Leeds Medieval Studies

I

Edited by

Catherine Batt, Alaric Hall, and Alan V. Murray

Continuing *Leeds Studies in English* and *The Bulletin of International Medieval Research*

Institute for Medieval Studies
University of Leeds
2021

Leeds Medieval Studies

ISSN 2754-4575 (Print); ISSN 2754-4583 (Online)
https://ims.leeds.ac.uk
lms@leeds.ac.uk

Leeds Medieval Studies is an international, free-access, refereed journal based in the University of Leeds Institute for Medieval Studies. It is the successor to and continuation of *Leeds Studies in English* (founded 1932, ISSN 0075-8566) and *The Bulletin of International Medieval Research* (founded 1995, ISSN 1361-4460).

Leeds Medieval Studies welcomes submissions reflecting the full intellectual range of the interdisciplinary Institute for Medieval Studies, including history, art, literature, and language in the period c. 500–1500 CE, and the study of modern medievalisms. We are glad to continue our long-standing commitment, unusual in academic journals, to publishing editions and translations as well as essayistic articles.

As a free-access publication, *Leeds Medieval Studies* neither requires authors to pay to publish, nor requiring readers to pay for immediate online access, conforming to the Directory of Open Access Journals Seal for best practice. We do, however, encourage readers to subscribe to our reasonably priced hard-copy publications (£20 to individual subscribers, £30 to institutional subscribers).

Editorial Board

Catherine Batt (co-editor)
Rosalind Brown-Grant
Melanie Brunner
Emma Cayley
Alaric Hall (co-editor)
Francesca Petrizzo
Helen Price
James Titterton
Elisabeth Trischler (editorial assistant)
Graham Loud
Fraser McNair
Axel Müller
Alan Murray (co-editor)
Veronica O'Mara
Brett Greatley-Hirsch
Jonathan Jarrett
Catherine Karkov

Notes for Contributors

Contributors are requested to follow the *MHRA Style Guide*, 3rd edn (London: Modern Humanities Research Association, 2013). Where possible, contributors are encouraged to include the digital object identifiers or other stable URLs of materials cited (see *Style Guide* §11.2.11).

The language of publication is English and translations should normally be supplied for quotations in languages other than English. Please include an abstract and keywords with your submission. Each contributor will receive a free copy of the journal, and a PDF of their article for distribution. Please email all contributions to lms@leeds.ac.uk.

We have no maximum or minimum word-limits: as long as the work is good and the expression efficient, we are happy for it to be whatever size it needs to be.

We aim to complete peer-review of submissions within two months.

Once ready for publication, contributions are published on our website straight away; printed copies of each volume are published annually.

Reviews

Copies of books for review should be sent to the Editor, *Leeds Medieval Studies*, Institute for Medieval Studies, University of Leeds, Leeds LS2 9JT, United Kingdom.

Contents

Front matter

Editorial note — vii–xi
Catherine Batt, Alaric Hall and Alan V. Murray — *University of Leeds*

Articles

Inglewood Forest in Three Romances from the Northern Gawain Group — 1
Lindy Brady — *University of Dublin*

Using Decorative Elements to Refine the Relationship Between Two Ælfrician Manuscripts — 17
Emily Rae — *University of Glasgow*

An Anglo-Norman Treatise on the Mass: An Edition — 31
Charles Roe — *University of Leeds*

The Meaning Behind Beowulf's Beheading of Grendel's Corpse — 49
Joseph St. John — *University of Malta*

The Wicked Emperor and the Knight in the Bathtub: An Annotated Translation of the Middle High German *Heinrich von Kempten* by Konrad von Würzburg — 59
Alan V. Murray — *University of Leeds*

Reviews

Joanna Bellis, *The Hundred Years War in Literature, 1337–1600*. Cambridge: Brewer, 2016. — 91
Stephanie Bennett — *University of Leeds*

Corinne Dale, *The Natural World in the Exeter Book Riddles*. Woodbridge: Brewer, 2017. — 92
Alaric Hall — *University of Leeds*

John P. Cooper, *The Medieval Nile: Route, Navigation, and Landscape in Islamic Egypt*. Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2014. — 94
Alan V. Murray — *University of Leeds*

Cecilia A. Hatt, *God and the 'Gawain'-Poet: Theology and Genre in 'Pearl', 'Cleanness', 'Patience' and 'Sir Gawain and the Green Knight'*. Cambridge: Brewer, 2015. — 96
Anthony McMullin — *University of Leeds*

Philip Butterworth, *Staging Conventions in Medieval English Theatre*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014. — 97
Daisy Black — *University of Wolverhampton*

Haraldur Hreinsson, *Force of Words: A Cultural History of Christianity and Politics in Medieval Iceland (11th–13th Centuries)*. Leiden: Brill, 2021. — 98
Ryder Patzuk-Russell — *University of Iceland*

Obituaries

Peter Hayes Sawyer (25 June 1928–7 July 2018) — 101
Ian N. Wood — *University of Leeds*

Mary Swan (18 December 1963–19 October 2020) — 104
John Anderson
Alaric Hall — *University of Leeds*
Joyce Hill
Elaine Treharne

Editorial note: Introducing *Leeds Medieval Studies*

Catherine Batt, Alaric Hall, and Alan V. Murray

Introduction

Leeds Medieval Studies is a free-access journal, published in print and online, and welcomes submissions reflecting the full intellectual range of the interdisciplinary Institute for Medieval Studies at the University of Leeds, including history, art, literature, and language in the period *circa* 500–1500 CE, and their reflexes in later medievalism.

Leeds Medieval Studies is the successor to and continuation of two journals: *Leeds Studies in English and Kindred Languages* (founded 1932, ISSN 0075-8566) and *The Bulletin of International Medieval Research* (founded 1995, ISSN 1361-4460). *Leeds Studies in English and Kindred Languages* began as an annual philological journal edited by Bruce Dickins, Alan S. C. Ross and Richard M. Wilson, all newly appointed to the Department of English Language and Literature at the University of Leeds. They produced six issues before the outbreak of war in 1939, but publication was then suspended. Publication was resumed by Arthur C. Cawley and Harold Orton in 1952 with numbers 7 and 8 appearing as a combined volume, but this continuation did not take off. Yet in 1967, under the editorship of Cawley and Robin C. Alston, regular annual publication did resume, in a new series under the shortened title *Leeds Studies in English*. Meanwhile, the *Bulletin of International Medieval Research* was begun in 1995 by Alan V. Murray, then assistant editor of the *International Medieval Bibliography*. Originally a means to keep in touch with the *Bibliography*'s widely dispersed contributors, facilitate the circulation of news among medievalists, and survey new research, the publication soon evolved also to publish peer-reviewed research articles.

The next volume of *Leeds Medieval Studies* will include a history of *Leeds Studies in English*, affording an extensive archaeology of the intellectual agendas of the new journal, reflection on which has informed the thoughts we offer here. The focus of this editorial, however, is on the present and future of *Leeds Medieval Studies*. As the educationalist Roy Lowe once commented,

> in one important respect editors of a journal […] find themselves in much the same position as leading politicians or, as I used to reflect, as heads of university departments of education. They may well have a policy, an idea of the kinds of agenda they wish to pursue. But in reality almost all of their time is spent responding to events; in our case, responding to whatever may be submitted and at the mercy of the whims of potential authors.[1]

[1] Roy Lowe, 'The Changing Role of the Academic Journal: The Coverage of Higher Education in *History of*

Leeds Medieval Studies, 1 (2021), vii–xi. DOI: 10.57686/256204/16 (ISSN: Print 2754-4575/ Online 2754-4583)
© 2021 Catherine Batt (ORDID iD: 0000-0001-9179-1474), Alaric Hall (ORCID iD: 0000-0002-1479-4441), Alan V. Murray (ORCID iD: 0000-0003-1641-0891)
This work is licensed under the Creative Commons CC0 1.0 Universal Public Domain Dedication

Leeds Medieval Studies will not escape this fate; its future shape is in your hands as well as ours. This first volume strongly reflects the profile of submissions inherited from *Leeds Studies in English*, but we are committed to developing a wider embrace for the journal.

Scope

We are particularly keen to advertise our openness to six kinds of contributions which readers might not assume that we would welcome. These reflect, on the one hand, the strengths of *Leeds Medieval Studies*'s parent journals and, on the other, recent developments in Medieval Studies: editions and translations, research driven by critical theory and/or on medievalism, surveys of scholarship, introductions to new resources and *instruments de travail*, guest-edited sections or volumes, and articles ranging beyond Medieval Studies' traditional European sphere.

Editions and translations

Looking back on *Leeds Studies in English*, it is clear that the publications that have best stood the test of time are often the ones that have given researchers new access to overlooked primary texts. Journals seldom carry editions and translations, an aversion that perhaps reflects the fact that many have quite narrow parameters for article-lengths (themselves reflecting publishers' enthusiasm for predictable volume-lengths). Using print-on-demand technology for producing hard copies, *Leeds Medieval Studies* has no tight constraints on the length of individual articles or volumes, and we are excited to continue our long-standing tradition of making primary sources accessible. In the present volume, Charles Roe offers the *editio princeps* of a thirteenth-century Anglo-Norman treatise on the Mass. Meanwhile, Alan V. Murray affirms our willingness to support editions and translations aimed primarily at students, with a facing-text, glossed edition and translation of Konrad von Würzburg's *Heinrich von Kempten*.

Medievalism and critical theory

Possibly the most striking addition to the stable of Anglophone Medieval Studies journals in recent years is *PostMedieval*, a largely closed-access Palgrave Springer publication begun in 2010. *PostMedieval* has provided a dedicated forum for theoretically orientated approaches to Medieval Studies and for the study of medievalism. Though work of this kind was never unwelcome in *Leeds Studies in English* or the *Bulletin of International Medieval Research*, both journals were rooted in empirical traditions of philology and history, and have not tended to attract submissions which put theory or medievalism at the centre. Yet investigation of and reflection on medievalism, along with the associated critical reflection on how we construct the past, has become an integral part of Medieval Studies, so falls naturally within the remit of *Leeds Medieval Studies*. Our investigation of and reflection on the century or so of medievalism represented by the *Leeds Studies in English* archive in the next volume of *Leeds Medieval Studies* constitutes one witness to our commitment to hosting investigations in this area.

Education as a Case Study, 1972–2011', *History of Education*, 41 (2012), 103–15 (p. 113).

Surveys of scholarship

Leeds Studies in English and the *Bulletin of International Medieval Research* have long published book reviews and review-articles, and continue to do so. In addition, however, as a journal arising from the *International Medieval Bibliography*, the *Bulletin of International Medieval Research* has also specialised in articles surveying the state of the art in particular fields. *Leeds Medieval Studies* remains open to such contributions. In the last couple of decades, the stable of *Compass* journals published by Wiley has put the survey-article on the map (albeit, by default, behind paywalls) and emphasised its value. We are pleased to sustain our long-standing commitment to this valuable form.

New resources and *instruments de travail*

Another commitment of the *Bulletin of International Medieval Research* has been to report not only on new research but on new resources for research. As the digital revolution continues, such resources are proliferating, but discussion and documentation of their capabilities and limitations are often relegated to an online grey literature. We are open to continuing the *Bulletin* tradition of circulating news and views on resources that have the potential to be foundational to Medieval Studies research.

Guest-edited sections or volumes

The *Bulletin of International Medieval Research*, *Leeds Studies in English*, and the associated book-series Leeds Texts and Monographs have long collaborated with colleagues around the world to publish thematic collections of articles — including collections of scholarly importance that would not attract commercial book-publishers. Continuing this tradition, *Leeds Medieval Studies* invites expressions of interest from colleagues who would like to guest-edit a collection of articles, whether as a dossier within our regular annual volumes, or constituting a volume.

The Abrahamic world — and beyond?

Covering the 1998 International Medieval Congress, the *Times Higher Education Supplement* labelled the rise of Medieval Studies programmes a 'Renaissance of the Middle Ages'.[2] That 'renaissance' saw the first shoots of the field's systemic response to the postcolonial turn set in train by Edward Said's 1978 monograph *Orientalism* (particularly, in English Studies, Allen J. Frantzen's seminal study *Desire for Origins: New Language, Old English, and Teaching the Tradition*).[3] Today, those shoots are yielding a harvest of fractious reassessments of the Eurocentrism of Medieval Studies, and the area is beginning systemically to build on a deep but often overlooked heritage of research and teaching that examines the period 500–1500 CE more widely in the world. At the end of the 1990s, the *International Medieval Bibliography*

[2] 'Renaissance of the Middle Ages', *Times Higher Education Supplement* (10 July 1998).

[3] (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1990). It is a sign of our febrile moment that one feels obliged to pair this observation with recognition that Frantzen went on bitterly to disappoint the people whom his postcolonial and queer-inflected readings most inspired by publishing ostentatiously misogynistic sentiments in his old age: see for example Jennifer C. Edwards, '#Femfog and Fencing: The Risks for Academic Feminism in Public and Online', *Medieval Feminist Forum: A Journal of Gender and Sexuality*, 53 (2017), 45–72 (pp. 50–59) and Eileen Joy, *CFP: Defenestrating Frantzen: A Fistschrift* ([no place]: punctum, 2020).

expanded its scope from 'the whole of the continent of Europe, from the Atlantic to the Urals' (along with European explorations and military campaigns further afield): it now included 'material on North Africa, Iraq, Persia and the Arabian Peninsula for the entire chronological range, and dealing with the entire range of Islamic, Jewish and eastern Christian cultures and history'.[4] *Leeds Medieval Studies* aspires to at least the same scope. Likewise, while retaining its traditional commitments to teaching the Latin West, the Institute for Medieval Studies has greater strengths in Byzantine and Islamicate history now than at any point in its past, and by drawing on master's level provision in Leeds's School of Languages, Cultures and Societies, the Institute is now able to offer teaching of Arabic, Persian, and Turkish. The International Medieval Congress has been proud to liaise with scholars across the globe to extend its range further again, hosting significant and wide-ranging discussions of Africa, East Asia, and the New World.

Accordingly, we welcome research that challenges the borders of a still Eurocentric field. Those borders are most obviously geographical but may also be chronological: both manuscript and oral cultures, for example, can at times helpfully be understood as part of what, in the terminology of Medieval Studies, we might think of as a 'long Middle Ages', despite falling outside the 'medieval' millennium.

In these aspirations, *Leeds Medieval Studies* perhaps most closely parallels two free-access journals founded in 2015: *Medieval Worlds*, based in the Austrian Academy of Sciences, and *Interfaces: A Journal of Medieval European Literature*, associated with Medieval Studies institutions at the Universities of Milan, Southern Denmark, and York. *Leeds Studies in English* has bequeathed the present volume an Anglophone bias, and since Medieval Studies in Britain has an inbuilt tendency to focus disproportionately on the Anglophone medieval world, we are at risk of giving the impression that we think that this is where the centre of gravity of the new journal too should lie. On the contrary, we recognise that it is our job as editors to work to broaden the scope of the journal, and we invite you to take up this challenge in the work you submit.

Languages

While the main language of *Leeds Medieval Studies* is English, we are keen to consider submissions in other languages. For the *International Medieval Bibliography*, the use of English has always been firmly as a *linga franca*: by abstracting in English research published in many languages, the *Bibliography* serves to facilitate rather than inhibit the thriving culture of scholarly multilingualism in Medieval Studies. We owe the multilingual scope of the *Bibliography* not only to the internationalism of the editorial team in Leeds, but also to a world-wide network of contributors, recruited from academics, librarians, and archivists. *Leeds Medieval Studies* too aspires to promote this multilingual culture.

For practical reasons, we will consider the viability of contributions in languages other than English on a case-by-case basis. Factors include the ability of the editorial team to ensure expert peer-review and suitable copy-editing (we are currently particularly well placed to support French, German, and the Scandinavian languages, but are happy to consider others). We will also consider the likely audience for the contribution. For example, an article in a

[4] Alan V. Murray, 'Thirty-Five Years of the International Medieval Bibliography (1967–2002)', *Bulletin of International Medieval Research*, 7 (2001), 1–9 (p. 6).

language that is not widely spoken might nonetheless have a substantial audience if its focus is literature in a medieval variety of that same language or the history of the speakers of that language. Likewise, a survey of Anglophone research which makes that research more accessible to speakers of another language may have a different value from the same survey written in English. We encourage prospective contributors to contact the editors to discuss the suitability of *Leeds Medieval Studies* as a forum for your work.

Technology, accessibility, and design

Leeds Medieval Studies aims to maximise its accessibility to readers both in the sense of embracing free-access publication (in which neither the author nor the reader pays), and in the sense of catering to the needs of a diverse range of readers. The journal is available online in both PDF format, replicating the version of record, the journal's hard copy incarnation. But it is also published in HTML formats that provide maximum flexibility to readers with specific needs. We publish articles online in these formats on a rolling basis, making them available to readers as swiftly as possible. But the demand for print remains — not least because this has its own advantages for accessibility — and the journal is published in an affordable print format on an annual basis, via our long-standing partners, Abramis Academic.[5]

Like most humanities publishing, the work of *Leeds Medieval Studies* relies on academic editors, reviewers, and contributors offering their labour without direct remuneration. We are also supported by the University of Leeds, which enables our web-presence — not least our colleagues in IT, who, faced with the challenge of coining our Digital Object Identifier, took the prefix 10.57686 assigned by DataCite and suffixed it with the figure 256204 because that is the sum of the decimal code points for a castle emoji (🏰 127984) and a scroll emoji (📜 128220). We also record our gratitude to Brett Greatley-Hirsch for the design concept of our logo and to Florence Scott for realising it. We are conscious that we are only one of a great many institutions that lay claim to the symbol of the owl; in our case, it evokes the city in which we are based, the crest of whose coat of arms includes, 'on a wreath or and azure, an owl proper', and as supporters 'an owl proper ducally crowned or'.

The work of our editorial assistant Lisa Trischler — whose tasks include rising to whatever typographical challenges the internationalist field of Medieval Studies may throw at her — is supported by the income from hard-copy journal sales, both inherited from *Leeds Studies in English* and from sales of *Leeds Medieval Studies*. If you like what you read here, we encourage you to subscribe.

[5] http://abramis.co.uk.

Inglewood Forest in Three Romances from the Northern Gawain Group

Lindy Brady

Abstract

This article argues that Inglewood Forest exerts influence over the direction of events within a subset of texts in the Northern Gawain Group. Within three tales which begin with a hunt and end in adventure — *Sir Gawain and the Carle of Carlisle*, *The Awntyrs off Arthure*, and *The Avowyng of Arthur* — planned hunts awaken the supernatural but supernatural portents are derailed by the aristocratic hunt, demonstrating the uncontrollability of the forest space. A strand of recent scholarship on the Northern Gawain Group has productively read these works as border romances, and this study builds on these conclusions by arguing that this regional point of view is also reflected in the narrative role of Inglewood Forest itself. The pattern present throughout the Northern Gawain Group in which the forest behaves contrary to the desires of the Arthurian court suggests a resistance to unchecked external control over the local landscape. Inglewood Forest counters the expectations of the Arthurian court, suggesting that there exists a crucial difference between entering the forest by desire and by invitation. This imbalance between the Arthurian court's desires and the ways in which the forest responds to them functions as a regional critique of the royal forest in fifteenth-century England.

The forest is a familiar presence in medieval romance,[1] yet its commonly interpreted role as a passive backdrop for adventure can be deceptive. This article argues that in three late Middle English romances united by their shared wilderness setting, Inglewood Forest holds a key narrative function and exerts influence over the direction of events. These romances belong to the Northern Gawain Group, 'a cluster of distinctly popular, predominately northern, late-medieval romances' in which Arthurian knight Gawain plays a central role.[2] Its location 'is almost invariably the area around Carlisle and the Inglewood forest, with which [Gawain]

[1] See Corrine J. Saunders, *The Forest of Medieval Romance* (Cambridge: Brewer, 1993) for a comprehensive overview of the role of the forest in medieval romance tradition. These arguments were first presented at the New Chaucer Society conference in 2012 in Portland, Oregon, and I thank those in attendance for their comments and suggestions. I am grateful to Frederick M. Biggs, Heide Estes, and the anonymous reviewers for *Leeds Medieval Studies* for helpful advice on this article.

[2] Barry Windeat, 'The Fifteenth-Century Arthur', in *The Cambridge Companion to the Arthurian Legend*, ed. by Elizabeth Archibald and Ad Putter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 84–102 (p. 86). All references to these tales will be to *Sir Gawain: Eleven Romances and Tales*, ed. by Thomas Hahn (Kalamazoo: TEAMS, 1995), by tale and line number.

Leeds Medieval Studies, 1 (2021), 1–15. DOI: 10.57686/256204/4 (ISSN: Print 2754-4575/ Online 2754-4583)
© 2021 Lindy Brady

This work is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International License

seems to have been traditionally associated'.[3] This shared setting, on the borderland between Scotland and Cumberland, creates narrative and stylistic commonalities between these works while also establishing their historical and political status as border texts.[4] Yet while Inglewood Forest has been rightly understood as a crucial characteristic of these romances — the liminal space within which adventures can occur — what has remained unnoticed is the deliberate balance between the nature of those adventures and that of the forest itself. This article argues that in the group of three tales within the Northern Gawain Group which begin with a hunt and end in adventure — *Sir Gawain and the Carle of Carlisle*, *The Awntyrs off Arthure*, and *The Avowyng of Arthur* — it is the nature of the forest which determines the type of adventures that occur within it. Reading the opening scenes of these texts together reveals a broader pattern of careful structural balance between the forest as a controlled aristocratic resource and a site of unpredictable supernatural potential. Planned hunts awaken the supernatural but supernatural portents are derailed by the aristocratic hunt, demonstrating the uncontrollability of the forest space. Inglewood Forest thus has a unique narrative identity within the Northern Gawain Group: not an intrinsically supernatural place, but rather one that confounds the expectations of those who enter it.

This imbalance between the Arthurian court's desires and the ways in which the forest responds to them functions as a regional critique of the royal forest in fifteenth-century England.[5] One strand of recent scholarship on the Northern Gawain Group has productively read these works as border romances, exploring their regional perspective, criticism of centralised power, and Gawain's local affiliations and similarities to the heroes of outlaw texts.[6] This article adds to these studies by arguing that this regional point of view is also reflected in the narrative role of Inglewood Forest itself. The pattern present throughout the Northern Gawain Group in which the forest behaves contrary to the desires of the Arthurian court suggests a resistance to unchecked external control over the local landscape. *Sir Gawain and the Carle of Carlisle* and *The Awntyrs off Arthure*, in which hunts are planned, feature supernatural disruptions that criticise the character and behaviour of the Arthurian court, while Arthur's enthusiastic response to an invitation into the forest to kill the boar which threatens its landscape and wildlife in *The Avowyng of Arthur* results in nothing but praise for his physical and mental prowess. Reading these texts together reveals that each envisions Inglewood Forest in a similar way, suggesting a regional understanding of an ideal relationship between local landscape and royal authority. The inversion of expectation and reality in the works of the Northern Gawain Group presents a clear distinction between entering the forest

[3] Gillian Rogers, 'Folk Romance', in *The Arthur of the English: Arthurian Legend in Medieval English Life and Literature*, ed. by W. R. J. Barron (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1999), pp. 197–224 (p. 199).

[4] As recently suggested by Sean Pollack, 'Border States: Parody, Sovereignty, and Hybrid Identity in *The Carl of Carlisle*', *Arthuriana*, 19 (2009), 10–26.

[5] For overviews of royal forest policies in late medieval England, see C. R. Young, *The Royal Forests of Medieval England* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1979); Barbara A. Hanawalt, 'Men's Games, King's Deer: Poaching in Medieval England', *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 18 (1988), 175–93; Nicholas Orme, 'Medieval Hunting: Fact and Fancy', in *Chaucer's England: Literature in Historical Context*, ed. by Barbara A. Hanawalt (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1992), pp. 133–53; William Perry Marvin, *Hunting Law and Ritual in Medieval English Literature* (Cambridge: Brewer, 2006); and Jodi Grimes, 'Arboreal Politics in the *Knight's Tale*', *The Chaucer Review*, 46 (2012), 340–64.

[6] Border romances feature a frontier setting that influences the action of the narrative. Two of the most well-known from medieval Britain are the stories of Fouke le Fitz Waryn (the Anglo-Welsh borderland) and Thomas of Erceldoune (the Anglo-Scottish borderland).

by desire and by invitation, indicating that the local wilderness should not be managed as carefully as even a king might desire.

The setting of the Northern Gawain Group of tales is notable for its longstanding identity as a borderland and frontier zone. Carlisle was an established British settlement before being taken over by the Romans as the largest garrison of Hadrian's Wall. After the collapse of Roman rule, the surrounding region of Cumbria changed hands frequently. It was first part of the British kingdom of Rheged before being claimed by the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Northumbria by around the seventh century. The next few hundred years would see Cumbria fought over by Northumbria and the British kingdom of Strathclyde; in later centuries, Viking settlements in the region added further contenders to the mix. Cumbria was part of Scotland at the time of the Norman Conquest but was quickly conquered by William Rufus in 1092 and incorporated back into England. As a frontier city, Carlisle was a frequent site of conflict between England and Scotland, and parts of Cumbria changed hands between the two nations many times over the course of the high Middle Ages. Due to these centuries of conflict, the later medieval and early modern periods also saw the rise of powerful marcher families who frequently raided across the border, giving the region a reputation for lawlessness.[7] Inglewood was named a royal forest shortly after the Norman Conquest, and, like Cumbria, its boundaries shifted frequently throughout the medieval period.[8] By the time the Northern Gawain Group of Arthurian romances were written, Inglewood Forest and the landscape which surrounded it had a long history as a borderland whose boundaries and identity were fluid and unstable.[9]

Early criticism on the texts of the Northern Gawain Group was fairly limited due to their marginalisation and dismissal as popular romance.[10] More recent scholarship has productively reclaimed these works as border texts, noting Gawain's role as a thoughtful local hero who can contrast the centralised power of Arthur's rule. As Margaret Robson has argued, Gawain '*belongs* to these marginal areas and texts where Arthur does not' and 'deals with all that centralised authority leaves behind [. . .] the repressed and dispossessed'.[11] Recent criticism has also read these works as reflecting the regional viewpoint of the Anglo-Scottish march in the fifteenth century rather than the broader nationalistic or imperialistic perspectives of

[7] See classic studies by Angus J. L. Winchester, *Landscape and Society in Medieval Cumbria* (Edinburgh: Donald, 1987) and Henry Summerson, *Medieval Carlisle: The City and the Borders from the Late Eleventh to the Mid-Sixteenth Century*, Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society: Extra Series, 25, 2 vols (Kendal: Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, 1993) and more recently Mike McCarthy, *Carlisle: A Frontier and Border City* (London: Routledge, 2018).

[8] On the history of Inglewood Forest, see Young, *Royal Forests of Medieval England* and N. J. Higham, 'The Origins of Inglewood Forest', *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society*, 86 (1986), 85–100. On its modern resonances, see Kathleen Coyne Kelly, 'Lost Geographies, Remembrance, and *The Awntyrs off Arthure*', in *The Politics of Ecology: Land, Life, and Law in Medieval Britain*, ed. by Randy P. Schiff and Joseph Taylor (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2016), pp. 232–65

[9] On the fluidity of the Anglo-Scottish border in a literary context, see *The Anglo-Scottish Border and the Shaping of Identity, 1300–1600*, ed. by Mark P. Bruce and Katherine H. Terrell (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

[10] On which see *Pulp Fictions of Medieval England: Essays in Popular Romance*, ed. by Nicola McDonald (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004) and *A Companion to Medieval Popular Romance*, ed. by Raluca L. Radulescu and Cory James Rushton (Cambridge: Brewer, 2009).

[11] Margaret Robson, 'Local Hero: Gawain and the Politics of Arthurianism', *Arthurian Literature*, 23 (2006), 81–94 (p. 86). Rosamund Allen, 'Place-Names in *The Awntyrs off Arthure*: Corruption, Conjecture, Coincidence', in *Arthurian Studies in Honour of P. J. C. Field*, ed. by Bonnie Wheeler, Arthurian Studies, 57 (Cambridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2004), 181–98 (p. 181), has argued that 'place-names identify *The Awntyrs off Arthure* with a magnate audience which is both admonished about landed wealth and celebrated in wordplay on land tenure'.

many medieval English Arthurian works (and other later medieval romances).[12] As Thomas Hahn has commented in his edition of these works:

> A last characteristic that marks the Gawain romances as a unified group […] centers on their frequent resort to geography to locate their meaning. Almost all the poems explicitly set their adventures in or near Carlisle, a city with long-standing Arthurian associations, located in Cumbria […] In short, Carlisle with its environs is preeminently a border territory, a contested area of mixed populations and of shifting and changing alliances […] These Arthurian romances themselves constitute a "border writing" of sorts.[13]

Randy P. Schiff has argued that *The Awntyrs off Arthure* and *Golagros and Gawane* 'resist classification by nation and are read more readily as texts tied to militarized borderlands' and 'literary meditations on the dangers of imperialism',[14] while Sean Pollack sees *The Carl of Carlisle* as 'a border text that both comes from and explores the ambiguity of boundaries: political, geographic, class, and literary'.[15] Such studies have illuminated the crucial relationship between the political and geographical identities of these texts, and indeed, the landscape of the Northern Gawain Group is highlighted by the key role of the hunt. Thorlac Turville-Petre,[16] Rosamund Allen,[17] Andrew R. Walkling,[18] and Virginia A. P. Lowe, among others, have called attention to the 'use of the hunt as a narrative framework',[19] and as Thomas Hahn notes, it 'furnishes […] a pretext for adventure'.[20] Thus, the forest has been understood as the means by which the supernatural is introduced.[21] These texts evoke not just a generic forest of romance, but the specific location of Inglewood, which as

[12] On imperialism in Middle English romance, see Geraldine Heng, *Empire of Magic: Medieval Romance and the Politics of Cultural Fantasy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003) and Sif Rikhardsdottir, *Medieval Translations and Cultural Discourse: The Movement of Texts in England, France and Scandinavia* (Cambridge: Brewer, 2012).

[13] Hahn, *Sir Gawain: Eleven Romances and Tales*, p. 29.

[14] Randy P. Schiff, 'Borderland Subversions: Anti-imperial Energies in *The Awntyrs off Arthure* and *Golagros and Gawane*', *Speculum*, 84 (2009), 613–32 (pp. 615, 618, 621); see also Randy P. Schiff, *Revivalist Fantasy: Alliterative Verse and Nationalist Literary History* (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 2011). For discussion of *Awntyrs* in relation to medieval political conceptions of sovereignty, see Lee Manion, 'Sovereign Recognition: Contesting Political Claims in the *Alliterative Morte Arthure* and *The Awntyrs off Arthur*', in *Law and Sovereignty in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, ed. by Robert S. Sturges, Arizona Studies in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, 28 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), pp. 69–91.

[15] Pollack, 'Border States', 11. T. Brandsen, 'Sir Gawain and the Carl of Carlisle', *Neophilologus*, 81 (1997), 299–307, has also explored the ambiguity of class boundaries within the text, arguing that it reflects local concerns as an allegory of mutual cooperation between nobility and commoners to respect one another's rights.

[16] Thorlac Turville-Petre, '"Summer Sunday", "De Tribus Regibus Mortuis", and "The Awntyrs off Arthure": Three Poems in the Thirteen-Line Stanza', *The Review of English Studies*, n. s. 25 (1974), 1–14 (p. 3); for further discussion of these poems in light of alliterative verse, see Nicola Royan, 'The Alliterative *Awntyrs* stanza in Older Scots verse', in *Medieval Alliterative Poetry: Essays in Honour of Thorlac Turville-Petre*, ed. by John A. Burrow and Hoyt N. Duggan (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2010), pp. 185–94.

[17] Allen, 'Place-Names in *The Awntyrs off Arthure*', p. 195.

[18] Andrew R. Walkling, 'The Problem of "Rondolesette Halle" in *The Awntyrs off Arthure*', *Studies in Philology*, 100 (2003), 105–22.

[19] Virginia A. P. Lowe, 'Folklore as a Unifying Factor in *The Awntyrs off Arthure*', *Folklore Forum*, 13 (1980), 199–223.

[20] Hahn, *Eleven Romances*, p. 26–27.

[21] While John Finlayson, 'The Marvellous in Middle English Romance', *The Chaucer Review*, 33 (1999), 363–408, has recently argued that the marvellous has a much less central role to play in medieval romances than prior criticism has assumed, his study entirely omits discussion of this group of tales, where indeed, the marvellous so often does have a significant role to play. The significant presence of the supernatural within this group of texts might also be a result of the fact that they feature Gawain as the hero: as Roger Dalrymple, 'Sir Gawain in Middle

Ralph Hanna notes 'should almost certainly be understood as a place with spectral or magical connotations'.[22]

The prominence of the natural landscape in the Northern Gawain Group has led to another strand of recent scholarship which reads these stories through an ecocritical lens. Following on the publication of Gillian Rudd's groundbreaking *Greenery: Ecocritical Readings of Late Medieval English Literature*,[23] ecocritical readings of later medieval texts have become popular, most notably *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*,[24] and the texts of the Northern Gawain Group have recently begun to receive similar attention. Joseph Taylor's biopolitical reading of *Sir Gawain and the Carle of Carlisle* takes a similar approach to this article in its attention to the regional status of Inglewood Forest but arrives at the opposite conclusion, arguing that the tale functions as a 'biopolitical discursus on managing the porous identities of marchers for the betterment of the English imperial state' and that the Northern Gawain tales as a whole 'reaffirm an Arthurian teleology of power that perpetuates and regenerates itself in juxtaposition with the real English Crown'.[25]

The present argument is more closely aligned with ecocritical readings of the Northern Gawain Group and other romances which have argued that wilderness spaces represent sites of challenge or opposition to the will of the court in these texts. Chelsea S. Henson has thoughtfully highlighted the way in which the wasteful behaviour of the Arthurian court in *The Awntyrs off Arthure* is used by the poem to critique the court's actions,[26] to which I would add that Inglewood Forest is itself given an active role in this critique. Andrew Murray Richmond has argued that the Tarn Wadling in *The Awntyrs off Arthure* is one example of 'a late medieval understanding of tarns, rivers, and seas as explicitly alien, yet intimately physical embodiments of divine power in the natural world',[27] aligning with this article's conclusions that Inglewood Forest demonstrates an agency of its own within the Northern Gawain Group of romances. Indeed, Jessica Barr has argued for the wilderness as a site of opposition to the court in *Le Roman de Silence*,[28] and the conclusions drawn here underscore its similar role in the texts of the Northern Gawain Group.

English Romance', in *A Companion to Arthurian Literature*, ed. by Helen Fulton (Oxford: Blackwell, 2009), pp. 265–77 (p. 275), argues, Gawain's 'early associations with magic and the supernatural were perpetuated through English literary tradition'. Robson, 'Local Hero', p. 91, has similarly noted Gawain's strong ties to the world of the supernatural.

[22] Ralph Hanna III, '*The Awntyrs off Arthure*: An Interpretation', *Modern Language Quarterly*, 31 (1970), 275–97 (p. 281).

[23] Gillian Rudd, *Greenery: Ecocritical Readings of Late Medieval English Literature* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007).

[24] See i.e. Michael W. George, 'Gawain's Struggle with Ecology: Attitudes toward the Natural World in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*', *Journal of Ecocriticism*, 2 (2010), 30–44; Susan Crane, 'Chivalry and the Pre/Post-Modern', *postmedieval*, 2 (2011), 69–87; and Carolyn Dinshaw, 'Ecology', in *A Handbook of Middle English Studies*, ed. by Marion Turner (Oxford: John Wiley and Sons, 2013), pp. 347–62.

[25] Joseph Taylor, 'Arthurian Biopolitics: Sovereignty and Ecology in *Sir Gawain and the Carl of Carlisle*', *Texas Studies in Literature and Language*, 59 (2017), 182–208 (pp. 185 and 202).

[26] Chelsea S. Henson, ' "Under a holte so hore": Noble Waste in *The Awntyrs off Arthure*', *Arthuriana*, 28 (2018), 3–24.

[27] Andrew Murray Richmond, 'Fluid Boundaries in *The Awntyrs off Arthure* and *Sir Isumbras*', *Open Library of Humanities*, 4 (2018), 1–30 (p. 2).

[28] Jessica Barr, 'The Idea of the Wilderness: Gender and Resistance in *Le Roman de Silence*', *Arthuriana*, 30 (2020), 3–25.

Of course, connections between the forest, the hunt, and the supernatural are hardly unusual in medieval romance.[29] Yet what, paradoxically, distinguishes the texts of the Northern Gawain Group is that Inglewood Forest is not a predictable site of the supernatural. Rather, there exists an inverse relationship between what the members of the Arthurian court expect and what they encounter. The organised hunts described at the beginnings of *Sir Gawain and the Carle of Carlisle* and *The Awntyrs off Arthure* seem intended to showcase the chivalric values of the Arthurian court, while the preternaturally fierce boar in the opening scenes of *The Avowyng of Arthur* seems to clearly be of supernatural origin (it is even given demonic connotations). Yet in *Sir Gawain and the Carle of Carlisle*[30] and *The Awntyrs off Arthure*, carefully managed aristocratic hunts are disrupted by the supernatural,[31] while its absence in *The Avowyng of Arthur* is surprising because the tale begins when Arthur's huntsman pleads for help killing the supernaturally large and ferocious boar who threatens to disrupt the forest space. In these texts, Inglewood Forest counters the expectations of the Arthurian court, suggesting that there exists a crucial difference between entering the forest by desire and by invitation.

Sir Gawain and the Carle of Carlisle showcases Gawain's perfect courtesy even in the face of a supernaturally discourteous host, yet within this text, the forest serves as the pivot point on which its main themes turn. Lost on a hunt, Gawain finds himself a guest in the home of a mysterious churl whose strange commands he must obey. Much early scholarship on the work focused on its relationship to the motif of disenchantment via beheading present in its later recension from the Percy Folio,[32] although recent critics have examined the work in light of class and regional politics.[33] As Sean Pollack has recently argued, the tale's ambiguous geographical opening underscores its identity as a regional text. He writes:

> As many have noted, the geography of Arthur's itinerary poses some problems: a journey from Cardiff in Wales to Carlisle in "Ynglonde" is simply impossible to make on horseback in one day. The possibility remains that these lines refer not to Cardiff, but Carlisle, and to Inglewood, rather than England. But even if the text is meant to refer to Carlisle as part of "Ynglonde," the choice is an interesting one, as it places Carlisle under the military, governmental, and cultural umbrella of Arthur's England. There is a tension in these opening lines, however, that calls attention to Britain as a distinct geographical and cultural region, separate from both England and Scotland [...] Arguably, this poem's opening emphasizes its interest in the region that is neither England nor Scotland, the border land between the two where people considered themselves British rather than English or Scots.[34]

The poem's opening scene is thus generally understood, like many of the Northern Gawain Group texts, to take place in Inglewood Forest, with an Arthurian hunt whose massive scale

[29] See Saunders, *The Forest of Medieval Romance*.

[30] While the same pattern is also present in *The Carle of Carlisle* from the Percy Folio, this article will omit discussion of this later, post-medieval text.

[31] The same pattern also occurs in *The Wedding of Sir Gawain and Dame Ragnell* (and presumably, its post-medieval version *The Marriage of Sir Gawain* from the Percy Folio — the beginning scene of this text is lost so this is impossible to state with certainty, though the extant parts of the text parallel the plot of *The Wedding of Sir Gawain and Dame Ragnell* quite closely). However, I will not be discussing these works as a part of this essay given their parodic nature, which makes discussion of genre conventions different.

[32] Paul Beekman Taylor, 'Icelandic Analogues to the Northern English Gawain Cycle', *Journal of Popular Culture*, 4 (1970), 93–106.

[33] Brandsen, 'Sir Gawain and the Carl of Carlisle'; Pollack, 'Border States', p. 17; Taylor, 'Arthurian Biopolitics'.

