A Philologist World of Texts.
Festschrift in Honour of Professor Jeremy Smith

Isabel de la Cruz Cabanillas y María José Esteve Ramos
(Coords.)

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Colección
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There's so much I could say about Jeremy Smith or JJS, whom I've known for over thirty years, indeed from the day I came for my interview for the Chair of English Language at the University of Glasgow in 1990. He was immediately welcoming and Elaine and he were amongst the first to invite us to their home. Our colleague Katie Lowe had the same experience. She writes: "As a new member of staff, Jeremy absolutely took me under his wing. As I was by myself in the West End he and Elaine would invite me around weekly for dinner and lots of wine. He was immensely kind to me. He even drove me around areas of Glasgow to see what things were like. I can vividly remember the odd choice of trip to the Gorbals of the 1990s [a poor part of Glasgow], with its tenement heart ripped out and replaced by desolate towerblocks. That was struck off my list of potential places to live pretty pronto!"

When I joined the department in 1990 Jeremy was a lecturer, as my predecessor, Michael Samuels, although brilliant in so many ways, was not generous in his promotions policy. I was determined to make my Chair into a Chaise Longue and Jeremy, Christian Kay and Mike MacMahon soon joined me on it with Jeremy taking the title of Professor of English Philology when promoted. However, coming from Copenhagen and never having had a post before in the UK, I was very much at sea, but Jeremy was extremely kind, helpful and generous, gently easing me into the wonders of British academic life, not to mention the mysteries of the English Language Department (as it was called then) and its curriculum. There had been talk in the interregnum between Michael Samuels and me that the department might serve better as an English Language teaching centre for the ever-increasing numbers of international students. We strongly resisted this and together we were determined to reinforce our strengths in historical linguistics (Jeremy), general linguistics (Seamus Simpson), phonetics (Mike MacMahon), stylistics (Cathy Emmott), Scots language (Jeremy), and of course semantics with the Historical

Thesaurus as our flagship and Christian Kay at the helm —six persons in all. Today there are c 20. It was a very happy department and we all got on splendidly, but Jeremy was the cement that held the department together and, as we were few in number, we had to cover each other's work when illness or sabbaticals happened. Jeremy was always positive, willing to help out and take on extra administrative duties and I never heard him complain, unless against the central authorities —like all academics! Katie backs me up in this, writing: "Jeremy was the last person in the department who could have taught across the full range of what we offer, from grammar through phonetics to Old Icelandic. He is a polymath. He was always the first person to volunteer for MORE WORK, and I will never tire of the phrase "I found a stray exam script with a question for you, Katie. I hope you don't mind, but I marked it."

I think the most significant characteristics that all who meet him acknowledge are his warm and friendly nature and especially his sense of humour. I've never heard anyone else make Old English ablaut, i-umlaut or back mutation such great fun, not to mention his piece de resistance, the Great Vowel Shift! His unique method of presentation —slow, deliberate, anticipatory —could make any subject funny. These lectures were peppered with anecdotes about his father, his lecturers at Oxford or colleagues. He attracted large numbers of students to his lectures and made philology, a dying subject in many universities, relevant and exciting. Not many can do that. He compared philology to an old tweed jacket —long-lasting and forever coming back in fashion, as it was top quality! Katie adds "Jeremy's star quality as a lecturer was so legendary in the University that people from other faculties would turn up to hear him. They did not leave disappointed."

This love of, nay passion for, historical English linguistics is shared by our Spanish colleagues. There are few countries left where it is taught and the key is to convey one's passion for the subject to the next generation, and that is exactly what Jeremy does. We were keen that the first available new post after my arrival was to be in Old or Middle English; by rights it should have been in Scots Language, but Jeremy and I promised to cover Scots and so the field was opened up and we were so lucky to appoint Katie Lowe. An excellent choice with Katie, who is also a great friend of our Spanish colleagues; the three of us are frequent attendees at SELIM conferences and have enjoyed the friendship and hospitality of our Spanish friends. We'd like to think that it was the brilliant personalities in Glasgow that attracted our Spanish colleagues, many of whom have contributed to this volume, but we're modest enough to know that it is really the riches of the manuscripts in the Hunter Collection that is the big

attraction. Almost half the manuscripts in the Malaga Corpus of Early English Scientific Prose and its three sub-corpora are from the Hunterian collection. Our Spanish colleagues have contributed so much by digitising and editing many of the Glasgow manuscripts and we are greatly indebted to them. We have a very special and much appreciated relationship with them which I hope will continue with future generations of scholars.

Jeremy's list of publications is extensive. He has authored or co-authored some nine books and has written a very large number of articles and book chapters on a wide range of topics in early English and Scots language. The language of Chaucer, Malory, Gower and Burns frequently features in his publications, while topics such as dialect variation, Scots language, punctuation and sound changes, not to mention the Great Vowel Shift, are a few of the many subjects of his research. He well deserves a festschrift!

Another major contribution to our department is his invaluable contribution to its administration. Head of Department (as it was in my days) was a job no one really wanted, but Jeremy very skilfully held this post for a number of years and was eventually made Head of the School of Critical Studies which comprises some four departments. Much as we love our colleagues in the other departments the Head of School can be —how shall I put it —very tricky! Greater love hath no man for his subject than to sacrifice teaching and research time on admin duties! Earlier he helped me create the School of English and Scottish Language and Literature (SESLL) in the late 1990s at a time when "amalgamation" was the cry of the day and that gave us continued autonomy for over a decade.

For over thirty years Jeremy reigned supreme in his attic room in Number 12 University Gardens; he was offered a more prestigious study but refused to budge, crowding tutorial groups into it and round the famous desk he loved, a desk which used to belong to Norman Davis, Chair of English Language at Glasgow from 1949-59 before Michael Samuels. Tea was invariably offered to those in his tutorial groups and he quite rightly created a devoted fan club of students.

Not all is work, as Jeremy is a fine family man. Amy, his daughter, is very much involved in horse riding and Jeremy would devote weekends driving her and her horse to gymkhanas and other shows. When not driving a horse box he could be found in the Scottish mountains as a keen hill walker. Now in retirement Elaine and he have followed Amy to live in the north of England where he continues to write and in his spare time continues his hillwalking.

Congratulations to our Spanish friends for compiling this excellent collection of essays, well worthy of the great scholar, Jeremy Smith!

Professor Graham D Caie
CBE, PhD, FRSE, FEA, FRSA Hon Research Professor
and Dean of Faculties, University of Glasgow

INTRODUCTION

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This volume contains a collection of contributions by Spanish researchers on History of the English Language and Mediaeval Studies. All of them have gathered in this tribute to Professor Smith, after decades of professional relationship, both in Glasgow and in different Universities across the Spanish territory. During this time, Prof Smith has been a mentor, a friend, and a source of inspiration for all of them since their early professional careers. No doubt he deserves this recognition as an expression of our gratefulness and appreciation for his devoted patience and dedication in advising, correcting and supervising, always showing the path for excellence, with a love for things well-done. And all that always with a smile.

Many of the issues that arise in this volume have been discussed with Professor Smith during the many stays in Glasgow, meetings at international conferences or chats over a coffee. These contributions are very much aligned with some of his major interests and areas of expertise, mainly manuscript studies, historical linguistics and editing.

The first article of this monograph is entitled 'Middle English Astro-Medical Texts in New Haven, Yale Medical Library MS 47' by Alonso, Domínguez and Quintana. These authors contribute with a proposal for an edition of a fifteenth-century text on astrology, New Haven, Yale medical library MS 47. The authors provide ample information on the manuscript description, and also offer a transcription of the texts related to astrology encountered in the volume. A linguistic study is also presented, using the LALME to create a linguistic profile, in order to identify a likely area of provenance, which they propose to be

Leicestershire. The dialectal localisation has been accomplished by using not only the information obtained from the linguistic profile, but also by considering the morphological evidence, which is described in detail in this work. The study points to many possibilities for further research, which relate —among others— to the establishment of genetic relations amongst other similar mediaeval texts.

Our second chapter focuses on revisiting the history of research on the standardisation of spelling in late Middle English and it is authored by J. Camilo Conde. In his chapter, Professor Conde provides a thorough revision of how the work of Jeremy Smith has been contributing to the study of standardisation of English, both theoretically and methodologically. This review of no less than forty years of publications by Jeremy Smith on standardisation and related matters undoubtedly shows his relevance and key role in this area. The incorporation of notions such as historical sociolinguistics —and more recently historical pragmatics— changed our research perspectives from a top-down to a bottom-up model, fluctuating from an established vision of the standard spreading from governmental offices to the local studies of the different variants in manuscripts. This philological approach contributed to the reassessment and progression of the different theoretical and methodological premises that had been established in the launch of the *Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English* (LALME).

Moving to a different area of research, the chapter 'A Study of Therapeutic Plant Names in a Late Middle English Medical Corpus' by De la Cruz and Diego follows. The main assumption on which this chapter is based is that there has not yet been a thorough and comprehensive study of Middle English botanical lexicon. In order to fulfil this gap, this chapter presents a study of nouns related to the field, based on a purposely-compiled corpus containing around 166,000 words. As a result of this painstaking work, results show that the study of this unexplored material has revealed earlier dates of recording for specific occurrences. The work analyses the provenance and etymology of the selected words and also its morphological characteristics. Some of the results show that the majority of the Middle English complex plant names are made up of two nouns (56%), in line with Krischke's (2010) findings in her study of Old English botanical terms. As per other conclusions regarding the etymological study, the main foreign sources for plant vocabulary are Latin and French, a fact that had already been attested by Norri (1996). The task of plant identification in this work proves monumenta, although one of the most problematic issues has been to find a contemporary counterpart, given the absence of material at hand.

We continue now with a proposal for an Edition and study of *The Cure of Bytyng*, a Middle English text housed in London, Wellcome Library. The text is found in folios 56r-61r in MS 411. This work, authored by Laura Esteban, is focused in this Middle English treatise dealing with venomous bites. The text is found in a miscellaneous collection containing a combination of verse and prose materials, including practical and medical contents such as prognostications, nativities, reproduction or bloodletting. The full details of the contents are listed in the chapter. As to the transmission and authorship, the text is anonymous and the author/translator/compiler also remains unknown. The author lists a number of manuscripts in which info about biting can be found, but no other manuscripts containing the very same text have been found yet. As it is customary in Esteban's works, a very detailed and thorough physical and codicological description follows in which she shows examples for abbreviations and punctuation elements found in the manuscript. The editorial policy is also detailed at the end, followed by the edited text which closes the chapter.

The following study is about the transmission of *exempla* in Mediaeval Romances; more precisely a study of manuscripts, sources and reception of a romance belonging to the Arthurian lore. This work, authored by Lidón Prades-Yerves and María José Esteve-Ramos provides an unexplored and fascinating line of research. The chapter analyses the notion of exempla, and how the capacity of the genre for hybridisation made it possible for these stories to evolve in a very distinctive way in the insular tradition focusing on the Middle English text *The Awntyrs off Arthure.* The approach to understanding the flux of this tradition involves different aspects to be considered. In this particular chapter, authors deal with the notions of audience and reception in order to contextualise the transmission of these stories, which is one of the objectives of this line of investigation. Also, manuscript sources and manuscript contexts reveal relevant information about this process.

Precisely, the next article in the volume deals with manuscript studies as well. It presents a critical edition of a Middle English poem on prognostics for the year. Antonio Jesús Gallardo and David Moreno provide a thorough analysis of the codicological and palaeographical features of *The Revelatio Esdrae* contained in London, British Library, Sloane MS 1315. In addition, they have identified other nine members of the same textual tradition in several British and overseas libraries. They discuss the origin of this Middle English version and describe the contents of the manuscript, which, includes not only *The Revelatio Esdrae* but other well-known treatises, such as *Agnus Castus,*

followed by a collection of recipes, and other prognostic tracts, including calendars, lunaries, and a collection of brief divination works in prose and verse. They have also studied the dialect of *The Revelatio Esdrae* using LALME's fit-technique. Their analysis is very much alike Taavitsainen's (1988), even if she examined the lunary included in the manuscript and not this specific piece. Thus, they conclude the dialect depicted in the poem corresponds to the South Somerset-North Dorset area.

The seventh article written by Margarita Mele Marrero is 'Elizabeth Elstob, Just a Philologist'. The author begins by revisiting the figure of Elizabeth Elstob as a philologist, a condition some of her contemporaries despised. The author vindicates the role of Elizabeth Elstob as a philologist and analyses Elstob's *English-Saxon Homily on the Birth-day of St. Gregory*, one of her first works as an Anglo-Saxonist. Margarita Mele studies stance and engagement through discourse markers, which can help to understand Elstob's sense of belonging to the Saxonists' circle of her time. Thus, the main interest is how Elizabeth Elstob presented herself as scholar, which is connected with how she tries to persuade her readers and engage them to participate in her work. From the analysis of Elstob's work, the author concludes firstly that Elizabeth Elstob makes use of discourse markers to enhance her authority. Secondly, her style coincides with that of the authors of the Anglo-Saxonist community, regardless of their sex. Thirdly, the use of the personal pronoun *we* in her annotations is a sign of her forming part of that community with which she shared her knowledge and findings.

In the next chapter, Alicia Rodríguez Álvarez also mentions one of Elizabeth Elstob's works, *The Rudiments of Grammar for the English-Saxon Tongue*, although she focuses mainly on Camden and Verstegan as the precursors of the first historical outlines of the English language. Their works were vital in the configuration of the first histories of English and in the ideological tenets. The Germanic spirit that pervades these histories is inspired by their steadfast defence of the Germanic ancestry of English. She examines their influence on seventeenth- and eighteenth-century developments of the discipline called "History of the English Language". Her study is based on a corpus of early historical accounts of English published from the late sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, which is used to identify themes and ideological trends common to the works of the corpus. Despite the time span between the first account and the last one, as Alicia Rodríguez shows, a conspicuous sense of continuity impregnates analogous discourses, since they all agree to the antiquarians' zealous views —especially William Camden's and Richard Verstegan's— on the Germanic origin and nature of the English language.

The next contribution on 'The genitive in Farman's Gloss to the Rushworth Gospels' is written by Nieves Rodríguez Ledesma. The author offers a quantitative study of the genitive construction in Farman's gloss to the Rushworth Gospels extant in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auctarium D.2.19. She compares Fairman's with Aldred's gloss to the Lindisfarne Gospels contained in London, British Library, Nero D. iv. On the one hand, Nieves Rodríguez focuses on the extension of genitive singular -es from the a-stems to other noun classes and, on the other hand, on the word order of adnominal genitives in the gloss. Her study reveals that analogical extension of -es is found in feminine nouns and kinship r-stems, although it is not so widespread as in Lindisfarne Gospels. As for word order, the author concludes that Fairman deviates from the Latin original and shows a more anglicised pattern than Aldred. In fact, although postposed genitives are pervasive in both glosses following Latin, preposed position is much more frequent in the Mercian gloss by Fairman than in the Aldred's Lindisfarne gloss, both with proper nouns and with common nouns.

The last chapter in the volume by Jesús Romero Barranco and Javier Calle Martín deals with the grammaticalization of *by way of* and *by means of* that were first attested in English at the beginning of the fifteenth century, according to the *Oxford English Dictionary*. The *Parsed Corpus of Early English Correspondence* and the *Old Bailey Corpus* provide the data to analyse this process. According to the authors, the prepositional function of *by way of* and *by means of* is the result of the grammaticalization of *way* and *mean*, which evolved from nouns to prepositions in these contexts. Both coexisted in the language until the end of the seventeenth century, when *by way of* ceased to be used progressively and *by means of* spread widely. The process of grammaticalization of *way* and *mean* has not been hitherto explored to determine the use and distribution of these items in Middle English and how they developed until the eventual adoption of *by means of* in early Modern English. Besides, the authors also investigate their semantic features and the sociolinguistic preferences of speakers in the consulted corpora. In terms of age, on the one hand, their results show that *by means of* is the preferred form among the speakers belonging to the youngest age groups, outnumbering *by way of* in the two groups formed by informants in their twenties and in their forties, and showing a balanced distribution in the group of people in their thirties. On the other hand, in the older generations *by way of* outnumbers its counterpart in the group in their fifties and over sixty. Regarding the social class of the informants, the professionals and the gentry pioneered the diffusion of these prepositions, whose use later spread to the rest

of the social groups later. After 1720, the constructions are used by the professionals, the skilled and the lower-skilled workers.

It is an honour to participate in this tribute to the figure of Professor Jeremy John Smith, who has left a visible print in the work and professional life of every contributor in this volume. With the above chapters, we hope to show our enthusiasm and energy in an area of research —philology—, so dear to him. For all this and much more, our gratitude.

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Middle English Astro-Medical Texts in New Haven, Yale Medical Library MS 47

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1.1. Introduction

The last decades have witnessed a revival of manuscript studies and philology with the sole intention of rewriting historical linguistics using texts other than literary. This renewed interest in medieval manuscript is a direct consequence of corpus linguistics and machine readable texts, as these facilitate the retrieval of data and the application of specific software to produce statistics which enlightens our understanding of the medieval language. Notable examples are the Helsinki Diachronic Corpus, the Medical Corpus, the Corpus of early Scots, and the corpus for the LALME, among others. New historical corpus projects are also underway, and their primary targets are the compilation of machine-readable texts of medieval and Renaissance English medical and related texts in order to produce new descriptions of early stages of English.

In this article, we propose our reading of the astrological texts in New Haven, Yale Medical Library MS 47 (henceforward Y). The importance of this manuscript lies in the fact that it constitutes a good example of a Middle English medical compendium, as it contains texts of a varied nature: medical recipes (cf. Taavitsainen 2011), charms (see Alonso-Almeida, 2010), texts on physiognomy, herbal medicine and gynaecology, as well as texts on astrology for medical purposes. Our aim here is to offer the edition of the eight astro-medical texts bound in Y47. Astrological knowledge was very appreciated during the medieval period, especially for its relationship with humoral medicine and surgical practices (Matheson, 1994; Wear, 2000; Alonso-Almeida, 2020), hence the extant manuscripts in classical and vernacular languages (Sinclair, 1963).

Despite leading works in this field of astro-medical texts (Taavitsainen, 1988; De la Cruz Cabanillas & Diego Rodríguez, 2018), the number of editions is relatively small in comparison with other type of texts and treatises, viz. specialised medical texts. However, astrological manuscripts exerted great influence during the medieval period, so much so that astrology played an important role not only on medical (French, 1996) and social matters (Page, 2017), but also on literature (Eade, 1984).

The structure of this chapter is, as follows. Section two offers the physical and the contents description of the manuscript under study, i.e., Y. In this section, we also include a detailed description of the language exhibited in the items we have transcribed from Y. This is followed by the presentation of the editorial conventions and the edited texts.

1.2. Y Yale Medical Library, MS 47

The manuscript from which we have excerpted the anonymous astro-medical texts in Middle English is located at the Harvey Cushing/John Hay Whitney Medical Library, Yale University catalogued under Bond and Faye 47 in his *Census of Middle English Manuscripts in the United States and Canada*. In this catalogue (1935-40: 62), Yale 47, henceforward Y, is said to contain 114 folios, but the LALME is right in pointing out that the number of folios is 118. Each page is numbered in Arabic by two hands. An earlier foliation is given in the centre of each folio recto, and a later one is placed at the right top corner of each folio recto (probably given for cataloguing and/or reprographic purposes).

Y is entirely written on paper (22x15 cm) and "bound in orig. limp leather, with front guard leaves from an account book from Maxstoke Priory" (Bond and Faye 1935-40: 62). As to the date of production, Y was probably written at Maxstoke Priory. Therefore, the date of production or copy would be after 1336 when "Sir William de Clinton... decided to turn the college of chantry priests into a priory of Austin Canons" (Page 1908: 91 vol. 2) and before the dissolution of the monasteries by Henry VIII (1536-7) (Slatek 1981: 45). Thus, first studies indicate that the treatise was written at some point between 1336 and 1536. However, the identification of different characteristics present in the manuscript, such as dialectal features and handwriting, reveals that it dates from the fifteenth century.

The scribe uses late 14th century Anglicana formata and 15th century secretary scripts (cf. Petti 1997). The number of lines per folio ranges from 30

to 35, approximately, and marginalia are written in English and Latin in the same and in a later hand. As to the ordinatio, there are running titles, and these are also supported by the use of a marginal apparatus, as mentioned above. The whole manuscript presents no decoration, except for the flourish lines that surround some titles. Y is affiliated to the following manuscripts: (i) London, British Library, MS Royal 18 A. VI, s. 15, ff. 35r-54r, (2) London, Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, Western MS 5650, s. 15, ff. 41r-58r, (3) Longleat House (Westminster, Wiltshire), MS Longleat 174, s. 15², ff. 107r-115v, (4) New Haven, Conn., Yale Medical Library, MS 47, s. 15, fols. 60r-71v, (5) Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Lyell 36, s. 15² fols. 128r-150v.

The text of Y is apparently in good condition. The manuscript is structured into several parts, which we outline below following the information given in eVK (the asterisk indicates that the text will be transcribed in this chapter along with the abbreviated form used for descriptive purposes):

1. ff. 1-57, eVK 3272, medical recipes and charms. Incipit for indexing: *Jesus that was in Bethlehem born / And baptized was in flum Jordan*; related to CUL Dd. 6.29, f. 62.

2. ff. 57ᵛ-58ᵛ, eVK 2999, astrological. Incipit for indexing: *In the month of January white wine is good to drink fasting and forbear bloodletting seven days* (*) (Y1).

3. ff.59-59ᵛ, eVK 5334, medical recipes. Incipit for indexing: *Take feverfew and tansy red fennel sage and five leaves of wormwood and stamp them in a mortar*.

4. ff. 60-60ᵛ, eVK 8244, introduction to the following gynecological treatise. Index for incipit: *Ye shall understand that women have less heat in them than men and more moistness*.

5. ff. 60ᵛ-71ᵛ, eVK 8199, Gilbert of England, *Sickness of Women, Compendium Medicinae* (excerpt); edited by Hallaert (1982); Green (1992) classified the text as Gilbertus version 1; Alonso-Almeida dissertation (1997); Alonso-Almeida and Rodríguez-Álvarez (1998) revise Hallaert (1982). Incipit for indexing: *Withholding of her blood that she may not have her purgation in due time is caused*.

6. ff. 72-72ᵛ, eVK 5200, medical recipe. Incipit for indexing: *Take calamint sage southernwood wormwood puliol royal puliol montane pellitory? rosemary camomile*.

7. ff. 73-99, eVK 772, TK 71H,   *Agnus Castus* (incomplete). Incipit for indexing: *Agnus castus is an herb that men call tutsan or parkleaves and this herb hath.*

8. ff. 84-85, eVK 2139, medical recipes. Incipit for indexing: *Herba cruciata is crosswort this herb hath little leaves and a small stalk with white flowers.*

9. ff. 102v, eVK 5545, medical recipes. Incipit for indexing: *Take hyssop and stamp it small and then put thereto a little wort and temper them together.*

10. ff. 103-103ᵛ, eVK 3049, astrological. Incipit for indexing: *In the year be four quarters ruleth by the four complexions* (*) (Y2).

11. ff. 103ᵛ-104, eVK 2743, *Ad sanitatem conservandum*. Incipit for indexing: *If thou would keep thee long health then hold this rule flee anger wrath and envy give thee to mirth.*

12. ff. 104-104ᵛ, eVK 7135, *De   canicularibus diebus*. Incipit for indexing: *There be fifty canicular days that is for to wit from the fifteenth kalends of August* (*) (Y3).

13. ff. 104v-105, eVK 4355, *De quattuor complexionibus hominis*. Incipit for indexing: *Right as there be four elements so there be four complexions according in all*; related to *De complexionibus*, Gonville and Caius College 457/395, ff. 46v-47.

14. ff. 105-109, eVK 802. Incipit for indexing: *Alexander the great conqueror in all his conquest and wars was ruled by Aristotle*; related to Durham University Library, Cosin V.V.13, ff. 45-52ᵛ; *De physiognomia*, Gonville and Caius College 457/395, ff. 47-50; *Certain Rules of Physiognomy*, BL, Sloane 213, ff. 118ᵛ-20; Manzalaoui 1977.

15. ff. 109-110, eVK 2777, *De diebus nocuis per lunares menses*. Incipit for indexing: *In each changing of each moon been two days in which whatever thing be begun* (*) (Y4).

16. ff. 110-110ᵛ, eVK 1544, *De Regimine Planetarum*. Incipit for indexing: *Evermore thus reigns the planets in their course first Saturn then Jupiter then Mars* (*) (Y5).

17. ff. 110ᵛ-112, eVK 4490, *De horis planetarum*. Incipit for indexing: *Saturns hour is good and strong to all thing that asks strength only and to nought else* (*) (Y6).

18. ff. 112-113, eVK 760, *Regimine Signorum*. Incipit for indexing: *After that this Alexander the great king conqueror of all the world was gone to Macedonia* (*) (Y7).

19. ff. 114ᵛ-116, eVK 5671, medical recipes. Incipit for indexing: *Take of canel four ounces ginger one ounce and {half} grains de paris galingale nutmeg*.

20. ff. 113-113ᵛ, eVK 7532, *De regimine lunae in signis*. Incipit for indexing: *Thou shalt understand that every quarter of the moon containeth in Luna seven dies* (*) (Y8).

21. ff. 116ᵛ-118ᵛ, eVK 4800, medical recipes. Incipit for indexing: *Take a pottle of fine wort and a pint of good honey and put in a pan and let them boil*.

There is not much evidence of ownership. The only information available is that Edward and Henry Cookes owned this manuscript in the sixteenth century, and it was presented to Yale Medical Library by Lucia P. Fulton in 1959 (Bond & Faye 1935-40: 62).

The texts of the items in Y edited here are written in English throughout with some Latin interpolations, especially in the titles. A Leicestershire dialectal provenance has been identified in the LALME, something that is supported by our own description of the language hereafter. Nouns show plural endings in –*s*, –*es*, and –*ys* as in: *compleccons, leches, dryngys*. Deverbal nouns are made with –*yng*: *chaungyng* and *letyng*. Other plural markers are –*n*, –*r*–, as in *eyre, yen, yȝen, jen*. There are also cases of mutated plurals: *men, wymmen*. Possession is indicated by means of the addition of –*ys/–es*: *Monys houre, Sunes houre, venymes serpentes*. Other times, possession is also indicated by giving the possessor preceding the possessed thing without any inflectional mark: *Venus houre*. Adjectives in the items analysed may or may not show final –*e* to indicate weak and strong distinction as in Old English: *þe ryȝte arme, hote metes*, but also *a rounde face, a round berd*. Derivational suffixes includes –*able, –yng, –y, –ly* and –*ous*: *medicinable, changeable, priuey, lyffy, louely, auerous*. Degree is shown by means of the endings –*r/–re* and –*er* for the comparative, and –*es(t)* for the superlative: *better, lower, gretter, vtter, most, wurst*. Periphrastic comparative involves the use of *more... þen*: *more whyte þen*. Possessive adjectives are *his*, for the masculine and singular third person, and *here*, for the feminine and plural third person. Adverbs (cf. Álvarez-Gil (2018) for a succint overview of adverb formation in the history of English) carry –*ly*, as in *hugely, sykerly, truly*, or they are invariable, e.g. *neuer, hasty, oft, sype, wel*.

The pronouns in these items are the following: (a) second person singular: *þou, þow*; third person singular masculine: *he*, feminine: *sche*, neuter: *hit* and *it*, oblique masculine: *him*; (c) third person plural: *þey, þei*; oblique: *hem*. The latter indicates a Midlands or Southern hand.

These are the main characteristics of the verbal system common to the items Y1-Y8: a *–ste* is used for the second person singular, present indicative, e.g. *takyste*; the third person singular ending is *–th(e)*: *sweteth, seyth, doth, hathe*; the 3rd person plural forms are *–n, –t, , –s,* and the zero morpheme, as in: *regne, regnet, regnes, regnen, crepen*. The present forms of the verb *to be* are *is* for the present third person singular, and *are* and *ben* for the present third person plural.

The past tense only indicates person marking for the case of the verb *to be*, hence: *was* for the singular forms, and *were* for the plural forms. Both the weak and strong forms do not seem to inflect for person marking. Examples are: *regned, wrote*. The infinitive regularly has a *–ø* ending, if it is often preceded by (*for*) *to*, as in *for to wyt, to forbere*. The imperative form is the bare infinitive in the singular, e.g. *ete, vse, drynk(e),* and *–eth*, for the plural: *counseyleth*. The present participle carries either *–yng* or *–aunde*: *fallyng, ventusyng, rysyng, nurschaunde*. Both the use of the present tense suffixes and the use of the *–yng* endings suggest a Midland dialectal significance. The past participle case presents the endings *–ed*, *–t* and *–eþ*, in the case of weak verbs: *forbede, cleped, cupped, mett, hurt, ruleþ*. Strong verbs have their own unique forms, as in *ȝeuen*, and these verbs may carry initial *y–*, as in *yborun*, as a reminiscence of the OE participle prefix *ge–* (Horobin and Smith, 2002).

Present–preterite verbs still maintain number distinction, if there are cases in which this distinction is not marked. The forms for *shall* are *schalt* and *schal* for the second and third person singular of the present indicative, respectively. In the case of *will*, these are *wylte* and *wyl*. Interestingly, a lexical form of this verb is given for the second person singular present subjunctive: *wolte*. The form *may* is used for the second person present indicative *mow* for the third person plural. The forms *schul* is used for the third person plural and *schuld(e)* for the third person singular of the past subjunctive.

The linguistic profile (LP) in Table 1 has been designed following the directions in the *LALME* (McIntosh et al., 1987). The dialectal localisation of these items has been accomplished using the information collected in this LP and the morphological evidence described earlier. Less frequent forms are given within brackets.

Item	Forms	Item	Forms
the	þe ((the))	when	when
these	þese	sb pl	-s, ((-es, -ys))
she	sche	pres part	-yng ((-aunde))
it	it	vbl sb	-yng
they	þey ((þei))	pres 3sg	-th ((-eth))
them	hem	pres pl	-en ((-s, -t))
their	here	be *ppl*	are, ben
such	suche	before *adv-time*	a-fore
which	whych ((whyche, which, whiche))	between *pr*	bytwene, by-twene
many	mony	both	boþe
man	mon*	but	but
any	ony	by	by
much	much (((mykel)))	called *ppl*	cleped
are	are, ben	day	day
were	were	days	eyes
is	is	dayes	
shall *sg*	schal	yen ((eyre,	yȝen, jen))
shall *pl*	schul	fire	fyre
should *sg*	schulde	first *undiff*	fyrst ((first)) (((firste)))
will *sg*	wyl	fruit	frute
from	fro ((from))	good	gode
after	after	has *3sg*	hathe
then	þen, þenne	hea	hed ((hede))
than	þen	him	hym
if	ȝif	know *pres*	know ((knowe))
as	as	little	lytel
against	a-ȝens	ive *vb*	lyu-
again	a-ȝen	may *pl*	mow
ere *conj*	or	month	moneth ((month))
since *adv*	syþe, syþes	moon	mone ((mone))(((mon)))
while	whyle	never	neuer
wh-	wh-	nigh	nyg
not	not ((nought))	old	olde
nor	ne	one *adj*	on
oe, on *ā* ('a', 'o')	o	one *pron*	on ((one))
there	þer ((þere, there))	or	or ((oþer))

Table 1. LP New Haven, Yale Medical Library,
MS 47, ff. 57ᵛ-58ᵛ, 103ʳ-104ᵛ, 109 ʳ-11 ʳ.

Item	Forms
other	oþer
own *adj*	owne
poor	pore
say *pres*	sey-
third	thrydde
week	wyke
weeks	wykes
well *adv*	wel
whether	wheþer
wit *vb know*	wyt
year	ʒere

Table 1. LP New Haven, Yale Medical Library,
MS 47, ff. 57ᵛ-58ᵛ, 103ʳ-104ᵛ, 109 ʳ-11 ʳ.

The LP in this table shows some Midland features. Among these, there are the forms *mon* and *ony* for MAN and ANY, respectively. The form *mon* is found in some western and northern Midland counties and *ony* happens in eastern and northern Midland ones. The co-occurrence of *schal* for the singular and *schul* for the plural is seen in areas of Leicestershire, Norfolk, Northamptonshire, Oxfordshire, Worcestershire, and Derbyshire, among others. Similarly, the form *schulde* is registered in texts from the Midlands and some specimens from southern areas. Another defining feature is *a-ʒens* 'against' which is recorded in areas of Staffordshire, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, Norfolk, Cambridgeshire, and in few other counties. The form *here* 'their' is located in some Midland areas, including Leicestershire, Derby, Norfolk, Nottinghamshire, Staffordshire, Gloucestershire and the neighbouring counties. The form *a-ʒen* has been attested in the county of Norfolk, Warwickshire and Buckinghamshire. The localisation of the word *bytwene/by-twene* 'between' has been found in the areas of Lincolnshire, Northamptonshire, Staffordshire, Shropshire, and Cambridgeshire.

The forms *lyu-* for the item LIVE have been registered in Leicestershire, Nottinghamshire, Lincolnshire, and some other areas in the west and the east of the Midlands and northern regions. The form *mow* 'may' is very distinctive with occurrences in texts from some Midland counties, including Leicestershire, Staffordshire, Northamptonshire, Shropshire. The variant for SINCE, i.e. *sype*, shows a very restricted geographical location: Leicestershire, Staffordshire,

Worcestershire, in the case of the Midlands, and Surrey and Sussex, in the South. The number of forms pertaining to the Midlands so far is significant enough to disregard these southern areas. A similar distribution applies to the use of the word *yen* for EYES, which is found in the counties of Leicestershire, Warwickshire, Northamptonshire, Suffolk, Norfolk, Herefordshire, Shropshire, Worcestershire, and Oxfordshire. The plural form *wykes* does not show the lengthening and change in quality expected in a stressed open syllable in Middle English.

The variant *mon* for MAN is attested in areas of the Central and West Midlands with no evidence found outside these areas. In the case of *ony*, much evidence of usage is registered in the Central and East Midlands, and some northern and southern pockets. Considering all the evidence discussed, a likely place for the dialectal localisation of these texts is Leicestershire. The LALME has identified this same dialect for ff. 60ᵛ-71ᵛ, this same manuscript volume.

1.3. The texts

In this section, we first describe the editorial principles followed in the transcription of the items from Y, and the individual texts are given following the order in which they appear in the original. As already pointed out, we have used a shorthand for each item, and these are included in our above description of the contents in Y.

1.3.1. Editorial principles

A set of editorial principles has been followed in the below edition of Y items. The scribe's own spelling conventions have been fully respected throughout, including cases of variation to avoid concealing dialectal information. Variation in the use of <u> and <v> to indicate either a vowel or a consonant quality has been retained, and the same applies for those cases in which there is alternation between <i> and <y>. The use of scribal <j> has been taken to represent a capital <I>, in those cases referring to proper nouns or a word with this letter initial starts off a sentence.

Abbreviations are expanded in conformity with the rest of the manuscript's spelling, and these have been silently expanded in the published version. Otiose marks in script have been excluded from the transcription, but abbreviation marks have been identified with reference to similarly spelled-out words used

in the recipe book or according to traditional usage in published editions and such manuals as Capelli (1912). These abbreviations are often curly strokes to indicate the omission of a final –*er,* a sort of upturned <ə> to signal –*es/–ys*, and tildes on top of vowels that indicate a missing nasal sound. The ampersand symbol <&> has also been retained in the edition, including initially in sentences. Supralinear letters, normally <t> and <e>, are also shown.

The scribe's identification of some word boundaries do not always have a correspondence with their PDE counterpart. In this edition, we have not amended those misdivisions, as the number of them are numerous and may constitute a characterising feature of the scribe's linguistic identity. As to punctuation in the original, the scribe of Y1-Y8, tends to use slanting bars as a means both to associate and to disassociate sense-units.[1] The point and other symbols are really scanty in these items. These marks may indicate the structure of the text and reading pauses. Punctuation in the edition is, however, editorial.

The paucity of punctuation symbols in the items transcribed prompted the use of our own personal reading of the texts to give punctuation marks according to more modern uses of textual segmentation. This way of punctuating a text may or may not coincide with other scholars' reading of the same texts, but this reflects the varied number of subjective contextual cues involved, namely encyclopaedic, cognitive, and pragmatic, among others, that need to be well-thought-out in this editorial activity. The punctus surrounding numerals, when they are given, have been also removed from the transcription. The genitive is left as it stands in its manuscript presentation, without apostrophe. Capitalisation follows PDE conventions. In the case of <ff> in initial position, this has been capitalised, and also in words which require the use of an initial capital letter in PDE.

Some footnotes are added to include marginalia, scribal emendations, as well as occasional alternative readings. Unreadable stroke is signalled by means of <...> in the text.

1.3.2. The texts

— Y1, ff. 57ᵛ-58ᵛ, In the moneth of Ianuere, whyte wyne is gode to drynke fastyng & forbere blod letybng

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1   See Alonso-Almeida (2002) for the uses and functions of scribal punctuation systems in Middle English medical texts.

In the moneth of Ianuere, whyte wyne is gode to drynke fastyng & forbere blod letyng. vij dayes of paryll þer are, þat is to sey, þe fyrst, þe ij, ⌐þe iiij⌐ , þe v, þe x, þe xv, þe xix.

In[2] þe moneth of Feureȝere, ete no maner of potage þat hockys is jn for whye in þe veyne of þe wombe & iij dayes are perell jn þat mone, þe vij & þe xvij, but vse hote metes as mykel as þou mayst.

In[3] þe moneth of Marche, fygges & reysynges & oþer swete metes ete gladly & drynke & let þe not blode & vse no bathes, bot let þe blode on þe xvij day on þe ryȝte arme for all maner of feueres of þat ȝere & þat is medicinable & iij dayes þer be of perell, þat is for to sey, þe xv, þe xvj, þe xviij.

In[4] þe moneth of Aprile, it is gode letyng of blode on þe lyfte arme on þe iiij day & in þe ȝere þou schalt not loste þe syȝte. & on þe iij daye lete þe blode also & þat ȝere þou schalt not haue no hed ache & þer be dayes of perell, þat is for to sey, þe vij & þe viij.

In þe moneth of May, ryse erly of bedd & erly ete & drynke & vse hote metes. Ete neyder[5] fette ne hede of þe beste þere are þer iiij dayes of perill, þat is to sey, þe vij day & þe xv & þe xvj & þe xx & lete þe blode in þe ende of þe moneth of May þe iiij day or þe v & lete þe blode in wheþer arme þou wolte & þou schalt be hole of all maner eueles þat ȝere.

In[6] þe moneth of Iune, euery day drynk a draȝte of water al fastyng erly & drynke ale or meth in mesure. & ete & dryng letuse & sauge & for grete nede þou may lete þe blode, but þer be on day of perill, þat is for to say, þe vij day.

In[7] þe moneth of Auguste, wortes of cole ete þou none, ne lete þe not blode & ij dayes þer be of perill, þat is, þe xix & þe xx daye.

In[8] þe moneth of Septembre, all þe frute þat is rype is gode to ete & blode for to lete & who so lete hym blode on þe xvij day of dropsy, nor of perell of francy, ne of fallyng euyll. Þat ȝere schal he haste no doute & to dayes of perel þer be in þis <ȝer>e, þat is for to sey, þe xv & þen xvij.

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2   Marginal note: *Feureȝere*.
3   Marginal note: *Marche*.
4   Marginal note: *Aprile*.
5   Marginal note: *Maye*.
6   Marginal note: *Iune*.
7   Marginal note: *Auguste*.
8   Marginal note: *Septembre*.

In[9] þe moneth of October, newe wyne for to drynk & lete þe blode for nede, but j day þer is of perel & þat is þe vj day.

In[10] þe moneth of Nouembre, go into no bath for why þen is þer blode gedred, but gode it is of þe hed veyne a lytul to avente, & garsyng, & ventusyng is gode þen for to vse for why þen are all þe humours þerfor & quikke. & ij dayes þer are of perell, þat is for to sey, þe xv & þe xxvij day.

In[11] þe moneth of Decembre, ete hote metes & it is gode to lete blode & to forbere all maner of wetres & iij day or þer be of perell, þat is for to sey, þe vj, þe vij, þe xv & who so wolle vse þis lyffe he dredeles haue gode lyffe & longer.

— Y2, ff. 103ʳ-103ᵛ, In the ȝere be iiij quarter is ruleþ by þe iij complexyons

In þe ȝere be iiij quarter is ruleþ by þe iij complexyons: ver, someri, heruest, & wynter. Veri hathe iij monthes: Marche April & May, & it is a sanguyne complexyoun. Somer hathe iij monthes: Iune, Iuly & August, & þat quarter is colryk of complexyoun. Heruest hath also iij monthes: September, October & Nouember, & þat quarter is of malecolies compleccoun. Wynter haþe also iij quarter monthes: December, Ianyner & Feureber, & þat quater is of fleumatyk compleccoun. Iche diy also þese iiij compleccons regnet from iij after mydnyȝte in to ix afore mydday regneth sanguyne. & fro ix afore mydday in to iij after mydday regneth coler, & fro iij after mydday into ix after mydday, malecolye. & fro ix after mydday in to iij after mydnyȝte regneth flewme. Also, in þe iiij quarter of þe worlde, regne[12] iiij compleccons: Sanguyne in þe est, Coler in þe South, Flewme in þe Norþe, Malecolye in þe Weste. Also, þese iiij complexions regnen in þe iiij ages of mon is fro þe byrþe vn to xiiij ȝere ful, & monhode flewme in age, & malecolye in elde Chyldehode is fro þe byrþe vn to xiiij ȝere ful, & monhode fro þenne vnto xxx ȝere age fro vnto fyfty ȝer, & elde fro þenne vnto lxxx ȝere & so forþe to þe deth. Also þe iiij complexions regnen in iiij partyes of monnes body. Coler regneth in alle þe soules[13] lymmes as fro þe brest vpwarte. Sanguyne regneth in all <...> lymmes is fro þe mydryfe to þe wesante. Flewme regneth in alle nurschaunde lymmes as fro þe reynes to þe mydryfe. Malecolye regneth in all þe lymmes fro þe reynes dounwarde, & etc.

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9   Marginal note: *October*.
10   Marginal note: *Nouembre*.
11   Marginal note: *Decembre*.
12   regne þese] regne þesiiij þese, with þesiiij crossed-out.
13   alle þe soules] alle þe solun soules, with solun crossed-out.

— Y3, ff. 104ʳ-104ᵛ, De Canicularibus diebus

There be li canicular dayes, þat is for to wyt, from þe xv kalender of August to þe nonas of September. In þe whyche dayes it is forbede by astronomye to all maner folke þat þei let hem not blode ne take no dryngys. And also gode it is þen to absteyne þe from wymmen, & þis shulde wyse leches knowe & kepe & teche oþer men for ⌐why⌐ all þat tyme regneth a sterre þat is cleped cana, id est alba, þat is a whyt sterre & it is hott & moyste. & þat tyme þe hete of þe sonne & of þe sterre be mett to geder & ȝeuen suche a hete to monkynde þat a mon sweteth at mydnyȝte as at myddday. & ȝif a mon be hurt þat tyme his wounde stonte in parel. In þe dayes alle venymes serpentes crepen & sleth & gendren & so þei infecte þe eyre hugely in schedyng of here kynde so þat mony a mon is dede þerby. But þer aȝens al þe somer tyme & namly þe dayes hit is holsum to haue fyre in howse of grene wode & eten soden metes & to absteyne from rostes. Also, from þe xviiij kalend of October in to þe xvij kalend of Nouember, loke þou cache no colde for þen þe pors of mon & of all lyffy thynges schytten & þey mow not open aȝen tyl þe cvij kalend of Auerel. Wherfore suche þinges as þou takyste when þi pors schytten þou schalt holden tyl þei open truly. And for soþe hit schulde lasse harme þe to cache colde at cristylmasse þen þat tyme.

— Y4, ff. 109ʳ-110ʳ, De diebus nociuis per lunares menses

In eche chaungyng of eche mone ben to dayes in whiche what euer þing be bygunne late oþer neuer schal hit come to þe ende & þe dayes be ful pereles for mony þinges: in Ianyuer, when þe mone is v or vj; in Feuerel, when þe mone is [symbol of the moon; symbol of what seems to indicate waning gibbous]; in Marche vj or vij, in Auerel v or viij, in May viij or ix, in Iuny v or xxv, in Iuly vij or xiij, in Auguster viij or xiij, in Septembre viij or xuj, in Octobre v or xj, in Decembre iij or xiij. Who þat dyeth on seynt Ypolyte day his body schal ly hell tyl domesday. Bede seyth þat in þe ȝere ben iij dayes with here myȝtes in þe whych no womon may be conceyued. & ȝif eny mon be conceyued, þenne his body schal neuer rote in to domesday, id est, þe last day of Ianyuer. Also þer be oþer viij dayes of þe same kynde, id est, þe vj kalend[14] of Aauerel, þe vj kalend of Feuerel, þe iij kalend of Feuerel, þe ij kalend of

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14 *kalend*] *kal* in all examples in this text.

March, þe Idus of Feuerel, þe vj kalend of March, þe ij kalend of March, þe Idus of August. Astronomeres seyn vj dayes in þe ʒere ben perel of deth & þerfore þei forbede men to blede in hem or take ony drynge, id est, þe iij day of þe mone of Ianueri, þe fyrst day of þe mones of Iuly, þe ij day of þe mone of Octobre, þe last day of þe mone of Auerel, þe fyrst day of þe mone of Auguster & þe last day goyng on. & of decembre þese vj dayes with gret dylygence oweth to be kepte but nan by þe latter iij, for alle þe veynes ben þen ful for þer, wheþer mon or best in hem withjnne vij dayes or xiiij, þei schul dye. &, ʒif þei ete of eny goose in þe iij dayes withjnne xli dayes, þei schul dye & ʒif eny child schuld dye wycked deth. Astronomers & astrologers boþe seyn þat þer dayes in þe ʒere jn þe which ʒif eny womon be wedded oþer þei schul be sone deperted or lyuen to geder with much sorow & greuaunce. And, who þat taketh eny vyage, he schal neuer come aʒen. And, who þat begynneth eny gret þing, hit schal not come to gode ende &, who þat taketh eny sekenes, hit is doute of his lyfe. & who þat is hyrt in hem schal not lyuen long & oþer mony pereles vnamendable falle þe dayes & þerfore know hem & be ware of hem. In Ianyuer ben vij of þe dayes, id est, ⌐þe⌐ j, ij, iiij, v, x, xv, xix. In Feuerel be iij: þe vij, xvij, xvj. In March be iij: þe xv, xvj, xviij. In Auerel be ij: þe vij, xj.¹⁵ In May be iiij: þe vij, xv, xvj, xx. In Iuny is on: þe vij. In Iuly be ij: þe xv, xvij. In Auguster be ij: þe xix, xx. In Septembre be ij: þe xv, xvij. In Octobre be¹⁶ on: þe vj. In Nouembre be ij: þe xv, xxv. In Decembre be iij: þe vj, vij, xv. Eche mon be ware of þe dayes, & who so knoweth hem, it is wel do warne oþer þer of be. Counseyleth to men be let blode on þe ryʒt arme þe xvij day of March & on þe lyft arme in þe begynnyng of Auerel þe xj day & in þe ende of May þe iiij or v day & also on þe last day of May on whych arme þou wylte. & þus þat ʒere þou schalt sykerly be waryster from þe feuers from þe fallyng euel & oþer goutes & gout festre & from lesyng of þi syʒte.

— Y5, ff. 110ʳ-110ᵛ, Nota de regimine planetarum

Evermore þus regnes þe planetes in here course: Fyrst Saturnes, þen Iuviter, þen Marse, þen Sol, þen Venus, þen Mercure, þen Lune. Saturnus is lorde of Seturdey & hath þe fyrst oure at þe son rysyng the row. Þe ʒere Iubiter is lorde is of Thursdey & hath þe fyrst oure also; Marse of þe Tusdey; Sol of þe Sunday; Venus of þe Fryday. Mercure of þe Wednesday; Lune of þe Monday. And

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15 *þe vij xj*] *þe vij xj ij*, with *ij* crossed-out.
16 be] be is.

counte euermore þi day at þe fyrst oure at þe sune rysyng. ʒif þe day be Seterday, Saturnus hath þe fyrst oure at þe son rysing; Iubiter next þen þe thrydde; Marse þe iiij; Sol þe v; Venus þe vj; Mercure þe vij. Luna þen hath Saturnes agayn þe viij, & Iubiter þe ix, & so folowen þe planetes tolde tyl þe xxiiij oure & þen is þe day natural done. Þenne þou schalt se þat þe sonne schal haue þe fyrst oure of þe Sonday by course of þe planetes is þei come eche after oþer, ⌐&⌐ so it schal folowe into domesday certelych. Saturnes, Iubiter, Marse, Sol & Mercure in here oures ben masclyne genre. In þe oures of Venus & of Lune ben feminyns genre. Saturnes, Mares ben euel. Iubiter & Venus ben gode. Þe sonne & Mercure & þe mone ben changeable now gode signes or with euel, as þei royne with gode signes or with euel. Saturnus is cause of derth & pestelence & fowle & greuous wedres. Iubiter is cause of lone rest & pesse & of vertu & of gode lyuyng. Mares is cause of drednes debate & werre. Sol is cause of lyfe helth & waxingre. Venus is cause of lusty loue & lechere. Mercurye is cause of much speche in merchaundyse & sleyþes. Lune is cause of moysture huge watres & violent flodes.

— Y6, ff. 110ᵛ-112ʳ, *De horis planetarum*

Saturnes houre is gode[17] & strong to all þing þat askys strength only & to nought elles, saf to batele for þerto it is wonder euel þat mon or women þat hath þis stre to his planete. He is malecolioes, blak & goth swyftly. He hath a voyde herte, wicked & bytter as warmod. He wol lyʒtly be wroth. He is janguloes, wytty, couetoes. & the fish he eteth hasty & he is falesys & most what louyng to lyen & he hath skynyng yʒen as a cat. He hath in þe forhed a marke or a olde molde of fyre. He is pore & his cloþes be to rent vn to a tyme & þus he hath open sygnes. & his couetyse is be oþer menes possessions & not by his owne. Iubiter houre is <...> to alle þinges namly to <...> & loue & to <...> who þat hath þis sterere to his planete he is sangurady & goth large pase not to swyftly ne to sofly. His stature is semely & schynyng. He hath a feyre vysage, louely semliunt, & feyr lyppes, feyre heres & schynyng brod face, feure browes. His cloþes ben gedre & strong & he is swete paysable & softe. Mars houre is euel & harde & not ful euel & hit is better by nyʒt. Þen be day for it is masclyne on nyʒt & femynyne on þe day. It is not gode to do eny þing, id est, but with gret strength by þe nyʒt. Hit is gode to entre batayle &

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17   gode & strong] gode to all & strong; with to all crossed-out.

also by þe day, but not so gode by much as by nyȝt. Who þat hath his strerr to his planete, his makyng is of gefnes & oft syþe his face is red with blod. His face is smal & sotel & lawghyng & he haþe jen as a cat. & alle þe dayes of his lyfe, he wyl accuse mony men of euel. He hath a wounde of a swerd in his face. He is most what colryk & þus he haþe open signes. Sunes houre is wurst of alle oþer houre þer no mon do his wylle in þat houre, saf kynges & gret lorde & þat with gret strength. Who þat in þis houre entres bateyle, he schal be ded þere. Who þat hath þis sterre to his planete, he hath scharp jen, gret speche & wycked tho woter in his hert & he is wycked & auerous, nonþer whyt ne blak, but by twene to he hath a marke in his face or a wounde & he hath a wounde on his body of fyre & he is ryȝt wycked & grucchyng in his dedes. Venus houre is gode in all þinges & it is better on nyȝt þen on day ay tyl mydday. At mydday hit is not gode for þe sonne helis it. On Sonday þe ix houre is[18] Venus houre go not þen to eny lorde or potestate for, ȝif þou do, þou schale fynde hem wrothe. Who þat hath þis sterre to his planete & he hath a wounde on his body of fyre & he is ryȝt wycked & grucchyng in his dedes. Venus houre is gode in all þinges & it is better on nyȝt þen on day ay tyl mydday. At mydday hit is not gode for þe sonne helis it. On Sonday þe ix houre is Venus[19] houre, go not þen to eny lorde or potestate, for, ȝif þou do þou schalt fynde hem wrothe. Who þat hath þis sterre to his planete, namly ȝif he be borun by nyȝt in Venus houre, he is whyte & he hath a rounde face, lytel forhede, a round berd. He hath a myddel nese & myddel here of yen. He is lawhyng & frekny & hath a marke in þe face. His makyng is feyre & pleyne & oft syþes. His neþer lyppe is gretter þen his ouer, & who þat is borun vnder þis Venus, when sche is not in ful power, he hath a scharp nese & sumdel croked feyre eres, softe jen, or renyng of water. He is a syngger, he lawheth much of games & loueth hem wel & his talys ben swete. Mercuryes houre from þe bygynnyng to þe myddyl is gode in al þing & fro þe myddel to þe myddyl is gode in al þing &, fro þe myddel to þe endyng, hit is harde & it is much better by nyȝt þen by day. & eche tyme by nyȝt & day he stont by fore þe sonne or by hynde. Þerfore he hath his power much more by nyȝt þen by day. By þe morow to þe first houre of þe day, he hat[h] his power; & fro þennes to þe nyȝte, he hath no power who hath þat sterre to his planete. He hath scharp stature & scharp long yen, long nese, grete eres of his yen & þikke narow forhed, long berde, þynne herre, long armes, long fyngres, long feet.

