Lažamon’s Ambivalence

By Daniel Donoghue

A central topic in the scholarship of Lažamon’s Brut has been the apparent inconsistency between its verse style, in many ways reminiscent of classical Old English verse, and its content, much of which vilifies the first generations of Anglo-Saxon invaders in Britain and praises their enemies the Britons. Jorge Luis Borges, an admirer of Old English poetry and Lažamon, sets this opposition in the strongest possible terms: “Lažamon sang with fervor about the ancient battles of the Britons against the Saxon invaders, as if he were not a Saxon and as if Britons and Saxons had not been, since Hastings, conquered by the Normans.”1 He goes on to note how little we know about the author of Brut and the circumstances of its composition, and concludes by calling Lažamon a “forgotten man, who abhorred his Saxon heritage with Saxon vigor, and who was the last Saxon poet and never knew it.”2

Borges’s quaint and unflattering portrait of Lažamon has found little favor among other students of Lažamon, who prefer to reconcile the discrepancy between his style and content in terms of irony. According to this view, any possible contradiction is neutralized under the unifying claims of nationalism, and the struggle between the noble Britons and the villainous Anglo-Saxons is interpreted as a temporary stage in the teleological movement of history toward nationhood, where the competing races merge into a united England. The higher principle of nationalism thus reconciles the irony of Lažamon’s use of an Anglo-Saxon verse form to disparage the earliest Anglo-Saxons.

In place of Borges’s naively self-hating Anglo-Saxon and everyone else’s visionary nationalist, I propose an altogether different interpretation for Lažamon and his poetic strategy. In this article I argue that there is no need to reconcile the style and content, because the disparity is consistent with an ambivalence toward the past which Lažamon demonstrates throughout his chronicle and which can be seen as part of a wider cultural ambivalence in twelfth- and thirteenth-century England.3 The players in his history (primarily the Anglian and Bruten) are defined not by nation but by race, and the unifying principle of his history is not nationhood but divine providence, as

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1 Borges, “The Innocence of Layamon,” Other Inquisitions, 1937–1952, trans. Ruth L. C. Simms (New York, 1965), p. 161. My thanks to Professor Fred C. Robinson for this reference. A shortened version of this paper was delivered to the Southeastern Medieval Association Conference at the University of Richmond in 1988. I wish to thank Professors Derek Pearsall, Larry Benson, Nicholas Howe, Mr. Stephen Brehe, and the anonymous readers for Speculum for their suggestions and comments.

2 “Innocence,” p. 162.

3 On the date of composition see E. G. Stanley, “The Date of Lažamon’s ‘Brut,’” Notes & Queries 213 (1968), 85–88, where he argues for the limit from “1]89 to some time not very early in the second half of the thirteenth century” (p. 88).

SPECULUM 66 (1991) 537
interacted by the historiographic typology begun by Gildas and continued through Bede and Geoffrey of Monmouth.

Before discussing these issues, however, it is important to establish more precisely Laȝamon’s relation to his Anglo-Saxon past, especially to the Old English literary tradition. Following E. G. Stanley’s persuasive discussion of Laȝamon’s antiquarian sentiments, I begin by exploring the extent to which Laȝamon was successful in recalling the Old English heroic ethos and the extent to which his efforts fall short. I restrict the discussion to battle scenes, which traditionally have been a prime hunting ground for evidence of continuity, though they also reveal a range of important, irrecoverable losses, which have drawn much less attention.

For much of this century the origins for Laȝamon’s peculiar verse form were attributed either to a popular alliterative verse in oral tradition that survived the demise of written, classical Old English verse or to the survival of the Old English tradition itself, much weakened by Laȝamon’s day and preserved in manuscripts now lost. Both views are now discredited as somewhat romanticized reconstructions of Laȝamon’s literary heritage, in which the key elements for continuity (an oral tradition or lost manuscripts) must be conjectured. In recent years discussion of Laȝamon’s prosody has shifted its focus to literary sources that have survived, with special prominence given to rhythmical prose such as Wulfstan’s and Ælfric’s homilies, which continued to be copied and read well into the thirteenth century. At the same time the traditional distinction between verse and prose in this transitional period has come into question. In an influential article N. F. Blake has warned modern readers of the danger of forcing modern, rigid categories of “prose” and “verse” on all early Middle English works. He points out that a number of works, such as Ælfric’s Lives and The Life of Saint Katherine, blur the boundary between prose and verse and make up instead a more inclusive category that he calls rhythmical alliteration. In making a similar point, Angus McIntosh proposes the term “metrical system” to avoid pigeonholing texts as prose or verse. Writers like Laȝamon were free to choose their models from a range of alliterative texts, “because the boundaries between poetry and prose were more flexible at that time.” The strength of this analysis is that it offers a coherent account of early Middle English alliterative writing without invoking lost antecedents, and as such, it is a healthy corrective to the earlier theories.

If this analysis has any weakness, it is its insistence on the similarities at the expense of clear differences among alliterative works. It can give the

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6 Blake, “Rhythmical Alliteration,” p. 120.
impression that writers considered all rhythmical alliteration as equivalent or interchangeable. Blake is careful to note, even though "Lazamon and other early Middle English poets drew their examples and inspiration" from rhythmical alliteration, they made the rhythm "more regular and insistent in order to form a new kind of poetry."\(^7\) Blake does not elaborate, but this observation suggests that all specimens of rhythmical alliteration were not perceived as equivalent: some had a "more regular and insistent" rhythm than, for example, Ælfric's *Lives of the Saints*. It implies a range with more verselike compositions at one end, which writers used as standards of versification.\(^8\) Rhythmic prose alone could not induce writers to tighten the rhythm. It also suggests that a variety of sources were available to a poet like Lazamon. I will later discuss some of these sources and try to reclaim a place for Old English poetry among them. But first it will be helpful to examine the Brut for textual evidence about its place in the spectrum of rhythmical alliteration.

Lazamon certainly considered the Brut to be poetry. The internal evidence is clear: early on he calls it a *loft-songe* or "song of praise" (line 36), and in both extant manuscripts it is copied with punctuation that distinguishes the caesura and the end of the full line.\(^9\) The meter of the half-lines, as many have remarked, is looser than classical Old English verse and conforms somewhat to John C. Pope's definition of Ælfric's rhythmical prose: "a looselymetrical form resembling in basic structural principles the alliterative verse of the Old English poets, but differing markedly in the character and range of its rhythms as in strictness of alliterative practice."\(^10\) This definition is not a perfect fit, however, because even within the same passage Lazamon's verse form can show variations in the number of stressed syllables, in alliterative patterns, and in the use of rhyme.\(^11\) Two-stress lines are the norm, but three or four stresses are sometimes found. Three lines in ten lack alliteration, which suggests that alliteration is less than obligatory but more than ornamental. Rhyme or off-rhyme is frequent and links half-lines rather than full lines; it is often used in addition to alliteration. On the other hand, this variegation should not be overemphasized. The Brut's verse is more regular than other alliterative poems of this period, and many half-lines reproduce Old English metrical types perfectly. In the absence of a more pervasive formal principle, it is safe to say that the basic verse structure consists primarily of two-stressed half-lines linked by alliteration.

In contrast to its prosodic diversity, the Brut's vocabulary is remarkably

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\(^7\) "Rhythmical Alliteration," pp. 120, 121.

\(^8\) Blake, "Rhythmical Alliteration," p. 120, would assign these differences to a high style and a low style.


\(^11\) This variety in prosody is a characteristic of early Middle English verse, which Pearsall (Old English, p. 85) and Thorlac Turville-Petre (*The Alliterative Revival* [Cambridge, Eng., 1977], p. 11) have called amorphous. See also McInnes, "Alliterative Verse," pp. 21–22, and Salter, *English and International*, pp. 53–55.
homogeneous. It is almost exclusively limited to words of Germanic origin: in over sixteen thousand lines, only a few dozen Romance words appear. Even the orthography is archaic. Lazamon is the most prolific inventor of poetic compounds in this period, some of which have parallels in Old English literature, while others seem to be unique. The artificial limitations of Lazamon's poetic vocabulary are striking in comparison with those of two works that were written roughly at the same time and in the same area as Brut: Ancrune Wisse and Sawles Werd. They have a much larger proportion of words from French and Latin, a proportion that is probably closer to the literary norm for Lazamon's day. The contrast is even greater with The Owl and the Nightingale, which survives in one of the two manuscripts that contain a copy of Brut (British Library, Cotton Caligula A.IX). Although its date of composition may be within a generation or two of Brut, The Owl and the Nightingale not only uses a much higher proportion of French words, but its meter is naturalized (or anglicized) French octosyllabic couplets.

