Finding Redemption in
Early Medieval English Literature

by

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Haruko Momma

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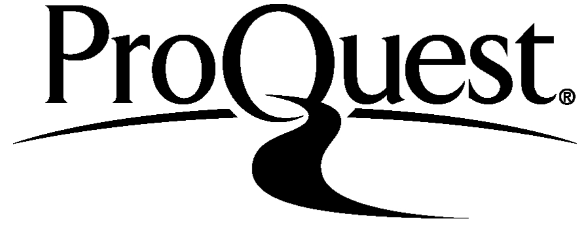

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DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this dissertation to Awilda María Oliver, my grandmamá who died before I was born and before she herself could finish a doctorate, and to María Teresa Cabrero, my mamá who was never able to finish her Master's due to life's circumstances. Both have modelled for me the profound intelligence, fierce resolve, and innate curiosity of women in my family, and I am proud to follow in such impressive footsteps.

To Andy Thomas, the father who never questioned my choice to pursue English, and Michael Erickson, the stepfather who understood the passion I felt about literature. Like Mamá, their support and deep literary and philosophical conversations have been powerful influences on me.

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Le quiero mi familia más que puedo decir, y esta es por ellos.

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ABSTRACT

Early Middle English is a vernacular of England that evolves from Old English a hundred years after the Norman Conquest of 1066 (c.1150-1300). The literature of this period is diverse, ranging from homilies to debate poetry and more, but traditional academic categories have failed to understand the nature of this diversity, which, in turn, fails to understand the literature of the late twelfth century. By approaching the period and specifically two works, the *Ormulum* and *Poema Morale*, from the perspective of Deleuze and Guattari's rhizome—an always expanding multiplicity made up of other multiplicities, all interconnected—we can better understand the innovative synthesis at work. The *Ormulum* is a collection of verse-homilies in strict septenary meter that paraphrase and explicate the Gospels; however, its organization is more akin to a gospel harmony while its explication is similar to a biblical commentary. *Poema Morale* is a devotional poem in a less stable septenary meter with rhyming couplets and exhorts Christian living in preparation for Judgment Day. Its transmission history, though, begins with a seemingly homiletic context.

We must return to the manuscript as our starting point because both the text and the manuscripts in which they survive reveal the extent to which writers synthesized vernacular and Latin form and content, resulting not only in new English devotional material and the appearance thereof, but also in a new English verse form, the septenary. Therefore, the origins of the English septenary arise from a synthesis of Latin meter and the Old English rhythmical prose style that was famously used by Abbot Ælfric of Eynsham and Archbishop Wulfstan of York. The writers, then, are culturally redeeming, or remediating, the English language and its redemptive material just as I hope to redeem Early Middle English literature in modern scholarship.

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POEMA MORALE INTERLINEAR EDITION

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INTRODUCTION

1.1 The Midcolonial Rhizome

Medieval British literature is a rhizome. Certainly, in medieval scholarship, Middle English in general has been characterized as "a protean, fluid medium, often incorporating a variety of discursive practices"[1]; but the same can be said of the "plural Latinities articulated in concrete relation to the variable circumstances of vernacular culture"[2] and the "multiple material forms and […] diversity of detectable functions"[3] in the period between the late tenth and twelfth centuries in England. Further, French literature at this time "exploits the possibilities of the manuscript page as a site where different languages, audiences and perspectives might be engaged simultaneously."[4] Authors were influenced by material, style, and form from a variety of linguistic (English, French, German, Latin, Norse) and cultural (Anglo-Saxon, Flemish, French, Lotharingian, Norman, Scandinavian) sites of inspiration, leading to a multiplicity of literary productions, patronages, and traditions.[5] Medieval British literature, therefore, is a rhizome, and this project takes as its focus the bulb, or "cluster of experimentation," of the late twelfth-century works of verse the *Ormulum* and *Poema Morale*.[6]

As Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari write in their pivotal work *A Thousand Plateaus*,

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[1] Andrew Scheil, "Sacred history and Old English religious poetry," in *The Cambridge History of Early Medieval English Literature*, ed. Clare A. Lees (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 407.
[2] David Townsend, "Latinities, 893-1143," in *Cambridge History* (2013), 531.
[3] Elaine Treharne, "The authority of the English, 900-1150," in *Cambridge History* (2013), 578.
[4] Thomas O'Donnell, Matthew Townend, and Elizabeth M. Tyler, "European literature and eleventh-century England," in *Cambridge History* (2013), 631.
[5] See O'Donnell, Townend, and Tyler, "European literature."
[6] The phrase "cluster of experimentation" arose in conversation with Dorothy Kim about Early Middle English, July 2014. Kim also discusses "clusters of experimentation" in her forthcoming book *Jewish/Christian Entanglements: Ancrene Wisse and its Material Worlds* (University of Toronto Press).

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"The rhizome itself assumes very diverse forms, from ramified surface extension in all directions to concretion into bulbs and tubers."[7] For the rhizome,

> There is no ideal speaker-listener, any more than there is a homogeneous linguistic commnity. […] There is no mother tongue, only a power takeover by a dominant language within a political multiplicity. Language stabilizes around a parish, a bishopric, a capital. It forms a bulb.[8]

It can be said that both the author of the *Ormulum* (Orm) and the anonymous poet of *Poema Morale* have no "homogeneous linguistic community" because of the social, political, and linguistic composition of England in the late twelfth century. Indeed, scholars recently have put forward the notion of an "internationalism" in the eleventh and early twelfth centuries that reveals the ways in which "the households of Cnut, Edward the Confessor, Henry I and others had made their courts places of international exchange and cultural innovation."[9] Although both the *Ormulum* and *Poema Morale* are written in English, and therefore possibly imply a single English "speaker-listener" reception, the particularities of the socio-cultural environment in which their respective authors, scribes, and compilers actually composed, copied, and compiled them suggest a vastly different reality. A reality composed of multiplicities, of "becomings,"[10] of

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[7] Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, trans. and foreword by Brian Massumi (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987), 7. I should note here that Arthur Bahr's *Fragments and Assemblages: Forming Compilations of Medieval London* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013) also makes use of Deleuze and Guattari's theories of the rhizome and assemblage. Bahr writes that their "deconstructive turn […] usefully reminds us that no assembled object, and especially no materially fragmented medieval manuscript, can fully sustain whatever unifying impulses might have inspired its construction" (38). Thus, our conceptualizations are somewhat similar, but focus on different periods of medieval English literature with different ends.
[8] Deleuze and Guattari, *Plateaus*, 7.
[9] O'Donnell, Townend, and Tyler, "European literature," 636. The ending of the essay proclaims that "not only were the country's courts fully embedded within European literary culture, but they were among the culture's most powerful engines of change" (636).
[10] Deleuze and Guattari, *Plateaus*, 21.

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"experimentation[s] in contact with the real."[11] As I will discuss in a section below, scholars of late Anglo-Saxon poetry and Early Middle English literature have struggled to articulate the reasons for the emergent differences between the forms of English verse in Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman England with the resulting conclusions, to name a few: a decline in classical Old English verse,[12] an elevation of English through Latinity,[13] a "literary resistance" in an island-nation defined by conquest,[14] and a failure of modern categories ("not the literature that will not fit into them") to account for the Early Middle English multiplicity of forms, even though such "richness came to an end."[15]

Because the rhizome—and therefore late twelfth-century English verse—"operates by variation, expansion, conquest, capture, offshoots," it should be unsurprising that one of the metaphors that Deleuze and Guattari use for its composition, the plateau, which "is always in the middle, not at the beginning or the end," leads me to a consideration of postcoloniality.[16] Discussions of the postcolonial Middle Ages are often reserved for the first few centuries of the medieval period (e.g., Roman occupation, Germanic invasions) and the Other in early medieval

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[11] Ibid., 12.
[12] See R. D. Fulk, *The History of Old English Meter* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992). The whole of Chapter X: Late Developments is revealing of typical attitudes towards late Old English and Early Middle English alliterative verse, especially at 264 where Fulk consistently refers to "metrical faults" of the verse.
[13] See Emily V. Thornbury, *Becoming a Poet in Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), especially 224-235.
[14] See Elaine Treharne, "Categorization, Periodization: The Silence of (the) English in the Twelfth Century," *New Medieval Literatures* 8 (2006): 247-273, especially 261 for the origin of the phrase "literary resistance"; and her *Living through Conquest: The Politics of Early English, 1020-1220* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), especially 139-140, 164-165.
[15] See Christopher Cannon, *The Grounds of English Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), especially 11-13. In the introduction here, Cannon gestures towards the argument in his final chapter regarding the way "literary variety was replaced by a single idea of literature and, thus, a single, normative form" (13).
[16] Deleuze and Guattari, *Plateaus*, 21.

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and late Middle English (e.g., monsters/monstrous bodies, pagans, non-Western peoples). Early Middle English, as a literature and a language that is often characterized as being in a diminished state due to conquest, is rarely invited into these discussions while Anglo-Norman and Anglo-Latin texts written in the period, such as historiographies and hagiographies, frequently have a seat at the postcolonial table.[17]

The historical events of conquest in Britain (e.g., Cnut's invasion of 1016, William the Conqueror's in 1066) undeniably created a linear cause-and-effect rift or shift in vernacular English literary culture, but the problem with applying postcolonial theory to the Middle Ages has often turned to questions of whether or not these premodern invasions can be seen as colonizing, without which there can, supposedly, be no postcoloniality of discourse or form. However, in his introduction to *The Postcolonial Middle Ages*, Jeffrey Jerome Cohen writes:

> "Post-colonial" suggests straightforwardly enough that a historical period exists that is after colonialism. "Postcolonialism," the hyphen digested but its constituent elements bumping against each other without synthesis, has come to signify a temporal contiguity to, rather than an evolutionary difference from, the noun that forms its linguistic based.[18]

It follows, then, that this concept of postcolonial theory gives us access to "any time or place where one social group dominates another."[19] The strict historical chronology or reliance upon temporally-based social encounters are irrelevant, if not directly counterproductive, to a

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[17] Ironically, in the second chapter of *Hybridity, Identity, and Monstrosity in Medieval Britain* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), Jeffrey Jerome Cohen acknowledges the trauma of post-Conquest England and characterizes it as a postcolonial crisis of identity (52-54), but he then spends the entirety of the chapter ("Between Belongings: History's Middles") discussing Anglo-Latin or Welsh-Latin writers like Bede, William of Malmesbury, and Geoffrey of Monmouth. The English vernacular—the language of the people who supposedly "were quickly transformed from *indigeni* to *gens subacta*, from native dwellers to a subject people" (53)—its writers, and its reader-listeners are never addressed.
[18] Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, "Introduction: Midcolonial," in *The Postcolonial Middle Ages*, ed. Jeffrey Jerome Cohen (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001), 3.
[19] Ibid.

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medieval engagement with the postcolonial. When we finally relinquish our desire for linearity and homogeneity in histories, "time itself becomes a problem for postcolonial studies, and the medieval 'meridian' or 'middle' becomes an instrument useful for rethinking what postcolonial might signify."[20] Moreover, Cohen sets aside Gayatri Spivak's suggested replacement of "neocolonial" for "postcolonial" and instead puts forth the term "midcolonial," which he defines as "the time of 'always-already,' an intermediacy that no narrative can pin to a single moment of history in its origin or end."[21] Cohen suggests that chronological sequences of events—Deleuze and Guattari's rejected arborescence[22]—are not necessary for theorizing the postcoloniality of a text, an object, a culture, a moment. While my analysis of Early Middle English necessitates a certain level of chronology—after all, the literary traditions and materials from which my authors draw *predate* their appropriation in the late twelfth century—I would like to emphasize the "heterogeneity, overlap, sedimentation, and multiplicity" of the pieces of verse in question.[23] That is, the specific bulb under investigation here, the cluster composed of the *Ormulum* and *Poema Morale*.

1.2 Redemption

It seems only right that the overarching theme of this project is redemption—spiritual, linguistic,

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[20] Ibid., 2-3.
[21] Ibid., 3.
[22] "To be rhizomorphous is to produce stems and filaments that seem to be roots, or better yet connect with them by penetrating the trunk, but put them to strange new uses. We're tired of trees. We should stop believing in trees, roots, and radicles. They've made us suffer too much. All of arborescent culture is founded on them, from biology to linguistics. Nothing is beautiful or loving or political aside from underground stems and aerial roots, adventitious growths and rhizomes," Deleuze and Guattari, *Plateaus*, 15.
[23] Cohen, *Postcolonial*, 3.

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cultural, and intellectual—because the process of redemption is also rather rhizomorphous. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the word "redeem" comes from the classical Latin *redimere*, meaning

> to buy back, to recover by purchase, to buy up, to make good, to pay the cost of, to fulfil (a promise), to make up or atone for, to contract for, to procure the release of (a person) by payment, to ransom, to buy (someone out of a predicament), to rescue, save, to get rid of by monetary concessions, buy off.

Only in the post-classical period does the word take on the religious meaning "to deliver from sin and its consequences" as it relates to God or Christ. This implies that redemption is always a process of movement, exchange, transaction. Redemption is not free; it must be bargained, just as Christ made a bargain to free the souls from hell with his death and blood. After all, as *Poema Morale* reminds us, Christ "*bohte* us mid his blode" ("bought us with his blood," 188).[24] In order to reclaim its cultural status, to reacquire cultural capital, English must first redeem itself as a viable literary language so that by the time Chaucer is writing his first short verses, the way has been prepared by countless vernacular English authors, participating in various experimental clusters. Thus, English must pay or offer something in exchange, and its payment comes in the form of synthesis, of innovation, of constantly playing with materials and traditions to produce literary forms from the reliably old-fashioned and the exhilaratingly new-fangled. Although medieval British literature was "always-already" multiplicitous, the late twelfth-century writers, followed by those in the thirteenth century, embraced its nature as an "assemblage"—a multiplicity made up of connections to other multiplicities, the center or middle always shifting

[24] My emphasis. All quotations of *Poema Morale* come from my edition of the version that survives in London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 487 unless otherwise noted. All translations are my own.

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depending on one's entryway, for there are many.[25]

Redemption seemingly has a beginning and ending—the commencement of the search for redemption, culmintating, hopefully, in a conclusion in which the seeker reclaims that which was previously taken (e.g., Paradise, cultural status). But redemption as a process cannot arise from the start or finish of one's (e.g., person, culture, language) existence. It must begin *in medias res*; it must "grow out from the middle," and the same can be said of Early Middle English verse as a body of literature, as I have already intimated.[26] It resides in a space of double-middleness. On the one hand, it dwells within the larger period of the Middle Ages—itself a historical and literary period placed between Antiquity and the Renaissance, a middle space often dismissed in academia and viewed as a space for contemporary metaphors of barbarism and religious terrorism. On the other hand, Early Middle English is situated between the two dominant fields in the English Middle Ages: the Anglo-Saxon period (the home of *Beowulf* and the Exeter Book) and the later Middle Ages (the domain of Chaucer, Langland, and Gower). This periodized "middle" may shift further in the future as periods and categories of literature are further scrutinized in academia, but this middleness is overt, grotesquely blatant in relation to the subtler midcolonial, rhizomorphous nature of medieval British literature generally and Early Middle English verse specifically, which may be one reason why the latter is still understudied in medieval scholarship.

Despite the early work of established scholars like Mary Swan, Elaine Treharne, and Christopher Cannon, as well as more recent work by emerging scholars like George Younge,

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[25] Deleuze and Guattari, *Plateaus*, 4, 12.
[26] Gilles Deleuze, *Negotiations*, trans. Martin Joughin (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1995), 161.

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Mark Faulkner, and Stephen Pelle on twelfth-century English literature, its works of verse often go unnoticed.[27] This project is an attempt to begin the redemptive process for these verse texts, specifically the *Ormulum* and *Poema Morale*, within modern medieval scholarship while studying their spiritually redemptive content in new light. The texts' search for spiritual redemption just so happens to enact a kind of cultural and linguistic redemption simultaneously by making use of the seemingly least prestigious language in England at the time, the English vernacular.[28] While the English literature of the twelfth century has received more attention within the last twenty-five years than it has enjoyed since the first nineteenth- and twentieth-century scholars, mostly philologists, initially visited it, these newer studies do little by way of investigating the multiplicity of literary influences and content. Rather, this scholarship either reveals the dependence of twelfth-century homiletic prose on Old English prose, as is the case

[27] See, for example, Mary Swan, "Preaching Past the Conquest: Lambeth Palace 487 and Cotton Vespasian A.xxii," in *The Old English Homily: Precedent, Practice, and Appropriation*, ed. Aaron J. Kleist, Studies in the Early Middle Ages, vol. 17 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 403-423; Elaine Treharne, "The Life and Times of Old English Homilies for the First Sunday in Lent," in *The Power of Words: Anglo-Saxon Studies Presented to Donald G. Scragg on his Seventieth Birthday*, ed. Hugh Magennis and Jonathan Wilcox (Morgantown: West Virginia University Press, 2006), 205-240; Mary Swan and Elaine M. Treharne, eds., *Rewriting Old English in the Twelfth Century*, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 30 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Christopher Cannon, "Between the Old and Middle of English," *New Medieval Literatures* 7 (2005): 203-221; George Younge, "The New Heathens: Anti-Jewish Hostility in Early English Literature," in *Writing Europe, 500-1450: Texts and Contexts*, ed. Aidan Conti, Orietta Da Rold, and Philip Shaw (Woodbridge: Brewer, 2015), 123-145; Mark Faulkner, "Archaism, Belatedness and Modernisation: 'Old' English in the Twelfth Century," *Review of English Studies* 63 (2012): 179-203; and Stephen Pelle, "The Date and Intellectual Milieu of the Early Middle English Vices and Virtues," *Neophilologus* 99 (2015): 151-166. For a survey of the research done on the *Ormulum* and *Poema Morale*, see Chapters 2 and 4, respectively.

[28] This view may be contested when one considers the fact that English works were sometimes translated into Latin and French, such as the case of the *Ancrene Wisse* in the thirteenth through fifteenth centuries. However, in the twelfth century, the more common practice seems to be of translation from Latin or French into English (e.g., the historiographies of Geoffrey of Monmouth (Latin), Wace (Anglo-Norman), and La3amon (Early Middle English)).

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with the work of Treharne, Swan, and others, or it interrogates the period's multiple forms as an endeavor to explain the literary historical phenomenon typically seen as the emergence of Middle English literature from a "native literary vacuum,"[29] as seen in Christopher Cannon's groundbreaking *The Grounds of English Literature*. This project is in response to the perceived lack of attention to what the twelfth century actually has to say in its newly composed religious verse, which is indebted to the Old English tradition but is not simply a regurgitation or adaptation of it, and the metrical and manuscript forms in which it chooses to communicate.

1.3 Synthesis and Remediation

The late twelfth-century corpus of vernacular English verse is small yet diverse in its form, content, genre, and purpose (intended or realized). The works that most easily come to mind besides the *Ormulum* and *Poema Morale* are La3amon's *Brut*, "The Grave," and possibly *The Owl and the Nightingale*.[30] The first two works both seem to adopt the Latin septenary—a form of quantitative meter that consists of fifteen syllables per line with the last syllable remaining unstressed (or seven feet and an incomplete foot). The second two have been described as engaging in deliberate "archaism" by using purposefully antiquated language and alliterative

[29] Ian Short, "Language and Literature," in *A Companion to the Anglo-Norman World*, eds. Christopher Harper-Bill and Elisabeth van Houts (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2003), 195.
[30] I say "possibly *The Owl and the Nightingale*" because although it survives in two thirteenth-century manuscripts, the reference to a "king Henri" at line 1091 and conflicting linguistic evidence may indicate a composition of the poem at the end of the twelfth century. For more on the complications of dating, see Neil Cartlidge, ed., introduction to *The Owl and the Nightingale: Text and Translation* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2008; originally printed 2001; corrected reprint with revised bibliography 2003), xiii-xvi.

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meter in the tradition of Old English poetry, yet still markedly different.[31] The final poem, which may or may not belong to the twelfth century, represents an English poem with the most French influence (e.g., rhyming octosyllbic verse). However, even in all these examples, we cannot claim that any one tradition or set of material was more or less influential; in varying degrees, they all rely on a certain level of combining "old and new traditions."[32] This joining, which I refer to as "synthesis" because it denotes not just an admixture but a union through a combination of elements from various origins, results in verse texts that are different from one another but with the common denominator of synthesis as presented, or remediated, in *English*. My decision to focus on only the *Ormulum* and *Poema Morale* is driven by the desire to focus on one result of synthesis: the use of the English septenary to communicate religiously redemptive material to the English laity.

I am far from the first to identify the combination of older vernacular and newer Latin traditions in the literature of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. The quandary has been the subject of much scholarship since the mid twentieth century, most especially on the *Ancrene Wisse* Group, but no "unified theory," as Bella Millett puts it, has yet arisen from such work.[33] Millett attempts an explanation by going "beyond the search for a single point of origin

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[31] See E. G. Stanley, "Laȝamon's Antiquarian Sentiments," *Medium Ævum* 38 (1969): 23-37. Thomas A. Bredehoft also investigates Laȝamon's direct familiarity with late Anglo-Saxon verse, which helped him to consciously engage in anachronistic poetic composition. See Bredehoft, *Early English Metre* (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 2005), especially "Layamon's Old English Poetics," 110-20.

[32] Bella Millett, "The Pastoral Context of the Trinity and Lambeth Homilies," in *Essays in Manuscript Geography: Vernacular Manuscripts of the English West Midlands from the Conquest to the Sixteenth Century*, ed. Wendy Scase (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 43-64.

[33] Bella Millett, "The *Ancrene Wisse* Group," in *A Companion to Middle English Prose*, ed. A. S. G. Edwards (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2004), 9.

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and look[ing] at the broader historical context within which the Group was produced."[34] That is, she considers the resulting texts in the Group

> the product of a post-1215 pastoral context in which reforming bishops in the West Midlands, working in conjunction with the friars, acted as catalysts for the production of devotional literature in the vernacular, drawing simultaneously on the native tradition of vernacular religious prose and newer continental Latin models.[35]

In a 2007 essay, Millett suggests extending her "unified theory" for the *Ancrene Wisse* Group to other external works and beyond the immediate period of the Fourth Lateran Council, thus including compilations like the Trinity and Lambeth Homilies.[36] These prose works, Millett argues, may be considered, then, "as marking consecutive, and to some extent connected, stages of a revival of vernacular religious prose produced by a broader English movement of pastoral reform, dating back at least to the Third Lateran Council of 1179."[37]

To a certain extent, I agree with Millett's observation and general "unified theory," but she limits the application of this theory to Early Middle English prose.[38] The late twelfth-century verse remains untouched, which is odd since copies of *Poema Morale* survive in both the Lambeth and Trinity Homilies. Further, the earliest date of composition of the *Ormulum*, the writing of which spanned approximately two decades, precedes the Third Lateran Council by almost thirty years. What, then, are we to make of its verse homilies and later developments of Early Middle English verse? To answer this question, the research of Thomas A. Bredehoft and Emily V. Thornbury on the late Anglo-Saxon poetic tradition is invaluable because they offer

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[34] Ibid., 9.
[35] Millett, "Pastoral Context," 60-1.
[36] Ibid., 61.
[37] Ibid.
[38] Granted, the Wooing Group texts are considered "lyrical prose" and therefore an argument may be made that they are verse.

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alternative ways of understanding what scholars have previously considered the decay of classical Old English verse. The multiplicity of influences on and forms of late Anglo-Saxon verse seems to parallel the multiplicity of influences on and forms of Early Middle English verse, which precedes the assortment of prose that arises in the early thirteenth century. I believe that if we apply elements of both Bredehoft's and Thornbury's analyses to the late twelfth-century production of verse, what we find is strikingly similar to what they have uncovered in late Anglo-Saxon poetry, thus pointing to a connected, though neither continuous nor evolving, tradition in the composition of English redemptive verse.

