

THE DICTION OF ENGLISH ROMANCES OF THE FOURTEENTH
CENTURY IN THE ALLITERATIVE LONG LINE WITHOUT
RHYME :

SOME STUDIES IN THE CONVENTIONAL ELEMENTS,
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE USE OF
RECURRING FORMULAE.

by

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Alterations to The Diction of English Alliterative Romances

Page

- vi. (line 5) Change "Wynnere and Wastoure" to "Winner and Waster".
5. (l. 12) Underline "Sengly with hys sope, my sorowe es the more"
(ll. 17 & 21) Alter number of footnote from 2 to 3.
(l. 9) Alter "Lystnys lordyngs" to "Lystnes lordyngs²." *(This refers to the new footnote)*
(Between footnotes 1 & 3) Insert new footnote "2. cf. Athelston l. 7."
6. (l. 21) Alter "than" to "that".
13. (l. 11 and footnote 2) Change "Archæology" to "Archaeology"
14. (footnote 4) Change "Archæology" to "Archaeology".
22. (l. 7) Change "eigth" to "eighth".
(ll. 14 & 19) Change "formulæ" to "formulae"
23. (l. 3 and footnote 3) Change "B owra" to "B^oowra"
(ll. 12, 14, & 21) Change "formulæ" to "formulae"
41. (l. 21) Change "stereo-typed" to "stereo^otyped"
143. (l. 16) After "S.M.1" add "(see p. 144, n. 1.)"
166. (last line but one) Alter "no" to "not".
171. (l. 6) Add comma after "metrical form".
207. (l. 10) Change "analyis" to "analysis".
209. (l. 22) Change full-stop to comma after "condemned".
211. (l. 11) Change "Zarmand" to "3armand", (M.E. palatal spirant).
212. (l. 23) Add comma after "sentence".
214. Change "middle ages" to "Middle Ages". (l. 15)
215. (l. 7) Change "it" to "is".
236. (l. 6) Change "can not" to "can^onot".

CONTENTS

	PAGE
Preface	iii.
Chapter I : Aim and Methods of the Study	1.
II : General Features of Formulaic Diction in the Alliterative Romances	27.
III : Second Half-Line Formulae	54.
IV : Formula, Rhythm, and Syntax	142.
V : The Extent of Formulaic Diction in the Alliterative Romances	173.
VI : Some Extensions of the Subject	217.
Select Bibliography	238.

PREFACE

The poems which form the object of this study, sixteen in number, comprise a total of roughly 41,000 lines of alliterative verse in the long line without rhyme. The list below represents the chronological order of the poems, in so far as general opinion is agreed upon this. The editions mentioned are those from which quotations of the poems in the following pages are taken, while the abbreviations are those used for the many line references which have to be made.

- Alexander A. edited by W.W.Skeat, Early English Text Society. Extra Series 1. 1867. Alex.A.
- Alexander B. (Alexander and Dindimus) re-edited by W.W.Skeat, Early English Text Society. Extra Series 31. 1878. Alex.B.
- The Parlement of the Thre Ages. edited by Sir Israel Gollancz. Select Early English Poems 1913-33. P.T.A.
- Winner and Waster. edited by Sir Israel Gollancz. Select Early English Poems. 1913-33. W.&W.
- William of Palerne. edited by W.W.Skeat. Early English Text Society. Extra Series 1. 1867. W.Pal.
- Joseph of Arimathie. edited by W.W.Skeat. Early English Text Society. Original Series 44. 1871. J.Arim.
- Chevelere Assigne. edited by H.H.Gibbs. Early English Text Society. Extra Series 6. 1868. Chev.A.

- Morte Arthure. edited by Mary Macloed Banks.
London. 1900. M.Art.
- The Destruction of Troy. edited by G.A.Panton
and D.Donaldson. Early English Text Society
Original Series 39,56. 1869-74. D.Troy
- The Siege of Jerusalem. edited by E.Kölbing and
Mabel Day. Early English Text Society.
Original Series 188. 1932. S.Jeru.
- Patience. edited by Sir Israel Gollancz.
Select Early English Poems. 1913-33. Pat.
- Cleanness. edited by Sir Israel Gollancz.
Select Early English Poems. 1913-33. Clean.
- Sir Gawain and the Green Knight. re-edited
by Sir Israel Gollancz. Early English Text
Society. Original Series 210. 1940. Gaw.
- St.Erkenwald. edited by Sir Israel Gollancz
Select Early English Poems. 1913-33. St.Erk.
- The Wars of Alexander.¹ re-edited by W.W.Skeat
Early English Text Society. Extra Series 47.
1886. W.Alex.
- Death and Life. edited by Sir Israel Gollancz.
Select Early English Poems. 1913-33. D.&L.

It must be said at once that the three qualifications for the inclusion of a poem in this list (1. romance 2. in the alliterative long line without rhyme 3. written before 1400) are arbitrary expedients for limiting the amount of material to be studied. The body of 14th century

1. Quotations from The Wars of Alexander are from the Ashmole text unless the Dublin text (D) is specified.

English alliterative poetry is very large, and, considering the large number of poetic genres which it covers and the variety of subjects with which it deals, the diction is on the whole fairly homogeneous. Consequently, what is said about the diction of the above group of poems may often apply with equal force to the diction of (for example) Piers Plowman (which is excluded from the list as belonging to the social-political group of alliterative poems) or to The Awntyrs of Arthure at the Terne Wathelyn (which is in rhymed stanzas) or to The Twa Mariit Wemen and the Wedo (which was written long after 1400) etc.etc. In a study which involves, however, the systematic search of the material over and over again for small points of illustration, the only practical course is to limit the number of lines of poetry to be studied - provided that the results of the research are not thereby injured. The above list of poems constitutes a fairly manageable body of poetry, and is at the same time large enough to yield good results.

The three qualifications being arbitrary, there is no need for apology if they have not in each case been pressed as rigidly as they might. There can be little doubt, of course, which poems are in the alliterative long line without rhyme, but with regard to the other two qualifications, there

must be considerable disagreement among those qualified to judge - in the one case because of difference of opinion as to what constitutes a romance, and in the other case because of uncertainty about the dates of these poems. Not everyone would admit Wynnere and Wastoure, for instance, under the heading of romance, but in spite of its social and political content, it undoubtedly uses the setting and language of romance. With regard to Patience and Cleanness, the similarity of language and diction which they share with Sir Gawain and the Green Knight, however different in temper they may be, makes it inadvisable to separate them from the latter poem in a study of this kind. The Pearl has been excluded, however, because of its totally different metrical structure. As far as date is concerned, the greatest amount of doubt appears to exist over The Wars of Alexander and Death and Life, both of which would be dated after 1400 by some scholars.

CHAPTER I

Aims and Methods of the Study

(i)

The poems listed in the preface are to be studied not so much as individual poems, but as illustrating what they all have in common - a conventional diction. And more particularly, it is not vocabulary in itself which is here of most interest - the alliterative vocabulary has been fairly extensively studied¹ - but certain other devices of poetic composition. These devices - conventional formulae - cover so much of the "area" of these alliterative poems as to deserve consideration as a common technique of writing poetry. Schools of poetry there have been before and since, within which certain conventions, certain vocabulary, certain metres are common among the members, and where each learns something of the common idiom from the others. But in the alliterative "school", the homogeneous technique is evidence of something more than the sharing of isolated conventions and devices among poets of the same sympathies, in the same generation. It is evidence of a long tradition in the composition of

1. see, for example, J.P. Oakden: Alliterative Poetry in Middle English: A Survey of the Traditions, Manchester 1935 (Part II). A.Brink: Stab und Wort im Gawain, Halle 1920.

this sort of verse. Furthermore, the details of this technique show very striking affinities with the various bodies of oral poetry of the world which have during this century, been increasingly under scrutiny.

The demonstration of the above statements lies in the following pages. It will consist, to a certain extent, in bringing together the various isolated instances of common technique which have been noted by a variety of writers upon alliterative poetry, and, to a certain extent, in the presentation of further evidence that these isolated devices are part of a very complex and homogeneous system underlying the fabric of alliterative poetry.

First, however, something must be said about the contribution which such a study, if its claims be admitted, can make to the problem of the alliterative tradition in the Middle English period. With the majority of scholars at the present time, the idea of continuity in some form between Old and Middle English alliterative poetry is much preferred to the idea of an antiquarian revival of the metre in the middle years of the fourteenth century. The following passage from R.J. Menner's edition of Purity, would probably gain very general assent:

"In spite of this blank of the three centuries after the Norman Conquest, the alliterative poetry of the Middle English period can hardly be considered a revival of an obsolete form of verse, a deliberate attempt to imitate directly the alliterative line of Old English poetry. For though the principles of the alliterative verse of the later school are still fundamentally the same as in Old

English poetry, the differences in the employment of the various types of line and in the general structure are too great to be explicable in any other way than by the assumption of the continued use of the long alliterative line, and its gradual transformation in that period from which no examples have come down to us." 1.

This development of the long line in just the direction in which one would expect it to have developed in the three hundred years after the Norman Conquest is the most convincing proof of continuity.² It is just this which makes it difficult for us to give Layamon a central place in the alliterative tradition of the intermediate period. That he has a place in that tradition is, of course, indisputable, but his tendency toward the use of rhyme (which is beginning to give a syllabic character to his metre) places his poetry metrically more remote from the classical Old English line than are the poems from the fourteenth century

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1. 'Purity'. A Middle English Poem (usually called 'Cleanness') Edited by R.J. Menner. Yale Studies in English No. 61, 1920. (Introduction, p.xx)
 2. The influence of linguistic change upon the alliterative metre is examined by M.M.R. Stobie in "The Influence of Morphology on Middle English Alliterative Poetry." (Journal of English and Germanic Philology. Vol 39, July, 1940). Milman Parry also mentions that changes in traditional diction are brought about by morphological changes in the language and that metrical irregularities sometimes result. See "Studies in the Epic Technique of Oral Verse Making, II", Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, Vol XLIII, 1932 (p.9ff.)

which we are now studying. Many of Layamon's lines can be scanned as iambic verse of a loose variety. This is not possible with Old English verse of any stage, nor with the unrhymed long line of the fourteenth century. It is thus difficult to see how Layamon's poetry can be considered a direct intermediate stage between the Old English and Middle English long line, without supposing that the fourteenth century poets remodelled the metre handed down to them to make it more like the Old English line. And if they did this, why did they not go further and make it even more like Old English? It is just the degree of similarity to and difference from the Old English metre which predisposes us to see the fourteenth century long line as a natural growth. Layamon's poetry gives us evidence for the existence of some kind or kinds of alliterative poetry during the intermediate centuries (and indeed, the long line with rhyme, as it appears alongside the unrhymed line in the fourteenth century, may owe much to the type of verse which Layamon practised), but it is not in itself adequate to account for the regularity of the long line as it is found in the poems we are considering. There is no need, however, to postulate only one alliterative tradition in the Middle English period. Besides the form in which Layamon preserved it, the alliterative long line may have survived (must have survived, if the above remarks are considered true) with less departure from the strict

Old English conventions, perhaps in a strong local tradition in the North-West Midlands.

If such a tradition existed it was in all probability an oral one. At any rate, no written records of it have survived. It is not difficult to imagine an oral tradition behind our poems. They have many obvious features of the reciter's art,¹ features which they sometimes share with the romances in the tail-rhyme stanza. We might instance the appeal for silence at the beginning of the poem (Lystnys lordyngs etc.) or the direct interpolation of the author's own feelings about the events he is describing, in some such line as: M.Art. 3729. Sengly with hys sope, my sorowe es the more (when Sir Gawain goes ashore to his death). What gives these conventions their flavour of authenticity is the sustained rapport between reciter and audience which can be felt even in those poems which are translated fairly closely from Latin or French.²

Besides his consciousness of his audience, the alliterative poet often showed his consciousness of the place

1. see also remarks on the syntax of Morte Arthure p.211 below

2. cf., for instance, the gestures which the author of The Wars of Alexander makes to his audience at the end of many of his Passus.

"Bot will 3e herken hende now sall 3e here..." W.Alex. 212

"And 3e þat kepis of þis carpe. to knaw any ferre

Sone sall I neuen 3ow þe note. þat is next eftir." W.Alex. 1455-56.

"And her fynes a fytt. & fayr when vs likez". W. Alex. 740 D. etc., etc.

he occupied in a long tradition of minstrelsy. The author of Sir Gawain and the Green Knight knows very well that his method of telling a tale is no new one. Whether he is really passing on what he has heard with tonge or not, he is able to assert that his manner is traditional -

"With lel letteres loken
In londe so hatz ben longe" ¹.

The poet of Winner and Waster laments the decay of true minstrelsy:

"Whylome were lordes in londe þat loued in thaire hertis
To here makers of myrthes, þat matirs couthe fynde
Wyse wordes with-inn þat writen were neuer
Ne redde in no romance þat euer renke herde.
Bot now a childe appon chere, with-owtten chyn-wedys
þat neuer wroghte thurgh witt three wordes to-gedire,
Fro he can jangle als a jaye, and japes can telle,
He schall be leuede and louede and lette of a while
Wele more þan þe man that makes hym-seluen².

(ii)

It has often been suggested than an oral tradition may underlie the alliterative poetry of the 14th century, but this suggestion has never been accompanied by any statement as to how this might have been possible, or indeed by any precise definition of what is meant by the phrase "oral tradition". In fact it is only in the last decade or two that the investigation of living oral

1. See Gaw. 31-36.

2. W. & W. 20-28.

poetry has shown us how an oral tradition actually works. What is here in question is not, after all, so much the handing down of specific poems, or themes, or plots, as the handing down of a particular way of composing poetry. And it is just in this respect that the various works of Milman Parry¹ on Homer and oral poetry can be of the greatest service to us. For the study of oral poetry as it exists at the present time in Yugoslavia shows us how a complete technique of oral composition can be handed down from father to son through (who knows how many?) generations.

The work of Milman Parry began with those features of Greek epic verse which seemed to him to be devices designed to facilitate the swift composition of the hexameter. In L'Épithète Traditionnelle dans Homère² and in two subsequent articles called "Studies in the Epic Technique of Oral Verse-Making" in Harvard Studies in Classical Philology³ he examines recurring elements in the diction of Homer and shows conclusively that these elements form part of a comprehensive technique of verse-making, the effect of which

1. See Bibliography.

2. Paris 1925.

3. Vol. XLI p.73, and Vol. XLIII p.1.

is to make the process of composition in hexameter verse speedy and simple. The vast complexity of the system, the simplicity of the principles upon which it is based, and its great flexibility and usefulness to the poet, lead him to the conclusion that its invention could not possibly have been the work of a single poet, but that it must have been built up over many generations of poets, each one receiving as much of the system as was handed down to him and passing it on to the next in succession, perhaps with the addition of a part - but only a very small part - of his own invention.¹

L'Epithète Traditionnelle dans Homère, Parry's first published work on this subject, examines with great thoroughness one small section of this traditional system - the use of the epithet in noun-epithet formulae. Tables are given of noun-epithet formulae of different grammatical cases for use in different parts of the hexameter verse, and their uses are demonstrated at length. The fact emerges that we have in Homer a large fragment of what must have been a very complete system, in which (for the purposes of generalization) each noun had a series of noun-epithet formulae to fit into the various parts of the hexameter verse. For instance,

1. Parry: L'Epithète Traditionnelle p.21.

on pp.50-51 is a table of noun-epithet formulae in the nominative case. There are 11 names here composing, with epithets, 55 different formulae (some of them occurring very frequently in the two poems) for use in 4 different sections of the verse. The most frequently used ones fall between one of the caesuras and the end of the verse.

The most interesting fact is that out of 55 different formulae, 46 of them are unique - not, indeed in respect of occurrence, for most of them occur more than once in Homer and some as many as 80 times, but - in respect of sense and metre. That is to say, each one of the 46 "unique" formulae is the only one in Homer in which that name occurs in a noun-epithet formula of that particular grammatical case and with that particular metrical value. The same phenomenon is seen in the case of other grammatical cases, and in general throughout the system of noun-epithet formulae. We are impressed by the amazing economy of the system; there is very little overlapping of function from one formula to another. Hence it follows that the poet, with very few exceptions used the same formula every time he wished to use a certain name (with epithet) in a certain grammatical case and in a certain metrical position.

The examination of noun-epithet formulae in L'Epithète Traditionnelle² could be extended to cover types of formulae involving other parts of speech;¹ for the general principles

1. Parry: L'Epithète Traditionnelle p.26.

are the same throughout. The complexity of the whole system is apparent. But

"Si cette diction par formules est elle-même compliquée ... au point qu'il faut un travail énorme pour l'analyser, le principe en est pourtant essentiellement simple et peut être exprimé en peu de mots. Pour créer une diction qui s'adaptât aux exigences de la versification, les aèdes trouvaient et conservaient des expressions qui, pouvant servir telles quelles ou avec un léger changement à différentes phrases, tombent à des places fixes dans le vers. Ces expressions ont des mesures différents selon les idées qu'elles doivent exprimer, c'est à dire selon la nature des mots nécessaires à l'expression de ces idées. Les plus communes d'entre ces formules remplissent le vers entre la diérèse bucolique et la fin du vers, entre les césures penthémimère, κατὰ τρίτου τροχίου, hepthémimère, et la fin du vers, entre le commencement du vers et les césures indiquées, et enfin le vers entier. Les façons dont ces expressions se joignent les unes aux autres pour former la phrase, en même temps que pour remplir la mesure de l'hexamètre,¹ sont multiples et varient pour chaque type d'expression".¹

In "Studies in the Epic Technique of Oral Verse-Making", Parry extended his researches to cover other types of formulae and first proposed that the formulaic method of composition is essentially an oral method, designed to equip the minstrel for extempore composition. This type of composition imposes certain conditions on the poet:-

"Unlike the poet who writes out his lines - or even dictates them - he cannot think without hurry about his next word, nor change what he has made, nor, before going on, read over what he has just

1. Parry: L'Epithète Traditionnelle p.10.

written. Even if one wished to imagine him making his verses alone, one could not suppose the slow finding of the next word, the pondering of the verses just made, the memorizing of each verse. Even though the poet have an unusual memory, he cannot, without paper, make of his own words a poem of any length. He must have for his use word-groups all made to fit his verse and tell what he has to tell. In composing he will do no more than put together for his needs phrases which he has often heard or used himself, and which, grouping themselves in accordance with a fixed pattern of thought, come naturally to make the sentence and the verse; and he will recall his poem easily when he wishes to say it over, because he will be guided anew by the same play of words and phrases as before.¹

The conclusive proof of the formulaic character of Homer's diction lies in the detailed analysis of the first 25 lines of the Iliad and of the Odyssey, all expressions or types of expressions which can be paralleled in other lines of Homer being noted.² The number of such parallels, and the fact that many of them are very ordinary expressions show without doubt that they were used, not for any stylistic value, but for the purpose of easy versification. A comparison with the use of formulae in other Greek verse further bears out this distinction.

As far as could be reasonably shown, then, Parry made out the style of Homer to be a traditional one of oral composition. What makes his speculations even more convincing

1. Parry: Harvard Studies in Classical Philology. Vol. XLI p.77f.

2. Ibid p.118 ff.

is that in contemporary Yugoslavia epic poetry is still composed extempore by popular guslars, and upon analysis their verse shows many of the features noticed by Parry in Homer. The characteristics of Yugoslav folk-epic are outlined by Matthias Murko;¹ who investigated the subject in the early years of this century, and gave an account of the singers - their occupations, way of life, training in poetry, style of delivery, and so on. One of the most interesting points of the work is the assertion of Murko that what he watched in Yugoslavia was a process of oral composition - or, at least, improvisation, - by the guslars. He tells, for instance, how he made three copies of the "same" poem by phonograph and shorthand:

"La comparaison a montré que ce ne sont pas seulement des mots isolés ou l'ordre des mots, mais des vers entiers qui apparaissent sans une forme entièrement nouvelle ou disparaissent, si bien que sur 15 vers dictés, par exemple, il n'en reste plus que 8 chantés. Un bon chanteur musulman du nord-ouest de la Bosnie modifiait à chaque fois le premier vers lui-même."²

C.M. Bowra remarks that this is also true of Russian heroic poetry:

"It (improvisation) is the normal practice among Russian bards. Gilferding observed that among the

1. La Poesie Populaire Epique en Yugoslavie au Début du XXe Siècle Paris 1929.

2. Murko p.16.

peasants of Lake Onega a singer never sang a bylina twice in the same way (footnote: Gilferding i, p. 32) and his evidence is confirmed by Rybnikov, who took down songs from the same singers on the same subjects as those heard by Gilferding, and we can examine the two sets of records. (footnote: Chettéoui p. 26ff.)"1.

Parry himself travelled in Yugoslavia between 1933 and 1935 collecting large numbers of recordings and transcriptions of songs. His work in this field is outlined by Albert B. Lord in the American Journal of Archaeology.² Parry and Lord also contributed a series of articles to the Transactions of the American Philological Association,³ in which various aspects of Greek and South Slavonic epic were compared.

The application of this work on Greek epic verse and later oral poetry to other European popular poetry of the past is obvious, and the study of English medieval romance - both alliterative and non-alliterative - will gain from a comparison of some of its features with features noticed by Parry and Lord in Greek and Yugoslav poetry.

When one reads of the way in which the singers of Yugoslavia performed their art, one cannot help feeling that some such scene must lie behind many of the minstrel romances

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1. C.M. Bowra: Heroic Poetry. London 1952. (pp. 216-17)
 2. "Homer, Parry, and Huso." American Journal of Archaeology Vol 52, p. 34.
 3. Vols. lxiv (1933), lxvii (1936), lxix (1936) (see Bibliography.)

which have come down to us from the middle ages: "Le chanteur, assis, commence par préluder sur ses gusle ou sur sa tamburica ... puis vient un court prologue, où il parle de son art et assure qu'il va chanter un chant 'vérédique' sur 'les anciens temps' ou sur 'les anciens héros'..."¹ Is not this a list of the contents of the prologue to many an English medieval romance?² Again: "Les chanteurs aiment tous à boire, surtout de l'eau-de-vie (rakija); la bière et le vin ne produisant pas un bon effet sur la voix. Les chanteurs chrétiens, pourtant, ne dédaignent pas ces dernières boissons. Les boissons ne peuvent pas faire de mal au chanteur, dit-on, parce-que chez lui 'ça passe en criant.'"³ And Lord: "He sang for a week and our turntables rolled for about two hours in the morning and two hours in the afternoon, with short breaks every twenty minutes or half hour for a cup of Turkish coffee or some stronger refreshment."⁴ One can almost

1. Murko, p.19. cf. also Bowra, p.28.

2. eg. Morte Arthure ll.1-25 especially And wysse me to werpe owte... etc (1.9), And I sall tell zow a tale, pat trewe es and nobyll (1.16). Off elders of alde tym and of theire awke dedys (1.13)

3. Murko, p.18.

4. American Journal of Archæology Vol.52,p.42.

hear him saying: "Full freschely and faste, for here a fitt endes."¹ The background and setting are evidently similar. The task of this thesis is to show that the diction of Middle English alliterative poetry has some of the features found by Parry in Homer and in Yugoslav poetry and considered by him to be evidence of a traditional diction.

Here, however, a caution must be given. It is not proposed to demonstrate here that the actual poems listed in the Preface were orally composed. But if it can be demonstrated that the diction used in them is, to a far greater extent than has been generally allowed, a common and traditional one - in the way in which the diction of Homer was shown by Parry to be traditional - then this will form another contribution to the solution of the problem of continuity in the English alliterative metre. For a traditional diction argues a long tradition, and most probably an oral tradition. And if the evidence of such a traditional diction in our poems is strong enough, then in all probability, (without such further evidence as the alliterative phrases which have survived from the earlier period may afford), it has come down from the Old English traditional oral diction, modified on the lips of minstrels over a period of 300 years.

1. W.&W. 217,367.

That the poetic diction of Old English poetry is, in fact, of the type which Parry argued to be oral and traditional has been demonstrated by two American scholars, though their work on this subject has, unfortunately, not yet been published. Albert B. Lord, in a Harvard University Ph.D. thesis,¹ analysed lines 1473-87 of Beowulf in the way in which Parry analysed parts of Homer,² and found that the structure was in essence similar to that found in present-day Yugoslav epic. In January 1952, Professor F.P. Magoun, also of Harvard University, gave a series of lectures at London University on "Oral-Formulaic Elements in Old English Poetry", during which he distributed duplicated sheets containing his analyses of lines 1-25 of Beowulf and of Cædman's Hymn. The latter is reproduced here by kind permission of Professor Magoun, and will illustrate the type of results which he obtained.

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1. Albert B. Lord: The Singer of Tales (Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Ph.D. degree, Harvard University, June 1949). The present writer has not seen this thesis. The information given above is derived from a typewritten summary of the thesis which was used by Professor F.P. Magoun in connection with the lectures mentioned in the same paragraph.
 2. Harvard Studies in Classical Philology Vol. XLI. p.118ff.

CÆDMAN'S HYMN

NÚ (wé) sculon herian Heofon-riées Weard,
Metodes meahte and his mód-geþanc,
 weorc Wuldor-fæder, swá Hé wundra gehwæs,
éce Dryhten, ór onstealde.
 He ærest scóp eorðan bearnum
 Heofon tó hrófe, hálig Scieppend;
 pá middan-geard mann-cynnes Weard,
éce Dryhten æfter téode--
 FÍRUM FOLDAN Fréa eall-mihtig.

Solid underlining indicates a formula, broken underlining a formulaic system or a part of the same. The supporting evidence follows:

1a Gen 816 Nú mé meg hréowan; An 1517 Nú þú meht gecnāwan;
El 511 Nú þú meht gehíeran; B 395 Nú gé moton gangan.

1b Gen 1365, 1484, 1744, 2072; Ex 486; Dan 12, 26; Sat 420
 Nú ic þé hálsie / Heofon-riées weard; An 52 herede on
 heortan / Heofon-riées Weard; El 197, 445, 718; DRR 91;
Gu 612, 789; Met 11, 31; Ps 50, 113, 90, 1; Kent Hy 2.

2a Sat 352; An 694; Dan 169 þæt hē wolde Metodes / meahte
 geliefan, 537 Metodes meahta, 658; Gen 189 Metodes
 meahum. Cp. Dan 20 Metodes mēgensciepe; Ph 6 þurh
 Metodes meht; Met 29, 48 Metodes cræfte.

2b Met 31, 19; cp. Gen(B) 253 swá mihtigne on His mód-
 geþoht; B 1729 mannes mód-geþanc; Gen 93, 1524, 2341,
 2647 mód-geþance (instr.); Gn 123 þær biþ mannes /
 mód-geþances.

3a Cp. Gri 217 mid þinne Wuldor-fæder; Men 147 mid Wuldor-
 fæder.

3b Cp. frequent wundra (þæs) fela (or worn) in Grein-Kohler.

- 4a Ps 54,4,70,18,20,71,19,73,17,78,1, etc; Ch.&Sat. 528b; and in inflected cases as follows: gen.sing. Br 16, Men 12 écan Dryhtnes; Gen 7,1885; Gri 396,711; Ph 600; Ps 67,3,9,68,29 écan Dryhtnes; dat.sing. B 2796 ecum Dryhtne; acc.sing. Ps 55,9,65,1,3,7; B 1692,1779,2330 écan Dryhten.
- 4b B 2407, Ri 4,59 ór onstelle.
- 5a Gen 112 Hér árest scóp. Cp. Met 20,53 árest gescópe; Az 128 þæt ár gescóp; also Ord World 38 Hwæt, on frympe gescóp; Ph 84 Sé hit on frympe gescóp; Gen 1278 þá hé Ádam scóp.
- 5b See in Grein-Kohler frequent fíra, hæleða (Gri 1591), ielda, léoda, manna, nippa bearn(um)
- 6a No supporting evidence.
- 6b Cp. Grein-Kohler for frequent hálig Dryhten and Cri 417 milde Scieppend.
- 7a Dan 636 stóð middan-geard; Gen 985 þes middan-geard, 1554 Eall þes middan-geard; Gu 521 þæt he middan-geard; Ri 31,1 Is þes middan-geard; Wa 62 Swá þes middan-geard. Cp. Gen 136,1206,1378, etc. for middan-geardes filling an entire verse.
- 7b Gen 2758, 2896.
- 8a See verse 5a.
- 8b Cp. Gen 469,623 æfter libban; B 12 æfter cenned, 2731 æfter wurde; An 182 æfter wierdan; Jul 197 æfter weorðan; Ri 39,23 æfter gangeþ.
- 9a No supporting evidence.
- 9b Gen 5,116,150,173,852,904,1359,1427; Cr1379; Jud 301; Ps 68,14,17,69,6,85,17.

(iii)

The task, then, is to show the existence of the same sort of system in the diction of these romances which we are

studying as is found in Greek, South Slavonic and Anglo-Saxon oral poetry. Whether such a system is in a flourishing state or is merely a fossilized relic may best be seen when we have more fully explored its extent in these Middle English poems. At first sight it would appear that the plain fact of Latin and French originals makes a theory of oral composition for these particular poems (or for some of them, at least) quite untenable. But it must be remembered that a similar situation exists in the case of some later Old English poetry, the style of which does not differ markedly from that of Beowulf. It must be repeated, moreover, that the main task of this essay is to show a tradition of oral composition behind the Middle English alliterative romances. This would seem to be proved even if it were shown that what we have in these poems is merely the remains of an oral technique embedded in written literature. In some cases we may have the attempt to use a traditional oral style for producing written poems.

Bowra has some remarks on poems which are formulaic and yet literary:

"Though the Assyrian poet of Gilgamish certainly owes much to books, and may well have composed his poems to be read by the learned few, his style remains largely that of oral composition. He has, it is true, a greater degree of free composition and fewer formulaic passages than we find in Homer, but that no doubt is because he is more accustomed to writing and relies more upon it. None the less he maintains the manners of oral composition in

some important respects. This may be due in the first place to his sense that he belongs to a tradition and must write in a traditional way. But it must also be partly due to the needs of recitation."¹.

And Murko found that "les chants de la poésie dite orale ou traditionnelle ne sont pas toujours transmis de bouche en bouche; ils sont très souvent, et de plus en plus, pris dans les livres et des brochures..."². He attributes the decay of oral poetry to this fact: "le plus grand ennemi du chanteur, c'est l'instruction moderne. Les recueils ont fait perdre l'intérêt aux chants populaires (je n'ai gagné la confiance de nombreux chanteurs qu'en leur assurant que je ne prendrais pas note de leur poèmes)..."³. Dependence upon written records would have a disastrous effect upon the oral resources of the poet. It is no coincidence that many of the best improvisors among the singers whom Murko met were among the illiterate.⁴.

If we have, in fourteenth century English alliterative poetry the application of oral method to written literature, some light is thrown on both the sudden re-appearance of the metre in the fourteenth century and its almost equally

1. Bowra, p.241.

2. Murko, p.12.

3. Murko, p.30.

4. Murko, p.13.

sudden disappearance after the beginning of the fifteenth. It is interesting to speculate that such a situation as Murko found in Yugoslavia in the early years of this century - an oral literature dying up because of dependence upon written records - may lie behind the complaint of the poet at the beginning of Winner and Waster¹: Is he lamenting the time of true oral poets (makers of myrthes, pat matirs couthe fynde), who composed extempore without dependence upon books (wyse wordes withinn, pat writen were neuer, Ne redde in no romance pat euer renke herde)? He is evidently himself a poet that makes hym-seluen. Is he here condemning those minstrels who only recite what they have learned, jangling like a jay, but who never composed one alliterative line (three wordes togedire) of their own? May we go even further and see in line 24 (Bot now a childe appon chere, with-owtten chyn-wedys) an oblique reference to the long period of apprenticeship which an oral poet must serve before he has fully mastered his technique? On the subject of a training of a singer in Yugoslavia, Murko has this to say: Les chanteurs commencent à apprendre à jouer des gusle et à recueillir la tradition épique dès leur tendre enfance... la plupart du temps entre dix ou douze ans, mais toujours en général jeunes, 'alors qu'ils ne pensent encore à rien', jusque vers l'age d'environ vingt-cinq ans."²

1. ll. 20-28, quoted above p.6.

2. Murko, p.12.

In looking for evidence of this oral tradition in our poems we shall apply some of the methods which were used by Milman Parry in his study of Homer's traditional diction, but we are bound to find great differences in the use which the two types of poetry make of traditional phraseology. Metrically, the English unrhymed alliterative line whether of the eighth or of the fourteenth century, is very far removed from the Greek hexameter. Parry insists throughout that the rhythm of the formula is absolutely due to the form of the hexameter. There seem to be serious limitations in this concept of the relation between metre and formula, which will be examined later,¹ but it is true that if English alliterative verse is, like the Greek, built up on the use of formulae, we shall expect to find certain differences of technique corresponding to the difference of metrical structure.

The differences are in fact two-fold. There is evidently a greater degree of free composition and a less extended use of formulae in our alliterative poetry than is found in Homer. Parry's statements that "In composing (the oral poet) will do no more than put together for his needs phrases which he has often heard or used himself"² and that

1. see below p.217ff

2. Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, Vol.XLI, p.77.

"The oral poet expresses only ideas for which he has a fixed means of expression"¹ are to be understood as applying to classical Greek epic. B owra says:

"The heroic hexameter,...is a much stricter and more exacting metre than those of the Russians, Yugoslavs, or Asiatic Tatars... Now a poet who improvises in a difficult metre is faced with a much sterner task than, say, a Russian poet whose line is determined neither by the quantity of syllables nor by their number but by accents which he himself puts on in chanting... That is why Homer has far more formulae than even the most formulaic poets from other countries." ²

The second difference in the use of formulae between hexameter and alliterative poetry, lies in the extent to which the formula can be fitted into different parts of the metrical line. For "the nature of the hexameter is such that only a small part of the epic formulas are found in more than one place in the verse,"³ whereas we shall notice in the following pages several examples of formulae which are used in either half of the alliterative line, or which can be "split" to span the caesura.⁴ One example may be given here. The formula herie heie god is usually found in the first half-line, as in:

1. Harvard Studies in Classical Philology Vol. XLI, p.78

2. B owra p. 236.

3. Parry. Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, Vol. XLI p. 93.

4. see below pp. 39, 66, and 202.

St. Erk. 325 Now herid be þou, heghe God, & þi hende Moder
St. Erk. 339 I heere þerof my heghe God, & also þe, bysshop
Alex.B. 358 And herie þe heie god . with herte & with tounge
 In Alex.B. 641, however, it becomes split:

3e ne herien nouht herteli . þe heie god alone.

Parry was able to find statistical proof of the traditional character of the noun-epithet formula in Homer in the fact that the majority of them are "metrically unique". It is clear that the loose alliterative metre with its great flexibility in the use of unstressed (and even, to an extent, stressed) syllables, affords us no opportunity of such a statistical method in order to prove the traditional nature of the formulae we find in our poems. The necessity for alliteration imposed its own limitations, of course - hence the numbers of alliterative phrases which made up a large part of the formulaic material available to the alliterative poet - but even so it was by no means as hard a task-master as the hexameter.

We shall therefore have to fall back on a less precise way of establishing that a particular phrase belongs to the tradition, and is not the invention of a particular poet in a particular poem - the test of frequency. And, in fact, it is the test which Parry himself was bound to adopt after he had left the very restricted field of the noun-epithet formulae. His analyses of complete passages of Homer¹ are based on

1. Harvard Studies in Classical Philology XLI pp.118-121

the principle of frequency of occurrence. Those phrases are underlined which show by their recurrence in different parts of Homer that they are conventional.

In one respect we are in a more fortunate position in considering Middle English alliterative verse than Parry was in considering Homer. He could not with certainty point to the use of a particular formula by two or more poets. The Iliad and the Odyssey as they stand may be the work of one man. But we are able to point to the recurrence of certain formulae in several different poems. It is true that at one time most of our Middle English alliterative poetry was assigned to Huchown, but the older critics were able to do this - as later scholars have easily shown¹. - only by regarding as evidence of common authorship certain very common alliterative formulae. Hence we have the paradoxical situation that although Middle English alliterative poetry does not show us the homogeneous common style of oral poetry in such a pure state as it is found in Homer, we are enabled, the better for that, to see what belongs to the tradition and what is more probably to be attributed to the stylistic

1. See esp: F.J. Amours: Scottish Alliterative Poems in Riming Stanzas Edinburgh 1897 (Scottish Text Soc.) Introduction p.lv
 G. Reicke: Untersuchungen über den Stil der mittel-englischen alliterierenden Gedichte 'Morte Arthure'...etc. Königsberg 1906, pp.11-14.
 H.N. McCracken: "Concerning Huchown", P.M.L.A. Vol25,1910 p.507.

proclivities of individual authors.

The chapters below will attempt, then, to show how in general the alliterative authors used recurring formulae, how they adapted them to the needs of their subject matter, the types of formulae used in the second half of the alliterative line, and the relation between formulaic diction, rhythm, and syntax. Then complete passages from two of the poems will be examined for the occurrence of formulae which are also found elsewhere. Finally some interesting questions raised by the use of this poetic technique will be discussed.

CHAPTER IIGeneral Features of Formulaic Diction in theAlliterative Romances.

(i)

The formula and the "alliterative phrase".

It has long been recognized that the diction of Middle English alliterative poetry contains much that is conventional - that there existed a large stock-in-trade of expressions which the poet could draw from to make up his lines. Cases have also been pointed out in which a particular expression has its equivalent in Old English or Old Norse verse¹. These latter instances are of great value in establishing the history of the tradition behind Middle English alliterative poetry; but the method followed in the present study is somewhat different from this, being directed at establishing the currency among different poets of certain formulae in the fourteenth century, rather than at tracing their history in previous centuries. Some attempt must be made, however, to illustrate the relation between these earlier investigations into the conventional diction of alliterative poetry and the conception of the technique of composition which is offered in these pages.

1. see Oakden, p.195 ff; E.S. Olszewska: "Illustrations of Norse Formulas in English". Leeds Studies in English no. 2 pp. 76-84.