[34] Pollack, 'Border States', p. 15.

testifies to its well-managed nature. Arthur and his court take to the forest to hunt deer at their fattest:

> Kinge Arttor to his lordis gan saye
> As a lorde ryall that well maye,
> 'Do us to have a Masse.
> Byschope Bawdewyn schall hit don;
> Then to the forrest woll we gon,
> All that evyr her ys,
> For nowe is grece-tyme of the yeer,
> That baruns bolde schulde hont the der,
> And reyse hem of her reste'.[35]

The tale's multiple descriptions of the Arthurian court's five-hundred-member hunting party make clear its overwhelming scale:

> Knyghttus kene fast they rane;
> The Kynge followyd wytt mony a man,
> Fife hunderd and moo, I wene.
>
> Folke followyd wytt fedyrt flonus,
> Nobull archarrus for the nons,
> To fell the fallow der so cleyn.[36]

Finally, the extent of the spoils similarly emphasises that this is a well-planned operation and a substantial undertaking indeed:

> Barrons gan her hornnus blowe;
> The der cam rekynge on a rowe,
> Bothe hert and eke heynde.
> Be that tyme was pryme of the day
> Fife hunderd der dede on a lond lay
> Alonge undur a lynde. [37]

As Pollack notes, 'Arthur enters Carlisle with something like an invasion force of five hundred knights (a bit too large for a hunting party) and Arthur's men take five hundred deer, both hart and hind […] Such a large deer kill in a relatively small area definitely represents what we would today call poaching, the excessive taking of wild game from lands belonging to another'.[38] Yet the Arthurian court's activities seem far more aggressive than poaching, which is usually understood both to involve some measure of stealth and to be conducted at a small-scale, subsistence level. In contrast, Arthur and his knights make no attempt to conceal their activities from the carl upon whose lands they are intruding, while the egregious scope of their slaughter — one deer per knight — is surely more than would be required to keep the

[35] *Sir Gawain and the Carle of Carlisle*, ll. 25–33.
[36] *Sir Gawain and the Carle of Carlisle*, ll. 103–8.
[37] *Sir Gawain and the Carle of Carlisle*, ll. 109–14.
[38] Pollack, 'Border States', p. 16.

court fed. Chelsea S. Henson has commented on the wastefulness of this hunt, noting that *Awntyrs* 'does not address the butchering or use value of the deer [...] there is no sustainable "recycling" of materials, and the potential for overhunting it suggests lingers, touching upon the idea of waste as void or valueless'.[39] This hunt is no idle diversion, but a carefully controlled operation that suggests a military-scale intrusion into, and show of force upon, someone else's land, bringing the Arthurian court's activities closer to *chevauchée* tactics in warfare than an aristocratic hunt.[40]

However, this well-planned hunt soon goes awry with the sudden materialisation of a reindeer:

> Then Syr Gawen and Syr Key
> And Beschope Baudewyn, as I yow say,
> After a raynder they rode.
> Frowe that tym was prym of the day
> Tyl myde-undur-non, as I yow saye,
> Never styll hit abode.
> A myst gan ryse in a mor;
> Barrons blowe her hornis store.
> Meche mon Syr Key made:
> The reyneder wolde not dwelle.
> Herkon what aventer hem befelle.[41]

The reindeer leads Gawain, Kay, and Baldwin on a wild chase until, lost, they must seek shelter in the castle of the enigmatic Carl of Carlisle. Clearly, the supernatural enters this tale at the same moment as the reindeer materialises, and its role as a lure which separates them from the main hunting party and drives them to the Carl's castle as the mist rises up and the adventure begins only further emphasises that the 'real' world of the Arthurian court has been left behind. Reindeer have been extinct in Britain for 8,000 years,[42] making the very existence of this animal just as supernatural as its sudden appearance.[43] Moreover, the reindeer's clear associations with the supernatural space of the north heightens the otherworldly nature of the Carl's castle, where Kay and Baldwin fail a series of bizarre courtesy tests which Gawain succeeds at by obeying their host's strange commands with unquestioning obedience.

The opening scene of a carefully controlled, aristocratic hunt in *Sir Gawain and the Carle of Carlisle* is thus deliberately disrupted within the narrative by the intrusion of the supernatural within the forest. Yet this disruption sends Gawain and his companions on a very specific set of adventures. As many critics of this tale have noted, the point of the Carl's tests — strange as they may seem — is to teach Arthur's knights how to behave courteously as a guest in someone else's home. A guest must unquestioningly obey his host, because he alone has the right to dictate what occurs in his own domain. The members of the Arthurian

[39] Henson, 'Noble Waste', p. 12.

[40] I am grateful to one of the anonymous reviewers for *Leeds Medieval Studies* for pointing out this parallel.

[41] *Sir Gawain and the Carle of Carlisle*, ll. 115–25.

[42] Juliet Clutton-Brock and Arthur MacGregor, 'An End to Medieval Reindeer in Scotland', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 118 (1988), 23–35.

[43] The *Middle English Dictionary*, s.v. *rein-dēr* lists nine occurrences in total, all from the late fifteenth century onward. In almost all other occurrences (six out of nine) it seems to be a stock alliterative phrase with *rō* (roe deer), as lines reference the hunting of 'the reindeer and the roe' or vice versa. A reindeer is once mentioned alongside a unicorn as part of 'a parke of bestys with horn', and once as a mounted hunting trophy.

court are behaving in precisely the opposite way in their uninvited entry and slaughter of deer in Inglewood Forest, and the bulk of the narrative, at the Carl's residence, provides a model of correction to this initial error of judgement. In behaving contrary to the Arthurian court's expectations, the narrative role of Inglewood Forest in *Sir Gawain and the Carle of Carlisle* functions as a critique of Arthur's actions within the forest. The text presents a narrative of resistance to unchecked external intrusion into the local forest landscape. Indeed, even the detail that the Arthurian court's slaughter of the Carl's deer is mirrored by the appearance of a supernatural reindeer who leads them astray suggests this pattern. Arthur's court has entered the forest by desire and not by invitation. The forest responds supernaturally to this breach of courteous behaviour, confounding the court's expectations to show that the forest landscape cannot be bent to royal will and that regional customs and desires ought to be respected.

As is the case in *Sir Gawain and the Carle of Carlisle*, the action of *The Awntyrs off Arthur* commences when Arthur's court sets out on an aristocratic hunting trip that is disrupted when Inglewood Forest counters their expectations to derail the hunt with a manifestation of the supernatural. This text couples a grim warning from the ghost of Guinevere's mother on the dangers of over-expanding the boundaries of the Arthurian court with a joust between Gawain and a challenger who has come to reclaim his lands, which Arthur had redistributed to Gawain as a member of his own court.[44] While the poem is metrically and alliteratively complex, its unusual structure led to its dismissal by earlier critics,[45] until A.C. Spearing argued for its structural unity as a diptych.[46] Criticism has also explored the theological implications of its ghostly apparition,[47] its treatment of women,[48] and its unusually detailed enumerations of

[44] The text survives in four manuscripts, none of which precisely agree with one another. I follow Hahn's edition.

[45] Hanna, '*The Awntyrs off Arthure*: An Interpretation' and 'A la Recherche du temps bien perdu: The Text of *The Awntyrs off Arthure*', *Text*, 5 (1988), 189–205; see also Rosamund Allen, 'Some Sceptical Observations on the Editing of *The Awntyrs off Arthure*', in *Manuscripts and Texts: Editorial Problems in Later Middle English Literature: Essays from the 1985 Conference at the University of York*, ed. by Derek Pearsall (Cambridge: Brewer, 1987), pp. 5–25.

[46] A. C. Spearing, '*The Awntyrs off Arthure*', in *The Alliterative Tradition in the Fourteenth Century*, ed. by Bernard S. Levy and Paul E. Szarmach (Kent: Kent State University Press, 1981), pp. 183–202 and 'Central and Displaced Sovereignty in Three Medieval Poems', *The Review of English Studies*, n. s. 33 (1982), 247–61. A tripartite structure was proposed by Helen Phillips, '*The Awntyrs off Arthure*: Structure and Meaning. A Reassessment', *Arthurian Literature*, 12 (1993), 63–89. Krista Sue-Lo Twu, '*The Awntyrs off Arthure at the Terne Wathelyne*: Reliquary for Romance', *Arthurian Literature*, 20 (2003), 103–22 has also argued for the poem's structural and thematic unity, and Alexander J. Zawacki, 'A Dark Mirror: Death and The Cadaver Tomb in *The Awntyrs off Arthure*', *Arthuriana*, 27 (2017), 87–101 has built on Spearing's arguments to argue that the structure of the poem is analogous to that of a medieval cadaver tomb.

[47] Carl Grey Martin, '*The Awntyrs off Arthure*, an Economy of Pain', *Modern Philology*, 108 (2010), 177–98; see also Helen Phillips, 'The Ghost's Baptism in *The Awntyrs off Arthure*', *Medium Ævum*, 58 (1989), 49–58. Most scholarship on *The Awntyrs off Arthure* discusses its relationship to *The Trentals of St. Gregory*; see particularly David N. Klausner, 'Exempla and *The Awntyrs of Arthure*', *Mediaeval Studies*, 34 (1972), 307–25 and Martin Connolly, 'Promise-Postponement Device in *The Awntyrs off Arthure*: A Possible Narrative Model', *Arthurian Literature*, 23 (2006), 95–108.

[48] Leah Haught, 'Ghostly Mothers and Fated Fathers: Gender and Genre in *The Awntyrs off Arthure*', *Arthuriana*, 20 (2010), 3–24; for other readings on fortune's wheel, see Takami Matsuda, '*The Awntyrs off Arthure* and the Arthurian History', *Poetica*, 19 (1983), 48–62. For other feminist readings, see Jeanne T. Mathewson, 'Displacement of the Feminine in *Golagros and Gawane* and the *Awntyrs off Arthure*', *Arthurian Interpretations*, 1 (1987), 23–28 and Maureen Fries, 'The Characterization of Women in the Alliterative Tradition', in *The Alliterative Tradition in the Fourteenth Century*, ed. by Bernard S. Levy and Paul E. Szarmach (Kent: Kent State University Press, 1981), pp. 25–45; for a heavily theoretical reading of the poem, see Alexander L. Kaufman, 'There is Horror: *The Awntyrs off Arthure*, the Face of the Dead, and the Maternal Other', in *Levinas and Medieval Literature: The 'Difficult Reading' of English and Rabbinic Texts*, ed. by Ann W. Astell and Justin A. Jackson

place names.[49] *The Awntyrs off Arthur*, like *Sir Gawain and the Carle of Carlisle*, begins with a detailed narrative of the entire Arthurian court on a large and carefully orchestrated hunt:

> In the tyme of Arthur an aunter bytydde,
> By the Turne Wathelan, as the boke telles,
> Whan he to Carlele was comen, that conquerour kydde,
> With dukes and dussiperes that with the dere dwelles.
> To hunte at the herdes that longe had ben hydde,
> On a day thei hem dight to the depe delles,
> To fall of the femailes in forest were frydde,
> Fayre by the fermesones in frithes and felles.
> Thus to wode arn thei went, the wlonkest in wedes,
> Bothe the Kyng and the Quene,
> And al the doughti bydene.[50]

The work's description of this enterprise is detailed enough to take up the first eighty lines of the seven-hundred line poem and emphasises the centrality of the hunt to the Arthurian chivalric identity. However, the real narrative action begins when Guinevere and Gawain remain behind the hunt to rest in a grove. Suddenly, at high noon, the supernatural yet again intrudes into a carefully planned courtly pastime:

> Now wol I of this mervaile mele, if I mote.
> The day wex als dirke
> As hit were midnight myrke;
> Thereof the King was irke
> And light on his fote.[51]

The hunt is impeded when the weather turns dark and cold, while driving hail sends knights fleeing to the shelter of nearby rocks. As the Arthurian court watches in horror, an apparition rises wailing from the centre of Tarn Wadling:

> There come a lowe one the loughe — in londe is not to layne —
> In the lyknes of Lucyfere, laytheste in Helle,
> And glides to Sir Gawayn the gates to gayne,
> Yauland and yomerand, with many loude yelle[…][52]

This spectre, described by Gawain as 'the grisselist goost that ever herd I grede' (l. 99), is the spirit of Guinevere's mother, who delivers a grim warning that the Arthurian court will

(Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 2009), pp. 85–106.

49 Andrew Breeze, '*The Awntyrs off Arthure*, Caerphilly, Oysterlow, and Wexford', *Arthuriana*, 9 (1999), 63–68; Susan Kelly, 'Place-Names in *The Awntyrs off Arthure*', *Literary Onomastics Studies*, 6 (1979), 1–38; John Eadie, 'Two Notes on the *Awntyrs off Arthure*', *English Language Notes*, 21 (1983), 3–7. Rosamund Allen, '*The Awntyrs off Arthure*: Jests and Jousts', in *Romance Reading on the Book: Essays on Medieval Narrative Presented to Maldwyn Mills*, ed. by Jennifer Fellows et al (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1996), 129–42 (p. 131), has dated the poem to 'establish the poem in the context of the Anglo-French and Anglo-Scottish wars of the first quarter of the fifteenth century and locate it in the Border politics of northern England, the northernmost front of the Hundred Years' War'.

50 *The Awntyrs off Arthure*, ll. 1–11.

51 *The Awntyrs off Arthure*, ll. 74–78.

52 *The Awntyrs off Arthure*, ll. 83–86.

inevitably fall if its current path of unchecked power continues. Here too, a hunt carefully planned as a chivalric pastime leads to unexpected consequences for the members of the Arthurian court, who find themselves confronting the supernatural instead of hunting deer.

As was the case in *Sir Gawain and the Carle of Carlisle*, the narrative of *The Awntyrs off Arthure* is structured so that the supernatural intervenes directly in the hunt, in order to correct the court's bad behaviour. The spirit's interference in the hunt is made clear by the fact that the Arthurian court's hunting dogs, in addition to the animals in the forest, are all also stricken with fear at the grisly appearance of this spectre:

> The houndes highen to the holtes, and her hede hides,
> For the grisly goost made a grym bere.
> The grete greundes wer agast of the grym bere.
> The birdes in the bowes,
> That on the goost glowes,
> Thei skryke in the skowes
> That hatheles may here.[53]

The ghostly apparition of Guinevere's mother remarks on her own sins of pride and predicts the downfall of the Arthurian court if they continue down their current self-centred path. Gawain asks her spirit,

> 'How shal we fare', quod the freke, 'that fonden to fight,
> And thus defoulen the folke on fele kinges londes,
> And riches over reymes withouten eny right,
> Wynnen worshipp in werre thorgh wightnesse of hondes?'[54]

The ghost of Guinevere's mother responds 'your King is to covetous, I warne the sir knight' (l. 265), speaking specifically of the Arthurian court's unchecked quest for power via control over the lands of others.

As A. C. Spearing noted in his argument about the unity of the poem's structure, the second half of *The Awntyrs off Arthure* reflects the Arthurian court's ability to learn and change from the warnings given in the work's first half. After the ghost of Guinevere's mother has disrupted the aristocratic hunt with her grim warning, the second half of *The Awntyrs off Arthure* focuses on the challenge posed to the Arthurian court by a local knight, Sir Galeron of Galloway. He claims that Gawain has unfairly taken possession of his lands and demands a combat to settle the issue, telling the Arthurian court,

> 'Mi name is Sir Galaron, withouten eny gile,
> The grettest of Galwey of greves and gyllis,
> Of Connok, of Conyngham, and also Kyle,
> Of Lomond, of Losex, of Loyan hilles.
> Thou has wonen hem in werre with a wrange wile
> And geven hem to Sir Gawayn — that my hert grylles.'[55]

[53] *The Awntyrs off Arthure*, ll. 124–30.
[54] *The Awntyrs off Arthure*, ll. 261–64.
[55] *The Awntyrs off Arthure*, ll. 417–22.

His claim is a true one — Arthur has in fact given away Galeron's land, which he had no right to give, to Gawain. Gawain and Galeron fight, but their brawl is halted before anyone is killed thanks to the interventions of Guinevere and Galeron's lady. The tale ends with the land conflict resolved peacefully when Arthur gives Galeron back his lands and grants new lands to Gawain instead (though the tale's audience might wonder just where this new set of lands is coming from). Finally, Galeron joins Arthur's court as a knight of the Round Table. The conflict over land depicted in the second half of this tale vividly illustrates the message that the ghost of Guinevere's mother brought to the Arthurian court in the tale's beginning: Arthur's court has been guilty of the pride of thinking that they had the right to control, without permission, resources which ultimately did not belong to them.

There are significant parallels between the intrusion of the supernatural in *Sir Gawain and the Carle of Carlisle* and *The Awntyrs off Arthure*. Both works feature a supernatural entity that is not simply a passive cause of a marvellous adventure, but instead actively challenges the members of the Arthurian court to face the shortcomings of their own behaviour head on. Both texts also feature regional knights who suffer at the hands of Arthur's expansionist policies when the king encroaches upon their own lands. Moreover, just as the Carl challenges the ostensible courtly ethos of Arthur's knights by revealing the glaring flaws in Kay's and Baldwin's characters and actions, so too does the ghost of Guinevere's mother implicitly criticise her own daughter's adultery while explicitly condemning the Arthurian court's unchecked quest for power. Thus, not only are the plans of Arthur's court disrupted by the supernatural within Inglewood Forest, but the supernatural also takes forms that actively challenge the identity and behaviour of the court itself in response to their unwanted intrusion into the regional landscape of lands belonging to others.

Like the plot of *Sir Gawain and the Carle of Carlisle*, the central conflict in *The Awntyrs off Arthure* focuses on the Arthurian court's improper use of land which belongs to someone else. The tale's narrative critiques unwanted intrusion into the forest by the Arthurian court. Once again, their carefully planned and elaborate hunt is derailed by the appearance of a supernatural apparition, and in the tale's second half, Arthur's policies towards the lands of others are critiqued and reversed. Inglewood Forest again resists unchecked royal control. Like *Sir Gawain and the Carle of Carlisle*, the Arthurian court's attempt to enter the forest to satisfy their own desires is thwarted, suggesting the importance of local autonomy over the landscape in the narrative of this tale.

The Avowyng of Arthur inverts this pattern. Inglewood Forest once again subverts expectation, this time displacing the supernatural with the courtly hunt. This text is focused on the fulfilment of a series of knightly vows and has received little critical attention, although Patricia Clare Ingham has recently argued that it 'links military brotherhoods to the materiality of region and land'.[56] The tale begins when the king's huntsman disrupts the Arthurian court with news of a boar terrorising the land:

> The King atte Carlele he lay;

[56] Patricia Clare Ingham, *Sovereign Fantasies: Arthurian Romance and the Making of Britain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 180. See also J. A. Burrow, '*The Avowing of King Arthur*', in *Medieval Literature and Antiquities: Studies in Honor of Basil Cottle*, ed. by Myra Stokes and T. L. Burton (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Brewer, 1987), pp. 99–109 and David Johnson, 'The Real and the Ideal: Attitudes to Love and Chivalry in *The Avowing of King Arthur*', in *Companion to Middle English Romance*, ed. by Henk Aertsen and Alasdair A. MacDonald (Amsterdam: VU University Press, 1990), pp. 189–208.

The hunter cummys on a day -—
Sayd, 'Sir, ther walkes in my way
 A well grim gryse.
'He is a balefull bare -—
Seche on segh I nevyr are:
He hase wroghte me mycull care
 And hurte of my howundes,
Slayn hom downe slely
Wyth feghting full furcely.
Wasse ther none so hardi
 Durste bide in his bandus.
On him spild I my spere
And mycull of my nothir gere.
Ther moue no dintus him dere,
 Ne wurche him no wowundes.
He is masly made -—
All offellus that he bade.
Ther is no bulle so brade
 That in frith foundes.

'He is hegher thenne a horse,
That uncumly corse;
In fayth, him faylis no force
 Quen that he schalle feghte!
And therto, blake as a bere,
Feye folk will he fere:
Ther may no dyntus him dere,
 Ne him to dethe dighte.
Quen he quettus his tusshes,
Thenne he betus on the busshes:
All he rives and he russhes,
 That the rote is unryghte.
He hase a laythelych luffe:
Quen he castus uppe his stuffe,
Quo durst abide him a buffe,
 Iwisse he were wighte'.[57]

From its description — unnaturally large, fierce, and impervious to death — the members of the Arthurian court (and the tale's audience) seem likely to expect something akin to the events of the Welsh *Culhwch ac Olwen*, in which Arthur battles the supernatural boar Twrch Trwyth across Britain at the bidding of the giant Ysbaddaden.[58] Yet in *The Avowyng of Arthur*, despite the boar's preternatural size and ferocity, Arthur's successful hunt is no more supernatural than that of Sir Bertilak in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*.[59] Arthur swears to kill the boar himself and directs Kay and Gawain to make vows of their own, at which point Gawain pledges to remain awake and keep watch over Tarn Wadling all night (implying that

[57] *The Avowyng of Arthur*, ll. 29–64.
[58] *Culhwch and Olwen: An Edition and Study of the Oldest Arthurian Tale*, ed. by Rachel Bromwich and D. Simon Evans (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1992).
[59] *The Poems of the Pearl Manuscript*, ed. by Malcolm Andrew and Ronald Waldron, 5th edn (Exeter: University

he expects to encounter the supernatural), while Kay declares that he will ride forth and battle anyone who stands in his way. Baldwin does not undertake a quest, but rather makes a series of pledges: never to be jealous of a woman, never to deny anyone food or material aid, and never to fear death. Yet despite the tale's suggestive beginning, each adventure stubbornly resists the supernatural.

King Arthur departs in search of the boar, hunting enthusiastically and skilfully. His adventure climaxes in a lengthy, but completely realistic, battle in which the king bravely kills and expertly butchers the boar:

> The Kinge, wyth a nobull brande,
> He mette the bore comande:
> On his squrd, till his hande,
>   He rennes full rathe.
> He bare him inne atte the throte:
> He hade no myrth of that mote —
> He began to dotur and dote
>   Os he hade keghet scathe.
> Wyth sit siles he adowne.
> To brittun him the King was bowne,
> And sundurt in that sesun
>   His brode schildus bothe.
>
> The King couthe of venery:
> Colurt him full kyndely.
> The hed of that hardy
>   He sette on a stake.
> Sethun brittuns he the best
> As venesun in forest;
> Bothe the thonge and lees
>   He hongus on a noke.[60]

Indeed, in contrast to the other tales of the Northern Gawain Group, in which the supernatural intervenes in order to expose flaws in the conduct of Arthur's court, here the king's exemplary actions highlight his prowess as a leader — he is brave, physically strong, and skilful and knowledgeable in the noble art of hunting. Likewise, as an opponent, the boar is Arthur's equal, of sorts — an aggressor and a fighter, in contrast to the more passive supernatural manifestations of the reindeer and the ghost of Guinevere's mother, which, as non-equals, challenge Arthur's knights in ways that do not match the power and skills of the court or the hunt. Yet at the same time, in each of these three tales in the Northern Gawain Group, Inglewood Forest sends an opponent that 'mirrors' the Arthurian court in some way. *Sir Gawain and the Carle of Carlisle* sends a reindeer after the members of the Arthurian court have butchered five hundred deer in the forest; *The Awntyrs off Arthure* sends the ghost of Guinevere's mother to warn about sins at a moment where Guinevere herself seems potentially likely to slip into adultery; and the boar in *The Avowyng of Arthur* is a match for a warrior-king's skill and strength. The narratives of each of these stories are carefully constructed so

of Exeter Press, 2007).

[60] *The Avowyng of Arthur*, ll. 245–64.

that Inglewood Forest mirrors and comments on the Arthurian court's activities in the rest of the tale.

After his kill, exhausted, Arthur falls asleep. Again, contrary to romance conventions, he experiences no dream vision, merely a well-earned rest: 'Forwerré, slidus he on slepe: / No lengur myghte he wake. / The King hase fillut his avowe' (*The Avowyng of Arthur*, ll. 271–73). Nor do his knights encounter the supernatural during the fulfilment of their own vows, either. Kay attempts to rescue a maiden but is defeated by her captor and asks the victorious knight if they may ride to Tarn Wadling so that Gawain may avenge him, which he successfully does, fulfilling his own vow without the slightest hint of the supernatural. The marvellous is also not present at all in the tale's second half, a series of fabliaux that illustrate the rationale behind Baldwin's assertions.

The supernatural fails to appear in *The Avowyng of Arthur* despite the tale's suggestive opening. A key difference between Arthur's actions in this text and his actions in *Sir Gawain and the Carle of Carlisle* and *The Awntyrs off Arthure* is that in *The Avowyng of Arthur*, Arthur does not enter the forest to satisfy his own desires. On the contrary, his adventure is prompted by the heartfelt plea of the king's huntsman, who details at some length the irreparable damage that the boar is doing to the landscape of the king's forest — a landscape in which he has a right to intervene. In this text, Arthur does not seek to damage the landscape of another through a slaughter of deer. Implicitly, because he enters the forest on an invitation, Arthur's quest is successful. *The Avowyng of Arthur* depicts him as a good king, one who has protected his land from harm.

Thus, *The Avowyng of Arthur* defies the suggestive expectations of its opening scene to produce a tale entirely devoid of the supernatural, while the carefully managed aristocratic hunts which open *Sir Gawain and the Carle of Carlisle* and *The Awntyrs off Arthure* are disrupted by the intrusion of otherworldly figures. While Inglewood Forest has a distinct identity within the Northern Gawain Group, then, it is not that of an inherently supernatural space, but rather, one that behaves contrary to expectation. The imbalance between the Arthurian court's desires and the reality of what they encounter within Inglewood Forest reflects a regional critique of the royal forest in fifteenth-century England within the tales of the Northern Gawain Group. The regional perspective of these border romances critiques the expansionist policies of Arthur's court, which are seen to cause tensions between the centre and the periphery of the English state. In their central character of Gawain, they offer a hero who stands apart from Arthur's rule, showing the king how to properly respect local customs and the lands of others. The pattern present throughout the Northern Gawain Group, in which the forest behaves contrary to the desires of the Arthurian court, reflects a resistance to unchecked external control over the local forest landscape. The two texts in which hunts are planned feature supernatural disruptions that criticise the character and behaviour of the Arthurian court, while Arthur's enthusiastic response to an invitation into the forest to kill the boar which threatens its landscape and wildlife results in nothing but praise for his physical and mental prowess. Although these texts do not respond directly to one another, reading them together reveals that each envisions the forest in a similar way. The texts of the Northern Gawain Group reflect a regional understanding of an ideal relationship between local forest and royal authority. The inversion of expectation and experience in Inglewood Forest within the works of the Northern Gawain Group draws a clear distinction between entering the forest by desire and by invitation. Together, these tales send the message that even the king does not have the right to exert his will unbidden over the local forest landscape.

Using Decorative Elements to Refine the Relationship Between Two Ælfrician Manuscripts

Dr Emily Rae

Abstract

Items from Ælfric's First Series of Catholic Homilies survive in thirty-four manuscripts and manuscript fragments. Because of their complex histories, and our incomplete modern knowledge of their production and dissemination, we still have only a limited understanding of the exact relationship between all copies of the First Series texts. In the past, scholarship has determined manuscript relationships based primarily on textual collation, rather than by considering physical aspects of the manuscripts themselves. This article demonstrates that attention to extra-linguistic aspects of these manuscripts in relation to decoration and *mise-en-page* can help to qualify our understanding of these relationships. I here look at two manuscripts containing primarily Ælfrician texts — Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 340 and 342, and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 162 — and argue that these two manuscripts are not only related, but perhaps very closely so, even sharing a direct exemplar-descendent relationship. I base my argument both on the texts shared between the manuscripts and aspects of the decoration that are uniquely similar between the two.

Introduction

The works of Ælfric comprise the majority of the corpus of surviving Old English prose. In the last few decades, the manuscripts housing these writings have begun to attract increased attention as objects of study in their own right, in part due to the growing scholarly interest in manuscript context; in more recent years, scholars have turned their attention to investigating how this context, aside from its relevance for the study of manuscripts as physical objects, can bolster our understanding of the texts found within. Elaine Treharne, Mary Swan, Orietta Da Rold, and others have all made invaluable contributions to the field of specifically Ælfrician manuscript studies. Much of Treharne's work has focused on how later readers of Ælfrician manuscripts understood and interacted with the texts and manuscripts;[1] alongside

[1] Elaine M. Treharne, 'The Production and Script of Manuscripts Containing English Religious Texts in the First Half of the Twelfth Century', in *Rewriting Old English in the Twelfth Century*, ed. by Mary Swan and Elaine M. Treharne (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 11–40; Elaine M. Treharne, 'Making Their

Leeds Medieval Studies, 1 (2021), 17–29. DOI: 10.57686/256204/3 (ISSN: Print 2754-4575/ Online 2754-4583)
© 2021 Emily Rae (ORCID iD: 0000-0002-5999-8560)

This work is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International License

online collaborative projects on later Old English manuscripts,[2] this body of scholarship has provided much of the foundation for this current work on how contemporary readers and scribes interacted with and copied the texts.

In most previous scholarship on Ælfrician manuscripts, the focus of the study is either the manuscript itself as an *objet d'art*, or the work is an analysis of the textual content within. It is less common that the two approaches are used in tandem with one another, despite the clear benefits of such a combination. By treating both approaches as two complementary parts of a whole, we are able to create a much fuller reconstruction of the complicated chains of manuscript and textual transmission that would otherwise be lost to us today. In this article, I use a combination of the two methods in order to investigate two Ælfrician manuscripts, as well as drawing attention to heretofore unnoticed similarities between them. This comparison both adds further context to the currently posited relationship between these volumes, as well as suggests a new method of inquiry into all of the manuscripts that contain Ælfrician content.

In his ground-breaking edition of the First Series of Ælfric's Catholic Homilies, Peter Clemoes based his texts on a single authoritative manuscript from the late-tenth century, British Library, Royal MS 7 C XII, a manuscript widely considered to have been created under Ælfric's direct supervision.[3] He assigned a siglum to every manuscript or manuscript fragment that included any text from Ælfric's First Series, thirty-four in total.[4] His series of stemmata show how versions of the First Series texts may have been distributed and arranged, divided into six separate phases of change and dissemination.[5] These stemmata do, on occasion, represent direct connections between extant manuscripts: for example a text in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 178 can be identified as the direct exemplar for the text in another collection, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 113+114 and Junius 121.[6] Clemoes determined this relationship with textual evidence: revisions that were made in the margins of CCCC 178 are subsequently adopted in Hatton 113+114 and Junius 121, but appear in none of the other Ælfrician manuscripts.[7] Much more frequently, however, the textual history of a manuscript is considerably more complicated than this, and straightforward relationships can only very rarely be posited based on evidence of this type. Most of the time, Ælfrician manuscripts drew upon multiple sources during production; it is only very infrequently that we find possible instances of new manuscripts being copied from only a single exemplar. Even in an instance where Clemoes has claimed that the Ælfrician texts in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 303 were all copied from a single source, this proposed relationship has proven controversial, as Kathryn Lowe claims that in fact closer textual analysis shows that the two

Presence Felt: Readers of Ælfric, c. 1050–1350', in *A Companion to Ælfric*, ed. by Hugh Magennis and Mary Swan (Leiden: Brill, 2009), pp. 399–422.

2 *The Production and Use of English Manuscripts 1060 to 1220*, ed. by Orietta Da Rold and others (Leicester: University of Leicester, 2010), <https://www.le.ac.uk/english/em1060to1220/index.html>.

3 *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The First Series*, ed. by Peter Clemoes (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).

4 Clemoes, pp. xvii–ii; it is worth noting here that Clemoes' and Godden's work does not account for the entire transmission and history of Ælfric's texts; for a more recent and in-depth discussion of the Ælfrician canon see Aaron J. Kleist, *The Chronology and Canon of Ælfric of Eynsham* (Cambridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2019); and for a discussion of Ælfrician works in other languages see John Frankis, *From Old English to Old Norse: A Study of Old English Texts Translated into Old Norse with an Edition of the English and Norse Versions of Ælfric's De Falsis Diis* (Oxford: The Society for the Study of Medieval Languages and Literature, 2016).

5 Clemoes, pp. 64–97; 134–68.

6 Clemoes, p. 160. This set of manuscripts is considered by Clemoes to be a single collection, based on the use of a single hand across all three manuscripts and the complementary contents of the three volumes p. 41.

7 Clemoes, p. 154.

parts of the manuscript were copied from separate exemplars.[8] Adding an additional level of complication is the fact that many of the codices that almost certainly existed at some point in the past are now simply lost. Clemoes accounts for these in the stemmata by including unlabeled nodes that represent posited manuscripts, and is thus able to argue, for example, that two specific manuscripts likely directly descended from the same now-missing exemplar. As these hypothesized manuscripts necessarily no longer exist, any information about them is at best an educated guess based on extrapolating backwards from their descendants. All of the above issues have resulted in a limited understanding of how all of the Ælfrician manuscripts may connect to one another, as well as how the physical composition of the manuscripts may concern the information contained within them. As mentioned above, individual scholars have recently begun to focus more on this issue, working with a small number of manuscripts at a time to create a more refined image of how these manuscripts may be related to one another.

The Manuscripts

The two volumes I focus on here are Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 340 and 342 (Bodley 340+342) and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 162, pp. 1–138 and 161–564 (CCCC 162). In his edition of Ælfric's First Series, Clemoes concluded that these two manuscripts are not especially closely related to one another: while both manuscripts are at least partially included in the β phase of text, Ælfric's second stage of editing and rearranging, the manuscripts themselves appear on opposite sides of this stemma. Furthermore, according to Clemoes, other parts of Bodley 340+342 are more associated with the α phase of text, while CCCC 162 contains no items associated with this phase.[9] Following this text-based assessment, however, several other scholars have concluded the two manuscripts are rather more closely linked than this: Malcolm Godden, the editor of Ælfric's Second Series of homilies, showed that for certain textual items the readings from Bodley 340+342 and CCCC 162 are exceptionally similar;[10] in an article on the later readers of Ælfric, Treharne claims that the texts of Bodley 340+342 are at least partially derived directly from the texts of CCCC 162;[11] and Donald Scragg notes the existence of a scholarly assumption that CCCC 162 is merely a copy of Bodley 340+342, then argues against this, claiming that although the two manuscripts share many items in common, they are arranged quite dissimilarly. He concedes, however, that the former manuscript is at least partially a copy of the latter, noting that certain items in the two manuscripts are textually very close.[12] Conversely, Lowe disagrees with Scragg's assessment, and through a detailed investigation of the language in the manuscripts determines that the two are more likely sister manuscripts rather than an exemplar/descendant pair.[13] There are therefore firmly established links between these two manuscripts, although scholarly opinion

[8] Kathryn A. Lowe, 'Filling the Silence: Shared Content in Four Related Manuscripts of Ælfric's Catholic Homilies', *Digital Philology: A Journal of Medieval Cultures*, 4.2 (2015), 190–224 (p. 199).

[9] Clemoes, pp. 137–44.

[10] *Æelfric's Catholic Homilies: The Second Series*, ed. by Malcolm Godden (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), p. xxii.

[11] Treharne, 'Making Their Presence Felt: Readers of Ælfric, c. 1050-1350', p. 408.

[12] D. G. Scragg, 'Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 162', in *Studies on Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts and Their Heritage*, ed. by Phillip Pulsiano and Elaine M. Treharne (Aldershot; Brookfield, Vt: Ashgate, 1998), pp. 71–84 (p. 78).

[13] Lowe, pp. 199–200.

is divided on whether or not CCCC 162 in whole or in part is copied from Bodley 340+342 or vice versa. In this article, I use a combination of the approaches mentioned above in order to refine our understanding of this relationship between these two manuscripts. The first approach I take is a brief analysis and comparison of some of the more unusual texts found in the two; the second is an analysis of the decoration found in the manuscripts. Before moving on to the evidence connecting them, I include here a short description of each of the manuscripts; for more thorough descriptions of the individual volumes see Clemoes,[14] Kenneth Sisam's series of three articles on Bodley 340+342,[15] and Scragg's detailed discussion of the texts in CCCC 162.[16]

Bodley 340+342 are a set of two individually bound manuscripts, generally considered to be parts of a single compilation due to their complementary contents: together, the two manuscripts contain texts that cover the entire church year, from Christmas to Advent.[17] In addition to the textual evidence, both volumes are written in the same main hand,[18] and the posited time and location of production is the same for each: most likely Rochester, at the beginning of the eleventh century. Sisam notes that concrete evidence points only to the manuscripts being at Rochester very soon after their creation, and that there is no evidence to exclude outright the possibility that the manuscripts were written at Canterbury and later transferred to Rochester;[19] however, later scholarship has often assumed the creation of the manuscripts to have been at Rochester because of this lack of contradictory evidence. Bodley 340+342 contain primarily Ælfrician texts: Bodley 340 contains thirty-one texts, and Bodley 342 contains forty-one; of these seventy-two texts, all but ten are Ælfrician compositions. The non-Ælfrician texts in the manuscripts are anonymous compositions for various Sundays in Lent; an anonymous life of St Paulinus of Rochester (the inclusion of which provides evidence towards this homiliary being created at Rochester); and texts for the three days preceding Easter, on which Ælfric believed that no preaching should be conducted. This was an idiosyncrasy apparently specific to Ælfric, and I return to this presently for further discussion.[20]

CCCC 162 is a single volume, written in one main hand, likely also produced in either the late-tenth or early-eleventh century, in south-eastern England.[21] The manuscript is bound along with leaves from another Ælfrician manuscript (CCCC 178) as well as a woodblock print placed at the beginning of the homiliary; both additions were made in the modern era by Matthew Parker.[22] As these sections were not present at the time of the manuscript's creation, they are not included in the following discussion. The texts in this manuscript cover holidays and feast days for the church year beginning at the second Sunday after Epiphany,

[14] Clemoes, pp. 7–10, 13–6.

[15] Kenneth Sisam, 'MSS. Bodley 340 and 342: Ælfric's Catholic Homilies', *The Review of English Studi*es, 7.25 (1931), 7–22; Kenneth Sisam, 'MSS. Bodley 340 and 342: Ælfric's Catholic Homilies', *The Review of English Studies*, 8.29 (1932), 51–68; Kenneth Sisam, 'MSS. Bodley 340 and 342: Ælfric's Catholic Homilies', *The Review of English Studies*, 9.33 (1933), 1–12.

[16] Scragg.

[17] Clemoes, p. 8.

[18] Sisam, 'MSS. Bodley 340 and 342 (1931)', p. 10.

[19] Sisam, 'MSS. Bodley 340 and 342 (1931)', p. 11.

[20] Joyce Hill, 'Ælfric's "Silent Days"', *Leeds Studies in English*, 16 (1985), 118–31.

[21] Clemoes, p. 13.

[22] 'Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 162: Old English Homilies', *Parker Library On the Web: Manuscripts in the Parker Library at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge* <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/ft757ht3699>.

and ending at the second Sunday in Advent.[23] CCCC 162 contains fifty-eight items, all but thirteen of which are Ælfrician compositions. As in Bodley 340+342, the non-Ælfrician compositions include texts for the three days preceding Easter; in addition to these, the manuscript contains anonymous homilies for various days in Rogationtide and ends with an imperfect text on St Augustine of Canterbury.[24] Unlike Bodley 340+342, however, which contain only a single homily for any given day, the compiler of CCCC 162 appears to have included multiple versions of homilies for specific days whenever possible. In Scragg's chapter on the manuscript, he presents evidence that the manuscript was compiled in at least three independent blocks of writing, the third and largest block containing all the texts referred to in this article.[25]

Textual Similarities

Twenty-eight texts appear in both CCCC 162 and Bodley 340+342,[26] referred to here by their short titles as assigned by Bruce Mitchell, Christopher Ball and Angus Cameron.[27] Many of the texts that appear in each of the manuscripts occur frequently elsewhere: for example, while Ælfric's homily for Pentecost[28] appears in each of the homiliaries, it is also the most frequently copied text from both series of Ælfric's Catholic Homilies overall, surviving at least in part in sixteen different manuscripts. In addition to *ÆCHom* I, 22, the homiliaries both contain many of Ælfric's homilies for the Sundays following Pentecost, often in a similar or sometimes identical order. However, as these texts are very common, neither their appearance in these manuscripts nor the order in which they appear is necessarily significant. Furthermore, as many of the homilies are titled referencing their purpose for preaching on specific Sundays following Pentecost, placing the homilies in the sequence in which they appear here was not necessarily an active decision made by the compiler as much as it was simply following the church calendar and order as suggested by the texts.

More unusual, and therefore more enlightening, are those texts in the homiliaries that are not attributed to Ælfric. Both Bodley 340+342 and CCCC 162 contain several non-Ælfrician, anonymous texts, and both manuscripts in fact contain four of the same anonymous homilies. In both, these texts are the four homilies that appear directly before Ælfric's Easter-related homilies (here defined as Ælfric's Easter homily, Ælfric's Palm Sunday homily, and Ælfric's homilies for the two Sundays following Easter). The inclusion of these anonymous texts in both Bodley 340+342 and CCCC 162 is likely due to Ælfric's aforementioned belief concerning the days before Easter: he referred to these days as *swig-dagas*, 'silent days',[29] and never composed or included homilies intended to be preached on these days in the

[23] Clemoes, pp. 13–14.

[24] Clemoes, pp. 13–14.

[25] Scragg, p. 76.

[26] The Ælfrician texts that occur in both CCCC 162 and Bodley 340+342 are as follows: *ÆCHom* I, 1; *ÆCHom* I, 8; *ÆCHom* I, 10; *ÆCHom* I, 11; *ÆCHom* I, 16; *ÆCHom* I, 17; *ÆCHom* I, 19; *ÆCHom* I, 20; *ÆCHom* I, 22; *ÆCHom* I, 23; *ÆCHom* I, 24; *ÆCHom* I, 28; *ÆCHom* I, 33; *ÆCHom* I, 35; *ÆCHom* I, 39; *ÆCHom* I, 40; *ÆCHom* II, 5; *ÆCHom* II, 6; *ÆCHom* II, 19; *ÆCHom* II, 24; *ÆCHom* II, 26; *ÆCHom* II, 27; *ÆCHom* II, 28; *ÆCHom* II, 31. In addition to these, each manuscript also contains the same four anonymous homilies mentioned in the body of the text.

[27] Bruce Mitchell, Christopher Ball, and Angus Cameron, 'Short Titles of Old English Texts', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 4 (1975), 207–21.

[28] *ÆCHom I*, 22.

