Charny's comment on this kind of knight is emphatic: 'devons nous telz gens qui ainsi ont esté en lointains et estranges voiaiges volentiers oïr, veoir et honorer; car vraiment nulz ne peut aler en telx lointains voiaiges que le corps ne soit en peril maintes foiz' (*Ibid.*, emphasis mine).² Hence, it may be deduced that participation in this sort of campaign was praiseworthy; conversely, to devote all his energies to fighting the heathens when his help would have been so necessary for his country looks more contemptible.

Despite the Knight's failure to fight in the French war, Chaucer closes the enumeration of campaigns in the Knight's depiction by stating that 'though that he were worthy, he was wys' (*KT*, l. 68). These two concepts are essential for both the characterization of the Knight and his identification with the chivalric ideal. Before continuing with this analysis, I would like briefly to

¹ Jones (1985: 101) concludes that 'at a period of crisis for the English nation, he has failed to serve his own country with spectacular single-mindedness and has ranged all over the known world in search of fat pickings'.

² This observation sanctions the capacity of the Knight to narrate remarkable stories, and implies a certain positive inclination on the part of his audience to listen to him.

refute the interpretation that Terry Jones (1985: 101) gives of the previous line, intrigued by its concessive nature: 'if worthiness and wisdom are *both* desirable moral qualities, why does Chaucer put in that little word *though*?'. The explanation for Chaucer's election of this conjunction is provided by Geoffroi de Charny in his treatise:

Si devez savoir que se uns homs avoit sens assez et il ne fust
preudoms, cilz deus[t] se convertir du tout en mal. Et se uns homs
estoit preudoms et ne fust mie assez saiges, tele preudommie est
bonne mais non mie tant vallable ne de si grant merite como li saige
de droit sens naturel qui sont vrai preudomme (Kaeuper &
Kennedy 1996: 154).

This quotation lucidly resolves the meaning of line 68: the roll call of battles attests to the worthiness of our Knight, but Chaucer stresses the fact that he is one of the few who despite being worthy, is also wise, thus elevating him to a personage of 'grant merite'.

The term 'worthy' is present in the very first line of the Knight's description ('A Knyght ther was, and that a worthy man', *KT*, l. 43), and is used three times further (ll. 50, 64, 68). Chaucer has given enough evidence of what is expected from a worthy knight: 'Si bona milicia fuerit, deus astat in illa / Vincat vt invicto miles in ense suo' (Gower, *Vox Clamantis*, V. 475-6, ed. Macaulay 1902, vol. 4). Conversely, we find out that he is wise only because Chaucer declares so, although he does not give any explicit evidence. What are the implications of Chaucer's statement? Hatton (1968: 79) asserts that a wise knight is aware of the values and principles that govern the order of chivalry, and 'thus he restrains and shapes his worthiness in accordance with these ideals'. Hence, such a faculty of wisdom is fundamental in determining the legitimacy of a cause, the step prior to entering in battle, as Gower argues (*Mirour de l'Homme* ll. 24013-18, ed. Macaulay 1899, vol. 1):

Mais cil q'au droit se voet armer
Et sur les guerres travailler,
Estuet a garder tout avant
Pour la querelle examiner,
Qu'il ne se face a tort lever,
Don ert la cause defendant.

Reflection on the justice of war was not for a soldier a gratuitous act, since for him, not only his reputation was at stake but also his standing in the afterlife. The English Dominican friar John Bromyard comments c. 1390 that 'in bello corporali maximum est periculum corporum et animarum', and adds that those who are successful 'deum et sapientiam habentes adiutores'.¹

The previous exposition of the chivalric implications of the concept 'wise' will assist us to better understand line 68. After the enumeration of chivalric actions undertaken by the Knight, an inventory which proves his worthiness, the omission of any reference to the Hundred Years War implicitly evinces his wisdom: the Knight doubts the justice of that war.

What factors have influenced the Knight, endowed with wisdom, to make that decision? According to the generally accepted chronology of Chaucer's works, the General Prologue was composed in 1388-92 (Benson 1987: xxv). At that time many voices rallied against the war in France, generating a debate in English and French society (Barnie 1974, ch. 5). The source of this dissatisfaction with war was twofold: on the one hand, the dubious morality of this war, fought between Christians; on the other hand, the irrationality of going on with a conflict which was not providing substantial benefits to either side, though it required an important cost both human and economical (Allmand 1988: 25). Logically, the Knight would be more concerned with the issue of the justice of this war, equipped with denunciations such as Gower's: 'Set magis in fratres, signat quos vnda renatos, / Pro mundi rebus publica bella damus' (*Vox Clamantis*, III. 665-6, ed. Macaulay 1902, vol. 4).²

Having established the Knight's ideological stand with relation to the Hundred Years War, I must consider now its historicity. Some Chaucerian critics, with an historical approach to the Knight's crusades, have attempted to identify him with a real-life model (Manly 1916: 165-238). However, none of these searches stood scholarly scrutiny. Furthermore, none of the individuals pointed out could have been a prototype for Chaucer, since, as Terry Jones

¹ *Summa Predicantium* (Basel, c. 1485), under 'Bellum', chapter 23; source identified following Allmand (1973: 38-9).

² Nonetheless, this attitude was not prevailing at all: in 1393 J. Colwull and J. Netton 'universitati Cantabrigiensis, theologie professores' assert that 'bellare pro defensione iusticie tam contra infideles quam contra cristianos est factum sanctum et licitum et dicere oppositum est erroneum' (Capes ed. 1916: 377); source identified following Allmand (1973: 20).

(1985: 100-1) attests, a characteristic common to all of them is that at some point in their careers they had fought the enemies of England. Does this mean that Chaucer has portrayed an unreal character? In 1369 Jean Froissart, in his *Chroniques*, records the case of a French knight, Sir Aymenions de Pumiers, who decides not to participate in the war with England, and instead opts to go on crusading, a more honorable solution:

Tout en tel manière se départi de la ducé d'Aquitainne messires
Aymenions de Pumiers, qui estoit chevaliers dou prince, et dist
que, la guerre durant, il ne s'armeroit, ne pour l'un roy, ne pour
l'autre. Si s'en ala li dessus dis oultre mer, en Cypre et au Saint-
Sépulcre et en pluseurs aultres biaux voiaiges (Lettenhove ed.
1867-1877: VII², 420).

Our Knight, therefore, is not the only one to have reservations about the war, although this is not a widespread position.

To sum up, Chaucer has chosen for his pilgrimage an extraordinary figure who embodies a particular representation of the chivalrous ideal of his time, even if it defies the official stance: because he is engaged on crusading expeditions, disregarding his obligation to his country, and also because he questions the legitimacy of the Hundred Years War and decides not to take part. Now it is possible to understand Chaucer's rationale for including the entire list of the Knight's successes: on the one hand it attests to his worthiness, and on the other, it counterbalances the omission of the English victories mentioned above. This character's experienced outlook and exciting life bestow upon him those meritorious credentials which herald a magnificent tale.

Jordi Sanchez Martí
Cornell University

WORKS CITED

- Allmand, C. T. 1973: *Society at War: The Experience of England and France During the Hundred Years War*. Harper & Row, New York.
- Allmand, C. T. 1988: *The Hundred Years War: England and France at War c. 1300-c. 1450*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Barnie, J. 1974: *War in Medieval English Society. Social Values in the Hundred Years War 1337-99*. Cornell University Press, Ithaca.
- Benson, L. D. & al. eds. 1987: *The Riverside Chaucer*. Houghton Mufflin, Boston.
- Bowden, M. 1959: *A Commentary on the General Prologue to the Canterbury Tales*. MacMillan, London.
- Bromyard, J. c. 1485: *Summam Predicantium*. Basel.
- Byles, T. P. ed. 1926: *The Book of the Ordre of Chyvalry, translated and printed by William Caxton from a French version of Ramón Lull's "Le Libre del Orde de Cauayleria" together with Adam Louftut's Scottish transcript*. [EETS], Oxford University Press, London.
- Capes, W. W. ed. 1916: *Registrum Johannis Trefnant, Episcopi Herefordensis, A.D. MCCCLXXXIX-MCCCCIV*. The Canterbury and York Society, London.
- Cook, A. S. 1916: The Historical Background of Chaucer's Knight. *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences* 20: 165-238.
- Hatton, T. J. 1968: Chaucer's Crusading Knight, a Slanted Ideal. *Chaucer Review* 3: 77-87.
- Herz, J. S. 1964: Chaucer's Elegiac Knight. *Criticism* 6: 212-24.
- Jones, T. 1985: *Chaucer's Knight: The Portrait of a Medieval Mercenary*. Methuen, New York.
- Kaeuper, R. W. & Kennedy, E. eds. 1996: *The Book of Chivalry of Geoffroi de Charny*. Philadelphia University Press, Philadelphia.
- Keen, M. 1983: Chaucer's Knight, the English Aristocracy and the Crusade. *English Court Culture in the Later Middle Ages*. ed. V. J. Scattergood & J. W. Sherborne eds. St. Martin's Press, New York.

- Lettenhove, K. de ed. 1867-1877: *Oeuvres de Froissart*. Brussels.
- Macaulay, G. C. ed. 1899-1902: *The Complete Works of John Gower*. 4 vols. Oxford.
- Manly, J. M. 1907: A Knight Ther Was. *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 38: 89-107.
- mann, J. 1973: *Chaucer and Medieval Estates Satire: The Literature of Social Classes and the General Prologue to the Canterbury Tales*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Mitchell, C. 1964: The Worthiness of Chaucer's Knight. *Modern Language Quarterly* 25: 66-75.
- Robinson, F. N. ed. 1957: *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*. 2nd edn. London, 1957).

* † *

DRAMATIC PERSPECTIVE IN CHAUCER'S *THE CANTERBURY TALES* AND *TROILUS AND CRISEYDE*

One of the most important problems we face in modern literary history is when we try to explain the artistic innovations of the past in terms of contemporary critical criteria. So that when dealing with character in the Middle Ages we inevitably pass through the conceptions drawn by the Renaissance writers, the romantic idea of individuality and the modernist and postmodernist conflict between subject and art. On the other hand Roberth Scholes and Robert Kellog in *The Nature of Narrative* state

All art is traditional in that artists learn their craft from their predecessors to a great extent. They begin by conceiving the possibilities open to them in terms of the achievements they are acquainted with. They may add to the tradition, opening up new possibilities for their successors, but they begin, inevitably within a tradition (4).

It seems that the assumption that any writer belongs to a tradition is an unquestionable axiom in literary criticism and textual analysis. Aristotle said so in *De Poetica* when in his analysis of epic poetry and tragedy he proposed Homer as a model for other writers. Later in time T. S. Eliot insisted on this debt of the individual artists to a received and given tradition and in his essay "Tradition and Individual Talent" says that a situation of cultural and literary vacuum is not possible in creative writing. Tradition always exists and any poet or artist must have this "historical sense", being the seminal difference the acceptance or the rejection, and so modification of such tradition (49-52).

There is nevertheless an important aspect in the fact that subject and identity in the Middle Ages, and specially in the XIVth century, appeared as a result of the development of the economical and social structures which primed a social relationship based on the private enterprise and free will of

the subject against a collective pattern of thinking and believing imposed upon the individuals. Cultural and literary expressions had finally to accommodate to this social and economic condition and frame. Literary subject, literary character, authorship, the perception of self arose once the economic subject had been established.

Brewer uses the label “Gothic spirit”(1970) to define the fourteenth century spirit and temper, meaning by that the introduction of realistic, lively characters, humor, irony, naturalistic tone given to plot and story, as well as the different attitude of the writer to his works, i.e. the rising of a new type of authorial voice. The fourteenth century is the time in which emerges subjectivity in the modern sense, the individual as protagonist and maker of his own life and historical and economic conditions, (J. Kristeva 1974, Juan Carlos Rodriguez 1974, Max Weber 1969) versus the individual patterned by history and society (Lee Paterson 1987, 1990, 1991. David Aers 1988). This new perception of self in real life gave way to a new perception of self in literature, a dialogic, negotiated perception of the self.

Although Dante in *La Divina Commedia* deals with the historical subject in a specific time and circumstances, and Langland in *Piers Plowman* identifies subjectivity with religious identity showing the struggle between the inner and the outer sides of the self, and in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* the knightly identity and subject is unveiled when his private decisions in front of different and axiomatic challenges make him responsible for his sins and his repentance, it is Chaucer in the dualistic approach to the I the first to establish a true distance between the real and the fictional self, introducing an unknown category in poetic narrative tradition, the “dramatic” self, in *The Book of the Duchess*, *The House of Fame*, and *The Parliament of Fowls*. This time the perception is dualistic and mimetic between fact and fiction, represented by the two I, the “ignorant narrator” and the learned diplomatic Chaucer. This step forward allows the poet to use analogy, homology, and even a simulacrum of autobiography, and the opportunity of giving personal, authorial interpretation and control.

This techniques and rhetorical device is not new and is closely connected though with variations to the classical (Boethius, Ovid, Virgil) and biblical narrative traditions. There were also a wide spectrum of narratives and narrative traditions to which Chaucer could refer to. Yet we must distinguish

between written, narrative tradition and oral, dramatic tradition, though also formal is less clear to show (Bryan & Dempster 1958, Schaar 1967, Mann 1975, Bowden 1967, Ruggiers 1967). Chaucerian scholars who have studied the sources and analogues to Chaucer's works have fixed mainly their attention on social types and estates and the correspondent literary or historical or narrative tradition referring to them, i.e. scientific (Curry 1960), classical (Robertson 1962), always affecting the description, and this fact must be emphasised, of some narrative elements: nature, character, uses and customs, ideas and themes. As a result we have a complete analysis and classification of traditional patterns, relationships, debts, influences, and so on and so forth, to explain all these elements that make a story, a narrative as such: character, action, plot, beginning-middle-end, literary topoi, literary genres, literary groups.

Following Aristotle's rules a character first must be life-like and so in connection with real known people, and second a character must be a universal, a type. This takes the thread of our analysis to the topic of realism, something that is used by many Chaucerian scholars to support the idea of Chaucer's modernity and originality. And it is true, but let us have a look at Bloomfield's essay "Chaucerian realism". Bloomfield starts with a general assessment

There is good reason why realism in general is such a popular subject in literary theory and criticism, for in one way or another one might say that it is central to any discussion of literature even art. As the ancient theory of imitation or mimesis testifies, art must claim to be real in some sense if it is to be taken at all seriously. The whole problem lies, of course, in what sense or senses art is real (180).

Aristotle's concept of mimesis, as we know, is not concerned with metaphysical thought - as may in Plato - but with the factual evidence that men are naturally imitative, they enjoy imitating and learn by imitation. So the content of literature is not everything that can be imitated, but that side of Nature which effect may be *mediated* by the manner of imitation or representation, that is to say, its form. We do not simply react to what we are shown but rather to how we are shown it. Then Bloomfield touches upon another

important aspect, very much studied by formalist critics (vid. Todorov, *Lo Verosímil*)

A basic realism in narrative is concerned with the establishment of an air of truth or plausibility to a tale. Narratives use such strategies to avoid the accusation of lying. This type of realism may be called “authenticating realism” and is to be found in one way or another in almost all narratives (181)

A piece of literature is a thing in its own right, different from those other things it imitates or represents, and it is the manner of imitation what determines the kind of realism in art. In Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* there are two basic authenticating devices: the dream-vision pattern that helps to establish the distance between dream and reality, the self and the perception of the self, in the opposite way as Bloomfield suggests, and the individual interplay of the pilgrims, as Kittredge explains it, but considered as a “*dramatis personae*” not as narrative characters. Although there is a rhetorical tradition at the background of this technique the kind of realism, i.e. “*mimesis*” represented belongs to a dramatic tradition more than a narrative one.

The theoretical frame that the contributors to Boitani and Mann's *Companion* use is based on criteria and judgements not radically different from the ones already known to us, nor do they completely explain from the point of view of a literary tradition the rising of this new individual characterization. In Chaucer as Patterson says, character is the result of a conjunction of the specific and the general:

It (Dryden) has also assumed that the key to his meaning resides in the proper understanding of his characters: how we interpret *Troilus and Criseyde* will be determined by how we understand the three protagonists; and *The Canterbury Tales* are habitually read as indexed to the ethical register of their tellers. In fact, the controversies that have traditionally preoccupied Chaucer criticism have focused not on the legitimacy of this procedure but rather on the terms of its practice. On the one hand is a self-proclaimed “historicism” that insists on the priority of stylistic and iconographic traditions, rhetorical programs, and a required exemplary meaning; on the other a “criticism” that privileges mimetic accuracy and commonsense psychology. In both cases Chaucerian character is seen as a conjunction of the specific (whether derived

from stylistic imitation, rhetorical precept, or empirical observation) and the general (whether taken to be authoritative truths or universal human nature).(1991:15)

but Patterson still collides with the same ideas he wants to criticize and returns once more to a kind of thematic - subject vs history - level which does not explain the stylistic design of *The Canterbury Tales*. Surely it is Chaucer who better expresses this dialectical tension between subject and history, between the inner and the outer-self, between canon and parody in *The Canterbury Tales* and *Troilus and Criseyde* choosing dramatic dialogue and theatrical performance to represent this conflict, and so making the character, the subject, the “*dramatis personae*” more relevant than story and narrative in front of the audience:

And whan that he was out at dore, anon
He planed away the names evrychon
That he befor had written in his tables;
He served hem with nyfles and with fables.
“Nay, ther thou lixt, thou Somonour!” quod the Frere
“Pees”, quod oure Hoost, “for Cristes mooder deere!
Tel forth thy tale, and spare it nat at al.”
“So thryve I,” quod this Somonour, “so I shal!”
(CT 1755-1764)

In the Middle Ages there was one only possible definition of character, both in tragedy and epic, and it followed the features described by Aristotle and although Aristotle conceives of action as more important than character in tragedy and comedy he also thinks that epic narrative is inferior to drama in this process of imitation or “*mimesis*”, so that it is in drama where character and action are better developed. There is, however, one important distinction to bare in mind: fable is the combination of incidents, and character is what makes us ascribe certain moral qualities to the agents. In the same way character in a play is what reveals the moral purpose of the agents. To put it in other words character is what unveils psychological complexity, i.e., individual identity versus individual type. Sklovsky says, “... probablemente, el carácter, tal como lo comprendemos nosotros, surge como resultado de la contraposición del hombre corriente al “personaje” (... surely, character as we understand it, arises as a result of the opposition between common man

and the individual”, and he goes “...aquí, en la percepción de la diferencia empieza a crearse el carácter” (... here, in our perception of the difference character appears)(128). Horace goes even further when he says that characters must be suitable for the genre, and the question, once again, is: what kind of genre do the characters in *The Canterbury Tales* and *Troilus and Criseyde* belong to?

There is not a specific genre, a particular literary tradition to which we can refer to, and, in some sense, to support “authenticating realism”, saying that “Chaucer had real-life models” is to miss the point twice: first insisting upon the obvious i.e. that realism in literature always means looking at real life, and second forgetting that literary patterns and forms can also be models for other literary works. So in *The Canterbury Tales* and *Troilus and Criseyde* the combination of the specific and the general, the life-like individual and the type was possible through the contextual and intertextual reference to the only one literary expression that used “mimesis” and character as “dramatis personae”: the medieval theatre. To support this pose two important clues are given, one by Tydeman when he comments some aspects of “closet theatres” and quotes:

Richard Axton suggests that this mode of separation between actors and narrator would mean that the cast (probably professional players) would not need to learn complicated Latin speeches, simply improvising to the narrator's story-line, while the learned author or narrator avoided the stigma of too close an association with the acting fraternity (27-28).

Chaucer wrote *The Canterbury Tales* having in mind a stage, i.e., interplay of narrator and actors. The other clue is given by Hans-Jürgen Diller showing intertextuality in action between medieval stage and medieval painting and glass-working

The drama, to which I want to turn now, is a richer medium than the ones considered so far, because it combines word and image. The image, moreover, is a living image...Like the other verbal media, it can represent speech (which the pictorial media cannot). But over and above the verbal and the pictorial media, it can represent action iconically as developing in time(51).

Diller sees the interaction between drama and the pictorial media as a kind of process in which the former acts as a model for the latter, so that when the medieval glass-worker builds a biblical scene in the gothic glass window of the church he looks at theatrical representation not to biblical narrative. It is not surprising, then, that Derek Brewer (1974) pointed out the parallelism between the design of the tales and the design of a Gothic cathedral, each tale being the equivalent to one of the scenes represented in the gothic glass windows of the church. We readers realize the truth of that when we see that Chaucer in *The Canterbury Tales*, as the narrative proceeds, is showing more and more interest in “theatrical interplay” and less in the telling of the story, as it happens when we reach the prologues to “The Manciple’s Tale” and “The Canon’s Yeoman’s Tale”, or at the opening of *Troilus and Criseyde* where the rhetorical “invocatio” is used as an “introductio” to the play.