In the main, earlier examinations of this subject have followed two lines. It has been noted that there exist a large number of "alliterative phrases", or combinations of alliterating words, which are used many times over to meet the metrical requirements of the alliterative line. Some of these have been shown to exist in the alliterative poetry of Old English and other Germanic languages. The second line of enquiry has been into the use of "tags" to fill out the second half of the long line. Our concern in this chapter will be mainly with the first of these aspects of conventional diction. The formulaic features of the second half-line are discussed in Chapter III.

The standard work on "alliterative phrases" is J.P. Oakden's Alliterative Poetry in Middle English: a Survey of the Traditions¹. Oakden deals at great length with the "alliterative phrases" which are found in Old and Middle English verse, providing many pages of lists. The quantity, alone, of these phrases quoted by Oakden is impressive, and ought to give pause to any editor who wishes to assign any two alliterative poems to the same author on grounds of similarity of diction. Although Oakden's lists appear to be presented as final and complete,² however, E.A. Oszewska has pointed out that many

1. Manchester University Press, 1935. See Part III, p.195 ff.

2. see p. 195 "Before the alliterative phrases occurring in Middle English had all been collected and arranged..."

of the phrases in The Ormulum are omitted.¹ Further omissions in the Middle English lists have been detected during the course of the present study, and are indicated in passing. These deficiencies limit the usefulness of the lists, and any detailed study such as that attempted in Chapter V below must depend on an independent search.

But the greater weakness of this part of Oakden's book is that it is difficult to see where lines of definition are drawn - what, in other words, constitutes for his purposes, an "alliterative phrase". It might be assumed that to qualify as an "alliterative phrase" an expression must occur at least twice. Yet a glance at the lists will show that large numbers of the phrases are quite unique. On pp. 267-8. for instance, the following phrases are recorded only once in the non-rhyming alliterative poems of the fourteenth century, nor are they paralleled in any of the other lists which Oakden gives in this part of his work - lists which cover a great deal of Old English and Middle English Literature:-

1. "The alliterative^{at} phrases in the Ormulum" Leeds Studies English, No. 5, p. 50 ff.

aungells and arcangells, to bale were ze panne bare,
 as bare as a bord, a barme in hir barme, batell and baret,
 I am beaten backe, neuer beaten was in battell, in bedde and
 at borde, oþer bedys or broche, beggers and barouns, beggers
 and bedman, with bellis and with baners.

Are we then to assume that any phrase containing two alliterating words is to be considered an "alliterative phrase" without reference to the number of times it is used? In that case almost every line of alliterative poetry would qualify for admission to the lists. But this is obviously not so. In The Destruction of Troy for example, he finds 404 phrases with a total of 761 occurrences. Thus the number of lines included out of over 14,000 in the poem cannot be more than 761. Repeated readings of this section of Oakden's work have failed to reveal any principle of choice. Although Oakden, and others, use the expression "alliterative phrase", there is no doubt that what is often meant is a pair or triplet of alliterating words. That this is so is indicated by the fact that Oakden prints his lists without reference to the position of the phrases in the lines in which they occur. Sometimes, too, the phrases are recorded with words omitted between the two alliterating words, for example:-

bachillers...barons, Mum.792¹.; blo...blak Pur.1017².

-
1. Oakden: p.268
 2. Oakden: p.269

so that it is not possible to tell the exact rhythm of the phrase as it stood in the verse. The "alliterative phrase" is thought of, less as a complete phrase with a certain rhythmical value, than as a pair of words, ready-matched to meet the demands of alliteration. It is not surprising that attention should be drawn to the alliterating words, for if we conceive of the alliterative poet as composing his lines with great labour, in conformity with an abstract metrical pattern, then his greatest task is to find words which will fall under the alliterating staves. The unstressed parts of the line seem to be reduceable to no rigid scheme, so that these would appear to afford the least difficulty to the poet wishing to compose "correct" alliterative lines. In some cases, moreover, the stressed and alliterating words which form the major part of the alliterative phrase are used in a variety of different arrangements, either in the first half only, or spanning the caesura.

There seems, nevertheless, good reason for regarding the alliterative phrase as, in many cases, a complete metrical unit, with a metrical pattern which fulfils the rhythmical need as well as the alliterative one; that is to say, as a formula proper, which has a certain metrical value to the poet and can be used over and over again in a certain position of the line, either as it stands or with

a small variation. The following example may illustrate this aspect of the alliterative phrase and its usefulness to the poet:- (The war...wegh...waite phrases are, incidentally, not recorded by Oakden)

<u>Whan he was ware of þe wegh,</u>	welcomed hym faire,	<u>D.Troy</u>	822
<u>Vn war of þe wegheþ þat</u>	by the walleþ lay,	"	1183
<u>To be war of þat wegh,</u>	& wait on hir-seluyn.	"	12722
<u>Noght warre of the wegheþ,</u>	þat waitid his harme,	"	13012
<u>& watz war of þat wyze þat</u>	þe water sozte	<u>Pat.</u>	249
<u>þe wylde watz war of þe wyze</u>	with weppen in honde	<u>Gaw.</u>	1586
<u>Than was he warre of a wye</u>	wondyre wele armyde	<u>M.Art</u>	2515

If we make allowances for certain small variations to fit the phrase into its context, we have here not merely a pair of alliterating words, ware...wegh, but a complete first half line: (hē)(wās) wāre of (pē wegh
(þat
(a

The half-line can be altered to fit a much wider range of contexts by the variation of the word wegh. Thus:-

<u>Whas warre of this wyder wyn,</u>	þat werrayede his knyghttez	<u>M.Art.</u>	2045
<u>Whan he was ware of þis wathe</u>	. how it worthe suld	<u>W.Alex</u>	119
<u>Weren ware of hur werk</u>	. & went for help	<u>Alex A.</u>	414
<u>þei wern ware of his comme</u>	. & his waie stoppes	"	903
<u>Whan þay wern war of þe wrake</u>	. þat no wyze aschaped	<u>Clean.</u>	970
<u>þe wyze wat war of þe wylde,</u>	and warly abides	<u>Gaw.</u>	1900
	(cf. <u>Gaw</u> 1586 above)		

We find another group of half-lines in which the word ware occurs at the end. It alliterat~~es~~es with a variety of different words, forming a number of "alliterative phrases", but a constant formulaic pattern is observable:-

<u>The woman was war</u>	þat no wegh herd,	<u>D.Troy</u>	521
<u>Of me þe worthy was war,</u>	& my wille knew,	"	13235
<u>þat no wegh shuld be war,</u>	ne his werk know.	"	13429

Bot <u>owre wyese kyng es warre</u> to waytten his renkes	M.Art.	1973
<u>whan william was war</u> . þei were so neizh nome	W.Pal.	2330
<u>þe werwolf was war</u> . & wist of here teþe	"	2369
<u>whan william was war</u> . & wist of his come	"	3594
<u>whan william was war</u> . wiztli he hem a-schriþed	"	3827
<u>whan þe king was war</u> . þei wold nedes wend	"	5185
& <u>whanne þe duk was war</u> . how william him demeyned	W.Pal.	1201
& <u>whan þe duk was war</u> . þat he wold come	"	1238
<u>When Alisaunder was ware</u> . of þe wylde beaste	Alex.A.	1162
<u>þerof Waspasian was war</u> . þat þe waspys hadde	S.Jeru.	205
& <u>whan þe womman was war</u> . þat þe wede owed	"	217

Finally the formulaic pattern extends through the first and second half-line of the examples below.

And als I waytted with-inn	I was warre sone	W.&W.	85
He waites vmbre hym wightly.	& was ware sone	D.Troy	876
And as he waytis in a wra .	þan was he ware sone	W.Alex	1585

Into þis water as he waitis . was he ware sone W.Alex 59

Than <u>his wif was war</u> of his wille sone,	D.Troy	8479
<u>The womon was war</u> of his wille sone,	"	11018
And <u>in his wit</u> & <u>was he ware</u> of a wyle sone,	"	148

The most remarkable feature of the above lists is the tendency which they show for constant rhythmical patterns to form - for the phrase to fall in a certain part of the verse. The "alliterative phrase" aspect of the diction is present, but within the groups distinguished above it is dominated by another aspect - that of the rhythmical unit.

(ii)

The formula and the recurring situation

Parry has pointed out¹ that for a traditional formula

1. Harvard Studies in Classical Philology Vol.XLI (1930) p.81

to be really useful to the poet it must not only fit easily into his metrical pattern, but must also fill a thematic need which is constantly recurring; in other words, it must express an idea which he often needs to express. In Homer, many of the commonest situations of the poetry are expressed in formulae which extend to just the length of a verse. One of the most frequently found verses in Homer is

ἤμος δ' ἠριγένεια φάνη ροδοδάκτυλος Ἥως

"When appeared the early-born, rosy-fingered dawn."

which is used 21 times. Parry's studies of Yugoslav oral poetry have shown that this relationship between the recurring situation and the recurring formula is a common feature of oral poetry. In an article in the Transactions of the American Philological Association,¹ he quotes examples of whole formulaic lines from Greek and Yugoslav heroic poetry, expressing certain essential ideas common to both. Among these are 1) Verses beginning and ending discourse. 2) Verses telling of the movement of time. 3) Verses telling of the movement of the characters. 4) Various other like verses and groups of verses.

1. "Whole Formulaic Verses in Greek and Southslavic Heroic Song". Transactions of the American Philological Association, Vol 64 (1933), pp.179-197.

It can be shown that to a certain extent this coincidence of situation and phraseology is found in the poems studied in this thesis, and we might quote parallels to some of the classes of formulae found by Parry in Homer and in Yugoslav poetry. Formulae which cover the whole of the line are comparatively rare in alliterative poetry, however. Where they do appear they are usually confined to one poem,¹ though this does not necessarily mean that they are the composition of the author of that poem. A line such as

Off the ryeall renkys of the rownode table
M. Art. 17,2902.

might easily have been used in Arthurian romances which are now lost to us.

It will be noticed in the examples quoted below that the repetitions found in Middle English alliterative poetry are by no means as verbally exact as those found in Homer. Our poets almost always make small variations when they use a conventional phrase or line. Again the great difference of metrical structure between the two types of

1. But see Ch. IV below, where the formula is discussed, not in relation to recurring situations, but in relation to recurring patterns of syntax, and where certain whole formulaic lines are revealed which are common to several poems.

poetry is, no doubt, sufficient to account for this.

Bowra's remarks on similar features in the Russian bard's use of formulae are apposite here:

This difference of metre accounts for another difference which is most marked between Homer and the Russian minstrels, though it is important also between him and the Yugoslavs. Whenever he deals with a standard situation, he uses, as we have seen, the same form of words, for the good reason that these fit the metre and it would be a waste of labour to invent an alternative form. Now the Russians are in some ways more conventional than Homer; at least they begin episodes with much less invention and variety than he does. But in such beginnings, which are a good example of formulaic practice, they do not confine themselves to a single form of words for a single theme. They keep the substance but make various changes in the form.¹

The examples quoted by Bowra show great similarity with the kind of variation found in alliterative formulae, and which will be noticed in some of the examples quoted below.

I Verses Beginning and Ending Discourse

The whole-line formula found in Old English poetry to introduce speeches:

Beowulf maðelode bearn Ec3þeowes etc.

is exactly of the type mentioned by Parry as occurring many times in Greek epic, e.g.

τον δ' αὐτε προσέειπε πολύτλας δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς ².

1. Bowra pp.236-7.

2. Transactions of the American Philological Association
Vol.LXIV p.183.

A.S. Cook in "The Beowulfian maðelode"¹ collects examples of this type of line from Old English, Old High German and Old Saxon poetry. He attributes its appearance in Old English verse to the direct influence of the Greek formula on the Beowulf poet, and in Old High German and Old Saxon to imitation from Old English. It is much more probable however that similar formulae occur in all these languages because they were essential formulae to any epic poet.

There is, apparently, no comparable whole-line formula which is used throughout Middle English alliterative verse. Of those formulae for introducing speeches which are found here it may be said that, in general, those which cover a whole line are found only in one poem, and those which are found in more than one poem cover less than the whole line or show considerable variations. With due caution, however, some of the following lines may be regarded as conventional ways of introducing speeches.

(a) The "inquit" phrase is contained in a line or lines preceeding the actual words:-

Several of the longer poems show examples of whole-line formulae for introducing speeches.

1. Journal of English and Germanic Philology. Vol XXV p.1

& alisaundrine anon . answeres and saide
W.Pal. 645, 958, 967, 1048, 1667, 1993 (6 occurrences).

& þan alphouns a-non answered & saide
W.Pal. 4508, 4595, 4737 (3 occurrences)

þan Alexander all in ire angrile spekis
W.Alex 733, 2185 (2 occurrences)

And Paris to the prinse pertly annsward:-	<u>D.Troy</u>	6232
þen Priam to þe prinse prestly onswart:-	"	6273
Priam to þe prise men prestly onswart:-	"	7839
Pirrus to the prise kyng pertly onswart:-	"	13581

And warpet these wordes, as ye wete shall
D.Troy 2481, 4986 (2 occurrences)

These wordes he warpid þo worthy vnto:-	<u>D.Troy</u>	4151
þen þe worthy þes wordes warpit hom too:-	"	8926
Thes wordes he warpit þo worthy vnto:-	"	11720
Thies wordes þat worthy warpit hym to:-	"	11974
þes wordis scho warpit þat worthy vnto:-	"	13597

The most common formula under this heading is a
line ending in carped these wordes or some variation:-

<u>W.Pal.</u>	5366	þe kowherd kneled sone . & karped þese wordes
<u>Alex.A.</u>	558	Koure donne on hur knees . & karpen þese wordes
<u>W.Alex.</u>	860	He comes to þe curten . & carpis þis wordis
"	1604	Kest vp a kene crie . & carpis þis wordis
"	2490	.. His kniztis, his consaill . & carpis þis wordis
<u>D.Troy</u>	842	þan the kyng to þe knight carpes these wordes:-
"	2629	To the kyng in the court carpis thies wordes:-
"	4561	Calcas to the kynges carpes thies wordes:-
<u>M.Art.</u>	639	The kyng in his concell carpys þes wordes:-
"	680	Knelyd to þe conquerour and carpes þise wordez, -
"	1650	Kryes to þe companye and carpes thees wordez:
"	1725	And with corage kene he karpes þes wordez, -
"	2313	With carefull contenance þay karpide þese wordes,
"	2341	And all byfore his kene men karpede thees wordes,-
"	3988	With carefull contenance he karpes thes wordes, -
"	4033	With krewell contenance thane the kyng karpis theis wordes, -

[Note whole-line identity in M.Art. 2313, 3988]

The second half-line is easily adaptable to the
alliteration of the first half by the use of one of the many

synonyms for carp eg:-

Clean. 210 Bot his souerayn he forsoke & sade pyse wordez
[cf. D.&L. 46; W.Pal. 4069; Alex.A. 798; W.Alex. 167, 1087
2301; J.Arim. 336, 419; P.T.A. 173; S.Jeru. 1291; M.Art. 1234,
1962, 2813, etc;]

D.&L. 360 Then shee turneth to her, & talketh these words, -
[cf. W.Alex. 752, 1997]

and so on, with the synonyms reherse, speke, schewe, breue,
mele, rekyne, reporte, rothele, proffere, and laye.

Moreover, we often find the verb in the first half-
line, and the noun wordes, preceded by an adjective, in
the second half-line. Thus:

<u>W.Pal.</u>	2524	on of hem seide sadli . pise selue wordes
<u>Alex.A.</u>	785	And spake too her speedily . pese speciall wordes
<u>M.Art.</u>	2395	Karpes in the concell theys knightly wordez -
"	4188	Karpis to sir Cadors pes kyndly wordez, -
"	1501	Vnsaughtely he saide hym pese sittande wordez, -
<u>Gaw.</u>	1744	& radly pus re-hayted hym with hir riche wordez
<u>S.Jeru.</u>	1010	Kysseþ knyztēs a-non . with carful wordes:
<u>M.Art.</u>	1326	The emperour ansuerde wyth austeryn wordez,
"	2356	Alls þe conquerour comaunde with cruell wordes.
<u>D.Troy</u>	1960	Onswaret hym angerly with Awthwert wordis. etc. [See also second half-line lists p. f. below]

Another formula which might be mentioned under this
heading is cried (on loude, eg:-
(full etc.

<u>S.Jeru.</u>	244	For comfort of þe cloþ . he cried wel loude:
<u>M.Art.</u>	124	Then couerd vp a knyghte, & criede ful lowde,
"	1803	Thane the Lebe kyng criez full lowde
"	2120	With crewell contenaunce he cryede full lowde, -
"	2261	Thane þe kyde conquerour cryes full lowde, -
"	2772	Thane his cosyn askryede, and cryede full lowde,
"	3048	They knewe hym by contenaunce, and criede full lowde, -
"	3635	To Clegys and Cleremownde he cryes one lowde, -
"	3955	Pan the corownde kyng cryes full lowde, -
"	4295	Than knelis the crownede kyng, and kryes one lowde

Gaw. 1088 Penne he carped to þe knyzt, criande loude,

Some interesting points of resemblance may be observed between this list and the one on p.38 above (carped these wordes) especially in respect of Morte Arthure. The fact that cried and carped begin with the same sound, allows similar first half-lines to be used with both of these second half lines. This is an indication of a fact which will become clearer later, that the most common formulaic unit in this poetry is the half-line.

Having dealt with a number of formulae which are found in lines which actually precede the spoken words, we must now discuss a number of conventional ways of introducing speeches, in which "he said" etc. are contained in the speech itself. This is found/comparatively seldom in Old English poetry. In our poems it is used nearly as much as the more formal-sounding full-line introduction. Where the words "he said" etc. are embedded in the first line of the speech, the line follows for the most part one of three different patterns ((b) (c) (d) below):-

(b) Here the phrase "said, the ..." etc. occupies the latter part of the first half-line. For example:-

S.Jeru. 1213 "Nay, traytours", quod Tytus . "now take hem
zouselfen

M.Art. 259 "Sir Cadour" quod þe kynge, "thy concell es noble,

Chev.Ass. 352 "By god", quod þe goldsmythe . "I knowe þat
ryzth wele

Pat. 347 "zisse, Lorde," quod þe lede, "lene me þy grace,

W. & W. 246 "zee, wynnere," quod wastoure, "thi wordes are
hye;
St. Erk. 265 "Way, bisshop," quop þat body, "enbawmyd wos I
neuer,
etc.

The great frequency of lines of this type seems not to have been noticed before. The number of examples in our sixteen poems is as follows: Alexander A: 16; Alexander B: 3; The Parlement of the Thre Ages: nil; Winner and Waster: 4; William of Palerne: 86; Joseph of Arimathie: 17; Chevelere Assigne: 16; Morte Arthure: 56; The Destruction of Troy: 6; The Siege of Jerusalem: 5; Patience: 4; Cleanness: 9; Sir Gawain and the Green Knight: 43; St. Erkenwald: 5; The Wars of Alexander: 91; Death and Life: nil. The most surprising feature of these figures is that the longest poem, The Destruction of Troy (14,044 lines) should have only six lines of this type. This poem heavily favours the first method of introducing speeches, with a full line or more than one line (148 times). In this respect it stands apart from all the other long poems.

Within this general pattern there is a tendency for more fixed verbal formulae to form - for other parts of the line than the "inquit" phrase to become stereo-typed - more particularly within one or other of the poems, but sometimes in more than one. For example, speeches often begin with an oath:

<u>W.Pal.</u>	4579	"swete sire", seide alphouns	"so zou crist help
"	3953	"nai, sire", sede þe quen .	"so me crist help!
"	4731	"zis, sire", seide alphouns .	so me crist help,
<u>M.Art.</u>	136	"Sir", sais þe senatour,	"so Crist mott me helpe,
		(so also <u>M.Art.</u> 227, 467)	
"	1506	"I ascente", quod þe senatour,	"so me Criste helpe!
"	1566	"Sir knyghte", sais þe conquerour,	"so me Criste helpe!
"	1671	"Ah!" sais sir Clegis þan,	"so me Criste helpe!
"	1718	"Nay" quod Cador,	"so me Criste helpe!
"	2265	"Nay" sais sir Cador,	"so me cryste helpe!
"	2537	"Sir", sais sir Gawayne,	"so me Gode helpe,
"	2589	"zis", quod sir Gawayne,	"so me Gode helpe!
"	2747	"I grawnte", quod sir Gawayne,	"so me Gode helpe!

William of Palerne has the stock line:

<u>W.Pal.</u>	1347	"Madame", seide þe messageres,	"be marie of heuen,
"	1729	"zis madame", seide þe mayde .	"be marie of heuene.
"	4464	"Madame", þan seide alphouns .	"be marie in heuen,

and also the line:

<u>W.Pal.</u>	4468	"Nay, bi god", quath alphuns .	"þat gart me be fourmed,
"	4749	"bi god, sire", seide william .	"þat gart me be fourmed,

and in The Wars of Alexander we find:

<u>W.Alex.</u>	742	"And be þe god", quod þe gome .	"þat gafe me þe saule,
"	1190	"Now be þat god", quod þe gome .	"þat gatt me on erthe,
cf. <u>Gaw.</u>	2250	"Nay, bi god", quop Gawayn	"þat me gcst lante

It should be mentioned here that many of these oaths also occur in the middle of speeches.

(c) In this type of line, the speech is begun in the first half, and the second half consists of the formula: said þe... þenne etc. e.g.:

<u>Gaw.</u>	309	"What, is þis Arpures hous", quop þe hapel þenne,
"	1383	"And al I gif yow, Gawayn, "quop þe gome þenne,

<u>M.Art.</u> 3503	"Fro qwyn come þou, kene man", quod þe kyngþe than,
<u>Chev.Ass.</u> 201	"Oo-lyuyngþe god þat dwellest in heuene" . quod þe hermyte tþanne
<u>Clean.</u> 347	"Ze lorde, wyth þy leue", sayde þe lede þenne
<u>Alex.B.</u> 175	"We were in bragmanie bred" . saide þe burn þanne,
<u>J. Arim.</u> 171	"Con he out of clergye?" seis þe kyng þenne.
<u>W.Pal.</u> 800	"nay, madame, nou3t 3ut" . seide þe maide þanne
<u>W.Alex.</u> 689	"Is o3t þi werid to þe wissid?" - quod þe wee þan;

The number of the occurrences of this type of line in each poem is as follows:

Alexander B: 1; William of Palerne: 18; Joseph of Arimathie: 2; Chevelere Assigne: 2; Morte Arthure: 3; The Siege of Jerusalem: 2; Cleanness: 1; Sir Gawain and the Green Knight: 5; The Wars of Alexander: 5; others: nil.

(d) In a number of lines the words "he said" etc. are placed, unstressed, either at the beginning of the line, or at the end of the first half-line. eg.:

<u>J.Arim.</u> 483	"He seide, "my ladi þe Qwene . me a lettre sende,
<u>W.Pal.</u> 247-8	"he wondered of his wis speche . as he wel mi3t, & seide, "þow bold barn . biliue i þe praye,
<u>W.Alex.</u> 2443-4	þa ledis out of Lacedone . belyue þam asemble, Said, "þow we neuir to his bode . for bale apon erth,
<u>Alex.B.</u> 59-61	þanne þei caire wiþ þe king . hur cauus to schewe, & kennen þe conquerour . hur costumus alle, & saide "seg, to us silf . hur sofisen þis cauus.
<u>Gaw.</u> 250-2	þenn Arþour bifore þe hi3 dece þat auenture byholdez & rekenly hym reuerenced, for rad was he neuer, & sayde, "wy3e, welcum iwys to þis place,
<u>M.Art.</u> 1152-3	Then sir Kayous the kene vnto þe kyngþe styrtez Said, "allas! we are lorne, my lorde es confundeþe, etc.
<u>J.Arim.</u> 402	"Of newe þing þat isto come, "he seis . "con I not telle"
<u>M.Art.</u> 1033	"3a, I haue broghte the berde, "quod he "the bettyre me lykez;
<u>W.Pal.</u> 2314	"Nay, loueli lef", seide william . "leue al þat sorwe,
<u>Chev.A.</u> 71	"A, kowarde of kynde" quod she . "& combred wrecche!"

Occasionally two different conventions are used to introduce one speech, further indicating that these devices are formulaic. eg:

- W.Alex. 96-7 A lowde lazter he loze . & to þe lede said,
"Haue þou na care", quod þe kyng . "bot kepe
to þe marche
- P.T.A. 261-2 Than this renke alle in rosett rothelede thies
wordes:
He sayde, "thryfte and thou haue threpid this
thirtene wynter.

(e) End of direct speech. As in class (a) above (whole line introductions) we find again at the end of speeches that full-line conventions are confined to single poems:-

- D.Troy 2147 Qwen the kyng had his counsell declaret to the
ende,
" 2207 When Priam hade his prologe preched to ende,
" 4610 When Calcas his counsell had carpit to þe end,
" 5053 When the worthy hade his wordes warpit to end,
" 9363 When the wegh hade thies wordis warpit to end,
- D.Troy 1859 When Antenor had tolde & his tale endit,
" 2553 When Troilus hade told & his tale endit,
- W.Pal. 246) whan þemperour hade herd . holly his wordes
" 1504)
" 4704 Whan william hade herd . holli his wordes

First half-line conventions are:-

- Alex.A. 997 Whan þis tale was tolde
W.Alex. 190 When he þis talis had tald
cf. D.Troy 2447 When he told hade his tale
- Alex.B. 111 Whan þis sawe was said
W.Alex. 262 Quen he þire sawis had sayd
- M.Art. 2044 When þeise wordez was seide
" 2873 Be þese wordes ware saide
W.Alex. 725 Fro he had hym þis worde sayd

II Verses indicating the passage of time

The following formulae for indicating the passage of time show that there existed conventional ways of dealing with these situations. Again it must be admitted that verbal parallels are closest within the individual poems. The Destruction of Troy is particularly noteworthy for the repetition of a small number of lines referring to the time of day. Some of the alliterative phrases involved in the following groups are noticed by Oakden. But, again, it seems that in some cases these are more than just pairs or triplets of alliterating words, and constitute genuine rhythmical formulae. It should be noticed, however, that the loose alliterative metre allows considerable freedom in the use and adaptation of any formula. For instance, lines of the dark...done...day...draw...drive patterns can be used with very little variation to express the contrary ideas of dawn or sunset.

The examples are arranged in groups which appear best to reveal the formulaic character of the different expressions. For the reason mentioned above it may thus happen that two lines included in the same group may have quite contrary meanings:-

- S.Jeru. 353 Whan þe derk was doun * & þe day sprongen
D.Troy 4814 When the derk was don & the day sprange;
 [So also in ll. 5647, 7554, 11956]
 " 6061 Till the derke was don, & the day sprang,
 [So also in l. 12531; for second half-line cf.
D.Troy 5583, 5629.]

- D.Troy 7375 The derke ouer-done, and þe day sprange,
 " 3401 When the derke was done, & the day comyn,
P.T.A. 16 That the derke was done & the daye lightenede:
- W.Alex. 1505 Sone þe derke ouire-drafe . & þe day springis
St.Erk. 117 þe derk nyzt ouer-drofe . & day-belle ronge
D.Troy 7630 When the derke ouer-drogh, & þe dym voidet,
 " 11078 ffor the derke vp drogh, and the day endit.
- W.Pal. 1914 but whan it drow to þe dai
 " 2208 & whan hit drouz to þe dai
D.T. 10950 When hit drogh to þe day
- W.Pal. 2993 til þe day him wiþ-drow . in-to þe derk niȝt
D.Troy 673 Sone the day ouerdroghe & the derke entrid,
 " 7348 When the day ouerdrogh & the derk entrid,
 " 8448 When the day vp drogh, & the derke voidet,
 " 9883 þan the day overdrogh to þe derke night,
 " 10735 And the day ouerdrogh to þe derke night,
 " 11917 When the day ouerdrogh, & the derke rose,
- D.Troy 755 Whan þe day vp droghe & the dym voidet,
 [so also 1.7133]
 " 9932 ffor the day ouerdrogh, dymmet the skewis,
- Alex.A. 714 When it dreaw too þe derk . & þe daie slaked,
W.Alex. 4773 For, fra it droze to þe derke . ay till it dawid
 effir
- Gaw. 1999 þe day dryuez to þe derk, ...
- W.Pal. 1791 til it dawed to day
 " 2218 & as it dawed liȝt day
Pat. 445 When þe dawande day
W.Alex. 431 Riȝt on þe dawyng of day
- W.Pal. 3526 & so driuen forth þe day . til þe derke niȝt
 " 3727 þus driue þei forþ þe day .
D.Troy 498 Thus sho drof forth hir dayes
 " 4546 And dryvon furth þat day
W.Alex. 4875 And þus þai dryfe furth þe driȝt of daies foure
 score
- " 5062 And þe driȝt of a day
M.Art. 2915 All þe dreghe of þe daye
- Alex.A. 817 Whan it nied þe night
Pat. 465 & quen hit nezed to nazt
D.Troy 672 Hit neght to þe night & the none past:

	<u>D. Troy</u>	9585	Then neghit the night , noy was the more!
	<u>Gaw.</u>	929	Hit watz nez at þenyzt nezèd þe tyme;
	"	1998	Now nezez þe nwzere & þe nyzt passez
	<u>D. Troy</u>	3194	The neght drow negh anon vppon þis,
	"	6015	The night was so nigh, noye was the more,
	"	7808	The night was so nighe, þat noyet hym sore,
cf.	"	8358	Then the night come anon, neghit with merke,
cf.	"	9217	Anon as the night passid, & neghid the day,
	<u>W. Pal.</u>	1027	til þe sunne was neizh set . sopli, to reste.
	"	2452	til þe semli sunne . was settled to reste
	<u>D. Troy</u>	7551	Thai sesit of þe sute, the sun was to rest,
	"	10734	The sun in his sercle set vnto rest,
	<u>D. Troy</u>	6062	And the sun in his sercle set vppo lofte.
		(So also l.7632)	
	"	9885	When the sun with his soft beames set vp olofte,
	"	9998	Till the sun in his sercle set vnderneþe:
	<u>S. Jeru.</u>	704	Tille þe sonne doun souzt . in sommere-tyme
	<u>D. Troy</u>	6066	When the sun vp soght with his softe beames,
	"	8455	When the sun vp set with his softe beames
	"	1091	er the sun vp soght with his softe beames
	<u>D. Troy</u>	7129	After setting of þe Sun þai Seyn to þe zates,
	"	9586	At the setting of þe son sesit the fight,
	"	11075	þan the sun wentto set , seset the fyght,
	"	11914	Before the setting of the sun, says me the lyne,
	<u>P.T.A.</u>	658	Than the sone was sett and syled full loughe;
	<u>D. Troy</u>	7813	Sone as þe sonne ros & set vppon hegh,
	<u>S. Jeru.</u>	633	Sone as þe rede/day rose on þe schye
	<u>W. Alex.</u>	5055	Sone as þe day-rawe rase . he rises vp belyue
	<u>Alex. B.</u>	117	& al so sone as þe sonne . sesede to schine
	"	121	As rape as þe sonne ros . & reed gan schine.

III Verses dealing with miscellaneous recurring situations.

Certain other formulae, which seem to fill the need created by the recurrence of certain common situations, can be observed in alliterative poetry.

(a) The alliterative romances still retain something of the old epic flavour of Old English verse, and it is not

surprising that one of the most common situations, that of a man drawing his sword, should have reserved to it a limited number of formulae (mostly alliterating on b, s, or l) to express this essential idea. Eg:-

M.Art. 2069 Braydez owt his brande

[cf. M.Art. 1172, 4215, D.Troy 6407, 10543, 10685]

In Sir Gawain and the Green Knight and The Parlement of the Thre Ages this formula appears as Gaw. 1901 & braydez out þe bryzt bronde..., cf. P.T.A. 371; Gaw. 2319 has: Braydez out a bryzt sworde... [cf. D.Troy 9019]. In The Wars of Alexander the formula becomes inverted, and occupies the whole line, thus:-

W.Alex. 802 Aithire a blesynand brand . brait out of schethe
" 2639 A brizt brynnand brand . he braidis out of shethe

Other formulae for "he drew his sword" are:-

M.Art. 2226 He laughte owtte a lange swerde,
W.Alex. 1325 He laschis out a lange swerd

Also in the second half line:-

W.Alex. 803 laschid out swerdis -
" 3193 lazt out swerdis -
" 806 Swythe swyngis out his swerde...
" 957 He swyngis out with a swerd...
D.Troy 7275 Swynget out a sword ...
" 9668 Swyngyng out swerdes...
" 10390 þen he swange out a sword...
" 10430 Swange out swordys...
[cf. D.Troy 13590]

(b) The idea: "he mounted his horse" is very often expressed in a formulaic line such as:-

M.Art. 916 He sterte till his sterepe and stridez on lofte,
W.Alex. 778 Stridis into stele-bowe . stertis apon loft
Gaw. 435 Steppez into sel-bawe & strydez alofte

Gaw. 2060 Penn steppez he in-to stirop & stryde; alofte
S.Jeru 523 Stiþe men in stiropys . striden alofte
 [Only Gaw. 2060 noticed by Oakden]

(c) Another idea which is expressed several times in a set formula is that of "embracing (lovely) ladies":-

P.T.A. 247 With ladys full louely to lappyn in myn armes,
Gaw. 973 Pe loueloker he lappez a lyttel in armez
Alex.A. 199 As that Ladie, with loue . too lachen in armes?
M.Art. 3292 And ladys me louede to lappe in theyre armes;

Again it should be noted that the lines resemble one another not only in having similar alliterating words, but also in ending, indicating that the line as a whole constituted a formulaic device for expressing the basic idea. Other forms are:-

D.Troy 476 So luffly, so lykyng with lapping in armys;
 " 2891 He was louyt with ladys, lappit in hert.
W.Pal. 1908 Pan eiper lapped oþer . ful loueli in armes,
 " 2153 Pere þei leye louely a-slepe . lapped in armes.
 " 2246 loueli ligand to-gadir lapped in armes.
 [also D.Troy 236; 465, 11302; W.Pal. 1712, 740, 2576, 4525, 4708, M.Art. 2866, 3254; W.Alex 920]

The frequency of lines of the above type is not noticed by Oakden.

An interesting parallel in technique is offered by the Middle English rhyming romances, in which features of oral transmission and minstrel delivery are more marked than in the poems which we are now considering. For a study of the way in which the rhyming romances use stereotyped phraseology in stereotyped situations, reference might be made to G. Hofstrand's doctoral dissertation on The Seege of Troye¹.

1. G.Hofstrand: 'The Seege of Troye': A Study in the Inter-textual relations of the M.E. Romance the 'Seege or Batayle

Pages 160-174 are particularly relevant. A large number of parallels in incident and phraseology is pointed out between The Seege of Troye and other rhyming romances. It is shown that when the minstrel wishes to describe a stock situation he tends to use stock expressions, and that the similarity between one romance and another often runs through several lines. Hofstrand attributes these similarities mainly to literary borrowing, or, at any rate, familiarity with other romances. But the following note occurs on p.173:

"By this list I want in the first place to show how much the phrasing of romances is alike, and how easily a minstrel, unnoticed, might let lines from one slip over into another... Some of the instances may be simply the natural medieval expression inevitably used for the same thing - even the lines about the missing of Paris seem to show the medieval mind running in a groove. Mostly they seem to be set phrases, S.o.T. following in the wake of the older romances.

For the S.o.T. the instances are of very unequal value. Some of them are only parallels, but even so they show how largely S.o.T. draws upon the common stock of set phrases..."

In fact, the list provided by Hofstrand gives us an exact parallel to the phenomenon noticed by Parry in present day Yugoslav oral poetry - the use of formulaic verses - and even groups of verses - to express the common situations which are constantly needing to be described. To a certain extent this phenomenon can be seen in the alliterative romances which we are studying.

(iii)

The adaptation of formulae

Parry has stressed the importance of analogical formations in the building up of a system of traditional formulae¹. "animés du désir de trouver des formes qui conviendraient à l'hexamètre, les aèdes en créèrent de nouvelles sur le modèle de celles qui existaient déjà."² This working of analogy in the formation of new expressions, or the adaptation of old ones to new situations, can be seen throughout the poems which we are studying, in which, indeed, the principle appears to play a far larger part in the actual process of composition than Parry found in Greek verse. In our poems, as in some modern oral poetry,³ we find that a traditional phrase has often been altered to fit into a new context, gaining an entirely new meaning while retaining to a large degree the original form of words, or the original sequence of sounds.

Some examples of the ways in which existing formulae can be adapted to express new ideas have been noticed

-
1. Parry: L'Epithète Traditionnelle p.85 ff.
 2. Parry: L'Epithète Traditionnelle p.86.
 3. see Bowra p.231.

in the above pages,¹ and others are mentioned in Chapter III.² This is such an important feature of the alliterative diction, however, that further examples here may be useful.

a) A very common formula in The Destruction of Troy is the first half-line And spird at hym specially. It is found with very little variation except of case and number in the pronoun and verb, in D.Troy 823, 8161, 9555, 10186, 11466, 13135, 13263, 13814, and 13921. In Death and Life, however, we find the line (in which Death is spoken of):
D.&L. 208 She spareth ffor no specyaltye, but spilleth the
gainest;

where the form of the first half-line recalls unmistakably that of the formula in The Destruction of Troy, but where the meaning has been entirely altered.

b) P.Pl.Prol. 17 A faire felde ful of folke
W.Alex. 3048 And all þe fild full of folke

becomes in D.Troy 4708:
Evyn fild full of folke ("filled")

c) D.Troy 9377 Hongur full hote
S.Jeru. 878 & þeras hunger is hote
(cf Clean. 1194 þe hote hunger wyth-inn)

becomes in Clean. 1602 Of mony anger ful hote

d) M.Art. 1304 That was merked and made
W.Alex. 318 How he is merkid & made
(cf. W.Alex. 2636 þat made was & merkid)

becomes in M.Art. 1068 I sall merke þe thy mede.

1. eg. p.45 above.

2. see esp. pp. 62-3, 65, 68, 73, and 74.

