School of Humanities
Department of Classics

Submitted in fulfilment for the requirements of the degree of

Master by Research

The Macaronic Technique in the English Language in Texts from the Old English, Medieval and Early Modern Periods (9th to 18th centuries): A Collection and Discussion

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30th September 2011

(39,104) words without substantial specimens quotations
(44,523) words in total

I. Abstract

Macaronics have traditionally been regarded either as a genre with origins in fifteenth-century Italy or as an umbrella-term for any kind of language-mixing. In the context of Latin-English macaronics, from the earliest extant material (9th c.) to sustained cultivation until about 1800, this paper investigates representative examples of Latin-English macaronics in English works from the earliest material to about 1800. Intended as both a select catalogue of specimens and investigation into their technical applications, attention is given to a wide range of issues, including syntactical functions, manuscript context, social issues pertaining to linguistic, historic and political strata, relative status of the involved languages, questions of linguistic and textual authority, stylistic effect and linguistic competence. Extended quotation from the textual data will further aim to ensure continued traceability of some specimens which are on the verge of being lost. The study shows the individual treatment of macaronics in the English language as facilitated by the ambiguities of the term itself.

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Author's Declaration

I declare that, unless indicated by explicit reference to contributions which are the contributions of others, that this dissertation is my own work. This paper has not been submitted for another degree at the University of Glasgow or any other institution.

Signature

Printed Name

Acknowledgements

I would like to extend my thanks to my supervisor Dr Panayotakis, as well as Prof Robertson, Dr Houghton, and the staff and students in the departments of Classics and English Language.

My thanks are also due to Joanna Green, Eric Gowling, Lindis Kipp, Alessa Geiger and especially Mary Boehme and my family.

1.Introduction

1.1 Prologue

‘Nymphae quae colitis highissima monta Fifaea,

Seu vos Pittenwema tenent seu Crelia crofta,

Sive Anstraea domus, ubi nat haddocus in undis,

Codlineusque ingens, et fleucca et sketta pererrant

Per costam, et scopulis lobster mony-footus in udis

Creepat, et in mediis ludit whitenius undis;

Et vos skipperii, soliti qui per mare breddum

Valde procul lanchare foris, iterumque redire,

Linquite scellatas bottas shippasque picatas,

Whistlantesque simul fechtam memorate bloodaeam’

Thus begins the macaronic poem *Polemo-Middinia inter Vitarvam et Nebernam* by William Drummond of Hawthornden. The seventeenth-century poem has traditionally been quoted as one of the finest examples in the English language of continental macaronic traditions. This poetic art flourished in in Italy in the fifteenth century, and was practiced most famously by Teofilo Folengo (1491-1544), called ‘the Homer of Macaronic poetry’[1] by one commentator, and ‘the most in fame (not to print it *infâme*) of all macaronic torturers’ by another[2]. An earlier example of macaronic writing in the English language is provided by a sermon dating from the fifteenth century:

[1] ‘On Macaronic Poetry’ *The Gentleman’s Magazine*, vol. 100, 2nd in series of 5 (August, 1830) 122
[2] ‘Macaronics’ *The Saturday Review*, vol. 78 (July, 1894) 70

> Domini gouernouris most eciam be merciful in punchying. Oportet ipsos attendere quod of stakis and stodis qui deberent stare in ista vinea quedam sunt smothe and lightlich wul boo, quedam sunt so stif and so ful of warris quod homo shal to-cleue hom cicius quam planare'

About half a century prior to this sample *The Phoenix*, an Old English poem from the Exeter Book finds its conclusion in macaronic lines of this kind:

> 'Hafað us aliefed *lucis auctor*
>
> þæt we motum her *merueri*
>
> *goddædum begietan* *gaudia in celo*
>
> *þer we motum* *maxima regna*
>
> secan ond gesittan *sedibus altis'*

From this very brief display of three specimens which are so different in place and date of composition we can glean the range of phenomena to which the term 'macaronic' has been applied. The excerpts referred to above stand testimony to the English language's temporally and generically extensive commitment to multilingual engagement in writing. The object of this study will be to outline the surviving corpus of such poetry in the English language in combination with Latin from the ninth to the eighteenth centuries and to explain some of its varied effects. Through closer inspection and analysis of a significant part of this material I wish to contribute to the study of language-mixing in written text.

1.2 Macaronics: Terminology, Tradition and Types

Language-mixing as such is a broad term and may be the only one that can be used safely as denominating the presence of two or more languages (or varieties thereof) in an act of communication, e.g. writing or speech. The literary critic William Wehrle elucidates how the practice of mixing languages and interlarding text with foreign vocabulary in particular, 'antedates by centuries the name by which such a practice is known to us'[3]. The term linguists most often use to denominate language-mixing technique is probably code-switching. According to Schendl this term denominates 'the change from one language (or language

[3] William O. Wehrle *The Macaronic Hymn Tradition in Medieval Literature* (Washington D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1933) xi

variety, i.e. dialect) to another within one act of communication'[4]. The linguist John Gumperz describes code-switching in similar terms but with emphasis on 'juxtaposition' of languages rather than their synthesis[5]. Code-switching is most often used as applicable only to spoken discourse, but dramatic or imagined dialogue in text has been considered under the same heading[6].

As just demonstrated, clear definition of the term 'macaronic' is elusive; in fact, it is more instructive to approach the matter from the perspective of various 'techniques' in combining two languages. Surveying the existing criticism and material, those seeking to define the term base their definitions on examples dating from the fifteenth century onwards, focussing primarily on macaronics used for satirical and humorous effect. Specimens of that kind may readily be found in the studies by Wehrle, William Dobson, and a range of Victorian and Georgian journals discussed in the Scholarship section below (1.3). In these sources macaronics are often maligned in comments such as this: 'Macarony … [is] an amusing jumble of words twisted into Latin forms'; and this, on their nature: 'Macaronic literature is humorous in its design and burlesque in its essence. Its assumed tragic is ever travesty…, its tears are those of enforced laughter[7]. Even in more linguistically orientated studies, the jocose element is at the forefront: 'Macaronics… are queer bundles of ingenuity, requiring for their due management a knowledge of two languages, or two dialects of the same language, or a literary language and a slang… The humour consists in mixing up the heterogeneous elements together in selected proportions, but there must be a sufficient knowledge of grammar and syntax to prevent the fun from degenerating into mere nonsense.'[8] Invariably, the material gathered dates to after the fifteenth century and mostly appears to treat the point of introduction of the terminology as the starting point of the art as such[9].

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[4] Herbert Schendl 'Code-Switching in Medieval English Poetry' in D. Kastovsky and A. Mettinger (eds.) *Language-Contact in the History of English,* 2nd edition 2003 (Frankfurt a.M.: Peter Lang Verlag, 2001) 305-35; quoted at 305

[5] John J. Gumperz *Discourse Strategies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982) 59

[6] For instance by Tim W. Machan 'Language Contact in Piers Plowman' *Speculum* 69 (1994) 359-385 and Hans-Jürgen Diller 'Code-switching in Medieval English Drama' *Comparative Literature* 31(1997/1998)506-537, who both generally prefer 'code-switching' but use 'macaronic' for dialogue in drama and poetry.

[7] 'Macaronic Literature' *Dublin University Magazine*, vol. 61 (April, 1863) 381

[8] 'Macaronic and Palindromic verses' *All the Year Round*, vol. 15 (1876) 320-21

[9] See, for example, J. Maskell 'A brief Bibliography of Macaronic Literature' *Notes and Queries*, series 6, vol. 12 (1885) cf. 182; William T. Dobson *Literary Frivolities, Fancies, Follies and Frolics* (London: Chatto& Windus, 1880) see Introduction

In its narrowest sense the macaronic is a poetic form originating in the Middle Ages which subjects the Italian vernacular (or a dialectal variety) to the morphological and syntactical features of standardised Latin so as to arrive at a hybrid but smooth synthesis of both languages, such as in these lines from Folengo's *Baldus*:

A centum buliunt caldaria fixa cadensis,

Ergo macaronicas illic actavimus artes,

Et me grassiloquum Vatem statuere sorores,

Misterum facit hinc vostrum clamemus aiuttum,

Ac mea pinguiferis panza est implenda lasagnis[10].

The lines further give evidence of the relative status of languages used in continental late medieval and early modern macaronics. The choice of lowly subject-matter, expressed by the vernacular (or dialect thereof), coupled with the loftiness of erudite Latin, Genthe informs us was first employed 'zur Erzielung komischer oder parodistischer Wirkung'[11], intent on poking fun at pedantic scholars, doctors and bureaucrats 'welche ihr Italienisch, aus Affectation, durch Einmischung vieler lateinischer Wörter… entstellten'[12]. That crude content is a requirement for the genre is made clear by Folengo, when discussing the origins of the term:

> 'Ars ista poetica nuncupatur ars Macaronica, à Macaronibus derivata: qui *Macarones* sunt quoddam pulmentum, farina, caseo, butyro compaginatum, grossum, rude, et rusticanum. Ideo Macaronica nil nisi grossedinem, ruditatem et vocabulezzos debet in se continere'[13].

The following excerpt from the *Phantasiae Macaronicae* by the Italian will illustrate all of his requirements more fully:

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[10] Quoted from *Baldus* cited at *The Catholic Encyclopedia*; http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/06124a.htm

[11] Gero von Wilpert *Sachwörterbuch der Literatur* vol. 6, amended and extended edt. (Stuttgart:Kröner, 1979) 493

[12] William F. Genthe *Geschichte der makaronischen Poesie und Sammlung ihrer vorzüglichsten Denkmale, 2nd edition* 1836; Halle/ Leipzig: Reinicke, 1827) 60

[13] Quoted from *Baldus* cited at *The Catholic Encyclopedia*; http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/06124a.htm, also Thomas Sandys *Specimens of Macaronic Poetry* (London: R.Beckley, 1831) ix

Oceanum patrem Sol descendendo petebat,

Ponitur in puncto Regalis coena debottum,

Grande pignatorum murmur sonat intra coquinam,

Et faciunt sguatari quidquid cocus annuit illis,

Alter figatos coctos tirat extra padellam,

Alter odorifero zeladiam gingere spargit.

Alter Anedretto pingui brottamine guazzat,

Alter de spedo mira trahit arte fasanos,

Hic polastrorum caldarum spiccat ab igne,

Quos alter gustat, digitos leccando, sub ala.[14]

In this light, this form of macaronics constitutes a genre in itself. As such a one, fellow-Italian, German and French poets in particular, adopted it enthusiastically, as demonstrated by the voluminous catalogues assembled by Genthe and Octave Delepierre in their respective treatises (see 1.3).

Simply the subjecting of other vernaculars to the linguistic process extends the original definition, and poetic license has certainly been the motivation behind the considerable broadening of the term over the years. Mixed-language texts, from periods antedating the Italian proliferation of the term have also been classed as macaronic[15]. However, contents, themes and techniques in these specimens are so diverse that we cannot speak of a widely adopted single genre anymore. Instead, the macaronic techniques have become a practice of language-mixing, which, as evidenced by the range of specimens examined in this study, defy classification because of their diversity. We shall see that 'macaronic' is a term that can be applied to any kind of text that has language-mixing in it.

[14] Quoted in Sandys (1831:18)

[15] See introductory chapter in Genthe (1827:12-60), or discussion in Sandys (1831:2-24)

It is my main intention for this thesis to show that we can find much earlier instances of macaronic literature than the fifteenth century Italian forms that have been recognized. Further, I will show that the technique is used in a variety of genres with a variety of motivations and effects which transcend the mere satirical purposes that have been narrowly assigned to the form by the critics cited above. I will demonstrate that English literature is rich in macaronic engagement even prior to the introduction of the terminology as such and that this engagement has been largely unconnected to the later continental trends that the above critics used to formulate their definitions.

When I use the term 'macaronic' in this study it will be in reference to the 'technique' or 'practice' of substantial language-mixing (in particular, of English and Latin) in various types of text rather than in the Folengo-sense. Not to term any scrap of text with language-mixing 'macaronic', my aim is to provide material that shows sustained engagement of the two languages on various levels of grammar and linguistic fluency as well as theme and context. This considerably broadens the inclusion of material. However, I find it imperative to demonstrate the purposes and stylistic uses to which the English language has applied macaronics before the crystallisation of such practices in the Italian sense. To give a brief example, all the Old English 'mixed' poems which I will here treat I call (and indeed they have been called[16]) macaronic, even though there is no grammatical or morphological contamination, and no hybridisation apparent as exhibited by the poems considered to be the "first'' fifteenth-century macaronics.

If such coverage be allowed, the corpus of texts seems suddenly vast and inconsistent. Therefore, I have turned to categories proposed by critics on continental macaronics to help sort the material into types appropriate for the English macaronics which I will here treat. For example, Fritsche, looking at the broader European context of macaronic writings from the fifteenth century onward, usefully classes four linguistic types of macaronic poetry whose scope reaches beyond that of the classical Folengo- style:

[16] E.g. by Christopher M. Cain 'Phonology and Meter in the Old English Macaronic Verses' *Studies in Philology* 98 no.3 (2001) 273-291

1) The lexicon of one language is intermingled with that of another (usually Latin) in such a way as to adhere to the latter's graphic, syntactic and morphological features; this is the practice of the original Folengo-type.

2) Language change at the beginnings or ends of stanzas (particularly in lyrics).

3) Regular alternation between two or more languages (verse to verse, line to line etc.).

4) Switching in conversation.[17]

Wehrle's study adopts a similar classification in his consideration of lyrical texts but seems more interested in the effect or tone which these types create in their respective texts than their relevant linguistic techniques. He identifies the following:

1) Sarcastic or humorous macaronics (e.g. in drama, partly in Skelton, Dunbar and Piers Plowman) to undermine or glorify the the status of Latin or the vernacular respectively.

2) The *Piers Plowman*-practice which uses macaronics constantly but in differing techniques.

3) The Folengo-type poems, among which he also includes the *Polemo-Middinia*.

4) Religious, convivial, amorous, political poetry which relies on liturgy and Scripture for its Latin insertions.[18]

Gumperz' distinction between conversational and situational switches according to function within the text provides the foundation for points of discussion within the present study. The critic's division applies more readily to un-hybridised language-mixing (i.e. not Type 1 according to Fritsche, or Type 3 by Wehrle), and is particularly useful in the context of English macaronics because of the range of topically, generically and linguistically diverse material.[19] Distinctions are made between the following on a syntactic level:

1) 'Tags' e.g. interjections, single-word switches used like foreign-language terminology, also short phrases used like that to express concepts (e.g.

[17] Michael Fritsche 'Maccaronea. 2000 Jahre Sprachmischung in satirischer Dichtung' in Konrad Ehlich (ed.) *Sprachen und Sprachpolitik in Europa* (Tübingen: Stauffenburg, 2002)171-186; quoted at 177f.
[18] Wehrle (1933:xv-xvii)
[19] Gumperz (1982: 60); cf. also Suzanne Romaine *Bilingualism* 2nd ed. 1995 (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 1989)122f.

legal Latin phrases, or '*memento mori')*. The distinction between these and borrowing may not be easily made[20].

2) Quotations of one fully-functional line or more.

3) Intersentential or extrasentential switches, i.e. switches which occur at the boundaries of sentences or clauses.

4) Intrasentential switches, i.e. switching within a sentence or clause[21].

1.3 Scholarship

I have already mentioned some treatises which have been instrumental in the study of macaronics and language-mixing theory. William Genthe's work entitled *Geschichte der makaronischen Poesie und Sammlung ihrer vorzüglichsten Denkmale (*Halle/Leipzig: 1827) seems to have been the first to study and catalogue macaronic literature. The German study still provides the most thorough account on the origins of macaronics in fifteenth-century Italy, a discussion on its possible roots, and an exhaustive catalogue, which forms the core of the work. The German and Italian sections are particularly impressive whereas the English section falls short, whether the author could not trace such material or was not aware of it remains to be questioned. In the English language William Sandys' *Specimens of Macaronic Poetry* (London: 1831) offers little introduction but a good catalogue of European specimens. The author does not provide any material beyond Genthe's corpus. Octave Delepierre in his *Macaronéa andra: ou mélanges de litterature macaronique des différents peuples de l' Éurope* (Paris: D. Grancia, 1852) is essentially the later French version of Genthe's work which gives some if restricted evidence on English macaronics[22].

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[20] Carol Eastman (ed.) in her introductory matter to *Codeswitching* (Clevedon: Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication Data/ British Library, 1992) 1, cf. for similar opinion Tony Hunt 'Code-switching in Medical Texts' in D. A.Trotter *Multilingualism in Later Medieval Britain* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2000) 131-147; see 131

[21] See on these types Gumperz (1982) and Romaine (1995); also Shanna Poplack 'Sometimes I'll start a sentence in English y termino en español: Toward a Typology of Code-Switching' *Linguistics* 18 (1980) 581-618, C.M. Myers-Scotton *Duelling Languages: Grammatical Structure in Codeswitching* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993)

[22] There is also a second issue with a supplement of hitherto unknown (mainly French) macaronic specimens which the author did not include in the first edition: *Macaronéa andra, overum nouveaux mélanges de littérature macaronique* (London: Trübner, 1862)

In response to the German and French treatises James Appleton Morgan's *Macaronic Poetry* (New York: Hurd & Houghton, 1872) offers, on the whole, a very compressed study, and is probably adapted from his article dating from 1869 (see below). The author does supply more English specimens than Genthe or Sandys but stays on the generalising side, and I have found some of his examples untraceable[23]. In *Literary Frivolities, Fancies, Follies and Frolics* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1880), William T. Dobson looks at macaronics briefly in the light of literary diversions chiefly in the English language. For that reason he mentions mainly comical specimens which he often leaves insufficiently discussed.

A curious corpus of critical material from the Georgian and Victorian eras exists in the form of individual and serialised articles in newspapers and magazines. Periodicals of that time would contain a motley mix of fiction, news, trivia and advertisements with a primary view to entertain but they were also invariably thought of as being carriers of reliable and unbiased information[24]. Possibly, interest in the subject was sparked by the extensive treatises just mentioned and the largely anonymous authors of these pieces merrily commented on them and added bits and pieces of macaronic literature at their leisure. However, the specimens are often insufficiently discussed, dated, defined or referenced, so that such material must be treated with extreme care. I mention these works mostly because they are part of the English critical reception of macaronic texts and some specimens quoted in them survive only in that form. If anything this body of evidence suggests a rise of interest in macaronic literature and some of the material referred to already attests to the widening of the original generic connotations of the term so as to allow a broader approach to extant English material. I provide a compressed list of articles of this type:

- *All the Year Round* 'Macaronic and Palindromic Verses' vol. 15, January 1 (1876)

- *The Gentleman's Magazine* 'On macaronic poetry' series of 5 articles, vol. 100, July-December (1830)

- James A. Morgan 'Macaronic Verse' *The Evening Post* vol. 68, July 19 (1869)

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[23] Wehrle (1993:xix) complains about Morgan's exclusive and narrowed approach (i.e. the author did not consider, for example, macaronic sermons, hymns and early English specimens)

[24] Matthew Rubery *The Novelty of the Newspaper- Victorian Fiction after the Invention of the News* (Oxford:Oxford University Press, 2006) 57

-J. Maskell 'A Brief Bibliography of Macaronic Literature', *Notes and Queries* series 6, vol.12 (1885)

-*Dublin University Magazine* 'Macaronic Literature' vol. 61, April (1863)

-*The Saturday Review* 'Macaronics' vol. 78, July 12 (1894)

More applicable to the scope of this study, scholarship has approached the subject of the macaronic from the angle of language contact. Although linguistic mixing in the English language has been investigated, most research has taken place in the fields of lexical and syntactical borrowing from French, Latin, Celtic and Scandinavian languages, and language variation, particularly in the medieval and post-colonial periods [25].The Middle Ages have been paid great attention since critics have identified the time of the development of a strong vernacular tradition (i.e. Middle English) as crucial to English attitudes towards linguistic influence, external and internal[26]. But there is still much scope for research in regard to the different techniques and processes of language-mixing, especially in regard to their overall development within the English language across time. Snapshots of a language, its attitudes towards contact languages and socio-historic reasons for change may be gleaned from examining the way in which individual specimens portray and present interaction between English and Latin at any given point in time.

Several articles deal with single aspects of language-mixing as evident in single specimens at a time, and most of them are concerned with the medieval, I would like to mention the following which have significantly shaped my understanding of and approach to macaronic texts. Carol Harvey's article 'Macaronic Techniques in Anglo-Norman verse'[27] is informative in identifying several techniques in macaronic compositions. The author admits Anglo-Norman

[25] cf., for example, William Rothwell 'The Missing Link in English Etymology: Anglo-French' *Medium Aevum* 60 (1991) 173-96; John N. Adams *Bilingualism and the Latin Language* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Otmar Werner 'The Incorporation of Old Norse Pronouns into Middle English: Suppletion by Loan' in Per S. Ureland and George Broderick (eds.) *Language Contact in the British Isles* (Tübingen: Niemeyer Verlag, 1991) 369-401; James Milroy *Linguistic Variation and Change* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991); Markku Filppula et al. (eds.) *English and Celtic in Contact* (New York/London: Routledge, 2008); Sarah G. Thomason *Language Contact* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2001); as well as articles in the new *Journal of Language Contact* (since 2007)

[26] See collections of essays in Trotter (2000), Kastovsky and Mettinger (2003); also Irma Taavitsainen (ed.) et al. *Placing Middle English in Context* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2000); Janne Skaffari et al. (eds.) *Opening Windows on Texts and Discourses of the Pas*t (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2005)

[27] L' *esprit créateur 18* (1978) 70-81

specimens in even the broadest sense to her discussion and thus gives a good overview of the phenomenon in medieval England as such. Herbert Schendl's work, evidenced by such articles as 'To London fro Kent/*sunt predia depopulantes*': Code-switching and medieval English macaronic poems'[28] or 'Code-switching in medieval English poetry'[29] establish him as a leading scholar in the field of code-switching techniques in regard to grammatical and syntactical restrictions. His focus on discourse strategies and the formalisation of language-mixing was particularly instructive in going about my functional analyses. Similarly prolific in her field, Laura Wright concerns herself with non-literary texts as a relatively new body of evidence of macaronic writings. Her work is characterised by thorough corpus –linguistic analyses, which makes her material a great addition to the poetic material which is the focus of most other studies. One example is 'Macaronic writing in a London archive, 1380-1480'[30].

Some attempts have been made at grouping material in larger generic or chronological categories. The two outstanding works by William Wehrle and Siegfried Wenzel are accompanied by substantial discussion. Wehrle's *The Macaronic Hymn Tradition in Middle English Literature* (Washington D.C.: 1933) is not as restrictive as the title suggests. It offers an excellent yet concise introduction to the macaronic hymns supplemented by a range of lyrical material such as convivial, amorous, political and seasonal poems. To my knowledge, Wehrle was the first to widen the term in view of the different nature of English language-mixing in order to admit specimens other than the original Folengo-type. The author identifies different types of specifically English macaronics (e.g. the *Piers-Plowman* type) and examines them linguistically before discussing the hymn traditions across the medieval period. *Macaronic Sermons: Bilingualism and Preaching in Late-Medieval England*[31] by Wenzel essentially complements Wehrle's study and comprises of introductory material to the macaronic as well as a wealth of sermon literature which is classified according to its linguistic features. Detailed opinion is scattered across general works concerned mainly with linguistic theory (e.g. code-switching), literary history or

[28] *Vienna English Working PaperS (ViewS)* 6 (1997) 52-66
[29] In Kastovsky and Mettinger (2003) 305-335
[30] in M. Rissanen et al. (eds.) *History of Englishes: New Methods and Interpretations* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1992)762-70
[31] (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994)

very specific genres or authors [32] and thus my research has been informed from a diversity of critical attitudes.

1.4 Aims, Objectives and Methodology of this Study

The purpose of this paper is manifold. Firstly, I want to provide a catalogue of specimens which illustrate the continuous cultivation of macaronic techniques in their narrow and broad senses across a wider stretch of time than has previously been acknowledged. Owing to the wealth of material available I had to be selective but I have tried for representativeness in my decisions. The corpus of material here discussed has been selected also on the basis of relevance to my discussion but also of availability and status of research. Some specimens I have dismissed because they cannot be dated with any precision, others because their only edition could be found in suspect sources, such as Georgian and Victorian social magazines which cannot be said to quote reliably or objectively (see also 1.3). I have also refrained from repeating material excessively in the case of, for instance, medieval sermons, hymns and lyrics beyond showing the full range of their respective genres.

Closely linked to the aim of cataloguing is the wish to draw attention to and in some cases preserve, the sources and editions which are now hardly traceable, sadly out-dated, or in dire need of (re-)editing. I have endeavoured to make use of the following editions: a) the earliest traceable, b) the current authoritative edition or, where possible, c) first editions manuscripts or their facsimile editions. In transcribing and editing the latter I have aimed at facilitating access for the reader through the introduction of some modern punctuation (unless there is some evident in the source itself) and capitalisation as well as applying poetical layout where applicable, but not by impending on the linguistic features, including errors or inconsistencies of spelling, although consideration will be given to these in the discussions. Original letter-forms

[32] E.g. Uriel Weinreich *Languages in Contact: Findings and Problems*, reprinted 1964 (The Hague: Mouton & Co.,1953) 56-60; Douglas Gray *Later Medieval English Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008); A.V.C. Schmidt *The Clerkly Maker: Langland's Poetic Art* Piers Plowman Studies Series vol.4 (Cambridge: Boydell & Brewer, 1987)

found in the manuscripts, such as þ ('thorn), □ (yogh[33]), ð (eth), and æ (ash) have been retained throughout.

The matter of translating specimens in Old and Middle English is tricky. Non-standardisation in the English language during these periods and beyond, as well as issues of contemporary connotation, local phrasing and contextual elusiveness make it difficult enough to determine literally translatable meaning in the vernacular as such. Besides, not infrequently the combination with Latin of these texts in variously functional macaronic techniques causes obscurity to the point of incomprehension. I have provided my own translations and marginal glosses to the best of my ability, unless indicated otherwise, but I would like to stress that these are intended for orientation and basic understanding rather than authoritative assertion. As the language approaches modern standards the translation/ gloss apparatus are not necessary anymore but I have kept to glossing or explaining the Middle English where it might yet cause difficulty. Critical editions containing translation and glosses are readily available for larger texts such as *Piers Plowman*, the *Polemo-Middinia,* and lyrics and sermons which have been edited in collections. One of the main aims of my paper is to contribute to the study of historical and literary linguistics of the English language in contact with the Latin. This area offers much scope but comprehensive and specialised research is still lacking in aspects of sociolinguistic and socio-historic function of macaronics, as well as aspects of technical and stylistic application.

To arrive at a thorough idea of the language-mixing techniques employed in English texts, I have adopted an approach of roughly chronologically listing, introducing and subsequently analysing specimens from the ninth to the eighteenth century. Each specimen will be introduced in a dedicated section and most of the material will also be considered in a comprehensive discussion which aims at addressing numerous aspects without abandoning specialisation. Thus, Chapter 2 examines the extant specimens from the Old English period with a view to establishing possible roots of language-mixing, analysing the technical aspects of the switching process, grammatical peculiarities and sources. My next chapter (3), the Middle English section, significantly broadens the range of evidence and possibilities for examination. Sociolinguistic tensions and issues of

[33] An Old English form which can was also used in place of 'g' or 'gh' in Middle English.

macaronic function will be brought to the fore and the relative status of Latin and the vernacular considered in view of the textual evidence, while I will not neglect attention to technical analysis. The alliterative poem *Piers Plowman* will be at the centre to bring focus to the discussion. The fourth chapter comes full circle with the Prologue to this chapter (1.1) in its preoccupation with the *Polemo-Middinia*, but also a range of other literary texts, such as John Skelton's and William Dunbar's to further detect the treatment which fifteenth-century continental influences offered the English writers and what treatment they received at their hands.

In the final chapter I will summarise how the macaronic technique has progressed from the Old English period in the form of mostly reverential poetry, employing simple switching techniques which do not tamper with the Latin morphology, to the functionally and technically diverse specimens of the Middle Ages. In this period the differing techniques incorporate borrowing, code-switches, quotation, and early instances of Italian-style macaronics, as well as pragmatic employment of mixings as a strategy of discourse. By this flexibility of application of technique, issues and attitudes towards Latin and the vernacular are brought to the fore, bearing witness to a time of linguistic instability, as expressed, for example, in my focal text *Piers Plowman*. Whereas the Latin material used in this period finds its sources chiefly in liturgy and Scripture, early modern writers extend the medieval range of macaronics by allowing original composition in their Latin linked with creativity in their English. The *Polemo-Middinia*, finally, shows full awareness of continental macaronic technique whilst not being enslaved to its requirements of genre or topic. Thus I hope to demonstrate the English macaronic writers' uniqueness in engaging with and developing language-mixing techniques with great independence and, and in many cases, to no mean literary merit.

1.5 Linguistic and Literary Background: A brief Introduction

The earliest written evidence from the English language dates to about the seventh century and this is usually taken as the beginning of the Old English period. Early English literature has left its legacy in such works as the prose epic

Beowulf, the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, and the rich collection of sermons, homilies, law codes and biblical commentaries by abbot Ælfric and bishop Wulfstan. The subsequent medieval period is marked off by events such as Geoffrey Chaucer's Death in 1400 and the instigation of printing in 1476 by William Caxton, which is also a vague point of orientation for the end of the Middle English period. After the Norman Conquest, English lost ground as a recognized form of written expression and was superseded by French as the preferred language of the aristocracy for literature, and Latin as the preferred documentary language. English was used largely in local matters, e.g. for teaching.

Towards the end of the fourteenth century Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* and the translation of the Bible marked the shift in the distribution of functions and English advances its establishment as a medium of all discourse, written or spoken. This development coincided with the advent of printing and a rise in literacy among the lay population and was given new impetus by the Reformation movements and lead to the development of a national 'English' identity. The evolving system of classes, which gave rise to an acculturated audience, e.g. among the London bourgeoisie and, in the seventeenth century, the middle classes, meant that the English vernacular kept determining its influence. The fifteenth century also bears witness to the standardisation of written English pronunciation, and the subsequent century indicates the emergence of Modern English after the Great Vowel Shift heralded by Shakespeare's works and the King James Bible. Cultural Humanist movements enriched the vernacular with Latin and Greek vocabulary in a conscious (if partly counteracted[34]) borrowing process in the Renaissance period, and is otherwise distinguished by great vernacular literary achievements in drama (Shakespeare, Marlowe, Jonson), epic poetry (Milton, Spenser), and music (e.g. madrigals).

To further understand the role which Latin played in this context, Kastovsky and Mettinger establish in their introduction to *Language-Contact in the History of English* how 'four languages played a major role in the shaping of this [English] language: Latin, Celtic, Scandinavian, and French. Of these, Latin perhaps had the most extended influence temporally speaking, especially as

[34] i.e through the attempted implementation of 'inkhorn' terms, which describe native constructs and neologism for replacing the new-fangled 'archaic' introductions, e.g. 'unthroughfaresome' for 'impenetrable'; quoted in J.J. Smith *Essentials of Early English* (London/New York: Routledge, 1999) 153

regards the vocabulary'[35]. A substantial part of literature and documentation was always written in Latin, especially in the earlier periods when education and consequently writing and compositional skills were the sole matter of the ecclesiastical institutions. The pervasiveness of Latin is particularly evident in the functions it assumed in its time. From the end of the sixth century England was functionally diglossial. That is to say two, and with the Norman invasion three languages co-existed and operated side by side but they were used for very distinct purposes. As a rule of thumb, Latin was in use as the authoritative or official language, covering domains like the church and state institutions, universities, exegetical texts and commentaries, philosophical and theological areas; the low variety (the vernacular) was applied to everyday conversation and popular writing (e.g. poems, lyrics, romances)[36].

