



Literary

History of England

edited by Albert C Baugh

I

Kemp Malone
and Albert C Baugh

THE
MIDDLE AGES

A LITERARY HISTORY OF ENGLAND

Second Edition

Edited by Albert C. Baugh

VOLUME I

THE
MIDDLE AGES

The Old English Period (to 1100)

KEMP MALONE

&

The Middle English Period (1100-1500)

ALBERT C. BAUGH



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Preface to the First Edition

The purpose of the work of which the present volume forms a part is to provide a comprehensive history of the literature of England, an account that is at once scholarly and readable, capable of meeting the needs of mature students and of appealing to cultivated readers generally. While the literature of England is commonly thought of as literature in English, it is not likely that any one will quarrel with the fact that some mention is made of writings in Latin and French during the medieval period, at a time when these languages served as vernaculars for certain classes. The Latin writings of the Renaissance and later periods, however, have been omitted for lack of space. Nor will any one object to the inclusion of Scottish and Irish writers who do not belong geographically to England. Custom sufficiently sanctions including them. The original plan brought the history to an end with the year 1939 (the outbreak of the Second World War); but delay in publication caused by the war has permitted reference to a few events of a date subsequent to 1939.

The extent of English literature is so great that no one can hope to read more than a fraction of it, and the accumulated scholarship—biographical, critical, and historical—by which writers and their works, and the forms and movements and periods of English literature have been interpreted, is so vast that no single scholar can control it. A literary history of England by one author, a history that is comprehensive and authoritative over the whole field, is next to impossible. Hence, the plan of the present work. A general harmony of treatment among the five contributors, rather than rigid uniformity of plan, has seemed desirable, and there is quite properly some difference of emphasis in different sections. Thus, there is more of strictly philological matter in the section on Old English literature, and more of political, economic, and social history in the treatment of the Nineteenth Century and After. It is hoped that the approach to the different sections will seem to be that best suited to the literature concerned.

Since it is expected that those who read this history or consult it will wish for further acquaintance with the writings and authors discussed, it has been a part of the plan to draw attention, by the generous use of footnotes, to standard editions, to significant biographical and critical works, and to the most important books and articles in which the reader may pursue further the matters that interest him. A few references to very recent publications

have been added in proof in an effort to record the present state of scholarly and critical opinion.

It is a pleasure for the authors of the present volume to record their special obligations. Professor Arthur G. Brodeur has read most of the Old English section. The late Professor Clarence G. Child and Professor MacEdward Leach read the Middle English portion, Dr. Hope Emily Allen the chapters on the Ancrene Riwe and Richard Rolle, Professor William Roach the chapters on Arthurian romance. To these scholars the authors express their warm sense of appreciation.

K. M.

A. C. B.

NOTE TO SECOND EDITION

The reception of the *Literary History of England* has been so gratifying as to call for a number of successive printings, and these have permitted minor corrections to be made. The present edition has a further aim—to bring the book in line with the most recent scholarship. Small changes have been made in the plates wherever possible, but most of the additions, factual and bibliographical, are recorded in a Supplement. The text, Supplement, and Index are correlated by means of several typographical devices. Explanations of these devices appear on each part-title page as well as at the beginning of the Supplement and the Index.

The editor regrets that the authors of Books II, III, and IV did not live to carry out the revisions of those books, but their places have been ably taken by the scholars whose names appear with theirs in the list of collaborators. It has been the desire of the editor, as well as of those who have joined him, that each of these books should remain essentially as the original author wrote it, and we believe that other scholars would concur. Any new points of view, it is hoped, are adequately represented in the Supplement.

A. C. B.

<i>REL</i>	Review of English Literature
<i>RES</i>	Review of English Studies
<i>RLC</i>	Revue de littérature comparée
<i>RR</i>	Romanic Review
<i>SAB</i>	Shakespeare Association Bulletin
<i>SATF</i>	Société des anciens textes français
<i>SEL</i>	Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900 (Rice Univ.)
<i>SF&R</i>	Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints
<i>ShS</i>	Shakespeare Survey
<i>SP</i>	Studies in Philology
<i>SQ</i>	Shakespeare Quarterly
<i>SRen</i>	Studies in the Renaissance
<i>STS</i>	Scottish Text Society
<i>UTQ</i>	University of Toronto Quarterly
<i>VP</i>	Victorian Poetry
<i>VS</i>	Victorian Studies

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SUPPLEMENT

Boldface numbers refer to pages in text

BOOK I: THE MIDDLE AGES

Part I. The Old English Period (to 1100)