The present chapter has indicated that the alliterative phrase existed in these romances, not merely as a group of alliterating words, but as a formulaic unit. This fact is obscured by the greater freedom of the alliterative long line, as compared with the Greek hexameter. We may find a certain phrase in either half of the line or in both together, but while this is so, the rhythmical function of the alliterative phrase in a technique of verse composition seems as important as its purely alliterative function.

We have also seen that there is in our poems a certain correspondence between the recurring formula and the recurring situation. Nevertheless, the formula is not tied rigidly to one idea, but is often used with slight, but ingenious, variations which give it a completely different meaning.

CHAPTER IIISecond half-line formulae

(1)

Another aspect of the alliterative poet's stock-in-trade which, like the "alliterative phrase", has received wide notice by writers on this poetry, is the use of conventional "tags" in the second half-line. J.P. Oakden, for instance devotes a chapter to this subject.¹ He can find little excuse for the practice:

"The requirements of the alliteration are not so exacting as to account for the habitual employment of unnecessary tags which only serve to throw into greater prominence the general diffuseness of style of Middle English alliterative poetry. The second half-line is frequently devoid of any real significance, and the majority of the poets seem to have resorted to these tags 'to fill out their verses'. It will be seen from a study of the devices employed, which poets were most negligent, and how different poets overcame their metrical difficulties in different ways."²

Oakden points out seven types of second half-line tags (with examples):

(1) The use of an infinitive in the second half-line, preceded by a word beginning with the required alliteration, eg brem too beholde, prestly to here, etc.

(2) " - men of armes, eg: alle men of armes, big men

1. Oakden: Ch.13.

2. " p.381f.

of armes, the adjective bearing the alliteration.

(3) - of deeds. eg: that epe was of deeds, haithill of dedis.

(4) pat ... in erthe. "The verb represented by dots conveys the idea of 'live' and is usually one of the following:- dwellede, lyffede, lengede, regnede, or wonnede" "Individual poets evolve similar tags to complete the alliteration and fill out the line"¹.

(5) To ... þe soþe. This belongs to a series of tags in which the poet vouches for the accuracy of his statements.

(6) As the book says etc.

(7) On bent etc.

A much fuller treatment of the second half-line "tags" is found in C. Reicke's Untersuchungen über den Stil der mittelenglischen alliterierenden Gedichte Morte Arthure, The Destruction of Troy, The Wars of Alexander, The Siege of Jerusalem, Sir Gawayn and the Green Knight.² The subtitle of this work is Ein Beitrag zur Lösung der Huchown-Frage, and the emphasis is thus placed rather on individual preference in the use of conventional material than on the common material itself. In fact, Reicke found that each of the five poems treated showed a predilection for certain conventional tags, and that differences were so striking as to render

1. Oakden: p.385.

2. Königsberg diss., 1906.

most unlikely the common authorship of any two of the poems. Nevertheless, the lists of formulae included in Reicke's thesis are most interesting from the point of view of the common alliterative technique, in that they show that many conventional second half-line formulae are far from meaningless tags. Some of Reicke's lists overlap with those found at the end of the present chapter, though the general approach, being concerned with authorship and not primarily with traditional techniques, is quite different.

Another survey of second half-line tags, again with regard primarily to authorship, is to be found in F.P. Magoun's edition of the Alexander fragments "A" and "B".¹

The full extent, however, of the conventional diction to be found in the second half-line has not been realized, because those who have considered the subject have generally confined their attention to half-lines which are obviously "padding", and have equated the conventional with the ineffective and the common-place. It has usually been assumed that what is conventional must stand out as trite and be instantly recognized. While it cannot be denied that there do exist many such tags which merely fill up the verse between the caesura and the end of the line, and

1. F.P. Magoun (ed): The Gests of King Alexander of Macedon. (Harvard Univ. Press 1929) Intro. p.110-11.

perform little else, the lists which follow will show that the conventional half-line is not always easily recognized as such in the poem, and that the principle of adapting familiar formulae to the needs of the context can change a familiar pattern almost, but not quite, out of recognition.

A line from The Siege of Jerusalem will serve well to illustrate that a conventional second half-line is not necessarily a useless "tag". The second half-line: pat fourmed was euer is a very common one. It usually occurs (sometimes with another word instead of fourmed) after a superlative in the first half-line, eg:

For the fulsomeste freke that fourmede was euere M.Art.₁₀₆₁^{1.}

When therefore we read the line in the Siege of Jerusalem (1.109):

þe first is þe fader, * þat fourmed was neuer
we recognize the second half-line as a slight adaptation of the common convention. Furthermore, it seems likely that it is the occurrence of the superlative first in the first half-line which has, by an association of ideas, called up the second half line almost unconsciously. Yet there is nothing of padding, or of the commonplace about the half-line as it is used here. It is in fact a singularly apt way of

1. For further examples see below p.148

expressing the idea 'eternal'.

As a general description of the lists which follow at the end of the present chapter, it may be said that they are of second half-lines which end alike. It was noticed that the alliterative poets made wide use of a certain limited number of words for ending the line, and a systematic search was made through the sixteen poems for second half-lines ending in these words. The lists are not exhaustive in the sense that every conventional line-ending has been dealt with; many more lists might have been made. But sufficient are here included to show the extent to which the alliterative poet depended on conventional endings for his lines. Within the lists many individual half-lines can be recognized as conventional ones - as "tags" in the strict sense - some of which have been noticed elsewhere. The object, however, is not to multiply the examples of conventional "tags" which may be found in these poems, but rather to show that those "tags" which stand out are parts of a wider system of formulae; and that many half-lines which are not regarded, in the reading, as conventional, can be related, by using the principle of adaptation, to half-lines which are easily recognized as "tags".

The fact that some conventional tags form systems of formulae has not passed unnoticed by Oakden. He mentions, for instance, that the half-lines ... to beholde, ... men of

arnes, ... of deeds, þat...in erthe, to...þe soþe, can be varied in order to fit the requirements of the alliteration. He says: "It would appear that a simple phrase such as sterne of deeds was varied by careless poets to suit the needs of the alliteration, thus reducing a reasonable phrase to a useless tag"¹. There is, of course, some justice in this criticism, but it must be pointed out that it applies only to the abuses of the system. The lists below show abundantly that conventional half-lines were used, not only to fill up a line with meaningless (though metrical) matter, but also frequently to convey sense in a particular context. The extent to which the conventional nature of many of the half-lines listed below escapes observation during an ordinary reading of the poems is a measure of their success.

(ii)

Commentary on the lists

The lists vary a great deal in length and in the degree of similarity between the half-lines which they contain. In the shorter ones, which are given first, the conventional nature of the whole half-line is easily recognized - that is to say they are lists of clearly related half-line formulae.

1. Oakden, p. 384.

In the longer lists it is usually only the final word which is common to all the half-lines; and, indeed, these longer lists show in a most striking way how often a line of alliterative poetry ends in a conventional manner. Within them, certain formulaic systems, more or less related together by the conventional ending, can be distinguished, and will be pointed out below as the separate lists are examined.

A summary of the common portions - the formulaic skeleton - of the half-lines in each list will be a convenience here.

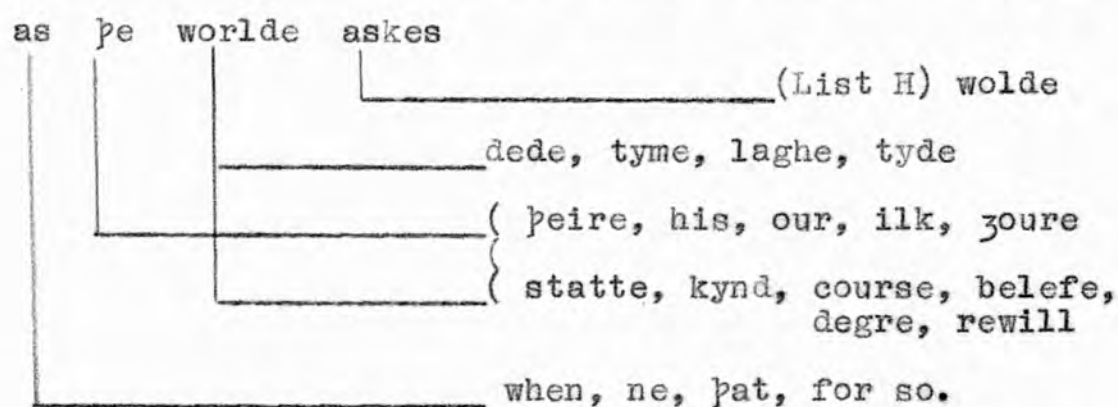
List

A	as (when etc)	askes ("requires")
B	.....	askes ("asks")
C	.....	askes ("ashes")
D	.....	out of (o) lyfe
E	whyls	lastez
F	.....	fey worþe
G	.....	at þe gayneste
H	.....	selfe lykes
I	.....	best lykes
J	.....	<u>Adverb</u> lykes
K	.....	lykes
L	.....	myn herte
M	.....	herte
N	withoute	more
O	.....	no (þe) more
P	.....	wordes
Q	.....	dedes
R	.....	werkes

S wolde (sholde etc)
 T seluen
 U riche
 V leuede

List A (p. 76.)

The second half-lines in this list are all clearly related to one another. A rough scheme would be as follows.



Four lines only in List A do not fit into the above scheme:

as resoun hit axep
 as for-ward hit asked
 þat ho by ri3t aske3
 in wyn as ho aske3

In the above scheme the half-line as þe worlde askes has been taken as the original line and the development of all the other half-lines from this one, by a process of adaptation by analogy, has been demonstrated. We cannot know, however, which of these half-lines was in fact the original from which the others have been derived. This does not, however, affect the general argument that the

interrelation of all the half-lines in the list makes it probable that they all come eventually from a common source and that they have been evolved because one poet or another found that he could use a familiar second half-line in a certain context by making a slight alteration. If the original line was in fact as þe worlde askes it is easy to see how this line could be adapted to the needs of particular contexts by the substitution of dede, tyme and laghe for worlde. The steps by which all the other half-lines in the list (except the four mentioned) could have been developed from this original half-line may be traced from the above scheme. Furthermore, the half-lines:

as our lord wolde S.Jeru. 71
and as his degre wald W.Alex. 485

which are found with other similar ones in List S must also be regarded as related to the half-lines in List A.

Lists B and C (pp. 77 and 78)

These are also of half-lines ending in the word askes, but the meaning of the word is somewhat different. In List A the word had the meaning "demands", "requires", whereas in List B it means "asks", "requests" in a more general sense. It may be that the formulaic half-line found in List A ultimately derives from the looser system of List B. In List C the word askes is etymologically unrelated to the word found in the other two lists, and means "ashes" (noun).

Again, this conventional type may derive from the half-line ending found in Lists A and B. Examples will be found below¹ where the meaning of a conventional line-ending has been completely altered while the original sound has remained; or, to put it differently, where a homonym of a favourite line-ending has been used. These examples provide interesting parallels to the fact noted by Parry in his analysis of the formulaic nature of Homer's diction: "On relève dans Homère d'assez nombreux cas dans lesquels un calembour de sons a suggéré aux poètes des expressions qui, au point de vue de l'idée exprimée ont assez peu de rapport avec les expressions modèles."²

List D (p. 79)

The conventional ending of the half-lines in this list is the phrase out of life or o(f) life. The variable part of the half-line consists of a verb of motion and the idea expressed is either "kill" or "die". Variation seems to be almost entirely for the sake of alliteration, as these are the only two ideas expressed. There is, however, one exception to this statement. M.Art 2311 has been included in the list in order to illustrate how easy it was to

1. see below pp. 68, 73, and 74.

2. M. Parry: L'Epithète Traditionnelle p.90 (for examples see p.92) also Harvard Studies in Classical Philology XLI p.140 (examples).

adapt a standard half-line to express an idea which is exactly the opposite of that usually expressed. W.Alex. 4333 illustrates the "split" formula. The verb (in this case sezes) is contained in the first half-line. As to the choice between out of life and o(f) life, the former is generally used with a monosyllabic verb in order to secure the rhythm (x) / xx / x which seems to have been the ideal pattern in the second half-line for these poets. Where the verb is disyllabic the shorter ending is preferred, though there are exceptions (eg. D.Troy 7644).

The ramifications of this formula again lead us outside the list - that is, to half-lines which are clearly related, but which end somewhat differently eg: W.Alex. 489 bene brozt out of witt, M.Art. 1485 was broghte owtte of bandez.

Inversions are also found, eg:

- D.Troy 1282 and hym o liue broght
 " 1417 out of lyfe broght
 " 1459 & of lyue done
 " 8662 was of lyue done

where the governing factor seems to be the poet's preference for aaax alliteration.

List E (p.81.)

Some of the half-lines here quoted are mentioned by Reicke¹ as conventional, under the category of phrases

1. Reicke, p. 29.

expressing the idea "mein ganzes Leben lang" (He also includes lines from List V under the same category). While this may have been the original idea expressed by half-lines of this series, the present list shows how the phrase could be adapted to express other ideas of time, eg. D.Troy 56, 3972, 7102 etc. St.Erk 215. The phrase whills my tym lastes, singled out by Reicke, is but a part of this wider formulaic system.

It should be noted that whenever the poet uses the half-line in the form whil here lif lasted (eg. W.Pal. 5444, M.Art. 855, 3147, 4007, W.Alex. 1687D), double alliteration is produced. Considering the currency of the formula in other forms it may safely be said that in these half-lines double alliteration is not specifically aimed at, but is more or less accidental. In certain cases, double alliteration in the second half-line is caused by many of these conventional line endings. It is, of course, significant that the poets - perhaps we may except the author of The Destruction of Troy - did not feel it necessary to avoid this type of alliteration in the second half-line.

List F (p.82.)

This list is of half-lines ending in the words fey worthen, the only variations being in the unstressed syllables at the beginning of the half-line. We are thus dealing with a "tag" in the strict sense. Again, however, the formula is related

to a wider series, of which examples are:-

W. & W. 477 till he tayte worthe

D. Troy 789 & vnslayn worthe

Pat. 200 when þou slayn worþes

" 334 when I schal saue worþe

" 360 & to nozt worþe

W. Alex. 4452 quen ze þraa worthe.

The present list is also related to List V, through such half-lines as M. Art. 394 māye fay leuⁿde etc.

W. & W. 159 is interesting, having perhaps 6 (certainly 5) unstressed syllables at the beginning of the half-line. It is one of the longest second half-lines in these poems.

List G (p. 83)

This is a simple formulaic half-line which has apparently not been noticed before. In pattern it is very similar to that found in List D. Here the pattern is Verb + at þe gayneste, the verb being variable to suit the alliteration. The verb most commonly found is soghte; went, fare, spillis also occur. It will be noticed that the formula occurs most frequently in Morte Arthure, but the examples from Sir Gawain and the Green Knight and The Wars of Alexander show that it had a wider currency. In M. Art. 3596, 3745, and 4308 the verb occurs in the first half of the line, giving further examples of the "split" formula.

Gaw.557, D.Troy 9332,11152), to solace þar hertis (W.Alex. 5150, W.Pal.1621,5320), and these two formulae form the pattern for many more of the types (with) ... at his herte, and to his (here) herte(s).

An interesting feature of this list is that in The Wars of Alexander, William of Palerne, and in The Parlement of the Thre Ages some lines occur (eg. W.Alex. 110, 1069, W.Pal.2629,2880, P.T.A.44) in which the word hert means "hart" (the animal). These might well be cases of adaptation from the original type in which hert means "heart" (cf. the remarks on List C, pp. 62-3 above).

D.Troy 5874 with a hert þro should be noticed. This half-line is an inversion of the more usual witha ... hert (cf. D.Troy 705,3939,8111,11425,11493,13041). Again, this poet's desire to keep a a a x alliteration (which he seems to favour) is probably the reason.

List N (p. 100.)

The pattern here is withoute ... more, the space being filled by a noun or the pronoun "any".

List O (p. 101.)

This list is composed of lines ending with the words þe more or no more. Of the complete formulaic half-lines in this list the most noteworthy is my sorowe es the more (W.&W.407, M.Art.3729,3797,3984, D.Troy 6756,11349,11540). This half-line is one of a series of formulae of the type

my (paire etc) ... es the more. It is sometimes used as a parenthetical comment by the poet, to express his own feelings about the matter he is relating (eg: M.Art.3729)

List P (p.104)

This is a long list of second half-lines ending in wordes. Two main formulaic patterns are discernible here. The first is the half-line which has already been mentioned¹ as frequently introducing direct speech, carped (saide etc) these wordes. The second is of the type: with his breme wordes, the adjective being variable according to alliteration and sense. Many examples of each of these patterns are to be found in the list.

List Q (p.111.)

Another long list of half-lines ending in dedes. Again a number of patterns can be distinguished eg: luper (etc) of his dedis, for his wale (etc.) dedis. In W.Pal.1025, dede is the verb ("did").

List R (p.115.)

Yet another long list of half-lines ending in werke(s), noun and verb.

The above three lists (P, Q and R) contain formulaic patterns so similar that they may well illustrate the

1. see above p.38.

interconnections which exist between second half-line formulae which at first sight are not related to each other. If we take as a starting point the half-line: for his leper wordes (W.Alex.840 - List P) we can distinguish a whole series of half-lines related to this model, thus:

with his mylde wordes M.Art. 3197
 for his derfe wordys D.Troy 1821
 and his prise wordys " 3394
 for his fell wordes " 11611, D.&L.431
 ne for his proud wordis W.Alex.3569, D.Troy 5010

The variable part of the formula is again the adjective, which can be altered to suit sense and alliteration. The relationship between the half-lines in this series is obvious. But the original formula (for his leper wordis) can also be adapted in another way to the needs of sense and alliteration, by the alteration of the last word in the half-line. We then get:

for his luper dedes S.Jeru.944 D.Troy 12209
 for hure luper werkus Alex.B.773

Each of these might form the model for a series of formulae in which, again, the adjective is variable, thus:

alle his wrange dedes Pat. 384
 for his wale dedis W.Alex. 4523
 of his prise dedis D.Troy 306
 for his bold dedis " 5914
 of his fell dedis " 7916
 but for his goode dedus Alex.B. 610

for his holy werkes S.Jeru. 158
 all his rewthe werkes M.Art. 3560
 his kyndly werkes " 3883
 for her falce werkes Pat. 390

& of his athill werkis W.Alex. 5618
for his vniust werkes D.Troy 12965.

The close connections between all the half-lines quoted in the above illustration, make it probable that some have been developed from others as the poets have found need for them. The fact that we have taken examples from many different poems indicates that these formulae belonged to a common alliterative technique. It should be noted, however, that although we chose one particular half-line (for his leper wordis) as the starting point for the above illustration it is impossible to tell which (if any) of the half-lines quoted was the original from which the others have been developed. It is only possible to say that they are all related formulae.¹

List S (p. 119.)

This is of second half-lines ending in wolde (variations such as sholde, and molde have also been included). This ending is of very common occurrence, for it is especially adaptable to the requirements of a subordinate adverbial clause beginning as (if), that, till etc.

The relationship of such lines as as þere astate wolde (D.Troy 3251) to the type found in List A, as theire statte askys (M.Art.157) has already been mentioned (see p.62 above).

1. See Parry: Harvard Studies in Classical Philology Vol.XLI p.145.

The inversion in W.Alex.723: as wald þine astate should be noted. The first half-line reads þof I þis wirschip þe wayfe, indicating that the desire for a a a x alliteration is probably the reason for the inversion of the normal order in the second half-line.

List T (p. 126.)

These half-lines end in the word seluen, usually preceded by a personal pronoun, hym seluen etc., but sometimes by a noun, as the kyng seluen etc. It may again be seen that certain stock formulaic patterns emerge, eg:

- (1) thurgh (for, etc.) ... of hym seluen
 |
 _____ grace, solace, might etc.

(see P.T.A. 429, W.Pal. 4362, M.Art. 1, 46, 239, 433, 1304 etc., D.Troy 4209, 5107, Gaw. 2031, W.Alex. 3147, 5041, and other examples in this list)

- (2) to ... hym seluen
 |
 _____ ryot, solace, etc.

(see W.&W. 374, M.Art. 54, 456, 785, 923, etc., D.Troy 532, Pat. 219, W.Alex. 3976.)

- (3) before (under etc) þe seluyn
 |
 _____ kyng, burnes etc.

(see M.Art. 96, 122, 210, 1507, 1866 etc., Clean. 1745, Gaw. 1616, 2377.)

List U (p. 134.)

The half-lines in this list end in the word riche. In most cases this is the adjective (occasionally the adverb) meaning "rich(ly)", "splendid(ly)", "great(ly)". But the

list also contains one or two instances where the word riche has another meaning - that is to say where the half-line ends in a homonym of the adjective. These instances seem to be parallel to those pointed out by Parry in Greek verse, where a succession of sounds has led the poet to the use of a certain formula.¹ Examples are:

(1) let all pis cort rych Gaw.360 (verb - "decide"².)

This half-line should be compared with the second half of Gaw.347, bifore your cort ryche, where there is similarity of form, but where the word ryche is the adjective.

(2) & his wrong riche D.Troy 2509 etc. (verb - "put right"².)

(3) vnder heuenryche Gaw.2423 (noun "kingdom")

In M.Art.108 vndyr the heuene ryche, a half-line almost exactly identical in form, the word ryche seems to be the adjective, giving the sense, "under the glorious heaven."

Perhaps M.Art 2613 and 3879 should also be read in this way.

(4) of pi king-riche W.Pal.2127 (noun "kingdom"). Perhaps the word has this sense also in D.Troy 12741. But in W.Alex. 3469, M.Art.1915, Alex.A.48, Clean.1685, the phrase kyng ryche is noun plus adjective and means "rich king". The case is exactly parallel to that of heuen ryche above. These two

1. cf. p.63 above.

2. see O.E.D. under RICH v² where the word is derived from O.E. *ryccan.

instances are striking illustrations of the way in which a poet might give a formula an entirely different meaning without having to alter its form.

(5) thow curssede wriche M.Art.1064 (noun "wretch").

Although the word wriche here is not exactly similar in sound to the adjective ryche, it may be that the poet had the common line-ending in mind when he made this line.

(The ending occurs sixty-five times in Morte Arthure.)

List V (p. 138)

The final list contains half-lines ending in leuede (leues, left etc.)

Formulaic patterns which can be distinguished are:

(1) for expressing the idea "left dead"

... fay leuede (M.Art.394, 978, 985 etc.)

List F and remarks on p.66 above should be noted here.

(2) for the idea "he left the field" (etc)

& þe fiſd leuyt (D.Troy 1318, 1349, 4756, 5959 etc
S.Jeru.290, W.Alex.135, 886, 2962)

The inversion in D.Troy 5961 he leuyt the fiſd is noteworthy. This line alliterates on "l" (The light wex las...), so that the reason for this inversion is probably, again, the desire for a a a x alliteration.

This list offers further interesting examples of the changes of meaning noted in connexion with some of the line-endings examined above. In S.Jeru.186 & his crafte leued

the word leued means "believed". In W.Pal.757 & so ful
leued it means "leaved" (of a tree).

Lists of formulae and formulaic systems in the second half-line

LIST A

þan hur kynde askyp	<u>Alex.B.</u>	407.
as resoun hit axep	"	916.
als þe laghe askes	<u>P.T.A.</u>	240.
as theire statte askys	<u>M.Art.</u>	157.
as þe worlde askes	"	2187.
as his kynde askes	"	2385.
ne oure belefe askys	<u>D.Troy</u>	420.
as þaire kynd askit	"	1063.
as þere course askit	"	1583.
as þaire astate askyt	"	2165.
as the tyme asket	"	2733.
as þe tyme asket	"	2916.
as hor astate askit	"	3412.
as þere belefe askit	"	4390.
as þaire degre askit	"	6025.
when þe tyde askes	"	7067.
as his degre askes	"	8893.
when the tyme asket	"	8959.
as his kynd asked	"	10787.
when the tyme askes	"	11622.
þat our byleue askep	<u>S.Jeru.</u>	202.
whan þe tide asked	"	289.
þat ho by riȝt askeȝ	<u>Clean.</u>	2.
in wyn as ho askes	"	1127.
as for-ward hit asked	"	1742.
as þe worlde askeȝ	<u>Gaw.</u>	530.
as þe dede askeȝ	"	1327.
as ȝoure rewill askis	<u>W.Alex.</u>	1500.
þat ilk flesch askis	"	4256.
for so þe werd askis	"	4621.
as the world asketh	<u>D.&L.</u>	5.

LIST B

pat his kith asketh	<u>Alex.A</u>	65
as hee wolde ax	"	141
of þe lud askes	"	691
þe menne gan hee ask	"	840
and mercy he askede	<u>P.T.A.</u>	160
and the wyne askede	<u>W.&W.</u>	213
wigtly þan asked	<u>W.Pal.</u>	1987
wel curtesli asked	"	4198
clopes he askes	"	4483
þemperour þanne asked	"	4865
fully wold aske	"	5522
and fullouȝt furst askes	<u>J.Arim.</u>	682
and fullouht askes	"	693
the tribute we aske	<u>M.Art.</u>	114
whene he leue askes	"	241
kyndly þou asches	"	343
þe senatour askes	"	413
and counge pay askede	"	479
when he hys swerde aschede	"	715
and his brande aschez	"	914
full knyghttly þow askez	"	1692
ne no schelde askys	"	2428
pat spede for to aske	<u>D.Troy</u>	4292
pertly I aske	"	8879
the Troiens did aske	"	9076
vnto gre asken	"	11595
quarters þai aske	"	11726
at a tulke asket	"	13925
for tribute pat he askep	<u>S.Jeru.</u>	502
& his hors askep	"	754
condit he askep	"	1039
hit at him self asked	<u>Clean.</u>	924
pat þou his cort askes	"	1109
þe gomen pat I ask	<u>Gaw.</u>	273
pat I þe kynge asked	"	393
leue I yow ask	"	545
mekely I ask	"	756
and he hit quyk askez	"	975
and chefly pay asken	"	978
and freschly he askez	"	1294
his mounture he askes	"	1691
þus ylka weghe askyd	<u>St.Erk.</u>	96
& his grace aske	"	171
nowe þe bothum askis	<u>W.Alex.</u>	727
& tribute him askis	"	888
& him a bone askis	"	1672
or I wend, askis	"	4053
his consaile him askis	"	5200

LIST C

alle to browne askes	<u>Chev.A.</u>	344
is brent into askys	<u>D.Troy.</u>	570
spred vnder askys	"	1428
into bare askys	"	2646
vnto bare askes	"	5007
vnto bare askis	"	7150
vnto bare askes	"	9720
put into askys	"	12008
vnto cleane askys	"	12289
in-to pe browne askes	<u>S.Jeru.</u>	716
pat mul am & aske3	<u>Clean.</u>	736
but wyndowande askes	"	1048
& brend hit in askes	"	1292
to bronde3 & aske3	<u>Gaw.</u>	2
consumes in-to askis	<u>W.Alex.</u>	4180

LIST D

sone brou3t of liue	<u>W.Pal.</u>	1159
had be brou3t out of liue	"	4640
and broghte hym o lyfe	<u>M.Art.</u>	802
and broghte oute of lyfe	"	1066
fell hym o lyfe	"	1139
broghte owtte of lyue	"	1775
broughte owt of lyfe	"	1800
and fellyd them of lyfe	"	1899
and don owte of lyfe	"	2178
or halde theym on lyfe	"	2311
fellde owtte of lyfe	"	2376
has broghte owt of lyffe	"	3020
or broughte owte of lyue	"	3520
and fellyd them o lyfe	"	3906
and broghte owt of life	"	3972
broughte owt of lyfe	"	4289
are broghte owte of lyfe	"	4319
ferke out of lyue	<u>D.Troy</u>	145
to chaunge out of lyue	"	593
ferkit out of lyue	"	1700
and done out of lyue	"	2504
& put out of lyue	"	5005
& don out of lyue	"	5285
halfe out of lyue	"	5294
he pronge out of lyue	"	6516
soght out of lyue	"	6579
& soght out of lyue	"	6644
swappit hym of lyue	"	6699
& ferke out of lyue	"	6716
carys out of lyue	"	6908
deghit out of lyue	"	7644
haue put out of lyue	"	8615
he put out of lyue	"	8847
he gird out of lyue	"	9875
passit o lyue	"	10725
pai prang out of lyue	"	11135
is pertid of lyue	"	11285
& keppit is on lyue	"	12076
I ferkid of lyue	"	12191
hade don hym of lyue	"	12588
to kacche hym o lyue	"	12993
to put hym o lyue	"	13124
he put out of lyue	"	14009
put out of lyue	"	14022

& bro3t out of londe (<u>MS. 'C':lyfe</u>)	<u>S.Jeru.</u>	1317
to sye3e þus of lyfe	<u>W.Alex.</u>	716
to pas out of lyfe	"	1019
bro3t out o-lyue	"	1228
he termens o lyue	"	1304
þat bro3t was of lyue	"	1442
& farne out o lyue	"	2323
& termynd of lyue	"	2784
past out of lyue	"	3052
& done out of lyue	"	3476
& termynd o lyue	"	3640
& pas out o lyue	"	3809
sodanly of lyue	"	4333
was bro3t out o lyfe	"	4858
& bringis him of lyfe	"	5612

LIST E

while this werlde lasteth	<u>W.& W.</u>	8.
whil þis world lasteþ	<u>W.Pal.</u>	3808.
whil here lif lasted	"	5444.
while his speche laste	<u>J.Arim.</u>	344.
whyle þe fy3te lasted	<u>Chev.A.</u>	273.
aye whyls hir lyfe lastez	<u>M.Art.</u>	855.
whills my tym lastez	"	1570.
whilles my tym lastez	"	2351.
whills his tyme lastis	"	2364.
whills my tym lastez	"	2409.
whills my tym lastes	"	2611.
whills his lyffe lastis	"	3147.
qwylls my lyfe lastez	"	4007.
while the batell last	<u>D.Troy</u>	56.
& my days laste	"	606.
while the wer laste	"	3972.
while prese lastis	"	5183.
while the werre laste	"	5413.
whille þat day last	"	7102.
while the tru last	"	7165.
while the true last	"	7879.
while the world last	"	13040.
while þe sege lasteþ	<u>S.Jeru.</u>	418.
while þe bladde laste	"	542.
while my herte lasteþ	"	992.
whyle þe saute laste	"	1193.
whyle ho in pyese lasttes	<u>Clean.</u>	1124.
whil her worlde laste	"	1298.
quil hor wrathe lastyd	<u>St.Erk.</u>	215.
quils Alexander lastis (<u>MS.'D'</u> : lefys)	<u>W.Alex.</u>	989.
ay to þe world lastes	"	1071D.
(<u>MS.'A'</u> :ay qwen þe werd turnes)	"	
whilse his breth lastez	"	1220D.
quils þe terme lastis	"	1678.
whille my lyue lastez (<u>MS.'A'</u> : dures)	"	1687D.
qwen I my hele lastis	"	
(<u>MS.'D'</u> : whils my hele Lastes)	"	2806.
þat a sege lastis	"	4285.

LIST F

till he was fey worthen	<u>P.T.A.</u>	485.
to alle were fey worthen	"	496.
pat sayen alle schall fey worthe	<u>W.&W.</u>	159.
to owthire fey worthe	"	245.
when thou fey worthes	"	300.
till ye fay worthe	<u>D.Troy</u>	597.
and no fay worthe	"	956.
or ellis fay worthe	"	1154.
or pai fay worthit	"	6823.
pat were fey worthen	"	9691.
þo3 3e fey worþe	<u>S.Jeru.</u>	770.
quen we ere fay worthid	<u>W.Alex.</u>	591.
to 3e fey worthe	"	1034.

LIST G

soghte at þe gayneste	<u>M.Art.</u>	487.
he soghte at þe gayneste	"	1041.
he soughte at the gayneste	"	1977.
thay soghte at þe gayneste	"	3114.
thaye soughte at þe gayneste	"	3204.
evyne at the gayneste	"	3596.
þis soppe at þe gayneste	"	3745.
he wente at þe gayneste	"	3817.
he wente at þe gayneste	"	3837.
þay wente at the gayneste	"	4011.
þe gate at þe gayneste	"	4308.
& fare at þe gaynest	<u>Gaw.</u>	1973.
he so3t at þe gaynest	<u>W.Alex.</u>	1137.
spillis at þe gaynest	"	1318.