Moreover, the kinds of synthesis visible in the *Ormulum* and *Poema Morale* specifically are threefold and include manuscript layout, content, and metrical form. This is where "synthesis" meets "remediation" because the rhizomorphous movement of these works of verse is one in which the roots of multiple bulbs converge. The manuscript layout may have one column of continuous script, like Old English, or it may be lineated, like Latin or French. The content may rely upon Old English homiletic material or it may come from a multiplicity of Latin source materials. The metrical form, which has most boggled the collective scholarly mind, is an exercise in applying a specific Latin form—the fifteen-syllable septenarius—or it may be an unstable, less quantitative and more rhythmical form with rhyming couplets of the Latin and French tradition. No matter how we look at these combinations, syntheses, assemblages, the result is the same: late twelfth-century innovation, as a rhizome, enacts a kind of remediation of English.

In thinking about remediation in the late twelfth century, I have found useful Clifford Siskin and William Warner's collection *This Is Enlightenment* and in particular their introduction

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that begins with a consideration of Francis Bacon's *Great Instauration: The New Organon*, in which Bacon eschews Aristotle's work on logic and Scholasticism in favor of a new "machine" that actually works in advancing knowledge.[39] As Siskin and Warner point out, Bacon's "machine" is nothing physical at all; instead, what Bacon is really arguing for is a new method to accomplish the mind's tasks—in this case, supplanting Aristotelian logic.[40] Bacon's method that was most important to the sciences was that of induction, the process that allows for the creation of generalizations based on factual observations. However, Siskin and Warner continue:

> But we should not forget that it was only part of the solution to a larger problem: how to renew all knowledge. Induction itself was but one kind of method, and method was but one kind of tool, and tools were important because knowledge could never be direct: knowing required tooling. The problem of renewal—of why knowledge stalled and what to do about it—was thus fundamentally for Bacon a problem of "mediation."[41]

Mediation, then, is "shorthand for the work done by tools, by what we would now call 'media' of every kind—everything that intervenes, enables, supplements, or is simply in between—emphasizing the Baconian stipulation that media of some kind are always at work."[42] Although Bacon used "mediation" to "refer to divine and human intercession," we have, as Siskin and Warner point out, experienced an expansion of terms, like medium and media: we now have not just media, mass media, and the media, but we also have "remediation," which "describes what they do to each other."[43]

If vernacular religious literature (or in Baconian terms, the knowledge of redemption) in medieval England is first mediated through the manuscript page in a single column layout, it is

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[39] Clifford Siskin and William Warner, introduction to *This is Enlightenment* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010), 1-36.
[40] Ibid., 5.
[41] Ibid.
[42] Ibid.
[43] Ibid., 6.

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then *re*mediated in double columns by the late twelfth century and especially the thirteenth century when it had become more common.[44] Further, as we will see with *Poema Morale*, even when English manuscripts retain a single column layout, their scribes begin to adopt the Latin and French custom of lineating verse on the page. The *Ormulum*, however, displays a strikingly complex synthesis of traditions: its Dedication and other prefatory material are laid out in one wide column while all the homilies appear in double columns; yet the verse homilies within the double columns, just like the prefatory material, are distinguished as verse only insofar as Orm includes consistent metrical pointing, not actual lineation on the page. Similarly, the verse form in which the language appears may be seen as the remediation of a language that we previously saw mediated through formulaic alliterative verse, rhythmical prose, or prose (generally speaking). The unique Old English *Riming Poem* belies the Anglo-Saxons' knowledge and eschewal of end-rhyme, preferring instead alliteration with its doublets, tags, and assonance. The same can be said of its content, such as the remediation of Latin content in not just the English language but also Old English homiletic phraseology in the *Ormulum*. Additionally, as we will see in *Poema Morale*, Old English homilies were dismantled in such a way as to provide slightly recontextualized material in new rhyming couplets of Early Middle English. Without these forms of remediation (*not* translation), Latin liturgical material may not have made its way to the English laity (e.g., the Virgin Mary as the *stella maris*). Because each bulb, each experimental

[44] Alexander R. Rumble, "The construction and writing of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts," in *Working with Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, ed. Gale R. Owen-Crocker, Exeter Medieval Texts and Studies (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2009), 29-59. Rumble explains: "Although double columns are unusual in vernacular manuscripts of the Anglo-Saxon period, they are more common in Latin and bilingual texts." Further, he writes, "The use of a single wide column of long lines was usual for vernacular texts," including verse because it was not vernacular practice to lineate verse, even though "some Latin verse composed or copied in the period" made use of poetic lines on the page. (34)

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cluster of Early Middle English is made of multiplicities (e.g., forms, layouts, sources, influences), even within a cluster there is variation. Thus, *Poema Morale*'s form of remediation is different from that of the *Ormulum*'s. The two common denominators in these works are their seemingly shared poetic form and their connection, explicit or not, to the Old English homiletic tradition.

1.4 Contrasting Views of Late Anglo-Saxon and Early Middle English Verse

Derek Pearsall claims that there is "nothing of quality in the late Old English period" besides a select few poems, mentions the "decline of poetic production and the hardening of function" as "readily perceptible," and finally refers to the "monastic hack-work" of vernacular English poetry in this period.[45] The late Anglo-Saxon poem *An Exhortation to Christian Living*, for example, is made up of 82 lines that demonstrate the type of "metrical decay" that scholars have long since noticed in poems like the *Battle of Maldon* that belong to the late Anglo-Saxon period (last decade of the tenth century to the early twelfth century).[46] More importantly, Whitbread points out that the poem "shows little if any traces of the older verse vocabulary, and in its diction links up with the homiletic output of the tenth and eleventh centuries."[47] R. D. Fulk makes a similar argument for *Judgment Day II*, explaining that its "metrical faults […] are not random, but follow the same patterns found in demonstrably late verse."[48] What he finds

[45] Derek Pearsall, *The Routledge History of English Poetry, Volume 1: Old English and Middle English Poetry* (London: Routledge, 1977), 62-4. For more on his discussion of the decline of Old English poetry, see the section entitled "'Classical' poetry in late Old English," 60-66.
[46] L. Whitbread, "Notes on the old english *An Exhortation to Christian Living*," *Studia Neophilologica*, 23 (1950), 101. See also Fulk, *History*.
[47] L. Whitbread, "Notes," 101.
[48] Fulk, *History*, 264.

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especially indicative of this is "the avoidance of alliteration between the velar and palatal varieties of *g*," and, along with the Old English poems already mentioned in this paragraph would add the following as demonstrating the same level of "metrical fault": *A Summons to Prayer*,[49] the *Lord's Prayer II*, the Old English Metrical Psalms, and the *Judgment of the Damned*.[50] Interestingly, Fulk finds "a more advanced state of the same tendencies" of these metrical faults in "[t]ransitional and early Middle English alliterative verse."[51]

These apocalyptic visions of the death and decay of a pure, or "classical," Old English metrical style stunts the growth of productive scholarship on English poetry that does not fit easily within (scholarly) established paradigms of Old English verse forms. In order to contest this apocalyptic view of the death and decay of classical Old English poetry, Bredehoft and Thornbury have recently offered new explanations for the differences between "classical" and later Old English poetry. Bredehoft, for example, argues that the composition of *Beowulf* and other earlier Old English poems must have been difficult, "even for the original tenth- and eleventh-century readers of the surviving 'four great poetic manuscripts,'" and what writers in the eleventh-century were able to do was "mine" earlier works, especially the prose of Ælfric and Wulfstan, for the most poetic passages to include in new verse compositions.[52] This, Bredehoft explains, would imply a more complex tradition of late Anglo-Saxon poetic composition than

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[49] Fred C. Robinson has suggested that this poem should be read as part of *An Exhortation to Christian Living* so that the two become one poem, *The Rewards of Piety*. See his essay "'The Rewards of Piety': Two Old English Poems in Their Manuscript Context," in *Hermeneutics and Medieval Culture*, ed. Patrick J. Gallacher and Helen Damico (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989): 193-200.
[50] Fulk, *History*, 264.
[51] Ibid.
[52] Thomas A. Bredehoft, *Authors, Audience, and Old English Verse* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 173-4, 206.

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mere overlap between the homiletic and the poetic at this time, but, rather, an engaged interweaving of the two supposedly separate genres. Indeed, as Andrew Rabin has recently shown in a publication on Wulfstan's homiletic and legal writings in the early eleventh century, the generic categories and poetic paradigms that we impose on the past are anachronistic.[53] While they can help us to come to some understanding of the literature of the distant past, they also obscure the complexities of poetic, homiletic, and legal composition, among other genres, in a way that our present literary culture may not be able to fully comprehend. As I will show in the following chapters, the same can be said of the Early Middle English pieces of verse under investigation here.

By taking a different methodological approach, Thornbury makes an argument about late Anglo-Saxon poetry in a similar vein as scholars who have previously referenced the "protean" nature of Middle English or the multiplicity of Early Middle English. She argues that "the experience of most Anglo-Saxon poets was one of community with an admixture of isolation, but in proportions diverse enough to produce a very broad range of results," which culminates in a "wide spectrum of poetic experience."[54] One result is a style of poetic composition in the late Anglo-Saxon period that she dubs the "Southern mode," and which she characterizes as the "apotheosis of Old English verse, not its downfall."[55] The Southern mode, Thornbury explains, includes the textual communities of Kent, Wessex, and Worcester, spanning from the southeast to the southwest to the West Midlands, and it purposefully diverged from the classical Old English poetic style by relying heavily on Latin sources to create new vernacular texts that

[53] See, for example, Andrew Rabin, ed. and trans., *The Political Writings of Archbishop Wulfstan of York* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015), especially 19.
[54] Thornbury, *Becoming a Poet*, 199.
[55] Ibid., 224.

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"functioned not as commentaries or retellings, but as simulacra."[56] The effect was "a conspicuously non-nativizing medium for representing foreign texts," but not all texts in the Southern mode take their material directly from a Latin source, which seems to have been the most common way of composing such a text.[57] She explains, "The essential criterion is that a poem *sound* as if it *might* have a Latin original."[58] For example, while scholars like Nils-Lennart Johannesson and Stephen Morrison have identified multiple influences and sources for the *Ormulum*, such as the *Glossa Ordinaria* and writings by Hrabanus Maurus, some still seem to cling to the erroneous idea that they still have not yet found *the* source. This misconception stems from Orm's constant references to "þe boc," which they take to mean a specific exemplar from which Orm was working. Based on the manuscript evidence, however, Orm most usually returned to phrases including "þe boc" and altered them to read the "Godspelles boc," the "soþ boc," the "Grikkess boc," the "Judewisshe boc," or the "Latin boc," to name just a few.[59] The evidence would suggest, then, that Orm made great use of multiple sources to produce his collection of verse-homilies, even though he claims only to be translating the Gospels into the English language. I have belabored this point because the *Ormulum* cannot be linked to any single Latin source, but it *seems* like that should be the case. Because it *sounds* like it derives from such a source, it demonstrates precisely Thornbury's point regarding the late Anglo-Saxon Southern mode.

Thornbury makes a further claim about the Southern mode by demonstrating that such

[56] Ibid., 224-5.
[57] Ibid.
[58] Ibid., 225, my emphasis.
[59] That is, he added these qualifications when he kept "þe boc" phrases instead of excising them completely and replacing them with another phrase. For more on this element of Orm's ongoing revisions, see Chapter 2.

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literature had a "plausible connection with lay piety."[60] In fact, she argues that the true "power" of this new form was in its ability to transcend the boundaries of the religious institution to reach the laity:

> [B]y giving laypeople the chance to feel that they were directly experiencing Latin texts, the authors of such poems could also help build ties beyond cloister and cathedral walls. It is even possible that some authors in the Southern mode were themselves laypeople who wanted to participate in Latinate high culture: even a poet with 'small Latin' or none could create verse that sounded as if it had a Latin antecedent.[61]

One of the Old English poems that makes use of the Southern mode is *Judgment Day II*, which is a loose translation from Bede. Bredehoft refers to *Judgment Day II* in his discussion of poetic elements in the Old English homily referred to as Napier XXIX, which he also argues was composed using the poem *Min Drihten Leof*.[62] Therefore, we have one discussion of the poem as purposefully composed in such a way as to function more as a "simulacra" and another on the same poem as source material for a late Old English prose homily, which also "mined" lines from other pieces of verse. One entertaining argument could be made here that the Napier XXIX compiler was recognizing the seeming Latin authority of *Judgment Day II* because of its ability to represent a non-vernacular English text, but what is most interesting to note is the fact that both approaches speak to the complexity of the verse in the late twelfth century. The *Ormulum* seems to be legitimized by its Latinity while *Poema Morale* is constructed precisely by textually mining parts of Old English homiletic material ultimately derived from Latin sources. The assemblage of Early Middle English verse requires an authenticating Latinity, whether that is in its content or its poetic form.

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[60] Thornbury, *Becoming a Poet*, 235.
[61] Ibid., 235-6.
[62] Bredehoft, *Authors*, 183-5.

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1.5 Old English Rhythmic Prose and the English Septenary

Bede, as far as I can tell, is the first to write about the Latin septenarius in his textbook on Latin poetry and rhetoric that he meant for the monastic school at Jarrow.[63] Calvin B. Kendall rehearses the scholarly assumption that the work was written before 702 when Bede became a priest because he dedicates the book to Cuthbert, to whom he refers as a "fellow deacon," but by entertaining the possibility of a later date, Kendall considers the "attractive conjecture that the Cuthbert to whom it is dedicted is the same Cuthbert who wrote the moving account of his 'beloved father and teacher' in 735."[64] The specifics of the dating are not of immediate import, however; the pre- or post-702 dating clearly marks the knowledge of the Latin septenarius in England four centuries before Orm and the anonymous poet of *Poema Morale* began their compositions. In the first part of the textbook on the art of poetry, Bede writes a short chapter (XXIII) on the septenarius (*de metro trochaico tetrametro*) and a slightly longer chapter (XXIV) on rhythmic verse (*de rithmo*).[65] Both chapters are significant because although Orm seems to be following Bede or another Latin writer very closely in his adherence to the quantitative value of the Latin septenarius, *Poema Morale*'s meter is far more complicated and more reminiscent of rhythmic verse—a form that is qualitative rather than quantitative—that takes the septenarius as its base model for its length.[66]

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[63] Bede, *Libri II De Arte Metrica et De Schematibus et Tropis: The Art of Poetry and Rhetoric*, the Latin text with an English translation, introduction, and notes by Calvin B. Kendall (Saarbrücken: AQ-Verlag, 1991), 15.
[64] Ibid., 28. The reference to Cuthbert as a "fellow deacon" comes from chapter XXV (167).
[65] Ibid., 158-9 and 160-3, respectively.
[66] Bede, *De Arte Metrica*, 161: "metrical verse is a quantitative system with a rhythmical beat, while rhythmic verse has a rhythmical beat without a quantitative system." In contrast, the Latin

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As for the origin of the English septenary line in the *Ormulum*, Schipper suggests that Orm was influenced by the Latin iambic catalectic tetrameter because of the extra syllable at the end of the verse line.[67] The example he provides—*O crux, frutex salvificus*, | *vivo fonte rigatus*—comes from the *Planctus Bonaventurae* of the thirteenth century. Significantly, Schipper has written two tetrametric lines, which, alone, typically contain four metrical feet, to demonstrate how every second line is catalectic. That is, the line is incomplete and ends with only half a foot. The verse form is very similar to that found in Holt's indented half-lines in his edition of the *Ormulum*: a combined fifteen syllables, seven feet (alternating four and three), and an incomplete foot with an unstressed syllable. However, Solopova maintains a direct correlation between this specific form of Latin meter and Orm's verse is not necessarily accurate. She reminds us that the fifteen-syllable catalectic tetrameter was not written in iambic meter at the time of Orm's composition.[68] Rather, it was usually written as the trochaic tetrameter catalectic, as the Latin title of Bede's chapter XXIII makes clear, and Solopova points out that Orm's meter more closely resembles the "native tradition" found in *Poema Morale*, *The Woman of Samaria*, and *A Good Orison of Our Lady*.[69] This tradition refers to the Old English four-beat verse, which may have contributed to the eight-syllable half-lines that emerge in the late twelfth century in

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septenarius is clearly quantitative: "The trochaic tetrameter catalectic, or the septenarius, […] takes the trochee in every foot, and the spondee in every foot but the third. It is formed with alternating lines in such a way that the first has four feet and the second three feet and an extra syllable" (159).

[67] Jakob Schipper, *Grundriss der englischen Metrik* (Wien und Leipzig: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1895), 186.

[68] Elizabeth Solopova, "The Meter of the *Ormulum*," in *Studies in English Language and Literature: "Doubt Wisely,"* ed. M. J. Toswell and E. M. Tyzler (London: Routledge, 1996), 428.

[69] Ibid.

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England and therefore does not automatically, but often does, result in an iambic line.[70]

The “native tradition,” however, is not explicit in the above poems for two reasons. First, the *Ormulum* predates the three poems but his meter is more regular, more Latinate in its strict syllabic count, and, second, we cannot find one clear evolutionary track easily from Old English to Early Middle English verse—its rhizomorphous nature does not allow for a discussion of continuity, just connectivity. I will argue, however, that the English septenary line is the result of a poetic synthesis of the Latin septenarius and Old English rhymical prose, like that of Ælfric and Wulfstan. Although we know that the Latin septenarius was well known in the Anglo-Saxon period based on the existence of Bede’s poetic textbook, the evidence suggests that it was put to use in Early Middle English poetry of both the twelfth and thirteenth centuries as well. A cursory search of the poetry collected in Richard Morris’s editions reveals that the three pieces of verse listed above are not the only ones that use the English septenary.

Richard Morris’s editions of Early Middle English literature, which he identifies as Old English, are crucial to the study of this body of work, and in some cases, his editions remain the only ones in existence, such as his editions of the Lambeth Homilies and Trinity Homilies—the manuscripts of which both contain a copy of *Poema Morale* from the end of the twelfth century.[71] In his *Old English Miscellany*, there are at least four more potential texts that use the same meter: *The Passion of Our Lord*, *The Duty of Christians*, *The Eleven Pains of Hell*, and *An*

[70] I will elaborate further on this idea below in this section.

[71] For the Lambeth Homilies (London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 487), see Richard Morris, ed., *Old English Homilies and Homiletic Treatises*, Early English Text Society o.s. 29, 34 (London: Trübner, 1867); and for the Trinity Homilies (Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B. 14. 52), see Richard Morris, ed., *Old English Homilies of the Twelfth Century*, vol. 2, Early English Text Society o.s. 53 (London: Trübner, 1873).

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Orison of our Lady.[72] The last three poems have perhaps escaped notice because of their lineation into short rhyming verse. The stanzas of *The Duty of Christians* are arranged in octets with an *abababab* rhyme scheme:

> Þeo soþe luue a-mong vs beo.
> wyþ-vten euch endynge.
> And crist vs lete wel i-þeo.
> and yue vs his blessynge.
> And yeue vs þat we moten fleo.
> euer sunegynge.
> And þene feond and al his gleo.
> and al his twyelinge. (141, ll. 1-8)[73]

However, when we scan the lines, something peculiar stands out:

> Þeo só- | þe lú- | ue‿a-móng | vs béo.
> wy-þú- | ten éuch | énding- | e.

It becomes clear that we have a replication of not only the fifteen-syllable line reproduced in alternating four-feet and three-feet hemistichs, but also a mostly iambic meter, which Orm also adopts somewhat.[74] Therefore, instead of the octet, we may write the poem in quatrains of long lines with crossed rhyme in the first hemistichs at the caesura and end-rhyme in the second hemistichs:

> Þeo soþe luue a-mong vs beo.   wyþ-vten euch endynge.
> And crist vs lete wel i-þeo.   and yue vs his blessynge.
> And yeue vs þat we moten fleo.   euer sunegynge.
> And þene feond and al his gleo.   and al his twyelinge.

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[72] Richard Morris, ed., *An Old English Miscellany containing A Bestiary, Kentish Sermons, Proverbs of Alfred, Religious Poems of the thirteenth century*, Early English Text Society o.s. 49 (London: Trübner, 1872).

[73] "The true love among us is without each ending, and may Christ allow us to do well and give us his blessing, and grant us that we may flee from ever sinning and the fiend and all his mockery and all his deceit."

[74] It is true that his verse, like *Poema Morale*'s, does not consistently use iambic meter, but it is used fairly regularly for such an early work of non-alliterative English verse.

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Interestingly, even though Orm does not make much use of rhyme, he does occasionally utilize sound play in the same way that he sometimes uses alliteration to emphasize a particular piece of exegesis or didacticism. Alliteratively, Orm makes great use of doublets, such as when he writes, "*Annd* maniȝ mann þiss merrke shall | Wiþþstanndenn *annd* wiþþseggenn" ("And this mark shall many people withstand and speak against," 7,645-6). In this same line, we can see another use of alliteration, and, as is often Orm's custom, it is self-contained in one hemistich: "maniȝ," "mann," and "merke." In a brief example of sound-play other than the more elaborate example below, Orm occasionally makes use of assonance, such as in the second hemistich of the following line: "*Annd* oþerr stund itt bakenn wass | Full harrd *annd* starrc in ofne" ("And at times it was baked in the oven very hard and firm," 997-8). The *–ar* of "harrd" and "starrc" create a softer rhythm than alliteration would but is used for the same effect, emphasis. The more elaborate example of Orm's sound-play is the following couplet, which appears twice in what is typically referred to as the Dedication:

> Wiþþ ære shollde lisstenn itt. Wiþþ herrte shollde itt trowwenn.
> Wiþþ tunge shollde spellenn itt. Wiþþ dede shollde itt follȝhenn. (D133-6; D309-12)

In his 1958 study of medieval Latin versification, Dag Norberg notes an increase in disyllabic rhymes in Latin meter in the eleventh century, as well as attempts by poets "to increase the number of rhymes" at the same time.[75] Norberg provides the following strophe as an example:

> Tu thalamus pudoris,
> Tu balsamus odoris,
> Tu libanus candoris,

[75] Dag Norberg, *An Introduction to the Study of Medieval Latin Versification*, trans. Grant C. Roti and Jacqueline de La Chapelle Skubly, ed. with an introduction by Jan Ziolkowski (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America, 2004), 36. This 2004 publication is the first translation of Norberg's French work of 1958.

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Tu clibanus ardoris,[76]

This example demonstrates the interior rhyme in the first two lines with *thalamus* and *balsamus* and in the last two lines with *libanus* and *clibanus* while it maintains a consistent *aaaa* structure characterized by the *–doris* disyllabic end-rhyme. In the two lines from the *Ormulum* above, the formula begins with the word "Wiþþ," followed by the noun that "shollde" perform the function of the following infinitive verb for the direct object "itt" (i.e., Orm's Gospel translation). In each hemistich, the sound-play is based on the repeated words and infinitive ending *-enn* while seeming to participate in an *abab* crossed rhyme. Had Orm not been so keen on maintaining the seven-syllable count in the second hemistich, he would not have rearranged the verb and direct object. As it is, to maintain the seven syllables, he had to elide the /e/ of "shollde" with the /i/ of "itt," which allows for a sound-play that is reminiscent of the Latin crossed rhyme, such as the following example from Norberg:

Pange, lingua gloriosi corporis mysterium
Sanguinisque pretiosi, quem in mundi pretium
Fructus ventris generosi rex effudit gentium.[77]

This strophe demonstrates the fact that the twelfth century saw "an appearance […] of more artistically shaped strophic forms" that used "more complicated rhyme patterns" more often than before.[78] To return to *The Duty of Christians* cited above, which survives in a thirteenth-century mansucript, we can see that, unlike Orm's sound-play that is not quite rhyme, the later Early Middle English writers not only made use of crossed rhyme but they also maintained accentuation on the rhyming words.

