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REVIEWS & NOTICES

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ARTICLES

WAS THE *PEARL* POET IN AQUITAINE WITH CHAUCER? A NOTE ON *FADE*, L.149 OF *SIR GAWAIN AND THE GREEN KNIGHT*

No one really knows when, by whom, or for whom any one of the poems uniquely preserved in BL, Cotton Nero A.x were written—or whether they were all written by the same person. One thing we do know of the Pearl Poet, however, is that his dialect was fairly close to that of the manuscript's scribe, whose dialect was spoken on the craggy borders of Cheshire. A result of these facts is that likely author/patron suspects lurk in many footnotes of the 1997 *Companion to the Gawain Poet*, where scholars deplore the namelessness, or try to puzzle out the name, of the presumed single author—dating his poems, identifying his patrons, and explaining the sociopolitical meaning of it all.[1]

One persuasive 1986 essay, by Edward Wilson, makes a strong case that a Stanley family were patrons of the Gawain-poet, allowing a date for his work in the last decade of the fourteenth or first decade of the fifteenth century.[2] Wilson's essay is an exemplary piece of medieval scholarship—thorough yet brief, precisely documented, bold but not reckless. Yet even this essay considers only the Stanley family's residence and activities in Staffordshire and Cheshire, without noting participation by its members in soldiering and administration in France, which has seemingly been irrelevant to a poem whose language, to a modern audience wearing London spectacles, marks it as "English regional" or, at best, "English national." Our tacit 20th-century assumption seems to have been: if he talked like that, he must never have been to London and learned standard English—and

[1] Andrew, Malcolm "Theories of Authorship," and Bennett, Michael "The Historical Background,"

[2] "*Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* and the Stanley Family of Stanley, Storeton, and Hooton"

Carter Revard, *Selim* 11 (2001-2002): 5—26

furthermore, like Chaucer's Prioress, his French was no doubt provincial and insular, though one might grant him a knowledge of priestly Latin.

Lately, indeed, yoicks and tallyhos have been floating up from scholars flogging hobbyhorses well away from the crags and woods of Olde Gawain Country, crashing through underbrush around castles of dukes, courts of princes, and the cloisters of Westminster. John Bowers, for instance, sets the *Pearl* in the court and perhaps the crown of Richard II during the 1390s; Frank Grady links the poet of *St. Erkenwald* not only to London—as did, of course, the poet—but to Westminster Abbey, and both Grady and Bowers would tie to his tail the clanking political struggles of the 1390s. Others suggest that the poet was the clever pet of Henry of Grosmont, first Duke of Lancaster, or his son-in-law John of Gaunt, or the Despensers of Tewkesbury, or Roger Mortimer, fourth Earl of March and grandson of Prince Lionel; and they have proposed that the poet came from such families of that region as the Mascys (Masseys), Cottons, Stanleys, Cradocks, Swettenhams, or Newtons among others.[3]

Some six years ago, however, one lonely bugle rang out from the Pas de Roland, proposing that the poet, though he hailed from the NW Midlands, did not forever abide in his home region or in London. In two 1996 pieces in *Notes And Queries*, Andrew Breeze, of the University of Navarre in Pamplona, showed that the Pearl Poet was familiar enough with certain "French" words, in forms and senses specific to dialects of southwestern

[3] John M. Bowers, *The Politics of Pearl: Court Poetry in the Age of Richard II* (2001); Frank Grady, "*St. Erkenwald* and the Merciless Parliament," (2000). Against royal patronage or residence in London, Thorlac Turville-Petre argues that in *Pearl* the poet "de-regionalizes" and in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* emphasizes ubiquity of knightly values and skills over "local" aspects ("The Pearl Poet in his 'Fayre Regioun,'" (1997). Scholars proposing links to a Mascy family of the Cheshire/Staffordshire area include V. J. Scattergood, who documents manuscript ownership and perhaps copying by a John Mascy: "'*Iste liber constat Johanni Mascy*': Dublin, Trinity College, MS. 155 (2001); Scattergood cannot determine whether this John Mascy was of the Puddington, Tatton, or Cotton Mascys. Ann R. Meyer argues that the poet's patrons were the Despensers of Tewkesbury, Gloucestershire—even though their family base was in the Southwest, they were feudal lords of Macclesfield in Cheshire—and suggests (2001: 420) that the Pearl Poet, Geoffrey Chaucer, Jean Froissart, and Guillaume de Machaut met in Paris in April 1368, traveling from England to Milan for the wedding of Prince Lionel to Violante Visconti. For more proposed patrons, see below.

France, that he may well have lived there for some time: *torres* "towering clouds" (*Pearl* 875, *Cleanness* 951), *enbaned* "machicolated" (S*GGK* 790), and *tolouse* "Toulouse" (S*GGK* 78, *Cleanness* 1108). Such familiarity would imply that the poet, though he was a Cheshire man, in Breeze's words "actually lived in south-west France with the English community at Bordeaux or Bayonne." Breeze subsequently (in 1998) named the poet as someone from the same family that Edward Wilson had proposed as the poet's patrons: Sir John Stanley, K.G., who had supported Richard, but turned and became an important supporter of Henry IV and Henry V, until his death in 1414.[4] This proposal certainly put the Cheshire cat among the pigeons, not to mention the vineyards of Aquitaine and even, as mentioned, the Pas de Roland. Could the Pearl Poet, then, have dwelt in Aquitaine, long enough to pick up some terms from there—and, perhaps more important, to drop them casually into his poems as if his readers could be expected to "get" them easily and naturally, with no need for an Occitanian Dictionary?

The first thing to say in trying to answer those questions is that, as Michael Bennett notes, many soldier-administrators, from the 1320s into the fifteenth century, served royal, princely, and noble masters *both* in southwestern France *and* in Cheshire (and Lancashire, Staffordshire, Derbyshire, Shropshire and elsewhere in the Northwest Midlands). Bennett (1997), for instance, names most of the usual suspects from the lineup we have just looked at—Mascy, Cradok, Audley, and many others—as NW Midlands men who did serve in Aquitaine. There can be no doubt, therefore, that travel between Cheshire and Bordeaux or beyond would have been not only possible but completely unsurprising—for the poet as well as for his patrons. Furthermore, any poet dwelling in or more than casually connected to a courtly household—whether that of Edward III, or one of his sons Edward, John, or Lionel, or his grandson Richard—would have had to be fluent in French of some kind; and, if that poet were also a cleric either

[4]Sir John Stanley was a belted knight and astute political operator, continually involved in political and military dealings and maneuvers, whereas the poet was clearly a man expert in Biblical and theological texts and commentaries, more likely a friar, monk, or chaplain-confessor than a knight-politico. Yet Sir John Clanvowe was such a knight, but wrote a Lollard treatise and a courtly poem before going off to die on a crusading mission, so one cannot rule out knights as possible authors of the Pearl poems.

secular or monastic, as the Pearl Poet surely was, he must have been equally fluent in Latin. Common sense also suggests that a trilingual poet-cleric who served some years in a prince's *familia* in Aquitaine would have been present at festivals and diplomatic feastings and travels, in consequence would surely have conversed with and heard the poetry and songs of poets in that region; and would naturally have been in contact with secular and regular clerics of the region. The Black Prince and his cohorts, after all, often stayed in monasteries or friaries during their military expeditions, even while the soldiers carried on with looting and burning and raping.[5] And in the last decade or so, scholars have begun looking into the massive documentary evidence of the interfacings among the users of English, Anglo-Norman, and Gascon/Occitan dialects of French in Aquitaine.[6]

And the Pearl Poet, though the most brilliant, would not have been the only alliterative poet to be fluent in French, if not also in Latin. Consider, for instance, the easy brilliance with which the poet of *Wynnere and Wastoure* could tranform the Garter motto, *Hony Soyt Qui Mal Pence*, into an alliterative line of West Midlands English, *Hethyng haue the hathell that any harme thynkes*.[7] Clearly this man used English by choice, not necessity.

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[5] See *The Life and Campaigns of the Black Prince*, ed. and transl. Richard Barber; and Richard Barber, *Edward, Prince of Wales and Aquitaine*; also, for detailed financial reports on the Gascon campaigns from the Prince's receivers and administrators, Clifford J. Rogers, *The Wars of Edward III, Sources and Interpretations*.

[6] For instance, Daniel Trotter's "Some Lexical Gleanings from Anglo-French Gascony" (1998) and W. Rothwell, "Stratford Atte Bowe Re-Visited" (2001).

[7] T. Turville-Petre (1989: 44). Ad Putter (1996: 6-11) shows that the poet's mastery of Latin underlies some famous English wordplay in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*. As for his possible travels, Putter quite sensibly asks (1996: 5): "why...might not the *Gawain*-poet, like Chaucer, have traveled to Italy?" Even cloistered monks might travel: a John Coton, priest and canon of Haughmond Abbey in Shropshire, in April 1400 was made a papal chaplain (*Calendar of Papal Letters 1362-1404*, p. 310), a position that "exempted him from the regular life and from obedience to religious superiors" and was being particularly sought from and granted by the popes during the Schism as a source of desperately needed revenues, according to F. Donald Logan (1996: 51), citing Thomas Walsingham's *Gesta abbatum* of St. Albans Abbey as noting that "in 1386 a Carmelite friar, Walter Disse, was empowered by a papal bull to create fifty honorary papal chaplains to support the Lancastrian crusade in Spain," and that "White Monks, Black Monks, canons and friars of all orders, in order to free themselves from the obedience of their superiors, sent money to Rome to gain this honour and exemption." Well before the Schism, however, in 1343-8 the Carmelite friar John Reppes, Prior of the

And as for the Pearl Poet himself, we need only read carefully his *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* and *Pearl*, as Bennett says (1997:81), to see that they

> ...reveal both a close knowledge of the aristocratic culture of the time, and a deep immersion in the worlds of chivalry and courtesy. The poet is an insider, a courtier's courtier, adding complexity and refinement to issues of faith and honour, and points of ethics and etiquette. Moreover he assumes a courtly audience....Indeed in his account of Gawain's quest he adopts, to a surprising degree, the view-point of the royal court rather than the baronial household.

1. *FADE*, L. 149

To Breeze's linguistic evidence for the Pearl Poet's special knowledge of the French of Aquitaine, we may add the word *fade* (*SGGK* 149), used of the Green Knight at his first entrance into the hall at Camelot: *he ferde as freke were fade/ and oueral enker grene*.[8] This is not a new suggestion: G. V. Smithers long ago proposed that *fade* must derive from a Romance word *fadus*, *fada* "supernatural being of male (female) sex," but his suggestion was bluntly dismissed by Kenneth Sisam, who reaffirmed his 1927 support of Henry Bradley's account of *fade* in the *OED*; and Smithers' suggestion

Carmelite Friary in London, who was both confessor and secretary to Henry of Grosmont, earl of Derby, had been made a papal chaplain with full privileges, and was an important diplomatic liaison with the Pope during peace negotiations in the 1340s; as papal chaplain he was specially licensed to hear confessions and preach anywhere in England, to lodge at any Carmelite house in England, and to keep for life, with his fellow and servant his chamber in the London Carmelite friary (*Calendar of Papal Letters 1342-62*, pp. 4, 6, 8, 10, 11, 13, 29, 32-3, 36, 38, 113, 168). Just before the Schism, in 1365 and 1366, the "Green Squire" from Cheshire, Simon Newton (see J. R. L. Highfield, *Medium Ævum* 22, 1953, pp. 18-23) successfully petitioned the Pope to make his brother Richard and his kinsman Walter Podmore, prior of Stone in Lichfield Diocese, honorary papal chaplains; while in April 1366 Sir John Chandos, titled "ambassador of the Prince of Aquitaine and Wales" and "Viscount of St. Sauveur and Constable of Aquitaine," successfully petitioned the Pope that his confessor John Lyons, O.P. (diocese of Bath), who had lately been made a papal chaplain, be granted the privileges and immunities of that office, "seeing that he has worked on the treaty of peace" (*Calendar of Papal Petitions 1342-1419*, pp. 505, 507, 510, 522, 524, 534).

[8]Vantuono (1999:12)

was likewise rejected by the *MED*,[9] although it has recently been adopted by William Vantuono in his revised edition of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*—in his notes to lines 149-50, he translates *he ferde as freke were fade* as "he acted like an elvish knight."[10]

Sisam in 1927 (p. 60) had pointed out that a word of the same form, *fade*, "is well attested; it is found in contemporary Northern poems, often in alliteration; it is usually applied to warriors; and it rimes with *hade* (*e.g.*, thrice in "Sir Perceval"), which is the rime-word in 'Gawain'." However, the *OED* (second edition) in its entry for **†fade,** *a*[1] says, "Etymology unknown; the senses assigned are somewhat uncertain; and perh. the examples do not all contain the same word." Its illustrative quotations from *Cursor Mundi* and the ME romances *Sir Perceval of Galles* and *Sir Tristrem* (the same passages cited by the *MED*) must therefore be viewed with this cautionary note in mind: etymology admittedly uncertain, and some cited occurrences might involve different words taking the same form. This means, ineluctably, that the *fade* of *SGGK* 149 need not be the *fade(s)* of *Cursor Mundi*, *Sir Perceval of Galles*, and *Sir Tristrem*. So much, then, for Sisam's first objection to a French derivation of *fade*.

As for his second objection, that the only evidence cited by Smithers for a French-derived *fade* was from an early thirteenth-century Latin text,

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9 G. V. Smithers, *Notes and Queries* 195 (1950), pp. 134-36; Kenneth Sisam, *Notes and Queries* 195, p. 239; and see K. Sisam, "'Fade' in *Gawain*, Line 149," in *Times Literary Supplement*, January 27, 1927 p. 60, and *TLS*, March 17, 1927, pp. 193-4. Smithers packs into his brief note extremely interesting testimony by Gervase of Tilbury (in his *Otia Imperialia*) of a Catalan poet at the English court in late 12th and early 13th centuries, whose "magical" dancing horse is referred to by Gervase as *fadus*—which, as Smithers' careful philological analysis shows, most likely is a Latin calque on a dialectal French form. The second edition of the *OED* cautiously notes of *fade* that its etymology is unknown, while the *MED* suggests that *fade* is an adjective formed on the OE noun *fa*, "foe"—a derivation that surely presents difficulty both in sense and form, whereas (at least for *SGGK* 149) derivation from Occitan *fado/a* "supernatural being, fay" makes full and perfect sense both formally and semantically. The question that must then be answered, however, is how an Occitan word could plausibly have got into an English poem transcribed in a Cheshire dialect. The answer proposed here is that poet, patrons and early audience lived for some years in Aquitaine.

10 Vantuono, *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, p. 161. He notes that other editors, except for Cawley, follow Sisam (and *OED/MED*) and translate *fade* as "bold" or "doughty."

Gervase of Tilbury's *Otia Imperialia*—which Sisam thought unlikely to have been read by the poet—lexicographers since 1950 have supplied abundant evidence that *fada*, *fado* were in common literary use, in French and Spanish lyrics and gests and romances of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and indeed are still used in modern times.[11] The Spanish forms would be *hada, hado*, so behind the Pearl Poet's *fade* (just as Smithers proposed) would be Occitan or Catalan *fada, fado*. Louis Alibert has the following entry:

> fada, *f.* Fée [regionally in Foix, Agenais, Narbonne]; nymphe; sorcière; magicienne; femme rusée; femme qui charme. Derivative: fadar, féer; enchanter; ensorceler; jeter un sort. fadarèla, fée.[12]

As for the Catalan version, Pompeu Fabra defines fada as *Esser fantàstic que es representa sota la figura d'una doña dotada d'un poder sobrenatural*; his exemplary phrase *Treballar com una fada* (= "amb una habilitat meravellosa") looks parallel to the Gawain poet's *he ferde as freke were fade*.[13] And as for "standard" Spanish, the *Diccionario Illustrado de la Lengua Española* entry for hada (de fada) says it is a "fantastic being in the form of a woman to whom are attributed magical powers and the gift of divination," and says of its literary use:

> Las hadas desempeñan papel muy importante en las leyendas de la Edad Media, época en que se empieza a hablar de ellas. Las más notables fueron Melusina, Morgana, Viviana, la Dama Bianca, etc. Tienen su origen en Oriente; los persas las transmitieron a los árabes y éstos a los españoles.[14]

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[11] Karl Reichl, for instance, in 1997 cited for ME lyrics a number of Continental analogues, including Portuguese *cantigas de amigo*; and in discussing the ME *Maiden in the mor lay,* Reichl quotes as analogous a Portuguese popular ballad, *A Encantada* ("The Enchanted Maiden"). In this piece, collected in many widespread variants in the nineteenth century, a maiden is encountered in the wilderness by a knight, and when he asks what she is doing there, she replies (1997: 52): *Sete fadas me fadaram/ No ventre d'uma mae minha* ("Seven witches have bewitched me/ In my mother's womb"). *Fada*, which Reichl translates here as "witch," is a word for "enchantress, fay."

[12] *Dictionnaire Occitan-Français* (1965).

[13] *Diccionari General de la Llengua Catalana* (rev. Josep Miracle).

[14] *Enciclopedia Universal Sopena*, Tomo Cuarto, 1963.

Joan Corominas & José Pascual, *Diccionario Crítico Etimológico Castellano e Hispánico*, vol. *G-MA,* s.v. hado, fado, note that this corresponds in Asturias to the vernacular *fau* in phrases referring to good or evil fortune experienced by a family, and cite occurrence in the *Alexandreis* and elsewhere, and with Gallician form *fada* (*suerte, destino*: 'por boa ou por mala *fada'*). They comment:

> En los Libros de Caballerías se aplicó hada a un ser femenino sobrenatural que intervenía de varias maneras en la vida de los hombres, y en este sentido permaneció el vocablo en la literatura maravillosa e infantil de hoy en día. Para más ejs. del sentido etimológico, vid. el derivado *ENFADAR*. En Portugal fado se ha aplicado a un tipo de canción popular, que comentaba líricamente el destino de las personas.

2. A CHESHIRE POET—IN AQUITAINE?

If we accept that *SGGK* 149 *fade* is an Anglicized form of Occitan *fado/fada*, whose reference to an enchanted or supernatural being the poet would expect his audience to understand, such ready understanding would imply familiarity of both poet AND audience with the literature of that region of southwest France—a possibility that must seem very unlikely to scholars who have always located the poet in England. Yet Aquitaine is where the Black Prince and his large court lived, ruled and administered, tourneyed and conducted warfare, from 1362 until 1369, and where he had campaigned from 1355 onward; it is also where John of Gaunt briefly (1370-71) succeeded the Black Prince as governor, and acquired his second wife Constance of Castile and with her a claim to be King of Castile and León.[15] It is entirely possible that the Pearl Poet was a servitor of the Black Prince, or his brother John of Gaunt, or of Gaunt's father-in-law—another English noble with long-term interests and frequent presence in that region—Henry of Grosmont, Duke of Lancaster. The case for Henry of Grosmont has

[15]See Anthony Goodman, *John of Gaunt* (1992), esp. chapter 7, "Gaunt and Iberian Affairs." The most detailed account of Gaunt's involvement with Aquitaine, Spain, and Portugal is P. E. Russell, *The English Intervention in Spain and Portugal in the Time of Edward III and Richard II* (1955); for Gaunt's 1370-71 lieutenancy of Aquitaine, marriage to Constance of Castile in 1371, and beginning of close involvement with Spanish and Portuguse affairs, see Russell, pp. 165-9.

recently been urged again by W. G. Cooke and D'A.J.D. Boulton; and still more lately, Leo Carruthers has made a complex argument for Roger Mortimer, fourth earl of March and grandson of Prince Lionel—yet every argument for patronage by Henry of Lancaster, or John of Gaunt, or Edmund Mortimer, would fit the Black Prince just as well.[16]

Is there, however, any evidence linking the Black Prince to alliterative poetry, and can we name any of his servitors who produced such poetry? We might, for the beginning of an answer to these questions, look at a certain priest named Henry Cotton, who in a petition to King Richard II for himself and several other men, made from the dialectal heart of the Gawain country at Middlewich in Cheshire, tells of their having served the Prince from youth over many years, in France, Aquitaine, and Spain, and asks that he and the other men be compensated for the service—for which the Prince had not paid them when he died—by granting them the franchise of Middlewich, where they were then dwelling. The petition was at first granted, then withdrawn—because, as the King said, the people of Middlewich objected, and other grants to the men were made instead.[17] It is

[16] W. G. Cooke and D'Arcy J. D. Boulton, "*Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*: a poem for Henry of Grosmont?" (1999); Leo Carruthers, "The Duke of Clarence and the Earls of March: Garter Knights and *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*" (2001). See also, as noted above, Richard Barber (1978: 110-237) and Clifford J. Rogers (1999).

[17] London, Public Record Office, *36th Annual Deputy Keeper's Report, Appendix 2.1* pp. 60, 128, 461: entries on the Welsh Recognizance Rolls of Chester, including (p. 461) a grant in October 1367 by the Prince to Thomas Swettenham of Middlewich, Richard Brothersone, and others (not including Henry Cotton) of the franchise of Middlewich, for 3 years; and, pp. 60-61, an undated petition to the King (date uncertain, but 1377-1387) by a group of men including Cotton and Robert Brothersone, but not Swettenham, requesting the franchise of Middlewich for long service to the Prince; on July 26, 1387 the franchise is granted, then on September 11 it is revoked as prejudicial to the town's franchise of liberties; but in 1397 (September 29) Robert Brothersone—one of those who had asked for Middlewich—is granted livery of the Crown, with 6d. daily for life. Perhaps Henry Cotton was retained to petition for the former retainers, as being closely connected (see note 22 below) to the family (and heirs) of Sir John Delves, a member of the Black Prince's Council from 1348 to his death in 1369. The Cotton/Swettenham link is intriguing, since Michael Bennett—as reported by Bowers in *The Politics of Pearl* (p. 82, note 26)—has stated that "if *Pearl* can be connected with the court in the mid-1390s, the field of possible patrons can be narrowed considerably: Sir John Stanley, Matthew Swettenham, John Macclesfield, and Sir Richard Cradok." Swettenham is 3 miles east of Holmes Chapel—"Green Chapel" country. Was Henry Cotton a Swettenham scribe? For Gascon service of the Swettenhams: *BPR*

worth mention here that in 1377, Joan, widow of the Black Prince, was granted by their son King Richard the lordship of Macclesfield, the town of Middlewich, and the manor of Frodsham.[18]

But why should we think of Henry Cotton, a lawyer as well as priest, as in any way to be connected with the poems of the *Pearl* manuscript? For one thing, Henry Cotton was a close associate of Sir John Delves (d. 1369), the sometime Deputy Justiciar of North Wales and of Cheshire, and Governor of the Black Prince's Council, who had travelled with the Prince to Aquitaine—and association with Delves forges an interesting literary link, for the name of John Delves appears on a legal roll containing a satiric alliterative lyric originally composed in a Northern dialect, transmitted via the West Midlands, and apparently copied onto its roll, between 1349 and 1369, in Oxford, as I have shown in a paper in *Studies in the Age of Chaucer*.[19] Cotton survived Delves and the Prince, living to do legal work

3 (London, HMSO 1932), pp. 235, 254, 299, 386, 409, 449; for grant to John Cotoun of office of parker of Pecforton, p. 386.

18 London, PRO, *28th Annual Deputy Keeper's Report, Appendix 6*, p. 70. Could the Pearl Poet, or the scribe who copied his poems in a dialect used in or near the Middlewich and Macclesfield area, have been patronized by Joan of Kent as well as by her husband? To investigate this matter, one should examine the retinues of the Black Prince and Princess Joan, with special attention to their clerical retainers—and, of course, the retinues of such other possible patrons as Henry of Grosmont, John of Gaunt, Lionel of Antwerp, and others. Michael Bennett discusses these in considerable depth. One might look, further, at clerics papally provided to benefices at the request of noble patrons, as recorded in the Calendars of Papal Petitions and Papal Letters; these clerics could be traced further (in Aquitaine; and in Navarre and Spain) in secular and regular clerical records of such patronage requests and grants. Thereafter, cursive hands on relevant English documents could be compared with the hand(s) of the *Pearl* manuscript—for even though its scribe is surely not the poet, to identify the scribe's hand in dated documents might let us trace his manuscript's provenance and patronage. Admittedly, such an effort would take several years, and might not produce definitive results.

19 "The *Papelard Priest* and the Black Prince's Men: Audiences of an Alliterative Poem, c. 1350-1370" (2001). As Barber notes (1978: 184), Delves, a Staffordshire/Cheshire lawyer and administrator, was with the Prince in Angoulême in early March 1365 when the Prince's eldest son Edward (who died young) was born, and when "to celebrate the churching of the princess, the prince held a great tournament on 27 April." Delves carried this news back to Edward III in England, news so pleasing that the King granted Delves an annuity of forty pounds for bringing it. For the Gascon trip by Delves, see *Register of Edward, the Black Prince* (London, HMSO, 1930-33), vol. 4, pp. 465, 540, 543; for the royal annuity, *Calendar of Patent Rolls 1364-7*, p. 180.

in the 1390s for Delves' heirs and the circle of Cheshire administrators who had been associates of Delves in serving the Prince in Cheshire and Aquitaine. Further, it is well known that the name *Cotton* recurs in discussions of the manuscript and its poems: for instance, Clifford Peterson, in 1977, noted that between lines 1544 and 1545, in the manuscript of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, "cropping has left the last four letters of a longer word, written in a different hand than that of the poetic text," the four letters being *O-T-O-N*. Observing that line 1544 reads, *as I am, other euer schal, in erde ther I leue*, Peterson suggests that the cropped word names the place where the poet lived—and, since he wants to identify the poet as a certain John Massey of Cotton, he deduces that the cropped word was originally *Coton*.[20] Presumably it could as well refer to the lawyer/priest Henry Cotton, as to John Mascy of Cotton.

There is, furthermore, evidence that there were practicing poets in the military circle around the Black Prince. Not only did the Chandos Herald, whose *Life of the Black Prince* is well known, serve Sir John Chandos (a key knight for the Prince in all his French campaigns),[21] but at least one other

[20] Clifford Peterson, "Hoccleve, the Old Hall Manuscript, Cotton Nero A.x., and the *Pearl*-Poet" (1977: 54-5) and see Scattergood, "'*Iste liber constat Johanni Mascy*': Dublin, Trinity College, MS. 155". According to George Ormerod, *The History of the County Palatine and City of Chester*, Volume II, p. 404-5, Sir George Cotton (an Esquire of the Body for Henry VIII) in 1544 was granted the manor and chapel of Poulton, which before the Dissolution had belonged to Dieulacres Abbey, and also was granted Combermere, including Dodcote, the parish of Childs Ercall in Salop; Cliffe, in Drayton; Hales, in Drayton; Erdly Grange, in Staffordshire; Winchull Grange, in Cheshire; Newton Grange, in Ashburne; Cotes Grange, or Cote field, in Hartynton, in Derbyshire. (I thank, for this reference, Tanya Joyce.) In his account of the Gawain-Poet's "Landscape and Geography," Ralph Elliott notes that the Cistercian abbey of Dieulacres "was originally founded at Poulton (its "holy head"), near Aldford, the...ancient fording place on the Dee a few miles upstream from Chester," and that in the fourteenth century not only were the monks "maintaining regular contact with their possessions in Chester and across the Dee, presumably following much the same route as Gawain's likely course" (sc., in the poem, from Camelot to Bertilak's Castle and the nearby Green Chapel), but they also had "a grange in the forest about five miles north of the abbey, at a place called Swythamley Park,...where the earls of Chester [*e.g.*,the Black Prince and later his son Richard II] owned a hunting lodge on an eminence recorded as Knight's Low....*just two miles from Ludchurch*" [which Elliott would identify as the site of the Green Chapel]. (Quoted here from Elliott 1997: 117)

[21] *Life of the Black Prince by the Herald of Sir John Chandos*, ed. Mildred Pope and Eleanor Lodge (1910; 1974). J. J. N. Palmer, "Froissart et le héraut Chandos" (1982: 271ff), argues that the poem was written c. 1385 to draw support for Gaunt's

poet of some note served the Black Prince and John of Gaunt in Spain and France between 1356 and 1370, as that poet himself says: Walter of Peterborough, a Cistercian of Revesby in Lincolnshire—a poet of some fame who "wrote for both Edward the Black Prince and John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster; he may have been John of Gaunt's confessor."[22] Walter

efforts at that time to claim the crown of Spain; see, further, *The Life and Campaigns of the Black Prince*, ed. and transl. Richard Barber (1986); and Richard Barber, *Edward, Prince of Wales and Aquitaine* (1978). Over a decade ago, Thorlac Turville-Petre plausibly suggested that the earliest surviving long poem of the "Alliterative Revival," *Wynnere and Wastoure*, was composed by a poet who was "part of the administration at Chester Castle dealing with the affairs of the Black Prince" (1989: 39). In two papers delivered in 1986 and in 1990, I have argued that the poem is directly linked to the Black Prince's 1353 and 1358 visits to his Cheshire palatinate; the evidence shows that it best fits his visit of 1358. *Wynnere and Wastoure*, after all, begins with a reference to the founding of England by Brutus, moves on to a vivid portrayal of (probably) Edward III and the Black Prince in a pavilion on the crest of a cliff, decorated with representations of the Order of the Garter—a description climaxing with an alliterative translation of the Garter Motto—and ends with the King proclaiming his intent not merely to do what in 1359-60 he actually attempted, i.e. conquer France and be crowned in Paris, but go on to Cologne (taking over the Holy Roman Empire?), and perhaps as Arthur almost did in the *Alliterative Mort Arthur* become Emperor of All Christendom. In this way the poem begins and ends in prophetic mode, echoing especially the *Six Kings* prophecy that was influential in the period when Edward III was seeking the French throne. It is a reasonable inference that such portrayal implies royal or (more likely?) princely patronage.

As for royal patronage of poets, there are apparent links between Edward III and a Yorkshire poet writing alliterative celebrations of his victories—Laurence Minot, of whom T. J. James and John Simons remark (1989: 10): "he should be seen as one amongst the increasingly large retinue of minor functionaries who thronged the later medieval courts and who decided to seek preferment through the production of laudatory poetry in a style which may have appealed to the king himself." They cite (1989: 10-11) documents suggesting that Minot was under patronage of Edward III (and of his mother Isabella and his wife Philippa), and Minot's poems deal with the military operations of Edward III in France and Scotland during the period 1333-1352. The early fifteenth century manuscript uniquely containing Minot's poems (British Library, MS. Cotton Galba E.ix, folios 52-57) includes romances in English verse (*Ywain and Gawain* and *The Seven Sages*), moral and satiric poems in English, *The Prick of Conscience*, and *The Prophecies of Merlin* as well as the *Gospel of Nicodemus*. In short, it is reasonable to think that Minot wrote alliterative verse (in Yorkshire English) under royal patronage, and the author of *Wynnere and Wastoure* (in West Midlands English) wrote under princely patronage. We should therefore not be surprised if it should turn out that the Pearl Poet, writing in a Northwest Midlands dialect, was under royal or princely patronage.

[22]Rigg 1992: 276. See below for Rigg's tripartite survey of manuscripts containing Latin poetry by such medieval writers. With the Black Prince to Gascony in 1355-6 went (as confessors?) Friars Richard de Leominster (Dominican) and Richard

accompanied the Black Prince and Gaunt on the 1367 Spanish expedition that culminated in the Battle of Najera, and wrote a narrative poem in Latin describing that expedition and battle that was printed in 1859 by Thomas Wright.[23]

In his proem to that piece, Walter refers to a previous poem of his which he called a *Theotecon*, in praise of the Virgin Mary, a poem of 5,000 lines that he claimed to have written about the Black Prince's victory at Poitiers in 1356. In his epilogue to the 1367 poem on the Battle of Najera (written at the command of his abbot), Walter complains to John of Marthon of not being properly rewarded for his poetry, and says perhaps he cast his Pearl before swine: *Sed margarita numquam fuit ulla cupita,/ Porco plus placita stercora dentur ita*.[24] We must here note that Walter says he sent his poems

Savage (Augustinian): *Black Prince's Register* vol. 4, pp. 167, 205, 228, 239, 255, 283, 295, 352, 402. The name Savage (of a family from "Gawain country"?) is given prominence in *SGGK* (lines 550-53) in a reference to Sir Doddinal le Savage, alongside the names of Lionel and the Duke of Clarence (see note 34 below). The Augustinian friar Richard Savage was dead by 1358, but the Prince kept in touch with Friar Richard Leominster, giving him (p. 352) a tun of vermail wine in June 1360 for his Oxford commencement in divinity. For Gaunt, see Goodman (1992), Russell (1995) and Walker (1990).

[23]Wright (1859: 97-122). The Chandos Herald, of course, devoted a great deal of his *Life of the Black Prince* to the Prince's role and actions in the Spanish expedition and the battle of Najera: see Barber (1986: 106-34).

[24] Wright (1859: 122). Rigg describes and discusses contents of the two Bodleian Library manuscripts including Walter's poems (MSS. Rawlinson B.214 and Digby 166) in his "Medieval Latin Poetic Anthologies (III)," *Mediæval Studies 41* (1979); Rigg's earlier pieces on such anthologies are found in *Mediæval Studies* vol. 39 (1977) and vol. 40 (1978). He suggests that Digby 166 may have been written and put together in fourteenth century Oxford, and notes that Rawlinson B.214 was compiled and (mostly) copied by John Wilde (who was also scribe/compiler of a musical manuscript, BL MS Lansdowne 763), at the Augustinian Abbey of the Holy Cross in Waltham, Essex, some time after 1469. Both manuscripts include not only Goliardic satire, but historical material including political propaganda, and their contents overlap heavily with those of BL MSS Cotton Titus A.xx and Cotton Vespasian E.xii, and Bodleian MSS. Bodley 603 and Bodley 851—much of whose assemblage of poetic texts, Rigg suggests (*MS* vol. 49, pp. 503-5), may have taken place in Oxford. Wilde's post-1469 anthology (Rawlinson B.214), Rigg says (1977: 329), was compiled "with a clear plan in mind," pointing out that its first two texts are "Trojan"—the St. Albans chronicler Thomas Walsingham's *Dites ditatus* and Simon Chèvre D'or's *Ylias*—and that these "are clearly prolegomena to...recapitulations [by fifteenth-century English writers] of British history (which begins with Brutus), and hence to the whole series of poems on Edward Third's wars and Henry V." In other words, this monk-anthologist of Waltham Abbey shaped a book in which the history of England, beginning with Brutus, led directly

to his good friend John de Marthon, treasurer of the Duke of Lancaster: could this imply that John was a connoisseur of poetry or even himself a poet, and thus more likely to recommend Walter's Pearl as *plesaunt to princes paye*—Prince John of Gaunt, that is? More intriguing, could the monk-poet's highly-placed friend *John de Marthon* be the *John de Marton*, of the diocese of York, who in 1345 petitioned the pope for a benefice in the gift of the prior and chapter of Durham, and for whom in 1355 Henry of Grosmont, Duke of Lancaster, petitioned the Pope to provide a benefice in the gift of the abbot and convent of St. Mary's, York—referring to him as *John de Marton, S.C.L., of the diocese of York*?[25] If these references were to the same man, we could infer that he was a cleric with advanced legal training who in 1345 was seeking a benefice, who by 1355 had found service with Henry, Duke of Lancaster for which Henry was requesting that he be provided with a benefice, and who at some time after 1355 moved on to serve as treasurer for Henry's son-in-law and successor as Duke of Lancaster, John of Gaunt—whether he moved around the time of the Battle of Poitiers (1356), which Walter of Peterborough, Cistercian monk of Revesby, celebrated in his Latin *Theotecon*; or in 1361 when Gaunt married Henry's daughter Blanche; or shortly before 1366-7, when Gaunt and the Black Prince were conducting the Spanish campaign and fighting the Battle of Najera, which Walter celebrated in another Latin poem.

Most intriguing of all is the surname of this *John of Marthon*. There is a vill of Marton in the heart of the Gawain country as Ralph Elliott has mapped it, perhaps ten miles east of Middlewich, six miles southwest of Macclesfield, nine or ten miles west of Wildboarclough and eight or so from Ludchurch, which Elliott would identify with the Green Chapel where

into the gests of English kings and princes, specifically Edward I, Edward III and his sons Edward, John, and Lionel, and then onward to Henry IV and Henry V. We may well recall at this point that *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* sets its account of King Arthur's court at its height, and of a quest of the great Sir Gawain, knight of the Round Table, between full-circle references to the Trojan War and Brutus's founding of Britain.

25 *Calendar of Papal Registers, Petitions I, 1342-1419* (ed. W. H. Bliss 1896: 96, 275). See Goodman (1992: 228-9). Simon Walker (1990: 285) lists John Marthon as Gaunt's treasurer on the strength of the reference to him by Walter of Peterborough, but says the date of his service is "unknown."

Gawain nearly lost his head.[26] On dialectal grounds the English of John de Marton, IF his surname truly marked him as from that vill,[27] would far better match that of the Pearl Poet than would the dialect of Walter of Peterborough—and yet, in his Proem to the Battle of Najera, Walter's Latin verses alliterate heavily, and a gloss on his *Theotecon* carefully notes that it has exactly 5,000 lines—reminding us of the careful line-counting evident in the Pearl poet's keeping his stanza-count to precisely 101 stanzas in both *Pearl* and *SGGK* (1212 lines for *Pearl*, 2525 plus 5 for *SGGK*).[28] We see, in Walter of Peterborough, a monk who wrote long Latin poems for both the Black Prince and John of Gaunt, who was perhaps Gaunt's confessor, who was much with them in France and Spain: at Poitiers in 1356, at Najera in 1367. And we apparently see in the man to whom Walter sent his poems, John de Marthon, a York Diocese cleric, servitor in 1355 of Henry of Grosmont, Duke of Lancaster, and by 1366-7 (apparently) treasurer in John of Gaunt's household. *What is documented for this monk-poet and his ducal-servitor friend was surely possible for the Pearl Poet.*

But Walter of Peterborough is not the only poet of note who was in Aquitaine and Navarre in the 1360s: Geoffrey Chaucer was there, quite possibly in the service of the Black Prince,[29] though more likely still serving

[26] See the maps provided by Ralph Elliott; on the Ordnance Survey Road Map #6, *Wales/Cymru & West Midlands,* Marton can be located in the *4Y* region, in a triangle with apices at Macclesfield, Congleton, and Holmes Chapel.

[27] There are certainly other places named Marton, and other clerics named John de Marton at the time; for instance, there was a priory of Marton in Yorkshire (East Riding); and there is a Long Marton in Cumberland, where a John de Marton was ordained acolyte in 1341 and subdeacon, deacon, and priest in 1342, while a Frater John de Marton was ordained priest in 1336 (*Register of John Kirkby, Bishop of Carlisle 1332-1352*, ed. R. L. Storey (1993, 1995). The *Register of Gilbert Welton, Bishop of Carlisle 1353-62* (ed. R. L. Storey 1999) shows a John de Marton, chaplain, as longtime resident and functionary in the parish of Long Marton in Cumberland—serving as proctor to instal a new rector in 1358, receiving gifts willed to him by deceased rectors in 1358, 1360 and 1362 (pp. 215-16, 336, 501). He of course could not have served John of Gaunt; the point is that both place-name and personal name are common enough.

[28] See Edward Condren, *The Numerical Universe of the Gawain-Pearl Poet* (2002).

[29] After the present paper was at the journal, I dicscovered the excellent essay by Professor Eugenio M. Olivares Merino that makes a very persuasive case for Geoffrey Chaucer's knowing of the Spanish language, and discusses his presence in Spain and France at the times when the *Pearl* Poet was, I believe, there; see "Juan Ruiz's Influence on Chaucer Revisited: a Survey" (2004). There is obviously an important area of research for biographical and literary study opened by the

Prince Lionel, and soon to be serving their brother prince, John of Gaunt. A document in the archives of Navarre records that Chaucer had a safe-conduct for the period February 22 to May 24, 1366 to allow him and three companions to travel through Navarre, and as Derek Brewer has suggested, it seems likely that Chaucer "was on some sort of official business," and quite possible that he had moved over from the service of Prince Lionel when his wife, the Countess of Ulster, died in 1363, to serve in the Black Prince's court in Aquitaine.[30] It is, therefore, possible that Chaucer and the Pearl Poet were at the same time serving the Black Prince in Aquitaine,[31]

study of Professor Olivares Merino, and I hope my suggestions in the present paper may be seen as added evidence for the influence of French and Spnish language and literature on both Chaucer and the *Pearl* Poet.

[30] Suggested in 1978 by Derek Brewer, *Chaucer and his World* (1992: 68-9); inferred also by Derek Pearsall, *The Life of Geoffrey Chaucer* (1992: 51-55 and note 7, p. 319); and see Donald Howard, *Chaucer, His Life, His Works, His World* (1987: 113-22). Discussing Chaucer's travels Scott D. Westrem (2000: 196-197) says: "Chaucer's whereabouts are uncertain between late 1360 and 20 June 1367, when he is recorded as being a *valettus* to the king: he may have accompanied Lionel to Ireland in September 1361, joined part of the royal household in Aquitaine or remained in England. In all likelihood he spent time in Prince Edward's entourage in Aquitaine, for in the spring of 1366 he was in Spain on unstated business; the letter of safe conduct from Charles II of Navarre that Chaucer and three 'compaignons' received for the period from 22 February to Pentecost (24 May) was routinely given to pilgrims, and...he may have been under way to Compostela or on a secret mission connected with Pedro I of Castile.... "

In *Chaucer Life-Records*, ed. Martin M. Crow and Clair C. Olson, it is pointed out (1996: 65) that the letter of safe conduct referred to by Westrem "is preserved in a chancery register known as the Cartulary of Charles II (Charles le Mauvais)," that "the French and Spanish records of the cartulary...show that about 1366 there were in Spain, especially in Navarre, many Englishmen, including the Black Prince..., as well as numerous English knights and esquires," and that documents in the cartulary for 1365-6 "refer also to safe-conducts granted by the king of Navarre to various pilgrims who were on their way to or from the shrine of St. James of Compostella." To put it facetiously, anyone wishing to do a bit of *Pearl*-diving should trawl through this cartulary's personages and trace their affiliations.

[31] Chaucer had certainly served in the household of Elizabeth, Countess of Ulster, wife of the Black Prince's brother Prince Lionel, from at least 1357, and had served under Prince Lionel in the French campaign of 1359-60 when Chaucer was captured and had to be ransomed. Lionel's troops were in the division led by the Black Prince: Brewer (1992: 46-7, 57-61); Pearsall (1992: 34-41). In 1362, Lionel had been made the first Duke of Clarence, and the poet of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* is careful to list Lionel and the Duke of Clarence among the knights at Arthur's feast on All Saints' Day as Gawain prepares to set forth on his quest for the Green Chapel (lines 550-53):

and that we need to reconsider in the most profound way our notions of how some of the literary history of England actually was being created by two of the age's greatest poets, and the roles in that creation of princes and their retinues both in England and in Aquitaine, during the period 1353-1376. It could well be that when Chaucer makes his Pilgrim Parson speak as though he knows the Alliterative Tradition very well even as he dismisses it as "rum-ram-ruf," Chaucer is paying a kind of tribute to the author of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, and when another of his characters speaks of "Gawain, with his olde courtesye," it was not only to romances in French that he was referring. Perhaps there should be a sequel to the brilliant recent account of English/Italian cultural relations offered by David Wallace (1997) in his *Chaucerian Polity*, a sequel that would consider English poets and patrons and the Matter of Aquitaine.

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Thenne the best of the burgh bowed togeder,
Aywan, and Errik, and other ful mony,
Sir Doddinal de Sauage, the Duk of Clarence,
Launcelot, and Lyonel, and Lucan the gode....

As Vantuono notes (1999: 176) in 1913 Isaac Jackson proposed that the poet was alluding here to Prince Lionel, and in 1959 D'Ardenne "also associated the title Duke of Clarence with the contemporary Lionel, who in 1368 was married to Violante Visconti, the niece of Amadeus VI, Count of Savoy, known as the Green Count." Chaucer may have attended that wedding in Milan: see Howard, *Chaucer* (1987: 118-24). Recently, Leo Carruthers has proposed (2001) that the patron for whom *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* was written was Roger Mortimer, fourth earl of March (1374-1398), son of Prince Lionel's daughter Philippa (1355-81) and therefore grandson of King Edward III. Carruthers suggests (20001: 76) that in 551-2 the poet's reference to *the duk of Clarence,/ Launcelot, and Lyonel* is "a flattering reference to the late Prince Lionel and his grandson Roger Mortimer."

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* † *

DISTORTIONS OF THE CHAUCERIAN TRADITION IN *THE ASSEMBLY OF LADIES*

The evolution of the role of the poet in late medieval literature has recently been depicted as one which moves towards a gradually new pervasive figure: that of the learned and genteel courtly poet.[1] From the fourteenth century onwards, the perception of the poetic task became associated with that of royal courtiers who, as efficient composers, turn to the poetic practice as a clear sign of personal proficiency and fitness for courtly governmental duties. It seems logical that most courtly poets at this time showed great willingness to depict themselves as devoted writers at work. On most occasions literary pieces would be shared by members of an audience who could equally boast some command of the poetic skills; therefore, the reaction to the constant challenge posed by audiences made up of courtly educated companions required these poets to exercise the art of composure and control over any anxieties that this might cause. Thus, authors resorted to all kinds of masks and rhetorical devices to show their ability to cope with the delicate personal situation writing might put them in. Composition turned into a demanding form of introspection but at the same time required these poets to sustain some theoretical coolness that could only be securely brought to the literary surface with the help of some distancing techniques.[2]

[1] Gervase Mathew has characterised the "international court culture" of the late middle ages as connected with the corresponding decline in popularity of old-fashioned minstrelsy, and with the rise of a new concept of the social role of monarchy.

[2] J. A. Burrow (1971: 39) refers to this particular attitude as representative of Ricardian literature: "It means that the poet is not, in the last resort, directly committed to his work, as we feel Dante to be. He reserves for himself, as it were, the right to say 'But that is Will (or Geoffrey) speaking, not me'. More positively, it leaves the poet free to exploit possibilities in the contemporary vernacular which he might otherwise have found it difficult, as an educated man acquainted with polite languages, to come to terms with." The same author (1982: 40) later emphasised how these attitudes derived from medieval ones rather than from modern Italian stances: "The origins of autobiographic and personal writing in this period lie nearer home, in the literary traditions of the Middle Ages. Surprisingly

Writing became a kind of self-revelation not only of poetic skills but of the writers' personal capacities for the courtly behaviour expected of those daring to share their views with that exquisite community. As Firth Green (1980: 112) says: "[...] irony, allegory, the conventions of the dream vision, and the use of *personae* all contribute to a sense of obliqueness in much of the love poetry of the late middle ages [...]. It is almost as if literary etiquette demanded that the poet should conceal his own personality behind a series of socially acceptable masks."

