CHRONIQUE

ANGLO-NORMAN STUDIES TO-DAY

Anglo-Norman as a subject of study is far from being the back-water which it might appear to some. For centuries it was the chief everyday language of the Court, the church, the government, Parliament, the Law, the Universities, the schools, the monasteries, and the Town-councils of England. From the Continental point-of-view, it is important because it often provides evidence of what spoken, as distinct from written, Old French was like, and it is the dialect in which the most precious manuscript of the *Chanson de Roland,* and the only ones of the *Chançun de Willame*, the *Pelerinage de Charlemagne* and other texts were written. From the English point-of-view, it has coloured and transformed the English language and its literature to an unbelievable extant, and it is as important as Latin for the mediaeval historian. It is the purpose of these notes to give some idea of the present state of Anglo-Norman studies.

Anglo-Norman has been studied since time immemorial, but the first general survey of the field was made by the late Professor Paul Studer in his Inaugural Lecture at Oxford, *The Study of Anglo-Norman* (Oxford, 1920). Thenceforward there was silence on this topic until Professor M. K. Pope's Presidential Address to the Modern Humanities Research Association, *Research in Anglo-Norman* (*M. H. R. A.*, June 1948). But this did not mean that progress had not been made or that interest in the subject was waning. Some idea of the immediately pre-war situation can be gained from a list of forth-coming editions printed by Professor A. Ewert in *Medium Ævum*, VII, 1938, p. 164. A disconcerting amount of overlapping in Anglo-Norman, as in other fields, was later revealed in Raphael Levy's article ' Recent European Progress in Old French

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Studies' (*Romance Philology*, I, 1947-8, p. 51), which concludes with a list of work on hand on both sides of the Atlantic. It cannot be too strongly impressed upon scholars, particularly upon beginners for whom the production of a "thesis" is all too often a condition of their earning their bread-and-butter, that they should make use of those guides to current work that are available. The Mediaeval volume, edited by U. T. Holmes Jr., of *A critical Bibliography of French Literature*, general editor D. C. Cabeen (Syracuse, U. S. A., 1947) covers Anglo-Norman. It is very poor in knowledge of war-time publications in Europe. Of the two annual surveys issued by the Modern Humanities Research Association, *The Year's Work in Modern Language Studies* ceased in 1940, but is to be resumed, and *Work in Progress* has been taken over since 1948 by the Modern Languages Association of America and now appears as *Research in Progress* (Supplement to *P. M. L. A.*). Unfortunately, it is now chiefly compiled by means of questionnaires sent to Universities and Colleges. Not all reply, and retired and independent scholars slip through the net. But it remains invaluable as a rough guide.

The most important event in recent times has been the foundation of the Anglo-Norman Text Society (*A. N. T. S.*; publishers, Basil Blackwell, Oxford), in 1938. In spite of tremendous difficulties the infant Society continued active during the War.

History of the Language.

The use of the language has been the subject of several recent papers, for example H. Suggett 'The use of French in England in the Later Middle Ages' (*Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4th series, XXVIII, 1946, p. 61), G. E. Woodbine 'The Language of the English Law' (*Speculum*, XVIII, 1943, p. 395) — controversial — R. M. Wilson 'English and French in England 1100-1300' and my own 'Anglo-Norman and the Historian' (*History*, XXVIII, 1943, p. 37 and XXVI, 1941-2, p. 163).

Palaeography.

The importance of Latin palaeography as a help to the dating of Anglo-Norman manuscripts is the subject of an article by S. Harrison Thomson (*Romanic Review*, XXIX, 1938, p. 112). Interest in the provenance of manuscripts is increasing, and will be exemplified by publica-

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tions like that of Emmanuel College Cambridge Ms. I, 4. 31 (P. Strachey, *A. N. T. S.*).

Grammar.

The appendix to M. K. Pope, *From latin to Modern French, with especial consideration of Anglo-Norman* (*M. U. P.*, 1934, reprinting) supersedes nearly everything else, except, for legal purposes, F. M. Maitland's famous Introduction to the *Year-Book of Edward II* (Selden Society, 1903), and F. J. Tanquerey's *Évolution du verbe en anglo-français* (Paris, 1915), though this is based upon very bad printed texts and virtually no distinction is made between phonology and mere orthography.