[29] Hill, p. 118.

manuscripts that he had supervision over. Ælfric's reasons for this belief are unknown, and based on the surviving evidence, it appears to have been unique: in almost all manuscripts containing Ælfric's texts for Easter, compilers have supplemented the Ælfrician collection with anonymous homilies for the days preceding Easter itself, against Ælfric's explicit requests found in his English preface not to include additional texts alongside his own.[30]

Both of the homiliaries discussed in this paper fill this gap with identical selections of anonymous homilies. In CCCC 162 and Bodley 340+342, the anonymous texts that appear in both sets of manuscripts are as follows: an anonymous homily referred to as *In cena domini* (*HomS* 22), an anonymous homily intended for preaching on Good Friday (*HomS* 24 *In parasceve*), an anonymous homily on Holy Saturday (*HomS* 25 *In sabbato sancto*), and an anonymous homily on Palm Sunday (*HomS* 18 *In dominica palmarum*). These are not especially common homilies, but they are found elsewhere; *HomS* 22 appears in three other manuscripts: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 198; Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 302; and British Library, Cotton Faustina A. ix; according to Lowe, further anonymous homilies for this day survive in an additional two manuscripts.[31] *HomS* 24 appears in two other Ælfrician manuscripts, as well as in the Vercelli Book, a manuscript completely unrelated to the Ælfrician textual tradition;[32] *HomS* 25 appears in only one other manuscript; as does this version of a homily for Palm Sunday (*HomS* 18). While these anonymous vernacular homilies do exist in multiple manuscripts, the number of manuscripts in which they occur is still low compared to the frequency with which Ælfrician texts survive. That all four texts exist in the same two homiliaries is thus noteworthy. Furthermore, the compilers of both CCCC 162 and Bodley 340+342 very likely had access to multiple vernacular homilies to select from for inclusion for these dates: two other vernacular versions of a homily similar to *HomS* 22 survive in other manuscripts, and CCCC 162 alone contains two anonymous, vernacular versions of a homily for Palm Sunday, in addition to the Ælfrician one on pp. 305–22. Therefore, not only did the compilers of Bodley 340+342 and CCCC 162 both choose to include non-Ælfrician homilies, they chose to include the very same ones in lieu of any others that may have been available.

The sections of Bodley 340 and CCCC 162 that contain the homily for Easter and its surrounding holy days are highly similar. In both, the sequence of texts runs *HomS* 18, *HomS* 22, *HomS* 24, and *HomS* 25, followed in Bodley 340 by *ÆCHom* I, 15, and another anonymous Palm Sunday homily, *HomS* 27, in CCCC 162. Both manuscripts then converge once again with *ÆCHom* I, 16 and *ÆCHom* I, 17. Furthermore, based on textual evidence in CCCC 162, it is likely that these sections were originally intended by their compilers to be identical. As it stands, the two passages are identical, save CCCC 162's inclusion of a second anonymous Palm Sunday homily in place of an Easter homily. However, this difference likely does not represent a deviation in the intended order of texts between the two manuscripts, but rather an instance of scribal error: the text following the Holy Saturday homily was most probably intended to be Ælfric's Easter homily. There are several pieces of evidence that indicate that the inclusion here of the second Palm Sunday homily was an error: first, and perhaps most convincingly, the rubricator of CCCC 162 rubricated the second Palm Sunday homily in CCCC 162 as *In die sancto pasce*, either assuming that a text on Easter Sunday would logically be included here, or perhaps working from an exemplar that did place an Easter

[30] Lowe, p. 191.
[31] Lowe, p. 220.
[32] Lowe, p. 200.

Sunday text in that position. Furthermore, the inclusion of an additional Palm Sunday homily following a homily on Holy Saturday makes no sense when viewed in the context of the rest of the manuscript: the date of Palm Sunday, as a moveable feast in the church year, is without fail one week before Easter. The rest of the manuscript is laid out in an orderly fashion in accordance with the church calendar; a deviation of this level would be a highly unusual choice on the part of the compiler. Finally, in every other manuscript containing Ælfrician texts that also includes a text on Palm Sunday, Ælfric's homily on Easter, *ÆCHom* I, 15, either follows this Palm Sunday homily immediately, or is separated from the homily only by texts for the days falling between the two Sundays in the church year (Good Friday, Holy Saturday, etc.). There is no convincing reason to believe that in CCCC 162, the compiler made a decision that differs so dramatically from both all other surviving compilations and the logical progression of the church calendar. Taking these pieces of evidence into account, we must believe that this sequence, as planned, was intended to have been identical in Bodley 340+342 and CCCC 162. Therefore it is likely that both manuscripts aimed to produce the following set of texts: *HomS* 18; *HomS* 22; *HomS* 24; *HomS* 25; *ÆCHom* I, 15; *ÆCHom* I, 16; and *ÆCHom* I, 17. Because of either compiler or scribal error, this sequence was not achieved in both.

Decorative Evidence

It is well established that certain aspects of the physical appearance of manuscripts were copied alongside texts, including multiple examples of especially elaborate and carefully decorated initials. Such examples include an almost-identically constructed **H** in two manuscripts created at the nearby centers of Christ Church and St Augustine's;[33] foliate designs associated with the beginnings of certain texts, e.g. the large **B** and following display script beginning Psalm I in several manuscripts;[34] and complex ruling patterns, especially when copying biblical texts with many layers of marginal commentary meant to accompany them.[35] However, neither Bodley 340+342 nor CCCC 162 are especially luxurious manuscripts, as is to be expected from vernacular homiliaries from this period: according to Gameson, 'Anglo-Saxon reading books and homiliaries — the majority of the extant material in Old English — were not by and large decorated'.[36] That said, despite this overall dearth of decoration in vernacular manuscripts, decorated initials were 'within the reach of almost any scriptorium',[37] and are found in each of these two homiliaries, generally to signify textual boundaries or changes in language used in the body of the text.

There are many common elements between the two manuscripts: enlarged initials, the use of colored inks, and decorated letters indicating the beginnings of individual texts appear throughout each. In both, the vast majority of the decorative elements are concerned with the demarcation of individual texts, more specifically used to signal clearly to the reader that a new text has begun. Individual texts in these manuscripts follow a somewhat standard layout for an Old English prose text in this period: they begin on a new line, generally with a Latin

[33] Richard Gameson, 'Book Decoration in England, c. 871–c. 1100', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, ed. by Richard Gameson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), ɪ, 249–93 (p. 261).

[34] Richard Gameson, 'English Manuscript Art in the Mid-Eleventh Century: The Decorative Tradition', *The Antiquaries Journal*, 71 (1991), 64–122 (p. 81).

[35] Malcolm Beckwith Parkes, 'Layout and Presentation of the Text', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, ed. by Richard Gameson, 5 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), ɪ, 55–74 (p. 61).

[36] Gameson, 'Book Decoration in England', p. 287.

[37] Gameson, 'Book Decoration in England', p. 287.

title or rubric written in red ink. Following this, many of the texts contain a short Latin *incipit* relating to or introducing the Old English text, written in dark brown/black ink, and sometimes written in a different style of script from the Old English. The first letter of this *incipit* is often written in colored ink and enlarged slightly in comparison to other majuscule letters in the text. Following this is the beginning of the Old English text, the body of which is also written in dark brown ink. The first letter, or letters, of this text may be enlarged, written in colored ink, or elaborated upon with decorative features. Only very rarely in Bodley 340+342 are these text-opening initial letters decorated with zoomorphic forms; no zoomorphic decorations are present in CCCC 162.

To analyze the decorations found in these manuscripts, I use a set of criteria that allows me to discuss aspects of decoration in a quantifiable way, specifically with regards to enlarged initials. This method of scoring concerns only enlarged initials, and not any other aspects of decoration or quality of the manuscript. This 'score' is therefore reflective of the incidence of enlarged or decorated initials only, and is more illustrative in manuscripts with a larger number of decorated letters: a manuscript with only two or three highly decorated initials may appear from its 'score' to be a more decorated manuscript overall than one with a great deal more decorated letters, each of which is less elaborate. The decoration level should therefore be seen as a tool indicating areas of interest and further investigation, rather than an end in and of itself. Both manuscripts discussed here have a fairly high number of decorated initials, 102 in Bodley 340+342 and 93 in CCCC 162, making a cross-manuscript comparison of this type appropriate. This methodology has been developed following on from Johanna Green's work on the Exeter Book,[38] in which she uses the size and distribution of *litterae notabiliores*, among other textual evidence, to argue that *Judgement Day I*, *Resignation A*, and *Resignation B* were intended as a single conceptual unit within the manuscript. The work is also indebted to Murray J. Evans' monograph that uses statistical analysis to assess the implications of genre on manuscript decoration: in the monograph, Evans concludes using this analysis that texts described generically as romances are indeed more decorated overall than texts of other genres; he further determines that this conclusion holds true regardless of where the text appears in the manuscript.[39] In addition to these two pieces of work, there have been a number of other studies using decorative — and importantly, *non-illustrative* — information to determine manuscript relations: a similar methodology developed by Ruth Carroll and others has been used to analyze the physical appearance of the manuscript page in a way that allows for the 'visual pragmatics' of the page to be read, defined as 'anything on the page that adds meaning to the linguistic message';[40] Keskiaho has used written marginalia appearing in copies of Augustine's *De Civitate Dei* to refine manuscript stemmata;[41] and an illustrated border in a nineteenth-century manuscript containing *Njáls saga* has been identified as originating from a 1772 edition.[42] What differentiates the methodology used for the

[38] 'Judgement Day I, Resignation A and Resignation B: A Conceptual Unit in the Exeter Book' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Glasgow, 2012) <http://theses.gla.ac.uk/3725/>.

[39] *Rereading Middle English Romance Manuscript Layout, Decoration, and the Rhetoric of Composite Structu*re (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995).

[40] 'Pragmatics on the Page', *European Journal of English Studies*, 17.1 (2013), 54–71 (p. 56).

[41] Keskiaho, Jesse, 'Copied Marginal Annotations and the Early History of Augustine's "De Civitate Dei"', *Augustiniana*, 2, 2019, 277–98.

[42] Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, 'Introduction', in *New Studies in the Manuscript Tradition of Njáls Saga: The Historia Mutila of Njála*, ed. by Emily Lethbridge and Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2018), pp. xiii–xxiii (p. xviii).

current study is its combination of qualitative measurements as well as its application in further creation of Ælfrician manuscript stemmata: this study allows the transmission of texts and manuscripts to be tracked in a way not otherwise possible in generally undecorated homiliaries. I determined the most relevant aspects in Ælfrician manuscripts to be the size, color, and level of decoration of each of the decorated letters in Bodley 340+342 and CCCC 162. The size of each initial was measured in line height, and the color was noted (red, green, a combination of two, etc.); these aspects of quantification are straightforward and thus easy to record and compare. The level of decoration of a letter, however, is more abstract and thus more difficult to quantify with a single descriptive word. In order to facilitate a straightforward analysis of the data, I created a set of five categories, with the numbers 1–5 describing the amount of elaboration on each initial. Table 1 contains a further description of what each of these numbers represent. These numbers are assigned to the letters that begin texts, as well as any letters throughout the entire manuscript that are enlarged, written in colored ink, or any combination of the above characteristics. It should be noted that all levels of decoration are determined within the Ælfrician First Series manuscript corpus alone, and not compared to other surviving manuscripts written in Old English: a letter that is quite heavily elaborated in an Ælfrician manuscript would likely appear somewhat lacklustre in comparison with one from a more elaborate Old English manuscript.

Numerical value	**Description of letter**
1	The letter is not decorated at all and is written in much the same style as an average majuscule letter in the body of the text.
2	The letter is very slightly decorated: a single foliate sprig, or a single dot along a pen-stroke, for example.
3	The letter is somewhat decorated: more elaborate than a letter with a value of 2 (but not especially so), and not exhibiting the more intricate features of a letter with a value of 4.
4	The letter is very heavily decorated, often with multiple colors of ink. Despite its high level of decoration, the letter is neither illuminated nor elaborated upon with zoomorphic forms.
5	The letter incorporates zoomorphic motifs and is thus the rarest and most highly decorated type of letter in the manuscripts.

Table 1: categories of decoration.

By assigning these values to every enlarged, decorated, or colored initial in each of the manuscripts discussed here, individual initials can be compared with a degree of specificity. In addition to this, an average overall 'decoration level' of the initials from each manuscript may be determined by finding the average of the values of each decorated initial. This resulting decoration level then gives an at-a-glance impression of the extent to which the manuscript is decorated in comparison to the other manuscripts in the corpus. All Ælfrician First Series manuscripts were assessed in this way; several additional vernacular manuscripts from the period were also scored. My recently submitted doctoral thesis considers the full set of First Series manuscripts in this way, and provides more information and context regarding these 'scores'.

Bodley 340+342 is a relatively heavily decorated homiliary, and the two volumes make up the second and third most decorated manuscripts in the corpus. As Old English homiliaries were only rarely decorated,[43] heavily decorated text-beginning letters (especially zoomorphic ones) are extremely uncommon within these manuscripts. However, between the two volumes of this homiliary, seven letters are elaborated upon with zoomorphic motifs. Only one of the seven initials are to be found in Bodley 340 and it appears at the very beginning of the manuscript;[44] all of the remaining initials with a decoration value of 5 occur in Bodley 342, perhaps indicating that different decorators were available during the production of the two volumes. This supposition is complicated by the fact that a single main hand wrote the majority of the two;[45] it is possible, then, that whoever supervised the manuscript's creation may have requested more elaboration in the second portion of the homiliary. The zoomorphic initials are of several different types: some, like those decorating the beginning of each volume, use beasts' heads and terminal foliate designs to elaborate upon the basic shape of the letter. In others, the form of the letter in some is composed entirely of animals, such as the **S** on f. 21r, which is made up of two winged beasts attached at the tail. These distinctively decorated letters, along with the other highly decorated letters in the manuscript, give Bodley 340+342 an overall decoration level of 2.28, making it the second most decorated homiliary amongst all manuscripts containing Ælfric's First Series of Catholic Homilies. The only First Series manuscript with a higher decoration level than Bodley 340+342 is London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian D. xiv, ff. 4–169, an especially late manuscript, produced s. xii^{med}, that contains a high percentage of non-Ælfrician texts.[46]

CCCC 162 does not contain any zoomorphic illustrations similar to those found in Bodley 340+342. However, the manuscript does contain a high number of initials that are relatively intricately decorated, with many using foliate designs, dots, and *fleurs-de-lys* to elaborate upon the basic letter-forms. The level of decoration found in most of the text-beginning initials in this manuscript is unusual within the Ælfrician First Series corpus: of the 93 enlarged or decorated letters within the manuscript, 44 have a decoration level of 3 or 4. Because of the high number of finely decorated letters included within it, CCCC 162 has an overall decoration level of 2.2, only very slightly less than that of Bodley 340+342, making it the third most decorated manuscript within the Ælfrician First Series corpus.

In addition to this broad approach, a closer investigation into certain individual letters in the manuscripts reveals further similarities. As mentioned above, *ÆCHom* I, 22 is one of Ælfric's most frequently surviving works, and appears in part in sixteen manuscripts. Because of the text's wide distribution and high level of occurrence in surviving manuscripts, it is possible to conduct a comparative analysis on this single homily. For the purposes of the present study, the subject of focus is the letter that begins the Old English text of the homily, which is **F** in all instances of the text (the body of the text begins with some variation of *Fram þam halgan easterlican dæge* in all manuscripts). The **F**s that begin this homily vary quite widely across all the texts, from as short as 2.5 lines in height to as tall as 8; and from decoration levels ranging from 1 to 5. The **F**s that begin *ÆCHom* I, 22 in Bodley 340+342

[43] Gameson, 'Book Decoration in England', p. 287.

[44] The seven initials that are decorated in this manner are as follows: **H** in Bodley 340 on f. 1^{r}; **A** in Bodley 342 on f. 1^{r}; **S** in Bodley 342 on f. 21^{r}; **F** in Bodley 342 on f. 57^{r}; **D** in Bodley 342 on f. 110^{v}; **D** in Bodley 340 on f. 127^{v}; **U** in Bodley 342 on f. 135^{r}.

[45] Sisam, 'MSS. Bodley 340 and 342 (1931)', p. 10.

[46] Clemoes, p. 16.

and CCCC 162, however, share several key similarities not found amongst the other initials in the corpus.

In Bodley 342, *ÆCHom* I, 22 begins at the top of the first page of a new quire on f. 57r. This **F** is very large in comparison to the other initials in the manuscript: the letter is 7.5 lines tall, while the average size of enlarged or decorated letters across the entire manuscript is only 2.9 lines tall. For further context, the only letter in the entire manuscript larger than this is the **A** that opens the manuscript, which is ten lines tall; the next largest letter after the **F** opening *ÆCHom* I, 22 is another **F** on f. 147v, this one only six lines tall. In addition to its unusual size, this **F** on f. 57r is also the most elaborately decorated letter in the entire manuscript, as well as perhaps in the entire corpus of Ælfrician manuscripts as a whole. This **F** is most similar to one of Wormald's Type I initials: 'a letter constructed, at least partially, from complete or near-complete representations of animals and birds'.[47] Despite the frequency of letters of this type from the first half of the tenth century through the late Anglo-Saxon period, very few other initials of this type exist in the corpus. The body of this **F** is composed of a line drawing done in black ink, beginning with the head and body of a bird-like beast, with wings and a beak; the tail of the beast is extended several lines down into the left-hand margin, and ends with a flourish. The lower arm of the **F** is created by another winged beast, more dragon-like than bird-like, biting the tail of the bird-like beast. The dragon-like beast's body also ends with penwork flourishes.

In CCCC 162, *ÆCHom* I, 22 begins mid-quire on p. 441. *ÆCHom* I, 22 does not begin at the top of a new page in this manuscript: the rubric of the homily occurs in the third line, and the enlarged initial and text itself begins on the fourth line of the page. Despite this difference, the text-beginning initial is exceptionally large in this manuscript as well, at 8.5 lines tall. The only larger letter in this manuscript is, as in Bodley 342, the text-beginning **A** that opens the first text in the manuscript on p. 1, at nine lines in height. The **F** beginning *ÆCHom* I, 22 is not particularly intricately decorated in comparison to some of the other initials in the manuscript, with a decoration level of only 3, but its unusual size marks it as different from the other text-beginning initials in the manuscript. The letter is written in green ink, with the body of the letter split down the middle by a strip where parchment has been allowed to show through; this split continues along the arms of the **F**, giving the impression of a smaller **F** made of negative space within the larger green one. The ends of the arms and body of the **F** are finished with flourishes, also in green; as with the **F** in Bodley 342, a decorative descender on the bottom of the letter extends far down the left-hand margin of the page.

This decorative descender found in both in CCCC 162 and Bodley 340+342 merits further discussion. It is by no means a standard feature of the **F**s within the corpus: in all of the versions of this homily, only three begin with an **F** that could be described as having an element of decoration that descends into the left-hand margin of the page. The third manuscript that has a descender of this sort is Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 343, another late manuscript posited to have been created in the second half of the twelfth century.[48] Of the remaining thirteen manuscripts that contain all or part of *ÆCHom* I, 22, two of them are incomplete or lacking the text-beginning letter completely,[49] and the other eleven have standard or decorated

[47] Richard Gameson, 'The Decoration of the Tanner Bede', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 21 (1992), 115–59 (p. 116).

[48] Clemoes, p. 1.

[49] The two manuscripts are London, Lambeth Palace 487, where space has been left for an enlarged initial that has not been written in; and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 188, where the text begins imperfectly on p. 211, with no title or proper beginning of the text.

serifs at the bottom of the letters rather than a flourish that descends into the left-hand margin. Even in another manuscript that contains many of the same anonymous texts as these two, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 198, the **F** beginning *ÆCHom* I, 22 is very different from these two: the **F** in CCCC 198 is only four lines tall (a tie with seven other enlarged initials for the undistinguished spot of joint-fifth-tallest initial height in the manuscript), with no decoration at all aside from a very thin line of negative space down the body of the **F** itself. Unlike the **F**s in Bodley 342 and CCCC 162, which are unusual in their size, decoration, or both, the **F** in CCCC 198 is neither one of the largest nor one of the most decorated letters in the manuscript. Indeed, this appears to be the case for most of the other **F**s: while Pentecost was clearly an important date for preaching (as indicated by the text's frequent inclusion within these homiliaries), none of the other **F**s that begin the homily occupy such a unique position in the manuscript as the two in Bodley 342 and CCCC 162.

A further similarity between the two **F**s is their appearance in relation to the other text-beginning letters in the two manuscripts. That the initials on these pages in Bodley 340+342 and CCCC 162 are larger than all others is to be expected, considering that the first pages of manuscripts are frequently the most intricately and elaborately decorated. What is more surprising is that *ÆCHom* I, 22 has been given almost equal prominence in both Bodley 342 and CCCC 162, despite this prominence not occurring in any of the other manuscripts that contain this text. In Bodley 342, *ÆCHom* I, 22 starts at the beginning of a new quire, which could perhaps partly explain the emphasis paid to the letter: it is conceivable that whoever was in charge of decorating the start of a new quire may have been struck with additional vigour for the task. However, the **F** in CCCC 162 does not begin at the start of a quire, but rather in the middle of a stint of writing. Someone involved in the production of CCCC 162 clearly considered the Pentecost homily significant, giving it an uncommonly large opening-initial, despite its otherwise unremarkable nature in both its content and positioning within the manuscript.

There are two possible interpretations, then, of the motivation behind the creation of this highly decorated **F** in CCCC 162. The first possibility is that it was simply happenstance: during the long process of decorating a nearly-complete manuscript, an artist decided that a decorative descender was appropriate for this enlarged initial, and the style and size of **F** is only coincidentally similar to another **F** from another manuscript; both decorators independently decided to place similar visual importance on the two texts in a manner that is otherwise unique in all other instances of the homily in the Ælfrician corpus. The alternative, and perhaps the more likely, interpretation is that these two manuscripts are very closely related in a manner revealed by the similarities between the two **F**s. As suggested by Scragg, despite the thoughtful and original compilation of CCCC 162, parts of the manuscript were indeed likely copied from Bodley 340+342. In addition to the textual evidence for this relationship discussed by Scragg, Clemoes, Godden, and others, this similarity found in the two *ÆCHom* I, 22 **F**s adds another type of evidence: not only that the two manuscripts are indeed related, but that the scribe responsible for the decorated initials in CCCC 162 was directly inspired by the visual cues set by the scribe of Bodley 340+342. This would explain both the high level of similarity in the texts found between the two manuscripts, as well as the appearance of the **F** in CCCC 162. Of course, there are complications to this claim: as very often multiple manuscripts were used as exemplars when creating a new manuscript, Bodley 340+342 and CCCC 162 share connections with many other manuscripts as well as with each other. It is also possible that rather than one being a direct copy of the other, they both stem from a single lost exemplar that

contained a similarly exceptional **F**, and it is mere coincidence that *ÆCHom* I, 22 begins at the start of a new quire in Bodley 342; this theory would therefore adhere more closely to Lowe's posited stemma.[50] This would also perhaps indicate that no other surviving manuscripts were copied from this lost exemplar, or all other daughter manuscripts disregarded this enlarged **F**. Regardless, whether the manuscripts are an exemplar/descendant pair or sisters, they appear to be very closely related. The similarity between these two **F**s of course does not necessarily provide definitive proof for one posited stemma over the other; however, the similarity of the **F** in each provides a new detail within the body of evidence concerning how the two volumes may be related.

Conclusion

In this article, I have described how combining two often disparate approaches to manuscript analysis can provide us with a new angle of inquiry, even towards manuscripts for which a great body of scholarly work already exists. Through a combination of textual comparison and an analysis of decoration, I have noted a combination of textual and visual similarities between Bodley 340+342 and CCCC 162 that do not exist in any other Ælfrician First Series manuscripts, supplying an additional piece of evidence for the argument that the two manuscripts share a particularly strong link. The scribes that worked on these relatively simple manuscripts did not fundamentally change the way in which they copied texts and produced manuscripts when creating these volumes: the scribes and rubricators took visual inspiration when copying even these less-elaborate initials, and carried exceptional letters from manuscript to manuscript along with the texts. By investigating these simpler text-beginning initials in the same manner one would treat a more elaborate decorative composition, we can construct a complementary relational stemma that augments those created through more traditional methods. This is especially useful in cases such as this, where despite the centuries of scholarly interest in Ælfric and his works, there are still many unknowns concerning how the manuscripts were created and what networks of scriptoria they moved through. Even though these vernacular homiliaries may be less visually impressive than other manuscripts from the period, it is well worth our time to investigate the decorative features they do contain, in Ælfrician manuscripts as well as others: this approach may be applied to any codex with any level of extra-textual elaboration, no matter how minimal. Rather than treating these less-decorated manuscripts as simply physical objects from which important texts are to be extracted, a closer look at the decorative aspects that do exist can reveal intriguing similarities that may otherwise have gone unnoticed.

[50] Lowe, p. 200.

An Anglo-Norman Treatise on the Mass: An Edition

Charles Roe

Abstract

This article examines the textual history of a treatise in Anglo-Norman French containing instructions for meditation during mass directed at the laity. The treatise has received scarce previous study. The article consists of a thorough study of the treatise's textual history, which includes its frequent abridgement and excerption, and mistaken listing as three separate texts in Dean (720–22), as well as brief observations on the treatise's language. It further provides a best-text edition of the only surviving version of the treatise in its unabbreviated form, corrected against the other manuscripts in clear cases of error.

Introduction

It has become widely known that the Fourth Lateran Council encouraged a proliferation of works of religious instruction in thirteenth-century western Europe.[1] This movement produced some of the most widely circulated Latin texts in medieval Europe, along with the most widely copied and influential French texts in thirteenth-century England.[2] One of the greatest successes in the close aftermath of Lateran IV was the *Mirour de Seinte Eglyse*. The *Mirour* is an Anglo-Norman French translation of the *Speculum religiosorum*, an instructive and devotional treatise on the life of faith originally composed for professional religious by

[1] The classic summary accounts of this phenomenon are Leonard E. Boyle, 'The Fourth Lateran Council and Manuals of Popular Theology', in *The Popular Literature of Medieval England*, ed. by Thomas J. Heffernan, Tennessee Studies in Literature, 28 (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1985), pp. 30–43, and Leonard E. Boyle, 'The Inter-Conciliar Period 1179–1215 and the Beginnings of Pastoral Manuals', in *Miscellanea, Rolando Bandinelli, Papa Alessandro III*, ed. by Filippo Liota (Siena: Accademia Sienese degli intronati, 1986), pp. 45–56. A useful recent overview of some aspects of this development in England can be found in Andrew Reeve, *Religious Education in Thirteenth-Century England: The Creed and the Articles of Faith*, Education and Society in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, 50 (Leiden: Brill, 2015). Thanks are due to the British Library; Westminster Abbey; Emmanuel College, Cambridge; Corpus Christi College, Oxford; the Fitzwilliam Museum Cambridge; and the Bibliothèque nationale de France for use of their collections.

[2] See Boyle, 'Fourth Lateran', and Boyle, 'Inter-Conciliar', along with Ian Short, *Manual of Anglo-Norman*, 2nd edn, Anglo-Norman Text Society, Occasional Publications Series, 8 (Oxford: Anglo-Norman Text Society, 2013), p. 41; M. Dominica Legge, *Anglo-Norman Literature and its Background* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963); and the texts edited in *'Cher Alme': Texts of Anglo-Norman Piety*, ed. by Tony Hunt with trans. by Jane Bliss, French of England Translation Series, Occasional Publication Series, 1 (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2010).

Leeds Medieval Studies, 1 (2021), 31–48. DOI: 10.57686/256204/2 (ISSN: Print 2754-4575/ Online 2754-4583)
© 2021 Charles Roe (ORCID iD: 0000-0002-1087-6781)
This work is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International License

Edmund of Abingdon (Archbishop of Canterbury 1233–1240, canonised 1246). The French *Mirour* saw a much wider circulation than the Latin *Speculum* in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and became the basis for both a further translation back into Latin, which itself saw extensive circulation, and a series of Middle English adaptations.[3] The Anglo-Norman French text itself is one of the most widely extant in the corpus, surviving in at least twenty-eight manuscripts and fragments.

One curiosity of the *Mirour* is its treatment of the mass. The Fourth Lateran Council's first canon sets the Eucharist at the heart of the Church:

> Una vero est fidelium universalis ecclesia, extra quam nullus omnino salvatur, in qua idem ipse sacerdos et sacrificium Iesus Christus, cuius corpus et sanguis in sacramento altaris sub speciebus panis et vini veraciter continentur, transsubstantiatis pane in corpus et vino in sanguinem potestate divina, ut ad perficiendum mysterium unitatis accipiamus ipsi de suo, quod accepit ipse de nostro.
>
> The universal Church of the faithful is one, outside of which absolutely no one is saved, in which is that same priest and sacrifice Jesus Christ, whose body and blood are truly contained in the sacrament of the altar under the species of bread and wine, with the bread transubstantiated into the body and the wine into the blood by divine power, so that to the fulfilment of the mystery of unity we may take up from him of himself that which he took up himself from us.[4]

Considering the primacy of the Eucharist in the Council's canons, the *Mirour* treats it with surprisingly little emphasis. It briefly lists it as one of the sacraments, 'le sacrement de l'auter, ke conferme le penant e le done force k'il ne rechete autrefie en peché, e le susteint, e le recunsile' ('the sacrament of the altar, which confirms the penitent and gives him strength that he might not fall again into sin, and sustains him, and reconciles him'), and only grants it further elucidation towards the end of the text, in the course of a meditation on the Last Supper.[5] There it urges consideration of Christ's delivery of the sacrament: 'de la cene devez penser coment a tele hore dona Nostre Seygnur son cors e son sanc en semblance de payn e de vin, ke nus pouns ver e le verray cors e le verray sanc Jhesu Crist, ke nus ne pouns pas ver de oil charnel' ('regarding the Last Supper you ought to think how at that hour Our Lord gave his body and his blood in the semblance of bread and of wine, so that we might see both the true body and the true blood of Jesus Christ, which we cannot see with our fleshly eye'). It further addresses the grace to be received in the sacrament as offered by the Church, with a brief rationale for its institution:

> Pur ço ke nus averyuns hydur [quant] a nostre cors pur manger char e beyvre sanc de homme, pur ço nus dona il sun cors e son sanc en semblance de payn e de vyn, pur conforter nostre sen corporel par teu manger ke nus sumus a hus de ver, e pur edifier nostre fey, par ço ke nus veums une chose e creums un' autre. E pur ço kant vus devez aprocher l'auter pur estre acomuyngnee, ausi recevez ilokes cel sacrament cum si vus le receussez tut droyt hors de sun costé.

[3] An overview of Edmund's life and the text's history can be found in Edmund of Abingdon, *Speculum religiosorum and Speculum ecclesie*, ed. by Helen P. Forshaw, Auctores britannici medii aevi, 3 (London: Oxford University Press, 1973) and *Mirour de Seinte Eglyse*, ed. by A. D. Wilshere, Anglo-Norman Text Society, 40 (London: Anglo-Norman Text Society, 1982); these are supplemented by C. H. Lawrence, *St. Edmund of Abingdon: A Study in Hagiography and History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960).

[4] 'Fourth Lateran Council', in *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, ed. by Norman P. Tanner, 2 vols (London: Sheed and Ward, 1990), I 227–71 (230); my own translation.

[5] *Mirour*, pp. 36–38; my own translation.

> Given that we would have horror in our bodies at the prospect of eating the flesh and drinking the blood of a man, on this account he gave us his body and his blood in the semblance of bread and of wine, to comfort our corporal senses with such sustenance as we are accustomed to seeing, and to edify our faith, on the basis that we see one thing and believe another. And, therefore, when you are to approach the altar to receive communion, receive this sacrament as if you received it straight out of his side.[6]

The *Mirour*'s audience clearly desired a treatment of such a fundamental subject which was more complete than these passing references. Wilshere edits two versions of the *Mirour*, the 'A-text' quoted here, and a 'B-text', which he understands to be a revised form of the treatise, prepared with a lay audience in mind. One respect in which his 'B-text' diverges most fully from his 'A-text' is its expansion of the summary of the Seven Sacraments; this has the result that the Eucharist is introduced more thoroughly on its first treatment in the text, with attention to the Last Supper, the exclusive ability for a priest to perform the consecration, and the demand for annual communion at Easter instituted at Lateran IV.[7]

This article provides an edition of a similar attempt to remedy this perceived defect in the *Mirour* — a set of instructions for a lay person to follow when hearing mass, which is appended to four copies of the 'A-text'. These instructions take the form of an Anglo-Norman French prose text which explains Christ's institution of the sacrament and consists of directions in which members of a congregation should turn their thoughts 'a chekune parcele de la messe' ('at each part of the mass') that their devotion might 'estre esprise par bone pensés' ('be kindled with good thoughts') (l. 18). It is not directed towards the ordained, as it expects its audience to be viewing the mass without taking a direct role in the celebration, and to be 'acumonié espiritalement tut ne recevez vus pas veablement le sacrement' ('in receipt of communion spiritually, albeit that you do not receive the sacrament visibly') (l. 123). In Dean and Boulton's *Anglo-Norman Literature*, the text is listed as items 720, 721, and 722; this article establishes that these three entries are in fact different forms of a single text.[8]

This text has only received sustained scholarly attention in the abbreviated form found in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS f. fr. 13342 (listed as Dean 722). This version of the treatise is reduced to a series of captions which accompany illustrations of the stages of the mass; it has received magisterial attention from Paul Binski under the title 'What to Do and Think at Mass', in relation to the cultivation of a particular clerical and classical *habitus* through thirteenth-century English art, a 'basically clerical agenda of orderliness, doctrinal clarity and decency of behaviour'.[9] Binski identifies 'striking discursive similarities between the instructions in the treatise and the *Mirour* [*de Seinte Eglyse*]', including 'the way in which the Mass is used to provide a series of devotional cues in the text, in the same way as the Hours of the Office are used in the *Mirour*' and 'the integration of catechetical material into devotional activity itself'.[10] Study of the full textual history of the Anglo-Norman treatise reinforces this impression; it appears to be intimately associated with the *Mirour de Seinte Eglyse*. The treatise follows the *Mirour* in four of its six surviving copies; of the other two

[6] *Mirour*, pp. 70–72; my own translation.
[7] See *Mirour*, pp. 37–41.
[8] See Ruth J. Dean and Maureen B. M. Boulton, *Anglo-Norman Literature: A Guide to Texts and Manuscripts*, Anglo-Norman Text Society, Occasional Publications Series, 3 (London: Anglo-Norman Text Society, 1999).
[9] Paul Binski, *Becket's Crown: Art and Imagination in Gothic England, 1170–1300* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), pp. 197–201.
[10] Binski, p. 198.

copies, one survives in a relatively ephemeral form, roughly copied on unbound bifolia with a trilingual vocabulary and some culinary receipts and the other is reduced to a series of excerpts which supplement prayers to be said during mass in a Book of Hours. Two copies feature no distinct visual division between the *Mirour* and the treatise at all. Dean and Boulton go so far as to claim that the original text of the treatise is 'Possibly by St. Edmund Rich whose *Mirour* it follows in three MSS'.[11] This is not impossible, but it is hard to support: the manuscript descriptions in Helen Forshaw's edition of Edmund's original *Speculum religiosorum* do not indicate the presence of any Latin treatment of the Eucharist following the text she edits, all French versions of the *Mirour* clearly emerge from the same translation of that Latin text, and most do not contain this supplement. The simplest explanation for this is that the treatise on the mass was composed in French as an appendix to the French *Mirour* which expands its treatment of the Eucharist in line with its meditations and broader integration of catechesis and devotion. This would suggest a date of origin between the composition of the French *Mirour* (suggested by Wilshere to follow Edmund's canonisation in 1246) and the production of the earliest extant manuscript at the turn of the century.[12] Whilst localisation of any Anglo-Norman text is difficult, given the lack of known regional variation within the dialect, all six of the treatise's extant manuscripts can be placed in the midlands or East Anglia, with the possible exception of BnF MS f. fr. 13342 (see below).

The treatise is relatively precocious for a vernacular treatment of devotions to be undertaken during mass. The Latin tradition of commentary on the mass is long and sophisticated, with prominent contemporary examples including Innocent III's *De mysteriis missae*, William Durandus' *Rationale divinorum officiorum*, and Albertus Magnus' *De sacrificio missae*. This treatise, however, is the most thorough set of Anglo-Norman instructions for hearing mass; other shorter collections of prayers appear in devotional books, including alongside the extracted passages from this treatise in the Carew-Poyntz Hours, but do not constitute a full or widely circulated commentary on the liturgy.[13] Extensive treatments of the Eucharist are found in longer instructional texts, like Robert of Greatham's *Corset* and the *Lumere as lais*, but these explain doctrine rather than guiding lay participation in the service. A more readily comparable tradition of commentary on the mass in English emerged later and lasted until the Reformation.[14] The texts which constitute this tradition have received limited critical attention, but excerpts from most of the more prominent examples can be found in Thomas Frederick Simmons's 1879 edition of the so-called *Lay Folks' Mass Book*. The *Lay Folks' Mass Book* proper, the longest text which Simmons edits and the name of which he invented, is itself is an early northern English contribution to the genre in octosyllabic couplets, which claims to drawn 'In-til englische' ('into English') from a book by 'ane | dam Ieremy was his name, | a deuoute man & a religyus' ('one by the name of Dom Jeremy, a devout man and a religious').[15] Simmons surmises that this indicates an original French text, and he is likely to

[11] Dean and Boulton, entry 720.

[12] See A. D. Wilshere, Introduction to *Mirour de Seinte Eglyse*, ed. by A. D. Wilshere, Anglo-Norman Text Society, 40 (London: Anglo-Norman Text Society, 1982), pp. iii–xlii (xx).

[13] See Dean and Boulton, entries 730–735.

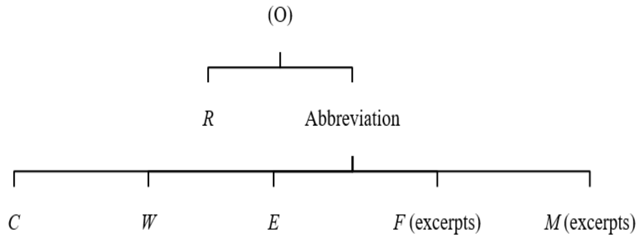
[14] Although limited in its attention to the Anglo-Norman corpus, Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 98–108, thoroughly summarises the Latin and English traditions of exposition for the laity in a much wider context. For a useful collection of Latin tracts, mostly advising priests on saying mass, see *Tracts on the Mass*, ed. by J. Wickham-Legg, Henry Bradshaw Society, 27 (London: Harrison and Sons, 1904).

[15] *The Lay Folks' Mass Book*, ed. by Thomas Frederick Simmons, Early English Text Society, Original Series, 71

be correct given the obvious impracticality of a Latin exposition of the liturgy for the laity; Simmons's hypothetical connection of this French text to a mid-twelfth-century Archdeacon Jeremias who moved between Rouen and York is less convincing given the scarcity of such concentrated devotional instruction in French at such an early date.[16]

Manuscripts

The treatise survives in six manuscripts, in part or in whole. Of the manuscripts listed under Dean 720, London, British Library, Royal MS 12 C. xii (*R*), Oxford, Corpus Christi College MS 36 (*C*), and London, Westminster Abbey MS 34/11 (*W*) provide a complete text of the treatise, while Cambridge, Emmanuel College MS 106 (*E*) provides only the opening section; of these, Royal 12 C. xii offers a distinct and longer version of the text. The Carew-Poyntz Hours (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum MS 48 (*M*)), listed under Dean 721, offers sections excerpted from the shorter version of the treatise, while the captions which accompany illustrations of various stages of the mass in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS f. fr. 13342 (*F*), listed as Dean 722, are another set of excerpts from the shorter version.



R: London, British Library, Royal MS 12 C.xii is celebrated for its anglicana hand (shared with London, British Library, Harley MSS 2253 and 273) thought to be that of the 'parish chaplain in Virgin's Chapel in the Parish Church of St Bartholomew' near Ludlow, and for its sole witness to *Fouke le fitz Warin*.[17] Its 123 folios (230 x 150mm) unite a broad array of texts in Latin, French, and English, including an office for Thomas of Lancaster, charters in favour of the Hospitallers, satirical verses, medical notes, recipes, prognostications, *Fouke le fitz Waryn*, a unique version of the short English metrical chronicle, *Amys e Amillyoun*, and the astronomical *Liber experimentarius*; a relatively thorough description can be found in the most recent edition of *Fouke le fitz Waryn*.[18] The book is composed of eight booklets, one of which is constituted by the *Mirour de Seinte Eglyse* and the treatise on the mass. This particular booklet was clearly produced as a separate undertaking, as the text is presented in two different textualis hands on a parchment slightly stiffer than that found elsewhere in the book, and the *Mirour* opens with the only historiated initial in the entire manuscript. Carter

(London: Trübner, 1879), 1. 32 and 2. 17–19.

16 Thomas Frederick Simmons, Introduction to *The Lay Folks' Mass Book*, ed. by Thomas Frederick Simmons, Early English Text Society, Original Series, 71 (London: Trübner, 1879), pp. xvii–lxv (xl–lxi).

17 See Carter Revard, 'Scribe and Provenance', in *Studies in the Harley Manuscript: The Scribes, Contents, and Social Contexts of British Library MS Harley 2253*, ed. by Susanna Fein (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2000), pp. 21–109 for a thorough study of the Harley scribe's career.

18 *Fouke le fitz Waryn*, ed. by E. J. Hathaway et al., Anglo-Norman Text Society, 26–28 (Oxford: Anglo-Norman Text Society, 1975).

Revard suggests that it was obtained 'perhaps the year after' the short metrical chronicle was copied, which would be c. 1317, and observes that 'the last five lines may be in [the scribe's] hand'.[19] The initial contains a damaged image of a bearded man likely to be St Paul, given his presence at the opening of the text in *E* and identity as the apostle whose words '*Videte vocacionem vestram*' are used at the text's opening.[20] The treatise on the mass occurs 30va-32vb, in a close gothic textualis media textus semiquadratus hand. This hand occasionally uses an unusual single compartment *a*, alongside the common textualis two-compartment *a*, which can misleadingly resemble an *n* or *u*; examples of its use can be found in *perdereiaent* (l. 3), *fraunces* (l. 41), *tyrauns* (l. 59), and *nostra* (l. 97). This hand is distinct from the formata hand of the *Mirour*, and the final lines of the treatise are written in an anglicana hand which may be that of the Harley scribe. It is separated into sections with rubricated capitals and headings, red paraph signs, and capitals touched in red.