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18   is venus] is not gode venus, with not gode crossed-out.
19   is Venus] is not gode Venus, with not gode crossed-out.

He is meke & amyable he wol do eche þing to a certeyn space. He is more whyte þen blak & ofte syþes. He is ryȝt whyte & he hath gret schuldres. who þat is borun vnder Mercure, when sche hath ful power, id est, fro þe first houre of þe day to þe nyȝte he is blak & drye. He hath croked teth & scherpe, he hath a wounde on his body of fyre, he is schorged with ȝerdes or smeten with a swerde & men lyeuon hym with euel name of euel tales & of manslawhtres. The Monys houre is ryȝt gode namly to hem alle þat be borun in hit &, fro þe xvij day to þe xxi day, hit is sumdel gode þow not wel much. Fro þe xx day to þe xvij, hit is euel namly to all hem þat ben borun in hit. Who þat hath þis sterr to his planete & borun þere vnder, when hit is in ful power, he hath a pleyne face & pale & sumdel lentygynous & he doth hym wylles to men. He hath sumdel semle semlaunt & he is ryȝt pore & he hath mene stature noþer long ne schort. He hath þynne lyppes & holow yen. Who þat is borun vnder þis sterr, when hit is not in ful power, he hath a streyȝte face & drye & malicioes. He hath a lytel teye & a whyte stryke in his yen.

— Y7, ff. 112ʳ-113ʳ, *De regime signorum*

Affter þat þis Alysaunder, þe gret kyng conquerour of all þe worde, was go to Macedonye, kynges of Grice ware lord of egypt CC ȝeres & <lyye> of whych kynges x contynuely, e[c]he rengned affter oþer & were cleped eche one by on nome, id est Tholome, of whych x Tholomes was on yborun at Philadelfye in Asye & regned in Egypt and he wrote on of þe beste & þe firste boke of Astronomye in Ionyk longage. & þat ilke boke is cleped Almagest, id est, Macroby on Englisch, id est, longway. For hit bygynnes at heuen & sodoun to þe ȝerth of hem boþe & of alle þinges bytwene. Hit treteth ryȝt as in Englond ben v maner longages: Estren, Westren, Sowþren, Norþen & Myddylen. & natheles alle v be but on. So, in Grece, be v longages, id est, Echik, Ealik, Dorik, Ionik & Boete & ȝit neþeles alle þese[20] v ben but on gru speche. By Almagest in Centoboqui of Tholome, eche lyme of monys body is ruled by a certeyn signe of þe ȝodik. Wherfore, as seyth Tholome, id est, þe place a boue ȝif þou be seke in ony lyme when þe mone is in þe signe of þe lyme, for hit schal rade hynder þen forþer þe to take eny medcyne & namly fle blodletyng in þe lymmes. Þe tymes þus schalt þou knowe whyche signes regnes in whych lyme dries þat is þe bole & regnes in þe hed oueral. <u>Taurus</u> þat is þe bole & regnes in þe nekk & in þe throte oueral. <u>Gemynes</u> þat ben þe twynnes & regnes in

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20   þese v ben] þese bok v ben, with bok crossed-out.

þe schuldres, armes & hondes & þese iij ben sygnes of ver. <u>Cancer</u> þat is crabbe & regnes in þe brest, stomak, lunges, arteries, veynes, mylt, hert, lyuer & galle. <u>Lyon</u> regnes in þe bakke sydes, bones, senewes & gristeles. <u>Virgo</u> regnes in þe wombe, mydryf & gutter & also sche regnes oþer whyle in þe stomak, lyuer, galle, mylt, & oþer <mones> lymes by neþe þe mydryf & þe crabbe in þe hert, lunges & arteries & oþer <mones> lymes a boue þe mydrif. & þese iij signes ben sygnes of somere. <u>Lybra</u>, þat is þe balans, regnes in þe nauel & þe reynes & þe lower partes of þe wombe. <u>Scorpion</u> regnes in þe bledder in þe ere & in oþer priuey membres & in þe maries. <u>Sagittary</u> regnes in þe þeies[21] & luddokes & þese iij signes of heruest.[22] <u>Capricorne</u> regnes in þe knees. <u>Aquary</u> regnes in þe legges, koles[23] <u>Pisses</u> regnes in þe feet & þese signes ben signes of wynter.[24]

— Y8, ff. 113ʳ-113ᵛ, De regime lune ouer signis

Thow schalt vnderstond þat eury quarter of þe mone conteyneth in Luna vij dies fully bygynnyng þe first quarter in þe same houre in þe whych is conuiccoun of þe sonne & of þe mone. And for to knowe þus þou schalt vnderstonde þat we begynne þe day at none at xij on þe clok & hit lasteth on þe morow tyl none & so wayte iij what signe þe sonne is in myddel of þe month, as it wryten in mony kalendres. þe same day in þe same sygne þou schalt fynde conuiccoun of þe sonne & of þe mone and so þe mone occupieth iiij wykes & euery wyke sche renneth by iij signes & so iii-iiij wykes þe mone passes xij signes, as þe sonne doth iii-xij monthe except certeyne <...> & poyntes of whych it nedeth not to speke of. And forþermore þou schalt vnderstond þat euery signe in þe bygynnyng of a quarter & in þe endyng ocupieeth iij dayes & þe myddel signe occupieth on day of þe whych day þe first half is medled with þe signe þat falleth ofter & so erly þat conteyneth a wyke & so iii-iiij quarter he conteyneth iiij wykes & þus may þou lyȝtly knowe in what signe þe mone is & in whych is tyme to blede in ony party & in which in a noþer party of a mon or of a womon. Aries, be ware of bledyng in þe nek & in þe throte & in þe veynes þere abowte. Geminy, kepe þe fro bledyng of

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21 þe þeies] þe bledder þeies, with bledder crossed-out.

22 of heruest] of herue heruest, with herue crossed-out.

23 legges koles] legges cu koles, with cu crossed-out.

24 Several marginal annotations in what seems a later hand on 112v: 13 are the abbreviation for *et cetera*, another is the phrase *ad dominus*, another seems to be *Vᵒ* (perhaps the abbreviation for *verso*), and the last one reads *from*.

þe armes schuldres & hond. Cancer, kepe þi brest, þi ribb, þi stomak, þi lyuer, þe splene & to þe veynes. Leo, kepe þi senewes & þis sides & þi bak & fro cuppyng oueral. Virgo, kepe þi bely & oþer jnner priuey places þere. Libra, kepe þi nauel & þi lower places of þi wombre. Open no veyne in þe bak, ne be not þou cupped þere. Scorpio, kepe þi priuey membre þi bledder & oþer nyg membres. Sagittarius, kepe þi bynd & þi theyes. Aquarius, kepe þi legges fro þe knees to þe ancles & þe ancles. Capricornus, kepe þi knees, þi senewes, & þi veynes þere. Pissis, kepe þi fete & þe vtter partes of hem.

1.4. Conclusion

This chapter offers an edition of unedited fifteenth-century English texts on astrology. These texts have never received scholarly attention, and this contribution seeks to remedy the situation with an account of the manuscript and of the texts transcribed. A study of the language of the text has proven beneficial for the dialectal localisation of the astrological items from Y. A linguistic profile has been done using a questionnaire to excerpt highly dialectal variants to identify the dialect exhibited in these items. Many of the forms obtained reveal the central Midlands stratum of this text, and we have proposed the region of Leicestershire as a likely area of provenance. This information might be of use in further identifications of hitherto unlocalised texts. The edited text might also be considered valuable for studies on Middle English specialised writings, and for establishing genetic relations among similar medieval English texts housed in English and American libraries, and worldwide.

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On the History of Research on Spelling Standardisation in Late Middle English

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1. Introduction

The standardisation of English spelling is a complex process that started in late Middle English and extended throughout the early Modern period. Scholarly attention to this issue has been constant since the establishment of the history of the English language as a discipline in the nineteenth century. This is not unexpected in view of the naturalistic or organic model developed by comparatists and neogrammarians and the foundation of the "funnel" metaphor to represent the historical direction of changes: from massive variability in different varieties during earlier periods (especially the medieval one) towards the reinforcement of uniformity and the establishment of a standard from the Renaissance onwards (Watts 2011: 290–294).[1] The centrality of standardisation —subsidiary to the "funnel" view— is attested in the contributions of the different paradigms that have punctuated research in historical linguistics. In this paper, I will delve into the history of standardisation in English —especially as regards spelling— by reviewing the main landmarks that have accompanied (and renewed) research in the last decades. My attention will focus on philological, functional-communicative, sociolinguistic and

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1   "[T]he wide top of the funnel represents a period in the past in which there was no standard […] As we move through time, the wide top of the funnel narrows to a neck through which language varieties must pass. The bottle [below the funnel] would then be the container for the standard, again giving a narrow focus and implying a predestined teleology. This view of language history also implies that the product collected in the bottle is composed of all the ingredients that were passed in at the top of the funnel and that tracing out the history of those ingredients is less important than the final product" (Watts 2012: 585–586).

pragmatic perspectives. I will also consider research accomplished by Professor Jeremy J. Smith —honoured in this Festschrift— over a period of forty years as representative of methodological and heuristic developments in this area. So, in this historical overview I will highlight Smith's own contributions as regards both (a) the adoption (and proposal) of key philological and (socio-)linguistic concepts and (b) the practical, rigorous analysis of many relevant texts and manuscripts that are witness to the process.

2. FROM THE NEOGRAMMARIANS TO THE *LALME* PROJECT

An early interest in English standardisation was developed by late neogrammarian scholars studying sound changes in the London area. Lorenz Morsbach (1888), Wilhem Heuser (1914), Barbara Alda Mackenzie (1928) and Bror Eilert Ekwall (1956) focused on the spelling of stressed vowels as evidence of phonological changes in London English and noticed, for instance, how, already in the fourteenth century, the vowels <a>, <e> or <y> had shifted from a South-Eastern ("East-Saxon") pronunciation to an East Midland one (Morsbach 1888; quoted from Ekwall 1956: xvii). Ekwall went further when he collected evidence from locative surnames in the Lay Subsidy Rolls of systematic immigration to London from the East Midlands, including East Anglia, in support of the dialect shift hypothesis. His proposal also accounted for some morphological features from the Midlands and the North that were projected into this late fourteenth century London dialect: present plural ending *-e(n)*, present participle *-ing* and *th-* forms for the third person plural personal pronoun (*they*, *them*, *their*), as well as present singular *-(e)s* and the clipping of the prefix *i-/y-* in the past participle (Ekwall 1956: xxx). Thus, these early approaches identified the standard with a variety of the late Middle English London dialect which had incorporated features from neighbouring dialects as a result of migration: a kind of dialectally levelled variety that could have been adopted outside its area of influence.

Research on the standardisation of English —especially spelling— was enhanced by the development of *The Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English* (henceforth *LALME*) at the University of Edinburgh in the 1950s. The whole project depended on the analysis of graphemic variation independently from phonological one as the main source for the reconstruction of late Middle English dialects (McIntosh [1956] 1989: 3; McIntosh, Samuels and Benskin 1986: I, §1.4). Methodologically, the project was also sustained by the concept of dialect continuum which would permit the localisation of "scribal texts" in

the late Middle English linguistic space on the evidence of their respective Linguistic Profiles (LPs), assembled through questionnaires of 280 items.[2] Some scribal texts were manuscripts of known origin, grounded in time and space; as such, these "anchor texts" helped situate other texts with no clear locative or temporal linguistic associations by means of the "fit-technique": it involved the comparison of the features of unlocalised texts, extracted from their LPs, with those in clearly located manuscripts; the resulting equivalent forms were plotted in a number of maps —one for each set of forms recorded in the texts analysed— which taken together made a dialect matrix (McIntosh, Samuels and Benskin 1986: I, §2.3; Williamson 2000). *LALME* was eventually published in 1986 containing dialect maps based on the LPs of more than one thousand scribal texts. Since then the Atlas has become essential for research on the history of the English language and late Middle English variation, despite some criticisms.[3]

In the context of *LALME*, the standardisation of English spelling was a key topic. One of the leading researchers of the project, Michael Samuels, established "a frame of reference for isolating and classifying those types of language that are less obviously dialectal and can […] cast light on the possible sources of the written standard English that appear[ed] in the fifteenth century" (Samuels [1963] 1989: 66). This led, eventually, to the seminal proposal of Samuels's four types of "incipient standards":

> Type I "is a standard literary language based on the dialects of the Central Midland counties" —Northamptonshire, Huntingdonshire and Bedfordshire— mainly found in Wycliffte texts produced before 1430 (Samuels [1963] 1989: 67).

> Type II appears in eight fourteenth-century manuscripts from the "greater London area" ([1963] 1989: 70): some sections copied by scribes two and three of the *Auchinleck Manuscript* (Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland Advocates' MS 19.2.1) from c. 1330-1340; the *Prose Psalter* in London, British Library MS Add. 17376; London, British Library MS Harley 5085; Cambridge, St. John's College MS 256; Glasgow, University Library Hunterian MS 250; Cambridge, Magdalene College

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2   On the distinction between "linguistic space", "real space" and "geographical space" and the implications for the methodology of *LALME* and its results see Williamson (2004: 119–120).

3   Most criticism refers to the circularity of the fit-technique and the limited number of anchor texts (Burton 1991: 167–208; Cf. Benskin 1991: 9–26), to the difficult application of the dialect continuum model to a restricted number of surviving written texts unevenly distributed in time and space, as well as to the possibility that dialect distribution may have been abrupt and disordered rather than systematically constant (Kretzschmar 2002: 84–88; Stenroos 2016:100–107).

MS Pepys 2498; Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Laud 622 and London, British Library MS Harley 874, the last three copied by the same hand. When type II died in c. 1380 it was replaced by …

Type III. This is basically the London dialect of the 1400s. In addition to local documents like "The Petition of the Folk of Mercerye" (1388), this type is anchored in "the best manuscripts" containing Chaucer —the Hengwrt and the Ellesmere manuscripts of *The Canterbury Tales* (Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales MS Peniarth 392D and San Marino, Huntington Library MS EL26 C9) and a copy of *Troilus and Criseyde* in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 61— *Piers Plowman* (Cambridge, Trinity College MS B.15.17), the *Equatorie of the Planetis* (Cambridge, Peterhouse College MS 75.I), as well as texts by Thomas Hoccleve, some of them autograph as San Marino, Huntington Library MS HM111 and HM744 (Samuels [1963] 1989: 70). Comparison of features form types II and III showed conspicuous changes, which could fit Ekwall's proposal of increasing migration from the Central Midlands and East Anglia into London (Benskin 1992: 88), although the nature of the work carried out on *LALME* neither supported nor disclaimed this possibility.

Type IV, finally, included "that flood of government documents that starts in the years following 1430 […] [I]t is this type, not its predecessors in London English, that is the basis of modern written English" (Samuels [1963] 1989: 71). Samuels himself coined the label "Chancery standard" for this type, since it was preserved in documents issued by the governmental offices of the Chancery, the Exchequer, the Privy Seal and the Signet Office, mainly preserved at the Public Record Office in London (see Fisher, Richardson and Fisher 1984). Extended research led by John H. Fisher (1977; 1984; 1992; 1996; see also Richardson 1980) spread the idea that the Chancery standard was partly based on King Henry V's (1413-1422) personal writing office (the Signet Office), that it was deliberately enforced as part of a royal policy and that an incipient standard spelling disseminated from the governmental offices throughout the country, with the later help of the printing press. Since then, the idea that Chancery standard is the direct ancestor of present-day standard English has been accepted and transmitted by the majority of introductory handbooks on the history of English —see Wright (2020b: 18) for an overview.[4]

In the early 1980s Jeremy J. Smith was finishing his PhD dissertation at Glasgow University —under the supervision of Michael Samuels— and was a first-hand witness to the final stages in the production of *LALME*. Thus, some of the concepts and tenets that substantiated the project are developed and applied to a number of late Middle English manuscripts in Smith's publications

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4   Samuels may have also hinted at this idea when he remarked that type IV "was backed by the full weight of the administrative machine and was certain to oust eventually (though by no means immediately) the other incipient standards" ([1963] 1989: 72).

from the period. An interesting paper in this vein is the description of "The language of the manuscripts" containing the Lollard Sermons edited by Gloria Cigman for the Early English Text Society (Smith 1989): hands one and two of London, British Library MS Additional 41321 and Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson C.751. Smith had completed this description in 1983, only three years before *LALME* was published. He uses the fit technique to localise these texts in specific areas within the South-West Central Midlands: Warwickshire for Rawlinson and Worcestershire for both hands in Additional. Smith also explores the relationship of these three hands with the Central Midland incipient standard (Samuels's Type I) and notices parallels and differences with other Wycliffte texts. This leads him to recount Samuels's proposal which, rather than "a [written] fixed variety" must be seen as "a lingua franca in the written medium, admitting a fair degree of variation but based on Central Midland English, and tending to exclude forms peripheral to that central region" (Smith 1989: xli–xlii). In a sense, Smith's reinterpretation of Type I on the basis of the sociolinguistic concept of lingua franca sets the pattern for later advances on this issue in his career.

An important side effect of *LALME* had been the establishment of rigorous philological classifications of scribal texts, to disentangle the attribution of forms to copyists and places. Angus McIntosh developed a model which had a great impact on Smith's early research: (a) "mirror scribes" who copied exactly the spellings of the exemplar before them; (b) "translating scribes" who modified the spellings of their exemplar into their own dialect; and (c) "mixed scribes" who kept some spellings from their exemplars while replacing others with their own practices (McIntosh 1963; 1973). Later, Michael Benskin and Margaret Laing (1981) added subcategories to McIntosh's classification: (d) "progressive translators" who started by copying in a literatim ("mirror") way but became "translators" as their task proceeded and (e) "constrained scribes" whose repertoire was partially but not wholly activated by the features of their exemplar (Smith 1991: 54; 1996a: 461–462). In "Linguistic features of some fifteenth-century Middle English manuscripts" (1983), Smith studied several manuscripts attributed to Scribe D of Cambridge, Trinity College MS R32 —a copy of John Gower's *Confessio Amantis*— who also produced the version of *The Canterbury Tales* in London, British Library MS Harley 7334.[5] Selected

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5   Ian Doyle and Malcolm B. Parkes (1978) had already paid attention to the intense production of this scribe, "one of the most productive" in the fifteenth century also active "in eight Gowers, one Trevisa, a *Piers Plowman* (the Ilchester MS) and two manuscripts of *The Canterbury Tales*" including Harley 7334 (Smith 1983: 106).

features from the Linguistic Profile of these manuscripts lead Smith to qualify him as a "mixed copyist" who combined in his production the "active repertoire […] of forms he always uses" with "a passive repertoire […] [of] forms he will allow when faced with them in his exemplars, but will otherwise prefer not to use" (1983: 109). In using a "mixed dialect", he concludes, this scribe was doing what other educated men of the fifteenth century would have done: purging their own regional dialect of "grosser provincialisms" (1983: 110). In this way, Smith's observations based on the micro-context of a single scribe are extended to the macro-context of standardisation, understood as a process of dialect levelling.

A recurrent author whose texts and manuscripts are revisited by Jeremy Smith in these formative years is John Gower, the manuscript tradition of whose *Confessio Amantis* had been the subject of his PhD dissertation (1985). Dialect variation in some of these manuscripts was addressed in two articles: "The language of Gower" (with Michael Samuels) (1981) and "Spelling and tradition in fifteenth-century copies of Gower's *Confessio Amantis*" (1988a). The LPs of Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Fairfax 3, San Marino, Huntington Library MS EL26 A17 and London, British Library MS Additional 54495 evince an overlap of forms from Kent and southwest Suffolk which could be interpreted either as the result of successive copying by different scribes (or by the author himself and other copyists) or reflect two substrates in Gower's own language related to his biographical background. There is evidence that his family possessed lands at both Kentwell in South West Suffolk and at Otford in the Northwest of Kent, and dialect features from these areas may have reached him during his formative years, before he finally adopted a late Middle English London dialect (1981: 199–302). A third possibility discussed by Smith is related to the late neogrammarian hypothesis on the development of London English: a shifting from a South Eastern (Kentish) to an East Midland (East Anglian) variety connected to internal migration patterns and contemporary to Gower's linguistic upbringing (1981: 302). Later in his career, Jeremy Smith reached a complementary interpretation of this issue (see section 5).

3. THE SOCIOLINGUISTIC APPROACH

The theoretical model on standardisation that predominated during the 1980s had been devised by Einar Haugen (1966: 931–933) in the context of studies on language planning in Norway (1959). Haugen's proposal, later extended to the interpretation of historical situations (see Leith [1983] 1997:

32), fits the earlier discussion by Prague School linguists on the properties, functions and attitudes of rising "literary" languages (Havránek [1932] 1964). Haugen proposed the following four phases: (i) the "selection" of the variety to become dominant, usually substantiated on socio-economic, political and cultural factors, as well as, according to Havránek, on the "availability" and "historicity" or rootedness in the cultural heritage of the community; (ii) the gradual "acceptance" of the selected variety by different social groups and in different regional areas, in connection with the symbolic functions — "unifying", "separatist", "prestige"— and attitudes —"language loyalty" and "pride"— recognised by Prague scholars; (iii) the "functional elaboration" of the standard in multiple domains, normally written, to sustain the property of "intellectualisation"; (iv) the "codification", or attempt to "fix" the standard in dictionaries and grammars to achieve minimal variation and root out language change; according to Prague School linguists, at this stage the standard develops a "frame of reference" function so that speakers become aware of it as norm and as a "yardstick of correctness" (Garvin and Mathiot 1956: 786; see also Milroy and Milroy [1985] 2012: 22; Conde-Silvestre 2007: 315–321; Amorós Negre 2008: 155–166; Joseph, Rutten and Vosters 2020).

The 1970s saw the consolidation of sociolinguistics as a new discipline for the study of language in its social context. Its tenets and principles started to be extended also to historical materials in the early 1980s, leading to the formation of historical sociolinguistics —for a review of its inception see, among others, Nevalainen (2011; 2015), Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg (2012), Conde-Silvestre (2007: 19–35; 2016). A number of key concepts, crucial for a renewed and more dynamic interpretation of standardisation were devised. Some of them directly touched on the stages of selection and acceptance proposed by Haugen. "Focusing" was one of these new sociolinguistic concepts. It was coined by Robert Le Page (1975) to account for the observation that individuals may accommodate their verbal behaviour to that of the group they wish to be identified with, creating uniform varieties which may become norms. If speakers do not wish to identify with their interlocutors, then the behaviour of the group will become diffused (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985: 181–182; Le Page 1988: 31). Focusing, as an outcome of convergent inter-speaker accommodation in face-to-face interaction, is also present in "koineisation", another relevant sociolinguistic concept: the formation of "a historically mixed […] dialect which contains elements from the different dialects that went into the mixture, as well as interdialect forms that were present in none" (Trudgill 1986: 107–108; see

also Siegel 1985; Kerswill 2002; 2010). Like standardisation, koineisation takes place when multidialectal speakers need to find common ground and, to some extent, every standard will eventually serve as a koiné (or lingua franca). In addition to focusing, both incipient standardisation and koineisation involve the reduction of variants via "levelling" —the decrease of minority, marked or complex forms present in the dialect mixture in favour of majority, unmarked, or simpler ones— and "simplification", through the reduction of irregularities. Eventually, "dialect mixture" appears with elements from the different dialects in contact, or "interdialect" forms: new formations which do not occur in the original ones (Trudgill 1988: 548).[6]

These sociolinguistic premises were important to understand the micro-linguistic processes behind incipient standardisation and, as such, were incorporated in textbooks on comparative standardology. In this context, John Earl Joseph, for instance, established a seminal distinction between "language standards" and "standard languages". Language standards are outcomes of variation that "occur universally" triggered by communicative solidarity between speakers: processes of variant reduction and speech convergence (focusing, levelling, simplification, etc.) are, in a sense, necessary for communication to succeed (Joseph 1987: 7). Standard languages, however, require a "synecdochic" process whereby "[t]he dialect of a dominant community (in terms of population, socio-economic or political issues) [… is] used in any function which concerns the region as a whole" (Joseph 1987: 2). Standard languages are usually triggered by an ideological dimension historically connected to political issues like the rise of nationalism or the development of centralised nation-states. They also tend to go through the four stages proposed by Haugen, achieving "maximal variation in function", through elaboration, and "minimal variation in form", through codification. Finally, they develop mechanisms that disseminate the awareness of the standard as the only acceptable, correct and even legitimate practice, in contrast to the other varieties which are often discredited as incorrect (Downes 1984: 34; Milroy and Milroy [1985] 2012: 22–23; Conde-Silvestre 2007: 311–314).[7]

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6   The main difference between koineisation and standardisation is that in the former varieties "become structurally similar but continue to function as vernaculars, with no elite function or social prestige" while in the latter "structural uniformity is accompanied by prestige and endorsed by authority" (Beal 2016: 303-304).

7   William Haas established a parallel distinction between "intrinsic" and "superposed" standards (1982: 10–11). Historical sociolinguists have also coined the concept of "proto-standards": "relatively uniform, collective norm[s] —models of 'good' or 'appropriate' usage— towards

Jeremy Smith soon manifested his doubts about the application of Haugen's fourfold theoretical model to the interpretation of Samuels's four types, which in the early 1990s remained the accepted paradigm. For instance, in "The use of English: Language, contact, dialect variation and written standardisation during the Middle English period" (1992a) —his contribution to a multiauthored volume on English historical sociolinguistics— Smith deals with different issues susceptible to sociolinguistic analysis in the history of English, highlighting the development of London English in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and the significance of Samuels's types. Nevertheless, in trying to make them fit into Haugen's model, he notices that only Type IV (the "Chancery standard") underwent selection, acceptance and, to some extent, elaboration, but not codification, so that "it is premature to write of a fixed standard written language in the fifteenth century" (1992a: 57). In a later chapter on "The language of the Ellesmere manuscript" (1995) Smith expanded some of these ideas. Following the model established by *LALME*, he offers a complete LP of Chaucer's "The Pardoner's Prologue and Tale" contained in San Marino, Huntington Library MS EL26 C9. He also discusses the parallels and differences with the text included in the Hengwrt manuscript (Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales MS Penriath 392D) as a reflection of "the range of responses that a single scribe could make in producing two different copies of the same poem" (1995: 75; see also 1997a). The close connection of these Chaucerian manuscripts with Samuels's Type III leads Jeremy Smith to delve into the sociolinguistic context of early English standardisation. The author sides with the positions of comparative standardology and admits that the process is triggered when speakers become aware of the superposition of two or more languages with different prestige. In English —as in other Western European languages— stable diglossic coexistence with Latin as lingua franca and French as the language of the elites (the H languages) made speakers aware of prestige differences and of the inadequacies of the vernaculars (the L languages) (Joseph 1987: 16). Class superiority in late Middle English was signalled by means of French vocabulary, but when the use of French declined, value judgements were transferred to the different lectal varieties of the vernacular, especially by the surging middle classes in the growing urban

which speakers orient themselves in their linguistic performance […] they are not transmitted through institutionalised instruction and are not yet characterized by a prescriptive tradition […] [but] are acquired primarily through exposure to and imitation of model texts and model speakers […] in local and professional networks" (Deumert 2004: 5–6; see also: Deumert and Vandenbussche 2003: 4–5; Nevalainen 2003: 135–136; 2012: 1–27).

centres, where migrants from different areas gathered and processes of focusing and koineisation possibly occurred: "As the middle classes came to take on a more significant role in late medieval society, people ceased to assert prestige in the traditional way —by using French derived vocabulary— and instead started to develop accentual and grammatical ways of signifying their social position" (1995: 72). This was the breeding ground for the "synecdochic" process leading to standardisation, as proposed by Joseph (1987: 2). To the best of my knowledge, in this paper Smith applies for the first time the relevant concept of "standardised languages" to Samuels's types: "colourless varieties" which do not represent "monolithic entities, but rather abstract goals, which individual users tried to attain [… and] do not seem to have spread far beyond certain limited groups of people" (1995: 72). Another important innovation in this revision of Samuels's types has to do with the the adjective "colourless". This label had been applied in *LALME* to varieties that arise "when a writer replaces some or all of his distinctively local forms by equivalents, which, although still native to local or neighbouring dialects, are common currency over a wide area" (McIntosh, Samuels, Benskin 1986: I, §4.7; see also Samuels 1981: 43). In applying the label to Samuels's types —"varieties of written language that contained a mixture of regional spellings, but avoided those restrained to very small localities" (1995: 72-73)— Smith connects with (or possibly anticipates) the sociolinguistic concept of "supralocalisation": the unconscious spread of linguistic factors from one region to neighbouring ones, naturally involving the reduction and levelling of extensive local or regional variants (Nevalainen 2003: 338; 2012: 135; Nevalainen and Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2006: 288). Still, he continued to acknowledge Type IV —the Chancery standard— as the variety closer to the "language standard" in Haugen's sense, except for the lack of codification and the existence of greater variation in spelling than is allowed in the present-day. He also joined with other scholars —notably John H. Fisher— in accepting that "this type gradually spread in the countryside during the course of the fifteenth century, taking over from the increasingly colourless, vaguely regional usage that seems to have replaced the grossly divergent local practice characteristic of the earlier Middle English period" (Smith 1995: 74).

These sociolinguistic premises and the reinterpretation of Samuels's four types in their light were given currency in Jeremy Smith's seminal textbook *An Historical Study of English: Function, Form and Change* (1996b). The incipient standards are described as "focused" or "standardised forms of language" rather than "fixed standards" which means that the use of labels like "Central-Midland

Standard" or "Chancery Standard" are misleading (1996b: 70). Their characterisation in terms of focusing implies that they are "norm[s] towards which particular users tend rather than a set of shibboleths from which any deviation is stigmatised" (70). Smith confirms the existence of internal variation in Type I and Type IV by analysing a number of items in different manuscripts. In addition to highlighting the absence of uniformity, Smith also casts his doubts about the national function of the Chancery norm, mainly because the different scribal departments associated with the national government do not seem to have developed a "house-style of orthography", since they tended "to reproduce the language of regionally produced original[s]" (1996b: 71). He also raises empirical doubts about the actual wholesale adoption of Chancery spellings into other manuscripts during the fifteenth century. The examination of different variants for the keywords THESE, NOT, BUT, SUCH, THEIR, GIVEN, THROUGH and SHOULD in a selection of fifteenth-century manuscripts containing *The Canterbury Tales* does not show a general replacement of regional uses by the governmental forms, but rather "a 'colourless' dialectal mixture, that is, a mixture of non-Chancery forms which show no special dialect distinctiveness" (1996b: 73–74). In spite of these criticisms, it was still difficult to shake off the weight of the Chancery hypothesis in discussions on standardisation. It was (and still is for many) an attractive, straightforward narrative, with parallels in other European contexts and, by relating the standard to a powerful central institution linked to royal authority, it easily fitted with Haugen's theoretical model. Eventually, Jeremy Smith joined this view when he proposed that colourless usage paved the way for a nation-wide acceptance of a variety based on the Chancery practices: "a usage based upon Chancery standard ultimately displaced this colourless language. As the usage of Chancery standard, on which the early printers had based (more or less) their practice, became imitated throughout the country, remaining spelling variation became more obviously dysfunctional in social as well as communicative terms; it became sociolinguistically stigmatised to use non-Chancery forms" (1996b: 76).[8]

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8   At different stages of his career, Jeremy Smith has also engaged with standardisation in early Middle English, especially in the so-called AB language. This is the name given to an allegedly highly regular orthographic system deployed in two early thirteenth century manuscripts from the South West Midlands: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 402, containing one version of *Ancrene Wisse*, and Oxford, Bodleian Library MS 34, which includes the religious and homiletic texts *Hali Meiðhad, Sawles Warde, Seinte Juliana, Seinte Margarete* and *Seinte Katherine*. J.R.R. Tolkien was the first to notice such regularity (1929: 104–126), which later editors, like James R. Hulbert (1946) and Geoffrey Shepherd ([1959] 1972: xv) conceptualised as an early Middle English standard, to the point of claiming that features from the AB language were used

4. POST 2000 APPROACHES

In 2000 the seminal collection of papers on *The Development of Standard English, 1300-1800. Theories, Descriptions, Conflicts* was edited by Laura Wright and soon became a turning point in the study of standard English. The new proposals did not appear in a vacuum, though; textbooks on comparative standardology had already advanced pluricentric models that challenged previous monogenetic approaches. Haugen himself, for instance, had distinguished between "unitary" and "compositional" selection (1966) and Renate Bartsch proposed that "the standard [… is] itself a range of varieties […] centred and structured from out an imaginary point of reference" (1985: 49). In the same vein, Deumert and Vandenbussche differentiate between "monocentric" —a standard based on one existing variety— and "polycentric" selection, including variants from different dialects (2003: 4). Contributors to Wright's volume shook off the "single ancestor dialect hypothesis" based on a late fourteenth century London dialect used at the Chancery offices in the fifteenth and spreading thence to the rest of the country. Against this monogenetic approach Wright emphasised the absence of "a single ancestor for standard English, be it a single dialect, a single text type, a single place or a single point in time" (2000a: 5) and proposed that standardisation depended on "a set of processes which occur in a set of social spaces, developing at different rates in different registers, in different idiolects" (Wright 2000a: 6; see also Hope 2000: 51). Other papers in the volume studied spelling standardisation in various text-

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by the scribes that copied the versions of *Ancrene Riwle* in London, British Library MS Cotton Cleopatra C.vi and London, British Library MS Cotton Nero A xi. These scribes could have been trained in the AB orthographic system in a West Midland scriptorium (see also Scragg 1974: 27-28; Blake 1992: 12). In his edition of the medieval rule for anchoresses, Eric Dobson noticed some differences between the three manuscripts and explained them by referring to the hiring of new copyists in the scriptorium to increase production: the new scribes were actually trained in the spelllings that characterise the original Corpus manuscript, but also introduced their own systems in their new versions, Cleopatra and Nero (1972: cxxx–cxxxvi; 1976: xv; also Smith 1991: 64–65; 1992a: 55; 1992b). Smith refuted these ideas in some papers published in the late 1990s —see also Black (1992), Laing and McIntosh (1995: 253–263) and Laing (2000: 97–124)— showing that "neither Cleopatra, nor the Nero manuscripts […] stick to the AB language, [but] show the kind of variation characteristic of Middle English" (1992a: 55); this means that the AB language —like the late Middle English Types— cannot be percieved as a fixed standard variety, but as a focused, standardised one without acceptance, elaboration and codification. The appearance of features from the AB language in other West Midland texts, attested by Smith in the Wooing group and the Lambeth homilies, may either reflect the practices of an scribe constrained by his exemplars or be the result of local attempts "to reorganise the traditional spellings from the area to reflect phonological change" (2000: 131) .

types such as early statutes (Rissanen 2000: 117–130) and scientific documents (Taavitsainen 2000: 131–154), noticing the existence of diverse sources for their regularised practices and implicitly questioning Samuels's model. Irma Taavitsainen, for instance, casted doubts on the notion of a Wycliffte standard when she noticed the use of similar spellings in contemporary scientific texts; rather than investing Type I with a robust standard status, Taavitsainen believed that the secrecy in which the Lollard tracts circulated must have hindered their direct influence on scientific discourse and proposed that, if mutual influence existed, it must have worked the other way round, thus discarding the spread of normative variants associated with the Central Midlands (2000: 146). In a similar vein, other scholars have questioned empirically the graphemic consistency inherent in Type I (Peikola 2003: 32–40) and Type II (Thaisen 2020). As regards Type III, the study of *The Language of the Chaucer Tradition* by Simon Horobin (2003) has revealed an overrepresentation of Chaucerian manuscripts copied by a single person —"Chaucer's own scribe", Adam Pinkhurst (Smith 2008a: 205)— as well as the existence of more internal variation than expected of a true standard. Finally, some London-based authors and scribes did not select forms from any of Samuels's types and features characteristic of both Type III and Type IV often alternated (Honkapohja 2017; Thaisen 2020: 183; Wright 2020a: 6). In a nutshell, these surveys have problematised the model that had catalysed the debate on the origins of standard English spelling since the mid-1960s, noticing its limitations to a reduced set of linguistic characteristics from a small corpus of texts associated with London in different periods.

The new approach has also challenged the straightforward connection of Samuels's types with the neogrammarian migration theory. Laura Wright has exposed some contradictions in Ekwall's evidence in support of the shift of London English from a South-Eastern variety to an East Midland one. According to Ekwall, this was due to the massive movement of population from the East Midlands and beyond; however, Wright notices that actual waves of migrants were not identified by Ekwall (obviously due to lack of conclusive evidence) and that the greatest proportion came from the metropolis's own hinterland in the Home counties. As modern sociolinguistics has shown (Trugdill 2011: 57–58): "for a dialect to be changed […] a minimum proportion of incomers who have acquired the local dialect" needs to be considered —at least 50% including young children and adolescents (Wright 2020b: 27).

To some extent Jeremy Smith antedated some of these criticisms from within the *LALME* project. In *An Historical Study of English…* (1996b) he

already doubted that Samuels's types were fully developed standard languages and qualified them as focused, standardised varieties which may have undergone Haugen's selection and acceptance, but lacked codification and elaboration; some of them may have exhibited limited (colourless) variation in comparison with others and some features could have been carried over from one type or period to another (acceptance), but, in general terms, they still served a restricted range of functions (1996b: 73; see also: Wright 1994a: 113; Beal 2016: 308). As regards Type IV, Smith had already advanced some of the criticisms that later would thoroughly question its pervasiveness. At the turn of the century, some elements in the Chancery standard hypothesis proved to be definitely wrong. In the first place, because the institutional context were the standardisation policy developed —government administration in the court of Henry V (1386-1422)— would have required a fully developed standard ideology supporting the notion of one single correct way of writing and there is no evidence that this existed; on the contrary, according to Reiko Takeda, "variation in writing was the norm and people simply did not have the modern day notion of consistency being viewed as a virtue […] It is highly unlikely that the readers of Chancery documents would start imitating its linguistic features" (2002: 143). Historical evidence has also shown that, in the fifteenth century, documents in English were not massively produced at the Chancery, but were issued by a small group of scribes from the Signet Office —later the Privy Seal— who were not trained at the Chancery dependencies; this contends against the idea that spelling variants associated with the government offices spread all over the country, as Smith had shown through his analysis of samples from *The Canterbury Tales* (Benskin 1992: 78–82; 2004: 4–5). Michael Benskin (2004: 37–38) and Gwilym Dodd (2011: 122; 2012: 262–264) have also stressed the significance of Latin as the language of administration throughout the fifteenth century, with English slowly encroaching from the mid century on, but still being "the minor partner of French and Latin" (Schaefer 2017: 214). In fact, royal clerks wrote mainly in Latin, while scribes hired by individuals wrote in Anglo-Norman before 1430 and then progressively in English. Thus, English documents did not systematically emanate from the governmental offices, but were mainly written by petitioners from different regions of the country, where incipient focusing and supralocalisation would have also taken place, leading to "colourless" features coexisting with conspicuous local (but not minority) ones (Williamson 2017: 149; see also Benskin 2004: 30–32; Wright 2020a: 6).

Some of these ideas have recently been propped by the project "Language and Geography of Middle English Documentary Texts" developed at the University

of Stavanger (2012–). Research on late Middle English standardisation, among other topics, is based on the *Corpus of Middle English Local Documents* (MELD), a collection of documentary sources —administrative, bureaucratic and legal text-types outside the central government— from the period 1300-1525. The main characteristic of these texts is that either explicitly (by means of direct references) or implicitly (on the basis of the places and people mentioned) they can be situated in "real time and space" and not only in linguistic space, as was the practice of *LALME* (Stenroos, Bergstrøm and Thengs 2020: 44–53). Crucial for spelling standardisation is the possibility of correlating these texts with major centres of literacy throughout the country —manors, monastic houses, guilds, government offices, educational institutions, etc.— in so far as it facilitates the study of supralocalisation and the geographical diffusion of incipient (proto-)standards (Stenroos and Thengs 2020: 15–19). Moreover, the study of these local documents confirms the existence of multilingual practices in some areas and centres of literacy all over the country, including London, as well as a tendency to switch back and forth between Latin and English (and occassionally Anglo-Norman) until the late fifteenth century (Stenroos 2020: 46; see also Stenroos and Schipor 2020: 273–275).

5. From the functional approach to the "new, new philology"

A functional, communicative approach to spelling standardisation was advanced, from within *LALME*, by Michael Benskin (1992) and fully developed by Jeremy Smith in his contributions to a series of textbooks on the history of the English language published in the early 2000s (Horobin and Smith 1999; 2002: 26–39; Smith 2007; 2008a; 2008b). In these chapters, Smith relativises again the relevance of Samuels's four types in long-term standardisation: "[they] represent […] focused varieties found in several manuscripts characterised by the prototypical appearance of particular forms. It is important not to overstate their cultural hegemony; the types represent foci within the range of late ME written usage, rather than focused sets of shibboleths" (Horobin and Smith 2002: 35). Special caution is taken when dealing with Type IV, whose description as "Chancery standard" is disqualified as "in many ways unfortunate" (Smith 2008a: 205). The proposal by Fisher and others of an explicit governmental intervention backed by Henry V to promote uniform spelling practices is also discredited (Smith 2007: 134). The functional, communicative approach emphasises the relevance of Haugen's stage of elaboration over codification as the triggering event in standardisation (Horobin and Smith 2002:

34; see also Schaefer 2006: 20–23; 2017: 208–209). Diachronically, it is assumed that the range of spelling variation in the vernacular was due to the local or parochial function of Middle English, when Latin and Anglo-Norman were still used "for communicative purposes beyond the immediate locality" (Horobin and Smith 1999: 363). This position highlights the sociohistorical connection of standardisation to the rising middle classes and to the spread of literacy, as well as, sociolinguistically, to the decline of diglossia with the extension of the vernacular (L language) to the communicative functions beyond the parochial formerly performed by French and Latin (H languages), in line with Joseph's theoretical explanation (1987; see section 3):

> … the reduction of the exotic range of spelling possibilities in English took place as a communicatively driven response to the set of functions which English developed during the course of the fifteenth century […] As the English language gradually ceased to be the medium of merely parochial literacy and began to take on documentary and high-status literary functions in succession to Latin and French, so the richly diverse spelling-system of ME became inconvenient and more exotic spellings were purged, leaving a 'colourless' *lingua franca* behind […] In other words, once English developed a national function, the disadvantages of written variation began to outweigh the advantages and standardisation in the written mode resulted (Horobin and Smith 2002: 36, emphasis in the original; see also Smith [1999] 2005: 91; 2001: 480; 2002: 340; 2004: 70; 2008b: 215)

The consequences are at least twofold. In the first place, the spread (supralocalisation) of colourless forms of language, characterised by the suppression of gross variation and the adoption of common forms: a kind of "lowest common denominator" of usage (Smith 2007: 134; see also Horobin and Smith 1999: 363; Black, Horobin and Smith 2002). Secondly, colourless usages also affected the behaviour of scribes who necessarily reacted to texts written in different dialects, not only by either "mirroring" them letter by letter or by "translating" them into their own repertoire, but also by developing some sensitivity to what was becoming widely used in manuscript culture, so that some variants soon acquired wider currency and acceptance; this means that "constrained" selection became widespread in the profession and must have been crucial for standardisation (Horobin and Smith 1999: 363; Carrillo-Linares and Williamson 2020: 137; see also section 2).[9]

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9   The supralocalisation of colourless forms of language took a different speed in different areas. According to Smith, it appeared first in the South, later in the North, while in the South West-Midlands and East Anglia "it […] competed and interacted variously with well-established local usages" (2007: 134). Supralocalisation is also addressed in the project "Emerging Standards:

The thorough revision of Samuels's types, questioning their "sole selected […] usage for prestigious writing" (Smith 2004: 65), leads Jeremy Smith to revisit the possible connections of the language of Gower with the evolution of standard English (2004: 62). As a matter of fact, despite the blending of Kentish and Suffolk features in some Gowerian manuscripts, interpreted in the light of Gower's own biographical background (see section 2), the author lived and worked in late fourteenth century London, where "congeries of usages, derived from many localities coexisted" (2004: 65).[10] The close analysis of the manuscripts produced by scribe D, who actively copied in his London scriptorium lavish versions of Chaucer, Langland, Trevissa and Gower, shows the expected behaviour of a "mixed" or "constrained" scribe in so far as "odd 'Gowerisms' [are transferred] to his copies of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*" (2004: 66; see also Smith 1988b). In doing so, scribe D was not using Type III or any alternative known colourless model, but he opted for the specific usage of Gower and of Gowerian manuscripts. Smith draws two important conclusions for standardisation. Firstly, the relevance of the exemplar for scribes, who would select from them certain features that, used recurrently, could undergo standardisation to the point of ousting the given types.

Urbanization and the Development of Standard English, c. 1400-1700", currently developed at the University of Lausanne (2013–) (https://wp.unil.ch/emst/). The project complements the analyses of (socio-)linguistic processes —focusing, levelling, koineisation— that affected London English with the study of the urban proto-standardised vernaculars blooming in the major regional centres with high levels of literacy and text production, including York (Auer 2019), Bristol (Gordon 2017) and Coventry (Oudesluijs and Auer 2019), among others.

10 Among these "congeries", Smith mentions the macarronic multilingual mixture of Latin, Anglo-Norman and English used as a written lingua franca in business records, accounts and inventories throughout late Middle English (2004: 65; also 2009: 36). Laura Wright has extensively studied the use of this mixture of languages by different London corporations (1994b; 2000b; 2005) and has devised a multilingual hypothesis on the origins of standard English. Mixed language did not involved the random use of the three languages, but a combination of a Latin grammatical basis with Anglo-Norman technical vocabulary or formulaic, abbreviated uses and English "progressively embeded", often in the slots previously held by Anglo-Norman (Wright 2017: 345). Mixed language had been widely used as a professional norm in late Middle English, but started to coexist with monolingual English records between 1440 and 1500, although in a non-straightforward manner, since switching back and forth between mixed language, monolingual Latin and monolingual English was common, even within the same scriptorium or corporation, at least until the sixteenth century (2020b: 30; 2005; 2013; 2017). In this context, the progressive disuse of Anglo-Norman was crucial for microlinguistic developments affecting the rising monolingual (standard) English, which, in parallel to the absorption of lexical items from French, adopted some of its writing conventions, including "visual uniformity" through reduced spelling variation (Wright 2020a: 13).

Secondly, the possibility that Gower's own usage can be considered as another "Type", albeit considerably limited in function and range of users (2004: 70–71).[11]

Philological rigour has been a constant in Jeremy Smith's examination of spelling standardisation, and philology has acquired special prominence in his latest works, where he advocates a "new, new philology": a revival of the late twentieth century return to the philological analysis of texts in their manuscript context proposed by Stephen G. Nichols and others in the well-known 1990 issue of *Speculum* (65.1) as a means to access the socio-cultural context through a complete analysis (grammar, vocabulary, spelling, punctuation and lay-out); in the words of Smith himself: "the interpretation of individual texts requires an understanding of their wider context, while […] to understand the wider context a good deal of analysis of individual texts is needed" (1994: 104; see also 2016: 34–36). This view is behind one of Smith's latest contributions: "On *scriptae*: Correlating spelling and script in late Middle English" (2020). In this paper, Smith acknowledges Samuels's proposal, exonerating his mentor of any fault in the criticisms — "subsequent over-interpretation[s]" (2020: 16)— that have later emerged with the hindsight of time and the development of new socially-oriented methods inexistent in the 1960s: historical sociolinguistics and historical pragmatics. The application of these new methods have favoured the identification of specific functions of late medieval vernaculars unheld in present-day societies, to such an extent that the use of the standard label has been exposed as anachronistic. Some of these functions had been proposed by Smith in the course of his engagement with the functional approach and assigned to Samuels's types and other late Middle English varieties, at a time when "the only real standard written language […] was Latin" (2020: 18). The main core of this paper is an attempt to detect some palaeographical correlates of late medieval London English in connection with specific communities of practice associated with the book trade. Thus, he notices a widespread use of anglicana formata in the early fifteenth-century manuscripts related to Samuels's Type III. This new cursive hand developed as a reaction to earlier less elaborate scripts and, in the context of Type III, can be interpreted as "a response to the expectation of the target discourse community for attractive copies of what was becoming a 'canonical' set of literary texts associated with an anglophone court culture" (2020: 20). Smith attempts to find similar

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11   In this same vein, Smith has interpreted the different existing copies of Nicolas Love's *Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ* (ca. 1400), especially the Waseda manuscript (Tokyo, Waseda University, MS NE 3691) (Smith 1997b; 2007: 136).

connections between other types by Samuels (except Type IV) and contemporary scripts; for instance, non-cursive textura as used in the Wycliffte Bible (Type I) and anglicana in some manuscripts related to Type II (see also Hanna 2005). Eventually, he acknowledges the "fuzziness" of this enterprise, especially due to the absence of contemporary "clear models as to which form of English is to be the model" (2020: 24).

In a sense, the absence of a fifteenth century model of writing can now be understood as a universal characteristic of the period. Scribes and copyists developed the need to adopt a particular spelling system —"some authoritative reference point on which to base their usages" (Smith 2004: 71)— but, despite their acquaintance with supralocalised, colourless versions a clear nationwide model to follow had not yet emerged: "[w]hich spellings […] were selected as majority variants differed from region to region and text-type to text-type, with some becoming supralocal but not national and others eventually becoming more widely accepted" (Wright 2020b: 23; see also Smith 2007: 136). As a matter of fact, this model would not appear until the sixteenth century, connected to the adoption of printing and the increased circulation of books.

6. Conclusion

This review of forty years of publications by Jeremy Smith on standardisation and related issues clearly evinces his key role in the history of research on this topic. Smith started research within the methodological framework of *LALME*, but progressively incorporated new concepts from historical sociolinguistics leading a shift in research from a top-down to a bottom-up model: from the received idea that a variety of London English was selected and accepted throughout the country in connection to the prestige of the governmental offices whence it emanated, towards a new interest on the spread and adoption of individual colourless forms in different manuscripts and, specially, towards the philological analysis of how spelling variants became more and more focused and began to spread supralocally.

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A Study of Therapeutic Plant Names in a Late Middle English Medical Corpus

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1. Introduction

Plants played an essential role in medieval medicine. Sauer (2011: 57) estimates that about 1,800 plant names are attested in Middle English. However, both Hunt (1989: ix) and Sauer admit that "a comprehensive linguistic analysis of the entire material has yet to be carried out" (1996: 136). A lexical study of plant names will shed light on the development of botanical terminology (Norri 1996: 159). Recently, Norri´s expectations were that the "study of untapped manuscript material would bring to light a vast number of words and phrases unrecorded in any of the historical dictionaries of English" (2016: 9). Despite the indisputable value of some of these works for the compilation of botanical lexicon, we focus chiefly on unpublished material thus far, to check whether the analysis of the material confirms the conclusions by previous scholars and to demonstrate how the new data contribute to complete their view on the topic.

After the introduction, the methodology section focuses on the compilation of the corpus and the problems encountered when delimiting and examining the plant name field. This is followed by the analysis of the data. We discuss the etymological sources of the nouns as well as the processes of word formation found in the corpus. Our study is both a qualitative and quantitative analysis of the Middle English plant terminology.

2. Methodology

2.1. Material

To undertake the study of medieval plant names a corpus of late Middle English medical texts was specially compiled from different libraries, chiefly Glasgow University Library (henceforth, GUL) and Wellcome Library. We cover several genres included within the classification by Pahta and Taavitsainen (2004: 15). Thus, our corpus, which comprises around 166,000 words, contains several fourteenth and fifteenth-century copies of medical texts categorised as:

a) Specialised treatises: The Middle English fifteenth-century translation of the *Compendium Medicinae* by Gilbertus Anglicus in Wellcome 537 (ff. 48r-310v), as edited by Getz (1991).

b) Remedybooks and *Materia medica*, which includes both herbaries and recipe collections.

o Herbaries and other related works: GUL Ferguson 147 *Antidotarium Nicholai* (ff. 1r-55v); GUL Hunter 185 *Flora medica* (ff. 1r-12v)[1] and GUL Hunter 307 *Pharmacopoeia* (ff. 167r-172v).

o Recipe collections: GUL Ferguson 147 (ff. 63r-158r) and GUL Hunter 328 *Alphabetical List of Medicines* and *Alphabetical List of Remedies* (ff. 45r-68v).