I. Folk, State, and Speech

3 At this writing the latest book-length survey of the Old English period is S. B. Greenfield's *Critical History of Old English Literature* (1965), with generous bibliographical footnotes. See also his bibliography of Old English in D. M. Zenser, *Guide to English Literature . . .* (1961). W. Bonser's *Anglo-Saxon and Celtic Bibliography 450-1087* (Oxford, 1957) excludes "all material dealing with literature and linguistics as such" (viii). A second ed. of Stenton's *Anglo-Saxon England* came out in 1947. See also P. H. Blair, *An Introduction to Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge, 1956); D. Whitelock, *The Beginnings of English Society* (1952); N. R. Ker, *Catalogue of MSS Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford, 1957); P. Clemoes (ed.), *The Anglo-Saxons* (1959); and K. Sisam, *Studies in the History of Old English Literature* (Oxford, 1953). K. Jackson's *Language and History in Early Britain* (Cambridge, Mass., 1953) deals chiefly with Celtic matters, as do, in part, C. Fox and B. Dickins (eds.), *The Early Cultures of Northwest Europe* (1950). On the Sutton Hoo archeological finds see C. Green, *Sutton Hoo* (1963) and the writings listed by F. P. Magoun and J. B. Bessinger in *Speculum*, xxix (1954). 116-124 and xxxiii (1958). 515-522 respectively.

4 See also J. Godfrey, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge, 1962).

5 A short Old English grammar, with special attention to syntax, is that of R. Quirk and C. L. Wrenn (1955; 2ed, 1958). A longer one, for more advanced students, is that of A. Campbell (Oxford, 1959).

11 A fuller sketch of Old English times is that of K. Malone, *Emory University Quar.*, v (1949). 129-148.

II. Anglo-Latin Writings

12 M. L. W. Laistner's *Thought and Letters in Western Europe A.D. 500-900* (2ed., 1957) throws light on Anglo-Latin writers and their sources of information.

13 On Aldhelm see also E. R. Curtius, *Europäische Literatur und Lateinisches Mittelalter* (Bern, 1958), pp. 53-54, 454-455.

15 Two MSS of Bede's *Historia* . . . are now available in the series *Early*

English MSS in Facsimile: the Leningrad MS, ed. O. Arngart, and the Moore MS, ed. P. H. Blair (Copenhagen, 1952 and 1959). On Bede see also Curtius, *op. cit.*, pp. 54-55. Bede's *Opera de Temporibus* have been edited by C. W. Jones (Cambridge, Mass., 1943). For Bede studies in recent years see W. F. Bolton, "A Bede Bibliography," *Traditio*, xviii (1962), 436-445.

16 Bede's metrical life of Cuthbert has been edited by W. Jaeger (Leipzig, 1935); his prose life, with the anonymous life, by B. Colgrave (Cambridge, 1940). The Whitby life of Pope Gregory has been translated by C. W. Jones, *Saints' Lives and Chronicles in Early England* (Ithaca, N.Y. 1947), pp. 95-121.

18 Eadmer's life of Anselm is now to be had in a separate edition by R. W. Southern (1963); see also Southern's *St Anselm and His Biographer* (1963). The following recent editions are noteworthy: F. Barlow, *Vita Ædwardi Regis* (1962) and A. Campbell, *Chronicon Æthelweardi* (1962).

III. The Old Tradition: Poetic Form

20 For the Germanic background see also J. de Vries, *Die geistige Welt der Germanen*, (2ed., Hall/Saale, 1945). On speakings, see also H. M. Chadwick, *The Heroic Age* (Cambridge, 1912), of which *The Growth of Literature* is an expansion. The studies of Mr and Mrs Chadwick were carried further by Milman Parry in his papers on Homer (see *Harvard Stud. in Classical Phil.*, xli, 73-147 and xliii, 1-50 and *Trans. Amer. Phil. Assoc.*, lxiv, 179-197) and by Parry's disciple A. B. Lord in *The Singer of Tales* (Cambridge, Mass., 1960), a work which, like the Chadwicks' book (ii, 299-456) and Parry's papers, leans heavily on Yugoslavic speakings. Parry's method in isolating the set phrases ("formulas") of Homeric diction has been applied to Old English poetry by F. P. Magoun and others, with results still in the stage of learned debate. See Magoun's paper in *Speculum*, xxviii (1953), 446-467 and R. Quirk's critique in *Early English and Norse Studies presented to Hugh Smith in Honour of his sixtieth Birthday* (1963), pp. 150-171. The Chadwicks summed things up as follows (iii, 753): "The diction of heroic narrative poetry tends everywhere to abound in static epithets, descriptive circumlocutions, kennings, repetitions and recurrent formulae." This statement of the case will doubtless be generally accepted. And Cædmon, the earliest English poet known to us by name, was an illiterate singer as Bede tells the tale. But it need not follow that all or even many of the Old English poems committed to writing were composed by such singers. Cædmon's was a special case: his songs were written down (from dictation) because thought to be divinely inspired, but speakings as a rule did not win written record. Indeed, why should they? The clerical poets made free use, naturally enough, of the conventional poetic diction familiar to them from childhood. In so doing they were following in the steps of Cædmon, who had turned the native English way of versifying into a tool for God's service; see p. 60. But their compositions, made to be read aloud, were writings, not speakings.