What makes Lazamon's language and verse form even more remarkable is that his principal source was a Norman French chronicle of fifteen thousand lines in octosyllabic couplets, the Roman de Brut, completed by Robert Wace in 1155. Translating from a French source would have tempted any other English translator to borrow words, even if not to the extent that Chaucer and Caxton did in later centuries, but Lazamon takes pains to recast the language and meter into recognizably Germanic forms. At the same time, however, he is careful to restrict his changes in other respects; most importantly he rarely tampers with the basic events narrated in his source. The

16 Le roman de Brut par Wace, ed. L. Arnold, 2 vols. (Paris, 1888 and 1940). Though Lazamon listed three books he used as sources, and though the influence of other sources has been detected, he relied almost exclusively on Wace for the historical details of his chronicle. A thorough study of Wace and other, minor sources is by Herbert Pich, Layamon's "Brut": Eine literarische Studie (Heidelberg, 1960) pp. 18-96. A more recent study is Françoise Le Saux, Lazamon's "Brut": The Poem and its Sources (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1989).
17 Frances Gillespy, in Layamon's Brut: A Comparative Study by Narrative Art. University of California Publications in Modern Philology 3 (Berkeley, 1846), pp. 561-51, identifies and categorizes many of Lazamon's changes and additions. See, for example, her discussion of the scene where Utcele and her companions are shipwrecked, pp. 93-94.

A simple comparison of the number of lines of each chronicle, about fifteen thousand lines for Wace and sixteen thousand lines for Lazamon, is misleading because Lazamon's lines, made
material he introduces is often imaginative detail as, for example, when he transforms descriptive passages to direct speech, which adds some psychological motivation for the characters' actions and heightens the dramatic effect. Even where Lazamon does not add materially to Wace, he can add small touches in such things as formulaic phrasing, characterization, and rhetorical devices that preserve, in the words of Frederic Madden, the first editor of the *Brut*, "the spirit and style of the earlier Anglo-Saxon writers."

These evocative changes are not enough reason to resurrect the old argument that Lazamon was working in a living tradition. Some recent studies, while admitting the likelihood that Lazamon may have known some Old English verse, have placed it rather vaguely among other literary influences in early Middle English. Their hesitation in assigning it a more prominent position is prudent in light of the lack of solid evidence that Lazamon knew any Old English poetry at all. On the other hand, poems were available to him. He lived about ten miles from the monastery library at Worcester, a center of literary activity in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. We know of at least ten Old English poems in manuscripts there, including the six chronicle poems. The chronicle poems range from classical heroic verse (*Battle of Brunanburh*) to the loose, mixed style more characteristic of early Middle English (*Death of Alfred*). Thorlac Turville-Petre points out that the chronicle also contains examples of rhythmic prose as well as unornamented prose. But the Worcester library had a much more extensive selection of rhythmic prose: at least six collections of homilies, four of which have a large number by Ælfric.

Demonstrating that a large body of Old English alliterative verse and prose

up of two alliterating half-lines, contain more words. I estimate that the *Brut* contains more than half as much material as Wace's *Roman*.


22 *Alliterative Revival*, pp. 6–7.

was available is not proof that Lååamon read any part of it or used it in shaping his verse, but glosses in the "tremulous" hand of Worcester provide independent confirmation that these texts were read in the thirteenth century. According to S. J. Crawford, this glossator "was a good Latin scholar (the majority of his glosses are in that tongue), acquainted with Anglo-Norman, and, what was becoming rarer, he possessed a competent knowledge of Old English — at any rate of the prose speech. Unfortunately we have no evidence that he was interested in poetry. On his own lines, he deserves to be mentioned with his (probably) slightly younger and more romantic contemporary Lååamon."24 Glosses in his distinctive hand show that he read extensively in Old English texts; they appear in sixteen of the thirty-five Worcester manuscripts listed in Ker's Catalogue, including all six collections of homilies mentioned earlier, Bede's Historia ecclesiastica, two translations of Gregory's Dialogues, and two translations of Gregory's Pastoral Care.25 Another measure of his interest in Old English is found in Worcester Cathedral MS F. 174, the only manuscript in which the "tremulous" hand is the text hand. It contains a fragmentary copy of Ælfric's Grammar and Glossary, but it has the additional interest of a possible clue about the influence of Old English on early Middle English verse, because the glosses are followed by two early Middle English pieces in rhythmical alliteration copied out in the same tremulous hand.26 The first is a short fragment in rhythmical prose beginning "Sanctus Beda was iboren her," and the second is the poem The Soul's Address to the Body.27

There is no evidence that the "tremulous" glossator had any influence on Lååamon, just as there is no solid evidence that Lååamon read any of the Old English manuscripts at Worcester. It is also possible that the glossator and Lååamon were independent eccentrics, without a supporting literary environment. But it is at least as likely that their activities represent two parts of a movement that promoted and sustained an interest in Anglo-Saxon scholarship and literature. We know that the two extant copies of the Brut could not be the only ones made, a fact that gives evidence of a wider


26 I use Blake's "rhythmical alliteration" deliberately, because in one book Ker calls the pieces "rhythmic-prose" (Catalogue, no. 398) and in another he and Ivor Atkins call them "verse" (in Patrick Young, Catalogus librarium manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Wigorniensis, Medae saeclorum 1622–1623, ed. Ivor Atkins and N. R. Ker (Cambridge, Eng., 1944) p. 19, n. 2).

27 The Soul's Address to the Body has recently been edited by Douglas Mofat, Medieval Texts and Studies 1 (East Lansing, Mich., 1987). See pp. 1–5 and his superb discussion of prosody, pp. 25–33.
audience, but the "tremulous" glosses show that the older language was already less accessible to thirteenth-century English speakers.

This discussion of Old English sources is not intended to obscure the influences that other studies have put forward, such as French, Anglo-Norman, and Latin verse, or, for that matter, an oral tradition of alliterative verse. It is only meant to show that the evidence for the influence of Old English verse is at least as extensive as any other influence except Old English rhythmic prose. Lazamon turned this diversity of influences entirely to his advantage by using them to create a verse style that could adapt to a variety of modes within a long historical narrative, from the straightforward chronicling of genealogies, births, deaths, and the successions of rulers to more imaginative passages such as journeys, rebellions, battles, and dialogues. Lazamon had no English chronicles or narratives to follow as models. After the late-twelfth-century Ormulum, the Brut is the first long poem in the English language ("long" according to Middle English standards; the Old English Beowulf and Genesis are far shorter). The implications of this simple fact are significant: with no precedent to guide him, Lazamon had to improvise a verse style that could accommodate the demands of this new English genre without lapsing into metrical tedium over so many thousands of lines. While alliterative verse and prose were dominant influences, he drew from a range of genres and literatures to introduce flexibility and stylistic variation. His approach was eclectic and practical. And while his mixed style has received qualified praise from modern readers, any assessment of his technique should begin by considering it as a response to the demands of sustained narrative never encountered before in English poetry. A measure of his success can be seen in comparison with Orm, the author of Ormulum, who arrived at a style that can charitably be described as monotonous. If nothing else, the Brut's style as a whole is more engaging, and many modern readers have found passages worthy of genuine admiration. Lazamon's success in forging a viable verse style may be one of the least appreciated achievements in early Middle English.

Perhaps the most distinctive characteristic of the Brut is that the verse, so innovative in some respects, seems to preserve old-fashioned features in diction and in the alliterative line. But it is difficult for modern readers to know how much of it thirteenth-century readers would have considered archaic. In his useful study of Lazamon's language and orthography, E. G.

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28 Elizabeth Salter makes the most persuasive argument for the influence of French and Anglo-Norman models as well as Latin heroic verse on Brut, especially in connection with its use of extended similes, where the Latin influence she concludes is "beyond doubt" (English and International, p. 66).


Stanley approaches this question by making a crucial distinction between the archaic and the archaistic. While the "archaic" preserves genuine early forms, "the archaistic is merely imitative of the archaic, and derives from it by a deliberate act of recreation." He also speculates that archaistic spellings may fall into two categories: "one kind is akin to record forgeries, the other is akin to sentimental ye olde spellings; and it may not be easy to keep these two kinds apart." The first kind is deceptive, the second is a curiosity; this second kind accounts for more than a few of the archaisms in Laȝamon's language and orthography.

Our knowledge of early Middle English is scant enough that we may have to rely on outside clues to detect thirteenth-century archaisms, but fortunately in the case of the Brut a good source of such clues survives. There are two extant manuscript copies: British Library, Cotton Caligula A. ix (C) and Cotton Otho C. xiii (O). Though both are of roughly the same date, the second copy, O, is a much-shortened version of the original (represented by C); the scribe responsible for these deletions is called the Otho Reviser. Altogether he removed about twenty-five hundred lines, or one-sixth of the original, and altered the reading of G in about twelve hundred places, in most instances by substituting a less archaic word. Because the Otho Reviser's substitutions cannot be simply the result of linguistic change, they provide good evidence of archaistic words and spellings in the original. His changes follow a consistent pattern. "The Otho Reviser," writes Stanley, "cleansed the poem of its poeticisms, not, I think, merely to save space, nor because he regarded them as virtually incomprehensible — though there may have been a touch of that too — but rather because he was out of sympathy with the antiquarian modulation of the poet." What Laȝamon considered poetic embellishments, such as extensive amplificatio, which helped establish the archaic mood of the chronicle, the Otho Reviser considered so much excess baggage. Thus by identifying words the Otho Reviser omitted or replaced and the spellings that he changed, we can reasonably guess what elements of Laȝamon's original were the archaistic ye olde signs of his time.