As we know the tales in *Il Decamerone* are told using a static frame, while those in *The Canterbury Tales* move inside a dynamic one (Sklovsky). In the latter the pilgrims, the tellers, travel towards Canterbury and in their very detailed way enjoy themselves with the telling of the tales, as in a game (Josipovici). In *Il Decamerone* we hear two voices: the author/ narrator and the tellers, the Florentine gentlemen and ladies; but in *The Canterbury Tales* we hear several voices: the authorial voice, the narrator’s, the pilgrim Chaucer and the rest of the pilgrims (E.Talbot Donaldson). These voices are not merely reporting and narrating, but also arguing among them, discussing about different topics and subjects, and commenting about the excellence or ugliness of the stories, abusing each other, and so on and so forth. The pilgrims are described as individuals as well as types:

A Knyght ther was, and that a worthy man,
That fro the tyme that he first began
To riden out, he loved chivalrie,
Trouthe and honour, fredom and curteisie.
(CT 43-46)

everyone in either the inner or the outer audience would be familiar with the typical portrait of the type, and that means that a social and literary conventional pattern is behind the mere lines and words (Jill Mann 1973). From this

point of view it seems most difficult to explain the following lines that describe the real knight in the group of people in front of the audience:

But to tellen yow of his array,
His hors were goode, but he was nat gay.
Of fustian he wered a gypon
Al bismotered with his habergeon,
For he was late ycome from his viage,
And wente for to doon his pilgrymage.
(CT 73-78)

All the pilgrims in the General Prologue, the Host and later the author/narrator/pilgrim Chaucer are depicted with these two perspectives.

Jill Mann described in her book *Chaucer and Medieval Estates Satire* the catalogue that stayed as a background for the depiction of the pilgrims in the “General Prologue”, while Claes Schaar in *The Golden Mirror* developed a systematic study of descriptive literary techniques at the back; Bryan & Dempster in their recollection *Sources and Analogues of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales* studied and showed the debts of Chaucer's work to other authors and to a classical and medieval narrative tradition. D.W. Robertson in his *A Preface to Chaucer* explored the learned and mythological tradition in which Chaucer was inserted, and W.W. Curry in *Chaucer and the Medieval Sciences* the scientific one, etc., just to mention a few.

Later Piero Boitani and Jill Mann in their anthology *The Cambridge Chaucer Companion* have developed with the help of other chaucerians scholars more modern approaches and, let us say, posmodern analysis studying Chaucer's works and retaking the same facts and evidences pointed out in previous studies, some of which I have already quoted. But in some way, I think, they miss the chance - specially when dealing with *The Canterbury Tales* - and the opportunity to explain the reason for such “rich individual variety and interplay”, as they seem to be repeating old concepts, ideas and themes in more modern terms and expressions. Let us have a brief look to some of the contributions in the anthology which more clearly deal with the topic I am proposing here.

Benson in his article "*The Canterbury Tales*: Personal drama or experiment in poetic variety" settles his point with a well-known and right statement:

For many, the clearest signals of the variety of the *Canterbury Tales* are the sharply differentiated tellers and their intricate relationships before, after, and sometimes during the tales. No other story-collection has a frame that is so lively and dynamic (93).

This, in fact, supports his view that the collection of tales reveals a sharply interplay among a group of speakers/ tellers, but next the question is to choose between personal drama or experiment in poetic variety to justify it. It seems that Benson is in favour of dramatic interplay and so he brings Kittredge's much quoted definition of this design and develops what he calls "dramatic theory":

Kittredge argued that the individual tales are not told in Chaucer's own voice, but that each is a dramatic expression of the personality of its particular teller: "The Pilgrims do not exist for the sake of the story, but *vice versa*. Structurally regarded, the stories are merely long speeches expressing, directly or indirectly, the characters of the several persons - they are more or less comparable, in this regard, to the soliloquies of Hamlet or Iago or Macbeth (94).

Once Kittredge and Benson have stated that the tale is an extension of the personality, ideas and behaviour of the teller they immediately think of character, not type, and in order to explain what character is they refer as a way of example to Hamlet, Iago and Macbeth - we may say to a literary tradition -. The important fact to notice here is that none of the scholars link the "acting and doing" of the tellers to a narrative tradition for there is none. Further on Benson goes on saying:

Given such diverse and energetic portraits it is all too easy to imagine *The Canterbury Tales* as fully developed and psychologically complex characters, like those we know from realistic novel or popular film (96).

On the one hand the dynamism and complexity of the characters in *The Canterbury Tales* take the scholars to the field of performance, to the field of

film, as well as to the idea of character as it is seen in realistic fiction. On the other, Benson does not explain the needs and reasons why Chaucer moved from a static and “energetic portraits” into “complex characters”, so establishing an opposition between passive portraits and active characters. Finally Benson adds:

Scholars have even argued that Chaucer must have had real-life models and suggested specific names, but the latest studies confirm what some earlier readers understood - the *General Prologue* describes types rather than specific individuals (96).

Gower, the Gawain poet, Langland and the early Chaucer all belong to the tradition we have briefly described so far. Their stories are made of topoi, prototypes, standard groups, story patterns, even though the self might be perceived as part of the fabulated and the conventional. Chaucer breaks this traditional path in *The Canterbury Tales* due mainly to the parodic nature of his work:

- .- when he describes the characters he makes a parody of both literary tradition and real individual.
- .- when the pilgrims speak they make a parody of both social estate and his humorous counterpoint.
- .- when Chaucer describes Chaucer he perceives himself as a parody of himself.

The conclusion is that subjectivity, the perception of self in modern sense, in the Middle Ages is the outgrowth and source of parody, and when used in literature, as in Chaucer's *The Canterbury Tales* and *Troilus and Criseyde*, comes from comedy, the comic and parodic nature of some elements in Medieval plays, such as Noah's wife action and gesture in *Noah's Flood*, the complaining and locality of the shepherds in *Prima Pastorum*, and the interplays among the shepherds themselves and between the shepherds and the rags, Mak and Gyll, in *Secunda Pastorum*, for example.

Although Kittredge describes *The Canterbury Tales* as a “human comedy,” with the pilgrims as *dramatis personae*, and Lumiansky in *Of Sondry Folk* applied the concept systematically to the entire poem pointing out that there was a “personal dramatic interplay” between the teller and the tale,

considering the tale as an extension of the teller's character and individuality, i.e. subjectivity, still they both understood that Chaucer was following a narrative tradition and in their interpretation moved within the limits of a written text. This "dramatic" approach is questioned by Marshall Leicester arguing that there is a misunderstanding between "written text" and oral performance:

The objection to this "dramatic" model that I would particularly like to single out is its disregard for the poem's insistent, though perhaps intermittent, *textuality*, for the way the work repeatedly breaks the fiction of spoken discourse and the illusion of the frame to call attention to itself as a written thing (216).

Leicester claims that the "road-side drama" approach has a "central confusion: the confusion of *voice* with *presence*", the confusion "that the voice in a text (is) traceable to a person, a subject, *behind* the language, an individual controlling and limiting, and thereby guaranteeing, the meaning of what is expressed" (216-217). Leicester is trapped in the textuality of his text and unable to see that in real drama voice and presence cannot live without each other; he is trapped in the textuality of narrative traditions that he applies to Chaucer.

The case with *Troilus and Criseyde* being slightly different in quantity is similar in quality if we analyse Criseyde's part in the "play". It is generally assumed that women's characters as portrayed by the men writers of the Middle Ages, and also the few women writers themselves, had very few personality possibilities. The women of the period are either Virgin Marys or shrews. There seem to be no women that possess a natural mix of human traits. There are the Virgin Marys, women who are completely innocent of everything and do not get out into society much... There are the shrews and they are more of a possession, as is the adulterous Alison to her husband in Chaucer's "The Miller's Tale" or the wife and daughter in "The Reeve's Tale". Even the woman in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* is also depicted as the deceitful tramp when she sets up Gawain by giving him her undergarment, leading to his fall to the Green Knight. But romance brings forward a different type of women (Katharina M. Wilson 1984, Mary B. Rose 1986, Carol M. Meale 1993).

In *Troilus and Criseyde*, Chaucer makes up his mind and collects these three traditions, spiritual love, courtly love and sexual love depicting a parodical “*dramatis personae*” of those types of medieval women, the saint, the ideal lady, the passionate woman and the whore woman. He transforms any kind of superimposed or established behaviour and percolates these types of women into one more realistic, naturalistic and practical perspective. Let us see how Criseyde is described in the poem, how the author sees her, and how she finally unveils her truthful nature and personality.

The first time Criseyde is described by the author (TC I 99-105) is seen as an ideal, hyperbolic being: “*Nas non so fair*”, “*forpassynge every wight*”, “*aungelik*”, “*a thing inmortal*”, “*an hevenyssh perfect creature*”. After being granted protection by Hector she stays in Troy keeping “*hire honour*” and “*hire estat*.” At the temple, Criseyde is still beautiful but she is also a widow dressed in black, unmatched in her beauty, but “*ful lowe and still allone, / Byhynden other folk, in litel brede*” (TC I 178-179). As we see, Chaucer is following here all the good qualities that the courtly love system would attribute her as the lady of the romance where “the lady is regularly represented as perfect in all her attributes. The basis of this idea is, of course, the high social position of woman.” (Dodd 7-8). Yet Criseyde has no high position by herself in Troy’s society, she has the borrowed rank given to her by Hector and this is her weakness in the conventional system.

Later on (I 281-294) Troilus sees Criseyde for the first time -through the eyes of the narrator-. She is the ideal woman, again, and her physical appearance and presence makes Troilus almost faint, in front of that vision of love, “*the nevere thoughte hym so good a syghte*.” Here Troilus attitude and feelings suit well the predicaments of the courtly love system and so he suffers deeply, he is sleepless, he wants to kill himself, he is obsessed with how may win her will and retain her favour. He is the real lover of the romance who fulfills all the conditions established by Andreas Capellanus and Chrétien de Troies.

Troilus confesses his love for Criseyde to Pandarus, and Pandarus seeing the critical situation in which the young knight is tries first to deter him from his pledge and obsession. Pandarus tries to cool him down and describes woman -in the typical bourgeois view- as an object of love, as a fragile being that sooner or later suffers the assaults of the love and yields to it. Either ce-

lestial or real, Criseyde, it is not an exception and her youth indicates that it is more appropriate and natural for her to follow the path of love.

And for to speke of hire in specyal,
Hire beaute to bithynken and hire youthe,
It sit hire naught to ben celestial
As yet, though that hire liste bothe and kowthe;
But trewely, it sate hire wel right nowthe
A worthi knyght to loven and cherice,
And but she do, I holde it for a vice.
(TC I 981-987)

In this way Pandarus provides Troilus and us with a most skeptical and realistic point of view establishing that the proper condition of the woman is rooted more in her carnal body than in her social image or spiritual shyness, and so he questions the standards of the courtly love system and stands in favour of the new more naturalist tradition as the modern view to order the relationship between women and men. Once the plan has been designed Pandarus approaches Criseyde who describes her situation in the context of the Trojan war and her personal restraints: she is a widow - as the Wife of Bath - and she must moderate her natural impulses - contrary to the Wife of Bath.

I! God forbede!' quod she. 'Be ye mad?
Is that a widewes lif, so God yow save?
By God, ye maken me ryght soore adrad!
Ye ben so wylde, it semeth as ye rave.
It satte me wel bet ay in a cave
To bidde and rede on holy seyntes lyves;
Lat maydens gon to daunce, and yonge wyves.'
(TC II 113-119)

Criseyde protests her bad luck (TC II 407-504), once she has known what her uncle Pandarus's words are leading to. Although the author, along Book II, seems to be building up a sort of moral image and reliable shape for Criseyde, we do not really know if Criseyde's feelings are sincere or if she is just facing serious menace on her social stability, very weak and delicate, let us say. Being a widow Criseyde tries to behave as the perfect lady of the romance

and as the perfect pure and chaste woman, yet the question is: does she believe in those two types of women, or is she just pretending? Later on (TC II 624-644) Troilus is described, again, as the perfect knight of the romance but also as the worthy Christian one, if we compare this description with the knight in the group of pilgrims.

Criseyde is at the window watching the comitive of knights and warriors who comes back from battle passing by her house. Troilus is among them. So at this point the author wants to make sure that both we listeners and Criseyde perceive Troilus as the brave, mild, gentil and truthful knight of the romance suitable and right for Criseyde. But it is when Criseyde in her room recalls Troilus "manhood" that she seems to "see" Troilus under the two conventional courtly love views: as a model of knighthood and as a likely lover. In fact, Criseyde tries to convince herself that her luck, at the end, is not so bad. She and we are in front of a dual vision, a vision between what we see and what it is.

We reach the turning point when Criseyde in a systematic way thinks of the pros and cons of her relationship with Troilus (TC II 694-812). She unveils her thoughts but he does not speak it is the omniscient narrator who tells us what she is thinking and the reasons why she should reject or accept Troilus' approach. Among other things she says that she does not want to get married -opposite to the Wife of Bath- because husbands are always a nonsense and marriage is a noisy thing. Is she insinuating that she prefers an adulterous relation? When the Wife of Bath insists upon the fact that sexual intercourse is blessed by the Holy Book, The Bible, she links this heterodox statement with her own experience, her multiple marriages and husbands, so marking a radical difference, so far, with Criseyde. Both are willing to have lovers: The Wife of Bath through her husbands because husbands bring her, besides sex, comfort and commodity; Criseyde through an adulterous lover who will also bring her comfort, commodity, security and protection. It seems as if in both cases sex was used for other means but both women belong to different social strata, the wife is an independent woman, she earns her life and she is a member of the working middle-class", Criseyde would like to be independent but she is committed to the rules of the war and limited in her actions by her father's treason. We can touch and trust the Wife of Bath, but Criseyde fakes away whenever we want to grab her.

These words represent the climax of the action. Criseyde who has been featured as an ideal lady, according to the courtly love system, a perfect woman according the Bible and Christian thought, even has been given an aurea of virginity and chastity, speaks by herself in the frame of her real state -a traitor's daughter under Hector's protection-, she has nothing: no father, no friend, no rank, no virtue, except her body and her personal abilities. And Criseyde considers becoming a feigning lover.

With that she gan hire eyen on hym caste
Ful esily and ful debonairly,
Avysyng hire, and hied nought to faste
With nevere a word, but seyde hym softly,
Myn honour sauf, I wol wel trewely,
And in swich forme as he gan now devyse,
Receyven hym fully to my servyse,

Bysechyng hym, for Goddes love, that he
Wolde, in honour of trouthe and gentillesse,
As I wel mene, ek menen wel to me,
And myn honour with wit and bisynesse
Ay kepe; and if I may don hym gladnesse,
From hennesforth, iwys, *I nyl nought feyne*.
Now beth al hool; no lenger ye ne pleyne.

(TC III 155-168)

Criseyde accepts Troilus' love, and in a courtly manner she is going to be for him the ideal lady/ lover for his demanding knight. The fact the she says that her words and actions "are not feigning" -Sidney in his *Apology for Poetry* declares that dramatic action is a feigning action- does not mean she is not going to play her part in the performance (III 170 and ff.), although she seems ready to play it happily and enjoyingly. It is at this point when the parodic nature of Criseyde's action transforms the whole "narrative" poem into a "play", or at least makes us think of a theatrical tradition more than a narrative one.

We may think that this perspective stands in front of what have been said so far by the scholars concerning this poem, and that our point of view risks deforming the true meaning of Chaucer's work, but the truth is that once Criseyde is forced to part away from his supposed lover, she seems less tor-

mented and troubled than Troilus. She offers a practical diagnosis to the problem, unveiling her deeply concerns and interests (TC IV 1254-1415) when we realise that many of the reasons to calm down and fulfill destiny are a repetition of the ones given previously to accept Troilus's love and demand. Just in this context we can read the author's irony

And treweliche, as writen wel I fynde,
That al this thyng was seyde of good entente,
And that hire herte trewe was and kynde
Towardes hym and spak right as she mente,
And that she starf for wo neigh whan she wente,
And was in purpos euere to be trewe:
Thus writen they that of hire werkes knewe.
(TC IV 1415-1421)

So at this point we get to the conclusion and Criseyde's action and attitude are both clear. For the sake of her life she has been acting the parody, performing, playing her role of the ideal lady, the virtuous woman and the lusty lover. It sounds strange and extravagant but let us see how Diomedes is taking Troilus's path and approaching Criseyde exactly in the same way as the former did: introducing himself as the perfect, gentle, worthy knight who promises deep feelings, strong friendship, honour and obedience. And listen to Criseyde's words:

But natheles she thonketh Diomede
Of al his travaile and his goode cheere,
And that hym list his frendshipe hire to bede;
And she accepteth it in good manere,
And wol do fayn that is hym lief and dere,
And tristen hym she wolde, and wel she myghte,
As seyde she; and from hire hors sh'alighte.
(TC V 183-189)

These words take us round to the beginning of the play: different character, same action.

V. A. Kolve in *Chaucer and the Imagery of Narrative*, deals with Chaucer's use of narrative imagery and visual art and his audience knowledge and application of such material.

... the visual contexts of the *Canterbury Tales*, especially, in how a knowledge of the symbolic traditions current in the visual arts of the later Middle Ages can clarify and deepen our response to his narrative poems (1).

In the medium of visual arts Kolve acknowledges both the alteration of such material through time and the inaccuracy of any claim which maintains that Chaucer and his audience knew the same identical portraits. He works with the premise that both Chaucer and his original audience would have known them and “understood” certain examples of narrative imagery. That is true but no so important since visual arts develop its narrative and symbolic iconography from medieval theatrical scenography. When he maintains that the iconographic image is “characteristically assimilated to the verisimilar and mimetic texture of the whole” and that those two conditions are “discovered within the images one forms in attending to the narrative action itself” (Diller 60), we must assume that the reader or listener “represents” in his mind images, action and characters as in theatre, not real but mimetic, not prototypical but individual, not the standard but the parodic, and that Chaucer and his “audience-in-front-of-him” knew the same “dramatic portraits”.

There is a strong connection between the depiction of characters in *The Canterbury Tales* and the depiction of characters in medieval theatre. The realistic details and naturalistic features described in the tales belong to the world of theatre more than to a specific known narrative tradition. To put it the other way round, Chaucer sees a theatre performance when he describes the Tabard Inn and theatrical characters when he describes the pilgrims, and follows the “closet theatre” pattern, with a narrator and a mime, all of them on the stage, being in turn protagonists and audience, when he designs the structure of the collection. Even more, when Chaucer uses humour and irony, he takes advantage of the parodic element, considered by Aristotle in *Poetics* and Bajtín in *La Cultura Popular en la Edad Media y Renacimiento* as the constitutive element of comedy in front of tragedy, as the constitutive element of the popular against the established, courtly and literary taste, as the constitutive element of subjectivity.

Ricardo J. Sola Buil
Universidad de Alcalá

REFERENCES

- Aers, David 1988: *Community, Gender and Individual Community: English Writing, 1360-1430*. London: Routledge.
- Aers, David ed. 1992: *Culture and History, 1350-1600. Essays on English Communities, Identities and Writing*. Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf.
- Alighieri, Dante 1986: *Divina commedia*. Introd., traducción y notas de Angel Crespo. Barcelona: Planeta.
- Aristotle 1995: *Poetics*. Ed. and Trans. by Stephen Halliwell. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.
- Aristóteles 1974: *Poética de Aristóteles*. Edición trilingüe por Valentín García Yebra. Madrid: Gredos.
- Bajtín, Mijail 1974: *La Cultura Popular en la Edad Media y Renacimiento*. Barcelona: Barral Editores.
- Benson, C. David 1987: The Canterbury Tales: Personal Drama Or Experiments in Poetic Variety? *The Cambridge Chaucer Companion*. Ed. P. Boitani and J. Mann. Cambridge: CUP.
- Benson, Larry D., ed. 1987: *The Riverside Chaucer*. Oxford: OUP.
- Bloomfield, Morton W. 1987: Chaucerian Realism. *The Cambridge Chaucer Companion*. Ed. P. Boitani and J. Mann. Cambridge: CUP. 179-194.
- Boitani, Piero, and Jill Mann, eds. 1987: *The Cambridge Chaucer Companion*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Bowden, Muriel 1967: *A Commentary on the General Prologue to the Canterbury Tales*. London: Souvenir Press Ltd.
- Brewer, D. S. ed. 1970 (1966): *Chaucer and Chaucerians. Critical Studies in Middle English Literature*. London: Thomas Nelson & Sons Limited.
- Bryan, W. F. and Germaine Dempster, eds. 1958: *Sources and Analogues of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales*. Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press.
- Burrow, J. 1971: *Ricardian Poetry. Chaucer, Gower, Langland and the Gawain Poet*. London: Routledge.
- Curry, W. C. 1960: *Chaucer and the Medieval Sciences*. London: George Allen & Unwin.
- Diller, Hans-Jürgen 1993: The Medium is Half the Message: The Isolation of Christ in Medieval Drama, Art and Devotional Writing. *Actas del II Congreso de la Sociedad Española de Lengua y Literatura Inglesa Medievales*. Ed. Antonio León Sendra. Córdoba: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Córdoba.