On the runes see R. W. V. Elliott, *Runes: An Introduction* (Manchester, 1959); K. Schneider, *Die germanischen Runennamen* (Meisenheim, 1956); and R. Derolez, *Runica Manuscripta* (Bruges, 1954).

21 The Franks Casket is better dated in the sixth century. See K. Schneider in *Festschrift für Walther Fischer* (Heidelberg, 1959), pp. 4-20.

23 A more recent metrical study is that of A. J. Bliss, *The Metre of Beowulf* (Oxford, 1958); reviewed by W. P. Lehmann in *JEGP*, LIX (1960). 137-142, by G. Storms in *ES*, XLVI (1965). 418-422.

29 See H. Marquart, *Die altenglischen Kenningar* (Halle/Saale, 1938); reviewed in *JEGP*, xxxviii (1939). 282-285 and *MLN*, LV (1940). 73-74.

30 On the supposed Old English poetic *hoiné* see F. Klaeber, *Beowulf* (3ed, Boston, 1936). lxxxviii and K. Malone in *Revue belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, XLII (1964). 155-156.

IV. The Old Tradition: Popular Poetry

32 A second ed. of K. Malone's *Widsith* is now in print (Copenhagen, 1962).

34 On the Runic Poem see K. Schneider, *Die germanischen Runennamen* (Meisenheim, 1956), *passim*.

35 Note also F. E. Harmer, *Anglo-Saxon Writs* (Manchester, 1952).

38 Grendon has been superseded by G. Storms, *Anglo-Saxon Magic* (The Hague, 1948). See also K. Schneider, *Festschrift . . . Spira* (Heidelberg, 1961), pp. 38-56.

41 K. Schneider takes *eorþan modor* (rightly, no doubt) for a compound word; see his *Runennamen* 605 top. One may compare the *fæmnanþegn* of *Beowulf* 2059.

43 On words of wisdom in *Beowulf* see K. Malone, *Humaniora, Essays honoring Archer Taylor* (Locust Valley, N.Y., 1960), pp. 180-194.

V. The Old Tradition: Courtly Poetry

45 A second ed. of K. Malone's *Widsith* has come out in the series *Anglistica* (xiii, Copenhagen, 1962). See also his papers in *Festschrift für L. L. Hammerich* (Copenhagen, 1962), pp. 161-167 and *Speculum*, xxxix (1964). 35-44.

48 K. Malone's *Deor* is now in its fourth edition (1966). See also H. Hallmundsson, *American-Scandinavian Rev.*, L (1962). 267-271; M. W. Bloomfield, *PMLA*, LXXIX (1964). 534-541; and N. E. Eliason, *SP*, LXII (1965). 495-509.

50 From *Beowulf* 1125-1128 one gathers that the *wealaf* after swearing allegiance to Finn are released by him and take ship for Denmark, all but Hengest, whom Finn holds (as hostage?); see K. Malone, *Festschrift für Walther Fischer* (Heidelberg, 1959), pp. 1-3.

57 On *Maldon* see now *CL*, xiv (1962). 23-35 (by J. B. Bessinger) and 53-70 (by R. W. V. Elliott).

VI. Religious Poetry: Caedmon and his School

60 See C. L. Wrenn, *The Poetry of Caedmon* (1947) and the reviews in *MLR*, XLIII (1948). 250-252 and *MA*, xvii (1948). 56-57. On Bede's account of Caedmon see F. P. Magoun, *Speculum*, xxx (1955). 49-63 and K. Malone, *MLN*, LXXVI (1961). 193-195.

61 A later edition of the Old English *Exodus* is that of E. B. Irving (New Haven, 1953), reviewed by E. V. K. Dobbie in *JEGP*, LIII (1954). 229-231; by S. Potter in *MA*, xxv (1956). 30-33; and by C. L. Wrenn in *RES*, vi (1955). 184-189.

62 B. F. Huppé in his *Doctrine and Poetry: Augustine's Influence on Old English Poetry* (Albany, N.Y., 1959) includes a close study of *Genesis A*. On *Genesis* and *Exodus* see further *Anglia*, LXX (1952). 285-294; LXXV (1957). 1-34; LXXVII (1959). 1-11; and LXXX (1962). 363-378.

67 The latest editions of *Judith* are those of B. J. Timmer (1952) and E. V. K. Dobbie, in Krapp-Dobbie iv.

68 A tenth-century dating of *Judith* is now usual: see Timmer, ed., pp. 6-11, Dobbie, ed., p. lxiv, and H. M. Flasdieck, *Anglia*, LXIX (1950). 270. The poem as it has come down to us is in the West Saxon dialect, with some admixture of Anglian forms. These were formerly explained as relics of an Anglian original but are otherwise accounted for (not very convincingly) by F. Tupper and his followers; see *JEGP*, XI (1912). 82-89. The theory of a poetic *koïnê* is likewise dubious; see F. Klaeber, *Beowulf* (3ed.), p. lxxxviii.