Versification.

A new and unbiassed study of versification is needed, but this ought to be preceded by an exhaustive treatment of Old French versification in general. Opinion, as expressed in introductions to texts, seems to be swinging in favour of the assumption of more English influence than J. Vising (*Anglo-Norman Language and Literature*, London, 1923, p. 79) would allow, and his denial that most of the corruption was due to scribal carelessness is being contested.

Place-names.

Professor Pope has pointed out (*M. H. R. A.*, *loc. cit.*) the desirability of an investigation of place-names of French origin.

Vocabulary.

At the suggestion of Miss L. W. Stone, the Anglo-Norman Text Society has been preparing, since 1946, an Anglo-Norman Glossary, on which work is proceeding rapidly. Complementary to this will be the Selden Society's *Dictionary of Anglo-Norman Legal Terms*, being compiled by E. Shanks with T. F. T. Plucknett. A. Ewert is editing Latin-Anglo-Norman Glossaries for M. Roques, *Recueil de lexiques*.

Two important public lectures have recently been given in Oxford on Anglo-Norman vocabulary — M. K. Pope's Deneke Lecture, *The Anglo-Norman Element in our Vocabulary : its significance for our civilization* (*M. U. P.*, 1944), and, rather wider in scope, J. Orr's Taylorian Lec-

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ture, *The Impact of French upon English* (Clarendon Press, 1948), cf. his note '*Faire* and *to fare*' (*French Studies*, III, 1949, p. 152).

LITERATURE.

There is as yet no complete history of Anglo-Norman literature [1]. J. Vising's manual *Anglo-Norman Language and Literature* (London, 1923) still remains the best bibliography of printed and above all of manuscript sources. But it is inevitably out-of-date, and it is to be hoped that Miss R. J. Dean (Mount Holyoke College, Mass., U. S. A.) will not delay too long the publication of Vising's list of manuscripts upon which she has been engaged for some time. Surveys of different parts of the field are contained in E. Walberg's lectures to the Ecole des Chartes, *Quelques aspects de la littérature anglo-normande* (Paris, 1936), and two monographs, C. B. West's *Courtoisie in Anglo-Norman Literature* (Oxford, 1938) and my own *Anglo-Norman in the Cloisters* (*E. U. P.*, 1950). J. C. Russell's *Dictionary of Writers in England of the Thirteenth Century* (Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, Special Supplement III, 1936) is useful, if uncritical. Rectifications appear twice yearly in the Bulletin. Anglo-Norman is briefly treated in W. H. Schofield's *English Literature from the Norman Conquest to Chaucer* (London, 1906, reprinted several times).

TEXTS.

The list of texts which follows cannot hope to be complete, but should give some idea of what has appeared since Vising's manual, what is in preparation and what is needed for the future. The figures in square brackets refer to Vising's list.

1. *Romances*.

The Anglo-Norman romances are of real quality. Those published most recently are the mystical *Gui de Warewic* [212] (A. Ewert, *C. F. M. A.*, 1933) and the prose *Fouke Fitz-Warin* [214] (L. Brandin, *C. F. M. A.*, 1930). *Horn*, by Mestre Thomas, [31], which has heen delayed by two Great Wars, is nearly ready (M. K. Pope, *A. N. T. S.*). The *Roman de Toute Chevalerie* [37] by Thomas (not Eustace) of Kent needs editing. The question of whether Thomas of Kent is the author of

1. The present writer feels that the time is ripe to undertake one.

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Tristan needs further investigation. He was probably a monk of St Alban's. All the Alexander Romances are appearing as Elliott monographs, but an edition of this one is not, I am given to understand, in active preparation. The Anglo-Norman Text Society has announced an edition of *Tristan* [30] by F. Whitehead. The present writer would prefer to see this text re-edited in a cheap, handy form. It appears that an edition by B. H. Wind (Leyden) of these *Fragments* has just been published. *Waldef* [38] has not even been described. E. B. Ham contributed an article on 'The Language of the *Roman de Waldef*' to *Medium Ævum*, IV, 1935, p. 176, It is to be hoped that an edition is amongst the irons which he has in the fire. The *Folie Tristan d'Oxford* [31] was republished by E. Hoepffner (Strasbourg, 1943).