LIST H

as him-silf likus	<u>Alex.B.</u>	362
as him-silf likus	"	620
3if pi-self likes	<u>W.Pal.</u>	966
as hem-self liked	"	3729
as him-self likes	"	4412
what him-self liked	"	5449
when thy selfe lykys	<u>M.Art.</u>	319
as them selfe lykede	"	599
als þem selfe lykys	"	3115
alls them selfe likes	"	3536
þat hir-selfe liket	<u>D.Troy</u>	508
as hom-seluon liket	"	752
as þaim selfe lyked	"	1582
as hym selfe lyked	"	1830
as hym selfe likes	"	2534
as hom selfe liked	"	2851
as hom selfe lyket	"	4252
as hom selfe liked	"	4545
as hom selfe lyked	"	10605
þat hym-self lyked	<u>S.Jeru.</u>	889
if hem-self lyked	<u>Gaw.</u>	976
if yowre-self lyke3	"	1964

LIST I

that mee best lykes	<u>Alex.A.</u>	1053
als hym beste lyketh	<u>W.& W.</u>	125
where hem best liked	<u>W.Pal.</u>	1918
wich hem best liked	"	4326
as hym beste lykes	<u>M.Art.</u>	55
whare them beste lykes	"	1598
whare vs beste lykes	"	1727
pat hym beste lykez	"	1776
that hym beste lykid	"	2623
whare hym beste lykede	"	2668
or how hym beste lykede	"	2703
as me beste lykes	"	3215
als hym beste likes	"	4074
as hom best liked	<u>D.Troy</u>	674
as hom best liked	"	1999
as hom best likes	"	4357
as hom best lyket	"	6104
as we best lykys	"	6262
as hom best likid	"	10412
as hom best lyked	"	11892
per hym best lykes	<u>Glean.</u>	539
quare him best likid	<u>W.Alex.</u>	373

LIST J

when þee well lykes	<u>Alex.A.</u>	1065
as he wel liked	<u>W.Pal.</u>	1009
whan 3ou dere likes	"	1050
whil hem god liked	"	1571
william wel liked	"	1654
þer hire beter liked	"	2032
whider hire god liked	"	2689
as þe lef likes	"	3159
whider him god liked	"	3718
as hire god likes	"	3990
whider him god liked	"	4021
wheþer 3ou god likes	"	4787
þough it him nou3t liked	"	5095
whider þaim god liked	"	5407
þat hym so wele lykede	<u>M.Art.</u>	1448
it shall vs wele like	<u>D.Troy</u>	2329
as me gode liked	"	2372
as you well likes	"	2510
that hym worst liket	"	3556
& yow so lyke	"	4229
if you so like	"	4907
as ye wele likes	"	5288
as hym well likes	"	5631
if he so lyked	"	7894
& you so like	"	12345
if hym gode likid	"	12654
þat hym wele lyked	"	13346
þer hym wel lyked	<u>Gaw.</u>	1132
& þat me wel lykez	"	1214

LIST K

whereso hym liked	<u>Alex.A.</u>	153
well may þee lyke	"	743
well may þou lyke	"	873
as heuene king likus	<u>Alex.B.</u>	415
as our lif likus	"	622
to do als hym lykede	<u>P.T.A.</u>	521
to wende were hym lykes	"	611
and whatt thyn hert lykes	<u>W.&W.</u>	279
to take what 3owe lykes	"	352
so wel hit him liked	<u>W.Pal.</u>	28
whider as him liked	"	104
so wel it me likes	"	450
as wel as him liked	"	775
þe wors hap me liked	"	802
no miȝt hem bet haue lyked	"	1012
whan þat him likes	"	1381
what answere 3ou likes	"	1459
þis liif so me likes	"	1813
whedir as him liked	"	2309
to wende whan hem liked	"	2746
in world where him liked	"	3223
& wend whan him liked	"	3554
& peyne him as hire liked	"	3662
ches wich þe likes	"	4161
& seie what hem liked	"	4318
wilne what þe likes	"	4734
what þe hert likes	"	5153
þat dos me to lyke	<u>J.Arim.</u>	252
& sette her wher þe lykethe	<u>Chev.A.</u>	73
do what þe lykes	"	134
he skyftys as hym lykys	<u>M.Art.</u>	32
to see whenn hym lykyde	"	63
buske when hym lykys	"	69
he grette as hym lykyde	"	84
bez sette as them lykes	"	97
with brethe whare hym lykes	"	107
& said what þe lykes	"	140
bot spende what þe lykys	"	162
taste wham þem lykys	"	186
and said what hym lykyde	"	267
whare so the lykes	"	302
feghte when þe lykes	"	367
to say whatt them lykes	"	370
saile when þe lykes	"	381

in felde when hym lykes	<u>M.Art.</u>	404
and ryste when me lykes	"	423
fraiste when hym lykes	"	435
kayre whene the lykes	"	444
profre when þe likes	"	518
be ware 3if þe lykes	"	546
to brynne when þem lykys	"	564
he wynnys as hym lykes	"	621
saile when hym lykes	"	635
ascente 3if 3owe lykys	"	644
ne welthe þat hire lykes	"	653
chaunge as þe lykes	"	660
wysse as hym lykes	"	671
to doo whatte the lykes	"	712
saile when þem lykes	"	728
fleete whare hym lykes	"	803
so wele hym it lykez	"	847
knowe it if þe lykez	"	864
fraiste when the lykes	"	881
to take when hym lykez	"	1015
the bettyre me lykez	"	1033
fraist when the lykez	"	1038
take whate the lykez	"	1190
ouer as hym lykez	"	1228
challange whoo lykez	"	1322
proue when hym lykes	"	1341
sende whene hym lykyde	"	1438
as the kynge lykes	"	1511
say whate 3owe lykes	"	1547
he skiftez as hym lykez	"	1561
knawe it 3if hym lyke	"	1581
be ware 3ife hym lykes	"	1616
in rowtt where hym lykes	"	1656
for-sake 3if 3owe lykes	"	1686
saye what þe lykez	"	1700
schyft as þe lykes	"	1717
be ware 3if the lykez	"	1808
a stede þat hym lykede	"	1817
to lyf whilles þe lykez	"	1903
karpe whatte 3ow lykys	"	1929
assente 3if 3owe lykes	"	1963
to schotte when þam lykez	"	1992
and voyde when hym likede	"	2094
and tuke what them likes	"	2282
assaye how hym likes	"	2347
be ware 3if 3ow lykes	"	2370
and dele as me lykes	"	2400

and fude that them lykes	<u>M.Art.</u>	2486
chalance who lykes	"	2524
profire when þe lykes	"	2534
take hede 3if the lyke	"	2651
wyrke as 3owe lykes	"	2740
weend whethire vs lykes	"	2931
and riste when hir likede	"	3362
bot fonde whills me likede	"	3370
worde as þe lykes	"	3393
frayste when the lykes	"	3395
take kepe 3if the lyke	"	3401
to wende whare me likes	"	3494
and delte as hym likes	"	3527
with toyelys as hym lykyde	"	3616
hafe don qwate them likes	"	4008
in place þare me likes	"	4047
wirkkys as 3ow likys	"	4100
assay when hym lyke	<u>D.Troy.</u>	382
to note when she liket	"	402
euyne as hom liked	"	1087
and get when hom likes	"	2272
said what him liket	"	3116
might say what hom liket	"	3339
right as hym liked	"	7559
eft when hir liked	"	9258
euyne as hom liked	"	9661
to bery as hom liked	"	10563
onon as hom liked	"	10918
sese as you likes	"	11704
euyne as hom liked	"	11895
right as hom liked	"	13313
worþe, as hit lyked	<u>G.Jeru.</u>	62
bot waleþ what hym lykeþ	"	1276
3if þe wyþe lykes	<u>Pat.</u>	397
as apþel God lyked	<u>Clean.</u>	411
to mynne if þe lykes	"	771
welde as hym lyked	"	1646
to gye as me lykes	"	1663
& keuer when hym lyked	"	1700
as cure fader lykes	"	1726
to hondele as hym lykes	<u>Gaw.</u>	289
sir Gawan, me lykes	"	390
þe fare þat he lyked	"	694
to won quyle yow lyke3	"	814
to won as yow lyke3	"	835
to make quat yow like3	"	1074
quyle þat hem lyked	"	1115

hym þat all lyke3	<u>Gaw.</u>	1234
worþe as yow lyke3	"	1302
wyth strenkþe, 3if yow lyke3	"	1496
to kysse quen yow lyke3	"	1501
when-so mon lyke3	"	1682
as þe wyrde lyke3	"	2134
rele as vs like3	"	2246
to worch as þe lyke3	"	2253
in hert hit hym lyke3	"	2335
& rist quen vs likis	<u>W.Alex.</u>	22
bot here qua sa likid	"	146
to knaw if þe likis	"	292
& fayr when vs likez	"	740 ³⁰
to haue at þou likez	"	1765 ⁰
& my will likis	"	2013
bide quen him likid	"	2172
fyne quen þe likis	"	2720
& wirke quat þaim likes	"	2949
gase quen 3ow likis	"	3522
deuyse how 3ow likis	"	4050
chese if þe likis	"	4388
playd as hire likid	"	4416
to wale as him likid	"	4655
whiche our Lord likethe	<u>D.& L.</u>	295
þat bearne while he liked	"	405

LIST L

pou quemest my hert	<u>Alex.A.</u>	593
and comforthe myn hert	<u>P.T.A.</u>	248
than sowed myn hert	"	286
than glades myn hert	<u>W.& W.</u>	227
pat tenys myn hert	"	341
to serue min hert	<u>W.Pal.</u>	463
pat pirlles min hert	"	612
purlen myn herte	"	910
it pirlles my hert	"	3512
pirlled min hert	"	3696
lyghttys myn herte	<u>M.Art.</u>	251
pat tenes myn herte	"	264
now lyghttys myn herte	"	368
woundez myn herte	"	707
this gladdez myn herte	"	2883
it comforthes myn herte	"	3506
thowe coldis myn herte	"	3518
pat kepide myn herte	"	3960
thow drownes myn herte	"	3968
coldes my hert	<u>D.Troy</u>	1725
hit gladit my hert	"	2417
waknet my hert	"	9197
sohal lepe my hert	<u>Gaw.</u>	2438
confourmyd my hert	<u>St.Erk.</u>	242

LIST M

with care at his hert	<u>Alex.A.</u>	39
was carefull in hert	"	75
proliche in hert	"	215
in liking of hert	"	251
glod to his hert	"	279
wer teened in hert	"	345
& kest in hur hert	"	359
to siken in hert	"	395
loped in hert	"	444
coueted in hert	"	657
shee wondred in hert	"	725
pat keene is of hert	"	801
& greeued in hert	"	911
lykes well my hert	"	1078
ryght armed in hert	"	1095
we lopen in herte	<u>Alex.B.</u>	272
comyp at oure herte	"	370
wilne hit in herte	"	516
pat giep þe herte	"	661
anied in his herte	"	816
& stille of his herte	"	940
and taysede at the hert	<u>P.T.A.</u>	44
hade myrthe at his hert	"	316
bot fayntnesse of hert	<u>W.&W.</u>	7
pat loued in thaire hertis	"	20
who-so loueth hym in hert	"	88
me wondirs in hert	"	393
to lightten þaire hertis	"	406
me wondirs in hert	"	424
to forthir hir herte	"	429
& forthir thyn hert	"	464
pat lufen me in hert	"	501
karful in hert	<u>W.Pal.</u>	373
to plese wip þi hert	"	411
wip a wilde hert	"	417
is seruant to mi hert	"	467
is soget to my hert	"	473
to my wicked hert	"	482
& blame my hert	"	486
þe werk of myn herte	"	519
for sorwe atte here herte	"	539
pat ich haue in hert	"	616
& portreide in herte	"	619
sat so in his hert	"	732

hadde lapped his hert	<u>W.Pal.</u>	740
drou ₃ to his hert	"	781
it liked so his hert	"	878
wounde to hert	"	883
for sor at his hert	"	894
pat nam he most to herte	"	1203
for wo at hire herte	"	1513
an my dere hert	"	1538
of þe my swete hert	"	1550
was gladed in herte	"	1593
to solas here hertes	"	1621
whi so mi dere hert?	"	1649
my derworþe herte	"	1745
mi worþliche herte	"	1814
sore a-drad in herte	"	2005
was sorwful in herte	"	2065
vnglad at his herte	"	2106
myn owne swete herte	"	2224
my derworþ herte	"	2585
semliche hertes	"	2594
pat want þere as an hert	"	2629
tvo semli hertes	"	2880
kast in hire hert	"	3059
kauzt þanne god hert	"	3374
sank to herte	"	3681
was karful in hert	"	3774
as bliue his hert	"	4534
sank to his herte	"	5186
to solas here hertes	"	5320
for wo at here hertes	"	5452
and bar him in herte	<u>J.Arim.</u>	152
withe a grymme herte	<u>Chev.A.</u>	189
in þe boyes herte	"	263
& down in-to þe herte	"	334
the seruez no herte	<u>M.Art.</u>	968
with grucchande herte	"	1353
glydez to his herte	"	1371
es carefull in herte	"	1777
es sorowfull in herte	"	1844
was angerde at his herte	"	1957
with a kaunt herte	"	2195
fore rewthe at his herte	"	2197
with leberall herte	"	2318
be prykkyd to þe herte	"	2648
and comforthed þer hertes	"	2712
and grape in 3our hertez	"	2725
buskes vp 3our hertes	"	2855

jagged to þe herte	<u>M.Art.</u>	2909
glade to his herte	"	2972
with myrthes of herte	"	3102
with solace in herte	"	3170
with a blythe herte	"	3219
and kaste in thyne herte	"	3406
that lepe to his herte	"	3427
with breth at his herte	"	3465
with kare at my herte	"	3513
for brethe at his herte	"	3557
for fersenesse of herte	"	3826
it thirllede his herte	"	3890
carefull in herte	"	3897
with dule at hir herte	"	3915
with breth at his herte	"	3926
with rewthe of his herte	"	3939
so sorowfull in herte	"	3947
and glopyns in herte	"	3949
that sanke to my herte	"	3983
with kare at his herte	"	3993
with kare at theire hertes	"	4009
ne sawghte at myne herte	"	4042
with kare at his herte	"	4054
with rewthe at his herte	"	4155
dryede theire hertes	"	4171
with care at his herte	"	4264
with gloppynmande hertes	"	4329
was pricket in hert	<u>D.Troy</u>	142
in his throo hert	"	147
printed in hert	"	195
was proude at his hert	"	262
light in her hert	"	452
sanke in hir herte	"	461
in her clene hert	"	467
in her derne hert	"	478
þat souet to hir hert	"	495
in your derfe hert	"	528
þat 3omers in my hert	"	543
in my thro hert	"	555
with a clene hert	"	705
longyng in hert	"	863
hade pyne at his hert	"	992
sanke in his hert	"	1000
3yveris of hert	"	1242
persit his hert	"	1286
coldit at his hert	"	1306
with þi pro hert	"	1399

of a felle hert	<u>D.Troy.</u>	1425
sanke in his hert	"	1515
sanke in his hert	"	1697
tokyn pere herte	"	2013
sanke in his hert	"	2053
fuerser in hert	"	2154
with prickyng in hert	"	2183
with arghnes in hert	"	2203
as comys in my hert	"	2229
& suppose it in hert	"	2317
notes in your hert	"	2630
pai filet in hert	"	2669
from her bale hert	"	2681
put into hertys	"	2715
in her ranke hertes	"	2726
lappit in hert	"	2891
yenerus in hert	"	2925
pat lurkit in pi hert	"	2977
in her thro hert	"	3094
proude at his hert	"	3130
tremblit in hert	"	3272
with all my pure hert	"	3383
to your cold hertys	"	3486
hit sate in his hert	"	3559
& sorow at pi hert	"	3590
with all our pure hertis	"	3641
sorofull in hert	"	3800
with a cloise hert	"	3939
& wrathus vs in hert	"	4168
fro our prise hertes	"	4833
supposyng in hert	"	4872
of our thro hertes	"	4893
sothly with hert	"	4919
of his proude hert	"	5114
sounys to my hert	"	5234
had tene at hor hert	"	5832
sanke to his hert	"	5869
geton pere hertes	"	5899
right to pe hert	"	5907
feblit pere herttes	"	5956
getton pere herttes	"	5964
pat arghit in hert	"	6303
ournyt in hert	"	6404
in his depe hert	"	6415
tokyn pere hertes	"	6518
sank in his hert	"	6646
tokyn pere hertes	"	6785

with his pure hert	<u>D.Troy</u>	7099
waillyng in hert	"	7118
with tene at þere hertis	"	7550
persit his hert	"	7661
there gedurt þere hertes	"	7770
with sorow in hert	"	7923
stondyng in hert	"	8018
in his wild hert	"	8077
of his cold hert	"	8080
with a fre hert	"	8111
in þi faint hert	"	8129
with all his pure hert	"	8305
with hir pure hert	"	8438
with sykyng in hert	"	8452
persit not his hert	"	8512
in his thro hert	"	8623
with sorow in hert	"	8671
sanke in his hert	"	8703
soght fro þere herttes	"	9127
& his fell hert	"	9178
in his cole hert	"	9255
with care at oure herttes	"	9332
febill of hertis	"	9410
& pite in hert	"	9439
with bale at þere herttes	"	9490
in your wild hert	"	9713
faynt in hor hertis	"	9730
lyft up your hertte	"	9735
in his stalle hert	"	9789
wanttis no hertte	"	9844
gedret þere herttes	"	9860
with all hir pure hert	"	9954
in his þro hert	"	9972
þrappit in his hert	"	10098
of his strong hert	"	10105
in his clene hert	"	10115
hade payn at his hert	"	10233
in hir pure hert	"	10241
with dole at his hert	"	10373
in þi derf hert	"	10379
stabill of hert	"	10654
was pricket at his hert	"	10700
with bale at þere hert	"	10730
coldyng in hert	"	10767
louyt hir in hert	"	10779
sanke in hir hert	"	10853
with tene at þere hert	"	11145

with care at hor hertes	<u>D.Troy</u>	11152
in his pure hert	"	11240
all the pepull hertis	"	11421
with a sore hert	"	11425
with a due hert	"	11493
& mournes in my hert	"	11542
with hir pure hert	"	11553
þe cast of my hert	"	11650
þat glottes þere hertis	"	11777
with his pure hert	"	11842
laithis not þi hert?	"	11984
had care at þaire hertes	"	12117
with his pore hert	"	12308
& compast in hert	"	12324
with bale at hir hert	"	12423
with þonks in hir hert	"	12724
& with cleane hert	"	12764
toke hit to hert	"	12793
with care at þere hertes	"	12835
with a cloise hert	"	13041
prikket his hert	"	13189
are masit in hert	"	13280
proude at hir hert	"	13370
þat persit his hert	"	13423
swagit þere herttes	"	13643
with lustis in hert	"	13682
light in his hert	"	13686
& his choise hert	"	13805
with blod of his herte	<u>S.Jeru.</u>	496
þroz un-nylt hertes	"	556
fayleden herte	"	593
strezt to þe hert	"	915
hymself to þe herte	"	1329
I put in þi hert	<u>Pat.</u>	68
& layde had his hert	"	168
& falce of my hert	"	283
to wamel at his hert	"	300
in-to þe dymme hert	"	308
& chylled at þe hert	"	368
doured in hert	"	372
burde synk to my hert	"	507
fer fro his hert	<u>Clean.</u>	31
þat lyze in þyn hert	"	172
for wrath at his hert	"	204
towched his hert	"	283
wyth þo3t of her hertte3	"	516
so3t to his hert	"	563

in vnsounde hert	<u>Clean.</u>	575
þe reynye3 & hert	"	592
to baume your hertte	"	620
he schrank at þe hert	"	850
ful ferd at his hert	"	897
hade nomen in his hert	"	1002
in yre of his hert	"	1240
to gremen his hert	"	1347
hit warmed his hert	"	1420
drof to his hert	"	1425
I luf hem in hert	"	1434
duched to his hert	"	1538
a hope in his hert	"	1653
clos in his hert	"	1655
þat flayed þi hert	"	1723
with care at her hert	<u>Gaw.</u>	557
syked in hert	"	672
þat py3t in hir hert	"	1734
warmed his hert	"	1762
wounded in hert	"	1781
& hit come to his hert	"	1855
ar3e3 in hert	"	2277
with bale at his hert	<u>St. Ext.</u>	257
to fayn þare hert	<u>W. Alex.</u>	2
& flay many hertis	"	110
cache vp þine hert	"	470
bot lufe þe in hert	"	664
& fange vp 3our hertis	"	988
strikis þis hert	"	1069
with taite at þaire hertis	"	1208
sall gedire vp oure hertis	"	1809
gedirs vp þar hertis	"	2054
& hight in hert	"	22000
& þer þai vncachid hertes	"	2588
þou likens to my hert (<u>MS. 'A'</u> : hi3t)	"	27060
& meke þi hert	"	2838
mayes no3t 3our hertis	"	3010
persid his hert	"	3235
have a clere hert	"	3358
loke at 3our hertis	"	3520
mayes no3t 3oure hertis	"	3570
was ar3ed in þaire hertis	"	3606
a-baste no3t 3oure hertis	"	3877
he sorozes in his hert	"	4051
ne batis no3t 3our hertis	"	4156
þat solace oure hertis	"	4371
it blithis oure hertis	"	4624

& steris his hert	<u>W.Alex.</u>	5046
to solace þar hertis	"	5150
bad, "plukis vp þour hertis	"	5445
þan fell in his hert	"	5513
3it worthid in his hert	"	5531
nor blythensse of hart	<u>D.& L.</u>	7
droue mee to hart	"	38
shee bred in thy hart	"	128
& Sikinge in Hart	"	187
& carued throughe his hart	"	347
of his trew hart	"	382
in thy false hart	"	385
att Sathans hart	"	395

LIST N

wip-oute ani more	<u>W.Pal.</u>	259
wip-oute any more	"	1529
wip-out eni more	"	1900
wip-oute eny more	"	2464
wit-oute any more	"	2573
wip-oute eny more	"	3660
with-oute any more	"	4540
with-oute any more	"	5272
with-oute any more	"	5285
wip-oute any more	"	5457
with-owttyn speche more	<u>M.Art.</u>	2417
with-outyn threp more	<u>D.Troy</u>	1127
with-outen sware more	"	1200
with outen tale more	"	1941
withouten dyn more	"	5765
without prepe more	"	6142
withoutyn prepe more	"	9249
with-outen care more	"	11207
with-outen dyn more	"	11960
with-out tale mor	<u>S.Jeru.</u>	358
with out swar more	"	536
without tale mor	"	1116
wyth-outen pret more	<u>Pat.</u>	267
wyth-oute werk more	<u>Clean.</u>	1725
boute spyt more	<u>Gaw.</u>	1444
with-oute debate more	"	1754
withouten lett mare	<u>W.Alex.</u>	118
without scath mare	"	3915

LIST O

stirred no more	<u>Alex.A.</u>	386
& takes nomore	"	549
& ern pou nomore	"	1091
my sorowe is þe more	"	1102
to welde no more	<u>Alex.B.</u>	289
& laste no more	"	322
for sawe he hym no more	<u>P.T.A.</u>	512
dose the no mare	<u>W.& W.</u>	305
my sorowe es þe more	"	407
& harmes me more	"	454
here bale was þe more	<u>W.Pal.</u>	75
know i no more	"	245
ac i nel na more	"	718
mi kare were þe more	"	726
wot i no more	"	2167
seie hem na more	"	2556
now mow we no more	"	2559
to tene namore	"	2812
þe lasse & þe more	"	3004
nay, munge þat no more	"	3097
ne seide þo na more	"	3591
& grucched no more	"	3927
is wel þe more	"	3961
to solace him þe more	"	3978
bowed to þe more	"	4062
wilned i no more	"	4132
þe lasse & þe more	"	5294
now nel i telle no more	"	5395
I suffre the þe more	<u>M.Art.</u>	141
enforce 3ow þe more	"	225
ne drede the no more	"	829
bot spēkes he no more	"	2063
byd I no more	"	2188
rewthe es the more	"	2241
but raðe he no more	"	2795
me angers þe more	"	2848
and joyes hym þe more	"	2896
and swanke he no more	"	2961
and dole es the more	"	3299
my sorowe es the more	"	3729
my sorowe es the more	"	3797
my sorowe es the more	"	3984
dole was þe more	"	4172
harme es þe more	"	4176

and dole was þe more	<u>M.Art.</u>	4240
and rewthe es the more	"	4283
and spekes he no more	"	4327
childer no mo	<u>D.Troy</u>	395
& fully no more	"	849
kepe I no more	"	874
brent it no more	"	895
noy was þe more	"	1075
harne was þe more	"	1421
and Carpit no more	"	2448
may grefe vs no more	"	2551
& Angur no more	"	2593
tynt were þe mo	"	4729
keppit he no more	"	4890
to prese hym no more	"	5093
to greue vs no more	"	5118
þat hym arghet no more	"	5148
& deiret no moo	"	5909
harmyt nomo	"	5943
noye was the more	"	6015
aunter was the more	"	6183
þaire sorow was þe more	"	6756
derit no mo	"	6891
shuld tene hom no more	"	7101
his dole was þe more	"	7330
& proffettes no more	"	7970
& paire vs no more	"	7992
hir noy was the more	"	8494
payre hom nomore	"	9227
& couet no more	"	9357
said he no more	"	9364
harmyt no moo	"	9483
noy was the more	"	9585
deires no more	"	9727
& tene hom no more	"	9805
lengit no more	"	9973
& barly no more	"	10132
deiret no mo	"	10722
hor bale was the more	"	11169
vs gaynes no more	"	11306
the sorow was the more	"	11349
my sorow is the more	"	11540
ne stroy hom no more	"	12364
noye was the more	"	12513
& barly no moo	"	12775
& fully no more	"	13494
hir dole was the more	"	13987

& chiden no mor	<u>S.Jeru.</u>	731
toke he no more	"	907
he kepip no more	"	1062
his grace wat3 þe more	<u>Clean.</u>	296
I tene hem no more	"	759
say yow no more	<u>Gaw.</u>	130
hit nedes no more	"	404
kepe I no more	"	546
& dele no more	"	560
greue yow no more	"	1070
so plede hit no more	"	1304
I cheued no more	"	1390
frayst me no more	"	1395
& start no more	"	2286
hurt hym no more	"	2311
bede me no mo	"	2322
& þenne no more	"	2443
sayd he no more	<u>St.Erk.</u>	341
& soruzes na mare	<u>W.Alex.</u>	182
drede þe neuer þe more	"	322
he wakens no more	"	725 ^{AD}
fallis me na mare	"	829
a worde & na mare	"	1680
& greues me na mare	"	2434
& Ermony þe mare	"	2584
shall see vs no more	"	2605 ^D
my reuthe is þe mare	"	2813
him tharne & na mare	"	2859
þan 3erne I na mare	"	3124
to bere þam na mare	"	3415
& þan do vs na mare	"	4056
I trow, be na mare	"	4239
& Auffrik þe mare	"	4395
bedes he na mare	"	4537
vs fayns it na more	"	4626
vs fayns it na more	"	4681
þou se3is þaim na mare	"	5022
& willne þaim na mare	"	5036
and Assie þe mare	"	5659
care thou noe more	<u>D.& L.</u>	131
the longer the more	"	136
then carped shee no more	"	230

LIST P

had named þese wordes	<u>Alex.A.</u>	524
& karpen þese wordes	"	558
these speciall wordes	"	785
& saide þese wordes	"	798
kid these wordes	"	842
freely þese wordes	"	990
þe storie of þis wordus	<u>Alex.B.</u>	609
3e saide þis wordus	"	1006
& tauhte þis wordus	"	1077
greued with this wordes	<u>P.T.A.</u>	182
rothelede thies wordes	"	261
to speken thies wordes	<u>W.& W.</u>	325
and of 3oure broþe wordes	"	457
holly his wordes	<u>W.Pal.</u>	246
nou3t of many wordes	"	333
herd alisaundrines wordes	"	599
wip þi mede wordes	"	604
wip pitous wordes	"	643
þise selue words	"	889
þise selue wordes	"	927
holly his wordes	"	1504
wip þi faire wordes	"	1646
sire leues youre wordes	"	1806
boute more wordes	"	1863
holly þise wordes	"	2052
þise selue wordes	"	2524
þese selue wordes	"	2558
hade listened his wordes	"	2968
sche wept for þo wordes	"	2970
of paramoures wordes	"	2987
mani tidy wordes	"	3077
þese selue wordes	"	3309
þat burnes wordes	"	3347
of many gode wordes	"	3674
& with-sede no worde	"	3930
& seide þese wordes	"	4069
3if 3e wol here mi wordes	"	4601
holli his wordes	"	4704
holli þo wordes	"	5096
& karped þese wordes	"	5366
þat herden his wordes	<u>J.Arm.</u>	2
and seide him þise wordes	"	21
& prechen hise wordes	"	24
& preche myne wordes	"	44

and meleden þe wordes	<u>J.Arim.</u>	130
with-inne þreo wordes	"	150
to kenne suche wordes	"	158
wiþ loueliche wordes	"	239
and faynede me wiþ wordes	"	243
and seis him þise wordes	"	336
and speek harde wordes	"	343
and seip him þis wordes	"	419
soþe aren þi wordes	"	672
& thow3te on his wordes	<u>Chev.A.</u>	207
with cruell wordez	<u>M.Art.</u>	88
he sendes thie thies wordes	"	104
crewell wordez	"	132
with thi mery wordez	"	260
wyth heyn3ous wordes	"	268
wyth austeren wordes	"	306
bot lystynnys þise wordez	"	371
with austeryn wordez	"	414
and layne noghte þise wordes	"	419
with knyghtlyche wordez	"	506
carpys þes wordes	"	639
and carpes þise wordez	"	680
with sittande wordez	"	953
with certeyne wordez	"	1042
with hawtayne wordez	"	1058
at Bedvere wordez	"	1170
with knyghtlyche wordez	"	1218
and saide hym þise wordez	"	1234
wyth crewell wordez	"	1271
wyth austeryn wordez	"	1326
I send hym thes wordez	"	1330
dare speke syche wordez	"	1343
full gobbede wordes	"	1346
at his grett wordes	"	1352
þese sittande wordez	"	1501
with austeryn wordez	"	1510
I sende hym þes wordez	"	1571
and carpes thees wordez	"	1650
wyth trofelande wordez	"	1683
thow carpes thes wordez	"	1693
he karpes þes wordes	"	1725
with cruell wordes	"	1804
with thi skornefull wordez	"	1840
sir Cador theis wordez	"	1921
bot syche grett wordez	"	1936
he sais them theis wordez	"	1962
said lordlyche wordez	"	2032

kende hym þe wordes	<u>M.Art.</u>	2194
fore all thi grete wordez	"	2225
þay karpide þese wordes	"	2313
karpede thees wordes	"	2341
with cruell wordes	"	2356
theys knyghtly wordez	"	2395
because of his wordez	"	2397
withowttyn moo wordes	"	2500
for all thy grete wordes	"	2540
with thy gret wordez	"	2580
for all þeire gret wordes	"	2744
knyghtly wordes	"	2750
and sais hym þese wordes	"	2813
and saide hym þise wordes	"	2924
and noghte bot faire wordes	"	2929
take kepe to þese wordes	"	3049
with full meke wordes	"	3056
with knyghtly wordez	"	3131
sent any wordes	"	3171
and karpes thire wordes	"	3178
with his mylde wordes	"	3197
rehersys theis wordes	"	3206
and saide theis wordez	"	3271
and said theis wordes	"	3290
he spekes þire wordes	"	3311
with meruayllous wordez	"	3383
with selcouthe wordes	"	3421
lordliche wordys	"	3638
he karpes thes wordes	"	3988
karpis theis wordes	"	4033
with plesande wordes	"	4049
with knyghtlyche wordes	"	4083
þes kyndly wordez	"	4188
he said theis wordes	"	4313
& mery of his wordis	<u>D.Troy</u>	130
& sletyng of wordes	"	196
vnder faith wordes	"	241
of his Juste wordes	"	249
vnder faire wordes	"	253
pelleus wordes	"	258
& with sad wordes	"	380
of hir iuste wordys	"	551
& hir iuste wordys	"	671
& tolde hym these wordes	"	783
carpes these wordes	"	842
all with pert wordes	"	977
and his derfe wordes	"	1005

he proffert þes wordes	<u>D.Troy</u>	1096
but vnkynd wordes	"	1452
all with mylde wordes	"	1715
at a lite wordys	"	1757
as hys hegh wordes	"	1818
for his derfe wordys	"	1821
& þi mad wordes	"	1864
for no þro wordys	"	1883
all with sad wordys	"	1909
and at sad wordes	"	1920
with Awthwert wordis	"	1960
with so proude wordes	"	1963
with austerne wordes	"	1976
euyñ with sad wordes	"	2038
all þese proude wordes	"	2047
said me thies wordes	"	2387
þat liket his wordes	"	2477
carpis thies wordes	"	2629
with sorowfull wordys	"	2704
with comfortable wordys	"	3283
sitting these wordes	"	3288
and his prise wordys	"	3394
all with prise wordys	"	3428
& sorowfull wordys	"	3516
in meuyng of wordys	"	3793
blithe of his wordis	"	3952
carpes thies wordes	"	4561
þat listnet his wordes	"	4611
with no sad wordes	"	4981
all his proude wordes	"	5010
all in þreme wordis	"	5098
for my derfe wordes	"	5106
with his mad wordes	"	5112
and þi þro wordis	"	5125
all in softe wordes	"	5592
with his prise wordes	"	5645
all in soft wordes	"	6228
all in sad wordis	"	7093
& with soft wordys	"	7608
with his proude wordes	"	7650
all in short wordes	"	8144
lystyn my wordes	"	8421
lysten my wordes	"	8972
of his pale wordes	"	9453
with his lythe wordes	"	9706
all with tru wordis	"	9786
with his breme wordes	"	9904

lystyn my wordis	<u>D.Troy</u>	10610
all with pure wordes	"	10856
at hir pure wordes	"	11015
to lyston 3our wordis	"	11254
of pi high wordis	"	11298
vndur faire wordes	"	11489
with his prise wordes	"	11555
for his fell wordes	"	11611
to listyn pi wordis	"	11657
all with cloise wordes	"	11841
feynyng of wordes	"	12203
for his derf wordis	"	12238
with his lefe wordes	"	12638
all with tried wordes	"	12844
with his skire wordis	"	13616
all in sad wordes	"	13818
all in soche wordes	"	13861
all with pure wordis	"	13883
myd his der wordes	<u>S.Jeru.</u>	126
with carful wordes	"	1010
with rewfyl wordes	"	1079
& seide pis wordes	"	1291
alle with fair wordis	"	1298
of his brope worde3	<u>Clean.</u>	149
& sade pyse worde3	"	210
dry3ly pyse worde3	"	344
& cortays worde3	"	512
four py reken worde3	"	756
wyth luflych worde3	"	809
pay schewe pyse worde3	"	840
pose bropelych worde3	"	848
mesurable worde3	"	859
deles pyse wordes	"	1641
he made wyth his wordes	"	1662
& your grete wordes	<u>Gaw.</u>	312
of py grete wordes	"	325
of her derne worde3	"	1012
your daynte worde3	"	1253
wyth ful stor worde3	"	1291
ful 3erne of hir worde3	"	1478
ho layde hym pyse worde3	"	1480
helde no worde3	"	1523
with hir riche worde3	"	1744
with mony prowde worde3	"	2269
to brynge hom in wordes	<u>St.Erk.</u>	56
he loused suche wordes	"	178
he dryues owte wordes	"	191
& carpe pes wordes	"	317

after þire wordis	<u>W.Alex.</u>	95
he sayd þam þir wordis	"	167
& spird of him wordis	"	237
sadly þire wordis	"	347
he breuys þire wordis	"	462
& talkis þire wordis	"	660
& talkis þire wordis	"	752
for his leþer wordis	"	840
& carpis þis wordis	"	860
& breues þir wordis	"	984
& said him þir wordis	"	1087
& carpis þir wordis	"	1604
he breuys þire wordis	"	1797
þat consayued þis wordis	"	1837
& talkis þir wordis	"	1997
ne of þi breme wordis	"	2016
þan melis þir wordis	"	2078
with his breme wordis	"	2146
þat fals ere þi wordis	"	2186
said him þir wordis	"	2301
& rekyns þire wordis	"	2354
reportand þa wordis	"	2414
& carpis þire wordis	"	2490
deuysid had þir wordis	"	2511
baist of his wordis	"	2567
I trow no3t þi wordis	"	2690
he la3es at his wordis	"	2725
& breues þire wordis	"	3251
bad,"feyne of 3our wordis..."	"	3458
ne for his proud wordis	"	3569
he la3es at hire wordis	"	3760
for his kynd wordis	"	3812
chach of 3oure wordis	"	4227
bot mesure oure wordis	"	4310
sett we oure wordis	"	4361
& polisch his wordis	"	4427
a mammlere of wordis	"	4498
& opir hend wordis	"	4929
& rekind þir wordis	"	4931
bot make na playn wordis	"	4998
said,"lefe of þi wordis..."	"	5035
carpis þire wordis	"	5223
with þi breme wordis	"	5355
& of 3our breme wordis	"	5365
with chelous wordis	"	5446
note 3e þe wordis	"	5655

and sayd these words	<u>D. & L.</u>	46
leaue thou such wordes	"	258
& talketh these words	"	360
with all thy derffe words	"	380
nor of her ffell words	"	431

List Q

& best of his deede	<u>Alex.A.</u>	9
unkinde of her deedes	"	34
& wyght of his deede	"	54
so ferse of hur deedes	"	70
with rufull deedes	"	81
es curteis of deede	"	213
with bostefull deedes	"	390
& cunnyng of deede	"	463
thy lufsum deedes	"	639
þat hende is of deede	"	665
& wicked deedes	"	717
kene of his deedes	"	850
& fell of hur deedes	"	946
& likeþ 3our dedes	<u>Alex.B.</u>	212
folewen his dedus	"	232
to preche of oure dedus	"	280
wiþ no luthur dede	"	400
but for his goode dedus	"	610
holly þe dedus	"	630
of leccherouse dedeus	"	694
for wrongful dedes	"	777
hit semeþ by 3oure dedes	"	840
of word or of dede	"	944
þe bostful dedeus	"	1017
kenden þis dedus	"	1051
for sake of 3our dedus	"	1054
3our wikkede dedus	"	1057
for sake of 3our dedus	"	1122
holsome dedes	"	1125
and 3ape of my dedys	<u>P.T.A.</u>	270
and wyse of his dedis	"	455
and kyd of his dedis	"	477
kiluarde of dedis	"	516
full gracyous of dedis	"	528
full sauage of his dedys	"	616
for thi bale dedis	<u>W.& W.</u>	292
has wrougt in his dedes	<u>W.Pal.</u>	523
in word ne in dede	"	981
his wille þan dede	"	1025
to go to þis dedus	"	1096
hizes 3ou to þe dede	"	1187
þur3th william dedes	"	1372
wiþ so breme dedus	"	1387
of alle dou3ti dedes	"	1443
feipli in dede	"	1568

for wrappe of pat dede	<u>W.Pal.</u>	3545
of pat wicked dede	"	3548
of alle coupe dedes	"	3659
& 3our gode dede	"	3799
of his dou3ti dedes	"	3852
of here dou3ti dedes	"	3857
for pat frekes dedes	"	3886
& pi gode dedes	"	3957
to trete of pat dede	"	4010
for pe bestes dedes	"	4055
it semep bi hise dedus	"	4115
presteli purth here dedes	"	4295
ne of kud dedes	"	4472
purth 3one kni3tes dedes	"	4572
is oure wronge dedes	"	4582
& oper kinde dede	"	4665
for pere wicked dedes	"	4774
& with his dou3ti dedes	"	4973
schal blame mi dedes	"	5138
& do alle gode dedes	"	5208
to wirche alle gode dedes	"	5493
with-oute flescly dedes	<u>J.Arim.</u>	107
in alle goode dedes	"	480
pat criste was plesed with here dede	<u>Chev A.</u>	274
and of their awke dedys	<u>M.Art.</u>	13
irows of dedez	"	1592
enuyous of dedys	"	2047
sall karpe of 3oure dedis	"	3444
vnresonable dedis	"	3452
and wilde of his dedys	"	3523
for all my trewe dedis	"	3565
for thy derfe dedys	"	3778
haithill of dedis	<u>D.Troy</u>	38
of his prise dedis	"	306
with pi lechur dedes	"	715
& your wight dedis	"	1098
for thy curst dede	"	1393
for pi wickede dede	"	1404
with no felle dedis	"	1922
& war of hor dedys	"	2269
of vnright dedis	"	2777
of these pert dedis	"	3260
after the dede	"	3466
into wight dedis	"	3610
& wise of his dedis	"	3919
ne 3enerus of dedis	"	3933
wise of his dedis	"	3949

wise of his dedis	<u>D. Troy</u>	3957
wise of hir dedis	"	3978
pert of his dedis	"	4119
perfourme in dede	"	4220
& mo of our dedys	"	4236
so worthy of dedis	"	4828
in our Ranke dedis	"	4848
shuld lenge of our dedis	"	4878
ne ban for our dede	"	4935
to talke of hor dedis	"	5156
& wise of hor dedis	"	5179
& choise of his dedis	"	5248
ne my sad dedis	"	5339
for his wale dedis	"	5416
a prise mon of dedes	"	5449
& bold of his dedis	"	5536
& prise of his dedis	"	5571
ware of our dedys	"	5603
to haue in the dede	"	5623
persayuit his dede	"	5814
for his bold dedis	"	5914
wild of his dedis	"	6086
abill of dedys	"	6108
for pi bold dedys	"	6121
in pi wilde dedis	"	6127
fell of hor dedis	"	6182
& pi wyght dedys	"	6277
wight of hor dedes	"	6333
abill of dedys	"	6625
yrfull in dedys	"	6631
antrus of dede	"	7026
pat were a laithe dede	"	7576
somyn to pe dede	"	7846
of his fell dedis	"	7916
abill of his dedys	"	8846
ne of wale dedis	"	9196
abill of dedis	"	9415
& your prise dedis	"	9723
& a fowle dede	"	9747
pert of his dedis	"	9833
of hir yore dedes	"	9959
wight of hor dedis	"	10037
& wight of his dedis	"	10314
for his lichir dedis	"	10450
oddist of dedis	"	10470
abill of dedis	"	10612
and his pert dedis	"	10840

abill of dedis	<u>D.Troy.</u>	10865
tristy of dedis	"	10938
& þe vile dede	"	11011
for hir curst dedis	"	11185
for þat grym dede	"	11205
for my wale dedis	"	12178
thurgh his lither dedis	"	12209
& his wight dedis	"	12219
thurgh hor lethur dedis	"	12276
& his wale dedis	"	12417
& of wight dedis	"	12449
abill of dedis	"	12569
& wight of his dedis	"	12941
for hir lechir dedis	"	13037
as orible of dede	"	13070
abill of dede	"	14026
þrow preysed dedes	<u>S.Jeru.</u>	99
& luper of his dedis	"	149
for sorow of þat dede	"	151
for his luper dedes	"	946
a-3en his goode dede	"	1055
his tale & her dede	<u>Pat.</u>	135
& his mys-dedes	"	287
wat3 þre dayes dede	"	354
alle his wrange dedes	"	384
& croked dede3	<u>Clean.</u>	181
in fleschlych dede3	"	265
for wlatsum dede3	"	541
þe grounde of alle dede3	"	591
of body & of dedes	"	1061
wyt his wykked dedes	"	1360
to his aune dedes	"	1659
of hit fayth-dedes	"	1735
fongen hor dede3	<u>Gaw.</u>	1265
comended his dede3	"	1629
and schewed his mys-dede3	"	1880
in speche ne in dede	<u>W.Alex.</u>	3533
for his wale dedis	"	4523
for all þi wale dedis	"	5314
þat coint were of deads	<u>D.& L.</u>	103
looked on her deeds	"	210
ffor none of thy deeds	"	252