VII. Religious Poetry: Cynewulf and his School

70 On Cynewulf's poetry see also Marguerite-Marie Dubois, *Les Éléments Latins dans la Poésie Religieuse de Cynewulf* (Paris, 1943) and Claes Schaar, *Critical Studies in the Cynewulf Group* (Lund, 1949), with K. Malone's review of the latter in *Anglia*, LXX (1952). 444-450. Later editions: R. Woolf, *Juliana* (1955) and P. O. E. Gradon, *Cynewulf's Elene* (1958). *The Fates of the Apostles* follows *Andreas* in the Vercelli Book and the two poems are usually edited together, though they are otherwise unconnected.

74 On the runic passages of Cynewulf's poems see also R. W. V. Elliott's paper in *ES*, xxxiv (1953). 49-57 and K. Schneider, *Die germanischen Runen-namen* (Meisenheim, 1956), pp. 548-557.

75 A recent ed. of *Andreas* and *Fates of the Apostles* is that of K. R. Brooks, reviewed by R. Willard in *MP*, LXII (1963). 45-51 and K. Malone, *Revue belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, XLII (1964). 154-160. An important article by Hans Schabram, "Andreas und Beowulf," *Nachrichten der Giessener Hochschulgeseellschaft*, xxxiv (1965). 201-218, attacks vigorously the view that the *Andreas* poet used *Beowulf*. For Felix's life of Guthlac see now the definitive ed. by B. Colgrave (Cambridge, 1956).

76 A recent ed. of *Phoenix* is that of N. F. Blake (Manchester, 1964); see also his paper in *Anglia*, LXXX (1962). 50-62.

VIII. Religious Poetry: Poems on Various Themes

78 The Dickins-Ross *Rood* is now in its fourth edition (1963).

79 The Advent poem has now been edited by J. J. Campbell with the title *The Advent Lyrics of the Exeter Book* (Princeton, 1959).

81 *Doomsday A* is to be dated early in the eleventh century according to Max

Förster, *Anglia*, LXXIII (1955). 7. F. Mossé, *Études Germaniques*, III (1948). 157-165, argues that *Doomsday C* had an Old Saxon original.

83 For the passages in *Solomon and Saturn* (first poem) that incorporate runes see K. Schneider, *op. cit.*, pp. 558-569. On *Gifts of Men* see J. E. Cross, *Neophilologus*, XLVI (1962). 66-70. *Falseness of Men* is called *Homiletic Fragment I* in Krapp-Dobbie II. 59 and *Admonition* is called *Homiletic Fragment II* in Krapp-Dobbie III. 224. For *Seafarer* see now the ed. of I. L. Gordon (1960). For editions of *Wanderer* and *Riming Poem* see Krapp-Dobbie III. 134-137 and 166-169. On *Wanderer* and *Seafarer* see also the following: D. Whitelock in the Chadwick Memorial Studies, *Early Cultures of N.W. Europe* (1950), pp. 259-272; R. M. Lumiansky, *Neophilologus*, XXXIV (1950). 104-112; S. B. Greenfield, *JEGP*, L (1951). 451-465; E. G. Stanley, *Anglia*, LXXIII (1955). 413-466; G. V. Smithers, *MA*, XXVI (1957). 137-153 and XXVIII (1959). 1-22; W. Erzgräber, *Festschrift . . . Spira* (1961), pp. 57-85; and A. A. Prins, *Neophilologus*, XLVIII (1964). 237-251.

85 It is now fashionable to date *Riming Poem*, *Wanderer*, and *Seafarer* late or latish and to doubt their Anglian origin; see esp. Mrs. Gordon's ed. *Seafarer*. But E. Ekwall, *Philologica: the Malone Anniversary Studies* (1949), p. 28, and H. M. Flasdieck, *Anglia*, LXIX (1950). 167-171, keep the older view and strengthen it with new evidence; see also G. V. Smithers, *English and Germanic Stud.*, IV (1951-1952). 84-85, who favors a latish date but a "Northern" origin for *Wanderer*. The Benedictine Office is now available in an edition by J. Ure; see Chapter x (Literary Prose) below. For the *Paris Psalter* see now B. Colgrave's edition in *Early English MSS in Facsimile*, VIII (Copenhagen, 1958).