The text presented in *R* is more extensive than any other which survives. It features a unique long list of the joys of heaven at the sequence, and a more thorough explanation of the various possible conclusions to the mass. It also frequently presents longer clauses than those found in the other manuscripts. Typical examples include:

> Kaunt l'em chaunte Cristeleyson, pensez de la humilité Jesu Crist, coment celui ke fu si haut devint si povere pur vus, e de sa povere nesçaunce, e de la debonereté de sa vie, e de sa dure mort pur vus deliverer de mort, de sa duce resurrectiun, e de sa haute ascensiun
>
> When they sing *Christe eleison*, think of the humility of Jesus Christ, how he who was so high became so poor for you, and of his poor birth, and of the sweetness of his life, and of his hard death to deliver us from death, of his sweet Resurrection, and of his high Ascension. (ll. 31–33)

for the shorter

> Tant cum l'en chante treis feiz *Cristeleyson*, pensez de la humilité de l'incarnaciun, e de la nessance le duz Jesu Crist, e de la debonerté de sa vie e de sa mort, la duçur de sa resurreciun, e de sa assenciun
>
> For as long as they sing *Christe eleison* three times, think of the humility of the Incarnation, and of the birth of sweet Jesus Christ, and of the gracefulness of his life and of his death, the sweetness of his Resurrection, and of his Ascension. (*C* 145rb)

and

> puz parlez a duz Jesu cum a celui ki est ilec prescent en cors, en alme, e en deité, e recummaundez vus e vos amis a lui, e dites lui voz especials bosoines si cum vostre quer desire e si cum vostre cumgé vus aprendra
>
> Then speak to sweet Jesus as if to one who is present there in body, in soul, and in deity, and commend yourself and your friends to him, and tell him your particular needs as your heart desires and as your sense of permission will advise you. (ll. 108–10)

for

> pus parlez od le duz Jesu. Ore comandez li present vus memes e toz vos amis, e dites voz especiaus bosoignes si cum vostre quer vus aprendra
>
> Then speak to sweet Jesus. Now commend to him, present, yourself and all your friends, and tell him your particular needs as your heart will advise you. (*C* 145vb).

[19] Revard, 'Scribe and Provenance', p. 70.
[20] *Mirour*, p. 4.

This is either the result of a very thorough process of *amplificatio* at one point in the text's history, or it suggests that all of the other extant versions are descended from a single abridgement of the longer form of the text witnessed by *R*. The prevalence and irregularity of *R*'s greater prolixity suggests the latter. On this account, *R* is the basis of the text edited here. *R* is also unusual in its reference to 'vostre fraunces' ('your French') (l. 41) which linguistically divides the audience from the clerks attending the altar and from the speaker's voice. This is accompanied by French translations of most of the prayers and canticles the audience are expected to pray privately during the mass where the other texts provide Latin, abridged in every case but *F*. The presence of these translations is likely to reflect the particular social position of the original audience of the quire preserved in *R* and cannot be assumed integral to the longer text of the treatise; it would not be surprising if they are a localised addition.

C: Oxford, Corpus Christi College MS 36 is listed in the surviving mid-fourteenth-century catalogue to the Augustinian priory of Lanthony Secunda, Gloucester, as 'Vnus liber incipiens cum sermonibus. *Dominus ac saluator noster*. et biblioteca in gallic'. magnum volumen'.[21] R. M. Thomson's *Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval Manuscripts of Corpus Christi College Oxford* describes it as a book of '159 leaves (1+158), 290 x 215 […] mm.'[22] Thomson dates the manuscript to the second half of the thirteenth century, where Dean and Boulton specify the last quarter, and Wilshere prefers the beginning of the fourteenth.[23] All of the texts are written in the same textualis media, textus rotundus hand, and the text is clearly divided into sections by red and blue initials, smaller red or blue ones, along with red paraphs and highlighting.

The book contains the French homilies of Maurice de Sully (Dean 587), a set of Latin homilies on the New Testament, the *Mirour de Seinte Eglyse* with the treatise on the mass appended without any break, *The Fifteen Signs of the Day of Judgement* (Dean 639, incomplete), and the *Poème anglo-normand sur l'Ancien Testament* edited by Pierre Nobel (Dean 462).[24] According to the fourteenth-century catalogue, there were very few French books in the library at Lanthony Secunda and it is intriguing that this manuscript is entered, at the bottom of the list for the first shelf, by one of 'at least five other scribes' who later 'inserted new titles'.[25]

Given that the information and guidance it contains is unfittingly basic compared to that in the Latin biblical and exegetical works the priory held, it is most plausible that this book was at Lanthony Secunda for the instruction of local lay people — despite Andrew Reeves's assertion that 'later in the century the canons were making less use of such texts' as Maurice's sermons for the education of the laity. [26] Beyond the usual interaction which canons would have with secular members of society, they appear to have had contact with Eleanor of Provence's

[21] Quoted from London, British Library, MS Harley 460 in *The Libraries of the Augustinian Canons,* ed. by Teresa Webber and Andrew G. Watson, Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues, 6 (London: British Library, 1998), 6. A16. 12.

[22] Rodney M. Thomson, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval Manuscripts of Corpus Christi College Oxford* (Cambridge: Brewer, 2011), p. 17.

[23] Thomson, *Descriptive Catalogue*, p. 17; Dean and Boulton, p. 392; Wilshere, p. vi.

[24] *Poème anglo-normand sur l'Ancien Testament: édition et commentaire*, ed. by Pierre Nobel, 2 vols, Nouvelle bibliothèque du Moyen Âge, 37 (Paris: Champion, 1996).

[25] *Libraries of the Augustinian Canons*, ed. By Webber and Watson, 6. A16. 12.

[26] Reeves, p. 86. In 1950 M. Dominica Legge suggested that Augustinian canons 'turned to vulgarising and moralising to a greater extent' than monastic writers in the thirteenth century, a tendency which Reeves restricts to the first half of the century — see M. Dominica Legge, *Anglo-Norman in the Cloisters: The Influence of the Orders upon Anglo-Norman Literature* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1950), p. 69.

household when it was resident at Gloucester Castle after the death of Henry III, as Eleanor had been allowed a bridge to connect the castle grounds to the priory's gardens by 1277.[27] Eleanor is already recognised to have been a notable patron of Anglo-Norman literature, with both John of Howden's *Rossignos* and Matthew Paris's *Estoire de seint Aedward le Rei* dedicated to her, the *Rossignos* in the period after Henry III's death.

W: London, Westminster Abbey MS 34/11 provides the only extant full version of the treatise which is not preceded by the *Mirour de Seinte Eglyse*. It consists of three adjacent, unbound bifolia which are dominated by the treatise (3^{v}–6^{v}) in an anglicana media hand, badly faded in places, in a single column. The opening letter *N* is a rough red large initial, and similar red paraph marks appear throughout the text, along with red touches to the following capitals. Alongside the treatise on the mass, the bifolia contain early culinary receipts (Dean 398) and a Latin, French, and English word list which has been edited by Tony Hunt (Dean 303).[28] Little context is available for the bifolia; the English words are difficult to locate dialectally given their lack of inflection, but display no conspicuous northern or southern features and therefore suggest an origin within the area of circulation suggested by the other manuscripts. The text of the treatise they present is very similar to that in *C*, but also displays readings otherwise exclusive to *R*. It occasionally truncates the treatise severely.

E: Cambridge, Emmanuel College MS 106 is a small book (111 x 76mm) of 196 folios, dated by Dean and Boulton to the second quarter of the fourteenth century. It consists primarily of devotional material in Anglo-Norman French, but also contains the Office of the Dead (13^{v}–26^{r}), a calendar (56^{r}–62^{r}), and other prayers in Latin, as well as the English 'How the Good Wife taught her Daughter' (48^{r}–52^{r}). Given that the latter is a text with guidance for household management and 'What man þat þe wedde' (49^{r}), the book is likely to have had a female lay audience. It is lavish: save for the final item, the Anglo-Norman Gospel of Nicodemus in an anglicana hand (193^{r}–196^{v}), the manuscript is executed in a small and graceful textualis formata, textus semiquadratus hand with illuminated initials, and the *v* for *videte* at the opening of the *Mirour* (62^{r}) is historiated with a sitting figure of St Paul, the apostle with whose words it opens. Tauno Mustanoja identifies an audience of relatively modest social rank for 'How the Good Wife taught her Daughter':

> With riche robes and gerlondes, and swich riche þing,
> Ne cuntrefete no leuedi, as þi lord were a king.
> With swich as he þe mai finde paied schalt þou be,
> Þat he lese nouȝt his countenaunce for þe loue of þe.
>
> Do not counterfeit being a lady with rich robes and garlands, and such rich things, as if your husband were a king. You should be paid with such things as he can acquire for you, that he might not lose his standing for the love of you.[29]

This is problematic, given the rich decoration of the manuscript. Mustanoja agrees with M. R. James on a West-Midland origin for the manuscript: looking at both the linguistic features

[27] Public Record Office, Llanthony Cartulary A. 4, fol. 215, cited in H. M. Colvin et al., *The History of the King's Works: The Middle Ages*, 6 vols (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1963–82), II (1963), 652, n. 4; see also Margaret Howell, *Eleanor of Provence: Queenship in Thirteenth-Century England* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998), pp. 75 and 294.

[28] Tony Hunt, 'The Trilingual Vocabulary in MS Westminster Abbey 34/11', *Notes and Queries*, New Series 28. 1 (1981), 14–15.

[29] E-text of 'How the Good Wife taught her Daughter', in *The Good Wife taught her Daughter, The Good Wyfe wold*

of the 'How the Good Wife taught her Daughter' and the calendar, Mustanoja suggests that the E-text of the *Good Wife* was written in the then diocese of Worcester, probably in modern Warwickshire, Gloucestershire, or Oxfordshire.[30]

The treatise on the mass is only distinguished from the *Mirour* by an illuminated opening initial, similar to that which opens the *Mirour*'s section on the Pater Noster, and it consists of the introduction alone: it concludes with 'qui mestier unt de aide a ceo que ele croit' ('who have need of aid from that which she [Holy Church] believes'), given in the place of *R*'s 'ke unt mester de [estre] qete' ('who have need to be released') (l. 16). The text is similar to that found in *C*, but abridges the list of sacred figures present at the mass (ll. 11–12: 'si cum al duz Jesu, e a sa duce mere, e a ses apostles, e a ses martires [...]' 'as if to sweet Jesus, and to his sweet mother, and to his Apostles, and to his martyrs') to 'a duz Jesu meimes, e a sa douce meere, e a ses espouses, e a ses autres feaus' ('to sweet Jesus himself, and to his sweet mother, and to his brides, and to his other faithful') (105^{v}), a set which would suit the audience of laywomen 'How the Good Wife taught her Daughter' addresses.

F: Paris, Bibliothéque nationale de France MS f. fr. 13342 has received the most attention for the treatise on the mass studied here, as the text is abridged and rearranged to accompany a sequence of thirteen illustrations of the relevant stages of the mass, produced by artists associated with the Queen Mary Psalter and the English copy of the *Somme le roi* in Cambridge, St John's College MS S.30 (256).[31] This manuscript consists of 53 leaves (205 x 125 mm); Paul Binski summarises that it was 'illuminated somewhere in south-eastern England or East Anglia' and 'dates to the first decades of the fourteenth century'.[32] The treatise is executed in a textualis prescissa hand, and is preceded by *Dou Pere qui son filz enseigne* and the *Mirour*, each opening with an illustration similar to those found in the treatise: a master teaching a young clerk before a gathering of clerks and St Edmund teaching a mixed congregation of male and female religious and laity, respectively. It is followed by Latin psalms and prayers. Lynda Dennison has identified two other fragments of the same volume in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 79, containing full-page illustrations of the life of the Virgin Mary and a prose legend of Seth and the Holy Rood.[33] A unique caption is provided for the *Confiteor* — 'Responetz *misereatur nostri et cetera*, e puis dites vostre *Confiteor* devotement' ('Reply *misereatur nostri et cetera*, and then say your *Confiteor* devoutly') (45^{r}), whilst very similar versions of the other passages can be found in *C* and *W*. After the *Confiteor*, this excerpted version of the treatise addresses the introit, the *Kyrieeleison*, the *Sanctus*, the elevation, the Pater Noster, the *Agnus Dei*, and the reception of Communion. Uniquely, *F* provides most of the Latin prayers and canticles the audience are expected to use at their full length, in Latin.

a Pilgremage, The Thewis of Gud Women, ed. by Tauno F. Mustanoja, Annales academiae scientiarum fennicae, B LXI 2 (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran Kirjapainon, 1948), ll. 100–03; my own translation.

[30] M. R. James, *The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Emmanuel College: A Descriptive Catalogue* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1904), p. 91.

[31] See 'About' on Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS f. fr. 13342, 'Mélanges théologiques: Dialogue del piere et del filz, Mirour [...]', Bibliothèque nationale de France: Gallica (2015), <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b105094193.r=ms%2013342?rk=21459;2> [accessed 2nd August 2021]; Binski, pp. 197–201; and Francis Wormald, 'Some Pictures of the Mass in an English XIVth Century Manuscript' in *Walpole Society*, 41 (1966–68), 39–45 for detailed analysis of this specific version of the treatise in relation to its illustrative scheme.

[32] Binski, p. 198.

[33] See Lynda Dennison, 'An Illuminator of the Queen Mary Psalter Group: The Ancient 6 Master', *Antiquaries Journal*, 66 (1986), 287–314.

M: the illuminated and illustrated Carew-Poyntz Hours (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum MS 48) present a series of prayers to be said during mass on 22^{r}–29^{v}; this includes devotions for the Pater Noster (23^{v}), *Agnus Dei* ($24^{r\text{-}v}$), and the priest's communication ($29^{r\text{-}v}$) excerpted from the treatise in a version similar to those found in *C*, *W*, and *F*. These prayers are executed in a textualis formata, textus quadratus hand with the instructions regarding the point at which the devotion should be undertaken rubricated. The Hours are widely considered to have been produced for the wife of John de Carew in the mid-fourteenth century; Francis Wormald suggests that one miniature shares an illuminator with Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Liturg 198 and the Fitzwarin Psalter (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS. f. lat. 765), a position which Lynda Dennison follows to tentatively posit a Cambridge origin for its earliest illuminations.[34]

Audience and Context

The treatise audience is expected to have some understanding of the liturgy's Latin without a thorough knowledge of the language — 'La vus entendez latin, la u les clers licent u chauntent u oreisuns dient, dites od eus ce ke vus savez. La ou vus n'entendez pas, issi poez ocuper vostre cuer par penser de cestes choses qe si sunt escrites' ('Where you understand the Latin which the clerks read or sing or speak in their prayers, say that which you know with them. Where you do not understand it, there you can occupy your heart with thought of these things which are thus written') (ll. 133–35) — and they are expected to have knowledge of at least the *Veni Creator Spiritus*, the *Nunc Dimittis*, and the *Te Deum* in Latin; beyond this, they are expected to occupy themselves with private devotions. The limited level of education this implies anticipates the use of French, which is far more prevalent than English in the extant thirteenth-century corpus, and is therefore likely to have been the written medium most conventionally available for such written guidance through the Latin liturgy. Nonetheless, this still means that the text was for a select audience. French had ceased to be a first language to most in English society by the thirteenth century: Ian Short roughly estimates that 'as far as the secular population was concerned, there were more than four times more monolingual Anglophones than bilingual Francophones' in the England of 1348.[35] It served a practical function as a supralocal medium, given the great variation in English dialects and wide influence of French on the Continent, but was also a language of prestige, particularly associated with the clergy in their less formal capacities, female religious, and the secular aristocracy.[36] This treatise's manuscript record

[34] See M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Fitzwilliam Museum* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1895), pp. 100–01; Francis Wormald, 'The Fitzwarin Psalter and its Allies', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 6 (1943), 71–79; Lynda Dennison, 'The Stylistic Sources, Dating and Development of the Bohun Workshop, ca 1340–1400' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Wakefield College, University of London, 1988), p. 74.

[35] Short, p. 34.

[36] Michael Richter's study of Thomas de Cantilupe's canonisation hearing suggests that only twenty-three out of forty urban laypeople and eight out of seventy-seven rural laypeople around Hereford were able to testify in anything other than English at the start of the fourteenth century; all of the clergymen who did not respond in Latin did so French — see Michael Richter, *Sprache und Gesellschaft im Mittelalter: Untersuchungen zur mündlichen Kommunikation in England von der Mitte des elften bis zum Beginn des vierzehnten Jahrhunderts*, Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters, 18 (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1979), p. 190, quoted in Andrew Reeves, *Religious Education in Thirteenth-Century England: The Creed and Articles of Faith*, Education and Society in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, 50 (Leiden: Brill, 2015), p. 131. For thorough attention to the acquisition of Anglo-Norman French in thirteenth and fourteenth-century England from a linguistic perspective, see Richard Ingham, *The Transmission of Anglo-Norman: Language History and Language Acquisition*, Language Faculty and Beyond, 9 (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 2012).

supports the likelihood of a relatively privileged lay audience, with four of the six manuscripts illuminated.

Whilst the audience is distanced from the clergy and their position at the altar, they are expected to attend relatively closely. The treatise provides no identification of the separate stages of the mass it names and sometimes uses passages of Latin as cues for meditation ('Quant le prestre se turne ver le peple e dit bas *Orate fratres*' (ll. 85–86), 'Quant le prestre dit *per omnia secula seculorum*' (l. 111)). It also engages with the Latin liturgy on a more sophisticated prosodic level, taking up its lexical and syntactic features. The introduction's summative memorial of Christ,

> En remenbraunce de la incarnatiun, e de la passiun, e de la resurrectiun, e de la assentiun si chaunte l'em la messe, e par ceo deit pensé de hume ke oit la messe estre occupé en cel tens pur Deu loer e mercier.
>
> The mass is sung in remembrance of the Incarnation, and of the Passion, and of the Resurrection, and of the Ascension, and on that account the thought of a man who hears the mass ought to be occupied in this time with giving praise and thanks to God. (ll. 19–21)

closely recalls the canon of the mass's

> Unde et memores domine nos tui serui. set et plebs tua sancta christi filii tui domini dei nostri beate passionis. nec non ab inferis resurrectionis. et in celos gloriose ascensionis. offerimus preclare maiestati tue de tuis donis ac datis.
>
> Mindful, therefore, O Lord, not only of the blessed Passion of Christ, your Son, Our God, but also of his Resurrection from the dead, and his glorious Ascension into the heavens, we, your servants and your holy people, offer to your utmost majesty things granted and given by you.[37]

This initiates a regular practice of listing and explication which emerges throughout the rest of the text and the liturgy, as seen in

> quel travail aveint les apostles, e les martires, e les confessurs, e les autres amiz Jesu Crist a confermer nostre feie, coment Deu lur dona force de veintre les enchaunteurs, e les faus deus, les faus prophetes, e les tyrauns, e les heresies par lur simplesce, e par lur pacience, e par les miracles del Seint Espirit
>
> What suffering the Apostles had, and the martyrs, and the confessors, and the other friends of Jesus Christ to confirm our faith, how God gave them strength to vanquish the enchanters and the false gods, the false prophets, and the tyrants, and the heresies by their simplicity, and by their patience, and by the miracles of the Holy Spirit (ll. 57–60)

and

> Nobis quoque peccatoribus famulis tuis de multitudine miseracionum tuarum sperentibus partem aliquam et societatem donare digneris cum tuis sanctis apostolis et martyribus. cum Iohanne. Stephano. Mathia. Barnaba. Ignacio. Alexandro […]

[37] *The Sarum Missal*, ed. by J. Wickham-Legg (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1916), p. 223; my own translation. Although it is not certain that the audience would be in contact with the Use of Sarum, it was spreading through the province of Canterbury in the period of the treatise's composition and circulation. The treatise's response to *Orate fratres*, *Suscipiat Dominus hoc sacrificium de manibus tuis ad laudem et gloriam nominis sui, ad utilitatem nostram et ecclesie sue sancte* (Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 36, 145vb), is not found in Legg's edition of the Use of Sarum based on three roughly contemporary manuscripts and is common in other versions of the

> Also that you might deign to grant to us sinners, your servants, hoping in the multitude of your mercies, a certain part and society with your holy Apostles and martyrs, with John, Stephen, Matthias, Barnabas, Ignatius, Alexander […].[38]

The liturgy is marked by prominent hypotaxis, to an extent which is rare in Old French prose. Even the relatively sophisticated *Mirour de Seinte Eglyse* opens with a predominance of parataxis:

> *Videte vocacionem vestram*. Ceo moz de l'apostle partinent a nus gent de religion. "Veez," fet il, "a quey vus estes apelee." E ço dist il pur nus exciter a perfection. E pur ço, quele hure qe [jo] pens de mey memes, de nuyt u de jur, de une part ay jo joi[e] grant, de autre part grant dolur; joie pur la seinte religion, dolur e confusion pur ma fieble conversacion.
>
> *Look to your calling*. These words of the Apostle pertain to us people of religion. "Look," he says, "to what you are called." And he says this to excite us to perfection. And on that account, whichever hour I think of myself, night or day, on the one side I have great joy, on the other side great sorrow; joy for holy religion, sorrow and confusion for my feeble conversation.[39]

There is subordination in 'E pur ço, quele hure qe [jo] pens de mey memes, de nuyt ou de jur, de une part ay jo joi[e] grant, de autre part grant dolur', but it is nonetheless followed by the asyndetically paratactic explanation 'joie pur la seinte religion, dolur e confusion pur ma fieble conversacion'. The treatise on the mass, however, is unusually hypotactic from its opening passage:

> Nostre Seygnur Jesu Crist, quaunt il volet partir de cest secle, pur ce k'i ne bea pas plus venir pur reindre peccheurs e il saveit ben ke ceus ke sunt reint par sa passiun pecchereient encuntre sun duz Pere e perdereiaent lur redemptiun, pur ceo livera il a Seinte Eglise le sacrement de penaunce e le sacrement de sun beneit cors e de sun precius saunc, pur offrir a sun duz Pere en memorie de sa pitiuuse passiun, e de sa gloriuse resurectium, e de sa seinte asscensiun, en remissiun de lur pecchez ke creireient en lu dekes a la fin del secle.
>
> Our Lord Jesus Christ, when he wanted to depart from this world, given that he did not plan to come again to redeem sinners and that he knew well that those who were redeemed by his passion would sin against his sweet Father and would lose their redemption, on this account he gave to Holy Church the sacrament of penance and the sacrament of his blessed body and his precious blood, to offer to his sweet Father in memory of his piteous Passion, and his glorious Resurrection, and of his holy Ascension, in remission of the sins of those who would believe in him until the end of the world. (ll. 1–6)

Here, hypotactic qualification persists throughout the explanation of the sacrament's institution: the temporal location and the reason for Christ's gift are subordinated, even before the main verb is reached, and are chiastically followed by further reasoning and temporal location.

The subjects which the meditations instruct their audience to consider during the mass are likewise patterned like the liturgy of the Eucharist 'En remenbraunce de la incarnatiun, e de la passiun, e de la resurrectiun, e de la assentiun' ('In remembrance of the Incarnation, and of the Passion, and of the Resurrection, and of the Ascension') (ll. 19–20). During the consecration and elevation, the audience is directed towards the celestial orders praising God

Roman Rite. Nonetheless, the Rite's language is consistent enough for the prosodic elements considered here to remain applicable regardless of the use in question.

[38] *Sarum Missal*, p. 224; my own translation.

[39] *Mirour*, pp. 4–6; my own translation.

and operating in creation, then invited to descend and arise through Christ's incarnation in the hymn *Jesu nostra redemptio*. This hymn, set for compline on the vigil of the Ascension, summarises this process of Christ's descent to earth, passion, and ascent to heaven with his faithful; it therefore aptly anticipates the consecration, when Christ's body is made present again on earth for those 'reint par sa passiun' who 'pecchereient encuntre sun duz Pere e perdereiaent lur redemptiun' after the Passion, Ressurection, and Ascension. Christ's presence in the sacrament is hailed with the words of Thomas, relieved of his doubt as he physically encounters Christ, and is followed by the triumphal *Te Deum*: '*Mun Deu, mun seignur duz Jesu, eez merci de mei* [...] *Tu rex [glorie] Criste*' ('My God, my Lord sweet Jesus, have mercy on me [...] Thou art the King of Glory, O Christ') (ll. 106–07). The meditations of the congregation are therefore to work in concert with the actions of the priest and the divine work of grace; it is a fitting arrangement that the audiences of the *R*oyal and *C*orpus manuscript are likely to have been directed by those in holy orders – the chaplain of the Lady Chapel in St. Bartholomew's Church, Richard's Castle, near Ludlow, and the Augustinian canons of Lanthony Secunda, in Gloucester, respectively. The treatise's meditations are clearly set within the 'fidelium universis ecclesia' ('Church of all the faithful') outlined in the Lateran prescriptions, whom the sacrement works to 'unir e encorporer a [Jesu Crist] meimes cum membris a lur chef' ('unite and incorporate to Jesus Christ himself as members to their head') (ll. 118–19).

Language

On the whole, the language of this meditation on the mass is typical of thirteenth-century Anglo-Norman; this includes significant difference from continental dialects of French and a very high degree of orthographic variation. Further details are most easily found in Short's *Manual of Anglo-Norman*. Remarkable features of *R* include <ou> only used in cases of possible diaresis (*loums* (l. 42), *pousté* (l. 70), *pour* (l. 67)), a possessive *vos* differentiated from *vus* ('Quant vus veez le cors Nostre Seignur, levez [...] vos meins' (l. 105)), and a complete evasion of *-ion* (*passiun*, *resurectiun*, *asscensiun*, *remissiun* (5 and numerous other times)). The *Anglo-Norman Dictionary*'s verb *communer* is preceded by a vowel in both of its appearances (*acumonié* (l. 123), *ecumunez* (l. 133)), possibly a residual form of the preposition *a* considering the preceding form of *estre* in both cases.[40]

There are few highly unusual words in this meditation; this is unsurprising for a text aimed at elucidation. Specialised vocabulary relating to the mass is present, but it is relatively common in thirteenth-century literature from both England and France. Even the names of the celestial orders are present in John Pecham's *Jerarchie* and similar expository texts. As common as much of this specialised vocabulary may be, it is supplemented by words in more general usage, the presence of which represent theological concepts on more familiar grounds (*feus* (l. 12), *franc* (l. 28), *privez amiz* (l. 95)). An extraordinary conjunction of specialised and demotic vocabulary occurs only in *R*, with 'welcomez vostre creatur' (l. 106): this clause occurs at the climactic moment of elevation and combines the Latinate *creatur* (the audience have recently been called to say the hymn *Veni Creator Spiritus* at the preparation of the chalice before the canon) with a relatively rare English loan, attested in Geffrei Gaimar's *Estoire des Engleis* and the version of the *Ancrene Wisse* found in Cambridge, Trinity College

[40] 'communer^{3}', *Anglo-Norman Dictionary (AND^{2} Online Edition)*, Aberystwyth University, <https://anglo-norman.net/entry/communer_3> [accessed 2nd August 2021].

MS 883 (R.14.7).[41] The latter's 'messager de grant haut noble riche prince deit l'em hautement wolcumer' demands a notably similar sense of humble admittance when confronted with the divine.

Establishment of the Text

This edition presents an emended version of the text found in London, British Library, Royal MS 12 C. xii (*R*), on the basis that all other witnesses appear to derive from a single abbreviated version. Emendations have been made according to sense and the likelihood of scribal error, taking the readings of the other witnesses into consideration when they include the passage in question. Where other witnesses provide a reading for a passage which has been emended this is recorded and clearly marked, even if that reading is not accepted. Alternative readings from the other manuscripts are not provided where *R* does not appear in need of emendation, given the extent to which the abbreviated version of the text alters the syntax and thus establishes different parameters for scribal reading. Additions have been made in square brackets, whilst erroneous readings from *R* which have been emended in the text are noted at the bottom of the page.

Instructions for the epistle are absent from *R*, and this is almost certainly due to *homoioarche*: the repeated *Quant*, introducing in the meditation for the collect and the meditation for the gradual on either side of its use for the epistle would make the epistle's instructions easy to overlook. No mass would have been said without an epistle reading, so the least compressed reading offered by another manuscript, that from *C*, has been inserted in square brackets.

Modern capitalisation and punctuation have been imposed and the relatively infrequent abbreviations have been silently expanded.

[41] 'welcumer', *Anglo-Norman Dictionary (AND^2 Online Edition)*, Aberystwyth University, <https://anglo-norman.net/entry/welcumer> [accessed 2nd August 2021].

[*30va*] Nostre Seygnur Jesu Crist, quaunt il volet partir de cest secle, pur ce k'i ne bea pas plus venir pur reindre peccheurs e il saveit ben ke ceus ke sunt reint par sa passiun pecchereient encuntre sun duz Pere e perdereiaent lur redemptiun, pur ceo livera il a Seinte Eglise le sacrement de penaunce e le sacrement de sun beneit cors e de sun precius saunc, pur offrir a sun duz Pere en memorie de sa pitiuuse passiun, e de sa gloriuse resurectium, e de sa[42] seinte asscensiun, en remissiun de lur pecchez ke creireient[43] en lu dekes a la fin del secle.

Cest sacrement est si digne e si haut ke nul ne i deit aprocher si il ne seit ben apparailé par ferme creaunce e par bone [*30vb*] volunté de ben fere e par verreie confessiun e penaunce, kar saunz dute les angles, il sunt present o graunt reverence.

Cest sacrement offre Seinte Eglise quaunt ele weut mercier Deu le Pere par sun cher Fiz Jesu Crist e le Seint Espirit des benfetz[44] ke il li ad fet, si cum al duz Jesu, e a sa duce mere, e a ses apostles, e a ses martires, e a ses espuses, e a ses autres feus ke il ad honuré par miracles, e pur ce chaunte l'em messes dé sollempnes festes Nostre Seignur Jesu e de ses seins. Cest sacrement offre Seinte Eglise pur ces feus [en] vie ke sunt bosinus, e freles, e chetivus, kar nule oresun n'est de si graunt vertu. Cest sacrement offre ausi Seinte Eglice pur ces feus ke sunt mors e en peines ke unt mester de [estre] qete.[45] Pur ceo, quaunt nus venum pur oir messe, nus devum apparier nos quere a devotium e a preere fere pur les vifs e pur les mors.

Nostre devotiun deit estre esprise par bone pensés, e a chekune parcele de la messe devum aver diverse contemplatium par bone pensés. En remenbraunce de la incarnatiun, e de la passiun, e de la resurrectiun, e de la assentiun si chaunte l'em la messe, e par ceo deit pensé de hume ke oit la messe estre occupé en cel tens pur Deu loer e mercier.

Quant l'em chaunte le introit [*31ra*] de la messe, pensez del desir ke les patriarches, e les prophetes, e les autres seins humes aveient[46] jadis ke le fiz Deu vendreit en terre pur eus reindre par sa passiun, e ce ke il deservirent.[47] Nus l'avum ja sentu, e de ce ke il est c[i] avenu, e nus ad reint de sun precius saunc, celui devum mercier. E pur ceo agenulent les clers u enclinent kaunt il chauntent le *Credo* a la messe, quant il venent a cel mot: *Et homo factus est*.

Quant l'em chaunte primes[48] treiz feiz *Kyrieleyson*, pensez cum Deuz est franc de fere a vus mute maners de bens, tut le eez vus malement deservi, e cum il ad graunt patience a suffrir vos maus, e ke il est pitiuus e prest a vuz pardoner vos trespaz.

Kaunt l'em chaunte *Cristeleyson*, pensez de la humilité Jesu Crist, coment celui ke fu si haut devint si povere pur vus, e de sa povere nesçaunce, e de la debonereté de sa vie, e de sa dure mort pur vus deliverer de mort, de sa duce resurrectiun, e de sa haute ascensiun.

Taunt cum l'em chaumte autrefez *Kyrieleyson*, devez penser e prier Seint Espirit ke il vus deigne conseyler, e enseigner, e en voz tribulatiuns vus conforter, e ke il seit entre[31rb]bat entre vus e Deu pur vus acorder. *Kyrieleyson* dit autaunt en frances: *Sire eez merci de nus*. E tute cetes choses ci escrites apertement a la merci le Pere, e le Fiz, e le Seint Espirit.

Quaunt l'em chaunte *Gloria in excelsis Deo*, merciez la Seinte Trinité de vostre sauvatiun. Le Pere ke il envea sun cher Fiz pur vus sauver, le Fiz ke si ducement deigna venir, le Seinte

42 *R* duplicate *sa* at start of next line omitted.
43 *R* creitreient.
44 *R* benfet.
45 *C, W, E* mester de aide.
46 *R* aveint.
47 *R* desuirrent, first r crossed through.
48 *R* primis.

40 Espirit par ki il fu cunvu e par ki il vint.[49] Chauntez vus dunkes en vostre quer en vostre fraunces ceo ke les clers chauntent en latin:

Gloria seit a Deu en haut, e en terre pes a gent de bone volunté. Nus vus loums, nus vus benesciums, nus vus adorums[50], nus vus glorefiums, graces a vus rendums pur vostre graunt glorie, Seinur Deu, rei[51] celestien, Deu le Pere tut pussant, Sire Deu le Fiz Jesu Crist. Sire Deu, 45 *aignel Deu, Fiz le Pere, vu ski ostez les pecchez del mund, recevez nostre preere, qui seez a destre nostre Pere, eez merci de nus, kar vus sul estes seint, vus sul estes Seinur, vus sul estes le plus haut Jesu Crist od le Seint Espirit en la glorie Deu Pere. Amen.*

Quant le prestre salue le [*31va*] peple e dit *Dominus vobiscum*, ce est a dire *Nostre Seinur seit o vus*, responez *Et cum spiritu tuo*, e si seit il o vostre espirit. E quant il dit sa oresun, oez 50 ce ke il dit saun ren dire de buche, e eez en vostre quer ke il seit oi en la curt de cel, e de tut vostre quer responez *Amen*. Taunt cum le prestre dit ses oreisuns, priez Deu la chose ke vus avez plus mester a cors e al alme, e metez vostre oreisun od le oreisun le prestre.

[La Pistle oiez cum la voiz del Seint Espirit, e pensez quel peril e quel peine suffrirent trestuz les apostles, les patriarches, les prophetes pur la lei Deu, e nepurqant descendirent 55 trestuz les martirs en enfern pur le pecché Adam. E si vus volez estre oy de Deu, il covent saver ce que li seinz vus apernent e sivre lur ensample.][52]

Quant l'em chaunte le grael, pensez quel travail aveint les apostles, e les martires, e les confessurs, e les autres amiz[53] Jesu Crist[54] a confermer nostre feie[55], coment Deu lur dona force de veintre les enchaunteurs, e les faus deus, les faus prophetes, e les tyrauns, e les heresies par 60 lur simplesce, e par lur pacience, e par les miracles del Seint Espirit. Al vers del grael, pensez dé virtuz des seinz, lur saver a choisir le ben, lur mesure en fesant le ben, lur force a suffrir persecutiun pur ben fere, lur pure entente enver Deu e lur prome.

Quant l'em chaunte le *Alleluia*, pensez de la loenge ke Deu le Pere ad par Nostre duz Seignur Jesu Crist en Seinte Eglise, en terre, e en purgatorie, e en cel. En vostre quer loez 65 Deu e [*31vb*] merciez de tuz les bens k'i vus ad fet, e fet checun jur, e fra saunz fin.

Quant l'em chaunte la sequence, pensez cum la joie de cel est graunt, u l'em avera joie saun pour e saunz peine, sauncté saunz maladie, plenté saunz defaute, force sanz feblesce, fraunchise saunz servage, delit saunz amerté, beauté saunz teche, sen e saver saunz folie, duz amur saunz haine, concord saunz descord, leesce saunz tristesce, pes saunz turbatiun, graunt 70 honur, grant pousté, enceinte saunz pour, veue e conisaunce de Deu e de Nostre Dame e de tuz ceus ke serrunt en cel, repos saunz travail, e joie sanz fin.

Quant l'em chaunte le tret a la seisun, pensez dé grant penances ke les seins suffrirent jadis e ke bone gent suffrent[56] unkore: en junes, en veiles, e en aspre vestures, en disciplines, en lermes, en pelrinages, dunt il aveint joie de quer par bone conscience e nule pour de la mort.

75 La Seinte Evangelie oez en silence saunz ren dire sicum li duz Jesu parlast od[57] vus. Pensez de la dreiture le vie e de la verreie doctrine, e dé merveiluses overes Jesu Crist. Aprés le

[49] *R* unt *C*, *W*, *E* vint.
[50] *R* adoruns.
[51] *R* iri.
[52] *R* omits due to *homoioarche*; supplied from *C*, slightly shorter version found in *W*.
[53] *R* amuz.
[54] *R* crit.
[55] *R* fere *C* lei *W* fey.
[56] *R* seffrent.
[57] *R* do.

Ewangelie dites ce: *En loez sé*[*32ra*] *vus duz Sire Jesu, le fiz Deu, ke deignastes venir en cest mund pur nus sauver. Beneit seit le ventre ke vus porta e lé mameles ke vus letastes. Amen.*

Al *Credo in unum* dites vostre credo si vus ne savez pas l'autre ke l'em chaunte, e priez 80 Deu ke il vus doine ferme creaunce de tuz les articles de la fei.

Quant l'em chaunte le offrende, pensez e priez Deu ke il vus doine grace ke vus li puisez offrir une alme enfurmee e aurné dé set vertuz, ke sunt humilité, debonerté, simplesce, castité, pité, purté, e lur conestable si est pacience.

Quant le prestre offre le caliz, dites *Veni Creator Spiritus* dekes a la fin, e priez pur celu 85 ke la messe chaunte e pur tuz ceus ke le oient. Quant le prestre se turne ver le peple e dit bas *Orate fratres*, responez a li e dites bas *Nostre Seinur receive ce sacrifice de vos mains al loenge e a la glorie de sun nun, e a nostre pru e de tute Seinte Eglise*. Le prefaz oiez en silence e en reverence si cum le evangelie, e pensez dé nef ordres des angles ke sunt dewant Deu tuz jurs loaunz la Seinte Trinité: les premeres sunt apelés angles, ke gardent les almes, les 90 autres archaungles, ke gardent les terres, les terz [*32rb*] vertuz, ke funt les miracles, les quarz potestates, ke amestrent e desturbent lé diables k'il ne facent mie taunt de male cum vodreient, lé quinte principas, ke ordienent les dignetez en tere, les simes seinurages, ke ordeinent lé tens e temprent les elemenz, lé setimes sunt apelés trones, ke sunt si cum justices ke donent les jugemens, les utimes cherubin, ke sunt cum consulers, lé nevimes sunt apeléz seraphin, ke 95 sunt privez amiz e ardaunt de l'amur Deu.

Aprés dites o les aungles *Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus* e pus, en memorie de la passiun, e de la resurrectiun, e de la ascensiun Jesu Crist, dites cel ympne en fraunces, *Jesu nostra redemptio*: *Jesu nostre redemptiun, e nostre amur, e nostre desir, Sire Deu ke totes choses chriastes,*[58]*e a la fin hume devenistes. Quele debonerté vus venqui ke vus volez porter noz pecchez, e suffrir pur* 100 *nuz cruele mort pur deliverer nus de mort. Les encloistres de enfern penastes,*[59] *e vos cheitifs recharastes par noble victorie, le diable venquistes, ore sceent li destre Nostre Pere. Cele vus offre*[60] *ke dunc amez ke noz mauz vus pardonez, e de ben fere nus donez*[61] *pussaunce, volunté ke de* [*32va*] *vostre wue en cel seum a saisie. Seez vus nostre joie k'estes nostre loer, nostre glorie seit en vus par tuz secles saun fin.*

105 Quant vus veez le cors Nostre Seignur, levez vostre quer e vos meins dekes a vos els, e cheez a genuiz e welcomez vostre creatur, e dites *Mun Deu, mun Seignur duz Jesu, eez merci de mei*, puz si volez si poez dire *Tu rex* [*glorie*] *Criste* e tuz les autres vers dekes a la fin de *Te Deum laudamus*, puz parlez a duz Jesu cum a celui ki est ilec prescent en cors, en alme, e en deité, e recummaundez vus e vos amis a lui, e dites lui voz especials bosoines si cum vostre 110 quer desire e si cum vostre cumgé vus aprendra.

Quant le prestre dit *per omnia secula seculorum*, turnez tut vostre quer e vostre entente a sa voiz e dites *Amen*. A la *Pater Noster*, metez tut vostre quer de prier Deu od le prestre e od tute Seinte Eglise, ke il vus doigne les prieres ke leins sunt contenues.

Al premer *Agnus Dei*, priez duz Jesu merci de ce ke vus avez pecché par les set mortels 115 pecchez.

Al secund *Agnus Dei*, priez pardun de ce ke vus avez trespassé encontre les diz commendenz.

[58] *R* chirastes.

[59] *R* perrastes *Jesu nostra redemptio* penetrans.

[60] *R* offreine *Iesu nostra redemptio* Ipsa te cogat pietas. Emendation reads *offre* as third person singular present subjunctive (*opero*, *operare*) translating *cogat*.

[61] *R* donet.

Al terz *Agnus Dei*, priez Jesu ke il vus doine la pes del Seinte Espirit od ses set duns, puz pensez de la graunt fraunchise Jesu Crist ke vus livera cest sacrement pur vus unir e encorporer
120 a li meimes cum membris a lur chef, [*32vb*] e pur justifier cels ke sunt en tere, e pur deliverer ceus ke sunt en purgatorie, e pur regraciez Deu la Pere pur ceus ke il ad pris a sa glorie. Eez en memorie la passiun Jesu e sa resurrectiun, en ki remenbraunce la messe est chaunté, e issi poez vus estre acumonié espiritalement tut ne recevez vus pas veablement le sacrement.