To understand the dynamics of language-switches is to understand their respective functions in the context of their encroaching on each other's territories and the textual comment on this event. Especially in the Middle Ages, an instrumental period for this paper, sociolinguistic attitudes and diglossial changes come to the fore; they bear and sometimes facilitate the composition of texts in macaronic techniques. The demise of the English diglossia became apparent in this period with a developing vernacular reaching its standardised status by the end of the fifteenth century, and its expiration by the eighteenth century[37]. To show the role which my chosen bilingual macaronic phenomenon reveals about this process I have decided to provide a variety of specimens from the earliest traceable (i.e. from the ninth century) to the mid-seventeenth century which is marked by the composition of the *Polemo-Middinia*, but I shall provide some evidence dating up to the eighteenth century to further trace the fate of the continental macaronic in the English language [38].

[35] 'Introduction' in Kastovsky and Mettinger (2003: 9-16); quoted at 9f.
[36] See on this Romaine (1995:31-37); R.A. Hudson *Sociolinguistics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980) 53-55
[37] Cf. Laura Wright 'Medieval Mixed-language Business Discourse and the Rise of Standard English' in Skaffari (2005) 381-398; and Machan (1994:361f.)
[38] For references and further material see J.J. Smith *(*1999: 8-10); Adam Fox *Oral and Literate Culture in England, 1500-1700* (Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 2000) 1-50; Donna B. Hamilton (ed.) *A Concise Companion to English Renaissance Literature* (Malden: Blackwell, 2006); Stephan Kohl *Das englische Spätmittelalter: Kulturelle Normen, Lebenspraxis, Texte* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1986) 2-18.

2. Old English

2.1 Introduction

Since there is comparatively little written material now extant from the Old English period, evidence of macaronic styles (or code-switching) is necessarily sparse. Across the specimens discovered, it is predominantly poetic material that seems to be our primary evidence (i.e.specimens 2, 3 and 4).The poems follow the rules of Anglo-Saxon verse composition. This type of poetry does not require any stanzaic or rhythmic pattern, but works through alliterative principles and the observation of stressed and unstressed syllables. This requires every line to fall into two half-lines (normally, but not necessarily, with four stresses per line) with a natural caesura between the two half-lines. The first stress of the second half-line may not alliterate with the second stress in that same half-line, but it has to alliterate with one (or both) stresses of the first half-line[39]. Christopher Cain has alerted readers and critics of Old English poetry in particular to take great caution when drawing conclusions from such texts:

'[T]he highly stylised , often archaic system of versification which Anglo-Saxon poets employed may not provide us with the synchronic snapshots of the language that would place us on firm linguistic ground...On the other hand, verse can sometimes provide us with our best evidence'.[40]

With this *caveat* in mind I was delighted to find a prose specimen which arguably exhibits some poetic features (i.e. alliterative engagement) but appears to have been designed for non-literary purposes (2.2.1). In comparison with the highly literary material, this less formal piece of linguistic evidence may provide valid points on a level that is closer to the conversational. I will introduce the examples before moving on to matters for analysis so that the discussion may benefit from familiarity with the material. I will focus my discussion in this

[39] Cf. on this Frederick Rebsamen's (ed./transl.) introduction to Old English verse patterns in *Beowulf: A Verse Translation* (New York: Harper Collins, 1991) xviii. Furthermore, vowels and consonants are used alike for alliteration. In the case of a vowel alliterating with any other vowel their synthesis acquires consonantal sound through emphatic pronounciation.
40 Cain (2001:273)

chapter on the purposes and the grammatical function of the Latin in contact with the vernacular and consider aspects of composition process and the relative importance of the Old English language over the other language. The four specimens I consider most useful in the context of this study are in chronological order:

(1) *The Saxon Fragment* (first half 9th c.).

(2) The last eleven lines to the poem *The Phoenix* (9th-10thc.).

(3) The prefatory material to *De laude virginitatis* commonly called *Aldhelmus* (late 10th/early 11thc.).

(4) *A Summons to Prayer* or *Oratio Poetica* which prefaces the Old English *Lord's Prayer II* (11thc.).

2. 2 Specimens

(1) The Saxon Fragment

The so-called *Saxon Fragment* comes from the beginning of the *Book of Cerne* (Cambridge, University Library MS Ll.1.10, fol.2a); Henry Sweet had originally identified incorrectly it as a *Lorica* Prayer by Gildas (6thc.)[41]. Even though these lines seem like liturgical material, they are for the purpose of instruction rather than an actual prayer on its own. Even though the *Book of Cerne* (ca. 820-840) displays insular influence I could not detect any features in the text which would qualify it as a *Lorica*, an early Celtic prayer-form, in Latin or in a vernacular language, asking for protection[42]. However, lines 7 and 8 are a compression of phrases from several psalms which may qualify the Saxon Fragment as instructing its reader on the construction of such a prayer[43]. The three psalms, all David's, concern themselves with praying for protection from enemies and the lending of divine support, not unlike in character to *Lorica* prayers. I will

[41] Henry Sweet (ed.) *The Oldest English Texts*, EETS o.s. 83(London: Trübner, 1885) 174

[42] Cf. Thomas D. Hill 'Invocations of the Trinity and the Tradition of the Lorica in Old English Poetry' *Speculum* 56 (1981) 259-67; L. Gougaud 'Études sur les *loricae* celtiques et sur les prières qui s'en rapprochent' *Bulletin d'ancienne literature et d'archéologie* 1(1911) 265-81

[43] Cf. '*domine est [sic] salus et super populum tuum*' Psalm 3:9; '*domine eripe animam meam salvum me fac propter misericordiam tuam*' 6:5; '*praetende misericordiam tuam*' Psalm 35:11. All references from the Vulgate taken from www.thelatinlibrary.com/Bible.html

quote the prose specimen here in full from Sweet's edition for assessment with my translation of the Old English:

... and ðe georne gebide gece and miltse fore alra
his

haligra ge□yrhtum and geearningum and boenum
[hiwe-][44]

num, ða ðe *domino deo* gelicedon from fruman

middangeardes; ðonne gehereð he ðec ðorh hiora

ðingunge. do ðonne fiorðan siðe ðin hleor ðriga

To iorðan for alle godes cirican and sing ðas

fers: *domini est [sic] salus, salvum fac populum*

tuum, domine praetende misericordiam tuam.

sing ðonne paternoster. gebide ðonne fore

alle geleaffullę menn *in mundo*. ðonne bistu ðone

deg daelniomende ðorh dryhtnes gefe alra ðeara

goda ðe ænig monn for his noman gedoeð, and ðec
alle

soðfestę fore dingiað *in caelo et in terra,*

[44] A.B. Kuypers *The Book of Cerne* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1902) 3

... and ðe georne gebide gece and miltse fore alra
his

haligra ge□yrhtum and geearningum and boenum
[hiwe-][44]

amen.[45]

[...and pray eagerly for support and mercy in the presence of the deeds and merits and the prayers of all His saints, concerning those men who have have been pleasing towards the *Dominus deus* from the beginning of the world; then He shall hear you through their mediation. Then for the fourth time touch your face to the earth three times before all God's Church and sing this verse: *Domini est [sic] salus, saluum fac populum tuum, domine praetende misericordiam tuam.* Afterwards sing a Paternoster. Then pray for all faithful men *in mundo*. Then on this day through the Lord's grace you shall be a partaker of all those good deeds that any man performs in His name, and all true men shall act as mediators on your behalf *in caelo et in terra. Amen.*]

(2) The Phoenix

The Old English poem *The Phoenix*[46] concludes in an unexpected mix of its main language of composition and Latin. The entire poem is part of the Exeter Book (Exeter Cathedral Library, MS 3501), arguably the most important extant witness to Old English Poetry as such, and is 677 lines in length. The manuscript itself dates from the tenth century, but the poem antedates it by at least a hundred years. As for the majority of the works in the Exeter compilation, the author of the poem is not known. The possibility of Cynewulf as its composer has been dispensed with, though his influences are apparent in the text[47]. I provide the text with my facing translation:

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[45] As *Lorica of Gildas* in Sweet (1885) 174, all features of layout retained; cf. edition as the *Saxon Fragment* by Kuypers (1902)

[46] Old English poems do not come with a title in the manuscripts in which they appear. The *Phoenix* is by consensus the title for this particular poem.

[47] Laura C. Lambdin and Robert Lambdin 'Old English and Anglo-Norman Literature' in L.C. Lambdin and R.Lambdin (eds.) *Companion to Old and Middle English Literature* (Westport/London: Greenwood Press, 2002) 6-21; quoted at 16

Hafað us aliefed *lucis auctor*	The maker of light has granted us
þæt we motum her *merueri*	that we may here (on earth) merit,
goddædum begietan *gaudia in celo*	attain joys in heaven through good deeds
þer we motum *maxima regna*	There we are able to seek out the greatest realms
secan ond gesittan *sedibus altis*	and sit on high thrones,
lifgan in lisse *lucis et pacis*	live in the grace of light and peace,
agan eardinga *alma letitiae*	gain dwellings of bountiful delight,
brucan blæddaga *blandem et mitem*	enjoy days of prosperity,
geseon sigora frean *sine fine*	looking at the gentle and mild Lord of victories without end
ond him lof singan *laude perenne*	And sing him hymns in perpetual praise,
eadge mid englum *Alleluia*[48]	blessed among the angels. Alleluia.

(3) Aldhelmus

These verses, found in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 326, preface a copy of Aldhelm's prose *De laude virginitatis*, a treatise or *regula* addressing the nuns at Barking concerning the virtues or virginity. Aldhelm (ca. 639-709) himself versified his work later (called *Carmen de virginitate*). The dating of the piece is difficult. *De laude virginitatis* was composed in the late seventh century, but when, how often or how consistently and by whom the preface has been added

[48] I have transcribed and edited these lines from f. 65v of the codex (see I.4 for editing procedure).

remains to be discovered. The manuscript dates from the late 10th or early 11th century. I have attempted a translation but the grammar and syntactical arrangements of these lines are unclear in many parts, a problem not aided by the added Greek vocabulary.

þus me gesette *sanctus et iustus*

beorn boca glea□, *bonus auctor*,

ealdelm, æþele sceop, *etiam fuit*

ipselos on æðel angolsexna,

byscop on bretene; *biblos* ic nu sceal

ponus et pondus pleno cum sensu

geonges geanoðe geomres *iamiamque*,

secgan soð, nalles leas, þæt him symle □æs

euthenia oftor on fylste,

æne on eðle eac ðon ðe se is

yfel on gesæd, *etiam nusquam*

ne sceal ladigan *labor quem tenet*

encratea, ac he ealne sceal

boethia biddan georne

þurh his modes gemind *micro in cosmo*,

þæt him drihten gyfe dinamis on eorðan,

fortis factor þæt heforð simle ***[49]

[Thus the holy and righteous Aldhelm, a clever man, good author, excellent poet, [who] was also bishop in Britain, eminent in the land of the Anglo-Saxons, put me together in book-form; [and] as a book I now shall relate truthfully-without lying-this weighty and toilsome work in its full extent, which has repeatedly caused me new grief,[I shall now relate] how he [Aldhelm] always had abundance of support, and [he had] fame, more frequently in his homeland even from people of whom evil things are reported [i.e. even slanderous men praised him]. Furthermore, not on any occasion should restraint excuse [him] from the work he possesses, but in his small world he shall always with an eager mindset pray for support that the Lord, the strong Creator, grant him strength in this world, so that he forever thereafter***]

(4) A Summons to Prayer or *Oratio Poetica*

This is the beginning of a 31-line poem which features in a composite manuscript containing laws, homilies and other religious texts, mainly composed by Wulfstan, bishop of Worcester and archbishop of York (d. 1023). The author of the section in question, however, remains unclear.

This particular section belongs to the oldest part of the manuscript and dates to the early eleventh century. It precedes the Lord's Prayer II, a well-known Old English paraphrase.

þanne gemiltsað þe .N. *mundum qui regit*	Then he who reigns the world shall show mercy to you, [Name],
ðeoda þrymcyningc *thronum sedentem*	The glorious king of men, sitting on the throne
a butan ende ***	Forever without end ***

[49] I have transcribed and edited these lines from Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 326, no foliation (pagination at 5 and 6). *** indicates rubbed out or unfinished line in the manuscripts; i.e. the poem breaks off at this point.

saule þinre ***	For your soul ***
Geunne þe on life *auctor pacis*	May the bringer of peace grant you in your lifetime 5
sibbe gesælða *salus mundi*…[50]	The blessing of peace, the salvation of the world

2.3 Discussion

In the Anglo-Saxon period literature, both secular and spiritual, was transmitted by men of the church, and 'any literate person would have been trained by the church'[51]. It should not be surprising that what exists in the way of Old English macaronics is, on the whole, marked by its religious content and the use of related Latin from biblical, liturgical or exegetical sources. Generally, it should not come as a surprise that the Anglo-Saxons mixed languages. Celtic traditions, and in particular panegyric poems and Irish hymns of the sixth through to the eighth centuries, show evidence of extensive language-mixing[52]. As early as the time of Welsh cleric Gildas (ca.500-570), mixings of Hebrew, Greek and Latin appear in British writings[53]. Anglo-Saxon writers, then, may well have had models before them, or at the very least have been familiar with such techniques of interlacing languages[54].

Concerning the side-by-side existence of the two linguistic systems, W.F. Bolton and Michael Lapidge agree that writers of the period will have considered Latin and English as alternative choices for literary purposes which can be supported by the fact that particularly poetry features in both languages within the corpus of the period[55]. Lapidge also adds that the co-existence of these two

[50] I have transcribed and edited the lines from Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 201 fol.166
[51] Michael Lapidge *Anglo-Latin Literature, 600-899* (London: Hambledon, 1996) 1
[52] Cf. Wehrle (1933:4);
[53] Ibid; and cf. Patrick Sims-Williams 'Gildas and Vernacular Poetry' in Michael Lapidge and David N. Dumville (eds.) *Gildas: New Approaches* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1984) 169-192
[54] Cf. Wehrle (3)
[55] W.F. Bolton 'Pre-Conquest Anglo-Latin: Perspectives and Prospects' *Comparative Literature* 23 no.2 (1971) 151-166, quoted at 165; Lapidge (1996:247)

languages provided a fertile creative breeding ground for composition and extended far beyond the mere borrowing of material[56]. Besides the possibilities of earlier models I suggest that the practices of paraphrasing and glossing of Latin biblical and liturgical texts have also played a role in adopting and developing macaronic techniques.

In view of this I add to the specimens above some mixed-language paraphrases of the liturgy, which have been considered macaronic in the past[57]. Instead I prefer to look upon these as a sort of 'touchstone' material for the increasingly involved language-mixing and as what authors may have used as a legitimatisation for cultivating more elaborate macaronic techniques in the subsequent periods. There are two versions of the *Lord's Prayer*, and one each of the *Doxology* and the *Apostle's Creed* which show language engagement. The same pattern is used in all of them in the shape of quoting a Latin prayer line or parts thereof first, and then giving an English translation or paraphrase in which the idea of the Latin is expressed more fully. Their purpose is exegetical. The Old English could well be read on its own, so I do not see how the Latin is essential to the composition other than for reasons of added dignity, and perhaps orientation, since the phrases seem to act as a kind of heading. It may well serve purposes of teaching as well for readers memorising the Latin while showing an interest in the meaning. The following brief excerpt from the shortest paraphrase will suffice to give an idea of the structure of these texts:

Pater noster qui es in celis

Faeder manncynnes frofres ic þe bidde,	Father of mankind, I ask you for comfort,
hal□ drihten, þu ðe on heofonum eart	Holy Lord, you who is in heaven,

Sanctificetur nomen tuum

[56] Lapidge (1996:274)
[57] See discussion in Wehrle (1933:9-13)

Þæt sy □ehal□od hy□ecræftum fæst	that your name shall now be hallowed
þin nama nu ...[58]	with strength of mind…

On the whole, the macaronic examples are characterised by using Old English as the base language and Latin –and, in the case of (3), Greek- vocabulary and phrases. However, the composers of these pieces have treated the insertions in different ways. In the *Saxon Fragment* (1) the Latin material classifies as tags and quotations (see 1.2). The phrases and words are clearly to be recognised immediately by the reader. For example, the verse which is to be sung in lines 6 to 8 is an adaptation of several recognisable psalms from the Vulgate (see above). Since the entire manuscript was written for bishop Æthelwold of Lichfield, presumably for his use in the congregation, he himself was sufficiently educated not to need any translation of the Latin and would not be troubled by occasional switches between the languages.

The interesting parts are ‘domino deo’ in line 3 and the phrase ‘menn in mundo’ in line 10. The former’s function, I suppose, is reverential as well as habitual.That the phrase also alliterates internally should have been to the tastes of Anglo-Saxon writers, even those of prose, and this may also have been a driving force behind the choice of vocabulary as well as an evocation of the liturgical context itself. The insertion has not only been made for the sake of it but it agrees grammatically with the Old English: The verb ‘gelicedon’ (base form: 'lician'- to please, to be sufficient) normally takes the dative[59]. This happened either by happy coincidence or because of the author’s deliberate choice; it is likely that both factors played a role. 'Menn *in mundo*', on the other hand, sees the author getting a bit carried away with his tendency towards the native conventions. I cannot detect any syllabic advantages of ‘*in mundo’* over the Old English equivalent which I presume was ‘menn on moldan’. It would certainly not have thrown the composition. I am inclined to believe that the author, after quoting a longer excerpt of Latin in the previous lines, was still

[58] Quoted in Wehrle (1933:10), my translation; also edited in C.W. Grein and R.P. Wülker (eds.) *Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Poesie* vol. II (Kassel: George H. Wigand, 1883) 228; see similar paraphrastic examples in the Junius Manuscript (Oxford, Bodleian Library MS 11)

[59] John R. Clark Hall and Herbert D. Meritt (eds.) *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969) cf. 218 entry 'lician'; generally used dictionary in this study: Arthur R. Borden Jr. *A Comprehensive Old-English Dictionary* (Lanham/New York: University of America Press, 1982)

half immersed in the biblical language. Alternatively, he may have intended to keep up his continuous engagement with the Latin in order to relate more fully to the original language of prayer. In any case, his choice shows a readiness to engage in macaronic pursuits for whatever reason.

In the *Phoenix* (2) we find a much more regular pattern for the Latin insertions. The first half of the whole poem is a close adaptation of Lactantius's *De ave Phoenice* [sic]. The latter half does not adhere to the material as closely as the first which has led to Wehrle's belief that the macaronic lines are not particularly out of place since the author has already begun to take liberties with regards to his source[60]. The poetic structure and the regular switch to Latin is the same as in *Summons* (4). The half-line scheme lends itself perfectly to the switching-structure, which puts the first half of every line in English and the second in Latin, balancing the language distribution. According to the rules of composition, this means that the head stave in this example is always given by the Latin, not the Old English, as one would expect given the fact that the rest of the poem is in the vernacular. From this point of view, it seems that the Latin has a higher status here, and that the composer thought of the Latin first, then of the English. However, the Latin half-lines do not normally carry the grammatical weight of the phrase or sentence. That is to say, it is only in the first two lines that the Latin responsible for providing the noun and verb phrases. There is somewhat of a deteriorating progression throughout the lines: at first the Latin does provide the subject and main verb[61] (with auxiliary 'motum'). '*lucis auctor*' may in function be similar to 'domino deo' in (1) above. Then there follow two ablative constructions, the first of which would be better served by an accusative ending, as would the next line (cf. lines 3 and 4). It is impossible to decide whether the author out of respect did not want to change his original source or whether that was simply not a concern of his, since the Old English carried greater literary weight for him in general. Line 8 correctly functions as a direct object which reveals that the poet was definitely able to observe grammatical function unless of course he had recalled the phrase in this exact form. 'Alma' in line 7 does not agree with the descriptive genitive ending

[60] Wehrle (1933:2)

[61] The form *merueri-* merēre, a passive infinitive ending added to perfect stem is surely an error for which emendations have been suggested by earlier editors (e.g. *meritare*, *mereri*, *meruisse*). Despite the blip in the Latin the sense remains clear (cf. Cain, 2001: 277).

of ‘laetitiae’. This could be a scribal error, but it has also been proposed that the ‘alma’ may be modifying ‘eardinga’ instead[62]. This is an interesting suggestion which firmly puts the Latin in the position of the conformist language. The rest of the lines are ablative constructions and a final interjection as a suitably devout conclusion to the poem as a whole.

The excerpt from *Summons* (4) is best discussed in conjunction with *Phoenix* (2), because they follow the same pattern. Again, there are some grammatical infelicities which, on the surface, make the author insufficiently qualified in the Latin for his purpose. Neither ‘sedentem’ nor ‘thronum’ seem to be syntactically justifiable; the former may be better served by a nominative form complementing ‘þrymcyningc’, and the latter by a dative ending. The precise function of ‘magna virtute’ is vague, since it could function as an ablative of cause, relating to the subjunctive in line 5 ‘geunne’ (‘on account of great virtue‘), an ablative of manner without *cum* modifying an abstract noun (‘by means of great virtue‘), or an ablative of description[63]. As in *Phoenix*, the main functions of the grammar are taken by the Old English and I suspect that the Latin has not been touched in its essence and may have been inserted unaltered from its source. The existence of these two very similar pieces, although they are constructed for different uses- one as an exhortation, the other as a purely literary if devout specimen- strongly supports the notion mentioned above that some kind of familiarity with the mixing technique had been established prior to the composition of *Phoenix* and *Summons*, or that models existed for reliance. It also shows the strength of the native poetic tradition in so far as the Latin is excerpted and subjected to the Old English schemes of composition and not vice versa.

Aldhelmus (3), lastly, poses some interesting questions in comparison with the two above specimens. The poem is a very peculiar specimen which ends abruptly before Aldhelm’s own Latin prologue to his work. The distribution of the Latin is irregular despite the adherence to the Old English poetic scheme which we have seen in *Phoenix* and *Summons*. It looks as though the poet has taken more liberty with his switch languages, but does not exactly engage with the Latin and Greek so as to modify it to any great extent other than slotting it in. The inserted

[62] Cain (2001:277)
[63] Cf. Cain (2001:278, footnote 1)

vocabulary is for the most part left in nominative forms, except for 'micro in cosmo' and thus clarity of syntactical function is compromised (e.g. see lines 11 and 12, where both 'labor' and 'encratea' cannot be the subject of 'sceal ladigan'). The Old English is also partly obscure, and there are at least two *hapax legomena* recorded from this text (i.e. 'geanoðe' 7; 'gesæd' 11). Most striking, of course, is the use of Greek vocabulary in this piece. Some nine words (*ipselos, biblos, ponus, euthenia, æne (aívŋ?), encratea, micro, cosmo, dinamis*) complement the approximately double number of Latin words, making the latter the primary borrowing language. Save perhaps 'euthenia' the lexical items can be traced back to the Bible, but I suspect that the author took his vocabulary from glosses (probably Greek-Latin) rather than a manuscript of the Scripture. The fact that the words are left as they are in their nominative form may support this suggestion.

The poet or scribe- who may well have been one and the same judging from the text- must have felt confident in the nature of his composition, since there is no visual distinction whatsoever on the manuscript page between the three languages employed, as is the case with *Phoenix* and *Summons*[64]. There are visual distinctions for the half-line poetic scheme, usually indicated by a medial point, but the script remains the same for each language. As a result the switches in *Aldhelmus* are not immediately apparent and for someone well-trained and immersed in Latin and Greek literary traditions they might not cause much trouble at all despite what we would nowadays call functional deficiencies. One might argue if these insertions might not more adequately be termed borrowings but I do not think that these 'foreign' words were introduced for any of the conventional purposes of borrowing, such as deficiencies in the core language's register, as suggested by Romaine[65]. The motivation for the employment of multilingual words may have been simple fascination with the languages, and the precept of the learned, hermeneutic style of similar texts. In this light, the poem looks like the unfinished beginning of a humble contribution to the larger context of the manuscript, attempting to be true, in part, to the style favoured by its main contributor. By choosing verse, however, the author

[64] Cf. the facsimile image of Phoenix (fol. 65r) on the CD-Rom issued with the edition of Bernard Muir (ed.) *The Exeter Anthology of Old English Poetry* Exeter Medieval Texts and Studies series, 2nd revised edition 2006 (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2000)

[65] See Romaine (1995:130)

of this exercise did not make it entirely successful. Since the manuscript contains a work by Aldhelm, who, in his Latin writings, favoured the Anglo-Latin hermeneutic style cultivated by reformed Benedictine monasteries (later 10th c.), archaic and peculiar vocabulary would feature heavily in a text that sought to praise the 'bonus auctor'*; in fact*, Aldhelm was not unknown to occasionally introduce Greek words into his writings[66]. The entire manuscript further contains parts of Abbo de St Germain's *Bella Parisiacae Urbis* (ca. 921), thus combining two reputedly difficult Latin texts. Thanks to its mix of languages and elusive grammar, *Aldhelmus* has attained a similar degree of complexity. On a closing note, these earliest examples do not even remotely take the linguistic liberties which later medieval and early modern writers assume, which is exactly why this early material is instrumental in determining the relative status of the languages involved.

[66] Michael Lapidge 'The Hermeneutic Style in 10th- century Anglo-Latin Literature' *Anglo-Saxon England* 4 (1975) 67-111; cf. 90

3. Middle English

3.1 Introduction

In comparison with the previous period the Middle English corpus of specimens is a lot more extensive in terms of genre and technique when it comes to macaronisation. The examples will strike the reader as much more diverse than the Old English specimens; the medieval writers seem to take increasing freedom with both of the languages. Likewise, the corpus of Anglo-Norman macaronic material is wide-ranging but will not find consideration here, although I should like to mention that there are rare occasions of trilingual macaronics[67]. It is in this period that the definitions of the macaronic begin to be used in their narrowest and widest sense. This is due to the extensive research and categorisation of modern scholars who have shown an increasing interest in the style over the past twenty years. Laura Wright[68], Mary Davidson[69], Tim Machan[70], Herbert Schendl[71] and Hans-Jürgen Diller[72] have all contributed to various issues in medieval (and early modern) macaronics with a view to putting the style in the broader context of multilingualism in England. A number of researchers have recently started investigating non-literary mixed-language texts as contributors to the development of Standard English which characterised the fifteenth century[73]. They have thus opened up the field considerably so as to admit a greater range of mixed-language texts from all sorts of genres. Their studies have done much to redefine and support the earlier works by Siegfried Wenzel and William Wehrle, which I have mentioned in

[67] E.g. the poem *De Amico ad Amicam* and *Responcio (15th c.)*; A late fourteenth-century political poem which also bears the title *On the Times (*sometimes *Song on the Times)* but is not the one quoted here at III.26b. For both see Wehrle's fourteenth - and fifteenth-century sections (1933:.37ff. and 64ff.)

[68] E.g. L. Wright in Rissanen (1992); 'A hypothesis on the structure of macaronic business writing' by the same author in J. Fisiak (ed.) *Medieval Dialectology* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1995) 309-321

[69] Mary C. Davidson *Medievalism, Multilingualism and Chaucer* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010)

[70] Machan (1994)

[71] Herbert Schendl 'Text types and code-switching in medieval and early modern English' *Vienna English Working Papers* 5 (1996) 50-62; 'Linguistic aspects of code-switching in medieval English texts' in Trotter (2000) 77-92

[72] Diller (1997/1998)

[73] E.g. contributions by Taavitsainen, Rissanen and Fitzmaurice in Laura Wright (ed.) *The development of Standard English.1300-1380* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), the focus is mostly on the Anglo-Norman language.

the Introduction (see 1.4). However, there are still deficiencies in examining immediate and broader functions and purposes of macaronics, in relation to each other and especially in longer texts such as *Piers Plowman*. Therefore, in this chapter I propose to focus on the functional qualities of the languages, a field that is still somewhat lacking in research. The large corpus and wide range of specimens listed in this chapter prove useful in regard to extracting attitudes towards the status of Latin and Middle English. Because of the range of examples from different traditions and backgrounds I have decided to outline them under broader headings, even if I only quote one specimen for illustration. The hand list below gives an orientation for the specimens I would like to incorporate in my discussion. These are aimed less at exhaustiveness than at representativeness with a view to covering examples from the entire period. Many more such texts can be found in the works which I have outlined above. For convenience I have put the specimens into two categories:

Non-literary texts

(1) Religious prose -*Ancrene Wisse* (13th c.)
(2) Sermons – a) *In diebus dominicis* (12th c.); b) *Benedictus qui venit in nomine dei* (13th c.); c)*De celo querebant* (15th c.)
(3) Administrative Texts- a)*York Memorandum Book* (1376-1493); b) Accounts and Record keeping from the *London Bridge* Archive(1460/1461)

Literary texts

(4) Hymns and Songs- a) *Of on that is so fair and bright* (ca. 1300); b) *Seinte mari moder milde* (13th c.); c) two later Hymns to the Virgin (1430s); d) *Carol bringing in the boar's head* (15th c.)
(5) Drama- a) *The Mary-Play*- Play 13 (N-Town cycle, Mystery Play); b) *Mankind* (Morality Play); c) *Processus Talentorum*- Play 24 (Towneley Cycle, Mystery Play), all late 15th or early 16th c.
(6) Political/Social critical/satirical poetry- a) *The Rebellion of Jack Straw* (1381); b) Bilingual *On the Times* (1388); c) *Ballad Set upon the Yates of Canterburye* (1460s)
(7) Allegorical Poetry- *Piers Plowman* (1380-90s)
(8) John Lydgate (1370-1451)-a)*Te deum laudamus*; b) *Hayle, lady and heuenly quene!*

In order to give focus to the discussion below (3.3) I have decided to use example (7) *Piers Plowman* as the crux and main point of reference because its variety of Latin insertions encompasses the broadest range of techniques which the remaining specimens of the period showcase. The poem also illustrates most

of the broader issues I wish to discuss, for example, those of textual authority, assertion of sovereignty and inclusion or exclusion of speakers through language, and the potential of multilingualism as a recognised and exploited feature of everyday discourse. The other specimens either will be given attention in their separate introductory section under 3.2 or will be integrated in the discussion as supporting evidence, and I will strive to pay them all sufficient attention.

3.2 Specimens

Non-literary texts

(1)Religious prose- Ancrene Wisse (13th c.)

> *'Recti diligunt te' -in Canticis sponsa ad sponsum. Est rectum grammaticum, rectum geometricum, rectum theologicum, et sunt differencie totidem regularum. De recto theologico sermo nobis est cuius regule due sunt: una circa cordis directionem; altera versatur circa exteriorum rectificationem. Recti diligunt te.* 'Laverd' seið Godes spuse to hire deorewerðe spus,'þe rihte luvieð þe.' Þeo beoð rihte þe luvieð efter ri□le, ant □e, mine leove sustren habbeþ moni dei icravet on me after riwle… Nu easki □e h□et ri□le □e ancren schulen halden. □e schulen alles □eis □ið alle mihte ant strengðe □el □iten þe inre ant þe utter for hire sake. Þe inre is eaver ilich, þe utter is mislich, for euch schal halden þe utter efter þet ha mei best □ið hire servi þe inre. Nu þenne is hit s□a þet alle ancren mahen □el halden an ri□le *quantum ad puritatem cordis circa quam versatur tota religio*, þet is alle mahen ant ahen halden a ri□le onont purte of heorte, þet is cleane ant schir in□it -conscientia- □iðuten □eote of sunne þet ne beo þurh schrift ibet.'[74]

['Lord', said the bride of God to her beloved bridegroom 'the righteous love you'. Those are righteous that live after a guide, and you, my dear sisters, have solicited me for a guide many times… Now you ask by what guide you anchoresses should abide. By all means you should with all your might and strength observe well the inner [rule] and the outer [rule] for its sake. The inner [rule] ever stays the same, the outer changes because everyone should observe the outer so that they may best serve the inner through theirs [i.e. their body]. Now then it is so that all anchoresses ought to observe a guide *ad puritatem cordis circa quam versatur tota religio*, that is all anchoresses should well observe a guide and ought to observe a guide concerning the purity of heart,

[74] I have transcribed and edited these lines from Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 402, fol. 1r and 1v; for a new edition see Robert Hasenfratz *Ancrene Wisse* (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2000). The translation of the Old English is mine.

that means a clean and unblemished conscience- without reproach of sin that is not aided by confession.]