2. *Lyric*.

There is little Anglo-Norman lyric verse, but what there is has been strangely neglected, in spite of the fact that Professor Pope has been pressing its claims upon her pupils.

3. *Drama*.

H. Chamard has published the first part of the *Mystère d'Adam* [27] from the Tours manuscript with very little emendation, together with a version in Modern French (Paris, 1925). *La Seinte Resurreccion* [28] has now been edited from the Paris and the newly-discovered 'Canterbury' manuscripts (T. A. Jenkins, J. M. Manly, M. K. Pope and J. G. Wright, *A. N. T. S.*, 1943). The last named had republished the Paris version (*C. F. M. A.*, 1931). A fragment of a Nativity in Anglo-Norman and English from Bury St Edmunds was published in the *Times Literary Supplement*, May 26th, 1921, p. 340.

4. *The Bible*.

Only one text has appeared recently, *An Anglo-Norman Rhymed Apocalypse* [77] (O. Rhys and Sir John Fox, *A. N. T. S.*, 1946). This is the sole version in which the commentary as well as the text is versified. It was made by one William Giffard, probably for Shaftesbury Abbey. Two young scholars, B. Pollard and J. L. Wood, are working upon *Genesis* [353] and the *Fourteenth Century Bible* [352] respectively, and B. Howarth is re-editing the *Oxford and Cambridge Psalters* [1,2] (*A. N. T. S.*).

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5. *Saints' Lives*.

One of the most exciting revelations of recent times has been the reaffirmation of Matthew Paris 's claim to have been a French author. Vising did not know the facsimile edition of *La Vie St Ædward le Rei* [125] (M. R. James, Roxburghe Club, 1920), in which proof is offered that he wrote this *Life*, *S. Auban* [115], and *S. Thomas* [101]. To these should be added *S. Edmond* [123] (A. T. Baker, *Romania*, LV, 1929, p. 332).

Other important publications, or republications are : *The Life of St Brendan by* Benedeit [10] (E. G. R. Waters, Clarendon Press, 1928, a magnificent edition), *S. Edmund le Rei by* Denis Pyramus [14] (H. Kjellman, Göteborg, 1935), the tail-rhyme *S. Thomas* by Bèneit of St Albans [19] (B. Schlyter, Lund and Copenhagen, 1941), *S. Modwenna* [107] (A. Bell, *A. N. T. S.*, 1949), *Ste Foy* by Simon of Walsingham [138] (A. T. Baker, *Romania*, LXVI, 1940, p. 49), *S. Ædward le Rei* by a Barking nun [126, 127] (O. Södergård, Uppsala, 1948, it must be pointed out the identity of these two versions had previously been advertised), two *Lives* by Nicole Bozon, with more to come, an edition important for the introduction on the personality of the author (M. A. Klenke, *St Bonaventure*, New York, 1947).

Amongst editions to come are the four works by the Templar Henri d'Arci [111-114] (R. C. D. Perman, an edition of the *Vitae Patrum* by A. B. O'Connor has been noticed in America in 1946), the *Life of St Richard of Chichester* [122] (O. A. Beckerlegge, *A. N. T. S.*), the *Life of Pope Clement* [110], interesting for the development of its versification (N. K. Willson).

A new edition of Clemence of Barking's *Life of Ste Catherine* [11] is badly needed, especially as it is now known that another saint's Life was written in the same nunnery. The critical apparatus of J. U. Jarnic's edition (Prague, 1894) is in Czech and moreover it is rarely to be found in libraries.

6. *Sermons, etc., and didactic works*.

