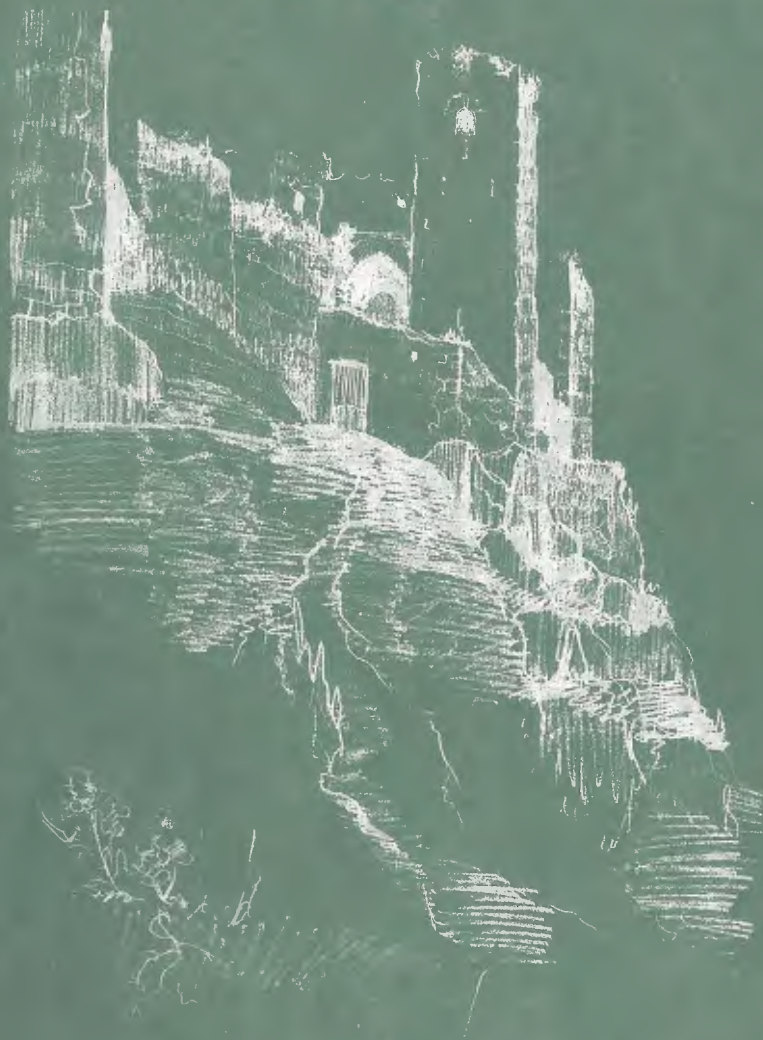


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**THE GROVE
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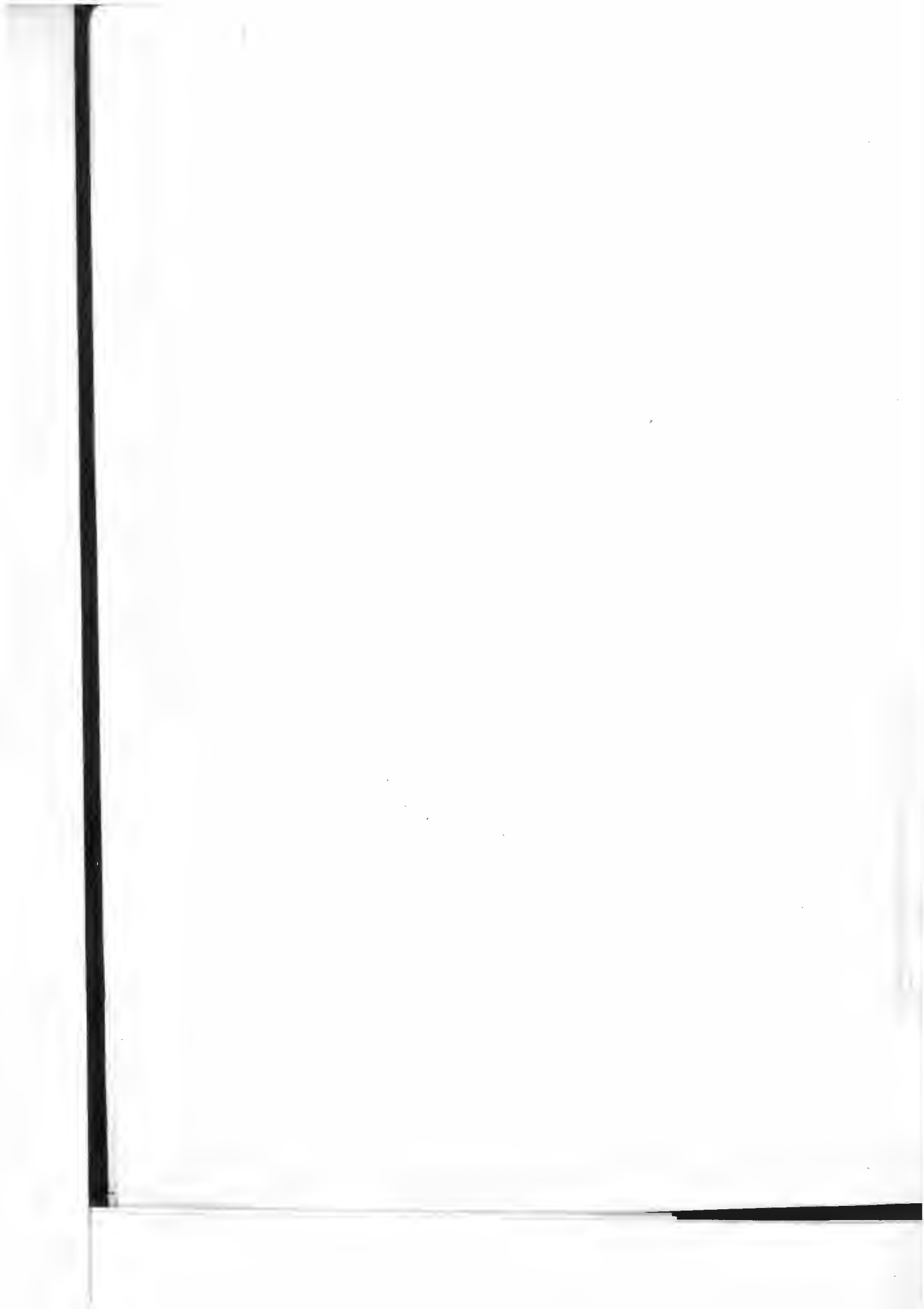
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FOREWORD

Hwaet!

It was in 1997 that the *The Grove* first decided to publish a special issue. On that occasion, the volume was conceived as a loving tribute to a former professor, recently deceased, of the Departamento de Filología Inglesa of the University of Jaén. Fortunately, a totally different motive lies behind the present monographic issue.

From 9 to 11 October 2000, the Spanish Society for Mediaeval English Language and Literature (SELIM) celebrated its 13th conference at the University of Jaén. The origins of SELIM were deeply rooted in Andalucía, but since its second meeting at the University of Córdoba (1989), the Society had not convened again in any Andalusian University. The Conference in Jaén was, therefore, emblematic and this yet in another sense. The year 2000 marked the end of the second millennium and we felt the necessity of celebrating the writings of Chaucer or the *Gawain*-poet at the very end of those thousand years we have shared with them. For those who met in the *13th International SELIM Conference*, there was an air of nostalgia, of very pleasant sadness, mixed with the certainty and confidence that Medieval Studies will also have their place in the philological world of the third millennium; and so it was emphasized in the title of the conference: "Continuity and Innovation".

The number of participants as well as the massive attendance on the part of students further confirmed this assumption.

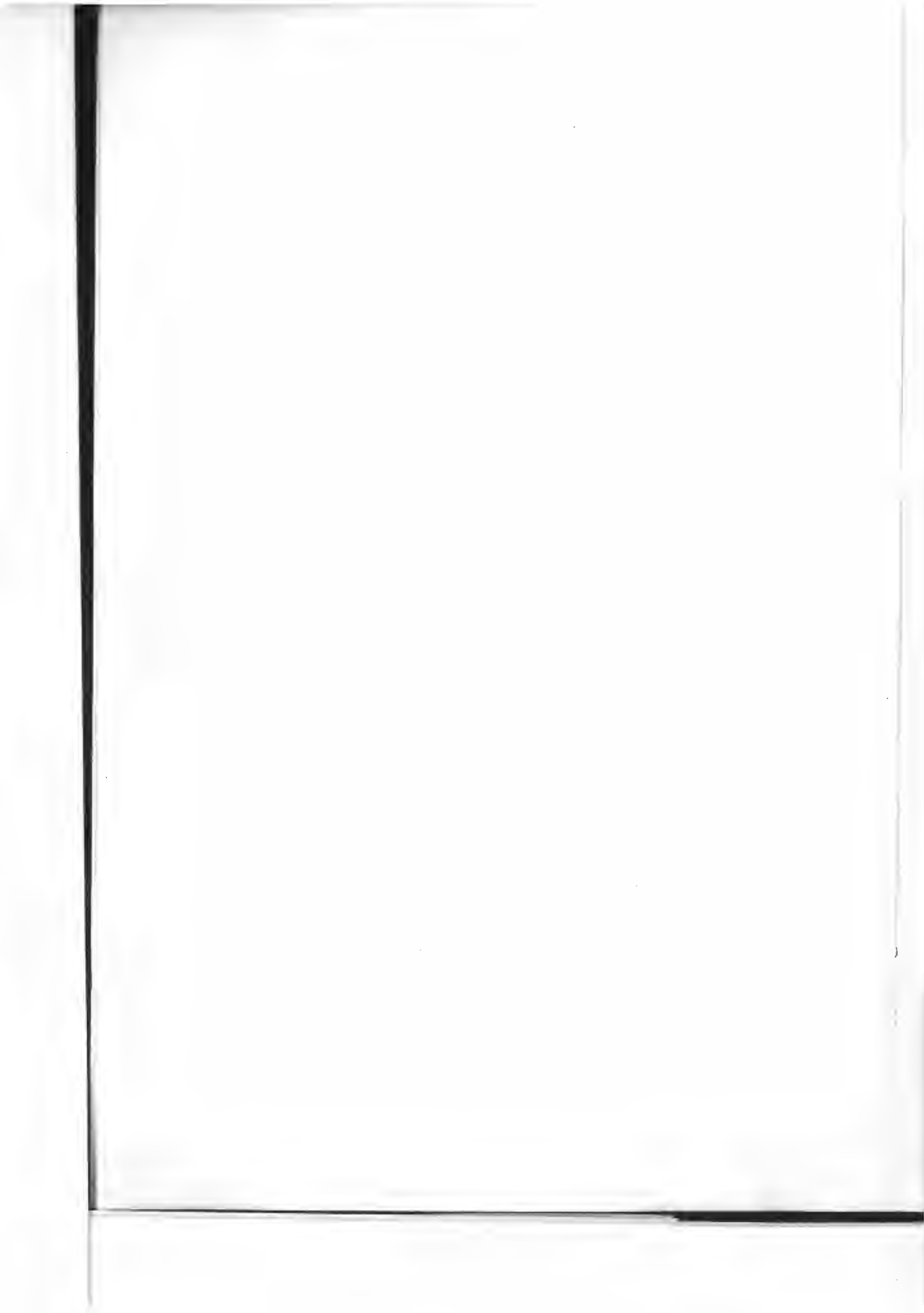
This volume includes some of the most relevant contributions presented at the Conference after due editing. We feel very proud to include papers by two of the most influential scholars in the world of

Medieval Philology nowadays, Prof Jane Roberts (King's College of London) and Prof Fred C. Robinson (Yale University). Their readiness in accepting our invitation to attend our Conference and in submitting their contributions attests to their kindness and generosity. This is the first time a selection of papers –and not simply a book of proceedings including most of the papers submitted– follows a SELIM conference. This is a decision agreed on at the last general meeting of the Society, in an attempt to stimulate and improve (if necessary) the academic quality of the publications that bear the name of this society. In any event, we are grateful for the effort of all those who have sent us their papers. We are aware of the fact that any process of selection is always a delicate matter and involves some degree of personal judgement and, maybe as Tolkien would say, a question of taste. Our selection has taken long (may be too long), since it has been difficult and, if we may say so, painful.

We would finally like to express our gratitude to the Departamento de Filología Inglesa and the Facultad de Humanidades y Ciencias de la Educacion of the University of Jaén, the Ayuntamiento and the Diputación Provincial for proving such excellent hosts, who *served us with vitaille at the beste; Strong was the wyn, and wel to drynke us leste*. Heartfelt thanks too to Prof. Santiago González Fernández-Corugedo, President of SELIM, for his constant support and advice.

The Editors.

PART 1: LANGUAGE



RENDERINGS OF *WULF AND EADWACER* REVISITED

Jorge Luis Bueno Alonso
Universidad de Vigo

Abstract

The main aim of this article is to discuss a few solutions to the problems that arise when translating Anglo-Saxon verse to a contemporary language and culture, by means of a simple and practical comparative method used in many cases when it comes to analyse renderings. We take as a practical example an emblematic Old English text noted for its difficulty at all levels: Wulf and Eadwacer. After briefly describing the characteristics of the Old English source text, we shall proceed to examine—in more detail—the problems that the text raises at a Poetic Translation level, and in what way they have been solved in eight contemporary renderings in two different target languages (TL): six in English and two in Spanish. After the comparative analysis of the texts and their ritualistic variations, we will collate all the given problems and solutions—as a sort of taxonomic revision—and offer some conclusions which validate the most appropriate operations for the building of a suitable rendering of Wulf and Eadwacer.

1. Preliminary Words.

One of the most interesting aspects of philological studies on translation is that dealing with its poetic perspective. This outlook has always aimed at solving the question "Can we really translate Poetry?". In such a structured and semantically diverse linguistic environment,

we may wonder to what extent it is possible to translate, adapt, transfer or render the elements of a poetic text X –written in a poetic language X'– to another poetic text Y –written in its poetic language Y'–. In this process, which critics have called *Poetic Translation*, there are as many problems as solutions to those problems. Thus, the final results must necessarily be multifarious. If the poem whose *Weltanschauung* or “philosophy of life” we want to render belongs to a period so remote from present times as the Anglo-Saxon age, problems and solutions increase.

Our aim with this article is to discuss a few solutions to the problems presented by translating Anglo-Saxon verse to a given contemporary language and culture, by means of a simple and practical comparative method¹ used in many cases when it comes to analyse renderings.² We have taken as a practical example an emblematic Old English text noted for its difficulty at all levels: *Wulf and Eadwacer*. After a brief description of the characteristics of the Old English source text, we shall proceed to examine –in more detail– the problems that are raised by the text at a *Poetic Translation* level, and in what way they have been solved in eight contemporary renderings in two different target languages (TL): six in English, namely Hamer (1970:85), Alexander (1991:62), Giles (1981:408), Bradley (1982:366), Crossley-Holland (1984:58) and Rodrigues (1993:106)³, and two in Spanish: Bravo (1984:18) and Lerate & Lerate (1986:168).

After a comparative analysis of the texts and their ritualistic variations, we will collate all the given problems and solutions –as a sort of taxonomic revision– and offer some conclusions which validate the most appropriate operations for the building of a suitable rendering of *Wulf and Eadwacer*.

¹ The comparative method has been defended by specialised critics as one of the most accurate procedures to evaluate renderings and discuss translation strategies; see Santoyo (1995), Valero (1995), and Chamosa (1997).

² García & González (1991) offer a good practical example of the comparative method applied to the analysis of poetic translations. With respect to Old English poetry, Campos (1989, 1993, and 1996) has studied and evaluated translation techniques. Raffel (1983) and Rodrigues (1994b and 1995) –a translator himself– have also offered different reflections on how to translate Anglo-Saxon verse.

³ This rendering was reprinted in Rodrigues (1994:61).

2. The Source Text.

Following a literary anthropological classification, the text presents important features at three levels. From a non-verbal point of view, *Wulf and Eadwacer* shows the following features:

- Dramatic tension, caused by the cyclic temporal asymmetry of the text.
- Existence of a prevailing non-verbal feature: the psychological realism.
- Double time/space perspective.

From a symbolic point of view, the poem presents relevant features in every single symbolic system, and as far as the conceptual level is concerned, the parameters responsible for the building of the poem's *weltanschauung* are three: psychology, space/time, and ecology. It is very difficult to offer a brief summary of the complex content of these three levels, but it is evident that a translation of *Wulf and Eadwacer* will be accurate if it is able to render the ST's poetic rituals, symbols and conceptions of the world, to any given TL, two in our case. We offer here eight different ways of rendering the contents of *Wulf and Eadwacer*, and it is our aim in this article to examine how that task has been accomplished. We will focus on the text and its renderings, on its different thematic nuclei, examining how they have been rendered into English and Spanish.

3. Variation in the TL Renderings.

3.1. Let's, then, proceed to confront all the renderings with the Anglo-Saxon text line by line in a parallel table.⁴ Afterwards, as a result of this collation, we will comment on the most relevant points with some detail.⁵

⁴ For an accurate identification of each rendering in the table we have labelled every rendered line with the translator's initials as they appear in the list above.

⁵ The full text of the renderings is offered in Section 5.

OLD ENGLISH TEXT	RENDERINGS ⁶
<p>LINE 1</p> <p><i>Leodum is minum swylce him mon lac gife;</i></p>	<p>It is as though my people had been given/A present (H)</p> <p>The men of my tribe would treat him as game (A)</p> <p>It is to my people as if one gave them a gift (G)</p> <p>To my people it is as though one might present them with a sacrifice (B)</p> <p>Prey, it's as if my people have been handed prey (CH)</p> <p>It is to my people as if one gave them a gift (R)</p> <p><i>Es para mi pueblo como si alguien les hubiera regalado un don</i> (Br)</p> <p><i>Tal que a mi gente de ofrenda lo dieran</i> (L)</p>
<p>LINE 2</p> <p><i>Willað hy hineþa ecgan, gif he on preat cymed.</i></p>	<p>They will wish to capture him/if he comes with a troop (H)</p> <p>If he comes to the camp they will kill him outright (A)</p> <p>They will receive him if he comes to their troop (G)</p> <p>They want to destroy him if he comes under subjugation (B)</p> <p>They'll tear him to pieces if he comes with a troop (CH)</p> <p>Will they receive him, if he comes as a threat? (R)</p> <p><i>¿Podrán socorrerle si el se sintiera en peligro?</i> (Br)</p> <p><i>Recibirlo querrian si en aprieto llegara</i> (L)</p>
<p>LINE 3</p> <p><i>Ungelic is us.</i></p>	<p>We are apart (H) (CH)</p> <p>Our fate is forked (A)</p> <p>It is different with us (G)</p> <p>A difference exists between us (B)</p> <p>Our lots are different (R)</p> <p><i>No será así entre nosotros</i> (Br)</p> <p><i>No igual con nosotros</i> (L)</p>
<p>LINE 4</p> <p><i>Wulf is on iege, ic on oþerre.</i></p>	<p>Wulf is on one isle, I am on another (H)</p> <p>Wulf is on one island, I on another (A) (CH)</p> <p>Wulf is on an island, I on another (G)</p> <p>Wulf is on one island, I am on another (B)</p>

⁶ The abbreviations used to indicate the translators are the following: (H) Hamer; (A) Alexander; (G) Giles; (B) Bradley; (CH) Crossley-Holland; (R) Rodrigues; (Br) Bravo; and (L) Lerate & Lerate.

	<p>Wulf is on one isle, I on another (R) <i>Wulf está en una isla, yo en otra</i> (Br) <i>Wulf en su isla en la otra yo</i> (L)</p>
<p>LINE 5</p> <p><i>Fæst is þæt eglond, fenne biworpen.</i></p>	<p>Fast is that island set among the fens (H) Mine is a fastness: the fens girdle it (A) Fast is that island, surrounded by a fen (G) That island is secure, surrounded by fen (B) A fastness that island, a fen-prison (CH) That isle is a fortress, encircled by fens (R) <i>Fortificada está aquella roca, de fangales rodeada</i> (Br) <i>Segura es aquella fangales la cercan</i> (L)</p>
<p>LINE 6</p> <p><i>Sindon wætreowe weras þær on ige;</i></p>	<p>Murderous are the people who inhabit/That island (H) And it is defended by the fiercest men (A) There are cruel men there on the island (G) There are deadly cruel men on the island (B) Fierce men roam there, on that island (CH) Bloodthirsty men there are on the island (R) (Br) does not translate this line. <i>Hay hombres crueles allá en la isla</i> (L)</p>
<p>LINE 7</p> <p><i>Willað hy hine aþecgan, gif he on þreat cymed.</i></p>	<p>Same renderings as above, exception made of Alexander: If he comes to the camp they will kill him for sure (A)</p>
<p>LINE 8</p> <p><i>Ungelice is us.</i></p>	<p>Same renderings as above</p>
<p>LINE 9</p> <p><i>Wulfes ic mines widlastum wenum dogode;</i></p>	<p>Grieved have I for my Wulf with distant longings (H) thinking of my Wulf's far wanderings (A) I suffered far-wandering hope of my Wulf (G) In hopes I have endured the remoteness of the footsteps of my Wulf (B) How I have grieved for my Wulf's wide wanderings (CH) My Wulf's far-wanderings I suffered, hopeful (R) <i>Yo esperaba por mi Wulf con el mismo deseo que el de los caminantes</i> (Br) <i>De mi Wulf padeci añoranzas largas</i> (L)</p>

<p>LINE 10</p> <p><i>þonne hit wæs renig weder ond ic reotugu sæt,</i></p>	<p>Then it was rainy weather, and I sad (H) It was rainy weather, and I wept by the hearth (A) When it was rainy weather and I sat mourning (G) When it was rainy weather and I sat weeping (B) When rain slapped the earth and I sat apart weeping (CH) When the weather was rainy and I weeping sat (R) <i>cuando lluvioso era el tiempo y me sentaba compungida (Br)</i> <i>Cuando lluvia caía y llorosa estaba (L)</i></p>
<p>LINE 11</p> <p><i>þonne mec se beaducafa bogum bilegde,</i></p>	<p>When the bold warrior laid his arms around me (H) One of the captains caught me in his arms (A) When the warlike man wrapped me in his arms (G) When the intrepid warrior pinioned me in his arms (B) When the bold warrior wrapped his arms around me (CH) When the brave warrior wound his arms around me (R) <i>Cuando el arrogante guerrero me estrechaba entre sus brazos (Br)</i> <i>en sus brazos entonces me tomó el guerrero (L)</i></p>
<p>LINE 12</p> <p><i>wæs me wyn to þon, wæs me hwæpre eac lað.</i></p>	<p>I took delight in that and also pain (H) It gladdened me then; but it grieved me too (A) That was joy to me, but that was also pain to me (G) There was pleasure for me in that, but it was loathsome to me too (B) I seethed with desire and yet with such hatred (CH) There was delight in it, yet also disgust (R) <i>era un placer para mi, mas también era un dolor (Br)</i> <i>Yo aquello gocé lo que odioso fue me (L)</i></p>
<p>LINE 13</p> <p><i>Wulf, min Wulf, wena me þine</i></p>	<p>O Wulf, my Wulf, my longing for your coming (H) Wulf, my Wulf, it was wanting you (A) Wulf, my Wulf, hopes of thee (G) Wulf, my Wulf! My hopes in you (B)</p>

	<p>Wulf, my Wulf, my yearning for you (CH) Wulf, my Wulf, my yearnings for thee (R) <i>Wulf, mi Wulf, mis deseos por ti</i> (Br) <i>¡Oh, Wulf, mi Wulf! La añoranza de ti</i> (L)</p>
<p>LINE 14</p> <p><i>seoce gedydon, pine seldcymas,</i></p>	<p>Has made me ill, the rareness of your visits (H) That made me sick, your seldom coming (A) Made me ill, thy rare visits (G) Have made me sick, the rareness of your visits (B) And your seldom coming have caused my sickness (CH) Have made me sick, thy seldom coming (R) <i>me han hecho enfermar; es tu ausencia</i> (Br) <i>mi dolencia me trajo el que tú nunca vengas</i> (L)</p>
<p>LINE 15</p> <p><i>murnende mod, nales meteliste.</i></p>	<p>My grieving spirit, not the lack of food (H) The hollowness at heart, not the hunger I spoke of (A) My grieving heart, and not want of food (G) My grieving mind; not want of food (B) My mourning heart, not mere starvation (CH) My woeful mood, not want of food (R) <i>y no el deseo de comida lo que hace gemir mi corazón</i> (Br) <i>el pesar de mi pecho no la poca comida</i> (L)</p>
<p>LINE 16</p> <p><i>Gehyrest þu, Eadwacer?</i></p>	<p>Eadwacer, do you hear me? (H) Do you hear, Eadwacer? (A) Hearest thou, Property-watcher? (G) Are you listening, Eadwacer? (B) Can you hear, Eadwacer? (CH) Hearest thou, Eadwacer? (R) <i>¿Me oyes tú, Eadwacer?</i> (Br) <i>¿Me oyes Eadwacer?</i> (L)</p>
<p>LINE 17 & 18</p> <p><i>bireð wulf to wuda. Uncerne earne hwelp</i></p>	<p>For a wolf /shall carry to the woods our wretched whelp (H) Our whelp/Wulf shall take to the wood (A) Our wretched whelp/The wolf bears to the woods (G) Our wretched whelp Wulf will carry off to the wood (B) Wulf will spirit/our pitiful whelp to the woods (CH) Our wretched whelp/Wulf shall carry off to the wood (R)</p>

	<i>A nuestro desgraciado cachorro/Wulf se lo llevará al bosque (Br)</i> <i>Nuestro pobre cachorro/al bosque Wulf lo lleva (L)</i>
LINE 19 <i>þæt mon eaþe toslited þætte næfre gesomnad wæs,</i>	Men very easily put asunder/That which was never joined (H) What was never bound is broken easily (A) One may easily sunder that which was never joined (G) One easily divorces what was never united (B) Men easily savage what was never secure (CH) One easily sunders what never was joined (R) <i>Se puede separar fácilmente lo que nunca estuvo unido (Br)</i> <i>¡Fácil se rompe lo nunca unido (L)</i>
LINE 20 <i>Uncer giedd geador.</i>	Our song together (H) (A) (G) (CH) (R) The riddle of us two together (B) <i>nuestra propia canción (Br)</i> <i>nuestro canto de ambos! (L)</i>

3.2. Line 1: *Leodum is minum swylce him mon lac gife;*

The first interesting problem appears in the very first line, and it lies in two translation units, *leodum* and *lac*. All the renderings coincide in translating the former as "people", exception made of Alexander, who widens the content with "men of my tribe". As we shall see, this mechanism will characterise his translating strategy. We do not see the reason for such semantic enlargement, and "people" seems to be the most suitable term. The interpretation of *lac*⁷ is more problematic. Two semantic fields are chosen: the first one refers to presents –"present", "gift", "game" even–, while the second one refers to a more negative concept –"prey", "sacrifice"–. Both meanings are well documented in OE. However we consider the first semantic field to be more accurate, more frequently used in the poem's thematic context –we are surprised

⁷ For OE lexical definitions we will be quoting the meanings gathered in Bosworth & Toller (1972), and Sweet (1967).

by “game”, though—. As regards the use of the negative terms, we think “prey” suits badly here because its meaning is not connected with the general sense of the poem. Its being repeated at the beginning and at the end of the line could be very poetic in English but it strays away from the poetic tone of the OE text. In Spanish both words follow the most accurate trend, that is “*pueblo, gente*” and “*don, ofrenda*”. Apart from these semantic matters, we find some variation as regards syntax and verbal tenses, which, in our opinion, presents no problem.

3.3. Line 2: *Willað hy hine aþecgan, gif he onb þreat cymeð.*

There are two very interesting lexical units in the twice-repeated second line, *aþecgan* and *þreat*. The problem lies in the semantic ambiguity of both terms, and, again, we find two trends. In *aþecgan*, bearing in mind that all the words used belong to the same semantic field, we witness a sort of gradation, softer in “receive” and “capture”, and harder in “destroy”, “kill”, and “tear him to pieces”. If one is coherent with the interpretative trend selected –soft or hard– all throughout the text, both trends are correct and gather the poem’s meaning. Crossley-Holland’s expansive-periphrastic technique is a bit excessive, though. In the case of *þreat*, although from our point of view the meaning is very clear –and we agree with the psychological semantic field of “fear” used by Rodrigues, Bravo and Lerate & Lerate, “threat”, “*peligro*”, “*aprieto*”–, we are surprised at the amount of variation and by a very clear departure from the basic meaning of the term. The most frequently used term – “troop”, (CH), (G) & (H)– and the rather lavish cases of “camp” and “subjugation”, are very difficult to use in the context of this poem. Due to the fact that these translations do not provide the reader with an explanatory footnote apparatus, it is virtually impossible to know why such terms have been used. They are meaningful in other contexts, but we are not able to account for their being used here. In the Spanish texts, exception made of “*socorrerle*” –which could be included in the softer trend of “receive”–, both renderings are very suitable. This line is repeated afterwards with the same words used here.

3.4. Line 3: *Ungelic is us.*

It is perhaps in line 3 that we find the greatest semantic branching off from the OE text. We believe that the adjective *ungelic* –and *ungelice* afterwards– means “different”, or “difference” if one wishes to change the category for poetic reasons. Hence, we agree with the renderings that follow this path –G, B, R. Br & L–. We think Giles’ rendering is the most accurate, although Rodrigues’ is poetically clever; in Spanish, Lerate & Lerate’s line is very accurate and poetic, with the alliterative *litotes* “*no igual*”. However, we do not understand “we are apart” and the unjustified preposterousness of “our fate is forked”, a formally poetic alliterative line whose meaning, we think, cannot be drawn from the OE text.⁸ In this line the translators have been over-creative.

3.5. Line 5: *Fæst is þæt eglond, fenne biworpen.*

As the fourth line presents no problems and the variants are irrelevant, let’s discuss the fifth line, where the problem lies in *fæst* and *biworpen*. *Fæst* offers no difficulties as regards meaning. Exception made of one categorial change in “fortress”, its meaning is kept in all the renderings – “fast, fastness, secure, *segura*, *fortificada*” –. Curiously enough, a shocking element appears in the pre-context of Alexander’s rendering – “Mine is a fastness” –, where the original mention of the island is hidden under the possessive. That is to say, Alexander believes that the secure fen-surrounded island is the one in which the narrative *Ic* stands, but the text indicates quite the contrary: *þæt eglond*, “that island”, “Wulf’s island”, not “*mine*”. All the renderings very accurately translate the distance feeling expressed by the female narrator in her using the demonstrative *þæt* in a very conscious deictic line. She establishes some sort of distance between herself and her beloved, and describes the sorrow she has to endure. Alexander’s text, just as his line 3, is a bit over-creative and subverts the poem’s original sense when there is no need to do so. *Biworpen* holds the basic meaning of “surrounded”, and it is maintained in all the renderings,

⁸ Neither in Bosworth & Toller (1972) nor in Sweet (1967) have we found lexical evidence whatsoever to justify these translations.

exception made of Crossley-Holand's, who, following his expansive-periphrastic trend, comes up with the compound "fen-prison", which, although it is a very poetic line, also evinces a considerable over-interpretation of the original OE text. The Spanish texts follow a very accurate drift, closer to the text in Bravo's case and more poetic in Lerate & Lerate's.

3.6. Line 6: *Sindon wæltreowe* *weras þær on ige;*

The sixth verse provides us with one single problem, the compound *wæltreowe weras*, which literally means "cruel men". However, this simple semantic problem is slightly complicated by excessive over-interpretation mixed with some syntactic rearrangement. Alexander is forced to translate this line inaccurately because he connects it with his previous misinterpretation of the "island" term, so he invents the verb "defended", when there is no such verb in the original poem, and uses the adjective "fierce" in its superlative form – "fiercest men" – when it is not so in the text. Crossley-Holland also invents the verb "roam", although this trend works better than Alexander's as it keeps the correct contextual/deictical references. These references are also kept in the remaining renderings, where we find terms semantically related to "cruel" by means of soft – "cruel, fierce, cruellest" – and hard – "bloodthirsty, murderous, deadly cruel" – trends, the latter being more excessive for the poem's context than the former. Due to their correct rendering of both form and content, we prefer Giles' and Lerate & Lerate's texts. Bravo's text does not render this line.⁹

3.7 Line 9: *Wulfes ic mines widlastum* *wenum dogode;*

This line presents some problems concerning the verb *dogode*, which we have already explained in a previous article:

⁹ In personal communication from the translator himself, I have been informed that such an omission is presumably an editor's *erratum*.

I admit the MS *hapax legomenon* 'dogode' and reject the amendment to 'hogode' just as most critics do [...]. For different reasons, I think it would be rare, although there are a few critics who keep on doubting this without offering an alternative solution [...]. However, most of those who accept "dogode" translate it as 'pursued, followed', or even keep the translation of the amendment and melt both terms, rendering it as 'thought about' – which would be the translation for 'hogode' – but keeping 'dogode' in their editions. I understand the verb as 'suffered' (just as Giles or Hamer who translate 'grieved'), this meaning being supported by Bosworth & Toller (1972:206): 'dogian; *p. ode, pp. od, To bear, suffer; Ic dogode I suffered*, Exon 100b; Th. 380, 17; Rā, 1, 9. (Bueno, 2000:69-70)

That is why we prefer those renderings that not only respect what we have stated as regards "dogode", but also keep the presence of *wenum* –erased and reformulated in A, B, CH, R– and its modifier *widlastum*. Such renderings are Giles', Hamer's and Lerate & Lerate's. Bradley's and Bravo's texts are not so accurate due to their being prosaic and expansive.

3.8. Line 10: *þonne hit wæs renig weder ond ic reotugu sæt,*

After suffering some minor acceptable changes in a poetic text, the following line presents a first part that has been rendered perfectly in all versions, exception made of Crossley-Holland's excessively expansive text. Again, the task that was correctly done in the first half-line is not fulfilled in the second, and the line is badly finished. It is most surprising that such an easily understandable sentence as *ic reotugu sæt* has been rendered with terms as astonishing as "I sad" (H) or "I wept by the hearth" (A). If these renderings have been used following any particular reason, the translators should have explained it in a footnote. Without such an explanation, neither version can be defended. An interesting fact is the exclusion of "sat" in Hamer's version, because he is removing a nice connection between psychology and kinetics that should be kept, as this fact relates *Wulf & Eadwacer* to other texts belonging to the same elegiac poetic discourse.

3.9. Line 11: *þonne mec se beaducafa bogum bilegde,*

The next line offers few problems. The meaning of *beaducafa* is very clear, so the only thing we find in the different renderings are acceptable synonymical variations based on the structure “Adj + warrior”; Giles’ option –“warlike man”– is equally fine. One might prefer one adjective to another –indeed, we prefer “bold/brave”–, but all the renderings translate the line very accurately, exception made of Alexander’s, who exceedingly alters the structure, using a barely justifiable word –“captain”–, erasing “when” and modifying the meaning of the whole line in excess. Even the second half-line “caught me in his arms” goes too far away from the original *bogum bilegde*, a line that is better rendered by the rest of the translators, although several over-interpretations –“wrapped” (G, CH) and “pinioned” (B)– are also found. We prefer Hamer’s and Lerate & Lerate’s texts for they more accurate and straightforward.

3.10. Line 12: *wæs me wyn to þon, wæs me hwæpre eac la .*

In the next line, due to its complexity, one can find a great deal of formal variation. There are morphological changes, effacings, rewritings of both half-lines, but all this leads to a very good final result. The key terms may very well be *wyn* and *la* . The most accurate renderings for the former are “joy”, “pleasure” and “delight”; we consider that Crossley-Holland’s and Alexander’s verbalised versions are problematic, and we find that Crossley-Holland’s phrase –“seethed with desire”– is exceedingly periphrastic and over-interpretive. The most appropriate version for the latter could be “pain” –H & G–, and again we find the verbalisations offered by A, B & CH somewhat excessive. The best version, in our opinion, is Giles’, since he respects the meaning and structure of the original lines. Both Spanish renderings are quite appropriate, although we prefer Lerate & Lerate’s text due to the rhythmical pattern used.

3.11. Line 13: *Wulf, min Wulf, wena me þine*

This line offers no problems of interpretation. That is why it shows

a great deal of synonymic variation.¹⁰ All the renderings are very properly executed, exception made of Hamer's and Alexander's texts, which, again, are a bit expansive.

3.12 Lines 14 and 15: *seoce gedydon, pine seldcymas, // murnende mod, nales meteliste.*

The next two lines raise the same sort of semantic problems, namely, *easy interpretation* versus *excessive synonymic variation*. The controversial terms are *seldcymas*, *seoce* –line 14–, *murnende mod* & *meteliste* –line 15–. The former are very accurately rendered, although we prefer “your seldom coming” and “sick” due to their greater connection with the original terms; both Spanish versions are equally effective. For *murnende mod* all the renderings are semantically admissible, exception made –in our opinion– of Alexander's “hollowness”, which does not properly transfer the meaning of *murnende*; in Spanish we prefer Lerate & Lerate's text, as it also manages to attain a beautiful alliterative line. As for *meteliste*, all the “not lack/want of food” lines are the best renderings of the OE line; again, Crossley-Holland makes an excessive interpretation with “starvation” and Alexander includes a rather inappropriate amendment –“hunger I spoke of”–.

3.13. Line 16: *Gehyrest þu, Eadwacer?*

Line 16 stirs up only one question: either to keep the proper noun or to translate its meaning. We think that the best strategy is to keep *Eadwacer* as it appears in the OE text. Giles' solution –“Property-Watcher”–, although it is a highly debatable interpretation in our opinion, has been very properly upheld by the translator himself in the article in which the rendering appears.¹¹ There is a great deal of variation in *gehyrest*,

¹⁰ Bosworth & Toller (1972, s.v.) translate this statement with a slightly over-interpretative phrase: “The unsatisfied hopes of seeing thee”.

¹¹ Bosworth & Toller (1972, s.v.) also translate this term as “A watchman of property”, relating it to the Latin expression “*bonorum custos*”.

although all the texts are very accurate and follow the general tone of the translations in which they are inserted.

3.14. Lines 17 and 18: / *Uncerne earne hwelp // bireð wulf to wuda.*

In these two lines, despite the high degree of variation found in *earne hwelp* and *bireð*, all the texts render the sense of both terms quite correctly: “wretched help” for the former and variations of “carry” (“bear”, “take”) with different tense usage for the latter. Once more, the only lexical option that is hardly defensible is Crossley-Holland’s “spirit”. The interesting item in line 17 is *wulf*, because we have two possible translation strategies to follow. It is evident that Wulf, the character, is hidden under *wulf*, and the critics have shown almost total agreement in this identification. So, if we want to unveil the question to the reader, we can translate it as “Wolf”, but if we want to keep the subtle poetic game, we should translate it as “wolf” or “lobo”. We believe that the original text raises a conscious poetic game when blending the character’s real name with the meaning of his name, which is why we prefer to translate it as “wolf”, although the unveiling of the real “*Wulf*” has to be considered as a valid strategy. The rendering that best solves all these problems is Giles’ text, in our opinion.

3.15. Line 19: *þæt mon eape tosliteð þætte þæfre gesomnad wæs,*

This only offers synonymic variations for *tosliteð* and *gesomnad*. We think that the most accurate renderings are those lines translating “put asunder/sunder” for the former and “joined” for the latter. We have to point out again the excessive interpretation found in Crossley-Holland’s “savage”. The interesting question here lies on how to translate the word *mon*, either “Man” or with the indefinite “one”.¹² We prefer the second

¹² As regards the problems raised by *mon/man*, we have very recently attended two most interesting papers presented by Linda van Bergen (“More on *man*”) & Bettelou Los (“How the indefinite pronoun *man/men* ‘one’ came to be lost in ME”) in the sessions of the 11th International Conference on English Historical Linguistics, held at the University of Santiago de Compostela, 7-11 September 2000. Recently published considerations on the same topic can be found in van Bergen (2000).

one and choose Giles' text as the most accurate. The Spanish impersonal option offers a very good solution. Once more, Lerate & Lerate's line is the most poetic one.

3.16. Line 20: *Uncer giedd geador*.

The last line is clearly evident, and all the translators render it in the most accurate way: "Our song together". Being the only prose translation, Bradley's text is the most expansive, and his translation of *giedd* as "riddle" is a highly disputable semantic option to be used given the line's context. To conclude, we must say that both Spanish texts are equally accurate.

4. Final Remarks

It is now time to determine whether the renderings that we have examined have or have not transferred accurately the content of X into Y. As González Fernández-Corugedo (1990:226) stated a decade ago, "Have the translators managed to render text X from a given source language A to a given target language B?". In our own words, is text XB a mirror image of XA? Have we obtained new texts that have succeeded in transferring the poetic form, the thematic background, etc., found in the original source text? Have the translators transferred –as we stated at the beginning of this article– the poetic rituals, the symbols and the *weltanschauung* of the ST, written in its SL? The only logical answer is that it depends on the text. As we have seen, some renderings have achieved the aforementioned assumptions better than others.

If we consider all the texts in an overall picture, Giles' and Hamer's are the ones that have shown a higher degree of success in achieving the aims we have previously described. Both renderings have created new poetic texts that faithfully render the contents of the OE poem at all levels. The next rendering in a scale of accuracy is Rodrigues' translation, which is less perfect than the other two as it presents a high deal of rewriting. Finally, the texts presented by Alexander, Bradley and Crossley-Holland have many problems in transferring the content of the OE

text. Although it is in prose, Bradley's text could have presented a more poetic prose. His metatext is exceedingly prosaic, and his way of solving some problems deviates excessively from the content of the OE text, so much so that a great part of the original sense is lost. In our opinion, Bradley fails to create a new Y reflection of X. We think that Alexander and Crossley-Holland commit the same mistake: to rewrite a new Y text trying to improve what the poet has done, correcting his lines with new ones. Alexander's rendering almost borders the limits of interpretation and Crossley-Holland's goes widely beyond them, offering clear over-interpretations in some cases. They are both examples of translators who do not translate; as if they were the *W&E* poet, they create new texts in which there are no traces whatsoever of the original text, only blurred connections being found sometimes. However, these strategies are perfectly admissible,¹³ but the result is neither a rendering nor a metapoem; they are but new poems inspired by an ST, which hardly translate it.

In Spanish, both texts have managed to achieve the aims mentioned above. From our point of view, Lerate & Lerate's rendering achieves them more brilliantly. Bravo's metatext subordinates the content to the poetic form, but that is a perfectly defensible strategy, which has always characterised Bravo's way of translating; see Bravo (1983). However, Lerate & Lerate's text is an organic metapoem that creates a poetic structure very close to the original structure of the rendered poem. The text offers a brilliant poetic refitting of form and content, and in some cases it is more perfectly done than in certain English attempts. Regarding this, we follow Garcia Yebra's (1983:139) old aphorism: "*vale más una*

¹³ One of the most famous examples of this strategy is Ezra Pound's version of *The Seafarer*. To what extent can we identify that text as an accurate translation? In his text he clearly reflected, as Jorge Luis Borges (1985) said, "*las formas inasibles y no el fondo*". Michael Alexander's view of Pound's task (1979:78-79) is also worth quoting here: "As a translation [Pound's text] is brilliant, stimulating, inaccurate, misleadingly heathen and at times rather loud. As an interpretation it is radical and heterodox, though not indefensible. As a model to translators it needs to be handled with care, except by translators of comparable gifts. But as an adaptation and as a poetic performance it is the work of a genius". It is clear that Pound's text could be considered a wonderful adaptation/interpretation, but not a translation. His task is defensible because his aim was perfectly framed and described. He is a poet trying to reproduce what a different poet has done. As Fernando Galván (1992:75) pointed out: "His purpose was to repeat the experience of the original poem and to produce in his contemporary audience similar effects to those of the earlier period".

buena traducción en prosa que una mala traducción en verso, pero una buena traducción en verso vale más que una buena traducción en prosa". And the meaning of "*buena traducción*" should be understood just as we explained in the first lines of this article: Y text that manages to transfer X text at all levels. And if in the rendering we could abide by the formal requirements of poetry, so much the better.¹⁴

If we answer the question posed at the beginning of this article—Can we really translate poetry?—, our response echoes what many others have stated before: we can, and we should, but not at any price. We continue defending the creation of translations that render the rituals, the symbols and the conceptions of the world found in the source texts; and, to carry out that rendering process, we must be aware of what we are doing, of what we are rendering and in what way we are accomplishing such a task. We have, to sum the question up, to know the starting point and the path we tread on.

¹⁴ Toda's prose translation of Barbour's *Bruce* (1998) is a very interesting case. Although his prose translation is very good, he includes as an appendix only two extracts from the *Bruce* translated in poetic form, which are much better than the prose translation. Toda's first intention (1992:161-165; 1993) was to keep the prose translation and include several major passages in verse, not just two. Although he explains why he considered it more convenient to produce a full prose translation, it is surprising that he did not attempt a poetic rendering of the whole text—or at least, of more passages—, especially after proving his great ability to do so. Something of the kind happens with a very recent and superb poetic translation of *Sir Gawain at the Green Knight* into Asturian—Ealo & Arias (2000)—, which, as far as we know, is the first verse translation published in Spain that aims at reproducing the formal structure of Middle English alliterative verse. The task accomplished by Ealo & Arias produced better results than the prose translation by Torres (1982). A few years ago, one of the translators—see Ealo (1997)—exposed some of his translation strategies for medieval verse, and included some samples of a future Spanish verse translation which shows again more accuracy than prose translations.

6. Full texts

Anglo-Saxon Text (Krapp & Dobbie 1936)	
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>Leodum is minum swylce him mon lac gife;</i> 2. <i>willað hy hine aþecgan, gif he on þreat cymed.</i> 3. <i>Ungelic is us.</i> 4. <i>Wulf is on iege, ic on oþerre.</i> 5. <i>Fæst is þæt eglond, fenne biworpen.</i> 6. <i>Sindon wæltreowe weras þær on ige;</i> 7. <i>willað hy hine aþecgan, gif he on reat cymed.</i> 8. <i>Ungelice is us.</i> 9. <i>Wulfes ic mines widlastum wenum dogode;</i> 10. <i>þonne hit wæs renig weder ond ic reotugu sæt,</i> 11. <i>þonne mec se beaducafa bogum bilegde,</i> 12. <i>wæs me uyn to þon, wæs me hwæpre eac lað.</i> 13. <i>Wulf, min Wulf, wena me ðine</i> 14. <i>seoce gedýdon, ðine seldcymas,</i> 15. <i>murnende mod, nales meteliste.</i> 16. <i>Gehyrest þu, Eadwacer? Ucerne earne hwelp</i> 17. <i>bired wulf to wuda.</i> 18. <i>þæt mon eape toslited þætte þæfre gesomnad wæs,</i> 19. <i>uncer giedd geador.</i> 	
Hamer 1970	Alexander 1971
<p>It is as though my people had been given A present. They will wish to capture him If he comes with a troop. We are apart. Wulf is on one isle, I am on another. Fast is that island set among the fens. Murderous are the people who inhabit That island. They will wish to capture him If he comes with a troop. We are apart. Grieved have I for my Wulf with distant longings. Then was it rainy weather, and I sad, When the bold warrior laid his arms about me. I took delight in that and also pain. O Wulf, my Wulf, my longing for your coming Has made me ill, the rareness of your visits, My grieving spirit, not the lack of food. Eadwacer, do you hear me? For a wolf Shall carry to the woods our wretched whelp. Men very easily may put asunder That which was never joined, our song together.</p>	<p>The men of my tribe would treat him as game: if he comes to the camp they will kill him outright.</p> <p>Our fate is forked.</p> <p>Wulf is on one island, I on another. Mine is a fastness: the fens girdle it and it is defended by the fiercest men. If he comes to the camp they will kill him for sure.</p> <p>Our fate is forked.</p> <p>It was rainy weather, and I wept by the hearth, thinking of my Wulf's far wanderings; one of the captains caught me in his arms. It gladdened me then; but it grieved me too.</p> <p>Wulf, my Wulf, it was wanting you that made me sick, your seldom coming, the hollowness at heart; not the hunger I spoke of.</p> <p>Do you hear, Eadwacer; Our whelp Wulf shall take to the wood. What was never bound is broken easily, our song together.</p>

<p>Giles 1981</p> <p>It is to my people as if one gave them a gift; They will receive him if he comes to their troop.</p> <p>It is different with us.</p> <p>Wulf is on an island, I on another. Fast is that island, surrounded by a fen. There are cruel men there on the island; They will receive him if he comes to their troop.</p> <p>It is different with us.</p> <p>I suffered far-wandering hope of my Wulf, When it was rainy weather and I sat mourning; When the warlike man wrapped me in his arms, That was joy to me, but that was also pain to me.</p> <p>Wulf, my Wulf, hopes of thee Made me ill, thy rare visits, My grieving heart, and not want of food.</p> <p>Hearst thou, Property-watcher? Our wretched whelp The wolf bears to the woods. One may easily sunder that which was never joined, Our song together.</p>	<p>Bradley 1982</p> <p>To my people it is as though one might present them with a sacrifice: they want to destroy him if he comes under subjugation.</p> <p>A difference exists between us.</p> <p>Wulf is on one island; I am on another. That island is secure, surrounded by fen. There are deadly cruel men on the island; they want to destroy him if he comes under subjugation.</p> <p>A difference exists between us.</p> <p>In hopes I have endured the remoteness of the footsteps of my Wulf, when it was rainy weather and I sat weeping, and when the intrepid warrior pinioned me in his arms - there was pleasure for me in that, but it was loathsome to me too.</p> <p>Wulf, my Wulf! My hopes in you have made me sick, the rareness of your visits, my grieving mind; not want of food.</p> <p>Are you listening, Eadwacer? Our wretched whelp Wulf will carry off to the wood. One easily divorces what was never united - the riddle of us two together.</p>
<p>Crossley-Holland 1984</p> <p>Prey, it's as if my people have been handed prey. They'll tear him to pieces if he comes with a troop.</p> <p>O, we are apart.</p> <p>Wulf is on one island, I on another, a fastness that island, a fen-prison. Fierce men roam there, on that island; they'll tear him to pieces if he comes with a troop.</p> <p>O, we are apart.</p> <p>How I have grieved for my Wulf's wide wanderings. When rain slapped the earth and I sat apart weeping, when the bold warrior wrapped his arms about me,</p>	<p>Rodríguez 1993</p> <p>It is to my people as if one gave them a gift; will they receive him, if he comes as a threat?</p> <p>Our lots are different.</p> <p>Wulf is on one isle, I on another. That isle is a fortress, encircled by fens. Bloodthirsty men there are on the island. Will they receive him, if he comes as a threat?</p> <p>Our lots are different.</p> <p>My Wulf's far-wanderings I suffered, hopeful. When the weather was rainy and I weeping sat, when the brave warrior wound his arms around me, there was delight in it, yet also disgust. Wulf, my Wulf, my yearnings for thee have made me sick, thy seldom coming,</p>

<p>I seethed with desire and yet with such hatred. Wulf, my Wulf, my yearning for you and your seldom coming have caused my sickness, my mourning heart, not mere starvation. Can you hear Eadwacer? Wulf will spirit our pitiful whelp to the woods. Men easily savage what was never secure, our song together.</p>	<p>my woeful mood, not want of food. Hearest thou, Eadwacer? Our wretched whelp Wulf shall carry off to the wood. One easily sunders what never was joined: our song together.</p>
<p>Bravo 1984</p> <p><i>Es para mi pueblo como si alguien les hubiera regalado un don. ¿Podrán socorrerle si él se sintiera en peligro? No será así entre nosotros. Wulf está en una isla, yo en otra. Fortificada está aquella roca, de fangales rodeada. ¿Podrán socorrerle si él se sintiera en peligro? No será así entre nosotros. Yo esperaba por mi Wulf con el mismo deseo que el de los caminantes cuando lluvioso era el tiempo y me sentaba compungida. Cuando el arrogante guerrero me estrechaba entre sus brazos era un placer para mí, mas también era un dolor. Wulf, mi Wulf, mis deseos por ti me han hecho enfermar; es tu ausencia y no el deseo de comida lo que hace gemir mi corazón. ¿Me oyes, tú, Eadwacer? A nuestro desgraciado cachorro Wulf se lo llevará al bosque. Se puede fácilmente separar lo que nunca estuvo unido, nuestra propia canción.</i></p>	<p>Lerate & Lerate 1986</p> <p><i>Tal que a mi gente de ofrenda lo dieran. Recibirlo querrían si en aprieto llegara. No igual con nosotros.</i></p> <p><i>Wulf en su isla en la otra yo. Segura es aquella, fangales la cercan. Hay hombres crueles allá en la isla. Recibirlo querrían si en aprieto llegara. No igual con nosotros.</i></p> <p><i>De mi Wulf padecí añoranzas largas. Cuando lluvia caía y llorosa estaba, en sus brazos entonces me tomó el guerrero. Yo aquello gocé lo que odioso fue me. ¡Oh, Wulf, mi Wulf! La añoranza de ti mi dolencia me trajo, el que nunca tú vengas, el pesar de mi pecho, no la poca comida. ¿Me oyes, Eadwacer? Nuestro pobre cachorro al bosque Wulf se lo lleva. ¡Fácil se rompe lo nunca unido, nuestro canto de ambos!</i></p>

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THE DATING OF MIDDLE ENGLISH MANUSCRIPTS: THE CASE OF MS EGERTON 2622

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Abstract

Traditionally, the dating of Middle English manuscripts has turned out to be a very complicated task given the striking scarcity of information that manuscripts themselves display concerning their own chronological composition. Editors have made a great effort to provide their approximate date of composition, sometimes achieving a high level of proficiency. But, unfortunately, in some other cases, their hypotheses have proven to be highly unsuccessful, as in the case of MS. Egerton 2622 titled The Crafte of Nombrynge. Robert Steele undertook its edition for the EETS in 1922, assuming that it was a fifteenth century manuscript, written approximately in 1425. However, our own research, based on the morphological analysis of the text, offers convincing evidence to assume that Steele's dating is mistaken. In this article, therefore, we aim to provide a systematic description of all those morphological clues, which has finally led us to consider that it as a truly Middle English manuscript, ascertaining its composition earlier in time.