Ancrene Wisse ('A guide for anchoresses') is a *regula*-style prose treatise addressed to three sisters of noble birth who followed an anchorite life-style. The chosen excerpt comes from the preface in which the author sets out the inner and the outer rules which govern the mind and inner motivations, and the body and outward behaviour, respectively. After this introduction the outer rule is investigated in Books 1 and 8, which frame the discussion of the inner rule in Books 2 to 7. The text was composed by an anonymous author, perhaps a Dominican or Augustinian friar, in the early thirteenth century. In style, the text reaches back in time to the Anglo-Saxon vernacular traditions of homilies by Wulfstan and Ælfric, which were still popular well into the twelfth century[75]. This would suggest a certain respect for English prose styles which in turn stimulated further compositions even at a much later date, such as *Ancrene Wisse*. I do not imply that this specimen is much different from the paraphrase material of the Old English period but I should like to stress the importance of the language-engagement as anticipating the Middle English range of macaronic and code-switching techniques. '*Recti diligunt te'* acts as a suitably encouraging introduction for the women addressed to follow the anchorite lifestyle, as well as a wordplay for the author's elaboration on the several *recta* which he enumerates first before focussing on the one he intends to recommend. He also immediately adds the canticles as his source (i.e. The Song of Songs/Song of Solomon), a text which metaphorically treats the relationship between the Christian soul and God[76] and thus seems a suitable context for *Ancrene Wisse*. The vernacular in this text is very early Middle English otherwise known as the AB-language[77].

[75] Thorlac Turville-Petre *England the Nation: Language, Literature and National Identity 1290-1340* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996) 182

[76] The Song of Songs is an originally non-biblical, also non-religious text treating the courtship and consummation of love between a man and a woman, but it has widely been interpreted as signifying relationships of a religious nature (church and Christ, soul and God, husband and wife; also principles of *agape* and *eros*).

[77] This is referring to the synthesis of language features of its two main manuscripts: the one from which my transcription has been done (A) and London, British Library MS Cotton Nero A.xiv (B).

(2) Sermons

The corpus of sermons, together with that of the hymns (see below), is probably the richest in wealth of material[78]. I have selected lines from three specimens which exhibit technical range across the entire period. I shall treat these in more detail in the discussion below (3.3).

a) In diebus dominicis (12th c.)

> '… to wurðien þenne die þe is icleped sunnedei, for of þam deie we lauerd seolf seið: *dies dominicus est dies leticie et requiei*- sunnedei is die of blisse and of alle ireste. *non facietur in ea aliquid. nisi deum orare, manducare et bibere cum pace et leticia* ne beo in hire naþing iwrat bute chirche bisocnie and beode to Criste and eoten and drinken mid griðe and mid gledscipe *sicut dicitur: pax in terra, pax in celo, pax inter homines* for swa is iset grið on eorðe and grið on hefene and grið betwenen uwilc cristene monne.'[79]

[… to worship this day that is called Sunday, because of this day the Lord himself has said: *dies dominicis est dies leticie et requiei*- Sunday is a day of bliss and full rest.*non facietur in ea aliquid. nisi deum orare, manducare et bibere cum pace et leticia* there be [i.e. there should be] nothing done in its course except visiting church and praying to Christ and eating and drinking in peace and joy *sicut dicitur: pax in terra, pax in celo, pax inter homines* for thus it is said peace on earth and peace in heaven and peace between each Christian man]

b) Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini (13th c.)

> 'Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini. Matthei.
>
> *Blisced be his holi com*
>
> *Þat cums in ur Lord nom.*
>
> Thre thinges do þe messenger be ondrefongen wyt menskkful chere. If he com fram gret lording , if he bring þe god tyþng, if þat gode be ner comminge. *Et ista tria fuerunt in nuncio nostro Cristo. Nam* if you see þe gret lording, he coms in our Lordes nom. If you ask þis gode tiþng, he brings Goddis biscyng (on to mon). If you thinke of þis comynge he coms, lo, fort onon. *Primum ibi, 'in nomine Domini.'Iste enim non quivis est dominus, sed 'rex regum et dominus dominancium.'*

[78] See H.L. Spencer, A.J. Fletcher and G.Cigman 'Middle English Sermons in Manuscripts: Ubi sunt?' *Medieval Sermon Studies Newsletter* 3 (1978-1979) 5-7 for a conspectus of manuscripts containing sermons.

[79] Quoted in Wenzel (1994: 74); the translation of the Old English is mine.

...

> '*Secundum ibi, 'benedictus', nam* word bringging of gode tiding es i-called blisced tiþng. *Non* ne com never onto mon so (co) gode tidyng als thoruh þis com; '*Est enim super omnia benedictus in secula,' Romanos.Tercium ibi, 'qui venit'* etc.[80]

c) De celo querebant (15th c.)

> 'Set quia secundum doctors crudelis punicio sine misericordia cicius dicetur rigor quam iusticia, ideo necessario ramus misericordie debet eciam crescere super vitem. Domini gouernouris most eciam be merciful in punchying. Oportet ipsos attendere quod of stakis and stodis qui deberent stare in ista vinea quedam sunt smo(th)e and lightlich wul boo, quedam sunt so stif and so ful of warris quod homo shal to-cleue hom cicius quam planare' etc.[81]

[But since according to the doctors harsh punishment without mercy will be called rigor rather than justice, it I therefore necessary that the branch of mercy, to, should grow on the vine. The lord governor must also be merciful in punishing. They should take notice that of the stakes and supports that should stand in the vineyard some are smooth and ill easily bend, others are stiff and so full of obstinacy that a man will split them sooner than straighten them out']

(3) Administrative Texts

Some evidence of macaronic writing is provided by texts of a commercial, legal and business nature, as investigated by Laura Wright in particular (3.1). Samples from such sources, however, are often disconnected from their original textual setting when edited or they will only appear in single phrases or numbered items. Hence care must be taken when interpreting or investigating these specimens. However, I will refer to two samples from an administrative background, which I have selected from recent articles by Wright and Rothwell to offer a brief insight into this informal genre.

a)York Memorandum Book

Evidence from the two-volume *York Memorandum Book* is presented in mixtures of English, French and Latin. The appearance of such linguistic interaction can provide valuable insights into mundane writing practices. The book is a record of activities relating to administration and commerce in York from the years 1376

[80] Lines 1-11 and 13-16; quoted in A.J. Fletcher 'Benedictus qui venit in nomine domini: A Thirteenth Century Sermon for Advent and the Macaronic Style in England' *Medieval Studies* 56 (1994) 217-46; quoted at 223, as edited by him from Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 26 fol. 107r; the translation of the Old English is mine. The brackets in Fletcher's edition are his conjectures and supplements. See also his explanations to the text.

[81] Text and Translation are both quoted in Wenzel (1994:274f.).

to 1493. The mixing techniques in these texts are diverse and have been investigated and catalogued by Rothwell[82]. I shall here quote from his paper three instances of Latin-English mixing which I have found particularly advanced in the way they assimilate English lexical items into the Latin syntactical structure. The Latinised English words already look very similar to the Folengo-type 'proper' macaronics found in the Polemo-Middinia.

- 'de tribus shoppis juxta hostium capelle'(i 5)
- 'vendere super stallas sua carnes bovinas' (i 5);
- 'W.E.(Name) ... marcandisas predictas… skippavit et frettavit' (ii 56)[83]

b) Account and Record keeping – London Bridge Archive

To supplement the above examples I shall cite one line (in two items) from the Archive of London Bridge which keeps records of business and rental arrangements. The entries are mostly short and heavily abbreviated in Latin, French and English combinations, thus often obscuring features of morphosyntactical importance.

> 'Item 17 […] *I*t Wi*ł*lo Drayto*n* de Totenham *p* viginti lodes Meremij'
> Item 18 'quer*c* quadra*t* ab ip*o* emp*t*& deli*b*a*t*'[84]

['… And to William Drayton of Tottenham for twenty loads of squared oak timber bought and delivered by him']

Wright, who has thoroughly researched the area of record-keeping and business texts in the later medieval and early modern periods, concludes from her investigations that the mixing of two or three languages in these texts is a commonplace rather than an exception[85]. The texts are further constructed 'on an orderly basis' and 'follow a syntactic template'[86]. Participles, prepositions,

---

[82] William Rothwell 'Aspects of Lexical and Morphosyntactical Mixing in the Languages of medieval England' in Trotter (2000) 213-232

[83] All quoted in Rothwell in Trotter (2000:220); all words are recognisable, apart from perhaps 'frettavit' whichis from French 'fretter'- to charter a vessel.

[84] London, Corporation of London Records Office MS Bridge House Rental Vol. 3 fol. 32; entries from September 1460- September 1461; quoted in Laura Wright 'Models of Language Mixing: Code-switching versus Semicommuniction in Medieval Latin and Middle English Accounts' in Kastovsky and Mettinger (2003) 363-76; quoted at 366; Italics indicate various abbreviation and superscription marks. The translation is Wright's.

[85] See L. Wright *Sources of London Business English* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996)12; 'Early Modern London Business English' in D. Kastovsky (ed.) *Studies in Early Modern English* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1994) 449-65; see 455f., cf. also Schendl in Trotter (2000: 82) who supports Wright's conclusions.

[86] L. Wright in Kastovsky and Mettinger (2003) 363

conjunctions and pronouns will all appear in Latin while English may be used optionally for nouns, -ing forms (non-verbal) and adjectives, as partly demonstrated by the above line[87]. The evidence of the administrative texts shows that macaronics could be found in all areas where documentation was produced or needed and that multilingual practices could function pragmatically.

Literary texts

(4) Hymns, Songs and Carols

In this lyrical genre an overwhelming number of specimens have come down to us in mixed-language varieties. ' Form the thirteenth until the early sixteenth century English poets produced hundreds of lyrics that …introduce Latin words or phrases into Anglo-Norman or English stanzas, lyrics that are mostly religious'[88]. Paraphrases of several hymns also exist in abundance (e.g. *Vexilla regis prodeunt*; *Hostis Herodes impie*; *Wele, heri□yng!*)[89]. On the whole, hymnal macaronics appear very regularly from the late twelfth to the late fifteenth centuries, which leads to the suspicion that the macaronic technique was not only a legitimate but also an established practice throughout the medieval period in this genre as much as in the sermon traditions. Basic techniques of full-line or short phrasal insertions are common to both traditions despite their different purpose, form and rhetorical construction. The first two hymns which I quote with my parallel gloss to the Middle English are exactly similar in construction. I refer to both in order to show that this type of composition was popular then and now seeing that both hymns have come down to us and are still being sung today. Despite the switches the rhythm of the hymns is pervasive and 'flows gently on'[90]. The quotation is of the first stanza in each case.

a) Of on that is so fair and bright (ca. 1300)

Of on that is so fair and bri□t,	one
Velut maris stella,	
Bri□ter than the day is li□t	
Parens et puella.	
Ic crie to the, thou se to me,	thee; see
Levedy, preye thi sone to me,	Lady
Tam pia	
That ic mote come to the	must

[87] L. Wright in Kastovsky and Mettinger (2003:369)
[88] Wenzel (1994:2)
[89] Cf. Wehrle (1933:59) who lists and quotes an extensive number of hymns in his study.
[90] Wehrle (1933:32)

Maria.[91]

b) Seinte mari moder milde (13th c.)

Seinte Mari moder milde,
Mater salutaris;
Feirest flour of eni felde — flower of any field
Vere nuncuparis.
Thorou ihesu crist thou were wid childe; — through
Thou bring me of my thouhtes wilde — thoughts
Potente,
That maket me to dethe tee — causes me to die
Repente.[92]

c) Later Hymns to the Virgin (1430s)

The following two excerpts from later hymns show that the model of language-mixing which has worked for the previous centuries is still recognised but has been given new perspectives. The distribution of the Latin insertions is much more irregular but flexible now and often significantly shortened. The metrical schemes are also variable ones, but very often comprising eight lines with long four-stress lines which is a feature from the Old English period[93]. The Latin *cauda* at the end (e.g. '*Veni, coronaberis!*', '*Ave, regina celorum!*') seems a favourite of this period[94].

Veni, coronaberis

'For *macula*, moder, was neu*er*e in þee;

Filia syon, þou art þe flour; — *flower*

Ful sweteli schalt þou sitte bi me, — *sweetly; by*

And bere a crowne w*i*th me in tour, — *tower*

And alle my seintis to þin hono*u*r — *saints*

Schal hono*u*re þee, moder, in my blis,

Þat blessid bodi þ*a*t bare me in bow*u*r, — *bore; bower (i.e. womb)*

[91] From London, British Library MS Egerton 613 fol. 2r; quoted in Thomas Wright and J.O. Halliwell *Reliquiae Antiquae* vol. 1 (London: John Russell Smith, 1845) 89; the gloss is mine.
[92] Cambridge, Trinity College MS 14.39; quoted in E.K. Chambers and F. Sidgwick *Early English Lyrics: Amorous, Divine, Moral, and Trivial* (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1926) 89; the gloss is mine.
[93] Wehrle (1933:33)
[94] See Wehrle (1933:65 ff.)

Veni, coronaberis.'

(3rd stanza, l.17-24)

'Quid est ista so vertuos	*virtuous*
Þat is eu*e*re lastyng for hir mekenes?	*her meekness/humility*
Aurora consurgens graciouse,	
So benigne a ladi, of such bri□tnes,	
Þis is þe colour of kinde cle*n*nes,	*natural (i.e. innate)chastity*
Regina celi þat neu*e*re dide mys…'	*did wrong*

(9th stanza, l.65-70)

Heil, Blessed Mary!

'Heil be þou, marie, þe modir of crist....	mother
Heil þe blessidist þat euere bare child!	most blessed of all; bore
Heil þat conceyuedist al wiþ list	(you) who has conceived with joy
Þe sone of god boþ meeke & mylde!	gentle and mild
Heil maide sweete þat neuere was filid!	'defiled'(i.e. tainted sexually)
Heil welle and witt of al wijsdome!	source and (mental) seat
Heil þou flour! Heil fairest in feel!	flower; field

Aue regina celorum!' [95]

(1st stanza)

d) Carol brining in the boar's head (15th c.)

In this category I would also like to point to this Christmas song of the fifteenth century, since carols were often based on or reminiscent of hymns[96]. At least

[95] Both quoted in F. J. Furnivall (ed.) *Hymns to the Virgin and Christ, The Parliament of Devils and othe Religious Poems, chiefly from the Archbishop of Canterbury's Lambeth MS No. 853* EETS o.s. 24 (London: Trübner, 1867); *Veni, coronaberis* quoted at 1-3 , *Hail, Blessed Mary* quoted at 4-5; the gloss is mine.
[96] See Wenzel (1933:2f.). He notes that in the 14th/15th century corpus of 500 carols examined over 200 come in macaronic varieties.

three versions exist of the text and they are found in popular carol-collections[97]. The practice of interspersing English carols with Latin has probably been adopted from the hymn tradition of which such songs are the convivial progeny[98]. I quote here from one of the three versions of the song.

The boris hed In hondes I brynge, hands
With garlondes gay & byrdes syngynge!

I pray you all, help me to synge, *qui estis in convivio*
[Chorus:
Caput apri refero
Resonans laudes domino!]

The boris hede I vnderstonde

Ys cheffe servyce in all this londe! chief dish

Wher so ever it may be fonde, *servitur cum sinapio*!
[Chorus]

The boris hede I dare well say,

Anon after the XIIth day,

He taketh his leve & goth a way! *Exiuit tunc de patria*! goes
[Chorus] [99]

[97] The two versions not quoted may be found in E.F. Rimbault 'A little book of Christmas Carols' The *Hazlitt Tracts* vol.24 (no date)20; Thomas Wright 'Specimens of Old Christmas Carols' *Percy Society Publications* 4 (1842) 26; cf. Wehrle (1933:84)
[98] Wehrle (1933:85)
[99] Quoted in Ewald Flügel 'Liedersammlung des vierzehnten Jahrhunderts, besonders der Zeit Heinrich VIII' *Anglia* 26 (1903) 94-285 ; quoted at 257; the gloss is mine.

(5) Drama

The evidence for dramatic writings does not generally yield a great amount of peculiar mixing other than the diverse languages in stage-direction and prologues. But in the instances where dramatic dialogue features macaronic techniques these are peculiar and often significant to the context or the message of the play. As a general rule, Latin in dialogue is used by 'God (or his spokesmen) exhorting Man, or by Man praising God'[100] but, as we shall see, this statement has been treated with some flexibility by the playwrights.

a)The Mary-Play – Play 13(N-Town cycle, Mystery Play)

The N-Town cycle[101] contains a collection of 42 mystery plays dating from the 1450s to the 1500s. Besides containing the dramatic text the manuscript (London, British Library MS Cotton Vespasian D.8) features performance records and an apparatus of texts for meditation (see *Contemplacio*), thus putting the manuscript's use beyond that of documenting the plays. Overall, the language in N-Town is English with on-stage directions normally in Latin[102]. In Play 13, however, the figure of Mary quotes full lines in Latin. Her case of appropriating the divine language adheres to the above description of Latin-English mixed-language usage; her purpose in employing Latin is purely to praise God. After her quotations from the *Magnificat* and the *Gloria* Elizabeth paraphrases the lines presumably for the benefit of the audience. I give my gloss to individual lines in square brackets.

81 MARIA For þis holy psalme I begynne here þis day:
82 *Magnificat anima mea Dominum*,
83 *Et exultauit spiritus meus in Deo salutari meo.*
84 ELIZABETH Be þe Holy Gost with joye Goddys son is in þe cum,[coming]
85 þat þi spyryte so injouyid þe helth of þi God so. [spirit; enjoyed]
86 MARIA *Quia respexit humilitatem ancille sue.*
87 Ecce enim ex hoc beatam me dicent omnes generaciones.
88 ELIZABETH For he beheld þe lownes of hese handmayde, □e. [humbleness; 'his handmaiden, you.']
89 Lo, ferforthe for þat, all generacyonys blysse □ow in pes.[wherefore' 'all generations bless you']
90 MARIA *Quia fecit mihi magna qui potens est,*
91 Et sanctum nomen eius.
92 ELIZABETH For grett thyngys he made, and also myghtyest,
93 And ryght holy is þe name of hym in us.

From the beginning of the final *Contemplacio*:

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[100] Diller (1997/1998:517)
[101] i.e. the name (N= nomen) of the town where the play is being staged at the time is to be inserted
[102] Excepting the *Passion Play* where they are in English, and the *Mary-Play* where the languages vary.

178 CONTEMPLACIO. Lystenyth, sovereynys, here is a conclusyon.
179 How þe *Aue* was mad here is lernyd vs: [taught]
180 þe aungel seyd, *"Aue, gracia plena. Dominus tecum,*
181 Benedicta tu in mulieribus."
182 Eiyzabeth seyd, "*Et benedictus*
183 *Fructus uentris tui."*…[103].

b) Mankind

The allegorical morality play *Mankind* is an interesting example of a text playing with the juxtaposition and combination of Latin and English throughout. The characters of the Vices use what has often been termed Dog-Latin, while righteous figure Mercy has an aureate diction which another character calls 'Englysh Laten' (124, with words like 'examinacyon'42 and 'premedytacyon' 44). Mercy's vocabulary is not macaronic in any sense but correct 'Latinate' English which subsequently gets mocked by Myscheff's nonsense-words at 45ff('calcacyon'; 'dalyacyon'). The same character speaks later on:

> 'And he prouyth nay, as yt shewt by þis werse:
>
> Corn *seruit bredibus*, chaffe *horsibu*s, straw *fyrybusque*. (56-57)

This may be termed an instance of macaronics in the narrow sense of the word, since the switching takes place at suffix-level with the vernacular as the language providing the lexical register with the Latin providing the syntactical and grammatical base. It has to be noted that Myscheff himself does not make up these macaronics; he is quoting the corn-threshers he has supposedly hired. The operative word here is probably 'prouyth': Latin as such is perceived as validating a point as long as it is in Latin or, apparently, Latin-sounding. This is a great example showing how macaronics can be used in a parodic function set in the more serious context of a morality play, thus broadening Folengo's definition that all macaronics should be applied to vulgar contents (see I.2). I would like to close with another quote from *Mankind* which similarly displays the 'made-up' macaronics prompted by the correct Latin diction of a character:

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[103] Quoted in Gerard NeCastro 'N-Town Cycle, Play 13 - Mary and Joseph's Visit to Elizabeth' *From Stage to Page: Medieval and Renaissance Drama* (online edition, 2007) http://www.umm.maine.edu/faculty/necastro/drama [accessed 07/08/2011]; all features of layout retained, italics added by me; see also Peter Meredith (ed.) *The Mary Play from the N-Town Manuscript* (Harlow: Longman, 1987) for an edition of this play. The whole cycle has been edited by Stephen Spector (ed.) *The N-Town Plays: Cotton Vespasian D.8* 2vols. EETS s.s. 11-12 (1991)

Mankind: David seyeth, *nec in hasta, nec in gladio, salvat Dominus*.

Nought: No, mary, I beschrew [i.e.beseech] yow, it is *in spadibus*!
Therefor Cristys curse cum on yowr *hedibus*!'(397-400)[104]

c) Processus Talentorum- Play 24 (Towneley Cycle, Mystery Play)

The longest piece of dramatic evidence comes from the *Play of the Dice* (or *Processus Talentorum*, Play 24) of the *Towneley Cycle*, compiled towards the end of the fifteenth century, which opens with a speech delivered by Pontius Pilate. In the cycle the play sits between the *Crucifixion* and *The Deliverance of Souls* and is a 412-line dramatization based entirely on a couple of lines in John 19:23-24 (i.e. not to let Christ have his garment but to cast lots for it). The soldiers - here called torturers- and Pilate gamble for the Christ's garments, which the third torturer wins but Pilate immediately seizes from him. The play is characterised by the violent and often rude language of all *personae*. Since this is a full scenic adaptation of a normally marginalised episode in the Gospels, it has been suggested that the freedom which has been taken in composing the narrative of this play is reflected in the liberties evident in the handling of the languages[105]. Pilate's character, apparently not only a bully but also a bad loser, is an example for the misapplication of authorial language and presumed power, as I shall discuss more fully at III.3. Pilate's tirade begins in Latin but, generating no reaction, seemingly deteriorates into a jumbled macaronic jargon which may stem from the tyrant's increasing fury over establishing his authority. I give it here in full with my gloss to the Middle English:

Cernite qui statis
Quod mire sim probitatis;
Hec cognoscatis,
Vos cedam ni taceatis.
Cuncti discatis
Quasi sistam vir deitatis
Et maiestatis;
Michi fando ne neceatis [noceatis],
Hoc modo mando.
Neue loquaces
Siue dicaces,
Poscite paces
Dum fero fando.

[104] Quoted in Mark Eccles (ed.) 'Mankind' in his *The Macro Plays: The Castle of Perseverance, Wisdom, and Mankind* EETS o.s. 262 (London: Oxford University Press, 1969) 155
[105] Robert A. Brawer 'Dramatic craftsmanship in the Towneley Play of the Talents' *Educational Theatre Journal* 28 (1976) 79-84; see

Stynt, I say! Gyf, men, place — stop; 'make way, men!'
Quia sum dominus dominorum;
He that agans me says, — speaks against me
Rapietur lux oculorum.
Therfor gyf me space
Ne tendam vim brachiorum,
And then get ye no grace,
Contestor iura polorum.
Cavueatis!
Rewle I the Iure — 'I rule as the rightoeus one/judge'
Maxime pure;
Towne *quoque rure*, — town
Me paueatis!

Stemate regali,
Kyng Atus gate me of Pila; — begot me[106]
Tramite legali
Am I ordand to reyn apon Iuda. — ordained to reign over
Nomine wulgari
Pownce Pilate, that may ye well say; — which you may well say
Qui bene wult fari
Shuld call me fownder of all lay. — founder; law
Iudeorum
Iura guberno:
Pleasse me and say so.
Omnia firmo
Sorte deorum.

Myghty lord of all,
Me Cesar magnificauit.
Downe on knees ye fall!
Greatt god me *sanctificauit*,
Me to obey ouerall — above all
Regi reliquo quasi Dauid.
Hanged hy, that he sall, — he shall be hanged high
Hoc iussum qui reprobauit,
I swere now.
Bot ye youre hedys — 'but you uncover your head'
Bare in thies stedys, — in his stead!
Redy my swerde is — sword
On thaym to shere now. — to shear off yours (i.e. head)
Atrox armipotens
Most myghty callyd in ylk place; — called the myghtiest in every place
Vir quasi cunctipotens,

[106] cf. Pilate's parents: King Atus and a miller's daughter, Pila, hence Pilatus

I graunt men girth by my good grace.	peace (i.e of a nation/ in law)	
Tota refert huic gens		
That none is worthier in face;	nobler in countenance	
Quin eciam bona mens		
Doith trowth and right bi my trew lays.	'Do (i.e. abide) faithfully and rightfully by my true laws'	60
Silete		
In generali		
Sic speciali		
Yit agane byd I,	'Yet again I bid (you)'	
Iura tenete![107]		65

(6) Political/Social critical/satirical poetry

a) On the Rebellion of Jack Straw (1381)

Tax has tenet vs alle	seized/harmed
Probat hoc mors tot validorum,	
The kyng therof hade smalle,	little profit
Fuit in manibus cupidorum;	
Hit hade harde honsalle,	'It was a sad fortune'
Dans *causam fine dolorum*;	
Revrawnce nede most falle,	(religious) respect needs must fall
Propter peccata malorum.	
….	
Owre kyng hadde no rest	
Alii latuere caverna,	
To ride he was ful prest,	hard-pressed

[107] The text quoted is from Martin Stevens and A.C. Cawley (eds.) *The Towneley Plays* 2 vols. EETS s.s. 13-14 (1994) which has now superseded the facsimile edition by George England and A.W. Pollard in the same series (EETS o.s. 71, 1897)

Recolendo gesta paterna

Jak Straw down he kest cast

Smythfeld virtute superna

Lord, as thou may best

Regem defende, guberna![108]

These verses are the first and last stanzas from a political poem found in a miscellany manuscript of historical texts (e.g. includes genealogies, family history, chronicle material). The name of Jack Straw is as familiar as those of Wat Tyler and John Ball from the 1381 Peasant's Revolt in England. The tales and poems arising from the subsequent veneration of these heroes form what is the *Piers Plowman* tradition based on the character of Piers from Langland's allegorical poem (see 3.2.7 and 3.3). The poems of this tradition are linked through their often satirical treatment of political, social and economic complaints on behalf of the commoners in relation to the king. Religious poems and prose texts of that sort are often evidence of Lollard tendencies[109]. This early poem, however, is non-sympathetic to Straw and the grievances or events of the rebellion. Instead he allies himself with King Richard II who, in the author's opinion, is not to blame. On the whole, Latin lines serve comment or give motives for the preceding English (e.g. 'Revrawnce nede most falle,/*Propter peccata malorum*'). The author of *Jack Straw* may be seen as attempting to parody Langland's employment of Latin in the *Piers Plowman* poem itself, although dating and distribution of the latter is unclear and this poem is a very early piece of evidence not necessarily trying to distance itself from a certain textual tradition. The more founded suggestion is that the regular

[108] I have transcribed and edited the lines from Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 369 fol. 47r and 48r. Additional verses may be found in Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Digby 196. For a full edition see Thomas Wright *Political Poems and Songs relating to English History composed during the period from the Accession of Edward III to that of Richard III:1321-1485* Rolls Series 14, vol.1(London: 1859)224ff.

[109] *Piers Plowman*-tradition texts are , for example, *Piers Plowman's Crede, The Complaynte of the Plowman, The Praier and Complaynte of the Plowman unto Christe* (the latter two are Lollard compositions), also *Richard the Redelesse* and *Mum and the Sothsegger*. Such texts were popular and would later be printed well into the 16th c. See, for instance, Helen Barr *The Piers Plowman Tradition* (London: Everyman, 1993).

insertion of full Latin lines was a widely established stylistic device not restricted to any socio-political type of text, as the range of the specimens here would demonstrate.

b) On the Times (1388)

Of the chyrche that I drede
Non placet sibi psalmus
Mowt [must] I say for despite
Sic me Deus adjuvet almus
Alas and welawey
Decus ecclesiam tenebrascit
Ly□t wyl falle that y say
Sanctus nunc spiritus assit…[110].

This excerpt from a 263-line poem *On the Times* is preserved in three mid-fifteenth-century manuscripts: London, British Library MS Harley 536 (A-Text), British Library, MS Harley 941(B-Text), and Dublin, Trinity College, MS 516 (C-Text). The poem may be best described as a satire violently criticizing the degeneration of customs, dress and the degeneration of righteousness in society and the Church. Although this is by no means a *Piers Plowman*-tradition text, it brings some of the concerns of that tradition with contemporary society to the fore. As in the previous specimen, the alteration in language is regularly line-by-line and linked through forceful rhyme and rhythm. The appearance of two poems so similar in construction but dissimilar in socio-political stance more underlines the universality of the macaronic technique. However, the purpose of the Latin lines is not the same as in the Jack Straw. Here, the Latin interlinks contextually so as to create a flow of narrative rather than the above signalled 'why?-*quia*!' change.

c) Ballad Set upon the Yates of Canterburye (1460s)

Regnum Anglorum regnum Dei est,

As the Aungelle to seynt Edward dede wyttenesse; — gave witness

New *regnum Sathane*, it semeth, *reputat* best,

For *filii scelerati* haue brought it in dystresse.

This preuethe fals wedlock and periury expresse, — 'These (the *filii scelerati*) approve feigned marriages — 5

[110] Quoted in T. Wright (1859:275); the bracketed word mine for clarification of vocabulary.

	and public perjury'	
Fals heryes fostred, as knowethe experience,	'they encourage false witnesses; 'as proven by experience'	
Vnryghtewys dysherytyng with false oppresse,	'They unjustly disinherit with feigned evidence'	
Sic 'omne caput languidem, et omne cor merens!'		
At planta pedis, fro the pore tylyer of the lond	poor; tiller	
Ad verticem of spiritualle eke temperalle ennoynted crown		10
Grace ys withdrawe and Godes mercyfulle hand,		
Exalted in falsehood, trowthe ys layde adoune;	'truth is brought low'	
Every reame cryethe owte on Engelondes treson.	realm	
Of falshod with thy colored presence!	colourful	
Euer shulle we syng during thy season	shall; reign	15
'*Omne caput languidem, et omne cor merens!'*[111]		

This poem is found in Davies's Chronicle - which is a version of the Brut Chronicle- owned by John Speed Davies (Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Lyell 34). The transcription is by an anonymous author from *folia* 203 and 204. The employment of Latin in these verses is a lot more broken up and flexible than that of the previous poems. In fact, in its liberal approach it is more akin to the mixtures we find in Piers Plowman (3.2.7). English is the main language here without a doubt. Latin is used predominantly in the first few lines of the stanza and the *cauda*-style conclusion to each echoes hymnal composition. The grammatical integration of the Latin is also more sophisticated than in the previous examples, and major syntactical function may be bestowed upon the English and the Latin alike (e.g. 'reputat', 'filii scelerati'). How pervasive Latin influence was in the Middle Ages can also be gleaned from this poem which features a multitude of lexical items originally from the Latin but assimilated

[111] quoted in 'An English Chronicle of the reigns of Richard II, Henry IV, Henry V, and Henry VI written before the year 1471' edited by the Royal Historical Society, *Camden Old Series* 64 (1856) 53-110; quoted at 90-92

into the English register (but often through Old French), such as 'periury'[112] or 'spiritualle'[113].