Once the texts in b) were transcribed, the plant names were identified in each of the manuscripts. Several resources have been used to pursue the identification of the plants, to make sure they were plants and no other elements used. However, more reference works on medieval plant names would be desirable, as the sources do not always agree on the identification of the plant, and no description of the morphology of the plant is provided in the manuscripts.

Beside plants, the corpus also includes the names for trees such as *plumtre*, for fruits like *hasil* and for parts like *psidie* "the bark of pomegranate", and flowers such as *balaustia* "the flower of pomegranate". The preparations derived from plants, such as electuaries and tisanes have been disregarded though, as well as other processed products, such as oils. Regardless of the number of words contained in each text, obviously the *Antidotarium* and the herbaries

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1   The *Antidotarium Nicholai* in Ferguson 147 and the manuscript Hunter 185 were edited and studied by Carrillo-Linares (1997) and Alonso-Almeida (2000, 2014) respectively.

show a higher number of plant names than the recipe collections or the *Compendium Medicinae*, as the latter also contains information on the humoral theory, diseases and other related topics.

Once the plant names had been collected from the treatises, the identification of the data has been carried out by using diverse works, such as *The Middle English Dictionary* (henceforth *MED*), *The Oxford English Dictionary* (henceforth, *OED*), as well as specialised works like Prior (1870), Henslow (1899), Hunt (1989), Getz (1991) and Norri (2016). Firstly, the identification was necessary to make sure a specific noun designated a herb and not a mineral, metal or other elements found in medical manuscripts. Secondly, it served to clarify whether similar spellings were orthographic variants of the same entity or referred to two different plants. Thirdly, we analysed the material to classify it into *simplex* terms and noun combinations based on Marchand (1969), Norri (1988), Sauer (1995), Bauer (1983 and 2017) and Kastovsky (1992).

2.2. Quantitative and Qualitative Data Analysis Problems

Before proceeding to the analysis of plant name terminology some clarification is needed regarding several issues especially concerned with the number of items to be examined as well as the identification of the plants.

Sauer (2011: 57), based on Hunt (1989: xi), estimates that about 1,800 plant names are attested in Middle English. Nevertheless, Sauer (2011: 58-59) accounts for the reasons that explain the impossibility of giving precise numbers:

1. Borders of the word-field. Plant names can be viewed as a word-field where there are core and peripheral elements. The central elements include denominations of plants proper (*vervain*, *lily*), but there are also parts of the plant like roots or the fruits of the plants (*apple*, *hazelnut*). Likewise, there are other peripheral elements like the names for a collectivity (*forest*, *meadow*) or products manufactured by humans like *oil*.

2. One name for several plants. As Sauer (1995: 300) explains, medieval Latin plant names as well as Middle English ones were "unsystematic and unstable folk classifications". This means that a name such as *burnet* can be used to refer to three different plants according to Hunt (1989: 58): *Sanguisorba officinalis, Pimpinella saxifraga* and *Poterium sanguisorba*. The *OED* mentions that *burnet* refers to *Sanguisorba officinalis* and *Poterium sanguisorba,* but "the old herbalists confounded

with these the Burnet Saxifrage *Pimpinella Saxifraga*, an umbelliferous plant resembling the Burnets in foliage". This means it is difficult to know exactly which plants are meant by the writer.

3. Different names for the same plant. Several names can be used to refer to a single plant. Thus, Getz (1991) claims *go(u)rde, brionie* and *collanquindida* to be all names for the same plant. Another example in Wellcome 537 could be *mirabolani(s) (indie), bellerici* and *kebulis*, names to designate the same plant, although the *OED* clarifies that *myrobalan* is "the astringent plum-like fruit of species of Terminalia (family *Combretaceæ*)", while *Terminalia Bellerica* (*belleric*) and *Terminalia Chebula* (*chebulic*) seem to be subtypes of this species. It should be borne in mind, though, that medieval knowledge of plants was not so accurate as it is today, and a precise classification was wanting. The identification of the plants is not always easy for the non-botanist. In some cases, the herbaries provide *synonyma* either in Latin and English or two terms in English, which helps to associate both denominations, but this is not always the case. For the linguist, the lack of botanical knowledge makes it difficult to group plants which designate the same entity with different names, which are not mere spelling variants. Examples of spelling variation are *camomil(le), camemyl(le), camamille*, while distinguishing whether *planteyn, rib(be)wort* and *weybrode* refer to the same plant is a harder issue. But what about *aaron*, *yekester* and *calfesfot* to designate *Arum maculatum*? or, *stanmarch* and *alexander* to refer to *horse parsley*? And what is the connection between *skirtwyt* and *ameos*?

Even a single name in our corpus can be misleading, as *affodille* can correspond to several plants. Hunt includes two different entries: one for *affodilla*, whose scientific name is *polyporus officinalis* "agaric", and another one for *affodillus* designating *allium ursinum* "garlic" or *polyporus officinalis* "agaric" (Hunt, 1989: 9). *Affodile* would be the anglicization of either of them, but which one is meant in that specific text? In the case of Hunter 307, the context helps to disambiguate, since it is a Latin-English glossary which reads "Affodillus Affodille. it is an herbe and his leues ben liche þe leues of lijke" (Hunter 307, f. 167r). Furthermore, the different sources consulted do not always agree on the information provided or do not exactly reflect the medieval use of the word. For instance, while the *OED* claims that *milfoil* designates

"the common Eurasian yarrow", the old botanists must have been able to tell the difference between *milfoil* and *yarrow*, as the text in Ferguson 147, f. 110v reads "Ffor a man þat pyssethe blode take ambrose & horounde & ȝarow & melfoyle of eyþer a hanfull", distinguishing between *yarrow* and *milfoil*.

4. Foreign word or loan-word? Out of the 1,800 attested plant names, it is difficult to ascertain how many are foreign words and how many are borrowings into English (Sauer 2011: 58). Loan-words are usually considered to be somehow integrated into the system and adapted to its spelling, morphology, etc., whereas foreign words are not. In the case of plant names, it is not easy to decide whether they belong to one kind or the other, especially in texts such as *synonyma*, which seldom provide a physical description of the plants, but it can also be in *receptaria* and medical herbals. In addition, the phenomenon of codeswitching is very common in medical texts. The influence of Latin on English medical texts has been evaluated by Pahta (2004). The scribe often integrates Latin within the English text in a very subtle way. In fact, in bilingual or trilingual herbaries it is not always clear how to treat the word. Furthermore, the status of a word may change over time, given that a word may be labelled as *gallice et anglice* in one glossary but may appear simply as *anglice* (English) in another. Moreover, at times the Latin denomination is the only one used in texts. This is the case of *aurea alexandria*, *apium ranarum* or *agnus castus*. The latter-mentioned appears with no equivalent in English and is defined by *OED* as "The plant *Vitex agnus-castus* (…) or various of its parts (flowers, leaves, seeds, etc.) used as a herbal medicine, originally to reduce sexual potency or desire, and later mainly to treat menstrual and menopausal symptoms. Also: this plant as a symbol of chastity".

5. Reborrowings. A good number of loan-words from Latin were reinforced or reborrowed through French during the Middle English period. For instance, Latin *coliandrum* gave rise to Old English *cellendre*, while the Latin form *coriandrum* via French *coriandre* in Middle English accounts for Present-Day English *coriander*.

6. Modern classifications to identify old plant names. The botanical knowledge in medieval times was imperfect. Thus, a given Middle English plant name does not necessarily tally with the Present-Day

English use, which makes it hard to be certain as to the actual species meant. Moreno (2013: 67) considers that "trustworthy literature on this topic is scarce" and sometimes the references are not accurate, since there was a tendency to use the same plant name for species that grew up in different geographical environments. Some references were considered correct and were not contrasted with a careful textual analysis (Moreno 2013: 55). Even a prestigious source like the *MED* needs further investigation to complete this gap. As an example, *premerole* can be mentioned. According to this lexicographic work, under this name there is a wide range of plants that can be "1. (a) Any of several flowers, esp. those of the genus Primula, the primrose or cowslip; —also associated with the daisy and comfrey; 2. (a) ?A variety of burnet or burnet saxifrage (*Sanguisorba officinalis*, *Poterium sanguisorba*, *Pimpinella saxifraga*), ?pimpernel (*Aragalis arvensis*); (b) ?bugloss (*Anchusa officinalis*) or (*Lycopsis arvensis*)".

Because of the above-mentioned reasons the identification of the plants and the grouping of different names for the same plant are hard tasks which affect the total number of plants in the corpus. On few occasions, a given name could not be identified. This explains why numbers regarding the percentages of the presence of specific phenomena cannot be taken in an absolute way.

3. Data Analysis

3.1. *Simplex* terms

All the lexical units that have been extracted from the corpus belong to the category of nouns. A first broad classification regarding plant terminology distinguishes between *simplex* terms and noun combinations. Three hundred and thirty-six *simplex* terms have been identified in our corpus. Their origins have been analysed by taking the information provided by the *OED* in the first place. When the noun has not been found in this source, the etymological information offered by the *MED* has been considered. Moreover, when the word appears in both sources, the information has been collated giving always priority to the *OED*. Sometimes other works have also been used, specially Hunt (1989), the glossary carried out by Getz (1991), as well as Norri (2016). The distribution of *simplex* nouns can be seen in Figure 1.
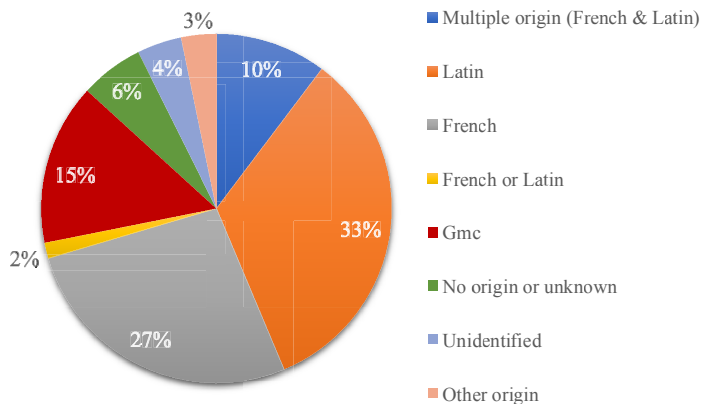
Figure 1. Etymological origin of simplex nouns[2]

As already noted by Norri (1996:162), the main foreign sources for plant terminology in Middle English *simplex* terms are Latin and French. The *OED* and the *MED* do not always agree on the etymological origin provided for a specific entry. Often the *MED* considers that the Latin borrowing was reinforced by the adoption of the French word or simply indicates that the lexical unit comes from both sources, while the *OED* states clearly that it is a loanword from Latin or a French borrowing. A sample of the cases found in this situation is, for instance, *acory* which comes from French *cichorée*, according to the *OED*, whereas the *MED* claims a multiple origin from Medieval Latin *cic(h)orea* and Old French *cicorée*. Similarly, *amomum*, *calamintte*, *cammomyl*, *celydonie*, *columbine*, *confery*, *juniperus*, *onyon*, *pomgarnat*, among many others, come from French according to the *OED*, but are French and Latin according to the *MED*.

In turn, both dictionaries may assign a single origin to an item, either Latin or French, but the source language is not shared by both sources. Instances of this are: *carabe* which was adopted from French *carobe* according to the *OED*, but from Medieval Latin *carabe*, according to the *MED*. In the same fashion, *kebule* and *melon* are French according to the *OED* but Latin according to the *MED*.

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2 The real percentages in descending order are: Multiple origin (French & Latin 10.26%); Latin (33.43%); French (26.69%); French or Latin (1.47%); Germanic (14.96%); Unknown origin (5.87%); unidentified (4.11%); Spanish, Arabic, Greek, ON, Latin and MDutch (3.23). All figures have been rounded off to the nearest whole number.

Even if most items are from Latin, French or a mixture of both origins, the analysis of the data shows that 15% of the *simplex* terms are Germanic. Thus, the corpus records names of trees, such as *ashe*, *beeche*, *birche* and *oke*, bushes like *brom*, fruits like *hasil*, *haw*, and herbs, such as *dylle, march* and *yarrow*. Lexemes of Germanic origin denoting important nutritional parts often appear as ingredients in recipes, such as *apple*, *barliche*, *lek*, *nut*, *ote* and *ruȝene*.

Under the denomination "other languages" we have grouped lexical units that have very little significance in the corpus. The number of elements in this category ranges from one to three. This explains why, on the whole, they are only 3% of the total amount of nouns. Here Arabic, Celtic, Greek, Old Norse and Spanish adopted words are included. Even in this category, the two main sources of reference show divergences. Thus, *iris* comes from Greek according to the *OED*, but from Latin according to the *MED*. Likewise, *tamarindi* is a Spanish borrowing according to the *OED*, but a Latin loanword according to the *MED*.

Likewise, the presence of a group of plant nouns of unknown origin is acknowledged in the corpus with 6%. It comprehends mainly: a) plants recorded in our sources but where no etymology is provided or b) words which are claimed to be of unknown origin. A case of the latter is *quibybe*, which is found in the *OED* under the entry *quibibe*. It claims the origin is uncertain and perhaps an extended form of *quib*.

Finally, there is a group of unidentified plants. The context in which they appear helps to figure out they are herbs, but none of the consulted sources include them. Some of these items recall a classic origin, such as *arament*, *calasia*, *clessus*, *emperisticon*, for instance. Others may have entered English through French like *cabansey* and *celange*, but thus far no further information of what kind of plant they designate, or their origin have been found.

Because of the above-mentioned reasoned, the combination of the information provided by the *OED* and the *MED* was not compatible and the former was preferred. However, as expected, the *MED* offers many more quotations from the period and often outnumbers the *OED* not only in the number of quotation but also in the time when the entries were first recorded. Thus, our examination of *simplex* terms reveals that in various cases the items are registered in our corpus before the date provided by the *OED* for the first attestation of the term. One of the recordings corresponds to the date given by the *MED*, but the other is not even registered by this source. Thus, *tamarynd* is recorded for the first time in *OED* in 1539. According to the *OED*,

it comes from Spanish *tamarindo*, Portuguese *tamarindo*, Italian *tamarindo*, medieval Latin *tamarindus*, ultimately from Arabic *tamr-hindī*, i.e. date of India. The *MED* attests the word at the beginning of the fifteenth century in the following quotation "a1400 *Lanfranc* (Ashm 1396) 182/24: "Colre schal be purgid in þis maner..resolue þeron cassia fistula [ounce] j, thamarindorum manne ana [ounce] sem., & boile hem a litil togidere". This word is recorded in our corpus in Ferguson 147 and Wellcome 537, both fifteenth-century manuscripts, but also in Hunter 307 a fourteenth-century copy specifying that "Tamarindus. it is þe fruyt of a tree of ynde" (f. 170v).

Similarly, *anacard* from French *anacarde*, and this from modern Latin *anacardus* and *anacardium*, reproduces Greek ἀνά "according to" + καρδία "heart", in reference to the shape of the fruit. *Anacard* is first recorded in the *OED* in ?1541 R. Copland *Guy de Chauliac's Questyonary Cyrurgyens* iv. sig. Oiijᵛ, "Some..maketh scarres as lyme and sope and anacardus". The word is missing in the *MED*. Nevertheless, *anacard* appears in all our texts (Ferguson 147, Hunter 185, Hunter 328 and Welcome 537), except for Hunter 307. Both Ferguson 147 and Hunter 185 go back to the beginning of the fifteenth century, while Hunter 328 (unprecise late fifteenth century) and Welcome 537 (1462) are late fifteenth-century copies. Consequently, the first two provide evidence well before the date given by the *OED*.

There are other instances of this fact where the *OED* have not updated the quotations included, such as the case of *balaustia*, *cucurbita*, *filipendula*, *ficus* and *iris*, among others. These items are present in our corpus of fourteenth-fiteenth century, whereas the first quotation provided by the *OED* is from the sixteenth century onwards.

3.2. Noun combinations

In Norri's words, "in OE and ME, there is thus often nothing to prove that a construction was regarded as a compound, not as a free phrase" (1988: 12). Thus, we have relied on previous scholars' research and consider the kind of combinations established by them.

Likewise, several taxonomies are possible depending on the criterion taken into account. From the semantic point of view, within loan formations, Sauer (1995) distinguishes between a) loan translations, b) loan renditions and c) loan creations. Sauer (1995) adds that most loan formations belong to the first type: these are calques which translate each element of their models. Thus,

hundistonge renders Latin *cannis lingua*. Likewise, *maidenhere* is the translation of *capelli veneris* and *fiueleue* renders Latin *quinquefolium*. The second type is a loan rendition, which is rarely found. Sauer (1995: 307) includes here *apiago* rendered as *beewyrt*, where *bee* corresponds to Latin *apis* while *wyrt* represents the suffix -*ago*. In turn, loan creations are modelled on Latin constituents but show no formal correspondence with them: "a possible example is OE *wedeberge*, which may have been inspired by *(h)elleborum album*, because the plant may have had something to do with madness" (1995: 307).

As the distinction between foreign and borrowed words is not always clear, some Latin compounds are used, e.g., *Oculus Christi*, while at times we can find a hybrid formation like *glosse + wort* with the first element from Greek. The above-mentioned grouping takes into account the etymology of the compounds, while our division is based on the word category of the elements present in the construction.

For the analysis of the noun combinations, we have adopted a taxonomy based on the word-class affiliation of the *determinatum* or head of the combination (Kastovsky 1992: 365). Consequently, in this study the noun formations are divided into groups according to the parts of speech they are composed of. Any analysis of the data will reflect some of the problems mentioned above. Thus, it is worth noting that even if most combinations refer to just one plant, the denomination may coexist with a simplex term. As our initial classification took as the only criterion the identification of a plant, an extreme case is *dillnote*, *erþe note* and *matfeloun blank*, where there are three different compounds to refer to *Bunium*. Thus, one plant will correspond to three distinct compound denominations. There are not many plants which were designated with three compound formations, but two compounds for the same plant are recorded sometimes. Consequently, the total number of plant names is superior to the number of real species.

Before examining the different kinds of combinations, some explanation on the general composition of the data is required. Thus, Figure 1. provides a general overview of the data identified in our corpus, where most of the constructions are in the group of English formations made up of two words; there is also a small number of English compounds made of three words and some hybrids. A small portion of the plant names could not be identified, which makes their classification difficult and finally, an important segment of the data is made up of compounds in Latin and French.
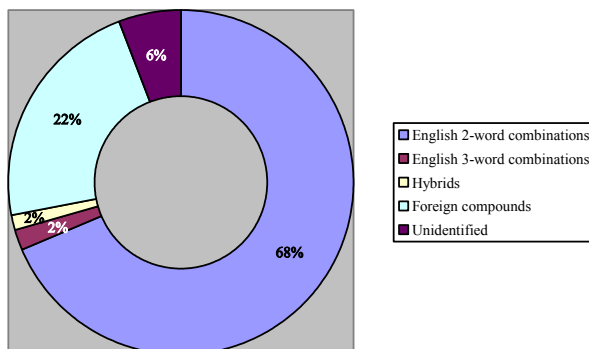
Figure 2: Total distribution of noun combinations

When focusing on the examination of English constructions made up of two words, the distribution of the different types can be seen in Figure 3.[3]
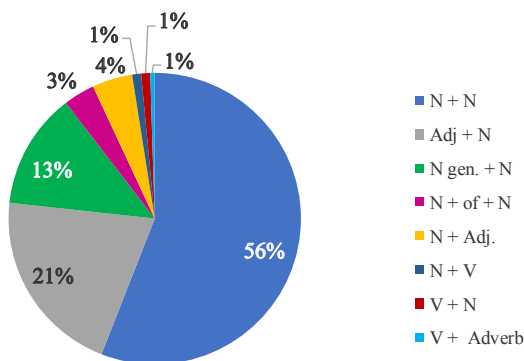
Figure 3: Percentage of two-word combination types of English

The details of each category, however, will be discussed, citing some examples which are found in each of the eight categories identified in it:

1. Noun + Noun: trees such as *plumtre, schery treys,* but also plants like *achemerche, couslippe/couslyppe, costmary, euerferne* (*OED*, OE *eofor*

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3 The real percentages are: N + N (55.94%): Adj + N (21.48%); N gen + N (12.87%); N + of + N (3.46%); N + Adj (4.02%); N + V (0.99%); V + N (0.99%); V + Adv (0.49%). All figures have been rounded off to the nearest decimal.

"boar"+ *fern), grounde yuy, hayhoue, louache, neseblede* ("the Eurasian plant yarrow or milfoil, *Achillea millefolium*", *OED*), *erþe appel, oktare, stancrop, strawberye, thevethorn* ("thorn bush, especially goose berry and blackberry plants", *MED*) and *maidenhere*.

Other Noun + Noun formations make reference to an animal: *chekenmete / chikenmete* and *chikenweed*, which corresponds to the Latin denomination *Oculus Christi*; *craueweleak, culuernote, horsehovne, horsehele, horse mynte, moushere, harefot*, which is identified in Hunter 185 with *avence*. The latter is defined by the *OED* as a "popular name of two species of the genus *Geum* (family Rosaceæ), the Wood Avens or Herb Bennet (*G. urbanum*), formerly used medicinally and to give a clove-like flavour to ale, and Water Avens (*G. rivale*); also applied to the subalpine Mountain Avens (*Dryas octopetala*)". *Calfes fot* and *wolefot* refer to the same plant, although the latter term is not transparent. In Hunter 185 *pee vituli* is a synonym for it but *wole* seems to refer to the "wool of sheep" rather than to calf, as in the former. In the case of *radepipe*, the *MED* includes a quotation from GUL, Hunter 95 equalling the term to *padepipe*, "a plant of the horsetail genus" whose denomination is based on *pade* "toad, frog" and *pipe*. Some other combinations are obscure. Thus, *coluer fyn* in Ferguson 147 (f. 86v) where the context clearly points out to the botanical field, but no specific plant has been identified.

Several compounds use -*wort* as a second element: *alrewort, blodworte, brysworte/brusewort, choler worte, edelworte, felteworte, hillwort, mugwort, halswort, herewort, horewort, herteworte, liferwort/liuerwort, marsewort, medewort/modurworte, penyworte, redeworte, ribwort, smereworte, sperewort, stichewort, stobewort, teterwort, walwort*. Likewise, *grass* was a generic name for a herb, so it is found in *peny gras*. Others like *ache* are used for "Any of a group of celery-like plants" (*MED*). Thus, we find *malowes ache* and *louache*, which according to the *OED* is "an etymologizing alteration (as if *love-ache* "love-parsley"). Finally, *herbe* is also used as a generic in *herbe benet, herbe robert* and *herbe water/walter*.

As far as general English is concerned, Kastovsky (1992: 365) already noted that "Noun+Noun compounds represent the most frequent pattern" and that the pattern Adj+Noun was fairly productive as well (1992: 370). Bauer also agreed that the largest subgrouping of compounds is of this kind (1983: 202-203) and so did Sauer (1992:

150). Furthermore, this claim was also confirmed not only in general English word formation terms but also in the case of his study on Middle English plant names where "there are more formations of the noun/noun type than all the other types taken together" (Sauer 1995: 310). The samples in our corpus also show that this tendency is followed in our case, as approximately 56% of the total noun combinations belong to this kind of combination.

2. Noun in genitive + Noun: *bisschopeswort*, *calfes fot*, *cattis grece*, *faytores herbe*, *hertishorne*, *hertistongue*, *houndistongue, houndes rose, rauenesfot* (also called *crowfeet*), *oxes yȝe, shep(p)ardis ȝeerd, sheppardis purse, woselystonge*. We have not found the latter in any of the lexicographic works available to us as such. The *MED* dictionary identifies *wosel* as *blackbird*, so *woselystonge* could be a plant whose name has been modelled on *hertistongue* and *houndistongue* pattern. At the beginning, we were not able to identify the specific plant, but the context seems to indicate unambiguously that the elements "Pigla, pigle, woselystonge: stichewort" are all synonyms (Hunter 185, f. 5va). Under *stitchwort* the *OED* records a quotation where the Latin equivalent is *lingua avis*: "*a*1387 *Sinon. Barthol.* (Anecd. Oxon) 27 *Lingua avis*, i. stichewort i. pigle", allowing the identification of the plant to some extent, as the other synonym *pigle* is considered by the *OED* to designate "either of the two kinds of *stitchwort* used medicinally, the greater stitchwort, *Stellaria holostea*, and (in full less pigle) the lesser stitchwort, *S. graminea*." In turn, Hunt (1989: 161) identifies *lingua avis* as *Stellaria holostea* but also as *Fraxinus excelsior*.

    In this type of formation, the metaphorical meaning is usually present in the elements in the compound. A case worth commenting on is *fayotres herbe* which is found in the *MED* as *faitoures gresse* to refer to *spurge*. The first element is recorded with the meaning "1. A deceiver, imposter, cheat; esp., a beggar or vagabond who feigns injury or disease"; and "2. A partisan, adherent". The name of the plant takes this first element metaphorically although the second is directly the general denomination for plant. There are other formations that are not in genitive, but whose meaning is also figurative, such as *maidenhere* because it presents fine hair-like stalks.

3. Noun + of + Noun: *bene of fraunce*, *pelletre of Spayne*, *ballokes of saturion*, where *ballok wort* is an orchid of some kind and so is *saturion* according to *MED*, so this could designate some kind of orchid.

Borionus of pepolorie, burgynge (*of poplerj*), *herbe of þe palesy, reseynes of Spayne*. Regarding the latter, the present distinction between *currants, sultanas* and *raisins* was not known at the time, as the combination *sultana raisins* is first attested in the nineteenth century in the *OED*. As for *currants*, it is recorded as early as the fourteenth century in the *OED*, but it does not appear in our corpus. Thus, *raisin* is very frequently found, but on some occasions the specific variety of southern Spain is mentioned.

4. Adjective + Noun: *blindenetle, hollyhock, horeho(u)ne/horhovne, smalache, petymorel, sour docke, souperenwode, sowre brede* which the *MED* records as *wod soure* "wood sorrel", *stanmarch*. This latter term is used along with *alexander/alisaunder*. The denomination, according to Prior (1870: 3-4), is due to the city of Alexandria, whereas the *OED* derives the denomination directly from *Alexander the Great*.

   Often the colour adjectives *black* and *white* are involved: *black pepper* versus *white pepper, white popy* and *black popye. Red* is also common in *rededokke, rede netille, rede plantayne, rede spodium, rede sumak* and *rede worte*.

   Likewise, the adjective *wild* is commonly found, as in *wilde arache, wilde caule, wildechene, wilde garlik, wilde neep, wilde popy, wilde rewe, wilde sauge, wildetesil, wildeuyne*.

5. Noun + Adjective: *aloes epatik, aloes caballyn, aloes cicotryn, puliol mountaine puliol real* and *weybrede*. In the latter, the original combination *wei-brode* has been disguised in a form which resembles the Middle English equivalent for *bread*, rather than the adjective *broad*. In this group *rose marine* is also found with different degrees of adaption, as can be seen from the sepelling variants documented in the corpus: *rose marine, rosa marye, rosee marye, rose maryne, ros maryne, rosmary*.

6. Noun + Verb: *honysouk* (*OED* f. *hunig* 'honey' + *súga*n, *súcan* 'to suck'), *wodebynde* (*OED* f. *wudu* 'wood' n.1 + *root of bind*). Sauer and Scott-Macnab (2017: 185) consider the former a noun + deverbal noun combination, based on the fact that the *MED* considers this formation a noun.

7. Verb + Noun: there are only two items in this category, *floteworte* is an alga that corresponds to PDE *float-grass* and *standelegursse*.

8. Verb + Adverb: *carwey* < *carryaway*. Sauer and Scott-Macnab (2017:186) claim this is an uncertain case of this kind of combination, but no further explanation is given.

    Norri (1988: 17) mentions how some of the combinations go back to the Old English period. This fact explains why sometimes the initial motivation for the word formation is no longer transparent. He includes here cases like *daisy* that can be traced back to *dayeseȝe*; *garlic*, which is found as *garleke*, a variant showing the connection with *MED lek(e)*, and *smalache* where *ache* was a general term used for plants of the genus *Apium* (Norri 1988: 18).

Thus far we have analysed constructions of two elements, but there are also several combinations of three elements. Apart from *molbery tree*, special mention can be made of the few names which is made up of three elements, *Oure Lady þistil*. According to the *OED*, the word *thistle* can be applied "to various species of *Carduus* and allied genera, and to some prickly plants of other orders". Erroneously, it was "applied to *Carduus Marianus*, with white veins on the leaves". This explains why the plant is also known as *Our Lady's thistle*. The other combinations are: *fyueleuyd grass*, which renders Greek *pentafilon* and Latin *quinquefolium*, *herbe seint Iohn* and *walwort pigyl þreleuedgras*.

In the noun constructions, the analysis of Middle English material is in line with Krischke's conclusion for Old English botanical terms. Krischke (2010: 229) finds that

> In terms of number, the majority of the Old English complex plant names are made up of two nouns (251 plant names), then, of Adj+N (128 plant names), with Ngen+N formations (43 plant names) forming the third-largest group of formations. These numerical results confirm expectations raised by findings in studies on the morphology of pre-Old English (Carr 1939: 162-3) and of Early Middle English (Sauer 1992a: 150, 166).

Thus, the examination of our data confirms a similar numerical distribution of the different types corresponding to the studies in Old English material by Krischke (2010). The analysis of Middle English material reveals that in terms of number, the majority of the Middle English complex plant names are made up of two nouns (56 % of plant names), then, of Adjective + Noun (21%), with Noun in genitive + Noun combinations (13%) forming the third-largest group of formations. The other five combinations (Noun + Adjective, Noun

+ of + Noun, Noun + Verb, Verb + Noun, Verb + Adverb) are only 10% of the total number of noun compounds.

4. Summary and Conclusions

Even if plants played an essential role in medieval medicine, a comprehensive study of the Middle English botanical field lexis is still wanting. The present study —based on a purposely-compiled corpus of approximately 166,000 words— has demonstrated that the editing of untapped material is useful to complete the specialised knowledge on botany, especially in revealing earlier dates of recording of specific denominations and appearance of new terms. It also adds information to general aspects of the English lexicon of the period. The most relevant innovation of all is the fact that the study presents a quantitative study of plant terminology in Middle English, which has not been carried out before.

The problems any linguist encounters when working on the botany field have been made explicit. Probably the most arduous task has to do with plant identification. The lack of reliable sources on medieval English botany, since the sources available, both medieval and present lexicographic works, makes it impossible to find a modern equivalent sometimes or even agree on the plant that was designated by a given name. This fact along with others mentioned above should be borne in mind when interpreting numbers. Very few items could not be identified, which implies they may be synonyms for a term already in our records or may be a new species not attested before. Nonetheless, this will not affect the quantitative analysis in a dramatic way.

All the words in the corpus are nouns, which were first identified as plants and then classified into *simplex* terms and noun combinations. Regarding the former, our examination of the data is in line with previous research on the field. According to the *OED*, one third of the *simplex* nouns come directly from Latin, followed by 27% that are from French. Nonetheless, there is also a group of 10% lexical units that are both from French and Latin. Finally, a small number, which totals 2% of the whole corpus, is made up of nouns coming either from Latin or French. On the whole, these four groups add up to 72% of the corpus.

As far as the rest (28%), Germanic has a significant presence with 15% of the share. Words that were mainly inherited from Old English. Another group of nouns has been classified under the category of unknown origin, because

the *OED* and *MED* label them as such explicitly or because they have been identified in other sources, such as Hunt (1989) or Getz (1991), for instance, that provide no etymological origin. Other languages are also present in the corpus —Arabic, Celtic, Greek, Old Norse and Spanish— but on the whole they total 3%. Finally, some terms are considered plants, but they do not appear in any of our sources and they have been grouped into an unidentified section.

As for noun combinations, numerically speaking, the analysis of Middle English plant terminology is in line with studies on Old English botanical terms. Thus, the majority of the Middle English plant names are made up of two nouns (56%), then, of Adjective + Noun (21%), with Noun in genitive + Noun combinations (13%) forming the third-largest group of formation. The other five combinations are only 10% of the total number of noun structures. These results confirm the findings in previous studies on Old English. No qualitative comparison to Middle English material is possible, since no quantitative analysis of Middle English plant names have been carried out before the present one.

Finally, a new combination not recorded in previous studies has been identified; namely, *woselystonge*, corresponding to Latin *lingua avis*. The identification of several plant names is still wanting, a task that should be pursued in the near future. It is hoped that more trustworthy literature on the topic will be available to help our search.

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AN EDITION AND STUDY OF *THE CURE OF BYTYNG* IN LONDON, WELLCOME LIBRARY, MS 411 (FF. 56R–61R)

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1. INTRODUCTION

The present chapter deals with a short treatise on venomous bites held in London, Wellcome Library, MS 411 (ff. 56r–61r), entitled *The Cure of Bytyng*[1] (after the opening words of the treatise, hereafter *CoB*). An exploratory analysis of the *CoB*'s contents, sources and transmission, as well as of physical features is carried out, which may provide clues about the function or purpose underlying its composition and that of the manuscript in which it is housed. In addition, the analysis may supply information on medieval science and on socio-cultural aspects of the period in which the book was written and used. This is thus viewed as an artefact or material object for the transmission of different types of knowledge (scientific, cultural, linguistic, etc.). Moreover, the first edition of the *CoB* in MS Wellcome 411 is rendered. Figure 1 shows the first folio of the treatise (the *CoB* starts in the second half of the folio).[2]

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1 In the treatise the initial letter of this word is written with a lower-case letter, there is a dot over the first *y* and a stroke at the end of *g*, which has been expanded to *e* in the edition (i.e. "býtyng*e*").

2 All the images appearing in the chapter belong to the Collection of practical medical treatises in English and Latin (Leech-Books, VIII). Wellcome Collection. Public Domain Mark.
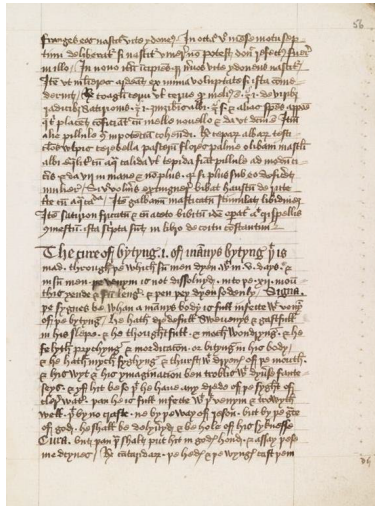
Figure 1. First folio of the CoB treatise (f. 56r).

MS Wellcome 411 is a one-volume codex which holds a collection of practical and medical texts in English and Latin on different topics including prognostications, nativities, medical astrology, reproduction, how to deal with the bites of animals, bloodletting, etc. Some of these are in verse. The contents of the codex are the following:[3] (i) Prognostication according to the day on which Christmas Day falls (ff. 1r–2r; anonymous); (ii) *Dietarium salutissimum* (ff. 2v–3v; anonymous); (iii) Treatise on lucky and unlucky days (ff. 4r–9r; anonymous); (iv) Book of Nativities (ff. 9v–18v; anonymous); (v) On perilous days (ff. 18v–19r; anonymous); (vi) Almanac (ff. 21r–26v); (vii) *Flores dietarum* (ff. 27r–30r; anonymous); (viii) *The Wise Book of Astronomy and Philosophy* (ff. 32r–37v; anonymous); (ix) Notes and extracts on medical astrology in Latin (ff. 38r–51v; anonymous); (x) *De conferentibus et nocentibus* (ff. 52r–53r; Arnold of Villanova); (xi) *De coitu* (ff. 53r–56r; Constantine the African); (xii) Treatise on venomous bites (ff. 56r–61r; anonymous); (xiii) *Canon pro minutionibus et purgationibus recipiendis* (ff. 61v–63r; Nicholas of Lynn). Although it is a long

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3   This follows the database description found in the "Archives and Manuscripts catalogue" of the Wellcome Library, available online at https://wellcomecollection.org/collections, which is based on Moorat (1962–1973).

list, some of the texts are extracts or abridged versions. The majority of the texts are anonymous and all of them date from the late fifteenth century.[4]

2. Contents, transmission and sources

Folios 56r to 61r of MS Wellcome 411 accommodate a treatise on venomous bites, whose title is *The Cure of Bytyng*, as previously mentioned, and which remains hitherto unedited to the best of our knowledge. It is concerned with the treatment of different types of bites on humans. It contains remedies for bites on humans (*Prima doctrina*), as well as for more specific bites done by horses (*Secunda doctrina*), dogs (*Tercia doctrina*), snakes (*Quarta doctrina*) and scorpions (*Quinta doctrina*), referred to in the text as first, second, third, fourth and fifth doctrine, respectively. Then, simple and general medicines (*Medicines simplices et generalis*) as well as complex and expert medicines (*Medicina composita et experta*) that can be used for bites and poison are discussed. The treatise ends with the conclusion, in which the nine rules to follow for curing poisonous wounds are explained (*Prima* to *Nona regula*).

For each type of bite, a number of symptoms or signs (*Signa*) are described; for the bite of a snake, for instance, the symptoms or signs, among others, are:

(1) "grete akyng*e* · *and* swellyng*e* · *and* þe coloure |[5] of his face chau*n*gyth*e* nowe to whitnesse · palenysse · or | to blacknysse" ('great aching and swelling and the colour of his [the sick person] face changes now to whiteness, paleness or to blackness'; f. 58r, biting of a snake, *Quarta doctrina*).

Possible cures (*Cura*) are provided, which specify the procedure. Example 2 presents one for the bite of a dog:

(2) "take mynt*es* y stampid · *and* medle þem w*ith* honẏ · | *and* ley þ*er* to / *and* geve hy*m* · eg*r*imonye to drynke y medlyd | w*ith* wyne" ('take crushed mints and mix them with honey and lay thereto and give him [the patient] agrimony to drink mixed with wine'; f. 57r, biting of a dog, *Tercia doctrina*).

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4 Esteban-Segura (2019) has carried out a palaeographical and codicological study, as well as a linguistic analysis, of the *The Wise Book of Astronomy and Philosophy* held in MS Wellcome 411.

5 This vertical bar indicates a change of line in the text of the manuscript.

Normally, the proposed cures include recipes, in which the ingredients and quantities required for the treatment are provided. Recipes have a clear writing purpose, which is that of giving instructions on how to prepare some kind of medicine, meal or utility. The one for the bite of a horse goes as follows:

(3) "*Recipe* A noynon *and* bake hy*m and* medle hy*m* wi*th* · *dragme* ij · of salt · *and* | *dragme* i · of comyn olye *and dragme* iij · of mell*e* roset · *and* w*ith* þis medcyn*e* | þe wonde shall*e* be helyd" ('Recipe: bake an onion and mix it with two drams of salt and one dram of olive oil and three drams of a distillation of honey and roses and with this medicine the wound shall be healed'; f. 57r, biting of a horse, *Secunda doctrina*).

As is the case of most recipes, the previous one contains an efficacy phrase ("*and* w*ith* þis medcyn*e* | þe wonde shall*e* be helyd"), which is a subtype of tags or phrases which "attest to the value of a given remedy" (Jones 1998: 199–200).

The ingredients used are generally common and, except for some herbs, they are likely to be found in the kitchen of any household, such as wine, garlic, vinegar, honey, etc. See, for instance, example 4:

(4) "wyne rwe *and* garlyk nutt*es and* fyg*es*" ('wine, rue, garlic, nuts and figs'; f. 59r), "hony *and* vynegr*e*" ('hony and vinegar'; f. 59v), "pouder*e* | of kanell*e*" ('cinnamon powder'; f. 60r).

As far as the transmission of the treatise is concerned, the text is anonymous and the identity of the author, translator and/or compiler who wrote it, or of the scribe who copied it, remains unknown. Remedies against the biting of animals were commonplace in late medieval leech books and surgical treatises (Rawcliffe 2013: 155). Other manuscripts in which information about biting can be found are the following: (i) London, British Library, MS Harley 2390 (f. 148v); (ii) London, British Library, MS Sloane 5 (f. 25v); (iii) London, British Library, MS Sloane 983 (ff. 24v, 72v); and (iv) London, Wellcome Library, MS 564 (ff. 82v, 84r). The latter, MS Wellcome 564, contains the work *Chirurgia* by Henri de Mondeville, who is one of the sources mentioned in the text. As of yet, we have been unable to find a manuscript containing the same treatise.

With regards to MS Wellcome 411, there is not either definite proof of provenance, although the names found throughout it and later additions reveal that it passed through a number of hands: (i) "Doctor rydlei byschoppe of london" (f. 19r); (ii) "Recyvvyd of my master Wylliam Watnor the sum of iii li.

xiii s. iiii d. and a quarters wagys" (f. 30r); (iii) "Wyllyam Davy" and "Thomas champe" (in early sixteenth-century Anglicana hands); "Georg Sheffeld" (note dated 1610) (f. 63v). The account on folio 30r suggests that the manuscript was being used by a man employed by a certain William Watnor at some point in the sixteenth century. Some signatures on folio 63v indicate that it was in circulation at the beginning of the seventeenth century. MS Wellcome 411 was acquired at Sotheby's on 12 November 1929 (Lot 237) and since then it has been housed at the Wellcome Library (for further information, see Southmayd [1970: v–viii]).

As for sources present in the *CoB*, overt allusion to authorities such as Galen, a physician and one of the most influential medical authors from antiquity (example 5), and to the Arabic philosophers Avicenna (example 6) and Averroes (example 7) can be found in the treatise.

(5.1) "as Galyon seyth*e*" ('as Galen says'; f. 59r).

(5.2) "þe triacle þ*a*t Galien makyth*e*" ('the treacle that Galen makes'; f. 59r).

(6.1) "As Avicen seyth*e*" ('As Avicenna says'; f. 58r).

(6.2) "But Auecen | seyth*e*" ('But Avicenna says'; f. 60r).

(7) "Averoyes seyth*e* in his | bokys of tryacle" ('Averroes says in his books of treacle'; f. 60r).

A certain "Harr*e* de hermeda villa" is mentioned (example 8). This most likely makes reference to Henri de Mondeville, a medieval French surgeon who wrote about anatomy and surgery.

(8) "aft*er* þe doct*ri*ne of Harr*e* de hermeda villa" ('after the doctrine of Henri de Mondeville'; f. 57v).

The influential work *Antidotarium Nicolai*, widely translated and excerpted in vernacular remedy collections is also cited. In the *CoB* we find a direct quote:

(9) "þe reseyte | is in þe Antidore of Nycholas" ('the recipe is in the Antidotary of Nicholas'; f. 60r).

Furthermore, authors in general are mentioned, as in example 10. All these references seem to try to corroborate the validity of the treatments.

(10) "Anoþ*er* medcyn · in þe which*e* all*e* | Auctorys a cordyng*e* in oon*e*" ('Another medicine in which all authors agree'; f. 58v).

3. Physical description

This section describes some physical features of the manuscript, paying special attention to those folios in which the *CoB* is held. The text, in a single column, is written in the same clear book hand throughout. The handwriting is neat and careful. The number of lines per folio is uniform as it has 32 lines (except the first folio, which has 16 lines, and the last one, which consists of 18 lines). The manuscript has been refoliated in pencil, at the top of the folio, on the right-hand side of each recto (see figure 2).
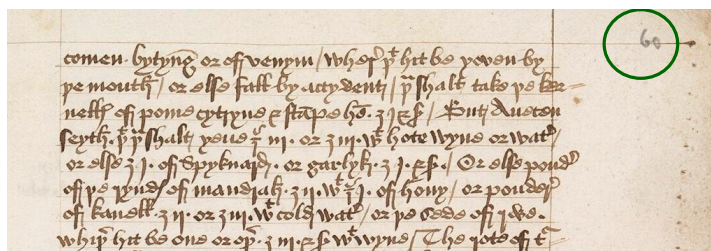
Figure 2. Example of foliation (f. 60r).

Folios are ruled in order to aid the scribe to keep a regular line of writing. Signs of pricking are evident on the right of rectos and left of versos (see figure 3). Pricking involves the piercing of a series of holes on the leaf to assist with the ruling of lines.
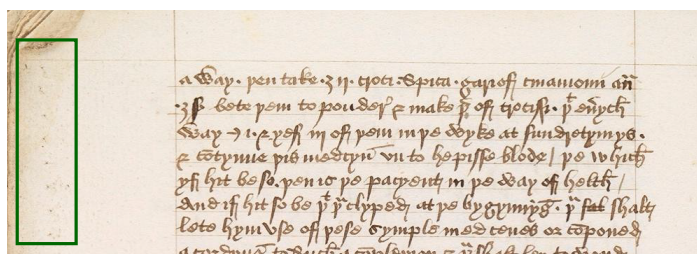
Figure 3. Example of pricking (f. 56v).

The script is mixed, showing features from the Anglicana and Secretary scripts. A typical Anglicana letter-form is the tight *g*, sometimes described as

shaped like the numeral 8 and resembling a pair of spectacles seen sideways on (as shown in figure 4) and long forked *r*, descending below the line of writing (figure 5). As for the Secretary script, one of the typical letter-forms that distinguishes it from Anglicana is the neat single-compartment or single-lobed *a* with a pointed head (figure 6). Different Secretary forms of *r* are commonly found in any position within the word (figures 7 and 8).
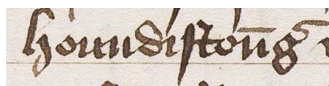
Figure 4. "houndistou*nge*"
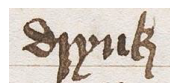
Figure 5. "drynk"
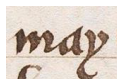
Figure 6. "may"

Figure 7. "vnderstond"
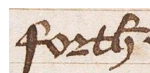
Figure 8. "forth*e*"

Abbreviations are frequent, as in most medieval scientific manuscripts. Their main function is to save time and writing space. The techniques employed in the *CoB* are suspension, contraction, superior letters and other special signs or brevigraphs.

Suspension may be considered the most common method of abbreviation. It involves the omission of the final letter or letters of a word and in the *CoB* it is indicated by means of different signs: (i) an upper curved line on the last letter of a word representing *e* or *er* (as illustrated in figures 9 and 10); (ii) a horizontal stroke over a final *h* or *ll* standing for *e* (figures 11 and 12); and (iii) a downward flourish in the last letter of a noun signalling the plural form of that noun, and therefore generally replacing *es* (figure 13).
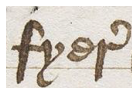
Figure 9. "fyer*e*"
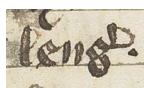
Figure 10. "leng*er*"
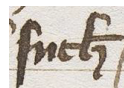
Figure 11. "such*e*"
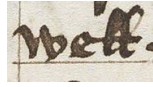
Figure 12. "well*e*"
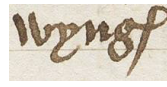
Figure 13. "wyng*es*"

Contraction denotes the omission of one or more letters in the middle of a word. The most common representation of this kind of abbreviation is the expansion mark for the nasal consonants *n* (figure 14) and *m* (figure 15). It can also stand for *i* (figure 16).
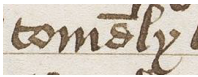
Figure 14. "come*n*ly"
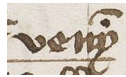
Figure 15. "veny*m*"
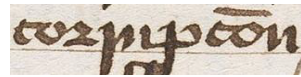
Figure 16. "corrup*ci*on"

Superior letters or superscripts are characters that appear over the line of writing and mark the omission of one or more letters in a word. Two of them occur frequently in the *CoB*: a *t* above a thorn representing the word "þ*at*" (figure 17) and a *t* above *w* to indicate the preposition "w*it*h" (figure 18).

Figure 17. "þ*a*t"

Figure 18. "w*it*h"

Other special abbreviation signs or brevigraphs have normally the same meaning irrespective of context, for example, the commonly occurring curved flourish that symbolises *er* (figure 19) or the symbol that stands for *ur* (figure 20).
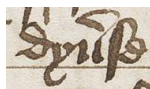
Figure 19. "dyu*er*se"
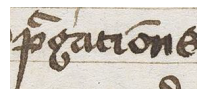
Figure 20. "p*ur*gacions"

The meaning of other signs depends on the context. A vertical stroke, sometimes curved, over the line of writing normally signals the consonantal group *ri* (figure 21), but it can also indicate the vowels *ui* (figure 22). A horizontal stroke situated in the descender of letter *p* can represent a number of combinations of letters such as *ar* (figure 23) and *or* (figure 24). A wavy stroke placed above the thorn mainly replaces the vowels in the pronoun "þou" (figure 25), but it can also be used to signal *a* (figure 26), *ra* (figure 27) and *ua* (figure 28) in other environments.
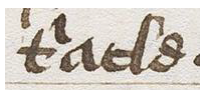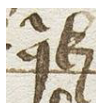
Figure 21. "t*ri*acle"   *Figure 22.* "qu*i*k"   *Figure 23.* "dep*ar*tid"
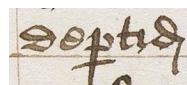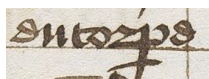
Figure 24. "encorp*or*e"   *Figure 25.* "þ*ou*"   *Figure 26.* "an*a*"
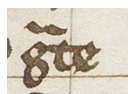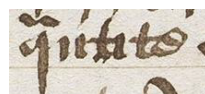
Figure 27. "g*ra*ce"   *Figure 28.* "qu*a*ntite"

Apart from these common abbreviations that appear at word level, there are some others which denote a whole word on their own, such as the symbols for the conjunction "and" (figure 29) and the noun "recipe" (figure 30). Besides, apothecaries' symbols are accompanied by Roman numerals to express the quantities of the remedies recommended. Among the symbols found in the *CoB* are those for the dram (figure 31), the ounce (figure 32) and the scruple (figure 33).
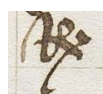
Figure 29. "*and*"   *Figure 30.* "*Recipe*"

Figure 31. "*dragme*"   Figure 32. "*ounce*"   Figure 33. "*scruple*"

There is not any type of decoration in the folios containing the *CoB*. Marginalia, on the other hand, are frequent and contemporary to the text. Some of the annotations are keywords which make reference to what is being dealt with in the text (figure 34), and thus they act as textual markers to help the reader find information quickly. Scribal corrections can also appear in the margins (figure 35), which are used to write a word or words that have been left out in the process of copying the text. Since they are common, this somehow implies a not very careful scribe.
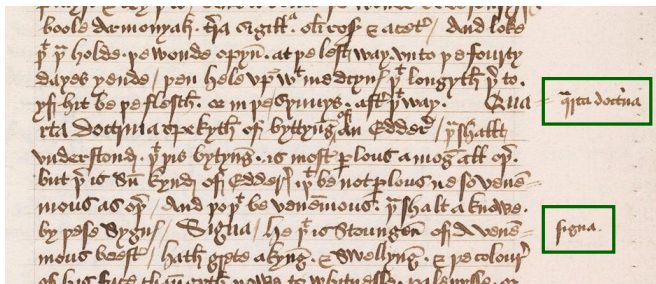
Figure 34. Marginalia: keywords
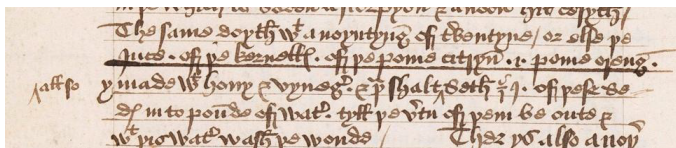
Figure 35. Marginalia: scribal correction

The scribal errors and the techniques used by the scribe to correct them will be explained next. One of them is cancellation, which involves crossing out mistakes with one or two horizontal lines and rewriting the correct word or words immediately afterwards (figure 36). Another one is expunction, that is, placing a dot under one or more erroneous letters to indicate that they should be omitted

(figure 37). In obliteration, the error is covered with ink either by blotting, blurring or obscuring the letter(s) or word. The correction generally appears above the obliterated letter(s), as in figure 38. Another type of scribal correction is insertion. When a word is left out, insertion is made above the line of writing, the missing letter or letters are thus interpolated in superscipt; the point of insertion is marked with a caret (figure 39). Words can also be interpolated; the omission is normally indicated in the margin and the exact point of insertion is also signalled by a caret (see figures 35 and 41).
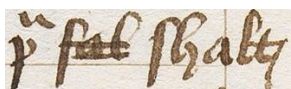
Figure 36. Cancellation
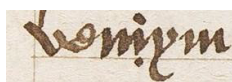
Figure 37. Expunction
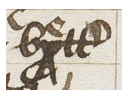
Figure 38. Obliteration
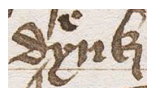
Figure 39. Insertion

The last point of discussion is punctuation. The inventory of punctuation marks in the *CoB* includes the punctus, the virgule, which can be double, and the caret. The punctus normally works at word and phrasal levels, whereas the virgule at the sentence one, that is, to delimit its end. The double virgule is used to indicate that the word continues in the following line, and therefore occurs always at the end of one. As mentioned before, the caret marks the omission and point of insertion of a letter, word or words. All these marks are displayed in figures 40 (punctus, virgule and double virgule) and 41 (caret).
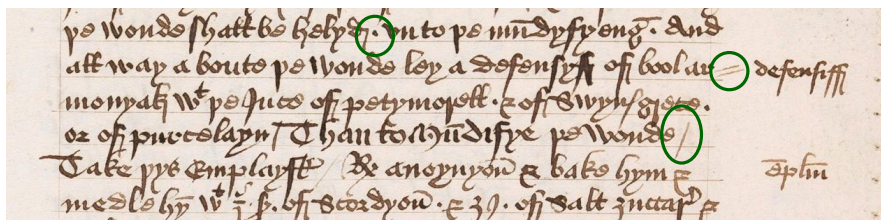
Figure 40. Punctus, virgule and double virgule
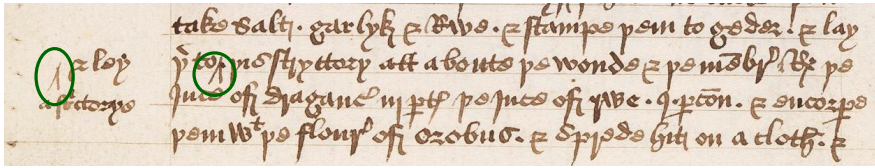
Figure 41. Caret marks

4. EDITORIAL POLICY

The edition provided in the next section follows the conventions of the semi-diplomatic editorial method, that is, a single manuscript—and thus one version of the text—is chosen and there is not an attempt to establish the "best" reading of the original work from which the different witnesses stem. In the case of the *CoB*, the witness in MS Wellcome 411 seems to be the only one extant, although the existence of other remnant copies cannot be discarded. The text has been fully transcribed and reproduced closely so that the outcome is as faithful to the witness as possible. Therefore, the layout has been maintained, keeping the same distribution of lines on every page, with the only exception of the insertion of the number of folios and lines, which has been indicated to the right. The original punctuation has been preserved, as well as capital letters, spelling variants and word division. Letters or words which are written above the line as a form of scribal correction are marked by means of angular brackets in the edition.