The sense of close surveillance and of constant judgement could not be ignored or eluded by writers, whose elegant response to the personal challenge was that of humble superiority, often achieved by anticipating their attitude before the final verdict uttered by some audience.

One of the genres that best reflects and even symbolises this challenge is debate poetry. Debate became not only a major tendency for courtly edification but also a means by which poets could in fact deviate the focus of attention from their own inner strife to that of the subject matter under discussion and, simultaneously, shrewdly hint at the implicit courtly pressure they are under, ameliorating it through just such suggestion.[3] The very nature of debate poetry requires equanimous presentation of the parts and therefore, by presenting any subject in the controversial manner, these poets precluded their own commitment to any of the causes brought to the dispute. No wonder irresolution has become almost a defining trait of this genre, reflecting not only the didactic origins of this literary trend but also its

enough, in fact, the authors of this period continue to present themselves in the old petitionary attitudes. The image of the writer becomes fuller and more intimate, but its outlines are most often unchanged."

3 John W. Conlee (1991: xiv-xv) describes the evolution of narrative frames for Latin debates: "Among the important earlier innovations was the introduction of a first-person narrator, who served as the auditor and reporter of the debate that he had overheard. This innovation, which was probably introduced during the eleventh century, was accompanied by a tendency to elaborate the framing materials used to surround the debate component of the poem. The result of these two developments was greater structural complexity and a more extensive narrative element. Yet another significant development among the later Latin poems was the introduction of the dream-vision. Used first in poems of serious didactic import such as the *Visio Fulberti*, an important Latin prototype for the vernacular Body and Soul debates, the dream-vision soon became the vehicle for goliardic whimsy in poems such as the *Goliae Dialogus in Aquam et Vinum* [...]".

undeniable parliamentary uses, where delay and indefiniteness become essential attributes of real causes brought to court.[4] Thus, debate poetry encapsulates two salient and celebrated features of courtly poets: appreciation for their ability to artfully move the strings so as to avoid personal concessions and at the same time confirmation of their total command over the unpredictable coiling of the issue under debate, thus prefiguring their role as wise counsellors for princes in the future.

A particularly relevant concern in medieval debates had been precisely the case of women. Blamires (1992) tracks the long tradition of defence of women up to Christine de Pizan's final vindication.[5] Some of Chaucer's works could be regarded from the perspective of this late-medieval zeal for debate as a training technique for mastering the art of discretion and equanimity. By entangling his poetic persona as witness in a debate the way he does, for instance, in *The Parliament of Fowls*, or by recording someone else's remarks about an ongoing debate, as in Alice of Bath's response to misogynous tenets, he makes explicit and underscores the debatable nature of the attitudes towards love and women. He epitomises the sort of author who is implicitly involved in debates dealing with women but who still refuses to give his "final word". The weight placed on the reception of his poems reflects the anxiety of the poet who is required to play the role of the calm, confident courtier, able to laugh at himself through his self-imposed worldly detachment and, thus having to deny himself any definite position in this debate.

4 See, for instance, Thomas Reed, Jr. (1990), and the parallelisms between law and literature as described by Howard Bloch (1977), where, again irresolution becomes characteristic of these activities. The training process at school did involve such dichotomous and parallel distribution of contents and the university and courtly disputations depended largely on techniques to delay the ultimate decision.

5 Among the historians, Eileen Power (1979: 19) refers to the duality in the ecclesiastical depiction of women by talking of them as some sort of two-faced Janus. Blamires (1997: 4) remarks that "it is inevitable that, within such a patriarchal culture, many medieval profeminine texts do indeed rehearse a male point of view" due, among other reasons, to the exclusive male readers these early profeminine authors would be most probably addressing. Therefore, in these early authors the very tone may decry the disavowal of the object of defence, in this case, women.

Chaucer's *Legend of Good Women*[6], for instance, is supposedly written as a penitential response for his having disparaged them in *Troilus and Criseyde*, and is handled by the poet within a recreational atmosphere which allows this penance to coexist with his predominantly ironic pose.[7] Still, the poem has been traditionally regarded as profeminine. If many current feminist critics are ready to give "Chaucer his due", it seems that fourteenth and fifteenth century readers were also willing to accept his ambiguity as part of the conventional detached pose of the author, ultimately hearing his protestations of being a defender of women as sincere. Even his place within the canonical configuration of English literature, acclaimed as founding father, met the resistance of some of his earliest followers, who questioned such exclusive paternity in this sense. Jennifer Summit points out that Gavin Douglas perceived how Chaucer took the female side and criticised him "for he was evir, wemenis frend".[8]

But Gavin Douglas was not alone in noticing Chaucer's profeminine attitude: there is another phenomenon which suggests a view of Chaucer, originally, almost as "a brother" for some sort of (ghost) female literary tradition apparently championed in *The Legend of Good Women*. That phenomenon is the transmission of the great bulk of the so-called "Chaucerian verse" of the fifteenth century. Under this label, a heterogeneous group of occasional texts, many of them anonymous and devoted mainly to love and debates in the form of allegorical dream visions and lyrics, was assembled and attributed Chaucerian authorship.[9] Among

6 It was Lydgate who in his *The Fall of Princes* states that Chaucer "wrot, at request off the queen, /A legende of parfit holynesse off Goode Women" (l. 1330-32). According to Florence Percival (1998: 1) he follows the model of the palinode: the ancient literary tradition concerned with the relative merits and demerits of women and men, first appeared in Greek literature as defence of women and love in response as reply to the slandering of women as represented firstly by Helen of Troy. Two poems likely to have influenced Chaucer's *Legend* are also considered palinodes: Book III of the *Ars amatoria* by Ovid and *Le jugement dou Roy de Navarre* by Guillaume de Machaut. Thus all of these poems would participate somehow in the debate over the "war of the sexes".

7 See, for instance, R. W. Frank, Jr., Janet M. Cowen, Elizabeth D. Harvey, R. M. Lumiansky, Elaine Tuttle Hansen, and Nicole McDonald.

8 First preface of the translation of *Aeneid* of 1513 pointed out by Jennifer Summitt (23).

9 By the early sixteenth-century, in Richard Pynson's 1526 edition of the three volume Chaucerian production, we can find Christine de Pizan's *Morale Proverbs*

them we find the late fifteenth-century *The Floure and the Leaf* and also *The Assembly of Ladies*, allegorical pieces that present a female character as narrator.[10] Both were celebrated as Chaucerian poems and their female narrator was thence taken for one of those distancing masks Chaucer would wear in order to enhance the depth of the debate and ensure his authorial dispensations.[11] Only by the late eighteenth century were these two pieces finally excluded from the Chaucerian canon.[12] Since then, scholars have determined that their divergent style points to different authorship for the poems and the main remaining question now is whether they echo a male or a female voice. Since debate about this issue has resulted in a sort of endless medieval disputation,[13] I would like at least to stress *The Assembly of Ladies*'s Chaucerian vocation as well as the intention of the author to highlight some poetic concerns as specifically female. The question of its possible female authorship has become a key issue concerning the rise of a

or Richard Ross's translation of Alain Chartier's *La Belle dame sans mercy* under the heading "The booke of fame, made by Geffray Chaucer: with Dyvers other of his Workes". About these Chaucerian attributions see J. Summitt, H. S. Bennett, Derek Pearsall, Paul Strohm, Julia Boffey and Julia Boffey & John J. Thompson.

10 It seems therefore that to the fifteenth-century editorial and reading mind it was definitely the partaking of a certain literary trend rather than the alleged identification between author and narrator in a poem that decided the lot of these anonymous pieces.

11 In fact, we might draw a line linking Chaucerian female complaint poetry to the apocryphal *The Assembly of Ladies*, as the miscellaneous collections may attest. Of the three late fifteenth-century manuscripts containing *The Assembly of Ladies*, the earliest of them, and model for Pearsall's first edition (1962), is British Library MS Addit. 34360, which happens to be preceded by Chaucer's *Pity* as well as other short complaint poems and by the *Craft of Lovers.* MS Longleat 258 includes Lydgate's *Temple of Glass* and Chaucer's *Anelida and Arcite* and *The Parlement of Foules,* as well as *La Belle Dame sans Merci*. As for the third manuscript, Trinity College Cambridge MS R.3.19, it includes *The Legend of Good Women* and *The Parlement of Foules*, as well as several lyrics by other authors. In 1532 William Thynne produced an early print of *The Assembly of Ladies,* still as part of Chaucer's collected works. The original title, *Le samble des dames*, is first rendered in English by him as part of this phenomenon of Chaucerian appropriation of other works.

12 Thus, Thomas Tyrwhitt, in his "Account of the Works of Chaucer" (1775-78), opened the way to Skeat's interpretation of both poems as written by one and the same author, a woman.

13 This issue has been debated for some years now. See W. W. Skeat, A. Barratt, J. Stephens and mainly R. Evans and L. Johnson's illuminating contribution. I have used Derek Pearsall's 1990 edition of "The Assembly of Ladies", which follows British Library MS Addit. 34360, often referred to as "A".

proto-feminist consciousness in English courtly culture.[14] The significance of embroidery in the poem as well as the distortion of some Chaucerian stances will be read as specific signs of female awareness and as a response to the courtly debate about women, to which Chaucer had contributed.

The poem, a dream vision, suggests the debate in its variant of the legendary courts of love, where, typically, bills, petitions and individual complaints of love were presented and debated in a courtly session by a judicial assembly that arbitrated the cases rigorously, on a specific day, according to the rules of love.[15] While in a garden, a lady tells the knight,

[14] Georges Duby (1998:19-57) already referred to the role of keeping alive the memory of the dead traditionally granted to women. This means that they were acknowledged as natural narrators, although they would hardly be endowed with the *auctoritas* men had always been credited with. Alexandra Barratt (1992: 7-16) mentions the three main different strategies medieval women would resort to in order to overcome these limitations; among them, anonymity would sometimes be used to guarantee the circulation of her works. Feminist criticism has focussed on these anonymous writings and tried to detect some sort of essential female style in them, only to find out no plausible proof of female authorship. However, the effort has been worthwhile, since it has fostered a different approach to these texts, thus enriching them. Regarding our text, Laurie Finke remarks (1999: 95): "Since it seems unlikely that there will ever be sufficient evidence to determine whether the authors of these two female-voiced poems were male or female, perhaps it would be more useful to stop looking *through* the sexual ambiguity in these works —trying to resolve it— and instead look *at* it. Unlike the female-voiced lyrics examined above, we might speak of the authors of *Floure and Leafe* and *Assemly of Ladies* as 'epicene writers', establishing a third term which is not a category or sex in itself, but a space of possibility that puts sexual identity into play. In these poems, the epicene is not simply the result of our own lack of information about the author's identity; rather it constitutes the characteristic poetics of these two texts. These poems present us with a conundrum of textual sexuality."

[15] French literary topics such as this one of the *cour amoureuse*, largely celebrated by fourteenth-century French and English poetry, have been defended as historical instances of the rising power of the female presence in these refined and educated courts. However, although their existence has not been totally dismissed by historians, the most specific recorded data cannot possibly refer to real ceremonies of this kind. Régine Pernoud (1995: 153) refers to them: "No se trata sino de juegos de ingenio, deleite de una sociedad letrada a la que nada apasionaba tanto como el análisis de los matices del amor, y por modo de juego se celebraban sobre casos propuestos juicios semejantes en su forma a los que se celebraban con ocasión de los juicios orales feudales de las cortes señoriales ante las cuales se fallaban los pleitos". The 1400 charter of the *cour amoureuse* attributed to Charles VI, with its exact imitation of the literary ones, and which includes the participation of important known members of French courtly life, has been revealed as chronologically incorrect. According to J. Wimsatt (1993: 279): "The conception of the court evidently was in part the fantasy of Isabelle of Bavaria and her entourage; notwithstanding, the documents witness the strong influence of the civic

who has asked the cause of her present paleness, about a dream she had. In it, she and her eight female friends are summoned by Lady Loyalty to meet at her palace and asked to take their bills and complaints to court.[16] The narrator is the first one to be visited by Perseverance, who brings Lady Loyalty's command, and she starts her journey right away, accompanied by Diligence. She is the first to reach Lady Loyalty's palace, called Pleasant Regard, and is escorted to her chamber by the porter, Countenance, who answers her questions about the way this court works. Countenance tells her about their sisterhood and the legal representatives at the place, the steward being Largesse, the marshal of the hall Bealchiere, Discrecioun being the chief purveyor, Aqueyntance the lodgings-officer, Remembrance the chamberlain, Avisenesse the secretary, Perseverance the usher, and Temperance the chancellor. Meanwhile, the narrator's eight friends arrive, and after getting properly dressed, they all witness the appearance in procession of a multitude of women heading for the main hall in order to present their bills to Lady Loyalty. With the help of Perseverance, these nine friends cross the crowded space and are able to present their petitions, only to be told later that the resolution of all the bills presented that day would be dictated some other time.[17] Thus, having departed from Pleasant Regard

puys on the literary ideas of the nobility. The numerous membership list of the *cour amoureuse* was not confined to the nobility; names from the bourgeoisie, especially from the north of France, appear on the rolls". See also D. Burnley (1998) and S. Jaeger (1999).

16 Spearing (1976: 5) described the centrality of the dreamer in dream-vision: "[...] the dream-framework inevitably brings the poet into his poem, not merely as the reteller of a story which has its origin elsewhere, but as the person who experiences the whole substance of the poem". This is precisely what happens to this dreamer: she is the first to be summoned, the first to arrive in Pleasant Regard and the only one who, among the friends, resists or ignores allegorical authority. Her questions and thoughts lead us through this dream.

17 Reed (1990: 93) recalls the frustration of supplicants in most of the causes taken to political parliamentary debate at that time: "[...] although both Lords and Commons were required to give their 'answers' to the king's points before the parliamentary session ended, virtually none of the petitions they presented would have been ruled on by the time they themselves were dismissed. Instead, committees of the king's council sifted through the various petitions (500 of them in 1305) over a period of weeks or months, answering some of the most important or difficult yet merely initiation action on the vast majority." The poem would reflect perfectly that lack of hope in a solution for love complaints, leaving thus these ladies by themselves, dispersed as they are found at the beginning of the poem, roaming about some maze justice cannot unravel and compensate for. Delay,

without any redress, the dreamer wakes up and the narration ends when the knight, who has listened with keen interest, utters his positive verdict on the dream and she gives a title to it, presenting the story now as a book. Their conversation and the poem itself end when friends call her back.

The poem presents some anomalies that account for its having been regarded, in Pearsall's words, as "lifelessly handled", betraying "a touch of the busy bureaucrat" (1966: 229). It certainly does lack the main ingredient expected in one of those amorous courts: the debate itself. The most active characters, with the exception of the narrator, happen to be eleven allegorical ladies who might stand for the different attitudes and temperaments of women aggrieved because of love, and thus, they have been judged as conventionally dull and uninteresting. As for the real characters in the story, they are individualized although they are never given proper names or any distinctive agency. However, a clear difference among them may be sensed from the very beginning. The narrator introduces them as they walk through the cross alleys of the garden labyrinth, surrounded by knights and squires, stressing that while four of them were gentle women, the other five were ladies.[18] Later on, before she starts telling the curious knight her dream, the narrator refers to her friends as they rambled through the garden labyrinth

both in justice and in this labyrinth, becomes thence the normal condition these dissatisfied ladies have grown used to.

[18] About the relevance of the maze as symbol for the possible feminist interpretation of the text see Evans and Johnson's article, which blends outstandingly Penelope Reed Doob's and Carolyn Dinshaw's interpretations of the role of the labyrinth in medieval culture. As for the difference between ladies and genteel women, such distinction was perceived mainly by the sumptuary laws, of which this poem seems to be a perfect document. According to P. Coss (p. 53) when referring to the great sumptuary act of 1363, the 'Statute Concerning Diet and Apparel': "Knights and ladies were placed in a separate social category from 'squires and all manner of gentle men (*gentils gens*) below the estate of knight'. Within these categories, however, there was to be further differentiation according to income. Knights and ladies with an income from rent and land of between 400 marks and £ 1,000 per annum could wear more or less what they wished except ermine and 'letuse' and apparel embroidered with precious stones, apart from their headdresses. Knights with less than £200 per year were forbidden to use cloths valued at more than 6 marks and to use cloth of gold, gowns furred with ermine or miniver and apparel embroidered with precious stones. This was to apply to their wives and daughters, except again that they might use precious stones in their headdresses, and to their male children."

one afternoon, reacting differently to the bends and errors the maze presented them:

> There were ladyes walkyng, as was the wone,
> Foure in nombre, as to my mynde doth falle,
> And I the fift, symplest of alle.
> Of gentil wymmen foure ther were also,
> Disportyng hem everiche after theyr guyse,
> In crosse aleys walkyng be two and two,
> And som alone after theyr fantasyes.
> Thus occupied we were in dyvers wise,
> And yit in trowth we were nat alone:
> Theyr were knyghtis and squyers many one. (A 5-14)

> To passe oure tyme in to this mase we went
> And toke oure weyes yche aftyr other entent:
> some went inward and wen they had gon oute,
> some stode amyddis and loked al about;
> and soth to sey some were ful fer behynde
> and right anon as ferforth as the best;
> others there were, so mased in theyr mynde,
> al weys were goode for hem, both est and west.
> thus went they furth and had but litel rest,
> and som theyr corage dide theym so assaile
> for verray wrath they stept over the rayle. (A 32-42)

This scene conveys wonderfully the variety of womanly responses and capacities with no sign of disdain for what might have been otherwise presented as a multiple portrait of characteristically female fickleness. Female diversity and individuality will be later confirmed in the dream when each of these women presents her particular written petition in court.

The narrator's own impressions reveal very soon that her priority is not the new landscape but mainly the ladies' garments and ornaments.[19] It is

[19] It is worth recalling C. S. Lewis's (1936: 249-50) final dismissal of the poem on these grounds: "What the writer really wants to describe is no inner drama with loyalty as its heroine, but the stir and bustle of an actual court, the whispered consultations, the putting on of clothes, and the important comings and going. She is moved, by a purely naturalistic impulse, to present the detail of everyday life; and if her poem were not hampered by being still attached —as with an umbilical

through her eyes that we first notice that the allegorical sisters are clad in luxurious attire embroidered with distinctive French mottoes. Perseverance's dress characterizes her by the motto: "Bien loialment" (very loyally), Countenance by "A moi que je voi" (To me what I see), Remembrance by "Plus ne purroy" (I couldn't do more) and Diligence by "Taunt que je puis" (As much as I can). When Perseverance pays her visit to the narrator she states clearly Lady Loyalty's command that they all wear blue dresses and that their petitions be embroidered on their sleeves: "Al youre felawes and ye must com in blewe,/ Everiche yowre matier for to sewe,/ With more, whiche I pray yow thynk upon,/ Yowre wordes on yowre slevis everichon." (A 116-19)

Of course, not only these personified characters but even the impressive cloth of state covering Lady Loyalty's throne is described as follows: "Above ther was a riche cloth of state/ Wrought with the nedil ful straungely,/ Hir worde theron, and thus it sayde triewly:/ A *Endurer*, to telle in wordis fewe,/ With grete lettres, the better for to shewe." (A 486-89). It is this particular fragment that highlights the role of embroidery: "To last". The visual quality of these threads strangely intertwined by the needle to form the capital letters gives lasting power to the piece of cloth, itself emblematic of Loyalty's nature.

The poem has been criticized for its incoherence and ambiguity, since neither from the allegorical side nor from the complaining women does the principle of psychomachia really develop. When the friends come to present their case, all of them look equally enigmatic: their mottoes are "Sanz que jamais" (Without ever giving cause), "Une sans chaungier" (One without changing), "Oncques puis lever" (I can never rise), "Entierment vostre" (Entirely yours), "C'est sans dire" (It needs no words), "En dieu" (In God is my trust), "Sejour ensure" (Rest assured) and "Bien monest" (Well advised). It is the narrator's role to explain the reasons for these mottoes, but she is so discrete in recounting these women's love mishaps that the mottoes retain their suggestive power and fascination. Reading these messages created by

cord— to the allegorical form, it would be an admirable picture of manners. [...] To read it is to learn why some critics hate allegory; for here the *significacio* is —what some suppose it to be in all allegories— a chilling and irrelevant addition to the story."

the embroidered stitches on the sleeves causes one and the same effect: namely, wonder at the enigmatic emblems and interest in their superficial and static qualities, in the face of such incomprehension. Thus the narrator seems to ignore any need for textual insight and instead goes on stressing her attraction to the magnificence of garments, themselves made, like Loyalty's, to hold their own unchangeable significance. If there is any appeal to understanding, it is through the spontaneous remembrance caused by the visual effect of those threads. Through those colours and the presence of a few French words, reminiscent of love and of grandeur, the poet appeals to any high audience the poem might address. Thus, it is the visual dimension, the outer message conveyed by the blue color as well as the individual characterization of each of the embroidered mottoes that contain and encircle the ultimate purpose of the text.

The significance of veiling is enhanced through the poem's overt tribute to Chaucer. When depicting the walls of the great hall at Pleasant Regard, the narrator recalls how the stories of Chaucer's good women and some other sad cases were carved on the shining stone. She mentions Phillis, Thesbe, Cleopatra, Melusine and Anelida, emulating Chaucer's wanderings in his dream visions as she reads the messages on the walls. However, here these carved legends happen to be covered with a veil to avoid the blinding brilliance of the material they are engraved on. The narrator says: "And bicause the wallis shone so bright/ With fyne umple they were al over-spredde/ To that entent folk shuld nat hurt theyr sight,/ And thurgh that the storyes myght be redde" (A 470-73). This comment about the fragility of women's eyes seems ironic here. The tradition of female susceptibility in front of unseemly stories, a common concern in courtly literature, suggests in this context the possibility of self imposed blinkers, since the veiled stories are about women themselves. Although, from the poet's point of view, not even these emblematic tragic legends of female suffering should ever be read as a naked text: reading cannot dispense with the ultimate outer veil, and this need for some covering is bound to the symbolic use of embroidery in the poem.

The epistemological place assigned to needlework is usually connected to the ornamental quality of this activity, to its merely decorative goal. Its value derives from the technical expertise required and the manual labor

invested in it, mainly associated with female hands.[20] For the medieval tradition, one that cherished the duality between the hidden spiritual content and surface matter, and that assumed the need to transcend or remove the latter in order to reach any ultimate message, embroidery occupied precisely that category of the external and material. Indeed, it not only concealed meaning, as letters could do, but furthermore, it amplified and embellished any surface. Embroidery magnified and exaggerated the superficial excellence of the material and the visual; it was the surface of surfaces, the top of the costume, the ultimate outer layer displaying its own formal beauty and accuracy as a unique and essential value, belittling any other virtue.[21]

Needlework and tapestries have traditionally been related to the quality work of quality women.[22] However, this activity still betrayed the stigma of its nonintellectual nature, whereas writing could boast just the opposite. Notwithstanding this basic dichotomy, Chaucer had dared to acknowledge the potential of the needle to tell stories and make the truth prevail over treason and lies, thus binding it to the aspirations of writing. It is precisely in *The Legend of Good Women* where, narrating Philomela's tragedy, he explains:

> She coude eek rede and wel ynow endyte,
> But with a penne coude she nat wryte.

[20] About the development of this art in England and the social and general implications of embroidery, see R. Parker, A. G. I. Christie or S. M. Newton, among others.

[21] Despite this, however, rich embroidery may also herald the beauty of the object wrapped in it; a box, a book, any sort of case may be covered by an embroidered piece to proclaim the richness of the gems or the message inside. Thus, its aim is to declare from the outside the inner quality of the object it covers. But this is a secondary analogical use; originally the embroidery would surpass the beauty of the dresses or cloths it decorated, being the *surplus* piece projected out of any other surface.

[22] As some pieces gallantly embroidered by nuns and queens from Anglo-Saxon times and the spread of the *opus anglicanum* technique may attest. However, by the Late Middle Ages, the guild system allowed the massive entrance of men in the ranks of embroiderers. Notwithstanding this, noble women still held embroidery as a primary occupation associated with their elevated status and the psychological disposition this craft demanded: that of patience and dedication. Again, the attitude required had to do with perseverance and constant waiting as self-imposed defining traits.

> But letters can she weve to and fro.,
> So that, by that the yer was al ago,
> She hadde ywoven in a stamyn large
> How she was brought from Athenes in a barge,
> And in a cave how that she was brought;
> And al the thyng that Tereus hath wrought,
> She waf it wel, and wrot the storye above. (F 2356-2364)

In this passage, Chaucer accounts for female ignorance of writing techniques, here portrayed as some male skill; he nevertheless allows embroidery to denounce the male capacity to silence women.[23] In her analysis of female hagiography, Wogan-Browne (2001: 34) accounts for the practice of embroidery by linking it to the theme of enclosure: "In showing the heroine as a reader and embroidery as both her text and her occupation, treatises and saint' lives reveal their agenda of image-making. Women's time in enclosure is constructed as repetitive stasis, in which women are at once producers of images and icons themselves." Also among these good women, embroidery becomes the ancient thread through which they perceive themselves as separated, isolated from the active world and able to generate, therefore, interpersonal female bonds. Philomela's message is meant for the one who not only can read but who has also learnt the art of embroidery, her

[23] Although Philomela had not been trained to use the stylus, her legendary betrayed sisters did in fact write not with the needle but with a pen. In *The Assembly of Ladies* the offended friends bring their petitions to court and complain of having to present them in a written form, not only in the embroidered thread. They resent using the pen; not so the narrator, who is proud of it and emphasises her friends' uneasiness to use it. It is also interesting to relate the opposite relationship between writing and sewing in both poems: in Philomela's case, embroidery acts as the final ornament of what has already been advanced and explained by the narrator, although it is precisely this embroidered account of past events that reveals itself as decisive for the denouement of the story; in *The Assembly of Ladies*, instead, the narrator explains the meanings of the embroidered mottoes only after we have had the chance to read and perceive them as enigmatic. She enlarges and enhances their meaning by giving her own point of view about the friends' pain, leading us into a labyrinth where we are abandoned. Thus, our experience of female solidarity and pain derives from intellectual ground more than from sentimentality. Whereas Chaucer achieved sympathy for the prisoner whose story he had previously recounted, the narrator of *The Assembly of Ladies* prefers keeping readers at some distance from her friends. Female space is never completely occupied or disturbed by male explanation.

sister,[24] whereas in *The Assembly of Ladies* all of these noble women perceive this activity as defining their particular feelings as well as bringing them together as friends. Their condition of embroiderers suggests not only their female condition but also companionship and group feeling, according to which they act as a unit. Consequently, the poet underlines the duality of writing with the needle or with the pen in order to reinforce the notion of writing in ink as a technique that guarantees the connection with the male world, whereas embroidery remains somehow the symbol of captivity and eternal delay for women, to which they seem to acquiesce. In the dream, most of these female friends show their uneasiness with writing, as we can see in these two examples:

> Moche more ther was wherof she shuld compleyne
> But she thought it to grete encombraunce
> So moche to write, and therfor, in certayne,
> In God and hir she put hir affiaunce. (A 652-55)

> For as me thought she felt grete displesaunce—
> One might wele perceyve bi hir chiere,
> And no wonder, it sat hir passyn neere;
> Yit loth she was to put it in writyng,
> But neede wil have his cours in every thyng.
> *Sejour ensure* this was hir worde certeiyne,
> And thus she wrote but in litel space. (A 661-67)

Needlework remains the communal activity that keeps women together and their identity secure from curious eyes. However, the most advanced woman among the ladies, the one who happens to have first found her way through the intricate paths of the labyrinth, and therefore deserving the dream vision, illustrates her command over the writing technique when asserting in the following lines:

> Hir gowne was bliew, this wote I verily,

[24] Although Philomela's use of the needle is undeniably the result of her confinement it does paradoxically bring about her liberation and homecoming to Procne.

Of goode facion and furred wele with gray;
Upon hir sleve hir worde, this is no nay,
The whiche saide thus, as my penne can endite,
A moy que je voy, writen with lettres white. (A 304-8)

With that anon I went and made this booke,
Thus symply rehersyng the substaunce
Because it shuld nat out of remembraunce (A 740-42)

By turning her dream experience into a book, *La samble des dames*, this narrator becomes an author in the Chaucerian vein. Although the book, the story she dedicates to none other than a curious knight, is merely a vehicle, a means with which to participate in the male writing tradition, her control over the technique actually spells breaking with what was considered conventional. The narrative frame she employs inverts the traditional motives found in Chaucerian dream visions. For instance, the dreamer here displays her own peculiar, highly assertive personality.[25] She does not comply with the image of the rather dull dreamer that happily accepts his incapacity to cope with the new scenery or to understand its inhabitants. On the contrary, she effectively manages the impressive landscape and defiantly refuses to show her motto in front of the allegorical female court. When talking to Perseveraunce in the hall, we notice her reluctance to identify herself through words: "Whan they begynne to opyn their matier/ There shal ye knowe her wordis, by and by./ But as for me I have none verily/ And so I told to Countenaunce here afore;/ Al myn array is bliew, what nedith more?" (409-13). When telling the knight about the moment in which Lady Loyalty finally demands some explanation from her, he suddenly interrupts her account[26] in order to urge her on, and only then does she finally disclose the content of the bill she read in front of the assembly of ladies:

[25] In the dream she shows herself confident enough to even complain when talking to Perseveraunce about the endless tarrying at the hall: "The rather spede the sonner may we go./ Grete cost alwey tere is in taryeng,/ And long to sue it is a wery thyng." (418-20).

[26] Some readers have attributed these first words to Lady Loyalty, but the tone may correspond to that in the conversation between the narrator and the curious knight from the very beginning of the story. As for the reference to a female character in line 699, scholars give her different names —Lady Fortune, the Virgin, Lady Loyalty or the female friend the narrator might be in love with, as Alexandra

"Now, goode, telle on, I hate yow, be saynt Jame."
"Abide a while, it is nat yit my wil;
Yet must ye wite, bi reason and bi skil,
Sith ye knowe al that hath be done afore."
And thus it sayde, without any more:
"Nothyng so lief as death to come to me
for fynal end of my sorwes and peyne;
what shuld I more desire, as seme ye—
and ye knewe al aforne it for certeyne
I wote ye wold; and for to telle yow pleyne,
Without hir help that hath al thyng in cure
I can nat thynk that it may long endure;
And for my trouth, preved it hath bien wele—
To sey the soth, it can be no more—
Of ful long tyme, and suffred every dele
In pacience and kept it al in store;
Of hir goodenesse besechyng hir therfor
That I myght have my thank in suche wise
As my desert deservith of justice." (A 689-707)

If this lady has dared to reveal her complaint to the curious knight, one may suspect a confession of love to him who asked about the causes of her paleness at the beginning of the poem. That possibility seems less than likely when we see the knight in the light of Chaucerian categories. In order to reveal her feelings —her suffering concealed for so long— she resorts to reading the bill (and to the composition of the book). Writing is then sustained as the method to bring the hidden, the dream itself as well as love, to the surface, and thus, as the proper way to communicate with men, since it is they who have always acted as interpreters. But just the same, this knight fails to recognize the depth of her pain or to demonstrate sympathy with her suffering. He, not the dreaming lady, embodies the Chaucerian type of the dull naive character who cannot understand the profound feelings of those

Barratt has suggested (1987: 19). Another, maybe too far-fetched, possibility could be that of the narrator being in love with this curious knight, thus confessing her feelings to him in an oblique way, as she talks to Lady Loyalty, implicitly addressing the contents of the bill to him. The fact that the knight does not respond to this possible confession would make her love even more unbearably hopeless, just as she presents it in her bill.

met in their ramblings.[27] Therefore, no tragic feelings accompany the lady's departure. Even though readers themselves may feel a strange discomfort after having heard her secret and having observed the knight's inability to be touched or moved by it, the fact is that she does not need further attention or interpretation from the knight. She gaily returns to her friends, always present in the poem as the first and only group to which the lady belongs. The title she gives to her book pays homage to the centrality and constancy of female friendship as a basic *a priori* bond underlying any subsequent individual love relationship:

> As for this booke, to sey yow verray right
> And of the name to tel the certeynte,
> 'La semble de Dames', thus it hight;
> how thynk ye that the name is?' 'Goode, parde!'
> 'Now go, farwele, for they cal after me,
> my felawes al, and I must after sone.'
> Rede wele my dreame, for now my tale is done. (A 750-56)

While she reveals her own feelings to this knight, she continues to avoid any disclosure of the qualities of the art of embroidery, rejecting any use of written words to reveal the meaning of each woman's identity and tragic story. Although the poet endows her with the capacity to explain in depth the meaning of the mottoes, she actually refuses to fully carry out the exegetic task. In fact, she heightens the ambiguity of the story by deliberately underlining marginal details —furs, fabrics, jewels— that enhance the surface quality of her own text, avoiding any thorough explanation about her friends' petitions and names. Instead of rehearsing the Chaucerian model of the letter of grievances found in *The Legend of Good Women*, the poem articulates its author's reluctance to reach deeper than the embroidered mottoes allow and further than female dignity requires. The cases of these women are not available for discussion nor offered as material for tragedy. And Loyalty, which in the Chaucerian *Legend of Good Women* was

[27] This male character remains outside the limits of female dreams and passions, and since the knight shows little evolution from his initial solicitousness about her wan face, one can only suggest an intensification of pain if, indeed, the dreaming lady had the illusion of mutual affection. But this seems too remote a possibility.

associated with women only at the expense of their demonstrated public abandonment, anguish and death, is instead celebrated here as a major stately figure, manifest in the discretion and prudent behavior of these ladies in their evocative embroidered words.[28]

Chaucer's attempt to distance himself from the demanding expectations of his audience with the set of narrative devices displayed in *The Legend of Good Women* possibly led to him being credited as a decorous courtly poet. As such, he was able to skillfully evade responsibilities. But, of course, his astute evasion meant the traumatic exposure of his good women. Almost a hundred years later, the author of *The Assembly of Ladies* stitched each and every word of the poem in his or her aspiration to suture against debates that spelled yet another occasion for female grief. This author claimed a female narrator's determination to defend the rhetorical value of embroidery and poetry and to distance herself from the pressure to turn women into a matter of discussion. In writing her vision, the narrator defended the quality of the enigmatic sewing of words to define her friends against any narrative unveiling of their cases, challenging the view of women as constituting a problematic, controversial, common[29] issue. In so doing, the author favored

[28] If on the one hand, this enigmatic quality might result in the reinforcement of the perception of women as inextricable "others", on the other hand the recourse to the courtly authorities endows them with the political proximity and with credentials to consider them as legitimated "citizens". However, the danger of essentialism, that is, the possibility of objectifying them as incomprehensible and mysterious, is really strong in the poem, thus resulting in the basic misogynist principle that H. Bloch (1991: 5) defines: "Whether good or bad, laudatory or deprecatory, the reduction of Woman to a category implies in our culture —and this because of a historic real imbalance of possessory power— an appropriation that is not present when identical generalizing statements are applied to man or men. I propose, then, a definition of misogyny as a speech act in which woman is the subject of the sentence and the predicate a more general term; or, alternatively, as the use of the substantive *woman* or *women* with a capital *W*. [...] For the effect of a speech act such that woman is the subject of the sentence and the predicate a more general term, that effect which dwells in the zone where the use of words produces the most basic elements of thought —and thought authorizes action, is to make of woman an essence, which, as essence, is eliminated from the world historical stage. This is precisely why the discourse of misogyny seems so repetitive, is so culturally constant, and seems to lack an internal history."

[29] Evans and Johnson (1991: 177) hint at the elitist character of the poem: "[...] in many ways the values espoused in the *Assembly of Ladies* are highly conservative. It is a work which is indebted to, and in its turn contributes to, a long-standing prestigious courtly literary tradition, which promotes the court as the idealised arena for the illustration of a moral code and legitimates the *élite* social position of

the subtlety of imaginative suggestion over the vicissitudes of open debate; and thus insisted on women and literary authors being allowed to remain unveiled.

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its members". This aspect cannot be avoided since the narrator is always aware of the social implications of her descriptions. At this stage the dramatic exposure of Chaucer's good women would probably no longer seem appropriate as model for these late fifteenth-century ladies, whose feelings were restrained by law and discretion, courtly values that would distinguish theirs from individual and spontaneous displays of suffering, and perhaps perceived as "vulgar". Thus, social concerns would possibly condition the generic perspective in the poem.

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* † *

GEOFFREY CHAUCER'S *PARLEMENT OF FOULES*: A NEW CODICOLOGICAL STEMMA OF THE HAMMOND MANUSCRIPTS

The purpose of this article is to carry out a revision of the stemma for the manuscripts (MSS) of Geoffrey Chaucer's *Parlement of Foules* (*PF*), established by John Koch in 1881 and revised by Eleanor P. Hammond in 1902. Not only is Koch-Hammond's stemma the only one that has been proposed for more than a century but, in addition, it has only been subject to one revision (Koch's 1928 edition of the poem, *Geoffrey Chaucers kleinere Dichtungen*) which, nevertheless, did not alter the substance of the subgroup of MSS which later on became known as the "Hammond group." Stemmas have been proposed for all of Chaucer's works which derive from various authoritative sources, but the task of elaborating or revising a stemma for the witnesses of a particular text is so arduous and complicated that most of the stemmas proposed for the works of Chaucer derive from the studies of one single authority, have been flatly contradicted by another, are incomplete, or have not been revised since their date of publication. For *PF*, the fifteen manuscript (MS) authorities are, in the order proposed by Hammond (1902), the following:[1]

A GROUP:

MS Cambridge University Library Gg. IV.27 (Gg), ff. 481^{r} - 490^{v}.

MS Cambridge University Library Ff. I.6 (Ff), ff. 29^{r} - 42^{v}.

[1] Thanks are due to S. G. Fernández-Corugedo (U. of Oviedo) for his guidance, suggestions, and careful examination of the results reached in this analysis. I am also extremely indebted to Vincent J. DiMarco, editor of *The Parliament of Fowls* for *The Riverside Chaucer* (Benson 1987), for taking so much of his time to revise my analysis and conclusions.

William Caxton's edition[2] of 1477-78 (Cx), ff. 1^{r} - 16^{v}.

MS Harley 7333, British Library (H), ff. 129^{v} - 132^{r}.

MS Trinity College, Cambridge R.III.19 (R), ff. 17^{r} - 24^{v}.

MS Arch. Selden B.24, Bodleian (S), ff. 142^{r} - 152^{r}.

MS Cambridge University Library Hh.IV.12 (Hh), ff. 94^{r} - 99^{v}.

MS Pepys 2006, Magdalene College, Cambridge (P), ff. 127^{r} -142^{r}

MS St. John's College LVII, Oxford (J), ff. 225^{r} - 237^{v}.

MS Laud Misc. 416, Bodleian (L), ff. 288^{r} - 289^{v}.

B GROUP:

MS Fairfax 16, Bodleian (F), ff. 120^{r}-129^{v}.

MS Bodley 638, Bodleian (B), ff. 96^{r} - 110^{r}.

MS Tanner 346, Bodleian (T), ff. 120^{r} - 131^{r}.

MS Longleat 258, Longleat House, Warminster (Lt), ff. 85^{r} -101^{r}.

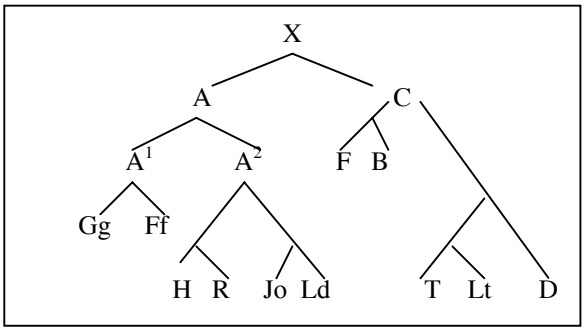
MS Digby 181, Bodleian (D), ff. 44^{r} - 52^{r}.

Hammond's 1902 article is taken as the base text for the revision of the stemma carried out in this article, since it is her stemma the one that each and every modern editor of Chaucer adopts for *PF*.[3] Her revision, as ours,

[2] Even though Caxton's early print is not a manuscript witness, its text is still considered authorial due to the fact that it is based on a MS now considered lost.

[3] Although the stemma is universally adopted by editors, this does not mean that it is accepted by them. As an example, notice DiMarco's comments on Hammond: "Group A appears almost certainly to be imaginary, for the ten authorities so classified agree in what appear to be correct readings rather than in readings that are clearly wrong . . . The traditional sub-groupings of FB and of TLtD, comprising Hammond's group B, are borne out. As with the readings unique to H R S Hh Cx P J L, those readings unique to F B T Lt D are seldom, if ever, correct" (Benson 1987: 1147).

begins by recalling what had been the canonical stemma until then, the one printed in the Globe edition of Chaucer's works (1898) and edited by A. W. Pollard and M. H. Liddell. About this stemma, Hammond states that "in his brief introduction to the poem Mr. Heath prints the genealogical tree of most of the manuscripts as it was indicated by Koch in *Anglia*, IV, Anz., p. 97, remarking that he agrees with Koch in its construction" (p. 3), and reproduces it as follows:[4]



Hammond continues by stating that a full analysis of the text of *PF* would basically indicate that Koch's genealogy would have to be modified in detail, that some of the readings elected by Heath for his edition are unjustified, and that if the evidence she has obtained is correct, the question of Chaucerian metre must be reopened. The examples she gives to argue for or against the variant readings elected by Heath are not analysed here, nor do we cope with the genealogy of the MSS of group A, since they refer to aspects of the stemma which are not pertinent to this article. The separation of the MSS into groups A (comprising ten authorities) and B (comprising five) seems, however, to be supported with enough evidence—Hammond (1902: 8-9) gives fifty readings—to allow for the study of one group independently from the other.[5] Regarding the grouping of MSS F, B, T, Lt

[4] Note that the group of MSS that I refer to—with modern editors—as "B" is referred to as "C" by Hammond so as to not be confused with the "B" representing "MS Bodley 638".

[5] It is important to note that Hammond has studied all fifteen authorities of the *Parlement* from the Chaucer Society reprints, while we get our data from the full transcription and collation of MS facsimiles. These were obtained from the Bodleian Library for all MSS except Longleat, which is in the posession of the

and D into one subgroup (labelled C or B), this is accounted for with enough data in Hammond 1902, supported first by Koch's analysis in 1881, then in his revision of Hammond in 1928, and also contested by Root in 1903. Although Koch's revision of 1928 dealt exclusively with group A, he did not argue against the affiliation of the MSS of group B, plainly rearranging the MSS inside the first group. Root, on his part, dealt solely with group B, but his arguments claiming that this group was closer to Chaucer's original—perhaps corrected by Chaucer himself—were soon discarded by the scientific community. More importantly to our purposes, he did not tamper with the classification of F, B, T, Lt and D into one independent group.

Before we proceed to the exclusive analysis of group B we must mention one aspect about the MSS of group A, for Hammond has noted that the text of the A archetype is probably nearer to the ultimate original verbally, due to "the marked decease in group divergences after line 250 [and to] the fact that in several cases the difference of group C [B] from group A is due to an omission by the former archetype" (1902: 9). With these conclusions we do not agree for two reasons: First, Hammond never explains what exactly constitutes a variant reading for her,[6] arguing that there are forty-one variants between groups A and B before line 250, and only six until the end of the poem. A quick comparison between any two MSS of groups A and B, however, shows that there are obviously more than forty-seven variants and, certainly, they do occur in great frequency after line 250. Regarding Hammond's statement that "the text of the A archetype was probably nearer to the ultimate original verbally," she contradicts herself by favouring group

Marquis of Bath. A microfilm of the MS was finally obtained from Microform Imaging Ltd (Wakefield, England). Although in this article we do not deal with the MSS of group A, whenever a reading from this group is needed (i.e. as to argue for its influence on a MS of group B) I have quoted exclusively the readings of MS Gg.4.27 (facsimile in Parkes 1979-80).

6 Variants that are not considered valid evidence for the postulation of the stemma are those that are the result of the physical deterioration of the MS, the different spelling practices of scribes or the different dialects of English. On the other hand, we consider valid evidences those readings which result from additions, repetitions, dittographies, omissions, homeoteleutons, homeoarchies, haplographies, alterations in order, substitutions and trivialisations (*lectio facilior*). Notice that these variant readings are all product of the scribe's action, be it intentional or not. Variants (lines) marked with an asterisk in the article (following Hammond) are those considered of special interest for the postulation of the stemma.

B at the end of the article when she claims that she does not find herself "in full agreement with the valuation of A as the better group. When the tendency of C [B] to omit has been allowed for . . . it will be recognized that the C [B] group offers a set of readings certainly equal in value to those of A" (1902: 24).

When dealing with group B itself, Hammond begins by differentiating the pair formed by F and B (FB) vs. TLtD. However, it remains to be seen why she puts so much emphasis on differentiating FB from TLtD, while giving so little importance to the much stronger bond of FBT vs. LtD. According to Hammond, the distinction FB can be made on the evidence obtained from seventeen lines [twenty-three for this article],[7] from the "explicit" in both MSS, and from the presence of the quotation *Qui bien ayme a tarde oublie*, in the place of the roundel present in some of the other MSS. Our evidence agrees with that presented by Hammond, except perhaps for line 303, for which T has the reading of FB *of* superimposed, and thus may not be considered an omission (as D and Lt omit). Although Hammond's strong postulation of FB/ TLtD seems to be correct, the division of LtD/ FBT is, as we have argued, supported with far more evidences than the other. Hammond herself provides thirty variant readings, while our transcriptions show there are, at least, forty-seven examples.[8]

[7] Hammond gives lines 56, 106, 108*, 126, 154, 208, 214, 224, 236, 278, 295, 303, 383*, 512*, 612, 623 and 669. Our evidences are lines 3, 5, 28, 56, 59, 96, 106, 108*, 126, 139, 154, 165, 204, 208, 214, 224, 236, 278, 295, 303, 383*, 512*, 569, 612, 623 and 669. Lines that show a variant, but are not considered as valid evidence for FB/ TLtD, are 3, 5 and 165 (for which the text in B is missing) and 569, for which Lt also omits. Although I only render the line in which a certain variant reading occurs—and not the variant reading itself—the curious reader will find the full transcription of the fifteen authorities of *PF* in Tanaka 1981. The evidences resulting from our transcription and collation of the MSS are given next to Hammond's in square brackets throughout the whole article.

