

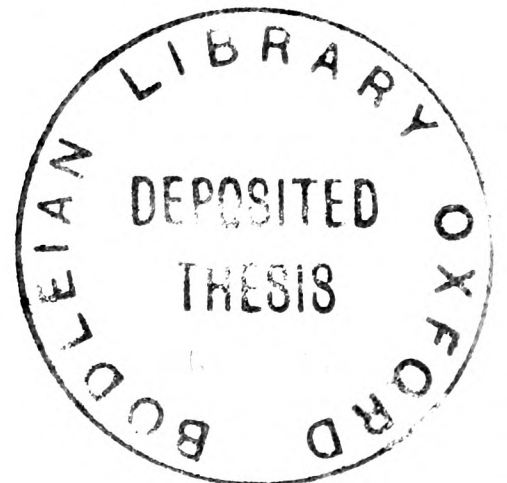
**THE PIOUS FORMULAE OF THE MIDDLE ENGLISH
~~VERSE~~ ROMANCES: A CATALOGUE AND STYLISTIC STUDY**

ROGER DAVID DALRYMPLE

St Peter's College, Oxford

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ABSTRACT

The Pious Formulae of the Middle English ~~Verse~~ Romances: A Catalogue and Stylistic Study

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The prayers and oaths of the Middle English verse romances draw upon a range of pious formulae. These stock invocations rehearse key episodes from salvation history. Such formulae are widely viewed as mere line-fillers and they are rarely credited with stylistic influence. Yet the startling power of their apposite usage in charged narrative moments prompts further investigation.

The thesis aims to demonstrate how the use of pious formulae in the romances is not inevitably mechanical. It comprises a catalogue and stylistic study of such formulae. The catalogue records all examples appearing in a single witness to each of the pre-1500 verse romances. By furnishing information on prosodic context, it offers a reference tool with which to measure the extent of technical determination in the appearance of a formula. The thesis analyses this material and advances claims for the aesthetic value of pious formulae.

Chapter 1 reviews the evidence of the catalogue. It is shown how pious formulae embody an impressive range of devotional imagery.

Chapter 2 illustrates that cognate formulae are widely employed in Middle English religious literature. It is shown how therein they exhibit a theological significance and a stylistic saliency.

Chapter 3 shows how intermittent reflections of this serious stylistic usage are apparent in the pious romance, *Guy of Warwick*.

Chapters 4 and 5 show how the affective resonance of such formulae is consistently exploited in the Stanzaic *Morte Arthur* and *William of Palerne* respectively.

Chapter 6 provides a brief summary. It concludes that the pious formulae of the romances can convey a strong aesthetic charge. They serve as more than mere line-fillers.

Three appendices are included. Appendix A explores the relation between pious formulae and medieval profane oaths. Appendix B lists the variant readings of the formulae of four romances. Appendix C comprises the catalogue.

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In memory of my grandmother,
Caroline Nissen

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ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AUMLA</i>	<i>Journal of Australasian Universities Modern Language and Literature Association</i>
<i>ChR</i>	<i>Chaucer Review</i>
<i>E&S</i>	<i>Essays and Studies</i>
<i>EETS</i>	<i>Early English Text Society (OS-original series, ES-Extra Series, SS-Supplementary Series)</i>
<i>EL</i>	<i>Ephemerides Liturgicae</i>
<i>ELH</i>	<i>English Literary History</i>
<i>ES</i>	<i>English Studies</i>
<i>LSE</i>	<i>Leeds Studies in English</i>
<i>M et H</i>	<i>Mediaevalia et Humanistica (n.s - new series)</i>
<i>MÆ</i>	<i>Medium Aevum</i>
<i>MED</i>	<i>Middle English Dictionary</i>
<i>MHRA</i>	<i>Modern Humanities Research Association</i>
<i>MLA</i>	<i>Modern Language Association</i>
<i>MLN</i>	<i>Modern Language Notes</i>
<i>MP</i>	<i>Modern Philology</i>
<i>MS</i>	<i>Medieval Studies</i>
<i>MWME</i>	<i>Manual of Writings in Middle English</i>
<i>NM</i>	<i>Neuphilologische Mitteilungen</i>
<i>OED</i>	<i>Oxford English Dictionary</i>
<i>PMLA</i>	<i>Publications of the Modern Language Association of America</i>
<i>PP</i>	<i>Past and Present</i>
<i>PQ</i>	<i>Philological Quarterly</i>
<i>RES</i>	<i>Review of English Studies</i>
<i>RMS</i>	<i>Reading Medieval Studies</i>
<i>Spec</i>	<i>Speculum</i>
<i>SB</i>	<i>Studies in Bibliography</i>
<i>SP</i>	<i>Studies in Philology</i>
<i>STS</i>	<i>Scottish Text Society</i>
<i>YES</i>	<i>Yearbook of English Studies</i>

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

help, iesus þat boʒtest ous wiþ þy blode!
(*Sir Ferumbras* 1153)

Romance-heroes are often at prayer; they make oaths no less frequently. The Middle English romances, quick to codify and ritualise that which is habitual, accordingly stereotype the devotional discourse such prayers and vows employ. They furnish a series of distinct religious formulae which both commemorate and characterise. By employing a relative-clause structure, these fixed formulae rehearse the deeds of God as set down in scripture. We are shown God in a range of aspects, as ‘god, that all hathe wrought’ (*Ipomedon* A 7717), ‘god, þat Mare bare’ (*Sir Gowther* 240), ‘hym þat þolede dep on tre’ (*Otuel* 892) and ‘God þat harewede helle’ (*Athelston* 595). We are shown that He will take on another aspect yet: ‘godde...þat alle schalle deme & dighte’ (*Duke Rowland and Sir Otuell of Spayne* 1268-69). The broad dependence of the romance tradition upon such formulae holds profound implications for romance style. The effect of such frequent Christian invocation is to supply the romances with a startling breadth of devotional imagery where to select one fixed phrase over another is to *characterise* God. ‘He that bore the crown of thorns’ is markedly distinct from ‘He who was in Bethlehem born’. This ready availability of a range of devotional imagery makes divergence from the stereotyped lexis of such formulae unusual. Only rarely does one encounter an invocation which breaks away from such diction:

þe gome vpon Gryngolet glydez hem vnder,
þurʒ mony misy and myre, mon al hym one,
Carande for his costes, lest he ne keuer schulde
To se þe seruyse of þat syre, þat on þat self nyʒt
*Of a burde watz borne oure baret to quelle*¹ (Emphasis mine)

¹ *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, ed. J.R.R. Tolkien and E.V. Gordon, 2nd edn, ed. Norman Davis (Oxford, 1967), ll.748-52.

More often, pious invocations are distinctly formulaic in structure:

Nowe ryde forþe, Gawen, on my blessynge,
 And grete wel Artyr, þat is your kynge,
 And pray hym þat he wolde,
For his loue þat in Bedlem was borne,
 That he wulle dyne wyth me to-morne.² (Emphasis mine)

However, by its formulaic character, the second of these examples makes conspicuous the underlying principle which ultimately governs them both. The common use of a dependent preterite clause reflects how any Christian invocation seeking to predicate the numinous (the mystical tradition apart) must draw upon a codified set of prescribed attributes. The *Pater Noster* commentaries of the period tell readily enough how vexed is the attempt to characterise God, insisting that in *qui es in celis* resides all that may accurately be predicated of the deity:

But we þat ben grete and boistreous in speche to speke of so hiȝe þing, speke we of God as men ben woned to likne and deuyse a man þat men kunne not nempne, as men seiþ, ‘He is a kyng; he is a duke; he is a grete maister, so faire and large,’ and such oþer preisynge at þe leste weie þat men mowe knowe hym þer-by. ¶ And ȝit seye þei not his riȝt name; and riȝt so speke we of God, and many wordes fynde we þat schewen vs wel what is of him, but þer nys non þat is so propre as þis word ‘þat is,’ þat so propreliche and so schortliche and so attaynautliche and sotyliche nempnen hym to vs, in as moche as oure vnderstondyng may a-reche.³

It is here that the prescribed set of attributes must be drawn upon: faced with this ‘man þat menne kunne not nempne’, Christian invocation may nevertheless commemorate those aspects of the Godhead which *have* been made manifest. We may make remembrance or *anamnesis* of God’s intercessory deeds:

Deus qui mirabiliter creasti hominem et mirabilius redemisti...⁴

[God who wonderfully created man and more wonderfully redeemed him...]

² *Sir Gawain and the Carl of Carlisle in Two Versions*, ed. Auvo Kurvinen (Helsinki, 1951), ll.571-76.

³ *The Book of Vices and Virtues*, ed. W. Nelson Francis, EETS 217 (1942), p.102.

⁴ Paschal prayer, *The Sarum Missal*, ed. J. Wickham Legg (Oxford, 1916), p.119.

Indeed, in the *Omnipotens sempiterne Deus qui...* of liturgical collects exists an archetypal formulaic system, where *parole* is signally governed by a fixed *langue*: a succession of canonical attributes which, be they formulaically or inventively rendered, must ultimately serve as the sole and incontestable *loci* of God.⁵ In the Middle English romances, texts characterised by their stereotyped diction, the rendering of these attributes is decidedly formulaic. These pious formulae⁶ complement the familiar set of secular formulae employed in characterising protagonists, describing feasts, tournaments and *loci amoeni*; unlike these, however, they are not attendant upon one narrative context alone but appear evenly across each text. That they not only do, but *should*, appear in initial prayers is asserted in *Emaré*:⁷

Menstrelles þat walken fer and wyde,
Her and þer in euey a syde,
In mony a dyuerse londe,
Sholde, at her bygynnyng
Speke of þat ryghtwes kyng
That made both see and sonde. (13-18)

Elsewhere within the romances, they appear in belligerent oaths:

By Hym þat dyed on þe tre,
This daye sall þou ded be (*Sir Degrevant* Lincoln 1741-42)

solemn vows of innocence and fidelity:

Be hym, þat dyed on tree,
Trespas was nevyr none in me (*Earl of Tolouse* 1072-73)

⁵ In *Pause and Effect: An Introduction to the History of Punctuation in the West* (Berkeley, 1993), Malcolm Parkes explains how the structure of a liturgical collect includes a 'protasis'. This 'consists of an invocation and a "relative predicate" which gives expression to those fundamental truths of the faith that underlie and direct the theme of the following petition' (p.76). Extensive investigation into the relationship between Middle English pious formulae and the 'relative predicates' of the liturgy lies outside the scope of this study. Chapter 3, however, does consider a possible liturgical influence upon the battle prayers in *Guy of Warwick*.

⁶ 'Formula' is defined in the *OED* 2nd edn, sense 1.a. as 'A set form of words in which something is defined, stated or declared'. Sense 1.d., regarding the critical use of the term offers no strict definition; indeed, as oral-formulaic studies in Old English have highlighted, it is notoriously difficult to define a formula in this technical sense. A working definition for the religious patterns considered in this study may be hazarded as: PRONOUN/PROPER NAME + RELATIVE CLAUSE.

⁷ For editions of romances cited hereafter see bibliography, section 1 (a).

and exhortations to moral conduct:

For his lufe þat deet on tre,
Loke ʒaure couandus holdun be! (*Sir Amadace* 760-61)

Appealing to a shared devotional consciousness, pious formulae equally animate emotive entreaties, ‘For god, that dyed on a tree, / Haue mercye of Tyrrye and of me’ (*Guy B* 5905-6) ; benedictions, ‘To blisse bring þe þe barne þat bought þe on rode’ (*Awyntyrs off Arthure* 222); and, of course, pious prayers:

Doun vpon hys knees he felle
And þankyd God þat harewede helle
And hys modyr so bryʒt. (*Athelston* 594-96)

If this wide usage suggests such formulae constitute an important aspect of romance style, critical attention to these phrases has been disproportionately slight, the metrical ease transparently afforded by religious ‘tags’ having diverted attention from their semantic value to their prosodic function. Meanwhile, the very great number of such formulae appearing in the broad romance corpus raises questions only partially explored to date. Is their usage meaningful or entirely mechanical? Given their appearance in such varied narrative contexts, in a genre admitting of differing degrees of piety from text to text, are pious formulae inevitably occasioned by technical exigencies alone?

In undertaking to explore these questions it has been necessary to assemble a catalogue of such formulae. Included as Appendix C, this catalogue forms the basis of the ensuing discursive chapters. It enables the comparison of identical phrases from across the romance corpus, illustrating their respective prosodic contexts by the tabulation of rhymes and metrical values. By furnishing extensive examples of pious formulae, the catalogue enables the informed assessment of the extent to which technical considerations determine different examples.

The catalogue lists each of the pious formulae appearing in at least one witness⁸ to each of the verse romance texts composed before 1500 and included in the corpus set out in the *Manual of Writings in Middle English* Volume I.⁹ Listing all relative-clause based invocations of God, the catalogue includes all pious phrases observing the following grammatical paradigms:

(A) Proper Noun + Relative Pronoun + Relative Clause:

god þat suffred passioun	(<i>Amis</i> 2117)
Iesu, that sytteth aboue	(<i>Guy B</i> 2224)
Lord that ys bothe god and man	(<i>Florence of Rome</i> 1270)

(B) Pronoun + Relative Pronoun + Relative Clause:

him þat þis world wan	(<i>Amis</i> 2380)
Hym þat dyed on rode	(<i>Florence of Rome</i> 1511)
He þat suffred for our sake sore woundes five	(<i>William of Palerne</i> 2510)

(C) Preposition + Possessive Pronoun + Noun + Relative Clause:

For his loue þat þis world hap wrouȝt	(<i>Guy</i> 200:8)
For hys loue, that dyed on tree	(<i>Guy B</i> 6133)
For His loue that shed His blode	(<i>Sir Landevale</i> 516)
In hys name...that boute mankend	(<i>Amoryus and Cleopes</i> 1862)

Such patterns appear in the catalogue in two forms. In Section 1 they are listed according to text in chronological sequence. In Section 2 they are sorted according to the theological topos presented and thus grouped with homologous phrases. This second section of the catalogue is split into ten major groupings, from A to K.¹⁰ These present

⁸ The inclusion of all variant readings of religious tags for each of the works in the corpus cannot be compassed without significantly broadening the scope of this study. Formulae are drawn however from two manuscript witnesses in the cases of *Guy of Warwick* (Auchinleck and CUL Ff. 2.38); *Beues of Hamtoun* (Auchinleck and Chetham MS. 8009); *Sir Ysumbras* (British Library, MS. Cotton Caligula A.ii and Lincoln Cathedral Library, MS. A.5.2). Additionally, the variant readings of four texts—*Sir Amadace*, *The King of Tars*, *Sir Eglamour*, and *Amis and Amiloun*—are printed in full in Appendix B.

⁹ The corpus consulted for this overview of the breadth of scope of pious formulae is that embraced by *The Manual of Writings in Middle English*, ed. J. Burke Severs, (New Haven, Conn., 1967), Vol I, pp.13-16. All prose texts are excluded, as are the romances of Chaucer, Gower and Lydgate, these being distinctly different creatures from the products of the predominantly anonymous English romance tradition. The post 1500 romance, *The Carl of Carlisle* is included in the corpus as is the late, probably fifteenth-century tail-rhyme romance, *Capystranus* (not listed in the *Manual*).

¹⁰ 'I' is omitted to avoid typographical confusion.

the Creation (A); Old Testament attributes (B); the Incarnation and Nativity (C); the Betrayal (D); the Crucifixion and Passion (E); the Redemption (F); other scriptural attributes treating Christ's ministry (G); eschatological attributes (H); omnitemporal attributes (J) and finally, miscellaneous phrases (K). Grouped in this way, what initially emerges from the collection of formulae assembled in the catalogue is an impressive witness to the evocation of a coherent pattern of Christian doctrine in the romances. For whilst predominantly invoking the Creation and the Passion, the pious formulae of the romances in fact figure the majority of the episodes of the sacred history, locating the deity in relation to certain Old Testament episodes, paying some attention to Christ's ministry and, indeed, eschatology.

The **Creation** (Genesis 1) is frequently invoked in these formulae, the most recurrent structures involving use of the verb 'wrought' in the rhyming position or use of the verb 'made' in collocation with a doublet:

god, that all hathe wrought	(<i>Ipomedon A</i> 7717)
god, þat all hath wroght	(<i>Guy B</i> 8605)
him þat made sonne & mone	(<i>Guy</i> 1453)
he þat schope bothe sunne and mone	(<i>Sir Amadace</i> 467)
Ihesu Crist... / Þat made Adam & Eue	(<i>King of Tars</i> 488-89)

The Creation apart, formulaic allusion to Old Testament episodes is rare. However, the **Deliverance of the Israelites** (Exodus 13: 18) is invoked in Lovelich's *History of the Holy Grail*: '[He] that ladde the Children of Israel / throw þe Rede se bothe drye & wel' (XLIX 24-6). Also, two formulae invoking **Samson's combat with the Lion** (Judges 14:5-6) appear in the corpus, both in the fifteenth-century version of *Guy of Warwick*:

God,...of myght so stronge, That madyst bothe day and nyght And dyed on tre for synfull wyght And sauyd Sampson fro the lyon	(6892)
lorde, þat reysed Lazerowne And Sampson werred fro þe lyon	(10193-94)

Closely related are the corpus' two invocations of the **Deliverance of Daniel from the Lions' Den** (Daniel 6:16-23). These appear in the Auchinleck *Guy* (7225; 252:5) in place of the Samson-invocation in the later version.¹¹ Phrases commemorating the **Vindication of Susanna before the Jewish elders** (Vulgate, Daniel 13) appear in all versions of *Guy of Warwick*, in the hero's last battle-prayer, that also containing the Daniel / Sampson invocations. Here God is invoked as He 'þat saued Sussan fram þe feloun' (252:4; cf. *Guy B* 10195). An identical structure appears in the alliterative *Cheuelere Assigne*, with God invoked as 'þe fadur... / That saued Susanne fro sorowefulle domus' (90-91).

No further Old Testament episodes being invoked in our formulae, the next episode in the sacred history to be figured is the **Incarnation** (Matthew 1:18). The topos appearing only rarely, renderings of the episode tend to be less rigidly stereotyped. Thus invocations include 'goddess son of heuyn, / That came to our kynde throgh a clean Maydon' (*Destruction of Troy* 4299-4300); 'þat ich lord þat wiþ his miȝt / In a maiden aliȝt, Y-born for to be' (*Otuel and Roland* 776-78); 'hym þat flechs of Marie tok' (*Sir Ferumbras* 5177) and 'Goddiss Sone / That in the Maydeins wombe dide wone' (Lovelich's *Holy Grail* XVII 339-40).

By contrast, the alliterative yoking of 'born' and 'Bethlehem' make for lexical rigidity in formulae invoking the **Nativity** (Matthew 2:1; Luke 2: 6-7):

him that was in Bethlehem born	(<i>Roswall and Lillian</i> 256)
for his love þat yn Bedlem was borne	(<i>Carl of Carlisle</i> 574)
him þat in Bedeleem was borne	(<i>Awyntyrs off Arthure</i> 549)

Of formulae invoking **Christ's Baptism** (Matthew 3: 13-17; Mark 1: 9; Luke 3: 21), only one example appears in the corpus, in *Lybeaus Descomus*, 'Cryst, / þat yn þe flome tok

¹¹ I hope to discuss the full significance of this variation in an article.

baptyste' (211-12).¹² Similarly, surprisingly few formulae invoke **Christ's Ministry**. The Raising of Lazarus (John 11: 43-44), for example, is invoked only four times within the corpus, in *Guy of Warwick*, *Beues of Hamton*, and *Havelok*:

Lord, þat rerede Lazeroun	(<i>Beues of Hamtoun</i> 2839)
Lord...þat rered Lazeroun	(<i>Guy of Warwick</i> 252:1)
lorde, þat reysed Lazerowne	(<i>Guy B</i> 10193)
Jhesu Crist, þat Lazarun	
To liue broucte fro dede-bondes	(<i>Havelok</i> 331-32)

It is from *Havelok* that our only additional example of a phrase invoking another aspect of Christ's ministry, the miracles, is drawn, where Christ is invoked as He 'þat made to go / þe halte and þe doumbe speke' (542-43).

The **Betrayal**¹³ (Matthew 26: 14-16, 47-49; Mark 14: 10-11, 42-45; Luke 22: 3-6, 47-48) is frequently invoked in a fixed formula, variation occurring only in the position of subject and object in the phrase:

Ihesu, þat Iudas sold	(<i>King of Tars</i> 906)
Iudas that Ihesus sold	(<i>Stanzaic Morte Arthur</i> 3250)
him þat Iudas sold	(<i>Amis and Amiloun</i> 1663)
him þat Iudas solde	(<i>Partonope of Blois</i> 869)
ffor his loue þat Judas solde	(<i>Richard Coeur de Lion</i> 5396)

Formulae invoking the **Crucifixion and Passion of Christ**¹⁴ (Matthew 27: 26-50; Mark 15: 15-37; Luke 23: 25-46; John 19: 16-30) abound in the corpus, a frequently recurring phrase being:

Hym þat dyed on rode	(<i>Florence of Rome</i> 1511)
him that deyde On tre	(<i>Lovelich's Holy Grail</i> XII 282)
God þat dyed vppon a tree	(<i>Lyfe of Ipomydon</i> 858)
For hys loue that dyed on Rode	(<i>Stanzaic Morte Arthur</i> 3247)
crist...þat died on the rood	(<i>Song of Roland</i> 230-31)

¹² This is curious in the light of the fondness for collocating the Baptism with the Nativity, as witnessed in the popular Middle English charm 'God was born in Bethlehem'. See below, Ch.2, p.52.

¹³ See catalogue, section D.

¹⁴ See catalogue, section E.

A sub-class of structures makes use of a verb of volition in such Passiontide-formulae. Examples occur in *Havelok*, ‘Crist þat wolde on rode blede’ (2404), and in the *Awntyrs off Arthure*, ‘him þat rightwisly rose and rest on þe rode’ (317). By contrast with these images of heroic self-sacrifice, another sub-class emphasises the subjection of Christ in His Passion:

Jesu that was don on the rode	(<i>Knight of Curtesy</i> 495)
Crist... / Þat don was on þe tre	(<i>Sir Tristrem</i> 390-91)
hym þat þolede deþ on tre	(<i>Otuel</i> 892)
hym þat suffryd payne	(<i>Athelston</i> 168)
hym þat suffurde woundys fyve	(<i>Florence of Rome</i> 913)

Meanwhile, invocations of the instruments of the Passion focus chiefly upon the **Crown of Thorns** (Matthew 27: 29; Mark 15: 17; John 19: 2, 5):

him þat bar þe croun of þorn	(<i>Guy of Warwick</i> 31:4)
hym þat weres þe corowne off þorn	(<i>Athelston</i> 270)
for his loue, þat bar þe croun of þorn	(<i>Amis and Amiloun</i> 302)
hym þat wered þe crown of thorne	(<i>Sir Eglamour</i> 292)
hym that bare the crowne of thorne	(<i>Stanzaic Morte Arthur</i> 3555)

Mention is made of the piercing of Christ’s side by Longinus (John 19:34) exclusively in the *Earl of Tolouse*: ‘[god] That stong was wyth a sper’ (648) and the southern *Octavian*: ‘Ihesu, þat was wyth spere ystounge’.¹⁵

Closely related to Passiontide-tags, formulae invoking the **Redemption** generally employ the verb ‘bought’, often appearing in collocation with ‘dear’ (adj.) and ‘with his / thy blood’:

God þat me dere boʒte	(<i>Sir Amadace</i> 213)
Hym... þat me bowʒt	(<i>Sir Cleges</i> 283)
him þat wiþ his blod bouʒt vs on þe rode	(<i>William of Palerne</i> 2360)
iesus, þat boʒtest ous wiþ þy blode	(<i>Sir Ferumbras</i> 1153)
him... þat þis world wan	(<i>Guy of Warwick</i> 12:2)

¹⁵ See catalogue, section E11. The spear is also mentioned, though not in a ‘he that...’ form, in a prayer from Lovelich’s *History of the Holy Grail*: ‘and Sethen On Croys I-don thow were, / and there-vppon I-stongen with a spere’ (312-13).

The dramatic and popular episode of the **Harrowing of Hell** (Apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus)¹⁶ is well represented by pious formulae invoking *Christus Victor*:

He þat heried helle	(<i>William of Palerne</i> 3725)
Crist þat heried hell	(<i>Ywain and Gawain</i> 2874)
God þat harewede helle	(<i>Athelston</i> 595)
For his loue that harowed hell	(<i>Squire of Low Degree</i> 148)
Iesu is love, that harood hell	(<i>Torrent of Portyngale</i> 1799)

Curiously, no phrases in the corpus rehearse the **Resurrection** (Matthew 28.1-8; Mark 16.1-8; Luke 24.1-7) and, again, the only examples of phrases invoking the **Ascension** (Luke 24.50-3) appear in the alliterative *Wars of Alexander*, ‘he þat stiȝe to þe sternes’ (3595) and in a cumulative list of divine attributes in *Richard Coeur de Lion*: ‘He þat on þe rode gan blede, / ... / And afftyr steȝ vp into heuene’ (5592-97).¹⁷

Occasional reference to the **Last Judgement** is made in these formulae. In the Alliterative *Morte Arthure* God is invoked as ‘the austeryn jugge / That all þis werlde wynly wysse[s] as hym lykes’ (670-71) and in *Duke Rowland and Sir Otuell of Spayne* as ‘god... / þat alle schalle deme & dele’ (1316-17). The latter tag recurs with slight variation in the doublet in *Emaré*: ‘Thesu, þat ys kyng in trone /.../ And all þat shalle dele and dyghte’ (1-3). Equally eschatological in focus are the tags appearing in *Ipomedon A*, ‘hym, that all shal wolde’ (1893), and in *Le Bone Florence of Rome*, ‘hym that all schall welde’ (558).¹⁸

Formulae identifying God as the Trinity are popular, the classic structure being:

Ihesu, þat syttyth in trinite	(<i>Otuel and Roland</i> 2421)
god, þat sit in trinite	(<i>Beues of Hamtoun</i> 4430)
Iesu, þat sit in trinite	(<i>Reinbrun</i> 26:2)
Jhesu, that syttyth yn trynyte	(<i>Octouian</i> 958)
For hys loue...	
That syttyth aboue in trynyte	(<i>Guy B</i> 10115-16)

¹⁶ See catalogue, section G4.

¹⁷ See catalogue, section K2.3.

¹⁸ Note the appropriation of this tag to a pagan god in *Duke Rowland and Sir Otuell of Spayne*: ‘Mahoun þat alle schall welde’ (977).

As this last example indicates, formulae often occur locating God ‘above’ or ‘on high’:

Gode þat syttethe a-bofe	(<i>Partonope of Blois</i> 1848)
Iesu Criste þat sittis aboffe	(<i>Sege of Melayne</i> 1384)
Jhesu, þat in heuene syt	(<i>Richard Coeur de Lion</i> 4188)
Jhesu Crist þat sit on hye ¹⁹	(<i>Titus and Vespasian</i> 3764)

The few genuinely idiosyncratic pious invocations occurring in the romances and listed in the miscellaneous section of the catalogue (K) include the eucharistic tags unique to *Le*

Bone Florence of Rome:

hym Y sawe in forme of bredd, When þe preest can synge	(1004-5)
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a lorde that neuyr schall dye, That preestys schewe in forme of bredd	(1100-01)
--	-----------

and the distinctively idiomatic ‘God, that settis all on sevin’ in *Golagrus and Gawain*.²⁰ In addition, a rare pattern employed in a small group of texts might be seen to nod at

Chaucer’s Franklin’s *demande d’amour* in styling God:

Lorde Jhesu, þat is so free	(<i>Titus and Vespasian</i> 2639)
him þat was so fre	(<i>Avowing of King Arthur</i> 226)
god þat is so fre	(<i>Guy of Warwick</i> 6868)
Jesu Criste that is so fre	(<i>Sir Ysumbras</i> , Cotton 136)
godes loue in trinite / Þat is lord [so] fre ²¹	(<i>Reinbrun</i> 69:2-3)

The examples grouped in the catalogue, then, embody an impressive range of religious imagery, reflecting that in the vows and pious prayers of the English romances there occurs a wide variety of invocations appealing to God and Christ in distinct theological aspects. From these and related stock phrases much of the piety of the genre is derived.

¹⁹ This tag is also appropriated to a pagan referent in *Beues of Hamtoun*, ‘Mahoun, þat sit an hi?’ (535).

²⁰ The phrase recurs in ‘The Pistill of Susan’, *Scottish Alliterative Poems*, ed F.J. Amours, STS 27, 88 (1892, 1897), l.264: ‘Boþe þe sonne and þe see þou sette vppon seuene’.

The periphrastic pious formulae employed by the *Gawain*-poet have long been noted as distinctive. See John W. Clark, ‘Paraphrases for “god” in the poems attributed to “the Gawain-poet”’, *MLN* 65 (1950), 232-36.

²¹ Interestingly, this structure appears to be the one pious formula the relative predicate of which may also be applied to secular figures. Thus cf. *Beues of Hamton* l.226, ‘Me wif and child, þat was so fre’ and *Sir Ysumbras*, Cotton MS, l.478, ‘the kynge that was so fre’.

Of course, the stereotyped style of the verse romances makes difficult the isolation of a group of formulae as a discrete system; these relative-clause-based pious tags exhibit close affinities with a wider matrix of religious vocabulary.²² This includes succinct benedictions:

God mot ʒow se	(<i>Ywain and Gawain</i> 3355)
God me spede	(<i>Sir Cleges</i> 419)
God me rede	(<i>Ywain and Gawain</i> 713)
God me saue	(<i>Sir Cleges</i> 416)

and short, exclamatory oaths:²³

by godes name	(<i>Emaré</i> 757)
be Goddus grace	(<i>Emaré</i> 787)
be God and Seint Mari	(<i>Sir Cleges</i> 265)
be Goddis pyne	(Gilbert Hay's <i>Buik of Alexander</i> 4856)

Also related are elliptical invocations of God which omit a relative clause:

god on rode	(<i>Guy of Warwick</i> , Caius 8634; <i>Athelston</i> 644)
god all weldande	(<i>Guy of Warwick</i> , Caius 8735)
Iesu omnipotent	(<i>Guy of Warwick</i> , Auchinleck 21:4)

Additionally, there exists an important class of formula exhibiting a close relation to the examples of the catalogue but distinguished by the use of prepositional, not relative, sub-clauses in the rehearsal of numinous attributes. Formulae of this kind speak of 'Jhesu, as þu deet on þe rode' (*Sir Amadace* 409); 'lorde, als þou swelte on þe rode' (*Sege of Melayne* 79); 'God as thou were in Bethleme boren' (*Wedding of Sir Gawain* 838).

Whilst not as frequent as those employing the relative clause, these formulae do appear fairly evenly across the romances, often in significant contexts. In *The Awntyrs off Arthure*, for example, Gawain makes a dramatic challenge to the ghost of the Tarn

²² Other religious formulae appearing in the romances are set out by A.C. Baugh, 'Improvisation in the Middle English Romance', *Proceedings of the American Philological Society* 103 (1959), 418-44 (423-24; 444; 454). See also Carl Schmirgel, 'Typical Expressions in Sir Beues', *Beues of Hamtoun*, ed. Eugen Kölbing, EETS ES 46, 48, 65 (1885, 1886, 1894), p.xlix.

²³ Such exclamatory phrases are closely related to the oath patterns indicted by contemporary moralists and considered below in Appendix A.

Wadling, employing exactly this structure:

þen coniured þe kniȝt; on Crist con he calle:
 ‘As þou was crucifiged on croys to clanse vs of syn—
 þou sei me þe sothe wheþer þou salle,
 And whi þou walkest þes wayes þe wodes within.’ (133-36)

Likewise in *Sir Amadace*, another of the romances of the Ireland manuscript, the impecunious protagonist employs a similar construction in appealing to Christ for aid:

Jhesu, as þu deut on tre
 Summe of þi sokur send þu me,
 Spedely in this place. (428-30)

The same paradigm is employed to still more poignant effect in the unlikely context of *The Wedding of Sir Gawain and Dame Ragnell*. The poem’s closing prayer asks for intercession for its protagonists:

Nowe God as thou were in Bethleme boren
 Suffer nevere her soules be forlorne
 In the brinning fire of helle! (838-40)

The prayer then becomes an urgent personal appeal as the narrator bids:

And, Jhesu, as thou were born of a virgin,
 Help him out of sorowe that this tale did devine,
 And that nowe in alle hast,
 For he is beset withe gailours many,
 That kepen him fulle sewerly,
 With wiles wrong and wraste. (841-46)

Whilst falling outside the syntactic criteria prescribed for inclusion in the catalogue, these ‘as thou’ constructions exhibit clear affinities with relative-clause-based formulae. Indeed, there exists some evidence of the interchangeability of the two patterns. In a key prayer in *Sir Gowther*, for example, the Advocates MS. 19.3.1. includes a formula employing a relative clause:

Syr Gwother went to a chambur smart,
 And preyd to god in his hart,
 On rode þat boȝtt hym dere (389-91)

In British Library, MS. Royal 17.B.43, however, the supplicatory clause is introduced differently: ‘*As he had*’ appears in place of ‘On rode þat’ (Italics mine).²⁴ Likewise, the different manuscript witnesses to a similar prayer in *Sir Eglamour*, lines 111-12, again attest to the close relation between the two forms:

Lincoln 91	Cotton Caligula AII.
Lorde, ʒe graunt me my bone	To Ihesu Crist he made his bone
On þe rode als þou me boghte.	To that Lord þat vs bowʒt

Another set of formulae rehearsing the numinous attributes but excluded from the catalogue are those employing the preposition ‘for’ to invoke the attributes of God and Christ. Examples include *King Horn*, ‘Crist for his wundes fyue’(1459) and *Firumbras*, ‘I pray to Ihesu cryst for hys woundes fyue’ (1183); ‘lord...for thy passyoun’ (1815). Certain attributes are invoked *only* in this ‘for thy’ construction, these being the Holy Name of Jesus:

Iesu, for thy holy name	(<i>Torrent of Portyngale</i> 537)
ihesu crist for hys holy name	(<i>Firumbras</i> 599)

and the deity’s ‘seven names’ of Judaic tradition:²⁵

God, for his name sevene	(<i>Guy of Warwick</i> 2841)
Ihesu, for thy namys seuyn	(<i>Stanzaic Morte Arthur</i> 3843)
God.....for hys namys seuene	(<i>Octouian Emperor</i> 193-94)

A final set of pious formulae excluded from the catalogue involve an appositive mode of attribute rehearsal. A conspicuous example appears in *Beues of Hamtoun*:

Lord,...heuene king, Schepere of erþe & alle þing, ²⁶	(1797-99)
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That such structures are closely related to relative-clause based formulae is evident in the reflection of the frequently appearing tag ‘Ihesu þat es heuens Kyng’ (*Sir Eglamour* 1) in

²⁴ *Sir Ysumbras* p.151.

²⁵ These being the seven names of Hebraic tradition: ‘El, Elohim, Adonai, Elyon, Shaddai, Qadosh, YHVH’ as listed in *The Oxford Companion to the Bible*, ed. Bruce M. Metzger and Michael P. Coogan (Oxford, 1993), pp.548-49.

²⁶ Cf. ll. 1579-80: ‘“Lord,” a sede, “heuene king, / Schepere of erþe & alle þing” ’.

an appositional form which simply omits the relative pronoun: ‘Jhesu heven king’ (*Amis and Amiloun*, Douce, 3:11; 11:8; 26:9; 27:4; 129:12; 135:10). Likewise, the relative-based pattern, ‘god þat is ful of miȝt’ (*Guy* 3909) may be contracted in the same way to ‘god, ful of miȝt’ (*Guy* 2504); ‘Iesu ful of miȝt’ (*Beues of Hamtoun* 2906).

The close relation between these appositional and relative constructions is further evident with notice to their contexts in rhyme. Formulae invoking ‘Jesus that is heaven’s king’ regularly rhyme with present participles or a gerund derived therefrom:

Ihesu that is heuen king (looking)	(<i>Generides</i> 4276)
Iesu Crist that is heuen kyng (wrastlyng)	(<i>Gamelyn</i> 193)
Iesu, þat is heuene-kyng (endyng)	(<i>Athelston</i> 810)
Jhesus, þat ys Heuenekyng (blessyng)	(<i>Sir Launfal</i> 1042)
Ihesu þat es heuen Kyng (blyssyng)	(<i>Sir Eglamour</i> 1)

The same is true of the contracted appositional forms:

Jhesu heven kyng (blyssyng)	(<i>Amis and Amiloun</i> ²⁷ 11:8)
Jhesu heven king (thing) (duellyng) (parting)	(<i>Amis</i> 26:9)
For Ihesus loue, heven king (duelling)	(<i>King of Tars</i> 248)

Again, the close connection between pious formulae which include the relative pronoun and those which omit it is evident in the varying readings of the Auchinleck and Vernon manuscripts of the *King of Tars* at lines 241-42. The former manuscript reads:

Now douhter, blisced mot þou be
Of Ihesu Crist in Trinite.²⁸

Lacking the relative pronoun, the tag does not conform to the criteria of the catalogue and is thus excluded; not so with the reading in Vernon and the related Simeon manuscript:

Douhter, he seide, blessed thou be
Of god that sit in trinite.²⁹

²⁷ Douce text.

²⁸ *The King of Tars*, ed. Judith Perryman (Heidelberg, 1980).

²⁹ *The King of Tars*, in *Ancient English Metrical Romances*, ed. Joseph Ritson (London, 1802).

Substitution of 'god' for 'Ihesu Crist' has left the Vernon-redactor wanting the iamb provided by 'that sit' and thus a formula which *does* qualify for inclusion in the catalogue is occasioned. The difficulty of prescribing a fixed grammatical paradigm for 'pious formulae' is thus highlighted once more. Clearly, this wider matrix of religious vocabulary plays its own part in bringing an allusive power to the relative-clause-based formulae which form the subject of this study.

A review of the catalogue thus furnishes a salient thematic point: the pious formulae of the romances rehearse key episodes of salvation history. They refer broadly, if not comprehensively, to a coherent pattern of Christian doctrine. These stock formulae supply an impressive range of devotional imagery to the romances. Such phrases are at least potentially meaningful in a tradition of writing embracing such pious texts as *Guy of Warwick*, *Sir Amadace*, and *The King of Tars*. Yet does their proliferation in the corpus reflect a usage that is truly meaningful or merely mechanical? Is the potentially allusive aspect of such phrases successfully balanced against that other important feature of formulae attested by the catalogue—their prosodic adaptability? Such questions must underlie an approach to individual examples for, as the catalogue attests, the prosodic flexibility of pious formulae is impressive. Clearly, by supplying a range of metrical values and rhymes, such formulae constituted a valuable compositional resource in each of the verse schemes employed in the romance tradition.³⁰ Tail-rhyme verse, the form most

³⁰ Extensive information on the rhyming context of pious formulae appears in the catalogue (Appendix C). In describing the syllabic quantities and rhythmical values of religious formulae the following discussion seeks only to reflect ostensible prosodic norms. As Jennifer Fellows states, arguing against textual emendation on purely metrical grounds, 'we simply do not know enough at present about the principles of Middle English prosody' ('Editing Middle English Romances' in *Romance in Medieval England*, ed. Maldwyn Mills, Jennifer Fellows and Carol M. Meale (Cambridge, 1991), pp.5-16 (p.14). To impose a regularity upon the verse of this period may well be to obscure metrical variation, as has recently been shown with regard to Chaucer and his followers: see E.G. Stanley, 'Chaucer's Metre after Chaucer', *N&Q* 234 (1989), 11-23; 151-62.

strongly associated with the genre, readily attests to the considerable adaptability of the ‘GOD / CHRIST / HE THAT...’ pattern.³¹ Examples drawn from the catalogue show how such formulae appear in a range of positions across each triplet. Tetrametered formulae may supply one verse of the couplet, the pronoun or proper name bearing the first stress, the relative clause the remaining three:

The kyng I haue a present browȝtt
From Hym þat made all thyng of nowȝt (Sir Cleges 274-75)

Be hym þat suffurde woundys fyve
I schall neuyr be thy wyfe (Bone Florence 913-14)

Now god, þat schope al mankinde,
Wald we miȝt þat tresour finde (Guy of Warwick 165:10-11)

Shorter patterns also appear wherein the relative clause itself bears only two stresses:³²

And thankyd god, that syttyth in trone (Earl of Toulouse 458)
grette god, þat oweth this day (Ipomedon A 1338)
And prayd to god, þat dyed on Rode (Torrent of Portyngale 988)

Formulae appearing in the three-stress cauda may comprise a two-stress relative clause and a stressed pronoun or proper noun:

Let therefore no blode be spylte,
For hym that all schall welde (Bone Florence 557-58)

Y schal nouȝt fle him a fot
Bi him þat suffred ded (Guy of Warwick 77:11-12)

‘Lorde, mercy!’ con he cry
To god, þat Mare bare (Sir Gowther 240)

³¹ On the tail-rhyme stanza see Caroline Strong, ‘History and Relations of the Tail-Rhyme Strophe in Latin, French, and English’, *PMLA* 22 (1907), 341-420. On English tail-rhyme romances see further A. McL. Trounce, ‘The English Tail-Rhyme Romances’, *MAE* 1 (1932), 87-108, 168-82; 2 (1933), 34-57, 189-98; 3 (1934), 30-50, and Urs Durmuller, *Narrative Possibilities of the Tail-Rhyme Romance* (Bern, 1975).

³² Susan Wittig, *Stylistic and Narrative Structures in the Middle English Romances* (Texas, 1978), pp.34-35 gives other examples of the use of this paradigm. The ‘two-stress relative clause dependent on a noun in the first half of the line’ (p.34) she shows to be a syntactic structure widely employed in the characterisation of secular figures also, as in the *Earl of Tolouse*: ‘The fayrest woman that is on lyfe’ (188).

Alternatively, formulae appearing in the cauda may involve three-stress relative clauses, the pronoun or name of God or Christ having appeared in the previous line:³³

To Iesu Cryst prayd he,
That hathe thys world to wyld (Torrent of Portyngale 207)

Al for Ihesu Cristes sake,
þat is oure sauyoure (Amis and Amiloun 68-69)

& serued god wiþ al his miȝt,
þat sit in trinite (Guy of Warwick 299:5-6)

Such trimetered formulae may as readily appear in the four-stress couplet verses, the wanting stressed syllable being supplied in an introductory phrase attributing the utterance to a speaker:

He sware be hym þat dyed on rod
 Met nor drynk schuld do hym god (Earl of Tolouse 136-37)

He seyde: 'He that harowed hell,
 Kepe you fro all parell' (Earl of Tolouse 256-57)

Sche seyde, 'Be God, þat boght me dere
 Me had leuyr þe warste bachylere' (Bone Florence 244-45)

Such phrases of attribution may as readily appear in a caesural position. Again, their use accomodates three-stress pious formulae into the four-stress line:

Be God, he seyde, þat all may (Bone Florence 736)
 'Bi him,' he seyde, 'þat þis world wan' (Guy of Warwick 12:2)
 'Be Hym,' he seyde, 'that me bowȝt' (Sir Cleges 283)

The tail-rhyme examples of the catalogue reflect two further distinct strategies for adapting pious formulae for use in both the four-stress couplets and the tail-rhymes alike. One strategy involves use of the paradigm 'GOD / CHRIST / HE THAT SITS IN THRONE / TRINITY'. Slight adaptation of subject and object in this structure enables its

³³ See Wittig, *Stylistic and Narrative Structures*, pp.35-36 for secular examples.

use in either prosodic position. Thus in *Guy of Warwick*, the ‘throne’ pattern is employed in the cauda:

Now herkenep a litel striif,
 Hou he saued þe pilgrims liif
Iesu, þat sitt in trone (181:1-3)

In *Emaré* however, use of the possessive pronoun allows its accommodation to the couplet:

Iheso, þat settes yn þy trone,
 So graunte vs wyth þe to w[o]ne,
 In þy perpetualle glorye! (1033-35)

In *The Earl of Tolous* the ‘sits in...’ tag appears again in the tail-rhyme but with slight variation. Here, the proper name has been given in the previous line. Thus the poet requires the extra syllable, and of course the rhyme, afforded by ‘trynyte’ in place of ‘trone’:

And syþ he þanked god of hys grace,
That syts in trynyte (119-20)

Meanwhile the poet of *Athelston* is able to employ the ‘Trinity’ pattern in collocation with the proper name, thus constituting a four-stress couplet verse:

God, þat syt in Trynyte,
 A bone that thou graunte me (420-21)

As attested in the catalogued examples, a second system for adapting pious formulae for use in couplet and tail-rhyme alike involves structures exploiting the two-stress metrical value of the pronominal phrase ‘for his love’ when dealing with two-stress relative clauses. Use or avoidance of the phrase enables the accommodation of a homologous relative clause pattern to a four-stress or three-stress line respectively. Thus in *Octavian Imperator*, a Judas-tag prefaced with ‘for his loue’ appears in the couplet:

For hys loue, þat Iudas sold,
 Lesteneþ a stound! (543-44)

But in *The King of Tars*, prefaced only with preposition and proper name, the tag is tailored to the cauda:

& his preier he gan make
To Ihesu, þat Iudas sold (905-6)

The same adaptational practice is evident within a single triplet in the Ireland text of *Sir Amadace*, where the different metrical values of two pronominal phrases enable the almost verbatim recurrence of a relative clause in both couplet and cauda:

For his luffe þet deet on tre
Quatsever ʒe will, do with me,
For him þat deet on rode. (736-38)

Thus hardly bound by prosodic context, pious formulae may dominate two thirds or even the whole of a triplet in the frequent phenomenon of run-on patterns, usually from the second couplet verse to the cauda:

From Hym þat made all thyng of nowʒt,
And dyed on þe rode (Sir Cleges 305-6)

for him þat dyed on rode,
& þat for ous schadde his blod,
To bigge ous alle fre (Guy of Warwick 246:7-9)

Whilst conspicuous by their frequent use in tail-rhyme romance, identical formulae are also widely drawn upon in poems composed in rhymed couplets. Here, many of the same strategies of adaptation in deployment are evident.³⁴ Full-line structures are again frequent, here in the four-stress line:

By him þat made sonne & mone,
Þou schalt it wite swiþe sone (Guy 1453-54)

God, that this world made round,
Brynge the aʒeyn hol and sound (Laud Troy Book 981-82)

³⁴ Prayer formulae and related patterns appearing in the couplet romance *Beues of Hamtoun* are catalogued by Carl Schmirgel, 'Typical Expressions and Repetitions in 'Sir Beues of Hamtoun' in *Beues of Hamtoun*, ed. Eugen Kolbing, EETS ES 46, 48, 65 (1885-94), pp.xlv-lxvi.

Bi him, þat þoled ded on tre,
 Man no lay neuer bi me (Arthur and Merlin 907-8)

Also numerous are trimetered formulae, often prefaced by attribution to a speaker:

Thus said, 'For Him that sits on hie
 Let your Son's fault forgiven be' (Roswall and Lillian 127-28)

Bot thorgh His might þat þoled wownd,
 Þe storme sesed within a stownde (Ywain and Gawain 383-84)

In whiche Scheld was A Crois so Red,
 In Signe of him that Suffrede ded
 (Lovelich's *Holy Grail* XIV 477-78)

As in tail-rhyme, phrases described by Susan Wittig as 'two verse sequences'³⁵ which split pronoun / proper noun from relative clause also appear:

He myght sone suche thynges han wrought,
Þat maked all þe worlde of noght (Titus and Vespasian 207-8)

For hys loue y bydde the,
That syttyth aboue in trynyte (Guy B 10115-16)

... / for þe lordes loue,
That all þing maketh and sitteth a-bove (Partonope 7303-4)

Again, as with the run-on structures of tail-rhyme, concatenations of formulae may occupy a series of discrete couplets:

Þilke lord þat woneþ on heye,
 þat al þing walt fer and neye,
 & in þe rode let him pini
 Al cristen men to saui (Guy of Warwick 3891-94)

Pious formulae are equally adaptable in alliterative verse.³⁶ Despite the very different exigencies of this medium, half-line formulae exhibit close lexical

³⁵ Susan Wittig, *Stylistic and Narrative Structures*, p.35.

³⁶ J.P. Oakden, *Alliterative Poetry in Middle English: A Survey of the Traditions* (Manchester, 1935), p.394 gives some attention to periphrases for God; in his edition of *Purity* (Conn. and London, 1920, repr. 1970), R.J. Menner quotes periphrases from *Morte Arthur* and *William of Palerne* in his discussion of the idiosyncratic formulations of the *Gawain*-poet (pp. xvi-xviii).

correspondence to those occurring in rhymed verse. The following examples demonstrate the extent of this identity:

he þat heried helle [a-verse]	(<i>William of Palerne</i> 3725)
He that harowed hell [Tail-rhyme]	(<i>Earl of Tolouse</i> 256)
him þat ous wrouȝt [b-verse]	(<i>William of Palerne</i> 3133)
him þat ous haþ wrouȝt [Tail-rhyme]	(<i>King of Tars</i> 606)
Criste þat me made [b-verse]	(<i>Alliterative Morte Arthure</i> 3385)
God þat me has made [Couplet]	(<i>Ywain and Gawain</i> 1723)

Doubtless, the relaxed alliterative requirement in b-lines, and the free use made of alliterative formulae in rhymed verse, goes some way in accounting for such close correspondences. These similarities may even extend to full-line patterns, lexical divergence arising principally in the use of alliterating synonyms for ‘man’.³⁷ Again, comparison with formulae from a different verse scheme is illuminating:

þat blisful barn þat bouȝt us on þe rode	(<i>William of Palerne</i> 1669)
Jhesu þat bouȝt ous on þe rode [Tail-rhyme]	(<i>Bone Florence</i> 2186)
the Renke that on the Rode dyede	(<i>Alliterative Morte Arthure</i> 3217)
God, that dyed on the Rood [Tail-rhyme]	(<i>Torrent of Portyngale</i> 643)
him þat in Bedeleem was borne euer to ben our bote	(<i>Awyntyrs off Arthure</i> 549)
him that was in Bethlehem borne [Couplet]	(<i>Roswall and Lillian</i> 256)

Attribution of an oath pattern to a speaker may, as in rhymed verse, split a formula thus:

‘Bi Crist,’ sede þe king, ‘þat on croyce was peyned’	(<i>William of Palerne</i> 4151)
‘bi God,’ quap Alphuns, ‘þat gart me be fourmed’	(<i>William of Palerne</i> 4468)
‘Nay, bi God,’ quap Gawayn, ‘þat me gost lante’	(<i>Sir Gawain and the Green Knight</i> 2250)

³⁷ Alliterative pious formulae tend not to incorporate the collocations or fixed ‘alliterative phrases’ catalogued by J.P. Oakden, *Alliterative Poetry in Middle English.*, pp.267-312. One of the few conspicuous exceptions to this rule is the ‘grete god’ collocation which is also employed in rhymed verse: ‘grete God þat gart me be fourmed’ (*William of Palerne* 2082); ‘grete god at gyes all þe sternes’ (*Wars of Alexander* 1766); ‘grette god, that owethe this day’ (*Ipomedon* A 8592).

Finally, the metrical adaptability which so fits these formulae for use across different verse forms is, of course, complemented in alliterative poetry by the high alliterative rank of such words as ‘Christ’, ‘cross’, ‘God’, ‘gost’, ‘barn’, ‘bliss/ful’ ‘bought’, ‘renk’, ‘rood’.

Certain of these appear often in collocation, either in the long line:

To blisse bring þe þe barne þat bought þe on rode (*Awyntyrs off Arthure* 222-23)

He bryng vs to the blisse, þat bled for our Syn (*Destruction of Troy* 14044)

or even in the closing ‘wheel’ of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*:

Now þat bere þe croun of þorne,
He bryng vus to His blysse! (2529-30)

Pious formulae thus admit of extensive adaptation within each of the verse schemes employed in romance. In addition to their use in tail-rhyme, rhymed couplets, and the alliterative long line, these formulae are present in texts composed in quatrains, rhyme royal and other stanzaic strophes.³⁸ The prosodic utility of such formulae is manifest and the potential for redundancy implicit. The rhymes, rhythmical values, and alliterating patterns of the attributive adjuncts—‘þat made all thyng of nowȝt’; ‘that al schall welde’; ‘þat in Bedeleem was borne’—clearly diminish the likelihood that a pious invocation will occasion the proper name or pronoun in isolation. This has inevitably provoked some suspicion of how far pious formulae are truly meaningful in the romances. Cognisant of the metrical ease these afford, critical tradition has tended to look unfavourably upon such stock religious phrases. Although the preceding pages have shown that these invocations are at least potentially meaningful in that they refer to a coherent pattern of Christian doctrine, they have often been linked with other stock components of romance style. Where they are treated in critical accounts at all, they tend

³⁸ There are, for example, eight such formulae in the romance of *Amoryus and Cleopes*, written in rhyme royal.

to be grouped with secular formulae: transitions, requests for silence, tautological doublets, stock attributes of chivalric figures. Secular and religious formulae alike are implicitly tarred with the same brush when J.S.P. Tatlock writes of the formulae of *Athelston*, *Beues*, *Sir Tristrem* and others:

they are apt to be brief, parenthetical and unessential, making little or no contribution to the narrative...a general stock of insignificant, shop-worn counters, the profusion of which suggests helplessness.³⁹

In similar terms L.H. Loomis writes of the Auchinleck romances:

most people would agree that these romances are thoroughly conventionalized and pedestrian in style. They must be put down to the authorship of men of generally humble literary attainments, of no literary ambition, and nearly all of whom were possessed of the same 'patter' of well-worn clichés, the same stereotyped formulas of expression, the same stock rimes, which Chaucer was to parody in such masterly fashion in *Sir Thopas*.⁴⁰

George Kane similarly identifies 'tags and padding' as generic faults of the Middle English verse romance.⁴¹ More recently, C. David Benson, again citing the Chaucerian 'parody', finds in the *Laud Troy Book* 'meaningless tags and repetitious lines, which produce the fatigue in the reader so brilliantly parodied by *Sir Thopas*'.⁴² Specific comment on pious formulae includes W.R.J. Barron's assertion that, as used in closural prayers, they represent 'the tritest of terminal conventions in minstrel romance'.⁴³ He views the *Gawain*-poet's poignant use of a Passiontide-tag—'Now þat bere þe croun of þorne, / He bryng vus to his blysse!' (2529-30)—as marking the exception to the rule.

Recent scholarship, however, has developed a more sympathetic approach to the formulaic style of the Middle English romances, recognising the limitations of critical

³⁹ J.S.P. Tatlock, 'Epic Formulas, especially in *Lazamon*', *PMLA* 38 (1923), 494-529 (521).

⁴⁰ L.H. Loomis, 'The Auchinleck Manuscript and a Possible London Bookshop of 1330-40', *PMLA* 57 (1942), 595-627 (607-8).

⁴¹ George Kane, *Middle English Literature* (London, 1951), p.12.

⁴² C. David Benson, *The History of Troy in Middle English Literature* (Suffolk, 1980), p.71.

⁴³ W.R.J. Barron, *English Medieval Romance* (London/New York, 1987), p.173.

responses which leave that style at a remove not only beyond not only our aesthetic approbation, but also our understanding. Susan Wittig's study addresses the issue thus:

The most important and immediate task is to recognize the functionality of the stylistic redundancy of the narratives in our study, to attempt to ascertain in some fashion its level of efficiency among other levels of narrative discourse, and to understand the reasons for its occurrence in these popular tales.⁴⁴

The author fulfils something of this task in demonstrating that the formulaic style of the Middle English romances is ineluctably bound up with content: surface 'syntagms' reflect deeper narrative structures beneath, and serve to make the thematic symmetry and formal patterning of the romances self-expository. Meanwhile, Derek Pearsall has emphasised the associative and evocative potential of the formulaic element of the romances:

Genuine formulae...can exist as a sort of stylised verbal equivalence, where a certain series of phrases, rigorously formalised in content, are the recognised stimulus, through their traditional associations, for a certain poetic response, a form of descriptive shorthand.⁴⁵

Carol Fewster has further investigated this associative aspect of romance formulae, showing how different narrative contexts may wring connotation from patterns long characterised as lacking even a significant denotative value:

As reading symbols to an implied context, formulae can subvert expectations evoked in the reader; they provide an economical system for the finely-gauged marking out of different meanings.⁴⁶

Scholarly opinion has thus become progressively more comfortable with the formulaic style of the Middle English romances. In fact the introduction to the most recent anthology of such texts carries not an apologia for the mannerisms of minstrel style but

⁴⁴ *Stylistic and Narrative Structures*, p.13.

⁴⁵ Derek Pearsall, *Old English and Middle English Poetry* (London, 1977), p.149. Pearsall draws a distinction between 'formulae' and 'tags'. This distinction is not adopted in the present study, neither term being employed in a pejorative sense.

⁴⁶ Carol Fewster, *Traditionality and Genre in Middle English Romance* (Cambridge, 1987), p.12.

the confident assertion that ‘the conventionalities of a Middle English text are not signs of incompetence (let alone plagiarism) but rather are valued constituents of meaning’⁴⁷

Behind this gradual shift in critical stance there lies the influence of theories of oral verse-making which ushered in a new and illuminating approach to the apparent intractability of formulaic style.⁴⁸ In English studies, oral-formulaic approaches derived from the Parry / Lord hegemony were initially applied to Anglo Saxon verse; since publication of Ronald Waldron’s study of residual orality in the poetry of the alliterative revival, the approach has been extended to Middle English poetry also.⁴⁹ Consensus as to the influence of oral tradition on early English literature was slow to emerge. Particularly problematic was the polarity drawn between oral and lettered poetry to the exclusion of ‘transitional’ categories. This could make for syllogistic arguments, as reflected in F.P. Magoun’s pronouncement upon the corpus of Cynewulf’s work:

If...the narrative parts of his poems prove to be formulaic, one must assume that those parts at least he composed in the traditional [i.e. oral] way.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ Stephen H.A. Shepherd, (ed.), *Middle English Romances* (New York/London, 1995), p.xiii.

⁴⁸ Oral-formulaic studies of Middle English popular narrative take their cue from the work of Milman Parry, represented in *The Making of Homeric Verse: The Collected Papers of Milman Parry*, ed. Adam Parry (Oxford, 1971), and that of Albert B. Lord, *The Singer of Tales* (Cambridge, 1960). The Parry-Lord thesis was first applied to Old-English verse by F.P. Magoun, ‘Oral-Formulaic Character of Anglo-Saxon Narrative Poetry’, *Spec* 28 (1953), 446-67. The ensuing critical debate is charted by A.C. Watts, *The Lyre and the Harp* (New Haven, 1969), pp.46-125.

⁴⁹ Into a critical tradition made increasingly aware of the question of orality by Ruth Crosby’s studies ‘Oral Delivery in the Middle Ages’, *Spec* 11 (1936), 88-110 and ‘Chaucer and the Custom of Oral Delivery’, *Spec* 13 (1938), 412-32, appeared R.A. Waldron’s article ‘Oral-Formulaic Technique and Middle English Alliterative Poetry’, *Spec* 32 (1957), 792-804. Subsequent studies offering modification and dissent from Waldron’s thesis include: R.F. Lawrence, ‘The Formulaic Theory and its Application to English Alliterative Poetry’, in *Essays on Style and Language*, ed. Roger Fowler (London, 1966), pp.166-83; ‘Formula and Rhythm in *The Wars of Alexander*’, *ES* 51 (1970), 97-112; W.E. Holland, ‘Formulaic Diction and the Descent of a Middle English Romance’, *Spec* 48 (1973), 89-109; Thorlac Turville-Petre, *The Alliterative Revival* (Cambridge, 1977), pp.89-92. The recent broadening of the theory to non-alliterative Middle English poetry is reflected by Ward Parks, ‘The Oral-Formulaic Theory in Middle English Studies’, *Oral Tradition* 1 (1986), 636-94 and by the collection of essays edited by Mark C. Amodio, *Oral Poetics in Middle English Poetry* (New York / London, 1994).

⁵⁰ F.P. Magoun, ‘Oral-Formulaic Character of Anglo-Saxon Narrative Poetry’, 460.