(7) Allegorical Poetry

Piers Plowman (1380-90s)

Piers Plowman is a late medieval allegorical poem in alliterative Middle English verse. Its composition dates to the late fourteenth century encompassing an intense process of revision and alteration by its author from the early 1380s to no later than 1387. I will be using the current edition of the B-text, edited by A.V.C. Schmidt, which is based on the reading of Dublin, Trinity College, MS 212 for quotations from the text[114]. The poem has survived in over fifty manuscripts in full or fragmentary form and thus has a claim to popularity which is equal to the writings of Geoffrey Chaucer. Certainly, critics have called it 'the greatest English poem' of the Middle Ages'[115], and it has pervaded medieval minds, evidenced in the establishment of the *Piers Plowman* tradition. I shall be content to give only a few examples here since this specimen will be the focus of discussion below (see 3.3).

Apart from the analytical difficulties the poem poses on account of its content and allegorical meaning, it further challenges the reader on a linguistic level. Although the poem was written in Middle English, the poet makes extensive if irregular use of Latin (and, less so, medieval French). Many Passus[116] contain only a few snippets of Latin (e.g.IV, XVI, XVII) whereas Passus X, XI, XV, and XVIII boast a proportionately higher amount of Latin examples. The Latin occurs in all

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[112] Probably first used in 1435 in a London chronicle, used by Lydgate and Hoccleve; see Middle English Dictionary (University of Michigan, 2001) http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/m/mec/med-idx?type=byte&byte=140971859&egdisplay=compact&egs=140981709 [last accessed 16/09/2011]

[113] The word entered the English vocabulary in the religious sense through the Wycliffe (Lollard) Bible 1384; see Middle English dictionary http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/m/mec/med-idx?type=id&id=MED42249.

[114] A.V.C. Schmidt (ed.) *William Langland: The Vision of Piers Plowman. A Critical Version of the B-Text based on Trinity College Cambridge MS B.15.17*, 10th ed. 1995 (London: Everyman, 1978). 'B-text', and the two other authorial versions, the A- and B-texts, refer to text-versions arrived at through the examination and collation of the extant manuscripts containing *Piers Plowman* in full or in parts. The distinctions of the texts are made on the basis of narrative coherency and linguistic individuality. See Schmidt's introduction at xviiff.

[115] Schmidt in his introduction to his edition (1995:xix); cf. also Anna Baldwin *A Guidebook to Piers Plowman* (Basingstoke/New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007) 1-3

[116] Passus is used in *Piers Plowman* instead of the vernacular equivalent 'fit' in as marking off a division or larger section of a poem; see Schmidt (1995:xxvii)

manner of forms, lengths and contexts[117]. The author William Langland may employ full-line, grammatically free-standing quotations in unassimilated Latin, mostly taken from the liturgy and Scripture. These are the most frequent occurrences of Latin in Piers Plowman. Consider, for example, these lines from Passus I: 'Ye shulle ben weyen therwith whan ye wenden hennes:/*Eadem mensura qua mensi fueritis remecietur vobis'* (178-178a), in which the Latin is a direct quote from Latin Vulgate (Luke 6:38)[118]. The same Latin line reappears much later in Passus XI (226a). Longer quotations are also a feature of the text, and they often prompt subsequent usage and discussion of Latin terms, as in the following passage:

'And sithe in the yr on heigh an aungel of hevene
Lowed to speke in Latyn- for lewed men ne koude
Jangle ne jugge that justifie hem sholde,
But suffren and serven-forthi seide the aungel:
'*Sum rex, sum princeps*; *neutrum fortasse deinceps*!
O qui iura regis Christi specialia regis,
Hoc quod agas melius, istus es, esto pius!
Nudum ius a te vestiri vult pietate.
Qualis vis metere, talia grana sere:
Si ius nudatur, nudo de iure metatur;
Si seritur pietas, de pietate metas'
Thanne greved hym a goliardeis, a gloton of wordes,
And to the aungel an heigh answeres after:
Dum 'rex' a 'regere' dicatur nomen habere,
Nomen habet sine re nisi studet iura tenere.'
And thanne gan al the commune crye in verse of Latyn
To the Kynges counseil- construe whoso wolde-

[117] For a listing of all Latin occurrences and an initial categorisation see Sister Carmeline Sullivan 'The Latin Insertions and the Macaronic Verse in Piers Plowman: A Dissertation' *Phil.Diss.* (Washington D.C.: The Catholic University of America, 1932)

[118] I do not provide a gloss or translation for excerpts from Piers Plowman, but see Schmidt's edition which gives a running gloss. A full translation may be found in Elizabeth Robertson and Stephen H.A. Shepherd (eds.) *Piers Plowman:The Donaldson Translation, Middle English Text Sources and Backgrounds, Criticism* (New York/London: Norton, 2006)

'*Precepta Regis sunt nobis vincula legis!*' (Prol.127-145)

Often, the poet simply intersperses the line with single Latin words, word groups or whole phrases, as in 'The *culorum* of this cas kepe I noght to shewe' (III.49) or 'Bothe Priour and Suppriour and oure *Pater Abbas'* (V.169). The most delightful instances of this simple tag-on type are those where the Latin conforms to the native alliterative schemes of the poem (i.e. 'And that is *Animam autem aufert accipientium'*, III.350). But on a number of occasions the Latin phrases or words are neatly integrated with the syntax, sense or alliterative scheme of a line or paragraph so as to warrant their designation as macaronic. For example, the very first occurrence of Latin in *Piers Plowman* appears thus in the Prologue: 'That Poul precheth of hem I wol nat preve it here:/*Qui loquitur turpiloquium* is Lucifere's hyne' (Prol.38-39). Another good example for the flexible handling of Latin insertions is Passus I.52-53 which reads: *Reddite Cesari*', quod God, 'that *Cesari* bifalleth, /*Et que sunt Dei Deo*, or ellis ye don ille'. Scholarship has sufficiently established that the Latin in Piers Plowman is neither extraneous to the text, nor 'haphazard'[119], but the 'result of careful planning'[120]. They form a key to the poem's allegorical meaning, and are indeed Langland's touchstone and generator of ideas from which he composed his work[121]. The terminology of code-switching is often preferred above the macaronic because much of Langland's Latin appears in dialogue or as imagined to be spoken. There is little doubt now as to the sources and literal meaning of the quotations. The majority of them has been identified and analysed[122]. However, points of linguistic technicality, purpose and motivation remain insufficiently answered or neglected owing to confusion. I will look at them in the discussion.

[119] John Alford 'The Role of the Quotations in Piers Plowman' *Speculum* 52 no.1 (1977) 80-99; quoted at 80
[120] Helena Halmari and Robert Adams 'On the Grammar and Rhetoric of Language Mixing in Piers Plowman' *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 103 (2002) 33-50; quoted at 34
[121] Cf. D.W. Robertson, Jr., and Bernhard F. Huppé *Piers Plowman and Scriptural Tradition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1951); cf. 2; Alford (1977: 80-99; Halmari and Adams (2002:35-7); Machan (1994:359)
[122] See John Alford *Piers Plowman: A Guide to the Quotations* Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies series vol. 77 (Binghamton,New York: Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies, 1992), and the *Penn Commentary* Series on Piers Plowman, currently 5 vols. (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania University Press, 2006 onward)

(8) John Lydgate (1370-1451)

Lastly I would like to give two examples from the work of the monk and poet John Lydgate. The author is best known for his substantial *Fall of Princes*, *The Siege of Thebes* and *The Troy Book*, all of which follow and model themselves on medieval (and often ultimately classical) tastes and conventions such as chivalric epic and *fabliau*, as cultivated by Gower and Chaucer. Lydgate wrote mainly in the vernacular but his shorter poems show evidence of macaronics, scattered across the corpus but often skilfully worked into stanza and rhyme scheme. The poet often uses English in the opening line and closes the stanza with its Latin equivalent[123]. In this respect Lydgate follows hymnal traditions very closely and the titles below would confirm this affinity. *Te deum laudamus* is a well-known Ambrosian hymns, sung at Matins and Easter Sunday and Lydgate provides a sort of free translation of the Latin hymn itself but preserves vernacular poetical integrity and rhyme requirements. Once more, the Latin interspersions seem to be flexibly assigned apart from the *cauda*. Since Lydgate used a Latin base text for his adaptation, debate may be raised as to his *modus operandi*: in how far did he use the Latin as an actual 'scaffolding' device or filler for lexical gaps? Again, the frequent appearance of Latin-based words like 'sentence' or 'pretence' which still retain Latinate endings can be taken as evidence for the author's effort to not differentiate the languages but bring them together in harmony, united by the flow of rhyme. As in the hymns, this humble appropriation can be viewed as paying reverence to the divine language through more contemporary literary means.

a)Te deum laudamus

Regnum Anglorum regnum Dei est,

As the Aungelle to seynt Edward dede wyttenesse; — *gave witness*

New regnum Sathane, it semeth, reputat best,

For filii scelerati haue brought it in dystresse.

This preuethe fals wedlock and periury expresse,	*'These (the filii scelerati) approve feigned marriages and public perjury'*	*5*
Fals heryes fostred, as knowethe experience,	*'they encourage false witnesses; 'as proven by experience'*	

[123] cf. 'Cryst, þet is booþ daye and light- *Criste qui lux es et dies'* (236ff.); similar constructions found in *Ave, regina celorum* in Henry N. MacCracken *The Minor Poems of Lydgate* EETS o.s. 107 (1911) 292

Vnryghtewys dysherytyng with false oppresse,	*'They unjustly disinherit(people) with feigned evidence'*	
Sic 'omne caput languidem, et omne cor merens!'		
At planta pedis, fro the pore tylyer of the lond	*poor; tiller*	
Ad verticem of spiritualle eke temperalle ennoynted crown		*10*
Grace ys withdrawe and Godes mercyfulle hand,		
Exalted in falsehood, trowthe ys layde adoune;	*'truth is brought low'*	
Every reame cryethe owte on Engelondes treson.	*realm*	
Of falshod with thy colored presence!	*colourful*	
Euer shulle we syng during thy season	*shall; reign*	*15*
'Omne caput languidem, et omne cor merens!'		

b) Hayle! Glorious lady and heuenly queen

Hayle! Glorious lady, as Gabriell seyde,		
When he came doune on hys message,	i.e. to deliver his message	
God was made man, hys modyr a mayde,	mother	
Lo, lady thys was thy swete mariage;		
So full of grace vnbynde oure bondage,	'loosen our bonds'	
Mater diuina virgo serena,		
And thus shall we sey for oure homage		
Aue Maria gracia plena [124].		

3.3 Discussion

Whereas the previous chapter has introduced and investigated some grammatical issues and basic macaronic functions, language-distribution and possible traditions, this discussion intends to advance these previous themes and put them in the wider context of sociolinguistic function and purpose in the Middle

[124] Stanzas 2 and 7 of *Te deum laudamus* and stanza 3 of *Hayle! Glorious lady*… quoted in MacCracken (1911:22f.); all italics and features of layout retained

English period. Because of the sheer wealth of specimens, of which the above is a mere sample, I will excuse narrow my discussion to the few focal points which I have set out in the introduction to this chapter (see 3.1).

One of the immediately striking features is the wider functional range of macaronics in this period as we can see from the generic variety as well as the technical one. If we look at the first specimen, *Ancrene Wisse* (1), a continuation of the type already encountered in the Old English prose is apparent (see the *Saxon Fragment* 2.2(1)).The kind of basic, intersentential language-mixing on a quotation and 'tag-like' level is already familiar from the paraphrases. The practice of inserting religious sources is clearly carried on beyond the time of its first documented appearance and may be the most persistent and 'time-honoured device' in the history of macaronisation[125]. In the Drama section (5a), the *Mary-Play* exhibits similar tendencies. Mary, who usually speaks English anywhere else in the play, quotes parts of the '*Gloria*' and the '*Magnificat'*[126] in Latin in answer to which Elizabeth gives a vernacular version. Finally, the *Contemplacio* offers a conclusion in both languages by summing up in Latin the essence of the previous exchange. Example (6a) *The Rebellion of Jack Straw* uses a regular line-by-line switch which sees the Latin subjected to the contemporary rhyming preferences to create a forceful, swift flow of verses, which are not entirely free of alliterative tendencies (see 'Hit hade harde honsalle'l.5). In the same section, *Ballad set on the Yates of Canterburye* (6c) witnesses a much more irregular spread of Latin incorporating single words, short phrases, whole lines and the *cauda* '*Omne caput languidem, et omne cor merens',* the simple type of Latin insertion which is often used in the hymns (cf. both examples under 4c). Certainly, the hymns also show a preference for regular full-line switches to create rhythmic dynamics, while *Carol bringing in the boar's head* (4e) expands the concept of the one-line *cauda* to a short refrain (i.e. '*Caput apri refero/Resonans laudes domino!')*. The poetry of John Lydgate adheres to hymnal techniques in many respects but takes liberties similar to the political and satirical poems. There is a *cauda* in *Te Deum laudamus*, but regularly appearing full, grammatically free-standing Latin lines

[125] Wehrle (1933: 59)

[126] Both of which are hymns in origin, the *Gloria* is non-biblical and refers to the Greater Doxology (*Gloria in excelsis Deo*) based on the angels' song in Luke 2:14, and is sung or recited weekly on Sundays at Mass; the biblical *Magnificat* is the Canticle of the Blessed Mary Virgin (see Luke 1:46-55), sung daily at Vespers.

are rarer. Instead, they may be broken up by the vernacular, as in '*tibi* coriously *cantant celi celorum'*, or reduced to half-lines (e.g. '*Tu ad dexteram dei*, in thy demeyne').

Even within single genres, techniques vary considerably, for example, the sermons. The first aermon, *In diebus dominicis*(a) uses very early Middle English as its basis and inserts the Latin 'backups' intersententially, i.e. as whole sentences or fully-functional clauses which do not infringe upon each other grammatically or syntactically. Despite its clear attribution to the sermon tradition *Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini* (b) arguably displays literary tendencies in the way the vernacular parts are versified (e.g. 'If you ask þis gode tiþng, he brings Goddis biscyng on to mon/ If you thinke of þis comynge he coms, lo, fort onon'). The specimen also shows how the Latin can be employed to mark structural division. After the announcement of the opening theme (and its vernacular paraphrase in a couplet) it is then developed systematically (e.g. *primum, secundum, tercium*). The switches in this last example are, in terms of difficulty of composition, more challenging because they are not on clause-and sentence-level anymore but work intrasententially, that is to say they may occur at any point among the sentence's constituents. On the whole, the Latin takes on comparatively major syntactical functions, which, in retrospect to the employment of the Latin in the Old English *Phoenix* (2.2.2) looks like a reversal of language-roles has taken place over time.

The increasing flexibility with which the Latin is handled seems to be a feature of the Middle English period in general. The culmination of the increasing freedom which writers of Middle English mixed-language texts seem to take occurs with the characters Myscheff and Nought in *Mankind* (4b). These speakers surprise the reader with instances of what could more confidently be termed macaronic in the traditional Folengo-sense. The playwright's decision to add Latin suffixes to vernacular lexical items has very specific purposes –which I will discuss further below- but in purely technical terms this is a remarkable instance of language-mixing. Even though the only hybridised forms which appear are simple dative plurals ('Corn *seruit bredibus*, chaffe *horsibu*s, straw *fyrybusque*' Myscheff), and ablative constructions ('in spadibus', 'on yowr hedibus' Nought), they signal a break from the hitherto 'untouchable' quality of Latin insertions

and quotations. This example would seem to predate the earliest Italian specimens by almost twenty years[127].

The examples from the *York Memorandum Book* (3a) provide an even earlier example of this type of hybridisation which is probably much less due to deliberate stylistic choice than that of the literary specimens (see discussion below). The instances of 'super stallas' (i 5) and 'skippavit and frettavit' (ii 56) show that Latin suffixes were sometimes added to vernacular vocabulary but the excerpts are too short to prove any sustained practice. However, they could be evidence that the macaronic techniques in in the specific sense, which will become most apparent in Drummond's *Polemo-Middinia* (see 4.2.5), seem not to have necessarily been founded in the continental traditions alone but may have undergone previous independent development in medieval Britain.

After this survey of techniques within the range of Middle English texts, I would like to discuss more thoroughly the questions of function and purpose of some of these choices, however deliberate or accidental they may be. Since this is a large issue which cannot be analysed here exhaustively, I have chosen to focus my attention on specimen (7) *Piers Plowman* with reference to other specimens where suitable. Because of the extensive length of the poem I will use Passus XVIII as an anchor point in order to draw on more specific examples without having to compromise on contextual discussion. As a literary text which has undergone much research and analysis over the years, the investigations into the interactions between the Latin and the English in *Piers Plowman* are still tentative. Certainly, the complex nature of the Latin, its mostly biblical, liturgical and exegetical sources and literal meaning, as well as its contextual significance has been the subject of discussion yet the linguistic techniques and how they reflect on the linguistic environment in which they were used remain to be investigated[128].

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[127] Tifi Odasi's *Macaronea* was published in 1488 or 1489, Folengo's *Baldus* in 1517. In comparison, *Mankind* was probably written in the 1470s.

[128] Cf. Peter Nolan 'Embedded Latin in Dante and Langland' in R.J. Schoeck (ed.) *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Bononiensis: Proceedings of the Fourth International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies 1979,* (Binghamton, New York: Modern and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1985)539-48; Sullivan (*Phil. Diss.*, 1932); Alford (1977) . All of these do much in listing and identifying quotations but few arguments are made on their immediate and wider functions and purposes.

In terms of dramatic and thematic richness Passus XVIII of William Langland's literary work is one of the most important within the poem. It has often been described as the culmination of the narrative for the dreamer-narrator called Will; this Passus is a vital step forward on his quest find and understand truth and the operation of charity on earth[129]. Prior to the Passus in question he has been elucidated on the subject by allegorical figures such as Anima, Holy Church, Scripture who have all presented him with their wisdom and opinion, but no practical application of their principles. This fifth dream-vision, however, is finally designed to give Will 'experiential knowledge, kynde knowyng' which is also the pervading theme for the remaining two Passus[130]. In an imaginative way, XVIII treats some of the greatest themes in medieval religious literature: Christ's Passion, Resurrection and Ascension. The dreamer falls asleep and in his dream witnesses the (original biblical) Passion, Harrowing of Hell and Resurrection, whilst he is sleeping through the annual re-enactment of the same during the liturgical feasts of Holy Week in his own time. The Passus contains 'more straight telling of stories already known than any other in the poem, perhaps more than the rest of the poem taken together'[131].

This special status of XVIII in the overall structure of the poem is supported by its distinction on linguistic grounds. Passus XVIII contains a high number of Latin quotations. In fact, the only other Passus which can boast similarly frequent occurrences is XV, with X and XI following close[132]. Having identified a significantly increased number of grammatically, metrically and alliteratively assimilated quotations in relation to other Passus, Helen Barr suspects that 'something distinctive is happening in Passus XVIII', something that is achieved through choices of narrative elements as much as through linguistic techniques[133].

As I have outlined in the Introduction to *Piers Plowman* above (3.2.7), the nature and technicality of the Latin quotations and their integration into the text are varied. Passus XVIII is no exception, featuring all the above-mentioned types. There are full quotes which stand alone and are not integrated into the

[129] See Baldwin (2007: 225); cf. also Schmidt's Introduction to his edition (1995:xlv)
[130] Schmidt (1995:xlv)
[131] Malcolm Godden *The Making of Piers Plowman* (Harley/New York: Longman, 1990) 138
[132] Cf. Alford (1992:Passus XVII at 108-13); see also the useful diagram in Helen Barr 'The Use of Latin Quotations in Piers Plowman with Special Reference to Passus XVIII of the B-Text' *Notes and Queries* 231 (1986) 440-8
[133] Barr (1986:445)

grammatical structure of the English. They are, however, whether by chance or by design, alliteratively or rhythmically connecting with the English literary techniques (e.g. 35-35a 'And forbite and adoun brynge bale-deeth for evere:/ O Mors, mors tua ero, [ero morsus]!'[134]; 361a 'And gile is bigiled, and in his gile fallen:/Et cecidit in foveam quam fecit'). Such fully-functional Latin sentences form the majority of quotations in XVIII (and elsewhere, for that matter), in particular as employed by the figure of Christ (e.g.360a, 390a, 395a, 399a). Some of them could, in terms of practicality, be extracted from the text without any damage to its content, since they are reiterated, paraphrased or otherwise included in the vernacular. Such is the case with 'And forbite and adoun brynge bale-deeth for evere/ *O Mors, mors tua ero, [ero morsus]*!' (35-35a)[135]or 'Some seide that he was Goddes sone.../ *Vere filius Dei erat iste*' (68-68a[136]). But obviously, since Langland decided to include these seemingly superfluous sentences, they bear a significance of some sort, at the very least to the author.

More substantially, sequences of whole lines are spread across a Passus or beyond, and they can structure and tie together larger arguments. Three Latin lines in XVIII seem to concern themselves especially with the use of guile and its consequences. At 161a the character Mercy proclaims '*Ars ut artem falleret*', which Christ echoes (and executes) later at 341 ('*Dentem pro dente et oculum pro oculo*') and 361a with '*Et cecidit in foveam quam fecit*'. Apart from their thematic link and the temporal procession from prophetic subjunctive ('should fool' 161a) to an immediate *quid pro quo* statement to come into fulfilment ('he fell' 361a), the author draws attention to the connection between these quotes through the preceding vernacular with the running-theme phrase 'the guiler (is/will be) beguiled'. The second of the lines quoted above has no fewer than three biblical sources to it. '*Dentem pro dente* etc' features in *Exodus* 21:24, *Leviticus* 24:20 and *Deuteronomy* 19:21. It is likely that Langland not only remembered the appearance of his chosen quotations from all three sources but that he also recalled the context in which they are stated. The unfinished line terminating abruptly in 'etc' or three consecutive dots attests to the fact that

[134] Square brackets in Schmidt indicate conjectural reading or readings on basis other manuscript other than the B-version which he used for his edition.
[135] Source: Osee 13:14, used in antiphon on Holy Saturday; cf. also XVII.114a; cf. Stephen A. Barney *Commentary C Passus/B Passus 18-20* Penn Commentary series, vol. 5 (Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006) 25f.
[136] Source: Matthew 27:54 and John 19:30; cf. also 410ff., 361-361a

more than the immediate meaning of a line remains to be supplied from its original context[137].

Alford has analysed such quotations from the angle of the widespread medieval system of verbal concordance. The practice involved explaining one biblical passage with another, and accumulating a wealth of quotations through the collation of key-words and themes across passages, which is also reflected in the increasing need for and evident wealth of glosses, commentaries and exegetical texts during the Middle Ages[138]. Virtually exercised *ad infinitum*, the method requires a good memory on the part of the author or the use of a concordance memorandum[139]. It is easy to see the connection to sermon practices here, since this kind of memorisation work would be required of a preacher preparing his sermons. As we have seen from *Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini* (2b), systematic development on a theme can be linked through deliberate placement of language-switches. Langland chose to structure his theme ('the guiler beguiled') through a string of supporting quotations from different biblical and liturgical texts and contexts, thus showing not only remarkable inventiveness but also the skill and repertoire of a practised sermon composer. What the system afforded Langland is not simply cliff-hangers and snappy quotes but entire 'scaffolds' to his poem which he could then flesh out in the vernacular. Hence it is likely that he, in fact, 'began with the quotations', expounded upon them in much the same way a preacher does and thus afforded the Latin a higher status in the overall composition process of the poem than has been previously acknowledged[140]. In this regard, *Piers Plowman* employs quotations in a very purposeful and intelligent way so as to bear on the overall intricacy and depth of the poem.

Langland's extensive use of Latin may be partly explained by the same reasons which apply for borrowing single items of vocabulary from another language. These may occur because of *desiderata* in the lexical register of the host

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[137] cf. '*Ecce quam bonum et quam iocundum*…' 425a; and a quote which has featured earlier in the poem ('*Nullum malum impunitum*…'391a; cf. IV.143-4); perhaps earliest appearance of an adaptation of these sources is found in St Augustine (*Enarrationes in Psalmos* at Psalm 118). According to Alford it is as a common maxim with, e.g. Alain de Lille and Innocent III; cf. Alford (1992:42)

[138] M.T. Clanchy *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066-1307* (Chicester: Wiley Blackwell, 1993)120

[139] Alford (1977:81-84)

[140] Alford (1977: 82)

language (in this case English), or insufficiency in the expression of concepts[141]. For example, in the line ' For no dynt shal hym dere as *in deitate patris*' (26), the Latin expresses the concept of the incarnate Jesus' substantial and inviolable unity with the godhead more neatly than the vernacular would have been able to[142]. While evidence from the Old English period, and perhaps from the *Mary-Play* may support this (i.e. Elizabeth's renditions are quantitatively more extensive and more awkwardly phrased than the preceding Latin), since the English equivalent to a Latin phrase or sentence is usually wordier and a little awkward, the medieval specimens do not, on the whole, support this. Instead, for example, the author of *Ancrene Wisse* quite capably finds adequate terminology for the abstract concept '*conscientia*' which he translates as 'in□it'. According to the Middle English Dictionary, this is the first recorded appearance of this compound noun ('in+wit'), and simultaneously its first use in the same sense as the Latin noun[143].

The higher prestige of a language from which the borrowing and switching–into is done also constitutes a reason for loan-terms. Overtly, the high status of Latin seems to be the explanation for its extensive use in *Piers Plowman* and many other specimens here quoted. Diller states that 'Latin is of course the language of divine authority' and that 'the Latin words are the ritually effective ones, the English only a rough approximation'[144]. In this context, hymns have particularly divine associations, music being the expression of celestial bliss and harmony, thus making their purpose (i.e. the performance) just as important as their content (i.e. the words)[145]. The authority with which the Latin is imbued not only is used in the pious acts of praise (e.g. hymns) or the dissemination of God's word and memorisation thereof (e.g. sermons, *Ancrene Wisse*), but it is further engaged by speakers in literary texts to assert their authority precisely through that inherent effectiveness of Latin. As O'Connell puts it, Latin is the language and the means by which 'He expresses His power and by which He creates', and

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[141] On the theory of borrowings and code-switching see Weinreich *(*1953: 56-60), and bibliographic references at I.4.
[142] cf. Barney (2006:22) and Schmidt (1995:l)
[143] http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/m/mec/med-idx?type=byte&byte=87624777&egdisplay=compact&egs=87639614
[144] Diller (1997/1998: 515f.)
[145] Cf. the music of the heavenly spheres in Chaucer's *Parliament of Fowls* (PF 60ff.) which is 'cause of armonye' on earth (63). For quotations from Chaucer see Larry D. Benson (ed.) *The Riverside Chauce based on the works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, 3rd ed. 1987 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978)

various characters in the specimens here presented bestow this authority upon themselves to partake in that authoritative assertion[146]. Earthly authorities are understood to be divine agents, God's mouthpieces. Thus, in order to assert their authority they appropriate the divine language of power. Textually, they illustrate such indications of status through their perception of what linguistic and rhetorical methods may best serve this perception. The assumption is that Latin indicates the 'higher' status of church authorities, clerics and others connected through their education to the Church above the vernacular crowd.

A straightforward example is the Angel in *Piers Plowman* who lowers himself down from the heavens to speak in Latin to those gazing upwards in prayer (quoted at 3.2.7, Prol.129ff.); the figure affirms its heavenly authority by addressing the mob in Latin while appearing suitably remote from them on account of his angelic and spatially distant status. Similar, if more humble, reasons govern the exchange between Mary and Elizabeth in the N-Town cycle (3.2.5a). In an attempt to 'differentiate the women's status' [147] as the mother of God and the mother of John respectively, the playwright exploits this gap through the juxtaposition of language. However, through the choice of the English contemporary rhyme scheme as a linking feature the distance is somewhat lessened, and the women's relationship is shown to be close across the differences of language. The audiences of such an exchange will probably not have been on a par with Mary's Latin abilities, even though she quotes from liturgical texts which are repeated daily or weekly in church services and would thus have been familiar on a recognition-level[148]. For this reason, Elizabeth's rendition into English might function as a tool for more direct and inclusive understanding, as well as a means to lend a more active flavour to the exchange, i.e. Elizabeth not only listens but she also acts and reacts to Mary.

A radically different example is provided by the figure of Pontius Pilate from the play *Processus Talentorum* (3.2.5c). His view boils down to a simple formula: ruler plus Latin equals power which he expresses, for example, in 'Stynt, I say! Gyf, men, place/ *Quia sum dominus dominorum'*. Throughout his speech he uses

[146] Rosalie O'Connell 'Sovereignty through Speech in the Corpus Christi Mystery Plays' *Renascence* 33 no.2 (1981) 117-126; quoted at 117
[147] Diller (1997/1998: 525)
[148] The *Magnificat* is a canticle for Vespers (from Luke 1:46-55), and the *Gloria* a non-biblical hymn sung at Sunday mass (rests on Luke 2:14)

the divine language as a means of claiming authority but he realises that his word is not, in fact, law. His increasing frustration with his addressees, Jesus' torturers, finds its ferocious expression in the gradual reduction of the Latin element. Possible explanations include his bullying attitude (he keeps flinging abuses and threats at the torturers) or the fact that the torturers simply do not respond to the Latin either because of their own incapability of comprehension or because they do not recognize Pilate's authority whatever the language. An element of nervous fear also swings in Pilate's words – he might be afraid that his authority is not as established as he would like it to be- which he tries to remedy by employing the only means currently available to him: the perceived authority of the Latin language.

Apart from this subverted employment of language as a characterising device, this may further be a statement on the playwright's part that tyrannical rulers are not just rulers and hence their assumption to just and divine power is invalid. The figure of Pilate is a great example for the abuse of linguistic privilege. On the other hand, the vernacular is not presented in the best light either. Following Pilate's rant the torturers speak among themselves in a very foul manner, being preoccupied mainly with genitalia and excrement, and Pilate appropriates this language thereafter[149]. On account of their speech, both Pilate and the men are portrayed as dishonourable, and this functions as a suitably expressive comment on their actions. The conclusion to be drawn from this complex example is probably that words must correspond to deeds, and the application of righteous language does not equal righteous conduct (see also below).