- Eliot, T. S. 1960: *The Sacred Wood*. University Paperbacks 11. London: Methuen.
- Kittredge, G. L. 1915: *Chaucer and his Poetry*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Kolve, V. A. 1984: *Chaucer and the Imagery of Narrative*. Stanford: Stanford UP.
- Kristeva, Julia 1974: *El Texto de la Novela*. Barcelona: Ed. Lumen.
- Langland, William 1978: *Piers Plowman. An Edition of the C - Text*. Ed. Derek Pearsall. London: Edward Arnold.
- Lumiansky, R. M. 1955: *Of Sondry Folk. The Dramatic Principle in The Canterbury Tales*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Mann, Jill 1975: *Chaucer and Medieval Estates Satire*. Cambridge: The Syndics of the Cambridge University Press.
- Meale, Carol M. ed. 1993: *Women and Literature in Britain, 1150-1500*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Patterson, Lee 1991: *Chaucer and the Subject of History*. Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press.
- Patterson, Lee 1987: *Negotiating the Past: The Historical Understanding of Medieval Literature*. Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Patterson, Lee ed. *Literary Practice and Social Change in Britain, 1380-1530*. The New Historicism: Studies in Cultural Poetics 8.
- Robertson, D. W. Jr. 1969 (1962): *A Preface to Chaucer. Studies in Medieval Perspectives*. Princeton, NY: Princeton University Press.
- Rodríguez, Juan Carlos 1974: *Teoría e Historia de la Producción Ideológica. I. Las Primeras Literaturas Burguesas*. Madrid: Akal Editor.
- Rose, Mary Beth ed. 1986: *Women in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance: Literary and Historical Perspectives*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press.
- Ruggiers, Paul G. 1967: *The Art of the Canterbury Tales*. 1965. Madison, Milwaukee and London: The University of Wisconsin Press.
- Schaar, Claes 1967: *The Golden Mirror. Studies in Chaucer's Descriptive Technique and Its Literary Background*. Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup.
- Scholes, Robert, and Robert Kellogg 1978: *The Nature of Narrative*. 1966. London, Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Sklovski, Victor 1971: *Sobre la Prosa Literaria. Reflexiones y Análisis*. Trans. Carmen Laín González. Barcelona: Planeta.
- Sola Buil, Ricardo J. 1993: The Dream-Vision as a literary convention: a tradition. *Papers from the IVth International Conference of SELIM*.

- Teresa Fanego et al. Servicio de Publicaciones de la U.de Santiago:
Santiago de Compostela.
- Spearing, A. C. 1976: *Medieval Dream-Poetry*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Tolkien, J. R. R., and E. V. Gordon, eds. 1925: *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*. second ed. revised by Norman Davis. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Tydemann, William 1978: *The Theatre in the Middle Ages. Western European Stage Conditions, C.800-1576*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Weber, Max 1969: *Economía y Sociedad*. 2 vols. Madrid: Gredos.
- Wilson, Katharina M. ed. 1984: *Medieval Women Writers*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press.

* † *

THE ROLE OF THE CHURCH IN THE INCIPIENT MEDIEVAL DRAMA: FROM STREET THEATRE TO MORALITY PLAYS

Although the early Church had decided to suppress any vestige of drama the Roman civilisation had left in England, up to 1000 AD, some forms of theatrical activity still persisted, and gave rise to a native drama - performed by Minstrels, strolling players, story-tellers and entertainers of any kind, in processions, pageants, tournaments and mummings.

This paper will study the paradoxical role the Church played in the incipient Medieval drama - “paradoxical” because if, ironically, the Church had tried to suppress it at the beginning, later on, as time went by, the Church realised that street drama was a very powerful means of communication, and chose to use it in order to teach people the scriptures, thus encouraging a new and far more vigorous theatre.

In order to understand to what an extent the church played a key role in the incipient medieval drama, it would be worth going back in time and presenting a brief history of the origins of Western theatre.

It is known that, from earliest times, man has sought to understand the cycle of nature, the progression from birth to death, and the forces that drive him. Therefore, although the lack of documentary evidence makes it impossible to determine exactly how theatre began, it is generally believed to have evolved from religious rituals, created symbolically to act out natural events, thereby bringing them down to human scale and making the unknown more easily accessible. People would probably express themselves through rhythmic movement, using some kind of adornment to depersonalize the

body.¹ “The natural elements were given personalities, which were in turn abstracted as spirits and gods. By wearing masks and moving in certain patterns, individuals could impersonate these deities. Sacred dances were performed to influence the course of nature - to bring rain, to facilitate a good harvest or a hunt, and to drive out evil.” (Gwinn 1990: 531).

A different theory proposes that theatre evolved from shamanistic rituals. Their main achievement was that they manifested to the audience a supernatural presence, rather than just giving a symbolic representation of it: the shaman, both as actor and priest at the same time, was able to put himself into a trance and become a medium with the other world. According to what has been stated up to now, we can affirm that religion was an essential and omnipresent element in the origins of drama.

All these ritual elements gave rise to what is known as “the demon play”, i.e. a primitive dance drama in which the force of good exorcises the force of evil.² An interesting component of this sort of play, which also occurs in later Western theatre, is the use of clowns (usually deformed) to parody the more serious characters.

Nevertheless, having said all this, the first time theatre truly freed itself from religious ritual to become an art form was in Greece, in the 6th century BC when the dithyramb - a form of choral song chanted at festivals in honour of Dionysus³ - was developed.⁴ According to Greek tradition, the actor and playwright Thespis invented the drama when he added a single actor to the chorus of the dithyramb, making him wear masks to portray several different characters. Besides, with the possibility of dialogue between the actor and the chorus, more complex themes and types of storytelling could be developed.

¹ According to *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica*, the earliest known evidence of this is “in the cave paintings and engravings at Les Trois Frères in southern France. Dating from the Late Palaeolithic Period (about 40,000-10,000 ac.), these ancient manifestations of art depict half-human, half-animal figures in animated poses. The figures appear to be dancers wearing the heads and skins of animals, suggesting the early use of mask and costume.” (Gwinn, 1990:531).

² The demon play is still performed in parts of Asia.

³ The god of wine, fruitfulness, and vegetation.

⁴ Originally, it celebrated his rejuvenation of the earth; later, it drew on Homeric legends for its subject matter.

The earliest surviving texts of plays are seven tragedies¹ by Aeschylus dating from the first half of the 5th century BC. He added a second actor and reduced the chorus from 50 to 12, which would be the foundation for an aesthetics of drama that was to influence subsequent plays, even nowadays.

In Aeschylus times it was considered that tragedy should deal with illustrious figures and significant events, whereas the plays, which were based on legends or remote history, were interpreted so as to convey some religious, moral, or political meaning. "The entire cosmos was depicted in the drama, represented on a vertical structure: above was the seat of the gods, below was the place of exile and punishment, and in the middle was the flat circle of the Earth, represented by the circular stage, where the action unfolded." (Gwinn 1990: 532).

According to this, it is obvious that the Greeks were still fond of religion, the primeval motif of drama, and they got inspiration from it both for the structure and plots of their plays.

The characteristic of Greek drama that emphasizes its universal scale is the interaction between chorus and protagonist. The function of the chorus was to generalize the particular events by observing and interpreting the action of the play as a kind of ideal spectator. The visual aspect of Greek tragedy was very important, and that fact, unfortunately, is easily forgotten nowadays, as only the words survive.

Sophocles refined the conventions developed by Aeschylus: he brought the chorus up to 15 and added a third actor, thereby making possible a much larger number of characters. Euripides, on his part, brought greater realism to characterization and strengthened dramatic action by reducing the role of the chorus.

The dramatic unities of time, place, and action were usually observed in Greek tragedy by attempting to make the action complete in itself, without superfluities, within a single circuit of the Sun, and in one location. The lack of scene change and the limited number of actors available meant that much of the action, particu-

¹ The word tragedy derives from the Greek *τραγῳς*, meaning "goat"; the term tragedy may have referred to a goat as the prize or as an animal sacrifice made at the festival.

larly murders and other deaths, took place offstage. (Gwinn 1990: 533)

As time went by, the masks worn by the actors and the chorus became more expressive, and their conventionalized representation of character types meant that each character was instantly recognizable when he entered. Besides, the masks also helped to make the portrayal of female characters by male actors more plausible, as well as to make the facial features clearly discernible by the large audience.

Comedy¹ appeared in Athens in 486 BC, fusing earlier traditions of popular entertainment, mime, phallic rites, and revelry in honour of Dionysus, as well as ancient shamanistic ceremonies. Aristophanes was the chief exponent of Old Comedy, which was highly satirical.² Thus, even comedy found part of its source of inspiration in religious rites of one type or another.

The decline of tragedy after Euripides' death in 406 BC meant an increase in the popularity of comedy, which evolved from the transitional Middle Comedy to the New Comedy. Only fragments by one writer, Menander, survive from that period (about 320 BC), and they indicate a swing away from mythological subjects toward a comedy of manners, concentrating on the erotic adventure of young Athenians and on urban family life. The boisterousness, the religious influence, and the long choruses of the earlier drama were gone, to give way to a new, gentler style, reflected in the use of more realistic costumes and masks and in the increasing use of scenery.

Vulgarized public taste and a complete lack of originality were the most serious illnesses of Roman plays, which were, nearly all, imitations or translations of Greek dramas, to the extent that they were even performed in Greek costume. It seemed that, after 400 years of entertaining people with chariot races, gladiatorial fights to the death, and the sad spectacle of criminals and

¹ The word comedy comes from Greek κῶμος, meaning "revel".

² Widely imaginative material, in which the chorus might represent birds, frogs, wasps, or clouds, was blended with a grotesque, vulgar, and witty tone, which could still accommodate poetry of great lyrical beauty. As in a tragedy, masks are worn, though exaggerated for comic effect. Obscenity was emphasized by the actors' costumes, which featured jerkins with padded stomachs and large phalli.

Christians being torn apart by wild animals, theatre had come to an apparent end.

Among the factors which must be taken into account in explaining why this happened, perhaps the main reason lays in the political cynicism with which Roman authorities used circuses and public games, at which theatrical performances took place, to divert the public from economic and political dissatisfaction. Besides, the number of official festivals proliferated, and, being most of them secular, theatre soon lost its close ties with religious ritual, degenerating into theatricality and mere spectacle for its own sake. That is, the decadence of theatre occurred when it drew apart from religion.

Leaving aside the lack of originality shown by dramatists, there were a number of native comic traditions,¹ and burlesque plays of mythology and daily life (*phlyax*), as well as a long tradition of farces, parodies, and political satires influenced by Greek models (*fabula Atellana*) that played an important role in the shaping of the style of Roman comedy, whose most important writers were Plautus and Terence, in the 2nd century BC.²

Unfortunately, little by little, the stages became trivial and degrading, to the extent that serious people avoided the theatres and writers were alienated from them. Intellectuals reacted reading tragedies aloud in select gatherings,

¹ "The Fescennine verses (*fescennia locatio*) were bawdy, improvised exchanges sung by clowns at local harvest festival and marriage ceremonies. There are thought to have combined with a tradition of performances by masked dancers and musicians from Etruria to form *saturae*, medleys consisting of jests, slapstick, and songs. The historian Livy says that in 364 BC these players were summoned to Rome at a time of pestilence to appease the gods with dancing and music." (Gwinn 1990: 533).

² A literary genre also related to satire and mischievous intentions is the "*fabliaux*", which, in a way, as it has been suggested by Gabriela García Teruel, is one of the precedents of drama: "La intriga constituye una parte fundamental de los '*fabliaux*'. Va emparejada claramente con el engaño. Pero subrayar esto no es el mayor mérito de esta definición. Nykrog se detiene a describir los '*fabliaux*' desde el punto de vista formal: van escritos en verso, pareados de ocho sílabas, y en ello está de acuerdo con los demás críticos citados hasta el momento; pero, además, expone su carácter eminentemente narrativo (cuentan una acción, no son piezas puramente descriptivas ni contienen elementos líricos) y nos pone en guardia sobre la presencia de diálogos. En efecto, la esencia de los '*fabliaux*' se resume en las intervenciones de los personajes de los mismos y en las del propio narrador ante un público, incluso se cree que el empleo de voces diferentes por parte del narrador para introducir a los distintos personajes en la historia podría resultar un antecedente de la aparición de varios actores en las escenificaciones teatrales." (García-Teruel 1990-91: 12).

and that might have been the purpose behind the tragedies of Seneca, since there is no record of any of his works being produced.

Eventually, the old Roman Empire was Christianised and split into two: one based in Rome, and the other in Constantinople. At that time, semitheatrical religious festivals, magnificent rituals, and processions became, once more, the principal means of community celebration, because there was no other outlet for the expression of the supernatural and the cycle of the seasons.

Meanwhile the mimes dispersed. Although the church did its best to prohibit them through the Middle Ages, they managed to carry on their intriguing art illicitly, finding audiences wherever they could. Mime, therefore, preserves the only dramatic continuity between the classical world and modern Europe. Gabriela García Teruel (1991: 53) insists on this attitude¹ the church originally manifested against theatre:

Unido a la decadencia natural del género teatral por falta de cultivadores en los primeros siglos de nuestra era, los ataques de los más importantes pensadores cristianos (Tertuliano en *De Spectaculis*, San Agustín en *De Civitate Dei*) contribuyeron al total abandono de este arte literario.

Nevertheless, she goes on to comment on the paradoxical role the Church played in the incipient Medieval drama “que no se recuperó hasta que, de la mano de la misma Iglesia que lo había condenado seis o siete siglos antes, renace en forma de drama litúrgico en los siglos XI y XII, orientado hacia la expresión popular de los misterios y episodios bíblicos.”

¹ "This hostile attitude of the rulers of the Church is not quite explained by anything in the poetry of the scôpas, so far as it is left to us. This had very readily exchanged its pagan for a Christian colouring: it cannot be fairly accused of immorality or even coarseness, and the Christian sentiment of the time is not likely to have been much offended by the prevailing theme of battle and deeds of blood. The probable explanation is a double one. There is the ascetic tendency to regard even harmless forms of secular amusement as barely compatible with the religious life. And there is the fact, which the language of the prohibitions themselves makes plain, that a degeneration of the old Teutonic gleemen had set in. To singing and harping were now added novel and far less desirable arts." (Chambers, 1967[1903]: 32-33).

In the Middle Ages, theatre began a new cycle of development that paralleled the emergence of the theatre from ritual activity in the early Greek period: if the Greek theatre had grown out of Dionysian worship, the medieval theatre originated as an expression of the Christian religion.

Between the classical and the medieval periods, theatre¹ was kept alive by the popular entertainers who had dispersed to wander, alone or in small groups, throughout Europe: mimes, acrobats, dancers, animal trainers, jugglers, wrestlers, minstrels, and storytellers.²

In the mummers plays that emerged during the late Middle Ages both ritual and mimetic dance came together. The plot was always about some kind of combat in which one of the fighters was killed, and then revived by a healer or doctor. The cycle of death and rebirth suggested they might be inspired in Christ's resurrection, but that is also a subject which may indicate that the origin of those plays could be much older.

When Christianity spread through Europe, missionaries had great difficulty discouraging the wealth of local folk traditions that flourished in rural communities. Eventually, the reforming bishops decided that it was better to regulate than to prohibit them, so the Roman Catholic Church³ began incor-

¹ "A further, though minor, influence on the development of theatre was the folk play. This dramatic form had two main sources. One was the symbolic ritual dramas of the seasons such as the Plow Monday play (English Midlands), in which a plow was decorated and pulled around the village (thought to have originally been a fertility god carried around the fields on a plow), or the European folk drama of the Wild Man of the Woods, in which a figure covered with leaves, representing winter, was ritually hunted and killed. The other source was the mimetic elements in dances held at village feasts." (Gwinn 1990: 535).

² Gabriela García Teruel (1990-91: 53) points out that: "las figuras de los mimos e histriones, cantantes y bailarines, supervivientes y continuadores de los cómicos clásicos, también influyen decisivamente en el desarrollo posterior del género, asegurando la continuidad de una vía alternativa al drama religioso. El juglar, 'fingidor' encargado de 'recitar', y, en algunos casos, de 'representar' el texto con escasísimos o contados medios, se convierte en factor fundamental de la evolución del teatro profano en este periodo de la Edad Media."

³ "The Church stood at the centre of life in the Middle Ages, like the church building itself in town or village. It spoke for the community, and only through the Church might the people know something of music and painting, literature and drama. It is a matter of great importance for the history of the English stage that the Church recognized drama as a force to be harnessed and chose to use it to teach the people about the Scriptures and to glorify God. It is a pleasant irony that the very institution that had stamped out the vestiges of drama left by the Roman occupation was

porating pagan festivals into its own liturgical calendar and remythologising local rituals: for example, the spring cycle of festivities based on fertility rituals, or the rebirth of summer was adapted to the Christian version of death and resurrection, while Christmas absorbed celebrations around the winter solstice such as the Saturnalia. Christian churches were built on the sites of pagan temples, and folk plays were even organized as part of the village church activities.

Folk theatre was not a literary genre; its prime concern was to fulfill a communal function in the village. However, its significance in the development of the theatre was that, being a style with which everyone was familiar, it could provide a rich stimulus for the more serious theatre that supplanted it. Many farcical scenes from folk dramas were included as interludes in the later religious plays, making them more vigorous and balancing entertainment with didacticism. Divorced from their validating mythology by the domination of Christian myths, the pagan celebrations soon began to lose their primary function, and eventually their true meaning was forgotten.

A consequence of the Roman Catholic Church's choice of Latin as the language of the liturgy was that classical texts continued to be read, and Terence, whose moral tone made him the least offensive of the Roman dramatists, acquired new popularity among a small scholarly elite.

The tradition of medieval religious theatre stems directly from the mass itself, a complex ritual containing many theatrical elements in its function as a visible reflection of the invisible world. It was believed that harmony expressed religious values, thus, from the 9th century, an attempt was made to increase the musical effectiveness of the plainsong of the Roman Catholic Church by developing antiphonal singing in which the choir was divided into two parts. From this came the trope, a musical addition or embellishment to certain parts of the liturgy, as, for example, to the final syllable of the Alleluia.

It was precisely in the trope of the Easter mass, recorded in a 10th-century manuscript from the Monastery of St. Gall in Switzerland, that the union of action, impersonation, and dialogue originated. Taken from various sources in the Bible, that trope dramatizes the visit of the three Marys to the tomb

itself to encourage a new, popular and far more vigorous theatre." (Styan, 1996: 7-8).

where Christ's body had been buried. The three ladies find the sepulchre empty and an angel guarding it. One section of the choir, representing the angel, asks, "Quem quaeritis?",¹ to which the other half responds, and a short dialogue follows. In later versions the angel was represented by the priest in white robes and the Marys by three choirboys. Directions were added, dictating particular actions, and precisely how the performers should move. In turn, a spice merchant (the first secular character, who was strikingly similar to the doctor figure of mummers plays and folk dramas) was added to haggle with the three Marys about the price of the ointment. The *Quem quaeritis?* soon spread throughout Europe (more than 400 versions survive), and by the end of the 10th century it had become a self-contained liturgical drama.

From then onwards, during the 11th and 12th centuries, the Nativity, along with other biblical themes, received similar treatment. Therefore, the playing areas had to be extended from the altar to various locations throughout the church to accommodate these dramas. Sometimes scenes were suggested by raised platforms, and machinery was developed to facilitate special effects, such as angels ascending and descending. The clergy's intention of making the key episodes of the liturgy as vivid and accessible as possible to an illiterate congregation was so successfully carried out that by the end of the 12th century the plays incorporated spoken dialogue, partly in the vernacular language, and were moved outside in front of the church to be performed independently of the liturgical service. One of the first of those plays was *Adam*, performed before a French cathedral about 1170.