Qaunt[62] cum l'em chaunte le communium, dites tut cele petite saume *Nunc dimittis*, od
125 *Gloria Patri* pur tendre graces a la Seinte Trinité pur le sacrement ke il vus dune, e ke pur vus est offert.

E puz oez les oreisuns del prestre ausi cum vus le deissez, kar il prie ke le sacrement vus seit sauvable. Si vus avez ben e enterement e a devotiun de cestes choses ben pensé, bone messe a vostre pru avez oie.

130 E quant il dit *Ite missa est* u *Benedicamus Domino*, plusours se partent, ou meintenaunt aprés le *Agnus Dei*, a lur damage, kar dunc est le greinur pru de la messe, kar ceus ke dunk remeinent e sunt hors de mortele pecché, e en devotiun, e pensent de la passiun e de la resurrectiun Jesu Crist, il sunt ecumunez[63] espiritalement. La vus[64] entendez latin, la u les clers licent u chauntent u oreisuns dient, dites od eus ce ke vus savez. La ou vus n'entendez
135 pas, issi poez ocuper vostre cuer par penser de cestes choses qe si sunt escrites. E quant vus avez oy *In principio*, donqe poez vus partyr a Dieu.

[62] *R* Gaunt.
[63] *R* ecuminez.
[64] *R* wa.

The Meaning Behind Beowulf's Beheading of Grendel's Corpse

Joseph St. John

Abstract

This article first gives an overview of the cultural background relevant to beheading, following which it discusses critical interpretations of this *Beowulf* episode. While the article considers the merits of these interpretations, it proposes to interpret Beowulf's act with reference to the narrative's expression of the Cain theme. It suggests that Beowulf's lack of apprehension in relation to Grendel's head as a sign of his victory against Grendel's mother points to his ignorance of its Cainite associations, which is a reason why the defeat of the monsters does not address the weaknesses of the societies Beowulf seeks to protect.

Introduction and Scope

Decapitation and severed heads are central to the narrative in *Beowulf*, as well as to its interpretation. However, Grendel's beheading is more problematic from a narrative viewpoint than has been appreciated. Even where, as I discuss below, its circumstances are in some ways consistent with *Beowulf*'s broader cultural context, this does not fully explain the use of the beheading motif in the poem.

While the protagonist's encounter with Grendel's monstrous mother, the episode in which the beheading occurs, has been discussed by many commentators, fewer have debated why Beowulf should behead the male monster's corpse to display the head at King Hrothgar's hall.[1] Although commentators have given plausible explanations for Beowulf's course of action, the issue merits further consideration, particularly with respect to the meaning behind the placement of this episode within the broader narrative context. I argue that Grendel's head is,

[1] The matter has been discussed, however, albeit at different levels of detail, by R. W. Chambers, 'Beowulf's Fight with Grendel and its Scandinavian Parallels', *English Studies*, 11 (1929), 81–100; Paul Beekman Taylor, 'Beowulf's Second Grendel Fight', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 86 (1985), 62–69; John Edward Damon, '*Desecto Capite Perfido*: Bodily Fragmentation and Reciprocal Violence in Anglo-Saxon England', *Exemplaria*, 13 (2001), 399–432; Frederick M. Biggs, 'Honscioh and Æschere in *Beowulf*', *Neophilologus*, 87 (2003), 635–52; Martin Puhvel, *Cause and Effect in Beowulf: Motivation and Driving Forces behind Words and Deeds* (Oxford: University Press of America, 2005), pp. 56 and 61; Renée Rebecca Trilling, 'Beyond Abjection: The Problem with Grendel's Mother Again', *Parergon*, 24 (2007), 1–20; Dana M. Oswald, 'Wigge under Wætere: Beowulf's Revision of the Fight with Grendel's Mother', *Exemplaria*, 21 (2009), 63–82; Dana M. Oswald, *Monsters, Gender and Sexuality in Medieval English Literature* (Woodbridge: Brewer, 2010); Thijs Porck and Sander

Leeds Medieval Studies, 1 (2021), 49–58. DOI: 10.57686/256204/1 (ISSN: Print 2754-4575/ Online 2754-4583)
© 2021 Joseph St. John (ORCID iD: 0000-0003-0363-7456)
This work is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License

for the poem's Christian audience, closely associated with Cain and his archetypal fratricide. While Grendel's mother is also associated with Cain, in the course of this article I make an argument for her more specific association with unjustified revenge, which I postulate as a reason for Beowulf's elision of her body in favour of her son's head. In this context, Beowulf's lack of hesitation in making use of Grendel's head as a sign of victory at Heorot, points the poem's Christian audience's attention to his limitations as a pre-Christian character. This article argues that Beowulf has no qualms about the use of Grendel's head as a sign specifically because he is unable to glean its symbolic significance. This article also argues that Beowulf's elision of Grendel's mother's body, attested by the fact that he does not take back to Heorot a sign directly attesting to her death, suggests that he seeks to elide the unjustified revenge that she represents. In so doing, the protagonist does not realise that both monstrous bodies have scripturally-derived significance, which means that his attempt to elide unjustified revenge is futile. This is because in taking Grendel's head to Heorot, Beowulf unwittingly brings to the hall a symbol of fratricide and kin strife. This goes a long way towards explaining, on a conceptual level, why Beowulf, notwithstanding his defeat of the monsters, is unable to redeem the societies he seeks to protect by putting an end to their internecine violence.

Cultural Background

In view of the attention that this article devotes to beheading it is worth emphasising that beheading is by no means unique to *Beowulf*, for it also appears widely in the broader Old English and related literary traditions, and to this extent Grendel's beheading may not require special explanation. Indeed, *Jómsvikinga saga*, *Grettis saga Ásmundarsonar* and other Old Norse texts, coupled with Saxo Grammaticus's *Gesta Danorum*, contain various instances of decapitation.[2] The contexts for decapitation are diverse, ranging from the prospect of judicial execution in *Jómsvikinga saga*[3] to the beheading of a revenant in *Grettis saga Ásmundarsonar*, who is thereby laid to rest once and for all.[4] Irish archaeological evidence for the medieval period, moreover, points towards judicial practice and warfare as reasons for decapitation in real life.[5] In an Old English textual context beheading occurs in *Apollonius of Tyre*, where this punishment is meted out to the suitors of King Antiochus's daughter,[6] and in Cynewulf's *Juliana*, where the protagonist is beheaded at a location identified as a borderland. The identification of the location as a borderland is original to the Old English poem, as it is not to be found in the *Passio S. Iulianae*. This detail may therefore reflect practices related to

Stolk, 'Marking Boundaries in *Beowulf*: Æshere's Head, Grendel's Arm and the Dragon's Corpse', *Amsterdamer Beiträge Zur Älteren Germanistik*, 77 (2017), 521–40; Amanda Lehr, 'Sexing the Cannibal in *The Wonders of the East* and *Beowulf*', *Postmedieval: A Journal of Medieval Cultural Studies*, 9 (2018), 179–95; and Teresa Hooper, 'The Missing Women of the *Beowulf* Manuscript', in *New Readings on Women and Early Medieval English Literature and Culture: Cross-Disciplinary Studies in Honour of Helen Damico*, ed. by Helene Scheck and Christine Kozikowski (Leeds: Arc Humanities Press, 2019), pp. 161–78.

2 See Leszek Gardela, 'The Headless Norsemen: Decapitation in Viking Age Scandinavia', in *The Head Motif in Past Societies in a Comparative Perspective*, ed. by Leszek Gardela and Kamil Kajkowski (Bytów: Muzeum Zachodniokaszubskie w Bytowie, 2012), pp. 88–155 (pp. 88 and 91–104).

3 Gardela, p. 88.

4 Gardela, p. 99.

5 Niamh Carty, '"The Halved Heads": Osteological Evidence for Decapitation in Medieval Ireland', *Papers from the Institute of Archaeology*, 25 (2015), 1–20 (p. 18).

6 Rolf H. Bremmer, 'Grendel's Arm and the Law', in *Studies in English Language and Literature: Doubt Wisely*, ed. by M. J. Toswell and E. M. Taylor (Abingdon: Routledge, 1996), pp. 121–32 (p. 126).

early medieval English executions.[7] Severed heads also enjoy prominence in Cotton Vitellius A.xv, the *Beowulf* Manuscript, as attested by the protagonist's decapitation of Holofernes in *Judith*, the Donestre's weeping over the heads of its victims in *Wonders of the East*, as well as Æschere's and Grendel's heads in *Beowulf*.[8] Even where, on the other hand, written sources for judicial decapitation in England are hard to come by,[9] archaeological evidence attests to the execution and display of criminals' bodies, as well as to post-mortem decapitation as a sign of a person's deviancy.[10] Moreover, A. Reynolds's study of deviant burial customs in early medieval England suggests that this punishment was mainly meted out to men.[11]

The circumstances of Beowulf's beheading of Grendel's corpse, and his use of the head as a sign attesting to his victory against Grendel's mother, recall some of these cultural contexts or motifs. Grendel is decapitated post-mortem, in return for his many crimes against the Danes,[12] which beheading may be said to reflect the prevalence of this practice in relation to men in archaeological sources. Moreover, the display of the male monster's head as a sign at Heorot (ll. 1647–54), or, to be more specific, 'tīres tō tācne' ('as a sign of glory', l. 1654a), recalls Judith's display of Holofernes's head in lines 171–75 of the biblical poem,[13] which is ultimately derived from the Vulgate Book of Judith.[14] All the same, the specific place and meaning of Grendel's beheading in *Beowulf* deserves further analysis, particularly with reference to the poem's broader narrative context.

Critical Views of Beowulf's Beheading of Grendel's Corpse

As recent commentary has emphasised, the beheading of Grendel's corpse is preceded, within *Beowulf*, by the beheading of King Hrothgar's retainer Æschere and the display of his head on a cliff, which may be said to mark Grendel's mother's jurisdiction over the *mere*[15] that is her abode.[16] The monstrous mother abducts the man from Heorot (ll. 1296–99a) earlier on in the narrative, as she seeks revenge for Grendel's death at Beowulf's hands. Her motivation is spelt out by King Hrothgar, who identifies Æschere's death as the single act whereby Grendel's mother secures her revenge (ll. 1333b–37a). We are then told of Æschere's beheading as

[7] See Helen Appleton, 'The Role of Æschere's Head', *The Review of English Studies*, 68.285 (2016), 428–47 (pp. 436–37), who makes reference, *inter alia*, to discussions of this matter by Francis Gummere, John Kemble and Dorothy Whitelock.

[8] Appleton, pp. 428–29.

[9] See, however, Bremmer, pp. 125–26 for accounts of real-life beheadings in early medieval England.

[10] Appleton, pp. 433 and 435.

[11] See Carty, p. 3.

[12] Lines 1575b–90 of *Klaeber's Beowulf*, ed. by R. D. Fulk, Robert E. Bjork and John D. Niles, 4th edn (London: University of Toronto Press, 2008), p. 54. Further references to this work will be given parenthetically in the main text. Translations from *Beowulf*, unless otherwise stated, are mine.

[13] 'Judith', in *The Beowulf Manuscript*, ed. and trans. by R. D. Fulk (London: Harvard University Press, 2010), pp. 297–323 (p. 310).

[14] See verse 13.19 of 'Judith', in *The Parallel English-Latin Vulgate Bible* (Toronto: Publishing Toronto, 2016), Kindle edition.

[15] In this article I refer to Grendel's mother's abode using the Old English term *mere*, in recognition of the lack of consensus over the type of aquatic environment that this term describes. See Roberta Frank, '*Mere* and *Sund*: Two Sea-Changes in *Beowulf*', in *Modes of Interpretation in Old English Literature: Essays in Honour of Stanley B. Greenfield*, ed. by Phyllis Rugg Brown, Georgia Ronan Crampton, and Fred C. Robinson (London: University of Toronto Press, 1986), pp. 153–72 (pp. 154-58) for a discussion of this term and relevant critical views.

[16] See Appleton, p. 429, for a discussion of Æschere's head in relation to early medieval English charters and judicial decapitation. See also Porck and Stolk, pp. 522–27, for a discussion of Grendel's mother's display of Æschere's head as a boundary marker.

Beowulf and his companions approach Grendel's mother's *mere* for the protagonist to confront the she-monster (ll. 1420b–21). Notwithstanding Grendel's mother's active pursuit of revenge, Frederick Klaeber argued that it is only natural that Beowulf beheads Grendel, whom he identified as the chief of the protagonist's enemies.[17] In contrast, more recent commentary has emphasised the agency and power of Grendel's mother. This makes Klaeber's conclusion seem rather less self-evident. Indeed, as Maria Flavia Godfrey has argued, Grendel's head is an odd symbol of victory given that in this instance the protagonist has only beheaded a corpse.[18]

Over the years of *Beowulf* criticism commentators have proposed different explanations for Beowulf's choice. In an article published in 1929 R.W. Chambers argued that Grendel's head is required because it offers narrative closure.[19] This may be considered plausible, given that the monster's death occurs out of the view of the Danes and the poem's audience. Paul Beekman Taylor suggested that Beowulf takes Grendel's head back to Heorot because his intention when setting out to the *mere* is revenge against the male monster, rather than his mother.[20] John Edward Damon considered that 'the recovery of Grendel's head ended an exchange between the Grendel-kin and the Danes [...] terminating through enacted ritual the monsters' claim of sovereignty'.[21] Martin Puhvel contemplated different possibilities, ranging from the provision of proof for Grendel's death[22] to an intention to spare Grendel's mother the indignity of the display of her body given that her motivation for attacking Heorot is revenge.[23] Renée Rebecca Trilling, on the other hand, sought an explanation for the beheading of Grendel's corpse in Grendel's mother's otherness, as she argued that the display of the monstrous mother's head would have served as a 'daily reminder of her disruptive power', given that she is 'the horrible Other of social cohesion'.[24] Dana M. Oswald considered that Beowulf beheads the male monster as he seeks to give the impression to the Danes that Grendel posed the greatest threat,[25] which may be borne out of a sense of shame at fighting a woman, or at the challenge that she posed to him.[26] Beowulf's shame at the confrontation with Grendel's mother is also attested by his elision of the details of the fight itself, when he narrates the course of events at the *mere* to King Hrothgar[27] and later to King Hygelac.[28] Thijs Porck and Sander Stolk also discussed the issue, albeit briefly, in 2017. They argued that Beowulf displays Grendel's head as a token of victory;[29] however, their article does not explore the motivations behind the beheading *per se*, as their focus is on Grendel's mother's beheading of Æschere and other aspects of the narrative. In 2018 Amanda Lehr, who

[17] See Biggs, p. 640.

[18] Mary Flavia Godfrey, '*Beowulf* and *Judith*: Thematizing Decapitation in Old English Poetry', *Texas Studies in Literature and Language*, 35 (1991), 1–43 (p. 3).

[19] Chambers, p. 87.

[20] See Beekman Taylor, pp. 66–67; and footnote 35 in Evelyn Reynolds, '*Beowulf*'s Poetics of Absorption Beowulf's Poetics of Absorption: Narrative Syntax and the Illusion of Stability in the Fight with Grendel's Mother', *Essays in Medieval Studies*, 31 (2015), 43–64 (p. 62).

[21] Damon, pp. 430–31.

[22] Puhvel, p. 56.

[23] Puhvel, p. 61.

[24] Trilling, p. 18.

[25] Oswald, 'Wigge under Wætere: Beowulf's Revision of the Fight with Grendel's Mother', p. 74.

[26] Oswald, *Monsters, Gender and Sexuality in Medieval English Literature*, p. 100.

[27] Oswald, *Monsters, Gender and Sexuality in Medieval English Literature*, p. 106.

[28] Oswald, *Monsters, Gender and Sexuality in Medieval English Literature*, p. 109.

[29] Porck and Stolk, p. 529.

interpreted the text to the effect that Beowulf beheads both monsters, suggested that the narrative conflates the two monstrous bodies.[30] Teresa Hooper, in 2019, interpreted Beowulf's action in terms of the requirement of the blood feud to exchange male bodies.[31] While most of the points raised by these scholars are potentially valid, particularly as the narrative allows for exploration of Beowulf's motivations and actions at different levels, I hereby argue for an additional interpretative layer with reference to the Cain theme and Grendel's mother's revenge. However, before I move on to discuss this additional interpretative layer, I note that the explanations provided by Trilling and Oswald for Beowulf's actions, which draw, *inter alia*, on Grendel's mother's otherness and the elision of her body, find particular support in the sequence of events in the narrative. As I already indicated above in my brief description of Oswald's views, the protagonist not only elides the monstrous mother's body, but also her story. On the other hand, he goes on to give King Hygelac a full account, complete with additional narrative details, of his fight against Grendel.[32] Beowulf's recounting of the monster fights therefore reflects his choice of Grendel's head as a sign of his victory at the *mere*, which entails concealment, or elision, of Grendel's mother's body.

Those critical explanations that rely exclusively on Grendel's mother's gender identity or on narrative closure, or that question Beowulf's intention to seek revenge against her, are not altogether satisfactory even where they may partially account for what goes on in the narrative. It cannot quite be argued that Beowulf elides Grendel's mother's body only because she is a woman, as the poem portrays her gender identity ambiguously notwithstanding her maternal role. As highlighted by Trilling, after all, Grendel's mother is masculinised in lines 1260 and 1392b–94b, and she is described as a '*s* inniġne secg' ('sinful man') by King Hrothgar in line 1379a.[33] Hence, while it cannot be ruled out that Beowulf may have been represented carrying off Grendel's head on account of a requirement to exchange male bodies, this explanation is only partially satisfactory. The same may be said of narrative closure as an explanation for Beowulf's actions. Beowulf is already known to have defeated Grendel at King Hrothgar's hall, as attested by the display of the monster's severed arm in lines 983b–90. Hence, even where Grendel escapes Beowulf's clutches to head back to the *mere* from Heorot, he does so only after he is mortally wounded, as also affirmed by the narratorial statement that hell receives his heathen soul (ll. 850–52). This sequence of events also casts doubt on the notion that the bodies of the two monsters are conflated by the respective beheadings. Moreover, Grendel's mother's beheading takes place during her confrontation with Beowulf,[34] as opposed to the post-mortem beheading of her son, and it is clear that her head is not used as a sign of victory by Beowulf. Also, the context provided by Beowulf's words in lines 1390–94 suggests that he seeks revenge against Grendel's mother, whom he identifies by the masculine pronoun:

> Ārīs, rīċes weard, uton ḥraþe fēran,
> Grendles māgan gang scēawiġan.
> iċ hit þē ġehāte, nō hē on helm losaþ,

[30] Lehr, p. 191.

[31] Hooper, p. 177.

[32] See Seth Lerer, 'Grendel's Glove', *ELH*, 61 (1994), 721–51, and Andrew M. Pfrenger, 'Grendel's *Glof*: *Beowulf* Line 2085 Reconsidered', *Philological Quarterly*, 87 (2008), 209–35 for discussions of such details.

[33] Trilling, pp. 14–15.

[34] See Biggs, p. 639, who interprets ll. 1563–68a to the effect that Beowulf beheads Grendel's mother with his sword in the course of their confrontation. Lines 1566–68a read: 'þæt hire wið halse heard grāpode, | bānhringas bræc; bil eal ðurhwōd | fǣġne flǣschoman' ('that struck her neck hard, broke her bone rings; the blade went all the way through her fated flesh'). Godfrey, p. 3, and Lehr, p. 191, also argue that Beowulf beheads Grendel's mother.

nē on foldan fæþm nē on fyrġenholt
nē on ġyfenes grund, gā þær hē wille.

Arise, guardian of the kingdom, let us quickly venture to find Grendel's kin's path. I hereby pledge to you that he will find no protection, neither in the bosom of the earth, nor in a mountain wood, nor in the bottom of the sea; go wherever he will.

In the light of these considerations, Beowulf's beheading of Grendel's corpse mainly attests to the elision of Grendel's mother's body by the protagonist. This course of action may be explained in the light of this monster's otherness, as suggested by Trilling, or with reference to Beowulf's shame at the confrontation with Grendel's mother, as indicated by Oswald. I hereby postulate an alternative explanation, one that complements, rather than supplants, these critical views.

An Alternative Explanation for Beowulf's Beheading of Grendel's Corpse I: General Considerations

The sequence of events I discussed above suggests that reader or listener knows that Grendel is fated to die, even in the absence of a sign besides the severed arm. Moreover, it is questionable that the Danes require conclusive proof of Grendel's death, for this monster's fate is never questioned. Rather, King Hrothgar concludes, on the evidence of the monster's severed arm (ll. 925–31a), that Grendel has been decisively defeated: 'þurh drihtnes miht dǣd gefremede' ('he [Beowulf] did the deed through God's might', l. 940). Therefore, the demands of the logic of the narrative do not appear to offer fully satisfactory, but rather only partial, explanations for Beowulf's beheading of Grendel's corpse and the display of his head at Heorot. I would argue that this is the case even where the male monster is the Danes' main antagonist, for he persecuted them for twelve years (ll. 146b–49a). While it may be argued that this is reason enough to produce conclusive evidence of the male monster's death even where it is not, strictly speaking, required, it would have to be borne in mind that Beowulf fails to produce any direct physical evidence of Grendel's mother's demise. This is odd in a context where there are no witnesses to Beowulf's victory over the monstrous mother, for no one accompanies him into the *mere* (ll. 1492–95a). The only externally verifiable evidence that something has taken place at the *mere* is the blood in the water, which is initially mistaken for Beowulf's (ll. 1591a–608a). While it could be argued that the characters would have reinterpreted this as evidence of Grendel's mother's death, given that Beowulf survives, it is to be recalled that the protagonist also beheads Grendel's body, which would likewise account for the bloodied water. It is also not clear whether the blood that melts away the blade of the sword (ll. 1605b–11) with which Beowulf kills the female monster (ll. 1563–69) and beheads the male monster's corpse (ll. 1584b–90)[35] is Grendel's or Grendel's mother's. Even in the absence of verifiable physical evidence of Grendel's mother's death, however, Beowulf takes

[35] The sword hilt is discussed by several commentators, at several levels of detail, including, *inter alia*, Stephen C. Bandy, 'Cain, Grendel, and the Giants of *Beowulf*', *Papers on Language and Literature*, 9 (1973), 235–49; Seth Lerer, 'Hrothgar's Hilt and the Reader in *Beowulf*', in *The Postmodern Beowulf: A Critical Casebook*, ed. by Eileen A. Joy and Mary K. Ramsey (Morgantown: West Virginia University Press, 2006), pp. 587–628 (first publ. in *Literacy and Power in Anglo-Saxon England* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1991), pp. 158–94); Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, *Of Giants, Sex, Monsters and the Middle Ages* (London: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), p. 20; Richard North, *The Origins of Beowulf: from Vergil to Wiglaf* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006),

back with him to Heorot the male monster's head and the hilt of the said sword (ll. 1612–15a). Beowulf therefore fails to produce a clear and unequivocal sign of Grendel's mother's death even where, in terms of the logic of the narrative, this would be desirable. As I indicated earlier, this elision of Grendel's mother's body is particularly interesting as it is flanked by the protagonist's elision of her story. I hereby propose to interpret this course of events in the light of the poem's references to scripture and Grendel's mother's association with unjustified revenge.

I argued, earlier in this article, that Grendel is associated with Cain and his fratricide.[36] This emerges clearly in lines 102–08:

> wæs se grimma gǣst Grendel hāten,
> mǣre mearcstapa, sē þe mōras hēold,
> fen ond fæsten; fifęlcynnes eard
> wonsǣlī wer weardode hwīle,
> siþðan him scyppend forscrifen hǣfde
> in Cāines cynne — þone cwealm ġewreac
> eċe drihten, þæs þe hē Ābel slōg.
>
> The cruel ghost/guest was called Grendel, notorious boundary walker; he held moors, fens and stronghold, the dwelling of the foolish kin; miserable man, who for a while dwelt there, since the Maker judged him Cain's kinsman — he exiled that killer, the eternal Lord, for he killed Abel.

This biblical figure is also associated with Grendel's mother in lines 1258b–63a:

> […] Grendles mōdor,
> ides āglǣċwīf yrmþe ġemunde,
> sē þe wætereġesan wunian scolde,
> ċealde strēmas, siþðan Cāin[37] wearð
> tō ecgbanan āngan brēþer,
> fæderenmǣġe.

p. 68; James Paz, 'Æschere's Head, Grendel's Mother and the Sword that isn't a Sword: Unreadable Things in *Beowulf*', *Exemplaria*, 25 (2013), 231–51; Sara Frances Burdorff, 'Re-reading Grendel's Mother: *Beowulf* and the Anglo-Saxon Metrical Charms', *Comitatus: A Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 45 (2014), 91–103; Dennis Cronan, 'Hroðgar and the Gylden Hilt in *Beowulf*', *Traditio*, 72 (2017), 109–32; and, Matthew Scribner, 'Signs, Interpretation, and Exclusion in *Beowulf*', in *Darkness, Depression, and Descent in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. by Ruth Wehlau (Kalamazoo: Western Michigan University, 2019), pp. 117–32.

[36] *Beowulf*'s rendition of the Cain myth, and the connection between this myth and the Grendelkin and other monsters, has been explored, *inter alia*, by: Niilo Peltola, 'Grendel's Descent from Cain Reconsidered', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 73 (1972), 284–91; Ruth Mellinkoff, 'Cain's Monstrous Progeny in *Beowulf*: Part I, Noachic Tradition', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 8 (1979), 143–62; Thalia Phillies Feldman, 'Grendel and Cain's Descendants', *Literary Onomastics Studies*, 8 (1981), 71–87; Ruth Mellinkoff, 'Cain's Monstrous Progeny in *Beowulf*: Part II, Post-Diluvian Survival', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 9 (1981), 183–97; Chris Bishop, '*Þyrs, ent, eoten, gigans*: Anglo-Saxon Ontologies of *Giant*', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 107 (2006), 259–70; James Phillips, 'In the Company of Predators: Beowulf and the Monstrous Descendants of Cain', *Angelaki Journal of Theoretical Humanities*, 13 (2008), 41–52; and Leonard Neidorf, 'Cain, Cam, Jutes, Giants, and the Textual Criticism of *Beowulf*', *Studies in Philology*, 112 (2015), 599–632.

[37] The manuscript original reads *camp* (struggle). However, the narrative context suggests that an emendation to *Cain* is required. This is not only in view of the reference to fratricide but also given that the metre requires a disyllabic term like *Cain* rather than the monosyllabic *camp.* See Leonard Neidorf, 'Cain, Cam, Jutes, Giants, and the Textual Criticism of *Beowulf*', p. 606.

> Grendel's mother, lady, warrior-woman,[38] recalled the misery; she had to dwell in the water-horror, cold streams, since Cain became his brother's, his own father's kinsman's, blade-bane.

These two passages attest to the archetypal nature of Cain's fratricide, which notion may be traced back to Augustine, who argued that this act is reflected in historical (or pseudo-historical) narratives, such as Romulus's killing of his brother Remus.[39] In an early medieval English context a similar interpretation of Cain's fratricide is evident in *Maxims I*, where this act is represented as the source of all social conflict and disorder.[40] The representation of an extra-biblical tree of evil that springs as a result of Cain's fratricide in *Genesis A*, which tree harms humankind to the present day,[41] further affirms the archetypal interpretation of Cain's fratricide in an early medieval English context. On broadly similar lines, *Beowulf* posits the biblical fratricide as explanation and precedent for the Grendelkin's existence and malice. This suggests that *Beowulf*'s Christian audience is likely to have perceived the two monsters as Cainite creatures, and the sign that is Grendel's head as one evoking Cain and his fratricide. Therefore, Beowulf brings back to Heorot not only a sign of his victory, the validity of which is questionable in view of its redundancy, but also one that recalls Cainite conflict.

While *Beowulf*'s Cain passages set the two monsters within a scriptural framework, the course of events leading to Æschere's abduction and beheading suggests that Grendel's mother also has a close association with the theme of revenge. Beowulf's confrontation of her, after all, is instigated by her attack on King Hrothgar's hall, while the monstrous mother's attack on Heorot, in turn, is the result of Grendel's death at the hands of the protagonist. This narrative sequence, then, is one of the most prominent explorations in *Beowulf* of how violence and revenge are ubiquitous in the societies portrayed in the poem, its representativeness shown by the violent revenge that characterises the digressions.[42] Grendel's mother therefore functions as an externalisation of internecine violence, in particular as the outcome of revenge that besets the societies portrayed in the poem.[43] While Grendel may also be seen as an external manifestation of social ills, it is interesting that the protagonist does not perceive the need to conceal, or elide, his body or his story. Unlike his monstrous mother Grendel is not motivated by revenge for a killing and, in the absence of the scriptural references accessible to reader or listener alone, he may be seen by the other characters as representative of unprovoked and gratuitous bestial violence alone. Therefore, Beowulf's lack of apprehension at Grendel's head as a sign stems from his failure to understand that it connotes Cainite conflict, which understanding may only be gleaned from the monster's aforementioned scriptural

[38] The translation of the epithet 'ides āglǣċwīf' is by Christine Alfano, 'The Issue of Feminine Monstrosity: A Reevaluation of Grendel's Mother', *Comitatus: A Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 23 (1992), 1–16 (p. 12).

[39] See Charles D. Wright, 'The Blood of Abel and the Branches of Sin: *Genesis A*, Maxims I and Aldhelm's *Carmen de virginitate*', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 25 (1996), 7–19 (p. 10).

[40] See Wright, p. 12, for a discussion of the archetypal nature of Cain's fratricide in *Maxims I*.

[41] See lines 982b–1001 of *Genesis A: A New Edition*, rev. edn by A. N. Doane (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2013), p. 165.

[42] See Katherine O'Brien O'Keefe, 'Values and Ethics in Heroic Literature', in *The Cambridge Companion to Old English Literature*, ed. by Malcolm Godden and Michael Lapidge (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 101–19 (p. 106) for a discussion of revenge in the digressions. See also M. Wendy Hannequin, 'We've Created a Monster: The Strange Case of Grendel's Mother', *English Studies*, 89 (2008), 503–23 (pp. 505–06), who argues that Grendel's mother's revenge is atypical of the poem's other female characters.

[43] See Paul Acker, 'Horror and the Maternal in *Beowulf*', *PMLA*, 121 (2006), 702–16 (p. 703).

associations.[44] This means that Beowulf's decision to take to Heorot Grendel's head is based on his limited pre-Christian perspective, which prevents him from seeing that the negativity that inheres to Grendel's head as a sign is no less than that which attaches to Grendel's mother's body, which he elides.

While Beowulf is unaware of the Cainite significance of Grendel's head, which means that he may well associate this monster with unprovoked bestial violence, he evidently knows of the monstrous mother's thirst for revenge. Indeed, King Hrothgar explicitly associates Grendel's mother with revenge in lines 1333b–37a, which form part of a speech addressed to Beowulf himself:

> […] Hēo þa fǣhðe wræc
> þē þū ġystran niht Grendel cwealdest
> þurh hǣstne hād heardum clammum,
> forþan hē to lange lēode mīne
> wanode and wyrde.
>
> She wrought vengeance last night since you killed Grendel violently in your hard clutches,
> as for a long time he diminished and destroyed my people.

Beowulf is also demonstrably aware of the intricacies and social realities of revenge, including its destructiveness. This transpires on his return home from Denmark, when he laments King Hrothgar's decision to marry off his daughter Freawaru in an attempt to make peace with the Heathobards. Indeed, the protagonist predicts the failure of the marriage on account of Danish provocation and Heathobard thirst for revenge (ll. 2024b–69a). It is therefore reasonable to suppose that Beowulf is in a position to see Grendel's mother as an unflattering mirror of the social order (or disorder) portrayed, *inter alia*, in the poem's digressions, particularly where the son she seeks to avenge is a murderer who has not paid compensation for his crimes (ll. 154b–63) and where, therefore, her act of revenge is unjustified.[45] In the light of these considerations Grendel's mother's head would have constituted, from the protagonist's viewpoint, an awkward or uncanny sign of victory. This brings me back to the explanations offered by Trilling and Oswald for Beowulf's beheading of the male monster and the attempted elision of his mother.

An Alternative Explanation for Beowulf's Beheading of Grendel's Corpse II: Conclusions

While Trilling and Oswald provided plausible explanations for Beowulf's attempted elision of Grendel's mother, they did not discuss this aspect of the narrative with reference to the dramatic irony at the protagonist's expense that is built on the aforementioned biblical references. This is what this article does. In this respect, this article adds a new interpretative layer to existing critical work. Dramatic irony in the narrative stems from Beowulf's exchange of Grendel's mother's body as a negative sign associated, *inter alia*, with revenge, with another sign that is ultimately as negative, but that is not understood by the protagonist. The fact

[44] The characters' ignorance of the true identity of the monsters was highlighted, *inter alia*, by Fred C. Robinson, *Beowulf and the Appositive Style* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1985), p. 10.

[45] One of the functions of early medieval law codes was to distinguish between licit and illicit acts of revenge. See John D. Niles, 'The Myth of the Feud in Anglo-Saxon England', *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 114 (2015), 163–200 (p. 165).

that Grendel's mother is also associated with Cain is a secondary consideration; the point is that the use of one sign instead of the other does not do away with negative associations, including negative associations that relate directly to the Danish hall. As I already indicated, in carrying off Grendel's head as a sign of his victory Beowulf unwittingly brings back to Heorot a sign of Cainite fratricide and kin-strife. Inasmuch as revenge relates specifically to Grendel's mother and the societies portrayed in the poem's digressions, fratricide closely relates to the two monsters through the Cainite connection, as I already observed, and specifically to King Hrothgar's hall. This is attested by Beowulf's accusation of fratricide levelled against Unferth (ll. 587–88a), a prominent member of King Hrothgar's retinue, before his confrontation of Grendel. Unferth also recalls Grendel — and Cain — in his envy, in that he would have no other man's glory outshine his own (ll. 503–05).[46] It is also worth noting that fratricide is mentioned in the opening of Beowulf's speech ahead of his confrontation of the dragon, in the Geatish part of the narrative, when he tells of Herebeald's death at the hands of his brother Hæthcyn (ll. 2435–40). Even where this killing is ostensibly represented as an accident, the circumstances are suspicious, as Hæthcyn assumes the kingship upon his father Hrethel's death.[47] Hugh Magennis argued, in his commentary on this episode, that it 'bears a Cain-like weight of unatonable guilt'.[48] Moreover, Herebeald's tragic death is placed within a scenario of conflict, at the head of a speech that also tells of the Geats' numerous confrontations with the Scylfings (ll. 2472–89) and King Hygelac's disastrous Frisian campaign (ll. 2490–509). Here again, therefore, the sins associated with the monsters are reflected in the societies represented elsewhere in the narrative. I contend that the biblically-related theme of fratricide conveyed at these two distinct points contributes to the narrative's tragic dimension. These episodes, in particular Herebeald's death, suggest that Beowulf is unable to address the weaknesses, or internal threats, that beset the societies he seeks to protect, even where he rids them of their monstrous antagonists. His failure to glean the meaning behind Grendel's head as a sign, which also conveys the theme of fratricide through its Cainite associations, may well explain why this is the case. This theme, indeed, is in no way less indicative of the weaknesses of the societies represented in the poem than the unjustified revenge that Beowulf seeks to elide through his concealment and dismissal of Grendel's mother's body and narrative. Therefore, Beowulf only trades a symbol that may be associated, and that he appears to associate, with revenge, for another that appears to him not to reflect the failings of the society he seeks to protect. The fact that reader or listener knows that both signs are Cainite, and therefore equally damning, may well point to the dire predicament of pre-Christian characters, in that they 'lack the divine help they need to redeem space'[49] and, it could be added, society itself.

[46] Over the years of *Beowulf* criticism commentators have expressed very different views in relation to Unferth, ranging all the way from his representation as cowardly or ludicrous, to a brave and prominent warrior. See Leonard Neidorf, 'Unferth's Ambiguity and the Trivialization of Germanic Legend', *Neophilologus*, 101 (2017), 439–54 (pp. 445–46) for an overview of such critical views. What counts for the present purposes, however, is that fratricide and envy recall the archetypal Cain theme.

[47] Michael R. Kightley, 'The Brothers of *Beowulf*: Fraternal Tensions and the Reticent Style', *ELH*, 83 (2016), 407–29 (p. 414).

[48] Hugh Magennis, *Images of Community in Old English Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 80.

[49] Nicole Guenther Discenza, *Inhabited Spaces: Anglo-Saxon Constructions of Place* (London: University of Toronto Press, 2017), p. 153.

The Wicked Emperor and the Knight in the Bathtub: An Annotated Translation of the Middle High German *Heinrich von Kempten* by Konrad von Würzburg

Alan V. Murray

Abstract

Heinrich von Kempten is a poem by Konrad von Würzburg, an author active in southern Germany in the middle decades of the thirteenth century. It raises interesting questions about knightly values, legal and feudal obligations and courtly behaviour, and is thus potentially interesting to anyone studying or teaching medieval society or chivalry. This publication presents an English translation of the poem (together with linguistic and historical notes) which is placed alongside the standard edition of the text published by Edward Schröder in 1930.

Introduction

The work translated and annotated here is a Middle High German poem in rhyming couplets by Konrad von Würzburg, which is now usually known by the title *Heinrich von Kempten*.[1] Konrad was one of the most famous and prolific German authors of poetry in the thirteenth century, whose reputation is attested in laudatory mentions by later poets.[2] He was born around the year 1235 in the city of Würzburg, the seat of a bishopric in the duchy of Franconia. As far as can be established, Konrad seems to have become a professional poet, and from around 1260 onwards he was active in the Upper Rhine area, primarily in the episcopal cities of Basel and Strasbourg. He died on 31 August 1287 and was buried in Basel cathedral.[3]

Konrad was the author of numerous works in a variety of genres. He composed lyric poetry, comprising both love poetry (*Minnesang*) and moral and religious lyric (*Spruchdichtung*), as well as a series of epic poems in rhyming couplets. Many of the epics are described in

[1] For the text of the poem, see 'Heinrich von Kempten', in *Kleinere Dichtungen Konrads von Würzburg*, ed. by Edward Schröder, 2nd edn, 3 vols (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1925–30), I 41–68 and *Konrad von Würzburg, Kaiser Otto und Heinrich von Kempten. Abbildung der gesamten Überlieferung und Materialien zur Stoffgeschichte*, ed. by André Schnyder (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1989).

[2] *Dichter über Dichter in mittelhochdeutscher Literatur*, ed. by Günther Schweikle (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1970), pp. 3, 30, 39.

[3] Brandt, *Konrad von Würzburg*, pp. 15–18.

Leeds Medieval Studies, 1 (2021), 59–89. DOI: 10.57686/256204/12 (ISSN: Print 2754-4575/ Online 2754-4583)
© 2021 Alan V. Murray (ORCID iD: 0000-0003-1641-0891)
This work is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License

the manuscripts as *mæren* (literally, 'tales'), but in terms of content and style several of them could be more accurately regarded as romances; these include *Heinrich von Kempten*, *Das Herzmære*, *Engelhard*, *Partonopier und Meliur*, *Der Trojanerkrieg* (*The Trojan War*), and the *Schwanritter* (telling of the 'swan-knight' Lohengrin). There are three hagiographical legends, namely *Silvester*, *Alexius*, and *Pantaleon*, to which we might add *Die Goldene Schmiede*, a poem in praise of the Virgin Mary. The shorter poems *Die Klage der Kunst* and *Der Welt Lohn* (*The World's Reward*) are moralising allegories. Finally, there is *Das Turnier von Nantes* (*The Tournament of Nantes*), which is less easy to categorise. It gives a narrative of a fictitious tourney involving various European rulers, but its detailed heraldic descriptions suggest that it is in fact a political allegory.[4]

Heinrich von Kempten is thought to derive ultimately from a story told in the *Pantheon* (c. 1191), a Latin work written by the chronicler Godfrey of Viterbo, which tells of an incident supposedly occurring during the life of the Holy Roman Emperor Otto I (912–73).[5] However, Konrad's story is longer and much more detailed, particularly with regard to characterisation and the motivation of its main figure, the knight Heinrich. There is little in the poem that relates to the time of Otto I; rather, its ethos, vocabulary, and the manners which it depicts very much reflect the courtly world of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The poem raises interesting questions about knightly values, legal and feudal obligations and courtly behaviour, and is thus potentially interesting to anyone studying or teaching medieval society or chivalry. It is also a gripping tale, in which moments of humour are interspersed with high drama.[6]

4 Brandt, *Konrad von Würzburg*, pp. 18–43.

5 'Gotifredi Viterbensis Opera', ed. by Georg Waitz, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores in folio*, 22 (Hannover: Hahn, 1872), pp. 1–338 (at pp. 235–36).