A less vehement example of the misapplication of Latin learning is presented by the Pardoner of Geoffrey Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*. The figure admits to his fellow-travellers that he sometimes 'saffrons' ('spices up') his sermons to his congregation with 'wordes fewe' in Latin 'for to stire hem to devocioun'[150]. On the surface, this seems a humble enough purpose but it also reveals the speaker's associations of Latin with authority. His frivolous 'saffroning' imparts some of that divine power on himself, thus raising him above the members of his parish. This kind of self-righteous elevation is the object of Myscheff's sarcasm

[149] See on this Diller (1997/1998: 525)
[150] *Canterbury Tales: Pardoner's Tale* (CT VI 344-6)

in *Mankind* (3.2.5b). The character uses hybridised words which he regards as Latin-sounding in order to mock precisely those multilingual practices of clerks, implying that those men who have access to otherwise restricted learning abuse their education to distance themselves from the common crowd, or, worse, they pretend to possess this kind of learning. Myscheff's Latin uses are the kind of 'foreign phrases that … speakers would introduce into their native speech either as in-jokes or to impress people with less formal education'[151] and the character's derision singles out multilingual performances 'because of its potential for abuse among clerks'[152].

However, there are arguments against the logical assumption of Latin as an authoritative language, misapplied or otherwise. If we look more closely at *Piers Plowman*, we find that assimilated quotations in Passus XVIII do not tend to carry main parts of speech, but are often adverbial (421 *per saecula saeculorum*; similarly: 23 *humana natura*, 24 *consummatus deus*). This reduces the possibility of Latin being used because of the authority or superiority of the language. Tim Machan has supported this objection to the prestige of Latin on the basis of the increased number of more complex macaronics in the poem[153]. The main difference in this technique to simple quoting, 'tag'-insertions and borrowing is the retention of the source language's grammar (Latin) as opposed to integrating the borrowed term into the host language's grammatical system (see 1.2)[154]. Consider line 238: 'Tho that weren in hevene token *stella comata*' against 36: 'Thanne cam *Pilatus* with muche peple, *sedens pro tribunali*'. The first constitutes an unassimilated insertion in the sense that *'stella comata'* functions merely as a sort of afterthought, which may add to clarification ('a token, that is, a comet'), but otherwise carries little grammatical significance for the English, and none for the Latin, comparable to the ablative and attributive constructions in *Phoenix* (2.2.2) in the previous chapter.

[151] Diller (1997/1998: 533)
[152] Davidson (2010: 86)
[153] Cf. Machan (1994:367); Machan himself avoids the term macaronics which has found favour with other critics for intricate code-switches that strive for a one-language appearance. Some of the 'code-switches' in Piers Plowman fall into that category, a fact acknowledged by, e.g. Sullivan (1932). Cf also Fletcher (1994) and Fiona Somerset 'Al þe comonys with o voys atonys:Multilingual Latin and Vernacular Voices in Piers Plowman' *The Yearbook of Langland Studies* 19 (2005)107-136
[154] See Barr (1986:445)

On the other hand, in the second quote the present participle 'sedens' is made to to agree grammatically with *Pilatus* (also in the Latin). The sentence requires more than one switch. Initially in English, there is a switch to the Latin form of the subject of the sentence, immediately followed by the main verb in the vernacular, only to conclude in an adverbial Latin clause. That the Latin was made to cohere grammatically in this context can be extracted from the original source of the biblical phrase, Matthew 27:17-19, which reads 'Pilatus.... sedente ... pro tribunali'. Indeed, that such a switch was intended by Langland is made explicit by the use of the Latin form of Pilate. However, 'sedens' is not a main verb, and thus carries little grammatical weight despite its neat integration into the vernacular sentence structure which seriously undermines the superiority of Latin to the English context. In the end Langland's main composition language of choice is, after all, the vernacular. This is at odds with Alford's opinion on the structural importance of the quotations, as discussed above. Commenting on the act of composition, Machan further assesses that '[h]ad Langland been interested in the Latin material only for narrative and structural purposes... direct quotations [i.e. unassimilated material] would have been the syntactically easier option', and concludes there must be something more to the technique than the intent to add authority, sum up or flavour arguments like the Pardoner does in the *Canterbury Tales*[155]. The ease with which Langland and other macaronic writers apply various language-mixing techniques would seem to agree with Romaine's opinion that for competent bilinguals or multilinguals such practices were 'in principle no different from style-shifting to the monolinguals'[156].

Thus far, technical analysis has hopefully shed a light on the effects of the Latin and the intricacy of the matter of language-mixing in Passus XVIII and elsewhere. Other open questions are that of Langland's motivations for using Latin the way he did, and what kind of sociolinguistic background would have facilitated his method. By turning our attention to a specific section, namely lines 314a-15a and immediate surroundings, more clarity may be reached so as to bear on a better understanding of other specimens as well. For a Passus so densely packed with quotations, the debate between the devils is remarkably devoid of Latin. The characters Satan, Lucifer and Goblin carry out their

[155] Machan (1994:372)
[156] Romaine (1995:132)

conversation in the vernacular, but at the conclusion of their argument Satan unexpectedly lapses into a full-line Latin quotation from John 12:31 (314a)[157]. As if prompted by this, Lucifer conducts his short verbal exchange with the light-voice of the gates to Hell first in Latin, but then repeats his question in the vernacular, to which the voice replies in a language-mix:

'[Satan:] '*Nunc princeps huius mundi eicietur foras'*.

Eft the light bad unlouke, and Lucifer answerde,

'*Quis est iste?*

What lord artow?' quod Lucifer. The light soone seide,

'*Rex glorie*,

The lord of might and of mayn and alle manere vertues-

Dominus virtutum'' (XVIII.315-18a)

In theory, the devils' speaking mainly in the vernacular is consistent with statements already brought forward within the poem. Surely, a devil counts as 'lewed' (e.g. he is described as 'luther addere' -an evil venomous serpent- in Christ's words at 355), and, by virtue of his status and his crime he should not or could not be learned and possessed of the language of truth. As the Angel has established earlier, 'lewed men' were not in possession of Latin learning and consequently the skills to judge or argue (see Prol.128-30, quote at 3.2.7). Knowledge of Latin, as presented in *Piers Plowman*, ought technically to be preserved as a defining mark of status, individual and clerical worth and power[158]. The sentence which Satan uses appears to support the notion that the Latin of the Scripture is inevitable truth. He quotes the line as if sealing his own fate: he will fall, because it has been foretold.

But there are problems with these arguments. Another character, Lady Meed in Passus III, presumes knowledge of Latin she should possess, being female and of dubious social status (cf. III.332-353).Having introduced such an exception to

[157] That is, of course, respecting Schmidt's editorial decision. The quote is part of the direct speech here but it might as well stand outside, preceding the next vernacular narrative sentence.
[158]Cf. characters Covetyse and Repentance at V.235-80; Scripture's chastising of Will at XI.1-4; Latin as means of power employed at XI.214-16; cf. Machan (1994:361-2)

the rule, Langland himself defines the Devil as ‘princeps’ (314a). This is similarly problematic, but his claim to status is actually acknowledged by the light-cum-Christ voice at the gate[159]. Lucifer himself used to be an angel which would legitimise at least his familiarity with the language. If, however, Langland intended to use Latin as a *characterising* feature, how are 'corrupt' characters like Pilate in the *Towneley Plays*, Lady Meed and a fallen angel justified to know and use a language which the Prologue to *Piers Plowman* establishes as righteous, authorial and divinely superior? However incomplete her Latin knowledge may be, Meed is clearly seen as threatening established boundaries, since her opponent Conscience immediately rushes in to expose her as fraud and throw Latin retorts at her to show her ignorance and her place. No such comment is made on the Devils' behalf. In fact, the voice's reply in mixed style appears rather to validate the previous Latin even further.

Furthermore, why do figures like Mercy and Peace (two of the four daughters of God which also appear in the course of Passus XVIII) engage in a lot more Latin whereas Truth and Righteousness -the other two daughters- who are presumably of equal learnedness and status, do not quote any Latin at all[160]? In fact, the latter two engage in decidedly churlish language, expressing their feelings in phrases like ‘That thow tellest ...is but a tale of waltrot' (142) and 'ravestow? ... art thou right dronke?’(186), which may be comparable to the language of the torturers earlier on. It seems that any character might or might not engage in the Latin at any given point. Although there are such social comments as to the legitimacy of the use of language, not any one character that is faced with such mixtures in communication as in *Piers Plowman* and the plays ever questions the technique as such.

One answer lies in the possible demise of the diglossial culture in England in the late fourteenth century. The nature of the diglossia in England of the time is such that vernacular English began to join Latin as the authorial language (rather than supersede it) in many influential domains of daily life[161]. As the administrative texts in this study suggest, mundane areas were just as ready to engage in mixed-language writing as literary compositions. It is therefore

[159] cf. 'Dukes of this dymme place' 320
[160] This is especially complicated in Truth's case, as she is a name for God and love and has been associated with the Bible as such by Holy Church (cf. I.85-7; I.12-14)
[161] Machan (1994: 361; 377-9)

instrumental to view the phenomenon of macaronic texts from the medieval angle of multilingualism as a normal practice rather than an exception, which is the general attitude of the largely monolingual-oriented body of scholars[162]. The Middle English period was a crucial transition period which witnessed the birth of what we now call present day English and the consideration of monolingualism as standard. The case of the macaronics alerts to the fact that in a 'multilingual society people switched languages often probably without comment'[163]. Simply the appearance of macaronics in such a broad range of literary and non-literary genres attests to a widespread phenomenon, and does not constitute an exception or curiosity. Presumably authors and speakers of Latin gradually discovered that the same degree of utility could be achieved through English, and *Piers Plowman* may be a witness to Latin 'as yielding to the vernacular' but not without complication[164].

In this light the passage above can be taken as evidence for a comment on this confusing time. Satan delivers in the vernacular his lengthy speech about why Christ's use of guile is justified. The vernacular quantitatively outweighs the Latin but is no less legal, though Satan polishes his speech off in Latin. Lucifer simply decides to use both languages to express the very same sentence. The conclusion to be drawn from this analysis may be that the content of the Latin switches is not the instrumental factor, but that the point is often simply just the switching act itself. Writers of poetry and drama seem to employ it as a literary device to make statements of authority (real or presumed; cf. Langland's Angel, Chaucer's Pardoner versus Pilate in *Processus Talentorum*) and characterisation (cf. Mary and Elizabeth as opposed to non-characterisation in *Piers Plowman*), or as offering social commentary on the application rather than the existence of multilingualism (e.g. Myscheff in *Mankind*, Conscience and Christ in *Piers Plowman*).

The question of overall Latin competence must be considered in this context in relation to the degree of identification with a social circle through choice of language. As set out in the first chapter, the operative diglossial system meant that certain textual and conversational areas required different competences in

[162] See on this Mary C. Davidson's excellent *Medievalism, Multilingualism and Chaucer* (2010) in which the author makes a leap forward in breaking that misconception; see 17-44 in particular
[163] Clanchy (1993: 331)
[164] Alford (1992:108)

Latin, and that 'in-group' members of one level of competence are socially aware of these distinctions[165]. As we have seen, church officials and those claiming sovereignty through divine right are keen to set themselves apart from their 'inferiors' by their Latin learning. Conscience, a knight of the court (i.e. a noble), who has the king's confidence and is a legitimate counsellor to Truth in Passus III (138-9) chastises Meed severly for not 'turning the page' of a book and quoting bits and pieces of Latin to suit her at leisure (340ff.). A similar case is presented through Chaucer's Wife of Bath, who, although she does not speak in Latin directly, gives the impression she is just as able as church men in quoting from the Bible and other ancient authoritative writers (e.g. Ptolemy) to validate her arguments[166]. Trying to justify her five marriages and her liberal attitude towards carnal desires she draws on these authorities so liberally that the Pardoner eventually interrupts crying sarcastically 'Ye been a noble preachour in this cas' (*CT* III.165)'.

The two female characters are accused of possessing abilities which still should not make them part of the 'in-group', whose members are quick to dissociate them from their circle. But this also shows that the distinct functional boundaries are being transgressed as evidence of the diglossial demise. Mundane areas, such as we have seen from the administrative texts, employ a certain amount of complex switches which seem to adhere to certain rules, as examined by Wright in business and administrative texts (see 3.2.3)[167]. While there is little doubt that this practice exhibits a great deal of linguistic flexibility and bilingual/ multilingual competency this is not automatically evidence that this pragmatic level, although sophisticated and viable in its respective 'in-group', was also applicable to other areas.

In order to assess further the level of competence in Latin at the lower, vernacular end of the spectrum and among medieval audiences of *Piers Plowman,* Furrow states that it is often not so much a matter of knowing Latin or not knowing Latin but it is rather a question 'of how much and what Latin' an

[165] For in-group and out-group discussion in sociolinguistics see Diller (1997/1998:532) and Halmari and Adams (2002:33-50)
[166] Cf. The Wife of Bath's *Prologue* (CT III). She does use one Latin euphemism 'I hadde the beste *quoniam* ['whatsit'] myghte be' (CT III.608).
[167] L. Wright in Skaffari (2005:393)

individual reader or audience member possessed[168], and what level of pure recognition was the norm[169]. Certainly, as discussed above there are specialised uses in legal, liturgical or rhetorical fields, so there is effectively not just one but many 'Latins', and they all require different levels of competence. But even those who possessed only the most basic recognition skills in the language would be familiar with the Latin of the church service. This meant at the very least the *Ave*, the Creed, the *Paternoster* and the annually repeated phrases, prayers and songs of Holy Week. This kind of all-pervasive spread of Latin, however comprehensible or unintelligible it may have been on a linguistic level, it guaranteed involvement of probably most groups of people in the Middle Ages.

The emotional effect such dramatic 'performances' at mass and during festive days had is not to be underestimated and we have the best example in *Piers Plowman*[170]. Following on from this I propose to look at the effects of the macaronics in Passus XVIII. Langland's particular attention to the liturgy and the effects he wants to achieve through it may be another explanation for the devils' linguistic techniques. Following Alford's method of verbal concordance from earlier, the guiding principle behind XVIII reveals itself to be not only biblical precept but the much more contemporary liturgy of Holy Week[171]. The dreamer sleeps until *Ramis Palmarum* (6) and his vision rings in with the singing of the Palm Sunday processional *Gloria laus et honor tibi, Rex Christe Redemptor* (7)[172]. At the conclusion of the Passus Truth 'trumpede tho and song *Te Deum laudamus*' (422), a hymn associated with Easter Sunday which I have quoted in a macaronic adaptation by Lydgate at 3.2.(8b)[173]. Langland brings to mind a treasure house of antiphons and processional hymns from the holiest and greatest of Christian feasts through his interjectional uses of '*osanna*' (8) and *'A! Fili David*!' (15), *'Ecce AgnusDei'* (325), or more cruelly, '*Crucifige*!' and *'Tolle,*

[168] We must not forget that apart from audiences of a staged play and individual literates medieval 'reading' often took the form of 'reading to an audience' since literacy was not very widespread and were manuscripts scarce. Cf. a scene in Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde* where several ladies listen to an educated female servant reading out to them (TC II.81ff.); interestingly the women perceive this to be a collective action: 'This romaunce … that *we* rede' (100, my emphasis)

[169] Melissa Furrow 'Latin and Affect' in M. Teresa Tavormina and Robert F. Yeager (eds.) *The Endless Knot: Essays on Old and Middle English in Honor of Marie Boroff* (Cambridge: Boydell & Brewer, 1995) 29-41; quoted at 34

[170] Furrow (1995:37).

[171] cf. Alford (1992), Barney (2006) and Robert Adams 'Langland and the Liturgy Revisited' *Studies in Philology* 73 (1976) 266-84

[172] Alford (1992:108)

[173] Alford (1992:113)

tolle!' (39, 46-7).The choice of taking quotations from contemporary *active* service which every medieval Christian would have been involved in corresponds to the active-dramatic flavour of the Passus narrative. In previous Passus, *figurae* like Dame Study have quoted profusely and shown their learning, but they do little to elucidate the dreamer on a practical level.

Relating to this, man in *Piers Plowman* is exposed to act often in different or opposite ways to biblical precept, as in the case of the hypocrites which Anima rallies against (XV.108-16[174]). This highlights the discrepancy between words and deeds, which I have had occasion to look at earlier in the examples concerning Pilate. These discrepancies are brought into approximation first perhaps with Piers who is said to concern himself with the application of two texts specifically linked to active living[175]. The character Conscience understands the significance of Piers' attitude when he postpones final judgement 'til Piers come and preve this in *dede*' (XIII.133, my emphasis). In the shape of Christ, Piers, in Passus XVIII is able to demonstrate practically the principles of charity and mercy. In effect, the dreamer finally learns about the true application of biblical words through Christ's action and the congregational context evoked by the use of liturgy. The dreamer can rightly say to have 'seen' action 'secundum scripturas' (112) and is now able to ponder about the implications of this action for himself and the future in the last two Passus. His competence of Latin is that of active experience rather than bookish learnedness.

Very clearly, Passus XVIII plays on emotional, congregational involvement to achieve its narrative immediacy that reaches through the temporal realities of the Old Testament, the performance of the liturgy and the dreamer's immediate experience. The possibility of every Christian soul recognising or even knowing a certain amount of Latin puts the employment of it by virtually any speaker in Piers Plowman into the domain of ordinary and familiar. The passage under scrutiny similarly takes on the function of supporting emotional responses. The short question-and-answer sequence between Lucifer and the voice does not simply evoke the context of *Nicodemus* 21:3 but also its frequent singing in

[174] 'Lothe were lewed men but thei youre lore folwede/ And amenden hem that thei mysdoon, moore for youre ensaumples/ Than for to prechen and preven it noght-ypocrisie it semeth!/ For [in Latyn ypocrisie] is likned to a dongehill/That were bisnewed, and snakes withinne'.

[175] Barr (1986:443); cf. Conscience-Clergy dialogue at XIII.122-32. The two texts are Matthew 22:37 and Psalm 14.

versicle-form at Lauds throughout Holy Week. The Latin here is used to remind the reader that he is part of that congregation, a hint which he/she may not necessarily have recognised from the vernacular alone, even though the content itself has been conveyed through the English. As Davidson puts it, multilingualism can be presented 'as sacred when it seems most co-operative'[176].

In view of the points made in the previous paragraph I would like to add to the typifications of the macaronic techniques which I have outlined in the first chapter. In *Piers Plowman*,it seems, insertions can often be described as either 'passive' or 'active' on a narrative level, the latter of which we have just looked at. I would designate as 'passive' those insertions which do not progress the narrative at any stage or at later stages in the poem and do little in heightening heighten dramatic tension. These, I would argue, are the ones which constitute switches for reasons of self-portrayal and self-validation because they are not universally 'understood' but depend on higher Latin competence of the reader. 'Passive' Latin designates what we have already investigated in the paraphrase specimens; this is Latin which does not interact or impact on the overall text with regards to content or progression, or could well have been left out with no great detriment to a text whatsoever. Further, these are also insertions which I would label terminology-like because even though they evoke a certain sociolinguistic context (as do all switches, for that matter) they do not play an active role in determining substantial movements in the texts in question.

To visualise this added typification more fully I provide a table which lists all instances of Latin insertions in Passus XVIII with their respective speaker, source (if traceable) and classification into 'active' and 'passive' examples. I further specify whether active quotations are acted out later in the poem ('prophetic'), or whether an insertion validates or reifies previous action, e.g. in a different Passus, or action that has taken traditionally place in the Bible narrative. I mark as 'dramatic' such instances that have immediate impact and are driving forces in the narrative sequence (see Appendix Table 1). It will become clear that the Latin, despite its minor appearance in relation to the main language of composition, can be a strategically used stylistic device and act out different functions in the narrative of Piers Plowman.

[176] Davidson (2010:87)

4. Late Medieval and Early Modern

4.1 Introduction

Since the death of the great Middle English literary master Chaucer (1400) is commonly taken as the indicator of transition into the later medieval period[177], the attentive reader might take issue with my choice of Lydgate as a closing example to the previous chapter. After the assessment of the material in this part of my study it seemed a logical step for the following reason: we have seen that Lydgate's lyrics ally themselves closely with the macaronic techniques and themes of the medieval hymn tradition. The later medieval literary specimens of Skelton and Dunbar, on the other hand, exhibit Latin usage and poetic content as informed by early Humanism and its extension on the medieval Latin source material. Both poets still continue the former period's language-mixing features but their Latin horizons, so to speak, have been broadened, or can at least be seen as challenged by socio-historic impetus, and they are distinct from these earlier specimens by their flexible approach to the macaronic. Therefore, I believe, Lydgate's poetry fitted more happily with the Middle English specimens. Generally, the diversity of the Middle English macaronics continues to be reflected and enriched in the late medieval/ early modern period, although the handlist enumerating specimens considered in detail in this chapter below will not give as readily an indication of this as the range of the previous chapter. This is because this chapter, particularly in the literary sections, aims at focusing on the new continental stimuli and the English writers' reaction to and treatment of the Folengo-macaronics in the framewok of their established 'national' macaronic practices. Not to break with one of my primary objects of this study, the exhibition of the variety of genre-spanning material which we have seen proof of in the previous period, is still an important factor, and so the discussion will draw on a number of additional examples to make up for the 'short' list. Again, I have sorted the material into the following two categories:

Non-literary Texts

[177] Cf. Gray (2008:3)

(1) Legal Reports- *Deposition in Trial* (1560s)

(2) Scientific/ Medical Texts- *a)Prelectiones anatomie universalis (William Harvey, 1616); b) The Gouernment of Health (William Bullein; 1558 or 1559)*

Literary Texts

(3) John Skelton (ca. 1460-1529)- a) *Ware the Hawke* (1506); b) *Phyllyp Sparrow* (1508); c) *Speke, Parrot!* (1521); d) *Colin Clout* (1522)

(4) William Dunbar (ca. 1465-ca. 1520)- a) *Testament of Andro Kennedy* (probably 1490s); b) *Memento, homo*(n.d.)

(5) William Drummond- *Polemo-Middinia Inter Vitarvam et Nebernam* (probably 1645)

In the specimens' individual introduction, as well as the discussion, I will continue to draw on technical and grammatical points of interest and overall functions of the macaronic in the context of the specimens. The sociolinguistic investigations of the last chapter will not be abandoned but provide a point of departure for comparing individually stylistic or dramatic reasons behind switching. This is now made possible because writers such as Skelton and Dunbar engaged in macaronic writings not just on one occasion- which is the case with earlier medieval macaronics-, but repeatedly and in different ways. It is in the early modern period specimens, most distinctly marked by Drummond's *Polemo-Middinia*, that we see the emulation of Folengo's macaronic 'priniciples' in action, but this engagement is not unencumbered by national macaronic traditions. Longer works composed in consistently employed macaronics in the stricter sense make it easy to see these as products of nothing but the Italian influence but closer analysis will give an indication of the individual treatment by authors exerting themselves in what I maintain remains a stylistic technique rather than a genre among the English macaronic writers.

4.2 Specimens

Non-Literary Texts

(1) Legal Reports- *Deposition in Trial* (1560s)

Writings evidencing law proceedings for official and private use form a large corpus which still lies largely unedited and neglected[178]. In the Middle Ages, the main text of a document to be preserved for posterity and for official use would generally be written in Latin or French, but English terms could be inserted. Wright asserts that macaronic practices in legal documentation were perfectly common, as we have already seen from the administrative texts under 2.2.3[179]. In the course of the later medieval period the vernacular found wider acceptance in asserting its official status so that it reversed the proportions and became the base-text language itself[180]. Latin phrases persisted in formulaic expressions and as a distinctive structuring device, as evidenced by the example given below from a case of family law recorded at the Bishop's Court in Chester 1562 or 1563.

> '*Ad primam excepcionem*/ This deponent saies for any thinge that this deponent knows, Mary Hasewell is an honest damoysell. and forther, this Deponent saies, That he, this deponent, and George Garrat, were sent by Henry Monelay, brother vnto Margaret Monelay, to John Cotgreve, to knowe the certenty and truth of hym, whether that he wolde deny or confesse the Act. and at the first, he did stoutly deny it; but afterward he confessed that he had carnall act with her ons; and shewid them the place *vbi eam carnalliter cognouerit*/ and forther he saies, the said Cotgreve said he neuer had to do with her but ons carnally/ *Ad reliquos articulos. Dicit se nihill scire, nec potest excipere contra testes se de fama, ait,* that she is taken for an honest wenche, but for that one Dede. and forther, this Deponent hearith it comenly reported that the said Cotgreve is father of the Child.'[181]

(2) Scientific/ Medical Texts

Medical texts at universities or those which would have been for public use were normally taken from Latin source or commentaries, and for the purposes of international discourse they where written in the *lingua franca*, although vernacular insertions in the form of recipes or glosses were frequent[182]. The rise

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[178] See L. Wright *Sources of London Business English* (1996: 5)
[179] Wright (1996:7)
[180] See Rothwell in Trotter (2000: 215)
[181] Quoted in Schendl in Trotter (2000: 82f.). Schendl gives no source for this text.
[182] Herbert Schendl 'William Harvey's Prelectiones Anatomie Universalis: Codeswitching in Early Modern English Lecture Notes' *Brno Studies in English* 35, no.2 (2009)185-198; see 186-7

of literacy in the late medieval and Renaissance period, however, saw the emergence of a demand for more private uses, corresponding to the establishment of private genres , e.g. private letters, travel reports, recreational literature, and collections useful to the individual household, containing authoritative excerpts from larger treatises, health recipes, question-and-answer texts after the Aristotelian model and commentaries which often acted as glosses and translations for ingredients[183]. The two specimens given here are exemplary of the private orientation which the genre began to take in this period. The first is an excerpt from the lecture notes accompanying dissection demonstrations at the Royal College of Physicians by William Harvey (1578-1657)[184] who, in his observations, switches frequently and abruptly between Latin and the vernacular. In the Appendix (Figures 1 and 2), I attach two pages from the facsimile and autotype edition of this excerpt to demonstrate that Harvey did not distinguish language-switches in his handwriting, thus giving an overall appearance of linguistic unity, The autoype page, however, shows that the Latin '*observavi*' and subsequent numbering were employed as structuring devices, and generally lines begin in the Latin, which might further facilitate orientation.

a)Prelectiones anatomie universalis (William Harvey, 1616)

observavi: *1. in prima conformatione Albae ut Nix*

2. Embrione ante Aeris haustum eodem quo Jecur colore

vt pueris ante partum and in two whelpes the one borne ded

vnde Avicenna Albificat ipsos Aer.

ex accidente ideo colores

3. *Morbosis* swarty purple blewish *ut peripneumonia*

[183] Irma Taavitsainen 'Genres and the Appropriation of Science: Loci Communes in English in the Late Medieval and Early Modern Period' in Skaffari (2005) 179-196; see 184-187

[184] He studied in Padua and Cambridge and later worked in London to become physician to James I in 1618. He has greatly advanced the study of blood circulation. His treatises he normally wrote in Latin, found publication in Frankfurt am Main and Rotterdam , and were quickly translated into the English vernacular; see Schendl (2009:187)

sanguine refertissimi

duskey ash color a durty greye leadish

in apostemate absque et cum venis livescentibus

more white and yellow cley color *contractae*. [185]

b) The Gouernment of Health (William Bullein; 1558 or 1559)

The text's first publisher John Day (London: 1559) states the intent and content of the text clearly on the title page: 'This is a book', he writes, 'wherin be vttred many notable rules for mans preseruacion… collect out of many approued authours. Reduced into the forme of a dialogue, for the better vnderstanding of th'unlearned.' Such comment, surely, reveals much about the intended audience of Bullein's work: the common 'unlearned' man can benefit from the 'approved' learning offered, and it is written in an appropriate form, close to mundane dialogue, so as to ensure general comprehension. The exchange is between John, a common but inquisitive man, and Humphrey, a physician. Humphrey is a gentle teacher who explains and paraphrases for John at all times and listens to his many enquiries.

> 'Ioh. What might not men, beasts, fish or foule, hearbe or tree, be of one element as well as of foure? I pray you tell me.
>
> Hum. No, for Aristotle saith: *Deus et natura nihil agunt frustra*, Gode and nature hath done nothing in vain. And if any thing vpon the earth sencible were of one element, no sickness could hurte it, no disease corrupt it.'…
>
> '[Hum.]… it requireth much conte*p*la*t* [abbreviated thus; contemplacioun] or knowledge in studying goode books, which is called *theorica*. Certainly the very effecte of *contemplacio* or study is *practica* or *actiua*, which is doing of the thynges.'
>
> '[Hum.] Truly ther be fyue thynges to be noted in phisicke…as Gallen seith *lib. de Elementis*.' [186]

[185] Quoted in *Prelectiones anatomie universalis of William Harvey* edited by the Royal College of Physicians of London (London: J. & A. Churchill, 1886) 82

Literary Texts

(3)John Skelton (*ca. 1460-1529)*

The Poet Laureate John Skelton's writing is generally characterised by unpredictable und unstable alteration in content, literary style and socio-political attitude. He might, at any time, have been writing from the perspective of a 'pro-government propagandist', drawing up defences for the Tudor courts of Henry VII and VIII, or an 'anti-government satirist' in his occasional poetry an attacks on Cardinal Wolsey; but he was also a 'ribald balladeer an author of pious devotions, an entertainer, a scourge of leisured device, a eulogist, a mud-slinger, and so on'[187]. With this tendency towards variegation and a sound education in Latin and standard classics from schoolboy-age through to his academic career at Oxford and Cambridge, it should not come as a surpise that Skelton was inclined to engage in stylistic techniques available to him, including those of a macaronic nature. That his mixed-language attempts precede those of the Italian originators has often been pointed out[188], as has his liberal attitude towards literary conventions, as exemplified in the invention of his own metre, the so-called Skeltonics. Throughout the corpus of Skelton, macaronic techniques are neither sustained nor are they in themselves conformist, as may be gathered from the diversity of examples given below.

a) Ware the Hawke (1506)

In the poem the author rages against an ill-behaved parson, a stock anti-clerical figure in medieval satire[189]. The parson, having locked himself, the bird and two live pigeons into the local church, proceeds to train the hawk by cruel methods for his own sport, and never listens to those outside trying to stop him until the poet himself finds a way in. The intruder's tirade against the parson is marked by frequent abrupt switches, spiced up by insults (e.g. 'Dawcock', 'simplex silogista') and persistent, long rhymes. The initial excerpt introduces the insolent parson and promptly dismisses him as dim-witted. The second section

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[186] Quoted in William Bullein *The Gouernment of Health* (London: V. Sims, 1595); excerpted at 20, 11 and 14

[187] David R. Carlson (ed.) in the Introduction to his 'The Latin Writings of John Skelton' *Studies in Philology* 88 (1991) 1-125; quoted at 1

[188] Cf. Elizabeth Archibald'Tradition and innovation in the macaronic poetry of Dunbar and Skelton', *Modern Language Quarterly 53* (1992) 126-140; see 128

[189] Stanley E. Fish *John Skelton's Poetry (*New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1965) 89

cites from the poet's attempts to find biblical precept for the frantic indoor-hawking, which he cannot discover, thus making the parson's trespassing all the more scandalous. In the last quotation the poet's chastising becomes more pronounced and he prods the parson by firing a succession of insults and questions at him. John Skelton surprises the reader with what can be more confidently termed macaronic in the traditional Folengo-sense. The poet is not content to rhyme English and Latin but he fuses English lexical items with Latin, or Latin-sounding, suffixes[190], mainly to achieve long continuous stretches of rhyme.

CONSIDERATE

On saynt Johnn decollacyon

He hawked on this facyon,

Tempore vesperarum,

Sed non secundum Sarum

But lyke a March harum

His braynes were so parum' (ll.100-105)

DEPLORATE

Loke now in Exodi,

And de archa Domini,

With Regum by and by;

(The Bybyll will not ly)

How the Temple was kept,

[190] e.g. 'March harum', 'fista', 'lista'

How the Temple was swept,

Where sanguis taurorum,

Aut sanguis vitulorum,

Was offryd within the wallys,

After ceremoniallys' (ll. 164-173)

Maister sophista,

Ye simplex silogista,

Ye develysh dogmatista,

Your hawke on your fista

To hawke when you lista

In *ecclesia ista*

Domine, concupisti,

With thy hawke on thy fysty?