[8] Lines 8, 66, 75, 91, 98, 100, 104, 114, 119, 127, 142*, 152, 156, 158, 161, 167, 190, 191, 192, 209, 233, 277, 282, 296, 297, 306, 312, 322, 346, 375, 387, 417, 440, 457, 468, 472*, 507, 520, 523, 527, 529, 534, 537, 577, 584, 585, 587, 590, 594, 596*, 619, 642, 644, 650 and 677. The alteration in line 75 is in the reading *To/ The*, but FBD reads *comune* against LtT *comon*, and not as Hammond points out "FBT and A: *To comon profit,* DLt: *The comon*, etc." (1902: 11). We agree, however, with all the data presented by Hammond, resulting in 30 [47] evidences for the union of LtD. We are not counting as evidence (although Hammond does for some) lines 8, 158, 161, 167, 190, 191, 192, 196 for not having textual evidence for B, although the reading of B is not as important to postulate the union of LtD/

The variant readings exclusive to one MS are also important evidence to consider. They do not help to postulate groupings of MSS horizontally, but they are crucial to build the stemma vertically, that is, to establish whether one MS is the source of another or not. Hammond gives the following evidence for the independence of F from B, namely lines 27, 63, 140, 206, 313—omissions by B alone—and the misreadings and slight insertions of B not appearing in F: lines 37, 72, 231, 263, 335, 364, 394, 395, 504, 556, 585, 637 an 688. The complete list of variant readings exclusive to B that we have obtained is of twenty-six variant readings.[9] For the opposite, the independence of B from F, I agree with Hammond in that the evidence is scanty. Of the fifteen [twenty-three] evidences she provides, only five should be taken into account,[10] although a certain reading not exclusive to F could very well serve as evidence of B's independence from F. Such a coincidence, however, would be, at least, suspicious. There is one question regarding F and B that deserves special consideration. Hammond places both MSS at the same level based on the evidence given by lines 201*, 476* and 358, since the rest of the examples render no evidence for or against the

FBT than for FB/ TLtD. Line 594 is not taken into account because T also omits, and we do not agree with Hammond's evidence for line 306 (for which she claims an opposition LtD *was*/ FBT *nas*, where FBT really read *uas*, or for line 520 (for which only Lt reads *loudenesse*, as opposed to *lewdenesse*. Hammond also claims that the variant reading which is produced in line 650 belongs to line 652, but this is not so.

9 Lines 23, 27, 50, 63, 72, 140, 152, 206, 263, 313, 335, 364, 370, 394, 395, 406, 420, 452, 498, 504, 530, 549, 551, 587, 637 and 644. Hammond gives a total of 18 evidences, of which we only accept 13 as valid. Apart from missing lines 23, 50, 152, 370, 406, 420, 452, 498, 530, 549, 551, 587, 644 of the total of 26 variant readings exclusive to B that we provide, her analysis of lines 37, 231, 556, 585, 688 is dubious. Line 37 reads the same for all five MSS, in line 231 it is F who gives the incorrect reading *temple of glas* for *temple of bras*, line 556 is also an example of F erring, line 585 can not be considered an insertion by B since it agrees with LtD, and in line 688 the error lies in Lt.

10 Hammond gives lines 152, 201*, 216, 253, 263, 358, 359, 381, 420, 436, 476*, 551, 590, 637, and 652, whereas our transcription gives 3, 5, 35, 89, 165, 169, 198, 201*, 231, 284, 311, 319, 358, 381, 387, 407, 409, 436, 476*, 524, 556, 584, 587. Of these, we do not consider valid evidence lines 3, 5, 165, 169 and 198 due to B missing the text (thus what we consider a variant reading exclusive to F could be evidence of FB), leaving the total number of variants in 18. Of the 15 examples quoted by Hammond, we only consider valid examples those five in lines 201, 358, 381, 436, and 476. For the rest, lines 152, 263, 420, 551 and 637 are errors in B and not in F; lines 590 and 652 are examples of FT; lines 253 and 359 are examples of different spellings of names; and line 216 only shows an error of Lt.

derivation of B from F.[11] Although we agree with Hammond that the omissions of F in these lines point to independent transcription of both MSS from a common original, we must also mention that her treatment of the evidence is contradictory. On the one hand, the seventeen [twenty-three] common readings of FB that she presents serve as very strong evidence to support their union, while the thirty [forty-four] examples she gives for LtD do not. We do respect, however, Hammond's assumption that F (ca. 1450) is not the source of B (ca. 1450-1500), although the evidence of three lines in a poem of approximately seven hundred is, indeed, very scarce. It would be necessary to transcribe and collate the contents of both MSS as a whole to see if F is indeed the source of B. According to Seymour (1995: 85-9), all the poems that appear in B can be found in the larger MS F, except for the final *Order of Fools* by Lydgate, so that F could very well be the model from which B was copying. As regards the text of *PF*, we do not find evidence for or against B's derivation from F, but what is clear is the strong textual affiliation—either due to common ancestry or because F is indeed the ancestor of B—of both MSS.

Regarding the three remaining MSS—T, Lt and D—Hammond notes that neither of them can be the source of the other two. This is proved by both her evidences and ours, since she provides thirty-eight [seventy-two] examples of variant readings exclusive to D,[12] twenty-seven [forty-two] examples exclusive to T,[13] and seventy-eight [one-hundred and nine]

11 Hammond (1902: 10) indicates that Furnivall postulates F as the source of B.

12 Hammond's evidences are lines 7*, 27, 28, 53, 54, 109, 119, 144, 148, 166, 178*, 202*, 220*, 238*, 244, 245*, 255, 296*, 354*, 375, 377, 389, 391, 426, 438*, 460, 462, 467*, 493, 530, 540, 562, 573, 582*, 587, 644, 659and 666, of which we do not accept l. 27 (error in B) and l. 109 (for which all MSS read the same). Our exclusive readings of D are lines 7*, 9, 28, 42, 53, 54, 62, 66, 74, 83, 89, 94, 104, 108, 119, 127, 129, 134, 144, 148, 166, 167, 178*, 197, 201, 202*, 217, 220*, 228, 238*, 244, 245*, 255, 269, 296*, 346, 349, 350, 354*, 375, 377, 386, 389, 391, 399, 417, 421, 424, 426, 438*, 460, 462, 467*, 493, 505, 523, 524, 530, 540, 545, 553, 562, 573, 582*, 587, 594, 603, 616, 644, 654, 659 and 666.

13 Hammond renders lines 80*, 93, 112, 125*, 169, 170, 177, 187, 189, 274*, 310, 400*, 404, 411, 415, 438, 439*, 448, 454, 461, 511*, 516, 562, 594*, 665*, 672*, 692*, of which we do not consider valid lines 93 (all five MSS read the same), 169 (T has no error and B is missing the text), 439* (evidence for TD because Digby also omits the same word), 562 (it is evidence for D, not for T), and 692* (all 5 MSS read the same). Our full list of variant readings are lines 7, 10, 47, 54, 80*, 99, 101, 112, 125*, 170, 17, 187, 189, 274*, 310, 318, 335, 400*, 404, 411, 415,

variants only found in Lt.[14] Of these examples (see note), one deserves to be analysed in detail, for it illustrates Hammond's treatment of her data. The different readings *remedys* and *remedye* in line 140, which Hammond counts as variant readings, can not be accepted as valid evidence for different readings among the MSS since this reading was motivated by the alteration in the order of words in line 139 of MS Lt (which, indeed, is a variant reading), provoking the change of the final "-e" to a final "-s" in line 140 to suit the preceding line:

There as this fisshe in prison al drye is	There as this fysshe in prison is all drie
The shouyng is oonly the remedys	The shewyng is only the remedie
(MS Longleat 258, ll. 139-40).	(MS Digby 181 (and rest), ll. 139-40).

The analysis of the variant readings in the MSS being complete, it only remains to deduce the position of T in the tree. However, we must first look at another issue on which Hammond casts light, and which could be important for the accuracy of the final stemma. On the light of the evidences she presents in her article, there seems to be a supposed influence of one or more MSS from group A on MS Digby 181. According to Hammond, "Digby's omissions are some twelve in number [sixteen], its insertions two [six], and of its some nineteen scribal errors [forty-eight] only one or two can be considered deliberate" (1902: 11). The evidences we have obtained,

424, 438, 448, 454, 461, 471, 494, 511*, 516, 523, 524, 571, 573, 579, 587, 594*, 665*, 672*, 675, 691 and 693.

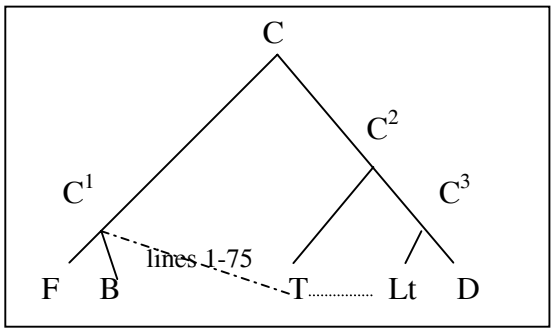
14 Hammond gives lines 1, 5, 17, 25*, 27, 29, 40*, 42, 79, 81, 82, 117, 136, 139*, 140, 156, 158, 175, 183, 203, 225, 228*, 234*, 256, 262*, 286*, 294, 307*, 312, 329, 332, 335*, 336, 348, 351, 352*, 366, 372, 379*, 384, 385, 390, 414*, 417, 422, 428, 431, 436, 449, 462*, 493*, 494*, 504*, 514, 519*, 525*, 533*, 537*, 539, 557-558, 560*, 570, 592, 601, 605, 606, 616, 634, 635, 640, 658*, 669, 670, 676*, 677, 679, 689 and 691, of which we do not accept as valid lines 27 (spelling, *dilite* vs. *delite*), 592 (illegible in Lt), 634 (spelling, *tarsellet* vs. *tercelet*), 689 (all five MSS read the same), 691 (error in T) and 140 (discussed in text). Our list of variant readings consists of lines 1, 5, 7, 8, 10, 17, 25*, 29, 40*, 42*, 47, 57, 71, 79, 81, 82, 105, 117, 123, 130, 133, 136, 137, 139*, 145, 152, 156, 158, 172, 175, 183, 190, 192, 195, 199, 203, 204, 205, 216, 225, 228*, 234*, 256, 262*, 263, 286*, 287, 290, 294, 307*, 312, 329, 332, 335*, 336, 341, 348, 351, 352*, 362, 366, 372, 379*, 384, 385, 390, 404, 414*, 417, 422, 426, 428, 431, 436, 449, 462*, 493*, 494*, 497, 504*, 514, 519*, 520, 524, 525*, 527, 533*, 537*, 539*, 555, 557, 560*, 570, 601, 605, 606, 608, 616, 635, 637, 640, 658*, 669, 670, 676*, 677, 679, 679, 688 and 693.

however, show that there are many more variant readings in D than what Hammond has stated. Nevertheless, she points out that there are a series of A group readings present in D which have apparently been blurred by omission in the rest of the B group MSS, namely lines 7*, 53, 62, 244 and 467*, and also points of agreement between D and the A group in lines 28 and 148. This was also Koch's opinion when he postulated his stemma in 1881, stating that this is proved in lines 7, 62, 148, 387, 417, and 460. Of all these examples, we can only consider A readings present in D lines 7*, 244 and 467*, the rest having no A reading present in D but rather—if any—on the rest of the MSS of group B. I agree with Hammond when she states that Koch's evidence to support the influence of A on D is not strong, but when she says that "if these readings prove anything, they prove the possibility of independent but coincident change by various manuscripts . . . I can not find in these examples adequate proof of A influence on D" (1902: 12), I must remark, again, that her treatment of evidence is arbitrary. If we do not admit a direct influence of A on D, then it is impossible to explain how the scribe of D obtained the readings of lines 7* (*flete or synke*), 467* (*eek nature hir silf*) and, less importantly, 244 (*and eke with out*) when the rest of the MSS of group B and, therefore, D's ancestor, omitted them or read otherwise.

Nevertheless, since three examples are not enough evidence to support the influence of A on D, and since every affiliation between MSS always has a number of evidences which may point towards a different stemma, we will accept that D has not been influenced by A, and that the common readings are, as Hammond argues, coincidental. Regarding her conclusion that Lt and T are affiliated with a MS of the FB group for the first seventy-five lines of the poem, however, we can not agree. What she argues is "an alliance DLtT versus FB [which] is now sufficiently probable after line 75; anterior to that point the affiliation of TLt is partly also with FB; cf. ll. 7, 53, 62. From about line 75 on, Lt adheres to D, while T perhaps had access to an FB codex; cf. ll. 387-90 and colophon" (1902: 14). On the one hand, there is not enough evidence to prove this affiliation and, on the other, Hammond does not seem to be aware that she has postulated Lt and T as coming from different ancestors, which would make this sudden change in the affiliation of both MSS a coincidence too elaborate to be accepted. As Root observes, "unless the scribes of Tanner and Longleat were working from a common

original, which according to the author's [Hammond] genealogy is not the case, it would be hard to explain why each scribe should have abandoned one exemplar, and taken up another, precisely at line seventy-five" (Root 1903: 190).

The positioning of T in the tree is, by far, the most problematic one. We have already seen that this MS seems to stand in an intermediate position between the two sub-groups of FB and LtD. Hammond's evidence for placing T in a specific position in the stemma concerns the order in which the three Chaucerian poems *Legend of Good Women* (*LGW*), *PF*, and the *Book of the Duchess* (*BD*) are copied in MSS F, B and T (1902: 12), although she later places T with Lt and D. We shall not examine these evidences now, which, although important, are less relevant than the variant readings in the MSS. If the readings in the MSS prove a certain position of T in the tree, the order in which the poems are copied can not prove otherwise. The evidence presented by Hammond in order to deduce the position of T, namely lines 3*, 8, 56, 59, 78, 119, 149, 154, 437, 466, 512* and 569 is often contradictory and points towards a different positioning of the MS. Lines 3*, 56, 59, 154, 512* and 569 indicate TLtD kinship, Hammond argues. However, B is wanting in line 3* and in line 569 Lt goes with FB. Of the rest, lines 78, 149, 437 and 466 are proof of LtT; and lines 8 and 119 are examples of LtD, T going here with FB. Her evidence of T's variant readings is, then, scarce, and it does not point towards a positioning of T anywhere in the tree. Her conclusion, which we shall examine below, leaves her final stemma for the MSS of group B—the "Hammond group"—as follows (1902: 14):



After a thorough analysis of this stemma, which—we should remember—has been undisputed for over one-hundred years, we notice that there are a number of questions that need to be taken under consideration, and that the stemma Hammond has postulated often lacks the necessary evidence to justify its conclusions. On the one hand, the number of evidences presented to support the stemma is very inferior to the actual variant readings that can be found. One could argue that Hammond pays attention only to those variants she considers "important," the rest being of no value to support a specific position of a MS in the tree. However, Hammond never specifies the criteria on which a certain variant is considered significant and another one is not, and often includes examples of "variant spellings" as valuable data (contrary to our evidence) and disregards variants which are due to scribal miscopy, insertion or omission. This indicates two things: that the deduction of her stemma is not the result of a personal transcription and examination of the MSS, and also that the criteria on which a specific reading is considered a variant is not clear. Comparing her evidences with the examples we have obtained from the transcription of the five MSS of group B, the following table can be postulated:

	Hammond 1902	*Arbesú 2003*	*Difference*
FB	17 (0 dubious) = 17	27 (4 dubious) = 23	+ 6
LtD	30 (7 dubious) = 23	56 (12 dubious) = 44	+ 21
F	15 (10 dubious) = 5	23 (5 dubious) = 18	+ 13
B	18 (5 dubious) = 13	26 (0 dubious) = 26	+ 13
Lt	78 (5 dubious) = 73	109 (0 dubious) = 109	+ 36
D	38 (2 dubious) = 36	72 (0 dubious) = 72	+ 36
T	27 (5 dubious) = 22	42 (0 dubious) = 42	+ 20
Total	223 (34 dubious) = 189	355 (21 dubious) = 334	+ 145

The only aspect we need to discuss now is the problematic position of T in the tree. We have already altered the substance of Koch-Hammond's stemma considerably by eliminating the affiliation of T and Lt with a MS of the FB group for the first 75 lines of the poem and by concluding, with Hammond, that D has not been influenced by A. Regarding the affiliation of F with B, I find that the important question is their close textual affinity, and

not whether F is the ancestor or the brother of B, so that, as long as their strong bond is accounted for, the palaeographic stemma will be correct. The main problem that we find to postulate a stemma for the MSS of *PF* comes with the position of T. As we have seen, this MS seems to stand in an intermediate position between the two subgroups of FB and LtD, and this is always the case of T no matter the kind of evidence we examine. If we look at the data obtained from the collation of the MSS, we see that T agrees with FB (FBT/ LtD) in forty-four readings and with LtD (LtDT/ FB) in twenty-three. This evidence is not enough to postulate the position of T in any of the two main branches of the stemma. Nevertheless, if one takes a look at other kinds of evidence, such as the general spelling of the MSS (*gates*/ *gatys*; *birdes*/ *briddis*), spelling of proper names (*Cupide*/ *Cipride*; *Semiramus*/ *Semyramus*; *Achilles*/ *Hachilles*), etc., the result is the same: T agrees with one group for approximately half of the cases, and with the other for the remaining examples.

The uncertainty about T's affiliation comes, however, as no surprise, for it is echoed in every study on *PF*'s authorities, or even in Hammond's sudden positioning of T with LtD in the tree. Editorial conventions go a step further, for modern Chaucer editions reproduce what they claim to be Hammond's stemma in a way that makes T's positioning on the tree even more obscure, i.e. "B: δ:FB; ε:TLtD" (Benson 1987: 1147). However, the affiliation of the MSS given by Seymour is the best example to show how the treatment of T in relation to the rest of the MSS of group B is contradictory. According to Seymour, Fairfax 16 is closely affiliated to Bodley 638 and vice-versa, but he also mentions that "Tanner 346 is affiliated to Fairfax 16 and Bodley 638; Digby 181 is closely affiliated to Longleat 258; and Longleat 258 is affiliated to Digby 181 and Tanner 346" (1995: 29-32). What is one to infer from this classification? The two subgroups of FB and LtD are, again, well differentiated, but the actual relationship of T with the rest of the MSS is impossible to see. On the one hand, T is affiliated with FB, and on the other, with Lt which, in turn, is affiliated with D (D not being directly affiliated with T). Why does Hammond, then, postulate T in the branch of LtD, and above these two MSS? As we have argued, the evidence in her article for T's positioning is contradictory and can not prove any affiliation whatsoever. Furthermore, she

often disregards her own evidences which, in the absence of opposing data, point to a positioning of T with FB. Her explanation for T's affiliation with LtD is given in these lines:

> It is to be noted that elsewhere in the T codex the *Anelida* and Lydgate's *Black Knight* are copied in close conjunction; that Krausser, in his edition of the latter poem (*Anglia*, XIX), finds D and T connected in a group opposed to F and B, and that the Koch-Heath genealogy of the *Anelida* text places T on the same stem with DLt, above them and opposed with them to FB. Assuming these conclusions to be well grounded, we have the possibility that in the *Parlement of Foules* T (and Lt) worked partly with FB in the first few stanzas as in the poem preceding, but then for some reason deviated to use the copy which they had followed in transcribing the *Black Knight*. Further it might be remarked that the undetailed genealogy which so far lies before the student for the *Legend of Good Women* does not preclude the possibility that the difference of T from B may there be one of difference in stem, as here indicated. The freedom of T from FB errors in the former poem, alluded to by Mr. Pollard, may be because of a difference in stem. (1902: 14)

Basically, the reasons for the postulation of T with LtD are four: Koch's initial placement of T in that branch, the textual relationships of Chaucerian poems other than *PF*, Hammond's conclusion that "these conclusions [are] well grounded," and probably, her insistence on the strong—and, it seems, exclusive—bond between F and B. What seems to be the case, however, is that there are many more evidences that point towards a positioning of T with FB than for the opposite, and that neither Koch nor Hammond have taken them into account. Only to be fair, and before we discuss our positioning of T in the tree, we must shed light on a very interesting fact which renders a bi-fold conclusion: That Hammond's positioning of T in the tree in 1902 was not supported with actual evidences, and that critical editions of Chaucer in the twentieth century have reproduced, for over a hundred years, a stemma that is incorrect and was later modified by

Hammond herself, although the scientific community has yet to make room for it.[15]

In 1908, six years after establishing the stemma of the MSS for *PF*, Hammond published a book, *Chaucer: A Bibliographical Manual*, which is still today unsurpassed by any other manual on Geoffrey Chaucer, and refereed in almost every scholar publication about the author. The interesting fact is that, while the book reproduces the MS affiliations for all Chaucerian works, only one of Chaucer's poems deserves the privilege of a stemma. This, of course, could be no other than *PF*, but on a closer examination of the stemma (which is virtually impossible to find on the pages of the book), one notices that this is not the same Hammond has reproduced in 1902. Hammond only deals—between the years 1902 and 1908—with the MSS of *PF* in thee brief articles, namely "Omissions from the Editions of Chaucer" (1904), "MS Longleat 258—A Chaucerian Codex" (1905) and finally, "On the Editing of Chaucer's Minor Poems" (1908). None of these propose a new stemma for *PF* or explain a change in the previous one, nor do we find any explanation in the book about Tanner's sudden change of branch. Regarding Koch, and leaving aside his 1881 article and his edition of the poem in 1928 already mentioned, he has dealt with the matter again in "Das Handschriftenverhältnis in Chaucers *Parlement of Foules*" (1903 and 1904), and in *Versuch einer kritischen Textausgabe von Chaucer's Parlement of Foules* (1904), but his analyses do not alter the substance of our stemma. As it has been argued, Chaucerian criticism has never noticed the change made by Hammond, for her article in 1902 is taken—for, indeed, it is—as the last piece of scholarship that discusses, proves and renders a valid stemma for the witnesses of Chaucer's poem. To anticipate our conclusion, Hammond's 1908 stemma positions T with us, although she gives no explanation of the change whatsoever or proves it with any evidence at all. In our case, and in

[15] As an example of critical editions of *PF* in the twentieth century we could cite Skeat 1900*, Capone 1900, Lounsbury 1900, Koch 1904*, Rogers 1904*, Skeat 1910*, Emerson 1911, Tatlock & MacKaye 1912, MacCracken 1913, Drennan 1914*, Koch 1928*, Robinson 1957 [1933]*, Donaldson 1958*, Brewer 1972 [1960]*, Baugh 1963, Fisher 1977, Ruggiers 1979, Stone 1983 and Benson 1987*. Editions marked with an asterisk are those of special importance for the establishment of *PF*'s text, those that have edited the poem on its own, or the ones that have been considered canonical. Non-academic editions, as that of Penguin, for example, are not listed.

order to deduce the position of T in the tree, we have considered seven different aspects:

-That there are forty-four examples in which T agrees in readings with FB, and only twenty-three in which it does so with LtD.

-That the heading of the poem, in which T coincides with Lt (*The assemble of Foules*) is not important evidence, since neither FB nor LtD—being so strongly affiliated with each other—agree in this aspect.

-That the treatment of the final roundel in *PF*,[16] in which T coincides with Lt, can also be disregarded as valid evidence, since D (which is affiliated with Lt) includes a version of the roundel, and the inclusion of its title in MSS F and B, and not in T, could be an insertion of their immediate ancestor.

-That only in the final colophon do the MSS agree consistently, being it equal for Lt and D (*Here endith the parlement of fowlis*) and for FB and T (*Explicit tractatus de congregacione Volucru*(*m*) *die Sancti Valentini*).

-That for the text of *LGW*, and contrary to what Hammond claims, T uniquely omits lines 249 and 1378b-9a, and lacks lines 249, 487, 846, 960, 961, 1490, 1643, 1998, 2150b-3a, 2193, 2338 and 2475, also missing in F and B.

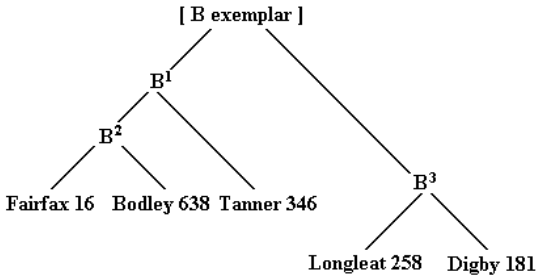
-That if we examine the Chaucerian contents of the MSS, T stands again in an intermediate position between FB and LtD but, without a doubt, it seems to be closer to FB:[17] Fairfax and Bodley (*Anelida and Arcite* (*AA*)*/ LGW/ PF/ BD/ House of Fame* (*HF*)*/ ABC/ Fortune*); Digby and Longleat (*AA/ PF*); Tanner *(LGW/ AA/ BD/ PF*).

16 There are three variants for the roundel in the MSS. Either they include a version of it (MSS J, D and Gg (inserted by a later hand)), they leave a blank space in which the roundel should be inserted (MS H), they do not include it but refer to it with its supposed title, *Qui bien ayme a tarde oublie* (MSS R, F, B and Cx) or they make no reference to it at all (MSS Ff, S, T and Lt). There are three MSS—Hh, P and L—for which the final part of the text of *PF* is lost.

17 The major poems by Chaucer, in the order in which they were copied in the MSS, have been taken from Seymour 1995: 31-32, 83-88.

-That if we take into account the A readings present in the MSS of group B we will see that, whenever an A reading is present in T, it is usually also present in FB.[18]

For all these reasons, we must first agree with Hammond and place T in an intermediate position between the two strong subgroups of FB and LtD. However, we must disagree with her when she postulates the position of T closer to LtD than to FB. Therefore, we must position T in the tree in a way that it is not bonded inside neither of the two subgroups and, at the same time, show that it has characteristics of both FB and LtD, but with a much closer bond with the first subgroup.[19] The new stemma for the B group MSS of *PF* would be, then, as follows:



As colophon to this article, we believe it has been proven with enough evidence that the conclusions of both Koch and Hammond about the textual relations of *PF*'s authorities were reached after an incomplete analysis of the

[18] For FBTA (vs. LtD) there are thirty-five examples, lines 42, 66, 75, 91, 98, 100, 104, 114, 119, 127, 152, 209, 233, 277, 282, 297, 312, 322, 346, 387, 417, 440, 457, 468, 472, 507, 527, 534, 537, 577, 596, 619, 642, 650 and 677, although we could also consider lines 8, 158, 161, 167, 190, 191 and 192 for which B is missing the text. In the case of TLtDA (vs. FB) there are only ten examples, lines 106, 108, 126, 208, 236, 278, 295, 383, 612 and 623.

[19] Of course, one can find some lines that do not fit well into this stemma, namely 56, 59, 139, 154, 214, 224 and 512, which show an A reading present in FB not present in T or LtD. However, there is also evidence against the opposite position, T above LtD, which would be A readings present in LtD not present in T or FB, cf. ll. 71, 156, 158, 196, 296, 375, 523. Notice that all these evidences have to do with the transmission of a reading from group A down the MSS of group B.

variant readings present in the MSS.[20] The mere existence of Hammond's 1908 stemma is, however, enough evidence to invalidate the first, which has been the canonical one for more than one hundred years and is, still today, considered the correct genealogical tree for *PF*. It has now been argued that, sometime between 1902 and 1908, Hammond must have realized the erroneous affiliation of T and inserted a revised version of the stemma in *Chaucer: A Bibliographical Manual* which, nevertheless, passed unnoticed to the virtual totality of Chaucerian criticism. A more important conclusion to this article is, however, that we believe it has proven the necessity to carry out a systematic revision of Chaucerian codicology. We hope that our modest analysis of the "Hammond subgroup" will serve as basis to the study of *PF*'s complete stemma, and open the way to the reconsideration of all codicological stemmas of Chaucer's works.

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APPENDIX: VARIANT READINGS

Line	**Bodley 638**	**Fairfax 16**	**Tanner 346**	**Longleat 258**	**Digby 181**
1	.....	The lyf so short, the crafte so longe to lerne	The lif so short the craft so long to lerne	The lif so short the craft so long to **lere**	The life so short, the crafte so longe to lerne
3	.....	The **slyder** Ioy, **that alwey slyd** so yerne	The blysful ioy **a wey that** fleth so yerne	The blisful Ioy **that alwey** fleeth so yerne	The blisfull ioy **awey that** fleth so yerne
5	.....	Astonyeth soo, with **a** dredeful worchyng	Astonyeth so with **his** dredfull	Astonyeth so with **Ø** dredefull	Astonyth so with **his** dredfull worchyng

[20] Although our conclusions were drawn from the transcription of facsimile prints, the transcriptions of the Chaucer Society (Furnivall 1868-1880) from which Hammond draws her data present a very realiable text of the poem, so that the fault lies in the analysis rather than in the source itself. It could be argued that technological improvements have played a part in the modification of the stemma, but the texts of MSS F, B, T, Lt and D analysed here were manually transcribed and collated.

			worchyng	worchyng	
7	.....	Nat wote I wel **wher that** I wake or wynke	**That** wote I wele **wher Ø** I wake or wynke	Ne wote I wele **whether Ø** I wake or wynke	Not wote I well **wher þat** I **flete** or **synke**
8	.....	For al be that, I knowe not love in dede	For all be that I knowe not loue in dede	**Ø by al that** I knowe not loue in dede	**For by all that** I knowe not loue in dede
9	.....	Ne wote how he, quyteth folke her hire	Ne wote how he quyteth folke hire hire	Ne wote howe he quyteth folke thaire hire	Ne wote howe **she** quyteth folke here hyre
10	.....	Yet hapeth me in bookes, **ofte to** rede	Yit happeth me in bokis **oft Ø** rede	Yet happith me **oft** in bokis **for to** rede	Yit happeth me in bokes **ofte to** rede
17	.....	But why that I speke, al this not yore	But why þat I speke all þis not yoore	But why that I speke **of** this not yore	but why þat I speke all þis,· not yore
23	Cometh al **the** new corne fro yere to yere	Cometh al this new corne, fro yere to yere	Comyth al this new corn fro yere to yere	Cometh al this newe corne from yere to yere	Comyth all this new corn fro yere to yere
25	Comyth all this new scyence that men lere	Cometh al thys new science, that men lere	Comyth al þis new science þat men lere	Cometh al this newe **sentence** that me lere	Comyth all þis newe stiens that men lere
27	To rede forth **Ø** gan me so delyte	To rede forth hit gan me so delyte	To rede forth it gan me so delite	To rede forth it gane me so dilite	To rede forth it ganne me so delite
28	that all **the** day thought me but a lyte	That al **the** day, thought me but a lyte	That al day thought me but a lyte	That al day thought me but a lite	That all day **it** thought me but a lite
29	This booke of which I make mensyon	This booke of which, I make mension	This boke of which I make mencion	This boke **whereas** I make mencion	This book of which I make mencion
35	Of his sentence I wull you tell the grete	Of his sentence, I **nul** yow tel the grete	Of his sentence I wol you tell the grete	Of his sentence I wol you telle the grete	Of his sentens I woll you tell the grete
40	That was bitwext hem til	That was betwixt hem, til the day gan mysse	That was betwixt hem tyl the day	That was bitwix them till the day	Þat was bitwix hem, till the day gan

	the day gan mysse		gan mysse	**Ø** mysse	mysse
42	Gan on his slepe that nyght to him appere	Gan on his slepe that nyght to hym appere	Gan on his slepe that nyght to hym appere	Gan **in** his slepe that **might Ø** appere	Gan on his slepe · that nyght **till** hym appere ·
47	That louyth comune profyte well I thewyd ·	That loveth comvne profyt, wel y thewede	Þat louyth comon profit well I thewed	That loueth **come** proffit well I thewde	That louyth comune profite well I thewyde
50	**Tha anskyd** he if the folke that here be ded	Than asked he, yf the folke that here be dede	Than askid he yif the folke þat here be dede	Than asked he if the folke that here be dede	Than asked he if þe folke þat here be dede
53	and oure present worldis lyues space ·	And oure present worldes, lyves space	And oure present worldis lyuys space	And our present worlds lyues space	And **howe** oure present worldis lifis space
54	Meneth but a maner deth what wey we trace	Meneth but a maner dethe, what wey we trace	Menith but a **man** deth what wey we trace	Meneth but a manere dethe what wey we trace	**Mernyth** but a maner deth what wey we trace
56	To heuen and shewid him the **Galoxye**	To hevene and shewed hym, the **Galoxye**	To heuyn and shewed **hem** the Galoye	To heuen and shewed him the galeye	To heuen and shewed **hem** the Galoye
57	Then shewid he him the litell erth that here is	Than shewede he hym, the lytel erthe that here is	Than shewed he hym the litel erth þat here is	Than shewed he him **a litest** erthe that here is	Than shewed he hym the litle erthe þat here is
59	And aftir shewid he him the **nyne** sperys	And aftir shewed he hym, the **nyne** speris	And after shewid he hy the ix speris	And after shewed he him the ix speres	And after shewed he hym the ix· speres
62	That welle ys of musyke and melodye	That welle ys of musyke, and melodye	That wel is of musyk and melodye	That well is of musik and melodye	That **wellis been** of musik and melodie
63	In this worlde **Ø** and cause of Armonye ·	In this worlde here, and cause of Armonye	In þis world here and cause of Armony	In this worlde here and cause of armonye	In this wordle here, and cause of Armonye
66	That he ne shulde him in the world delyte	That he ne shuld hym, in the worlde delyte	That he ne sholde hy in the worlde delite	That he ne shuld him in **this** worlde delite	That he ne sholde hym in **þis wordle** delite

71	Than pried he Scipion tell him all	Than prayed he Scipion, tel hym alle	Þan prayed he Scipion tell hym alle	Than praied he Cipion **to** telle him all	Than praid he Cipion tell hym all
72	**They** wey to come to heuen blysse	The wey to come, to hevene blysse	The wey to come to heuen blysse	The wey to come to heuen blisse	The wey to come to heuen blisse
74	and loke ay besilye thou werke and wysse	And loke ay besely, thou werke and wysse	And loke ay bisily thou werk and wisse	And loke ay besily thou werke and wisse	And loke ay bisily **thowe** werke and wisse
75	To comvne profyte and		and thu shalt	proffit and thou	and þou shalt neuer
	Lines 81-82 in order	Lines 81-82 in order	Lines 81-82 in order	Lines 81-82 **reversed**	Lines 81-82 in order
82	And then foryeuyn hem all her wikkyd dede ·	And than for yeven hem, al hir wikked dede	And þan foryeve hem al here wicked dede	And than for yeuen them **Ø** thair wikked dede	And then for yeue hem all here wicked dede
83	Then shull thei come vn to that blisfull place	Than shul they come, vnto that blysful place	Than shul they come vn to that blisful place	Than shal they come vnto that blisful place	Than shall þei come **into** that blisfull place
89	Fulfilled of thought and besy heuynesse	Fulfilled of thought, and **Ø** hevenesse	Fulfilled of thought and besy heuynesse	Fulfilled of thought and besy heuynesse	Fulfilled of thought and **of** besy heuynesse
91	And eke I ne had thinge that	And eke I ne had thynge, that I wolde	And ek I ne had thing that I wolde	And **Ø** I ne hade thing that I wolde	And **Ø** I ne hadde thynge ·that I wolde·

	I wolde ·				
94	Tooke reste that made me to slepe faste	Tooke reste, that made me to slepe faste	Toke rest, that made me to slepe fast	Toke rest that made me to slepe fast	**To** rest that made me to slepe fast
96	How Anfrikan right in that **self** aray	How Anfrikan, ryght in that **selfe** Aray	How Affrican right in that seluen Aray	Howe Anfrican right in that seluen array	Howe Anfrican right in þat seluen aray
98	Was comen and stode right at my beddis syde	Was comen and stoode ryght, at my beddys side	Was comen and stode right at my beddes side	Was comen and stode right at **the** beddes side	Was comyn and stood right at **þe** beddis side
99	The wery hunter slepinge in his bed ·	The wery hunter, slepynge in hys bed	The **verry** hunter sleping in his bedde	The wery hunter sleping in his bedde	The wery hunter slepyng in his bedde
100	to woode a yein his mynde goth anon	To wode ayeine, hys mynde gooth anoon	To wode ayen his mynde goth a non	To **the** wode ayein his mynde gooth anoon	To **the** wode a yen, his mynde goth anoon
101	The Iuge dremyth how his pleis ben sped ·	The Iuge dremeth, how hys plees ben sped	The Iuge **demeth** hou his plees ben spede	The Iugge dremyth howe is plees ben spede	The Iuge dremyth howe his plees been spedde
104	the seke metith he drinketh of the tonne	The seke meteth, he drynketh of the tonne	The seke meteth he drynketh of the tonne	The seke **dremeth** he drinketh of the tonne	The seke **dremyth howe** he drynketh of þe ton
105	The louer metith he hath his ladi wonne	The lover meteth, he hath hys lady wonne	The louer metith he hath his lady wonne	The **trewe** louer metyth he hath his lady wonne	The lover metith he hath his lady won
106	Can not I seyn if that the cause were ·	Can not I seyne, yf that the cause were	Can **I not** seyn yif that the cause were	Can **I not** saien if that the cause were	Can **I not** sayn if that the cause were
108	That me to mete that he stode there	That me to mete, that he stood there	That **made** me to mete þat he stood there	That **made** me to mete that he stode there	That **made** me to mete **Ø** he stode there
112	That somdell of thi laboure wolde I the	That somedel of thy labour, wolde I the quyte	That somdele of thy laboure wolde I **Ø** quyte	That sumdell of thy labour wol I the quyte	Þat somdele of thy labour wold I the quyte

	quyte				
114	That with thi firye bronde dauntest whom the leste	That with thy firy bronde, dauntest who the lest	Þat with þy firy bronde dantest who the liste	That with thy fire brande dauntest who **þou list**	Þat with thy firebrond dauntist whom **þou list**
117	As wislye as I saw the north north weste ·	As wisly as I sawe the, northe northe west	As wisely as I saw the north north west	**And** wissely as I sawe thee north north west	As wisly as I sawe the North NorthWest
119	So yeue me myght to ryme and to endyte ·	So yeve me myght, to ryme and to endyte	So yeue me myght to ryme and to endyte	So yeue me myght to ryme and **Ø** endite	so yeue me myght to **write it** and **Ø** endite
123	And ouyr the gate with lettris large I wrought	And ouer the gate, with letres large y wroght	And ouer the gate with letters large I wrought	And ouer the gate with **leres** large I wrought	And ouer the gate with letters large I wrought
125	On eythir halfe of full grete difference ·	On eyther halfe, of ful grete difference	On either half of ful grete **reuerence**	On either half of ful gret difference	On eyther half, of full grete differens
126	Of which I shall you sey the pleyn sentence ·	Of which I shal yow sey, the pleyn sentence	Of which I shal **now** sey the pleyn sentence	Of whiche I shal **nowe** say þe plain sentence	Of which I shall **nowe** say the playn sentens
127	Thorogh me men gon in to that blisfull place ·	Thorgh me men goon, in to that blysful place	Thorogh me men gon in to that blisfull place	Thorough me men **come** into that blisful place	**Through** me men **come** into þat blisfull place
129	Thorgh me men gon vn to the welle of grace	Thorgh me men goon, vnto the welle of grace	Thorogh me men gon vn to the wel of grace	Thorough me men goon vnto the well of grace	**Through** me men goon vnto þe well of grace
130	there grene and lusty may shall euyr endure	There grene and lusty May, shal euer endure	There grene and lusty may shal euer endure	**The** grene and lusty may shal euer endure	Ther grene and lusty may · shall euer endure
133	all opyn am I passe in and hye the faste ·	Al open am I passe in, and hye the faste	Al open am I · passe in and hye the faste	Alle open am I **passed** in and **high** the fast	All open am I passe in and hie the fast

134	Thorgh me men gon then spake þat othir syde ·	Thorgh me men goon, than spake that other side	Thorogh me men gon than spake þat oþer side	Thorough me men goon þan spake þat oþer side	**Through** me men goon þan spake þat oþir side
136	Of which disdayne and daunger ys the gyde ·	Of which disdayne, and daunger is the gyde	Of which dysdayne and daunger is the gide	Of whiche disdayne **Ø** daungier is the gide	Of which disdayn and daungere is the gide
137	There tre shall neuyr frute ne leuys bere ·	there tree shal neuer frute, ne leves bere	Þere tre shal neuer frewte ne leues bere	**The** tree shal neuer frute ne leuys bere	There tree shall neuer frute ne leves bere
139	There as **the** fyssh in pryson ys all drye	There as **the** fyssh in prison, is al drye	Þere as this fissh in prison is all drye	There as this fisshe in prison **al drye is**	There as this fysshe in prison is all drie
140	the schewynge ys **Ø** the remedye ·	The savynge ys only, the remedye	The shewing is only the remedye	The shouyng is oonly the remedys	The shewyng is only the remedie
142	Of which I gan a stounde to biholde ·	Of which I gan a stounde, to be holde	Of which I gan a stounde to be holde	Of whiche I gan **Ø stonde** to beholde	Of which I gan **Ø stonde** to beholde
144	And with that othir gan myne herte to bolde ·	And with that other, gan myn hert to bolde	And with þat other gan my hert to bolde	And with that other gan myn hert to bolde	And with þat othir gan myn hert **Ø** bolde
145	That oon me hette that othir did me colde ·	That oon me hette, that other did me colde	That on me hette that other did me colde	That oon me hette that other **and** me colde	That oon me hette, þat othir did me colde
148	Ryght as betwix Adamaunts twoo	Ryght as betwix Adamauntes twoo	Right as be twix addemandis two	Right as bitwix Ademauntes twoo	**For** right as bitwix adamauntis two ·
149	Of euyn myght a pese of Iron I sette ·	Of evene myght, a pece of Iren y sette	Of evyn myght apece of Iryn **is** sett	Of euen might a pece of Iron **is** sette	Of evyn myght a pece of yron I sette
152	**So** ferd I that I ne wiste wher that me was bette ·	Ferde I that I ne wiste, wher that me was bette	Ferd I that I ne wist wher þat me was bette	**Thus fored** I that I ne wist where **Ø** me was bette	**Thus** ferde I þat I ne wiste, whedir **Ø** me was bette

154	Me hente and shofe **Ø** in at the **gatys** wyde .	Me hente and shoofe **Ø** in, at the **gates** wyde	Me hente and shoof me in at the gate wide	Me hent and shoif me in at the gate wide	Me hent · and shoof me in at þe gate wide
156	Thin erroure though thou tell it not me ·	Thyn errour, though thou tel hyt not me	Thy erroure though thu tel it not me	Thyn errour though **to** telle it not **to** me	Thyn errour though þou tell it not **to** me
158	.....	For this writynge, ys no thing ment be the	For this wrytyng is no thing ment be the	For this **writte** is noo thing ment **by** the	For this writyng is no thyng ment **by** the
161	.....	As seke man hath of swete, and bitternesse	As seek man hath of swete and bitternesse	As **a** seke man hath of swete and bitternesse	As **a** seke man · hath of swete and bittirnesse
165	.....	**Yet** lyketh hym, at the wrastelynge to be	It liketh hym at the wrastlyng to be	It liketh him at the wresteling to bee	It likith hym att the wrastlyng to bee
166	.....	And demeth yit, whethir he do bet or he	And demyth yit whеþer he do bet or he	And demyth yet whether he doo bet or he	And demyth **it**, whethir he do bette or hee
167	.....	And yf thou haddest kunnynge, for to endite	And yif þou haddest kunnyng for to endite	And if thou haddest cunyng **Ø** to endite	And if þou haddist **comyng Ø** to endite
169	.....	**And** with that my honde in hys, he toke anon	With that myn honde in his he took a non	With that my hande in his he toke anoon	With that myn honde in his he toke anon
170	.....	Of which I comfort kaught, and went in faste	Of which I comfort **taught** and went in fast	Of whiche I comfort caught and went in fast	Of whiche I comforte caught and went in fast
172	.....	For ouer al where, I myn eyn caste	For ouer all where I myn eyen cast	**But** ouer al where I myn yen cast	For ouer all, where I myn eyen cast
175	.....	As Emerawde, that Ioy was to sene	As Emeawde þat ioy was to sene	As **any** Emeraude that Ioy was to sene	As Emeraude that ioye was to seyn
177	.....	The peler elme, the cofre vn to careyne	The pelere elm the coffre vn to **the tareyn**	The piler Elme the cofre vnto carayne	The peler Elme, the cofre vnto careyn

178	.....	The box pipe tre, holme to whipes lasshe	The box pype tre holme to whippes lassh	The box pipe tree holme to whippis lasshe	The box pipe, **the** holme to whippes lasshe
183	.....	A gardyn sawh I, ful of blossomed bowis	A gardyn saw I ful of blossomed bowis	A garden sawe I ful **Ø** blosumed bowes	A gardyn sawe I full of blossomyd bowes
187	.....	And colde well stremes, no thinge dede	**A** colde wel stremes nothing dede	And colde well stremes noo thing dede	And colde well stremys no thyng dede
189	.....	With fynnes rede, and stales syluer bryght	With fynys rede and stalis **of** syluer bryght	With fynnes rede and stales syluer bright	With fynnes rede · and stales siluer bright
190	.....	On euery bowgh, the briddes herde I synge	On euery bough the briddes herde I singe	**In** euery bowe the **birdes** harde I singe	**In** euery bough the briddes herde I synge
191	.....	With voys of **aungel**, in her armony	With vois of **aungel** in here armonye	With vois of Angelles in thair armonye	With vois of Aungelis · in here Armonye
192	.....	That besyed hem, her briddes forthe to brynge	Þat besied hym her briddes forth to bryng	That **be side** them thair **birdes** forth to bringe	That **beside** hem hir briddis forth to brynge
195	.....	The dredful Roo, the buk the hert and hynde	The dredful Roo the buk the hert and hinde	The dredeful roo the buk the hert **the** hinde	The dredfull Roo the buk the hert and hynde
196	.....	**Squerel** and bestis smale, of gentil kynde	**Squerele** and bestes smale of gentyl kynde	Squerells and bestes small of gentil kinde	Squerellis and bestis smale, of gentill kynde
197	.....	On instrumentes of strynge, in a corde	On instruments of stringe in a corde	On Instruments of strenge in accorde	On instrumentis of **strength** in **A corde**
198	.....	Herde I **Ø** pley, and ravysshinge swetnesse	Herde I so pley and rauysshinge swetnesse	Harde I so playe and rauisshing swetnesse	Herde I so pleie, and raueshyng swetnesse
199	.....	That god that maker ys of al, and lorde	That god þat makere is of al and lorde	That god that **the** maker is of al and lorde	That god þat maker is of all, and lorde