A methodology which read formulaic style as unambiguous evidence of oral composition was clearly open to fundamental challenge, as L.D. Benson observed:

To prove that an Old English poem is formulaic is only to prove that it is an Old English poem, and to show that such a work has a high or low percentage of formulas reveals nothing about whether or not it is a literate composition, though it may tell us something about the skill with which a particular poet uses the tradition.⁵¹

Such corrective commentary served to ground the oral-formulaic approach on a sounder base, recognising that the insights afforded by the early school must inevitably be undermined by an insistent linkage of formulaic style with an unattested tradition of improvisation and composition in performance.⁵² Hypotheses of oral production, like those of memorial transmission, have been advanced more cautiously, the concept of a 'transitional' poetry has gradually been developed, and a consensus has been reached that oral-derived formulae may indeed have endured into early lettered traditions such as that of the Middle English romance. With the abandonment of 'oral' and 'lettered' traditions as discrete and monolithic categories, recent oral-formulaic studies have discovered a more complex relation between orality and literacy or memorial and textual transmission:

The chirographic tradition which emerges and gains increasing cultural importance throughout the medieval period does not singly and immediately replace the older oral one which it comes to supplant but rather merges with it to form a partnership which has yet to be fully understood.⁵³

For English romance studies this view of oral-literate interplay rather than dichotomy has been of great significance; while formulaic style was read solely as an index of oral composition, those many romances closely translated from French or Latin sources hardly

⁵¹ L.D. Benson, 'The Literary Character of Anglo-Saxon Formulaic Poetry', *PMLA* 81 (1966), 334-41 (335-36).

⁵² Turville-Petre, *The Alliterative Revival.*, pp.14-17 challenges the concept of an 'oral tradition' of English alliterative verse, pointing out 'there is no evidence that such a tradition ever existed' (p.16).

⁵³ Mark C. Amodio, 'Oral Poetics in Post Conquest England', *Oral Poetics in Middle English Poetry*, p.9. The question of memorial transmission is investigated by Murray McGillivray, *Memorization in the Transmission of the Middle English Romances* (New York, 1990).

stood to have their own conventionalities illuminated by oral-formulaic theory.⁵⁴ Now concepts such as residual orality, developed by more tentative oral-formulaic approaches, have so informed the bookish and the seemingly oral-derived texts alike that they are viewed as commonplace. W.R.J. Barron renders the prevailing orthodoxy thus:

Many [romances] ...even among the late and highly literary texts, make use of formulae associated with oral recitation; direct address to the audience, appeals for silence and remuneration, initial blessing and concluding benediction. But this need not, as once supposed, imply that they were written by *jongleurs* for recitation before an audience of illiterates. Rather they reflect the cultural time-lag by which communal living and social preference maintained the habit of reading aloud almost into modern times, leading poets similarly conditioned to address ears rather than eyes long after growing literacy had made private reading possible for many in all but the lowest classes.⁵⁵

Recent oral-formulaic studies have continued to emphasise the importance of the associative value of such formulae, stressing how the recurrence of a fixed phrase across a tradition of writing makes for incremental meaning, each single usage evoking contiguous usages and associations gleaned from context. The merits of such an approach are anticipated in Stanley B. Greenfield's study of the exile-theme in Old English poetry:

the associations with other contexts using a similar formula will inevitably color a particular instance of a formula so that a whole host of overtones springs into action.⁵⁶

Recently, the notion that the stereotyped diction of a poetic tradition may enjoy a vast connotative range has been reformulated in John Miles Foley's concept of 'traditional

⁵⁴ This was indicated early on by Waldron, 'Oral-Formulaic Technique', 791.

⁵⁵ W.R.J. Barron, *English Medieval Romance*, p.55. For a recent exhaustive study of the significance of the formulae of pseudo-minstrelsy see Andrew Taylor, 'Fragmentation, Corruption, and Minstrel Narration: The Question of the Middle English Romances', *YES* 22 (1992), 38-62.

⁵⁶ Stanley B. Greenfield, 'The Formulaic Expression of the Theme of Exile in Anglo-Saxon Poetry', *Spec* 30 (1955), 200-206 (205). The argument is restated with regard to Middle English romance by Derek Pearsall, *Old English and Middle English Poetry*, where he characterises formulae as 'a form of descriptive shorthand' (p.149).

referentiality.⁵⁷ The case for reassessing the referential power of fixed phrases has been powerfully restated by this scholar:

I like to think of the “formulas” and “themes” of a narrative poetry, for example, not as necessary evils for the poor oral dullard, or as simply generic stop-gaps with boiled-down “essential ideas,” but rather as highly echoic *metonyms* that comprise a referential code.⁵⁸

Accordingly, Nancy Mason Bradbury calls for a ‘new poetics’ of Middle English romance—a poetics attentive to ‘the evocative use of formulaic language to create a density of associations in the mind of the audience’.⁵⁹

It is in such a light that the present study seeks to reassess the function, register and connotative range of the pious formulae of medieval English romance. The charting of the examples of Passiontide-formulae, ‘God that dyed on tre’ (*Bone Florence* 1430); Creator-formulae, ‘god, that made the mone’ (*Ipomedon* A 8397); Nativity-tags, ‘He þat was in Bedleem born’ (*William of Palerne* 1802) and the myriad related patterns defines the shape of this reassessment. The scholarship reviewed above stresses how the formulaic style of the romances is eminently flexible in the figuring of meaning by juxtaposition, ironic or apposite usage and parallelism. Susceptible of usage in this way, the aesthetic potential of pious formulae is further evinced by three characteristics peculiar to these structures.

First, for all their syntactic and metrical identity, pious formulae in fact offer to the composer of romance several markedly distinct invocations of God. As the preceding pages have shown, an impressive breadth of devotional imagery is represented by such phrases. The iconography of the *Creator Mundi* may as readily be invoked as that of the

⁵⁷ John Miles Foley, *Immanent Art: From Structure to Meaning in Traditional Oral Epic* (Indiana, 1991), pp.6-8 *et passim*.

⁵⁸ ‘Toward an Oral Aesthetics: A Response to Jesse Gellrich’, *PQ* 67 (1988), 475-79 (478).

⁵⁹ Nancy Mason Bradbury, ‘Literacy, Orality and the Poetics of Middle English Romance’ in *Oral Poetics in Middle English Poetry*, pp.36-69 (p.64).

Salvator Mundi; that of *Christus Patiens* as readily as that of *Christus Victor*. Lexical variation within the fixed metrical frame of these formulae can make for a significant change of theological image. Thus when a young and unproved Beues of Hamtoun confronts a host of Saracens on Christmas day, the Auchinleck text has him vow:

Ich wolde for me lordes loue,
 Þat sit hiȝ in heuene aboue
 Fiȝte wiȝ ȝow euerichon,
 Er þan ich wolde hennes gon (615-18)

but the Chetham MS follows a different mode of invocation:

For his loue, that werid the crown of thorne
 And also on this holy day was borne
 Wuth alle youre route wold I juste (483-85)

In this reading, Beues adapts his invocation to context, noting the occasion of Christmastide. The image presented is no longer of God abstracted *in excelsis*—‘þat sit hiȝ in heuene aboue’—but of Christ crucified. The two invocations are theologically distinct. Consider also a comparable episode from *The King of Tars*. In the Auchinleck text, an invocation of the Trinity appears when the Christian Princess refuses marriage to the Sultan:

Ihesu, mi Lord in trinite,
 Lat me neuer þat day yse
 A tirant forto take (61-63)

This devotional image contrasts sharply with the Passiontide-formula appearing at this point in the Vernon and Simeon manuscripts:

Jhesu, that dyyed on the treo,
 Let me nevere that day isee
 A tiraunt for to take. (61-63)

If intense emotion is evident in the tone of both examples, it is perhaps heightened in the second by the use of such an affective invocation. The change of formula brings a change of image and a shift in tone. Even slight lexical variations within the *same* devotional topic

reflect this. In the Caius text of *Guy of Warwick*, for example, when the hero seeks ‘herborough’, he commends his potential host to ‘The lorde, that made bothe sonde and see’ (6000).⁶⁰ In the Auchinleck text, however, the benediction invokes ‘De lord, þat made *me and te*’ (6000, emphasis mine). The second doublet appeals to the creator of host and guest alike; it implies community, appeals to a sense of charity. The change in the doublet is subtle but not without effect upon context.

Thus, the corpus of pious formulae provides broad scope for varying the devotional mode in which God is invoked. The relative clause selected may commemorate scriptural deeds, anticipate the Doom, or treat omnitemporal attributes. God may be presented as He that ‘shaped’, ‘formed’ and ‘wrought’; ‘bought’ and ‘won’, or He may be invoked as patient rather than agent in formulae employing such verbs as ‘suffered’, ‘bleed’, ‘swelt’, ‘dyed’.

The second distinctive feature of the pious formulae of the romances is closely connected with the narrative technique of the texts. For these formulae represent nothing less than the common counters by which audience / readership, narrator and fictional character are united under a common frame of reference. From the exordial prayers onwards, pious formulae are employed to anchor response to narrative and, on occasion, to foster a participatory dynamic between audience / readership and text. Such is the implication when, after the steady narration of the fifteenth-century *Guy* in the preterite, the narrator intervenes in the hero’s dire need to appeal, ‘God, þat dyed on a tre, / Saue Gye fro schame and vylane!’ (7389-90) and later, ‘God, that suffurde hys pascioun, / Yeue hym grace wele to fare’ (3604-5). The narrators of *Havelok* and the English

⁶⁰ The yoking of disparate elements in formulae employing these doublets implies by synecdoche ‘The God of all Creation’. A somewhat playful use of the paradigm makes for an idiosyncratic adaptation of the pattern in the *Laud Troy Book*’s ‘By him that made bothe Twede & Trent’ (17440). For further doublets see catalogue, section A7.

fragment of *The Song of Roland* are equally mindful of their protagonists. When, in the former text, the heroine Goldboru is imprisoned by Godrich, the narrator intervenes to appeal to Christ to free the heroine just as He freed another from still more intractable bonds:

Jesu Crist, that Lazarun
To live broucte fro dede-bondes
He les hire wit hise hondes. (331-33)

Later the narrator's intervention is again prompted, this time in the hero's interest:

Jesu Crist, þat made to go
Þe halte and þe doumbe speken,
Hauelok, þe of Godard wreken! (542-44)

It is in a similar spirit that the narrator of *The Song of Roland* intervenes, appealing for the preservation of the French in battle:

help Roulandes ost, he þat heuyn weldis!
a dredfull tym haue they vnder their sheldis. (509-10)

By shifting mood to the imperative and tense to the present indicative, such narratorial petitions stimulate a sense of the narrative's unfolding in the present moment, generating suspense and fostering audience involvement. The exclamations are as much a construction of audience response, univocal but representative of a corporate consciousness, as they are the utterances of the narrator as dramatic device. This is surely the effect when, in *Beues of Hamtoun*, the go-between who facilitates the murder of Beues' father Guy, and with it the diversion of the hero's patrimony, is cursed with the malediction, 'Þat ilche lord him worþe wroþ, / Þat him wrouþte' (110-11). Later, no less than four narratorial interventions appear, offering blessings for the hero:

Helpe him god, þat alle þing wrouþt (846)
god him helpe, þat alle þing seþ (1262)
Helpe him god, þat alle þing wrouþt (2783-84)
Helpe him god, þat alle þing wrouþt⁶¹ (4352)

⁶¹ Cf. also l.510: 'Crist of heuene be him mild!'

The significant ramifications of this use of pious formulae both within and without the narrative frame become still more pressing in contexts where the distinction between representations of a fictional character's speech and narratorial utterance elides and thus a formula appears without a clear discursive context. An impressive example occurs in *Sir Ferumbras*. When the edition's punctuation is omitted, where does Richard of Normandy's prayer, thanking God for his deliverance from a Saracen host, begin?

ful Iolye & blythe, he turnyd hym ageyn
 And thonkyd that ilke lord that syttyth in trone,
 that to-day thorough thy grace hast herd my bone!
 wel auȝt y to loue hym that of sorowe me hathe nome (1064-67)

The poem's editor opens quotation marks after 'And thonkyd' but it is by no means clear whether the formula constitutes the discourse of the character or that of the narrator. The distinction is collapsed, so concordant is audience perspective with that of character.⁶² In *Firumbras*, indeed, audience participation and pious consensus is fostered as nowhere else, as the narrator's early appeals for his heroes witness:⁶³

Nowe praye whe to ihesu cryst for hys holy name
 to saue oure knyhtys and schelde hem from schame! (52-53)

Now pray we for þe knyȝtes þat beth in þe tour
 That god of hys grace bryng hem out of dolour! (177-78)

Later in the same romance, the distinction between the representation of fictional utterance and the narration again dissolves, here in the prayer of Charlemagne:

To Ihesu Cryst, of heuen kyng, ful-rathe he made a bone
 As he ys kyng in trinite, and lord ouer all þyng
 Of my dusseperes haue pyte and out of care hem bryng (1130-32)

⁶² This section is indebted to an unpublished paper given at the 5th Biennial Conference on 'Romance in Medieval England' in London 1996 by Robert S. Warm, 'Identity, Narrative and Participation: Defining a Context for the Middle English Charlemagne Romances'.

⁶³ Narratorial prayers for the personae, and invocations for the audience to join such prayer, also appear at ll.45; 98-99; 205-6; 363-4; 414-5; 510-11; 954-5; 1240.

In their fusing of discourse, these passages are deeply suggestive of the broad narrative scope of pious formulae. If no clear distinction is made between the representation of a character's pious utterance within the narrative frame, and those narratorial utterances voicing consensual response outside it, then the corporate Christian consciousness evoked in initial prayers is never fully suspended. Audience engagement with pious formulae will thus be deepened; receptivity to distinct modes of invocation will be heightened.

This assumption of a shared devotional perspective encompassing listener / reader and fictional character is further evident in closural prayers. Where the narrative ends with the hero's progress to heaven, a petition invariably follows entreating the audience's own deliverance. Thus at the close of the *Lyfe of Ipomydon* the narrator bids, without incongruity, that his audience might follow where the fictional hero and his spouse have already gone:

Bothe they yede to heuyn-blysse,
 There as non other thyng may bee,
 But joye and blisse, game and glee.
 To þat blysse God bryng vs alle,
 That dyed on rode for grete and smalle. Amen. (2342-46)

Here the totality of 'alle' embraces fictional character and assembled, or posited, audience alike. The prayer is corporate and foists no distinction between text and audience / readership. The effect is the same at the close of *Guy of Warwick*:

Thus endyth the geste of sir Gye:
 God on hys sowle have mercy,
 And on owres when we be dede,
 And graunt vs in hevyn to have a sted. (Caius, 11092-95)

The sublime potential of such an alignment of perspective is realised in the closing lines of the Stanzaic *Morte Arthur*, where, in a passage we shall return to later, the surviving Round Table knights, now hermits, carry out devotions at Glastonbury. In this moment of

sombre piety and pathos, the distinction between the representation of fictional discourse and narratorial discourse is again dissolved, if indeed it ever obtained as we understand it:

But thus by-leve these ermytes sevyn
 And yit is Arthur beryed thore,
 And quene Gaynour, as I yow nevyn
 With monkes that ar Ryght of lore
 They Rede and synge with mylde stevyn
 Ihesu, that suffred woundes sore,
 Graunt vs All the blysse of hevyn!

(3963-69)
 (Quotation marks omitted)

Without the anachronism of punctuation, the closing prayer comfortably and poignantly accommodates both fictional character and audience / reader within its scope.

Reflection upon this rootedness of pious formulae in the corporate consciousness within which romance is written and received sheds a new light upon their ubiquity in the romances and their even occurrence across different narrative contexts. It suggests that to contemporary audiences, at least, they can rarely have been deemed unreflected line-fillers. Wholly periphrastic phrases take on an allusive power. To invoke God by periphrasis, ‘He that bore the crown of thorns’, ‘He that was in Bethlehem born’, invites reference to a shared devotional consciousness and fosters solidarity as recognition of the allusion prompts a sense of inclusion in the corporate Christian community.⁶⁴

The third characteristic which implicitly argues for the stylistic value of pious formulae relates to their associative scope. As Chapter 2 will demonstrate at length, the traditional associations of these formulae must needs be vast since they exactly resemble

⁶⁴ The use of periphrases for God and Christ appears not to reflect any malaise around naming the deity. This is borne out by the frequency with which manuscript variations attest to the ready substitution of pronoun and proper name in otherwise cognate formulae; thus *Lybeaus Desconus*, Lambeth Palace MS 1.219 reads ‘By Him that bought me dere’ whilst the corresponding line from the Cotton MS reads ‘Be God þat boʒte me dere’ The fondness for periphrasis in these formulae may perhaps rather reflect a demotic apprehension of—and in more clerkly texts, a conscious application of—the rhetorical trope of *circumlocutio*, described in Geoffrey of Vinsauf’s *Poetria Nova* thus: ‘...do not let your expression march squarely through the subject, but, circumscribing it with long roundabout routes, circle what was on the point of being said abruptly, and retard your tempo, so giving increase of words’. Trans. Jane Baltzell Kopp, *Three Medieval Rhetorical Arts*, ed. James J. Murphy (Berkeley, 1971), p.42.

patterns occurring in Middle English pastoralia, the morality and mystery plays, moral lyrics, saints' lives, popular and private prayers and charms. Each of these genres employs pious formulae with such doctrinal and devotional emphasis, such clear regard for context and connotation, that the ascription of semantic weight to such formulae is amply demonstrated.

In the romances themselves, however, the resulting stylistic potential of pious formulae is not always exploited. Examples abound wherein such formulae are employed almost casually for, at best, an emphatic rather than an associative value. For example, in the Thornton text of *Sir Eglamour* a ferocious giant swears vengeance upon the hero: 'By hym þat wered þe crown of thorne' (292). In the Cotton text, however, vengeance is voiced: 'Be hem þat me gette and borne' (292). Clearly, in this context the sense of the action, the swearing of an oath, is paramount, the diction selected, subordinate.⁶⁵ If the deity is invoked here simply to bolster the authority of a protestation, pious formulae are likewise employed for this emphatic rather than associative value in other romance oaths where the utterer is quite without pious intent. Witness, for example, the vow of vengeance sworn by Gawain in the *Awntyrs of Arthur* when his horse, 'Grissell þe goode', is slain in combat by Sir Galeron:

By him þat in Bedeleem was borne euer to ben our bote,
I shall reuenge þe today, if I con right rede. (Douce, 549-50)

Similar is the threat of the ambush party organised by Sir Kay to beset Baldwin in *The Avowing of King Arthur*:

Þenne þe sex sembult hom in fere
And squire by him þat boʒte vs dere,
Þou passus neuyr away here,
Butte gif þou dede be! (645-48)

⁶⁵ Frances E. Richardson, *Sir Eglamour of Artois*, EETS 256 (1965), p.105 suggests the Christian oath of the Lincoln text is less appropriate than that of Cotton 'since giants in romances are usually represented as pagan'.

This is reminiscent of the equally obstructive porter in *Sir Cleges*:

‘Be Hym,’ he seyde, ‘that me bouȝt,
 Into this place comste þou nott,
 As I am man of mold’ (283-85)

Clearly, where pious formulae are employed in this way, the mode of invocation appears less significant: the relative-predicate is to some extent desemanticized. Such usages form the basis of the traditional charges characterising all such structures as mere line-fillers. They suggest that, in supplying congenial matter with which to eke out a line (or more), pious formulae embody the potential for redundancy. If one usage in a single verse is required by the narrative sense, the paratactical addition of further formulae may create the impression of diffuseness which some critics detect:

Of hem Y hedde ben y-schent
 Ne God me socour hadde y-sent,
 Þat all þys world wrouȝt.
 He ȝelde de þys good dede,
 Þat for vs gan blede
 And wyth hys blod vs bouȝt. (*Lybeaus Desconus*, Cotton 670-75)

Yet such clusters admit of more sympathetic readings. Need a proliferation of formulae necessarily suggest technical ineptness? Might it not rather evince deliberate narrative emphasis? Mindfulness of the associative and evocative value of pious formulae in approaching such passages finds these and related questions raised insistently. Indeed, in his early, pioneering studies of the tail-rhyme romances, A. McL. Trounce wrote of periphrastic pious formulae:

At first sight these often appear to be the merest padding, but when one considers that the poems are definitely didactic and religious, one can see that these expressions are as much in place as phrases for the Deity in a church service, and they remind us of the pious sayings muttered on each and every occasion by men in the Middle Ages. The minstrel desired that there should be no doubt about his piety. And this suggestion receives strong support from the fact that these expressions are most frequent not in the weaker poems (where they could easily be set down as padding), but in the most religious ones. They are noticeably frequent in *Roland and*

Vernagu, but this is the most didactic of any of the poems. There are a good number in *Emare* and *Cleges*, here again quite appropriate as a feature of style. *Ipomadon*, on the other hand, whose author has all the tricks of the trade, practically avoids them, because he did not want a religious atmosphere. That they are sometimes padding is obvious, but one must accustom oneself to expect a sprinkling of them, to be considered as something understandable and not objectionable.⁶⁶

This identifies three important features common to periphrastic and name-based pious formulae: their liturgical affinity, their orthodoxy, and their intrinsic suitability to romances of a sustained homiletic character. If Trounce makes limited claims for such formulae in enjoining the reader's indulgence, these three characteristics demand more. For significantly, when such formulae are not mechanistically generated their resonance strikes us more readily:

‘A, sir Launcelot, Launcelot! Ye have betrayde me and putte me to the deth, for to leve thus my lorde!’

‘A, madam, I pray you be nat displeased, for I shall com agayne as sone as I may with my worship.’

‘Alas,’ seyde she, ‘that ever I syghe you! But He that suffird dethe uppon the Crosse for all menkynde, He be unto you good conduyte and saufte, and all the hole felyshyp!’⁶⁷

To suggest that much of the pathos of this moment derives from the use of a Passiontide-formula, strong in affective association, does not overstate the effect of this single narrative component. The formula makes an aesthetic contribution. The startling power of corresponding examples from verse romances surely suggests that this aesthetic and apposite application can survive with vigour in a metrical context—as seen, for example, in this urgent appeal for shelter in *Roswall and Lillian*:

Dame, for Saint July,
This night let me have harbery,
And als some vittals till the morn,
For him that was in Bethlehem born (253-56)

⁶⁶ ‘The English Tail-Rhyme Romances’, I, 178. Trounce’s claim that such formulae are practically avoided in *Ipomadon* is curious: fourteen periphrastic and thirty-six name-based structures occur in the poem’s 8890 lines.

⁶⁷ *The Works of Sir Thomas Malory*, ed. Eugene Vinaver, 3rd edn, rev. P.J.C. Field, 3 vols (Oxford, 1990), p.872, ll. 14-16.

Pious formulae are equally resonant in a similar entreaty from *Sir Isumbras*:

I aske ȝow some lyves fode
For His lufe, that dyed on rode (Thornton, 285-86)

or in this protestation of innocence from *The Earl of Tolouse*:

Sche seyde: Be hym, þat dyed on tree,
Trespas was nevyr none in me,
Wherefore y schuld be spylt (1072-74)

and in Florence's dedication of body and soul to Christ in *Le Bone Florence of Rome*:

Furste þen was my fadur slayne,
And now my lorde ys fro me tane,
Y wyll loue no ma,
But hym þat boghte me on þe rode,
Wyth hys swete precyus blode,
To hym Y wyll me ta. (1102-7)

How is the strong aesthetic power of such examples to be accounted for? The aptness of invocation is a major factor yet equally intriguing is the rich allusive aspect of such pious phrases. It is an allusiveness derived from a broad base. For formulae of this kind are not restricted to the romance genre alone; they are widespread in Middle English religious literature. In prayers, charms, moral lyrics, pastoralia, didactic drama and saints' lives a cogent devotional and doctrinal use is repeatedly made of identical formulae. An investigation of their use in these genres reveals profound implications for romance formulae. In conducting such an investigation, the following chapter documents the broad functionality and rich affective power of these ostensible 'line-fillers'.

CHAPTER TWO

Cognate formulae in medieval English devotion and doctrine

Repente þe noȝt þat þu hase done,
For he þat schope bothe sunne and mone,
Full wele may pay for alle.
(*Sir Amadace* 466-68)

A kyng that mad bothe swne and mone.
Hit coste hym litill to grant a bone.
(Lydgate's *Merita Missae* 91-92)

The romance-hero's prayers enjoy a powerful hinterland. When Sir Ysumbras appeals for food, 'For his lufe þat dyed on rode',¹ when the King of Tars invokes Jesus 'þat suffred woundes fiue'² and the Carl of Carlisle calls upon Christ 'þat yn Bedlem was borne',³ each draws upon formulae prevalent not only in the Middle English romances, but also in key verse texts of medieval English devotion and doctrine. From Thoresby's 'catechism' and Mirk's *Instructions for Parish Priests* to the popular verse prayers and charms of the laity, such formulae constitute a stock resource across the wide spectrum of Middle English religious verse literature.⁴ A review of representative texts across these genres reveals the impressive extent to which the associative value or 'traditional referentiality' of such formulae is informed by the pious tone of this literature of worship and moral theology.

Accordingly, the present chapter will study the role of pious formulae in three broad groupings of Middle English religious literature: first, functional texts connected with the devotional practices of the period—prayers associated with the mass and with private devotion; second, didactic literature as represented by sermons, moral lyrics and pastoralia; and third, more 'literary' educative literature: the didactic exempla of *Handlyng Synne*, the mystery and morality plays and the saints' lives. The discussion thus

¹ *Sir Ysumbras*, Thornton text, ll.285-86.

² *The King of Tars*, Auchinleck text, l.57.

³ *Sir Gawain and the Carl of Carlisle*, Porkington text, l.574.

⁴ Considerations of space prescribe the limits of the present chapter which will scrutinise representative material across a wide spectrum of Middle English doctrinal and devotional literature.

moves from the expository to the literary as it charts the use of pious formulae in Middle English religious literature. The approach is synchronic. Rather than seeking to establish earliest examples of formulae or positing ultimate sources, the discussion will uncover contexts contiguous with the Middle English romances of the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries which make devotional and doctrinal use of pious formulae. The concern is with affinities rather than origins, examining how Middle English religious literature, by its wide and deliberate use of pious formulae, inscribes such structures with a profound devotional and doctrinal tonality.

The Lay Folks' Mass Book

The fourteenth-century treatise on the Mass known as *The Lay Folks' Mass Book* affords a helpful starting point for reviewing the use of pious formulae in Middle English religious literature. In seeking to organise and regulate the devotional practice of lay participation in the Mass and by prescribing and endorsing the use in Mass-prayer of pious tags cognate with those of the romances, the *Mass Book* offers an impressive illustration of the devotional resonance of pious formulae. The treatise allows for a degree of individual autonomy in the framing of Mass-devotions—‘swilk prayer þen þou make, / als lykkes best þe to take’⁵—but it unambiguously asserts the paradigms of invocation, the syntactic structures and diction regarded as fit for such prayers. The kinds of utterance deemed decorous and theologically exact abound in the text. They are the *Mass Book's* prescriptions for orthodox prayer both within the church and, implicitly, in the broader devotional practice of the laity:

The aim of manuals for the laity, as of all instruction, was to build a horizon of images, a vocabulary of associations, which would conjure each

⁵ *The Lay Folks' Mass Book*, ed. Thomas Frederick Simmons, EETS 71 (1879), Text B, ll.418-19.

other, a train of symbols which followed from recurrent visual stimuli created by ritual or by private reading.⁶

In such a context, pithy and mnemonic formulae clearly have a role to play, as the *Mass Book* readily attests. For example, we find a Creator-formula, conforming to those employed in the romances, in the rendering of the *Credo*:

I trow in god, fader of might,
*Pat alle has wroght,*⁷
 heuen & erthe, day & night,
 And alle of noght.⁸ (Emphasis mine)

We find an invocation of the Nativity in an offertory prayer, where a figurative parallel is drawn between the gifts of the Magi and those of the laity:

Ihesu, *pat was in bethlem borne,*⁹
 And thre kynges come þe by-forne,
 þai offerd gold ensense & myrre,
 and þou forsoke none of þirre,
 bot wissed hom wele alle thre
 home a-gayne to her contre.¹⁰ (Emphasis mine)

The laity at the offering, thus allied with the Magi, extend the analogy to plead for a corresponding show of divine guardianship and favour:

Right so oure offrandes þat we offer,
 and oure praieres þat we profer,
 þou take, lorde, to þi louyng,
 & be oure helpe in alkyn thyng¹¹

The Nativity-tag thus assumes an important function. The apposite prayer manifests the liturgical impulse physically to represent and enact that which is being remembered.

The *Mass Book* also draws upon pious formulae in its treatment of the celebration of the eucharist. Here, they serve as situative and commemorative counters which reify

⁶ Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, 1991), p.105.

⁷ For examples of this formula in the romances see catalogue, sections A17 and A18.

⁸ *Lay Folks' Mass Book*, Text B, ll.205-8.

⁹ For examples of this Nativity-formula in the romances see catalogue, section C2.

¹⁰ *Lay Folks' Mass Book*, Text B, ll.247-52.

¹¹ *Lay Folks' Mass Book*, Text B, ll.253-56.

Christ in the abstract symbol of the eucharist. Formularity of style in these phrases becomes a positive aid to doctrinal exposition as the familiarity of each narrative episode is apposed with the eucharistic symbol. As meaning-laden, contextualised rehearsals of episodes of the sacred history, the formulae are drawn upon to make sense of the eucharist for the congregation:

for þat is *he þat iudas salde*,¹²
 and sithen was scourged & don on rode,
 and for mankynde þere shad his blode,
 and dyed & ros & went to heuen,
 and ʒit shal come to deme vs euen¹³ (Emphasis mine)

Glossing the symbolism of the eucharist with the plain parataxis of this exposition, the passage capitalises upon the economy with which pious formulae rehearse salvation history. As the tail-rhyme version of the text preserved in the Vernon manuscript tells us:

Eueri day · þou maiʒt se
 þe same bodi · þat diʒed for þe
 Tent · ʒif þou wolt take,
 In figure · and in fourme of Bred,
 þat Iesus dalte er he weore ded,
 For his disciples · sake¹⁴

The doctrine of Real Presence is thus explained whilst, concomitantly, a personal and intimate apprehension of Christ as redeemer—‘þat diʒed for þe’—is fostered.¹⁵ Indeed, simple changes of pronoun in these formulae can heighten this sense of intimacy. Consider the confession included in the Vernon text of the *Mass Book*:

I was vn-kynde,
 And was þenne · blynde,
 To worche · a-ʒeynes his wille,
 Þat furst me wrouʒt,
 And seþþe me bouʒt¹⁶

¹² For cognates of the ‘Judas’ tag in the romances see catalogue, section D.

¹³ *Lay Folks’ Mass Book*, Text B, ll. 407-11.

¹⁴ *Lay Folks’ Mass Book*, Vernon text, p.130, ll. 71-76.

¹⁵ Cf. *Myrc’s Instructions for Parish Priests*, ed. Edward Peacock, EETS 31 (1868), ll. 247-49: ‘Hyt ys goddes body þat suffered ded / Vp on the holy roode tre, / To bye owre synnes & make vs fre’.

¹⁶ *Lay Folks’ Mass Book*, Vernon Text, p.134, ll.233-37.

Terse but poignant, the affective charge such formulae take on is equally apparent in the prayer prescribed for recital by the laity at the elevation:

ihesu, al my ioying
 þat for me spilt þi blode,
 and dyed opon þo rode,
 þou gyue me grace to sing
 þo song of þi louing.¹⁷

The intimate tone of this devotion allies it with other levation prayers, of which a large number survive, predominantly from the fifteenth century.¹⁸ As ‘primarily a native growth’, they reflect the ‘need for expression in the mother-tongue of deep personal thoughts by the worshipers.’¹⁹ A single example of another of these prayers demonstrates how they employ pious formulae as the basis for an intimate, reflective devotion:²⁰

I The honour with al might,
 In forme of brede as Y þe see;

 I am synful, as wel þou woste,
 Iesu þou haue mercy on me,
 Ne suffre neuere þat Y be loste
*For whom þou diedist on Rode tre.*²¹ (Emphasis mine)

The *Mass Book*’s use of pious formulae is no less resonant when a post-communion prayer is prescribed. With use of a stock Passiontide-formula, this ‘luytel Orisoun’ again emphasises how the sacrifice of the cross is renewed in the mass:

God þat diȝed · vppon þe tre,
 þat þe prest receyuede · bodile
 Vppon · þe Auter-ston²²

¹⁷ *Lay Folks’ Mass Book*, Text B, ll.432-36.

¹⁸ See R.H. Robbins, ‘Levation Prayers in Middle English Verse’, *MP* 40 (1942), 131-46.

¹⁹ ‘Levation Prayers’, 133.

²⁰ Generally, however, these levation prayers rehearse the numinous attributes in co-ordinate rather than relative-clause structures. Thus appeals are made to: ‘Iesu, as thu were of a mayden borne, / Let me neuer be for-lorne’ (‘Levation Prayers’, 137); ‘Lord, for Thynne Holy Name, / Schelde me from worldes schame’ (p.138); ‘As þou bare þe crowne of thorne, / Suffer me neuer be forlorne’ (139).

²¹ Rossell Hope Robbins, ‘Private Prayers in Middle English Verse’, *SP* 36 (1939), 466-75 (472-73).

²² *Lay Folks’ Mass Book*, Vernon Text, p.145, ll. 629-31.

The two preterite clauses encompass a theological complexity. The prayer's appeal is first to the crucifixion, an event located in history, and second to the communion of the priest, an event witnessed only moments before. Thus deployed, the Passiontide-formula serves the liturgical impulse to make *anamnesis*; it serves the laity's understanding of the mass as truly a re-presentation of Christ's sacrifice.

The Lay Folks' Mass Book thus exhibits a powerful didactic use of pious formulae. As it prescribes lay prayers, it *ascribes* profound theological significance to the formulae. It also reflects the strong devotional resonance of such phrases, a resonance not least evident in the Vernon text's closing prayer:

God þat dyȝed · vpon þe Roode,
þat bouȝt vs · with his blessed blode
Vp-on þe harde tre,
ȝiue vs grace · boþe more and lasse,
þorw þe vertu · of þe Masse,
Vr soules · mai saued be.²³

Verse Prayers

Middle English verse prayers provide equally compelling evidence that pious formulae conforming to those of the romances may assume a profound devotional significance. The terseness of these 'popular' and 'private' prayers²⁴ does not prevent their taking on a distinct exclamatory character:

Almyghty god fadir of heuene,
ffor cristis loue þat dyde on rode,
I praye þe, lorde, þou here my steuene²⁵

Ihu cryste, þat dyed on tre
And soffurred pyne for Adam syn,
Gyf me grace to worschepe þe,
For þe to plese I wolde begyn.²⁶

²³ *Lay Folks' Mass Book*, Vernon text, p.147, ll.677-83.

²⁴ A strict distinction between 'popular' and 'private' prayers will not be drawn in this discussion since clearly the verse tags that form the subject of our study circulated freely in both oral and written form.

²⁵ *Religious Lyrics of the XVth Century*, ed. Carleton Brown (Oxford, 1939), no.50, ll.1-3.

²⁶ *Religious Lyrics of the XVth Century*, no.63, ll.1-4.

Common commemorative counters these formulae may well be but they nevertheless appear in prayers remarkable for their intimacy of tone, their figuring of a personal relationship with God. Often the formulae are the springboard for the sketching of this relationship. Consider the following prayer from the Vernon text:

God þat al hast mad of nouht,
 ffor loue of mon þat þou hast bouht;
 Wher in þe world so þat i be,
 Wiþ al myn herte I þonke þe:
 Þat þou me madest on of þyne,
 And bouhtest me wiþ bitter pyne.²⁷

The more general image ushers in the more individualised conception. The effect is the same in a prayer from the Vernon manuscript beginning:

Ihesus, þat diȝedest vpon þe tre
 And þoledest deþ for loue of *me*²⁸ (Emphasis mine)

The stereotyped invocation is appropriated to a personal context. As the prayer goes on to appeal for protection ‘ffrom þe deuel and al his miht’, this movement from stock invocation to intimate devotion is further evident. A string of attributes is invoked as grounds of petition for what follows:

Now God, þat died on þe Rode
 And þer-on schedde þin herte-blode,
 And of Marie was boren,
 Heer me whon I to þe calle,
 And let me neuere in synne falle,
 Ne for my mis-dede be loren. (13-18)

A morning thanksgiving prayer contained in the Vernon manuscript works in the same way. The stock formulae again serve as the basis for a distinctive personal devotion. Invoking God in a broad image of creation, the prayer proceeds to employ a Passiontide-tag with use of the first person singular pronoun:

²⁷ *The Minor Poems of the Vernon Manuscript*, ed. Carl Horstmann and F.J. Furnivall, EETS 98, 117 (1892, 1901), no.13, ll.1-6.

²⁸ *The Minor Poems of the Vernon Manuscript*, no.26, ll.1-2.

In the name of god, þat al þing wrouȝth,
 Heuen & erþe and vche creature;
 In þe name of ihesu þat me dere bouȝth,
 Þat is god, godus sone so pure;
 I be-take þis day of me cure²⁹

The change of pronoun, together with the fervency of tone—‘godus sone so pure’—evince the supplicant’s devotional investment in the prayer. That investment is further reflected in the ensuing reiteration and adaptation of the creator image. For having invoked the *Creator omnium*, the ‘god, þat al þing wrouȝt’, the prayer sustains its impulse to localise and specify: the creator image is narrowed to focus upon *this* created day, this time and place:

Lord god, þat þis day woldust make,
 And schope me to lyue þer-ynne,
 My body & soule I þe be-take.
 Þis day, lord, kep me out of synne³⁰ (Emphasis mine)

The prayer bears eloquent witness to the extent to which apposite invocation supplies an internal logic to the use of pious formulae in such devotions and accesses an impressive stylistic power in these structures. The broad, formulaic image of the creator establishes a context for the ensuing individualised conception and supplies a comforting logic to the prayer. The analogy drawn between universal creation and the creation of a new day implies continued divine intervention and guidance. It stresses the ready ability of the creator to grant the petition now begged. As Lydgate puts it in his *Merita Missae*:

A kyng that mad bothe swne and mone,
 Hit coste hym litill to grant a bone.³¹

The affective charge of such formulae, their ability to communicate pathos and to express a deep sympathy on the part of the utterer, is further evident in a Vernon devotion to

²⁹ *The Minor Poems of the Vernon Manuscript*, p.744, ll.9-15.

³⁰ *The Minor Poems of the Vernon Manuscript*, p.744, no.30, ll.9-20.

³¹ *Merita Missae, The Lay Folks’ Mass Book*, p.150, ll.91-92.

‘Iesu, þat art heuene kyng’. The prayer entreats mercy, forgiveness and guidance, proceeding:

Ihesu lord, þat madest me,
 And wiþ þi blisful blod hast bouht,
 ffor-ʒif þat I haue greued þe
 Wiþ word and wille and wiþ þouht.
 Ihesu, in whom is al mi trust,
 Þat diʒedest on þe Rode-tre,
 Wiþ-drauh myn herte from flesches lust
 And from worldly vanite.³²

The pious formulae bring a profound affective charge to the penitent prayer. The dependent clauses supply concrete devotional imagery: they serve to characterise Christ in the charged and emotive language of Passion and suffering. Indeed, the particular formulae used here appear frequently in Middle English verse prayers. They recur verbatim in an extremely popular late Middle English devotion, the prayer of Richard de Caistre:

Ihu lorde, þat madest me
 And with þi blyssyd blode hast bowght,
 fforyeue þat I haue greuyd þe
 In worde, werke, and thowght.

Ihu, for þi woundys smerte
 on fote and handys too,
 Make me meke and lowe in hert,
 And þe to loue as I schulde doo.³³

Just as their appearance in the *Lay Folks' Mass Book* denotes a fitness for doctrinal exposition, so this text reflects the powerful meditative resonance of these formulae in pious prayer. The expressive power and theological exactness of even the most unostentatious of such devotions is impressive. Indeed, one prayer using such tags tersely

³² *The Minor Poems of the Vernon Manuscript*, no.22, ll.5-12.

³³ *Religious Lyrics of the XVth Century*, no.64, ll. 1-8.

epitomises the two foundations of Christian prayer. First, it reflects ‘belief in God revealed in scripture as Lord of History and Creator of the world’:

Pater noster, most of myȝt,
 Þat al þys world hast wrot,
 help me, synful wrechyd wyȝt,
 for synne þat I perysche nowt.³⁴

Second, it evinces ‘acceptance of the intimate relation of God and man disclosed by the atoning work of the Incarnate Christ’:³⁵

Pater noster, yblessed, mote þu be,
 ffor þyn sone þat deyd on tre,
 help me, wreeche, þat y ne spylle. (8-10)

Like this ‘Pater Noster’ devotion, certain of these prayers might appeal not to Christ but to God the Father or, indeed, the Trinity:

[l]orde, þat art of myȝtys moost,
 ffadir & sone & holy goost,
 God in trynte,
 Thou ȝeue me grace daye & nyȝt
 The to serue with all my myȝt
 lord, y be-seke þee.³⁶

Again the formula is standard; again it is employed with considerable semantic weight.

Formulae identical with those of the romances take on an insistent devotional aspect in

Middle English prayer:

God, þat madist al þing of nouȝt
 And with þi precious blood us bouȝt,
 Mercy, helpe and grace!³⁷

Godys sone þat was so fre
 In-to þis world he cam,
 And let hym naylyn vp-on a tre,
 Al for þe loue of man.³⁸

³⁴ *Religious Lyrics of the XVth Century*, no 54, ll. 1-4.

³⁵ *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, ed. F.L. Cross (London, 1957), pp.1096-97.

³⁶ *Religious Lyrics of the XVth Century*, no.49, ll. 1-6.

³⁷ *Religious Lyrics of the XVth Century*, no.145, ll. 1-3.

³⁸ *Religious Lyrics of the XVth Century*, no.95, ll. 1-4.

The rôle of such formulae goes well beyond the mechanical reiteration of aspects of the creed. Engagement with the images is suggested: an affective charge is generated by these structures:

Ihesu crist, my lemmon swete,
 þat diʒedest on þe Rode-tre,

 Ihesus þat diʒedest on þe Rode
 ffor þe loue of me
 And bouhtest me wiþ þi blode,
 þou haue Merci of me³⁹

Indeed, so potent is the affective power of such phrases that in certain prayers we find them assuming a role as loci of spiritual power. For example, in a fifteenth-century devotion to the cross, formulae invoking the saving power of Christ's Passion are implicated in the prayer's location of a tutelary virtue in the 'Crux Christi'.

† of ihu be euer oure spede,
 And kepe vs from perel of synnes and payne!
 Blessid be *þat lorde þat on þe crosse dide blede*,
 Crist, god and man, þat for vs was slayne,
 Dede he was and rose vp agayne.⁴⁰ (Emphasis mine)

The prayer makes a sustained apposite and affective use of pious formulae. Stanza two makes an apt use of a Creator-tag in enjoining:

Late us be neuer to hym unkynde,
 Mercyfully þat made vs to be men (12-13)

Stanza three pleads for deliverance to heaven:

That we may stye and glorified be,
 Where crist is kyng þat dyed on tre (20-21)

Finally, seeking protection from earthly perils, the prayer appeals to 'Crist, þat dyed on þe holy roode' (22). Again, the numinous attribute is invoked with a sense of the inviolate efficacy of appeals to the Passion; the invocation assumes a tutelary aspect. Such an

³⁹ *The Minor Poems of the Vernon Manuscript*, p.22, no.5, ll.1-12.

⁴⁰ *Religious Lyrics of the XVth Century*, no.101, ll.1-5.

approach to these formulae brings us close to another tradition wherein pious formulae are powerfully employed, a lay tradition where an Osney Carpenter may recite the ‘white Pater Noster’ to the sign of the cross, and a Cambridge Miller’s wife may bless herself by the ‘hooly croys of Bromeholm’—the tradition of verse charms.

Verse Charms

In Middle English verse charms we again encounter the emphatic use of pious formulae. These curious texts ascribe to such structures a further significant function.⁴¹ Here, they become utterances of spiritual efficacy, the vernacular equivalents to liturgical texts perceived as retaining an intrinsic tutelary power and thus of value in seeking to banish illness, evil spirits, thieves and foes.

Christ’s attributes are very much the focus of such charms. An associative dynamic imbues the objects connected with Christ, particularly the instruments of His Passion, with their own spiritual efficacy. Thus much attention is afforded to the cross:

Helpe, crosse, fayrest of tymbris three,
In braunnchys berynge bothe frute & flowr!
Helpe, banere beste my fon to doo flee,
Staf & strenthyng full of socowr!⁴²

The conviction that the other instruments of the Passion are no less efficacious as loci of proved spiritual *potentia* is evident in a charm against fever:

I coungere the with nayles thre
that iewas was nayled vpon the tree.
I coungere the with the crowne of thorne
that on Iesus hede was done with skorne.
I coungere the with the precious blode
that Iesus shewyd vpon the rode.
I coungere the with woundes fyve
that Iesus suffred be his lyve.

⁴¹ On charms see C.F. Bühler, ‘Prayers and Charms in certain Middle English Scrolls’, *Spec* 39 (1964), 270-78; Douglas Gray, ‘Notes on Some Middle English Charms’, in *Chaucer and Middle English Studies in Honour of Rossell Hope Robbins*, ed. Beryl Rowland (London, 1974), pp.56-71; Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400-1580* (Yale, 1992), pp.266-98.

⁴² *Secular Lyrics of the XIVth and XVth Centuries*, ed. Rossell Hope Robbins (Oxford, 1952), no.61.11.1-4.

I coungere the with that holy spere
that longeus to Iesus hert can bere.⁴³

No longer chiefly meditative in context, the divine attributes are to some extent objectified. The mythic episodes of the sacred history are rehearsed as sites of intrinsic power, as in the following lengthy conjuration against bodily ills:

Als veraly os God is and was and chal be, and als verali as þat he sayd was sothe. And als veraly as þat he did wel he did. And als veraly os þat he of þe virgyne Marie flesche and blod toke. And als veraly os he on his worthely body suffred v. woundes for all synful. And als veraly os he on þe holy croys hang. And als veraly os his body was on þe crosse don and dampned were, to thefes ihanged aboute hym, and in his rith syde with a spere of erne was stongen, and his handes and his feet were nayled thorow, and his hed wit a crowne of thorne was prikked.⁴⁴

The charm goes on to invoke the Entombment, Harrowing of Hell, Ascension and Judgement as prologue to proclaiming dominion over ‘al maner of goute’ and other ills. Meanwhile, in formulae cognate with those of the romances, a charm employed in variant versions for the staunching of blood and the spell-binding of thieves invokes ‘God þ^t was y bore in bethleem / & baptized in flum jordan’;⁴⁵ ‘O God, þat in Bethelhem was borne / And layd to rest in an oxe-stall’.⁴⁶ Another such spell-binding charm, designed for recital ‘at night or against night about y^e place or feild or about beasts without feild’, begins with allusion to the two thieves crucified with Christ. It continues:

Christ y^t died on y^t roode,
for Maries loue that by him stood,
& throught the vertue of his might,
lett no theefe enter in this night,
nor foote further fro
this place that I upon goe⁴⁷

⁴³ *Secular Lyrics of the XIVth and XVth Centuries*, no.65, ll. 5-14.

⁴⁴ MS Sloane 962, f.72 as printed in Gray, ‘Notes on some Middle English Charms’, p.68.

⁴⁵ On this charm see T.M. Smallwood, ‘God was born in Bethlehem: the tradition of a Middle English Charm’, *MÆ* 58 (1989), 206-23 and J.M. McBryde, ‘Charms for Thieves’, *MLN* 22 (1907), 168-70. The text given here is that printed by McBryde, 168.

⁴⁶ Text from Smallwood, ‘God was born in Bethlehem’, 213.

⁴⁷ Text from McBryde, ‘Charms for Thieves’, 169.

Clearly, such formulae are suffused with the popular piety of the period. Their appearance in a range of charms suggests their centrality in lay devotion. At the same time, their association with Mass prayers and levation prayers suggests that they might be aligned with other pious utterances and texts used to solicit spiritual aid against dangers and perils:

Almost any object associated with ecclesiastical ritual could assume a special aura in the eyes of the people. Any prayer or piece of the Scriptures might have a mystical power waiting to be tapped. The Bible could be an instrument of divination, which opened at random would reveal one's fate. The gospels could be read aloud to women in child-bed to guarantee them a safe delivery. A Bible could be laid on a restless child's head so as to send it to sleep. *Dives and Pauper* declared that it was not wrong to try to charm snakes or birds by reciting holy words, provided the operation was done with reverence.⁴⁸

Drawing on Nativity tags to staunch blood, Passiontide-tags to spell-bind thieves, the use of pious formulae in Middle English charms suggests that even utterances such as these might hold 'a mystical power waiting to be tapped'. Once again, formulae identical to those of the romances assume a functionality far beyond token invocation of the deity.

* * * * * * * *

Assessment of the role of pious formulae in the *Lay Folks' Mass Book*, the lay prayers and verse charms of the period thus uncovers the broad functionality of such structures in medieval English devotion. They are no less prevalent or potent in three explicitly didactic or doctrinal genres: the sermon, the moral lyric and the pastoral manual. As such formulae are drawn upon in support of doctrine rather than devotion, their broad associative scope is further highlighted. Devotion and doctrine, of course, cannot be divided as discrete monolithic categories and in the following discussion, examples will appear wherein a use of a formula will be as supportive of the one strain as the other. Yet an assessment of the

⁴⁸ Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (London, 1971), p.51.

function of such formulae in sermon, lyric and pastoral manual will reveal how far they may assume a potent hortatory force.

Preaching

Pious formulae surface again in Middle English sermons.⁴⁹ Their frequency within the body of the texts varies though they appear quite consistently in closural prayers. Here, petition for deliverance of the faithful to heaven is regularly collocated with the tag, ‘To the wiche be brynge vs þat on the Rode bowȝth vs’;⁵⁰ ‘To that mercye he vs brynge þat for mankeend shed is blode on the Rode tre’;⁵¹ ‘Þis crowne of liff graunte vs Crist, þat died for us on þe Rode Tree’.⁵²

In addition to these closural formulae, limited evidence exists for the use of pious vernacular formulae in the structural embellishment of both Latin and vernacular sermons, ecclesial and mendicant usage being reflected by the fourteenth-century sermon notes of Archbishop Sheppey and John Grimestone’s preaching book respectively. Outlining the important function of such verses in preaching, Rossell Hope Robbins writes:

During his sermon a preacher might repeat such a little tag in the hope that its rhythm and rhyme would help his congregation remember some moral or tenet. Tags might serve another purpose: their shortness and pithiness would help the preacher himself to remember the heads of his sermon.⁵³

The concomitant aesthetic function of such verses has been increasingly recognised as extensive stylistic studies of sermon form have been conducted: ‘Verses in sermons had

⁴⁹ This section is indebted to the review of ‘Sermon Literature’ by Thomas J. Heffernan in *Middle English Prose: A Critical Guide to Major Genres and Authors*, ed. A.S.G. Edwards (New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1984), pp. 177-207.

⁵⁰ *Middle English Sermons*, ed. W.O. Ross, EETS 209 (London, 1940), p.8.

⁵¹ *Middle English Sermons*, p.45.

⁵² *Middle English Sermons*, p.99.

⁵³ *Secular Lyrics of the XIVth and XVth Centuries*, p.xviii. Siegfried Wenzel outlines the various functions of such verses in the Franciscan *Fasciculus morum, Verses in Sermons* (Cambridge, Mass., 1978), pp.69-100.

both a pedagogical and an ornamental purpose'.⁵⁴ Witness to this dual function is accordingly provided by the suggestive verses occurring in Bishop Sheppey's manuscript where they are included in a homily on the text 'Ihesu, fili dauid, miserere mei':

Ihesu, þat al þis world haþ wroʒt,
 haue merci on me!
 ihesu, þat wiþ þi blod vs bouʒt,
 ihesu, þat ʒaf vs whanne we adde noʒt,
 ihesu, dauid sone! &c.⁵⁵

Running to some thirty six verse lines (set out in the manuscript as prose) it is the cluster of pious formulae in the first stanza that is of interest. In evoking both Creator and Redeemer the verse sketches the essence of the salvific scheme, identifying the intermediary through whom the desired mercy is to be attained. Thus cogent as an apparently discrete verse unit, these lines, as Siegfried Wenzel has shown, are in fact closely integrated into their thematic and structural context:

...the English lines are directly derived from the Latin sermon division and furnish the structural blueprint for the sermon's principal parts....By setting forth its most important, basic material, the preacher or scribe has put down all that is needed to guide him or others.⁵⁶

The late fourteenth-century Franciscan preaching book associated with John Grimestone attests to the use of pious vernacular formulae in the preaching of the friars, here in an acrostic on 'Amen' which pleads for mercy:

A	Allas for sennes þat I haue wrouth;
M	Merci, Iesu, þat hast me bouth;
E	Elp, Ihesu, an saue þu me.
N	Nede maket me criʒen to þe. ⁵⁷

⁵⁴ Helen Spencer, *English Preaching in the Late Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1993), p.90. See also Siegfried Wenzel, *Preachers, Poets and the Early English Lyric* (Princeton, 1986), Ch.2.

⁵⁵ *Religious Lyrics of the XIVth Century*, ed. Carleton Brown, 2nd edn, rev. G.V. Smithers (Oxford, 1952), no.35, ll.1-5.

⁵⁶ *Preachers, Poets*, pp.97-99.

⁵⁷ Edward Wilson, *A Descriptive Index of the English Lyrics in John of Grimestone's Preaching Book* (Oxford, 1973), no.148.

Shifting the mode of prayer to adoration, another of Grimestone's verses, classified by Siegfried Wenzel as an example of his 'personal prayers', furnishes matter suitable not only for a sermon but which 'could instead have been included in this collection to be readily at hand for catechetical instruction or in giving a single person or a small group of religious guidance for meditation':⁵⁸

Iesu, my suete with
 Þat alle þingge hast wrouth,
 Þat come fro Heuene lith
 And hast me dere bouth;
 Þu zeue me wil and mith
 To ben clene in þouth,
 To kepen þe o rith
 Þat I ne senne nouth.⁵⁹

Grimestone's devotional ABC likewise draws upon our formulae, here in a benediction:

God, þat let his bodi sprede
 On þe rode for mannis nede,
 In heuene vs alle avaunce.⁶⁰

The formula, like those appearing in certain of the verse prayers considered above, is striking in its emphasis upon the volition of Christ in His Passion. More conventional is the phrase appearing later in admonishment:

Y wot wel wo sulen þey ben
 Þat louen nout God þat deiȝed on tre (169-70)

The changing value of Passiontide-formulae is again clear in the passage; context renders the phrase less meditative, more monitory. The latter tone is sustained in a passage drawn from another key Franciscan preaching text, the *Fasciculus Morum*, which furnishes a final example of the use of our formulae in sermon-verses. Occurring in a chapter on the love of God, a rather austere verse adopts the imperative mood and enjoins:

⁵⁸ *Preachers, Poets*, p.125.

⁵⁹ Printed by Robbins, 'Popular Prayers in Middle English Verse', 345.

⁶⁰ *A Descriptive Index*, no.198, ll.34-36.

Loue god þat loued the
 Þat for þe tholed deth on tree
 And broght þe oute of helle.
 Loue hym with hert, sowle and þoght
 Þat þe now has / wel derre boght
 Þen any tonge can telle.⁶¹

The affectivity of the tags serves the doctrinal point. The suffering of Christ in His Passion prompts a deep emotional response, acknowledged in the lyric's concluding 'ineffability topos'. Meanwhile, the obligations upon the redeemed soul *are* to be articulated, bolstered by the codified orthodoxy of pious formulae.

Moral Lyrics

Further examples of the didactic use of pious formulae are to be found in that branch of the religious lyric concerned with moral theology. Here, such formulae are frequently drawn upon as injunctions are coupled with stock references to the crucifixion and the redemption. As in the following fifteenth-century lyric on chattering in church, the effect is one of stark admonition:

ffor his loue þat ʒou der boʒth,
 Hold ʒou stil & Iangel noʒth⁶²

A Vernon lyric on governing the tongue is equally uncompromising:

Now, for his loue þat bouʒte þe dere,
 Let not þi tonge haue al þe wil!⁶³

This lyric reflects how pious formulae may take on a cogent didactic force. Twice more it enjoins:

Nou, for his loue þat dyed on tre,
 ffonde euermore to sey þe beste! (31-32)

Nou, for his loue þat dyed on tre,
 ffonde euer more to sey þe beste! (39-40)

⁶¹ *Verses in Sermons*, pp.154-55.

⁶² *Religious Lyrics of the XVth Century* no.179, ll.13-14.

⁶³ *The Minor Poems of the Vernon Manuscript*, no.LV.22, ll.17-18.

Another lyric concerned with probity in speech makes clear in its refrain the fate that awaits the mendacious: 'But þou sey soth þou schalt be schent'.⁶⁴ With eloquent economy the lyric figures the inverted priorities of a post-lapsarian world by apposite use of a Creator-tag:

Alas! what corsed lyf is þis,
 Þat men dreden more þe world now here
 Þen him þat wrouȝte þe world I-wys,
 And al þing haþ in his pouwere! (61-64)

The example illustrates how a truly apposite deployment of such a formula strengthens the didactic import of the verse. Man's inverted values are figured by the poet as a preoccupation with the secular world. The apposite allusion to God as neglected creator of that world makes for a cogent fusion of medium and message. As if to inspire precisely the *timor dei* here deemed lacking, the lyric goes on to employ a formula evoking the wounded Christ in an image not of the Pity, but of the Doom:

And he þat best now here con plede,
 I leue he schal be lewede þat day,
 Whan crist schal his woundes dysplay,
 Þat for vs was on rode I-rent (91-94)

The many lyrics treating death also make a strong didactic use of pious formulae.

Their hortatory tone is insistent:

Thynk hou dere god has þe bought,
 With blysfyl blode to blede;
 Thynk for his gylt was it nocht,
 bot man, for þi mys-dede.
 With an .O. & and I., thynk on hym, .I. rede,
 Þat wrought þis werld to þi be-howe, & heuen to þi mede.⁶⁵

Marked out by the string of imperatives, the pious formulae appear here in a dual aspect.

They serve as both the comforter's rod and the stick with which to beat the soul into

⁶⁴ *Religious Lyrics of the XIVth Century*, no.120, l.48.

⁶⁵ *Religious Lyrics of the XVth Century*, ed. Carleton Brown no.163, ll.5-10.

contrition, the conscience into self-awareness:

Thynk I rede, bothe nyth & day,
on hym þat boght þe so dere. (67-68)

The numinous attributes evoke both the contractual obligation of the Christian, thus fostering piety in his earthly conduct, and the promise of salvation in the afterlife, thus encouraging stoicism and endurance in the face of earthly vicissitudes. In lyrics whose tone tends to one of counsel rather than censure, this double function is reflected as a delicate balance. For if God is sufficiently reified in His attributes to inspire pious fear, He is equally manifest as redeemer and comforter, His ordinance apprehended in providential outcomes on earth:

Thy wyll to-morowe god may þe sende;
Grucche not agayne hyme, y þe defende,
.....
ffor ofte mene mete at vn-sette steuene;
Wyth freend & foo god makes euene,
That for vs suffered woundes wyde;
And brynge vs to þe blysse of heuene,
ffor the better ther euer to A-byde.⁶⁶ (Emphasis mine)

Pastoralia

No wonder, then that by providing orthodox predications of God that are sufficiently graphic to elicit an affective response, sufficiently mnemonic to impart doctrine, pious formulae lend themselves readily to wide use in the catechetical manuals of the period.⁶⁷ Though varying in number from text to text, and affected by choice of prosodic scheme, our formulae appear frequently within the tradition of vernacular pastoralia and moral theology occasioned initially by Lateran IV and more immediately by such insular councils

⁶⁶ *Religious Lyrics of the XVth Century*, no.183, ll.44-56.