LIST R

with his grim werk	<u>Alex.A.</u>	324
too ioinen his werkes	"	548
full craftie of werk	"	569
quainte of thy werkes	"	638
kithes his werkes	"	716
hee hautes his werkes	"	815
with his nice werkes	"	881
& non harm wirke	<u>Alex.B.</u>	46
of erthliche werkus	"	442
or lupurly wirche	"	460
and aftur þat wirchen	"	568
& no lupur wirche	"	629
folie to wirche	"	688
don 3ou ille wirche	"	754
for hure lupur werkus	"	773
& lupurli wirchen	"	785
þat 3e fain wirchen	"	806
for bannede werkus	"	808
for sake of 3oure werkus	"	830
to lakke þe werkus	"	838
nedfully wirchen	"	849
but red-lese wirchen	"	907
in erþliche werkus	"	1053
þat 3e so wirchen	"	1104
vndide with his werkes	<u>P.T.A.</u>	311
full rakill of his werkes	"	481
ogh þe ferdere be to wirche	<u>W.& W.</u>	287
more harme wirche	<u>W.Pal.</u>	471
þat þis kare vs werches	"	1207
him bale to wirche	"	1219
so schul 3e nouzt worche	"	1826
þis hest to worche	"	2137
to comse to wirche	"	2244
kidden wel to wirche	"	2301
þis semliche best worchep	"	2579
& hire wille worche	"	2911
þat þis kare worchep	"	3568
so mi3t he nouzt worche	"	3743
& with 3our queynt werkes	"	4254
þus greipli to worche	"	4257
bale wol me wirche	"	4350
penaunce to wirche	"	4790
3our hest so wirche	"	5137
to alle gode werkes	"	5245
& alle gode werkes	"	5487
& godliche ay wirchep	"	5520

& let þe gost worche	<u>J.Arim.</u>	49
moni of his werkes	"	70
and foleweþ vre werkes	"	245
merueilleuse for werkes	"	322
but I here dethe werke	<u>Chev.A.</u>	182
and synfull werkes	<u>M.Art.</u>	3
his likyng to wyrche	"	130
that injurye wyrkes	"	663
his byddyng to wyrche	"	1030
to vnlordly he wyrkez	"	1267
graythely to wyrche	"	1384
þat syche bale wyrkez	"	1393
myche bale wyrkes	"	1426
and grette rewthe wyrkes	"	1430
full graythelye he wyrkkes	"	1468
þe treson to wyrke	"	1629
knyghttly he wyrkez	"	1790
thi byddyng to wyrche	"	1931
this treson to wyrche	"	2017
harmes to wyrke	"	2110
a foly thowe wirkkes	"	2432
with dredfull werkes	"	2915
ne swyche grame wirche	"	3008
all thi rewthe werkes	"	3453
all his rewthe werkes	"	3560
and thy false werkys	"	3777
his kyndly werkes	"	3883
siche wandrethe to wyrke	"	3889
of all his rewthe werkes	"	3894
treson to wirke	"	3901
lordly to wirche	"	4092
blethely to wyrke	"	4147
and fraist of þere werkes	<u>D.Troy</u>	97
of þi just werkes	"	214
fayne of his werke	"	960
to see it in werke	"	1125
þat us tene wirkes	"	2194
maistris to wirke	"	2202
& any grem wirke	"	2496
þen any Juste werkes	"	2873
and vnlefe werkes	"	2949
endles to worche	"	3506
for vnkynde werkes	"	3589
his bidding to wirke	"	3672
of a fyn werke	"	4264
for our prise werkes	"	4830
to dem of my werkes	"	5559

of þat lord wirke	<u>D.Troy</u>	7599
& no deire wirke	"	8415
of a prise werke	"	8735
ne no tene wirke	"	9228
nayet of your werkes	"	9843
þis malis to wirke	"	10266
iustly his werkes	"	10360
to forther our werkis	"	11708
bale for to wirke	"	11896
vntrew of his werke	"	12321
for his vniust werkes	"	12965
for vniust werkes	"	13031
for his holy werkes	<u>S.Jeru.</u>	158
& litel harme wirche	"	871
sein in þe werke	"	986
by þyn assent worchen	"	996
so forto wyrche	"	1155
his bone for to wyrk	<u>Pat.</u>	136
for her falce werkes	"	390
bot fylled with werkke3	<u>Clean.</u>	136
contrare werke3	"	266
my honde3 to work	"	663
of her ronk werkke3	"	760
be tan in þi werkke3	"	763
& charged wyth werkkes	"	1258
clene to wyrke	"	1287
his maysterful werkkes	"	1328
& lobelych werkkes	"	1350
þat ber vp þe werkes	"	1480
in gracios werkes	<u>Gaw.</u>	216
& tyxt of her werkke3	"	1515
of red golde werke3	"	1817
of þe clere werke3	"	2026
ne for þe wlonk werkke3	"	2432
was made þer to wyrke	<u>St.Erk.</u>	39
how best for to wirke	<u>W.Alex.</u>	160
þis dede for to worche	"	313
of vnride werkis	"	871
þai kyth ai þar werkis	"	1021
& rew of þi werkis	"	1975
þis dede for to wirke	"	2781
& of plate werkis	"	3223
is like to þis werke	"	3299
with-out opire werkis	"	3347
& sagely to wirke	"	3359
to stand in his werkes	"	3381
promicid þis werkis	"	3395

in-to þe smeth werkis	<u>W.Alex.</u>	3678
& all þis harme wirkis?	"	4060
with-outen gomes werke	"	4272
ne marbryn werkis	"	4353
bot of segge werke	"	4473
of many kingis werkis	"	4530
for 3oure gud werkis	"	4578
of na lede werkis	"	4833
of serelepis werkes	"	4893
þi-selfe & þi werkis	"	4940
of treson him wirke	"	5028
& of 3oure rosid werkis	"	5122
& mede for þi werkis	"	5226
& of his athill werkis	"	5618
all þir heuy werke	"	5638
to greithen our workes	<u>D.& L.</u>	17
that euer woe worketh	"	221

LIST S

as a King sholde	<u>Alex.A.</u>	17
assent so ne wolde	"	37
as hee faine wolde	"	113
ryght as hee wolde	"	154
cease they nolde	"	236
aswage hee ne sholde	"	283
gouern hem sholde	"	314
fare they nolde	"	319
wonde þei nolde	"	347
faile they nolde	"	384
targe þei nolde	"	410
or hee fare wolde	"	740
pass ere hee woolde	"	1080
murdre hee woolde	"	1117
as þe doome wolde	"	1139
heren us scholde	<u>Alex.B.</u>	601
for ellus he scholde	"	862
or he passe wolde	"	1135
and whate betyde scholde	<u>P.T.A.</u>	569
as þat god wold	<u>W.Pal.</u>	215
þat herre he wold	"	529
þat ani man schold	"	676
þat sche dei schuld	"	696
þat swiche a maide wold	"	716
þe amende y wold	"	892
last sche him dere wold	"	953
as an hend lord schold	"	1103
to passe where þei wold	"	1122
schortely he wold	"	1132
redly as þei wold	"	1153
þat he ouer-com nolde	"	1357
þat þei twynne scholde	"	1572
for þei wende wold	"	1668
i-liue 3ou knowe schold	"	1690
was tiffed as sche schold	"	1725
as he him rende wold	"	1851
þat wizes were schold	"	1932
leten he nolde	"	2184
hem of-se schuld	"	2223
þat him bi 3iue schold	"	2254
þat i þe leue wold	"	2358
pere þei be wold	"	2552
whider þei wende scholde	"	2602
swiftli as he wold	"	2673
þat he a-sent nold	"	2692

as pat crist wold	<u>W.Pal.</u>	2714
for bei him sew schold	"	2751
but as our lord wold	"	2758
or he stynt wold	"	2781
i ne wot whi it schuld	"	3115
as pat crist wold	"	3225
pat any horse do schuld	"	3228
bei deseuy here wold	"	3307
as hem-self wold	"	3525
bi any resoun schuld	"	3717
as alle deie schulde	"	3741
per bei stonde schold	"	3785
as hardi men schuld	"	3810
lest he deie schuld	"	3912
as kortesie it wold	"	3926
as god almyhti wold	"	4091
as kinde skil it wold	"	4098
per pou perische schuldest	"	4522
wil our lord wold	"	4785
whil our lord wold	"	4791
wil our lord wold	"	4802
riht as hem wolde	"	4924
pat lelli pan schold	"	5020
as hem-self wolde	"	5064
as kindnesse it wold	"	5111
seide pat sche wold	"	5209
eche ring as bei wold	"	5213
wil our lord wold	"	5228
as a wis king schold	"	5238
as dere god wold	"	5252
as dere god wold	"	5280
per bei ariue schuld	"	5301
pat bei haue wold	"	5339
pat bei wend wold	"	5415
seide pat sche wold	"	5448
as god riht it wold	"	5460
as our lord wolde	"	5508
sacren on he scholde	<u>J.Arim.</u>	302
what pe gwene wolde	<u>Chev.A.</u>	56
pat murther hem sholde	"	94
whille our lorde wolde	"	117
pat murther hem sholde	"	129
as his kynde wolde	"	276
pat he hym lene wolde	"	277
pat to enyas hit sholde	"	282
pat he hym lene wolde	"	284

swelte as cho walde	<u>M.Art.</u>	716
dye as he scholde	"	3225
whedire þat I scholde	"	3231
that oghte dere scholde	"	3248
þe whele as cho scholde	"	3261
þat any lede scholde	"	3381
alls pilgram hym scholde	"	3475
dere them ne schoulde	"	3611
life 3ife they scholde	"	3723
that he gyde schulde	"	3791
ryve þat he scholde	"	3896
als a kyng scholde	"	3979
þat any wy scholde	"	4331
þat hom lede shuld	<u>D.Troy</u>	134
till þai stonde wold	"	174
þat hom strenght shuld	"	283
or þai bide wold	"	362
as his astate wold	"	365
þat he go shuld	"	381
as our lord wold	"	428
þat he naite schulde	"	776
how he fare shuld	"	796
& he faile shuld	"	864
þat þe 3eme shuld	"	869
as he degh wold	"	921
or he sesse wold	"	941
þat he haue sholde	"	1040
þat hym affray wold	"	1084
& oure lorde wolde	"	1440
as he degh wold	"	1523
þat he spede shuld	"	1776
whedur he fare wolde	"	1835
þof he swelt wolde	"	1889
as it bren wold	"	1989
as all drowne wolde	"	1996
and we let sholde	"	2174
how hit worthe schulde	"	2337
þat hym tary wold	"	2709
er he ses wold	"	2762
how þai fare sholde	"	3123
er he sese wolde	"	3134
as þere astate wolde	"	3251
as your astate shuld	"	3311
as onesty wolde	"	3340
þat I take wolde	"	3351
as he swelt wold	"	3551
to qwho þat spirre wold	"	4297

how þai fare shuld	<u>D. Troy</u>	4471
as þai cum wold	"	4689
þat abide wold	"	4736
þat hom fray wold	"	5237
as destyný wold	"	5359
or þai bide wold	"	5677
þat þai naite shuld	"	6031
þat hym take wold	"	6479
& desteny wold	"	7047
þat it enpaire shuld	"	7054
as oure lord wold	"	7623
as he fle wold	"	7759
þen hym tyde shuld	"	7764
as ho swelt wold	"	8046
þat thei frayn wold	"	8165
or he ses wold	"	8300
þat hym let wold	"	8475
as he swelt wold	"	8705
yf þai turne wold	"	9045
þere þai passe shuld	"	9047
who þat se wold	"	9115
yf þat dere wold	"	9225
or he stir wold	"	9263
as he swelt wold	"	9454
þat hom lede shuld	"	9487
as worthy men shuld	"	9852
as his degre wold	"	9963
as he swelt wold	"	10365
how þai go shuld	"	10650
er he meue wold	"	10790
as þai degh shuld	"	10795
or þai sesse wold	"	10907
er he sese wold	"	11039
þat hom lede shuld	"	11137
as þe kynd wold	"	11168
yf destany wold	"	11400
what he mene wold	"	11486
& our lord wold	"	11543
what hit mene shuld	"	11638
as a knight shuld	"	12202
as þere astate wolde	"	12450
þat he haue shuld	"	12609
þat he passe wold	"	13333
þat hym sle wold	"	13531
þat he dere wold	"	13596
as a lord shuld	"	13653
what he speike wold	"	13814

pat I lyue shuld	<u>D.Troy</u>	13931
qwen he go wold	"	13977
as heritage wolde	<u>S.Jeru.</u>	5
3if þey tourne wolde	"	21
pat þey withtake wolde	"	48
as þey cleue wolde	"	54
as alle drenche wolde	"	68
as alle walte scholde	"	69
as our lord wolde	"	71
neuer breke noldé	"	144
pat abide wolde	"	308
þo3 he pay wolde	"	318
& what 3e coueyte wolde	"	340
in þe morowe scholde	"	383
hente who so wolde	"	544
pat hem kepe scholde	"	684
pat he dey scholde	"	691
or he bide wolde	"	765
& þe peple wolde	"	880
pat y best wolde	"	965
as he hym blesse wolde	"	1000
pat hem lede scholde	"	1007
pat he brynge wolde	"	1040
þo3 þou hym bale wolde	"	1054
to go wher he wolde	"	1058
wher þey myne scholde	"	1186
as alle deye scholde	"	1189
pat he loue scholde	"	1202
who-so pay wolde	"	1315
such gref to me wolde	<u>Pat.</u>	83
pat fayn scape wolde	"	155
þer he wony schulde	"	462
pat pider com schulde	<u>Clean.</u>	61
þa3 pay swelt schulde	"	108
what he warp schulde	"	152
al pat þryue schuld	"	249
as þe steuen wolde	"	360
warpen hit wolde	"	444
delyuer hem he wolde	"	500
as þay rayke schulde	"	671
nif he hem leþe wolde	"	752
to hym þat spede wolde	"	1058
as ho þat grone schulde	"	1077
when he hit part schulde	"	1107
& haue hit he wolde	"	1140
telle hit I wolde	"	1153

pat hem cherych nolde	<u>Clean.</u>	1154
& I fayn wolde	"	1629
pat hym bowe schulde	"	1746
what he worch schulde	<u>Gaw.</u>	238
pof tary hyt me schulde	"	624
lest he ne keuer schulde	"	750
ryzt as pay schulden	"	931
if God me let wolde	"	1063
in space quat ho wolde	"	1199
and 3e me breue wolde	"	1393
bite non wolde	"	1457
pat yow de-vaye wolde	"	1497
pat he to schulde	"	1671
pat he hit sese nolde	"	1825
pat he hit take wolde	"	1835
to mynne 3if he wolde	"	1992
per pay bi wod schulden	"	2084
I leue wel pou wolde3	"	2128
as hit cleue schulde	"	2201
per he wade nolde	"	2231
as truee mon schulde	"	2241
as marre hym he wolde	"	2262
as god mon schulde	"	2349
& quat hit mene schulde	<u>St.Erk.</u>	54
oper trowid euer schulde	"	255
pat it lere wald	<u>W.Alex.</u>	36
as a knyzt suld	"	100
how it worthe suld	"	119
as his arte wald	"	128
if pou me say wald	"	311
I couthe, & pou wald	"	354
how it be-fall suld	"	433
as his degre wald	"	485
as þe gyse wald	"	631
if pou me kythe wald	"	690
as athil man suld	"	909
if pou me say wald	"	1097
quat pai worthe suld	"	1272
pat him serue wald	"	1364
þar he trede sulde	"	1515
as þe law wald	"	1650
at 3e grant wald	"	1676
as fals men suld	"	1697
as he þe chache wald	"	1804
how he spede suld	"	2178
if I it kythe wald	"	2433
as kyndmen suld	"	2459

as w3t man suld	<u>W.Alex.</u>	2495
if he it wete wald	"	3119
& lest it blin nold	"	4167
at ony lede wald	"	4470
as cocards suld	"	4472
as castite wald	"	4603
as it vs fede wald	"	4684
as a lord suld	"	5184
as she like wold	<u>D.& L.</u>	68
bide if the wold	"	268
& all pat hee wold	"	422

LIST T

& prest of hemselue	<u>Alex.A.</u>	6
is laucht too hemselue	"	161
with rede of þemself	"	356
as ouper of 3oure-seluen	<u>P.T.A.</u>	271
were ryfe to my-seluen	"	282
ne noghte helpe my-seluen	"	288
þat athell kyng hym-seluen	"	345
sir Cassayle hym-seluen	"	388
aughte he hym-seluen	"	392
for radde of hym-seluen	"	429
to Drightyn hym-seluen	"	448
demed to hym-seluen	"	472
and fey bot thaym-seluen	"	498
he name to hym-seluen	"	539
aunterde hym-seluen	"	543
ne wyne from hym-seluen	"	609
full triste of hym-seluen	"	624
that makes hym-seluen	<u>W.&W.</u>	28
vndir God hym-seluen	"	173
thou madiste it thi-seluen	"	264
I wote well my-seluen	"	368
to honge þi-seluen	"	374
witterly þi-seluen	"	389
wip-hold to him-selue	<u>W.Pal.</u>	192
wip-oute me selue	"	542
mened to hire-selue	"	940
he holdes of mi-selue	"	1175
how he was take him-selue	"	1366
& loue of 3our-selue	"	1448
or elles com him-selue	"	2671
& komli hire-selue	"	3199
þat it were him-selue	"	3513
he ferde þan him-selue	"	3584
þese wordes to hire-selue	"	3700
& a quen 3our-selue	"	3950
wip þat to 3ou-selue	"	3952
& koynt hire-selue	"	4090
be þat ilk selue	"	4106
for marring of þi-selue	"	4362
þis day of mi-selue	"	4470
wite it 3our-selue	"	4600
& god knigt him-selue	"	4668
fifti with him-seluen	<u>J.Arim.</u>	11
was Ihesu crist hemselue	"	38
þou castest þi-seluen	"	117

loueliche him-seluen	<u>J.Arim.</u>	305
pou wost wel pi-seluen	"	330
I graunte, bi him-selue	"	339
siker bi hem-seluen	"	475
spedly him-seluen	"	580
trewely him-seluen	"	628
so cler in him-seluen	"	656
a londe by hym selfe	<u>Chev.A.</u>	6
thurgh grace of hym seluen	<u>M.Art.</u>	1
in blysse wyth hym seluen	"	8
bot wyrchip till hym seluyn	"	10
fre til hym seluyn	"	34
all by drede of hym seluyn	"	46
to solace hym seluen	"	54
commaundez hym seluyn	"	71
before þe kyng seluyn	"	96
before þe kyng seluyn	"	122
for menske of pi seluyn	"	126
to wreken my seluen	"	151
as Arthur hym seluyn	"	172
fore þe kyng seluyn	"	210
for solauce of hym seluen	"	239
& aughte it þem seluen	"	276
to Arthure hym seluyn	"	288
wytterly my seluen	"	324
corageous hymselfen	"	338
and solace my selfen	"	354
to juste with hym selfen	"	374
fore menske of hym seluen	"	433
to ryot thy seluen	"	456
hafe seruede þe hym seluen	"	514
bot Vtere hym selfe	"	521
I notifiede my selfen	"	522
that tym with hym selfen	"	545
I ettyll my selfen	"	554
and ryottez hym seluen	"	619
Syr Arthure hym seluen	"	625
Sâr Mordrede hym seluen	"	645
in counsaile hym seluen	"	648
botte Waynour hir seluen	"	657
ordayne thy seluen	"	661
to gouerne thy seluen	"	677
meles hym seluen	"	679
vndyre thy seluen	"	710
to ryot hym seluen	"	785
bot comforth thy seluen	"	830
at Cristymesse hym seluen	"	839

and carpe wythe hym seluen	<u>M.Art.</u>	877
sir Arthure hym selfen	"	900
to ryotte þam seluen	"	923
þay gladden þem seluen	"	928
to comforthe hym seluen	"	944
and bere it my seluen	"	1034
for fylth of þi selfen	"	1071
syr Kayous hym seluen	"	1194
helde closse to hym seluen	"	1196
swettly by them selfen	"	1297
thurghe þe myghte of Hym seluen	"	1304
and erle hym selfen	"	1347
to freschen þam selfen	"	1452
anters hym seluen	"	1498
be-fore þe kynge seluen	"	1507
or kepe þam þour selfen	"	1556
be crafte of hym selfen	"	1560
awnters þem selfen	"	1596
þe dere kynge hym selfen	"	1601
had ordande hym selfen	"	1621
Sir Clegis hym selfen	"	1649
wille awntere hym selfen	"	1660
so rewlez hym selfen	"	1670
take kepe to þour selfen	"	1682
frekes þour selfen	"	1735
and chewyse þour selfen	"	1750
and comforthe thi selfen	"	1839
vndire þe kynge selfen	"	1866
to Segramoure hym selfen	"	1871
with presoners hym selfen	"	1888
þe knowe wele þour selfen	"	1928
and ryotte oure selfen	"	1969
mensksfully hym selfen	"	1988
the Walsche kynge hym selfen	"	2044
take kepe to þi selfen	"	2262
thurghe grace of my selfen	"	2320
the kynge dide hym selfen	"	2340
sir Gawayne hym selfen	"	2493
sir Gawayne hym selfen	"	2513
fore Arthure hym selfen	"	2626
he knawes it hym selfen	"	2639
fraiste them selfen	"	2821
awnters þem selfen	"	2839
to þe fend seluen	"	2862
riotes hym selfen	"	3172
so knyghtly hym seluen	"	3199
I chese þe my selfen	"	3347

and ryotte thy seluen	<u>M.Art.</u>	3372
and drynke to hir selfen	"	3379
that Crist bare hym selfen	"	3426
of the kynge selfen	"	3483
to the kynge selfen	"	3487
ne areste thy selfen	"	3492
of the pape selfen	"	3497
vndir the kynge selfen	"	3512
and corownde hym seluen	"	3525
and corownde hym seluen	"	3570
had tryede hym seluen	"	3782
wastede oure selfen	"	3802
wasten hym selfen	"	3835
with þe kynge selfen	"	4010
and fendis 3oure seluen	"	4086
bot stodde for hym seluen	"	4133
bot Arthure hym seluen	"	4170
es like to hym selfen	"	4190
because of my seluen	"	4201
bot Waynor hir seluen	"	4204
be grace of hym seluen	"	4277
& right hom hym-seluyn	<u>D.Troy</u>	69
walit hym-seluon	"	105
born or hym-seluyn	"	114
no less þan my selfe	"	244
to comfford hym-seluyn	"	532
more lefe þan my seluyn	"	768
harmles our-seluyn	"	1110
aicoynet to my-seluon	"	1135
for boldyng hym-seluyn	"	1182
had hir þi-selfe	"	1396
& heire to hym seluyn	"	1476
to logge in hym seluyn	"	1631
to more þen your selfe	"	1849
and heire to my selfe	"	2185
haue þai done o þi selfe	"	2401
with chere of hym seluyn	"	3400
no lesse þen hym seluyn	"	3547
& deris þy seluyn	"	3586
anon by hom seluyn	"	3676
& aire to hym seluyn	"	3879
auntrid hym seluyn	"	4125
thurgh foli of hom seluyn	"	4209
he ordant hym seluyn	"	4346
euyng with hym selfe	"	4413
were ferde of hom selfe	"	4713
the wegges hom selfe	"	4793

pertly hom seluon	<u>D.Troy</u>	4811
deiret not our seluyn	"	4896
& might of our selfe	"	4933
þo worthy hom seluon	"	4949
dernly þi selfe	"	5004
ye wetyn your selfe	"	5036
by rewle of my-seluyn	"	5107
clene for hym seluyn	"	5127
bigly hym-seluyn	"	5216
vnknownen my selfe	"	5280
with worship hym-seluyn	"	5344
and broght with hym-seluyn	"	5457
& logget our seluyn	"	5596
fortherit our seluyn	"	5601
& filsyn our seluyn	"	5613
fare bi þi seluyn	"	6123
& might of your seluyn	"	6571
auentid hym seluyn	"	7092
Richit hom seluyn	"	7131
egor hym selfe	"	7219
by rede of hym seluyn	"	7224
& pynet hom selfe	"	7334
wilfully hym selfe	"	7535
Agamynon hym selfe	"	7688
þat wist be hym seluyn	"	7873
no les þen my seluyn	"	7935
þurgh folye of hym seluyn	"	8011
no lesse þen hym seluyn	"	8030
or degh þere hym seluyn	"	8648
Agamynon hym seluyn	"	8919
purpast hym-seluyn	"	8975
by will of hym-seluyn	"	9151
þurgh wille of hym seluyn	"	9158
þat hates my-seluyn	"	9198
first of hym-seluyn	"	9294
þrappit with hym-seluyn	"	10123
chargit hym-selfe	"	10521
by grace of hym-selfon	"	10562
dredyng hom-seluyn	"	10664
witnes your-seluyn	"	11319
as Priam hym-seluyn	"	11388
wist not hym-seluyn	"	11546
& harmys hym-seluyn	"	11610
knowith hit your-selfe	"	11721
& cumbrit hym seluen	"	11759
thurgh myght of my-selfe	"	12188
with worship oure-seluyn	"	12208

barly hym-seluon	<u>D.Troy.</u>	12633
barly hom-seluyn	"	12653
& wait on hir-seluyn	"	12722
aftur hom-seluyn	"	12766
kaghtyn hym seluyn	"	13015
ricchit my seluyn	"	13149
for harme of oure-selfe	"	13296
saue duly hym-selfe	"	13539
ligt on vs-selue	<u>S.Jeru.</u>	872
bot wope of hemself	"	1070
now take hem yourselfen	"	1213
& wo to my-selue	"	1230
justise hym-self	"	1294
to helpen hym seluen	<u>Pat.</u>	219
& teme to þy seluen	"	316
demed of my seluen	"	386
he styztle3 hym seluen	"	402
& temen to hym seluen	<u>Clean.</u>	9
red hit my seluen	"	194
drof to hym seluen	"	219
of dry3tyn seluen	"	243
coruppte in hit seluen	"	281
werp to hym seluen	"	284
lyked hym seluen	"	435
hepyng of seluen	"	579
& loke my seluen	"	691
a man as hym seluen	"	695
I portrayed my seluen	"	700
had tyzed hem seluen	"	702
so wat3 þe renkes seluen	"	786
3e vylen your seluen	"	863
as þe perle seluen	"	1068
& my3ty him seluen	"	1237
bot þe dere seluen	"	1399
he ca3t bi hym seluen	"	1426
in louyng hym seluen	"	1448
to ryde wyth myseluen	"	1572
& carpes to hym seluen	"	1591
of my3t as hym seluen	"	1656
& kenned hym seluen	"	1702
bi þe duk seluen	"	1745
vnder Krystes seluen	<u>Gaw.</u>	51
þe stif kyng his-seluon	"	107
ette wit hym-seluon	"	113
holde3 hym-seluon	"	285
to take hit to your-seluon	"	350
put to hym-seluon	"	902

ful fayre at him-seluen	<u>Gaw.</u>	1046
I wot wel my-seluen	"	1244
so clene in hym-seluen	"	1298
bi wytte of 3orseluen	"	1394
bifore þe burnes seluen	"	1616
& wroth with hym-seluen	"	1660
he warp on hym-seluen	"	2025
for gode of hym-seluen	"	2031
as quyk go hym-seluen	"	2109
nyme to þy-seluen	"	2141
wyth þyn awen seluen	"	2301
to þe burne seluen	"	2377
remorde to myseluen	"	2434
witere vs þi-selwen	<u>St. Erk.</u>	185
ne Prektane him seluen	<u>W. Alex.</u>	46
I prays sail þi selfe	"	328
I fangid þurze him selfe	"	500
& wyn it him selfe	"	519
me arzes of my-selfe	"	537
ne come of my-selfe	"	578
ne like to my selfe	"	666
I gat þe my seluen	"	724* D
bot deme it þi seluen	"	735* D
I ken wele my-seluen	"	843* D
ne fele of þi-selfe	"	850
sall bowe to my-selfe	"	991
efter him-seluen	"	1120
& full of þaim-selfe	"	1275
with mare þan him-seluen	"	1743
& a dwerze as þi-selfe	"	1752
salle fare with þi-selfe	"	1788
sir Darius him-seluyn	"	1823
callid of þi-selfe	"	1843
is euyñ to 3oure-selfe	"	1867
sall clyne to my-selfe	"	1901
& god all þi-selfe	"	1936
mayntene þi-selfe	"	1972
ge knaw wele 3our-selfe	"	2205
be writ fra him-self	"	2316
I bed 3ow my-selfe	"	2479
has touchid to my-selfe	"	2580
he dampnes him-selfe	"	2661
to wend with my-selfe	"	2684
ne vant nocht þi-selfe	"	2713
it come fra my-selfe	"	2743
& loke to þi-selfe	"	2747
& dri3ten þi-selfe	"	2775
berne of my seluen (<u>MS. 'A'</u> :...my bosom)	"	2825 D

& fand furth pi-selfe	<u>W. Alex.</u>	2867
& founde with himselfe	"	2879
he touched of him-selfe	"	2967
purze kynd of it-selfe	"	3147
enentis him-selfe	"	3245
com of god, bot of paim-selfe	"	3266
I kend nozt my-selfe	"	3281
as migt of my-selfe	"	3306
waite to him-selfe	"	3352
& drigtin pi-selfe	"	3457
emang paim-selfe	"	3489
& dedely pi-selfe	"	3544
to waike to 3ow-selfe	"	3587
of Amon him-selfe	"	3762
& brist of paim-selfe	"	3819
to fynesch him-selfe	"	3976
dedelike my-selfe	"	4057
a-bide bot him-selfe	"	4110
of ledis as oure-selfe	"	4347
vnclene of him-selfe	"	4509
to wricches as 3our-selfe	"	4597
no god bot 3our-selfe	"	4661
& bicchid in him-selfe	"	4839
herd bot pi-selfe	"	4937
I knaw wel my-selfe	"	4952
for pete of him-selfe	"	5041
& 3it mare for 3oure-selfe	"	5347
trowe wele pi-selfe	"	5372
comande I myselfe	"	5620
lift all my seluen	<u>D. & L.</u>	37
vnder her seluen	"	104
to play with their selues	"	267
pat Lord him selfe	"	416
vnder God himseluen	"	419
praising thy seluen	"	429
riche itt himseluen	"	455

LIST U

with a King ryche	<u>Alex.A.</u>	48
in his right riche	"	58
of Phocus þe riche	"	878
a feaste full ryche	"	975
in townes full riche	"	1205
on his lond riche	"	1219
cumlich & riche	"	1232
to parte wip þe riche	<u>Alex.B.</u>	104
al þe world riche	"	261
sire emperour riche	"	744
þan a borou riche	"	934
sire alixandre riche	"	967
& claimen to be riche	"	1013
and piliolle þe riche	<u>P.T.A.</u>	9
and beralles full riche	"	123
in-to heuen-riche	"	427
gerede full riche	<u>W.&W.</u>	63
for alle this werlde riche	"	191
quod wynnere the riche	"	263
and fesanttes full riche	"	334
one a broche riche	"	348
with sercles full riche	"	394
& ladyes riche	"	409
of Parys þe riche	"	498
a-greped ful riche	<u>W.Pal.</u>	52
so as to þe riche	"	338
knownen so riche	"	713
al here atyr riche	"	1428
in rome þe riche	"	1591
þat comly were & riche	"	1737
& alle his gomes riche	"	1939
of þi king-riche	"	2127
þat bold was & riche	"	2835
for eny burn riche	"	3196
in garnemens riche	"	3207
of þe world riche	"	3312
to þe paleys riche	"	4966
to þe paleis riche	"	5173
þe pore & þe riche	"	5249
þe pore & þe riche	"	5483
a present ful riche	<u>J.Arim.</u>	92
wip clopes ful riche	"	295
falle fro my riche	"	307
of the kyth ryche	<u>M.Art.</u>	28
and Grece the ryche	"	37

thos erledoms ryche	<u>M.Art.</u>	42
vndyre his sele ryche	"	87
vndyr the heuene ryche	"	108
in togers full ryche	"	178
on his deese ryche	"	218
of brighte golde ryche	"	361
of all þis werlde ryche	"	401
vndyre my secle ryche	"	439
with portes so ryche	"	503
of all þis werlde ryche	"	515
in this werlde ryche	"	533
in no kythe ryche	"	542
in all þis werlde ryche	"	651
for all þis werlde ryche	"	708
and targez full ryche	"	732
þat bare hys brande ryche	"	893
with orfraeez full ryche	"	902
wyth bordurs ryche	"	907
with thy brande ryche	"	963
thow curssede wriche	"	1064
th is burghes so ryche	"	1241
and Bedwere the ryche	"	1264
þat palyd ware ryche	"	1287
with his brande ryche	"	1350
Tolouse þe riche	"	1567
and sir Bedwere þe ryche	"	1606
to Parys the ryche	"	1609
of þis kythe ryche	"	1653
sir Bedwere þe ryche	"	1744
on a stede ryche	"	1792
of all þat coste ryche	"	1867
in 3one coste ryche	"	1893
with a kynge ryche	"	1915
within þe burghe ryche	"	1968
on a stede ryche	"	2086
of þe kythe ryche	"	2172
and cofirs full riche	"	2283
with brondes so ryche	"	2309
sir Bedwere þe ryche	"	2379
sir Bedwar þe ryche	"	2384
on a blonke ryche	"	2518
on a stede ryche	"	2527
with the bronde ryche	"	2566
of veluett ryche	"	2569
his vesturis ryche	"	2572
vndire heuen ryche	"	2613
and harnayse full ryche	"	2629

and of Paresche ryche	<u>M.Art.</u>	2647
and bredis full ryche	"	2715
on þe stede ryche	"	2766
on his schelde ryche	"	2921
this ryall þe ryche	"	2987
that knawen was ryche	"	2996
with damesels ryche	"	3044
and vestoure so ryche	"	3071
of þe kythe riche	"	3085
of scharlette full riche	"	3459
in his courte riche	"	3511
and couerde full riche	"	3633
in thi kithe ryche	"	3866
vndire heuen riche	"	3879
of all þis werlde riche	"	3963
in thi burghe riche	"	4028
of perrie full riche	"	4184
in þat kithe riche	<u>D.Troy</u>	120
& his wrong riche	"	2059
in wedys full riche	"	3403
& our wronge ricche	"	3619
vnto his won riche	"	5296
fro his kythe riche	"	6160
was full pure ryche	"	6318
in a toumbe riche	"	9085
in his kythe riche	"	9086
of no kyng riche	"	12741
of crakkyng to ricche	"	13419
& þe burgh riche	"	13452
in þat kithe riche	"	13646
in a toumbe riche	"	13787
vnder þat prince riche	<u>S.Jeru.</u>	3
al þe world riche	"	396
ful of gold riche	"	415
atyred was riche	"	463
& of gold riche	"	745
in his burwe riche	"	902
vpon grounde riche	"	1014
jemewes riche	"	1271
on a sete riche	"	1293
in a sete ryche	<u>Clean.</u>	37
of þat man ryche	"	51
& his sete ryche	"	176
of his tour ryche	"	216
forferde a kyth ryche	"	571
þa3 þou be burne ryche	"	878
þat is oure lorde ryche	"	1053

in <u>Bepelen</u> þe ryche	<u>Clean.</u>	1073
& Jherusalem þe ryche	"	1159
to þe prynce rychest	"	1217
to Babyloyn þe ryche	"	1223
of apel golde ryche	"	1276
so gentyle & ryche	"	1309
enaumayld ryche	"	1411
& his lyf ryche	"	1658
bur3 alþer-rychest	"	1666
þat wat3 a kyng ryche	"	1685
bi þis burn rych	<u>Gaw.</u>	20
barred ful ryche	"	159
brayden ful ryche	"	220
þur3 þe sale riche	"	243
þys giserne ryche	"	288
bifore your cort ryche	"	347
let all þis cort rych	"	360
bifore þis douþe ryche	"	397
his harnays wat3 ryche	"	590
enbrauded ful ryche	"	879
semlych ryche	"	882
in gere3 ful ryche	"	1470
vnder heuenryche	"	2423
a coron ful riche	<u>St.Erk.</u>	83
in hys sete riche	<u>W.Alex.</u>	29430
of a kyng riche	"	3469
& Palestyne þe riche	"	5677
with brawdery ffull riche	<u>D.& L.</u>	63
the pore and the riche	"	79

LIST V

with the beryns þat were leuede	<u>P.T.A.</u>	395
for nouzt nas þer leued	<u>W.Pal.</u>	83
al hire slep sche leues	"	573
& his mete left	"	738
& so ful leued	"	757
it makes me to leue	"	898
wip þe best he lafte	"	1858
& of þat karping left	"	3100
euer dede me leue	"	4107
so dede sche me to leue	"	4175
and in his court laftest	<u>J.Arim.</u>	435
in þe stour lafte	"	518
whenne he þe lyf lafte	<u>Chev.A.</u>	17
manye fay leuyde	<u>M.Art.</u>	394
fulle fay sall be leuyde	"	438
appon þe felde leuyde	"	517
no kynde has he leuede	"	848
and cho es fay leuede	"	978
till I be fay leuede	"	985
þat þow has fey leuyde	"	1070
fey had I leuede	"	1177
fey es belefede	"	1250
þat es on grounde leuede	"	1385
es on þe monte lefede	"	1397
and the feelde leuede	"	1432
fay ere bylefede	"	1538
sounde are byleuyde	"	1557
fay ware byleuyde	"	1885
and in þe felde leuyde	"	1900
appon þe felde leuyde	"	2143
þe swett es byleuede	"	2145
on þe horse leuyde	"	2208
a fewe þat are leuede	"	2257
faye are beleuede	"	2366
at Came es beleuefede	"	2380
es no blode leuede	"	2697
and theire pray leue	"	2844
are they the felde leue	"	2850
with Arthure es leuede	"	3205
and frendles byleuyde	"	3305
has the swette leuede	"	3360
has faye beleuede	"	3405
here sall beleue	"	3583
fey es byleuefede	"	3678
has þe swete leuyde	"	3703
fey are beleuede	"	3711

vnsownde are beleuede	<u>M.Art.</u>	3931
in kare am I leuede	"	3956
vnfers ere be-leuede	"	4122
pat pare was feye leuede	"	4179
when he was feye leuyde	"	4208
that ne he þe swete leuyd	"	4223
feye are byleuede	"	4255
in care am I leuyde	"	4275
pat was vnsownde leuede	"	4294
and pat pert leuyt	<u>D.Troy</u>	812
& þe fild leuyt	"	1318
& so bare leuyt	"	1320
and þe filde leuyt	"	1349
& his care leuyt	"	1526
and þe bankes leuyt	"	1902
bonkis þai leuyt	"	2807
& the brethe leuyt	"	4756
& your brethe leue	"	5066
& his buernes leuyt	"	5959
& the filde leuyt	"	5995
and hys ferys leuyt	"	6295
& þe shalke leuyt	"	6477
and the freike leuyt	"	6734
& the ground leuyn	"	6822
& the fild leuyt	"	6850
& þaire ground leuyt	"	6860
vppon bent leuyt	"	6935
& þe bent leuyt	"	6997
& þere horse leuyt	"	7237
& the fild leuyt	"	7338
on þe ground leuyt	"	7493
pat he his horse leuyt	"	7522
& the fild leuit	"	7549
and the fild leuyt	"	7746
& on bent leuyt	"	8255
& in fild leuyt	"	8279
& the bent leuyt	"	8346
were on bent leuit	"	8363
of the bold leuyt	"	8408
& the bent leuyt	"	8571
the Duke þere hym leuit	"	8665
& the fild leuit	"	9063
pat the feld leuyt	"	9518
no soudiour is leuit	"	9562
& the toile leuyt	"	9884
& þe fild leuyt	"	10060
& þe fild leuyt	"	10077

and the feld leuyt	<u>D.Troy</u>	10174
& the toile leuyt	"	10228
and þe feld leuyt	"	10457
& the feld leuyt	"	10903
& the fild leuyt	"	11074
& the feld leuyt	"	11144
& hir wit leuyt	"	12148
& take þere I leuyt	"	12420
and the bonke leuyt	"	12490
& þe toune leuyt	"	12678
& the shalke leuit	"	13207
& 3it ferre leued	<u>S.Jeru.</u>	131
what tokne he lafte	"	185
& his crafte leued	"	186
& þe bonke lefte	"	290
& all bar laften	"	302
at þe tentis lafte	"	437
þat on a bent lafte	"	568
in þe felde lefte	"	595
þat on þe molde lafte	"	603
so harmeles be lafte	"	632
& þe diademe lefte	"	928
in þe steel leueþ	"	1124
þe byggyng þay leueþ	<u>Clean.</u>	378
þis ilke note leue	"	1233
þat hym þe gome lafte	"	1337
his solace he leues	"	1678
& his erde leuys	<u>W.Alex.</u>	135
withoute hede leuyd	"	148
& his rowme lefys	"	330
& þar blonkis leues	"	886
& all at esse leues	"	1047
& of þe brathe leue	"	1744
vn-to þis prince leues	"	2508
& his sete leuys	"	2962
þis werd wald he leue	"	3080
& halfe dede him leuys	"	3202
& wemles þaim leuys	"	4066
bot þat vs kind leues	"	4264
bot as þam kynd leues	"	4340
& oure kynge leues	"	5049

CHAPTER IVFORMULA, RHYTHM, AND SYNTAX

What has so far been put forward constitutes an extension of our knowledge of types of formulae which have already long been recognized as a stock-in-trade of the alliterative poet. That is to say, attention has been confined mainly to the words which fall under the four (or more) stresses of the alliterative long line. Most of Oakden's "alliterative phrases" are of the type in which similar combinations of words tend to fall in the stress position of the verse. For example, the phrase kyng of þis kyth¹ occurs in the form King of that kyth, hur kyth, in þe kyth, all recognizable as variations of a certain formula in which the constant factors are the stressed words (kyng .^x... kyth). It is assumed without question by Oakden that the sole use of such phrases is to facilitate alliteration. But the analysis of second half-lines in Chapter III above has shown that there exist many formulae in which constant, stressed elements do not alliterate (eg. carþid .^x... wordes), and thus that the reason for forming and preserving these expressions is a wider one than that of fulfilling alliterative requirements only. It is at least as much a question of rhythm as of alliteration. The phrases form a ready-

1. Oakden p.274.

made rhythmical unit for fitting into one or other part of the line.