It is worth pointing out that, once the theatre had been moved outside the church,² production of the plays was gradually taken over by the laity, and performances were given entirely in the vernacular. Consequently, the number of short plays proliferated until they were organized into great cycles covering the whole biblical story from the creation to the Last Judgement, though centring on the Passion and designed to express the humanity as well as the divinity of Christ. In England, they become known as mystery plays - later mystery cycles. Comprising up to 50 short plays, these cycles were

¹ "Whom do you seek?"

² Liturgical dramas, however, continued to be presented inside the church until the 16th century.

sometimes performed over two or three days. In England the cycles of York, Wakefield, Coventry, and Chester survive. As the presentation of these plays grew more elaborate, and special organization took over their staging. Each guild would take responsibility for a particular play, usually related to its work: the shipwrights, for example, would stage the building of Noah's ark. Church vestments were replaced by appropriate contemporary costumes, and, because many of the plays called for complex and realistic effects - e.g. appearances from Hell's mouth - sophisticated properties and machinery were devised to achieve them.

Paradoxically, after the earthy humour and simple devotion of the mystery cycles, the morality plays that appeared during the 15th century show theatre taking what at first seems to be a step backward. These plays, however, reflect the dark worldview of a people that had experienced recurrent plagues and had begun to regard human destiny as "worm's meat", presenting the skeleton figure of death as a potent emblem, which, by the way, was also constantly alluded to in sermons. Morality plays were virtually sermons dramatized through allegory. They portrayed the span of human life in abstract terms, i.e. Mankind setting out on a pilgrimage in which he encountered a whole range of vices and virtues such as, for example, Ignorance, Humility, and the Seven Deadly Sins who contended for possession of his soul.

To conclude with, and after all which has been alleged, we can state that religion has been nearly omnipresent in the history of drama, from its very beginning, and that the Church, especially, played an essential, though also paradoxical, role in the incipient medieval drama, to the extent that it went on exerting its influence until the end of the 16th century, when, at the height of their aesthetic achievement, morality plays were suppressed in England, mainly because religious drama was beginning to degenerate into an instrument of politico-religious propaganda under successive Roman Catholic and Protestant governments.

María José Álvarez-Faedo
University of Oviedo

REFERENCES

- Bennett, J. A. W. & Gray, D. 1986: *Middle English Literature*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Burrow, J. A. 1982: *Medieval Writers and their Work*. Oxford: OUP.
- Daiches, D. 1983: *A Critical History of English Literature*. 2nd ed., vol. 1, London: Secker & Warburg.
- Dickins, B. & Wilson, R. M. 1964: *Early Middle English Texts*. Cambridge: Bowes & Bowes.
- Dyson, E. ed. 1984: *Medieval English Drama*. London: Macmillan.
- Chambers, E. K. 1967 [1903]: *The Mediaeval Stage*. 2 vols, Oxford: OUP.
- García-Teruel, M. G. 1991: *Los Fabliaux: Análisis contrastivo de algunos ejemplos*. Trabajo de Investigación Xerografiado, Oviedo: Universidad de Oviedo.
- Gwinn, R. P., Norton, P. B. & Goetz, P. W. 1990 [1768]: *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica*. Vol. 28, London: Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc.
- Sola, R. et al. 1988: *Historia de la Literatura Inglesa I*. Madrid: Taurus.
- Stanton, S. & Banham, M. 1996: *Cambridge Paperback Guide to Theatre*. Cambridge: CUP
- Styan, J. L. 1996: *The English Stage*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Taylor, J. & Nelson, Alan H. 1972: *Medieval English Drama. Essays Critical and Contextual Patterns of Literary Criticism*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Valdeón, J. 1987: *La Baja Edad Media*. Madrid: Anaya.
- Young, K. 1967 [1933]: *The Drama of the English Church*. 2 vols, Oxford: Clarendon Press.

* † *

REVIEWS

&

NOTICES

O'Keeffe O'Brien Katherine. ed. 1997: *Reading Old English Texts*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press. xi+ 231 pp.

Reading Old English Texts focuses on the critical methods currently being used and developed for reading and analysing texts written in Old English. The book is arranged with nine chapters in charge of well known scholars. Moreover, each chapter engages with current work on Old English texts from a particular methodological stance. The authors are all experts in Old English language and literature. Each section includes a brief historical background and a definition of the method under consideration; furthermore, we find in this volume an illustration of the ways in which texts are read through this approach. The larger issues raised by the interactions between the separate chapters are a major focus of the Introduction written by the editor K. O'Brien O'Keeffe who give us a brief historical background to the approach.

From the very beginning O'Keeffe informs us about the main interest of the volume, and she says "This is a book about ways of reading Old English, each of which presupposes a set of interpretative practices" (1). It has been suggested that our fin-de-siècle looks back on a century of prodigious changes and on intellectual movements which present us with stunning changes in looking at the world. "Our challenge in looking forward" says the editor, "is to think of the ways in which these new perspectives help us to ask new questions in Old English" (17).

In chapter one, *The Comparative Approach*, M. Lapidge shows how the comparative analysis is accessible to any student of literature who is versed in at least two languages. The application of the comparative approach requires no lengthy apprenticeship in the vocabularies of the latest theoretical movements because this kind of analysis is immediate and direct and may be practised by any reader who possesses a wide literary culture, and in the case of Old English has been practised by critics of very various ability "since the time when Old English literature first emerged as a subject of interest in its own right" (20). Lapidge points out that this method has been practised since

Old English first came to light in the early nineteenth century and in various guises is flourishing today. (Frank 1987, Orchard 1995)

Traditionally scholars of Anglo-Saxon culture, such as W. P. Ker (1904) or H. M. Chadwick (1912) followed a “cultural relativism” (Viktor Zhirmunsky 1967). Once the New Criticism came to be practised by students of Old English literature in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s, interest in the comparative works done by Ker and Chadwick among others, inevitably waned. Therefore, students of comparative literature were obliged to rethink the theoretical bases on which their discipline rested (Wellek 1963, Fokkema 1982), and was redefined with a wider conception of the discipline. “It cannot be confined to a single method: description, characterisation, interpretation, narration, evaluation, are used in its discourse just as much as comparison” (Wellek 1970). In the last three decades, the comparative method has embraced various post-modern critical approaches, semiotics, deconstruction or psychoanalysis to mention only three. The comparative method yielded significant results analysing motifs, types and themes, including those of kinship, *comitatus*, exile, community, drinking, feasting, the hall, treasures, weapons, beasts of battle, fate, “*ubi sunt*”, consolation, “*sapientia et fortitudo*”, and many others. (Greenfield-Robinson 1980). But it is in the study of literary genres that the comparative method has yielded more significant results, and Lapidge illustrates this assertion by considering four genres of Old English: gnomic, enigmatic, epic, and lyric verse.

The essay shows how the development of the comparative method involves more than placing two texts side by side. It is known that current comparative work in Old English has taken more culturally informed directions than in previous decades, and combines textual and cultural analysis. In order to prove this fact, Lapidge offers a demonstration of the comparative method in his reading of two apparently dissimilar epic moments in *Beowulf*: Grendel’s descend into fear at the recognition of Beowulf’s grip and Turnus realisation that he is about to lose his battle against Aeneas. Here, the purpose of the comparative approach is to accentuate the distinctive and individual features of a particular work of literature. Lapidge is optimistic about the future of this approach and he says: “Though it (the comparative approach) has a long and distinguished past, therefore, the comparative approach may also be said to have a bright future in Anglo-Saxon studies” (35).

D. Scragg in chapter 2, *Source Study*, shows how source studies work in a textual culture in which borrowing ideas was the dominant intellectual practice. We know that Old English literature did not have authors, in the modern sense, and the Anglo-Saxon culture did not have a concept of ideas in the way that copyright law construes them as intellectual property. In this milieu source study seeks to make discriminations. The main interest in source analysis is to establish levels of borrowing for further studies of the stylistic difference of a particular Old English text and “let us see what forms the poets imagination imposes on his given material and gives us the clearest idea of the poet he is” (Irving 1983).

Scragg points out that in the first half of this century source studies were essentially historical and were wedded to a rather mechanical reflex of positivism, but in the last decades, he says, source analysis is most interested in cultural concepts and principles, looking for the vehicles for transmissions of ideas, the manuscripts moving to and from the continent or the traces of intellectual exchange with the Irish or the Continent. On the other hand, the term “source” must be confined to written texts or material that may be thought to have reached the author in written form, even if no manuscript copy survives (40). Old English source studies began in the nineteenth-century as an adjunct to establish an authoritative text, and an author's sources were seen as a “scientific” evidence. Scragg writes very briefly about various international projects associated with sources such as *A Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts* by Helmut Gneuss, which aims to describe the contents of all manuscripts written or owned in England before 1100. Another project mentioned by Scragg is *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture* SASLC, organised in the United States; this project aims at a scrupulous search for evidence of knowledge of all classical, patristic, and Carolingian texts in Anglo-saxon England; at the same time, the project tries to correct and improve the volume written by Ogilvy (1981 (1967)). The approach remains similar to that of Ogilvy in that the Latin authors are listed alphabetically, but the scope of the inquiry is much wider taking in oral and written material and evidence from booklists as well as from surviving manuscripts. The work is supported by detailed bibliographical lists and though the entries are by individual scholars they follow a standard formula. The completed work is expected to be published in four volumes and also perhaps electronically, as Scragg says

“This work will become one of the most significant works of scholarship of its generation.” (53)

Alongside SASLC there is another international project *Fontes Anglo-Saxonici: A Register of Written Sources Used by Authors in Anglo-Saxon England*. This project and SASLC project are complementary; the first one works backwards from texts written in England to their sources in English, Latin or Greek, while SASLC works forward from Latin authors to Anglo-Saxon England. All these projects can provide vital information, says Scragg “such vital information as that which distinguishes transgressive texts from those which support the dominant ideology can be best gained from an insight into the materials that Anglo-Saxon authors worked with” (56).

D. Donoghue in his essay *Language Matters* looks at the claims of philology and linguistics in their studies of Old English and the apparent division between these disciplines. Donoghue points out that current practitioners of philology consciously distance themselves from the claims of positivism, erecting, testing and modifying their hypotheses with clear understanding of the subjectivity involved. Donoghue examines the dichotomy between philological and linguistic approaches to Old English language and Old English texts, illustrating how both combine in contemporary writing on Old English and how both continue to renew and reinvent their engagements with the subject. Philologists direct their work to textual editing and to compiling reference works such as grammars and dictionaries, they study mainly Old English narrative poetry taking into account empirical data and they keep their theories on a descriptive level (Mitchell 1985). Linguistics, on the other hand, move from a sampling of data to a theory in the hope of establishing rules “with sweeping explanatory power”; linguistics prefer prose with identifiable dates as the closest approximation to the spoken language. In fact, in 1992 were published three books that blurred the traditional division; R.D. Fulk’s *A History of Old English Meter*, Richard M. Hogg’s *A Grammar of Old English*, and *The Cambridge History of the English Language vol. 1* edited by Hogg. In these books we can appreciate the fusion of the two methodologies in different ways and actually Hogg admits that he does not find the philology-linguistics debate helpful, and sees instead a symbiotic relationship between the empiricism of one and the theoretical orientation of the other.

Donoghue works in his essay through an argument on Kuhn's Law, both to illustrate the specific process of thinking in an approach through language, and to demonstrate some ways in which such an approach connects itself with current questions in palaeography and editing. As Donoghue says: "It would be wise for those revisiting Kuhn's Law *Satzpartikelgesetz* to consider not just metrical and syntactic theory but also a specialised kind of reception theory to which the manuscript context might point" (75).

N. Howe presents in his essay *Historicist Approaches* the various ways in which scholars of Old English literature have used history in the service of their reading and he examines historicist approaches in two planes: the kinds of narratives they use and the ways in which they deploy their evidence. He analyses briefly theories and forms of historicism and he considers three well known books written by Girvan (1935), Huppé (1959) and Tolkien (1936). The volume written by Girvan presents a portrait of social conditions in seventh-century England as a theoretical model and then he finds these same conditions depicted in *Beowulf*. Huppé, on the other hand, draws its exegetical-patristic framework from Augustine's writings in order to set Old English poetry within the Christian ideal of "caritas" in an Anglo-saxon audience. Both critics believe that the text must be read within the accepted hegemonic ideas and forms of its culture. Tolkien, however, studies *Beowulf* as a historical poem about the pagan past, but he thinks that this epic poem is above all a literary text because his author has written it with a poetical and not with a historical interest. In the last decades critics, as Robinson (1985), follow philological-formalist methods and they depart from verbal texture of the poems. Howe agrees with this methodology and suggests in the article that modern readers must guard against the overly generalised and all-encompassing forms of reading used by critics such as Girvan or Huppé.

To illustrate the ways in which historicist reading can illuminate an Old English text, Howe presents Aelfric's *Colloquy* and in his reading shows the ways in which historicism attempts to negotiate the gap between past and present. We can appreciate in his essay a protest against "dead" history. He points out that the facts that may well help us best historicize Old English texts come first from the language in which these same texts are written and then from the physical manuscript contexts in which they survive. Howe tells us:

Anglo-Saxonists must turn to the language itself and perform a kind of linguistic ethnography or archaeology, a reading of the culture through its words and its grammar. In a direct sense, historicist criticism of Old English texts is most likely to be illuminating when it grounds itself in a sense of the language and yet also ventures beyond the self-imposed proscriptions of traditional philology (89).

A. Orchard examines various models for approaching the distinction between oral and written elements in Old English in his essay *Oral Tradition*. Orchard shows the ways in which the hypothesis for orality in Old English argued on the basis of Homeric and South Slavic poetry that formulas were the guarantee of oral origin. Last century some German scholars have noted that Old English verse is fundamentally formulaic relaying heavily on repeated words and phrases. These theories were wholly submerged in the immediate wake of the widespread application of the so-called “oral formulaic” theory to Old English poetry in the 1950s and 60s. The logic of this theory relied on Milman Parry and Albert Lord who had sought to demonstrate that Homer was an illiterate bard. In 1953 Magoun applied oral formulaic theory to *Beowulf* and suggested that the poem was an oral text composed entirely of formulas, large and small; therefore, *Beowulf* is formulaic and not a lettered poem. In the last two or three decades, however, many critics have suggested that Old English verse does not rely simply on the verbatim repetition of inflexible formulas, but rather on the recognition of related formulaic systems. More recently, critics have suggested that orality and literacy are interacted in subtle ways.

Orchard tries to show how this method can be extended to Old English prose texts. In his study about Wulfstan’s sermons, the author states that repetition occurs at the level of phrase, theme and larger passages. Orchard also studies the repetition technique in some *Exeter Book* riddles, 30, 36 etc., some of them are the product of a written transmission while others may reflect some oral elements; this fact shows the difficulties in determining how repetition and variance function in a scribal culture and the contradictory inherent in any study of the oral tradition in Anglo-Saxon England. His further brief analysis of the *Metrical Preface* of the *Pastoral Care*, which may be Alfred's work, shows how the metrical text demonstrates some oral elements

besides his “literacy”. To sum up, Orchard's main interest is to show how Old English texts reflect the complex interaction between orality and literacy.

P. E. Szarmach presents, in his essay about the recovery of the original texts, a theoretical discussion and a contribution to the decline and fall of the “absolute” text; he shows how the various choices an editor can make in preparing an edition affect what we can read in the text and how the text means. Szarmach points out that reading Old English texts requires an understanding of how any text we read has come into being in the way we read it. He says that it requires some understanding of the manner in which texts came to be preserved, how they were transmitted, the circumstances under which they were copied, and the relevant factors under which they received the printed form which aids our reading. Szarmach divides his essay in four sections: The one and the many: Optimism and recensionism, Instability of texts, The special case: oral literature, and Towards an electronic future for editing. Szarmach, in dealing with the editions of Old English texts, analyses two main traditions of textual criticism, the “optimist” edition, (the editor presents the best text of a given work), and the “recensionist” edition or “eclectic” text; in this case the editor attempts to recreate the author's texts choosing readings from various witnesses. Szarmach points out that these methods are practically irrelevant for Old English studies and a theoretical bother because in most cases we have only one text. When the author is referring to the “instability of texts, he presents three examples: in the first one, he study the different interpretations given by Thorpe and Godden in their editions of *Aelfric's Catholic Homilies* and how the different treatments of the text can influence the meaning. In the second example he shows the editorial interpretations of the terms “Mod-thrydo waeg” in *Beowulf* 1. 1931b; the problem is to know how many verbal units we have in this expression or whether this terms represent the name of a female character. In the third example the author analyses the opening of the *Wife's Lament*, an ambiguous text as there is no “consensus omnium” whether the feminine singular forms “geomorre” and “mynre sylfre” are referring back to a woman or to an allegorical figure rendered in feminine grammatical form. The possible existence of a female voice means “that the poem could be the earliest such poem in the Middle Ages, antedating by hundreds of years a more ready documented later medieval tradition” (136). In the third section of his article, Szarmach presents the fact that Old English literature is basically an oral literature, and

therefore editors must be aware that there is another level of mediation beyond those which a lettered transmission history imposes; the editors and the readers, is suggested, must keep in mind that there was an oral tradition in Old English literature that had its impact on the written tradition.

Finally, Szarmach tell us about the future of the electronic editions and he suggest that the product will contain five grand categories: text, glossary, intertext, graphics and bibliography; at the same time, modern technology makes possible the inclusion of other categories such as sound, video, etc. On the other hand, Szarmach points out that the creative editor has moved “to the fore directing meaning intrusively”, as the editors may affect the meaning of the texts they edit on the grand level of version or on the local textual level of word choice. “If the computer is the wave of the future” he says, “then the user/ reader will have his/ her day, and democracy, not expertise, will rule” (143).

Clare Lees in her essay *At a crossroads: Old English and feminist criticism* analyses the relationship between feminist criticism and Anglo-Saxon studies in four sections: Feminist origins and omissions, History, methodology, difference; Gender, genre and identity, and *Elene*’s voice. It is known that feminist criticism, mainly in its more radical forms shares with other post-modern theories a certain scepticism about narratives of origins. In the last three decades, however, feminist critics have participated in many studies about the relation between feminism and Old English texts. Lees offers a preliminary sketch on the history of feminism in Anglo-saxon studies. The author explores the ways in which feminist approaches to Old English texts draw attention to the presuppositions of the discipline; her analysis of feminist scholarship on Old English addresses questions of method. She addresses a critical methodology issue: how the feminists negotiate between the methods and techniques of conventional studies and the strategies of feminist theory and praxis? Her question is relevant for Old English studies since it addresses the ways in which political desire and objective technique may be made to work productively together. Lees in the last section of her essay suggests that reading women also requires reading men, and the representation of masculine warrior culture in the surviving texts points out to the constructed and gendered aesthetics of the canon of Old English writings. Lees suggests that Cynewulf’s *Elene* can be read following various strategies of feminist criticism to produce readings which show the

operations of gender and agency in Old English literature. The author explores the relation between gender, genre, and the formation of belief in culture, her reading of *Elene* points to how both genre and gender intersect in Elene's representation as a Christian figure and how the meaning of that figure is further nuanced by exploring the connections and disconnection between allegory and gender.

Carol B. Pasternack deals with the applicability of post-modern theories to the reading of Old English texts in her essay *Post-Structuralist theories: the subject and the text*. It is known that structuralism broke the idea that texts directly represent culture or society, and that the meaning in language is constructed rather than natural and is constructed differently for each language and culture. Post-structuralist theories (Derrida's deconstruction, Barthe's and Kristeva's semiotics and textuality, Lacan's psychoanalytic theory of the subject and Foucault's study of culture) are based on the principle that rather than any natural or universal concept, the relational structure of thought generates meaning, and that structures of thought are structured into and by the linguistic system of a culture and so can be analysed as texts. In her essay, Pasternack study five sections: Deconstruction and the textual basis of perception, Semiotics and textuality, The post-structuralist subject, An Archaeology of culture through texts, and The Anglo-Saxon subject in *Beowulf*.

The author shows how a number of these approaches, semiotics and textuality, psychoanalysis, deconstruction etc., have provoked new forms of historical analyses, not only of the Old English texts themselves, but also of the culture which produced them and the culture which receive them. She focuses her essay on the subject and the text taken into account the post-structuralist thought.