Stanley bases his observations largely on the orthography and diction of Brut, but more can be learned by seeing whether Laȝamon's deliberate use of archaisms extends to more thematic areas as well. An obvious source for making such observations are battle scenes, of which there are well over one hundred. They provided Laȝamon with his greatest opportunities to draw from the Old English heroic tradition, which in earlier centuries provided the ethos of such poems as Beowulf, The Battle of Maldon, and The Battle of Finnsburh. This association is nothing new. Laȝamon, writes C. S. Lewis, "sees all [his] battles in terms of the heroic past." A number of scholars have

32 See W. J. Keith, "Laȝamon's Brut: The Literary Differences between the Two Texts," Medium Aevum 29 (1960), 161-73. It is possible that two or more scribes contributed to the changes in O, but for the sake of convenience I refer to only one.
33 Oakden, Alliterative Poetry, 2:172-74.
34 "Sentiments," p. 29. See also Keith, "Literary Differences."
35 "Genesis," p. 25. J. P. Oakden writes, "Laȝamon's Brut is the one work in early Middle
Laʒamon’s Ambivalence

Noted that Laʒamon’s verse form most closely resembles that of classical verse in such scenes. But as much as Laʒamon may have admired and sought to imitate Old English verse, his knowledge of it was limited to the extent that he could neither have been working in a living tradition nor have relied on an extensive reading of Old English poetry (which is much the same thing). Wherever and however Laʒamon acquired his acquaintance with the heroic tradition, the “purity” of his battle scenes does not approach the purity of his diction.

For most of the battle scenes Laʒamon introduces few changes to his source, which follows a standard thematic pattern: the conflict begins with an exhortation by the leader followed by the confrontation and attack, which is sometimes followed by descriptions of individual struggles. Laʒamon may alter or add small details to his source while leaving the main action intact. For example, in a typical passage in Brut Wace tersely summarizes a battle by saying that the Anglo-Saxon army was conquered and that its leaders, Octa and Eosa, were killed:

E cil venqui ki veintre dut;
Vencu fu e ocis Octa
E sis buens cusing Eosa.
(8910–12)

Laʒamon does not pass up the opportunity to introduce twenty lines of detail that, along with vocabulary and verse form, give the battle a distinctly Old English flavor, especially in the initial onslaught:

Cnihtes gunnen riden:  gæres gunnen gliðen.
breken bræde speren  br(u)sleden sceldes.
helmes per scendent:  scalkes folcen.
Pe Bruttes weoren balde;  þis bic to fisten.
E þa haæðene hundes!  hælden to grunde.
Per wes islaʒen Octa:  Ebissa þ Ossa.
þer seouen-tene þosend!  siðen into helle.
(9755–61)

English which above all others recalls the Old English heroic poetry,” Alliterative Poetry, 2:20; see also Dorothy Everett, Essays on Middle English Literature, ed. Patricia Kean (Oxford, 1955), pp. 35–36; and Derek Pearsall, Old English, p. 112.

36 See, for example, Pearsall, Old English, pp. 80–81, and Gillespy, Layamon’s Brut, p. 418.

The former view is advanced by Lewis, “Genesis,” Amodio, “Lexicon,” and Ritzke, “Microstructure” and “Macrostructure,” and the latter by Gillespy, Layamon’s Brut. While it may be impossible to disprove either theory, I am convinced that the evidence is stronger in support of the theory that Layamon’s acquaintance with the past was acquired principally by antiquarian learning.


38 Translation: “Knights began to ride, spears began to glide; broad spears broke; shields shattered; helmets split there; warriors fell. The Britons were brave and busy in fighting, and the heathen hounds sank to the ground. There Octa, Ebissa, and Ossa were slain; there seventeen thousand journeyed to hell.”
The shifting perspectives convey a sense of the confusion and fury of battle that is not found in Wace. This same technique, used with the same effect in Old English poems such as Beowulf and Maldon, gives the battle a touch of dramatic realism lacking in Wace. However, the changes Laʒamon introduces do not affect the outcome of the main action: the victims are the same; the victorious army is the same. His touches here are typical. In fact the rhyming formula "cuhtes gunnen riden: gæres gunnen gliden" is repeated, with slight variations, in a number of battle scenes.

Besides Laʒamon's antiquarian sentiment, this passage also illustrates the fundamental irony of Brut which Borges relished. Here the victors, celebrated in poetry reminiscent of Old English verse, are led by Uther, a Celtic hero and the father of Arthur. The foes are Anglo-Saxon invaders, one of whom is the son of Hengest, the legendary invader of Britain. Even though Laẓamon initially praises Hengest as the most splendid of all knights, he later condemns him with the phrase "Hengest he lead-srike," "the meaning of which," writes Stanley, "lies somewhere between 'the archtraitor' and 'the traitor of nations.'" But more to the point here, Laʒamon puts the Anglo-Saxons in the role of villains at the same time he imitates the verse that perpetuated the fame of Germanic heroes such as Hengest. I will return to this problem in the second part of this essay.

At times Laʒamon's changes in battle scenes go beyond the linguistic exercise of translating from Norman French to an archaic English. He consistently changes Wace's modern Norman arms and fighting style to something more reminiscent of the preconquest Anglo-Saxons, even to the extent of transforming chivalric knights into Germanic foot soldiers. In one episode, for instance, Arthur is besieging Frolle, the king of the Gauls, within Paris. The citizens, who are dying from hunger, plead with their leader to come to terms with Arthur. Instead, Frolle challenges Arthur to single combat, the winner to receive all France. Arthur happily agrees. The fight is set to take place on an island in the river. The armies of the contending sides are ranged along opposite banks. As Wace describes it, the fight is a joust; and he relishes the technique involved in the charge. He writes,

Quant il furent aperillez,
De doux parz se sunt estuinez;
Eporunant, rednes lasciez,
Escuz levez, lancees baissiez,
S'entralent entreferir
Amdui, de merveillus aie.
(10041-46)\n
\[\text{See Alain Revoir, "Point of View and Design for Terror in Beowulf," Neuphilologische Mitteilungen 63 (1962), 154-67.}\]


\[\text{"Senúmenus," p. 34.}\]

\[\text{"When they were ready and separated at two ends, they stuck their spurs, loosened the reins, and, with raised shield and lance at rest, hurried together with marvelous violence."}\]
Little of this technical detail survives in Laȝamon. In just two lines he describes how the warriors prepare for the charge:

heo quchten heore scæfes:  kine-wurðe cnihes.
heo græfæden heore steden:  gode cnihes heo weoren.

(11930–31)44

Arthur wears chain mail ("ibroiden of stele," 11859), and he and Frolle brandish ("quehten") their spears overhead. While neither of these details is necessarily anachronistic in the military reality of Laȝamon's time, when sturdier armor and couched lances were being adopted at a gradual rate, they would probably have struck Laȝamon's first readers as throwbacks to an earlier age.45 To readers with an acquaintance of thirteenth-century romances, Laȝamon's martial conventions would be thoroughly outdated. In both accounts Arthur defeats Frolle, but in Wace what brings down Frolle is Arthur's superior technique:

E Artur ad Frolle feru
Desuz la bucle de l'escu,
De sun cheval l'ad luin porté
Tant cum hanste li ad duré.

(10049–52)46

Arthur aims his lance accurately and knocks his opponent over the horse's back; in this context the detail that the lance does not break is crucial. Laȝamon overlooks the technical precision of Wace:

Arthur smat Frolle:  mid leond-stroñge maine:
uppen þene sceld ðe þæge:
and þe stede þe wes god:  leop ut ðe ulod.