1. Introduction

As a matter of fact, most Middle English manuscripts often contain specific chronological data indicating the historical period in which they were written, as in the case of MS Harley 937, whose title *The Preface to a Calendar or Almanac for the Year 1430*, clearly suggests the moment of its composition; see Halliwell (1841:89-93). But, unfortunately, this

was not always the case in Middle English. In fact, most manuscripts lack any clue on their chronological composition. Editors, however, have made every effort to solve this intricacy by providing their approximate dating, sometimes achieving a very high level of proficiency. Let us mention, for instance, Wirtjes' edition of the Middle English *Phisiologus* where she comes to the conclusion that it was written approximately in 1300; see Wirtjes (1991:40). But, in some other cases, their hypotheses have proven to be highly unsuccessful, MS Egerton 2622 being a typical example of this type of anachronism.

MS Egerton 2622, among many other scientific texts, contains an anonymous arithmetical treatise titled *The Crafte of Nombrynge*. According to McIntosh *et al.* (1986:109), the text was written with the hand of a sole scribe in Derbyshire under the influence of the West Midlands dialect. This treatise, based on a previous work in Latin written by the French arithmetician Alexander de Villadieu, is a commented translation of the Latin source by means of which the English scribe explains how to carry out the basic arithmetical operations at that time, that is, addition, subtraction, doubling, halving, multiplication and division, though the latter is left unfinished.

The only existing edition of this manuscript is the one published by Robert Steele in 1922 within the EETS collection. In his edition, Steele compiles a set of arithmetical texts of the period which he published with the title of *The Earliest Arithmetics in English* (Steele, 1922). Among many others, *The Crafte of Nombrynge*, *The Art of Nombryng* (Ashmole 396), *A Treatise on the Numeration of Algorism* (Sloane 213 and Egerton 2852) and *Accomptynge by Counters* may be highlighted, the latter being an arithmetical treatise dealing with the use of the abacus in the period. In his introduction, Steele mistakenly asserts that both *The Crafte of Nombrynge* and *The Art of Nombryng* were written in the fifteenth century. Using his own words, "the two manuscripts here printed; Eg. 2622 f. 136 and Ashmole 396 f. 48. [...] All of these, as the language shows, are of the fifteenth century" (Steele, 1922:v).

What is even worse, however, is that this wrong hypothesis has been taken for granted by contemporary lexicography. Both *The Middle English*

Dictionary (Kurath & Kuhn, 1954-) and *OED2*, following Steele's (1922) suggestion, date its composition in the year 1425. Notice the etymological information afforded when looking up words like *digit* and *division* in those dictionaries since the editors of the *OED2*, for example, state that they were first attested in English in 1425 with the writing of *The Crafte of Nombrynge*.

Our own research, based on the morphological analysis of the text, offers convincing evidence to assume that Steele's (1922) dating is mistaken. In this article, therefore, we aim to provide a systematic description of all those morphological clues (grammatical gender, personal pronouns, verb and adverb endings, etc.) which have finally led us to consider it as a truly Middle English manuscript, ascertaining its composition earlier than Steele's (1922) account. Methodologically, we will make use of a corpus of texts containing late Middle English scientific prose which comprises a set of arithmetical texts such as those proposed by Steele (1922) like *The Art of Nombryng*, *Accomptynge by Counters* as well as *A Treatise on the Mensuration of Heights and Distances* and *The Preface to a Calendar or Almanac*. These texts, having the same supposed chronology as *The Crafte of Nombrynge*, will be repeatedly used as objects of intradialectal comparison for us to verify the time-span existing between them.

2. Survey

2.1. Grammatical Gender

First of all, grammatical gender turns out to be rather unusual in a fifteenth century manuscript, which is why we considered it could throw some light on its previous composition. From a diachronic point of view, grammatical gender had become extinct some centuries earlier. Let us mention, for example, Smith's assertion that the West Midlands had already refrained from using grammatical gender from the second half of the thirteenth century whereas in Kent, however, some traces can still be found until the fourteenth century (Smith, 1996:129-130). But, as a general rule, grammatical gender was never attested in the fifteenth century.

In spite of that, *The Crafte of Nombrynge* paradoxically presents a gender system in which grammaticality seems to be the rule. The following examples, therefore, illustrate how its author employs both the masculine and neuter gender in its anaphoric reference with the nouns *cifre*, *nombur* and *articulle* suggesting thus that grammatical gender was still in use in the scribe's language:

(1) *A cifre tokens noht, bot he makes þe figure to betoken þat comes aftur hym more þan he schuld & he were away, as þus 10* (Steele, 1922:5).

(2) [...] *& sett þe articulle ouer þe next figures hede, & after draw hym downe with þe figure ouer whos hede he stondes* [...] (Steele, 1922:15).

(3) [...] *loke fyrst what maner nombur it ys þat þou schalt write, whether it be a digit or a composit or an articul. If he be a digit, write a digit, as yf it be seuen, write seuen & write þat digit in þe first place toward þe ryght side. If it be a composyt, write þe digit of þe composit in þe first place* [...] (Steele, 1922:6).

Given the particular situation observed in the text, we decided to consult both *A Treatise on the Mensuration of Heights and Distances* and *The Art of Nombryng* in order to establish a comparison between the generic system of the treatises mentioned. *A Treatise on the Mensuration*, first of all, written in the fourteenth century in the East Midlands dialect –see Calle (1999)–, reveals the striking absence of grammatical gender. Let us mention the following example in which the author makes use of the neuter anaphoric reference when *The Crafte of Nombrynge* showed the masculine:

(4) *Mesure þe vmbre [sic] þat es to say þe shadowe of þat thyng. and multiply þat by 12 and al þat departe þan by þe poyntes of þe vmbre toward. and þe nonmbre howe ofte euer it be es þe heght of þat thyng if þe perpendicle falle vpon þe vmbre toward* (Halliwell, 1841:61).

The Art of Nombryng, on the other hand, is an arithmetical treatise written in the fifteenth century showing the same dialectal provenance as *The Crafte of Nombrynge*. As in the previous case, a different gender interpretation may be realised since the former lacks any kind of indication of grammatical gender throughout the text. Notice, for example, the following cases in which the nouns *cifre*, *nombre*, *digit* and *article*, contrary to the practice of our scribe, are deictically expressed as neuters:

(5) *And yf þe addicioun sholde be made to a cifre, sette it aside, and write in his place 5* (Steele, 1922:39).

(6) *And of that doublyng other growithe a nombre digital, article, or componede. [if it be a digit, write it in the place of the first digit.] If it be article, write in his place a cifre and transferre the article towarde the lift, as thus:— And yf the nombre be componede, write a digital that is part of his composicioun, and sette the article to the lift hande, as thus:—* (Steele, 1922:39).

(7) *And ther ben 2. causes whan the last figure may not be sette vnder the last, other that the last of the lower nombre may not be with-draw of the last of the ouerer nombre for it is lasse than the lower, other how be it, that it myght be with-draw as for hym-self fro the ouerer the remenaunt may not so oft of them above, [...]* (Steele, 1922:44).

Consequently, the analysis of these three treatises allows us to see that gender in *The Crafte of Nombrynge* is morphologically different from the other scientific works of the period. Whereas grammatical gender has proven to be fully in use in *The Crafte of Nombrynge*, natural gender, on the contrary, seems to prevail in the fifteenth century offering thus faithful evidences to assume an earlier composition in time.

2.2 Genitive

Secondly, the different ways of expressing the genitive case could

also be used to achieve similar conclusions. *The Crafte of Nombrynge*, on the one hand, perfectly fits the morphological pattern of the period when using both the inflectional and periphrastic genitive. Fifteenth century prose, on the other, also makes use of the possessive dative with *his* and *her*; see Görlach (1991:81) and de la Cruz *et al.* (1995:74). In fact, this type of genitive appeared in Late Middle English and would eventually be very widely used in the Modern period. Therefore, given the intradialectal differences observed, we decided to analyse scientific prose of the period in order to obtain the level of lexicalisation of the possessive dative in the fifteenth century. All the treatises analysed, as a general rule, show some traces of this Modern English structure whereas in the *Crafte of Nombrynge* it turns out to be lacking. Let us mention, for instance, *The Art of Nombryng*, where the inflectional genitive is rarely attested, preferring the *of*-construction along with the possessive dative with *his* and *her*, as in the following examples:

(8) *And yf an article had be writ ouer the figure multiplying his hede, put a cifre per and transferre the article towarde the lift hande* (Steele, 1922:41).

(9) [...] *thow most make extraccion of his rote of the most cubike vndre the nombre propoide his rote founde* (Steele, 1922:49).

As we may observe, this intradialectal difference in the morphological expression of genitives may be used for our purposes to reinforce our hypothesis of a previous writing than that proposed by Steele (1922).

2.3. Plural Personal Pronouns

The personal pronoun paradigm in the plural can also be accountable for our own research. According to Mossé's own terminology (1952:58), MS Egerton 2622 displays the mixed type paradigm using *they* for the nominative, *here* for the genitive and *hem* in the dative case. Fifteenth century prose, on the other hand, systematically rejects the former mixed type paradigm favouring their Scandinavian counterparts in all cases. *The Art of Nombryng*, for example, incorporates the forms *they* for the

nominative case whereas *thaire* and *them* are singled out to morphologically represent the genitive and dative cases, respectively.

(10) *And yf the cifre happe betwix þe first and the last to be multipliede, me most sette forwarde the ordre of the figures by thaire differences, for oft of duccioun of figures in cifres nought is the resultant, [...]* (Steele, 1922:43).

(11) *And yf thou wilt proue yf thou have do wele or no, The figures that thou hast withdraw, adde them ayene to the omyst figures, and they wolde accorde with the first that thou haddest yf thou have labored wele* (Steele, 1922:38).

Nevertheless, *The Crafte of Nombrynge*, supposedly written one century later according to Steele (1922), entirely ignores the Scandinavian pronouns *theire* and *them*. Once more, this intradialectal evidence may be taken to suggest that it could have been written before the fifteenth century.

2.4. Adverbial endings

Similar conclusions may be drawn from the analysis of adverbial endings in the text. Having compiled all the adverbs in a data file, we observed that *The Crafte of Nombrynge* actually incorporates three different adverbial suffixes: *-lice* as in the case of *anglice*, the ending *-lych* as in *shortlych* and the adverbial ending *-ly* attested in the examples *truly*, *certainly*, etc. From a diachronic point of view, however, we are bound to believe that these three inflections are the result of three different stages of development (Calle & Miranda, 1997). As Jespersen (1961:128) and Gimson (1970:103) state, Old English adverbs in *-lice* suffered the gradual loss of the original secondary stress causing the subsequent shortening of its vowel and hence its later development in *-lych* and *-ly*. As a result, the use of these three adverbial endings in *The Crafte of Nombrynge* demonstrates that this process of shortening had not finished yet, which is why the endings *-lice* and *-lych* are still pronounced with a long vowel whereas the suffix *-ly* shows the final step of this process with its vowel uttered as short.

The text-corpus analysed, however, reveals this final stage of development in fifteenth-century science texts since adverbs are solely expressed by means of the suffix *-ly*. *The Art of Nombryng*, for instance, clearly illustrates how this process had already come to its end by the fifteenth century attesting several examples throughout the text as in *sothly*, *namly*, *shortly* (Steele, 1922:23; 44; 47), etc. Similar examples may be observed in the other texts analysed. *Accomptynge by Counters*, on the other hand, also shows the suffix *-ly*, showing no trace of its former etymological counterparts *-lych* and *-lice* as in the cases of *boldly*, *conueniently*, *truely* (Halliwell, 1841:63; 55; 52), etc.

The analysis of this adverbial ending, therefore, has helped us to assume that these treatises are indeed distant in time. *The Crafte of Nombrynge*, given the outstanding use of those suffixes which were completely alien to fifteenth century science, offers reliable reasons to interpret an earlier composition than that proposed by Steele (1922).

2.5. Morphology of Present Participles

Next, the morphology of present participles can also be highlighted for our purposes. The analysis of these verbal forms in *The Crafte of Nombrynge* clearly reveals that the present participle inflection may be morphologically realised according to the two following ways. On the one hand, the present participle inflection clearly dominating in the text is the *-ingel-ynge* inflection, which acquires a very high level of appearance, with more than twenty examples throughout the text, as in the cases of *takyng* (Steele, 1922:18), *begynnyng* (Steele, 1922:27), *folowyng* (Steele, 1922:24), *bryngyng* (Steele, 1922:21), *betokennyng* (Steele, 1922:17), etc. There are traces, on the other hand, of another present participle inflection, morphologically expressed by *-ende*, as in the case of *rekende* (Steele, 1922:19), a relic of the Old English conjugation. As illustrated, *The Crafte of Nombrynge* again presents two different kinds of inflections which clearly corresponds to two different stages of the present participle development. The situation described above demonstrates that, although both inflections were still in use in the scribe's language, the *-ingel-yng* ending was actually becoming the rule.

Fifteenth century treatises, however, show a rather different state of affairs. The analysis of *The Art of Nombryng* and *The Preface to a Calendar or Almanac* again exhibits that the Old English inflection *-ende* had already become extinct, thus favouring the new inflection that was to become the standard during the Early Modern period. Consequently, the presence of such traces of the Old English present participle *-ende* in *The Crafte of Nombrynge* clearly suggests a date of composition earlier than that of those texts belonging to the fifteenth century.

3. Conclusions/final remarks

All in all, after the analysis of all these items, we can faithfully conclude that MS Egerton 2622 is likely have been composed earlier than the fifteenth century. The repeated use of grammatical gender, the evidences afforded by its pronominal paradigm as well as the adverb and verb inflections lead us to chronologically ascertain it as a true Late Middle English composition since the morphological items analysed have proven to be slightly different from those linguistic features obtained from our research on fifteenth century science treatises.

The Crafte of Nombrynge, on the other hand, is considered to be an open translation of a previous Latin source written in the thirteenth century by the French arithmetician Alexander de Villadieu; see Smith (1996:226). In fact, Villadieu's *Carmen de Algorismo* happens to have been rather popular at that time since it was based on Al-khowarizmi's arithmetical methods and, as such, it stood out as one of the first arithmetical treatises dealing with the Hindu-Arabic numerals. Given the importance acquired by this Latin source in Europe as a primary source to transmit the up-dated Arab science, this poem was probably carried to other European countries to be used as a primary source to achieve new versions in the vernacular. Therefore, we handle the hypothesis that Alexander de Villadieu's *Carmen de Algorismo* was taken to England very soon after its composition, allowing its anonymous translator to consult it as early as the beginning of the fourteenth century, the moment at which he reasonably undertook its English version. Thus, taking into consideration that the language of *The Crafte of Nombrynge*

differs from that found one century later, it seems plausible to reject Robert Steele's (1922) claim to chronologically date it as a fifteenth century text and to postulate its probable composition during the first half of the fourteenth century. The EETS, therefore, should revise those editions printed in the early twentieth century so as to re-edit them avoiding these types of intradialectal discrepancies.

To conclude, let us mention how this contrastive methodology has proven to be a very reliable asset not only to ascertain the different stages of morphological simplification but also, and more importantly, to throw some light on the intradialectal differences existing between pieces of writing, allowing thus to obtain accurate conclusions to chronologically localise medieval texts. As Moskowich-Spiegel & Alfaya (1998:105-106) clearly put it, "when dealing with what we call interdialectal diachronic translations, we can look for some kind of evidence for change and innovation from one century to another and we can also check the amount and importance of these developments in the language".

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A STUDY OF PHRASAL AND PREPOSITIONAL VERBS TOGETHER WITH PREPOSITIONAL-STRANDING PHE- NOMENA IN *ANCRENE WISSE*

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Abstract

This article focuses on phrasal and prepositional verbs in Early Middle English. Our purpose is to analyse these verbal constructions and, in greater detail, the prepositional stranding phenomenon deriving from them. The examples in the article come from the Ancrene Wisse. Despite their remoteness in time, the examples follow the same distributional behaviour as any other example from Present Day English. Sroka's theorem was originally thought to explain the distributional behaviour of these verbal constructions in Present-Day English, but it proves equally valid for the examples drawn from Ancrene Wisse. The samples fit into Sroka's distributional positions a), b) and c), and the exceptions to position a). The final objective of this article is to observe these facts and to turn this initial study into a wider goal towards other related fields of research.

1. Introduction

The combination of one lexical verb and a small particle has generated extensive literature. Sixteenth century grammarians such as W. Bullokar or eighteenth century lexicographers like Dr. S. Johnson were already worried about this linguistic phenomenon, which for many years has been considered a whim of the English language.

These frequent compositions are referred to as *verb phrases*, *compound verbs*, *two-part or three-part verbs*, *phrasal verbs*, *prepositional verbs*,

multi-word verbs, and *adverbial verbs*. In this article we will use the label *phrasal verb* to denote those combinations of a lexical verb followed by a mono-syllabic or disyllabic locative or direction adverb such as *adun*, *awei*, *for*, *forπ*, *of*, *up*, *ut*. In Hiltunen's terms (1983:20), only those adverbs that can be placed before and after the head can be used to produce a *phrasal verb*. For example:

- (1) (...) *3ef pu ut wendest*. (AW. f. 27a, 23)¹; "(...) if you go out."
- (2) *ant 3ef pe wardeins wendeþ ut*. (AW. f. 27b, 6); "and if the wardens go out."

Pure adverbs, which only follow the head do not generate a *phrasal verb*.

- (3) *7 is hit nu se ouer uuel forte totin utwart?* (AW. f. 13a, 22-23); "and is it now so over-evil to look outwards?"

Phrasal verbs can be intransitive, especially those composed by a verb of motion and a direction adverb:

- (4) *Aris up*. (AW. f. 25b, 24-25) ; "Rise up."

and transitive

- (5) *7 te cwike dale droh þ uuele blod ut*. (AW. f. 31a, 2) ; "and the living part drew the evil blood out."

The term *prepositional verb* refers to a collocation of a simple verb and a preposition. According to Quirk (1973:143) "a preposition expresses a relation between two entities, one being that represented by the prepositional complement". So, prepositional verbs are always transitive:

- (6) *Nu we schulen sumhwet spoken of ower herunge azein uuel speche*. (AW. f. 20b, 18-20); "Now we should somewhat speak of your hearing against evil speech."

¹ (AW. f. 27a, 23) stands for Tolkien's edition of the CCCC ms in EETS, folio 25a, page 23. This will be the way of quoting all the examples. See Tolkien (1962).

There are some studies that describe such linguistic phenomenon from a semantic point of view. This is the case of Lipka (1972) and Dixon (1982, 1991), who classify *phrasal* and *prepositional verbs* semantically, but face the tricky problem of idiomaticity.

McArthur (1989:39) classified the resulting combination of such verbs as: (a) "conventional and literal, in which case the whole is the sum of the parts" and (b) "idiomatic and figurative, in which case the whole is more than or different from the sum of the parts". However, the description by Quirk *et al.* is richer (1985:1162-1163).

We accept that both meaning and form are required when understanding a text fully, but we are not entering the field of Semantics.

Other authors have studied *phrasal* and *prepositional* verbs from a syntactic point of view. Generally, these syntactic studies focus on the different behaviour of such constructions and on how to distinguish them in a sentence. This is the case of Mitchell (1958), who classified these constructions according to the position of the particle and that of the pronouns functioning as objects.

Sroka (1972) proposed a distributional study about this matter. Further details will be given afterwards.

The aim of this article is to apply Sroka's methodological framework for Present-Day English to a religious text from the thirteenth century. The study considers *phrasal* verb positions and *prepositional-stranding* phenomena.

The whole body of examples belongs to the Early Middle English text *Ancrene Wisse* (henceforth, AW), in Tolkien's edition (1962) of the CCCC 402 Ms.² According to Salu (1990:xxiii), there exist manuscripts and versions of this work in three languages, namely, English, French and Latin. Seven are the English manuscripts written during the thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries. There is also a fourteenth

² This work is also known as *Ancrene Riwe*, but we have decided to keep the title *Ancrene Wisse* because it is the title of the CCCC 402 MS and the usual name for this manuscript.

century English fragment. The French versions were written during the fourteenth century, one of them being only fragmentary. There are three Latin versions from the fourteenth century and a Latin paper manuscript from the sixteenth century.

We have chosen Tolkien's (1962) edition of the CCCC 402 Ms because there is general agreement in the academic community that this is the manuscript closer to the original. After comparing all the manuscripts and versions, Dobson wrote (1976:289): "Only one copy, the Corpus MS. is extant, and it is so good that there can be no doubt that it was a direct fair copy made from the autograph as revised by the author".

We have taken Sroka's *The Syntax of English Phrasal Verbs* (1972) as our basic methodological scheme. In order to explain the difference between *phrasal* and *prepositional verbs* according to distributional relations, Sroka proposes a theorem.³ In his "Introduction", Sroka admits that there is neither an accord about the name of these verbal constructions nor an agreement about the nature and boundaries of this phenomenon. Yet, there is one common feature (Sroka, 1972:14): "the verb and particle, or the verb and a group of particles, are said to constitute in this case a kind of integral functional unit"; that is, a phrase.

This statement can be tested if we change the particle *of* in the verbal construction *kimeþ of* (7) and we transform it in a different functional unit, *kimeþ forþ* (8):

(7) *ðis smeč 7 tis cnawunge kimeþ of gastilich sihþe.* (AW. f. 24b, 5-7); "This taste and this knowing comes from spiritual sight."

(8) *Hwen hit alles kimeþ forþ. þenne is hit zeolow atter.* (AW. f. 22b, 22-23); "When it all comes forth, then it is yellow poison."

³ According to *The New Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* (Brown, 1993), a *theorem* is "a general proposition or statement not self-evident but demonstrable by argument or a chain of reasoning on the basis of given assumptions."

Thus, *kimeþ of* and *kimeþ forþ* are different functional units with different meanings. The former is a *prepositional verb* and the later is a *phrasal verb*.

Sroka (1972) decided to take the existence of three word classes in Present-Day English (henceforth, PDE) as the starting point of his study. These three classes are *adverbs*, *prepositions*, and *adverb-prepositions*. This threefold distinction is based on the distributional relations that "are determined by the range of occurrence of particular particles with reference to a definite set of positions (environments)" (Sroka, 1972:37).

Then, he distinguishes four kinds of paradigmatic relations, or relations of commutation: (a) identical distribution, (b) inclusive distribution, (c) overlapping distribution, and (d) exclusive distribution. They are used to define the three positions in which the three word classes are distributed.

The first is *Position a*, where the particle is in final position or precedes a final adverbial modifier in active verbal constructions. In this position the particle has an adverbial function and the resulting combination is a *phrasal verb*. Sroka (1972:44-46) excluded four constructions in which the particle is in final position but has a prepositional function. These constructions are:

1. Statements with an object preceding the subject.
2. Object questions introduced by *whom*, *who*, *what*, *which*, *whose*, and *where*.
3. Object clauses introduced by *whom*, *who*, *what*, *which*, *whose*, *where*, *as*, *that*, *than* and contact relative clauses.
4. Certain types of non-finite verb constructions that correspond to:
 - 4.1. Phrases dependent on a verb that is the head of constructions 1., 2. and 3., or on an adjective.
 - 4.2. Infinitival phrases dependent on a (pro) noun or a clause.

The second is *position b*. The particle precedes a non-nominative personal pronoun and has a preposition function. The combination is a *prepositional verb*.

Lastly, *position c*, in which the particle is between the verb and the noun, or noun-group object. The particle can have either prepositional or adverbial function. This is "non-distinctive for either category, or neutral" (Sroka, 1972:84). In order to solve this problem of ambiguity, Sroka proposes the alternation of *position c* with *positions a* and *b* that are distinctive for a particular word class.

Before going to the results, we would like to point out that Sroka's theorem was originally thought to describe the behaviour of *phrasal and prepositional verbs* in PDE. However, it has been proved that it is also useful when dealing with Old English texts—see Campos (1994; 1995)—. Therefore, this article tries to undertake the same experiment with two differences: the examples come exclusively from an Early Middle English (eME) text and we will focus on Sroka's exceptions; that is, the *prepositional-stranding* phenomena.

Another warning about this distributional theorem is that passive constructions are excluded from the definition of *position a* because they admit adverbs and prepositions. Sroka (1972:96) calls this *position f*, but it will not be taken into account in this study due to its non-distinctive nature, as the following examples show:

- (9) *ðenne is þe fier bipilet 7 te rinde irend of.* (AW. f.40b, 21-22); "Then the fig tree is peeled and the bark rent off."

The ME particle *of* is an adverb which corresponds to the PDE adverb off.

- (10) *Alle þe ilke fondunges þe we beop nu ibeaten wip* (AW. f. 51a, 27-28); "All the same temptations that we are now beaten with."

The particle *wip* is a preposition whose object is *þe ilke fondunges* ("The same temptations").

2. Results

These are the results of the application of Sroka's theorem to the corpus of data from *Ancrene Wisse*.

• POSITION A

Position a, that is, when the particle is in final position or precedes a final adverbial modifier in active constructions. Here the particle has adverbial function and then we are dealing with *phrasal verbs*. We will give some examples of adverbs in final position following the classification established by Campos (1994:68-71).

1. Adverbs in Absolute Final Position

(11) (...) *he wat þe castel is his. 7 geaþ baldeliche in.* (AW. f. 98b, 5-6); " (...) he knows the castle is his and goes boldly in."

(12) *Ah a nelde prichunge warpeþ al þe wind ut.* (AW. f. 77a, 8-9); "But a needle stinging casts all the wind out."

(13) *þe fifti cneolinde up 7 dun.* (AW. f. 11, 13); "The fifth kneeling up and down."

2. Adverbs in Relative Final Position (RFP)

2.1. Adverb + Juxtaposed Independent Sentence:

(14) *3eƿeant unseli went ut. Hit is sone awuriet* (AW. f. 68a, 17-18); "if any unlucky creature goes out, it is soon worried."

(15) *Aris up. Hihe þe heonewart. 7 cum to me mi leofmon.* (AW. f. 25b, 24-25); "Rise up, hasten yourself hitherward and come to me, my beloved."

(16) (...) *7 þenne wiþ spredde earmes leapeþ lahhindde forþ. cluppeþ 7 cussep* (...) (AW. f. 62b, 10-12); " (...) and then with spread arms leaps forth laughing, embraces and kisses."

2.2. Adverb + conjunction + sentence

(17) (...) *7 eauer wiþ Gloria patri rungen up 7 buhen* (AW. f.

6a, 15-16); “ (...) and ever with Gloria Patri **stand up** and bow.”

(18) *Ha gap in 7 sleap ysboet* (AW. f. 74b, 2-3); “They went in and slew Isboeth.”

(18) (...) 7 *tenne falle adun 7 segge christe audi nos.* (AW.f. 9a, 9-10); “(...) and then **fall down** and say *Christe audi nos.*”

2.3. A + apposition: no examples found.

2.4. Initial position, which is considered as a final position.

(20) *penne mei þe þe up halde hit felen hut hit wieþ* (AW. f. 63a, 5-6); “then he who holds it up may feel how it weights.”

(21) 7 *up halden ham* (AW. f. 38b, 21); “and hold them up.”

3. Adverbs preceding a final adverbial modifier that can be constituted by:

3.1. A single word adverb

(22) *Rihtep ow up þrefter 7 seggeb. Domine labia mea aperies.* (AW.f. 5b, 8-9); “Stand you up afterwards and say *Domine labia mea aperies.*”

(23) (...) 7 *schuueþ hit ut þenne.* (AW. f. 85b, 11); “(...) and shoves hit out then.”

3.2. A noun phrase as an Adverbial.

No examples have been found.

3.3. A prepositional phrase

(24) (...) *gap forþ mid godes dred.* (AW. f. 15b, 23); “go forth with God’s dread.”

(25) *Speowen hit anan ut wipschrift to þe preoste* (AW.f. 65a, 4);
 “Vomit it at once out with confession to the priest.”

(26) *Alswa 3e schulde don hwen þe preost halt it up ed te measse*.
 (AW. f. 5a, 11-12); “So you should do when the priest holds it up at the mass.”

3.4. A finite verb clause as an Adverbial

(27) *ah ich wulle turne awei hwen 3e heoueþ toward me hehe ower honden* (AW. f. 19b, 3-4); “but I will turn away when you have towards me high your hands.”

(28) *Ga ut as dude dyna iacobes dohter (...)* (AW. f. 26b, 25-26); “Go out as did Dina, Jacobs’ daughter (...).”

3.5. A non-finite verb clause as an Adverbial

(29) *ah Saul wende pider in. forte don his fulpe brin* (AW. f. 35a, 25-26); “but Saul went thither in to do his filth therein.”

(30) *Ant þenne þohte ich gan awei to slepen for me luste*. (AW. f. 64b, 2-3); “And then I thought I would go away to sleep for it pleases to me.”

• POSITION B

In Position b, in which the particle precedes a non-nominative personal pronoun, the particle has a prepositional function. Therefore, the combination of the lexical verb and the particle results in a prepositional verb. There follow some examples:

(31) *We schal cumen on þe. 7 tu ne schalt witen hweonne*.
 (AW. f. 60, 4-5); “We shall come on you and you shall not know when.”

(32) *þe white cros limpeþ to ow* (AW. f. 13a, 1); "the white cross **belongs to you**."

(33) (...) *7 þa he biheold hu his deore disciples fluhē alle from him* (...) (AW, f. 28a, 13-15); "and then he bihold how his dear disciples **flew all from him**."

(34) *leaueþ þe world 7 cumeþ to me*. (AW, f. 45a, 4); "leave the world and **come to me**."

• POSITION C

Lastly, position c. This is an ambiguous position because the particles preceding a noun phrase object can be adverbs and prepositions. Some examples are:

(35) *I þe measse hwen þe preost heueþ up godes licome* (...) (AW, f. 8a, 19); "In he mass when the priest holds up **God's body**."

(36) *Nu ich habbe ispeken of ower four wittes. 7 of godes froure*. (AW. f. 30a, 6-7); "Now I have spoken of **your four senses** and of **God's comfort**."

(37) *Eue wiþ ute dred spec wiþ þe neddre*. (AW. f. 16b, 11-12); "Eve without fear spoke **with the serpent**."

Since *position c* is an ambiguous one, we need to alternate it with *positions a* and *b* in order to work out the nature of the particle. The following examples show the alternation of *position c* with *position a*. From this commutation we recognise the adverbial function of the particle.

(38) *3e soþes 7 droh ut al þe bodi efter*. (AW.f. 26b, 20-21); "Yes, truly, and **drew out all the body after**."

The particle *ut* is in the ambiguous *position c*:

(38) *þus ure lauereð speareþ on earst þe 3unge 7 te feble. 7*

draheþ ham ut of þis world. (AW. f. 59b, 5-6); "thus our Lord spares firstly the young and the weak, and **draws them out of this world.**"

(39) (...) *7 te cwike dale droh þ uuele blod ut.* (AW. f. 31a, 2);
 "(...) and the alive part **drew the evil blood out.**"

The particle *ut* is part of the same lexical unit and now it is in the final position typical of adverbs.

The alternation between *positions a* and *c* is only possible with transitive phrasal verbs. The existence of an object is a required condition in order to alternate with the construction "verb+object+particle". Needless to say, intransitive phrasal verbs will be never found in *position c*.

The second alternation consists of discovering the prepositional function of particles in *position c* thanks to their alternation with *position b*. These are some examples:

(40) *þ tu wult anan riht arisen þurh godes help. 7 cumen aȝein to schrift.* (AW. f. 92b, 9-10); "that you will at once arise by means of God's help and **come again to confession.**"

(41) *he com to glorie of blissful ariste.* (AW.f. 97a, 23-24);
 "he **came to the glory** of blissful resurrection."

These constructions in *position c* alternate with the following one in *position b*:

(42) (...) *leaueþ þe world 7 cumeþ to me.* (AW. f. 45b, 4);
 "leave the world and **come to me.**"

Sroka excluded four constructions from the definition of *position a*, that is, the final position typical of adverbs. In these four cases the particles are in final position but they have prepositional function. These are the four constructions:

a1) Statements in which an object precedes the subject. No examples have been found in the *Ancrene Wisse*.

a2) Object questions introduced by *whom, who, what, which, whose, and where*. No examples have been found.

a3) This exception corresponds to two different structures:

a) Object clauses introduced by *whom, who, what, which, whose, where, as, and that*. These are two examples:

(43) *Ne math tu nawt te hwiles deme wel hwet hit is. ne hwet ter wule cumen of.* (AW. f. 32b, 11-14); "you might not sometimes judge well what it is nor where will come from."

(44) *Vttre fondunge is hwer of kimeþ licunge oper mislucinge wiþ uten oper wiþ uten.* (AW. f. 48a, 23-25); "Outward temptations is where pleasure or displeasure comes from externally or internally."

b) Relative clauses. This group of exceptions is the largest in the corpus. Some examples are:

(45) *þis beoþ þe deofles neddren þe Salomon spekep to.* (AW, f.23a, 5-6); "these are the devil's serpents that Salomon speaks to."

(46) *þis is þ eadi scheome þet ich of talie.* (AW. f. 96b, 18-19); "This is that pious shame that I talk of."

(47) *þe fikelere blent mon 7 put him preon in þe ehe þ he wiþ fikelep* (AW. f. 21b, 5- 6); "The flatterer blinds the man and puts him a prickle in the eye that he flatters with."

a4) Certain non-finite verb constructions which are:

a) Those dependent on verbs which are the head in exception (a1), (a2) and (a3), or dependent on adjectives. A clear example is:

(48) *þe blake clap (...) 7 is piccre azein þe wind 7 wurse to seon þurh* (AW. f. 13a, 9-11); "the black clothe (..) and is thicker against the wind and worse to see through."

b) Infinitival phrases dependent on pronouns, nouns or clauses. Here follows one example:

(49) *3et þ meast wunder is of al þe brade eorþe ne moste he habben a greot forte deien up on.* (AW. f. 71a, 13-14); "Yet, the greatest wonder is that of all the broad earth he must not have a grit to die upon."

3. Exceptions

After showing examples of all the positions of Sroka's theorem, we would like to go deeper into those exceptions because they break with the rules, though they are also systematic. By *systematic* we mean that they are arranged according to a regular pattern.

Sroka's four exceptions are cases of *prepositional-stranding*, that is, the prepositional complement is placed before the preposition that governs it. Koma (1981:132) considers that this phenomenon is "relatively free in English and the Scandinavian languages", but in Old and Middle English it occurred in "more restricted contexts".

Koma (1981:133) believes that *prepositional-stranding* in Middle English occurred in four constructions: (1) *that*-relatives, (2) infinitival relatives, (3) object deletion and (4) *wh*-constructions, which take after those excluded constructions by Sroka (1972). As we can observe, *prepositional-stranding* mainly occurs with subordinate clauses, excluding Sroka's (1972) exceptions 1 and 2, which are independent sentences. Probably this is the reason why no examples of exceptions 1 and 2 have been found in the corpus.

Hiltunen (1983:168) considers sentential word order change to be the origin of these *prepositional-stranding* phenomena. The increasing sentence word order "S.V." in main and dependent sentences had a close relation with the order "verb (...) particle". So, in Early Middle English the particle, either adverb or preposition, usually followed the verb. The other two word orders, namely, "S...V (...)" and "V.S.", which were related to the order "particle (...) verb", were dying out. There are still

some examples of the pattern "particle (...) verb", but, obviously, they are not as numerous as those in which the particle follows the verb, which is the standard position acquired in PDE.

Prepositions can also function as postpositions when they follow their headwords. For example, in the following sentence,

(49) *ðes eappel leoue suster bitacneþ alle þe wa þ lust falleþ to*
 (...) (AW. f. 13b, 21-22); "This apple, my dear sisters, betokens
 all the things that lust falls to.",

the preposition *to* follows its headword *alle þe wa*, which is introduced by the linking relative *þ*.

According to Hiltunen (1983:168), there are three types of postpositional patterns in Old English:

- a) ... him (...) to (...) com
- b) ... com (...) him (...) to
- c) ... him (...) com (...) to

We are only interested in type c) because the preposition is in final position and the verb precedes it, the object being left in first position. When referring to the development of *pattern c*) in Early Middle English, Hiltunen says (1983:178): "The dependent clauses are all adjective clauses with either the relative pron. or *þer* as the head of the postposition". This is the case of Sroka's (1972) exception 3.

4. Conclusions

To conclude with this study of phrasal, prepositional verbs and prepositional-stranding phenomena in *Ancrenne Wisse*, these are our conclusions:

- 1) The behaviour of phrasal and prepositional verbs as well as prepositional-stranding has remained invariable at the level of syntax. Creating new verbal units by combining existing lexical verbs and certain particles of a closed-system is an old

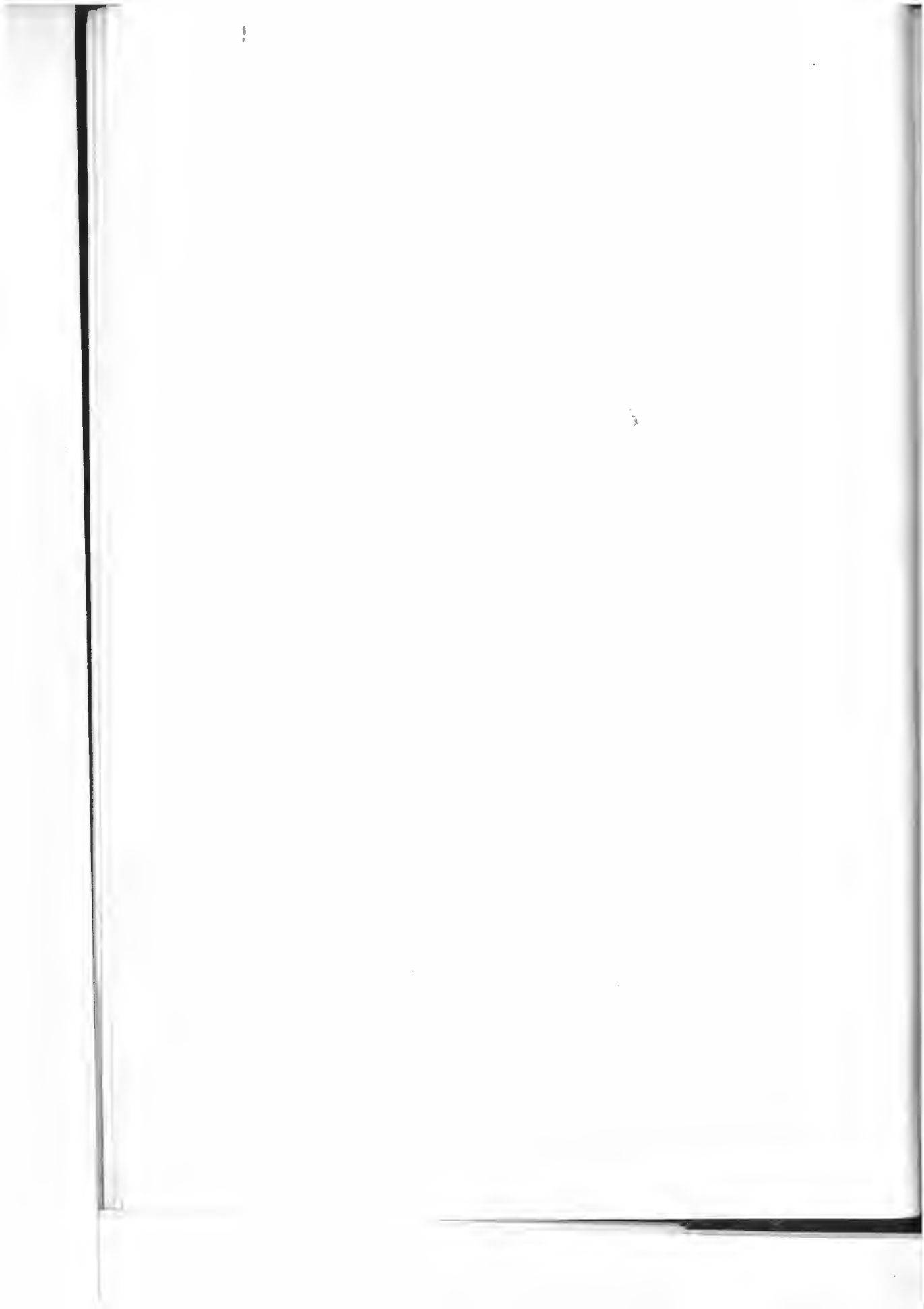
mechanism that comes from Old English and was extensively used in Early Middle English.

- 2) Those particles used as adverbs in *Ancrene Wisse* are: *adun/ dun, awei, forþ, offe, up*, and *ut*. Prepositions are: *from, for, fore, on, of, on, to, under*, and *wip*. Particles functioning as either adverbs or prepositions are: *abuten, in*, and *purh*. Some of these particles have changed their nature. For example, *adun/ dun* was exclusively an adverb, while Sroka (1972:37) considers *down* an adverb-preposition.
- 3) Middle English was more flexible than PDE with regard to the position of particles that could precede or follow the verb. This is the consequence of the word order change towards S.V. order that was taking place in Early Middle English.

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THE STUDY OF OLD ENGLISH LITERARY TEXTS FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF DISCOURSE ANALYSIS: AN OVERVIEW

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Abstract

Some contributions to the study of medieval texts have fluctuated from a suggestion about a re-examination of traditional presuppositions, including a renovation with alternatives more consonant with our modern episteme, to considerations of philology as the matrix of medieval studies standing above the currents of fashion. Our linguistic contribution does not postulate a re-examination of traditional premises, nor the creation of a new philology. Being conscious of the usefulness of an interdisciplinary approach to the study of texts, we should try to profit from recent trends in the study of discourse, provided that the previous general adjustments to the discursive requirement of a systematic approach towards text and context are properly considered.

1. Philological debate: New Philology?

At the beginning of Anglo-Saxon studies, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the interest in the English language and literature was connected to the study of history and theology with the twofold purpose of discovering the Anglo-Saxon past *per se* and its relevance for a better understanding of the present. Nowadays, Old English is still alive among us. Despite the blend of incomprehension and contempt with which the study of the past is often regarded, the Old English

period still manifests itself as a balcony giving on to a sophisticated world of beliefs, heroes and sociocultural perspectives presented as an original counterpoint to our present reality. However, the acknowledgement of the persistence of Old English among us is not restricted to a recognition of the singularity and everlasting influence of the past. The Anglo-Saxon period continues opening up a number of intriguing avenues for scholarly concern and a proof of it is reflected in the philological debate about the adequacy of modern linguistic trends for the study of medieval texts.

Some parameters of this debate were revealed at the beginning of the nineties. Suzanne Fleischman (1990), after surveying recent linguistic contributions that she feels can enhance our understanding of medieval textual language, proposes a reformulation of the role of philology in the field of medieval studies. The new intellectual climate of postmodernism challenges us to a re-examination of traditional premises and disciplinary perspectives "to renovate or replace them if need be with alternatives which can make the old texts speak to us in ways more consonant with our modern, now post-modern, episteme" (1990:19). Fleischman (1990) has sought to identify several territories in which the New Philology might profitably stake a claim. By means of gestures such as the re-contextualization of texts as acts of communication, she defends an adaptation of the role of philology to the area of medieval studies.

On the contrary, Wenzel's (1990) remarks about philology and its continuing value for the study of medieval texts offers a reconsideration of philology not so much as an academic discipline with its own methods of investigation, but rather as an attitude of respect for the text. If New Philology is to be understood as a refinement and enrichment of this basic attitude, adding new dimensions and developing new "optics", it should be accepted. "But ... 'love of the word' that seeks understanding is a lasting concern of the intellectual life and as such stands above the currents of fashion" (1990:18). From this same position, Nichols (1990) acknowledges that if philology is the matrix out of which everything else springs, there is no need to postulate a New Philology.

Ten years later, my contribution does not postulate a re-examination of traditional premises, nor the creation of a New Philology. If we still recognise the essential role of philology as an attitude of respect for the text, whether old or new, we are in no need of a reformulation or adaptation of philology. I propose to keep an open mind towards the modern linguistic disciplines, so that the study of texts under traditional approaches may be enriched with the substance obtained from the modern perspectives. "We must not close our eyes to new critical approaches" (Bravo & Mitchell, 1994:134). However, I also defend the usefulness of an interdisciplinary view to the study of texts through additional knowledge coming from other neighbouring sciences such as sociology, psychology or philosophy. Supported by this receptive attitude to new critical movements, we should count on Discourse Analysis (DA) as one of the fields of study which has generated more research over the last decade. It was in 1952 that Zellig Harris, in his article "Discourse Analysis", suggested searching for solutions to the problem of the continuation of linguistic descriptions beyond the limits of the sentence and to the correlation between linguistic and non-linguistic behaviour. This type of research must be evaluated by taking into account the background of the linguistic turn experienced in the social and philosophical sciences of this century. In this sense, the interdisciplinary perspective defended by Discourse Analysis guarantees the acquisition of sociocultural information to be added to the linguistic phenomena that derive from the text itself.

Nevertheless, whether we accept the necessity of a New Philology or not, neither view should go unchallenged. My purpose in the present article is to sketch an itinerary of inquiry where modern linguistics, particularly DA, and medieval philology converge. This approach emphasises the need to seriously consider the dangers of anachronism. Although the consensus seems to be that medieval philology has been considered as marginal by contemporary methodologies, medievalists have rendered modern theories anachronistic in a medieval context. However, should this anachronistic perspective be judged a hindrance for the medievalist?

In my view, it is precisely this perspective that can put an end to the

isolation that presides over the relationship between medieval studies and other contemporary trends in linguistics. As Richardson states, the role of grammar as a tool for understanding the structure of the world is a common feature to Old and Modern English. "Far from being anachronistic, then, our concern with linguistic structure is matched by a similar concern on the part of those who wrote and illuminated the manuscripts" (1994:31). Similarly, Frantzen's (1996) proposals are suggestions for viewing Anglo-Saxon texts anachronistically.

Cultural studies do more, of course, than use contemporary modes to explain medieval phenomena ... Cultural studies propose that the fragments of Anglo-Saxon culture are as much signs of our own time as of theirs. To understand this proposition is to bring new life to our subject and to bring our subject to new life. (Frantzen, 1996:339)

While the synchronic study of discourse has been actively pursued in the last decades, the study of discourse in earlier periods has been largely ignored. Taking this premise as a starting point, Brinton (1996) claims an increase in the attention paid to diachronic studies of discourse. The central assumption in her work is that the approach of current Discourse Analysis provides a more fruitful means of analysing the mystery particles of Old English texts than traditional approaches do.

However, if we accept the suggestion of a reformulation of philology's role in the sphere of medieval studies, we must take on the burden of a constant process of reformulation whenever we meet an important chronological gap between the production of a text and the appearance of a new linguistic trend. And if this is to be the case, when are we supposed to consider a substantial difference in time so as to launch a reformulation? How are we to measure? I maintain that a philological approach which forces the linguist to translate every considerable contextual difference into a reformulation theory restricted to a very specific area of inquiry may be more of a hindrance to the study of Old English texts than our anachronistic stance.

Despite the rejection of the above proposal and the acceptance of a positive attitude towards DA as a particular manifestation of the modern linguistic trends, there is still one side of the question worth

commenting upon, an edge that affects both positions. Being conscious of the difficulties introduced by the passage of time, we must be cautious with our results, admitting their limitations but avoiding the transformation of these constraints into a heavy load choking the task of the linguist. However refined and adapted is the role of philology to the area of medieval studies, the obstacles of time will never be entirely overcome. Too many efforts have been focused on an excessive process of repairing and over-editing older texts in an attempt to improve our representations of the past. These emendation procedures contribute to a falsification of the legacy because they present the past not as a legacy with its historical flavour, but as a remanufactured object with several coats of varnish. "If all old things have to be modernised, what's the point of the past at all?" (Lass, 1993:9). An Old English text is a survivor of the past which must be treated as a historical object with all its puzzles and mysteries. We are not to deny their study, but we should not reduce textual analysis to the clarification of the mess presented by manuscripts. We must avoid turning the textual diversity of old texts into an uncomfortable burden for the linguist and direct our energies into the launching of new proposals. Anyway, what is quite certain is that whatever philological perspective we take, the feeling of the limited value of the results and of their speculative nature is always lurking in the mind of the linguist.

2. Text and context: discursive adjustment to the OE period

Over and above all these considerations, my main interest in the application of Discourse Analysis to Old English texts is related to the discursive requirement of a systematic approach towards text and context. In Discourse Analysis all the aspects of the linguistic forms are analysed within a sociocultural sphere. Linguistic practices have social effects and the social occasions in which texts are produced have a primary effect on the texts. Textual analysis has to be relevant from a social point of view, placing a greater emphasis on context. "Unless it is activated by this contextual connection, the text is inert" (Widdowson, 1995:164).

Old and modern literature should be evaluated by the same standards of criticism "provided that the obvious differences in language, background, and cultural context are properly considered" (Bravo & Mitchell, 1994:134). The study of Old English texts under the guidance of Discourse Analysis requires detailed analysis concerning their relationship with their sociocultural reality. Considering the constraints added by the passage of time, affecting both text and context, we must face the appearance of problems of reliability which obscure the vision of literature as a mirror of society and which invites the linguist to be wary when valuing the interdependency between a text and its extralinguistic context. Taking into account the textual distortions introduced by the passage of time, should we consider Old English texts as a mirror of the society of its time? Should we analyse them from the perspective of context-dependence? Does literature provide reliable evidence of contemporary culture in Anglo-Saxon England?

One of the main problems the linguist has to face in such early stages is the lack of written documents, which reduces the research work to an indirect approach to the reality of the period. The reciprocity between the literary works and their sociocultural contexts is indisputable; the problem lies in measuring the intensity of this relationship. Many of the features of Anglo-Saxon culture can be captured through the remaining heroic poetry. But this position must be taken cautiously since we cannot forget that the imagination of the Anglo-Saxons was stirred by a tradition of Germanic legends dealing with events and heroes placed in a distant and largely imaginary past between the fourth and fifth centuries. This mixture of history and fairy-tale reflects a social and cultural situation in which legend played a significant part and which consequently must also be assessed as an additional ideological ingredient of that period.

But impressions of society drawn from the literature are not difficult to reconcile with the impressions drawn from legal sources. Magennis, studying the treatment of treachery and betrayal in Anglo-Saxon texts, considers that the literary interest in this topic reflects the interests of the real world as "is indicated by the existence of legislation against treachery in the law codes and by the documentary character of some of

the literary sources" (1995:1). Facing these positions are the critical opinions of those who do not consider literature as a reliable proof of the culture of Anglo-Saxon England. "Still less does the literature provide reliable evidence of contemporary culture in Anglo-Saxon England, for literature does not mirror, in any straightforward fashion, the society which produces it" (O'Keeffe, 1991:113).

It is undoubtedly true that although Anglo-Saxon literature should not be appreciated as a faithful picture of its surrounding context, we must not undervalue the contribution of the literary sources as a path through the study of the social and ideological circumstances of their extralinguistic context. The cultural values on which a society is based are best transmitted through the study of the literary sources which have built its cultural tradition. This reality is also to be viewed from other angles, extant juridical texts being the major alternative.

A second consideration deserves our attention when measuring the reciprocity between a text and the context in which it emerges. If texts are to be regarded as social products, they are to be influenced by an ideology producing a primary effect on the modulation of discourse. The study of the overwhelming power of religion in the ideology of the past should be favoured by a new perspective in the evaluation of the filtering of contextual features in the texts.

The ecclesiastical institution has always counted on its own rhetoric serving not only as an instrument for the transmission of its values and creed, but also as a persuasive tool to attract masses of people towards its doctrine. Religion, as many other fields of human activity, should be judged as a particular dominion of meaning which depends mainly on language to express and transmit its dogma. "In religion perhaps one finds the most explicit expression of belief in the power of language as a force in its own right" (Samarin, 1976:11). But this emphasis on the linguistic component does not involve a minimizing of the ideological *glue* which articulates this institutional religious circuit: "Any religious language is *ipso facto* ruined by the failure of the belief which makes it meaningful –and which it allows to be meaningful" (Robinson, 1973:64).

If, on the one hand, we consider religious discourse as the instrument of the religious institution for the transmission of its dogma and on the other hand, we accept the infiltration of the social ideology through the literary legacy, we must also accept the discursive presence of the religious philosophy. Furthermore, in a period in which the power of the Church functions as an overwhelming force, we must measure its presence as a contextual component blurring the demarcation line between the religious and the secular spheres.

Approaching the study of Old English literary texts under the label of religious discourse may stir controversy. I defend a contextual adjustment to that period through the integration of the study of literary texts from the perspective of religious discourse. As Maingueneau says, "religious discourse or literature, for example, have been steadily studied for centuries by hundreds of thousands of people, but bringing those discourses together in a new discursive unit may open an interesting research programme" (1999:183). Truly, if we go on launching innovative theoretical statements lacking a practical justification, we will remain in an obsolete textual typology.

Nevertheless, such discursive position should avoid the temptation of reducing the ideological diversity pervading Old English texts to a single Christian ideological soil, as denounced by Mitchell:

Some modern critical approaches to Old English poetry are likely to destroy the great variety of flowers in the garden by reducing them to a uniform compost. Among the composters I numbered ... the pan-Christianizers who see a Christian reference in every mention of a ruin, a ship, or whatever. (Bravo & Mitchell, 1994:135)

But one of the most telling points of our thesis concerns the development of a new complementing area of linguistic results with information obtained through literary analysis and vice versa. A systematic approach towards text and context should not be restricted to a linguistic level. There is still a neglected and highly exploitable stage of symbiosis between linguistic and literary information. Approaching the social systems which are set up in literary works through the medium of

linguistic analysis, rather than looking at the social system alone, is often a much more concrete and revealing approach. Linguistic analysis enables us to give credence to the mechanism by which the author manipulates the elements of the text to convey and maintain social differences.