201	Therwith a wynde vnneth it myght be lesse ·	There with a wynde, vnnethe hyt myght **Ø** lesse	There with a wynde vnneth it myght be lesse	There with awynde vnneth it might be lesse	Þere with A **wyndes** vneth it myght be lesse
202	Made in the leuys grene a noyse softe ·	Made in the leves grene, a noyse softe	Made in þe leuys grene a noyse softe	Made in the leuys grene a noise soft	Made in the leues grene a noise **full** softe·
203	Acordant to the foulys songe on lofte ·	Accordant to the foulys, songe on lofte	Acordant to the foules songe on lofte	**According** to the foules songe on loft	Accordaunt to the fowlis songe on lofte
204	The **ayre** of that place so attempre was	The **aire** of that place, so attempre was	The eire of þat place so atempre was	The eyre of that place so **attempered** was	The eire of þat place so attempre was ·
205	That neuyr was grevance there of hote ne colde .	That neuer was grevance therof, hoot ne colde	That neuer was greuance þere of hote ne colde	That neuer was greunce thereof **of** hote ne colde	Þat neuer was greuance there, of hote ne colde
206	There growyn **Ø** euery holsom spice and gras	Ther growen eke, euery holsome spice and gras	Ther growen ek euery holsom spice and gras	There growen eke euery holsom spice and gras	There growen eke, euery holsome spice and gras
208	Yet was there **more ioy** a thousande folde	Yet was there **more Ioy**, a thousande folde	Yit was ther Ioy more a thousand fold	Yet was there Ioye more a thousand folde	Yhit was þere ioy more a thousand fold
209	No man kan tell neuyr wolde it nyght	No man kan telle, neuer wolde hyt nyght	No man can tell neuer wold it nyght	Noo man can telle neuer wold it **be** night	No man can tell, neuer wold it **be** nyght
214	And **wylle** his doughtre temperyd al the while	And **wille** hys doghtre, tempred al the while	And while his doughter tempred all þe while	And while his doughter tempered al the while	And while his doughter temprid all þe while
216	She towchid hem aftir as thei shuld serue	She tovched hem, after as they shul serve	She touched hem after as they shull serue	She **couched** them after as they shulde serue	She touched hem · aftir as þei shold serue
217	Som to fle and som to wounde and kerue	Some to flee, and some to wounde and kerve	Som to fle and som to wounde and kerue	Sume to flee and sume to wounde and karue	Some to **slee** and some to wounde and kerue

220	And of the crafte that kan and hath þe myght	And of the crafte that kan, and hath the myght	And of the craft þat can and hath the myght	And of the craft that can and hath the might	And of þe crafte þat **came** and hath þe myght
224	Saugh I Delyte that stode with **gentillesse**	Sawgh I delyte, that stoode with **gentilesse**	Saugh I delite that stood with gentilnesse	Sawe I dilite that stode with gentilnesse	Saugh I delite that stood with gentilnesse
225	I saugh beaute without eny atyre	I sawgh beaute, withoute any atire	I sawgh bewtee with oute any atire	I sawe beaute withoute any **tyre**	I saugh beaute without any atire
228	Massagery mede and othir thre ·	Messagery mede, and other thre	Messagery mede and other thre	Massagerye mede and other **tree**	**Messanger** mede and other thre
231	I saugh a temple of bras foundid stronge	I sawgh a temple of **glas** founded stronge	I saugh a temple of brasse fonded stronge	I sawe a Temple of bras founded strong	I saugh a temple of bras foundid stronge
233	Women I nowe of which som were ·	Women y now, of which some were	Women I nowe of which some were	Women **ynough** of whiche sume were	Wymen **I nowgh** of which some were
234	Faire of hem self and som of hem gay	Faire of hem self, and some of hem gay	Faire of hem self and som of hem gay	Faire of them self and sume **Ø** gaye	Faire of hem silf, and some of hem gay ·
236	That was hir offyce · alwey **fro** yere **to** yere ·	That was hir office alwey, **fro** yere **to** yere	Þat was here office alwey yere by yere	That was thair office alwey yere by yere	That was here office alwey yere by yere
238	Of dowuys white many a hundryd peyre	Of dowves white, many a hundred paire	Of dowues white meny an hundrid peire	Of doues white many a hundred paire	Of dowfes **Ø** many an hundred paire
244	And aldirnext within and withoute ·	And alder next within, and with oute	And alther next with in and with oute	And alther next within and withoute	And alder next within and **eke** with out
245	Beheste and Arte and of hir folke a Route	Behest and arte, and of her folke a rowte	By hest and art and of here folke a route	Behest and Arte and of thair folke a route	Bihest and art and **Ø** here folke **about**

255	In suche Aray as when the Asse him shente·	In suche array, as whan the asse hym shente	In swich array as whan þe asse hym shente	In suche array as whan the asse him shend	In suche array· as when the asse hym **hent**
256	With crye be nyght and with his ceptre in honde ·	With crie be nyght, and with his ceptre in honde	With cry **by** nyght and with his cepter in honde	With crye **by** night and **Ø** his ceptre in honde	With crie be nyght, and with his septer in honde
262	That was full noble and hawteyn of hir porte ·	That was ful noble, and hawteyn of hir porte	That was ful noble and hauteyn of hir port	That was ful **Ø** and **haulteyne** of hir port	Þat was full noble, and haunten of here porte
263	Derk was that place **and** aftirward lyghtnesse ·	Derke was that place, but afterward lyghtnesse	Derk was that place but afterward lightnesse	Derke was **the** place but afterward lightnesse	Derke was þat place, but aftirward lightnesse
269	And nakid fro the breste vnto the hed	And naked fro the brest, vn to the hede	And naked fro the brest vn to the hede	And naked fro the brest vnto the hede	And naked from the breste **Ø** to the hede
274	The place yafe a thousande sauowrys swote ·	The place yafe a thousande, sauours swoote	The place **Ø** a thousand sauores swoote	The place yaue a thousande sauours sote	The place yaf a thowsand savours sote
277	and as I seide amyddes lay Cipride	and as I seide, amyddes lay Cipride	And as I seide amyddes lay Cipride	And as I saide amyddis lay **Cupide**	And as I said amyddes lay **Cupide**
278	To whom on kneis **the** yonge folkis cryde	to whom on knes, **the** yonge folkes criede	To whom on knees two yonge folkes cryde	To whom on knees two yonge **folke** cryde	To whom on knees two yong **folke** cride ·
282	Full many a bowe **I** broke henge on the wall	Ful many a bowe **y** broke, henge on the walle	Ful many a bowe **I** broke henge on the wall	Ful many a bowe broke hynge on the walle	Ful many a bowe broke, hynge on the wall
284	In hir seruyse and peynted ouyr all	In hir seruise, and **peyted** ouer alle	In hir seruice and peynted ouer all	In hir seruice and paynted ouer alle	In here seruise, and paynted ouer all

286	A fewe · as of Calixte and Athalante ·	A fewe, as of Calixte, and Athalante	A fewe as of Calixte and Athalant	A **felde** as of Calixte and Athelante	A fewe, as of Calixte, and Athalante
287	And many a maide of which the name I wante	And many a Mayde, of which the name I wante	And many a mayde of which þe name I want	And **of** many a mayden of whiche þe name I wante	And many a maide of which the name I wante
290	Trystam Isoude Parys and Achylles	Tristram, Isoude, Paris, and Achilles	Tristram Isoude Parys and Achilles	Tristram **I founde** Parys and hachilles	Tristram Isaud Paris and Achilles
294	And all her loue and in what plyte · they dyde	And al her loue, and in what plite they dide	And al hire loue and in what plyte they dide	**Ø** alle there loue and in what plight þey dide	And all here love, and in what plite they dide
295	When I was come a yen in to **that** place ·	Whan I was comen ayen, in to **that** place	Whan I was comen ayein in to the place	Whan I was come ayein into the place	When I was comen a yen in to the place
296	That I of spake that was so swote and grene ·	That I of spake, that was so swoote and grene	That I of spak þat was so swote and grene	That I of spake that was so **sote** and grene	That I of spake, that **Ø** so **soot** and grene
297	Forth welke I tho my selfe to solace ·	Forth welke I thoo, my selven to solace	Forth welke I tho my siluen to solace	Forth **walked** I thoo my seluen to solace	Forth **walkid** I thoo my seluen to solace
303	Was sette this noble goddesse of Nature ·	Was sette this noble goddesse, of nature	Was sette þis noble goddes (of) nature	Was sette this noble goddes **Ø** nature	Was sette this noble goddes **Ø** nature
306	Ne ther uas foule þat comyth of engendure	Ne ther uas foule, that cometh of **engendrure**	Ne there uas foule that comeþ of engendure	Ne there was foule that comyth of engendure	Ne ther was fowle that comyth of **engendrure**
307	That ther ne were preste in hir presence ·	That there ne were prest, in hir presence	That there ne were preest in hir presence	That there ne were **Ø** in hir presence	That there ne were preste in here presence
310	When euery foule comyth there to chese	Whan euery foule cometh there, to chese his make	Whan euery vfoule comth þere to chese **hir** make	Whan euery foule comyth there to chese his make	When euery fowle comyth þere to chese his make

	his make				
311	Of euery kynde that men thynke maye	**On** euery kynde, that men thynke may	Of euery kynde that men thynke may	Of euery kynde that men thinke may	Of euery kynde that men thynke may ·
312	And that so huge a noyse gan thei make ·	And that so huge anoyse, gan they make	And þat so huge a noyse gan they make	And that so huge **Ø voice** gan they make	And þat so huge **Ø** noise gan þei make ·
313	That erth **Ø** se and tre and euery lake ·	That erthe and see and tree, and euery lake	That erth and se and tre and euery lake	That erthe and see and tree and euery lake	That erthe and see, and tree and euery lake
318	In such araye men myght hir there fynde ·	In suche array, men myght hir there fynde	In swich array men myght hire there **y** finde	In suche array men might hir there finde	In suche aray men myght hir ther fynde
319	This noble Emperesse full of grace	This noble emperesse, ful of **gace**	This noble Empiresse ful of grace	This noble emperesse ful of grace	This noble Empresse, full of grace
322	Seynt Valentynes day to stondyn there .	Seynt Valentynes day, to stonden there	Seint Valentynes day to stonden there	**On** Seint Valentyne is day to standen there	**On** Seynt Valentynes day to stond there
329	And that so fele that wondir was to sene	And that so fele, that wonder was to sene	And that so fele that wonder was to sene	And that so felle that wondre **it** was to seen	And that so fele, that wonder was to sene
332	And othir Eglys of a loware kynde ·	And other Egles, of a lower kynde	And other Egles of a lower kynde	And other egles of **Ø** lower kynde	And othir Egles of a lower kynde
335	And **grene** · I mene the goshauke that doth pyne ·	And grey, I mene the goshauke that doth pyne	And **greyne** · I mene the goshauke þat doth pyne	**The gray goshauke that doth gret pyne**	And gray, I mene the Gooshauke þat doth pyne
336	To briddes · for his outrageouse Ravyne	To briddes, for his outrageouse ravyne	To briddes for his outrageus rauyne	To **the birds** for his outeragious rauyne	To briddis · for his owtragis ravyne

341	There was the Dowue with hir yen meke ·	There was the dowve, with hir eyen meke	There was the dowue with here eyghen meke	**The** was the dove with **his** yen meke	Ther was the dowfe with here eyen meek
346	the scornynge ·Iay· the Eglys foo herowne·	The scornynge Iay, the Egles foo heroune	The scornyng Iay the Egles foo heroun	The scornyng Iay the egles foo **the** heroune	The Scornyng Iay the Egles foo **the hairon**
348	The stare that the counsell can bewrye ·	The stare, that the counseylle kan bewrye	The staare that þe conseil kan by wrye	The stare **Ø** the counseille can bewreye	The stare that the Councell can biwrie
349	The tame Ruddock and the cowarde kyte	The tame Ruddok, and the cowarde kyte	The tame Ruddok and the coward kyte	The Tame ruddok and the coward kite	The tame **Puttok** and the coward kite
350	The coke that orlogge is of thropes lyte ·	The cok, that Orlogge ys, of thropes lyte	The cok that Orlogge is of thropes lyte	The Cok that orllage is of Thropys lite	The Cok that **orloger** is of thropis lite
351	The Sparow Venus sone the Nyghtyngale ·	The sparow, Venus sone, the nyghtyngale	The sparwe venus sone the nyghtyngale	The **Sparehauke** Venus soon the nightingale	The Sparowe venus son the Nyghtyngale
352	That clepith forth the fressh leuys newe ·	That clepeth forth, the fressh leves newe	That clepeth forth the fressh leues newe	That clepith **Ø** the fresshe leuys newe	That clepith forth the fressh leues newe
354	That makyn hony of flowrys fressh of hewe ·	That maken hony of floures, fressh of hewe	That maken hony of floures fressh of hewe	That maken hony of floures fresshe of hewe	That makyn **Ø** of **the** floures fresshe **and newe**
358	The waker gos the Cukkow euyr vnkynde	The waker goos, **Ø** cukkow euer vnkynde	The waker goos the cokkow euer vnkynde	The waker goos the Cokkowe euer vnkynde	The wakir Goos the Cokkowe euer vnkynde
362	The hote cormeraunte of glotonye	The hoote Cormeraunte, of glotonye	The hote Carmerant of glotonye	The hote Cormeraunt **ful** of glotenye	The hote Cormeraunt of Glotonye
364	The throstill olde **and** the frosty Feldfare ·	The throstel olde, the frosty felde fare	The throstel oolde the frosty felde fare	The Thristell olde the frosty felde fare	The Thrustyll olde the frosty feldfare

366	That in this world han fethris and stature ·	That in this worlde, han fetheres and stature	That in this worlde han fetheres and stature	That is in this worlde han federes **or** stature	That in this wordle haue fethris and stature
370	**Benyglye** to chese or for to take ·	Benyngly to chese, or for to take	Benignely to chese or for to take	Benyngly to chese or for to take	Benyngly to chese, or for to take ·
372	But to the poynte Natur hild on hir honde	But to the poynte nature helde on hir honde	But to the point nature held on hir honde	But to the point Nature helde **vp** hir hande	But to the poynt Nature helde on hir honde
375	The moste benigne and goodlyeste ·	The moste benigne, and goodlyeste	The moost benigne and goodlieste	The moost benigne and **the** goodliest	The most benyngne, and **the most** goodliest
377	So ferforth that Nature hir self had blisse ·	So ferforthe, that nature hir selfe had blysse	So ferforth þat nature hire self hadde blysse	So ferforth that nature hir self had blisse	So ferforth þat nature here silf had **lisse**
379	Nature the vikyr of thalmyghty lorde ·	Nature the vyker, of thalmyghty lorde	Nature the vikere of the almyghty lorde	Nature the viker of **Ø** almighty **god**	Nature the viker of the all myghty lorde
381	Hath knytee bi euyn novmbre of acorde ·	**halfe** knyt **be** evene novmbre, of accorde	Hath knyt by euyne nombre of a corde	[ ] knyt by euen nombre of accorde	Hath knytte by euene nombre of **A coord**
383	Foules take **Ø** of my sentence I prey ·	Foules, take **Ø** of my sentence I prey	Fowles take hede of my sentence I prey	Foules take hede of my sentence I praye	Fowlis take heede of my sentens I praie
384	And for youre ease in furtherynge of youre nede ·	And for youre ease, in furtherynge of youre nede	And for youre ese in fortheryng of youre nede	And for your ease in furthering of your **mede**	And for youre ease in forthryng of youre nede
385	As faste as I may speke I wull me spede ·	As faste as I may speke, I wol me spede	As fast as I may speke I wole me spede	As fast as I may speke I wol **you** spede	As fast as I may speke I woll me spede

386	Ye know wel how that Seynt Valentyns day	Ye knowe wel, how that Seynt Valentynes day	Ye know well how þat Seint Valentynes day	Ye knowe well howe that Seint Valentyne is day	Ye knowen **Ø** how that **on** Seynt Valentynes day
387	Bi my statute and thorgh my gouernaunce	**Be** my statute, and thorgh my gouernaunce	By my statut and thorow my gouernance	By my statute and thorough myn **ordenaunce**	By my statute and through myn **ordenance**
389	With youre makis as I prike you with plesaunce ·	With youre makes, as I prik yow with plesaunce	Wiþ youre makes as I pryke you with plesance	With your makes as I prike you with plesaunce	With youre makis as I pryk **Ø** with plesaunce
390	But natheles my rightfull gouernaunce ·	But natheles, my ryght ful gouernaunce	But nathelees my rightful gouernance	But natheles **by** my rightful gouernaunce	But natheles my rightfull gouernance
391	May I not lette for al this world to wynne ·	May I not let, for al this worlde to wynne	May I naught lete for All this worlde to wyn	May I not lete for al this worlde to wynne	May **Ø** not let, for all þis wordle to wynne
394	The foule Roial a boue you **all** in degre ·	The foule Royal, aboven yow in degree	The foule royal a bouen you in degree	The foule roial abouen you in degree	The fowle riall · aboven you in degre ·
395	The wise and worthi **the** secre trew as stele·	The wyse and worthy, secre trewe as stele	The wise and worthy secree trew as steel	The wise and worthy secree trewe as stele	The wise and worthy secre true as stele ·
399	He shal firste chese and speke in his gyse ·	He shal first chese, and speken in his gyse	He shal first chese and speken in his gise	He shal first chese and speken in his gise	He shall first chese and speken **on** his gise·
400	And aftir him bi ordre shul ye chese ·	And aftir hym by order, shul ye chese	And after hym **Ø** ordre shul ye chese	And after him by ordre shul ye chese	And aftir hym by ordre shull ye chese
404	God sende him hir that soryste for hym siketh	God sende hym hyr, that sorest for hym syketh	God sende hym hir that sorest **of** hym siketh	God sende him hir that sorest for him **sigheth**	God sende hym hire þat sorest for hy siketh
406	And seid my sone the choys is to the **I** falle ·	And seyde my sone, the choys is to the falle	And seid my sone the choys is to the fall	And saide my sone the choice is to the falle	And said my son, the choice is to the fall

407	But natheles in this condycion	But natheles, in thys **condicon**	But nathelees in this condicion	But natheles in this condicion	But nathelees in this condicion
409	That she agre to his eleccyon	That she agree, to hys **eleccon**	That she agree to his Eleccion	That she aggre to his eleccion	That she agree to his eleccion
411	This is oure vsage alwey fro yer to yere ·	This is oure vsage alwey, fro yere to yere	**That** is oure vsage alwey fro yere to yere	This is our vsage alwey fro yere to yere	This is oure vsage alwey fro yere to yere ·
414	With hed enclyned and with full humble chere ·	With hed enclyned, and with ful humble chere	With heed enclyned and with ful humble cheere	With hede enclyned and with **Ø** humble chere	With heed enclyned and with full humble chere ·
415	This roial tarcell spake and taried nought	this real tercel spake, and taried noght	**Thus** roiall tercel spak and taried nought	This roial Tarsell spake and taryed nought	This Royall Tarcell spake, and taried nought
417	I chese and chesse with wille and hert and thought	I chese and chesse, with wille and hert and thought	I chese and chees with wyl and hert and thought	I chese and chese with **hert Ø will** and thought	I chees and chese, with will **Ø** hert and thought
420	Do what hir luste to do me **leue** or sterue ·	Doo what hir lyste, to doo me lyve or sterve	Do what hir lust to do me lyue or sterue	Doo what hir list to doo me lyue or sterue	Do what here liste to do me lyve or sterve ·
421	Besechinge hir of mercy and of grace ·	Besechynge hir of mercy, and of grace	Bisechyng hir of mercy and of grace	Beseching hir of mercy and of grace	Besechyng hir · of mercy and **Ø** grace
422	As she that is my ladi souereigne ·	As she that ys my lady, souereyne	As she that is my lady souereyne	As she that is my lady **and** souueraine	As she that is my lady soueraign
424	For certis longe may I not leue in peyne ·	For certes longe may I not, lyve in peyne	For **cartes** long may I nat lyue in peyne	For certis long may I not lyue in payne	For certes longe may I not **loue** in payn
426	Hauynge rewarde oonly to my trowth	Hauynge rewarde oonly, to my trouthe	Hauynge rewarde oonly to my trouth	Hauyng **regarde** oonly to my trouthe	Hauyng **only reward** to my trouthe ·

428	And if I be founde to hir vntrew	And yf I be founde, to hir vntrewe	And if I be founde to hir vn trewe	And if **it** be founde to hir vntrewe	And if I be founde to her vntrewe
431	I prey to you this be my Iugement	I pray to yow, thys be my Iugement	I pray to you this be my Iuggement	I pray **Ø** you this be my Iuggement	I prey to you, this be my Iuggement
436	Although she neuyr of loue me behete ·	**as** thogh she neuer of loue, me be hette	All thow she neuer of loue me bi hette	**And** though **of loue she me neuer** behette	All though she neuer of loue me bihete
437	Then ought she be myn thorgh hir mercy	Than oght she be myn, thourgh hir mercy	Than ought she **Ø** myn thorugh hir mercy	Than aught she **Ø** myn thorough hir mercy	Than ought she be myn through her mercy
438	For othir bonde kan I non on hir knette	For other bonde kan I noon, on hir knette	**Of** other bond kan I noon on hire knette	For other bounde can I noon on hir knytte	For othir bonde can I noon **Ø** knette
439	For neuyr for no woo ne shall I lette	For neuer for no woo, ne shal I lette	For neuer for **Ø** woo ne shall I lette	For neuer for noo woo ne shal I lette	For neuer for **Ø** woo ne shall I lette ·
440	To serue hir how ferre so that she wende ·	To serven hir, how ferre so that she wende	To seruen hir how fer so that she wende	To seruen hir howe ferre **Ø** that she wende	To seruen here, howe ferre **Ø** þat she wende
448	Seid doughtre drede you nought I you assure ·	Seyde doghter, drede yow noght I yow assure	Seide doughter drede **not nought** I you assure	Saide doughter drede you nought I you assure	Seid doughter drede you not, I you assure ·
449	An othir tercel Egle spake anon	Another tercel egle, spake anoon	A nother tercel Egle spak anon	**And** another Tersell egle spake anoon	An other Tarcell Egle spake anoon
452	Or at **Ø** leste I loue hir as well as ye ·	Or atte lest, I love hyr as wel as ye	Or at the leste I loue hir as wel as ye	Or at the lest I loue hir as well as ye	Or at the laste I loue here as well as ye
454	And if she shuld haue louyd for longe louynge	And yf she shulde have loued, for long lovyng	And yif **ye** sholde haue loued for long louynge	And if she shulde haue loued for long louyng	And if she shold haue loued for long louyng

457	Vnkinde Iangler or rebell any wyse ·	Vnkynde Iangler, or rebel any wyse	Vnkynde Ianlore or rebel any wise	Vnkind iangeler or rebell **in** any wise	Vnkynde Iangeloure or rebell **in** any wise
460	As well as my witte kan me suffyse	as wel as my wytte, kan me suffise	as wel as my wyt kan me suffise	As well as my witte can me suffice	As well as **any** witt can me suffise ·
461	Fro poynte to poynte hir honoure for to saue·	Fro poynt to poynt, hir honour for to save	Fro point **in** point hire honore for to saue	Fro point to point hir honnour for to saue	Fro poynt to poynt, hir honours for to saue
462	Take she my life and all the good I haue ·	Take she my lyfe, and al the good I have	Take she my lif and al the good I haue	Take she my lif and **Ø** the good I haue	Take **eke** my lif, and all the good I haue
466	Forth with his make or with his ladi dere	Forth with hys make, or with hys lady dere	**For** with his make or with his lady dere	**For** with his make or with his lady dere	Forth with his make · or with his lady dere
467	And eke hir self ne wull nought here ·	And eke hir selfe, ne wol nought here	And ek hir self ne wol nought here	And eke hir self ne wolde nought here	And eek **nature** hir silf ne woll not here
468	For taryenge here nought half that I wold sey	For taryinge here noght half, that I wolde sey	For tarying here nought half þat I wolde say	For tareing here nought half **Ø** I wold saye	For tareyng here not half **Ø** I woll seie
471	But as possible is me to dye to day	But as possible ys me, to dye to day	But as possible is me to **dey** to day	But as possible is me to dye to day	But as possible is me to die to day
472	For woo as he þat hath be languysshynge	For woo, as he that hath ben langwysshynge	For wo as he that hath ben languyssing	For woo as **they** that **Ø** ben languisshing	For woo as **they** that **Ø** been languysshyng
476	Then som man doth that hath seruid full yore	Than some man dooth, that hath serued **Ø** yore	Than som man dooth that hath serued ful yoore	Than sume man doith that hath serued ful yore	Than som man doth þat hath seruid full yore
493	That wel wende I the wode had alto shyueryd	That wel wende I, the woode had al to shyuered	That wel wende I the wode hadde al to shyuered	That wel wende I the wode had **Ø** to sheuerede	That well wende I the **wordle** had all to shevered

494	Come of thei cride allas ye woll vs shende ·	Come of they cride, allas ye wol vs shende	Com of **the** cryed allas ye wolde vs shende	Come of they cried alas ye wol **be** shende	Come of they cride allas ye woll vs shende
497	For ye or nay without any prevue ·	For yee or nay, with outen any preve	For ye or nay with outen any preeue	For ye **and** nay withoute any preue	For ye or nay with outen any preve ·
498	The goos the Duke **Ø** the cukkow also	The gos the duk, and the cukkowe also	The goos the doke and the cokkow also	The goos the duk and the cokkowe also	The goos the doke · and the cokkowe also
504	For watyr foule who so be **glad** or blith	For watir foule, who so be wrothe or blythe	For water foule who so be wroth or blith	For water foule who so be **lothe** or blithe	For water fowle who so be wroth or blith
505	And I for wormfoule seyd the fole kuckow ·	And I for wormefoule, seyde the foole cukkowe	And I for wormfowle seid the fool kokkow	And I for worme foule saide the fool cokkow	And **Ø** for wormefowle said the fole cokkowe ·
507	For comvne spede take on me the charge now ·	For comvne spede, take on me the charge nowe	For comune speed take on me the charge now	For **comen** spede take on me the charge nowe	For **comen** spede take on me the charge nowe
508	For to deliueryn vs is grete charite ·	**Fore** for to delyueren vs, ys grete charite	For to delyueren vs is grete charite	For to deliueren vs is gret charite	**For** for to delyuer vs, is grete charite
511	A wight may speke him were as good be styll	A wyght may speke, hym were as good be stille	A Wyght may speke hym were as **Ø** be still	A wight may speke him were as good be stille	Awight may speke, hy were as good be still
512	I am a sed foule oon the **vnworthiest** ·	I am A sede foule, oon the **vnworthieste**	I am a seedfowle oon **of** the worthiest	I am a sede foule oon the worthyest	I am a seed foule oon **of** the worthiest
514	But bettre is that a wightes tonge reste ·	But better ys, that a wightys tonge reste	But better is that a wightes tonge rest	But better is that **al** wightes tong rest	But bettir is that a wighte tunge rest
516	Of which he neithir rede kan nor synge ·	Of which he neyther rede kan, nor synge	Of **swich** he neither rede kan nor synge	Of whiche he neither rede can nor syng	Of which he, neider rede can ne synge

519	Nature which that alway had an ere	Nature which that alway, had an ere	Nature which þat alwey hadde an ere	**Ø** whiche that alwey had an ere	Nature which that allwey had an ere ·
520	To murmoure of the lewdenesse behinde ·	To murmour of the lewdenesse behynde	To [ ]rme of the lewednesse by hynde	To **the** murmour of the **loudenesse** byhinde	To mormor of the lewdenesse behynd
523	Yow for to deliveryn and from this noise vnbynde ·	Yow for to delyueren and from this noyse vnbynde	Yow for to delyueren **Ø** from þis noyse vnbynde	You **Ø** to deliueren and from this noise vnbynde	Yowe **Ø** to delyueren, and fro **the** noise vnbynde
524	I iugge of euery folke men shall oon calle ·	I iugge of euery **folle**, men shal one calle	I iugge of euery **flok** men shall oon calle	I Iugge of euery **foule me** shal oon calle	**A** Iuge of euery folke men sholde oon call
525	To seyn the vordit for you foulis alle	To seyne the veirdit for yow foules alle	To seyn the voirdyt for you fowles alle	To say the verdit for you **Ø** alle	To seyen the verdite for you fowlis all
527	The briddis al and the foulis of Rauyn	The briddes alle, and the foules of ravyne	Þe briddes al and the foules of rauyne	**That birdis** al and **Ø** foules of rauyne	**That** briddis all and þe fowlis of Raveyne ·
529	The tercelet of the faukon to dyffyne ·	The tercelet of the faucon, to dyffyne	The tercelet of the faucon to defyne	The tarselet of the faucon to **deuyne**	The tarcelet of the faucon to **dyuyne**
530	All her sentence and as him **lust** to termyne ·	Al her sentence, and as hym lyst to termyne	All hir sentence and as hym list to termyne	Alle hir sentence and as him list to termyne	All here sentens **Ø** as hym liste to termyne
533	The tercelet seid then yn this manere	The tercelet seyde thanne, in this manere	The tercelet seid than in this manere	The tarselet saide **Ø** in this manere	The tarcellet said than in this manere
534	Ful harde were it to preue it bi reson	Ful harde were hyt, to preven hyt by reson	Full harde were it to preuen it by reson	For harde **it were** to preuen it by raison	Ful harde **it were** to preven it by reason
537	That bi skilles may non be brought a doun	That by skylles may non, be broght a don	That by skeles may noon be brught a down	That **Ø** skyllys **Ø** noon be brought a doon	That **Ø** skilles may noon be brought a doon

539	Then semyth it ther moste be bataile ·	Than semeth hit, ther moste be bataylle	Then semeth it there moste be bataille	Than semeth it **were** most **by** bataille	Than semyth it there most be bataile ·
540	Al redi quoth this Eglis tercellis tho	Al redy quod these Egles, tercels thoo	All redy quod thise Egeles tercels tho	Alle redy quod these egles tarsellys thoo	All redy quod thise Egles tarcelles **two**·
545	Owrys is the vois that han the charge in honde·	Oures is the voys, that han the charge in honde	Oures is the voys þat han the charge in hande	Oures is the voix that haue the charge in honde	Oures is the voice, that haue þe charge **on** honde
549	Of knyghthode **Ø** lengist had vsid hitte ·	Of kynghthode, and lengest had vsed hitte	Of knyghthode and lengest had vsed it	Of knighthode and longest hade vsed it	Of knyghthode, and longest had vsed itte
551	Were sittynge **to** hir if that hir lest	Were syttynge for hir, yf that hir leste	Were sittyng for hir if that hir lest	Were sitting for hir if that hir list	Were sityng for here, if that here liste ·
553	Which that he be for it is light to know	Which that he be, for hyt is lyght to knowe	Which þat he be for it is lyght to knowe	Whiche that he be for it is light to knowe	Which that he be, for **that** is light to knowe ·
555	To gedir and of shorte avisement	to gedir, and of shorte avysement	To gider and of short auysement	To gedre and of **a** short auisement	To gedir, and of shorte avisement
556	When euerich had his large golee seyde ·	Whan euerych had hys large, **goler** seyde	Whan euerych had his large golee seide	Whan eueriche hade his large gole saide	When euerych hadde his large golee said
557	Lines 557-558 in order	Lines 557-558 in order	Lines 557-558 in order	Lines 557-558 **reversed**	Lines 557-558 in order
560	Shal tell oure tale and preid to god hir spede·	Shal telle oure tale, and preyde to god hir spede	Shal tell oure tale and preide to god hire spede	Shal **oure tale telle** and pray to god hir spede	Shall tell oure tale and preid to god here spede ·
562	The goos to speke and in hir cakelynge ·	The goos to speke, and in hir cakelynge	The goos to speke and in hir caklyng	The goos to speke and in hir cakeling	The goos to speke · and in **Ø** kakelyng
569	Quoth the Sperhauke neuyr mote she the ·	Quod the Sperhauke, neuer mote she thee	Quod **tho** the Sperhauke neuer mote she thee	Quod the spearehauke neuer mutte she thee	Quod **tho** the Sperhauke neuer mote she the

570	Lo such it is to haue a tonge loos	Loo suche hyt ys, to haue a tonge loos	Loo swich it is to haue a tonge loos	Loo suche **Ø** is to haue a tonge lose	Loo suche it is to haue A tunge loos
571	Now parde fole yet were it bet for the ·	Now parde foole, yet were hit bet for the	Now pardee fool yit were it **best** for the	Now parde fole yet were it bet for the	Nowe parde fooll · yit were it bett for the
573	hit lith not in his witte nor in his wylle ·	Hyt lyth not in hys wytte, nor in hys wille	It **lithe** naught in his wit nor in his wyll	It lieth not in his witte ner in his wille	It lieth nought in **thy** witte not in **thy** will
577	The turtyll trew and gan hir to hem calle ·	the turtel trewe, and gan hir to hem calle	Þe turtyl trew and gan hire to hem call	The turtyll trewe and gan **Ø** to him calle	The turtill true and ganne **Ø** to hem call
579	Of this matere and askid what she rad ·	Of thys matere, and asked what she radde	**On** this matere and asked what she radde	Of this matere and asked what she radde	Of this mater and asked what she radde
582	Nay god forbede a louer shuld chaunge ·	Nay god forbede, a lover shulde chaunge	Nay god forbede a louer shold chaunge	Nay god forbede a louer shulde chaunge	Nay god forbede A louer **Ø** chaunge ·
584	Theigh that his ladi euyrmore be straunge ·	**thought** that hys lady, euer more be straunge	Theigh that his lady euermore be straunge	**Though** that his lady euermore be straunge	**Though** þat his lady · euermore be straunge ·
585	Yet lete him serue hir euermore till he be ded·	Yet let hym serve hir, euer **Ø** tyl he be dede	Yet lat hym serue hir euer **Ø** tyl he be dede	Yet lete him serue hir euermore till he be dede	Yit lete hym serue hir euermore, till he be dede
587	For **theigh** she deid I wolde non othir make	For **thoygh** she deyed, I wolde noon other make	For they she deide I wolde noon oother make	For **though** she died I wold noon othir make	For **þough** she died I wold noon othir **take**
590	That men shuldin louen alwey causeles	That men shulden **alwey, louen** causeles	That men sholde **alwey louen** causeles	That men shulde loue alwey causeless	That men shold loue alwey causeles
592	Dauncyth he mery that is merthles	Daunceth he **murye**, that ys murtheles	Daunceth he **murye** þat is murthelees	Daunceth he [ ]	Dauncith he mery that is myrthlees
594	Ye quek quoth the duk ful wel and faire ·	Ye quek quod the duk, ful wel and faire	Ye quek **Ø** the dok ful wel and faire	Ye quake **said** the duk ful wel and faire	Ye queke **queke said** þe doke, full wele and faire

596	Now fye cherle quoth the gentill tercelette	Now fye cherle, quod the gentil tercelet	Now fy cherl quod the gentyl turcelete	Nowe fye churle quod the **Ø** tarselet	Nowe fye chorle quod the **Ø** Tarcellet
601	Thi kynde is of so lowe a wrechidnesse ·	Thy kynde ys of so lowe, a wrechednesse	Thi kinde is of so lowe a wrecchednesse	**The** kinde is of so lowe a wrechednesse	Thy kynde is of so lowe A wrecchidnesse
603	Tho gan the cukkow put him forth in pres	Thoo gan the cukkow, put hym forth in pres	Tho gan the cokkow put hym forth in prees	Tho ganne the cokkowe put him forth in prees	Thoo gan the Cokkowe put hym forth in **pees**
605	So I quoth he may haue my make in pes	So I quod he, may haue my make in pes	So I quod he may haue my make in pees	So I **may haue quod he** my make in pees	So I quod he may haue, my make in pees
606	I rech not how longe that ye stryue ·	I reche not how longe, that ye stryve	I recch naught how longe þat ye stryue	I recche not howe longe **Ø** ye stryue	I recche not howe longe that ye stryve ·
608	This is my rede syn thei may not acorde	This ys my rede, syn they may not acorde	This is my rede syn they may nat acorde	This is my rede **sith** they may not accorde	This is my rede, syn þei may not accord
612	Thou mordrere of **Ø** hay soge on the braunche	Thou mordrere of **Ø** haysogge, on the braunche	Þu mortherer of þe heysugge on the braunch	Thou murtherer of the haisuke on the braunche	Thowe mortherer of the heisugge, on the braunche
616	Goo lewde be thow while the worlde may dure	Goo lewde be thou, while the worlde may dure	Go lewde be þou while the worlde may dure	Goo lewde be thou while the world may **endure**	**Go** lewde be þou, while þe **wordle** may dure
619	And in effecte yet be we neuyr the nere ·	And in effecte yet, be we neuer the nere	And in effect yet be we neuer the nere	**For** in effect yet be we neuer the nere	**For** in effect yit be we neuer the nere
623	hym that she cheest he shall **han hir** as swith	Hym that she cheest, he shal **han hir** as swithe	Hym þat she cheest he shal hire han as swith	Him that she chesith he shal hir haue as swythe	Hy þat she chest, he shall here han as swith
635	As for the gentillest and moste worthye ·	As for the gentilest, and moste worthy	As for the gentylest and moost worthie	**And** for the gentillest and moost worthy	As for the gentilest and most worthy ·

637	That **it ought to be to you** a suffisaunce ·	That to yow hyt ought, to ben a suffisaunce	That to you it ought to ben a suffisaunce	That to you it **might** to ben a suffisance	That to you it ought to ben a suffisaunce ·
640	Soth is that I am euyr vndir youre yerde ·	Sooth ys that I am euer, vnder youre yerde	Sooth is þat I am euer vnder youre yerde	**Sith** it is that I am euer vndre your yerde	Soth is þat I am euer, vnder youre yerde
642	And moste be yourys while my life may dure ·	And moste be youres, while my lyf may dure	And moste be youres while my lif may dure	And **must** be youres while my lif may **endure**	And **must** be yor while my lif may **endure**
644	And myn entente I **shall** you seyn right sone ·	And myn entent, **yow wol I** sey ryght soone	And myn entent **þou wol y** sey right soone	And myn entent I will you say right sone	And myn intent I woll you **shewe** right sone
650	This all and som that I wolde speke and sey	Thys al and some, that I wolde speke and seye	This al and som þat I wolde speke and seye	This **is** al and sume that I wold speke and saye	This **is** all and some, þat I wold speke and saie
652	I wull not serue Venus ne Cupide ·	I wolle noght serven Venus ne **Cipride**	I wol nought seruen venus ne **Cipride**	I wol not serue Venus nor Cupide	I woll not seruen Venus nor Cupide
654	Now syn it may non othir weyes betyde ·	Now syn hyt may, noon other weyes betide	Now syn it may noon othere weies betyde	Nowe syn it may noon other weye betide	Nowe syn it may noon othir **wise** be tyde
658	And seide hem thus as ye shull aftir here ·	And seyde hem thus, as ye shal after here	And seide hem thus as ye shal after here	And saied them thus as ye shal **Ø** here	And said hem thus as ye shall aftir here ·
659	To you speke I ye terceletys quoth Nature ·	To yow speke I, yee terceletys quod nature	To you spek I ye terceletts quod nature	To you speke I ye tarcelletts quod nature	To you speke I **the** Tarcellettis quod nature
664	Fro you this yere what aftir so bifall	Fro yow thys yere, what after so be falle	**For** you this yhere what after so by fall	Fro you this yere what after so be falle	**For** you þis yere, what aftir so befall
665	This entremesse is dressid fro you all	This entremesse ys dressed fro yow alle	This entremees **Ø** dressed fro you all	This entremesse is dressed fro you alle	This entir mese is dressid fro you all

666	And when this werke al wrought was to an ende ·	And whan thys werke, al wroght was to an ende	And whan þis werke al wrought was to an ende	And whan this woorke alwrought was to an ende	And when **Ø** werk all wrought was to an ende ·
669	**A** lorde the blisse and ioye that thei make ·	**A** lorde the blysse and Ioy, that they make	And lord the blysse and ioy that they make	And lord the blisse and Ioy that they **made**	And lorde the blisse and ioye, that they make
670	For ech of hem gan othir in wynges take ·	For eche of hem gan other, in wynges take	For ych of hem gan oother in wynges take	for eche of them goon other in **his** wynges take	For eche of hem gan othir in whyngis take
672	Thonkynge alwey the noble goddesse of kynde ·	Thonkyng alwey, the noble goddesse of kynde	**Touching** alwey the noble goddes of kynde	Thanking alwey the noble goddesse of kynde	Thankyng allwey the nouble goddes of kynde ·
675	To synge a Roundel at her departynge ·	To synge a Roundel, at her departynge	To singe a **rounde** at hir departynge	To singe a roundell at hir departing	To synge a roundell at hir departynge
676	To do Nature honoure and plesaunce ·	To do nature honour, and plesaunce	To do nature honoure and plesance	To **danne** nature honour and pleasaunce	To do nature honoure and plesaunce
677	The note I trow makyd was yn Fraunce	The note I trowe, maked was in Fraunce	The note I trowe makid was in france	The note I trowe **was made** in Fraunce	The note I trowe, **made** was in Fraunce ·
679	he nexte vers as I now haue in mynde ·	The nexte vers, as I now haue in mynde	The next vers as I now haue in mynde	The next vers as **ye haue nowe** in mynde	The next vers · as I nowe haue in mynde ·
688	hat foulis made at her flight a way	That foules made, at her flyght a way	That foules made at her flight a way	**The** foules made at thair flight awey	That fowlis made, at here flight awey ·
691	I hope I wis to rede so som day	I hope ywyse, to rede so somday	I hope I wis to rede **Ø** som day	I hope ywisse to rede so sume day	I hope I wis to rede so some day
693	he bet and thus to rede I wull not spare ·	The bet and thus to rede, I wol not spare	The bette and thus to rede I **nyl** not spare	The bette and **this** to rede I wol not spare	The bettir and thus to rede I woll not spare ·

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* † *

ONGITAN: A CASE STUDY OF EVIDENTIALITY IN OLD ENGLISH PERCEPTION VERBS

0. INTRODUCTION

Studies on evidentiality from a historical point of view are comparatively scarce, particularly in languages such as English, where evidentiality, though not grammaticalized, is mapped by some other means, such as specific lexical items. Among them, perception verbs are particularly relevant. This study focuses on the evidential usage shown by the Old English verb ONGITAN, the meaning of which is 'perceive'. Thus, this verb is the hyperonym of the category of perception verbs in Old English.

The category of evidentiality concerns the different linguistic resources speakers use to qualify the information rendered in a proposition. The qualification of that information may be broadly defined according to the following parameters: a) source of information; b) speakers' attitude towards the information conveyed in the proposition; c) combination of a) and b). Our point of departure is, however, the narrow definition of evidentiality as the study of linguistic means to express the origin or source of knowledge of the information presented in a proposition. That is, the parameter of source of information is taken as the main focus of study, as well as the consequences of its usage. This view does not ignore the well-known view that evidentiality overlaps with other grammatical categories such as epistemic modality. However, in this paper, due to the type of texts and data available for the study of Old English, as well as to the fact that there have been quite few studies on this topic, we think, following Willet (1986: 55) that before studying interaction between evidentiality and other grammatical areas, it is important to deal first with evidentiality itself. The study of the interaction between the evidential uses of perception verbs in Old English and modality is, thus, out of the scope of this paper.

Ana Laura Rodríguez & Eugenio Contreras, *Selim* 11 (2001-2002): 97—115

This research is based on the study of more than 500 contexts related to ONGITAN collected from the Toronto Microfiche Concordance and the Helsinki Corpus of English Texts. In these texts, mainly narrative, the speaker or narrator does not reflect his own attitudes nor does he give direct justification for the information presented in the proposition, not even in those texts written in the first person such as the Dialogues of Boethius. Actually, the speaker's evaluation of the facts can be seen in the evaluation of the actions developed by the narrative characters. Consequently, there is a transfer of perspective from the actual speaker to that of the character that experiences the actions narrated. Therefore, when studying Old English texts for evidentiality we prefer to talk about the conceptualizer, following Langacker (1987, 1991) so we can cope with not only those cases where the speaker is the main character as in letters, but also with those where the speaker's attitudes towards knowledge are given through the actions performed by the characters of the stories.

1. ONGITAN IN OLD ENGLISH

As most Old English lexical items ONGITAN is a polysemous word. The following synonyms are found in the Bosworth-Toller Old English dictionary:

ONGITAN/ONGIETAN:

Forms: ongiotan, ongeotan; p. –geat, -get; pl –geaton, getan; pp. ongiten, -gieten

Meanings:

1. Perceive
2. Perceive, see
3. Perceive by hearing
4. Perceive, feel (pain etc)
5. Feel, be of opinion, judge
6. Know, hear of, find out
7. Perceive, understand

8. Recognize, know

8.1 To take a person or thing to be what really is

8.2 To recognize a fact or circumstance

As observed in the first four definitions, this verb refers primarily to the general act of perceiving by means of direct sensory perception that is, by the perception through one sensory mode i.e., visual, auditive or touch (*feeling*).

In this sense it is related to other Old English verbs of perception such as:

1.	Perceive, see	OE (ge-) seon
2.	Perceive by hearing	OE (ge-) hyran
3.	Perceive, feel (pain etc)	OE felan

On the other hand, there are other definitions where the perception is related to the outcome of an intellective process. It is the act of perceiving by means of a thinking process that leads to the 'knowing' result. This intellective process can be closer to the conceptualizer's experience or to the conceptualizer's stored knowledge as far as it is the outcome of the perception process, that is, the final 'knowing' situation. In this sense, ONGITAN is related to other intellective verbs, or verbs of knowing such as:

1.	feel, be of opinion, judge	OE deman, wenan
2.	know	OE cunnan, witan
3.	perceive, understand	OE understandan
4.	recognize, know	OE oncnawan

In addition, there is one sense of ONGITAN which is closely connected to the idea of 'coming to know something' by means of the information obtained from other people: 'hear of', which in Old English could also be rendered by the sensory verb Old English *hyran.* Another sense which means that the information is obtained by an intentional process on the part of the speaker is *cunian* 'find out'.

2. CRITERIA FOR EVIDENTIAL / NON-EVIDENTIAL USAGE

In the selection of our corpus, our criteria for distinguishing the evidential *versus* the non-evidential usage of ONGITAN basically follows Anderson (1986). However, we have adapted the criteria to make them suitable to be applied to the usage of a lexical item that has not been grammaticalized, and more specifically to an Old English lexical element. The identification of the evidential function is based on the following points:

(a) The lexical element shows the kind of justification for a factual claim available to the conceptualizer making that claim, the conceptualizer being either the speaker or a character.

(b) The lexical element is not the main predicate of the proposition. It is a specification added to a factual claim about something else. This is specially clear when the lexical element is followed by a proposition which refers to a event or state of affairs, although we cannot exclude the possibility of an event being nominalized rather than rendered by a proposition. But we will not go into this topic in this paper.

(c) The lexical element is not grammaticalized and the evidential function is not necessarily its primary meaning.

On the other hand, the criteria to distinguish the non-evidential use of ONGITAN are the following:

1. The verbal lexical element is the main predication of the sentence

2. The lexical element does not refer to an event or situation, but to a concept, simple or complex. For example, in the case of a Modern English perception verb the difference between *I perceive your fear* [non-evidential] and *I perceive you are afraid* [evidential].