⁶⁷ The following pages are indebted to two comprehensive overviews of Middle English catechetical literature; that of Alexandra Barratt, 'Works of Religious Instruction', in *Middle English Prose*, pages 413-32, and Robert Raymo, 'Works of Religious and Philosophical Instruction', *MWME* VII (1986), pp.2255-2372.

as that convened by Peckham in 1281. It was in response to this latter council that John Thoresby, Archbishop of York, issued his ‘Lay Folks’ Catechism’ in 1357. Whilst employed sparingly in the vernacular translation, the codified orthodoxy of religious formulae is nevertheless conspicuously evident in two key loci in this text. First, in the rendering of the Christian virtues: ‘The firste vertue is trouthe, what thurgh we trow / Anely in a God, that made al thinges’⁶⁸ and second, echoing the paradigm of sermon-peroration, in the concluding prayer of the treatise: ‘To whilk blisse he bring us [,that bought vs]. amen.’⁶⁹ Also occasioned by, and in some passages based upon, Peckham’s *Constitutiones*, the *Speculum Sacerdotale*, in both its Latin and the English texts, makes doctrinal use of religious formulae, here in expounding the second commandment and reflecting the belief that vicious oaths rend the body of Christ:

This god his name in vanite
 þu schalt nat take, for wele ne for wo.
 dismembre him nat þat on þe rode tre.
 for þe was made bothe blak & bloo.⁷⁰

The affective resonance of the formula is here strongly supportive of doctrine. In the manner of the powerful *Improperia* of the liturgy, the admonition seeks to move, to provoke an emotional reponse that will ensure the heeding of the prescription.

No less emphatic is the use of a Creator-formula in John Mirk’s *Instructions for Parish Priests*. Mirk urges that the laity be taught pious eucharistic observance: when carried about the parish, the consecrated host is to be greeted by the laity thus:

Thenne wyth grete deuocyone,
 Teche hem þere to knele a-downe;
 Fayre ne fowle, spare þey noghte
 To worschype hym þat alle hath wroghte⁷¹

⁶⁸ *The Lay Folks’ Catechism*, ed. Thomas Frederick Simmons and Henry Edward Nolloth, EETS 118 (1901), Text T, ll.387-88.

⁶⁹ Text T, l.576.

⁷⁰ *Speculum Christiani*, ed. Gustaf Holmstedt, EETS 182 (1933), p.19.

⁷¹ *Instructions for Parish Priests*, ll.308-11.

The periphrastic formula employed here makes clear that it is not merely invocations of Christ in his Passion which are capable of cogent doctrinal use. The creator-formula provides not only an eloquent periphrasis for God, it sketches enough of the sacred history familiar to the Christian to foster a sense of obligation. Moreover, it is an attribute conspicuous by its rehearsal in the Creed, here in Mirk's verse-rendering:

I be-leue in oure holy dryȝt,
 Fader of heuene god, almyȝt,
 Þat alle thynges has wroȝt,
 Heuene and erþe & alle of noȝt⁷²

Mirk's text demonstrates how pious formulae may additionally, when appearing in clusters, serve as situative devices in framing the laity's apprehension of salvation history. Thus, expounding the articles of faith, Mirk's treatment of the thirteenth article, the ascension, locates the event by retrospective comment on the Passion:

Þat cryst hym self on holy þursday
 Stegh in-to heuene in flesch & blod,
 That dyede byforn on þe rod.⁷³

Mention of the Passion here emphasises the profound theological significance of the bodily resurrection of Christ. It equally contributes, however, to a mode of instruction whereby each element of the salvific scheme is sited consciously in relation to its contiguous elements, much as the succeeding pageants of mystery plays tend to begin with reiteration of the action which has gone before.

Middle English texts observing the comprehensive didactic schemes of the *Somme le Roi* tradition also draw widely upon pious formulae. Considerations of space do not permit examination of the appearance of such structures in the prose texts of the tradition, where, as we might expect, usages are less frequent. Suffice it to say that the taste for

⁷² *Instructions for Parish Priests*, ll.426-29.

⁷³ *Instructions for Parish Priests*, ll.517-19.

rendering doctrine and devotion in pithy verse form does not leave these prose texts untouched by such formulae, Dan Michel's exordial prayer being one witness:

Lhord ihesu almiȝti kyng, þet madest / and lokest alle þyng.
Me þet am þi making: to þine blisse me þou bryng. Amen.⁷⁴

The fourteenth-century homiletic poem *Speculum Vitae* is also derived from the *Somme* but reorganizes its material around the seven petitions of the *Pater Noster*.⁷⁵ The *Speculum Vitae* draws frequently upon pious formulae. It makes use of stock phrases in expounding the *Pater Noster*:

And non other Gode is, bot he,
Thurgh wham alle maner of things is wroght⁷⁶ (693-94)

and, again, in its treatment of the Trinity:

...Gode þe fadur fulle of myght,
That thurgh is myght alle things made
Hewyn, and erth, and þe world brade,
And ilk a thinge in right kynde (877-80)

Time and again in the *Speculum*, precisely those formulae long deemed theologically insignificant in even the more pious of the Middle English romances serve as the key components in the teaching of moral theology. Thus we are told:

We shuld thinge on hym þat vs wroght,
And honour hym þat vs alle boght,
And hym habyde þat vs wille saue (910-13)

The text tells how failure to heed these prescriptions will prompt remorse. With a mere change of pronoun in a stock formula, the poet renders this point forcefully:

...sorow in a mans hert rynnnes
When he be thinkes hym of his synnes,
And of þe vnkyndnes þat he has wroght
To Gode þat *hym* so dere has boght (1652-55, Emphasis mine)

⁷⁴ *Ayenbite of Inwyt*, ed. Richard Morris, EETS 23 (1866), revised text by Pamela Gradon (1965).

⁷⁵ Ascription of this text to William of Nassyngton still being somewhat tentative (Robert Raymo, *MWME* VII, p.2261), the following discussion styles the author, 'the *Speculum*-poet'.

⁷⁶ All references are to *Speculum Vitae: An edition of British Museum MS Royal 17C. VIII*, ed. John W. Smeltz (Ann Arbor, 1977).

The literary and the doctrinal are not at odds here. On the contrary, the poet is able to exploit the affective tonality of these formulae to support didacticism. Their stylistic aspect bolsters moral commentary:

þar sculd a man put out of his hert
 Alle idelle toghtes þat commes outwert,
 And sett stedfastly alle his toght
 On Gode anely þat hym made of noght,
 And fra helle boght hym with his blod (10,817-21)

Specific 'defautes' are upbraided the more powerfully in the *Speculum* by the apposite use of formulae. Thus a stylistic as much as a theological rationale underlies a passage arguing how contemplation of creation will prompt recognition of the divine *auctor*:

And þe mare dere he seyes thurgh sight
 þe creatures þat Gode made right.
 þe mare he ys ʒernand in toght
 To se þat lord þat þam wrought (2530-33)

The *Speculum*-poet is clearly alert to the affective aspect of such formulae. Not too austere a moralist, his closing prayer, modelled on the form of sermon-peroration, emphasises Christ's voluntary sacrifice and prays for deliverance of the faithful to heaven:

To whilk blys he vs brynge
 þat on þe crose for vs wald hyng⁷⁷ (16,394-95)

* * * * *

By their appearance in Middle English verse prayers and charms, the devotional resonance of pious formulae is widely attested. The frequent use of identical structures in preaching, moral lyrics and pastoralia indicates their strong didactic aspect. Already we have witnessed the potential implications for style. Apposite invocation and careful deployment of imagery can make for powerful literary effects. Consequently, in certain of the more

⁷⁷ Other examples of pious formulae occurring in the *Speculum* include 'Ihus Cryst Gode alle myghty, / þat was hanged on þe crose heghe' (9891-92); 'God þat ys mast of myght' (1005); 'he...þat alle wrought' (1506); 'Gode þat is fulle of myght' (1722); 'Gode þat alle thing wrought' (2109); 'Gode þat syttes in heuen' (10, 986); 'Gode, þat alle thyng wate' (12, 646).

‘literary’ texts, this propensity is exploited to the full: such formulae are employed to generate both a didactic and an aesthetic charge. Accordingly, the following discussion of *Handlyng Synne*, the mystery and morality plays and the saints’ lives aims to illustrate fully how this dual function is achieved, how didactic usage may work concomitantly with *literary* usage.

From the Expository to the Literary: 1) *Handlyng Synne*

Robert Mannyng’s *Handlyng Synne* represents another important plank in the tradition of Middle English pastoralia, again using formulae cognate with those of the romances.⁷⁸

Translated from the Anglo-Norman *Manuel de Péchés*, Mannyng’s text comprises both exposition and narrative. In *both* discursive modes, pious formulae are in evidence, their use in the literary exempla informed to a considerable extent by their appearance in the non-narrative sections of the text. Accordingly, *Handlyng Synne* forms a convenient bridge between the expository and the literary. The text reveals how the semantic weight ascribed to pious formulae in the former mode is exploited as a stylistic resource in the latter.

A few examples readily illustrate how the text makes use of such formulae in a didactic aspect. We are told, for instance, of the error of the superstition that malign ‘shapandys’ may cause deformity in newborn infants:⁷⁹

Swych beleue þou sculdyst nat werche
 Aȝens þe beleue of holy cherche
 Þer ys no shaper but god almyghte
 Þat yn þe virgyne Marie lyghte.
 He ys shaper of al þyng,
 Of al þat ys he wot þe endyng.

(577-82)

⁷⁸ All references to the text will be taken from *Handlyng Synne*, ed. Idelle Sullens (New York, 1983).

⁷⁹ On such superstition see Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, pp.104, 105 *et. passim*.

The modes of invocation reinforce the point: the only preternatural nativity to be credited is that of Christ. The only ‘shaper’ is God. Equally didactic is the treatment of the eighth commandment. We are told that the man who bears false witness forsakes, among other things, the virtue of:

Ihu crystes passyoun
 Þat for hym to deþ was doun (2743-44)

This is the springboard for a direct admonishment:

For hys loue þat deyde on þe rode
 Forswere ʒow neuer for werldes gode (2761-62)

Running parallel with this use of pious formulae in the poem’s doctrinal passages, then, is Mannyng’s use of such structures in *literary* contexts. Here, *Handlyng Synne* shows itself to be a key text in documenting the use of pious formulae; the emphatic hortatory usage of these formulae in the moral commentary is matched by dramatic examples within the literary contexts of the tales. For example, in an exemplum told against adultery, we learn how a community, terrorised by a dragon, appeals to a hermit for aid. He bids the folk to observe three days’ penance and then appeals to Christ in His Passion:

Ihu cryst, god almyghty,
 Of þys folk haue þou mercy
 Þat þou boghtyst on rode so dere;
 For hem shewe me on sum manere
 Where y may þe dragun fynde
 And hys power, lord, þou bynde,
 Þat þe folk may knowe and se
 Þe mercy & þe myght of þe. (1785-92)

The elements of the prayer are subtly integrated: the Passion invoked as marking the redemption of precisely those individuals now seeking earthly aid, the call for divine guidance pre-empting a positive outcome and thus a revelatory act of intercession.

Equally subtle is the use of a Nativity-tag in the vivid tale of the sacrilegious carollers. Here, a priest is frustrated in the celebration of Christmas Eve Mass by the

revelry of a group of dancers in the churchyard. He upbraids the revellers, employing an apposite formula with great emphasis:

...on goddes half, y ʒow forbede
 Þat ʒe no lenger do swych dede.
 But comeþ yn on feyr manere
 Goddes seruyse for to here,
 And doþ at crystenmennes lawe,
 Karolleþ no more for crystes awe.
Wrshepeþ hym wyþ al ʒoure myght
Þat of þe vyrgyne was bore þys nyght. (9070-77, Emphasis mine)

Whilst the carollers, to their cost, do not heed the appeal its emphatic quality is patent, bolstered as it is by a pious formula judiciously selected.⁸⁰

The strongest example of Mannyng's ability to employ pious formulae in literary contexts with all of the emphasis of usages in moral commentary appears in his tale of the forgiving knight. Narrated as an exemplum against Wrath, the tale begins with the death of a knight, the cause and manner of his dispatch at the hands of another representative of chivalry not inquired into but passed over: 'Þey mette togedyr, y ne woot how, / Algate þe toon þe touþer slow' (3803-4). Not causes but effects constitute the narrative focus, the vengeful son of the dead knight besieging the ostensibly unpenitent killer in his 'beste castel'. The siege lasts for twelve months; significantly the time lapse is registered in the besieged knight's inability to attend to devotional observances: 'Messe ne matyns he ne herde, / No neuere nagher to cherche he ferde' (3817-18). His incipient penitence is not explicitly articulated but rather figured as on Good Friday the knight watches the parishioners walk to church:

Barfote to þe cherche þey ʒede,
 To aske mercy for here mysdede. (3825-26)

⁸⁰ No formula appears in the corresponding passage from the *Manuel de Peches*, printed by Frederick J. Furnivall, *Robert of Brunne's Handlyng Synne* EETS 123 (1903), pp. 283-89.

Having gazed upon this penitent procession, contrition is implicit in the knight's ensuing response:

'Ey,' þoghte þe knyght, 'lang ys gone
 Þat messe at þe cherche herde y none.
 What soeure god for me wyle werche,
 Y wyle ryse & go to þe cherche.' (3827-30)

Adhering to this providential resolve, and thus evincing a humility evocative of remorse, the knight removes his shoes and commands the castle gates be opened:

Barfote he ʒede, as ys þe acyse,
 To cherche for to here goddys seruyse.
 And as he þe wey to þe cherche namme
 Þe chyld hys enmy aʒens hym camme,
 And seyde, 'treytur, now shalt þou deye
 And my fadyr deþ ful dere abeye.
 No wrldys gode ne shal þe saue
 Þat þou þe deþ of me shalt haue.' (3833-40)

In the face of this vengeful utterance, the knight kneels. Passionately, with recourse to pious formulae, he pleads for mercy:

Þe knyght sagh noun ouþer bote
 But fyl on knees before hys fote,
 And seyde, 'haue on me mercy
 For hym þat lyghte yn þe virgine mary,
 And suffrede deþ on þe rode tre
 Þys day to saue boþe me and þe,
 And forʒaf hem þat hys blode spylte.
 Ryght so forʒeue þou me my gylte.' (3841-48)

The penitential passage holds a strong dramatic and devotional power. The invocations of both the Incarnation and the Passion remind us of the conflation of those mysteries in the eucharist, a sacrament understood in terms of corporate identity, not least in the tale's Lenten setting, when lay reception of the host is enjoined. The appropriateness of the Passiontide-formula to the liturgical festival at hand is signalled by the penitent knight himself. He employs first and second person singular pronouns to emphasise the situation of sinner and would-be executioner as redeemed individuals. A powerful analogy is set

into place: it is presented as both gracious, pious and Christ-like to forgive a trespass of bloodshed. No wonder, then, that the knight's emotive plea is accepted, the terms in which pardon is given reflecting how the appeal has drawn upon a shared devotional consciousness:

Þys chyld þat was hys enmy
Herde hym preye so rufully
And seyde, 'syn þou hast me besoughte
For Ihu loue þat dere vs boghte,
And for hys moder loue so dere,
For hem y graunte þe my pes here.'

(3853-58)

Like the kiss of amity—albeit enforced—between the Pardoner and the Host in the *Canterbury Tales*, tableaux of reconciliation weave brief but poignant moments of narrative stasis, competing discourses and values momentarily dissolved in an image of accord: 'Þys yche chyld down swyþe alyght / And yn gode loue keste þat knyght' (3859-60). Here, such accord has been struck by the evocation of an harmonious devotional context figured in conventional but affective pious formulae. As the reconciled pair process soberly to church, the forgiving knight's use of a non-formulaic relative predicate invoking Christ suggests that if devotional sublimity in narrative ultimately resides in structures other than the formulaic, pious formulae can at least bring us a good part of the way:

'Now are we frendys þat ere were wroþe.
Go we now to þe cherche boþe,
Yn gode loue and parfyt charyte,
For hys sake þat ordeynde pes to be.'

(3859-65)

2) Didactic Drama

Further evidence of the apposite and emphatic use of formulae in texts as 'literary' as they are expository is to be found in the Corpus Christi drama of the period. Here, again, we witness the use of such formulae principally in both an educative *and* an aesthetic aspect

as dramatic context occasions examples apposite to their context. Such formulae appear frequently in the Corpus Christi plays where once more their function is both situative and commemorative.⁸¹ Just as each pageant is concerned with making manifest the doctrinal significance of each stage in the cosmic drama of Fall, Redemption and Judgment, so the conventional cluster of dependent clause formulae is employed as the divinity is located in His attributes. Seeking, as does that sacrament from which Corpus Christi drama derives, to signify and symbolise the entire salvific scheme, the separate pageants of the cycles are framed with prologue and epilogue, locating each episode very clearly within the wider context. As a review of episodes from the Towneley Cycle shows, the use of pious formulae constantly signposts this proleptic and holistic conception. Old Testament figures swear not only by their creator but also by their redeemer whilst, anticipating Christ's nativity, the shepherds of the Towneley *Prima Pastorum* are already swearing by His death. Similarly, in the Towneley 'Creation' pageant, Deus has not long quit the stage when eschatological references appear. Lucifer's usurpation of the throne and the attendant flattery of the bad angel prompt admonishment from the Primus Bonus Angelus:

I rede ye leyfe that vanys royse,
For that seyte may non angell seme
So well as hym that all shall deme.⁸²

As the second good angel adds his voice to the admonishment, a second formula refers us back to the creation without any strain of decorum:

Hit semyd hym neuer, ne neuer shall,
So well as hym that has maide all (116-17)

Anachronism, then, is not the effect of formulae rehearsing attributes not yet made manifest in the playworld. By prefiguration and prolepsis, often by means of pious

⁸¹ Our formulae appear in varying numbers in each of the four main cycles. Considerations of space do not permit a comparative study and attention in this section will be confined to the Towneley Cycle.

⁸² *The Towneley Plays*, ed. Martin Stevens and A.C. Cawley, EETS SS 13 (1994), p.6, 11.11-13. All citations are from this edition.

formulae invoking attributes from the respective ends of the sacred history, precisely the conception of God as at once ‘alpha and omega’ is created. This is not to suggest that usage with attention to dramatic context is negligible. For example, in the Towneley ‘Fall of the Angels’ pageant the first demon reproaches the fallen Lucifer with forsaking ‘God hymself, *that syttys aboyf*’ (141, emphasis mine). The apposite nature of the invocation is clear, but such usage is subordinate in a drama whose rehearsal of God’s attributes functions as a situative doctrinal shorthand directed at the *audience*, not the figures in the playworld.

Some strikingly apposite usages of pious formulae are evident in the cycles. Examples from the Towneley plays are among the strongest. Here, pious formulae may be seen to operate consistently in a dual function. David’s speech in the ‘Play of the Prophets’ reflects this duality. The tags he employs serve as situative and commemorative counters in the revelation of the divinity:

For god will his son down send,
That wroght Adam with his hend,
And heuen and erth mayde. (112-14)

They are equally functional as prayer-formulae, establishing the grounds of petition for salvation:

He that maide vs all with his wytt,
Sheld vs all from hell-pytt,
And graunt vs heuen lyght! (160-62)

Often, a poignant effect is achieved where the sense of the action is allied with an appropriate act of God, commemorated in a formula. In the Wakefield Master’s ‘Murder of Abel’ pageant, for instance, Abel’s offertory prayer relates his tithes to the wider context of God’s creation:

God that shope both erth and heuen,
I pray to the thou here my steven
And take in thank, if thi wille be,

The tend that I offre here to the;
 For I gif it in good entent
 To the, my lord, that all has sent.
 I bren it now, with stedfast thocht,
 In worship of hym that all has wroght. (176-83)

Later, when Noah is led to perceive in the craftsmanship of the completed ark a hand other than his own, a creator-formula is employed with equal appositeness:

It is better wroght
 Then I coude haif thocht;
 Hym that maide all of noght
 I thank oonly. (413-16)

In such examples character and audience reflect upon the analogy together. Irony is the effect where the theological implications of a particular formula are recognised by audience alone. In the 'Offering of the Magi' pageant, for example, we witness a belligerent Herod vowing of the Christ child: 'I shall se that brodell bloode / By hym that me has boght!' (443-44). The irony readily apparent to the audience here, of course, is not the temporal anachronism of the phrase but the fact that the pagan monarch can by no means be assured of his own salvation.⁸³

More such ironies are evident in the 'Crucifixion' pageant. Pious formulae are here not confined to the mouths of Christ and his mournful party. They issue from the majority of the characters, irrespective of creed or role in the action. The resulting grim ironies include that generated by the second torturer when he grapples with Christ's cross:

A, it heldys!
 For hym that all this world weldys,
 Put fro the with thi hande! (216-18)

The formula is not without its doctrinal aspect: the apparently unreflected invocation of God's omnipotence in the presence of the suffering God Incarnate makes for a powerful

⁸³ More generally pagan figures swear by their own gods, their oaths being 'indicative of utter villainy', see Arnold Williams, 'The Comic in the Cycles', *Medieval Drama (Stratford on Avon Studies 16)*, ed. N. Denny (London, 1973), pp.109-23.

dramatic irony. To invoke the omnipotence of the deity in this context is implicitly to emphasise the absolute volition of the Incarnate Christ's sacrifice. The irony is sustained as the crucified Christ proceeds to employ the kind of petition more customarily associated with prayers addressed to Himself when, after delivering the *Improperia*, he prays:

Bot fader, that syttys in trone,
 Forgyf thou them this gylt,
 I pray to the this boyn,
 Thay wote not what thay doyn,
 Nor whom thay haue thus spylt. (292-96)

Reference to the catalogue of romance formulae illustrates that, in the Middle English romances at least, Christ is as often invoked as sitting 'in' or 'on' the heavenly throne as is God the Father.⁸⁴ Implicitly, then, the tag emphasises the extent of Christ's humbling of Himself, His *kenosis*. The phrase makes a poignant contribution in conveying Christ's humility, desolation and loneliness, an affective response to which is evident in Nichodemus' closural benediction:

he that dyed on gud Fryday
 And crownyd was with thorne,
 Saue you all that now here be-
 That lord that thus wold dee
 And rose on Pasche-morne. (720-24)

The Resurrection and Ascension follow in the Towneley pageants. In the latter, as the apostles await a final interview with the risen Christ, James employs a string of emotively charged pious formulae. Expressing the disciples' deep desire to see 'Oure saveoure Crist, Goddys son, / That dyed apou a tre'(90-91) he entreats:

Now God grauntt vs that boyn,
 That with his bloode vs boght,
 To se hym in his throne,
 As he maide all of noght. (93-96)

⁸⁴ See catalogue, sections J.3.1-2.

Christ appears, bidding his disciples go forth and preach to all those 'Who baptyme will abyde' (152). Christ ascends and the pageant concludes with the Virgin explaining 'He is God and man that stevynd into heuen' (444) and echoing His call for the disciples to proselytze and spread the gospel:

Preche thus to the pepyll that most ar in price.
 Sekys to thare savyng, ye apostilles aleven,

 Tell the warkys of my son warly and wyse.
 Byd theym be stedfast and lysten youre steuen,
 Or els be thay dampned as men full of vyce. (445-51)

Here the incomplete play breaks off but perhaps the disciples want no further counsel, equipped as both they and the audience now are, with a series of pious formulae which situate the divinity, rehearse the tenets of doctrine by which He has been made manifest, and serve as the basis of petition by which the fallen soul may be saved.

That other branch of didactic drama, the morality play, also makes a cogent use of pious formulae. In the early fifteenth-century morality, *The Castle of Perseverance*, a hortatory use of Passiontide-formulae is widely evident. Consider, for instance, the injunction of the Bonus Angelus to Humanum Genus:

Haue hym alwey in þi mynde
 Þat deyed on rode for Mankynde⁸⁵ (336-37)

Likewise, a doctrinal usage is evident in Penitencia's explanation of how the erring

Humanum Genus may achieve absolution:

God, þat syttyth in heuene on hye,
 Askyth no more or þat þou dye
 But sorwe of hert wyth wepynge eye
 For all þi synnys smert. (1386-89)

⁸⁵ All references are to *The Castle of Perseverance* in *The Macro Plays*, ed. Mark Eccles, EETS 262 (1969).

When the protagonist does indeed repent of his sins, Confescio uses a Passiontide-tag to solemnise absolution:

To Jhesu Crist þat deyed on rode
 I restore þe ageyn ful sadde.
Noli peccare. (1526-28)

Brought to the prospect of a second temptation by the World, the Flesh and the Devil, Humanum Genus accordingly appeals to the virtue of the Passion for protection: ‘þat dynges Duke þat deyed on rode / Þis day my sowle kepe and safe!’ (1995-96). The colourful use of periphrasis evident here is developed in the ensuing series of vignettes wherein the seven virtues quit the seven deadly sins. Humilitas invokes first ‘Þis meke kynges... / Þat was croysyd on Caluary’ (2086-87); then ‘Þis duke þat dyed on hylle’ (2101); and finally Wrath, defeated by Patience marks the sublime absorption of periphrasis into symbol in his exclamation: ‘I am al betyn blak and blo / Wyth a rose þat on rode was rent’ (2219-20). Similarly, Abstinence marks her triumph over Gluttony with the invocation of eucharistic symbolism:

Certys I shal þi wele aslake
 Wyth bred þat browth us out of hell
 And on þe croys sufferyd wrake.
 I mene þe sacrament.
 Þat iche blysfyl bred
 Þat hounge on hyl tyl he was dede (2266-71)

These sophisticated examples again attest to the doctrinal value of these formulae. Pax’s speech to Veritas in the debate of the Four Daughters of Jerusalem illustrates once more their role in the economy of redemptive grace, as the very petitions by which the fallen soul may seek succour:

Lete no man be ʒou dampnyd be
 Nor deme ʒe no man to helle.
 For hys loue þat deyed on tre,
 Late saue Mankynd fro al peryle (3205-10)

It is by invoking the Passion that the Four Daughters persuade Pater to be merciful. As the play concludes He invokes the corporal acts of mercy in bidding the audience observe the same virtue:

Whoso doth mercy to hys myth
To þe seke, or in presun pyth,
He doth to me; I schal hym quyth;
Heuene blys schal be hys mede. (3633-36)

If the preceding dramatic action of the play has emphasized divine rather than corporal acts of mercy, this concluding injunction sits by no means uneasily with what has gone before. For the good works, patience and *caritas* enjoined upon the audience reside not only in the play's virtuous personifications but in the invariable subject of their periphrases, the 'rose þat on rode was rent'.

3) Saints' Lives

Middle English hagiography,⁸⁶ the last of the more 'literary' genres to be included in this review, makes wide use of pious formulae akin to those of the romances. This does not surprise given the recent scholarly emphasis upon the many stylistic and formal correspondences between the two genres.⁸⁷ In hagiography pious formulae serve a dual function in framing doctrine and supporting that doctrine stylistically. Just as many of the saints, particularly martyrs, are shown to be passionate and ardent in their devotion to Christ's service, so such formulae occur in an affect aspect, acting as emotive as much as doctrinal components in a literary genre described by Elizabeth Salter as 'that staple

⁸⁶ The following pages draw upon the treatment of Saints' Lives in *MWME*, II, 'Saints' Legends' by Charlotte D'Evelyn and Frances A. Foster, pp.410-57.

⁸⁷ See Laurel Braswell, 'Sir Isumbras and the Legend of Saint Eustace', *MS 27* (1965), 128-51; Diana T. Childress, 'Between Romance and Legend: "Secular Hagiography" in Middle English Literature', *Philological Quarterly* 57 (1978), 311-22; Jocelyn Wogan Browne, "'Bet...to...rede on holy seyntes lyves...': Romance and Hagiography Again', in *Readings in Medieval English Romance*, ed. Carol M. Meale (Cambridge, 1994), pp.83-97.

educative force of the Middle Ages'.⁸⁸ Educative merit is widely advertised in these texts.

The conclusion to a *Life of St Stephen*, for example, suggests that earthly good and spiritual salvation lie in emulation of the protomartyr's piety:

And by þis lesson men may lere
To wirk wele in þis werld al-wey
And cum to þe life þat lastes ay.
Vnto þat life þat lord vs lede
þat sufferd ded for oure misdede! Amen.⁸⁹

Indeed, the principal significance of religious formulae occurring in these texts must surely be that they appear as the pious utterances of exemplary figures. Often expounding the faith to their antagonists and proselytes, the saints are figures of high status whose use of such formulae further bespeaks their fitness as exponents of doctrine. Such didactic usage is apparent in the Cambridge Ff. 2.38 *Katherine*, when the saint urges:

Beleue vpon the trynyte,
Fadur and sone and holy goste,
That ar of all myghtys moost
And made all thyng of noghte,
And wyth hys blode vs dere hap boghte⁹⁰

This extract might well be drawn from the expository texts considered above: the monitory tone is equally emphatic. Additionally, though, the broad set of Passiontide-formulae employed in the saints' lives means mythological analogies between the tribulations and martyrdoms of the saints and those of Christ are frequently drawn. The analogy is explicit in St Katherine's profession:

For my will es ever on all wise
Of mi fless to mak sacrifise,
For his sake þat on þe tre
Offerd his fless and blude for me⁹¹

⁸⁸ Elizabeth Salter, *Fourteenth Century English Poetry: Contexts and Readings* (Oxford, 1983), p.38.

⁸⁹ *Altenglische Legenden*, ed. Carl Horstmann (Heilbronn 1881), p.34, ll.560-64

⁹⁰ *Altenglische Legenden*, p.263, ll.298-302.

⁹¹ *Altenglische Legenden*, p.170, ll.497-500.

Such formulae are also functional in hagiography in sketching highly dramatic scenes. Before his martyrdom, St Peter raises a man from the dead, drawing upon the mythic power of a Passiontide-formula:

Saynt Peter spak in goddes name
 And said: ‘ded man, I cumand þe
 In Jhesu name þat died on tre,
 Þat þou rise up both hale & fere
 And tell what I will ask þe here.’⁹²

Local but broadly applicable insights on the use of pious formulae in Saints’ Lives, may be gained by confining attention to two texts, those of the pre-eminent female saints, Katherine and Margaret. Moreover, focus upon the copies of these legends preserved in the Auchinleck manuscript brings surety of a common readership for both these texts and a substantial number of romances, whose pious formulae they share. Idiosyncrasies of treatment may also be observed: the common authorship of the two lives has been convincingly established on linguistic evidence.⁹³

The prologue to *Saint Margaret* advertises the exemplary character of the narrative and stresses the intercessory power of the protagonist:

Al þat ben in dedly sinne / and þenk wiþ merci to mete,
 Leue in Crist þat ʒaue ʒou witte / ʒour sinnes forto bete.
 Listen, and ʒe schul here telle / wiþ wordes fair and swete
 Þe vie of on maiden, / men clepeþ seyn Mergre(te) (1-4)⁹⁴

Both narratives of Margaret and Katherine epitomise the pagan ‘other’ in the respective tyrants Olibrous and Maxens. As the heroines proselytise their oppressors, pious formulae have a clear doctrinal context in which to resonate. Thus Margaret preaches to Olibrous:

He dede him on þe rode, / al cristen folk to amende
 And seþpen into helle / þe holy gost he sende,
 To del(i)uer ous of þe pine, / þat þou schalt in ende. (101-4)

⁹² *Altenglische Legenden*, p.67, ll.306-10.

⁹³ A.J. Bliss, ‘The Auchinleck “St Margaret” and “St Katherine”’, *N&Q* 201 (1956). 186-88.

⁹⁴ Horstmann prints Auchinleck’s quatrains as two lines each. Whilst this format is not ideal, obscuring among other things the formal identity of ‘Margaret’ with ‘Katherine’, it is preserved here for facility of reference to the printed edition.

Here the mythic narrative takes on an immediacy, figuring 'ous' and 'þou', salvation and damnation. The presence of the incorrigibly pagan Olibrous also makes for irony when his gleeful catalogue of the sufferings and death of Christ only serves to blazon his ignorance of the salvific scheme and his estrangement from its redemptive virtue:

Trowestow þat Jhesu liues, / þat was don on rode?
 ʒif þou trowest þat he liues, / ich hold þe for wode.
 Endelong his side / ran þe water and þe blode,
 Þe coroun was of þornes / þat on his heued stode. (97-100)

Margaret refuses Olibrous' final offer of marriage and riches, commending her soul to God and making apposite use of a Creator-formula:

Y take me to Jhesu Crist / þat wiþ hondes me wrouʒt
 Al þis midlerd / maked he of nouʒt,
 And seþþen into helle / þe holy gost he brouʒt (118-20)

As her subsequent torture prompts pitying bystanders to bid her capitulate for her frail body's sake, Margaret's use of a Passiontide-formula in response instantly allies her with the exemplary sufferer she seeks to imitate:

Y take me to Jhesu Crist, / þat was don on þe rode.
 Al þe pine þat ich þole / it is þe soules fode. (151-52)

When assured of her salvation by an angel, Margaret's resulting adoration emphatically restates the redemptive grace available to all:

Blisced be Jhesu Crist / þat haþ me sent þat sond,
 And dyed on þe rode tre / to bring ous out of bond (357-58)

She goes a step further in pleading of Christ an intercessory role for herself in aiding women in childbirth:

Þan bad Mergrete / to Jhesu, þat was so fre:
 'ʒif ani woman trauayl / and hard clepeþ to me,
 Deliuer hir, lord, wiþ ioie / þurch vertu of þe tre
 þat þou dest þi body on / to make ous al fre!' (365-68)

Later, she goes still further in calling down redemptive virtue in the very narrative of her martyrdom:

Alle þat mi passioun / here oper rede
 Oper þat in mi name / don ani almos-dede,
 Jhesu Crist, mi lord, / wiþ honour þou hem fede,
 Þe swete blis of heuen / graunte hem, lord, to mede! (369-72)

Attendance to the text itself thus becomes a manner of devotion. Its exemplary outline offers a model of earthly stoicism and patience while asserting assured salvation for the faithful. Thus, at the close of the text, the situative and doctrinal function of pious formulae is paramount. Just as the projected fate of Olibrius was to endure the pain of hell, so that of the pious readership is to join their saintly heroine:

Jhesu, þat on þe rode was don / our soules forto borwe,
 Scheld ous fram þe pine of helle / and bring ous out of sorwe,
 And grace forto ʒeme ous / out of dedli sinne,
 And graunt ous þe miche ioie / þer Seynte Mergrete is inne!
 (409-12)

Meanwhile, the closely analogous *St Katherine* opens on a similar note:

He þat made heuen & erþe
 & sonne & mone for to schine,
 Bring ous into his riche
 & scheld ous fram helle pine! (1-4)

Katherine's pagan antagonist, Maxens, is challenged by the saint when he conducts ostentatious devotions. In upbraiding him, Katherine's use of Creator-formulae underscores her censure of the euhemeristic idolatry in which he is engaged:

Þenne bespak here Kateryne-
 God off heuene forgat sche nouȝt:
 Þat schoop here wymman & virgyne,
 Sente grace in-tyl here pouȝt-:
 'Þise ben quic deuelen alle
 Þat þis folk han here ysouȝt;
 It is no god but on y-wis,
 Þat me & te & alle haþ wrouȝte (113-20)

Imprisoned like Margaret, Katherine succeeds in converting the group of pagan sages sent to dispute with her, their spokesman telling Maxens:

‘Sir,’ he seyde, ‘we han gon mis,
Sche haþ a resoun ous biforn.
We wil trowe on Jhesu Crist,
Þat bar þe croun was made of þorn,
& do, so Katerine haþ ous told-
Lop ous is to be forlorne.’

(211-16)

The Passiontide-formula, by its affective imagery, animates the style of this and similar professions. For the affective character of the phrase implicitly suggests the sympathy of the speaker for the subject he relates. Later, in a miracle reminiscent of the deliverance of the three Old Testament youths from Pharaoh’s furnace, the sages, when cast into the fire, are delivered in soul to heaven whilst their bodies remain uncorrupted: ‘Her flesche, her cloþes & her here / Of wem were quite & fre’ (225-27). Meanwhile the concept of martyrdom made in the image of Christ is never more patently expounded than in the ensuing use of a Passiontide-formula: ‘For him þai suffred passioun / Þat for hem dyed on tre’ (227-28). Accordingly, the safe translation of their souls to heaven is assured: ‘To heuen were her soules born, / In godes frari to be’ (229-30).

Katherine also succeeds in converting Maxens’ queen. When this latest proselyte is similarly condemned to death she appeals to the saint to intercede for the safe deliverance of her soul:

Sche loked opon Katerine,
& mildeliche sche hir bisouþt
Þat sche schuld hir erande bere
To Jhesu Crist, þat ous haþ bouþt.⁹⁵

(541-44)

By the queen’s dramatic and poignant appeal, the paradigm is thus established for similar appeals for intercession in the devotional practices of the readership or audience.

⁹⁵ The reading in the Caius College MS 175 is less apposite in its invocation of God the Father rather than the redeeming Christ: ‘To don here erende in þat pyne / To god off heuene, þat al haþ wrouþt’ (544).

The Auchinleck text breaks off at line 660 as Katherine prepares to suffer martyrdom. The conclusion appearing in the Caius manuscript is rich in Passiontide-formulae, emphasising Christ's volition rather than His subjugation on the cross:

þe heyȝe kyng of alle men kynne,
 þat spredde hys body vp-on tree,
 Brynge vs out off dedly synne
 And sende vs loue & charyte,
 þat we mowe to þat stede wynne,
 Wiþouten ende in ioie to be,
 þat seynt Kateryne is Inne. (789-95)

Even as a fragmentary text, the Auchinleck *Katherine*, like the *Margaret*, illustrates how emphatic doctrinal and devotional use may be made of pious formulae in saints' lives. They provide a suggestive context for the cognate structures appearing in the romances of the Auchinleck collection, texts not so far removed from the hagiographic mode themselves. For if a modern critical consensus identifies prosodic ease as the rationale for the romance use of such formulae, a contemporary reader turning from *St Katherine* to the *King of Tars* might hesitate to agree.

It emerges that the pious formulae of the Middle English romances are cognate with structures employed in the devotional and doctrinal texts of the period with cogency and appositeness. The centrality of these formulae in framing Mass-prayers for the laity, their devotional currency in private prayer, their approved efficacy in verse charms and their doctrinal resonance in moral theology are all well attested. The various functions and connotations ascribed to such formulae in this range of texts furnishes impressive evidence that their associative value is not irrevocably fixed but sensitive to context, leaving these structures susceptible of usage with varying degrees of semantic emphasis. Context and tone may exploit the pious tonality of these formulae; slight variations of pronoun may elicit a significant change of devotional emphasis. Moreover, where

expository discourse gives way to homiletic narrative, as in Mannyng's *Handlyng Synne*, the drama and the Saints' Lives, this same sliding scale in the associative value of pious formulae is equally in evidence. Apposite usage creates an impressive stylistic effect which, by poetic consonance, implicitly supports moral meaning.

Inspired by the evidence of this review, the project of the ensuing chapters is to examine the use of such formulae in certain of the texts of the Middle English romance tradition. A key text in that tradition, the popular romance of *Guy of Warwick*, forms the subject of the following chapter, where it will be shown that the affective aspect of pious formulae is richly exploited as a literary resource.

CHAPTER THREE

The apposite use of pious formulae in the Auchinleck *Guy of Warwick*

...sorrow in a mans hert rynnes
When he be thinkes hym of his synnes,
And of þe vnkyndnes þat he has wroght
To Gode þat hym so dere has boght
(*Speculum Vitae* 1652-55)

Allas.' he seyde. 'þat y was born:
Bodi & soule icham forlorn.
Of blis icham al bare.
For neuer in al mi liif biforn
For him þat bar þe croun of þorn
Gode dede dede y nare'.
(*Guy of Warwick*, Auchinleck 22:1-6)

The devotional resonance of pious formulae can be startlingly evident in the romances.

When in *Ywain and Gawain*, the younger of two sisters feuding over inheritance rights appeals to King Arthur:

For hys luf þat lens us life,
Gif me my right withouten strife! (3483-84)

her elder sister, insistent that 'Þi right es noght, for al es myne' (3487), dismisses the other's claim. She implies suspicion of this invocation in her rebuttal:

Þarfore, if þou *preche* al day
Here sal þou nothing bere away. (3489-90, Emphasis mine)

If the chosen verb suggests the younger sister's speech is declamatory in style, her inclusion of a periphrastic pious invocation certainly contributes to such an effect.¹

Equally dramatic is Earl Jonas' appeal to Guy of Warwick to drop the anonymity of his pilgrim's guise and reveal his name:

For Iesu loue y pray þe,
Þat died on þe rode tre,
Þi riȝt name be aknawe. (137:10-12)

Guy can only assent to a request thus phrased: 'Seþþen þou frainest me in þis maner / Mi name ichil þe sayn' (138: 2-3). The affective power of the invocation prevails.

Dramatic context often determines the degree of semantic weight ascribed to such

¹ The example of 'preche' is recorded in the *MED* under sense g: 'to expound in a tiresome or offensive manner', p.1191.

formulae in devotional and didactic literature. Consider the case of *Sir Amadace*, a pious romance which employs nine pious formulae. When the impecunious protagonist is counselled by the White Knight to await God's certain aid, the formulae of the passage function in just this dramatic way:

Now thenke on him, that deut on rode²
 Þat for vs sched his precius blode,
 For þe and monkynd all.

Repente þe noȝt þat þu hase done,
 For he þat schope bothe sunne and mone³,
 Full wele may pay for alle. (457-68)

As in so many of the religious texts documented in the preceding pages, the pious formulae bolster the authority of the admonition. Appositeness reinforces the logic of the statement: for it is indeed credible that the author of all creation may readily effect a happy ending to Amadace's tale of woe. Later, heightened emotion occasions the language of Passion; the White Knight demands that the hero execute his wife and child, provoking the imagery of sacrifice in Amadace's response:

For his lufe, that deet on tre,
 Quat-seuer ȝe wille, do with me,
 For him that deet on rode! (736-38)

Technical exigencies may well occasion the repetition of the formula.⁴ Curiously, though, the repetition only emphasises how very appropriate is the phrase to context. It allies the sense of the action with the Passion of Christ and its associations of sacrifice, atonement. The formulae starkly render the desperation of the plea: they serve as an invaluable component of style in the poem's stylistic shorthand. They are employed to equally

² For cognate 'died on rode' formulae see catalogue, section E2. *Roswall and Lillian*, includes a similar invocation: 'Jesus / Who bought us with his precious blood, / And for us dyed on the Rood' (46-48).

³ For cognate 'sun and moon' formulae see catalogue, section A1.

⁴ The corresponding stanza in the *Advocates* text includes only one Passiontide-formula, here in the tail-rhyme: 'Do with meselfe what ye wyll, / Weder ye wyll me save or spyll, / For hym that dyed on the rode'. For the variations in pious formulae in the two texts, see Appendix B.

dramatic effect when the hero's wife, capturing the hortatory tone of moral lyrics, insists that Amadace must honour the 'exchange of winnings' contract made with the White Knight and by which her life is forfeit:

For his luffe thet deut on tre,
Loke ʒore couandus holdun be! (754-56)

For his lufe þat deet on tre,
Loke ʒaure couandus holdun be,
ʒore forward was full fyne. (760-62)

In this emphatic use of Passiontide-formulae we are not far here from the exempla of *Handlyng Synne*, the exhortations of the moral lyrics. The tonality these formulae derive from their appearance in such homiletic contexts is accessed in charged narrative moments of this kind, even as their affective resonance is exploited to manifest emotion and to heighten pathos.

The same effect is evident in a series of episodes from that most popular of the early English romances *Guy of Warwick*. Of a less sustained homiletic character than *Amadace*, the text is perhaps a surprising one in which to encounter such a deliberate use of pious formulae. Often described as a 'pious', 'exemplary' or 'homiletic' romance, a consensus on the nature and extent of the religious strain of this romance is nevertheless elusive both in medieval allusions and in modern critical appraisals of the text⁵. Evidence of contemporary reception includes the dismissal of such 'veyn carpyng' in the prologue to the *Speculum Vitae*⁶ and, by contrast, Lydgate's rendering of Guy's tale in hagiographic form and the adoption of the knight for use in the didactic *Speculum Guy of Warwick*.

⁵ Critics who stress the poem's exemplarity include Dieter Mehl, *The Middle English Romances of The Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (London, 1968), pp.220-27, Hanspeter Schelp, *Exemplarische Romanzen in Mittelenglischen* (Göttingen, 1967), pp.133-49 and Velma Bourgeois Richmond, *The Popularity of Middle English Romance* (Ohio, 1975), pp.149-93. Less persuaded of the poem's committed didacticism is Susan Crane: *Insular Romance: Politics, Faith and Culture in Anglo-Norman and Middle English Literature* (Berkeley, 1986), p.109 ff.

⁶ *Speculum Vitae*, ed. John W. Smeltz (Ann Arbor, 1977), ll.36-49.

Whether these latter texts imply a view of exemplary fitness in the romance of *Guy* or an attempt to confer moral seriousness upon a trifling jest is unclear.

This dual focus is in part accounted for by the poem's radically shifting generic affinities. If the Auchinleck text of the poem opens as *roman courtois* in Guy's love-longing for Felice, his breathless apostrophes to Love, Death and even to the tower within which his love is immured, it soon shifts to *roman d'aventure* in the proliferation of 'ferlies' experienced on the continent, and ultimately to saint's life in the miraculous events of the hero's death. As Diana T. Childress has said: 'The ending is wholly hagiographic: when Guy dies 1007 angels bear his soul to heaven, while miracles take place near his dead body, which exudes a sweet perfume.'⁷ Comparison with other pious romances further points up the distinctive piety of the close of *Guy*:

In this retirement from the world Guy of Warwick differs from the other heroes of the romances of penance. Gowther, Ysumbras, and Roberd all return to their former positions in the world when their penances are complete, as changed men, and live the remainder of their lives virtuously and humbly, but in circumstances of considerable worldly prosperity. For Guy such a return is not possible, and the end of the romance resembles that of a saint's life more closely than do the endings of *Sir Gowther*, *Ysumbras* and *Roberd*.⁸

Yet if extensive comparison with romance illustrates the extent of *Guy*'s piety, comparison with hagiography shows its limitations. Pious elements, it seems, are not incorporated without radical qualification of their import. Indeed, for Susan Crane this qualification is vital. Writing of *Guy* and other pious insular romances, she says:

These pious romances do accept and incorporate Christian impulses from hagiography, but they temper their acceptance with clearly defined resistance to those implications of religious teaching that are incompatible with pursuing earthly well-being.⁹

⁷ 'Between Romance and Legend: "Secular Hagiography" in Middle English Literature', *PQ* 57 (1978), 311-22.

⁸ Andrea Hopkins, *The Sinful Knights: A Study of Middle English Penitential Romance* (Oxford, 1990), p.115.

⁹ *Insular Romance*, pp.352-53.

The concept is thrown into stark relief by *Guy*'s close relationship to a specific legend, for 'part of the story is a secular pastiche of elements from the legend of St. Alexis'.¹⁰ The latter text provides a punishing standard for the piety of *Guy* to live up to; the essentially different narrative concerns germane to romance rather preclude the wholesale adoption of elements from hagiography. Thus even in the second section of *Guy*, where pilgrimage and penance are key concerns, the hero's continuation of a martial career, albeit in a different spirit, and his failure to remain an anonymous figure as Alexis does prompts Crane to argue: 'Religious feeling is hardly more salient in the second half of the romance than in the first'.¹¹ She also suggests that, as in the other pious insular romances 'religious sensibilities uphold fundamental commitments to the importance of worldly achievement, the value of earthly life, and the centrality of the hero's power.'¹²

The problem is compounded by formularity of style and structure legislating against the figuring of a distinctive and sustained piety. As David N. Klausner has said, 'only the second part of the romance is didactic in any specific sense'¹³ yet formally, little about the style of this second half is distinct from that of the first. As Carol Fewster has noted, a diptych structure shapes the poem, the secular adventures of Guy seeking earthly fame for the winning of Felice are mirrored by comparable adventures pursued out of his later desire to win 'heaven mede'. The midpoint of this diptych comes with Guy's marriage. The famous switch of stanza form at this point in the Auchinleck manuscript suggests recognition of this narrative watershed. Yet after the announcement of Guy's resolve to take up arms for divine rather than 'courtly' love the poem's narrative mode remains essentially identical with that of the first section. Battles are described with the

¹⁰ David N. Klausner, 'Didacticism and Drama in *Guy of Warwick*', *M et H* 6 (1975), 103-119 (p.103).

¹¹ *Insular Romance*, p.63.

¹² *Insular Romance*, p.133.

¹³ 'Didacticism and Drama', p.104.

same stock vocabulary, the *personae* Guy encounters are of the same class and kind as those met with in the earlier section.

The resulting problem is thus a problem of style: how is changed and changing meaning to be signalled within a restricted and stereotypical narrative style? How is the essentially different spirit in which Guy now conducts his adventures to be rendered? It is a predicament which across literature may make for linguistic play. In the stichomythia of Queen Gertrude and Prince Hamlet's

Hamlet, thou hast thy father much offended.
Mother, you have my father much offended.¹⁴

the utterly distinct meanings and values of the interlocutors are apparent only from knowledge gleaned from a wider context: the words of the interchange being identical, they are opaque as exponents of contrasting meaning. *Guy of Warwick* plays this game too. When King Triamour says to the pilgrim Guy that his mean and underfed figure suggests to him: 'A feble lord þou seruest, so þenkeþ me' (84:10), the reader enjoys the ironic exclusion of Triamour from the knowledge that identifies Guy's response as parabolic, signifying no earthly lord:

'Nay, sir, for god,' quap Gij,
'A wel gode lord [ar] þan serue[d] y:
Wip him was no blame.
Wel michel honour he me dede,
& gret worþschipe in eueri stede,
& sore ich haue him grame[d],
& þer-fore icham þus y-diȝt,
To cri him merci day & niȝt,
Til we ben frendes same.'¹⁵ (85:1-9)

Our extra-contextual knowledge brings irony to the moment and in the shared discursive mode of Triamour and Guy we discern two distinct referents. Triamour's discourse is

¹⁴ *Hamlet*, ed. Harold Jenkins (London and New York, 1982), III.iv, ll.8-9.

¹⁵ Quotations are drawn from *The Romance of Guy of Warwick*, ed. Julius Zupitza, EETS ES 42, 49, 51 (1883, 1887, 1891). Unless otherwise stated, quotations are from the Auchinleck text of the poem.

literal, that of Guy parabolic, supported by the biblical pedigree of parables figuring lords and servants. It has been argued that ‘*Guy* increasingly departs from typically romance structuring and values, using instead a language approaching the allegorical’¹⁶ and certainly, this passage must alert us to the possibility of figural meanings elsewhere in the text. Equally, the passage suggests the poem’s other invocations of that ‘lord’, its allusions to ‘him þat bar þe croun of þorn’ (22:5), to ‘him þat on rode gan blede’ (25:2) and to the ‘Lord. . . þat rered Lazeroun’ (252: 1) might equally be freighted with a increased significance in a text subtly negotiating the generic claims of romance and saint’s life.

The Auchinleck manuscript’s division of the poem into two distinct verse schemes does appear to affect the frequency of pious formulae. Twenty-seven formulae appear in the tail-rhyme section of the poem against seventeen in the couplet section. These serve to bolster didactic emphases and to animate the more impassioned pious dialogue of the *personae*. In this dual function pious formulae are intrinsic to a series of key scenes: Guy’s revelation of his sinfulness; his interview with Felice, and his battles against Ameraunt, Berard and the pagan giant Colbrond. The first of these scenes, occurring early in section two, has a portentous narratorial comment for its headpiece. Following a perfunctory treatment of the wedding of Guy and Felice and the conception of a son, we are told:

& seþþen wiþ sorwe & sikeing sare
Her ioie turned hem into care
As ye may forward here. (19:10-12)

There follows the haunting and vivid scene in which Guy atop a castle tower ‘biheld þat firmament, / þat thicke wiþ steres stode’ (21: 2-3). From such a prospect, Guy’s thoughts

¹⁶ Carol Fewster, *Traditionality and Genre in Middle English Romance* (Cambridge, 1987), p.85.

turn to 'Iesu omnipotent' and the narrative immediately presses upon us his sense of sinfulness and regret:

He þouȝt wiþ dreri mode;
 Hou he hadde euer ben strong werroure,
 For Iesu loue, our saueour,
 Neuer no dede he gode.
 Mani man he hadde slayn wiþ wrong.
 'Allas, allas!' it was his song:
 For sorwe he ȝede ner wode. (21:6-12)

The Auchinleck text's focus upon Christ differs from the Anglo-Norman source, where the invocation is of 'sun criatur / Qui fait li ad si grant honur'.¹⁷ The subtle change is reflective of the affective piety of the English text. Moreover, there is something distinctive in this emphasis upon regret—'Allas, allas!' it was his song'—and a sense of sinfulness keenly apprehended, almost with dismay. We might contrast the stoical attitude of Sir Ysumbras figured economically when his own sinfulness is proclaimed to him by a divine voice discerned in the song of a bird, offering him the choice between suffering tribulation in youth or in old age. Remorse is evident—'With carefull herte and sykyng sore, / He fell upon his knees thore' (55-56)—as is pious resolve:

Worldes welthe I woll forsake;
 To Jesu Criste I wyll me take,
 To hym my sowle I yelde. (58-60)

But nowhere does Ysumbras mirror the keen sense evinced in Guy of opportunity lost, time wasted and God and the soul neglected:

'Allas,' he seyde, 'þat y was born:
 Bodi & soule icham forlorn.
 Of blis icham al bare.
 For neuer in al mi liif biforn
 For him þat bar þe croun of þorn
 Gode dede dede y nare'¹⁸ (22: 1-6)

¹⁷ *Gui de Warewic*, ed. Alfred Ewert (Paris, 1934), ll.7587-88. All subsequent quotations are from this edition.

¹⁸ For further examples of the 'crown of thorns' formula see catalogue, section E10. The rhyme occurring here, 'biforn' appears on five other occasions among the fourteen examples.

The importance of the poignant and affective Passiontide-formula employed here has already been expounded by one sympathetic critic: David N. Klausner has written how “‘For him þat bar þe croun of þorn” is not merely a formula (although it is that as well), it is the essence of the argument’.¹⁹ The iconographic associations of the image, dwelling as it does on the desolation of Christ’s Passion, are likely to flourish in the sombre and melancholy context:

As Gij stode þus in tour alon
In hert him was ful wo bigon:
‘Allas!’ it was his song. (23: 1-3)

Unlike Ysumbras’ experience, Guy’s moment of deepened spiritual insight has been prompted by no divine intervention, merely by reflections awakened by gazing upon the magisterial prospect of the heavens. He is presented as reflective in this scene, introverted and meditative and thus isolated and somewhat detached from Felice who now questions him as to the cause of his sorrow. Poignantly she posits reasons for his dis-ease from the courtly perspective wherein their relationship is forged: ‘Hastow ouȝt herd of me bot gode, / Þat þou makes þus dreri mode?’ (23: 10-11). Guy’s explanation to his wife illustrates that his thoughts are now drawn within a very different frame of reference, one calling upon an affective and theologically precise vocabulary of passion, grace and redemption:

Ac ȝif ich hadde don half þe dede
For him þat on rode gan blede
Wiþ grimly woundes sare,
In heuene he wald haue quit mi mede,
In joie to won wiþ angels wede
Euer-more wiþouten care. (25: 1-6)

The effect of the graphic two-line Passiontide-phrase is akin to that of the ‘crown of thorns’ formula: the phrase is essential to the poetic and doctrinal argument of the

¹⁹ ‘Didacticism and Drama’, 115.

passage. The appositeness of the imagery, the affective charge of the phrase, and the implicit sympathetic response of the speaker, Guy, to the devotional image invoked, result in a doctrinal cogency matched by a fitness of poetic style. Across the romance tradition, identical formulae employing the phrase ‘gan blede’ appear in some poignant contexts. In *Sir Ferumbras* the emphasis is doctrinal: ‘belyue þou scholdest on god almiȝt þat for ous gan blede’ (398); in *Lybeaus Descomus*, a benediction occasions the formula:

He ȝelde de þys good dede,
 Þat for vs gan blede
 And wyth hys blod vs bouȝt²⁰ (673-75)

In Guy’s speech, the formula animates the knight’s profession of sinfulness; its affective resonance signals his sympathetic, emotional involvement in the situation he relates, lending his speech an urgency and sincerity. It is an effect the Auchinleck text seems particularly keen to exploit: the formula does not appear in either the Caius version of the English text nor the corresponding Anglo-Norman passage.

Such formulae quickly become the common currency in the vexed interview that follows. Felice, seeking to dissuade Guy from his resolve to undertake a pilgrimage of life-long penance for his sins, adopts a religious vocabulary to argue that he remain in England:

For wer & wo þatow hast wrouȝt,
 God þat al mankende haþ bouȝt,
 So curteys he is & hende,
 Schriue þe wele in word & þouȝt,
 & þan þe þarf dout riȝt nouȝt
 Oȝaines þe foule fende. (28: 1-6)

Again the phrase is apposite. The invocation of ‘God þat al mankende haþ bouȝt’ serves Felice’s case that the security of Guy’s soul is already provided for.²¹ She goes on to

²⁰ For further examples see catalogue, section E12.

²¹ For further examples of the ‘bought’ formula see catalogue, section F19.

suggest that charity and acts of mercy pursued at home equally guard the soul from the 'foule fende':

Chirches & abbayes þou miȝt make
 Þat schal pray for þi sake
 To him þat schope mankende (28:1-9)

For all the cogency of her assurance, Guy is unconvinced. The image he adheres to is not of God the Creator but of Christ crucified. The 'crown of thorns' image is reasserted as Guy commends Reinbron, his as yet unborn son, to the safe guardianship of Felice and Herhaud:

For him þat bar þe croun of þorn
 Þerfore as sone as it is born
 Pray Herhaud wiȝt in wede
 He teche mi sone as he wele can
 Al þe þewes of gentil man,
 & helpe him at his nede (31:4-9, Emphasis mine)

The knight has resolved on a pilgrimage of penance. Receiving of Felice a ring as a keepsake, he departs 'Wepeand wiþ eyȝen to' (33:11). Significantly, we are shown that Guy leaves a changed scene behind him. Felice, overcome with grief, considers suicide. Whilst in her dialogue with Guy only earthly motives for and against action were evident in her reasoning, now the first objection to self-slaughter is theological: 'Sche þouȝt hir soule it wer forlorn / Euermore at domesday' (35:5-6). A secular motive against the act is proffered only secondarily: should she kill herself her father and friends may well assume that Guy was responsible and had fled.

In a poem broadening theological concerns beyond those of its protagonist, then, the ensuing episode again draws widely upon pious formulae for didactic and dramatic effect. A surrender of will is evident in the wandering pilgrim who travels 'Þer god him wald spede' (44:6), his unambiguous concern being 'To winne him heuen mede' (44:12). On

the road to Antioch he encounters the lamenting Earl Jonas. A marked sympathy for the misfortunes of others is to be one of Guy's distinctive characteristics in this second section of the poem, as when he learns of the imprisonment of Jonas' sons:

Meþenke, for þe icham sori,
For þat þine hert is þus drery,
þi ioie is fro þe gon. (47:4-6)

Guy stresses Christ's intercessory power and thus the possibility of a restoration in his fortunes:

For Iesu is of so michel miȝt,
He may make þine hert liȝt,
& þou no[s]t neuer hou son. (47:10-12)

To secure the sons' release Guy must represent King Triamour in single combat against the pagan-giant Ameraunt. Accepting Guy as Ameraunt's opponent, the king appeals, 'Mahoun he mot þine he[l]p be' (86:11). Guy rejects the benediction in another important and demonstrative profession of his Christian piety:

'Nay,' seyd Gij, 'bot Marie sone:
He mot me to help come,
For Mahoun is worþ noȝt'. (87:1-3)

The statement clearly impresses King Triamour as he announces that should Guy be successful in the battle he will release all of his Christian prisoners and grant privileges to Christians in his country. The stakes are thus raised: Guy's participation in the battle is commensurate with the defence of Christendom.