Nunquid sic dixisti?

Nunquid sic fecisti?

Sed ubi hoc legisti

Aut unde hoc,

Doctor Dawcocke?

Ware the Hawke! (253-266) [191]

b) Phyllyp Sparrow (1508)

Another bird-themed poem of Skelton's, *Phyllyp Sparrow*, features schoolgirl Jane Scrop's lament for her dead sparrow that has been killed by a cat. For this mock-lament Skelton has obviously been inspired by Catullus' Poem 3. Skelton cleverely takes the classical and traditional values of the pet bird- his surrogate nature for the poet's passion, the confidence it enjoys with its mistress - and exploits them to amuse his audience[192]. *Phyllyp Sparrow* does not exhibit as great an amount of macaronic mixing as the previous specimen, *Ware the Hawk* (a), and Latin insertions appear even more irregularly, but they are evidence of Skelton's virtuosity and continued interest in linguistic experiment as a poetic device. As I shall examine in the discussion, the poem as a whole reveals several attitudes towards language and specifically language as utilised for the purpose of satirizing Jane's 'teenage' hysteria in dealing with the death of her pet .

'*Pla ce bo,*

Who is there, who?

Di le xi,

Dame Margery,

Fa, re, my, my.

Wherfore and why, why?

For the soul of Philip Sparrow

That was late slain at Carrow,

Among the Nunnės Black.

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[191] quoted in John Scattergood (ed.) *John Skelton: The complete English Poems* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1983) *Ware the Hawke* on p. 61-71; see his edition for glosses.

[192] on Ovid see Barbara Weiden Boyd 'The Death of Corinna's parrot reconsidered: Poetry and Ovid's Amores' *Classical Journal* 82 (1987) 199-207; see 200

For that sweet soulės sake,

And for all sparowes souls,

Set in our bead-rolls,

Pater noster qui,

With an *Ave Mari*,

And with the corner of a Creed,

The more shall be your meed. (ll.1-16)

Heu, heu, me,

That I am wo for the!

Ad dominum, cum tribularer, clamavi.

Of God nothynge els crave I

But Phyllypes soule to kepe

From the mares depe

Of Acherontes well,

That is the flode of hell (ll.64-71)

Si in i qui ta tes

Alas, I was evil at ease!

Di pro fun dis cla ma vi,

When I saw my sparrow die! (ll.143- 147)[193]

c) Speke, Parrot! (1521)

Skelton's frequent occupation with birds in combination with macaronics is continued in *Speke, Parrot!*. Instead of the bird of prey or intimate playmate, a parrot which is being kept as the court ladies' pet is chosen, and the verse is related from his perspective and mimicks the conversations he has with the ladies. He is a merry multilingual and he is beloved like a court-jester (ll.25-27). As the non-sensical pet he may occasionally speak uncomfortable truths without punishment, and his general 'jumbling' of languages normally produces great hilarity among members of the court (see ll.26-47). The 'truths' which Parrot blurts out are indicative of issues Skelton took with Tudor government and court traditions, which I will look at in the discussion below (4.3).

Moderata juvant but toto doth exceed;

Dyscrecion ys moder of nobyll vertues all;

Myden agan in Grekes tonge we rede,

But reason and wytte wantythe theyr provynciall,

When wylfulnes ys vicar general. (50-55) [194]

d) Colin Clout (1522)

This poem has been called a pastoral, because it is a dramatic monologue delivered by a countryman but it is also a harsh, vociferous satiric attack on state, church and reformers[195] and is thus similar in theme to *Piers Plowman*, although the poem here is more explicitly a biting satire. On a technical level, Skelton again shows his expertise in sustaining stretches of rhyme by exploiting the 'narrow-sense' macaronic device of attaching Latin suffixes to vernacular lexical items ('Gylla-stylla- willa') and the Latin inflection-system on the whole.

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[193] Quoted in Scattergood (1983:71-73)
[194] Quoted in Scattergood (1983:232)
[195] Cf. Paul E. McLane 'Skelton's *Colyn Cloute* and Spenser's *Shepheardes Calender* ' *Studies in Philology* 70 (1973) 141-159; quoted at 142

Contextually, the excerpt below complains against their ostentatious and scandalous behaviour.

O suche *vacabundus*

Speketh totus mundus,

Howe some syng *letabundus*,

At every ale stake,

…

Cum ipsis vel illis

Qui manent in villis

Est uxor vel ancilla,

'Welcome Jacke and Gylla,

My prety Petronilla,

And you wyll be stylla,

You shall have your willa!'

Of suche paternoster pekes

Alle the worlde spekes. (ll.246-263) [196]

[196] Quoted in Scattergood (1983:253)

(4) William Dunbar (ca. 1465-ca. 1520)

The Sottish 'makar'[197] William Dunbar, writing around roughly the same time as Skelton, is likewise credited with variety in his poetic attempt. Again, a great part of the poetry is occasional but differing in theme and much of it contains macaronics in technical varieties which we have found in the medieval lyrics. Dunbar's most famous orison, *Lament for the Makars*, features the cauda *Timor mortis conturbat me* at the end of each of its fourteen stanzas. The native language is Lowland Scots, a form of northern Middle English dialect, with great variety in its applications. Comic verses, for instance, allowed for colloquial, distinctly Scottish registers, while poetry in an elevated style would tend to become anglicised and appropriating Chaucerian language[198]. Excerpt (a) is taken from a mock-testament made by Andro Kennedy, a merry drunkard, who clearly does not hold with austere burial rites, instead wishing the the death bell to be replaced by a bagpipe jig, the burial banners for a good measure of drink, and the sign of the cross for an alehouse sign. *Memento, homo* engages more seriously with the topic of death in the long-standing *memento mori* tradition treated in all manner of form in art, architecture and literature[199]. I will look at both poems in more detail in the discussion (4.3).

a) Testament of Andro Kennedy (probably 1490s)

I maister Andro Kennedy

Curro quando sum vocatus.

Gottin with sum incubi

Or with sum freir *infatuatus*,

In faith I can nought tell redly

Vnde aut vbi fui natus.

---

[197] 'makar' generally refers to a poet or bard, often attached to court, and more specifically to Scottish poets of the 15th and 16th centuries, among which Dunbar may be the mot revered. Other 'makars' included Gavin Douglas owing to his translation of the *Aeneid* (1513), James I, and Robert Henryson. Cf. A.M. Kinghorn 'The Medieval Makars' *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 1 (1959) 73-88

[198] See introductory remarks in Priscilla Bawcutt (ed.) *William Dunbar: Selected Poems* (Harlow: Longman, 1996) 1-5

[199] Priscilla Bawcutt Bawcutt (ed.) *The Poems of William Dunbar*, 2 vols. (Glasgow: University of Glasgow/ Association for Scottish Literary Studies, 1998); quoted at 359 (vol.II)

Bot in treuth I trow trewly

Quod sum dyabolus incarnatus.

Cum nichill sit cercius morte

We mon all de, man, that is done.

Nescimus quando vel qua sorte

Na blind Allene wait of the mone.

Ego pacior in pectore,

This night I myght not sleip a wink.

Liget eger in corpore,

□it wald my mouth be wet with drink. (1-16)

…

I will na preistis for me sing,

Dies illa, dies ire

Na □it na bellis for me ring,

Sicut semper solis fieri,

Bot a bag pipe to play a spryng

Et vnum ail wosp *ante me*;

In stayd of baneris for to bring

Quatuor lagenas ceruisie,

Within the graif to set sic thing

In modum crucis iuxta me,

To fle the fendis, than hardely sing

De terra plasmasti me. (105-116)[200]

b) Memento, homo (no date)

Memento , homo, quod cinis es:

Think, man, thow art bot erd and as.

Lang heir to dwell na thing thow pres,

For as thow come sa sall thow pas.

Lyk as ane schaddow in ane glas

Hyne glydis all thy tyme that heir is.

Think, thocht thy bodye ware of bras,

Quod tu in cinerem reuerteris.[201]

(5) William Drummond- Polemo Middinia Inter Vitarvam et Nebernam (probably 1645)

The Scoto-latin poem *Polemo-Middinia* is 'une des premières pièces macaroniques de quelque étendue, et de plus célèbres'[202]. It concerns itself with a quarrel over a right of passage across Newbarn territory between the Ladies Scotstarvit (*Vitarva*) and Newbarns (*Neberna*) of Fife. The two dames and their throng of 'heroes' engage in a comic fight flinging abuses and dung at each other with no real victory gained or lost in the end. The dramatic action may be best summed up as 'sic dirta volavit' (111), but fortunately 'una nec … spillata est dropa cruoris' (166). The suggestion of Drummond as the author of this singular piece is not unquestioned but generally assumed. His multilingual competence – in Latin, French, Greek, Italian and Spanish- paired with sound academic Humanist education certainly make him a suitable candidate for sophisticated macaronic composition, even though his poetry which was usually aesthetic,

[200] quoted in Bawcutt (1998) *Andro Kennedy*(Poem 19) on p. 89-92; see her notes on 329-332 (vol.II) for gloss and explanations.
[201] Quoted in Bawcutt (1998) *Memento, homo* (Poem 32) on 120f.,(vol.I); see notes on 358-9 (vol. II) for gloss and explanations.
[202] Delepierre (1852:192)

elegant, sometimes slavishly following classical poetic conventional, does not suggest any specific affinity with the style[203]. It is possible that Drummond intended this poem for more private enjoyments among his learned acquaintance, which is perhaps supported by the fact that it was not published until after his death[204]. Since the poem has enjoyed the distinction of being mentioned in almost any study concerning itself with European macaronics I will honour its by quoting the lines in full for the assessment and enjoyment of the reader. The edition used is by MacLaine because it is currently the most accessible and user-friendly owing to a facing modern English translation and notes.

Nymphae quae colitis highissima monta Fifaea,
Seu vos *Pittenwema* tenent seu *Crelia* crofta,
Sive *Anstraea* domus, ubi nat haddocus in undis,
Codlineusque ingens, et fleucca et sketta pererrant
Per costam, et scopulis lobster mony-footus in udis
Creepat, et in mediis ludit whitenius undis;
Et vos skipperii, soliti qui per mare breddum
Valde procul lanchare foris, iterumque redire,
Linquite scellatas bottas shippasque picatas,
Whistlantesque simul fechtam memorate bloodaeam,
Fechtam terribilem, quam marvellaverit omnis
Banda Deum, et Nympharum Cockelshelleatarum,
Maia ubi sheepifeda atque ubi solgoosifera *Bassa*
Suellant in pelago, cum Sol boottatus *Edenum*
Postabat radiis madidis et shouribus atris.
Quo viso, ad fechtae noisam cecidere volucres,
Ad terram cecidere grues, plish plashque dedere
Sol-goosi in pelago prope littora *Bruntiliana*;
Sea-sutor obstupuit, summique in margine saxi
Scartavit praelustre caput, wingasque flapavit;
Quodque magis, alte volitans heronius ipse
Ingeminans clig clag shyttavit in undis.
Namque in princpio (storiam tellabimus omnem)
Muckrellium ingentem turbam *Vitarva* per agros
Nebernae marchare fecit, et dixit ad illos:
Ite hodie armati greppis, dryvate caballos
Crofta per et agros *Nebernae*, transque fenestras:
Quod si forte ipsa *Neberna* venerit extra,
Warrantabo omnes, et vos bene defendebo.

[203] Cf. Robert H. MacDonald *The Library of William Drummond of Hawthornden* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1971) 23 and 30; see, for example Sonnets 2,4, 6 ,7, and 19 which are close not only in theme to classical elegiac precept but also adhere to Petrarchan structures; all edited in W. B. Turnbull (ed.) *The Poetical Works of William Drummond of Hawthornden* (London: John Russell Smith, 1856)

[204] A. H. MacLaine *The Cristis Kirk Tradition: Scots Poems of Folk Festivity* ASLS 26 (Melksham/Glasgow: Cromwell Press, 1996) 39 , compare also David Masson *Drummond of Hawthornden: The Story of his Life and Writings* (London: Macmillan, 1873) 26

Hic aderant *Geordie Akinhedius*, little *Johnus*,
Et *Jamie Richaeus*, et stout *Michael Hendersonus*,
Qui jolly tryppas ante alios dansare solebat,
Et bobbare bene, et lassas kissare bonaeas;
Duncan Oliphantus valde stalvartus, et ejus
Filius eldestus joly boyus, atque *Oldmoudus*,
Qui pleugham longo gaddo dryvare solebat,
Et *Rob Gib* wantonus homo, atque *Oliver Hutchin*,
Et plouky-fac'd Wattis Stranq, atque inkne'd Alshinder Atkin,
Et *Willie Dick* heavi-arstus homo, pigerrimus omnium,
Valde lethus pugnare, sed hunc Corn-greivus heros
Nout-headdum vocavit, et illum forcit ad arma.
In super hic aderant *Tom Tailor* et *Tom Nicolsonus*,
Et *Tamie Gilchristus*, et fool *Jockie Robinsonus*,
*Andrew Alshinderu*s, et *Jamie Thomsonus*, et alter
(Heu pudet, ignoro nomen) slaveri-beardus homo,
Qui pottas dightabat, et assam jecerat extra.
Denique prae reliquis *Geordium* affatur, et inquit,
Geordie, mi formanne, inter stoutissimus omnes,
Huc ades, et crooksaddeliis, heghemisque, creilisque,
Brechimmisque simul cunctos armato jumentos;
Amblentemque meam naiggam, fattumque magistri
Curserem, et reliqous trottantes simul averos,
In cartis yockato omnes, extrahito muckam
Crofta per et agros *Nebernae* transque fenestras,
Quod si forte ipsa *Neberna* contra loquator,
In sidis tu pone manus, et dicito, fart, iade.
Nec mora, formannus cunctos flankavit averos,
Workmannosque ad workam omnes vocavit, et illi
Extemplo cartas bene fillavere gigantes:
Whistlavere viri, workhorosque ordine swieros
Drivavere omnes, donec iterumque iterumque
Fartavere omnes, et sic turba horrida mustrat,
Haud aliter quam si cum multis *Spinola* trouppis
Proudus ad *Ostendam* marchasset fortiter urbem.
Interea ipse ante alios piperlaius heros
Praecedens, magnam gestans cum burdine pyppam,
Incipit *Harlaei* cunctis sonare Batellum.
Tunc *Neberna* furens, foras ipsa egressa vidensque
Muck-creilleos transire viam, valde angria facta,
Haud tulit affrontam tantam, verum agmine facto
Convocat extemplo horsboyos atque ladaeos,
Jackmannum, hyremannos, pleughdryv'sters atque pleughmannos,
Tumblentesque simul ricoso ex kitchine boyos,
Hunc qui gruelias scivit bene lickere plettas,
Hunc qui dirtiferas tersit cum dishcloute dishas;
Et saltpannnifumos, et widebricatos fisheros,
Hellaeosque etiam salteros eduxit ab antris
Coalheughos nigri grinnantes more divelli;
Life-guardamque sibi saevas vocat improba lassas
Magaeam magis doctam milkare cowaeas,
Et doctam sweeppare fleuras, et sternere beddas,
Quaeque novit spinare, et longas ducere threedas;

Nansaeam claves bene quae keepaverat omnes,
Yellantemque *Elpen*, et longo bardo *Anapellam*,
Fartantemque simul *Gyllam*, gliedamque *Ketaeam*
Egregie indutam blacco caput suttie clutto,
Mammaeamque etiam vetulam, quae sciverat aptè
Infantum teneras blande oscularier arsas,
Quaeque lanam cardare solet olifingria *Beattie*.
Tum vero hungraeos ventres *Neberna* gruelis
Farsit, et guttas rasuinibus implet amaris,
Postea newbarmae ingentem dedit omnibus haustum:
Staggravere omnes, grandesque ad sidera riftos
Barmifumi attollunt, et sic ad praelia marchant.
Nec mora, marchavit foras longo ordine turma,
Ipsa prior *Neberna* suis stout facta ribauldis,
Roustaeam manibus gestans furibunda goulaeam,
Tandem muckcreilios vocat ad pellmellia fleidos.
Ite, ait, uglei felloes, si quis modo posthac
Muckifer has nostras tenet crossare fenestras,
Juro ego quod ejus longum extrahabo thrapellum,
Et totam rivabo faciem, luggasque gulaeo hoc
Ex capite cuttabo ferox, totumque videbo
Heart-blooddum fluere in terram. Sic verba finivit.
Obstupuit *Vitarva* diu dirtfleyda, sed inde
Couragium accipiens, muckcreilleos ordine cunctos
Middini in medio faciem turnare coegit.
O qualem primo fleuram gustasses in ipso
Battali onsetto! Pugnat muckcreillius heros
Fortiter, et muckam per posteriora cadentem
In creillis shoollare ardet: sic dirta volavit.
O qualis feire fairie fuit, si forte vidisses
Pypantes arsas, et flavo sanguine breickas
Dripantes, hominumque heartas ad praelia fantas!
O qualis hurlie burlie fuit! Namque alteri nemo
Ne vel foot-breddum yerdae yeeldare volebat:
Stout erant ambo quidem, valdeque hard-hearta caterva.
Tum vero è medio mukdryv' ster prosilit unus,
Gallantaeus homo, et greppam minatur in ipsam
Nebernam, quoniam misere scaldaverat omnes,
Dirtavitque totam petticottam gutture thicko,
Perlineasque ejus skirtas, silkamque gownaeam,
Vasquineamque rubram muckherdo begariavit.
Sed tamen ille fuit valde faint-heartus, et ivit
Valde procul, metuens shottum woundumque profundum;
At non valde procul fuerat revengda, sed illum
Extemplo *Gyllaea* ferox invasit, et ejus
In faciem girnavit atrox, et tigrida facta,
Bublentem grippans bardum, sic dixit ad illum:
Vade domum, filthaea nequam, aut te interficiabo.
Tum cum Herculeo magnum fecit Gilliwyppum,
Ingentemque manu sherdam levavit, et omnem
Gallentey hominis gash-beardum besmiriavit.
Sume tibi hoc inquit sneezing valde operativum
Pro praemio, swingere, tuo. Tum denique fleido

Ingentem Gilliwamphra dedit, validamque nevellam,
Ingeminatque iterum, donec bis fecerit ignem
Ambobus fugere ex oculis: sic *Gylla* triumphat.
Obstupuit bumbasedus homo, backumque repente
Turnavit veluti nasus bloodasset, et O *fy*!
Ter quater exclamat, et O quam saepe nizavit!
Disjuniumque omnem evomuit valde hungrius homo
Lausavitque supra et infra, miserabile visu.
Et luggas necko imponens, sic cucurrit absens,
Non audens gimpare iterum, ne worsa tulisset.
Haec *Vitarva* videns, yellavit turpia verba,
Et *fy, fy!* Exclamat, prope nunc victoria losta est.
Elatisque hippis magno cum murmure fartum
Barytonum emisit, veluti Monsmegga cracasset:
Tum vero quaccare hostes, flightamque repente
Sumpserunt, retrospexit *Jackmannus*, et ipse
Sheepheadus metuit sonitumque ictumque buleti.
Quod si King Spanius, *Philippus* nomine, septem
Consimiles hisce habuisset forte canones
Batterare *Sluissam, Sluissam* dinggasset in assam;
Aut si tot magnus *Ludovicus* forte dedisset
Ingentes fartas ad moenia *Montalbana*,
Ipsam continuo tounam dingasset in yerdam.
Exit Corngreivus, wracco omnia tendere videns,
Consiliumque meum si non accipitis, inquit,
Formosas scartabo facies, et vos wirriabo.
Sed needlo per seustram broddatus, inque privatas
Partes stobbatus, greittans, lookansque grivatè,
Barlafumle clamat, et dixit, *O Deus, O God!*
Quid multis? Sic fraya fuit, sic guisa peracta est,
Una nec interea spillata est dropa cruoris. [205].

4.3 Discussion

In this period we find, again, a broad range of genres which feature macaronic writings, encompassing both literary and non-literary texts. Many of the genres for which I have given examples in Middle English are being carried forward into this time-period, such as sermons, administrative texts and hymns. I only add a restricted amount of material here to exhibit the further range of non-literary specimens. Conversely, genres which I add here, e.g. medical texts, would have continuously featured in vernacular and macaronic versions as early as Anglo-

[205] MacLaine (1996). I reproduce the poem only. MacLaine's edition is based on a reproduction of the poem by L.E. Kastner (ed.) *The Poetical Works of William Drummond of Hawthronden with 'A Cypress Grove'* vol.II (Edinburgh/London: William Blackwood & Son, 1913) 321-26. Another earlier edition with copious notes in several languages is Edward Gibson (ed.) *Polemo-Middinia inter Vitarvam et Nebernam and Cristis Kirk on the Greene* (London: n.p., 1691).

Saxon times, but written evidence is better documented later, and scholarly criticism is only slowly turning its attention to such evidence[206].

As a general rule, larger treatises and university texts would normally have their source in and often be direct translations of Latin treatises - as filtered through Greek and Arabic sources-, confirming the status of Latin to be still preeminent in the educational spheres and its application as international discourse, as opposed to its waning authority in other areas, which I have assessed in the previous chapter. Remedy- and recipe-books serving general and private interests, on the other hand, were more likely to be written initially in the vernacular and be supplied with relevant authoritative references[207]. In such cases the move of the switch is from Latin *into* the vernacular, rather than Latin insertions into a national text. The demand for more universal utility of such texts, which could benefit the public, became increasingly more pronounced from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries, and, as evidenced by *The Gouernment of Health*, they were set into popular form.Treatises which could be read in Latin by professionals, mostly physicians connected to universities, began to find their introduction into various social strata through vernacularized versions[208]. I would like to point to one earlier medieval version to offer some comparison to the medical specimens quoted. *De proprietatibus rerum* of Bartolomaeus Anglicus dates from 1254 and was translated by John Trevisa in 1398 or 1399. The term 'translation', as it is understood now, is somewhat misleading; the work retains Latin in titles and rubrics throughout as well as in the quotations and references to literary, medical authority 'perhaps to emphasise the transfer of learning from the world of learning to the vernacular'[209]. This is why these texts are preferably called vernacularizations. The following excerpt will give an idea of the process:

> 'De proprietatibus nasy. Capitulum 13 m.
>
> For þe changing of þe soule, ben of ilikned and I knowe by þe changinges of þe body, as the philosophir seiþ in libro suo in principio.

[206] see Irma Taavitsainen and Paivi Pahta's (eds.) article 'Verncularisation of Scientific and Medical writing in its Sociohistoric Context' in their book *Medical and Scientific Writing in Late Medieval English* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004) 1-23; quoted at 1

[207] Taavitsainen and Pahta (2004:12), see also Schendl (2009:186)

[208] Taavistainen and Pahta (2004:16)

[209] Taavitsainen in Skaffari (2005: 186)

> Super prognostica Galien seiþ þe nose is ilette of his doynge and worchinge…. As Galien seiþ… Libro 9. Capitulo 15. Constantinus seiþ þe nose is somtyme ilette by evel disposicioun of þe brayne… and in amphorismorum particular vi. it is iseide mulieri deficientibus menstruis it is good to blede atte nose…' [210]

The similarities between specimen (b) and the one just quoted are obvious: the linguistic connection to the authority cannot be dispensed with entirely.

In addition, the last section of these lines proposes another reason for the choice of Latin: the reference to (non-)menstruating women is probably euphemistic. It has been suggested that the Macaronic can sometimes provide a vehicle for lessening the effect of particularly crude and vile phrasings and topics in poems but also, as may be gleaned from Trevisa's example, in utilitarian texts which employ these 'untranslated' bits much like terminology[211]. The Polemo-Middinia, intended for an educated audience, can be viewed as employing this device on a large scale, by setting immediate 'crudity' into a higher relief through Latin. In this context it is worth looking at the legal text under 4.2.1 which paints a different picture. At first glance 'vbi eam carnalliter cognouerit' appears to be used euphemistically, too, but the English does not shy away from the paraphrasing 'that he had carnall act with her'. According to the Middle English Dictionary the introduction of the adjective 'carnall' precedes this specimen by about a hundred years and is only recorded in various Saints' Lives, a minor poem of Lydgate's, and Higden's *Polychronicon*[212]. Since the Latinate adjective is retained and not replaced by a more established English expression, such as 'sinful'[213], the euphemistic function or at least a restricted understanding of the term may still be valid.

Another sustained practice in the medical texts is the inclusion of synonyms, mostly in English for a Latin term, for reference purposes in recipes. The formula of inclusion is a simple one, as demonstrated by these examples: 'succum vervenie anglice verveyne', and 'Item valerianum hoc est anglice wilde

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[210] M. C. Seymour et al. (eds.) *On the Properties of Things: John Trevisa's Translation of Bartholomaeus Anglicus' De proprietatibus rerum: A Critical Text* vol. I (Oxford: Clarendon, 1975) 193-194

[211] Genthe (1829:73)

[212] http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/m/mec/med-idx?type=byte&byte=23838675&egdisplay=open&egs=23844587

[213] 'sinful', from the Old English 'synfull' in the sense of sexual guilt is used as early as the mid-twelfth century and is recorded in a great variety of texts: cf. http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/m/mec/med-idx?type=byte&byte=180992952&egdisplay=compact&egs=181001703

sethewale'[214]. But there are more extended switches which exhibit intrasentential switching, such as 'Item [pro] dolore ventris: Tak suthernewode and tansey et comede cum sale et exiet'[215].

Harvey's lecture notes, although their immediate purpose may be personal as an aide-mémoire, are a good example, too. The pages are laid out according to use, and sections are distinguished by Latin formulae (cf. Appendix Figure 1 and 2). These sections presumably indicate argument progression, and they may feature lists or enumerations; brackets and connecting strokes are also employed as structuring devices, but there is no visual distinction on the page between the two languages because Harvey himself was not in need of any. Annotations by the author sometimes obscure whole lines. An argument to be developed from the notes normally follows this schema: 'read the authorities, comment on the texts, expound their application'[216], although Harvey's practice is rather sketchy since he often simply comments on short phrases, which he as excerpted from his main source, *Theatrum anatomicum* by Caspar Bauhin (1605, published in Frankfurt).

The sentences are often incomplete or elliptical in syntax, both in the Latin, which, quantitatively speaking, is the base language, and the vernacular. For example, at page 16, the vernacular verb is left in a non-finite form: 'not to *dispute, confute* alias quam argumentis ostentis quia plus quam tres dies requiritur'; and a similar occurrence in the Latin: '2.*demonstrare* propria illius cadaveris nova vel noviter inventa 3. To supplye only by speech what cannot be shewn on youre credit and by authority' (16; my emphases[217]). Single-word switches are numerous, and are used much like I have suggested above, as synonyms, terminologies or translations, such as 'lumbi *reyns* anglice licet renes altiores' (34) or, in specifying nerves, 'oris et palatis mowth synews' (341). The last line in the excerpt at 4.2.2a also presents a case of language-blurring, the lexical item 'color' being ambiguous in terms of assignment to vernacular or

[214] Hunt in Trotter (2000:140); from Corpus Christi College Cambridge MS 388 f. 17v, and the second on 32vb

[215] Hunt in Trotter (2000: 134) in the same manuscript at 32vb. Another composite manuscript which contains sustained mixing is London, British Library MS Add. 15236 folia, see folia 41r-90v

[216] Gweneth Whitteridge (ed.) *The Anatomical Lectures of William Harvey. Prelectiones anantomie universalis. De musculis* [an extra set of notes by Harvey not supplied in the original manuscript], published for the *Royal College of Physicians* (Edinburgh/London: E.&S. Livingstone,1964) xxx

[217] Cf. Schendl (2009:190ff.) for more thorough investigation of syntactic aspects and tentative suggestions of pragmatic functions.

Latin register because of its position, spelling and etymology[218]. The Middle English Dictionary lists the word as having entered the English language via Old French in the early thirteenth century, and its use in medical description in some of the earliest noted occurrences[219]. Thus, by the time Harvey was writing, the term was sufficiently established to count as a lexical item of the vernacular register as well as being a continuous part of the Latin lexicon, which demonstrates the overlap of separate linguistic registers in transition. This 'blurring' is what macaronics in the narrowest sense seek to achieve through the morphological merging of both two linguistic registers, not by chance but through deliberate linguistic and literary effort, which we have seen in fledgling-form in *Mankind* (3.2.5b) and some of Skelton's poetry (4.2.3). We will encounter sustained forms of this in the early modern specimens discussed below.

To stick with the medical text for the moment, one of the pending questions which are raised by this specimen is that of oral delivery. On the matter, Whitteridge comments as follows:

> '[W]e cannot be certain whether he lectured either in English or Latin, for it is probable that for himself he wrote always in Latin. If the surgeons predominated his audience, then possibly the lecture was in English, if the physicians, then in Latin.'[220]

To Schendl's dismay, there is no suggestion of a bilingual delivery[221]. Judging from his own examinations, especially because some of the switches are offered as explanations and linguistic alternatives, he believes 'that the switches found in Harvey's handwritten notes would, at least to a certain extent, have been reflected in his actual spoken presentation'[222], and this seems a satisfactory opinion which is not at odds with Whitteridge's since she presumes a mixed audience of practicing surgeons and learned physicians in any case.

If Harvey used Latin to outline and structure his lectures, among other functions, the legal text under 4.2.1 shows similar purpose. As we have seen

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[218] see M. Clyne 'Constraints on Code-Switching: How universal are they?' *Linguistics* 25 (1987) 739-63, and Romaine (1995:149f.)

[219] cf. electronic Middle English Dictionary http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/m/mec/med-idx?type=byte&byte=29794990&egdisplay=compact&egs=29819116&egs=29811465

[220] Whitteridge (1964: xxxv)

[221] Schendl (2009:189)

[222] Schendl (2009: 196)

from the Middle English administrative specimens, Latin insertions follow certain patterns if not rules (see 3.2.3b). In the legal deposition here quoted at 4.2.1 Latin is also employed in an orderly discourse function. Formulaic expressions of legal character clearly signal the structural parts of the document (*Ad primam excepcionem* and *ad reliquos articulos)* and other insertions may also be common legal phrases from Latin which was the official documentary language of the Middle Ages[223]. Since the specimen is a continuous, fully formulated text, it is unlikely that it was a set of notes drafted *ad hoc* to record the proceedings. In such cases, as Wright has shown, heavy abbreviations of especially legal terms and phrases would be a feature of the text as well as the missing-out of common parts not distinct from normal procedure, and only recording those pieces of information which were different about the trial in question[224]. Our example might have been a full account intended for official use in which case the use of the vernacular could signify the re-establishment of English as the national documentary language which it had previously been in the Anglo-Saxon period.