3. CORPUS ANALYSIS

3.1. NON-EVIDENTIAL USAGE

As a perception verb, ONGITAN can be found in non-evidential use, as shown in these examples:

(1) hie Geata clifu **ONGITAN** meahton *(Beo 1907)*
*they could **PERCEIVE [= see]** the cliffs of the Gauts*(*)

(2) hie ... bearhtm **ONGEATON**, guðhorn galan *(Beo 1425)*
*they ... the noise **PERCEIVED [= heard]**, the war-horn singing.*

(3) fær **ONGETON** *(Ex 452)*
*fear **PERCEIVED [= felt]***

In these cases, the hyperonymous verb ONGITAN can be rendered by more specific sensory verbs, as 'see' in example (1), 'hear' in example (2), and 'feel' in example (3). In all these examples, ONGITAN is the main predication of the sentence.

3.2. EVIDENTIAL USAGE

On the other hand, evidential uses of ONGITAN show different types of source of information that can be classified according to the way the information was acquired. The typological classification here proposed, as shown in the following table, is based, among others, on Willet's (1986):

DIRECT/ATTESTED EVIDENCE	INDIRECT EVIDENCE
▶ Direct perception • visual observation	▶ Reported • From oral language: hearsay ▶ Inferred • Inference from direct perception of evidence ▶ Mental construction • Reasoning • Deduction • Belief

(*) The Present-day English version of the contexts included in this paper tries to maintain the original structure as close as possible. No proper translation is intended. However, slight changes in word order have been occasionally introduced to help easier understanding.

3.2.1. DIRECT/ATTESTED EVIDENCE

▶ Direct perception

• Visual observation

(4) Þa þæt ða **ONGEATON** ða ærran gewinnan þæt se Romanisca here wæs onweg gewite, ða coman hi sona… (Bede 1 9.44.20)

*Then, when the former enemy that **PERCEIVED**, that the Roman army had retreated away, then they came soon...*

3.2.2. INDIRECT EVIDENCE

▶ Reported

• From oral language: hearsay

(5) ic **ONGEAT** (…) swa swa me sædon his forecwedenan geongran þæt sum wer wunne on þære hefigestan hatunge his gesacan *(GD 2 (C) 27.158.21)*

*I **PERCEIVED** … as (it) was said to me by his followers, that a certain man suffered in the oppressive hating of his enemy.*

(6) ic hit **ONGEAT** smeaþancollice fram þam cnihte, (…) þæt se ylca arwyrða mæssepreost aras of his ræste & (…) asettum his handum ofer hine (…) and him wæs sona sæl *(GDPref and 3 (C) 35.247.19)*

*I it **PERCEIVED** thoroughly from that servant (…) that this same honourable priest rose from his rest and (…) he set his hands over him (…) and he was soon healthy.*

We can also include in this category those examples where the knowledge obtained by the conceptualizer was acquired by hearsay, but where the volitional act of acquiring the information by those means is explicitly marked, as for example:

(7) He þa **acsiende smeaðancollice ONGEAT**, þæt on ða ylcan tid wæs þæs biscopes forðfore…..*(GD 2(C) 35.172.15)*

*He then, **inquiring thoroughly, PERCEIVED** that at that same time was the departure of that bishop...*

▶ Inferred

• Inference from direct perception of evidence

(8) Ða sona se ilca storm eft hwearf & cwom, se ðe … medmicel fæc gestilde, ond ealne þone dæg swiðe micel & strong wæs, þætte men sweotolice **ONGEATON** meahton, þætte se medmicla fyrst þære stilnesse, þe ðær becwom… heofonlice forgifen wæs *(Bede 5 1.386.14)*

*Then soon the same storm again returned and came, which …rested for a short time and all that day very great and strong was, so that men could clearly **PERCEIVE** that the brief respite of that calm, that happened there … was heavenly granted.*

(9) Ond æfter his æriste (…) him ætwyde ða wunda on his handum and on his fotum, þa gewundedan sidan, þæt hi þy soðlicor **ONGEATON** þæt hit wæs soðlice his agen lichoma ðæt þær of deaðe aras. *(Mart 5 (Herzfeld-Binz) 562)*

*And after his resurrection (…) [Christ] showed them the wounds in his hands and in his feet and the wounded side so that they more truly **PERCEIVED** that it was truly his own body that had arisen after his death.*

▶ Mental construction

This category is characterized as the outcome of the conceptualizer's mental process. It embraces the different types of evidential marking according to what they have in common, that is, the fact that they point to the result of a mental process as the main source of knowledge. It aims at grouping categories such as *deduction* and *belief* (Chafe 1986), or *reasoning* (Willet 1986). Willet classifies *reasoning* as a 'mental construct'. Mental constructs are thoughts, beliefs or dreams, but he does not consider them as forming a subcategory. He includes them all within the category of *reasoning* which, in turn, is a subcategory within indirect evidence. However, what we suggest here is that *belief* should be integrated within a mental construction category within the indirect evidence type, but different from that of *reasoning*.

• Reasoning

(10) Ic **ONGEAT** þæt ðes middangeard wæs of swiðe manegum & mislicum þingum gegaderod *(Bo 35.96.12)*

*I **PERCEIVED** (understood) that this world was from many and diverse things gathered.*

• Deduction

(11) Þa þæt halige child **ONGEAT** þæt heora lifes ende tonealehte *… (Mart 5(Herzfeld-Binz) 1380 [JY15/A/11])*

*When the holy child **PERCEIVED (**realized**)** that the end of his life was approaching…*

• Belief

(12) ic **ONGITE** ðæt þis is swiðe riht racu þæt þu nu recst *(Bo 38.123.4)*

*I **PERCEIVE** (think, believe) that this is a very right telling that you now tell (have told)*

(13) **ONGITE** & gelefe þæt wit on riht spyrigen *(Bo 38.118.12)*

*I **PERCEIVE** and believe that we two rightly have investigated.*

3.3. COLLOCATIONS OF ONGITAN WITH SENSORY AND INTELLECTIVE VERBS

Once a first typology of the evidential usage of ONGITAN has been presented, a deeper study of this usage is found when analyzing its collocations with other verbs, with which it establishes semantic relationships. This enables us to set up the link between this hyperonymous verb and other perception verbs in evidential usage. Moreover, collocations with other verbs shed light on their semantic specificity.

The collected data allow us to propose the following classification:

a) + Sensory verb (V_S)

a.1) ONGITAN + V_S

a.2) V_S + ONGITAN

b) + Intellective verb (V_I)

b.1) ONGITAN + V_I

b.2) V_I + ONGITAN

Two types of word order can be distinguished in each subgroup. These types are important in the first group, since they are iconic to the sequence of actions and, therefore, they add information about the path towards the perception process itself. However, in the second group, the one including intellective verbs, the subdivision is not conceptually relevant, so this difference is only maintained at the formal level.

a) ONGITAN + Sensory Verb

In the first group, the sensory verbs that collocate with ONGITAN are *(ge)seon*, and *(ge)hyran*. We find two different orders of occurrence, one in which ONGITAN precedes the sensory verb and another one in which ONGITAN follows it. In this case, the word order is relevant for the conceptual interpretation of ONGITAN.

a.1. ONGITAN + V_S

For the first type of combination, we may mention the following contexts:

(14) He drihten þæt **ONGEAT and geseah**, þæt se deofol þone Iudas lærde, þæt he hine belæwde *(HomS 22 (CenDom 1) 66)*

*He, the Lord, that **PERCEIVED and saw**, that the devil taught that to Jude, so that he betrayed him.*

(15) þa **ONGEAT** ic selfa **& geseah** of dæle þæt me þa earfeðu becwoman (Alex 166)

*I myself **PERCEIVED and saw** from my part that that trouble was coming to me.*

(16) þær stodon mid Wulfstane wigan unforhte, Ælfere and Maccus, modige twegen, þa noldon æt þam forda fleam gewyrcan, ac hi fæstlice wið ða fynd weredon, þa hwile þe hi wæpna wealdan

> moston. þa hi þæt **ONGEATON** and georne **gesawon** þæt hi þær bricgweardas bitere fundon, ongunnon lytegian þa laðe gystas *(Beo 79-86)*
>
> *There fought with Wulfstan warriors fearless, Aelfere and Maccus, two great in courage, who would not at this fjord take to flight, but stoutly against the enemy defended themselves while with their weapons they might wield. Then they **PERCEIVED** that and clearly **saw** that this guarding of the causeway was a fierce encounter.*

In these examples, the source of information conveyed by ONGITAN is less specific than that expressed by the sensory verb, which clearly states the perceptual process that acts as the source of evidence available to the conceptualizer. The path of information is an inference closer to the field of experience than to the result of a pure intellective process. Here the hyperonym PERCEIVE could be narrowed to the 'awareness' process rather than to the 'understanding' one.

The examples also show that the action of ONGITAN is the result of an intellective process confirmed by a direct sensory process specified by the second verb. That intellective process is related to the act of 'becoming aware of something' which is also confirmed by direct sensory perception. The evidence of the inferential process is not necessarily expressed, although we may find some cases in which it is expressed, as can be seen in context (16). In addition, this inferential process is supported by a visual one explicitly stated by the specific sensory verb. What is common to all these contexts can be expressed in the following terms:

> From whatever I /we/they know and have experienced, I/we/they become aware of a certain event which I/we/they also see with our eyes

a.2. V_S + ONGITAN

Examples of ONGITAN occurring after the sensory verb are:

(17) ... ac ða ða he nane fotswaðe on þam snawe ne **geseah** ða **ONGEAT** he þæt secuma wæs engel and na mann *(ÆCHom II, 10 83.69)*

*…but he no footsteps in the snow **saw**, then he **PERCEIVED [realized]** that the stranger was an angel and not a man.*

(18) Þa cyrdon þa englas to ure sybbe & to ure lufan þa hie **gesegon** and **ONGEATON** ðæt Dryhten Crist wæs gecyrred & ymbesald mid mennissce lichoman *(LS 19 (PurifMary) 154)*

When the angels returned to our peace and to our love then they **saw** and **PERCEIVED [realized]** that Christ had returned & (was) surrounded with a man's body.

In these contexts, the specific perception verb preceding ONGITAN contributes to the narrowing of the semantics of the hyperonymous verb as a more intellective process. In fact, the previous sensory verb highlights that the source of information that leads to the inference process is a sensory one. In most cases, ONGITAN in this position can be rendered by the modern English 'realize' or 'understand'.

In these examples, the direct perception of the situation by the conceptualizer followed by the subsequent inferential process is brought out. This can be paraphrased as:

I/We/They perceive a situation directly and then I/we/they understand and realize that situation

The path to the conceptualizer's knowledge is the direct sensory experience although the mode of knowledge is an intellectual one. In fact, two examples that clarify this relationship between source of knowledge and mode of knowing is found in the corpus, since they show that the direct perception of an event does not necessarily always refer to the mode of knowledge:

(19) Heo wæron stænenre heortan and flintenre, þæt heo þæt **ONGITAN** ne mihton, þæt heo þær **gehyrdon**, ne þæt na cweðan ne mihtan þæt hy þær gesawon *(HomS 40.1 (Nap 49) 21)*

*They had a stony and rocky heart so that they could not **PERCEIVE** what they **heard** there, neither could they say what they saw there.*

(20) Ær hie wæron stænener heortan & blinde, þæt hie þæt **ONGITAN** meahton, þæt his ðær **gesawon** *(HomS 40.3 (McCaveVerccHom 10) 32)*

*Before they had a stony heart and were blind, so that they could not **PERCEIVE** what they **saw** there.*

In addition, it is important to notice the relationship between both perceptual verbs in terms of sequenced actions, since ONGITAN acquires a more intellective sense, therefore pointing to the mode of knowing, in contrast with the more specific perception verbs, which convey the source of knowledge.

b) ONGITAN + Intellective Verb

Another group of interesting combinations of ONGITAN is that in which this verb collocates with what can be categorized as intellective verbs, more specifically those belonging to the subcategory of 'knowing'. The most frequent verbs in these combinations are *witan* and *oncnawan*; *cunnan* is also found, but less frequently.

As in combinations with sensory verbs, two different orders occur, one in which ONGITAN precedes the intellective verb and another one in which ONGITAN follows it. The interaction between these verbs, obviously, leads to the interpretation of ONGITAN as carrying more perceptual than intellective load. However, in this interaction, the experiential basis of the source of knowledge conveyed by this verb is downplayed. Therefore, the intellective load of ONGITAN is stronger than in collocations with sensory verbs.

b.1. ONGITAN + V_I

Some of the contexts in which verbs of 'knowing' follow ONGITAN are:

(21) Þa þa onsittendas þara horsa mid langum geþersce hyra hors geswencton, þa **ONGEAT** & **oncneow** hyra an, þæt hy gehindrode wæron for þam gylte, þe hi þone odes man ær on wege his horses bereafedon & hine his siþes agældon. *(GD 1 (H) 2.15.10)*

*Then the riders of those horses, with beats for a long time, outwearied their horses, then one of them **PERCEIVED** and **knew** that they were hindred for that guilt, that they deprived the man of*

God of his horses before, in the way and had delayed him in his journey.

(22) Sohte he mid fultum of Angolþeode, þe he geare **ONGEAT** & **wiste**, þæt hi ða æfestnesse geleornad & onfongen hæfdon to bysene þære halgan Romanisca cyrican & ðære apostolican *(Bede 5 19.470.9)*.

*He tried to find help for him from the people of the Angles of whom he previously **PERCEIVED** and **knew** that they had learned and ...*

(23) Ac se ælmihtega dryhten afyrde him þæt unrihte wrigels of hyra heortan onbyrhte hie mid leohte andgyte, þa hie þæt **ONGEATON** & **oncnawan** meahton hwa him to helpe & to feorhnere on þas woruld astah. *(HomS 40.3 (McCabeVercHom 10) 34)*.

*But the almighty Lord removed those unright coverings from their hearts and illuminated them with the light of understanding and then they **PERCEIVED** and could **know** who sent him to help and nourish in that world.*

b.2. V_I + ONGITAN

There are quite a lot of examples with ONGITAN collocated after the verb of knowing:

(24) þurh lac þære halwendan onsægdnesse he **oncneow** & **ONGEAT** heofon lice him forgifen weosan *(Bede 4 23.330.13)*

*Through favours of these saviours sacrifices he **knew** and **PERCEIVED** heavenly for him being forgiven.*

(25) Cuðlice ic þæt ær **wiste** & **ONGEAT**, þæt ðis wæs riht weorðung soðra Eastrana *(Bede 5 19.470.9)*

*Truly I that before **knew** and **PERCEIVED**, that this was the right honouring of the true Easter.*

(26) Ac we þæt cuðlice **oncneowon** & **ONGETON**, þætte þæt tuddur growan ne weaxan meahte of swylcum geniscipe. *(Bede 1 16.70.6)*

*But we that truly **knew** and **PERCEIVED**, that that offspring can increase not grow from such species.*

The collocation of ONGITAN previous to the verb of 'knowing' (contexts 20-23) seems to narrow the perceptual path of obtaining information as closer to an unspecified experience from which the information was inferred. This can be paraphrased as:

> I/We/They become aware/are aware of a situation and that has become part of my/our/their knowledge.

In contexts 24-26, the source of knowledge seems to be supported by the ONGITAN process, which is then understood as an inference of unspecific reference. This inference is not confirmed by direct sensory experience, but it is related to information already stored in memory. This can be expressed as:

> I/We/They realize the situation and that is supported by my/our/their previous knowledge.

3.4. INFERENTIAL ONGITAN: GRAMMATICAL MARKERS

ONGITAN frequently occurs with a number of grammatical markers such as conjunctions, adverbs or prepositions. In these contexts, two functions can be distinguished: the introduction of the evidence (3.4.1.) and the introduction of the ONGITAN process (3.4.2.)

3.4.1. GRAMMATICAL MARKERS FOR THE INTRODUCTION OF THE EVIDENCE

The situations or facts that lead to the ONGITAN process are placed either before or after the verb. However, these facts are occasionally highlighted. When this is the case, the evidence is introduced by different lexical grammatical markers, mainly conjunctions and prepositions. The use of these grammatical markers characterizes the status of that evidence in relation to the evidential verb. The evidence can be introduced as:

a. a means towards the ONGITAN process

b. a reason that leads to the ONGITAN process

a. The evidence is introduced as a means towards the *ONGITAN* process

þurh [through]

(27) ... hie **ongeaton** þæt he wæs Hælend Crist, **þurh** þæt wundorgeweorc þe he Lazarus awehte of deaþe... *(HomS 21(BlHom 6) 8)*

*... they **perceived** that he was the Holy Christ, **through** that miracle, that he had Lazarus brought from death.*

forþy [by that]

(28) **Forðy** he **ongeat** ðæt he ma mehte ðonne ænig oðer ….. (CP 17.113.14)

***By that** he **perceived** that he had more strength than any other...*

be þam [by that]

(29) **Be þam** we magon **ongitan** & oncnawan þæt we synd ealle gebroðra & eac geswustra þonne we ealle to anum heofenlicum fæder swa ofte clypiað *(Whom 8b 61)*

***By that** we can **perceive** and know that we are all brothers and also sisters when we all to one heavenly father so again speak.*

midþy / mid þy [by, by means of, through]

(30) **Mid þi** þæt **ongeat** se eadiga Andreas þæt hie to Drihtene wæron gehwyrfede *(LS 1.1 (AndrewBright) 284)*

***By that** the blessed Andreas **perceived** that they had turned to the Lord*

b. The evidence is presented as the reason that leads to the *ONGITAN* process

forþon þe [BECAUSE]

(31) Halige men þonne **ONGEATON** þæt he wæs soþ Godes sunu; **forþon þe** God Fæder stemn wæs gehyred æt his fulwihte, þus cweþende: þis is min se leofa Sunu, on þæm me wel gelicode *(HomS 10(BlHom 3) 56)*

*The holy men then **PERCEIVED** that he was the true son of God, **because** the voice of God Father was heard in his baptism, then saying: this is my beloved son, in whom I am well pleased.*

siþþan [SINCE]

(32) Ic wende ðæt ic ære swiðe strong on mænegum cræftum, ac ic **ONGEAT** swiðe hraðe, **siððan** ðu me forlete, hu untrum ic wæs (CP 65.465.20)

*I thought that I was strong in many crafts but I **PERCEIVED** it very quickly **since** you forlet me how weak I was.*

In all these contexts the ONGITAN process is an inferential process whose experiential basis lie in the evidence introduced under the scope of the grammatical markers. The scope of these markers embraces the previous situations or states of affairs that constitute the evidence of the inferential process.

3.4.2. GRAMMATICAL MARKERS FOR THE INTRODUCTION OF INFERENTIAL ONGITAN

The evidence, however, may not lie within the scope of grammatical markers. In this case, the inferential process is observed as a consequence or result of some previous situation or state of affairs. This instantiation of the inferential process is often marked grammatically by means of adverbs or correlatives.

forþon [therefore, consequently]

(33) **Forðon** he **ongeat** þæt heo on monegum þingum Godes cirican ungeþwærodon *(Bede 2 4.106.30)*

***Therefore /consequently** he **perceived** that they in many things of the Church of God differ.*

Forþyþe [therefore, consequently]

(34) Gif he ne **ongeate** ðæt him wæs ðæs wana, ac **forðyðe** he **ongeat** ðæt sio ungeðyld oft dereð ðæm mannum ðe micle forhæfdnesse habbað (CP 43.311.25)

*If he did not **perceive** that he had that need, but **therefore/consequently** he **perceived** that often impatience damages other men that have great continence.*

þa ... þa [when…then]

(35) **Þa** þa onsittendas þara horsa mid langum geþersce hyra hors geswencton, **þa ongeat** & oncneow hyra an, þæt hy gehindrode wæron for þam gylte, þe hi þone odes man ær on wege his horses bereafedon & hine his siþes agældon. *(GD 1 (H) 2.15.10)*

***When** the riders of those horses, with beats for a long time, outwearied their horses, **then** one of them **perceived** and knew that they were hindred for that guilt, that they deprived the man of God of his horses before, in the way and had delayed him in his journey.*

þæt [so that]

(36) Þy us sealde Dryhten þæt ondgyt, þe he wolde, **þæt** we **ongeaton** his willan & ure sawle hælo ... *(HomU 9 (VercHom 4) 88)*

*The Lord gave us the advice that we wanted, **so that** we **perceived** his will and the salvation of our soul ...*

þa [then]

(37) Se **þa ongeat** þa manigfealdan yfel þe se cyning ðeodric wið þam cristenandome and wið þam romaniscum witum dyde (Bo 1.7.13)

*This **then** he **perceived** the many evils that the king Theodoric did against the Christendom and against the Roman wise men.*

4. CONCLUSION

In the study of the OE hyperonymous perception verb ONGITAN both evidential and non-evidential uses have been found. The more basic non-evidential use gives way to a range of evidential functions.

A typology of evidential functions has been established according to the way the information is acquired (cf. Table 1). Direct evidence involves a direct sensory process for the conceptualizer's acquisition of information, namely, visual perception. The indirect evidence category involves three subcategories which show three sources of inference that differ in degree of detachment from pure sensory experience. It ranges from the most experiential basis of *hearsay* to the more intellective processes such as *reasoning, deduction* and *belief*, which rely on stored knowledge.

The analysis goes on with the study of collocations of ONGITAN, which deepens into the distinction between sensory and intellective processes that constitute the two main categories of the conceptual structure of the verb. The collocations with both sensory and intellective verbs reveal a process of specialization of the evidential functions of this verb as an inferential process: according to the input information which triggers the inferential process, the mode of knowledge, basically intellective, will fluctuate towards either the more sensory end (relying on experiential basis) or towards the more intellective end of the conceptual structure.

The last section shows a classification of the grammatical markers according to whether they introduce the evidence (conjunctions and prepositions) or the ONGITAN process (adverbs and correlatives). The study of the grammatical markers occurring with an evidential verb is not frequently considered in evidentiality research. However, the relevance of this aspect should be stressed if we consider specific characteristics of the use of the evidential verb.

In the range of evidential uses of ONGITAN presented in this paper, the inferential process seems to acquire a special relevance. This relevance is mainly due to a flexibility inherent to the semantic space of our verb, derived from the oscillation between a more experiential and a more intellective pole.

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* † *

THE LOCATIVE USES OF THE PREPOSITION *AT* IN THE OLD ENGLISH VERSION OF BEDE'S *ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH PEOPLE*. A COGNITIVE APPROACH

1. INTRODUCTION

We have chosen the *Old English Version of Bede's Ecclesiastical History* as a source to construct our corpus of spatial expressions containing the preposition *at* because it offers obvious advantages. As a historical work it is remarkably long, which allows us to obtain a reasonable number of examples. Furthermore, its narrative character provides broad contexts against which to draw generalisations, specifically concerning the alternation of different prepositions in expressions which are apparently alike. This factor is particularly relevant when taking into account that preposition alternation usually responds to "unexpected context dependencies" (Herskovits 1986: 15). These context dependencies are connected with the speaker's – in this case the translator's – viewpoint of a scene or situation. Since the internal structure of this category affects its distribution with the other basic topological prepositions *in* and *on*, the use of the latter will also be considered in our analysis.

We have used Miller's 1890 edition, as it is regarded as the most complete. This edition constitutes almost in its entirety a reproduction of the Tanner Manuscript (T.). This manuscript is kept in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and was written by five scribes in the first half of the tenth century. Miller has resorted to the following manuscripts to supplement the defects from T.; they are presented in order of preference:

C. = Ms Cotton Otho B. XI. British Museum.

0. = Ms Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

Ca. = Ms Kk. Cambridge University Library.

Carmen Guarddon, *Selim* 11 (2001-2002): 117—145

The T and C manuscripts are noticeably consistent, thus they are said to resemble the archetype. However, it is still hard to locate this archetype. Miller (1890) explains that although traditionally the translation has been assigned to Alfred there is no trace of a West-Saxon original. The fact is that it is hard to reconcile the Alfredian origin of this version with the Mercian dialect of the text (Cassidy and Ringler 1971: 107; Miller 1890: xxxiii).

On the methodological level, we have included all the occurrences of the preposition *at* with a number of objects that refer to a varied range of spatial categories. For the sake of contextualising the spatial expressions at issue, the whole sentence where the expression occurs has been included in our corpus. The greater attention is paid to the objects of the preposition, as will be seen in the following section, they are principally responsible for segmenting prepositional senses. An analysis of the preposition *at* in Old English is not as complex as an analysis of the prepositions *in* and *on*. In fact, a description of the structure *at* in this period shows that its usage is quite similar to that of present-day English. In contrast, the prepositions *in* and *on* behave quite differently in Old English. This has led some scholars to conclude that their variation responds to local usage (cf. Hols 1971; Miller 1890). The conclusions reached in this analysis serve as a basis for further research into the categorisation of the preposition *at* in other texts, but we consistently speak of the usage of the preposition *at* in a particular literary work: the *Old English Version of Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (henceforth: EH). Nevertheless, in order to test to which extent our conclusions can be applied to the use of *at* in Old English in general, our findings contrast with the analyses of the preposition *at* in Old and Middle English carried out by Lundskaer-Nielsen (1993) and Lindkvist (1978). Lundskaer-Nielsen attempted to shed some light on the behaviour of the preposition *at* in Old English and Middle English. In Old English his conclusions derive from an analysis of two extracts of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. His initial work covers the years 892-900 and his follow-up covers the Second Continuation of the Peterborough Chronicle 1122-54. Therefore, considering the time-span that separates both sections, his analysis has a diachronic dimension, whereas Lindkvist identifies a great number of occurrences of the preposition *at* from Old and Middle English texts and compares them with identical uses of its Gothic cognate. Some of

our theoretical claims will be backed up with data based on Lundskaer-Nielsen and Lindkvist's analyses.

2. SPATIAL COGNITION AND THE SEMANTICS OF PREPOSITIONS

The advent of cognitive linguistics has brought about a remarkable interest in the semantic properties of prepositions. Linguists have focused on the ability of these lexical elements to categorise situations over a wide range of domains (space, time, cause, feelings, mental states, etc.). Decades before cognitive linguistics came onto the stage, some grammarians had already verified the spatial origin of prepositions (Brøndal 1950). Cognitive linguists have taken a step further in this direction and argue that prepositional polysemy constitutes solid evidence of the metaphorical operations that underlie human categorisation.[1] Specifically, Lakoff and Johnson (1980) showed that spatial metaphors are derived from the bodily basis of experience, and organise our knowledge in other domains. The common categorisation in distinct domains is grounded on the existence of image-schemata (Johnson 1987). Image-schemata are a means of structuring particular experiences, in order to endow our perceptions and conceptualisations with connectedness. The internal structures of image-schemata show a high degree of abstraction; this fact is consistent with the object idealisations involved in the spatial relationships encoded by prepositions. It must be borne in mind that image-schemata are abstract constructs that extrapolate rich patterns of experience. This is demonstrated by Johnson himself when he proposes a representation of the containment schema that underlies the uses of the preposition *in*, both locative and abstract:

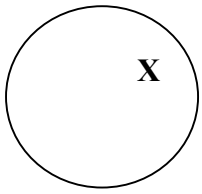

Figure 1. The image-schema underlying the uses of the preposition *in* according to Johnson (1987: 23)

[1] There also exist results from neuroscientific research that prove that language was originally aimed at expressing spatial relationships (O'Keefe & Nadel 1978).

This idealisation motivates the use of the same preposition in a number of related but distinct ways, as suggested by Herskovits (1986). Herskovits defines the meaning of prepositions according to an ideal meaning and a number of use-types. The ideal meaning Herskovits suggests for the preposition *at* is 'a point that coincides with another'. The word "point" in the ideal meaning of the preposition *at* indicates, Herskovits explains, that the categorisation of spatial relations responds to geometric conceptualisations of both the subject and the object of the preposition. Therefore, terms that denote an entity that cannot be viewed as a point cannot be the subject of this preposition: * "the road is at the park."

The subject and object of the prepositions are syntactic notions that mirror the order that the relevant entities occupy with respect to these elements; the subject precedes whereas the object follows the preposition.[2] Nevertheless, in this paper we will use the terms introduced in Langacker's (1987) *Cognitive Grammar*, trajector and landmark. These notions denote perceptual features that are pivotal to the conceptualisation of spatial relations. The trajector is movable and of small size, when compared to the landmark, whose position is stable and larger. The trajector is the entity whose location is specified. On the other hand, the landmark constitutes a very salient reference; it is the background against which to locate the trajector, which receives the higher focus of attention. These two notions can also be paralleled with the figure and ground distinction advanced by Talmy (1978).

3. THE PREPOSITION *AT*: THE STATE OF AFFAIRS IN PRESENT-DAY ENGLISH

The preposition *at* is an example of what is called in pertinent literature a topological preposition. Topology is a concept from the field of geometry that refers to the relations that are preserved under certain deformations such as bending and stretching. Even though, in principle, topological prepositions can be treated as conceptually simple; there are degrees of complexity within this group, some code axial properties or other intrinsic

[2] With the exception of the phenomenon known as preposition stranding: "This is the bed Henry VIII slept in".

properties of the landmark configuration. Thus Levinson (2002: 72) points out that a topological preposition such as *under* involves the vertical absolute dimension. This is not the case with *at*, which can be considered as a prototypical topological preposition; it does not express any information from Euclidean geometry. The topological relation that defines the preposition *at* is 'coincidence'. This definition corresponds to Herskovits' (1986) notion of ideal meaning. As sketched briefly above, the ideal meaning of a preposition is the result of a geometric abstraction of the elements related by the preposition. This geometric abstraction can be inferred from the different senses of the preposition, which Herskovits designates "use-types". Some of these use-types show that by using the preposition *at*, the speaker takes a remote perspective of the scene being described. It is precisely this fact that favours the conceptualisation of the trajector and the landmark as points.

There exist contrasting pairs that reflect different viewpoints of apparently similiar situation. Consider the following locative expressions:

(1) a. Mary is at the shop
b. Mary is in the shop

The expression 1a. is less specific than 1b. By uttering "Mary is at the shop" the speaker does not fully commit to the location of Mary within the physical boundaries of the shop. Maybe, she is still on her way to the shop, or she could already be on her way back from the shop. The speaker may not even know the exact reference of the shop, and by uttering that expression, she may simply be implying that Mary is engaged in the activity of shopping. We agree with Herskovits (1986) that in examples like this one can clearly predict that neither the speaker nor the interlocutor are in the shop. On the other hand, 1b. would be uttered in a context where the speaker has visual access to the situation described by the expression, or at the least, the speaker and her interlocutor are both in the shop. The use of these two prepositions in these pairs is modulated by the view that the speaker has of a certain scene. This contrast also holds between *at* and other prepositions such as *on*, *next to*, or *near* and can be expressed in terms of a remote versus a close-up perspective of a scene. The remote view associated with the preposition *at* is consistent with other conditions that its landmarks must satisfy, i.e. they should not be very large entities.

While Herskovits has established a number of use-types for the topological prepositions, offering a polysemic view of the semantics of prepositions, the structuralist Bennet (1975) postulates the existence of a single meaning for the preposition *at* which is modulated by contextual influences. He argues that the feature that defines all the uses of *at* is 'locative'. Therefore, according to Bennet (1975: 66) the *at* of "arrive at" or "throw at" or "Gwyneth is at the supermarket" are all realisations of the element 'locative'. One of the factors that distances Bennet from most cognitive linguists is his reluctance to ascribe geometric dimensions to the meanings of prepositions.[3] Following this line, Bennet does not concede a relevant role to the speakers' ability to abstract from the real characteristics of the entities that take part in a spatial relationship nor to their capacity to conceptualise in terms of geometric idealisations: "From a mathematical point of view, the touch-line running the length of a football field is no doubt one-dimensional, but no one has ever seen a one-dimensional touch-line. To be visible a touchline (sic) needs to have width as well as length" (1975: 71).

Other linguists agree with Herskovits in associating the relationship 'coincidence' with the preposition *at*, for instance, Boggess (1978). Boggess also points out that *at* has many of the special contextual conditions of the preposition *to*, although they are differentiated by the fact that *at* is not used to express motion. She argues that both prepositions can be used in order to refer to scenarios. Scenarios like 1a. evoke the characteristic that the specific place is not relevant but the connotations associated with it are. Thus, if one says "John is at the doctor's" or "John must go to the doctor's", what is at issue is that John is in a situation that forces him to use the services of a doctor and not his potential location. We contend that there is a further feature which associates *to* and *at*. Both prepositions can encode the goal of a trajectory; this is intrinsic to the preposition *to* because it is a path preposition, and it is a characteristic acquired by the preposition *at* depending on the compositional sentence processes in which it participates. In other words, we adhere to a current school of thought that holds that

[3] Despite not being a cognitive but a structuralist linguist, Leech (1969) pioneered the description of prepositional meaning using geometric features of dimensionality.

meaning is not contained within a single lexical item but is distributed over all the elements that compose a sentence (cf. Levinson 1991). In the particular case of relational elements that do not have direct referents, such as prepositions or verbs, it is their argument structure that is fully responsible for constraining their semantic potential. For instance, the preposition *at* introduces the end-point of the trajectory when it collocates with projection verbs such as "look" or "throw". Projection verbs should not be confused with motion verbs; it must be noted that in present-day English the preposition *at* does not occur in combination with the latter. The following examples can be rated as ungrammatical:

(2) a. *He came at home

b. *Mary went at the doctor's

Nevertheless, in Old English, even though infrequent, there are examples where the preposition *at* occurs with motion verbs (cf. Belden 1897; Lindkvist 1950):

(3) a. Ic eow cleopode ær to me, ac ge me noldon æt cuman (King Alfred's *West-Saxon Version of Gregory's Pastoral Care*: 247).

b. Đæt hie næfre noldon æt ham cuman ær hie đæt gewrecen hæfden (King Alfred's *Orosius*: 122).

The fact that this colocation is no longer grammatical may be interpreted as evidence of a limitation of the field of spatial relationships that the preposition *at* covers. This view is supported by the work of Lundskær-Nielsen (1993: 84). We believe that this pattern has been partially inherited by the present-day use of this preposition, as it shows its capacity to occur with verbs that focus on the end-point of a path, such as "arrive at" or the projection verbs mentioned above. However, the evolution of this preposition does not necessarily respond to a limitation of its categorisation field. There were also temporal extensions of the semantic range of the preposition *at* that did not survive to present-day English. For example, in his classification of the Middle English uses of this preposition, Lindkvist showed that it occurred in examples of location in a country: "An interesting combination of first extension and then limitation of the application of *at* is found in its use in Middle English and Early Modern English with complements denoting countries and similar large areas" (1978: 27).

Furthermore, conventionally allowed deviations from the ideal meaning are a constant source for extensions in the use of the category. The time that these extensions will remain within the language use can be relatively short as Lindkvist example shows, however this is something almost impossible to predict on the ground of the data available to a linguist.

Lindkvist (1950) also carried out a classification of the uses of the preposition *at* in present-day English. He left open the question of whether all spatial uses of a preposition can be accounted for in terms of a single sense. He does not take into consideration questions of abstraction in the conceptualisation of spatial relations. Lindkvist sets up a classification of the uses of *at* by studying a large corpus formed by the occurrences of this preposition in a huge number of English literary works. His classification includes the following uses: I. Location in close proximity to an object; II. Location within an area or space or on a surface apprehended as a point; III. Relative position; IV. Location close to or within a body, surface or area thought of as being used to serve a certain purpose; V. Motion and direction.

Finally, there is a use of the preposition *at* which cannot be explained without recourse to functionality; such as the cases in which the trajector presents the feature [+human] and the landmark is an artifact that the trajector is using, i.e. "Mary is at her desk, John is at the piano; Eloise is at her computer..." The pivotal question in these expressions is that the relationship of physical coincidence that holds between the trajector and the landmark allows the first to use the second. However, this coincidence is not enough for that relationship to qualify as a case of *at*. If John happens to be sitting on the upper surface of the piano, the relationship between them would have to be encoded by a preposition other than *at* – most probably *on*. The different positions or postures of the trajectors when using a certain artifact must be inferred pragmatically. This use is defined by Herskovits as 'person using artifact' (1986: 135) and by Lindkvist as 'activity close to an object' (1950: 165).

4. THE PREPOSITION *AT* IN THE OLD ENGLISH VERSION OF BEDE'S *ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH PEOPLE*

The English preposition *at* is cognate with the Latin *ad* "to, at". Even though, in Old English it governs the dative only, the texts examined by Belden (1897) present the preposition *at* followed by the accusative in one case, the phrase *æt ðysne andweardan dæg* "at this present day". One of the main reasons for choosing EH to create our corpus is that being quite long – it is made up of five books – we have found enough occurrences of the preposition *at* to spot certain tendencies in the use of this preposition. Second, the three main topological prepositions, *in*, *on* and *at*, which have a rather restricted distribution, are well represented in the text. This allows us to establish the selection restrictions governing the distribution of the preposition *at* in EH, which can also be extrapolated to other Old English texts. In fact, Lundskaer-Nielsen's (1993) asserts that *at* presents quite a stable usage over texts from different dialectal areas. This estability is also attested by Lindkvist (1978), who examined the usage of the preposition *at* in Old English across several texts of this period (*Beowulf*, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, *The Old English Version of Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, Alfred's Translation of Gregory's *Cura Pastoralis*, etc.) (cf. Hols 1971).

We have examined the behaviour of *at* in relation to a number of spatial entities. There is a widespread assumption that prepositions are highly polysemous words and thus form extremely complex lexical classes. Their polysemy is based on their capacity to categorise domains other than the spatial. Therefore, the semantic description of a preposition is not complete if no reference is made to the temporal and abstract relationships that it can establish. However, these relations lie beyond the scope of the present paper. At any rate, due to their ontological priviledged status, the spatial uses of a preposition should be described in the first place in order to determine the metaphorical and metonymical operations that have led to further extensions of the category in other domains. The landmarks selected for the purposes of our analysis stand for a wide range of spatial categories: large geographic entities, small geographic entities, general geographic designations, buildings, containers, body parts, means of transport and imaginary places. The table below shows the catalogue of landmarks that have been used to build up our corpus:

Table 1. Physical landmarks from EH.

1. Briten "Britain"	8. Gallia "Gaul"	15. Mynster "monastery"
2. Burg "town, city"	9. Hand "hand"	16.Neorxenawang "paradise"
3. Cirice "church"	10. Heofon "heaven"	17. Ríce "kingdom"
4. Cyst "coffin,	11. Hús "house"	18. Rom "Rome"
5. Eđel "country,	12. Land "land, country"	19. Scíp "ship"
6. Fót "foot"	13. Mægð "province, tribe"	20. Stow "spot, place"
7. Fyr "fire"	14. Mór "moors"	21. Đruh "coffin"

It must be noted that with some of these landmarks we have found no examples using the preposition *at*, but they have been kept because, we claim, that for the semantic description of a preposition, indicating the type of landmark it collocates with is as relevant as enumerating the type of relationships that it cannot establish. At this point, it must be noted that EH is the translation of a Latin original and one could argue about the possibility of Latin influence in the prepositional usage of the Old English translation. To check whether such dependence has biased the use of *at*, we have compared all the expressions that compose our corpus with their Latin equivalents and we have not found any repeated synchronicity in this sense, for example, the Latin preposition *ad* motivating the presence of *at* in the Old English text. In his study of the case values governed by prepositions in Old English Belden (1897) also confirmed that the Latin work had not determined the choice of prepositions in EH. In the next section, we show the usage potential of the preposition *at* in the physical domain, and how this potential can be subsumed under a classification of use-types. Our main interest is to establish the extent to which these use-types coincide with the present-day usage of this preposition.

4.1 EXAMINATION OF CORPUS AND RESULTS

Unless special contextual circumstances co-occur, for instance the landmark is part of the case frame of a certain verb, the entities that belong to the same type of spatial category should collocate with the same topological preposition. This is the state of affairs in present-day English;

differences in this sense should point at the diachronic evolution of the preposition *at*. As expected, no examples of the preposition *at* have been found with large geographic entities (*Briten*, *Eðel*, *Gallia*, *Mægð*, *Ríce*), even though, as noted above, Lindkvist (1978) provides evidence that demonstrates that in Middle English *at* was used to express location in a country. However, this was only a temporal extension of the usage of the preposition. The next spatial category analysed is 'small geographic entities' such as *burg*, and *Rom*. The location in *burg* is not expressed in a uniform way; the three topological prepositions, *in*, *on* and *at*, precede this landmark.[4] There are 12 expressions that use the preposition *in*, 3 with *on* and 2 with *at*. Concerning *Rom* we find a similar situation. There are 6 locative expressions where *Rom* occurs with the prepositions in question; there are 3 cases with the preposition *in*, one with *on*, and 2 with *at*. After checking that this distribution does not respond to restrictions imposed by the subcategorisation frames of the verbal predicates of the sentences, we have examined the content of these expressions. It is necessary, first of all, to consider how the preposition *at* functions in present-day English. As argued in Herskovist (1986), the preposition *at* in present-day English only occurs with small towns. This is consistent with the two expressions in which *at* collocates with *burg* (1, 2). The landmark in both of them is Coldingham; most probably this town was not at the time as well known to the Britons as other cities mentioned in EH, such as Canterbury, London or Rome. One of those expressions (2) presents the particularity that the preposition has become part of the name of the town. The prepositional phrase serves to refer to the name of a monastery, which is *At Coldingham*. This indicates the strong association existing between a trajector and the place where it is situated: *ðæt mynster, þæt mon nemneð Æt Coludes burg* (2). According to Lindkvist (1978: 12), the preposition *at* should not be translated in these cases, since the whole prepositional phrase is understood as a place name. He also points out that these prepositional phrases function as a predicate instead of as an adverbial or an adjunct.

[4] The examples with the preposition *at* are listed in an Appendix at the end of this article. When referred to or partially quoted, these examples are identified with a number that corresponds to the sentences listed in the Appendix. Miller's translations are also provided.

The explanation provided above for the collocation of *at* and *burg* falls in contradiction with the two expressions where this preposition occurs with *Rom*. In fact, *Rom* was already at the time of the translation a large and important city. As nothing in the semantic content of the sentence where the first of these expressions (3) appears sheds any light on the factors motivating the presence of *at*, we have looked at its broader context. We could observe that this case occurred when the author steps off the narrative line and digresses in order to relate the biography of a specific character. In biographies, the relevant aspects are the character's deeds and achievements, dates and places usually play a lesser role. This factor motivates a minor involvement of the speaker with the locative expressions at issue, which is consistent with a remote perspective.[5] Regarding the second example (4), the reasons for the occurrence of the preposition *at* were found in the neighbouring context. A sequence of events, the consecration of two bishops, is enumerated with the different places where the events happen, one of those places is *Briten*, preceded by the preposition *on*, and the second is *Rom*, preceded by the preposition *at*. A mental map of the places is needed to account for the different conceptualisations of these spatial entities. The occurrence of these two prepositions serves to emphasise the smaller size of *Rom* in comparison to *Briten*: *Đæt se arwurða wer Swiðbyrht on Breotone, Wilbrord æt Rome biscopas wæron Fresna ðeode gehalgode* "That the venerable Swithberht in Britain and Wilbrord at Rome were consecrated as bishops for Friesland" (EH: 22). It must be noted that Lundskær-Nielsen (1993) found out that the codification of location in a town is one of the most frequent locative uses of *at* in the section of the *Anglo Saxon Chronicle* that covers the years 892-900: *æt Middeltune*, *æt Beamfleote*, *æt Cwatbrycge*, etc. Interestingly enough, in this section there are three instances of towns that collocate with the preposition *on* and these are remarkably more important and larger than the ones mentioned above: *Lundenne*, *Hrofesceastre* and *Wintenceastre*. In fact, these three cities had been endowed with a bishopric in that time.

[5] We would like to thank one of our anonymous reviewers for noticing that the use of this preposition with larger landmarks in Old English can anticipate this use of *at* in Middle English. In fact, Lindkvist has found several Middle English cases in which this preposition collocates with important cities: "*The heved is at Parys. Maundev*.2.; *He was at Jerusalem in tho dayes*. Wycl. Lucke 23. 7." (1978: 13).

The third category we have set up in relation with the landmarks from Table 1 is 'general geographic designations'. Under this category we include places that vary in size and are not conceptualised as bounded. In our corpus there are three: *land*, *stow* and *mór*. *Land* occurs 23 times in EH, in 15 cases it occurs with the preposition *in*; there are 7 examples with the preposition *on*, and, finally, only one with the preposition *at*. In principle, *land* refers to an area, therefore it may seem difficult to explain how an extension in space can be conceptualised as a point. However, the only case where *at* precedes *land* is inserted in a very specific context: *ðurh ðone smyltestan sae usic æt londe gebrohte* (5). Here *land* does not refer to an extension, instead it is part of the opposition sea versus land. Thus when one speaks of travellers reaching land after a long journey in a ship, "at land" is said to indicate the point where the travellers arrive in a different medium. It can also be viewed as the goal of a path through the sea; this idea is consistent with the consideration of the landmarks of *at* as points. Lindkvist (1950: 134) pointed out that the preposition *at* occurred with the noun *land* in Early Modern English and even later "to indicate situation on the solid surface of the earth in contrast to the sea". But as we can see this usage of *at* has antecedents in Old English.

With regard to *stow*, it is even more general than *land*; this flexibility may account for the large number of occurrences of this noun in EH. We have found 74 expressions with the preposition *in*; 18 with the preposition *on*, and 3 with the preposition *at*. The expressions occurring with the preposition *at* are those that refer to "the holy places of the apostles" (6, 7, 8). From the context, we learn that those places are situated in Rome; this helps to establish a remote perspective on the landmarks as they are not even situated in Britain. There is one more factor motivating a remote perspective of these places: there is no information about them, we do not know whether they are buildings, or other types of location: *þæt he wolde to Rome feran þær æt þam halgum stowum his lif geendigan* (6). The third geographic entity examined, *mór*, resembles the former in the sense that it may refer to an extension of variable size and it does not have salient boundaries. The location specified in the two expressions found in EH is effected by the preposition *in*. The presence of *in* in the two examples reflect the close view of the narrator, as the landmark is preceded by an adjective describing the

moors internally and the facts that take place there are known, i.e. *in heaum morum* "high up upon the moors" (EH: 364).