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[76] Ibid.
[77] Ibid., 40. The poem Norberg cites is by St. Thomas Aquinas.
[78] Ibid., 39-40.

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The first hemistich of the first line of Orm's Dedication is deceivingly familiar in its iambic construction, but it quickly gives way to a pyrrhus and two iambs. The same happens in the first hemistichs of the following two lines while the second hemistichs reveal either an iamb-pyrrhus-iamb and three iambs. Alternatively, the final line below begins with a pyrrhus while the rest of the line contains iambs until its final unstressed, fifteenth syllable:

> Nŭ bróþĕrr wállt*ĕrr* bróþĕrr mín.   ăfft*ĕrr* þĕ flǽshĕss kí*n*dĕ.
> *Ănd* bróþĕrr mín ĭ crísstĕnndóm.   þŭrrh fúllŭhht. *ănd* þŭrrh trówwþĕ.
> *Ănd* bróþĕrr mín ĭ gódĕss hús.   Ʒĕt ó þĕ þrídĕ wísĕ.
> Þŭrrh þătt wĭtt háfĕnn tákĕnn bá.   Ăn reéʒhĕllbóc tŏ fóllʒhĕnn. (D1-8)

As the lines above clearly demonstrate, the first hemistich has a strong, usually monosyllabic, ending while the second hemistich routinely has a weak, often disyllabic, ending.[79] Robert A. Palmatier notes that Orm's dialect is particular in his ability to use words that previously required a final –*e* in such a way that the same word for Orm could function without the final –*e*, thus allowing him to adapt his spelling to his meter.[80] Consider, for example, "soþ" and "soþe," which are interchangeable for Orm depending on his metrical need. That is, regardless of spelling, grammatical use of a word with a final –*e* only depended on syntax, not declension ending. If it were to appear at the end of the first hemistich of a line, "soþ" would be appropriate, such as lines 221 and 222: "Off þatt he, wiss to fulle soþ | Wass risenn upp off dæþe" ("Because he, indeed truly, was risen up from death"). However, in lines 18,248 and 18,249, Orm includes a final –*e* in "soþe" in a similar adverbial construction because it completes a full line: "For nisstenn þe33 nohht witerrli3 | 3et ta to fulle soþe" ("For they know not certainly, yet then

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[79] I am fully aware of the use of "masculine" and "feminine" to characterize the "strong" and "weak" endings of a poetic line, but I am uncomfortable using language that perpetuates gender stereotypes, even when writing about poetic lines.
[80] Robert A. Palmatier, "Metrical –e in the Ormulum," *Journal of English Linguistics* 6 (1972): 38.

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truly”). Therefore, “soþe” with the final *–e* is necessary to maintain the weak ending to the full septenary line while “soþ,” functioning in the same adverbial register but concluding the first hemistich, can stand without a final *–e*.

I will move now to a consideration of *Poema Morale*’s verse form that has been characterized as the English septenary, but rarely studied, before engaging in a discussion of the Old English rhythmical prose and its role in the twelfth-century English septenary. The verse line of the poem is more irregular than that of the *Ormulum*, even though neither makes use of a single metrical foot, such as the iamb, throughout. *Poema Morale* often seems to be written in iambic septenary meter, but the lines often deviate and become more variable as the poem progresses:

> Ĭch ēm nŭ āldĕr þēnĕ‿ĭch wēs ă wīntrĕ‿ănd ă lārĕ.
> Ĭch wēldĕ mārĕ þēnĕ‿ĭch dēdĕ; mĭ wīt āhtĕ dōn mārĕ. (1-2)

As the example shows, this couplet is largely in an iambic septenary meter, but both lines deviate from both the iamb and the fifteen syllables. If the /e/ of “wintre” elides with “and,” then the first line has only fourteen syllables with the elision disrupting the otherwise iambic line. If we deny the elision and place the stress on “and,” we have a perfectly iambic septenary line. The second line starts out stable, but the first hemistich ends on an unstressed syllable and the second hemistich loses the iambic rhythm. Instead, the second hemistich begins with the second half of the incomplete pyrrhic foot from the first hemistich, followed by a spondee, an iamb, and a trochee. The lines only become more variable metrically from here, and while the general number of syllables per line is fifteen, the number can range anywhere from twelve to eighteen, making the metrical feet of the lines all the more unstable.

This is when Solopova’s reference to the “native” tradition with its four-beat rhythm may

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help make a little more sense of *Poema Morale*'s verse form. To take the first line again as an example, the second half of the line is more rhythmic than the first half, which is common in both Old and Middle English long alliterative lines: "Ich em nu alder þene ich wes | a wintre and a lare." The repetition of the two primary stresses on words that end in an unstressed *–re* adds to the rhythm of the meter. Another example is the use of doublets, like the *Ormulum*, such as the final line of the Lambeth manuscript: "Þa boð nu mid him in helle | fordon *and* fordemet" (267). Similar to the emphasis of the partial internal rhyme in the first line, this half-line carries extra emphasis because of its alliteration on the /d/ of the stem: "for**d**on and for**d**emet." Although *Poema Morale* relies primarily on syllable counting for the stress of the meter rather than alliteration, it does contain more obvious uses of alliteration for emphasis. Consider the following four lines:

> Þet habbeð aseid þ*æt* comen þonen þa hit wisten mid iwissen.
> Wa wurð sorȝe seueȝer. for souenihte blisse.
> In hure blisse þe þe ende haueð. for endelese pine.
> Betere is wori water drunch; þen atter meind mid wine. (138-41)

Line 138 contains alliteration on "wisten" and "iwissen," which also carries with it a bit of word-play. The following line contains two forms of alliteration: "wa" and "wurðe" are both stressed and therefore alliterate at the beginning of the line while "sorȝe," "seueȝer," and "souenihte" also carry primary stress and alliterate. Although the third line does not alliterate, the poet has chosen to play with the word "ende" by contrasting the blissful earthly life that *has* an end with the endless pain of hell mentioned above. In the final line of the passage, the poet returns to more standard alliteration: two stressed words in the first hemistich that alliterate with one word in the second hemistich ("wori," "water," and "wine").

The question that remains, however, is why these two poets decide to adopt a Latin meter

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but retain specific poetic elements that are more characteristic not only of Old English poetry but of Old English rhythmical prose as well. As the following chapters will discuss, the works contain homiletic material, but they derive from very different source materials. The only commonality that they share, other than the English septenary, is their connection to Old English homiletics. While I argue that *Poema Morale* should be read as a devotional poem and that it was likely never used as a sermon, that does not detract from its two earliest manuscript contexts in monolingual vernacular English homiliaries. Similarly, the *Ormulum* is not a monolithic poem, but, rather, it is a complex of genres (i.e., poem, commentary, gospel harmony) and organized as a homiliary by its creator, even though it is set in verse. Therefore, it seems to me that the structure of the Latin septenarius was an attractive choice not for overlaying but for interlacing the form of the Old English rhythmical prose homily.

Numerous scholars have considered the link between Old English rhythmical prose and the Early Middle English alliterative verse of La3amon's *Brut*, such as the critical essay by N. F. Blake.[81] Bredehoft, however, has more recently argued that the Early Middle English works of verse, like La3amon's *Brut*, were influenced by Ælfric's textual productions "not through some notion of 'rhythmical alliteration' but through their essential identity as poetic works," and further, "other late Old English poems (possibly including some that no longer survive) may

[81] N. F. Blake, "Rhythmical Alliteration," *Modern Philology* 67 (1969): 118-24. See also S. K. Brehe, "'Rhythmical Alliteration': Ælfric's Prose and the Origins of La3amon's Metre," in *The Text and Tradition of La3amon's* Brut, ed. Françoise Le Saux, Arthurian Studies 33 (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1994), 65-87. For a full description of Ælfric's rhythmical style, see the introduction in John C. Pope, ed., *Homilies of Ælfric: A Supplementary Collection*, vol. 1, Early English Text Society no. 259 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967), 105-36. For more information on Wulfstan's use of alliteration in his prose, see Angus McIntosh, *Wulfstan's Prose*, Sir Israel Memorial Lecture for 1948 (Folcroft: Folcroft Press, 1949, repr. 1970).

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have been equally influential on Layamon and his contemporaries."[82] But, first, we must understand what these scholars mean by "rhythmical prose" or "rhythmical alliteration." In relation to Ælfric's prose, John C. Pope defines it as "a loosely metrical form resembling in the 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, and altogether distinct in diction, rhetroic, and tone."[83] While some scholars like Pope and Bredehoft urge us to reconsider categorizing some of the rhythmical prose of Ælfric as, indeed, poetry, others like Blake and Carolynn VanDyke Friedlander ask us to consider the possibility that "writers of the [Early Middle English] period probably did not clearly distinguish poetry from prose."[84] Drawing on J. P. Oakden's important study *Alliterative Poetry in Middle English*, Friedlander reminds us that not only was alliteration "neither obligatory nor regulated" in Early Middle English, but neither was the use of end-rhyme: "both are ornaments."[85]

As ornamentation, alliteration and end-rhyme in many Early Middle English works of verse not only disobey Siever's rules for classical Old English alliterative verse, but they also cannot be essentially defined by those two poetic qualities. According to Friedlander, we should define them "by two other kinds of features, metrical and syntactic."[86] As I have discussed above in consideration of the *Ormulum*'s and *Poema Morale*'s use of the English septenary, the iamb and the trochee were favored in Early Middle English verse, though not consistently, but another

[82] Bredehoft, *Early English Metre*, 99-100.
[83] Pope, *Homilies*, 105.
[84] Carolynn VanDyke Friedlander, "Early Middle English Accentual Verse," *Modern Philology* 76 (1979): 219.
[85] Ibid., 220. See also J. P. Oakden's *Allterative Poetry in Middle English*, with assistance from Elizabeth R. Innes, 2 vols., Publications for the University Press 18, 22 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1930, 1935).
[86] Friedlander, "Accentual Verse," 220.

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characteristic is the lengthening of the poetic line—in their case, a specific syllabic count—that introduces more syllables with weak stress, which "bring[s] them closer both to accentual-style poetry and to the rhythm of speech."[87] This is significant to my theory about the use of the Latin septenarius in Early Middle English homiletic verse because of the connection to orality. Just as "Wulfstan's sentences divide most happily and easily into phrases of two stresses," which McIntosh believes "has always been a common and natural thing […] in ordinary spoken English," so, too, Orm and the anonymous poet of *Poema Morale* likely were drawn to the ease of oral delivery that both the Old English rhythmical prose tradition, with which they were familiar, and the Latin septenarius allowed them.[88] While the *Ormulum* was never finished, as far as we can tell, and *Poema Morale* survives more frequently in miscellanies than in homiliaries, both poems seem to have had the shared intention of being spoken aloud to an audience, whether that audience was a lay congregation or a specific religious group.

The choice to use the English septenary to communicate homiletic material has also been observed by Solopova, who writes, "Early Middle English poets had a choice of different metrical forms available to them and seem to have employed them according to their thematic and stylistic associations: seven-stress syllabic verse was used for sermons, whereas alliterative verse for a chronicle."[89] The ability to choose from an array of metrical forms, however, was not unique to this period. Even Anglo-Saxon England had different forms to choose from, and, indeed, prose homilists like Ælfric and Wulfstan made use of poetic features in their sermons and

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[87] Ibid., 221.
[88] McIntosh, *Wulfstan's Prose*, 8-9.
[89] Elizabeth Solopova, "English Poetry in the Reign of Henry II," in *Writers of the Reign of Henry II: Twelve Essays*, ed. Ruth Kennedy and Simon Meecham-Jones (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 197.

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homilies. The difference, however, is that Anglo-Saxon poets chose *not* to use Latin or French forms, which is why the Early Middle English choice to do so is so confounding unless we place it into a midcolonial context of redemption. If the literature of the more privileged languages, Latin and French, was mediated through different poetic forms, then it only makes sense for late twelfth-century English writers to begin to synthesize the Old English forms with the Latin and French forms. In this case, the *Ormulum* and *Poema Morale* do not use alliteration as the defining metrical characteristic—although it is not entirely absent from either work—but rather, a syllabic verse form that allows for fluid oral delivery, for smooth remediation of redemptive material.

1.6 Chapter Outline

In Chapter 2: "Orm's Singular Obsession: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Junius 1," I reconsider the common perception that the 20,000-line *Ormulum* is an unliterary poem, often referred to as being tedious because of its monotonous meter, obsessively phonetic orthography, and incessant repetition. I argue that the negative opinion of Orm's work is based on limited reading of the collection, as well as inaccurate knowledge of the genre of the *Ormulum*, which is multiplicitous but still organized as a homiliary. In this chapter, I begin with the critical history of scholarship on the manuscript and explain the homiletic genre since it is often erroneously referred to simply as a poem. I then demonstrate the creative innovation of Orm in his corrections through his imagining of audience. Rather than building my argument about the *Ormulum* by pulling from multiple homilies, in Chapter 3, "Guiding Lights: Intercession at Sea in the *Ormulum*," I use a representative example by looking at Orm's use of the *stella maris* epithet to explain the

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meaning of the Virgin Mary's name in a homily on the Annunciation. By first demonstrating the Anglo-Saxons' distrust of the sea, I am then able to connect this preoccupation with the sea to a need for guidance through its earthly and spiritual perils that lead to the *stella maris* appearing in the *Ormulum*. Further, I trace to some extent the Latin origins of the epithet—and demonstrate the lack of a connection to the one Old English translation of the *stella maris*—to argue that this is an example of Orm's attempt to make his vernacular English text appear and sound Latinate, thus exemplifying the synthesis that frames the project.

In the fourth chapter, "Fordon and Fordemet: The Homiletics of Judgment Day in *Poema Morale*," I claim that we should read each version in its manuscript context, and I focus specifically on arguably the oldest version of the poem in London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 487. Its grimmer outlook characterizes this version because it ends without a turn to heavenly bliss, but, rather, dwells on the inevitability of damnation. I begin by presenting a general introduction to the poem, including its structure and content as well as the scarce critical reception of it. Then, I discuss its contested title (*Poema Morale* or *The Conduct of Life*) in relation to its blurring of genre (devotional poem or verse-sermon). Finally, I provide the first identifiable influence for the poem in my reading of two couplets alongside a few lines from some of Wulfstan's homilies and an anonymous Old English homily, which may place its original composition in the West Midlands rather than in the Southeast. In the final chapter, "Feeling Popular: The Six Manuscripts of *Poema Morale*," I move from a discussion of the homiletic elements of the poem and further elaborate on my reading of the text as a devotional poem rather than a verse-sermon. As a devotional poem on Judgment Day, its contents are similar to the devotional poetry found alongside it in its extant manuscripts. Moreover,

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particularities found among the copies indicate the poem was constantly altered for individual devotional needs, such as including a reference to the Virgin Mary in one copy that is not in the others, or through textual transmission based on memorization of the poem. These alterations may indicate a greater focus on Marian devotion than the other versions and reveal the performed orality of the poem in general, but this is only knowable if we consider the manuscript context rather than a composite edition of the poem.

I conclude by offering further points of inquiry in Early Middle English that would aid in our understanding of late twelfth-century English verse, such as a consideration of a verse-sermon analoguous to *Poema Morale* but written in Anglo-Norman rhyming hexameter and referred to as *Le Sermon de Guishart de Beauliu*. In an appendix, I include a line-by-line comparison of *Poema Morale* because of the significance I place on accessibility to this rarely studied poem. Only through easier access with modern editions and translations can we hope to see more scholarship done on this assemblage of Early Middle English and, hopefully, a true redemption of this body of literature.

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CHAPTER 2

Orm's Singular Obsession: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Junius 1

2.1 Introduction

Orm began writing his collection of verse-homilies known as the *Ormulum* sometime around 1160. This devoted regular canon continued working on his collection for at least two decades, scratching out lines that he rejected, penning marginal additions and inserted leaves of parchment, and excising the /o/ in words that previously contained *–eo*. Instead of following the liturgical calendar, like his predecessor Ælfric and his own contemporaries, Orm composed his versified homilies according to the chronology of the life of Christ. This structure was arguably dictated by his brother Walter's commission that Orm translate the Latin Gospels into English for the laity, or Orm may have been influenced by Latin gospel harmonies like the famous *Diatessaron*.[90] This chapter presents an introduction to the *Ormulum* as a literary work, including a discussion of its genre and Orm's imagined audience. These two points of inquiry—genre and imagined audience through manuscript evidence—are uncomfortable bedfellows in that much of the modern denigration of the *Ormulum* has originated in reading the collection as a monolithic poem in an aesthetically displeasing artifact, which perpetuates the misunderstanding of this work and demands that we approach it on the very basis of multiplicity.

Thus, we ought to read its individual homilies to learn more about the collection overall, such as Orm's use of sources, his unfolding theology, and developments of, or, perhaps,

[90] It is worth noting that although it may be unlikely that Orm was influenced by vernacular gospel harmonies, his Early Middle English work was not alone, for by this time the Old Saxon *Heliand* had already been copied in a late tenth-century Old English manuscript. This is not to say that Orm or his contemporaries knew about it and made use of it, just that gospel harmonies in vernaculars other than English were, in fact, written in England prior to Orm's work.

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instances of, his creative expression. This approach of reading individual homilies as a means of understanding the *Ormulum* more fully would help recuperate scholarly opinion of the collection instead of approaching it holistically without paying close attention to any one homily; this latter approach often leads to a critique of the sum of its parts through the lens of what makes a piece of written work traditionally "literary"—its diction, style, form, content—and therefore worthy of study, a critique by which the *Ormulum* usually fails. In addition, responses to the manuscript as "ugly" and "untidy" inhibit further critical work on the texts by discouraging potential researchers. Once we move beyond the aesthetics of the manuscript, we find significant information that helps us read the texts, such as punctuation to indicate Orm's strict use of the fifteen-syllable septenary line or his obsessive correction scheme for phrases containing references to books. The closer we look at his holograph manuscript and versified homilies, we see not only a synthesis of content, as I will demonstrate more fully in Chapter Three, but also a seamless fusing together of insular rhetoric with Latin metrical form. The end result is a subtle but definitive product of literary innovation, the likes of which were unparalleled in English at this time.

2.2 Critical History of the *Ormulum* and its Manuscript

The numerous publications on the philology and orthography of the *Ormulum* were spurred by Robert Meadows White's 1852 two-volume edition of the manuscript, which Robert Holt revised over two decades later. Holt's 1878 correction of White's edition is still the only

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critical text available.[91] C. H. Monicke's 1853 and 1854 publications on the *Ormulum* began its scholarship proper, and since then the only book-length study of the collection was published in German in 1933 by Heinrich Christoph Matthes.[92] In his monograph, Matthes revealed possible sources for the *Ormulum*, as well as presented one of the first studies of the language and form of the work. Matthes sought to "rekonstruieren" (reconstruct) the author's original text by eliminating any corrections not made by Orm himself, such as those made by a Latin hand and then by Jan van Vliet in the seventeenth century.[93] Perhaps Matthes's most important contribution, however, was to indicate Orm's reliance on Latin texts, and he points out the difficulty of identifying sources of the *Ormulum* by the fact that it shares content with Old English homilies, like those by Ælfric, that also draw on Latin sources.[94] Therefore, it is often unclear whether Orm was drawing on the texts by his Old English predecessors or their Latin source material itself. As later scholars like Stephen Morrison have shown, Orm was clearly familiar with the works of Ælfric and Wulfstan, but he did not seem to draw his material directly from them.[95] Rather, as Matthes suggested earlier, Orm not only relied upon the commentaries

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[91] Robert Holt, ed., *The Ormulum with the Notes and Glossary of R. M. White*, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1878). This edition of the text is used except when I indicate the use of my own transcriptions. Nils-Lennart Johannesson is currently completing a new critical edition of the *Ormulum* for the Early English Texts Society.
[92] Heinrich Christoph Matthes, *Die Einheitlichkeit des Orrmulum: Studien zur Textkritik, zu den Quellen und zur sprachlichen Form von Orrmins Evangelienbuch* (Heidelberg: Carl Winters Universitätbuchhandlung, 1933).
[93] Ibid., 1.
[94] Ibid., 83. Matthes writes, "An vielen Stellen, an denen das Orrmulum mit Älfrik übereinstimmt, stimmt allerdings Älfrik seinerseits wieder mit Gregor oder Beda überein" (At many places where the Ormulum agrees with Ælfric, however, Ælfric on his part again agrees with Gregory or Bede).
[95] Stephen Morrison, "Orm's English Sources," *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* 221 (1984): 54-64 and "A reminiscence of Wulfstan in the Twelfth Century," *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 96 (1995): 229-234.

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and homilies of Gregory and Bede, but also, or perhaps most especially, he depended on the *Glossa ordinaria* and *Glossa interlinearis*.[96]

Previously, most scholars were only interested in the *Ormulum* for what it could teach them about the English language so that essays on the relationship between Orm's language and Old English, his spelling reform and phonetics, Norse loanwords, and other philological concerns abound.[97] Nils-Lennart Johannesson and Stephen Morrison have been the most prolific scholars of the *Ormulum* in the past few decades, and only recently has Johannesson begun to explore aspects of Orm's collection beyond philology and source study, such as his use of extended metaphors.[98] When the scholarship on the *Ormulum* was just beginning to gain traction

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[96] See Matthes, *Einheitlichkeit*, 99-122.

[97] See, for example, C. H. Monicke, "Notes and queries in the Ormulum," in *Einladungsschrift zur Prüfung in der öffentlichen Handels-Lehranstalt zu Leipzig*, ed. Alexander Steinhaus (Leipzig: Druck von Breitkopf und Härtel, 1853), 1-36; "Notes and queries in the Ormulum (Continued)," in *Einladungsschrift zur Prüfung in der öffentlichen Handels-Lehranstalt zu Leipzig*, ed. Alexander Steinhaus (Leipzig: Druck von Breitkopf und Härtel, 1854), 1-26; Benjamin Willis Wells, *The Language of 'Ormulum' and Its Relations with Old English* (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1880); F. J. Blackburn, "The Change of *þ* to *t* in the Orrmulum," *American Journal of Philology* 3 (1882): 46-58; Erik Brate, "Nordische Lehnwörter im Orrmulum," *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 10 (1885): 1-80, 580-586; Erik Björkmann, "Orrms Doppelkonsonanten," *Anglia* 37 (1913): 351-381, 494-496; E. S. Olszewska, "Alliterative Phrases in the Ormulum: Some Norse Parallels," in *English and Medieval Studies Presented to J. R. R. Tolkien on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday*, ed. Norman Davis and C. L. Wrenn (London: Allen and Unwin, 1961), 112-127; Robert D. Fulk, "Consonant doubling and open syllable lengthening in the *Ormulum*," *Anglia* 114 (1996): 481-513; and Nils-Lennart Johannesson, "The etymology of *rime* in the *Ormulum*," in *Worlds of Words: A Tribute to Arne Zettersten*, ed. Cay Dollerup, *Nordic Journal of English Studies* 3 (2004): 61-73.