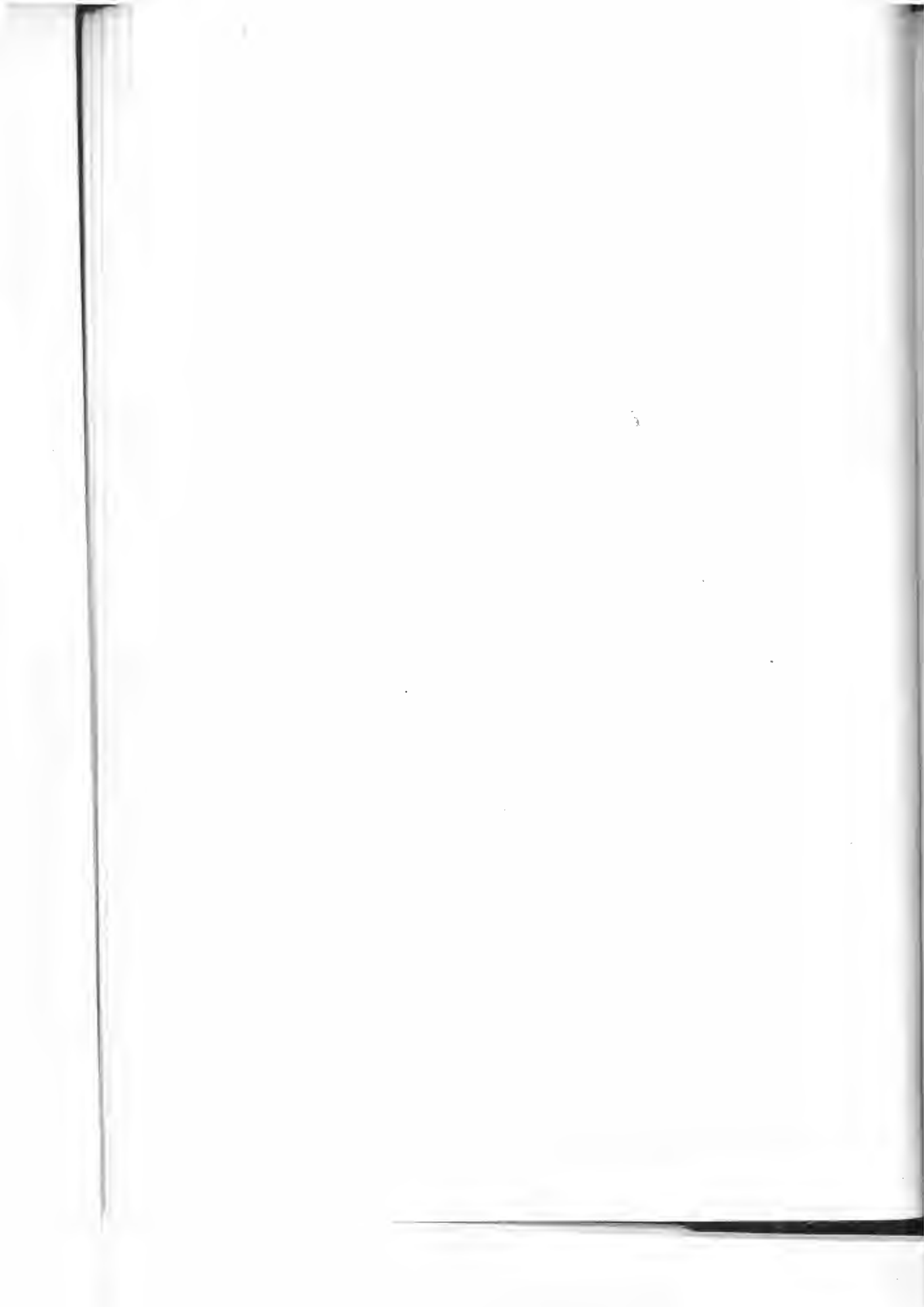
From this perspective, a new concept of society has entered into the analysis of Old English texts. Danet & Bogoch's (1992) theoretical approach draws on recent work in Sociolinguistics and Discourse Analysis. Their highest priority is the strong linguistic evidence found in Anglo-Saxon wills indicating that society is moving towards a view of writing as a form of constitutive social action, one of the most striking features being the phenomenon of context-dependence. Similarly, the sense of "culture" that underpins the work of Frantzen (1996) articulates strains in social relationships and inequalities in power relations. This political character and social activism of cultural studies is one of the chief differences from traditional inquiries in departments of English Language and Literature which complements what he considers are the "limited theoretical horizons of Anglo-Saxon scholarship" (1996:310-311). At a different level of articulation between linguistic and literary analysis, Bravo (1998) studied the influence of Christianity on Anglo-Saxon culture before the Norman Conquest through the analysis of the genre of the prayer, concluding that for a proper understanding of the prayer as a literary work it is necessary to relate the religious to the linguistic phenomenon.

However, the real question at issue is that there is still much work left to be done to establish linguistic analysis as a legitimate approach to literature. This statement fits into a more general framework of new conclusions to be drawn from Old English through the light of new and refreshing trends in linguistics. With these encouraging future prospects, we salute the unlearned opinions of those looking at the study of the Anglo-Saxon past with derision. At the end of the twentieth century a long path of research is being paved with recent trends in the study of discourse, approaching texts which for long have only been studied from traditional viewpoints. The richness of the past will always find a line of development in the future. Such strong evidence should suffice to show those scholars that by building fences on the roots of our present we are blackening the horizons of the future.

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TEACHING HISTORICAL LINGUISTICS IN THE NEW CURRICULUM

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Abstract

Based on recent research on the teaching of Historical Linguistics (HL) –and of the teaching of History of English in particular–, in Departments of English in Spain, the aim of this article is to provide some insights into the role of HL in the university curriculum. HL is central to current linguistics research, as shown by the number and quality of recent publications in the field. However, we feel that there has not been much discussion on the teaching of HL in the academic milieu. Few studies have been conducted in this respect, and in this article we would like to follow up the ideas presented and discussed at the Seminar Applying Historical Linguistics, at the ESSSE/4 Conference held in Debrecen (Hungary) in 1997.¹

1. Introduction

Since the 70's, the teaching of HL within English Studies has been progressively abandoned in many European universities. As Schousboe (1997) states, "We may be the last generation who has the chance to teach the subject". It has been argued that the subjects within this area are difficult and useless to the extent that there are many (among our

¹ Other recent works on this topic are Belda (2000) and Guzmán & Verdager (2000).

students and also our colleagues) who wonder why subjects such as *History of the English Language* (HEL) should still be taught.²

In an attempt to *defend* the place of HL in the university curriculum, some teachers are putting a lot of effort in trying to make the discipline more attractive and easier to the students, while others emphasize the pedagogical implications and the general applications of HL. Fabiszak (1997), for example, applies HL at Teacher Training Colleges in Poland with apparently quite good results.

As regards making the subject easier and more attractive, it is perhaps true that the old manuals –Sievers (1882), Luick (1914-40), Campbell (1959)– and the way in which the subject has been taught in many places, has not particularly contributed to its popularity. However, as Ritt (1997) rightly states, it is doubtful whether *HEL* will be made easier by teaching our students the new results of modern research in the field:

In any case, the type of Historical Linguistics that might achieve the kind of breakthrough in our understanding of linguistics variation and its function [...], would, I'm afraid, be difficult to teach in our typical English Courses. If anything, I suspect, it would turn out to be more complex and even less easily accessible than the notorious neogrammarian theory of regular sound change that our students have come to hate so much over the years.

On the other hand, in trying to make things easy for the students we may run the risk of oversimplifying and of passing on out-dated theories and ideas. Stein (1997) and Schousboe (1997), for example, recommend the use of text-books like *The Story of English* (McCrum, Cram & McNeil, 1986), although this book contains some inaccuracies and errors which make it less than ideal for future language teachers and university students.

We believe that all these efforts to find the practical or applied side

² See Tejada (1998:2).

of *HEL* should be seen as an indication of our current social context. In modern technological society there is not a great demand for people with a degree in Philology (as our discipline is still called), and this should be perhaps regarded as a sign of the times. It is in this context that we should see all these attempts to make the subject more practical. Part of what is being done is, in fact, to try to justify the teaching of *HEL*, so that it does not share the fate of other disciplines within the humanities, such as Latin, Greek or Philosophy.

Although we believe that all these efforts to find the *practical* side of the subject are worthy, we think that they are unlikely to solve the existing problems. What should be looked into rather is why HL is put aside in favour not only of *applied* but also of other theoretical subjects like *Morphosyntax*, or even *Chomskian Minimalism*, which are as abstract and complex as *HEL*, and the reasons for the lack of popularity that our subjects have had for some decades in most European universities.

Two aspects—at least—should be taken into consideration. First of all, the wide range of topics covered by some subjects within the area. At our own university, for example, in the old syllabus, a one-year course in *History of English* aimed to present a survey of the major phonetic, morphological, lexical and syntactic changes in the history of the language from Old English (OE) to modern times. In addition, the students were expected to learn the grammar of OE to the extent of being able to translate prose texts (in the first semester), and to know enough Middle English to be able to date and locate dialectal texts (in the second one).

In the new syllabus, we have decided to confine ourselves to presenting some of the main phonetic, morphosyntactic and lexical developments in the English language (the Great Vowel Shift, the development of verbal aspect in English, etc.), and to offer explanations from different perspectives. The idea is to avoid giving students minute details about the grammar and phonology of the different periods of the language, which most of them are not capable of learning, let alone assimilating. In the new programme of the subject there is no OE grammar and translation (there is an obligatory course on OE in the 5th year,

though), and since OE took up about one third of the course, two more topics have been added (*Language Change in the 19th c. and 20th c.* and *Overseas Varieties of English. English in America.*) Finally, the new syllabus tries to focus more on external history with special emphasis on the sociolinguistic aspect of linguistic change.

From our own experience, we can say that another reason for the lack of popularity of this subject is that it has traditionally involved learning enough Old and Middle English to be able to read authentic texts. First of all, our students are no longer used to working with a grammar and a dictionary, as most of us did when we had to translate Latin and Greek at secondary school, so they find it difficult and time-consuming. They are also confused when notions like *ablaut*, *paradigm levelling*, *umlaut*, *declension*, etc. are introduced or even taken for granted. On the other hand, *HEL* presupposes a solid cultural, philological and linguistic background that many of our undergraduates simply lack. Another problem is that they fail to see that *HEL* is related to other courses.³

Besides all this, another important issue to be discussed is the lack of connection between teaching and modern linguistic research. The field of HL has benefited much from the developments of such theoretical linguists: Cognitive Sciences and Psycholinguistics, Sociolinguistics, etc. The problem is that teaching has not usually incorporated the results of linguistic research. In many places, it is still conducted in an old-fashioned way, and text-books used contain outdated terminology and poor methodology, as examination of some the standard text-books clearly shows.

We could give some examples. Schousboe (1997) mentions his wonder at the terminology used in some classes of *HEL*: instead of talking of *phonemes* and *allophones*, the teachers just talked about *letters*

³ This may be due to the traditional emphasis on the phonological aspect. Today, as Schosboe (1997) states, "[the] discipline no longer presents itself as being almost *sui generis*, but is openly related to other disciplines as sociolinguistics or syntax ... In the 60's or 70's many historical linguists were too slow to recognize the potential importance of work done in other branches of linguistics, and the apparent or real isolation of the discipline make it an easy target when new subjects demanded their share in the curriculum".

or confused the terms *letters* and *phonemes* (spelling and pronunciation), as Pyles & Algeo (1982); see Appendix 1. In this article, we have decided to give just one example in the field of dialectology. When dealing with the dialects of the past periods of English, in most text-books OE is still divided into four main varieties: Northumbrian, Mercian, Kentish and West Saxon. The same holds for Middle English, which is, in turn, divided into five: Northern, West and East Midlands, South-eastern and South-western. These divisions ignore the reality of modern dialectology and the results of the last decades of research in the field: the idea of dialect as a continuum, the arbitrary nature of the lines drawn on the maps, etc.; see Appendix 2.

Instead of teaching the distinctive characteristics of five dialects, it would be much more honest to try to make students aware of the great variation that existed in written Middle English by showing them texts from different areas. We could then explain that this variation was the result of the absence of a standard. In this way, students would realize that standards are a relatively new invention and serve a purpose, they are not the best type of language by definition, and therefore should not necessarily be followed.⁴ By proceeding in this way, students can also relate what they learn in class about dialects of the past to other fields like Sociolinguistics, and to what they know themselves about their own personal experience with dialects (in our case, Andalusian dialects). A careful selection of text-books is very important. Burrow & Turville-Petre (1996) is a good example; see Appendix 3.

2. Survey

In an attempt to confirm our intuitions about the shortcomings of the teaching of HL we have found it necessary to ask our students two questions. On the one hand, what they think about the teaching of *HEL* within the University Curricula, and on the other hand what criteria they follow when choosing the optional subjects. To this effect, we

⁴ Based on the Norwegian Western dialects, Ivan Aasen devised the standard *Nynorsk* (New Norwegian) only last century, in order to create a national standard against the Dano-Norwegian *Bokmål*.

compiled a questionnaire which was handed out to 5th year students enrolled at the University of Seville in the academic year 2000-2001. Some of them were taking *Morphosyntax* (compulsory subject), while others were taking *Old English* (optional subject). The total number of participants was 132. The students were asked a number of questions in order to elicit some information on their criteria for choosing either *Old English* (in the case of those taking it as optional subject) or other optional subjects for the students of *Morphosyntax*; see Appendix 4.

The results showed that the most common choice (out of 270 choices) was "having a look at the syllabus" (34.4%), followed by "the interest in the area of study" (25.18%), "the advice from a friend" (24.8%), "the title" (8.1%), "the fact that there was no other choice" (4.4%), "the advice from a teacher" (2.2%), "other criteria" (1.8%), and finally "none of the criteria previously mentioned" (0.7%).

Then the students were asked whether their *expectations* about *HEL* were met or not and to give the reasons why; see Appendix 5. After analysing the results, it can be concluded that they corroborate the ideas we have expressed in the present article, since the students find the subject *useless* and *time-consuming*. Besides, they believe that the terminology used is taken for granted and they cannot relate the subject to others within the curriculum.

3. Conclusions

The main conclusions that can be drawn are the following. First of all, the problem lies not so much in the apparent lack of applicability of the subject, but rather in the old-fashioned way in which it is still taught in many of our universities. Secondly, and as a result of reducing the number of subjects in this area, teachers have felt obliged to condense the contents of *HEL* (the development of language at the different grammar levels) in one year, making the syllabus too dense and difficult for the students.

Ideally the best solution to these problems would be to have an introductory course in language change in the first years, in which the basic concepts about linguistic evolution should be presented. If it were

only possible to have one course in the 4th year, then it would be necessary either to reduce the subject contents in that year, or to offer optional courses in the last two years. Universities such as those of Salamanca and Granada include in their curricula subjects like *Lexicography and Lexicology*, *Introduction to Historical Linguistics*, and *Varieties of English*; see Belda (2000).

With regard to the applicability of *HEL*, we consider that the place of this subject in the university curriculum should not be only dependent on or subordinated to its instrumental value, which has already been rightly stressed. In our opinion, students should be made aware of the fact that the main aim of *HEL* is to understand and have a deeper knowledge of the factors involved in the development of a language and the direction of language change.

Appendix 1

Pyles & Algeo (1982:172-173) can mislead the reader by giving the sound sometimes in-between brackets and at other times simply in italics, as in the following example:

As has been pointed out, the latter changed only slightly in Middle English: [a], in Old English written *a*, as in *stan*, was rounded except in the Northern dialect to [o], in Middle English written *o* (*oo*), as in *stoon*. By the early Modern English period, all the long vowels had shifted: Middle English *e*, as in *sweete* "sweet", had already acquired the value [i] that it currently has, and the others were well on their way to acquiring the values that they have in current English.

Appendix 2

Baugh & Cable (1993:185) shows the already outdated way of presenting the Middle English dialects by insisting on dividing the country into five dialectal areas:

[...] it is rather difficult to decide how many dialectal divisions should be recognized and to mark off with any exactness their respective boundaries. In a rough way, however, it is customary to distinguish four principal dialects of Middle English: Northern, East Midland, West Midland, and Southern. Generally speaking, the Northern dialect extends as far south as the Humber; East Midland and West Midland together cover the area between the Humber and the Thames; and Southern occupies the district south of the Thames, together with Gloucestershire and parts of the counties of Worcester and Hereford, thus taking in the West Saxon and Kentish districts of Old English.

Appendix 3

Trudgill (1990:6) and McIntosh *et al.* (1986:4), by contrast, are two examples of cautiousness when talking about different dialectal boundaries:

People often ask: how many dialects are there in England? This question is impossible to answer. After all, how many places are there to be from? If you travel from one part of the country to another, you will most often find that the dialects change gradually as you go. The further you travel, the more different the dialects will become from the one in the place you started, but the different dialects will seem to merge into one another, without any abrupt transitions. (Trudgill, 1990:6)

[...] students of modern dialects have known since Wenker's *Deutscher Sprachatlas* (publication began in 1870) that dialect divisions are for the most part illusory. Instead of displaying the separate and clearly delineated regional dialects that investigators expected, Wenker's atlas revealed a continuum in which the forms of language made up, map by map, a complex of overlapping distributions. For

the most part, the boundaries of the ranges of occurrence for the various dialectal forms –“isoglosses” as they later came to be called– did not divide the map into a few neatly defined sectors, but formed a vast network of seemingly unrelated lines. (McIntosh *et al.*, 1986:4)

Appendix 4

Indica cuál ha sido tu criterio para elegir las asignaturas optativas que cursas en la actualidad. (Se puede elegir más de una respuesta.):

- He visto el programa y me ha parecido interesante. ☐
- He visto el nombre y me ha parecido interesante. ☐
- Un/a compañero/a me lo ha recomendado. ☐
- Un/a profesor/a me lo ha recomendado. ☐
- El área de estudio me parece interesante. ☐
- No había otra posibilidad. ☐
- Ninguno de los anteriores. ☐
- Otros ☐

Appendix 5

1. Reasons why the subject failed to meet the expectations of students enrolled in *Morphosyntax*:

- “Tenía otro concepto de la asignatura”.
- “Me ha parecido muy complicada”.
- “La materia que se impartía era demasiado difícil”.
- “Me ha resultado bastante difícil”.
- “Me pareció un poco aburrida”.
- “Porque me resulta poco útil para el uso actual de la lengua y la considero demasiado compleja”.
- “No me parece una asignatura interesante o beneficiosa”.
- “Porque no me atrae nada y pienso que hay otras asignaturas que deberán estar en lugar de ésta, mucho más provechosas”.

- “Porque no he entendido nada desde el principio”.
- “El programa era demasiado extenso y profundo para el número de horas lectivas. Esta asignatura necesitaría algunas horas de prácticas para traducir y analizar textos”.
- “Programa demasiado comprimido y organización de la asignatura un poco caótica”.
- “Me parece que el programa intenta abarcar demasiado, por lo que los contenidos no se asimilan adecuadamente”.
- “Creo que es una asignatura que se debería estudiar por lo menos en dos años”.
- “Por falta de base sobre los contenidos. Se dio por sentado que teníamos conocimientos sobre la materia, cosa que no era así”.

2. Reasons why the subject did meet the expectations of students enrolled in *Morphosyntax* too:

- “Los conceptos y temas fundamentales me quedaron muy claros”.
- “El temario era el que esperaba y la parte práctica fue bastante trabajada”.
- “Porque entendí cosas del uso del inglés que antes no comprendía o de las que no supieron darme una explicación”.
- “Porque se profundiza más en la lengua inglesa, en la historia y en su cultura”.
- “Porque me ha permitido ver la evolución seguida por la lengua que estoy estudiando”.
- “Porque me ha permitido conocer el origen de una lengua que es con la que quiero trabajar el día de mañana”.
- “Porque ayuda a explicar muchos aspectos de la lengua inglesa de hoy en día, tales como la pronunciación y las estructuras”.

3. Reasons why the subject failed to meet the expectations of students enrolled in *Old English*:

- “Porque me interesaba mucho el contenido de la asignatura y no se alcanzó”.
- “Porque creo que no se estudia con mucha profundidad”.

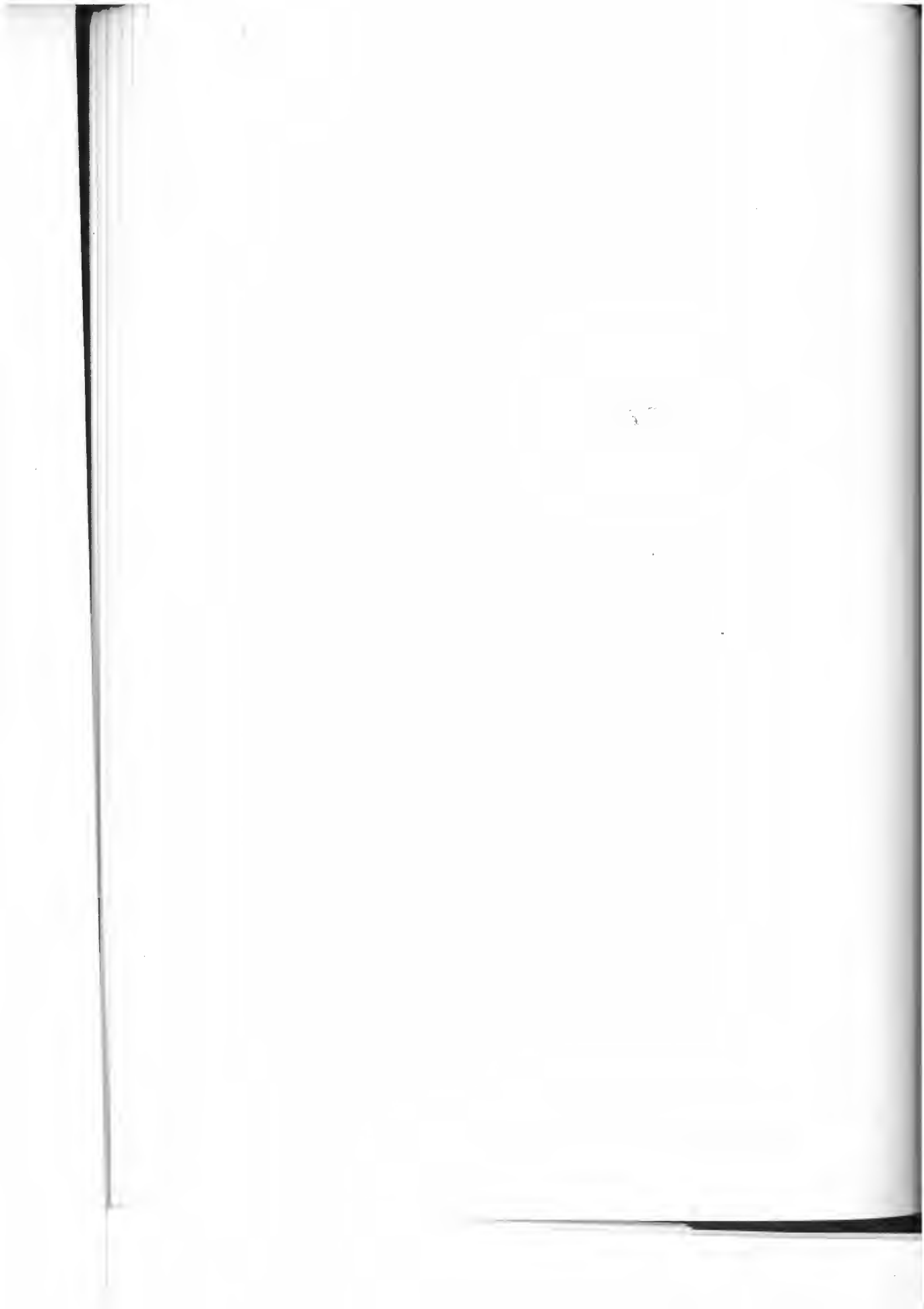
4. Reason why the subject did meet the expectations of students enrolled in *Old English*:

- “Porque no tenía unas expectativas de antemano, pero según avanzaba el curso, ésta me pareció una asignatura muy interesante”.
- “Porque terminé disfrutando de las lecturas en clase, me atraen las cosas del pasado y me divertía conocer lo que los hombres de esa época escribían”.
- “Me interesa mucho la evolución de las lenguas teniendo en cuenta el contexto histórico”.
- “Porque profundicé en la historia de la lengua y considero que la historia de la lengua es fundamental para entender el Inglés Moderno”.
- “Porque comprendí el porqué de muchas estructuras que ahora tenemos en Inglés Moderno, pero por otra parte, no se cumplieron porque se le dedicó muy poco tiempo”.
- “Porque se abarcaron todos los puntos que eran interesantes de la evolución del inglés desde su ‘nacimiento’”.

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ON THE GRAMMATICAL CATEGORY OF GENDER IN OLD AND MIDDLE ENGLISH AGAIN: OF LINGUISTS, TEXTS AND STARSHIPS

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Abstract

In this article I discuss the hypothesis that there may have existed in Old English a "double system of agreement as to gender". Within the Noun Phrase, concordance would conform to grammatical grouping, whereas anaphoric co-reference would be made according to extra-linguistic parameters (\pm sexual dimorphism). Recent approaches suggest that special attention should be paid to a possible spoken colloquial origin for that double concord, the evidence for which is obviously irrecoverable to a great extent. Any research—necessarily long-termed—should pursue two connected paths: a) Re-appraisal of the existing literature, especially that concerning statistical data, dialectal evidence and non-literary texts; b) Examination—re-examination, where relevant—of evidence: first, texts nearer to neutral coloured styles; second, texts related to the Danelaw; then, original OE prose, poetry, and finally translations. These must be pursued taking into account the unavoidable diffraction caused by the limited scope and extent of the OE corpus, the rising importance attributed to Scandinavian influence on English and studies on variation, the actualist methodology and sociolinguistics. The article is, therefore, basically a critical assessment and evaluation of these issues in the proposed research.

1. Introduction

What follows can be called a *sequel* at least in two respects. On the

one hand, it claims continuity with an article published some years ago; see Guzmán (1993). On the other, it is the aftermath of an unpublished paper delivered at the 11th Conference on English Historical Linguistics held in Santiago de Compostela a month ago, whose title was "On gender concord in Old English again: of linguists and texts". For some time now, I have been revising my own view on the evolution of gender from Old to Middle English, a little after the Lassian fashion "in which the author revisits an earlier self and is not entirely satisfied by what he sees, but not entirely repentant" (Lass 1997:332).

Thus, at the SELIM Conference in Córdoba and the subsequent article –Guzmán (1993)–, I concurred with the hypothesis that there may have existed in Old English a double system of agreement as to the grammatical category of gender –suggested, among others, by Classen (1919), Moore (1921), Clark (1957), Baron (1971), but cf. Jones (1988)–. According to this hypothesis, concordance within the noun phrase would have conformed to grammatical grouping. Anaphoric co-reference, however, would have been made according to extra-linguistic *naturalistic* parameters: basically, animateness plus sexual dimorphism where relevant, along lines which are generally described as *current English usage*. Tradition would call the system underlying the first one as *grammatical gender* and that underlying the second as *natural gender*, terms which still seem to be more popular than Corbett's far more accurate *formal* and *semantic* (1991).

This was held as the explanation for the substantial changes that, subsequent to the decay of the inflectional system, the grammatical category of gender seems to have undergone in Middle English. I must state that I still believe this account to be basically correct. It is, though, in great need of much refining, apart from the pretty obvious terminological accuracy needed in accounts dealing with *the arisal of natural gender*: of course, natural (or better, *semantic*) gender would not have *arisen* at all in the Middle English period. Rather, it survived and gained in importance, once concordance within the noun phrase was no longer available after the losses in declensional endings. There is, as well, much to explore as to the extra-linguistic factors on which that semantic gender may have depended in Old English.

Already in 1996, Bruce Mitchell had considered the double system of gender agreement "well worth investigating", since, although "there is evidence that it existed in embryo", the problem is "When and where?".¹ I am of the opinion that to *time and location* other questions must be added, especially those related to pragmatic considerations as to field, tenor, register... Early this year, he suggested that the evidence in works such as the *Peterborough Chronicle* should be carefully re-examined, at the same time that research on other sources, such as the works by Ælfric and Wulfstan, had also to be pursued. He also envisaged colloquial speech as a likely origin for this double concordance, the evidence for which is obviously irrecoverable to a great extent; but see Kitson (1990).

I agree that colloquial speech is the origin of double concordance, of course, but only in so far as anaphoric co-reference according to *natural gender* had very probably been always there. I suspect that the gap between this and concordance within the noun phrase was perhaps not so big in speech as it was in the written language, above all among certain authors. It could even be hypothesised that in the case of certain types of noun phrases (adjective + noun with no deictics, and, for sure, those composed of just the noun element) gender was not the main criterion for the choice of declensional endings and the subsequent agreement, when relevant. Even in the frame of the declensional system current then, where nouns were declined according to the different groups, the statistical unbalance in favour of the biggest declensions underlay, as well, that choice. The evidence for this is all the same very difficult to recover, as is the evidence for other factors affecting gender assignment, such as dialectal, sociolectal, situational ones, etc.

The step from hypothesizing to field work would soon reveal that any project aimed at these questions would be quite wide and long-term research, certainly more suitable for a team rather than for one person, and whose implications could not then (and cannot now) yet be easily determined. In this article, I present a critical summary and detailed

¹ His well-informed opinions have been generously provided on several personal communications. They are herewith kindly acknowledged.

evaluation of the basic lines of such project, in terms of hypotheses, field work and theoretical background.

I believe two connected paths should be pursued in the collection of data and the selection of tools: one, the examination (or re-examination, where relevant) of evidence, and two, the reappraisal of the existing literature. A first impulse (rather naïve in my opinion) could lead us to go straightaway along the first one, in order to avoid any pre-conceived ideas which could bias the textual scrutiny. Nevertheless, the preliminary intellectual equipment to undertake the task on minimum safe grounds do include general and specialist knowledge and expertise in a variety of fields, including Old and Middle English, textual criticism, historical linguistics... just to mention the imperative ones. This is a background from which bias can creep rather inadvertently, in any case, and even for the most carefully critical researcher.² The best cure for that, as I see it, may precisely be to start with the second path mentioned, i.e. the reappraisal of the existing literature.

2. Reappraisal of the existing literature

The grammatical category of gender has originated a great deal of studies, although it is not comparable to other more popular topics in the history of English, such as the Great Vowel Shift or modality, just to mention another two of my favourites. They range from books to theses, from chapters in books to articles of various sizes, from the popular and accessible (and therefore, influential) to those hidden in the most unexpected shelf of a remote library, from the widely-scoped monographs dealing with the category in general (Corbett, 1991) to others focused on absolutely specific points such as Clark's classical article on "Gender in the Peterborough Chronicle, 1070-1154" (1957).

² Sound academic research practice demands a certain amount of bias, in terms of theoretical ascription, probably, provided we keep ready to revise theory when facts stubbornly contradict it.

Many of them are plainly to be assumed as already familiar background. The project should be focused on the literature on the evolution of gender as a grammatical category in the history of English, especially that having to do with statistical data, dialectal evidence and non-literary texts (though other areas such as literary texts must be also taken into account). But even here the literature is fairly disperse, not always easy to track (though the Internet has proved to be an invaluable tool) or even available for consultation. Their quality and scope ranges are quite varied, but, in general, and for different reasons, are good vaccination against the quite understandable temptation to jump at *prima facie* conclusions when textual evidence and figures are abundant. Some are examples of what should be done (or what should not), others provide valuable information about the sources, or about statistical methods, or provide figures which may show the path to start along...

Although it is now too early to advance any clear-cut conclusion (since the survey is here far from finished), some basic points may, however, be raised already, and they will surely expand when the said reappraisal is reasonably advanced. They are related to the three areas listed above, namely, statistics, dialects and non-literary texts.

As far as *statistics* are concerned, I do not intend to make here a moving claim in favour of the need we all have for reliable and theoretically sound statistical methods (which certainly are now in the computing era more available than ever, above all in terms of exhaustivity) instead of just start counting (as many of us have done sometimes). Good research practice simply demands this. But it is worthwhile to revise what has already been done, and not just for the sake of correcting methods or figures, however useful this may be.

It is obvious that much of the previous research gives hints on many things. Those clues which interest me most are the kind of things that still have to be checked in the light of the exhaustivity made available now by computing devices. Among them, we can mention a careful testing of the figures for the assumption that most nouns of males are masculine in Old English, most nouns of females, feminine, many nouns of young living beings, neuter, whereas nouns designating inanimates

vary greatly. We could further ask for the percentages of masculine, feminine and neuter nouns in the different declensions (inclusive of a ranged list of endings in each case) in order to validate whether choice of declension may imply gender associations or not; or for the relative frequency in the language of the different nouns, especially those whose grammatical gender differs from the natural. In this respect, it would be interesting to compare these figures of double concord, separating, in the case of agreement within the noun phrase, those with and without deictics.

Some work –notably Kitson (1990) and Sandred (1991)– has been done recently on the nouns designating inanimates (geographical entities, mainly) appearing in non-literary texts, especially of clearly identified *dialectal* provenance (we should perhaps recall that in a sense, every text in Old English is *dialectal*). Dialectal evidence is interesting for tracing the generally assumed southward direction of most changes but it also raises other questions. Even if we are ready to accept gender variance in inanimates as a geographical variable, we could even suggest enquiries on how this variable correlates with sociological and pragmatical ones, to go on into the real significance of this within the language. Is it similar to Modern English or two-gendered languages like Spanish, where, generally, the assignment criteria tend to be clearly identifiable?³ Furthermore, is it consistent as to concord within and outside the noun phrase?

This is perhaps hard to answer from the kind of texts Kitson (1990) or Sandred (1991) employ: charter boundaries and land charters where many of the nouns appear in phrasings like “to X, from X, along X”. and anaphoric co-reference to these nouns is rather infrequent. *Non-literary texts* of this particular kind are generally assumed to be “much closer to ordinary speech than art prose” (Kitson, 1990:186), and therefore the immediate choice in any attempt at finding some evidence of colloquial

³In Spanish, there are many nouns with two genders where the choice does not depend on sex, but these criteria are quite clearly identifiable, often have reduced scope, (geographical: *computadora/ordenador*, categorial: *cesto/cesta*; sociological: *el/la mar*) and rarely provoke doubts in native speakers. Certainly, adjectives and deictics marked for gender are of great help.

usages... Much closer to ordinary speech? Perhaps... or maybe not. In the discussion following my paper in Santiago, the highly formulaic character of the language of many of these charters was emphasised. Both Fran Colman and Jane Roberts insisted on this point, and on the fact that such formulas were most of the times patterned after their Latin models. We need to remember, besides, that speech and writing are, as Lightfoot (1999:4) has remarked, phenomena of distinct nature, in spite of the intricate connections between them. True: for certain languages at certain periods, the second is the only thing we have for any attempt at validation of the conclusions reached through other ways such as Internal Reconstruction.

But in principle, changes in speech, especially sound changes, do not need to surface and be reflected in writing or *vice versa*. However, it does not seem unreasonable to assume that when certain usages do surface with increasing frequency in written texts, they may be the signal of a change in progress. If those frequencies are lower in literary texts than in others, that usage may have a colloquial origin and speech is likelier to have produced it than writing, above all during the Middle Ages. This kind of texts, on the other hand, has generally been assumed to be closer to *native tendencies* by some. It may well be, though, –but I fear only in the case of those free from set phrases and formulas– that texts less amenable to the influence of foreign languages (i.e. Latin) either because their authors intentionally avoided it (perhaps on grounds having to do with stylistics or register) or because their insufficient knowledge of that language may be scarce. Anyway, my point here is the need to carefully evaluate these texts before we accept them as evidence for our research.

3. Examination of textual evidence.

A critical survey of literature on gender in Old English texts may provide many interesting and valuable data, above all in the case of evidence which might not yet be found in the computerised corpora. I have chosen computerised corpora as the first step in field work for a combination of practical and epistemological reasons. I complained above that literature on gender is disperse: this comprises also the studies on

written material, which dealt with just partial samples of the total amount. So, if we aim at compiling and articulating all (or almost all) information available regarding the historical development of the category of gender, a similar comprehensive spirit should impinge the textual analysis.

Computerised corpora are simply ideal for such an agenda, most outstandingly in the case of the well-known Helsinki and Toronto Corpora. Additionally, it will be interesting to discover whether there are striking divergences between analyses of computerised texts and those carried on formerly on non-computerised editions of the same texts; or whether predictions based upon the latter deviate in any remarkable way from the actual results of a survey on the corpora.

The surveillance order of texts should be organised along two axes: one, the closeness to speech, and two, style. This second parameter was chosen in order to compare data with the situation in Modern English, where *assigned gender* seems to come up most of all in emotionally or figuratively coloured language.⁴ Therefore, textual types nearer to neutral styles such as medicinal recipes, documents, *Laecebob*, *Lacnunga*, chronicles, charters... should come first into the survey, always taking into account the formulaic parts. In the second place, original Old English prose other than the texts I have just mentioned; then, original poetry; finally, translations.

These are many texts, true, and still... I would like to start my discussion of the theoretical background of the research project with Richard Hogg's observation (1992:1-25) of the unavoidable diffraction caused by the limited scope and the reduced extent of the Old English corpus, plus, of course, editorial intervention. I am personally more worried by the first point: we lack sources for the most colloquial speech, which many times contain emotionally or figuratively loaded types of

⁴ *Assigned gender* can be roughly described as the use of covert marks –third person singular and relative pronouns, and sex-sensitive collocations, of the type, *moon*, *mother of dreams*– in a way deviant from the classification currently assumed for English in modern times: that is to say, *he* for human males, *she* for human females and *it* for everything else (where *he*, *she*, *it* stand for the relevant complete set of pronouns and collocations).

texts (graffiti, jargons...). This is not easily made up for by mathematic calculation of probabilities, which could be extremely helpful to override the scarcity of written sources, should we have a representative sample of all kinds of texts. But even though..., even though we had much more than the scarce amount that has reached us, we would still have a very imperfect tool.

Not that I object to the use of corpora. How possibly could I, when historical linguists have always been, by the very nature of our trade, practitioners long before the expression *corpus linguistics* was even coined? Corpus linguistics, especially after the compilation of the really huge corpora, has contributed immensely to expand the possibilities of *objectivity* and *exhaustiveness* more than ever before in this kind of field work. An unpleasant side effect of this has been the illusion that *pure objectivity* and *absolute exhaustiveness* could be effectively attained. This has subsequently led to an excessive focus on strict induction at the expense of theory and abduction from which "facts in science are, in principle, never wholly untainted. (...) The process of their selection, gathering, analysis and interpretation is heavily dependent on abductive and theoretical reasoning" (Givón, 1999:93).

This is so even in the case of the Old English language where, unless some dramatic archaeological discovery takes place, the possibilities for selection and gathering of data (textual sources) are frankly reduced. Advance in photography and computing might allow in the future for a complete survey of every written source for Old English, including wonderfully clear pictures of every manuscript, and every edition available.⁵ This would certainly reduce the distortion caused by editorial intervention, but even so, that presumed immaculate objectivity will not be safe and sound. The simplest grouping that, for the sake of practicality, any editor may impose on that prospective corpus implies a classification, a typology of texts whose assumptions must necessarily

⁵ In the 1970s, for example, the NASA set up a fund to apply space technology to terrestrial uses, among them the image enhancement of manuscripts, which proved useful, for instance, for the badly damaged folio 179 of the *Beowulf* manuscript. For further details see Crystal (1995:437).

taint it, not to mention retrieval devices, tagging, etc. And then we have to count on the closed character of our evidence. This, which some synchronic linguists envy us as an advantage, is to me a crucial drawback: we lack native speakers' judgements, and I feel we still need more than statistics and mere induction to draw a picture. The role of native speakers' intuitions regarding acceptable usage is a major theoretical issue that remains controversial, as does the value of certain texts for analysis and the notion of *mistake* for linguistic analysis.

As far as the arrangement of results for interpretation, they must of course be aligned according to time and geographical provenance (taking into account textual transmission). Special attention, though, should be paid to texts related to the Danelaw, notably Northumbrian texts. This is due to the rising importance attributed to the Scandinavian influence on English –see González Fernández-Corugedo (1995)–, a view far more compatible with the southward direction of most important changes in Middle English than the decisive role traditionally accorded for French in the development of the English language.

Re-evaluation of the Scandinavian influence is crucial for a number of reasons, the best known of which being prompted by “the substitution of such important everyday morphological items as the third person plural pronominal elements or the third person singular verbal endings” (González Fernández-Corugedo, 1995:117). Now, the important thing to observe here is that, while any possible influence of Norman French is generally dated within the Middle English period –much as we might dislike chronological boundaries and labels–, the adoption of the features mentioned, and some others, are ultimately of Scandinavian origin. They are the immediate result of inter-dialectal borrowing in Middle English –at least in the case of these and other verbal forms from Northern dialects–, where they were part of the system well before William's invasion.

This obviously implies a large-scale language-contact situation whose exact terms are now subject to much controversy and for which different scenarios have been put forward. The declensional decay (with the already known consequences for *grammatical* i.e. *formal* gender) clearly related

to it has been alternatively interpreted either as "an inherent tendency to simplify morphology in the linguistic system of Anglo-Saxon", reinforced by these contacts or as a "as the result of a creoloid development, an accommodation across different, but similar, languages by speakers trying to communicate effectively with one another in day-to-day interaction" (Milroy, 1997:321). Mapping of features in documents related and not related to the Danelaw may provide support for one or the other view, although our readiness to accept them depends, above all, of our theoretical preferences.⁶

Historical linguistics has been particularly worried by theory framing for the last few years, as it was boosted by the 1998 edition of the International Conference on English Historical Linguistics (ICEHL) held in Manchester. Advance in this respect would have been seriously handicapped without the acknowledgement of a bunch of ideas we now take for granted, but which used to be frowned upon not so long ago: the primary role of language as a communicative/expressive tool of humans as social beings; linguistic variation as the natural state of languages, from which change arises; the fundamental distinction between innovation and change.

The application of sociolinguistic methods to the study of language change has produced many exciting results above all in the description of changes in progress, but also when applied to former stages of a language. In this case, though, it is more problematic, especially for periods such as Old English, where the scarcity of materials renders the identification of important notions such as *social networks* almost impossible. Somewhat easier is the use of pragmatic notions such as *tenor*, *field*, *mode of discourse*, *medium of transmission* and *attitude*. Although variation is likewise seriously reduced for Old English sources, I would judge it far more productive to attempt a classification according to these and other notions in text typology than impressionistically invoke

⁶ In my opinion, González-Fernández-Corugedo (1990) is quite right in pointing out that Scandinavians need not have been particularly liked for the simple fact that they were some kind of second cousins. They were there, and that is enough cause for a language-contact situation, although I am still reluctant to abandon the idea that likeness of languages favoured the mixture.

style, or *literary devices*, or *knowledge of Latin and grammar* for Ælfric usage, for instance. In any case, it must be stressed that we keep working under the *Uniformitarian principle*—as re-formulated by Lass (1997) or Labov (1994)—and the subsequent actualist methodology when we place semantic gender in OE as original from colloquial speech, or when we assume some non-literary texts as nearer to colloquial speech.

True: all this is not enough to produce a complete picture of language change, or even a complete picture of particular changes. For example, we need to invoke studies on categorisation in order to fully understand the evolution of gender in English. I wonder whether today somebody seriously takes Baugh's triumphalistic account (Baugh & Cable, 1993:11): "In the third place, English enjoys an exceptional advantage over all other major European languages in having adopted natural in place of grammatical gender". Nevertheless, I find it symptomatic of a certain tendency to forget that gender is just a linguistic device to that deeply-rooted human need to classify things. It happens to be the most frequent in Indo-European languages, though one among many, as we, speakers of languages with what I am sometimes tempted to call *unnatural gender* are well aware of. I, for one, cannot find any specifically feminine feature in a table (*mesa* in Spanish) as opposed to the masculinity of an *armario* (cupboard). On the contrary, the latter quite contradicts the usual feminine archetype of *container*. I would like to emphasise that I am far from any attempt at any *postcolonial* revision of grammatical facts or grammatical description: however, the fact that most descriptions of gender tend to be biased from the side of the importance ascribed to parameters such as animateness or sexual dimorphism must not be so easily discarded. Maybe this importance is what underlies the distinction between gender and categorisation—just a terminological one in many scholars' view—.

In any case, we cannot forget that both notional and grammatical facts interact in the shaping of any linguistic history and, for all that matters, in the shaping of any linguistic historian. Work on the project I have just described hopes to help bring about food for thought not only on the evolution of a category in a particular language, but also on language contact and linguistic evolution, evaluation of sources and use

of textual types, history of linguistic description... Languages, as any historically-evolved organisms, cannot be approached from just one side and just one lens, and any study performed on them, however small the item we choose to explore, may provide insights into wider general issues and thus help knowledge grow. This is our main business as researchers. After all, as Captain Kirk put it for his own explorations on board of the Enterprise: "That is what this starship is all about".

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ALDRED'S GLOSSES TO NUMISMATIC TERMS IN THE LINDISFARNE GOSPELS

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Abstract

This article studies an aspect of the Aldredian glosses to the Lindisfarne Gospels which has not attracted much attention from scholars, the numismatic terminology used to render the Latin glossemes. The comparison of the terms provided by our glossator with those used in contemporary documents and the study of their appropriateness to render the biblical terms show that, even though Aldred fell into some inconsistencies and used some terms which were evidently inappropriate for a particular context, there is a general characteristic in all of them: the aim to make the Latin text as easily understandable as possible and to keep as close to the Latin terminology as he can. This is a characteristic shared by other aspects of the glosses, as far as the vocabulary and the additional information provided in the marginalia are concerned.

Aldred wrote his glosses to the *Lindisfarne Gospels* in the late 10th century, immersed in the intellectual revival of the *Benedictine Renaissance*. He attempted to make the Latin text of the gospels understandable for the members of his community. Hence, he not only presented a word-for-word translation of the Latin glossemes, but he also introduced additional comments regarding the evangelical content itself, which show a thorough understanding of the works of the Fathers of the Church. This article investigates how Aldred's zeal to make the Latin text understandable, both in the provision of multiple glosses and the transmission of Patristic theories, is also evidenced in his glosses to the

biblical numismatic terminology. Nonetheless, we will have to face the problem that, as explained by Lyon (1976:209), "clear, unambiguous information from documentary sources about the Anglo-Saxon monetary system is almost completely lacking".

Aldred's attempt to provide a gloss as close as possible to the original meaning of the Latin glosseme is emphasised by many of the scholars who have studied these glosses. For instance, Curme (1912:181) claimed that "anyone who will study carefully the many double and triple renderings in these glosses will see how conscientiously the glossarist had endeavoured to be true to both the Latin and the native tongue". Nonetheless, sometimes this attempt is not as successful as the glossator would have wanted it to be, for there are certain contexts in which his glosses are totally inaccurate, or rather, not appropriate for the context in which they appear.

An example of this can be seen in the glosses to the Latin glosseme *talentum*. The native word selected to render this term is *cræft* in all its appearances (Matt. cap. lxxxiii, Matt. 18.24, Matt. 25.20, Matt. 25.22, Matt. 25.24, Matt. 25.25, Matt. 25.28).¹ Corswant (1960) explains that, in the New Testament, the *talent* was a Greek unit of money-reckoning equal to 6.000 *denarii* (or 60 *minæ*), whereas the Aldredian gloss evidences that the glossator took the word to mean "a special natural ability or aptitude, usually for something expressed or implied; a natural capacity for success in some department of mental or physical activity; an accomplishment" (*OED2*). In fact, this meaning is a figurative use of the word, taken from the parable of the talents (Matt. 25.14-30).²

St Luke decided to substitute *talentum* for *mina* (*mna*), the other Greek unit of money-reckoning, in the parallel account of the talents parable (Lk. 19.13, Lk. 19.16, Lk. 19.18, Lk. 19.20, Lk. 19.24, Lk.

¹ Abbreviations: cap.: each of the *Capitula Lectionum* which precede each of the gospels; Jn.: the gospel according to St John; Lk.: the gospel according to St Luke; Mk.: the gospel according to St Mark; Matt.: the gospel according to St Matthew; Zec.: Zechariah.

² This is not the only context in which Aldred provided a gloss which did not totally fit the context in which it is included. For instance, *Antichristos* is glossed as *bifore vel antichrist* in St Jerome's preface to the gospel according to St Matthew. Likewise, the Latin text *iecerint nomen uestru' tamquam malum* (Lk. 7. 22) is rendered as *auorpað noma iuer suelce ysle vel apoltre*. See also below.

19.25). In this case, Aldred seems to have been aware of the correct designation of the word, and rendered it with other units of money, *ora* and *libra*. Both units are identified in Lk. 19.13 and Lk. 19.16, where they are joined by the conjunction *vel*, whereas only the Latin term is used in the other contexts. Sometime in the tenth century, the Scandinavian term *ora* began to be used to denote the one-fifteenth of a pound, both as a weight (namely an ounce) and as the nominal value of sixteen pence.³ This is the value which appears, for instance, in IV Æthelred 9 (c. 984-985), which has some parallels in later texts: a document dating from the reign of Henry III mentions a payment of two *oras*, in value 32 pence, and the *Leges inter Brettos and Scotos*, based on OE law, also gives 16 pence to the *ora*. Nonetheless, the *Domesday Book* states once and again that the *ora* contained 20 pence.⁴ Whatever the exact value of the *ora* might have been, it is obvious that the Aldredian identification is not totally accurate, for both alternatives provided would not have had the same value. It seems that Aldred was rather interested in making the reader aware of the fact that the Latin glosseme should be understood as a unit of account and not as a coin.

The well-established use of the Scandinavian unit *ora* in Northumbria is evidenced by the fact that Aldred used this term in the colophon which he included at the end of the gospel according to St John to indicate two payments that he had made, one to enter St Cuthbert's community (*æht ora seolfres*) and the other for the salvation of his soul (*feour ora seolfres*).⁵

Nonetheless, the distinction between coins and units of account may not always have been observed by the glossator. *Triginta argenteis* in Matt. cap. lxxxv is rendered also in a generic sense, *ðriitig seolferne*. Aldred did not try to identify these "silver coins" with any of his time. We could hypothesise that he had recognised that they are a reference to Zech. 11.12-13, and that, as explained by Mertens (1989:725), they have a

³ See Pons Sanz (in press) for a discussion of the etymology of the word.

⁴ See Round (1908), Harvey (1967) and Nightingale (1983; 1984).

⁵ The native term *pund* is only used to render the weight of oil and ointment (Jn. 12.3 and Jn. 19.39, respectively) and not to refer to money.

symbolic value rather than a monetary value.⁶ Nonetheless, this hypothesis does not seem to be acceptable, for he decided to gloss *argenteos* as *scilling* in the other appearances of the word (Matt. 26.15, Matt. 27.3, Matt. 27.5, Matt. 27.9). This identification is problematic, though, for Chadwick (1963:12) explains that, from the eighth century onwards, the *shilling* was not a coin, but a unit of account. The identification of the value of this unit is quite difficult. On the one hand, we can find some Mercian texts where it is equated with 4 pence, whereas the regular reckoning in Wessex seems to have been 5 pence, according to Chadwick (1963:13-20), Lyon (1976:186-187), Seaby (1985:43), etc. Chadwick, when commenting on the value of the *shilling* in Mercia, indicates that "there is some reason for believing the same equation to have prevailed in the Northumbrian kingdom" (1967:15). On the other hand, Nightingale (1984:236) suggests that, after Eadgar's reform of the coinage in the tenth century, the twelve-penny *shilling* would have been introduced and might have superseded the other values, due to Eadgar's insistence on a unified accounting system.

Nevertheless, it might actually be the case that Aldred's gloss was not totally inadequate. Besides Chadwick's (1963:8) suggestion that, before the eighth century, this term would have been used to refer to gold coins, we also find that Lyon (1976:178, n.2) indicates that the term *scilling* could have been used generally to denote a coin even in the tenth century, for in other tenth-century sources it glosses *numisma* and also *obelus*, which, in the form *obulum* (i.e. "half a *denarius*"), is elsewhere glossed as *sceatta*.

The aforementioned values of the *shilling* and its problematic reference force us to pay close attention to the glosses to the Latin term *denarius*, for they seem to identify the *shilling* with the *penny*. The Latin glosseme is rendered as *penning* in most of the appearances of the word (Matt. 20.2, Matt. 20.8, Matt. 20.10, Matt. 20.13, Matt. 22.19, Mk. 6.37, Mk. 12.15, Lk. cap. lxxxii, Lk. 7.41, Lk. 10.35, Lk. 20.24, Jn.

⁶ Neither St Mark nor St Luke specify the amount which Jude received as payment for having betrayed the Lord. They just indicate that he was given *pecuniam*.

6.7, Jn. 12.5). Nonetheless, *scilling* is also chosen in Matt. 18.28 and Mk. 14.5. In Jn. 12.5, *penning* and *scilling* are presented as equivalent terms, united by the Latin conjunction *vel*. *Penning* (or its alternative form, *pending*), which referred to a silver coin, seems to be the most appropriate gloss for the Latin word, for it is the term generally used in charters and laws instead of *denarius* (Frey, 1947; Chadwick, 1963:9) and from this circumstance it probably retained the abbreviation *D* or *d*. Owun, the glossator of part of the *Rushworth Gospels* who followed very closely the Aldredian work, may not have agreed with this identification.⁷ In Jn. 12.5, he chose only *penning*, which could be explained by the fact that this is the first option provided by Aldred, and Owun had a tendency to reduce Aldred's multiple glosses by choosing only the first term. Nonetheless, *scilling* is the only alternative provided by Aldred in Mk. 14.5 and, in spite of that, Owun decided to render the Latin glosses as *penning*. Farman, the glossator of the gospel according to St Matthew in the *Rushworth Gospels* preferred the term *dinere* (or *denere*) for all the appearances of *denarius*.⁸

The term *scilling* also takes part in another confusing gloss, this time to render *drachma*. Corswant (1960) points out that, in the New Testament, a *drachma* (or *drachm*, as mentioned in Frey, 1947) was a silver coin which corresponded to 16 *assaria*, the *assarion* being a bronze coin which was equivalent to 4 *quadrans*. Aldred glossed *drachmas decem* as *fif sceattas tea siðum* in Lk. 15.8, whereas in Lk. 15.9 the gloss chosen to render *drachmam* is *scilling*. The *sceatta* (or *sceat*, as is also known among numismatists) was a small thick silver coin, varying in weight from about seven to twenty grains. The laws of King Æthelberht of Kent ascribed to 602-3 identified 20 *sceattas* with 1 *scilling*, while Aldred implied the identification 5 *sceattas* = 1 *scilling*, having rendered 10 *drachmas* as 50 *sceattas*. Owun does not seem to have been aware of this problematic identification, for he followed his model in both cases. We might think that these glosses reflect a change in the value of the terms, although it might be more appropriate to suggest

⁷ See Ross (1979).

⁸ This word may be related to the Frankish term *denier* rather than to the Latin term *denarius*, from which the Frankish term would have derived.

that, as in the previous case, the glossator was not interested in the actual values of the terms he used.

Drachmam is rendered as *caesaring* in Lk. 15.8, a choice which is also followed by Owun. *Caesaring* is also the gloss for *drachma* in Lk. cap. lxi. The same Anglo-Saxon term is used to render the two appearances of *didrachma* (i.e. 2 *drachmas*) in Matt. 17.24; in the first case it is followed by *caesares gæfel*, whereas in the second case it appears on its own, most probably due to the fact that the meaning of *caesaring* had already been clarified. Farman also glossed both appearances of the word as *caesaring*. In the gospel according to St Matthew, the gloss "tribute due to the Caesar" is very appropriate due to the context in which it appears, where Christ is accused of not having paid the tribute to the temple. Nonetheless, in the gospel according to St Luke, *drachma* evidently means a coin. Boyd (1975:32), when commenting on the glosses to *sabbato*, points out that "we note the very human characteristic of the glossator, using the same word for a string of instances; then, when there has been a break, using another gloss". In this case we find that the opposite solution has been adopted by the glossator, i.e. he chose to translate a word according to its sense in a particular context and not according to its etymological meaning, and, when a similar word appeared later in the text, he decided to continue with that gloss, even though it was not totally appropriate.