IX. Secular Poetry

88 On the date of the *Durham Poem* see *JEGP*, LXI (1962). 591-594. *Ruin* is included in R. F. Leslie (ed.), *Three Old English Elegies* (Manchester, 1961). On the riddles, see the following: for text and notes, Krapp-Dobbie III; for text and translation, the *EETS* ed. of the Exeter Book; for the Leiden Riddle, R. W. Zandvoort, *English and Germanic Stud.*, III (1949-1950). 42-56; for other riddles, *Neophilologus*, XXX (1946). 126-127, XXXI (1947). 145-158; *PMLA*, LXI (1946). 620-623, 910-915, LXII (1947). 1-8, LXIII (1948). 3-6, LXIV (1949). 884-888; *MLN*, LXII (1947). 558-559, LXV (1950). 93-100; *Philologica: the Malone Anniversary Studies* (1949), pp. 1-19; *MA*, XXI (1952). 36-37; *SP*, XLIX (1952). 553-565; *ES*, XXXV (1954). 259-262; *RES*, IX (1958). 241-252; and *MS*, XX (1958). 93-97.

90 On *Eadwacer* and *Wife's Lament* as Old English representatives of the widespread *Frauenlied* genre see K. Malone, *CL*, XIV (1962). 106-117. *Wife's Lament* is included in R. F. Leslie (ed.), *Three Old English Elegies* (Manchester, 1961).

91 *Lover's or Husband's Message* is included in Leslie's book mentioned above. A. C. Bouman, *Patterns in Old English . . . Literature* (Leiden, 1962), tries to reconstruct a story pattern which, he thinks, underlies *Wife's Lament* and *Lover's or Husband's Message* but his pattern is not convincing, depending as it does on a reading in the latter poem which R. E. Kaske has shown to be highly unlikely; see *MA*, XXXIII (1964). 204-206. See also K. Malone, *ES*, XLVI (1965). 492-493. On the runes in *Lover's Message* see K. Schneider, *Die germanischen Runennamen* (Meisenheim, 1956), pp. 570-574.

92 A second ed. of Zupitza's *Beowulf* with new facsimile photographs and an introductory note (v-xvii) by Norman Davis is now available in the *EETS* series, No. 245 (1959). See also *Early English MSS in Facsimile*, I (1951) and XII (1963), both edited by K. Malone. Heyne-Schücking's *Beowulf* (ed. E. von Schaubert) is in its eighteenth edition (1963), and Chambers' *Beowulf*, *An Introduction* is in its third (1959), with a supplement by C. L. Wrenn, whose own *Beowulf* edition (1953) was issued in revised and enlarged form in 1958. A good prose translation is that of J. R. Clark Hall, as revised and annotated by C. L. Wrenn, with a Preface on words and meters by J. R. R. Tolkien (1940). Critical studies of *Beowulf* are too many to be listed here, but the following cannot go without mention: D. Whitelock, *The Audience of Beowulf* (Oxford, 1951); K. Sisam, *The Structure of Beowulf* (Oxford, 1965); and A. G. Brodeur, *The Art of Beowulf* (Berkeley, 1959), reviewed by J. C. Pope in *Speculum*, xxxvii (1962). 411-417, by Ad. Bonjour in *ES*, XLIII (1962). 501-504, and by K. Malone in *MLN*, LXXV (1960). 347-353. See also Bonjour's *Twelve 'Beowulf' Papers 1940-1960 . . .* (Geneva, 1962), Charles Donahue, "Beowulf and Christian Tradition," *Traditio*, XXI (1965). 55-116, and L. E. Nicholson (ed.), *An Anthology of Beowulf Criticism* (South Bend, Indiana, 1963), the last but not the least item of the list.

93 On the date of *Beowulf* see also G. Bond, *SP*, XL (1943). 481-493 and H. M. Flasdieck, *Anglia*, LXIX (1950). 135-171; Flasdieck concludes that "the date of the original MS of *Beowulf* cannot be later than c. 725 and, more probably, is between 675 and 700" (p. 171). But D. Whitelock, *op. cit.*, contends that the poem may have been composed as late as the latter half of the eighth century.

X. Literary Prose

96 On English prose before Alfred note R. J. Menner's dictum: "Prose must have been cultivated in the Anglian kingdoms before the time of Alfred, . . ." (*Philologica: the Malone Anniversary Studies*, p. 56). In the paper from which this dictum is taken Menner shows that the Blickling homilies were of Anglian origin (they have come down to us in a tenth-century Saxonized version) but he does not venture to date their composition. Flasdieck however sees no difficulty in setting this date "as early as the beginning of the 8th c." (*Anglia*, LXIX. 168).

97 Authoritative translations of the *Old English Annals* are those of G. N. Garmonsway, in Everyman's Library, No. 624 (1953) and of S. I. Tucker, edited by D. Whitelock with D. C. Douglas (1961). The editor's Introduction to the latter translation is the latest if not the last word on the origins and history of the versions. Miss Whitelock also gives us the most recent study of the Old English Bede, in *Proc. Brit. Acad.* XLVIII (1963 for 1962). 57-90. The Bodleian MS Hatton 20, with Alfred's translation of Gregory's *Regula Pastoralis*, has been published in the series *Early English MSS in Facsimile*, VI (Copenhagen, 1956), ed. N. R. Ker, and in the same series (III, 1953) we have the Tollemache Orosius (BM MS Add. 47967), ed. A. Campbell. This translation has been compared with the Latin text by S. Potter, *Anglia*, LXXI (1953). 385-437 and by J. Bately, *Classica et Mediaevalia*, XVII (1961). 69-105; the latter, who studied a large number of codices and established many variant readings hitherto unknown to Alfredian