Combat with Ameraunt follows, the fierce opponent appearing to Guy in a demonic aspect: "It is," seyd Gij, "no mannes sone: / It is a deuel fram helle is come." (95: 10-11). In the fierce battle the narrator makes clear that Guy's survival is dependent upon agencies beyond his own control: 'þer worþ sir Gij to deþ y-brouȝt, / Bot ȝif god

haue of him þouȝt' (99: 7-8). Accordingly, when brought to the ground, Guy makes a humble prayer for his deliverance:

'Lord,' seyd Gij, 'god al-miȝt,
 Þat made þe þerkenes to þe niȝt
 So help me to-day. (102:4-6)

The attributive clause in the Anglo-Norman is slightly different in phraseology if not emphasis:

'Deu', fait il, 'omnipotenz,
 Qui fesis les quatre elemenz' (8491-92)

('God omnipotent,' he said,
 'Who made the four elements')

In both texts the appeal is to a god who ordained the very fundamentals of creation and who may well exert influence over the situation at hand. Divine intervention is accordingly apparent as the fight progresses, Guy sustaining blows of Ameraunt but fewer injuries:

He carf atvo, y pliȝt
 Al to þe naked hide, y-wis,
 & nouȝt of flesche atamed is
 Þurch grace of god almiȝt. (117:9-12)

Likewise, there is divine succour in the blows he inflicts: 'His targe wiþ gold list / He carf atvo þurch help of Crist' (107:7-8, emphasis mine). Accordingly Guy ascribes the ensuing victory to Christ: 'Iesu he þanked on heye' (118:12). His sons released, Earl Jonas bids the pilgrim reveal his name in charged language likely to prevail upon him:

For Iesu loue y pray þe,
 Þat died on þe rode tre,
 Þi riȝt name be aknawe.²² (137:10-12, Emphasis mine)

Guy reveals his name precisely because of the nature of the invocation: 'Seþpen þou frainest me in þis maner: / Mi name ichil þe sayn'. (138:2-3). Rather than compromising

²² The appeal is close to that appearing in the Anglo-Norman: 'Pur cel Deu ore vus requer, / Qui en la croiz se leissa pener, / Par qui vus serrez salvé, / Que vostre nun ne me seit celé' (8927-30).

the piety of Guy, the revelation in fact makes provision for its further demonstration as Jonas now offers Guy the earldom of Durras which the knight, of course, refuses. Commending Jonas to God, he leaves for Constantinople.

Prior to his next encounter it is established that Guy's pious resolve is undiminished; we are told that he bids 'his bedes' night and day 'His sinnes for to bete.' (142: 6). His second battle is undertaken for his old companion Terri who, disinherited by the treacherous steward Berard, needs representation in battle. Guy's first role in remedying the situation, however, is not as combatant but counsellor, urging Terri to be mindful of the intercessory power of God:

Swiche grace god may sende
 Haue gode hert, dred þe no del;
 For god schal help þe ful wel:
 So curteys he is & hende

(160: 6-9)

This is a function of Guy the pilgrim not to be underestimated in the text: his role as an authoritative mouthpiece preaching fortitude and perseverance: 'Trust wele to god, þei þou be pouer / Þe better þou schalt spede' (165:5-6). The counsel is the more impressive for its association with one so compassionate: Guy is unable to speak when overcome with sorrow for Terri's plight and even swoons and falls to the ground. Helped up by Terri, Guy's expression of his sorrow shows it to be keen indeed:

Þis iuel greueþ me so strong,
 In erþe y wold y ware;
 For, seþþen þat y was first man,
 Nas neuer sorwe on me cam
 Þat greued me so sare.

(156:8-12)

Carol Fewster writes how 'Guy extends normative romance subject matter by emphasising that figures age and change',²³ a point borne out by this passage. Guy's wish for death surpasses, by a gravity of tone, the conventional hyperbole of romance

²³ *Traditionality and Genre*, p.98.

expressions of grief, while the temporal clause ‘seþþen þat y was first man’, often merely figurative in romance, here rings with an authority of experience. Guy identifies his nativity not simply to indicate a breadth of experience. In collocating the cradle with his wish for the grave, he implicitly locates that nativity long in the past. He reflects ‘that figures age and change’; he prefigures his statement to King Athelstan in the poem’s last movement that ‘Icham an old man’ (247:2). Contributing to a conception of character rather than facilitating plot, such passages must be taken into account in assessing the piety and unworldliness of the poem.

As this second battle commences, focus is drawn to the onlookers who offer choric pronouncements upon the action. They make a prayer for the pilgrim: ‘Mani man bad god þat day / Help þe pilgrim, as he wele may’ (185:10-11), thus validating Guy’s cause. They go on to characterise the hero as well nigh apotheosised:

þai seyden hem among
þe pilgrim was non erþely man;
It was an angel, from heuen cam,
For Tirri batayle to fong: (188:3-6)

This angel is a retributive one for the onlookers:

For mani gode erle & mani baroun
Berard haþ y-brouȝt a-doun
Wip wel michel wrong,
þer-fore haþ God sent, y-wis,
An angel out of heuen blis
To sle þat traitour strong. (188:3-12)

Meanwhile, in church, Terri also prays that Christ should ‘help þe pilgrim / þat fauȝt oȝain douk Berardin’ (192: 4-5). This broadening of religious focus is significant: Guy’s piety is not, after all, a purely personal affair. He is implicated in a wider scheme, Christendom itself.

A still more emphatic use of pious formulae is evident in the dramatic episode which ensues. When, after many hour's combat, battle is adjourned until the following day, the treacherous Berard arranges the murder of the pilgrim; Guy is set adrift upon the ocean in the bed where he sleeps. He awakes, and where his last gaze upon the night sky inspired awe, this time it inspires terror:

Ʒe sterres on Ʒe heuen he seiȝe,
Ʒe water about him drawe.
Ʒei he was ferd no wonder it nis: (196:8-10)

Guy is quick to pray for deliverance from this latest predicament; the prayer-tag employed is an important one:

'Lord,' seyð Gij, 'god al-miȝt,
Ʒat winde, & water, & al Ʒing diȝt,
On me haue now pite! (197:1-3)

Drawn from the Anglo-Norman, the relative clause of the prayer is apposite in its invocation of the potent and forbidding elements with which Guy is surrounded.²⁴ If not as petulantly as the *Patience*-poet's Jonah after him, Guy proceeds to question of God why he finds himself in this peril:

Whi is me fallen Ʒus strong cumbring?
& y no fiȝt for to win no Ʒing,
NoiƷer gold no fe,
For no cite no no castel,
Bot for mi felawe y loued so wel (197:1-8)

Significantly, the role of Providence in the subsequent preservation of Guy is emphasised by the Auchinleck text. Whatever his ability to control his own situation elsewhere in the poem, in this episode at least Guy is the passive protagonist awaiting deliverance. The hero's 'power of action', considered a crucial factor in establishing the generic border

²⁴ "Jhesu Crist," fait il, "omnipotent / Ki l'eve justises e le vent. / Sovenge vus ore de mei, / Si cum jo ai mester de tei!" (10223-26).

between romance and legend, is here much diminished.²⁵ Briefly, Christ becomes the subject of the narrative, interceding for the pilgrim:

Nou herkenep a litel striif
 Hou he saued þe pilgrims liif
 Iesu, þat sit in trone. (198:1-3)

The image of Christ enthroned accords well with the notion of a providential deliverance for Guy. Suggestively, reference to the catalogue reveals that it is with invocation of ‘Ihesu, þat ys kyng in trone’ and ‘Iheso, þat settes yn þy trone’ that the narrative of another unwilling seafarer opens and concludes—the romance of *Emaré*.²⁶ The nature of the divine intervention is not dramatic—a fisherman saves Guy—but it is nevertheless important. It is one clear instance within the text where the largely accurate observation that ‘Divine intervention is far outweighed by Guy’s own power to determine events’²⁷ must be qualified. A fisherman happens along; Guy identifies himself as the pilgrim who has fought against Berard. He makes a formulaic but dramatic appeal to the fisherman:

For his loue þat þis world hap wrouzt,
 Saue me ȝif þou miȝt (200:8-9)

The appeal prevails. With Guy rescued, battle resumes the following morning and victory against Berard is the outcome, a result applauded by the onlookers:

Þ[e fol]k of þe cite wel glad were;
 Þ[ai] þanked our lordes grace. (209:10-11)

When Guy and Terri part important didactic comment appears. In this emotive context, Guy warns his old companion: ‘Desirite no man of his lond: / ȝif þou dost þou gost to schond’ (230:7-8). It has been pointed out that here ‘Guy justifies rights to land, the oldest of Anglo-Norman themes, by appealing to feudal custom and piety together’.²⁸

²⁵ Diana T. Childress emphasises this quality: ‘Between Romance and Legend’, 313 *et passim*.

²⁶ For ‘sits in throne’ formulae see catalogue, section J3.

²⁷ *Insular Romance*, p.115.

²⁸ *Insular Romance*, p.64.

This, it has been argued, reflects the underlying ‘worldly’ bias of Guy’s story. The piety of the episode, however, is cogent. Guy stresses the theological implications of human action:

For ʒiue þou reue a man his fe
Godes face schaltow neuer se,
No com in heuen liʒt. (230:10-12)

Guy’s spirited speech is consonant with the view he articulated back in the tower-scene. His concern, as at the start of the pilgrimage, is with ‘heuen liʒt’. The pious emphasis of the episode is the salvation of souls: the rôle of Berard as feudal traitor is to offer an image of the kind of behaviour that compromises salvation. On this didactic note, Guy departs, commending Terri to a god increasingly evident in the organisation of the poem’s action: ‘Y biteche þe god, þat al þing walt, / & maked wiþ his hond’ (231:8-9).²⁹

The final dramatic episode in which the associative value of pious formulae is exploited works somewhat differently from those treated above. In the hero’s last great battle-prayer a series of Old Testament invocations appear in collocation with allusions to the Raising of Lazarus and the Passion. Where the broad associative scope of the latter two is exploited to create a pious resonance, the rare Old Testament invocations form the basis for a distinct liturgical allusion. The result is a dramatic and moving prayer which is to crystallise the effect of the pious invocations of *Guy*.

The setting is Winchester where King Athelstan and his parliament pray for a defendant against the pagan-giant Colbrond:

To biseke god in tron
He sende hem þurch his swet sond
A man þat were douhti of hond
Oʒain Colbrond to gon. (234:6-8)

²⁹ See catalogue, section J24.

The elliptical ‘god in trone’ might well prompt recollection of the enthroned Christ image in the rudderless ‘boat’ episode: the providential associations are strong. Meanwhile, important context is established in this image of communal prayer. The poem’s spiritual focus has steadily broadened throughout the second section. In Felice’s fear of damnation in suicide, Terri’s praying in church, the prayers of the spectators in the Berard battle, and now in this prayer of the nobles, a devotional context has been fostered beyond the spirituality constantly evinced by Guy himself. By the noble’s prayer specifically requesting God to ordain the appearance of a champion, the pilgrim Guy is signally compassed by a providential scheme. Hardly a questing knight autonomous in action, he appears in Winchester as the answer to a prayer. As King Athelstan repeats that prayer, the narrator emphasises this providential function:

& Iesus Crist ful of miȝt
 He sent him a noble kniȝt,
 As ȝe may forward here. (242:10-12)

The ‘ful of miȝt’ phrase, elliptical in its omission of verb and relative pronoun, recurs in other Auchinleck romances. In *Otuel* the tag appears in the pious prayer of Charlemagne —‘& bi-souȝte god ful of miȝt, / He sscholde saue rouland his kniȝt’ (505-6)—and again in the proselytising of Roland: ‘otuwel, let ȝi fiȝt, / & leue on ihu ful of miȝt’ (513-14). Later, a happy reunion is ascribed, as in the *Guy*-invocation, to a providential agency: ‘ȝei were fol glad of ȝat siȝt, / & ȝonkeden ih’u fol of miȝt’ (1669-70). Likewise, in the Auchinleck *King of Tars*, the fuller form of the phrase appears when the Sultan’s Christian wife asserts her surety of preservation by God: ‘ȝe Fader, ȝat is ful of miȝt, / Mi sorwe schal me slake’ (758-59).³⁰ Furnishing an abstract rather than a concrete image, the phrase, as used in *Guy*, is nevertheless suggestive of divine intervention. Action in this

³⁰ For further examples see catalogue, section J1.

episode is motivated by supernatural prompting. Thus Athelstan learns in a dream that he will find his champion the next morning at the city's north gate. The king arrives at the appointed place, flanked by four figures emblematic of the work's dual concerns: 'Tvay erls went wiþ him þo, / & tvay bischopes dede also' (244:4-5). His ensuing plea to Guy the pilgrim to take up the battle is rich in the devotional imagery of sacrifice and redemption, drawn in the shorthand of affective pious formulae:

&, pilgrim, for him þat dyed on rode,
 & þat for ous schadde his blod,
 To bigge ous alle fre,
 Take þe batayle now on hond,
 & saue ous þe riȝt of Ingland,
 For seynt Charite. (246:7-10)

The plea is close to that appearing in the Anglo-Norman.³¹ The English text expands the entreaty in the use in the additional clause of purpose 'To bigge ous alle fre'. Reference to the catalogue³² shows such a clause to be unique in the corpus: its inclusion here is powerfully apposite, emphasising the analogy implicit in the invocation. Nevertheless, the 'pilgrim' initially resists the battle and, bearing in mind the observation that in the world of *Guy* 'figures age and change', his reasons for so doing must be deemed significant: 'Icham an old man, a feble bodi: / Mi strengþe is fro me fare' (247:2-3). His physical ability waning, Guy's sympathy and compassion are undiminished. These attributes, the motives of each of his three major causes in the pious section of the poem, are stressed once more as he inclines to take up the battle:

Sir Gij biheld þe lordinges alle,
 & whiche sorwe hem was bi-falle:
 Sir Gij hadde of hem care. (247:10-12)

³¹ 'Pur cel seignur ore vus requer, / Qu'en la croiz se laissa pener, / Que ceste bataille pur nus enprengenz. / Deu volt que vus le facez' (10985-8).

³² See catalogue, section E12.3.

What follows, immediately prior to the battle with Colbrond, is vital to an assessment of the piety of the Auchinleck text of the poem. We have seen this piety operating largely on a local level, informing episodes and supporting moral comment. Pious formulae have been intrinsic to the figuring of this piety both as exponents of doctrine and as sources of affective religious imagery evincing pathos and piety in speakers. In what follows, a cluster of pious invocations passes beyond this local pointing of pious emphases to suggest, by their rich allusiveness, a mode of interpretation for the remainder of the poem. They reflect radically deeper religious sympathies than have previously been claimed for the text.

Arriving at the field of battle, Guy's very first act is to pray. The prayer he makes invokes God in relation to three key attributes. The first is drawn from perhaps the most dramatic miracle of the New Testament and the remaining two from Old Testament examples of deliverance reflecting the miraculous extent of God's intercessory power and inspiring hope for salvation from dire peril:

‘Lord,’ seyd Gij, ‘pat rered Lazeroun,
 & for man þoled passioun,
 & on þe rode gan blede,
 Pat saued Sussan fram þe feloun,
 & halp Daniel fram þe lyoun,
 To-day wisse me & rede.’ (252:1-6)

Lazarus, the powerful exemplar of bodily resurrection, of the defeat of death, is compassed with Christ who extends that promise of resurrection to all. The invocation might readily enough derive associative value from other uses within the romance tradition: for five of the six other examples recorded in the catalogue³³ are likewise from the Auchinleck manuscript, the first drawn from the couplet section of *Guy* where it appears, closely translated from the Anglo-Norman, in a benediction upon the hero: ‘Iesu,

³³ See catalogue, section E1.

þat suffred passioun, / Saue him fram cumberment' (3839-40)³⁴. Two examples occur in the Auchinleck *Amis and Amiloun*, the first in the divine warning of Amiloun's imminent punishment:

God, þat suffred passioun,
Sent þe bode bi me. (1256-7)

and later in another benediction, this time for the suffering Amiloun:

Nowe god þat suffred passioun
Brenge him oute of his wo! (2117-18)

Spoken by another mouthpiece for the divinity, the tag recurs in the pious *King of Tars*.

Here the eponymous king's daughter, unwillingly married to the pagan Sultan, is visited in a dream by a shapeshifter who promises:

Mi swete wiȝt,
No þarf þe noþing drede,
Of Teruagaunt no of Mahoun.
Þi lord þat suffred passioun
Schal help þe at þi nede. (452-56)

Tenderness of tone emphasises the affective aspect of a formula stressing the salvific power of Christ's Passion. Guy's use of the phrase is equally affective, employing the causative 'gan blede' construction as a more concrete complement to the image. But the prayer's allusive scope extends further, compassing two Old Testament figures whose deliverance from peril likewise inspires hope and faith in the saving power of God: Susanna, vindicated from accusations of unchastity made by the Jewish elders; Daniel safely delivered from the lions' den. Guy has already invoked Daniel himself and his miraculous preservation from the lions in an earlier prayer, offered by the hero near the end of the poem's first section during his fight with the dragon:

'God,' he seyde, 'fader almiȝt,
þat made þe day & niȝt also,
& for ous sinful þoledest wo,

³⁴ Cf. *Guy*, ll.3486-87: 'Deus, qui suffri passiun, / Le defende d'encumberer'.

& heldest Daniel fram þe lyoun,
 Saue me fram þis foule dragoun'. (7328-32)

The correspondence is one of the means by which the symmetry of the text and the implicit relation between the two great battles is signalled. Of these Herculean combats, it has been pointed out that

each is to save England, and each is a climax at the end of a sequence of adventures and immediately precedes a narrative break; respectively, they precede Guy's conversion to a new awareness of Christianity, and the retirement to the hermitage.³⁵

If the earlier prayer suggests an analogy between Daniel's plight in the face of fierce beasts and that of Guy battling the dragon, the second prayer, and particularly its mention of Susanna, is more enigmatic. Why, after so many invocations of Christ as the ultimate mythological exemplar of the suffering, self-sacrificing hero, do the grounds of Guy's petition to God broaden in scope to invoke the raising of Lazarus and to draw upon these Old Testament images of deliverance? Investigation of their associative and allusive character shows these particular invocations to have profound ramifications for the interpretation of this, Guy's final battle.

Outside of the texts of *Guy*, Lazarus is invoked on only two other occasions in the Middle English verse romance corpus: in *Beues of Hamtoun* and in *Havelok* where the narrator appeals for the deliverance of his heroine, Goldboru from imprisonment:

Jhesu Crist, þat Lazarun
 To liue broucte fro dede-bondes
 He les hire wit hise hondes (331-33)

As reference to the catalogue shows, Susanna is invoked only once elsewhere in the corpus, in the *Cheualere Assigne*.³⁶ The usage there is powerfully apposite. It occurs in

³⁵ Carol Fewster, *Traditionality and Genre*, p.83.

³⁶ See catalogue, section B4. In Chaucer's *Man of Law's Tale*, Constance prays for vindication when implicated in the murder of Hermengyld: 'Immortal God, that savedest Susanne / Fro false blame...' *Riverside Chaucer*, Gen. ed. Larry D. Benson (Oxford, 1987) II (B) 639-40.

the prayer of Queen Bewtrys who is accused of bestiality by her mother-in-law who has secretly ordered the drowning of the queen's seven healthy infants and informed the king that she is delivered of beasts. Imprisoned for eleven years, Bewtrys makes her prayer to God 'That saued Susanne fro sorowefull domus, her to save als.' (91) Daniel, outside of his appearance in the text of *Guy*, appears nowhere else in the corpus.

Yet a broad substantiating context exists for the yoking of Susanna and Daniel in literary prayers. Of marked significance for the warrior Guy, is the use of similar petitions in the *Chanson de Roland*. The prayer made by Roland at his death, in which he commends his soul to the keeping of God, cites two of the figures mentioned in the Colbrond-prayer:

<p>Veire Patene, ki unkes ne mentis, Seint Lazaron de mort resurrexis E Daniël des leons guaresis, Guaris de mei l'anme de tuz perilz Pur les pecchez que en ma vie fis!</p>	<p>Father most true, in whom there is no lie, Who didst from death St Lazarus make to rise, And bring out Daniel safe from the lions' might, Save Thou my soul from danger and despite Of all the sins I did in my life.³⁷</p>
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Roland, certain of his death, looks to Lazarus as the image of resurrection, Daniel as the image of the delivered soul. Yet, strikingly, the Franco-Italian text of the *Chanson* contained in MS.Gall.225 has the dying Roland commemorate not Daniel's deliverance from the lions' den, but that of Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego from the fiery furnace, a narrative drawn from the Book of Daniel 3:19-30:

- Vere paterne, que unque no menti,
 Sant(o) Laçaron da mort resurexi,
 Li trois enfant qui e.l fog furent mi,³⁸ (2544-46)

Another inspiring Old Testament example engendering hope, the episode is a suggestive substitute for the invocation of Daniel, the suggestion of a baptism of fire for the three

³⁷ *La Chanson de Roland*, ed. F.Whitehead (Oxford, 1978), ll.2384-88. The translation is that given by Dorothy L. Sayers, *The Song of Roland* (London, 1957), p.142.

³⁸ As printed in *Textes Médiévaux Français et Romains*, ed. Bernard Potter (Paris, 1964), p.21.

youths in the furnace corresponding with the notion of the deliverance of Roland's just and pure soul. Just as this episode shows itself consonant with the dynamic and spirit of the prayer so, later in the *Chanson*, Charlemagne's prayer that the death of Roland be avenged also adverts to the episode, now restoring it in collocation with the deliverance of Daniel and additionally yoking it with the preservation of Jonah:

<p>Veire Paterne, hoi cest jor me defend, Ki guaresis Jonas tut veirement De la baleine ki en sun cors l'aveit E esparignas le rei de Niniven E Daniel del merveillus turment Enz en la fosse des leons o fut enz, Les .iii. enfanz tut en un fou ardant! (3100-3106)</p>	<p>Father most true, this day my cause defend! Thou that to Jonah Thy succour didst extend In the whale's belly, and safely drew him thence, And after, spare the King of Nineveh; Thou that didst save Thy servant Daniel From torments dire within the lions' den And the Three Children amid the fire protect³⁹</p>
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Nor do these prayers exhaust examples of the yoking of these Old Testament episodes together and in collocation with references to Lazarus. In Thomas' *Romance of Horn* the God 'ki fist salvatiun' additionally rescued 'Daniel enz el lai al leün' and delivered 'Jonas el ventrë al ceton' (1403-5). The images are dramatic and inspiring—well suited to a rhetorical mode, as Chaucer aptly demonstrates:

Who saved Danyel in the horrible cave
 Ther every wight save he, maister and knave,
 Was with the leon frete er he asterte?
 No wight but God that he bar in his herte.

.
 Who kepte Jonas in the fisshes mawe
 Til he was spouted up at Nynyvee?⁴⁰

The episodes are sufficiently graphic to have enjoyed wide representation in the visual arts, medieval images of the episodes being rooted in a long Christian tradition:

Some of the Old Testament subjects which are most often represented even in the depleted imagery of British churches, and which must have been familiar to all medieval church-goers, are to be found in the earliest examples of Christian art, the paintings in the catacombs of Rome, and the

³⁹ *The Song of Roland*, p.170.

⁴⁰ *The Riverside Chaucer*, 'The Man of Lawe's Tale', II (B) ll.473-87.

close parallel between these subjects and certain early prayers in which God was besought to deliver His servant as He delivered ‘Isaac from sacrifice...Daniel from the den of lions...or the children of Israel from the fiery furnace...’, with other examples drawn from the Old Testament, suggest that the artists were directly inspired by these prayers.⁴¹

The yoking of these episodes in these various contexts reflects their formal grouping in a key *locus*. They point to a liturgical source no less conspicuous than the *Ordo Commendationis Animae*, the rite for the commendation of the soul at the hour of death. As part of that rite, the *Profiscere Anima Christiana*, the prayer to be said by the priest officiating at the death bed, entreats the deliverance of the Christian soul, just as were delivered:

. . .loth de sodomis et de flamma ignis. Amen. . . ysaac de manu abrahe patris sui. Amen. . . moysen de manu pharaonis. Amen. . . iob de passionibus suis. Amen. . . dauid de manu golie et de manu saul regis. Amen. . . *danielem de lacu leonum*. Amen. . . tres pueros de camino ignis ardentis. Amen. . . *susannam de falso crimine*. Amen. . . petrum et paulum de uinculis. Amen.⁴²

(. . .Lot from Sodom and from the flame of fire. Amen. . . Isaac from the hand of his father Abraham. Amen. . . Moses from the hand of Pharaoh. Amen. . . Job from all his sufferings. Amen. . . David from the hand of King Saul and from the hand of Goliath. Amen. . . *Daniel from the den of lions*. Amen. . . the three children from the fiery furnace, and from the hands of the wicked king. Amen. . . *Susanna from the false accusation*. Amen. . . Peter and Paul out of Prison. Amen. - Emphases mine)

The key prayer in which these Old Testament attributes are yoked, then, appeals not for the deliverance of the body but of the soul. Guy of Warwick’s last battle prayer alludes to a text and tradition of prayer closely associated with imminent death. The allusion is supported by Guy’s reference to Lazarus. For the ‘stynkyng lazzer’ is conspicuous in a contiguous liturgical context: he appears in the responsory for the second lection in the Office for the Dead:

⁴¹ M.D. Anderson, *The Imagery of British Churches* (London, 1955), p.73.

⁴² *The Sarum Missal*, ed. J. Wickham Legg (Oxford, 1916), pp.427-28.

Thou þat reisdist aȝen stynkyngelazer fro his graue; þou, lord, graunte hem reste
& places of forȝyuenesse!⁴³

The implications of this for the Auchinleck *Guy* are profound. The associative value of the invocations Guy draws upon implicitly suggest that in this battle the Christian warrior, who has not long since complained of his great age and frailty to the king, countenances the prospect of his own death. As he was wholly in God's hands when cast adrift upon the cruel seas so now he awaits deliverance not unlike Daniel in the lions' den, Susanna before the Jewish elders. Significantly, where the earlier prayer made in battle with the dragon asked for bodily preservation, this latter prayer asks only of God that he 'wisse' and 'rede' Guy and grant him 'þi blisseing'. A true surrender of autonomy to God is suggested. The analogy with both Daniel and Susanna connotes passivity: Guy's fate, with theirs, is in God's hands and in his acknowledgement of this lies the distinctive piety of the Auchinleck text of the poem. For the romance hero to reveal such a willingness to surrender control over the events in which he participates is a considerable step indeed.

While the prayer, evocative of death, need not imply Guy's expectation of defeat, it *does* imply his perception of the combat as the last he will face, an impression reinforced by his comment to Athelstan 'Icham an old man, a feble bodi: / Mi strengþe is fro me fare' (247:2-3) and by the poem's structural progression: the dragon fight signals the close of part one, this fight the inevitable close of part two. Anticipation of that closure is further prompted by the singing of the *Te Deum laudamus* by the rejoicing English at Guy's victory:

The "Te deum" is well chosen, for it is one of the most exquisite and best loved of medieval hymns, and its characteristic terminal position at matins (the midnight office), repeated in liturgical plays, appropriately suggests that Guy's story is near conclusion.⁴⁴

⁴³ *The Prymer or Lay Folks' Prayer Book*, ed. Henry Littlehales, EETS 105, 109 (1895, 1897), I, p.60.

⁴⁴ Velma Bourgeois Richmond, *The Popularity of Middle English Romance*, p.186.

Indeed, after Guy's victory and his brief, disguised, visit to Felice, his story swiftly closes. He receives shrift of a priest, retreats to a hermitage where he passes only nine months before his death. The battle is the last major narrative episode of the poem.

In his last great show of earthly prowess, then, the Auchinleck Guy aligns himself, by his prayer, with a tradition of passive figures attending their deliverance by God. Roland is certain of his death when commending his soul to God; Guy is shown to apprehend the distant approach of his own in his use of petitions so closely associated with the commendation of the passing soul.

If the possibility of a liturgical resonance is admitted in Guy's battle-prayer then another of the poem's pious elements assumes a profound significance. The angel who comes to advise Guy of his approaching death is Saint Michael: he who receives the soul of Roland in the *Chanson de Roland*, and he who is invoked after the Virgin, to intercede for the dying soul in the *Commendatio*: 'Sancte michael. inter[cede]':⁴⁵

St. Michael is the commander of the heavenly hosts, soldier, protector and fighter against evil par excellence. He represents the angel sent to deliver the three children from the fire, Daniel from the lions and St Peter from his chains, and his name is often connected with these miraculous deliverances.⁴⁶

It is significant then, that at an earlier stage of the poem, Terri, believing Guy to be dead, has already commended his soul to the archangel:

He is dede, ich wot full wel.
God almiȝti & seyn Miȝhel
To blis his soule drawe! (216:3-5)

Guy has himself implicitly echoed that commendation in his last great battle-prayer. From the hermitage whence he retires, his soul is accordingly escorted to heaven by 1007 angels

⁴⁵ *Sarum Missal*, p.424.

⁴⁶ Anne F. Sutton and Livia Visser-Fuchs, *The Hours of Richard III* (Stroud, 1990), p.73.

just as his long-estranged Felice arrives. The piety of the moment is hardly compromised but supported by deep pathos as, like the knowing gaze which passes between Orfeo and his spouse, more appears to pass between the briefly reconciled lovers in a single look than the hyperbole of a recognition scene could figure:

Sir Gij loked on hir þare:
His soule fram þe bodi gan fare.
A þousand angels & seuen
Vnder-fenge þe saule of Gij,
& bar it wiþ gret molodi
Into þe blis of heuen. (293:10-12)

And so the Auchinleck *Guy* concludes with mention of the miracles observed at Guy's tomb and the ultimate removal of his body by Terri to a shrine in Lorraine. Separating the narrative of Guy's son Reinbron to a separate poem, an editorial decision in which the Auchinleck text is unique, the poem sketches Guy's death, 'like the edifying end of a Saint'.⁴⁷ The transition from romance to saint's life is that much more coherent if we recognise the poem's intermittent exploitation of the affective power of the poem's formulae of Passion and redemption, and hear in Guy's last great battle prayer the aspiration for divine peace—an aspiration ultimately begged for all:

He went to þe ioie þat lasteþ ay,
& euer-more schal be.
Now god leue ous to liue so,
þat we may þat ioie com to.
Amen, par charite. (299:8-12)

In *Guy of Warwick*, then, pious formulae exhibit a strong stylistic value. Through a series of dramatic scenes, the formulae function as the triggers by which the Auchinleck text's piety is constructed. The affective charge they embody, derived from their appearance in Middle English religious literature, is released by apposite and coherent usage in charged narrative contexts. The associative value of respective phrases increases

⁴⁷ Dieter Mehl, *The Middle English Romances of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*, p.224.

with incremental repetition. Deployed in dramatic speeches, these formulae point up the moral emphases of the text and, by prompting an affective response to the images of God and Christ evoked, implicitly suggest the sympathy, thus *piety*, of the characters by whom these oath and prayer patterns are uttered. The liturgical allusion achieved by the Old Testament invocations in the knight's last prayer crystallises the effect of the preceding Passiontide- and Creator-formulae where broader, but equally rich associations have been brought into play. The pious formulae of *Guy* are a vital stylistic resource: a reading which attends to these formulae finds they bring a certain congruence to the poem's oft-remarked generic shift from romance to saint's legend.

A picture of the literary richness of pious formulae thus begins to emerge from the episodic piety of *Guy*. The effect is greater still where the apposite use of such formulae is not sporadic but sustained, their aesthetic power accessed not momentarily but cumulatively, where a poem largely religious in subject matter and elegiac in tone draws upon such formulae as nothing less than a poetic resource. Such a text, the Stanzaic *Morte Arthur*, forms the subject of the following chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

Pathos, piety and Passiontide-formulae in the Stanzaic *Morte Arthur*

Ihesu, that suffred woundes sore,
Graunt vs All the blysse of hevyn!
(Stanzaic *Morte Arthur* 3962-69)

What *Guy* achieves in part the Stanzaic *Morte* achieves in full. The use of pious formulae in this Arthurian poem is sustained; the literary use of stock images of the Passion is not intermittent but consistent. Plot accounts largely for this. The redactor of *Guy* must balance the claims of romance with the claims of pious legend, the redactor of the *Morte Arthur* is unburdened of this tension by the action of his poem. Built into its subject matter is a process of retreat from the temporal world and a demonstrative commitment to spiritual values. The poem, preserved only in Harley MS 2252, tells of the twilight of the Round Table. Abstracted from its chronological sequence in the French Vulgate cycle—the Grail Quest is alluded to only perfunctorily at the poem's opening—the pious retreat of Guinevere, Lancelot and the Round Table knights is contextualised *only* by events represented in the poem.¹ When the characters repent, it is a repentance for sins figured only in this particular text, not in response to interviews with woodland hermits during the Grail Quest. When they show contempt of the world, it is because this poem alone shows that world to be fractured, divisive and insidious. The Stanzaic *Morte* plays out the last stage of the Arthurian tragedy in as discrete a context as can ever exist in such an intertextual tradition. Remarkable for its insistent elegiac tone, what further distinguishes this contribution to English Arthurian tradition is a poignant, and thematically profound, use of Passiontide-formulae.

¹ For a further description see *Das Commonplace Book von John Colyns*, ed. Ulrich Frost (Frankfurt, 1988), pp.267-69 and H.L.D. Ward, *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of MSS in the British Museum*, I (London, 1883), pp.405-6.

The first of the poem's eight line stanzas sues, minstrel-like, for the attention of 'Lordingis that ar leff And dere'. It advertises not episodic 'aunturs' devoid of connection or context but a tale of an ending:

In Arthur dayes, that noble kinge,
By-felle Aunturs ferly fele,
And I shall tell of there endinge
That mykell wiste of wo and wele² (5-8)

This antithetical doublet implies a diptych structure for the poem: such a pattern may indeed be discerned:

In the first half the camaraderie of Arthur's knights is threatened by, but survives, pressures from outside the fellowship. In the second half it collapses under pressure from within.³

Agravain's exposure of the adulterous affair forms the liminal moment in this bipartite structure. With choric gravitas, both the queen and Bors mark the transition from one to the other of the doublet's extremes:

Now I wote, with-uten wene,
That Alle oure wele is tornyd to woo (1822-23)

We shalle be of hertis good
Aftyr the wele to take the wo. (1890-91)

The first half of the poem, however, reflects not 'wele' alone. Felicity does not characterise the episodes of the Maid of Ascalot's unrequited love for Lancelot, the queen's insecurity and jealous anxiety over that same knight, the poisoned apple. Such episodes presage the sustained 'wo' of the poem's second half. This relates the destruction of Arthurian society itself while fostering an elegiac tone:

The second half of the poem, in fact, becomes an increasingly poignant lament for the "thyngis that had been ore" and which we have witnessed ourselves in the first half.⁴

² All quotations are taken from *Le Morte Arthur*, ed. J. Douglas Bruce, EETS ES 88 (1903).

³ Sherron E. Knopp, 'Artistic Design in *The Stanzaic Morte Arthur*', *ELH* 45 (1978), 563-82 (567).

⁴ Knopp, 'Artistic Design', 576.

The English poet drastically condenses his French source, the Stanzaic *Morte* being approximately a fifth of the size of the *Mort Artu*. His various editorial decisions and their implications—no early exposure of the adultery to Arthur, no visit of Arthur to Morgan, diminution of the Dream of Fortune, omission of the prophetic inscription on Salisbury Plain—have attracted much illuminating comment.⁵ Among his few additions are religious formulae, usually periphrastic forms reflecting—poignantly, ironically—the shared devotional consciousness of the feuding parties. Reference to the catalogue reveals that twenty-three such formulae occur in the poem's 3969 lines. Of these, ten are Passiontide-formulae, deployed in contexts where their affective association and connotative range make a stylistic, and ultimately thematic, contribution to the poem. For as the tale of decline and fall tends ever more to one of 'wo' so the frequency and appositeness of these formulae increases. Such sensitivity to style and deft deployment of conventional diction would suggest an accomplished poet is at work here:

The rhyme-scheme, which makes some demands on the author's ingenuity (abababab), the frequent alliterative formulas, and the effective use of stanza-linking, especially in the more important episodes, show that this is no naive story-telling, but that the author was a conscious stylist who tried to give some shape to his poem.⁶

In this light, the poet's inclusion of pious formulae argues that these should be viewed not simply as prosodic fillers but as stylistic devices which carry with them a strong aesthetic charge. The following discussion thus proposes to demonstrate how a reading which attends to the context of Passiontide-formulae in the Stanzaic *Morte* reveals much of the literary merit of this contribution to English Arthurian tradition.

⁵ Most such discussions include Malory in their comparative studies. See for eg. Robert H. Wilson, 'Malory, The *Morte Arthur*, and the *Mort Artu*', *MP* 37 (1939-40), 125-38; E. Talbot Donaldson, 'Malory and the Stanzaic *Le Morte Arthur*', *SP* 47 (1950), 460-72.

⁶ Dieter Mehl, *The Middle English Romances of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (London, 1969), p.186.

Of the ten Passiontide-formulae occurring in the poem, only two occur in the 'wele' section, that prior to the outbreak of slander and strife. Both of these involve Guinevere, are of high emotional content and are without precedent in the French source. The first such phrase occurs in the fraught interview between Lancelot and Guinevere where the queen, on the misinformation of Gawain, accuses her knight of transferring his affections to the Maid of Ascolot. Proclaiming 'I may wofully wepe and wake / In clay tylle I be clongyn cold' (750-51), Guinevere begs Lancelot to conceal their former relationship and, poignantly, bids him never forsake deeds of arms so that she might at least have the comfort of hearing him praised abroad. Lancelot is clearly astounded at the accusation and the queen's response:

launcelot fulle stille then stode,
 his herte was hevy as Any stone;
 So sory he wexe in his mode,
 For Routhe hym thought it all to-torne.
 'Madame,' he said, 'For crosse and Rode,
 What by-tokenyth all this mone?
By him þat bought me with his blode,
 Off these tydandes know I none. (760-67, Emphasis mine)

The emotive content of the scene is high. It is heightened further by invocation of the Crucifixion by a speaker who apprehends his own heart as 'to-torne'. Lancelot's use of the first person singular pronoun, 'bought me', supports his protestation of guiltlessness: as he looks to be called to account as a redeemed individual, so he declares his innocence upon his faith.⁷ Even at this early stage of the poem, pious formulae are conveying dramatic and expressive force to dialogue.⁸

⁷ All other examples of the phrase in the catalogue employ the first person plural - *Richard Coeur de Lion* 6271-72; *Roswall and Lillian* 46-48; *Sir Ferumbas* 1153 - or the third person singular - *The Soudan of Babylon* 1732; *Torrent of Portyngale* 134-35; *Earl of Tolouse* 1034-35.

⁸ The curious, tautological phrase 'for crosse and Rode' also contributes to context here. It is grammatically unrelated to the pious formulae with which this study is concerned and thus not catalogued but it does recur ten times in the poem: (1350-51); (1719); (2576-77); (2880-81, here as 'corsse on rode'); (2928-9); (3004-5, here as 'cryste on Rode'); (3112-13); (3452-53); (3882-83). The phrase also appears in *Athelston* 1.169-71).

The second Passiontide-formula of the poem is uttered by Guinevere herself in a passage much expanded from the French source. Facing execution after apparent incrimination in the sleight of the poisoned apple, the Guinevere of the *Mort Artu* despairs of finding a knight to take her part in battle:

ele commence a regarder tout entor lui por savoir mon se aucuns vendroit
avant qui de cest apel la deffendist; et quant ele voit que nus de ceus de
leanz ne s'sen remuent, einz bessent les euz et escoutent, ele est tant
esbahie et esperdue qu'ele ne set que ele puisse devenir ne dire ne fere

(she began to look around to see if anyone would offer to defend her
against the accusation. When she saw that no one there was coming
forward, but that they were all looking down and listening, she was so
distressed and confused that she did not know what would become of her,
or what she should say or do.)⁹

In expanding this dramatic scene, the English poet has Arthur plead with Gawain, Bors, Lionel and Ector collectively, the queen kneeling before them. With the failure of this entreaty, 'A-gayne the Ryght we wille not Ryde' (1338), Guinevere makes an impassioned plea before each of the knights in succession. The symmetry and stanzaic parallelism of the first three entreaties is striking: in each the queen falls to her knees (1342, 1358, 1374); of both Gawain and Lionel she entreats 'Mercy...loud and shrill' (1359, 1376), whilst the climax of each stanza remains largely fixed:

To-day I shall to dethe goo
Bot yiffe thy worthy wille wore
To brynge my lyffe oute of thys woo (1345-47)

Lord, as I no gilt haue of thys dede,
Yif it were thy wille,
To-day to helpe me in thys nede? (1361-63)

lord, As I ne haue gilte no wyght,
Yif it were thy worthy wylle
for my lyffe to take thys fyght? (1377-79)

⁹ *La Morte le Roi Artu*, ed. Jean Frappier, 3rd edn (Geneva and Paris, 1964), p.86. translation from *The Death of King Arthur*, trans. James Cable (London, 1971), p.91.

Perhaps it is Lionel's invocation of 'hym thatt me to man gan shape' (1386) in refusing aid that occasions the queen's abandonment of this supplicatory paradigm and her appeal to something more than courtesy as she makes a final plea to Ector:

Than full sore she gan hyr drede,
 Welle she wiste hyr lyffe was lorne;
 Loude gan she wepe and grede
 And estor kneles she be-forne.
 'For hym that on the Rode gon sprede
 And for vs bare the crone of thorne,
 Estor, helpe now in thys nede,
 Or, certes, to-day my lyfe is lorne! (1388-95)

In context the connotations of the tag are manifold. It protests the queen's innocence as much as her desperation; it foreshadows the threat of painful death; the pointed 'for vs' foregrounds the notion of sacrifice, keying it to context. Above all, the formula manifests intense emotion. Reference to the catalogue reveals that this Passiontide-formula is one of comparatively few examples in which Christ's volition in the Crucifixion is emphasised.¹⁰ Like the phrases in *The Awntyrs Off Arthure*: 'him þat rightwisly rose and rest on þe rode' (317) and 'him þat rest on þe rode', and those in *Havelok*: 'Him... / Ðat for vs wolde on rode blede' (102-3) and 'Crist þat wolde on rode blede' (2404), Guinevere's phrase figures Christ as proactive and self-sacrificing: a relevant emphasis in that she seeks to encourage such behaviour in her knights. Christ and character are allied. Here, however, her appeal, for all its pious humility, is unsuccessful. Citing his grievance as the estrangement of Lancelot from the court, Ector also declines to represent the queen in battle:

My dere brother, for thy sake
 I ne shall hym neuyr se with sight;
 Curseyde be he that the batalle take
 To saue thy lyffe a-gayne the Ryghte! (1400-3)

¹⁰ See catalogue, section E.

Lancelot, however, does take the battle and vindicates Guinevere. Yet a penal death seems to await the queen after all. Exposure of her affair with Lancelot destines her to execution and causes 'war and wrake' to erupt in Arthur's kingdom. It is here that both the queen and Sir Bors register the narrative's transition from 'wele' to 'wo'(1823; 1890-91). Hereafter, the poet's deployment of a further eight Passiontide-formulae contribute profoundly to the pathos and piety of this tale of an ending.

Exposure of their love leads to the exile of Lancelot and the condemnation of Guinevere. The queen is led to the stake for execution by fire. Her second rescue by Lancelot this time compromises more than loyalties:

Lordyngys that were myche of mayne
 Many goode were brought to grounde,
 Gaheriet and gaheries bothe were slayne,
 Wythe many A doulfell dethes wounde (1960-64)

The poem's willingness to countenance the human cost of the bloody civil war that ensues manifests itself both in such subjectively charged narration and in the impassioned laments of the protagonists, the following uttered by Arthur:

Ihesu cryste! what may I sayne?
 In erthe was neuyr man so wo;
 Suche knyghtys as there ar slayne
 In All thys worlde there is no mo. (1974-77)

This sense of the counting of cost, of the keen awareness of loss, is sustained throughout the poem. An elegiac tone is fostered. That tone is insistent as the Siege of Joyous Guard unfolds. The siege results in the wounding of Lionel, Bors and Gawain and in deaths apprehended in more than martial terms:

Folke here Fren dys home ledde and bare
 That slayne in the feldys laye. (2240-41)

Of such 'sorowe stronge' the Pope has 'grete Routhe' (2250). He forbids the continuance of the war, dispatching the Bishop of Rochester to forge a truce between the warring parties. The poet follows the French in rendering the bishop's overtures to Arthur in reported speech. Yet a revealing switch of emphasis follows as the cleric next consults not with Guinevere, as in the source, but with Lancelot. Reminding the knight that he has enjoyed God's favour hitherto—'Syr, thynke that ye haue venquysshid many A bataille / Through grace that god hathe for you wrought' (2296-97)—the bishop next employs a periphrasis for Christ in much the same manner as the moral lyrics of the period, and exhibits an equally typical antifeminism:

ye shalle do now by my counsaile:
 Thynke on hym that you dere bought;
 Wemen Ar frele of hyr entayle;
 Syr, lettes not ynglande go to nocht. (2298-2301)

Whilst this injunction prevails and the queen is accordingly restored to Arthur, Lancelot's attempts at forging a lasting peace are to be scuppered by the intransigence of the vengeful Gawain. The king makes an impassioned vow that Lancelot may return to his lands unhindered:

The kyng arthur Answered thore,
 The terys from hys y3en Ranne:
 'By Ihesu cryste!' he there swore,
 'That All thys worlde wrought and wan,
 In-to thy landys whan thou wilt fare,
 The shall lette no lyuand man.' (2436-41)

Yet Gawain makes his own, bellicose oath that he will promptly pursue Lancelot:

Syr gawayne than sayd: 'naye,
 By hym that made sonne and mone,
 Dight the as welle as euyr thou may,
 For we shall After come full sone'. (2448-51)

The magnitude of the images invoked, the comprehensiveness of the creation and redemption phrases, lends the respective oaths a daunting authority and, in Gawain's case, irrevocability.

Where appeals to *caritas* cannot break the destructive deadlock of the Siege of Benwick, the treachery of Mordred nevertheless can. As the usurper lays claim to the Arthurian realm, the 'wo / wele' antithesis is mobilised once more, its polarity providing the facile rationale for the rejection of Arthur by the *vox populi*:

They sayd with hym [Mordred] was Ioye and wele
And in Arthurs tyme but sorow and woo (2964-65)

Later, a Passiontide-formula intensifies the violence of Mordred's threat to the Archbishop of Canterbury, delivered when he is forbidden 'for cryste on Rode' to wed Queen Guinevere and claim the realm:

'A nyse clerke,' than mordred sayd,
'Trowiste thou to warn me of my wille?
be hym that for vs suffred payne,
These wordys shalt thou lyke full ylle!
with wilde hors thou shalt be drayne
And hangyd hye vpon An hylle.'¹¹ (3010-15)

Here the Passiontide image contributes a startling power to Mordred's threat. The very impiety of the utterer releases the graphic violence represented in the image. Meanwhile, the assumed consensus in Mordred's reference to 'hym that *for vs* suffred payne' (emphasis mine) is deeply ironic. It is striking that so even is the Christian scheme of reference in the romances, it allows for the use of these formulae, albeit ironically, by immoral characters such as Mordred. Religious formulae are thus situative in that they

¹¹ The formula appears twice more in the corpus. In *Ywain and Gawain*, Guinevere upbraids Sir Kay, 'Serte[s], Sir Kay, þou ert vnhende. / By Him þat for vs sufferd pine, / Syr, and þi tong were myne, / I sold bical it tye of treson' (488-91). In *Athelston*, the context of utterance is notably similar to the Mordred passage, as the treacherous Wymound seeks to convince King Athelston that the (in fact virtuous) Egelond means to slay his king: 'Sodaynly þanne schalt þou dy, / Be hym þat suffryd payne.' (167-68).

sketch the universal relationship between God and man: be he sinner or penitent, the frame of reference is the same. Mordred's utterance, however, hardly signals a pious disposition and the archbishop flees to the woodland, there to establish the hermitage that will house the surviving knights:

The worldys wele ther he wyll for-sake,
 Off Ioye kepeth he neuer more,
 But A chapelle he lette make
 By-twene two holtys hore;
 There-in weryd he the clothys blake,
 In wode as he an ermyte ware

(3026-31)

As with Arthur's earlier monologue, the poet grants the archbishop a choric lament, by which audience response to events is manipulated: 'Often he gan wepe and wake / For yngland that had such sorowis sare' (3032-33).

Gawain's appearance in Arthur's dream having convinced the king to postpone battle with Mordred, a truce is accordingly struck. In depicting the negotiation of a fragile peace, the poet employs two further formulae, both closely keyed to context and powerfully apposite. The first is spoken by Arthur's conciliatory emissaries in their appeal to Mordred to establish a truce:

The knyghtis that ware of grete valoure,
 By-fore syr mordred as they stode,
 They gretyn hym with grete honowre,
 As barons bold And hye of blode:
 'Ryght wele the gretys kyng Arthur,
 And praythe the with mylde mode,
 A monethe day to stynte thys stoure,
 For hys loue that dyed on Rode.'

(3240-47)

Over and above the intrinsic appeal to *caritas*, compassion, forbearance and forgiveness evoked in an allusion to Christ, the periphrasis draws on that shared devotional consciousness which must acknowledge the motivating spirit and overwhelming pathos of that death 'on Rode', both of which reflect upon the situation at hand. Mordred's ensuing

vow calls another figure to witness, however, compassing Christ not as subject but object, and commodity at that:

mordred, that was both kene And bolde,
made hym breme As Any bore at bay,
And sware by Iudas that Ihesus sold:
'Suche sawes Ar not now to saye' (3248-51)

This usage must be added to the many ironies of the poem documented by F.M. Alexander.¹² The 'kene And bolde' doublet and 'breme As Any bore' simile, conventional and formulaic, imply no narratorial judgement on this character. The religious tag, conventional and formulaic, invites comparison with the preceding Passiontide-formula and reflection on the speaker, his character and intent.¹³ Mordred himself draws on the implicit analogy with the archetypal traitor when he swears violence in the face of the peacemakers 'by Iudas that Ihesus sold' (3250).

There follows the inevitable catastrophe in this tale of an ending. The inopportune adder having precipitated the final battle, the narrator turns to treat this last conflict, asserting the magnitude of this chapter in the Matter of Britain:

Sythe bretayne owte of troy was sought
And made in bretayne hys owne wonne,
Suche wondrys neuyr ere was wrought,
Neuyr yit vnder the sonne (3376-79)

How different a critical tradition might have attended this poem had this stanza appeared, *Gawain*-like, at the poem's opening. As it stands—'Lordingis that ar leff And dere...'—its minstrel style evokes expectations of levity, a tone wholly lacking in this latter section of the poem. Indeed, the tone of this second half is 'legitimately subdued, haunting and sad'.¹⁴ The Troy topos and its attendant associations of epic evoked, the stanza goes on

¹² Flora M. Alexander, ' "The Treson of Launcelote du Lake": Irony in the Stanzaic Morte Arthur', *The Legend of Arthur in the Middle Ages*, ed. P.B. Grout (Cambridge, 1983), pp.15-27.

¹³ For other examples of the Judas tag see catalogue, section D.

¹⁴ George Kane, *Middle English Literature* (London, 1951), p.69.

to relate how by nightfall only Arthur, two companions, and the baneful Mordred remain alive. Of the king's retainers we hear:

The tone was lucan de botelere,
That bled at many A bale-full wound,
And hys brodyr, syr bedwere,
Was sely seke and sore vnsounde. (3384-87)

The blood, soreness, sickness and unsoundness are Arthur's and Mordred's also as they fight to the death in the ensuing stanza:

he hytte mordred amydde the breste
And oute At the bakke bone hym bare;
There hathe mordred hys lyffe loste,
That speche spake he neuyr mare;
But kenely vp hys Arme he caste
And yaff Arthur A wound sare,
In-to the hede throw the helme And creste,
That iij tymes he swownyd thare. (3392-99)

It is here that other aspects of the poem's formularity also come into play. Just as the sufferings of Christ are increasingly invoked in Passiontide-formulae, so the sufferings of the earthly protagonists are alluded to in an equally stereotyped vocabulary. The thematic effect is considerable as the cumulative force of verbatim repetition builds as a connotative resource. For example, Arthur's 'wound sare' (3397) occasions the nineteenth use of the noun 'wound' in the poem. This includes the 'woundis' (326) Lancelot earned of Ector in the first tournament, those given in combat between Lancelot and Mador (1595), that received by Lionel at Joyous Guard and by Gawain—a 'wond wyde' (2815)—at Benwick. Likewise, the adjectival form has appeared fourteen times by this point whilst the adjective 'sore' appears here for the 54th time, earlier examples having occurred in collocation with 'wounded' or 'wound/s':

in his bed lay woundid sore (403)

Launcelot sore woundyd lay (424)

...launcelot had bene woundyd sore (465)

Though thou haue sore woundid me (500)

For lyonelle was woundyd sore (2216)

‘Sighing sore’ (e.g. 802, 821, 1341, 2204, 2242), ‘sorrow sore’ (e.g. 2117, 3033) and ‘weeping sore’ (e.g. 2244, 2458) also occur evenly across the poem whilst, like Bedevere, both Mador and Lionel are described as ‘sick and sore unsound’ (1599, 2165). The referential scope of such phrases will necessarily widen as a reading of the work, noting recurrence and correspondence, progresses. In addition, the poet positively encourages cognisance of repetition, correspondence and symmetry, both of syntactic structures and of larger narrative components such as the motif or type-scene:

Rather than representational drama, the *Stanzaic Morte Arthur* is self-conscious composition, an artificial arrangement of characters, themes and motifs. The meaning of the work, like the meaning of a medieval painting, depends on the discernment of patterns and relationships by the audience.¹⁵

One strategy for encouraging such discernment on a linguistic level is the poet’s occasional use of link-words or phrases across separate stanzas, as in Lancelot’s quitting the tournament (312-13), Gawain’s discovery of the Maid of Ascalot’s letter (1039-40) and the reading of that missive (1079-80), the parting of Lancelot and Guinevere (3638-3706). Echoed lines also serve in this capacity as witness the condemned queen’s lament:

yuelle haue I be-sette the dede
That I haue worshipped so many a knyght,
[And I haue no man in my nede]
For my lyffe darre take a fight. (1412-14)

echoed by Lancelot:

yeuell hathe the quene by-sette hyr dedys
That she hathe worsshippid many A knyght
And she hathe no man in hyr nedys
That for hyr lyfe dare take a fight. (1568-71)

¹⁵ Knopp, ‘Artistic Design’, 566.

That same knight's sorrow over his breach from Arthur:

‘Allas!’ quod launcelot, ‘wo is me,
That euyr schuld I se with syghte
A-ȝeyne my lord for to be,
The noble kynge that made me knyght!’ (2142-45)

is repeated, with slight modification, at lines 2190-93 when Bors unhorses the king:

‘Allas!’ quod launcelot, ‘wo is me,
That euyr schulde I se with syghte
By-fore me hym vnhorsyd bee,
The noble kynge that made me knyght!’

By such means the reader / audience is encouraged to register the correspondence of like elements. Thus to remark the poem's emphasis upon sore wounding, and to reflect that ‘There is a great deal of suffering in *Morte Arthur*’¹⁶ is to respond not only to narrative episodes whose structural outline involves injury, but also to register the build-up of a formulaic diction of suffering.

In the poem's concluding movement, one of retreat and commitment to spiritual over chivalric values, a kaleidoscoping of these images of soreness, pain and suffering takes place. A correspondence impresses itself upon the reader / audience between the patterned suffering of the warring protagonists and that of the redeemer to whom they turn to effect a concluding harmony. Christ's wounds offer refuge. It is the repentant Guinevere who will draw this explicit connection in her final interview with Lancelot, contrasting the redemptive meaning of Christ's transfigured wounds with the senseless slaughter of the ‘batayle sore’ (3721), its effects and cost evident in the final battle as lives are ‘brought to noight’ (3351), soldiers ‘leyde vpon the bente’ (3359). As the Round Table fragments into faction, and as Arthur and Mordred wound one another within the space of a stanza, the accretion of a patterned language of suffering presents a bleak vision of

¹⁶ *Medieval English Romances*, 2 vols, ed. A.V.C. Schmidt and Nicholas Jacobs (London, 1980), I, p.25.

human injury and suffering. This vision is so extreme and all-encompassing that it is no longer patient of contextualisation within *any* of the protagonists' conflicting ideals of loyalty, vengeance, fraternal, familial or feudal obligation.

Such contextualisation is often at work in the romances: Donna Crawford explores how within such narratives, a wounded body 'can be juxtaposed with and serve to substantiate specific assertions and values'. She writes:

The wounded body itself is a constant, a site of suffering and pain, yet especially in a narrative that moves quickly past the consequences of injuring, the meaning of the wounded body shifts according to its context and can be read differently on the basis of the values beside which it is positioned.¹⁷

Much in the Stanzaic *Morte* substantiates this view, formularity of style again throwing corresponding examples into relief. For instance, the wounds the disguised Lancelot earns of Ector at the tournament are grievous indeed:

So sore woundyd there he lay
That well nighe had he sought his end (334-36)

Indeed, when he proves impatient and attempts to pre-empt full recovery to attend a second tournament, these same wounds are graphically reopened:

his woundis scryved and stille he lay
And in his bedde he swownyd thrye. (382-83)

When Ector and Bors are reunited with the now recovered knight, Lancelot proffers a context for his injury, vowing to quit the harm he has received:

'By hym pat alle this world hath wrought,
launcelot hym-self swore,
'The dynte shall be full dere bought,
yif euyr we may mete vs more!' (468-71)

¹⁷ Donna Crawford, '“Gronyng wyth grysly wounde”: Injury in Five Middle English Breton Lays', *Readings in Medieval English Romance*, ed. Carol M. Meale (Cambridge, 1994), pp.35-52 (page 38).

As Ector discloses, with some apprehension, that he was responsible, ‘Lord, I ne wiste þat ye it wore’ (483), the context dissolves into good-humoured laughter, the vow redundant. The dark corollary of this episode appears with the wound sustained by Gawain in combat with Lancelot at Benwick. Vowing to avenge the deaths of Gaheriet and Gaeries, Gawain has sworn:

Be-twixte me And launcelote du lake
 Nys man in erthe, for soth to sayne,
 Shall trewes sette and pees make,
 Er outhur of vs haue other slayne. (2010-13)

Thus the mortal wound sustained in combat with Lancelot ostensibly fulfils this vow, substantiating Gawain’s rôle as avenger. Yet in a cruel twist of irony, this same wound is to cause death *outside* of this proffered context, in Gawain’s perfunctory and violent death at the hands of an anonymous agent in the battle at Dover:

Syr gawayne armyd hym in that stounde;
 Allas! to longe hys hede was bare;
 he was seke And sore vnsond;
 hys woundis greuyd hym full sare;
 One hytte hym vpon the olde wounde
 With A tronchon of An ore;
 There is good gawayne gone to grounde,
 That speche spake he neuyr more. (3065-73)

The English poet, ever cognisant of such ironies, alters the details of Gawain’s funerary arrangements, having him buried ‘in A chapell A-mydde the quere’ (3138). Not for this Gawain the inscribed tomb of the French source, its inscription seeking to restore the conception of Gawain’s death as the filial avenger slain by Lancelot:

CI GIST GAHERIET ET GAUVAINS QUE LANCELOS
 OCIST PAR L’OUTRAGE GAUVAIN.
 (Here lie Gaheriet and Gawain whom Lancelot killed
 through Gawain’s foolishness).¹⁸

¹⁸ *La Morte le Roi Artu*, p.220, trans. Cable, p.200.

Reference back to Mordred's threat to the archbishop of Canterbury reveals that even the wounded body of Christ may be recontextualised by the profane oath-taker. In invoking 'hym that for vs suffred payne' (3012) to threaten the archbishop with drawing and hanging, Mordred is surely emphasising not Christ as redeemer but sufferer; the wounds as marks of violence, not salvation.

The cluster of images of wounding accruing in the final battle, then, make patent an impression of senseless slaughter keenly apprehended. Not only have competing codes of loyalty, honour and fidelity caused bitter conflict and enabled the flourishing of a treason uncognisant of any such codes, all ultimately fail to recover meaning from the desolation that now prevails:

Thus, the basic paradox at the heart of this society—that honour is the source of both greatness and ruin—is made the springboard for a loftier commentary on human existence: that since there is no escape from the tragic consequences of man's imperfections, his best hope is, as we have seen, the prospect of salvation, his best course a withdrawal from life's conflicts.¹⁹

Arthur's withdrawal is ostensibly to Avalon on the barge of ladies, but the words of Morgan receiving him aboard, original to the English poet, are ominous in their focus and tone:

'Broder,' she sayd, 'wo is me!
Fro lechyng hastow be to longe.
I wote that gretely greuyth me,
For thy paynes Ar full stronge.'(3506-9)

This dark prognosis, balanced with the poet's downplaying of the supernatural elements of his *matière*, lend a sombre irony to Arthur's faith in recuperation and return:

I wylle wende a lytell stownde
In-to the vale of Avelovne,
A whyle to hele me of my wounde.(3515-17)

¹⁹Richard A. Wertime, 'The Theme and Structure of the Stanzaic *Morte Arthur*', *PMLA* 87 (1972), 1075-82 (1080).