St Matthew indicates that Jesus used another numismatic term instead of *didrachma* to refer to the coin which Peter would find in the mouth of a fish and with which he should pay the tribute (Matt. 17.27). This term, *staterem*, is rendered as *þæt wæs feor trymes vel uiiii*. According to Mertens (1989), the *stater* was a silver coin equivalent to the *didrachma*. *Trymes* seems to derive from Latin *tremissis* (i.e. *triens*), the name of a Roman and a Frankish coin which would be the third part of a *solidus*, according to Chadwick (1967:10). It has been suggested (e.g. Brooke, 1950:2) that it was an adaptation in the English coinage system of the Merovingian *tremissis*. The life of this gold coin would not have been very long since, by the middle of the seventh century or the eighth century at the latest, it would have been substituted by silver coins. Nonetheless, this identification is quite problematic and, for instance,

Steward (1986:29, n.11) prefers to call these gold coins *shillings*, which, as explained above, were sometimes used to render *solidus* in law codes. Kent (1961:9) mentions that the only authorities for the use of this word appear to be eleventh-century legal texts which identify it with three pence. Owun glossed this word as *scilling*, which might be taken as further evidence of the use of this term to refer to coins and not only to units of account.

The gloss proposed for *minuta* in Mk. cap. xli presents a similar case to the glosses for *talentum*. This term is glossed in this context as *lytla*, which evidences that Aldred took the word to be the past participle of the Latin verb *minuare*, i.e. *minutus*, which meant "made smaller, small, petty, insignificant", whereas he should have identified it as the plural form of *minutum*, a bronze coin. The evangelical text itself clarifies that it is used to refer to a coin, for, in Mk. 12.42, it indicates *duo minuta quod est quadrans*. In this context Aldred provided the following gloss: *tuoēge stycas þ[æt] is feorðung penninges*, which is accepted by Owun. Numismatists call *stycas* the Northumbrian coins equivalent in size to the *sceattas* and formed by a composition chiefly of copper, zinc and silver (Chadwick, 1963:3), with traces of gold, lead and tin (Frey, 1947). The name seems to derive from OE *stycce*, "piece, portion, bit, fragment" (Clark Hall & Meritt, 1993). These coins appear to have begun with the reign of Ecgfrith (670-685) and to have concluded in the year 875, when the Danish king Halfdan conquered the territory. This would mean that, by the time Aldred wrote his glosses, this coin would have passed out of circulation a long time before. Therefore, it is not obvious that Aldred was thinking about this Northumbrian coin when he provided this gloss, for he might again have taken the Latin glosseme to mean "small, petty" and might have provided a native word which also meant "small part".⁹ In fact, once he had been provided with the equivalence $2 \text{ minuta} = 1 \text{ quadrans}$, he used the term with which he had glossed *quadrans*, *feorðung*, for the only other appearance

⁹ We should take into account that *ymbe stycce* is translated as "after a short time" by Clark Hall & Meritt (1993).

of the word.¹⁰ Thus, *minuta duo* is glossed as *feorðungas tuoeg vel on feorðunge* in Lk. 21.2. Aldred seems to have forgotten the exact equivalence, which he had given in the previous gospel.

As explained above, the *quadrans* was a bronze coin equivalent to of an *assarion*. Thus, the gloss *feorðung penninges* for *quadrans* may not be totally accurate. It seems that Aldred let himself be led by the etymological meaning of the Latin word, "a quarter", and identified it with the *farthing*, the fourth part of a silver penny, which received its name from the practice of cutting pennies into quarters. Specimens of these coins have been found dating back to the time of Edward the Confessor (Frey, 1947).

Even though spatial limitations do not allow of a thorough study of the Anglo-Saxon coinage system and its relationship with the Greek and Roman systems operating during Bible times, the previous notes should have evidenced that Aldred's carefulness shown in his glosses to fundamental religious terms is still maintained as far as numismatic terms are concerned. Admittedly, his rendering of these terms is not as accurate as that of the religious terminology, but this might be due to the fact that numismatic terminology was an area of the Bible on which monks would not have concentrated most of their attention. Thus, Aldred was forced to make the most out of his knowledge. Even in those cases when inappropriate glosses are presented, there seems to be a certain etymological reason for the terms provided by the glossator. Likewise, in those cases when not totally equivalent terms are given as alternatives, the distinction between coins and units of account are carefully maintained; for instance, Aldred consistently used a term like *shilling* to refer to a coin, which might be taken as further evidence of the ambivalent use of the term. Therefore, this article should be seen as further support for the praises that the work of this glossator has received among scholars.

¹⁰ See Pons Sanz (in press) for an explanation of the possible Scandinavian origin of this word.

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MIXING AND MATCHING MEANINGS MAKES A THESAURUS...

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Abstract

This article, which is based on a talk given at the 13th International Selim Conference, University of Jaén 2000, relates to the Historical Thesaurus of English project, for which the Thesaurus of Old English (1995) was a pilot study. Three topics are addressed: difficulties presented by metaphor when analysing word meaning; some problems specific to editing the Thesaurus of Old English; and work going ahead towards a thesaurus of Middle English.¹

1. The beginnings of the historical thesaurus, or mixing and matching

The Historical Thesaurus of English (HTE) project began in 1965, under the direction of Professor Michael Samuels.² Professor Samuels retired a few years ago, but he is still very actively associated with the project, which is now directed by Professor Christian Kay. It is therefore hardly surprising that one question is asked over and over again of all of us connected with the Glasgow Historical Thesaurus of English project:

¹ I should like to thank the staff and students of the English Department at the University of Jaén for their warm and generous hospitality.

² For descriptions of the HTE project and of work on Old English and Middle English see van Dalen-Oskam *et al.* (1997:31-54).

“When will it be finished?” For more years than I care to remember the same question was asked about the *Thesaurus of Old English* (TOE), its pilot study.³ Well, first the individual word senses had to be entered on to slips, together with the dates across which that particular sense is recorded as being in use. At the same time, a framework for displaying the word senses had to be devised. And the seemingly endless task of sorting through and arranging thousands of flimsy slips of paper could get under way once the data started piling up. Rather than describe the swings between tedium and serendipity involved I should like to begin by asking you to think through some of the processes involved. To make things easier, we shall focus on a few words from one semantic domain: *Food and Drink*. A thesaurus is as big or as small as its compiler chooses, and yours is very small. If you have a pencil, you can underline all the words appropriate to the domain. Your corpus is a few lines of Middle English describing a generous Londoner from the late fourteenth century:

His breed, his ale, was always after oon;
A bettre envyned man was nowher noon.
Withoute bake mete was nevere his hous
Of fissh and flessh, and that so plenteuous,
It snewed in his hous of mete and drynke;
Of alle deyntees that man koude thynke,
After the sondry sesons of the yeer,
So chaunged he his mete and his soper.⁴

Picking out the Food and Drink words is a simple enough matter:

*ale, bake, mete, breed, deyntees, drynke, envyned, fissh, flessh,
mete, mete, soper*

An alphabetical list shows their dominance in these few lines of verse, but leaves the meanings of the individual items for its readers to guess. How are the words that have shifted in meaning to be explained to someone who has read little Chaucer? To complicate matters, one of

³ Roberts & Kay with Grundy (1995).

⁴ Chaucer, “General Prologue”, lines 341-348: Benson (1987:29).

the words, *mete*, occurs three times, and not always in the same meaning. A more schematicized arrangement would provide some guidance as to meaning:

mete
.bake mete
.deyntees
breed
fless
fiss

drynke
.ale
.envyned

mete
.soper

Here an extravagant use of space allows the eye to distinguish three groups of Food and Drink words, and indentation accompanied by a simple point indicates some degree of subordination. Similar information could be given, as is often the way of thesauruses, in a string:

mete, bake mete, deyntees; breed; fless; fiss; drynke, ale, envyned; mete, soper.

Two levels of punctuation suggest degrees of similarity in meaning, with bold face marking out *mete* as the overarching word for the group. If ever you have used a Roget,⁵ you will remember rightaway how necessary it is to know the meanings of the words you are looking for, when confronted with a tightly packed column of information. Clearly there are three different word senses for *mete*, and the groupings point towards their recognition. These differences are made transparent by the addition, in bold face, of some indication of meaning before the forms:

⁵ Roget (1853). Many editions and versions have been published.

Food: mete

. *Baked: bake mete*

. *Titbits: deynteas*

Bread: breed

Meat: flessch

Fish: fissh

Drink: drynke

. *Beer: ale*

. *Provided with wine: envyned*

A meal

. *Main meal: mete*

. *Evening meal: soper*

The defining words to the left designate the sense selected for a particular thesaurus context, space is used to separate off sets of words that seem to group together, and indentation together with dots to suggest subordination indicates semantic inclusion. In a very primitive way we have created a hierarchical ordering of the Food and Drink words used in Chaucer's description of the Franklin, using as metalanguage the meanings supported by the text. If you have used the *TOE*, you will have realised that I have been taking you through something like the mixing and matching operation that lies behind its entries. For the *TOE*, however, the word senses, or data, were not assembled *ad hoc* and intuitively, but were taken from the standard dictionaries for Old English.⁶ More importantly, the principal data of the parent HTE project come from the *Oxford English Dictionary (OED)*.⁷ In effect, the alphabetically arranged materials of the *OED*, a multivolume historical dictionary, have been excerpted, for mixing and matching into an historical thesaurus of English, that is a hierarchical classification of the word senses recorded for the English language.

⁶The main dictionaries used were: Bosworth & Toller (1898), Toller (1921), Campbell (1972), and Clark Hall & Meritt (1960).

⁷*OED* refers to *The Oxford English Dictionary*, Oxford 1933. *OED2* refers to Weiner (1989).

With the Food and Drink words from Chaucer's description of the Franklin, some of the modern defining language used is identical, give or take the spelling of Chaucer's forms. The words are for the most part native words that have lasted well across the centuries: *ale*, *bake mete*, *breed*, *drynke*, *fissh*, *flessh*, *mete*, *mete*. Indeed, only one word is opaque, and it was just as unusual then as now. There is something extravagant about the hapax legomenon *envyned*, suggesting a man proud of his well-stocked cellar, and perhaps a little pompous in his attention to vintages. The word cries out for some limitation, which might be supplied by the date for its single attestation given in the *OED*. And by adding dates you would begin to make plain the historical dimension of your thesaurus. The *OED* gives the simple single date 1386; the *Middle English Dictionary* (*MED*) has:⁸

(c1387-95) Chaucer *CT.Prol.* (Manly-Rickert) A342: *A better envyned man was nowher noon.*

Which dates should be used? In the *TOE* we did not supply dates, making no distinctions either according to period or dialect. Thus, the *TOE* is presented as a synchronic thesaurus, and there is no attempt at differentiation between early Old English (i.e. before the Benedictine or to c950), central Old English and late Old English (say, after c1125). Such differentiation must await the completion of the Toronto *Dictionary of Old English* (*DOE*), for the current dictionaries do not give access to such detail.⁹ For the purposes of the HTE project, once the *TOE* materials are matched into the main *OED*-derived data of the HTE, early Middle English forms will, for the most part, be identifiable. For a thesaurus of Middle English (*TME*), a project being undertaken at King's College London by Louise Sylvester,¹⁰ the plan is to follow the lead given by the *OED* Revised Edition team and to attempt, where appropriate, to

⁸ Kurath & Kuhn (1954-).

⁹ Most of the Old English materials had been excerpted before the appearance of DiPaolo Healey & Venezky (1980). This was followed by Venezky & Butler (1985). The first letter edited, Fasc. D, appeared in 1986, followed by Fasc. C, 1988, Fascs. B, 1991, Fasc. Æ, 1992, Fasc. Beon, 1992, Fasc. A, 1994 and Fasc. E, 1996.

¹⁰ See Roberts & Sylvester (1997).

incorporate the dual dating system of the *MED*.¹¹ Although cumbersome, these dates should supply better evidence for changes in lexis than can be obtained from the downloaded HTE files which will serve as the nucleus for the TME.

2. Some problems presented by metaphor

So far all the words we have considered were nouns and adjectives because of the limitation of the corpus to the Food and Drink words in the description of the Franklin. But, before we leave the Franklin and this simple exercise, we should give some thought to the meaning of one of the verbs of the passage: *snewed*. Obviously it is cognate with to day's weather verb *to snow*, and a general note adds the caution that "[t]he evidence for survival in mod. dial. is very slight; it is doubtful whether *snew*, to swarm, is the same word". According to the *OED*, the intransitive verb *snew* is used from Old English through to 1746; and there is a second transitive meaning "to sprinkle like snow", recorded for c1440. But tucked neatly in below the main *OED* citations for the intransitive meaning "to snow" there is one further citation:

fig.
c1386 CHAUCER *Prol.* 347 *It snowed in his hous of mete and drynke.*

Should this additional sense be excerpted for an historical thesaurus? The simple message "*fig.*", which explains the Chaucer citation, could be accommodated in a single thesaurus entry for the intransitive *snew*: with the meaning "to snow; also *fig.*"; together with the dates of usage "OE—1530+1746" (where — indicates continuous use, + a break in representation and 1746 a last single instance). Alternatively a second separate slip for the intransitive *snew* could record: for meaning "to snow (*fig.*)"; and for dates of usage "1386". And whereas the literal (or weather)

¹¹ See further Sylvester (2000:557-569). A sample from the current HTE database files for Education, with additional *MED* evidence, is discussed in this article.

snew should join weather words, the figurative *snew* should find its place among very general words that deal with the dispersion of large quantities. Metaphorically the intransitive *snew* seems not unlike the dialect *snew* "to swarm". That food should *snew* in the Franklin's house is intriguing, and critics have written on both the inappropriateness of the word and its appropriateness. Keenan finds about the passage an implicit comparison with the miracle of manna in the desert (Exodus 16:14) and therefore senses that the Franklin's feast becomes ambiguous on account of its Eucharistic shadows.¹² More recently Miller paints a bleaker view of the Franklin as an Epicurean who substitutes worldly for spiritual reality in order to be assured of "delit".¹³ The use of *snew* in the "General Prologue" to mean something like "to fall copiously" is unusual and peculiarly appropriate, and it is easily understood because of the transitive use of *rain* in phrases like "it rained cats and dogs". Yet, if *snew* is recorded in figurative use once only, surely this figurative usage is best left with the parent category? Whether or not such an ill-attested figurative usage is entered may depend on a pragmatic decision. Its inclusion could help towards the identification of metaphorical trends within the lexis as a whole.¹⁴

3. Some metaphoric compounds of Old English poetry

How to deal with the metaphoric compounds of OE poetry was a difficult problem to be faced in the making of the *TOE*. For example, I remember agonising over how many meaning components to represent for *ealuscerwen* (*Beowulf* line 769) and *meoduscerwen* (*Andreas* line 1526), before cutting back what had become a proliferation of these two hapax legomena about the classification. The succession of possible equivalences listed by Wrenn, "dire distress; horror; misery; terror", in the glossary to his edition of *Beowulf*, where an excellent reasoned overview of the

¹² Keenan (1978).

¹³ Miller (1984-85).

¹⁴ See the discussion by Kay & Wotherspoon (forthcoming).

passages is presented,¹⁵ seemed grounds for the appearance of these compounds in two places only in the *TOE* classification:

06.01.08.06.02 Great fear, terror, horror: angrisla°, broga, cwealmþrea^{op}, ealuscerwen^{op}, folcegesa^{op}, grisla°, gryre, gryrebrogā^{op}, heortgryre°, leodgryre^{op}, meoduserwen^{op}, ondræding, ongrisla, þeodegesa^{op}, witebrogā, woma

and

08.01.03.06 Adversity, affliction

.Great/dire adversity: brohþrea, dryhtenbealu, ealuscerwen^{op}, firenþearf^{op}, folcbealu^{op}, heahþearf^{op}, heahþrea^{op}, leodbealu^p, mægenearfeþe, meoduserwen^{op}, nearoned, nearosorg^{op}, nydwracu^p, þeodbealu^p, þeodþrea^{op}

Here the flags following some forms provide guidance as to distribution, o indicating a likely nonceword and *p* restriction to the corpus of poetry. Both *ealuscerwen* and *meoduserwen* are thus flagged as occurring once only and at that in the poetic register. It was tempting nevertheless to place them within Food and Drink as well. After all, as interpreted both depend on the notion of a metaphorically evil dispensation of ale or mead, a sort of *poculum mortis* or cup of bitterness, and an enticing place in the classification could be found easily enough as follows, with curly brackets indicating the temptation resisted:

04.01.03 Drinking:

.To serve (with) drink: byrelian^p, (ge)drenca, druncnian, forscenca^{og}, (ge)scenca

..Dealing out of drink: meduræden^{op}

{...(Ironically) that brings terror: ealuscerwen^{op}, meoduserwen^{op}}

.Drinking of particular drink: beorþegu^p, medudrinc^{op}, meodudrenc°, windrenc, win(ge)drinc

¹⁵ Wrenn (1953).

Essentially, restraint seemed the principled course to take, not just because these were noncewords from poetry, but because etymologically their meaning is scarcely transparent. Yet, perhaps the parent category is Food and Drink. If the figurative dimension of *snewed* in the "General Prologue" is best left in the parent category (Weather), then these compounds should appear only in the Food and Drink category. Such a placing is possible, but in the absence of any other instance of either compound, that would seem a misleading classification. Where they do appear, both against "great fear, terror, horror" and "great/dire adversity", the use of minimalist distribution flags in the *TOE* serves as a reminder that the meanings in which flagged forms are found are ill supported.

Sometimes when a concrete referent was identifiable, it seemed practical to gather together one-off and rare words, for example the compounds used of dragons (in the world of *Beowulf* it must be admitted that dragons are concrete):

02.06.10.01.01 Dragon: *draca*, *eorþdraca^p*, *fydraca*, *gupfloga^{op}*, *gupscea a^{op}*, *hringboga^{op}*, *inwitgæst^{op}*, *ligdraca^p*, *lyftfloga^{op}*, *nipdraca^{op}*, *peodsceaþa*, *uhtfloga^{op}*, *uhtsceaþa^{op}*, *widfloga^p*

.Dragon's coil: *hringgewindla^{og}*

Admittedly words like *hringboga*, *inwitgæst* and *lyftfloga* need "not literally or necessarily mean a dragon", misgivings very properly raised by a reviewer of the *TOE*,¹⁶ but the solitary use of each only of the dragon killed by *Beowulf* makes it difficult to be certain that any of the forms ever enjoyed any wider usage. On referential grounds therefore it was practical to park them against "Dragon", as hyponyms of "Monster, strange creature", rather than imagine up for them a wider meaning in which they are not attested, and the flags signal uncertainty as to their meaning. Many of the rare compounds found in Old English poetry are straightforward descriptions: in truth the dragon is a creature that flies in the sky (*lyftfloga*), for example, or at dawn (*uhtfloga*). To place such forms according to some implicit wider sense could mislead more than

¹⁶ Watanabe (1998:136).

does the pragmatic decision to classify by referential meaning.

Often, the hapax legomena seemed best treated in an *ad hoc* way. Such a word as *hildescur* should not appear alongside arrows in *Peace and War*, given that it is used once only in the context of illness in a highly stylised passage of Exeter Book poetry:

*Deað nealæcte,
stop stalgóngum, strong & hreðe
sohte sawelhus. Com se seofeða dæg
ældum ondweard þæs þe him in gesonc
hat, heortan neah, hildescurun,
flacor flanþracu, feorhhord onleac
searocægum gesoht.*¹⁷

“Death came near, advancing with stealthy paces, strong and triumphant it sought out the soul’s dwelling-place. There came into the presence of men the seventh day from when a flickering attack of arrows penetrated, hot, near to the heart, in waves of pain, opening the treasury of life penetrated by treacherous keys”.

As the personified warrior Death stalks the dying saint, arrows of physical illness sink into Guthlac, who is later described as “*awrecen wælpilum*” (line 1154) and “*awrecen wælstrælum*” (line 1284). How should these words *wælpil* and *wælstræl* be understood, in terms of illness or of warfare? In the *TOE* they are classified as examples of the onset of physical illness:

02.08.02.01.02 Onset, attack of illness: fær, gong

.A deadly attack: slicht, wælpil^{op}, wælstræl^{op}

.A sudden attack: færhaga^{op}, færuntrymnes

.An insidious attack: searocæg^{op}

.A recurrence of infection: edcierr

.Hold/grip (of a cancer): bite

¹⁷ *Guthlac B* lines 1139b-45a: Roberts (1979).

In the light of the overview of Old English lexis afforded by the complete *TOE* it becomes likely that *wælpil* and *wælstræl* might be more tellingly placed with *hildescur* among words for pain. Compare nearby in the classification (again curly brackets are used, here to indicate a possible placing for these two hapax legomena):

02.08.03 Pain, bodily discomfort:

.Sharp pain: *færstice*^{op}, *gar*, *pungetung*^o, *spere*, *(ge)stice*

..Shafts of pain: *hildescur*^{op}, {*wælpil*^{op}, *wælstræl*^{op}}

Words used prototypically of pointed implements tend to cluster within "Pain, bodily discomfort". Pain, indeed, is often represented by sharp-pointed implements (*gar*, or *snædelþearm*, like Modern English *needle*), or characterized by a sort of flying invasion (*onflyge*, *ongeflogen*, *ridesohr*), as is treachery (*flah*). By contrast *flanþracu*, "arrow clash, force of arrows", appears among Peace and War words within the entry "13.02.03.01 An attack, assault". Because *flanþracu* is attested also in *Juliana* line 382,¹⁸ where the devil speaks of releasing "a storm of arrows" against his adversaries, as well as in *Guthlac B* line 1144, the offensive weapons of Guthlac's antagonist Death are subsumed within real weaponry, but are they also potentially "also *fig*."? I remain uncertain as to whether it is possible to be consistent in making such decisions, and relieved that the use of distribution flags serves to alert users to the especial difficulties of interpretation presented by infrequent words.

4. Some problems specific to the *TOE*

This last summer, we did a small amount of tidying up on the *TOE* database, before the generation of camera-ready copy for a second impression.¹⁹ For the most part the changes were fairly pedestrian, and often aimed at bringing together spelling variants for word senses separated in the Index volume. Even so, the varied spellings chosen for

¹⁸ Woolf (1966).

¹⁹ Roberts & Kay (2000).

headwords in the standard dictionaries have left their inevitable legacy, and further tidying could well be carried out. We trapped some *-i-* and *-y-* alternative spellings, for example for *cirice* forms, *cwyllderendlic* - *cwylderendlic*, *(ge)drinc* - *(ge)drync*, *fyrentacnian* - *fyrentacnian*, *gimmian* - *(ge)gymmian*, *tiht* - *tyht*, *bryng* - *gebring*. We also ironed out a few inconsistencies in respect of single or double final consonants, for example bringing under one head in the Index *bordweal* - *bordweall*, *grut* - *grutt*; this also affected the middle of compounds, as *bedclap* with one *-d-*, but *beddclapas*. It was mostly minor tinkering, but at least we reduced to one the five headwords for *stillnes* (*stil(l)nes* - *stīllnes* - *stil(l)nes* - *stillnes* - *stilnes*), and we cleared up a few mistaken length marks (for example, *adleg* - *adleg*, *cliewen* - *clywen*, *gefaran* - *gefaran*), and harmonized some unstressed syllables (compare *cafortun* - *cafurtun*, *cildcradol* - *cildcradul*, *corpor* - *corper* - *corpr*, *pearroc* - *pearruc*, *wlenc(u)* - *wlenc(o)*). Interestingly, such changes affected words predominantly from the first half of the alphabet, possibly reflecting the less than satisfactory editing of the earlier part of Volume I of Bosworth & Toller (1898). The *TOE* Index volume has more than proved its usefulness, despite a very few glitches in its generation. The programme that generated the Index volume had trouble with sorting addresses;²⁰ for example, entries under the single letter words *a* and *æ* were curiously ordered. Unaccountably it seemed the programme did not manage to bring together the identical forms *fæderæpelo* to be found as the alphabet might lead one to expect on p. 924 but again on p. 929. The forms were correctly placed within Volume I, the classification, but a typing error within part of the database entry was responsible for the misplacing in Volume II. For the most part the corrections and additions were straightforward, and they rarely involved structural changes in the classification.

As I read my way through the classification in the early summer, I found myself remembering and chuckling over some of the changes we had made in the last editorial stages of a few years ago. The definitions of the source dictionaries contained pitfalls, and we had therefore found

²⁰ Watanabe's review (1998:135) alerted us to the disordered entries for *neb(b)*.

ourselves rephrasing some of the explanations of meaning. Among the examples of obsolete vocabulary that persisted in the explanations taken from the standard dictionaries there were words which are to-day archaic, for example *splendent* (we substituted "radiant") and *difffluence* alongside "diffusion" (we omitted *difffluence*). Another adjective that felt unusual was *lowly*, and for "11.04.03 (Of ability) Lowly, mean" we agreed on "11.04.03 Low, mean, of less worth". The adverb *fickly*, which appeared twice in the inherited metalanguage,²¹ is not current. The *OED* records only two examples of its use, both from poetry, so we decided that the phrase "With fickleness" might prove a better guide. The curious term *metrician* gave way to "metrist". I fought to keep the adjective *game* in "11.01.05.02 Eager to advance, game", but it lost out to "ready". As often as not we arrived at a compromise, as with *peccant*, whose retention helped add a flavour of the components common to the Old English words grouped together against "12.08.06.01.02 Peccant, corrupt, sick". Sometimes a change was made grudgingly, after a flurry of objections. The defining formula "17.02.03 An errand, mission" led to lively disagreement as to just which were the non-dialect marked forms now in use throughout Britain, and here we ended by selecting as neutral and understood by us all "17.02.03 A chore, task".²² Rather simpler were the cases where an old-fashioned choice could be put right by a simple adjustment in spelling, as with replacing *shew* by "show" or changing the article form in *an herb* to "a herb" (the *an* pronunciation was deemed old fashioned). For "05.10.06.02 A disc (plane surface)" the form "disk" was chosen. And it was merely a matter of closing up space in "05.11.01.01 Life long" to "Lifelong".

Such words as *cockle* and *tares*, *lave*, *liever* and *lo*, still all too often found in the glossaries of introductory books and student editions, are no longer part of general everyday English vocabulary. They are greeted with blank looks as undergraduates stumble through their first attempts at translating from Old English. Yet, it is only too enticing to try to

²¹ These were "06.02.07.05.01 Fickly" and "06.02.07.05.01 Fickly, weakly".

²² Four of us were wrangling: two were English (Samuels and Grundy), one Scots (Kay) and one Irish (Roberts).

introduce what is foreign by what we think should be familiar, adding a further layer of difficulty to the intrinsically taxing task of translation. The habit of using archaisms in definitions is particularly prevalent in dictionaries of Old English, from which the *TOE* files had absorbed words that English students no longer know, or, if they recognise them, do not really have much idea of what they mean. We spent quite a lot of time considering both verbs in “To fleet, flit”, before deciding to treat *fleet* as the unusual word here and recasting the definition as “To move swiftly, flit”. Discussion became heated over a phrase under

12.08.01.02.01 Fornication, adultery

. Number of dallings: hæmedrim⁸

We toyed with “Number of incidents”, tried “Quantity of sexual sins”, and ended with “Number of incidences”. Had the glossator, like us, been supersensitive in coping with *lenocinium* for “the trading of pandering, pimping”?²³ The etymological fallacy has a certain charm, as some further examples suggest. Under “Brickmaking” we found the heading “A tale of tiles” against the nonceword *tigelgetel*, where for *tale* we substituted “quantity”. For *leman* there was no appropriate single word that we could agree on, so we resorted to a longer defining entry “A loving relationship”. The use of *gossip* in the definition “A gossip, sponsor at baptism” was potentially misleading, and was removed. Or a word can have about it an air of historicity, as with *reeveship*, which gave way to “stewardship” and *vill*, which we discarded.

Surprisingly, there were some words that had changed so radically in focus across a century or more of dictionary compilation as to be entirely misleading: their prototypical meaning had shifted remarkably. The entry:

03.05 Disposable, to be laid in order: gelogendlic⁸

led one proof-reader to raise the laconic query “Property? Nappies?”. Recognising the narrowing of meaning in *disposable*, we changed the

²³ Goossens (1974): gloss no. 4930 *lenocinii*: CD *hæmedrimes* | *scipes*, seductionis.

defining words to read "That may be laid in order". Similarly, *poison* is no longer interchangeable with *potion*, so "potion" was dropped in explanation of a list of deadly poisons. And sometimes the noun *lack* has hovering about it to-day a sense of blameworthiness which means it is no longer appropriate, as in "Integrity, lack of moral flaw" and "Lack of vice or defect" ("absence" was substituted). The adjective *abstinent* felt subtly wrong in the defining phrase "Abstinent, disciplined", and was replaced by "abstemious". Some words were better just avoided, like *aweful* with an *-e-* in a section of words for "Suffering, torment, pain"; the spelling is unusual to-day, but, if used, it is an archaising word meaning "stern, awe-inspiring". The alternatives eventually chosen were in many cases cosmetic choices, but I think they are worth a little reflection. All too often the words used to describe words send the dictionary user on a circular trail of frustration, not least when the words themselves are out of date. And editors of new editions of Old English texts are too prone to accept into their glossaries the authoritative wording of the dictionaries, a further hazard for us all.

5. Towards a TME

The forthcoming HTE is built on word senses excerpted from the *OED*. These are mixed, that is taken out of the alphabetical order of the *OED*, and matched, or grouped according to meaning, within the categories devised by Kay and Samuels. There are 26 major semantic fields in the classification, which begins from the directly observable physical universe, moving on to mental and social activities:

SECTION I: THE EXTERNAL WORLD

- 01 The Earth
- 02 Life
- 03 Sensation and Perception
- 04 Matter
- 05 Existence
- 06 Relative Properties
- 07 The Supernatural

SECTION II: THE MIND

- 08 Mental Processes
- 09 Emotions
- 10 Judgement, Opinion
- 11 Aesthetics
- 12 Volition
- 13 Language
- 14 Endeavour
- 15 Possession

SECTION III: SOCIETY

- 16 Social Groups
- 17 Social Relationships
- 18 War and Peace
- 19 Government and Politics
- 20 The Law
- 21 Education
- 22 Institutional Religion
- 23 Communication, the Media
- 24 Travel and Transport
- 25 Work
- 26 Leisure

Word senses are placed within these fields, sorted into hierarchical orders of meaning and arranged according to the chronological order of the first recorded date. The information is then transferred to computer-held files.²⁴ Food and Drink is to be found in "04 Matter, in Section 1. The External World", alongside such essential activities as Farming, Hunting, Building and Weaving.

Making the HTE, if you scale up the arranging of the Food and Drink words in Chaucer's description of the Franklin, is a huge undertaking. The *OED* contains the word meanings, together with da-

²⁴ For details of the database see Wortherspoon (1992).

tes of usage for each particular meaning excerpted. The word senses were extracted to provide the main data for the Glasgow HTE, which is nearing completion. The supplementary archive of Old English word meanings material, compiled for the Anglo-Saxon period from the standard dictionaries of Old English, is small, about 48,000 word senses as opposed to over 650,000 word senses taken from the *OED* for the HTE, and it provided a manageable corpus for a full-scale pilot study for the main thesaurus. The pilot study was the *TOE*, the first period thesaurus for English. What a period: essentially everything that could be found in Bosworth & Toller (1898) and Clark Hall & Meritt (1960), it is, in the words of one reviewer, "a single geographically and temporally indistinguishable mass".²⁵ The editing of the *TOE* allowed us to explore the use of the HTE classification, to build up blocks of material and to experiment with how they should most efficiently be positioned within the whole. And the *TOE*'s electronic database will be used in final checking of the Old English materials of the HTE, when its contents will be matched with the main thesaurus materials derived from the *OED*. Thus, the HTE will make it possible to look back from the dated materials of the *OED* to the disappeared vocabulary and to begin to examine, field by field, the nature and speed of loss and replacement. The *TOE*'s archive materials provide the HTE with additional evidence for the period in which the *OED* citations begin.

The gaps and disjunctions should prove particularly interesting. After all, it seemed best to reduce the twenty-six HTE categories to eighteen for the Old English thesaurus:

THESAURUS OF OLD ENGLISH

- 01 The Physical World
- 02 Life and Death
- 03 Matter and Measurement
- 04 Material Needs
- 05 Existence
- 06 Mental Faculties

²⁵ Dance (1997:313).

- 07 Opinion
- 08 Emotion
- 09 Language and Communication
- 10 Possession
- 11 Action and Utility
- 12 Social Interaction
- 13 Peace and War
- 14 Law and Order
- 15 Property
- 16 Religion
- 17 Work
- 18 Leisure

A more or less parallel set of categories is presented, though the weight of vocabulary recorded seemed not to demand separate treatment for domains such as Aesthetics, Government and Politics, Education, and Communication, the Media. The reduction is especially noteworthy when Section III of the parent HTE structure is compared, where eleven categories have been reduced to seven in the *TOE*. The third section is enormous in the HTE, with loanwords playing a huge part in the growth of its elaborated lexical fields, whereas in the *TOE* it is only about a quarter of the whole. Already it looks as if some areas of the classification heavily studded with poetic words for Old English (the sea, terror, treasure, for example) will be strangely disproportionate in the context of the HTE. In some part this results from the phrase-like nature of many rare Old English compounds, but the areas of lexis in which these compounds pile up can point to concepts where, for reasons of taboo or euphemism, meaning change and replacement happens quickly (death, the grave); even more it can serve as an index of the particular concerns of the writings that remain. Just which of the discarded categories will be re-invoked for a self-standing thesaurus for the Middle English period is at the moment hard to tell.

The HTE will make it possible to examine how concepts are expressed throughout the recorded history of English. If, for example, one should wonder what word an Anglo-Saxon might have used for "titbits" (the Franklin's "deyntees"), the HTE will incorporate the *TOE*'s suggestions as to the forms available:

04.01.02.01.07.05 Delicacy/dainty/titbit: bleomete°, est, estmete, searomete°, smea°, smeamete, suflmete°, swetmete, swotmete°

Of these nine forms, four are flagged o as hapax legomena, leaving as likely contenders

est, *estmete*, *smeamete*, and *swetmete*

The first two, *est* and *estmete*, which appear also in an earlier *TOE* category, at "02.05.05.04.01 Luxuries, dainties, good things" (within "Sensation, perception"), continued in use into the thirteenth century. But *smeamete* and *swetmete*, placed only here in the *TOE* structure, seem therefore referentially closer to Chaucer's "deyntees". The former, on the evidence of the *OED*, does not last into Middle English, and *sweetmeat* is not recorded again until Henryson in the fifteenth century. Such gaps in recorded usage are frequent, and can indeed be bridged from the fuller evidence for Middle English to be found in the *MED*.

At the time the *TOE* was first going to press, back in 1995, we had already begun to make plans at King's College London for a Middle English thesaurus.²⁶ Its nucleus, the evidence for the word senses of Middle English contained in the *OED*, can be downloaded from the HTE database. But we must wait for HTE itself to be complete, with all word senses placed in the classification. With the nucleus, we can begin to draw into it new evidence from the *MED*, a huge and exciting project. Meanwhile, we have set ourselves two preliminary tasks. First, we have been examining evidence for forms and word senses unlikely to be available in the *OED* and *MED*. This task led us to concentrate attention on periodicals and collections of papers from 1950 forwards, and a by-product is the volume *Middle English Word Studies*.²⁷ Louise Sylvester is currently working on a second preparatory monograph: "Middle English Semantic Field Studies", for which she is examining the articles and monographs that exist already for Middle English field studies. This

²⁶ Dr Sylvester, a lecturer in the English Department at King's College, was appointed to a British Academy Institutional Fellowship 1995-1999, to work on Middle English lexis.

²⁷ Sylvester & Roberts (2000).

should be completed just as work proper begins on the TME. At the same time as working on the preparatory tasks, we have begun to explore a selection of Middle English lexical fields, using evidence taken from the working files of the HTE and examining areas of lexis as diverse as: Farming, Medicine, Expectation, Education, Law. There are important issues to debate, and many pragmatic decisions to be taken. When did Middle English begin? Or when, for the purposes of the proposed TME, does it begin? Sir James Murray's decision to adopt 1150 as a halting-place between Old English and Middle English has done much to institutionalise what seems a natural division. But is it the most appropriate starting point? And worse, when did Middle English end? The answer, as we all know, depends on the authorities we consult, or on where we were first taught Middle English. So, 1400 is a cut-off date may privilege the writings of Chaucer, Langland, and Gower as accessible and therefore modern English literature. And the 1430s shadow the emergence of standard English. The *MED* end-date of c1475 must have something to do with the introduction of the printing press to England, and with the avoidance to a great extent of Middle Scots, separately catered for in the *Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue*,²⁸ which must also be consulted in the making of a TME.²⁹ In our experimental sampling we have tried downloading HTE data to three dates (Old English is retained as consultative material with the TME database). 1500 proved tidy, but unduly restrictive. 1525 gives us a better sense of the acceleration of loanwords associated with the humanist period. 1550 overshoots, but is invaluable in allowing us an overview of forward trends. It rather looks as if we shall settle for 1525, though sample up to 1550. I find myself beginning to question the rationale behind the dates 1150-1525, speculating on alternative periodisations, for example: Old English to 1350; and 1350 to 1575. Whatever the dates chosen for the TME, they will reflect an arbitrary slice from the historical development of the lexicon; but at least the TME will have as its basis a selection from the continuum provided by its parent thesaurus, the HTE. It is hoped that

²⁸ Craigie, Airken *et al.* (1931-).

²⁹ See Roberts (2000:243).

other selections will be made and other periods examined and augmented: a thesaurus for Renaissance English, for example?

Long ago Michael Samuels foresaw uses to which the HTE shell could be put, and suggested that it should, in due time, be supplemented from other dictionaries: the *MED*, Webster, the *Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue*, for example. Already the *TOE*, the HTE's pilot study, gives access to more early evidence for the history of English lexis than is recoverable from the *OED*, as two examples will indicate. First, the *OED* and the *MED* have the same single passage as evidence for the use of *mistunche* "to seem wrong". The *TOE* includes *mystyncan*,³⁰ marked as a nonceword, which is to be found in the first English romance, *Apollonius of Tyre*.³¹ Secondly, the *OED* dates for the verb *misqueme* are c1395 + 1658, with supplementation from the *MED* extending its attestation back to a1250. Again, the *TOE* notes one Old English form,³² which occurs in the eleventh-century life of the Seven Sleepers.³³ The work ahead for the editors of the proposed TME may prove a horrendous feat of checking and integration of materials from disparate sources, but the end product should enlarge our understanding of how the English language changed once the Normans arrived in England.

³⁰ See *TOE* 06.01.07.05.

³¹ Goolden (1958:22): line 21 *mistingð*.

³² See *TOE* 08.01.03.07.

³³ Magennis (1994): line 261 *miscwemdon*.

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CONTRAST IN THE WRITING SYSTEM OF THREE SCRIBES: *THE OWL AND THE NIGHTINGALE*

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Abstract

West-Saxon literary tradition continued for a time after the Norman Conquest; gradually, as less writing in English was produced, the old written standard was partially abandoned in the end. In the absence of a national written standard, those who still wrote in English felt themselves free to make their writing reflect more closely their actual speech by means of the combination of Franco-Latin conventions with reminiscences of the OE ones. In this way, Transitional Middle English (12th and 13th c.) marks the beginning of a new English spelling practice, a new English orthography. It is not the first time that we 'visit' the MSS C & J of The Owl and the Nightingale; for reason of space we had to put a stop in 1997 to the exposition of our analysis. It is our aim now to continue a little further on a similar track, underlining this time the possible phonetic significance of the mixed written mode reflected in the MSS. Incomplete transmission from one system to another is obviously great in the three scribes. Some of the spelling conventions in both MSS are firmly anchored to their period or are relics of earlier conventions and will become progressively rare in the course of time; by contrast, others seem to be the source of later graphic developments and reflect more vividly the phonetic development of the language.

1. Background

Upon setting out on a study of a language of a remote period, we are normally faced with the problem of discrepancy between orthography

and phonetics, this discrepancy being due to two main facts. On the one hand, spelling generally lags behind pronunciation; a spoken sound once written ceases to grow while the spoken correspondence continues growing and changing till all resemblance between them may in course of time be highly deteriorated. On the other, especially when an alphabet is borrowed from another language and its resources are not appropriate to its new function, the discrepancy between sound and pronunciation may become, as it were a, sort of latent deep-rooted distorting seed in the origins of the new system of communication.

The English language has had more distinct synchronic phases in the course of its long history than probably any other, from early Saxon times up to the present day. Each phase or stage can be explained only partly with reference to linguistics proper. The history of English is one of repeated cultural invasions. History having come in contact with linguistically separate cultures, in each of these different encounters it has been deeply modified and has been led into a new synchronic phase. The English language of today is thus the result of the linguistic developments that have been going on for over a thousand years together with the political and social events which have taken place during this long period of time.

The first cultural contact to have a transforming effect upon the English language came around 600 A.D. This cultural entity was not another nation but Christianity. When Christianity, in this case the Irish monks, whose conversion to Christianity antedated that of the English, taught Anglo-Saxon people how to write, they found that the 23 letters of the Latin alphabet were simply not enough to represent the phonemic system of Old English, which contained nearly 40 vowels and consonants; it was clear that traditional Latin orthography could not possibly transcribe the sounds of English without some essential adaptations; to that end, the missionaries deliberately adapted certain graphemes such as the Latin letters <æ, æ, œ, oe>, variants of *e* in Latin orthography, to express the OE sounds in, e.g., *æfter* and *grœne* respectively, and <y>, which in Latin had been a variant for /i/, to represent the front rounded sound /ü/ in English. They even created new graphic symbols, for example, they put a stroke through the Irish

Latin *d*, <ð>, to express the voiceless and voiced dental fricative; it was also necessary to represent some sounds by combinations of letters such as <sc>, the equivalent of present-day <sh>. With these and several other adaptations and adjustments, we may consider that written Old English in its inception followed patterns of speech in a rather consistent manner and the graphemes were roughly phonetic.

If we analyse the OE written system present in the extant MSS, we might say that the system is defective inasmuch as the phonemic distinction of vowel length, as occurred in Latin, was not graphically represented; for example, the OE word spelled in the MSS as *god* can mean either "good" or "god" but this distinction is not made explicit by the Old English writers, although the context usually makes up for the ambiguity.

On the other side, many of the inconsistencies of correspondence that we find today in the OE alphabet are consequences of the sort of written material that we have received from that time. In the century before the Norman Conquest, the English of Wessex came to be accepted as the standard written form of English. As is usually the case with such standards, this written English owed its outstanding position to a political fact: the predominance of the kingdom of Wessex under King Alfred (871-899) and his successors over the other kingdoms.

Generally a standard language originates in the need for widespread communication in the written form, but this need for uniformity in usage involves the separation of the written and spoken mode and dialectal variations are disregarded in favour of a relatively stable spelling system. Through training and imitation contextual rules that supersede the spoken usage are established and the choice of grapheme is determined by convention and not phonetic correspondence. In consequence, during the last centuries of the period, OE must have changed in pronunciation but this is not normally reflected in the standard written language of the MSS that have come down to us. All this explains that during the OE period certain consonants developed additional values without the corresponding changes in the orthography; for example, the Germanic fricatives became voiced medially between

voiced sounds during the OE period and remained voiceless at the beginning and end of the word, but due to the hardening effect of the normalising of spelling no change took place in the orthography to indicate the change in pronunciation and the same symbols <f, s> were used for the voiceless and voiced phonetic values. However, these ambiguous graphemes did not create great confusion in the system insomuch as the change was allophonic and not phonemic and the new sounds remained in complementary distribution. Even when they had at their disposal different symbols for a systematic graphic representation of voice, as was the case with <þ> and <ð>, they did not make any apparent attempt to alter their orthography and plurality of symbolisation persisted.

The Norman Conquest in 1066 did not produce a sudden change in the written English language. Throughout the following century, the West-Saxon orthographic system continued to be used with some minor alterations in certain ecclesiastical centres, especially in the western Midlands; but in the long run the Conquest did cause the gradual demise of the inherited graphic tradition. The regular use of Latin for all kind of official documents meant that most literate people would primarily learn Latin orthography and, because the nobility and well-to-do people spoke and wrote in French in medieval England, French writing conventions also became more or less well known. Gradually, as less writing in English was done, the old spelling norms tended to be forgotten and those who still wrote in English were inclined to combine Franco-Latin practices with varying degrees of reminiscence of Old English usages.

In the transitional period, that is, in works written from the Norman Conquest up to c. 1250, it is difficult to find consistency in the spelling of a single text. Works written, let us say, in the second half of the 12th century, are already liable to contain many inconsistencies in the written system; even though the old orthographic tradition might still be known, it no longer had the same force and the writers, being less controlled by the examples of their ancestors and with the two spelling practices at their disposal (the OE and Franco-Latin writing practices), felt themselves free to use both graphic systems transferring usages from one system into the other. Further inconsistencies might be caused by a

MS being a copy of another earlier text; in this case the scribe might have followed his exemplar and reproduced it more or less accurately, with occasional lapses into the spellings of his own day. In this latter case, we are dealing with textual variation caused by time. It might also happen that the native dialect of the scribe was different from that in which the text was written and the copyist sometimes followed the original, and sometimes introduced forms of his own vernacular and the result may be a mixture of dialect forms and spellings. Especially when a ME manuscript is several times removed from the author's original, time and dialectal differences may conjoin to make the printed or copied page a shadow of the original that lies behind it.

2. The MSS

In the following pages we will attempt to trace the beginnings of the slow redevelopment of the new written standard after the widespread disruption of the OE one. To that end we will provide a comparative linguistic analysis of the written conventions used by three thirteenth century scribes when copying a presumably identical MS, *The Owl and the Nightingale*.

Our previous research (1997) was primarily based on the spelling recorded in *The Owl and the Nightingale* irrespective of the sounds which were represented by those spellings, but subsequent investigation has clearly shown that when the MSS belong especially to early ME, the exclusive analysis of the written forms does not suffice; this type of work reveals contrasting written variations which can only be explained either as plurality of symbolisation due to the conflation of different writing systems or variants which clearly arise from alteration of pronunciation and it is pronunciation rather than the spelling practice used which may be involved.

The Owl and the Nightingale is a poem of 1794 lines written by an unknown author supposedly somewhere near Guildford in Surrey. Since it refers in ll.1091-2 to a "King Henri" as dead, it is thought to have been written between the death of Henry II in 1189, and the accession of Henry III in 1216.

The Owl is preserved in two manuscripts: in MS Cotton Caligula A IX in the British Museum, supposedly copied in the first half of the 13th century, and in MS Jesus College 29, in the Bodleian Library in Oxford, regarded as dating from the latter half of the 13th century.

MS Cotton, called C, was written by two scribes (whom we shall call C-I and C-II). Proof of this is the different spellings in certain parts of the work: from the beginning of the poem to line 902, the MS is written in one hand and the same hand seems to have written from line 962 to 1181 because the same spelling appears again, but from 902 to 962 and from 1182 to the end of the poem, a different hand appears with different spelling characteristics. As there is no change in the handwriting of C, the two sets of different spelling probably occurred in the exemplar of MS Cotton; then, it seems that MS Cotton was copied from one in which two hands occurred and which, of course, was not the author's original.

It seems evident that MS Jesus was not copied from the MS Cotton for it contains ll. 86, 770, 771, which are missing in MS Cotton; in MS Jesus ll., 734 and 1308 are the ones omitted. Moreover, the words omitted and the gaps in MS Cotton do not coincide with the words and letters omitted in MS Jesus. However there are a number of facts that seem to indicate that MS Jesus was copied from the same original as MS Cotton; proof of this is found in the fact that, although the scribes of both MSS have made independent changes due for the most part to their individual writing habits, the two versions share some two hundred common errors or peculiarities, indicative of alterations due to imperfections in a defective common exemplar. All the evidence suggests that both MSS stem from the same exemplar.

3. Corpus analysis and queries

There are two important points we want to make here. One is that we also consider that the forms of speech and writing should be treated as having equal status as source material for linguistic analysis; there is an obvious connection between the written and the spoken

forms as both are manifestations of the same language; see McIntosh (1989:ix). The other point is that we regard "translated" or "partially translated" texts, as is the case of the three graphic versions we analyse, to have a value equal or linguistically more attractive than "original" texts as source material for linguistic comparison. A copying scribe, working frequently at several removes from an author's composition, will often turn inattentively or purposefully the language of his exemplar into the language of the writing practice of his own day, following more faithfully the model of the earlier text, especially for reasons of rhyme; the scribe thus reflects, in the process of copying different linguistic realities, the author's or that of the exemplar and his own. In such cases, the text should be regarded not as a debased form of the dialect of the original, but as a valid, mixed representation of two states of the language viewed through the eyes of the later copyist. Although we have to recognise that on many occasions it is hard or impossible to disentangle word-forms belonging to the exemplar from those of the new MS itself.

The relationship between symbol and sound has always been arbitrary and subjected to diachronic variation. It is essential to analyse separately the actual sounds of ME and the different methods employed to express the sounds graphically. A change in spelling does not necessarily imply a change in pronunciation; in the same way, the retention of an old-fashioned spelling does not necessarily prove either that the sound has not been altered.

A main practical necessity is to notice the cases of ambiguity and redundancy which will be found in the scribes' writing practices. They may reflect changes of pronunciation by changing the spelling concerned, but at the same time we shall observe that they will not always get rid of those symbols that have been superseded or have lost their function. This relationship is made more complex by the coexistence of two different spelling systems in the same MS; all these considerations make us query the value of the graphemes under observation; for example, the contrast between words written with initial <f / u / v>, of which the three scribes make an unsystematic use:

C-I *fedest* / J *vedest* l. 94; C-I *fode* / J *vode* l. 94; C-I *uelle* / J *felle* l. 1013; C-I *uonge* / J *fonge* l. 1135; C-II *fare* / J *vare* ll. 909; C-II *vor* / J *vor* l. 1705; C-II *fallest* / J *vallest* l. 1286, etc.

These spellings reflect the characteristic ME phonetic process whereby the initial voiceless fricative consonants are voiced in south-eastern and south-western dialects, in the west spreading north meeting the Welsh border. This voicing may have been already present in the Old English period, although the West-Saxon orthographic system did not have the appropriate symbols at their disposal so as to reflect the characteristic voicing. Even in the writing practices of the three scribes, the symbol <u> or <v> is the only witness of this process, as the symbol <z> is never used by any of them and <p/ð> are used interchangeably; nevertheless, we cannot be completely certain about the phonetic value intended since the scribes may be following the old practice of writing <f>, although in their pronunciation the symbol may stand for /v/. The scribe may simply be using different spelling processes. In other words, there is a mixture of scribal habits in the same writer.

Certain important phonological questions which should be asked of any early Middle English MS is the reflexes of some characteristic variable processes present in Old English and their representation in Early ME; as we all know OE long æ (traditionally called æ1 and æ2) had a threefold development in ME depending on the Old English dialect from which it comes; West-Saxon æ1 remained until the Early ME period, when it was raised to long slack [e]; by the end of the OE period the W-S long æ had spread to Middlesex, Essex, parts of the south Midland counties, and parts of East Anglia. From these latter areas words containing the long slack sound gradually crept into other areas during the ME period. In other dialects æ1 was long tense [e] in the OE period and went into Middle English as such; related to this change, it became usual to write <a> for <e> in parts of the south-east Midlands, and then the <a> was gradually ousted by <e> due to the fact that such a change was just a letter-change and not a phonetic change. On the other hand, Old English æ2, due to *i*-mutation, which was ME slack [e] except in Kentish, had much the same linguistic process as had

æ1 and therefore a three-fold development in ME. *The Owl and the Nightingale* in general has <e / eCe> for both æ1 and æ2, with no apparent trace of <a>; these <e / eCe> may represent either long slack or tense [e] as the scribes seem not to have at their disposal in their active writing practice enough symbols to indicate this nuance in pronunciation; for example:

The three scribes: *dede* ll. 513, 708, 232, 1580, 1376, 1763, etc. <WS *dæd*, non-WS *ded* "deed"; *rede* ll. 350, 860, 1697, 1782 <WS *rædan*, non-WS *redan* "to counsel"; C-II and J *sed* l. 1041 or C-I / J *sedes* (pl.) ll. 1129, 1134 <WS *sæd*, non-WS *sed* "seed"; C-I / J *here* l. 428; C-II / J *heare* l. 1550 <WS *hær*, non-WS *her* "hair", etc.

A similar situation we encounter with OE æ2. *The Owl and the Nightingale* has <e / eCe> for æ2, but a few <ea> forms also occur. OE long *ea* was merged in most dialects with the reflexes of OE æ2 and accordingly the ME reflexes of both were normally spelt alike in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and also occasionally much later:

C-I and J *grete* ll. 318, 1227 <OE *great* "great"; C-I *e3e* / J *eye* ll. 391, 426, 990 <OE *eage* "eye"; C-I and J *dreme* l. 314 <OE *dream* "joy"; C-I and J *ded* ll. 1138, 1151 <OE *dead* "dead", etc..

We shall observe evidence of inverted spelling in the following examples. This inverted spelling is more frequently found in scribe C-II and very sporadically in the other two scribes:

C-II *deale* / J *dele* l. 954 <OE *dæle*; C-II *ear* / J *er* l. 1637 <OE *ær* "ere"; C-II *teache* / J *theche* l. 1334 <OE *tæcan*; C-II and J *sea* l. 1205 <OE *sæ*, etc.

The appearance of *ea*-spellings may denote historical long slack [e], but as the more common writing is <e / eCe> for either æ1 and æ2, it is evident that the digraph <ea> in the MSS is only a relic form, present in the exemplar, but it does not belong to the active spelling habits of the

scribes.

Other spellings pose similar phonetic problems, but of another kind. According to J.E. Wells's (1909) glossary, the <a> of certain past participles, for example, *i-grad*, is long, whereas the <a> of the corresponding preterite *gradde* is short:

C-II and / J *gradde* (pret.) ll. 936, 1662 and C-II / J *igrad*
(past part.) l. 1149 <OE *grædan* "to cry".