scholarship, has shown that Alfred departed from his Latin text much less often than had previously been thought. On Alfred's *Blostman* see S. Potter in *Philologica: the Malone Anniversary Studies* (Baltimore, 1949), pp. 25-30. On the West Saxon prose translation of Psalms 1-50 see now J. I'a Bromwich, *The Early Cultures of Northwest Europe* (Cambridge, 1950), pp. 289-303; he tells us that "King Alfred has just as good a claim to the translation of the prose portion of the Paris Psalter as he has to the *Cura Pastoralis* and the Boethius" (103).

101 Ælfric's *De temporibus anni* (in English despite its title) is to be had in H. Henel's ed. of 1942; see C. L. Wrenn's review in *RES*, xx (1944). 232-234. On Ælfric's rhythmic alliterative prose see esp. O. Funke, *Anglia*, lxxx (1962). 9-36 and *ES*, xliii (1962). 311-318. Marguerite-Marie Dubois's *Ælfric, Sermonnaire, Docteur et Grammairien* (Paris, 1943) is a full-scale study.

103 In recent years much work has been done on Wulfstan. See esp. D. Whitelock (ed.), *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*, 3ed. (1963), with bibliography, which brings Wulfstan scholarship and criticism up to date in the form best suited to the student. Special mention, besides, must be made of the following: A. McIntosh, "Wulfstan's Prose," *Proc. Brit. Acad.*, xxxv (1949). 109-142; K. Jost, *Wulfstan studien* (Bern, 1950); K. Jost (ed.), *Die 'Institutes of Polity, Civil and Ecclesiastical'* (Bern, 1959); D. Bethurum, *The Homilies of Wulfstan* (Oxford, 1957); J. Ure, *The Benedictine Office . . .* (Edinburgh, 1957); and P. Clemoes, "The Old English Benedictine Office . . ." in *Anglia*, lxxviii (1960). 265-283. The *Blickling Homilies* MS (now owned by W. H. Scheide of Princeton, N.J.) is now to be had in facsimile: *Early English MSS in Facsimile*, x (Copenhagen, 1960), ed. R. Willard. On the dialect in which the homilies were composed see above (suppl. to p. 96).

104 A saint's life of some importance recently edited (though not for the first time) is that of St. Chad (Amsterdam, 1953), ed. R. Vleeskruyer; see A. Campbell's review in *MA*, xxiv (1955). 52-56. Of interest, too, is the first article of the Nowell codex, a fragment of a life of St. Christopher, ed. S. Rypins (1924; *EETS*, 161), pp. 68-76; see K. Sisam, *Studies in the History of Old English Literature* (Oxford, 1953), pp. 65-72 and K. Malone (ed.), *The Nowell Codex* (Copenhagen, 1963), pp. 114-115, 119. *Bald's Leech Book*, on which Cockayne drew for the second volume of his *Leechdoms . . .*, is now available in the series *Early English MSS in Facsimile*, v (Copenhagen, 1955), ed. C. E. Wright. The Old English *Apollonius* has been edited by J. Raith (Munich, 1956) and by P. Goolden (Oxford, 1958).

Part II. The Middle English Period (1100-1500)

I. General Characteristics of the Period

109 A new edition of Wells' *Manual* is in preparation under the general editorship of J. Burke Severs. There are new editions of Renwick and Orton (1952) and Loomis's *Reading List* (1948). To the Brown-Robbins *Index* there is now a Supplement by Rossell H. Robbins and John Cutler (Lexington, Ky.,

1965) as well as William Ringler, "A Bibliography and First-Line Index of English Verse Printed through 1500: A Supplement to Brown and Robbins' *Index of Middle English Verse*," *Papers of the Bibl. Soc. of America*, XLIX (1955). 153-180. The texts and editions cited in the *Middle English Dictionary* offer a very useful list, available separately: *A Bibliography of Middle English Texts*, by Margaret S. Ogden, Charles E. Palmer, and Richard L. McKelvey (Ann Arbor, 1956). The *Annual Bibliography of English Language and Literature*, published by the Modern Humanities Research Assoc., and the Annual Bibliography compiled by Paul A. Brown and numerous collaborators for PMLA, which since the issue for 1956 has been international in scope, are indispensable for all periods of English literature; the student will find convenient the surveys in *The Year's Work in English Studies*, issued annually since 1919 by the English Assoc., and *The Year's Work in Modern Language Studies*, since 1931, published by the M.H.R.A. The first issue of Rossell H. Robbins, "Middle English Research in Progress," appeared in *Neuphil. Mitteilungen*, LXV (1964). 360-366, with continuations appearing annually.