The unstressed words of the phrase, those between and about the stressed words have so far not been considered except as variable parts of the formula. It must now be shown that these words too, tend to fall into fixed patterns, and that if we look for lines in which a certain pattern of unstressed elements occurs we find it in combination with a variety of different words in the stressed positions of the verse. The first half of the line with its greater freedom in respect of length, and numbers of unstressed words, naturally shows these patterns more clearly than the second half-line, though the principle is the same throughout the line. An example will make this type of pattern clear:-

S.M.1

x x x / (x) x x / (x) x / x x / x
With alle þe mete & þe mirþe þat men coupe a-vyse Gaw.45

With all þe reuell & riolté þat Renkes coupe devise D.Troy
 3464

With all the might & the mayn þat the mon hade, D.Troy 5825

With all þe gold & þe godes, þat þai getyn hade " 12695

With all þe Iolyte & Ioy * þat Iubiter vs lenes W.Alex.3108

Here the underlined unstressed words form a framework within which the stressed words tend to be of the same parts of speech from example to example, since this is usually governed by the syntax of the framework. We might therefore

call such a formula a "syntactical mould".¹ A better name, but more cumbersome, would be a "rhythmical-syntactical mould", for in the four lines quoted above, the metre, though not identical to every syllable, is sufficiently so to suggest that in the mind of the poet the framework existed as an "empty" metrical line, ready to be filled in with words appropriate to the context. In the above example the lines are drawn, admittedly, from only three poems, and it might be considered that this particular device was peculiar to these three poets. But sufficient examples of similar "moulds" are given below to show that like the "alliterative phrases" they existed as common elements of the tradition. Furthermore, it will be pointed out below (p.167) that wider variations of this and other "moulds" are found in many more of the poems in the long line. A working definition of the "syntactical mould" would be: "A type of formula in which the unstressed elements (usually prepositions, conjunctions, articles, pronouns, auxiliary verbs etc) tend to remain constant, forming a framework of a certain metrical value/^{within} which the stressed words, though variable, tend to be respectively of the same parts of speech." In circumstances where adapt-

1. abbreviated to S.M. for purposes of reference.

ation by analogy plays such a large part, however, and where the possibilities of variation are so numerous, such a definition as the one above should not be rigidly pressed. (Hence the use of the words "tend to...") It is intended only to clarify the point of view from which we are regarding the composition of the alliterative line, or to serve, for the time being as an instrument of analysis. The classification of these formulae into types is perhaps only an expedient of analysis. (See p. 163f. below).

We may thus regard the formulaic line or half-line from two different sides. The "alliterative phrase" (or we might say, in order to include the non-alliterating second-half-line formulae analysed in Chapter III, the "stress-formula") forms a pattern which might be represented by the diagram,

$$\underline{\underline{(x\ x)}} \ / \ \underline{\underline{(x)}} \ \underline{\underline{x}} \ / \ \underline{\underline{x}} \ \underline{\underline{(x)}} \ / \ \underline{\underline{x(x)}} \ / \ \underline{\underline{x}}$$

(the choice of metrical form here is arbitrary)

in which broken underlining indicates the "variable"¹ parts of the line, and heavy underlining the "fixed"¹ parts. The "syntactical mould" is represented by the converse.

$$\underline{\underline{(x\ x)}} \ / \ \underline{\underline{(x)}} \ \underline{\underline{x}} \ / \ \underline{\underline{x}} \ \underline{\underline{(x)}} \ / \ \underline{\underline{x(x)}} \ / \ \underline{\underline{x}}$$

1. see p. 165 f. below.

I shall telle you the trewthe how me tyde euyn D.Troy 2338
I shall neme you þere nomes now, er I pas:- * 4113
I shall fast the þis forward all with fyne othes " 7985
And I sall tell zow a tale, þat trewe es and nobyll M.Art. 16
I sall merke þe thy mede, as þou has myche serfede " 1068
I schal gruch þe no grwe, for grem þat fallez Gaw. 2251
For I schal stonde þe a strok, & start no more " 2286

b) x x / x x / x
I shall [ADVERB] (thee [VERB]
you)

þat I schal lelly yow layne & lauce neuer tale Gaw. 2124
And I schall schortly zow schewe and schutt me ful sone.
P.T.A. 585
I schalle titly zow telle, and tary zow no lengere " 613
I sall as namely zow neuyn * as it ware nowe done W.Alex. 293
And I sall gladly zow geue * with a gud will " 4054
And I sall surely þe saue vnnesid of þe berbrens " 5334
I schall menskfully zowe mete in thos faire marches M.Art. 631

SM.3 (four variations)

a) (x) x / x / x x / x (x) / x
..... the [ADJ] -est [NOUN] that ever

Thow arte þe lordlyeste lede þat euer I one luyde; M.Art. 138
For þe kyndeste creatours that euer kyнге ledde! " 4102
as þe gladdest gom . þat euer god wrou3^t W.Pal. 1007
for þe menskfullest messageres . þat euer to me come! " 1435
wiþ þe clennest cumpanye * þat euer king ladde. " 1609
And þe fairest feete * þat euer freke kende, Alex.A. 193
wiþ þe riccheste sege þat euer for seete seemes J.Arim. 292

b) (x) x / x x / x x / x x / x
 the [ADJ] -est [ADV.PHR] that ever.....

The knyghtlyeste of counsaile þat euer coron bare M.Arte.291
He was þe sterynneste in stoure that euer stele werryde M.Arte.3872
þe fairest of ffeturs that euer on fote yode D.Troy 1018
And the strongest in stoure, þat euer on stede rode " 5323
 etc.
And he was the wyseste in witt that euer wonnede in erthe;
 P.T.A. 603
þe fairest vpon fold • þat euer freke seie, W.Pal. 5382

c) (x) x /x x / x x / x x / x
the [ADJ] -est [NOUN] that.....ever

For the fulsomeste freke that fourmede was euere; M.Art. 1061
For the vnlordlyeste lede þat I on lukede euer! " 1313
And the semelyest segge that I seghe euer. P.T.A. 135
With þe selcuthest soume • þat semblið was euire W.Alex.1244
þe caitifeste creatour • þat cried was euire " 1707
In þe worpiest wise • þat seien were euere W.Pal. 5003

d) x / x x / x x / x x / x
 the [ADJ] - est [ADV.PHR.] that _____ ever

þe fayrest of feigure that fourmede was euer. M.Art. 3301
þe faireste of fyssnamy þat fourmede was euer; " 3331

[With reference to S.M.3 see also remarks on Koziol's
Grundzüge p. below]

S.M.4

(als) x / x x / x x / x x / x
as (soon etc) as the [NOUN] [VERB]_____

& al so cof as þe king kende þe sawe Alex.B. 42
 & al so sone as þe sonne sesede to schine " 117

But al so rape as þe rink gan þe ris touche Alex.B. 129
 As prest as þe pris king * sai his pres stinte " 161
 As arly as þe riche gwene * was resyn fra slepe W.Alex. 351
 Als radly as þe riche kyng * rase on þe morne " 430
 & as sone as þe kinges sone * saw him so come W.Pal. 3586
 As soone as þe seg * was þe citie within, Alex.A. 922
 For as sone as þe soule was sesyd in blisse, St. Erk. 345
S.M.5

This consists of a Concessive Clause in the first half-line, of the pattern

$$\begin{array}{ccccccc} & & & /? & & & \\ x & x & / & x & x & x & / & x \\ \text{be (the)} & [\text{NOUN}] & \text{never} & \text{so} & [\text{ADJ}] & & & \end{array}$$

followed by the Main Clause in the second half-line. The examples found are:-

For þe þe floure neuer sa fresche * it fadis at þe last W.Alex. 1007
 As, þe þe hale neuir so breme * it blynes at þe last W.Alex. 4160
Bi a hapel neuer so hyze he heldes to ground Clean.1330
 For þe monnes lode neuer so luper, þe lyf is ay swete Pat.156
 And were þe lydde neuer so large, þai laide hit by sone St.Erk.72
 cf. also St.Erk.239 Were a renke neuer so riche, for reuerens sake,
 Alex.B. 1030 Have a man neuere so miche * mischef of hounpur,

S.M.6

$$\begin{array}{ccccccc} x & / & / (x) & x & x & / & (x) \\ \text{the first} & [\text{NOUN}] & \text{that} & \text{he} & [\text{VERB}] & & \end{array}$$

But þe fyrste tale þat he herde Chev.A. 58
þe fyrste word þat he warp Gaw. 224

the frist moderson þat he mett W.Alex.1429 D
 [ms "A" omits "þat"]

compare also the following lines:-

þe forme worde vpon folde þat þe freke meled, Gaw.2373

Fyrst feng to þe flyzt alle þat fle myzt Clean. 377

The first signe, ho hom sayd, sothely was this: D.Troy 11811

þe fyrst slent þat on me slode slekkyd al my tene; St.Erk.331

Also:

P.Pl.v.87 Eche a worde þat he warpe

v.369 þe fyrste worde þat he warpe¹.

It will be noticed that the working definition proposed on p.144 of the kind of device used here to facilitate the composition of alliterative lines and half-lines has already broken down with respect to the distinction which it draws between stressed and unstressed elements. In some of the syntactical moulds exemplified above part of the "framework" consists of a stressed word. In S.M.3, the word ever is in each of the examples a stressed word. In S.M.5 we may admit a stress, perhaps, on never, and in S.M.6 the word first must bear a stress, though it does not always alliterate. The definition may then be abandoned. But the examples examined have shown a) that verbal patterns do

1. Piers Plowman: edited in three parallel texts by W.W. Skeat. Oxford 1886. All references to Piers Plowman are to the B-text, unless otherwise stated.

exist among the unstressed elements of the alliterative line and b) that rhythm and syntax together often fall into regular patterns and guide the poet to his choice of words. The following "syntactical mould" (S.M.7) will show that these latter patterns may be independent of any verbal similarity at all, even in the unstressed parts of the line.

S.M.7

This consists of a first half-line with three stressed and alliterating words forming the scheme:-

(x) / / x / x
 [ADJ] [ADJ] [NOUN]

Examples:- (No attempt is made here to quote every occurrence of this widely used convention. A few examples only are given, from a variety of poems)

Wode wedande wroþ	<u>S. Jeru.</u> 381
þat fele fastyng folke	" 1086
Wyth clene cortays carp	<u>Gaw.</u> 1013
Of brizt blasand blewe	<u>W. Alex.</u> 1524
Store starand stanes	" 1534
A grym grisely gome	" 4956
Wylde wrakful wordez	<u>Clean.</u> 302
þe roze raynande ryg	" 382
& rial ryngande rotes	" 1082
A wylde walterande whal	<u>Pat.</u> 247
A bryht brenninge brond	<u>Alex. B.</u> 683
A brem brasen borde	<u>Alex. A.</u> 615
With side slabbande sleues	<u>W. & W.</u> 411

So fele fightyng folke D.Troy 2271

Now grett glorious Godde M.Art.1

S.M.8 Another conventional first half-line, also containing three stressed and alliterating words, is composed of an imperative verb plus a noun meaning "man" etc in the vocative plus a prepositional phrase, thus:-

(x) / / (x) x x / (x)
 [IMPERATIVE] [VOCATIVE] [PREP.PHR.]

A few examples only are found.

And wonne, wy, in thi witt, for wele-negh þou spilles P.T.A.193

Fyne, fole, of þi fare • & fange to þi kythis W.Alex.1990

Bad, "blyns, bernes of 3oure brathe & of 3our breme wordis
W.Alex.5365

Says, "blynnes, beryns, of 3our brethe and of 3oure broþe
 wordes W.&W.457

Bot loke, lede, be þi lyfe, when I lettres sende, W.&W.466

"Abide, buernys, on þis bent, buskys vs ferre D.Troy 6870

All the examples of this "syntactical mould" naturally occur in direct speech.

S.M.9

This consists of a first half-line in which the word each or ilk (a) is followed^{ow} by a noun and a prepositional phrase, thus

(x) x / (x) x x / x
 ----- each [NOUN] [PREP. PHR.]

And iche foule in that frythe faynere þan oþer P.T.A.15

And iche bagge in his bosome bettir than othere " 139

Ilk a hathill to hors • hizis him be-lyue W.Alex.777
 [ms D reads "to hys hors"]

And ilk seg in a soyte • at selly him thinkis " 1580

- And ilka segge be him-selfe * said vn-to othire W.Alex. 4152
 & vch a burn of þis world * worchipeþ him one, W.Pal. 511
eche burn bi-fore oþer * on his blonk prikede, " 3362
Eche whizt in a white scherte, * & no wede ellys S.Jeru. 348
 þat eche wye of þat werr * schold his wille specke " 860
Eche segge to þe solas, * þat hym-self lyked " 889
 & vch mon wyth his mach made hym at ese Clean. 124
 Of vche horwed in ark halde bot a payre " 335
Vche payre by payre to plesse ayþer oþer " 338
Vuche burde wyth her barne þe byggyng þay leuez " 378
Vche fowle to þe flyzt þat fyþerez myzt serue " 530
Vche fysch to þe flod þat fynne coupe nayte " 531
Vche best to þe bent þat bytes on erþez " 532
 (Note that these last three examples are in consecutive
 lines of the poem)
- & vche best at a brayde þer hym best lykez Clean. 539
Vche hapel to his home hyzes ful fast " 1762
- And iche a wy in this werlde that wonnes the abowte W.&W. 249
Iche buerne on his best wise batell to yelde D.Troy 1177
 In yche yle vpon erthe, eftur hor deuse " 4388
Yche gome with his gode þat he gotyn hade " 4797
Iche wegh in his wede, as hym well likes, " 5631
Iche buerne, on his best wise, busket to lenge, " 6027
Iche Rink to þaire rest Richit hom seluyn " 7131
 þat yche lede to þe lord lyuely shuld come, " 13639
Ilke a kynge aftyre kynge and mad his enclines M.Art. 83
Iche prynce with his powere appertlyche graythede " 589
Iche kynge by his colour, in kythe there he lengez " 1004
 That iche a furthe in the firthe of rede blode rynnys M.Art.
 2144
Ilke a segge by hym selfe, and saide theis wordez, - M.Art.
 3271
Iche a pece by pece prykyde tyll oþer, M.Art. 3608

Ilke schalke in his schrowde, full scheen ware þeire wedys
M.Art. 3628

S.M.10 (two variations)

a) A similar case to the one above (S.M.9) is that of the first half-line beginning There is (was) no ... followed by the same syntactical pattern - noun plus prepositional phrase, thus:-

(x) x x x / x x / x
----- There { is no [NOUN] [PREP. PHR.]
 { was

For þar is na wa in þe werd * to the wode hunger W.Alex.1168
þat þar was na berne on bent * bott bretened or 3olden W.Alex.1328

þer nis no lawe in our land * ludus to chaste Alex.B. 379
þer nis no clerk vnder crist * þat coupe half descriue W.Pal.5344

þer is no gome on þis grounde * þat is grim wounded S.Jeru 165
Nas no ston in þe stede * stondande alofte " 1285
[Mss. A.V.C. read "Thare was no.."]

þer is no wyze in his werk so war ne so styllle Clean.589
þere watz no mon vpon molde of myzt as hym seluen Clean.1656
There is no gome vnder gode, þat hym greue may. D.Troy 572
There es no man appon molde to machen þaym agayne W.&W.172
There es no wele in this werlde to wasschen thyn handes W.&W.268

Pere was no sterne in astate stode hym aboue, D.Troy 4404
There is no medcyn on mold, saue the maiden one, " 9192
There was no buerne on the bent his birre to withstond D.Troy 9694

There was no wegh in this world, þat hit wete knowth, D.Troy 11637

There is no lede vpon lyue may so long suffer D.Troy 12366

There was no wy of þis werlde, þat wyste whatt he menede M.Art.
891

There es no kynge vndire Criste may kempe with hym on M.Art.
2633

þer is no lede opon lyfe of so longe age St.Erk.150

It should be noticed that both here and in S.M.9 some common "alliterative phrases" (man appon molde, wegh in this world, lede vpon lyue etc) appear in the "blank" portion of the half-line.

b)

$$\begin{array}{ccccccc} x & & x & x & / & x & & x & / & x \\ \text{There} & (& \text{is} & \text{no} & [\text{NOUN}] & \text{so} & [\text{ADJ}] & & & \\ & (& \text{was} & & & & & & & \end{array}$$

This shows some resemblance to S.M.5.

Bot þar was na man so nemyll * þat him hit couthe W.Alex.1065

þer nas no lynde so liht * as þise two leodes J.Arim.585

þer is no dede so derne þat dittez his yzen Clean.588

þere was no filosofers so fyn found in þat lond, D.Troy400

There was no Greke so grym, ne of so gret wille D.Troy 5685

There is no hope so vnhappy, þat hastes to noght " 8062

There is no greuauce so grete vnder god one " 11776

S.M.11 (two variations)

This syntactical mould is found, in the exact forms exemplified here, only in one poem - Morte Arthure, and the pattern indeed served this author well as a "ghost line" ready to be filled out with the appropriate words for the context. But other variations are very numerous and are found in almost all the poems in the long line.

The pattern is the following. It covers the whole line.

- a)
- | | | | | | |
|------|-----|-------|--------|------------------------------------|--------|
| x | x | /x(x) | / x | x x / x | / x |
| That | the | [ADJ] | [NOUN] | [ADV.PHRASE] | [VERB] |
| | | | | (preposition +
"the" +
noun) | |

<u>That the burnyscht blade to þe brayne rynnez;</u>	M.Art.1113
<u>That the prowde pensell in his pawnche lengez,</u>	" 2076
<u>That the rosselde spere to his herte rynnes.</u>	" 2793
<u>That the slydande spere of his hande sleppes.</u>	" 2976
<u>That the krispane kroke to my crownne raughte;</u>	" 3352

b)

x	x	/(x)	x	x	/(x)	x x / x	/ x
<u>That</u>	<u>the</u>	[NOUN]	<u>and</u>	<u>the</u>	[NOUN]	[ADV.PHRASE]	[VERB]

<u>That the splent and the spleen on the spere lengez</u>	M.Art.2061
<u>That the lyuer and þe lunggez on þe launce lengez</u>	" 2168
<u>That the hilte and þe hande appon þe hethe ligges</u>	" 4248

It would be possible to add many more to this list of common "syntactical moulds", but the examples given above sufficiently illustrate the existence of these patterns of rhythm and syntax in which actual verbal similarity plays a secondary part. Some interesting questions are raised by these lists, but discussion of these is deferred until section (iii) of this chapter.

(ii)

Koziol's work on the syntax of these poems¹ is useful

1. Herbert Koziol: Grundzuge der Syntax der mittelenglischen

for our purpose here. It should be pointed out however that Koziol nowhere recognizes that the poets used fixed syntactical moulds habitually. His main concern is to list the facts of syntax in the alliterative poems and to see if the exigencies of the metre have resulted in irregularities or peculiarities of syntax.¹ Apart from the statement of the facts of syntax occupying the main body of the work, the author offers us a list of poetic licences. He points out how the poet would use one of two alternative forms, as his metre required, for example, in the degrees of comparison more most, or -er -est. The following passage from the Conclusion will show the kind of results aimed at, and obtained, by the author:

"In allen diesen Fällen erfolgt die Beeinflussung durch den Rhythmus, ist also nicht auf die Stabreimdichtungen beschränkt. Nur der Stabreimdichtung eigen aber ist die Beeinflussung der Syntax durch die Alliterationsregeln: das Bedürfnis nach Wörtern, die geeignet sind, den Stab zu tragen, bringt die Variation des Ausdruckes mit sich und führt so einen reichlichen Gebrauch substantivierter Adjektiva herbei; die Wahl der Intensivadverbien wird oft auf Grund der Alliterationsbedürfnisse vorgenommen; neben das Pronomen tritt häufig noch das Nomen als Stabträger; da Pronomina für die Alliteration wenig geeignet sind, wird ein Begriff oft wieder durch ein Substantivum oder substantiviertes Adjektivum aufgegriffen und diesem zum Hinweis auf die frühere Nennung ein

Stabreimdichtungen [Wiener Beiträge zur englischen Philologie Bd. 58, 1932]

1. See Koziol p. 1.

demonstratives pat beigefügt, so dass pat sehr häufig gebraucht wird; auch die Fügung grösserer Zahlen und die Wortstellung überhaupt wird ausser vom Rhythmus auch von dem Alliterationsbedürfnis beeinflusst." 1.

It will be evident from this that the aims of the work are somewhat different from those of this one. Koziol is concerned with peculiar forms of syntax which result from the alliterative metre in particular instances. The important point for our purpose is not the syntax of alliterative poetry in relation to that of other poetry or of prose, but in relation to the rhythm of the verse. We are concerned with the fact that the alliterative poets evidently developed certain habits of syntax (not necessarily unusual as regards normal word order and so on) - the fact that again and again a certain form of syntax falls into a similar portion of the metrical line or a similar rhythmical form. But though Koziol has not recognized the existence of rhythmical-syntactical patterns, they are revealed in his lists of illustrations.

For instance, he has noted that the noun often follows and reinforces its pronoun². The pattern consists of a simple statement with pronoun in the first half-line, followed by a fuller subject (or object) in the second half-line. Thus the second half-line, (which falls into a fairly regular metrical form) is made easy to compose

1. Koziol p.172

2. Koziol p.49 ff.

quickly.

Examples of this device used for the subject of the first statement are:-

- Gaw.481: þenne þay bozed to a borde þise burnes to-geder
 Clean.17: He is so clene in his courte, þe kyng þat al weldeþ
 P.Pl.III/25: Thanne lauþte þei leue, þis lordes, at Mede.
 M.Art.1279: Now thei graythe theme to goe, theis galyarde
 knyghttez
 Chev.A.333: Thenne he stryketh a stroke Cheualere assygne.

For the object, Koziol quotes:-

- Gaw.2390: I halde hit hardily hole, þe harme þat I hade;
 Clean.1553: For al hit frayes my flesche þe fyngres so grymme.
 P.Pl.x.361: It shal besitten vs ful soure þe siluer þat we
 kepen.
 D.Troy 8026: When hit tolde was Troilus the tale of his loue,

On page 50 Koziol notes that, conversely, the subject of a clause is often repeated in the form of a pronoun just before the verb. We can see from the examples which he quotes that a marked rhythmical-syntactical pattern is often found in the second half-line: The pattern is

$$\begin{array}{ccc} x / x & x & / x \\ \text{[PREDICATE]} & \text{[PRON.]} & \text{[VERB]} \\ \text{[ADV. PHR.]} & & \end{array}$$

Gaw.504 Bot þenne þe weder of þe worlde wyth winter hit
 þreþeþ

Gaw.1003 Gawan & þe gay burde to-geder þay seten

" 1127 Gestes þat go wolde hor gromez þay calden

Clean.378 Vuche burde with her barne þe byggyng þay leuez

" 1580 & alle þat loked on þat letter as lewed þay were /as...

P.Pl.III93. Salamon þe sage a sarmoun he made

Pl.C.14 And also Jesu hym-self to the Jewes he seyde

W.Alex.972 Alexander ay on-ane augfirly he wepis

" 4775 þe kyng in his caban with his kniztis he ligis

M.Art.4262 Bot whene sir Arthure anone sir Ewayne he fyndys,

Koziol also notes¹ the adjectival use of the interrogative pronoun what as a characteristic of alliterative poetry. At the beginning of the line the pronoun and noun are often followed by the word þat or so forming the syntactical mould:

$$\begin{array}{c} x \\ \text{what} \end{array} \begin{array}{c} / \\ \text{[NOUN]} \end{array} \begin{array}{c} x \\ \text{(that)} \\ \text{(so)} \end{array}$$

P.Pl.III/322 What smyth þat ony smytheth be smyte...

Alex.B. 1048-9 Of what burn þat hit be... ze seggen þe name

Gaw.384 Wyth what weppen so þou wylt...

" 1107 & quat chek so ze acheue...

" 1167 What wylde so at-waped...

" 1406 Wat² chaunce so betydez...

1. Koziol p.82f.

2. see Gollancz's note

Gaw.1407 What nwez so þay nome...

" 1851 For quat gome so is gorde...

On p.90 ff. Koziol deals with the distinctly "alliterative" expression one plus article plus superlative and gives many examples. Those quoted below should be compared with the examples under S.M.3 on pp.147-148 above. Some (those having a second half-line beginning þat euer...) could have been included under the lists of illustrations to that syntactical mould, and all the lines below fulfil the requirements of S.M.3 in respect of the first half. It is also noteworthy that Koziol points out the recurring use of a clause such as þat miȝt go on erþe, þat euer burn on loked, etc. after this superlative expression.¹ For our purpose, however, the illustrations are interesting not from the point of view of the distinctively "alliterative" expression one the ... est, but as examples of another variation of S.M.3. The pattern would be approximately:-

(x)	(x)	x	(x)	x	/	x	/	x
-----		<u>one</u>	(of)	<u>the</u>	....	<u>est</u>	{	[NOUN]
							x	/ x
							(	<u>of</u>

Since Koziol is not specifically concerned with position in the metrical line, not all his examples are apposite to

1. Koziol p.91.

our purpose. Furthermore, where he has not quoted the full line, it has been quoted in full below, to illustrate the position and metrical form of the formula.

- W.Pal.264 & on þe feirest frek * for soþe þat i haue seie;
 " 1263 he was on þe gladdest gome * þat miȝt go on erþe;
 " 1443 on þe triest man to-ward * of alle douȝti dedes,
 " 2033 on on þe boldest barn * þat euer bi-strod stede,
 " 3047 on on þe kuddest kniȝt * knowen in þis worlde,
 " 3419 on þe manlokest man * þat men schold of heren,
 " 4078 on þe fairest freke * þat euer seg on loked
 [cf. W.Pal.2162 tvo þe bremest white beres * þat euer burn on loked]
- Alex.A.120 One þe klenist coste * þat any King aught.
 " 257 One þe hugest holde * & hard for too wyne,
 " 578 For one þe brightest of blee * þat bore was in erth.
- W.Alex.5614 Was ane þe proudest of his pirs * & prince of his ward
 [cf. " 1909D And to two þe derrest of hys dukes diteȝ he þis pistell]
- D.Troy 4401 But on the oddist of other ordant our lord
 " 10323 One, the strongist in stoure, þat on stede rode.
- Gaw. 137 On þe most on þe molde on mesure hyȝhe;
 " 1439 On þe sellokest swyn swenged out pere.
 " 2363 On þe fautlest freke þat euer on fote ȝede
- Clean.891¹ Of on þe vglokest vnhap † euer on erd suffred
 [† ms adds "þat"]
- St.Erk.198 One þe vnhapnest hathel þat euer on erthe ȝode
- J.Arim.254 On þe hizeste þing * holden on eorþe

1. This is l.892 in Gollancz's edition from which the line is quoted here.

Examples are also quoted¹ of the partitive use

"one of the ...est"

W.Alex.189 And ane of þe oddist Emperours * of þe werde worthe

" 4909 Ane of þe graciosest gomes * þat euire god
fourmed.

etc.

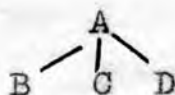
(iii)

It must already be apparent that the conception of the "syntactical mould" formed in section (i) of this chapter is an extreme simplification of the actual phenomena observable in the poetry. Simplification is in fact necessary in order to demonstrate the existence of many lines with similar rhythmical and syntactical patterns in which the unstressed elements of the phrase play as important a part as the stressed elements. For this reason too it has been necessary to quote a fair number of examples illustrating each pattern. Now that the fact of such patterns has been established, the complexities (and consequent difficulty of systematizing any one pattern) should be admitted. Although an attempt has been made to keep each of the patterns (S.M. 1-11) distinct and to present it in as clean-cut a manner as possible, variations, overlappings, and

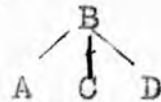
1. Koziol p.92.

exceptions to the crude general rules drawn up have inevitably crept in. This was of course to be expected, for the rules are our own and not those to which the poet worked. They are applied after the event (like many systems of scansion, for example) to the finished work. They may be useful in revealing certain phenomena in the poetry, but they should not themselves be mistaken for the origin of these phenomena. If we now look a little at some of the complexities revealed in these poems, some light may be thrown on their method of composition.

A hint of the variations possible to the patterns which we have singled out may be gathered from a glance at the illustrations to S.M.3 a) to d) (see pp/47-8 above) together with those quoted from Koziol on pp./61-3) above, to illustrate the use of the expression "one the est". It will be seen that for any syntactical pattern which we choose to call the standard - and it is only a matter of convenience which one we regard as the standard - we find a certain number of lines which fulfil all the conditions of the pattern, and others which vary in one or more respects. Suppose we call the "standard" pattern A and the variations to it B, C, D, (as patterns b) c) d) are variations of a) in S.M.3 above). The relationship might be indicated by:-



For each of these variations we should expect to find a number of examples. But if we take the pattern B as the standard we should not only have the related patterns A, C, D thus



but we might also find that other variations of B existed which were not immediately recognisable as related to A. For instance, (substituting S.M.3 a) to d) for the letters A, B, C, D in the above account), the line

þai ware þe kiddest of þat craft · knawyn in þaire tyme
W.Alex. 33

with the pattern

S.M.3 e) x x x / x x x / / x x x (x) / x
þe [ADJ] est [ADV.PHR] [ADVERBIAL PHRASE
QUALIFYING THE SUPERL.]

shows more in common with variation b) than with a).

Furthermore, to speak of "fixed" and "variable" elements of a formula (see p.¹⁴⁵ above) is to speak only from the point of view of the series of patterns which we happen to be considering at the moment. In S.M.10 above (pp. 154-5) the "fixed" part of the syntactical mould is defined as the first three words. Yet it has already been admitted that two variations of this "fixed framework" exist. Lines in which yet other variations are found can now be given:-

- There schall no hode ne no hatt one my hede sitt, P.T.A.179
- þere sall na chance þe chefe * þe charge of a pese W.Alex.403
- Thare sall no freke men fare, bott all one fresche horses
M.Art.3581
- þer miȝt no mon it amende * a mite worþ, ileue. W.Pal.5069
- Thare myghte no siluer thaym saue, ne socoure theire lyues,
M.Art.2276
- Thare myghte no renke hym areste, his reson was passede.
M.Art.3825
- There might no weapon them warrant nor no walled towne;
D.&L.206
- þer mai no man vpon mold * aȝens þat man stond. W.Pal.3749
- þer shoulde no bydyng bern * so bolde bee in erth, Alex.A.219
- Ther moste no womman come her nere * but she þat was cursed
Chev.A.38
- Thare durste no renke hym areste of all þe rownde table,
M.Art.4048

If we had a large enough number of examples (and this depends on the volume of poetry available to us) we have every reason to believe that they could be classified according to the syntactical structure of the remainder of the line (as has been done in S.M.10 under the patterns a) and b)). But even though the examples quoted above are no so classified, their relationship with the lines in S.M.10 can readily be admitted. Moreover, even such

lines as:-

Was þar na lede to him like * within a few 3eris W.Alex.654

Nas þer no leche vpon lyue * þis lordes coup helpe S.Jeru.39

(See also remarks on the different MSS. of the Siege of Jerusalem, Ch.VI)

are recognized as variations of the same pattern.

The same flexibility is found in the syntactical mould which was used on p.143 as a general illustration:-

x x x / xx x / x x / xx / x
With alle þe & þe þat

Only five lines could be quoted which fulfilled all the requirements of this pattern. But the number of lines beginning With all the (the most characteristic part of the pattern), followed by various approximations to the above scheme in the remainder of the line, is very large. eg:-

With al þe hathils & þe heris * & þe hi3e maistries W.Alex.1920

With all þe might & þe mayn of your mekill strenght D.Troy6951

With all þe gold & þe gode of his gay fadur. " 12187

With all þe manerly merþe þat mon may of telle Gaw.1656

wiþ alle þe merþe vpon molde * þat man mi3t diuise; W.Pal.1316

(also W.Pal.2478,3527,3655,4886)

with alle þe murþe vpon mold * þat men miȝt of here W.Pal.3937

with alle þe murþe vpon mold * þat man miȝt of þenk " 5042

(also W.Pal.5112,5174)

wiþ al þe murþe of menstracye * þat man miȝt on þenk " 5062

(cf. also W.Pal.5237)

wiþ al þe realte of rome * þat euer rink of herde " 5353

Wyth alle þe barounȝ þer-aboutē, þat bowed hym after Clean.1796

With all the fotemen in fere, þat are to fight abill D.Troy6255

With all þe wapyns i-wys þat to þe werre longez. M.Art.2828

With all þe maine þat hee might * too merken hem care Alex.A.
284

(cf. also Alex.A.340,1242, D.Troy 3144,6234,8910)

with alle þe here þat I haue * while my herte laſteþ S.Jeru.992

(cf. also D.Troy 1163,6344,6629)

Wyth alle þe fode þat may be founde frette þy cofer Clean.339

Wyth alle þe coyntyse þat he cowþe clene to wyrke " 1287

Wyth alle þe syence þat hym sende þe souerayn lorde " 1454

With all the fere þat hym folowes, furse men of Armys;D.Troy
1132

(cf. also D.Troy 6314)

and so on.

Furthermore, just as the phrase There is no.. is found at the beginning of the line in the forms There was no..