The preterite with short /a/ is easily explained as the normal shortening of OE long æ in closed position and the subsequent process æ > a. Can <*igrad*> be considered as one instance of the representation of the south-east Midland convention of writing <a> for <e>? I do not think so, the more probable explanation being that the vowel of the past participle has been analogically shortened notwithstanding the verse.

OE front rounded sound y, long or short, appears in ME dialects due to French influence as <u / ui> with the rounded characteristic retained in the south-west and west-Midland dialects or as <i / y> representing an unrounded sound in the northern and east Midland dialects or as unrounded lowered <e>, characteristic of south-east and south-east Midlands. In general, the type most frequently found in *The Owl and the Nightingale* seems to be the rounded development spelled <u>:

C-I *mur3pe* / J *murepe* l. 341 <OE *myr(i)gb* "joy, mirth";
C-I and J *fulep* ll. 96, 100 <OE *befylan* "to defile"; C-I and
J *hude* l. 1114 <OE *hyd* "hide, skin"; C-I and J *hude* ll.
1.265, 1113 <OE *hydan* "to hide"; C-II and J *lutel* ll. 1309,
1628; C-II *muchel* / J *muchele* l. 1207, etc.

But we also observe how sporadically scribe J uses <i/y> for <u>:

C-I *lutel* / J *litel* l. 911; C-II *lutle* / J *lytel* l. 1097; C-I
whucche / J *hwiche* l. 936; C-II *wuch* / J *hwich* l. 1378, etc.

Are these contrastive graphic examples really significant in the writing practice of scribe J? Do these notations denote familiarity with the

wide-spread pronunciation of these words with the unrounded phoneme /i/? We know that when scribe J writes <y>, he means the unrounded sound [i]; we base our certainty on his ubiquitous fluctuation between <i> and <y> in words in which <i/y> can only represent a historical /i/. One of the main general contrasts between the two MSS lies in the use of the symbols <i / y>. C-I and C-II hardly ever use the symbol <y>, clearly preferring <i> on all occasions; on the other hand, scribe J makes an extensive, although unsystematic, use of <y>. Thus we find:

C-I *daie* / J *daye* ll. 241, 372, 384; C-I: *blind* / J: *blynd* ll. 243, 1237; C-I *side* / J *syde* l. 299; C-II *mihte* / J *myhte* l. 953, etc.;

J is clearly more innovative in this respect than the scribes in C and a good representative of the expansion of <y> in ME, and there is no doubt about the spelling value he confers on the grapheme <y>, but does he really mean the phoneme [i] when he uses the notations *litel*, *lytel*, *hwiche*, *hwich*, etc. mentioned in the examples above? I must admit that the answer is uncertain, the examples are rare, and so disagree with the characteristics of the MS as a whole. Nonetheless, I consider them telling and I am inclined to assume that they are not accidental.

The long or short OE diphthong *ie* due to *i*-mutation only occurred in West-Saxon and was therefore a special characteristic of that dialect. It became long or short *i* in the ninth century in some parts of the West-Saxon area, and in other parts *y*. In the other dialects the result of the same process was normally either long or short *æ* / *e* or lack of mutation: W-S *ie*, non W-S *e*; the reflex of this process in the work under consideration is as follows:

C-I and J *herde* l. 293, C-II and J *i-herde*, l. 1657 <WS *hierde* "heard"; C-I and J *nede* l. 636, C-II *nede* / J *neode* l. 1584 <WS *nied*; C-I and J *derne* l. 608, C-II and J *derne* l. 1357; C-II *dernliche* / J *derneliche* l. 1423 <W-S *dierne* "secret, dark"; C-I and J *ferde* l. 1156, C-II and J *ferde* l. 1668 <W-S *fierd* "army", etc.

We can give many examples of this process which show no trace of

West Saxon *ily* type in the *The Owl and the Nightingale*. It is evident that in this respect *the Owl and the Nightingale* does not draw on the West-Saxon tradition.

If we apply the results of another characteristic W-S process, palatal diphthongisation, with contrastive results in the other dialects: W-S *ie*, Anglian and Kentish *e*:

C-II *ziue* / J *yeue* ll. 1686, 1692, C-II *ziueþ* / J *yeueþ* l. 1773 <OE *giefan* / *gefan*, etc.;

although also:

C-II *zefe* / J *yeue* l. 1710;

we observe that occasional spellings of the *i*-type do occur. In the same way, if we analyse the preterite singular we also obtain variant results:

C-II *zaf* / J *yaf* (pret. sg.) ll. 55, 149, 1101, etc.

but also:

C-II *zef* / J *yef* l. 1176, etc.

The *yaf* / *yef* - instances imply either a regular process from W-S *ea* / non-W-S *æ* or the expansion of the graded vowel of the second preterite. If we look at other examples with the possibilities of similar phonetic developments, we gain the following result:

C I and J *schilde* ll. 57, 62, 1253; C-I and J *schild* l. 163 <W-S *scioldan* "protect, shield"

On the other hand, the substantive appears as

C-II *chelde* / J *schelde* l. 1713

It is clear that the *i*-type prevails in the verb, but not in the noun.

C-I *zelpst* / J *yelpst* l. 971, C-II *zeolpest* / J *yelpst* l. 1299, C-II *zeilpest* / J *yelpst* l. 1641; C-II *zulpest* / J *yelpst* ll. 1650, 1652 <WS *gielpān* "to boast, exult"

Here the stem vowel is in general the non-palatalised and non-mutated *e*; in C- II we observe diphthongs with second elements either front or back or the graded vowel of the preterite plural; not so in scribe J who always retains the same vowel. Another example with dissimilar results:

C-I *zolle* / J *yolle* ll. 972, 987, C-I *zollen* / J *yollen* l. 977,
C-I *zollen* / J *yolle* l. 989, C-I *zollest* / J *yollest* l. 223, C-I
zolst / J *yollest* l. 985 <WS *giellan* (i,y) "to yell, sound, shout";

Here the vowel of the past participle of the Ablaut series has presumably prevailed, and there is no trace of *i*-base due to palatal diphthongisation in West-Saxon or the *e* of the other dialects. On the whole, it is evident that *The Owl and the Nightingale* does not draw on West-Saxon characteristic processes.

Now we approach a different notation but with similar problematic implications: long *a* whether from Common Germanic *ai* or from *a* before lengthening groups, had become long *o* in all the dialects south of the Humber by about the year 1225. This process did not take place at one and the same time; in some dialects, especially the southern, it undoubtedly took place in the latter half of the twelfth century and in others later. In *The Owl and the Nightingale* we find words written with <a> instead of the expected <o>. The examples are various especially found as contrasts between C-II and J:

C-II *halde* / J *holde* l. 1369; C-II *a-cwalde* / J *aqolde* l. 1370;
C-II *alde* / J *olde* l. 1183; C-II *ham* / J *hom* l. 1531; C-II
tacninge / J *toknyng* l. 1213; C-II *swa* / J *so* ll. 1577, 1627,
1629; etc.

The grapheme <a> suggests either the unlengthening of *a* before lengthening groups in OE or some words with <a> in C- II may belong to the original MS where long *a* had still not been rounded to long *o*, in which case, the <a>-graphemes in C-II are relic forms which can be explained by two layers of copying.

In the same way, *ea* by breaking before *l* occurred in West-Saxon and Kentish, while Anglian dialects had *a* in the same positions due to

retraction:

C-I and J *bold* ll. 317, 405, *bolde* l. 410, *belde* l. 1715 <W-S and Kent. *beald* Anglian *bald*;

the corresponding adverb appearing as

C-I and J *boldeliche* l. 401 and C-II *baldeliche* / J *baldelyche* l. 1707.

Apart from *belde*, the other instances clearly show retracted origin; the same answers we gain from West-Saxon broken *eald* and *healdan*:

C-I and J *old* ll. 25, 638, *olde* ll. 207, 637, 685, 1037; C-II *alde* / J *olde* l. 1183; C-I and J *holde* ll. 3, 12, 59, etc.; C-II and J *holde* ll. 369, 1419, etc; C-I and J *holdest* l. 1517, etc.

In this last verbal example similar results are encountered; there is no trace of the process of breaking; the evidence indicates that *The Owl and the Nightingale* must have originally had retraction in these words; the possibility of either an original broken type which had been so completely ousted in the process of repeated copying seems improbable.

Regarding the contrast between the use of <o>, <eo> and <e> in the MSS, we find that scribe C-I favours the use of <o> whereas J prefers either <e> or <eo> :

C-I *growe* / J *grewe* (pret. pl.) l. 136; C-I *prost* / J *prest* l. 322; C-I *frondes* / J *vrendes* l. 1154; *poues* / *peues* l. 1156, etc.

C-I *flo* / *fleo* ll. 33, 365, 390; C-I *lof* / J *leof* ll. 203, 281; C-I *solue* / J *seolue* l. 835, etc.

In the first group it seems that scribe J represents an unrounded vowel where C-I favours a rounded one; if this is so, does scribe J mean a rounded pronunciation when he writes down <eo> in the second group of examples above or are they merely relic forms due to linguistic layers?

This characteristic contrast <o/ e/ eo> between C-I and J is lost when the spelling of C-II is introduced in MS Cotton:

C-II and J *preost* l. 902; C-II and J *beop* l. 911; C-II and J *peostre* / *peoster* l. 1432; C-II and J *heorte* l. 947, etc.

However, as is often the case in this period, C- II and J do not always coincide in the way of writing certain words. Thus:

C-II *heouene* / J *heuene* l. 916, C-II *meoster* / J *mester* l. 924; C-II *dweole* / J *dwele* ll. 926, 1239; C-II *neode* / J *ned* l. 938, etc.

The digraph <eo> may stand for a traditional way of representing a rounded sound (relic form) whereas J's spellings point to an unrounded vowel /e/, although he persists in the occasional use of the old digraph.

The graphemes <a / e> frequently contrast in the MSS. We consider that these variants may exhibit two different linguistic processes: the grapheme <e> may be due to weakness or to dialectal development. The vowel <a> is characteristic of MS C and is encountered in the spellings of both scribes, whereas <e> is the vowel preferred by J. This graphic contrast is especially found in non-lexical words of frequent use:

C-I *hadde* / J *hedde* ll. 146, 216, 395, 705, etc.; C-I *was* / J *wes* ll. 5, 19, 27, 28, etc.; C-I *panne* / J *penne* l. 1122; C-I *hartu* / J *ertu* l. 1177, etc.

In this case, the <e> may merely signal an unstressed vowel but, after a more detailed examination, we observe that the contrast is also present in some lexical words which makes scribe J conform to south-west Midland or Kentish dialectal characteristics:

C-I *quap* / J *quep* ll. 117, 1177; C-II *lauedy* / J *leuedy* ll. 959, 1338, 1563, 1569; C-II *letep* / J *letep* ll. 1729, 1735, 1737, etc.

But it is also possible to interpret *quep* as a weakening process, and even *letep* and *leuede* can be analysed otherwise without resorting to the

dialectal explanation, and I find it preferable to assume that <e> in the examples above are mainly weak vowels.

One of the most striking differences between the spelling practices of C-I and J lies in the use of the symbol <3>: the yogh does not appear in the spelling of J, it has been replaced either by <h / y> or <w>.

1) In initial and mid position beside historical front vowels, C-I uses <3> whereas J writes <y>:

C-I *zet* / J *yet* ll. 299, 554, 786, 1038, etc.; C-I *zolle* / J *yolle* ll. 972, 977, 985, 987; C-I *azen* / J: *ā:yeyn* l. 7; C-I *3er* / J *yer* l. 101; C-I *e3e* / J *eye* l. 381; C-I *3ond* / J *yeonde* l. 119, etc.

2) In mid position beside historical back vowels, C-I persists in his use of <3>, whereas J uses <w>:

C-I *fu3eles* / J *foweles* ll. 343, 1097, 1144, 1135; C-I *la3e* / J *lawe* ll. 969, 1037, 1061; C-I *bo3e* / J *bowe* l. 15; C-I *i-no3e* / J *ynowe* l. 16, etc.

As we see, between a liquid and the symbol <w>, J also introduces a vowel, as can be observed in one example above. Likewise:

C-I *fol3e* / J: *folewez* l. 307; C-I *sor3e* / J *sorewe* l. 431; C-I *amor3e* / J *amorewe* l. 432; C-I *ibor3e* / J *iborewe* l. 883, etc.

3) Medially beside voiceless consonants and finally, C-I uses <3>, whereas J has <h>:

C-I *niz3ingale* / J *nyhtegale* ll. 13, 29, 189, 391, etc.; C-I *noz3t* / J *nouht* ll. 58, 169, 1127, 1138.; C-I *riz3t* / J *riht* ll. 188, 145, 976, 1014; C-I *mi3te* / J *myhte* l. 42; C-I *ise3* / J *iseyh* ll. 29, 108, 109; C-I *nez* / J *neyh* ll. 44, 660; C-I *pe3* / J *eyh* ll. 134, 135, 137, 181, etc.; C-I *hol3* / J *holeuh* l. 643, etc.

In the same way, before <h>, J introduces a vowel, as can be observed in the examples above. C-I uses an all-embracing symbol yogh as the reflection of the traditional palatal fricative /j/, voiced velar fricative /ç/ and its voiceless correspondence /x/; on the other hand, J's writing system seems to reflect different historical developments.

Concerning C-II's representation of these same phonemes:

1) In initial and mid position beside historical front vowels, C-II, as C-I, uses <3>:

C-II *3et* / *yet* ll. 903, 1331, 1606, 1624; C-II *3iue* / *yeue* ll. 1686, 1692, 1767; C-II *azein* / J *ayeyn* l. 1788; C-II *a-zeines* / J *ayeynes* l. 1371, etc.

Related to this, a noteworthy contrast is encountered in the representation of the grammatical word *3if*: C-I writes normally *3if*; C-II's preferred form is *3ef*, with *3if* as his second form:

C-I *3if* ll. 51, 56, 116, 168, 356, 375, 407, etc; C-II *3ef* ll. 1181, 1192, 1193, 1197, 1201, etc;

whereas the same word in J's writing practice is *if* with very few exceptions.

2) In mid position beside back vowels and liquids, C-II employs the symbol <h> to represent the historical voiced fricative sound /c/ creating a clear contrastive representation with scribe J who clearly seems to show the vocalisation of the sound in his use of <w> in the same words:

C-II *ahene* / J *owe* l. 1542; C-II *seorhe* / J *seorwe* l. 1599; C-II *drahe* / J *drawe* l. 1875; C-II *fuheles* / J *foweles* l. 1144, etc.

This use of <h> to represent the historical voiced fricative sound /c/ connects C-II's writing practice with the Wigmore writing tradition, although C-II, as C-I, also makes frequent use of the yogh to reflect the same sound:

C-II *proze* / J *prowe* l. 1455; C-II *laze* / J *lowe* l. 1456; C-

II *i-duze* / J *i-duwe* l. 1582; C-II *itozen* / J *itowen* l. 1725, etc.

3) Medially and finally beside voiceless consonants C-II, as J, uses <h>:

C-II and J *rihte* ll. 1246, 1345, 1383, 1680, etc.; C-II *ah*t / J *auht* ll. 1479, 1481, 1500, etc. C-II *inoh* / J *inouh* ll. 1252, 1235;

although C-II, as C-I, also makes use of the symbol <3> beside voiceless consonants:

CII *mizt* / J *myht* ll. 1231, 1281, 1367, 1409, etc.; C-II *rizt* / J *riht* l. 1665; C-II *stizp* / J *stihp* l. 1405; C-II *noz*t / J *nouht* l. 1236, etc.;

C-II clearly shows a mixed unsystematic practice in these representations; whereas J is far more systematic in the use of his symbols.

Even though the three scribes employ the symbol <h> initially, they do not coincide in the absence or presence of this grapheme, exhibiting variable and contrastive uses; sometimes <h> is omitted where it is historically expected to be present, and sometimes it is added where it is not expected; this confusion reveals *prima facie* evidence in these MSS that *h*-dropping goes back at least to the thirteenth century. These omissions and insertions are more frequently observed in C-I:

C-I *is* / J *his* ll. 403, 515, 571, 1483, etc.; C-I *it* / J *hit* ll. 118, 1090; C-I *hure* / J *vr* l. 185; C-I *godede* / J *godhede* l. 582, etc.

A typical instance is the general use of *owl* as *hule* by the two scribes in MS C:

C-I *hule* / J *vle* ll. 28, 31, 41, 395, etc.; C-II *hule* / J *vle* ll. 935, 1293, 1298, etc.; C-II *houle* / J *vle* ll. 1662, 1785, etc.

Clearly scribe J is more respectful with the historical inherited <h>. In the same way, the Old English combination <hw> is generally retained by J but not by C-I who employs the single graph <w>; this is another

marked contrast between the spellings of the two copyists. This contrast dwindles away with C-II who, in line 932 introduces <hw>, although with many lapses, J being more consistent in his use of the digraph <hw>.

Thus we find:

C-I *wile* / J *hwile* ll. 6, 199, 1015, 1019, etc.; C-I *wat* / J *hwat* ll. 185, 393, 997, 1025, etc.; C-I *wo* / J *hwo* l. 113; C-I *wi* / J *hwi* l. 218, etc.

C-II *wi* / J *hwi* ll. 913, 1187, 1234; C-II *wan* / J *hwanne* l. 219; C-II *wat* / J *hwat* l. 1298, etc.

side by side with,

C *hwi* / J *hwi* ll. 909, 1257, 1764; C-II *hwanne* / J *hwanne* l. 1251; C-II *hwat* / J *hwat* l. 1296, etc.

In the contrast between <w/ hw>, so characteristic between the writing practices of Cotton and Jesus, we are not certain whether the different spellings denote difference in pronunciation; they may just signal overlapping spelling systems. In different ways scribe J reflects in his writing practice his acquaintance and conformity with the Old English orthographic tradition. On the other hand, the scribes of MS Cotton Caligula follow the French innovation in the use of the monograph <w>. As we have said, perhaps scribe J is only being respectful with the MS which he is copying, where the digraph is present but, as his writing practice implies individuality and contemporary modernity, I am prone to think that for scribe J the graphic combination <hw-> is more in accordance with his day by day pronunciation or perhaps only with his own spelling habits.

The MSS considered as a whole are a medley of conservatism and innovation in which we can observe sometimes two, sometimes three linguistic layers. The southern dialects have always been conservative, and not only spellings but especially certain morphological items are clear marks of this conservatism in *The Owl and the Nightingale*. For example, the survival of the first and third classes of Old English weak verbs with geminated consonants:

C-I and J *nabbep* ll. 252, 1005, etc.; C-I *habbet* / J *habbep* l. 651; C-I *segget* / J *seggeþ* ll. 98, 113, 244, 290, etc.; C-II and J *libbe* l. 1192; C-II and J *ligge* ll. 1200, 1619, etc.

and their simple counterparts:

C-I and J *seist* l. 50; C-I and J: *lip* l. 430; C-I and J *liueþ* l. 810, etc.

Another typical morphological contrast between the two MSS, is that where C- I and II employ medial <-e->, no doubt due to their exemplar, scribe J has a preference for <-o-> in verbs which in OE suffered regular mutation in the second and third persons of the present indicative, especially in verbs of common use. It seems that little by little scribe J is getting rid more clearly than the other scribes of these traditional forms:

C-I *dep* / J *dop* ll. 564, 779, 783; C-I *geþ* / J *gop* l. 528; C-II *dep* / J *dop* ll. 1452, 1535, 1577, 1578, 1634, etc.; C-II *mis-deþ* / J *mys-dop* l. 1401, etc.

We suppose that these mutated forms were in the original of the MS copied by the scribes, as similar forms are also met with in works like *Poema Morale* (south-west Hampshire, c. 1150), *Ancrene Wisse* (west-Midland, c. 1230-1250), *The Fox and the Wolf* (south but probably copied by a west-Midland scribe- c. 1272-1283). Scribe J is clearly more innovative, and leaves aside a process, which, although known to him, was no longer productive in his time.

Certain differences in spelling are no doubt due to the normal development of the language, such as the loss of *-n* in the infinitives, the introduction of an intermediate

<-e-> in the verbal endings or the loss of final *-e*. Scribe J is clearly more inclined to these omissions and introductions than the scribes of Cotton Caligula:

C-I *hoten* / J *hote* l. 256 <OE *hatan* "be called"; C-I *bon* / J *beo* l. 262; C-I *don* / J *do* l. 352; C-I *leten* / J *lete* l. 1018, etc.; C-II *beon* / J *beo* ll. 932, 1195, 1198, etc.

C- I and II tend to omit or syncopate the intermediate vowels of the endings of the second and third persons of the present indicative, whereas in J's writing practice the corresponding <-e-> tends to be present:

C-I *helpp* / J *helpeþ* l. 171; C-I *singst* / J *singest* ll. 505, 899, 907, 1147, etc.; C-I *telþ* / J *telleþ* l. 340; C-I *telst* / J *tellest* l. 310, etc.

On the one hand, C points to the West-Saxon spelling tradition where syncope was the norm. On the other, scribe J points towards the later writing norm where <e> tends to be present. In the same way, scribe J tends to omit final <e> as compared with the spelling practices of the scribes in C:

C *ine* / J *in* ll. 350, 438, 916, 964, etc.; C *songe* / J *song* l. 82; C *wonie* / J *wony* l. 975; C *neode* / J *ned* l. 938; C *lustel* / J *lust* l. 1193, etc.

As we see in the last group of examples, the ending <ie> in C may appear as <y> in J which makes some words look extremely modern in their written form, and, presumably, in their phonetic correspondence.

4. Conclusions

As we have mentioned, the spoken and written systems are distinct manifestations of the same language and one of the most important acts of evidential contextualisation is the attempt to clarify the relationship between the written and the spoken modes. A comparison with earlier and later stages in the history of English writing have allowed us to qualify certain spelling practices as more or less innovative. Some of the spelling conventions in both MSS are firmly anchored to their period and will become progressively rare in the course of time and eventually fall in disuse; by contrast, others seem to be the source of later graphic and phonetic developments.

In this article we have touched upon many questions and on too many occasions I have supplied only incomplete, tentative answers. *The Owl and the Nightingale* presents a complicated textual history in which

earlier forms have sometimes been preserved but often *translated* and in this interplay between the forces of conservatism and change, the relationship between phoneme and grapheme can easily be obscured and difficult to unravel.

Part of our aim in this article has been the analysis of the different writing procedures followed by the three scribes while copying a presumably common exemplar. It seems evident that scribe C-I is more of a translator, he transforms the language of the exemplar into his own spelling practice; he has comparatively few forms not translated. We may qualify him as the most contemporary of the three, conforming very closely in certain aspects to stereotyped Franco-Latin conventions; in this respect, the multifarious usage he makes of the old symbol <3> in his writing practice is noteworthy.

C-II's portions of copying is a random mixture of two varieties of written language with clearly separable layers. Confronted with an assemblage of West-Saxon forms and Franco-Latin forms in the two parts copied by this scribe, we assume that the former group belongs to the exemplar and the latter to C-II's own usage, more in accordance with C-I's practice. Altogether his writing practice has a great archaic flavour. For instance, he is the only one to make use of the symbol <ð>, which is never used by the others, revealing a linguistic link with the West Saxon tradition. He is the only one to amply employ the digraph <ea>, which connects him with the West Saxon standard, as well as with the AB language tradition. Altogether, his spelling practice is of a much more varied nature than the others'; the least consistent of the three.

On the other hand, scribe J's attitude is not that of a translator. He compromises between the exemplar's and his own spelling habits, superimposing more or less of his own dialectal traits on the language of the exemplar. He creates in his copy a so-called *Mischsprache*, a greater mixture of forms not consistent with any variety of the area. From this admixture we can easily sort out certain consistent innovative spellings which are significant precursors of the new written standard.

One of the most significant features in his writing as compared with the spelling practices of the two other scribes, is his use of the vowel

grapheme <y>; particularly noteworthy is the absence of the graph <y>, so extensively used in Middle English, from the spelling practices of C-I and II. Scribe J does not seem to follow any regular norm in its usage; <i> and <y> are interchangeable vowel graphemes, both being indistinctly employed in the same word. The interchangeability of <i> and <y> is partly the product of Latin influence, for the two were variants in medieval Latin. However, consistency of spelling is maintained in his use of consonantal <y> in initial position and also in his usage of <h> in mid and final position as compared with the all-embracing <3> in the spelling practice of C-I.

His use of <h> in mid and final position may be viewed as directly descending from West Saxon spelling tradition and may serve to corroborate the belief that the native tradition was never entirely lost. This convention, especially when he epenthesised a vowel before the consonant, e.g. *nouht*, *inouh*, *i-brouht*, *ouht*, etc. and other features of his spelling practice, for instance, the spellings of certain words, *drawe*, *lawe*, *sorewe*, *so*, *such*, etc., as compared with the same words in the spelling practices of the other scribes, *draze*, *laze*, *seorhe*, *swo*, *swuch*, etc., give him credit for some happy anticipation of later developments. On general grounds, we can adumbrate in J's writing habits an emergent process of standardisation, albeit only latent and tortuous.

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PART 2. LITERATURE

BIG-VOICED SCULLIONS: A FEW CONSIDERATIONS ON SEAMUS HEANEY'S NEW TRANSLATION OF *BEOWULF*

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Abstract

Many difficulties have to be faced by Beowulf translators, many choices and dilemmas which have to be dealt with: prose or verse, modern or archaic words, alliterative lines or freer ways to render the often complicated meanings of the ancient poem. In 1999 Heaney's new translation of Beowulf appeared, which has replaced Donaldson's version in The Norton Anthology of English Literature. Heaney seems to find his solution for the text in "a familiar local voice, one that had belonged to relatives of my father, people whom I had once described (punning on their surname) as 'big-voiced scullions'" (Heaney, 1999a:xxvi). However, Heaney's in-betweenness is inevitably present in this work, something that has provoked criticism and debate, a luscious debate in which I have definitely taken part.

At the very end of the 20th century appeared the latest of a long list of translations of the Old English poem: Seamus Heaney's attempt to render his version of the poem, a task commissioned by the editors of *The Norton Anthology*, has become the most read and, for some critics, the most readable version at the very beginning of this new millennium. In fact, and after controversially winning the Whitbread Book of the Year Award in 1999, it occupied a surprising place in the list of Best-sellers of the New York Times for ten weeks, something rarely expected nowadays from a translation of a poem belonging to the early period of Medieval English literature. The other main contender among the Whitbread finalists was the popular children's authoress J.K. Rowling

with her *Harry Potter and the Prisoner of Azkaban*. There was a strong tension between the supporters of both works. One judge, speaking anonymously to reporters, said the vote had been 5 to 4 after a 90-minute argument that was "heated and spilled over into anger". One of the judges, biographer Anthony Holden later said: "Had Harry Potter collected Britain's richest literary prize, it would have sent out to the world a message that, as with the monarchy and the Dome, Britain is a country that refuses to grow up". Some others spoke of "national humiliation" if the *Harry Potter* book had won. On the other hand, Rowling's supporters said that only "literary snobbery" had kept her from winning the Whitbread that year. Literary critic Clive Grinyer said that by snubbing Ms. Rowling and her creation, the Whitbread judges "confirmed the widespread perception that Britain is in the grip of a toffee-nosed culture, unable to reward anything that is popular". Chairman Dr. Eric Anderson said that "the only element of doubt about Heaney's suitability as winner was that he had provided a translation, rather than an original work". Seamus Heaney referred to the issue as a "mythic struggle"; "it was not only the huge sales of Potter's books or the howls of his fans what fuelled it", he affirmed, "It was Harry Potter vs. Beowulf".¹ Eventually, the slayer of Grendel was able to beat the bespectacled young wizard, winning the coveted prize. As a matter of fact, it is clear that Heaney's text has finally gained a great acceptance from a majority of readers, but this praise tends to fade when we face more academic commentaries on it.

It is the very changeable nature of language which makes it impossible for a translation to enjoy the honours of longevity. As J.D. Niles puts it: "Given that any living language is in a state of flux, especially the idiom of current poetry, most translations have only a limited shelf life" (1993:859). Therefore, it is already a success for a translation to be read over a couple of generations, something that the sales of Heaney's new translation (200,000 hardback copies last year only in the United States) have already ensured. However, due to its most remarkable and sometimes controversial features, Heaney's

¹ Reports taken from *BBC News* 26/01/00 (<<http://www.news.bbc.co.uk>>) and Weeks (2001).

version of *Beowulf* has opened a long debate among scholars, something that nonetheless could be expected from the high nature of the task (it is *Beowulf* which has to be translated) and to the Nobel Prize Winner involved in it.

The difficult task of translating Old English poetry increases when approaching a text such as *Beowulf*, conceived in a language with specific features different from other Anglo-Saxon texts: the artful style of the poem, poetic vocabulary which only appeared in it, the poetic diction, its syntax and rhythm "render translations inadequate" (J.D. Niles, 1993:859).² Once this is assumed, all translations move uneasily between both sides of an unstable balance: on the one hand, faithfulness to the original is required, especially for scholarly versions; on the other hand, creativity from the translator is needed for the rendering to be coherent and fluid, aesthetically pleasing. I will suggest an example for each of these extremes. Donaldson's version, which actually remained in *The Norton Anthology* until the sixth edition, is the literal prose translation mostly preferred by scholars, a rigid and sometimes primitive text but a faithful one indeed. Despite its apparent lack of artistry, Donaldson's text has been praised for his "avoidance of error by tact" (E.G. Stanley in Niles, 1993:868). However, Niles does not approve of his literal rendering, for it does not convey the poetic richness of the original. The other end of the balance could be represented by the translation written by Burton Raffel in 1963, as it is explained by M. Osborn (1997:358): "This rendering into a extremely free imitative verse is probably, as Raffel claims, the liveliest translation of *Beowulf*. My misgivings echo those of many reviewers: in its freedom this translation often misrepresents the poem". Between the two extremes, there are many possible combinations in so many recent versions of the Anglo-Saxon poem.³

² For further information see also Niles (1983).

³ Marijane Osborn (1997:341-359) in *A Beowulf Handbook* (chapter 18) offers a complete list and short commentary on most of the last versions of the poem. Among the translators we find: Gordon, R.K. (1923); Kennedy, C.W. (1940); Morgan, E. (1952); Raffel, B. (1963); Heatt, C.B. (1967); Donaldson, E.T. (1966); Crossley-Holland, K. (1968); Alexander, M. (1973); Chickering, H.D. (1977); Swanton, M. (1978); Bradley, S.A.J. (1982); Greenfield, S.B. (1982); Huppé, B.F. (1984); Osborn, M. (1984); Lehmann, R.P.M. (1988); Hudson, M. (1990); Rebsamen, F.R. (1991) and Tripp, R.P. (1991).

The first references to the poem appeared in 1805,⁴ and after the first renderings, which mostly constituted efforts in understanding the meaning of the original, translations have moved from the literal functionalist prose to the use of highly imitative alliteration. Some translators preferred using archaic words, Anglo-Saxon etymological roots in order to come closer to the Germanic echo of the original. Some others decided to incorporate the multi-cultural idioms of contemporary language, although often at the cost of deviation from the original.

The perfect balance is hard to achieve, though. It is then when we realise the ephemeral nature of translations of such an ancient poem, orally recited, written and copied down in unknown circumstances, by people and in a language dead a long time ago. The translator's task has to go beyond the mere act of translating words: s/he should be able to transmit to his/her audience the thoughts, worldviews and aesthetics of those people, making the original, as far as it may be possible, meaningful to modern readers. This "cultural mediation", as Niles (1993:862) calls it, is a necessary step in the process of transmutations from the unknown *ur-Beowulf* to the final version signed by the translator.

Just as the *scop* was a reminder of his people's past (a North Germanic society in a Scandinavian geographical setting), of their forebears and their values, the modern translator should behave as a new bard, ready and willing to transmit the beautiful complexity of that past into the present.

Since Thorkelin produced his faulty but complete translation into Latin in 1815, not only new texts started to appear but they also served as criticism of the poem. The first steps were hard: the main aim was to grasp fully the meaning of the original. N.F.S. Grundtvig⁵ studied Old

⁴ "Sharon Turner includes several passages from *Beowulf* in English verse in his 1805 edition of *The History of the Anglo-Saxons*, expanding these in later editions. Though never achieving accuracy." (Osborn, 1997:341). However, in 1705 Humphrey Wonley already commented something about the poem, considering it as "a most noble treatise written in poetry". Likewise, Jacob Congebeck in 1772 also referred to the poem as "an Old Anglo-Saxon poem in the Cotton Library". For further information see Shippey & Haarder (1998:75-77).

⁵ In 1820 he published his translation in Danish, being the first in any modern language.

English with a specialist and memorised the poem in order to have "a holistic view that Thorkelin appears to have lacked" (Osborn, 1997:45). These pioneers had to gather the content of the manuscript, to couple apparently unrelated fragments, etc. As they were more interested in the content, they usually failed to see the artistic value of the poem. Some of them considered it as a valuable historical document (like Professor John J. Coneybare)⁶ and some others praised its *potential artistry*, but complained at its lack of coherence (as N.F.S. Grundtvig, for example).

Once the general understanding of the original manuscript was no longer a problem (thanks to a great extent to the work done by M. Kemble in 1837),⁷ translators enjoyed a less rough path. Nowadays, there are many versions available, they may even have access to electronic editions through the internet or cd-rom formats. Recently, the British Library has released its Electronic *Beowulf*, which consists of a database of digital images of the *Beowulf* manuscript and related manuscripts and printed texts, including reconstruction of portions of the text based on fibre-optic and ultraviolet technologies. Translators can now concentrate on formal aspects such as alliteration and the poetic diction of the original, they make efforts to convey the contextualized meaning of difficult words somehow meaningless or misleading in contemporary Western culture. One example is the rendering of a term such as *boast* when Beowulf declares that he will not use weapons against Grendel. "*Gespræc þā se gōda gylpworda sum*" (line 675)⁸ is literally translated by Donaldson as "spoke some boast words". *Boast* has a vainglorious connotative meaning for those unfamiliar with Anglo-Saxon society. In Germanic culture it meant a solemn declaration of intentions (which should be carried out by the declarer) rather than a purely vaunting act. Heaney is conscious of this fact, and offers a better rendering with his "proudly asserted", covering the deep cultural meaning as well.

⁶ Coneybare offered a partial translation in English verse and Latin prose in 1826, mostly a revision of Thorkelin's text against the original manuscript.

⁷ Kemble provided a great edition with glossary and notes and was "the first strictly literal translation to succeed, and the last in Modern English that was needed in order for non-Anglo-Saxonists to have access to the poem" (Osborn, 1997:347).

⁸ All quotations from *Beowulf* are taken from Mitchell & Robinson (1998).

In his essay "The monsters and the critics" Tolkien (1936) misses criticism on the poem as a poem, that is to say, a work of art. After the first attempts to translate it, and especially after Tolkien's paper, it is widely agreed that *Beowulf* is mainly an elaborated piece of art rather than a manuscript of great historical and archaeological interest. It is then clear that the aesthetic side of the composition should be fully reflected in any translation, this aesthetic side being not only present in the *units of sense*, but also, and at the same level, in the metrical features of the original.⁹ Alliteration is not, therefore, something that can be obviated and simply removed in a translation of the Anglo-Saxon poem. As I have already stated, it is time to go beyond the mere act of translating words. One of those who first accepted the challenge was M. Alexander in 1973.¹⁰ His version entailed a change from the scholarly praised literal (but artless)¹¹ prose of Donaldson to a free alliterative (but criticised)¹² version in lines.

In my view, alliterative patterns should be maintained whenever possible, for they play a crucial role as a reminder of the oral component of the original as well as its poetic diction. In fact, alliteration was not "an incidental adornment to be applied at the will of the poet" (Kendall, 1991:13), but it marked the stressed syllables of syntactically prominent words in predictable ways. The poet was not free to alliterate when or where he wanted, the rules of metrical grammar imposed the predictable location of the alliterating syllable; a text undergoing such stylistic impositions on its form may well deserve a translation which should try to reflect this characteristic as far as it may be possible. In this sense, any translation which tries to alliterate in Modern English, although full of transgressions in the alliterative patterns, has to be welcome.

⁹ As S.A.J. Bradley affirms, thanks to the alliterative link the poet is "registering a meaning which may be greater than the sum of the strictly semantic and syntactic content of the words used" (Bradley, 2000).

¹⁰ *Beowulf, a verse translation*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books. This version is one of the most available nowadays. However, Burton Raffel had already tried an imitative alliteration in 1963.

¹¹ As I had already stated, it has been praised by scholars. However, Niles affirms that Donaldson "turned poetic gold into leather" (1993:869), referring to the unadorned nature of his literal prose.

¹² He is criticised for his freedom and deviations from the original. "While his work claims to be a translation, occasional departures from the text and frequent stylistic mannerisms make his version less than a ideal for the classroom" (Niles, 1993:870). Other posterior renderings in verse are the translations offered by Chickering, H.D. (1977), Greenfield, S.B. (1982), Osborn, M. (1984), Hudson, M. (1990) and Rebsamen, F.R. (1991).

In Heaney's translation we may find cases of perfect alliteration according to the rules of Anglo-Saxon poetry: that is, at least one and no more than two syllables in the first half of the line must alliterate with one and no more than one syllable of the second half of the line.¹³

And find friendship in the Father's embrace
ond tō fæder fæpmum freoðo wilnian (line 188)

The fortunes of war favoured Hrothgar
pā wæs Hrōðgāre herespēd gyfen (line 64)

I heard four horses were handed over next
Hyrde ic þæt þām frætwum fēower mēaras (line 2163)¹⁴

However, we also find many other cases in which Heaney breaks the rule, alliterating with the fourth stressed syllable (which still offers the possibility of unity in the building-up of the line), or alliterating all four stressed syllables. The effect is nevertheless quite acceptable, it does not break the constant echo so characteristic in Old English poems.

Time went by, the boat was on water
Fyrst forð gewāt flota wæs on yðum (line 210)

Rest what is rest? Sorrow has returned
Ne frīn þū æfter sǣlum! Sorh is genīwoð (line 1322)

In some other cases the caesura is not clear, for there are more than two stressed and two unstressed syllables in each of the half lines; or the syllables alliterating are not marked:

There was something they could not have known at the time
*Hīe þæt ne wiston þā hīe gewin drugon*¹⁵ (line 798)

¹³ This is a broad definition. Note that the stressed syllable of the second half-line alliterating should be normally the first syllable. Nevertheless, there are several variations of this main pattern. For further information see Kendall (1991).

¹⁴ Although I give the lines in the original, please note that the translation was not made exactly line by line, something which would have been obviously impossible.

¹⁵ In this example, lines do not exactly coincide.

In some others, finally, we even lack the possibility of finding alliteration, caesura or whatever principles present in the poetic diction of the original. Sometimes we may even find a poet too eager to build-up alliteration, allowing himself some freedom in his rendering.

In the vaults of his barrow; but his trust was unavailing
wīges ond wealles; him sēo wēn geleāh (line 2323)

Special attention should be paid to the way in which Heaney structures the tale of Sigemund (ll. 885-914) and the Finnsburg Episode (ll. 1070-1158). He graphically divides the line in two halves, following the original as much as possible: no doubt the result is attractive and exciting. The stresses are highlighted and so is the caesura, the evocative tone being at its most climatic point.

One of the most difficult aspects which have to be managed by the translator of *Beowulf* is the syntax in Old English poetic diction. Its paratactical nature sounds strange when translated into Modern English. An example is the words pronounced by the Danish coastguard referring to the Geats: "*Nū gē feorbūend / mereliðende, mīnne gehyrað / ānfealdne gebōht*" (ll. 254-256). Donaldson literally translates as: "Now you, far dwellers, sea voyagers, here what I think"; a strange wording in Modern English which becomes rather stodgy, especially when it occurs several times throughout the translation. It is a point at which both languages seem to be incompatible, especially in the language of poetry. However, and contrary to Tom Shippey's view,¹⁶ I think that Heaney's choice is not the best. As he explains in his prologue: "the appositional nature of Old English syntax is somewhat slighted here" (Heaney, 1999a:xxix). This often means unmerciful cuttings like his rendering of the example above: "outsiders from across the water, I say it again" (and that is all). Heaney is not only *slightening* the appositional syntax, but he is also violating one of the most important stylistic features of the

¹⁶ Shippey affirms that the appositional syntax (and variation) of the original is not essential for the translation. "The bane of translators of Old English poetry from the lowest levels upwards is its use of variation" (1999:10). He adds that the use of appositional syntax and variation in Modern English leads to "sentences which feel like someone pushing a line of supermarket trolleys" (1999:10).

original: variation.¹⁷ Considering Robinson's view on the appositive style in the poem,¹⁸ this *slight* violation would be dangerous at its most, for it is the poet's tool in order to build-up the complex tone of the whole poem, which, in his view, is the re-calling of pagan ancestors for a christianised audience. The poet tries to introduce the pagan elements of that Germanic society in a delicate way so that his Christian audience would not reject them. Heaney is therefore violating the appositive style, which at the same time supports one of the major themes in the Anglo-Saxon poem.

Directness of utterance and clarity seem to be main concerns in Heaney's work: "I came to the task of translating *Beowulf* with a prejudice in favour of forthright delivery" (Heaney, 1999a:xxvii). At the same time, he does not want his translation to sound *primitive* or *repetitive*. That is why he *slightens* apposition. However, he becomes too explicit in some passages, making his translation directed to first-time readers rather than scholarly work. We find that explicitness when character's relatives are referred to in the poem. Heaney makes changes such as: *Breca* instead of *the son of Weohstan*; *Unferth* instead of *the son of Ecglaf*; *Unferth*, again, instead of *Hrothgar's spokesman*; *Beowulf* instead of *the hardy man*; *Wiglaf* instead of *the messenger* etc. In all these examples the context may not be clear enough to identify who is being talked about,¹⁹ but Heaney is flagrantly breaking the formula pattern of the original, which is another important stylistic feature. Intent as he is to avoid repetitiveness, he alternates different renderings of reporting verbs such as *mapelode*, also breaking formulaic expressions in the original such as "*Hrōðgār mapelode, helm Scyldinga*" (line 371). He introduces *replied* in "*Bēowulf maðelode*" (line 405), whereas he had previously translated the very same word as *spoke*. The breaking of this pattern is outstanding, for the poet constantly uses this formula to introduce a speech in order to make the line easy to construct.²⁰

¹⁷ Both terms, apposition and variation, seem to overlap each other, one grammatically referring to the paratactic relationship between phrases and sentences, the other one traditionally used by Anglo-Saxon scholars to refer to these syntactically parallel words which share a common referent.

¹⁸ For further information see Robinson (1985).

¹⁹ Some translators, like Donaldson in *The Norton Anthology* edition, add some notes to clarify who is being referred to.

²⁰ See Mitchell and Robinson (1998:25).

It is interesting to notice how in his preface Heaney speaks about *foursquareness* of utterance belonging to the Old English poem, a statement which is partly wrong.²¹ In fact, several English writers have talked about a certain artistic superiority of Old English over Modern English, especially in the language of poetry. G. M. Hopkins wrote in a letter to his fellow-poet and friend Robert Bridges: "I am learning Anglo-Saxon and it is a vastly superior thing to what we have now" (Godden & Lapidge, 1991:ix).²² Even stranger is what Heaney affirms about the indicative mood in *Beowulf*: he had "a feeling of living inside a constantly indicative mood" (1999a:xvii). Old English in general is very fond of subjunctives and they were quite used by the *Beowulf* poet; that is why many expressions are difficult to translate.²³

Heaney then tends to be too explicit when Old English is somehow obscure or dull, and to embellish and adorn when the Anglo-Saxon poem is flat or plain. He makes use of a wide range of vocabulary: words like *gold regalia*, *molten venom*, *parleying*, proliferate throughout Heaney's translation. Poetic vocabulary is a feature belonging to the original admirably maintained by Heaney, a skilful and gifted poet. Compare the different renderings in which I considered to be *opposed* translations:

Heaney's version

proudly asserted
applause
torque
amazon
warrior

Donaldson's version

spoke some boast word
noise
ring
wife
man

²¹ As Mitchell and Robinson explain, one of the reasons for the belief that Old English was a primitive language is its frequent use of parataxis. We cannot forget that the language in England just before the Norman Conquest "was far more developed for the expression of both prose and poetry than any other contemporary European vernacular and that authors using it sometimes rose to the very great heights" (Mitchell & Robinson, 1992: 98)

²² Other writers influenced by Anglo-Saxon literature are Auden, Pound, Wilbur and Graves.

²³ Tom Shippey analyses in his review some examples of Heaney's renderings for Anglo-Saxon subjunctives. Shippey says: "If one is talking real grammar, not the folk-grammar of John Major and most English department introductory courses, then the poet of *Beowulf* might be thought to be distinguished by his handling (among much else) of subjunctives" (1999:9).

<i>gannets' bath</i>	<i>sea-birds' bath</i>
<i>cargoed</i>	<i>loaded</i>
<i>imagined insults</i>	<i>pretended injury</i>
<i>pouch</i>	<i>glove</i>
<i>vile sky-winger</i>	<i>deadly flying thing</i>

One nice example occurs when translating Grendel's mother's attack on *Beowulf* (line 1545): "*Ofsæt þā þōne selegyst ond hyre seaxe geteah*". In Donaldson's: "She sat upon the hall guest and drew her knife". Heaney carefully embellishes his rendering: "She pounced upon him and pulled out a broad, whetted knife". Another interesting example is the word in Modern English for *hildeleoman* (line 1143), which literally means "battle-light" (as usually translated). Heaney's poetic skill offers a quite different rendering: *Dazzle-the Duel*.

As far as compounds are concerned, Heaney makes full use of them even when they are not present in the original. More often than not, they are more elaborated and modernised than, for example, in Donaldson's version: *monster hell-bride* instead of *monster-wife*; *hand-to-hand fight* instead of *hand fight* (notice the hyphen). In the case of *hell-bride*, he is looking for alliteration, something that the original poet already did by the use of formulae and compounds; this *tecné* facilitated the making-up of the alliterative patterns.

That was the embellishment, but at the same time we also find many colloquialisms (something characteristic of Heaney's poetry) which stand for clarity and, sometimes, obviousness: *tomorrow morning* instead of *when morning comes*; *Almighty God* instead of *all-wielder*. Idiomatic expressions such as: *big talk*, *in fine fettle*, *blather*, etc. – which, as Terry Eagleton points out, "are most Heaneyesque" (1999:16) – are curiously intermingled with the general poetic tone and ceremonial way of speaking of most of the characters. However, this homeliness in expression runs the risk of not fulfilling the translation's role as *cultural mediation*. As an example I give the words addressed to *Beowulf* by the Danish coastguard: "*Æghwæpres sceal / scearp scyldwiga gescād witan/ worda ond worca, se þe wel þenceð*" (lines 287-289). He is affirming in a simple and proverbial way something that is already known in their warrior

culture: learning to judge a man by his words and works is a survival skill.²⁴ As literally translated by Donaldson: "A sharp witted shield warrior who thinks well must be able to judge each of the two things, words and works". Heaney's version presents a much more blunt and homely coastguard: "Anyone with gumption/ and a sharp mind will take the measure/ of two things: what's said and what's done". Although close to the superficial meaning of the original, it fails to convey the cultural implications of it. The *hidden compliment* towards *Beowulf* is lost in Heaney's version, and an idiom such as *gumption*, although vivid, does not seem fit for a Danish coastguard "in a poetic Denmark where even the door keeper is a prince" (Bradley, 2000).

It is not hard to guess why Heaney appreciates so much the Anglo-Saxon poem (and why he was commissioned by the editors of *The Norton Anthology*). First of all, one of his early influences was G.M. Hopkins, a nineteenth-century Jesuit priest and poet whose lines were full of echo, alliteration and repetition. Heaney himself affirms: "Hopkins was a chip off the Old English block and the earliest lines I published when I was a student were as much pastiche Anglo-Saxon as they were pastiche Hopkins" (1999a:xxiii). Secondly, *Beowulf* is a poem full of *in-betweenness* and tensions: between the Christian and the pagan, the earthy and the spiritual, the forthrightness and the oblique, the present and the past, and finally, between the self-conscious artistry and the immediateness of its oral component. These tensions are also present in Heaney's own career as a writer. He has been a poet who has linked the past to the present, the unschooled and the cultivated. His poetry is in between sturdy familiarity and literary accomplishment; he has often been called *the master of a poetry of reconciliations*.

This new translation of *Beowulf* is another attempt at reconciliation. He tries to overcome *the cultural dispossession* he felt in his early days. As he explains: "Sprung from an Irish nationalist background and educated at a Northern Irish Catholic School, I had learned the Irish

²⁴ The sentence pronounced by the Dane is a statement of cultural share belief, an example of the maxims that often appear in the poem.

language and lived within a cultural and ideological frame that regarded it as the language that I should by rights have been speaking but I had been robbed of" (1999a:xxiii-xxiv). *Philological* illumination came when he firstly discover that the word *whiskey* was the same as the Irish and Scot Gaelic *uisce* meaning water. Later on, this discovery was corroborated in *Beowulf*, when he found out that the Old English verb *polian* (to suffer) was the same local Ulster term *to thole*. This way he considered *Beowulf* as part of his voice-right. Consequently (and thirty-five years before he was commissioned by *The Norton Anthology* editors), he was ready to fulfil a special task: translating *Beowulf* would be the solution for his own linguistic conflict. Therefore, whenever he thought that "a local Ulster word seemed either poetically or historically right" (1999a:xxix) he made use of it. Examples are: *kith* (a relative, brother, etc.), *keen* (a lament for the dead), *bawn* (referring to Hrothgar's hall; as the translator explains, this word was used by English planters to describe fortified dwellings they erected on lands confiscated from the Irish); *brehon* (an ancient class of lawyers in Ireland); *wean* (a young child); *hoked* (rooted about); *canny* (Scot-kind).²⁵

So. Strange as it may seem, it is Heaney's rendering for *Hwæt*, the very first word in *Beowulf*. He wants to make clear from the beginning that the general tone for his translation would be similar to "a familiar local voice, one that had belonged to relatives of my father, people I had once described (punning on their surname) as 'big-voiced scullions'" (1999a:xxvi). The *luscious* debate, then, is served from the beginning.

Heaney's option can be easily criticised: why is Irish/Scot Gaelic (or the dialect he likes calling *Hiberno-English*) better than others varieties of English in order to translate some words of the Anglo-Saxon poem?²⁶

²⁵ These definitions are taken from Heaney's footnotes in the 7th edition of *The Norton Anthology of English Literature*.

²⁶ One of the reasons Heaney gives in his article "The drag of the golden chain" (1999b) is that Anglo-Saxon, Latin and other ancient languages kept a close relationship between sound and meaning (of a word), languages "where the link between inevitability of sound and plenitude of sense is indissoluble. The diversity of tongues, however, broke this link" (1999b:14). His *Hiberno-English-Ulster-dialect* would be then closer to these languages and, therefore, better for translating them. Graciously enough, he acknowledges how he and other poets like Octavio Paz were reluctant to believe in Saussure's theory about the arbitrary relationship between signifier and signified. Nevertheless, as T. Shippey states: "A hundred

What can we think as English speakers, who may be alien to his local Ulster terms, when realising that we need translation of a translation? At the same time, it seems that his solution for his cultural dispossession is both an ethereal and utopian one. Heaney's cultural hybridism, an attempt to reconcile the Celtic and the Anglo-Saxon, the Irish and the British, could be considered as a delusion in a political situation far more complicated than that. As Terry Eagleton points out: "It is liberal Unionism, not Nationalism, which holds to an unity of Irish and British culture in order to rationalise British rule of part of the island. Cultural hybridity is here in the service of political division" (1999:16).

Even though we may accept Heaney's personal achievement, that is, his own victory in his inner race towards Anglo-Irish linguistic conciliation, we can never forget that we are dealing with a translation, not an original work. I intend to suggest that his effort is more characteristic of a poet attempting an original work. All translations, although needing "some stamp of the translator's own mind and style" (Niles, 1993:858), are more related to processes of transmission and mediation than to purely creative work. Of course, Heaney's version is not a real re-elaboration of the poem,²⁷ but it often tells us more about Heaney's own linguistic choices, conflicts and political commitments than about the original poet's choices and commitments. As Heaney's himself acknowledges: "My poetry does have political meaning, and plenty of it –but for my own purposes, not theirs" (Weeks, 2001). This translation is not an exception.²⁸

Obviously, the original poet did not use one specific dialect in order to make larger linguistic-political claims. Heaney's choice is a dangerous one. Some critics, like N. Howe (2000), even affirm: "What

years ago, foolish philologists, who should have known better, were claiming that the standard English was intrinsically superior to dialects because it had nicer vowels; reversing the statement makes it no wiser" (1999:9).

²⁷ In her chapter, Marijane Osborn (1997:341-359) gives an account of some pure remakings and adaptations of *Beowulf*. These remakings prove to be very far from the original, main plot is changed, etc.

²⁸ Nationalising *Beowulf* is not a new enterprise, though. Thorkelin and Grundtvig were the first to present *Beowulf* as the counterpart of Homer's and Virgil's epic poems. As M. Osborn explains: "these two impulses, the romantic and genealogical or racial, were important motivations for most of the early translating of *Beowulf*" (1997:347).

Heaney does with words such as bawn, brehon and hoked is his own remaking of the poem".²⁹ I do not think it is a remaking, but I do think that a better solution would have been in producing an entirely Ulsterized remaking. Standing in no-man's land is a perilous act, you can be easily shot.

Heaney's new translation of *Beowulf* possesses certain great qualities which other renderings have been not able to gather for the last fifty years. Nobody can deny its adequate alliterative lines and (with the help of Professor Alfred David, appointed by *The Norton Anthology* editors) his accurateness when translating culturally loaded words, the rhythm of his verse and its echo. His translation achieves the climax towards the end, it seems that Heaney feels more comfortable with the elegiac tone of the last part of the poem.

Never again would he glitter and glide
and show himself off in midnight air,
exulting in his riches, he fell to earth
through the battle-strength in Beowulf's arm (lines 2832-35)

Heaney's rendering is also a paradoxical revisionist exercise about the Anglo-Saxon and Celtic past of Britain, as well as a personal achievement concerning his status as a major poet writing in English and brought up in Nationalist Northern Ireland.