Abbreviations and apothecaries' weights have been expanded and the expansion has been conventionally indicated by means of italics. In the case of ambiguity concerning abbreviations, the most frequent spelling of the word when not abbreviated has been chosen or, if the word is not written in full, the spelling recorded in the *Middle English Dictionary* (Kurath *et al.* 1952–2001) has been selected. Some instances of final *-e* are the result of the expansion of extended strokes at the end of words. This has been done with the understanding that they may be otiose. Some letter-forms, such as <s> or <r>, have different graphs depending on the position that they occupy within the word. This distinction, however, has not been retained in the transcription, which is graphemic rather than graphic. Nonetheless, obsolete spellings, such as the runes thorn and yogh, have been retained. Letters *u*, *v*, *w*, *i*, *y* and *ẏ* have been transcribed exactly as they appear in the manuscript.

One textual apparatus is supplied at the end of the transcribed folio. This includes notes in the margins or marginalia and scribal errors and corrections. Editorial intervention has been kept to a mininum.

5. EDITION

The cure of bẏtyng*e* · i · of mànnys bytyng*e* þ*at* is	1
mad · through þe which*e* su*m* men dyen · w*ith* in · v · days · *and*	
in su*m* men · þe venym is not dissoluyd · in to þe · xij · mou*n* //	
this yende *and* su*m* leng*er* · *and* þen þey dyen sodenly / Signa ·	
þe sygnes be whan a ma*nn*ys bodẏ is full*e* infecte w*ith* venẏ*m*	5
of þe bytyng*e* / he hath*e* dredefull*e* sweuenys *and* gastfull*e*	
in his slepe · *and* he thought*e* full*e* · *and* moche wondryng*e* · *and* he	
felyth*e* prychyng*e* *and* mordicac*i*on · or bityng*e* in his body /	
and he hath*e* myche syghyng*e* *and* thurst w*ith* dryen*es* of þe mouth*e* ·	
and his wyt *and* his ymaginacion ben troblis w*ith* dyu*er*se fante //	10
seys · *and* yf hit be so þ*at* he haue any drede of þe syght*e* of	
cler*e* wat*er* · þan he is full*e* infecte w*ith* þ*at* venym *and* trowyth*e*	
well*e* · þ*at* by no crafte · ne by þe way of reson · but by þe gr*a*c*e*	
of god · he shall*e* be delyu*er*yd *and* be hole of his syknesse	
Cura · but þan þ*ou* shalt put hit in god*es* hond · *and* assay þese	15
medcynes / *Recipe* ca*n*taridar*um* · þe hed*es* *and* þe wyng*es* cast þem	

a way · þen take · *dragme* ij · croci · spica · gari of cinamomi an*a*	1
· *dragme semis* bete þem to poudere *and* make þ*er* of crociffi · þ*at* eu*eryche*	
way *scruple* i · *and* yef iij of þem in þe wyke at sundretymys ·	
and co*n*tynue þis medcyn*e* vn to he pisse blode / þe which*e*	
yf hit be so · þen is þe pacyent in þe way of helth*e* /	5
And if hit so be þ*at* þ*ou* clyped at þe bygynnẏng · þ*ou* shalt	
lete hym vse of þese symple medcenes or co*m*poned	
a cordyng*e* to such*e* a co*m*plexion *and* þ*ou* shalt ley to wond ·	
Vnguentu*m* Nigru*m* halẏ · þ*at* is made of wax talough*e*	
pich*e* *and* galbanu*m* · þis oyneme*n*t is ryght*e* pr*o*fitabill*e* *and*	10
gen*er*all*e* to all*e* man*er* of wond*es* · wher*e* þ*at* any fleysh*e* is	
dep*ar*tid / And all*e* so þis Emplayst*r*e is good to þe same	

cause / *Recipe* houndistou*nge* rwe an*a and* sta*m*pe þem in a mor //
t*er* · *and* put þ*er* to oolde swyn*es* grece *and* hony *and* medle þem
to ged*er* ou*er* þe fyer*e and* lay hit hote þ*er* to / this emplaist*re*   15
drawyth*e* oute þe venym *and* helyth*e* þe wond / And all*e*
so in þis case þ*ou* shalt lete þe pacye*nt* drynk t*ri*acle · And
also ley t*ri*acle to þe wond / And in case þ*ou* shall*e* specially
worke w*ith* þe Juce of Cap*ri*folys Rwe garlyk nutt*es and*
salt fig*es* my*ntes* farina orobi · all*e* þese medcyn*es* · or   20
else su*m* of þem medlyd w*ith* vyneg*re and* w*ith* hony · bÿth*e*
ryght*e* holsu*m* to be put þ*er* to /   But first þ*ou* shalt
late þe pacient blode in þe same place · þ*at* he was by //
ten in · þ*at* all*e* þe maleceous blode a bou*e* þe sor*e* maÿ
com oute in þe same place /   Or þ*ou* may worke in þis   25
wyse · þ*ou* shalt cupp*e* hy*m* · in þe same place þ*at* he is betyn*e* /
þa<n> aft*er*e þis blode lest · þ*ou* shalt ley þ*er* to a pelet w*ith*
tryacle · *and* þ*er* a bouen / Empl*astru*m Nervale · *and* so yf þe by //
tyn*ge* be in þe flesh*e p*ro*cede forth*e* w*ith* þy cur*e* · as hit
is taught*e* in þe wond*es* of flesh*e* / *and* yf hit be in Syn //   30
wys · aft*er* þe techyng*e* þ*at* longith*e* to þe Synwys ·

6 þ*ou*²] *followed by double cancellation:* ~~sal~~   **9 Vnguentu*m*]** *in left-hand margin:* vng*uentum*   **13 cause]** *in left-hand margin:* em*plastru*m ·   **16 drawythe]** *in left-hand margin:* pocio ·   **27 þa<n>]** *obliteration of letter n*   **31 Synwys ·]** *followed by cancellation:* ~~aft*er* | þe techyng*e* · þ*at* longyth*e* to synwys /~~

The Secunde Doctrine · hit is tretid of þe bytyng*e* of   1
hors*es* / So her*e* þ*ou* shalt vnder*e*stond · þ*at* þis bytyng*e* is ryght*e*
p*er*louse / Signa · þe sygnes be accordyng*e* to þe sygn*es* ·
þ*at* be rehersyd by for*e* / Cura · þe cure also is myche a
cordyng*e* to þe cure · next be for*e* / but not in all*e* / ffor   5
 in þis cause þe pacyent shall*e* blede in þe co*ntra*ye p*ar*te ·
and he shall*e* be kepte laxe *and* ley to hym þis Emplayst*re*
Recipe A noynon *and* bake hy*m and* medle hy*m* w*ith* · *dragme* ij · of salt · *and*
dragme i · of comyn olye *and dragme* iij · of melle roset · *and* w*ith* þis medcyn*e*
þe wonde shall*e* be helyd · vn to þe mu*n*dyfyeng*e* · And   10
all*e* way a boute þe wonde ley a defensyff of bool ar //
monyak w*ith* þe juce of petymorell*e* · *and* of swyn*es* grece ·
or of purcelayn / Than to Mu*n*difye þe wonde /

Take þys Emplays*tre* / *Recipe* anoynyou*n and* bake hym *and*
medle hy*m* w*ith* ounce · *semis* · of scordyou*n* · *and dragme* j · of salt ȝuccar*e and*   15
oyle · an*a dragme* ij · mell*e* roset · *ounce* iiij · *and* make a playst*re and* do
þ*er* to / þis emplays*tre* mu*n*difieth*e* wonderlyche þe wo*nd*
and remevyth*e* þe akyng*e* of þe bytyng*e* / þen wher*e* þe by //
tyng*e* be in flesh*e* · or in synowe / þou shalt p*ro*cede forth*e*
as by for*e* rehersid /   The iij doctryne spekyth*e*   20
of þe bytyng*e* of an hound · þis is to be notified · þ*at*
whan a man is bytten of an hound · wher*e* þ*at* he be
wod or not / for yf he be wode · hit is to þe mor*e*
p*er*ell*e* · but yf þe pacie*n*t be mor*e* dyscrete liker*e* gou*er*ynd
he shapith*e* not w*ith* þe lyff / Neu*er*þelatt*er* come*n*ly hit is   25
seyn for to be shewyd w*ith* in viij dayes aft*er* þe bytyng*e* /
Cura · þe cure of bytyng*e* of an hou*n*de yf he be not
wood · is · rygh*te* as a wou*n*d made in fleysh*e* / Or
else take mynt*es* y stampid · *and* medle þem w*ith* honẏ ·
and ley þ*er* to / *and* geve hy*m* · eg*ri*monye to drynke y medlyd   30
w*ith* wyne /   But and yf hit be bytten · w*ith* a
wode hound*e* · þe cur*e* standyth*e* · in · iiij· man*er* of

1 of²] *in right-hand margin:* · secunda doctri*n*a · 7 **Emplays*tre***] *in right-hand margin:* em-
pl*a*stru*m* 11 **defensyff**] *obliteration of ff* 11 **ar //**] *in right-hand margin:* defensiff 14 ***and*²**]
in right-hand margin: empl*a*stru*m* 20 **spekythe**] *in right-hand margin:* · tertia doctri*n*a · 28
Or] *in right-hand margin:* empl*a*stru*m* · 30 **medlyd**] *in right-hand margin:* pocio ·

f. 57v

ways · aft*er* þe doct*ri*ne of Harr*e* de hermeda villa · þ*at* is to   1
sayn / Balneu*m* · pocio · dieta · *and* localia / *and* þis is
as mych*e* to say · as bathis · dry*n*kes · dyete *and* surger*e* ·
or handwork / As to þe first · what so eu*er* man or
beyst*e* is byttyn*e* · of an wode hou*n*de · or of any oþ*er* ve //   5
nem*es* beyst*e* · *and* be nwe bytten · Bryng*e* þe pacient
to þe see *and* plu*n*g*e* hy*m* ix tymes *and* he nedith*e* no mor*e*
cur*e* · but as to symple wonde /   Secu*n*da · a noon
aft*er* þe bytyng*e* let þe pacient drynke t*ri*acle co*n*tynually ·
vn to xl · days y yendid /   Anoþ*er* · *Recipe* sei*n*s althee   10
dragme v · *and* seth*e* he*m* in iiij *pound* of wat*er and dragme* i · vini *and* drynke þ*er* of
at morow tyde *and* at evyn ·/ Anoþ*er* / *Recipe* sol*e* althee *dragme* j ·
and semis · cu*m dragme* ij · sirupi sei*n*s canabi or coriau*n*der pouder*e and* ȝugr*e*

an*a* · *dragme* j · *and semis and* d/\<r>ynk hit w*ith* þe juce som colde erbe as letu //
se purcelayn*e and* oþ*er* such*e* /   Or else drynke þe forty day*es*   15
a for sayde / Take *dragme* j · *and semis* of þis medcyn*e* / Take gencianu*m*
thur*es* an*a dragme* j · cinis ca*n*cro*rum* fluuialiu*m* adusto*rum dragme* x · *and* make
þem in poudere · *and* drynk hit w*ith* cold wat*er* / But be war*e*
þ*at* þ*ou* yef not to hym no laxativys / ne noon*e* p*ur*gacions · ne
clistr*es* · ne suppositorijs · ne late hy*m* no blode · þo iij day*es* ·   20
þen open*e* þe wonde w*ith* a fle/\<y>me or w*ith* a lau*n*ce · to lete þe
blod / *and* to p*ur*ge hym w*ith* a lyght*e* p*ur*gacio*n* · þ*at* p*ur*gyth*e* þe male*n* //
colye / as w*ith* þe decocc*i*on of Epithimi w*ith* got*es* whey · *and* wa //
sh*e* his hede · w*ith* þe wat*er* in þe which*e* þe feet *and* þe legg*es* of
a wethir*e* wer*e* soden in / Tercia dieta / Thou no //   25
rysh*e* hym w*ith* met*es and* drynk*es* to make hy*m* glad · *and* þ*at* he
suffre no hu*n*g*er* · ne thurst · ne t*ra*vell*e* / *and* eu*er*y day tyll*e* a
mownthis yende / he shall*e* vse su*m* of þese symple med //
cyn*es* · or co*m*poned /   Quarta localia / Aft*er* þe wonde
is well*e* ventysed · hit shall*e* be openyd w*ith* an hote yron*e*   30
to þe dypth*e* of þe wonde / *and* aft*er*warde ley a bouen*e* þe
wonde Attracta <is> · to drau ovte þe venym*e* as Empl*astru*m

Nervale / or else Empl*astru*m Gra*n* dei maior · / Stampe   1
Netlys w*ith* salt *and* a noon*e* hyth*e* doyth*e* a way þe akyng*e* ·
Anoþ*er* / Take red nettlys *and* pety morell*e* an*a and* fresch*e* grece
and þe most*e* p*ar*t of butt*er* · *and* ley hote to þe wonde / Anoþ*er*
Take nutkernell*es* salt *and* garlyke *and* ffig*es* an*a and* make a   5
playst*re and* ley þ*er* to / And a boute þe wonde a defensyff ·
boole Armonyak · t*er*ra sigill*ata* · oliu*m* ros*es and* acet*e* / And loke
þ*at* þ*ou* holde · þe wonde opyn*e* · at þe lest way · vn to þe fourty
day*es* yende / þen hele vp*e* w*ith* medcyn*es* þ*at* longyth*e* þ*er* to ·
yf hit be þe flesch*e* · or in þe/ synuys · aft*er* þ*at* way ·   Qua //   10
rta Doctrina spekyth*e* of byttyng*e* /\ <of> an Edder*e* / þ*ou* shallt
vnderstond · þ*at* þis bytyng*e* · is most*e* p*er*lous a mo*n*g all*e* oþ*er* ·
but þ*er* is su*m* kynd of Edder*es* · þ*at* be not p*er*lous ne so vene*m* //

mous as oþer / And þo þat be venemmous · þou shalt a knowe ·
by þese Sygnes / Signa / he þat is stoungene of a venem // 15
mous beeste / hathe grete akynge · and swellynge · and þe coloure
of his face chaungythe nowe to whitnesse · palenysse · or
to blacknysse / þe whitnesse · as þe hete and þe sprytes fleene
in to þe warde of þe pacyent · to þe greuousse · as whan
þe spyrites goythe a yene to þe vtterpartes · and þer is alle wey in þe 20
place grete hete / As Avicen seythe / As for þe Edderes
arne hote in þem sylf / But When þou Seÿst þes Sygnes ·
folowynge in þe pacyent · after þe bytynge of a Eddere · de //
me hym outwardly for dede / Signa mortis / þese
sygnes are dedlyche / whan þe pacient hathe any colde swetes · 25
and his extremetes arne colde · and he is wondrynge · in his
thoughte · or whan he hathe þe spasme · i · þe crampe · or
Sounyng · and þe coloure of his body · is tourned in to gre //
nesse · or palenesse · or in to blaknesse / þan shortly
he shalle not a scape þat syknesse / Cura · / þe first 30
cure in þis case · is for to opyn þe wond · with a flyme · þat þe
malycious blood may passe oute · And after þat Set þer on ·

2 hythe] *followed by cancellation:* ~~aw~~   10 Qua //] *in right-hand margin:* quarta doctrina
15 venem //] *in right-hand margin:* signa ·   22 Sygnes ·] *in right-hand margin:* nota per
totum 24 þese] *in right-hand margin:* signa mortes ·   30 first] *in right-hand margin:* cura

f. 58v

ventuse for þat drawythe oute þe ventuse fume 1
as welle as þe blod / Or else take · a cok or an hene and
pulle a way alle þe federes a boute þe fundement / and þen
set his fundement to þe wond / and threste hit harde þer to ·
and yf þe Cok dye · þat is a sygne · þat þe vemom is drauythe 5
outeward / þen do away hym and put þer to / anoþer / vn to
þe tyme þat þe hete and þe swellynge passe a way / And hit
is ryghte good / to stampe þe croppes of brome and take þe juce
þer of · and anoynte alle þe place a boute þer with / for þis kepithe
þe vemym · þat hit passithe no ferthere / And also Jpericon · 10
· i · Seynt Jhon is wort doythe þe same · yf hit be playstred ·
and leyd vn þe bytynge / Anoþer medcyn · in þe whiche alle
Auctorys a cordynge in oone / and is þis · þat þe membre shalle

be streyly y bounden · a boue þe bytynge · ij · ynches · for
þis maner of byndynge shulde vppon þe halfe · lette þe venym   15
to passe vppeward / And vppon þe oþer syde þe spirites · and
þe humurous shulden drau vn to þe Akynge of þe sore
byndyng / and so þe cours of venymmes fume is for boden · þat
hit may not passe and fle a brode · among oþer lymes / These
remedyes by ryghte good / while þat þe wondes be new and   20
freshe / But alle way holde þe wonde opyne · tylle þat þe
vemym be drau oute / and yf hym triakle maior and garlyky
stampid with þe juce of serpentarys · i · dragance hony
and genciane to drynk · And þen take tryacle and do hit on a
pailet · and lay hit to þe wond / for hit drawythe oute þe   25
venym / and lettythe hit not passe more inward / þen a boue
þe tryacle ley Apostolicon · Syrurgicum · or Emplastrum Ner //
uale · or Gra dei maior / And yf þou haue no triacle · þen
take salt · garlyk and Rwe · and stampe þem to geder · and lay
þer to ⋏ · <⋏ and leẏ> þis stryctory alle a boute þe wonde and þe membre *Recipe* þe   30
juce of dragance iij partes þe juce of rwe · j · periconn · and encorpore
þem with þe floure of orobus · and sprede hit on a clothe · and

1 ventuse²] *followed by cancellation and obliteration of first e:* f̶l̶e̶u̶m̶e̶   **15 þis**] *in left-hand mar-*
gin: byndynge   **23 y stampid**] *in left-hand margin:* pocio   **26 venym**] *obliteration of letter i:*
veniym   **30 <⋏ and leẏ>**] *in left-hand margin*   **31 juce¹**] *in left-hand margin:* a strictorye

f. 59r

ley hit alle a boute / Or elle se þou myghte worke in þis case   1
on þis maner · þou shalt take sum frynde of þe pacyent · and lat
hym soke strongly þe same wond and alle way spete hit
oute / but be ryghte ware þat he swolowe not hit · be no
mene · þer of · þat he sokythe / But fyrst loke · þat his stomake ·   5
be replet with wyne rwe and garlyk nuttes and fyges · and þat he wa //
she alle way his mouthe with wyne and oyle / And yf þou maẏ
not spede by þis way · ne by noon oþer a forne sayde ·
þen yf hit be a smalle membre · kut hym of · for hit b<e>tter
to lese oon membre · þen to lyse his lyf / Dieta /   10
þe dyet of þis doctrine þou shalt fynd in þe nexte doctryne
of bytynge / Quinta doctrina · hit is tretid of þe
bytynge of a scorpion · and of oþer smalle beestes · where þat

þou shalt vnder stond · þat he is ryght*e* vene*m*mys / *and* his pu*n*c //
tur*e* is so sotyll*e* þ*at* hit may vnneth*e* be seen / Signa /   15
þe sygn*es* of þe pu*n*ctur*e* · of þe scorpyon byn þese / þe lypp*es*
of þe pu*n*ctur*e* wexen harde as þe sole of þe fete · þer
is no grete swellyng*e* · ne rednys · hit a kyth*e* sodenly /
And oþ*er* while hit goyth*e* a way / Whan þe akyng*e* lastith*e*
long*e* · þe pacyent shall*e* swete · *and* oþ*er* whilis · his extre //   20
meteys bygyn to quake / Cura / þe cur*e* in þis cause ·
as Galyon seyth*e* · is þis · þou shalt take garlyk or Asafetida
or t*ri*acle w*ith* wyne *and* make a playst*re* *and* leẏ hit to þe sor*e* · for
hit drauyth*e* oute þe venym · *and* put hit awaẏ · *and* comfor //
tyth*e* kynd · *and* dystroyth*e* þe q*ua*lyte of þe venym / Anoþ*er*   25
good medcẏn · is þe triacle þ*at* Galien makyth*e* · as þus /
Take Aristologe *dragme* iiij · pip*er*is *dragme* iij· sei*n*s Apij *dragme* j *and semis* · piretr*um*
dragme iiij · make her*e* of pellet*es* w*ith* hony · to þe q*ua*ntite of benys ·
and yf hym ij pellet*es* w*ith* *dragme* iij · of strong*e* wyne / Anoþ*er* · yf
hym *dragme* j · *and semis* of pure olibanu*m* / Or else take grene warmo //   30
de *and* grynde hit *and* incorp*or*e hit w*ith* butt*ur* *and* hony · *and* þe juce
of smalach*e* · yf hẏm *dragme* iij · *and* anon hit stau*n*chith*e* / Or let

9 b<e>tt*er*] *obliteration of letter y* (bytt*er*)   **12 þe]** *in right-hand margin:* q*ui*nta doct*ri*na
15 Signa /] *in right-hand margin:* sig*na*   **17 as]** *followed by obliteration:* þþ   **21 cause ·]** *in
right-hand margin:* cura   **24 venym]** *obliteration of letter i:* ven̦ym

f. 59v

þe pacyent be full*e* filled w*ith* fyg*es* nutt*es* garlyk *and* rwe *and* ge //   1
ue hym w*ith* good wyne / And hit nedyth*e* no noþ*er* medcyne ·
This medcyn*e* ∧ <by fore> is all*e* so for þe bytyng*e* of an Adder*e* *and* oþ*er* ve //
nym best*es* / But here þ*ou* shalt vnderstonde · þ*at* what
medcyn*e* eu*er* þou gyve · for a bytyng*e* of a scorpyou*n* · or of a   5
serpent / hit shall*e* be gevyn*e* w*ith* good wyne / yf þe pacy //
ent · be strong*e* of v*er*tu · / Or else yeve hit w*ith* wat*er* of þe
decoccion of Annys/ But her*e* þou shalt haue a lyght*e*
medcyn*e* *and* an exp*er*t / A noynt þe same place w*ith* oyle ·
in þe which*e* is soden*e* a scorpyou*n* *and* a noon*e* hit cesyth*e* /   10
The same doyth*e* w*ith* a noyntyng*e* of t*er*bentyne / or else þe
juce · of þe kernell*es* · of þe pome citryn*e* · i · pome oreng*e* ·
y made w*ith* hony *and* vyneg*re* · *and* þou shalt ∧ <∧ all*e* so> seth*e* *ounce* j · of þese se //

des in to pou*n*de of wat*er* · tyll*e* þe v*er*tu of þem be oute *and*
w*ith* þis wat*er* wash*e* þe wonde /   Ther ys also a noþ*er*   15
man*er* of beest*e* / *and* þ*er* be of þem both*e* male *and* female · þe
male · whan he styngyth*e* · he makyth*e* but only ij · holis /
but þe female makyth*e* many / *and* þ*at* wond castyth*e* an oyle
lyke blody quytt*ur* · þe which*e* · þ*er*e as hit goith*e* / hit makith*e*
þe body to roten*e* / Signa / þese be þe sygn*es* · first*e* þe   20
akyng*e* þ*at* is in þe same place · *and* aft*er* hit is sparkelyd ·
and rynt in to all*e* þe body · / Cura / þe cur*e* in þis case · is
for to drynk t*ri*acle *and* oþ*er* of þe same kynde · as hit is seyde
by for*e* · in þe styngyng*e* of þe Eddr*es* / But her*e* þ*ou* shalt
note a gen*er*all*e* rule · þ*at* yf þe pacyent be so yong*e* · þ*at* he   25
passe not þe Age of x yer*e* / Or else þ*at* he be in /\ <a> passand
age / hit is ryght*e* harde to hem for to a scape þe deth*e* ·
but þ*at* not ayen stondyng*e* · lat hym vse þe q*ua*ntite of þe iiij ·
part · of þe lyghtyst*e* · of þese s*y*mple medcyn*es* · aforne
sayde / *and* also for to be syker · þe most*e* soughtest co*m*poned ·   30
as t*ri*acle *and* oþ*er* suyche /   Medicine simplices *and* gen*er*alis ·
o*mn*ib3 co*mun*is morsur*e* / Symple medcynys *and* gen*er*all*e* to all*e*

3 This] *in left-hand margin:* no*t*a ·   **4 nym]** *preceded by cancellation:* ~~my~~   **13 </\ alle so>]** *in left-hand margin*

f. 60r

comen · bytyng*e* or of venym / wher*e* þ*at* hit be yoven by   1
þe mouth*e* / or else fall*e* by accydent / þ*ou* shalt take þe ker //
nell*es* of pome cytryne *and* sta*m*pe he*m* · *dragme* j *and semis* / But Auecen
seyth*e* · þ*at* þ*ou* shalt yeue *ounce* iij · or *dragme* iij · w*ith* hote wyne or wat*er* /
or else *dragme* j · of spyknard · or garlyk · *dragme* j · *and semis* · / Or else poud*re*   5
of þe rynd*es* of mandrak · *dragme* ij · w*ith* *ounce* j · of hony / or poudere
of kanell*e* · *dragme* ij · or *dragme* iij · w*ith* cold wat*er* / or þe sede of rwe ·
whiþ*er* hit be one or oþ*er* · *dragme* iij · *and semis* w*ith* wyne / The rote of t*ur* //
mentill*e* in poudr*e* · *and* geve hit hym in his mete / or in
his drynk · as mych*e* as a man wyll*e* / hit helyth*e* all*e* man*er*   10
of bytyng*e* or styngyng*e* / And hit is good also for*e* venym*e* /
Medicine composite · *and* gen*er*alis o*mn*ib3 causis p*er* dict*es* / þose
ar*e* medcyn*es* co*m*ponyd · *and* þey be gen*er*all*e* to all*e* man*er* of ve //
nym / whiþ*er* hit be yoven by mouth*e* or else · fall*e* by accid //

[107]

ens · as þo oþ*er* symple a for sayde / Of þe which*e* þe first ·   15
and þe p*r*incipall*e* is þe grete t*ri*acle · Averoyes seyth*e* in his
bokys of tryacle · þ*at* hit sholde be youen*e* w*ith* wyne a lytell*e*
lymphate · i · y warmed · of þe which*e* t*ri*acle · þe reseyte
is in þe Antidore of Nycholas / Or þe t*ri*acle þ*at* Galyen
makyth*e* · which*e* y made of iiij · spic*es* *and* is rehersid in þe   20
same doct*ri*ne aforn*e* / yf hit be vsyd fro *dragme* j · vnto *dragme* ij · And
eu*ery* of þese iiij spic*es* · is t*ri*acle by hit self · yf ye take but
one allon · w*ith* his doble of hony dyspumate /   Olde men
vsyd to yeue · þis t*ri*acle first a forn*e* all*e* oþ*er* · for all*e* man*er* of
venym / Anoþ*er* / take t*ri*acle *and* asafetida · þe which*e* is   25
most ap*ro*pred *and* most p*ro*fitable to cold venym*es* / þe ∧ <∧ which*e*> shuld
be vsed in hote Regyon*es* · fro *dragme* j · vnto *dragme* ij · / *and* in colde regyon*es*
fro *dragme* j · in to *dragme* iiij as þus / *Recipe* mirr*e* folio*rum* rwte sicci costi
mentrasti sicci pip*er*e nig*ri* p∧<i>ret*ri* an*a* ounce j · asefetide *ounce* j *and semis* ·
dissolue asa fetida in wyne *and* make poud*re* of all*e* þe oþ*er* /   30
and þen encorp*ore* þem w*ith* hony soden *and* well*e* dispumate/
Medicina simplex / her*e* is a symple medcyn*e* for getyn*e*

26 <∧ which*e*>] *in right-hand margin*

a mong*e* oþ*er* symple medcyn*es* / *and* is a grete sedatyf of a //   1
kynge a mo*n*g many · *Recipe* · a culu*er* peione *and* slytt hy*m* all*e* q*ui*k *and*
by clypp*e* þe wonde þ*er* in / *and* when hit ys colde · þen take
hit away / *and* take a noþ*er* · And yf þ*ou* haue no culu*er* bird*es* ·
take chykon*es* · *and* dyght*e* þem in þe man*er* / And yf þ*ou* haue chy //   5
kon*es* / take vyneg*re* *and* warme hit *and* put hit in to wonde lewke
warme /   Medicina co*m*posita et exp*er*ta / her*e* is an
expert medcyne y co*m*ponyd · *and* he is a grete a bat*er* *and* vn //
byndyth*e* *and* lessith*e* sorowe *and* akyng*e* · *and* drauyth*e* oute þe
venym · in eu*ery* man*er* of bytyng*e* *and* styngyng*e* / *Recipe* · serapine   10
castorie ase fetide sulphur*es* stercor*es* colu*m*bine me*n*trast*um*
calame*n*t*um* an*a* · te*mp*er*e hit w*ith* oolde oyle actuall*e* hote encorp*ore*
þem well*e* to gedir*e* *and* vse hit / Anoþ*er* / *Recipe* · Galbanu*m* sera //
pini mirr*e* ase fetide oppopanac*es* pip*er*is sulphur*es* an*a* te*mp*er*e
þem to ged*er* *and* encorp*ore* hem w*ith* wyne *and* vse hit forth*e* /   15

Than the conclusyon of thys p*ur*pos · for to Rehers
shortly · þe entente of þis p*roc*esse by goode order*e* · þe
intencion shall*e* openly be tochid þese · ix · rulis folow //
yng*e* / Prima Regula · / of þe which*e* · þis is þe first ·   20
þ*at* þ*ou* shalt · yf hit nedyth*e* · opene þe wonde w*ith* a
flyme /   Secunda regula / þ*at* þ*ou* shalt be a boute / aft*er*
þe wonde is opyn*e* · to drawe oute · þe venym*es* mater ·
w*ith* a strong*e* ventuos · or else w*ith* a man*er* of sokyng*e* of
man · or of wat*er* lech*e* · or w*ith* a cok*es* fu*n*dame*n*t · o*þ*er such*e* ·   25
Tercia regula / when þe wond is þis sokyn · yf hyt
nedyth*e* · þ*ou* shalt cant*er*yon hir*e* · w*ith* an hote yron*e* to þe bottu*m* /
Quarta regula / whan þ*ou* hast þus ca*n*teryed þe wond ·
þ*ou* shalt ley þ*er* to þyne emplast*eres* · þ*at* ben actractatif / *Qui*nta
regula · yf þese actractativis wyll*e* not a vayle · but þe   30
mat*er* is alwey encresyng*e* / þan þ*ou* shalt bynde straytely
þe membr*e* · ij ynches a boue þe venym · þ*at* hit passe not

21 shalt] *followed by cancellation:* ~~openly~~

no hygher · *and* ley a st*ri*ctorye a bouen / Sexta regula /   1
yf þis byndyng*e* is so myghty · þ*at* hit may not co*n*streyne ·
þe venym*es* fume of þis cause · but þ*at* hit passyth*e* · to þe
spirytuall*e* membrys / þan þe pacient*es* body shall*e* be p*ur* //
gyd / or made to be laxatife · w*ith* clystr*es* or suppotorijs /   5
Septima regula / whan þe pacient is þus p*ur*ged · þ*ou* sh //
alt stanch*e* Akyng*e* · yf þ*er* be any w*ith* sedatyff*es* medcyn*es* · þ*at*
a batyth*e* akyng*e* / Octaua regula / þ*at* whan þe achyng*e* is
cesid · *and* þe wond castith*e* kyndly quytt*ur* · þ*ou* shalt hit · in þe
man*er* as hit is seyde a forne in þe same chapit*ur* / Nona   10
regula / yf all*e* þe craft*e* · ne medcyn*es* · woll*e* not a vayle ·
þen þe Auctor*es* a corden *and* seyne · þ*at* yf þe wond · be in a //
lytell*e* me*m*br*e* · hit shuld be cut of · at þe next joynt a
boven þe corrupc*i*on / as þus · þe fyng*er* to þe hande · þe
hand to þe elbou · þe arme to þe body *and* so forth*e* of o*þ*er me*m* //   15
brys / but by my cou*n*seyll*e* · þ*ou* shalt not do þys · ffor manẏ
dyu*er*se accident*es* · þ*at* myght*e* be fall*e* / Take hede of þe dyet
of þese doctour*es* by þem self a for*e* sayde

6. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The treatise under consideration might have been used by a physician who practised during the late Middle Ages. Although in general the remedies are relatively simple and some may be considered to be not very scientific (for instance, the one which advises to "take su*m* frynde of þe pacyent · *and* lat | hym soke strongly þe same wond *and* all*e* way spete hit | oute" ('take some friend of the patient and let him suck strongly the same wound and then spit it out') in folio 59r, some sort of medical instruction must have been required to carry out the surgical procedures mentioned such as cauterising the wound in order to extract the poison or amputating the infected limb. Both the lack of decoration and the presence of marginalia suggest a practical function of the text.

The treatise bears witness to the close connection between medicine and religion in the Middle Ages, as exemplified by fragments which highlight the reliance on God's aid or grace to heal the patient: "but by þe g*ra*ce | of god · he shall*e* be delyu*er*yd *and* be hole of his syknesse" ('but by the grace of God he shall be delivered and be healed of his sickness'); "but þan þ*ou* shalt put hit in god*es* hond · *and* assay þese | medcynes" ('but then you shall put it in God's hand and try out these medicines') in folio 56r.

The *CoB* proves to be a valuable treatise to better understand the diffusion of scientific knowledge in the Middle Ages. There is still much work left to do, including more detailed research on provenance, textual transmission so as to find other copies or witnesses containing it, as well as dialectal assessment.

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A MIDDLE ENGLISH VERSE VERSION OF THE *REVELATIO ESDRAE*

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The present article is an edition of the short Middle English poem on prognostics for the year contained in London, British Library, Sloane MS 1315, ff. 65r–67v (henceforward *S*). Divination is a most alluring subject, and hence it has attracted a sizeable number of academics working on medieval England and the bibliography on the topic is comparatively large—that is, for a bunch of utilitarian and universally discredited texts. The corpus of pre-conquest English is fairly small, so it is hardly a cause of wonder that Anglo-Saxon prognostication texts, both in Latin and Old English, have been thoroughly covered (see Chardonnens 2007 and especially Liuzza 2011; for a comprehensive survey of manuscripts and studies on them, see Liuzza 2001). On the other hand, the picture of the production composed in Middle English on the subject of forecasting is still a bit patchy and several works remain unedited. Old-fashioned—and sometimes downright lazy—cataloguing, the bane of the Middle English scholar working with smaller pieces of *Fachliteratur*, is felt keenly here: different consecutive tracts are frequently described *en bloc* under a single heading (see the apt remarks of Means 1992: 368–369 and Mooney 1998: 124), to the disastrous if inevitable conclusion that sometimes editors simply cannot say for sure whether all the copies of a given treatise have been properly tracked. There is, in short, much to do in this particular area of research. As he did with other types of Middle English technical literature, Rossell Hope Robbins was among the first to try to approach the matter in a scholarly manner (see in particular Robbins 1939 on 15th-century almanacks); the current state of the question is described in Hunt 2013 and, although he deals with Old English texts, Prof. Liuzza's usual bibliographic thoroughness includes in his works many references that can also be profitably applied to Middle English texts.

Medieval prognostication methods come in many flavours, including oneiromancy (study of dreams; see for instance Bühler 1973), geo- and cleromancy (divination through the casting and distribution on the ground of items such as small stones, sticks or dice, as in Braekman 1981) or brontology (omens based on thunders, such as those in Juste and Chiu 2013). Astronomical lore provided the creation of lunaries (i.e. tables describing the σεληνοδρόμιον, or position on the moon at a given moment of the year, and its influx on humans) and is also the origin of zodiology (that is, the methodical study of the moon's supposed ascendancy during its visit to each zodiacal house); Taavitsainen 1988 and Means 1993 are the classic works regarding this particular area of prognostics in relation to Middle English.

Tracts that claimed to ascertain the future on the basis of the day of the week on which a certain date fell, or *calandology* works, were also a very popular type of prognostic texts. Most of the times the day of reference was fixed in the calendar (usually, New Year's Day, but other dates were used for the purpose as well, for example 25 January, i.e. the Feast of the Conversion of St Paul the Apostle; see Kocanová 2021: 657), but there were also nativities, i.e. horoscope-like pieces based on birthdays, as well as lists of critical days, usually called "perilous" or "Egyptian" (Means 1992: 403) and which probably had their origin in the *dies nefasti* of the Romans.

Among medieval prognostic texts based on calandology, perhaps the most popular was the so-called *Revelatio* (or else *Supputatio*) *Esdrae* (i.e., the Prophecies of Esdras, henceforward *RE*), which claimed to describe the development of a whole year according to the day on which New Year's Day fell. Matter 1982: 378 provides a handy description of the regular contents of this text:

> In general, the text begins with an incipit describing what follows as a revelation to Esdras, Prophet or High-Priest of the Jews […]. Then, the climatic, social, and political highlights of the year are summarized, in the order of the days of the week, beginning with Sunday. An overview of the weather for the four seasons often begins the list, which can also contain predictions as to the scarcity or plenty of crops, honey, wine, livestock, and prophecies about such human concerns as plagues, robberies, deaths of young and old people, ease or difficulty of childbirth, fires, shipwrecks, and changes of rulers.

The oldest known Latin version of this text, which suffered many alterations over the centuries, was edited in Fiensy 1983, superseding Mercati 1901: 74–79 (and, earlier still, Migne 1844–1855: 90 (1850).1951, who dubiously ascribed it to Bede under the heading *Pronostica temporum*). Although this is of course neither here nor there for our present purposes,

Fiensy thinks that the text predates the ninth century and was originally composed in either Western Europe (apparently meaning the Iberian Peninsula) or else North Africa.[1] E. Ann Matter pushes back the composition date to much earlier times: she traced references to this sort of texts in works composed in Greek as early as the 600s, and suggested either Byzantine or Coptic origins that were then heavily reworked in Latin (Matter 1982: 376). Liuzza 2011: 44, fn. 165 provides two arguments that seem to support Fiensy's hypothesis: the usage of the ecclesiastical ferial system of numbering days and the regular reference to Sundays as *dies Dominici*. Cesario 2007: 186 also accepts a ninth-century Latin origin for *RE* and suggests moreover that the direct source of the tradition may be found in Fleury Abbey. This would certainly explain the popularity of this text in Anglo-Saxon England, for the links of the French monastery with similar establishments across the Channel, Ramsey in particular, are well attested (and made abundantly clear in works like Davril 1995).

A testament to its enduring popularity in medieval Europe, manuscript copies of *RE* can be found all over European libraries. Matter 1982: 387–390 offers 41 Latin MSS in her valuable work, and that cannot be but a preliminary list. Unsurprisingly, the original Latin text was soon translated into several vernaculars, including Medieval Italian, Middle High German, Old Dutch and Medieval Czech, and it became particularly popular in France, where the text was rendered into Old French, Provençal and Anglo-Norman (for details, see Matter 1982: 380–381, which provides library shelfmarks, but the information there must be supplemented with a number of new items provided in Féry-Hué 2004 and Cesario 2007).

RE fared extremely well on English soil. We know of versions in verse and in prose, copied in Old-, Middle- and Early Modern English—when it was better known under the distorted designation *Erra Pater*. As a matter of fact, the prophesy was still being included as a part of North American almanacks printed during the very late eighteenth century, well after the War of Independence: the last version recorded in Matter 1982: 385 dates from a year as comparatively recent as 1798 (a more modern and comprehensive list of English copies containing *RE*, but as a whole only covering the Anglo-Saxon and pre-Reformation periods in any real detail, is Cesario 2007: 197–203; Liuzza 2011 deals solely with Old English texts).

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1   A Spanish origin for this text had already been suggested in Pérez de Urbel 1925: 196—yet on a misguided basis as demonstrated in Matter 1982: 382, fn. 2.

An important feature of a few French and, especially, of many English versions of *RE* since at least the tenth century is that the date used to draw the prognostics for the whole year was Christmas Day.[2] This was in fact only to be expected since, as explained above, this kind of prognostic treatises revolved around the first day of the year, yet Medieval scholars had long disagreed as to the date that should be given such preeminence. Candidates to become the first day of the year included not just fixed dates such as 1 January (the Feast of the Circumcision of Christ, coinciding with the pagan *kalendae januariae*), but also 25 December, 25 March (i.e., Lady Day), 1 September (that originally marked the beginning of each of the 15-year *indictio* cycles in the late Roman Empire and was then used as the first day of the liturgical and administrative year in documents issued from the Papal Chancery) but the moveable feasts of Advent Sunday (27 November–3 December) and Easter Sunday (22 March–25 April) as well. See the very detailed discussion in Cesario 2007: 117–123.[3] It is to the branch of the textual tradition of *RE* that uses Christmas day as the pivotal date for the casting of the year-long prognostics that version *S* of the poem belongs.

S does not stand in textual isolation but is part of a larger family; we have identified the following ten members of this textual tradition so far:

A: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ashmole MS 189 Pt 4, f. 210r–v
C: Oxford, Christ Church, Archives MS xxix.b.13, ff. 2r–3r
D: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby MS 88, ff. 75r–76v
H₁: London, British Library, Harley MS 1735, ff. 13v–16v

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2   The oldest known English manuscripts of this variant are London, British Library, Sloane MS 475, f. 217r–v, a copy of the Latin text in an Anglo-Saxon hand, and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton MS 115, ff. 149r–149v, a translation of a similar text into Old English (Liuzza 2001: 184).

3   See further Liuzza 2011: 45, fn. 170. A discussion to decide the first day of the year may strike us as very odd, yet one should recall that the new year began in March in the Romulan calendar that was used in pre-Republican Rome. The modification of the calendar had happened already under King Numa, according to Plutarch (*Parallel Lives*, Νομᾶς 18.3: "March, which had been the first, [Numa] made the third month and placed January, which was the eleventh under Romulus, as the first one" (τὸν γὰρ Μάρτιον πρῶτον ὄντα τρίτον ἔταξε, πρῶτον δὲ τὸν Ἰανουάριον, ὃς ἦν ἑνδέκατος ἐπὶ Ῥωμύλου; our translation); this is confirmed by Livy, i.19), but March still meant the beginning of the political and administrative year as late as the period of the Punic Wars (Ovid, *Fasti*, iii.147–148: *hinc etiam veteres initi memorantur honores / Ad spatium belli, perfide Poene, tui*). The very names of the months September through December serve as another testimony of the original position of March at the head of the oldest Roman year.

H₂: London, British Library, Harley MS 2252, ff. 154r–v

J: Oxford, Bodleian Library, James MS 43, f. 1r–v

M: San Marino (CA), Huntington Library, HM 64, ff. 94ra–95rb

R: London, British Library, Royal MS 12.E.16, f. 3r

S: London, British Library, Sloane MS 1315, ff. 65r–67v

W: London, Wellcome Library, MS 411, ff. 1r–2r

Not all manuscripts of the family as they stand today offer a complete rendering of the poem: *A* and *W* are acephalous (Ashmole has lost the whole sections Sunday–Wednesday and Wellcome begins in the middle of the chapter Monday), while *C* is defective since its first folio sustained very heavy damage (due to rodent action, or so it seems), and that has affected long sections of text from the end of Monday to the beginning of Friday, to the result that some lines are incomplete and others totally destroyed. There are, moreover, substantive changes in the wording and sentence arrangement, and even the actual presence of some sections in the archetype is far from being textually granted: *H₂* dispensed with the Prologue and the Epilogue altogether (lines 1–15 and 111–125 of this edition, respectively), while the latter block of text is also missing in *A*, *M* and *R*.

Only *A*, *D* and *H₂* were included in Cesario's list of English manuscripts from the "Christmas branch" of *RE* that were copied after the year 1000 (2007: 203). Conversely, a number of references in that census are not related genealogically to the texts presented above. There are two extra versions of the prophecies included in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby MS 88 (on ff. 25r–26r and f. 77r, respectively) but they belong to different textual families,[4] and the same happens to Cambridge, St John's College, MS K.49 (269), f. 59r–v. Of the two references under London, British Library, Harley MS 2252, the one on f. 153v—which looks like an atelous text—does not belong here either: only the text immediately following this on f. 154r–v does. We have also noted a couple of cataloguing errors in Prof. Cesario's work: Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 873, ff. 194v–196v, which is described in her list as a Middle

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4   In opposition to the two versions included in Harley 2252, which were presented as a single item, Prof. Cesario listed the two versions from Digby 88 separately. The reference to the collection must have gone missing from her working notes in the case of the text on f. 77r, and that surely lead her to assume that this version appeared in another book that was part of the Bodley collection.

English text, was actually written in Latin, while Cambridge, St John's College, MS E.32 (135), ff. 1r–2r does not belong to the Christmas branch of the prophecy, but to the New Year one.[5] In the same vein, the prognostication texts included in the so-called *Red Book of Bath* (Longleat, Marquess of Bath, MS 55, f. 11r) and in Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R.3.20, pp. 257–261, neither of which were included by Cesario but were recorded in *MWME* as being part of this textual family (Keiser 1998: 3781), are superficially similar yet do not belong to this textual tradition either.[6]

For such a small Middle English poem (its longest known version runs for under two hundred lines), *RE* has been very popular among scholars and many versions of it have been printed over time: according to the information provided in *MWME* (Keiser 1998: ibid.), there are editions of *D* (Robbins 1955: 63–67), H_1 (Mooney 1981: 300–316), H_2 (Wright 1841: 20–23; this served as the source for a selection of lines quoted in Hellmann 1893–1904: v.57) and *J* (several times during the 19th century: Denham 1846: 70–72, Brand 1849: i.478, Wright 1841: 20–23 and Swainson 1873: 163–165). On the other hand, *S* remains unedited—or, rather, most of it does: to be absolutely fair, lines 1–7 and 118–121 of this version are transcribed in Robbins 1939: 330. A critical edition of the whole tradition, based on modern principles, is also missing; we intend to fill that gap as soon as possible. As a matter of fact, the present article, which deals with *S* only, should be regarded as an initial contribution to that task.

S was copied on a paper volume measuring 220×145mm and containing 152 folios (plus five unfoliated flyleaves, two at the beginning and three at the end). It is clear that the physical book as it now stands has been altered dramatically. The volume has lost its original covers and is bound in the usual maroon bookcloth of the Sloane collection: the sole remains of the old binding are three scraps of paper pasted onto a modern paper page and which seemingly are the sad remnants of the original flyleaves. All in all, the state of

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5   It seems that Prof. Cesario did not check E.32 herself but drew the information from Matter 1982: 391, where the same mistake is found. Note that the version of *RE* in this manuscript had been edited in Robbins 1939: 324–328, including substantive variants from London, British Library, Harley MS 2252, ff. 141r–142r (a manuscript that is curiously absent from Matter's list, even though she was of course well aware of Robbins' article).

6   We are most grateful to Prof. Erik S. Kooper (Universiteit Utrecht) for kindly sending us a digitized image of the appropriate folio of the Red Book of Bath and providing his own transcription of the text at a time when the Archives department of Longleat House was closed due to COVID-19 restrictions.

the manuscript immediately before rebinding must have been already pretty poor since all folios had to be mounted on paper; collation and quiring are therefore impossible now.

Ascertaining the period when the manuscript arrived to its present pitiful condition is not an easy task. There is a half-erased inscription at the top of f .1r that seems to read ‹aᵒ: dᵒ: 14[65]›. The specimen is too short to be safely datable, but the modern forms of **4** and **5** speak for an early Tudor hand (Bischoff 1990: 177). One could perhaps argue that the note was meant to record the composition date that an early reader assumed for the volume. If this was truly so, the inscription would probably have been written on one of the opening flyleaves, had there been one at the time. But this is just mere speculation: the scribe might have had good reasons of his own to write the date there, or else the date might refer to the presumed composition year of the treatise that begins on that page, not of the whole book. A better hypothesis can be built if the scraps that once were the original flyleaves are included into the equation. The third fragment displays several lines in a Secretary hand datable in the 1560s–80s, and this is surely serves as a post hoc date.

Sloane 1315 is not just battered, but imperfect to boot. Most conspicuously, f. 122 was severely trimmed and only the bottom third remains, and a detailed analysis reveals that another folio has gone missing. The same person who wrote an index to the manuscript on ff. 23r–24v also paginated ff. 68–152 but there is a gap between the folios now marked 105 and 106: the pagination jumps from ‹76› (corresponding to f. 105v) to ‹79› (i.e., f. 106r). For the indexing of the book the scribe employed a Secretary hand that can be dated in the 1590s–1600s, so obviously the folio must have been lost after that time. On the other hand, f. 122 was already mutilated by the time the Elizabethan scribe paginated the book, since the corresponding numbers (‹109› and ‹110›) were added at the bottom of the page instead of writing the numbers at the top as was his custom. The clipped sheet, by the way, was misplaced when the book was rebound: it should precede, rather than follow, f. 121. This was duly noted by the Elizabethan paginator, hence f. 121 bears the numbers ‹111› (recto) and ‹112› (verso).

Based on strictly textual grounds, another single sheet might have disappeared between ff. 81 and 82, since the entries *Licoricia*, *Lappa anuersa*, *Lunaria* and *Lingua agni maior* are gone from the version of *Agnus Castus* contained in Sloane 1315 (Brodin 1950: 176). This would not have been noted by the Elizabethan paginator, who seamlessly passed from ‹28› to ‹29›, and therefore

the fragment would have been lost before he paginated the folios. On the other hand, the lacuna could be due to a faulty exemplar, and hence no loss of pages needs to be posited in this particular case. Since both the last entry on f. 81v, *Lawriola*, and the first one on f. 82r, *Milfolium*, are complete, all in all the latter possibility seems much likelier.

Several hands can be spotted in the manuscript; those used to compose the main contents in the book can be dated in the fifteenth century, while a number of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century hands can be found in the margins and in blank pages. *S* was copied in a facile yet proficient Secretary script that can be dated ca. 1460–1480. The same hand was used from f. 29r to f. 81v and we suspect that the same scribe was responsible also for the texts copied from that point up to f. 149r; but for that stint he employed a more cursive hand (letterforms slant noticeably from that folio onwards, and their sizes become more variable) and a broader nib (for the strokes are clearly thicker).[7] Although of course this would want further work, both the writing quirks listed in the next paragraphs and the dialect used after f. 81v appear to be the same as the ones used in *S*.