In her reading of the poem *Beowulf*, the author addresses the vision of the heroic past using post-structural analyses of the language and an acceptance of the contradictions individual words seem to embrace, and urges a form of historicism in which past and present are constructed to reflect on each other.

Peter Baker opened his essay *Old English and computing: a guided tour*, asking whether the computer had produced a theoretical revolution in literary studies or had merely enabled scholars to do more effectively what they had

being doing all along. His essay is divided into six sections in order to cover the various electronic resources used in Old English studies nowadays: The *Dictionary of Old English* and the electronic text; Ansaxnet: the global conversation; Hypertext, The World-Wide Web and the electronic edition; Ready reference: the database; Digital imaging and the electronic *Beowulf*, and finally Conclusion: back to the beginning.

Baker presents a brief survey of the history of the computer in Old English scholarship that goes back to the 1960's and 1970's. J.B. Bessinger produced two well known concordances: *A Concordance to Beowulf* and *A Concordance to the Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records*. The most ambitious of these projects, however, was undertaken at the University of Toronto under the direction of Angus Cameron who proposed to generate an electronic database containing everything written in Old English, 3.000.000 words contained in the 2000 surviving Old English texts. The result was published in two works, *A Microfiche Concordance to Old English* (1980) and *A Microfiche Concordance to Old English: The High Frequency Words* (1985). *The Microfiche Concordance* made an immediate impact in the world of Old English scholarship.

Baker's survey prompts the question whether these resources mark a revolution in studies within Old English or whether they merely allows us to do more of what we were doing before and more quickly; his answer is a cautious "yes" an a provocation to further discussion. It is obvious that the computer offers rapid access to unprecedented quantities of information and it permits us to look at information in new ways, but as Baker says:

It cannot tell us what information is important, if it can organise information, it cannot tell us how it should be organised. Such decisions remains the province of human thought, and it is from thought -aided but never led by the tools we make- that all theoretical revolution must arise.

In conclusion, O'Keeffe states that "this is a book about ways of reading Old English," and in other paragraph she says "The approaches presented in this volume are offered not as a prescriptions for method, but rather as overviews of ways of reading and invitations to explore further work" (16). These aims no doubt have been achieved by the volume, certainly we are

dealing with a timely book taking into account the interest in the theory, method, and practice of critical reading in recent years.

Moreover, the essays have a presentation and explanation with a scholarly and didactic approach; *Reading Old English Texts* is a very good book for the student of Old English language, literature and culture; in fact, they are concerned to explain their method and its application to a broad undergraduate scholarship who can discovered many suggestions for future works.

Finally, we are faced with a brief bibliography organised in different sections to facilitate the subsequent desire for further reading.

A. Bravo

University of Oviedo

REFERENCES

- Chadwick, H. M. 1912: *The Heroic Age*. CUP. Cambridge.
- Fokkema, D. W. 1967: Comparative Literature and the New Paradigm. *Canadian Review of Comparative Literature*. 9: 1-18.
- Fulk, R. D. 1992. *History of Old English Meter*. Philadelphia.
- Girvan R. 1935. *Bowulf and the Seventh Century*. Methuen, London.
- Greenfield S. & F. Robinson. eds. 1972: *A Bibliography of Publications on Old English Literature to the End of 1972*. University of Toronto Press, Toronto.
- Huppé, B. 1959: *Doctrine and Poetry: Augustine's Influence on Old English Poetry*. State University New York Press, Albany.
- Magoun, F. 1953: Oral-Formulaic Character of Anglo-saxon Narrative Poetry. *Speculum* 28: 446-67.
- Mitchell, Bruce 1985: *Old English Syntax*. Blackwell, Oxford.

- Ogilvy, J. D. 1981 (1967): *Books Known to the English, 597-1066*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass.
- Robinson, F. 1985: *Beowulf and the Appositive Style*. University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville.
- Tolkien, J. R. R. 1936: Beowulf: The Monsters and the Critics. *PBA* 22.
- Wellek, R. 1963: *Concepts of Criticism*. Yale University Press, New Haven.
- Wellek, R. 1970: *Discriminations: Further Concepts of Criticism*. Yale University Press, New Haven.
- Zhirmunsky, V. 1967: On the Study of Comparative Literature. *Oxford Slavonic Papers* 13 i-13.

* † *

Bravo, Antonio 1998: *Fe y literatura en el período anglosajón, ss.VII-XI (la plegaria como texto literario)*. Oviedo: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Oviedo. 217 pp. ISBN 84-8317-077-0.

Bravo, Antonio 1998: *Los lays heroicos y los cantos épicos cortos en el inglés antiguo*. Oviedo: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Oviedo. 280 pp. ISBN 84-8317-073-6.

Desde que el Dr. Antonio Bravo publicó su último libro, en colaboración con Pedro Gonzalo, hace ya cuatro años¹ todos los estudiosos de la lengua y de la literatura del inglés antiguo hemos estado esperando con impaciencia una nueva monografía suya. Habida cuenta de la calidad de los dos nuevos trabajos que ahora nos ofrece, todos nos hemos explicado el porqué del transcurso de estos años y hemos dado por merecida la espera.

Acabamos de recibir los resultados de las investigaciones del Dr. Bravo en forma de dos libros que presentan a la comunidad académica sendos estudios sobre dos cuestiones fundamentales para la literatura anglosajona y aparentemente muy distantes entre sí en lo que a ámbito investigador se refiere, lo que nos da una buena prueba de la positiva ubicuidad investigadora del Dr. Bravo. Cualquiera que conozca mínimamente la obra publicada del autor enseguida se habrá dado cuenta de que los dos temas básicos de estas monografías -i.e. la literatura de temática cristiana y la poesía épica- son dos *obsesiones* investigadoras en la obra del Dr. Bravo, si se me permite el uso de la palabra *obsesión* en el más benéfico de los sentidos. De ahí que se pueda deducir que lo que ahora nos ofrece es resultado no sólo de cuatro años de laboriosa tarea sino también de muchos más años de maduración y reflexión sobre la poesía épica y los textos donde se pone de manifiesto la fe cristiana de los anglosajones.

El primero de los volúmenes objeto de esta reseña recoge bajo el título de *Fe y literatura en el período anglosajón, ss.VII-XI (la plegaria como texto literario)* un denso y completo estudio sobre la plegaria como recurso liter-

¹ Bravo, A. & Gonzalo, P. 1994: *Héroes y Santos en la Literatura Anglosajona*. Oviedo: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Oviedo.

ario en los escritos anglosajones. Buen conocedor del tema, el Dr. Bravo realiza en este libro una taxonomía completa de la plegaria y de su funcionamiento literario, algo que de una forma más breve ya nos anunció hace unos años en un original artículo¹ que sin lugar a dudas fue el germen de este libro que ahora se publica. En aquel artículo ya se era consciente de la necesidad de un estudio más extenso de la plegaria como recurso/ texto literario:

Se podría seguir analizando el resto de las plegarias que se observan en la narrativa anglosajona, plegaria ante la tortura, plegaria para pedir un milagro, plegaria durante un viaje, etc., y en todas ellas se observará que presentan un lenguaje poético; consecuentemente, la plegaria se transforma así en un recurso literario que ha de ser estudiado y tenido en cuenta para la valoración y análisis del texto en que aparece dicha plegaria (*Ibid* p. 6).

El tema de la plegaria como expresión literaria que realzaba el valor de las obras anglosajonas se convirtió en un *leitmotiv* científico para el Dr. Bravo. En este y en otros artículos que vinieron después², el autor fue trazando las líneas maestras de un estudio más amplio y profundo que creemos siempre estuvo presente en su mente. En cierto modo, esta también ha sido otra espera que ha finalizado con la obra que ahora se presenta, cuya estructura se articula en torno a una introducción y cinco capítulos (I: La plegaria como manifestación de la fe en los escritos anglosajones, II: la plegaria litúrgica, III: la plegaria privada en latín y en inglés antiguo, IV: la plegaria narrativa en inglés antiguo, V: las funciones de la plegaria narrativa), además de ofrecernos una bibliografía final sobre el tema.

Tras ofrecer en la introducción (7-16) un breve tratamiento del tema que nos ocupa, en el que se pone de manifiesto la escasa atención que la crítica especializada ha dedicado al estudio de la plegaria como posible recurso

¹ Bravo, A. 1989: Una taxonomía de la plegaria como recurso literario en el inglés antiguo. *Proceedings of the Second International Conference of the Spanish Society for English Medieval Language and Literature*. eds. A. León, M. C. Casares & M. M. Rivas. Córdoba: Universidad de Córdoba. 1-7.

² Bravo, A. 1992a: Prayer as a Literary Device in The Battle of Maldon and in The Poem of the Cid. *Selima: Journal of the Spanish Society for English Medieval Language and Literature* 2: 31-46. Bravo, A. 1992b: La Plegaria de Byrhtnoth como recurso literario. *Actas del XIII Congreso de AEDEAN*. Vitoria: 215-222.

narrativo en la literatura anglosajona, el autor entra en materia en el primer capítulo (17-32) definiendo la condición de reveladora de la fe que la plegaria posee en los textos anglosajones a partir de lo que se nos muestra en diferentes textos religiosos de la época, fundamentalmente en las obras de Aelfric y Beda. En el segundo capítulo (33-46) se definen los márgenes de la plegaria litúrgica, y por medio de sus ejemplos más característicos -el *Credo*, el *Padre Nuestro*, los himnos litúrgicos y los salmos- se demuestra cómo se la puede considerar como fuente, base y origen de la plegaria narrativa. El capítulo tercero (47-94) -con un excelente manejo de las fuentes utilizadas, algo que por otra parte constituye la tónica general de toda la monografía- aborda la descripción, sobre todo estructural, de las plegarias de carácter privado escritas no sólo en latín sino también en la lengua vernácula de los anglosajones, definiéndose las diferentes partes de su estructura básica (invocación, comentario, peticiones y fórmula final) así como sus posibilidades de modificación y las diversas formas de adaptación al inglés antiguo -tanto en prosa como en verso- de los textos latinos, con especial atención a la versión en prosa del *Padre Nuestro* hecha por Wulfstan, a diferentes paráfrasis en prosa de Aethelstan y Aelfric, al poema *A Prayer*, al Himno de Caedmon y a diversas paráfrasis poéticas tanto literales -*Lord's Prayer I & III*- como libres -*Lord's Prayer II*, *The Advent Lyrics*, el *Credo*-.

Tras haber analizado lo que podríamos denominar “fundamento religioso-litúrgico de la plegaria”, el autor lleva a cabo en el capítulo cuarto (95-165) una exhaustiva taxonomía de la plegaria narrativa en inglés antiguo. A través del estudio de un corpus textual muy amplio -*Elene*, *Juliana*, *Beowulf*, *The Battle of Maldon*, *The Bicking Homilies*, *The Old English Martirology*, *Andreas*, *Daniel*, *Azarias*, y un largo etcétera- se definen de una forma muy completa y extensa hasta diez tipos de plegaria narrativa:

- Plegaria ante la muerte inminente de un personaje (97-109)
- Plegaria dicha ante la tortura (109-120)
- Plegaria que se emite durante la batalla (120-126)
- Plegaria ante la muerte durante la batalla (126-133)
- Plegaria para pedir una curación o liberar a alguien de la muerte (133-138)
- Plegaria para protegerse de las tentaciones del maligno (138-144)

- Plegaria penitencial y de arrepentimiento (144-150)
- Plegaria que se reza para pedir un milagro (150-155)
- Plegaria que se utiliza como epílogo de una obra narrativa (155-161)
- Otras plegarias narrativas (162-165)

Después del exhaustivo esfuerzo de catalogación y análisis, sólo le resta al autor describir las funciones literarias de las plegarias narrativas descritas, cosa que realiza magníficamente a lo largo del quinto y último capítulo (167-206), llegando a la observación definitiva de la plegaria como recurso literario. La bibliografía ofrecida (207-217) es muy completa y cubre todos los aspectos tratados en la monografía, aunque hubiera sido deseable una separación entre obras críticas y ediciones de los textos utilizados, en pro de un mayor didactismo en la exposición del amplio y actualizado catálogo de trabajos citados.

En definitiva, el Dr. Bravo nos ha ofrecido con esta monografía un riguroso estudio -cuya lectura recomendamos encarecidamente a todos los interesados en la materia- que viene a cubrir un hueco existente en los estudios sobre literatura anglosajona, y que sin lugar a dudas era necesario realizar.

De carácter algo más didáctico, orientado al estudiante universitario - aunque también le será útil a todo aquel que quiera aventurarse por los caminos de la épica-, y no por ello menos necesario, es el segundo volumen al que dedicamos esta reseña. Bajo el título de *Los lays heroicos y los cantos épicos cortos en el inglés antiguo*, el Dr. Bravo desarrolla un punto de vista muy personal sobre una serie de poemas épicos cortos cuya clasificación siempre ha sido bastante controvertida, pues la crítica especializada nunca se ha puesto muy de acuerdo a la hora de definir su condición: ¿son poemas épicos a pesar de su corta extensión?, ¿son elegías?, ¿poemas líricos?, ¿acaso constituyen otro tipo de composición? El Dr. Bravo zanja la cuestión desde el principio con una hipótesis de partida: un grupo de poemas son lays heroicos y otro grupo son cantos épicos históricos de corta extensión. Esta personal división va a marcar la estructura de toda la monografía, pues esta se articula en torno a una introducción de carácter genérico, seguida de tres partes

principales dedicadas al estudio de los lays heroicos, de los lays heroicos que aparecen en *Beowulf*, y de los cantos épicos históricos.

En la introducción (9-44) el Dr. Bravo desarrolla una serie de puntos de partida -en forma de cuatro epígrafes- de carácter general y de imprescindible conocimiento para aquel que se acerque por vez primera al ámbito de la épica anglosajona. De este modo, en el primero de los epígrafes el autor nos confronta los conceptos de lay heroico y de canto épico corto, dentro del entorno general de la épica anglosajona. Tras definir y catalogar los poemas dentro de sus respectivos conjuntos y dar sus razones para ello, se nos ofrecen tres epígrafes generales que deben estar en todo manual que desarrolle cuestiones sobre poesía épica anglosajona. Como ya hiciera en anteriores manuales¹ -aunque en esta ocasión aporta una visión renovada del tema-, el Dr. Bravo revisa la estructura del verso heroico, el lenguaje literario de la épica, y el mundo cultural de los poemas épicos. Así, el lector ya queda convenientemente introducido al mundo del verso épico, al que se accede en mayor profundidad en las siguientes partes de la monografía.

En el siguiente capítulo se desarrolla un estudio de los lays heroicos (45-89), que para el autor son *Widsith*, *Deor*, *The Batle of Finsburh* y *Waldere*. Se subdivide el capítulo en cuatro partes que glosan los poemas de forma individual, y haciendo gala de una muy acertada estructura didáctica -teniendo en cuenta el carácter de manual universitario que tiene la presente monografía-, cada parte trata los mismos aspectos en cada poema: MS y génesis, lugar y fecha, estructura, fuentes, comentario, interpretaciones y estilo. Esta división analítica permite cubrir de forma exhaustiva todos los elementos dignos de mención en cada uno de los poemas objeto de estudio.

El siguiente capítulo (91-140) está dedicado a los lays heroicos que forman parte del poema cumbre de la poesía épica anglosajona: el *Beowulf*. Comenzando con una introducción general sobre el poema *Beowulf*, que constituye una revisión somera y una actualización de los conceptos básicos ya expuestos en su día² sobre la génesis del texto, sus fuentes, su estructura y

¹ Bravo, A. 1982: *Literatura Anglosajona y Antología Bilingüe del Antiguo Inglés*. Oviedo: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Oviedo. 65-77. Bravo, A. 1987: *La Épica Anglosajona*. Oviedo: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Oviedo. 17-75.

² Bravo, A. 1981: *Beowulf. Estudio y Traducción*. Oviedo: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Oviedo, 11-96.

las principales interpretaciones históricas y/ o alegórico-cristianas, se pasa al análisis individual y pormenorizado de los cuatro lays heroicos hallados en *Beowulf*: el lay del rey Scyld, el lay de Sigismundo, el lay de Finn y el lay de Offa.

El siguiente capítulo -última parte del grueso central de la monografía- se dedica al estudio de los cantos épicos históricos de carácter breve (141-181). Esta categoría la integran dos poemas individuales, *The Battle of Maldon* y *The Battle of Brunanburh*, y cinco poemas épicos insertados en la Crónica Anglosajona, *The Capture of the Five Boroughs*, *The Coronation of Edgar*, *The Death of Edgar*, *The Death of Alfred* y *The Death of Edward*. Se comienza analizando estos últimos y se concluye esta parte con el estudio completo de los dos primeros, en el que se repite la estructura didáctica anteriormente utilizada.

La monografía concluye ofreciéndonos los textos en inglés antiguo de los poemas analizados y una traducción al español de todos ellos en verso libre. Teniendo en cuenta el tono didáctico del manual, hubiera sido deseable unificar ambos apartados y haber confrontado ambos textos, de tal forma que en una página tuviésemos el texto original y en la otra apareciese la traducción al español. También hubiera sido muy útil la numeración de los versos. De todas formas, las traducciones ofrecidas son muy útiles para el lector no especializado, y superan en todos los casos a las versiones -algunas de ellas en prosa- que el mismo autor ya había ofrecido en ocasiones anteriores¹. Por último, la bibliografía (265-280) que se ofrece es básica pero suficientemente completa para el objetivo introductorio y didáctico de la monografía. De nuevo -y esto ya es obsesión de carácter personal- hubiera sido didácticamente conveniente la división temática de la bibliografía para facilitar al lector universitario posteriores búsquedas de información.

En definitiva, este libro sorprende por su claro afán de realizar, sobre la base de una división genérica muy particular y original, un estudio didáctico a la par que riguroso y actualizado de los lays heroicos y los cantos épicos cortos del Inglés Antiguo, que sin lugar a dudas es altamente recomendable como manual de cabecera para todos aquellos estudiantes universitarios de

¹ Bravo 1982: 111-156, 224-226 y 1987: 283-312, *op. cit.*

Filología Inglesa que tengan entre sus asignaturas alguna dedicada al estudio de la literatura épica anglosajona.

Ambos libros reseñados aúnan en dos espléndidos trabajos, muy distintos en carácter y talante, las dos facetas que caracterizan al Dr. Bravo como investigador y divulgador de la lengua y de la literatura de los anglosajones: rigurosidad e innovación científicas, y exhaustividad y concreción didácticas, pues no sólo hay que realizar trabajos densos e innovadores para la comunidad académica de medievalistas sino también hay que ser coherente con el lado docente de todo investigador universitario y cubrir los huecos prácticos que la falta de manuales sobre ciertos temas provocan en el día a día de las aulas universitarias españolas. Esperamos que en el futuro el ejemplo del Dr. Bravo incite a otros investigadores a desdoblarse su producción científica como él lo ha hecho con estas dos monografías. Esperemos, también, que no tengan que transcurrir otros cuatro años para que las nuevas inquietudes y *obsesiones* investigadoras del Dr. Bravo vean la luz en forma impresa.

Jorge Luis Bueno Alonso
Universidad de Oviedo

* † *

Wright, Laura 1996: *Sources of London English. Medieval Thames Vocabulary*. Oxford, Clarendon Press.

Sources of London English would be too broad a title for a book which concentrates its study on “some Middle English technical vocabulary concerned with life on the River Thames” as is stated in the Introduction. Hence the addition of a convenient subtitle, *Medieval Thames Vocabulary* to make explicit that this is one of the possible sources for the characterisation of London English. In fact, it covers manuscripts ranging from the 13th to the 16th century which are classified as of a business writing type, a very specific text type that deals with an even more specific semantic field. This is the reason why, when studying London English, an academic work of this kind must be accompanied by the analysis of literary and other non-literary writings. The point is that the author herself seems to agree on this matter when she briefly mentions previous studies based on literary sources without disregarding them. I claim that any language or dialect studied from a diachronic standpoint must be tackled taking into account all sorts of available manuscripts, independently of register or style if any can be traced. This observation made, I consider the book a careful and detailed work whose main aim is to offer a new perspective and to outline future linguistic research as a way of throwing new light on the origin and evolution of Standard English.

The book contains an Introduction and four chapters. In the initial part, Laura Wright justifies the basis and purpose of her work, to study the English of medieval business documents, and, what is more remarkable at this stage, she approaches the situation of Standard English in the late Middle Ages. The traditional view (Fisher 1977)¹ that the Standard variety of English is the direct outcome of Chancery English² is challenged and discussed by modern theories (Davis 1983; Wright 1996b; 1997)³. As she puts it (1996: 3):

¹ Fisher, J. H. “Chancery and the Emergence of Standard Written English in the Fifteenth Century”. *Speculum* 52 (1977): 870-899.