The king's failure to reach this destination is apprehended with great sorrow by Bedevere who, wandering through the forest 'wepyng sore' (3523), encounters a new tomb, lighted with a hundred tapers and attended by a hermit who relates:

A-bowte mydnyght were ladyes here,
 In world ne wyste I what they were;
 Thys body they brought vppon a bere
 And beryd it with woundys sore (3538-41)

The inscription on the tomb confirming just who bore these sore wounds, Bedevere entreats the hermit to accept him as companion in this secluded chantry chapel. In this explicitly pious context, Bedevere utters the first of a cluster of Passiontide-formulae, signalling the means by which redemption and relief from suffering may be achieved:

'Ermyte,' he sayd 'with-oute lesynge
 here lyeth my lord that I haue lorne,
 Bold arthur, the beste kynge
 That euyr was in bretayne borne.
 yif me som of thy clothynge,
 For hym that bare the crowne of thorne,
 And leue that I may with the lenge,
 Whyle I may leve, And pray hym forne.' (3550-57)

The concrete Passiontide image heightens the pathos of the scene and bolsters our impression of the deep spiritual resolve of Bedevere. It is a scene which appears to have fired the English poet's imagination, for in the French source this plea is reported: 'si prie tant l'ermite qu'il le recoit en sa compaignie'.²⁰ The English poet has deliberately written an emotive speech for Bedevere; he has selected a Passiontide-tag as a stylistic device to capture the hushed piety of the moment.

As one knight retreats from the temporal world, Lancelot arrives at Dover with his 'barons bold':

To helpe Arthur was ther thought
 And make mordred of blysse full bare (3580-81)

²⁰ *La Mort le Roi Artu*, p.252.

Learning that his aid comes too late to profit Arthur—‘All that were to batayle bowne / At salysbery lay dede vpon the playne’ (3596-7)—and that Guinevere has disappeared with five ladies, Lancelot travels westward for three days, lighting by chance on the queen’s nunnery. The final interview that follows, by far the strongest section of the poem, constitutes the decisive moment in the substitution of Christian for chivalric values; the process of redemption figured as the many wounds of the secular protagonists are subsumed into the numinous wounds of Christ. Sighting Lancelot, the queen swoons, provoking the nuns’ concern:

‘Mercy, madame,’ they sayd All,
 ‘For Ihesu, that is kynge of blysse,
 Is there Any byrd in boure or halle
 hathe wrathed yow?’ (3630-33)

The regal Christ of the nuns’ invocation serves as an interesting counter to the suffering figure of Bedevere’s Passiontide-formula and to the queen’s ensuing expression not of ‘blysse’ but ‘sorowe’:

‘Abbes, to you I knowlache here
 That throw thys ylke man And me,
 For we to-geder han loved vs dere,
 All thys sorowfull warre hathe be’ (3638-41)

In this public context the queen makes both spiritual and social confession, acknowledging not partial but full responsibility for the fragmentation of her society. Her sorrow at the deaths of Arthur and his knights is keenly evident:

my lord is slayne, that had no pere,
 And many A doughty knyght And free;
 There-fore for sorowe I dyed nere,
 As sone As I euyr hym gan see (3642-45)

Link words connect the stanzas conveying Guinevere’s pious and repentant monologue, evoking the coherent spiritual perspective she has now attained. The effect is the more

striking for Guinevere's having long been presented in the poem at the mercy of others and of her powerful emotions.

The queen's earthly fortunes have inevitably been unpredictable. Her roles in the events which so closely concern her own destiny have been wholly reactive: the mistress dependent upon her lover; the innocent accused of poisoning; the commodity in the attempted truce between Lancelot and Arthur. As a result, her experience of the secular world has been one of disorientation and instability. In her earlier reproach of Gawain for having misrepresented the Ascalot episode, we may perceive the broader frustrations and vulnerabilities of her position:

I wende thou hadiste be stable and trewe
 And full of All curtesye,
 bot now me thynke thy maners newe,
 thay bene All tournyd to vilanye

 the quene than, as she nyghe wode were,
 wryngyd hyr handys and said: 'well-awaye!
 Allas! in world that I was bore!
 that I am a wreche welle say I may!' (1160-75)

In the chapel scene this has changed. Long confined to a reactive role in earthly events, and long deceived and distracted, the truth and stability Guinevere has despaired of in the temporal realm are attainable after all:

Oure wylle hathe be to sore bought sold;
 But god, that All myghtis maye,
 Now hathe me sette where I wyll hold,²¹ (3651-53)

Her insight is to forsake the pursuit of individual will—'Oure wylle hathe be to sore bought sold'—and to seek to please God. In speaking of being 'sette' where she will 'hold', Guinevere evinces a new sense of emotional stability. It is with considerable authority, then, as a mouthpiece of social conscience and spiritual awareness, that the

²¹ For formulae related to the 'all mightis may' tag see catalogue, section J13.

queen at last articulates how relief from suffering in this poem's paradoxical world is to be achieved, in retreat not to mythic Avalon but to the transfigured wounds of Christ:

I-sette I am In suche A place,
 my sowle hele I wyll A-byde,
 Telle god send me som grace,
 Throw mercy of hys woundys wyde
 That I may do so in thys place
 my synnys to A-mene thys ilke tyde,
 After to haue A syght of hys face
 At domys day on hys Ryght syde. (3651-61)

Christ's wounds, the most graphic signs of the Passion and the redemptive contract attendant upon it, here evoke and quite subsume the many secular wounds of the poem.

The image, and the same alliterative formula, is taken up and expanded by Malory:

Therefore sir Launcelot, wyte thou well I am sette in suche a plyght to gete my soule hele. And yet I truste, thorow Goddis grace and thorow Hys Passion of Hys woundis wyde, that aftir my deth I may have a syght of the bless[ed] face of Cryst Jesu, and on Doomesday to sytte on Hys ryght syde; [f]or as synfull as ever I was, now ar seyntes in hevyn.²²

The divine signification of Christ's wounds enables the repentant queen to turn not only from the 'batayle sore' but from the love relationship which, in the light of her hard gained spiritual insights, can no longer continue. She bids Lancelot 'my company thow Aye for-sake' (3664), return to his kingdom and 'take A wyffe with her to play' (3667). Strikingly, just as Guinevere takes on full responsibility for the Arthurian tragedy, an apportioning of blame qualified by the poem's broader figuring of factional and political causes, so she envisages that extreme penance and abstinence are her due alone. Lancelot's ensuing speech, however, makes clear that his destiny will not be 'to play' but to pray:

For-bede it god that euyr I shold
 A-gaynste yow worche so grete vnryght,
 Syne we to-gedyr vpon thys mold

²² *The Works of Sir Thomas Malory*, ed. Eugène Vinaver and P.J.C. Field, 3rd edn, 3 vols (Oxford, 1990), p.1252, ll.11-17.

haue led owre lyffe by day And nyght!
 Vnto god I yiffe a heste to holde,
 The same desteny that yow is dyghte
 I will Resseyve in som house bolde,
 To plesse here-After god All-myght (3682-89)

Lancelot's profession is redolent of the *Liebestod* tradition; a union will be achieved in separation, the deviation from type being merely that the lovers will be separated by death *to* the earthly world rather than in it. Lancelot's speech suggests that he will mirror the queen's destiny to further a kind of earthly union. He will

...byde in penance, as ye do here,
 And suffre for god sorow and stryffe;
 As we in lykyng lyffed in fere (3700-2)

If this suggests that Lancelot has not yet achieved the full spiritual insight of Guinevere in the need for true penance, nor recognised his culpability in what has passed—in *Liebestod* tragedies the love is, after all, destroyed *by* society, not destructive *of* it—such a realisation is perhaps hastened when he begs of Guinevere a final, parting kiss:

'nay,' sayd the quene, 'that wyll I not;
 launcelot, thynke on that no more;
 To Absteyne vs we must haue thought,
 For suche we haue delyted in ore' (3713-18)

Her use of the informal 'launcelot' in this imperative both bolsters Guinevere's urgency and resolve while reflecting one last glimmer of intimacy. The predominant tone, however, is one of admonishment as abstinence and penance are enjoined with use of a formula invoking the redemption:

lett vs thynke on him that vs hath bought,
 And we shall please god ther-fore;
 Thynke on this world, how there is nocht,
 But warre and stryffe And batayle sore. (3718-21)

Whilst firmly in the tradition of *contemptus mundi*, the speech derives a distinctive character by tone and context. For recourse to Christ and the *via contempliva* becomes,

through the correspondence of divine and earthly suffering indicated by Guinevere, not a mere shunning of the earthly world but a logical progression. As Malory will later put it, Christ's wounds paradoxically offer 'soul-hele'.²³

With Guinevere's impassioned injunction to Lancelot, the last conversation of the lovers ends. No further direct speech appears as the inevitable parting takes place: both figures swooning and the narrator, in a poignant adaptation of the ineffability topos, marking how the pathos of the scene leaves such an impression that, 'Who saw that sorow euyr myght it mene' (3729). The legendary, mythic character of the poet's subject is again recognised: the pathos of the story both beggars and demands description.

Wandering into a forest, Lancelot now signals his own need for guidance, 'Ryghtwosse god! what is my Rede?' (3740). After a night's wandering, he arrives at dawn at a woodland chapel. The devotions he finds in progress there are marked by an austerity and sobriety told by the very ringing of the church bells:

A belle herd he rewfully Ryng;
 he hyed hym than And thedyr yode;
 A preste was Redy for to synge,
 And masse he herd with drery mode. (3750-53)

The celebrant is none other than the Archbishop of Canterbury. Bedevere is also in attendance at the mass, the tenor of which is subdued and wistful. Each of those present participates with, as it were, a reflective glance over the shoulder at the momentous events which have preceded. The archbishop's singing betrays emotion: experience colours the response and involvement of those present to the progress of the service:

The masse he sange with syghyng sare,
 And ofte he changyd hyde and hewe;
 Syr bedwere had sorow And care
 And ofte mornyd for tho werkys newe (3756-59)

²³ *The Works of Sir Thomas Malory*, p.1252, ll.12-13.

The reunion between the Round-Table-knights is the more poignant for its relation in reported speech, marked by understatement: ‘Aftyr masse was morny[n]ge mare, / Whan Iche of hem othyr knewe’ (3760-1). The archbishop greets Lancelot, ‘ye be welcome as oure frende’ (3766). Past feudal animosities are without relevance here. Indeed, as religious, the characters of this poem achieve a marked singleness of purpose where, previously, the human condition seems to have been about fragmentation, conflict and contradiction. Lancelot’s penitence is now marked:

By-fore the e[r]myte he gan downe falle,
 And comely knelyd vpon hys knee;
 Than he shrove hym of hys synnes Alle
 And prayd he myght hys broder be,
 To serue god in boure and halle,
 That myght-full kyng of mercy free (3780-85)

God, characterised as feudal lord, constitutes the one monarch the assembled knights can agree to serve. The fraternity Lancelot seeks is achievable after all.

Sir Bors is the next to be received into this fellowship. His first apprehension of the chapel again figures the asceticism and penitential spirit of the community: ‘Rewfully he herd A belle Rynge’ (3815). Within six months the community extends to ‘felowse sevyn’ (3819), where unity of purpose is still evident: ‘But All to-gedyr there gan they lend, / As it was goddys wyll of heuyn’ (3824-5).

Seven years pass. Lancelot regularly officiates at the mass while ‘Syr bors And hys other ferys, / On bokys Redde and bellys Ronge’ (3830-31). The extent of their ascetism, like that of Guy the pilgrim, becomes evident in their extreme physical deterioration: ‘So lytell they wexe of lyn And lerys, / Theym to know it was stronge’ (3832-33). Soon, the ailing Lancelot recognises in himself the *proprietas mortis*: ‘my balefful blode off lyffe is bare / ... / my fowle flesshe will to erthe fare’ (3839-41). His brethren seek to assure the knight

that his ailment is not mortal. The assurance is made with use of a *Passiontide*-formula which, whilst reflecting the affective piety of the brethren, evokes imagery appropriate to the context and to Lancelot's conviction of his approaching death:

‘mercy, syr,’ they Say All three,
 ‘for hys loue that dyed on Rode,
 yif Any yvel haue greuyd the,
 ‘hyt is bot hevynesse of your blode’

(3850-53)

Yet certain of his approaching end, Lancelot goes straight to his bed where he receives receives shrift and housel of the archbishop:

But streyght vnto hys bed he yode,

 And clepyd the bysshope hym vntylle,
 And shrove hym of hys synnes clene,
 Of All hys synnes loude and styлле,
 And of hys synnes myche dyd he mene;
 Ther he Resseyved with good wylle
 God, mary-is sonne, maydon clene.

(3857-63)

‘And of hys synnes myche dyd he mene’—if further evidence of the subtlety and sophistication of this poet, his mastery of the pregnant utterance, were required, this poignant parenthesis may well be offered as witness. At the same time, the poem's consistent emphasis upon Christ as saving victim, now fully articulated by Guinevere, prepares the reader to reflect without surprise that the detail of Lancelot's reception of the eucharist is of the English poet's own invention.

Lancelot does indeed die that night, the archbishop's beatific dream witnessing his reception into heaven, piloted by an angelic host who ‘A-gaynste hym openyd the gatys of hevyn’ (3879). Whatever the extent of Lancelot's social sin, the degree of which is measured in the poem by no other means than the knight's own awareness of culpability, it remains possible to achieve heaven. Meanwhile, Lancelot's affective piety and his receipt of the *viaticum* on his death bed leaves those mourning him in no doubt as to

whom they should solicit for the deliverance of his soul. Accordingly, Sir Bors, in his threnody for Lancelot, concludes with an appeal to Christ in His Passion:

The beste knyght hys lyffe hathe lorne
 That euyr in stoure by-strode A stede.
 Ihesu, that crownyd was with thorne,
 In heuyn hys soule foster and fede! (3892-95)

A martial focus is evident in the threnody but its devotional spirit is perfectly congruent with the sombre, affective piety of the brethren. This invocation of the crown of thorns, not one of the most frequently recurring formulae in the corpus, is matched by other poignant examples in romance. As we have seen, Guy of Warwick's realisation of his lack of committed chivalric service to God is articulated with use of the same tag:

For him þat bar þe croun of þorn
 Gode dede dede y nere (Guy B 22: 5-6)

whilst in *Athelston*, the archbishop bids the king suspend the execution of his kindred whom he suspects of treachery:

Do nought thin owne blood to dede
 But-yif it wurthy were.
 For Him þat weres þe corowne off þorn,
 Lat me borwe hem till to morn (442-45)

In *Roland and Vernagu* the Christian knight employs the tag in proclaiming his faith and proselytising Vernagu:

We leueþ opon ihu,
 þat is ful of vertu,
 þat bare þe croun of þorn (671-73)

In *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* the poet, who generally eschews formulaic periphrases for Christ, stylishly employs the same formula in his closing prayer.

Juxtaposed with the symbol of Gawain's girdle, worn penitentially by the hero, decoratively by his peers, the image of the crown exhibits a corresponding semiotic gap.

The crown conferred in scorn ironically indicates Christ's role as king of heaven:

Now þat bere þe croun of þorne,
He bryng vus to hys blysse! AMEN. (2529-30)

These examples make clear that this formula carries strong devotional associations within the corpus. The evidence of Chapter 2 has shown that such associations could, in addition, be drawn from without. For examples in the devotional literature of the period further attest to the cogency and familiarity of this particular topos of the Passion:

Ihesu, for þi blodi heued,
þat wit thornes was beweued,
.
.
.
Make my herte mek & mylde,
to be þi seruant clene.²⁴

Bors' threnody, then, sustains the poem's adherence to Passiontide-formulae and the sombre, wistful tone of the narration. The brethren bear Lancelot's body to Joyous Guard where, according to his last request, he is buried. They keep a vigil at his grave for three nights, after which Sir Lionel appears, grieves with the party and joins their community. A prayer is offered for the soul of Lancelot. This fervent 'boone' is asked in the first person but it is unclear who is speaking:

Sythen on there knees they kneled downe-
Grete sorow it was to se with syght-
'Vnto Ihesu cryste Aske I A boone,
And to hys moder, mary bryght.
lord, As thow madyste bothe sonne and mone,
And god And man arte moste of myght,
Brynge thys sowle vnto thy trone,
And euyr thow Rewdyste on gentyll knyght' (3938-45)

Is this a narratorial intervention? Does an individual knight utter the prayer? Neither is the case. That the utterance needs no ascription is the point the poet labours. A wholly unified perspective is achieved. The prayer is corporate: it embraces the knights, the narrator, the readership or audience.

²⁴*Religious Lyrics of the XIVth Century*, ed. Carleton Brown, 2nd edn rev. G.V. Smithers (Oxford, 1957), no. 123, ll.19-24.

Pious formulae which present God in other devotional modes *do* appear in the Stanzaic *Morte Arthur*. These too contribute to their narrative contexts.²⁵ Yet the consistently apposite use of Passiontide-formulae in scenes of battle, death, lamentation and devotion inevitably emphasises affective images of Christ and points up the suffering common to the protagonists and their redeemer. The poetic and dramatic force of these formulae accrues during a reading of the work; they clearly made an impression upon Malory. It is fitting then, that as the brethren repair to Glastonbury where they bury Guinevere by Arthur's side and commence chantry masses for the souls of the king and queen, invocation is once more made of the 'sore' wounds of Christ:

Off launcelot du lake telle I no more,
 But thus by-leve these ermytes evyn;
 And yit is Arthur beryed thore,
 And quene Gaynour, as I yow nevyn;
 With monkes that ar Ryght of lore.
 They Rede and synge with mylde stevyn:
 'Thesu, that suffred woundes sore,
 Graunt vs All the blysse of hevyn!' (3962-69)

The Passiontide image closes the poem. In such an austere context the tag is powerfully resonant. It evokes, and suggests the supplicants' mindfulness of, the 'woundes sore' of the poem's *dramatis personae*: the slaying of Gaheriet and Gaheries 'Wythe many A doulfell dethes wounde'; the 'wepyng sare' (2244) of battle with its attendant 'woundys wykke and wyde' (3365). Whilst the prayer is ostensibly the utterance of the Glastonbury monks, it also serves as a narratorial ending, closing the work as a literary artefact. Yet there is no obtrusive foregrounding of the narrator to invite a benediction upon an audience and thus no abrupt detachment from the tale.²⁶ This final tag carries a strong

²⁵ Cf. Guinevere's prayer for Lancelot at ll. 1415-18. Creator-tags appear at lines 373, 468, 1387, 2438-39, 2449, 3942; Gawain employs an eschatological tag at l. 2917: 'hym that All thys world shall welde'.

²⁶ The only other example of the same formula in the verse romance corpus occurs in the pious romance *Torrent of Portyngale* (c.1400). Having slain a giant and released his captives, the hero's first adventure closes: 'Thus he covyrd owt of care. / God, that soffryd wonddes sare, / Grante vse wel to sped!' (334-36).

aesthetic charge, sustaining the penitential tone of the poem. It suggests, as Guinevere has realised and as the 'rueful' devotions of the chantry chapel reflected, that the Passiontide contract which promises redemption represents a suffering as keen as that experienced in the world of the poem. With that sobering paradox articulated once more, the poem ends.

The Stanzaic *Morte* exploits the stylistic value of Passiontide-formulae to the fullest extent. Intermittently in *Guy of Warwick*, consistently in the *Morte*, such formulae exert a profound influence. Yet the literary contribution of pious formulae to the romance tradition involves more than the affective use of Passiontide-formulae. The catalogue reflects that a range of formulae are employed in the romances, casting God in a range of devotional modes. Is a distinctive literary use made of any of these? Drawing upon such formulae in a very different way from the *Morte*, a fourteenth-century alliterative romance answers in the affirmative. This poem, filled with incidents of shape-shifting and disguise, makes frequent use of formulae invoking God the Creator. The effects it generates from these tags are markedly different from those attained in the *Morte*. Where the Arthurian poem employs Passiontide-formulae to colour its tale of retreat, *William of Palerne* employs Creator-formulae to tell a tale of reformation.

CHAPTER FIVE
Creator-formulae and God's creatures
in *William of Palerne*

Myn help is of þe lord, þat made heuen & erþe.
(Psalm 119 (Vulgate) *Lay Folks' Prayer Book*, p.20)

God wold nouȝt þat þou were lorne
(*William of Palerne* 4396)

Pious formulae invoking God's plenty are themselves plentiful.¹ Images are summoned in the romances of 'him þat made sonne & mone (*Guy* 1453); 'him that made Adam and Eue' (*Laud Troy Book* 6390); 'hym þat made heuen & helle' (*Octouian Emperor* 140); 'God þat schop mankende' (*Lybeaus Desconus* 522); 'God þat made all thyng' (*Sege of Melayne* 1509) and 'God, that this world made round' (*Laud Troy Book* 981). A breadth of imagery is available in these formulae. Against the broad canvas of creation, minutiae are singled out: the 'God þat made bothe lond & se' (*Laud Troy Book* 13197) also fashioned 'the sturioun' (*Guy of Warwick* 3895). Such Creator-formulae supply an impressive range of imagery to the romances. Investigation of the context of the examples recorded in the catalogue reveals instances of a stylistic exploitation of this fact.

A persuasive introductory example is provided by the pious East meets West romance, *The King of Tars*, the earliest text of which is contained in the Auchinleck collection.² Like *Guy of Warwick* and the Stanzaic *Morte*, the romance again exhibits a prevalent didactic strain. Indeed, the 'naive piety' of the *King of Tars* has been considered as that romance's most striking feature:

... piety seems to have been the author's chief concern, for he scatters religious allusions broadcast throughout the poem, emphasizes the heroine's saintly resignation and fortitude, contrasts the saving power of the Christian Triune God with the false helpless gods of the Saracens, and

¹ See catalogue, section A.

² The poem forms item two in the manuscript, occupying ff.7^{ra} to 13^{vb}, where it appears between 'The Legend of Pope Gregory' and 'The Life of Adam and Eve'.

sets out the articles of Christian faith in what is practically a sermon preached by the princess to her penitent husband.³

The tale, surviving in three manuscripts, tells of the enforced marriage of the Christian daughter of the King of Tars to the Sultan of Damas and the eventual conversion of the latter. As the didactic tale unfolds, some considerable interest is evinced in the apposite use of Creator-formulae, centred upon a key scene: the transformation of the couple's misshapen child to human form by baptism.

The narrative opens with the Sultan's demand for the hand of the princess in marriage.

After his Saracen host has vanquished the Christian King of Tars' forces, she capitulates:

y wil suffre no lenger þrawe
þat Cristen folk be for me slawe⁴ (271-72)

It is required that she forsake her faith; the princess gives the semblance of such apostasy as she accepts the Sultan. The reader's confidence that her conversion is but gestural is subtly fostered by the narrative's drawing of a public / private dichotomy in the behaviour of her parents. Their dignified and reserved composure at her parting—'Her sorwe coupe þai noman kipe' (353)—gives way to an intense grief when they withdraw into private space:

Into chaumber þai went þo.
When þai were togidir boþe to,
þan wakened alle her care. (358-60)

The princess is delivered to the Sultan and passes a sorrowful and lonely first night in her new surroundings. In a dream, she receives assurance of divine aid from a shape-shifter, a black hound anthropomorphised to speak 'In white cloþes, als a kniȝt' (451):

& seyð to hir, 'Mi swete wiȝt,
No þarf þe noþing drede,

³ Laura A. Hibbard, *Mediaeval Romance in England* (Oxford, 1924), p.47.

⁴ *The King of Tars*, ed. Judith Perryman (Heidelberg, 1980), ll.271-72. All quotations will be drawn from this edition.

Of teruagaunt no of Mahoun.
 þi lord þat suffred passioun⁵
 Schal help þe at þi nede. (452-56)

Next morning, the Sultan demands a formal profession of the princess' conversion, threatening the deaths of her parents should she refuse. Employing the first of the poem's Creator-tags, she gives her apparent assent:

To Mahoun ichil me take,
 & Iesu Crist, mi Lord, forsake,
 þat made Adam & Eue.⁶ (487-89)

The princess compasses Christ with the possessive pronoun in her statement. Reflecting attachment to 'mi Lord', might render her forsaking of Him doubtful to a fastidious listener but the Sultan is nevertheless 'glad and bliþe' at the news. As the princess is ostensibly inducted into a new religion her observances are marked by attendance to their letter only, not their spirit:

& þei sche al þe lawes couþe,
 & seyð hem openliche wiþ hir mouþe,
 Ihesu forʒat sche nouʒt. (505-7)

Like her parents before her, the princess' public image is quite at odds with her private feeling. Employing a deft poetic shorthand, the poem's insistence that not all the splendour of the orient could seduce the princess away from her faith is metonymically rendered in terms of minstrelsy:

Wher þat sche was, bi norþe or souþe,
 No minstral wiþ harp no crouþe
 No miʒt chaunge hir þouʒt. (508-10)

Isolated, the princess appeals to her creator:

To Ihesu sche made hir mon,
 þat alle þis world haþ wrouʒt (515-16)

⁵For six other examples of this formula see catalogue, section E1.

⁶Further examples of the 'Adam and Eve' doublet appear in the catalogue, section A2.

However, the marriage goes ahead. Her plight worsens with the conception of a child, a cause of anxiety to the princess:

þerwhile sche was wiþ child, apliȝt,
 Sche bad to Ihesu ful of miȝt
 Fram schame he schuld hir schilde. (571-73)

The child is born misshapen. It lacks limbs and features:

For it hadde noiþer nose no eye,
 Bot lay ded as þe ston (584-85)

Faced with the child, the Sultan is quick to blame his wife for the deformity, recognising that her professions of Islamic faith are without sincerity. Freed from pretence, the princess exhibits an authoritative tone in her rebuttal. She also adopts a powerfully apposite Christian invocation:

Leue sir, lat be þat þouȝt.
 þe child was ȝeten bitven ous to;
 For þi bileue it farþ so
 Bi him þat ous haþ wrouȝt. (603-6)

This third Creator-formula of the poem is profoundly suggestive in context. As a pious Christian utterance in a pious Christian romance it inevitably validates and underlines the authority of the princess' statement. Yet as a specifically Creator-evocative formula, its validatory effect is further increased by the dovetailing of doctrinal relevance with poetic appositeness. The slight variation of the formula in the Vernon and Simeon manuscripts to 'Bi him that *me* hath wrouht' (emphasis mine) highlights, by its slightly diminished appropriateness, the semantic effect of the Auchinleck formula. For use of the first person *plural* pronoun in Auchinleck brings the broadest of perspectives to bear upon the situation. It contextualises both Sultan and child within the faith which will (quite literally) transform them.

The princess invites the Sultan to call upon his gods to transform the child. She brings a further pressure to bear upon the moment by promising:

ʒif Mahoun & Iouin can
 Make it fourmed after a man
 Wip liif & limes ariʒt,
 Bi Ihesu Crist, ʔat ʔis world wan,
 Y schal leue ʔe better ʔan
 ʔat ʔai ar ful of miʒt.⁷
(613-18)

The Sultan vainly pleads with his gods to effect the transformation. Cursing and reviling them, he is subject to the romance tradition's extremes of stereotyping as he destroys his pagan images in petulant and ungovernable rage. He returns the child to his wife, saying, 'Mine godes no may help me nouʒt / ʔe deuel hem sett afere!' (671-72). The princess recognises her cue. With apposite use of a Creator-formula, she states:

Bi Ihesu Crist, ʔat made man
 Now ichil ʒou teche.
 Now ʔou hast proued god ʔine
 ʒif me leue to asay mine,
 Wheʔer is better leche.
 (679-81)

The stage is thus set for a Christian miracle by a God who, as the narrative's pious formulae have now four times reminded us, is manifest to His creatures in His role as Creator.

Curiously, where the Auchinleck text provides the most suggestive reading in the Princess' first Creator-tag—'For ʔi bileue it farʔ so / Bi him ʔat ous haʔ wrouʒt' (603-6)—it is the Vernon and Simeon texts which furnish one further Creator-formula upon the scene where Auchinleck has none. The Sultan, in turn, professes that his immediate conversion to Christ will attend a successful metamorphosis:

⁷ No stylistic effect of appositeness appears to be aimed at in this use of a formula invoking the redemption at line 616. However, the substitution at line 701 of Auchinleck 'him, ʔat ʔis world wan' for 'him that this world bigan' in the Vernon and Simeon MSS raises the possibility that a text predating Auchinleck might have included such a Creator-formula in this position.

Alle mi godes ichil forsake,
 & to Ihesu, þi Lord, me take,
 As ich am gentil kniȝt (694-96)

The diction chosen casts him already as a courtly figure and augurs well for a successful outcome. He is not so very irreconcilable with martial Christendom. Delighted by the pledge, the princess in Auchinleck thanks ‘him þat þis world wan’ (701) but in Vernon and Simeon, more suggestively, ‘him that this world *bigan*’ (675, emphasis mine). Again, that the princess’ god is eminently fitted to take interest in a vindicating miracle involving the metamorphosis of one of His creatures, is subtly restated by the Creator-formula.

Beyond this passage, wherein the deployment of Creator-formulae suggests stylistic self-consciousness, no further such formulae occur in the text. The child is christened and duly transformed to human shape but the episode is narrated without further use of formulae evoking the Creation. Indeed, the poem’s pious emphasis now falls upon the princess’ instruction of her husband in the articles of the Christian faith. This occasions more talk of the Triune nature of God, of the Incarnation, Nativity and Passion than of the Creation. Ensuing formulae invoking these attributes continue to reflect relevance to the poem’s didactic import, but less of the appropriateness to narrative context evinced in the misshapen child episode is evident. Yet in that episode we have a powerful example of the apposite use of formulae invoking the creation. Powerful stylistic effects are achieved by the use of Creator-formulae in a context treating re-creation and reformation.

In *William of Palerne*, preserved only in King’s College Cambridge MS No. 13., we encounter an extension of this approach as an apposite use of Creator-formulae is exhibited not merely locally but consistently.⁸ In this mid fourteenth-century alliterative

⁸ All quotations will be drawn from *William of Palerne: an alliterative romance*, ed. G.H.V. Bunt (Gronigen, 1985).

translation of the French *Guillaume de Palerne*, Creator-formulae are deployed with clear regard not only to immediate narrative context but to the broad themes of the poem.

Where in the *Morte* the accretion of Passiontide-formulae fostered pathos in the unfolding of the narrative and wistfulness in its attendant tone, the Creator-tags of *William*, focusing on God the Father, iterate a signally different image of the deity. Such deployment again implies a degree of literary sophistication behind the poem, one partially detected in previous critical studies:

In artistic quality it is considerably above the average romance; the narrative is conducted circumstantially, the characters are well developed, the author writes his own experience of life into his descriptions, and he uses a good, plain style of the alliterative long line with a freedom and skill that increase as he goes on.⁹

Likewise, the poet's subtle changes from the French source have led one commentator to write of 'the conscious artistic judgement that must have led to the rearranging of individual scenes, the condensing of lengthy descriptions and the dramatising of several passages of dialogue'.¹⁰ More recently, attention to elements of linguistic play in the poem have prompted the conclusion that the poet 'was not so naive or limited in his poetic skills as some critics would have him'.¹¹ Accordingly, the present reading of the poem will reveal that pious formulae are deployed with artistic skill in the romance. Drama, humour, and pathos are generated by the apposite use of Creator-formulae in *William of Palerne*.

William offers an extended, playful rendering of the 'male-Cinderella' motif, made vivid by an 'exotic setting'; made appealing by 'folk-tale optimism'.¹² The story turns upon the attainment, or recovery, of the hero's noble status but this is by no means the only

⁹ George Kane, *Middle English Literature* (London, 1951), p.51.

¹⁰ Dieter Mehl, *The Middle English Romances of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (London, 1968), p.247. A detailed comparison of the English and French poems is made by Max Kaluza, 'Das mittelenglische Gedicht William of Palerne und seine französische Quelle', *ES* 4 (1881), 197-287.

¹¹ Erik Kooper, 'Grace: The Healing Herb in *William of Palerne*', *LSE* n.s. 15 (1984), 83-93 (p.84).

¹² W.R.J. Barron, *English Medieval Romance* (London and New York, 1987), p.197.

transformation of the poem. A prince is changed into a werewolf and restored to human form, his lupine protection of the hero linking the savage with salvation; animal disguises are adopted; political alignments are redrawn as fortunes are reshaped. It is striking, then, that against this thematic backdrop a string of vivid Creator-formulae appear:

Crist þat þe made	(987)
god þat me gaf þe gost and þe saule	(992)
God, þat madest man and al middelerþe	(1004)
He þat made man	(1433)
God, þat me gaf þe gost and þe soule	(1559)
God þat me made	(1743)
God þat me made	(2001)
grete God þat gart me be fourmed	(2082)
God þat me gaf þe gost and þe soule	(2120)
God þat gart me be fourmed	(2168)
þe Lord þat let 3ou be fourmed	(2675)
for Goddes love þat gart þe be fourmed	(2793)
for his love þat let us be fourmed	(3007)
Crist... þat al mankinde schaped	(3120)
him þat us wrou3t	(3133)
Crist þat me made	(3148)
þat menskful Lord þat us alle made	(3164)
God, þat me gaf þe gost and þe soule	(3386)
God þat me fourmed	(3984)
him þat us wrou3t	(4129)
God þat us wrou3t	(4366)
for his loue þat mad man	(4403)
God... þat gart me be fourmed	(4468)
Crist þat me wrou3t	(4624)
God.. þat gart me be fourmed	(4749)
God þat us wrou3t	(5420)

The formulae appear fairly evenly across the text, sustaining this dominant devotional image throughout the poem. Similar, though fewer, formulae are found in the French source (composed in four stress couplets) but the most immediate affinities the English formulae reflect are with tags employed elsewhere in alliterative verse.¹³ In the *Gest Historiale of the Destruction of Troy*, for example, we hear of 'þe fader' who 'first

¹³ The source, *Guillaume de Palerne*, ed. H. Michelant (Paris, 1876), includes invocations of 'Dieu... qui fist nos tos' (430); 'Dix qui fist le mont' (1866); 'Diex, qui formas le premier home' (3182) and such periphrases as 'le roi qui fist le mont' (7275).

fourmyt all thinge' (4395) and later 'þe lord þat the light made' (4412). In the alliterative *Morte Arthure*, Creator-formulae include 'Creatore, þat comfurthes vs all' (2196) whilst *Alexander and Dindimus* invokes 'him þat lente hem hur lif · & hur limus made' (412-13)¹⁴ and 'God, þat alle gomus schop · & alle gode þingus' (996). In *William*, the deployment of these formulae in a series of key episodes generates rich stylistic effects. In the lovers' betrothal, elopement and elaborate disguise in animal skins, apposite usage creates pathos, humour and irony. In the series of transformations with which the work concludes—the metamorphosis of the werewolf, the recovery of William's patrimony, the reconciliation of enemies—usage reflects a more profound thematic function.

The first of these key scenes, the betrothal between William, ward of the Roman Emperor, and Melior the Emperor's daughter, is somewhat stage-managed by Melior's cousin, Alisaundrine. Aware of their mutual love, she arranges the couple's felicitous meeting in a *locus amoenus*. In this exotic setting, Melior establishes the context for the poem's first Creator-formula when she prays:

A! gracious God, grettest of us alle!
tak hede to þin hondwerk, and help now us tweyne! (928-29)

The characterisation of God conveyed by these lines soon emerges as the dominant devotional image of the text. Melior's prayer strikes the keynote for the poem's apprehension of the deity: God is not so very remote here that He may not be compassed by the superlative as 'grettest of us alle!' As Creator, His creatures constantly turn to Him for continued intervention in shaping the destinies of His 'hondwerk'. Set in place by Melior's lines, this image of God is sustained by the first Creator-formula of the poem. A

¹⁴ Cf. *Ywain and Gawain*, l.3483: 'For his luf þat lens us life'.

half-line tag appears as Alisaundrine counsels Melior to put William out of his love-longing:

þerfore, comeliche creature, for Crist þat þe made,¹⁵
 les nouȝt is liif ȝut for a litel wille;
 seþþe he so lelly þe loves, to lemman him þou take! (987-89)

The response of the ‘comeliche creature’ faintly suggests her awareness of the more hyperbolic aspect of courtly language. It also contains a vivid Creator-formula which compasses God within the same devotional image:

þan Meliors ful mekeliche to þat mayde carped,
 and seide ful soburli, smyland a litel,
 ‘Nou, bi *God þat me gaf þe gost and þe saule*,¹⁶
 I kepe ȝut for no creature manquellere be clepud;
 ac lever me were lelly a manes lif to save!’
 (990-94, Emphasis mine)

When William and Melior’s mutual love is declared, a third formula appears. William makes a prayer of thanks to God, again casting Him as Creator. The invocation is strikingly apposite: for William detects God’s continued intercession in the fortunes of His creatures:

God, þat madest man and al middelerþe,
 a miȝti miracle for me hastow wrouȝt noþe! (1004-5)

The intimacy of tone adopted in the thanksgiving is striking. Functionally, neither William nor Melior lack a counsellor nor a direct agent to thank for the initiation of their relationship—Alisaundrine answers to both rôles. However, their respective prayers in this scene make patent a conception of God as counsellor or confidante, accessible and at work within the physical and emotional landscape which the noble lovers inhabit.

¹⁵ For two similar invocations from the romances see catalogue, section A15.

¹⁶ For other formulae with ‘gost’ see catalogue, section A25.

It is when a threatened separation between the lovers looms that Creator-formulae are drawn upon once more. Again a congenial context is carefully and precisely established. When an arranged marriage between Melior and the heir to the Greek empire is formalised, William declares he will surely die. Melior responds:

Lemman, leve þou for soþe,
 alle man upon molde no schuld my liif save,
 ʒif þou wendest of þis world, þat I ne wende after! (1553-55)

Like Desdemona protesting she could never be prompted to infidelity—‘Beshrew me, if I would do such a wrong / For the whole world’¹⁷—the created world, or ‘molde’, here functions as more than a counter in a hyperbolic figure of speech. No man upon ‘molde’ could succour a bereaved Melior for her ‘world’, its parameters and features, is reified in precisely the love relationship that makes ‘the world’ meaningful for her. This is the poignant context into which is drawn another Creator-tag:

þouʒh mi fader folliche have forwardes maked,
 wenestow þat I wold his wille now parfourme?
 Nay, *bi God*, þat me gaf þe gost and þe soule,
 al þat travaile he has tynt, what-ever tyde after!
 For þere nis man upon molde þat ever schal me have
 but ʒe, lordliche lemman, leve me for trewe.
(1558-62, Emphasis mine)

The affective power the tag lends to the profession is matched by a surprisingly strong ironic charge when Creator-formulae recur in the ensuing episode: the lovers’ elopement. The trusty Alisaundrine proposes that the couple escape the court disguised in white bearskins stolen from the kitchens. The colourful plan is duly adopted and the plot thus furnished with a rich comic element. Indeed, hereafter the protagonists are to spend a good deal of their time disguised; their masquerade as bears will be succeeded by a

¹⁷ *Othello*, ed. Kenneth Muir (Suffolk, 1968), IV.iii, ll.77-78.

disguise as a hart and a hind. It is this aspect of the narrative that has occasioned a certain amount of pejorative criticism.

The greatest fault of *William of Palerne* is that one of the main circumstances of the story, the disguise of the bearskins assumed by William and Meliors in their flight, is an offence against simple physical probability so outrageous that by comparison with it even the benevolent werewolf who has so much to do with the development of the plot seems credible and acceptable.¹⁸

The objection to this criticism, that naturalistic criteria are not best placed to expound the merits of the romance, must be tempered by the fact that the disguises of the animal skins *are* foregrounded in the narrative by a certain ironic treatment. Pious formulae invoking the creator here play a crucial role. They act as ironic pointers to the context of disguise. The adoption of the bearskins provides the first example. Here, the mechanics of disguising the lovers engage the humour of the poet and occasion a cluster of Creator-formulae. Enscenced in her feral outfit, Melior asks Alisaundrine what kind of figure she presents, ‘Am I nouȝt a bold best, a bere wel to seme?’ (1729) The latter responds:

I nold for al þe god þat ever God made
abide ȝou in a brod weie bi a large mile,
so breme a bere ȝe biseme nowþe. (1731-33)

Already, Alisaundrine’s invocation of all creation reflects upon the situation at hand. But the ironic effect is still keener as Melior then draws attention to her own created form when an ursine William asks how *he* appears:

‘Bi Marie, sire,’ seide Meliors, ‘þe milde quen of hevene,
so breme a bere ȝe beseme a burn on to loke,
þat icham agrise, *bi God þat me made*,
to se so hidous a siȝt of youre semli face!’
(1741-44, Emphasis mine)

The droll invocation of ‘God þat me made’ serves as an ironic pointer to the context of disguise. It foregrounds how the ‘semli’ is concealed within the seeming: ‘so breme a bere

¹⁸ George Kane, *Middle English Literature* (London, 1951), p.51.

ʒe *beseme*' (emphasis mine). The Creator-tag has no equivalent at this point in the French source.¹⁹ Its inclusion here, and the fact that it should issue from a courtly lady disguised as a bear, suggests narratorial awareness of the more ludicrous aspects of the situation.

Further stylistic effects are generated from Creator-formulae in the transitional section of the poem. As the lovers elope in their disguises, the poem's focus now divides between the pastoral setting of their adventures between Rome and Palermo and the court of the Roman Emperor. Yet it is not the poet's concern to draw a sustained court / pastoral antithesis with the latter monopolising positive values: William is to return to substantiate and validate the patriarchal state he has quitted after all. To downplay such a polarity, the poet draws upon pious formulae, using them, again ironically, to imply fraternity between ostensible enemies. The Roman and Greek Emperors, while briefly vexed at the flight of the lovers and the thwarting of a politic marriage, are contextualised within the benevolent and reconciliatory Christian world view of the poem.²⁰ Both patriarchs express antipathy to the lovers, yet their language, by including invocations to God the creator, implicitly aligns their perspective with that of their apparent foes. Thus the 'gode emperour of Grece' inadvertently implies his own ultimate fellowship with the lovers when he exonerates the Roman Emperor from suspicion of collusion in their elopement:

Sire, be God þat me gaf þe gost and þe soule,
 wist I now witerli þis were wrouȝt for gile,
 alle þe men upon mold no schuld make it oþer,
 þat I nold brenne þi borwes and þi burnes quelle,
 and sece neuer til þiself were chamly destroyed;
 but I wene wiþ þi wille was neuer wrouȝt þis gile (2120-25)

¹⁹ *Guillaume de Palerne*, ll.3098-99.

²⁰ A political context is conspicuous in the poem. Lee C. Ramsay writes: 'William of Palerne is a political romance, and family ties, which are elsewhere models for broader social relationships, here take on a decidedly political significance.' *Chivalric Romances: Popular Literature in Medieval England* (Bloomington, 1983), p.123.

The Creator-tag, cognate with those used with benevolent intent elsewhere in the poem, offsets the invidious intent expressed. It reflects that outside the immediate political context the lovers and the Greek Emperor need not ultimately be enemies. They share a coherently evoked Christian perspective; they are reconcilable within the terms of the narrative. The effect is sustained by a second tag employed by the Emperor when, learning of the curious spectacle of two white bears lumbering their way out of the palace grounds, he identifies the means of William's escape:

‘Be god,’ quap þemperour of Grece, ‘þat gart me be fourmed,
I der leye mi lif hit was þe liþer treytour
went away in þat wise for he ne wold be knowen!’ (2168-70)

Once again the import may be antagonistic, but the Emperor's promissory oath reflects a devotional consciousness shared with this ‘liþer treytour’. The formula suggests the potential for the reconciliation of foes, the possibility of a harmonious outcome. This subtle use of pious formulae will be sustained in episodes to follow.

Meanwhile, the trials of William and Melior as they evade pursuit and seek shelter are tempered by a providential emphasis. Constant allusions to providence supplement the poem's use of pious formulae in figuring a dominant conception of a benign creator overseeing the world of the poem. When the lovers find shelter, for example, they thank

God of þat hap fallen,
þat had hem diȝt swiche a den dernly on to rest (1798-99)

Entreating more of the same such guardianship, William draws upon one of the poem's twenty Passiontide-formulae in appealing:

He þat was in Bedleem borne and bouȝt us on þe rode
Schilde us fram schenchip and schame in þis erþe,
and wisse us in what wise to winne us sum mete. (1802-4)

When a kindly werewolf brings them food in answer to this prayer, his providential role is accordingly emphasised:

þe werwolf, as God wold, wist alle here happes
and þe fortune þat wold falle fo here dedes after (1840-41)

Thus tended by a usually aggressive beast, William exclaims:

loo, whiche a gret grace God hap us schewed!
He wot wel of our werk, and wel is apaiȝed,
þat he sendeþ þus his sond to socour us atte nede,
so wonder a wilde best, þat weldes no mynde. (1870-73)

Again, when the werewolf shows he has mind enough to save the lovers from capture by a provost and his men, we are told:

But godli, as God wold, swiche grace bitidde,
þe werwolf was war and wist of here tene (2368-69)

Finally, as the couple adopt a new disguise in the skins of a hart and a hind, their safe passage ‘over dales and helles’ (2342) is once more ascribed to providence (2475; 2494).

This providential strain contributes greatly to the increased thematic resonance of pious formulae as the poem progresses; the creator does indeed take heed of His ‘hondwerk’ (929). That resonance, developed to poignant effect in the poem’s latter half, is detectable in the fine comic scene which constitutes the narrative watershed: William’s meeting with his mother.

Leaving the ‘buxum bestes’ to complete their voyage, a formula of transition directs our attention to Palermo and to ‘þe curteys quen þat in þe castel lenged’ (2855). William’s widowed mother, Queen Felice, is besieged by the King of Spain. A proposed marriage between the Spanish heir and Felice’s daughter (William’s sister) has been refused by the queen, hence the siege. She appeals to Christ for aid and, on the night upon which the

disguised lovers enter Palermo and hide in a park close by her castle, she experiences a prophetic dream:

an hundered þousand were hire aboute
of lebardes and beres and alle bestes bouthe number (2873-74)

The beasts are put to flight by two white bears and a werewolf. The scheme of imagery in play in the dream says much about the poem's emphasis upon a nature not red in tooth in claw but ultimately benign and nurturing. For just as the werewolf shows himself kindly, so the beasts with which Felice is beset are 'grimli' and 'breme' only inasmuch as they figure human beings. Not that those same humans are incorrigible; it is the King of Spain's attachment to a cause which oppresses the queen, rather than any innate ill-will, which earns him figuration in the dream as bestial.

When the queen becomes aware of the conspicuous 'beasts' dwelling in her park, a fine comic episode, making ironic use of Creator-formulae, ensues. Her priest identifies the 'hart' and 'hind' as William and Melior of Rome, the colourful narrative of their escape having preceded them to Palermo. With uncertain regality, Queen Felice resolves to disguise herself as a hind and enlist William in her aid. Disguised, she ventures out into the park, stows herself behind a bush and overhears the conversation of the lovers. Melior notices the 'huge hinde', commenting that surely the beast sleeps or would be frightened of its strange neighbours. William disagrees:

it weneþ þat we ben riȝt swiche as itselwe,
for we be so sotiliche besewed in þise hides.
But wist it wisli whiche bestes we were,
it wold fle our felaschip for fere ful sone. (3116-19)

Thus with William satisfied of their perfect disguise and acceptance by another hind, the queen breaks her silence. Enjoying the knowledge of their true nature and kind, the

queen's pregnant address to them is made the more ironic and comic by her canny use of a Creator-tag:

'Nay, bi Crist,' sede þe quen, 'þat al mankinde schaped,
I nel fle ful fer for fere of ʒouʒ tweyne!
I wot wel what ʒe ar and whennes ʒe come;
al þe kas wel I knowe þat ʒe arn komen inne. (3120-23)

Their discourse is made possible only by Felice's having adopted the same elaborate disguise as the lovers. The queen's use of this Creator-tag foregrounds the forms—both disguised and natural—of the interlocutors. The ironic effect of her formula is thrown into relief by William's use of a Passiontide-tag. He concludes, rather incongruously given his own disguise, that a hind manifesting the gift of speech must surely be some fiend:

I conjure þe þurth Crist, þat on croice was peyned,
þatou titli me telle, and tarie nouʒ no lenger,
wheþer þow be a god gost, in Goddis name þat spekist,
oþer any foule fend fourmed in þise wise,
and ʒif we schul of þe hent harme oþer gode'. (3126-29)

A reasonable challenge from one who has no experience of speaking hinds; a somewhat comic one from the disguised William. The poet's delicate humour is subtle enough, and his hero well-characterised enough, for the comic pressure of the moment to afford some laughter at William's expense. The comic effect is sustained by a further tag as the queen responds to the conjuration. Indicating the full knowledge particular to Felice alone, endowing the scene with a rich dramatic irony, the Creator-tag is an ironic pointer to the context of disguise:

þan þat comli quen ful curtesli saide,
'I am swiche a best as ʒe ben, *bi him þat us wrouȝt*'
(3132-33, Emphasis mine)

The queen's use of the formula to assert their common 'kind' 'throws light on a situation whose comical side was evidently relished by the author'.²¹ But the effect is thematic

²¹ Dieter Mehl, *The Middle English Romances of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*. p.250.

also. The queen's ensuing lines serve to expound the thematic relevance of the poem's iteration of Creator-formulae. Sustaining the metaphorical scheme set up in her dream, and evincing regality in her use of the first person plural, she tells the lovers:

Of swiche kinde ar we kome, bi crist, as ȝe arn;
but oþer breme bestes by maistrye and strengþe
han me dulfulli driven fro my kinde lese. (3136-38)

Again, the beasts are 'breme' only in that they allude to those human beings who now oppress Felice. Her adherence to the metaphorical scheme of her dream implicitly restates the poem's location of the 'savage' and bestial not in uncolonised landscapes holding hidden terrors, not in demonic 'others', pagans, witches, not in werewolves and 'wodwos' but in those misguided but not incorrigible politicians who momentarily threaten the protagonists and their sphere. Against such an oppressor, the King of Spain, Felice seeks the martial aid of William. She assures the couple that she knows of their own plight and emphasises that in Palermo, at least, they may be sure of safe harbour. In welcoming them, the queen again makes apposite use of a Creator-formula, now less as an ironic pointer of her knowledge of disguised identity than as a frank indicator of the humanity to which all present in fact belong:

I know all þe covyne, of cuntre how ȝe went;
and ȝe ben welcom to me, bi Crist þat me made. (3147-48)

While recognition of the kinship between William and the queen does not take place in this scene, it is deferred to the grand set piece of reconciliations at the romance's conclusion, the meeting serves to unite political allies. William vows to help the besieged queen against the King of Spain. His pledge is made, of course, with use of a Creator-tag:

Madame, by þat menskful Lord þat us alle made,
ȝif I þis time miȝt trust treuli to ȝour sawe,
.....
al my help holliche ȝe schul have at nede. (3164-68)

This scene, then, vital as the turning point in the hero's fortunes and in the narrative's move from retreat, separation and hardship, to progress, reunion and good fortune, makes three stylistic uses of formulae invoking God as creator. First, the tags pregnantly employed by Queen Felice bring dramatic irony and comedy to the sylvan meeting of elaborately disguised allies. Second, the adoption of formulae invoking the creator by the disguised lovers themselves serves to emphasise the shared devotional consciousness of their characters, their contextualisation within a spiritual ordinance benign and operative for the good all around them. Finally, the formulae, by foregrounding both the *disguised* form and the *created* form of each interlocutor, points up the poem's inclusive apprehension of the nature of all God's creatures in this romance landscape. Affection, devotion and loyalty are traits perhaps not exclusive to man. The 'bestial' may be recuperated, the 'savage' may in fact be educative for the 'civilised'. There is comedy, certainly, but also a certain congeniality, in man masquerading as beast.

In the final movement of the poem, charting the recovery of William's high birth, Creator-formulae are pressed into a profound thematic function. The image they iterate, of a benign, proactive creator, supports the 'folk-tale optimism' of the poem.²² The strong providential emphasis, evident from the earliest stages of the poem, deepens this effect. When, for example, the child William is first taken from his cowherd foster-father by the Emperor of Rome, the cowherd exclaims of his ward, 'God lene him grace to god man to worpe!' (327). Likewise, Melior, in her early, love-struck monologue on the tension between head and heart, commits the outcome of her love-longing to God. Adapting the motif of the rudderless ship, she is confident, despite the emotional turmoil that besets her, of preservation by a good pilot:

²² W.R.J. Barron, *English Medieval Romance*, p.197.

I sayle now in þe see as schip bouthe mast,
 bouthe anker or ore or ani semlyche sayle;
 but heiȝh hevene king to gode havene me sende,
 oþer laske mi liif-daywes wiþinne a litel terme! (567-70)

Again, in the battle against the Saxons in which William's prowess is proven, the preservation of the Roman Emperor and his host is likewise ascribed to providence. They return home 'a[s] Crist wold, al saf' (1333). As we have seen, during the lovers' elopement the link between this providential conception and an apprehension of a benign creator has been developed. After narrowly escaping capture in the forest, Melior tells William:

greve þe nouȝt, for Goddes love þat gart þe be fourmed,
 þat we so scaþli ar aschaped. God mowe [we] þonk,
 and oure worþi werwolf; þat wel him bytyde! (2792-94)

This providential strain brings an added weight to the Creator-formulae. These now proliferate, their associative value increasing, as a series of transformations conclude the poem.

The first such transformation is the metamorphosis of the devoted werewolf from wild beast to Alphouns, Prince of Spain. Here, Creator-formulae, as before, serve to support local narrative effects of humour and pathos. Now, however, their thematic resonance is profound. They serve to signpost not only the narrative emphases of individual episodes but of the poem at large. The transformation scene opens as William, shining in the service of Queen Felice, his still unrecognised mother, and now fighting the Spaniards with the symbol of a werewolf emblazoned on his shield, captures the King of Spain. In accord with the poem's concern ultimately to sketch a benevolent, self-regulating patriarchy, the captured king, brought before the court, behaves in an exemplary manner. He is immediately penitent. He calls himself and his son to account for having pressed an

unjust cause against Queen Felice in attempting to seize the hand of her daughter in marriage:

And soþli, as sone as he com, þe king seide him tille,
 ‘Lo, sone, wiche sorwe we have us selve wrouȝt;
 þurh oure hautene hertes a gret harm we gete,
 to willne swiche willenyng þat wol nouȝt asente. (3981-83)

A political reading of the poem might seek to privilege the pragmatic implication of the captured king’s sudden penitence but the tone of the speech argues differently as the king utters a pious Creator-formula and draws a *sententia* from his experience:

It is a botles bale, *bi God þat me fourmed*,
 t[o] willne after a wif þat is awaywarde evere! (3984-85, Emphasis mine)

As earlier uses of Creator-formulae have marked transformation, here they mark reformation. Like the Emperor of Greece before him, the king, by drawing upon a Creator-formula, unwittingly reflects his contextualisation within a world view encompassing both himself and his past enemies. The immediate political context that threatened conflict has been dissolved and disowned. The King of Spain, already allied by devotional idiom with his captors, is not so very far from reconciliation with the same.

It is before an already partially rehabilitated king, then, that the werewolf falls prostrate in Queen Felice’s court. After this mark of respect, the creature quits the chamber. The only real ‘savagery’, and the only use of the adjective ‘savage’ in the entire poem, follows as courtiers evocative of those disposed to kick the Green Knight’s severed head, move to attack the werewolf:

But sone savage men þat seten in þe halle
 henten hastili in honde what þei have miȝt,
 summe axes, summe swerdes, some speres long,
 to wende him after wiȝtli to quelle. (4022-25)

How better for the faithful William to forbid an assault upon this loyal creature than by swearing retribution upon a potential huntsman by all creation:

But wan William þat wist, wodli he ferde,
 and swor swiftli his [oþ] bi al þat God wrouȝt,
 ȝif any burn were so bold þat best forto greve,
 were he kniȝt oþer clerk, knave oþer kempe,
 he wold deliverli himself do him to þe dethe, (4026-30)

Meanwhile, the King of Spain, 'kast in gret þouȝt' by the respectful behaviour of the werewolf, tells at the prompting of William, how mystery surrounds the fate of his first son, Alphouns. The king's second marriage produced a second son. Alphouns' stepmother sought to establish this second son in the Spanish succession. She had told the king that Alphouns met his death at sea but legend has it that by charms and enchantments she in fact transformed Alphouns into a werewolf. The king had often challenged his wife about this but she would protest 'þat it was fanteme and fals and for hate saide' (4109). Indeed, she was prepared to forswear herself, the mode of invocation employed telling against her and evoking the providential scheme that will prove her bad faith to be just that:

and swor grimli gret oþes bi al þat God wrouȝt,
 þat mi semli sone was in þe see sonken,
 as he passed out to pleie priveli him one. (4110-12)

The enchantress stepmother here appears as the strongest candidate for exclusion from the poem's optimistic world view, one which implies the ultimate benevolence of human nature. However, her Creator-oath, although sworn in bad faith, suggests otherwise. Again, it implicitly aligns her with the other characters. The shared devotional idiom suggests the reconciliation of antagonisms. God having directed so much of the action, her oath only presages how this particular intrigue will also be resolved.

William, prompted by the King of Spain's narrative to identify the werewolf as Alphouns, exclaims:

bliþe ouȝt ȝe [be], be him þat us wrouȝt,
 þat he þus happili is here þat haþ so lang be missed (4129-30)

The Creator-formula is powerfully apposite, the matter in hand now being how the enforced metamorphosis may be reversed:

And ȝif he miȝt in maner be maked man aȝeine,
of al þe welþe of þe world wilned I no more (4131-32)

We have returned to a conception of the ‘world’ as something apprehended and figured in terms of a personal sensibility which must deem the world as ordered, just and equitable. It is a microcosmic conception which, constantly foregrounded in the poem, enables the good or ill fortunes of the protagonists to colour utterly the perceptions of the reader.

The Creator-formulae of the scene function both locally and thematically. In the first instance, they inform the immediate context wherein the possibility of reversing the metamorphosis is entertained. In the second, by evoking the myriad cognate formulae of the poem, they signal the comfortable accommodation of all God’s creatures within a providential ordinance. They suggests that a reverse metamorphosis is indeed possible: *homo ferox* may emerge as *homo civilis*. The ‘bestial’ may be recuperated, a meaningful creation may dissolve distinctions of class, culture and kind.

The enchantress queen is sent for. She arrives with ceremony and is cordially received. Yet should she refuse to reverse the metamorphosis, extreme punishment is threatened. Again signposting the context of utterance, William, in making the threat, draws upon yet another Creator-formula. He says to an agitated Alphouns, the werewolf, that he sent for the queen himself to effect his restoration to human form:

And sche has brouȝt now þi bote, bi Crist, as I hope,
and but sche have, be riȝt siker, be God þat us wrouȝt,
to cold coles sche schal be brent ȝit or come eve;
and þe aschis of hire body with þe winde weve (4365-68)

As with the penitence of the King of Spain, the ensuing behaviour of the enchantress stepmother might be deemed politic. In fact, in confessing the extent of her ill intent

towards Alphouns and her penitence, the full weight of the poem's providential optimism falls behind her as she poignantly states that she did indeed plot Alphoun's death, 'but God wold nouȝt þat þou were lorne' (4396). The humility of that recognition and the deference it implies rather provoke sympathy for the enchantress as she entreats forgiveness once more, again making apposite use of a Creator-formula, 'for his love þat mad man, forgive me þis gelt' (4403). The mute werewolf can hardly articulate forgiveness. But for the audience of the poem, her Creator-tag, evocative of a perspective within which the sinful may be deemed weak rather than incorrigible creatures, implies she need not despair of it.

The enchantress and Alphouns retreat to a chamber where the metamorphosis is reversed. The narrator asserts that only William surpassed the handsome graces of this reformed prince. After a humorous interchange in which Alphouns becomes conscious of his nakedness, the enchantress stepmother asks the prince of whom he will take his attire as a knight, expecting the Spanish king to be named. Alphouns' response, his first utterance in the poem, spoken in the context of metamorphosis from werewolf to human being, involves a vow which can only draw upon a Creator-formula:

'Nay, bi God,' quap Alphuns, 'þat gart me be fourmed,
it is þat ilk kud kniȝt þat ȝe alle knowe,
þat delivered þe of þe deth þis day of miselve.' (4468-70)

Indeed, Alphouns now exhibits a fondness for adverting to his created human form. When the crucial detail emerges that present in the persons of Queen Felice and her daughter are William's mother and sister, Alphouns tells the former, 'þis comli kniȝt is þi sone, bi Crist þat me wrouȝt' (4624).