Although he selected a Secretary script to complete the writing job, it is immediately clear to the eye that the scribe of *S* must have held the quill as if he were writing in an Anglicana hand. Influence from that script can be seen not just in the writing angle and the general "flowing" of the pen on the writing surface, but also in the patent scribal preference to draw rounder, less angular shapes for letterforms displaying compartments. Rather than providing a full palaeographic description of the hand, a census of the letterforms that the

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7   The only noted exception to this is f. 112v. This particular folio is some sort of insert, or else a recycled sheet: f. 112r, written in the same hand as the pages immediately before and after it, contains a number of recipes in English dealing with hair (how to lose it, how to grow it, and how to make it "lyke gowlde"—that is, to dye it blond) as part of a receptarium roughly arranged in the usual *capitem ad pedem* structure. Suddenly, on the verso of the page a heavily abbreviated Latin text appears where several veins are described in an Anglicana hand and using a completely different page layout (instead of arranging the text in a single column, as was the rule up to that point, the text is placed into three columns, the central one being blank). The hand used in this folio is also noticeably older, as it can be dated in the first half of the 15th century. Then on f. 113r the list of remedies is resumed, beginning with a very gross method to get someone to love you (it includes the suffocation of several chicks of swallow), followed by a system explaining how to plead successfully (whether in love or in court, the text never says), how to stop the swelling of the extremities, and an evergreen medieval beauty recipe: how to get rid of freckles.

scribe used in the composition of *S* is given below, followed by a distributional analysis of the graphic variants.[8]
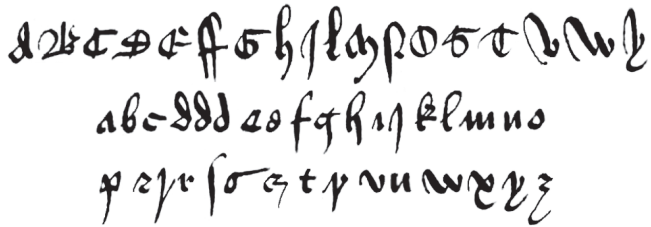
Figure I. Census of letterforms in S

The choice between looped and straight-shaft **d** is driven by the scribe's conscious desire to avoid a clash of opposing arcs at the top of the shafts, and this explains the apparition of the latter graph in ‹chylde› 27, 63, 76, 104, ‹chyldren, chyldryn› 91, 93, 106, 113, ‹olde› 103, ‹thursday› 68, ‹wansday› 56 or ‹worlde› 120; oppositely, the looped variants are the rule in initial position and cases like ‹recorde› 13 or ‹Ende› 88.[9] The system was thoroughly followed, the only perceived exceptions being the straight-shaft variant in ‹lude› 32, ‹and› 41 and ‹harde› 86. Chapter headings also display the straight-shaft shape of **d**. As a consequence, there is an opposition between straight and looped variants within the same word in cases like ‹Sonday› 16, ‹Monday› 29 and ‹Friday› 84, all of them used as headings, vs. ‹sonday› 17, ‹monday› 30 and ‹fryday› 85, which are found in the body of text and hence display a looped shape. The sole exception to this rule is ‹Thewysday› 42, apparently a scribal oversight that is yet repeated in the following line of the poem, even though the straight-shaft variant was expected there too, since naturally the preceding long **s** has an arc. As for the two forms of looped **d**, the angular Secretary shape is unexceptionally used in initial position while the round-bowl Anglicana is preferred otherwise, as seen from a case like ‹dede› 65; but many counterexamples occur where the Secretary variant is in non-initial position too (for example ‹lordelyng*is*› 17 or ‹wedyrs› 70).

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8 We have made a cursive palaeographic analysis of a selection of fragments from 29r–81v and, other than the presence of **Q** and **q**, which are never used in *S*, all remarks given here apply.

9 An arc before **d** not only means a preceding looped letter, such as **b**, **k** or **l**, but also the final stroke of **s** longa—and, one would assume, also **f**—as well as the connecting swashes of some abbreviations, as seen in ‹Sat*er*day› 98.

In opposition to the predictability of the different graphs representing **d**, the distribution of reversed **e** in the text does not seem to follow any obvious rule: the shape can be found in all positions and it is by far the most frequent variant used by the scribe. The selection of the different shapes of **r** is similarly not driven by Meyer's rule, as demonstrated by instances of **r** rotunda in ‹hyre› 1, ‹from› 7 or ‹maruelus› 9 next to its expected usage after an arc, as in ‹lordelyng*is*› 17, ‹dry› 22 or ‹yere› 57. Note a case like ‹recorde› 13, where not just the second, but also the first instance of the letter is 2-shaped variant; in fact, instances of **r** rotunda appear regularly in all positions, just like reversed **e**. Oppositely, forked **r** is comparatively rare: it is regularly used only after **t**, sometimes in the nearness of **o** (‹strong› 71, ‹more› 111) and sparsely in the case of **g** (‹grete› with **r** longa on line 60 next to the much more frequent right-shouldered variant in the same word, for example on line 22). As usual with English Gothic hands, **s** longa is never found at the end of a word but is the rule in initial and internal positions. In final position, however, the 8- and sigma-shaped variants of **s** alternate, the former being slightly more frequent in the text. Choice between **v** and **u** is also driven by their position within the word: while **v** can be found in any position, **u** is never used at the beginning of a word. **y** in final position is sometimes dotted even though, as seen from Figure I, it always remains distinct from **þ**.

Scribal decoration is, unsurprisingly for a utilitarian volume, quite sparse. In keeping with so many manuscripts from the period, the initial letter of each verse, which is a majuscule, was touched up with a vertical stroke in red ink; the **A** of ‹Amen› 125 was similarly daubed with the same colour. Red ink was also selected to write the names of the days, both in the headings and in the body of the poem, thus turning those into *lemmata*, and to draw the thin braces that, in keeping with a well-known medieval usage, join the verses of a couplet. The Lombardic **B** that opens the poem was also customarily written in red. Concerning the shape of the letters, the only noticeable feature is that the shafts of supralinear letters, as well as the upper compartment of **a** and the left arm of **y**, are sometimes greatly elongated when they are used in the first line of the folio.[10]

Other than that, the scribe added an oblique hairline slanting to the left at the end of the horizontal stroke of some final letters. This is found unexceptionally to the right of the crossbar of **t** and of the ligature stroke of **ll**, and also at the end of the tongues of **f** and of 8-shaped **s** (interestingly, sigma-

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10 These top lines correspond to verses 1, 23, 45, 67, 90 and 111 in the edition.

shaped **s** seldom displays such stroke; the rare instances when the hairline is visible include ‹londys› 24, ‹beys› 37 and ‹p*r*incis› 75). Rather than a slant hairline, the ear of final **g** was added a counter-clockwise flourish over its head (‹thyng› 25, ‹strong› 39), and the same arc can be found sometimes with **n** (‹boryn› 38, ‹hevyn› 123) and **u** (‹Jh*es*u› 13, ‹you› 15 and the superscript graph of ‹þo*u*› 41). In the case of the latter letters, as well as **m**, their right legs/arms can alternatively be extended below the baseline (having roughly the same length as that of **h**), as in ‹þem› 48, ‹i-boren› 63, or ‹you› 15.

Although the book opens with a poem on the duties of butlers, apparently a copy of John Russell's *Boke of Nurture* (ff. 2r–15v), it is obvious that Sloane 1315 must have been composed for the benefit of a physician. The first part of the book contains prognostic treatises, including calendars, lunaries, and a collection of brief divination tracts in prose and verse (ff. 17r–67v), while the second half is strictly medical in nature and it is formed by the copy of *Agnus Castus* mentioned in a previous paragraph (ff. 70r–88r) and a long collection of recipes (ff. 88v–149r in medieval hands, plus ff. 149r–152v in an Elizabethan script). Most of these recipes describe healing potions and ointments, but some of them are of a magical nature, including charms and several love filters.

We know virtually nothing about the history of this manuscript before it became part of Hans Sloane's collection, and unfortunately this is likely to remain so in the foreseeable future since there are no clear clues as to its probable whereabouts from the 1500s to the mid-1700s. Obviously, the volume must have had some owners before Sloane, and several inscriptions written on f. 1r which look like shelfmarks (some of them obviously written by the early staff of the British Museum) are an eloquent testament to this. Although this might have been lost together with the rest of the original flyleaves, the volume lacks the cabbalistic code that the young Sloane added to record the price and year of acquisition of his books (Nickson 1979) and this would suggest that this was not one of the Baronet's early acquisitions. It would not be surprising to learn that the volume had once formed part of William Courten's collection, which Sloane bought in 1702, yet this cannot be proved positively until Courten's catalogue is reconstructed.[11] All that remains of former owners are a number of post-medieval long inscriptions on the blank of some pages (16r, 23r–24v, 149r–152v) and a quantity of

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11 We have been unable to discover whether such study has ever been tackled; Kusukawa 2016, which we have not seen, seems to deal mainly with realia but it may shed some light on the matter.

marginalia (for example, a Tudor reader, probably a medical practitioner, sometimes inscribed the words ‹good› or ‹very good› on the margins of the copy of *Agnus Castus*, ff. 70r–88r, and ‹evill› in a list of bilingual medical recipes, ff. 98r–104v). There are several proper names inscribed on the first scrap of the original flyleaves, but we have been unable to find anything that could be really helpful in tracing the early history of this volume.

The dialect used by the scribe of *S* was studied by Prof. Irma Taavitsainen; using LALME's fit-technique, she suggested that the dialect could be placed somewhere in "E[ast] ort S[outh-]E[ast] Somerset near the Dorset border" (1988: 185). For her research she paid attention to the lunary only (ff. 49r–64v) and she did not discuss her fitting in any detail, but simply provided the suggested location. To ascertain whether the profiles of that treatise and *RE* (which follows immediately and is in the same hand) tally we tagged *S* electronically and completed a fresh linguistic analysis by applying the expanded questionnaire used in the electronic version of *A Linguistic Atlas of Late Middle English*.[12] The complete profile of *S* is attached as an Appendix. A caveat is yet in order: as mentioned above, this particular copy of *RE* was created in the final decades of the 1400s, a time when the standardization processes of the English language were spreading at a fast rate. One could argue, therefore, that application of the (*e*)LALME methodology is less than ideal here since many dialectal features had been probably ironed out; as a matter of fact, Angus McIntosh (1963: 5) suggested that the *Atlas* was not really suitable for texts composed after 1450–1460. Even so, there is persuasive evidence suggesting that a sizeable amount of local spellings was still alive in Middle English botanical literature composed during the 1460s–1490s (Moreno Olalla 2020: 141–142),[13] hence we thought that it was only logical to check whether the same happened to other types of contemporary *Fachliteratur*.

RE is a very brief piece (this version of the poem is just 125 lines long), so the list of available items is comparatively reduced. Out of the 113 items that compose the Linguistic Profile of *S* and which broadly place the text somewhere in SW England, we have selected the following six for a finer dialect fitting: 16 MUCH, 62 *PRES PL*, 162-10 HEAR (*inf.*), 183 LAND, 227 PEOPLE and 270 TRUE. Together with these, there is a group of interesting items that

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12 Henceforward *e*LALME, available at http://www.lel.ed.ac.uk/ihd/elalme/elalme.html.

13 Similar points are made in other contributions to the volume, particularly Carrillo-Linares and Williamson 2020.

unfortunately are used only once in the poem—and hence can make only so much in solidifying any fitting—but which seem to be dialectally congruent with the above: 17 ARE, 70 ABOUT and 147 FRUIT. The resulting map confirms Prof. Taavitsainen's conclusion that the scribe of *S* should be placed somewhere in the South Somerset-North Dorset area: the Linguistic Profile is actually pretty similar to, but not exactly the same as, LP 5190, a copy of a commonplace book, now Cambridge, Trinity College MS 1450 (O.9.38), written in a mid-fifteenth century hand and known to have been owned by a Benedictine monk from Glastonbury Abbey. The LALME team located the dialect of the Trinity book in the area between Langport and Yeovil. Divergences between both LPs include the confusion between /v/ and /w/ in *S* but not in Trinity, and different forms for 36 AGAINST (‹a-yenste› in *S* vs. ‹a-geyne› and ‹ayens› in Trinity) or 187 LESS (‹lesse› in *S* vs. ‹lasse› in Trinity). We could perhaps add 8 THEM to the list (‹þem› in *S* vs. *h*-forms in Trinity), although ‹them› is actually employed in the Cambridge volume as a secondary variant. These discrepancies may be used as evidence to push the composition place of *S* into a slightly more North-Eastern location, yet the evidence is too small to be really conclusive.

The following should be noted concerning the editorial criteria followed for the edition of *S*. Capitalization and punctuation are modern. As for word separation, split words have been joined with a dash according to contemporary practice (hence cases like ‹in-to› 7, ‹i-boren› 63), but the regularly spelt ‹schalbe› has been maintained as a single unit since it is opposed to ‹schall be› 20, 57, 59, etc. and splitting the cluster would have created a false variant **schal*. The selection between **i** and **j** follows modern criteria (other than in the abbreviation for the proper name Jesus, **j** is only used to write the first person singular personal pronoun and the past participle prefix), but the usage of **v** and **u** is preserved as in the original, bearing into account that we take the manuscript letterform appearing after the Lombardic initial of ‹But› 1 to be a small-capital **u**. As explained in one of the paragraphs devoted to manuscript decoration, the oblique hairlines found in final **t**, **f**, etc. are taken to be instances of modest decoration and hence ignored as otiose for transcription purposes. The same is true for the counter-clockwise flourishes at the end of final **g**, **n** and **u**.

The abbreviation mark ꝭ has been expanded into *–is* since that is by far the more frequent ending when the plural is written in full (see the Linguistic Profile in the Appendix for details; note that the same symbol is used once in ‹seken*is*› 82). In the same vein, usage frequency suggests that the abbreviation ᶜ must be expanded into ‹-re-›/‹-er-› rather than the (theoretically possible)

variant *‹-ry-›/‹-yr-›. This is supported by *plene* spellings such as ‹maters› 112 (never *matyrs*) or ‹vnderstonde› 120; the only perceived exceptions are ‹Satyrday› 97 (abbreviated and expanded into ‹Sater day› 98 for the sake of transcription homogeneity), ‹to-gedyr› 115 and ‹othyr› 119. Barred **p** has been expanded into ‹par› (‹parfay› 8, 20; ‹parellis› 46) since the scribe seems to have preferred to use ᶜ over that letter when he intended to abbreviate ‹-re-›/‹-er-›, as demonstrated by ‹prevyd› 3 or ‹preue› 20. Even so, the *plene* spelling ‹perfay› 107 should be well noted. On the other hand, the scribe employed the regular abbreviation ꝑ for ‹pro›, as in ‹i-prouyde› 117.

Two apparatuses have been added to the edition. The first one records the emendations made on the original manuscript readings, regardless of whether they are scribal or editorial. The second apparatus serves as an editorial commentary. In that apparatus we discuss nonsensical or obscure readings and, generally speaking, such variants in *S* as may throw light on the composition of this particular rendering of *RE*. For the purpose, the parallel passages of the other copies will be used liberally, yet intervention on the edited text using the variant readings from those copies has been kept to a minimum, even if that means that the passage reads slightly odd (see for instance the notes to **80 thefte go**, **88 þat ys** or **94 be lechure be**). For sake of being comprehensive, we sometimes record, yet do not analyze in any depth, any reading that— irrespective of its actual textual pedigree—is contextually correct in *S* but opposed to other substantive variant(s) in the family, as for example ‹beys› 37 in *S* that reads against ‹chyldre› in *A* and ‹bestys› in *D*. We feel that this sort of study makes better sense in a complete critical or variorum edition, one that treats all versions of the poem on an equal footing, as it were, and also more comprehensively.

The ME verse *Revelatio Esdrae (London, Sloane MS 1315, ff. 65r–67v)*

But lustenyþe [nowe] and ye schall hyre
Talkyng of a good mater
That prevyd ys & trew be Cristeys byrthe.
Yf ye woll hyre ye may haue myrthe,
5   For ye schall hyre of dyuerse materys,
Where-by ye schall knowe all the yerys,
From hens in-to Domyse day,
Whiche shalbe good & harde parfay,

The whiche schalbe maruelus,

10   And whiche schalbe esy & plenteusse.

And þat þis mat*er* ys no fabull

I schall p*reue*: hit schalbe ry3hte stabull

By the recorde of swete Jh*es*u [*Crist*e].

Now lusteny þe all to my [sawe]

15   And of þis mat*er* I schall you schewe.

[**Sonday**]

Lordelyng*is*, I warne you by-forne

Yf that day þat *Crist*e vas borne

Fall vpon the Sonday,

20   That wyntt*er* schall be good, p*ar*fay.

The som*er* schalbe fayre & dry,

But grete wynde & loste schalbe |

An kynde skyll w*ith*-owte lesse.   f. 65v

Thorowe all londys schalbe pese

25   And good tyme all thyng to donne.

But who-so stelythe owght, he schalbe take.

What chylde þ*at* day i-boryn be

A grete lorde schalbe he.

Monday

30   Yf Crystemas day on Monday be,

Grete wyntt*er* þ*at* yer*e* haue schall he,

And full of wyndys bothe lude & styll.

But the som*er*, trewly to tell,

Schalbe strong wyndis also,

35   And full of tempaste fall þ*er*-to.

All wyttayle schall multiply,

But grete [plenty] of beys schall dy.

They þat be boryn þat day, I wene,

Schalbe strong eu*er*y-chone & kene.

40   He schalbe take who-so stely þe owght;

Yf þou be seke, thou dyiste noghte.

Thewysday

Yf Cristemas day on Thewisday be,

That yere schall dey of wemen plenty, |

45 An wyntter wex grete in valyse,   f. 66r

Schepe schall dey and grete parellis.

That yere schall kyngis & lordis be slayne

And moche oþer pepill a-yenste þem a-gayne.

A dry somer þat yere schalbe,

50 All that be boryn there-in may see.

[They] schalbe strong and couetouse,

But there ende schalbe dowteuse.

Yf þou stele owght, þou lesyste þy lyfe:

Thou schalt dy þorowe swerde or knyfe.

55 **Wansday**

Yf Cristemas day fall vpon Wansday,

That yere schall be wynter stronge

And meny hed wyndis among.

The somer good and mery schall be.

60 That yere schalbe whete grete plente.

Yong folke schall dey also

And schyppis on the see haue moche woo.

What chylde þat day i-boren ys,

He schalbe dowghty & ly3te, i-wysse.

65 And wy3se & sley also in dede,

And fynde meny men mete and wede. |

Thursday   f. 66v

Yf Cristemas on Thursday be,

A wyndy wyntter sayne schall he

70 Of wynde & wedyrs and all [weke]

And harde tempas strong & thycke.

The somer schalbe good and dry,

[Corne] and bestis schall multiply.

That yere ys good londis to tyll,

75   But kyngis and p*ri*ncis schall dy by skyll.

What chylde þ*at* day boren be

He schall haue happe ry3hte well to the.

Of dedys he schalbe good & stabull

Of speche wy3se, of tong resonabull.

80   Who-so þ*at* day thefte go abowte,

He schalbe schentte wyþe-owte dowte,

And yf seken*is* on the be-tyde,

Hit schall soone fro the ryde.

Friday

85   If *Crist*emas day on Fryday be,

The fyrste of wyntt*er* harde schalbe,

W*ith* froste & snowe & w*ith* flode,

But the laste ende, þat ys good;

The som*er* schalbe good also. |

90   Folk in her*e* yen schall haue moche woo.   f. 67r

Wemen w*ith* chyldryn, bestys & corne

Schall moltyply and not be lorne.

The chyldryn þat bythe boren þat day

Schull long leue and be lechure be ay.

95   He schall be fownde who stelyþe owhte.

Thow3he þo*u* be seke, hit sleythe the noght.

Satyrday

Yf *Crist*emas day on Sat*er*day fall,

That wyntt*er* wee may dreden all.

100   Hit schalbe so full of grete tempeste,

That hit schall sley bothe man & beste.

Vpon frutt*is* and cornyse schall fall grete rayne,

And olde folkis schall dy meny [one].

What woman þat day of chylde trauell,

105   They schall dy bothe in grete p*ar*ell.
        And chyldren þat ben boren þat day
        W*ith*-in halfe yer*e* he schall dey, perfay.
        The som*er* schalbe wete & ryghte euyll
        Yf þo*u* stele owght, hit schall þ*e* spyll.
110   Thou dyiste yf þo*u* takyste sekenysse. |
        Now haue ye hurde bothe more and lesse,   f. 67v
        Discreuyd many dyu*er*se maters,
        Of byrthe of chyldren & [tymyng] of yeris,
        And mochell also of meny destenyse.
115   And all to-gedyr sothe schall fynde ye,
        And namely of þis [mater], i-wysse,
        That by the byrthe of *Crist*e i-p*r*ouyde ys.
        Thowȝ we not hit fynde in þis londe,
        In othyr londys hit may be-fall,
120   And þorowe the worlde, I vnderstonde,
        Som-what schall fall in eu*ery* londe
        Of þis mat*er* [ye] haue in kepyng.
        Nowe, Jh*es*u, as þo*u* arte hevyn kyng,
        Gravnte vs all thy blessyng,
125   That we may com to thy blysse. AMEN

Apparatus 1

1 nowe] newe *S.*

13 Criste] *Crist*ete *S.*

14 sawe] awe *S.*

16 sonday] *mistakenly copied as a heading after* vas borne.

37 plenty] ‹l› *caretted over the line.*

51 they] the *S.*

70 weke] wete *S, which the scribe then emended into* weye.

73 corne] gorne *S.*

103 one] ene *S.*

113 tymyng] tynyng *S.*

116 mater] maters *S.*

122 ye] *om. S.*

Apparatus 2

13 Criste: The couplet is incomplete, as the second line is lacking. Only three other manuscripts of the tradition contain the passage but unfortunately none of them can help reconstruct the authorial line. DH_1 read together the non-rhyming *and by many other vertue*, and *M* offers the unexpected reading ‹withe the Dominical letter that gothe nexte› that is an evident scribal addition (this volume is the only one in the tradition that includes a number of extra couplets under the header "Sunday letters" immediately after each chapter).

14 my sawe: The reading of *S*, also found in *M* (*nowe listenythe all vn-to myn awe*), is obscure. The other witnesses of the tradition either lack this line altogether (so ACH_2RW) or have innovated by offering variants of *now listen all (un)to me* (so DH_1), that spoil the rhyme and hence look like *lectiones faciliores*. We suggest an original reading *SĀWE "story, tale" (< OE *sagu* "saying"). The word had biblical overtones in Old and Middle English and is also connected to prognostication literature (see Sense IV in Bosworth-Toller 1898: *s.v.* sagu, "a saying beforehand, foretelling" and Sense 4 in MED: *s.v.* sau(e, n^2 "a teaching, doctrine; also, a prophecy", respectively), hence it fits the sense of the passage nicely. The couplet ‹awe› : ‹schewe› is not an issue if an original *SĀWE : *SCHĀWE (< OE *scēawan*) is posited, and that could be an indication for a Northern origin for this tradition.

22 & loste schalbe: Comparison with other witnesses suggests that the original must have read *ON LOFTE or else *ALOFTE; According to MED (*s.v.* aloft(e)), *bēn aloft(e* meant "be in the air, be present, be around, be going on", and that makes sense, but only just. On the other hand, the couplet ‹schalbe› : ‹dry› (note that the order of the lines was reversed in *S*: the ‹grete winde› would blow in winter, which makes more sense) is faulty, so many manuscripts innovated, not always successfully. *C*, for instance, offers a clumsy ‹on loft schal be› : ‹feyre þou schalt be›. The reading in *R* offers an interesting solution: instead of *shall be*, the manuscript reads ‹shall flye›, but the *lectio difficilior* of *M* may keep the original reading: ‹Drye & fayre the somer schall tee›, where ‹tee› (< OE *tēon*) would mean either "come" or "come to be, happen" (senses 1*a* and 1*f*, respectively, of MED: *s.v.* tēn, v^1).

32 styll: CDH_1JR offer a variant *fel* "terrible, brutal" that provides a better rhyme. The line in *D*, yet, is intriguing and may indicate that the reading in *S* (also H_2M) may be authorial after all: it originally read ‹And full of wyndes lowde & stylle› but the scribe then deleted the last word and added ‹felle› immediately after, suggesting that he copied from his exemplar, then realized the rhyming problem and substituted with what he thought was a better alternative. If *STILL is original, then we must assume a lowered realization [stɪ̞l], which would allow a rhyme with /tel/. Such pronunciation is certainly known for ME closed *ĭ* in the vicinity of several consonants, including liquids (Jordan 1974: §36).

50 there-in may see: The exact sense of this line is not completely clear, and the lack of punctuation in the manuscript makes it even more problematic. We interpret ‹there-in› to refer to the ‹dry som*er*› in the preceding line, and hence the couplet could be paraphrased: "there will be a dry summer, as all who are born at that time will see". This is the solution provided in this edition, but comparison with other versions strongly suggests that several scribes experienced problems with the line and thus there are substantive variants here. The reading of *S* is also found in H_2M. *C* reads ‹And all that that day borne be›, and *J* offers a close ‹And tho þat on that day boorn be›, which looks like a *lectio facilior*. A third group of manuscripts (DH_1RW) substitute the lemma with variants of *þat day in fe* [var. H_1 ‹feye›, *R* ‹fere›], apparently referring to a estate in land (MED: *s.v.* fẽ, n^2).

56 yf …Wansday: Yet another line in *S* without rhyme. Most witnesses offer versions of *If* [var. *C* ‹When›, *W* ‹And›] *Christmas Day the sooth* [var. CDH_1 ‹for-sothe›] *to say/Fall upon a* [var. *C* ‹the›] *Wednesday*. Only *M* disagrees here, as it reads ‹Iff cristisday the wanysday fall vppon/To take goode heed who-so con›. The fact that the scribe of *S* failed to perceive the missing verse, and routinely linked the extant line to the following line in the poem with the customary red line (hence causing mismatches that were not emended until he joined lines 60–62 as a single block) suggests that the line may have been faulty already in its exemplar (which might have been the same used to compose H_2 and *M*, since they frequently read together or share a common error—but this wants deeper study).

58 hed wyndis: This seems to be a copy mistake for *HEDYOUS WYNDIS (so DH_2JR and, in a slightly garbled version, *W* as well). Separative errors include *C* ‹gret› and H_1 ‹hard› (which might well be a *lectio facilior*). Unsurprisingly, *M* reads together with *S* here: ‹hedde›.

60 whete grete plente: Only *C* includes the expected ‹of› before ‹whete›, so we decided not to correct the reading in the manuscript. There are some versions which skip ‹grete›: *CDRW*, which turns this line into a likely *locus criticus*.

66 mete and wede: *Wede* here is not "weed" but means "garments, clothes, apparel" (MED: *s.v.* wẹ̄de, *n²*). This appears to have been a ME idiom that passed unnoticed to the authors of *MED* and *OED*, cf. its usage in John Cap-grave's *Life of Saint Katharine of Alexandria* 3.1484: "Yeue to the pore folkys bothe mete and wede" (Horstmann 1893: 259) and in two additional lines after 3734 in the *E* version of the *Romance of Sir Beues of Hamtoun* (Cam-bridge, Gonville and Caius, 175/96, ff. 131r–155r): "And kepen it wiþ mete and wede" (Kölbing 1885–1894: 174). *W* provides the clumsier variant ‹cloth & fede›, and *C* reconstructs the whole verse into ‹w*ith* mete & drynke many schal he fede›, suggesting that the idiom might have been provincial, unders-tood by scribes from different parts of England yet regarded as alien.

69 a…he: The line is odd for a number of reasons. First, because there is an unnecessary second reference to wind in the following line, and then because the sense of the final words is not totally clear. As for ‹wyndy›, other MSS read *wonder* (so *ADJRW*; add here *H₁* ‹Anuder*e*›, an obvious copy mistake, *M* ‹won-derfull› and *C* ‹[marw]elous›). Only *H₂* reads together with *S* here. Regarding the final three words in the line, ‹sayne› is an aberrant spelling for "see": *SEN SHALL YE must have been the original reading, as seen from *CDH₁H₂JRW*; *A* also belongs here but it offers the pronoun ‹we›. Only *M* separates from the other witnesses: ‹be ther*e* schall›.

71 tempas strong: No emendation to **tempast* seems necessary here, for this is probably a case of cluster simplification: `/-st#st-/` > `/-sːt-/`.

80 thefte go: We have kept the original manuscript reading as the sense of the passage is understandable, even though the version provided by *ADH₁H₂JRW* is slightly better: *be theft* [var. *A* ‹beste›]. *M* reads together *S* with here.

88 þat ys: The reading in *ACW* makes better sense: *shall be*. Most witnesses offer expanded versions: *the latter end of winter shall be* (*DH₁JR*), *the latter end thereof shall be* (*H₂M*).

94 be lechure be: The reading in *S* can be maintained with the proviso that ‹be… be› is taken as a prepositional verb with the sense "to be in possession of, possess, have" (see sense 3 of MED: *s.v.* bī, *prep.*). Even so, the reading *and be* [*om. AC*] *lecherous ay* [var. *A* ‹lay›] in the rest of witnesses is naturally prefe-rable and almost certainly authorial.

102 vpon…rayne: Although the line makes perfect sense, it is substantially different from the reading in most manuscript of the family (*ACDH₁H₂JRW*), which goes *Fruits and corns shall fail great wone* [var. ‹mone› *W*]; only *M* reads together with *S* here. ME *wone* is a borrowing from ON *ván*, etymologically meaning "hope" but evolving into "abundance" (sense 3 in MED: *s.v.* wōn(e, n^3), and it seems that the word was alien to some scribes, who innovated. Selecting *rain* as *lectio facilior* is significant as it suggests that the original must have read *WA(I)NE (rhyming with *ANE), pointing to a Northern exemplar (on this regard, see note corresponding to **14 my sawe**). Note as well that the change in the wording forced the scribe of *S* (and *M*) to modify the rhyme as well. In the case of *S* that meant substituting ‹ene› for original *ANE (‹ene› is possible in early ME but not in the scribe's dialect) while the scribe of *M* went for the more interesting choice ‹mayne› "force", apparently intending to mean "violence" (the sense is not in MED: *s.v.* main, *n*).

116 þis mater: We have emended the original manuscript reading ‹maters›, not just because ‹þis› is in the singular, but also because the verb in the subordinate clause is also in the singular. Even so, the fact that the scribe did not correct the demonstrative into a form such as *þes, however, suggests that in his dialect *this* could also accompany plural nouns—that is why it has been marked as plural form in the LALME questionnaire.

122 ye haue in kepyng: Another obscure line. We have followed the reading of *M* ‹Of this mater have ye in your kepyng› as both manuscripts are genetically very close. The sense of line seems to be that some of the things that you have learnt (i.e. "have in your keep") will come to pass somewhere or other. The rest of manuscripts displaying this verse (*H₁JW*) substitute *keeping* for *talking*.

APPENDIX: *e*LALME QUESTIONNAIRE

1	THE	the (17×)
2	THESE	þis (1×)[14]
6	IT	hit (8×)
7	THEY	thei (3×), they (2×)
8	THEM	þem (1×)
11	WHICH	whiche (3×)
13	MANY	meny (2×), many (1×)

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14 See yet note to **116 þis mater** in the edition.

14	MAN	man (1×)
16	MUCH	moche (3×), mochell (1×)
17	ARE	bythe (1×)
19	IS	ys (5×), is (1×)
20	ART *2sg*	arte (1×)
21	WAS	vas (1×)
22	SHALL *sg*	schall (30×), schal (24×)
22-20	SHALL *2sg*	schalt (2×)
22-30	SHALL *pl*	schull (1×)
24-30	WILL *pl*	woll (1×)
26	TO prep +C	to (6×)
27	TO +*inf* +C	to (1×)
28-10	FROM +C	fro (1×)
28-20	FROM +*h*	from (1×)
32	THOUGH	thowȝ (1×), thowȝhe (1×)
33	IF	if (12×), yf (1×)
34	AS	as (1×)
36	AGAINST	a-yenste (1×)
37	AGAIN	a-gayne (1×)
44	WH–	wh– (13×)
46	NOT	not (2×), noght (1×), noghte (1×)
49	WORLD	worlde (1×)
52	THERE	there (2×), þer (1×)
53	WHERE	where (1×)
55	THROUGH	þorowe (2×), thorowe (1×)
57	*Sb pl*	–is (8×), –ys (7×), –*is* (6×), –s (5×), –yse (4×)
58	*Pres part*	–yng (2×)
59	*Vbl sb*	–yng (2×)
61	*Pres 3sg*	–ythe (3×), –yþe (2×)
62	*Pres pl*	–Ø (1×)
65	*Weak ppl*	–de (6×), –yd (2×)
67	*Ppl prfx* 'i–' *or* 'y–'	i– (4×)

70	ABOUT *adv*	abowte (1×)
75	ALL	all (8×)
76	ALSO	also (5×)
77	AMONG *adv*	among*e* (1×)
84	BE *inf*	be (40×)
91	BIRTH	byrthe (2×)
94	BOTH	bothe (4×)
100	BUT	but (8×)
102	BY	by (3×)
112	DAY	day (15×)
114-10	DIE *inf*	dy (5×), dey (4×)
114-21	DIED *2sg*	dyiste (1×)
115-10	DO *inf*	donne (1×)
126	EVIL	euyll (1×)
128	FAIR	fayre (1×)
138-40	FIRST *pron*	fyrste (1×)
147	FRUIT	frutt– (1×)
154	GO *pres*	go (1×)
155	GOOD	good (10×)
156	GREAT	grete (10×)
160-20	HAVE *inf*	haue (5×), have (2×)
162-10	HEAR *inf*	hyre (3×)
162-20	HEARD *sg*	hurde (1×)
164	HEAVEN	hevyn (1×)
167	HENCE	hens*e* (1×)
178	I +C	I (4×)
179-40	KIND *adj*	kynde (1×)
181-10	KNOW *inf*	knowe (1×)
183	LAND	londe (2×), lond- (3×)
187	LESS	lesse (2×)
190	LIFE	lyfe (1×)
192-10	LIVE *inf*	leve (1×)

193	LONG	long*e* (1×)
194	LORD	lorde (1×), lordis (1×), lordelyng*is* (1×)
199-10	MAY *1/3sg*	may (5×)
204	MY +C	my (1×)
205	NAME *sb*	name- (1×)
218	NOW	nowe (2×), newe (1×), now (1×)
219	OLD	olde (1×)
222	OTHER	oþyr (1×), othyr (1×)
227	PEOPLE	pepill (1×)
236-10	SEE *inf*	see (1×)
245	SLAIN	slayne (1×)
246	SOME	som (1×)
256	STRONG	strong*e* (4×), stronge (1×)
258	SUN	son– (2×)
259-10	TAKE *inf*	take (3×)
261	THOU	þou (6×), thou (3×), þ*ou* (1×)
262	THEE	the (4×), þe (1×)
263	THY +C	thy (2×), þy (1×)
270	TRUE	trew (2×)
278	UPON	upon (3×)
281	WELL *adv*	well (1×)
283	WHAT	what (4×)
287	WHO	who (4×)
293-20	WITH* 'wh–'	wi*th* (3×)
295	WITHOUT *pr*	wyþe-owte (1×)
298	YE	ye (7×)
299	YOU	you (2×)
301	YEAR	yere (5×), yer*e* (1×)
301-10	YEARS	yer*is* (2×), yeris (1×), yerys (1×)
303	YOUNG	yong (1×)
306	–AND	–onde (1×)
307	–ANG	–ong*e* (1×)

312	–ER	–*er* (14×), –er (6×), –yr (4×), –ere (1×)
317	–LY	–ly (2×)
318	–NESS	–nysse (1×), n*ys* (1×)
341	Absence of 'y–' prefix in ppl	(+)
373	'iȝ', 'yȝ' as in FIND, LIFE	((+)) [wyȝse (2×)]
379	'u', 'i', 'y' for WS *ie*, *y*	+
383	Glide vowel with 'y', 'ȝ', as in TAIL…	+
402	Doubling of cons, excl 'nn'	+
414	'v' for ME *w*	((+)) [vas 1×]
414-20	'w' for ME *v*	((+)) [wyttalye 1×]

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Elizabeth Elstob, Just a Philologist

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1. Elizabeth Elstob revisited

Certainly, Elizabeth Elstob (1683-1756) raised her voice in the eighteenth century against those who appeared to have discriminated her both as a scholar and, particularly, as an Anglo-Saxonist.

In the twentieth and twenty-first centuries many have rediscovered her in the context of feminist research, emphasising her vindications as a woman, see among others: Ashdown 1925, Huff Collins 1970, Sutherland 1994, Clarke 2005, Hannan 2014, Way 2015 or Graham 2016. Relevant as this might be, it seems that the Anglo-Saxon studies she defended so eagerly have occupied a secondary position when focusing on her figure, giving more weight to the *nymph* than to the *Saxonist*[1]. This is a fact already referred to by Gretsch (1999), who in a two-parts article advocated for the scholar and her work independently of her sex, in the same line Hollis (2015: 173-74), adds that: "it would seem that both Elstob's and Ballard's financial circumstances were far more significant factors in their academic endeavours than their sex".

Elizabeth Elstob came to form part of a Saxonists' circle some of whose male components perhaps have achieved less recognition than her own nowadays. Among them, her brother, William Elstob, part of whose works were posthumously and advantageously published by other authors. Literati like Hickes (1642-1715), Thoresby (1658-1725), Thwaites (c.1661-1711), Wanley (1672-1726), other relevant antiquarians and librarians, formed part

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1   E. Elstob was referred to by some of her contemporaries as the "Anglo-Saxon nymph", see Hollis (2015:170).

of her academic acquaintances appearing in the list of sponsors of her work (1709: 50-55). As Smith (2020: 48) states, they "formed a close-knit community of practise brought together on a common project, namely, the recuperation of Anglo-Saxon culture"; it seems that in this circle she gained her place and met no opposition.

Most probably, the problems Elizabeth Elstob had to face in the past would have been the same nowadays, at least in terms of that which she wanted to publish. Who can possibly be interested in Old English studies when facing a world where, to mention a few, political and religious problems, unemployment rates, corruption and machismo prevail? Yet, once more, with the inestimable support of a community, here her example will be followed.

In this chapter I intend not to go through Elizabeth Elstob's life to read her works but to concentrate in one of her first publications to put the emphasis on her actual scientific production. Obviously, the way she presents herself as a scholar is relevant since this was precisely what allowed her to be regained from the past, something that has not happened with every single intellectual of her time. Therefore, her stance, the linguistic elements she uses to sustain her scholar authority will be of our interest considering it in the frame articulated by Hyland (2001, 2002, 2005, 2012, 2015). Her courage as a female writer has usually been praised but undermining her academic production; my intention is quite the opposite in terms of procedure, I will evaluate her stance considering the work she did and the community she belonged to.

1.1. Stance and engagement

The studies pursued by Hyland on *stance* and *engagement* (2001, 2002, 2005, 2012, 2015) have proved useful for diachronic studies. Although Hyland bases his analysis of these interactional macro-functions in present-day research communities, they are equally applicable for the early scholar productions both in hard sciences and humanities (Mele-Marrero, 2012, 2017).

A writer's *stance* represents his/her authoritative voice modulated, with higher or softened tones, to convey their findings, arguments or opinions, creating a personal mark that, nonetheless, can be influenced by external factors. Through *engagement*, the writers connect with their potential readers, interrelate with them acknowledging their participation in the discourse. These interactional macro-functions are particularly relevant in scientific writing since their adequate use will promote its success, in Hyland's words (2005: 176):

"Any successfully published research paper anticipates a reader's response and itself responds to a larger discourse already in progress."

There are different discourse markers that conform what readers perceive as *stance* and *engagement*. For the first: *hedges* which mitigate the author's assertions and serve further discussion; *boosters*, opposite to the previous underline the author's certainties; *attitude markers*, indicators of the writer's affective attitude, and finally *self-mention* basically exposed through the use of first-person pronouns. Engagement markers include: *reader pronouns*, either second person or inclusive *we*; *personal asides* of the author addressing the reader; *appeals to shared knowledge*; *directives* and *rhetorical* questions (Hyland 2005: 178-182).

Although my main interest, as mentioned before, is how Elizabeth Elstob presented herself as scholar, validating her claims and findings and facing her readers, namely, her *stance*, this is also connected with how she tries to engage, persuade readers to diversely participate in her work. Consequently, and even with the caveats the term "community" poses, this study might prove the extent to which Elizabeth Elstob had strong ties with *her* community. From a Historical Linguistics perspective and following Jucker and Kopaczyk, Smith indicates "communities of practise" differ but overlap with *social networks* and *discourse communities*. The first explore the social connections between individuals and groups, whereas the latter although "they share a common language, they do not share a mutual endeavour" (2021: 30).

> [A] community of practice is defined both by its membership and by the practices the members engage in. It refers not just to a group of people who share a certain characteristic feature but a group of people who interact and share ways of doing things. […] There are three criteria that are crucial for a community of practice: mutual engagement, a joint enterprise, and a shared repertoire. (Jucker and Kopaczyk, 2013: 6)

For my purpose the previous definition by Jucker and Kopaczyk can be complemented with Hyland's:

> Essentially, communities provide the context within which we learn to communicate and to interpret each other's talk, gradually acquiring the specialized discourse competencies to participate as members. They are the places we craft our identities, cement relationships and achieve recognition, where we find the tools and resources to live out our professional lives. (Hyland 2015: 33)

Analysing Elstob's stance and engagement can provide us with both quantitative and qualitative data to understand her sense of belonging to the Saxonists' circle of her time.

1.2. Elstob's edition of an *English-Saxon Homily on the Birth-day of St. Gregory*

The 1709 complete original text of Elstob's work is available through Internet arch. org. https://archive.org/details/englishsaxonhomi00aelf and it is the version used here.

The homily which would be the core of Elstob's publication is one of those in the Second Series by Ælfric (c.995-1020/25), one of the abbot of Eynsham's ready-made sermons to be used in church. It deals with the life of Pope Gregory the Great sometime before he reached the papacy and sometime after, consequently, also with the journey of St Augustine for the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons.

Following the line of archbishop Parker and his edition of Ælfric's "Sermo de Sacrificio in die Pascæ": *A Testimony of Antiquity* (1566), this publication was justified as the search for an Anglo-Saxon basis of Anglicanism. For this justification, which might not coincide with the personal objective of Elstob, more than the texts themselves, what matters is the editorial machinery surrounding it.

Elstob's *English-Saxon Homily on the birth-day of St. Gregory* (HSG) comprises: an epistle dedicatory; a long preface of fifty-nine pages[2]; a table with the alphabet; the homily itself which amounts to forty-four pages which comprehend original text, translation and notes; the Latin version of the homily by William Elstob; a long appendix with forty-nine pages where letters from Gregory to other ecclesiastical and royal figures commend St. Augustine and his mission, plus other texts and notes that may complement the contents of the homily, like the relics and clothes Augustine was given for his enterprise. The book closes with the list of subscribers who seem to have financed the work, about two hundred seventy-nine persons, some family related considering their surnames.

In spite of being a homily apparently with the same interest others might have had, Elstob's edition has been re-edited at least twice in 1839 by a J.S.C. and by L. Langley and yet more recently in 2016 by Graham. None of them, though, reproduced completely the numerous and lengthy notes of the first work. Langley (1839: vii) as editor decided to include what he understands as: "matters purely philological, and has carefully avoided all the great theological

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2   The last page of the Preface is sixty (xl) but actually page thirty-eight (xxxviii) was skipped and from thirty-seven it moves to thirty-nine. There is coincidence of the catchword "Petrus" and no information seems to be missing.

and ecclesiastical questions which it might be made to originate, and into the discussion of which Miss Elstob has so fully and learnedly and zealously entered". The next editor in the same year, J.S.C., is identified by Sutherland (1994: 236) as J.S. Cardale who would have reduced considerably preface, dedicatory epistles and notes. On his part, Graham's publication (2016: 19) adds an introduction to Elstob's work, comments on the existence of this "apparatus criticus" and the two different types of notes she includes, but does not reproduce them in his edition. This contains images of each one of Elstob's pages plus modern edition but does not reproduce the Old English text nor any of the notes.

Additionally, I have found an 1849 version of the homily by Louis F. Klipstein including the Anglo-Saxon version; this is suspiciously similar to Elstob's though she is not mentioned. It adds an index of words with their grammatical category but the final translation notes again seem to reproduce Elstob's commentaries with some changes and additions. Changes like using the word "Anglo-Saxon" instead of "English" to translate <engliscere> (Klipstein 1849: 7, line 1). Curiously the latter spelling of the word is the one that appears in Elstob's text (see next section 1.3.).

1.3. The homily, text and notes

The main source to know the original used by Elstob is her preface (lvi-lvii), there she states she made a transcription based on that by Dr. Hopkins[3] whom she believed had used MS Vitellius D XVII. She compared this transcription with an ancient parchment book in the Bodleian Library which had in turn belonged to the Hattonian Library (MS Hatton 114 in present day designation). She knew about it through Dr. Wanley's[4] Catalogue reproduced by her mentor, Dr. Hickes, and was granted access by Dr. Hudson, "a Scholar-like Genius; of not discouraging Learning, even in our Sex" (lvii). Gretsch comments this was a reference to "John Hudson (1662-1719), a classical scholar, Fellow of University College, and Keeper of the Bodleian

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3   William Hopkins (1647-1700) was a prebendary of Worcester Cathedral. His biography appears in the preface to Hickes publication of *Seventeen Sermons of the Reverend and Learned Dr. William Hopkins* where he praises Hopkins's knowledge of Anglo-Saxon, having published at least a translation from a tract in Old English into Latin (Hickes, 1727: xxix).

4   Though Wanley never obtained a degree he is considered a great paleographer and scholar, a specialist in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts who compiled the said catalogue. He was the first full-time curator of the Harleian library (Murphy, 1982:148-9).

Library (1701-19)" and emphasizes the fact that Elstob seems to have had no problems in seeing any manuscript she required (Gretsch, 1999: 490). In fact, she does not complain about this type of difficulty some of us can only overcome thanks to digitization.

Graham (2016: 14) following the argumentation of Godden (1977: 21), also reproduced by Sutherland with some caveats (1994: 227), points out that the differences found by Elstob might be due to misinterpretations Hopkins could have made of MS Hatton 114 and not because he had actually used MS Vitellius D 17. Due to the fire in the Cotton Library (1731) and the damage on this particular manuscript, full comparison cannot be accomplished to determine if Elstob had in fact used a transcript from a text that would later be mutilated. She tries to support her belief with facts, as she always strives to do, and states she thinks it was Vitellius D XVII "because there I read it, *Englishcere þeode,* whereas, in all the other Copies, it is *Engliscre þeode*". Godden's edition of Ælfric's Catholic Homilies (1979: 72) indicates lines 21-220 of Vitellius D XVII (Godden's f[k]) are lost; comparing his notes on the extant parts with Elstob's edition, there is coincidence except for note on line 231 where he finds "þing" and Elstob writes "þinga". I found also coincident the annotations she makes giving the Hatton version against hers, even if she has not marked all divergencies. Particularly, I noticed that at least two forms that appear in her version match with the glosses (1-2) of the Tremulous hand of Worcester in Hatton 114:

(1) "deiri" in MS Hatton 114 f.142r, gloss on l.7 for the word "dere" which Elstob includes for contrast in p.13 n.2.

(2) "on arela" in MS Hatton 114, fol.146v, left margin gloss l.3, whereas Elstob writes "of arela" p.36, last line in the Old English version. Then in the same page n.2 she indicates "on arela. Junii manu."

This could agree with Hopkins including the glosses of MS Hatton 114 as part of the text and not having in fact used Vitellius D XVII as Godden argues, but, on the other hand, there are differences referred to by Elstob like double consonants or very clear different endings that could obey to the use of different texts. See for example p.28, l.16 in Elstob "ærendraca" versus Hatton "ærendracena", as she indicates in her note; these are very clearly written in MS Hatton (fol 144v, l.19) and mistakes are hard to assume, especially because the word appears three times in that folio, once ending in *-an* (l.17) and twice in *-ena* (ls.19 and 21). Another difference worthy of mention is located in page

2 (l.17) of the homily, where it is read "Seo bec", with a lack of number concordance, which reads correctly in MS Hatton, "Seo boc" and in Elstob's subsequent examples. This apparent mistake could be a difference maintained from the original copy or a misprint of those she asks to be excused at the end of her book; it does not seem to come out of ignorance since this feminine word, "boc" and its mutated plural "bec", are used as examples in her Grammar (1715: 12). Nonetheless, as mentioned before, given the difficulties to have access to the complete Vitellius D XVII, if Elstob was right this is difficult to prove. Even so, the "deficiencies of her transcript"[5], or rather Hopkins' deficiencies, do not appear to dim her work but rather enhance it showing her capacity to make her own collation of the manuscripts she had access to.

The length of the homily in Elstob obeys to her facing translation and notes. She offers the Anglo-Saxon version in one column and her translation facing it, similar to Parker's edition of *A Testimonie* (1566). Unlike Parker, who adds marginal annotations to the text and word for word translation, Elstob incorporates forty lettered footnotes, repeating the alphabet nearly twice, from <a> to <z> and again from <a> to <u>; in the first group letter <t> is repeated before and after <u>, probably a misprint favoured by the lengthy notes devoted to the "Deiri" and "Ella" (pages 14-17). The notes are considerations of two main types: *linguistic*, on etymons and/or meanings, and *historical*, which may bring comparisons with other texts like Bede's or the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, just to mention the most widely known.

There are other notes, numbered ones, starting in each page anew, that she uses to offer differences of spellings between her transcription and those of the hands in MS Hatton 114.

The printed text in Old English imitates the handwritten alphabet with types made specifically for the purpose. Had the homily's content been her main objective, a translation would have been sufficient.

As indicated before, the homily is preceded (unnumbered page) by a reproduction of the "Saxon letters", majuscule and minuscule, with their Roman equivalents, some indications for the punctuation and expansion of the contractions for "that" <þ> and the Tironian nota. Part of this was also added in the last pages of *A Testimonie* where not all but the "moste straunge" were

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5   Godden (1977: 21) states that a collation of all the manuscripts indicates the text used was the Oxford one (Hatton 114). Moreover, in a note (34) he adds that "Ironically this is the very manuscript from which Miss Elstob took the variant readings she printed in her apparatus, so that, unbeknown to her, the variations reveal only the deficiencies of her transcript".

reproduced with the "common characters" equivalents. Elstob includes them too but with a different purpose: "That the curious may be able, with greater Ease, to read the Saxon". Just letter *ash* is missing from her list, this does not appear either in Hickes's grammar table (1689: 1), nor in the abridged version by Thwaites (1711: 1), possibly considering it a digraph, however, Elstob will include it later in the alphabet table provided in her Grammar (1715: 3).

The referred characters are used in the Old English version of the homily. Not only particular printing types must have been made for this part of the text, but also Cyrillic characters to reproduce Greek lines which appear in some notes, see p. 5 note (i), and a *bastarda* type, regular and small, for notes, see p.15, n.(u). These together with the engravings that adorn the book must have increased its cost for publication. Sutherland (1994: 231) provides ample information about this.

Her transliteration seems to expand most contractions, capitalizes proper nouns and divides words with hyphens when necessary to make the text fit in one column. Her translation is a close one but not necessarily a word for word, accommodating the syntax to avoid repetitions and more reader friendly than Parker's Testimony, notwithstanding the linguistic evolution of the centuries between them. See the lines below (3-4) from pages 41-42 in the homily as an example of Elstob's translations.

(3) Augustinus ʒesette æfter þissum bisceopas of his ʒeferum on ʒehþilcum burʒum on Enʒla þeode. (HSG pp. 41-42)

(4) After this Augustine placed Bishops out of those that had accompanied him, in each City of the English Nation, (HSG pp. 41-42)

All the annotations made to the text will be commented in the next section, they show a more personal imprint and therefore should be considered as part of Elstob's explicit stance.

2. ELSTOB'S STANCE

Elizabeth Elstob's presence in her work is a strong one. No doubt this is what could be perceived, without making a pragmatic analysis, by just seeing her own face engraving and the initial "I" with which she starts her preface. These might have been factors that determined how she has been approached both in the past and nowadays. A pragmatic analysis, though, may reveal a

new reading, presenting her in the context of her community of practise, not necessarily the same of ours.

In this type of editions, the stance of the translator and editor can be perceived through the preface which, being the authors' individual creation, is certainly relevant but the edition's annotations cannot be disregarded. These are also an expression of the writer's position with respect to the text. Hence, I will start with the homily as the proper but more neglected part of Elstob's work and leave the preface for a final argument.

It has been assumed that Elstob's first interest was the defence of the Roman origin of Anglicanism, her procedure in the edition is influenced by Parker (1566), however, it also has clear divergences from his defence of the origins of Anglicanism and particularly the origin of the denial of transubstantiation. The annotations that appear in *Parker's Testimony* (1566) point to biblical passages (evangelists, New Testament) or simply make comments on how the text and its translation should be interpreted, as when in (35r) the marginal notes state: "It is neturally corruptible bread & corruptible wine" "No transubstantiation". The homily in a *A Testimonie* is characterized by "personal asides" (see Mele-Marrero 2012) reflecting this form of interpretations on Ælfric, whereas in HSG of the eighty-five notes at least fifty-three are of a different, linguistic type: thirty-four refer to comparisons with MS Hatton 114 (5, 6) and about nineteen have to do with etymons (7) or other linguistic elements (8, 9). The thirty-two left consider historical events that expand those exposed (10) and offer comparisons with other historical documents (11).