The fourth category is 'buildings'. In our corpus we have included *cirice*, *hús*, and *mynster*. We support Herskovit's (1986) and Bennet's (1975) semantic treatments, which claim that the preposition *at* does not profile any part or subdivision of the landmarks. Bennet (1975: 68) states this fact explicitly: "Whereas *on* and *in* are ascribed a 'part' component, no such component is attributed to the meaning of *at*." As noted above, Herskovits defined the categorisation labour effected by *at* as 'coincidence'. We claim that the conceptualisation of physical location in buildings as coincidence is in principle improbable, because buildings are not likely to be idealised geometrically as a point. Human beings have an active bodily and visual interaction with buildings. We are aware of being enclosed by their walls and ceilings, and are able to have a full visual picture of their exterior. However, the relation between the trajector and the building may be not so much one of location, but, instead, the speaker implies that the trajector is engaged in the activities normally performed in that building. In this case, in present-day English, the preposition *at* is preferred with a large number of landmarks. Concerning the examples analysed here, we have not found any case of collocation of the preposition *at* with any of the buildings considered, despite the fact that these landmarks are notably represented in EH; there are 68 examples of *cirice*, 16 examples of *hús* and 76 of *mynster* being preceded by the preposition *in* and *on*. This seems logical in the case of *hús* because no activities are specifically associated with this landmark. On the other hand, with *cirice* and *mynster* we expected to find some examples with *at*. In fact, Lindkvist's (1978) findings show that Old-English *at* was used to express somebody's location in connection with the activities typically developed in a building. For example, in present-day English *church* may be preceded by the preposition *at* when the church is not referred to as a specific physical entity, i.e. a building, but as the institution where religious activities are held. It must be noted that in these cases the noun is not preceded by any modifier, which emphasises that it does not have a specific referent. In our corpus, there are expressions where *church* is not accompanied by any modifier either, thus we may infer that the institution and not the building is referred to.

We have examined these examples more closely in order to check whether any other factor was preventing the occurrence of *at* in these prepositional phrases. In fact, a close examination of the cases where *cirice* is mentioned as an institution shows that many of them describe the circumstances under which a person should not enter a church, because trespassing on its grounds would be regarded as a sin, for example menstruating women: *ne sceal heo bewered beon þæt heo mote in circan gongan* "it is not right that she should be cut off from entering God's church" (EH: 78). Thus, even though not a specific church, but a space clearly delineated is being referred to, enclosure within that space becomes salient, since being in or keeping ourselves out determine whether one has committed a sin. The salience acquired by the physical limits of the landmark motivate the presence of the preposition *in* in these expressions. Finally, as an additional factor to be taken into account, it must be noted that the translators are clerics, which means that they are very familiar with the interior and the activities developed in places such as a church or a monastery. This fact prevents the translators from having a remote perspective of these locations.

The following category is 'containers'. In this respect we have analysed the spatial expressions that occur with *cyst* and *ðruh*. The entities within this category belong to the class of objects that have an inherent interior. Consistently with the state of affairs in present-day English, no cases with the preposition *at* have been found to express containment in relation to these landmarks. In the unlikely case the preposition *at* appeared with these objects, it would express spatial coincidence, or proximity.

In present-day English it is frequent to see parts of the body preceded by the preposition *at*. Most of these expressions have a figurative meaning ("I will always be at your feet") but we contend that they started as literal expressions. Some of the examples found in EH confirm this hypothesis. There are 15 locative expressions with "hand", 3 collocate with the preposition *at*. Two of them present a literal meaning of "*at hand*" (9, 10); they refer to an individual involved in the story who does not have something he needs at that moment, a possession that is usually wielded in one's hands. For instance: *næfde he scyld æt honda* (10), where one of the king's attendants cannot find a shield. This type of expression may be at the

origin of those already used in Old English and still in present-day English, where the prepositional phrase "at hand" refers to something that is not available, it does not matter if it is something that can be held or not: "Sorry, I cannot pick you up now, I have no car at hand." In the third example (11), in contrast with the other two, the hands are preceded by a noun in the genitive case, this modifies significantly the meaning of the prepositional phrase. It no longer refers to whether something is or not easily accessible. By mentioning specifically the person whose hands are being referred to by the landmarks, the actor of an action is alluded. This new semantic content of the locative expression may be motivated by the fact that the hands are the part of our body with which we act most often. The prepositional phrase in question, *æt þaes biscopes honda*, refers to the bishop that gives holy communion to one of the characters of the narration. We claim that this expression also highlights the proximity that there must obtain between the agent and the patient, which is also connected with the postulated coincidence between cause and effect. Wood argues that this use can be identified in present-day English in expressions such as "The captive suffered much harsh treatment at the hands of his jailers" (1967: 285). The next body part we have examined is *fót*, there is only one case preceded by the preposition *at* (12). This example is not part of a figurative expression of admiration or respect, the feet in question belong to an individual lying in bed while another person is standing close to the foot of the bed: *oðer æt minum fotum* (12). In conformity with the meaning of the preposition *at*, although the spatial relation is actually of proximity, it is conceived of as coincidence.

The literature on English prepositions generally define one use of the preposition *at* as being "activity close to an object". The trajector presents in most cases the feature [+ human] while the landmark is an object with which the trajector interacts. This interaction requires the physical coincidence between them. In EH we have examined the locative expressions containing *fyr* and the preposition *at*. One must be close to, or be physically coincident with, the fire in order to get warmer or cook food. The relevant fact in such a relationship is the physical coincidence between both trajector and landmark. Another reason for preferring the preposition *at* in this case is that no part of the landmark is profiled as being the exact location of the trajector. There are

only two prepositional phrases where *fyr* is the landmark of one of the topological prepositions; one of the examples presents *on* and the other presents *at* (13). This expression, as expected, includes the sense of functionality that we have mentioned above: *gestód æt þam fýre hine wyrmde mid his þegnum.* As this sentence shows, the purpose of the trajector by standing close to the fire is to warm himself. This usage has not changed over time and it is highly productive in present-day English, as Lindkvist put it: "*At* is used with complements denoting different things which according to their nature are the objects or centres of special activitites, to indicate that the activity connected with such a thing is carried on close to the thing" (1950: 165).

When it comes to means of transport, we have examined the prepositional phrases with the word *scip* and have found 5 cases with the preposition *in* and 3 with the preposition *on*; there is not a single occurrence of this word preceded by the preposition *at*. The reasons for this absence can be attributed to the way human beings interact with the means of transport that resemble a container, such as *scip*. Sometimes, it is quite similar to the way we interact with prototypical closures such as buildings in the sense that we are aware of being situated within their limits; this type of location motivates the use of the preposition *in*. On the other hand, in other cases, the horizontal surface that supports the travellers is the part of the landmark that obtains a maximum salience from the cognitive point of view, this relationship is encoded by the preposition *on*. In contrast, the preposition *at* would not profile the interaction of the traveller with any of the parts of the means of transport.

Finally, we have examined locative categories that human beings have not experienced physically, places such as *heofon* and *neorxenawang*. We have a culturally-built mental image of these places, and of what one can find in their interior. This mental image is commonly shared due to the contribution of art, specifically painting, and descriptions in religious writings i.e. *The Phoenix*. Before the search, we advanced the hypothesis that the relatively deep knowledge that scribes had of what the interior of these regions should be like precluded the occurrence of *at* with these landmarks. Furthermore, their exact situation does not rely on the principles that human beings resort to when locating, i.e. distance, the points of the

compass, and map conventions in general. Therefore, speakers cannot be said to have a remote perception of its position in space either, which is one of the main features of the preposition *at*. This hypothesis is confirmed after examining the data; there are 4 locative expressions with *heofon*, 3 with the preposition *in* and one with the preposition *on*. Another text highlights the scarce possibilities of finding the preposition *at* preceding landmarks of this nature. For instance, we have also examined *Satan in Hell*, inserted in the section of *Genesis* known as *Genesis B* (Vickrey 1960). There *heofon* appears on 7 occasions and in all of them is preceded by the preposition *on*. In the same text, the word *hell*, which belongs to the same category of landmark, occurs 6 times, all of them preceded by the preposition *on*. It must be noted that the preposition *at* appears in this text in combination with other landmarks. Regarding *neorxenawang*, it occurs just once preceded by a topological preposition, which as we predicted is not *at* but *in* in EH. This word occurs twice in Ælfric's fragment from the Book of Genesis known as *The Fall of Man* (Mitchell and Robinson 1992), in both cases it is preceded by the preposition *on*. It is worth noticing that in the same text we have found the Latin word *Paradīsum*, also preceded by the preposition *on*.

5. DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

The question we want to address in this section may be formulated like this: Does the allegedly ideal meaning of *at* apply to all the uses of the preposition that have been attested in our analysis? In the first place, the examination of the landmarks selected with the preposition *at* in this Anglo-Saxon document shows that, in contrast with *in* and *on*, the usage of the preposition *at* in this period is highly consistent with present-day English. Therefore, it could be claimed that the ideal meaning proposed for this preposition according to its usage in present-day English, 'location at a point', applies in general to the way it is used in Old English. This is supported by Lindkvist's claim that "With very few exceptions […] the use of *at* in Middle English is identical with that of *æt* in Old English" (1978: 13). This indicates the existence of a continuity in the usage of this preposition. But this is not a strong position; the question is whether 'location at a point' is a suitable definition for the totality of the senses of *at*. We contend that map conventions to a large extent resemble the way we

think of spatial entities and this is shown by the data examined. For instance, no case of location in a country has been found with *at* in EH. In fact, large entities tend to be excluded from the set of likely landmarks of this preposition because they are hard to conceptualise as points. With smaller geographical entities such as towns, the expressions with *at* in EH are appropriate under special contextual conditions. Maps are also flexible concerning the representation of towns, depending on the scale, they can be represented as areas or points. Herskovits (1986) also pointed out that in present-day English the size or the importance of the city determines the distribution of *in* and *at*. In our corpus, only small distant towns occur with the preposition *at*, with the exception of *Rom*, which is linked on two occasions with this preposition. But in the two cases the location in *Rom* appears as secondary information, no close-up view of the town is taken and the knowledge of the position of the facts narrated with respect to the landmark is rather imprecise. Thus, these examples show that the feature 'remote perspective' was already probably active in Old English in determining the distribution of this preposition. With generic geographic designations, it is possible for the landmark to be conceptualised as a point, which controls the use of *at*; otherwise, any other preposition, *in* or *on*, should precede the landmark. For example, as noted above, *land*, infrequently, can be conceptualised as a point. This indicates that the determinant factor to decide whether an expression with a preposition is appropriate is not simply the type of spatial entity it occurs with but the contextual conditions as well. Diachronically, contextual conditions as a factor affecting the behaviour of prepositions has declined, although it is still active (consider "at the market" versus "in the market"; "at the bridge" versus "on the bridge"). It seems obvious that the distribution of these prepositions in present-day English is more constrained by the spatial properties of the landmark.

Regarding the occurrence of prepositions with buildings, two different situations may hold. On the one hand, locations in buildings usually profile their interior, but the preposition *at* implies a global conceptualisation of the landmarks. When a speaker uses *at* she does not commit to the exact position of the trajector with respect to the landmark, whereas by expressing location in a building most often a relation of enclosure is stated. On the

other hand, the noun may refer to a scenario rather than to a building. This use has on the whole remained unchanged since Old English. The data examined shows examples where *cirice* was not referred to as a specific building, but as an institution; in these examples the noun is usually not preceded by any modifier. Even though our data does not include any case of collocation of *at* with a building in reference to a scenario, Lindkvist provides examples from various Old English literary works that prove that this use was already consolidated in Old English (1978: 13-4). Again, in this case, contextual dependencies determine the selection of a preposition and the rejection of another. These contextual dependencies are responsible for the way a particular relation is conceptualised. In the previous section, we observed the absence of *at* with *cirice* when location in a particular scenario was being expressed in EH. So the presence or absence of *at* in Old English was not entirely predictable with buildings, when denoting the trajector's engagement in a specific activity connected with the building. Perhaps this instability is responsible for some alternations of the prepositions *at* and *in* in present-day English with no difference in meaning: "in/at church" (Swan 1995).

The examples examined above mainly show that when the landmark cannot be idealised into a point, because its interior plays a major role in the locative expression, *at* is not a likely option. The salience of the interior of a landmark is also associated with visual perception. When the speakers have visual information of the interior of the landmark, other prepositions rather than *at* are used, instead *in* is preferred if a relationship of enclosure holds. This was the situation of the examples in the corpus that express location in imaginary places like *heofon* or *neorxenawang*. The fact that these landmarks have just one single referent, i.e. in the Christian tradition there are not several "heavens" or "paradises", prevents that a sense of indefiniteness may be involved in these landmarks, which is another factor accompanying the preposition *at*.

Visual perceptual access to a scene or situation is a relevant factor modulating the presence of *at* versus *in*, since visual perception allows the speaker to verify that enclosure within a space actually takes place. With landmarks that sometimes are not apprehended visually, such as some buildings or geographic entities, the preposition *at* then may be used.

However, human beings have a recurrent visual and physical interaction with containers; this is reinforced by the action of physically placing objects into them.[6] This precludes the preposition *at* from occurring with nouns denoting small containers and it is also an explanation for the absence of the preposition *at* with means of transport that contain people.

From the uses of the preposition *at* proposed above it seems quite straightforward that the characteristic 'coincidence' that most linguists ascribe to the category *at* has to be defined in relation to one basic modality in conceptualising space: map images. For instance, the location in small geographic entities of which we have a remote perspective is conceptualised through an idealised geometric conceptualisation of both trajector and landmark. But this fact does not apply to the cases that are conceptualised from the information obtained through a different modality: visual perception. We mean the situations where the spatial coincidence is perceived visually, for example when the trajector, usually human, performs some function associated with the landmark. Herskovits (1986: 82) claims that a spatial relation like "Maggie is at her desk" is viewed as coincidence between two points. But it must be noted that the selection restrictions that determine the correct use of *at* in such a context determine the distribution of *at* versus *near* or of *at* versus *close to* in the same context. We believe these selection restrictions are too specific to be abstracted away in a geometric conceptualisation where the trajector as well as the landmarks are viewed as points. There are two examples in the data where the relation between the trajector and the landmark responds to specificities that are apprehended visually and that the listener must reconstruct through a visual image in order to make sense of it. For instance, *oðer æt minum fotum* (12), where the position of a person with respect to somebody's bed is stated. This does not simply imply a relation of coincidence, there are other relationships involved here that are apprehended visually and that are recovered in the codification and decodification of the spatial relationship connected with this scene; as an example, the form of beds and the way we interact with them. A similar

[6] For a thorough description of how the action of introducing things into our own mouth when we are babies ingrains the notion of containment by deeply entrenching it into our minds, while obtaining a pre-conceptual status see Lakoff & Johnson (1999).

interpretation can be made of the expression with *fyr*, *gestód æt þam fýre hine wyrmde mid his þegnum* (13); when somebody is said to be located *at the fire*, he is assumed to be there for a certain purpose, usually for warmth. In order to suit this purpose, the trajector must fulfill certain conditions: he should be placed at a certain distance, neither too close nor too far, he usually does not show his back to the fire, etc. Probably this functional use of *at* was already active long before the time the extant documents were written. In fact, Lindkvist attests this specific use in different texts, which led him to affirm: "*Æt* further occurred in Old English in such cases of practical connection where somebody is present close to, or in contact with, an object which is used for some purpose connected with the object" (1978: 18). Thus we cannot have evidence of the contexts where this use emerged. Neither can we know whether these expressions entered the language before those derived from mental maps. However, one thing seems to be clear: the treatment of the expressions with *at* where functional factors concur cannot be reduced to the statement of mere coincidence between two points.

6. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The advent of cognitive linguistics with its emphasis on the speakers' fundamental role in the organisation of spatial relations has brought the study of prepositions into a new light. Factors that were not even considered within the standard linguistic machinery have acquired an active role in the description of the semantic content of these lexical items; for instance, speakers' perception, their interaction with space and subsequent conceptualisation of the spatial relations. This means that when it comes to a diachronic study of prepositions dialectal factors or stylistic variance depending on the author are to be considered, but they are not the only conditions when it comes to explaining apparently random uses.

The study we have carried out of the preposition *at* in EH and its comparison with Lindkvist (1978) and Lundskær-Nielsen's (1993) analyses of the same preposition provides us with a quite comprehensive picture of the usage of this preposition in Old English. Some extrapolations can be made on the basis of the findings exposed here. For example, the use of this preposition has remained quite stable over time and no major changes have taken place, or they have been temporal, as the use of *at* to express location

in a country, as put forward by Lindkvist. It seems that the system of topological prepositions in Old English was more flexible in order to encode the speakers' point of view of a locative relations, as the cases where *Rom* was preceded by *at* show. For instance, in present-day English, the perspective that the speaker takes of a certain scene is not echoed in the selection restrictions of some prepositions, i.e. *at* cannot occur with terms denoting large important cities. We can see here two distinct parameters in a continuum competing to determine the use of prepositions: on the one hand the speakers' perspective of a situation and, on the other hand, the physical objective characteristics of the landmark. The freedom speakers have to choose a preposition according to the perspective they take of a scene is directly proportional to the flexibility of some prepositions to alternate with specific landmarks. In present-day English, this flexibility has diminished due to the fact that more strict collocations between prepositions and landmarks occur. For this reason, the preposition *at* is more constrained by the type of landmarks it collocates with. This was maybe intuitively realised by Lundskaer-Nielsen when he stated "that later changes in the use of *æt* are more often limitations in the semantic range that it had in OE than extensions of it" (1993: 84).

We, cognitive linguists, in our attempt to demonstrate that even the lowliest grammatical morpheme is meaningful, usually posit multiple senses for these items and treat them as complex lexical categories. The reaction to this situation is to establish a single sense or core from which all the other senses of the category originated, this core sense is called by Herskovits (1986) "ideal meaning." The French linguist Vandeloise (1984) introduces diachronic aspects in this core sense that he calls "impulsion." According to Vandeloise, the impulsion is diachronically the primary sense of the category, and linguists should aim at establishing it. Vandeloise makes the point that arguing for the polysemic character of a preposition is a relatively straight point, the hard part comes when ones tries to set up the impulsion of the category. There is no doubt that the notion of impulsion has a high heuristic value. However, concerning a synchronic description of a preposition, we are inclined to regard the establishment of a single definition that suits all its uses, in some cases, as being too artificial. Therefore, as we have argued in the previous section some relationships are naturally

conceptualised as geometric idealisations, as our familiarity with the use of maps shows. On the other hand, other relations are apprehended visually and understood in a context where several factors converge, for instance, functional landmarks. The data analysed shows that in Old English as well as in present-day English a single definition is not able to cover all the attested senses of *at*.

Finally, taking the results of our study as a starting point, we envisage two directions for future research. First, we have strictly focused on spatial uses but it would be interesting to verify that the stability of the categorisation of *at* between Old and present-day English in the spatial domain can be attested in other non-spatial domains, for example time. Second, the same spatial categories proposed here can be analysed in Middle English texts to determine the specific variations that have taken place over these two periods.

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APPENDIX: OCCURRENCES OF THE PREPOSITION *AT* IN OLD ENGLISH VERSION OF BEDE'S *ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH PEOPLE* WITH THE LANDMARKS SELECTED

(1) BedeHead 4 20.23

XXIIII. Hwilc gesihð sumum Godes were ætywde, ær þam þe þæt mynster æt Coludes byrig mid bryne fornumen waere.

XXIV. *The vision which appeared to a man of God, before the monastery at Coldingham was destroyed by fire.*

(2) 4 26.348.27

Ðissum tidum ðæt mynster, þæt mon nemneð Æt Coludes burg, þæs we beforan gemyndgodon, þurh ungemænne synne fyre lege wæs fornumen.

At this time the monastery called Coldingham, already mentioned, was destroyed by fire and flame, through the sin of carelessness.

(3) BedeHead 5 22.32

XI. Ðæt se arwurða wer Swiðbyrht on Breotone, Wilbrord æt Rome biscopas wæron Fresna ðeode gehalgode.

XI. That the venerable Swithberht in Britain and Wilbrord at Rome were consecrated as bishops for Friesland.

(4) 5 8.406.18

Ða wæs ðy nehstan geare, æfter ðam ðe Ceadwala æt Rome forðfered wæs, þætte ðære eadgan gemynde þeodor ercebiscop ald dagena full forðfered wæs,

Then next year, after the death of Ceadwalla at Rome, archbishop Theodore of blessed memory died, old and full days, that is, when he was eighty-eight years of age.

(5) 5 1.386.11

Ond mid ðy he ða ðæt gebed gefylde, he þa somod ætgædre ge þone aðundnan sae gesmylte ge ðone storm gestilde, to þon ðætte þurh all sio roeðnis ðæs stormes wæs blinnende gesyndge windas ðurh ðone smyltestan sae usic æt londe gebrohte.

And when he had ended the prayer, he then at the same time calmed the swollen sea and stilled the storm, so that altogether the fury of the storm ceased and favouring breezes carried us to the land over the calmest of seas.

(6) 4 5.274.29

þæt gif he from þære untrymnesse gehæled wære, þæt he wolde to Rome feran þær æt þam halgum stowum his lif geendigan, ond Wilferð biscop bæd, þæt he him þæs siiðfætes latteow wære,

that, if he had been cured of this disorder, he intended to proceed to Rome and there end his life at those holy places, and he begged bishop Wilfrid to be his guide on the journey,

(7) 5 7.404.16

þæt he æt stowe þara apostola mid þa wællan fullwihte bæthes athwegen wære, in tham anum he geleornode monna cynne ingong geopenian þæs heofonlican lifes.

in the home of the apostles, whereby alone he had learnt that entrance into the kingdom of heaven is opened to mankind.

(8) 5 17.448.23

Forðon he com to Rome, þaer scire onfeng munuc wæs geworden on Constantines tidum þaes papa: æt þara apostola stowe on gebedum on fæstenum on ælmesdaedumawunade oð þone ytemestan dæg.

For he went to Rome and there received the tonsure, and became a monk in the time of pope Constantine; and continued in the home of the apostles, praying and fasting and giving alms, up to his last day.

(9) 2 8.122.19

Ða þæt þa Lilla geseah, se cyninges þegn him se holdesta, næfde he scyld æt honda,

Now when Lilla saw this, who was the most devoted of the king's attendants, having no shield at hand,

(10) 3 1.156.27

Ða sæt he æt beode, næfde þa æt honda hwær þæt brohte lac gehealdan scolde;

As he sat at table, he had nothing at hand to keep the proffered gift in;

(11) 3 5.168.5

Ða onfeng he him nom æt fulwihte bæðe æt þaes biscopes honda þære godcundan þegnunge him to godsuna.

and he received and took him as godson at the font, after the sacred administration by the bishop's hands.

(12) 5 14.438.21

Ær hwene ðu come, eode inn on þis hus to me twegen geonge men fægre beorhte, gesæton æt me, oðer æt minum heafde, oðer æt minum fotum.

A little before you came, there came in to me in this house two young men fair and bright, and sat down by me, one at my head, the other at my feet.

(13) 3 12.196.25

Se cyning þonne, forðon he of huntað cwom, gestód æt þam fýre hine wyrmde mid his þegnum.

Then the king, having just come from hunting, stood at the fire and warmed himself, among his attendants.

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PHILIP PERRY'S MANUSCRIPT *SKETCH OF BRITISH HISTORY* (c. 1770): EDITING A VALLISOLETAN HISTORICAL RECORD OF EARLY BRITAIN

For at least 25 years now, Anglists and historians of the University of Valladolid have kept a scientific and humanistic interest in the English College of Saint Alban in Valladolid, an institution that holds bibliographical and documentary sources of an exceptional wealth. In this article, we intend to give notice of the constitution of a team of researchers in the English Department of the University of Valladolid devoted to the study of such documentary funds. The Group is currently working on the edition of one of the manuscripts kept in the College Archive —*Sketch of British History*, an ecclesiastical history of early Britain written in the 18th century by former College Rector Philip Perry. This article is a preliminary note on a work in progress.

THE ROYAL ENGLISH COLLEGE OF ST. ALBAN, VALLADOLID

The English College of Valladolid was founded in the 16th century, when English Seminaries were established on the continent for the training of priests that would serve "the English Mission" during the persecution of Catholics in England and Wales.[1] The Colleges in France and Italy being beset by political and economic troubles, Spain began to be seen as the best alternative to found a new seminary. In 1589, Father Robert Persons was granted king Philip II's authority to found a new training-college in

[1] The first of those was the English College at Douai, France, founded in 1568 by Cardinal William Allen to educate young Catholics not allowed to practice their religion under Elizabeth I (1558-1603). The College flourished for two centuries and sent dozens of priests into England as missionaries. The new hazards that the French Revolution brought to the Catholic Church threatened the College's survival. In 1793, it was moved from France back into England and became St. Edmund's College, a small Catholic boarding school in Ware.

Valladolid, with St. Alban, the English protomartyr, as patron saint.[2] In the lead of this Castilian college, the Seminary of St Gregory was established in Seville three years later and in 1610 the College of St. George in Madrid. The three seminaries were under the administration of the Jesuits and when these were expelled from Spain in 1767 and the colleges mistakenly thought to be their properties, they were confiscated —only to be returned to the English clergy soon afterwards. Dr. Philip Perry, a secular priest and author of the manuscript we are presenting here, was appointed the first English Rector of the united Colleges in 1768.

The three English Colleges in Spain had all merged into the Valladolid institution. Perry had a difficult work ahead bringing together their books, rents and foundations. So important is what he accomplished, that Michael Williams —the scholar that has published more consistently on St. Alban's College— considers Philip Perry its second founder (1986: 107). We today are fortunate to have within easy reach the two magnificent libraries that Perry's efforts helped to conform and preserve[3] and the College Archive that he reorganized, extremely valuable document repositories that have attracted the interest of a number of scholars.[4]

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2 Needless to say, Queen Elizabeth I saw these Seminaries as a breeding-place of traitors: *«The King of Spaine, for furthering of other intentions against Englande, has dealt with Cardinal Allen and Father Persons to gather together with great labour uppon his charges a multitude of dissolute youthes to begin this seminary of Valladolid and others in Spaine»* [Proclamation against seminary priests and Jesuits issued by Queen Elizabeth I (1591:2)].

3 The 'Pigskin' Library with 2,883 volumes bound in vellum, comprising the original library at St. Alban's and the acquisitions from St. George's in Madrid and other Jesuit houses; and the Old Library, with 6,765 volumes. An important number of volumes are, for obvious historical reasons, Books of Controversies — passionate defences of the Catholic orthodoxy then assaulted by a number of heretic reforms. The Jesuit spirituality is also manifest in the sheer abundance of volumes by Jesuit theologians such as Francisco Suárez, together with books on law, history, astronomy, grammar, etc. and an important number of texts related to the city of Valladolid.

4 These investigative efforts are particularly evident in the period that spans from 1977 to 1990, when the English Department Review, *ES*, published a number of articles by the late Professor Ruiz Ruiz, among others, who wrote on the founder of the College —the English Jesuit Robert Persons (1546-1610)— and other early College figures, and began to call attention on some of the historical documents kept in the College Archives.

THE SAN ALBANO RESEARCH GROUP

In 2001, a research team was constituted in the Department of English of the University of Valladolid, with Dr. Carlos Herrero Quirós as Director. The San Albano Research Group —as the eight members have chosen to call themselves (www.uva.es/sanalbano)— began their work with a broad motivation: to help establish an academic forum dedicated to the study of the College's rich documentary and bibliographical funds; more specifically, the group has undertaken the creation of a deposit of microfilms of medieval and modern documentary sources on the ecclesiastical history of Great Britain and Ireland, as well as the acquisition of bibliographical resources on ecclesiastical history, particularly that dealing with the Medieval and Modern periods —both deposits being an offshoot of their two years' background research on one of Rector Perry's manuscripts held in the College Archive: an ecclesiastical history of early Britain whose critical edition is currently in active preparation.

PHILIP PERRY'S MEDIEVALIST INTERESTS AND OUTPUT

To better understand the particulars of this interesting autograph ecclesiastical history, we will benefit from an overview of the author's personality as a committed bibliophile and a tireless writer of historical and devotional works. Although not exclusively interested in the medieval era, Philip Perry nevertheless disclosed a particular interest in it, both in the books he chose to bring to the Library and those he wrote. A vast number of volumes in the College Old Library that were his own revolve around the medieval era. Asser's ninth century *Life of King Alfred* or *De Alfredi Rebus Gestis* (839),[5] William Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum* (1655-73),[6] James Ussher's *Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates* (1639),[7] Henry

[5] In William Camden's *Anglica, Normannica, Hibernica, Cambrica a veteribus scripta*. Perry's personal copy was printed in Germany (Frankfurt, 1603) [St. Alb. Big Lib. 3466].

[6] *Or, The History of the Ancient Abbies and other Monasteries, Hospitals, Cathedrals and Collegiate Churches in England and Wales*. Perry's signed two-volume copy was printed in London (1693) [St. Alb. Big Lib. 3812, 3813].

[7] Perry's copy (Dublin, 1639) [St. Alb. Big Lib. 5149]. Ussher's *Antiquities of the British Church* seems to influence the *Sketch*'s general plan to such a degree that it can be argued that Perry's text may be an abridged English version of Ussher's Latin work. An attempt to unearth their intricate connection remains to be made.

Wharton's *Anglia Sacra* (1691),[8] Thomas Innes's *Essay on the Ancient Inhabitants of Scotland* (1729),[9] or collections of classical and medieval sources like Thomas Gale's *Scriptores Historiae Britannicae, Saxonicae, Anglo-Danicae* (1687),[10] to name but a few, are invaluable sources on Medieval English History that Perry's interests have left for our enjoyment today.

Not only did he read, buy and collect books —he also wrote. A true scholar, Perry has left us many autograph manuscripts: to this day, the College Archive holds eighteen voluminous bundles containing his writings. These bundles are representative of the Rector's many interests; the medieval period stands out among them. Hagiography is one of Perry's favourites as shown by his *Lives of British and English Saints*; together with the *Lives of Martyrs and Holy Persons*, they testify to the Rector's interest in biography in general, particularly evident in his *Life of Bishop Robert Grosseteste*. *Reformation Figures* and the *Reformation Period* in general are also looked into, as is *British History*, in the form of loose papers and, of course, in our bundle of three manuscripts, containing a *Continuation of Bede's History* and two versions of *Sketch of British History*.[11]

[8] Philip Perry's personal copy (1691) [St. Alb. Big Lib. 3602, *De Archiepiscopis et Episcopis Ecclesiarum Cathedralium*; 3603, *Plures antiquas de Vitis and rebus gestis Præsulum Anglicorum Historias*].

[9] Innes's two first-edition volumes, printed in London, in 1729, are signed by Philip Perry [St. Alb. Big Lib. 5157 and 5158].

[10] It contains the works of Gildas, Nennius, William of Malmesbury, John Fordun, among others, and chronicles like *Annales Waverleienses*. Perry's personal copy is in two volumes (1684, 1691) [St. Alb. Big Lib. 3600, 3601].

[11] The Perry Manuscripts kept in the Archive of San Albano and their bundle numbers are: [151] *Old Testament Lives*; [152] *Lives of British Saints*; [153] *Lives of Various English Saints* (Incomplete); [154] *English Martyrs and Lives of Saints and Holy Persons* (Foreign); [155] *Continuation of Bede's History*; [156] *Life of Grosseteste* (MS); [157] *Life of Fish*er (Incomplete); [158] *Various Writings on John Fisher*; [159] *Life of Erasmus* (Incomplete); [160] *Various writings on Erasmus*; [161] *Reformation Figures e.g. Colet, More, Crammer, Luter* (Copied); [162] *Loose Quaternions on Reformation period*. Including transcriptions; [163] *Loose papers on Theological Subjects and Loose papers on British History*; [164] *Liturgical Notes: Sermons: Instructions on the Blessed Sacrament*; [165] *Sheperd's letters to Perry*; [S/N] *Perry's Catalogue of Archives; Perry's Travels; A Collection of Notes for Historical Studies*; [S/N] *Perry Correspondence 1768-73. Sheperd Correspondence. Sheperd vv. Catholic Committee*; [S/N] *Perry's Mss. (history & research)*. We have used the title that Michael Williams wrote on each bundle and, if absent, the content summary written on the box that contains each bundle.

But Perry's output was even larger than this. On finding out a concomitance in the title of the first manuscript in our chosen bundle —*Continuation of Bede's History*— with that of a Perry manuscript held in the Scottish Catholic Archives,[12] two members of the Group travelled to Edinburgh to examine the link between both texts. The Scottish Archives hold ten manuscript volumes by Philip Perry, all but one of which coincide either in title or in subject matter with the Valladolid texts.[13] The parallelism between the Valladolid and the Edinburgh papers is one we are currently examining, but this early we are almost certain that the Edinburgh versions of the texts with similar title kept in Valladolid are the final versions of the San Albano drafts.[14] In any case, Michael Williams gives some evidence as to how the works could have reached Scotland: John Geddes, Rector of the Scots College in Valladolid and a friend of Perry's with similar bibliophile interests, would have mediated after the English Rector's death to have the books transferred to the Isles since he thought that those revised final versions merited publication (1983: 94-95).[15] The *Sketch of British History*,

12 In 1957, the Scottish bishops bought a house in Edinburgh —Columba House— where the Scottish Church Archives, housed in Blairs College (Aberdeen) could be transferred and thus be more accessible to researchers in general. The Archives represent Catholic life in Scotland from the 16th century down to the late 19th century, when the Scottish Catholic Hierarchy was re-established and each diocese began to maintain its own archives. See David McRoberts (1977): 125-28.

13 These are the Philip Perry manuscripts held in the Scottish Catholic Archives: [P5.1] *Vita Christi*, companion volume to *Introduction to the Lives of the Saints*; [P5.2] *Introduction to the Lives of the Saints*; [P5.3] *A Chronological Catalogue of British, Irish and Scotch Saints and Holy Persons*; [P5.4] *Continuation of Bede's Civil and Ecclesiastical History down to the Norman Conquest*, in four volumes (vol. 1); [P5.5] *Succession of the Kings of Mercia* (vol. 2); [P5.6] *King Egbert, King of the West Saxons and First Monarch of England* (vol. 3); [P5.7] *Succession of Kings of the Third Period* (vol. 4); [P5.8] *Life of John Fisher*, in two volumes (vol. 1); [P5.9] *Life of John Fisher* (vol. 2); [P5.10] *Essay on the Life and Manners of the Venerable Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln*.

14 Except for the *Life of Grosseteste*, that would have been written in England before Perry left for Valladolid. See Williams (1983: 94).

15 John Geddes was the Scottish agent sent to Madrid by the Scottish bishops —urged by Philip Perry— to prevent the loss of the Scots College in Madrid after the expulsion of the Jesuits, who had run the institution until then. The Madrid foundation had been joined to the Alcalá Irish College. Geddes was given the college library but neither a college nor secure endowment. He wanted the Madrid and Seville foundations to be amalgamated and transferred to Valladolid. Philip Perry's influence was used. The king finally agreed to Geddes's desires and in 1771 the Jesuit College of San Ambrosio in Valladolid —unoccupied since the

both in its draft form and its clean-up version, remained in Valladolid. But Perry surely would have liked to bring it to public notice —a task that we are aiming to fulfil, even if two hundred years late.

Before dealing with the problems involved in preparing a version of Perry's work for presentation to a reading public, it will be useful to provide some brief identification and description of the manuscript, along with a fuller sketch of its contents, with the understanding that the information advanced here should be supplemented by consultation of our first appendix.

THE *LEGAJO* [BUNDLE] 'SAN ALBANO, VALLADOLID, 155'

The bundle is number 155 of Michael Williams's reorganization of the Archive of St. Alban's College's documents and papers.[16] This *legajo* stores three independent manuscripts. MS. 1 comprises methodical notes for the future composition of the four-volume work on the English church history after Bede's time that is kept in the Scottish Catholic Archives. MS. 2 is the

government confiscation in 1767— became the new Scots College in Spain, placed under royal patronage; the Real Colegio de Escoceses would be a university college of Valladolid until the early 19th century when the universities became secularized.

16 John Guest is responsible for the first classification in 1855 of the 25 *legajos* that then existed in the Archive of Saint Alban's College. At the turn of the 20th century, about 1906, Joseph Kelly subdivided and reorganised all the *legajos*. In 1920 he formed an index of the archives, where each individual document was numbered under divisions I-VII and A-H. His *Indice de los Archivos del Colegio de los Ingleses, Valladolid* collects three inventories. The earlier one (pp. 1-94) was compiled before 1767 and is now outdated and useless; the second one (Ser. I, pp. 101-220; Ser. II, pp. 237-69) is his own compilation (c. 1920) and is still useful today; the third inventory (Seville, pp. 297-369) lists the collections in the Archivos del Colegio de San Gregorio in Seville. In pages 205-07 Kelly registered the *Sketch* as belonging to one of the 11 *legajos* under Letra G, in Serie II, Legajo 3º and his hand set down a location number for it on its front card-cover, which read "San Albano, Valladolid, Serie II, Legajo 3º". Kelly's *legajos* were kept virtually intact when Edwin Henson broke many of them up in the year 1940. Most were bounded in leather, while a group of them (mainly fragments and loose correspondence items, some unclassified, a good many unread) remained loose until the time of Michael Williams's undertakings in the mid-1960s. His studious activity is liable for the renumbering of Kelly's *legajos* in the manuscript inventory *Archive of St. Alban's College, Valladolid*. Compiled by Michael Williams in 1965, this inventory was completed in 1988. It includes the Madrid, Seville and Valladolid holdings, these last comprising manuscripts, transcripts, *legajos*, and bound books. Perry's bundle is registered in page 71. His catalogue still needs updating, though.

Sketch of British History our research group has prepared for editing —in fact it is only a preliminary draft of a final version that follows it, making MS. no. 3 in the collected bundle. Because this revised version is incomplete (only the first 15 quires are kept), to prepare our edition we have had to make do with the first uncorrected document in MS. 2. Blotted words, crossed-out paragraphs and excised leaves have come in our way, but the value and singularity of this piece of work was all too inviting.

MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTION

The *Sketch*'s draft makes up a total number of 192 leaves. Its 96 half-sheets are of watermarked, laid paper, their size being *in quarto*. The sheets were cut, folded once and stitched making up 45 gatherings or quires of four leaves each —with a few rare exceptions. As can be seen from the sample digital copy of fol. 6:3^{r} appended below [Fig.1], the author included no foliation, except for the numbering of each gathering on the right upper corner of every first recto. One should note the presence of several excised leaves and loose leaves that Perry added by way of emendation.

CONTENTS OF THE *SKETCH OF BRITISH HISTORY*, BY PHILIP PERRY (1720-1774)

Its full title, as proposed on its first folio, is *Sketch of British History, chiefly with regard to Church affairs, from its first conversion to Christianity, down to the conversion of the Saxons*. Perry's history discloses the text's direct dependence on this heading. The first part of the title reveals Perry's plan of content organization. Thus, the words 'Sketch of British History, chiefly with regard to Church affairs' announce that the text will alternate successively the narration of the landmarks of civil history with those concerning the ecclesiastical affairs of the period described immediately before. The second part of the title points more specifically to the time-span to be covered. It reads 'from its first conversion to Christianity, down to the conversion of the Saxons' and accordingly, Perry's civil and Church history opens with the landing of the Romans on the island in Julius Caesar's time and the subsequent arrival of the first Christians, and extends to Saint Columba's mission in the sixth century, after the Saxon settlements.

Careful reading allows us to distinguish five stages —preceded by an introductory passage— in Perry's account of these events.

1. INTRODUCTION [F. 1:1^R]

Perry's history is introduced by a short description of the isle of Britain, an explanation of the mythical and historical origin of its name and Celtic inhabitants, a relation of the main cities they peopled and a vivid report of their customs and druidic practices. One could say this makes nothing original, simply an echo of past historizing manners. But Perry lent it its distinct character. At these early stages in the narration, the author exhibits, as he will invariably do throughout his *Sketch*, an abundance of ancient, medieval and modern sources, a profusion which gives his writing an 'illustrated', encyclopaedic character of sorts.[17] A case in point of such erudition, on sources ancient or contemporary, is this extract on the possible origin of the name 'Britannia' (1:2^r):

> The ancient name of the island, as appears from Aristotle[1] and Ptolomey[2], was Albion. It was called *Britannia*, by way of epithet or description, from some property either of the country or its inhabitants. It has since been called absolutely *Britannia*, from the Welch word *Brethck* and the Celtic word *Tannia*. *Bretha*, according to Camden, signifies 'painted', and *Tannia*, according to Pezron, signifies 'country', and both together signify 'the country of a people that painted their bodies'.
>
> [1]lib. de mundo, cap.3. [2]apud Gale

17 We would need further discussion to clarify our understanding of 'illustrated' as applied to Perry, but in principle, his documenting practices should be more logically considered as a product of his natural fondness for the historical records of the English Catholic past. Also, Perry's antiquarian use of sources can be interpreted —in view of D.R. Woolf's statement that especially after the Reformation those interested in medieval antiquities had to worry about the charge of adhering to popery (1992: 11-16)— as a Catholic priest's deliberate commitment to the religious counter-reformation of his nation through the presentation of reliable documentary evidence of the Roman Catholic foundational origins of her religious culture.

2. *FIRST-CENTURY BRITAIN: FROM JULIUS CAESAR TO THE FIRST PLANTERS OF THE GOSPEL [F. 3:3^{R}]*

In the opening section of his *Sketch* Perry details the series of events pertaining to the early Roman province of *Britannia*, progressively romanized along the first century under a number of governors —Aulus Plautius, Ostorius Scapula, Quintus Veranius, Suetonius Paulinus, follow in succession, and so does the account of their reduction of the Trinovantes, the Brigantes, the Silures, or the Iceni and Queen Boadicea.

Is there a purpose in presenting all these events other than mere chronicling? A sequence of transitional passages at the end of this section suggests a possible trajectory of interpretation of Perry's stand as a Christian historian: firstly, that the work of God drew on the political and cultural grandeur of the Roman Empire with an aim to erase the superstitious religious practices of the Britons and thus favour the propagation of the Gospel, and secondly, that only after that, the true Christian faith was allowed to shine on the British nation through the works and miracles of those saintly men that lived after the Roman retreat and before the Germanic invasions.[18] Here is one of those intermediary sections that encapsulate Perry's twofold thesis:

> Now as the reduction of Britain under the Roman Empire had opened the road to the first planters of the Gospel, so this extirpation of the supports of idolatry, which followed so close upon the confessed destruction of their own venerated demons, contributed no doubt, to render the propagation of the Gospel more successful. (6:1^{v})[19]

[18] In reading such passages, we found another interpretative path that could be applied to the text's general content plan, not in the least in confrontation with the five divisions here proposed. The text could be divided into two basic sections: a first one (which includes divisions 2 and 3) would revolve around the Roman extirpation of pagan and druidic practices; a following section (developing along divisions 4 to 5) would then focus on the gradual strengthening of the islanders' Christian character. These considerations on content distribution will be duly taken into account when setting divisions in our final edited document.

[19] Stronger evidence makes such a reading sustainable, for the same twofold argument opens the *Sketch* in its very first paragraph: *«It's an observation of ecclesiastic writers, no less judicious than Christian, that Almighty God, in sending his Son into the world, united the whole universe under one sole Roman Empire,*

3. SECOND-CENTURY BRITAIN: KING LUCIUS AND THE RISE OF THE BRITISH ECCLESIASTICAL ORDER [F. 6:3^{R}]

Thus opens a second historical sequence. On this occasion, Perry dwells on the conversion of the Celtic chieftain Lucius,[20] which he still gives credit for, as happening around A.D. 175, during Pope Eleutherius's pontificate. It is interesting the way in which he now details how the Bishop of Rome promoted the constitution of an official British Church hierarchy, as represented by the consecration of the first suffragan bishops of London, York and Caerleon, but his focus unexpectedly, though not unjustifiably, turns somewhere else. Perry informs us that these were the days of formation of the first dogmas, rites and liturgy of the Roman Church, which leads him to review at length the works of Saint Justin and other apologists of the 2nd century. Why he enlarges on their treatises to paraphrase their defence of the Eucharist, for instance, or their attacks against heresies, can be properly explained through his claim that circumstances remain unchanged. Perry would have gladly applied their teachings to his own time, given the persistent anti-Catholic sentiment that his fellow priests had been facing back in England. It is only natural, then, that he chooses to close this second section with the exemplary portraits of Fagan and Deruvian, the first two native Christian apostles.

4. FOURTH-CENTURY BRITAIN: ROMAN PERSECUTIONS OF CHRISTIANS AND FIRST BRITISH MARTYRS [F. 10:2^{V}]

The next stage in the narration is concerned with the third century. Severus and Caracalla's campaigns and Diocletian's persecutions allow Perry to depict the staunch faith of the Britons. To prove their firmness, he

for the more easy propagation of his saving Gospel amongst mankind. This same conduct his providence held in a palpable manner with regard to our Britains: his wisdom not only made use of the Roman power to subdue and unite Britain to the rest of the Empire, but on their humanity to remove the two chief obstacles to the reception of the Gospel, by taming the barbarity of the nation and extirpating the cruel superstitions of their druidish doctors» (1:1^{r}).

20 Incidentally, St. Alban's College houses a collection of portraits of seven kings of England by Velázquez's master Francisco Pacheco (1564-1644) —six of them are saints, beginning with Lucius, the Christian king of the Britons; the others are Ethelbert, St. Sebbi, St. Edmund, St. Edward III, St. Richard I and St. Edward II.

dwells on the shedding of St. Alban's and the first British martyrs' blood; to enhance their influential capacity, he highlights the attendance of native prelates to the main contemporary continental Church councils; to illustrate the devotion of the Britons, he tells of their travels and peregrination to the Holy Land, Syria or Rome.

5. FOURTH-CENTURY BRITAIN: ROMAN RETREAT AND ATTACKS OF THE CALEDONIANS [F. 18:1^{R}]

At this point, the narration traces the history of Britain in the 4th century: a succinct retrospective of the political instabilities in the island caused by the progressive retreat of Roman legions and garrisons after Constantine's days. Perry relates how the Picts and Scots routed the Britons, as Perry puts it, after Bede's style, *«no otherwise than as ravenous wolves, whose hunger, increased by the good watch of the shepherds, falls with more greediness and cruelty on the abandoned flock»* (19:4^{v}). According to Perry, the virtual extermination of *«the flower of the British youth*», to use those days' cherished phrase, at the hands of both the Romans and the Caledonians, culminated in a truce. This exceptional circumstance Perry attributes to the miraculous converting labours of St. Ninian among the Northern Picts and St. Patrick among the Irish (Scots). He offers detailed accounts of their missions to open the next section and to conclude the *Sketch*.

6. FIFTH-CENTURY BRITAIN: THE GOLDEN AGE OF CELTIC CHRISTIANITY AND THE GERMANIC INVASIONS [F. 26:3^{V}]

This final section culminates with the Germanic peoples reaching the coasts of Britain. Perry reasons this is a consequence of the period of moral dissipation that followed King Arthur's time, a period of corrupt leadership among the British chieftains and Church representatives. In fact, his focus is on Wales now, to depict the lives and miracles of those holy men that lived among the dissolute. A contrast is set through biographical sketches like those of St. Winwaloc, St. John of Chinon, St. Carantock, St. Gundlaus, St. Cadoc, St. Dubricius, St. David, St. Thelian or St. Oudoceus, who appear among many other representatives of the golden age of Celtic Christianity.