[98] For a sample of Johannesson's philological work, see "Old English versus Old Norse Vocabulary in the *Ormulum*: the Choice of Third Person Plural Personal Pronouns," in *Studies in Anglistics*, eds. G. Melchers and B. Warren (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell International, 1995), 171-180; "Three New Words in the *Ormulum*," *Notes and Queries* 45 (1998): 418-420; "*To don uss tunnderrstanndenn*: an examination of the use of infinitive complementation after causative DON in the *Ormulum*," in *"These things write I vnto thee …": Essays in honour of Bjørg Bækken*, ed. by Leiv Egil Breivik, Sandra Halverson, and Kari E. Haugland (Oslo: Novus

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in the nineteenth century with the German and English philologists, Henry Sweet writes in his *First Middle English Primer*, "Of the literary merits of the Ormulum little can be said, for it has none whatever."[99] The beginning of research on the *Ormulum* was very much connected to the materiality of its single extant manuscript, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Junius 1.[100] J. A. W. Bennett demonstrates the affective response most observers of MS Junius 1 have: it is "the ugliest of manuscripts."[101] He describes the reading of Orm's lines as "undoubtedly soporific" and considers the Dedication, which Orm added later, "the most engaging part of the work, as

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Press, 2006), 153-162; and "Bread, Crumbs, and Related Matters in the *Ormulum*," in *Selected Proceedings of the 2005 Symposium on New Approaches in English Historical Lexis (HEL-LEX)*, ed. R. W. McConchie, Olga Timofeeva, Heli Tissari, and Tanja Säily (Somerville: Cascadilla Proceedings Project, 2006), 69-82. For a sample of Morrison's work, see "Orm's English Sources," 54-64; "New Sources for the *Ormulum*," *Neophilologus* 68 (1984): 444-450; and "Early Middle English *oferrswifenn*," *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* 138 (1986): 115-120. For some of Johannesson's and Morrison's newer work, see Johannesson, "'Rihht Alls an Hunnte Takeþþ der. / Wiþþ Hise 3æpe Racchess': Hunting as a Metaphor for Proselytizing in the *Ormulum,*" in *The Use and Development of Middle English*, eds. Richard Dance and Laura Wright (Frankfurt: Germany, 2012), 231-241; and Morrison, "Vernacular Literary Activity in Twelfth-Century England: Redressing the Balance," in *Culture politique des Plantagenêt (1154-1224)*, ed. M. Aurell (Poitiers: Centre d'Études Supérieures de Civilisation Médiévale, 2003), 253-267.

[99] Henry Sweet, *First Middle English Primer* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1884; repr. 1931), vii.

[100] For more work on the sources of the *Ormulum*, see Gregor Sarrazin, "Ueber die quellen des Orrmulum," *Englische Studien* 6 (1882): 1-27; Heinrich C. Matthes, "Zum literarischen Charakter und zu den Quellen des *Orrmulum*," *Beiblatt zur Anglia* 46 (1935): 121-128 and "Quellenauswertung und Quellenberufung im *Orrmulum*," *Anglia* 59 (1935): 303-318; Stephen Morrison, "Sources for the *Ormulum*: A Re-examination," *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 84 (1983): 419-436 and "New Sources," 444-450. On Orm's metaphors, see Johannesson, "'Þurrh be33ske. & sallte tæress': Orm's Use of Metaphor and Simile in the Exegesis of John 1:51," in *Selected Papers from the 2006 and 2007 Stockholm Metaphor Festivals*, eds. Nils-Lennart Johannesson and David C. Minugh (Stockholm: Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis, 2008), 85-94 and "An Anatomy of Metaphors and Exegetical Statements in Medieval Homiletic Writing," in *Selected Papers fromt eh 2006 and 2007 Stockholm Metaphor Festivals*, eds. Nils-Lennart Johannesson and David C. Minugh (Stockholm: Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis, 2008), 21-27.

[101] J. A. W. Bennett, *Middle English Literature*, ed. Douglas Gray (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 30.

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many readers would agree."[102] Bennett and Smithers remark upon the *Ormulum*'s "tedious repetitions, cumbersome conjunctions and otiose adverbs" while Thomas Hahn refers to Orm's "desperation in concocting [his] orthographical extravaganza" and "straining to make intelligible" Gospel material for lay audiences.[103] Such descriptions of Orm's work—tedious and cumbersome, desperate and straining—color scholarship in clearly biased ways that inhibit our ability to look beyond the surface of the manuscript, the standardized spelling, and the repetition to the content within its homilies. Or, worse, it prevents us from learning more from the manuscript—other than that it repels certain aesthetic sensibilities—such as how Orm makes use of his punctuation to guide a reader through his meter or how his intimate engagement with the writing process belies his nuanced negotiations with an imagined audience.

In response to Orm's constant revision of his work, Nils-Lennart Johannesson writes, "The manuscript can be seen as one huge illustration of writing as process rather than product."[104] Interestingly, in the same year Christopher Cannon concludes in "Spelling Practice: The *Ormulum* and the Word" that Orm seems more dedicated to the form of his work such that it

[102] Ibid., 31. In a recent unscientific experiment, I asked the attendees of the "Rereading the *Ormulum*" session at the International Congress on Medieval Studies at Western Michigan University (May 9-12, 2013) a series of questions to determine how much of the work they had read. As predicted, almost everyone (approximately fifteen to twenty people) had read the Dedication; close to ten had read the Prologue and Introduction; and only three of us had read it in its entirety. Earlier judgments like Bennett's provide only a further deterrent to reading more of the *Ormulum* than its introductory material.

[103] J. A. W. Bennett and G. V. Smithers, eds., *Early Middle English Verse and Prose*, glossary by Norman Davis, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968), 174; and Hahn, "Early Middle English," 87.

[104] Nils-Lennart Johannesson, "Overwriting, erasure and deletion: exploring the changes in the *Ormulum* manuscript," *Jestin': Journal for English Studies in Norway* 2 (1997): 21–29, available online at http://www2.english.su.se/nlj/ormproj/Jestin97.htm, accessed September 2, 2014.

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"supersede[s] his concern for content."[105] Cannon posits that this commitment is demonstrated through Orm's use of extraneous words to "fillenn" (to fill or fulfill) the meter in his unrhymed verse-homilies.[106] Cannon elaborates on this idea of form in *The Grounds of English Literature*, in which he argues that Orm's continuous "making of letters" renders the *Ormulum* repetitive to the point that its words no longer hold meaning; the failure to communicate its material substantively becomes the success of the process of writing and rewriting as a devotional practice.[107] While this approach to the *Ormulum* provides a new avenue of inquiry by reading the manuscript and text as a process of devotion rather than a product of a literary endeavor, evidence seems to suggest that Orm did want to communicate something specific within his structure. Meg Worley explains, for example, as a preaching tool, the work was meant to be spoken aloud and heard, and the repetition therein would have been a mnemonic device for the audience.[108] Similarly, Adrienne Williams Boyarin has argued that Orm's concentration on form is a product of his own theology, one that is based on seeing oneness and twoness as crucial to salvation; the doubling of letters, words, phrases, and even whole paragraphs lend themselves to Orm's figural reading of the Jew.[109]

On the one hand, Johannesson and Cannon consider the work of verse-homilies from the perspective of the writer, from the perspective of Orm's own very personal engagement with the

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[105] Christopher Cannon, "Spelling Practice: The *Ormulum* and the Word," *Forum for Modern Language Studies* 33 (1997), 230.
[106] Ibid., 230; "fillenn" comes from the Dedication, line 44, of the Holt edition.
[107] Cannon, "Right Writing: The *Ormulum*," in *Grounds*, 83.
[108] Meg Worley, "Repetition, Rhetoric, and the *Ormulum*," a conference paper given at the International Congress on Medieval Studies, Western Michigan University, 9 May 2013.
[109] Adrienne Williams Boyarin, "Orm and the Jews: Repetition as Exegetical Method in the *Ormulum* and its Models," a conference paper given at the International Congress on Medieval Studies, Western Michigan University, 9 May 2014.

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composition of his lifelong creation. On the other hand, Worley and Boyarin approach the text from the perspective of Orm's stated intention, to translate and explicate the Gospels to the laity. For the scholar working on the *Ormulum*, the decision for which approach to utilize is perhaps the first great difficulty because of two possible outcomes. First, we may learn more about the interiority of Orm the devotional poet by using the first approach, or, second, we may gain more knowledge of a larger context of Orm's homiletic work, of Orm the canon and homilist in a late twelfth-century English environment, by considering his stated intentions and goal. For the purposes of this project, I have deliberately chosen to engage with the second approach, as I outlined in Chapter One, because of the rarity of a stated authorial intention in an Early Middle English literary work. In contrast, *Poema Morale* acquires multiple voices through its transmission history but no singular authorial intention is expressed or even knowable other than the obvious desire to save Christians from damnation. Finally, in the argument of this project concerning the synthesis of insular vernacular and continental Latin traditions that elevate, and therefore redeem, English, it is more illuminating to consider the two most important late twelfth-century works in English verse from opposing perspectives. However, while this discussion of perspective—possible incompletion of the task and therefore mostly personal devotional writing exercise versus authorial intention and the target reader-audience—is important to the way scholars have responded to the text, so is the matter of the manuscript.

2.3 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Junius 1

MS Junius 1 survives as the single autographic draft of the *Ormulum*, and Orm likely

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began writing between 1155 and 1160 with an estimated end date of 1180.[110] Orm was possibly associated with the Arrouaisian House of Saints Peter and Paul at Bourne in southern Lincolnshire although the lack of historical records renders our ability to know this with absolute certainty an impossibility.[111] His dialect, however, has been confidently localized to Lincolnshire.[112]

The first known owner of the manuscript since its compilation was Sir Thomas Aylesbury (1576-1657), who was a book collector and mathematician in exile in Antwerp and then in Breda, the Netherlands, because of his Royalist inclinations.[113] On February 6, 1659, Jan van Vliet acquired the manuscript for eighteen guilders at an auction in Breda, which we know based on his inscription on folio 2r, the same flyleaf that contains the added runic alphabet: "Jani Vlitii / Bredae 1659, 6 Febr. const. f. 18."[114] The auction was a result of Aylesbury's financial difficulties, which led him to sell his book collection, and this practice must have continued even after his death in 1657 because Van Vliet purchased it two years later. Van Vliet copied several words and phrases that are now missing from the manuscript, which Ker produced in a 1940

[110] M. B. Parkes, "On the Presumed Date and Possible Origin of the Manuscript of the *Orrmulum*: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Junius 1," in *Five Hundred Years of Words and Sounds: A Festschrift for Eric Dobson*, eds. E. G. Stanley and Douglas Gray (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1983), 115-127.
[111] Ibid., passim.
[112] Angus McIntosh, "A new approach to Middle English dialectology," *English Studies* 44 (1963):1–11; Margaret Laing, "Studies in the dialect material of mediaeval Lincolnshire," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Edinburgh, 1978).
[113] Kees Dekker, *The Origins of Old Germanic Studies in the Low Countries* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 113.
[114] My transcription of the text. However, to find out what "const. f. 18" meant, I referred to ibid., 113.

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article.[115] Upon Van Vliet's death, his valuable collection of books was also auctioned, and his close friend Francis Junius happened to buy it. Kees Dekker argues that rather than the commonly held belief that Junius numbered the columns, Van Vliet was responsible for adding the numbers.[116] However, a modern hand in pencil foliated the manuscript after many leaves had already gone missing.[117] In 1677, Junius bequeathed the *Ormulum* to the Bodleian Library at the University of Oxford upon his death.

The manuscript contains 120 folios of thick parchment with a single bifolium providing the two front flyleaves, and Orm's text begins on folio 3r. Folios 5r-9v contain an incomplete list of 242 Latin pericopes, and the list indicates that the first 31 fragmented—some wholly missing—homilies of MS Junius 1 are part of a first volume. Moreover, Humphrey Wanley ascertained that the present manuscript of the *Ormulum* must have only been a fragment of what would have been a series of volumes, perhaps four or five, based on a note written in Latin near pericopes 49 and 50, which reads: *huc usque i volume* (thus far volume 1).[118] Based on the evidence, the manuscript ends with a pericope for Homily 32 but only approximately twenty-seven homilies of the intended fifty for the volume survive in various states of unity; only seven

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[115] Ker, N. R., "Unpublished Parts of the *Ormulum* Printed from MS. Lambeth 783," *Medium Ævum* 9 (1940), 1-22.
[116] Dekker, *Origins*, 113. The evidence that Dekker provides is the fact that Van Vliet uses the column numeration in his own *Ormulum* studies—a reference to London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 783, Van Vliet's study of "Rithmis Saxonicis" (73r)—and "some errors in the numbering occur where leaves were cut away from the manuscript, which makes it unlikely that Junius numbered the columns" (113).
[117] Based on the sequence of column numbers in comparison to the sequence of pencil folio numbers, clearly many folios that are now missing were present in the collection when Van Vliet added the column numbers. Therefore, sometime between the second quarter of the seventeenth century and sometime in the twentieth century, leaves of parchment were lost.
[118] Humfrey Wanley, *Antiquae literaturae septentrionalis liber alter* (Oxford: Sheldonian Theater, 1705), 59-63; Matthes also refers to Wanley, the Latin note, and the notion of volumes of the *Ormulum* in *Einheitlichkeit*, 16.

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survive undamaged.[119] Homilies 14, 22-24, 26, 27, and 30 survive completely intact while Homilies 5, 12, 13, and possibly 29 are missing entirely from the manuscript.[120] Robert Burchfield does not list any information regarding Homily 29. Rather, he notes that Homily 28 ends at line 19,480, using Holt's lineation, and Homily 30 begins at line 19,551. The beginning of Homily 30 is not in question thanks to the presence of the added Latin pericope and a large black capital A that commences the first line of the new homily. However, this leaves 71 lines unaccounted for yet present in the manuscript, and based on the missing folios at columns 399-406, I would posit that the end of Homily 28 is missing, as is the paraphrase and beginning of Homily 29. Therefore, the 71 lines between the "Amæn" at line 19,480 and Homily 30 are a closing note, which is similar to the one that Orm writes at the end of the prefatory material on folio 4v after claiming "Amen. Amen. Amen."

If we consider the state of the manuscript, it may become clear why so many leaves are missing. The only homilies that are completely whole are found in what would have been the middle of manuscript compilation containing fifty homilies, and the homilies that are entirely lost are from the first quarter and the last quarter of the volume. This evidence leads me to the conclusion that MS Junius 1 lacked a proper cover, and possibly was left unbound, at some point in its history. Furthermore, folio 1r, which is the first flyleaf of the manuscript, is discolored, torn, and wrinkled with ink spots and small holes, many of which seem to have resulted from bookworms. Likewise, the last "folio" of the manuscript is so badly damaged that it can scarcely

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[119] The beginning of the last text, which is almost entirely missing except several decontextualized words, matches pericope 32.

[120] This observation is made based on my own observation of the manuscript as well as consultation of Robert Burchfield's incomplete and unpublished edition of the *Ormulum*, which is kept at the library of the Oxford University Press.

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be called a folio at all. Compared to a page taken from just eighteen folios closer to the center of the manuscript, folio 119v is much darker. While the variation in color could be the natural hue of the prepared calfskin, the evidence suggests that its darker color is the result of exposure and lack of a cover. In fact, folio 101r is a decent point to begin discussing the overall character of the manuscript because it is representative of Orm's scribal activity overall.

Demonstrably, the shape of MS Junius 1 is unconventional, as the few folios already mentioned indicate. The manuscript is approximately 500mm x 200mm, and rather than being folded landscape style, the leaves are folded in portrait style. However, even if Orm had folded it the conventional way, the end result would still have been unusually shaped. Instead of being curiously long and narrow, the *Ormulum* would have survived in a short and wide manuscript: the width of the pages would exceed the length of them (200mm x 250mm), and it would still be large. Orm wrote in bold black ink and laid out his verse homilies continuously, as I already mentioned in Chapter 1. However, like the Latin tradition, Orm ruled the folios of his homilies in two columns per page. Until the late twelfth century, vernacular English manuscripts continued the tradition of ruling one column per page so that the result of Orm's ruling and verse layout is a masterful combination of the two traditions: continuous writing of a verse text with punctuation to indicate its half lines within two columns. Other than his use of punctuation, the only indication we have that Orm was writing in verse is his habit of counting syllables for his meter.

The start of Homily 1 on folio 10r exhibits clearly Orm's editorial practice: erasure by striking out text with thick swaths of black ink, marginal additions encircled with a line pointing to their destinations, paraphs of varying sizes to designate paragraphs or smaller sections, large capitals to begin new homilies, regular use of the *punctus* and *punctus elevatus* (mostly metrical

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but sometimes syntactic), and planning space for large capitals and Latin pericopes. The erasures in 10r and 101r are typical, and one page that is often used to demonstrate the "ugliness" of the manuscript is actually unique. Folio 48r is almost entirely marked out with black ink and lines crisscrossing the page with only thirteen lines of the original text and an addition remaining. Orm's erasures are often related to his corrections so that the typical erasures on folio 10r also provide examples of the care with which Orm worked his corrections into his meter. One example is a correction at the bottom of 10r in the first two lines of Homily 1, which read:

> An preost wass onn herodess daȝȝ: amang iudisskenn þeode.
> *Annd* he wass *wiss to fulle soþ:* ȝehatenn zacariȝe. (1-2, H109-112)[121]

Orm has added "wiss to fulle soþ:" in place of the scratched "alls uss seȝȝþ / þe boc:" and while he replaces a reference to a book authority with a general statement of veracity, which I will address more fully below, most relevant to my discussion now is the exact metrical replacement. The five syllables of "alls uss seȝȝþ þe boc" are precisely replaced by "wiss to fulle soþ."[122] Finally, the use of punctuation here also demonstrates the precise breaks between the first and second hemistichs because Orm eventually develops a system in which he uses the *punctus elevatus* to indicate the caesura while the *punctus* signals the end of the full line.

Another element of Orm's composition is his use of large capitals to begin his homilies, which is conventional manuscript practice across both insular and continental traditions. Of the twenty-nine large capital in MS Junius 1, eight are green and somewhat stylized. Depending on

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[121] The H before the line numbers indicate the lineation of the homilies in Holt's edition, which begin just after the completion of his Introduction. When there is no H, I am relying on my own transcription and lineation based on the long line.
[122] While Orm more often replaces references to textual authority with the imperative phrase "witt to fulle soþe" (know very true/truly), in this case he simply stresses the certainty with which he claims that this Jewish "preost" was, in fact, called Zacharia.

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the size of the capital, they are used to signify the beginnings of new homilies or sections within a homily. Typically, a new homily will warrant a capital spanning five to seven lines in length while a new section will only necessitate a capital two or three lines long. Similar initials exist in the roughly contemporaneous Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 343, which contains several homilies by Ælfric. The aesthetic is also true of Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B. 14. 52, which was compiled approximately twenty years after Orm had stopped writing the *Ormulum.* The capitals used in the later Trinity manuscript are remarkably similar to the ones found in MSS Junius 1 and Bodley 343, which indicates that Orm was adhering to manuscript conventions of the period, particularly those that contained homilies, even though the shape of his manuscript is untraditional.

2.4 Verse Form of the *Ormulum*

Discussion of the *Ormulum*'s literary value was rarely done until Sweet described its "dry, practical directness of style and metre" as "anything but poetical."[123] Aside from the occasional discussion of Orm's sources and newer work on Orm's use of extended metaphor, scholars seem to have cemented their opinions of Orm's literary quality in the tradition of Sweet's judgment of the manuscript's form and contents.The first scholar to recognize that the *Ormulum* was written in verse rather than prose, which was how George Hickes and Humfrey Wanley produced excerpts of it in their scholarship, was Thomas Tyrwhitt in his "Essay on the Language and Versification of Chaucer" in 1845.[124] Jakob Schipper was the first to identify the

[123] Sweet, *Primer*, vii.
[124] George Hickes, *Linguarum vett. septentrionalium thesaurus grammatico-criticus et archæologicus*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Sheldonian Theater, 1705), vol. 1, 88; Wanley, *Antiquae*

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type of meter used in both the *Ormulum* and *Poema Morale* as the septenary, and the debate of its exact categorization and origins has been ongoing.[125] Nevertheless, scholars have long recognized that Orm was using a fifteen-syllable line that consists of seven metrical feet and ends with an unstressed, and therefore fifteenth, syllable. His lines are unrhymed, unlike the contemporaneous *Poema Morale*, and he does not appear concerned with maintaining the Old English tradition of alliteration except for occasional rhetorical and mnemonic effect, such as his use of doublets. Furthermore, unlike *Poema Morale*'s unstable verse line, Orm's meter consistently produces a fifteen-syllable line that is often, but not always, iambic such that it would not be entirely inaccurate to refer to his verse as iambic heptameter:

Nu bró- | þerr wáll- | t*err* bró- | þerr mín. | Áfft*err* | þe flǽ- | shess kínd- | e. (1)[126]

Note that the fifth foot in the line above that is the only one not iambic. After the final stressed syllable in the seventh foot, as demonstrated above, Orm adds an unstressed syllable, which renders the final metrical foot incomplete.

Eighteenth- and nineteenth-century editorial practice generally published the septenary verse of the *Ormulum* in alternating half-lines, which is the case with Tyrwhitt, Holt, and Henry

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literaturae, 63; Thomas Tyrwhitt, "Essay on the Language and Versification of Chaucer," in *The Poetical Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, vol. 1 (London: William Pickering, 1775, reprinted 1845), 206-8.

[125] Schipper, *Grundriss*. For a debate on the origins of the septenary in English, see M. Trautmann, "Zur Alt- und Mittelenglischen Verslehre," *Anzeiger zur Anglia* 5 (1882), 111-130; E. Menthel, "Zur Geschichte des Otfridischen Verses im Englischen," *Anzeiger zur Anglia* 8 (1885), 49-86; and Solopova, "Meter," 423-439. For an argument against the appropriation of the term "septenary" for English verse, see the entry for "Septenarius" in Alex Preminger, Terrz V. F. Brogan, and Frank J. Warnke, eds., *The New Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 1145. Unfortunately, the *Encyclopedia* entry offers no alternative.

[126] The text comes from my own diplomatic transcription of the Dedication, folio 3v. I have expanded abbreviations with italics and maintained Orm's punctuation and capitalization. All translations are my own: "Now, Brother Walter, my brother according to the nature of the flesh."

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Sweet.[127] However, Edwin Guest published his second volume of *A History of English Rhythms* in 1838 with extracts of the *Ormulum* in long lines.[128] More recently in the twentieth century, editors like J. A. W. Bennett and G. V. Smithers (1966) and Elaine Treharne (2009) have maintained the tradition of the half-line layout.[129] In the history of publishing Early Middle English texts with the fifteen-syllable line, it appears that only *Poema Morale*, *The Passion of our Lord*, and *The Woman of Samaria* have been consistently printed in the long lines. This is likely based on lineation within the manuscripts even though one of the earliest manuscripts of *Poema Morale* is laid out like prose in the same way that Orm writes out his verse while another later *Poema Morale* manuscript lays out the poem in half-lines so that its rhyming couplets appear in every other line.[130] The layout of the *Ormulum*'s septenary verse, therefore, has fallen to either tradition or personal preference, not metrical necessity. Elizabeth Solopova has effectively demonstrated that the format of an edition cannot be determined by meter since the structure of the *Ormulum* warrants an editorial layout in both the half-lines and the long lines.[131]

Due to the clear structure of the verse line—four feet with a strong ending in the first hemistich and three feet with a weak ending in the second hemistich—on the one hand, one may argue for a page layout with short lines, as printed in Holt's edition:

> Nu, broþerr Wallterr, broþerr min
> Affterr þe flæshess kinde;
> 7 broþerr min i Crisstenndom

[127] Tyrwhitt, "Essay," 206-208; Holt, *Ormulum*; and Sweet, *Primer*, 48-81.
[128] Edwin Guest, *A History of English Rhythms*, vol. 2 (London: William Pickering, 1838), 208, 210-16.
[129] Bennett and Smithers, *Early Middle English*, 174-183; Treharne, *Old and Middle English c.890-1450: An Anthology,* 3rd edition (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 326-334.
[130] For the poem laid out as prose, see London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 487, and for the poem laid out in alternating half lines, see Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 4.
[131] Solopova, "Meter," 436.