Alphouns relates the whole of William's story. He reveals his true lineage as the son of King Ebrouns and thus his high-birth and fitness for marriage to Melior and his kinship with Queen Felice and her daughter. This retrospective narrative concluded, the pull of romance towards reconciliation and union occasions the first of a string of reunions and marriage proposals. When Alphouns asks for the hand of William's sister, mindfulness of a benign creator is again reflected as William assents, offering riches also:

‘Bi God, sire,’ seide William, ‘þat gart me be fourmed,
þow schalt [have] hire at þin hest, and with hire al my reaume’ (4749-50)

Alphouns accepts the bride but not the booty, perhaps recognising that diverted patrimony has answered for enough vicissitudes for one romance already.

Adherence to Creator-formulae is not exclusive in the series of emotive set-pieces which closes the poem. Two formulae invoking the redemption appear, the first in the ineffability topos employed in the description of the fine attire and general aspect of those attending the multiple wedding:

men miȝt have seie of segges many on greiȝed
in þe worþiest wise þat seien were evere
seþþe he þat us bouȝt in Bemleem was bore.
Alle þe clerkes under God coupe nouȝt discrive
aredili to þe riȝtes þe realte of þat day (5002-6)

The second appears in William's assurance to Alphouns that should he ever need martial aid:

I schal hastili me hiȝe, bi him þat me bouȝt,
to venge þe verali for ouȝt þat bitideþ (5196-97)

Indeed, the series of transformations being now all but concluded, Creator-formulae do not appear beyond line 5420 in the poem's 5540 lines. With William's coronation as Roman Emperor, and the translation of his original foster-father from cowherd to earl, the

series of transformations, marked by formulae evoking a creator proactive in these voluntary or enforced shape-shiftings, is concluded.

Yet one further passage in the poem attests to the powerful thematic effect achieved by the iteration of Creator-formulae in *William of Palerne*. The passage strikes the one darker chord that offsets William's attainment of good fortune—a death. When married, William and Melior are sent for by the Roman lords to come and live in Rome where William is called to be ruler. The emperor, the instrument of William's progress from foundling to chivalric hero, has died. Whilst William and Melior welcome their political good fortune they are saddened by the Emperor's death:

Napeles Meliors and he made moche sorwe
for þemperour was forþ fare faire to Crist (5265-66)

The passage is crucial, offering great insight into the prevailing tone of *William*. The poem has recuperated the 'savage', emphasised the potential for penitence and the ubiquity of prevenient grace for the villainous. It has comfortably accommodated each of its components within a unified perspective of an harmonious, benevolent creation. This death presents a challenge to its optimism. The suggestion emerges here, for the first time, that the poem may in death be confronted with a narrative component incapable of such contextualisation and thus likely to offset an entirely upbeat conclusion. The ensuing realisation of William and Melior, however, has the weight of the poem's experiential perspective behind it:

Sone þei cauȝt cumfort, for þis þei knewe boþe,
þat deþ wold come to alle þat Crist hade fourmed,
to emperours and erles, to eche þat lif hadde.
And god þan of his grace godliche þei þonked,
and seide þei wold his sondes suffer and his wille. (5267-71)

The wisdom of the passage is not one wholly derived from the *memento mori* tradition with its insistence upon the levelling power of death, the ultimate inconsequentiality of rank and status. More subtly, by placing the emperor's death within the context that all must pass within the created world so constantly evoked by this poem, the passage brings into play each of the narrative's many Creator-formulae and the ultimate equivalence those structures insist upon between the poem's *dramatis personae*: 'deþ wold come to alle þat Crist hade fourmed'. The constant invocation of God as creator, together with narrative emphasis upon His continued intervention in the destinies of His creatures, inspires confidence in continued guardianship for the soul. 'God wold nouȝt þat þou were lorne'. The rendering of Psalm 94 (Vulgate) in the *Lay Folks' Prayer Book's* Hours of the Virgin frames precisely this poignant sentiment in terminology strikingly close to that of *William*:

for þe lord schal not putte away his puple; [4] for alle þe endis
of erþe ben in his hond, & þe hiȝnessis of hillis ben hise.
 þe lord is wiþ þee.
[5] For þe see is his, & he made it, & hise hondis formeden þe drie
lond. [6] come, ȝe, herie we, & falle we doun bifore god;
wepe we bifore þe lord þat made us!²³

In poem and psalm alike, creation implies an attendant relationship even beyond death. It is from this sentiment that William and Melior derive their consolation and the poem its sustained unity in its treatment of the emperor's demise. Ultimately, nothing is inimical, nothing alien or incapable of containment and harmonisation within the poem's Christian scheme. The benign creator of this poem's world, like the lesser artificer who figures that poem forth, holds His creatures safely in hand.

²³ *The Prymer or Lay Folks' Prayer Book*, ed. Henry Littlehales, EETS 105, 109 (1895-7), p.1.

The tonal effect is one of reassurance and optimism, engaging for the poem 'the interest and affection of the reader'.²⁴ The consistent presentation of God as a creator mindful of the destinies of His creatures leaves us sanguine at the close of this colourful romance.

We can imagine that many did pray in approbation, as the *explicit* entreats, for Humphrey de Bohun, 'þat gode lord þat gart þis do make' (5529). We know, from a sixteenth-century hand in the manuscript, that someone *did* offer such a prayer. The image of God invoked therein tells its own story as to how intrinsic, how vital are the Creator-formulae of *William of Palerne*:

Praye we all to that heaven kinge that made
all y^e world off nowght to pardon the solle
off humfray boune, that was erlle of herford,
for hys grete dylygens & peyns takynge to stranslate
thys boke out off freynche In to englys...²⁵

²⁴ George Kane, *Middle English Literature*, p.51.

²⁵ Quoted from *William of Palerne*, p.7.

CHAPTER SIX CONCLUSION

A review of the role of the pious formulae of the Middle English romances thus brings to light their striking devotional resonance—and their *literary* character. *Guy of Warwick*, the Stanzaic *Morte Arthur*, *William of Palerne*, and other romances draw upon the referential power of these stereotyped phrases. The devotional imagery such formulae supply to the texts brings an aesthetic charge to contexts where invocation is apposite. Audience response is manipulated, sympathy elicited, pathos figured as the distinctive tonality of pious formulae is exploited.

The associative value of such formulae is rich. It derives not only from their recurrence in the romance tradition but additionally from their frequent use in devotional and doctrinal literature. A medieval reader of romance would encounter pious formulae recurring verbatim in prayers and verse charms, in sermons, pastoralia, drama and hagiography. Each of these contexts inscribes such formulae with a strong affective charge. That charge is evident in *Guy of Warwick*, where the admonitory and devotional tonality of pious formulae is exploited. It is evident in the Stanzaic *Morte*, where the narrative texture of a haunting tale is enriched by Passiontide-formulae. It is evident in *William of Palerne*, where the consistently apposite use of Creator-formulae obliquely informs the poem's themes and sponsors a sense of a benign providence, asserting God's mindfulness of His creatures.

These impressive examples hold a clear implication for our reading of pious formulae in the romances. To over-emphasise the prosodic utility of such formulae is to neglect their strong stylistic aspect. No fixed associative value can be ascribed to such formulae: they are context-sensitive. When judiciously and appositely deployed, their full aesthetic power

is realised, as in *Guy of Warwick*'s invocation of 'him that on rode gan blede',¹ Sir Bedevere's allusion to 'hym that bare the crowne of thorne',² and William of Palerne's vow by 'þat mensful Lord þat us alle made'.³ The vows and prayers of the Middle English romances furnish us, in the best examples, with invocations only slightly less poignant and imaginative than those later poetry will offer. They prefigure Malory's appeal to 'He that suffird dethe uppon the Crosse for all menkynde',⁴ and Tennyson's to 'that One / Who rose again'.⁵

¹ *Guy of Warwick*, 25:2.

² *Stanzaic Morte Arthur*, 3555.

³ *William of Palerne*, 3164.

⁴ *The Works of Sir Thomas Malory*, ed. Eugène Vinaver, 3rd edn, rev. P.J.C. Field, 3 vols (Oxford, 1990), p.872.

⁵ *Idylls of the King*, ed. J.M. Gray (Aylesbury, 1983), p.230, ll.914-15.

APPENDIX A

MIDDLE ENGLISH OATHS AND THEIR RELATION TO THE PIOUS FORMULAE OF THE VERSE ROMANCES

Middle English pastoralia has much to say about profane oaths. Short, exclamatory oaths appear to have proliferated in everyday speech. The kinds of structure indicted by the moralists are curiously both like and unlike the religious utterances, styled 'pious formulae' by this study, which so characterise the piety of the Middle English verse romances.¹ A brief assessment of the nature of any relationship between the two is thus required.

It must be deemed one of the rich contradictions of medieval culture that as new votive masses emerged in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries dedicated to the attributes of Christ—the Holy Name, the Five Wounds—so at the same time, casual invocation of those same attributes in oath patterns was stringently attacked. Whilst Decalogue commentaries expounding the second commandment would continue to proscribe the taking of the Holy Name in vain:

Goddis name in ydil take þou not,
For if þou do þou schalt be schent²

an exemplary tradition was extending that prescription to the attributes of Christ. Thus a stark and graphic homily is constructed in the exemplum of the Bloody Child wherein the Virgin Mary, cradling a mutilated Christ child in her arms, remonstrates with an inveterate swearer whose oaths daily rend the body of Christ, just as do those of Chaucer's

¹ On oaths see G.R. Owst, *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England* 2nd edn (Oxford, 1961), pp.414-25 and Rosemary Woolf, *The English Religious Lyric in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1968), pp.395-400. Theological commentary on kinds of oath and the importance of intention is given in *The Catholic Encyclopaedia*, ed. Charles G. Herbermann *et alia* (New York, 1911-22), II, pp.176-80, drawing upon Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae* II-II, q.89, aa.1-20.

² *Hymns to the Virgin and Christ*, ed. Frederick J. Furnivall, EETS 24 (1867), p.47, ll.9-11.

‘riotoures thre’. Widespread and of a lurid character, the exemplum appears in the English version of the *Gesta Romanorum*, *Dives and Pauper*, Mirk’s *Festial* and Mannyng’s *Handlyng Synne* where the perpetrator of the vicious oaths is upbraided thus:

‘Þou,’ she seyde, ‘has hym so shent,
 And wyþ þyn oþys al to rent.
 Þus hast þou drawyn my dere chyld
 Wyþ þyn oþys, wykkyd & wyld.
 And þou makst me sore to grete
 Þat þou þyn oþys wylt nat lete.
 Hys manhede þat he toke for þe,
 Þou pynest hyt, as þou mayst se.
 Þyn oþys doun hym more greuusnesse
 Þan al þe Iewys wykkydnesse.’³

Next to be visited, here in *Dives and Pauper*, is a justice ‘ryȝtful in demyng but wol gyilty in oþis swerynge’. Prefaced by a subtle interchange wherein the justice’s sympathy for the Christ child is evinced, the Virgin’s description of the effects of swearing upon the child is gruesomely fastidious:

Than she seyde to hym, ‘Þu art a iustice. Ȝeue me now a ryghtful dom: what is þat man worþi þat þus haþ beseyn myn child?’ The iustice answerd and seyde, ‘He is worþi to hangyn be þe nekke in þe feer of helle / withouten ende.’ Than our lady answerd, ‘Forsope,’ seyde she, ‘þu art þe same man, for Y hadde neuyr child but þis alone whiche was borne of my body for sauacioun of al mankende, and þu, as mychil as is in þe, hast put out his eyne whan þou swore be Godis eyne. Þu rentist out his herte whan þu swore be Godis herte. Þu hast al torent hym wiþ þin foule oþis. And þerfor ament þe or þu schalt han þe same doom þat þu hast ȝouyn & hangyn be þe nekke in þe feer of helle withoutyn ende’.⁴

Adhering to the notion of oaths as directly invidious to Christ, a second tradition substitutes the adult Christ for the holy infant. The redeemer experiences passion once again as vicious oaths re-crucify Him and rend His body. This is the emphasis in Chaucer’s *Pardoner’s Tale* and in Barclay’s *Ship of Fools* where it is said of swearers:

³ *Handlyng Synne*, ed. Idelle Sullens (New York, 1983), ll.711-20.

⁴ *Dives and Pauper*, ed. P.H. Barnum, EETS (1976), I, pp.240-41.

That lorde that dyed to red them out of payne
They have good wyll to tere his herte agayne.⁵

Indicating that swearing was by no means confined to the lower of the 'estates', Stephen Hawes' *Conversion of Swearers* has Christ admonish monarchs for tolerating the vice among their subjects:

and ye my kynges whiche do nowe domyne
Ouer my comons in terrestryall mancyon

In your regall courtes do suffre me be rente
And my tender body with blode all be sprete

Beholde your seruantes how they do tere me
By cruell othes now [vp]on euery syde
Aboute the worlde launcynge my woundes wyde⁶

Swearing is linked with the deadly sin of gluttony by Langland⁷ and with wrath by Chaucer's Parson who, in the epilogue to the *Man of Law's Tale*, admonishes the Host:

'What eyleth the man, so synfully to swere?'⁸ This association of swearing with mortal sin puts confession and penance for the vice squarely upon the catechetical syllabus and thus Mirk's *Instructions for Parish Priests* includes among its items of shrift an enquiry of the penitent whether s/he has been wont:

to swere als
By goddes bones or herte, fals,
What by hys woundes, nayles or tre,
Whenne þow myghte have lete be.⁹

The enquiry perhaps gave the Confessor himself pause since moral treatises complain of vain swearing amongst the clergy also.¹⁰ Certainly, even allowing for the hyperbole of moralists, habitual swearing does appear to have been widespread, by no means confined

⁵ *Barclay's Ship of Fools*, ed. T.H. Jamieson, 2 vols (Edinburgh, London, 1874), pp.128-35 (p.130).

⁶ *The Minor Poems of Stephen Hawes*, ed. F. Gluck and A.B. Morgan, EETS 271 (1974), ll.66-77.

⁷ *The Vision of Piers Plowman*, ed. A.V.C. Schmidt *pass.* V, ll.368-71.

⁸ *The Riverside Chaucer*, ed. Larry Benson (Oxford, 1987), II (B), l.1171.

⁹ *Instructions to Parish Priests*, ed. E. Peacock and Frederick J. Furnivall, EETS 31 (1868), ll.869-72.

¹⁰ See Owst, pp.416-17.

to the tavern where Chaucer's swearing 'riotoures' are located, and where, in *Jacob's Well*, one sinning likewise receives swift retribution for his offence, his sudden and mysterious death knelled by the voice of an irate God: 'My dyspyȝt that thou dost to me in thin horrible othys and in thin wrecheful and malycyous cursyng wyl I no lenger suffere!'¹¹ Also set in the tavern, a similar tale provides important evidence in establishing the extent of semantic correspondence between profane oaths and the more formal oaths of the romances, and thus warrants quotation at length. Here a discontented swearer berates his lot and precipitates God's vengeance:

he began to swere after this unhappy custome, sayeng, By goddys blode, this day is unhappy. And in a whyle after, in swerynge so, he bledde at the nose and therewith more vexed, he beganne to rayle and rayne God (as they say), in sweryng goddys passyon, goddys woundes, goddes flesshe, goddes nayles, and euer his holy and blessed blode, tyll at the last he fell ferther to blede at the eares, at the eyes, at his wrestes and at all the ioyntes of his handes and of all his body, at his nauyll and foundement, and at other places of his body, in meruaylous great quantyte and stremes of blode, and shotyng out his tonge in a meruaylous horryble, ugsome and ferefull maner, as blacke as pytche, so that no persone durst come nere hym, but stode aferre of and cast holy water towarde hym, and so he contynued euer swerynge, blasphemynge and bledynge tyll he expired and was deed. And on the morowe after they layd hym in a carte, & caryed hym unto the sayd chyrche of Stondon, and euer the body bledde tyll he was buryed in the waye as they came in very great habaundaunce. This was a playne token that god was moche displeased with that swerynge, & dyde openly punyssh the same, in example vnto all usuall swerers.¹²

The passage immediately evinces both likeness and difference in relation to the pious formulae of the romances. For whilst these oaths share the foci of the formulae—our tavern-swearer curses by 'goddys woundes' whilst a romance-character will swear by He 'pat suffred for our sake sore woundes five' (*William of Palerne* 2510-11)—the profane pattern lacks the vital element of *context*. Romance formulae contextualise Passion images

¹¹ *Jacob's Well*, ed. A. Brandeis, EETS 115 (1900), p.100.

¹² Richard Whytforde, *A werke for housholders or for them that have the gydyng or gouernaunce of any company* (London, 1531), c.iii ff.

within their soteriological context; profane oaths snatch at those images without furnishing context or association. The salvific, sacramental character of God's 'wounds', God's 'blood' is nowhere invoked in these oaths, inflicting precisely that fragmentation of the salvific scheme figured by the moralists in the rent body of Christ.

Supporting this distinction, the description of violent swearing in *Jacob's Well* makes clear that the moralists' target is our tavern-swearer, not the solemn oath-taker of the romances:

men sweryn vyolently, as be god, or be ony of his sayntes, or be his soule, his body, his herte, his flesch, his bonys, his peyne, his deth, his feet, his nayles, or be ony of his oper lymes. Panne þei rende god iche lyme fro oper, and arn werse þan iewys, for þei rentyn hym but onys, and swiche swererys rendyth him iche day newe.¹³

The pious formulae of the romances do not invoke such uncontextualised images of the sufferings of Christ. Rather, they appeal to more patently iconographical images. They prompt mindfulness of the soteriological meaning of the image invoked: 'He þat suffred for our sake sore woundes five' (*William of Palerne* 2510); 'ihesu crist that sytteth ous alle aboute / And vppon the rode deyde for oure alder loue' (*Firumbras* 1671-72); 'He...þat bled for our Syn' (*Destruction of Troy* 14044). Clearly, the affinity between the two forms should be understood as a loose one. The romance formulae, with their rigid observance of a relative-clause structure, owe decidedly more to the solemn, identical invocations of religious literature than to the vigorous oath patterns of everyday speech.

Mindful of this distinction, the present study must dissent from the view expressed by R.W.V. Elliott regarding such formulae in his helpful discussion of oaths in Chaucer. Here it is suggested that such relative-clause-based tags as 'by hym that harwed helle'¹⁴ may be

¹³ *Jacob's Well*, p.153, ll.23-29.

¹⁴ 'The Miller's Tale', *The Riverside Chaucer*, I (A), 1.3512.

grouped with the more exclamatory and decontextualised ‘Crist forbede it, for his hooly blood!’¹⁵ Both patterns are described alike as ‘passing a moral judgement, for these oaths not only branded the speaker as vulgar, they were regarded as particularly reprehensible’.¹⁶ Ought the phrases to be conflated thus? Surely they are subtly distinct in register and effect. In the first oath, as with the majority of the pious formulae of the romances, the attribute invoked serves to characterise: ‘by hym that harwed helle’.¹⁷ The phrase being periphrastic it is *only* by rehearsal of the attribute that the subject is identified. This periphrastic mode reflects the speaker’s internalisation of doctrine and signals his appeal to a corporate Christian consciousness which will recognise the allusion. The phrase is quite distinct from the more ejaculatory ‘Crist forbede it, for his hooly blood!’¹⁸

Geoffrey Hughes likewise discerns a sliding scale in the degree of intensity and coarseness of Chaucerian oaths. He also views such phrases as ‘by God that sits above’—a tag familiar from the romances¹⁹—as representative of appeals ‘to the godhead in its various serene aspects’ and clearly distinct from ‘intimate references to the person and sufferings of Christ. . . as in *by Goddes corpus! Cristes passioun!* and the various gruesomely explicit evocations of the Crucifixion’.²⁰ Yet the case that the pious formulae of the romances are of a distinct register from Middle English profane oaths will best be

¹⁵ ‘The Miller’s Tale’, *Riverside Chaucer*, I (A), 1.3508.

¹⁶ Ralph W.V. Elliott, *Chaucer’s English*, (London, 1974), pp. 240-84 (p.267). A full discussion of swearing in Chaucer is also given by Geoffrey Hughes, *Swearing: A Social History of Foul Language, Oaths and Profanity in English* (Oxford, 1991), pp.62-88.

¹⁷ The ‘harrowed hell’ tag is, of course, familiar from the romances. See catalogue, section G4.

¹⁸ Both oaths appear in the ‘Miller’s Tale’ where John vows not to reveal the ‘divine’ intelligence Nicholas has communicated to him. The first, ejaculatory oath, ‘Crist forbede it, for his hooly blood’ (3512) gives way to the more formal expression of resolution: ‘I shal it nevere telle / To child ne wyf, by hym that harwed helle!’ (3511-12).

¹⁹ For ‘sits above’ romance formulae see catalogue, section J8.

²⁰ *Swearing*, p.56.

restated by an illuminating final example, drawn from a source not incongruous with the tale of the Miller, nor with the tradition of Middle English romance.

Chaucer's *Sir Thopas* processes relentlessly through the features of tail-rhyme romance style in its playful and by now well-documented burlesque.²¹ As we might expect, the romance-hero's frequent vows receive their own oblique treatment.²² However, while 'par charitee' (891), 'benedicite' (784) and 'par ma fay' (820) are included in *Thopas*, together with an oath 'on ale and breed' (872), the poem *nowhere* employs the type of relative-clause-based pious formula so absolutely characteristic of the Middle English romances. That a feature of romance style so typical as pious formulae should escape parody here is deeply suggestive. But if Chaucer considered such formulae more akin to prayer-tag than profane oath, that might explain why he reserved such structures not for parody in *Sir Thopas* but for solemn use in that other text written, for once, in *propria persona*:

graunte me grace of verray penitence, confessioun and satisfaccioun to doon in this present lyf,/ thurgh the benigne grace of hym that is kyng of kynges and preest over alle preestes, that boghte us with the precious blood of his herte,/ so that I may be oon of hem at the day of doom that shulle be saved.²³

²¹ See John Burrow, '“Sir Thopas”: An Agony in Three Fits', *RES* 22 (1978), 54-58.

²² See 'The Hero's Vow' in Laura Hibbard Loomis' discussion of *Sir Thopas* in *Sources and Analogues of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales*, ed. W.F. Bryan and Germaine Dempster (New York, 1941), pp.486-559 (pp.541-44).

²³ 'The Retractions', *The Riverside Chaucer*, p.328.

APPENDIX B

THE VARIANT READINGS OF PIOUS FORMULAE APPEARING IN
FOUR MIDDLE ENGLISH VERSE ROMANCES(1) AMIS AND AMILOUN¹

AUCHINLECK MS

DOUCE 326

Ihesu Cristes sake
pat is oure sauoure (68-69)

Jhesu Crystes sake
That ys oure Savyour. (6:8-9)

For his loue, þat bar þe croun of þorn
To saue al man-kende (302-3)

Ffor Gods love that bare the croun of thorn
To save all mankynde (25:2-3)

him þat dyed on rode (388)

Him that dyed on rode (32:4)

for him þat dyed on rode (592)

Him that dyde on rode (49:4)

god þat bouȝt þe dere (615)

Him that bought the dere (50:3)

him þat ous wrouȝt (625)

Him that all this world hath boght (51:1)

him þat dyed on rode (820)

Him that dyed on rode (67:4)

him þat schop man-kende (1042)

Him that schope mankynde (85:10)

him þat Judas sold
& died opon þe rode (1109-10)

Hym that Judas solde
And dyde uppon the rode (91:5-6)

God þat suffred passioun (1253)

God that suffred passion (103:5)

god, ȝif þat he wold (1301)

God that Judas solde (107:5)

For his loue, þat þis world wan (1478)

For His love that this world wan (121:2)

him þat dyed on rode
& þoled woundes fiue (1652-53)

Him that dyde on rode
And suffred woundes fyve (134:8-9)

him þat Judas sold (1663)

Him that Judas sold (135:7)

him þat died on rode (1759)

Him that dide on rode (142:7)

For his loue, þat þis world wan (1874)

Ffor His love that love wanne (151:2)

¹ Auchinleck quotations are taken from *Amis and Amiloun*, ed. MacEdward Leach, EETS 203 (1937). Douce quotations from *Amys and Amylion*, ed. Françoise Le Saux (Exeter, 1993).

him þat dyed on rode (1940)	Him that dyde on rode (156:8)
him at Judas sold (2080)	_____
god þat suffred passioun (2117)	God, that suffred passion (170:5)
him þat þis world wan (2160)	Him that this worlde gan (173:12)
Ihesu, þat is heuen king (2351)	Jhesu, that ys heven king (188:11)
him þat þis warld wan (2380)	Him that this world wayn (191:4)

(2) SIR AMADACE²

IRELAND MS

God, that is bote of all bale (202)

Be God, þat me dere boʒte (213)

Be Jhesu, Mare sun (259)

him, þat deut on rode.
 Þat for vs sched his precius blode,
 For þe and monkynd all. (457-59)

he þat schope bothe sunne and mone (467)

Be God, þat me dere boʒte (705)

For his lufe, þat deet on tre,
 Quatseuer ʒe will, do with me,
 For him þat deet on rode. (736-38)

Be God, þat me dere boʒte (742)

ADVOCATES 19.3.1.

he þat is bote of bale (185)³

On hym is all my þoʒtt (196)

be hym þat made mon (242)

God þat deyd on rode,
 And boʒt me with his precyos blode(386-87)

Be Jesu þat me dere boʒt (643)

Do with meselfe what ye wyll,
 Wheder ye wyll me save or spyll,
 For hym þat deyd on þo rode! (674-76)

be sent Albon (689)

² Ireland MS quotations are from *Sir Amadace*, ed. Christopher Brookhouse (Copenhagen, 1968), *Advocates 19.3.1.* quotations are from *Ghost-Thanks: or The grateful unburied - a mythic tale in its oldest European form*, *Sir Amadace*, ed. George Stephens (Cheapinghaven, 1860).

³ The interchangeability of proper name and pronoun in this example again attests to their being no patent sense of periphrastic forms as distinct. The evidence is thus slight that periphrastic forms may have been adhered to out of a concern to avoid naming the deity.

For his luffe þet deut on tre (754)

For his lufe þat deet on tre (760)

(3) SIR EGLAMOUR⁴

LINCOLN 91

Ihesu þat es heuen Kyng (1)

Lorde, 3e grant me my bone,
On þe rode also þou me boghte (101-2)

By hym þat werede þe crown of thorne (292)

...God þat mad man (325)

By God, þat es beste (663)

Ihesu þat dyede on þe crosse verrayly (994)

COTTON CALIGULA A.II

Ihesu Crist, of heuen Kyng (1)

To Ihesu Crist he made his bone
To that Lord þat vs bow3t (101-2)

Be hem þat me gette and borne(292)

Cryst that all schall welde (325)

Help God, þat ys best (663)

God þat dyede on þe crosse (994)

(4) THE KING OF TARS⁵

Bi him þat dyed on þe rode (40)

..Ihesus our saueour,
þat suffred woundes fyue (56-57)

Ihesu mi Lord in trinite (61)

Ihesu Crist in Trinite (242)

þi lord þat suffred passioun (455)

Ihesu Crist...
þat made Adam and Eue (488-89)

Be hym that dyed on the rod (40)

Crist ur saveour,
That soffrede woundes fyve (56-57)

Jhesu, that dyyed on the treo (61)

god that sit in trinite (241)

The lord that soffrede passioun (431)

Jhesu Crist...
That made Adam and Eve (464-65)

⁴Quotations for both MSS are taken from *Sir Eglamour of Artois*, ed. Frances E. Richardson, EETS 256 (1965).

⁵Auchinleck quotations are taken from *The King of Tars*, ed. Judith Perryman (Heidelberg, 1980). quotations from the Vernon MS, Bodleian 3938, are taken from 'The King of Tars', in *Ancient English Metrical Romances*, ed. Joseph Ritson, 3rd edn. (London, 1802), II (pp.156-203).

Iesu...
 þat alle þis world haþ wrouȝt (515-16)

Bi him þat ous haþ wrouȝt (606)

Bi Ihesu Crist, þat þis world wan (616)

Bi Ihesu Crist, þat made man (677)

him, þat þis world wan (701)

...Ihesu Crist in trinite
 þat of Mari was bore (725-26)

...þe Faders name,
 þat sitt in Trinite (755-56)

þe Fader, þat is ful of miȝt (758)

God, þat sitt in trone (770)

Ihesu...
 Þat þoled woundes fiue (818-19)

Ihesu, þat Iudas sold (906)

hym þat dyed on tre (1044)

him þat þoled wounde (1180)

him þat dyed on rode (1221)

Jhesu Crist...
 That al this world hath wrought
 (491-92)

Bi him that me hath wrouht (570)

Be him that al this world wan (580)

Be him that this world won (651)

him that this world bigan (675)

god that sit in trinite
 the tyme that ȝe weore bore
 (699-700)

the fader name,
 That sitteth in trinite (730)

him that Judas solde (832)

him that dyed on tre (980)

him that tholede wounde (1110)

Jhesu, that is ful of miȝt (1146)

APPENDIX C

A CATALOGUE OF THE PIOUS FORMULAE OF THE MIDDLE ENGLISH VERSE ROMANCES

ABBREVIATED TITLES OF THE ROMANCES CITED

A&A	<i>Amis and Amiloun</i>
A&C	<i>Amoryus and Cleopes</i>
A&D	<i>Alexander and Dindimus</i>
A&M	<i>Of Arthour and Of Merlin</i>
AA	<i>The Awyntys off Arthure</i>
ACF	<i>Alexander-Cassamus Fragment</i>
AKA	<i>The Avowing of King Arthur</i>
AMA	<i>Alliterative Morte Arthure</i>
Ath	<i>Athelston</i>
BA	<i>The Buik of Alexander</i>
BF	<i>Le Bone Florence of Rome</i>
BH	<i>Beues of Hamtoun</i>
CA	<i>Cheuelere Assigne</i>
Cap	<i>Capystramus</i>
DR	<i>Duke Rowland and Sir Otuell of Spayne</i>
DT	<i>The Gest Hystoriale of the Destruction of Troy</i>
ET	<i>The Earl of Tolouse</i>
Em	<i>Emaré</i>
F	<i>Firumbras</i>
F&B	<i>Floris and Blancheflur</i>
G	<i>Gamelyn</i>
G&G	<i>Golagrus and Gawane</i>
Gen	<i>Generides (Couplet-version)</i>
Gen-rr	<i>Generides (Rhyme royal version)</i>
GHBA	<i>Gilbert Hay's Buik of Alexander</i>
GK	<i>The Grene Knight</i>
Guy B	<i>Guy of Warwick (Fifteenth-century version)</i>
GW	<i>Guy of Warwick</i>
Hav	<i>Havelok</i>
HC	<i>Horn Childe and Maiden Rimnild</i>
Ip A	<i>Ipomedon A</i>
JA	<i>Joseph of Arimathie</i>
JSG	<i>The Jeaste of Syr Gawayne</i>
KA	<i>Kyng Alisaunder</i>
KC	<i>The Knight of Curtesy</i>
KH	<i>King Horn</i>
KT	<i>King of Tars</i>
LD	<i>Lybeaus Desconus</i>
LHG	<i>Lovelich's Holy Grail</i>
LI	<i>The Lyfe of Ipomydon</i>
LL	<i>Lancelot of the Laik</i>
LLF	<i>Lay le Freine</i>
LM	<i>Lovelich's Merlin</i>
LTB	<i>The Laud Troy Book</i>
O&R	<i>Otuel and Roland</i>
Oct	<i>Octouian</i>
Oct Imp	<i>Octouain Imperator (Southern Octavian)</i>

Ot	<i>Otuel a knight</i>
P	<i>Partenay</i>
PB	<i>Partonope of Blois</i>
R	<i>Reinbrun</i>
R&L	<i>Roswall and Lillian</i>
R&V	<i>Roland and Vernagu</i>
RC	<i>Rauf Coilyear</i>
RCL	<i>Richard Coeur de Lion</i>
RS	<i>Roberd of Sicily</i>
SA	<i>Sir Amadace</i>
SB	<i>The Sowdone of Babylone</i>
SC	<i>Sir Cleges</i>
SD	<i>Sir Degaré</i>
SDegrev	<i>Sir Degrevant</i>
SE	<i>Sir Eglamour</i>
SF	<i>Sir Ferumbras</i>
SG	<i>Sir Gowther</i>
SGCC	<i>Sir Gawain and the Carl of Carlisle</i>
SGGK	<i>Sir Gawain and the Green Knight</i>
SJ	<i>The Siege of Jerusalem</i>
SLD	<i>The Squire of Low Degree</i>
SLand	<i>Sir Landevale</i>
SLaun	<i>Sir Launfal</i>
SM	<i>The Sege of Melayne</i>
SMA	<i>Stanzaic Morte Arthur</i>
SPG	<i>Sir Perceval of Gales</i>
SR	<i>The Song of Roland</i>
ST	<i>The Seege or Batayle of Troye</i>
STF1	<i>Scottish Troy Fragment 1</i>
STF2	<i>Scottish Troy Fragment 2</i>
STriam	<i>Sir Triamour</i>
T	<i>Sir Tristrem</i>
T&G	<i>The Turke and Gowin</i>
TP	<i>Sir Torrent of Portyngale</i>
WP	<i>William of Palerne</i>
WSG	<i>The Wedding of Sir Gawain and Dame Ragnell</i>
YG	<i>Ywain and Gawain</i>

OTHER ABBREVIATIONS USED

<i>1st p. sing.</i>	-	First person singular pronoun
<i>2nd p. sing.</i>	-	Second person singular pronoun
<i>3rd p. sing.</i>	-	Third person singular pronoun
<i>1st p. pl.</i>	-	First person plural pronoun

A CATALOGUE OF THE PIOUS FORMULAE APPEARING IN THE MIDDLE ENGLISH VERSE ROMANCES

SECTION ONE: THE FORMULAE LISTED BY TEXT

The following is a catalogue of the pious formulae appearing in at least one witness¹ to each of the metrical romances composed before 1500 and embraced by the corpus set out in the *Manual of Writings in Middle English* Volume I.²

The catalogue is arranged into two major sections. The first of these lists the formulae of the corpus under the title of the romance in which they appear. Section Two organises the material conceptually, grouping the formulae according to the theological image presented. The precise grammatical paradigms to which each pious formula must conform to qualify for inclusion in the catalogue are as follows:

(A) Proper Noun + Relative Pronoun + Relative clause:

God þat harewede helle	(Ath 595)
god þat suffred passioun	(A&A 2117)
Iesu, that sytteth aboue	(Guy B 2224)
Lord that ys bothe god and man	(BF 1270)

(B) Pronoun + Relative Pronoun + Relative Clause:

him þat þis world wan	(A&A 2380)
Hym þat dyed on rode	(BF 1511)
He þat suffred for our sake sore woundes five	(WP 2510)

(C) Preposition + Possessive Pronoun + Noun + Relative Clause:

For his loue þat þis world hap wrouȝt	(GW 200:8)
For hys loue, that dyed on tree	(Guy B 6133)
For His loue that shed His blode	(SLand 516)
In hys name...that boute mankend	(A&C 1862)

¹ Formulae are drawn from two manuscript witnesses in the cases of *Guy of Warwick* - Auchinleck and CUL Ff. 2.38; *Beues of Hamtoun* - Auchinleck and Chetham MS. 8009; *Sir Ysumbras* - British Library, MS. Cotton Caligula A.ii, Lincoln Cathedral Library, MS. A.5.2..

² Only the romances of Chaucer, Gower and Lydgate, being distinctly different creatures from the products of the predominantly anonymous English romance tradition, are excluded. The fifteenth-century tail rhyme romance *Capystranus*, not listed by the manual, is included here.

**THE PIOUS FORMULAE OF THE MIDDLE ENGLISH ROMANCES LISTED
ACCORDING TO TEXT**

The Alexander-Cassamus Fragment

the god yn heuene þ^t heyest syt aboue (12:1)

god...þ^t is ful of myght (17:3)

Alexander and Dindimus

him þat schop vs to schap (330)

him þat lente hem hur lif . & hur limus made (413)

a king . þat kid is in blisse (431)

þe lord . þat we leuen inne (597)

þat lord . þat lengeþ in blisse (628)

þe heie god alone, / Þat heuene holdeþ & haþ . to his hole regne (641-42)

god þat gieþ þe herte (661)

a lord . þat lengus in heuene,
Þat al þe membrus of a man . made at his wille (706-7)

God, þat alle gomus schop . & alle gode þingus (996)

þe same god . þat sittus in blisse (1105)

God þat iuge is of ioie (1118)

Amis and Amiloun

Ihesu Cristes sake / Þat is oure sauouure (68-69)

For his loue, þat bar þe croun of þorn
To saue al man-kende (302-3)

him þat dyed on rode (592)

god þat bouȝt þe dere (615)

him þat ous wrouȝt (625)

him þat dyed on rode (819)

him þat schop man-kende (1042)

him þat Judas sold
& died opon þe rode (1109-10)

God þat suffred passioun (1253)

For his loue, þat þis world wan (1478)

him þat dyed on rode
& þoled woundes fiue (1652-53)

him þat Judas sold (1663)

him þat died on rode (1759)

For his loue, þat þis world wan (1874)

him þat dyed on rode (1940)

him at Judas sold (2080)

god þat suffred passioun (2117)

him þat þis world wan (2160)

Ihesu, þat is heuen king (2351)

him þat þis world wan (2380)

Amoryus and Cleopes

O sunne off grace, that fro the hevynly trone
Descendyst in-to this world! (1778-79)

In hys name...that bouthe mankend (1862)

the lord, that for alle
Dyid on the cros (1884-85)

for his sake that vs dere hathe boughth (1890)

hym...that haruyd helle (1935)

In the vertu of hys passyon / That bought manke[n]d (1991-92)

In hys name that sofyrryd the Iuys hym crucyfye (2019)

hym... / That delyuerryd yow hath fro peynys smert (1868)

Arthur and Merlin

Ihesus leue þat sitt aboue (28)

He þat was and is and ay schal ben (631)

him þat þoled ded on tre (907)

He...þat welt al (5550)

Athelston

by hym þat al þis worl wan (136)

Be hym þat suffryd payne (168)

be hym þat weres þe corowne off þorn (270)

God, þat syt in Trynyte (420)

For hym þat weres þe corowne off þorn (444)

God þat harewede helle (595)

Iesu Cryst... / Þat leet his woundys blede (625-26)

Iesu, þat is hevene-kyng (810)

The Avowing of King Arthur

He þat made vs on þe mulde (1)

him þat was so fre (226)

him þat boʒte vs dere (646)

him þat made all thinge (830)

þe king / Þat heghest was in heuyn (1035-36)

Gud God þat is grete (1123)

That made vs on þe mulde (1148)

The Awntyrs off Arthure

þe barne þat bought þe on rode
þat was crucifiged on croys and crowned with þorne (222-23)

him þat rest on þe rode (231)

him þat rightwisly rose and rest on þe rode (317)

him þat in Bedeleem was borne euer to ben our bote (549)

Beues of Hamtoun - Auchinleck Text

þat ilche lord... / Þat him wrouȝte (110-11)

godes sone, / Þat is so briȝt (131-32)

Iesu, þat bouȝte me so dere (566)

me lordes loue / Þat sit hiȝ in heuen aboue (616)

god, þat alle þing wrouȝt (846)

god...þat alle þing seþ (1262)

God, þat made þis world al rounde (1373)

god, that all can wyne (1333)

Iesu Crist þat sit in heuene (2633)

god, þat alle þing wrouȝt (2784)

Lord, þat rerede Lazaroun (2839)

god þat al þing wrouȝt (4352)

god, þat sit in trinite (4430)

him þat herwede helle (4469)

Beues of Hamtoun - Chetham text

For his loue, that werid the crown of thorne,
And also on this holy day was borne (483-84)

god, that died ffor man be name (1019-20)

Iesu, that is all weldand,
That shope all this world rounde (1212-13)

hym, that borne was of a may (Matching Auch l.1953)

By hym that was of Mary borne (3827)

he, / That ffor vs died vppon a tree (4431-32)

Le Bone Florence of Rome

God þat boght me dere (243)

hym that all schall welde (558)

God...þat all may (736)

God þat vs boght (871)

hym þat suffurde woundys fyve (913)

hym Y sawe in forme of bredd,
When þe preest can synge (1004-5)

a lorde that neuyr schall dye,
That preestys schewe in forme of bredd (1100-1)

hym þat bought me on þe rode,
Wyth hys swete precyus blode (1105-6)

hym þat lorde ys beste (1198)

Lorde that ys bothe God and man (1270)

God that dyed on tre (1430)

God...þat boght me dere (1477)

Hym þat dyed on rode (1511)

God þat boght hur dere (1573)

God þat myghtys maye (1832)

Hym in Trynyte / That suffurde woundys fyve (1847-48)

Jhesu that boght vs on the rode (2186)

Gilbert Hay's *Book of Alexander*

God...

.....
 Quhilk all thing reulit and gouernit halelie (425-28)

Him þat manhed wrocht (434)

Goddis will in maieste,
 Quhilikis gouernis all þis warldit in vnetie (4970-71)

him þat maid baith sone and mone (6803)

gret God þat is in Hevin abone (7048)

þe God vniuersale,
 Quhilk gouernes all þe warldit in generall,
 The quhilk is weill of wourschip and gudnes,
 That all thing ledis and in powar has (9391-94)

grete God, quhilk all þis world gouernis,
 Movis and steris þe planiteis and þe sternes
 And oure all thing hes dominatioun (9646-48)

His semblance þat governis all þe Hevin (9922)

He that is oure allaris Lorde (10504)

God þat gouernis all (11359)

[he] That ws has made, and in þis world ws send (12777)

Him þat beilds (12804)

God invisabill þat in all thing governis (14053)

The Buik of Alexander

him that is heuinis king (570)

God, that mekill may (739)

God... / That all thingis geuis (II: 1220)

God / That ringis ane in trinitie (IV, epilogue: 40-41)

Capystrianus

[God] That made both daye and nyght (3)

Hym.../.../ That borne was of that blyssed floure (26)

Jhesu... / That all the worlde wrought (147-48)

for Crystes love.../ That made this world and dayes seven (236)

for Goddes love.../ That was of Marye borne (263-64)

Chevalere Assigne

hym þat lengeth in heuene (4)

þe fadur... / That saued Susanne fro sorowefulle domus (90-91)

He þat lendethe with (99)

OO-lyuyngge god þat dwellest in heuene (201)

lyuyngge god...þat bydeste in heuene (256)

Duke Roland and Sir Otuel of Spain

hym þat dyede appon a tree (295)

God...þat alle schall dighte & dele (490)

Iesus criste... / Þat moste es man of myghte (884-85)

hym þat myghtes maye (1161)

þat derely dyede one tree (1245)

godde þat diede on rode
 Þat alle schall deme & dighte (1268-69)

god... / Þat alle schalle deme & dele (1316-17)

gode þat luffe hade lent (1493)

Iesus Criste þat boghte vs dere (1594)

The Earl of Tolous

god... / That syts in trynyte (119-20)

hym þat dyed on rod (136)

god... / That grace had sent hym tyll (167-68)

He that harowed hell (256)

god allmyght, / That dyed on the tree (386-87)

god, that syts in trone (461)

god, þat syts above,
That stong was wyth a sper (647-48)

hym þat all has wroght (755)

god, þat boght us der (864)

hym, þat dyed on tree,
That schope man aftur hys face (947-48)

Cryst... / That boght hur wyth hys blood (1034-35)

hym, þat dyed on tree (1072)

god that ows thys day (1152)

god, that ows thys day (1188)

hym, that dyed on tree (1200)

Emaré

Ihesu, þat ys kyng in trone
.....
And all þat shalle dele and dyghte (1-3)

Þy sone þat is so fre,
.....
That lord ys most of myght (10-12)

Þat ryghtwes kyng / That made both see and sonde (17-18)

God... / That wered þe crowne of þhorne (263-64)

Goddes sond / That alle þyng may fulfyllle (332-33)

God yn trone, / That alle þyng may fulfyllle (680-81)

God in trone / That most ys of powste (836-37)

Iheso, þat settes yn þy trone (1033)

Firumbras

For that ilke lordys loue that deyde on a tree (221)

Lord cryst þat syttyth in mageste (257)

god þat ys in mageste,
þat y-bore was of a mayde in clere virginite (279-80)

god...þat sytteth ous a-boue (309)

ffor that ilke lordys loue that bore was of marye (319)

Ihesu that syttyth in Maieste (323)

god...that syttyth vs all aboue (325)

heuene kyng that schal me borw (455)

for godys loue that sytteth on hye (473)

that ylke lord that tholed woundes fyue (482)

that ylke lord that y my soule ʒelde schale (613)

that ylke lord...that made sonne and mone (663)

god...that syttyth in trinite (1015)

god þat ys my lord (1022)

lord, þat alle þys world weldest at wylle,
and madyst adam by-fore under an hylle,
of a mayde thou were bore, that moche was of myʒt,
to saue hem that were forloren thoruʒ Adams vnryʒt,
And aftyrward were on Rode streynyd every lyth,
And out of thy syde ran the blod ther-wyth (1045-51)

that ilke lord that syttyth in trone (1065)

god þat sytteth in mageste (1125)

Lord...þat alle hath in hande (1360)

God that ys in heuene (1524)

Ihesu crist that sytteth ous alle aboue
And vppon the rode deyde for oure alder loue (1671-72)

Ihesu crist that syttyth ous aboue,
that tholyd pyne and passioun for our alder loue! (1705-6)

Floris and Blauncheflur

Louerd, þat madest man (964)

Gamelyn

Iesu Crist that is heuen kyng (193)

god þat al made (469)

Generides - Stanzaic Version

he that fourmed all this world of nought (1995)

god that is of myghtez most (2845)

he...that is our hevyn kyng (4002)

that lord that formyd me of nowght (4677)

hym that is our saviour (6991)

Generides - Couplet Version

Ihesu that is heuen king (4276)

god, that neuer loued wrong (5477)

For his loue that hath you bought (6580)

him that sitteth aboue (6967)

god that al thing hath shape (7296)

that lord that sitteth aboue (7465)

The Gest Hystoriale of the Destruction of Troy

God þat þe ground wroght
And ilke a planet hase put in a plaine course (422-23)

God, þat all governes with grase of his honde (746)

goddes son of heuyn, / That came to our kynde throgh a cleane Maydon (4299-4300)

þe fadur, þat first fourmyt all thinge (4395)

þe lord, þat the light made (4412)

He...þat bled for our Syn (14044)

Golagrus and Gawain

Hym...that saiklese wes sald

The syre that sendis all seill, suthly to sane (3-4)

God that al weldis (699)

grete God... / ... that is our souerane (792-93)

for his saik, that saiklese wes slane (797)

God, that settis all on sevin (1045)

The Grene Knight

him that bought mee deare (384)

him that harowes hell (414)

God, that is soe full of might (512)

Guy of Warwick - Auchinleck MS

him þat made sonne & mone (1453)

he... / Þat made man wex in-to eld (1625-26)

Þilke lord þat died on rode (1914)

god, þat alle þing may se (2545)

our lord... / Þat heuen and erþe haueþ in weld (3305-6)

god...þat al may do (3482)

Iesu, þat suffred passioun (3838)

Þilke lord þat woneþ an heye,

Þat al þing walt fer & neye

& in þe rode lete him pini,
 Al cristen men to saui,
 & in þe se made þe sturioun (3891-95)

god þat is ful of miȝt (3909)

god þat is in heuen (4034)

þilke lord þat ȝou made, / & þe niȝt & þe briȝt day (4742-43)

god of heuen, þat made man (5772)

þe lord, þat made me and te (6000)

god, þat al may se (6146)

He þat þe world made (6842)

god, þat is so fre (6868)

God...fader almiȝt,
 þat made þe day & niȝt also,
 & for ous sinful þoldest wo,
 & heldest Daniel fram þe lyoun (7222-25)

him þat schope mankinne (6:3)

him þat schop mankende (9:6)

him...þat þis world wan
 To sauen al man-kende (12:2-3)

him þat bar þe croun of þorn (22:5)

him þat on rode gan blede
 Wiþ grimly woundes sare (25:2-3)

God þat al mankende haþ bouȝt (28:2)

him þat schope mankende (28:9)

him þat bar þe croun of þorn (31:4)

godes loue in trinite, / þat þis world haþ in won (47:8-9)

God al-miȝten... / þat is so muchel of miȝt (76:2-3)

him þat suffred ded (77:12)

Lord,...god al-miȝt, / Þat made þe þerkenes to þe niȝt (102:5)

Iesu love... / Þat died þe on rode tre (137:10-11)

god, þat schope al mankinde (165:10)

him þat schadde for ous his blod (169:11)

Lord...þat wiþ hond / Made wode, water, & lond (170:4-5)

Lord...god almiȝt / Þat winde, & water, & al þing diȝt (197:1-2)

Iesu, þat sitt in trone (198:3)

For his loue þat þis world haþ wrouȝt (200:8)

god, þat al þing walt,
& maked wiþ his hond (231:8-9)

him þat dyed on rode
& þat for ous schadde his blod
To bigge ous alle fre (246:7-9)

Lord...þat rered Lazeroun
& for man þoled passioun,
& on rode gan blede,
Þat saued Sussan fram þe feloun.
& halp Daniel fram þe lyoun (252:1-5)

god þat al may weld (254:3)

Þe heiȝe king þat sitteþ on heiȝe
Þat welt þis world fer & neiȝe (257:10-11)

him þat al þis world haþ wrouȝt (266:2)

him þat made man (272:8)

god... / Þat sit in trinite (299:5-6)

Guy of Warwick - 15th Century Version

Iesu, that syttyth aboue (224)

god...þat beste may (705)

God, þat dyed on a tree (1223)

God, that dyed on a tre (1327)

god, that ys bolde (1935)

hym, þat all þys worlde haþe wrought (2344)

He... / That made þys worlde (2451-52)

hym, that made sonne and moone
And for vs was on rode done (3151-52)

God, that suffurde hys pascioun (3604-5)

That ylke Kynge, þat syttyþ in heuyn,
That made þe erthe and þe planetys seuyn
And in the see the sturgone (3653-55)

god, that dyed on a tre (4091)

god, þat made boþe nyght and day (5499)

God,...þat wyll not fayle (5542)

god... / That for vs dyed vpon a tree (5697-98)

God, that dyed on a tre (5823)

god, that dyed on a tree (5905)

For hys loue, that dyed on tree (6133)

Lorde...þat boght vs all (6556)

God, that dyed on a tree (6563)

God,...of myght so stronge,
That madyst bothe day and nyght
And dyed on tre for synfull wyght
And sauyd Sampson fro the lyon (6892)

god, that sate in trynyte (7131)

God, þat dyed on a tre (7389)

God, þat borne was of Marye (7750)

God...that beste maye (7786)

Mary sone / That for vs on a rode was done (7853-54)

Lorde...god almyght / That made bope þe day and nyght (8001)

goddys sone, / That made bope sonne and mone (8117-18)

lord þat þe wroght (8326)

god, þat all hath wroght (8605)

Iesu, þat ys myn affywance (8813)

god, that made water and fyre (9236)

God...al weldande / That stabulde bope watur and lande (9477-78)

God, that dyed on the rode (9760)

hym, that thys worlde wan (9874)

For hys loue... / That syttyth aboue in trynyte (10115-6)

lorde, þat reysed Lazerowne
And Sampson werred fro þe lyon
And socurde Susan fro þe felons,
þat wolde haue slayn hur be tresons (10193-96)

hym, þat schope all thyng
And suffurde dethe vpon þe rode
All for mankyndeys gode (10392-94)

hym, that sytteth in trynyte (10452)

Iesu Cryste all weldyng, / That art god and crowned kynge (10735-6)

hym, þat borne was of Marye (10856)

For hys loue, þat þys worlde haþ dyʒt (11158)

lorde, þat all thyng wroght
And mannys sowle fro helle boght (11199-11200)

hys name... / That suffurde deþe vpon a tre (11813-14)

Havelok

Him... / þat for vs wolde on rode blede (102-3)

Crist, þat al kan wisse and rede (104-5)

Jhesu Crist, þat Lazarun
To liue broucte fro dede-bondes (331-32)

Iesu Crist, þat makede mone (403)

Crist þat maude mone and sunne (436)

Jesu Crist, þat makede to go
þe halte and þe doumbe speken (542-43)

God þat makes to growen þe korn (1168)

Jesu Crist, þat made mone (1315)

þw þat sittes in trone (1317)

Louerd, þat al weldes
Wind and water, wodes and feldes (1360-61)

þe Louerd þat man on leues (1782)

Crist, þat alle folk onne leues (2106)

Crist þat wolde on rode blede (2404)

Lovelich's *History of the Holy Grail*

him that Sit In Maieste (XII 80)

thi Creatour... / That Into this world þe made forth go (XII 207-8)

him that Of Alle thinges Is domes man (XII 247)

him that deyde On tre (XII 282)

god that deydest vppon the Crois

And On the signe of this thow suffredest ded
Vppon the tre In thin Manhed (XII 287-90)

he that alle thing gan spelle (XIII 629)

him...that him bowht (XII 684)

God that Sittest In Maieste (XIV 457)

him that Suffrede ded (XIV 478)

the kyng of Cristene... / That Of Alle thing knoweth the begynneng,
And demen schal Atte laste Endyng,
And Of Al this world Saviour Is he (XV 34-37)

Iesu Crist.../.../ That is lord of Alle Cristiente (XV 85-87)

Crist & god Above / That hem doth Save that him welen love (XV 161-62)

Fadir, Sone & holigost, / Wiche that Is Of Myhtes Evere Most (XV 223-24)

his Name that was of Most powere,
Whiche Is Fadir, and sone, And holy gost,
On God and thre persones, Of myhtes Most (XV 250-52)

Anoper it Is, that is ful of Beute
And of al goodnesse In Eche degre (XV 283-84)

theke same body... / The wheche In the virgine took his plas (XV 361-62)

that lord... / That for vs he suffrede ded,
Mannes sowle to beyen fram pe qued (XV 511)

him that Is 3owre saviour
Wheche schal 3ow kepen In Every stour (XV 569-70)

Fadir & Sone & holigost / Whiche that Is lord Of Mihtes Most (XV 623-24)

him... / That so dere In this world the bowht (XV 776)

him In whom thou hast Creauce (XVI 101)

That lord that kyng of Cristene Is (XVI 111)

him... / That hath so mucche strengthe & power,
Sike Men Forto keveren there (XVI 166-68)

þe Fadir, sone, & holigost, / Whiche that Is lord of Mihtes Most (XVI 173-74)

That Most Worthy Lord that becam Manne (XVI 206)

the holy gost / That Evere Is lord Of Myhtes Most (XVI 259-60)

Goddis Sone / That In the Maydeins wombe dide wone (XVII 339-40)

God þat is in Maieste (XVII 354)

hem þat þe bowht (XXII 204)

him that me dere hath bowht (XXII 330)

him that vs alle hath bowht (XXVI 198)

Jeus Crist, Goddis sone, / that for vs on the Roode was done (XXVII 272-73)

Jesus that was Maryes sone (XXVIII 25)

he whiche Alle thowhtes doth knowe (XXIX 49)

Crist, Goddis Sone of hevene,
that Into therthe discended with Mylde stevene (XXXI 293-94)

he that knoweth Alle thing (XXXII 439)

he that is Aboven Alle thing (XXXII 483)

he that knoweth Alle Manere of thing (XXXII 597)

god Alone, / That Aboven Sitteth In his trone (XXXIII 299-300)

the holy gost- / Whiche is lord of mihtes Most (XXXIV 175-76)

hym that of Alle Comfort he is (XXXVII 61)

Cryst... / whiche that was kyng of alle kynges (XXXVII 296-97)

Iesus that be-Cam Man Erthle (XXXVII 630)

the holy gost / the wheche that is lord Of myhtes most (XLVI 153-54)

[he] that is kyng of kinges / Wheche is Iesus Crist, lord Ouer al thynges (XLVI 165-66)

God þat deyde On Roode (XLVII 86)

the holy gost/whiche þat is lord Of myhtes Most (XLVIII 299-300)

hym that mochel good kanne,
that ladde the Children of Israel
throw þe Rede se bothe drye & wel (XLIX 24-26)

fadir, sone, and holy gost, / wheche is but On god of mytes most (XLIX 283-84)

God that Alle things wrowhte,
And al this world thou Madest of Nowhte,
The sonne, the Mone, and the fowre Elemens,
and Of A virgine to be born with-Owten offenses,

and Sethen On Croys I-don thow were,
 and there-vppon I-stongen with a spere,
 that so suffredist þou tormentes Many & felle,
 thy peple to beggen Owt of helle;
 and thanne from deth to lyve þou Ryse Ageyn
 Of thin Owne Myht, Lord, In Certeyn (XLIX 308-17)

God and verray prophete, / that On the Cros his lyf dyde lete (L 255-56)

that lord that Sit On hye (LI 106)

for his loue þat On Cros Gan deye (LIII 244)

goddis Sake / which that daye for hym deth gan take (LVI 361-62)

Horn Childe and Maiden Rimneld

God of heven þat me bouȝt (523)

Ipomadon A

grette god, that oweth this day (477)

grette god, that made me (930)

god, that ys but one (1241)

god, þat owth this day (1291)

hym, þat made the mone (1296)

grette god, that oweth þis day (1311)

hym, that made vs boþe of noughte
 All this world to wyne (1323-24)

grette god, þat all hath wrought (1328)

grette god, þat oweth this day (1338)

god, that owthe þis day (1489)

god, that is but one (1617)

gode, that syttes above (1805)

hym, that all shal wolde (1893)

that, þat ys but one (1916)

grette god, þat all hathe wrouȝte (2106)

god, þat ordeyned all pinge (2154)

hym, that owethe þis daye (2165)

god, that all hathe wrought (2207)

god, that owes þis daye (2225)

grette god, that you wroughte (2234)

god, þat is but one (2262)

grette god... / That moste is meke and mylde (2731)

god, þat made bothe old & yinge (4358)

grette god, that me made (4369)

god, that is good (4476)

hym, that all made off noughte (4642)

god, that all hathe wroughte (5121)

god off heyvyn, that all maye (5169)

hym, that made bothe yong & old (5206)

god, that sitteth above (5345)

god, that all hathe wrought (5451)

grette god, that hathe me wroughte (6055)

god, þat is but one (6092)

for his loue, that sittes in hevyn (6639)

god, that sittis abovne (6654)

hym, that all welde maye (6807)

hym, that weldyth heyven on hight (7407)

god, that ys of myghtes gode (7552)

god, that all hathe wrought (7717)

Thou, that has made bothe lesse & more (7854)

hym, þat made the mone (7961)

hym, that all hathe wrought (8116)

god, that moste beste maye (8224)

god, that made the mone (8397)

grette god, that owethe this day (8592)

god... / That weldythe heyven on hee (8632-33)

God...