The final leaves are reserved for St. Columba, the apostle of the Northern Picts, the last discernible date in the manuscript being A.D. 607. Columba's detailed sketch finishes abruptly with the words *«his successors in the Abbeys of Hy»* (45:4^{v}). It would therefore appear that those words are not the definitive ending of the *Sketch*. We may speculate that a couple of leaves are missing, but this accident does not prevent the text from covering fully the time-span and content that the title promised.

OUR EDITION:[21]

To prepare a version of Perry's work for presentation to a reading public was our task and it is with this task and with the decisions and problems attending it that this article will conclude.

The first major decision we made was that our edition was to be critical. We would attempt to establish a text based upon the type of research proposed by the principles of textual criticism. The chosen copy-text for such a scholarly edition was to be MS. 2 in Bundle 155 of the Archive of St. Alban's, given that the more perfected version of it that follows in the bundle was incomplete. An edition of MS. 3 was to be appended after it. These decisions were taken after a series of considerations.

To establish the text, the Group first attempted a Diplomatic Transcript Edition of its 45 gatherings. We began by microfilming the entire bundle, and printing paper copies from which to start transcribing. Paper copies were in any case no substitute for the examination of the manuscript itself, for our original intention was to reproduce in a modern typeface as many of the features of the manuscript and as much of its physical appearance as possible. We needed clear and consistent principles. A decision was made not to observe exact lineation, though; the degree of fidelity to the document need not make a type facsimile, since there was neither intended plan nor editorial interest in facing our transcript pages with image reproductions of the folios. The transcript would neither take any regard of special letter-shapes like long *s* or round *s*, except for *æ* or *ß*. In turn, our transcript should concentrate on the textual content of Perry's manuscript, not only reproduce

[21] For textual practice, Philip Gaskell (1972) and D.C. Greetham (1994) are still to be recommended.

original spelling, punctuation, and capitalization, but also unexpanded abbreviations and superscripts [Fig. 2]. Our future editorial conjectures could then rest upon this transcript and critical choices could depend on the evidence available in it.

A second major decision came soon after completing the transcript of MS. 2 and MS. 3: our critical edition need not just be a separate typesetting of the text. G. Thomas Tanselle notes that the editor should distinguish between treating documents intended for publication and those which are more of a private nature (correspondence, notebooks, etc.): he suggests he should transcribe the latter as they are and not attempt to normalize them (Greetham 1994: 350-51). But the problem was that our *Sketch* shared those two identities: clearly a preliminary draft, there seemed to be evidence to prove, however, that it had been intendedly written for publication. Take for instance the existence of Perry's corrected version of the *Sketch*, though unfinished, or likewise the above-mentioned fact that his revised histories and biographies were brought to Scotland by one of his contemporaries to be published there. Consequently, some degree of normalization would be pertinent, away from absolute, scrupulus fidelity to appearance.

From here, the next possible step we envisaged was to attempt an Eclectic Clear-Text Edition of Perry's *British History*, a practice much dominant in Anglo-American textual criticism over the last half-century. We could embark on the production of a clear-text reading version by selecting variants from the two different states of the text in MS. 2 and 3, in an attempt to reconstruct Perry's final text as he intended it to be published. The trouble was, on the one hand, that MS. 3 was not complete, and on the other, that we were aware of Tanselle's warnings against a critic's capacity to judge the author's intention and of the complex editorial work involved (Greetham 1994: 336-37). How possible then was to make our edited text bear features from those two witnesses, and how recommendable was it to make it become a text that never was?

We considered that MS. 2 could stand on its own as a reliable testimony to the *Sketch*'s textual entity. MS. 3 could not be regarded as more than an unfinished rewriting project. Given that a single copy-text was to be used, the best choice seemed to be a Clear-Text reading version [Fig. 3]. The text-

page would be entirely free of signs of editorial intervention, providing a clear reading text separate from the various types of apparatus, in such a way that unless the reader specifically looked into the apparatus, there would be no sign of changes made by the editors. In similar fashion, textual notes should be necessarily simplified, given that no variants would be put into play. Instead, our textual introduction would present the principles used in the editing process in full. There we would offer a complete discussion on any degree of normalization or modernization applied, with regard to punctuation, for instance, a record of any transcriptional changes put into use, our handling of word-division, expanded abbreviations, and the introduction of any emendations. Finally, again for the sake of clarity, explanatory and historical annotations, glossary and indexes of persons, places and topics would be taken particular care of.

CONCLUSION

We would like to conclude by admitting that, in truth, the materials in the Archive of Saint Alban's College would be of special interest to Renaissance and modern historians, particularly those intrigued by Anglo-Hispanic political and religious relations. However, we trust that adequate cataloguing may bring out the Archive's wealth of contents in full, and unveil the interest they have for medievalists too. The College Old Library, for its part, is rich enough to interest them. Philip Perry's *Sketch* and his extensive use of sources are certainly an instance of how the library's rare book holdings can be a source for historians of Early Britain, Anglo-Saxonists and Medievalists. The eventual publication of Perry's *Sketch of British History* by the Research Group may hopefully become a threshold to both documentary deposits.

Our Research Group will work to publicize the college's open possibilities of promising research. Medievalists may be glad to know that the Group's next project is to edit Perry's *Continuation of Bede's History*, and that the authors of this article are personally undertaking the cataloguing of those rare books for the study of early Britain and Medieval England which are housed at the Old Library of the College. It is our hope that in the future all SELIM members can benefit from the results of our work.

Anunciación Carrera & Mª José Carrera
Universidad de Valladolid

APPENDIX I: MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTION

ARCHIVO DEL COLEGIO DE LOS INGLESES, VALLADOLID: MS. 2, BUNDLE 155.

Ff. 192. Paper, good condition, slightly damped. 215 x 155 mm. Frame 115 x 200 mm., containing 23 lines. Abundant notes on margins. e 20th-c. fastened cardboard covers.

COLLATION: $1\text{-}8^{8}$, 9^{16},17^{8} (loose leaf), $18\text{-}26^{8}$, 27^{16} (wants 1, 13, 15), $28\text{-}33^{8}$, 34^{10} (loose leaf), $35\text{-}40^{8}$, 41^{12}, $42\text{-}45^{8}$.

CONTENTS: Perry, *Sketch of British History chiefly with regard to Church affairs from their first conversion to Christianity down to the conversion of the Saxons* (c. 1770). Lacks final quire, misplaced?

f. 1:1r *Introduction*: A description of the island, origin of its name and inhabitants, their main cities, customs and religious practices.

f. 3:3r *1st-century Britain*: From Julius Caesar's expeditions to the British resistance and the landing of the first planters of the Gospel (Joseph the Just?).

f. 6:3r *2nd-century Britain*: King Lucius and the establishment of regular ecclesiastical order in London, York and Caerleon.

f. 10:2v *3rd-century Britain*: Roman persecutions of Christians and first British martyrs (St. Alban, †209?).

f. 18:1r *4th-century Britain*: Roman retreat and attacks of Picts, Attacotti and Irish (Scots) on British towns.

f. 26:3v *5th-century Britain*: The golden age of Celtic Christianity and the Germanic invasions.

HAND: Perry. Ligatures, long -s. Written in Valladolid, probably after 1770. Wholly in English, barring notes or citations in Latin. Frequent blotted words and crossed-out paragraphs.

HISTORY: First draft. Incomplete revised version follows after in the bundle.

NOTICES: Kelly, *Index*, c. 1920, pp. 205-07. Williams, *Archive*, 1987-88, p. 71.

APPENDIX II: A FOLIO OF THE *SKETCH* ILLUSTRATED, TRANSCRIBED, EDITED

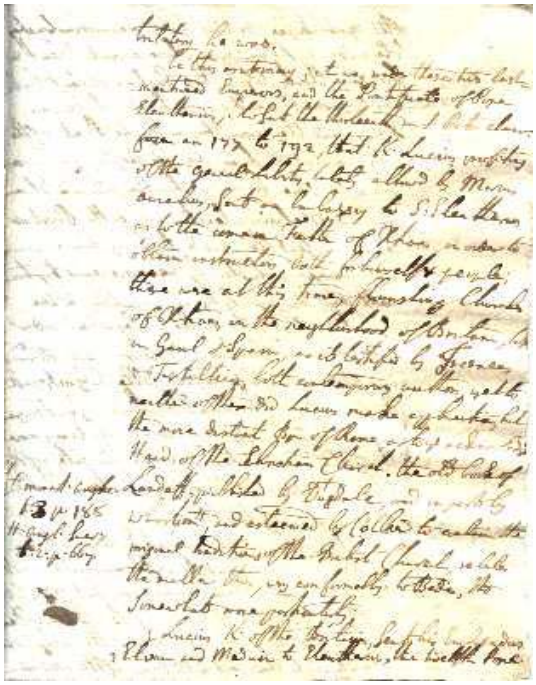

FIG. 1. Fol. 6:3[r] of Perry's *Sketch of British History* (c. 1770): manuscript copy written by Philip Perry in black ink, c. 1770. MS. 2, Bundle 155, Archivo Colegio San Albano, Valladolid. Digital Image.

FIG. 2. Diplomatic Transcript Edition of Perry's *Sketch of British History* (c. 1770), fol. 6:3[r], by Grupo de Investigación San Albano (2002), observing original lineation.

tributary he was:
be this as it may; it was under these two last=
=mentioned Emperors, and the Pontificate of Pope
Eleutherius, who Sat the thirteenth in S. Peters chair:
from an 177 to 192, that K. Lucius, profiting
of the General Liberty lately allow[d] by Marcus
Aurelius, Sent an Embassy to S: Eleutherius
as to the common Father of Xtians, in order to
obtain instructors both for himself & people;
there were at this time, flourishing Churches
of Xtians, in the neighburhood of Britain, both
in Gaul & Spain, as is testified by Iræneus
& Tertullian, both contemporary authors, yet to
neither of these did Lucius make application, but
the more distant Bp of Rome, as to y[e] acknowledg'd
Head of the Christian Church. the old book of
Landaff, published by Dugdale[†], and in part by
Wharton[‡], and esteemed by Collier to contain the
original traditions of the British Church, relates
the matter thus, very conformably to Bede, tho
Somewhat more particularly:
«Lucius K. of the Britains, Sent his Embaßadors
«Elvan, and Meduin to Eleutherius, the twelfth Pope

[†]Monast.Anglic. ł.3 p.188
[‡]Angl. Sacr: ł:2: p.667.

FIG. 3. Clear-Text Edition: Perry, *Sketch of British History* (c. 1770), fol. 6:3^{r}. Grupo de Investigación San Albano's proposal (2003). Subject to revision.

> [6:3^{r}] tributary he was.
>
> Be this as it may, it was under these two last-mentioned emperors, and the pontificate of Pope Eleutherius, who sat the thirteenth in St. Peter's chair, from anno 177 to 192, that King Lucius, profiting of the general liberty lately allowed by Marcus Aurelius, sent an embassy to St. Eleutherius, as to the common father of Christians, in order to obtain instructors both for himself and [his] people. There were at this time flourishing churches of Christians in the neighbourhood of Britain, both in Gaul and Spain, as is testified by Iraeneus and Tertullian, both contemporary authors. Yet to neither of these did Lucius make application, but [to] the more distant Bishop of Rome, as to the acknowledged head of the Christian Church. The old *Book of Landaff*, published by Dugdale[†], and in part by Wharton[‡], and esteemed by Collier to contain the original traditions of the British Church, relates the matter thus, very conformably to Bede, though somewhat more particularly:
>
> «Lucius, king of the Britains, sent his embassadors Elvan and Meduin to Eleutherius, the twelfth pope [6:3^{v}]
>
> [†]*Monasticon Anglicanum* 3, p. 188. [‡]*Anglia Sacra* 2, p. 667.

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NOTES

FOUR MIDDLE ENGLISH NOTES: *CALF* 'SHANK', *SILK* 'PREY', CLANVOWE'S CUCKOO, AND WILLIAM WORCESTRE'S 'DONYTON'

1. AN IRISH-NORSE ETYMOLOGY FOR *CALF* 'FLESHY PART OF SHANK'

The *Oxford English Dictionary* records *calf* 'fleshy hinder part of the shank of the leg' from the fourteenth century, citing the classic instance from the description of the Reeve in the *General Prologue* to *The Canterbury Tales*:

> Fful longe were his legges and ful lene,
> Ylyk a staf; ther was no calf ysene.

OED takes *calf* as apparently borrowed from Norse *kálfi*, of unknown origin, though adoption from Irish or Gaelic *calpa* 'leg, calf of leg' has been conjectured. Later *dictionaries* differ. Hence de Vries described Old Norse *kalfa* 'bone' as a poetic word which gave *kalfi* 'calf (of leg)', Modern Icelandic *kálfi*. He derived *kalfa* itself from *kalfr* 'calf, young of cow', seeing an analogy for an animal-name used for a body part in Norse *mús* 'mouse; muscle'. But de Vries, despite citing Björkman for derivation of English *calf* (of leg) from Norse, noted Falk and Torp's doubts here (Björkman 1900-2: 214; Falk & Torp 1910-11: 488; de Vries 1962: 298). Onions stated that English *calf* was borrowed from *kálfi*, which he described as of 'unknown origin, whence also Irish and Gaelic *calpa*' (1966: 136). Lesley Brown derives *calf* from Norse *kálfi* 'of unknown origin' (1993: 319).

English *calf* (of leg) is surely from Norse *kálfi*, just as *leg* is from Norse *leggr* 'hollow (limb-)bone; leg'. But where is *kálfi* from? Here we take issue with de Vries. We shall try to show that *kalpa* and *kálfi* are from Irish *colpthae* 'shank; calf', and not vice versa, as Onions thought. *Kálfi* would thus be a Celtic loanword in Scandinavian, and *calf* a word of Irish origin

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that reached English via Norse. It would here resemble English *cross*, from Norse *kross*, from Middle Irish *cross*, itself from Low Latin **crox* (Vendryes 1987: 246-247).

Middle Irish *colpthae* 'thick part of leg between knee and ankle; animal's shank', Modern Irish *colpa* 'calf; handle (of flail), cudgel', and Scottish Gaelic *calpa* 'calf of the leg' are well attested. Early evidence here occurs in the seventh- century life of St Patrick by Muirchú. This refers to *ostium Colpdi*, Inber Colptha or the mouth of the river Boyne, where (in Irish tradition) Colpda was drowned (Hogan 1910: 285, 457; de Paor 1993: 183). Here may be mentioned the village of Colp south-east of Drogheda on the east coast of Ireland, and the epithet *colpthae* in the names of Aed Colpdai and Dond Colptha. Occurring so early, the Irish word cannot be from Norse. It also figures in Irish saga. In the ninth-century *Cattle Raid of Cooley*, Queen Medb is visited by the prophetess Fedelm, of distracting beauty, whose golden hair reaches down to *a da colptha* 'the calves of her legs' (Best & Bergin 1929: 143; Vendryes 1987: 156-7). In the tenth-century tale of king Rónán, unwelcome visitors come as he is drying *a cholptha frisin tenid* 'his legs at the fire', from which murder results (Dillon 1946: 45; Greene 1955: 6).

On the origin of *colpthae*, Celticists agree it is from Old Irish *colba* 'pillar, column, support', which occurs in a seventh-century hymn to St Bridget by Ultán of Ardbraccan, who calls her *lethcholba flatha la Patraic* 'co-pillar with St Patrick of heaven's kingdom' (Stokes & Strachan 1901-03: II, 326). The semantic development would be from 'column, support', to 'lower leg, shank', to 'fleshy part of shank, calf'. As for *colba*, Pedersen thought it cognate with Middle Welsh *celffeint* 'decayed stump', related to Greek *kolos* 'docked, stunted' and Russian *kolz* 'pole, post', from Indo-European **cel-* 'break, cut, split' (*Geiriadur* 1950-2002: 457; Vendryes 1987: 157). Nevertheless, it may rather be linked with Early Modern Welsh *colfen* 'branch, bough' as a loan from Vulgar Latin *columa* 'column' (noted by Quintilian), or as a cognate of Latin *columna* 'column' and *celsus* 'high' from Indo-European **cel-* 'exalted' (*Geiriadur* 1950-2002: 543; Vendryes 1987: 157).

Whatever *colba*'s origins, its early use suggests Old Norse *kalfa* 'bone' and Icelandic *kálfi* 'calf' are from Middle Irish *colpthae* 'shank; calf': not the reverse. If so, it is reasonable to take English *calf* (of leg) as a Norse loanword of Irish origin, like *cross*.

2. AN IRISH ETYMOLOGY FOR *SILK* 'QUARRY, GAME' IN *THE LAND OF COKAYGNE*

London, British Library, MS Harley 913 is a Franciscan miscellany compiled in Ireland near the beginning of the fourteenth century (Pearsall 1977: 295; Wada 2003: 222-30). One poem in it is *The Land of Cokaygne*, a lively satire on Irish monks, which contains the word *silk*, perhaps more difficult to explain than one might think. The location of the satirized monastery casts light on this problem. Heuser took the 'monastery' as the Franciscan friary at Kildare; Smithers objected, pointing out that the poem's 'wel fair abbei / Of white monkes and of grei' must have been Cistercian; despite that, Bennett stated 'It is folly to read these scenes as satirical or as alluding to a particular Irish abbey' (Bennett & Smithers 1968: 341; Bennett 1986: 17).

However, Jeffares has vindicated Smithers by identifying the abbey as Inishlounaght, otherwise known as Suir (1982: 11). This Cistercian house was founded in 1148 on a site by the river Suir some two miles west-south-west of Clonmel in County Tipperary, in southern Ireland. It was dissolved in 1540, but a few fragments of it still survive (Killanin & Duignan 1967: 174).

The crux *silk* occurs at line 150 of *The Land of Cokaygne*, in a passage (Bennett & Smithers 1968: 143) which helps identify the 'wel fair abbei' as Inishlounaght.

> Another abbei is therbi–
> Forsoth, a gret fair nunnerie,
> Vp a riuer of swet milke,
> Whar is gret plente of silk.

Now, the name 'Inishlounaght' derives from *inis* 'water meadow' and *leamhnacht* 'new milk, sweet milk', which the poet alludes to in his 'riuer of

swet milke'. Inishlounaght was the scene of an incident in 1228 (not the 1260s, as Jeffares claims), when Stephen of Lexington was making a visitation of Irish Cistercian houses. After his representative was wounded by henchmen of the prior of Inishlounaght, who ambushed him from behind a hedge by 'the house of the nuns which adjoined the abbey', Stephen came himself, restored order, and closed the convent of nuns. He closed similar convents of nuns adjoining the Cistercian abbeys of Jerpoint (near Kilkenny) and Mellifont (near Drogheda). Gwynn and Hadcock consider the Inishlounaght nuns 'probably lived well away from the monks' enclosure, possibly serving in the almonry or lay infirmary beside the outer gate and chapel' (Gwynn & Hadcock 1970: 135, 318). But Fr Colmcille took a bleaker view. Remarking that events at Inishlounaght almost pass belief, he describes the nuns' house as joined to the abbey, and the monks and nuns as sharing living accommodation (Griesser 1946: 14; Conway 1968: 117-118). It is hard to believe the lives of monks and nuns were innocent, and easy to see how they might give rise to the poet's ribaldry (Watt 1972: 54-60).

This evidence shows the Cistercian abbey of *The Land of Cokaygne* was based on that of Inishlounaght. The pun on *leamhnacht* also shows the poet knew Irish. When this point is grasped, we can explain the line 'Wher is gret plente of silk'. Commentators have taken *silk* here in its obvious sense. Yet this reading is unnatural. If the Cokaygne nuns wore silk habits, the poet expresses this most oddly. Nor should we assume silk was found in the region. Although the poet indulges in fantasy, this seems a strained reading of the text at this point.

Could *silk* thus be a Hiberno-English word borrowed from Irish? If we consult the dictionaries, we find Old Irish *selg* 'hunting; quarry, prey, game', Modern Irish *seilg* 'hunt, chase; game, prey, quarry'. Irish *seilg* (a cognate of Welsh *hela*) is a common word at all periods. In Modern Irish, *mála seilge* is a 'game bag', and *seilg an lae* is a 'day's catch' of fish (*Geiriadur* 1950-2002: 1844; O Dónaill 1977: 1084). This suggests an explanation of *silk* in our poem. The poet apparently refers to fish in the river or game on its banks. This interpretation of *silk* makes sense in its context. When talking of the countryside we might refer to game or fish as abundant, but hardly to silk as abundant.

If the explanation of *silk* as 'quarry, game' is correct, we identify an Irish loan in *The Land of Cokaygne*, which we can add to *russin* 'afternoon snack' earlier in the poem, as well as to *corrin* 'can, pot', *daisser* 'sprinkler', and *tromchery* 'animal's liver' in a satire on Dubliners in the same manuscript (Bennett & Smithers 1968: 337; Breeze 1993: 16; Breeze 1996: 150-2).

3. THE NAME OF 'CUCKOO' IN CLANVOWE'S *BOKE OF CUPIDE*

In his *The Boke of Cupide*, Sir John Clanvowe (*c*. 1341-91) plays upon the name of the cuckoo. At line 185 of the poem, warning of possible abandonment by a sweetheart, the cuckoo tells the nightingale, "And then shalt thou hoten as do I." The nightingale at once replies,

> ffye!' quoth she, 'on thi name and on the.
> The god of love ne let the neuere ythe [thrive]!

In his edition of the poem Scattergood echoes Skeat in explaining this as a pun on *cuckoo* and *cuckold* (1975, 46, 84). But Roscow disagrees. He points out that the context is one of love, not marriage; that the nightingale is female, so can hardly be cuckolded; and that evidence that *cuckoo* meant *cuckold* at this date is lacking (1998: 183-184).

Roscow is surely right. But he does not explain what Clanvowe actually meant by 'hoten as do I'. The answer to this seems given by the *OED* entry for *cuckoo*. This notes the meaning 'fool' as applied to a person, originally with reference to the bird's monotonous call. The earliest example (of 1581) makes this clear: 'This lesson you learned of your Cowled Coockowes, to braule alwayes with bare names.' The allusion is not to adultery or laying eggs in the nests of others, but to (allegedly) fatuous utterance.

English dialectal *gowk* 'cuckoo' also means 'fool, half-wit', for which the oldest evidence in *OED* is the adverb *gowkedly* of *c*. 1570. *Gowk* is from Old Norse: its German cognate *Gauch* now means 'fool, simpleton; oddity, oddball', the original sense 'cuckoo' surviving in dialect alone. A third *OED* entry, for obsolete *yeke* 'cuckoo', notes cognate Middle Low German *gok* 'simpleton' (a fourth, of *goky* 'fool' in *Piers Plowman*, may also be relevant

here). So the use of words for 'cuckoo' to mean 'fool' is an old one. If (as seems likely) it existed in English long before the attestations given in *OED*, this would explain Clanvowe's allusion.

The cuckoo's warning would thus not concern adultery. He merely warns how abandonment by a sweetheart might make one look a fool. This more delicate explanation, making perfect sense in the context, accords with the poem's emphasis on the simplicity of the cuckoo's song, which he calls 'trewe and pleyn' (118), so that 'euery wight may vnderstonde me' (121). It also accords with what Roscow calls the 'conventional courtly treatment of romantic love' of Clanvowe's poem, which is careful to avoid sordidness. In short, it suggests Clanvowe's meaning was more subtle and innocent than editors have thought it.

4. WILLIAM WORCESTRE ON 'DONYTON', SUFFOLK

On 8 November 1428, John Mowbray, second duke of Norfolk, was coming from dinner with Cardinal Beaufort at London Bridge when his barge sank (Gairdner 1876). William Worcestre (1415-before 1485) lists various gentlemen with him who survived, but adds that some sixteen of his household drowned. One of the dead was 'John of Pysale of "Donyton" where Lord Bardolf dwelt' (Harvey 1969: 360, 361).

The identity of 'Donyton' has puzzled editors. But reference to *DNB* solves the problem. Its entry for Thomas Bardolf (1368-1408), warrior, mentions his son-in-law Sir William Phelip (1383-1441). Phelip, who fought at Agincourt and became treasurer of Henry V's household and chamberlain to Henry VI, was created Baron Bardolf in 1437. His main residences were at Erpingham (NGR TG 1931) in Norfolk and Dennington (TM 2867), Suffolk.

Phelip was not Lord Bardolf in 1428, when the accident happened; and he had long been dead by the time Worcestre wrote. However, it was as Lord Bardolf that he was remembered. So 'Donyton' is surely Dennington in north-east Suffolk, two miles north of Framlingham, where the great castle of the Mowbrays still stands. The location of 'Donyton' thus not only shows where the luckless John of Pysale came from; it also underlines the East Anglian connections of the Mowbray family in the early fifteenth century.

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REVIEWS

&

NOTICES

GALVÁN REULA, Fernando 2001: *Literatura inglesa medieval*. Madrid: Alianza Editorial. 219 pp. ISBN 84-206-8641-7

Con la excepción de las grandes antologías literarias escritas en inglés, son realmente escasos los libros o manuales que abarcan en su totalidad la literatura medieval inglesa, es decir, las etapas altomedieval (del siglo VI o VII al siglo XI) y bajomedieval (del siglo XII hasta el siglo XV). No resulta pues extraño que en español dicha producción sea prácticamente inexistente.

La rica variedad de los textos medievales ingleses se debe al dilatado peregrinaje que su literatura experimenta a lo largo de diez siglos en los que una intrincada realidad histórica ve reflejada su naturaleza caleidoscópica, multicultural y polilingüe en múltiples testimonios escritos. Es esta riqueza la que este libro nos ofrece con su amplia selección de autores y obras de la Inglaterra de la época, en sus diversos estilos y géneros tanto en textos escritos en inglés antiguo y medio, como en francés o latín. Esta muestra representativa se completa, además, con un comentario detallado en el que se analizan desde varias corrientes críticas (algunas de ellas, desafortunadamente, proyectadas tan sólo de manera tangencial) obras señeras como, entre otras, la épica germánica de *Beowulf*, las líricas elegías anglosajonas, las traducciones del rey Alfredo, los *Canterbury Tales* de Chaucer, los "romances", *Piers Plowman*, *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, *Pearl*, o la *Morte Darthur* de Malory.

Mantiene, además, este manual un perfecto equilibrio entre la realidad histórica, social, lingüística y cultural en las que se encuadran las obras y los géneros literarios y la manifestación propiamente literaria. Consta de ocho capítulos, los tres primeros abordan la literatura de la etapa del inglés antiguo o anglosajón y los cinco restantes se ocupan del periodo comprendido entre el siglo XII y el XV, o inglés medio, es decir, la etapa posterior a la Conquista Normanda.

El capítulo primero nos muestra a modo de breve introducción el marco histórico y cultural en el que se enmarca la literatura de ese periodo. El capítulo segundo se dedica a la expresión literaria de mayor interés en esta etapa altomedieval, la poesía. El tercero se encarga de la prosa inglesa y la

literatura anglo-latina. Aunque fundamentalmente se sigue un orden cronológico de movimientos y autores, en este último caso, dicha cronología se supedita al análisis genérico. El estudio de características estilísticas de textos anglo-latinos correspondientes a cualquiera de las etapas del periodo medieval tratan de ayudar al lector a comprender la función de éstos en la cultura anglosajona.

Comienza el capítulo cuarto con una visión de conjunto de una nueva etapa y, de alguna manera, una nueva literatura, la que en los siglos XII y XIII sirve de transición entre una época antigua que se aleja irremisiblemente y una más innovadora época bajomedieval tardía. El quinto, el sexto y el séptimo están dedicados casi en exclusiva al fecundo y poético siglo XIV. Mientras el capítulo quinto aborda la tradición del amor cortés y los "romances" ingleses, en el capítulo sexto se abarca con algo de detenimiento el renacimiento inglés, o resurgimiento aliterativo; finalmente, el capítulo séptimo se dedica a los grandes autores medievales, siendo lógicamente la figura y la obra de Chaucer las que con más detalle son descritas, comentadas y contextualizadas.

El capítulo ocho, se ocupa con exquisita minuciosidad del teatro medieval inglés y de la prosa inglesa correspondiente al periodo bajomedieval tardío. Además, aunque de un simple bosquejo se trate, también se incluye en este último capítulo un sucinto pero substancial análisis de aquellos autores y condiciones históricas que de forma inexorable nos condujeron al humanismo renacentista.

El presente manual contribuye junto con *Estudios Literarios Ingleses: Edad Media* (1985), del mismo editor que este volumen, a llenar este vacío. Al contrario que en Galván Reula (1985), este manual va dirigido a un lector / estudiante no especializado donde, a pesar del relativo desconocimiento de la cultura de la época, del carácter opaco de su lengua vernácula, de su diversidad dialectal, y de la diferente concepción que en ella se podía tener de ciertos aspectos intrínsecamente literarios como el género o la autoría, se resume de manera clara y sencilla la compleja historia literaria de la Edad Media Inglesa. Múltiples notas aclaratorias, citas en su mayoría traducidas, por proximidad lingüística, al inglés moderno, ajustados y rigurosos comentarios críticos y referencias bibliográficas específicas, tanto clásicas

como recientes, dan al lector la sensación de globalidad que finalmente hace de esta obra fuente de referencia primaria para los estudios de literatura medieval inglesa en nuestras universidades.

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AMERICAN NOTES AND QUERIES 15/2 (SPRING 2002), published in association with the University of Kentucky

This issue of *ANQ*, edited by Professor J. R. Hall of Mississippi University, is devoted to Old English textual scholarship. As it contain papers by some of the most distinguished Anglo-Saxonists living today, its mere 72 pages nevertheless deserve particular attention and wide circulation. In quality and significance it easily excels many book-length collections of essays on Old English. It contains twelve items, including an introduction by Professor Hall.

Peter Baker (University of Virginia), in a note on a barely legible Latin entry for 679 in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, satisfyingly explains what had been taken as an allusion to Archbishop Jaenberht of Canterbury as one to Lotharius or Hlothhere, king of Kent. In her 'Provost and Prior in the *Regularis Concordia'*, Joyce Hill (Leeds University) scrutinizes a problem of ecclesiastical title. 'The Case of the Miraculous Hand in the Old English Life of Guthlac' by Jane Roberts (King's College, London) is an illuminating piece, explaining differences between the Latin and vernacular lives of Guthlac as due to rephrasing, not (as previously supposed) bad translation. R. M. Liuzza (Tulane University) in his 'The Devil and his Father' notes aberrant translations in the Old English gospels, showing the poor state of Latinity at that date. One such rendering, 'he is a liar and so is his father' instead of 'he is a liar and the father of lies' (John 8:44), has alarming implications. By attributing a father to the Devil, it implies the Anglo-Saxons 'saw the world swarming with a multiplicity of demons spawned by their father, Satan', a belief tallying with references in Cynewulf's *Juliana*. The dicussion by Paul Szarmach (Western Michigan University) of metre 20 in the Old English Boethius underlines the deficiencies of Sedgefield's 1899 edition of this text and the misunderstandings that result from this. T. D. Hill (Cornell University) cites Middle English evidence for translation of *leger* in *The Wife's Lament* as 'bed of love'. Bruce Mitchell (Oxford) discusses two passages in *The Phoenix,* offering a punctuation more sparing than that of other editors. In 'Five Textual Notes on *Judith'*, Fred Robinson (Yale) clarifies references to Judith's finery, the curtain of Holofernes, and the state

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of mind and coughing of his attendants. Carl Berkhout (University of Arizona) discusses lines 2200-8 of Beowulf, arguing that perculiarities of the text are the result of tampering by the sixteenth-century scholar Laurence Nowell. Roberta Frank (Yale) analyses two Old English words for 'ache' and 'pain', at the same time ruling out an emendation of Beowulf 1763a recently supported by Michael Lapidge. But the most impressive paper in the collection is surely that by Eric Stanley of Oxford. Nominally an account of letter-forms in Insular minuscule, it demolishes Michael Lapidge's recent use of such forms (in volume 29 of Anglo-Saxon England) to date the archetype of Beowulf to before 750.

This volume, work of an Anglo-American coalition, thus deploys weighty firepower. Few working on Old English will not find their activities touched on by the material in this important and stimulating volume, where so much is enclosed within so small a space.

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LEES, Clare A., and Gillian R. OVERING 2001. *Double Agents: Women and Clerical Culture in Anglo-Saxon England*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 244+x pages. $49.95 U.S.

Let me begin this review with an anecdote. I was reading *Double Agents* on a plane recently. Noticing the title, the man beside me said eagerly, "Oh, that's the kind of book *I* like too!" "No, no," I replied. "It's not that sort of book."

Actually, *Double Agents* is a detective story—of a Marxist feminist sort. Like Lees' and Overing's other work, this book is a reaction to "the kind of default misogyny and compensatory idealization of women common to the clerical tradition throughout the Middle Ages" (p. 158). They wish "to square the problem of women's recorded absence with the inescapable fact of their physical presence and material contribution" (p. 11). They address women's "entry into the symbolic," i.e., the cultural record and the world-view behind it (p. 2). Their methodology as they examine religious writers like Bede, Aldhelm, and Ælfric is "a feminist patristics" (p. 10). They uncover "the denial, silencing, and elision of women's agency in the Anglo-Saxon cultural record" (p. 172), and show how women can be "coopted or complicit" in patriarchal power-wielding (p. 48). The present book is a part of their lifelong labour "to demystify the naturalizing forces of patristic rhetoric and its power to structure cognition" (p. 172).

Given this agenda, it is unsurprising that the book is not an easy read. Lees and Overing assume a familiarity with a certain kind of modified-Lacanian critical discourse. For this reviewer, the book's "dense theoretical formulation" (p. ix) requires a constant effort to pin down the thought behind the language, and the moments of "colloquial demystification" (p. ix) come as a relief. I began to wonder whether the "cultural symbolic" (e.g., pp. 63, 114, 124) and the "social imaginary" (e.g., pp. 13, 125, 128) meant the same thing, that is, the record. "Guarantors of the symbolic" (e.g., pp. 44—twice, 95, 193 n. 75), though defined on its first occurrence as a matter of "control of representation," continued to mystify. Authoritative elements within the literary and cultural canon, perhaps? "Vernacularity . . . redefines

the social imaginary of late Anglo-Saxon England" (p. 128) presumbly means "Texts that would formerly have been in Latin are now in English."

There is a certain resemblance between the writing of Lees and Overing and that of some of the more intractable passages they take apart. When they speak of sympathising with the smart old rich—and powerful—nuns of Barking Abbey being subjected to patristic culture (pp. ix, 124), one wonders about the irony of somewhat similar modern women also grappling with Aldhelm's excruciating prose, which they find "spectacularly boring" and "excessively difficult to read" (p. 121). Readers may also find irony in Lees and Overing's remarks about the very difficulty of Aldhem's Latin being part of "a process of containment, direction, and control" (p. 122), and, later, about working against the "obscuring veils of clerical discourse" (p. 171) in order to recover women's agency.

The volume consists of an Introduction followed by five chapters analysing the construction (or demolition) of the feminine in certain selected texts. Chapter One, "Patristic Maternity," focusses on Hild Abbess of Whitby, publisher of Cædmon, the first recorded vernacular poet, and demonstrates how Bede appropriates and masculinises her mothering role at this "birth." Chapter Two, "Orality, Femininity, and the Disappearing Trace," links the disappearance of women with that of oral literature, while admitting that this linkage is actually rather problematic. Here Lees and Overing focus on Asser's account of Alfred's mother—evidently literate—and her book of vernacular poetry which he won as a prize; on Ælfflæd's testimony supporting the rehabilitation of Bishop Wilfrid in the Latin Lives of Cuthbert and Wilfrid; and on orality and the feminine as they leave traces in certain riddles and charters. Chapter Three continues the exploration of "Literacy and Gender," examining the Herefordshire lawsuit involving the oral words of a woman who cut her son out of her will; the Eucharist as a guarantor of the symbolic and women's exclusion from the performance of it; and *The Husband's Message*, an Old English poem which Lees and Overing believe implies a literate female reader, since the addressee is given a rune-stave. The absence of key women's names in some of these accounts (Bede and Asser do name Hild and Osburh elsewhere in their respective books) is regarded by Lees and Overing as evidence of the suppression of women's agency. Chapter Four, "Figuring the Body," looks at hagiography

in Aldhelm's prose *De virginitate*, Ælfric's *Lives of Saints*, especially the anonymous *Life of St. Mary of Egypt* (preserved in the Ælfric collection), and, finally, at some penitentials. The long analysis of the *Life of St. Mary* plays cleverly with the concepts of sight and insight as they can be detected in this work. Chapter Five, "Pressing Hard on the 'Breasts' of Scripture," deals with theological and philosophical concepts symbolised as women, and looks at Boethius's *Consolation*, in Latin and the Alfredian translation, and the *Collectanea Pseudo-Bedae*, showing how the metaphorical female bodies in these texts are either "perfectly chaste" or copiously lactating and "spectacularly maternal" (p. 157).

This book's explorations are ingenious, its breadth of primary and secondary reading impressive. Stylistically and structurally it is laboured. The arrangement and composition, like the language, can be frustrating. The exposition circles around the subject, presents important points as incidental asides thrown out while discussing other things. The authors refer in this tangential way to "the probable decline in female Latin literacy" between the seventh and tenth centuries (p. 59), and note in passing that "wealth and class are prominent elements in any analysis of female monasticism" (p. 127). There is a reluctance to follow up leads and to define patterns. Thus, the theory of a decline in women's status from a "golden age" in the early Anglo-Saxon period is repeatedly questioned but never addressed systematically (pp. 14, 33, 83, 110). Issues raised are left for others to pursue: "Such complex relations between the female saint . . . , the conventions of the Christian subject . . . , and the dynamics of the regulated gaze merit further investigation" (p. 132).

The title is catchy, but not entirely accurate, because the book is not only about women who make things happen, like Hild of Whitby and her successor Ælfflæd, but also about the feminine as a purely literary construct: the suffering bodies of purely imaginary women—as the virgin martyrs essentially are; as well as Lady Philosophy in Boethius' *Consolation* and Wisdom in the *Collectanea Pseudo-Bedae*, figures which are not "agents" in any sense. Insofar as the women of this book are double agents, the doubleness is really in the minds of us readers, seeing them from the perspective of Anglo-Saxon patriarchal males and modern feminists.

Putting this book together must have been no light task, as the occasional flash of exasperation reveals: "Time and again as we have reviewed the material for this book, we have wondered what did our writers think they were writing" (p. 157, a parenthetic *cri de coeur*). It is a pity that in consequence readers are more likely to be turned off these texts than inspired to look at them afresh. Aldhem may be rather dire, but Bede is eminently readable—as are much of the vernacular poetry and prose. If readers test Lees and Overing's explications against their own reactions, opinions will, of course,vary. I, for one, find the dismissal of Bede as a misogynist a little unfair. I am also very sceptical about the runic cryptogram in *The Husband's Message* as evidence for female literacy. In other cases, for example, Lees and Overing's inferences about the Herefordshire woman's lawsuit—attributing her anonymity to the orality of her testimony, and guessing the part probably played by a powerful *man* (Thurkil the White)—chime with my own assessment of the situation.

In short, Lees and Overing's book is not for the faint-hearted, and as a contribution to our knowledge about women in Anglo-Saxon England it disappoints. But it does engage energetically with the culture of the period by applying feminist theory to a range of, often, neglected texts.

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BUENO ALONSO, Jorge Luis 2001. *El discurso poético elegíaco del inglés antiguo*. Vigo: Servicio de Publicacións da Universidade de Vigo [xix + 156 páginas. ISBN: 84-8158-174-7]

Entre los textos anglosajones cuyo análisis se ha visto favorecido por los investigadores españoles ocupan un lugar destacado, junto con *Beowulf*, aquellos que la tradición crítica ha calificado como elegíacos. Se trata de un corpus textual complejo, enigmático y ambiguo –a estas cualidades puede, en parte, deberse su atractivo para la investigación– cuya valoración ha estado mediatizada por los distintos paradigmas críticos vigentes desde la primera mitad del XIX, cuando los estudios de lengua y literatura anglosajonas despegaron en el Reino Unido y Alemania. De hecho, su propia catalogación como elegías comienza en este periodo: como indica Mª José Mora (1995) fue Ernst Sieper en su monografía *Die altgermanische Elegie* (1915) quien, posiblemente siguiendo la *Geschichte der altenglischen Literatur* de Alois Brandl (1908), dio carta de naturaleza a un término que se venía atribuyendo asistemáticamente a unos u otros textos del grupo desde mediados del siglo anterior. Esta etiqueta, por otro lado, es sólo una de las muchas que se han aplicado a un número de textos que oscila, según los estudiosos, entre dos y catorce (p. 4), incluidos mayoritariamente en el manuscrito de la catedral de Éxeter: desde poemas escatológicos, penitenciales o meditaciones místicas, en un extremo, hasta lírica amorosa femenina (*Frauenlieder*), gnómica o de sabiduría, en el otro, pasando por los calificativos de *consolatio*, *planctus* o *encomium urbis* (p. 4).

A pesar de la variedad de enfoques, términos clasificatorios y cantidad de textos englobados, el calificativo "elegíaco" es ya inseparable de una parte de la producción literaria del inglés antiguo. Antonio Bravo García, en un breve prólogo que ayuda al lector a contextualizar esta monografía en el ámbito de los estudios de literatura anglosajona, menciona los rasgos temáticos que reaparecen una y otra vez en estos textos y cuya repetición puede explicar la insistencia de la crítica en aglutinarlos bajo aquella etiqueta genérica: "el sentimiento doloroso y melancólico, el contraste entre el pasado más o menos glorioso y el presente trágico e inestable, la separación de los seres queridos por medio del exilio, la muerte de los señores, camaradas y amigos con los que se compartía la guerra y la felicidad en los

salones [...] el sufrimiento ante la naturaleza adversa encarnada en los crueles inviernos y los horrores de los negros y gélidos mares" (p. xiii-xiv). A estos rasgos de contenido cabe añadir ciertas características formales también recurrentes: "la extensión relativamente breve [...] la narración en primera persona, el predominio del monólogo, la conclusión cristiana o gnómica, etc." (p. xiv; véase también: Bravo García 1975; 1982: 203-209; García Tortosa 1985; Conde Silvestre 1994: 16-18).

La monografía de Bueno Alonso responde, como su autor indica, a un saludable intento de "unificar criterios" y detectar en el discurso poético elegíaco "un determinado modelo del mundo anglosajón en su vertiente personal, humana e intemporal" (p. 3). Se trata, tal como yo lo entiendo, de desenmarañar la mezcla de etiquetas genéricas con el fin de detectar e interpretar las claves comunes recurrentes en cinco textos fundamentales de este grupo: *The Seafarer*, *The Wanderer*, *Wulf and Eadwacer*, *Deor* y *The Wife's Lament*. Así, en una segunda fase, se puede establecer "un modelo válido del discurso poético elegíaco del inglés antiguo" que "futuros investigadores [pueden usar] como fundamento de otros poemas del corpus" para "admitir, rechazar o matizar la inclusión de dichos textos en él" (p. 5). Obviamente, su propósito presupone como punto de partida la aceptación del constructo 'elegía anglosajona'; no me parece, sin embargo, una decisión errónea: aunque el autor no justifica este extremo, se trata de una determinación posiblemente apoyada en el peso de la tradición, en el estatus histórico que el simple uso recurrente por parte de la crítica ha conferido a esta etiqueta, la cual, en el contexto del inglés antiguo ha adquirido carta de naturaleza y no puede ya confundirse con los usos que le hayan dado otras tradiciones literarias como la grecolatina o la renacentista.

Para conseguir sus fines, Bueno Alonso acude a la antropología literaria: un método hermenéutico aparentemente aséptico, desarrollado fundamentalmente por Fernando Poyatos, quien lo define como "el estudio sistemático de los valores documentales e históricos de cuantos signos culturales contienen las literaturas nacionales en cualquiera de sus manifestaciones" (1994: 253). Es este un modelo complejo, por su exhaustivo afán de ofrecer categorías y niveles de análisis semiótico, y el lector profano puede echar de menos alguna sección introductoria que explique sus rudimentos; hay que reconocer, con todo, que conforme se

profundiza en la lectura las distintas dimensiones del método se van clarificando. El procedimiento establece una distinción básica, dentro de las formas de comunicación, entre sistemas sensibles e inteligibles. Los primeros aglutinan todos aquellos signos que son percibidos sensorialmente, desde los comportamientos paralingüísticos y cinéticos reflejados en el texto como rasgos derivados de una individualidad o de un comunidad, hasta aquellos sistemas culturales que revelan las relaciones del individuo consigo mismo (somáticos), con el ambiente que lo rodea (ambientales o contextuales) o con los objetos de su entorno (objetuales). Los signos inteligibles incluyen las categorías ideológicas discernidas intelectualmente que, articuladas en torno a parámetros como la religión, la sociedad, la historia, la política, el arte, el folklore, etc., construyen la concepción del mundo que manifiestan los textos literarios. Los dos tipos de signos se relacionan en tres niveles de análisis: el nivel no verbal, el simbólico y el conceptual (p. 5; véase: Poyatos 1994: 254-299; Bueno Alonso 2000-01: 76).

La tipología que emplea Bueno no es tan amplia como la de Poyatos, pues no todas las subcategorías del modelo son aplicables a los textos elegíacos anglosajones. En este sentido, llama la atención la ausencia en el corpus analizado por Bueno de los signos culturales sensibles que, sin duda, más debieron interesar a Poyatos cuando formuló este método de trabajo: los pertenecientes a los niveles paralingüístico, cinético, somático y objetual. El autor de esta monografía sólo encuentra en los cinco textos una referencia paralingüística –el llanto en la línea 38 de *The Wife's Lament*– y en el nivel simbólico apenas detecta descripciones de los rasgos físicos de los hablantes y personajes, de sus movimientos y gestos o de sus relaciones físicas con otras personas y/o con los objetos de su entorno. Estas carencias –que, por otro lado, son empleadas acertadamente por Bueno como elementos definitorios de este corpus textual– podrían suponer cierta infra-utilización del método antropológico-literario. Poyatos es categórico al señalar que "el paralenguaje y la kinésica [...] constituyen el material por excelencia de la antropología literaria y el que mejor se presta a un análisis sistemático y funcional" (1994: 267, 270) y basa la constitución de la disciplina "en la investigación de los repertorios no verbales" a través de los cuales "se manifiestan más típicamente ciertos patrones culturales y universales"

(1994: 253); además, en los trabajos que ha dedicado a este tema suele apuntar hacia la narrativa como la manifestación literaria que mejor se presta a este tipo de análisis (1994: 253, 261). No hay duda de que la aplicación del modelo antropológico al corpus elegíaco anglosajón es lícita y la propia imposibilidad de utilizar algunas categorías de análisis en el nivel simbólico ayuda a catalogar y agrupar estos textos, pero al tratarse de monólogos reflexivos, líricos, en los que predominan los realismos psicológicos, una parte importante del utillaje que ofrece el método parece desaprovechada y su aplicación no luce tanto como podría hacerlo con otros géneros más ricos en factores paralingüísticos, cinéticos, somáticos, objetuales, etc., como, sin salir de la literatura medieval, la épica o los romances.