(11939–41)47

Here the strength of Arthur's blow, not its accuracy, unhorses Frolle. Laȝamon has gone beyond rendering his French source in English words and clothing it with antique sentiment. In a compromise between the typical Old English battle scene that pits foot soldiers against each other and Wace, who makes Arthur and Frolle mounted knights, Laȝamon puts two foot soldiers on horseback. The narrative seems to become more vigorous after Arthur and Frolle have lost their mounts and fight each other on foot (lines 11949–69). Yet whether on foot or on horseback, the fighting style would seem archaistic to Laȝamon's contemporary audience, and even antichivalric. Such archaizing should not be taken as equivalent to regression in literary value; Chaucer, as C. S. Lewis argues in an influential study, medievalized

44 "They, the noble knights, brandished their spears; they urged on their steeds. They were good knights."
46 "And Arthur struck Frolle directly on the boss of his shield so that he was carried over the back of his horse as long as the lance shaft held."
47 "Arthur struck Frolle high on the shield with ferocious strength, and the good steed leaped into the water."
his "renaissance" source for Troilus and Criseyde, Boccaccio's Il filostrato, and in his hands the story gained in subtlety and complexity.48

Another episode shows even more clearly how Lazamon prefers the Anglo-Saxon foot soldier to his mounted, chivalric counterpart. Belin and Brennes, two brothers who share the rule of Gaul and Britain, decide to conquer Rome for the remarkable reason that they wanted

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\begin{align*}
\text{Remus pene fure.} \\
\text{Rem wrecen o bon folke:} \\
\text{ibe Romulus his broder:} \\
\text{ibe bi-foren fele 3ere.} \\
\text{(2613–15)} \tag{49}
\end{align*}
\]

After forcing the city to submit to them without a fight, the brothers exact tribute and keep hostages to ensure that the Roman citizens adhere to the terms. But soon the Romans revolt, and the brothers return with an army to punish them. When the British army fails to breach the walls, they erect gallows and hang the hostages in full sight of the city. The Romans become furious and plan to counterattack. Their troops are reinforced by the unanticipated arrival of the armies of Gabius and Prosera, who had been engaged in another war. After the initial onslaught, Belin and Brennes order their forces to retreat in order to reorganize. Geoffrey of Monmouth, the immediate source for Wace, is quite brief in his account of their regrouping: "admodum anxiani socios hortari coeperunt, atque in turmas resociare."50

Wace elaborates on this summary and volunteers more details about how the men are divided and deployed:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Des plus hardiz, des plus aidables} \\
\text{Furent maistres e constables} \\
\text{A chescune esciele par sei,} \\
\text{Quis face tenir en contreci.} \\
\text{Les plus hardiz combateors} \\
\text{Mistrent avant as fereors;} \\
\text{Lez cels furent destre e senestre} \\
\text{Arbelastiers e archiers estre.} \\
\text{Le mielz de lur gent e le plus} \\
\text{Descendirent des chevals jus,} \\
\text{En mi le champ furent a pied} \\
\text{Ordeneement e rengied.} \\
\text{(8119–30)} \tag{51}
\end{align*}
\]

Wace divides his soldiers into four groups: the cavalry, the crossbowmen, the archers, and the newly formed troop of foot soldiers. In the ensuing battle

48 "What Chaucer Really Did to Il Filostrato," Essays and Studies 17 (1932), 56–75.
49 "To avenge on the people the fair Remus, whom his brother Romulus killed in Rome many years ago."
51 "The bravest and most ablebodied became leaders and chief officers, each given a body of troops who were formed in a company. The bravest fighters advanced before the troops; those on the right and left side were crossbowmen and archers. Most of the men and the best dismounted and were deployed on foot in ranks on the field."
the tactic of diversified, coordinated forces is as much responsible for victory as the bravery of the soldiers. The corresponding passage in Lažamon departs markedly from both Wace and Geoffrey. It is no longer a narrative description at all, but a hortatory speech by Belin and Brennes:

Lihted of eowre blanken. and stonde on eowre sconken:
and kerue of eowre spere longe. * maket heom scortte! * stronge!
scradied eower sceldes. al of he smal enden:
and we eow wulle bi-foreen. libben odeer liggen:
* auer-alc god mon! harde hine sulue.
for her scullen he wælden! alle i-wurden riche.

(2924–29)\(^5^\)

In a complete reversal of his source, Lažamon substitutes an older form of fighting for Wace’s modern, complex tactics. All of his *cnihtes* dismount; he does not mention archers or crossbowmen. The foot soldiers form a single troop reminiscent of an Old English shield wall.\(^5^\) His simplification of battlefield strategy, though extensive in this case, is consistent with smaller changes Lažamon introduces throughout his chronicle which allow more scope for individual heroism.\(^5^\)

Though greatly outnumbered, the British rout the Romans, slay Gabius, and capture Prosenna. To drive his point home, Lažamon adds an explanation not found in Geoffrey or Wace:

Mid he forwærde monnen: ut wenden Prosenna.
Gabius him cem afer: mid fifti hundred cnihtes.
mid alle heore wipnen: he weoren wunwælde.
Pa odre weoren swite: heore wipnen weoren lihte.
heo leiden to-gaderen: * feon-liche frihten.
Weoren heof of Rome: alle riendes.
heo ofðere a-foten: and fengen heom to-gætines.
and slowen alle heore hors: here hæp wes he lætter.
Gabius heo slowe: Prosenna heo nomen.
heo duden heore wille: of þan Rom-momen.
alle heo slowen: þat heom ægen stoden.

(2941–51)\(^5^\)

\(^5^\) “Alight from your horses and stand on your legs and cut off your long spears and make them short and strong; cut off the short end of your shields, and we will either live or lie dead in front of you. And let every good man steel himself, because all the poor will become wealthy here.”

\(^5^\) Elsewhere Lažamon explicitly mentions the shield wall (*sceal-truma*), as, for example, in line 8171, where Aurelius the Briton uses one against Hengest the Anglo-Saxon, and less than fifty lines later (8216) Hengest uses one against Aurelius.

\(^5^\) In other passages Lažamon reveals an aversion to technological details, such as the siege machines used in taking Cirencester (lines 14597–618), and instead relies exclusively on the story of the burning sparrows.

\(^5^\) “Prosenna went out with the vanguard, and Gabius came after him with five thousand knights with all their weapons, which were unwieldy. The [Britons] were swift, their weapons were light. They rushed together and fought ferociously. All those from Rome were riding; the others were on foot and met them and killed all their horses; their fate was the worse. They killed Gabius and captured Prosenna, and had their way with the Romans. They killed all that stood against them.”
According to Laʒamon's account, light armor and short spears become an advantage because they give greater mobility. Heavily armed and mounted knights are at a disadvantage. Whether Laʒamon's nostalgic view is militarily correct or not is largely irrelevant. His preference for the lightly armored foot soldier, reminiscent of the heroic warrior in Old English verse, is motivated by the same antiquarian sentiment that leads him to adopt an archaic vocabulary and alliterative verse.

The changes in the Belin and Brennes episode are more extensive than in most other battle passages. Usually Laʒamon restricts himself to changes of small details, such as those in lines 9755–61 discussed earlier and those listed in the following catalogue by Frances Gillespy: "The combination of concrete detail with the semi-personification of strife and sorrow; the insistence on the part of fate (some equivalent of 'the fated men fell' occurs in almost every battle), the spirit in which the battle is conceived — of acceptance of destiny, of victory or death (libben odor liggen), of grim joy that reveals itself in the fierceness of onset, and in the characteristic play and game as synonyms for battle; the absence of elaborated metaphor when the battle is in full swing; the alliterative measure that emphasizes every important detail of the clash of onset — all are reminiscent of Old English poetry." Laʒamon introduces still other changes that, while used in the Old English tradition, are not exclusively part of that tradition. Important examples are speeches and dialogues, which, though found in many medieval battle narratives such as the chansons de geste, fit neatly into his strategy for archaizing the battle scenes in a way that evokes Old English poetry.

Laʒamon added about twenty to thirty times as many lines of direct speech as he found in Wace. And rather than an equivalent change from Wace's to Laʒamon's narrative styles, they are seen by many as one of the ways Laʒamon improves his source: they add drama, realism, and psychological complexity to his characters. In Laʒamon's battle passages I distinguish two kinds: the exhortation and the boast. The exhortation by Belin and Brennes (lines 2924–29, quoted above) has three parts: they swear to "live or lie" in the front ranks, tell the men to "steel themselves," and conclude by holding out the promise of plunder. The motivation is unclear (is it desperation? plunder?), but in many ways this exhortation is typical of others in the Brut: the leaders simply rally the men to battle. A similar exhortation is given by Hengest:

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58 See, for instance, Lynn White, Jr., Medieval Technology and Social Change (Oxford, 1962), who argues that shock combat was a revolutionary innovation in battle. J. F. Verbruggen, on the other hand, acknowledges the rapid spread of heavy cavalry after the ninth century throughout western Europe (except in England), but points out how well-trained foot soldiers were able to defeat cavalry on a number of occasions, such as the battle of Courtrai in 1302; see The Art of Warfare in Western Europe during the Middle Ages, from the Eighth Century to 1540, trans. Summer Willard and S. C. M. Southern, Europe in the Middle Ages 1 (Amsterdam, 1977), pp. 150–73.

57 Laʒamon's Brut, pp. 417–18.

Lazamon’s Ambivalence

Nulle ich na mare ileon: ah nu ich wulle fihen

* sif we hom ne falle: þenne beon we fale.
ilead on felde: * freonde bidelede.

(8209, 8213–14)59

This one is perhaps even closer to Old English models, not through conscious imitation but perhaps because Hengest’s situation is so desperate that he can hold out no motivation to his men except the will to live.

In Old English, on the other hand, an appeal to honor is a fundamental part of the exhortation and derives from a well-defined heroic ethos. Perhaps the most famous and explicit examples of heroic exhortations are interspersed among the speeches of Byrhtnoth’s loyal retainers in The Battle of Maldon beginning with Ælfwine (lines 211–24). Even in less explicit examples the exhortation presupposes that the warrior is honor bound to act, as, for example, in the following lines from The Battle of Finnsburh:

Æc onwacnigeð nu, wigend mine,
habbað cowre linda, hicegeþ on ellen,
winnað on orde, wesæð onmode!