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Þurrh fulluhht 7 þurrh trowwþe; (H1-4)

Or, on the other hand, one may argue for a page layout with long lines and a visible caesura:

Nu broþerr wallt*err* broþerr min. Afft*err* þe flæshess ki*n*de.
Annd broþerr min i crisstenndom. þurrh fulluhht. *annd* þurrh trowwþe. (1-2)

Even the use of a visible caesura is not necessary, however, because of Orm's regular use of metrical pointing. The only aid that the manuscript provides is punctuation between each hemistich, which I noted above. The layout, therefore, appears to be subject to individual editorial policies, or, rather, to personal aesthetic preferences. As mentioned just above, the only Early Middle English texts with the fifteen-syllable line published in long lines are *Poema Morale*, *The Passion of our Lord*, and *The Lady of Samaria*. This appears to be based on lineation within the manuscripts even though one of the earliest manuscripts of *Poema Morale* lays it out in continuous text across the page in the same way that Orm writes out his verse in his double columns while another later manuscript of *Poema Morale* lays it out in half lines so that its rhyming couplets appear in every other line.

As mentioned in Chapter 1, the Latin septenarius was familiar to poets in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries, no matter what specific form it may have taken. The example provided in the first chapter of thirteenth-century poems' use of the English septenary, especially *The Duty of Christians*, is significant here for an example of how Orm not only made occasional use of sound-play with repeated words, infinitive verb endings, and formulas; he also used repetition of words, phrases, and sentences for rhetorical purposes. Note the following lines that were cited in the first chapter:

Wiþþ ære shollde lisstenn itt. Wiþþ herrte shollde itt trowwenn.

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Wiþþ tunge shollde spellenn itt.   Wiþþ dede shollde itt follʒhenn. (D133-6, D309-12)[132]

This couplet appears twice in the prefatory material, which is typically referred to as the Dedication and the Preface (based on manuscript evidence, however, they are supposed to be one text). In the first appearance, Orm is explaining why he wants all English people to have access to the Gospel: they should hear it, believe it, preach it, and follow it. He has based his masterpiece on doubling and repetition but also upon the idea of the number four: there are four Gospels and Gospel writers, and Orm likens the four books to the "quaþþrigan" (80) or *quadriga*, a four-wheeled chariot, of Amminadab, who is one of Christ's distant ancestors according to the Hebrew scriptures and the Gospels of Luke and Matthew. It follows, then, that Orm decided to reiterate these lines after explaining the rationale behind his *quadriga* framework and metaphor. In essence, he is able to remind his reader-audience a second time to listen, believe, preach, and follow the Gospels while emphasizing the exegetical importance of the number four.

2.5 The Genre and Function of the *Ormulum*

As the *quadriga* framework demonstrates, the organizational logic behind the *Ormulum* rests on the Gospels, and so Orm begins with the Gospel of Luke's account of the archangel Gabriel's appearance to Zacharia to foretell the pregnancy of his wife Elizabeth, whose child John would prepare the way for Christ through his preaching and baptisms. The extant collection presents paraphrases and provides exegeses on the Gospels of Luke, Matthew, and John. The final mostly complete homily is supposedly on John, but the pericope in the Latin list actually

[132] Like my use of H to indicate the Holt edition's lineation, the D here indicates the Dedication and its line numbers while I have laid it out in long lines.

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comes from the Gospel of Mark, which Orm does not seem to rely on in the extant homilies otherwise. Based on this list, we also know that Orm was not going to stop at the end of the Gospels either, despite his supposedly four-wheeled approach to his collection; he had plans to paraphrase and explicate the Acts of the Apostles as well. Thus, the categorization of Orm's work seems straightforward on the surface, but in reality scholars have considered the *Ormulum* as three different possible genres: a long poem like a gospel harmony, a biblical commentary, or a collection of sermons in verse. None of these alone is accurate although the *Ormulum* most closely resembles the last genre. Rather than a collection of sermons in verse, Orm was writing a collection of *homilies* in verse, and the distinction between the two may seem minor but is, in fact, significant to Orm's project.

In *A New History of English Metre*, Martin J. Duffell alludes to the *Ormulum* as "one of the earliest Middle English poems" at the end of a section entitled "Middle English Short-Line Verse 1200-1400."[133] In the first sentence of the following section on Orm's possible use of Goliardic meter, Duffell contradicts himself by calling the work a "series of sermons in verse."[134] On the one hand, it is a poem; on the other, it is a collection of verse-sermons. Joseph Hall is careful not to categorize the *Ormulum* with any specific terminology except to explain that it was Orm's purpose "to paraphrase and expound, for the benefit of unlearned English folk, the Gospels of the Mass throughout the year."[135] Holt referred to the texts within the *Ormulum* as "homilies," which

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[133] Martin J. Duffell, *A New History of English Metre*, Studies in Linguistics 5 (London: Modern Humanities Research Association and Maney Publishing, 2008), 78.
[134] Ibid., 78.
[135] Joseph Hall, *Selections from Early Middle English, 1130-1250*, 2 vols, Part II: Notes (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1920; repr. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1972), 487.

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is the overwhelming scholarly consensus.[136] In interpreting and researching it, however, the complexity of its generic distinction has led to much of its negative reception in scholarship because, as a poem, it is seen as unpoetic and tedious. Even if Orm's preoccupation with the structure and form of his composition consumes him, leading scholars like Johannesson and Cannon to write about his devotional writing exercise, these scholars keep in mind that the genre of the work is that of a collection of verse-homilies. Orm's singular goal was to communicate the Gospel in English and then to provide exegesis on it. In fact, he explains that he has made his *Ormulum* for "all Ennglisshe lede" (H132) because he believes that they ought to listen, believe, preach, and follow the Gospels in order "To wi*n*nenn unnderr crisstenndom. / att godd soþ sawle berrhless" (D137-138).[137] Orm begins not with claiming that the English reader-audience must believe, preach, or follow them, but that they should "lisstenn" to them (D133). Therefore, we know unequivocally that Orm meant for his verses to be read aloud as preaching material, not to be read alone and contemplated like a long devotional poem, even if that may have been the effect they had on himself.

Not many refer to the *Ormulum* as a commentary although Orm's complex theology is certainly worthy of such a title. However, after relating the negative qualities of the manuscript and its contents, Bennett offers rather high praise for the collection while also presenting an alternative genre through which we could understand the work, the biblical commentary:

> No contemporary European commentary in the vernacular approaches it in fullness. The appearance of the manuscript may be rebarbative, but the work itself testifies to a conscientious consideration for the spiritual and doctrinal needs of the laity, twenty years

[136] See, for example, Bennett, *Middle English*, 30 and Treharne, *Anthology*, 326.
[137] "To obtain the true salvation of the soul by God under Christendom."

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before the Council of 1215 spurred the clergy as a whole into action.[138]

Indeed, the focus on preaching to the laity in the *Ormulum* predates other English vernacular preaching collections, such as the Trinity and Lambeth Homilies, both of which date to the end of the twelfth century. Scholars have considered the Trinity and Lambeth Homilies as proactive responses to the Third Lateran Council of 1179 and possibly in anticipation of the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215. The Third Lateran Council placed new significance on pastoral care, and when the Council reconvened thirty-six years later, we may assume that the call to preachers to attend to lay spirituality in 1179 was not met with great success. Thus, because the previous canon laws had not been suitably executed, in 1215 the laws were "repeated and strengthened."[139] What, then, can be said of Walter's intense desire to have Orm translate the Gospels for the laity and of Orm's resoundingly dedicated response to undertake such an endeavor? If he began his project around 1160, at the earliest 1155, the commencement of the *Ormulum* would predate the Third Lateran Council by at least two decades, which suggests that some institutions did not need canon laws as an impetus to reach out to the laity, or more likely, those institutions were able to hold onto the Old English tradition of composing vernacular homilies to educate the laity more easily than others.

To return to the important distinction between a "homily" and a "sermon," which are often used interchangeably by modern scholars and medieval writers alike, J. E. Cross explains: "A *homily* is a progressive explanation (exegesis) of the gospel-reading (lection, pericope) for a

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[138] Ibid., 33. The accepted dating of the *Ormulum* now places it in a twenty-year period of 1160-1180, which would place Orm at least 35 years ahead of Lateran IV. See Parkes, "Presumed Date," 115-27.

[139] For a summary of the relevant Canons of the Third and Fourth Lateran Councils, see Millett, "Pastoral Context," 46.

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feast-day within the liturgical year."[140] The definition of a sermon is a little broader:

> A *sermon* is an address on a doctrinal or moral theme, or a general discussion of the meaning and historical background of a feast-day or liturgical season (such as Lent or Advent), or an address on the example of a saint (as opposed to a *vita*, a life or bibliography), or to a class of people (a *sermo ad status*) including converts and initiates (catechumens).[141]

Most of the texts in the first and second series of Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies* are, properly speaking, homilies; there are, however, a sizable number of pieces that should more properly be called sermons.[142] Indeed, each of the verse-homilies in the *Ormulum* begin with an Early Middle English translation of the Latin pericopes taken from the Gospels before paraphrasing the extract and then more fully explaining the biblical passage using the common medieval four-fold exegesis: historical, allegorical, moral, and anagogical interpretations. Most succinctly articulated, Cross writes, "A *homily* is dominantly explanatory, a *sermon* exhortatory."[143] Therefore, unlike its contemporary *Poema Morale*, which is often referred to as a "verse-sermon," the *Ormulum* is quite clearly a collection of homilies because Orm wrote his homilies so that at least one Gospel passage, sometimes two, begins each text. Eventually, Bennett admits that the "tedium of continuous reading" of the *Ormulum* would not have been the experience of the laity who listened only to the homiletic selections of the Gospel for the given day.[144]

Other than genre, Bennett raises another interesting point of studying the *Ormulum*. If, as many believe, Orm never completed his *magnum opus*, how could there ever have been any

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[140] J. E. Cross, "Vernacular Sermons in Old English," in *The Sermon*, ed. Beverly Mayne Kienzle (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), 562, his emphasis.
[141] Ibid., 562-3, his emphasis.
[142] I should note here that the reference to an "Old English," "native," "insular," or "medieval" *homiletic* tradition refers to the practices of writing both sermons and homilies. Additionally, a sermon that is "homiletic" in tone has turned to explanation, not just exhortation.
[143] Ibid., 563, his emphasis.
[144] Bennett, *Middle English*, 33.

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readers or audiences of it? If Johannesson is correct in asserting that Orm was working from a previous draft in penning the text in MS Junius 1, and if we follow what has become scholarly consensus concerning the period of composition—that Orm was working over the course of at least two decades—it seems highly unlikely that Orm would not have drawn from his homiletic material while tending to his pastoral duties.[145] Considering both the planning that went into his composition and the amount of time he dedicated to the collection, Orm must have developed the content and then drawn from it for his own experience in preaching. Simply because we have received a fragmented manuscript, it does not mean that Orm did not at least finish the extant volume nor that he and perhaps others never used it. For scholars working on the manuscript history of the *Ormulum*, the lack of evidence is limiting; however, this lack does not necessarily mean a lack of use in Orm's immediate community. The continued use or non-use of the *Ormulum* is a question that we may never be able to answer, but it is worth considering that its homilies did have some immediate reception.

As David Lawton and Stephen Morrison have found, if we read the *Ormulum* as a collection of versified homilies rather than a monumental gospel harmony poem, we can begin to uncover moments of affective pleasure and vernacular innovation in a theologically dense work. Lawton acknowledges that it is "easier to fault Orrm" than it is to read his collection:

> Yet his treatment of his material is sophisticated in concept, and his judgments to modern ears are often sympathetic (Adam, not Eve, gets the blame for the Fall, and the handling of the relationship between Judaism and Christianity is unusually free from vindictive superiority). Crucially, outside his orthography, there is nothing to justify Orrm's reputation as eccentric. His work is comparable to others' in many respects, not least to Ælfric's.[146]

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[145] Johannesson, "Overwriting."

[146] David Lawton, "Englishing the Bible, 1066-1549," in *The Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature*, ed. David Wallace (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 464.

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As one of the staunchest defenders of Orm's writing, Stephen Morrison's essay on English vernacular literary activity in the twelfth century lauds Orm's sometimes "arresting quality," particularly in his choice of imagery.[147] Morrison argues further that the "verbal articulation of the ideas is [Orm's], revealing a writer who is capable, if only intermittently, of creating aesthetically pleasing and effective moral instruction."[148] Amidst these moments of literary pleasure, Cannon considers the choice of English in the *Ormulum* as driven by a "popularizing impulse"—making the Gospels accessible to both clergy and laity—while also demonstrating its reliance on the Latin tradition.[149] Additionally, the evolving popularity of certain religious themes in the vernacular, such as the Virgin Mary as the "star of the sea," may have contributed to the specific choices of form and layout, such as his use of the septenary line in a double-column page, and content, as I will discuss in Chapter Three.

2.6 Correcting Text and Imagining Audience

In his 1922 dissertation titled *Corrections and Additions in the* Ormulum *Manuscript*, Sigurd Holm collates "about 1000 textual alterations and additional notes."[150] Holm, like most modern scholars of the *Ormulum*, is quick to criticize White's 1852 edition of the *Ormulum*:

> As to the text itself it can by no means be said to satisfy the requiresments of present-day scholarship. There are may errors, both misreadings and misprints, which may be found almost on every page. Besides, the many corrections which have been made aftewards

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[147] Stephen Morrison, "Vernacular Literary Activity," 257.
[148] Ibid., 258.
[149] Christopher Cannon, "Monastic Productions," in *The Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature*, ed. David Wallace (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 330.
[150] Sigurd Holm, *Corrections and Additions in the* Ormulum *Manuscript*, published PhD dissertation (Uppsala 1922), xii.

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[…] make the use of this text very inconvenient.[151]

Some twenty-five years after White's first edition, Robert Holt produced a revised, now standard, edition with multiple corrections based on his referral to the manuscript. Unfortunately, as Holm notes, the critics did not appreciate his edition any more than they had White's original in 1852.[152]

Of the thousand corrections that Holm collates and discusses in his dissertation, he provides a short section of eight pages dedicated to the phrases containing "þe boc," whether the alterations are excisions of the phrase or a qualifying of "þe boc" as "soþ," "latin," and so on. While Holm addresses instances of these "boc" phrases in relation to exactly which kind of book, or textual source, to which Orm may be referring, no attention has been given to the phrase that most commonly replaces such phrases; that is, "þatt witt tu wel to soþe" (that know you well to be true) and variations thereof. If most of the occurrences of the original phrase concerning "þe boc," such as "alls uss se33þ þe boc" (as the book tells us), are replaced with a statement that the reader-audience should know the content to be true, as is the case, suddenly the onus of knowledge is removed from a textual authority and onto a person who should have some familiarity with the Scripture being explicated because of the imperative "witt." This redistribution of textual responsibility seems to contradict the words of Orm's Dedication:

> *Annd* forrþi trowwe icc þatt te birrþ wel þolenn mine wordess,
> E33whær þær þu shallt findenn hemm amang Goddspelless wordess.
> For whase mot to *læwedd* follc larspell off Goddspell tellenn,

[151] Ibid., ix.
[152] See, for example, Eugen Kölbing, "Zur Textkritik des Ormulum," *English Studien* 1 (1877): 1-16.

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He mot wel ekenn maniȝ word amang Goddspelless wordess. (H51-8, my emphasis)[153]

Thus, in Orm's own words, the intended audience seems to be "læwedd follc," the unlearned English laity, but nowhere else does he mention an unlearned audience in his prefatory material. Instead, he refers to "Ennglisshe" people and language over fifteen times in the material. It would appear, then, that Orm's concern was not, in fact, for the unlearned, that is, for the laity who had no religious instruction. Rather, Orm was concerned with a particular English audience who had *some* learning, or at least enough knowledge of the Gospels and even the commentaries (e.g., "latin boc") to recognize the veracity of Orm's words.

Among the brave few who venture to study the *Ormulum*, even fewer have speculated about its intended audience. For example, Meg Worley has suggested a Francophone clerical audience, one in which English was not their first language (i.e., those who are knowledgeable of the contents, but need to instruct the English laity in a language foreign to themselves), based on Orm's standardized spelling, which she dubs "Ormography."[154] Guzman Mancho has suggested that Orm's exegesis specifically speaks to an audience of Jewish catechumens. I would suggest, however, that we investigate more closely the imagined audience of the *Ormulum* that Orm seems to carefully shape through his use of the phrase "þatt witt tu wel to soþe" and its variations. Although he does not completely eliminate the more traditional Old English phrase of "þe bec secgað" (which the books say), he does modify it by specifying the kind of "bec" that provide him with the Biblical passages or information that he is translating, as mentioned above

[153] "And because I believe that you ought to endure my words well, you can find them anywhere among the Gospel words, for whosoever can tell a sermon of the Gospel to unlearned people, he can add many words properly among the Gospel words."
[154] Meg Worley, "The *Ormulum* and the Archive of Early Middle English," a conference paper given at the International Congress on Medieval Studies, Western Michigan University, 14 May 2015.

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in my discussion of Holm. Therefore, through a systematic use of the phrase “þatt witt tu wel to soþe”—the “þatt” functioning either as an accusative pronoun (e.g., you know that well to be true) receiving the force of the imperative “witt” or a resultative adverbial conjunction (e.g., which you know well to be true)—as well as gesturing towards *specific* textual authorities within the convention, such as Bede or the *Glossa ordinaria*, Orm seems to imagine a complex of relationships with multiple audiences: the laity, catechumens, semi-learned, and clergy.

This specific correction, from textual authority to second-person imperative, is apparently so common that in his note for line 6,605, by which point there have been twelve corrections and eighteen *original* uses of the phrase, White writes:

> This line [þatt witt tu wel to soþe] is in margin, instead of the words “swa summ þe boc uss kiþeþþ” […] As the erasure of the words here noticed, and the substitution of those in line 6605 frequently occur, “soþe” being preceded by “to,” “forr,” or “full,” further reference to such erasures seems unnecessary.[155]

The problem, however, is that he *does* continue to note such erasures eighteen more times, but erratically and usually only when the phrase has varied, such as “þatt witt tu fuliȜiss” (“which know you certainly,” H7,214) or “Þiss wast tu wel to soþe” (this you know well to be true, H11,259 and H11,311). Based on my count, there are approximately 85 instances in which the authority of the “boc” has been completely excised, not simply qualified by adding “soþ” (e.g., H1,064, Homily 2) or “Latin” (e.g., H4,452, Homily 8) before it.

With White only writing notes for a sporadic additional eighteen to the first twelve corrected phrases, this still leaves more than forty instances of the excision of “swa summ þe boc uss kiþeþþ” or “alls uss seȜȜþ þe boc” unaccounted for in the edition. For the vast majority of the time—some 73 times—Orm replaced textual authority with a responsibility that *you* know

[155] Holt, *Ormulum*, vol. 2, 373-4.

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("witt tu") that what Orm's homilies are conveying is true. Approximately six uses of "wiss to fulle soþ," which, as I noted above, is simply a statement of certainty, replace the "boc" phrases, and they disappear completely by folio 56v, at which time Orm seems to intensify his use of the "witt tu" phrases all the way to folio 118r. This leaves only a handful of cases in which the excised "boc" phrase is not replaced by some version of "tu" being demanded to know the truth or simple statements of certainty.

These corrections routinely replaced references to "þe boc," but they were not the only phrases that replaced generic book agency. "Swa summ þe boc uss kiþeþþ" is remarkably close to versions found in earlier vernacular homiletic collections in England, such as the texts of Ælfric, Wulfstan, and the Vercelli Homilies although it seems to have been more common to simply refer to the Gospel writer or other Biblical character speaking in the Old English homilies. Even Orm maintains textual authority in his homiliary, but he removes almost every reference to a generic "boc," choosing instead to qualify his authority as the "Goddspell," the "soþ boc," the "Latin boc," the "Grikkess boc," the "Judewisshe boc," and so on. The most common reference to a book in the *Ormulum* is "swa summ þe Goddspell kiþeþþ," which is usually found in moments of Biblical paraphrase and which is often corrected from "swa summ þe boc kiþeþþ." Rarely do we find this conventional phrase and the newer phrase in close proximity to one another unless Orm immediately follows a Biblical passage with an interpretation or, more rarely, intermingles his paraphrase with exegesis. Thus, the primary difference in use, it seems, is dependent on the matter at hand. If Orm is paraphrasing a Gospel passage, such as Mary's immaculate conception, he will routinely write, "Swa summ soþ boc uss kiþeþþ" (1,984) or "Swa summ þe Goddspell kiþeþþ" (2,732), such as when he explains that the

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"soþ boc" tells us that women who fornicate are disgraced and shamed all their lives, which is why Mary married Joseph "Wiþþ Godess laȝhe" ("With God's law," 1,984)—so that she "ne wære shamedd her, / Ne shennd off unclænnesse" ("she would not be shamed nor shunned for uncleanness," 1,991-1,992). The implication being that the "soþ boc" refers to the Bible in general while Orm's references to the "Goddspell" or "Goddspell boc" indicates a specific book of the New Testament. Regarding these corrections, Gregor Sarrazin writes in 1883, "Orrm selbst beruft sich mehrmals auf ein lateinisches buch, dessen erklärung und auslegung er folge, nennt aber nie den namen eines autors."[156] Occassionally, "latin boc" may refer to the New Testament although, as seen in the example above, Orm often preferred to refer to the "Goddspell" or "Goddspell boc" for clarification or specification. Corrections to "haliȝ boc," like "soþ boc," always seem to refer to the Bible in general, as did Orm's uncorrected general use of "þe boc."[157]

However, once Orm switches to exegesis, he will write, either originally or through a correction, some version of "þatt witt tu wel to soþe" (2,002). In the same homily on the conception, for example, Orm uses this phrase approximately nine times when explicating the Gospel teaching, such as the fact that

And witt tu wel þatt nass næfrær, biforenn Sannte Marȝe,

[156] Sarrazin, "Orrmulum," 1: "Orm himself relies several times on a Latin book whose explanation and interpretation he follows but never mentions the name of an author." In *Corrections*, Holm notes that, even though Sarrazin does not try to determine exactly what the "latin boc" is, by the end of the essay he seems to imply the writings of Bede and other authoritative Latin commentators (42).
[157] Holm, *Corrections*, 44-9.

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Nan wimman þatt for lufe off Godd I ma33þhad wollde libbenn (H2,283-6)[158]

The words surrounding this phrase, which focuses on the knowledge of the reader-audience (the "tu"), seem to indicate material that the audience *should* know because it is integral to their salvation.

One problem that seemingly remains, however, is that the conjugation of "witt" may be unclear. As a conjugated form of the verb "witen" (or "witenn" for Orm), "witt" may be present subjunctive or imperative. This problem becomes even more pronounced when we encounter variations of this phrase, like "Þiss wast tu wel to soþe" (11,259), in which the conjugation is clearly present indicative. On the one hand, Orm may be urging his audience by using the imperative to internalize his instruction or even that they should *already* know these truths; on the other hand, he seems to pronounce a fact that his audience *may* already know is true, which indicates a level of uncertainty in the knowledge his imagined reader-audience already possesses. Whereas the excised "alls uss se33þ þe boc" implied a passive reader-audience who might happily rely on a vague reference to some textual authority as the final word, the phrase "which you know is very true"—or perhaps "you know that is very true"—renders the reader-audience active participants in the learning experience. The instructive imperative is not simply a call to the English laity to internalize their aural lessons; it is also a resounding demand that those educated few—both the seasoned and the currently training clergy—remember their lessons so that they may put them to good didactic use in the future. The very question of who the singular "tu" is in these corrected phrases may help explain why Orm used the phrase throughout the collection to replace references to textual authority—he seems to be speaking directly to

[158] "And (you) know well that there was never before Saint Mary any woman who wished to live in virginity for the love of God."

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individual clergy members listening to or reading his homilies in preparation for their own pastoral duties even while many homilies seem to speak to a larger heterogenous audience at the same time (e.g., use of the plural "ȝuw").