(5) ²Frætepode; ²ȝefrætepode. C.H. (HSG p.8: n. 2)

(6) ²berreccan; ²ȝerreccan C.H (HSG p.3: n. 2)

(7) ᵗDeiri; Dere, Deiri, & Diera […] to this Division I am rather inclined to agree, in reference to the Etymology of the word, which our Antiquaries will have derived from deor, signifiying wild Beasts (HSG p.13: n. t)

(8) ʳspeartan deofle (p.12: l.19); speartan deofle. Word for Word the Black Devil, the Saxon Phrase for the Prince of Darkness (HSG p.12: n. r)

(9) ᶻThe word fadera, Mr Somner in his Glossary explains by Patruus, that is, an Uncle by the Father's side, a Father's Brother: But it is probable, that the Saxons had besides that, another Meaning of the word (HSG p.19: n. z)

(10) ¹As to the number of Monasteries the Historians generally agree. The seventh, which is said to be built within the Walls of the City of Rome (HSG p.6: n. l.)

(11) ᵖThe persons who were employ'd in this Affair were Laurentius the Presbyter, who succeeded Augustine […] See Bede's Ecc. Hist. lib 1. Cap 27 and St Gregory's Epistle to Queen Bertha. (HSG p.37: n. p)

Thus, I have to disagree with Ashdown (1925: 132) when she says that: "The footnotes to the Homily are also more theological than linguistic". Although some of the historical notes abound on the praising of Pope Gregory, the main character of Ælfric's original homily, I have found just one note, nearly at the end where Elstob devotes a paragraph to mention the "true Church of Christ": "As we cannot but with the greatest Gratitude reflect about our conversion, so have we reason to bless God, that this was brought about in such a regular manner, that there was nothing wanting to make us a true Church of Christ" (HSG p.37). This argument appears though in her preface (p. xiii) where she explains the reception of the faith from the Roman Church through pope Gregory and St. Augustine, before it became corrupted. This had made the Reform necessary and, hence, from her point of view, there is no need to refuse that first pure Roman origin. Such references are part of the Preface rather than annotations to the Homily. Therefore, though these notes can be considered as "personal asides", where Elstob talks to the reader, in most cases, they abound in the content but do not tend to impose an external, apparently impersonal, interpretation as in the case of Paker. This difference is articulated through the direct implication of Elstob; in her notes the first-person subject pronoun appears twenty-two times in those that have to do with linguistic or historical aspects, the notes for manuscript comparison only offer the term/-s compared. Fourteen cases correspond to the use of *I* and eight to *we*. In the singular she claims authority (7, 12), procedure (14)[6] or acknowledges the work or help of others (13). For the plural, she uses it to refer to her expert community (15, 16) and a more general readership (17) with also at least one clear case where it is used as a majestic plural to indicate procedure. It must be noticed how the use of first person is accompanied by different forms of hedging that mitigate its strength: *inclined to* (12); *have been obliged* (14); passive in (15); *should* (16); *cannot but* (17). Concerning the use of first-person plural, there

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6   The examples given sometimes correspond to inner parts of the notes, which quite often are lengthy and occupy several pages. Therefore, parenthetical references include page and letter or number of the note, rather than just the superscript letter of each note as it appears in previous examples (5-11).

are explicit references to the "Reader" (pp. 36, 39, see also (16)), the "Learned Reader" (p. 43) and the "Learned" (p. 44) which come to underline the addressees were expected to share some common upper knowledge.

(12) […] From whence I am inclined to believe the one might be a Copy of the other. (HSG p.43: n. s)

(13) […] so am I particularly obliged to him for acquainting me with the Name of the Annalist who first gave this account (HSG p.44: n. s)

(14) […] my Apology, for the vulgar and less polite kind of Expressions, I have been obliged to make use of in the foregoing comparison (HSG p. 21: n. z)

(15) […] which is not mentioned by Bede, we are first made acquainted by *Paulus Diaconus*. (HSG p.17: n.t)

(16) ᵒFor Etherius we should read Virgilius […] and the Reader is referr'd to them in their most beautiful Edition (HSG p.36: n. o)

(17) […] As we cannot but with the greatest Rejoicing and Gratitude reflect upon the Conversion, so have we reason to bless God (HSG p.37: n. o)

(18) […] Names well known in the Places we have before mentioned. (HSG p.17: n. u)

The Latin version of the homily translated by William Elstob only adds some bibliographic references in notes. The appendix (App.) by Elizabeth Elstob, with parts in Latin and English, includes twenty-four biblical references (e.g. Exod. xix 31, p.15); three notes that give alternative readings from different versions, and seven explicative notes in Latin plus nine in English. There are also a few interpolations in the appendix where, in the same line as that of the homily's notes, Elstob uses the first person to talk to the reader about the texts she has included, the reception she expects and her own findings. The first-person subject singular form is more frequent, eighteen cases, than the plural, five.

(19) Which I thought the Reader might desire to see in English (App. p.34)

(20) I do not find in St Gregory's Epistles, where it is very often spoken of, that it is ever called a Sacrament (App. p. 46)

(21) Nor is this the only Instance of Respect which we find our Saxon Ancestors to
    have had for the Memory of their great Doctor and Apostle. (App.26)

Most modern studies on Elstob's HSG focus on the preface, I have started
with the homily and gave the preface a second place because I consider Elstob's
stance varies from one to the other, and this is simply because the readers she
anticipates for each part of her book are also different.

My hand count of the use of first-person subject pronoun in the preface
renders eighty-eight items against the twenty-eight findings for the plural; their
threefold location has certain relevance, since I consider the preface can be
divided in at least three differentiated sections. Most of the *I*s, forty in total,
appear in the first ten pages where Elbstob makes a defence of learning and
the Anglo-Saxon studies (22), here only two cases of *we* are found. Twenty-
nine *I* forms (23) correspond to the pages xiii-lv, where most of the plural,
twenty-six *we*s, appear too (24); this part is where a defense of the reception
of the Christian faith through the Roman Church is made, enlarged with
several interpolations of prayers and letters in Anglo-Saxon. Finally, from pages
lvi to lx, only two plural forms are used and nineteen first-person pronouns
can be found; these last pages are devoted to the manuscripts used in her
edition and acknowledge the help received (25).

(22) I could never think any part of learning either useless, or contemptible. Because
    I knew not the Advantages of it; I have rather thought myself obliged to reverence
    those who are skilful in any Art or Profession […] be it in any Person, of any Sex
    (p.v)

(23) I cannot see for what reason some Persons shou'd look with so ill an Eye upon
    the Conversion of the English Saxons by St Augustine (p.xv)

(24) This is some, no small Satisfaction that we reap, from Saxon Learning: that we
    see the Agreement of the reformed, and the ancient Saxon Church. (p.xiv)

(25) I think it no shame to me to take any Advice where it may be so easily obtain'd:
    so I should think it unpardonable to be guilty of such a Silence, as might make
    me seem averse to all Acknowledgement. (p. xviii)

Table 2 shows the highest number of first-person singular in the preface
divided in the different topics Elstob touches.
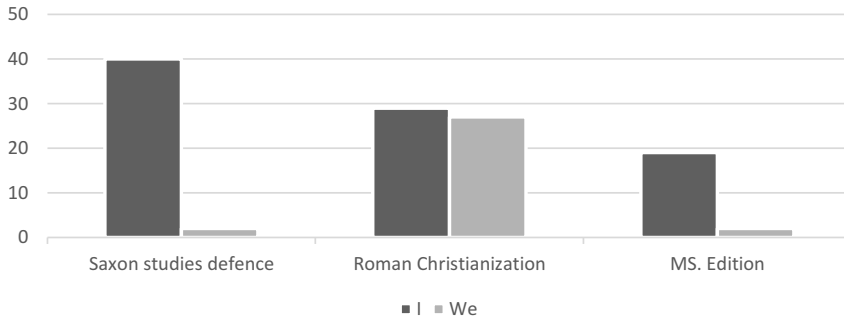
Table 2: First-person pronoun in the preface.

The examples given from the preface show divergence if compared with those in the notes of the homily itself, there is less mitigation surrounding the pronoun, she is very assertive in her opinions; even if using negative structures, these act more like boosters than hedges[7], compare particularly examples (20, 22, 23) with (17, 25). Using the negation and particularly with the modal *can/could* (*do not, could never, cannot*), she is strongly asserting that which she considers 'unthinkable' or 'inconceivable'; whereas in (25) the lack of the modal in "I think it no shame" and the particular use of "should" in "I should think it unpardonable" mitigate slightly the strength of the assertion. Likewise, in (17) the clause with "but" softens the strength of "cannot". It seems that in the homily's notes she tends to be more careful in expressing opinions or findings (12,14, 16), this is precisely the work that is going to be judged/evaluated by her peers.

The use of first person singular in prefaces is and was very common, after all the authors usually express here their impressions about the work done. In general terms, during the eighteenth century this seems to have been more frequent in Humanities' texts than in Hard Sciences, in the last case most authors seem to prefer the engagement scope provided by *we*; nevertheless, when expressing a finding or personal opinion the singular pronoun seems to have gained ground in both fields (Mele-Marrero 2017, p.69). At first sight, Elstob's mentor, Dr Hickes, also makes a profuse use of the first-person singular in his English works, in the preface to third edition of *Two treatises, one of the Christian priesthood, the other of the dignity of the episcopal order* (1711), he also

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7   For insightful studies on degrees of mitigation though negation see Koike (1994) and more recently and from a Functional Discourse Grammar perspective, Pérez Quintero (2018).

starts with an initial *I*. The contents are very subjective and using the first-person singular pronoun the authors show their commitment.

In the case of Elizabeth Elstob, in the starting part of her preface she is addressing those readers who question the discipline and her capacity; therefore, she shows her authority and conviction through the use of the singular. In the central part the use of the plural allows for the engagement of those readers who may see a religious interest in her work, those are not considered opponents but important subscribers. Lastly, in the final pages when she acknowledges the information and help received, defending though that this is her own production, she returns to the single use of *I*.

Notwithstanding this subjective writing, it must not be forgotten that she formed part of a community of practice and she follows the pattern used by those who surround her. Not only does Hickes use the first person, Ælfric himself does too:

> (26) Ic ælfric munuc awende þas bóc of ledenum bocum to engliscum gereorde
> (Godden 1979: 1)

Regarding the use of the first-person plural it is curious at the least that Elstob does not use it when making a vindication of women's learning. She adopts a rather detached, external vision of the situation:

> (27) But there are two things usually apposed against Womens learning. That it
> makes them impertinent, and neglect their household Affairs (HSG, p. ii)

> (28) I am very glad to find so many of the Ladies, and those, several of them, of the
> best rank: favouring these Endeavours of a Beginner, and one of their Sex. (HSG,
> p. lviii)

I do not consider that with the use of third person Elstob is excluding herself from her sex, she is still "one of", but it points to a clearer feeling of having strong ties with a community of practice which allows her to adopt a different position. In (28) she, in first person, is pleased to see other women (them, their) approving of her work, which even if a beginner's is part of a larger enterprise.

Conclusions

This study has aligned with the one by Gretsch in 1999 in the defense of Elizabeth Elstob as an Anglo-Saxonist, abounding on this fact from a pragmatic

perspective. Reading and contrasting full texts, thanks to digitization and the analysis of quantifiable data, allows to show the different roles the scholar adopted in her edition of the homily and its preface. The results obtained lead to the following conclusions:

- Elizabeth Elstob makes use of discourse markers which enhance her authority. This use varies from the edition of the homily itself to the preface since her potential readers in each case are different. In the preface she is mainly "selling" the product responding to criticisms and founding the support for this and further publications. In the homily, she shows her knowledge, her being one more Anglo-Saxonist by right.

- Particularly the use of the first-person singular pronoun matches with personal findings, beliefs and vindications. When this is used in appeals for shared knowledge or personal asides, it also serves the purpose of engagement with her community of practice.

- Connected with the previous point, Elstob's style coincides with that of the authors she drinks from, adding to that idea of her self-assumed, and other members', acceptance of belonging to an Anglo-Saxonist community independently of her sex.

- The use of first person varies from the subsections that can be appreciated in the preface and the annotations to her translation of the homily. Ignoring this fact and concentrating in just a part of her work, has blinded Elstob's contemporary and, notably, modern readers who do not realize the times she acknowledges the work of others as her peers and her use of "we" as to underline the fact that she formed part of that community with which she shared her knowledge and findings. It is also here where mitigation emerges for the first person singular but, in a way, probably only visible to her colleagues.

Finally, Elizabeth Elstob's authority does not come from the fact of being "just" a woman, it comes from the certainty she had of being a member of her particular community and the knowledge she had acquired at the time of her publication. This can be appreciated in the work done in her critical edition and translation. Omitting the annotations she makes is omitting her stance as a philologist of her time. Her defense of the Anglo-Saxon studies can only be made apparent by a new, more comprehensive and in Smith's (2020) terms "reimagined philology".

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The Transmission of *Exempla* in Mediaeval Romances: Manuscripts, Sources and Reception[1]

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1. Introduction

Exempla are a short form of narrative literature present in a wide variety of mediaeval works all throughout western Europe. These tale-like narratives are most commonly known for the use that mediaeval preachers made of them in their sermons, a context in which their persuasive and entertaining qualities are foregrounded. However, it is both possible and common to find exempla outside of sermons and preaching as well. In fact, scholars distinguish between three different types of exemplum: the sermon exemplum, the public or classic exemplum, and the literary exemplum (Scanlon, 2017, p. 763). The sermon exemplum is probably the most widely-known form of this type of narrative, and even if its name highlights its preponderance in sermon literature, it can also be found in other types of religious literature such as preaching manuals or treatises on vice and virtue. Sermon exempla became extremely popular towards the thirteenth century, when the Dominican and Franciscan friars began to create whole collections of tales to aid preachers in their task of reaching the unlearned folk. The public exemplum, in contrast, can be found in the realm of mediaeval political thought, and especially within works belonging to the mirrors for princes tradition. The literary exemplum has been described as the response of vernacular authors to the sermon and public forms

footnote

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1 This research article forms part of the project 'Repertori i estudi dels exempla medievals documentats a les literatures catalana i anglesa' ('Catalogue and study of medieval exempla recorded in Catalan and English literatures') (UJI-B2020-04) and has been produced at Universitat Jaume I of Castellón, Spain.

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of the type (Scanlon, 2017, p. 766), and in fact it draws from both. Literary exempla thus appear with particular prominence in the vernacular poetry produced in late mediaeval England, including the works of both well-known authors such as Chaucer or Gower, as well as the anonymous poems that circulated at the time. This type of exemplum emphasises the narrative form, or literary complexity, of the tale, allowing authors to engage with and produce different reactions in the audience. The necessity to distinguish between different types of exempla attests to two characteristics of the genre: on the one hand, exempla are extremely difficult to bring together under a single definition; on the other hand, they present a marked tendency towards hybridisation.

The problem of definition has challenged scholars since the 1890s, when an incipient interest in the exemplum led folklorists to study the transmission of popular culture in the collections that popularised the genre during the thirteenth and the fourteenth century. Among the different definitions that have been proposed by scholars, the one that allows for a wider treatment of the genre is that suggested by Tubach in his *Index Exemplorum*:

> Divergent as this material may be in its content and origin, the *exemplum* is an attempt to discover in each narrative event, character, situation or act a paradigmatic sign that would either substantiate religious beliefs and Church dogma or delineate social ills and human foibles. (1969, p. 523)

As regards the issue of hybridisation, this phenomenon is ingrained in the very tissue of the exemplum's evolution. Indeed, its roots lie both in the Eastern parables and Greek fables and in the Greco-Latin *paradeigma*, or narrative example. From the latter, the exemplum enters the Middle Ages as a narration addressed at the unlearned, whose use is promoted by early propagators of Christianity such as Gregory the Great. Looking for the best ways to exploit the authoritative counsel of figures of the calibre of Gregory, mediaeval writers started assembling extensive collections of stories which, with the passing of time, acquired an increasingly literary character. This circumstance led ecclesiastical authorities to perceive an increasing concern for the entertaining over the edifying functions of the exemplum, which ultimately led to its decay in the religious sphere towards the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Notwithstanding, the popularity that exempla acquired from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries allowed them to spread and merge into a variety of contexts, including books of instruction or chivalric romances, among others. Considering the capacity for hybridisation of the *exemplum*, its presence in

Arthuriana should not come as a surprise. Indeed, because of their potential to blend Christian and pagan traditions and their capacity to reach all strata of society (Menache and Horowitz, 1996, p. 340), Arthurian romances are the perfect recipient to incorporate *exempla.* However, the presence of exemplary tales in Arthuriana has received little scholarly attention, even more so when it comes to romances considered peripheral within this tradition. This is the case of *The Awntyrs off Arthure*, a late Middle English poem surviving in four manuscripts from the early fifteenth century.

It is precisely in the intersection between exemplum and romance that our interest for the present article lies. The influence of exempla in the vernacular poetry of late mediaeval England has extensively been treated in the works of authors such as Chaucer, Gower, Lydgate or Hoccleve (cf. Scanlon, 1994; Allen, 2005); however, their use in the anonymous romances that circulated at the time has been scantily considered. Thus, we aim at analysing the interpretive possibilities that both, the influence of the tradition of exempla, and the analysis of the manuscript contexts of the work, present for this particular mediaeval romance, the moral message of whose writer still generates scholarly debate.

2. Romances and exempla: the case of the *Awntyrs* off Arthure

The Awntyrs off Arthure (henceforth *Awntyrs*) was probably composed around the 1420s (Allen, 2000, p. 3). The poem is peculiar in many ways. To begin with, and contrary to many works of a similar nature, it survives in four different manuscripts, none of which constitutes a copy of any of the others. Although it is thought to have originally been composed around Carlisle, in Cumberland, some of the copies were made in the Midlands and London areas. Its presence in such a wide geographic area has led critics to assert that the poem enjoyed great popularity at the time (Pope, 2020, p. 52). Unlike other Arthurian tales, the *Awntyrs* does not have any precedent in the oral tradition, and yet its author extensively employs techniques associated with the art of oral composition. This can be explained because the text was produced in the context of a transitional stage between the oral and the written, as at the time works were designed to be read aloud in front of an audience.

In terms of style, the poem's rhyming scheme has been described as one of the most echoic of Middle English poetry (Hahn, 1995). It is made of fifty-five stanzas, each made of thirteen lines employing both alliteration and rhyme. The first nine lines in each stanza are linked by four alliterative stresses and

end rhyme, presenting a scheme *abababcdddc*. Of the remaining four lines, which contain two to three alliterative stresses, the first three rhyme on the same sound, while the fourth does so with the ninth line of the same stanza. This pattern, known as "wheel" is not the only technical refinement of the poem. Indeed, not only do the first two lines of many of the stanzas constitute a couplet with the same alliterative pattern, but also, the different stanzas are linked to each other through verbal *concatenatio*, that is, the presence, in the first line of each stanza, of a word or phrase from the last line in the previous division. All these stylistic intricacies imbue the poem with a highly cyclical or iterative quality, which culminates with the repetition of the first line of the poem at its very end. If these characteristics do not make the poem intriguing enough, what has actually puzzled scholars since the emergence of critical interest in the *Awntyrs* is the structure and its influence on the meaning of the poem. Indeed, thematically, the *Awntyrs* can be divided into two episodes, each apparently independent of the others. A summary of the poem goes as follows.

In what has been considered the first part, King Arthur and his retainers go on a hunt in the area of Inglewood forest, concretely at the Tarn Wadling, but Gaynour -Guinevere- remains behind, resting under a tree accompanied by Sir Gawain. Suddenly, the weather darkens ominously and a macabrely described ghost approaches Guinevere and the knight. Gawain asks about the intentions of the ghost, the apparition revealing that she is Guinevere's mother, who has come to warn her daughter about the destiny awaiting her for the sins they share, that is, pride -and although not explicitly stated, adultery-, as well as to admonish her to care for the poor. Gawain enquires the ghost about the future of those who fight for earthly power, and in response, the ghost denounces King Arthur's covetousness and prophesies the fall of the Round Table through treachery. Guinevere asks the ghost whether she can do anything to help her relieve her suffering, to which the latter asks for mercy on the poor and the performance of thirty trentals in her honour, conditions both of which Guinevere promises to comply with. After delivering her message, the ghost disappears, the weather goes back to normal, and the hunting party sets off for supper in Rondoles Hall.

The change of scenery introduces the second part of the poem, the action of which takes place while Arthur and his retinue celebrate a feast at court. A beautiful lady accompanied by a knight enters the hall, and the latter, who reveals being Galeron of Galloway, accuses Sir Gawain and the king of having stolen his lands. After showing proper hospitality to Galeron, Arthur organises a duel between Galeron and Sir Gawain, both of whom engage in a battle of

serious peril. When Gawain is about to strike a deadly blow to Galeron, his lady begs Guinevere to intercede, which the queen does successfully as Arthur stops the battle. The courage shown by Galeron in the duel not only grants his becoming part of the Round Table and his marriage to his lady, but also a redistribution of the land, so that the knight recovers his territories while Sir Gawain is given new ones. The last stanza of the poem, considered by some critics as a later addition to the text, narrates the performance of the masses promised by Guinevere to her mother's soul, although it is never clarified whether these are effective or not.

In relation to the poem's criticism, scholars have shown a variety of opinions regarding its structural and thematic unity. The episodic nature of the *Awntyrs* has raised doubts about whether it constitutes a single, connected text, or rather it is made up of two independent stories put together for convenience. Older criticism tended to agree with the second option, which implied that the poem's composition was flawed, and therefore the *Awntyrs* came to be relegated to the marginality of Arthuriana. This explains the scant scholarly attention that the poem has received. The vision of the poem as faulty was reinforced by the apparently disparaging generic nature of the different parts of the text, as the first features a ghostly apparition, and is associated with exemplary literature, whereas the second contains a duel, and is conceived of as a typical adventure romance. However, since A. C. Spearing suggested that the two episodes making up the text should be read as the two panels that constitute a diptych (1981, p. 186), there exists general consensus about the unity, or rather cohesion, of the poem. This pictorial interpretation of the *Awntyrs* is emphasised by the stress that the author places on descriptions (cf. Allen, 2000), which occupy an important part of the text. As in a diptych, the function of these descriptions is, to a great extent, to create a series of parallelisms and contrasts that involve both the characters and the events and work across the two episodes.

Spearing's interpretation of the *Awntyrs* as a diptych foregrounds the audiences' role in the construction of the meaning of the poem, at the same time that it raises questions about the intended message of the writer. Indeed, "mediaeval readers read for the moral, expected what they read to be exemplary in some way" (Furrow, 2009, p. 5). It is widely acknowledged that the *Awntyrs* exploits a series of motifs and themes which carry exemplary force, such as the Loathly Lady (Allen, 2000, pp. 14-19), the Three Living and the Three Dead Kings (Connolly, 2012, pp. 5-6), or the Wheel of Fortune (Hahn, 1995). The role of exemplarity in the poem is made even more prominent considering

Klausner's (1972, pp. 309-325) detailed association of the ghost's visit to Guinevere, asking for the relief of her soul through the singing of trentals, to the A version of the *Trentalle Sancti Gregorii*. The *Trentalle* is a popular exemplum narrating how Gregory the Great receives a visit from the ghost of his mother, who confesses having been an adulteress and at the request of whom the son promises to organise a trental of masses in order to save her soul. A year later, Gregory receives the visit of a radiant woman whom he believes to be the Virgin, but is actually his mother, who has been saved through his intercession. A moralisation attached to the story reveals its meaning, that is, the efficacy of prayer in removing sin. On the other hand, the B version of the same story includes a series of demons who intend to prevent Gregory from performing the trental for his mother by distracting him, a plot line that has also been connected to the exemplum of the Knight in the Chapel (Klausner, 1972, p. 309). Connolly argues that this episode is reflected in the *Awntyrs* as well, since the second part of the poem, containing the story of Galeron, constitutes a "promise-postponement device" (2012, p. 68); in other words, Galeron's visit to the Arthurian court constitutes a distraction for Guinevere's spiritual duty towards her mother. This would imply that the last stanza in the poem, the importance of which Hellen Phillips emphasises (1993, as cited in Connolly, 2012, p. 67), is one of the several frames that make up the complex structure of the *Awntyrs*.

The inclusion of an exemplum, the church's most powerful tool to teach its doctrine, together with the focus on Guinevere's spiritual duty towards her mother, seems to point towards the prevalence of a religious message in the *Awntyrs*: the writer is telling us that spiritual matters come before earthly ones. However, the literary complexity of the poem seems counterintuitive to such a simple reading. As pointed out by Allen, "later Middle English poets subjected didactic aspirations to rigorous scrutiny even as they made the most ostensibly transparent moral claims" (2005, p. 10). Certainly, the pervasiveness of the religious is difficult to sustain if one takes into consideration the writer's pleasure in dealing in detail with such mundane issues as the characters' accoutrements, or the opulent weaponry description throughout the almost ten stanzas devoted to the narration of the duel between Galeron and Gawain. The importance of these descriptions has recently been highlighted because of the role they play in helping the poet's expression of his moral concerns, as they help to emphasise the contradictions raised between the actions performed by the characters and the warnings uttered by the ghost. For example, the ghost's advocacy for pity on the poor and her denunciation of pride are answered throughout the text

with displays of vanity and excess, in the shape of the sumptuousness of the masses organised by Guinevere at the closing of the story, or in the luxury of the feast that opens the second episode of the poem. Johnston argues that parallelisms and contrasts in the text have a "paratactic effect" (2007, p. 299), which is directly related to the writer's posing of moral questions:

> [T]he text is working by parataxis; that is, morally problematic questions are posed initially and are followed by scenarios that embody the problems underlying the very questions that were asked, without any apparent acknowledgement of a contradiction by the characters involved. (Johnson, 2007, p. 302)

The employment of parataxis imbues the text of the *Awntyrs* with an ironic tone of denunciation of the attitude of its characters, who, acting in accordance with the chivalric ethos, constantly display *largesse* in spite of the admonitions of the tormented soul.

Another element in the poem that has recently been brought to the fore is the specificity with which the writer locates the events of the story in a particular region of the country. "The location of the poem in Cumbria near the border with Scotland, and the creation of the figure of Galeron as a Scottish knight with a land grievance are not mere accidents: they help to politicise the poem" (Connolly, 2012, pp. 63-64). A tendency towards the politicisation of texts has been noticed in a number of Middle English romances produced towards the end of the fourteenth century, which seem to postulate criticism towards the attitude of the military classes at the time:

> This tendency is reflected in the progressive formation, starting c. 1320 but crystallising around 1380–1400, of a significant corpus of Middle English romances concerned with questioning the values of chivalry and exploring the boundaries between proper and improper knightly conduct. Four blemishes on the chivalric ethos in particular seem to have captured the ideological interests of authors and adaptors: covetousness, pride, vainglory, and excessive violence or cruelty. (Elias, 2018, p. 58)

All the "blemishes" listed by Elias seem to be implicitly criticised in the *Awntyrs*; yet the audience never finds in the text an explicit confirmation that this is exactly what is going on.

By utilising a plotline based on a famous exemplum, the writer of the *Awntyrs*, who most probably was a cleric (Hahn, 1995), seems to be advocating for the importance of Church prerogatives in the consecution of a happy ending. However, the moralisation that clarifies the exemplum's meaning in the religious milieu is virtually absent in this secular adaptation of the story.

Moreover, in the context of the poem, the audience never gets to know if the trentals effectively alleviate the ghost's torment, and the latter's prophecies foretell a grim future for the Round Table. This undesirable outcome, however, seems to be the result of the character's ignorance and flagrant disobedience of the exemplary figure's counsel, which the *Awntyrs*' poet appropriates in order to criticise the very social group represented by those characters: the military, or chivalric, caste. The subtlety in the writer's criticism probably responded to the necessity of remaining on good terms with the people who commissioned, and therefore paid for, the production of the poem, as we shall see in the following sections. However, it should not be forgotten that the same subtlety demands an important effort of discernment by the audience, an effort that challenges some stereotypes that modern readers hold towards their mediaeval counterparts, both in relation to the static character of didactic literature as well as to the capacity of the audiences to respond to it. In this way, the *Awntyrs* seems to confirm the findings by Allen regarding the functions of exemplary literature, which, according to the author, includes both the obvious exemplum and the almost unsuspected chivalric romance:

> In a range of exemplary contexts, appeals to emotion tend to call attention to moral questions rather than simply confirming moral statements. By exploring the ways in which exemplary texts call for affective response, especially sympathy or "pitee," this study reveals how exemplary claims, far from simply perpetuating moral directives, educate through the contingencies of moral choice. (2005, p. 14)

Perhaps, then, the intention of the writer of the *Awntyrs*, a secular poem mediated through the employment of an exemplum and the posing of unanswered moral questions by parataxis, has not only to do with the promotion of religious doctrine or the subtle denunciation of chivalric misconduct, but also with the general moral education of his audiences. Indeed, Scanlon points out the mediaeval recognition of the didactic potential of secular readership already at play in authors such as Petrarch or Boccaccio: "[the] lay tradition [of heroic models] enables its audience to become moral simply by reading, without necessarily requiring heroic action. Secular readership becomes a self-constituting, self-affirming moral force" (1994, p. 133). The likelihood of this possibility in the *Awntyrs* may be assessed through an examination of the way in which mediaeval audiences engaged with texts of a similar nature. In addition, an overview of the manuscript contexts in which this particular text is located may provide some clues as to the ways, or the intentions, with which the poem was used.

3. THE AUDIENCE: RECEPTION OF *EXEMPLA* IN MEDIAEVAL CONTEXTS

The issue of reception and audience in the Middle Ages is closely bound to sermons. And sermons are and have been transmitted mainly by preaching, which was designed to engage the audience. Furthermore, it was designed to have an effect on the audience. Several issues connected to this idea will be developed in this section together with other aspects related to the transmission of exempla, contributing to the understanding of the role of these stories in Mediaeval Romances in English.

The very fundamental idea that lies behind the design of sermons is that of having an effect in the audience. It aimed at -literally- exhorting them to change their behaviours or to take action as a result of reading or listening to these stories. In some cases, when in mass preaching, if the power of the story accomplished that any listener physically responded, it created an incredibly effective atmosphere for the intended message to propagate and be accepted. The same premises may also apply to exempla inserted in romances.

The contents of the material used by preachers and writers in this period kept being modified as a natural reaction to the changing socio historical circumstances. Menache & Horowitz (1996, p. 321), who explore this issue in depth, state that: "by the High Middle Ages, preaching no longer focused on baptizing the gentiles, but on instructing the congregation of the faithful on the principles of the true faith." In order to reach the potential audience, it was important to send strong, powerful messages which gave no room for doubt, as among the community of believers, there must have been many ambivalent situations in everyday life that may have conflicted with the Christian believer, even if he/she were a strict follower of the doctrine. These stories would lead them to the right direction:

> The imperative to eliminate the dangers of religious unrest at home and, in parallel, to face an intensifying process of socio-economic change induced the Church to mount an intensive propaganda campaign; the ecclesiastical elite had become well aware that doctrine could not be dissociated from its transmission, and its success could only be measured according to its reception. Thus preaching gradually went beyond its original purpose of indoctrination toward the new goal of popularization through the use of proof and illustration. (Menache & Horowitz, 1996, p. 322)

Other views which complement this idea of exempla exerting a strong reaction in the public are quoted by Allen (2005, p. 112) in which she explains: "For Gregory, examples (especially from life) are a kind of lure, offering a particular narrative pleasure in order to rouse (*exitare*) audiences to take stories

to heart." The exempla, thus, became an indispensable tool inserted in every narrative, religious or lay, with the objective of transmitting a specific message:

> These short, edifying anecdotes became one of the most useful instruments of persuasion at the disposal of preachers. [...] Provocative, humorous, or frightening, they were meant to motivate the audience to accept the Church's message. They complemented the lessons of the Church Fathers and the rationes, while establishing the basic components of sermons. (Menache & Horowitz, 1996, p. 323)

The reaching of a mass audience was justified as the most effective way to expand and transmit the word of God and this, at the same time, implied and triggered a widespread use of the vernacular. This was a fundamental fact to engage with the audience, although not the only one. Listeners or readers may not always be extremely receptive to these stories, and to amend this situation, exempla would often use marvels, horror stories or other resources that would awaken the audience's interest, with the ultimate goal of provoking a mimetic and cathartic reaction. In this last case, where some would react to the story, the ultimate function of the exemplum would be accomplished.

> Suspense, even thrills, were proven devices for capturing and holding attention. Prevailing fears of the next world and damnation were systematically set in motion, reinforced by a series of preaching devices carefully elaborated. Thanks to the well-rooted system of symbolic correspondences, signs of all kinds were always to be read as messages from Providence, their interpretation being the sole responsibility of the Church. Such was the case reported in an exemplum about a fire that burst out in a grave and turned the corpse into dust, thereby signaling the hopeless fate of the buried sinner." (Menache & Horowitz, 1996, p. 344)

In the case of the *Awntyrs*, all these elements play a part: the ghost appearing to Gawain and Guinevere, revealing herself not only as the mother of the Queen, but also a mirror of her sins, justly because they are the same as Guinevere's, lust and the breaking of a marriage. In this case, this exemplum inserted in the middle of a Hunt, allows the Arthurian story to exhort the values of chastity and virtue, as it is clearly referred to in the lines: "[…] charité is chef [paramount], and then is chaste [chastity], / And then almessedede aure [above] al other thing" (Zdansky, 2018, ll. 252-253). It has been suggested that the author of the *Awntyrs* was possibly a cleric (Hahn, 1995; Zdansky, 2018), who may have used the tradition of Latin exempla, using the most attractive context of Arthurian materials to include the moral teaching. Another example of the use of exempla in conflation with Arthurian material is told by Menache & Horowitz (1996, p. 340), where the story, which happens at the King arthur's

court, is meant to provoke a reaction, to "incite all knights to seize arms and avenge the blood of the innocent victim."This would happen after finding a letter on a dead knight who mysteriously appears, dead on an empty boat, bearing great similitude to Christ on the Cross. He therefore needs to be avenged.

Audiences may have responded to different profiles and probably to different social groups. This is an issue that has been arising from some divergent positions, and although it is not the central concern of this paper, we should briefly bring our attention to different points of view. Concerning the different types of audience of a romance, Sánchez-Martí (2006, p. 153) provides with different views which try to define and narrow the audience of romances in Mediaeval England, although many of these statements come to be somehow contradictory, as he himself argues. As an example, he cites the 1965 work of Derek Pearsall, who affirmed that "the social context of Middle English romance (...) is overwhelmingly popular and non-courtly" (Pearsall, 1965; as cited in Sánchez-Martí, 2006, p. 153). However, in a later work published in 1967, the same author proposed a different idea, and included the concept of a general audience, expanding the initial notion of popular only. Also writing about Arthurian material, Bernamusca (2017) argues that a specific type of audience was particularly targeted. He discusses that, as these tales addressed topics related to noble life and had settings in the King's court, the audience that could inevitably be identified with these contexts would also be the ones that would eventually become patrons. All in all, the complexity in defining audiences for this specific genre is obvious, and we think that the dynamic relationship between the texts and the potential audiences should be very inclusive, in line with Sanchez-Martí (2006, p. 154), who points into this direction and states: "The fact of the matter is not only that this genre appealed to a wide segment of the population, but also that its various modes of transmission rendered romances, unlike the literature of the courtly poets, accessible to the lower echelons of society marked by their booklessness." The same author (Sánchez-Martí, 2006, p. 156) continues arguing that current views on the audience when we speak about romances are too narrow and over-simplified. He points to the idea of associating the stylistic features of a text with a specific social group, which does not offer a proper framework for understanding the fluidity and dynamics of what really the transmission of romances came to be. He uses the proposal of different levels of audience (fictional, intended, implied and actual) for his analysis. Although we do not intend to expand on this topic in the present chapter, we find this proposal points in the right direction.

Our next section deals with manuscripts and manuscript contexts. The reason for the inclusion of this aspect in the analysis of romances is because these sources provide solid information that helps and complements the interpretation of the stories. In this respect, Besamusca (2017) writes on readership and audience in Arthurian literature, mainly from the point of view of the commissioners of the written versions, and draws some conclusions based on codicological analyses of these works. He even points to some examples of artistic representations of these stories throughout Europe to show the extent of the Arthurian phenomenon. In reference to the audience, he states that "these objects and decorated rooms do not argue against middle-class interest in Arthurian literature, of course. But they do confirm that this genre was both truly pan-European and an elite phenomenon throughout the Middle Ages."(2017, p. 130). As to the codicological evidence, Sánchez-Martí (2006, p. 157) states that "codicological evidence is of primary importance in establishing the audience of a text", which goes in line to our discussion in the next section.

4. Manuscripts and sources

Understanding the transmission and reception of exempla is a complex matter. A few hints of how to focus on this issue have already been discussed above, but we would like to bring attention to the sources and the manuscripts, an aspect of the project involving the study of exempla in Middle English Romances that must be explored if we want to gain further insight into the relationship of the physical object and the interpretation of the text.

The main source that has been identified for the *Awntyrs* shows one source is a story named the *Trentals of St. Gregory*. This is shaped within the exemplum in the form of a petition by the ghost, asking for thirty masses in order to obtain redemption from purgatory. This source, according to Pfaff (1974, p. 77) "is traced back into the 13th century". However, some elements can be found earlier. This author finds an earlier source, Gregory's *Dialogues*, a collection of miracles which were highly influential and showed that masses can provide help for souls in purgatory. Both aspects of the *Trentals* reflected in the *Awntyrs*, the literary and the liturgical, would have been merging since that 13th century, and it has been argued that: "(…) the form in which St Gregory's *Trentals* appears in England is the result of the conflation of a literary story of the exemplum or perhaps fabliau type and a liturgical practice"(Pfaff, p. 1974, p. 77). The liturgical aspect is connected to the petition of the thirty masses, and the literary form is reflected in the exemplum from the previous

story connecting the thirty masses and a tale of the wicked mother of a Pope or priest, whose tormented soul appears to her son in order to ask for redemption. We have introduced above the idea that the author of the *Awntyrs* could be a cleric, who may have had access to these collections and to the Gregory's collection of miracles. Menache & Horowitz (1996, p. 322) also speak about this, and state that: "collections of summae, distinctiones, fables, bestiaries, and exempla become available to preachers. By the thirteenth century, pulpit eloquence reached a peak in its progress, as claimed by the contemporary dictum, hodie maxime opus est praedicatione."

The second aspect to be dealt with in this section is manuscript sources and manuscript contexts. The *Awntyrs* text is present in the following copies: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 324; Lambeth Palace Library, MS 49.a.; Thornton MS, Lincoln Cathedral Library, MS 91, and Princeton, University Library, MS Taylor 9 (olim. Ireland-Blackburne).

In a recent work by Pope (2020, p. 51), a full analysis of the manuscripts of the *Awntyrs* has been conducted, revealing very conclusive elements for the interpretation of the poem, and confirming the validity of assessing manuscript contexts as an important methodological perspective within any cultural, linguistic or literary study. According to Pope, the poem is dated in the years 1424-25 and this is the result of the identification of lands appearing in the text within the Cumberland-Westmorland region, an area associated with the Neville family, a very influential household at the time.

London Lambeth Palace Library, MS 491a contains the earliest surviving copy of the *Awntyrs*. It was produced in London c. 1425-35 by a clerk, the date being quite close to that of its original composition. This manuscript seems to have been produced in a commercial context. This, together with the existence of three further copies of the text, indicates not only that the *Awntyrs* was a very popular work at the time, but also that it is likely that more copies were produced that have failed to survive (Pope, 2020, p. 52)

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 324 was produced c. 1460-80. This manuscript contains an important number of favourite works at the time, including the *Awntyrs*, Lydgate's *Dietary*, Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, Mandeville's *Travels* and the *Siege of Thebes* (Pope, 2020, p. 52). Because of its displaying of such commercial works, it is thought to constitute a professional collection from a stationer's stock (Pope, 2020, p. 52).

Lincoln, Cathedral Library, MS 91 was produced c. 1430-50 by Robert Thornton, a well-known scribe pertaining to the gentry of North Yorkshire.

The copy of the *Awntyrs* contained in this manuscript is found towards the end of its Booklet II. The same booklet contains an important number of non-Arthurian romances, including *Octavian, Sir Isumbras, The Earl of Toulouse, Life of St Christopher, Sir Degrevant*, and *Sir Eglamour.* However, these appear to be framed by works belonging to the Arthurian universe, as the booklet begins with the *Alliterative Morte Arthure* (fols. 53r–98v) and ends with the *Awntyrs* (fols. 154r-61v) and *Sir Percevale of Galles* (fols. 161r–76r). According to Pope, this framing of non-Arthurian texts by the *Alliterative Morte* and the *Awntyrs* provides the manuscript with a circular structure, in such a way that "the knights of the [non-Arthurian] romances becom[e] knights of the Round Table by their textual situation" (2020, p. 61).

As regards Princeton, University Library, MS Taylor 9, it is made up of two booklets, both of which present the signature 'Thomas Yrlond'. This suggests that the artefact belonged to Thomas Ireland (deceased c. 1545), who inherited Hale Manor in 1525, according to Michael Johnston's 2014 analysis of the manuscript (as cited in Pope, 2020, p. 59). Book I contains the *Awntyrs* (fols. 1r–15v), *Sir Amadace* (fols. 16r-33v) and *The Avowynge off Arthure* (fols. 33v–58r), whereas Book II contains manorial records dating from 1399–1413. The two parts of the manuscript were bound together during the mid-sixteenth century. As in the case of Lincoln, Cathedral Library, MS 91, it seems that the compiler, by placing *Sir Amadace* -considered as peripheral within Arthuriana-between two other Arthurian books, intends to emphasise this character's membership in the Round Table (2020, p. 61). In this case, *Sir Amadace* would embody the qualities expected of a contemporary member of the gentry: a merchant background and the possession of land (2020, p. 61).

The circular structures of Booket II of Lincoln, Cathedral Library, MS 91 and Book I of Princeton, University Library, MS Taylor 9, begin and end with Arthurian romances, most of which are set around Carlisle. Moreover, this circularity is also manifested in the structures of the same romances they contain, which reproduce iteration by beginning and ending with the same phrases as well as by joining stanzas through *concatenatio*, as we have seen in our previous description of the *Awntyrs* (see section 2). According to Pope, this does not happen by chance, but rather:

> This suggests that iteration could function across texts: compilers actively responded to the poems they copied, constructing books that produce a type of iterative expression by the return to the same literary form, same genre, same characters, and even same temporal moments through the compiling of texts in a particular order. (Pope, 2020, p. 62)

The beginning and ending of Book I of Princeton, University Library, MS Taylor 9 not only returns us generically to the world of King Arthur, but also returns the reader to the same geographic location, the action of both poems taking place in the region surrounding Carlisle. Sir Gawain in the *Avowyng* keeps watch at the same Tarn Wathalene at which he was witness to the reanimated corpse of Guinevere's mother in the *Awntyrs* (2020, p. 62).

In order to summarise, it is interesting to note that two manuscripts containing this text (Cathedral Library MS Taylor 9 and Lincoln, Cathedral Library MS 91) offer very interesting insights that deserve our attention. First, the fact that the manuscripts present signs of a conscious act of compilation seems to be quite clear: "In the case of the *Awntyrs*, it is interesting that both of the two surviving codices connected to gentry households appear to contain books that are conscious collections of multiple Arthurian romances. (Pope, 202, p. 63). Another interesting characteristic is found in Lincoln, Cathedral Library, MS 91, where the texts are contained in independent quires. This particularity gave them the possibility of an independent transmission, and seems to have been purposely designed by the scribe (Pope, 2020, p. 91). Furthermore, there seems to be a specific design in which the Arthurian material is presented at the beginning and at the end:

> By considering the multiple manuscript survival of *The Awntyrs off Arthure*, and by reading these booklets compilationally, more is revealed about the cultural significance of Arthurian literature in the fifteenth century. Both manuscripts represent a book beginning and ending with the tales of King Arthur. (Pope, 2020, p. 64).

All in all, codicological analysis shows the importance of this material for having a complete understanding of the poem. In the case of *Awntyrs*, much work has been done by the excellent contribution published by Pope (2020). We would suggest that similar texts containing exempla, like the poem of Sir Amadace, contained in Edinburgh National Library of Scotland, Advocateds 19.3.1. (also known as the Heege MS), and also in Lincoln, Cathedral Library, MS 91, would be potential objects of analysis, which would provide excellent ground for comparison.

5. Conclusion

Romances in Middle English show a very fluid capacity for hybridization, making them ideal vessels for the inclusion of exempla. This proved to be a very successful combination, as the context of Arthuriana provided an attractive literary context in which moral teachings could be inserted.

In this chapter, the transmission of exempla in Middle English romances has been briefly considered, leaving ample material and angles to tackle for further research. It is true that, as we have seen in the sections above, romances have been the object of academic study for many years, but there has been a dearth in the specific approach to exempla, and to their function and transmission within romances in Middle English. All things considered, the study of the origins, audience and reception, and manuscript sources (including manuscript contexts) provides us with this wider perspective, which professor Smith has labelled as *Reimagined Philology*, gifting us with this ample and more global way of observing and understanding things, something these authors remain very grateful for.

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"Of the great antiqvitie of ovr ancient English tovng": Camden's and Verstegan's Influence on Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-century Historical Accounts of the English Language

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1. Introduction

Since the turn of the sixteenth century and over the course of two hundred years, grammars, dictionaries and other miscellaneous texts included historical sketches of the English language in their prefatory matter. The recovery of the linguistic past of English undertaken in these first historical accounts was not an isolated phenomenon, but formed part of a thoroughgoing political, cultural, and religious scheme devised to glorify England as a nation, and to establish her title to respect in the Renaissance European scene. England's determination to crave a reputable name promoted a series of policies involving territorial expansion, the settlement of the Reformed Church of England, the promotion of art and literature, and, what is most relevant for this paper, the revitalisation of the glorious past of England. Although writing the history of the language was just a part of this patriotic enterprise, it was not a minor one, since, as Milroy (2002: 8) notes, it contributed to legitimise the pedigree that the language of a great nation deserves.

Strongly conditioned by this nationalistic feeling, the first histories of English vindicated the Anglo-Saxon ancestry of English. In a way, grammarians and lexicographers tried to uphold a linguistic continuity between Anglo-Saxon and seventeenth- and eighteenth-century English (Jones 1953; Milroy 1996, 2002), although for different reasons: the former, to defend the necessity of writing English grammars detached from the Latinate tradition; the latter, to support the Germanic nature of English in the face of the thousands of

loanwords that had entered the language throughout its history. In this sense, both in their contents and in their information layout, these accounts were greatly indebted to the works of the antiquarians —especially William Camden and Richard Verstegan—, a group of scholars who, moved by an extraordinary patriotic interest in the past of the nation, strove to rediscover English historical and literary heritage (Jones 1953: 214-236; Salmon 1986: 70-71; Butler 2014: 145-146; Rodríguez-Álvarez 2018).

But early lexicographers and grammarians did not only display a general consensus on, and indebtedness to, the antiquarians' contributions to the knowledge of earlier stages of the language. Previous research has proved that the prefatory matter of eighteenth-century grammar books boasts "a highly homogeneous set of ideas, beliefs and objectives" (Rodríguez-Álvarez & Rodríguez-Gil 2013: 202). This common ground has made Watts (1995) adopt the concept of "discourse community" to refer to the Modern English grammar writers, whose work

> displayed a significant "degree of institutionalisation" even though they need not always have realised that they were members of that community. Many of the statements made in the prefaces to the grammars are interchangeable, the grammatical terminology is strikingly similar […] the examples are frequently similar from grammar to grammar, and we have clear cases of what we would condemn today as downright plagiarism. (Watts 2008: 51)

Indeed, this "degree of institutionalisation" and the well-extended practice of copying without any acknowledgement to their sources (Hickey 2010: 12-13; Yáñez-Bouza 2015: 83-84) anticipates few traces of originality in these early accounts of the language. But even then, identifying common background principles is in itself a significant step forward in the history of the discipline we know today as "History of the English Language", since it will bring to light contents and ideas that had been favoured since the end of the sixteenth century for as long as two hundred years.

This article aims to discover how the works of William Camden (1551-1623) and Richard Verstegan (c. 1550-1640) contributed to conform a series of arguments to (i) vindicate the Germanic heritage of English, and (ii) downsize the linguistic effects of the Norman Conquest. The undertaking of this project has entailed the analysis of a group of texts that, so far, has not received enough attention: the first histories of the English language. The corpus of study comprises 47 works from the second half of the sixteenth to the end of the eighteenth century listed in the catalogue compiled by

Rodríguez-Álvarez (2018). The analysis intends to prove their commitment to the nationalistic spirit that pervaded the English social, cultural and political context.

2. Looking back to the past

2.1. The archaisers

Towards the end of the sixteenth century, the debate on the convenience of using vernacular languages instead of Latin to deal with science and the liberal arts —the so-called *questione della lingua*— was reaching an end (Gray 1988). Most English scholars, philosophers and scientists of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries endorsed the use of English and the abandonment of Latin. The excellence of the language was thus recognized by scholars who argued that it was eloquent enough, in the classical sense, to publish their discoveries and observations as well as to express abstract concepts and disseminate knowledge (Barber 1976: 76; Hüllen 2001: 240-241).

This recognition of the expressive power of the language and the actual use of English for almost all the spheres of life during the Renaissance (science, literature, religion, etc.) came to reinforce the nationalistic feeling that pervaded the political panorama of England initiated by Henry VIII (1491-1547) and followed by Elizabeth I (1533-1603) and subsequent rulers. But to achieve this recognition, English had to go through "a long and gradual struggle to acquire greater respectability and a wide range of official, public and academic functions" (Milroy & Milroy 1999: 26). One of the most extended complaints about English in the sixteenth century had to do with its lack of lexical elaboration, which led to the well-known dispute over the different methods that could contribute to the enrichment of the language, i.e. the inkhorn controversy.

Although the seventeenth-century antiquarian movement was indeed responsible for the discovery, recovery and study of what is known today as tangible and intangible heritage of Great Britain, that is, the material and textual heritage as well as the folk culture and the traditions of the country (Barber 1976: 127), we cannot overlook the interest in the Anglo-Saxon language awakened in the course of the inkhorn controversy. Against the overwhelming process of borrowing defended by the neologisers as a good way to enrich the lexical deficiencies of English, the purists, or rather the archaisers, upheld the restoration of native old words (Barber 1976: 78). Both the

neologisers and the archaisers were moved by a nationalistic spirit, but whereas the former thought that the benefits obtained from borrowing cancelled out the derisive comments on the poor state of the language, the latter advocated a revival of their old native word stock (Jones 1953: 139).

All in all, nationalism was not the only energy that powered the archaisers' determination. The Reformation also had a share in this campaign of revitalisation of archaisms, as the use of loanwords in religious texts was viewed as a sign of affectation and vanity which hindered the understanding of the biblical teachings (Jones 1953: 140). According to the reformers, what was the point of having the Bible translated into the vernacular if the translation was blurred with obscure terms? As a case in point, Sir John Cheke (1514-1557), whose use of English was once "full of words of foreign etymology" (Bryson 2004), became a fervent defender of the purity of the language, so much so that, in his translation of the New Testament for Archbishop Cranmer (1489-1556), he tried to eradicate neologisms and use "Germanic- rather than French-derived words" (Smith 2012: 1298; also Jones 1953: 109; Bryson 2004). Thus, he favoured words like *biwordes* 'parables', *hunderder* 'centurion', and *vprising* 'resurrection' (examples from Barber 1976: 91), which had been in use earlier. In a way, he was forerunning an interest in Germanic roots "shared by later "purist" and "archaising" writers, such as the poet Edmund Spenser at the end of the 16th century" (Smith 2012: 1298).

But the reformers' keen interest in older forms of the language went beyond the ousting of borrowed terms from vernacular versions of the Bible. A crucial issue in the cause of the Anglican Church was to prove that the ideological tenets of the Reform had a historical basis in England, mainly the rejection of the doctrine of Transubstantiation and of clerical celibacy (Stanley 1980: 229-231; Frantzen 1990: 43-44). For this mission, undertaken by Matthew Parker (1504-1575) —the first Anglican Archbishop of Canterbury designated by Elizabeth I— and his team of learned scholars, the recovery of Anglo-Saxon texts turned pivotal (Horsman 1976: 387-388; Bailey 2002: 463-464; Fulk 2016: 96-97). Those old English manuscripts, which had been under the custody of monasteries before the dissolution, started to be collected, studied and edited (Brooke 1914; Considine 2008: 157). In fact, the first edition of Anglo-Saxon texts set in type dates back to Parker's *A Testimonie of Antiquitie* (1566/1577) (Frantzen 1990: 43). As its title indicates, the volume attests to "the doctrinal support offered by the early English church for the Church of England", and the use of specially cast Anglo-Saxon fonts contributed to shape a stronger sense of ancestry and genuineness (Cooper 2016: 244). In this way,

the Anglo-Saxon texts were used to provide the necessary evidence that the Church of England had its roots in the old English church and contributed "to promote the consolidation of the Tudor regime" (Lutz 2000: 2).