.....
Which made vs bothe of nought (8724-26)

hym, that owethe this daye (8795)

That good lorde... / That bought vs on the rode tre (8886-87)

hym, that made bothe nyght & day (8889)

The Jeaste of Syr Gawayne

god that me dere bought (247)

Joseph of Arimathie

He... / þat was ded on pe cros . & bouzte us so deore (68-69)

Kyng Alisaunder

He þat made heuen and helle (Lincoln's Inn 1284)

him þat made day and nyzt (2682)

Lord Crist þat þis world eyzte (3852)

god þat syt aboue (6430)

God þat made þe myddelerd (6741)

King Horn

[Driȝte] þat me makede (171)

The King of Tars

him þat dyed on þe rode (40)

Ihesus our saueour / Þat suffred woundes fiue (56-57)

þi lord þat suffred passioun (455)

Ihesu Crist... / Þat made Adam & Eue (488-89)

Ihesu... / Þat alle þis world haþ wrouȝt (516)

him þat ous haþ wrouȝt (606)

Ihesu Crist, þat þis world wan (616)

Ihesu Crist, þat made man (677)

him, þat þis world wan (701)

Ihesu Crist in trinite, / Þat of Mari was bore (725-26)

þe Faders name, / Þat sitt in Trinite (755-56)

þe Fader, þat is ful of miȝt (758)

God, þat sitt in trone (770)

Ihesu... / Þat þoled woundes fiue (818-19)

Ihesu, þat Iudas sold (906)

him þat dyed on tre (1044)

him þat þoled wounde (1180)

him þat dyed on rode (1221)

The Knight of Curtesy and the Fair Lady of Faguell

god that is aboue (103)

Jesu that was don on the rode (495)

Lai le Freine

Iesu Crist, / That sinful man bedes herst (167-68)

Lancelot of the Laik

hyme the wich is euery thing certan (488)

hyme that euery thing hath cure (1130)

Hyme, the wich that haith the wrocht (1327)

Hyme, the wich haith euery strinth (1476)

He, the Iug that no man ay susspek (1632)

Iesu Crist, wich ay in hewyne sal wonne (2044)

He... / That of the Blessit Vyrgyne vas ybore (2046-47)

God that euery thing hath vroght (2055)

God, the wich that is the soueran lech (2069)

Ihesu...that is our salweour (2094)

The Laud Troy Book

Fadir, sone, and holi gost,
In whom is witte and myghtes most (3-4)

God, that this world made round (981)

him that al this world hath wrouȝt (2030)

him that made this werlde (2068)

him that sittes in trone (2414)

him that al this world wroght (3879)

him, that made sonne & mone (4048)

god, that alle thyng weres (4878)

him vs wroght (5513)

him that made Adam and Eue (6390)

god that is In vnite (7420)

him that sit in trone / And made bothe sonne and Mone (7657-58)

him that made al mydelerd (8349)

him that al this world hath wrouzt (8458)

him that made alle thyng,
Tre to growe and gras to spryng (8887-88)

him that made bothe deth and lyff (10258)

him that is so ful of myzt
And maked bothe day & nyzt (10337-38)

him that made sonne & mone (12140)

him that me to man has wroght (12317)

God þat made bothe lond & se (13197)

god that dwelled In hevene (14623)

him that made leff on tre (14948)

god that made sonne & mone (16533)

him ʒow boght (16817)

him that made al mydelerde (16835)

him that schope book & belle (17009)

him vs bouzt (17318)

him that made bothe Twede & Trent (17440)

him that made bothe sonne & mone (17474)

him that made bothe erthe & heuene (17651)

him that al this world gyes (18043-4)

god that maked pes (18549)

God that died vpon the tre,
That schede ther his swete blode
Opon that blisful croys, that rode,

For synful mannes saluacioun (18650-53)

Lybeaus Desconus

God þat boʒt me dere (195)

Cryst. / Þat yn þe flome tok baptyste (211-12)

God þat schop mankende (522)

God... / Þat alle pys world wrouʒt (671-72)

He... / Þat for vs gan blede
And wyth hys blod vs bouʒt (673-75)

For his loue... / That died for all mankynde
And in Bedlem was borne (Lambeth Pal. 855-57)

The Lyfe of Ypomedon (Ipomedon B)

God þat dyed vppon a tree (858)

For His loue þat vs dere bought (1484)

God... / That dyed on rode for grete and smalle (2346)

Lovelich's Merlin

Fadir and sone & holi gost, / whiche that ben of myhtes most (47-48)

hym that ʒow bowht (302)

Fadyr and sone and þe holygost, / whiche that is on God and of Myhtes most (489-90)

God, þat is Most of Myht (524)

hym.../that aʒens the devel for the gan fyht,
and bowht the with his precious blood,
and for the deyde vppon the Rood (743-46)

god, that almyhty js (1136)

god of Myhtes Most, / which is fadir, sone, & holygost (1603-4)

God that is al-Myhtty (3670)

hym that for vs hadde paid Rawnsom (4312)

God, that Syt anhyghe in Maieste (4382)

the goode Lorde... / that savede hem þat weren forlore (6871-72)

cris... / that is of alle kynges the kyng (6983)

hym that is kyng of See and Londe (7422)

hym that schal vs saue (19658)

that lord þat sit in Mageste (26842)

Stanzaic *Morte Arthur*

hym þat all this world hath wrought (373)

hym þat alle this world hath wrought (468)

hym þat bought me with his blode (766)

hym thatt me to man gan shape (1386)

hym that on the Rode gon sprede
And for vs bare the crone of thorne (1392-93)

lord kyng of All thede!
That all the worlde shall Rede and Ryght (1415-16)

hym that you dere bought (2299)

god that All shall rede and Ryght (2313)

Ihesu cryste... / That All thys worlde wrought and wan (2439)

hym that made sonne and mone (2449)

hym that All thys world shall welde (2917)

hym that for vs suffred payne (3012)

For hys loue that dyed on Rode (3247)

Iudas that Ihesus sold (3250)

hym that bare the crowne of thorne (3555)

Ihesu, that is kyng of blysse (3631)

god, that All myghtis maye (3652)

hym that vs hathe bought (3718)

for hys loue that dyed on Rode (3851)

Ihesu that crownyd was with thorne (3894)

Ihesu, that suffred woundes sore (3968)

Alliterative *Morte Arthure*

Criste...þat Kyng es of Heuen (285)

the austeryn jugge / That all þis werlde wynly wysse[s] as hym lykes (670-71)

all-weldand Gode þat wurscheppeþ vs all (1059)

for His lufe that heghe in heuen sitteþ (1261)

Creatoure, þat comfurthes vs all (2196)

The myghte and þe magestee þat menskes vs all
That was merked and made thurghe þe myghte of Hym seluen (1302-3)

For His luffe that the lente this lordchipe in erthe (2319)

the Renke that on the Rode dyede (3217)

Criste þat me made (3385)

a Childe...þat chefe es of hevyne (3649)

His freliche face that fourmede vs all (3808)

Octovian

hym that all may welde (249)

Jhesu, that syttyth yn trynyte (958)

God þat ys of myȝtys gode (1618)

Octouian Imperator (Southern Octavian)

Ihesu, þat was wyth spere ystounge
And for vs hard & sore yswounge (1-2)

hym þat made heuen & helle (140)

For hys loue, þat Iudas sold (543)

for hys loue, þat made heuene & helle (741)

hym þat made Adam and Eue (878)

Iesu... / In heuene þat sytte (1125)

Otuel a knight

ihu crist... / Þat him hadde so dere a-bouȝt (23-24)

god þat made alle þing (206)

ihu þat is ful of miȝt (288)

ihu, þat is fol of miȝt (412)

him þat þolede deþ on tre (892)

god þat is a-boue (917)

him þat maude adam & eue (1165)

ih'u, þat is fol of miȝt (1167)

god, þat al þe world haueþ wrouȝt (1192)

him, þat made leef & bouȝ (1197)

For his loue þat ȝoure good is (1708)

Otuel and Roland

god that thys world had dyȝt (549)

good þat ys in trinite (1174)

hym... / That of a womman was y-bore (1326)

hym þat hath alle þys world y-wrouȝt (1605)

hym þat for ous bledde (1656-57)

the holy name, / That alle thyng made of nouȝt (2341-42)

god in trinite, / þat for ous blede (2416-17)

Ihesu, þat syttyth in trinite (2421)

god Almyȝt, / that ys on heye in heuene lyȝt (2556-57)

Partenay

that lord whych is Almightye (Prologue 61)

he which sterres gan to name (15)

lord god...that angelles formed hast (196)

god...which is our chef fader hye (302)

That lorde...which is eternall (2597)

[God] Which somer, wynter made by hys excellence,
All thatt is and hath be by hys huge prudence (6439-40)

Ihesu, þat all thyng hast to iuge (6539)

Partonope of Blois

lorde,...that made thys lyghte (694)

him that Iudas solde (869)

he þat made both Este and weste (1115)

Gode...þat me hath wroȝte (1119)

Gode þat syttethe a-bofe (1848)

Cryste þat was borne of Marye,
þat boghte vs fram hell wyth hys presious blodde (1892-93)

þat lorde / þat in gouernaunce haþe all þe worlde (5002-3)

God, þat syttethe a-boue (5030)

Lorde Gode Omnipotent / That erþe, water and ffyrmente
Atte O worde madyste all of noghte (6010-12)

goode lorde þat syttete a-boue (6337)

O fadir of hevyn omnipotent,
That erthe, water, and firmament

Madest of nought at oo worde,
 And after into þis wreched worlde
 Sendist þi sone mankynde to take,
 And suffridest hym dey for oure sake (6676-81)

for þe lordes love, / That all þing maketh and sitteth a-bove (7303-4)

God þat sitteth in heven a-bove (7673)

he þat all þis worlde did make / Of nought (9429-30)

God þat sitteth a-bove (10765)

God, þat all ladies hath made (11752)

Rauf Coilyear

him that me bocht (182)

greit God that mekill was of micht (338)

Christ that was Cristinnit (495)

gracious God that bocht us sa deir (718)

God, that maist of michtis may (885)

him... / That maker is of all (893-94)

Reinbrun

Iesu, þat ert of miȝte most (1:1)

Iesu, þat sit in trinite (26:2)

god... / Þat was of Marie bore (30:12)

god, þat alle þing weld (65:12)

godes loue in trinite / þat is lord [so] fre (69:2-3)

god... / Þat sit an heȝ in trone (84:5-6)

him þat made me (108:2)

Richard Coer de Lyon

For his loue that we haue sought (729)

God, þat deyde vpon þe tree (1065)

Cryst... / Þat bouȝt vs alle fro þe qued (1273-74)

hym that made mone and sterre (2449)

Jhesu, þat in heuene syt (4188)

ffor hys loue þat deyde on roode (4497)

he þat made heuene and helle (4976)

Ffor his loue þat Judas solde (5396)

ffor my lordes loue, / Þat syttes heyȝe in heuene aboue (5515-16)

He þat on þe rode gan blede,
And suffryd grymly woundes ffyue,
And sippen ros ffrom deþ to lyue,
And bouȝte mankynde out of helle,
And sippen þe fendes pouste gan felle,
And afftyr steyȝ vp into heuene (5592-97)

he þat made mone and sunne (5642)

my Lord so goode, / Þat bouȝt vs alle with his blude (6271-72)

Robert of Sicily

Crist, þat for vs gon dye (441)

Roland and Vernagu

ihu our saueour, / Þat al þis world haþ wrouȝt
Þat he on suffred passioun,
Of þe croice & of þe croun (96-99)

ihu, / þat is ful of vertu
Þat bare þe croun of þorn (671-73)

The lord þat þis world wan (723)

he þat ous boȝt / & al þing maked of nouȝt (725-26)

Þat ich lord þat wiþ his miȝt
In a maiden a-liȝt,
Y-born for to be (776-78)

god þat al þing weld (841)

Roswall and Lillian

Jesus / Who bought us with his precious blood,
And for us dyed on the Rood (46-48)

Him that sits on hie (127)

him that was in Bethlehem born (256)

Him that us dear bought (765)

Scottish Troy Fragment One

god of mytth,
That all thinge has ine-to hys sytth,
That ine hys wisdom ande hys sone
Of hevinly thingis has wroutht & done (529-32)

he, þat of mytth maide all (540)

Scottish Troy Fragment Two

Gode, þat ryghtwise is (128)

O 3e allmychti, þat in þis warlde governe (1075)

The Siege of Jerusalem

Crist, þat þey on croys slowen (268)

þat bou3t vs fram bale with blod of his herte (496)

The Siege of Melayne

god þat awe this day (399)

þe Fader and þe Sone and þe holy goste,
.....

þat Borne was of Marye free,
Sythen for vs dyede one a tree (410-13)

þou þat was borne of a May
.....

þat with thi blode vs boghte (430-32)

Criste þat Iudas solde (465)

hym þat on rode gan blede (1014)

god þat is in heven
 Þat lent vs myghte & mayne (1100-1)

god þat awe this day (1379)

Iesu Criste þat sittis aboffe (1384)

God þat made all thyng (1509)

hym þat swelt on tree (1456)

The Siege of Troye

god þat hym bouȝte (Arundel 3001)

Sir Amadace

God þat is bote of all bale (202)

God þat me dere boȝte (213)

him, that deut on rode
 Þat for vs sched his precius blode,
 For þe and monkynd all (457-59)

he þat schope bothe sunne and mone (467)

Be God þat me dere boȝte (705)

For his lufe, þat deet on tre (736)

him þat deet on rode (738)

God, þat me dere boȝte (742)

For his luffe þet deut on tre (754)

For his luffe þat deet on tre (760)

Sir Cleges

Hym þat dyed on the rode (57)

Hym þat made all thyng of nowȝt (275)

Hym... þat me bowȝt (283)

For Hys loue þat made man (302)

Hym þat made all thyng of nowȝt
And dyed on the rode (306-7)

oure Lord, that vs dere bowȝt
And on the rode gan blede (335-36)

Hym þat me bowȝt (345)

Sir Degaré

God, þat alle thingge mai stere (627)

Sir Degrevant

Hym þat maste es of myghte (227)

He þat alle weldys (304)

Hym þat dyed on þe tre (734)

Hym þat dyed on þe tre (1741)

Sir Eglamour of Artois

Ihesu þat es heuens Kyng (1)

hym þat werede þe crown of thorne (292)

God þat made man (325)

God, þat es beste (663)

Ihesu þat dyede on þe crosse verrayly (994)

Sir Ferumbras

god of heuene þat al þyng knoþ & seep (174)

god almiȝt þat for ous gan blede (398)

þe lord þat schep lef and tree heuene & eke helle (541)

For his loue þat al may see (754)

þilke crist þat þou lyuest on (1050)

iesus, þat boʒtest ous wiþ þy blode (1153)

god þat made þis werlde rounde (1274)

god þat me haþ bouʒt (1786)

God þat ys our Sauyor þat al þyng knowþ & seep (1794)

Lord,...þat al þyng sest & wost (2108)

god of miʒt þat diede on þe rode
Hwich of marie þat mayde briʒt while tok flechs & blode,
.a[nd] dayde for mannys gode (2579-81)

Þe heʒ kyng of heuene þat art of miʒtes most (2719)

for his loue þat daiede on rod (2928)

Iesu lord...þat syttest on þymaieste,
And seest boþ fer & hende (3615-16)

Ihesu...þat al þyng canst boþe dele & diʒt (3915)

Lord, þat madest sunne, mone, / Lond & water cler (3947-48)

ihesu, þat ert heuene kyng (4249)

hym þat flechs of Marie tok (5177)

god þat sit in trone (5398)

gode sone / þat in marye y-kened was;
& suppe of hure body y-bore, Wyþ-oute wem & wiþ-oute hore (5723-25)

Sir Gawain and the Carl of Carlisle

He...þat þe dere boʒte (529)

For his loue þat yn Bedlem was borne (574)

for his love þat yn Bedlem was borne (589)

Sir Gawain and the Green Knight

He þat on hyʒe syttes (256)

Hym þat me wroʒt (399)

þat Syre þat ... / Of a burde watʒ borne oure baret to quelle (751-52)

Jesus and Sayn Gilyan, þat gentyle ar boþe (774)

þat ilk Lorde þat þe lyfte haldez (1256)

He þat spedez vche spech (1292)

þe Hapel... / Þat haldez þe heuen vpon hyʒe (2056-57)

God... þat me gost lante (2250)

He... þat ʒarkkez al menskes (2410)

þe Wyʒe... / Þat vphaldez þe heuen and on hyʒ sittez (2441-42)

þat bere þe croun of þorne (2529)

Sir Gowther

God, that art of myghtis most,
Fader and sone and holy gost,
That bought man so dere (1-3)

god, þat Mare bare (240)

God and Marye... / Þat most is of poste (243)

god... / On rode þat boʒtt hym dere (405)

god of hevun, / Þat schope þo nyʒt and þo de Yus seyvun (517-18)

god... / Þat formod boþe blod and bon (632-33)

Þat lord, þat is most of meyn (756)

Sir Landevale

For His loue that shed His blode (516)

Sir Launfal

God þat all may stere (684)

Jhesus, þat ys Heuenekyng (1042)

Sir Perceval of Gales

þat all þis werlde wroughte (284)

god... / þat all this wyde werlde wan (629-30)

Sir Triamour

god that for vs dye can (1044)

Sir Tristrem

Crist... / þat don was on þe tre (390-91)

god, þat man hap bouȝt (664)

Sir Torrent of Portyngale

God, that ys worthy and Bold (1)

god, that Dyed appon a Rode (112)

Jesu... / That bought hym with hys blod (134-35)

hyme, that mad man (199)

Iesu Cryst... / That hathe thys world to wyld (206-7)

god, that ale may wyld (242)

God, that sofryd wonddes sare (335)

hym, that schope bothe watyr and lond (567)

God, that Dyed on the Rood (643)

god, that all may (672)

hym, þat dyed on tre (888)

god, þat dyed on Rode (988)

Iesus... / That hym helpith day & nyght (1340-41)

Iesu love, that died on Rood (1447)

god, that made man

And died vppon a tree (1495-96)

hym, that all shall weld (1628)

Iesu, that made hell (1702)

Iesu is love, that harood hell (1799)

God, that died vppon the Rode (2008)

Iesu Cryst, that all hath wrought (2664)

Sir Ysumbras - Cotton Text

God that made both erthe and hevenne
And all this worlde in deyes seven,
That is full of myghthe (1-3)

God... / That for us shedde his blode (134-35)

Jesu Criste that is so fre (136)

For his loue that dyed on rode,
And with his blode us bowghte (233-34)

For his love that dyed on rode (272)

Sir Ysumbras - Thornton Text

God.../ That done was one the rode (130-31)

For His lufe that dyede on the rode (fode)
And made this worlde of noghte (247-48)

For His lufe that dyed on rode (286)

Gode, that beres the heghe crowne (389)

God that made bothe see and lande (732)

The Song of Roland

god þat me hathe bought (163)

crist.. / þat died on the rood (230-31)

crist, that sittis in hevyn (506)

he þat heuyn weldis (509)

our lordis loue, þat is god euer (552)

lord... / that made heuyn and erthe & man for to rest (606-7)

hym that fedithe seintis (764) ?

The Sowdon of Babylon

God in glorye of myghteste moost,
That al thinge made in sapience

.....
And all, þat is in erthe, wroght (1-5)

god, þat dere me boght (757)

þat lord, þat me dere hath bought (1097)

God that is in magiste (1228)

Lord, God in Trinite, / That of myghtis thou arte moost (1311-12)

him þat made me man, / And boght me with his hert blode (1345-46)

þat god, þat hath me wroght (1675)

him, þat boght him with his blode (1732)

god, þat made heven so cler (1813)

him, þat is almyghty aboue (1901)

God...þat gafe me life (1909)

god, that berithe the crown (2298)

God that is in heven (2530)

god, that me der hath boghte (2910)

that lorde, þat deyde on rode (3146)

The Squire of Low Degree

Hym that dyed on Good Frydaye (146)

For His loue that harowed hell (148)

Hym that dyed on a tre (151)

Titus and Vespasian

[He] þat maked all þe worlde of noght (208)

God Lorde, þat curteys is (473)

Crist, þat is curteys at nede (535)

my Lord, þat is so swete (634)

Jesu Crist... / þat God almightefull sone is (905-6)

hym þat is God... / Of heven, of erthe, and also of helle,
þat weldeth all þat þerinne dwelle (1200-2)

Crist, þat saveth mankynde (2166)

Lorde Jhesu, þat is so free (2639)

Lorde God, þat is so hende (3441)

Jhesu Crist þat sit on hye (3764)

Goddes sone... / þat alle þinges hath in his wolde (4287-88)

He þat is God and Lorde of alle (5137)

The Turke and Gowin

Iesus / that saued vs from all wrake (293-94)

The Wars of Alexander

god...þat gaf me þe soule (865)

þat god...þat gatt me on erthe (1313)

grete god at gyes all þe sternes (1766)

he þat stiʒe to þe sternes (3595)

þat hiʒe god þat all oure happe haues (4475)

[God] þat fourmed þe flode & þe flynt & þe faire lyndis (4576)

god þat all of glett fourmed (4619)

þat hathill at on hiʒe sittis (4647)

ȝour creatour at ȝow of clay fourmed (4674)

[h]e...þat sysed all þe werde (4781)

þat sire þat sett all þe werd (5078)

The Weddynge of Sir Gawen and Dame Ragnell

God that ay is helpand (464)

William of Palerne

Crist þat is krowned heye King of heven (252)

Crist...þat King is of heven (277)

Crist, þat on croice was peyned (350)

Crist þat þe made (987)

god þat me gaf þe gost and þe saule (992)

God, þat madest man and al middelerþe (1004)

He þat made man mest (1433)

God, þat me gaf þe gost and þe soule (1559)

þe heiȝh King þat al heven weldes (1651)

þat blisful barn þat bouȝt us on þe rode (1669)

God þat me made (1743)

He þat was in Bedleem born and bouȝt us on þe rode (1802)

God þat me made (2001)

grete God þat gart me be fourmed
and bitterly wiþ his blod bouȝt me on þe rode (2082-83)

God þat me gaf þe gost and þe soule (2120)

God þat gart me be fourmed (2168)

for þat blessed barnes love þat in hire [Mary] bodi rest (2230)

him þat wiþ his blod bouȝt vs on þe rode (2360)

He þat suffred for our sake sore wondes five (2510)

him þat me bouȝt (2538)

þe Lord þat let ȝou be fourmed (2675)

for þe blisful barnes loue þat hire [Mary] brestes souked (2701-2)

for Goddes love þat gart þe be fourmed (2793)

for his love þat let us be fourmed (3007)

Crist...þat al mankinde schaped (3120)

Crist, þat on croice was peyned (3127)

him þat us wrouȝt (3133)

Crist þat me made (3148)

þat menskful Lord þat us alle made (3164)

God, þat me gaf þe gost and þe soule (3386)

Crist...[þat] on croiyce deied (3493)

He þat heried helle (3725)

Crist þat al weldes (3753)

him þat ȝou bouȝt (3806)

God þat me fourmed (3984)

him þat us wrouȝt (4129)

Crist þat on croyce us bouȝt (4138)

Crist...þat on croyce was peyned (4151)

God þat us wrouȝt (4366)

for his loue þat mad man (4403)

God...þat gart me be fourmed (4468)

Crist, þat on croyce was peyned (4518)

Crist þat me wrouȝt (4624)

Crist þat me bouȝt (4738)

God.. þat gart me be fourmed (4749)

he þat vs bouȝt (5003)

him þat me bouȝt (5196)

Crist, on croyce þat was peyned (5203)

God þat us wrouȝt (5420)

Krist, þat on croyce was peyned (5424)

þat blisful burn þat bouȝt vs on þe rode (5534)

Ywain and Gawain

Almyghti God þat made mankyn (1)

grete God þat aw þis day (92)

thorgh his might þat tholed wownd (383)

him þat for vs sufferd pine (489)

God þat me has made (1723)

God þat for vs sufferd wounde (2871)

comly Crist þat heried hell (2874)

God þat governs alkin thing (3649)

For hys luf þat lens us lif (3483)

SECTION TWO: THE FORMULAE LISTED CONCEPTUALLY

To qualify for inclusion in the main body of this section of the catalogue a formula must appear in the corpus three times. Section K records miscellaneous phrases occurring less frequently.¹ The catalogue orders the formulae according to eight major conceptual groups: the Creation (A); Old Testament attributes (B); the Incarnation and Nativity (C); the Crucifixion and Passion (D); the Redemption (E); other scriptural attributes such as the baptism of Christ and the miracles (F); omnitemporal attributes (G); eschatological attributes (H); and, finally, a group of miscellaneous pious phrases (J).² Each section is subdivided according to a key term, generally the verb employed in the formula but occasionally the rhyme word, and additionally divided according to the grammatical subject given in each formula: Proper Name, Pronoun or Proper Noun.

Presentation

(a) In order to indicate the different verse schemes of respective formulae, all couplet verses, four stress and longer, are given in standard type whilst tail-rhyme lines are marked out by the symbol ‘▶’ and alliterative lines by ‘□’.

(b) Formulae appearing in rhymed verse are listed with their rhyme words printed in parentheses thus:

him þat made sonne & mone (sone) (GW 1453)

Alliterative formulae are likewise set out with alliterating words printed in parentheses:

□ for Goddes love þat gart þe be fourmed (greve) (WP 2793)

¹ Certain exceptions are made (attention will be drawn to these) where supporting material from other genres suggests the formulaic character of the phrase.

² ‘I’ is omitted to avoid typographical confusion with numerals employed in the text.

(c) Formulae in non-rhyming positions and alliterative half-lines which are not alliteratively linked across the stave—(aa / xx) (xx / aa)—are marked with an asterisk:

grette god, that made me * (Ip A 930)

□ for his loue þat mad man - * (WP 4403)

(d) Where alliterative half-lines appear, their position relative to the caesura will be indicated by the use of a hyphen, thus for an a-line:

□ He þat lendethe with - (CA 99)

and for a b-line:

□ - God þat me made (WP 1743)

(e) Accusative pronouns occasioned in context by the use of a preposition—‘by him’, ‘for him’—will not be emended to the nominative form, e.g.:

him þat made sonne & mone (sone) (GW 1453)

(f) Where two distinct tags are collocated, the font of the tag not appropriate to the conceptual heading (e.g. Creator, redeemer) will be diminished. For example, where the Passion is the subject heading a two-line tag will be printed thus:

him þat Judas sold
 ▶ & died opon þe rode (mode) (wode) (blode) (A&A 1109-10)

A. THE CREATION

A1 'Sun and Moon'

A1.1 God god that made sonne & mone (sone) (LTB 16533)

A1.2 Jesus / Christ Crist þat maude mone and sunne (kunne) (Hav 436)

A1.3 Pronoun he þat made mone and sunne (wunne) (RCL 5642)

him þat made sonne & mone (sone) (GW 1453)

hym, that made sonne and moone (done) (Guy B 3151)

he þat schope bothe sunne and mone (done) (SA 467)

him that made sonne & mone (done) (LTB 12140)

him, that made sonne & mone (done) (LTB 4048)

him that sit in trone

And made bothe sonne and Mone (LTB 7657-58)

him that made bothe sonne & mone (done) (LTB 17474)

him þat maide baith sone and mone (done) (GHBA 6803)

hym that made sonne and mone (wone) (on) (sone) (SMA 2449)

A1.4 Proper Noun that ylke lord...that made sonne and mone (vppone) (F 663)

goddys sone, / That made boþe sonne and mone (Guy B 8117-18)

Lord, þat madest sunne, mone (bone)

Lond & water cler (her) (SF 3947-48)

A2 'Adam and Eve'

A2.1 Pronoun him that made Adam and Eue (to-cleue) (LTB 6390)

hym þat made Adam and Eue (beleue) (greue) (Oct Imp 878)

him þat maude adam & eue (leue) (Ot 1165)

A2.2 Jesus / Christ Iesu Crist...

▶ þat made Adam & Eue (greue) (bileue) (eue) (KT 487-89)

A3 'Heaven and hell'

- A3.1 Pronoun** hym þat made heuen & helle (telle) (Oct Imp 140)
 for hys loue, þat made heuene & helle (telle) (nelle) (Oct Imp 741)
 He þat made heuen and helle (telle) (KA Lincoln's Inn 1284)
 he þat made heuene and helle (telle) (RCL 4976)
- A3.2 Proper Noun** þe lord þat schep lef and tree heuene & eke helle (duelle) (SF 541)

A4 'Heaven and earth'

- A4.1 God** God that made both erthe and hevenne
 And all this worlde in deyes seven (SY Cotton 1-2)
- A4.2 Pronoun** him that made bothe erthe & heuene (seuene) (LTB 17651)
- A4.3 Proper Noun** lord... / that made heuyn and erthe & man for to rest (best)
 (SR 606-7)

A5 'Day and night'

- A5.1 God** god of hevun,
 Pat schope þo nyȝt and þo deys seyvnun (SG 517-18)
 god, þat made boþe nyght and day (away) (Guy B 5499)
 God,...of myght so stronge,
 That madyst bothe day and nyght (wyght) (Guy B 6892)
 God,...fader almiȝt
 Þat made þe day & niȝt also (GW 7222-23)
 Lorde...god almyght
 That made boþe þe day and nyght (Guy B 8001)
 [God] ► That made both daye and nyght (lyght) (dyght) (myght)
 (Cap 3)
- A5.2 Pronoun** him þat made day and nyȝt (ryȝt) (KA 2682)
 hym, that made bothe nyght & day (pray) (Ip A 8889)
 him that is so ful of myȝt
 And maked bothe day & nyȝt (LTB 10337-38)
- A5.3 Proper Noun** Þilke lord þat ȝou made,
 & þe niȝt & þe briȝt day (may) (GW 4742-43)

A6 'Sea and Land / Sand'

- A6.1 God** God þat made bothe lond & se (be) (LTB 13197)
- God that made bothe see and lande (hande) (SY Thornton 732)
- God...al weldande
That stabulde boþe watur and lande (Guy B 9477-78)
- A6.2 Pronoun** hym, that schope bothe watyr and lond (stond) (TP 567)
- A6.3 Proper Noun** þat ryghtwes kyng
▶ That made both see and sonde (londe) (Em 17-18)

A7 Other doublets

- A7.1 God** god, þat made bothe old & yinge (þinge) (Ip A 4358)
- god...
▶ Þat formod boþe blod and bon (tan) (anon) (mon) (SG 632-33)
- A7.2 Pronoun** him, þat made leef & bouȝ (ynouȝ) (Ot 1197)
- him that made bothe deth and lyff (wiff) (LTB 10258)
- him that made bothe Twede & Trent (went) (LTB 17440)
- him that schope book & belle (telle) (LTB 17009)
- hym, that made bothe yong & old (wold) (Ip A 5206)
- Thou, that has made bothe lesse & more (sore) (Ip A 7854)

A8 'The moon'

- A8.1 God** god, that made the mone (done) (Ip A 8397)
- A8.2 Jesus / Christ** Iesu Crist, þat makede mone (sone) (Hav 403)
- Jesu Crist, þat made mone (sone) (Hav 1315)
- A8.3 Pronoun** hym, þat made the mone (mys-doone) (Ip A 1296)
- hym, þat made the mone (done) (Ip A 7961)

A9 'Man'**A9.1 God**

God þat made man (þan) (SE 325)

god of heuen, þat made man (non) (GW 5772)¹

god, that made man (thanne) (TP 1495)

□ God, þat madest man and al middelerþe (WP 1004)

A9.2 Jesus / Christ Ihesu Crist, þat made man (can) (KT 677)

A9.3 Pronoun him þat made man (þan) (GW 272:8)

□ He þat made man mest - (mot) (WP 1433)

□ for his loue þat mad man - * (WP 4403)

hyme, that mad man (wane) (TP 199)

him þat made me man, (than) (SB 1345)

Him þat manhed wrocht (thocht) (GHBA 434)

For Hys loue þat made man (than) (SC 302)

A9.4 Proper Noun Louerd, þat madest man (bigan) (FB 964)

A10 'Mankind'**A10.1 God**

God þat schop mankende (wende) (sende) (ende) (LD 522)

god, þat schope al mankinde (finde) (GW 165:10)

Almyghti God þat made mankyn (syn) (YG 1)

A10.2 Jesus / Christ □ Crist...þat al mankinde schaped (quen) (WP 3120)

A10.3 Pronoun him þat schope mankinne (blinne) (tvinne) (winne) (GW 6:3)

him þat schop mankende (hende) (wende) (ende) (GW 9:6)

him þat schope mankende (hende) (fende) (ende) (GW 28:9)

him þat schop man-kende (wende) (A&A 1042)

¹ Cf. *Sir Ferumbas*, l.107: 'Mahoun þat made man'*

A11 'All things'**A11.1 God**

God þat made all thyng (Lettyng) (kyng) (dyng) (SM 1509)

god þat made alle þing (king) (Ot 206)

□ God, þat alle gomus schop . & alle gode þingus (A&D 996)

god that al thing hath shape (ascape) (Gen 7296)

god þat al made (glade) (G 469)

god, þat al þing walt

▶ & maked wip his hond (lond) (schond) (vnderstond)
(GW 231:8-9)

God.../ That al thinge made in sapience (excellence)

.....
And all, þat is in erthe, wroght (thought) (SB 1-5)

A11.2 Pronoun

he, þat of mytth maide all (fall) (STF1 540)

him þat made all thinge (kinge) (harmyng) (AKA 830)

him, þat schope all thyng (kyng) (Guy B 10392)

him that made alle thyng,

Tre to growe and gras to spryng (LTB 8887-88)

A12 'Of nought'**A12.1 God**

God... / . . . /

▶ Which made vs bothe of nought (wrought) (sought) (raught)
(Ip A 8724-26)

God that Alle things wrowhte,

And al this world thou Madest of Nowhte (LHG XLIX 308-9)

A12.2 Pronoun

hym, that made vs boþe of noughte (nought) (Ip A 1323)

hym, that all made off noughte (wroghte) (Ip A 4642)

he that fourmed all this world of nought (thought) (Gen -rr- 1995)

he þat ous boʒt,

& al þing maked of nouʒt (R&V 725-26)

Hym þat made all thyng of nowʒt (browʒt) (SC 306)

His lufe that dyede on the rode

- And made this worlde of noghte (wroghte) (soghte) (noghte)
(SY Thornton 247-48)

A12.3 Proper Noun the holy name,

- That alle thyng made of nouȝt (y-wrouȝt) (brouȝt) (thouȝt)
(O&R 2341-42)

fadir of hevyn omnipotent

That erthe, water, and firmament

Madest of nought at oo worde (worlde) (PB 6676-81)

A13 'World / middle earth'

A13.1 God God þat made þe myddelerd (herd) (KA 6741)

God, that this world made round (sound) (LTB 981)

god that thys world had dyȝt (knyȝt) (O&R 549)

A13.2 Jesus / Christ for Crystes love...

That made this world and dayes seven (heuen) (Cap 236)

Iesu, that is all weldand,

That shope all this world rounde (Bradmond)

(BH Chetham 1212-13)

A13.3 Pronoun He þat þe warld made * (GW 6842)

He... / That made þys worlde * (Guy B 2451-52)

him that made this werlde (herde) (LTB 2068)

him that made al mydelerd (aferd) (LTB 8349)

him that made al mydelerde (a-ferde) (LTB 16835)

For hys loue, þat þys worlde haȝ dyȝt (knyght) (Guy B 11158)

□ [h]e...þat sysed all þe werde (seerties) (seet) (WA 4781)

A13.4 Proper Noun □ þat sire þat sett all þe werd (sette) (WA 5078)

A14 'Made' + 1st p. sing.

14.1 God ► grette god, that me made (fade) (hadde) (brade (Ip A 4369)

grette god, that made me * (Ip A 930)

□ - God þat me made (agrise) (WP 1743)

□ - God þat me made (gladli) (WP 2001)

God þat me has made (hade) (YG 1723)

14.2 Jesus / Christ □ - Crist þat me made * (WP 3148)

□ - Criste þat me made (Kyng) (karpes) (AMA 3385)

14.3 Pronoun him þat made me (he) (R 108:2)

14.4 Proper Noun [Driȝte] þat me makede (ver[r]ade) (KH 171)

A15 'Made' + 2nd p. sing.

15.1 Jesus / Christ □ - Crist þat þe made (comeliche creature) (WP 987)

15.2 Proper Noun þilke lord þat ȝou made (sade) (GW 4742)

thi Creatour / That Into this world þe made forth to go (do)
(LHG XII 207-8)

A16 'Made' + 1st p. pl.

16.1 Jesus / Christ Ihesu Lord.. / . . . /

► That made vs on þe mulde (fold) (hold) (schulde)
(AKA 1144-48)

16.2 Pronoun He þat made vs on þe mulde (folde) (wold) (AKA 1)

His handis...

That ws has made, and in þis world ws send (commend)
(GHBA 12777)

16.3 Proper Noun □ þat menskful Lord þat us alle made (Madame) (WP 3164)

A17 'All this world wrought'

17.1 God god, þat al þe world haueþ wrouȝt (nouȝt) (Ot 1192)

grete Godd / /

► þat all þis werlde wroughte (oughte) (soughte) (noughte)
(SPG 282-84)²

17.2 Pronoun him that al this world wroght (ought) (LTB 3879)

² Cf. *Duke Rowland and Sir Otuell of Spayne*, ll. 104-5: 'Mahoun... / ► þat alle þis worlde hase wroghte' (noghte) (broghte) (boghte).

him that al this world hath wrouȝt (brouȝt) (LTB 2030)

him that al this world hath wrouȝt (brouȝt) (LTB 8458)

hym þat hath alle þys world y-wrouȝt (pouȝt) (O&R 1605)

hym þat all this world hath wroght (thought) (nought) (brought)
(SMA 373)

hym þat alle this world hath wrought (thoghte) (nought) (bought)
(SMA 468)

Ihesu cryste...

That All thys worlde wroght and wan (Ranne) (man) (by-ganne)
(SMA 2438-39)

ihu our saueour,

▶ þat al þis world hap wrouȝt (brouȝt) (nouȝt) (O&R 96)

A18 'All (things)'

18.1 God

grette god, þat all hathe wrouȝte (nouȝte) (Ip A 2106)

▶ god, that all hathe wroughte (thoughte) (brought) (nowghte)
(Ip A 5121)

god, that all hathe wrought (boughte) (Ip A 5451)

▶ god, that all hathe wrought (noughte) (soughte) (broughte)
(Ip A 2207)

grette god, þat all hath wrought (nought) (Ip A 1328)

god, that all hathe wrought (nought) (Ip A 7717)

God that Alle things wrowhte (Nowhte) (LHG XLIX 308)

God that euery thing hath vroght (nought) (LL 2055)

18.2 Jesus / Christ Iesu Cryst, that all hath wrought (bought) (TP 2664)

18.3 Pronoun ▶ hym, that all hathe wrought (besought) (brought) (noughte)
(Ip A 8116)

A19 'Wrought' + 1st p. sing

19.1 God grette god, that hathe me wroughte (noughte) (Ip A 6055)

bat god, bat hath me wrought (bought) (SB 1675)

19.2 Jesus / Christ ☐ - Crist bat me wrouzt (comli) (knizt) (WP 4624)

19.3 Pronoun him that me to man has wrought (aboght) (LTB 12317)

☐ - Hym bat me wrozt (wot) (where) (wonyes) (SGGK 399)

A20 'Wrought' + 2nd p. sing.

20.1 God ▶ grette god, that you wroughte (nought) (thought) (brouzte)
(Ip A 2234)

20.2 Pronoun Hyme, the wich that haith the wrocht (thocht) (LL 1327)

him zow wrought (noght) (LTB 13095)

A21 'Wrought' + 1st p. pl.

21.1 God ☐ - God bat us wrouzt* (WP 4366)

☐ - God bat us wrouzt (WP 5420)

21.2 Pronoun him vs wrought (noght) (LTB 5513)

☐ - him bat us wrouzt* (WP 3133)

☐ - him bat us wrouzt* (WP 4129)

A22 'Formed' + 1st p. sing.

22.1 God ☐ grete God bat gart me be fourmed (WP 2082)

☐ God...bat gart me be fourmed (grece) (WP 2168)

☐ - God bat me fourmed* (WP 3984)

☐ God...bat gart me be fourmed (WP 4468)

☐ God..bat gart me be fourmed (WP 4749)

22.2 Proper Noun that lord that formyd me of nowght (thought) (Gen - rr - 4677)

A23 'Formed' + 2nd p. sing.

23.1 God □ for Goddes love þat gart þe be fourmed (greve) (WP 2793)

23.2 Proper Noun □ þour creatour at þow of clay fourmed (knew) (WA 4674)

A24 'Formed' + 1st p. pl.

24.1 Pronoun □ His freliche face that fourmede vs all (AMA 3808)

□ for his love þat let us be fourmed (lordinges) (WP 3007)

A25 'Ghost /soul / life'

25.1 God □ God...þat me gost lante (Gawayn) (SGGK 2250)

□ god þat me gaf þe gost and þe saule (WP 992)

□ God, þat me gaf þe gost and þe soule (WP 1559)

□ God pat me gaf þe gost and þe soule (WP 2120)

□ God, þat me gaf þe gost and þe soule (WP 3386)

□ god...þat gaf me þe soule (god) (gome) (WA 865)

God...þat gafe me life (wife) (SB 1909)

25.2 Pronoun □ him þat lente hem hur lif & hur limus made (A&D 413)

For hys luf þat lens us lif (strife) (YG 3483)

A26 Miscellaneous Creator Phrases

26.1 God □ þat god...þat gatt me on erthe (gome) (WA 1313)

□ God, that settis all on sevin (swere) (sothfast)
(nevin) (evin) (levin) (G&G 1045)

god, þat made heven so cler (Bauer) (SB 1813)

god that thys world had dyȝt (knyȝt) (O&R 549)

□ God þat þe ground wrought (gouernaunse)
And ilke a planet hase put in a plaine course (DT 422-23)

lord god...that angelles formed hast (fast) (P 196)

God, þat all ladies hath made (glade) (PB 11752)

God þat makes to growen þe korn (born) (Hav 1168)

26.2 Jesus / Christ Iesu, that made hell (Desonell) (TP 1702)

26.3 Pronoun □ He þat lendethe with - (leyne) (CA 99)

him... / That maker is of all (call) (RC 893-94)

hym thatt me to man gan shape (take) (lake) (make) (SMA 1386)

□ him þat schop vs to schap - (schal) (A&D 330)

hym, þat dyed on tree,

▶ That schope man aftur hys face (was) (case) (dystress)
(ET 947-48)

he which sterres gan to name (fame) (P 15)

he... / Þat made man wex in-to eld (weld) (GW 1625-26)

26.4 Proper Noun □ þe fadur, þat first fourmyt all thinge (DT 4395)

□ lord þat lengus in heuene

Þat al þe membrus of a man made at his wille (A&D 706-7)

Lord...god almiȝt

Þat winde, & water, & al þing diȝt (GW 197:1-2)

Þilke lord þat woneþ an heye,

Þat al þing walt fer & neye

& in þe rode lete him pini,

Al cristen men to saui,

& in þe se made þe sturioun (malisoun) (GW 3891-95)

That ylke Kynge, þat syttyþ in heuyn,

That made þe erthe and þe planettyes seuyn

And in the see the sturgone (malysone) (Guy B 3653-55)

lorde,...that made thys lyghte (bryghte) (PB 694)

□ þe lord, þat the light made (Like) (DT 4412)

Lord,...god al-miȝt,

Þat made þe þerkenes to þe niȝt (GW 102:5)

Lord...þat wiþ hond

Made wode, water, & lond (GW 170:4-5)

lor, þat alle þys world weldest at wylle,
and madyst adam by-fore under an hylle (F 1045-46)

Souerain mageste...
Which somer, wynter made by hys excellence,
All thatt is and hath be by hys huge prudence (P 6438-40)

B. OLD TESTAMENT ATTRIBUTES

The invocations recorded in this section are rare, most occurring once only in the corpus. They are recorded in this separate section rather than grouped with the miscellaneous phrases (section K) for greater ease of reference.

B1 Crossing of the Red Sea

B1.1 Pronoun hym that mochel good kanne, (thanne)
 that ladde the Children of Israel
 throw þe Rede se bothe drye & wel (LHG XLIX 24-26)

B2 Samson

B2.1 God God,...of myght so stronge.
 That madyst bothe day and nyght
 And dyed on tre for synfull wyght
 And sauyd Sampson fro the lyon (dragon) (Guy B 6892)

B2.2 Proper Noun lorde, þat reysed Lazerowne
 And Sampson werred fro þe lyon (Guy B 10193-94)

B3 Daniel in the Lions' Den

3.1 God God,...fader almiȝt,
 þat made þe day & niȝt also,
 & for ous sinful þoldest wo,
 & heldest Daniel fram þe lyoun (dragoun) (GW 7222-25)

3.2 Proper Noun Lord...þat rered Lazeroun

 & halp Daniel fram þe lyoun (feloun) (GW 252:1-5)

B4 Vindication of Susanna

4.1 Proper Noun Lord...þat rered Lazeroun

 þat saued Sussan fram þe feloun (lyoun) (GW 252:1-4)

lorde, þat reysed Lazerowne
 And Sampson werred fro þe lyon
 And socurde Susan fro þe felons,
 þat wolde haue slayn hur be tresons (Guy B 10193-96)

□ þe fadur...
 That saued Susanne fro sorowefulle domus (CA 90-91)

C. INCARNATION AND NATIVITY

C1 Incarnation

C1.1 God

god of miȝt þat diede on þe rode
Hwich of marie þat mayde briȝt while tok flechs & blode (gode)
(SF 2579-80)

C1.2 Jesus / Christ

Crist, Goddis Sone of hevene,
that Into therthe discended with Mylde stevene
(LHG XXXI 293-94)

Jesus that be-Cam Man Erthle (we) (LHG XXXVII 630)

C1.3 Pronoun

hym þat flechs of Marie tok (bok) (SF 5177)

C1.4 Proper Noun

O sunne off grace, that fro the hevynly trone (fordone)
Descendyst in-to this world! * (A&C 1778-79)

gode sone / þat in marye y-kened was;
& suppe of hure body y-bore, Wyþ-oute wem & wiþ-oute hore
(SF 5723-25)

goddes son of heuyn,
That came to our kynde throgh a cleane Maydon (DT 4299-4300)

theke same body... / The wheche In the virgine took his plas (was)
(LHG XV 361-62)

That Most Worthy Lord that becam Manne (thanne)
(LHG XVI 206)

Goddis Sone
That In the Maydeins wombe dide wone (LHG XVII 339-40)

þat ich lord þat wiþ his miȝt
In a maiden a-liȝt,
► Y-born for to be (me) (se) (trinite) (R&V 776-78)

C2 'Born in Bethlehem'

2.1 Pronoun

□ He þat was in Bedleem born and bouȝt us on þe rode
(WP 1802)

□ him þat in Bedeleem was borne euer to ben our bote
(Godote) (fote) (risshrote) (AA 549)

For his loue... / That died for all mankynde
 ► And in Bedlem was borne
 (j-borne) (lorne) (torne) (LD Lambeth Palace 855-57)

For his loue þat yn Bedlem was borne (morne) (SGCC 574)

for his love þat yn Bedlem was borne (to-morne) (SGCC 589)

C3 'Born of a maid'

3.1 God

god þat ys in mageste,
 þat y-bore was of a mayde in clere virginite (F 279-80)

hym, that borne was of a may (day)
 (BH Chetham, matching Auchinleck l.1953)

3.2 Pronoun

þou þat was borne of a May, (day) (SM 430)

C4 'Born of Mary'

4.1 God

god...
 ► þat was of Marie bore (y-lore) (bore) (y-swore) (R 30:11-12)

God, þat borne was of Marye (gramercye) (Guy B 7750)

► god, þat Mare bare (þare) (sare) (lare) (SG 240)

for Goddes love...

► That was of Marye borne (scorne) (forlorne) (beforne)
 (Cap 263-64)

þe Fader and þe Sone and þe holy goste,

þat Borne was of Marye free (tree) (SM 410-12)

4.2 Jesus / Christ

Ihesu Crist in trinite,
 ► þat of Mari was bore (sore) (lore) (more) (KT 725-26)

Cryste þat was borne of Marye, (lye) (PB 1892)

gode sone / þat in marye y-kened was;
 & suppe of hure body y-bore, Wyp-oute wem & wip-oute hore
 (SF 5723-25)

4.3 Pronoun

By hym that was of Mary borne (lorne) (BH Chetham 3827)

ffor that ilke lordys loue that bore was of marye (companye)
 (F 319)

C5 Other**5.1 Pronoun**

He...

That of the Blessit Vyrgyne vas ybore (quhar-fore) (LL 2046-47)

hym... / That of a womman was y-bore (y-lore) (O&R 1326)

Hym verray

That is our Savyour,

That borne was of that blyssed floure (Savyour) (Cap 24-26)

5.2 Proper Noun

□ þat Syre þat ...

Of a burde watȝ borne oure baret to quelle (SGGK 751-52)

For his loue, that werid the crown of thorne,

And also on this holy day was borne (BH, Chetham 483-84)

□ for þe blisful barnes loue þat hire [Mary] brestes souked
(WP 2701-2)

D. THE BETRAYAL

D1 'Sold'

1.1 Jesus

▶ Ihesu, þat Iudas sold (cold) (bold) (hold) (KT 906)

1.2 Pronoun

him þat Judas sold (bold) (A&A 1109)

him þat Judas sold (cold) (A&A 1663)

him at Judas sold (wold) (A&A 2080)

him that Iudas solde (holde) (PB 869)

Ffor his loue þat Judas solde (olde) (RCL 5396)

▶ For hys loue, þat Iudas sold (wold) (hold) (Oct Imp 543)

□ Hym...that saiklese wes sald (tald) (bald) (wald) (G&G 3)

1.3 Judas

Iudas that Ihesus sold (bolde) (hold) (tolde) (SMA 3250)

E. CRUCIFIXION AND PASSION

E1 'Passion'

E1.1 God

God þat suffred passioun (Amiloun) (A&A 1253)

god þat suffred passioun (adoun) (A&A 2117)

God, that suffurde hys pascioun (baron) (Guy B 3604-5)

E1.2 Jesus / Christ

Iesu, þat suffred passioun (baroun) (GW 3838)

ihu our saueour,
þat al þis world haþ wrouȝt
þat he on suffred passioun,
Of þe croice & of þe croun (R&V 96-99)

E1.3 Proper Noun

þi lord þat suffred passioun (Mahoun) (KT 455)

Lord...þat rered Lazeroun
& for man þoled passioun (GW 252:1-2)

E2 'Died / done on Rode'

E2.1 God

godde þat diede on rode (stode) (DR 1268)

God þat deyde On Roode (goode) (LHG XLVII 86)

god, that Dyed appon a Rode (blod) (TP 112)

God, that Dyed on the Rood (wood) (TP 643)

god, þat dyed on Rode (stod) (TP 988)

God, that died vppon the Rode (good) (TP 2008)

God, that dyed on the rode (mode) (Guy B 9760)

God... / That dyed on rode for grete and smalle (alle) (LI 2346)

god of miȝt þat diede on þe rode (blode) (SF 2579)

God... / That done was one the rode (mode) (stode) (fode)
(SY Thornton 130-31)

E2.2 Jesus / Christ

Jesus / Who bought us with his precious blood,
And for us dyed on the Rood (R&L 46-48)

ihesu crist that sytteth ous alle aboue
And vppon the rode deyde for oure alder loue (F 1671-72)

crist.. / þat died on the rood * (SR 230-31)

Iesu love, that died on Rood (good) (TP 1447)

Jesu that was don on the rode (fode) (KC 495)

Jesu Crist, Goddis sone,
that for vs on the Roode was done (LHG XXVII 272-73)

E2.3 Pronoun

him þat dyed on rode (blode) (A&A 592)

him þat dyed on rode (gode) (A&A 819)

him þat Judas sold

▶ & died opon þe rode (mode) (wode) (blode) (A&A 1109-10)

him þat dyed on rode (mode) (A&A 1652)

him þat died on rode (gode) (A&A 1759)

him þat dyed on rode (mode) (A&A 1940)

hym þat dyed on rod (god) (ET 136)

him þat dyed on þe rode (blode) (KT 40)

him þat dyed on rode (blod) (stode) (hode) (KT 1221)

him þat dyed on rode (blod) (GW 246:7)

him, that deut on rode (blode) (SA 457)

▶ him þat deet on rode (gode) (vndurstode) (gode) (SA 738)

Hym þat dyed on the rode (good) (modde) (blode) (SC 57)

Hym þat made all thyng of nowȝt

▶ And dyed on the rode (mode) (good) (mode) (SC 306-7)

Hym þat dyed on rode (mode) (BF 1511)

For hys loue that dyed on Rode (stode) (blode) (mode)
(SMA 3247)

for hys loue that dyed on Rode (blode) (gode) (yode) (SMA 3851)

ffor hys loue þat deyde on roode (mode) (RCL 4497)

for his loue þat daiede on rod (god) (SF 2928)

For his loue that dyed on rode (fode) (SY Cotton 233)

For his love that dyed on rode (fode) (SY Cotton 272)

For His lufe that dyede on the rode (fode) (SY Thornton 247)

For His lufe that dyed on rode (fode) (SY Thornton 286)

hym, that made sonne and mone,
And for vs was on rode done (Guy B 3131-32)

hym, þat schope all thyng
And suffurde dethe vpon þe rode (gode) (Guy B 10392-93)

hym...
that aʒens þe devel for the gan fyht,
and bowht the with his precious blood,
and for þe deyde vppon the Rood (LM 743-46)

E2.4 Proper Noun þilke lord þat died on rode (gode) (GW 1914)

that lorde, þat deyde on rode (goode) (SB 3146)

□ the Renke that on the Rode dyede (reuenge) (AMA 3217)

Mary sone
That for vs on a rode was done (Guy B 7853-54)

E3 'Died / done on tree'

E3.1 God God, þat dyed on a tree (the) (Guy B 1223)

God, that dyed on a tre (bee) (Guy B 1327)

god, that dyed on a tre (cyte) (Guy B 4091)

god... / That for vs dyed vpon a tree (see) (Guy B 5697-98)

God, that dyed on a tre (poste) (Guy B 5823)

god, that dyed on a tree (the) (Guy B 5905)

God, that dyed on a tree (me) (Guy B 6563)

God, þat dyed on a tre (vylane) (Guy B 7389)

God that dyed on tre (see) (BF 1430)

God, þat deyde vpon þe tree (bee) (RCL 1065)

God that died vpon the tre, (cyte) (LTB 18650)

God þat dyed vppon a tree (he) (L1 858)

god allmyght,

▶ That dyed on the tree (mee) (free) (bee) (ET 386-87)

god, that made man

▶ And died vppon a tree (onfre) (he) (be) (TP 1495-96)

þe Fader and þe Sone and þe holy goste,

.....
þat Borne was of Marye free,

Sythen for vs dyede one a tree (SM 410-13)

God...of myghte so stronge,

That madyst bothe day and nyght

And dyed on tre for synfull wyght (Guy B 6892-94)

E3.2 Jesus / Christ Crist...

▶ þat don was on þe tre (he) (se) (me) (fre) (T 390-91)

Iesu love... / þat died þe on rode tre (þe) (GW 137:10-11)

E3.3 Pronoun

Hym that dyed on a tre (me) (SLD 151)

Hym þat dyed on þe tre (be) (SDegrev 734)

Hym þat dyed on þe tre (be) (SDegrev 1741)

▶ him þat dyed on tre (meyne) (be) (ʒe) (KT 1044)

hym þat dyede appon a tree (me) (DR 295)

him that deyde On tre (the) (LHG XII 282)

hym, þat dyed on tre (crystante) (TP 888)

him þat þolede deþ on tre (þre) (Ot 892)

hym þat swelt on tree (see) (SM 1456)

him þat þoled ded on tre (me) (A&M 907)

he, / That ffor vs died vppon a tree (BH Chetham 4431-32)

hym, þat dyed on tree, (the) (ET 947)

hym, þat dyed on tree (me) (ET 1072)

► hym, that dyed on tree (mee) (bee) (free) (ET 1200)

For hys loue, that dyed on tree (me) (Guy B 6133)

For his lufe, þat deet on tre (me) (SA 736)

For his luffe þet deut on tre (be) (SA 754)

For his luffe þat deet on tre (be) (SA 760)

hys name... / That suffurde deþe vpon a tre (þe) (Guy B 11813-14)

E3.4 Proper Noun [Mary's] sone almyghtye,
► þat derely dyede one tree (mee) (contree) (Citee) (DR 1244-45)

For that ilke lordys loue that deyde on a tree (be) (F 221)

E4 'Died on Cross'

E4.1 God god that deydest vpon the Crois (vois) (LHG XII 287)

God and verray prophete,
that On the Cros his lyf dyde lete (LHG L 255-56)

E4.2 Jesus / Christ Ihesu þat dyede on þe crosse verrayly (mercy) (SE 994)

□ Crist...[þat] on croyce deied (quen) (WP 3493)

E4.3 Pronoun for his loue þat On Cros Gan deye (seye) (LHG LIII 244)

□ He... / þat was ded on þe cros . & bouzte us so deore (JA 68-69)

E4.4 Proper Noun the lord, that for alle (celestyalle)
Dyid on the cros* (A&C 1884-85)

E5 'Suffered pain'

E5.1 Pronoun him þat for vs sufferd pine (myne) (YG 489)

hym that for vs suffred payne (sayd) (drayne) (fayne) (SMA 3012)

► hym þat suffryd payne (layne) (slayne) (trayne) (Ath 168)

E6 'Wounds'

- E6.1 God** God þat for vs sufferd wounde (sownde) (YG 2871)
- E6.2 Pronoun** him þat þoled wounde (grounde) (KT 1180)
- thorgh his might þat tholed wownd (stownde) (YG 383)

E7 'Wounds sore'

- E7.1 God** God, that sofryd wonddes sare (care) (TP 335)
- E7.2 Jesus / Christ** Ihesu, that suffred woundes sore (more) (thore) (lore)
(SMA 3968)
- E7.3 Pronoun** him þat on rode gan blede
▶ Wip grimly woundes sare (care) (fare) (bare) (GW 25:2-3)

E8 'Five Wounds'

- E8.1 Jesus / Christ** Ihesus our saueor
▶ Þat suffred woundes fiue (biliue) (wiue) (þriue) (KT 56-57)
- Ihesu...
▶ Þat þoled woundes fiue (oliue) (wiue) (KT 818-19)
- E8.2 Pronoun** hym þat suffurde woundys fyve (wyfe) (BF 913)
- him þat dyed on rode
& þoled woundes fiue (A&A 1652-53)
- He þat on þe rode gan blede,
And suffryd grymly woundes ffyue (lyue) (RCL 5592-93)
- Hym in Trynyte
▶ That suffurde woundys fyve (belyve) (wyve) (stryve)
(BF 1847-48)
- He þat suffred for our sake sore wondes fiue (WP 2510)
- E8.3 Proper Noun** that ylke lord that tholed woundes fyue (lyue) (F 482)

E9 'Suffered Death'

- E9.1 Pronoun** ▶ him þat suffred ded (qued) (hed) (bred) (GW 77:12)
- him that Suffrede ded (Red) (LHG XIV 478)

hym, þat schope all thyng
 And suffurde dethe vpon þe rode
 All for mankyndeys gode (Guy B 10392-94)

E9.2 Proper Noun that lord... / That for vs he suffrede ded,
 Mannes sowle to beyen fram þe qued (LHG XV 511)¹

E10 'The Crown of Thorns'

E10.1 God God...
 ▶ That wered þe crowne of þhorne (for-lorne) (borne) (be-forne)
 (Em 263-64)

E10.2 Jesus / Christ Ihesu that crownyd was with thorne (borne) (lorne) (morne)
 (SMA 3894)

ihu, / þat is ful of vertu
 ▶ þat bare þe croun of þorn (y-born) (y-corn) (lorn)(R&V 671-73)

E10.3 Pronoun hym þat weres þe corowne off þorn (tomorn) (Ath 270)
 hym þat weres þe corowne off þorn (tomorn) (Ath 444)
 him þat bar þe croun of þorn (biforn) (GW 22:5)
 him þat bar þe croun of þorn (born) (GW 31:4)
 hym þat werede þe crown of thorne (horne) (SE 292)
 hym that on the Rode gon sprede
 And for vs bare the crone of thorne (lorne) (be-forne) (lorne)
 (SMA 1392-93)
 hym that bare the crowne of thorne (lorne) (borne) (forne)
 (SMA 3555)
 ▶ For his loue, þat bar þe croun of þorn (biforn) (A&A 302)
 For his loue, that werid the crown of thorne (borne)
 (BH Chetham 483)
 □ ... þat bere þe croun of þorne (here-biforne) (SGGK 2529)

E10.4 Proper Noun □ ... - þe barne þat bought þe on rode
 þat was crucifiged on croys and crowned with þorne
 (byforne, borne, morne) (AA 222-23)

¹ Cf. RCL: 'And þe croys þat Cryst was on ded, / þat bouȝt vs alle fro þe qued' (1273-74).

E11 'Spear'²**E11.1 God**

god, þat syts above,

▶ That stong was wyth a sper (dysker) (swer) (der) (ET 647-48)

E11.2 Jesus / Christ Ihesu, þat was wyth spere ystounge

And for vs hard & sore yswounge (Oct Imp 1-2)

E12 'Bleed / Blood'**E12.1 God**

god in trinite,

▶ þat for ous blede (stede) (lede) (a-mede) (O&R 2416-17)

god almiȝt þat for ous gan blede (stede) (SF 398)

God...