(10–12)60

The connotative meanings of ellen and onmod depend to a large extent on the heroic ethos, so that explicit mention of honor is superfluous. This ethos seems to be beyond Lazamon’s recall, and his failure to evoke it is not limited to exhortations.

The same shortcomings emerge in the second kind of direct speech, the heroic boast. In Old English poetry a boast, usually expressed either as bēoht or gleof, is a formal utterance that combines the meanings of boast, promise, and vow.61 When Beowulf, for instance, boasts that he will kill Grendel in hand-to-hand combat, he is honor bound to fulfill his boast or die in the effort. And if Grendel kills him, his honor is not diminished. In Maldon the warriors who stay to fight after Byrhtnoth has been slain are reminded of their boasts by Ælfwine:

Gemunu þa mæla þe we oft æþ meando spræcon,
honne we on hence bēoht ahofon,
haeleð on healle, ymbe heard gewinn;
nu mæg cuñian hwa cene sy,

(212–15)62

59 “I will flee no more but now I will fight.... And if we do not fell them, then we will be doomed, laid on the field and deprived of friends.”

60 From The Anglo-Saxon Minor Poems, ed. Dobbie, p. 3: trans.: “Awaken now, my warriors, take your shields, think of deeds of valor; contend in the front; be resolute!”

61 This meaning is reflected in bōht’s etymology (<*bī-hāt); see Alistair Campbell, Old English Grammar (Oxford, 1939), §238.2.c.

62 “I recall the speeches that we often spoke over mead, when we, warriors on the bench in the hall, raised boasts concerning fierce conflict; now one can find out who is brave” (Anglo-Saxon Minor Poems, ed. Dobbie, p. 13). Following Fred C. Robinson (“Some Aspects of the Maldon Poet’s Artistry,” Journal of English and Germanic Philology 75 [1976], 35–37), I retain the manuscript reading “gemunu” as an old form of the first-person present singular.
Lazamon's Ambivalence

Here as elsewhere in Old English a boast is a formal utterance, often part of a ceremony involving the drinking of mead.

Warriors in *Brut* often make boastful speeches or challenges, but the formal, honor-bound nature has been radically weakened. Where the older meaning of *boot* is a combination of boast, promise, and vow, its primary meaning in *Brut*, according to Madden's glossary and the *Middle English Dictionary*, is "threat." In the following passage, for example, *boot* has no reference to ceremonial boasting:

Helmes þær gullen: beornes þær ueollen.
sceles gunnen scenen: scakles gunnen swelten.
at þam forme rese: fiufi þusende.
baldere beornen: heore boot wes þæ læsse.

(15590–93)

Madden translates: "Helms there resounded, knights there fell; shields gan shiver, warriors gan perish; at the first assault fifty thousand bold men,—their threatening was the less!" The distinction may seem slight but it is telling. The warrior who utters a threat is not as obliged to fulfill it as much as he is to fulfill a vow, which is more solemn.63 A threat is directed only at the enemy. A vow, too, is directed at the enemy, but failing to fulfill it would ruin the all-important honor of the Old English warrior. A man may utter an idle threat, but a warrior may never utter an idle *boot*. It is a clear example of a speech act.

The other Old English word for boast, *gielp*, appears as *yelp* in *Brut* as well as in a few other Middle English works, where it means a simple boast (that is, not formal or honor bound).64 Like *boot*, *yelp* lost its heroic connotations by the thirteenth century, but the semantic weakening is more extensive with *boot*, and Lazamon used it at a time when the word was falling out of use. In fact, Lazamon's *Brut* is the only Middle English work where *boot* survives, but its final occurrence there carries more than the obvious philological interest. As much as any other word, *boot* evoked a cluster of connotations that were central to the Old English heroic ethos, such as ceremonious boasting, honor, loyalty, comitatus, and courage. The word's gradual semantic weakening and eventual disappearance in early Middle English is a solid clue that the old ethos was lost before Lazamon's attempt to resuscitate it.

The Otho Reviser, who eliminated much of the archaic-sounding poeticisms of the original, almost always avoided using *boot*. Whether he omitted it because it was too old-fashioned for his tastes or for another reason can only be conjectured. Forms of *boot* appear fifteen times in the longer Caligula version. The Otho Reviser deleted six passages where the word occurs; damage to the manuscript has obscured two more places. For another five he substituted five words: *thret, broc* ("threat"), *prude, bolde wordes*, and *drede."

63 On the formal and ceremonial characteristics of a *boot*, see the discussion by Fred C. Robinson in *Beowulf and the Appositive Style* (Knoxville, 1985), pp. 66–67 and 74–80.
64 The *Middle English Dictionary* gives examples from, among others, *Dame Sirith*, line 227; *The Owl and the Nightingale*, lines 567, 608; and *Sauces Ward*, line 212. It survives in Modern English as "yelp," the ultimate deterioration from its original heroic meaning.
The disparity among the meanings of the five substitute words suggests that the Otho Reviser was unsure of the exact meaning of *beot*. On two occasions, however, he retained it (lines 11813 and 11817, quoted below). Both fall in the same passage, and, interestingly, on these two occasions the use of the word comes close to the Old English meaning of vow, promise, and boast. These are also the only instances in which the word refers to a speech in which a warrior formally states his *beot*. In all the other uses of the word, it refers to a boast or threat in a general sense, and it may not refer to an utterance at all. (A warrior’s charge, for instance, can be his *beot* or threat.) The two occurrences are in a passage after Frolle challenges Arthur to single combat. (This episode was discussed earlier.) Arthur agrees to the fight and sets the time for the next day. Then he adds,

> And whider unker þe god abake: * # his feoh twulle for-sake.
> beon he in ælche londe: iqueðe for ane seconde.
> þerne marie me singe: of ane swulche kynge.
> þe his *beot* haued imaked: and his cniht-scipe for-saken.
> þat þerde Frolle: þe king wes of France.
> þat Arður fehten wolden: him-seolf buten cnihte.
> Strong mon wes Frolle: and sterc mon on mode.
> and his *beot* imaked hafde: bi-foren al his duȝeðe.
> and [h]e ne mihte: for some muchelen: scenden hine seoluen.
> bi-læuen his balde *beot*: þat he i burh hafde iseid.

(11810–19)

(The third italicized word, *beot*, was omitted by the Otho Reviser.) This speech has the sound of an Old English boast: a vow to fight to the death, and the loss of honor to the coward who retreats. It is probably Lazamon’s invention, since it is not found in Wace or Geoffrey of Monmouth. However, there are still important differences between Frolle’s actual boast (11769–92) and Arthur’s summary of it (11803–13). First, Frolle says that he will fight only if Arthur agrees to it; second, he swears upon his sword and gives up hostages as if his word is not binding enough; and finally, he calls his boast a *forward* (11781; as does Arthur, 11806), that is, an agreement or covenant. What Arthur accepts as a *beot* or vow was delivered as a challenge, and a challenge is a vow with conditions attached. Ideally, the Old English warrior never qualifies his boast; it is absolute. Nevertheless, Arthur interprets Frolle’s challenge as a formal *beot* in such a way that it comes close to the older meaning. In light of Arthur’s interpretation of *beot* and the Otho manuscript’s retention of two of the three occurrences of it in this short passage, the Otho Reviser, far from being unacquainted with *beot*, may have understood its older, more specialized meaning and reserved it for those occasions in which

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"And whoever turns back and wants to forsake this fight will be in each land proclaimed a coward. Then men may sing of such a worthless king, that he had made his *beot* and forsaken his knighthood!* Frolle, who was king of France, heard that Arthur wanted to fight him without any knight. Frolle was a strong and courageous man and had made his *beot* before all his retainers, and he could not, because of the great shame, disgrace himself by forsaking his firm *beot* that he had said in the stronghold."
it approximates that meaning. As archaic as the word must have sounded to him, no other word would do.

Laṣamon’s attempt to reanimate heat, which was of central significance in Old English heroic poetry, and the Otho Reviser’s cautious treatment of it indicate that the word was truly archaic rather than archaistic in Laṣamon’s time. If one wished to pinpoint when the Old English heroic tradition gave way to something else, a good choice for the terminus ante quem would be Brut, where heat has only the faintest echoes of the old ethos. It is convincing evidence that for Laṣamon the heroic tradition was a faltering memory.