² During a Conference on Multilingualism in the late Middle Ages held in Aberystwyth (Wales) in September 1997, Professor Benskin himself refuted firmly the traditional theories which, to this respect, I mentioned when reading a paper of mine.

³ Their theory evinces a more individualistic conception of the rise of Standard English, at least, at the very beginning of the process.

Chancery English is just one functional variety of written English, with a very limited readership, whereas Standard English has come to be multifunctional. It is not adequate to suggest that this diversity of function could have arisen solely from Chancery documents, without at least investigating other text types.

Fisher's claim that Chancery English can be regarded as the immediate ancestor of Standard English has been amply criticised by Norman Davis who in his article "The Language of Two Brothers in the Fifteenth Century"¹ states that it is hard to support evidence of a written standard in view of the writings of some high status members of society even at this date being, hence, unpredictable the degree of influence exerted by the Chancery. He goes even further when he concludes that "the part played by Chancery in its evolution can hardly have been decisive" (Davis 1983: 28). Likewise, Wright (1996b)² shows to be reluctant to accept the migration theory, first put forward by Ekwall (1956)³ and later adopted by many historians of the language, that people from the Central and East Midlands came to London influencing, consequently, the variety of this area. She claims that the northern features found in the London speech are not the corollary of a migration process because "there is already a population of Norse-influenced speakers on the doorstep" (1996b: 113). The grammatical study of medieval Thames vocabulary reinforces her views on the standardisation phenomenon in late fourteenth century England:

there is no identifiable 'London usage' or 'precursor to standardisation'; but individual scribes do have stable writing habits. Note that this does not mean that they always chose the same morphological form or spelled a word in the same way. On the contrary, they usually chose more than one form, but the ratios at which they chose that form were stable (1996b: 112).

¹ This article was published in E.G. Stanley and Douglas Gray (eds.), *Five Hundred Years of Words and Sounds: a Festschrift for Eric Dobson*. Cambridge: D. S Brewer, 1983: 23-28.

² Wright, L. "Evolution of Standard English". In Toswell, M. J. and E. M. Tyler. *Studies in English Language and Literature: 'Doubt wisely'. Papers in Honour of E. G. Stanley*. London: Routledge. 1996: 99-115.

³ Ekwall, E. *Studies on the population of Medieval London*. Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell. 1956.

Chapter 1, “Business Documents” depicts the status of Medieval Latin and Anglo-Norman¹ and their respective macaronic versions. The term ‘macaronic’ implies the documents under analysis were written in a mixture of English + Anglo-Norman or English + Latin. The existence of macaronic writings complies with the unavoidable interaction of speech habits from members of both linguistic communities. In line with this revision, there follows a morphological account of these writings concluding that code switching and overlapping of forms constitute the hallmarks of what the author calls ‘macaronic’. She also contends it can be regarded as a functionally distinctive style with its own characteristics. This chapter ends listing the London local records —preserved at the Corporation of London Records Office— which conform the primary sources of the research.

Chapter 2, “Methodology”, provides the reader with an explanation of the methods and editorial procedures employed in the next chapter, “Vocabulary Survey”, to wit, the core of the linguistic investigation. In Chapter 3 (“Vocabulary Survey”) there is a first classification of the semantic field “Medieval Thames vocabulary” containing subsequent lexical groupings. The main topics in connection with the river encompass different types of constructions, terms for workers, objects, the very states or situations of the river and, activities such as fishing and shipping. The reader may, in turn, find subclassifications which contain several terms for the materials used in the constructions or even for the tools employed; in addition, specific lexicon on fishing in the river includes terms for the common mechanisms to trap fish and different names for fish found in the Thames. Vocabulary for states of the river im-

¹ Basing her assumptions on a Transcript of the 1421 *Inquisition of the River Thames*, (Wright, L. “Medieval Latin, Anglo-Norman and Middle English in a London Civic Text: An Inquisition of the River Thames, 1421”. In Trotter, D. A and Stewart Gregory (eds.) *De mot en mot. Aspects of medieval linguistics. Essays in honour of William Rothwell*. Cardiff: The U of Wales P in conjunction with the Modern Humanities Association Research. 1997: 223-260), the author advocates the influential status of Anglo-Norman in Medieval England so as to explain the presence of most of the words contained in a Middle English corpus. This postulate embodies faithfully William Rothwell’s principles concerning the development and effects of Anglo-Norman on the growth of other languages as he himself demonstrated in “The ‘Faus franceis d’Angleterre’: later Anglo-Norman”, in Ian Short (ed.), *Anglo-Norman Anniversary Essays*. Anglo-Norman Text Society Occasional Publications 2. London: Anglo-Norman Text Society. 1993: 309-330; or in “From Latin to Anglo-French and Middle English: The Role of the Multilingual Gloss”. *Modern Language Review* 88/3, 1993: 581-599.

plies states of the water, the river bank and its inlets. Objects found or put into the river are also mentioned. Names for fishing and accessories of ships can be traced as well and, finally, names for the various jobs of people working in the river.

Each of the terms in the survey is followed by a definition, the reference to the source or sources where it has occurred, a list of quotations illustrating the previously mentioned meaning, the variety of spellings traced, the etymology of the terms and references to those terms in other dictionaries — mainly the *Middle* and the *Oxford English Dictionaries*. The comprehensive characterisation of the lexical items leads us to Chapter 4, “Analysis of Headwords”, in which the author offers a compilation of the most outstanding linguistic traits found in her corpus of data. The analysis is carried out from three different viewpoints: orthographical, phonological and morphological. There seems to be a logical reasoning behind the inclusion of these aspects in the final remarks of the survey since the semantic one has already been covered, and more intra-systemic information can be profitable for the purpose of the investigation.

As a conclusion, I would like to pinpoint the theoretical line of argumentation about standardisation in the late Middle Ages she has adumbrated in the introduction and, in like manner, emphasise the careful organisation of this academic work, the brevity and clarity in the expression of ideas as well as the detailed description of each of the items, which has presumably meant a considerable effort. Her in-depth and thorough observation of the items of a particular semantic field elicited from medieval documents evinces some relevant linguistic traits of the period. For all these reasons, those who are seriously interested in Middle English lexicon and standardisation will find Laura Wright’s book stimulating, useful, easy to read and most valuable for further research on the field.

Begoña Crespo

University of A Coruña

Poster, Carol and Richard Utz, eds. 1996: *Disputatio. An International Transdisciplinary Journal of the Late Middle Ages. Vol. I. The Late Medieval Epistle*. Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press. 229.

The record of the letter as a tool of formal report and display goes back to the birth of Rhetoric. The literary tradition ascribes to Corax of Syracuse the invention, and to Tisias the development and later expansion, of a specific formal pattern that shows a new discursive style. Both Corax and Tisias compelled by the multiple litigations that the tyrants of Syracuse had to confront during the 5th century BC, devised an unknown judicial rhetorical system based on a discursive “disputatio” between two definite subjects: an accuser and an accused (James J. Murphy, *Medieval Eloquence*, Berkeley, 1978; G. Kennedy, *Art of Persuasion in Greece*, Princeton, 1963, 26). However, this relationship intended as a strictly formal one, gave rise to some kind of individual attitudes and ways of acting, especially within the classic Greek society, where oratory was profiled as an instrument to be frequently used in social, cultural and political issues, since it emphasised the primacy of spoken expression, where the presence/ absence of a subject became more remarkable, over written one.

What at the beginning happened to be an accepted and suitable path of oral transmission for any kind of messages, rhetorical or not, began to appear in written documents. This migration was questioned by Plato who considered writing as a disturbed and untrue transcription of oral performance, with a greater degree of formalisation. Aristotle found a point of equilibrium in this connection between oral and written performances, and in his work *De Interpretatione* (I, 1) asserts: “The spoken words are symbols of mental experiences, while the written words are symbols of the spoken words”, giving thus way to the idea that the written can be a legitimate and truthful vehicle of the spoken expression. Once he establishes the legitimacy of the written text, the Stagiran, in his *Ars Rhetorica* (1358b, 1-20) develops in a clear way a theoretical system of discourse, suitable to be applied to any kind of expression, will it be oral or written. There are three clearly defined and distinctive types of discourse: a) Συμβουλευτικόν or deliberative speech, whose

end is advice and dissuasion; b) δικανικόν or judicial speech, whose end is accusation or defence; c) επιδεικτικόν or demonstrative speech, whose end is praise and censorship, a type that fits better into interpersonal discourse.

This last type of speech is explained in detail in the work attributed to Cicero, *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, where spoken speech is divided into six specific and basic parts: *exordium*, *narratio*, *divisio*, *confirmatio*, *confutatio* and *conclusio*. This division is followed closely and without any important modifications by the medieval “dictatores” and makes up the ground for the subsequent conformation of the *Ars Dictaminis*. In this way all those theoretical principles became a formal pattern of reference for style and property of discourse, in all kinds of critical and political works, in their use in literary texts, and in the epistolary texts.

All the studies in the present collection, show the confluence between tradition and modernity, in a wide period of time and in a genre, the epistolary. They all deal with the problems outlined when we want to establish, from a pragmatic point of view, where is the subject who writes and which is the real message behind what he/ she says. We have seen that the epistolary tradition is created not only by the forms and standards described mainly by Aristotle and Cicero, but also by the implicit controversy between form and subjectivity. The rising of the “economic” subject, due to the change from a market economy to a monetary one, dragged, especially in the 14th century, the rising of the literary subject (Ricardo J. Sola, *Dinámica Social en The Canterbury Tales*. Zaragoza, 1981), masculine as well as feminine and stressed his/ her presence in all areas of life. The issue consists in establishing if the awareness of this “change” and this “presence” are just conclusions of our post-modern era, in which new sociological, linguistic, pragmatic and feminist thinking check this dissociation between text and context and confirm that the meaning of a text is indebted to the context in which it is given, or if they were already detected and unveiled by the commentators and literary authors of the period that is analysed.

In line with the foregoing, the article of Martin Camargo, “Where’s the Brief: The *Ars Dictaminis* and the Reading/ Writing Between the Lines” (1-17), presents a clear and introductory view of the letter as a means of spoken and written transmission, listing the most important definitions of the classic standard accomplished by medieval “dictatores”, as Guido Faba, in *Summa*

Dictaminis (1228-1229) or Conrad de Mure, in *Summa de Arte Prosandi* (1275-1276). The revision features three formal conditions in a letter: the authenticity, the confidentiality and the fact of making present the absent to whom the letter is sent. This shows that the *dictatores* were aware of the possibility of distortion of the message, due to three actors/ subjects of the process: the properly said remittent or sender, his/ her secretary or notary who drafts the letter and, occasionally, the bearer or mediator who can add commentaries on the missive to the addressee. Camargo confirms that, "... such treatises do not and cannot tell us all that we need to know about medieval letters." (1), a widespread opinion among the specialists on the medieval treatises, and he adds that the main reason for this uniformity is that they are centered "...more on form than on function." (1), paying attention to "... how to construct an epistolary text" (1), depreciating the importance of the "context". In this sense, Camargo highlights the differences pointed out by the first known "dictator", Caius Iulius Victor, in the fourth century AD, between informal discourse, *sermo*, and the formal speech of the letter, or *epistola*. The interaction of these elements in the communication act reveals, Camargo says, "... that the tensions masked by the dictatores' confident assertion of the three officially sanctioned functions of a letter were actually felt by medieval "writers" and "readers" of letters" (9). A good example of the fact that this meaningful perception exists and of its literary use is seen in two well-known narrative poems of the period, *La Chanson de Roland* and *Troilus & Criseyde*, where the letters are not only mere formal expressions, but rather conceal attitudes and feelings.

Georgiana Donavin reinforces this opinion in her collaboration, "Locating a Public Forum for the Personal Letter in Malory's *Morte Darthur*" (19-36), and emphasises the importance that even Malory grants to this epistolary art, including a series of letters in his *Morte Darthur* (1469). This inclusion, however, it is not only a reflection of the interest existing in the period by this manner of communication, due to "... widespread instruction in literacy and the advent of a standard language..." (19), but also, says Donavin, attests the importance of the letter as structural and functional element in the narrative composition. Thus we pass from the "real" letter to the "fictional" letter in a fabulated world, a much freer and independent world, but where the essential question is to establish the manner by which fiction is related to life. As a form of transmission of feelings referred to a past era, the letter

stimulates, in this fictional world, a series of intimate episodes that balance between the love, the revenge, and the redemption of the protagonists. The Ciceronian literary canon is taken into account, the Aristotelian norms are followed, but the messages between Arthur and king Mark, at a time in which public letters are frequently used to uncover any type of scandal, exhibits the mixture between traditions and contemporary events, the existing tensions between what is public and what is private. The “divine letters” of the Grail Quest tale function as dissuatory advice for sinners, and as a proposal to maintain the sanctioned social order. The letters of the unfortunate Elaine of Astolat are of praise for Lancelot, and remind the hero the Arthurian ideal of “jantilwomen and wydowes socour”. The letters of Gawain are, again, a praise of and a request to Lancelot and discover the close kinship and tuning in of both gentlemen. That is to say, the tensions that appear in the different groups of letters, carefully analysed by Donavin, confirm the certainty of the existence and awareness of that subjectivity at the level of fiction, though illustrate the tensions between literary text, “a written form”, and social context, the “proper audience and public”.

The step from the classic *exordium* to the *salutatio* and the medieval *captatio benevolentiae*, accomplished by one of the most important *dictatores* of the period, Albericco de Montecassino, is seen by Grant M. Boswell in “*Captatio Benevolentiae: A Note on the Relationship of Prayer and Meditation Treatises to the Artes Dictaminis*” (147-152), as an achievement that is not limited to the area of the *Ars Dictaminis*. Treatises on prayer, like *De Modo Orandi* by Hugo de San Victor, or on meditation, like *Scala Meditationis* by Wessel Gansfort, include intentional manners to obtain that captatio that exceed the purely formal aspects of the rhetorical standards. Sometimes these manners are expressed as a plea to the audience to capture its attention and interest, with a clear influence of Augustinian doctrine. Regardless of the fact that the writer addresses an outer one, other people, or an inner one, oneself, “These two treatises suggest an interesting connection...” (151) between the medieval epistolary art and ...”other materials found in works on prayer and meditation...” (151).

François Rigolot, “L’émergence de la subjectivité littéraire moderne: *les Epîtres de l’Amant vert* de Jean Lemaire de Belges” (153-159), analyses two peculiar epistles by Jean Lemaire de Belges (c. 1473 - c. 1525), a politician and French diplomat in the reign of Louis XII. In them a parrot, “l’amant vert”,

speaks to its dame, Margarita of Austria, and in its words, "... sur le mode de l'ironie... (157)", one guesses the pain suffered by the animal feeling her forthcoming absence due to a trip that Margarita is going to take. In the second, once the animal is dead, the fowl comments to her all it has been able to see and observe in Hell and in the Elysean Fields. In this way, with a new stylistic resource, "Lemaire met en scène un sujet énonciateur" (158), that is hidden, to mask under such an appearance the real subject, though, in Rigolot's opinion, it does not solve completely the balance between animal and man, and "L'identité de ce sujet locuteur est problématique..." (158).

Romuald I. Lakowsky in "Sir Thomas More's Correspondence: A Survey and a Bibliography" (161-179), makes a vast revision of Sir Thomas More's letters and the critical studies on them. He emphasises More's specific dissertation on the *Ars Rhetorica* in one of his epistles, *Letter to Dorp*, and also his *Ars Poetica*, *Letter to Brixius*, in which More shows himself as a practitioner of the "elogium" and a follower of the current medieval rhetorics. More confirms his preference for the letter-prologue, antecedent of the modern prologue, already used by king Alfred, as an example in which the speaking subject is present with greater strength and genuineness. Lakowsky understands correctly that the problem between formality and subjectivity has entered definitely in a settling process in which we find such figures as Luther and Erasmus, and that More, "a prolific letter writer", is precisely an excellent example of this tuning.

Nadia Margolis in "The Cry of the Chameleon": Evolving voices in the Epistles of Christine de Pizan (37-70), takes us to the feminine subject, and so, to a radically different approach to the problem, since she does not only deal exclusively with the distinction between form and subjectivity, but also with the possibilities and limitations of the woman as a proponent of this kind of discourse. Margolis discovers that the different poetic voices that emanate from Christine de Pizan's letters outline, in the epistolary genre, a proper discourse in which is given a certain conjunction between the formal standards known and feminine subjective expression. In the courtly genre, in French, as well as in the *dictamen*, in Latin and the genre of humanist epistolography, we see the use of tradition, especially in the *dictamen* and its later evolution, characterised by an attempt to abandon the Donatist conventions, started in the most important work of the grammarian and commentator Donatus, *Ars Minor*, and Priscianist ones, coming from the most meaningful

works by the also grammarian Priscian, as *De Metris Fabularum Terentii* or *Institutiones Grammaticae*. On the other hand, the use of three formal conventions, prose, metric verse and rhythmic prose, reflects Christine's formal concern with the new and emerging grammars in the different vernacular languages. This personal concern with formal problems of the expression, that have a clear reference in the Rhetorical treatises by Matthew de Vendôme, *Ars Versificatoria*, Geoffrey of Vinsauf, *Poetria Nova*, and John of Garland, *De Arte Prosayca*, *Metrica et Rithmica*, do not prevent, however, Margolis says, the presence of feminine subjectivity. In spite of Eustache Morel Deschamps's influence, with his work *L'Art de Dictier*, in which versification is transformed into a part of the Rhetoric and in connection with musical style, Christine appears as a emerging symbol of this feminine subjectivity with new ideals but whose "... very identity found itself often caught between cruelly arbitrary notions of "first" and "second" place: socially as a woman and widow with connections to the royal court but not noble herself and sympathetic to the lower classes..." (40).

Margolis warns us of the commented fact of the multiple voices in the text, but points out that there are especially two of them that are heard above the rest: that from the ancient gods and her own voice. Through them, Christine releases a series of distinctive emotions, criticises the courtly mores, that measure in a different way adulterous love, and reproaches the generalised corruption of the era that weakens especially the most unfortunate and poor. To do this, she appeals to the ancient science, a fact that allows also the attack on her contemporaries, recapturing the topic of the "Golden Age" in which the right government and justice were prevailing, something which recalls us Hesiod's aspirations. In her search of peace, Christine designs a form of moral literature with a nationalist scope in mind and with a deep desire for the end of the wars, in an era characterised by the constant warlike confrontations. Her compassionate voice urges the "cure for the malady within France's body politic" (55) with the remittance to "the Ovidian love-sickness repertory" (55), evoking also that of "ubi sunt", and missing, again, the Golden Age "ruled by reason" instead of "violence and chaos", a search, no doubt, of the "Pax Augusta", like the one in which Horace, Virgil, Tibulus or Propertius, those who conceived the prince August as a hope of peace, were also engaged in their moment. In the case of Christine, she finds consolation in Christian pray, when she remembers the

suffering of the widows of the wars and uses for this “the prison motif, a familiar courtly lyrical image here fused with the Christian-platonic one of the body-as-tomb or prison” (58), as well as that of the stoic acceptance of the uncontrolled evils that we cannot avoid.

Continuing in this line, Yvonne LeBlanc, in “Queen Anne in the Lonely, Tear-Soaked Bed of Penelope: Rewriting the *Heroides* in Sixteenth-Century France” (71-87), shows the fascination and confusion of fourteenth and fifteenth century readers and writers with Ovid’s *Heroides*, a collection of love letters evoking a female voice in which “a commentator erroneously states” the Ovidian moralizing spirit, or catalogues his *Heroides* as a “redemptive work, an act of penitence by a chastised poet” (72). These thirteenth epistles were translated, imitated and reproduced in different ways and with several functions by sixteenth century French writers, La Vigne, Marot, Andrelini and Cretin. In them, the exotic environment and the Christian tone are intermingled, as well as the ancient and new ideas of chastity. The abandonment motif, taken from the Ovidian character, Ariadna, assumes a new dimension, since the loneliness of her French counterpart provokes some real fears, as compared to the imaginary ones expressed in the Ovidian original. The new French “Pentesilea”, Belle Amazonne, for example, is at the end more fragile than her Latin precedent. The Ovidian letters are remembered in all the possible circumstances and variants, especially when they are used to define and label moral attitudes, proposing the difference between those rejectable models, like that of Phaedra, and those morally required ones, like that of Penelope, used by Fausto Andrelini to describe Louis XII’s wife, Anne, faithfully awaiting “the return of her victorious husband from the war” (82).