In her essay "Using the *Ormulum* to Redefine Vernacularity," Worley points out that Orm would not have written a collection of homilies, which are meant to be read aloud, if he was solely concerned with spelling reform.[159] Instead, he could have written a devotional text, which clergy in his community could have used for personal reading. Bennett and Gray mention in their literary history, published seventeen years before Worley's essay, that Orm's spelling system may have served to "facilitate quick and regular reading: the preachers for whom he intended the work may well have been unfamiliar with the written vernacular in any form, and in need of such guidance."[160] This observation seems to lay the foundation for Worley's later argument that "Orm was trying to guide the pronunciation of non-native speakers reading to a congregation of English-speaking laypeople."[161]

Worley finds further evidence for this phonetic guide in the change in the pronunciation of French consonants that began to take place in the twelfth century. This change would eventually give way to elisions of the final syllable or consonant omissions, such as we see in the move from *Christianus* to *Chrétien*, and the double consonants would guide the reader to pronounce those sounds, such as the double /r/ in "broþerr Wallter," that would prevent elision in the last syllable. Even though this argument may have some weak points, particularly since

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[159] Meg Worley, "Using the *Ormulum* to Redefine Vernacularity," in *The Vulgar Tongue: Medieval and Postmedieval Vernacularity*, ed. Fiona Somerset and Nicholas Watson (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003), 22.
[160] Bennett and Gray, *Middle English*, 31.
[161] Worley, "Using the *Ormulum*," 23.

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Worley does not address the moments in which Orm's consonants act more like vowels, such as in the word "te33," I believe that Bennett, Gray, and Worley may be on to something with Orm's goal of guiding non-native English speakers with his writing. One such piece of evidence deals not with Ormography, but rather corrected word choice. In lines H4,272-4,273**,** for example, the text originally read, "*annd* Crist iss nemmnedd swiþe rihht / Hælende i Ʒure spæche" ("and Christ is called very rightly / Healer in your speech"). Orm erased "i Ʒure" and wrote "onn Ennglissh" in the margins so that the text instead reads, "Hælende onn Ennglissh spæche." In a sense, the first version seems to imply that the imagined audience would have used the English "Hælende" to refer to Christ because it was part of their own language. In fact, Orm seems to momentarily forget that "*Ʒure* spæche"—" Ʒure" being plural—was Orm's and the laity's language, not that of the clergy. Fortunately, he catches his mistake and alters the line so that the second-person possessive pronoun is replaced by the qualifying "Ennglissh," thus indicating that part of his audience did not identify the English language as something in their possession.[162]

Guzman Mancho takes another approach at determining Orm's intended audience by viewing his discourse through the perspective of cultural analysis, and Mancho suggests that the contents of many homilies gesture towards an Anglo-Jewish listening audience who may have been recently converted to Christianity. Because Orm was an Augustinian canon—which we know from his statement in the Dedication concerning his and Walter's decision to follow canon law as it was set by St. Augustine—Mancho argues that clergy under the rule of St. Augustine showed an interest in the apostolic life.[163] In Homily 23 on the wedding in Cana from John 2:1,

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[162] This is not to say, necessarily, that they would not have considered themselves "English" culturally by this time even if their native language were not English.
[163] Guzman Mancho, "Considering *Ormulum's* Exegetical Discourse: Canon Orrmin's Preaching

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Orm even lists the mostly priestly duties of that "maste lott tatt heȝhesst iss" ("greatest lot that is highest"), which is "þatt lærede genge" ("learned people") who "ȝemenn" ("govern"), "lærenn" ("teach"), "spellenn" ("preach"), "shrifenn" ("take confession"), "huslenn" ("commit to the Holy Communion"), "birrȝenn" ("bury") believers in the churchyard, and "biddenn" ("pray") for their souls (H15,248-15,255). Mancho rightly points out that the main purpose of the *Ormulum* is to evangelize in English to save the English people's souls, which Orm himself tells us.

The audience of the manuscript, however, was not merely other clergy at Bourne but also catechumens who were ready to convert to Christianity. Thus, Mancho sees evidence of this in Orm's commentaries in the surviving homilies that seem to indicate a specific audience of catechumens, particularly Anglo-Jewish converts.[164] I believe there is evidence to support Mancho's claim for an audience composed, at least partly, of Jewish catechumens, such as Orm's attention to Jewish marriage law and particular Old Testament narratives. Nonetheless, I am not as convinced that they were solely Jewish,[165] especially since Orm uses creative lamb analogy to present the problem of other gods that may distract one from the Christian faith, and surely he could not only be referring to Judaism:

Annd ȝiff þu cnawesst rihht tin Godd,
Annd leȝȝest all þin herrte onn himm, *annd* follȝhesst him *annd* buȝhesst,
Annd forr þe lufe off himm forrsest hæþene Goddess alle,
Annd arrt te sellf aȝȝ milde *annd* meoc, *annd* soffte, *annd* stille, *annd* liþe,
Wiþþ lamb þu lakesst tin Drihhtin gastlike i þine þæwess,
Swa þatt itt maȝȝ wel hellpenn þe to winnenn Godess are.
Forr lamb is soffte *annd* stille deor, meoc, *annd* milde, *annd* liþe,

and His Audience," *English Studies* 85 (2004): 510.
[164] Ibid., 512.
[165] While I have not found a published response to Mancho's analysis, Adrienne Williams Boyarin considers Orm's concentration on Jews, Judaism, and Jewishness a part of his figural reading of the Bible. For Orm, the Jew would make the perfect Christian because of their adherence to the law, thus explaining Orm's preoccupation with Jews ("Orm and the Jews").

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Annd itt cann cnawen swiþe wel hiss moderr þær 3ho blæteþþ
Bitwenenn an þusennde shep, þohh þatt te33 blætenn alle.
Annd all swa birrþ þe cnawenn wel þin Godd *annd* all hiss lare,
Annd all forrwerrpenn hæþenndom *annd* oþre Goddess alle,
Swa summ þe lamb fleþ oþre shep, *annd* foll3heþþ a33 hiss moderr. (H1300-23)[166]

Thus, the catechumens were likely not solely Anglo-Jewish, but what is more important, I believe, is the attention Orm gives to preaching *to* the catechumens, such as Orm's bread-making analogy in Homily 2 in which he explains that a preacher must gather people together, just like corn, in order to "primmse33nenn hemm" ("to make them into a catechumen," H1,542). Moreover, this passage, which occurs over the course of 75 lines, is addressed to the listener in the second person singular:

3iff þatt iss þatt *tu* þurrh *þin* spell till rihhte læfe turrnest
Þatt flocc þatt wass toske33red ær (H1,496-1,498)[167]

Not only does Orm directly address the clergy that make up a part of his singular audience ("tu") with his attention to "þin spell," but also he instructs them in conversion with this clear metaphor of gathering the scattered, or lost, and showing them the right way, the right faith. The audience, therefore, is at least part clergy and part catechumen. Moreover, each homily may have been meant for different imagined audiences for different occassions.

It is at this point in the discussion of audience that the distinction between using the

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[166] "And if you know truly your God, and lay all your heart in him, and follow and worship him, and for the love of him avoid all heathen gods, and are yourself always mild and meek and soft and still and gentle as the lamb, you serve your Lord spiritually in your service, so that it can help you well to obtain God's grace. For the lamb is a soft and still animal, and meek, and mild, and gentle, and it can know very well his mother where she bleats among a thousand sheep, even though they all bleat. And you ought to know well your God and all his instruction, and reject all heathendom and all other gods, just as the lamb flees other sheep, and follows always his mother."
[167] "If it is that you through your sermon turn that flock that was scattered before to the proper belief," my emphasis.

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newer phrase "þatt witt tu wel to soþe" and its variations and the more traditional vernacular phrase "þæs þe bec secgað" becomes important. These corrections permeate the manuscript from beginning to end. In the Dedication, Orm tells us who his *ideal* audience is:

> Icc hafe itt don forrþi þatt all Crisstene follkess berrhless
> Iss lang uppo þatt an, þatt te33 Goddspelles hall3e lare
> Wiþþ fulle mahhte foll3he rihht þurrh þohht, þurrh word, þurrh dede. (D115-20)[168]

Thus, we learn that Orm translates the Gospel into English so that *all* Christians, that is, all English Christians, can follow its teachings. As noted above, Orm wishes

> þatt all Ennglisshe lede
> Wiþþ ære shollde lisstenn itt, wiþþ herrte shollde itt trowwenn,
> Wiþþ tunge shollde spellenn itt, wiþþ dede shollde itt foll3henn,
> To winnenn unnderr Crisstenndom att Godd soþ sawle berrhless. (D132-8)

The point I would like to stress here is the use of the word "spellenn," which Orm uses frequently throughout his work and, from the Old English *spellian*, originally meant to "talk" or "converse." By Orm's time, however, the word was beginning to take on meanings like to "preach" or "spell with letters." According to the *Middle English Dictionary*, in fact, the *Ormulum* is the first Middle English text listed to use "spellenn" to refer to preaching.[169]

I find this use of "spellenn" interesting, especially since Orm has already told us that he is an Augustinian canon. From the passage above, I think we can take this to mean that when Orm refers to all English people, he really means everyone—religious and lay alike. This is

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[168] "I have done it [translated the Gospels into English] so that all Christian folk's salvation is because of that one, which they follow rightly with full might the holy instruction of the Gospel through thought, through word, through deed."

[169] Although the *MED* does not list the *Ormulum* as a text that uses the new meaning of spelling with letters—the *Ancrene Wisse* is listed instead—I think it would be wrong to overlook the double meaning here, especially in light of his Ormography. See also Christopher Cannon's insightful reading of "spellenn" in his chapter "Right Writing: The *Ormulum*," in *Grounds*, particularly 86-97, and in his essay "Spelling Practice," 229-44.

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particularly true if we take into consideration what Caroline Walker Bynum explains are the differences between monks and canons in the twelfth century when investigating monastic and canonical texts in *Jesus as Mother*. One of the common distinctions is that twelfth-century canons believed in educating through word and deed—that is, preaching and leading by example, which Orm reiterates time and again—and the Augustinian Rule "stresses the responsibility of members of the community for each other, implying that brothers ought to aid their fellows by word and that an individual is responsible for the effect of his behavior on the spiritual growth of his neighbors."[170] This responsibility for others took place within the cloister as well as outside of it, and this "awareness" was a new development in the work of canons in the twelfth century.[171] Therefore, not only does Orm write his text for the ease of pronouncing English for a non-native English speaker, such as an Anglo-Norman member of the clergy, or even an English speaker who is unfamiliar with the written vernacular, such as one training for Holy Orders, but he also instructs a portion of his audience in the proper way to teach the English laity. Moreover, at the end of his Dedication, Orm asks Christian men who "herenn oþerr redenn / Þis boc" ("hear or read this book," D326-7) to pray for him.

Further support for a reader-audience that was most certainly other clergy can be seen in what may be a slip of the tongue, so to speak. In Homily 24, Orm explains the significance of the four letters of Adam's name. He writes in lines H16,434-5: "Þe firrste staff iss nemmnedd A / Onn ure Latin spæche" ("the first letter is called A in our Latin speech"). He repeats "Onn ure Latin spæche" four lines later, and unlike his changing "i Ʒure" to "onn Ennglisshe" mentioned

[170] Caroline Walker Bynum, *Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages*, Publications of the Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, UCLA, 16 (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1984), 48.
[171] Ibid., 56, 58.

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above, Orm chooses not to change “ure” to some other word that would not alienate part of his audience. Thus, in this particular homily, Orm seems to be writing specifically for the learned readers (i.e., clergy and possibly educated aristocrats) who would have known Latin and not for the unlearned listening audience. This being said, however, I suggest that, although there may be a religious readership distinct from a lay listening audience, the religious audience is not always simply a readership. If the texts were directed at both types of listening audiences, it seems that Orm asked that his lay audience know more than they might have and required that his religious audience know what they ought at the moment of hearing these homilies.

Ultimately, the use of the “witt tu” phrase points to Orm’s own evolution as a preacher, as a teacher, and what he expects his reader-audience, which is never homogenous, to know. Just as the lamb “cnaweth” its mother and the Christian “cnaweth” God, the mixed religious and lay audience of the *Ormulum* must know its Gospels. Orm forces his audience to take up that responsibility of knowing instead of letting them rely on preachers unraveling for them what “þe Goddspell kiþeþþ,” and in the following chapter, we will see how Orm’s educated reader-audience would have understood the seamlessness with which he wove together multiple Latin sources to construct his image of the “sæsterrne” for the Virgin Mary.

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CHAPTER 3

Guiding Lights: Intercession at Sea in the *Ormulum*

3.1 Introduction

The role that the sea played in medieval English literature and culture is complicated because of the various connotations it aroused. The unpredictable waters represented a place of discomfort and even danger, as *The Wanderer* and the Middle English legend of St. Brendan demonstrate; the sea functioned as a metaphor—"the sea of life"[172]—for the transient world, the carnal pleasures that endanger one's eternal salvation and that require a spiritual guide to traverse; and, finally, the sea also presented an opportunity to escape such treacherous joys of the land through meditation and relinquishing control to that spiritual guide that "the sea of life" metaphor often necessitates. The latter two roles of the sea may be confusing because the sea appears redemptive and treacherous simultaneously; it is dangerous because of its natural unpredictability, geographical immensity, and allusion to the dangers of dwelling on land that could irrevocably drown a soul in sin. However, the exile who travels the sea has the same opportunity as the voluntary pilgrim partaking in the Irish tradition of *peregrinatio por amore Dei* (pilgrimage for the love of God): they can get away from temptation, seek redemption through spiritual purification, and relinquish the illusion of control of their life. The deeply rooted anxiety of and

[172] The idea of human existence as the "sea of life" is present in Boethius's *De Consolatione Philosophiae*, which was well known in early medieval England. In Book 1, Prosa 3, Philosophy supports philosophical endeavors in understanding the miseries of the world, and she explains, "Itaque nihil est quod ammirere si in hoc uitae salo circumflantibus agitemur procellis, quibus hoc maxime propositum est, pessimis displicere." ("So it is nothing for your admiration if, in this high sea of life, we are tossed by a storm blowing round, for whom it is the greatest purpose to displease evil [men].") Boethius, *Consolatio Philosophiae*, ed. James J. O'Donnell, *Bryn Mawr Latin Commentaries*, vol. 1 (Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, PA: 1984). Accessed on 15 Oct 2012: http://www9.georgetown.edu/faculty/jod/boethius/jkok/list_t.htm.

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preoccupation with the sea in medieval Britain lends itself to the early vernacular adoption of the Latin *stella maris* ("star of the sea") epithet for the Virgin Mary, and the *Ormulum* becomes only the second work to include it in the English tongue. Further, while the first use of it in English comes from one of Bede's Latin works, thus demonstrating a reliance on insular Latin sources, Orm was drawing from multiple Latin sources from continental writers like Fulbert of Chartres. By following current trends in liturgical Marian writing and his own impulse to brave the stormy "seas," this example of Orm's constructing an image from his various source materials is a representative example of how he composed the *Ormulum*, a quintessential assemblage. For Orm and many others, being potentially lost at sea is, in reality, an exercise in ultimately finding one's way.

3.2 Negative Perceptions of the Sea

As Sebastian Sobecki explains in *The Sea in Medieval English Literature*, "the literary history of the sea in English literature becomes a part of the vernacular discourse of Englishness," although the sea played a large role in ancient, as well as medieval, discourses.[173] Early writers, insular and continental, drew contrasts between the sea and the land in order to understand the sea further: the land was stable and predictable while the sea was mobile and capricious. The English reactions to the sea came from not only their own interactions with it in the Anglo-Saxon period but also from Greco-Roman mythology, such as Aeneas's voyage, and patristic writings, such as Augustine's idea of the sea as *profunditas impenetrabilis*

[173] Sebastian Sobecki, *The Sea in Medieval English Literature* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2008), 4.

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("impenetrable deep").[174] Sobecki points out that the primordial waters preexisted creation, and Genesis 1:2 demonstrates this: *terra autem erat inanis et vacua et tenebrae super faciem abyssi et spiritus Dei ferebatur super aquas*.[175] Specifically, the Vulgate Bible uses the words *abyssus* and *aqua* for the primordial waters, and not until after God's creation does the Vulgate use *mare* for the sea.[176] Thus, the Vulgate distinguishes linguistically between the waters of chaos and the ordered post-creation seas. Sobecki explains that "the ferocious waters are charged with suppressing the deep (*abyssus*), which is now located at the bottom of the sea."[177] From this idea of the seas containing the *abyssus*, we can see how patristic commentaries on the sea as *profunditas impenetrabilis* came into religious literary consciousness, especially with earlier Greco-Roman influence. Peter Dronke explains:

> The dominant tradition of sea-imagery, from Graeco-Roman Antiquity to the Church Fathers, is essentially negative in outlook. The sea, in a metaphor that goes back at least as far as Plato, is earthly existence: human life is that treacherous deep, fraught with dangers, which everyone must sail and cross in order to reach the harbor—a serene end to life, or, for Christians, salvation in heaven.[178]

From Oceanus dwelling in and ruling over the seas to Origen's idea of the "seat of the devil" (or "the depths of sin," if understood metaphorically), the depths of the sea have often been

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[174] See, for example, Augustine's "Enarratio in Psalmum XLI," in *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, Centre Traditio Litterarum Occidentalium (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010): http://clt.brepolis.net/llta/pages/Toc.aspx?ctx=562935.
[175] Unless otherwise noted, all Bible quotations come from the Latin Vulgate (http://www.drbo.org/lvb/index.htm) and translations are my own: "The earth now was empty and void and darkness was over the form of the abyss and the spirit of God was lifted over the waters"; Sobecki, *The Sea*, 34.
[176] Genesis 1.10: *congregationesque aquarum appelavit maria* ("and the assembling of waters he called seas").
[177] Sobecki, *The Sea*, 35.
[178] Peter Dronke, *Growth in Literature: the Sea and the God of the Sea*, H. M. Chadwick Memorial Lectures 8, Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse, and Celtic (Cambridge: University of Cambridge, 1998), 3.

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understood supernaturally in some sense while humans must find a safe way to navigate its tempestuous nature, both literally and figuratively.[179] In biblical passages, like Micah 7:19, *proiciet in profundum maris omnia* ("he throws forth into the deep of the sea all [sins]"), God appears to send the damned souls to hell by way of the bottom of the sea, which would encourage interpretations of the *abyssus* at the bottom of the *mare* as the dwelling-place of the devil and hell. Beowulf's fight with Grendel's mother and the Old English *Physiologus* are two examples of the Anglo-Saxons' distrust of the sea—or any collection of deep water in which the bottom is obscured from vision, like the mere—and the immense creatures that inhabit it.

The exact interpretation of the location of Grendel's mother's lair has been a subject of heated debate over the years, and although early scholars argued for a location near the sea or more inland, others, such as Frederick Klaeber, have conceded that the description is too inconsistent for a unified reading.[180]

Hie dygel lond
warigeað, wulfhleoþu, windige næssas,
frecne fengelad, ðær fyrgenstream
under næssa genipu niþer gewiteð,
flod under foldan. Nis þæt feor heonon
milgemearces þæt se mere standeð;
ofer þæm hongiað hrinde bearwas,
wudu wyrtum fæst wæter oferhelmað.
þær mæg nihta gehwæm niðwundor seon,
fyr on flode. No þæs frod leofað

[179] Sobecki mentions Origen's idea of the "seat of the devil," *The Sea*, 38.

[180] For a comprehensive survey of earlier discussions of the location of the mere, see William Witherie Lawrence's influential essay "The Haunted Mere in Beowulf," *PMLA*, 27 (1912): 208-45. For discussions on this subject, see Frederick Klaeber, ed., *Beowulf and The Fight at Finnsburg*, 3rd edition (Boston, MA: Heath, 1950); E. G. Stanley, "Old English Poetic Diction and the Interpretation of *The Wanderer*, *The Seafarer*, and *The Penitent's Prayer*," *Anglia* 73 (1956): 413-466; John Niles, *Beowulf: The Poem and Its Tradition* (Cambridge, MA: 1983).

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gumena bearna, þæt þone grund wite (1,357b-1,367)[181]

What seems to be clear and of utmost importance is the danger associated with the pool, and this danger seems to be characterized by three distinct features. First, the mere is separate from human civilization: it is in a *dygel lond* ("secret land," 1,357b), and the journey to the location is difficult, filled with *wulfhleoþu* ("wolf-hills," 1,358a), *windige næssas* ("windy headlands," 1,358b), and a *frecne fengelad* ("dangerous fen-path," 1,359a). Second, the *fyr on flode* ("fire on the water," 1,366a), which scholars have interpreted in a number of ways, seems to suggest an earthly presence of hell or a strong allusion to hell.[182] Finally, the fact that not even the wisest man alive *þone grund wite* ("may know the bottom," 1,367b) demonstrates the widespread

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[181] Elliot Van Kirk Dobbie, ed., *Beowulf and Judith: Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records 4* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1953): "They occupy the secret land, the wolf-hills, the windy headlands, the dangerous fen-path where the mountain-stream goes down under the mists of the headlands, the flowing water under the earth. That is not far from here, measured in miles, where the mere stands; a frost-covered grove hangs over that, a wood fixed by the roots overshadows the water where every night a wicked wonder can be seen, fire on the water. There is no one alive of the children of men so wise who may know the bottom."

[182] For interpretations of hell on earth, see Klaeber, *Beowulf and the Fight*, 183; Kemp Malone, "Grendel and his Abode," in *Studia philological et litteraria in honorem L. Spitzer*, ed. Anna G. Hatcher and K. L. Selig (Bern: Francke, 1958), 297-308; Sarah L. Higley, "*Aldor on Ofre*, or the Reluctant Hart: a Study of Liminality in *Beowulf*," *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 87 (1986): 342-53; Thalia Phillies Feldman, "A Comparative Study of *Feond*, *Deofl*, *Syn*, and *Hel* in *Beowulf*," *Neupphilologische Mitteilungen* 88 (1987): 159-74. For *on* interpreted as "in" and therefore the fire in the water representing the mouth of hell, see Geoffrey Russom, "At the Center of *Beowulf*," in *Myth in Early Northwest Europe*, ed. Stephen O. Glosecki, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 320 (Tempe, AZ: ACMRS, 2007), 225-37. For interpretations of this phrase as a reference to the fiery river in hell from *Visio Pauli*, see Klaeber, *Beowulf and the Fight*, 183-84; Andy Orchard, *A Critical Companion to* Beowulf (Cambridge: Brewer, 2003), 155-58; Charles D. Wright, *The Irish Tradition in Old English Literature*, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 6 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 132-6. Lawrence suggests a reading of the *fyr on flode* as "will o' the wisp that haunts marshy places" in "The Haunted Mere," 217. More recently, Christopher Abram has suggested a reading of the phrase as gold under the water from a "Germanic-traditional perspective," in "New Light on the Illumination of Grendel's Mere," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 109 (2010): 198-216.

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concern with not being able to see the bottom of a large body of water; this preoccupation with seeing the bottom seems to relate to biblical and patristic ideas of hell or the devil dwelling at the bottom of the sea. If the Anglo-Saxons could not safely view the bottom of a body of water to assure themselves that the devil was not waiting to snatch them from the world, they viewed such bodies of water with great mistrust.