Though I place a great deal of importance on the dissolution of formal boasting in Laṣamon’s battle scenes, his recollection of other areas of Old English verse is faulty as well. His efforts to archaicize his style fall short in the well-known features of apposition, enjamment, understatement, convoluted syntax, kennings. A number of the classic heroic conventions do not appear at all in Brut. In the hundred or more battles, for instance, the beasts of battle are nowhere to be found. Despite efforts to interpret feasting in the Brut as an expression of the comitatus, there is little of the ritual of the Anglo-Saxon mead hall; no lord gives rings to his retainers, and retainers never swear loyalty to their leader. Arthur’s knights, for example, who should represent the highest martial ideals, love him but fear him even more, because Arthur is capable of inflicting the most savage punishments against transgressors. Violence and treachery are commonplace, and unlike most Anglo-Saxon poets Laṣamon relishes itemizing the wounds suffered by warriors or by their innocent victims. The armor worn by Laṣamon’s knights may be splendid (like Arthur’s, lines 11855–70), but it does not serve, like Beowulf’s, as an external manifestation of inner virtues or physical prowess. Laṣamon never successfully replaces Wace’s feudalism with a Germanic comitatus, and though he transforms his fighting men from Wace’s chevaliers, he cannot complete the transition to the Beowulf-poet’s dugupa. The heroic tradition is irrevocably beyond his grasp. Laṣamon is an antiquary, one of the first students of Old English literature.

At the beginning of this paper I quoted Borges on a fundamental inconsistency of Laṣamon’s chronicle: he praises Celtic warriors in a poetic medium directly derived from their enemies, the Anglo-Saxon descendants of Hengest. It is inconceivable that Laṣamon was unaware of this inconsistency, yet

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66 J. S. P. Tadlock lists some of these shortcomings and situates the Brut in a tradition of poems in a popular style, which would include transition poems such as Edgar, The Proverbs of Alfred, and The Body and Soul; see “Laṣamon’s Poetic Style and Its Relations,” The Mainly Anniversary Studies in Language and Literature (Chicago, 1929), pp. 8–11.


68 See Gillespie, Layamon’s Brut, pp. 401 and 499, where she cites the scene of Gælæne in the banquet hall: “æc quemne hea to drincan? ðæt hie hie hurluden,” line 15868.

he sustained it over sixteen thousand lines of verse. Viewing it from their vantage point of hindsight, twentieth-century scholars consider it Lañamon's fundamental irony, and most have reconciled the irony by claiming that Lañamon's sympathies were nationalistic. A recent study is quite explicit with this interpretation: Lañamon's is "a national and not a racial history. . . . [T]he story is not of the Britons but of the land of Britain." The history of England follows a recurring pattern of a population that is invaded, but that eventually absorbs the invaders into the heterogeneous British/English nation. The Germano-Celtic hostilities are part of the overriding "provisional pattern of transient fortune." Thus Lañamon's nationalistic sensibilities enabled him to overlook the contradiction in using a verse form, a poetic diction, and many literary themes that derive directly from Old English literature to chronicle the atrocities of the first Anglo-Saxons. He would see no inconsistency after declaring his intention (in the first few lines of the Brut) to recount the noble lineage of the English to proceed to tell the history of Celtic Britain. Both groups eventually become one nation.

This nationalist argument rings hollow because it suppresses the very opposition that Lañamon sustained with such great and deliberate effort. The two key terms, irony and nationalism, are in different ways inapplicable to Lañamon. No one argues that he was a consciously ironic poet. Irony is part of the modern critical reception, yet it is precisely this irony that Lañamon's nationalism is invoked to reconcile; unlike the irony, nationalism is considered a conscious part of his narrative strategy. Nationalism is difficult to define, but it is a sentiment that follows the shift of loyalties from the family, local community, or religious group to the state. Conversely the

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26 R. S. Loomis claims Lañamon "forgot about his promise to the reader": "Ironically enough, the poet who set out to celebrate the noble deeds of the English followed through to the end a book in which that race is held up for execration. . . . Ironically, too, it uses the language, the poetic form, and the style of the people it disparages" ("Lañamon's Brut," p. 105). Derek Pearsall sees it arise from confusion: "there is no doubt that Lañamon is at odds with himself for half the poem, confused to know where to place his sympathies" (Old English, p. 110):

27 Swanton, Before Chaucer, p. 176. Most studies are not as explicit as Swanton, but use "national" in an imprecise way.

28 Ibid.

29 Shepherd, for example, writes that "it was possible for an English poet, born not much more than a century after the Conquest and writing in English and retaining some knowledge of Old English poetic methods, to take over the whole story of Brutus's Britain and present it without irony as the heroic record of his own race" (Early Middle English Literature, p. 80). The phrase "without irony" implies irony from a modern perspective.

30 I find it difficult to accept V. H. Galbraith's broad definition of a nation as "any considerable group of people who believe they are one; and their nationalism as the state of mind which sustains this belief," in "Nationality and Language in Medieval England," Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 4th ser., 23 (1941), 113. It allows him to speak of "provincial nationalities," where the qualification strains the usefulness of the concept. My definition of nationalism and the state follows Joseph R. Strayer, On the Medieval Origins of the Modern State (Princeton, 1970); see especially pp. 9-10, 109-10.

The first recorded use of the word "nation" in the Oxford English Dictionary (2nd ed., 1989) is from Cursus mundi, dated around 1300. The definition is relevant here: "I.e. an extensive aggregate of persons, so closely associated with each other by common descent, language, or history, as to form a distinct race or people, usually organized as a separate political state and
population comprising the state must include a variety of groups that once had narrower and often competing loyalties. For too many modern readers, Lázamon's nationalism forms a crucial but unexamined assumption in their critical arguments and, as such, runs the risk of projecting anachronistic, modern political ideals on the medieval past. This assumption deserves closer scrutiny: when did nationalism become a recognizable sentiment in England, and when did other writers first employ it as part of a narrative strategy?

Even though historians disagree on what nationalism is and when it first appeared, all seem to agree that it first became recognizable after the 1230s. M. T. Clanchy sees an early form of nationalism overtaking the lay magnates in Henry III's reign; Maurice Powicke places its inception in Edward I's reign, specifically in the state crises of the 1290s; Joseph Strayer sees its seeds sown in the later Middle Ages but does not see it fully developed until the seventeenth century. Elizabeth Salter makes a compelling case for considering the twelfth and thirteenth centuries as a period when England's self-identity is better described in terms of internationalism; it was an age when England's obsession with the Continent, especially in literary matters, was still strong. So according to Clanchy, Powicke, and Strayer, the political loyalties of Lázamon's age were less than national, and according to Salter the cultural affinities were more than national, so in neither case is the concept of nationalism available for Lázamon's narrative strategies.

Nationalism makes a slow start in literature in England. Galbraith observes that "the proper source for the study of medieval national feeling in the twelfth century is the works of the Latin historians," but he concludes that such feeling took much longer to work its way into the vernaculars, and the connection between the vernacular and nationalism did not develop until the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In her study of Anglo-Norman romances, Susan Crane detects a strong tension between the earlier, feudal allegiances and the nascent nationalism of late-thirteenth-century England. "Yet even when nationalism is an important force in romances of English heroes, a strong underlying allegiance to the political ideals of the barony remains."

There is no internal evidence in the Brut that nationalism was a concept that appealed to Lázamon or, for that matter, to his audience. If Lázamon truly wanted his chronicle to affirm national unity, it is hard to explain why he would choose a diction and style that draw so heavily from Old English
literature and (with some isolable exceptions) eschew overt French influence. The anti-Anglo-Saxon content is clothed in an Anglo-Saxon style. Moreover, the competing parties in his chronicle are defined by race (leoden), and he is careful to keep the two main races, the *Bruten* and the *Anglen*, distinct.\(^{79}\)

Their relationship never approaches the unity of nationhood. In fact, the chronicle ends with the last ruler of the Britons, the last threat to Anglo-Saxon hegemony, being chased into Wales. Laȝamon concludes his chronicle, "and they dwell there still as they will forever. And English kings (*Ælūisse kinges*) ruled those lands, and the Britons (*Bruttes*) lost it — this land and those people — so that afterwards they were never kings here" (lines 16090–93). In the *Brut* language, style and racial groupings have a retrospective and nostalgic insistence in comparison with the cosmopolitan literary and social complexity of thirteenth-century England.\(^{80}\) All the evidence, internal and external, undermines the argument that nationalism was a part of the *Brut*’s narrative strategy.

Laȝamon’s nationalism, like his irony, is a modern invention. It is the product of a generation of scholars primarily from the first half of this century (Gillespy, Oakden, Wyld, Tatlock, Lewis, Everett) who assumed that Laȝamon’s sense of Englishness was similar to their own sense of nationhood. Long after the fallacy of equating linguistic consciousness with national consciousness was pointed out by Galbraith in 1941, the tendency persists and can often be detected in the way that the adjective “English” slips from the language to the nation.\(^{81}\) Examples could be multiplied, but even a cautious scholar like E. G. Stanley calls Laȝamon a “most English” poet, a phrase that conceals a nationalist sentiment.\(^{82}\) If it is meant to suggest degrees of “Englishness” in language (a questionable concept itself), the substitutions of the Otho Reviser support just the opposite conclusion: Laȝamon’s language was less English than that of his contemporaries. Because “English” in such a phrase cannot refer to the language, it encourages an interpretation of Laȝamon as a poet of the English nation. Others in a more romantic vein have looked upon Laȝamon as a kind of resistance fighter against the linguistic invasions of the French language, which becomes the equivalent of seeing him as the defender of a national literature.