2.2. The antiquarians

Nevertheless, philological, rather than theological, interest in Anglo-Saxon texts initiates with the antiquarian movement (Gneuss 1996: 41). The antiquarians were a group of scholars who, moved by an extraordinary interest in the past of the nation, and in line with the patriotic feeling that pervaded the English political milieu, travelled all over England to recover old monuments, coins, inscriptions, manuscripts and antiquities in general. Vine distinguishes

> at the heart of Tudor and Stuart antiquarianism […] two activities or impulses. On the one hand, there was the humanist philological tradition, inherited from the great Continental philologists of the sixteenth century […] antiquaries in this tradition sought verbal or linguistic remains, primarily manuscripts and inscriptions, but also names and words themselves. On the other, there were the peripatetic antiquaries, who sought ancient objects and buried artefacts, who studied contours of the landscape rather than changes in language. (Vine 2010: 16-17)

Some of their collections grew to massive dimensions and eventually became the foundation of libraries and museums (Butler 2014: 145-146). Furthermore, the conclusions of their discoveries and studies, intended to restore and celebrate the glorious past of England, were published in works that attained great popularity and were frequently used as sources by contemporary writers (Barker 2002).

The antiquarians gave an enormous boost to the finding and establishment of Anglo-Saxon texts. Catalogues of manuscripts, still consulted today, and dictionaries of Anglo-Saxon were some of the linguistic projects undertaken at the time (Frantzen 1990: 48-49). Camden himself praises their painstaking efforts to edit and publish the recovered manuscripts, "otherwise it is to bee feared, that devouring *Time*, in few yeeres will vtterly swallow it [Anglo-Saxon heritage] without hope of recoverie" (Camden 1605: 19-20). But, what is most relevant for this study, they were much concerned with "the development of a national linguistic history" and with the institutionalisation of their linguistic inquiry, which led to the foundation in 1586 of the Society of Antiquaries, "the first official and hence "institutional" group of Anglo-Saxonists [who] gave credibility to the work of the antiquaries" (Frantzen 1990: 48).

Antiquarian writing enjoyed a wide reception and their influential authority extended up to the eighteenth century, as shown in the following quotes extracted from the histories of English of the corpus under study. Phillips, for example, reveals that for the compilation of his dictionary he has perused "the renowned Antiquaries, *Cambdem, Lambard, Spelman, Selden*, and divers others" (Phillips 1658: prefatory letter n.p.), whose portraits are depicted on the frontispiece to his dictionary as a marketing strategy to appeal a scholarly audience and ensure that they recognized its antiquarian sources.

Furthermore, just in three pages Greenwood (1711: 2-4) mentions no less than 13 references to works on history, "Philological Treatises […] and other Books of the like Subject, where may be found many Monuments of uncommon Learning". Bellamy also refers explicitly to the antiquarians as the sources of his observations: "the learned and judicious Antiquarian, to whom we are indebted for our most essential Remarks" (Bellamy in Marchant 1760: xi). And Martin reproduces in the preface to his dictionary (1749) an inscription engraved on a votive table recently discovered in Chichester (Figure 1) just to illustrate the Latin alphabet and its continuity up to the eighteenth century. This and similar finds, according to Martin, were the result of excavations performed by collectors and antiquarians.


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        N E R O N I
     CLAVDIO · DIvI
    CLAUD. GERMAN.
  CAES. AUG. NEPOTI. TI.
 CAES. AUG. PRONEPOTI.DIV.
   DOMITIO CAESARI AUG.
 PONT. MAX. FR. PIV. IMPiV.Cos.
         S. * C V N.
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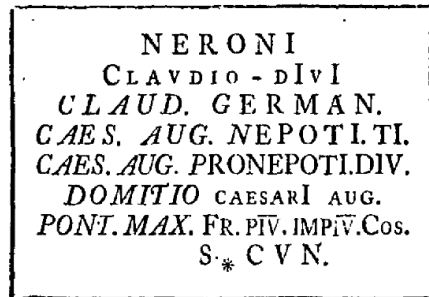
Note, The part in italics was quite defaced, and not legible; but was supplied by a learned antiquary.

Figure 1. Inscription on votive table (Martin 1749: 11)
[copyright free image from Google Books]

The achievements of these seventeenth-century collectors and scholars continued down to the eighteenth century, when we find remarkable works on the Anglo-Saxon language such as George Hickes's (1642-1715) *Linguarum veterum septentrionalium thesaurus grammatico criticus* also called *Thesaurus*

linguarum septentrionalium (1703-1705) or Elizabeth Elstob's (1683–1756) *The Rudiments of Grammar for the English-Saxon Tongue* (1715) (Birrell 1966).

But among all the members of the antiquarian movement, two key figures stand out as constant references in the early historical accounts of English of our corpus: Richard Camden and William Verstegan. Verstegan is quoted by Butler (1633), Wallis (1653), Phillips (1658), Cooper (1685) and Martin (1749), among others; whereas Camden is mentioned by Gil (1619), Butler (1633), Wallis (1653), Phillips (1658), Howell (1659), Cooper (1685), Bailey (1721), Stackhouse (1731), and Bailey (1736), among others. A cursory note on William Camden and Richard Verstegan will help contextualise these early histories of English.

2.3. William Camden and Richard Verstegan: the precursors of the first historical accounts of the English language

According to Jones (1953: 220),

> The two men who, if we may judge by the frequent citations to them, did more than any one else to introduce the Continental admiration of the Germans into England and to point out the significance of the derivation of the English from them were Richard Verstegan […] and William Camden.

Both William Camden's *Remaines of a Greater Worke, concerning Britaine* (henceforth *Remaines*) and Richard Verstegan's *A Restitution of Decayed Intelligence: In Antiquities* (henceforth *Restitution*) were first published in 1605, and their influence was felt very soon in the writing of the first historical accounts of the English language (Salmon 1986: 70-71).

Remaines contains the material that Camden did not include in a prior voluminous work, *Britannia* (1586), which took him all over the country taking notes on the history of the British counties, their topography, their monumental heritage, their folklore, and other sundry data of ethnographic and historical interest (Barker 2002: 211). As soon as it was published, *Britannia* "became the pole-star of a new generation with a scholarly passion for the history of the country […] a repository of newly discovered fact and a universal source of reference" (Barker 2002: 211). In fact, after being published in England, it was reprinted in Frankfurt (1590) and Amsterdam (1617) in his lifetime, and it enjoyed wide diffusion all over Europe (Birrell 2011). But as Herendeen (1988: 199) puts it, "it is a work of recovery rather than discovery, recreation rather than collection or description", since Camden does

not intend to give just a picture of the country but rather to infuse the landscape, the cities and the monuments with a sense of historicity. Camden, however, had left out information, mainly linguistic, which was published in *Remaines.* Although in the first edition of *Remaines* Camden refers to his own work as "this silly, pitifull, and poore *Treatise* […] being only the rude rubble and out-cast rubbish […] of a greater and more serious worke" (1605: "Epistle Dedicatorie" A1r-A1v), the dismissed material proved more popular than the work it was to supplement and "appeared in seven impressions […] before 1674" (Salmon 1986: 71). In the 1614 edition of the *Remaines,* Camden included Richard Carew's *The Excellency of the English Tongue*, an essay which was first published in this volume and remained here in subsequent editions. This too will be of paramount importance to this study. Besides, Camden's radical Germanism only becomes conspicuous in the 1614 edition, as shown in the following quotes from both his first and second editions:

> This English tongue [is] extracted out of the olde *German*, as most other […]. (Camden 1605: 13)

> This English tongue is extracted, as the nation, from the Germans the most glorious of all now extant in Europe for their morall, and martiall vertues, and preseruing the libertie entire, as also for propagating their language […]. (Camden 1614: 20)

As for Richard Verstegan (formerly Rowlands), he had a completely different intellectual background. His was a turbulent life mostly spent in exile due to his Catholic extraction and his political views. Although not part of the antiquarian circle, he had a vast knowledge of European scholarship and his *Restitution* was held in high esteem (Considine 2008: 188), being reprinted six times by 1673 (Salmon 1986: 71). According to Arblaster, "it is a very straightforward work, with the simple object of demonstrating the descent of the English from the Germanic peoples of northern Europe" (2004: 85). Probably due to his Dutch origin, his appraisals on the Germanic stock of the language, especially those in his list of Old English words, have proved to be quite accurate (Considine 2008: 189-190). Furthermore, together with Camden, he was the champion of the Germanic heritage of the English language (Hüllen 2001: 241).

In the following sections I address Camden's and Verstegan's views on the origin and history of the English language and will compare them to those presented by the authors of the corpus. In addition to tracing the ideological

tenets held in the early historical accounts of English, special attention will be paid to the vindication of the excellence of English over other European languages.

3. THE ISSUE OF LINGUISTIC CONTINUITY

Being a member of the ancient Germanic family becomes a reason for pride in the first historical accounts of the English language, and the authors will do their best to assert and defend the Germanic linguistic pedigree of English (Jones 1953), an affiliation which had been first identified by Conrad Gesner (1516-1565) in his *Mithridates* (1555) (Stanley 1983: 9). In order to support this claimed ancient past, Germanic —or *Teutonic(k)*, as called in these accounts— is endowed with a mythical origin, and qualified with a conventional list of positive epithets. However, claiming uninterrupted language history from Anglo-Saxon times may be difficult to sustain when (i) the history of English is disrupted by other conquerors who brought over other languages, and (ii) even contemporary readers cannot understand their ancestors' language.

In this section I will tackle the fervent defence of a Germanic lineage presented in these accounts, and how their authors coped with the problems posed by the mixing with French and the unintelligibility of older texts written in the, allegedly, same language.

3.1. History and pedigree: defence of an uninterrupted history from Anglo-Saxon to eighteenth-century English

"The Excellencie of a Language", says Butler, "doeth consist chiefly in three things, [1 Antiquitie, 2 Copius Elegancie, and 3 Generalitie]" (Butler 1633: 2r). It is undeniable that the antiquity of a language, as indeed the antiquity of a nation, stood up as a solid argument in favour of claims of excellence and of national identity, especially when the status of English had been in question for such a long time. Holinshed (1577: 5r) puts it quite clearly when he states that "in times past all nations [...] did very solemnely preserue the Cataloges of their discent, thereby eyther to shew themselues of auncient and noble race, or else to be discended from some one of the goddes". Hence, a tenacious zeal to prove the Germanic, or rather Teutonic, ancestry of the English nation and language pervades the early accounts of English.

The reference to the term *Teutonic(k)*, as used in these histories of the language, conveyed an immediate correlation of laudatory adjectives and

virtues applied, in the first instance, to the Germanic people's character, but subsequently to the nature of their native and daughter languages, i.e. Anglo-Saxon, and later English. As a case in point, when Butler describes *Teutonick* as "the language of unconquered Conquerours" (Butler 1633: 2r), he is not only saying that the Germanic tribes were strong and brave, but is also implying that their language was endowed with these features and had likewise remained unconquered. In this way, he is constructing an ideal image of Germanic resistance and soundness, qualities which will be frequently resorted to in early histories of the English language to uphold its Germanic character.

The origin of this glorious image of the Germanic people can be traced back to the sixteenth century, when the (re)discovery and study of Latin texts on the conquest of Germany, e.g. Julius Caesar's *Bellum gallicum* or Tacitus' *Germania* (Salmon 1986: 71; Considine 2008: 114), contributed to create the pan-European myth of a Germanic superior race (Horsman 1976; Considine 2008). This image, though, prevails all throughout the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries, particularly in England, and comes to be reinforced by the works of Camden and Verstegan (Horsman 1976: 389; Salmon 1986: 71-72). The latter, probably conditioned by his Dutch extraction (see section 2.3.), is probably the most fervent advocate of the Germanic ancestry of English, or, as Kidds says, "the first authentically Saxonist [historian]" (Kidd 1999: 86-87). The following quote is a good proof of it:

> [T]he maine corps and body of the realme, notwithstanding the Norman conquest and the former inuasions of the Danes, hath stil consisted of the ancient English-Saxon people, wherein euen vnto this day it doth yet consist. (Verstegan 1605: 187)

This claim is resumed by Camden (1614: 20), who adds words of praise for the virtues of the Germans, "the most **glorious** of all now extant in Europe for their **morall**, and **martiall** virtues" (my emphasis). These racial appraisals are common in the early histories of English as late as 1789, when Webster still observes that "from these nations [the Teutones and Goths] proceeded those fierce and numerous warriors, who, under different leaders invaded and subdued all the southern parts of Europe" (Webster 1789: 53), another compliment to the warlike nature of this victorious people.

It is clear then that the axiom "Gentis Anglicae, & Linguae origo vna est: ea ad Saxones, & Anglos, Germaniae populos refertur" (Gil 1619: B1r) is well rooted in all the historical accounts of the corpus. But the recreation of a mythical narrative which takes the origin of the Germans back to Noah's flood —and even other mythical settings— is only characteristic of the earliest

accounts. Hüllen notes that biblical references are frequent in Renaissance discussions on the history of Germanic languages, which, unlike Romance ones, of uncontested Latin tradition, had to prove their value and authority (Hüllen 2001: 237-238). Once again, Verstegan breaks the ground with the inclusion of this myth in his *Restitution* (1605). The story, based partly on the biblical account and partly on different after-biblical versions, including Tacitus' *Germania* (Verstegan 1605: 10-13), goes that, after the flood, one descendant of Noah called Tuisco conducted his people to Germany, where they settled, and "as the people took their name after their conductor, so the language consequently took the name of the people [Teutonic]" (Verstegan 1605: 188). Verstegan even includes an engraving depicting the eponymous founder of the Germans conducting his people away from Babel to their land (1605: 71), a powerful image which infuses a sense of credibility to the mythical story (Considine 2008: 191). Although other mythical characters had come on stage in the histories of the corpus (Holinshed had also mentioned a similar story with other names, 1577: 4v), it is Verstegan's narrative the one that inspired the earliest accounts.

Continuing with this array of arguments intended to give foundations to the ancient pedigree of the language, Verstegan quotes Becanus' opinion that Teutonic is "the first and moste ancient language of the world […] the same that Adam spake in *Paradise*" (Verstegan 1605: 190), only to add later that "yf the Teutonic bee not taken for the first language of the world, it cannot bee denied to bee one of the moste ancientest of the world" (Verstegan 1605: 192-193). A hypothesis reproduced by Butler (1633: 2r), Wallis (1653: A2v) and Phillips: "our language derives its Original from the *Dutch* or *Teutonick*, which seems to be of greater Antiquity then any other language now spoken in *Europe*" (Phillips 1658: b4r). In fact, Joseph Justus Scaliger's (1540-1609) idea that the Teutonic language is one of the 11 original languages, or "Mother Tongues", spoken in Europe after the confusion of Babel (Koutna 1990: 288) is followed by Phillips (1658; b3v), Howell (1659: prefatory matter n.p.), Greenwood (1711: 2), and Bailey (1736: A1v).

By the mid-eighteenth century, though, Adam, Babel and other biblical references are not given so much credit in the construction of the origin of Germanic. Martin is the last author of the corpus to reproduce Scaliger's opinion, not without reservations, as his comment reveals some reluctance to take it for granted: "but to come to times and things of greater certainty" (Martin 1749: 11). All in all, the important thing about these mythical stories about Tuisco, Adam and Babel is that they paved the way to put forth proposals

that contemplated "the Germanic languages as a group that could be traced back to a single protolanguage of great antiquity (Considine 2008: 191).

But in order to claim that this is the genuine pedigree of the English language, it is paramount to uphold a linguistic continuity from Anglo-Saxon to the English of the time. Committed to the cause of the Germanic heritage, the authors endeavour to make clear this principle of direct descent from Germanic to English by means of ever-present assertive statements like the one in Camden and subsequent accounts:

> The ground of our owne [language] apperteneth to the old Saxon […]. (Carew in Camden 1614: 40)

> [T]he Saxon, or German tongue is the ground-work upon which our language is founded […]. (Phillips 1658: b4v)

> The *English* language […] is a Branch of the *Teutonick*, as is the present *German, Dutch, Danish*, and those that are a kin to 'em; and our Language differs from them, just as they do from one another. (Greenwood 1711: 11-12)

The authors' efforts are thus focused on a single target: to impress on the readers' minds the view that English is a direct descendant of Teutonic, no matter the linguistic traces left by the languages English had been in contact with. And it is Verstegan, the champion of the Germanic heritage of English, the first one to dwell on this idea in his chapter "Of the great antiqvitie of ovr ancient English tovng":

> Ovr ancient English-Saxon language is to bee accompted the Teutonic toung, & albeit wee haue in later ages mixed it with many borrowed woords, espetially out of the Latin and French; yet remaineth the Teutonic vnto this day the grownd of our speech […]. (Verstegan 1605: 188)

Verstegan's words are echoed in other authors who also project the image of a strong durable language that has not only preserved its Germanic character since Anglo-Saxon times, but has even emerged reinforced despite of, or rather, thanks to, the linguistic invasions that have swept the country:

> Seeing then we borrow (and that not shamefully) from the *Dutch*, the *Britaine*, the *Romane*, the *Dane*, the *French*, the *Italian*, and *Spanyard*; how can our stocke bee other then exceeding plentifull? (Carew in Camden 1614: 40)

Indeed, the incorporation of words from other languages, a practice common to classical and modern languages, as most authors indicate, cannot be a source of shame (Camden 1605: 21-22; Miège 1688: a5v; Bailey 1721: A6r). Quite the contrary, "these forrainers instead of detracting ought from our tongue, add copiousnesse and varity to it" (Phillips 1658: c1r). In this way, the negative effect of borrowing is dismissed, since English has adopted "the choicest, best sounding and significant words of other languages, which in tract of time were enfranchizd, and made free denizons as it were of *England* by a kind of Naturalization" (Howell 1659: n.p.; 1660: 9; a similar argument is found in Cocker 1704: A4r). Stackhouse even hints at a willingness on the part of the English language (as if it had a life of its own) to take whatever word it wants and make it its own:

> It must be own'd then, that our Language, which not only has such a Fund and Stock of its own, but borrows likewise from other Nations, and makes, as it were, free Booty wherever it comes, cannot but be rich and abundant in all manner of Expressions. (Stackhouse 1731: 172)

In other words, as Corbet puts it in the following quote, Verstegan and other authors of the corpus managed to turn a disadvantage into an advantage, i.e. the influence of other languages, which initially could be seen as an obstacle to their claims of Germanic pedigree, is now viewed as a positive quality (Milroy 2001: 549; Rodríguez-Álvarez 2009: 193, 200):

> [A]t this day, our Language, which about 1800 years ago, was the Ancient British, or Welsh, &c. is now a mixture of Saxon, Teutonic, Dutch, Danish, Norman, and modern French, embellished with the Greek and Latin. Yet, this is so far from being a disadvantage to the English Tongue, as now spoke, (for all Languages have undergone changes, and do continually participate with each other) that it has so enriched it, as now to become the most copious, significant, fluent, courteous, amorous, and masculine Language in Europe, if not in the World […]. (Corbet 1784: 46-47)

The new setting is even more positive for English because it has not only come out stronger and richer than before, but stronger and richer than the rest of the languages in Europe, "if not in the World". Therefore, it is not that the other languages have influenced English (passive recipient), it is the English language (active doer) the one that has selected the best from other languages. And in this way, far from being a victim of historical events, English becomes the protagonist of its own history, making the best decisions for its future.

However, the overt defence of the Teutonic heritage does not stop here. Paradoxically enough, specimen texts, whose primary aim was to attest to the

development of the language, also served a second purpose: that of attesting to the *continuity* of the language. As a case in point, Greenwood, after having quoted a tenth-century letter by Ælfric, comments: "Here any one may perceive a great many English Words" (Greenwood 1711: 18). Likewise, Bailey's comments on his examples from different historical periods try to minimise the changes a reader may observe by saying "that the Diction was brought pretty near the present Standard, the Variations being principally in the Orthography or Manner of Spelling" (1736: A2v). And Martin insists on this concept of continuity by a careful selection of adjectives:

> By these versions of the Lord's prayer in every age 'tis easy to observe **by what slow and gradual immutations** the Saxon language proceeded from its ancient to its present state in respect of its orthography. And thus it appears by all that has been hitherto said […] That the ancient Anglo-Saxon tongue with a small tincture of British, provincial Latin, Danish, and Gaulish words, make the body or substance of the common and vulgar part of our present language. (Martin 1749: 16; my emphasis)

But, in their attempt to defend the excellence and superiority of the English language, how did grammarians, lexicographers and other authors of histories of the language cope with the inconvenient objections to their claim of lineal descent, namely the linguistic influence of the Norman Conquest and the difficulties Anglo-Saxon texts posed to eighteenth-century readers?

3.2. Linguistic continuity menaced

Maintaining this idyllic unbroken lineage is not always easy and the authors reluctantly acknowledge that the "integrity of English", to use Machan's expression (2009: 60), was menaced by the irruption of the Normans (Rodríguez-Álvarez 2009: 194-197).

The history of the Norman Conquest, as represented in the early accounts of English, is that of linguistic subjugation. Camden makes it clear by the use of the term *yoke* to refer to the oppressive measures taken by the Norman rulers: "[T]he Normans, who as a monument of their Conquest, would have yoaked the English vnder their tongue" (1605: 22). This term, used in the expression "Norman yoke", was widely used in English nationalist discourse throughout the seventeenth century (Simon 1961: 717-720; Kidd 1999: 75-98) and occurs occasionally in the corpus (Bailey 1721: A4v).

But what is ostensibly conspicuous is the extensive use of words and expressions conveying linguistic imposition and subjugation, consistent with

this Norman-yoke metaphor (Rodríguez-Álvarez 2009: 196). Camden again associates terms such as *compel* or *enforce* to the Normans: "**compelling** them [the English] to teach their children in schooles nothing but French" and "**enforcing** them most rigorously to pleade and to be impleaded in that tongue" (Camden 1605: 22, my emphasis), words which are reproduced in Bailey (1721: A4v). Similarly, Martin (1721) and Stackhouse (1731) introduce other effective expressions to reinforce this idea of oppression: "William duke of Normandy […] produced a very great mutation, by introducing the Gallic or French tongue **with his arms** into this country" (Martin 1749: 13, my emphasis), "The *Norman* Conquest […] **impos'd** upon our Ancestors, for some time, a strange Language **with Rigour**; and left behind it a multitude of Terms" (Stackhouse 1731: 170; my emphasis). And the sad conclusion they all reach is that, as Bailey bitterly regrets, "the *English Saxon* language of which the Normans **despoiled** us in great Part, had its Beauties, was Significant and Emphatical, and preferable to what they **imposed** upon us" (Bailey 1721: A5v, my emphasis).

As the authors of these accounts admit, this linguistic imposition was not without consequences. Unable to deny the influence of French, Johnson avows that the arrival of the Normans marks a turning point in the history of English which is clearly visible in the twelfth century:

> About the year 1150, the *Saxon* began to take a form in which the beginning of the present *English* may be plainly discovered; this change seems not to have been the effect of the *Norman* conquest, for very few *French* words are found to have been introduced in the first hundred years after it; the language must therefore have been altered by causes like those which, notwithstanding the care of writers and societies instituted to obviate them, are even now daily making innovations in every living language. (Johnson 1755: E1r).

But in the course of the thirteenth century the language changed so much that Johnson himself and, later, Bellamy suggest a new name for that, i.e. English instead of Saxon, as the new speech was more similar to the language they spoke.

> Hitherto the language used in this island, however different in successive time, may be called *Saxon;* nor can it be expected, from the nature of things gradually changing, that any time can be assigned, when the *Saxon* may be said to cease, and the *English* to commence. *Robert of Gloucester* however, who is placed by the criticks in the thirteenth century, seems to have used a kind of intermediate diction, **neither *Saxon* nor *English*** […]. (Johnson 1755: E2r; my emphasis)

In the 13th Century, […] a sort of Language, **partly *Saxon*, and partly *English*,** was introduced; at which Time the miscellaneous Writings of *Robert of Gloucester* was held in high Esteem. (Bellamy in Marchant 1760: xi; Barclay 1774?: vi; my emphasis)

But alas, these two quotes pose a question that had not been tackled so far: was Anglo-Saxon the same language as that spoken by seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Englishmen? The evidence provided by these accounts indicate the contrary. Admittedly, French had affected English to such an extent that Anglo-Saxon and even later texts were no longer intelligible for an ordinary English reader (Rodríguez-Álvarez 2009: 198). Camden himself comments that a text written in ancient Saxon "would seeme most strange and harsh Dutch or Gebrish, as women call it" (1605: 15), and adds that "our sparkefull Youth [would] laugh at their great grandfathers *English*" (1605: 18). Just some years later, Greenwood notes that "If any *English* Man should now write or speak as our Fore-fathers did about six or seven hundred Years past, we should as little understand him as if he were a Foreigner" (Greenwood 1711: 17).

The unintelligibility of Anglo-Saxon is a fact that cannot be easily contested, even by those who defend the unbroken evolution of English. For that matter, the corpus is abundant of statements similar to those by Camden and Greenwood. Thus, the anonymous author of the *Gazophylacium Anglicanum* acknowledges that "when I look'd an hundred, or an hundred and fifty Years only behind me, I could scarce imagine it [my Native Language] ever to have been the Language of my Ancestors, or even of the Country I was born in, 'tis so chang'd" (1689: A3v). Or moving ahead to the mid-eighteenth century, we read in Martin (1749: 111) that "Addison, Pope, and Foster, may appear to our posterity in the same light as Chaucer, Spencer, and Shakespear do to us; whose language is now grown old and obsolete; read by very few, and understood by antiquarians only".

The important issue here is that admitting this unintelligibility implies admitting that the line of descent from Anglo-Saxon to seventeenth-/eighteenth-century English is not direct, but has been interrupted by the irruption of other languages, mainly French. Obviously, this contradicts the concept of linguistic continuity endorsed so far by these authors, and, therefore, it is mandatory to contrive a battery of arguments to counterbalance this apparent disruption of the English lineage. The ultimate aim of this scheme is to minimise the effects of the Norman Conquest and maintain the notion of direct ancestry back to Anglo-Saxon.

- The first argument is provided by Johnson, who claims that the language was already undergoing changes, and therefore the Norman Conquest cannot be blamed for them (Rodríguez-Álvarez 2009: 197,199). In this fashion, Johnson attributes the alterations of the language to what we would call today "internal changes". Thus, although admitting the undeniable changes after the Norman Conquest, he still tries to minimise them:

  > About the year 1150, the *Saxon* began to take a form in which the beginning of the present *English* may be plainly discovered; this change seems not to have been the effect of the *Norman* conquest, for very few *French* words are found to have been introduced in the first hundred years after it; the language must therefore have been altered by causes like those which, notwithstanding the care of writers and societies instituted to obviate them, are even now daily making innovations in every living language. (Johnson 1755: E1r)

- The second argument is based on social factors: the low number of French settlers accounts for the low impact of the French language on English (Rodríguez-Álvarez 2009: 196). This argument is put forward by most authors of the corpus. Thus, Wallis (1653: A5v) notes that "Non autem, quod aggressus erat, est aslecutus, quippe quod Normannorum qui huc advenerant, si ad Anglos quibus immiscebantur comparentur", which is copied almost verbatim by most authors, as for example, Greenwood:

  > But his [William the Conqueror's] Attempts prov'd unsuccessful, because the Number of the *Normans* that came hither, was very small, in Comparison of the *English* with whom they were embodied or mix'd; wherefore the *Normans* lost or forgot their own Language, sooner than they could make any Change in the *English*. (Greenwood 1711: 9).

  And in the mid-eighteenth century we find Martin (1749: 13) reporting that "[…] as the Normans were few in respect of the Saxons, so the Anglo-Saxon language still prevail'd".

- The third argument revolves around family affiliations (Rodríguez-Álvarez 2009: 196). It holds that, as many French loanwords were in fact of Germanic or Celtic origin, and these languages had also been in English soil and formed part of the linguistic substratum of English, "we are to reckon them originally our own" (Greenwood 1711: 9). In this fashion, French loanwords are dismissed as loanwords from French and assumed as part of the English word stock. Verstegan is the firt one

to put forward this argument, which is also noted by other authors (e.g. Wallis 1653: A5v; Chambers 1728: 309; Martin 1749: 13):

> [T]he true and ancient French language was also the Teutonic-toung, & […] thereof there yet remaineth in the now named French, many Teutonic woords, as the relykes of their first oldest and right French language […]. (Verstegan 1605: 189; also 199-203)

- The fourth argument is related to the origin of the core vocabulary of English, that is, those words referring to the most common and universal elements of human experience such as parts of the body, features of the environment, common activities, etc. (Rodríguez-Álvarez 2009: 193-194). Regarding the criticisms about the permeability of English expressed in accusations that describe it as "the most mixt and corrupt of all other" languages (Camden 1605: 22; also Bellamy in Marchant 1760: xiv), Phillips —and other authors of the corpus— contends that "the mighty stream of forrauigne words [have] not yet wash't away the root" (Phillips 1658: b4v), since Germanic is the language from which the English core vocabulary derives, that is,

> [T]hose [words] which are oftnest used in the most familiar, and vulgar discourse […] the most primitive and uncompounded words, appellatives, the names of natural things, animals, vegetals, as *Earth, Heaven, Winde, Oak, Man, Bird, Stone*, &c. words that imply a relation, as *Father, Brother, Son, Daughter;* Pronouns, and Monosyllable Verbs, as *Mine, Thine, This, What, Love, Give,* besides all our numerals, particles, conjunctions, and the like. (Phillips 1658: b4v)

Similar wording can be found in Howell, who distinguishes between these common words of Germanic stock to refer to everyday life issues (familiar objects, activities and beliefs, and, in general, elements closer to their hearts), and a second group of words of French origin related to leisure and art activities:

> The Englishman is High-Dutch *capapie* from top to toe go to the parts of his body inward and outward, together with his coverings and clothes; he is Dutch in *drinking*, in eating, at bed and at board, by sea also and by land when he steers a ship or drives the plough, In his nombers, in the dayes of the week, in his kindred, in the Church and holy things he is Dutch, &c. But in Hawking, in Hunting, in Heraldry, in Fencing, in Riding, in Painting, in Dancing, in *Music*, in *Aires* he is all French […]. (Howell 1659: prefatory matter n.p; Howell 1660: 8)

- A fifth and final argument to downplay the impact of French on the Germanic character of English is provided by Brown, who also makes a

distinction between the Germanic word stock and the French word stock of the English language, although his grouping is based on grammatical criteria. Advancing the present-day distinction between closed-class items, of finite membership, and open-class items, liable to receive new elements (Brinton 2000: 118), Brown makes clear that the closed-class items of the English language remain genuinely Germanic:

> But this commixture, though sufficient to confuse, proved not of ability to abolish the Saxon words; for from the French we have borrowed many Substantives, Adjectives and some Verbs, but the great Body of Numerals, auxiliary Verbs, Articles, Pronouns, Adverbs, Conjunctions and Prepositions, **which are the distinguishing and lasting part of a Language, remain with us from the Saxon** […]. (Brown 1683: 139; my emphasis)

A side effect of this anti-Norman attitude was the campaign against Chaucer led by the authors of these accounts. Indeed, his literary achievements are not put in doubt, since, as Holinshed states, "by the diligent trauelle of Geffray Chauser, and Iohn Gowre in the time of Richard the second, […] our tong was brought to an excellent passe" (Holisnhed 1577: 5r). Nevertheless, he is blamed for "frenchifying" the language with his French phraseology. Verstegan illustrates well the opinion of those who consider "*Chaucer* as an excellent poet for his tyme", but at the same time think that "he was indeed a great mingler of English with French, vnto which language by lyke for that hee was descended of French or rather wallon race, hee caryed a great affection" (Verstegan 1605: 203-204). Gil goes even further peppering his comment with pejorative terms towards Chaucer and his French phraseology: "Tandem circa annun 1400, *Galfridus Chaucerus*, infausto omine, vocabullis Gallicis, & Latinis poesin suam samosam reddidit. Hic enim vulgi indocti stupor est, vt illa maxime quae non intelligit admiretur" (Gil 1619: B2v).

Cooper (1685: b2v), Greenwood (1711: 21), Bailey (1736: A2v) and other grammarians and lexicographers report on Chaucer in similar terms. However, by the end of the eighteenth century, we find a positive shift in attitude as a result of a more reflective approach to this author's idiom. Johnson, for instance, displays common sense when he explains that Chaucer, as an individual, cannot be held responsible for changes taking place in the language:

> [H]e that reads the works of *Gower* will find […] the *French* words, whether good or bad, of which *Chaucer* is charged as the importer. Some innovations he might probably

make, like others […] but the works of *Gower* and *Lydgate* sufficiently evince, that his diction was in general like that of his contemporaries […]. (Johnson 1755: F1v-F2r)

And Webster, after reproducing the accusations against Chaucer "for introducing cartloads of French words into his writings" (1789: 57), argues that only those societies that do not move ahead, maintain their word stock invariable. Indeed, he adds, new words are necessary to express progress and advancements (1789: 57-58).

4. Concluding remarks

This paper has sought to highlight the importance of early historical outlines of the English language as they can contribute to the understanding of the origin and historical development of the area of study we know today as "History of the English Language".

The patriotic feeling that informs these accounts can only be understood within the context of a seventeenth-century England emerging as a world power, the Church of England searching its consolidation, the English language winning the battle as a prestige language, and, in general, within an effervescent intellectual climate. The antiquarians' efforts to recover the heritage of England is also part of this national scheme to claim an ancient history for the country.

The earliest accounts in the study corpus are the works of two eminent figures of the antiquarian movement, the learned William Camden and Richard Verstegan. Their works were essential in the configuration of the first histories of English and in the ideological tenets observed. The Germanic spirit that infuses these histories is clearly inspired by their ardent defence of the Germanic ancestry of English.

All the accounts include assertive statements on the unequivocal Germanic lineage of the English language. The construction of an idyllic unbroken lineage from Anglo-Saxon to seventeenth- and eighteenth-century English emerges as a joint enterprise of the authors of these accounts. However, their claim of linguistic continuity seems to collapse with the irruption of the Normans. As manifested in these accounts, French affected the English language to such an extent that Anglo-Saxon texts were no longer intelligible to an ordinary English reader. Reluctant to admit this change, our authors come up with a series of arguments to overcome this objection. Although the arguments to defend the Germanic lineage of English may vary from author

to author, they all share a common aim: underrating the effects of the Norman Conquest on the English language. Paradoxically, the authors' insistent efforts to minimise the impact of French testify to their concern and their awareness of the great changes undergone by the language after the Normans' arrival.

The fact that the authors of the corpus share a common body of ideas, express similar value judgements and even present a homogeneous discourse confirms the initial proposal of describing this group of authors as a "discourse community", as defined by Watts (2008: 51).

However, and in spite of all the similarities, a shift in attitude —which I would qualify as emotionally detached— can be observed in the later accounts of the corpus, probably conditioned by the new scientific thought of the late eighteenth century. Indeed, Johnson and Webster, for example, display a discourse exempt from theological ideas (such as the Babel story) and passionate judgements on the role of Chaucer. This hints at the new course historical linguistics was going to take in the next century.

All in all, though, as the texts of our accounts have evinced, Camden and Verstegan have been the champions of the Germanic cause. Their Teutonic-biased discourse and their sound conviction in the excellence of the English language have been instrumental in the construction of these pioneering historical accounts of English. Their influence spanned almost 200 years and in the last quarter of the eighteenth century one of the two stand-alone histories of English still plagiarised pages from Camden: Peyton's *The History of the English Language* (1771). This testifies to a long-lasting ideological and content continuity that should not be overlooked in the historical discussions of the English language.

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The genitive in Farman's Gloss to the Rushworth Gospels[1]

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1. Introduction

1.1. The Rushwpels

The Rushworth Gospels (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auctarium D.2.19) is an Irish Ms produced about 800 AD,[2] with an Old English interlinear gloss added in the late tenth century by two glossators: Farman and Owun.[3] Farman glossed all of Matthew, Mark 1.1 – 2.15 up to *hleonadun*, and John 18.1–3 in a Mercian dialect (Rushworth[1]); Owun glossed the

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2 It is also called Macregol Gospels, after the name of the main scribe of the Latin text, and Codex Rushworthianus, after John Rushworth, who presented the codex to the Bodleian Library (Tamoto 2011: 40).

3 This information is provided in two colophons. The first is found on folio 50v (Tamoto 2013: 100): farᛗ p*re*s*byte*r þas boc þus gleosede dimittet ei d*omi*nus omnia peccata sua si fieri po*test* ap*ud* de*u*m 'Farman the priest thus glossed this book; may the Lord forgive him all his sins, if it can be so with God' (translation by Skeat 1878: xi).
   The scribe's name contains the rune ᛗ 'man', a common function of runes in Old English manuscripts. For information about their use in Beowulf and other texts, see Smith (2020: 75–80). The second colophon is found on folios 168v and 169r (Tamoto 2013: 334–35):
   Ðe min bruche gibidde fore owun ðe ðas boc gloesde. Færmen ðæm preoste æt harawuda. hæfe nu boc awritne bruca mið willa symle mið soðum gileofa sibb is eghwæm leofost.
   'Let him that makes use of me [i.e. of the MS.] pray for Owun who glossed this book for Færman the priest at Harewood. Have (i.e. see) now a written book: use it with good will ever, with true faith: peace is dearest to every man' (translation by Skeat 1878: xi).

remainder in Northumbrian (Rushworth[2]).[4] There are differences between the two scribes concerning their handwriting, language and relationship with the gloss to the Lindisfarne Gospels, as summarised by Skeat:

> [Farman] is distinguished by his free use of the thorn-letter (þ), by his original and bold style of translation; by firmer and more angular handwriting, and by the more southern character of his dialect. The latter, Owun, was apparently, a professional scribe, and Farman's inferior, who was merely deputed by the latter to take the Lindisfarne MS. as his guide and to follow it rather closely (Skeat 1878: xii).[5]

Farman's rendition is considered as independent and original, whereas Owun's is regarded as dependent of the Lindisfarne Gospels.[6] Thus, Waring (1865: cx–cxii) gives several examples of mistakes in rendering Latin (L) which are found in Lindisfarne, but not in the section glossed by Farman. For instance, in Mt 10.31 *multis passeribus meliores estis uos* 'you are better than many sparrows', L. *passeribus* 'sparrows' is confused with *passionibus* in Lindisfarne and glossed as *ðrowungum* 'sufferings', wheras Farman gives the correct gloss *spearwas*. Similarly, in Mt 2.18 *uox in rama audita est* 'a voice in Ramah was heard', the name of the town is confused with *ramus* 'branch' in Lindisfarne and glossed as *tuigga*, whereas Farman renders it as *heanisse* 'height', based on the traditional interpretation of the Hebrew name as *excelsum* 'a height' (*DOE* s.v. *heanes*).[7]

Within Rushworth[1] a distinction has been established between Matthew, more independent from the Latin original, and Mark, which follows the Latin text (and the Lindisfarne gloss) more closely. Thus, Murray remarks that Matthew is "not a word-for-word gloss, but a readable idiomatic version" (1874: 562), and the same applies to the three verses in John: "three verses of

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4   The gloss was added *æt harawuda*, according to the information provided in the colophon on folio 168v. The place may refer to Harewood in Yorkshire or in Herefordshire (Breeze 1996, Tamoto 2013: xcv), although Coates (1997) suggests Lichfield.

5   See Waring (1865: cvii–cviii) and Tamoto (2013: xcv–c) for a list of linguistic differences between Farman and Owun.

6   It is generally accepted that the three glossators (Farman, Owun and Aldred) made use of Latin manuscripts different from those they were glossing. Thus, Ross (1981: 8) remarks that in four cases Aldred's gloss corresponds to a reading recorded only in the Latin of Rushworth: Mt 5.42, Mt 13.19, Mk 16.14 and J 10.20. Similarly, he observes that in some cases "Farman follows the textus receptus as represented in Lindisfarne, though not necessarily the Lindisfarne gloss" (Ross 1981: 9).

7   Conversely, Waring (1865: civ) gives examples of incorrect renderings of Latin words found both in Lindisfarne and in the section glossed by Owun.

fine idiomatic Saxon, not like his [Farman's] Mark a southernising of the Lindisfarne, but like his Matthew a totally independent version" (1874: 562).[8]

One of the similarities between the section of Mark glossed by Farman and Lindisfarne concerns the use of double glosses (Ross 1979). These are frequent in Lindisfarne, but not very common in Rushworth[1]; however, from the beginning of Mark, they become much more frequent in this gloss and seem to correspond to those found in Lindisfarne. One particularly revealing example is found in Mk. 1.22, where L. *stupebant* is glossed by *swigdon* ꝼ *styldon* in Lindisfarne and by *swigadun* ꝼ *stylton* in Rushworth[1], the second verb occurring only in this particular instance in the Mercian gloss, though being very frequent in Lindisfarne. This piece of evidence shows the interconnection between the two glosses and suggests that it was Aldred who influenced Farman (Ross 1979: 194–95). In his comparison of Rushworth[1]'s Mark and Lindisfarne, however, Kotake (2017: 85) concludes that "despite the close textual relationship between Ru1 and Li in this section, they often disagree with each other as regards the use of double glosses", since "only about one third of Ru1's double glosses in Mark (nineteen out of fifty-nine, excluding one triple gloss) appears in identical combination and order with those in Li" (2017: 86–87).

Ross (1979: 196–97) finds similarities between Lindisfarne and Rushworth[1] not only in Mark, but also in Matthew 26–28, and concludes that Farman "obtained access to Aldred's gloss when Rushworth[1] was nearly finished; it was used from Mt. 26 onwards and the process continued with Owun in his making of Rushworth[2]." Kotake (2012), however, studies the similarities between the two glosses in Matthew 26–27 at both the lexical and the syntactic level and concludes that it is Aldred, not Farman, who changes his lexical preference and glossing practice in this section. One of the pieces of evidence he gives to support this conclusion is the rendering of Latin quantifier + *de/ex*-phrase. Lindisfarne is closer to Latin and tends to use the literal translation (quantifier + *of*-phrase), whereas Rushworth[1] has a freer translation in most cases and uses a quantifier followed by a partitive genitive. In Matthew 26–27, however, some instances of the partitive genitive construction are found in Lindisfarne (26.47 and 27.21), showing that it is Aldred who changes his glossing practice in this section (Kotake 2012: 17).

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8   Murray (1874: 562) remarks that the Rushworth version of Matthew has more in common with the West Saxon Gospels than with Lindisfarne. In a similar line, Ogura notes that "Ru1 often takes the same element order as West Saxon versions" (2008: 65).

1.2. Aims and methodology

The present article studies the genitive construction in Farman's gloss to the Rushworth Gospels (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auctarium D.2.19) in comparison with Aldred's gloss to the Lindisfarne Gospels (London, Bristish Library, Nero D.iv), written in Northumbrian in the 10th century. It focuses, on the one hand, on the extension of genitive singular *-es* from the *a*-stems to other noun classes and, on the other, on the word order of adnominal genitives in the gloss. For the study of the analogical extension of *-es*, a quantitative analysis of 28 nouns has been carried out in contexts where they gloss a Latin genitive form. As in previous studies on the glosses to the Durham Collectar and to the Lindisfarne Gospels (Rodríguez Ledesma 2018 and 2022), the nouns have been selected on the basis that their etymological inflection for the genitive singular is other than *-es*, and they consist of feminine nouns (*ō*-stems, *i*-stems, root stems), kinship *r*-stems, weak nouns or *n*-stems and proper nouns.

The second objective is the study of the word order of adnominal genitives in the gloss (preposition vs. postposition) with the aim to determine the degree of influence exerted by the Latin word order and the extent to which Farman innovates and deviates from the original in order to show the native pattern. For this purpose, proper nouns have been analysed first, and then those common nouns which are more frequently attested in the genitive in the gloss, in order to have a comparatively large corpus (247x) and be able to draw conclusions.

The data have been retrieved using the *Dictionary of Old English Web Corpus* (hereafter *DOEC*), which is based on Skeat's edition (1871–1887), but all the tokens have been checked against Tamoto's edition (2013) in order to detect possible errors or inaccuracies.[9] Because of the wealth of spelling and morphological variants attested in the gloss, the *DOEC* was searched for the Latin genitive form glossed by the nouns which form the basis of the present study: thus, for the feminine nouns *ǣ* 'law' and *næht* 'night', the terms of search were Latin *legis* and *noctis* respectively. Following the *DOEC*, the examples given throughout the article offer both the Latin text and the Mercian gloss, to which a word-for-word translation has been added. In some cases, the

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9   Abbreviations, for example, are silently expanded in the *DOEC*.

corresponding Northumbrian gloss found in Lindisfarne is also given for comparison.[10]

The presentation and analysis of the data are organized as follows: the extension of genitive singular -*es* is studied in (2) and is subdivided into four categories: feminine nouns (2.1), kinship *r*-stems (2.2), weak nouns or *n*-stems (2.3), and proper nouns (2.4). Section (3) gives examples of differences between Rushworth[1] and Lindisfarne concerning the genitive inflection which show Farman's independence as a glossator. The word order of adnominal genitives in the gloss is analysed in (4), both with proper nouns (4.1) and with the most frequent common nouns (4.2). Finally, conclusions are provided in (5). In all sections the results are compared with those obtained from the study of Lindisfarne (Rodríguez Ledesma 2016 and 2022) in order to offer a more comprehensive account of the genitive construction in these glosses to the gospels.

2. EXTENSION OF GENITIVE SINGULAR -*ES*

2.1. Feminine nouns

As in previous studies on the glosses to the Durham Collectar and to the Lindisfarne Gospels (Rodríguez Ledesma 2018 and 2022), the feminine nouns analysed comprise *ō*-stems, *i*-stems and root stems.

The following *ō*-stems are attested in the genitive singular in Rushworth[1]: *awoestednisse* 'desolation' (1x), *cennise* 'birthday' (1x), *forgefnise* 'forgiveness' (1x), *hernise* 'hearing' (3x), *hreownise* 'penitence' (1x), *soðfæstnisse* 'truth' (1x); *byrgenn* 'sepulchre' (1x), *hell* 'hell' (4x), *nedl* 'needle' (1x) and *stow* 'place' (1x). All of them take the etymological inflection -*e*, except for *hell*, which presents variation and adds innovative -*es* in one instance:

(1)   MtGl (Ru) 23.14

        et cum fuerit factus faciatis eum filium gehenae duplo quam uos

        ⁊ þon*ne* he biþ gedoan ge doþ hine sunu **helles** twæ*m* fældu*m* mare þon*ne* eow

        'and when he is made, you make him the child of hell twofold more than yourselves'

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10 The title abbreviations of the Old English texts mentioned in this article are those employed by the *DOEC*.

With regard to feminine *i*-stems, only two are attested in the genitive in Rushworth[1]: *æ* 'law' (2x) and *weoruld* 'world' (7x). The former is uninflected[11] and the latter presents variation: there are two tokens of innovative *-es* as against five of the etymological inflection *-e*. Both forms are found in the same context, glossing L. *consummatione saeculi*, as in the following examples:

(2)   MtGl (Ru) 13.40

    sic erit in consummatione saeculi

    swa bið in endunge **weorulde**

    'so [it] will be at the end of the world'

(3)   MtGl (Ru) 13.49

    sic erit in consummatione saeculi

    swa bið in endunge **weoruldes**

The only feminine athematic noun attested in the genitive in the gloss is *næht* 'night', which takes innovative *-es* in the only example found: MtGl (Ru) 14.25 feorþe þære wacone **næhtes**, glossing L. *quarta autem uigilia noctis* 'and in the fourth watch of the night'.

A comparison of these results with those obtained in Lindisfarne (Rodríguez Ledesma 2022) reveals that extension of *-es* is more widespread in this gloss and is also found with the nouns *hernise* (4x out of 4x), *hreownise* (1x out of 2x), *soðfæstnisse* (4x out of 5x), *byrgenn* (3x out of 3x), *nedl* (3x out of 3x), *stow* (1x out of 1x) and *æ* (17x out of 17x). On the other hand, the three feminine nouns which show extension of innovative *-es* in Rushworth[1] do not present variation in Lindisfarne, but always take this inflection: *hell* (1x), *uoruld* (11x) and *næht* (3x). So the implementation of this analogical process seems to have taken place by lexical diffusion, with some nouns being affected earlier than others.

2.2. Kinship *r*-stems

The etymological inflection of these nouns in the genitive singular was zero. Three nouns belonging to this declension are attested in this case in Rushworth[1]: *broþer* (3x), *fæder* (11x) and *moder* (1x). All of them take the etymological inflection in all instances (and are, therefore, uninflected), except for one example of innovative *fæderes*:

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11 Cf. Campbell (1959: 244), who notes that *æ* has an indeclinable singular and nominative and accusative plural, genitive plural *æa*, and also accusative, genitive and dative singular *æwe*.

(4)   MtGl (Ru) 21.31

quis ex duobus fecit uoluntaten patris

hweþer þære twegra worhte willan þæs **fæderes**

'which of the two made the will of the father'

By contrast, in Lindisfarne forms in *-es* are dominant with all these nouns: *broþer* (8x out of 10x), *fæder* (30x out of 36x) and *moder* (5x out of 5x) (cf. Rodríguez Ledesma 2016: 217).

2.3. Weak nouns or *n*-stems

The etymological inflection of *n*-stems in the genitive singular was *-an*. In late Northumbrian final /n/ was lost, so that these nouns end in a vowel throughout the singular and in the nominative/accusative plural in these varieties. In Rushworth[1] there is usually loss of final /n/, although forms in *-an* are also found (cf. Campbell 1959: 249, Ross 1976: 497 and Hogg & Fulk 2011: 126).[12]

The following weak nouns are atttested in the genitive singular in Rushworth[1]: *brydguma* 'bridegroom' (1x), *eorðe* 'earth' (7x), *geleafa* 'belief' (4x), *hearta* 'heart' (4x), *heafudponna* 'skull' (1x), *lamwrihta* 'potter' (2x), *lichoma* 'body' (1x) and *witga* 'prophet' (3x). Out of the 23 tokens in this case, none takes innovative *-es*, 21 show loss of final /n/ and end in a vowel, and only two end in /n/: *geleafa* (1x) and *hearta* (1x):

(5)   MtGl (Ru) 14.31

ait illi modicae fidei quare dubitasti

cwęþ to hi*m* þu medmiccles **gelefan** f*or*hwon getwiodestu

'[he] said to him: you of little faith, why did you doubt?'

In Lindisfarne, by contrast, forms in *-es* are attested with all these nouns and are dominant with some of them: *brydguma* (4x out of 4x), *eorðe* (11x out of 13x), *geleafa* (2x out of 5x), *hearta* (8x out of 9x), *heafudponna* (2x out of 5x), *lamwrihta* (1x out of 2x), *lichoma* (9x out of 12x), *witga* (6x out of 8x) (cf. Rodríguez Ledesma 2022).

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12 According to Ross, forms without *-n* predominate in the oblique cases in the *n*-stems. The loss of the consonant in pronunciation is proved by the existence of 'inverse' or 'back spellings', i.e. instances of nominative singular ending in *-n*, such as *cuman* 25.43, *lichoman* 26.26, *willan* 18.14, *eagan* 18.9 or *egan* 20.15 (Ross 1976: 497).

2.4. Proper nouns

In Rushworth[1] innnovative -es is not found with some proper nouns which show this inflection in the Lindisfarne gloss. They include feminine personal names (*Mary*), names of cities (*Nazareth, Sidon*), but also masculine personal names, such as *Peter*, as illustrated by the following examples:

(6)   MtGl (Ru) 1.16

iacob autem genuit ioseph uirum mariæ

kende iosepe **maria** wær[13]

'[Jacob] begat Joseph, Mary's husband'

(7)   MtGl (Ru) 4.13

Et relicta ciuitate nazareth

⁊ forlet **nazaret** caestrae

'And [he] left the city of Nazareth'[14]

(8)   MtGl (Ru) 15.21

Et egresus inde iesus secessit in partes tyri et sidonis

⁊ gongende þonan se hælend gewat in dæl **tyre** ⁊ **sidone**[15]

'And the Saviour went from thence and retired into the coasts of Tyre and Sidon'

(9)   MtGl (Ru) 8.14

Et cum uenisset iesus in domum petri

⁊ þa cuom se hælend in huse **petrus**[16]

'And when the Saviour came into Peter's house'

3. DIFFERENCES BETWEEN RUSHWORTH[1] AND LINDISFARNE CONCERNING THE GENITIVE

Besides not showing widespread extension of innovative -es, there are other differences between Rushworth[1] and Lindisfarne concerning the genitive

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13 Cf. Lindisfarne, which follows the Latin word order and adds -es: uutetlice cende wer **maries**.