The *fyr on flode*, which is reminiscent of the burning coast in the *Navigatio sancti Brendani abbatis* and which I will discuss below, seems add to this hellish image. Although I do not agree with scholars who argue that "fire on the water" represents an actual hell on earth or underwater mouth of hell, I believe that this image is meant to evoke fear and mistrust such that the reader-audience would know the coming battle is literally and figuratively significant, filled with all the perils one can imagine under water. With texts like the Old English *Physiologus*, the reader-audience of *Beowulf* might have associated the battles with the sea monsters and Grendel's mother as not only physically, but also spiritually, or at least morally, perilous. The description of the whale in the Old English *Physiologus*, which is a reworking of a Latin translation of the original Greek and contains approximately one-seventh of the texts present in the Latin version, demonstrates further the preoccupation early Christians and the Anglo-Saxons had with the sea, its mysterious bottom, and the large creatures that inhabit it.[183]

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[183] Krapp and Dobbie confront the notion that the Old English *Physiologus* exists in an incomplete state because, in comparison with Latin texts, the Old English adaptation contains one-seventh of the possible texts. Instead of conceding that the Old English reworking is incomplete, they argue that the manuscript provides no conclusive evidence. *The Exeter Book*, vol. 3, edited by George Philip Krapp and Elliott Van Kirk Dobbie (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1936), l-li. For more on the origin and compilation of the Exeter Book, see Neil R. Ker, *A Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957; revised 1990); Patrick W. Conner, *Anglo-Saxon Exeter: A Tenth-Century Cultural History*

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The first reason to mistrust the whale that the author of the Old English *Physiologus* describes is its capacity to deceive lost sailors:

> Is þæs hiw gelic hreofum stane,
> swylce worie bi wædes ofre,
> sondbeorgum ymbseald, særyrica mæst,
> swa þæt wenaþ wægliþende
> þæt hy on ealond sum eagum wliten (8-12)[184]

Happy to have found land where they can rest from their sea voyage, the sailors erroneously decide to light a fire upon the whale's back, and once the whale, *facnes cræftig* ("crafty in deceit," 24b), believes the men plan to remain a long time on his back, he dives down under the waves, seeking the *grund* (29b). The men drown immediately in the *deaðsele* ("death-hall," 30a), which the text explains is the custom of evil spirits; thus, the poem enters the first moralization of the description of the whale: like devils, the whale uses deception to drag humans down to a death that denies redemption because hell, which the bottom of the sea often represents, is a place that ultimately rejects this possibility. The contrast that the poem immediately draws is between good honorable men (*duguðe*, 34b) and mysterious sea creatures and devils that condemn men to death through a myriad of deceptions; the fight comes down to those who deceive and those who do not.

Interestingly, in "The Life of St. Brendan" in *The South English Legendary* (*SEL*), the presence of whales and other large fish are depicted in a different light while a similar representation of *fyr on flode* indicates truly the damnation of one of the pilgrim monks. The

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(Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1993); Richard Gameson, "The Origin of the Exeter Book of Old English Poetry," *Anglo-Saxon England* 25 (1996): 135-186.

[184] Krapp and Dobbie, *Exeter Book*: "His shape is like rough stone, as it wanders over the body of water, surrounded by sand-hills, the greatest reed-bed in the sea, so that seafarers imagine that they have seen some island with their eyes […]."

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earliest stories of St. Brendan that we have are in several Latin and Irish versions of the *Vita Brendani* (*Betha Brénainn*) and the *Navigatio sancti Brendani abbatis*. Glyn S. Burgess explains that the *Navigatio* tradition, the story of St. Brendan's sea voyage, is earlier than that of the *Vita*, the story that covers much of St. Brendan's life, including his youth and death. Burgess points out that the *Navigatio* possibly originated as early as the second half of the eighth century while the earliest manuscripts of the *Vita* survive from only the twelfth century although he believes that the text of the *Vita* itself may have been composed before the eleventh century.[185] That 125 copies of the *Navigatio* survive from the Middle Ages while only seven copies of the *Vita* survive, not to mention the variants that exist in other languages and countries, speaks to the popularity of St. Brendan's sea voyage. The earliest English version survives in the earliest version of the *SEL* in Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Laud. Misc. 108 (*c*.1300).[186] Of the sixty remaining copies of *SEL*, St. Brendan is in eighteen, and the general tradition of the manuscripts has been to include more of the *Navigatio* than of the *Vita*, which emphasizes, I believe, the English interest in the sea.[187]

In the *SEL* version, Brendan hears the story of another monk, Mernok, who has just returned from an amazing sea voyage in which God led him to a paradisical island. The sky was overcast, and the travelers were covered in darkness, but then, Mernok explains, "Ate laste ore suete louerd : forþere us gan lede. / So þat we i-seiȜen a newe lond : þuder-ward ore schip drov"

[185] *The Voyage of Saint Brendan: Representative Versions of the Legend in English Translation*, edited by W. R. J. Barron and Glyn S. Burgess (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2002), 2.
[186] Ibid., 278.
[187] Ibid., 279.

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(36-37).[188] Mernok's tale excites Brendan so that he plans his own voyage with fourteen other monks. When he and his fellow monks finally set off on their sea voyage, the hardships are nothing like those we see in Anglo-Saxon elegies, like *The Wanderer*, which I will discuss below briefly. Unlike the Anglo-Saxon exile, the Irish monks in the legend have already put all their trust in God before setting sail; in the "grete see of occian" ("great sea of the ocean"), they "triste alto" ("trust completely") their "louerdes grace : & noþing nere agaste" ("lord's grace and were not afraid of anything").[189] In response to their steadfast faith, the wind sends them forth "wel euene" ("very evenly").[190]

For seven years, the monks put their faith in God to guide them from one paradisical island to another, and amidst all the sea travel and steadfast loyalty, the text could not help but include examples of the sea as hell, or hellish, in order to contrast the protection and guidance the monks receive with the possible outcomes for the faithless. One example involves a monk whom Brendan said previously would be damned before the conclusion of the voyage for his weak faith. When the time comes, the ill-fated monk "hupte out of þat schip : and amidde þe se he gan weue / And orn faste op-on þe watere : to-ward þat ilke fuyre." (503-6)[191] The inversion of Jesus and Peter walking on the water displayed by the monk's running on the water further emphasizes his damned fate.[192] The burning coast evokes a similar image as *Beowulf*'s *fyr on*

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[188] Horstmann: "At last our sweet lord began to lead us so far that we saw a new land; our ship drew towards that place."
[189] Ibid., lines 107-108.
[190] Ibid., lines 109-110.
[191] Ibid., lines 505-506: "hopped out of the ship and amid the sea he began to move and ran fast upon the water toward that same fire."
[192] See Matthew 14:25-31 for Jesus walking upon the water and Peter joining him. Peter's moment of doubt causes him to sink into the water, and in 14:31, Jesus asks, *illi modicae fidei quare dubitasti* ("You of little faith, why did you doubt?"). Thus, the monk's unwavering

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flode while simultaneously seeming like the "ende of helle" to Brendan. Winfried Rudolf discusses the classical idea of the *oceanus dissociabilis* ("separated ocean") in relation to medieval English littoral views of the sea, specifically how the *oceanus dissociabilis* represented the world as a small point in a mass of water. The English would have had access to this classical idea through texts like Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy*, and he continues, "The pinpoint size of the world shifts the focus of the mind from the diversity of the landmass(es) to the measureless surrounding waters, so that looking at the sea from any littoral point literally evokes the impression of standing on the edge of the world."[193] Although Rudolf explains that this perception is possible from a littoral point of view, I think the reverse may also be possible, especially when the coast, which represents that transitional space between land and sea, is set aflame and littered with devils.

While there are no devils decorating the horizon in *The Wanderer*, the Anglo-Saxon theme of exile from the *comitatus* is strong, and the destitute *eardstapa* ("earth-stepper," 6a) is left wandering the seas because he failed to die for his lord in battle. While the poem refers to the wanderer as an "earth-stepper," the wanderer seems to be at sea for the majority of his exile. The *wræclastas*, or paths of exile, often refer to the *waþema gebind* ("binding waves," 24b) so that the wanderer may have to wander across the sea, but his path is confining. The poem is filled with a deep sorrow, an intense longing for past pleasures, and a lack of control and feeling of entrapment that leaves the reader-audience feeling as helpless as the wanderer. Yet, the closing lines of the poem attempt to be hopeful: *Wel bið þam þe him are seceð, / frofre to Fæder on*

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certainty in his own damnation provides a glaringly obvious inversion of the biblical passage and proves just how damned he is.

[193] Winfried Rudolf, "The Spiritual Islescape of the Anglo-Saxons," in *The Sea and Englishness: Narratives, Identity and Culture*, ed. Sebastian I. Sobecki (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2011), 38.

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heofonum, þær us eal seo fæstnung stondeð ("Well is it for him who seeks mercy for himself, consolation from the Father in the heavens, where, for us, all permanence stands," 114b-115). After over a hundred lines of despair and the desire to go back in time, these brief lines are not enough to reassure the reader-audience. The narrator does not explain how we might seek God's mercy, so his suggestion at the end rings hollow. I would argue, perhaps, that this is the point. As a seemingly secular elegy whose focus is more on the loss of the Germanic warrior's kinsmen and liege lord, *The Wanderer* is meant to feel suffocating, binding, and utterly hopeless. The frost binds the wanderer to his path of exile just as he must bind his own sorrowful thoughts to himself through his warrior custom. Because of his confinement, the wanderer has no hope of returning either to his earthly home or his spiritual home; redemption appears to be as inaccessible for him as it is for those damned in hell, which is markedly different from *The Seafarer*.

3.3 Positive Interactions at Sea

The power of God can not only calm the seas of a real voyage, or the turbulent "sea of life," but God's power can also save a person's eternal soul. In the Old English *Andreas*, God commands the apostle Andrew to travel over the rough sea to the land of Mermedonia, and Andrew reluctantly accepts his new mission (190-201). The hesitance Andrew feels in accepting his task lies in the foreignness of Mermedonia and the long trek across the sea. In Andrew's reluctance, the poem specifically voices the Anglo-Saxons' distrust in the sea. However, he traverses the ocean in obedience to his God, and his journey invokes the common motif of the stormy sea in Old English literature and Christian metaphor, which is an allusion to the transient

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earthly life.[194] In the poem, Jesus takes the form of the captain of a vessel who offers to carry Andrew and his men to Mermedonia for free, and during the course of their voyage, the sea becomes turbulent. Jesus easily maneuvers the ship through the storm, which is similar to Jesus's taming the seas in Matthew 8:23-7,[195] and when Andrew comments on the ability of the captain, Jesus responds:

> Oft þæt gesæleð, þæt we on sælade,
> scipum under scealcum, þonne sceor cymeð,
> brecað ofer bæðweg, brimhengestum.
> Hwilum us on yðum earfoðlice
> gesæleð on sæwe, þeh we sið nesan,
> frecne geferan. Flodwylm ne mæg
> manna ænigne ofer meotudes est
> lungre gelettan: ah him lifes geweald,
> se ðe brimu bindeð, brune yða
> ðyð ond þreatað. (511-20a)[196]

The turbulent journey across the sea is not just a means of transportation for the apostle, and this becomes evident when the poem quickly turns into a form of Christian didacticism. Andrew

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[194] Moreover, according to Anne L. Klinck in her introduction to *The Seafarer*, "Images of life as a journey, and, more specifically, as a voyage over the sea, must be universal. They are common in patristic writing." And she continues to list Tertullian, Cyprian, and Augustine in particular, as well as the Old English homily *De Nativitate Sanctae Mariae*, which is taken from the Latin apocryphal tradition. *The Old English Elegies: A Critical Edition and Genre Study*, Ithaca: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992, 37-8. The list could be augmented by the Psalms, which include sea metaphors, and classical opinions of the sea, as seen in Boethius.

[195] Matthew 8:24: *et ecce motus magnus factus est in mari ita ut navicula operiretur fluctibus ipse vero dormiebat* ("And behold a great motion arose in the sea, so that the boat was covered with waves, but he was asleep"). Once the apostles wake Jesus, he asks in 8:26, *et dicit eis quid timidi estis modicae fidei tunc surgens imperavit ventis et mari et facta est tranquillitas magna* ("And he says to them, 'Why are you fearful, you of little faith?' Then, rising up he commanded the winds and the sea and there was made a great calm").

[196] George Philip Krapp, ed., *The Vercelli Book: Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records 2* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1932): "It often happens that we sailed on ships under crewmen, when a storm comes, breaks over the sea (bath-way), with ships (sea-horses). At times it happens to us on waves with difficulty on the sea, though we are saved, travel through the peril. Water-swelling cannot suddenly impede any man over the favor of the creator: he has the power of life himself, he who binds the sea, he crushes and threatens the brown waves."

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enumerates some of Jesus's miracles to Jesus himself, such as the non-biblical account of Jesus animating a statue (727-817). Thus, for over three hundred lines, the saint's life, which shares similarities with *Beowulf*, takes on the air of a sermon. Andrew praises the works of God, and as the apostle wanders through the miracles, so does the audience internally. Therefore, while the poet fills in an important plot detail (i.e., how Andrew gets from Achaia to Mermedonia), he participates in a crucial meditation on Christ with Andrew and the audience alike.

Additionally, the 891 entry in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, which is only present in the A, C, D, and F texts, offers an unusual peek into the Anglo-Saxon mentality in relation to sea voyages. If *Andreas* presents a traditional Anglo-Saxon reaction to being asked to set sail to a far-off land (i.e., with reluctance and distrust) that has positive spiritual results, the *Chronicle* displays the Anglo-Saxons' surprise when confronted with Irish monks who gladly partake in the Irish tradition of *peregrinatio pro amore Dei*:

> 7 þrie Scottas comon to Ęlfrede cyninge on anum bate butan ęlcum gereþrum of Hibernia, þonon hi hi bestęlon, forþon þe hi woldon for Godes lufan on elþiodignesse beon, hi ne rohton hwær. Se bat wæs gewohrt of þriddan healfre hyde þe hi on foron, 7 hi namon mid him þæt hi hæfdun to seofon nihtum mete, 7 þa comon hie ymb .vii. niht to londe on Cornwalum 7 foron þa sona Ęlfrede cyninge.[197]

Although the text itself does not explicitly articulate shock on behalf of the Anglo-Saxons, Sobecki rightly points out that the very fact that they found the event significant enough to record in their annals should be proof of the surprise they must have felt at encountering the

[197] Janet M. Bately, ed., *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition, vol. 3, MS A* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1986), 54: "And three Scots came to King Alfred in a boat without any rudders from Ireland. They stole away from there because they wished, for the love of God, to be on pilgrimage; they cared not where. The boat was made out of two and half hides, and they went on and took with them the food they had for seven nights. And then they came to land on Cornwall after seven nights, and then went immediately to King Alfred."

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seafaring Irish pilgrims.[198] A similar trope is found in *The Voyage of Saint Brendan*, as I mentioned in the previous section.

Unlike the whale of the Old English *Physiologus*, however, after spending the night on Jasconius's back, Brendan and his brothers in the *SEL* "Life of St. Brendan" are not drowned when they light a fire under a cauldron the next morning. Rather, the whale "quakede" (164), thus allowing the frightened monks to run back to the ship where Brendan had spent the night.[199] In fact, Dora Faraci writes that Jasconius, in constrast to the *Physiologus* whale, "does not deceive the monks: on the contrary, it helps them willingly, by offering them a place to pray on, to fell trees, to cook and even to say mass."[200] Although the whale does allow the monks a safe harbor, the men are deceived at first, which is why they run away in fear when it moves under the fire the next morning. Nonetheless, the whale does seem to become a willing host for the following years when the monks return for Easter. Faraci writes:

> In this regard, it is worth stressing that they will celebrate the most important of the Christian services, the Easter one, on it for seven consecutive years. It does not plunge into the sea, symbol of hell in *Physiologus*, drowning the monks who, most likely, do not represent sinners, like the seamen of *Physiologus*. In fact, the monks can see the fire burning on it from a two-mile distance […] and the year after they can even find the pot they had left behind on it […].[201]

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[198] Sobecki, *The Sea*, 11.
[199] *The early South-English legendary ; or, Lives of saints. I. Ms. Laud, 108, in the Bodleian library*, edited by Carl Horstmann, EETS, o.s., 87 (London: Trübner, 1887), accessed online from the Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse, http://quod.lib.umich.edu/c/cme/. The Latin passage from *Navigatio Sancti Brendani* is similar: "Cum autem ministrassent lignis ignem et fervere cepisset cacabus cepit illa insula se movere sicut unda" (When, however, they had provided wood for the fire and the pot had reached boiling that island undertook to move just as a wave). Edited by Guy Vincent, "Navigatio sancti Brendani abbatis," in *Bibliotecha Augustana*, Capitulum XI, http://www2.fh-augsburg.de/~Harsch/Chronologia/Lspost10/Brendanus/bre_navi.html.
[200] Dora Faraci, "*Navigatio Sancti Brendani* and its relationship with *Physiologus*," *Romanobarbarica* 11 (1991): 153.
[201] Ibid.

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The key difference between these monks and the ill-fated seamen in the Old English *Physiologus* is what Faraci concludes is a difference in the overall characterization of the men themselves: "sinners and devilish demeanor as against men of faith and docile conduct."[202] Therefore, those who deceive others, revel in sin, and refuse to repent and serve God before meet a watery grave while those who follow God's will and remain steadfast in their faith receive help from the "fisch of þis grete see : þe gretteste þat þer is" (174).

While the Middle English "Life of St. Brendan" offers a contrast between its whale and the deceitful one in the Old English *Physiologus*, the contrast seen between *The Seafarer* and *The Wanderer* involve not large sea mammals, but, rather, the intentions and differing internal states of the sea-faring exiles: the wanderer sets out to sea unwillingly, and the seafarer leaves on his voyage with a purpose.[203] He finds the hardships of the sea familiar, and he is able to surrender himself to its mercy, just like the Irish pilgrims mentioned in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. The blossoming world around him only makes the seafarer all the more eager to set off on his voyage:

> Bearwas blostmum nimað,   byrig fægriað,
> wongas wlitigað**,**   woruld onetteð;

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[202] Ibid., 154.

[203] Scholars have debated the reasons for the seafarer's voluntary sea voyage. For the seafarer as a pilgrim (Irish *peregrinatio pro amore Dei*), see Dorothy Whitelock's influential essay "The Interpretation of *The Seafarer*," *Early Cultures of Northwest Europe*, H. M. Chadwick Memorial Studies (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1950): 261-72. More recently, Sebastian Sobecki has suggested the seafarer is a fisherman—and also provides a quick survey of previous scholarship on the subject of why the seafarer sets out to sea—in "The Interpretation of *The Seafarer*: A Re-examination of the Pilgrimage Theory," *Neophilologus* 92 (2008): 127-39.

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ealle þa gemoniað   modes fusne
sefan to siþe,   þam þe swa þenceð
on flodwegas   feor gewitan. (48-52)[204]

He uses this time to meditate on the all the worldly pleasures that he is missing while the world quickens. Rather than missing these joys, however, he turns his mind to how his deprivation will improve his spiritual being. Additionally, Psalm 76 offers a clear picture of the kind of devotional exercise in which the narrator of *The Seafarer* participates. The psalm encourages the faithful to turn to God's power and mercy when their minds are troubled. The end of verse 3 demonstrates this internal restlessness: *rennuit consolari anima mea* ("my soul refused to be consoled"). The end of the psalm, however, focuses on remembering and encouraging the meditation on the power of God. Verse 18 reminds us that before God calmed the waters, they saw him and were afraid, as was the *abyssus*: *et timuerunt et turbatae sunt abyssi* ("and they were afraid and the depths were troubled"). Then the psalmist explains in Verse 20, *in mari via tua et semitae tuae in aquis multis et vestigia tua non cognoscentur* ("Your [God's] way is in the sea, and your paths in many waters and your footsteps will not be known").

Similarly, the Old English elegy proclaims:

gielleð anfloga,
hweteð on hwælweg   hreþer unwearnum
ofer holma gelagu.   Forþon me hatran sind
dryhtnes dreamas   þonne þis deade lif,
læne on londe.   Ic gelyfe no
þæt him eorðwelan   ece stondeð. (62b-67)[205]

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[204] Krapp and Dobbie, *The Exeter Book*: "Groves take on blossoms, the city grows fair, the fields grow beautiful, the earth hastens; all these prompt the eager of mind, the heart to travel, to him who so thinks to go far on the flood-ways."

[205] "The lonely flier yells, irresistibly urges the spirit on the whale-path, over the surface of the waves; therefore, hotter to me are the joys of the lord than this dead life, temporary on earth. I do not believe that earth-riches stand eternally for him."

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In *The Wanderer*, the paths of exile often refer to the binding waves as the wanderer travels over the sea in search of a new liege lord. *The Seafarer*, however, uses the wanderings of a person at sea throughout the poem to emphasize orthodox Christian doctrine and contemplation of the narrow path to God and redemption, as seen in Luke 13:24: *contendite intrare per angustam portam quia multi dico vobis quaerunt intrare et non poterunt* ("Strive to enter by the narrow gate, for many, I say to you, seek to enter and will not be able"). The sea voyage in *The Seafarer*, then, propounds the miseries of the seafarer in order to meditate on the difficulties of purposefully removing oneself from earthly pleasures and following God's will:

> Bitre breostceare gebiden hæbbe,
> gecunnad in ceole cearselda fela,
> atoll yþa gewealc, þær mec oft bigeat
> nearo nihtwaco æt nacan stefnan
> þonne he be clifum cnossað. Calde geþrungen
> wæron mine fet, forste gebunden,
> caldum clommum, þær þa ceare seofedun
> hat ymb heortan, hungor innan slat
> merewerges mod. (4-12a)[206]

Both *The Seafarer* and *The Wanderer* use similar language of bondage—*forste gebunden / caldum clommum* ("bound with frost, with cold chains," 9b-10a)—but while the physical restrictions of the earthly sea- and landscape are all the seem to preoccupy the wanderer, the seafarer's spirit soars even as his body remains chained by the cold.

The seafarer's purpose on the voyage is two-fold because of the allegorical nature of the text. The wanderings of Beowulf, for example, are to gain immortality in the songs of men

[206] "I have endured bitter breast-care, experienced many concern-halls on a ship, terrible waves tossing often took hold of me, where the dangerous night-watch at the prow of the ship, when it strikes about the cliffs. Pinched with cold were my feet, bound with frost, with cold chains, where anxieties lamented hot around the heart, hunger within tore the mind of the sea-weary."

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through heroic deeds.[207] Likewise, the seafarer hopes to earn the *lof lifgendra* ("praise of the living," 73a) after prevailing against the *feonda niþ* ("malice of fiends," 75b). However, as we have seen, the religious nature of the elegy suggests that these fiends are spiritual, and the speaker hopes for not only the eternal praise of the *ælda bearn* ("the sons of men," 77a), but also the praise that will endure among *englum* ("angels," 78b). In the remainder of the poem, the speaker recounts this world's transience with the *contemptus mundi* theme that sets *The Seafarer* further apart from *The Wanderer.* Rather than simply telling the reader-audience to seek God's mercy, like the narrator does at the end of *The Wanderer*, *The Seafarer* bemoans the ephemeral world and exhorts the reader-audience to relinquish the joys of the world to seek redemption as the seafarer has at sea. The speaker develops the sea voyage metaphor even more when the speaker tells the audience, *Stieran mon sceal strongum mode, ond þæt on staþelum healdan* ("Man should steer an unruly mind, and hold it in a fixed place," 109). This evokes the image of Jesus as helmsman in *Andreas*, and as we will see in the next section, it prepares the *hwælweg* ("whale-way" or "sea," 63a) for the vernacularized *stella maris* epithet for the Virgin Mary. *The Seafarer* ends with a call for meditation on the ultimate *ham* ("home," 117b) in the *heofonum* ("heavens," 122a):

> Uton we hycgan   hwær we ham agen
> ond þonne geþencan   hu we þider cumen,
> ond we þonne eac tilien   þæt we to moten,
> in þa ecan   eadignesse
> þær is lif gelong   in lufan dryhtnes,

[207] See, for example, lines 953-6, in which Hrothgar praises Beowulf for slaying Grendel. Hrothgar says, *þu þe self hafast / dædum gefremed þæt þin dom lyfað / awa to aldre* ("You have for yourself brought about your glory through your deeds, always for ever").