The modern canonization of Laȝamon as a poet of the English nation is analogous to Laȝamon’s own attempt to resuscitate the Anglo-Saxon traditions of English verse. Both are efforts to place a text in literary origins, one national and the other, but neither could succeed. Modern scholars overlook the fact that the English language was no less “English” even after

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\(^{79}\) There are two apparent slips, both changed by the Otho Reviser. In 7107, C reads “a þet come Denese men; and druen ut ba Bruttes,” where O reads “cnihtes” for “Bruttes.” The second one appears in line 14297, which I will discuss at the end of the essay.

\(^{80}\) On the English sense of racial identity, see below, pp. 560–61.


\(^{82}\) “Sentiments,” p. 34.
the introduction of French vocabulary and that English national sentiment was still decades, if not centuries, away.

If Lazamon is not a poet of English nationalism, and if he is too astute a writer to make an "ethnographic howler" in vilifying the Anglo-Saxons in a verse form derived from Old English, then how are we to view the incompatibility between his style and content? In place of irony, I suggest considering this relationship in terms of ambivalence, which has the advantage of preserving the clash without promoting one side over the other. Ambivalence and irony, after all, have much in common. They both result from oppositions between such pairs as family and nation, fate and free will, principles and compromise, moral standards and actual behavior — or in this case between literary style and content. In irony one side of this opposition holds the upper hand, or a higher principle reconciles the oppositions, but there is always a resolution. In this light it is revealing that Borges the Argentinian reconciles the irony the former way, by promoting Lazamon's abhorrence of his own Anglo-Saxon heritage. Most Anglo-American scholars, by contrast, choose the latter course and neutralize the opposition by reconciling it under the higher principle of English nationalism.

Ambivalence preserves the opposition. The two sides are at an equilibrium, a tension pulling in two directions. Lazamon, I believe, recognized the ambivalent signals in using an Anglo-Saxon verse style to compose a long anti-Anglo-Saxon tract. Far from neutralizing the opposition, he took pains to heighten the racial antipathies, and in doing so perhaps he was trying to direct the attention of his contemporary English readers to a powerful historical analogy: just as the Britons had been punished for their wickedness by the invasions of the Anglo-Saxons, so the Anglo-Saxons were punished by the Norman Conquest.

This strategy of viewing the history of the island of Britain in terms of divine salvation and retribution goes back as far as the middle of the sixth century, to Gildas's De excidio et conquestu Britanniae. It was continued and expanded by later historians, most notably Bede. As Robert Hanning observes in his admirable study of this tradition, Gildas developed a method of historiography "that was indelibly stamped with the impress of religious ideas, developed in a typological manner through an exegetical method. By a strange accident of history, Gildas imposed a form upon British history which lived on in the medieval historical imagination for at least the next five hundred years." Lazamon, through the lineage of Bede, the Historia Brittonum, and Geoffrey of Monmouth, was a direct descendant of this historiographical tradition. It was not, however, limited to chroniclers; in his Sermon Lupi ad Anglos, Wulfstan specifically invokes Gildas and his tradition: "There

84 The phrase (though not the opinion) is Stanley's, "Sentiments," p. 33.
85 This view has been advanced by Lewis, "Genesis," Everett, "Earliest Middle English"; and Stanley, "Sentiments," who confuse the issue, however, by interpreting the history of the Anglo-Saxons as part of a national history.
86 The Vision of History in Early Britain (New York, 1966), p. 61. For a recent and comprehensive study of this tradition see Nicholas Howe, Migrations and Myth-Making in Anglo-Saxon England (New Haven, 1989). The following argument draws heavily from these studies.
was a historian in the times of the Britons, called Gildas, who wrote about their misdeeds, how with their sins they angered God so excessively that finally he allowed the army of the English to conquer their land and to destroy the host of the Britons entirely. Twelfth-century Latin historians, such as Florence of Worcester and William of Malmesbury, breathed new life into the tradition and expanded the scope of historical analogy to include the conquest. "It is these historians," writes Geoffrey Shepherd, "who interpreted the Norman Conquest to later generations. To them the world of the Anglo-Saxons had acquired the distance of an ancien régime over which they are inclined to moralize. The last king of the English is turned into the saintly figure of Edward the Confessor. Duke William becomes an instrument of the wrath of God upon a sinful people."

In the broadest terms, writers from Gildas to William of Malmesbury established an Anglo-Saxon historiographical tradition that Laȝamon inherited independent of Wace. We cannot know which of them Laȝamon may have read, but it seems impossible that he could escape their influence altogether. The nearby Worcester cathedral library, for example, contained a copy of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (believed to be used by Florence), a copy of Wulfstan's Sermo Lupi (in a homiliary glossed by the "tremulous hand"), and a copy of the Old English translation of Bede's Historia ecclesiastica. Moreover, Laȝamon claims that he traveled "wide ȝond þa leode" and used as one of his sources "þa Englisc hæc: þa makede Seint Beda" (lines 14, 16). Though Laȝamon used very little of the historical information in Bede (if any at all), it is quite possible that he used it, not as a source of facts, but as a model for historical interpretation.

The development of this tradition makes it easier to understand Laȝamon's cultural ambivalence. In the sixth century Gildas created his eschatological interpretation of the defeat of the Britons at the hand of the Anglo-Saxons in order to make sense of the past; in the eighth century Bede made it essential in Anglo-Saxon historiography; in 1014 Wulfstan adapted it as a prophetic warning to prevent an analogous defeat of the Anglo-Saxons at

86 "Early Middle English Literature," p. 70.
87 The manuscripts are, respectively, London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius B.iv; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 119; and Cambridge, University Library, Kk.3.18 (numbers 192, 351, and 23 in Ker's Catalogue).
88 The other source cited by Laȝamon, "Seinte Albin" and "þe feiere Austin," may refer to a manuscript containing works both by Alcuin (i.e., Albin) and Augustine (Stanley, "Sentiments," pp. 31–32). Though Alcuin cites Gildas's interpretation of the defeat of the Britons in his letter to Archbishop Ethelhard after the sacking of Lindisfarne in 793, it is unlikely that Laȝamon knew of this letter. Stanley's identification of "Seinte Albin" with Alcuin is not entirely convincing since it may mean St. Alban, the first British martyr, whom Laȝamon refers to at lines 5437 and 9708.
the hands of the Scandinavians; the twelfth-century Latin historians and 
Lāzamon lived in an age that saw Gildas’s historiography vindicated and 
Wulfstan’s prophecy fulfilled, with the Norman victors as the instruments of 
God’s punishment. The roles have shifted and the Anglo-Saxon conquest is 
no longer the most recent one, but the movement of history is the same. In 
an early passage, before Julius Caesar invades the island and after the only 
reference to the Normans, Lāzamon reveals his cyclical view of history: “Thus 
has all this land fared, for foreign races (uncude leoden) who have conquered 
this land were then driven out, and others who were foreign seized it” (lines 
3549–51). By the time Lāzamon was writing, not only had history come full 
circle, but it had done so several times.

A related but separate influence in Lāzamon’s conception of history con-
cerns the racial identity of the Anglo-Saxons. By “race” (Lāzamon’s lead) I 
do not mean a narrow definition simply based on birth but one that adds to 
it a cluster of associations that include language, social structures, and a 
common myth of origin. The myth of origin plays a prominent part in Anglo-
Saxon historiographical writings, as Nicholas Howe has recently demon-
strated. He characterizes the myth as “an account of that ancestral past which, 
despite any evidence to the contrary, gives a group its irreducible common 
identity. And,” he continues, “for the Anglo-Saxons, there was considerable 
evidence that they were a loose amalgam of shifting kingdoms and dialect 
groups rather than a cohesive people.”90 The myth that gave this loose 
alagam its common identity was the migration of a group of Germanic 
tribes from the Continent to the island, or the adventus Saxonum: “The English 
could see themselves as a peod [‘people, race, tribe’] because they shared a 
memory of migration.”91 This identity distinguished them from, for example, 
later Germanic settlers, such as the Scandinavians, as well as from the Anglo-
Normans. It also distinguishes their identity as a people from that of a 
modern nation. The migration provides a central point of reference both in 
Bede’s history and in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, where it is invoked as a 
standard for measuring the magnitude of an event in phrasing that is almost 
formulaic. It is used, for example, in the entry for the murder of King 
Edward in 979: “And no worse deed than this for the English people was 
committed since first they came to Britain.”92 Similar phrasing occurs in the 
Chronicle poem The Battle of Brunanburh to describe how such masses had 
ever been killed in battle since the “Engle and Seaxe” came to Britain and 
conquered the “Wealas.” Parenthetically it adds, “as books, ancient scholars, 
tell us.”93 Though the Worcester copy of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle was con-
tinued with entries recorded up to 1097, it was not necessary for Lāzamon

90 Howe, Migrations, p. 5.
91 Howe, Migrations, p. 12.
92 “Ne weard Angel cyrne man wærsa deæd ge dor, þonne þeas was sydðan hi ærest Bryton 
land ge sōhun” (translation by Whitelock, quoted from Howe, Migrations, p. 30).
20. See the discussion by Howe, Migrations, pp. 30–31.
to discover his racial identity in it. Following Wace and Geoffrey, his own chronicle details the adventus Saxorum and the establishment of Anglo-Saxon dominance.