▶ That for us shedde his blode (mode) (stode) (fode)
(SY Cotton 134-35)

God that died vpon the tre,

That schede ther his swete blode (rode) (LTB 18650-51)

E12.2 Jesus / Christ Iesu Cryst...

▶ Þat leet his woundys blede (rede) (drede) (Ath 625-26)

Crist þat wolde on rode blede (mede) (Hav 2404)

E12.3. Pronoun

hym þat for ous bledde (gredde) (O&R 1656-57)

Him... / Þat for vs wolde on rode blede (mede) (Hav 102-3)

He... / Þat for vs gan blede (dede) (LD 673-74)

He þat on þe rode gan blede (nede) (RCL 5592)

▶ him þat on rode gan blede (dede) (GW 25: 2-3)

hym þat on rode gan blede (spede) (mede) (lede) (SM 1014)

him þat schadde for ous his blod (gode) (GW 169:11)

him þat dyed on rode

& þat for ous schadde his blod

To bigge ous alle fre (þe) (be) (Charite) (GW 246: 7-9)

² An invocation of the spear in a co-ordinate clause appears at the close of *Octouian Imperator* (1961-62). This prompts the inclusion of the relative-clause-based invocations here rather than in the miscellaneous section.

him, that deut on rode
 þat for vs sched his precius blode,
 For þe and monkynd all (fall) (stalle) (alle) (SA 457-59)

For His loue that shed His blode (gode) (SLand 516)

□ He... - þat bled for our Syn (bryng) (blisse) (DT 14044)

E12.4 Proper Noun Lord...þat rered Lazeroun
 & for man þoled passioun
 ▶ & on rode gan blede (rede) (nede) (spede) (GW 252:1-3)

oure Lord, that vs dere bowȝt
 ▶ And on þe rode gan blede (wede) (stede) (rede) (SC 335-36)

E13 Miscellaneous Passiontide phrases

E13.1 God god, that died ffor man be name (shame) (BH Chetham 1019-20)

▶ god that for vs dye can (lemman) (Arragon) (STriam 1044)

God...fader almiȝt,
 þat made þe day & niȝt also,
 & for ous sinful þoldest wo (GW 7222-24)

god of miȝt þat diede on þe rode
 Hwich of marie þat mayde briȝt while tok flechs & blode,
 ...a[n]d dayde for mannys gode (liflode) (SF 2579-81)

E13.2 Jesus / Christ □ Crist, þat þey on croys slowen (cured) (SJ 268)

Crist, þat for vs gon dye (heiȝe) (RS 441)

godis sake...
 which that daye for hym deth gan take (LHG LVI 361-62)

□ Crist, þat on croice was peyned (bikenned) (WP 350)

□ Crist, þat on croice was peyned (conjure) (WP 3127)

□ Crist...þat on croyce was peyned (king) (WP 4151)

□ Crist, þat on croyce was peyned (conjure) (WP 4518)

□ Crist, on croyce þat was peyned (bikenned) (WP 5203)

□ Krist, þat on croyce was peyned (bikenne) (WP 5424)

E13.3 Pronoun

In his name that sofyrryd the Iuys hym crucyfye (opynly)
(A&C 2019)

Hym that dyed on Good Frydaye (praye) (SLD 146)

him þat rest on þe rode (goode) (foode) (AA 231)

him þat rightwisly rose and rest on þe rode (gode) (wode) (fode)
(AA 317)

hym that on the Rode gon sprede (drede) (grede) (nede)
(SMA 1392)

for his saik, that saiklese wes slane (souerane) (Gawane)(vnfane)
(G&G 797)

þilke lord þat woneþ an heye,
þat al þing walt fer & neye
& in þe rode lete him pini,
Al cristen men to saui (GW 3891-94)

E. CRUCIFIXION AND PASSION

E1 'Passion'

E1.1 God

God þat suffred passioun (Amiloun) (A&A 1253)

god þat suffred passioun (adoun) (A&A 2117)

God, that suffurde hys pascioun (baron) (Guy B 3604-5)

E1.2 Jesus / Christ Iesu, þat suffred passioun (baroun) (GW 3838)

ihu our saueour,
þat al þis world hap wrouȝt
þat he on suffred passioun,
Of þe croice & of þe croun (R&V 96-99)

E1.3 Proper Noun þi lord þat suffred passioun (Mahoun) (KT 455)

Lord...þat rered Lazeroun
& for man þoled passioun (GW 252:1-2)

E2 'Died / done on Rode'

E2.1 God

godde þat diede on rode (stode) (DR 1268)

God þat deyde On Roode (goode) (LHG XLVII 86)

god, that Dyed appon a Rode (blod) (TP 112)

God, that Dyed on the Rood (wood) (TP 643)

god, þat dyed on Rode (stod) (TP 988)

God, that died vppon the Rode (good) (TP 2008)

God, that dyed on the rode (mode) (Guy B 9760)

God... / That dyed on rode for grete and smalle (alle) (LI 2346)

god of miȝt þat diede on þe rode (blode) (SF 2579)

God... / That done was one the rode (mode) (stode) (fode)
(SY Thornton 130-31)

E2.2 Jesus / Christ Jesus / Who bought us with his precious blood, And for us dyed on the Rood (R&L 46-48)

ihesu crist that syteth ous alle aboue
And vppon the rode deyde for oure alder loue (F 1671-72)

crist.. / þat died on the rood * (SR 230-31)

Iesu love, that died on Rood (good) (TP 1447)

Jesu that was don on the rode (fode) (KC 495)

Jesu Crist, Goddis sone,
that for vs on the Roode was done (LHG XXVII 272-73)

E2.3 Pronoun

him þat dyed on rode (blode) (A&A 592)

him þat dyed on rode (gode) (A&A 819)

him þat Judas sold

▶ & died opon þe rode (mode) (wode) (blode) (A&A 1109-10)

him þat dyed on rode (mode) (A&A 1652)

him þat died on rode (gode) (A&A 1759)

him þat dyed on rode (mode) (A&A 1940)

hym þat dyed on rod (god) (ET 136)

him þat dyed on þe rode (blode) (KT 40)

him þat dyed on rode (blod) (stode) (hode) (KT 1221)

him þat dyed on rode (blod) (GW 246:7)

him, that deut on rode (blode) (SA 457)

▶ him þat deet on rode (gode) (vndurstode) (gode) (SA 738)

Hym þat dyed on the rode (good) (modde) (blode) (SC 57)

Hym þat made all thyng of nowȝt

▶ And dyed on the rode (mode) (good) (mode) (SC 306-7)

Hym þat dyed on rode (mode) (BF 1511)

For hys loue that dyed on Rode (stode) (blode) (mode)
(SMA 3247)

for hys loue that dyed on Rode (blode) (gode) (yode) (SMA 3851)

ffor hys loue þat deyde on roode (mode) (RCL 4497)

for his loue þat daiede on rod (god) (SF 2928)

For his loue that dyed on rode (fode) (SY Cotton 233)

For his love that dyed on rode (fode) (SY Cotton 272)

For His lufe that dyede on the rode (fode) (SY Thornton 247)

For His lufe that dyed on rode (fode) (SY Thornton 286)

hym, that made sonne and mone,
And for vs was on rode done (Guy B 3131-32)

hym, þat schope all thyng
And suffurde dethe vpon þe rode (gode) (Guy B 10392-93)

hym...
that aʒens þe devel for the gan fyht,
and bowht the with his precious blood,
and for þe deyde vppon the Rood (LM 743-46)

E2.4 Proper Noun þilke lord þat died on rode (gode) (GW 1914)

that lorde, þat deyde on rode (goode) (SB 3146)

□ the Renke that on the Rode dyede (reuenge) (AMA 3217)

Mary sone
That for vs on a rode was done (Guy B 7853-54)

E3 'Died / done on tree'

E3.1 God God, þat dyed on a tree (the) (Guy B 1223)

God, that dyed on a tre (bee) (Guy B 1327)

god, that dyed on a tre (cyte) (Guy B 4091)

god... / That for vs dyed vpon a tree (see) (Guy B 5697-98)

God, that dyed on a tre (poste) (Guy B 5823)

god, that dyed on a tree (the) (Guy B 5905)

God, that dyed on a tree (me) (Guy B 6563)

God, þat dyed on a tre (vylane) (Guy B 7389)

God that dyed on tre (see) (BF 1430)

God, þat deyde vpon þe tree (bee) (RCL 1065)

God that died vpon the tre, (cyte) (LTB 18650)

God þat dyed vppon a tree (he) (LI 858)

god allmyght,

▶ That dyed on the tree (mee) (free) (bee) (ET 386-87)

god, that made man

▶ And died vppon a tree (onfre) (he) (be) (TP 1495-96)

þe Fader and þe Sone and þe holy goste,

.....

þat Borne was of Marye free,

Sythen for vs dyede one a tree (SM 410-13)

God...of myghte so stronge,

That madyst bothe day and nyght

And dyed on tre for synfull wyght (Guy B 6892-94)

E3.2 Jesus / Christ Crist...

▶ Þat don was on þe tre (he) (se) (me) (fre) (T 390-91)

Iesu love... / Þat died þe on rode tre (þe) (GW 137:10-11)

E3.3 Pronoun

Hym that dyed on a tre (me) (SLD 151)

Hym þat dyed on þe tre (be) (SDegrev 734)

Hym þat dyed on þe tre (be) (SDegrev 1741)

▶ him þat dyed on tre (meyne) (be) (ʒe) (KT 1044)

hym þat dyede appon a tree (me) (DR 295)

him that deyde On tre (the) (LHG XII 282)

hym, þat dyed on tre (crystante) (TP 888)

him þat þolede deþ on tre (þre) (Ot 892)

hym þat swelt on tree (see) (SM 1456)

him þat þoled ded on tre (me) (A&M 907)

he, / That ffor vs died vppon a tree (BH Chetham 4431-32)

hym, þat dyed on tree, (the) (ET 947)

hym, þat dyed on tree (me) (ET 1072)

► hym, that dyed on tree (mee) (bee) (free) (ET 1200)

For hys loue, that dyed on tree (me) (Guy B 6133)

For his lufe, þat deet on tre (me) (SA 736)

For his luffe þet deut on tre (be) (SA 754)

For his luffe þat deet on tre (be) (SA 760)

hys name... / That suffurde deþe vpon a tre (þe) (Guy B 11813-14)

E3.4 Proper Noun [Mary's] sone almyghtye,

► þat derely dyede one tree (mee) (contree) (Citee) (DR 1244-45)

For that ilke lordys loue that deyde on a tree (be) (F 221)

E4 'Died on Cross'

E4.1 God

god that deydest vpon the Crois (vois) (LHG XII 287)

God and verray prophete,
that On the Cros his lyf dyde lete (LHG L 255-56)

E4.2 Jesus / Christ Ihesu þat dyede on þe crosse verrayly (mercy) (SE 994)

□ Crist...[þat] on croyce deied (quen) (WP 3493)

E4.3 Pronoun for his loue þat On Cros Gan deye (seye) (LHG LIII 244)

□ He... / þat was ded on þe cros . & bouzte us so deore (JA 68-69)

E4.4 Proper Noun the lord, that for alle (celestyalle)
Dyid on the cros* (A&C 1884-85)

E5 'Suffered pain'

E5.1 Pronoun

him þat for vs sufferd pine (myne) (YG 489)

hym that for vs suffred payne (sayd) (drayne) (fayne) (SMA 3012)

► hym þat suffryd payne (layne) (slayne) (trayne) (Ath 168)

E6 'Wounds'**E6.1 God**

God þat for vs sufferd wounde (sownde) (YG 2871)

E6.2 Pronoun

him þat þoled wounde (grounde) (KT 1180)

thorgh his might þat tholed wownd (stownde) (YG 383)

E7 'Wounds sore'**E7.1 God**

God, that sofryd wonddes sare (care) (TP 335)

E7.2 Jesus / Christ

Ihesu, that suffred woundes sore (more) (thore) (lore)
(SMA 3968)

E7.3 Pronoun

him þat on rode gan blede

▶ Wip grimly woundes sare (care) (fare) (bare) (GW 25:2-3)

E8 'Five Wounds'**E8.1 Jesus / Christ**

Ihesus our saueor

▶ Þat suffred woundes fiue (biliue) (wiue) (þriue) (KT 56-57)

Ihesu...

▶ Þat þoled woundes fiue (oliue) (wiue) (KT 818-19)

E8.2 Pronoun

hym þat suffurde woundys fyve (wyfe) (BF 913)

him þat dyed on rode

& þoled woundes fiue (A&A 1652-53)

He þat on þe rode gan blede,

And suffryd grymly woundes ffyue (lyue) (RCL 5592-93)

Hym in Trynyte

▶ That suffurde woundys fyve (belyve) (wyve) (stryve)
(BF 1847-48)

□ He þat suffred for our sake sore wondes fyve (WP 2510)

E8.3 Proper Noun

that ylke lord that tholed woundes fyue (lyue) (F 482)

E9 'Suffered Death'**E9.1 Pronoun**

▶ him þat suffred ded (qued) (hed) (bred) (GW 77:12)

him that Suffrede ded (Red) (LHG XIV 478)

hym, þat schope all thyng
 And suffurde dethe vpon þe rode
 All for mankyndeys gode (Guy B 10392-94)

E9.2 Proper Noun that lord... / That for vs he suffrede ded,
 Mannes sowle to beyen fram þe qued (LHG XV 511)¹

E10 'The Crown of Thorns'

E10.1 God God...
 ▶ That wered þe crowne of þhorne (for-lorne) (borne) (be-forne)
 (Em 263-64)

E10.2 Jesus / Christ Ihesu that crownyd was with thorne (borne) (lorne) (morne)
 (SMA 3894)

ihu, / þat is ful of vertu
 ▶ Þat bare þe croun of þorn (y-born) (y-corn) (lorn)(R&V 671-73)

E10.3 Pronoun hym þat weres þe corowne off þorn (tomorn) (Ath 270)

hym þat weres þe corowne off þorn (tomorn) (Ath 444)

him þat bar þe croun of þorn (biforn) (GW 22:5)

him þat bar þe croun of þorn (born) (GW 31:4)

hym þat werede þe crown of thorne (horne) (SE 292)

hym that on the Rode gon sprede
 And for vs bare the crone of thorne (lorne) (be-forne) (lorne)
 (SMA 1392-93)

hym that bare the crowne of thorne (lorne) (borne) (forne)
 (SMA 3555)

▶ For his loue, þat bar þe croun of þorn (biforn) (A&A 302)

For his loue, that werid the crown of thorne (borne)
 (BH Chetham 483)

□ ... þat bere þe croun of þorne (here-biforne) (SGGK 2529)

E10.4 Proper Noun □ ... - þe barne þat bought þe on rode
 Þat was crucifiged on croys and crowned with þorne
 (byforne, borne, morne) (AA 222-23)

¹ Cf. RCL: 'And þe croys þat Cryst was on ded, / Þat bouȝt vs alle fro þe qued' (1273-74).

E11 'Spear'²**E11.1 God**

god, þat syts above,

▶ That stong was wyth a sper (dysker) (swer) (der) (ET 647-48)

E11.2 Jesus / Christ

Ihesu, þat was wyth spere ystounge

And for vs hard & sore yswounge (Oct Imp 1-2)

E12 'Bleed / Blood'**E12.1 God**

god in trinite,

▶ þat for ous blede (stede) (lede) (a-mede) (O&R 2416-17)

god almiȝt þat for ous gan blede (stede) (SF 398)

God...

▶ That for us shedde his blode (mode) (stode) (fode)
(SY Cotton 134-35)

God that died vpon the tre,

That schede ther his swete blode (rode) (LTB 18650-51)

E12.2 Jesus / Christ Iesu Cryst...

▶ Þat leet his woundys blede (rede) (drede) (Ath 625-26)

Crist þat wolde on rode blede (mede) (Hav 2404)

E12.3. Pronoun

hym þat for ous bledde (gredde) (O&R 1656-57)

Him... / Þat for vs wolde on rode blede (mede) (Hav 102-3)

He... / Þat for vs gan blede (dede) (LD 673-74)

He þat on þe rode gan blede (nede) (RCL 5592)

▶ him þat on rode gan blede (dede) (GW 25: 2-3)

hym þat on rode gan blede (spede) (mede) (lede) (SM 1014)

him þat schadde for ous his blod (gode) (GW 169:11)

him þat dyed on rode

& þat for ous schadde his blod

To bigge ous alle fre (þe) (be) (Charite) (GW 246: 7-9)

² An invocation of the spear in a co-ordinate clause appears at the close of *Octouian Imperator* (1961-62). This prompts the inclusion of the relative-clause-based invocations here rather than in the miscellaneous section.

him, that deut on rode
 þat for vs sched his precius blode,
 For þe and monkynd all (fall) (stalle) (alle) (SA 457-59)

For His loue that shed His blode (gode) (SLand 516)

☐ He... - þat bled for our Syn (bryng) (blisse) (DT 14044)

E12.4 Proper Noun Lord...þat rered Lazeroun
 & for man þoled passioun
 ▶ & on rode gan blede (rede) (nede) (spede) (GW 252:1-3)

oure Lord, that vs dere bowȝt
 ▶ And on þe rode gan blede (wede) (stede) (rede) (SC 335-36)

E13 Miscellaneous Passiontide phrases

E13.1 God god, that died ffor man be name (shame) (BH Chetham 1019-20)

▶ god that for vs dye can (lemman) (Arragon) (STriam 1044)

God...fader almiȝt,
 þat made þe day & niȝt also,
 & for ous sinful þoldest wo (GW 7222-24)

god of miȝt þat diede on þe rode
 Hwich of marie þat mayde briȝt while tok flechs & blode,
 ...a[n]d dayde for mannys gode (liflode) (SF 2579-81)

E13.2 Jesus / Christ ☐ Crist, þat þey on croys slowen (cured) (SJ 268)

Crist, þat for vs gon dye (heiȝe) (RS 441)

godis sake...
 which that daye for hym deth gan take (LHG LVI 361-62)

☐ Crist, þat on croice was peyned (bikenned) (WP 350)

☐ Crist, þat on croice was peyned (conjure) (WP 3127)

☐ Crist...þat on croyce was peyned (king) (WP 4151)

☐ Crist, þat on croyce was peyned (conjure) (WP 4518)

☐ Crist, on croyce þat was peyned (bikenned) (WP 5203)

☐ Krist, þat on croyce was peyned (bikenne) (WP 5424)

E13.3 Pronoun

In his name that sofyrryd the Iuys hym crucyfye (opynly)
(A&C 2019)

Hym that dyed on Good Frydaye (praye) (SLD 146)

him þat rest on þe rode (goode) (foode) (AA 231)

him þat rightwisly rose and rest on þe rode (gode) (wode) (fode)
(AA 317)

hym that on the Rode gon sprede (drede) (grede) (nede)
(SMA 1392)

for his saik, that saiklese wes slane (souerane) (Gawane)(vnfane)
(G&G 797)

þilke lord þat woneþ an heye,
þat al þing walt fer & neye
& in þe rode lete him pini,
Al cristen men to sauī (GW 3891-94)

F. REDEMPTION

F15 'Bought' + 1st p. sing.

F15.1 God

God of heven þat me bouȝt (nouȝt) (HC 523)

god þat me haþ bouȝt (noȝt) (SF 1786)

▶ God þat me dere boȝte (forthoȝte) (wroȝte) (noȝte) (SA 213)

▶ Be God þat me dere boȝte (broȝte) (noȝte) (oȝte) (SA 705)

God, þat me dere boȝte (noȝte) (SA 742)

god that me dere bought (nought) (JSG 247)

god, þat dere me boght (noght) (SB 757)

god, that me der hath boghte (nought) (SB 2910)

god þat me hathe bought (thought) (SR 163)

▶ God þat boȝt me dere (powere) (were) (fere) (LD 195)

□ grete God þat gart me be fourmed
and bitterly wiþ his blod bouȝt me on þe rode (WP 2082-83)

F15.2 Jesus / Christ □ Crist þat me bouȝt (kepe) (kingdom) (WP 4738)

Iesu, þat bouȝte me so dere (manere) (BH Auchinleck 566)

F15.3 Pronoun

Hym...þat me bowȝt (nott) (SC 283)

▶ Hym þat me bowȝt (myȝt) (wrowȝt) (nott) (SC 345)

□ him þat me bouȝt - (boþe) (WP 2538)

□ - him þat me bouȝt (hasili) (hiȝe) (WP 5196)

▶ him that bought mee deare (dere) (GK 384)

hym þat bought me with his blode (stode) (mode) (Rode)
(SMA 766)

hym þat bought me on þe rode,
Wyth hys swete precyus blode (BF 1105-6)

him that me bocht (thocht) (RC 180)

him þat made me man, (than)
And boght me with his hert blode (SB 1345-46)

F15.4 Proper Noun þat lord, þat me dere hath bought (noughte) (SB 1097)

lorde, þat all thyng wrought
And mannys sowle fro helle boght (Guy B 11199-11200)

F16 'Bought' + 2nd p. sing.

F16.1 God ▶ god þat bouȝt þe dere (here) (frere) (were) (A&A 615)

F16.2 Pronoun He...þat þe dere boȝte (brouȝte) (SGCC 529)

For his loue that hath you bought (noght) (Gen 6580)

hym that you dere bought (A-frought) (wrought) (noght)
(SMA 2299)

□ him þat ȝou bouȝt * (WP 3806)

F17 'Bought' + 1st p. pl.

F17.1 God gracious God that bocht vs sa deir (seir) (deir) (heir) (cheir)
(RC 718)

▶ god, þat boght us der (maner) (kerver) (fer) (ET 864)

F17.2 Jesus / Christ iesus, þat boȝtest ous wiȝ þy blode (stode) (SF 1153)

□ - Crist þat on croyce us bouȝt (WP 4138)

Cryste þat was borne of Marye,
þat boghte vs fram hell wyth hys presious blodde (goode)
(PB 1892-93)

Cryst... / þat bouȝt vs alle fro þe qued (ded) (RCL 1273-74)

Jesus/ Who bought us with his precious blood (Rood)(R&L 46-48)

F17.3 Pronoun □ He.../ þat was ded on þe cros . & bouȝte us so deore (JA 68-69)

□ He þat was in Bedleem born and bouȝt us on þe rode (WP 1802)

□ him þat wiȝ his blod bouȝt vs on þe rode (WP 2360)

□ he þat vs bouȝt - (Bemleem) (bore) (WP 5003)

him vs bouȝt (not) (LTB 17318)

For His loue þat vs dere bought (noght) (LI 1484)

for his sake that vs dere hathe bougth (nowght) (A&C 1890)

For his loue that dyed on rode,

► And with his blode us bowghte
(wroghte) (sowghte) (noghte) (SY Cotton 233-34)

hym that vs hathe bought (not) (thought) (noght) (SMA 3718)

he þat ous boȝt / & al þing maked of nouȝt (R&V 725-26)

Him that us dear bought (nought) (R&L 765)

□ [he] þat bouȝt vs fram bale with blod of his herte (SJ 496)

He... / þat for vs gan blede

► And wyth hys blod vs bouȝt (þouȝt) (brouȝt) (wrouȝt)
(LD 673-75)

hym...

that aȝens the devel for the gan fyht,
and bowht the with his precious blood (Rood) (LM 743-45)

þou þat was borne of a May,

.....
► þat with thi blode vs boghte (noghte) (broughte) (by-soughte)
(SM 430-32)

F17.4 Proper Noun That good lorde...

► That bought vs on the rode tre (aye) (Ip A 8886-87)

oure Lord, that vs dere bowȝt (browȝt) (SC 335)

□ þat blisful barn þat bouȝt us on þe rode (WP 1669)

□ þat blisful burn þat bouȝt vs on þe rode (WP 5534)

□ þe barne þat bought þe on rode (blisse) (bring)
(code) (gode) (rode) (fode) (AA 222)

Lorde...þat boght vs all (halle) (Guy B 6556)

lorde, þat all thyng wroght

And mannys sowle fro helle boght (Guy B 11199-11200)

my Lord so goode,
 þat bouȝt vs alle with his blude (RCL 6271-72)

F18 'Bought' + 3rd p. sing.

F18.1 God god þat hym bouȝte (souȝte) (ST Arundel 3001)

god...

▶ On rode þat boȝtt hym dere (nere) (sere) (þere) (SG 405)

F18.2 Jesus / Christ Jesu...

▶ That bought hym with hys blod (fode) (Rode) (TP 134-35)

Cryst...

▶ That boght hur wyth hys blood (god) (wod) (rod) (ET 1034-35)

ihu crist... / þat him hadde so dere a-bouȝt (nouȝt) (Ot 23-24)

F18.3 Pronoun him, þat boght him with his blode (wode) (SB 1732)

F19 'Bought mankind'

F19.1 God ▶ god, þat man haȝ bouȝt (nouȝt) (souȝt) (brouȝt) (T 664)

God þat al mankende haȝ bouȝt (wrouȝt) (GW 28:2)

God, that art of myghtis most,
 Fader and sone and holy gost,

▶ That bought man so dere (yere) (fere) (here) (SG 1-3)

F19.2 Pronoun In hys name...that bouȝte mankend (fend) (A&C 1862)

In the vertu of hys passyon
 That bought manke[n]d* (A&C 1991-92)

He þat on þe rode gan blede, (nede)
 And suffryd grymly woundes ffyue,
 And sibben ros ffrom deþ to lyue,
 And bouȝte mankynde out of helle (felle) (RCL 5592-96)

F20 'World won'

F20.1 God god...
 þat all this wyde werlde wan (þan) (SPG 629-30)

F20.2 Jesus / Christ Ihesu Crist, þat þis world wan (þan) (KT 616)

Ihesu cryste...

That All thys worlde wroght and wan (Ranne) (man) (by-ganne)
(SMA 2438-49)

F20.3 Pronoun

hym, that thys worlde wan (than) (Guy B 9874)

hym þat al þis worl wan (man) (Ath 136)

him, þat þis world wan (man) (KT 701)

his loue, þat þis world wan (gan) (A&A 1478)

his loue, þat þis world wan (þan) (A&A 1874)

▶ him þat þis world wan (þan) (man) (ran) (A&A 2160)

him þat þis world wan (slan) (A&A 2380)

him...þat þis world wan (þan)

▶ To sauen al man-kende (hende) (frende) (ende) (GW 12:2-3)¹

F20.4 Proper Noun The lord þat þis world wan (man) (R&V 723)

F21 'Saviour'

F21.1 Jesus / Christ Ihesu Cristes sake

▶ þat is oure sauouere (toure) (boure) (honoure) (A&A 68-69)

Ihesu...that is our salweour (flour) (LL 2094)

F21.2 Pronoun

hym that is our saviour (honour) (Gen - rr - 6991)

him that Is ʒoure saviour

Wheche schal ʒow kepen In Every stour (LHG XV 569-70)

F22 Miscellaneous Redeemer Phrases

F22.1 Jesus / Christ Crist & god Above

That hem doth Save that him welen love (LHG XV 161-62)

Iesus / that saued vs from all wrake (vndertake) (T&G 293-94)

Crist, þat saveth mankynde * (T&V 2166)

F22.2 Pronoun

hym that schal vs saue (haue) (LM 19658)

¹ This clause of purpose is appended to a different tag in Amis and Amiloun: 'For his loue, þat bar þe croun of þorn / To saue al man-kende (302-3).

hym...

That delyuerryd yow hath fro peynys smert (hert) (A&C 1868)

hym that for vs hadde paid Rawnsom (Gwerdown) (LM 4312)

his loue...

That died for all mankynde (wende) (LD Lambeth Pal. 855-56)

F22.3 Proper Noun the goode Lorde...

that savede hem þat weren forlore (bore) (LM 6871-72)

heuene kyng that schal me borw (sorw) (F 455)

G. OTHER SCRIPTURAL ATTRIBUTES¹

On account of their literary interest, the invocations of the baptism and miracles, whilst occurring less than the stipulated three times, are included here rather than grouped with the miscellaneous phrases collected in section K.

G1 Baptism

G1.1 Jesus / Christ Cryst / þat yn þe flome tok baptyste (LD 211-12)

Christ that was Christinnit* (RC 495)

G2 Miracles

G2.1 Jesus / Christ Jesu Christ, þat makede to go (wo)
þe halte and þe doumbe speken (wreken) (Hav 542-43)²

G3 Lazarus

G3.1 Jesus / Christ Jhesu Crist, þat Lazarun (prisoun)
To liue broucte fro dede-bondes (hondes) (Hav 331-32)

G3.2 Proper Noun Lord, þat rerede Lazaroun (dragoun) (BH Auchinleck 2839)

Lord...þat rered Lazeroun (passioun) (GW 252:1)

lorde, þat reysed Lazerowne (lyon) (Guy B 10193-96)

G4 The Harrowing of Hell

G4.1 God God þat harewede helle (felle) (Ath 595)

God that Alle things wrowhte,

.....
and Sethen On Croys I-don thow were,

.....
thy peple to beggen Owt of helle (felle) (LHG XLIX 308-15)

G4.2 Jesus / Christ Iesu is love, that harood hell (fell) (TP 1799)

comly Crist þat heried hell (dwell) (YG 2874)

Cryste þat was borne of Marye,

þat boghte vs fram hell wyth hys presious blodde (goode)

(PB 1892-93)

¹ Whilst technically apocryphal rather than scriptural, the important episode of the Harrowing of Hell is included among these attributes.

² God is credited with curative miracles in LHG XVI 166-68: 'him.../ That hath so muche strengthe & power, / Sike Men Forto keveren there'.

G1.3 Pronoun

hym...that haruyd helle (telle) (A&C 1935)

him þat herwede helle (selle) (BH Auchinleck 4469)

▶ him that harrowes hell (tell) (GK 414)

He that harowed hell (parell) (ET 256)

□ He þat heried helle - (harm) (WP 3725)

For His loue that harowed hell (dwell) (SLD 148)

He þat on þe rode gan blede.

.....
And bouzte mankynde out of helle (felle) (RCL 5592-95)

G1.4 Proper Noun

lorde, þat all thyng wrought

And mannys sowle fro helle boght (Guy B 11199-11200)

H. ESCHATOLOGICAL ATTRIBUTES

H1 'Weld'

H1.1. God

▶ god þat al may weld (feld) (helde) (ʒelde) (GW 254:3)¹

H1.2 Pronoun

▶ hym that all may welde (fylde) (vphele) (ʒelde) (Oct 249)

hym, that all shall weld (feld) (TP 1628)

hym that All thys world shall welde (sheld) (yeld) (feld)
(SMA 2917)

▶ hym, that all shal wolde (bold) (olde) (beholde) (Ip A 1893)

▶ hym that all schall welde (elde) (selde) (BF 558)

H2 'Judge'

H2.1 God

□ God þat iuge is of ioie - (iugged) (AD 1118)

H2.2 Jesus / Christ

Ihesu, þat all thyng hast to iuge (refuge) (P 6539)

H2.3 Pronoun

He, the Iug that no man may ay susspek (correk) (LL 1632)

him that Of Alle thinges Is domes man (Can) (LHG XII 247)

Hym verray

That is our Savyour,

.....

That shall us deme, withouten mysse,

Some to payne and some to blysse (Cap 24-29)

H2.4 Proper Noun

□ the austeryn jugge,

That all þis werlde wynly wysse[s] as hym lykkes (AMA 670-71)

H3 'Rede and Right'²

H3.1 God

god that All shall rede and Ryght (plyght) (bryght) (nyght)
(SMA 2313)

H3.2 Proper Noun

lord kyng of All thede!

That all the worlde shall Rede and Ryght (knyght) (fight) (syght)
(SMA 1415-16)

¹ Cf. DR: 'Mahoun þat alle schall welde' (belde) (977).

² This pattern, apparently unique to the *Stanzaic Morte*, is included here on account of its use of the doublet form and its relation in rhyme to 'deal and dight' phrases (H4).

H4 'Deal / deem and dight'**H4.1 God** God...þat alle schall dighte & dele (Michael) (DR 490)

god...

▶ þat alle schalle deme & dele (fele) (knele) (wele) (DR 1316-17)

godde þat diede on rode

▶ þat alle schall deme & dighte (plighte) (nyghte) (fichte)
(DR 1268-69)**H4.2 Jesus / Christ** Ihesu, þat ys kyng in trone (mone),.
▶ And all þat shalle dele and dyghte (lyghte) (syght) (myght)
(Em 1-3)

Ihesu...þat al þyng canst boþe dele & diȝt (myȝt) (SF 3915)

J. OMNITEMPORAL ATTRIBUTES

J1 'Full of might'

J1.1 God

God that is soe full of might (Knight) (GK 512)¹

god þat is ful of miȝt (siȝt) (GW 3909)

God that made both erthe and hevenne

And all this worlde in deyes seven,

▶ That is full of myghthe (nyghte) (SY Cotton 1-3)

god...þ^t is ful of myght (wyght) (ACF 17:3)

J1.2 Jesus / Christ ihu þat is ful of miȝt (ariȝt) (Ot 288)

ihu, þat is fol of miȝt (riȝt) (Ot 412)

ih'u, þat is fol of miȝt (ariȝt) (Ot 1167)

J1.3 Pronoun him that is so ful of myȝt (nyȝt) (LTB 10337)

J1.4 Proper Noun þe Fader, þat is ful of miȝt (apliȝt) (KT 758)

J2 'Much of might'

J2.1 God

God al-miȝten...

▶ þat is so muchel of miȝt (pliȝt) (siȝt) (fiȝt) (GW 76:2-3)

□ greit God that mekill was of micht (knicht) (nicht) (sicht)
(RC 338)

J2.2 Jesus / Christ Iesus criste...

▶ þat moste es man of myghthe (fyghte) (myghthe) (lighte)
(DR 884-85)

J3 'Sits in Throne'

J3.1 God

god þat sit in trone (al-one) (SF 5398)

god, that syts in trone (soon) (ET 461)

God, þat sitt in trone (don) (KT 770)

god Alone,

That Aboven Sitteth In his trone (LHG XXXIII 299-300)

¹ Note the appropriation of the tag to a pagan deity in *Otuel*: 'mahoun. þat is fol of miȝt' (riȝt) (1184).

god...

▶ þat sit an heʒ in trone (al-one) (bone) (mone) (R 84:5-6)²

J3.2 Jesus / Christ Ihesu, þat ys kyng in trone (mone) (Em 1)

Iheso, þat settes yn þy trone (wone) (Em 1033)

▶ Iesu, þat sitt in trone (al-on) (son) (mon) (GW 198:3)

J3.3 Pronoun þw þat sittes in trone* (Hav 1317)

him that sittes in trone (none) (LTB 2414)

him that sit in trone (Mone) (LTB 7657)

J3.4 Proper Noun that ilke lord that syttyth in trone (bone) (F 1065)

J4 'Sits / is in Majesty'

J4.1 God god þat ys in mageste (virginite) (F 279)

god þat sytteth in mageste (pyte) (F 1125)

God that Sittest In Maieste (thre) (LHG XIV 457)

God, that Syt anhyghe in Maieste (be) (LM 4382)

God that is in magiste (me) (SB 1228)

God þat is in Maieste (Me) (LHG XVII 354)

J4.2 Jesus / Christ Ihesu that syttyth in Maieste (pyte) (F 323)

Lord cryst þat syttyth in mageste (plente) (F 257)

Iesu lord...þat syttest on þ maieste, (he) (SF 3615)

J4.3 Pronoun him that Sit In Maieste (be) (LHG XII 80)

J4.4 Proper Noun that lord þat sit in Mageste (Me) (LM 26842)

²Cf. *Sir Ferumbras*: 'Mahoun...þat sit in trone' (agone) (3891).

J5 'Sits in Trinity'**J5.1 God**

God, þat syt in Trynyte (me) (Ath 420)

▶ good þat ys in trinite (be) (the) (fre) (O&R 1174)

god...that syttyth in trinite (be) (F 1015)

god, that sate in trynyte (poste) (Guy B 7131)

god, þat sit in trinite (me) (BH Auchinleck 4430)

god...

▶ That syts in trynyte (flee) (thre) (be) (ET 119-20)

god...

▶ þat sit in trinite (fre) (be) (charite) (GW 299:5-6)

God /That ringis ane in trinite (cheritie) (BA IV, epilogue 40-41)

J5.2 Jesus / Christ Ihesu, þat syttyth in trinite (þre) (O&R 2421)

Iesu, þat sit in trinite (maugre) (R 26:2)

Jhesu, that syttyth yn trynyte (the) (Oct 958)

J5.3 Pronoun hym, that sytteth in trynyte (the) (Guy B 10452)

For hys loue.../That syttyth aboue in trynyte (the)
(Guy B 10115-16)

J5.4 Proper Noun þe Faders name,
▶ þat sitt in Trinite (priuete) (se) (me) (KT 756)

J6 'Sits/ is in heaven'**J6.1 God**

gret God þat is in Hevin abone (sone) (GHBA 7048)

god þat is in heuen (sweuen) (GW 4034)

□ OO-lyuyngge god þat dwellest in heuene (CA 201)

god that dwelled In hevene (euene) (LTB 14623)

□ lyuyngge god...þat bydeste in heuene * (CA 256)

god þat is in heven (evyn) (SM 1100)

God that is in heven (xj) (SB 2530)

God that ys in heuene * (F 1524)

J6.2 Jesus / Christ Iesu Crist þat sit in heuene (steuene) (BH Auchinleck 2633)

crist, that sittis in hevyn (steuyn) (SR 506)

Iesu... / In heuene þat sytte (smytte) (Oct Imp 1125)

Jhesu, þat in heuene syt (pyt) (RCL 4188)

J6.3 Pronoun ▶ for his loue, that sittes in hevyn (stevyn) (levyn) (nevyn)
(Ip A 6639)

□ for His lufe that heghe in heuen sitteȝ (Helpe) (AMA 1261)

□ hym þat lengeth in heuene (hyȝnes) (CA 4)

J6.4 Proper Noun That ylke Kyng, þat syttyþ in heuyn, (seuyn) (Guy B 3653)

þe king

▶ Þat heghest was in heuyn (leuyn) (seuyn) (euyn) (AKA 1035-36)

□ - lord þat lengus in heuene (leuen) (AD 706)

J7 'Sits / is on high'

J7.1 God for godys loue that sytteth on hye (bye) (F 473)³

god Almyȝt

that ys on heye in heuene lyȝt (O&R 2556-57)

J7.2 Jesus / Christ Jhesu Crist þat sit on hye (cry) (T&V 3764)

J7.3 Pronoun Him that sits on hie (be) (R&L 127)

□ - He þat on hyȝe syttes (help) (hapel) (SGGK 256)

J7.4 Proper Noun Þe heiȝe king þat sitteþ on heiȝe (neiȝe) (GW 257:10)

Þilke lord þat woneþ an heye (neye) (GW 3891)

□ - Þat hathill at on hiȝe sittis (haue) (hopinge) (WA 4647)

³ Cf. BH Auchinleck: 'Mahoun, þat sit an hiȝ' (siȝ) (535); BH Chetham: 'Mahound, that is so hye' (eye) (411).

□ þe Wyȝe...

þat vphaldez þe heuen and on hyȝ sittez (SGGK 2441-42)

J8 'Sits / is above'

J8.1 God

god...þat sytteth ous a-boue (loue) (F 309)

god...that syttyth vs all aboue (loue) (F 325)

gode, that syttes above (love) (Ip A 1805)

▶ god, that sitteth above (behove) (love) (reprove) (Ip A 5345)

▶ god, that sittis abovne (resowne) (renowne) (towne) (Ip A 6654)

god, þat syts above, (love) (ET 647)

god þat syt aboue (loue) (KA 6430)

Gode þat syttethe a-bofe (loue) (PB 1848)

God, þat syttethe a-boue (loue) (PB 5030)

God þat sitteth in heven a-bove (love) (PB 7673)

God þat sitteth a-bove (love) (PB 10765)

god þat is a-boue (i-ȝoue) (Ot 917)

god that is aboue (loue) (KC 103)

god yn heuene þ^t heyest syt aboue (loue) (ACF 12:17)

J8.2 Jesus / Christ ihesu crist that sytteth ous alle aboue (loue) (F 1671)

Ihesu crist that syttyth ous aboue (loue) (F 1705)

Ihesus leue þat sitt aboue (loue) (A&M 28)

Iesu, that syttyth aboue (loue) (Guy B 224)

Iesu Criste þat sittis aboffe (luffe) (SM 1384)

J8.3 Pronoun him that sitteth aboue (loue) (Gen 6967)

him, þat is almyghty aboue (loue) (SB 1901)

J8.4 Proper Noun that lord that sitteth aboue (loue) (Gen 7465)

me lordes loue / Þat sit hiȝ in heuen aboue (BH Auchinleck 615-16)

goode lorde þat sytteste a-boue (loue) (PB 6337)

for þe lordes love, / That all þing maketh and sitteth a-bove
(PB 7303-4)

ffor my lordes loue,
þat syttes heyȝe in heuene aboue (RCL 5515-16)

J9 'Sits' + Other

J9.1 God □ þe same god . þat sittus in blisse (sake) (AD 1105)

J10 'Sees all things'

J10.1 God god of myht, / That all thinge has ine-to hys syht (STF1 529-30)

god...þat al þing seþ (deþ) (BH Auchinleck 1262)

god, þat al may se (me) (GW 6146)

god, þat alle þing may se (þe) (GW 2545)

God þat ys our Sauyor þat al þyng knowþ & seeþ (beep) (SF 1794)

J10.2 Pronoun For his loue þat al may see * (SF 754)

J10.3 Proper Noun Lord...þat al þyng sest & wost (most) (SF 2108)

J11 'Governs'

J11.1 God God þat governs alkin thing (kyng) (YG 3649)

God...

.....
Quhilk all thing reulit and gouernit halelie (victorie)
(GHBA 425-28)

□ God, þat all governes with grase of his honde (DT 746)

Goddis will in maieste,
Quhilkis gouernis all þis warldit in vnetie (GHBA 4970-71)

God invisabill þat in all thing governis (sternis) (GHBA 14053)

þe God vniuersale,
Quhilk gouernes all þe warldit in generall (GHBA 9391-92)

grete God, quhilk all þis warld gouernis,
 Movis and steris þe planiteis and þe sternes (GHBA 9646-47)

God þat gouernis all (small) (GHBA 11359)

J11.2 Pronoun His semblance þat governis all þe Hevin (ewin) (GHBA 9922)

O ʒe allmychti, þat in þis warlde governe (discerne) (STF2 1075)

J11.3 Proper Noun þat lorde / þat in gouernaunce haþe all þe worlde (PB 5002-3)

J12 'Free'

J12.1 God

god, þat is so fre (þe) (GW 6868)

godes loue in trinite

▶ þat is lord [so] fre (contre) (be) (ʒhe) (R 69:2-3)

J12.2 Jesus / Christ Lorde Jhesu, þat is so free (me) (T&V 2639)

Jesu Criste that is so fre (be) (SY Cotton 136)

J12.3 Pronoun him þat was so fre (he) (victore) (AKA 226)

J12.4 Proper Noun þy sone þat is so fre, (be) (Em 10)

J13 'May'

J13.1 God

Goddes sond

▶ That alle þyng may fulfyller (wylle) (style) (ylle) (Em 332-33)

God yn trone,

▶ That alle þyng may fulfyller (wylle) (style) (ylle) (Em 680-81)

▶ God þat all may stere (manere) (ʒere) dere) (SLaun 684)

God þat alle thingge mai stere (ifere) (SD 627)

god, that All myghtis maye (say) (day) (A-way) (SMA 3652)⁴

God...that beste maye (saye) (Guy B 7786)

god, that all may (day) (TP 672)

God...þat all may (lay) (BF 736)⁵

⁴ The tag is used of a pagan deity in DR: 'Mahoun, / þat weldis bothe toure & toun, / And alle myghtis maye' (ley) (aye) (saye). (223-25).

⁵ Cf. LTB: 'Mars, that alle thyng may' (day) (744).

▶ godd off heyvyn, that all maye (daye) (saye) (faye) (Ip A 5169)

▶ god, that moste beste maye (araye) (awaye) (saye) (Ip A 8224)

□ - God, that maist of michtis may (mekle)
(pray) (say) (fay) (RC 885)

God, that mekill may (say) (BA 739)

God þat myghtys maye (praye) (BF1832)

god...þat beste may (day) (Guy B 705)

god...þat al may do (bi-go) (GW 3482)

J13.2. Pronoun ▶ hym þat myghtes maye (lawe) (saye) (daye) (DR 1161)

J14. 'Pousté'

J14.1. God

God in trone

▶ That most ys of powste (fre) (le) (Emarye) (Em 836-37)

God and Marye...

▶ þat most is of poste (rode tre) (mee) (free) (SG 243)

J15. 'Most of might / main'

J15.1. God

God, þat is Most of Myht (Ryht) (LM 524)

J15.2. Pronoun

Hym þat maste es of myghte (hight) (SDegrev 227)

J15.3. Proper Noun

þy sone þat is so fre,
.....

▶ That lord ys most of myght (dyghte) (lyghte) (syght) (Em 10-12)

▶ þat lord, þat is most of meyn (ageyn) (feyn) (Breyteyn) (SG 756)

J16. 'Mights most'

J16.1. God

God, that art of myghtis most,
Fader and sone and holy gost (SG 1-2)⁶

Lord, God in Trinite,

That of myghtis thou arte moost (woste) (SB 1311-12)

⁶ Mahoun, / That is a man of myghtes moost (goist) (SB 1199-1200).

god of Myhtes Most, /which is fadir, sone & holygost (LM 1603-4)

god that is of myghtez most (ost) (Gen - rr - 2845)

J162. Jesus / Christ Iesu, þat ert of miȝte most
Fader & sone, & holy gost (R:1:1-2)

J16.3 Proper Noun þe heȝ kyng of heuene þat art of miȝtes most (host) (SF 2719)

Fadir and sone & holi gost,
whiche that ben of myhtes most (LM 47-48)

Fadyr and sone and þe holygost,
whiche that is on God and of Myhtes most (LM 489-90)

Fadir, Sone & holigost,
Whiche that Is Of Myhtes Evere Most (LHG XV 223-24)

...Fadir, and sone, And holy gost,
On God and thre persones, Of myhtes Most (LHG XV 251-52)

Fadir & Sone & holigost
Whiche that Is lord Of Mihtes Most (LHG XV 623-24)

þe Fadir, sone, & holigost,
Whiche that Is lord of Mihtes Most (LHG XVI 173-74)

the holy gost
That Evere Is lord Of Myhtes Most (LHG XVI 259-60)

the holy gost -
Whiche is lord of mihtes Most (LHG XXXIV 175-76)

fadir, sone, and holy gost,
wheche is but On god of mytes most (LHG XLIX 283-84)

the holy gost
whiche þat is lord Of myhtes Most (LHG XLVIII 299-300)

the holy gost
the wheche that is lord Of myhtes most (LHG XLVI 153-54)

Fadir, sone, and holi gost,
In whom is witte and myghtes most (LTB 3-4)

J17 'Mights good'**J17.1 God**

God þat ys of myȝtis gode (stode) (Oct 1618)

god, that ys of myghtes gode (flode) (Ip A 7552)

J18 'Heaven King'

J18.1 Jesus / Christ Iesu Crist that is heuen kyng (wrastlyng) (G 193)

Ihesu, þat is heuen king (lesing) (A&A 2351)

ihesu, þat ert heuene kyng (tydyng) (SF 4249)

Iesu, þat is hevene-kyng (endyng) (Ath 810)

Ihesu that is heuen king (looking) (Gen 4276)

Ihesu þat es heuens Kyng (blyssyng) (SE 1)

Jhesus, þat ys Heuenekyng (blessyng) (SLaun 1042)

□ Criste...þat Kyng es of Heuen (crucifiede) (AMA 285)

□ Crist þat is krowned heye King of heven (WP 252)

□ Crist...þat King is of heven (couherde) (WP 277)

J18.2 Pronoun

him that is heuinis king (BA 570)

he...that is our hevyn kyng (fey[n]ing) (Gen - rr - 4002)

J19 'King'

J19.1 Jesus / Christ crist... / that is of alle kynges the kyng (preieng) (LM 6983)

Iesu Cryste all weldyng,
That art god and crowned kyng (Guy B 10735-36)

Ihesu, that is kyng of blysse (I-wysse) (I-wysse) (thus)
(SMA 3631)

Cryst.../ whiche that was kyng of alle kynges (Offrynges)
(LHG XXXVII 296-97)

J19.2 Pronoun

his Comandement that is kyng of kinges
Wheche is Iesus Crist, lord Ouer al thynges (LHG XLVI 165-66)

hym that is kyng of See and Londe (vndirstonde) (LM 7422)

J19.3 Proper Noun That lord that kyng of Cristene Is (I-wis) (LHG XVI 111)

□ a king þat kid is in blisse (corven) (AD 431)

J20 'One'

J20.1 God

god, that ys but one (non) (Ip A 1241)

god, that is but one (Ipomadon) (Ip A 1617)

god, þat is but one (euerychone) (Ip A 2262)

▶ that, þat ys but one (tone) (one) (Ipomadon) (Ip A 1916)

▶ god, þat is but one (Egyon) (Ipomadon) (goone) (Ip A 6092)

J21 'Awe / Owes' (Controls)

J21.1 God

grette God þat aw þis day (Kay) (YG 92)

▶ god þat awe this day (faye) (maye) (lawe) (SM 399)

god þat awe this day (may) (SM 1379)

▶ god that ows thys day (abbay) (may) (away) (ET 1152)

▶ god, that ows thys day (sey) (jurney) (pray) (ET 1188)

grette god, that oweth this day (saye) (Ip A 477)

▶ god, þat owth this day (nay) (saye) (may) (Ip A 1291)

grette god, that oweth þis day (waye) (Ip A 1311)

grette god, þat oweth this day (day) (Ip A 1338)

▶ god, that owthe þis day (apayde) (Ip A 1489)

▶ god, that owes þis daye (praye) (maye) (aye) (Ip A 2225)

grette god, that owethe this day (awaye) (Ip A 8592)

J21.2 Pronoun

▶ hym, that owethe þis daye (sey) (maye) (laye) (Ip A 2165)

▶ hym, that owethe this daye (theye) (saye) (maye) (Ip A 8795)

J22. 'Bears the Crown'

- J22.1 God** Gode, that beres the heghe crowne (towne) (SY Thornton 389)
 god, that berithe the crown (dongeon) (SB 2298)

J23 Omniscience

- J23.1 God** god of heuene þat al þyng knob & seep (deep) (SF 174)
- J23.2 Pronoun** hyme the wich is eury thing certan (allan) (LL 488)
 he that knoweth Alle thing (vndirstondyng) (LHG XXXII 439)
 he whiche Alle thowhtes doth knowe (throwe) (LHG XXIX 49)
 he that knoweth Alle Manere of thing (Reprovyng)
 (LHG XXXII 597)
- J23.3 Proper Noun** the kyng of Cristene
 That Of Alle thing knoweth the begynneng (Endyng)
 (LHG XV 34-35)

J24 'Welds'⁷

- J24.1 God** ▶ god, þat alle þing weld (scheld) (eld) (feld) (R 65:12)
 □ God that al weldis (feildis) (G&G 699)
 god, þat al þing walt (schalt) (GW 231:8)
 god, that ale may wyld (be-held) (TP 242)
 god þat al þing weld (aqueld) (seld) (feld) (R&V 841)
 god...
 ▶ That weldythe heyven on hee (see) (kne) (be) (Ip A 8632-33)
- J24.2 Jesus / Christ** Iesu Cryst
 ▶ That hathe thys world to wyld (held) (fyld) (schyld) (TP 206-7)
 □ - Crist þat al weldes (quap) (king) (WP 3753)
 Iesu, that is all weldand (rounde) (BH Chetham 1212)
- J24.3 Pronoun** he þat heuyn weldis (sheldis) (SR 509)
 hym þat is God... / Of heven, of erthe, and also of helle,
 þat weldeth all þat þerinne dwelle (T&V 1200-2)

⁷ For related phrases using the future tense. 'god þat al may weld' (GW 254:3). see section H1.

► hym, that all welde maye (naye) (aye) (saye) (Ip A 6807)

hym, that weldyth heyven on hight (wyght) (Ip A 7407)

He...þat welt al (schal) (A&M 5550)

þe heiȝe king þat sitteþ on heiȝe
þat welt þis warld fer & neiȝe (GW 257:10-11)

► He þat alle weldys (feldis) (scheldys) (SDegrev 304)

J24.4 Proper Noun □ þe heiȝh King þat al heven weldes (hope) (WP 1651)

our lord... / þat heuen and erþe haueþ in weld (ȝeld) (GW 3305-6)

þilke lord þat woneþ an heye,
þat al þing walt fer & neye (GW 3891-92)

Goddes sone...
þat alle þinges hath in his wolde (sholde) (T&V 4287-88)

lor, þat alle þys world weldest at wylle (hulle) (F 1045-46)

Louerd, þat al weldes
Wind and water, wodes and feldes (Hav 1360-61)

J25 Miscellaneous Adjectives

J25.1 God ► God, þat es beste (reste) (freste) (SE 663)

God Lorde, þat curteys is (blys) (T&V 473)

Lorde God, þat is so hende (sende) (T&V 3441)

God, that ys worthy and Bold (hold) (TP 1)

Gode, þat ryghtwise is * (STF2 128)

Gud God þat is grete (gete) (mete) (AKA 1123)

god, that is good (stode) (Ip A 4476)

god, that ys bolde (holde) (Guy B 1935)

J25.2 Jesus / Christ Crist, þat is curteys at nede (lede) (T&V 535)

J25.3 Pronoun hym þat lorde ys beste (conqueste) (BF 1198)

J25.4 Proper Noun Anoper...that is ful of Beute

And of al goodness In Eche degre (LHG XV 283-84)

godes sone,

▶ þat is so briȝt (riȝt) (BH Auchinleck 131-32)

my Lord, þat is so swete (Olivete) (T&V 634)

That lorde...which is eternall (roiall) (P 2597)

K. MISCELLANEOUS PHRASES

K1 'Believe'

K1.1 Jesus / Christ þilke crist þat þou lyuest on (fanston) (SF 1050)

Crist, þat alle folk onne leues (þeues) (Hav 2106)

K1.2 Pronoun him In whom thou hast Creauce (Chaunce) (LHG XVI 101)

K1.3 Proper Noun þe Louerd þat man on leues (þeues) (Hav 1782)

□ þe lord þat we leuen inne (loue) (A&D 597)

K2 Other

K2.1 God

God... / That all thingis geuis * (BA II: 1220)

god, that neuer loued wrong (strong) (Gen 5477)

god þat ys my lord * (F 1022)

god, that alle thyn weres (answeres) (LTB 4878)

god that is In vnite (thre) (LTB 7420)

god þat is in heven

▶ þat lent vs myghte & mayne (slayne) (gay[n]e) (fayne)
(SM 1100-1)

god, þat ordeyned all þinge (lesynge) (IpA 2154)

□ grete God ... / - ...that is our souerane (saue) (salf)
(Gawane) (vnfane) (slane) (G&G 792-93)

god...

▶ That grace had sent hym tyll (yll) (styll) (gryll) (ET 167-68)

godes loue in trinite,

þat þis world hap in won (mone) (gon) (son) (GW 47: 8-9)

grette god...

▶ That moste is meke and mylde (begylde) (smylde) (fylde)
(Ip A 2731)

gode þat luffe hade lent (present) (SR 1493)

God that ay is helpand * (WSG 464)

god...which is our chef fader hye (worly) (P 302)

☐ þe heie god alone,
þat heuene holdeþ & haþ to his hole regne (A&D 641-42)

☐ - god þat gieþ þe herte (gomus) (A&D 661)

god, that all can wynne (ynne) (BH Auchinleck 1333)

god that maked pes (giltles) (LTB 18549)

☐ grete god at gyes all þe sternes (grace) (WA 1766)

☐ þat hiȝe god þat all oure happe haues (WA 4475)

God...þat wyll not fayle (traueyle) (Guy B 5542)

☐ all-weldand Gode þat worscheppes vs all (AMA 1059)

God þat is bote of all bale (schale) (SA 202)

God, the wich that is the soueran lech (fech) (LL 2069)

K2.2 Jesus / Christ Iesu Crist, wich ay in hewyne sal wonne (sone) (LL 2044)

Iesu Crist...

.....
That is lord of Alle Cristiente (the) (LHG XV 85-87)

Crist, þat al kan wisse and rede (þede) (Hav 104-5)

Iesu lord...þat syttest on þy/maieste,
And seest boþ fer & hende (schende) (SF 3615-16)

Iesus...

That hym helpith day & nyght (myght) (TP 1340-41)

Iesu Crist,

That sinful man bedes herst (LLF 167-68)

Iesu, þat ys myn affywance (chaunce) (Guy B 8813)

☐ Jesus and Sayn Gilyan, þat gentyle ar boþe (SGGK 774)

ihu, / þat is ful of vertu (R&V 671-72)

Lord Crist þat þis world eyȝte (knyȝte) (KA 3852)

K2.3 Pronoun

hym Y sawe in forme of bredd, (dedd)

▶ When þe preest can synge (rynge) (kynge) (thyng) (BF 1004-5)

a lorde that neuyr schall dye, (bee)

▶ That preestys schewe in forme of bredd (dedd) (stedd) (redd)
(BF 1100-1)

Hyme, the wich haith euery strinth * (LL 1476)

hyme that euery thing hath cure (adventure) (LL 1130)

he that alle thing gan spelle (telle) (LHG XIII 629)

he that is Aboven Alle thing (vndirstondyng) (LHG XXXII 483)

hym that of Alle Comfort he is (lys) (LHG XXXVII 61)

Him þat beilds (ʒeildis) (GHBA 12804)

He that is oure allaris Lorde (reuard) (GHBA 10504)

For his loue that we haue sought (nought) (RCL 729)¹

He þat was and is and ay schal ben (quen) (A&M 631)

him that al this world gyes (sayntwaries) (LTB 18043-44)

He þat is God and Lorde of alle (calle) (T&V 5137)

□ he þat stiʒe to þe sternes (stiʒtill) (WA 3595)

For his loue þat ʒoure good is (þis) (Ot 1708)

□ he þat spedez vche speche - (SGGK 1292)

He...þat ʒarkkez al menskes (ʒelde) (ʒare) (SGGK 2410)

hym that fedithe seintis (dyntis) (SR 764) ?

hym...

that aʒens þe devel for the gan fyht (LM 743-44)

He þat on þe rode gan blede,
And suffryd grymly woundes ffyue,
And sippen ros ffrom dep to lyue,
And bouʒte mankynde out of helle,
And sippen þe fendes pouste gan felle,
And afftyr steyʒ vp into heuene (seuene) (RCL 5592-97)

¹ Spoken by Richard Coeur de Lion and his party disguised as pilgrims. Cf. *The Seven Sages of Rome*, ed. Karl Brunner, EETS 191 (1933), 1.843: 'bi peter þat ich haue souʒt'.

□ His luffe that the lente this lordchipe in erthe (AMA 2319)

K2.4 Proper Noun

□ The syre that sendis all seill - (suthly) (sane)
(Tuskane) (sane) (Britane) (G&G 4)

□ þe blisful barnes loue þat hire brestes souked (WP 2701-2)

□ þat blessed barnes love þat in hire bodi rest (WP 2230)

our lordis loue, þat is god euer (neuer) (SR 552)

□ þe Hapel...

þat haldez þe heuen vpon hyȝe (SGGK 2056-57)

□ þat ilk Lorde þat þe lyfte haldez (louue) (SGGK 1256)

The myghte and þe magestee þat menskes vs all

That was merked and made thurghe þe myghte of Hym seluen
(AMA 1302-3)

□ Creatoure, þat comfurthes vs all (caughte) (AMA 2196)

□ a Childe... þat chefe es of hevyne (AMA 3649)

□ king . þat kid is in blisse (corven) (A&D 431)

□ þat lord þat lengeþ in blisse (leuen) (A&D 628)

that ylke lord that y my soule ȝelde schale (Dorundale) (F 613)

Lord... þat alle hath in hande (vndyr-stonde) (F 1360)

Lorde that ys bothe God and man (þan) (BF 1270)

the kyng of Cristene...

That Of Alle thing knoweth the begynneng,
And demen schal Atte laste Endyng (LHG XV 34-37)

fadir of hevyn omnipotent,

That erthe, water, and firmament

Madest of nought at oo worde

And after into þis wreched worlde

Sendist þi sone mankynde totake,

And suffridest hym dey for oure sake (PB 6676-81)

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