The re-confirmation of the vernacular language as appropriate for literature had already taken place in the fourteenth century through the great vernacular works of Geoffrey Chaucer, William Langland and John Lydgate[225]. The versatility of the English language as a literary language, although by no means standardised or without variation, is explored more thoroughly by John Skelton and William Dunbar while still displaying the various applications of Latin learning at the advent of the re-assessment of classical models, language and precepts during the Grammarian's War and Humanist reforms. Skelton and Dunbar have been credited with being the 'inventors' of macaronics in the English language[226]. However, as we have seen from the previous chapters, various techniques of language-mixing, which can and have been termed macaronic, had already found their establishment long before these two poets engaged in macaronic pursuits of their own. Still, their treatment of macaronic

[223] J.J. Smith (1999: 9)
[224] L.Wright in Fisiak (1995:311ff.)
[225] I must add to these, of course, John Gower (ca.1330-1408) who wrote distinct works in Latin (*Vox Clamantis*), French (*Mirroir del'omme*) and English (*Confessio Amantis*), and used both languages side by side but not macaronically, and thus is not instrumental to this study. See for a discussion Derek Pearsall 'Gower's Latin in the Confessio Amantis' in A.J. Minnis *Latin and Vernacular: Studies in Late Medieval Texts and Manuscripts*: *Proceedings of the 1987 York Manuscripts Conference,* vol. 1 (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1989) 13-25
[226] Archibald (1992: 126 and 129)

techniques is unique and warrants some closer attention. Typical of Skelton is the sustainment of long stretches of rhyme, which are carriedon through the attachment of Latin suffixes to vernacular words, and often prompted by unaffected Latin, as evidenced by *Ware the Hawke* (IV. 2.3a; e.g. vesperarum-Sarum-*harum-parum*; sophista-silogista-dogmatista-*fista-lista*-ista). Ezekiel Stanford does not seem to have a high opinion of this technique when he comments on Skelton's method of composition in 1819:

> '[John Skelton] first hunts up all the words, in Latin and in English, which will chime with each other,; and, having then set them down in a string, or tacked them to the end of as many short phrases, imagines that he has been writing poetry… His poems are generally long; and…. they are excessively monotonous and dull.' [227]

We may sympathise with Stanford as to the repetitive chant-quality which the long rhymes create, but monotony is certainly not on Skelton's list of intentions. Instead, I believe, variegation is one of the poet's express concerns, and probably the main reason for mixed-language engagement.

Taking another look at *Ware the Hawk*, we find that the piece is divided into *thema* by eight Latin headings in imperative form (*observate*, *considerate*, *deliberate*, *vigilate*, *deplorate*, *divinate* [sic! *recte*: *divinitate*], *reformate*, *pensitate*). This is clearly a structuring device, but the poem's general obscurity and confusing moral message do not fit with the controlled structure, thus making the lines 'an uncomfortable experience for the reader' [228]. It may be that the imperatives stem from legal terminology, suggesting that the poet aimed for a presentation of this poem as complaint as well as a legal case against the offensive parson. As for the other insertions, which appear mainly in insults against the parson and in reference to the church or liturgy, they frequently function in a way so as to contrast the actual behaviour of the parson to the manners he is supposed to display in his function as a servant of God. The switches are piled on in rapid succession to express the poet's increasing outrage, and thus serve as a device to create dramatic tension. They expose the parson to ridicule, but to a certain extent also the author, giving the poem a

[227] Critical opinion of Ezekiel Stanford (1819) quoted in Anthony S.G. Edwards *Skelton: The Critical Heritage* (London/Boston: Routledge&Kegan Paul, 1981) 88
[228] Fish (1965:97)

comic quality and in the end 'a good time, one can't help thinking, has been had by all'[229].

To further support Skelton's special use of macaronics as dramatic and stylistic, but also as characterising devices, *Phyllyp Sparrow* can supply some more examples to the point. Jane, the poem's narrator, is 'but a yong mayd' (776) and writes mostly in the vernacular, but she adds Latin insertions particularly in places where she seems most emotionally troubled and struggles to express herself poetically. The interesting splitting of syllables (e.g. *Di le xi*, *Di pro fun dis cla ma vi*) is most likely a clever representation of sobs or painful pangs in the chest, which Jane suffers (cf. 50ff.). The turn to Latin and poetic convention, it seems, is her solution in these cases (e.g. elegiac exclamation at 64, mythological references , as in 'Acherontes well' 70f.[230]), and the poem also ends in an eighteen-line Latin eulogy which makes one wonder where a schoolgirl might have gathered such knowledge. It has been remarked that much of the poem's Latin quotations are liturgical and come from the Office of the Dead, which seems appropriate for the context, at least from Jane's perspective of experiencing a serious loss. Overall, this might possess a whiff of profanity and, most definitely, poetical exaggeration, which satirizes Jane's excessive mourning[231].

Jane herself gives further explanation for why she uses Latin in some of these situations: 'Our naturall tong is rude... Our language is so rusty... that if I wolde apply to wryte ornatly I wot noy where to fynd termes to serve my mynde' (774-783). Her intent is to give her beloved pet a decent send-off and thus she employs language which she considers appropriate for the context. Kinney has demonstrated that Skelton's knowledge and employment of Scripture, liturgy and the attendant stylistic devices they may offer, is not only complex but also most learned and, as A.J. Smith put it, 'he presents himself as the Christian

[229] Anthony S.G. Edwards *John Skelton* (London/ Boston: Routlegde, 1996) 200
[230] She later compares the relationship between her bird and herself to that of Pyramus and Thisbe (21) and Hector and Andromache (108)
[231] Carlson (1991: 4)

moralist whose claim to prophetic authority is also a function of his status as a poet, and a powerful one' [232].

This self-image is explored in *Speke, Parrot!*. The parrot himself, hinting at his literary heritage from Ovid and medieval bestiaries[233], tells us straightaway what he signifies:

'My name is Parrot, a byrd of paradyse,

By nature devised if a wonderous kynde

Dyentely dyeted with divers dylycate spyce

Til Euphrates, that flode, dryveth me into Inde,

Where men of that country by fortune me fynd,

And send me to greate ladyes of estate;

Then parot must have an almond or a date'. (1-7)

The allegory has been tackled by Kinney who likens Parrot to biblical prophets who, in paradise, have seen truth but who must then accommodate their knowledge in the earthly sphere and operate within its limitations[234]. Parrot sees the corruption of the world he inhabits but cannot, in his current position, remedy it so he must seek to impart truth by such means as are available to him. His role is reminiscent of wise Psyattcus, son of Deucalion and Pyrrha, who chose to become a pampered pet for reasons of his own[235]. Parrot might see himself as a sort of martyr by compromising his dignity for the sake of the education of mortals (if only they would listen!). Language and, more specifically, languages which Parrot has acquired in paradise (i.e. biblical languages Latin, Hebrew, and Arabic), and those which he picks up at court (French, Flemish, Castilian, cf. 25-26) are the devices by which he can intimate some of his wisdom, because of his traditional assignment as a mimic and witty fool. This status, as

[232] Arthur F. Kinney *John Skelton: Priest as Poet* (Chapel Hill/London: University of North Carolina Press, 1987) 15, and see specifically his discussion on *Bowge of Courte* at 3-13; also A.J. Smith 'Incumbent Poets' *Modern Language Quarterly* 28 (1968) 341-350; quoted at 348

[233] See Ovid *Amores* 2.6 (the humorous lament for Corinna's parrot); for medieval bestiary traditions which determine Parrot's (as Psyttacus) origins as exotic (i.e. India) and his nature as paradisiacal, see Fish (1965:135) and Kinney (1987:17f.)

[234] Kinney (1987: 19). See also Greg Walker *John Skelton and the Politics of the 1520s* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988) 63

[235] See Boccaccio's *Genealogia deorum* 2.xlix

perceived by the ladies of court, actually protects him: 'But that metaphora, allegoria withal,/ Shall be his protectioun, his pavys and his wall' (202f.). Skelton, who has had experiences of suspension not only from his position as a priest but also as a court poet because of his critical opinion is here able to use the parrot's persona to speak out but also protect himself at the same time. In this respect, the poem engages in defining the liberties and limitations of freedom of speech, particularly in places of political power. Parrot becomes, at times, provocative and, when people do catch his actual meaning he is met with shocked silences and, despite previous encouragement and indulgence, the ladies chastise him to keep his beak shut (cf. 'Hec res acu tangitur, Parrott, par ma foye /Tycez-vous, Parrott, tenez-vous coye.' 55-6).

The multilingual insertions contribute to the characterisation of the parrot, but they also backfire somewhat. Parrot is perceived by most as not talking 'straight' and as offering nothing of consequence (he says the ladies call him '*ebrius' at* 68). But these concerns given from different viewpoints are not the only ones of the poem; *Speke Parrot*! is one of Skelton's three anti-Wolsey poems[236], and an indicator of the poet's stance on the Grammarian's War of 1520[237]. For one, he certainly didn't hold with the introduction of Greek to the education system: 'For Greci fari so occupyeth the charyre/That Latinum fari may fall to rest and slepe '(163-4)[238]. On the other hand, Parrot with his bits and bobs of acquired languages (including Greek) may be viewed as representative of a Humanist's broad education. His issues arise perhaps more from his fears for the foundational skills of the Latin *trivium* which too broad an access to learning could affect negatively, as expressed in the following lines:

'For aurea lingua Graeca ought to be magnyfyed,

[236] The other two are *Colin Clout* and *Why come ye not to courte?*

[237] See Jane Griffiths *John Skelton and Poetic Authority: Defining the liberty to speak* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2006) 80

[238] But the poet's stance on other concerns of the humanist movement is less clearly expressed. Parrot imitates formulaic court pleasantries to receive his treats but secretly prefers to stick to the 'models' of his earlier life in paradise. How this reflects on Skelton is unclear; would he prefer adherence to classical imitation? Does he consider the traditions he has knowledge and learning of to be more thruthful and trustworthy than the humanist's proposed departure from such limiting precept? Contemporary and Humanist William Lily's opinion of Skelton may be instructive but must be used with caution as it is highly subjective:' Quid me Scheltone fronte sic aperta carnis vipero potens veneo quid versus trutina meos iniqua libras. Dicere vera num livebit doctrine tibi dum parari famam et doctus fieri studes poeta: doctrinam nec habes nes es poeta', see British Library MS Harley 540 fol. 57v. Compare Griffiths (2006:80ff.) and F. M Salter 'John Skelton's contribution to the English language' *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, 2nd series 34 (1945) 120-186 at 121f. for opinions on this.

Yf it were cond perfytely , and after the rate,

As lingua Latina, in scole matter occupied;

Bout our Grekis theyr Greke so well have applyed,

That they cannot say in Greke, rydynge by the way

How, hosteler, fetche my hors a botell of hay!'[239]

The hint at educational trends is simultaneously a blow in Wolsey's direction whom Skelton criticizes not only for his support of the new theories[240], but also the Cardinal's ambitions and influence on King Henry and state affairs[241]. At 507ff., all pretension is abandoned and Parrot, incited by the clever promptings of court lady Galathea, blurts out a vicious and thinly disguised attack on Wolsey, incidentally, in macaronic-free vernacular. This may signify the parrot's frustration of not being able to communicate truth through Latin as the language of truth itself. Latin macaronics feature most heavily in sections where Parrot offers glimpses of his true learning, but his authoritative intentions are obscured through the patchwork nature and jumbling with other languages which Parrot himself may be able to distinguish but not necessarily his audience. Although Parrot may not have been successful in his communications, the poet's opinions, through his clever choice of mouthpiece and ambiguous linguistic qualities, are conveyed without imparting any direct blame on himself. Another purpose of the composition has been pointed out by Walker: At the time of composition of *Speke, Parrot!,* Skelton, after having been banned from court since 1513, made an eager attempt at re-establishing himself in the grace of Henry VIII, not only as a court poet but a poet of national consequence and acclaim[242]. The display of 'the full range of his poetic talents and the full depth of his learning and ingenuity', among which he apparently counted macaronic

[239] From a later revision of *Speke, Parrot!* by Skelton, sometimes merged with the original poem , sometimes treated as additional material as in Richard Hughes *The Poems of John Skelton* (London: W. Heinemann, 1924) from which I quote here at 141

[240] E.g. Wolsey prescribed the new *Vulgaria* primer (first implemented at St Paul's School by William Lily) and established a professorship of Greek at Oxford, c.f. L.J. Lloyd *John Skelton: A sketch of his life and writings,* reprinted 1977 by Norwood Press (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1938) 108f.

[241] Cf. lines 62, 122, 298, 345-52; e.g. Wolsey is cast as Moloch to Midianites, Lyacon to Jupiter, the bull calf to Priam; see Walker (1988: 1)

[242] Walker (1988:60)

techniques, cast the parrot-figure as a 'living advertisement' of the poet himself[243].

The anti-Wolsey tendencies are made even more explicit in *Colin Clout*, but the bitter satire is confusing as to what the character actually wants, since he attacks both reformers and church, questions all authorities and cannot seem to establish his own identity[244]. It is a satire on the human situation and in this respect reminiscent of *Piers Plowman*. Like Piers, Colin is the 'common, average man, the voice of the people and hence often, too, of God', and as such he is honest but also rustic[245]. As he himself admits his rhymes seem 'ragged, tattered and jagged '(l. 52-59, cf. Jane in *Phyllyp Sparrow* above), but they are nevertheless dramatic and appropriate for his purpose. The use of Latin may be explained with the above reference to 'the voice of God' which sees Colin casting himself and 'the poet as hero-prophet; Colin Clout as the compellingly reasonable defender of the church' and all-round medium and interlocutor[246]. We have already encountered this prophetic notion in *Speke, Parrot!* and it seems a constant concern of Skelton's in establishing what Slater has called a personal belief of 'the poet as the first priest'[247]. This is also as indicative of the continued disparity between words and deeds, which *Piers Plowman* has already intimated. The different voices of rusticity, represented by the vernacular, and divine truth through authorial Latin, are brought into harmony through the persona of Colin.

Compared against Skelton's exploitation of language-switches to create dramatic tension or express socio-political concerns, William Dunbar's macaronic exertions seem somewhat tame. A significantly higher number of poems exhibit macaronic usage but frequently these are in the form of a refrain or one-line *cauda*[248]. *Memento, homo* (4.2.4b) gives a new take on the *cauda* by splitting up the ritual Ash Wednesday reminder '*memento homo quod cinis es…[et] tu in cinerem reverteris*' so as to frame the six-line vernacular stanza which is a paraphrase-style elaboration on the Latin, thus affording the stanza a cyclic

[243] Walker (1988:61)
[244] Fish (1965:183)
[245] McLane (1973: 143)
[246] Robert S. Kinsman 'The Voices of Dissonance: Pattern in Skelton's Colin Clout' *Huntington Library Quarterly* 26 (1963) 291-313; quoted at 301
[247] Salter (1945: 120)
[248] Cf. for example poems 10, 16, 21,42, 43, 54, 58, 65 and 84. All numbers refer to Bawcutt's edition.

quality, which echoes the universal significance and inevitabilityof the message. Irregular switches still tend towards intersentential full-sentence or phrase insertions as apparent in stanzas 15 and 17 of poem no. 54 (‘*vbi ardentes anime*/ *Semper dicentes sunt*, Ve Ve! Sall cry, allace, that women thame bure./ *O quante sunt iste tenebre!*/ In to this warld may none assure’; ‘Lord, sen in yme sa sone to cum/ *De terra surrecturus sum*,/ Rewarde me with na erthlie cure;/ Sen in this warl may none assure’).

Essentially, Dunbar’s tactics do not seem to advance any of the previously discussed macaronic techniques, but the *Testament of Andro Kennedy* (a) may open up some new perspectives. A solid, traditional line-by-line switch pattern is here spiced up with unexpected irregularities, for example at line 3-4 ‘Gottin with sum incuby/Or with sum freir *infatuatus*’, where the second line ought technically in Latin, but instead features primarily English. The reverse construction is employed in the last stanza: ‘Bot a bag pipe to play a spryng/*Et vnum* ail wosp *ante me*’. The poem casts Andro Kennedy as a merry drunkard making his last will and testament. Statements of identity and general sanity as well as directions for funerary proceedings appropiate the actual construction of legally valid testaments and phrases, which sound as if they have been taken from wills, are used in lines 9, 15 and 16. The poem thus echoes *Phyllyp Sparrow*’s structural employment of liturgical markers.

Some of the Latin can be traced to liturgical or other religious sources, e.g. ‘*de terra plasmasti* me [et carne induisti me]’, which is taken from the Sarum burial service as adapted from Job 10:8-9, or, more vaguely, ‘*Cum nichill sit cercius morte’,* which is probably a truism found in the works of St. Anselm of Canterbury[249]. Others have no traceable source and the compositions seem to be the poet’s own. This is where Dunbar may be credited with supplying new contributions to the macaronic techniques. Thus far the majority of Latin insertions has been appropriated or taken directly from a large but ultimately limited corpus of Latin sources which evidenced what Dunn has described in the following words:

> ‘For the medieval writer, authority was textual inheritance, a finite set of authorities who could be adduced and copied but rarely added

[249] See Bawcutt (1998: 329, vol.II)

> to… Authority, in other words, was hierarchically dominated and inevitably borrowed; strategies of what might be called self-authorization were beside the point.'[250]

To this statement it may be added that 'at least until the sixteenth century participation in an intellectually and morally authoritative tradition was appreciated beyond originality'[251], which is precisely Sir Philip Sidney's point in his *Apology for Poetry* (1580s) when he claims that 'even the highest-flying wit [must] have a Daedalus to guide him'[252]. Dunbar's *Testament of Andro Kennedy* could, in the macaronic parts, be evidence to the contrary by displaying 'invention' in the construction of the Latin and not 'adduced and copied' or'borrowed'. In this light Dunbar shows Humanist tendencies in breaking away from rigorous imitation, and certainly he did possess the sound compositional skills which Skelton so feared would get lost with the introduction of Greek without the previous implement of Latin analytical skills and the opening up of the Latin-language corpus of texts at early stages in teaching[253].

MacDonald has found the interaction between the Latin and the vernacular in the testament as detracting fom the tone, whether serious of satiric, which the poet seeks to establish[254] but that may just be the point: the author presents Andro as a satrirized drunkard whose humourous self-portraits and ludicrous requests for his funeral [255] should cause the readers to shake their heads. But at the same time there is a note of pity considering that this may well be Andro's last will and, owing to his fixed *persona* he cannot express it any other way. This juxtaposition may be sympathetically echoed in the deliberate balancing of the languages. Certainly versified testaments and mock-testaments is hardly a new genre[256], but the inventing of Latin phrases in combination with vernacular poetry advances the macaronic application in the English language to a more original position. What we have seen so far, then, is that the later medieval

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[250] Kevin Dunn *Pretetxts of Authority: The Rhetoric of Authorship in the Renaissance Preface* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994) 8

[251] Taavitsainen in Skaffari (2005:182) and Malcolm B. Parkes 'The influence of concepts of ordination and compilation on the development of the book' in M.D. Jordan and K. Emery (eds.) *Ad litteram. Authoritative texts and their medieval readers* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1976) 113-134

[252] quoted in Geoffrey Shepherd (ed.) *'An Apology of Poetry' and 'The Defence of Poesy'*, revised by R.W. Maslen, 3rd ed. 2002 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1965) 109.40; see further 86.17-20

[253] Griffiths (2006:80)

[254] A.A. MacDonald 'William Dunbar and Andro Kennedy: A Dental Challenge' *Medium Aevum* 78 (2009) 119-122

[255] e.g. bag-pipes should play and the sign of the alehouse be carried before him

[256] Bawcutt (1998:329, vol.II); e.g. in Scotland Sir David Lindsey's *Testament of Papyngo* and *The testament of Squyer Meldrum*, and the anonymous *Duncan Laideus' Testament*. See on the mock-testament tradition Paul J.G.Lehmann *Die Parodie im Mittelalter*, 2nd edition 1963 (Frankfurt a.M.: Drei Masken Verlag, 1922)

poets began to use macaronics more confidently and extensively, backed up by traditional employments or established genres, but not necessarily enslaved to any linguistic or functional restrictions. Free distribution and application for particular purposes begin to augment the poets' stylistic toolbox and versatility while still evidencing linguistic attitudes of the period, which are not necessarily different from the medieval period, but more pronounced, especially as evidenced by Skelton's anti-political poems.

In the introductory chapter to this study I initially quote from William Drummond of Hawthornden's *Polemo-Middinia inter Vitarvam et Nebernam* (4.2.5) as an example of a 'pure macaronic source'[257] composed in Britain. As we have seen from the above discussions on specimens, ranging temporally from the ninth to the early sixteenth century, writers and documenters of the English language have often if sporadically engaged in macaronic pursuits for several reasons and were no strangers to elaborate language-mixing. However, thus far this engagement has been restricted to insertions rather than sustained, continuous macaronisation of a longer work, as exemplified by the *Polemo-Middinia*. In this poem the aim is not to juxtapose or balance Latin and vernacular elements but unite them in order to achieve a one-language appearance of the entire poem.

With this particular extension, I believe, we can safely credit influences and examples from the continent, if not necessarily the macaronic technique itself. Certainly, the *Macaronica*'s inventor Teofilo Folengo achieves the uni-lingual form throughout his *Baldus*:

'Baldaccus numquam nisi de mangiamine pensat

Cum mangiat, satiam nescit habere gulam.

Scit dare praeceptum galantiter omne coquinae,

Namque lectoria semper in arte studet.

Sic ait: In speto rostirier Oca debetur,

[257] Thomas Hood 'Some Account of the Macaronic Poetry in England and Scotland with Specimens' *The New Monthly Magazine and Humorist,* 2nd Part (London: Colburn, 1842) 258-270, quoted at 267

Plenaque sint spetis interioria bonis, etc.'[258]

The Italian would have had a comparatively easy task in combining Italian in his Paduan dialect with Latin, owing to the close linguistic relationship of the two languages. Drummond, on the other hand, whose Middle Scots was not a Romance language, could not take advantage of such inflectional and lexical similarities, and he had to accommodate the registers and grammars of his chosen languages.

On the other hand, one might argue that the 'plain' appearance of the significantly less inflected, tendentially monosyllabic English dialect provided a good base for the 'tacking-on' of various Latin endings whilst being subjected entirely to the syntactical functions of the Latin. In the true Folengo-fashion, Drummond takes Latin as the basis for grammar, morphology and syntax, as well as for substantial parts of the vocabulary, particularly the majority of monosyllabic secondary parts of speech such as prepositions and conjunctions (e.g. si, ab, cum, tunc, qui, huc etc.). It will come as no suprise that adjectives, nouns and verbs will normally be targeted in the macaronisation process. The author takes great delight in macaronising particularly Scottish words, such as 'scartavit' (20) from Scots 'scarted' (scratched), or 'nout-headdum' (41), meaning a block-head from an expression for cattle. Drummond is at great pains to find entertaining adapations, some of which are not immediately comprehensible[259]. Geographical locations are latinised as a rule, so for instance 'Edenum' (14) and 'Bruntiliana' ('Burntisland' 18).

Despite the continuous employment of macaronics throughout the poem, the ratio of Latin to English can vary: there are a very few lines which are kept entirely in Latin, like 'Tunc Nebernae furens, foras ipsa egressa videns[260]' (68, see also 28); others contain a higher number of (Scoto-) English words, as in 'Dirtavit totam petticottam gutture thick/ Perlineasque ejus skirtas silkamque gowneam/ Vasquineamque rubram mucksherdo begariavit' (121-3). Here the Latin seems like a vehicle for the vernacular through which the content is expressed. Similarly, 'haud tulit affrontam tantam, verum, agmine facto' (70) and 'namque in principio (storiam tellabimus omnem)' (23) read effortlessly and

[258] Quoted in Delepierre (1852:238)

259 See for instance 'widebricatos', a compound of 'wide' and Scots 'breek' for trousers, see also the alternative 'breickas' (113)

260 Gibson (1691:73) reads 'yettam' instead of 'foras', and 'videnque at the end.

the switching-process on behalf of the reader is minimal. Most lines keep a good balance between the vernacular and Latin vocabulary, and the macaronisations are carried out in the poem in a varied, confident and accomplished manner with constant awareness to their humorous effect.

Looking more closely at what sentence constituents undergo macaronisation and how the languages are distributed, we may identify the following trends: verbs of speaking or shouting generally appear in Latin (e.g. 'dixit' (129), '*ait'* (99), 'inquit' (47, 134, 160), '*exclamat'* (141), and '*vocavit'* (58)[261]). Neutral Latin verbs of action such as *ferre*, *dare* and *facere* tend to take a macaronised direct object[262]. It also seems that the author deliberately chooses processes of macaronisiation and non-macaronisation to vary his vocabulary for the purpose of juxtaposition. For example, while the lecherous Michael Henderson of the Scotstarvit-men would 'lassa *kissare* bonaeas' (33, my emphasis), his opponent 'Mamma… vetula, by comparison, knows how to 'infantum teneras… *oscularier* arsas' (88)[263]. Variation of vocabulary seems one of Drummond's main objects throughout the poem, as he uses three different options for referring to men; those are 'mannus', usually employed in compounds (*workmannos* 58, *pleughmannos* 72), 'felloes' (99), as well as '*vir*' and '*homo*' (60; 37, 39; 119; 133 etc.). It seems, on the whole that the author enjoyed playing with the option the mixing of languages offered him. I should also mention the extensive use of exclamations as a literary device [264]as well as the two instancesof onomatopoeia in lines 17 and 22 ('plish plash','clig clag'), making this specimen not only a linguistic and literary but also a tonal experience[265].

The subject-matter of the Polemo-Middinia is lowly and would have probably been only locally consequential in terms of hilarity if the author had rendered it in the vernacular. The constant application of macaronics, which, in the sense of the Italian genre, required unrefined content, provides perfect legitimacy for the versification of the dung-hill fight. The involvement of full grammatical Latin narrows the audience of this poem down to an educated minority who may yet

[261] Note exception: yellavit (146)
[262] E.g. 'magnum fecit Gilliwyppum' (131), 'dedisset ingentes fartas' (157), 'haud tulit affrontam tantam' (70)
[263] Oscularier [sic], *recte:* osculare
[264] In use: O!, Fy!, God!, Deus! Or combinations thereof ; see, for example, 147, 164, 140f. , 108- 112, 140), cf. 'O fy! ter exclamat et O quam saepe nizavit' (140)
[265] Jane's split syllables in *Phyllyp Sparrow* have a similar effect.

enjoy the incongruity between the base 'toilet-humour' of the piece and the traditional values attached to the Latin language. It is very likely that Drummond wrote this piece for a very specific group, such as a circle of academic friends, who would have been aware of the linguistic and generic implications of this poem (see also below)[266].

To this early modern literary specimen may be added the following which I will consider to gain a better insight into the treatments which national macaronic traditions and continental influences have undergone in the English macaronics:

- George Ruggle's popular play *Ignoramus* (performed in 1615/16) which is largely written in Latin but contains a macaronic poem in praise of Rosabella;

- The mock-epic *Buggiados* of 1788 by a certain Count Cracow;

- Dr Alexander Geddes' poetic *Epistola Macaronica ad fratrem,* dating from 1790;

- *The Burlesque Diploma* for William Sutherland, written by William Meston, written before 1745 but not published until the end of the century.

All of these are written as satires or comic poems, showing the particular suitability of macaronic techniques for such purposes, as we have already observed in Skelton's poetry.There has not been much scholarly investigation into any of these specimens[267], clearly because of their dismissal as macaronics in the Folengo-tradition, and this study unfortunately cannot provide such extensive analysis either. But I will try to to suggest that some of these specimens do not follow the continental footsteps so much as the national macaronic precept.

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[266] MacLaine (1996:92)

[267] Save perhaps *Ignoramus* which is a popular English Renaissance drama mostly in Latin and has been discussed in this context by E.K.Chambers *The Elizabethan Stage*, 4 Volumes (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923); see Vol. 3: 475ff. ; and Frederick S. Boas, *University Drama in the Tudor Age* (London, Oxford University Press, 1914) 325ff ., although these studies are now somewhat dated.

The Latin play *Ignoramus* by Ruggle, which satirizes English jurists, was performed for King James I's visit in 1615 and for a second time, in a revised version, in 1616 at Clare College, Cambridge. It was well received by the King and subsequent audiences[268]. 'In its vivacious and racy Latin, its witty and often brilliant macaronics, and its cavalier treatment of pedantry and ignorance, Ruggle's *Ignoramus* is a work of considerable literary merit', the play's most recent editor remarks[269]. In the macaronic excerpt below the main character Ignoramus, an English lawyer, courts Rosabella who has been promised in marriage to him. Although she does not appreciate his advances, because she has a secret lover, she is nevertheless amused and flattered when he recites this pretty poem for her:

'Si posem vellem pour te, Rosa, ponere pellem;

Quicquid vis crava, at habebis singula brava

Et dabo fee-simple, si montras Loues prety dimple.

Gownos, Silks totos, kirtellos et peticotos

Farthingales biggos, stomacheros, et periwiggos,

Pantoohlos cuffos, garteros, Spanica ruffos.

Buskos et sockos, tiffanas en cambricka smockos,

Wimpillos, pursos; ad ludos ibis et ursos.'[270]

The technical requirements for macaronisation are evident: as in the *Polemo-Middinia* the base language is Latin and the items from the vernacular register are consistently subjected to Latin syntax and morphology. However, national poetic preferences, which are nowhere required by Folengo, shine through in the application of a continuous simple rhyming scheme.

Furthermore, the theme of the poem is comical and perhaps a little domestic, but by no means crude. The application of macaronics for amorous pursuits can further find its precept in English poetry. For example, the medieval courting

[268] Introduction by E.F.J. Tucker (ed.) *George Ruggle: Ignoramus* Renaissance Latin Drama in England 1 , 2nd series (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1987) 5

[269] Tucker (1987:9)

[270] My transcription from facsimile page 36 (Act I: 896-911) in Tucker (1987)

poem *De amico ad amicam* and *Responcio* dates from the fifteenth century and applies a regular pattern of language-mixing in French, Latin and English to its stanzas.

> A celuy que pluys ayme en mounde,
>
> Of alle tho that I have found,
>
> *Carissima*,
>
> Saluz od treyé amour,
>
> With grace and joye and alle honour,
>
> *Dulcissima*.
>
> …
>
> Je vous pry sanz debat
>
> That ye wolde of mine stat
>
> *Audire*,
>
> Sertefyés a vous je fay,
>
> I will in time whan I may
>
> *Venire*.[271]

It is likely that Ruggle found some of his inspiration for Rosabella's poem in these traditions, yet decided to follow the technical requirements of macaronisation.

In imitation of one of Germany's macaronic poem, the *Flohiade* ('Flea-epic', 1593), the *Buggiados*'s author plainly states the intents and purposes of his composition in the preface to his work:

> 'Cum, in hac insula, moris fit, stimulis tantum, non loris uti, nulla Rhythmi, Rationisve, ratione habita; mihi in mentem venit, opus sine Rhythmo aut Ratione, pergratum haberi posse; ideoque , lector eruditissime, versiculis sequentibus curavi, me apud te in offensa non

[271] Quoted in E.K. Chambers and F. Sidgwick (1926:18) from *De amico and amicam* first stanza at 15, and 2nd stanza of the *Responcio*

fore, cum Rhythmum Rationemque tanquam Scyllam et Charybdim, diligentissime evitaverim. Vale et his utere.'[272]

And so we shall, after a brief look at Cracow's German predecessor Gripholdus Knickknackius's verses from the Flohiade (1593) as a point of comparison:

'Angla Floosque canam, qui wassunt pulvere swarto,

Ex watroque simul fleitenti, et blaside dicko,

Multipedes deiri, qui possunt huppere longe

Non aliter quam si floglos natura dedisset,

Illi sunt equidem, sunt, inquam corpora kleina,

Sed mille erregunt menschis martrasque plagasque

Cum steckunt snaflum in leibum, blantumque rubentem…'[273]

Let us compare these lines to the beginning of the *Buggiados*, in which the author, who hides behind the pseudonym Count Cracow, imagines London as Verminopolis, a city infested with a variety of creepy-crawlies which have taken up the heroic task of 'bugging' mankind:

'Buggorum autem most wonderful heros,

Pindar erat, quamvis sometimes sub imagine Loussi,

Apparebat: it was that he might more safely repel them.