Es, sin embargo, en el nivel de análisis conceptual, al discutir los distintos signos inteligibles que articulan la visión del mundo ofrecida por cada uno de estos cinco textos, cuando el autor trata con soltura cuestiones fundamentales en la interpretación histórica de las elegías, tales como, entre otras: su vinculación con el paganismo germánico o el cristianismo; la exhibición de un proceso de maduración psicológica o de aprendizaje y adquisición de conocimiento que se instituyen como medios de vencer la adversidad; las conexiones entre el estado mental de estos hablantes y los contextos naturales (el frío invernal, la soledad en el mar o en el bosque) y sociales (el aislamiento de sus hablantes a causa del exilio, de la pérdida de los camaradas y el señor del *druht*, o de la separación de la persona amada); la caracterización de sus respectivas estructuras temporales lineales, cíclicas, etc. La asepsia del método empleado facilita el reconocimiento de los culturemas o ideologemas presentes en cada texto y ayuda al autor a desembarazarse del peso de la tradición para ofrecer conclusiones novedosas.

El estudio individual de cada uno de los textos se ve continuado, como conclusión, por la propuesta de "[u]n modelo conceptual del discurso poético elegíaco del inglés antiguo" (pp. 125-130), en el que se entrelazan todas las categorías y niveles de análisis antropológico tratados anteriormente. Bueno Alonso deslinda un número de parámetros primarios, recurrentes en las cinco composiciones –cuya presencia en cualquier otra habría de ser fundamental para clasificarla como elegía–, de otros factores secundarios, específicos sólo de algunos de los textos estudiados. De este

modo, sería factible distinguir aquellos textos que forman la esencia o el núcleo definitorio del género elegíaco anglosajón –*The Wanderer* y *The Seafarer*– de otros que exploran, junto a los rasgos culturales primarios compartidos, distintos sistemas sensibles o inteligibles secundarios, más cercanos a otros tipos o géneros, como la poesía amorosa en el caso de *Wulf and Eadwacer* y *The Wife's Lament*, o la épica en el de *Deor* (véase: Bravo García 1984; 1998).

Se trata, en definitiva, de una metodología interesante que –si bien daría mejores frutos con otros textos– es aplicada por el autor con honestidad a una parte del corpus elegíaco anglosajón, para sancionar o cuestionar la pertenencia al mismo de distintas composiciones. Cabe finalizar, por un lado, incitando al propio Bueno Alonso a acometer el análisis de todos los fragmentos que unos u otros autores han calificado como elegías y así determinar aquellos que, de acuerdo con estos criterios, es factible incluir bajo esta etiqueta genérica o excluir de ella y, por otro, animando a los demás investigadores a profundizar en las aplicaciones de la antropología literaria a distintos textos medievales ingleses, en la seguridad de que este método, como indica Poyatos, puede ayudar a "analizar y comprender al ser humano como ser cultural y social" (1994: 300) y, en este sentido, los resultados, cualesquiera que sean, no defraudarán.

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LEMARCHAND, Marie-José. ed & trans 2000. *Cristina de Pizán: La ciudad de las damas*. Madrid, Siruela. 299 pp.

Christine de Pizan's works have been read for decades in France, and certainly they have also received wide acknowledgment and attention from diverse critical stances in the Anglo-American world. However, their reception in Spain has not followed the same course, which makes Spanish editions of these works quite necessary and always welcome. The one we refer to here is the second edition of a pioneer translation into Spanish of *Livre de la Cité des Dames* (1405), a book that has profoundly determined Christine's portrait for posterity. As numerous as the contours of her literary and experiential activity may have been, the fact is that our current perception of her is marked by her figuring among the allegorical, mythological and historical women that inhabited her *cité des dames*. That is, it is mainly from her position as a woman that wrote about women that we first come to know, understand and judge her. Taking this into account, the present translation seems to reflect the growing awareness and demand for female literature among Spanish readers, within a broader movement of search for the origins and first utterances of modern concerns. Such is the case of feminism, the roots of which have been sought in ancient and medieval seeds.

Although the label "feminist" does not seem to fit in the medieval world, it certainly seems adequate to some of Christine's claims, spontaneous or short-sighted as they may seem from 20th-century standards. We should wonder, therefore, about the particular circumstances that allowed Christine to articulate such an individual response, one that prefigures the tenets of some modern positions. On the other hand, warnings against the phantom of anachronism have led scholars to dive into the reception of her works in the 15th century, thus trying to set Christine in her own milieu (Solterer 2002). But when placing her in the historical context of late medieval France, we discover an even more amazing character: the cultivated young widow and mother who, out of necessity, decides to make a living as a writer. Christine's remarkable decision confirms the rise of new roles for courtly

literature and highlights her challenging and assertive convictions as an early professional author. These convictions —together with her pecuniary needs— will turn her into the most prolific woman writer of the Middle Ages and one that cultivated the most diverse genres (narrative and lyrical poetry, hortatory epistles, allegory, dream visions, history, biography and autobiography) and who still had the time and energy to oversee the complete process of production of her manuscripts. However, if reality surpasses fiction in that the achievements of the real woman are as outstanding as her literary production, it is precisely from the insight provided by historical perspective and textual confrontation that some medievalists disavow such a mother for the feminist literary tradition (Delany 1987). If during her lifetime Christine was a major source of polemic and a great lover of *querelles*, just like then she is still able to stir current readers to discussion (Quilligan 1991).

Approaching *Le Livre de la Cité des Dames* in this special edition may shed light about many of these debated issues and help us to understand her better. It is particularly so since the editor provides an accurate and thorough introduction to Christine's life and working conditions. Lemarchand emphasizes aspects such as the cultural transformation undertaken by Charles V, who, by launching a program of translation —intensely supported by Nicole Oresme— enhanced the growing consciousness of a national language. Christine did participate in this movement by writing all of her works neither in her native Italian nor in Latin, but in French, as well as by including in her own prose production passages from French translations of works by Aristotle, John of Salisbury or Valerius Maximus, among others (Fenster 1998). This translation of *Le Livre de la Cité des Dames* reflects wonderfully the specific use Christine made of the Latin syntax and vocabulary within the French frame, whereby she created a hybrid style that reconciled the accomplishments of Latin and the aspirations of French as a cultural language. Thus, by turning to prose and following this specific style, she endowed French with a strength that so far had exclusively belonged to Latin. In *Le Livre de la Cité des Dames* Christine not only embodies the royal attempt to enact the ultimate *translatio imperii* model by bringing the humanistic aims born in Italy into French, but she consciously addresses the issue of linguistic translation as one deeply

intertwined with the problem of the misunderstanding between the sexes. *Le Livre de la Cité des Dames* does, in fact, enact the antagonism between the interpretation of women produced by the learned misogynous tradition over the centuries and the medieval set of texts in favor of them. But Christine places the debate outside the academic scheme of the *disputatio* by presenting it in an allegorical frame that allows her to bring the debate to the sphere of civic and public welfare. The use of French is politically justified then, just as the defense of women is. Even Christine's selection and translation of many of Boccaccio's *exempla* from his *De Claris Mulieribus* suggest her critical commentary about his preference for Latin and his vision of women as excellent only when male identified (Phillippy 1997). Instead, Christine celebrates difference between men and women and even defends female superiority, characterizing women not only as capable of any activity so far attributed to men but as naturally gentle, sweet, kind and loyal, and therefore more reliable and appropriate to build and dwell in this allegorical city. Lemarchand remarks the importance that Christine, a reader of Dante's works, gives to the writing process, through which the eschatological pertinence of the idea of the city confounds itself with the transformation Christine demands in the consideration for the female figure.

As for the quality of this translation, Lemarchand, a historian and sociologist, is mainly an experienced philologist quite familiarized with the translation of medieval French texts into Spanish. Her profound acquaintance with these contents has turned her into one of the most regular contributors to the series Siruela devotes to medieval literature. Thus it is to her that Spanish readers owe not only the 1995 first edition of this work, but translations of some of the foundational pieces of French medieval literature, such as *El viaje de San Brandán, El paraíso de la reina Sibila, El juego del ajedrez, La doncella manca* or *El caballero del león.* Her contribution to the transmission of Christine's work in Spanish cannot be denied, a demanding project which required her best abilities to deal both with Christine's syntactic exuberance and with some natural unaffected expressions in her work. Her delicacy in blending the late-medieval flavor in some terms without spicing them too much through the use of archaisms is remarkable, the best example being the very name she finds for Lady Droitture, *Derechura*.

But this edition is also highly commendable for its inclusion of illustrations that enlighten us about the dynamics of patronage and reception of late medieval texts. The translation is interspersed with some visual material corresponding to the engravings of the 1494 Zaragoza edition of Boccaccio's *De claris mulieribus*, printed by Paulus Hurus. The rest of the pictures gathered and placed at the beginning have been extracted from different manuscripts of Christine's works. Lemarchand has used as her main source Marureen Cheny Curnow's 1975 critical edition, and has also considered MS 608/1178 & 1179 (Bibliotèque Nationale, Paris) as well as MS Harley 4431 (British Library, London), since the latter is an autograph one and furthermore it was revised by Christine in 1410. Some of the illuminations of Lemarchand's edition come from these manuscripts; their beauty can only be equaled by the quality of the information they convey. Although Christine refers in *Le Livre de la Cité des Dames* to one Anastasia, a coetaneous exceptional illuminator who had made some of the drawings in her copies, there are no official records of this woman, and thus the author of some of these early illuminations is referred to simply as *The Cité des Dames Master*, whose works show the pervasiveness of Italian models in early 15th-century Paris (Cannon Willard 1984).

The Harley manuscript, comprising both courtly and didactic works by Christine, was presented by her to the queen of France, Isabeau of Bavaria. It is of special significance to medievalists, not only because it proves this author's control over works she had previously dedicated to other patrons (McGrady 1998), but because it suggests the intermittent but regular relationship Christine de Pizan had with the English aristocracy, as well as the place she would have in future decades within the English literary scene. According to Cynthia Brown (1998), her reputation in England was quite high during her lifetime and the 15th century, as her presentation of copies of her works to Richard II and Henry IV, or the Duke of Bedford's acquisition of some of her manuscripts well attest. Henry VII's commissioning of the translation of the *Livre des Fais d'Armes et de Chevalerie* to William Caxton, who had earlier edited her *Morale Proverbes*, also hint at this recognition. In both editions (1478 and 1489) Christine's authorship was highly praised and acknowledged, thus passing from aristocratic to middle-class readers. However, despite the high number of manuscripts of her work

present in British collections, by the second decade of the 16th century, her authorship was altogether ignored in Henry Pepwell's first English edition of *Le Livre de la Cité des Dames*, *Cyte of Ladyes*, translated by Brian Anslay and printed in 1521 (Summit 2000). Thus, whereas in 1405 Christine's ground-breaking work had been the first by a woman about the history of women and had possibly started the French *querelle des femmes* that would last for a long time, a century later her own name had started to fall into oblivion and her works appeared under other authors' headings (as happened with Richard Pynson's 1526 re-edition of the *Moral Proverbes*, inserted within an anthology of Chaucer's works). Although silence and misattribution were her lot for centuries, we hope editions and translations like this (including generous notes, bibliography and analytical and general indexes), throughout the world will make Christine de Pizan and her *Livre de la Cité des Dames* impossible to forget.

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HOGG, Richard 2002: *An Introduction to Old English*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. Edinburgh Textbooks on the English Language. IX +163 pp.

This new book by R. Hogg is a monographic work on the earliest period of the history of the English language, and, as far as I am concerned, it should become one of the core readings on the period portrayed for various reasons.

As a well-organized and clearly written book, and presented as an "introduction" to the Old English period, it is the perfect reading material for students with absolutely no experience on the matter and for their teachers. In fact, the latter will find comprehensive teaching ideas to be used in class. In our times, our teaching practices being usually criticised, it is always good news to count on new books and material to enhance the knowledge of our students of English Philology. In this sense, *An Introduction to Old English* is a valuable help.

Hogg's new work is shorter than other books written before on the same topic. However, its contents do stand out due to their quality the moment one opens the very first page. A coherent organization of those contents is always present throughout the book: ten chapters reflect almost everything related to the Old English period, not only descriptive studies on grammatical aspects, but also on more historical matters such as the Anglo-Saxon settlements in the British Isles. Unfortunately, the reader will not find any discussion on OE phonology, something done consciously by the author: "… my own experiences suggest that too great an emphasis on phonology at a very early stage actually inhibits an understanding of other linguistic matters and even of the reading of original texts" (Hogg, 2002: viii). There is no point in discussing Hogg's opinion here, but I do think that some phonology would not have done any "harm" in this very good work on the OE period. In fact, I do believe that the lack of phonological descriptions constitutes the only shortcoming in the book, although it is true that further or complementary readings on that topic can easily overcome this fact. Hogg himself has very good monographies on this matter.

The internal organization of each chapter has been carefully planned beforehand. The basic chapter structure is twofold: accounts on linguistic

matters and practical exercises designed to be dealt with in class or to be done by students of Historical Linguistics on their own. In any case, I have found those exercises very useful in practising newly acquired knowledge on the topic.

Chapter 1 deals with the external history of the Old English period: the Anglo-Saxon settlements in what is England today, the peoples, and the written texts as sources to learn about the language of the period.

Detailed aspects on morphology such as the nature of nouns and adjectives in Old English, and the various declensions, are dealt with in chapters 2 and 3. Lots of examples are included in the text, always taking into account that this book is intended for a student audience. The verb types in Old English, strong and weak verbs, the origin of the present-day "modal verbs", and important phenomena such as the "ablaut", are also a significant part of the book (chapters 4 and 5).

Old English syntax (noun and verb phrases), word order, negation, relative and other types of clauses appear in chapters 6 and 7. At this point, it is worth mentioning the fact that not only does Professor Hogg provide a list of examples and explanations about those aspects of Old English grammar, but he also relates them to the present-day structures of the language.

Chapters 8 and 9 deal with vocabulary (affixation, compounding and loans) and with Old English variation, putting the stress on the latter to make us forget "that Old English was a somewhat unvarying mass" (Hogg, 2002: 115). On the contrary, regional or stylistic variation was present in the period as well as in any other language of the world at any time in history.

The last chapter of the book (chapter 10) is a kind of conclusion, linking the period already portrayed with the next period in the history of English, Middle English, and beyond. The book has been completed with the addition of two types of glossaries: an Old English – Present Day English glossary that the students of OE will find incredibly useful in their translation practices (to be found in some of the exercises proposed along the chapters); and a glossary on basic linguistic terminology. The didactic purpose of the

book is always present, and the presence of glossaries does simply emphasize this fact once more.

In what concerns the actual contents of the book, very little can I say about Professor Hogg's great knowledge on Historical Linguistics. And what is more important, I could well have written pages and pages on his impressive skills in passing his specialised knowledge to students with supposedly no command of the OE period. I have already praised the clarity and coherence of the book. But I would not like to forget mentioning the fact that I am truly thankful for his attempts to relate Old English structures to those of the present day and to those of its nearest relatives whenever possible. These are not only intentions in his introductory preface, but they become true in the majority of the chapters along the book. Old English is always described by him as a period of the language in accordance with later periods of English and in harmony with the rest of the older languages of the world.

An Introduction to Old English stands out as a didactic and comprehensive book, and very well written above all. From now on, Hogg's latest book should be taken into account when teaching and learning about the oldest period in the history of English.

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SIMMONS, Clare A., ed. 2001. *Medievalism and the Quest for the "Real" Middle Ages.* London, Frank Cass.168 pp.

Edited by Clare A. Simmons, *Medievalism and the Quest for the "Real" Middle Ages* is a collection of eight articles devoted to the revision of the Middle Ages in the last four centuries. As her starting point Simmons vindicates a redefinition of the terms "Medievalism" and "Medieval Studies" by asserting that all critical approaches to the study of the Middle Ages are, inevitably, biased by centuries of previous interpretation and are therefore instances of medievalism. The editor thus locates these papers in the context of the latest studies in medievalism and provides the reader with a well-informed survey on the state-of-the-question, from the antiquarians' pioneering interest for the medieval to the critical appraisal of medievalism as an academic discipline in the late 1990s.

To begin with, Simmons offers a brief summary of the latest critical sweeps that have dominated the field in the last two decades, a section she addresses particularly to readers not well acquainted with medievalism. Among others, she evaluates positively the contribution of New Historicism in the works of Lee Patterson *(Negotiating the Past*, 1987), Marina S. Brownlee, Kevin Brownlee and Stephen G. Nichols' *(The New Medievalism,* 1991), and highlights Bloch and Nichols' critical updating in *Medievalism and the Modernist Temper* (1996). In the same way, Simmons regards Frantzen's *Before the Closet* (1998) as a significant step to widen the traditional perception of homoeroticism in the approach to the Early Middle Ages. However, neither Norman Cantor's *Inventing the Middle Ages* (1991) nor Katherine Biddick's *The Shock of Medievalism* (1998) escape from Simmons' criticism: the former is attacked for its biased Victorian scope -- "Cantor seems to pursue the ghost of a 'real' Middle Ages at the same time that he lays that ghost to rest" (17) – whereas the latter meets well-founded objections to the use of postcolonial categories in the analysis of medieval cultures.

The eight articles of this collection are chronologically arranged and offer a chaleidoscopic study of the Middle Ages as object of revision in

disparate time settings, from seventeenth-century England to contemporary America. Implicitly, the work aims at plurality by taking into consideration several study cases not only within the English-speaking tradition, but also dealing with French appropriations of medieval narratives and myths throughout the nineteenth century. Thus, the first and second pieces deal with eighteenth-century medievalism in England, and a third article focuses on nineteenth-century England, while the fourth and fifth ones analyse French cases. Again, the sixth paper explores English Victorian medievalism; the seventh turns to the early twentieth century, to end up with an appraisal of one of the latest men's movements in the 1990s United States. The problem this posits is that there exists no sense of contingency among the different pieces, but the collection rather works on the assumption that medievalism is a universal rather than a time/place bounded phenomenon inserted in a given cultural whole.

In this way, the first contributor, Kelly A. Quinn, deals with Samuel Daniel and Thomas Campion's dispute on rhyme. Quinn effectively analyses Daniel's rhetorics of persuasion in relation to the popularity of the Middle Ages as model of prestige, and presents the reader with an accurate rendering of Daniel's counterattack on Campion's *Observations on the Art of English Poesie.* The relevance of his 1603 *The Defense of Ryme* is reinscribed in the agenda of recovering medieval rhyme schemes against the rise of the quantitative movement promoted by the humanist poets. Daniel equates rhyme with the revival of an English medieval tradition that links poetics with nationalism yet, paradoxically, he feels compelled to defend what was regarded at the time as a return to older, traditional Catholic poetic modes.

Kristine Louise Haugen devotes her paper to Richard Hurd's eighteenth-century appreciation of Spenser's *The Faerie Queene.* Haugen builds her analysis on the concepts of the "gothic" and "verisimilitude" as operative in Hurd's times. The so-called "gothic" –that is, inspired by chivalric romances– components of the allegorical poem are used to reconstruct an imagined past. Although interesting, Haugen's study is at certain points difficult to follow in her explanations of how a Renaissance text deriving from medieval narratives is read by Hurd three centuries later as when, for instance, she asserts that " . . . the historical distance Hurd values in the

medieval era, the gap produced by its uncompromising and awesome otherness, is really the cavernous space that is left when Hurd has done away with all texts yet remains convinced that it is necessary to have direct contact with the past" (55). Whether "cavernous space" is meant to refer to Hurd's invented, extra-textual Middle Ages, which can only be reconstructed through texts as *The Faerie Queene*, remains unclear.

Mark Schoenfield's article centres on Scott's 1819 *Ivanhoe* and its echoes of a real 1817 legal issue, the Ashford vs. Thornton trial, where Wager Battle was invoked as the continuity of the ancient right of body justice. The view of this medieval method as barbarous in spite of the glamourized tradition it might recall made Scott's readers aware of the irrational aspects of the Middle Ages. At this point the nobility and heroism of the medieval past seem to be overcome by the Victorian sense of progress and civilization. Schoenfield argues that, by including the famous scene of the Wager Battle between the Templar knight Bois-Guilbert and Ivanhoe, Scott appealed to his audience's respect for law and order in nineteenth-century terms, and openly supported a judicial system based on legal codes over the justice of the body. According to the author, the value of this revisitation of medieval law lies in the fact that this polemical trial not only inspired Scott but also clearly illustrates the pertinence of medieval models in industrial England. Curiously, this time the Middle Ages are invoked as a counterexample, as Scott's handling of the Wager Battle issue embodies modern determination to conjure the unnecessary violence of a medieval past so often glorified.

Sarah Hibberd's piece discusses a case of contemporary French medievalism, as it deals with the representations of Jeanne d'Arc in the Parisian stage in the 1820s. In the context of the Bourbon restoration the heroine was re-appropriated as a national symbol, but now her medieval mysticism is rewritten as typically female emotional instability. Madness is then feminized in consonance with new morals and, as a consequence of this, the warrior maiden icon and her divine inspiration are now deconstructed. Hibberd succeeds in demonstrating how, progressively, Jeanne's medieval saintly aura is reinterpreted as feminine weakness. Hibberd's contribution thus addresses gender issues and offers an original analysis of the process of imposing modern categories on the Middle Ages.

Also focusing on French revisions of the Middle Ages, Elizabeth Emery studies the impact of *La Revue des Deux Mondes* in the shaping of popular medievalism in the aftermath of the Franco-Prussian War. The traditional confrontation between France and Germany was transferred in the 1870s to the field of literature and philology, particularly thanks to the works of philologists as Léon Gautier, and so scholarly projects became entwined with the nationalistic agenda. Research programs devoted to *La Chanson de Roland* and the recovery of the figures of Charlemagne and Jeanne d'Arc as national heroes participate in a national enthusiasm echoed by this periodical and, as Emery points out, " . . . France recovered from its identity crisis, however, it was able to value the Middle Ages as more than a patriotic topic" (109). Emery evaluates how, in a period marked by the national sense of defeat against the Germans, the revisiting of the national past in a widely read periodical proves instructive as it demystifies its origins at the same time that it celebrates them.

Back to the English context, two of the last papers of this collection deal with the articulation of masculinity and medievalism: Frederick S. Roden's study of religious medievalism and male homosexuality and Aronstein's approach to the late twentieth century use of Arthurian myths by the Mythopoetic Men´s Movement. These pieces, however, do not appear in a sequence but are separated by Heady's article on Chesterton.

In the first place, Roden addresses the phenomenon of male monasticism and homoeroticism in the mid-nineteenth century and reinscribes it within Cardinal Newman's Tractarianism. In the line of Queer Theory, Roden undertakes the discussion of the influence of the "Aelredian model of religious friendship" (119) and evaluates its connections with the work of Raffalovich and other intellectual figures interested in the defence of homosexuality. The author sheds light on some appropriations of the medieval past by the "uranists," a topic to a certain extent obliterated in Victorian studies. Roden completes his analysis with the exploration of the conflictive relationship between fin-de-siecle Neo-Platonic Hellenism and Catholicism in their view of homoerotics and tracks their manifestations in the work of minority authors as well as the influential Wilde and Hopkins.

In the last place, Susan Aronstein offers a detailed analysis of how medievalism becomes operative in popular American culture. The Arthurian myths in particular are revisited as the matrix for the definition of contemporary masculinity and articulated as a response to the women's rights and feminist movements. Aronstein aptly denounces the manipulation the texts undergo at the hands of the leaders of the Mythopoetic Movement and how this reading is used to justify a return to the traditional male dominion under the appearance of restitution of a medieval, original and natural order.

Placed between these works, Chene Heady's "Heraldry and Red Hats: Linguistic Skepticism and Chesterton's reading of Ruskinian Medievalism" starts by criticizing Alice Chandler's *A Dream of Order* (1970) for not including Chesterton's medieval studies. The title of Heady's article, however, is somehow confusing. Heady's Chinese-box-like revision of Chesterton's revision of Ruskin's *The Stones of Venice* is combined with the discussion of heraldry in Chesterton's *Chaucer*. Heady basically aims at explaining the contradictions of Chesterton's Catholic Thomism and his high regard for medieval art, an art he defined as the most perfect symbolic system in its primitive depicting of reality. According to Heady, " . . . Ruskin's primitivism is the central element on which the whole of Ruskinian sign theory rests, and Chesterton's Catholic rejection of this concept by a merciless logic requires his linguistic pessimism (this is probably not how Chesterton, biographically speaking, developed his position, but the logic does follow)" (139). The parenthetical comment on the part of the author, nevertheless, betrays a certain weakness in the argumentation, especially when a few lines later Heady adds: " But despite all his linguistic skepticism, Chesterton is not an unorthodox Catholic, just a little less orthodox than he would have liked to believe," an assertion which I understand as riskily speculative. On the other hand, neither the idea of "linguistic skepticism" is sufficiently delineated nor the importance of heraldry explained; here heraldry appears just as the specific field in which, according to Chesterton, the primitive perfection of medieval art could be more clearly appreciated. Unfortunately, the paper does not explore this idea thoroughly, nor its connections with religious the medievalism of Chesterton.

The Quest for the "Real" Middle Ages turns out to be an ambitious, polyphonic project aiming at a better understanding of medievalism as a cultural phenomenon. Nevertheless, the work fails in providing the reader with a critical frame which would help to locate this cultural trend in its proper context. The differences in methodology and perspective of this collection of articles do not allow for a cohesive vision of the matter but rather give the collection a fragmentary character. Also, there is no consideration of the genre-specific features of the appropriation of the medieval past in each case, but all revisitings –whether a philological study as Gautier's on *La Chanson de Roland* or the imitation of "primitive" monasticism with homosexual innuendo in the religious background of late Victorian England-- are presented as similar expressions of medievalism. Besides, the book is limited in its geographical scope: there is no example of medievalism in other European nations than England and France and, furthermore, no explanation is provided in this respect. This is particularly striking as several of the papers –Quinn's, Roden's, Heady's– insist on the confrontation between Catholicism and Protestantism in the definition of each nation's identity, whereas the recovering of the Middle Ages is frequently linked to a nostalgia for Catholic modes. The opposition/parallelism with the wake of medievalism in traditionally Catholic nations as Spain or Italy would have been, in this sense, revealing. As neither the "back-to- medieval- Catholicism" trend nor the loosely chronological axis seem to offer a clear interpretive pattern for understanding medievalism in the periods and locations selected, perhaps a thematic arrangement of these papers would have offered a better frame for interpreting the phenomenon in each case.

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MEDIEVAL ENGLISH STUDIES IN SPAIN (1997-2001): PH.D. THESES AND RESEARCH PROJECTS

RESEARCH PROJECTS

Título: Variación lingüística y textual en inglés moderno, con especial referencia al periodo moderno tardío

Funding Institution : MCYT (BFF2001-3505)

Time Span: desde 28.12.2001 hasta: 27.12.2004

Director: Javier Pérez Guerra

Members: Javier Pérez Guerra, Jorge L. Bueno Alonso, Dolores González Álvarez, Esperanza Rama Martínez, Victorina González Díaz, Raquel Ardao Palacios

Summary: En este proyecto se pretende aplicar, desde el grupo de investigación LVTC de la Universidade de Vigo, modelos variacionistas a la exploración lingüística de los textos ingleses de un periodo escasamente estudiado, esto es, el inglés moderno tardío (1700-1900), con el objetivo final de establecer una descripción rigurosa de ese periodo desde una doble perspectiva sincrónica y diacrónica. En relación a esta última, se incorporará, con una finalidad contrastiva, los resultados de investigaciones previas y de las propias del proyecto tanto sobre periodos previos de la lengua como del inglés contemporáneo. Mediante el uso de una metodología cuantitativa (lingüística de corpus, estadística, modelos multidimensionales) y de aspectos teóricos reveladores del comportamiento sistemático de la lengua, se pretende elaborar un análisis morfosintáctico y estilístico (cuestiones de género y análisis del discurso) del inglés moderno tardío fundamentado en parámetros exclusivamente lingüísticos.

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Título: Dialects and the Geographical localization of texts in the History of English. Applications of the Linguistic Atlas of Late Middle English to Computer corpora (Helsinki Corpus)

Funding Institution: Vicerrectorado de Investigación, Universidade da Coruña

Time Span: 1998-2002

Director: Isabel Moskowich-Spiegel Fandiño.

Members: Emma Lezcano González, Begoña Crespo García, Elena Alfaya Lamas, Ana Montoya Reyes, Isabel Roura Javier

Summary: The methods in the investigation of diachronic linguistics have changed with the apparition of computer corpora. At the same time, the publication of *LALME* (*Linguistic Atlas of Late Middle English*) in 1986 implies a revision of all the premises used for establishing the origin of texts that allow scholars to know the history of the English language, the changes taking place in it in the course of time and that make of it what it is today. Our intention was to join both tools and localise those texts not included in the diachronic part of the Helsinki Corpus but that belong (are attributed) to the same author, cycle or manuscript that others already in the Corpus so as to ascertain if such attributions/localisations were, really, the ones traditionally defended. Our main aim was to check the information given in the COCOA headers of each text in the late Middle English texts in the *Helsinki Corpus* and compare them with those obtained by applying the fit-technique as proposed in the *LALME*

The application of questionnaires and the elaboration of dot maps allows: 1.- check whether the information in the COCOA headers in the *Helsinki Corpus* is correct, since those texts have not always been localised by using the *Atlas.* 2.- In cases where the *Helsinki Corpus* includes only small fragments of works, make sure that the whole piece is correctly localised since one fragment may have been written by a scribe whose linguistic habits are not those of other scribes working on the same manuscript.

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Title: Geographical localisation of medieval English texts.. Application of the Fit-Technique to computer linguistic texts.

Funding Institution: Xunta de Galicia, Secretaría Xeral DE I+D (PR-404A PROY 99-145)

Time Span: 1999-2001

Director: Isabel Moskowich-Spiegel Fandiño

Members: Begoña Crespo García, Emma Lezcano González, Ana Montoya Reyres, Elena Alfaya Lamas, Inés Lareo Martín, Leticia Regueiro Naya, Eva Parcero Souto

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PHD. THESES

Title: The Compilation of the Old English Riddles of the *Exeter Book.*

Author: Mercedes Salvador Bello

Supervisor: María José Mora

University: Universidad de Sevilla

Year: 1997

Summary: This dissertation sets out to demonstrate that the two series of riddles contained in the Exeter Book were organized according to pre-existent patterns deriving from Latin riddling tradition. The first chapters of this work present a comparative analysis of the collections of Symphosius, Aldhelm, Tatwine, Eusebius, and Boniface as well as the anonymous Bern and Lorsch Riddles. All of them present an implicit subdivision into different thematic sections which imitates the structure of medieval encyclopaedias; this points to an ostensible use of thematic criteria guiding the compilation of Latin *enigmata*.

The study then focuses on the Exeter Riddles, examining the traces of internal arrangement in what seem to be three major subdivisions (nos. 1-40, 41-66, and 67-95). A full revision of the text and solution of each riddle and

a detailed analysis of these three groups reveal that thematic sections can be easily detected. Notably, riddles 1-40 constitute a fairly consistent sequence evincing an internal structure modelled on Latin compilation patterns: cosmological topics, ornithological motifs, four-footed animals, instruments, and a cosmological coda. The presence of these cohesive sections suggests that riddles 1-40 were originally an independent collection, which was most likely copied out in its entirety with slight variation from the source. The second group (41-66) similarly displays a characteristic section arrangement--as the juxtaposition of the so-called Aobscene≅ pieces proves. However, the cohesion in the third series eventually degrades into an eclectic assemblage with no clear organization. A comparative analysis of the variable degree of thematic consistency and the frequent repetitions observed in the three groups provide us with valuable information on the compilation process. It suggests, first, that the Exeter compilers used at least three different sources for the riddles; secondly, that they tried to arrange this material into a one-hundred-piece collection, as was customary in Latin tradition, and produced a split collection of forty and sixty riddles which imitates the combined arrangement of the *enigmata* of Tatwine and Eusebius in Latin manuscripts.

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Title: Aportaciones a la hermenéutica antropológico-literaria: bases lingüísticas, simbólicas y conceptuales de la poesía elegíaca del Inglés Antiguo.

Author: Jorge Luis Bueno Alonso

University: Universidad de Oviedo

Supervisor: José Luis Caramés Lage

Year: 1999

Summary: The main aim of this Ph.D. thesis is twofold, as it offers: a) a proposal to frame a practical methodology of textual analysis -Literary Anthropology, a highly useful tool for textual research- within an existing theoretical framework -Literary Hermeneutics- and b) a practical application of such method of textual analysis, providing a literary anthropological study of the most characteristic Anglo-Saxon elegiac poems (*The Seafarer, The*

Wanderer, Deor, Wulf and Eadwacer, & The Wife´s Lament) with the aim of getting a valid model of the Old English elegiac & poetic discourse, which would help to establish the steady basis of the aforementioned discourse. This will allow us to have an accurate description of the parameters that build the Anglo-Saxon elegiac & poetic discourse. These parameters can be taken as a basis for subsequent studies by future researchers who can use them to analyse other poems from the elegiac corpus for admitting, refusing or modulating their inclusion into this corpus.

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Title: Thematic variation in English: a corpus-based study on the thematic organisation of English declarative sentences in the recent history of the language.

Author: Javier Pérez Guerra

University: Universidade de Santiago de Compostela

Supervisor: Teresa Fanego Lema

Year: 1999

Summary: In this dissertation the author explores the syntactic organisation of declarative clauses from late Middle English to present-day English and pays special attention to the consequences which the location of the subject has for the determination of the unmarked word order in Early Modern English. The data have been taken from two electronic corpora, namely, The Helsinki Corpus of English Texts and the Lancaster/Oslo-Bergen Corpus of British English.

The author outlines his own concept of 'theme,' which will be useful for the (explanatory and descriptive) purposes of describing syntactic (un)markedness. Such a concept leads to the existence of, on the one hand, an unmarked SV organisation and, on the other, of several marked patterns, viz sentences introduced by existential there, instances of subject extraposition and insertion of it, clefts, topicalisations, left-dislocations and subject inversions. The subsystems just mentioned are located on a scale of markedness, according to two variables: first, frequency, which is investigated by way of the statistical analysis of the data, and, second,

'linguistic functionality.' This second variable has been examined in the light of variables such as gender, textual category, discourse taxonomy, orality and informative principles such as 'given before new' or end-weight.

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Title: Las figuras del autor y del lector en *The Canterbury Tales* y el *Libro de buen amor*.

Author: María Beatriz Hernández Pérez

Supervisor: Fernando Galván

University: Universidad de La Laguna

Year: 1999

Summary: This is a comparative analysis of some fragments in the *Libro de Buen Amor* and the *Canterbury Tales*, following Sniader Lanser's narratological perspective. The chosen fragments in the *Libro de Buen Amor* are the Prologue and the first set of *exempla* and dialogues, including Doña Endrina's episode, as well as the final section. From *The Canterbury Tales*, the chosen fragment are: The General Prologue, and the prologues and tales of The Man of Law's, The Wife of Bath's, The Friar's, The Clerk's, The Merchant's, The Pardoner's, The Prologue and Tale of Sir Thopas, the Tale of Melibee, the Parson's Prologue and Tale, and the Retraction.

After a first chapter in which Lanser's model is justified, the second one is devoted to identifying and coming to terms with the historical background of both poets. In the rest of the chapters the narratological approach to the texts reveals both in Juan Ruiz and in Geoffrey Chaucer the undeniable ability to assemble and blend the most diverse, past and present as well as international and regional legacies in a unique way. However, the aim of this comparative study is not only to discern how or to what degree the authorial figure had evolved by the fourteenth century in these two countries. The hypothesis is rather that of stating that whatever similarities exist between these two works, they derive from a way of self-presentation that depended ultimately on the general concern with poet's public dimension. The narrative and representational strategies of the *Libro de buen amor* and *The*

Canterbury Tales are seen as consequence of the capital role reception played in these authors' ideological and poetic schemes.

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Title: Dialectología y Toponimia del Kéntico Bajomedieval

Author: Mª Auxiliadora Martín Díaz

Supervisor: José S. Gómez Soliño

University: Universidad de La Laguna

Year: 1999

Summary: In this thesis, a thorough study of the toponimic configuration of the late medieval dialect of Kent (12th-and-14th-century Kentish place-names, to be precise) is carried out through the formal analysis of certain Old English variables dialectally relevant in Middle Kentish. As the introduction puts on display, the general interest of this study lay in the fact that the dialectal analysis of Kentish place-names had not been satisfactorily approached in preceding projects devoted to this onomastic investigation. Any research on Kentish place-names lacked at that point in time, as we still do, the volume corresponding to Kent within the series edited by the *English Place-Name Society*; needless to mention *A Survey of Middle English Dialects 1290-1350. The Southern Counties* (Kristensson 2001) had not been published yet.

This formal analysis intended not only to discover a possible distributional behaviour behind these sound-changes, but also to contrast this toponimic evidence with the information provided by other sources. The aim was therefore two-fold: on the one hand, contribute to disclose a clearer picture of the dialectal configuration of Middle Kentish (taking into account its geographical and historical circumstances); and on the other, integrate and contrast this data with the information provided by both, traditional diachronic studies and those using a more synchronic view.

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Title: Edition and Study of a Late Medieval English Medical Receptarium: G.U.L. MS Hunter 185 (T.8.17*)*

Author: Francisco J. Alonso Almeida

Supervisor: Alicia Rodríguez Álvarez

University: Universidad de Las Palmas de Gran Canaria

Year: 2000

Summary: The main aim of this thesis consists in the semi-diplomatic edition of the text of MS 185 in the Hunterian collection in the Glasgow University Library. The medical book transcribed here contains medical recipes and charms in Middle English, as well as medical notes and a herbal glossary in Latin. This MS has never been the object of study of any research, and its damaged condition is a factor which calls for immediate editorial work. This can be seen in the fact that the boards have fallen off, and that the ink is rapidly fading away on several parts, despite the efforts of librarians to keep the book in perfect state.

This work also pursues other aims which, though secondary, are not less significant. These objectives comprise (a) the description of the state of medieval medical knowledge and medical manuscripts, (b) the characterisation of the medieval recipe as a type of text, (c) the description of the physical features and the contents of MS Hunter 185, and (d) an account of the language and the dialect of the main scribes.

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Title: El cambio semántico como indicador de cambio lingüístico: análisis de la lengua inglesa entre los siglos XII y XVII.

Author: Begoña Crespo García

Supervisors: Dr. Antonio Raúl de Toro Santos & Dra. Isabel Moskowich-Spiegel Fandiño

University: Universidade da Coruña

Year: 2001

Summary: The aim of this dissertation was to analyse semantic changes as part of the diachronic phenomenon of language change from a socio-historical perspective. To this end, it was divided into five chapters. Chapter

1 is devoted to the external history of the period under survey, thus providing a social, cultural, economic and political background for intra-systemic changes. In chapter 2 several views on language change are presented paying special attention to the sociolinguistic models here defended. Those theoretical tenets on language change are applied to the situation of England during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. The central chapter, that is to say, chapter 3, is concerned with the theory of semantic change. Many different perspectives (Meillet, Stern, Ullmann, Williams, Hughes) are mentioned. Definitions, causes and classifications are thus analysed in detail to search for an adequate framework which is useful to explain different types of semantic change. The practical part of the dissertation corresponds to chapters 4 and 5. The former describes the methodology and the corpus of data selected whereas the latter presents the analysis of those data. All nouns that indicate person-rank taken from the samples in the *Helsinki Corpus of English Texts* have been decomposed into their different semantic features (always considering context and use) in order to trace a possible shift in meaning from the 12th to the 17th centuries. Contrary to the expectations of certain authors, the results lay claim that, the changes in this lexical field run, predominantly, under the specialisation type, a characteristic of the external social conditions.

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Title: El mito clásico y su evolución formal en la Edad Media: Geoffrey Chaucer.

Author: José María Gutiérrez Arranz

Supervisor: Ricardo J. Sola Buil

University: Universidad de Alcalá De Henares

Year: 2001

Summary: Our thesis is based on Classical myth. The main aims of it are obviously connected with this base: on the one hand, the evolution that Classical myth has from its appearance in Ancient Times to the Middle Ages, essentially related to Geoffrey Chaucer's works and, on the other, to stress the fact that Classical myth is used by Chaucer himself as an element within the system of Classical rhetoric, whose forerunner was Aristotle.

Regarding the first aim, the most widespread and accepted definition of mythology is that it is a group of legends. A legend is a narration of events that are uncertain or unverifiable, but that have been traditionally presented as real. Classical mythology is the group of Greek and Roman myths that, according to reliable sources, were valid from their origin until the year 600 A. D. Taking this into account, myth may be compared with other types of narrations: the aetiological legend, the heroic cycle or the novel. The sources of Classical mythology occasionally come from oral tradition, and one good example is Pausanias' *Description of Greece*, in which the author holds that gods and men belong to different worlds and there is an insurmountable barrier between them. There is another group of sources, called "erudite", which include technical treatises exclusively consecrated to mythology or commentaries on literary works, whose aim is to shed some light on dark matters. This fulfilment began thanks to Hecateus of Miletus (6th century B. C.), and some others, like Acusilaos of Argos, Helanicus of Mithilene and overall Herodotus followed him, the latter being the most important of them. Together with this tradition, we can find the collections of myths, with Erathosthenes, Apollodorus or Nicandrus, who also supply with a great amount of information. The presocratic philosophy had already pointed out the positive aura of myth to understand the transcendental ideas, but it would be Plato who definitely supported this concept. One of the conclusions of our thesis is based upon the behaviour that "Platonic" myth has in Chaucer and that derives from Plato's theory of "theologia", which defends the contradictions of the previous poets when they discussed mythological characters. Plato rejects myth "per se", since it does not completely contribute to his vital and political conception, as he demonstrates in *Res Publica*, so he prefers to use the positive side of such stories and rejects the negative one. The Medieval allegorical trend, based specially on the Euhemeristic theory, and Chaucer's personal touch causes myth to be Platonic in its form, although there are other factors that combine in the use of these mythological characters, between them the outer influences of contemporary authors like Dante, Boccaccio, *Ovide Moralisé*'s writer or John Gower, the problems that the man of the XIV century had to face to do research and that Chaucer suffered, etc. Following the aims of our thesis, the second stage was the influence of the system of Classical rhetoric, galvanized by Aristotle and which had egregious followers like Quintilianus

and Cicero, in the use of Classical myths in Chaucer. Our interest is based on the types of discourse that Aristotle thinks to be essential in any sort of oratory (epideictic, deliberative and judicial). Its systematic use when referring to myth, specially in the case of the first of them, shows clearly that the rhetorical system is really vigorous.

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Title: Composite Predicates in Middle English.

Author: Teresa Moralejo Gárate

Supervisor: Luis Iglesias Rábade

University: Universidade de Santiago de Compostela

Year: 2001

Summary: This dissertation aims to analyse the linguistic and extralinguistic peculiarities of composite predicates (for example, He told me to HAVE a LOOK at the report) formed with *don, haven, maken, taken* and *yeven* in ME, on the basis of the evidence provided by The Helsinki Corpus of English Texts, Diachronic and Dialectal.The study opens with a contextualisation of the phenomenon of composite predicates in ME within the general historical development of English. The following chapter, Composite Predicates, consists mainly of a review of the previous studies on the topic. The unit that constitutes our object of study is defined and the criteria to limit this unit are established. Several issues relevant to the study of composite predicates, which are dealt with in greater depth later in the dissertation, are introduced. In chapter 3, the chronology and origin of composite predicates is considered. The rate of use of composite predicates in ME is compared with that of previous and later periods in the history of English to determine the extent to which these structures spread throughout the period. The influence of prose and verse text on the distribution of composite predicates is studied, and the origin of the deverbals in our data is examined to illustrate the imprint of French on the structure. In the following chapter, number 4, The syntax of Composite Predicates, composite predicates are analysed with regard to different possibilities of determination, modification, complementation, voice and number variation, as well as to the occurrence of multiple deverbals. On the basis of the results

obtained with the analysis of the previous chapter, in chapter 5, Patterns of Composite Predicates, high frequency composite predicates are classified into various syntactic patterns to unveil the existence of distributional restrictions. The semantic features of composite predicates are the focus of chapter 6. The main semantic categories expressed by composite predicates with each light verb are examined. Pairs consisting of the same deverbal but a different light verb are contrasted to shed light upon the semantic load of the verbal element of composite predicates. Chapter 7, Textual distribution of Composite Predicates, focuses on the distribution of composite predicates across the various textual types included in the HC. The rate of use of composite predicates in text types occurring in several subperiods of the corpus is compared, to add a chronological perspective to our analysis. We compute the normalised frequencies of the global set of composite predicates, as well as those of each individual light verb, in each text type sampled in the HC, to ascertain if the use of composite predicates is favoured by any particular text type and if the use of composite predicates may be associated to any particular register. The semantic fields occurring in each text type are also explored. In chapter 8, Composite Predicates vs. simple verbs, a selection of high frequency composite predicates and their equivalent simple verbs is contrasted to reveal any extralinguistic or linguistic factors that may motivate the choice of one of the two structures, chiefly, chronology, prose and verse texts, text type, syntactic structure, modification and aspect. Finally, chapter 9 contains the main conclusions reached throughout the present study.

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Title: The Word, the Lily and the Sword: Images of Female Heroism in Three Anglo-Saxon Poems: *Elene*, *Juliana* and *Judith*.

Author: Laurence Erussard

Supervisor: Juan Camilo Conde Silvestre

University: University of Murcia

Year: 2001

Summary: This project examines the deployment of female heroism in Cynewulf's two hagiographies and in the anonymous *Judith*, and offers an

interpretation of each heroine. The evaluation of the characters is based the linguistic and stylistic analysis of the Old English words that define them and on the structure of their discourses. Special attention is given to the substantives and adjectives that define each woman, to the verbs of which they are subject and to the recurrent use of *oratio recta* (up to 63% in *Juliana*) in the poems. The group study shows a highly crafted portrait of womanhood; it challenges the idea that patriarchal structures in Anglo-Saxon society left no room for the heroic representation of women. The three female heroes offer a unified and sophisticated textual and iconographic triptych presenting the three ages of women as in the Virgin-Mother-Crone trinity. The queen, the courageous mother of her nation, and the virgin construct an image dominated by self-assertiveness. A comparative source study shows that these three saints do no pray for help as do their classical and scriptural models and that, unlike all other female characters of English poetry, they are never sorrowful. The result is a portrait that encourages women to enter religious life and men to emulate these female soldiers of Christ.

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Explicit
hoc totum
pro Xpto
da mihi potum

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