This kind of literature abounds in Anglo-Norman, and it is convenient to begin by pointing out three major desiderata. The first is a critical edition of St Edmund's *Merure de Seinte Eglise* [156], originally written, probably in England, in French, and later translated into Latin and

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English. A. Koszul is at present working on texts in all three languages. The only edition is uncritical and was privately printed (H. W. Robbins, Lewisburg, 1923). The second is a critical edition of *Le Manuel des Pechies* [158], parts of which were printed by J. Furnivall in Robert of Brunne's *Handlyng Synne* (*E. E. T. S.*, 1901-3). In 1940 E. J. Arnould published a thesis on the book, with extracts, in Paris and an edition by him has been announced by the Anglo-Norman Text Society which is not, apparently, in active preparation. The third is a critical edition of the *Lumiere as Lais* by Peter of Peckham, Fetcham or Abernun [157], which was analysed, unfortunately from a defective manuscript, by Ch.-V. Langlois in *La Vie Spirituelle en France au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1928). The most up-to-date list of manuscripts is contained in my 'Pierre de Peckham and his *Lumiere as Lais*' (*Mod. Lang. Rev.*, XXIV, 1929, p. 37, 153). Marcel Thomas, with my blessing, had intended to present an edition as his thesis at the Ecole des Chartes, but the war intervened and he has not yet been able to undertake it. These texts, the full edition of any one of which would be a major operation, form part of a spate of literature connected with the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215. But until they are available publications like that of *Le Dialogue de St Julien* [155] (A. Bonjour, *A. N. T. S.*, 1950), are only nibbling at the problem.

Among mystical texts the most important now in print is the queer *Livre des Seyntz Medecines* by Henry, the last non-royal Duke of Lancaster (E. J. Arnould, *A. N. T. S.*, 1940, the introduction and glossary formerly promised to this Society have appeared as an *Etude* in Paris in 1948). A short Sermon by the Franciscan Thomas of Hales, famous as the poet of the English Love Run, has been published (M. D. Legge, *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, XXX, 1935, p. 212).

The French Texts of the *Ancrene Riwele* was edited by H. A. Herbert (*E. E. T. S.*, 219, 1944).

Of didactic texts the most important are *The Anglo-Norman Lapidaries* [67, 68] (P. Studer and J. Evans, Paris, 1924), Peter of Abernun's *Secre de Secrez* [250] (O. A. Beckerlegge, *A. N. T. S.*, 1944), and *La Petite Philosophie* [302] (W. H. Trethewey, *A. N. T. S.*, 1939). *Five Anglo-Norman Books of Courtesy and Nurture* [247] were published by H. R. Parsons (*P. M L. A.*, XLIV, 1929, p. 383). R. J. Dean is working on the minor Anglo-Norman writings of Grosseteste, and J. Crosland is re-editing Everart's *Disticha Catonis* [45] (*A. N. T. S.*). L. W. Stone is working on John of Howden's *Rossignol* (*A. N. T. S.*).

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7. *Chronicles.*

Anglo-Norman is particularly rich in chronicles. Historians have made most of them available in the Rolls Series, but the texts there printed leave much to be desired. Few editions have appeared lately, but many are in preparation. A. Bell, who published articles on Geffrei Gaimar in *Medium Ævum*, VII, 1938, p. 184, and the *Modern Language Review*, XLIII, 1948, p. 39, has a new edition of his *Estorie des Engleis* [61] in preparation (*A. N. T. S.*). The Society will also publish *The Crusade of Richard Cœur de Lion* [293] (R. F. Johnston), and Jordan Fantosme [62] (I. Macdonald). This last text, whith much emendation, was also republished, with introduction but no glossary, by P. A. Becker (*Zeitschrift für Rom. Phil.*, LXIV, 1944, p. 44). A. Bell has re-edited the *History of Peterborough* [63] in *The Peterborough Chronicle of Hugh Candidus* (W. T. Mellins, Oxford, 1949). R. J. Dean and J. Rutherford are preparing an edition of Trevet [379], from whom Chaucer is supposed to have derived the Man of Law's Tale (*A. N. T. S.*). G. E. Brereton has republished the verse *Des Granz Geanz* [378 d] (Oxford, 1937) and is now engaged upon the prose version (*A. N. T. S.*). I. S. T. Aspin is working upon the Political Songs edited by Thomas Wright.