Loussus enim non fearatur, sed saepe tenetur,

Buggus in horrore, et contra apparentia pugnat.

Macnallicem sub se, Bunburon habebat, et Andron,[274]

Thicknessumque, T-mque, et millia multa beside these,

[272] Quoted in [Comitus Polonius Cracow] *Buggiados. liber unicus. carmen maccheronicum. Autore Cracow.Comite Polonico* (London[Verminopolis], R. Shaw, 1788) (*Praefatio Autoris*; no pagination)

[273] [Gripholdus Knickknackius] *Floia:Cortum versicale de Flois, swartibus illis deiriculis quae omnes fere Menschos, Mannos, Weibras, Jungfras etc. behuppere et spitzibus suis snaflis steckere et bitere solent* (Hamm: Schulz und Wundermann, 1823) 1

[274] Macnallicem, Bunburon, Andron: several types of bugs.

Vulnera vowantes cuncti et dreadissima facta.

Ecce autem Priestleuis comminus armos

Extendens roaravit, is there a rascal among ye,

Qui darat mecum ingredere primus arenam!

Hoc audire Madan shuderebat et instantly spoke thus:[275]

Sume back, you rascal, Lousissima villainorum!

Me tibi, me praesento, hodie thou shalt not escape me.

Cede Deo, dixit bellowingque ruebat in illum,

Et fangos fangis, et clawes clawibus ambo

Intertwinantes, spurtabant oribus ora![276]

The mock-heroic intention is not to be missed. Koppenfels has shown how satiric and parodic engagement with sources of idealism, such as classical epic had become in European medieval and Renaissance minds, was the poets' natural response to a *Heldenkult* that was increasingly threatened by 'Sinnesentleerung'[277]. Mock-epics are an important corpus of social and political criticism by simultaneously imitating and subverting idealistic models for which the authors can find no counterparts for in contemporary times, and must vent their disappointment in what Koppenfels calls '[der] Ironie der Inkongruenz'[278]. Thus, in the *Flohiade*, the *Buggiados,* and, indeed, the *Polemo-Middinia*, the classical heroes, distinguished by Virgilian persistence and Homeric might, have found their replacement in such equivalents as are still traceable: persistently and universally bothersome insects, and proud locals who will fling anything to protect their rights.

To these national treatments may also be added that MacLaine has detected many parallels between the *Polemo-Middinia* and Scottish festive folk-song

[275] Madan: Maggot, cf. German 'Made'

[276] Quoted at 17-21; cf. also Tanya Caldwell *Virgil made English: The Decline of Classical Authority* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008)17 and 65

[277] Werner von Koppenfels 'Parva componere magnis: Vergil und die ''mockheroische'' Perspektive des Klassizismus in England' in Viktor Pöschl *2000 Jahre Vergil: Ein Symposium. Vorträge anlässlich des 11. Wolfenbütteler Symposiums vom 5. bis 7. Oktober 1982 in der Herzog August Bibliothek* (Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1983) 153-173; quoted at 154

[278] Koppenfels in Pöschl (1983: 160)

which deal with similarly coarse themes and broad humour, the influences of which were recognised by Gibson, as he decided to issue his copy of the poem alongside a specimen of this so-called 'Cristis-Kirk'-tradition[279]. The application of Italian macaronics, in this context, supports the incongruity between the lofty tone and the lowly theme through the juxtaposition, if smooth handling, of the cultural authority of the Latin language and the inappropriateness of the vernacular to the epic genre. This is not to say that these three specimens contain any particularly biting critique on their times, but the parody-tradition seems to have been established enough to be applied for various purposes. In the cases here demonstrated these were entertainment value and linguistic experiment with the stimuli from Folengo's macaronic genre.

Turning to the *Epistola ad fratrem* by Dr Alexander Geddes (1737-1802), the author says in his address to the reader:

> 'Having been present at the late general meeting of Protestant dissenters at the London Tavern, I was struck by the idea that it would be no improper subject for a macaronic poem'[280].

He himself seeks to emulate the Folengo-tradition, as he says in his introductory comments:

> 'It is the characteristic if a Macaronic poem to be written in Latin verse, but so as to admit occasionally vernacular words, either in their native form, or with a Latin inflexion.' [281]

Apparently rhyming schemata were not on his macaronic agenda, but culinary preoccupation pervades the poem and thus allies itself to a favourite theme among the Italian macaronic writers, such as Allione in his *Macharronea contra Macharroneam Bassani ad spectabilem D. Baltasarem Lupum Asten. Studentem Papiae* in confirmation of the term's gastronomic derivation[282]. The fact that he chooses a meeting of religious dissenters as his mise-en-scene does not seem to bear much significance on the poem as such, other than the introduction of the present parties and orators. Initially, the members meet to wish success on their efforts of revoking the Corporation and Test Acts[283]. The attention turns

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[279] MacLaine (1996:38); Gibson (1691)

[280] Quoted in Alexander Geddes *Epistola Macaronica ad fratrem, de iis quae gesta sunt in nupero dissentientium conventu, Londini habito* (London: J. Johnson, 1790) (*To the Reader*; no pagination)

[281] Geddes (1790:2)

[282] See Delepierre (1852:255) for Allione. Folengo's excerpt above is another example.

[283] This was a series of Acts which began to be implemented from 1672 concerning the occupation of public offices on condition of being a practicing member of the Church. They were repealed in 1828.

instantly to the sequence of meat and fish courses, a food –fight in between courses and the general satisfaction after the banquet:

‘Sedimus ad ternas tabulas longo ordine postas

Et mappas mundi coveratas, et china-plattis,

Spoonibus, et knivis sharpis, furcisque trisulcis

Stratas; cum largis glassis, vinoque repletis,

Botellis, saltis, vinegarique cruetis.

…

Turbam aliam ignavam fishorum et fishiculorum,

Squatinas, rhombos, haddocos et makarellos,

Whitingos, carpos, et parvo corpore smeltos,

Et sprattos minimos, opus haud est commemorare.

…

Placatis stomachis latrantibus, atque feroci,

Ingluvie expleta, properamus at ἑιρα Bacchi,

Rite absolvenda, et burnantem extinguere thirstum. [284]

The poem is not Geddes’ only macaronic exertion, and food not his only topic. A ribald fight between two bards at a bookseller’s shop is theme for another piece, called the *Bardomachia poema macaronico-Latinum.* It is set in London and the bards’ fight has apparently been the talk of the town at the time of its occurrence[285]:

‘Quis non audivit, from London usque Landsend,

Bardi cum Bardo bellum mirabile gestum

[284] Quoted in Geddes (1790:9, 15 and 17)
[285] Thomas H. Horne *An Introdcution to the Study of Bibliography* (London: Caddell & Davies, 1814) xlvii

In Picadillaeo vico, quo tot vagabundi

conflockunt homines- bardi, bravi, balatrones,

Famigatores- otiosum illud genus omne-

killere vel tempus, tristes vel chacere curas.' [286]

The topic is sufficiently silly and displays some mock-heroic affinities in parodying the two poets' petty claims to their respective superior skills. Geddes's example shows that national or urban themes can feature quite happily in even the strictest Folengo-macaronics without the need for slavish adherence to those contents which the creator of the genre has narrowed down to gross, rude and rustic.

The macaronic poem of another Scot, the 'ingenious and learned' William Meston (1688-1745), the *Burlesque Diploma* for William Sutherland (posthumously published in1797) shows that the traditional macaronic techniques in the style of Dunbar and Skelton have by no means been put to rest despite the pervasive Foleng-macaronics. Here we find our full-line and scattered one-word insertions instead of the complete macaronisation of the previous few specimens. Meston's poem thus offers a suitable closing example to the long list of examples given in this study.

'Quoth Preses, strictum post examen,

Nunc esto Doctor; we said Amen.

So to you all hunc commendamus,

Ut juvenem quem nos amamus,

Qui multas habet qualitates,

To please all humours and aetates.

He vies, if sober with Duns Scotus,

Sed multo magis si sit potus.

[286] Alexander Geddes *Bardomachia poema macaronico-Latinum* (London: J. Crowder, 1800) 5

In disputando just as keen as

Calvin, John Knox, or Tom Aquinas.

In every question of theology,

Versatus multum in trickology;

Et in catalogis librorum

Frazer could never stand before him;

Foe he, by page and leaf, can quote

More books than Solomon e'er wrote.

A lover of the mathematics

He is, but hates the hydrostatics,

Because he thinks it a cold study

To deal in water, clear or muddy'[287]

[287] Quoted in William Meston *The poetical works of the ingenious and learned William Meston* (Edinburgh: W. Ruddiman Jr., 1797) quoted at 190-91, *Diploma* on pages 189-193

5. Summary and Conclusion

In the Old English chapter I have introduced the reader to the four extant specimens of macaronic texts and hinted at the models of these examples in Irish writings and paraphrases of biblical and liturgical material. Simple switch-techniques have been introduced in complement with national poetic techniques in *Phoenix* and *Summons to Prayer* and have been applied to the reverential purpose of praising God through language. The examples given show a certain range in their humble approaches of instruction for prayer, poetical tribute to God, imitation of contemporary stylistic orientation and tentative exploration of linguistic freedom. There has been no indication of 'tampering 'with the Latin language on a morphological level, which we only begin to find in the Middle English period. In this period the generic variety of macaronic texts is reflected in an increase in technical and functional range. The chapter is best summed up through its literary focal point, *Piers Plowman*. The Latin quotations in this specimen are representative of the techniques employed across the period. Full line-quotes, borrowings of differing length and code-switches all feature extensively in a poem which is particularly rich in action, *personae*, thematic and narrative coverage and the exploration of relative status and possibilities of engagement between two languages. The status of Latin as a language of authority is put under scrutiny because characters such as the Devil and Lady Meed break their mould and assume knowledge which is not theirs by traditional assignment. Langland comments on and derives inspiration and poetic technique from this linguistic instability and makes extensive use of the liturgy of Holy Week to achieve immediacy in his narrative, consider levels of competence among his audience and provoke emotional response. The success of particularly Passus XVIII owes not a little to its effective employment of Latin quotations, even though it ultimately exposes the language itself to be less authorial and superior than perhaps expected. In addition, dramatic evidence has shown that Folengo-esque tendencies were already practiced on a small scale by figures like Mankind and Myscheff who attach Latin suffixes to single vernacular words for mocking effect. Macaronic techniques from the Old English period, mostly evidenced by full-line switches and paraphrase-style quotations, continue to be applied and extended upon in Middle English lyrics and sermons. Non-literary

texts show evidence of regulated language-mixing attesting to pragmatic competence in Latin in mundane administrative records. The non-literary material of the subsequent period in the late medieval and early modern chapter confirms the discourse-functions of the previous texts. The legal text sample demonstrate the further use of formulaic expression as structural and euphemistic devices. Medical texts show that Latin usage can take many forms, e.g. as synonyms, terminology, euphemisms, as well as a sustained carrier of textual authority, as evidenced by references to particular scientific authors and their respective works. The full range of macaronics in the stricter sense is explored in this period of which we receive some evidence in the poetry of Skelton and Dunbar. These two poets show unique treatment of the Latin by breaking away from what has hitherto been the norm in sourcing Latin material. Dunbar composes his own phrases to be inserted, for example in *The Testament of Andro Kennedy*, while Skelton shows great virtuosity in strategically exploiting macaronics for dramatic purposes. In the last part of this chapter continuous macaronisation in the narrow sense is approached from the perspective of the *Polemo-Middinia*. The poem marks the full adoption of the continental macaronic practices, as defined by Folengo, but also pays tribute to nationally developed habits, for example through allying itself to Scottish folk song traditions and the continued interest in variegation of vocabulary and stylistic devices arrived at through the macaronic techniques. Several other specimens from later in the early modern period support the individual treatment which the original Folengo-macaronics have undergone at the hands of English writers , lending testimony to the sustained interest of these author in mixing Latin and English in creative and functional ways, which I hope to have demonstrated in this paper.

Appendix

Quotation	**Source/Notes**	**Speaker/Type** **A-** *'active'***; D-***dramatic***; P-** *'passive'/proof-authorisation type***; retro -***'in retrospect'/past, reification/conclusory***; Aproph-** *'active-prophetic' (will be acted out)*
6 Reste me there ..til *Ramis Palmarum*	Maybe Missale 253-73	Dreamer/Will; **A** [to mark beginning of Holy Week]
7 Of gerlis and of *Gloria laus*	Children's hymn in Palm Sunday procession 'Gloria laus et honor tibi sit, Rex Christe Redemptor' act of redeeming (Missale 260), cf. also Luke 19:38, hymns 'Gloria laus', 'En rex venit', Dominica in ramis palmarum' (see above Missale)	children/community—Dreamer/Will, **A/D**
8 *osanna...* olde folke songen (note contrast old/young)	Matt 21:98 (link to Abraham); Mark 11:10; Luke 13:35; John 12:13; sung repeatedly in PSun antiphons: Brev. 1:dccxl 'Osanna filio David, benedictus qui venit in nomine domine, rex Israel: Osanna in excelsis')	Old people/community—Dreamer/Will, **A/D**
15 Feith in a fenestre and cryde: *A ! Fili David!* As doth an heraud of armes	See above (Matt 21:9) also Matt 9:27, cf. 19.133; 19.136;	Faith/herald-jousting context-end of Lent [jousts allowed] **A/D**
17a *Benedictus qui venit in nomine domini*	Matt 21:9 ctd. Quoting Psalm 117:26 (also Mark 11:10; Luke 13:35; John 12:13; Missale 255 read on Palm Sunday , ends the *Sanctus* in every mass and second Sunday antiphon *Pueri Hebraeorum*	Old Jews--Faith **A** Jerusalem setting/ Jesus' time
23 in his helm and haubergon *humana natura*	Maybe glossing on Eph.6:13-17; Matt 9:30; I Cor 2:7-8; triple nature of god<-> double nature of man (*anima/corpus*)	Faith **A** (Christ is still human)
24 crist be noght yknowe for *consummatus deus*	No source?	Faith **Aproph**
26 no dynt shal hym dere as *in deitate patris*	No source?	Faith **Aproph**
35a *O mors ero mors tua [erro morsus]*	Osee 13:14; cf. 17.114a—biting motif common, first antiphon of Lauds on Holy Saturday	Faith- currently **P**/but generally Aproph (allegorical 'biting'-Christ defeating the devil)
36 Pilate *..sedens pro tribunali*	Matt 27:15-19; legal language	Faith **A** (in respect to Pilate)
39 al the court… cryde: *Crucifige!*	John 19:6 and 15, also 'tolle' below	Court of Jesus' opponents **A/D**
46-7 *Crucifige!* quod a cachepol/ *Tolle, tolle!* Quod another	*Illi autem clamabant: Tolle, tolle, crucifige eum* (John 19:15)	Cachepol/others of the above crowd **A/D**
50 *Ave, raby!* quod that ribaud	Judas at betrayal in Matt 26:49, reflecting Matt 27:29 (*Ave, rex Iudaeorum*!— soldiers at crucifixion→ *Ave Caesar, morituri te salutant*---Gladiators' greeting (in showfights only???—(Sueton *Claudius* 21)	Judas **A/D**

57 *Consummatus est* quod Crist and comsede for to swoune (English-Latin effect-consonants: assonance imitating swooning	John 19:30; first -last words of Christ (human Jesus never spoke, only as Piers/Samaritan)	Christ (divine) **A/D**
68a *vere filius die erat iste* [afterwards: lack of Latin for 40 lines]	Matt 27:54; John 19:30	'some' (unidentified) **Pretro**
109a *Cum veniat sanctus sanctorum cessabit unxio vestra*	cf. 15.600 direct linking to Daniel; Daniel 9:24 also pseudo-Augustinian sermon Contra Iudaeos	Faith (end of speech) **Aproph**
111 I drowe me in that derknesse to *descendit-ad-inferna*	Geographical location; Apostle's Creed (Brev. 2:2,; not Nicene, ususally recited in Mass), recited by sponsors at Holy Saturday baptism ceremony; cf. Athanasian Creed *ad inferos* (Brev. 2:48)	Dreamer/Will **A**
112 I saugh soothly *secundum scripturas*	Reification; Nicene Creed (Brev. 2.484)	Dreamer/Will **Pretro**- written proof and **proph**
149a *Quia in infero nulla est redempcio*	Office of the Dead response, Matins (Brev. 2:278), cf. Job 7:9; common in vernacular Literature in both Latin/English: *Prick of Conscience* (7248; 2832); *Castle of Perseverance* (3096); Truth's proof (Job is *rectus* 1:1)	Truth quoting Job, **P**
162 *Ars ut artem falleret* 339a *Dentem pro dente, oculum po oculo* 360a *Et cecidit in foveam quam fecit*	***Guile legitimizes Guile sequence (Christ)accompanied by 'gile is begiled'-type phrases:*** *Pange lingua gloriosi* hymn (Fortunatus) sung on Passion Sunday, during discovery and elevation of Cross on Good Friday(Brev. 1:dccxvii) Exodus 21:24; Leviticus 24:20; Deuteronomy 19:21 Psalm 7:16	Mercy/Love (Christ-as-mercy)**P** Christ **P/Aproph** Christ **P/Aproph**
181a *Ad vesperum fletus et ad matutinum leticia*	Psalm 29:6, part of Holy Saturday Matins	Peace **Aproph**
186-7 Lo there the patente! quod Pees *In pace idipsum*/ And that this dede shal dure *dormiam et requiescam* [long Latin-free passage thereafter]	Psalm 4:9, prayer at compline; said at matins on Holy Saturday (Brev. 1:dccxcv) in versicle-response form;	Peace **A/D**
216 til *modicum* mete with us	-	Peace **P** but also **proph**
240 that there were in hevene token *stella comata*	Star of Matt 2 (interpreted as comet)	Book **Aretro** [emphatic on past action]
244a *Iube me venire ad te super aquas*	Matt 14:28	Book quoting Peter **P** in context, **Aretro** in overall narrative
262a *Attolite portas* [long stretch without Latin again]	Nicodemus 21:1-3 (source for apocryphal Harrowing of Hell), cf. Psalm 23:7, sung at matins Holy Saturday (Brev. 1:dccxcvii)	Door-voice'spirit' **A/D**

315a *Nunc princeps huius mundi eicietur foras*	cf. 9.8; John 12:31	Devil **Aself-prophetic**
316a *Quis est iste?(Devil)* 317a *Rex glorie(Door)* 318a *Dominus virtutum*	Nicodemus 21:3, cf. Psalm 23:10, sung at Lauds throughout Holy Week til Holy Saturday (mandatum on Maundy Thursday ceremonies)	Devil/Door-voice exchange A/D
323 Patriarkes and Prophetes *populus in tenebris*	Cf 5.493a; Nicodemus 18:1 *Populus qui sedet in tenebris*, cf. Isaiah 9:2, Matt 4:16	Dreamer/Will **Aretro**
324 Songen sein Johanes song *Ecce agnus dei*	cf. 16.252a; John 1:29 and 36	Patriarchs/Prophets **A/D**
340 *Ergo ...*	cf. 8.24; 14.62; 14.287; 14.292, 19.19	**P**
349a *Non veni solere legem sed adimplere*	Matt 5:17, arrangement: possibly Ambrose *Liber de Fuga Saeculi* (PL 14:607)	Christ **Aproph** (following all not in this Passus)
370 That I drynke right ripe Must *resurrecio mortuorum*	cf. 18.112; Nicene Creed (Brev.2:484), common NT phrase Matt 22.31; Acts 23:6; Romans 1:4; I Corinthians 15:12	Christ **Aproph**
378a *Tibi solum peccavi [et malum coram te feci]*	Psalm 50:6	Christ **Aproph**
390a *Nullum malum impunitum et nullum bonum irremuneratum*	cf. Passus IV.143-4 No Source?	Christ **Aproph**
392 in my prison Purgatorie til *parce* it hote	cf. 19.295; *Dirige*/Office of the Dead for matins Job 7:16	Christ **Aproph**
395a *audivi archana verba que non licet homini loqui*	II Corinthians 12:4	Christ **P**
399a *Non intres in iudicium cum servo tuo*	Psalm 142:2, also Matthew of Vendome *Tobias* (*Non intres in iudicium paupere, dives, cum servo dominus, cum fluitante potens:non in iudicium intres cum pulvere fortis* PL 205:941)	Christ **P**
407a *Culpat caro, purgat caro, regnat deus dei caro*	Hymn, 4th stanza of *Aeterne rex altissime* sung at vigil of Ascension Day (Brev.1:dcccclviii)	Christ/angel choir **Aproph**
408a-b *Clarior est solito post maxima nebula phoebus/post inimicias clarior est et amor*	Proverbial, Alain de Lille *Liber Parabolorum* (PL 210:481-2) ,[...*post nubilia/nubila plurima, Phoebus/post inimicitas*...]	Peace **P** (but metaphorical expression of joy over actions)
421 Pees and pees hire *per saecula saeculorum*	cf. 3.280; Formulaic ending of prayer 'per omnia saecula saeculorum (e.g. Missale3; 30; 32; 34)	Dreamer/Will **A/D** (signals ending of Passus)
421a *Misericordia et veritas obviaverunt sibi, iustitia et pax osculate sunt*	Psalm 84:11; see scholarship on development of personifications (Alford Quots:113)	Dreamer/Will **Aproph**
Truthe trumpede tho and song *Te deum laudamus*	Hymn sung at matins on Sundays (Brev. 2:27); never druing Lent association wit Easter morning (Brev. 1:dcccxiv)	Truth [active reinforcing of quote above] **A/D**
423a *Ecce quam bonum et quam iocundum [habitare fratres in unum]*	Psalm 132:1, antiphon	Love/Mercy **P** (cf. 408a-b)

Table 1: Passive and Active Latin insertions in *Piers Plowman* (3.2.7; 3.3)

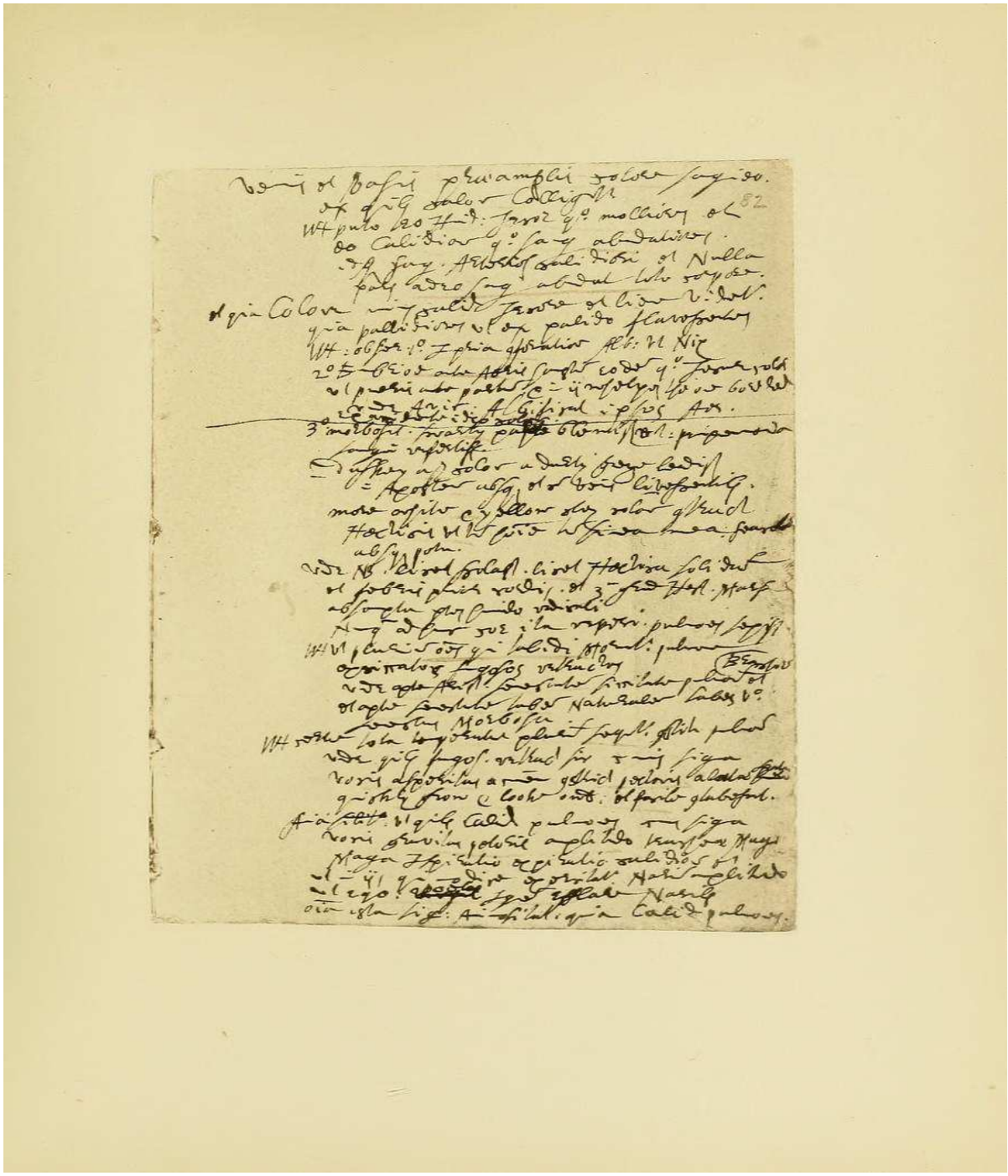
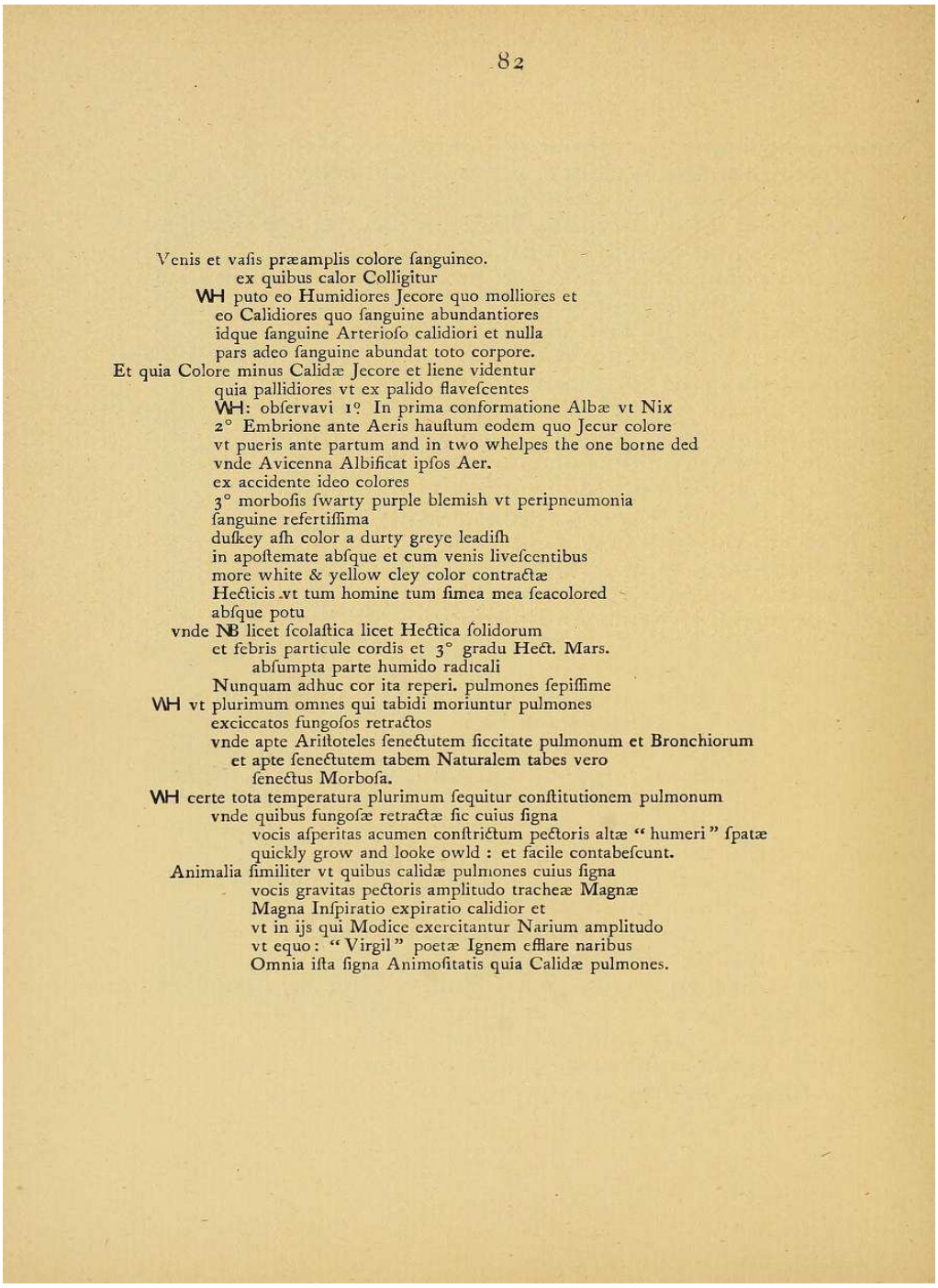


Figure 1: Facsimile page from William Harvey's *Prelectiones anatomie universalis* (4.2.2a)



82

Venis et vaſis præamplis colore ſanguineo.
ex quibus calor Colligitur
WH puto eo Humidiores Jecore quo molliores et
eo Calidiores quo ſanguine abundantiores
idque ſanguine Arterioſo calidiori et nulla
pars adeo ſanguine abundat toto corpore.
Et quia Colore minus Calidæ Jecore et liene videntur
quia pallidiores vt ex palido flaveſcentes
WH: obſervavi 1º In prima conformatione Albæ vt Nix
2° Embrione ante Aeris hauſtum eodem quo Jecur colore
vt pueris ante partum and in two whelpes the one borne ded
vnde Avicenna Albificat ipſos Aer.
ex accidente ideo colores
3° morboſis ſwarty purple blemish vt peripneumonia
ſanguine refertiſſima
duſkey aſh color a durty greye leadiſh
in apoſtemate abſque et cum venis liveſcentibus
more white & yellow cley color contractæ
Hecticis vt tum homine tum ſimea mea ſeacolored
abſque potu
vnde NB licet ſcolaſtica licet Hectica ſolidorum
et febris particule cordis et 3° gradu Hect. Mars.
abſumpta parte humido radicali
Nunquam adhuc cor ita reperi. pulmones ſepiſſime
WH vt plurimum omnes qui tabidi moriuntur pulmones
exciccatos fungoſos retractos
vnde apte Ariſtoteles ſenectutem ſiccitate pulmonum et Bronchiorum
et apte ſenectutem tabem Naturalem tabes vero
ſenectus Morboſa.
WH certe tota temperatura plurimum ſequitur conſtitutionem pulmonum
vnde quibus fungoſæ retractæ ſic cuius ſigna
vocis aſperitas acumen conſtrictum pectoris altæ "humeri" ſpatæ
quickly grow and looke owld : et facile contabeſcunt.
Animalia ſimiliter vt quibus calidæ pulmones cuius ſigna
vocis gravitas pectoris amplitudo tracheæ Magnæ
Magna Inſpiratio expiratio calidior et
vt in ijs qui Modice exercitantur Narium amplitudo
vt equo: "Virgil" poetæ Ignem efflare naribus
Omnia iſta ſigna Animoſitatis quia Calidæ pulmones.

Figure 2: Autotype page to Figure 1; Excerpt at 4.2.2a taken from lines 9 to 18.

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