110 More recent general surveys of Middle English literature, at least in part, include H. S. Bennett, *Chaucer and the Fifteenth Century* (1947) and E. K. Chambers, *English Literature at the Close of the Fifteenth Century* (1946), both in the *Oxford History of English Literature*; George Kane, *Middle English Literature: A Critical Study of the Romances, the Religious Lyrics, 'Piers Plowman'* (1951); Margaret Schlauch, *English Medieval Literature and Its Social Foundations* (Warzawa, 1956); John Speirs, *Medieval English Poetry: The Non-Chaucerian Tradition* (1957); *The Pelican Guide to English Literature*, ed. Boris Ford: Vol. 1: *The Age of Chaucer* (1954, rev. 1963). The collected essays of Dorothy Everett, *Essays on Middle English Literature*, ed. Patricia Kean (Oxford, 1955), and of Laura Hibbard Loomis, *Adventures in the Middle Ages* (1962), gather together conveniently articles previously scattered. *Middle English Survey*, ed. Edward Vasta (Notre Dame, Ind., 1965) is an anthology of critical and interpretive articles.—For the Old French background Paul Zumthor, *Histoire littéraire de la France médiévale* (Paris, 1954), and Jessie Crosland, *Medieval French Literature* (Oxford, 1956), the latter often perceptive in its critical appraisals, may be consulted. R. Bossuat, *Manuel bibliographique de la littérature française du moyen âge* (Melun, 1951; two supplements, Paris, 1955, 1961) is indispensable in spite of many small inaccuracies. Ernst R. Curtius, *European Literature in the Latin Middle Ages*, trans. W. R. Trask (1953; German text, 1948), is broad in range and stimulating. W. T. H. Jackson, *The Literature of the Middle Ages* (1960), will help the student to see English literature in its European context.—The historical background has been enriched by several additional volumes in the *Oxford History of England*: Austin L. Poole, *From Domesday Book to Magna Carta, 1087-1216* (2ed, 1955), F. M. Powicke, *The Thirteenth Century, 1216-1307* (2ed, 1962), May McKisack, *The Fourteenth Century, 1307-1399* (1959), and E. F. Jacob, *The Fifteenth Century, 1399-1485* (1961). A revised and rewritten edition of *Medieval England* is ed. by A. L. Poole (2v, Oxford, 1958). Two excellent shorter treatments are Doris M. Stenton, *English Society in the Early Middle Ages, 1066-1307* (2ed, 1952), and A. R. Myers, *England in the Late Middle Ages, 1307-1536* (1952), both Pelican Books. *The Shorter Cambridge Medieval History*, ed. Philip Grierson (2v, 1952) is an abridgment of the

larger work. Indispensable for the background of much religious literature are Dom David Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England* (2ed, Cambridge, 1963), and *The Religious Orders in England* (3v, Cambridge, 1948-59).

II. The Survival of the Native Tradition

118 The items of R. M. Wilson in note 6 have been incorporated in *The Lost Literature of Medieval England* (1952). Cecilia Sisam, "The Scribal Tradition of the *Lambeth Homilies*," *RES*, n.s. II (1951). 105-113, is a valuable study leading to important general conclusions.

123 Betty Hill, "The 'Luue Ron' and Thomas de Hales," *MLR*, LIX (1964). 321-330, supplies important new data. Thomas of Hales wrote also in Latin and French. For an Anglo-Norman sermon by him see M. Dominica Legge, *Anglo-Norman Literature and Its Background* (Oxford, 1963). Of great interest for the Katherine Group is the *Facsimile of MS Bodley 34: St. Katherine, St. Margaret, St. Juliana, Hali Meidhad, Sawles Warde*, ed. N. R. Ker (1960; *EETS*, 247).

125 The edition of the *St. Juliana* by Miss d'Ardenne mentioned in note 20 has been reprinted (1961; *EETS*, 248).

126 Additional evidence for Herefordshire is offered by Cecily Clark, "*Sawles Warde* and Herefordshire," *N&Q*, CXCIX (1954). 140.