Albrecht Classen and Malcolm Richardson review the panorama of woman in Germany and England, and by extension in all Europe, focusing on the social, economic and cultural evolution of the feminine subject, censured since Antiquity by masculine authority and who must fight sternly in order to “be” a literary subject. In this sense, Classen, “Female Explorations of Literacy: Epistolary Challenges to the Literary Canon in the Late Middle Ages” (89-121), confirms that the circles of noble women who had the chance of entering the standard level of culture and acquiring the sufficient intellectual capacity and learning, opted for the epistolary genre, considered as marginal, to exchange personal experiences. We may question the genuineness of their feelings expressed in the letters, due, in part, to the need of

concealing the feminine subject behind a “high degree of formalism”, but it is clear that the themes of the letters deal with multicoloured aspects, political as well as economic, and close to them more personal and intimate aspects. On the other hand, Richardson in his contribution, “Women, Commerce, and Writing in Late Medieval England” (123-145), insists on the difficulty that women had to establish themselves as an economic subject both in the rural as well as in the urban medium. Though she performs a series of tasks in the economic and labour fields due to the temporary absences of man, either because of war or because of businesses, the fact is that she does not, in the end, assume an independent and autonomous social and economic role, or find a series of limitations: “... women were mostly limited to occupations compatible with child care; trades which required travelling, for example, were closed to them.” (125). Yet Classen and Richardson’s contributions impress the reader with the amount and variety of topics, themes and devices that women used in order to express their subjectivity.

We might conclude this review by recognising that the scholars in this collection echo the significance in the epistolary genre of an emerging modern spirit whose most meaningful key consists in detecting the awareness and presence of one or several intentional subjects in the interior of an apparently formal and objective structure. All the difficulties enclosed in the recognition of this subjectivity, are increased when the remittent is a woman, though it seems now clear that it was precisely women who with greater strength broke free from the rhetorical formalisms and used all the emotional possibilities than the letter provided to her. It is true that this point of view opens the path for a suggestive and interesting analysis, but it is an issue that needs a wider and deeper research in order to limit and define, in a clear and “impartial” manner, the real role and influence of this “new” woman emerging within a given masculine cultural world, a role that the classic referents had obviated or accommodated. In all cases, however, the writers in this collection make it clear that, though the authors of the epistles are aware of the existence of a permanent debt to classic models, there is also a clear purpose to revise this tradition and use what was frequently done in a more hidden than open way, yet motivated by the social and economic circumstances.

Janet Luehring and Richard J. Utz’s final comprehensive bibliography copes with the rhetorical studies at large and the epistolographic ones in par-

ticular, emphasises the rhetorical and thematic aspects as well as its relevance in all the European cultures, and includes such out-of-hand places like eastern countries and Russia. The temporal spectrum analysed is rather wide, covering a span of time from the twelfth until the sixteenth century, and so, we should not talk of uniformity but rather of a process in which we still need to explain the role played by adjacent cultural worlds, besides the Classic, that flowed into European mainland in the Middle Ages, the Christian, the Jewish and the Arab -not to forget the “Andalusí heritage”- worlds.

José María Gutiérrez Arranz & Ricardo J. Sola Buil
Universidad de Alcalá de Henares

* † *

Lass, Roger. 1997. *Historical linguistics and language change*. Cambridge Studies in Linguistics 81. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (xxiii + 423). Paperback.

This is a major work on a major subject -and a major work in many senses. The first and more immediate, because it is “a kind of retrospective on nearly three decades of both being a historical linguist and worrying about the epistemic pretensions of what historical linguists do” (xiii). And if the author of such retrospective is Roger Lass, then, there are reasons to expect that his account of “how a specialist practitioner sees what he does” (xiii) will contain major insights, reflection and questioning on the subject. The work is, therefore, of theoretical nature and it came out at the right moment in the development of the discipline. After many years of expansion, growth, incursions in new fields (sociolinguistics or pragmatics, f.i.) and, above all, the arrival of the new technologies which have brought about unsuspected tools and possibilities for research, the need to stop and think again on the “big questions” regarding theory was being felt among the historical linguists. In this respect, Lass's work heralded in the conclusions of the 10th Conference on English Historical Linguistics held in Manchester almost a year after its publication. Most of the big names of the trade were there -Lass included, of course- and his lecture, just as most of the plenary lectures and sessions imparted by them clearly showed the shift towards theoretical thought in present and future work. *Historical linguistics and language change*, avidly read when it was first published, deserved revisiting and thinking it over in the light of this trend -particularly, when it is already present in the bibliographical references of most works on English historical linguistics recently published.

The book is not intended to be exhaustive, the author says, but deals with just a selection of issues. The list of the seven chapters covering those issues will show that hardly anything “important, interesting and tractable” (xiv) in historical linguistics has been left out: *The past, the present and the historian*; *Written records: evidence and argument*; *Relatedness, ancestry and comparison*; *Convergence and contact*; *The nature of reconstruction*;

Time and change: the shape(s) of history; Explanation and ontology. They are preceded by a Preface (far longer than the General Prologue is) where his position and main views are already stated, so that nobody can feel deceived afterwards. These are basically three:

- historical linguistics belongs “to a general science of historically evolved systems, whose principles are more or less the same, regardless of the kind of system evolved” (xvii)
- humans are not primarily “language builders” but end users (xviii)
- languages are populations of variants moving through time (xviii)

Here is a second reason why I have used the adjective “major” for HLALC - and thus attention will be paid in this review to each chapter individually, as many important subjects of our trade as historical linguists are contained in them. The first chapter goes in depth into the view of researchers of any kind (biologists, linguists, historians, philosophers) as mythmakers -i.e. “they use metaphors to structure their particular epistemic field in their cognitive or explanative aim” (6). Departing from the often forgotten truism that “all human knowledge is flawed, provisional & corrigible” (29) Lass discusses the nature of our object of study (language in the traditional sense) and the nature of our work. Interpretation happens in all cases, he says, and from his constructivist approach to cognition, denies (quite rightly in my view) the possibility of a “completely neutral account of facts” - even when studying “direct witnesses.”

The author proceeds immediately to support his thesis in his evaluation of the sources for historical linguistics in the second chapter *Written records: evidence and argument*. I must warn that this is one of my favourite chapters in the book (the other is the final one). The list of issues dealt with is illustrative: the nature of writing systems, the meaning of graphs in early texts, types of evidence such as the testimony of grammarians and phoneticians, metrics and rhyme, glosses and glossaries, and the representativeness of the textual evidence preserved. And typically in Lass, his argumentation and exemplification are extremely detailed -one learns as much from the conclusions as from the analyses themselves. The whole chapter is a brilliant and well-founded lesson on good practice for philologists, where the distance between writing and speech is carefully described and assessed in every field

relevant for linguistic change: orthography, writing systems, literary materials, modern editions of early texts... Particularly appealing part 2.5.2., devoted to glosses and translations and part 2.7: “Desperate remedies: interpreting vs. disappearing”. As for the first, the argumentation behind “*stangella* is not the OE word for *pelican* at all” (85) is a careful assessment of the nature and function of reference materials. The second challenges the validity of emendation for historical linguistics: “Trying to reconstruct an individual’s word choice is as fatuous as writing texts in a proto-language or reading ancient poems aloud in a reconstructed pronunciation” (100). Both (as any other point in the chapter, really) throw light on important theoretical issues regarding the diffraction which always happens when looking back to past stages of languages and its causes.

Chapter 3, “Relatedness, ancestry and comparison” revisits the basic Neogrammarian topics from perspectives, which take this work to multidisciplinary fields and ambitious theoretically risky waters: the mathematical theory of chaos, evolutionary biology, biosystematics. Lass makes linguistic families depend on genuine historicity, where systems are characterised by “sensitive dependence on initial conditions” and by having replicators (heritable items), variation and selection processes. As such, since the ontological bases are similar, Lass uses the cladistic terminology -which provides an updated and empowered description of genealogical connections among languages. He concludes that the Neogrammarian methods are still indispensable, when employed rightly, with all the necessary caveats and in the light of new developments in linguistic theory, in order to trace good linguistic history. It could not be otherwise, as structural relations are what define language histories, in so far as they are also the defining core of languages. This argument is pursued in the following chapters: Chapter 4 *Convergence and Contact* and Chapter 5 *The nature of reconstruction*.

“Endogenous change” is discussed in the first of these two chapters. The hypothesis that “even if a language could be totally isolated from any contact whatever ... it would change in just the same way ... as any other language” (208) seems to be a logical consequence of the theoretical assumption that languages are systems subject to imperfect self-replication. There are, however, two unclear points here: one, is it really the case with natural languages -i.e. can we find a language which has remained isolated long enough to test the hypothesis? Second, why is replication imperfect?

The classic explanation in “biology for beginners” points to combinatory reasons -plus various kinds of factors, which increase the frequency of certain basic combinations. What are those factors in the case of (supposedly) isolated languages? Social interaction within a closed community, certainly -plus a host of intrinsic forces of the languages themselves.

How are those forces favoured or handicapped in the case of non-isolated societies (the vast majority)? This, however, is not to deny that certain basic in-built properties of human languages cannot be neutralised by extra-linguistic circumstances. But I think that the above-mentioned question should have been addressed to in a clearer way.

Phonological change is dissected in Chapter 5 -*The nature of reconstruction*. After all, this book is by Roger Lass, and being of the kind it is, a long chapter on historical phonology seasoned by a re-consideration of the Great Vowel Shift was to be expected. His aim is to investigate how much and what can be reconstructed -and he applies the cladistic concepts explained in Chapter 3 to the methods both of comparative and internal reconstruction.

The general conclusion is that sound change continues to be, as always, the most fertile ground for reconstructive theory, followed by morphological evolution (particularly when connected directly with phonology). Of course, if what one wants to prove is that the Neogrammarian model is still valid. At first sight, this seems either a bit of a cheat or a circular argument, but what lurks here is really the old question: why should we be able to construct phonological histories so nicely whereas things become increasingly difficult when we proceed to morphosyntax? Why, if phonology evolves far more quickly than morphology or syntax, can we recognise *family likenesses* among languages there... but it is so hard to do the same in morphosyntax? Lass quite sharply points out that in one case we are dealing with individual items, and in the other, with paradigms. I would also consider the fact that phonological change is most directly connected with physical constraints - consequently, directionalities are, in this respect, far more predictable.

Additionally, we have to take into account that the kinds of evidence we need for our reconstruction are radically different: in the first case words, at most tone groups; in the second, texts. And as far as texts are concerned, Lass's remarks on proto-languages are indirectly a warning at the blind faith

which some tend to place in corpus linguistics. Locating the key difference between proto-languages and living languages in the possibility of producing native utterances and/ or texts and not in the *completeness* of the material evidence available clearly leads to the conclusion that collections of corpora are *per se* condemned to perennial incompleteness (in this sense whether corpora are made of living or dead languages is irrelevant). In my view, the new technologies have allowed the processing of overwhelming statistical data which are illuminating in many ways (confirming or rejecting hypotheses, forewarning new possibilities or tendencies...) But bad theoretical models provide bad interpretations of the best data available and emphasis on good epistemological tools is, then rightly made in HLALC.

More particular aspects are, to me, questionable: for example, his consideration of absolute constructions, dative of possession and non-accusative verb-objects in Indo-European languages as possible morphoclines, without clarifying whether some kind of linguistic area might be involved. More anecdotally, I partly agree with Lass in that many historical novels or new texts in extinct languages is *not a serious pursuit as a form of activity in linguistics* (274). But it is amusing, and can produce very illustrative allegories - very much, by the way, like many fierce defences of the real existence of the Great Vowel Shift.

This chapter and the following one (Chapter 6 *Time and change: the shape(s) of history*) are probably the densest and most difficult of the book. This is due partly to the nature of the themes discussed and partly to Lass's propensity to what he himself acknowledged once as *pomposity* (1987: xvii). This becomes particularly acute when facing major theoretical enterprises, as it is the case here, above all, in Chapter 6. After having identified the main perceptions of language change (change as loss, flux, *creatio ex nihilo*, degeneration, progress) and having placed them in their corresponding theoretical backgrounds. The author goes back to his re-consideration of linguistic change in the wider frame of general science. He distinguishes between classical Newtonian time and non-reversible of *thermodynamic* time as a key point in the identification of the possible directionality of changes. He places linguistic evolutions in the second type, in so far as they move through cycles: *the history of any dynamical system (= any evolving ensemble where variation of a parameter setting produces a change of state* (293). Other notions include *attractors* of various kinds and *chreods* or autocatalytic devel-

opmental patterns. This model is also employed to discuss in this light linguistic novelty, and more particularly, the origin of language (another of the *big questions*) and what he calls *junk*.

The problem of the origin of human language remains, for the most part unsolved (through recent anthropological research has provided suggesting hints) -but what is clear is that the kind of languages we can observe and reconstruct are already very sophisticated entities where real structural invention is, for the most part, not possible. What seems to happen, rather, is that languages produce *junk* (noise, redundancy, exceptions...) very much like biological systems, which needn't have any function in particular, but, may, if the occasion comes, be employed to serve other roles or integrate new systems.

This is explained by adapting again a term from palaeobiology: exaptation, which denotes "the co-optation during evolution of structures originally developed for other purposes" (316). The idea is certainly compatible with the more recent views on evolution as opportunistic and very much depending on the many possibilities of the very moment (and therefore, *chaotic*, cf. Arsuaga & Martinez: 1988). This is, doubtless, a daring view: the interpretation of linguistic history in the same terms of other evolutionary sciences (biology, basically) may, perhaps, be questioned from certain theoretical positions. Personally, I am not completely convinced that such a step can be given, since I am not sure either of up to what point living organisms, species, languages and language families can be equated. But in any case, I find it extraordinarily vivid as an image and as a metaphorical representation of what we know about the evolution of languages.

It also provides, in my opinion, more powerful and parsimonious insights into the subject than any other which simply assumes therapy or progress as reasons for change. In any case, my feeling is that considerable thought must be devoted to Lass's proposal in this line -even in the case that the concept had to be rejected in the end, much will be learnt from the whole research process.

Chapter 7 (*Explanation and ontology*) ought to be better described as a cocktail in which the issues of the whole work are revisited in generalisations regarding the nature of change, the logical structure of explanation, and a *vindication of the duties of historical linguists*. Change is of course a *sublu-*

nary axiom (325) and in order to reach any satisfactory knowledge about it we need to think about the logical structure of explanation. Lass distinguishes here between explanation as a technical term in academic discourse and loosely everyday uses -and states that rigorous positive types of explanations cannot be applied to the history of cultural artefacts. The huge temporal frame for most truly structural linguistic changes, and the fact that most languages show plenty of *undesirable configurations* cast suspicion on the idea that languages evolved either prophylactically or therapeutically in directions somehow embedded in the human ability to speak (whatever this may consist of). Lass typically labels this as *romantic nonsense* while he clearly distinguishes between *over-refined sensibility* and *lack of linguistic knowledge* (341). He advocates the need to remember that a language, as a means of communication is a shared system employed for a variety of purposes. The need to separate structure and function leads him to deny the possibility of speakers to assess the directionality of variation in their output, since for them languages are *by and large a non-focal historical given* (361).

I think Lass is right for the most part in his discussion of sociolinguistic approaches to change -but I'm still under the impression that speakers may, up to a point, make choices among variants because of social patterns of behaviour (i.e. prestige) rather than any kind of *linguistic feelings*. How many of these choices lead to structural changes must probably be further investigated. In this same line of argumentation, the notion of *lethal variants* should have been explained as well, for a basic issue lies behind: how can we decide which is lethal in language -impeding communication, perhaps?

The chapter -and the work- finishes with an *Envoi* in which the basic ideas advanced in the Preface are re-stated again in the light of everything he has written so far. He insists on the role of the linguistic historians as Model Builders -models valid till more powerful explanations and better evidence are produced. He also advocates a clear distinction between what should be the primary concern of any good description of language change (system, structure) and social, pragmatic approaches which, however interesting, and illuminating, and attention deserving, are complementary. I very much suspect that this is and will be the main trend of theoretical historical linguistic thought for years to come.

HLALC deserves, for me, the adjective *major* because all that have been said so far -but there are other reasons with which I will finish this review. In the first place, because Lass's work has always been interesting and stimulating -in the sense that it has always raised not only controversy, but also further questioning about new paths for exploration. Even if you dissent from his views (as I do, quite radically, about Mozart and Tchaikovsky) his points are very often challenging: you generally end up by digging up from them suggestive ideas, new paths or keys to face problems.

His work is also peculiar as he allows to percolate more from personal experience than many would: but who said this is wrong? In any case, in this work that experience allows us to see a true scholar at work, always ready to consider argumentation regarding his work and to revise not only conclusions, but also methods and theoretical models. Good examples are the beginning of footnote 1 to Chapter 7 (*I am grateful to all the reviewers and attackers of Lass (1980) for giving me important and often distressing things to think about*); his revision of drifts and major state changes in page 301 (*this has been interpreted, (mistakenly) as a kind of orthogenesis or directed evolution -notoriously in Lass 1974, which I regret, but was not smart enough then to avoid-*); and notably in point 7.2 *In which the author revisits an earlier self, and is not entirely satisfied by what he sees, but not entirely repentant*).

The unmistakably *Lassian* touch appears in this work at its best: the customary detailed, often intricate argumentation furnished with all sorts of long examples, and all this topped with the usual ironical, unorthodox (and generally very much to the point) remarks of the type: *The velaric ingressive airstream used in clicks is the mechanism for biologically necessary operations like sucking or cigarette smoking* (318). I find this combination of scholarship and humour very nice, and not only because of the old chestnut that one should not trust people who take themselves too seriously. I like it above all because Roger Lass has always reminded me of Archpriest Ripamilán, a highly commendable character in *La Regenta*. He is notorious, among other things, because he adored dancing rigadoons privately, but for him Clarín has one of the very rare laudatory remarks of *La Regenta*: *he knew how to deal seriously with serious matters* (my translation).

REFERENCES

- Arsuaga, J. L. & Martínez, I. 1998: *La especie elegida*. Madrid: Editorial Temas de Hoy.
- Lass, R. 1987. *The shape of history*. London: J. M. Dent & Sons.

Trinidad Guzmán
University of León

— + —

ADDENDA: A DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE REVIEWER [TG] & ROGER LASS
[RL]

[TG] Third: additional questions and comments I did not include in my review. Of course, I'm including them here simply because I'd like you to have them; don't answer them if you don't feel like it, after all most are silly:

1.- As far as “Quanta and phonetic gradualism: a few suggestions” (5.2.2) I wonder what the role of phonetic labs and their results can be in this “fineness of grid”?

[RL] A big role. I've been reading some very interesting computational phonetic stuff from a former student of mine at Oxford, and I think this is the direction real research in phonology ought to go.

[TG] 2.- I'm not sure that “syntax is not learned, but constructed -or generated” (p. 265) as opposed to phonology and morphology. By each generation? As you may imagine, I have first-hand evidence now about language acquisition by kids (poor chaps, two linguists as parents!) and I feel they also

learn syntactic structures in a similar way they learn morphological facts -but I may be wrong.

[RL] I agree, to a large extent. Did I really say that, or was I outlining other peoples' positions?

[TG] 3.- 6.3.3. p. 297: Would you consider mass media or social climbers as "attractors" or is it, perhaps, mixing theoretical approaches (sociolinguistics and the like) a bit too much?

[RL] Must think about this one. 'Attractors' are more abstract than people.

[TG] 4.- Same section, following page, long-term cycles of change. Since you like biology and following with your footnote 44 (p. 382): I have recently been reading about large genetic patterns in the evolution of living beings - something like, a fifth finger in human hands located in the same genetic map and arrangement as other anatomic features (appendix, maybe?) and therefore depending one on the other.

[RL] Yes. But there are different kinds of patterns. The 5th finger, etc. is a kind of leftover from the original bottleneck that allowed only the five-digit limb to get through, so the map itself is a survival. This isn't so much a pattern as a residue. Patterns of development are something different, but I don't want to say anything, as I'm still confused.

[TG] 5.- Polygenesis -monogenesis of languages. This is one of the points I'm most intrigued about at the moment. That's why I'm reading about anthropology (extremely popular in Spain, after Atapuerca's findings, by the way). They apparently make human language connected with the loss of the ability to breathe and drink at the same time (they do not specify whether good wine or simply milk and water). If you feel like having a look into this there is a good web page in English:

<http://www.mncn.csic.es/atapuerca/bienve.htm>

since I don't think their books have been translated into English. They, by the way, also cherish the opinion that evolution and change tend to be rather haphazardous.