There might no.., etc., so we find

With)
 That)
 For)
 In) all the...
 Than)
 etc.)

Examples of these variations are far too numerous to quote in full, but the following references have been noted:

Alex.A. 31,160,648,735,893,968,986,1212,1243,1248.

Alex.B. 226,273,276,707,796,828,965,1094.

P.T.A. 206,207,490.

W.&W. 171,184,272.

W.Pal. 118,964,1033,1079,1124,1155,1253,1313,1576,
 1595,1603,1625,1877,1964,1990,2122,2310,2402,2517,2526,
 2564,2612,2811,2936,3320,3466,3501,3777,3974,4000,4132,
 4150,4209,4258,4527,4582,4673,4690,4693,4706,4723,4747,
 4758,4759,4797,4854,5005,5025,5121,5126,5182,5218,5253,
 5294,5335,5347,5483.

Chev.A. 272.

M.Art. 238,489,533,755,982,1833,2577,2609,2684,
 2697,2734,2777,2782,3133,3341,3542,3553,3694,3707.

D.Troy 79,91,95,375,704,745,905,1270,1642,1880,2037,
 2099,2517,2626,2646,2728,2759,2793,2981,3203,3458,3527,
 3646,3664,3713,3932,3944,3969,4191,4345,4482,4560,4617,
 4691,4697,4769,4781,4784,4808,4877,5036,5153,5374,5405,
 5409,5648,5745,5890,5990,6020,6156,6300,6440,6867,6897,
 6933,7023,7134,7149,7165,7354,7376,7453,7698,7966,7980,

7986, 8107, 8154, 8158, 8164, 8354, 8456, etc. etc.

S. Jeru. 19, 84, 335, 344, 708, 856, 908, 912, 1014, 1302.

Pat. 207, 310, 387.

Clean. 122, 260, 313, 514, 708, 909, 964, 1024, 1107, 1267, 1362, 1467, 1525, 1646, 1752.

Gaw. 310, 584, 910, 1054, 1227, 1270, 1374, 1642, 1720, 1722, 1781, 1786, 1899, 2150.

St. Erk. 166, 270, 343, 352.

W. Alex. 68, 76, 142, 172, 173, 233, 260, 492, 551, 837^{*D}, 907, 991, 1132, 1175, 1198, 1304, 1381, 1470, 1486, 1510, 1555, 1628, 1748, 1964, 2199, 2268, 2418, 2606, 2704, 2857, 2929, 3012, 3048, 3090, 3105, 3130, 3241, 3247, 3254, 3395, 3401, 3427, 3455, 3471, 3473, 3537, 3572, 3726, 3813, 3867, 3957, 4018, 4374, 4429, 4987, 5060, 5242, 5317, 5461, 5526, 5578.

D. & L. 45, 75, 77, 135, 139, 277, 341, 378, 419, 447.

There are no examples from Joseph of Arimathie.

What is presented, then, as the general system illustrated by these syntactical moulds, is a continuous one, in which one pattern flows into another until, by degrees, the first pattern is unrecognizable and the relationship lost. If we turn from this artificial general picture to think in terms of the methods of composition actually used, the best explanation of the phenomenon seems to be that of adaptation by analogy, invoked by Milman Parry¹ to

1. L'Epithète Traditionnelle, p. 85ff. Harvard Studies in Classical Philology Vol. XLI, p. 145.

explain so many of the features of Homeric verse. Stated simply, the poet would learn his art by hearing many poems recited. In time not only the plots, characters and situations of the poems he had heard would become his own, to use as they stood or to vary at will, but the very lines and phrases, heard and assimilated in metrical form would become part of his own equipment. Individual lines would, no doubt, be retained whole, and if he could not use a certain remembered line in a particular context, then it might be useful with a slight change. The new line once achieved it might be used again (and taken up by other poets) as it stood, or with further small variations. As with whole lines so with smaller metrical units. This account, though highly speculative as applied to 14th century alliterative poetry, seems the only one which will explain the phenomena we have been observing in this chapter.

Once the general principle, that the poet habitually used familiar patterns of words, or adapted them to his own purposes, has been recognized, the impossibility of keeping any one formula or syntactical mould distinct is seen. In fact any system of classification is recognized as a simplification of what is really a complex growth, with offshoots which may lead anywhere. It is the associations which formed in the mind of the poet between word and word,

phrase and phrase, in rhythmical patterns, with which we are concerned. Even if there seem to be great obstacles in the way of a theory of oral origin for these poems which we have from the 14th century in the alliterative long line, a tradition of oral composition which preceded them seems best to explain the homogeneity and intricacy of the technique which they display. The similarities between them in small details of composition do not seem to be adequately accounted for by the fact that they were composed in the same metre, at about the same time, in roughly the same locality.

Chapter VThe extent of formulaic diction in the
alliterative romances.

Having considered the various types of conventional expressions found in these poems, we may now pass to a consideration of the extent of formulaic technique in fourteenth-century alliterative poetry. A casual reading of the poems, with the various formulae and types of formulae mentioned in the previous pages in mind, gives the impression that the alliterative poet used formulae far more extensively even than he is usually considered to have done. This impression is reinforced by a more exact analysis of some of the poetry. The analyses which occupy the following pages are similar in form to those carried out by Milman Parry on the opening lines of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.¹ The method is to choose short continuous passages of poetry and to examine them carefully for any expressions or types of expressions which can be found repeated elsewhere in the whole body of poetry to which the selected passages belong. Provided that these expressions are obviously not repeated for the sake of artistic embellishment, it is probable that they

1. Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, Vol. XLI
pp. 118-121.

are conventional ones and belong to a traditional technique of composition by formulae.

The passages chosen for analysis here are from the beginning of Morte Arthure and of Sir Gawain and the Green Knight, in the one case the first twenty five lines, and in the other the first stanza (omitting the bob-and-wheel ending). All the poems named at the beginning of this thesis (including the remainder of Morte Arthure and Sir Gawain and the Green Knight) have been used as material for comparison, and thoroughly searched for the recurrence of phrases used in the two passages. Before the results of the analyses are given, however, some remarks upon method should be made.

No hard and fast rules can be drawn up as to the number of repetitions which entitle us to regard an expression as conventional. Whether a conventional formula is used once, or twice, or many more times, within a body of poetry of 40,000 lines depends partly on the nature of the idea contained in the expression and partly on the subject-matter of the poetry. Individual judgements will differ as to which of the phrases in the two passages chosen are formulae. The underlinings in the transcripts of the two passages (pp. 178+193) may therefore be regarded as the individual judgement of the writer on the question.

On pp. 179 to 192 and pp. 194 to 201 the instances of recurrence will be found, arranged under the number of the line or half-line to which they correspond in the original passage. First under each line or half-line are mentioned "primary" repetitions of a formula or type of formula found in the original passage. These "primary" repetitions are underlined in a manner corresponding to the underlinings in the continuous passages. It is felt that these "primary" repetitions are recurrences of genuine formulae. After these, other phrases are recorded which may be thought to show some similarity with the appropriate half-line in the original passage, but the similarity in these cases mainly concerns individual words rather than complete phrases with a constant metrical value. The underlining found under parts of these secondary phrases does not necessarily correspond with that in the transcripts of the continuous passages.

The value of the analyses as evidence for the formulaic character of particular expressions varies considerably from line to line. It may be felt that a single repetition is insufficient ground for regarding a phrase as conventional, particularly when, as happens in some cases, the repetition occurs in the same poem. In such cases, however, a number of other instances which

approximate quite closely to the form of the original phrase, are usually given. Furthermore, the examples from Piers Plowman (see notes, p. 202 below) give some idea of how an extended search through other alliterating poetry would give greater confidence in attributing a conventional character to some of the phrases in these two passages.

It must be emphasised that we are trying to find formulaic expressions as distinct from verbal "echos" or "parallel passages" or other similarities which may be due to borrowings or the influence of one poem upon the author of another. The distinguishing factor is rhythm. A phrase can hardly be regarded as a formula (in the sense in which the word has been used hitherto in this study) unless it keeps a similar rhythm in its various reappearances, and contributes to facility of composition by a constant metrical value. (The fluidity of the alliterative metre should, however, be born in mind. The number of unstressed syllables could vary even in otherwise exact recurrences of a strict verbal formula. The uncertainty of the final -e in this period could alter the scansion of a formulaic half-line without changing its essential rhythm. Moreover the nature of the alliterative metre made it fairly easy for a formula to be used in more than one position in the line.)

Analysis 1.Morte Arthure 11.1-25

- Now grett glorious Godde, thurgh grace of hym seluen,
 And the precyous prayere of hys prys modyr,
Schelde vs fro schamesdede and synfull werkes,
 And gyffe vs grace to gye and gouerne vs here.
 5 In this wrechyde werlde thorowe vertous lywyng.
That we may kayre til hys courte, the kyngdom of hevyne.
 When oure saules schall parte and sundyre fra the body,
 Ewyre to belde and to byde in blysse wyth hym seluen;
And wysse me to werpe owte som worde at this tym,
 10 That nothyre voyde be ne vayne, bot wyrchip till hym selvyn
Plesande & profitabill to the pople þat them heres.
3e that liste has to lyth, or luffes for to here,
Off elders of alde tym and of their awke dedys,
How they were lele in their lawe, and louede God Almyghty,
 15 Herkyne me heyndly and holdys zow styll,
And I sall tell zow a tale, þat trewe es and nobyll,
Off the ryeall renkys of the rownde table,
That chefe ware of cheualrye and cheftans nobyll,
Bathe ware in their werkes and wyse men of armes,
 20 Doughty in their doyns and dredde ay schame,
Kynde men and courtays, and couthe of courte thewes,
How they whanne wyth were wyrchippis many,
Sloughe Lucys þe lythyre, that lorde was of Rome,
And conqueryd that kyngryke thorowe craftys of armes.
 25 Herkenes now hedyrwarde, and herys this storge.

[PR] - "Primary" Material.

1a

[PR] W.Alex.2776 þe grete glorius god
cf.

W.Alex.5397 A grete grysely god

Alex.A. 1196 A greate glislande God

See also S.M.7 - Chapter IV pp. 151-2 above.

1b

[PR] M.Art.2320 thurghe grace of my selfen
J.Arim.97a Bote þowz þe grace of him-self.
cf.

M.Art.4277 be grace of hym seluen

" 1304 thurghe þe myghte of Hym seluen

D.Troy 10562 by grace of hym-selfon

" 4209 thurgh foli of hom seluyn

" 8011 þurgh folye of hym seluyn

" 9158 þurgh wille of hym seluyn

" 12188 thurgh might of my-selfe

See also List T - Chapter III

2 a & b

cf.

D.Troy 3005 And proffert his prayers to þe prise goddes

" 3016 He proffert no prayer to no prise goddis

" 3394 At the prayer of Parys and his prise wordys

" 7902 Priam, at the prayer of þo prise kynges

" 8402 In aprecius place, & in prise toumbis

2b

[PR] M.Art. 1559 and hys clere modyre

D.Troy 4308 & his choise moder

- [PR] D.Troy 8450 & his fre moder
 " 9120 was his faire moder
 " 13071 to his dere moder
 " 13972 fro his lefe modur
W.Alex. 755 of my wale modre
St.Erk. 325 & pi hende Moder
W.Pal. 1000 & to his gode moder
 cf. also
M.Art. 94 with thy price knyghtez (common)
 " 230 of pees pryce metes etc.
D.Troy 289 of his prise fader.
-

3a

- [PR] W.Pal. 1803 schilde us fram schenchip & schame in pis erpe

3b

- [PR] M.Art. 2915 with dredfull werkes
 " 3453 all thi rewthe werkes
 " 3560 all his rewthe werkes
 " 3777 and thy false werkys
 " 3883 his kyndly werkes
 " 3894 of all his rewthe werkes
D.Troy 214 of pi just werkes
 " 3589 for vnkynde werkes
 " 12965 for his vniust werkes etc.

See also List R at end of Chapter III

4a & b

- [PR] W.Pal. 1105a to gye & to gouerne

W.Alex. 3387a To gy & gouerne his gomes
Alex.B. 561b to gien 3ou here

4a

[PR] D.&L. 3 Giue vs grace on the ground
 cf.

Pat.226 þat he gef hem þe grace
W.Pal.1169 forto giif him grace

5a

[PR] Alex.B. 980 þat in þis wastinge word (ie "world")
S.Jeru. 394 Of þis wlonfulle worlde
 cf.

D.Troy 8471 On nowise in this world
 " 8625 On all wise in this world
 " 9202 On what wise in this world
 " 9211 On all wise in this world etc.
W.&W. 120 þat any wy in this werlde
 " 249 And iche a wy in this werlde
W.Pal. 222 þat he ne wist in þis world.

5b

cf.

M.Art. 215 thurghe vertue of þe stones

6a

[PR] M.Art.1325 þat we may schifte at þe schorte
Clean.1812 þat we may serue in his sy3t
W.Alex.4489 þat we may bowe to þat blis.

M.Art. 2882 And karede to þat courte
D.Troy 2960 And not cayret fro court
Gaw. 43 Syþen kayred to þe court
P.T.A. 246 And than kayre to the courte
W.Alex. 887 Caires in-to þe curte

6b

[PR] Clean. 161 þe kyndom of heuen
 cf.

M.Art. 285 þat kyng es of heuen
W.Pal. 277 þat king is of heuen
 cf. also

D.&L. 212 to the hye king of heauen
W.Pal. 163 to þe heiz king of heuene
 " 252 heye king of heuen
 " 3026 to þe king of heuen
 " 4067 to þe mi₃ti king of heuen
W.Alex. 1479 to þe kyng of heuyn

8b

[PR] M.Art. 877 and carpe wythe hym seluen etc.
D. Troy 4413 euyñ with hym selfe
 " 5457 and broght with hym-seluyn.
 cf.

D. Troy 4402 in blisse for to dwelle.
 See also List T at end of III.

9a & b.

cf.

M.Art. 150 To warpe wordez in waste
D.Troy 360 Was no wegh þat A word warpid hom too.
 also ll. 2481, 2519, 2683, 2761, 3890, 4151,
 4986, 5053, 5071 etc.

Gaw. 224 þe fyrst word þat he warp
 " 1423 Wylde wordez hym warp etc.
St.Erk 321 With þat worde þat he warpyd etc.

9a

[PR] D.Troy 4. And wysshe me with wyt
 " 2261 But to wisshe you with wit
W.Pal.4004 wisses me at 3our owne wille

9b.

[PR] D.Troy 1867 to me at this tyme
 " 3615 ses at þis tyme
Gaw. 1806 to haf at þis tyme
 " 1810 for your luf at þis tyme
 " 1822 my gay, at þis tyme
 " 2091 wy3e, at þis tyme
Alex.A.1051 so long at þis tyme

10a

cf.

D.Troy 4017 Voidet all vanities
 " 4384 At Vaxor þe vayn pepull voidly honourit
W.Alex.1113 þan waynest hym þis vayne god • & voidis fra þe
 " 1784 All þi vanyte to voide • & þi vayne pride
 chambre

10b

cf.

D.Troy 5344 with worship hym-seluyn
 " 12208 with worship oure-seluyn
 cf.also
M.Art. 521 bot Vtere hym selfe

11 a & b

[PR] W.Pal.5242a þat profitabul to þe puple
cf.

D.Troy 3071 ffull pleasaund & playn

" 3078 Was pleasaund & playn

11b

cf.

D.Troy 2875 the pepull anon

" 2880 the pepull beheld

" 2895 the pepull dessiret

" 3671 the pepull to lede

" 4667 the pepull in fere etc.

12a

[PR] W.Alex.4958 Sirs, þe þat will has to wend
cf.

W.Alex.1718 And qua sa will has to wete

" 2317 And qua so will has to wete

cf. " 3468 Lordis, will þe me lithe • & lestin a stonde

" 4384- Pan haue we liking to lithe

" 5023 Pan list him lithe of his lyfe

12b

[PR] M.Art.3043 was petẽ for to here

" 2905 was meruayle to here

D.Troy 1516 pyne for to here

" 2683 wonder to here

" 3514 þat pyne was to here

" 3563 wo for to here

" 10775 his payne for to here

13a.

[PR] Gaw. 95 Of alderes, of armes,
cf.

D.Troy 2625 pat Ouyd in old tyme

13b

[PR] W.Alex. 4226 & of your clene thewis

" 4369 (Of þe actis of oure auncestours) & of par
athill thewis.

" 5122 & of zoure rosid werkis

" 5618 & of his athill werkis

also

[PR] M.Art. 3565 for all my trewe dedis

" 3778 for thy derfe dedys

D.Troy 5339 ne my sad dedis

" 5914 for his bold dedis

" 9959 of hir yore dedis

" 10450 for his lichir dedis

" 11185 for hir curst dedis

" 13037 for hir lechir dedis

W.Pal. 3857 of here douzti dedes.

" 4774 for þere wiked dedes etc.

See also List Q at end of Chapter III.

14a

[PR] D.Troy 5560 How thai wenton to werre

P.T.A. 252 How thay wirchipe and welthe

15a

[PR] D.&L. 213 & he hearkneth itt hendlye

D.Troy 4895 Hade we herkont hym hyndly

" 9238 Sho herknet hym full hyndly

W.Alex. 212 Bot will 3e herken hende

P.T.A. 267 Bot will 3e hendely me herken

15 b

[PR] W.Pal. 106 haldes ow stille

J.Arim. 492 holdes ou stille

Chev.A. 152 & heelde ham fulle style

" 169 to holden hem style

16a & b

cf. D.Troy 3679 Sum tellyn pis tale & for true holdyn

16a

[PR] W.&W. 31 Bot I schall tell yow a tale

" 247 Bot I schall tell the a tale

cf.

D.Troy 1008 As I schall telle you the treuthe

" 4295 I will tell here a tale

" 7347 And I schall tell you full tomlly

" 8422 I shall tell you full tyte

Gaw. 31 I schal telle hit as tit.

also

D.Troy 665 Here tellus pe tale

" 3733 ffor to telle in his tale

4134 ffor to telle hom by tale

16b

[PR] M.Art. 297 vertuus and noble

" 417 curtaise and noble

" 558 fulle conaunde and noble

" 1334 full reall & noble

" 1894 krouell and noble

" 2851 gracious and noble

etc.

17a & b

- [PR] M.Art. 2902 And thane the ryalle renkkes of þe rownde table
 also
- [PR] M.Art. 147 Off þe richeste renkys of þe rounde table
 " 1882 Thane relyez þe renkez of þe rounde table
 " 2919 To þe ryall rowte of þe rownde table
 " 3612 Than the roye and þe renkes of the rownde table
 " 4072 Than the royall roy of þe rownde table
 " 4291 Than relyes þe renkes of all þe rownde table
Gaw. 905 þat is þe ryche ryal kyng of þe Rounde Table
P.T.A. 468 With renkes full ryalle of his rownde table

17a

- [PR] M.Art. 1410 All þe realeste renkes
W.Pal. 4209 for alle þe real rinkes

17b

see Morte Arthure passim

- [PR] Gaw. 313 of þe Rounde Table
 " 538 of þe Rounde Table etc.
D.&L. 341 ffrom the Round Table

18a & b

cf.

- M.Art. 2367 Eschappide there ne cheullrye ne cheftaynes noþer
 " 2732 Chiftayne of þis journee with cheualrye noble
 " 1872 When þe cheualrye saw theire cheftanes were nommen
 " 1551 And for þe cheefe chauncelere þe cheualere noble
Gaw. 1512 & of alle cheualry to chose þe chef þyng a-losed
W.Alex. 655 So cheualus a chiftan

18a

[PR] Clean. 1238 þe chef of his cheualrye
cf.

M.Art. 1404 Of þe cheualrye cheefe

18b

[PR] M.Art. 2954 a cheftayne noble

" 2990 cheftaynes noble

cf.

M.Art. 68 & banerettes nobill

" 145 and doctours noble

" 531 and cheuallrye noble

" 1403 and banarettez noble etc.

19a

[PR] D.Troy 1145 Vnwar of our werkes

" 5625 Now are the* war of our werkes (*"they")

Alex.A. 414 Weren ware of hur werk

cf.

D.Troy 3866 Wight in his werkes

" 3937 Wise in his werkes etc.

Clean. 589 þer is no wyze in his werk so war ne so styll

19b

[PR] M.Art. 2680 theis weise men of armes

" 2745 as wyesse men of armes

" 3035 with wiese men of armes

" 4025 a wyese mane of armes

cf.

M.Art. 273 of all men of armes

" 364 with fresche men of armes

" 563 with gude men of armes

" 1537 of ferse men of armes

M.Art. 1589 with clene meyn of armez etc.etc.
J.Arim. 408 of clene men of Armes
W.Alex. 1246 of thra men of armes etc.

20a

cf.

P.T.A. 461 Of sicke doughety doers
M.Art. 3884 His doynge, his doughtynesse
D.Troy 2570 Doughty of dede
 " 3784 He was doughty of dedys
 " 3816 Doughty of dedis
 " 5322 Most doughty of dedis
 " 6161 And was doughty of his dedis
 " 6167 As for doghty of dede etc
W.Pal. 1197 & þat douztiest were of dede

21a

[PR] W.Pal. 194 so kynde & so corteys
 cf.

D.Troy 3826 Curtas & kynde
W.Alex. 2718 Quat curtassy & kyndlaike

21b

[PR] W.Pal. 342a þat knew of kourt þe þewes

22a & b

cf.

D.Troy 12199 We haue wonen in were þe worchip with hond
 " 12208 And haue wonyn hit in wer with worship oure-seluyn
M.Art. 3342 For all thy wirchipe in werre by me has thow
wonnen

M.Art. 2601 And be wyrchipfull werre, his awen has he wonn.

W.Alex. 5586a Won him wirschip in were

also

[PR] D.Troy 5560 How thai wenton to werre

P.T.A. 252 How thay wirchipe and welthe wanne in thaire
lyues.

22a

[PR] S.Jeru. 396 þat þey hadde wonnen with werre

D.Troy 1468 And to wyn it with werre

cf.

M.Art. 516 Bot who may wynn hym of werre

" 3091 That he had wonnen of werre

" 3494 I will noghte wonde for no werre

D.Troy 4934 And wyn hom in wer

" 8607 þat he was wonen in wer

" 12189 I wan vs in were

Alex.A. 237 That hee with werre ne wan

22b

cf. D.Troy 9346 of worship full mony

23a & b

[PR] M.Art. 128 We lenge with sir Lucius, that lorde es of
Rome.

cf.

M.Art. 460 þofe sir Lucius had laide þe lordchipe of Rome

" 86 Sir Lucius Iberius the Emperour of Rome

23b

cf.

M.Art. 283 and emperour of Rome etc.

J.Arim. 75 was Emperour of Rome etc.

S.Jeru. 160 þe prouost of Rome

W.Pal.1075 to þemperour of Rome etc.

24a & b

[PR] M.Art. 284 He þat conquerid þe crosse be craftez of armes

24a

[PR] W.Alex. 1885 How I haue conquered a kyng

P.T.A. 440 And conquerede kynges and kyngdomes twelue

" 492 And conquered kyngdomes

cf.

P.T.A. 402 He conquered with conqeste kyngdomes twelue

24b

[PR] M.Art.1243 by craftez of armez

" 1652 craftes of armes

" 2036 be craftes of armes

" 2543 be kraftes of armes

" 3086 be craftes of armes

" 3434 be craftes of armes

W.Alex.9 of craftis of armys

cf.

M.Art.256 of dedez of armes

W.Alex.444 þurze þrowis of armys

25a

[PR] M.Art.15 Herkynes me heyndly

D.Troy7346 Herkinys now a hondqwile

cf.

W.Alex. 740. 'Behald", quod he, 'hedirward * & herken how I say.'

25b

cf.

D.Troy 782b as says vs the story etc.

Analysis 2. Sir Gawain and the Green Knight 11.1-14.

Sipen þe sege & þe assaut wat3 sesed at Troye,
 þe bor3 brittened & brent to brondez & aske3,
 þe tulk þat þe trammes of tresoun þer wro3t
 Wat3 tried for his tricherie, þe trewest on erthe.
 5 Hit wat3 Eunias þe athel & his highe kynde
 þat sipen depreced prouinces, & patrounes bicome
 Welneze of al þe wele in þe west iles,
 Fro riche Romulus to Rome ricchis hym swyþe;
With gret bobbaunce þat burze he bizes vpon fyrst,
 10 & neuenes hit his aune nome, as hit now hat;
Ticius to Tuskan, & teldes bigynnes;
Langaberde in Lumbardie lyftes vp homes,
 & fer ouer þe French flod Felix Brutus
On mony bonkkes ful brode Bretayn he sette3,

[PR] - "PRIMARY" MATERIAL

1a & b

Gaw. 2525 After þe segge & þe asaute wat3 sesed at Troye
W.Alex. 1452 And þat he settis on a saute * & sesis it be-lyue
 ("seizes")

cf.

Alex.A. 452 Now cease wee þe sawe * of þis seg¹ sterne
 also

[PR] D.Troy 485 Whan þe fest and þe fare was faren to the ende

1a

cf.

M.Art. 3063 For to leue þe assawte
W.Alex. 2135 Settis vp-on a saute (also 2550)
S.Jeru. 1120 & many segge¹ at þat saute
 " 1187 On ech side for þe assaute
D.Troy 3532 Sone after þis saute
Alex.A. 145 Of þat sorowfull asaute

1b

cf.

M.Art. 2603 Sir Ector of Troye
 " 2635 Sir Ector of Troye
 " 4343 the kynge son of Troye
W.Alex. 3020 sen þe sege of troy
P.T.A. 323 lighte appon Troye
St.Erk. 246 denyed alle Troye

1. The word means "man" here.

St. Erk. 251 þe gray^cthist of Troie

D. Troy 2898 þat prinse is of Troy

" 3244 to the cuntre of Troy etc.

2a & b

cf.

D. Troy 2646 And all the buyldynges brent into bare askys

" 5007 Betyn and brent down vnto bare askes

Clean. 1292 & syþen bet down þe burz & brend hit in askes

M. Art. 1350 As he myghte bryttyn vs all with his brande ryche.

2a

[PR] M. Art. 3520 Are they brettende, or brynte

also

W. Alex. 2479 þour burze is bretind & þour bernes

W. Pal. 1109 brent his nobul burwes

" 2647 brent bold borwes, & burnes bruttened to deþe,

" 2831 bolde burwes for-brent.

cf.

M. Art. 3641 Bryttyn them within bourde, and brynne them þare
aftyre

S. Jeru. 1288 Bot down betyn & brent

P. T. A. 560 Or he scholde bette down his burgh and brenn hym
there-inn.

W. Pal. 1073 but bet a-down burwes * & brutned moche peple

" 1133 bruttene alle hise burnes * & brenne his londes.

D. & L. 393 & howe hee had beaten thee on thy bent, & thy brand
taken

2b

[PR] D. Troy 570 is brent into askys

" 7150 vnto bare askis

" 9720 vnto bare askes etc.

S. Jeru. 716 in-to þe browne askes

Chev. A. . 344 alle to browne askes

See also List C - Chapter III

3a

- [PR] W.Alex. 2258 þe tulke þat tilld 3our toun
 " 2580 þe tulk at (MS. 'D': þat) sike a trayne

3b

- [PR] M.Art. 2017 this treson to wyrche
 " 3901 treson to wirke
D.Troy 12367 þat treason hase wroght
 " 12631 þat treason had wroght
W.Alex. 5028 Qua suld þat trecherous trayne of treson him
wirke

cf.

S.Jeru. 723 In tokne of tresoun * & trey þat he wrozt.

4a

- [PR] W.Alex. 3439 Quen treid was a trechory
 also
 [PR] P.T.A. 427 Was heryet for his holynes

4b

- [PR] M.Art. 3419 grymmeste in erthe
W.Alex. 1062 þe hareest on erthe
 " 1608 & worthist on erthe
 " 2198 þe tethiest on erthe
 " 2367 þe tidiest on erth
 " 3097 þe souereynest in erth
 " 3722 þe wiztist in erthe
 " 3723 þe biggist in erthe
 " 4891 & proudest in erth
D.Troy 275 þe most vpon erthe
 " 605 wisest on erthe
W.Pal. 4074 briztest in erþe
Alex.A. 786 þe grimmet in erth
Alex.B. 1018 hiest on erþe

5a

[PR] D.Troy 5950 þat it was Rctor the honorable
also

[PR] W.Alex. 2006 Alexsaundere þe athill
" 2612 Sire Alexander þe hathill
" 4238 Sire Alexander, þe athill
" 5104 Sire Alexander þe athilest
" 5376 Sire Alexander þe athill

5b

[PR] D.Troy 5425 & in the same kynd
J.Arim. 133 þat was þe furste kuynde
cf.

D.Troy 8055 & put hom of kynd
W.Alex. 2894 be rewle of his kynde
" 3691 of all manere of kyndis
" 3911 sett out of kynd
" 4440 of sere-lepy kyndis
" 4617 fere fra zoure kynde
" 5010 þurze mizt of hire kynde

6a

cf.

W.Alex. 1941 Departid all oure prouynce
" 2508 Of prise þe hiþe prouynce
" 2794 In palais, in prouince
" 3123 His person & his prouynce
D.Troy 4345 (etc) To all the pepull of his prouyns
" 4853 And pursuyt to þis prouynse

6b

[PR] D.Troy 4516 and fryndes be-come

7a

cf.

Gaw.1270 & al þe wele of þe worldeW.Alex.1970 For wella wide ware þe wele.

7b

[PR] D.Troy226 into þis byg yle" 2998 into the same yle" 4258 of mony smalle yles" 5223 þen the grete yle" 5515 of a clene yle" 13538 of the bare Ile" 13627 of þis grete yleM.Art.30 and all this owte-iles

8a & b

cf. Gaw 1130 Richen hem þe rychest

8a

cf.

W.Pal.5370 þe riche emperour of rome" 5466 of þe riche emperour of romeS.Jeru.960 And riche emperour of RomeM.Art. 549 For 3ife he reche vnto Rome" 1391 Than a ryche man of RomeW.Pal.1089 and ri3t in-to romeS.Jeru.504 Of þis rebel to Rome

8b

[PR] P.T.A.369 and abashede thaym swytheW.Pal.1130 & egged him swiþe" 1303 & freyned hem swiþeJ.Arim.451 and rihtes hem swiþeD.Troy 1230 keppit hym swithe" 10168 turnyt hym swithe

- [PR] Clean.987 þay loued hym swyþe
 " 1176 nuyed hym swyþe
W.Alex.1393 & zildis þam swythe
 " 1410 & wrekis þam swyth
 " 1453 he graythis him swyth
 " 1618 & askis at him swythe

cf.

- D.Troy 6767 ricchit hom belyue
 " 7131 Richit hom seluyn
 " 13149 ricchit my seluyn

9a & b

- [PR] St.Erk.207 After þat Brutus þis burghe had buggid on
fyrste

cf.

- W.Alex.2256 Oure burze agayn for to bigg
 " 4431 In bigging of burgis
 " 5415 þou has a blisfull burze * biggid to þi name
D.Troy 5216 That biggit the burgh bigly hym-seluyn

9a

- [PR] W.Pal.3358 Wip gret bobaunce & bost

cf.

- Clean.1712 Wyth bobaunce & wyth blasfame

9b

- cf. W.Alex.2272 begin apon first

10a

- [PR] W.Alex.1119 And neuens it his awen name

cf.

- W.Alex. 619 And so him neuyned was þe name
 " 2187 Now þou neuyns me a new name

<u>W.Alex.</u>	4939	How þat þou <u>neuynes my name</u>
"	5486	And I sall <u>neuen 3ow þar names</u>
"	5655	Now sall I <u>neuyn 3ow þe names</u>
<u>P.T.A.</u>	108	And to 3owe <u>neuen thaire names</u>
"	167	And also <u>namede 3ow thaire names</u>
"	297	And I schall <u>neuen 3ow the names</u>
"	580	Now hafe I <u>neuened 3ow the names</u>
<u>D.&L.</u>	349	When shee <u>nemned the name</u>
<u>D.Troy</u>	4113	I shall <u>neme you þere nomes</u>
"	14003	I shall <u>nem you the nomes</u>
<u>W.Pal.</u>	368	of þe <u>names þat he nemned</u>
<u>St.Erk.</u>	195	þe <u>name þat þou neuenyd has</u>
<u>W.Alex.</u>	79	Anec by <u>his awyn name</u>

11a

[PR]	<u>M.Art.</u>	431	<u>And turne into Tuschayne</u>
"		499	<u>They turne thurghe Tuskayne</u>
"		3593	<u>Turnys thorowe Tuskayne</u>
	<u>D.Troy</u>	12907	<u>Tech vnto Tuskan</u>

11b

[PR]	<u>W.Pal.</u>	2115	<u>& reupe bi-gunne</u>
	<u>S.Jeru.</u>	865	<u>& talkyng bygynneþ</u>

cf.

<u>J.Arim.</u>	62	<u>a counsail bi-gonnen</u>
<u>S.Jeru.</u>	797	<u>note to bygynne</u>
<u>D.Troy</u>	1064	<u>when myrthes begyn</u>
<u>Clean.</u>	1401	<u>þen seruyse bygynnes</u>
<u>St.Erk.</u>	131	<u>þe masse he begynnes</u>

12a

[PR]	<u>M.Art.</u>	350	<u>In Lorayne or Lumberdye</u>
"		429	<u>In Lorryne ne in Lumberdye</u>

- [PR] M.Art. 498 And so into Lumberdye
 " 3394 Lyghte noghte in Lumberdye
W.&W. 139 Of Lorreyne, of Lumbardye
M.Art. 135 Thow durste noghte for all Lumberdye
 " 1972 With lordez of Lumberdye
 " 2406 Than will I by Lumbardye
 " 2654 The lordes of Lumbardye
-

13a

cf.

- M.Art. 494 And fleede at þe fore flude
-

14a & b

cf.

- M.Art. 106 Bryne Bretayn þe brade, and bryttyn thy knyghtys
 " 4346 Into Bretayne the brode
St.Erk. 32 By alle Bretaynes bonkes
-

14a

- [PR] W.Pal. 4548 Many a lord ful loueli
D.Troy 1046 With mony barons full bold
Pat. 254 Bi many rokkez ful roze
Clean. 43 With mony blame ful bygge
 " 1372 & mony a baroun ful bolde
 " 1439 Mony burþen ful bryzt
 " 1602 Of mony anger ful hote
 " 1773 Wyth mony a legioun ful large

NotesMorte Arthure

- 1.2. cf. Piers Plowman v.518 and to his clene moder (Christ's mother.)
- 1.3. cf. Piers Plowman ii.124 and lecherouse werkes
- 1.4. cf. Piers Plowman vii.197 pat god gyue vs grace here, xv.245 And gyue vs grace, good god, xix.222 And gaf eche man a grace * to gye with hym-seluen. For the second half-line cf. Piers Plowman x.121 to amend 3ow here

It should be noticed that the repetitions of the phrase to gy & gouerne are in the first half-line, whereas in M.Art.4 it straddles the caesura.

- 1.5. cf. Piers Plowman i.39 That is þe wrecched worlde.
- 1.6. pat we may. This line-opening occurs in three different poems, and may be regarded as conventional. It is also noteworthy that the rhythm of the whole half-line is similar in each instance: x x x $\begin{matrix} / (x) & x & x & / & (x) \\ \text{[VERB]} & \text{[PREPOS.]} & \text{[PHR.]} & & \end{matrix}$
- The half-line obviously belongs to the "Syntactical Mould" type.

For the second half-line cf. Piers Plowman xv.345 þe kynges merke of heuene, xviii.318 þe kynges sone of heuene.

- 1.11. The example from William of Palerne occurs in a different position from that in Morte Arthure.
- 1.12. The first half-line is of the "Syntactical Mould" type. cf. also Piers Plowman Prol.172 And zif him list for to laike, xx.18 And if hym lyst for to lape. For the whole line cf. Piers Plowman xiii.452. That bi his lyue lythed hem and loued hem to here. Note that hem here refers to the poor who are represented in this passage as God's minstrels. cf. also (with this line and with 1.15) the rhyming romance Gamelyn¹. 1.769 "Litheþ and lestneþ * and holdeþ zou stille."
- 1.13. cf. Piers Plowman iii.65 of here wel dedes, iii.70 of zowre wel dedes.
- 1.14. cf. Piers Plowman v.133 þorw myzte of god almyzty, v.580 -þe-name-of-god-almyzti, etc.
- 1.15. cf. Piers Plowman (A-text) xii.75 but I helde me stille
- 1.21. cf. Piers Plowman xx.64 And þat were mylde men & holy.
- 1.23. cf. Piers Plowman xviii.354 þat lorde am of heuene.

1. ed. French (W.H.) and Hale (C.B.): Middle English Metrical Romances. New York. 1930.

Sir Gawain and the Green Knight

- 1.1. The almost word for word repetition of this line in the last line of the poem is recorded here, though no significance is attached to it, as it appears to be a conscious embellishment, rather than the fortuitous recurrence of a formulaic line. D.Troy 485, however, shows that the line was of a formulaic type.
- 1.4. The first half-line is apparently a Syntactical Mould.
- 1.11. Although this first half-line does not occur in identical form elsewhere, the phrase turne into (through) Tuskany is common in M.Art. and was probably conventional. It seems likely therefore that the present half-line was adapted from a conventional expression. The first half of line 12, is, similarly, attested in part by the phrases Lorayne or Lumberdye and lordes of Lumbardye.

The analyses of these two passages serves to emphasize the fact that all these poems shared a common formulaic technique. For not only do the repetitions quoted show the formulaic features of the passages under examination, but they also demonstrate that the other poems use formulae extensively. At the same time differences must be recognized between the individual poems in their use of these formulae.

In the first place, the poems differ among themselves in their individual preferences for certain formulae over others. This has been demonstrated at length in the case of Morte Arthure, The Destruction of Troy, The Wars of Alexander, The Siege of Jerusalem, and Sir Gawain and the Green Knight by C. Reicke in a Königsberg dissertation¹. Using conventional second half-lines as the basis for his study he shows that each of these poems has a leaning towards certain expressions in situations where a choice of formulaic half-lines is available. Reicke is able to assume that differences in the use of common formulae indicate differences in authorship. Where a number of poets are all working in a common tradition with a common stock of material, they evidently adopt different (though overlapping) parts of the common stock for their own use.