14 As in the previous case, Lindisfarne follows the Latin word order and adds -es: ⁊ forleort ł miððy forleort ceastra **natzareðes**.

15 Cf. Lindisfarne: ⁊ geeade ðone ðe hælend gefoerde in dalum **tyres** ⁊ **sidones**.

16 Cf. Lindisfarne: ⁊ miððy gecuom ðe hælend in hus **petres**.

inflection, which show Farman's independence as a glossator (cf. Menner 1934: 27). In some instances, a noun takes the etymological inflection in Rushworth[1] but is uninflected in Lindisfarne. This is the case of the neuter *a*-stems *gebed* 'prayer' and *hus* 'house', as illustrated by the following examples:

(10) MtGl (Ru) 21.13

enim quia domus mea domus orationis uocabitur

*for*þon ꝥ hus min bið **gebedes** hus genemned

'my house will be called the house of prayer'

MtGl (Li) 21.13

hus min hus **gebed** geceiged[17]

(11) MtGl (Ru) 10.6

sed putius ite ad oues quae perierant domus israhel

ah mae gaþ to þæm sciopum þe to lore wyrðon **husęs** israhela

'But rather go to the sheep which are lost of the house of Israel'

MtGl (Li) 10.6

ah is rehtra gaes to scipum ða losodun **hus** israhel[18]

(12) MtGl (Ru) 15.24

non sum misus nisi ad oues quae perierunt domus israhel

ne ic wæs asended nymþe to scepu*m* þæm þe forloren wyrdon **husęs** israheles

'I am not sent but to the sheep which are lost of the house of Israel'

MtGl (Li) 15.24

nam ic gesended buta to scipum ða ðe deade weron **hus** israheles

In other cases, Farman seems to be more independent from Latin influence than Aldred. Thus, in Mt 10.2 L. *apostolorum* is glossed by the same form without any change in Lindisfarne, whereas in Rushworth[1] the noun adds the native genitive plural inflection -*a* (*apostola*):

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17 Besides the inflection, the word order is also different: Rushworth[1] has preposed genitive, whereas the corresponding form in Lindisfarne follows the order of the original and is postposed.

18 The uninflected form in Lindisfarne may be due to the influence of Latin *domus*, which has the same form in the nominative and genitive cases.

(13) MtGl (Ru) 10.2

Duodecim autem apostolorum nomina sunt

þara twelf **apostola** noma þonne sindun

'the names of the twelve apostles are'

MtGl (Li) 10.2

tuelfe uutedlice ðara **apostolorum** noma sint[19]

Similarly, when glossing L. *oliueti* in the collocation *montem oliueti* 'mount of Olives', Farman translates the proper name and has *oelebearwes*, whereas Aldred borrows the term from Latin and adds the native inflection *-es* (*oleuetes*), as illustrated by examples (14) – (15):

(14) MtGl (Ru) 21.1

Et adpropinquassent hierosolimis et uenissent bethfage ad montem olieti

⁊ þa hiæ nealehctun hierusalem ⁊ coman to beþfage to **oelebearwes** dune[20]

'And when they approached Jerusalem and came to Bethphage, to mount of Olives'

MtGl (Li) 21.1

⁊ miððy geneolecdon ⁊ cuomun ðæm styde to mor **oliuetes**

(15) MtGl (Ru) 24.3

sedente autem eo super montem olieti

sæt þa he on **oelebearwes** dune

'when he was sitting on mount of Olives'

MtGl (Li) 24.3

wæs sittende uutedlice he ł hine ofer mor **oleuetes**

In MtGl (Li) 26.30, however, Aldred translates the proper noun: uteodon on mor ł on duni **olebearuas**, L. *exierunt in montem oliueti* '[they] went out to mount of Olives'. This is one of the lexical items discussed by Ross (1979)

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19 Nagucka (1997: 188) notes this example and adds the following comment:

> This awkward but easy solution is partly explained by the fact that such a Latin word might not yet have been morphologically adapted to the English requirements of the system in all dialects to the same degree, and partly by the literacy culture of that time when the glossator/translator used Latin while thinking in English.

20 As in example 10, the word order is also different: Rushworth[1] has preposed genitives in both instances, whereas Lindisfarne follows the order of the Latin original.

and Kotake (2012) as examples of similarities between Rushworth[1] and Lindisfarne in Matthew 26–27. As noted in the introduction, whereas Kotake argues that this instance provides evidence that it is Aldred, not Farman, who changes his lexical preference in these chapters (2012: 16), Ross concludes that the similarities between the two glosses in this section arise because of Aldred's influence on Farman (1979: 195).

4. WORD ORDER

The second objective of this article is the study of the word order of adnominal genitives (preposition vs. postposition) in order to determine to what extent Farman follows the Latin structure or deviates from the original and shows the native pattern. Proper nouns are analysed first, and then those common nouns more frequently attested in the genitive in the gloss.

4.1. Proper nouns

In his study on the place of adnominal genitives in Old English, Timmer (1939: 71) concludes that there is a general tendency towards front position in the course of the period and that it is necessary to establish a distinction between the genitive of persons and the genitive of things. According to him, the genitive of proper names was normally placed in front position in both early and late texts. With regard to common nouns, the change from post- to front position began with the genitive of names of persons and then extended gradually to the genitive of names of things, although there are differences depending on the texts and the nouns studied[21] (1939: 72). This tendency towards front position is evident in the West Saxon Gospel of Matthew (c. 1050), as shown by Nunnally's study of adnominal genitives in this text: out of the 299 translations of the Latin Nx + Ng structure using a genitive,[22] 288 (96.3%) have a preposed genitive and only 11 (3.7%) a postposed genitive, the influence for postposing being a partitive meaning or stylistic parallelism (Nunnally 1992: 362).

The texts analysed by Timmer, however, do not include glosses to Latin texts, which tend to follow the word order of the original and have, therefore, the genitive in post-position even in late Old English (10th century). This is the case in Lindisfarne, as shown by Rodríguez Ledesma (2016), which analised the word order of adnominal constructions with the seven personal

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21 The genitive following *dæl*, for example, is normally found in post-position (Timmer 1939: 72).

22 Nx + Ng structure: Noun in any nongenitive case modified by a single noun in genitive case.

names which occurred more frequently in the genitive in this gloss. Since Rushworth[1] comprises the gospel of Matthew, Mark 1.1 – 2.15 and three verses in John, it was thought necessary to study all proper nouns attested in the genitive in the section glossed by Farman (25), so that the number of tokens was similar to that obtained from the study of Lindisfarne (65x). Table 1 gives the results for Rushworth[1] and shows the position of the genitive in the noun phrase in comparison with the Latin original.

	Preposed *Latin preposed*	*Preposed* *Latin postposed*	*Postposed* *Latin postposed*	*Total*
Abel			1	1
Abraham		1	2	3
Babylon		2	2	4
Christ	1		3	4
David		1	8	9
Esaiah			1	1
Herod		1	1	2
Isaac			1	1
Israel		3	6	9
Jacob		1	1	2
John			3	3
Jonah			3	3
Joseph		1	1	2
Judea		1		1
Mary		1		1
Nazareth		1		1
Nephthalim		1	1	2
Olives		2		2
Peter			1	1
Salomon			1	1
Sidon			1	1
Simon			1	1
Zabulon		1	1	2
Zachariah			1	1
Zebedee		3	3	6
Total	1 (1.56%)	20 (31.25%)	43 (67.18%)	64

Table 1. Word order of adnominal genitives in
Rushworth[1] compared with Latin. Proper nouns

Although the dominant word order is postposed following Latin, almost a third of all the occurrences deviate from the original and have a preposed genitive glossing a postposed one. Comparison of these findings with those obtained from the study of Lindisfarne reveals that Rushworth[1] is much more independent from the Latin original and shows a more anglicised pattern, since out of a total of 65 tokens, 62 (95.38%) follow the Latin word order in Aldred's gloss, and only 3 (4.61%) deviate from it and have a preposed genitive glossing a postposed one (Rodríguez Ledesma 2016: 232). These results are in line with those obtained by Ogura in his study on periphrastic renderings and their element order, where he concludes that, as a rule, Lindisfarne follows Latin order, whereas Rushworth[1] "often uses its own order and form" (2008: 82).

The following are some examples in which Farman deviates from the Latin original and has a preposed genitive:

(16)   MtGl (Ru) 2.21

ioseph accipit puerum et matrem eius et uenit in terram israhel

iosep genom þone cneht ⁊ his moder ⁊ cuo*m* in **israheles eorþu**[23]

'Joseph took the child and his mother and came to the land of Israel'

(17)   MtGl (Ru) 3.1

In illis autem diebus iohannis baptista praedicans in deserto iudeae

In þæm soþlice dagum cuom iohannes se bezera bodende in **iudea woestenne**[24]

'In those days came John the baptist preaching in the desert of Judea'

In some cases, both word order patterns are found in the same context, as illustrated by examples (18)–(19) glossing L. *transmigratione babylonis*:[25]

(18)   MtGl (Ru) 1.12

et post transmigratione babilonis iechonias autem genuit salathiel

⁊ æfter **babilonia fære**

'And after the transmigration of Babylon, [Jechonias begot Salathiel]'

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23 Cf. Lindisfarne, which follows the order of the original: in eorðo **israheles**.

24 As in the previous example, Lindisfarne follows the order of the original: in woestern **iudeæ**.

25 Both patterns are also found in Rushworth[1] and Lindisfarne when glossing L. *filii dauid* 'David's son': MtGl (Ru) 1.1 dauiðes sunu *vs.* MtGl (Ru) 15.22 sunu dauiðes. Since there are no apparent reasons for this variation, Nagucka concludes, in the case of Lindisfarne, that "the author of the English version felt at ease with Latin and translated it according to his own preferences at a given moment" (1997: 180).

(19) MtGl (Ru) 1.17

ad dauid usque ad transmigrationem babilonis generationes sunt XIIII
et ad transmigratione babilonis usque ad christum generationes sunt XIII

from dauiðe oþþe to **færennisse babylonie** feowertene kneo*risse* sint
⁊ from **færennisse babilonie** oþþe to kriste kneorisse sint feowertene

'And from David to the transmigration of Babylon, [there] are
fourteen generations, and from the transmigration of Babylon to
Christ [there] are fourteen generations.'

Especially significant is the behavior of the proper noun *Zebedee*. In the three
cases in which the noun phrase 'sons of Zebedee' is found in Latin (*filiorum/filliis*
zebedei), the gloss follows the Latin word order and has the genitive postposed,
as in examples (20) – (21). However, in the three cases in which Latin has just
the proper noun in genitive case (*zebedei*) and the noun *sunu* 'son' is added in
English to gloss it, the genitive is preposed, as in examples (22) – (23):[26]

(20) MtGl (Ru) 20.20

Tunc accesit ad eum mater filiorum zebedei cum filis suis

þa eode to him moder **sunu zebedes** mid sunu hire

'then came to him the mother of the sons of Zebedee with her sons'

(21) MtGl (Ru) 27.56

inter quas erat maria magdalena et maria iacobi et ioseph et mater
filiorum zebedei

betwix þæm wæs maria siu magdalenisca ⁊ maria iacobes ⁊ iosepep
moder ⁊ moder **sunena zebedeæs**[27]

'among whom was Mary Magdalen, and Mary, the mother of James
and Joseph, and the mother of the sons of Zebedee'

(22) MtGl (Ru) 4.21

uidit alios duos fratres iacobum zebedei et iohannem fratrem

gesægh oþre twegen gebroþer iacob **zebedeaes sunu** ⁊ iohannem his
broþer

'[he] saw another two brothers, James the son of Zebedee, and John,
his brother'

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26 The same situation is found in Lindisfarne (cf. Rodríguez Ledesma 2016: 234).

27 The other example of this word order is MtGl (Ru) 26.37.

(23) MtGl (Ru) 10.2

simon qui dicitur petrus et andreas frater eius iacobus zebedei et iohannis frater eius

simon seþe is nemned petrus ⁊ andreas his broþer iacobus **zebedees sunu** ⁊ iohannes his broþer.[28]

'Simon, who is called Peter, and Andrew, his brother, James the son of Zebedee, and John, his brother'

In those cases in which the proper noun in genitive is modified by an apposition, the gloss follows the Latin word order and has the genitive postposed, as illustrated by examples (24) – (27): [29]

(24) MtGl (Ru) 16.4

signum non dabitur ei nisi signum ionae profetae

tacen ne bið sald hie nymþe tacen **iona se witga**

'a sign will not be given to it, but the sign of Jonah the prophet.'

(25) MtGl (Ru) 14.8

da mihi in disco capud iohannis babtistae

sele me on disce heafod **iohannes se bezere**

'give me in a dish the head of John the baptist'

(26) MtGl (Ru) 26.6

Cum autem esset iesus in bethania in domum simonis leprosi

mid þy þon*ne* þende se hæl*end* wæs in bethania þæ*m* tune in huse **simonis þæs hreofan**

'when the Saviour was in the town of Bethania, in the house of Simon the leper'

(27) MtGl (Ru) 2.1

in diebus erodis regis

in dagum **erodes þæs kyninges**[30]

'in the days of King Herod'

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28 The other example of this word order is MkGl (Ru) 1.19.

29 In one instance a split genitive construction is found, but the gloss still follows the Latin word order and has the proper noun postposed and the apposition preposed: MtGl (Ru) 13.55 *nonne hic est fabri filius ioseph,* ah þis nis **smiðes sunu iosep** 'Is not this Joseph the carpenter's son?'

30 Cf. the preposed genitive when the proper noun is not modified by an apposition: MtGl (Ru) 2.15 *et erat ibi usque ad obitum herodis* ⁊ wæs þær oþ **herodes dead** 'and [he] was there until Herod's death'.

Although in the West Saxon Gospel of Matthew preposed genitives are the dominant pattern in these structures, the results are different from those obtained when there is no modifier: out of the 50 translations of this Latin construction, 30 (60%) have a preposed genitive, 8 (16%) have a split genitive, 7 (14%) a postposed genitive and 5 (10%) use a different construction, the total percentage of genitive structures being 81.1% for preposing and 18.9% for postposing (Nunnally 1992: 364-65).[31]

4.2. Common nouns

The study of word order also includes those common nouns which are more frequently attested in the genitive in the gloss, the criterion for selection being those with four or more occurrences in this case. A comparative study has been carried out of Rushworth[1] and Lindisfarne,[32] and the results are given in Table 2:

	Rushworth[1]				Lindisfarne			
	Prepos. Latin prep.	Prepos. Latin postpos	Postpos. Latin postpos	Total	Prepos. Latin prep.	Prepos. Latin postpos	Postpos. Latin postpos	Total
drihten (L. domini)		2	10	12			9	9[33]
eorðo (L. terrae)		1	6	7			6	6
fader (L. patris)			11	11[34]			11	11

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31 Nunnally (1992) uses the label Nx + [modifier + Ng], i.e. Latin noun in any nongenitive case modified by a genitive which takes its own modifier.

32 For Lindisfarne the same sections have been studied as those considered for Rushworth: Matthew and Mark 1.1 – 2.15.

33 The three remaining tokens have *hlaferd* instead of *drihtnes* glossing L. *domini*.

34 In nine instances the noun in genitive is modified by a possessive. Latin always has the modifier after the noun, and Farman follows this word order in most cases (7x). In two instances, however, he deviates from Latin and has the possessive preposed:

> (i) MtGl (Ru) 5.45
> *ut sitis filii patris uestri qui in caelis est*
> þæt ge sie bearn **eowres fæder** þe in heofon*um* is
> 'that you may be the children of your father, who is in heaven'

> (ii) MtGl (Ru) 25.34
> *uenite benedicti patris mei*
> cymeþ gebletsade **mines fæder**
> 'come you blessed of my father'.

folc (L. populi)			7	7			6	6
god (L. dei)		15	17	32	2		30	32
hælend (L. iesu)		2	5	7			6	6
heofon sg. (L. caeli)		2	6	8			7	7
heofon pl. (L. caelorum)		14	21	35			35	35
mann sg. (L. hominis)		7	27	34			33	33
mann pl. (L. hominum)		1	5	6			6	6
middangeard (L. mundi)			4	4			5	5
rice (L. regni)			9	9			9	9
sunu (L. filii)			5	5			5	5
toþ pl. (L. dentium)		1	5	6			6	6
Total	0	45	138	183	2	0	174	176

Table 2. Word order of adnominal genitives compared with Latin
in Rushworth¹ and Lindisfarne. Frequent common nouns

As was the case with proper nouns, the results clearly indicate that Lindisfarne is much more dependent from the Latin original with regard to word order: out of the 176 occurrences, no example deviates from Latin. These findings confirm Ross's claim that "[o]nly in very rare instances has the order of the Old English words been normalized so that it no longer corresponds with that of the Latin" (1993: 111-12).[35] By contrast, in 45 examples out of a total of 183 (24.59%), Farman innovates and shows an anglicised pattern, with a preposed genitive glossing a postposed one.

As with proper nouns, both word order patterns are found in the same collocations, even in those which are very frequent: thus, out of the 34 tokens

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The corresponding examples in Lindisfarne follow the Latin word order and have the possessive after the noun:

    (iii) MtGl (Li) 5.45 þæt gie sæ suna **fadres iures**

    (iv) MtGl (Li) 25.34 cymmeð gie gebloedsad **fadores mines**

Cf. Nagucka, who remarks that reorderings, especially with demonstratives and possessives, are infrequent in Lindisfarne, the regular Latin pattern being followed in most cases (1997: 180).

35 According to Kotake, however, a comparison between Lindisfarne and Rushworth² shows that Aldred deviates from Latin word order more frequently than Owun does (2008: 64).

glossing L. *regnum caelorum* 'kingdom of heaven', 14 have a preposed genitive and 20 a postposed one. Similarly, out of the 9 occurrences glossing L. *filius dei* 'son of God', 7 have the genitive preposed and 2 have it postposed.[36] The following examples illustrate this variation:

(28)   MtGl (Ru) 14.33

uere filius dei es tu

soþlice **sunu godes** þu eart

'indeed you are the son of God'

(29)   MtGl (Ru) 16.16

tu es christus filius dei uiui

þu eart crist **godes sune** þæs lifgenda[37]

'you are Christ, the son of the living God'

(30)   MtGl (Ru) 6.33

querite ergo primum regnum dei

soecaþ þonne ærest **godes rice**

'seek therefore first the kingdom of God'

(31)   MtGl (Ru) 21.31

puplicani et meritrices praecedent uos in regno dei

æwisfirine ⁊ forlegnisse beforan gæþ eow in **rice godes**

'the publicans and the harlots will go before you into the kingdom of God'

(32)   MtGl (Ru) 7.21

non omnis qui dicit mihi domine domine intrabit in regnum caelorum sed qui facit uoluntatem patris mei qui in caelis est ipse intrabit in regnum caelorum

ne ł nallæs æghwilc þara þe cweþ to me dryhten drihten gæþ in **rice heofuna** ah seþe wyrceþ wille fæder mines þæs þe in heofunum is se ł he gaeþ in **heofuna rice**

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36 Conversely, out of the six examples glossing L. *regnum dei* 'kingdom of God', one has a preposed genitive and five a postposed one.

37 This is an example of a split genitive: *godes* is placed before the head (*sune*) and the apposition (*þæs lifgenda*) after it.

'not every one that says to me, Lord, Lord, will go into the kingdom of heaven, but he who does the will of my Father who is in heaven, he will go into the kingdom of heaven'

(33)   MtGl (Ru) 6.26

respicite uolatilia caeli

geseoþ ł behaldeþ **heofun fuglas**[38]

'behold the fowls of the air'

(34)   MtGl (Ru) 8.20

uulpes foueas habent et uolucres caeli tabernacula

foxes hole habbaþ ⁊ **fuglas heofunas** selescota

'the foxes have holes and the fowls of the air nests'

Another structure that shows variation in Rushworth¹ is when glossing a Latin noun modified by a genitive which in turn is modified by another genitive. In some cases the gloss follows the Latin word order, as in examples (35) – (36), whereas in others it alters the position of the two genitives, as in (37) – (40):[39]

(35)   MtGl (Ru) 24.30

et tunc apparebit signum filii hominis in cælo

⁊ þon*ne* eaweþ tacen **sune monnes** in heofune

'and then will appear the sign of the Son of man in heaven'

(36)   MtGl (Ru) 24.27

ita erit aduentus filii hominis

swa bið æc se cyme **sunu monnes**

'so will be the coming of the Son of man'

(37)   MtGl (Ru) 24.37

Sicut enim fuit in diebus noe ita erit aduentus filii hominis

swa þon*ne* wæs in noes dagu*m* swa bið ek se tocyme **monnes sune**

'And as [it] was in Noe's days, so will also be the coming of the Son of man'

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38 According to Ross (1976: 508), the lack of inflection of *heofun* indicates that this phrase is regarded as a compound, the collocation *heofon-fugol* being recorded elsewhere in Bosworth & Toller.

39 In all these examples Lindisfarne follows the Latin word order.

(38) MtGl (Ru) 24.39

ita erit aduentus filii hominis

swa bið ek se cyme **monnes sunę**

'so will be the coming of the Son of man'

(39) MtGl (Ru) 16.19

et tibi dabo claues regni caelorum

⁊ ic þe selle kægen **heofuna rices**

'and I will give you the keys of the kingdom of heaven'

(40) MtGl (Ru) 26.64

uidebitis filium hominis sedentem ad dexteram uirtutis dei

geseoþ sunu monnes sittende on þa swiðran halfe **godes mægænes**

'you will see the Son of man sitting on the right hand of God's power'

Although both patterns (preposed and postposed genitives) seem to be in free variation in the gloss, the choice of one or the other may have to do with the particular chapter or section in which they are found. Thus, in his comparative study of word order in several interlinear glosses, Crowley (2000) establishes a distinction within the Rushworth Gospel of Matthew between chapters 2–6 and 26–27 on the one hand, which show a more anglicised word order, and chapters 8–23 on the other, which tend to follow the Latin original. The remaining chapters (1, 7, 24, 25 and 28) show a mixture of both patterns (2000: 134). To check whether this distribution applies to the word order of adnominal genitives, I have focused on those nouns with the highest number of occurrences in this case, namely *god*, *heofon* and *mann* glossing L *dei*, *caelorum* and *homini* respectively. Table 3 shows the results:

	Matthew 2-6, 26-27		Matthew 8-23		Total
	Preposed	Postposed	Preposed	Postposed	
god (L. dei)	12	1	2	13	28
heofon pl. (L. caelorum)	7	0	6	18	31
mann sg. (L. hominis)[40]	2	3	3	18	26
Total	21	4	11	49	85

Table 3. Word order of adnominal genitives in the
Rushworth Gospel of Matthew: god, heofon and mann

40 For this noun, there are no examples of adnominal genitives in chapters 2–6.

The results seem to confirm Crowley's demarcation within Matthew: a more anglicised word order, with preposed genitives, dominates in chapters 2–6 and 26–27 (84%, 21x out of a total of 25x), whereas in chapters 8–23 it is the Latin word order (postposed) that predominates (81.66%, 49x out of a total of 60x).

Finally, in those cases in which a noun is modified by coordinated genitives, the gloss follows the Latin pattern and has the genitive postposed. In the West Saxon Gospel of Matthew this word order is also dominant when translating these constructions, with 80% of postposed genitives (4x out of a total of 5x), as opposed to the 3.7% when a noun is modified by a single genitive (11x out of a total of 299x) (Nunnally 1992: 364).[41] The following instances illustrate this construction in Rushworth[1]:

(41) MtGl (Ru) 4.13

uenit et habitauit in cafarnauum maritimam in finibus zabulon et neptalim

cwom ⁊ geeardade in cafarnaum sæ caestrae in gemaerum **zabulones ⁊ nepthales**

'[he] came and dwelt in Capharnaum on the sea coast, in the borders of Zabulon and Nephthalim'

(42) MtGl (Ru) 11.25

pater domine caeli et terrae

fæder dryhten **heofunæs ⁊ eorðe**

'Father, lord of heaven and earth'

(43) MtGl (Ru) 28.19

in nomine patris et filii et spiritu sancti

in noman **fæder ⁊ sunu ⁊ þæs halgan gastes**[42]

'in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost'

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41 Nunnally considers the weightiness of the coordinated genitives as the probable influence for postposing, although he notes that the examples are too few for definitive conclusions (1992: 364).

42 In the last noun phrase, however, the adjective is placed before the noun in the gloss, as opposed to Latin, where it follows the headword.

5. Conclusions

Several conclusions can be drawn from this study. With regard to the extension of genitive singular -es from the a-stems to other noun classes, there is evidence of this analogical process in Rushworth[1], although it is not so generalized as in Lindisfarne. In the Mercian gloss it is limited to three feminine nouns (*hell*, *weoruld* and *næht*) and the kinship r-stem *fæder*,[43] whereas in Lindisfarne there is widespread extension of -es to all classes regardless of gender and declension (cf. Rodríguez Ledesma 2022). These findings highlight the importance of Anglian dialects (Mercian and Northumbrian) in the history of English, since they already provide evidence of linguistic changes that have generally been ascribed to Middle English.

This study also reveals Farman's independence as a glossator. Differences in the genitive inflection between Rushworth[1] and Lindisfarne show, on the one hand, that the former is not dependent from the latter (cf. discussion of *gebed* 'prayer' and *hus* 'house' above) and, on the other, that the Mercian gloss is not influenced to such an extent by the Latin original, as illustrated by the glossing of L. *apostolorum* and *oliueti*. These examples seem to support Kotake's (2012) view that some of the similarities between the two glosses found in Matthew 26–27 arise because of Aldred's change of glossing practice in these chapters, rather than because of Aldred's influence on Farman, as suggested by Ross (1979).

The conclusion that Rushworth[1] is more independent from the Latin original than Lindisfarne is reinforced by the results obtained from the study of the word order of adnominal genitives. Although postposed genitives are dominant in both glosses following Latin, preposed position is much more frequent in the Mercian gloss than in Lindisfarne, both with proper nouns and with common nouns. In the case of proper nouns, almost a third of all the occurrences (31.25%, 20 out of 64x) deviate from Latin in Rushworth[1] and have a preposed genitive glossing a postposed one, whereas in Lindisfarne the percentage is 4.61% (3 out of 65x). In the case of common nouns, no example out of the 176 tokens deviates from the Latin original in Lindisfarne, whereas Farman innovates and shows an anglicised pattern in almost a fourth of all the occurrences (24.59%, 45 out of a total of 183x).

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43 These findings support Ross's remark that genitive singular -es "is not in general extended analogically to other clases" (1976: 498).

Although preposed and postposed genitives are frequently found in the same contexts and collocations in Rushworth[1], there are some constructions which seem to disfavour the preposed position, namely those in which the noun in genitive is modified by an apposition ('of John the baptist') and those in which a noun is modified by coordinated genitives ('lord of heaven and earth').

Finally, my findings confirm Crowley's (2000) distinction within the Rushworth Gospel of Matthew between chapters 2–6 and 26–27 on the one hand, and chapters 8–23 on the other. The former show a more anglicised word order, with a higher percentage of preposed genitives (84%), whereas the latter tend to follow the Latin original and have a preponderance of postposed genitives (81.66%).

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On the Expression of Instrumentality in the History of English (1350-1910): by way of vs. by means of[1]

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1. Introduction

English complex prepositions[2] can be subdivided into two-word and three-word sequences, the former containing an adverb, adjective or conjunction together with a simple preposition [1]; and the latter composed of a preposition + noun + preposition [2] (Quirk et al. 1985: 669-670)[3].

[1] as_{CONJ} for_{PREP} - $instead_{ADV}$ of_{PREP} - $prior_{ADJ}$ to_{PREP}

[2] by_{PREP} $dint_{NOUN}$ of_{PREP} - by_{PREP} $virtue_{NOUN}$ of_{PREP} - by_{PREP} $means_{NOUN}$ of_{PREP} - by_{PREP} way_{NOUN} of_{PREP}

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2   The term 'complex preposition' itself is of rather recent origin; older publications typically refer to the structures in question as group prepositions, phrasal prepositions or compound prepositions (Hoffman 2005: 26).

3   Quirk et al. argue that "the most numerous category of complex prepositions is the type consisting of three words", even though "some complex prepositions consisting of three-word sequences tend to be shortened to two-word sequences in casual speech" (1985: 670-671).

The complex prepositions BY WAY OF and BY MEANS OF are the result of a process of grammaticalization according to which they lost part of their lexical functions and were later reanalysed into functional elements expressing instrumentality (Hoffman 2005: 71). From an etymological point of view, these words have different backgrounds. The word *WAY*, on the one hand, can be traced back to the Old English period (c950), when it meant 'road, path' (*OED* 2021b). *MEAN*, on the other, is an Old French word first attested in 1374 with the meaning of 'an intermediary agent or instrument' (*OED* 2021a). As complex prepositions in English, *BY WAY OF* and *BY MEANS OF* were first attested in English in 1390 and 1427, respectively (*OED* 2021a, 2021b):

[3] This lord spak so that <u>be weie of</u> schrifte He drowh hem unto his covine (Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, 1390)

[4] Hit belanged unto you of ryg3t, as wel <u>be ye mene of</u> your birth (*Rolls of Parliament*, 1427).

Much has been debated about the grammatical status of these phrases in English, some authors acknowledging their existence as a fixed syntactic category, i.e. complex prepositions (Kruisinga 1932; Quirk and Mulholland 1964; Quirk 1985; Givon 1992; Hoffman 2004, 2005), while others argue that, although these items tend to occur together in the language, they cannot constitute such a syntactic category insofar as the group $P_1+N_1+P_2+N_2$ is not fully interdependent (Huddleston 1988; Seppänen et al 1994; Huddleston and Pullum 2002)[4].

The present paper thus investigates the use and distribution of these complex prepositions in the history of English with the following objectives: 1) to analyse the use and distribution of BY WAY OF and BY MEANS OF in the history of English (1350-1910); 2) to assess the grammaticalization process whereby nouns such as WAY and MEAN developed prepositional functions meaning instrumentality; 3) to study the status of BY WAY OF and BY MEANS OF in terms of their semantic scope; and 4) to investigate the preferences of speakers in terms of age and social class.

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4   Seppänen et al. (1994: 11) claim that a more reliable approach to determining the syntactic properties of PNP constructions can be found by applying standard constituency tests, i.e. fronting, coordination, ellipsis and interpolation. However, Hoffman notes that they presented the application of the constituency tests too uncritically, as "constituency tests are much less diagnostic than is suggested by the authors: it is often only the combination of several tests that leads to an uncontroversial interpretation" (2005: 34).

2. METHODOLOGY

The present paper analyses the distribution of these complex prepositions in late Middle English and early Modern English. For the purpose, two diachronic corpora have been selected. On the one hand, *The Parsed Corpus of Early English Correspondence* (henceforth PCEEC) has been used to investigate the phenomenon in Middle English and early Modern English. This corpus contains a collection of 6,039 letters written between c. 1350 and 1710 (Table 1) and is elsewhere taken as an appropriate source as "personal letters are known to share a number of linguistic features with the colloquial spoken idiom" and the covered timespan is "sufficient to capture the time courses of several morphosyntactic changes in English" (Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 2003: 43-44)[5].

PCEEC	
Historical period	**Tokens**
1350-1419	19,505
1420-1499	364,317
1500-1569	309,220
1570-1639	910,675
1640-1710	555,415
Total	2,139,627

Table 1. Word-count of PCEEC

The *Old Bailey Corpus* (OBC), on the other hand, has been employed to evaluate the development of the phenomenon until the twentieth century (Table 2). Together, these two corpora will allow us to trace the occurrence of BY WAY OF and BY MEANS OF over time and, in addition, to assess the contribution of sociolinguistic factors such as age and social class.

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5   The PCEEC is particularly useful in linguistic research as it provides the sociolinguistic background of the informants. However, is should be noted that the upper social ranks are better represented than the lower ranks or women due to illiteracy (Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 2003: 45). With regard to orality, Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg argue that "some spoken genres, such as sermons, have been shown to resort to literate strategies, while some written genres, for example, personal letters, are found to be close to the oral end of the continuum" (2003: 27).

OBC	
Historical period	**Tokens**
1720-1760	3,073,955
1770-1810	3,790,429
1820-1860	3,782,974
1870-1910	3,348,428
Total	13,995,786

Table 2. Word-count of OBC

3. ANALYSIS

3.1. Distribution

This section presents the distribution of the items under study in the selected corpora. As can be observed in Table 3, the distribution of BY WAY OF and BY MEANS OF is balanced since they have roughly the same number of occurrences in both corpora (*n.f.* 34.1 and 36 and *n.f.* 7.1 and 7.5 in the PCEEC and the OBC, respectively)[6].

	BY WAY OF		*BY MEANS OF*	
	Raw	**n.f**	**Raw**	**n.f**
PCEEC	73	34.1	77	36
OBC	100	7.1	105	7.5

Table 3. Distribution of BY WAY OF and BY MEANS OF in the corpora

In terms of distribution over time, however, some fluctuation is observed in the use of these forms. As expected, only BY WAY OF is attested in the period 1350-1419 (*n.f.* 102.5). The period 1420-1499, in turn, marks off the beginning of the competition of these forms when BY MEANS OF increased its occurrence until it outnumbered its counterpart BY WAY OF (*n.f.* 79.6 over 13.7). This situation remained stable until the period 1570-1639, when BY WAY OF became again slightly outnumbered BY MEANS OF (*n.f.* 37.3 over 28.6). After this, the two forms had a slightly balanced distribution (*n.f.* 10.8 over 9 in 1870-1910).

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6   The data presented in the tables and figures of the present paper have been normalized to tokens per 1,000,000 words.
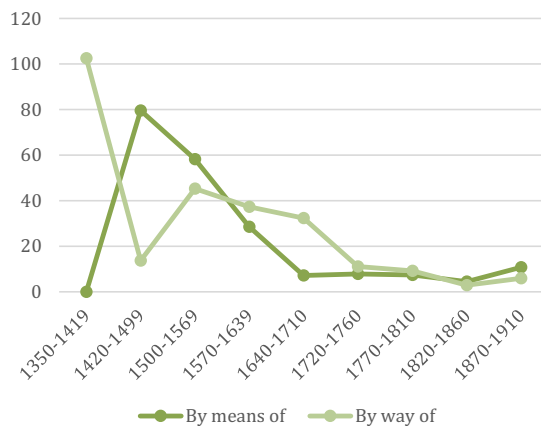
Figure 1. Diachronic distribution of BY WAY OF *and* BY MEANS OF *(n.f.)*

3.2. Grammaticalization

The term 'grammaticalization' was defined by Kuryłowicz (1975: 52) as "the increase of the range of a morpheme advancing from a lexical to a grammatical or from a less grammatical to a more grammatical status, e.g. from a derivative formant to an inflectional one" (quoted from Hoffman 2005: 52). In other words, grammaticalization is a process where a lexical item may turn into a grammatical one, that is, from contentful to merely functional. In this vein, Traugott and Heine distinguish two ways by which new forms come into being: analogy, where new linguistic realizations emerge due to resemblance to other already established realizations; and grammaticalization, by which lexical words acquire functional features (Traugott and Heine 1991: 2). Grammaticalization is unidirectional insofar as grammatical words do not normally evolve into lexical, "whereas the reverse change, whereby grammatical forms are seen to have their origins in lexical forms, is widespread and well documented (Heine et al. 1991: 150; Hopper and Traugott 2003: 16)[7].

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7   It must be noted that, according to Hopper and Traugott (2003: 17), "occasional counterexamples may exist [reminding that] language change is not subject to exceptionless physical laws, and that diachronic universals, like synchronic ones, are observed tendencies rather than theoretical absolutes". In fact, Traugott and König state that grammaticalization at early stages may involve an increase in pragmatic meaning which does not necessarily imply semantic bleaching (1991: 199).

Hopper (1991: 22) outlines five principles within the grammaticalization process: *layering*, the emergence of new layers of meaning which may or may not coexist with the previous one(s); *divergence*, lexical items that are grammaticalized to a clitic or affix may undergo the same changes as ordinary lexical items; *specialization*, it is only in the last stages of grammaticalization that the use of a form becomes obligatory; *persistence*, traces of its original lexical meanings tend to adhere to it and details of its lexical history may be reflected in constraints on its grammatical distribution; and *de-categorialization*, grammaticalized words tend to lose the morphological markers and syntactic privileges of nouns and verbs, and acquire those of adjectives, participles, preposition, etc. Of these principles, BY WAY OF and BY MEANS OF feature *layering* (they acquired new senses over time), *persistence* (traces or their original lexical meaning are adhered to them) and *de-categorialization* (they acquired syntactic privileges that are characteristic of functional words).

The degree of interdependence of the constituents within the group was approached by Quirk et al. as they argued that "[i]n the strictest definition, a complex preposition is a sequence that is indivisible both in terms of syntax and in terms of meaning" (1985: 671; see also Quirk and Mulholland 1964; Hoffman 2005: 28). For the purpose, Quirk et al. designed "nine indicators of syntactic separateness" in order to distinguish those sequences behaving as a single preposition (i.e. *in spite of*) from those behaving as a set of grammatically separate units (i.e. *on the shelf by*). Acknowledging that such a classification is not binary in nature, they consider that the more properties a particular construction has, the further away it is situated from the grammatical pole of the scale (1985: 671; see also Hoffman 2005: 29)[8].

These indicators of gradience have been applied to the complex prepositions under investigation in Table 4 below. As shown, BY WAY OF and BY MEANS OF behave differently when it comes to the indicators of gradience. Thus, although they have the same indicators (i.e. N_1 can be singular or plural and N_1 can be accompanied by a determiner), the former has two indicators in PCEEC and one in OBC, and the latter has two indicators in both historical periods.

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8   Huddleston and Pullum, however, do think that the classification is binary, and whenever a PNP construction allows one or more of these indicators, this means that it cannot be considered a syntactic unit (2002: 617).

	BY WAY OF		BY MEANS OF	
	PCEEC	**OBC**	**PCEEC**	**OBC**
$Prep_2$ can be varied	-	-	-	-
N_1 can be singular or plural	+	-	+	+
N_1 can be accompanied by a determiner	+	+	+	+
$Prep_1$ can be varied	-	-	-	-
$Prep_1$ + N_1 can be replaced by a possessive pronoun	-	-	-	-
$Prep_2$ + N_2 can be omitted	-	-	-	-
$Prep_2$ + complement can be replaced by a demonstrative	-	-	-	-
N_1 can be replaced by nouns of related meaning	-	-	-	-
N_1 can be freely premodified by adjectives	-	-	-	-

Table 4. Gradience scale of BY WAY OF and BY MEANS OF (Quirk et al. 1985: 761)

The gradience scale indicates whether a construction is fully grammaticalized (i.e. it tests negative in all the gradience indicators) or not (i.e. it tests positive in one or more gradience indicators). If these indicators of gradience are approached from a diachronic perspective, we could elucidate the historical period in which a construction is fully grammaticalized. Table 5 shows the diachronic distribution of the two indicators of gradience where BY WAY OF and BY MEANS OF tested positive: N_1 can be singular or plural and N_1 can be accompanied by a determiner. As observed in the table, BY WAY OF and BY MEANS OF completed their grammaticalization processes at different times, the former being fully grammaticalized after 1760 and the latter doing so after 1810.

	BY THE WAY OF	BY WAYS OF	BY THE MEANS OF	BY MEAN OF
1350-1419	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
1420-1499	2.7	0.0	63.1	0.0
1500-1569	16.2	3.2	29.1	0.0
1570-1639	7.7	0.0	12.1	0.0
1640-1710	3.6	0.0	1.8	0.0
1720-1760	1.6	0.0	2.6	0.0
1770-1810	0.0	0.0	1.8	0.3
1820-1860	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
1870-1910	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0

Table 5. Grammaticalization of BY WAY OF and BY MEANS OF (n.f.)

3.3. Semantics

From a semantic perspective, BY WAY OF and BY MEANS OF present five and four different meanings (Tables 6 and 7, respectively). Among the senses of BY WAY OF, we find 'by means of' [5], by the action of a person [6], as a mode of / in the capacity of [7], followed by gerund [8], and by the route which passes through [9].

[5] And for the first tyme , bicause we coulde not induce them to begynne to speke any specialtie , and we had noothing to saye to them, we said, **BY WAYE OF** communication , that we toke the maryage to be rather thende (PCEEC, 1497?, Letter by Stephen Gardiner to William Petre).

[6] for I have gotten him forth **BY THE WAYES OF** William Ellyson (PCEEC, 1513, Letter from Agnes Plumpton to Robert Plumpton).

[7] and this I speak **BY WAY OF** anticipation to encounter the vulgar belief of the Prince his dislike of this Lord and justly to free my self from those critiks (PCEEC, 1565?, Letter by John Holles to George Holles).

[8] Then it was that Holloway and Priddle set to work, to try what they could do either **BY WAY OF** getting more money out of Mr. Crossley, or ruin him in his business, so as to render him incapable (OBC, 1770, lawyer).

[9] I aduertisse you of the receipt of your letteres of the xxixth of Marche last by your poste Nicholas and also of your other letteres **BY THE WAYE OF** Flaunders of sundry dates as the xvith and xviiith of the same moneth (PCEEC, 1539, Letter by Thomas Cromwell to Thomas Wyatt).

In strictly diachronic terms, the occurrence of the different senses of BY WAY OF fluctuated and, more importantly, the construction acquired new meanings while it at the same time lost some others. On the one hand, the sense 'by the action of a person', the most frequent in the period 1350-1419, decreases progressively and is non-existent in the period 1770-1810. On the other, the sense 'by means of' and those instances where the construction is followed by a gerund spread over time after their first occurrence in the periods 1500-1569 and 1720-1760, respectively.

PCEEC	1350-1419	1420-1499	1500-1569	1570-1639
By means of	0	0	22.6	12.1
By the action of a person	51.3	5.5	6.5	3.3
As a mode of / in the capacity of	51.3	8.2	9.7	18.7
Followed by gerund	0	0	0	0
By the route which passes through	0	0	6.5	3.3
OBC	**1720-1760**	**1770-1810**	**1820-1860**	**1870-1910**
By means of	4.2	4.5	0.3	1.8
By the action of a person	1.0	0	0	0
As a mode of / in the capacity of	4.2	2.9	1.9	3.3
Followed by gerund	1.0	1.8	0.5	0.3
By the route which passes through	0.7	0	0.3	0.6

Table 6. Diachronic evolution of the meaning of BY WAY OF (n.f.)

BY MEANS OF has four different senses in the corpora studied: by the instrumentality of [10], by the action of a person [11], In consequence / by reason of [12] and followed by gerund [13].

[10] yet myne indevor shall be never the lasse to sett furth in some wise that portion of I which I have receyvyd **BY THE MEANE OF** study and some experience (PCEEC, 1533?, Letter by Thomas Elyot to Thomas Cromwell).

[11] on the day after your departing I reseyved lettirs by William Roo from your sones to me and to yow and to Richard Calle, wherby on of hem writyth +tat my lord of Norwich, **BY THE MEANE OF** Master John Selot , had geue a jugement in the mater of the presentacion for the chirche of Drayton or $Eueret cam thedir (PCEEC, 1421, Letter by John Paston I to Margaret Paston).

[12] my Mrs. would take me into her Service again, and I being in Confusion and Light-headed, **BY MEANS OF** a late Feaver, I did not know what I said or sign'd, but I remember that Mr. Child Pick'd my Pocket (OBC, 1724, domestic servant).

[13] On the 16th of November I helped to shut up the shop; it was quite secure; the bar was undone **BY MEANS OF** taking out the pin, which was rather difficult (OBC, 1782, unknown).

From a diachronic perspective, it can be stated that BY MEANS OF develops semantically throughout the period inasmuch as the most frequent meaning in 1420-1499 (by the action of a person) decreases over time; and other meanings became more frequent towards the beginning of the twentieth century (by the instrumentality of and in consequence / by reason of).

PCEEC	1350-1419	1420-1499	1500-1569	1570-1639
By the instrumentality of	0	13.7	22.6	12.1
By the action of (a person)	0	57.6	35.6	16.5
In consequence of / by reason of	0	8.2	0	0
Followed by gerund	0	0	0	0
OBC	**1720-1760**	**1770-1810**	**1820-1860**	**1870-1910**
By the instrumentality of	2.9	4.2	4.5	7.8
By the action of (a person)	3.9	1.8	0	0.6
In consequence of / by reason of	0.3	0.3	0	2.4
Followed by gerund	0.7	1.1	0	0

Table 6. Diachronic evolution of the meaning of BY MEANS OF (n.f.)

3.4. Sociolinguistics

In view of the sociolinguistic profile of the informants in PCEEC, a sociolinguistic study has been conducted to determine whether age and social class were relevant in the distribution of these complex prepositions in the early Modern English period. With regard to age, two different tendencies can be observed (Figure 2 below)[9]. On the one hand, BY MEANS OF is the preferred form among the speakers belonging to the youngest age groups, outnumbering BY WAY OF in the groups 21-30 and 41-50, and showing a balanced distribution in the group 31-40. In the older generations, on the other, BY WAY OF outnumbers its counterpart in the groups 51-60 and 60+.

9   The data retrieved from the OBC do not contain the age of the informants, hence the impossibility of such data in the present section.
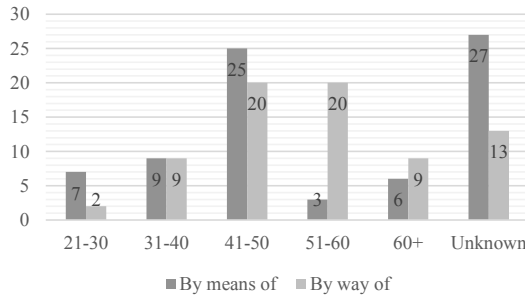
Figure 2. Age of informants using BY WAY OF and BY MEANS OF in the PCEEC

The number of occurrences of BY WAY OF and BY MEANS OF has also been classified according to four different social classes, following the models proposed by Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg (2003: 136–137: see also Nevalainen 1996: 58; Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 1996; Conde-Silvestre and Calle-Martín 2015: 67).

Social group	Members belonging to the group
Nobility	Royalty, Duke, *Archbishop*, Marquess, Earl, Viscount
Gentry	Baron, Baronet, Knight, *Bishop*, Esquire, Gentleman, *Clergyman*
Professionals	Army Officer, Government Official, Lawyer, Medical Doctor, Teacher, etc.
Non-gentry	Merchant, Husbandman, Craftsman, Labourer, Cottager, etc.

Table 7. Social stratification (adapted from Nevalainen 1996: 58)

In Early Modern English sociolinguistic analyses, the gentry has traditionally been subclassified into upper gentry (baronet, *bishop*, knight) and lower gentry (squire, gentleman, *clergyman*). These two groups have been, however, classified under the same category (i.e. gentry) given that they did not present significant sociolectal variation. In addition, the members of the clergy (in italics) are treated as part of the social groups to which they belong, rather than being treated as a separate category.

In Present-day English, linguistic innovations are more likely to occur in the social groups located at? the centre of the social continuum, that is, the gentry or the professionals rather than the nobility or the non-gentry, in the case of the PCEEC; and the skilled workers or the lower-skilled workers rather than the professionals or the unskilled workers, in the case of the OBC (Labov

1972: 294–295). From a historical perspective, this theory has been confirmed by Nevalainen (2000), where layers were identified as responsible of the spread of single negation as opposed to multiple negation; by Conde-Silvestre and Hernández-Campoy (2004), who demonstrated that standard spellings in the fifteenth century spread due to the role of lawyers; and by Romero-Barranco, who confirmed "that the gentry and the professionals were the social leaders in the diffusion of French-derived nominal suffixes", pointing to business usage (2020: 483).

The findings in the present study comply with the data obtained in the abovementioned studies since the centrally located social classes pioneered the use of the complex prepositions under study. Regarding BY WAY OF (Tables 8 and 9), professionals were the only social class using it in the period 1350-1419 (*n.f.* 102.5), while it later extended to other social classes in 1500-1569 and 1570-1639, with the gentry and the nobility as the main users of the construction (Table 8). In the period 1770-1810, BY WAY OF is employed by the professionals (*n.f.* 4.2), the skilled workers (*n.f.* 1.6) and the lower-skilled workers (*n.f.* 0.5), and this situation is maintained up to the beginning of the twentieth century.

	1350-1419	1420-1499	1500-1569	1570-1639	1640-1710
Nobility	0	2.7	22.6	8.8	3.6
Gentry	0	0	19.4	12.1	14.4
Professionals	102.5	5.5	0	1.1	5.4
Non-gentry	0	0	0	2.2	0
Unknown	2.7	0	0	5.5	0

Table 8. Use of BY WAY OF in the PCEEC (n.f.)

	1720-1760	1770-1810	1820-1860	1870-1910
Professionals	6.5	4.2	1.6	3.9
Skilled workers	0	1.6	0	0.9
Lower-skilled workers	0.7	0.5	0.5	0.6
Unskilled workers	0	0	0	0
Unknown	3.9	3.4	0.5	0.9

Table 9. Use of BY WAY OF in the OBC (n.f.)

BY MEANS OF, in turn, was first attested in the period 1420-1499 (Tables 10 and 11) and, even though it was used by all the social classes, the gentry and the professionals were the leaders in terms of usage (n.f. 19.2 and 16.5, respectively). After this period, the members of the gentry more widely adopted the construction until 1639 and, by the end of the seventeenth century, it was exclusively used by the professionals (3.6 in 1640-1710). In the period 1720-1910, in turn, the construction is mainly used by the professionals, followed by the skilled and the lower-skilled workers.

	1350-1419	1420-1499	1500-1569	1570-1639	1640-1710
Nobility	0	2.7	6.5	6.6	0
Gentry	0	19.2	35.6	8.8	0
Professionals	0	16.5	0	3.3	3.6
Non-gentry	0	11.0	0	2.2	0
Unknown	0	30.2	16.2	7.7	3.6

Table 10. Use of BY MEANS OF in the PCEEC (n.f.)

	1720-1760	1770-1810	1820-1860	1870-1910
Professionals	1.3	4	3.2	8.7
Skilled workers	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.6
Lower-skilled workers	0.7	0.5	0.5	0.6
Unskilled workers	0	0.5	0	0
Unknown	5.5	2.1	0.5	0.9

Table 11. Use of BY MEANS OF in the OBC (n.f.)

4. CONCLUSIONS

The present paper has studied the occurrence of two complex prepositions, BY WAY OF and BY MEANS OF, considering their grammaticalization process, their semantic features and the sociolinguistic preferences of the informants in the *Corpus of Early English Correspondence* and the *Old Bailey Corpus*. The following conclusions have been drawn.

If the distribution of BY WAY OF and BY MEANS OF is taken as a whole, it can be gathered that both forms developed with a similar frequency. BY MEANS OF outnumbered BY WAY OF towards the end of the fifteenth century while the latter seems to be the choice again by the end of the sixteenth century. BY

MEANS OF, however, is the preferred form since it is attested nearly twice as many times as its counterpart at the beginning of the twentieth century.

The grammaticalization process of BY WAY OF and BY MEANS OF was completed at different times, the former being fully grammaticalized after 1760 and the latter doing so after 1810. In these processes of grammaticalization, the principles of layering, persistence and de-categorialization have been observed. In semantic terms, the constructions acquired new senses over time and others are lost. While the original sense of BY WAY OF occurs just marginally by the end of the period, the original sense of BY MEANS OF predominates as the most frequent one.

The sociolinguistic analysis surveys the use of the constructions from the perspectives of age and social class. With regard to age, BY MEANS OF is preferred among the speakers under 50 years old whereas BY WAY OF is the choice among the informants belonging to the older generations. Social class, in turn, reveals that the professionals and the gentry pioneered the diffusion of these complex prepositions, a practice that later spread to the rest of the social groups (i.e. the nobility and the non-gentry). After 1720, the constructions are used by the professionals, the skilled and the lower-skilled workers.

In sum, the present study has shed light on the impact that grammaticalization processes can have giving way to the emergence of new linguistic items that may eventually replace already existing forms. In itself, the claim that BY MEANS OF has been the dominant form since the early twentieth century is a valid argument, but it is in the need of other insights investigating the status of these complex prepositions both over time in other diachronic corpora and in other varieties of present-day English.

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This volume contains a collection of works by Spanish researchers on the History of the English Language and Medieval Studies, in which the philological perspective is central. These scholars have come together in this tribute to Professor Smith, having shared decades of professional relationship, both in Glasgow and in different universities in Spain. These contributions are closely aligned with some of his main interests and areas of expertise, mainly manuscript studies, historical linguistics and editing. The chapters cover a wide range of topics related to philological studies and are aimed at both professionals and students.

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