[RL] Well of course there's a relation between language as we now have it and restructuring of the velum and larynx. In newborn babies the larynx is in

the high position it is in adults of other primates, shoved up against the velum, and it drops later on in postnatal development. But though this was an enabling feature, surely the brain software, development of the left hemisphere, etc. had to be at least simultaneous. It wouldn't do too much good to have a nice speech apparatus without a brain to give it input. I'll look at the website. Thanks.

[TG] 6.- 6.4., p. 311. On the simplification of IE case-system. My Jaime says his friend the Indo-europeanist would ascribe himself to the thesis that there were fewer cases in IE -the evolution therefore being rather different. This view is becoming increasingly popular here.

[RL] I know there's a debate. Is primitive IE more like Hittite or Sanskrit? So far the evidence seems to me more in favour of the latter; though in some families like Uralic there's the opposite pattern. Finnish, the 'Lithuanian of Balto-Finnic', with 16 cases clearly developed from an ancestor with only 5.

Roger Lass, University of Cape Town

Trinidad Guzmán, University of León

* † *

OLD AND MIDDLE ENGLISH BIBLIOGRAPHY 1996-97

- Allen, Valerie & A. Axiotis, eds. *Chaucer*. Macmillan, 1997.
- Anderson, George K. *The Literature of the Anglo-Saxons*. OUP/ Sandpiper Books. Reprint. 1997.
- Andretta, Helen Ruth. *Chaucer's Troilus and Cryseide: A Poet's Response to Ockhamism*. Studies in the Humanities: Literature-Politics Society, vol. 29. Peter Lang, 1997.
- Archibald, Elizabeth & A. S. C. Edwards, eds. *A Companion to Malory*. Arthurian Studies, 37. Boydell & Brewer, 1997.
- Arthur, Ross G. & Noel L. Corbett, trans. & eds. *The Knight of the Two Swords: A Thirteenth Century Arthurian Romance*. University Press of Florida, 1996.
- Berthelot, Anne. *King Arthur, Chivalry and Legend*. Thames & Hudson, 1997.
- Biggam, C. P. *Blue in Old English: An Interdisciplinary Semantic Study*. Costerus NS 110, Editions Rodopi, 1997.
- Bisson, Lillian M. A. *Chaucer Resource Book: The Poet and the Late Medieval World*. Macmillan, 1997.
- Bjork, Robert E. & D. Niles, eds. *A Beowulf Handbook*. Univ. of Exeter Press, 1997.
- Boardman, Stephen. *The Early Stewart Kings: Robert II and Robert III, 1371-1406*. Tuckwell Press, repr. 1997.
- Brewer, Charlotte. *Editing Piers Plowman: The Evolution of the Text*. CUP, 1996.
- Breeze, Andrew. *Medieval Welsh Literature*. Four Courts Press, 1997.

- Britnell, R. H. *The Closing of the Middle Ages. England, 1471-1529*. Blackwell, 1997.
- Bruce, Webster. *Scotland in the Middle Ages: The Making of an identity*. Macmillan, 1997.
- Bruce, Webster. *The Wars of the Roses*. UCL, Press/ Taylor & Francis, 1997.
- Burgess, Glyn. *Two Medieval Outlaws: The Romances of Eustace the Monk and Fouke Fits Waryn*. Boydell & Brewer, 1997.
- Burnley, David; Charlotte Brewer; N. H. Keeble. *Courtliness and Literature in Medieval England*. Longman, 1997.
- Burton, T. L. & R. Greentree. *Chaucer's Miller's, Reeve's, and Cook's Tales: An Annotated Bibliography 1900-1992*. University of Toronto Press, 1997.
- Byrne, John. & Michael Herity. *The Irish*. Blackwell, 1996.
- Carley, James P. & Felicity Riddy. eds. *Arthurian Literature*, Vol. XV. D. S. Brewer, 1997.
- Cartlidge, Neil. *Medieval Marriage: Literary Approaches 1100-1300*. Boydell & Brewer, 1997.
- Chadwick, H. Sonia. *The First English*. Blackwell, 1996.
- Chance, Jane, ed. *Gender and Text in the Later Middle Ages*. University Press of Florida, 1996.
- Chartier, Roger, Alain Boureau & Cécile Dauphin. *Correspondence: Models of Letter-Writing from the Middle Ages to the Nineteenth Century*. Blackwell, 1997.
- Clanchy, M. T. *Abelard: A Medieval Life*. Blackwell, 1997.
- Classical and Medieval Literature Criticism*, vol. 20. Gale, 1997.
- Consoli, Joseph P. ed. & trad. *The Novellino or One Hundred ancient Tales: An Edition and Translation based on the 1525 Gualteruzzi "editio princeps"*. Garland Pub. 1997.
- Cooper, Helen; Sally Mapstone. eds. *The Long Fifteenth Century: Essays for Douglas Gray*. OUP, 1997.

- Copeland, Rita; David Lawton & Wendy Scase. *New Medieval Literatures*. vol. 1. OUP. 1997.
- Cox Catherine S. *Gender and Language in Chaucer*. Univ. Press of Florida. 1997.
- Cox, John D. & David, S. Kastan. *A New History of Early English Drama*. Columbia University Press, 1997.
- Craun Edwin D. *Lies, Slander, and Obscenity in Medieval English Literature. Pastoral Rhetoric and the Deviant Speaker*. CUP, 1997.
- Darrah, John. *Paganism in Arthurian Romance*. Boydell & Brewer, 1997.
- Davis, Craig R. *Beowulf and the Demise of Germanic Legend in England*. Garland, 1996.
- Dixon-Kennedy, Mike. *Arthurian Myth and Legend: An A-Z of People and Places*. Blandford, GBR, 1997.
- Dixon-Kennedy, Mike. *Heroes of the Round Table*. Blandford, GBR. 1997
- Dumville, David. *The Celts*. Blackwell, 1996.
- Duby Georges. *Women of the Twelfth-Century. Vol 1: Women of the Twelfth Century*. Blackwell, 1997.
- Duby Georges. *Women of the Twelfth Century Vol. 2: Noblewomen in the Middle Ages*. Blackwell, 1997.
- Dyas, Dee. *Images of Faith in English Literature 700-1500*. Longman, 1997.
- Economou, George, trans. *William Langland's "Piers Plowman": The C Version*. Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1997.
- Faith, Rosamond. *The English Peasantry and the Growth of Lordship*. Tuckwell, 1997.
- Fenster, Thelma. ed. *Arthurian Women: a casebook*. Garland, 1997.
- Fisiak, Jacek, ed. *Studies in Middle English Linguistics*. Mouton de Gruyter, 1997.
- Fisiak, Jacek, ed. *Middle English Miscellany: From Vocabulary to Linguistic Variation*. Poznan, Motivex, 1996.

- Fowler, David D, et al. eds. *The Governance of Kings and Princes: John Trevisa's Middle English Translation of the "De Regimine Principum" of Aegidius Romanus*. Garland Medieval Texts, vol. 19. Garland Pub. 1997.
- Frantzen, Allen J. & J. D. Niles, eds. *Anglo-Saxonism and the Construction of Social Identity*. Univ. Press of Florida, 1997.
- Gasiorowski, Piotr. *Phonology of Old English Stress and Metrical Structure*. Peter Lang, 1997.
- Gimenez Bon Margarita & Vickie Olsen. eds. *Proceedings of the 9 th. International Conference of the Spanish Society for Medieval English Language and Literature*. Pórtico Librerías. Zaragoza, 1997.
- Gneus, Helmut. *English Language Scholarship: A Survey and Bibliography from the Beginning to the End of the Nineteenth Century*. Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 3. Binghamton, N. Y. 1996.
- Gold, Barbara K. et al. eds. *Sex and Gender in Medieval and Renaissance Texts: The Latin Tradition*. SUNY, State University of New York Press, 1997.
- Goodrich, Peter. *Law in the Courts of Love*. Routledge, 1996.
- Grossinger, Christa. *Picturing Women in Late Medieval Art*. Manchester U. P. 1997.
- Grotans, Anna A. & D. W. Peter, eds. *The St. Gall Tractate: A Medieval Guide to Rhetorical Syntax*. Columbia, SC: Camden House, 1996.
- Hahn, Tom & A. Lupack, eds. *Retelling Tales*. Boydell & Brewer, 1997.
- Hanawalt, Barbara A. *Of Good and Ill Repute: Gender and Social Control in Medieval England*. OUP, 1997.
- Hanna III, Ralph. *The Index of Middle English Prose: Handlist XII; Smaller Bodleian Collections*. Boydell & Brewer, 1997.
- Hanna III, Ralph. & T. Lawler, eds. *Jankin's Book of Wikked Wyves. vol. 1. The Primary Texts*. Univ. of Georgia Press, 1997.
- Head, Pauline E. *Representation and Design: tracing a hermeneutics of Old English Poetry*. SUNY. State University of New York Press, 1997.

- Heather, Peter. *The Goths*. Blackwell, 1996.
- Hebron, Malcolm. *The Medieval Siege: Theme and Image in Middle English Romance*. OUP, 1997.
- Heck, David. *Angels and Angelology in the Middle Ages*. OUP, 1997.
- Hickey, Raymond & S. Puppel, eds. *Language History and Linguistic Modelling: A Festschrift for J. Fisiak on his 60th Birthday*. 2vols. Mouton de Gruyter, 1997.
- Hooke, Della. *The Landscape of Anglo-Saxon England*. Leicester Univ. Press, 1997.
- Horden Peregrine & Nicholas Purcell. *The Corrupting Sea. Man and Environment in Antiquity and the Middle Ages*. Blackwell, 1997.
- Howell, Margaret. *Eleonor of Provence*. Blackwell, 1997.
- Howes, Laura L. *Chaucer's Gardens and the Language of Convention*. Univ. Press of Florida, 1997.
- Howlett, D. R. ed. *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources. Fascicule V: I-J, K-L*. OUP, 1997.
- Hutchinson, Gillian. *Medieval Ships and Shipping*. Tuckwell Press, 1997.
- Jimura, Akiyuki, Yoshiyuki Nakao, Masatsugu Matsuo, eds. *A Comprehensive Textual Comparison of Troilus and Criseyde: Benson's, Robinson's Root's and Windeatt's Editions*. Hiroshia University, 1996.
- Kanno, Masahiko, M. Agari & G. K. Jember, eds. *Essays on English Literature and Language in Honour of Shun'ichi Noguchi*. Tokyo: Eihosha, 1997.
- Keynes, Simon. ed. *The Liber Vitae of the New Minster and Hyde Abbey Winchester, British Library Stowe 944 together with Leaves from British Library Cotton Vespasian A. VIII and British Library Cotton Titus DC. XVII*. Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile 26. Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1996.
- Kiernan, Kevin. *Electronic Beowulf*. (2 CD-ROM discs) The British Library, 1997.

- Knight, Alan E. ed. *The Stage as a Mirror: Civic Theatre in Late Medieval Europe*. Boydell & Brewer, 1997.
- Krantz, M. Diane F. *The Life and Text of Julian of Norwich: The Poetics of Enclosure*. Studies in the Humanities: Literature-Politics Society. vol. 32. Peter Lang, 1997.
- Lacy Norris J. ed. *The New Arthurian Encyclopaedia*. Garland, 1996.
- Lacy, Norris J. & G. Ashe. *The Arthurian Handbook*. 2nd. ed. Garland Pub. 1997.
- Lambert, Malcolm. *The Cathars*. Blackwell, 1997.
- Larrington Carolyne, ed. *Women and Writting in Medieval Europe: A Sourcebook*. Routledge, 1996.
- Larson-Miller, Lizette, ed. *Medieval Liturgy: A Book of Essays*. Garland Medieval Casebooks, vol. 18. Garland Pub. 1997.
- Lass, Roger. *Historical Linguistics and Language Change*. CUP, 1997.
- Law, Vivien. *Grammar and Grammarians in the Early Middle English*. Longman, 1997.
- Lionarons, Joyce Tally. *The dragon in Medieval German Littrature*. Hisarlic Press/ Drake International, 1997.
- Looze, Laurence De. *Pseudo-Autobiography in the Fourteenth Century: Juan Ruiz, Guillaume de Machaut, Jean Froissart, and Geoffrey Chaucer*. Univ. Press of Florida, 1997.
- Lucy, Norris; Geoffrey Ashe; Dera Mancoff. *The Arthurian Handbook*. Garland, 1997.
- Lynch, Andrew. *Mallory's Book of Arms: The Narrative of Combat in Le Morte Darthur*. Arthurian Studies, 39. Boydell & Brewer, 1997.
- Maggenis Hugh. *Images of Community in Old English Poetry*. CUP, 1996,
- Matsuda, Takami. *Death and Purgatory in Middle English Didactic Poetry*. Boydell & Brewer, 1997.

- Matsushita, Tomonori, ed. *A Glossarial Concordance to William Langland's The Visio of Piers Plowman. (B Text)*. 3 vols. Tokyo, Yushodo Press, 1997.
- McDonald, William C. & William Plail. eds. *Fifteenth-Century Studies*. Vol. 23. Camden House, 1997.
- McNamee, Colm. *The Wars of the Bruces: Scotland, England and Ireland, 1306-1328*. Tuckwell Press.
- Mcpherson, Ian & Ralph Penny. eds. *The Medieval Mind: Hispanic Studies in Honour of Alan Deytermond*. Tamesis Book, 1997.
- Minnis, A. J., C. C. Morse & Thorlac Turville-Petre, eds. *Essays on Ricardian Literature: In Honour of J. A. Burrow*. OUP, 1997.
- Momma, H. *The Composition of Old English Poetry*. CUP, 1997.
- Morgan, Gwendolyn A. ed. *Medieval Ballads: Chivalry, Romance, and Everyday Life. A Critical Anthology*. Peter Lang, 1996.
- Mortimer, Richard. *Angevin England 1154-1258*. Blackwell, 1996.
- Nagy, Joseph F. *Conversing with Angels and Ancients: The Literary Myths of Medieval Ireland*. Four Courts Press, 1997.
- Nevalainen, Terttu, and Helena Raumolin-Brunberg, eds. *Sociolinguistics and Language History: Studies Based on the Corpus of Early English Correspondence*. Amsterdam & Atlanta. Rodopi, 1996.
- Nevalainen, Terttu, and Leena Kahlas-Tarkka, eds. *To Explain the Present: Studies in the Changing English Language in Honour of Matti Rissanen*. Société Néophilologique de Helsinki, 1997.
- Nishimura, Masahito, ed. Tsuda, Masaru, program. *A Rhyme Concordance to Il Filostrato*. Toyohashi University, 1997.
- Nilsen, Don L. F. *Humor in British Literature, from the Middle Ages to the Restoration: a Reference Guide*. Greenwood Press, 1997.
- North, Richard. *Heathen Gods in Old English Literature*. CUP, 1996.

- Oergel, Maïke. *The Return of King Arthur and Siegfried the Nibelung: A Comparative Study of the Significance of National Myth in the 19th-Century English and German Literature*. W. de Gruyter, 1997.
- Oguro, Shoichi; Richard Beadle and M. G. Sargent, eds. *Nicholas Love at Waseda*. Proceedings of the International Conference 1995. D. S. Brewer, 1997.
- Oka, Fumiko. *Investigations on Courtly Words and Others*. Tokyo, Kokubunsha, 1997.
- O'Keeffe Katherine O'Brien. ed. *Reading Old English Texts*. CUP, 1997.
- Orchard, Andy. *Cassell Dictionary of Norse Mythology and Legend*. Cassell, 1997.
- Owen, D. D. R. *William the Lion: Kingship and Culture*. Tuckwell Press, 1997.
- Palmer, Caroline. ed. *Arthurian Bibliography III: Author Listing and Subject Index, 1978-1992*. Boydell & Brewer, 1997.
- Pearsall, Derek. ed. *Chaucer to Spenser: An Anthology*. Oxford, Blackwell, 1997.
- Pfeffer, Wendy. *Proverbs in Medieval Occitan Literature*. University of Florida Press, 1997.
- Pickering, O. S. ed. *Individuality and Achievement in Middle English Poetry*. D. S. Brewer, 1997.
- Pollington, Stephen. *First Steps in Old English: an easy to follow language course for the beginner*. Anglo-Saxon Books. Heffers, 1997.
- Proceedings of the British Academy, Vol. 94, 1996. Lectures and Memoirs*. OUP, 1997.
- Raby, F. J. E. *A History of Secular Latin Poetry in the Middle Ages*. OUP, repr. 1997.
- Ramat, Paolo & Anna Giacalone Ramat. *The Indoeuropean Languages*. Routledge, 1997.

- Raw, Barbara C. *Trinity and Incarnation in Anglo-Saxon Art and Thought*. CUP, 1996.
- Richmond, V. B. *The Legend of Guy of Warwick*. *Garland Studies in Medieval Literature* 14. Garland, 1996.
- Rösener, Werner. *Peasants in the Middle Ages*. Blackwell, 1996.
- Ross, Charles. *The Custom of the Castle: from Malory to Macbeth*. University of California Press, 1997.
- Salde, Michael N. & J. E. Jost, eds. *Chaucer Yearbook IV*. Boydell & Brewer, 1997.
- Seymour, M. C. *A Catalogue of Chaucer Manuscripts, Vol. II: The Canterbury Tales*. Ashgate, 1997.
- Shepherd, Steven H. A. ed. *Middle English Romances: A Norton Critical Edition*, New York. 1996.
- Shimizu, Aya. *A Study of the Arthur in the English Legends*. Saitama, Dolphin Press, 1997.
- Southern, R. W. *Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe. Volume III: Disunity, Decline and Renewal*. Blackwell, 1997.
- Spence, Sarah. *Texts and the Self in the Twelfth Century*. CUP, 1997.
- Sponsler, Claire. *Drama and Resistance: Bodies, goods, and theatricality in Late Medieval England*. University of Minnesota Press, 1997.
- Stafford, Pauline. *Queen Emma and Queen Edith: Queenship and Women's Power in Eleventh Century England*. Blackwell, 1997.
- Sutherland, Kathrin, ed. *Electronic Text: Investigation in Method and Theory*. Clarendon Press, 1997.
- Taylor, Paul B. *Chaucer's Chain of Love*. Fairleigh Dickinson UP 1997.
- Tharaud, Barry. *Beowulf*. Revised ed. Univ. Press of Colorado, 1996.
- Thomas, Charles. *The Picts*. Blackwell, 1996.
- Thornton, David & K. S. B. Keats-Rohan, eds. *Doomsday Names*. Boydell & Brewer, 1997.

- Trotter, D. A. *De mot en mot: aspects of medieval linguistics*. University of Wales Press, 1997.
- Tolan, John Victor, ed. *Medieval Christian Perceptions of Islam*. Garland, 1996.
- Tomasch, Sylvia & Gilles, eds. *Text and Territory: Geographica Imagination in The European Middle Ages*. University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997.
- Toswell, M. J. & E. M. Tyler. *Studies in English Language and Literature*. (In honour of E. G. Stanley). Routledge, 1996.
- Tristram, Hildegard L. C. ed. *Medieval Insular Literature between the Oral and the Written II. Continuity of Transmission*. Tübingen, G. Narr Verlag, 1997.
- Turville-Petre. Thorlac. *England the Nation: Language, Literature and National Identity, 1290-1340*. Clarendon Press, 1997.
- Wallace, David. *Chaucerian Polity: Absolutist Lineages and Associational Forms in England and Italy*. Stanford Univ. Press, 1997.
- Weeb, Diana. *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in Medieval Europe*. Tauris Academic Studies, 1997.
- Weever, Jacqueline ed. *Chaucer Name Dictionary*. Garland, 1996.
- Wehlau, Ruth. *The Riddle of Creation: Metaphor Structures in Old English Poetry*. Studies in the Humanities: Literature-Politics Society. Vol. 24. Peter Lang, 1997.
- Williams Ann. *The English and the Norman Conquest*. Boydell & Brewer, 1997.
- Woolf, Rosemary. *The English Religious Lyric in the Middle Ages*. OUP/Sandpiper Books. repr. 1997.
- Wright, Laura. *Sources of London English: Medieval Thames Vocabulary*. Clarendon Press. 1996.
- Young, Allan. *Robert the Bruce's Rivals, the Comyns: 1213-1314*. Tuckwell Press, 1997.

Antonio Bravo
University of Oviedo

* † *

Notice:

The 13th SELIM Conference will be held at
the University of Jaén: 9 — 11 October 2000.

*Explicit hoc totum
pro Xpto da mihi potum*

* † *