6 The main studies on the work are: Walter Röll, 'Zum *Heinrich von Kempten* von Konrad von Würzburg', *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur*, 112 (1983), 252–57; Rosemary E. Wallbank, 'Emperor Otto and Heinrich von Kempten', in *Studies in Medieval Literature and Languages in Memory of Frederick Whitehead*, ed. by William Rothwell and others (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1973), pp. 353–62; Maria Dobozy, 'Der alte und der neue Bund in Konrads von Würzburg *Heinrich von Kempten*', *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, 107 (1988), 386–400; Rosemary E. Turner-Wallbank, 'Tradition und Innovation in Konrads von Würzburg *Heinrich von Kempten*', *Jahrbuch der Oswald von Wolkenstein-Gesellschaft*, 5 for 1988–89 (1989), 263–71; André Schnyder, 'Beobachtungen und Überlegungen zum *Heinrich von Kempten* Konrads von Würzburg', *Jahrbuch der Oswald von Wolkenstein-Gesellschaft*, 5 for 1988–89 (1989), 273–83; Helmut Brall, 'Geraufter Bart und nackter Retter. Verletzung und Heilung des Autoritätsprinzips in Konrads von Würzburg *Heinrich von Kempten*', in *Festschrift für Herbert Kolb zu seinem 65. Geburtstag*, ed. by Klaus Matzel and Hans-Gert Roloff (Bern: Peter Lang, 1989), pp. 31–52; Rüdiger Brandt, *Konrad von Würzburg: Kleinere epische Werke* (Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 2000); Beate Kellner, 'Der Ritter und die nackte Gewalt. Rollenentwürfe in Konrads von Würzburg *Heinrich von Kempten*', in *Literarische Leben: Rollenentwürfe in der Literatur des Hoch- und Spätmittelalters: Festschrift für Volker Mertens zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. by Matthias Meyer and Hans-Jochen Schiewer (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2002), pp. 361–84; Werner J. Hoffmann, '*Wan manheit unde ritterschaft / diu zwei diu tiurent sêre*: Ein semantisches Problem im *Heinrich von Kempten*', *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, 240 (2003), 354–60; Gustavo Fernández Riva, 'Critic of Courtliness in Konrad von Würzburg's *Heinrich von Kempten*', *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 49 (2018), 187–98; Markus Stock, 'Responsionen: Konrads von Würzburg Erzählkunst im *Heinrich von Kempten*', in *Konrad von Würzburg als Erzähler*, ed. by Norbert Kössinger and Astrid Lembke (Oldenburg: BIS-Verlag, 2021), pp. 245–60; Monika Schausten, 'Beim Barte des Kaisers: Soziales Chaos und poetische Ordnung in Konrads von Würzburg *Heinrich von Kempten*', in *Erzählte Ordnungen — Ordnungen des Erzählens*, ed. by Daniela Fuhrmann und Pia Selmeyer (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2021), pp. 230–49; Schausten, 'Der Ritter im Bade und das "Körper gewordene Soziale": Zur Dynamisierung von Konventionalität in Konrads von Würzburg *Heinrich von Kempten*', in *Kunst und Konventionalität. Dynamiken sozialen Wissens und Handelns in der Literatur des Mittelalters*, ed. by Udo Friedrich, Christiane Krusenbaum-Verheugen und Monika Schausten (Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 2021), pp. 125–55.

Why translate *Heinrich von Kempten*? Unlocking the content of literature written in Middle High German is not straightforward. For German speakers, individual words might seem recognisable at first sight, yet they might still be led astray by superficial similarities of lexical items whose meanings have shifted, often quite drastically, since the Middle Ages.[7] Native speakers of English have greater problems. Most of the Anglophone researchers and students who engage with the language will have already studied modern German for several years, and the relatively few study aids written with English speakers in mind tend to make this assumption of their prospective readers. This certainly applies to the most widely used introduction to the language, which habitually explains phonology, pronunciation and grammatical features by reference to New High German.[8] The most recent comprehensive guide includes several glossed and annotated texts aimed at students, but its authors nevertheless state that 'the only prior knowledge that we take for granted is an understanding of present-day German'.[9] A further factor is that the standard lexicographical resources are presented through the medium of modern German.[10] Finally, most of the secondary literature has been produced by Germanists working in Germany, Austria and Switzerland, who naturally have written in their native language. As the literature cited above indicates, this is clearly the case with *Heinrich von Kempten*. There are now good modern English translations of many of the more important longer poems from the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries (with the more recent publications usually giving the original text alongside the translation), but these represent only a fraction of the entire corpus of Middle High German epic poetry. Moreover, there are far fewer translations available for works written after this 'classical' period. *Heinrich von Kempten* is a work which is interesting in its own right and is of a manageable length that makes it a suitable subject for seminar discussion. The aim of this publication is to provide an English translation of the poem to make it accessible to those who do not know medieval or modern German; it also gives linguistic and historical notes which may be useful to those who are learning or wish to learn more about the Middle High German language.

Text and Translation

The title *Heinrich von Kempten* is a conventional one, assigned to the poem by Germanists on the grounds that the knight Heinrich is the main protagonist of the story. However, the headings given in most of the surviving manuscripts associate the story with Otto, the Holy Roman emperor, probably because he is the first character to be mentioned.[11] Otto

7 Franz Saran, *Das Übersetzen aus dem Mittelhochdeutschen*, 6th edn, ed. by Bert Nagel (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1975), pp. 1–21.

8 Maurice O'C. Walshe, *A Middle High German Reader with Grammar, Notes and Glossary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974).

9 Howard Jones and Martin H. Jones, *The Oxford Guide to Middle High German* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), p. 2.

10 The most important of these is the *Mittelhochdeutsches Wörterbuch (MWB Online)*, which incorporates data from earlier printed resources. See http://www.mhdwb-online.de/index.html.

11 The complete poem is transmitted in six surviving manuscripts: Cologny-Genève, Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, Cod. Bodm. 72 (formerly Kalocsa, Kalocsai Főszékesegyházi Könyvtár [Kalocsa Cathedral Library], 1), ff. 242ra–247ra; Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, cpg.341, ff. 241ra–46ra and cpg.395, ff. 92vb–98vb; Innsbruck, Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum, Cod. FB.32001 (formerly 16.0.9), ff. 84vb–213vb; Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 2885, ff. 205va–213vb and 10100a, ff. 17^{v}–23^{v}. The fragments held in London, Senate House Library, Closs/Priebsch Family Papers, Closs Box 67/ii, contain lines 764–70 of the poem.

is introduced in negative terms. He has red hair, a feature which in many ages has been stereotypically associated with a short temper and a predilection to anger, and indeed, the emperor is quick to take offence and implacable to those who oppose him. He is especially proud of his long, luxuriant red beard, and when he threatens anyone with the oath 'by my beard' (*sam mir mîn bart*), it is a clear sign that they can expect no mercy.

The narrative falls structurally into two roughly equal halves.[12] The first part begins in the city of Bamberg, where the emperor is holding a gathering of his court for the festival of Easter. In the emperor's palace the boards have been set out for a sumptuous meal after the celebration of Mass. At first sight the scene is one of order and harmony, but a seemingly trivial act sets off a chain of events which leaves one character dead, and two others in fear for their lives when Heinrich threatens to kill the emperor. This highly dramatic action ends with Heinrich being banished from court, and told never to enter the emperor's presence again. He returns to Swabia where he lives peaceably on the estates that he holds in fief from the abbot of Kempten. The different actions and reactions of the four characters who figure in this part of the narrative raise questions about what behaviour is justified or reprehensible according to the social conventions and obligations of their time.

The second part takes up the story ten years later. The emperor, who is campaigning in Italy, sends word to his vassals in Germany that they are to provide him with reinforcements. When the abbot of Kempten musters his troops, Heinrich is unwilling to join him, fearing Otto's ferocious and unforgiving nature, but the abbot insists the knight should perform the service that he owes. After they join the imperial forces where the emperor is besieging a city, Heinrich tries to remain apart from the rest of the army in order to avoid being recognised by Otto or his officials, which might expose him to the emperor's vengeance. One day Heinrich is taking a bath outside his pavilion at the edge of the imperial camp, when some distance away he sees how the emperor, riding out with the intention to parley with the enemy, is in danger of being ambushed by a group of the defenders of the city. Heinrich jumps out of his bath, and pausing only to seize his sword and shield, rushes out, naked, and furiously drives off the plotters. Once the emperor is safe, Heinrich returns to camp, hoping that he has not been recognised. However, Otto makes enquiries about the identity of his rescuer, and Heinrich is brought to him. The knight still fears for his life because of his actions ten years previously, and the tension about his fate when he finally confronts the emperor is maintained until the conclusion of the poem, when the conflict between Heinrich and Otto is finally resolved.

The English translation below is presented alongside a facing-page Middle High German text derived from the published edition by Edward Schröder (as n.1). In order to assist the learner who wishes to compare the original text with the translation, a number of glosses and linguistic notes are given.[13]

[12] Röll, 'Zum *Heinrich von Kempten* von Konrad von Würzburg'.

[13] Words are generally glossed only if they are not easily found in the glossary in Walshe, *Middle High German Reader*.

Abbreviations

The following abbreviations are employed in the notes:

adj	adjective
adv	adverb
f	feminine noun
irreg	irregular verb
m	masculine noun
n	neuter noun
sv	strong verb (with verb class in Roman numerals)
wv	weak verb
<	is derived from, is a derivative form of (e.g. infinitive)
≠	is different from (words with similar form but different meanings)

Text

Ein keiser Otte was genannt, [a]
des magencrefte manic lant
mit vorhten undertænic wart.
Schœn unde lanc was im der bart, [b]
wand er in zôch viel zarte, [c]
und swaz er bî dem barte
geswuor, daz liez er allez wâr. [d]
Er hete rœtelehtez hâr [e]
und was mitalle ein übel man. [f]
10 Sîn herze in argem muote bran [g]
daz er bewârte an maneger stete:
swer iht wider in getete, [h]
der muoste hân den lîp verlorn.
Über swen der eit gesworn
von des keisers munde wart:
'du garnest ez, sam mir mîn bart!' [i]
der muoste ligen tôt zehant,
wand er dekeine milte vant [j]
an sîner hende danne.
20 Sus hete er manegem manne
daz leben und den lîp benomen, [k]
der von sînen gnâden komen
was durch hôher schulde werc.
Nu hæte er dâ ze Bâbenberc [l]
in der schœnen veste wît [m]
gemachet eine hôchgezît,
Und was diu zeinen ôstern. [n]
des quâmen ûzer clôstern [o]
vil hôher ebbete in den hof [p]
30 und manic werder bischof,
der mit êren îlte dar.
Ouch quâmen dar in liehter schar
grâven, frîen, dienestman, [q]
die daz rîche hôrten an [r]
und den keiserlichen voget,
die quâmen alle dar gezoget
in wünneclicher presse. [s]
Nu daz gesungen messe
was an dem ôsterlichen tage,
40 dô wâren sunder leides clage
al die tische dâ bereit,
und het man brôt dar ûf geleit
und manic schœne trincvaz [t]
dar ûf gesetzet umbe daz,
sô der keiser Otte
mit sîner fürsten rotte [u]
von deme münster quæme,
daz er dâ wazzer næme
und er enbizze sâ zehant.

[a] *Otte* (m) = Otto (in oblique cases *Otten*).
[b] *bart* (m) = 'beard'; *im* is dative form of *er* (personal pronoun), denoting possession.
[c] *zarte* (adv) = 'tenderly, lovingly'.
[d] *geswern* (sv VI) intensive form of *swern* = 'swear'; *liez* < *lassen* (sv VII).
[e] *rœteleht* (adj) = 'reddish'.
[f] *mitalle* (adv) = 'all, completely'. Cf. archaic English *withall.*
[g] *brinnen* (sv III) = 'burn'.
[h] *getuon* (irreg) = 'do something to someone'.
[i] *garnen* (wv) = 'harvest, reap, deserve'.
[j] *dekeine* < *dechein* (adj) = 'no'.
[k] *benemen* (sv IV) = 'take away'.
[l] *Bâbenberc* = Bamberg.
[m] *veste* (f) = 'fortress, castle'.
[n] *zeinen* = contraction of *ze einen*.
[o] *clôster* (n) = monastery.
[p] *ebbete* (more accurately *äbbete*) = plural of *abbet* 'abbot'.
[q] *dienestman* = 'ministerialis, ministerial knight'.
[r] *hôren/hœren* (wv) *an* + accusative case = 'belong to'.
[s] *presse* (f) = 'press, throng'.
[t] *trincvaz* (n) = 'drinking vessel'.
[u] *rote/rotte* (f) = 'crowd, group of people, companions'.

Translation

There was once an emperor named Otto, who was the mighty and feared ruler of many lands. His beard was splendid and long, for he kept it with great care, and whatever he swore by his beard, he would see that it was done. He had red hair and he was a wicked man; many a time he showed the evil that burned within his heart, and anyone who opposed him had to pay for it with his life. His favourite oath was 'you shall pay for this, by my beard!', and anyone to whom he said this would receive no mercy from him, but would be condemned to die at once. In this way the emperor had taken the life of many a man whose deeds had incurred his displeasure.

Now the emperor had come to the fine, great city of Bamberg to celebrate the holy feast of Easter.[1] Many high abbots travelled from their monasteries to attend the court, and many worthy bishops acted honourably in making haste to be there. There was also a great number of counts, free lords and ministerials who served the empire and its ruler — all of them came together there in a magnificent throng.[2] When mass was sung that Easter Day the tables had already been prepared with the greatest of care: the boards had been set and many splendid vessels placed upon them, so that when Emperor Otto came from the cathedral with his princes, he could wash his hands and sit down to dine at once.[3]

[1] Bamberg, a city in eastern Franconia (now in mod. Bavaria), the seat of a bishopric. The great church festivals of Christmas, Easter and Whitsun were often the occasion for meetings of the imperial court, when large numbers of prelates, secular princes and vassals could be expected to attend.

[2] Free lords (Ger. *Edelfreie*) were the lowest rank of German free nobility, below that of counts. Ministerials (Latin *ministeriales*) were a class of knights who were technically unfree, but who carried out important military and executive functions for their lords. See Karl Bosl, 'Noble Unfreedom: The Rise of the Ministeriales in Germany', in *The Medieval Nobility*, ed. by Timothy Reuter (Amsterdam: North-Holland, 1979), pp. 291–311; Benjamin Arnold, *German Knighthood 1050–1300* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985); Arnold, 'Servile Retainers or Noble Knights: the Medieval Ministeriales in Germany', *Reading Medieval Studies*, 12 (1986), 73-84; Arnold, 'Instruments of Power: The Profile and Profession of *ministeriales* within German Aristocratic Society (1050–1225)', in *Cultures of Power: Lordship, Status, and Process in Twelfth-Century Europe*, ed. by Thomas N. Bisson (Philadelphia, 1995), pp. 36–55.

[3] Formal feasts such as the one described here had an important representative function, demonstrating the bonds between emperor and princes. See Gerd Althoff, 'Der frieden-, bündnis- und gemeinschaftstiftende Charakter des Mahles im frühen Mittelalter', in *Essen und Trinken in Mittelalter und Neuzeit*, ed. by Irmgard Bitsch and others (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1987), pp. 13–25.

50 Nu was durch hovezuht gesant
ein werder juncherre dar,[a]
der edel unde wünnevar
an herzen und an lîbe schein.
die liute im alle sunder mein [b]
vil hôhen prîs dâ gâben.
Sîn vater was von Swâben [c]
herzoge vil gewaltec, [d]
des gülte manicvaltec [e]
solt erben dirre aleine. [f]
60 Der selbe knabe reine [g]
des tages dâ ze hove gie
vor den tischen unde lie [h]
dar ûf die blanken hende sîn:
ein lindez brôt nam er dar în, [i]
des brach der hôchgeborne knabe
ein lützel unde ein wênic abe [j]
und wolte ez ezzen sam diu kint,
diu des sites elliu sint
und in der wille stât dar zuo
70 daz si gerne enbîzent fruo.
Der junge fürste wünnesam,
als er daz brôt an sich genam
und ein teil gebrach dar abe, [k]
dô gienc aldâ mit sîme stabe [l]
des keisers truhsæze [m]
und schihte daz man æze, [n]
sô man gesungen hæte gar.
Der selbe der wart des gewar,
daz der juncherre wert
80 des brôtes hæte dâ gegert. [o]
des wart er zornic sâ zehant:
der site sîn was sô gewant
daz in muote ein cleine dinc.
Des lief er an den jungelinc
mit eime stabe den er truoc, [p]
dâ mite er ûf daz houbet sluoc [q]
den knaben edel unde clâr,
daz im diu scheitel und daz hâr [r]
von rôtem bluote wurden naz.
90 Des viel er nider unde saz
und weinde manegen heizen trahen,
daz in der truhsæze slahen
getorste. Daz ersach ein helt, [s]
der was ein riter ûzerwelt
und hiez von Kempten Heinrich;
sîn edel muot der hæte sich
rîlicher manheit an genomen. [t]
Er was mit deme kinde komen [u]
von Swâben dar, als ich ez las,
100 wand er sîn zuhtmeister was [v]
und in nâch ganzer wirde zôch.

[a] *juncherre* (m) = 'young lord'.
[b] *mein* (m) = 'falsehood, falsity'.
[c] *Swâben* = 'Swabia'.
[d] *herzoge* (m) = 'duke'.
[e] *gülte* (f) = 'income, money' (< *gelten*)
[f] *erben* (wv) = 'inherit'; *dirre* (adjectival noun) here means 'this person'
[g] *knabe* (m) = 'boy, lad'.
[h] *lie* < *lazzen*.
[i] *linde* (adj) = 'soft'.
[j] *ab* (adv) is a separable prefix belonging to the verb *brach*.
[k] *gebrechen* (sv IV) = intensive of *brechen* 'break'.
[l] *stab* (m) = 'staff'.
[m] *truhsæze* (m) = 'seneschal, steward'.
[n] *schichten* (wv) = 'order, see to it'; *æze* = 3rd person present subjunctive of *ezzen* 'eat'.
[o] *gern* (wv) = 'desire'.
[p] *eime* = *einem.*
[q] *dâ mite* = 'with which'; *sluoc* < *slahen/slân* (sv VI) = 'slay, kill'.
[r] *scheitel* (f) = 'crown of the head'.
[s] *getorste* < *geturren* (irreg).
[t] *rilîch* (adj) = 'fine, splendid'.
[u] *komen* is used here as the past participle for the more usual *gekomen*. Verbs of movement, plus *sîn* ('be') and *werden* ('become'), form their perfect tense with *sîn* as auxiliary rather than *haben*, which is used with most verbs.
[v] *zuhtmeister* (m) < *zuht* (f) 'upbringing, education' + *meister*.

Now there was a certain young lord who had been sent to court for his education. He was noble and handsome in both body and spirit, and everyone without exception had the highest opinion of him. His father was the mighty duke of Swabia, and the young man was the sole heir to all the rights and possessions of the duchy.[1] As this innocent youth was walking past the tables at court that day, he picked up a loaf of fine bread with his fair hands; the high-born boy broke off a small morsel from a loaf, wanting to eat it there and then, like children who are impatient for their meal. Just as this young, handsome prince was breaking off a piece of the bread that he had in his hands, the emperor's seneschal[2] entered carrying his staff of office, to announce that, now that the mass had been sung, it was time to dine. But when he saw the young man about to eat the bread he became enraged, for his nature was such that he was upset even by such trifling matters. He rushed up to the youth and, with the staff he was carrying, beat the fair, noble boy on the head until his hair and scalp were wet and red with blood. The boy fell to the floor and sat there, weeping many hot tears because the seneschal had dared to beat him.

All of this was seen by a worthy knight called Heinrich von Kempten, who had always distinguished himself by his great courage. He had come from Swabia with the young man, as I have read, to act as his tutor and educate him as was appropriate to his dignity.

[1] The duchy of Swabia covered much of the south-west of the medieval kingdom of Germany, corresponding to the greater part of the modern state of Baden-Württemberg together with adjacent parts of northern Switzerland and south-eastern Bavaria.

[2] The seneschal or steward (in modern German, *Truchsess*) was one of the four main officials found in medieval royal households, alongside the marshal, the constable and the butler. The office was normally held by someone of knightly or higher rank, who was responsible for keeping order at the court, alongside other duties. On the development of the court offices, see Werner Rösener, 'Hofämter an mittelalterlichen Fürstenhöfen', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*, 45 (1989), 485–550 and Alan V. Murray, 'Der König und der Küchenmeister: Überlegungen zur Rolle Rumolts im *Nibelungenlied*', in *Nibelungenlied und Klage: Ursprung — Funktion — Bedeutung*, ed. Dietz-Rüdiger Moser and Marianne Sammer (München: Institut für Bayerische Literaturgeschichte, 1998), pp. 395–410.

Daz man den juncherren hôch
als unerbermelîchen sluoc, [a]
daz muote in sêre und übel gnuoc
und was im leit und ungemach.
Zuo dem truhsæzen sprach
der unverzagte ritter dô
harte zorniclîche alsô:
'waz habent ir gerochen [b]
110 daz ir nu hânt zebrochen [c]
iuwer ritterlichen zuht,
daz ir eins edeln fürsten fruht
als übellîche habet geslagen?
Ich will iu nemelîchen sagen:
ir werbent anders danne ir sult,
sît daz ir sunder alle schult
geslagen hânt den herren mîn.'
'daz lânt iu gar unmære sîn!'
sprach der truhsæze
120 'mir ist daz wol gemæze [d]
deich ungefüegen schelken were [e]
und einen iegelichen bere [f]
der hie ze hove unzühtic ist.
Lânt iuwer rede an dirre frist
belîben algemeine:
ich fürhte iuch alsô cleine
als der habich tuot daz huon. [g]
Waz welt ir nû dar umbe tuon
daz ich den herzogen sluoc?' [h]
130 'Daz wirt bekant iu schiere gnuoc', [i]
sprach von Kempten Heinrich,
'daz ir den fürsten edellîch
sô vaste kunnet bliuwen,
daz sol iuch hie geriuwen, [j]
wand ich vertrag es langer niht.
Ir tugentlôser bœsewiht, [k]
nu wie getorstet ir geleben
daz ir dem kinde hânt gegeben
als ungefüege biusche? [l]
140 Daz iuwer hant unkiusche
sô gar unedellîche tuot,
des muoz begiezen iuwer bluot [m]
den sal und disen flecken.'
Dô greif er einen stecken [n]
als einen grôzen reitel: [o]
er sluog in daz diu scheitel [p]
im zerclahte sam ein ei, [q]
und im der gebel spielt enzwei [r]
reht als ein havenschirben, [s]
150 daz er begunde zwirben [t]
alumbe und umbe sam ein topf; [u]

[a] *unerbermelîchen* (adv) < *erbarmen* (wv) = 'show mercy'.
[b] *rechen* (sv IV) = 'punish'. The characters address each other with the 2nd person plural pronoun *ir*, a marker of courtly discourse.
[c] *hânt* < *haben/hân*; *zebrochen* = *zerbrochen* (past participle) < *zerbrechen* (sv IV).
[d] *gemæze* (adj) = 'suitable, proportionate'. Cf. *maze* 'measure, moderation'.
[e] *deich* = contraction of *daz ich*; *wern* (wv) = 'restrain, hinder'.
[f] *bern* (wv) = 'beat, strike'.
[g] *habich(t)* (m) = 'hawk'.
[h] *sluoc/sluog* < *slahen* (sv)
[i] *gnuoc* = *genuoc*.
[j] *geriuwen* (sv II) + dative subject = 'rue, regret' (impersonal).
[k] *bœsewiht* (m) = 'villain'.
[l] *biusche* (f) = 'knock, blow'.
[m] *begiezen* (sv II) = 'make wet, cause to flow'.
[n] *stecken* (m) = 'stick, staff'.
[o] *greif* < *grîfen* (sv I) = 'grasp'; *reitel* (m) = 'club'.
[p] *scheitel* (m) = 'crown of the head, skull'.
[q] *ei* (n) = 'egg'.
[r] *gebel* (m) = 'head'; *spielt* < *spalten* (sv I) 'split'
[s] *havenschirben* (m) = 'potsherd(s)'.
[t] *zirben/zwirben* (wv) = 'rotate, spin around'.
[u] *topf* (m) = 'pot'.

It distressed him sorely to see this young nobleman beaten so mercilessly, for it upset his sense of propriety. Enraged, the courageous knight demanded of the seneschal:

> 'Why have you broken the knightly code and beaten the son of a noble prince in such a shameful manner? I will say only this to you: you have acted quite wrongly, for you have maltreated my lord without cause'.

The seneschal replied,

> 'This is no concern of yours. It is my responsibility to restrain vulgar rogues and to chastise anyone who does not know how to behave at court. So hold your tongue now: I fear you as little as a hawk fears a hen. What if I have beaten the duke[1] — what are you going to do about it?'
>
> 'You shall find out soon enough', said Heinrich von Kempten, 'and here and now you shall regret ever having struck this noble prince, for I cannot stand this state of affairs any longer. You worthless villain, why do you deserve to live when you have beaten this boy in such a monstrous manner? Since you are so ignoble that you have shown no restraint with your hand, you will have to pay for it with your own blood, here in his hall'.

Heinrich seized a piece of wood and, grasping it like a club, he smashed the seneschal's head as if it were an eggshell, and it shattered like fragments of broken clay. The seneschal began

[1] The seneschal here refers to the young man by the title of *herzog* (duke), that strictly speaking belongs to the youth's father. This may be a way of heightening the apparent arrogance of the seneschal by making him boast that he is not afraid to strike the highest rank of princes in the empire.

daz hirne wart im und der kopf [a]
erschellet harte, dünket mich. [b]
Des viel er ûf den esterich [c]
und lac dâ jâmerlichen tôt.
Der sal wart sînes bluotes rôt.
Dâ von huop sich en michel dôz [d]
unde ein lûtgebrehte grôz. [e]
Nû was ouch der keiser komen
160 und hæte wazzer dâ genomen
und waz gesezzen über tisch.
Daz bluot begunde er alsô frisch
ûf dem esteriche sehen;
er sprach: 'waz ist alhie geschehen?
wer hât den sal entreinet [f]
und die getât erscheinet [g]
daz er sô bluotic worden ist?'
Zehant begunde im an der frist [h]
sîn werdez ingesinde sagen,
170 daz im sîn truhsæze erslagen
waere bî der zît alsô.
Mit zorne sprach der keiser dô:
'wer hât an im beswæret mich?'
'daz tet von Kempten Heinrich'
riefens algelîche. [i]
'Jâ', sprach der keiser rîche,
'hât im der sînen lîp benomen,
sô ist er uns ze früeje komen
von Swâben her in ditze lant.
180 Er werde schiere nû besant [j]
für mîn antlitze her;
ich will in frâgen war umb er
mir habe sô vaste an im geschadet.'
Sus wart der ritter dô geladet
für den keiser freissam. [k]
Und als er für sîn ougen quam
unde er in von êrste ersach,
mit zorne er wider in dô sprach:
'wie hânt ir, herre, alsus getobet, [l]
190 daz mîn truhsæze hôchgelobet
von iu lît ermordet? [m]
Ir hânt ûf iuch gehordet [n]
mîn ungenâde manicvalt;
iu sol mîn keiserlîch gewalt
erzeiget werden sêre;
ir hânt mîns hoves êre
und mînen prîs zebrochen;
daz wirt an iu gerochen;
der hôhe mein und diu geschiht [o]
200 daz man den truhsæzen siht
von iu ze tôde erlempten. [p]
'Nein, herre!' sprach von Kempten
der unverzagte Heinrich:
'lânt hie genâde vinden mich
und iuwer stæte hulde.
Geruochent mîne unschulde
vernemen hie und mîne schult.
Hab ich mit rehter ungedult [q]
verdienet iuwer vîentschaft,
210 sô lâzent iuwer magencraft
mich vellen unde veigen. [r]

[a] *hirne* (n) = 'brain(s)'.
[b] *erschellen* (wv) = break, fracture' ≠ *erschellen* (sv III) = 'sound'.
[c] *est(e)rich* (m) = 'floor'.
[d] *huop* < *heben* (sv VI).
[e] *lûtgebrehte* (n) = 'commotion, uproar'.
[f] *entreinen* (wv) = 'defile' < *rein* (adj) = 'clean, pure'.
[g] *getât* (m) = 'deed(s)'.
[h] *frist* (f) = space of time; *an der frist* = 'straight away'.
[i] *riefens* = contraction of *riefen sî* < *ruofen* 'shout, call out'.
[j] *besant* = past participle of *besenden* (irreg) = 'send for'.
[k] *freissam/vreissam* (adj) = 'terrible'.
[l] *toben* (wv) = 'rage'.
[m] *ligen* (sv V) = 'lie' (position/state) ≠ 'tell lies'; *ermorden* (wv) = 'murder'.
[n] *orden* (wv) = 'hoard, collect, gather'.
[o] *mein* (m) = basic meaning is 'falsehood' or 'injustice'; also consequences thereof, e.g. 'misdeed, damage'.
[p] *erlemmen* (wv) = 'make lame'.
[q] *ungedult* (f) = 'impatience'.
[r] *veigen* (wv) = 'destroy, condemn' < *veige* (adj) 'doomed'.

to sway and totter around like a wobbly pot; his skull and his brain must both have been severely damaged, for he fell to the floor and lay there lifeless, staining the floor of the hall with his blood. This brought forth a mighty uproar from all those standing around.

At that moment the emperor arrived; he had just washed his hands and taken his place at table when he noticed the fresh bloodstain on the floor. He said, 'What has happened here? Who has defiled the hall so that it is covered in blood? At once the courtiers started to tell him how his seneschal had been slain only a short time before. 'Who has done this thing to me?', said the emperor angrily. 'It was Heinrich von Kempten', came the reply from all sides.

> 'Indeed', said the mighty emperor, 'if he has taken the life of my seneschal, then it was an ill thing that he ever left Swabia to come to these parts. Let him be brought before me at once, for I wish to know why he has done this great injury to me'.

And so Heinrich was brought before the infuriated emperor, and immediately the emperor saw the knight, he shouted out in anger,

> 'What brought such a fit of rage on you, sir, that my esteemed seneschal is now lying here dead by your hand? You have incurred my extreme disfavour, and now you shall feel the full force of my imperial authority. You have dishonoured my court and my own reputation, and you shall pay for this great crime that has left my seneschal dead'.
>
> 'No, sire', cried the bold Heinrich von Kempten, 'grant me your mercy and your grace, for I ask you to hear me out before you decide whether I am guilty or innocent. If my impetuous behaviour has indeed deserved your enmity, then you can condemn me to death by your authority.

Müg aber ich erzeigen
daz niht sî diu schulde mîn,
sô ruochent mir genædic sîn
daz ir mir niht übels tuont.
Durch den got der hiute erstuont
an disem ôsterlichem tage, [a]
sô gunnet mir daz ich bejage
iuwer keisterlîche gunst. [b]
220 Sît daz ir habent die vernunst [c]
daz ir von art bescheiden sît, [d]
sô êrent diese hôchgezît
an mir vil armen hiute, [e]
lânt mich der werden liute
geniezen die man schouwet hie.
Kein schulde wart sô michel nie
dan hœre zuo genâden teil:
dur daz sô lâzent mich daz heil
hie vinden unde erwerben
230 daz ich niht müeze ersterben.
Der keiser übel unde rôt
der rede im antwürte bôt [f]
ûz eime grimmen herzen,
er sprach: 'des tôdes smerzen
den hie mîn truhsæze treit,[g]
lîd ich mit solher arebeit
daz ich niht muotes hân dar zuo
daz ich iu keine gnâde tuo
umb iuwer hôhe schulde.
240 Mîn keiserlîchiu hulde
muoz iemer sîn vor iu verspart.
Ir garnet ez, sam mir mîn bart, [h]
daz mîn truhsæze tôt
lît von iu alsunder nôt'.[i]
Der werde ritter Heinrich
verstuont wol bî dem eide sich
den der übel keiser tete,
daz er benamen an der stete
daz leben müeste hân verlorn.
250 Des wart im alsô rehte zorn
daz er sich gerne wollte wern [j]
und daz leben sîn genern [k]
mit willecliches herzen ger,
wand er bekande wol, swaz er
bî dem barte sîn gehiez,[l]
daz er daz allez stæte liez. [m]
Dâ von sprach er: 'nu merke ich wol
daz ich benamen sterben sol; [n]
nû ist zît daz ich mich wer
260 und daz leben mîn gener
al die wîle daz ich kan.'
Hie mit der ûzerwelte man
geswinde für den keiser spranc,
er greif in bî dem barte lanc, [o]
und zuhte in über sînen tisch: [p]
ez wære fleisch oder visch [q]
daz man dâ für in hæte brâht,
daz wart gevellet in ein bâht; [r]

[a] *osterlîch* (adj) < *ostern* = 'Easter'.
[b] *gunst* (f) = 'favour'.
[c] *vernunst* (f) = '(good) sense, understanding'.
[d] *bescheiden* (adj) = 'prudent, discerning, wise'.
[e] *armen* (adj) = here in dative case, qualifying the personal pronoun *mir*.
[f] *bieten* (sv II) = 'offer'.
[g] *treit tragen* (sv) = 'carry, bear'.
[h] *garnen* = *gearnen* < *arnen* (wv) = 'earn, harvest, deserve'.
[i] *alsunder* = *sunder*.
[j] *wern* (wv) = 'defend, restrain, hinder'.
[k] *genern* (wv) = 'save, keep alive'.
[l] *geheizen* (sv VII) = 'order, command'.
[m] *stæte lassen* = 'have something done'; *stæte machen* = 'confirm'.
[n] *benamen* (adv) = *bî namen* = 'in truth'.
[o] *grîfen* (sv I) = 'grasp, grip'.
[p] *zugen* (wv) = 'pull'.
[q] *ez wære* = literally 'were it', meaning 'whether (it was) …'.
[r] *bâht* (n) = 'rubbish, refuse, heap'.

> But if I can show that this was not my fault, then I ask you to show mercy and refrain from doing me harm. By God who rose on this Easter Day, permit me to seek your majesty's favour. Since you have the capacity to be judicious, I ask you to honour this high feast day by showing mercy to an unfortunate and allow me to enjoy the fine company assembled here today. No fault can be so great that it cannot find mercy; allow me to redeem myself so that I do not have to suffer the punishment of death'.

But the wicked, red-haired emperor gave a reply that came from the depths of his grim heart:

> 'the pains of death that my seneschal has had to suffer here have caused me such distress that I am not minded to show any mercy for this great crime. By your actions you have forfeited the imperial favour for ever. By my beard, you shall pay for having killed my seneschal without cause'.[1]

The worthy knight Heinrich realised from the oath that the evil emperor had sworn that he would certainly lose his life there and then. He became so enraged that he resolved to fight for his life with all his spirit, for he knew well that whatever the emperor had sworn by his beard, he would stop at nothing to do.

And so Heinrich said, 'I see that I must die, and so now it is time for me to fight for my life as long as I can'. With these words this excellent man threw himself on the emperor, seized him by the beard and pulled him up onto the table in front of him. Every dish that had been set there, whether meat or fish, was sent flying as he dragged the emperor across the board.

[1] The emperor's oath is almost word for word the same as that quoted above at line 16, except that here he uses *ir*, the polite form of the second person pronoun normally used within courtly society, as opposed to *du*, the familiar form that would have been used to address servants or menials.

als er in bî dem barte dans, [a]
270 daz kinne wart im und der flans [b]
vil hâres dâ beroubet:
sîn keiserlichez houbet
wart sêre entschumphieret, [c]
diu krône wol gezieret
diu dar ûf gesetzet was,
viel nider in den palas [d]
und al sîn rîchiu zierheit.
Er hæte in under sich geleit
geswinde bî den zîten.
280 er zuhte von der sîten
ein mezzer wol gewetzet, [e]
daz hæte er im gesetzet
vil schiere an sîne kelen hin. [f]
Mit der hant begunde er in
vast umb den kragen würgen. [g]
Er sprach: 'nu lânt mich bürgen [h]
emphâhen unde sicherheit,
daz iuwer gnâde mir bereit
und iuwer hulde werde,
290 ir muozent ûf der erde
daz leben anders hân verlorn.
Den eit den ir nu hânt gesworn,
den velschet ob ir welt genesen,
oder ez muoz iuwer ende wesen.' [i]
Sus lag er ûf im an der zît
und roufte in sêre widerstrît
bî sînem langen barte,
er wurgte in alsô harte
daz er niht mohte sprechen.
300 Die werden und die frechen
fürsten alle ûf sprungen,
si liefen unde drungen
algemeiniclîchen dar
dâ der keiser tôtgevar [j]
lag under dem von Kempten:
an kreften den erlempten
hætens an den stunden [k]
von im vil gerne enbunden.
Dô sprach der ritter Heinrich:
310 'ist iemen der nu rüere mich, [l]
sô muoz der keiser ligen tôt:
dar nâch sô bringe ich den in nôt
der mich zem êrsten grîfet an. [m]
sît daz ich niht genesen kan,
sô kumt der wirt ze freisen,
ich stiche im ab den weisen [n]
mit disem mezzer veste.
Ouch müezen sîn die geste
engelten die mich wellen slahen:
320 ich giuze ir bluotes manegen trahen [o]
ê daz ich müge verderben.
Nu her! swer welle sterben,
der kêre her und rüere mich!'
dô trâtens alle hinderisch, [p]
als in diu wâre schult gebôt.
der keiser ouch mit maneger nôt
vil sêre winken dâ began, [q]
daz si giengen alhindan.

[a] *dansen* (wv) = 'pull, extend'.
[b] *vlans* (m) = 'mouth'.
[c] *en(t)schumphieren* (wv) = 'defeat, humble',
[d] *vallen* (sv VII) = 'fall'.
[e] *wetzen* (wv) = 'whet'.
[f] *kêl(e)* (f) = 'throat'.
[g] *kragen* (m) = 'collar, neck'.
[h] *bürge* (m) = 'surety, guarantor'.
[i] *wesen* (infinitive) = 'be'.
[j] *tôtgevar/tôtvar* (adj) = 'deathly pale'.
[k] *hætens* = contraction of *hæten sî*.
[l] *rüeren* (wv) = 'touch'; the subjunctive form here denotes possibility.
[m] *angrîfen* (sv I, with separable prefix) = 'attack'.
[n] *weise* (m) = 'orphan' (here used figuratively)
[o] *giezen* (sv II) = 'pour'.
[p] *hinderisch* (adv) = 'back, away'.
[q] *winken* (wv) = 'wave, indicate with a movement of the hand'.

The imperial head suffered greatly in the process, for many hairs were ripped out from chin and cheeks, while the crown that had sat upon it fell to the palace floor along with all the rich ornaments. Heinrich quickly jumped on top of the emperor, drew a sharp knife from his side and held it to the emperor's throat; with his free hand he grabbed the emperor's neck and started to choke him. 'Now grant me security', Heinrich said, 'and give me assurance of your mercy and favour, or else I will put an end to your time on earth. Take back the oath you have sworn, or it will mean death for you'.

And so Heinrich was lying on top of the emperor, holding him tight by his beard and choking him so hard that he could not speak. The bolder among the princes had all jumped up, and now they all rushed forward to where the emperor (who by now was the colour of death) was lying underneath the knight of Kempten. They would have done anything to free him at once, but the knight Heinrich cried out:

> 'if anyone here so much as touches me, the emperor shall be the first to die, and then I will turn on whoever has attacked me. If I am to lose my life, then it will be the emperor who suffers for it, for I will part him from his crown with this sharp knife.[1] Anyone else who tries to kill me will have to pay for it, too, for I intend to spill the blood of many before I go down. Come on then! Anyone who wants to die can come up and try to strike me!'

At this, they all drew back; indeed, they had little choice but to do so, since the emperor was desperately signalling them to move away.

[1] The 'Orphan' was a particularly splendid jewel in the imperial crown, so called because it was thought to be unique. Here it functions *pars pro toto* to signify the emperor's crown and the authority and power that it represents. See Hubert Herkommer, 'Der Waise, *aller fürsten leitesterne*. Ein Beispiel mittelalterlicher Bedeutungslehre aus dem Bereich der Staatssymbolik, zugleich ein Beitrag zur Nachwirkung des Orients in der Literatur des Mittelalters', *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte*, 50 (1976), 44–59 and Gunther Wolf, 'Der *Waise*: Bemerkungen zum Leitstein der Wiener Reichskrone', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*, 41 (1985), 39–65.

Daz wart getân und diz geschach.
330 zuo dem keiser aber sprach
der unverzagte Heinrich:
'lânt hie niht lange ligen mich,
ob ir daz leben wellent hân:
mir werde sicherheit getân
daz ich genese, ich lâze iuch leben.
Wirt mir gewisheit nicht gegeben
umb den lîp, est iuwer tôt!' [a]
hie mite ûf sîne vinger bôt
der keiser unde lobte sâ
340 bî keiserlichen êren dâ,
daz er in lieze bî der stunt
von dannen kêren wol gesunt. [b]
Nu daz diu sicherheit ergie,
den keiser Otten er dô lie
geswinde von im ufe stân,
er hæte im schiere dâ verlân
den bart ûz sînen handen.
Und als er ûf gestanden
was von dem esteriche wider,
350 dô gieng er aber sitzen nider
ûf sînen stuol von rîcher art;
daz hâr begunde er und den bart
streichen unde sprach alsô [c]
zu dem von Kempten aber dô:
'ich hân iu sicherheit gegeben
daz ich iu lîp unde leben
unverderbet lâze. [d]
Nu strîchent iuwer strâze
alsô daz ir mich iemer
360 vermîdet, unde ich niemer
mit mînen ougen iuch gesehe.
Ich prüeve daz wol unde spehe
daz ir zeim ingesinde mir
ze swære sît. Joch habent ir
vil harte an mir gunfuoget [e]
swer blicket unde luoget [f]
an mînen bart, der kiuset wol [g]
daz ich iemer gerne sol
iuwer heimlîch enbern.
370 Mir muoz ein ander meister schern [h]
dann ir, daz wizzent âne spot,
mîn bart muoz iemer, sam mir got,
iuwer scharsach mîden: [i]
ez kan unsanfte snîden
hût unde hâr den künegen abe.
Vil wol ich des emphunden habe
daz ir ein übel scherer sît. [j]
ir sult bî dirre tageszît
uns rûmen hof unde lant.'
380 Sus nam der ritter alzehant
zuo des keisers mannen
urloup und îlte dannen.
Er kêrte gegen Swâben wider
und lie sich dâ ze lande nider
ûf ein rîchez lêhengelt. [k]
Acker, wisen unde velt [l]
het er ze Kempten, als ich las:
dar ûf er sich, wande er was
ein dienstman der selben stift. [m]

[a] *est* = contraction of *ez ist*.
[b] *kêren* (wv) = 'turn (away), depart, leave'.
[c] *streichen* (wv II) = 'stroke, smooth, touch'.
[d] *verderben* (sv IV) = 'damage, spoil'.
[e] *unfuogen* (wv) = 'make unseemly, coarse'.
[f] *luogen* (wv) = 'look'.
[g] *kiesen* (sv II) = (i) 'choose, elect, select' (ii) 'discern, observe'.
[h] *schern* (sv IV) = 'shear, cut'.
[i] *scharsahs* (n) = 'scissors, knife for trimming hair'.
[j] *scherer* (m) = 'cutter, shearer', i.e. 'barber'.
[k] *lêhengelt* (n) = 'fief, money fief'.
[l] *acker* (m) = 'cultivated field'; *wise* (f) = 'meadow';
[m] *stift* (f) = 'religious foundation', e.g. a monastery or collegiate church < *stiften* (wv) 'endow'.