However, his version is halfway between the scholarly version and the readable remaking. There are many colloquialisms and lack of some stylistic features which were present in the original. It is also in between the faithfulness to the original and the Ulsterized rendering. Any translation (not a remaking or adaptation) of *Beowulf* should need no further translation than itself. Furthermore, bearing in mind the pedagogical implications of this version (as contained in *The Norton Anthology*), it is aimed at a general community of English readers as well as the academic environment. I think Heaney's responsibility as

²⁹ N. Howe (2000) even adds: "He has set out to make the poem Irish" and "his *Beowulf* sounds at times more like some poetry of Medieval Ireland than it does like that of Anglo-Saxon England".

translator should be prior to his inner conflicts and outer claims.

I have already referred to the different options and choices implied in the translation of *Beowulf*. Related to this, we have to assume that involving a poet in this process also means running some risk. Creativity is an inherent quality in artists, we cannot help it. Scholars follow other principles, closer to the aesthetics and linguistic-cultural issues of the original, but they often lack the powerful style and freshness of a real poet translating *Beowulf*. Once again, it is a matter of choice.

Nevertheless, Heaney's version will be read over a couple of generations and, at the same time, he has provoked criticism and debate, something essentially positive in order to keep Anglo-Saxon studies alive. Perhaps we still have to wait for a more scholarly version or choose among those which already exist. The moral is that the task of rewriting/translating *Beowulf* will remain "willable forward, again and again and again" (Heaney, 1999a:xxx).

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UTOPIAN HAPPINESS, THOMAS MORE'S *UTOPIA* AND THE MEDIEVAL MONASTIC IDEAL

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1. Introduction.

The search for utopian happiness is an anthropological universal. From this standpoint, the claim that a medieval utopia is a contradiction in terms becomes at least a questionable tenet. It is hard to accept, that the universal utopian impulse was in a sort of hibernation mode for a thousand years. *Utopian happiness*, on the other hand, is also a problematic construct. We know that when the gods want to punish us, they grant us our utopian dreams. Indeed, few things deserve to be feared more than a *practical utopia*. Generally speaking, two are the most relevant notions on which most definitions of happiness lie: the hedonistic—pleasure, or negatively, the avoidance of pain, is the basis of a happy life— and the eudaimonistic—a life of virtue and reason is the basis of happiness— sum up the pillars of most of the historical notions of happiness. Similarly, utopia can be defined as a heuristic category, more or less equivalent to ideology, as a revolutionary instrument of social transformation, or as the literary form that gives shape to that function of the human imagination that translates the reality of dreams of a better world into a language that gives us pleasure while it teaches us to perceive otherness as one more side of reality, a reality that may be, in the words of Victor Hugo, *tomorrow's truth*. Now the link between happiness and utopia becomes clear: there is a branch of literature that suggests that people would be happier in our world if this world were better organized and more rationally governed: this is utopian happiness.

However, ambiguity is central to any definition of utopia and of happiness: Nietzsche suggested that only that which has no history can be defined. The Manuels, J.C. Davies, Berneri, Fortunati, Trousson, L.T. Sargent and many others have proved beyond doubt that utopia has its own history as well as its own typology (Cockaigne, Arcadia, the perfect moral Republic, the Millenium...), but –like so many other big words (love, truth...)– it still resists both definition and classification. The search for utopian happiness, therefore, points at humankind's ineluctable drive towards the substitution of a broken world full of needs, pain and suffering by a rationally harmonious one, but often, if not always, the utopian struggle reveals itself –upon closer inspection– as a pathological aberration of rationality.

There are many possible working definitions of happiness, but, following Albert Camus, I will use as a point of departure one which suggests that it is "a certain kind of relationship between a person and his/her own existence" (Gotz, 1995:5). In the same fashion, there are many definitions of utopia,¹ and mine is as follows: Utopia is an articulate vision –presented in a literary text– of a new/different world in which there is happiness on earth. Furthermore, it can be said that there are four equations that summarize my conception of happiness and utopia, the starting point of this study:²

Happiness = satisfaction / desires (Gotz, 1995:6)

+Perfect = -free

Utopia = perfection/freedom

+Satisfaction/desires = -happiness

On the other hand, any discussion of utopian happiness must take into account the fact that literature, in the English-speaking world, deviates from *classical* literatures on happiness, according to Barrow (1980:32) in that, despite obvious affinities,

¹ See Martínez (1997:11-25) and Levitas (1990:1-3).

² See Martínez (2001:206-210).

it almost entirely turns its back upon the assumption that virtue and reason (the Aristotelian assumption) go hand in hand. In fact, in some of the most searching literature concerned with this topic, such as Joseph Conrad's fiction, the very reverse seems to be implied. Knowledge, particularly self-knowledge, is seen as a potent source of suffering and despair, and, in a sophisticated way, the 'angel-infancy' referred to by H. Vaughan, the simple innocence that allows happiness, is contrasted with the tortured soul of a Hamlet that can gain no peace. The proverb "Better to be happy than wise" was noted as early as Heywood's Dictionary of 1546 and these famous lines from Gray make the point even more explicitly: "Since sorrow never comes too late/ And happiness swiftly flies/ Thought would destroy their paradise./ No more. Where ignorance is bliss/ 'Tis folly to be wise."

Indeed, all too often knowledge is the source of unhappiness and rational self-awareness the vehicle of the acknowledgement of the many contradictions and paradoxes of human existence. Thinking, it can be suggested, is a game that is not always very healthy (Alain, 1973:106). On the other hand, some authors, in the contemporary existentialist vein, have asked whether it is possible to be happy surrounded by so much evil, suffering and need. Our world surprises us every morning with news of homeless people who die from cold or heat or boredom; exiles and refugees who travel the world in search of a place to settle, far from the need and hate that pushed them out of their homelands; raped and mutilated women, abused children, starving crowds with a forgotten past and an inexistent future... . It is clear that—at least from a statistical point of view—there is more pain than joy in this world. I.L. Gotz (1995:41) takes this reflection to the theological domain: "[...] can the saints be happy while aware of the suffering of the damned in hell? Can God himself be happy while contemplating the mess this world, which he created, is in?". Certainly, utopian literature defies the concept that ours—as we have shaped it—is the best of all possible worlds; at the same time, utopian writings, while entertaining us with stories of

far-away isles, kingdoms or stars, eloquently remind us of our right to the pursuit of happiness.

However, if human teleology is primarily a search for happiness, originally utopia is the image of wishful thinking. Pessimism about the possibility of our search for happiness being crowned with success is justified since the whole universe opposes at least three potent and virtually indestructible sources of suffering: nature's supremacy over history, mortality and the blatant insufficiency of our methods and political systems to successfully regulate human relations within the family, the state and within the realm of civil societies. In other words, our institutions of power betray us.

2. Typology of happiness.

Following Gotz, views of happiness can be divided into those that enlarge the numerator of the equation and those that decrease the denominator. Based on Gotz's formula, I present now a short typology of happiness:

Happiness as chance or fate: the etymological meaning evokes two types of response. The passive one –which we could label fatalistic or providentialist– according to which people just hope that they are among the chosen ones to be happy in this world. Fate is thought inscrutable. The active response, in turn, shares the essential meaning of happiness as chance, but affirms the human capacity to contribute to one's fate and thus happiness. Therefore, people will do anything necessary to get their share of happiness, even at the cost of other people's misery. Happiness is thus conceived as a scarce good, sought after by virtually everybody. That there is not enough happiness for all is taken for granted, as well as that, in a way, we need unhappy creatures around to compare and contrast our own level of achievement in this respect. Disguised in the form of pity and understanding, our reaction against other people's misfortunes is one of sympathy while reaffirming our own good fortune. More's utopians cherish Utopos' foundation of their Commonwealth and compare and contrast their state of happiness with

the contingencies of the outside world from which they are radically detached. Such was their fate which they try to preserve by abiding to a constitution with no reform clause.

Happiness as transcendence: transcendental happiness informs, for example, Unamuno's *tragic sense of life*, Nietzsche's Zarathustra as well as the eschatological expectation of most religions. Transcendental happiness is the result of the conviction that happiness is impossible in this life and has to be won and/or expected in the world to come. The realization of the unsatisfied wish of eternity is equivalent to making Gotz's denominator tend toward infinite, so that it is impossible to fulfill all the desires in this life. The believer lives in the hope of a perfectly happy life to come and the pagan will usually turn to the existentialist concepts of absurdity and nothingness. Utopian religion, beyond its encouragement of euthanasia, clearly states the need to believe in the eschatology of the Judaeo-Christian religious tradition, while modern utopian thought, after More, is essentially a secularized up-to-date version of these religious beliefs.

Happiness as rapture: when one increases the numerator of Gotz's equation –often through the indulging in pleasures– (sex, dancing, alcohol, drugs...), the implicit statement is made that satisfaction and happiness are not to be expected in another life and, therefore, a hedonistic approach to this life is the only rational possibility. Some pornotopias and eutopias of our century would fall into this category. Disguised under a hedonic appearance, the ethics of the Utopians is as strict as the Stoic's or the Christian's, which can be understood –in terms of consistency– in the light of the rest of More's non-fictional writings. Many pages are devoted to the Utopian definition of pleasure and to the specification of false pleasures (luxurious clothing, earthly honors, riches, dice play, hunting, etc.) and true ones (bodily –defecation, health, sexual intercourse, eating, etc.– and mental –contemplation of truth, providing for the pleasure of others, etc.–) (More, 1965:173-179).³

³ All quotations from *The Best State of a Commonwealth and the New Island of Utopia* are taken from Surtz & Hexter eds. (1965), and will be referred to parenthetically in the main text.

Happiness as rational harmony: against the visions of heavenly bliss, philosophical schools such as stoicism and Epicureanism –only apparently opposite to each other– coincide in apprehending happiness as a worldly thing (differing just in the means they propose to attain it). This is the closest version to the classic concept of the Greek *eudaimonía*. This is also Plato's *aurea mediocritas*, and his proposal in *The Republic*, a desirable result of the application of principles of rationality and harmony to human life. Emphasis (at least at the rhetorical level) on rationality and harmony is a founding element of any utopian society.

Happiness as contemplation: according to Aristotle, happiness can be realized in this life, by exercising the mind, getting to know and appreciate oneself, others and the world. Christianity would add to Aristotle's version of *eudaimonía* (as suggested above) that the natural object of human knowledge and contemplation is mainly the divine essence, from which all other knowledge derives (Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, 1-2, 3 & 4). Obviously, this vision of happiness as contemplation –elitist as it is– has been for centuries the highest ideal of happiness in the western tradition. In fact this elitist overtone has made democracy and contemplation opposed to each other, because democracies prefer equality before justice proper, whereas the truth of contemplation is esoteric and cannot be defined by majority vote. Truth for the democracy is what *anyone* can see, while, for the elites, what anyone can see is not what it is. All utopias share this elitist conception of happiness, to one degree or another. Through symbols of isolation and stress on detachment from the rest of the world, which is seen as a source of negative influences, the utopian society is often religiously secular and pagan at the same time, *the perennial heresy*,⁴ since it proposes the attainment of perfection in this world, happiness being just one constituent of such perfection. Most of the classic utopias place a great deal of emphasis on contemplation; their rules tend to establish the minimum amount of manual work to guarantee self-sufficiency –often with a drastic limitation of desires– and they leave the rest of the time to study, meditation or intellectual activities of any kind.

⁴ See Molnar (1967).

Happiness as contentment: this approach to happiness consists in the decreasing of the denominator of Gotz's equation. "Emphasis is thus laid on a 'containment' of desires, on not letting desires exceed the amount of satisfaction available" (Gotz, 1995:17). The happiness of contentment seems to be one of the proposals of utopian thought. Contentment by itself does not bring about equality, but certainly favors it, as far as external and environmental variables are concerned. Luxury is absent from classic utopias, and more often than not from anti-utopias and dystopias. The problem is that contentment is imposed on the population either by coercion or by a more or less explicit form of mental conditioning. In short, the happiness of contentment is present in utopian literature inasmuch as these societies have developed systems for the internal regulation of desires, so that they never exceed the amount of satisfactions available.

Happiness as possession: this is the so-called consumer-happiness, the most extended form and probably the concept of happiness that is easiest to understand in the capitalist utopia. Being surrounded by things one likes, things that give us comfort and a feeling of protection, produces a sense of joy. The Roman Emperors were no model of democracy or preoccupation for their people, but they still thought it appropriate and convenient to guarantee some minimal pleasures for the population and decided to give them *panem et circenses*. The rationale for the connection between happiness and things lies in the simple fact that one may have nearly everything one's heart desires as long as one can buy it. When possession becomes a wild passion, the consequences are often disastrous, as for Marlowe's Dr. Faustus.⁵ However, as a matter of principle, there is nothing wrong in possession, which is, after all, a mode of having, i.e., a mode of being in the world.⁶ However, having, in utopian literature, must be a shared experience. This is Erasmus's *amicorum communia omnia* theme, More's Christian communism or Orwell's *Miniluv*.

⁵ About this, see Martínez (1995b:116-122) and Polaino, Martínez & Fontecilla (1987:43-95).

⁶ See Merleau-Ponty (1962:146) and Marcel (1965:177-179).

Happiness as egoism: happiness or want of it, like emotions, is personal and thus not transferable. It must be sought after and eventually found in solitude. Both, Stoicism and Epicureanism base their philosophy of happiness on the imposition of a certain *indifference* toward others' misery and sorrow. Its advocates claim that this type is by far the most authentic, because, if it were not so, how could saints be happy, aware as they are of the sufferings of souls in hell and in this life; and taking the argument *ab absurdo*, as we suggested above, how can God be happy –they say– contemplating the chaos of this world... This line of thought is omnipresent in Hobbes' *Leviathan* and in the Existentialist school of philosophy, particularly in Kierkegaard. Utopian thought is *prima facie* at odds with egoism, its bases being theoretically those of the commonwealth, but, especially in nineteenth and twentieth-century dystopias, egoism seems to be the only motivation of the personal or institutional elite that governs the different societies, since they are never moved by the consequences of the annihilation of human freedom (often suffering or boredom) they inflict on their respective peoples. Again, utopias and dystopias are ready to wage war against, and eventually destroy, the rest of the world in order to preserve their privileges. This leaving the world aside, this forgetfulness about society, is also found in the monastic traditions of the great world religions. The life of these religious communities, that give themselves to prayer and leave the world, lies at the base of the utopian ideal in our western world.⁷

3. Happiness, the theocratic utopia and the Middle Ages.

Western utopia is largely the result of the blend of edenic or eschatological models and the classic myth of the ideal city (after Plato's *Republic*). In other words, in utopia we acknowledge a Judaeo-Christian (Biblical) matrix and a Greco-Latin one: the formative period of our western utopias would then be that depicted in the O.T. (especially

⁷ See Martínez (1994), Martínez (1995a:53-68) and the special issue on More's *Utopia* edited by E. McCutcheon & C.H. Miller, Angiers, France, 1994, 43-59.

Genesis), Intertestamental (especially prophetic literature) and N.T. (especially apocalyptic literature); the medieval development pivots around Augustine's *City of God* and the Millenarian movements that originate in the Early Middle Ages and extend their influence, particularly in the literature of England, at least until the eighteenth century. The Greco-Latin matrix includes texts by Homer and Hesiod (on the Golden Age), Plato's *Banquet* and *Republic*, Zeno's stoic eutopias, Aristophanes' satires, Enemero's Utopia, and Plutarch's *Lives*. In Rome, we have Virgil's *Saturnia regna*, some texts by Ovid and Seneca and the practical utopias of the Graco brothers, who were killed because they tried to alter a blatantly unjust *statu quo*. This double matrix relies on two opposite conceptions of time and thus of history (cyclical for the Greeks and linear for the Judeao-Christians). Some thinkers, though, from St. Paul to St. Augustine (after 597 responsible for the Christianisation of the British Isles) managed to produce a peculiar sort of synthesis of the two models: two paradises, the earthly and the heavenly, the Millenium, the Apocalypsis, etc. The images of suffering on this earth and the medieval *topoi* of the journey, the pilgrimage, the dream vision, etc. all pointed at the radical impossibility of achieving perfection in this world but also suggested the need to construct alternative forms of life and social organization. In the early days of Christianity, according to the *Didaché*, the Church was the only society Christians should feel themselves members of; virtually, the *civitas terrena* did not exist for those who were eagerly expecting the Day of the Apocalypse, the Millenium or, in general, the end of the world as they knew it, an end that was wrongly supposed to be at hand. By the end of the second century A.D., the Christian still believed that the imminent future was not in an earthly city, but in the celestial one and thus continued to regard social progress as a futile attempt. From the third until the eighth century, this view was radically challenged, and then, having the supposed immediacy of the end been questioned, the Christian began to dream of building a universal empire under the name of Christ. It is in this manner that the *civitas Dei* and the *civitas terrena* became intimately bonded. While the ideal commonwealth was that represented by the monastery, the condemnation of any attempt at intervening in the business and institutions of power of this world, was –to say the least– far less radical.

It is quite obvious that the dramatic conditions of life for the majority of the population in the Middle Ages had to give way to some kind of utopian dreaming: the abuses of the nobility and the extreme violence of life metamorphosized in charming stories (told under the auspices of the hyperbolic marvellous) of no less charming as well as supposedly perfect knights (such as Sir Gawain, Agravain, Lancelot, Arthur...), happy *isles* such as Heorot, Camelot or the mythic Isle of the Blessed and the Isle of Prester John, in the context of a hostile nature and a hostile world; often, though, these texts can easily be read as rather iconoclastic responses to the official conventions of medieval perfection. Thus, criticism of the chivalric world clearly constitutes an outstanding subtext in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*. In much the same way, criticism of the estates becomes a major theme in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* as in *Piers the Plowman*, commonly attributed to Chaucer's contemporary William Langland.

On the other hand, popular rebellions in the Middle Ages were scarce but by no means inexistent: for example, Joachim of Fiore and Thomas Müntzer developed a model of a perfect moral republic after Millenarian tenets. Monasticism was thought of as an alternative society permeated by classic utopian ideals such as communism of goods, self-sufficiency, search for perfection, etc. Another model of medieval utopianism is the establishment of the religious orders, particularly the Franciscan experiments. It would be only four years after St. Francis' death when his Testament (in which he strenuously affirmed the mendicant ideal and warned against ownership of property) had been set aside by the decretal *Quo elongati* by Pope Gregory IX in 1229.

Joachim of Fiore (himself not formally a Millenarian believer and never declared heretic) prepared the way for many radical millenarian movements of medieval and early modern times: the Cathars, the Brethren of the Free Spirit, the Hussites, the Taborites, the Anabaptists, etc. "Whatever the specific interpretation, the important thing, as with the Jewish concept of the Days of the Messiah, was the belief in an order of earthly perfection, seen as something both imminent and realizable" (Kumar, 1985:16).

4. Medieval monasticism and the birth of utopia.

The Carthusians had settled in England since the days of Henry II and in Thomas More's time were probably the most prestigious of all English monks.⁸ The founders of the order were St. Bruno (ca. 1122) who, unlike Utopos, did not write any rule and Dom Guigo, who did write the *Customs of the Carthusians*. The first half of the sixteenth century sees the highest splendor of the order with two hundred and six monasteries scattered throughout Europe. However, in England, King Henry VIII was sending them to exile, or, more often, to the scaffold. In the Refectory of the Granada Charterhouse, we can admire a painting by the lay-brother Fray Juan Sánchez Cotán, with scenes of the persecution suffered by the order in England under the reign of Henry VIII.⁹

Purely contemplative, the Carthusian was an extremely austere order that strictly adhered to the *ora et labora* monastic principle and used to take it to its most extreme consequences. They cherished solitude and the disposition of the Charterhouses, divided in several small houses each with a private garden, favored isolation, contemplation, intellectual and manual work, and, of course, prayer. The philosophy of the *contemptus mundi* is typically medieval and utopian writing develops it (through the literary device of *estrangement*) by taking the reader to a remote and paradise-like isle,¹⁰ from where to criticize the society of departure. In this way, the Utopians form an elite and their land and customs set them apart from the patterns of behavior of ordinary men.

The theological significance of manual work, the superiority of intellectual work over handicraftsmanship, their refusal to hunt and/or eat meat, the use of servants for the most humble jobs, their love of singing and gardening, etc., depict a way of life and a concept of the

⁸ See Thompson (1930).

⁹ In Whatmor's opinion, "during the first few years that this new religious policy was increasingly applied, few were found resisting unto blood. [...] The laity can claim the single but shining instance of Sir Thomas More. Resistance that came out best is due to the London Carthusians and the Franciscan Observants. A large number of Carthusian martyrs laid down their lives during the first half of the sixteenth century" (1983:1-3).

¹⁰ See Lodolo (1977:252-288).

good Christian life that is portrayed in More's description of the utopian commonwealth almost *ad pedem litterae*.¹¹ Indeed, More's ideas about the individual and about social structures were Christian, medieval and monastic¹² and the *good life* of the Utopians largely reflects the *good life* of the monastery. However, More's operation in his *Utopia*—like his personal election of marriage instead of becoming a member of the clergy and serving the king and God instead of God alone in a monastery—is to explore the possibilities of life in a secular society permeated by conventual features, the convenience of which must be glimpsed without the aid of Revelation. In other words, he tried to make lay life compatible with an ideal community serving God.

In the pages that follow, I summarize some of the features of the commonwealth of Utopia that resemble monastic institutions and patterns of behavior.

The Utopians wear extremely simple Carthusian-like robes (More, 1965:127); all are dressed alike, in white, with minor differences depending on sex and state (married or single) and their clothes are lasting and inexpensive (More, 1965:135). This characteristic feature of the Utopians incorporates the monastic proclamation of equality—through the rejection of individualism and diversity—together with a humble affirmation of the idea of the Church as the chosen People that walks through the desert of life towards the Promised Land of the O.T., the Celestial City of Augustine or the New Jerusalem of the Millennium.

The very shape of the isle too suggests the essence of the monastery as a fortress, with natural defenses (More, 1965:111, 119) that create a safe environment, free from the bad influence of the outer *world*, much like a sanctuary, a Christian haven where perfection can at least be attempted.

¹¹ About this, Duhamel (1977:234-250) has said: "For Thomas More, the ideal daily life of a Christian community, living according to the counsels of revelation as well as the dictates of reason, might well have been found in the *Regula Monachorum* of St. Benedict or the Carthusian *Consuetudines* of Guigo under which More himself lived for some four years in the London Charterhouse. More attributed to his Utopians as many of the details of monastic life as he thought could have been perceived by reason alone". See also Gordon (1979:199-214). Finally, see the highly influential Chambers (1981).

¹² Some have even ventured that More's ideas were genuinely socialist. See Dennis & Halsey (1988:14).

The daily life of the monastery also has its counterpart in Utopia: the communal life of the Utopians, who behave like a "big family" (More, 1965:149, 239), distantly resembles the lives of the Apostles ("Cenobitic institutions") (More, 1965: 219), including common houses, reading during their common meals, singing and common prayers (More, 1965:145, 235). On the side of prohibitions, the Utopians do not hunt (More, 1965:171); this unpleasant task, when intended for food supply, is left to the slaves. From the early Middle Ages, moral writers had insisted on the inadequacy of hunting for those who had received holy orders; hence Chaucer's criticism of the Monk's breaking of his rules in "The General Prologue" to *The Canterbury Tales* (l. 165-207). John Gower (Chaucer's close friend) citing St. Jerome's opinion ("Esau was a hunter and therefore a sinner"), had defended the same in his renowned *Mirror of Man*. A general reference to the contemporary clergy's breaking of the rules is also present in Hythloday's account (More, 1965:229-231).

The limits imposed on travel in Utopia also resemble those contained in the monastic rules. Credentials and a leave of absence are required (More, 1965:145), since departure from the cloister is supposed to endanger the commitment to good and holy life that the routine of communal living makes easier to follow. On the other hand, the members of monastic communities –like the Utopians (More, 1965:139)– exercise charity towards the traveler, which implies both hospitality and special care for the sick. To accomplish these aims, a competent administration is established for the distribution and management of the land, so that the isle of Utopia, like any monastery in the later Middle Ages, is, to a large extent, an autonomous self-sufficient State-like organization (More, 1965:113).

As for their philosophy of life, both the monastic clergy and the Utopians seem to have reached the conclusion that the above-mentioned principle, *ora et labora*, must govern the life of the entire humankind. The different crafts are distributed in both societies according to ability and personal disposition –like monastic *obedience*– and the day is divided into hours that must always be filled with a clear sense of

purpose, avoiding idleness.¹³ Manual work is intended to provide a basic economic autonomy and self-sufficiency that are meant to meet necessity and never provide luxury (More, 1965:125). Agriculture, however, is an obligation common to all. The close contact with nature—in the form of agricultural practices that secure the necessary food supply and in the cultivation of beautiful gardens, described as the *hortus conclusus* of the monasteries—gives Utopians and monks alike an almost mystic sense of communion with God's works. Nevertheless, the most distinctive feature of both societies lies in their inclination to scholarly pursuits (More, 1965:129). Promotion, for example, is based on virtue, intelligence and scholarly merit (More, 1965:133), while "to no other office [priesthood] in Utopia is more honor given" (More, 1965:229).

Finally, the strict sense of hierarchy that presides over life in Utopia also resembles that which inspires the life of the monastery, and that of the Church at large. Hierarchy is strict but government must not be tyrannical (More, 1965:123): rules must be enforced and therefore obeyed, but in a spontaneous manner, without compulsion (More, 1965:141). The ideology that lies at the core of the utopian way of life is, in many respects, that which prevails in the Christian monastery: pride must be eliminated at any cost by imposing obedience and a certain sense of equality, the foundations of a true Christian commonwealth. As a consequence, since nothing is private, greed is expected to cease to exist as a motivating force that strives to order

¹³ The following is a typical day of a Carthusian monk in the fifteenth century:

00.15 Vigils.
 00.45 Mattins (followed by a 15' pause).
 03.05 Lauds (followed by a 10' pause).
 04.00 Prayer.
 04.50 Prime (at the moment when the sun begins to shine on the highest mountains). Followed by manual work.
 09.55 Terce (followed by a 20' pause).
 10.25 Sext. Dinner. Rest (2 hours and 15').
 13.40 None. Manual work.
 17.25 Vespers. Collation. Spiritual exercises.
 19.30 Compline followed by sleep.
 See Mursell (1988:284).

human actions (More, 1965:139). The ultimate reason for this can be found in the classic aphorism that makes philosophy dependent on theology: *Philosophia ancilla Theologiae*. Both the providential revelation of King Utopos in the case of the proto-Christian Utopia or the Good News of Christ, in the case of the medieval monastery, require the adherence and acceptance of the principle (utopia's essential formula) that asserts that greater perfection means less freedom.

The above summary of features shared by the ideal of the monastery and More's commonwealth shows, by rationalization, the close relationship that exists between the Christian religion and utopia. However, things in this very special marriage are not that simple. There is a "close affinity of Christianity to utopia, and at the same time [an] enormous distance between them" (Kumar, 1985:16). Utopia, while religious in origin, soon found itself in conflict with religion. It helped to destroy the unity of Western Christendom by affiliating with, or even producing, those secularization movements that were born in the Renaissance period, metamorphosized with Marxism and embraced the literary form that has lead to twentieth-century ecotopias, pornotopias and feminist utopias. Thomas Molnar, approaching the history of utopian thought in its philosophical and political dimension, has referred to utopia as *the perennial heresy*.¹⁴ His conclusion must make us ponder and trace this issue back to the origins and background of utopian literature, to its religious foundations and, obviously, to More's *Utopia*, the paradigmatic work against which all later books that claim to be utopian are to be judged. The Middle Ages would later become a memory, blocked in a frozen past by historical progress, but still a witness to More's true intentions, when he created the genre at the very outset of the Modern Age. However, the main problem that More's Utopian (and ultimately

¹⁴ According to this author, from "time to time the belief spreads among men that it is possible to construct an ideal society. Then the call is sounded for all to gather and build it: the City of God on earth. Despite its attractiveness, this is a delirious ideal stamped with the madness of logic. [...] The dream -utopia- leads to the denial of God and self-divinization: the heresy. I wrote this book to show the reader the truth about utopia and heresy, and the link between them. I cannot hope to rid the world of the utopian temptation; this would be itself utopian. But the book may help some of my more lucid contemporaries to undo their commitment to the grotesquerie of the perfect society of imperfect men" (Molnar, 1967:vii).

more Medieval than Modern) concept of happiness poses is the subordination of the individual to the community. The ethics of the Utopians is the ethics of Utopos, the founder, who wrote a Constitution that prevented change, i.e., progress, by not incorporating a reform clause. According to them, individual freedom or the individual right to the pursuit of happiness is condemned, because the individuals derive their happiness from the happiness of the community, in its blind implementation of Utopos's laws. If a particular person does not find happiness in following the eudaimonic version which constitutes official happiness in Utopia, so much the worse for him or her.

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OF SQUADRONS FROM THE FORESTS: REVENANTS AND
PRELUDING VAMPIRIC SHROUDS IN WALTER MAP'S *DE*
NUGIS CURIALIUM

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Abstract

The aim pursued in our approach to Map's volume of medieval English folk traditions from the XIIth century is to deal with some of the most relevant obscure and ghastly stories and accounts, prodigies, wonders and apparitions according to the author's nomenclature – among satires on the royal court or religious orders, which will not be considered for our purpose–, included by the chronicler in his ecclesiastic treatise-like scrutiny of edifying, parodying and fabulizing finality, ebullient fancies of the illusory involving demons, creatures of fantasy such as fairies or types of vampire-like resurrected –morbid, enchanting and plurivalent latent apparatus of ideology as consolidation of the divine proceedings of history and right hierarchy status in society–. On advocating particular views on the textual evidences exposed, some light will be shed on constants and recurrent traits, constituents, as well as corresponding narrative functions, defining the revenants presented, unearthing the opposition and convergences between two separated and overlapping layers of existence: the halls of the unknown and the poetics of worldliness. Part of our commitment will be also to underline certain narrative techniques –the omniscience and authoritative voice or point of view fostering verosimilitudeness–, as well as drawing sense from such symbolic concepts as the circle, the forest, the music, the act of hunting, the cradle, the bath or night-time emanations, coherently entwined in the thematic chiaroscuro, apart from briefly concerning ourselves with certain hallmarks and elements echoed in Eastern vampire traditions or

eventually emerging in vampiric literary masterpieces such as Tieck's Do Not Wake the Dead or even Stoker's Dracula.

1. Within the Anticipation. History: The Flickering Winds and Fissures of Doom.

Traditionally, though articulated in covert liaisons, a libidinal and productive complicity between the real and the unreal, the objective and the subjective, the conventional and the subversive, has somehow operated in the conjuring up and evocation of history. Being a latent alchemy—usually methodic and conscious in its mixture and proportions—which has polished the dialectics of light and darkness in every epoch—as well as designed and oriented future paths—, this intersection has rendered accounts of the factual crystallizations of ideas, oscillating between the semblance of affirmative *politically correct* domesticity—that which makes the logic of life go round—and the weird manifestations of appealing unnatural non- normative happenings, usually mining fossilized tellings, preconceptions, and casting the shady metaphors of the repressed, poetics of frustration, social tensions or disempowerment, thus revising the heritage of relativity and demonizing the hegemonic.

Imaginative delineations and engraving of the silent or deviant signs, the despised dark half of the construct, have been tactically embellishing, totalizing as well as transgressive ways of approaching the evanescent and occult essence of history. This underground glimpse or unearthing has revealed an honest positioning of man, the individual, against the shaping flux and aura of the collective reasoning or the close categorization imposed by the mindliner structures of power. Of utmost relevance and consistency for the understanding and validating of existential inertia, selective carvings of random free unfolding or the enacting principles of fate, are the often erased or elliptical residues that, not aligning with the circumstantial codes of the superego, the permissible, inaccessible or asocial deliria, not filtered by the ideological canon and interpretative hierarchy at a given period, remained ephemeral and shaded—concealed perversity—in their time, though, in fact, constituting an essential part within the core of historical tides and trails, the legacy of ages,

consequently mothering truths and persona traits that were buried alive in niches of the unaccepted and discriminated.

Fortunately, being encoded by arranging particulars through scanning focalization and beyond-the-veil-treatments, re-presentation and re-interpretation of the semiotic magma, accounts of history have also incorporated some of these shadowed and resisting readings of facts to the shape of its continuum –the flow of threaded *causalities*–. Being a plethora of fissures provided by the defiant unconscious –later revisited by Freud as *unheimlich*–, this disfunctioning notoriousness or wonder –valued licence no doubt– comprising the illusory, legendary or mythic component, has throughout the times employed and granted the global composition of reality as fiction.¹ This may explain, to some extent, why fluids of history, a reappropriation of factual states gone by, have often proved to be stories of mankind, echoes of a nuclear fable or narrated preserved, working colour on the verosimilitudeness and legitimated legibility of undisputed familiar codes as well as on the cryptic allure of metaphysics of inversion, magic and fantasy, something which reveals as especially true regarding medieval chronicles and, more concretely, the foundations of scholar Walter Map's *De Nugis Curialium* (*On the Courtier's Trifles*). Standing as one of the most celebrated XIIth century works, the latter deploys reflections on life and death –apart from some tangential considerations on category and hierarchy–, delving into their conceptual elasticity, their shifts and metamorphosing roles as resonant extremes and framing borders of articulation for the mirroring of the riddling lithographs of existence, prone to have an eye for the awesome and the *disparate* states of fantasy.

2. De Nugis Tenebrarum: Ceding to Fullmoon Circles.

Map's edifying account, suspended between the direct reference to constants of the contemporary world and a touch of fancy or *falsification*, also peculiar to Geoffrey of Monmouth, usually provided by

¹ A deep focus wide angle capturing history is prone to exploit the politics of latent legitimations. Jacqueline Rose asserts: "Fantasy is also a way of re-elaborating and therefore of partly recognizing the memory which is struggling, against the psychic odds, to be heard" (1998:5).

displacements of the familiar into unfamiliar contexts –“imitating the poets who lay midway between ‘history’ and ‘romance’, men like Master Wace, who embellished without altering the basic frame of the story they told” (xxxviii)²–, all impregnated by devotion, constitutes, in the same way as William of Newburgh’s and William of Malmesbury’s chronicles, an exercise of preservation of English folk traditions during the Middle Ages –incorporating Scandinavian and Germanic lore of the undead as a vestige of Anglo-Saxon and Norse domination–.

Walter Map, a secular Welsh clerk and civil servant to King Henry II, expressed prodigy as a part of history while also considering personal valid belief or commitment a leading or illuminating source for his realistic display and narrative of domestic happenings:

My purpose in the matter is to invent nothing new, and introduce nothing untrue, but to narrate as well as I can what having seen, I know, or what having heard, I believe.
(xxxiv)

Written between 1180 and 1190’s, *De Nugis Curialium*, a compilation of worldly anecdotes, satires on the royal court and religious orders, also covers folklore, its *fantasms* and revenants not going unremarked, standing on the rim of the physical to cast a light on a series of peculiar miracle and ghost stories, which Map recurrently called illusory apparitions throughout the whole unfolding of the five distinctions or parts in the work. The ebullient genesis of the chronicle decidedly aims at setting Hell on Earth, defamiliarizing the familiar, by means of demonized allegorizations of the mundane. “A comparison of the Court with the infernal Regions” reads as an explicit and ironic simile between the individual, the courtmen, who “devour in secrecy or conceal, and upon their return lay any accusation, they please, besides what they gain for themselves in private robbery” (13), the creatures of the night to beware of –“the screech-owl, the night-crow, the vulture, and the owl, whose eyes love darkness and hate light” (13)–, whose “first concern

² All quotations from the chronicle are taken from Oxford’s 1994 version.

is to follow up the odour of carrion" (13),³ and, finally, the general or overall bosom, the Court, Hades itself. Fantasizing in metaphoric terms, Map accounts:

So far I bear witness concerning the court of what I have seen. But for the rolling flames, the blackness of darkness, the stench of the rivers, the loud gnashing of the fiend's teeth, the thin and piteous cries of the frightened ghosts, the foul frailings of worms and vipers, of serpents and all manner of creeping things, the blasphemous roarings, evil smell, mourning and horrors –were I to allegorize upon all these, it is true that correspondences are not wanting among the things of the court. (15)

And, some lines before, he had obliquely stated:

Hell, it is said, is a penal place; and if I may presume so far, in an access of boldness, I could rashly say that the court is, not hell, but a place of punishment. Yet I doubt whether I have defined it rightly: a place it does seem to be, but it is not therefore hell. Nay, it is certain that whatever contains a thing or things in itself, is a place. Grant, then, that it is a place: let us see whether it be a penal one. What torment has hell which is not present here in aggravated form? (9)

Here, though still covert, we can trace some marks of vampirism in the form of social predation, systems of ideological and economic repression –much in the trend of Voltaire's vision in the XVIIIth century–, allegorically presented in the guise of covens formed by non God-fearing men, "the larger and wilder portion of the band" (11):

No, even now, after his death [Henry II's death in 1189], they [the foresters] eat the flesh of men in the presence of

³ There is even an indirect presentation of courtmen by analogy with legendary characters inhabiting Hades –Sisyphus, Ixion or Charon–. Tantalus is productively parallelistic as an embodiment of covetousness: "Have you read how Tantalus down there catches at streams which shun his lips? Here you may see many a one thirsting for the goods of others which he fails to get, and like a drinker, misses them at the moment of seizure" (9).

Leviathan, and drink their blood. They set up high places, which will not be taken away unless the Lord destroy them with a strong hand. They fear and propitiate their lord who is visibly present; (...), whom they see not, they fear not to offend. (11)

From quotidian satire and oblique demons or ogres of society, Map mildly shifts to the illusory epicentric entities his accounts of prodigies recall –equally authentic as it is shown by the chronicler's accumulation of data and challenging questions of reinforcement and persuasion addressed at the reader–.⁴ Within the gallery of apparitions, reanimated and undead beings, either ethereal or corporeal, the sphere of action of resurrected women, demons, wood fairies or lethal succubi is distinguishably delimited. On dealing with these typologies of revenants, restless *fantasmas* recurrently returned from the dead to the scene of some notorious happening –a passing apparition, for the appearances which occasionally devils make to some by their own power (first receiving leave of God), pass with or without doing harm, according as the Lord who brings them either protects or forsakes us or allows us to be tempted (161)–, Map definitely comes to terms with vampires as well, corpses infested by evil spirits, coming from the grave “with some semblance of life” (Melton, 1994:571) to terrorize and attack their relatives –though no reference to blood drinking not even to fangs is made–,⁵ cases which are analogous to some of the legends included by Saxo Grammaticus in his late XIIth century chronicle *Gesta Danorum* –with references to actual decapitation and impalement of suspected vampires– or related to the aforementioned William of Newburgh and his accounts of pestilential and epidemic vampirism –the voracious vampire of the

⁴ In the simulacra of legends, there latently works a process of naturalization of the weird. Strange and defamiliarized incidents are habitualized by reiteration.

⁵ Folkloric vampires are not necessarily *haemato maniacs*. To support this view, we unearth two eminent scholars' opinions; firstly, Gordon Melton asserts: “When the entire spectrum of vampires is considered, however, that seemingly common definition [the need for blood] falls by the wayside (...). Some vampires do not take blood, rather they steal what is thought to be the life force from their victims” (1994:xxiii).

On the other hand, dealing with elongated teeth, Bunson clarifies: “In folklore, there is virtually no significant mention of fangs. (...) It was in literature that the vampire was first provided with fangs, an attribute that emphasizes its terror, savage demeanor, and cruel method of drinking blood” (1993:89).

Alnwick Castle, the undead of Melrose Abbey or the attenuated and decomposing Berwick undead, dismembered in a denouement that brings its dissolution—, quite in the guise of ulterior legends and classical vampire tales from Eastern Europe.

In Map's conceptual levels of reality, mainly coming down to a separation of the familiar and the untamed, hellish courtlife presents a horde of satanic worshippers of egolatry as a projection of that other *locus*, the wilderness (the groves and the diffuse paths of void within the known universe) that houses the feared nightly squadrons of unearthly creatures acting under permission of God —“surely the acts and permissions of the Lord are to be herkened to with all patience, and he is to be praised in every one of them” (161)—. It is usually the case that in his accounts of illusory apparitions, given lords, uncertain of their paths and without the assistance of their pages after having been involved in the activity of hunting, meet spectral circles of ladies at midnight. Inserted in an ethereal frame of mystic resonance, of pulchritude and inferred —though not referred— splashes of colour, there appear, in the guise of wood nymphs,⁶ these inarticulate, flat titillating and *airy* feminities, almost immaterial phantoms —related to the British prototype of vampiric fairies roaming haunted ruined castles and attacking unwary travelers—, often in custody of a central and prominent seductress to whom they are subsidiary. Being beckoned in by the unfortunate haunted man, the oversized and somehow monolithic *fata* will intrude the witness' life after inflicting a “wound to the very heart” (157) with “the fires driven in Cupid's bow” (157) to bring misfortune. As referred in knight Eadric Wild's harrowing and epitomizing experience, the nuclear, pivotal and seminal account on whose basis Map articulates most of his references to apparitions:

[S]eeing a light inside [the *ghildhus*]⁷ he looked in and saw
a great dance of numbers and of noble ladies. They were

⁶ They are supposed to abide in trees and are distinguished from the fairies of the caves and the rivers, the lamia, the fairies of the fountains —the nymphs or the ondines—, and those of the sea —sirens and nereids—.

⁷ According to Map, an English drinking house in each parish.

most comely to look upon, and finely clad in fair habits of linen only, and were greater and taller than our women. The knight remarked one among all the rest as excelling in form and face, desirable beyond any favourite of a king. They were circling with airy motion and gay gesture, and from their subdued voices singing in solemn harmony a delicate sound came to his ears; but their words he could not understand. (155)

The luring, majestic and prodigious woman –“a great proof of her fairy nature was the beauty (...), the like of which had never been seen or heard of” (158-9)–, reminder of the *Glaistig* –a vampiric water fairie with the body of a goat, who tempts men to dance and later feeds on her victim’s blood– is immediately associated in the text with Dycynna –originally a Cretan goddess presented here as an alternative name for Artemis or Diana, the goddess of hunting–, also assisted by her attendant nymphs, the Dryads and the Lares.⁸ Violently grabbed and required out of the *uroboric* assembly –circular umbilical cordon deploying a reassertive potential of the phantasmagoria– and odd company by the knight, who in his covetous fight for the lovely and supreme token, the Promethean construct of carnal proclivity, is “hurt in feet and legs by all the nails and teeth of women” (157), the femininity is challenged to become public, overt, to yield to the man’s will and reality –once she is wedded–, thus revealing her identity and precipitating the derangement of the logics of existence –“wild casting away of inhibitions and restraining moralities” (Bunson, 1993:237)–. After the *voyeuristic* trance, a delightful state of anticipation and fetishisation of dance –an avidity for possession– prompts

⁸ Dancing and music –usually the whistling melodies of the Puk’s willow flute under the moonlight– are aspects pertaining to the fairy lore of the British Isles, especially to certain vampiric entities from Scottish traditions, abounding in notorious creatures such as the Redcap –with the habit “of dipping his cap in blood, preferably” (Bunson, 1993:235)–, and mainly related to the Pict-like *baobhan sith*, a creature who, apart from rarely turning up in the form of a raven or a crow, adopts the appearance of bloodsucking young maidens clad in green dresses that hid their deer’s hooves. In *The Anatomy of Puck* (1959: 219), Katherine Briggs refers to a story, first published by C.M. Robertson, concerning the lethal encounter of four hunters –camping for the evening in a deserted shielding– with four golden-haired maidens in green that approached their site of rest after being attracted by their mouth music and, sensually joining their excited singing and dancing during the night, drained the unsuspecting unfortunate to death.

the leering witness. Flames of temptation are accepted –no countenance on the knight's part, but libidinal complicity, is arrayed against doom– and unawareness of evil articulates the advent of tragic consequences. Still an act of resistance on her part, the sequestered and displaced –once emancipated– woman's annunciation foretells the downfall and induces a state of ambivalence, a blend of sensuality and threat:

From that day you will fall from happiness, and when I
am gone you will fail with successive losses, and anticipate
your day of doom by your own impatience. (157)

After an elliptical three-year lapse of subdued existence, the unadapted bride finally evades enslavement and disappears, never returning again, though summoned by the knight's endless sorrow. Curiously enough, Alnoth, an heir, "a most Christian man" (351), "late in life because partially paralysed" (351), remains as a vestige of the unholy union –"we have heard of demons that are incubi and succubi, and of the dangers of union with them" (159)–. This denouement stands as a defamiliarizing variation on the vampiric and fairy traditions since life consumption and exhaustion caused by the demon lover's unbridled and uninhibited sexuality –"the sensuality of death (...) exemplified in such figures as Lilith and Kali" (Bunson, 1993:237)–, the physical and spiritual appropriation of vital substances later embodying as victimization of infants in voluptuous devilish unmaternal vampiresses such as Stoker's Lucy Westenra –*The Bloofer Lady*– or Le Fanu's Carmilla, is replaced by the glorious seed of fertility and the rearing of a child –a *modus vivendi* that recalls the *aswang*, a flying female domestic vampire of the Philippines, who lives in a house, can marry and have children, being human during daylight–, encoding a reassurance of the religious and moral order.⁹ Pregnant femininities, usually "tragic victims (...) who either die from the attacks of the undead or give birth to children doomed to carry on the blood-drinking legacy of the mother's assailant" (Bunson,

⁹ This offspring is more like the Slavonic *dhampir* –the son of a vampire and his widow, who is empowered to detect and even destroy its progenitor– than like a *pontianak*, the stillborn bloodsucking child of the Malaysian *languir*.

1993:211), function here as procreating recipients of the human *victimizer*, nurturing motherhood, and also generate virtue that will outlive the progenitors. As referred to in an outlining revisitation of the same prodigy delivered in another distinction within the work:¹⁰

[W]hen the physicians were defeated and professed themselves powerless had himself [Alnoth] carried to Hereford, and in the church of the blessed Ethelbert king and martyr earned release by his merits (...) The very man whose mother vanished into the air in the open sight of many because she took ill her husband's taunt that he had caught her from among the dead. (351)

Alnoth, no doubt, stands as a trace of evolution, perpetuation by contrition and repentance, a *son of the dead mother* who illustrates both the existence of fantastic apparitions and challenges the skeptic –“what are we to say of those cases of ‘fantasy’ which endure and propagate themselves in a good succession (161)–, also reinforcing faith and religious comfort, restoring victory over bestiality and resurfacing both God's unlimited benevolence and tolerance, to whom he proves to be pilgrim in service for the rest of his life.

A significant variation on the accounted happening is raised in a new *episode* to provide a much more intense and restless experience. In this case of undisputed credibility and reliability –“this would be an incredible and portentous breach of nature's laws, did not trusty evidence of its truth exist” (345)– we have once again a solipsistic knight, a midnight setting and a landscape of sterility –“a valley in a wide trait of desert” (345)–, as well as the astounding tryst with the airy dancing phantoms, with the surprise that this time the woman at the centre of the circling entities happens to be the attendant's wife –whom he

¹⁰ In the same revisitation we are presented with a different, more evaluative, perspective of the story since the knight's impulsive appropriation of the femininity is considered an act of *abduction*. Once it is neatly shown that the case was widely known, we reach the conclusion that the woman from the forest was also pursued and longed for by the king himself: “The king hearing of the wonder of her beauty and of her abduction, was amazed, and had her brought before him at his council in London, and when she had acknowledged the truth of the story, sent her home again” (351).

still mourns—, returned to life:¹¹

When he saw her whom he had buried, alive again, he
could not trust his eyes, and doubted what the fairies (fates)
could be doing. (345)

A wedding with the undead, the once lost wife, very much in the trend of Romualdo's lethal bidding to raven-like lustrous and slender Brunhilda in Tieck's *Do not Wake the Dead* (1800), follows, also resulting in the perpetuation of a line of descendants, sons and grandsons "numerous at this day" (345), a procreation that proves the encounter with the dead bride is not a hectic fantasizing or eroticized illusion both orienting frustration, caused by the beloved's absence, and drifting through the sufferer to resurface the past.

So far so good since the feminities aforementioned stand as passive partners to the dangerous sensual projections of wandering knights who take the initiative, female actants who are not intruders, but evoked abstractions of transgression snatched out—almost raped—of the shadowland or forelife they are aligned with. The gallery of female revenants in Walter Map's work—neat delineation of the misogyny and fear for alienated domesticity, a passionate rather than a sanguine derangement—is completed with two truly malevolent active victimizers that demonize the figure of the predatory woman: on the one hand, a *good and noble wife* who turns to have a penchant for infanticide, cutting the throat of three of her own children after birth and discovered—just about for the kill—looming over the cradle of the fourth, and, on the other, the shape-changing bestial femininity seducing Henno-with-the-teeth. The former raises the topic of duality and demonic possession¹²

¹¹ We can not but associate this case with the legendary dancing *willis* from Austria, unfortunate and miserable brides that died before their marriage and were reported to rise from their tombs at midnight to have males, irresistibly caught under their spell, dancing in a frenzy to exhaustion.

¹² Satan, according to many theologians of the Christian Church, stood as the creator of vampires in the Middle Ages and centuries to come. On challenging the existence of these beings and also handling with the flesh/spirit dichotomy of the religious tradition, French cleric Dom Augustine Calmet—"the first scholar to systematically examine vampire superstitions" (Skal, 1996: 51)—finally affirmed, in his *Traite sur les Apparition des Esprits, et sur les Vampires* (1746), that both the resurrection of the dead—once an evil spirit inhabits it—and the conversion in vampires are feasible on the condition that God permits it.

for the devil woman in this case resembles “the noblest lady of all in the city” (163), precisely a matron, “in all respects (...)”, even to the branding”(163). As explained by the pilgrim discovering her:

This lady who is just come is, I trust, an excellent person, and dear to God: by her good works she has drawn on herself the anger of the devils, and therefore this evil emissary of theirs and minister of their wrath has been made like this good woman, and hostile to her as far as she might, in order to throw the infamy of her crime upon her. (163)

The demon, who reverberates a plethora of legendary women preying on children –the bloodthirsty *Lamia*, the Babylonian Queen of the Night *Lilitu* or her Hebrew correspondent, Lilith, said to be Adam’s first wife, who took to living on infants’ blood after leaving him, as well as the ulterior *Mara*, a Slavic fiend falling in love with men and draining them, usually sucking blood from the breasts of children too (Bunson, 1993:168-69)–, not only eludes punishment after being branded on the face by “the keys of the neighbouring church” (163) but also ultimately flees “out through the window with appalling shrieks and lamentations” (163).¹³

The case dealing with the solitary “most lovely girl” (346) found by Henno-with-the-teeth “in a shady wood at noonday near the brink of the shore of Normandy” (346) draws the reader’s attention once again to the magnetic appeal of certain seemingly defenceless, abandoned and harmless ladies or deities of the sublime⁵⁶ –like Coleridge’s serpentine Geraldine, Hoffmann’s charming Aurelia, Nodier’s blazing Smarra or Le Fanu’s languidly inducing Carmilla–, “sweetest and brightest ornament of all the world” (347), radiant “treasure”(347), “clad in royal silks and

¹³ According to Bunson, “flying is associated with witchcraft and sorcery” (1993:99), it pertaining to female vampires from European, Chinese and Malaysian lore, sometimes “undertaken by magical means, usually spells or enchanted items such as broomsticks” (Bunson, 1993:99) as in the case of the Mexican *civipipilin*. Gordon Melton states: “In general, European vampires did not fly, though they were known to levitate. Other vampirelike creatures, such as the *banshee* –the wailing spirit– flew. The European vampire’s ability to fly generally was tied to its ability to transform into a creature, such as a bird or a bat. The ancient Roman *strix*, originally a screech owl, was later identified with the vampiric witches of Italy” (1994:223).

weeping silently in suppliant attitude", who, being carriers of the "brilliant pestilence" (347), exert a threatening mesmerizing and alienating influence on those men surrendering to their idylls and fantasizing about them:

He marvelled that so precious treasure was unguarded, and like a star fallen from heaven was mourning over the nearness of the earth. (347)

Direct presentation of hypnotizing and fascinating imagery, a delectation for elevated exuberance – "the fairest of things was she, and even the fairer for her tears" (346-7)–, is also supported and sidelined by sensual subtle wordings of the marvellous and the exotic, well beyond the boundaries of the habitual and common, a touch of voyeuristic experience once again, reminding us of such Irish dreaded demonic lovers as the *Leanhaum-Shee*, a fairy seductress who wastes away her prey's essence, or the Dearn-Due, an ancestral vampire:

She made answer in such innocent and dove-like voice that you might think a lady angel was speaking (...): "Kind flower of youths, desirable light of men, it was no voluntary foresight that brought me hither, but chance. A ship driven by the violence of a storm bore me, unwilling, to these shores with my father, to be delivered in marriage to the king of the French". (347)

As expected, possession and encoding of the subversive –marriage– serves to blur the boundaries between the captivating world of fantasy

¹⁴ This splendid woman's weeping reminds us of the *banshee's* feared keening in prelude of a death or tragedy. Also significantly, the femininity's praising attitude aimed at the persuasion and dissolution of the masculine and patriarchal paradigm is somehow connected with the fairy creature appearing in Bécquer's «Los Ojos Verdes», a *comforting* embodiment of destructive obsessive love: "No soy una mujer digna de ti, que eres superior a los demás hombres. Yo vivo en el fondo de estas aguas; incorpórea como ellas, fugaz y transparente, hablo con sus rumores y ondulo sus pliegues. Yo no castigo al que osa turbar la fuente donde moro; antes lo premio con mi amor" (Bécquer, 1994:112).