III. The Ancrene Riwe

127 The intention of the *EETS* mentioned in note 1 is steadily being carried out. The following MSS have been printed: Cotton MS Nero A. XIV, ed. Mabel Day (1952; *EETS*, 225); Gonville and Caius College MS 234/120, ed. R. M. Wilson, 1954; *EETS*, 229); BM MS Royal 8 C.1., ed. Albert C. Baugh (1965; *EETS*, 232); Corpus Christi College, Cambridge MS 402 (*Ancrene Wisse*), ed. J. R. R. Tolkien (1962; *EETS*, 249); Cotton MS Titus D. xviii, ed. Frances M. Mack (1963; *EETS*, 252); the second French version, from Trin. Coll., Cambridge MS R. 14. 7, etc., ed. W. H. Trethewey (1958; *EETS*, 240). See also W. H. Trethewey, "The Seven Deadly Sins and the Devil's Court in the Trinity College Cambridge French Text of the *Ancrene Riwe*," *PMLA*, LXV (1950). 1233-1246; John H. Fisher, "The French Versions of the *Ancrene Riwe*," *Middle Ages—Reformation—Volksskunde: Festschrift for John G. Kunstmann* (Chapel Hill, 1959; *Univ. of No. Carolina Stud. in the Germanic Lang. and Lit.*, No. 26), pp. 65-74; *The Ancrene Riwe: The Corpus MS. Ancrene Wisse*, trans. M. B. Salu (1955; *Orchard Books*); E. J. Dobson, "The Affiliations of the Manuscripts of *Ancrene Wisse*," *English and Medieval Studies Presented to J. R. R. Tolkien* (1962), pp. 128-163; Charlotte D'Evelyn, "Notes on Some Interrelations between the Latin and English Texts of the *Ancrene Riwe*," *PMLA*, LXIV (1949). 1164-1179.

128 That English was the original language of the *Ancrene Riwe* has become clear from Miss D'Evelyn's article just mentioned and especially from Hans Käsman, "Zur Frage der ursprünglichen Fassung der *Ancrene Riwe*,"

Anglia, LXXV (1957). 134-156. *The Tretise of Loue*, ed. John H. Fisher (1951; *EETS*, 223), derives in part from the *Ancrene Riwe*. See also John H. Fisher, "Continental Associations for the *Ancrene Riwe*," *PMLA*, LXIV (1949). 1180-1189.

133 C. H. Talbot, "Some Notes on the Dating of the *Ancrene Riwe*," *Neophilologus*, XL (1956). 38-50, offers important evidence for dating the work in the latter half of the twelfth century, possibly the closing years of the century. Peter Hackett, "The Anchoresses' Guide," *The Month*, n.s. XXIII (1960). 227-240, is a sensible survey.

134 *þe Wohunge of Ure Lauerd*, ed. W. Meredith Thompson (1958; *EETS*, 241).

IV. Anglo-Norman Literature

135 The best treatment of Anglo-Norman literature is now M. Dominica Legge, *Anglo-Norman Literature and its Background* (Oxford, 1963), to which may be added her earlier book, *Anglo-Norman in the Cloisters: The Influence of the Orders upon Anglo-Norman Literature* (Edinburgh, 1950; *Edinburgh Univ. Pub.: Lang. & Lit.*, No. 2). The *Dictionnaire des lettres françaises publié sous la direction du Cardinal Georges Grente. Le Moyen Age*, préparé par R. Bossuat, et al. (Paris, 1964), contains articles (of unequal value) on all the works mentioned in the present chapter. Much the best review of the current status of Anglo-Norman scholarship is K. V. Sinclair, "Anglo-Norman Studies: The Last Twenty Years," *Australian Jour. of French Stud.*, II (1965). 113-155, 225-278. Ruth J. Dean, "A Fair Field Needing Folk: Anglo-Norman," *PMLA*, LXIX (1954). 965-978, is useful.

136 On Eleanor of Aquitaine see E. R. Labande, "Pour une image véridique d'Aliénor d'Aquitaine," *Bull. Soc. des Antiquaires de l'Ouest*, 4th Ser., II (1953). 175-234; Rita Lejeune, "Rôle littéraire d'Aléonor d'Aquitaine et de sa famille," *Cultura Neolatina*, XLV (1954). 5-57, both being supplementary to the basic account in Alfred Richard, *Histoire des comtes de Poitou, 778-1204* (Paris, 1903), II. 54-457. The major part of W. F. Schirmer and U. Broich, *Studien zum literarischen Patronat im England des 12. Jahrhunderts* (Köln, 1962), is the discussion (by Broich) of Henry II as a literary patron. Florence McCulloch, *Medieval Latin and French Bestiaries* (Chapel Hill, 1960; *Univ. of No. Carolina Stud. in the Romance Lang. and Lit.*, No. 33), may be read in connection with the *Bestiaire* of Philippe de Thaün.

137 The Latin and Anglo-Norman lives of St. Edmund by Matthew Paris are discussed by C. H. Lawrence in *St. Edmund of Abingdon: A Study in Hagiography and History* (Oxford, 1960). Alexander Bell, "Notes on Two Anglo-Norman Saints' Lives," *PQ*, xxxv (1956). 48-59, discusses a *St. Osith* in the Welbeck Abbey MS and *La Passiun de Seint Edmund* in a Caius MS. *The Life of St. Catherine* by Clemence of Barking is edited by William Macbain (Oxford, 1964; *Anglo-Norman Text Soc.*, No. 18).

138 Alexander Bell (ed.), *L'Estoire des Engleis* by Geffrei Gaimar (Oxford, 1960; *Anglo-Norman Text Soc.*, Nos. 14-15) on which Ronald N. Walpole, "A