1. Untersuchungen über den Stil der mittelenglischen alliterierenden Gedichte Morte Arthure..etc. Königsberg. 1906.

The poems differ, secondly, in the extent to which they use formulae. The two passages analysed indicate the difference in this respect between Morte Arthure and Sir Gawain and the Green Knight. We are able to see that formulae are slightly more numerous in the former poem, and that they are more often complete formulae with every part attested by repetition. The somewhat larger amount of broken underlining in Sir Gawain and the Green Knight indicates that the author tended to adapt his formulae instead of using them in the exact form in which they were current; that he had a more self-conscious attitude to the conventions which he used; and that his work is further from the oral tradition in which, if the hypothesis demonstrated in this thesis is correct, the formulae had their origin, than is the author of Morte Arthure. It must be admitted, however, that these conclusions are only hinted at by a comparison of the two passages chosen for analysis. The formulaic content of the opening of Sir Gawain and the Green Knight is probably higher than that of some later parts of the poem where the subject matter is less conventional. The main body of the poem would probably show a greater divergence from Morte Arthure in the use made of formulae. On the other hand, the amount of light thrown on formulaic technique by this method of analysis is limited by the amount of poetry in the same metre which we use for comparison. No doubt an investigation of the poetry in

alliterative couplets and that in rhymed alliterative stanzas would give us a truer picture of the number of formulae used in these passages; we should probably find them to be even more numerous. It seems likely, for instance, from Golagros and Gawain iv.12 belde...in bliss, that that part of M.Art.8 was also formulaic.

In diction, Morte Arthure is one of the most conventional of the poems in the whole group dealt with in this thesis, yielding the supremacy in this respect only perhaps, to The Destruction of Troy. It should be said that an analysis of a later passage of Morte Arthure, ll.78-103 (the results of which are not recorded here) suggests that, as with Sir Gawain and the Green Knight, the first twenty five lines have a slightly higher content of formulae than some other parts of the poem. As the whole thought of this passage is very common in alliterative poetry, this is not surprising, and the difference is not so great as to give a misleading picture of the rest of the poem. That the conventional nature of the diction of this poem has not been generally recognized is a tribute to the poetic powers of the author - to the excellent poetry which he produced with the techniques which he used. Wells, for instance, says of the poem: "... he never writes mechanically, he sees vividly and sees definitely and in detail, and he evidently draws on a considerable experience....He yields nowhere to the vague, loose, conventional

phrasing and elaboration of matter, common in the romances."¹. The praise is, of course, merited, but Wells is mistaken when he implies that the poet abandoned the conventional phrasing of the other alliterative poets. In fact the reverse is probably true - he used more formulae than most. The crux of the matter seems to lie in the coupling together of the words vague and loose with conventional. The absence of strong literary conventions in our own age has led to an absence of belief in their positive value - in fact to a belief that they are unfortunate, stereotyping etc. And so we tend to argue that a good poet must obviously avoid using the conventional material and diction of his fellows. If, however, some of the alliterative poets used their formulae mechanically and produced long passages of flat and uninteresting verse (eg. William of Palerne), they did this not merely because they were conventional, but because they were indifferent poets who would probably have written indifferent poetry in any convention.

The author of Morte Arthure avoids these faults not by avoiding conventional diction but by using it (for the most part) well. Even in his highest peaks of poetic achievement the conventions of his art are not left behind. The

1. J.E. Wells: Manual of the Writings in Middle English p.37.
[my/italics]

description of the giant of Mont St. Michael, for instance (especially 11.1074-1103) - a passage which has been justly praised for its vividness of characterization - derives much of its force from the similes contained in the first half of lines 1075, 1082, 1084, 1088, 1091, 1093, 1095, 1096, 1100, 1101:

He grennede as a grewhounde...
 Huke-nebbyde as a hawke...
 Harske as a hunde-fisch...
 Flatt-mowthede as a fluke...
 Grassede as a mereswyne...
 Ilke wrethe as a wolfe-heuede...
 Brok-brestede as a brawne...
 Ruyd armes as an ake...
 Thykke theese as a thursse...
 Greesse growen as a galte...

Except in the case of two similes (ake and thursse) it is to the sub-human, animal kingdom that the poet goes for his comparisons, thus depriving the giant of any suspicion of human dignity, while at the same time, the animal images imply, by contrast, the standards of human conduct by which the giant is condemned. (cf. 11.1050-1 ;

Beerynes and bestaile brochede togeders
Cowlefull cramede of crysmede chyldyre)

The accumulated effect is one of horror and disgust. The force of moral feeling which prevents the description from becoming comic or merely grotesque, emerges in the strong

repeated rhythms of the first half-lines, the alliterative stresses of which (in many lines three in number) communicate very well the successive explosion of the poet's moral indignation.

The majority of the similes used in this description are formed on one of the following patterns:

- (i)
- | | | |
|------------|-------------|--------|
| / \ x | x x | / x |
| [EPITHET] | | |
| | <u>as a</u> | [NOUN] |
| [ADJ.NOUN] | | |

ll. 1082, 1088, 1095; 1093, 1096, 1100; 1101 has a similar rhythm though the syntax is different.

- (ii)
- | | | |
|--------|-------------|--------|
| / x | x x | / \ |
| [ADJ.] | <u>as a</u> | [NOUN] |

ll. 1084, 1088. cf. also 1075.

The occurrence of secondary stress (or of two juxtaposed stresses) in each of these two schemes is noteworthy. Examples from other poems which illustrate that the patterns were conventional are:

- (i) Gaw. 182 A much berd as a busk
 " 847 Felle face as þe fyre (also W.Alex. 4922)
St.Erk. 91 With ronk rode as þe rose
W.Alex. 4097 Kene tethe as a knyfe
 " 4117 With bare hedes as a barne
- (ii) P.T.A. 65 Dede als a dore-nayle (of frequent occurrence)
D.Troy 4628 Were merke as the mydnighte (cf. D.&L. 406)
W.Alex. 321 A mouthe as a mastif hunde
 " 751^{*} Bere als a boles heued
 " 5473 As large as a mans lege

cf. S.Jeru.1248 No gretter þan a grehounde
W.Alex.4098 Of sembalauce as a see-bule

The whole of the description of the monster in W.Alex. 4741-49 may be quoted to show how another writer used similar techniques when wishing to describe a similar thing:

"þare comes a bonde of a brenke * & breed þaim unfaire;
 A burly best & a bigg * was as a man shapen,
 Vmquile he groned as a galt * with grusely latis,
 Vmquile he noys as a nowte . as a nox quen he lawes,
 Zarmand & zerand . a zoten him serued;
 And was as bristils¹ as a bare . all þe body ouire;
 Dom as a dore-nayle * & defe was he bathe,
 With laith leggis & lange * & twa laue eres;
 A heuy hede & a hoge . as it a hors ware,..."

Skeat's note says: "Lat. 'venit super eos quidam homo agrestis corpore magno et pilosus vt porcus et vox illius tanquam porci, et non loquebatur sed semper tanquam stridebat;' e.3, back, col.2. The description in the English text is much amplified."

In some ways Morte Arthure gives us better grounds than any of the other poems for postulating an oral alliterative tradition prior to the 14th century poems which we have.

It is decidedly un-literary in appearance. The syntax sometimes has a cumulative character as if the poet is led irresistibly from line to line without regard to sentence-pattern. At line 26, for instance, after the introduction, the poet begins his main story, how Arthure received the

Roman senator at his feast at Carlisle and the events which followed. He begins:

"Qwen that the kynge Arthure by conqweste hade wonnyn
Castells and kyngdoms, and contreez many,
And he had couerde the coroun of the kyth ryche,
Of all that Vter in erthe aughte in his tym,
Orgayle and Orkenay, and all this owte-iles..."

and from that point he is led to enumerate individually all the countries which Arthur conquered, until in 1.48 he again takes up the thought with which he had started:

"Qwenn he thes dedes had don, he doubbyd nys knyghtez
Dyuusyde dowcherys and delte in dyuerse remmes;
Mad of his cosyns kyngys ennoyntede,
In kyth there they couaitte crounes to bere."

But he has still not reached the point of his story, and in the next line he makes another fresh start:

"Whene he thys rewmes hade redyn & rewlyde the pople,
Then rystede that ryall and helde þe rounde tabyll"

It is only here that we reach a point of rest. How are we to regard the syntax of this passage? Having started with an adverbial clause of time in 1.26 we do not reach anything which can be regarded as a main clause until 1.48. If this is the shape of the sentence what are we to make of the twenty-one lines in between? They may be considered a long parenthesis, but if so, this parenthesis contains numerous parentheses within itself. (Note the complete statements with subject and finite verb in 11.32,33,35,38,40,43,46). It is impossible to punctuate it according to our ideas of clause and sentence. M.M.Banks places a full-stop after 1.37 long before a main clause which would complete the sentence

has been reached. She also places a full stop after l.42 though it seems just as possible to read line 43 with the preceding line. Possibly in recitation it would be felt to lend its weight to both sides - both to the line before and the line after. Whatever these facts imply, they seem inconsonant with a process of careful repolishing which we associate with the production of written literature but seem on the contrary to indicate swift energetic composition, line by line, in which the beginnings of sentences are often forgotten or neglected before their ends are reached.

Evidence of this sort is too slight to give us sure grounds for believing that the Morte Arthure which we have was originally an oral poem. But besides the above points of syntax, there are certain inconsistencies in the narrative which are strange in a poem of such a comparatively short length and which are certainly not compatible with careful revision. These inconsistencies are pointed out by P.Branscheid in an article entitled "Über die Quellen des stabreimenden Morte Arthure."¹ Lucius the Emperor of Rome is killed twice in ll.2073-80 and ll.2251-56; Sir Cadur is buried in l.2385, is alive again in l.4188, and in l.4264 is again among the fallen on the battlefield; Cheldrike is

1. Anglia. Vol.viii p.180-1.

killed in li.2954-55 and is alive again in l.3537. Branscheid concludes (p.181) "Diese und andere widersprüche beweisen, dass verschiedene quellen benutzt wurden..." But these inconsistencies are strikingly similar to those often made by oral poets under the stress of composition, either because of uncritical attachment to a formula or simply because of slips of memory.¹

Though the question of the development of the Arthurian legends is too complicated to be discussed here, it seems clear that that development was not entirely literary but was also popular. The variety and multiplicity of the cycle in literature suggests that it was constantly renewing itself from popular sources. Geoffrey of Monmouth certainly used Welsh traditional stories and so perhaps did Layamon.² If there was a native English epos in the later middle ages this is the cycle of legends which has greatest claim to the title. And if there was an oral tradition in alliterative poetry it is the one cycle which we might have expected to carry on the spirit of Old English poetry, a spirit which still flourished as late as the date of The Battle of Maldon, and

1. Bowra. Heroic Poetry pp.299-302

2. A. CL. Brown: "Welsh Traditions in Layamon's Brut". Mod. Phil. I.95.

which, perhaps, finds its purest expression in that poem.

Our poem is too short to be considered an epic, but there is no doubt that it has epic qualities; the spirit which pervades it is that of the heroic age. As M.M.Banks says:

"The story is almost untouched by romance; it is that of the chronicles with a few additions from other sources... The men known to modern readers from Malory and Tennyson, there moving under a mystic heaven or caught in the toils of impossible undertakings, are here burly warriors who love conquests, banquets, and the service of their lord. The ideals of Amadis of Gaul would have been incomprehensible to them. They know nothing of Broceliande or the Grail, and are not troubled by the prophecies of Merlin and the knightly quest. Here is war without the wantonness, the dragon's wing without the faery charm."¹

If Morte Arthure is the spiritual counterpart in the fourteenth century of the Old English epic lay such as The Fight at Finnsburgh or The Battle of Maldon, then in the translated poems of our list - the Alexander poems, William of Palerne, Joseph of Arimathie, Chevelere Assigne, The Destruction of Troy, The Siege of Jerusalem, we have the counterpart of the Old English Biblical poems and Saints' Lives. In these poems, translated closely for the most part

1. Morte Arthure edited by M.M.Banks, Introduction pp.125-6.

from single originals in French or Latin, we see the native spirit and technique, even the native phraseology and formulae used to translate foreign stories into English verse. The manner remains characteristically English and characteristically alliterative whatever originals are used.

CHAPTER VISome Extensions of the Subject

In this chapter we shall consider briefly three points of interest which arise from the view of the structure of alliterative poetry which has been put forward in the preceding pages - the relation between metre and formula, the question of variant manuscripts of a single poem, and the question of authorship.

(i)

In spite of his revolutionary proposals on the nature of Homeric diction, Milman Parry seems to have applied certain unquestioning assumptions about the oral poet's attitude to the metrical form of his poems - assumptions which are more appropriate to poems composed in a "literary" manner, but strictly inapplicable to the oral poem. The nature of his assumptions about the Greek hexameter as it appeared to the oral epic poet can be gathered from the following quotations:

"...cette diction, en tant qu'elle est composée de formules, est due toute entière à l'influence du vers."¹

(Definition of the formula:)"a group of words which is regularly employed under the same metrical conditions to express a given essential idea...The definition thus implies the metrical usefulness of the formula."²

1. Parry: L'Épithète Traditionnelle, p.10.

2. Parry: Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, Vol. XL1, p.80.

"...the formulas in any poetry are due, so far as their ideas go, to the theme; their rhythm is fixed by the verse-form..."¹

"The epic poets kept the older or foreign forms and words, and adopted or created new ones, in order to have a language which would suit the hexameter."²

The idea underlying all these statements is that the hexameter existed as an ideal pattern from the beginning, before the formulaic technique was fully developed, and that the purpose of developing a system of formulaic diction was to enable the oral poet to compose hexameters without the use of writing. There is here a logical fault which is easily recognized. For, even if we can imagine the existence in this prehistoric period of some sort of "academy" or consensus of opinion which proposed the hexameter as an ideal medium for epic verse, we must still ask ourselves how poets in the generations which were necessary before the full development of the formulaic technique, held this ideal before them even though it was impossible of attainment. Parry himself has said: "Without writing, the poet can make his verses only if he has a formulaic diction which will give him his phrases all made, and made in such a way that, at the slightest bidding of the poet, they will link themselves in an unbroken pattern that will fill his verses and make his sentences."³ That is to say, until the formulaic

1. Parry: Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, Vol. XL1, p. 81.

2. *ibid.*, p. 135.

3. *ibid.*, p. 138.

technique was well advanced, the oral poet had not the means of composing verse after verse which was metrically correct according to an accepted pattern. Yet it is difficult for us to imagine the existence of this ideal pattern in such a society before it received actual embodiment in the form of successful verses.

The dilemma, which is a very real one and must be faced if we are to gain a realistic idea of the development of poetry in a pre-literate age, can be resolved by the hypothesis that metre and formula are two sides of the same coin - that they developed together, and that neither existed without the other. According to this view it is misleading to speak of the formula as having been developed to fit the metre. This is only a half of the story, for it is just as true to say that the metre became what it did become because of the analogous rhythmical patterns of the formulae, which developed from one another. It is also misleading to speak of the "metrical usefulness" of the formula, which implies an abstract standard, sanctioned by an external authority. This is to regard metre as an obstacle to be overcome, as if the poet might have composed more easily in prose. On the contrary, observers of contemporary processes of oral composition have noticed that the minstrel who uses formulae can only tell his story well when he is reciting (improvising) swiftly and rhythmically, and that if he is asked to dictate slowly for transcription he experiences difficulty.¹ This

1. Murko, p. 34 (note to Plate 3) Bowra p. 42.

indicates that metre is essentially part of the mnemonic technique of the oral poet. It is because the metre itself is useful to the poet that it exists.

This conception of the relation between formula and metrical pattern was not developed by Parry, though it is implied in the following:

"The Singers, ever seeking to reduce the terms of their expression to the simplest pattern, used for this end the means of analogy. That is to say, whenever they could obtain a new formula by altering one which was already in use, they did so, and this they did up to the point where the complexity of the ideas which must be expressed in their poetry put a stop to this making of systems... (examples of analogical formations)... In these cases, and in all others, we see the sound of the words guiding the singers in their formation of the diction. Nor is the factor of sound limited to the formulas where the same words appear; it appears equally in the more general types where the likeness of sound consists in the like rhythm."¹

The implications of this for a theory of metrical development are fully brought out by James A. Notopoulos in "Mnemosyne in Oral Literature"²: "The dactylic hexameter is the product of oral literature; it is a mnemotechnique made by 'l'utilisation consciente et rationnelle des lois automatiques et profondes de la mémoire... pour aider la mémoire du Recitateur'"³. Parry continually insisted that the formulaic style was the product of the hexameter, but though the two

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1. Parry: Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, Vol. XL1, pp. 145-6
 2. Transactions of the American Philological Association, Vol. LXIX, pp. 467-8.
 3. Internal quotation from M. Jousse: Le Style Oral, Rhythmique et Mnemotechnique chez les Verbo-Moteurs. Paris 1925.

ideas seem directly opposed, they are really complementary. The formula and the metre developed together; each, in a sense, produced the other.

If this theory is applied to the study of Old and Middle English alliterative metres we shall see perhaps that the five types of half-line which were proposed by Sievers are not to be regarded as rules of composition accepted by the poets themselves, but as certain more or less constant patterns of rhythm which existed because of the formulaic method of composition. In the case of Middle English alliterative poetry, we have seen in Chapter IV above how certain rhythmical patterns remain constant in formulae which have been adapted from others. Much light is also thrown, by this theory, on the reasons for the differences between the Old and Middle English alliterative metres.

(ii)

Many of the alliterative romances are extant in unique manuscripts, the only exceptions in our list of poems being The Parlement of the Thre Ages, The Siege of Jerusalem, and The Wars of Alexander. A comparison of the different manuscripts of the two latter poems reveals variant readings which are very puzzling if the only explanation to which we can resort is that of "scribal error".

The Wars of Alexander survives in two manuscripts -- Ashmole 44 in the Bodleian Library, and Dublin D.4.12.

Both are incomplete, but the Ashmole manuscript contains the longer fragment. They are edited side by side by Skeat for the Early English Text Society, and are very easy to compare in this edition. An examination of lines 678 (where the Dublin manuscript begins) to 1000, reveals the following main types of variant readings:

- (a) Substitution, in one or other text, of a word of synonymous meaning, or which does not materially alter the sense; sometimes, but not always, alliteration is affected:-

- 684 A. May þe oȝt me in any maner · to þat sterne schewe?"
 D. May þe oght in any maner me · to þat merke shewe?"
- 694 A. þen he treyned doune fra þe toure · to tute in þe sternes
 D. Than turned he doun from þe toure · to tote on þe sternes
- 696 A. þat euer he kyndild of his kynde · kend he bot litill
 D. þat euer he come of hys kynde · knew he full lityll
- 705 A. Loo! ȝonder þe gentill Iubiter · how Iolye he schynes
 D. Lo! how gentyll Iubiter · how ioyfully he shynes
- 714 A. As be þe welken to wete · quat suld come efter!
 D. Als be welkyn to wete · what worth sall her-aftir!
- 729 A. "Sa ma aydens", quod þat opire man · "þou tellis me
 treuthe,
 D. "So madens", quod þis oper' man · "þou mellys me þe
 sothe,
- 732 A. Les on þine ane here-efteward · þine ossyngis liȝt."
 D. Lest on þi-seluen ane o er tyme · þine asking liȝt."
- 741 A. Now be þe hert & þe hele · of my hathill fadire
 D. Now by þe hert & þe heale · of my old fadir
- 746 A. Dispises him despetously · dispersons him foule
 D. Dispysys hym dyspytussly · revylez hym foule

- 751 A. Be-seȝis him how he say wold • or he his saȝe ȝeld.
 D. Wysez hym how he say wald • or he aunswer ȝheldes.
- 791 A. Dryfuys doune duchepers • & doykis of þar horses
 D. Dryvez doune doceȝperes • and dukez of blonkez
- 799 A. Al to-clatirs in-to cauels • clene to þaire handis
 D. All claters in clyftez • clene to þair fistez
- 876 A. þar-of na we may þe wite • it was godis will."
 D. þarfore no gome may þe gylt • for it is goddes wille."

(b) Differences of tense in verbs, e.g. :-

- 722 A. I suld be slayn of my son as now sothe worthis?"
 D. I suld be slayn of my sonn • als now is soth worthen
- 752 A. And turnes him þen to þe tulke • & talkis þire wordis:
 D. And turnyd hym þen to þis tulke • & talkez þir wordez
- 760 A. And þar-to take vp þaire trouthis • & tȳned esondre
 D. And þar-to takez vpp þar trewthez • & twynnon in-sonder.
- 790 A. Al to-spryngis in sprotis • speris of syris
 D. All to-sprongen into sprotes • sperez of cipriss
- 959 A. Vn-to þis kid conquirour • & cried eftir socure
 D. Vnto þis kyd conquerour • & cryen aftir socour.

Occasionally the number of nouns varies e.g. helme and helmes in 779 (also 780).

(c) Amplification in one or other text of unstressed parts of the line. e.g. :-

- 685 A. "þat can I wele," quod þe clerke • "ellis couthe I
 littill;
- D. "þat can I wele," quod þis clerke • "ellys couth I
 bott lytyll;

- 702 A. "Loo! 3onder behald ouer þi hede • & se my hatter
werdis;
D. "Beyond be-hald ouer my hed • & see my hote werdez;
- 705 A. Loo! 3onder þe gentill Iubiter • how Iolye he schynes,
D. Lo! how gentyll Iubiter • how ioyfully he shynes,
- 777 A. Ilk a hathill to hors • hizis him be-lyue,
D. Ilke athell to hys hors • hyes hym belyue,
- 842 A. Braydis him vp fra þe borde • & a brand clekis,
D. Brades vp fro þe burde • & a brande clekez,
- 869 A. And ser, vnworthely þou wrozt • & þat þou wele knawis,
D. And vnworthly þou wroght • & þat þou wele knawys,
- 871 A. þen rewis þe riche kyng • of vnride werkis,
D. Then rewys hym þe riche kyng • of hys vnrode werkez,
- 873 A. þen airis him on Alexander • to his awen modire;
D. Than ayres hym on sir alexander • to hys awne modre;
- (d) Addition in one or other text of an extra stressed word
in the first half of the line. e.g.:-
- 779 A. Has a helme on his hede • & honge on his swyre
D. Had helmes vpon hedes ful hey • & hynget vmy þar shwyre
- 780 A. A schene schondirhand schild • & a schaft hentis.
D. A shemerand sheld • & þair shaftez hynten.
- 802 A. Aithire a blesynand brand • brait out of schethe,
D. Apir a brade blysnand brand • brade forth of shethez,
- 957 A. He swyngis out with a swerd • & swappis him to dethe;
D. He swynges owt a sharpe swerd • & hym to deth swappys;

(e) Inversion:- e.g. :-

- 688 A. And þou sall sothely se • þe same with þine eȝen.
 D. And þu sall sorely þe same • see with þi eghen.
- 757 A. þou seis me, lede, or oȝt lange • in þi lande armed,
 D. Thu sees me, lede, in þi land • or oght lang enarmed,
- 886 A. Liȝt doune at þe loge • & þar blonkis leues,
 D. Lightyð doun at þe loge • laftyn þar blonkes,
- 899 A. Faire at ser Philip þe fers • fang þai þar leue,
 D. Faire at philip þe fers • þair leue þai fangen,
- 928 A. Braidis on his blonke toward þe burȝe • & þaim þe
 bak shewis.
 D. Brades toward þe burgh on hys blonk • & hys bak shewys.
- 937 A. Vnethes wist he for welth • wirke quat he miȝt.
 D. That vneth he wist for welth • what he wirke might.
- 957 A. He swyngis out with a swerd • & swappis him to dethe;
 D. He swyngez owt a sharpe swerde • & hym to deth swappys;

The above are the ordinary and usual types of variation between the two manuscripts. Undoubtedly many individual discrepancies may be put down to dialectal differences and the unfamiliarity of certain words in the alliterative vocabulary. A scribe altering the dialectal forms of a poem as he transcribed might at the same time "translate" strange words (when he understood them) into their equivalents in his own dialect. This explanation would account for many of the substitutions under type (a) above. The fact that what appears to be the better reading is found now in one manuscript, now in another, is certainly puzzling, but no doubt a fairly complicated stemma preceding our two versions

would adequately account for this. Types (b) to (e) however can only be accounted for on the basis of a much freer treatment of originals than we are accustomed to associate with scribal copying. In fact, it may be asserted that many of these variations could most likely have been caused by a process of oral transmission. The amplifications with either extra stressed syllables or extra unstressed syllables (or both) are such as might easily creep into a memorized poem in the heat of recitation, but which would hardly have occurred to a scribe engaged in the laborious task of copying, even if he were at the same time altering the dialect. It might even be a plausible theory that the dialectal variations themselves, in this and other poems, were introduced in the process of oral transmission.

Perhaps the strongest evidence for an oral stage in the transmission of this poem is found in the smallest variations between the two manuscripts, variations which cannot be attributed to definite purpose or to scribal error but which could easily be due to modification in the memory of some minstrel. Why otherwise should we find, for example, in line 802 Ashmole: brait out of schethe, and in the Dublin manuscript brade forth of shethez?

There are also a few cases in this poem where the differences between the manuscripts may be due to the mishearing of a word, or to a misunderstanding which has arisen through the recitation or dictation of the poem.

Skeat¹ mentions that a previous editor Stevenson was of the opinion that some of the variations "would appear to show that he wrote from dictation." Skeat remarks: "I have not observed any passages of the latter kind." Probably Stevenson was thinking of examples such as the lines which follow, in which the differences between the manuscripts cannot easily be understood if we assume that the poem was copied from manuscripts at all stages in its transmission.

681 A. Quod Alexander to þis athill • as he his arte fandis,
D. þen sayd alexander to þis athell • as he by hym stonndes,

(The rhyme here makes the theory of dictation more plausible)

704 A. And how þe mode Marcure • makis sa mekill ioy;
D. And how þe mode of mercury • makys so mekyll Ioy;

781 A. Quat of stamping of stedis • & stering of bernes,
D. What of stampyng of stedes • & strippyng of baners,

933 A. All ware he wondirly wondid • he wendis noȝt belyfe.
D. And was so wonderly woundit • he wenyd noȝt to leve.

The Siege of Jerusalem presents an even more interesting case, as there are seven manuscripts of the poem extant.

They are:

Bodleian 1059 (Land Misc.656) (L)

Brit. Mus. Additional 31042 (the Thornton
manuscript)(A)

Brit. Mus. Cotton Vespasian E XVI
(beginning l.962) (V)

1. Introduction, p.xiv.

Brit. Mus. Cotton Caligula A II	(C)
Cambridge University 5.14	(U)
Lambeth Palace 491	(D)
Ashburnham 130 (in the Huntington Library)	(E)

The first of these is edited by Kolbing and Day in the Early English Text Society Original Series, No. 188 (1932) with variant readings from all the other manuscripts. As it is difficult however to reconstruct the exact readings of all the manuscripts from the textual notes to this edition (variations of position, inversions, etc., are especially difficult to see at a glance) a few lines are reproduced below with readings in full from all the manuscripts except the last, in order to illustrate the types of variations which are found in this poem.

1191.

- L. At eche kernel was cry & quasschyng of wepne
- A. At Ilke a kirmelle was crye and crassyng of wapyns
- V. In eche cornere was cry cratching and wepyng
- G. On eche a kornell was crye & kacchyng of wepyn
- U. At ilk a corner was crie and cacching of wepen
- D. At eche kernell was a crie & keechyng of wepyn
- E. Oueral was meche; cacchyng¹

1. The readings from MS "E" are from the E. E. T. S. edition.

1192.

- L. & many burne atte brayd brayned to deþ
 A. And many segge at that assawte soughte to the grownde
 V. And many a segge at þe saute sought to þe grownde
 G. That many manne at þat sawte fell to þe grownde
 U. And many beern at a braide brayned to the deth
 D. And meny bernis at a brayd braynid to þe deþe
 E. barnes at a.

1193.

- L. Sir Sabyn of Surrye whyle þe saute laste
 A. than Sir Sabyn of Surry whils the assawte lastes
 V. Sir Sabyne of Surry while þe saute laste
 C. Syr Sabyne of Surry whyle þat sawte lastedde
 U. Sire Sabyn of Surre whils the sege lasteth
 D. Sir Sabyn of Surrye whil þe assaute last

1194.

- L. Leyþ a ladder to þe wal & alofte clymyþ
 A. layde a leddir to the wallis and clymbys one lofte
 V. Laied a ladder to þe walle and on lofte clymbes
 C. Leyde a ladder to þe wall & on lofte clymbeth
 U. Laid a ledder to the wal and on lofte clymbes
 D. Leyd a laddre to þe wal and a loft clymbith
 E. Sette; up for to clymbe.

1195.

- L. Wendeþ wyztly þeron þoz hym wo happned
 A. Wane vp wyghtly þer appon þofe þat hym wo happynde
 V. Wanne vp to þe walle þough hym woo happed
 C. And wanne vp wyztly þat hym woo happedde
 U. He wynnes wightly there on thei him wo happed
 D. Wynnis wightly þer on þey hym wo happid
 E. & faste vp þeron; happed.

1196.

- L. & vp stondiþ for ston or for steel gere
 A. And vp stondis he for stones in his stele gere
 V. And up standes on þe walle in his steel weede
 C. And þer vp stondesth on þe wall all armedde in stele
 U. And ther vp standes on ston al in stele ware
 D. And vp stondis on a stone al yn stele wede
 E. stood on a ston; al yn; weede.

1197.

- L. Syx he slow on þe wal sir Sabyn alone
 A. Sexe he sloughe on the walles sir Sabyn hym allone
 V. vi^e he slowe on þe walle sir Sabyne hym silven
 C. He slewe syxe on þe wall Syr Sabyne alone
 U. He slough sex on the wal him seluen allone
 D. He slow six on þe wall sir sabyn allone
 E. He slow sixe; anon hym seluen.

1198.

- L. þe seuþ hitteþ on hym an vnhende dynte
 A. the seuent hitt hym one the hede ane vnmete dynt
 V. þe vii^e hit apon hym an vnhende dente
 C. The seuenthe hytteth on hym ryzte a sore dynte
 U. The seuent hitten on him an vnhende dynte
 D. þe vii hit on hym a hydous dynt
 E. seuent; hitt hym on the hede; wol sore as y 3ol telle.

1199.

- L. þat þe brayn out brast at bob nose-þrylles
 A. that the braynes owte braste at bothe his nesse thirles
 V. þat þe braine oute braste at bothe nase þirles
 C. That þe brayne out braste at bothe nose thyrlles
 U. That al the brayne out brast aboute the nesethirles
 D. þat þer brayd oute the brayn at his nose thrillis
 E. brayd; at his nose.

1200.

- L. & Sabyn ded of þe dynt in-to þe diche falleþ
 A. And sir Sabyn was dede of the dynt and in the dyke felle
 V. And Sabynne dede of þe dente in þe dike falles
 C. Syr Sabyne dyedde at þat stroke & in þe dyche falleth
 U. And Sabyn ded of that dynte in to the dyche falles
 D. And sabyn dede of þe dynt in to þe dich fallis
 E. þat dynt ; fallyd.

1201.

- L. þan Tytus wepyþ for wo & warieþ þe tyme
- A. than Titus wepis for wo and weries þe stownde
- V. þanne Titus wepes for woo and waries þe stounde
- C. Thane tytus for sorowe wepte & cursed þat tyme
- U. Then Titus wepes for wo and weries the stounde
- D. Than Tytus wepith for wo and warieth þe stound
- E. werwyth; stownde

1202.

- L. Syþ he þe lede hap lost þat he loue scholde
- A. Sen he þe lorde hase forlorne þat euer he lese scholde
- V. Sithen he þat lorde has lorin þat euer he love schulde
- C. Syne þey thus haue hym sleyne pyte it were þey lyue schulde
- U. Sen he that lede hath loste that neuer lyue shuld
- D. Seth he þat lyf hath lost þat he lyve shold
- E. For he sey þe knyzt deed; most louyed.

1203.

- L. Ffor now is a duk ded þe douztiest y trowe
- A. For now es the Duke ded the doughtyeste I trowe
- V. For nowe is a Duke dede þe doughtiest I trowe
- C. For now ys dede a duke the dowztyeste on erþe y trowe
- U. ffor now is a duk ded the doughtiest of erthe
- D. For now is a duke dede þe doughtyest y trowe
- E. & seyde now.

1204.

- L. þat euer stede bystrode or any steel wered.
 A. þat euer stede vmbystrode or euer stele weride
 V. þat euer steed bestrode oþer steel werede
 C. That euer stede by strode or ony armour weredde
 U. That euer stede bystrode or eny stele wered.
 D. þat euere stede bystrode or eny stele werid.

Most of the main types of variations which were noticed in connection with The Wars of Alexander are found here. For substitution of a synonym see ll. 1192 A and C, 1193 L and U, 1196 L and V, etc.; for differences of tense in verbs and of number in nouns, see ll. 1193 L and C, 1194 L and A, 1195 A, V, and U, 1196 L and A, etc.; for extra unstressed syllables see ll. 1193 A, 1195 A, 1203 C, etc.; for an additional stress in the first half-line, see perhaps l. 1198 A; and for inversion see ll. 1194 L and A, 1197 L and C, 1201 L and C.

In addition there are in this passage variations of a more fundamental nature which are of the utmost interest. In line 1191, V has cratching and wepyng for the crassyng (or cacching) of wapyns of the other manuscripts. This obvious corruption could easily have come about by a mis-hearing of the words. In l. 1199 U. aboute the is similarly a possible auditory mistake for at bothe which is found in some of the other manuscripts. The variations between loue, lese, and lyue in l. 1202, with the corresponding variations

in the meaning of the line, should also be noted in this connection. Line 1192 is also particularly interesting for the substitution of a completely different alliterative phrase in the first half-line in MSS. A, V, and C.

Whatever the significance of these variations may be, it is clear that we are not dealing here with a thoroughgoing method of improvisation such as has been observed in some contemporary oral poetry, in which a poem may be completely recreated at each recitation. The consistency of line-order, as well as the degree of verbal similarity, in the different manuscripts of these two poems makes such a view untenable. The Wars of Alexander and The Siege of Jerusalem were evidently each composed at one particular time, and the versions which we have derive from single authoritative originals. On the other hand the variations do show at least a high degree of originality and freedom on the part of scribes, and some of the differences between the manuscripts may indicate an oral stage in the transmission of the poems¹.

(iii)

A final note may be devoted to the question of the authorship of these alliterative romances. It is not

1. Some interesting remarks on this subject are found in H. M. and N. K. Chadwick: The Growth of Literature, Vol. I, p. 504 ff. (Cambridge 1932-40)

proposed to examine here the evidence relating to the authorship of any particular poem, but merely to suggest certain considerations which arise from the view which has been put forward of the formulaic structure of this poetry.

In purely oral poetry the question of authorship hardly arises. An oral poem is so subject to variation that it is virtually composed anew at each recitation¹. It must therefore be emphasized here that the poems which we are considering, although they betray signs of oral technique in composition, are probably not of this type. This is sufficiently indicated by the close correspondence of line-order which we have noted in connection with the different manuscripts of The Siege of Jerusalem². Whatever oral poetic devices are used in these poems, and whatever signs there may be in them of an oral stage in transmission, they are probably not in themselves traditional poems, though their themes and method of composition may be traditional.

On the other hand, the recognition of the extent to which a common formulaic diction is used renders more difficult the problem of deciding whether any two poems are by the same author. It has been realized since the "Huchown" controversy of the early years of this century that anyone who

1. see Bowra, p. 217 f.
2. see p. 19 Ch. IV above.

writes upon this subject must be on his guard against quoting alliterative commonplaces as evidence. If the object of the present thesis has been achieved, however, it will be seen that the common material of the alliterative poets comprises far more than commonplace expressions such as man upon molde, and that we can not always decide with certainty which expressions are common stock.

In an article by J.R. Steadman, Jr., "The Authorship of Wynnere and Wastoure and The Parlement of the Thre Ages"¹, and in the work of C. Reicke cited above², we can see a sounder method of approach to these questions. Both these writers criticise the indiscriminate use of alliterative phraseology as a basis for deciding questions of authorship. Steadman uses "differences in rhetoric, syntax, and vocabulary"³ in the case of the two poems which he discusses. Some of his conclusions may be questioned however in the light of the results of the present study. He mentions, for instance, differences in the use of tenses between the two poems.

Parlement uses the historical present forty-one times, Wynnere only fourteen times. Parlement uses the perfect with is twelve times out of thirty perfects, Wynnere only once out of seven perfects. The Parlement poet is fonder of the perfect tense.

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1. Modern Philology, Vol. 21, p.7.
 2. see p. 55 above.
 3. Steadman, p. 9.

The Wynnere poet, however, constantly uses the present form of the verb to express futurity. He uses this form twelve times, whereas the Parlement poet employs it only once. Parlement uses gar as a causative (549,561,588), Wynnere do (220,478). Parlement forms the periphrastic preterit with both gane and lette; Wynnere uses only gan.¹

In view of the differences between different versions of the same poem which have been noted above², it is doubtful how much importance can be attached to considerations of this sort. The work of C. Reicke has already been described³. He starts by recognizing that all the poems he is studying use conventional second half-lines for expressing certain common ideas, but maintains at the same time that a writer will show preference in the use of these conventional phrases.

It should be noted however that each of these writers is trying to show that certain poems thought to be by a common author must in fact be by different authors. This is notoriously much easier to prove than the converse. The effect of the present study is only to reinforce their negative conclusion that it is very difficult in the case of alliterative poetry to decide what is common material, but even such a negative conclusion may be allowed to have some considerable importance.

1. Steadman, pp.10-11.
 2. see esp. p.223 above.
 3. see p.55f. above.

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