Lamentations, symptoms revealing a contaminated nature as well as a touch of despair, guilt and doom, are also associated with the phantasmagoric folkloric figure of *La Llorona* –that has its origin in *The White Lady's*, *Die Weisse Frau* in German, XVth century legend–, another femininity impelled to infanticide. Dressed in white to mourn her three children, whom she stabbed to death after being betrayed by her lover, *La Llorona* was said to wander in perpetual crying intonations as a revenant –she was executed for her crime–, avid to take revenge on all males and finally release herself from grief.

and that of reality, a marked crossover that articulates transgression. Protected by the empowered knight and obeying his command, the prodigious woman enters the familiar system –a socialization that here mirrors the sheltering of corruption and heresy–, bearing children, whose destiny or continuation is not relevant this time, and also fulfilling every duty. She is weirdly repelled by religious rituals though –the sprinkling of holy water and “the consecration of the Lord’s body and blood (349)–, thus showing part of her diabolic essence. Henno’s mother, representing positive rearing and watchful care, finally discovers the haunting intruder’s metamorphosing and savage abilities, her threatening, disrupting, if not vampiric activities:

She then saw her at early morning on a Sunday (...) enter a bath and become, instead of a most beautiful woman, a dragon; after a short time she saw her leap out of the bath onto a new cloak which her maid had spread for her, tear it into tiny shreds with her teeth, then return to her proper form. (349)

A priest –vampire hunter-like– is summoned to deal with the deviant transformational figure, the monster, with the aid of holy water –a kind of apotropaic, antievil methods against the undead, acting as corrosive and destroying acid on those inhabited by a fiend and especially effective as shown in some contemporary literary works such as King’s *Salem’s Lot*–. The episodic horror ceases as soon as the creature is identified, partially submitted, though she again escapes definite reduction or restoring to purity by flying –“with loud shrieks” (349)– through the roof, joining the diaspora of devils and the void anew. Significantly, the author employs here a curious, almost blasphemous, vivid comparison:

Marvel not that the Lord ascended to heaven with his body, since he has permitted such abominable creatures to do so. (349)

3. Recalling the Folkloric Vampire: The Incipient Thirst.

Map’s misogynous touches of the diablerie and lust appetite, the *pious* regenerations remarked so far, are shaded with accounts of other

terrible apparitions of demons to people of "doubtful ways" (163) –as in the case of Paul and Antony, "nomad dwellers in a vast wilderness" seeking "God alone in loneliness" (163), agents who are faced with two beasts of double nature, sinful wanderers as mirroring advices to elude the designs of the dark, namely a centaur, "man from the base of the chest, horse below" (163) and Pan, an angelic entity with "goat's feet and hairy belly, on his breast a fawn's skin with starry marks with fire-red face, bearded chin and upright horns" (165), belonging to Lucifer's legions–, malefic lords, as in the episode of the tournament in Lata Quercus dealing with a glorious and invincible obscure knight, probably the Devil himself, who challenges and finally beats a mighty fighter –"handsome, in stature somewhat over the middle height, and duly equipped with fine weapons" (165)– by piercing his heart flooded with pride, as well as other insights in the demonic daily life revealing male vampire-like revenants terrorizing areas with their extremely pestilential predations –horrid regeneration, multiplication and spreading of the disease, which is sterility in essence– and being finally destroyed by intrusive methods later prescribed and employed in the severe vampiric hysteria –uncorrupted dead or rather undead that were heard to walk around the towns they decimated, also devouring or chewing in their graves and feasting over people's blood– in Central and Eastern Europe during the XVIIth and XVIII century.¹⁵

Among this last typology we find in Map's chronicle references to revenants that bear a definite resemblance to the aforementioned vampires recorded by William of Newburgh, those causing –even after being given a Christian burial in some cases– feared depopulation of villages and multiplication of victims by contagion. The surviving villagers' cortege marching in pursuit of the antagonist –purge of the first victim in the onset–, discovery –desecration of the corpse by exhumation– and cleansing –annihilation in extreme cases– of the suspected vampire, follow

¹⁵ Especially notorious were the vampire epidemics from 1727 to 1732 in Southeastern Europe. The spectacular cases of Peter Plogojowitz and Arnold Paole in Serbia were immediately widespread and, after official inquiries –close scrutiny– by Austrian authorities, that gave incontrovertible evidence to them, constituted a pillar for the introduction of the vampire in Western Europe, consequently captivating the intellectuals' and scholars' minds, raising a debate on its existence, and eventually forging the figure of the literary vampire.

as a fixed and mounting restoring outset.¹⁶ Map's molesting revenants – not getting to the jugular– include fathers or husbands who expose themselves to their kith and kin in midnight visitations –“vampires attacked people it [sic] had strong emotional attachments to” (Melton, 1994:571)–, metaphor of passion and intimacy returned, as carved in German romantic poems like Bürger's “Lenora” or Ossenfelder's “Der Vampir”. Such, in fact, is the illustrative case of a knight from Northumberland who stupefiedly witnesses his dead father's ghastly return from the beyond in the form of a devil clad “in a foul and ragged shroud” (207).¹⁷ In response to this undead's plea for absolution –as stated in the *Malleus Malleficarum* (1486), during the Middle Ages, evil doers, practitioners of the black arts, and wicked wizards or magicians, connected to some extent with Southern Slavic bloodsucking witches, such as the *shtriga* and the *vjeshtitza*, together with excommunicated people, were supposed to be eternally damned and rise from their graves to become dolent wanderers as a punishment for their turning from God during life–,¹⁸ a priest is summoned to grant the undead eternal

¹⁶ Undoubtedly, William of Newburgh's vampiric records are more explicit and intimately linked to the folkloric accounts of semidecayed undead, since bloodsucking is, for instance, clearly presented in the vampire of Alnwick Castle's case. This revenant's blood-engorged body is pierced to let blood pour out profusely –a corpse-like vampire parallel to the one illustrated in Montague Summers's epitomizing portrait, a puffed and bloated leech, “replete to bursting” (1960:179) with tight skin and extended fingernails, “curved and crooked, often well-nigh the length of a great bird's claw” (1960:179), with the fetid breath of corruption– before being burned, cremated.

Regarding impalement, mainly carried out with wooden stakes –ash, aspen and hawthorne were relevant in literature– or long needles, Bunson explains: “This pounding represents spiritually and symbolically the final severing of the body from its spirit, the irreversible fixing of the corpse to the earth, and the death of the body in a material sense, thus allowing the spirit to depart to find rest” (1993:244).

In analogous terms, Gordon Melton points out: “The idea of staking the corpse of a suspected vampire or revenant was quite an ancient practice. It was found across Europe and originated in an area prior to the widespread use of coffins. The corpses of persons suspected of returning from their graves would be staked as a means of keeping them attached to the ground below their body. Stakes might be driven through the stomach (...). The body might also be turned face down and the stake driven through the back” (1994:580).

¹⁷ Stinking revenants, folkloric vampires and shrouds have been commonly associated, the latter being the burial attires worn by these horrifying apparitions in their visitations. Bunson adds, casting a light on cannibalism, a further innuendo: “In European burial customs, it was important not to allow the shroud to touch the face of the corpse in order to avoid manducation, the act of a corpse eating its shroud or its own flesh” (1993:239).

¹⁸ The innumerable causes explaining the transformation of a corpse into a vampire proved the subtle and evanescent border between Good and Evil, life and death, as well as overlappings of the real and the metaphysics of the beyond: “A person was believed to become a vampire in several ways, but a sudden, unexpected and/or violent death, a wasting sickness, or suicide were seen as primary causes” (Melton, 1994:571).

rest, after being legitimated by “the common prayers of the church and the alms of the faithful” (207). The consecution of this right conversion and reaffirmation of the divine order –transition to death– is graphically and ritualistically presented:

So being absolved he went, with a great train of people following, to his grave and sank into it, and it was closed over him, of its own accord. This new case has introduced a new subject of discussion into the book of divinity. (207)¹⁹

Another case of religious *replacement* or plausible cathartic rehabilitation and forgiveness *stars* an English knight coming to Gilbert Foliot, Bishop of London, to inform him about the prowling infestations and ravages –presumably bloodsucking activities– of a Welshman²⁰ who “died of late unchristianly” (203)²¹ and now summons “singly and by name his fellow-villagers, who upon being called at once fall sick and die within three days” (203). The revenant or “evil angel” (203) is, according to the explanation given by the Bishop, a grotesque corpse whose soul has been reanimated by an evil spirit and –to preserve the Christian order and preconceived unfolding– obviously –curiously, we would add– even with the Lord’s condescension. After devising a plan of action to exhume the corpse that gives everyone the dead eye and eventually deal with the demon by cutting his neck “through with a spade” (203)²² and scattering holy water over his body before replacing

¹⁹ Newburgh’s record of the Buckinghamshire vampire, a case occurring in 1196 and dealing with a revenant who abused household pets or nearby animals –finally put to rest after the Bishop, confronted with the idea of burning the body, decided to place a chartula of episcopal absolution on the corpse instead–, is tentatively echoed here.

²⁰ Bunson refers to Wales as the home for a singular and eccentric vampire: “[A] most unique vampire, a chair that thirsts for blood. A tale included in many collections of Welsh folklore relates how a minister visiting a family that lived in a converted farmhouse sat on a chair for a time and discovered later that he had teeth marks on his hands and sides. It was claimed that the farmer who owned the chair had come back as a vampire. Another version notes that the minister discovered that his horse carried the same marks. The current resident of the legendary house told his victimized guest that two ministers had been attacked in recent times, but never their horses” (1993:277).

²¹ The German *Nachtzehrer* was said to cry out the names of his victims prior to their dropping down dead.

²² Decapitation –usually avoiding the splattering of blood– is, apart from staking and cremation, one of the most effective methods to destroy a vampire, the spade –usually a sexton’s blade as well as “a shovel or a sword” (Melton, 1994:163)– being the preferred tool for the beheading of the undead. According to Bunson: “The use of decapitation in the battle against the undead stems probably from the belief that the

it in the shallow grave, the wandering plagues is chased to his site of unrest and, once cornered, is destroyed with a sword, prevented from rising back, thus putting an end to the pestilence.

Finally, probably the best known case of revenants reported by Walter Map concerns the enchanted shoemaker of Constantinople, a morbid, sensual and necrophilic account gathering two types of returned entities, an undead female lover and a male vampire demon. Mourning her beloved in a desperate trance, a shoemaker marks the site where the absent is buried and breaks into her grave "to lay with the dead as though she were still alive" (367). After the intercourse, the woman eventually engenders a peculiar offspring, a human head the man gets after coming back to her hideous damsel's tomb as promised. This is a gorgon-portent, "a terror like Medusa" (367), he is "forbidden to show except to an enemy who was to be slain" (367). The Medusean token allows the man, now turned into a terrorizing fiend, to bring about an "unseen pestilence" (367), a wave of death some of whose victims are children, and he cruelly spreads his power, conquering castles, cities and provinces, meeting no obstacle at all. The restoring of grace and cleansing of sins irrevocably implies getting rid of the portent—casting it "into the midst of the Grecian sea" (389)—, as well as of its possessor, that "should share its destruction" (389). The vampire is finally rendered harmless on throwing the portent at the sea to form a path in the waves leading "into the lowest part of the abyss" (369).²³

vampire cannot exist without its head or its heart, being unable to regenerate either. (...) The *nachzehrer* [sic] is rendered permanently helpless by placing the head away from the body, separated by a wall of dirt. Lithuans put the head at the body's feet" (1993:62).

²³ One of the entries in Bunson's encyclopedia exposes a revenant from the XVIth century—the vampire of Breslau—that is connected with the case of the haunted shoemaker of Constantinople, probably as a reelaboration of it, and which is also included in Henry More's *An Antidote to Atheism*. Be it a coincidence or not, the most notorious plague in the Middle Ages was the Black Death, breaking out in 1347 in Constantinople: "This particular case was a demonstration of the creation of vampires by suicide and improper burial. A shoemaker in Breslau killed himself by slitting his own throat. His wife, discovering the body, washed him and dressed the corpse in such a way as to be able to claim that he had died of apoplexy, avoiding the shame of suicide. He was given a Christian burial despite the rules forbidding the religious interment of suicides. As weeks passed, however, the shoemaker was seen, sometimes during the day and often at night. (...) The authorities exhumed the body, cut it up, burned the pieces, and dumped the ashes in the river" (1993:33).

4. Aftermath.

Map, in conclusion, succeeded in confronting the fantastic and *stoically* accommodated to the belief in revenants, though mistakenly attributing them an existence supposedly legitimated by Almighty God, so as to adorn his personalization of history and reinterpret –almost divinize– ghouls, demons and vampires, encoding and rendering our anxieties vincible rather than attempting to destroy or undermine such a folk heritage or general clamour upon which he continuously yielded evidence –we standing witnesses of the tangible–. Leaving no viable proceedings of debate, he claimed special status for the macabre, necessary for solidly delving into the mathematics of an ordered universe of drawn contours and credited understanding of historical identities. His plausible choice –letting fantasy into the frame– resulted in a widening of views –a sense of completion and domination– to judge and recount history, a pastiche of crossover dimensions, a leaping into *colourful* input –the earthbound reality and the gloomy afterlife of those dismally doing penance for their sins– that reads as a ceremonious and willing suspension of disbelief. His approach is a balance of facts oscillating between the believable and the unbelievable, both sides being equally verifiable, operating a productive inversion, a shading of the real –the critical encoding of quotidian matters in court, the eclipsing highest state of corruption and malice– and a domestication or unearthing of deviations and monstrosity –authenticating of phantasmagoria and minimizing the destabilizing antagonists, vulnerable, ineffectual and all submitted to God, all kept by His vigilant eye–, to eventually resurface truth and rehabilitation, once the exorcism and taming of the evil entities is consummated. Yet, on evangelizing this way, considering measures to detect and cast out the ghouls –having obedience of people resting on hope and fear–, Map, counterproductively to the Christian discriminating paradigms of existence, endorsed the were-vampires as real.

And so they stayed...

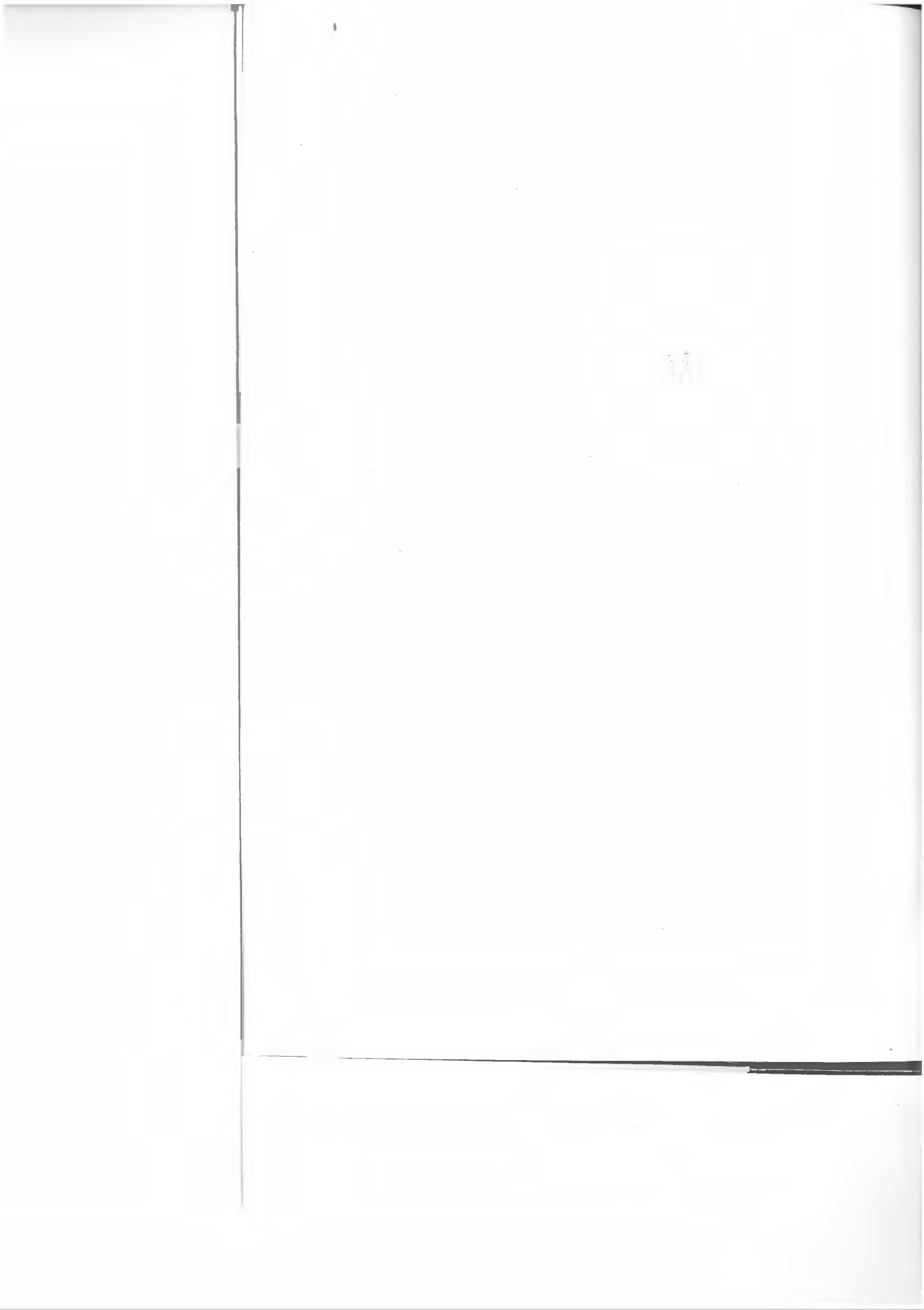
Crimson lips, marbled fangs, spreaded cape wings, tuxedos and white or blood-stained gowns, would turn up later, rimmed with fascination and libidinous empowerment, as the stigmata of a literary caprice and a

sophisticated deploying of redemption, the canalizing of the looming repressed that was to be beautifully articulated in the refined Byronic literary vampire, a threshold to the intellectualized and secular contemporary undead, the postmodern alien amongst us.

Not to our surprise, stakes are still sharpened today, not bypassed by history, since in our winter wonderland fantasy still plays a resonant melody, as potential data to transfer or even as the leading principle of articulation and encoding of historical memorabilia; revenants like Yarbrow's Comte de St. Germain have become focalizing filters shuffling the migrancy of times at will, retelling and judging the facts with the demiurgic pounding of the eye that sees all or the flow that is immortalized by the word. That is a chronicle after all, the collective individualized, the individual collectivized, the real fantasized, fantasy made real: ossified memories, elusive nightmares, scary legends and lives being scattered to the wind like dispatched vampire's ashes, all in a pregnant and self-contained orb encompassing returning hissing projections of imposing truth meant to remain.

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FOOD IN THE WRITINGS OF MEDIEVAL WOMEN: THE LASTING PLEASURES OF PROLONGED FASTING

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Abstract

The virtues of a moderate diet were much preached in the books about food in medieval Europe. The poor, elderly widow in The Canterbury Tales, living on milk, brown bread, broiled bacon, and sometimes an egg or two, never worried about apoplexy, gout or early death. Others, however, who chose to totally annihilate their appetites and overdo these ascetic ideals did encounter a premature death. It is my argument that their prolonged fasting—an attempt to fight the culture into which they were born and achieve an independent personality structure—is comparable to that of hunger strikers, nineteenth-century artists and modern anorectics.

There is a medieval painting entitled "The Last Judgement" by Lochner which portrays sinners being dragged off to Hell and others, the blessed ones, bound for Paradise. The former are all fat, the latter are thin. Shelley Bovey in *The Forbidden Body* explains that in England, in the thirteenth century, Archbishop Peckham ordered every priest to preach on the seven deadly sins four times a year, and to add *branches* to each of the seven and preach on them as well. It was thought, she continues, that each of the principal sins would lead on to secondary ones; thus pride produced ambition, vainglory, boasting, hypocrisy, etc. With gluttony, there was "mental dullness, excessive talking, buffoonery, and uncleanness of any kind" (1994:27). With fasting came chastity

and sanctity.¹ This morality, Bovey concludes, was strongly reinforced in the Middle Ages but it began with the early Fathers of the Church and their interpretation of the words of Christ himself. Out of fear, these holy men invested women with powerful lusts with which they inflamed helpless men² and taught that sanctity was only achieved by being male. Thus the "transvestite saints", women who cropped their hair and fasted their bodies into a state of androgyny (1994:28). One of the greatest saints of all, and a Doctor of the Church, was Catherine of Siena. She survived for long periods on Holy Communion alone, but she died before she was thirty, wasted and emaciated. Rudolph Bell in *Holy Anorexia* writes on her:

By the age of twenty-five, maybe a bit earlier we are told, she (St. Catherine of Siena) ate "nothing"... While dressing the cancerous breast sores of a woman she was tending, Catherine felt repulsed at the horrid odor of the suppuration. Determined to overcome all bodily sensations, she carefully gathered the pus into a ladle and drank it all. That night she envisioned Jesus inviting her to drink the blood flowing from his pierced side, and it was with this consolation that her stomach 'no longer had need of food and no longer could digest'. (1992:25)

Saint Veronica, Angela da Foligno and Catherine of Genoa also ate filth as sacrifice and self-abnegation: pus, scabs, lice, leprous water, rotten and bad food, cat vomit, insects, worms, spiders. On Colomba da Rieti, "a conscious imitator of Catherine of Siena" (Bell, 1992:154), her friends said that they:

... never saw her taste bread, or fish, or eggs, or cheese or anything similar, nor any other food except that on some evenings she would taste a piece of fruit, sort of licking it to draw out the juice, and she drank water...sometimes

¹ It is well known that a starving person loses all sexual desire. For Freud the mouth and the vagina are symbolically connected, so closing the mouth to food stands for closing the vagina to sex (1962:1).

² Women's flesh became synonymous with sexual temptation.

she would sip a bit of chick-pea soup remaining in the nuns' bowls or suck on (but not eat) leftover salad leaves...this she did to punish her senses because the food had spoiled and was covered with flies. (Bell, 1992:156)

Unfortunately, this diet mania and its religious undertones continued to exist through the Victorian period and up to the present. Joan Jacob Brumberg in *Fasting Girls: The Emergence of Anorexia Nervosa as a Modern Disease*, a history of anorexia and the evolution of medical and psychiatric thought about it, notes that middle-class Victorian women felt pressured to uphold an idealized image of women as frail, morally and spiritually superior beings whose weak appetite and disdain for meat demonstrated purity and daintiness. Some, the *fasting girls*, pushed this ideal to its limits and died. Sarah Jacobs, a Welsh girl known throughout Britain and the United States, who reportedly began to fast in 1867, died of starvation in 1869 (1988:175-82).

It should be noted that side by side with this religious fasting, extended self-starvation also developed during the nineteenth century into commercial fasting. Mostly practiced by men, this *hunger art* no longer took place in cloisters and cells but at fairs. Interestingly enough fasting as a religious phenomenon becomes a spectacle in the 1800s and turns into a sign of mental illness during the twentieth century, with the obvious exception of political hunger strikers.

In *Never Satisfied: A Cultural History of Diets, Fantasies and Fat*, Hillel Schwartz provides the reader with a variety of samples in the twentieth century. The first Christian diet book, the author writes, was called *Pray Your Weight Away* and was written by a Presbyterian minister who had lost 100 pounds and who said that "we fatties are the only people on earth who can weigh our sin". In 1967 another minister's offering was *Devotions for Dieters*, with graces like: "I promise not to sit and stuff/ But stop when I have had enough. Amen".

Evelyn Kliwer invented "The Jesus System for Weight Control" and in *Freedom from Fat* she proclaimed: "With Jesus you can't lose—or should I say, all you can do is lose!". Another minister wrote *Help Lord—The Devil Wants Me Fat!* And in the mid-1970s, Frances Hunter's *God's*

Answer to Fat-Lose it sold more than 300,000 copies. Deborah Pierce prayed for deliverance from gluttony: "The Lord is My Sheperd. He will lead me away from food and gluttony into higher paths of life". Apparently, he did. By 1960 she was a top model in Washington and author of *I Prayed Myself Slim* (qtd. in Bovey, 1994:31-32).

According to Karen Armstrong the cult of dieting offers salvation and a new life through a religious language in which fat equals sin, shame and failure, self-hatred and wickedness. Drawing on Natalie Allon, Bovey observes that group dieting, like Weight Watchers, accentuates the sinner-saint continuum. Meetings, in her view, are structured on the lines of a fundamentalist church service. Individuals stand up and give testimonies as to their success or failure in the fight. In confession there is penance in the form of having one's sins publicly pronounced and making a firm purpose of amendment, determining to do better this week. And there is absolution after real penitence has been shown (1994:33).

Bovey also notes that fat women are far more the victims of prejudice and discrimination than are fat men. A fat man often carries good, wholesome images: look at Santa Claus, Mr. Pickwick or Falstaff. The reason, according to her, is men's ancient fear of femaleness (1994:34-35). Be that as it might, the fact is that it is mostly women who in the twentieth century wilfully starve themselves to the point of death, being the Jewish and Catholic populations at a greater risk than average to develop anorexia (Hewitt, 1997:46).

The medical expression *anorexia nervosa* comes from the ancient Greek *an*=without + *orexis*=appetite, and was used for the first time by the English doctor Sir William Gull. In roughly the same period –probably 1873– the French doctor Charles Lassègue had observed an analogous syndrome, described as *hysterical anorexia*. Although the two scholars seemed to diverge as to whether to place this pathology in the physical or in the psychological sphere, both agreed on the fact that anorexics find food emotionally and physically painful to imbibe and measure it meticulously. The symptoms are standard: breasts disappear, menses stop, the body becomes tiny, the voice becomes high and bird-like, concepts

turn distorted and downy hair appears all over the body. But, what do anorexics aim at? In Hewitt's view they wish to transform and initiate themselves into a new state, to seize selfhood and achieve freedom:

In several ways, modern-day eating disorder behaviors are manifestations of a quest for quasi-spiritual purity and transcendence. Like some religious ascetics and saints attempting to attain spiritual elevation, anorectics and bulimics inflict physical discomfort upon themselves to reach an ideal state of being that is obtained through the body, but that has as its goal a state beyond material existence. Not only do they restrict their appetites and practice purging, they often mutilate their flesh. (1997:41)

According to Susan Bordo and Naomi Wolf self-starvation is a political act of silent protest against the cultural control of one's identity. The protest is voiced through emaciated bodies which are language. Susie Orbach in *Hunger Strike. The Anorectic's Struggle as a Metaphor for Our Age* compares the ordeal of the anorexic with that of the hunger striker and claims:

Like the hunger striker, the anorectic is starving, she is longing to eat, she is desperate for food...Like the suffragettes at the turn of the century in the United Kingdom or the political prisoners of the contemporary world, she is giving urgent voice to the protest...But unlike her fellow hunger strikers, she may not be able to articulate the basis of her cause. The hunger strike may be her only form of protest. (1986:101-2)

I would like to detain myself at this point, because if anorexics are incapable of binding their suffering with discourse³ and if there is evidence of the connection between the hunger striker and the anorectic,

³ In fact, anorexia is defined as a struggle towards rearticulation. It should be noted in this respect that Catherine Benincasa, a medieval woman who starved and tortured herself in an effort to become saintly, refused to speak for three years; see Bell (1992:22-53).

I do not think the anorectic body is a good substitute for language. Luce Irigaray in *This Sex Which Is Not One* asserts that "our body's language" is realized through gestures, movements and change (1985:214). Thus, how exactly is protest articulated in a body that refuses to become female and is frozen in her preadolescent stasis? And, from another angle, how can this body offer a communicative articulation when more often than not it disappears, concealed under layers of cloth as if not wanting to be seen? In my opinion the message is articulated through the images in which the anorexics narcissistically project themselves and choose as replica of their own suffering. Alice in *The Passion of Alice*, a social issue fiction by Stephanie Grant published in 1995, identifies with the agonies of Christ. Likewise, Sarah in *Hunger Striking* by Kit Brennan, projects herself on the figures of Mathama Ghandi, Simone Weil and Ophelia. Shelly in *Hunger Point* claims that "maybe Ophelia was not mad, maybe she was hungry" (Medoff, 1997:103), and Josephine in *Life-Size* puts the face of emaciated third world women to her pain. It is through these visual images that anorexics articulate their rebellion and exhibit their suffering. And it is precisely this exhibitionism that furnishes evidence of the connection between anorectics and the hunger artists referred to above.

Although circumstances have changed considerably since the Middle Ages and societies have become increasingly secularized, there is an issue that links all these different forms of fasting and their cultural implications. None of these self-starvers is acting within a socially approved and structured framework. In medieval Christendom the norm was limited fasts on Fridays, holy days, and during Lent, but total fasting was condemned by the Church. St. Ignatius of Loyola, for example, in his *Spiritual Exercises*, says that penance should be engaged in with moderation, mainly because undereating would prevent us from continuing to pray. But, there were other reasons.

On the one hand, there are instances in the Bible in which Jesus is identified with plentiful eating and feeding, like in Luke 10:7, when Jesus commands his disciples to eat and drink that which is placed before them. Or in Matthew 11:18-19:

For John came neither eating nor drinking and they say, 'He has a demon'. The Son of Man came eating and drinking, and they say, 'Here is a glutton and a drunkard, a friend of tax collectors and sinners'. But wisdom is proved right by her actions.

On the other, the experience of mystics threatened to abolish the role and influence of the priest. "Fasting", says Hewitt,

was acceptable if it was deemed to exemplify the power of the church to govern behavior. Church authorities did not necessarily approve of obviously self-willed acts of denial. If the fast became prolonged or was accompanied by extreme behavior or claims to holiness, church officials interpreted it as a threat to church authority and commanded that it cease. (1997:133)

We know from Rudolph M. Bell and Caroline Walker Bynum that Catherine of Siena and Margaret of Cortona were ordered by their confessors and religious superiors to take food, but they refused in the belief that total fasting was essential to their holiness and union with God.

Finally, although these women sought religious transcendence and union with God through fasting, they heterodoxically redefined the divine, which both was and was not the self. Catherine of Genoa wrote: "My ME is God" (Bynum, 1987:277). Examples abound through time in literature. In pre-Victorian America, for example, Emily Dickinson entertained hunger and by rejecting food in poem number 1282 (second draft), her speaker rejects food and identifies with God:

Art thou the thing I wanted?
 Begone—my Tooth has grown—
 Affront a minor palate
 Thou could'st not goad so long—

I tell thee while I waited—
 The mystery of Food
 Increased till I abjured it
 Subsisting now like God

In 1943, Etty Hilesun, a Jewish woman who died in Auschwitz at the age of 31, transformed –in the extreme condition of Nazi persecution– a hunger for food in spiritual quest. She blurred the distinction between self and divine other when writing: “I repose in myself. And that part of myself, that deepest and richest part in which I repose, is what I call God” (qtd. in Chernin, 1988:19). In *The Passion of Alice*, Alice Forrester arrives in the eating disorder clinic of Seaview Hospital. She, like other anorexics, has transformed her body and penetrated to inner regions of her soul by symbolically abolishing the barrier between her inner self and God as she diminishes the barrier between external and internal body realms. At the beginning of the narration Alice equates herself to Christ, “the first anorexic” (Grant, 1995:37), and claims that her “anorexia is religious in the Eastern sense that to know oneself completely and truly is to know God ... I continue to believe in my own capacity for the divine” (Grant, 1995:2-3).

But self-inflicted pain not only ensures transcendence of the self and the body but also, and in the same movement, emphasizes the body in such a manner that the contents of the world are cancelled and those of language turn insignificant. To the extent that this emphasis produces pleasure and ensures further pleasure, to the extent that fasting turns into feasting, the behavior might be assimilated within the protocol of masochism. “Starvation is fulfilling”, says Jenefer Shute in *Life-Size* (1992:116). Shelly Hunter, for her part, in *Hunger-Point* claims: “I loved the ache in my belly, the low ramblings of hunger, the sour nausea that rose within me” (Medoff, 1997:7). Suffering and rapture also flow together for MacLeod, who in *The Art of Starvation* explains that:

...the euphoric effects of fasting have often been described by mystics, hunger strikers and others who have spiritual or political reasons for their actions. Perhaps their attitude can be summed up in a nice little phrase from one of Dally’s patients: the pleasures of eating are fleeting, but the pleasures of fasting are lasting. (1982:74)

It is in this masochistic participation of women in their own oppression that they rebel, demonstrating that they gain pleasure

despite their pain and upon their self-cancellation. Gilles Deleuze in *Masochism* says on this issue:

We all know ways of twisting the law by excess of zeal. By scrupulously applying the law we are able to demonstrate its absurdity...By observing the very letter of the law, we refrain from questioning its ultimate or primary character, we then behave as if the supreme sovereignty of the law conferred upon it the enjoyment of all those pleasures that it denies us; hence, by the closest adherence to it, and by zealously embracing it, we may hope to partake of its pleasures...the very law which forbids the satisfaction of desire under threat of subsequent punishment is converted into one which demands the punishment first and then orders that the satisfaction of the desire should necessarily follow upon the punishment. (1971:77)

This repression of desire and its subsequent gratification results, according to Kristeva, in a feeling of onnipotence (1989:77). In this respect Josephine in *Life-Size* claims: "Now I know nothing can harm me, that I can withstand any kind of want" (Shute, 1992:86).

However, their rebellion extends beyond their masochism. All these women opt out of their traditional role as mothers, housekeepers and sexual partners and, further, they deconstruct the gendered female body by remaining in an androgynous threshold state of presexuality.

Medieval fasters, hunger artists, hunger strikers and modern anorexics use hunger to rebel against society. They share a certain exhibitionism, be that displayed in words or images, and a spirit of contestation. Although their masochistic behavior makes them participants in oppression, they have certainly known how to turn that oppression into subversive ideology.

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THE DOWNFALL OF THE BENEDICTINE ORDER IN TWELFTH- CENTURY ENGLAND AND LITERARY TEXTS

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Abstract

The Benedictine Order was founded by St Benedict (c.480-550) and based upon his Rule (poverty and austerity), it spread out all around Europe. The order reached England and the first Benedictine monastery was established in Canterbury in the year 597. Since then (with the exception of the Viking invasions) the number of Benedictine houses increased considerably, for they very soon started gaining power and wealth in the life of medieval England. But in the 12th century the Benedictines started losing their power and popularity and many other monastic orders, like the Cistercians, the Carthusians, the mendicant orders, and the military orders surpassed them. The most important objective of this paper is to study this fact in the history of England, its reasons and consequences through the written records of the time, as for example The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, The Chronicle of Ailred of Rievaulx by Walter Daniel (1160s), The Chronicle of Jocelin of Brakelond, Walter Map's De Nugis Curialium (1170s), and Gerald of Wales's The Journey through Wales (c.1191).

The Benedictine Order (known as *The Black Monks*)¹ was founded by St Benedict of Nursia (c.480-550) and based upon his *Rule* (whose main points were poverty and austerity), it spread out all around Europe. The order reached England and the first Benedictine monastery

¹ Known as *Benedictines* from the year 1300 onwards.

was established in Canterbury in the year 597. Since then and until the 12th century (with the exception of the Viking invasions), the number of Benedictine houses increased considerably, for they very soon started gaining power and wealth. It was a simple rule: the more members the order had the more buildings and possessions were needed and the more power they acquired. The Black Monks became the most powerful monastic order in the life of medieval England. The wealth of the early Benedictine monasteries is reflected in *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* when we are told that the Vikings raided England and they looted and plundered monasteries (Lindisfarne and Jarrow among them), because they were easy targets to obtain important booties:

... in the same year [793] on 8 January the harrying of the heathen miserably destroyed God's church in Lindisfarne by rapine and slaughter. (...) [in the year 794] Northumbria was ravaged by the heathen, and Ecgrith's monastery at *Donemup* [Jarrow] looted... (*The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 57)

From 943 onwards the power, wealth, and domains of the Benedictine monasteries grew to the extent that, as Norman Cantor points out:

... The monastic houses became great landlords... From the eighth century the monasteries were also slowly brought into the institutional nexus of the developing feudal order, and the abbots became tenants-in-chief and vassals of kings and dukes with attendant, political, judicial and military responsibilities. (1960:48)

This historical fact is illustrated in *The Chronicle of Jocelin of Brakelond* concerning the acts of Samson, Abbot of the Benedictine Abbey of Bury St Edmunds:

At his bidding a general inventory was made, in each hundred of leets and suits, hidages and corn-dues, payments of hens and other customs, revenues and expenses which had hitherto been largely concealed by the tenants: and he

had all these things set down in writing, so that within four years from his election there was not one who could deceive him concerning the revenues of the Abbey to a single pennyworth...(29)

Just because of this power abbots had to face many problems both related to the communities themselves and to society. Jocelin describes the estate of the abbey telling us about the problems that the abbot had, for example, with his knights:

... the Abbot demanded an aid from his knights, who promised him twenty shillings [one pound] each; [but] they took counsel together and withdrew twelve pounds in respect of twelve knights... When the Abbot heard this, he was angry and said to his friends that, if he lived, he would render them like for like, and trouble for trouble. (*The Chronicle of Jocelin of Brakelond*, 29)

The Abbot had forty knights at his service and he should have received forty pounds instead of twelve.

The more power the Black Monks had the greedier they were. Let us see another two examples of Samson's greed.

(1) He wrote a letter to the king telling him

everything that is in the town of St Edmund or within its liberties belongs of right to St Edmund: therefore the Jews must either / be St Edmund's men or be expelled from the town. (*The Chronicle of Jocelin of Brakelond*, 45-46)

(2) When King Richard was made prisoner in Germany the Exchequer asked for treasures, money, riches, everything that could be used to pay the ransom. Samson did not allow the Exchequer to take St Edmund's properties to rescue the king:

... it shall never be done if I can prevent it, nor is there any man that can force me to consent thereto. But I will open the doors of the church. Let him enter who will, let him approach who dare! (*The Chronicle of Jocelin of Brakelond*, 97)

The case of Bury St Edmunds could be representative of the whole Benedictine order and it would not be amiss to say that the Benedictine monks were breaking the *Rule*: they were neither poor nor austere. Covetousness, ambition, and greed seemed to be their precepts. They, for example, had vast possessions although this was forbidden by the *Rule*. Gerald of Wales clearly sums it up:

In its original state of poverty the Rule of Saint Benedict was wholly admirable; but later on the order accumulated vast wealth through the fervent charity of great numbers of benefactors, and this was increased by the bounty of the faithful, with the result that, under cover of a most regrettable dispensation, gluttony and indulgence ended in corruption. (1978:101)

This was, indeed, one of the main reasons for the decadence of the Black Monks in 12th century England.

Another reason for the loss of popularity of the Black Monks was the arrival and development of new monastic orders. The Order of Grandmont, the Cistercians, the Order of Tiron, the Carthusians, Premonstratensians, Gilbertines, Augustinian Canons, the mendicant and military orders ... thought that the Benedictine communities in which they lived were corrupted: the *Rule of St Benedict* was not followed properly. Due to this, they decided to separate, to live in isolation and to embrace poverty. They looked for a severe, austere and retiring life. In a word, a strict observance of the *Rule*. Their two main aims were to survive by means of their own work and to preach the Scriptures to everybody. Let us take an example: the Carthusians. Janet Burton tells us that what they "succeeded in doing was to recreate, psychologically, the conditions of the desert" (1994:80).

The most important example is this of the Cistercians (also known as *The White Monks*).² They looked for simplicity in order not to

² They were known as *The White Monks* because their frocks were undyed. As Walter Map puts it: "The White Monks wear the woven wool just as the sheep did, innocent of any dye" (1983:85).

transgress the *Rule*. They rejected superfluous things as excessive food or clothes; ornaments in buildings and liturgical life; and feudal sources of wealth (manors, mills, tithes ...). The Black Monks' greed, avarice and their wish to have more and more contrasted with the attitude of the other monastic orders, for example, with the Augustinian canons, of whom Gerald of Wales says that:

are more content than any of the others with a humble and modest mode of life. (...) They dwell among secular people, but they avoid as far as possible the temptations of this world. They are certainly in no way notorious for gluttony or drunkenness... (1978:107)

According to Walter Map (1983:51) the Benedictines also contrast with the Carthusians: "They eat no meat even when ill: fish they neither buy ..."; and with the monks of the Order of Grandmont who "live on what is given to them in charity, or what they can prepare within doors" (1983:53).

In *The Life of Ailred of Rievaulx* by Walter Daniel we can find some of the most outstanding instances as regards to Cistercians. Rievaulx was a Cistercian monastery founded in 1132 and Ailred (King David I of Scotland's steward) was abbot from 1147 to 1167. Walter Daniel, a monk of Rievaulx wrote this biography in the 1160s:

They [Cistercians] venerate poverty... [spurn] fleshly desires and vain glory in food, drink, act, affection... they observe at all time a discreet uniformity... They have no personal property... (*The Life of Ailred of Rievaulx*, 11)

Walter Map in *De Nugis Curialium* also tells us about the reasons that made Cistercians more popular than Benedictines in the 12th century:

They have abjured the ownership of churches, and all manner of unjust acquisitions, living like the apostle by the work of their own hands, to the exclusion of all covetousness. (...) At that time they were all that was

simple and submissive: no greed, no self-interest, they were deaf to no cry of distress, did to none as they would not be done by, rendered to none evil for evil, kept their innocence as pure from ill report as nard from mire. (...) Thus they grew to be an exceeding great people, and spread into many establishments... (Map, 1983:77)

While the Black Monks lost popularity and support the new orders gained them at all levels. The former idea about simplicity and austerity broken by the Black Monks and followed by the new monastic orders made powerful people such as aristocrats, noblemen, and members of royal families become important benefactors and supporters of the new monastic houses, as for instance King Henry II, who founded the first Carthusian abbey in England: Witham. We have a very clear instance in the figure of Ailred the Cistercian:

His fame runs through the whole countryside. Bishops, earls, barons venerate the man and the place itself,³ and in their reverence and affection load it with possessions... The bishop... orders him to accept grants of land from knights in generous free-alms, and he obeys... (*The Life of Ailred of Rievaulx*, 28)

Something contributing to this new reality was the simplicity of the new orders. It was easier for founders to endow a house for one of these communities: "... the relatively small size of Premonstratensian and Augustinian houses reduced the cost of a foundation" (Mortimer, 1978:83). "The small expense involved in setting up a Cistercian house may accordingly have influenced a founder trying to decide what kind of house to establish" (Burton, 1994:72).

The order which was favoured the most was the Cistercian: the quantity of money needed to found a Cistercian house was less than the quantity required to found one of Black Monks either regarding the

³ This place is the Cistercian Abbey of Saint Laurence (also known as Revesby). Ailred was Abbot there before going to Rievaulx.

buildings or the lands or the manors. Cistercian houses, as the ones of the other orders, were built around old churches or chapels, in a simple way, without any ornament, and, besides that, they only needed a small piece of land to be cultivated. Gerald of Wales and Jocelin of Brakelond illustrate these ideas very well.

Gerald of Wales compares Cistercians and Cluniacs (Benedictine monks of the Abbey of Cluny):

Give the Cluniacs today a tract of land covered with marvellous buildings, endow them with ample revenues and enrich the place with vast possessions: before you can turn round it will all be ruined and reduced to poverty. On the other hand, settle the Cistercians in some barren retreat which is hidden away in an overgrown forest: a year or two later you will find splendid churches there and fine monastic buildings, with a great amount of property and all the wealth you can imagine. (1978:106)

Walter Map also corroborates this idea when he tells us about Carthusians and the first house they had. The house was built by the bishop of Grenoble following the instructions given by the first Carthusians: "The bishop ... proceeded to build at his own expense cells and a church, according to their own specification; (...). The brethren have thirteen cells, one for the prior, and a single brother in each of the others..." (Map, 1983:51).

But things changed with the arrival of new orders. Paying attention to what Professor Knowles says about the Abbey of Rievaulx we can have a clear idea of the policy of the new monastic orders towards these common people: "[The Abbey of Rielvaux was] a home for souls of every kind... And it must not be forgotten that three out of every four who came were simple, unlettered, stolid labourers..." (*The Life of Ailred of Rievaulx*, 259). This may be the reason why

On feast days you might see the church crowded with the brethren like bees in a hive, unable to move forward because of the multitude, clustered together (...). When he [Ailred]

returned to Christ [the abbey had] one hundred and forty monks and five hundred *conversi* and laymen. (*The Life of Ailred of Rievaulx*, 38)

Another noteworthy aspect that really made the Black Monks loose their former popularity and provoked their downfall was their attitude to common people as regards to charity. We will take again the example of the Cluniacs and the reference Gerald of Wales makes in his *Journey through Wales*:

... even in a time of famine, the Cluniacs will allow the lands and wealthy manors of their monastery to be distrained, and suffer the poor to collapse in heaps outside their very gates and die of hunger for want of Christian charity. The Cistercians, on the other hand, differ completely in their determination to do good. Rather than see a single poor and needy man suffer seriously from neglect they would give up both the simple dishes with which they satisfy their hunger.(1978:106)

The Cistercian house of Rievaulx is defined by Walter Daniel as "the mother of mercy", as the place that "above all else teaches tolerance of the infirm and compassion with others in their necessities" (*The Life of Ailred of Rievaulx*, 37). We can appreciate the concept of monasticism that the new orders reached in the 12th century:

He [Ailred] turned the house of Rievaulx into a stronghold for the sustaining of the weak, the nourishment of the strong and whole; it was the home of piety and peace, the abode of perfect love of God and neighbour. (*The Life of Ailred of Rievaulx*, 36-37)

But it would be unjust to say that only the Black Monks suffered such decadence in the 12th century England. The Carthusians and Grandmontines had been praised by Walter Map, but he also says that the Carthusians have engendered another house "impelled by covetousness ... [and whose charity] is turned to burning avarice..." (1983:55). Of the Order of Grandmont he says that they were a sect

(1983:113). But the ones who are the most criticised are the Cistercians, "certain new imitators [of the Black Monks] who profess the same rule" (1983:85):

an invasion of this Order (and that alone) leaves absolutely nothing. Does one king seize kingdom from another by fraud or in battle, tyrannical as he may be, the farmers are left. (...) Those upon whom comes an invasion of Cistercians may be sure that they are doomed to a lasting exile. (Map, 1983:95)

Gerald of Wales also refers to them: "they are so anxious to acquire land from the proceeds of which they can meet the demands of hospitality. They are constantly on the lookout for rich lands and broad pastures" (1978:103).

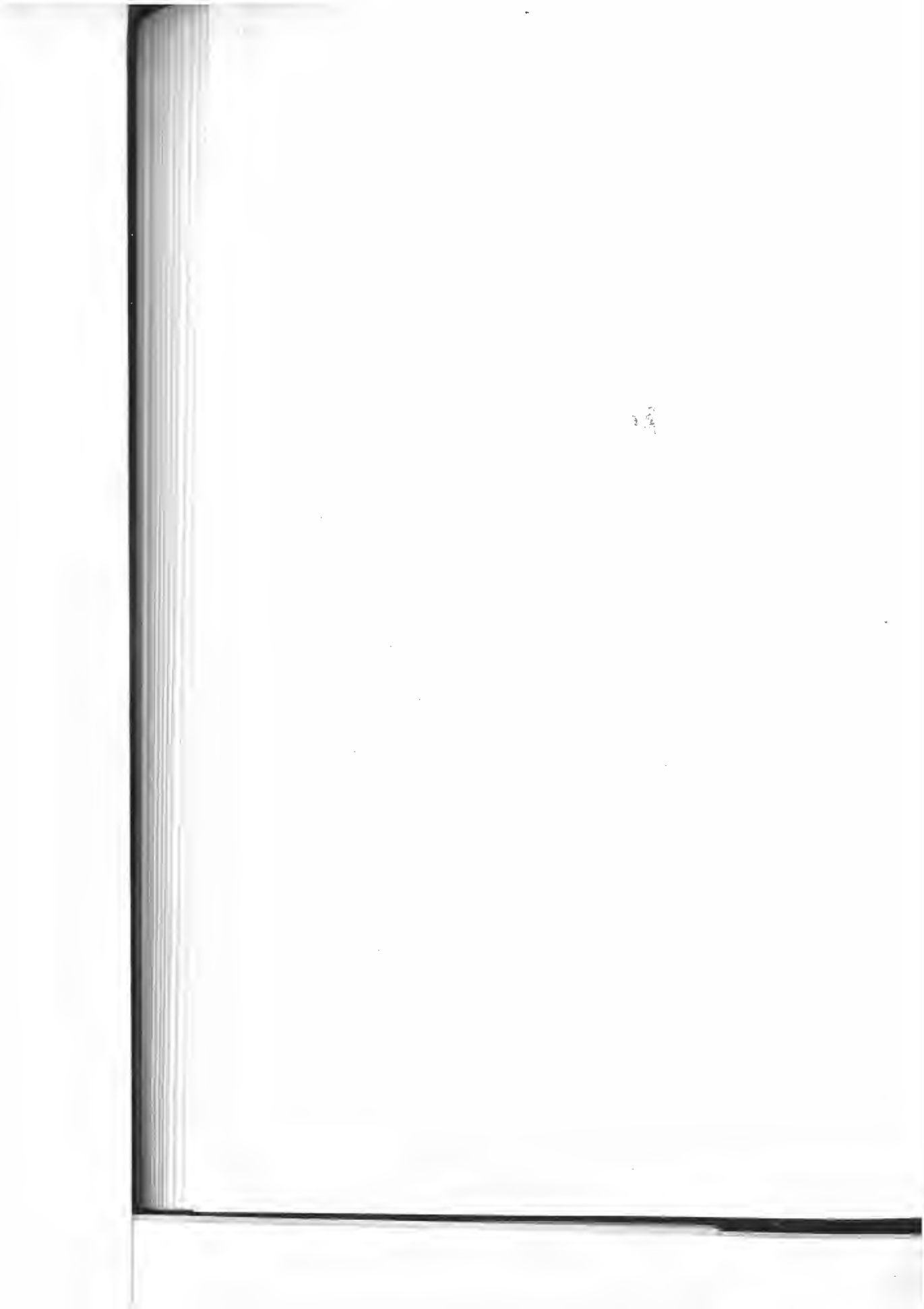
The last reason for the downfall of the Black Monks found in the written records I have been using throughout this paper was a natural process of gaining and loosing power. At the beginning, the Benedictines were admired and spread out because they observed Benedict's Rule. As a consequence of this, they gained social, economic, and political support, and of course, money, wealth, and possessions. They changed their minds, their customs, and their way of observing the Rule. Therefore, they lost their popularity and new orders took their place. These new orders started as the Black Monks did: simple, austere, poor, living from charity. But later on they became owners, they acquired vast properties, they turned into greedy people that were only concerned with themselves and their business. They were ready to fade as the Black Monks. The chroniclers and writers that had previously criticised the Black Monks and flattered new comers also mentioned all this.

According to literary texts of the 12th century the reasons for the downfall of the Benedictines in England were the following: just by means of rejecting the defects and excesses of the Benedictines, and trying to follow the *Rule* in a proper way the new orders had half of the task already done. Here we can draw another very important conclusion: what made the Benedictines lose popularity, power, and

acceptance was the same as that which drove new monastic orders to fame. Besides, if we take into account the support provided by the aristocrats and royal people and the way these new monastic orders got along with common people, the fall of the Benedictines was but a matter of time.

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RETROSPECTION IN OLD ENGLISH AND OTHER EARLY GERMANIC LITERATURES

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Samuel Johnson once observed that it is as important sometimes to remind people of important truths already known to them as it is to inform them of something new. It is my modest aim here to remind you of one of the salient characteristics of Old English and, indeed, of Old Germanic, literature. This salient characteristic is retrospection. The old writers had a pervasive penchant for looking back to the past, for returning to their pre-Christian roots and meditating on their Germanic origins. Even though the authors were devout Christians and their ancestors, tragically, were pagans, these authors nevertheless persistently recalled and celebrated the people and events of their early history.

Why is it important that we remind ourselves of this aspect of early Germanic literature? To answer this question we must review briefly the history of the study of Germanic literature –and particularly of Old English literature– in modern times, i.e. in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

When scholars began serious study of Germanic literature, they were especially interested, intensely interested, in the native, traditional aspects of the texts they were studying. They were interested in pagan customs and in reconstructing the old pagan religion of these people. They sometimes seemed to forget that all the literature that we have from this period was recorded by Christians, the very technology of writing texts with ink on parchment having been first introduced to the Germanic peoples by the Christians who were converting them. Yet,

disregarding this important fact about early Germanic literature, scholars like the Grimms¹ and their progeny pored over the old texts trolling for hints and glimpses of ancient Germanic paganism. Consider the titles of these scholarly monographs on Old English poetry written in the late nineteenth century:

*Teutonic Antiquities in Andreas and Elene*²

*Teutonic Antiquities in the Generally Acknowledged Cynewulfian Poetry*³

*Teutonic Antiquities in the Anglo-Saxon Genesis*⁴

*Germanische Altertümer in der angelsächsischen Exodus*⁵

*Germanische Altertümer in dem angelsächsischen Gedichte Judith*⁶

and my favorite (in the Old Saxon area), Emil Lagenpusch's "Walhallklänge im *Heliand*" (1896). What is especially notable is that in all these studies the authors are seeking pagan Germanic vestiges in explicitly Christian poems, poems derived from the Bible and its apocrypha or actual biblical stories retold in Old English or Old Saxon verse.

This ingenuous, self-deceiving *Deuschtümelei* was exposed and condemned by E.G. Stanley in a series of articles entitled "The Search for Anglo-Saxon Paganism" published in *Notes and Queries* in 1964 and 1965 and recently reissued (with a major supplement) as a book.⁷ Following the publication of Stanley's work of demolition, scholars became wary of making any references at all to paganism in Old English literature lest they appear to be guilty of the naive primitivism which, Stanley demonstrated, blinded early scholars to the true nature of the texts they were reading. At about the same time as Stanley's essays were first appearing, a new school of medieval literary scholarship was

¹ Especially in Grimm (1844), although the view pervades others of their works as well.

² Kent (1887).

³ Price (1896).

⁴ Ferrell (1893).

⁵ Rau (1889).

⁶ Brincker (1898).

⁷ Stanley (2000). The publisher (D. S. Brewer) had previously printed the original study in book form as *The Search for Anglo-Saxon Paganism* (Cambridge, 1975).

asserting itself in North America, a school which eventually came to be known as the *exegetical* or *pan-allegorical* school. Instead of reading Old English and related literatures in the context of ancient Germanic culture, these scholars read it in the context of the Bible and of Christian-Latin literature. Using biblical concordances and the indices to the *Patrologia Latina*,⁸ they attach a Christian significance to virtually every reference in early English literature, at times assuming, it would seem, that every vernacular writer in the Middle Ages memorized the Bible and the works of the Church Fathers before committing one word to parchment. Despite the excesses of some of its practioners, this approach was to a considerable extent beneficial. Christianity was clearly very important in the Middle Ages, and many new insights resulted from the Christian emphasis in literary interpretation. But the new emphasis also had disadvantages.

Perhaps the most famous application of the exegetical approach to the poem *Beowulf* is D.W. Robertson's reading of Hrothgar's description of the watery lair of the Grendelkin. You will recall that we are told that Grendel's mere is such an eerie, fearful place that a deer pursued by hunters and their hounds will allow himself to be torn to pieces by the dogs rather than seek refuge in the gloomy tarn (ll. 1368-72). Robertson says that "the associations of Ps[alm] 42 ["As the hart panteth after the water brooks, so panteth my soul after thee, O God. My soul thirsteth for God, for the living God ..."] leads us to recognize in the hart the faithful Christian who seeks his Lord in the Living Waters", and he goes on to cite a comment of Bede's as a further part of the assumed allusion (1963:185).⁹ To some readers it would seem less than likely that the *Beowulf* passage would remind the Anglo-Saxon audience of the passage in the Psalms since the animal in *Beowulf* is not panting after the water but is doing the precise opposite—he is *avoiding* the water—. Also one wonders whether a stirring account of a pagan hero being challenged to do battle with a fearful ogre is the kind of context

⁸ See J.-P. Migne. 1844-64. *Patrologiae cursus completus, sive Bibliotheca universalis ... omnium ss patrum doctorum scriptorumque ecclesiasticorum qui ab aevo apostolico ad usque Innocenti III tempora floruerunt. Series [Latina]*. 221 vols. Paris.