It was done as the emperor had commanded, but then Heinrich said to him,

> 'do not let me lie here for too long if you want to remain alive: if I receive assurance of my safety, I will let you live; but if I do not get your word on this, it will mean your own death'.

Thereupon the emperor raised his fingers to promise on his honour that Heinrich should be allowed to leave without harm there and then. When he had received the assurance, Heinrich quickly let go of the emperor's beard and allowed him to stand up again. The emperor got up from the floor and walked over to sit down on his sumptuous throne, where he began to smooth down his hair and beard. To the knight of Kempten he said,

> 'I have given you my word that I will spare you life and limb. Now be gone from here and stay away, for I never wish to see you again. You are far too much trouble for my court, for you have treated me with disgrace. Anyone who looks at my beard will understand that I do not want you in my presence any longer. By God, in future I want that blade of yours kept away from my beard, for it cuts off skin and hair far too roughly for a king's taste; I have learned only too well what a vile barber you are. This very day you must leave this court and this land'.[1]

And so the knight at once took leave of the emperor's vassals and rode away in haste. Heinrich returned to Swabia, and took up residence on a rich fief in the country, for he held tillages, meadows and fields at Kempten as a vassal of the abbey there, as I have read.[2] The story

[1] Since Heinrich goes back to Swabia, it is evident that the *lant* ('land, country') which the emperor tells him to leave must refer to Franconia, i.e. the area where the court is being held, rather than Germany as a whole.

[2] Kempten was a town in south-eastern Swabia, the seat of a wealthy Benedictine abbey, founded in 752.

390 Uns seit von im diu wâre schrift [a]
daz er sich schône gar betruoc, [b]
wande er hæte gülte gnuoc [c]
und was an êren offenbâr.
Dar nâch wol über zehen jâr
quam es von geschihte alsô
daz der keiser Otte dô
eins grôzen urliuges pflac [d]
und enhalp des gebirges lac [e]
vor einer stat vil wünneclich.
400 Er und die sîne hæten sich [f]
dar ûf geflizzen manege zît, [g]
daz si der veste gæben strît
mit steinen und mit phîlen. [h]
Doch was er bî den wîlen
an liuten alsô nôthaft
daz er nâch tiutscher ritterschaft
her zû begunde senden.
Er hiez in allen enden
den herren künden unde sagen: [i]
410 swer iht hæte bî den tagen
ze lêhen von dem rîche,
daz im der snellîclîche
ze helfe quæme bî der stunt.
Dâ bî tet er den fürsten kunt: [j]
swer im wære dienesthaft [k]
und lêhen unde manschaft
hæte emphangen under in,
daz er balde kêrte hin
ze Pülle bî den zîten [l]
420 und im dâ hülfe strîten. [m]
Swer des niht entæte,
daz er sîn lêhen hæte
verwürket unde ez solte lân.
Nu daz diu botschaft getân [n]
wart in elliu tiutschiu lant
dô wart ze Kempten gesant
dem abbet ouch ein bote sâ, [o]
der im diu mære seite dâ. [p]
Dô der fürste lobesam
430 des keisers botschaft vernam,
dô wart er ûf die vart bereit;
ouch wurden schiere, sô man seit,
al sîne dienstman besant
und ûf die reise dô gemant
bî triuwen und bî eiden.
Den ritter wol bescheiden
vom Kempten liez er für sich komen,
er sprach: ‘ir hânt daz wol vernomen,
daz der keiser hât gesant
440 nâch liuten her in tiutschiu lant,
und ich der fürsten einer bin
der im ze helfe komen hin
über daz gebirge sol.
Dar zuo bedarf ich iuwer wol [q]
und iuwer dienestliute:
die man ich alle hiute, [r]
und iuch ze vorderst, daz ir vart
und die reise niht enspart
diu mir und iu geboten ist.

[a] *seit* = *saget*.
[b] *sich betragen* (sv VI) = ‘occupy oneself (with), ‘earn one’s living’.
[c] *gülte* (f) < *gelten* (sv IV) = ‘be valid, have value’, in this case = ‘income, financial resources’.
[d] *urliuge* (n) = ‘dispute, quarrel, feud, war’.
[e] *enhalp* = *enethalp* (preposition) ‘beyond’; *gebirge* (n) ‘mountains, mountain range’ < *berc* (m) ‘mountain’. The prefix *ge-* can be used with nouns in a collective sense.
[f] *die sîne*: one would expect *die sînen*. See Walshe, *A Middle High German Reader*, §20.
[g] *vlîzen* (sv II) = ‘strive, make an effort, be concerned about’. Related to *vlîz* (m) ‘zeal, eagerness’. ≠ *vliezen* ‘flow’.
[h] *pfîl* (m) = ‘arrow’.
[i] *künden* (wv) = ‘make known, announce, inform’.
[j] *kunt tuon* = ‘make known, announce’.
[k] *dienesthaft* (adj) =‘owing (feudal) service‘.
[l] *Pülle* = Apulia (in Italian Puglia), region in south-eastern Italy.
[m] *hülfe* < *helfen* (sv III).
[n] *botschaft* (f) = ‘embassy, message’.
[o] *abbet* (m) = ‘abbot’.
[p] *seite* = *sagete*.
[q] *wol* (n) here is noun with meaning ‘goodwill’.
[r] *man* < *manen*.

reports that he lived well and honourably there, for he was wealthy enough and was well regarded.

More than ten years passed, when news came that Emperor Otto was undertaking a great campaign, and was camped before a great city beyond the Alps.[1] He and his troops had already spent a long time besieging it, assaulting the walls with stones and arrows. Yet by this time he was running so short of men that he needed reinforcements from the knights of Germany, and so now he sent messages to all the princes of the land to say that anyone who held a fief from the emperor should come to his aid as quickly as possible: whoever owed him service, or had done homage for a fief, was to make his way to Apulia with all speed so that he might come to his assistance in the fighting. Anyone who failed to do his duty would forfeit his fiefs and have to surrender them.[2]

Now as this order was being sent throughout Germany, one of the messengers came to bring the news to the abbot of Kempten. When the worthy abbot heard the emperor's command he immediately began to make preparations for the journey. He sent word to his vassals that they should join him in the campaign, according to the loyalty that they had sworn to him. The abbot also summoned the knight of Kempten, and said to him:

> 'You have certainly heard that the emperor has sent to Germany for reinforcements, and that as a prince I am obliged to travel over the mountains to go to his assistance. In this I will require the service of yourself and your own vassals: so I am giving notice now — to you above all — that you must join the expedition that we have been commanded to undertake. You should begin your preparations for the journey straight away.'

[1] The text refers only to *gebirge* 'mountains', but it becomes clear later that this must relate to the main mountain range that separated Italy from Germany.

[2] In the eleventh and twelfth centuries the Holy Roman emperors relied especially on troops provided by the German bishops and abbots, who often accompanied them on campaign in person. See, for example, Jan-Peter Stöckel, 'Reichsbischöfe und Reichsheerfahrt unter Friedrich I. Barbarossa', in *Kaiser Friedrich Barbarossa: Landesausbau — Aspekte seiner Politik – Wirkung*, ed. by Evamaria Engel and Bernhard Töpfer (Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1994), pp. 63–79.

450 dâ von sult ir an dirre frist
werden ûf die vart bereit.'
'Ach herre, waz hânt ir geseit!' [a]
sprach von Kempten Heinrich:
'nu wizzent ir doch wol daz ich
für den keiser niht getar [b]
ze hove komen, wande ich gar
verwürket sîne hulde hân.[c]
Ir sult der reise mich erlân
iemer durch den dienest mîn.
460 der keiser hât die hulde sîn
vil gar von mir geleitet
und über mich gespreitet [d]
sîner ungenâden büne. [e]
Ich hân erzogen zwêne süne,
die sende ich, herre, mit iu dar;
ê daz ich alters eine var,
sô füerent ir si beide samt:
gezieret wol ûf strîtes amt [f]
kêrent si mit iu dâ hin.'
470 'Nein', sprach der abbet, 'ich enbin
des muotes niht daz ich ir ger
und iuwer durch si beide enber,
wand ir mir nützer eine sît.
mîn trôst und al mîn êre lît
an iu bî disen zîten:
jâ kunnet ir ze strîten
gerâten ûzer mâzen wol,
und swaz man hôher dinge sol
ze hove schicken alle wege,
480 daz mac verrihten iuwer phlege
vil baz dann anders iemen:
sô nütze enist mir niemen
an dirre hineverte als ir. [g]
Dâ von sô bite ich daz ir mir
rât mit wîser lêre gebent.
Ist daz ir dâ wider strebent
und ir mir dienstes abe gânt,
swaz ir von mir ze lêhen hânt,
weizgot daz lîhe ich anderswar,
490 dâ manz verdienen wol getar.'
'Entriuwen', sprach der ritter dô,
'und ist der rede denne alsô
daz ir mîn lêhen lîhent hin,
ob ich iu niht gehôrsam bin,
ich var ê mit iu, wizze Crist,
swie mir diu reise an dirre frist
ze grôzen sorgen sî gewant.
Ê daz ich lâze ûz mîner hant
mîn lêhen und mîn êre,
500 ê rîte ich unde kêre
mit iu benamen in den tôt.
Mîn helfe sol ze rehter nôt
iu bereit von schulden sîn,
wande ir sît der herre mîn,
den ich dienstes muoz gewern; [h]
sît ir sîn niht welt enbern,
sô werde erfüllet iuwer muot.
Swaz mir der keiser übels tuot,
daz will ich gerne dulden,
510 durch daz ich iu ze hulden
gedienen müge an dirre vart.'
Hie mite ûf sîne reise wart [i]
bereit der ellenthafte man,
er fuor mit sîme herren dan
über daz gebirge enwec.
Er was sô küene und ouch sô quec [j]
daz er durch vorhte wênic liez:
er tet swaz in sîn herre hiez
und wart im undertænic gar.

[a] *geseit* (past participle) = *gesaget*.
[b] *geturren* (irreg) = 'dare'.
[c] *verwürken/verwirken* (irreg) = 'forfeit', lose something (or the right to it) through one's own fault.
[d] *spreiten* (wv) = 'spread, cover'.
[e] *büne* (f) = 'roof, cover' — here seems to be used in figurative sense.
[f] *zieren* (wv) = 'decorate, cover (with)'.
[g] *hineverte* (f) = 'expedition'.
[h] *gewern* (wv) = 'grant, confer, bestow'.
[i] *wart* < *werden* (sv III).
[j] *quec* (adj) = 'alive, lively, fresh'. Cf. the biblical sense of English 'the quick and the dead'.

> 'Oh, my lord', said Heinrich von Kempten, 'you know full well that I dare not go to the court, for I have forfeited the emperor's goodwill. I ask you to release me from my obligation to take part in this campaign; the emperor's wrath is so great that it is like a great wall standing between me and his favour. I have raised two sons, my lords, and I will gladly send them with you. Take both of them rather than me on my own: I will see that they join you fully equipped for the campaign'.
>
> 'No', said the abbot, 'I am not disposed to take them if it means I have to do without you, for you are of far greater use to me than they are. In this campaign you shall be crucial to my strength and my honour: you can give the best advice in all matters relating to war; and if it becomes necessary to carry out an important mission at court, you can carry it out better than anyone else. No-one will be as useful to me on this expedition as you, so I ask you to assist me with your wise counsel. But if you are not disposed to do this, and refuse to render service to me, then God knows that anything you hold from me now, I shall grant out to others who are more deserving'.
>
> 'On my honour', said the knight, 'if this means that you intend to confiscate my fief if I do not obey, then, by Christ, I will go with you, even though this journey gives me every reason to worry. Before I surrender my fief and my honour, I will ride with you, even if it means that I go to my death. You shall be able to count on my assistance when you need it, for you are my lord, and I cannot refuse you my service. Since you cannot do without it, I will do your bidding, and anything that the emperor may do to me, I will accept it because of my obligation to serve you on this expedition'.

And so the courageous man made his preparations for the expedition, and then travelled over the mountains with his lord. He was so full of boldness and energy that there was no task he was afraid to undertake: he did what his lord commanded and obeyed him in all things.

520 Si wâren beide schiere dar
für die selben stat gezoget
dâ der rœmische voget [a]
lac mit sîme her vil starc.
Von Kempten Heinrich allez barc [b]
sich vor des keisers angesiht
und quam für in ze liehte niht,
wand er in durch den alten haz
und durch die schulde sîn entsaz.[c]
Sô flôch in der vil küene man: [d]
530 ein lützel von dem her hin dan
het er die hütten sîn geslagen. [e]
Ein bat was im dar in getragen
an eime tage, als ich ez las,
wand im nâch sîner verte was
gemaches durft: dô badet er [f]
in eime zuber der im her [g]
was von eime dorfe brâht. [h]
Und dô der ritter wol bedâht
was gesezzen in daz bat,
540 dô sach er komen ûz der stat
ein teil der burgære,
und ouch den keiser mære [i]
stapfen gegen in dort hin: [j]
umb die stat wolt er mit in
teidingen unde kôsen. [k]
Dâ von die triuwelôsen
burgære hæten ûf geleit [l]
mit parât und mit kündekeit,
daz sîn ze tôde slüegen; [m]
550 si wolten gerne füegen, [n]
sô er mit in sprâchen wolde,
daz man in slahen solde
und morden âne widersagen.
Nu hæte schiere sich getragen
diu zît alsô, des bin ich wer, [o]
daz er geriten quam dort her,
gewæfens îtel unde bar. [p]
Ein tougenlichiu harmschar [q]
was im ze lâge dâ geleit,
560 dar în er ungewarnet reit
und wart mit frechen handen
eins strîtes dâ bestanden,
wan diu triuwelôse diet,
diu tougen sînen schaden riet, [r]
diu quam ûf in geriuschet dar
mit blôzen swerten liehtgevar
und wolte im briuwen ungemach. [s]

[a] *roemische vogt* or *voget von Rôme* (m), literally ‘advocate of Rome’, a title applied to the Holy Roman emperor.
[b] *bergen* (sv IV) = ‘hide’.
[c] *entsitzen* (sv V) + genitive case = ‘avoid, stay away from’.
[d] *vliehen* (sv II) = ‘flee’.
[e] *hütte* (f) = ‘hut, pavilion, tent’.
[f] *badet er* = *badete er* (contraction with elision of unstressed syllable); *durft* (adj) with dative subject + genitive = ‘in need of’ < *durft* (f) = ‘need, requirement’, e.g. *mir ist durft* + genitive = ‘I require, I have need of’.
[g] *zuber* (m) = ‘tub’.
[h] *brâht* (here) = *gebrâht* (past participle) < *bringen*.
[i] *mære* (adj) = ‘renowned’ ≠ *mære* ‘story’ (n).
[j] *stapfen* (wv) = ‘step, march’.
[k] *teidingen* = *tagedingen* (wv) = ‘treat with, confer’; *kôsen* (wv) = ‘talk’, cf. Fr. *causer*.
[l] *ûf legen* = (sv with separable prefix) = ‘plan, put together, think up, determine (on)’.
[m] *sîn* = contraction of *sî in*.
[n] *vüegen* (wv) = ‘bring about’.
[o] *des bin ich wer* = ‘I am witness to this, it is true’.
[p] *îtel* (adj) = ‘empty, useless’.
[q] *tougenlich* (adj) = secret; *harmschar* (f) = ‘evil deed, harm, damage, punishment’.
[r] *tougen* (adv) ‘secretly’; *râten* (sv VII).
[s] *briuwen* (v) = ‘brew, (figurative) cause’.

Soon they arrived at the city where the Roman emperor was encamped with his army. Heinrich von Kempten kept himself out of the emperor's sight and away from his presence, wishing to avoid him because of his own offence and the enmity that this had caused many years before. This the brave man did by pitching his tent some distance from the rest of the army.

One day (as I have read) he wished to take his ease after his long journey, and so he decided to take a bath, ordering a tub to be brought for him from a village nearby. And so as the knight was sitting there in his bath, he spied a group of burgesses leaving the city, while from the opposite direction the illustrious emperor was riding out to meet them. The emperor had come to parley and treat about the fate of the city, but the faithless burgesses were cunningly plotting to kill him: they only wanted to negotiate with the emperor so that they might gain the opportunity to take him by surprise and murder him unopposed. And so the time had come, as I can testify, that the emperor was riding towards them, unarmed and without any protection.[1] Riding into the trap that had been prepared for him, he was seized by impudent hands, for the faithless rabble that had plotted his demise now came rushing towards him, brandishing bright swords and resolved to do him harm.

[1] In an age when the importance of lords was reflected in the size of their retinues, it is highly unlikely that the emperor would have ventured close to the enemy without some retainers and servants in attendance. However, this implausible detail is necessary to the way that the story develops.

Und dô der ritter dez ersach
von Kempten in dem bade dort,
570 daz man dâ mein unde mort
alsus begunde briuwen,
und daz man an den triuwen [a]
den keiser Otten wolte slahen,
dô liez er baden unde twahen
vil gar belîben under wegen: [b]
reht als ein ûzerwelter degen
sprang er uz dem zuber tief,
ze sîme schilte er balde lief, [c]
der hieng an einer wende, [d]
580 den nam er zuo der hende
unde ein swert gar ûzerwelt.
Dâ mite quam der blôze helt
geloufen zuo dem keiser hin.
Von den burgæren lôste er in
und werte in alsô nacket:
zerhouwen und zerhacket
wart von im der vînde gnuoc. [e]
Der liute er vil ze tôde sluoc
die den keiser wolten slahen,
590 er gôz ir bluotes manegen trahen
mit ellenthafter hende.
Ze bitterlîch em ende [f]
mit starken slegen er si treip, [g]
und swaz ir lebendic beleip,
die mahte er alle flühtec.
Und dô der ritter zühtec
den keiser hæte enbunden,
dô lief er an den stunden
nacket in daz bat hin wider.
600 Dar în gesaz er drâte nider, [h]
als ob er umbe die geschiht [i]
weste in dirre werlte niht,
und badet als er tet dâ vor.
Der keiser ûf der flühte spor [j]
quam gerennet in daz her.
Wer in mit manlicher wer
hæte erlœset bî der stunt,
daz was im harte cleine kunt, [k]
wand er sîn niht erkande.
610 Für sîn gezelt er rande,
dâ erbeizte er balde nider [l]
und saz ûf sîn gestüele wider [m]
vil zorniclîchen bî der zît.
Die fürsten quâmen alle sît
für in gedrungen schiere dar.
Er sprach: ‘ir herren, nement war
wie nâch ich was verrâten:
wan daz mir helfe tâten
zwô ritterlîche hende schîn,
620 sô müeste ich gar verderbet sîn
und den lîp verlorn hân.
Und weste ich wer mir kunt getân [n]
het alsô baltlichen trôst,
daz er mich nacket hât erlôst,
ich wolde im lîhen unde geben.
Den lîp han ich und daz leben
von sîner helfe stiure:
nie ritter wart sô tiure
noch sô frech ân allen spot.
630 Erkennet ieman in, durch got,
der bringe in für mîn ougen her
ich bin des offenlichen wer
daz er emphâhet rîchen solt.
Mîn herze ist im in triuwen holt
und muoz im iemer günstic wesen.

[a] *an den triuwen* = *in triuwen* ‘in truth, indeed’.
[b] *under wegen (blîben)* = ‘abandon, leave’
[c] *ze sîme* = contraction of *ze sînem*.
[d] *wende* < *wande* (f) = ‘wall’.
[e] *gnuoc* = *genuoc.* Often the *ge-* prefix is reduced to *g-*, as in many modern southern German dialects.
[f] *em* = *einem*.
[g] *trîben* (sv I); *belîben* (sv I).
[h] *gesitzen* (sv V) = sit down; *drâte* (adv) = quickly.
[i] *geschichte* (f) = ‘that which had happened’.
[j] *spor* (n) = ‘trace, track’.
[k] *kunt* (adj) = known (to)’.
[l] *erbeizen* (wv) = ‘dismount, disembark’.
[m] *gestüele* (n) = ‘chair, throne’.
[n] emphweste ich (subjunctive form) = ‘if I knew’; *kunt tuon* = ‘make known’.

From where he was sitting in his bath, the knight of Kempten saw that violence was about to be done. Fearing that Emperor Otto would be murdered, he abandoned all thoughts of bathing: like the excellent warrior that he was, he sprang out of the tub and seized his good sword and a shield that was hanging on his pavilion. With no other gear than this he ran to the place where the emperor was under attack. Stabbing and hacking at the enemy, the naked knight cut his way through to the emperor and fought him free, killing or wounding many of those who were trying to murder the sovereign. Raining bitter blows upon them, he drove them back and put to flight the few who remained alive. But when this noble knight was sure that the emperor was safe, he ran, still naked, back to his encampment; he jumped back into his tub and sat there as if he knew nothing of the events that had occurred in the meantime, and went on bathing just as he had been doing before.

The emperor fled, running back to where the army was encamped. He had no idea who had freed him with such great courage, for he had not recognised the man. He hurried back to his own pavilion, and sat down on his throne, enraged because of what had happened.

When the princes appeared, pressing all around him, he said,

> ‘My lords, I wish you to hear that I was betrayed today: if it had not been for the help of a single knight, I would have been in danger of losing my life. If I knew who it was that came to my aid and fought — naked — to save me, I would bestow rich rewards on him, for I owe him life and limb: I can say in all honesty that there was never a knight so bold or so estimable in his deeds. If anyone knows who he is, then by God, he should bring him before me, for I proclaim that this man should be richly rewarded. I am so indebted to him that he deserves my eternal favour, for there is not such an outstanding knight to be found in all the world’.

Kein ritter sô gar uzerlesen
lebt weder hie noch anderswâ.'
Nu stuonden sumelîche dâ
die wol westen under in
640 daz Heinrich deme keiser
geholfen hæte bî der zît.
Die sprâchen alle widerstrît:
'wir wizzen, herre, wol den helt
der iuwer leben ûzerwelt
von dem tôde erlœset hât.
Nu vert ez leider unde stât
umb in alsô bî dirre zît
daz iuwer ungenâde lît
ze vaste ûf sînem rücke.
650 Er hât daz ungelücke [a]
daz er dur sîne schulde
vermîdet iuwer hulde.
Würd im diu sælde nû getân
daz er die möhte wider hân,
wir liezen, herre, iuch in gesehen.'
Der keiser dô begunde jehen:
'hæt er den vater mîn erslagen,
ich lieze in mîne gunst bejagen
und tæte im mîne gnâde schîn;
660 daz nim ich ûf die triuwe mîn
und ûf mîn êre keiserlich.'
Dô war der ritter Heinrich
von Kempten im genennet.
Der keiser wîte erkennet
sprach dâ wider sâ zehant:
'und ist er komen in diz lant,
daz weiz ich gerne sunder wân,
war hæte ouch anders diz getân
daz er nacket hiute streit?
670 Wand er ouch die getürstekeit [b]
truog in sîme herzen hôch
daz er bî dem barte zôch
einen keiser über tisch.
Sîn muot ist frevel und frisch,
des enkilt er niemer; [c]
mîn helfe muoz in iemer
genædeclîchen decken.
Doch will ich in erschrecken
und übellîche emphâhen.'
680 Dô hiez er balde gâhen
und in ze hove bringen;
mit zorniclichen dingen
wart er für in gefüeret hin.
Seht dô gebârte er wider in
als er gehaz in wære.
'Nu sagent', sprach der mære
keiser, 'wie getorstent ir
ie gestrîchen her ze mir
oder iemer für mîn ougen kommen?
690 Nu habent ir doch wol vernomen
war umbe ich iuwer vîent wart:
ir sît ez doch der mir den bart
âne scharsach hât geschorn,
und iuwer grimmeclicher zorn
vil hâres in beroubet hât,
daz er noch âne locke stât,
daz hât gefrumet iuwer hant.
Daz ir getorstent in diz lant
ie komen, dar an wirt wol schîn [d]
700 daz ir hôchvertic wellet sîn
und übermuotes künnet phlegen.'

[a] *ungelücke* (n) = 'misfortune, bad luck'.
[b] *getürstekeit* (f) = abstract noun < *geturren*.
[c] *enkilt* is an unusual form; most probably it is meant as 3rd person present singular of *engelten* (sv IV) = 'pay for something'.
[d] *schîn werden* = 'to become apparent, come to light'.

Some of those standing there knew well that it was Heinrich who had come to the emperor's aid, and they immediately replied:

> 'Sire, we know the valiant man who saved your illustrious majesty from death. He is greatly weighed down by your ill will, since he once committed an act that incurred your displeasure. If you were willing to restore him to favour, sire, we would gladly bring him before you'.

The emperor said,

> 'Even if he had killed my own father, I would show him mercy and allow him back into my favour. This I promise on my honour as emperor'.

Then he was told that the knight was Heinrich von Kempten. Straight away the emperor replied,

> 'If he is really here in this country, then I know it must be him. Who else would have charged into battle naked, as he did today? Who else had the daring to drag an emperor over a table by his beard? He is bold and brazen in spirit, but he should not have to suffer for it. From now on he shall always be assured of my favour, although first I have a mind to frighten him with a hostile reception'.

He ordered that Heinrich should be fetched straight away, and the knight was brought before him with all signs of hostility. The emperor acted as if he were still full of hatred:

> 'Now tell me', said the emperor, 'how you have the effrontery to show yourself to me again? You know full well why I am your enemy: it was you, was it not, who cut my beard without shears; it was your terrible rage that tore out so many hairs; and it is because of you that my beard is in the sorry state it is now. That you dare to come to this land after all that only shows your arrogance and insolence'.

'Genâde, herre!' sprach der degen,
'ich quam betwungenlîchen her.
Dâ von sô bite ich unde ger
daz ir verkieset die getât.
Mîn herre, ein fürste der hie stât,
bî sîner hulde mir gebôt,
daz ich durch keiner slahte nôt
liez ich enfüere her mit ime.
710 Ich setze daz hiut unde nime
ûf alle mîne sælekeit,
daz ich die vart ungerne reit,
wan daz ich muoste, sam mir got,
erfüllen gar sîn hôch gebot.
Wær ich niht ûz mit ime komen,
mîn lêhen hæt er mir benomen,
wære ich an den stunden
an der verte erwunden.'
Der keiser lachen dô began:
720 er sprach: 'ir ûzerwerlter man,
ir sît unschuldic, hœre ich wol:
dâ von ich gerne lâzen sol
gegen iu den zorn mîn.
Mir und gote sult ir sîn
wol tûsent warbe willekomen. [a]
Ir hânt mir swærer vil genomen [b]
und daz leben mîn genert.
Den lîp müeste ich hân verzert [c]
wan iuwer helfe, sælic man!'
730 Sus sprang er ûf und lief in an
und kuste im ougen unde lide, [d]
ein suone lûter unde ein fride
wart gemachet under in,
ir zweier vîntschaft was dâhin,
wan der keiser hôchgeborn
und sîn grimmeclicher zorn
was dem ritter niht gevêch. [e]
Ein gelt gab er im unde lêch [f]
daz jâres galt zweihundert marc, [g]
740 sîn manheit frevel unde starc
brâht in in hôhen rîchtuom
unde in ganzer wirde ruom,
daz man sîn noch gedenket wol.
Dar umbe ein ieslîch ritter sol
gerne sîn des muotes quec,
werf alle zageheit enwec
und üebe sînes lîbes kraft.
Wan manheit unde ritterschaft
diu zwei diu tiurent sêre:
750 si bringent lob und êre
noch einem iegelichen man
der si wol gehalten kann
unde in beiden mag geleben.
Hie sol diz mære ein ende geben
und dirre kurzen rede werc,
daz ich dur den von Tiersberc
in rîme hân gerihtet
unde in tiutsch getihtet
von latîne, als er mich bat.
760 Ze Strâzburc in der guoten stat, [h]
dâ er inne zuo dem tuome [i]
ist prôbest unde ein bluome [j]
dâ schînet maneger êren.
Got welle im sælde mêren,
wand er sô vil der tugende hât.
Von Wirzeburc ich Cuonrât
muoz im iemer heiles biten.
Er hât der êren strît gestriten
mit gerne gebender hende.
770 Hie hât daz buoch ein ende.

[a] *tûsent warp/warbe* = 'a thousand times'.
[b] *swærer* seems to be unusual plural form of *swære* (f) = 'burden, care, sorrow'.
[c] *verzern* (wv) = 'use up, consume, destroy'.
[d] The expression *ougen unde liden* is unusual; *ouge* (n) = 'eye' and *lit* (n), plural *lide* = 'limb'.
[e] *gevêch* (adj) = 'hostile (towards)'.
[f] *lêch* (n) = *lêhen* 'fief'.
[g] *jâres* (n) in this case, a genitive form of the noun, functioning as an adverb; sense is probably 'in the course of a year, every year, per annum'.
[h] *Strâzburc* = Strasbourg.
[i] *tuom* (m) = 'cathedral'.
[j] *prôbest* (m) = 'provost'.

> 'Mercy, sire!', cried the knight. 'I only came here under compulsion, and I beseech you to forgive that deed of mine. For it was my own lord — one of the princes standing here — who ordered that nothing should prevent me from accompanying him. I swear on my own salvation that I made the journey against my will, for I had no choice — as God is my witness — but to obey my lord's command. He would have deprived me of my fief if I had failed to join him on this expedition'.

The emperor burst out laughing, and said,

> 'You excellent man, you are blameless, and I am happy to give up the hatred that I have had for you. You have earned the gratitude of God and the emperor a thousand times over. You have preserved me from danger, for my life would have been lost if it had not been for your help, you fortunate man'.

Springing up, the emperor went over to him and kissed him on eyes and forehead. Thus peace and reconciliation were restored between the two, for their ancient enmity was dissolved now that the high-born emperor had given up the terrible hatred he had once had for the knight. He made Heinrich a gift of money, and bestowed on him a fief worth two hundred marks a year.[1] Thus the knight's boldness and courage brought him great wealth and such renown that he is still remembered today.

This example shows that every knight should be keen to act with courage, cast aside all thoughts of cowardice, and fight with all of the strength in his body, for valour and chivalry together confer distinction: they bring praise and honour to every knight who is able to live by their code.

That is how the story ends, and it also concludes the account that I have translated from Latin into German and made into rhyme at the request of the lord of Tiersberg. In the fine city of Strasbourg he is provost of the cathedral and an ornament of honour.[2] May God grant him the happiness that his many virtues deserve. I, Konrad von Würzburg, shall always pray for his salvation. He has striven to attain honour, and has always showed great generosity. With these words my book is ended.

[1] The mark was the standard money of account in Germany, worth 144 pence. To obtain a sense of the value of the fief bestowed on Heinrich, it can be adduced that in later twelfth-century Germany one mark per month was regarded as a standard amount necessary to support a serving knight on campaign: Alan V. Murray, 'Money and Logistics in the Armies of the First Crusade: Coinage, Bullion, Service and Supply, 1096-99', in *Logistics of Warfare in the Age of the Crusades*, ed. by John Pryor (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 229-49, and Murray, 'Finance and Logistics of the Crusade of Frederick Barbarossa', in *In Laudem Hierosolymitani: Studies in Crusades and Medieval Culture in Honour of Benjamin Z. Kedar*, ed. by Iris Shagrir, Ronnie Ellenblum and Jonathan Riley-Smith (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 357–67.

[2] Strasbourg in Alsace was part of the kingdom of Germany and a German-speaking city in the Middle Ages.

Reviews

Joanna Bellis, *The Hundred Years War in Literature, 1337–1600*. Cambridge: Brewer, 2016. xii + 300 pp. ISBN 9781843844280.

Although the Hundred Years War has been well researched by scholars over the years, representations of the war have not been extensively explored beyond 1453, the date typically thought of as the end of the war. Joanna Bellis' book is a thoroughly researched exploration of the English language and the linguistic construction of nationhood and identity in relation to the war. Tracing shifts in language from fourteenth- to seventeenth-century England, Bellis provides a novel perspective on the significance of war literature.

Bellis's study is predicated on the seismic impact on English of the Norman Conquest in 1066, which produced an English language that was (and remains) lexically mixed. Inevitably hybrid, language is not re-constructed so much as re-imagined. Tracing English anxiety amidst French strength, Bellis highlights that in both medieval and early modern literature, 'words and war developed an intense mutual identification' (p. 2).

Exploring various primary sources, including polemics, tracts, parliament rolls, letters and chronicles, Bellis attempts to challenge the reliance of previous scholarship on periodisation. Bellis emphasises instead the continuous connections between the medieval and early modern periods. She successfully manages to combine the intertextuality of two periods generally perceived as disparate. Moreover, by examining less popular works, Bellis succeeds in her aim to shed light on previously neglected texts.

The first chapter establishes the foundations of the book, plotting the overwriting of the English language through conquest. Indeed, Bellis suggests that linguistic conquest was more palpable than physical invasion. Indeed, as later asserted in chapter three, 'loanwords were spoils of war' (p. 129). This underpins the textual analysis which follows in subsequent chapters.

In chapter two, Bellis argues that the chroniclers of the Hundred Years War used language as a 'performative parallel front' (p. 77) of documenting the war. Their language was self-conscious and reflexive. Markedly permeable, the English language was fraught with too many French loanwords to attain a distinct national identity. English was deeply ambivalent and contradictory, often leaving writers 'uneasy about exactly where its boundaries lay' (p. 71).

Perhaps the most convincing chapter is chapter three, in which Bellis argues that language was constructed as a mimesis or mimicry of war. In the war poetry of Laurence Minot, John

Leeds Medieval Studies, 1 (2021), 91–92. DOI: 10.57686/256204/7 (ISSN: Print 2754-4575/ Online 2754-4583)
© 2021 Stephanie Bennett (ORCID iD: 0000-0002-0937-5680)
This work is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License

Lydgate and John Page, linguistic antagonism is an established undercurrent against both the French and their allies the Flemish. Bellis highlights poetry's awareness and fascination with conflict. The animosities with France were embedded in language and articulated through connections with the French, filth and deceit.

In the final two chapters, Bellis emphasises the typical Tudor self-fashioning of national as well as personal identity through the enduring influence of the Hundred Years War. The Tudor theatre became the literal stage for the 'ideological collision of past and present, mimesis and object' (p. 217). Both an over-arching and particular assessment, chapter five focuses on Shakespeare and the enduring mimesis of warfare in language. Sustained scrutiny is applied to the 1590s and Bellis highlights the how the extended conflict with France often emerged through the politicisation of literature.

Stephanie Bennett (University of Leeds)

Corinne Dale *The Natural World in the Exeter Book Riddles*. Woodbridge: Brewer, 2017. x + 217 pp. ISBN 9781843844648.

The Old English riddles of the Exeter Book have been the subject of a welcome deluge of ecocritically-minded research in recent years. The most distinctive contribution of Dale's *The Natural World in the Exeter Book Riddles* is that she brings (Christian) ecotheology to bear on her analyses. This is welcome: until researchers started, in the wake of early ecocritical research, to realise that Old English riddles are a fabulous repository of insights into the relationships between early medieval people and the rest of the material world, research on Old English riddles had tended to be of the 'another solution to Exeter Book Riddle X' variety. Dale's introduction provides a useful sketch of the history of ecotheology, along with some of the key methodological questions to which ecotheology gives rise, and will be of interest to medievalist ecocritics well beyond Dale's immediate audience of Old Anglicists. The rest of the study is effectively a series of case-studies of different Exeter Book riddles, with each chapter focusing on a small group of riddles (along with comparative material, including riddles in Latin) and deploying the ecotheological perspective to varying degrees. The study broadly moves from contemplating the environment as a system to animals, then plants, then inanimate material.

The first chapter explores how the riddles construct place (and displacement), drawing most prominently on the increasingly celebrated Riddle 60 (in the numbering of the Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records). This riddle on the reed-pen begins a series focusing on natural materials. Dale argues that her chosen riddles displace the centrality of the civilised, manufactured hall that is so prominent in Old English narrative verse to offer an ecocentric meditation on place.

Chapter 2 takes us to Riddles 12, 38, and 72, on the ox, exploring human-animal relationships and the way in which the riddles use these to explore suffering and servitude of both humans and other animals; Dale also (rather equivocally) explores the case for reading riddles 4 and 52 as ox-riddles. Chapter 3 is a close analysis of Riddle 26, on the Gospel book, and the principal new conceit that it brings to the study of this popular poem is that it

Leeds Medieval Studies, 1 (2021), 92–94. DOI: 10.57686/256204/8 (ISSN: Print 2754-4575/ Online 2754-4583)
© 2021 Alaric Hall (ORCID iD: 0000-0002-1479-4441)
This work is licensed under the Creative Commons CC0 1.0 Universal Public Domain Dedication

inverts the scribal practice of adding a colophon to a text: whereas colophons bring the usually anonymous scribe out of the shadows and recognise his labour, Riddle 26 calls our attention to the other animal and material inputs to the codex. Perhaps surprisingly, this chapter engages less clearly with ecotheology than most. Given the centrality of scripture to the Abrahamic religions, one wonders whether there was ecotheological research waiting to be adduced here — or whether, conversely, Riddle 26 can do more to fill a gap in ecotheological thought than Dale appreciated.

The fourth chapter turns to trees, assessing the riddles' attitudes to forms of life more alien to humans than other animals. Dale helpfully notes the longevity of trees and their role in constituting place (they are, for example, implicitly very different plants from agricultural crops, whose lifecycles are generally shorter and more directly shaped by humans), yet also develops an argument for human emphathy with plants in the Exeter Book riddles (not to mention in *The Dream of the Rood*, developing a range of perspectives on how humans saw themselves in trees).

I pause on chapter 5, which takes us into inanimate material, as a convenient case-study of Dale's approaches and strengths. This chapter is probably the fullest investigation so far of Riddle 83, to which Dale confidently ascribes the solution 'coin' or, more precisely, 'ore that has been turned into money'. The book is not as precise in its engagement with the Old English text as one might wish: the fragmentary fourteen lines of this riddle include some words and phrases of uncertain meaning and some difficult (perhaps impenetrable) syntax, which Dale skates over. Plausible though Dale's preferred solution is, I would suggest that we could only be 95% confident in the correctness of a broader claim like 'ore and/or things into which ore is transformed'. Dale devotes some literary-critical attention to the riddle's use of the rare past tense verb *āgētte* (pp. 127–28). Rather oddly, she bases her discussion on glosses in Richard Marsden's *Cambridge Old English Reader* and in Henry Sweet's *Student's Dictionary of Anglo-Saxon* while making no reference to the comprehensive and cutting-edge *Dictionary of Old English*. The *DOE* explains that *āgētte* could come from *āgītan*, whose meaning is not certain: the other three certain attestations refer, in an alliterative formula, to death by spears, while the derived noun *āgīta*, which occurs twice in the Old English *Consolation of Philosophy*, seems clearly to mean 'waster, spendthrift'. But *āgētte* could also come from *āgēotan* ('pour'), either by emendation or because the forms of the two verbs were collapsing in Old English. Dale does not seem to be aware of these complications; if she were, I think she would probably come away less confident that we really know what is afoot with this word, and in Riddle 83 generally, as a result. On the other hand, Dale's readings are plausible overall and her ecocritical/ecotheological angle certainly helps her sustain a longer and more productive discussion of this riddle than most previous research. She contrasts the riddle with the principal biblical description of mining, Job 28.1–11, and convincingly argues that Riddle 83 imputes to ore more agency in the face of human oppression than does the Job passage — one of many occasions when she finds that Old English riddles develop a more ecocentric understanding of the world than the Bible. She goes on to associate Riddle 83's scepticism as to the usefulness of money with *Beowulf*'s melancholic portrayals of the burial of metal wealth and the power of fire, situating the riddle in a wider literary context. And chapter 6, in turn, develops Dale's view that Riddle 83 portrays ore getting its own back, as money, on the people who smelt it: here she analyses Riddle 27 (virtually universally agreed to be on mead). Dale emphasises that this riddle not only positions mead as dominating the humans who produce it (as does Riddle 11, on wine), but moreover that Riddle 27's elaborate tour

of the process of mead's production positions the human mead-maker as just one actor in a sprawling network of interrelating species and substances.

Thus in chapter 5 Dale provides us with new and valuable readings of Riddle 83, exploring ramifications there and in the subsequent chapter for how we read other parts of the Old English corpus — but readers can expect to find that closer philological reflection on her argumentation reveals possibilities or problems that Dale has missed.

The study closes by putting the Book of Job — in which God is fond of asking Job questions that undermine Job's anthropocentric view of the created world — into dialogue with Riddles 84 (water) and 1–3 (storm). In discussing how these sources ask us to contemplate the nature of human knowledge, Dale begins to open up epistemological questions that are fundamental to the ecocritical project, and to show how the Exeter Book riddles do the same.

There is no question that this book will be consulted by almost all future commentators on the Exeter Book riddles, but although the intensity of its engagement with ecotheology varies, the work also stands as an important incitement to eco-theorists of the Middle Ages to look to ecotheology for insights, and to challenge ecotheology by testing it against a literary culture which was in an intense dialogue with Abrahamic thought.