8. *Historical, legal and municipal documents.*

It is well known that English mediaeval archives are the envy of the world. Much of this material is in Anglo-Norman. The earliest surviving charter dates back to 1190, whereas the earliest corresponding document from France is fourteen years later (H. Richardson, *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, XXIV, 1940, p. 168). The Selden Society continues to republish the Year-Books — those astonishing unofficial reports of proceedings in the Court of Common Pleas from which students learned the art of pleading — and have now produced 1-11 Edward II inclusive, 1 Henry VI, 10 Edward IV with 49 Henry VI, besides the Eyre of Kent 6 and 7 Edward II. The Ames Foundation of America has published in similar fashion 11-13 Richard II inclusive. Vising does not mention the Selden Society's editions of Andrew Horn's *Mirroir des Justices* [394] and the *Borough Customs*, though he notices the *Court Baron* [351]. G. E. Woodbine published *Fet Assaver* amongst his *Four Thirteenth Century Law Tracts* (Newhaven, London and Oxford, 1910).

Paul Studer's edition of the *Oak-Book of Southampton* [395] (Southamp-

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ton, 1910-11) has not found imitators, but historians are supplying raw material of this kind which is worth studying, such as the Cinque Port records in *The Register of Daniel Rough, Common Clerk of Romney 1353-1380* (K. M. E. Murray, *Kent Archaeological Society*, 1943). G. F. Chapple presented an unpublished thesis on City of London Documents for a London degree in 1937, and there is room for more work of this kind.

There are Anglo-Norman letters in the *Diplomatic Correspondence of Richard II* (E. Perroy, *Royal Hist. Soc.*, Camden 3rd Series, XLVIII, 1933) and over four hundred documents of about 1390-1412, in *Anglo-Norman Letters and Petitions from All Souls MS. 182* (M. D. Legge, *A. N. T. S.*, 1941).

Closely connected with the question of the drafting of documents and the teaching of pleading is the work of the Grammar Masters, especially those teaching at Oxford. There is an account of their work by H. G. Richardson in the Oxford Historical Society's volume *Formularies which bear on the History of Oxford* (New Series, V, 1942, II, 329). The greatest of them, Thomas Sampson, is the object of studies by I. D. O. Arnold (*Medium Ævum*, VI, 1937, p. 193) and H. G. Richardson (*Bull. J. Rylands Lib.* XXIIII, 1939, p. 3), and H. Suggett is editing his Letter-book [219] (*A. N. T. S.*). His successor, William of Kingsmill, has heen treated in a note (M. D. Legge, *Miscellany... presented to M. K. Pope, M. U. P.*, 1939, p. 241).

The *Maniere de Langage* [389, 403] has been edited by J. Gessler (Brussels, Paris, Louvain, 1934), and Walter de Bibbesworth's *Traité* [386] by A. Owen (Paris, 1929). It is to be republished by C. T. Onions (*A. N. T. S.*).

It will be evident from the above sketch that interest in Anglo-Norman is far from declining, but that there is still plenty of work to be done. Prospective toilers in the field should make every effort to avoid duplication. Integration is needed, and here the Anglo-Norman Text Society should help, especially when it can get its head above water and plan to cover desiderata.

The principal centres from which new work is to be expected are the British, American and Scandinavian Universities, and the Ecole des Chartes. Paul Studer's dream of making Oxford a nursery of Anglo-Norman studies may seem to have faded with his own death and that of

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his successor, and the translation of Miss Pope to Manchester. Yet Oxford has taken a lead without creating a monopoly, and his colleagues and pupils will be found working and stimulating interest on both sides of the Atlantic. And this is a it should be, for Oxford is the only mediaeval university which legislated for the teaching of French, and that French was Anglo-Norman.

Edinburgh. M. Dominica LEGGE.

Le Secrétaire-administrateur, A. TERRACHER.

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