⁹ Originally published in *Speculum* 26 (1951): 24-49.

which would trigger memories of a passage in the psalms about the love for God and patristic comment on that passage. The critic who assumes pervasive allusions in *Beowulf* and then goes on to discuss the text putatively alluded to would seem, moreover, to be getting farther and farther from the world of *Beowulf* and farther and farther from engaging the poem. The allusions take the place of the poem we are purporting to read.

It is also bemusing that different practitioners of the exegetical approach are often led to such different interpretations of the same text. Thus one Christianizing scholar sees "in *Beowulf* an allegorization of Christ the Savior" (MacNamee, 1963:337), while another (who seems to see allusions to the writings of the Church Fathers on virtually every page of the poem) says,

Beowulf, it would seem, has aligned himself with the sons of Cain, like Hrothgar before him. ...in bartering his life for the gold, he has committed the dire folly of buying what is worthless at the greatest price. This is the supreme irony, that *Beowulf*, blinded by arrogance and desire for the treasure, exchanges the remainder of his length of days for short-lived possession of the dragon's gold. The deluded old man finds comfort in this preposterous bargain. (Goldsmith, 1963:87)¹⁰

As the exegetical critics proliferated, their mutually incompatible interpretations of the poem became bewildering.

Now why did the Christianizing approach become so popular? In part, I believe, it is because Christianizing interpretations were felt to be learned and sophisticated as opposed to the naive, primitivist approach of those whom Stanley exposed in their ill-advised search for pagan remnants. If one found Christian meanings in the literature and denied the presence of any pagan elements, then one was, *ipso facto*, sophisticated and scholarly; if one found an allusion to some pagan

¹⁰ Goldsmith subsequently expanded her exegetical reading into *The Mode and Meaning of Beowulf* (1970).

element in Germanic culture, then one was, *ipso facto*, naive, romantic, and hopelessly old-fashioned.

But the supposedly sophisticated Christianizing approach expressing a routine denial that there are significant Germanic elements in the literature can lead to just as much distortion of the texts as did the old practitioners of *Deushtümelei*. Let me cite a recent example. In an essay entitled "Paganism in *Beowulf*: A Semantic Fiction" (1995)¹¹ the late Christine Fell asserts that there are no references to Germanic paganism or pre-Christian Germanic customs in the poem *Beowulf*. Scholars in the past who have cited references to paganism in the poem were creating, as her title says, "a semantic fiction".

This is an extraordinary claim. The first line of the poem tells us that *Beowulf* takes place *in geardagum*, "in the olden days", and, as every Anglo-Saxon knew and as every reader knows today, in the olden days the Anglo-Saxons were pagans. In ll. 175-83 the poet tells us that people in the poem "At times in heathen temples promised sacrifices to idols... Such was their custom, the solace of heathens...".¹² Every time a major personage in the poem dies, a spectacularly pagan funeral with cremation and lavish grave goods is described. The poem's very subject is the ancestors of the English living on the Continent in pagan times before the English migrated to England and, eventually, became Christians. This being so, how could a scholar possibly argue that the poet's frequent allusions to pagan days and pagan ways are all "semantic fictions"? Part of Professor Fell's problem is that she confused a Christian Anglo-Saxon's taking a historical interest in his people's past with the old nineteenth-century scholars' misguided tendency to see pagan Germanic beliefs persisting in the writings of Christian Germanic peoples. Nobody today thinks the *Beowulf* poet was a believing pagan; but it is undeniable that his poem is about pagan Germanic life *in geardagum*.

¹¹ I have discussed this essay in Robinson (1999).

¹² My translation is from the text in Mitchell & Robinson (1998) including "Archaeology and *Beowulf*" by Leslie Webster.

This confusion of two very different issues and the general persistence of excessively Christianizing interpretations of early Germanic literature persuade me that it is time for us to pause and remind ourselves of how profoundly retrospective Germanic literature is, of how from the security of their Christian world Germanic people looked back constantly to their ancestors who lacked Christian enlightenment. This poignant perspective is, I believe, one of the most moving aspects of our surviving Germanic literature. If we deny the Anglo-Saxons' interest in their Germanic past and read all the surviving texts as purely Christian documents, then we lose this perspective altogether.

In what follows, then, I shall in a brief and selective survey remind you of the various ways in which Anglo-Saxons and other Germanic peoples indulged in cultural retrospection. At the close of my survey I shall invite speculation as to why retrospection plays such an important role in Germanic peoples' literature.

Turning first to Old English literature, let us begin with the poem *Widsith*.¹³ This work, you will recall, is composed primarily of three *thular*. The term *thular* is Icelandic, and Old Icelandic literature (as well as Old English literature) contains *thular*. The word means simply a metrical list of names arranged in logical categories to preserve traditional lore. In *Widsith* the first list names kings and the people they ruled, the second lists the nations of the Germanic world and beyond (whom the poet's dramatic speaker claims to have visited) and the third lists the individuals and peoples visited by the dramatic speaker.¹⁴ Now this is to the modern reader a strange kind of poetry – somewhat like «María es de Cádiz, Jorge de Montilla;/ Elena es de Burgos, Pedro de Sevilla»–. Stuff like this holds little promise of winning a Nobel Prize for Literature.

And yet, these lists of names were carefully preserved by the Anglo-

¹³ For the texts of poems other than *Beowulf* I refer to G.P. Krapp & E. Dobbie (1931-53).

¹⁴ Although my concern here is with the *thular per se*, it should be noted that the poet has positioned these lists within a narrative context with which they interact. For an insightful discussion of the poem as poem, see Howe (1985:166-90; 1989:143-44).

Saxons in one of their richest poetic manuscripts – the *Exeter Book* of the late tenth century, a manuscript written some five hundred years after most of the people who bore these names were dead–. Why did Christian Anglo-Saxons place such value on these names from their pre-Christian past? I suggest three reasons:

First, the names were of Germanic ancestors. They represented the nation's past, which the Anglo-Saxons wanted to memorialize and celebrate. It is to be noted that alongside the Germanic names the poet has slipped in a few non-Germanic names: Alexander, Caesar, the Greeks and Romans, the Medes and Persians.¹⁵ This, I believe, is the poet's attempt to suggest that the great names of the Germanic past are on a par with the most illustrious people of the ancient world. That is, he is implying what the Old High German poet Otfried says explicitly about his own Germanic tribe, the Franks: "They are as brave as the Romans, and it is useless to maintain that the Greeks can rival them; not even the Medes and Persians could prevail against them. They may be compared with Alexander, who dominated the world".¹⁶ Clearly, the name-lists were valuable because they provided a means of proclaiming the glory and nobility of the Germanic world.

Second, there were stories associated with these names, and the audience of the poem would probably have taken pleasure in recalling the events that the names invoked, both in those cases where the *Widsith* poet inserts reminders of signal events associated with the names (as is the case with Offa, Hrothgar and Hrothwulf, and the Goths, for example), and in those cases where the names stand alone. Thus mere mention of the name Attila would probably have summoned to mind narrative events that have filled Germanic poems from *Waldere* to the Old Norse *Atlaqvðia* to the *Nibelungenlied* (Pàroli, 1988).

Third, the names could serve a social function by providing examples of characters and conduct that would be useful to the

¹⁵ In his editions of *Widsith* (1936:175-6, 181 & 1962:183, 190-91) Kemp Malone argues that the names "Moidum" and "Persum" (l. 84) refer not to the Medes and Persians but to later European tribes, but most scholars before and after him agree with the conventional view that the Medes and Persians are meant.

¹⁶ From the dedication to the *Evangelienbuch* (late ninth century). The translated summary quoted above is from Knight Bostokk (1976:193).

audience. This function is demonstrated by another Old English poem, *Deor*, in which the poet uses five names from the ancient Germanic past to provide consolation (through the stories associated with those names) for a time of misfortune. Even Christians can take comfort from the examples of pagan Germanic personages who prevailed in adversity.¹⁷

Names, then, have power to memorialize, console, and inspire and even to warn. This is true not only of names preserved in poems like *Widsith* and *Deor*, but also in the very names which the Anglo-Saxons themselves bore and gave to their children. In the Durham manuscript of the *Liber Vitae*¹⁸ and in the *Liber Vitae* of Hyde Abbey Winchester¹⁹ we find lists of bishops, priests, and monks with names like Beowulf, Heardred, Hrothulf, Hygelac, Ingeld, Sigemund, Theodoric, Wiglaf, and Wulfgar—all names of characters in the poem *Beowulf*—. We also see names of lay people like Ælfhere, Eadgils, Heremod, Hygelac, Ingeld, and Offa (again, *Beowulfian* names). We even encounter the name Widsith in the lists.²⁰ How remarkable, that Anglo-Saxon Christians and even officers of the church should bear a range of names that keep alive in memory the great legends of the pagan Germanic heroic age!

But it is not just names from the Germanic past that are valued by the Christianized Anglo-Saxons, but detailed narratives of great events as well. The most sustained exercise in retrospective poetry is of course the poem *Beowulf*.²¹ Commentators have occasionally expressed wonder over the fact that this great narrative, sometimes called the primary epic of the English nation, never mentions the name of a single Englishman.

¹⁷ See Howe (1985:190-201).

¹⁸ B.L. MS Cotton Domitian vii. Most of the relevant names are printed in Sweet (1885:153-66).

¹⁹ B.L. MS Stowe 944. See Keynes (1996).

²⁰ Many of these and older heroic-age names are further documented in charters, place-names, chronicles, etc. See Searle (1897) *passim*. It is interesting to note in the later *Liber Vitae* (Hyde Abbey) that we also begin to see names like Byrhtnoth, Cuthbert, Ælfric and Wulfstan, suggesting, perhaps, that the custom of giving names of notables from the past continued when illustrious Christians had entered the nation's cultural memory. Attention was called to heroic names in the Durham *Liber Vitae* by C.E. Wright (1939:19).

²¹ Here I must again call attention to Howe's *Migration and Mythmaking* (1989), where, in his treatment of *Beowulf* and of the other texts he discusses, he makes a powerful and compelling case for one major aspect of the retrospective quality of Old English literature. Also indispensable in this connection is the brilliant essay by R. Frank (1991).

But there is no cause for wonder if we recall the retrospective character of Anglo-Saxon literature. These people preferred to look back, to contemplate the Germanic tribes and heroes on the Continent from whom the Anglo-Saxons are descended rather than talk about their own people in their own day. Origins and antiquity are what interested them. Where do we come from? What were our ancestors like? These are the questions of concern. To answer them the *Beowulf* poet must return to the pagan world, and this must have been to some degree painful. As the Anglo-Saxon audience contemplates and admires their heroic ancestors, they must realize that these noble forefathers of the English lacked knowledge of Christian truth, and the consequences of such ignorance are tragic. The heroes of *Beowulf* are admirable, inspiring, exemplary – and probably without hope of Christian salvation. Therein lies the moving power of the poem, its presiding concern.²² The scholar whom I mentioned earlier who said that perceived references to paganism in *Beowulf* are a “semantic fiction” simply misses the poem’s main point.

The Fight at Finnesburh, *Waldere*, and other poems dealing with the Germanic past²³ only confirm the retrospective habit of mind we have noticed in *Beowulf*. Rather than dwelling on these texts, it will be more interesting perhaps to look at poems dealing with contemporary events, for even in these narratives the retrospective quality of Old English poetry asserts itself. *The Battle of Brunanburh* describes a great victory which the Anglo-Saxons had recently won over invading enemies in 937 A.D., and the poet exults for some eighty-odd lines over how his people had totally vanquished foes who had insolently invaded their homeland. But the last, climactic sentence in the poem returns us to heroic events of pre-Christian times:

²² It is this feature of Anglo-Saxon retrospection that sets it apart from other, equally retrospective cultures like those of the Greeks and Romans, who also revered their ancestors and regarded past times as in some sense superior to their own milieus. The Anglo-Saxon experience was more analogous to that of Dante as he looks back reverently but poignantly to Virgil.

²³ Including the somewhat mysterious Exeter Book poem called “Wulf and Eadwacer”. Can the name Eadwacer be another instance of Anglo-Saxons assigning a heroic name from the Germanic past (Eadwacer: Odawacer), or does the poem perhaps refer to some episode in the lost history of King Odawacer? See Imelmann (1907).

A greater slaughter of men has not occurred in England since the Angles and Saxons, proud wagers of war, came here over the broad sea from the east and invaded Britain; the vigorous noblemen overcame the Britons and seized their land.

This sentence completely undercuts the poet's moral stance established earlier in the poem, where he implies the justice of Englishmen killing invaders who had tried to seize their homeland. In the sentence just quoted, however, the poet brashly admits that the English themselves had been invaders who seized the homeland of another people. But that doesn't matter. To the poet the important thing is to look back—to measure the English victory in 937 A.D. against the standard of ancient, pagan Germanic achievements five hundred years earlier—. Only by retrospection can he celebrate properly a tenth-century triumph by Christian Anglo-Saxon warriors.

A very different example is the two-line poem from an eighth-century manuscript which scholars have named "A Proverb from Winfred's Time".²⁴ In a Latin letter from a monk (probably) who refers to himself as "latito"²⁵ to a friend who is apparently a bishop, the monk urges his correspondent to lose no time in undertaking a major ecclesiastical project. To emphasize the importance of getting on with the job, he says "*memento verbum Saxonicum*" (remember the Saxon proverb) —and, switching to vernacular verse, he utters our little poem: "He who is slow to perform a feat always forfeits fame and every victorious enterprise. For that he will die alone—". It is extraordinary that a monk urging a fellow cleric to undertake an ecclesiastical duty would think that the most forceful way of reminding him of his Christian duty would be to return to the wisdom of his ancient Germanic ancestors with their talk of fame and victorious enterprises.

²⁴ Possibly the earliest Old English poem surviving in manuscript form: see E.G. Stanley (1974); reprinted in E.G. Stanley (1987:121-23).

²⁵ See Levison (1946:130, n.2).

²⁶ Broadly speaking, I believe this to be true, but the exact mode and degree of the relationship between the attitudes toward lord and retinue in the two works is a matter for debate. See especially the illuminating study by Gneuss (1976).

Another remarkable exercise in retrospection is *The Battle of Maldon*. For years scholars have noted that the most illuminating commentary on *The Battle of Maldon* is the *Germania* of Tacitus.²⁶ The expected loyalty of retainers to their chief, the intense shame of cowardice on the battlefield, the willingness to die for a good name, the imperative of vengeance, and, indeed, many of the poem's minor motifs down to even the smallest detail such as the special relationship between a man and his sister's son are all explained precisely in Tacitus's treatise. That a poem about a battle fought near the end of the Anglo-Saxon period should draw so abundantly on Germanic traditions described nearly a thousand years before that battle bears impressive witness to the truly retrospective quality of the Germanic literary imagination.

The Anglo-Saxons' careful preservation of runic writing is a markworthy example of Christianized Germanic people clinging to the old ways. There is no practical reason for retaining runic writing once missionaries introduced the technique of writing roman script on vellum with ink. But a 94-line poem in Old English preserves in convenient mnemonic form all the runes and their meanings, while corresponding poems in Old Icelandic and Old Norwegian do the same. Indeed, echoes of phrasing among these three poems suggest strongly that the Old English, Old Icelandic, and Old Norwegian poets were all drawing from an original Germanic poem on the runes. And of course runic inscriptions continued to be cut in virtually all the Germanic lands. Runes were a legacy from the ancient past, preserved, apparently, simply because they were a part of the old Germanic world.

Metrical collections of proverbs and aphorisms can also be a rich repository of ancient lore. In one English specimen both Woden and Wyrð receive comment, and Woden is also mentioned in the metrical charms. In the royal genealogies, moreover, several pagan gods are mentioned as remote ancestors of the kings. It is surprising that such references should survive in writing when the copying of manuscripts was essentially a Church-controlled activity. There seems to have been some sort of accommodation between the Church and Germanic vernacular writers with their ingrained proclivity for harking back to

the old ways. So long as the writer's stance was securely Christian, then the Church seemed to allow them to write about pagan subjects (as in *Beowulf*) even though strictly speaking the Church's position was that Christians should meditate only on Christian subjects and not on the old pagan themes.

Another startling example of Germanic retrospection is that in the Old English verse translation of the meters from Boethius's *Consolatio Philosophiae*. Now this is one text, you would think, where an Old English poet could not look back to the old Germanic world. The *Meters of Boethius* are philosophical meditations by the Christian Roman writer Boethius, and the translator will be constricted by his source text from straying into any references to his beloved Germanic past. But he does. Before translating the first meter, the Anglo-Saxon poet composes a verse preface to his translation, and in this preface he paints a stirring picture of how the Germanic tribe of the Goths defeated the Roman legions and how Theodoric, King of the Ostrogoths, became ruler in Rome (and eventually ordered the imprisonment and execution of Boethius). Thus the translator situates his entire translation of Boethius squarely in the midst of the great Germanic migrations at approximately the time when other Germanic tribes were invading Britain and founding England.

You will recall also the translator's subsequent substitution of the Germanic heroic figure Weland for the Roman hero Fabricius in the *ubi sunt* passage in Meter 10. This shows that even as he was translating Boethius's Latin into Old English, the translator remained ever mindful of his own people's cultural roots.

The long narrative poems of the Anglo-Saxons on Biblical themes would seem even more remote than Boethius from the Germanic world. But that list of nineteenth-century monographs announcing Germanic antiquities in *Genesis*, *Exodus*, *Judith*, etc. (to which we turned our amused attention at the beginning of this discussion) held a kernel of truth. In so far as these monographs claimed to find vestiges of pagan belief in these poems, they were, of course, absurd. But Germanic antiquities are not entirely absent from these biblical poems, which do

employ the ancient Germanic meter, the traditional heroic diction, and Germanic motifs in their presentation of the biblical stories. The subject matter is biblical, but the style and narrative method is Germanized to a considerable extent, and so they do, in a sense, look back to the Germanic past.

This ends our survey of retrospective aspects of Old English literature; now we shall deal in a much more summary fashion with the other Germanic literatures. Old Norse literature is our fullest repository of Germanic lore and even of Germanic religion. The sagas, which tell us so much about Norse men and mores in pagan days, were on the whole written centuries after the events they describe and are, once more, examples of long-Christianized Germanic people looking back with deep curiosity on their pagan forefathers. The great *Njalssaga* can stand as an example of the retrospective saga in general. The author lived three hundred years after the events he is narrating. He is a Christian author meditating on the life and ideals of the pagan ancestors. Gunnar of Hlitharendi, for example, is presented as an ideal man –indeed, as an ideal human being– although he is pagan. Paganism is his profound misfortune, but it does not diminish the nobility of his character.

The Old Norse *Codex Regius* containing the *Elder Edda* with its poems about the pagan gods and pagan heroes and its powerful account of the world's end at Ragnarok is the central document for pre-Christian Germanic culture, and it is sobering to recall that this manuscript with all its pagan legends was written down around 1270 A.D. How much of the *Edda* is original, pre-Christian matter and how much is post-Christian innovation remains the subject of debate, but the outstanding fact is that the central document of Old Norse pagan legend was copied out in the late thirteenth century. It is certain that some if not many of the poems in the *Elder Edda* were composed at a much earlier date, but this does not alter the striking fact that in the last decades of the thirteenth century Christian Icelanders were still so interested in life in the ancient pagan days that they copied out these poems for themselves and their posterity.

Only a generation before this the Icelandic Snorri Sturlusson (1179-1241) wrote his compendium of pagan theology and legend known as

the *Prose Edda*. He begins by carefully laying out his Christian credentials, declaring his firm belief that the Christian God created the world, that all human beings are descended from Adam and Eve, and so on. But then the rest of his treatise is devoted to narrating the pagan Germanic creation myth, the activities of Thor and Odin and all the other pagan gods, including their deeds at the day of doom, Ragnarok.

Another Old Norse writer, one who wrote in Latin instead of the vernacular, is Saxo Grammaticus. In the early thirteenth century Saxo, in his *Gesta Danorum*, painstakingly reconstructs the history of the Danes in pagan days and after. His reason for doing so, he says, is his people's "joy in recollecting their ancestors" and in "vaunting the fame of their achievements" (1979:4). This is a fairly precise formulation of the subject of the present paper—the Germanic people's joy in looking back on their pagan ancestors and celebrating their achievements—. And this was done in full knowledge of the fact that the ideals of the Germanic heroes were radically different from those of the Christian martyrs.²⁷

Looking beyond the Old Norse community to the Germanic world at large, we find that virtually all the Germanic nations had medieval Latin writers like Saxo memorializing the achievements of their ancestors in pagan days and after. The Goths had Jordanes and Isidore, the Saxons had Widukin, the Lombards had Paul the Deacon, the Anglo-Saxons had Bede. Even the latest-preserved of the Germanic literatures, that of the Frisians, contains constant references (in the law codes) to the time when the Frisians were still pagan.²⁸ (Many of these law codes date from as late as the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.) Among the Franks, Charlemagne was so fond of "the old rude songs that celebrated the deeds and wars of the ancient kings" that he had them recorded for posterity, and while dining he listened to "the stories and deeds of olden time" (Einhard, 1960:52, 57). Charlemagne, as we all know, was such a zealous Christian that he converted people by the sword, and yet even

²⁷ For a particularly lucid presentation of this point, see Pàroli (1995b:273-321, esp. 301-6). See also Pàroli (1995a).

²⁸ Karl von Richthofen (1840): "ther hwile ther alle Frisa hethon weron"... "huande ther al hethen was, theter Fresena was"... "da Fresen weren heyden" etc. *passim*.

he could not resist looking back to the heroic age of his people and providing for the preservation of "the old rude songs". We might surmise that these songs would have been the type represented by the Old High German *Hildebrandslied* with its depiction of warriors honoring the Germanic code of honor at the time of the Great Migrations and its "pessimistic pagan conception of a merciless and arbitrary fate" (Bostock, 1976:61). The surviving copy (written in a curious mixture of Germanic forms and spellings) is from the century following Charlemagne's reign, but the manuscript is thought to have manated from the Frankish foundation of Fulda, and a form of the text could have been in circulation in Frankish lands for some time. The existence of other versions of the story in Old Norse and Middle High German suggest that it was widely known in the greater Germanic realm.

A similarly pious king, Alfred the Great, had a similar interest in the heroic past. When a child he received from his mother a book of *Saxonica Carmina* as a reward for his having committed the poems to memory (Keynes & Lapidge, 1983:75). And the Anglo-Saxon cleric Alcuin in a famous letter dated 797 A.D. urges one Bishop Speratus not to pursue the practice of entertaining clerical guests at mealtimes with old songs about heathen Germanic kings but rather to have readings from the Church Fathers on such occasions.²⁹ From this we can only conclude that in some places in Anglo-Saxon England the very officers of the Church, whose duty it was to exhort the Christian laymen to forget pagan traditions and embrace Christian culture, were themselves listening to legends about pagan Germanic heroes at mealtime.

Of the Old Saxon *Heliand* (and *Genesis*) we may say much the same as was said of the Old English verse narratives on Biblical subjects: while the subject matter is Christian, the style is Germanic. The *Heliand* poet's references to "ring-givers" and fame and fate suggest that even as he introduced his audience to the Story of Christ's life, his diction and style reminded them of the days of old Germania.

²⁹ See D.A. Bullough (1993:93-125, esp. 124). This important article on the episcopal recipient of Alcuin's letter includes the complete text of the letter (in modern English translation) on pp. 122-25.

Since this conference is in Spain, I must not fail to mention the Germanic settlers in this region. The rapid and total Romanization of the Visigoths in Spain (or even before they reached Spain) might seem to suggest that the East Germanic people, the Goths, were an exception to the rule that Germanic peoples are inherently given to cultural retrospection. But I believe they are not an exception. Despite the paucity of vernacular texts (other than the Gothic Bible), we know from Jordanes³⁰ that the Goths' exploits and victories on their heroic migration to the lands north of the Black Sea were memorialized in songs sung hundreds of years later (Thompson, 1966:2). We also know that the Visigoths worshipped and even deified their ancestors (Thompson, 1966:59-60) and that they sang songs eulogizing their ancestors when they went into battle (Wolfram, 1979:210; Thompson, 1966:59). And the very fact that the Goth Jordanes would devote his *magnum opus* to chronicling the history of the Goths' origins and deeds and that Isidore would do the same for the Goths in Spain suggests that interest in the Germanic past was lively indeed among the East Germanic peoples.³¹

Our examination of the old Germanic literatures confirms, I believe, that the Old English, Old Norse, and most other Christianized Germanic peoples did look back almost obsessively to the pagan Germanic world from which they came. They recited the names of pagan heroes and even gave these names to their children centuries after they had become Christians. They retold with enthusiasm the heroic deeds of their forebears and preserved in detail their ideals—ideals which often differed so markedly from the Christian ideals which guided their own lives—. One marvels that the Christian establishment tolerated so much interest in the pre-Christian past.³² But that interest is found pervasively in the surviving texts and should not be ignored or denied.

³⁰ *Getica* IV. 26ff.

³¹ See further McKenna (1938). To some extent the survival of pagan motifs well into Christian times is attested generally. Dr. Ruth Mellinkoff kindly reminds me that there were persistent vestiges of pagan motifs in the iconography of Christian churches and draws my attention to Sheridan & Ross (1975).

³² See John McKinnell's brief but excellent discussion "Early Christians looking back" in McKinnell (1994).

Indeed, we should address the question which it raises: Why did these devout Christians (and the Germanic writers whom we have been discussing were beyond doubt devout Christians) –why did they, by persistent literary retrospection, keep the whole pagan Germanic world alive in memory century after century after century? Why did they keep looking back?–

There are no doubt many reasons for their habit of retrospection, but I shall suggest only three:

(1) The heroes, however pagan they may be, offer inspiring examples for conduct, and the stories of their deeds can bring consolation as well as inspiration. In brief, it is simply the high literary quality of the Germanic tradition that prompted people to preserve it.

(2) A people's history gives them their identity. When the various Germanic peoples at various times and places agreed to abandon their old gods and embrace Christianity, they did not agree to abandon their identity as a people. Only by looking back on who they had once been could they know who they were in their new Christian world. They took pride in their ancestors and their ancestors' achievements and needed them as any people need a history.

(3) A supreme value in the old Germanic world was fame. Pagan Germanic heroes knew nothing of Christian salvation and eternal life, but the idea of fame gave them a sort of life after death. As long as a person's name was remembered and his or her accomplishments were celebrated, he or she remained a part of this world and was not wholly extinguished. But without memory there is no fame. The Christian Germanic people who looked back so often on their old Germanic heroes, remembering their names and narrating their deeds, were performing an act of *pietas*. They knew that their noble pagan ancestors could not enjoy Christian immortality, but by looking back on them and keeping them alive in memory they conferred on their pagan ancestors the only immortality available to them: the immortality of being remembered.

The retrospective quality of Germanic literature bespeaks an

intimate involvement between Christian and pagan worlds, and this is one of the most distinctive and important features of Germanic literature. Any literary critic today who would deny this lingering interest in the pagan Germanic world or who would insist that the various Germanic cultures known to us through the surviving literature were exclusively Christian cultures is, I think, overlooking something very important in our field of study.

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SENSE AND SENSIBILITY IN *TROILUS AND CRISEYDE*

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Abstract

Chaucer, in Troilus and Criseyde, illustrates one of the capital currents in the tradition of sensibility, in which painful emotions are cultivated by the man of feeling. His purpose is to tell us the double sorrow of Troilus: he considers himself the cruel furies' sorrowful instrument, and his story is going to be a sorrowful tale. Even more, he expresses the practice, in that mentioned tradition, of indulging in sympathetic responses to emotional pain in others: "that I have myght to shewe, in some manere,/Swich payne and wo as Loves folk endure" (I, 33-34), indicating the educative potential of sensibility.

In describing the most common signs for sense we face the complexity of its polysemic nature and the difficulty it presents when we want to draw the boundaries between concepts, attitudes and experiences. Yet another problem with the description of sense is its implication in our personal and individual existence as a process of experience that begins with our birth, undergoes several and radical transformations –we grow and mature– and finally ends, apparently, with death. We grow and mature, as our cultural and historical traditional background tells us, inside two different universes: the universe of sense that means reason, soul, imagination, and so on and the universe of senses, body, instinct, sensory perception.

These universes are always in conflict and sense is the battle site

between the mind and the body. In its physical connotation it means the consciousness of external stimuli supplied by corporal senses as well as the awareness of internal changes in the sensations and feelings of one's body; in its mental aspect sense means the consciousness and judgement provided by the mental faculties. One is impossible without the other, reason and feeling are the two sides of the same ontological being, as Aristotle says in *De Anima* (I,3), and if one is affected, the other is as well.

The middle passage is a stage of resolution, construction, enforcing and learning; it is an intermediate or transitional period in which the awareness of this conflict between the competences of both universes arises. The knowledge of a culture and religion helps us to establish the priorities in this conflict, debate, dialogue and we are instructed in a specific *social or religious matrix* in order to resolve the problematic issue of our existence. This is, for instance, the evidence we have in *Everyman*, the morality play, and it is also the evidence that Troilus's death shows at the end of the poem, in the context of Boethius's philosophy. What is after death is featured by our social and historical mores and uses, it is a construction that tries to answer the question, a benefit that, according to Erich Kahler (1989:23-27), only history can produce.

The world of the senses frequently figures as a withdrawal from the sphere of social restraints into the private and idiosyncratic space of emotions and feelings. Nevertheless, this *inborn nature* is susceptible to either refinement or corruption according to the quality of one's education which contributes to an individual's sensibility by providing him/her with a *second nature*, and restore common sense, or virtue, or harmony, or the belief in humanity's innate goodness. Sensibility, then, is an acute faculty built up in the individual by education which relies on both physical and mental abilities. The aim of this faculty is to receive and transform sensory perception and values from the external world, giving form of sensation and soundness of judgement, which leads to accepted behaviour and action.

Troilus's imaginative world illustrates one current in the tradition of sensibility, in which painful emotions and feelings are cultivated and

controlled by the man of education. In this way his longings for Criseyde, adequately managed, show the educative potential of sensibility, as Ovid describes in his *Ars amatoria*, book 1. Troilus learns about the anguish of love from his feelings, enhanced by his imagination, a product of human education, yet it always holds open the possibility of spinning out of control. Experience drives Troilus to the *dialexis* between action and contention, giving way to the central unavoidable conflict in the narrative between the public and the private, between sense and sensibility, rational mind and the heart. When the individual subject transgresses those constructions, rules, norms, and when Troilus despises the education of love, he is punished accordingly.

In our Western culture and history, especially in the period we are studying, the medieval period, the two main cultural traditions to consider, over all others, are Christianity, or Biblical tradition and Classic thought. Let us begin with the Holy Book.

In Genesis 3:1-24 the narrator describes the seminal incident of the falling of man. The serpent persuades Eve that if they eat the fruit from the forbidden tree their eyes will be opened, they will be like God, "knowing good and evil" (Gen. 3:5). She eats from the fruit of the tree and "she also gave some to her husband, and he ate" (Gen. 3:6). If we review for a moment the basic elements of the incident we realise that "knowing good and evil" is a process of our mind in search of some values that are not specific, visible at first sight. The question is, what is good and what is evil? The next two paragraphs in the book of Genesis are even more clarifying:

So when the woman saw that the tree was good for food, and that it was a delight to the eyes, and that the tree was to be desired to make one wise, she took of its fruit and ate; and she also gave some to her husband, and he ate. Then the eyes of both were opened, and they knew that they were naked; and they sewed fig leaves together and made themselves aprons. (Gen. 3:6-7)

After eating from the forbidden tree, our forebears Adam and Eve become aware of two things: first that they are naked, so they

immediately try to cover up their nakedness with fig leaves; second that they have committed a sin disobeying God's commandment. The evidence, then, is that this second reality is a transgression in the order of the spirit, while the perception of their nakedness belongs to the level of the senses, the body. Both perceptions belong to the same rule of education negotiated between God and humanity, and the punishment for that transgression is "multiply the woman's pain in childbearing and bringing forth children", for the woman, and earn a living toiling the soil, be hurt by thorns and thistles, eat plants from the field, and "in the sweat of your face you shall eat bread till you return to the ground" (Gen. 3:16-19). The biblical narrative specifies once and forever the enmity between body and soul and God's punishment makes it clear that the body was responsible for the sin; body is bad and negative and interferes with the positive strength of the soul, but He also gives the educative instructions for the restitution of happiness and virtue. Along the stories told in the Holy Book this paradigm is repeated again and again and the rules and commandments given help to construct this relationship between both universes: the universe of the body and the universe of spirit.

The patristic tradition beginning with St. Paul, and continued and amplified by St. Augustine and St. Jerome, follows the same paradigm and applies it to any other interpretation of social behaviour in which the conflicting nature of body and soul is concerned, proposing, for instance, virginity as the ideal state even in marriage, since it only accepts sexual intercourse in marriage for procreation, and establishing a procedure to keep interplay between man and woman safe and sound.

If we turn to classical thought we find a similar kind of *dialexis*. Aristotle in his philosophical essay *De Anima*, says: "It must also be painful for the soul to be inextricably bound up with the body";¹ and Plato in *Phaedro* admits the conflicting nature of the relationship between body and soul:

¹ The translation is mine.

Let us note that in every one of us there are two guiding and ruling principles which lead us whither they will; one is the natural desire of pleasure, the other is an acquired opinion which aspires after the best; and these two are sometimes in harmony and then again at war, and sometimes the one, sometimes the other conquers. When opinion by the help of reason leads us to the best, the conquering principle is called temperance; but when desire, which is devoid of reason, rules in us and drags us to pleasure, that power of misrule is called excess. (237 C – 238 A)²

Later on, in the same utterance by Phaedro in the dialogue, he adds that

the irrational desire which overcomes the tendency of opinion towards right, and is led away to the enjoyment of beauty, and especially of personal beauty, by the desires which are her own kindred—that supreme desire, I say, which by leading conquers and by the force of passion is reinforced, from this very force, receiving a name, is called love. (238 D – 239 B)³

This transition opens the way to the evidence that love should be the norm of behaviour ruling these two principles in conflict, that love is a process of taming passion and excess.

Both the religious and classical tradition establish, then, two paradigms. First that body and soul are one inseparable entity, though at this point it is not clear for us which one of the two is really the active force and which the passive receiver. The tradition says, nevertheless, that sense and senses, soul and body belong to different levels of perception, expression, creativity, their relation is problematic and they have to negotiate their ways. As a result of that a second paradigm is

² The translation is mine.

³ The translation is mine.

built up by the mediation of the social agents who, in a very logical and rational action, impose upon this dialogue between body and soul the following elemental syntax that expresses a basic educative principle:

*If you do not do something/you will not get something
If you do something/you will get something*

According to that elemental syntax, collective mind and culture have brought into life useful connections to explain the sexed human body, historical discourses and ideologies that help to construct gender identities, heightened anxieties about the soul/body dichotomy and correspondences between the physical, to use Aristotle distinction, and the metaphysical. Each era produces the means simultaneously to represent, manage, and control sexuality in the discourse that circulate around the bodies (Foucault, 1977:140-159). The medieval period was not an exception to that rule and several discourses were developed to represent that uncertain human condition, but the medieval period, indeed, was an exception, if we compare it with our modern ways, in the effort, strength, obstinacy and faith with which they made the journey, as Dante did in *La Divina Commedia*, in search for harmony through education, i.e. sensibility.

The Roman poet Ovid is no doubt the most influential writer during this period, especially in questions of love, and the main difference between Ovid and Plato or Aristotle or the Christian tradition is that Ovid sees sense and sensibility as the two branches of the same tree: love. He introduces in this problematic issue three new and categorical representations: first, that love is an art, something whose strategies can be taught and can be learnt; second, that love is a *militia*, so it is something that you cannot get once and forever, but a personal state that you have to fight for, win over, lose and win back again. Chaucer in the first stanza that opens the poem, *Troilus and Criseyde*, shows this condition of love:

*The double sorwe of Troilus to tellen,
That was the kyng Priamus sone of Troye,
In lovyng, how his adventures fellen
Fro wo to wele, and after out of joie,
(ll. 1-5).*

The third category is the central axis in his philosophy, that is closer to the ground of phenomenology than to the level of logic, and is the conviction that love, sexual love, is the ordering and ruling principle in Nature. In Book II of *Ars amatoria* we read:

*prima fuit rerum confusa sine ordine moles,
unaque erat facies sidera, terra, fretum;
mox caelum impositum terris, humus aequore cincta est
inque suas partes cessit inane chaos;
silua feras, uolucres aer accepit habendas;
in liquida, pisces, delituistis aqua.*

*tum genus humanum solis errabat in agris
idque merae uires et rude corpus erat;
silua domus fuerat, cibus herba, cubilia frondes:
iamque diu nulli cognitus alter erat.*

*blanda truces animos fertur mollisse uoluptas:
constiterant uno femina uirque loco.
quid facerent, ipsi nullo didicere magistro;
arte Venus nulla dulce peregit opus.*
(II.513-536)⁴

Consequently, what is needed is a set of norms and doctrine to govern behaviour in this matter, to control thought and feeling (Dodd, 1971:7-8).

Love, then, is an art to be practised, not passion to be felt, and the system of courtly love emerges as early as the eleventh century in small

⁴ First nature was a confused and unmoulded mass; heaven, earth, and oceans had a common face. Then the sky placed itself over the earth and earth was encircled by the seas, and inane chaos yielded its place to the ordered elements. The beasts inhabited the jungles, the birds the air, and fish hid inside liquid water.

Then the human race wandered alone along the fields; it was just rude body with no wit. Forest was his home, herbs their food and leaves from the trees its bed. For a long time they did not know each other.

The soft sensuality makes tender the fierceness of their spirits: in the same place a man and a woman met; what they should do they learnt by themselves, with no teacher. Venus brought to conclusion her sweet action with no trick. (The translation is mine)

courts of the south of France creating a fixed code of relations in which woman held the supreme place being the inspiration and object of the troubadours songs to give a right answer to this condition. Eleanor of Aquitaine, Marie de Champagne and Chrétien de Troyes, *le trouvère par excellence*, spread all over Europe the conceptions, rules and regulations, all the literary connections reflecting a special manner of dealing with matters of love. The formal expression of this feeling was romance, full of devices to describe emotional experiences of lovers, to give semblance of authenticity and sincerity to an artificial passion, to build up a conspicuous world of metaphor, poetic figures, imagery and character (Olivares, 1998:30-36).

What Chrétien did in poetical practice Andreas Capellanus repeated in poetical theory, and in his well-known work, *De Arte Honeste Amandi*, he outlined the main principles to bear in mind when approaching the beloved one. Courtly love, according to Andreas, is

passio quaedam innata procedens ex visione et immoderate cogitatione formae alterius sexus, ob quam aliquis super omnia cupit alterius potiri amplexibus et omnia de utriusque voluntate in ipsius amplex amoris praecepta compleri.
(Capellanus, 1892:3)

Love is a passion that arises from the vision and immoderate thinking for the beauty (form) in the other (opposite) sex; because of it the lover desires over all to be possessed by the other's will and in this possession fulfil the precepts of love. It seems at first that Andreas offers a variation of Ovid's principle that love is passion but, in fact, he maintains the two basic paradigms: the conflicting nature of love, expressed in that "immoderate *cogitatione*", and secondly that "*passio quaedam innata*" must be fulfilled, to be satisfactory according to some "*praecepta*". Next, he argues, courtly love "*non posse suas inter duos iugales extendere vires*" (Capellanus, 1892:153), cannot extend its power between two married people and, so, courtly love must be adulterous and manifest itself outside and, what is more relevant here, cannot manifest itself inside marriage. In this Andreas agrees with the patristic tradition saying that sexual intercourse is not a desirable and acceptable behaviour for the married couple, except when procreation is involved.

Finally, in the last two principles, secrecy in the relation of love, "*qui non celat, amare non potest*", and love as a *militia*, "*facilis perceptio contemptibilem reddit amorem, difficilis eum earum facit haberi*" (Capellanus, 1892:310), an easy attainment makes love unimportant, difficulty makes it more valued, Andreas follows closely Ovid's *Ars amatoria*.

At the end of the thirteenth and during the fourteenth century the inheritance of these patterns and traditions can be seen in the works by the Gawain-poet, especially in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, Langland's *Piers Plowman* and Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, with a kind of emphasis on one or other direction, *Sir Gawain* displaying all the features of the courtly love system, *Piers Plowman* reflecting upon the religious and Christian love and *Confessio* giving the sick lover remedies and exempla about the natural love, the love of Venus. Each writer develops a strategy for positioning himself as an individual subject in a tradition where cultural pre-eminence to education is given and marks illustration and interpretation of reality, of that dichotomy between sense and sensibility, body and soul, first considered as a separate *entelequias* and, second, in their conflicting and conflicted social categories.

Chaucer joins all in one in his narrative poem *Troilus and Criseyde*. He claims from the very beginning the importance of teaching and learning those practices in romantic love, natural love and religious love, but his tone is *literary*, ironic and sceptical about the conventions. None of the previous authors, even Boccaccio, dealing with the matter of *Troilus*, are so aware of the dialogic nature of the process of love, passion, reason and indifference in the interplay of the three characters. Chaucer follows closely Ovid and Andreas but is mainly in debt with Boethius for the reflective treatment of his subject matter. C. S. Lewis in his seminal work "What Chaucer did to *Il Filostrato*" says:

Chaucer approached his work as the poet of courtly love. He not only modified his story so as to make it a more accurate representation in action of the orthodox erotic code, but he also went out of his way to emphasise its didactic element. Andreas Capellanus had given

instructions to lovers; Guillaume de Lorris had given instructions veiled and decorated by allegory; Chaucer carries the process a stage further and gives instruction by example in the course of a concrete story. (1971:25)

The focus is on example, though later on Lewis explains that example means *amplificatio* of doctrine and sentence. Our point of view is that Chaucer "gives instruction by example" not "in the course of a concrete story", but *with the story* replacing the illustrative by the representative, setting the authority of personal experience against "social matrix", giving individual voices to the stereotyped *dramatis personae*, using the *ethopoeia* so that characters might show their inner selves (Specht, 1986:1-2).

In Book I, Troilus, who begins by scorning lovers, is touched by love of Venus and proceeds in the narrative showing how the force of passion can constrain the spirit and the mind of the lover. Troilus refuses to play this *game of love* (Green, 1979) considering it out of place because he loves purely in a way courtly love does not comprehend, and he regards the standards of courtly love behaviour as banalities, but in the end he is transformed by this powerful feeling:

*For he bicom the frendlieste wight,
The gentilest, and ek the mooste fre,
The thriftiest, and oon the beste knyght
That in his tyme was or myghte be;
Dede were his japes and his cruelte,
His heighe port and his manere estraunge,
And ecch of tho gan for a vertu chaunge.
(ll. 1079-1085)*

Criseyde, who in Book I is described as a clear prototype of courtly love, assumes a proper role in this amorous interplay, this "drama of intentions" (Archibald, 1991:190), but she shows in her reaction to Troilus's feeling greater deal of sense than passion, valuing her freedom and independence as a woman and individual over sensibility, expressing the inequality between her impotent social position outside

of love and her powerful position within the courtly love tradition (Aers, 1979:180-183):

*That thought was this: 'Allas! Syn I am free,
Sholde I now love, and put in jupartie
My sikernesse, and thrallen libertee?
Allas, how dorst I thenken that folie?
May I naught wel in other folk asprie
Hire dredfull joye, hire constreinte, and hire peyne?
Ther loveth noon, that she nath why to pleyne,*
(ll. 771-777)

Finally she accepts Troilus's confident approach and with her acceptance the whole narrative, characters, theme and author enter into very ambiguous ground, so that when we read that both consummate the union losing reason and sense in benefit of heart, we know that Troilus is truthful to feeling because he has been possessed in a disorderly manner by it, but we are a bit suspicious of Criseyde. To reinforce this reader's impression, the narrator closes Book III, in which sexual intercourse takes place, making explicit in the very last stanza the harmony that love brings to nature, to the body and to the soul, but at the same time creating the complex characters of Troilus, Criseyde and Pandarus, in whom vice/body and virtue/soul coexist (Christmas, 1975).

*Thorough yow have I seyde fully in my song
Th'effect and joie of Troilus servise,
Al be that ther was som disese among,
As to myn auctour listeth to devise.
My thridde bok now ende ich in this wyse,
And Troilus in lust and in quiete
Is with Criseyde, his owen herte swete.*
(ll. 1814-1821)

The turning point of this love story full of *pitye, compassioun*, and *sorrow* comes in Book IV and changes the mood of the poem and also the philosophical key to understand its tragical ending. This part deals with the strife in which Troilus lost his love and with destiny, the wheel

of Fortune and predestination following Boethius's incertitude, anxiety and distress in *Consolatione Philosophiae*. The debate between sense and sensibility is here stronger than ever to the point that Troilus is drawn by passion to the level of non-sense reaction proposing to kidnap and elope with Criseyde, ironically emulating the Troy theme, the kidnapping of Helen by Paris, and so, out of his mind, proposing an action that instead of leading to harmony will lead to war. This proposal means the complete transgression of all the rules, norms and *praecepta* governing the matter of love, not Criseyde's submission to antifeminist social norms (Aers, 1979:188-200); this proposal means the neglect of all traditional thought that should be respected at this point, and passion shows its bad semblance; this proposal makes it clear that sensual desire motivates Troilus from the beginning, and the progress of his love is merely an increasing sexual desire lacking sensibility. Criseyde, who does not deviate a bit from the pattern, borrows her answer from Ovid's Helen in *Heroides*, and with sorrow and pain accepts destiny as it comes and, in a masterpiece of irony and scepticism, reverses the tone flattering Troilus with those qualities which he lacks and should have been the reason for her remaining:

*For trusteth wel that youre estat roial,
Ne veyn delit, nor only worthinesse
Of yow in werre or torney marcial,
Ne pompe, array, nobleye or ek richesse
Ne made me to rewe on youre destresse,
But moral vertue, grounded upon trouthe -
That was the cause I first hadde on yow route!*

*Eke gentil herte and manhod that ye hadde,
And that ye hadde, as me thoughte, in despit
Every thyng that souned into badde,
As rudenesse and poeplissh appetit,
And that youre resoun bridledde youre delit,
This made, aboven every creature,
That I was youre, and shal while I may dure.
(ll. 1667-1680)*

The conclusion in Book IV joins Criseyde's betrayal, Troilus's *katharsis* and the narrator's *anagnorisis* repudiating the system of courtly love, the love of Venus, and the classical traditional thought in favor of the Christian love, the love of god.

Lo here, of payens corsed olde rites!
Lo here, what alle hire goddes may availle!
Lo here, thise wrecched worldes appetites!
Lo here, the fyn and guerdoun for travaille
Of Jove, Appollo, of Mars, of swich rascaille!
Lo here, the forme of olde clerkis speche
In poetrie, if ye hire bokes seche.
(ll. 1849-1855)

In the end readers recognize the "tension between philosophy and poetry, 'moralitee' and myth" (Astell, 1989:296), and Chaucer, deriving his ideas from the Aristotelian tradition displays in his narrative the conflict among three modes of being: *ethos* (character), *pathos* (emotion), and *logos* (reason).

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STYLESHEET

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Contributions must be written in the Times New Roman font, size 12, except for the title, which must be size 14.

HEADINGS

If the article is divided into sections and sub-sections, **Heading 1.** should be written in bold, with a two-line space above and a one-line space below; *Heading 1.1.* should be in italics, with a two-line space above and a one-line space below; *Heading 1.1.1.* should be in italics, with a one-line space above and no space below (i.e. text on next new line). All headings should be numbered with Arabic numerals and end with a period.

PARAGRAPHS

The first line of paragraphs should be indented, except for the first paragraph of a new section or sub-section, and for headings. There should be a blank line between paragraphs. However, if the article is written in Spanish, the first line of the first paragraph of a new section or sub-section should also be indented.

QUOTATIONS

- Quotations in the main text should be given in double quotation marks (" ") in articles written in English, and in Spanish quotation marks (« ») in articles written in Spanish.
- Quotations longer than three lines should be written in an independent paragraph, indented both left and right, without quotation marks, in a character size one point smaller than the main text, and with appropriate reference to the source at the end, in brackets.
- In a quoted text, contributors should respect and reproduce the type of quotation marks used in the original cited work.

PAGE NUMBERS

All pages should be numbered in the top right-hand corner.

EXAMPLES

Examples should be numbered with Arabic numerals in parentheses and indented. Linguistic examples often consist of three lines.

- | | | | |
|-----|-------------|--------------|----------------|
| (1) | Pater | amat | fillam. |
| (2) | Patrem | amat | filla. |
| (3) | Pater | amat | fillam. |
| | Faher (NOM) | loves (PRES) | daughter (ACC) |
| | "The father | loves | the daughter." |

NOTES

Notes should be kept to a minimum. They should be sent as footnotes. Indicators should appear at the end of sentences, after punctuation marks.

REFERENCES IN THE MAIN TEXT

References should be as precise as possible. Contributors should give page references wherever necessary. Do not insert a space between colons and page numbers; write page numbers in full; use the ampersand in the case of more than one author. Examples: (Robertson, 1989:125-129); (Robertson & López, 2000); (see also Robertson 1987); (see also López 1956:345); ... as Robertson says (1987:229). All references in the text should appear in the List of References / Bibliography section. Non-English and non-Spanish titles mentioned in the text should be immediately followed by brackets containing a published translation title in italics or a courtesy translation in roman type. English titles in Spanish articles or Spanish titles in English articles need not be translated.

REFERENCES / BIBLIOGRAPHY

References should be listed alphabetically and chronologically. Begin the first line at left margin. If an entry runs to more than one line, indent the second and subsequent lines five spaces. References should contain the following parts:

- **Authors:** Full surname and name initials, in capital letters; if it is an edited volume, add "ed." or "eds.", as the case should be; if there is more than one author (or editor), from the second one onwards, write name initials first followed by the full surname, in capital letters. This part must always end with a period. There should be no space between first name initials. Example: ROBERTSON, J.D. Authors' or editors' names should not be repeated if they head the reference: from the second instance onwards, the author's (or editors') name should be replaced by two dashes (—).

· **Year of publication:** It follows the last author's or editor's name. This part must always end with a period. If two works by the same author or editor are included which were published in the same year, the year should be followed by a letter, with no space in-between, and the author's or editor's name should be replaced by two dashes (—) or a long one (—). Example: ROBERTSON, J.D. 1998a; — 1998b. Contributors should refer to the edition that they have used or cited in the article. However, if that edition is not the first, they should include the number of the edition between the title and the place of publication. They should not use superscript numbers after the year. Optionally, they may also refer to the year of the original publication, in parentheses at the end. Example: ROBERTSON, J.D. 1998. *Introduction to Historical Linguistics*. Third edition. London: Town University Press. (First published in 1976). If full reference is made of work in the article text, the year of publication should come at the end, after the publisher's name, after a comma.

· **Title:** Titles and subtitles of books and dissertations must be written in italics and content words should have capital initial letters. Subtitles must be introduced after a period. Example: *Historical Linguistics. Theory and Methods*. However, if the article is written in Spanish, capital letters must not be used (except for the first words and names). Example: *Lingüística histórica. Teoría y métodos*. Titles of book and journal articles should be written in roman type and enclosed in double quotes—or Spanish quotes—; no capital letters should be used for content words. Examples: "Humour in fiction"; «El humor en la ficción». If you refer to a volume, write it between the title and the place of publication; use roman type. Example. *British Romantic Poets*. Volume 2. London ... In the case of translations, contributors should include the name of the translator before the place of publication. They should also give the reference of the original work, in parentheses at the end. Examples: LÓPEZ, J. 1996. *Spanish Romantic Poets*. Translated by D. Thomas. London: Smith Publishers. (*Los poetas románticos españoles*. Madrid: Editorial Castillo, 1990.); ROBERTSON, D.J. 1979. *Los novelistas ingleses de la posguerra*. Traducción de J. Sánchez. Madrid: Editorial Castillo. (*English Fiction after the War*. London: Smith Publishers, 1975.)

· **Journals:** Names of journals should be given in full and written in italic, immediately followed by volume and issue numbers in roman type, separated by a colon and no blank space. Page numbers follow, after a period and a blank space; they should be written in full. Example: ROBERTSON, D.J. 1990a. "The evolution of OE long vowels". *Journal of Historical Linguistics* 8:4. 431-439.

· **Page range:** Page range of journal articles should be given after the volume and issue numbers, as in the above example. Page range of book articles in edited volumes follows the editors' name, after a comma. Example: ROBERTSON, J.D. 1999. "Early Modern English spelling innovations". *History of English Spelling* edited by E.F. Fitzgerald & A. Jones. 250-75. London: Castle Publishers.

· **Examples:**

Books

RAMÍREZ FREIJO, J.A. 1987. *Introducción a la lexicografía moderna*. Tercera edición. Barcelona: Orbe.

WILLIAMS, P. 1998. *Case Grammar. An Introduction*. Second edition. Rochester: Rochester University Press.

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GOMIS PUJALTE, V. ed. 1987. *¿Valenciano o catalán?* Castellón: Editorial Diatriba.

SMITH, J., C.D. JONES & K. MURDOCH. eds. 1989. *Scottish Nationalism in English Fiction*. Vol. 1. Glasgow: Lomond Press Ltd.

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HEREDIA CONTRERAS J. 1993. «El doblaje de películas». *De profesión, traductor* editado por A. Mena Rodríguez. 245-289. Madrid: Ediciones La Granja.

PORTMAN, R. 1990. "The treatment of foreign characters in novels". *Collected Essays on 19th Century Fiction Prose* edited by Thatcher, W. & W. Wright. 123-150. Cambridge: Blackpit Publishers.

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HIERRO, J. 1996. La expresión de la modalidad en español. Manuscrito, Universidad de Cartagena.

IRON, S. 1996. English Modal Verbs and Spanish Equivalents. Ms., University of Edinburgh.

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DOMÍNGUEZ SOTO, A. 1990. *Las nuevas tecnologías y la enseñanza del inglés*. Comunicación presentada en el VI Congreso de la Asociación Española de Didáctica de la Lengua Inglesa, Huelva, España, octubre 1989.

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