Alaric Hall (University of Leeds)

John P. Cooper, *The Medieval Nile: Route, Navigation, and Landscape in Islamic Egypt.* Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2014. xvii + 421 pp. ISBN 9789774166143.

The old adage has it that 'the Nile is Egypt, and Egypt is the Nile', a statement which was never truer than in the medieval period. Almost all cultivation — and consequently, settlement — in Egypt was located within a mile either side of the river's main channel, or in the Delta into which it split north of Cairo. The fertility of these cultivated areas depended on the level of the Nile's annual flooding, which determined whether the country's population would have plenty, sufficiency or famine. The river was not only fundamental to Egypt's internal economy, but it was also the key vehicle in its international trade. Spices, textiles and other high-value goods were shipped across the Indian Ocean to ports on the Red Sea, carried by camel caravan across to the desert to the Nile, and then transported to Alexandria and other cities on the Mediterranean coast where they were traded to Italian merchants for sale to Europe.

The central aim of this ambitious book is to reconstruct the courses of the Nile as they existed during the nine centuries following the Islamic conquest. This is no easy undertaking, given the huge amount of change in the geography of the river and its many branches since the time when these were first named and described by ancient geographers such as Herodotus. Some courses silted up, while many new channels were formed either through natural processes or by human attempts to facilitate navigation or secure water supplies. Likewise, over the centuries settlements have been constructed, abandoned or shifted along with the changing access to drinking water and possibilities for irrigation and communications. Cooper's methodology starts with the typological descriptions provided by medieval geographers, notably Ibn Ḥawqal and al-Idrisī, who describe each watercourse as a

Leeds Medieval Studies, 1 (2021), 94–95. DOI: 10.57686/256204/6 (ISSN: Print 2754-4575/ Online 2754-4583)
© 2021 Alan V. Murray (ORCID iD: 0000-0003-1641-0891)
This work is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License

linear progression along a series of toponyms, most of which can be identified with modern settlements. These initial identifications are then backed up and verified with a wide range of additional evidence from archaeology, geology, aerial photography and remote sensing imagery to build up a series of detailed snapshots of the Delta, whose results are presented in Part I. This shows how in place of the seven mouths famed in Antiquity, by the end of the first millennium AD the river had developed two main courses, each with two main branches: an eastern course with one branch reaching the sea at Damietta and another flowing into Lake Tinnis, and a western course which debouched at Rosetta with a separate canal leading to Alexandria.

Part II investigates the practicalities of navigation of the river itself and the ports with which it connected on the Mediterranean and Red Sea coasts, highlighting how sailing was scarcely possible for merchant shipping in the period March to June, when the river was low; the peak sailing season came in the months from September to January, when the annual flood raised the water level. Part III surveys the characteristics of the ports of the western and eastern Delta, as well as Cairo and its neighbour Fustat, and the harbours of the Red Sea. Together these two sections reveal a kind of hierarchy of ports, whose utility and prosperity were affected by both geographical and political factors. Prevailing winds and currents diminished the importance of Rosetta, while favouring Alexandria, despite its location on the westernmost extremity of the Delta. One can easily grasp why successive governments put so much effort into maintaining the canal which connected Alexandria with the Rosetta branch of the river, since it had both an excellent harbour and a more defensible position. Similar factors explain the significance of Tinnis, a tiny island situated in a lagoon east of Damietta, containing hundreds (if not thousands) of shops and workshops manufacturing and selling luxury goods. Its position meant that it was protected from storms and difficult currents, but had constant access to the Delta and the sea; nevertheless, it was eventually abandoned on the orders of the Ayyūbid authorities because of vulnerability to attacks by Christian powers.

These are only some of the salient findings within a wealth of detailed research which cannot be adequately described in a short review. Much of this detail is presented in the form of over 40 diagrams comprising schematic representations of historical cartography, satellite imagery, and reconstructions of the Nile's courses at various points in history up to the present. There is also considerable tabulated information dealing with types of vessel, sailing seasons, travel distances, journey times, sea and river currents, wind speeds and directions, placenames and much more. This book is a fundamental resource not only for historians of medieval Egypt, but also for specialists in cartography, navigation, commerce and the crusades. It is a work of great forensic ingenuity and a major milestone in the historical geography of the Levant.

Alan V. Murray (University of Leeds)

Cecilia A. Hatt, *God and the 'Gawain'-Poet: Theology and Genre in 'Pearl', 'Cleanness', 'Patience' and 'Sir Gawain and the Green Knight'.* Cambridge: Brewer, 2015, x + 249 pp. ISBN 9781843844198.

This study is as much a work of theology as it is a literary analysis of the poems found in MS Cotton Nero A.x. The *Gawain*-poet's detailed delight in the material has led many to consider the poems a celebration of the wealthy and powerful in courtly life. Cecilia Hatt's aim is to rescue the theology of the poet from this position and demonstrate how each poem represents a 'coherent religious vision' (p. 1), which acknowledges an 'utter indebtedness to God for creation' (p. 2). The poet therefore sees all of material creation as a gift from God, understanding humanity not as 'actors and shapers of events, but the recipients of the unfathomable providence and unimaginable generosity of God' (p. 11).

Hatt disputes critics, such as David Aers, whom she maintains have viewed the poet through a starkly Augustinian lens, characterised by a Platonist dualism between soul and body. According to Hatt, the *Gawain*-Poet is more at home with the Aristotelian Aquinas, who resisted such sharp distinctions and was 'not at all fazed by bodiliness' (p. 4). Modern theologians such as Rowan Williams and David Kelsey are drawn upon to illuminate this further. Absent though is any broader context of theology in late medieval England, whether formally or in the daily life that the poet so champions. There is also little attempt to situate the poems within a setting of other similar medieval religious texts. These would certainly bolster the arguments further, particularly on the supposed orthodoxy of the poet's views. Romans 5.5 and the implicit authority of Aquinas are heavily relied upon, and the possibility that the poet might even have been dissenting against some of the religious conventions of the time is not considered.

Hatt does provide an exceptionally close reading of the poems, well informed by scripture, to tease out the 'profoundly incarnational theology' (p. 92) of the poet and its effect on the choice of genre in each poem. Chapter 1 focuses on *Pearl*, which is characterised as a dream with 'no visionary or mystical element' (p. 19). The exchange between the jeweller and the heavenly pearl-maiden is not divine revelation, but a genuine dream in which the dreamer grapples with grief in the context of his religious views, a reflection on the implications of our limitations as creations of God. When discussing *Cleanness* in Chapter 2, Hatt does not shy away from the problems the poem poses for a modern reader, including its apparent homophobia. Still, the poem is described as 'not really about sex' (p. 74), but instead is 'arguing for an attentiveness to the ontological' (p. 96). The recipients of God's wrath in the poem sin against their own bodily creation, and by extension pay little respect to the grace of God. On *Patience*, the various traditions of interpreting the Book of Jonah are discussed, and Hatt points to the almost parodic Pelagianism of Jonah in the poem. The poet's aim, she argues, is to demonstrate Jonah's impatience, his refusal to accept and submit to the inevitable will of God in the face of the events of the narrative. *Gawain* is viewed in a similarly Pelagian light, which despite its quite different setting and genre, is seen as still very much 'theologically fuelled' (p. 172). Gawain too mistakenly sees his goodness and virtue as entirely of his own merit, rather than given through the grace of God.

This book offers a sensitive and thorough reading of these poems that warrants much more discussion. Hatt often recognises the difficulty of drawing strong conclusions about genre in each of the texts (*Cleanness* and *Patience* both share homiletic features, but often do not follow the basic principles of a university sermon). Still, the main strengths of the study are Hatt's

Leeds Medieval Studies, 1 (2021), 96–97. DOI: 10.57686/256204/5 (ISSN: Print 2754-4575/ Online 2754-4583)
© 2021 Anthony McMullin (ORCID iD: 0000-0003-2887-5258)
This work is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License

genuine insights into Christian theology, which not only provide new and useful perspectives on the poems for scholars, but potentially for many Christian readers today.

Anthony McMullin (University of Leeds)

Philip Butterworth, *Staging Conventions in Medieval English Theatre.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014. 272 pp. ISBN 9781107015487.

Questioning the use of post-medieval theatre concepts and terms (such as 'character', 'characterization' and 'stage direction'), *Staging Conventions in Medieval English Theatre* calls for a review of the ways we approach medieval performance. Considering a range of fourteenth-to sixteenth-century plays, records and supporting texts from England and Cornwall, this exciting study examines the 'agreed pretence' established between performance instigators and witnesses. Ten chapters address staging conventions including indoor and outdoor performance; casting and doubling; rehearsing, memorising and cuing; coming and going; playing, feigning and counterfeiting; dressing and disguising; expounding and monitoring; effects; timing and hearing; and seeing and responding.

Butterworth begins by examining the performance criteria attending a variety of outdoor and indoor performance spaces (p. 23). He claims that some areas of a playing space may have held more audience focus than others (p. 37), and later develops this by suggesting that players may not have had to 'hide' or 'disappear' from the audience's view when they were not part of the main action (p. 90). It would have been useful to see more discussion here of the ways such staging might have influenced meaning — for example, what the consequences would be for a play such as the York *The Fall of the Angels*, where Lucifer's boasts would deliver very differently if God remained visible, if not being the main focus of the action, as opposed to being out of sight.

A chapter on casting and doubling draws attention to the construction of personae, while a useful discussion of rehearsing, memorising and cueing provided an insight into methods of performance preparation. Butterworth also examines evidence from explicit stage directions and Roman oratory traditions to dismantle post-Stanislavsky notions of characterisation as impersonation, truth and embodiment, instead arguing that medieval performers saw themselves as standing *in place of*, not *as* the personage they sought to represent (p. 95). This is supported in a chapter on dressing and disguising, which also includes an excellent discussion on the under-studied topic of the use of wigs and beards (pp. 113-4); and in a chapter on the use of effects to 'demonstrate, illustrate or illuminate' rather than provide the illusion of reality (p. 154).

Throughout, the book interrogates performer-audience relationships. While an examination of the meta-theatrical roles of expositors and monitors contributes to a well-established critical discussion, the consideration of timing in performance is an unusual and helpful inclusion. The extent to which audience responses validated (and challenged) 'agreed pretence' is examined in a discussion of physical and vocal responses, whilst again underlining the fact that medieval audience responses did not necessarily perform the same functions they

Leeds Medieval Studies, 1 (2021), 97–98. DOI: 10.57686/256204/9 (ISSN: Print 2754-4575/ Online 2754-4583)
© 2021 Daisy Black
This work is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License

do today. While more consideration of the implications of this for the formation and reception of meaning would have been useful, it is understandable given the book's scope and scale — ten short chapters did not always leave room for the implications of Butterworth's findings to be fully explored. Nevertheless, this book has provided valuable tools for further studies.

Interrogating and dismantling some of the modern assumptions brought to criticism of medieval performance, *Staging Conventions* is unusual in that it succeeds both in broadening academic studies and in providing practically useful tools and resources for those seeking to stage performances of medieval plays. Throughout, Butterworth's argument is engaging and compelling, and Butterworth's rich use of familiar and less well known sources make this book a highly valuable addition to medieval English theatre studies.

Daisy Black (University of Wolverhampton)

Haraldur Hreinsson, *Force of Words: A Cultural History of Christianity and Politics in Medieval Iceland (11th–13th Centuries)*. Leiden: Brill, 2021. xiv + 328 pp. ISBN 9789004449572.

As Haraldur Hreinsson rightly emphasises at the beginning of *Force of Words*, the first few centuries of Christianity in Iceland have been studied largely from the perspective of the practical uses of religion in the multifaceted contests of political and social life. The early system of proprietary churches, what Haraldur calls the 'Chieftain Church', has been the core interest of scholars, particularly the value of these churches to the secular interests of Icelandic chieftains. *Force of Words* aims to remedy this situation by reading the earliest religious writings in Iceland — particularly the *Icelandic Homily Book* and translated hagiography — as a reflection of religious discourses, and interpret the historical period in light of these writings. Despite a number of flaws, the book manages to effectively highlight the gap in a conception of history that does not account for personal piety and the full corpus of religious writings to explain the worldviews of historical agents.

The first chapter of *Force of Words* effectively situates the book in both the historiographic and theoretical context. Orri Vésteinsson's seminal 2000 monograph *The Christianization of Iceland* is, unsurprisingly, a major focus. *Force of Words* presents itself in part as a supplement to Orri's work, layering cultural and religious elements over political and economic factors. The chapter presents the overall goal of the book as elucidating religious discourses through a close reading of neglected source texts, and in understanding this discourse from the perspective of empire and imperialism. These theoretical concepts of imperialism do come into play at several points in the rest of the book, but are never used quite as effectively as might be desired. More convincing is the identification of 'new cultural history' as a major starting point for the book, in its aim to more fully understand the cultural background and motivations of political actors.

The second chapter, 'The Roman Church in Free State Iceland' is massive in scope, and surveys many components of the history of Christianity in and around Iceland during the period in question. It begins by setting up the broad context, addressing the growth of papal power in the High Middle Ages, then the Christianisation of Scandinavia and Iceland, before

Leeds Medieval Studies, 1 (2021), 98–100. DOI: 10.57686/256204/10 (ISSN: Print 2754-4575/ Online 2754-4583)
© 2021 Ryder Patzuk-Russell (ORCID iD: 0000-0002-8232-1275)
This work is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International License

proceeding to particular aspects of the Church and religious life in Iceland: monasteries, education, churches and their inventories, Latinity and literacy, and the make-up of Icelandic clergy and the relationship between different types of priests. The sheer breadth of this chapter is its biggest weakness; there is little room for much analysis on most subjects, and Haraldur must often depend on summaries of past scholarship. In places this provides a good opportunity for updating dated conclusions: the emphasis on the practical needs of clerical education and the variety of levels of Latin literacy (pp. 95–101) is very insightful, as is the reminder of the need for new scholarship on early Icelandic hagiography and its sources (pp. 68–72). However, in other places, gaps in the research are apparent: the main source for the church book collections is Orri Vésteinsson's 1990 BA thesis, rather than either the church charters themselves or Tryggvi Oleson's classic series of articles on the subject, and the interpretation that these church libraries were unusually small and poor thus comes off as problematically simplistic (p. 68).

The third chapter, 'Force of Words: Constructing a Christian Society', is arguably the core of the book. Here *Force of Words* presents both its most original work and its most thorough and close primary-source analysis. Grounding itself in hagiography and sermons, above all the Old Norse-Icelandic translations of the lives of the apostles, the book describes the key themes and concepts of the religious discourses that informed and helped drive the history of medieval Iceland: authority and hierarchy, 'others' and the enemies of the church, and 'peace' as understood by a church concerned with hegemonic, universal dominion. The only limitation of this chapter is that the discursive ideas Haraldur draws forth are fairly basic, and the main argument of each section is often that medieval Iceland was largely conventional in its religious worldview and ideology. This is, of course, valuable foundational work, but at the end of the chapter the reader is left longing for a deeper reading of the sources, and more exploration of how these stories were adapted or changed in their Icelandic versions.

The fourth chapter, 'Rome Goes North', gives a brief diachronic historical view of Christianity in Iceland from the missionary period to Bishop Guðmundr Arason in the early thirteenth century, attempting to make use of the insights of the previous chapter to reinterpret some events of this period. It maintains some of the primary-source focus of the third chapter, and among the highlights is the use of eleventh-century poetry to explore how Icelanders of the time might have conceptualised and responded to Roman and papal authority (pp. 237–41). In places, however, the drive to find historical reflections of religious discourses results in some uncritical reading of sources, notably the attempt to reconstruct the personality of Bishop Gizurr Ísleifsson and use it to interpret the alleged peacefulness of his tenure (pg. 242–46). The book finishes with an appendix of twelfth- and thirteenth-century Icelandic manuscripts of religious texts, a potentially valuable reference tool for students and non-specialists.

Force of Words is based on Haraldur Hreinsson's 2019 doctoral dissertation from the University of Münster. The book gives the impression of being a minimally-altered version of this dissertation, and the reader is left wishing for a bit more care in its adaptation. Small grammatical and stylistic errors appear that may have been addressed with more thorough editing, but these are minor and overall the language and proofing is excellent — though in one footnote six Icelandic monasteries are said to have been founded between 1130 and 1150, when in fact only the Benedictine house of Þingeyrar was founded during this time (p. 55, note 71). The bibliography alphabetises Icelandic authors according to their patronym, which can be frustrating for readers used to the standard convention of alphabetising by first name.

More problematic is the fact that the bibliography does not distinguishing between authors and editors, which can be very confusing.

Despite these issues, *Force of Words* is written with an extremely valuable goal in mind: improving our conception of medieval Icelandic history with a better understanding of the religious discourses of that place and time, and it achieves that goal, at least in part.

Ryder Patzuk-Russell (University of Iceland)

Obituaries

Peter Hayes Sawyer (25 June 1928–7 July 2018)

Peter Sawyer is perhaps best known as a scholar of the Vikings and their activities. It was, however, as an Anglo-Saxonist that he first established himself. Born, brought up, and educated in Oxford (apart from a short time during the Second World War when he lived with relatives in Milford Haven), he studied at Jesus College, from 1948 to 1951. After obtaining his BA he secured a Research Studentship at the University of Manchester. He worked there until 1953 alongside the young Eric John, and was deeply influenced by Florence Harmer, at the time that she was working on her edition of *Anglo-Saxon Writs*. He took advantage of his Studentship not to embark on a doctorate, but instead began to work on Domesday Book, which was the subject of his first two published articles. As a result he earned himself the nickname of 'Domesday Sawyer'. Two issues in particular attracted him: one was the composition and make-up of the Anglo-Norman survey, and the other was the evidence it provided for settlement, especially of the pre-Norman settlement of Scandinavians and Anglo-Saxons. Domesday Book would remain a central interest through much of the next thirty years, and in 1985, to pre-empt the celebrations of the nine-hundredth anniversary of the compilation of the survey, he edited an important collection *Domesday Book: A Reassessment*.

In 1953 Peter left Manchester for a temporary post at the University of Edinburgh, where he was deeply impressed by the lecturing of the Professor of History, Richard Pares. He used to say that Pares taught him that a good lecture was like an onion: it should be possible to appreciate it at every level. It was also in Edinburgh that he married Ruth Duncan, the sister of the Scottish historian A. A. M. ('Archie') Duncan. Peter and Ruth had four children, two sons and two daughters. While in Scotland he developed a love of the west coast, buying a house on Mull, and becoming an enthusiastic sailor, which surely fed into his interest in and understanding of Viking ships. From Edinburgh he moved first to Leeds, and then to Birmingham, before returning to Leeds again in 1964, where John Le Patourel, Professor of Medieval History, further excited his interest in eleventh-century England.

Domesday was not Peter's only entrée into Anglo-Saxon studies. He had a particular passion for the charters and the coinage of the Anglo-Saxons, which brought him into contact with Sir Frank Stenton, to the fury of Lady Doris, who took a dislike to anyone who challenged any aspect of her husband's work, as Peter did in some of his discussions of both coins and charters. Equally protective of the older historian's reputation was Dorothy Whitelock. But Sir Frank himself was much more amenable to discussion, as Peter himself was happy to relate:

Leeds Medieval Studies, 1 (2021), 101–4. DOI: 10.57686/256204/11 (ISSN: Print 2754-4575/ Online 2754-4583)
© 2021 Ian N. Wood
This work is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License

on one occasion Lady Doris found Sir Frank and Peter kneeling on the floor, surrounded by copies of charters.

Peter's first major book was a two-volume edition of the *Textus Roffensis* (1957–62), the great collection of Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman legal and diplomatic material put together in Rochester in the early twelfth century. This was not his only significant work of textual editing. In 1978 he published an important edition of the charters of Burton Abbey. He also played a central role as secretary to the British Academy Charter Committee from 1966–82. For many, his most important contribution to scholarship is his *Anglo-Saxon Charters: An Annotated List* (1968). The handbook he produced provided the basic information on the charters, the manuscripts in which they survive, their date and their authenticity. Its contents have been regularly updated and are now available electronically as *The Electronic Sawyer: Online Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon Charters*.

Charters and coins led Peter increasingly to ponder the question of the late Anglo-Saxon economy. He first set out an overall interpretation, which pointed to the significance of English wool already in the pre-Conquest period, in a seminal article on 'The Wealth of England', in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* (1965). Again this was a topic to which he returned throughout much of his working life. It was the subject of his Ford Lectures delivered at the University of Oxford in 1993, which were eventually published as *The Wealth of Anglo-Saxon England* (2013). What delayed the publication of the lectures was Peter's determination to keep abreast of archaeological findings. Although he is remembered as having stated during a conference that archaeology is an expensive way of learning what we already know, he was far more alert to the value of archaeological material than were most historians of his generation. Over the last decades of the twentieth century and the first of the twenty-first the quantity of material evidence increased radically, as a result of major academic projects, rescue excavations, and above all — at least in terms of the coin finds — because of the onset of metal-detecting. At the same time Peter's move to Scandinavia in 1982 meant that his contact with English archaeologists became somewhat more spasmodic. All this delayed the revision of the text of the Ford Lectures, and one result was that their basic argument was in circulation long before they appeared in their printed form.

In addition, Peter's concern with charters, coins and archaeology led him to pay considerable attention to local history, which prompted a commission from Kathleen Major to write a history of Anglo-Saxon Lincolnshire, which was published in 1998. He also collaborated with Alan Thacker to provide an account of the Cheshire Domesday for the *Victoria County History*, which appeared in 1987. However, he always insisted on putting local history in its broader context, as he demonstrated in his inaugural lecture as Professor of Medieval History at Leeds: 'Baldersby, Borup and Bruges: The Rise of Northern Europe', published in the *University of Leeds Review* in 1973. He set down his own view of the overall picture of Anglo-Saxon England in *Roman Britain to Norman England* (1978). There, deliberately following the approach pursued by F. W. Maitland in *Domesday Book and Beyond* (1907), he began with the relatively well-evidenced Normans, before turning to the earliest Anglo-Saxon centuries.

In the 1950s and early 1960s, while establishing himself as one of the leading Anglo-Saxonists, Peter also steadily built up contacts with the Scandinavian world, getting to know all the major Swedish and Danish archaeologists, historians and numismatists of the mid-twentieth century, as indeed he would befriend many of his own contemporaries, as well as emerging scholars of the next generation. He was, therefore, fully appraised of the latest

discoveries at such sites as Helgø, Valsgärde and Birka, and of their interpretation, before they were well known outside Sweden. These Scandinavian connections bore fruit most dramatically in what is his best-known monograph, *The Age of the Vikings* (1962), which radically challenged what was the current orthodoxy, presenting the Vikings as 'traders not raiders'. Peter did not deny their destructiveness, but he questioned the scale of their raids by looking hard at the question of Viking numbers, at the size of their ships, and by pointing to the destruction carried out by their contemporaries. At the same time he stressed the Viking technological achievements, especially in the field of boat-building. The debates opened up by *The Age of the Vikings* have lasted through to the present, and although individual arguments have been challenged there has been no successful full-scale resurrection of the earlier image of destruction. As the runologist Ray Page noted in his review, 'The Vikings will never be the same again'. Peter, whose ideas were constantly developing, himself made further major interventions in his *Kings and Vikings* (1982), which looked more closely at the political structures of the Viking Age, and in work published jointly with his second wife, Birgit (Bibi), notably *Die Welt der Wikinger* (2002). In 1997 he also edited the highly regarded *Oxford History of the Vikings*.

Peter remained at Leeds from 1964 to 1982, becoming Professor of Medieval History in 1970. There was, however, a brief interval in 1966–67, when he held a post as Visiting Professor at the University of Minnesota, where with the encouragement of Stuart Hoyt, and some significant American financial backing, he developed the idea of founding an annual medieval bibliography — initially only of journal articles. The first fascicule of *The International Medieval Bibliography* was published by the University of Leeds in 1967. Its annual publication, at first in print and later in electronic form, has continued to provide a key bibliographical resource for medievalists ever since. Peter would return to Minnesota in 1984, and also spent a year as Visiting Professor in Berkeley in 1985.

Having rejoined the Leeds staff as Reader in Medieval History in 1967 Peter organised a number of seminar and lecture series, the results of which are to be found in a sequence of edited books. *Medieval Settlement* (which also reflects the interests of his Leeds colleague, the historical geographer Glanville Jones) was published in 1970; an abridged version, *English Medieval Settlement*, appeared in 1979. *Early Medieval Kingship* (edited jointly with Ian Wood) was published by the University of Leeds in 1977. It was followed two years later by *Names, Words and Graves*, a volume which reflects Peter's determination to disseminate new ideas relating to settlement history, and especially to the problem of the relationship between place-names and the origins of the communities to which they are attached. His earlier work on Viking settlement had led him to the firm opinion that the date of a place-name did not provide the date of the original settlement to which it was attached, and he regarded John Kausgård Sørensen's contribution to the volume as providing the support of a great onomast for his position.

In 1982 Peter left Leeds for Scandinavia, to join his second wife, Bibi. At the time she held a post at the University of Göteborg, where he became an unpaid Docent, inspiring a generation of graduate students, as he had already done in Leeds. In Sweden he continued to organise seminars and conferences, including one held at Kungälv, which resulted in the publication of *The Christianization of Scandinavia*, which he, Bibi and Ian Wood jointly edited in 1987. In addition he played a role in organising a conference in Göteborg, the fruits of which were published as *Rome and the North* (1996).

Peter and Bibi also set up a small publishing house, Viktoria Bokförlag, which was run from their home in Alingsås (much as the *International Medieval Bibliography* had initially been established in his house in Headingley). Among the imprints were Peter's own *Making of Sweden* (1988). Here, following his contacts with local historians, he paid more attention to the importance of Vestergötland, and the centres of Skara, Husaby and Varnhem, than was commonly the case in a field that had been dominated by the perspective of Uppsala and Svearland. He and Bibi produced a more wide-ranging survey, *Medieval Scandinavia*, which slightly modified this position, in 1993.

Three years later Bibi was appointed to the chair in Medieval History at the University of Trondheim, where she and Peter lived until her retirement in 2007, when they retired to Uppsala. Throughout this period, down to Bibi's death in 2016, they worked together, discussing each other's ideas about medieval Scandinavia and its sources, above all its runic inscriptions, its Latin histories and its saga material. It was also during these years that Peter finally completed *Anglo-Saxon Lincolnshire* and *The Wealth of Anglo-Saxon England*.

Peter's contribution to historical scholarship was manifold. He was an influential Anglo-Saxonist as well as a leading interpreter of the Vikings and of Medieval Scandinavia. He was a significant editor of texts (notably of the *Textus Roffensis* and of the Burton Charters), and a keen student of the manuscripts in which those and related texts are to be found, and above all of Domesday Book. But he also played a major role in what the Germans would call *Hilfswissenschaft*, with the creation of the *International Medieval Bibliography* and the compilation of the handlist of Anglo-Saxon Charters, for which future generations of scholars will long remain indebted to him.

Ian N. Wood (University of Leeds)

Mary Swan (18 December 1963–19 October 2020)

Mary Swan (18 December 1963–19 October 2020) was Director of Studies in the Leeds Institute for Medieval Studies from 1996 to 2011.

Mary's path into Medieval Studies began with her matriculation at Keele University in 1981, where she took a BA in French and English. Mary was thrilled by the works she encountered during these studies, among them *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*. She spent her third year working in Brittany, where she made lasting friendships with two other *assistantes*. Of this group of three, one was British, one Irish (that was Mary, who always identified as Irish, and finally got the passport to prove it) and the third friend was Spanish. Between them they spoke exclusively in French all year, which is how Mary developed the fluency that characterised her use of French thereafter. She graduated with a BA in 1985.

Mary proceeded to an MA in Medieval Studies at Leeds in what was then the Centre for Medieval Studies, whose purpose was to enable interdisciplinary and cross-departmental teaching, and graduated in 1987. It was not at the time possible to study for a PhD in the Centre itself, and Mary switched to Leeds's School of English for doctoral research under the supervision of Joyce Hill. She completed her thesis, on 'Ælfric as Source: The Exploitation of Ælfric's "Catholic Homilies" from the Late Tenth to Twelfth Centuries', in 1993. By then, she had begun serving as a fixed-term lecturer in the School of English (1992–95), also adding her name to the roster of Centre for Medieval Studies staff. In the words of her partner John Anderson, 'Mary's professional direction was set, and it looks obvious in retrospect, from MA

Leeds Medieval Studies, 1 (2021), 104–9. DOI: 10.57686/256204/13 (ISSN: Print 2754-4575/ Online 2754-4583)
© 2021 John Anderson, Alaric Hall (ORCID iD: 0000-0002-1479-4441), Joyce Hill, and Elaine Treharne (ORCID iD: 0000-0002-3439-2976)
This work is licensed under the Creative Commons CC0 1.0 Universal Public Domain Dedication

to PhD to lecturer. In fact it was never simple or easy. Every step was hard'. But in 1996 Mary was appointed to a permanent post as Director of Studies in the Centre for Medieval Studies.

The Centre's opportunity for developing offerings beyond the MA in Medieval Studies that Mary had herself taken was limited by the fact that the Centre was run, in effect, on a voluntary basis, with the cooperation of academic staff across a number of departments. Mary's appointment, as the first person to be contracted to the Centre itself, started the process of giving it a stronger presence in the University, and this more formal identity permitted it to register PhD students for doctoral research that was genuinely interdisciplinary. For Mary to put into practice her insights into how this could best be organised required determination on her part, since she had to work with staff across the Faculty of Arts to develop this distinctive approach and then to persuade the University to depart from its single-department structures for supervision and examination. It is not easy to make changes in the university context, especially to well-established and highly regarded ways of doing things. But Mary's personal and administrative skills bore fruit: the interdisciplinary PhD in Medieval Studies was introduced in 1999. In John's words, Mary 'was skilled at administration. Some colleagues made the mistake of thinking Mary liked admin. Not at all, she said. I do it efficiently because I don't like it'. Her approach certainly worked: her efforts meant that the University was able to attract a new type of PhD student, some bringing prestigious scholarship awards with them. Over sixty students have since graduated from the programme Mary established.

Mary also worked hard, as the Centre developed, to sustain and develop the strong sense of identity among Medieval Studies students and to foster their commitment to engaging with the Middle Ages in an interdisciplinary and multi-disciplinary way. Her commitment to her students was profound. In the words of Ian Wood, another key figure in Medieval Studies at Leeds, 'her pastoral care for IMS students was absolutely extraordinary … she went far beyond what any Director of Studies could have been expected to do'. Two testimonies, from different ends of Mary's career at Leeds, give a sense of the value Mary's students placed on her teaching. Mary Wills (BA English 1989–92) writes that

> Mary was my medieval tutor for years one and two whilst she did her PhD. I still have essays beautifully and intelligently marked by her. Above all, she was kind to me — I was dreadfully homesick at Leeds, utterly overwhelmed with how big it was and how cold and northern it felt! She sensed how wretched I felt that first year and she was always extra encouraging and nice to me. I never forgot that kindness even though it was a long time ago. All university students need a kind, gentle person like Mary to look out for them.

The same sentiments are expressed regarding the later period of Mary's time at Leeds by Shona Raffle-Edwards (BA History of Art, 2006–9):

> I started taking Medieval Studies modules in my first year. Mary led several of these and squeezing into her office for our lectures made me feel I had really found my place at university. She was supportive, kind and interesting, and I suspect she had no idea, but to a young woman unsure she had picked the right path (me!) she was an inspiration and created a very happy environment for me to find my feet. A particular memory is of a Saturday trip she organised to various Anglo-Saxon churches of North Yorkshire, where we ended with coffee at the home of Dr Dominic Powlesland. It was all slightly surreal but highly enjoyable.

Alongside her administrative and teaching duties, Mary produced major work both on Ælfric and on the post-Conquest life of Old English texts, not least through her collaboration with Elaine Treharne on the project The Production and Use of English Manuscripts 1060 to 1220. These contributions helped to shift the field of early English, calling attention to the persistence and vitality of vernacular English writing into the twelfth century; they are represented by the bibliography below. Mary also sat on the editorial board of *Leeds Studies in English* from around 1999 to 2011, including editing a *Festschrift* for Joyce Hill as a special issue in 2006. She was, in Ian Wood's words, an 'astonishingly active' contributor to the *Year's Work in English Studies* over the same period. She was also a lively participant in what was then the International Society of Anglo-Saxonists, and organised highly valued 'Anglo-Saxonists' meals' at the International Medieval Congress every year.

Alongside her academic endeavours, Mary worked to make the world better, putting her energy into the causes she believed in. She joined the women's protest camp at Greenham Common. At Keele Mary volunteered for Nightline, a peer-support organisation for students, at quite an early stage of its development, and in Leeds as a postgraduate she volunteered for Samaritans, the beginning of a twenty-year commitment. This meant regular shifts listening to distressed and suicidal people on the phone. Then, in the early twenty-first century, Leeds lost its Rape Crisis Centre. Women were still being raped and in need of support, and in 2009 a group of women came together to found a new charity, Support After Rape and Sexual Violence Leeds, to meet the need. Mary was a founder member, bringing to bear her experience of training professionals in a multi-agency approach to deal with domestic violence experienced by women. She led the development of a helpline as part of the new service, recruiting and thoroughly training volunteers, ensuring they would be supported in the work. The SARSVL helpline continues today.

Much of academic life suited Mary well, and she gained promotion to Senior Lecturer. Yet in 2011 she took the bold decision to leave the University and to embark on training for a new career knowing no more than what field she was going to take up: horticulture. In 2013 she completed a Royal Horticultural Society diploma in the Principles and Practices of Horticulture, followed in 2016 by a foundation degree in Garden Design, in the Northern School of Garden Design, then at Craven College, a further education college in Skipton. When she started the RHS diploma, Mary didn't know that she would become a successful, award-winning garden designer. But much as she missed her students and her research, she never regretted taking the leap. Her motto for this period came from Stephen Sondheim's song 'Move On': 'the choice may have been mistaken, | the choosing was not'. Perhaps unsurprisingly, given her enthusiasm for teaching, Mary ended up lecturing in garden design at the college (from 2016 to 2019), and subsequently several times taught a six-week course in garden design at Bowery Visual Arts, an arts centre in Leeds. Mary's success as a garden designer was not unconnected with her background as an interdisciplinary scholar of the early Middle Ages, which had nurtured a deep understanding of the layers of use and meaning of gardens and landscapes: Rachel Barton, one of Mary's students on the Bowery course, writes 'I have never met a teacher who was so knowledgeable and inspirational. She changed the way I looked at gardening, design, and mostly, landscape'.

At the time of her death, Mary was in the process of building up a successful garden design practice, and was both teaching and publishing in this new sphere. She even managed in her brief career to win a gold medal at the Royal Horticultural Society show at Chatsworth in 2018, and a number of Leeds area gardens to her design remain a testament to her achievements.

Bibliography

Monograph

[With Orietta Da Rold, Takako Kato, and Elaine Treharne], *The Production and Use of English Manuscripts 1020 to 1220* (Leicester: University of Leicester, 2010), https://www.le.ac.uk/english/em1060to1220

Major articles

'Holiness Remodelled: Theme and Technique in Old English Composite Homilies', in *Models of Holiness in Medieval Sermons: Proceedings of the International Symposium (Kalamazoo, 4–7 May 1995)*, ed. by Beverly Mayne Kienzle, Textes et Études du Moyen Âge, 5 (Louvain-la-Neuve: Fédération Internationale des Instituts d'Études Médiévales, 1996), pp. 35–46

'Old English Made New: One Catholic Homily and its Reuses', *Leeds Studies in English*, n. s. 28 (1997), 1–18

' "The Apocalypse of Thomas" in Old English', *Leeds Studies in English*, n. s. 29 (1998), 333–46

'Memorialised Readings: Manuscript Evidence for Old English Homily Composition', in *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts and Their Heritage*, ed. by Philip Pulsiano and Elaine Treharne (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), pp. 205–17

'Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies* in the Twelfth Century', in *Rewriting Old English in the Twelfth Century*, ed. by Mary Swan and Elaine M. Treharne, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England, 30 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 62–82

'Authorship and Anonymity', in *A Companion to Anglo-Saxon Literature*, ed. by Phillip Pulsiano and Elaine M. Treharne, Blackwell Companions to Literature and Culture, 11 (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001), pp. 71–83

'Studying Masculinity in the Middle Ages', *Bulletin of International Medieval Research*, 8 (2002), 21–35

'Remembering Veronica in Anglo-Saxon England', in *Writing Gender and Genre in Medieval Literature: Approaches to Old and Middle English Texts*, ed. by Elaine Treharne (Cambridge: Brewer, 2002), pp. 19–29

'"Men ða leofestan": Genre, the Canon, and the Old English Homiletic Tradition', in *The Christian Tradition in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. by Paul Cavill (Cambridge: Brewer, 2004), pp. 185–92

'Religious Writing By Women', in *Readings in Medieval Texts: Interpreting Old and Middle English Literature*, ed. by David Johnson and Elaine Treharne (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 257–72

'Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 198 and the Blickling Manuscript', *Leeds Studies in English*, n. s. 37 (2006), pp. 89–100

'Imagining a Readership for Post-Conquest Old English Manuscripts', in *Imagining the Book*, ed. by Stephen Kelly and John J. Thompson, Medieval Texts and Cultures of Northern Europe, 7 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), pp. 145–57

'Old English Textual Activity in the Reign of Henry II', in *Writers of the Reign of Henry II: Twelve Essays*, ed. by Ruth Kennedy and Simon Meecham-Jones (London: Palgrave, 2006), pp. 151–68

'Constructing Preacher and Audience in Old English Homilies', in *Constructing the Medieval Sermon*, ed. by Roger Andersson, SERMO: Studies on Patristic, Medieval, and Reformation Sermons and Preaching, 6 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), pp. 177–88

'Mobile Libraries: Old English Manuscript Production in Worcester and the West Midlands, 1090–1215', in *Essays in Manuscript Geography: Vernacular Manuscripts of the English West Midlands from the Conquest to the Sixteenth Century*, ed. by Wendy Scase, Medieval Texts and Cultures of Northern Europe, 10 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), pp. 29–42

'Preaching Past the Conquest: Lambeth Palace 487 and Cotton Vespasian A. XXII', in *The Old English Homily: Precedent, Practice, and Appropriation*, ed. by Aaron J. Kleist, Studies in the Early Middle Ages, 17 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), pp. 403–23

'Wulfstan II', in *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde*, ed. by Johannes Hoops (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2007), pp. 789–91

'The Production and Use of English Manuscripts 1060 to 1220: Report on First Project Symposium, Leicester, July 2007', *Old English Newsletter*, 41 (2008), 36–38

'Identity and Ideology in Ælfric's Prefaces', in *A Companion to Ælfric*, ed. by Hugh Magennis and Mary Swan, Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition, 18 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), pp. 247–69

'Lambeth Palace 487 Item 10 and Reading for the Ear', *Leeds Studies in English*, n. s. 41 (2010), 214–24

'Post-Conquest Old English Literature', in *The Literary Encyclopedia* (8 May 2003), https://www.litencyc.com/php/stopics.php?rec=true&UID=1278

'Using the Book: Cambridge, University Library, MS Ii. 1. 33', *New Medieval Literatures*, 13 (2012 for 2011), 289–97

'Marginal Activity? Post-Conquest Old English Readers and their Notes', in *Saints and Scholars: New Perspectives on Anglo-Saxon Literature and Culture in Honour of Hugh Magennis*, ed. by Stuart McWilliams (Cambridge: Brewer, 2012), pp. 224–33

[With Orietta Da Rold], 'Linguistic Contiguities: English Manuscripts 1060 to 1220', in *Conceptualizing Multilingualism in Medieval England, c. 800–c. 1250*, ed. by E. M. Tyler, Studies in the Early Middle Ages, 27 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), pp. 255–70

'Hidden Gem', *Garden Design Journal*, 179 (June 2017), 38–44 [on Le Jardin Secret in Marrakesh]

'Winter Wonder', *Garden Design Journal*, 197 (December 2018), 14–19 [on Reighton Wood]

Editing

Co-editor, 'Old English Literature', 'Early Medieval Literature', *The Year's Work in English Studies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the English Association), 1999–2011

Editorial board member, *Leeds Studies in English*, 1999–2010

The Community, the Family, and the Saint: Patterns of Power in Early Medieval Europe. Selected Proceedings of the International Medieval Congress, University of Leeds 1994–1995, ed. by Mary Swan and Joyce Hill, International Medieval Research, 4 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998)

Rewriting Old English in the Twelfth Century, ed. by Mary Swan and Elaine M. Treharne, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England, 30 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000)

Essays for Joyce Hill on her Sixtieth Birthday, ed. by Mary Swan (Leeds: School of English, University of Leeds, 2006) [= *Leeds Studies in English*, n. s. 37]

A Companion to Ælfric, ed. by Mary Swan and Hugh Magennis, Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition, 18 (Leiden: Brill, 2009)

New Medieval Literatures, 13 (2012 for 2011), ed. by Mary Swan, Orietta Da Rold and Elaine Treharne

Major grants

Co-principal investigator with Elaine Treharne, 2005–10, Arts and Humanities Research Council Large Research Grant, for 'The Production and Use of English Manuscripts, 1060–1220', B/RG/AN5057/APN19534 (£383,534.00 / $500,000)

With Elaine Treharne, 1998, British Academy Neil Ker Memorial Fund Committee Award for *Rewriting English in the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge University Press)

Awards

2018 RHS Chatsworth Flower Show, Gold Medal

John Anderson, Alaric Hall (University of Leeds), Joyce Hill (University of Leeds), and Elaine Treharne (Stanford University)