The events of Læstamon’s Brut stop far short of 1066, yet Gildas’s historiographical tradition and the migration myth provided powerful models to interpret the Norman Conquest as part of an overriding providential design. The island becomes not only a field on which different races (leaden) strive for dominance, but it is also the prize. In this light his archaistic Old English vocabulary and style would drive home the analogy between the English conquered by Normans and the Celts overrun by the Anglo-Saxons. The style and vocabulary are archaistic precisely because the old order has passed. They act as a common middle term that never lets Læstamon’s contemporary reader forget that the role of victims has shifted from the Britons to the postconquest Anglo-Saxons and that the role of victors has shifted from the Anglo-Saxons to the Normans. However hateful the invaders may be, they are the instruments of God’s punishment, which has been brought on by the unrepentant behavior of the Anglo-Saxons and, earlier, the Britons. Because the tradition of historiographical typology was so pervasive, it was not necessary for Læstamon to spell out the analogy in any detail; the clash between style and content was enough. (His reference to Bede as a source in line 16 is perhaps another clue.) This explanation does not depend solely on the opposition between the style and content of the Arthurian section of the chronicle, although this takes up two-thirds of the total and makes the strongest typological interpretation. Læstamon’s use of an old style by itself evokes memories of an Anglo-Saxon golden age, and his reluctance to use French words by itself draws attention to the linguistic and (by extension) political changes of postconquest England. Thus the contrast between the Anglo-Saxon past and present operates even outside the Arthurian section, because Læstamon draws attention to the literary and cultural complexity of his age precisely in its absence from his archaistic language and style.

Fitting the Norman Conquest into a vision of salvation history presumably would make the change in fortune for Læstamon’s contemporaries comprehensible and easier to accept. They could draw solace in the belief that God’s design shows his favor for the island and its inhabitants. At the same time, however, no interpretation could remove the resentment that Læstamon and his dispossessed contemporaries must have felt at their loss of power. His only reference to the Normans is a disparaging comment: “the Normans came with their evil guiles (mid-craften). . . . [T]hey blighted this land” (lines 3547-48). On the other hand, he had adapted to Norman culture at least to

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54 British Library, Cotton Tiburtius B.iv.
55 The sentiment is clear, for example, in The First Worcester Fragment from the late twelfth century. Clandisy quotes the bitter observation of William of Malmesbury in 1125 (“no Englishmen today is an earl or bishop or abbot: the newcomers gnaw at the wealth and the guts of England, nor is there any hope of ending this misery”) and describes the persistence of the English identity as a distinct people well into the thirteenth century, when ideals of nationalism took root (Rulers, p. 241).
the extent of reading French literature and admiring Wace's roman enough to translate it.\footnote{\'Wace could hardly be the only French poet he had read.' Pearsall, \textit{Old English}, p. 112. See also Salter, \textit{English and International}, pp. 58–61.} In other respects the new order was advantageous. England was far more prosperous and the church far more vigorous in the thirteenth century than in the eleventh. Cultural ties with the Continent were strong. It may not be too fanciful to look on the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in England as being generally a time of social ambivalence, felt not only by the Anglo-Saxons but also by the Normans in England. Some Normans, for example, referred to themselves as English, even though they could not speak English, and Anglo-Norman ancestral romances sought to establish family histories in England by exploiting local traditions and inventing local ancestors.\footnote{As an example of an Anglo-Norman who could not speak English, Swanton, \textit{Before Chaucer}, p. 192, cites the example of Ordericus Vitalis, born in Shropshire. M. Dominica Legge discusses ancestral romances in \textit{Anglo-Norman Literature and Its Backgrounds} (Oxford, 1963), esp. pp. 174–75 and 276. She also quotes an interesting passage from the ancestral romance \textit{Waldef} which reveals another kind of ambivalence felt by the Normans toward the Anglo-Saxons: "Als the country of England: the people who come from you are very ill-bred. They are such very silent people that they cannot speak to a woman, not undertake their service. But they are very beautiful and well-made and there is much goodness in them" (Legge's translation).} It was a period when Anglo-Normans found themselves caught between competing allegiances. Clanchy offers an example of how the feudal practice of pledging loyalty to two or more leaders was losing ground: "The sons of William the Marshal or the sons of Simon de Montfort (the elder), who inherited lands on each side of the Channel, had to decide whether they were Englishmen or Frenchmen and they found that difficult. For men at the top the demands of [nascent] nationalism caused a crisis of personal identity."\footnote{\textit{Rulers}, pp. 258–59. See also his comments on Henry III, p. 260.} Their hesitation in choosing sides is part of the ambivalence of being torn between changing political structures.

In addition to the prevailing ambivalence between Laȝamon's Anglo-Saxon style and anti-Anglo-Saxon content, one can draw other parallels between Laȝamon's contemporary situation and the historical past. One of the main lessons of the chronicle is that rulers, no matter how virtuous and powerful like Arthur, finally suffer defeat and die. Change is constant, and in the typological scheme history repeats itself as the guiding providential design unravels. At the same time, Laȝamon's writing style hearkens back to a golden age with classical, timeless ideals: a past preserved, however imperfectly, in the language of poetry. The lessons of history, then, taught Laȝamon to accept the Norman Conquest as part of the process of inevitable change, while poetry allowed him to draw solace from the nostalgic ideals of an Anglo-Saxon golden age.

One can see a similar ambivalence between the desire for permanence and the inevitability of change in language. Laȝamon's cultivation of an archaistic diction cleansed of foreign elements points to his desire for stability. He regards books as permanent repositories of wisdom,\footnote{He gives a hint of this in his reference to three authorities at the beginning of his chronicle, but even more explicitly in his references to the prophetic books of Sibyl (lines 12547–48 and} and his disparaging
comment about the Normans arises from his resentment of their "corruption" of the name of London. On the other hand, he approves the change of the name of the island from Britain to England ("heo binnomen heore nament: al for Brutene sceome," line 14681). And in numerous passages he takes pains to chronicle the change of languages spoken by the inhabitants of the island and the naming and renaming of places.

In viewing the Bruc's incompatibility between style and content as part of Lazamon's historical and cultural ambivalence, I have to disagree with Borges's claim that Lazamon abhorred his racial heritage as well as with those who would downplay his racial sympathies by subsuming them under the rubric of nationalism. The closest Lazamon comes to replacing racial antipathies with a unifying nationalism is in a crucial passage near the end, the climax of the Arthurian section, when the mortally wounded Arthur leaves his kingdom to Constantine, predicts that Queen Agante will take him to Avalon and heal his wounds, and promises to return:

\[
\text{And seele ich cumen wulle. to mine kineriche.} \\
\text{and wunnen mid Bruten. mid muchelere wunne.}
\]

Arthur says he will return to help the British, which is consistent with Lazamon's racial vision of history, yet a few lines later Lazamon restates the prophecy through Merlin: "hat an Ardur sculde zete: cum Anglen to fulste," that Arthur will come to help the English (line 14297). If this change is not a mistake as Madden believed, then it may be an attempt by Lazamon to extend Arthur's promise to the English as well as the British in a kind of paninsular gesture of unity against outsiders. Yet even if this interpretation is correct, it is the only such glimpse in Lazamon and postpones the day of national unity to the dim and indefinite future. Lazamon does not offer a unifying vision. He comes too late to be an Anglo-Saxon bard and too soon to be a nationalist poet. He remains caught between the old and the new, the Anglo-Saxon and the Anglo-Norman, in an age of competing allegiances, and from his middle position he balances the oppositions within the scheme of a historiographical tradition more complex than most of his modern admirers have allowed. Lazamon does not abhor his Anglo-Saxon heritage — he cherishes it, but he does so in a way that justifies its decline. This is his final ambivalence.

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16966. He also makes general references to the authority of books in lines 12114 and 13715. See Jesse D. Gale, The Idea of the Book in the Middle Ages: Language Theory, Mythology, and Fiction (Ithaca, 1985).

29 Lines 3539–55. This sentiment is repeated in lines 1027–36 but with some regret for the passing of names that Brutus gave to towns.

101 "They deprived them of their name, all to the disgrace of the Britons."

102 "And afterwards I will come to my kingdom and dwell with the British with great joy."

103 Madden, Chronicle, 3:5:10, glossarial note for line 28651: "Anglen — This is evidently an error for Britten." The Otho version has "Bretten" in this line. For another view see J. S. P. Tatlock, The Legendary History of Britain (Berkeley, 1950), pp. 504–5.

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