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hyht in heofonum. (117-22a)[208]

The seafarer does penance for his sins on the sea, no matter how badly he wishes for those land-dwelling comforts, and through his sea voyage, guided by his faith, he is certain that he will return home, if not in the physical world of men, then in the eternity of heaven.

3.4 The *Sæsterrne* in the *Ormulum*

To be a devout Christian who can brave perilous seas without a way of steering a ship, one must be able to fully trust God, and this need for complete submission encouraged early medieval Christians to come up with more figures who could act as guides and intercessors. One example is the archangel Michael, who, as a psychopomp, acts as a "protector and guide that leads the soul to heaven" most of the time; however, in the *Old English Martyrology*, he actually intervenes to help the faithful, much like the monks' prayers to Christ in the legend of St. Brendan kept them safe while at sea.[209] In the cases of St. Erasmus and St. Christina, Michael saves their lives—the former from imprisonment, the latter from drowning—rather than leads their souls to heaven.[210] Likewise, the Virgin Mary became a reassuring symbol of spiritual intercession for early medieval Christians in Western Europe, especially in England, who were in need of guidance over the tumultuous seas of life.

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[208] "Let us think (meditate) where we may have a home and then think how we may come to that place, and then also [how] we may endeavor so that we may be able to, in that eternal happiness where life is dependent on the love of the lord, hope in the heavens."

[209] Rudolf, "The Spiritual Islescape," 53. In one scene of the *SEL* St. Brendan, a large fire-spitting fish threatens the monks, but then another large fish appears and splits the fire-spitter into three pieces. The implication is that the monks were rescued because of their prayers immediately before the rescue.

[210] See St. Erasmus and St. Christina in *An Old English Martyrology*, ed. George M. Herzfeld, Early English Text Society o.s. 116 (Millwood, NY: Kraus Reprint, 1981), 90 and 122-4, respectively.

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From late Antiquity to the late Middle Ages, Marian devotion evolved from an interest in apocrypha about the early years of her life into a full-fledged cult of the Virgin. The literature represented her through various titles, such as "Mother of God," "gate of heaven," and, most captivating for the medieval imagination, "star of the sea."[211] Mary as *stella maris* began with Jerome, was made popular by Isidore of Seville, and eventually made its way into English literary culture by at least the ninth century with the writings of Paschasius Radbertus. The *Ormulum* fits comfortably into the developing tradition of Marian devotional writing at this time, and although Orm uses the "sæsteorrne" early in his text, scholars who have written on Marian imagery, like Miri Rubin and Mary Clayton, have overlooked his participation in the Marian tradition.[212] Clayton does mention, however, two early English texts associated with the Old English religious literary tradition: the eleventh-century Old English *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew*,[213] which adds a prologue to the Latin apocryphal story of Mary's Nativity and Annunciation and which refers to her as the *sæ-steorra* for the first time in the English vernacular; and the early thirteenth-century Trinity Homily XXVII ("The Assumption of the

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[211] The ninth-century hymn *Ave maris stella*, which I will discuss below, popularized these three titles for Mary.

[212] See, for example, Miri Rubin, *Mother of God: A History of the Virgin Mary* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009); Mary Clayton, *The Apocryphal Gospels of Mary in Anglo-Saxon England*, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England, vol. 26 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); and especially Clayton's *The Cult of the Virgin Mary in Anglo-Saxon England*, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England, vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 249-52. Winfried Rudolf also mentions the sea-star motif in "The Spiritual Islescape of the Anglo-Saxons," which is where I learned about Radbertus's engagement with the motif, but Rudolf does not mention the *Ormulum* either, probably because the text is considered part of "transitional" English.

[213] In *The Apocryphal Gospels*, Clayton tells us that the Old English *Pseudo-Matthew* exists in three manuscripts, the earliest dating to the eleventh century: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 114 (s.xi$^{3/4}$); Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 367, Part II (s.xii); and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 343 (s.xii^{2}), 153.

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Virgin Mary"),[214] in which a long passage expounds the importance of Mary as the "sæ sterre."

In the *Ormulum*, Orm uses the "sæsteorrne" imagery for Mary in the Annunciation in part of Homily 3, which is a reading of Luke, and occurs in lines H2,131-2,146. Because the *stella maris* passage is relatively brief in the *Ormulum*, I have reproduced it in full below:

> *Annd* ure dere laffdiȝ wass; þurrh drihhtin nemmnedd Marȝe.
> Forr *þatt* tatt name shollde wel; bitacnenn hire sellþe.
> Forr hire name tacneþþ uss; sæsterrne onn ennglissh spæche.
> *Annd* ȝho beþ æfre. *annd* wass. *annd* iss; sæsterne[215] inn haliȝ bisne.
> Forr all swa su*mm* þe steressmann. aȝȝ lokeþþ till ane sterrne.
> þatt stannt aȝȝ stille uppo þe lifft. *annd* swiþe brihhte shineþþ.
> Forr þatt he wile follȝhenn aȝȝ. *þatt* illke sterrness lade.
> Swa þatt he muȝhe lendenn rihht. to lande wiþþ hiss wille;
> All swa birrþ all c*ri*sstene follc. till sannte Marȝe lokenn.
> Þatt stannt wiþþ hire sune i stall. þær heȝhesst iss inn heffne.
> *Annd* iwhillc an crisstene mann. ðatt ȝerneþþ afft*err* blisse;
> Birrþ stanndenn inn affterr hiss mihht. to follȝhenn hire bisne.
> Swa *þatt* he muȝhe lendenn rihht. afft*err* hiss aȝhen wille.
> Vpp inntill hefennriches ærd; to brukenn eche blisse.[216]

In this passage, Orm is introducing his audience to Mary for the first time, which prompts him to elaborate on the meaning of her name based on the tradition of the etymologies by Jerome and Isidore. Significantly, her name was not chosen arbitrarily, but rather, the "Drihhtin" called her thus because her name should "bitacnenn" the dual blessing she embodies. First, she is blessed:

[214] Richard Morris expresses doubt that the Trinity Homilies were composed before c.1200, despite Madden's assertion that they were earlier than Laȝamon's *Brut*, which has been dated as early as 1185. See Morris, *Old English Homilies* (1873), x.

[215] Orm forgot to add a superscript /r/ here.

[216] I have used Holt's lineation while supplying my own edition of the passage based on a transcription done from a digital facsimile. "And our dear lady was called Mary by the Lord because that name should well signify her blessing, for her name signifies for us the sea-star in the English language, and she ever will be, and was, and is the sea-star in holy example. Just as the steersman always looks to a star, which always stands still up in the sky and shines so brightly, because he wishes to follow always that same star's way so that he is able to proceed correctly to land by his will, so it behooves all Christian folk to look to Saint Mary, who stands with her son in place where it is highest in heaven."

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she is chosen by God to be the vessel for the Son of God because of her mental and physical purity and religious devotion. Second, she creates a blessing: by giving birth to Jesus, she literally produces the possibility of redemption and salvation for humanity. Thus, she is the "sæsterrne inn haliʒ bisne" through her purity and steadfast faith in God, and, as the "sæsterrne," she serves as a spiritual guide for those who are still earth-bound and in danger of losing eternal salvation. Orm explains that, just as a steersman follows a star to find his bearings at sea, so too "all c*ri*sstene follc" should look to Mary to find their way across the perilous sea of life. In Old and Early Middle English homiletic literature, Christ is often referred to as the brightest of all stars, eternally shining because he is truth and salvation, and Orm ties the new vernacular tradition of Mary as the star of the sea to this older authoritative tradition of Christ as a star. But Mary does not simply reside in heaven: she "stannt wiþþ hire sune i stall. þær heʒhesst iss inn heffne." Similar to her depiction as *regina* in the liturgy, Orm depicts Mary as equal in status and nobility to Jesus because of her role in human salvation.

The notion of Mary as the queen of heaven is not new to the twelfth century, but the way that vernacular English literature depicts her as royalty begins to change. For instance, Orm regards her as the "allre shaffte cwen" ("queen of all creation," 2,159). The Anglo-Saxon *Dream of the Rood*, however, contains an early poetic example in vernacular English literature that contains slightly different praise for Mary:

> Hwæt, me þa geweorðode   wuldres ealdor
> ofer holmwudu,   heofonrices weard!
> Swylce swa he his modor eac,   Marian sylfe,
> ælmihtig god   for ealle menn

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geweorðode ofer eall wifa cynn. (90-94)[217]

Furthermore, in *De assumptione beatae Mariae* in the first series of Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies,* he refers to Mary as the "ealles middangeardes cwene" ("queen of all of middle-earth," 430).[218] There appears to be an evolving trend to expand Mary's worth in the English vernacular. First, *The Dream of the Rood* poet makes her the worthiest of all women, and then Ælfric raises her to the status of "queen of all of the world," which is the realm that resides between heaven and hell (i.e., *this* world). Finally, Orm considers her the queen of *all* creation, which transcends all the spheres of existence, just as "weop eal gesceaft" ("all creation wept," 55b) for the death of Jesus on the cross in *The Dream of the Rood.* The shift from the earlier valuation of Mary ranking above all "wifa cynn" to a monarch ruling over all "middangeard" to, ultimately, ruler over all "shaffte" is significant because it parallels the entry of the *stella maris* epithet into the English vernacular.

As I will discuss below, Orm does not elaborate on the *stella maris* imagery to the extent that his near French contemporary Bernard of Clairvaux does. He gives, however, a greater explication of the importance of Mary as a guiding star than some of the earlier Latin sources do, and Orm's account is much closer to Fulbert of Chartre's *Approbate consuetudinis* but still contains elements of other Latin writers, like Bede, pointing to not a single Latin source but multiple. Further, the arrival of the *stella maris* tradition in the English vernacular indicates a change in the reception of this tradition, from the monastic and educated elite to a mixed

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[217] Krapp, *Vercelli Book*: "Lo, then the lord of glory honored me above the trees on the hill, protector of the kingdom of heaven! Just as he, Almightly God, also honored his mother, Mary herself, over all womankind for all people."

[218] Peter Clemoes, ed. *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The First Series Text*. Early English Text Society s.s. 17. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.

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audience that included the laity.

3.5 The Latin Tradition of the *Stella Maris*

Christopher Cannon has asserted that much of Orm's epistemology is Augustinian, and in a pivotal essay on the dating and provenance of the *Ormulum*, M. B. Parkes places Orm in the Augustinian house of the Arroaisian Abbey at Bourne in South Lincolnshire.[219] There is no doubt that Orm was thoroughly Augustinian in much of his practice. His penchant for the interpretation of names, which is where we find the interpretation of Mary as a "sæsterrne onn Ennglissh spæche," follows not only the authorization for the practice of etymologies by Matthew 16:18—*et ego dico tibi quia tu es Petrus* ("And I say to you that you are Peter")—but he also takes Augustine as an authority for medieval etymological practice.[220]

Stephen Morrison posits that Orm looked south of England for source material, most likely from works associated with northern French schools, such as those at Tours, Chartres, Rheims, and Clairvaux.[221] In his examination of textual evidence, however, Morrison concludes that the correspondences between the *Ormulum* and the *Glossa ordinaria*, as well as between the *Ormulum* and the *Enarrationes in Matthaeum*, are only partial, which may suggest that "a hitherto unidentified text, sharing much in common with both" may be the source of the composite exemplar for the *Ormulum*.[222] This suggestion discredits Orm's own compositional ability, and it seems more likely that Orm was a well-read canon who drew more from memory

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[219] Cannon, *Grounds*, 91; Parkes, "Presumed Date," 126.
[220] Holt, *Ormulum*, 2,132; Ernst Robert Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, trans. Willard R. Trask, Bollingen Series XXXVI (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1953), 496.
[221] Morrison, "Vernaculary Literary Activity," 266.
[222] Ibid.

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than from any singular exemplar.[223] Before I discuss the continental works that influenced Orm's use of the *stella maris* epithet in the vernacular, I will first show where the tradition originated: from the authoritative writings of Sts. Jerome, Isidore of Seville, Bede, and others.

The origin of the etymology of Mary as the *stella maris* was once considered a mistranslation in Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiarum libri* from Jerome's *Quaestiones hebraicae in libro Geneseos*.[224] Here, Jerome (c.340-420) uses the phrase *stilla maris*, which means "drop of the sea," and Rudolf believes this definition was influenced by I Kings 18.41-45.[225] It was generally accepted that Isidore (c.560-636) mistranslated the phrase when he wrote in the section titled *De reliqvis in Evangelio nominibvs* of Book VII: *Maria inluminatrix, sive stella maris. Genuit enim lumen mundi. Sermone autem Syro Maria domina nuncupatur; et pulchre; quia Dominum genuit*.[226] More recent scholarship has suggested that Jerome was the originator of the phrase in his *Liber de Nominibus Hebraicis*, and not by accident.[227] The third entry for "M" in the *De Matthaeo* section of the *Novi Testamenti* in Jerome's book on Hebrew names, Jerome

[223] See Johannesson, "Anatomy of the Preface," especially 132, for another discussion on Orm's use of more than one source to develop an intricate metaphor in his homilies.
[224] See, for example, Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition: A History of the Development of Doctrine*, *Volume 3: The Growth of Medieval Theology (600-1300)* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1978), 162; *Mary Through the Centuries: Her Place in the History of Culture*, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996), 94; and Hilda Graef, *Mary: A History of Doctrine and Devotion*, Vol. I: *From the Beginning to the Eve of the Reformation* (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1963), 162-3.
[225] The passage from I Kings concerns a small cloud that rises from the sea, which promises rain after a long draught.
[226] *Etymologiarvm Sive Originvm*, Vol. I, Book VII, Chapter X, ed. by W. M. Lindsay (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1911), lines 13-6: "Mary the illuminator, and star of the sea. She brought forth, indeed, the light of the world. In the Syrian language, however, Mary is called lady and beauty because she brought forth the Lord." The dates for the lives of Jerome and Isidore of Seville come from Curtius, *European Literature*, 689-90.
[227] See, for example, Clayton, *Cult of the Virgin*, 249-50; and Luigi Gambero, *Mary in the Middle Ages: The Blessed Virgin Mary in the Thought of Medieval Latin Theologians*, trans. Thomas Buffer (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2005), 69.

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writes:

> Mariam plerique aestimant interpretari, illuminant me isti, uel illuminatrix, uel Smyrna maris, sed mihi nequaquam uidetur. Melius autem est, ut dicamus sonare eam stellam maris, siue amarum mare: sciendumque quod Maria, sermone Syro domina nuncepatur.[228]

We can see that the more likely origin of Isidore's etymology, especially because he reproduces the last few words from Jerome almost verbatim, was probably from this passage in which Jerome specifically uses the phrase *stellam maris*. Compare Jerome's *sermone Syro domina nuncepatur* with Isidore's *Sermone autem Syro Maria domina nuncupatur*.

Following Jerome's and Isidore's leads, possibly the most influential contributions to the literary development of Mary as the "star of the sea" in early medieval England are found in Bede's commentary on Luke, the *Ave maris stella* hymn, and theological writings. Bede, who was a monk at Wearmouth-Jarrow in the late seventh and early eighth centuries (d. 735),[229] interprets Mary's name in a similar fashion to Jerome and Isidore in a commentary on Luke: *Maria autem Hebraice stella maris Syriace uero domina uocatur et merito quia et totius mundi dominum et lucem saeculis meruit generare perennem*.[230] The title of *stella maris* was considered one of the prerogatives or merits of Mary, and Bede continues this tradition in one of his

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[228] *De Matthaeo*, in *Liber de Nominibus Hebraicis*, ed. J. P. Migne, *Patrologia Latina* (Paris: Migne, 1852), 23:841-2: "And very many determine that Mary is interpreted 'these illuminate me' or 'she who enlightens or 'myrrh of the sea,' but it does not seem thus to me at all. It is better, however, that we say she means 'star of the sea,' or 'bitter sea': and that it ought to be known that Mary is called lady in the Syrian language."

[229] Joseph P. McGowan, "An Introduction to the Corpus of Anglo-Latin Literature," in *A Companion to Anglo-Saxon Literature*, ed. Philip Pulsiano and Elaine Treharne (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2001), 25.

[230] Bede, *Homilia XXVII: In Feria Quarta Quatuor Temporum*, ed. J. P. Migne, *PL* 94:325: "Mary, however, in Hebrew is called the star of the sea, and in Syriac, indeed, lady and deservedly because she deserved to produce the lord of all the world and the enduring light for this life."

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homilies, as well: *Nec praetereundem quod beata Dei genetrix meritis praecipuis etiam nominee testimonium reddit. Interpretatur enim stella maris*.[231] Interestingly, Bede is the first, based on the evidence that I have found, to expound on the importance of this interpretation of Mary by bringing in further reference to the sea metaphor: *Et ipsa quasi sidus eximium inter fluctus saeculi labentis gratia priuilegii specialis refulsit*.[232]

The second major development in the *stella maris* metaphor is found in the ninth-century Latin hymn *Ave maris stella*, which proceeded to influence the rest of the medieval Western European devotional writings to the Virgin. The hymn exists in the Codices Sangallenses MS 95 in the Stiftsbibliothek in St. Gallen, Switzerland, and reads:

> Aue maris stella d*e*i mater alma atq*ue*
> semp*er* uirgo felix celi porta.
> Sumens illud aue gabrihelis ore funda nos
> in pace mutans nom*en* eue.
> Solue uincla reis p*ro*fer lum*en* cecis mala
> n*ost*ra pelle bona cuncta posce.
> Monstra te esse matre*m* sumat per te prece*m*
> qui p*ro* nobis natus tulit esse tuus.
> Uirgo singularis inter om*ne*s mitis nos culpis
> solutos mites fac et castos.
> Vitam presta puram iter para tutu*m*
> ut uidentes *Jesus* semp*er* conletemur
> Sit laus d*e*o patri summon *Christo* decus sp*irit*ui s*an*c*t*o
> honor tribus unus. Amen.[233]

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[231] Bede, *Homilia Prima: In Festo Annuntiationis Beatae Mariae*, ed. J. P. Migne, *PL* 94:10: "And we must not pass over the fact that the blessed mother of God gave testimony by her special merits and also by her name. She is interpreted as the star of the sea."

[232] Ibid.: "And she herself, just as an extraordinary constellation among the waves of the slipping world, shone brightly on account of her special esteem and privilege."

[233] A complete digital facsimile of the manuscript is available at http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/csg/0095. The hymn is on folio 1v, and the text above is my transcription with abbreviations expanded and italicized: "Hail the star of the sea, kind mother of god, and eternal virgin, happy gate to heaven. Receiving that Ave from the mouth of Gabriel, establish is us in peace, changing the name of Eve. Release the band of the bound, bring forth the light of heaven, banish our evil, call upon all good. Show yourself to be Mother, through you may he

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Notice that as the star of the sea, Mary must *profer lumen cecis* ("bring forth the light of heaven") and grant *iter para tutum* ("a safe journey"). That is, the *vitam [...] puram* ("pure life") for which the prayer asks is the safe journey through the transitory world back to paradise. Hrabanus Maurus was penning his own works containing the *stella maris* around the same time as the hymn was composed, and these writings inspired later Continental theologians, like Fulbert of Chartres and Bernard of Clairvaux.[234]

Hrabanus Maurus (c.784-856) was a Benedictine monk who earned the title *Praeceptor Germaniae* because of his great influence in Germany after studying under Alcuin at Tours.[235] Gambero describes Hrabanus's literary contribution to Marian devotion within the Latin tradition as one filled with "boundless admiration, enthusiastic exaltation, and deep devotion."[236] Instead of the more elaborate depictions of Mary as the sea-star that arise in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, Maurus' commentary on Matthew is reminiscent of Bede's brief amplification. In the first chapter of his commentary on the Gospel of Matthew, Maurus discusses the genealogy of Jesus, the division of people into three tribes, and the betrothal of Mary.[237] He begins, as we have

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receive prayer, who was born for us, to be yours. O, unique virgin, meek among all, free us from our sins, make us meek and undefiled. Grant a pure life, a safe journey, so that seeing Jesus, may we always rejoice. Praise be to God the Father, to the highest Christ glory, to the Holy Spirit honor, three in one. Amen."

[234] Paschasius Radbertus, an author who was "widely read in Anglo-Saxon England," also used the *stella maris* expression in his ninth-century writings, according to Rudolf, but but Orm does not seem to have drawn from Radbertus for this content ("The Spiritual Islescape," 49). For Radbertus's use of the *stella maris*, see *Expositio in Euangelium Matthaei*, ed. J. P. Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, 120 (Paris: Migne, 1852), col. 0094B. On the dating of *Ave Maris Stella*, see Graef, *Mary*, 174.

[235] Gambero, *Mary in the Middle Ages*, 66.

[236] Ibid., 66-7.

[237] *Commentaria in Matthaeum*, ed. J. P. Migne, *Patrologia Latina* (Paris: Migne, 1852): 107.744, pld.chadwyck.com, accessed 25 October 2012.

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seen previously with Jerome and Isidore, *Maria quoque interpretatur Stella maris, sive amarum mare, et hoc nomen apte competit matri Salvatoris*.[238] In Homily CLXIII, he revisits the Virgin Mary as the *stella maris* and elaborates a little further on the reason for this title: the sea is *amarum*, thus implying the sea represents life and all its troubles, but Mary as the star *dulcis est nautis* ("is a pleasure for sailors") because *mos est ut stella viros ad portum adducat; sic Maria in mundo ubi natus est Christus, qui omnes ad vitam ducit dum sequantur illum, illuminatrix et domina dicitur, quae venum lumen et Dominum nobis peperi*.[239] Gambero explains that *illuminatrix* or *inluminatrix*, which he translates as "Light-Bringer," made the biggest impression on Christians in Maurus's time.

Influential though Maurus may have been, Fulbert of Chartres and Bernard of Clairvaux proved to have even greater significance for medieval Christian theology, particularly in Marian devotion. Fulbert of Chartres, who spent much of his time in Rome and Rheims, wrote sermons on the nativity and the purification of Mary that were especially important to the progression of Marian doctrine.[240] Margot Fassler writes that his famous sermon *Approbate consuetudinis* on the Nativity of the Virgin Mary "is a striking break with many past Marian liturgical texts in the West and yet firmly rooted in the devotional mentality of the Peace Movement, which emphasized the mirculous [*sic*], intervening powers of the saints."[241] Fulbert made his greatest

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[238] "Mary, also, is understood as the star of the sea, or bitter sea, and this name fittingly matches the mother of the Savior."
[239] *Homilia CLXIII*, ed. J. P. Migne, *Patrologia Latina* (Paris: Migne, 1852): 110.464: "Because it is the custom that a star leads men to a port; so Mary, in the world where Christ was born, who leads all towards life provided that they follow, is called illuminator and lady, who brought forth the true light and the Lord to us."
[240] Gambero, *Mary in the Middle Ages*, 81.
[241] Margot Fassler, "Mary's Nativity, Fulbert of Chartres, and the *Stirps Jesse*: Liturgical Innovation circa 1000 and Its Afterlife," *Speculum* 75 (2000), 417. For more information on the

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contribution to the Marian cult as the bishop of Chartres, whose patron saint was the Virgin Mary and whose relic, her birthing chemise, was destroyed in the fire of 1020.[242] He participated in the growing *stella maris* tradition through his liturgical writings, and the fire of 1020 seemed to only heighten his need to empower both the saint and his cathedral. The Peace Movement encouraged the kind of liturgical expansion in the years preceding and following the turn of the millenium that the Marian apocrypha enjoyed in the eleventh century and especially the twelfth century.[243] According to Fassler, Fulbert specifically strove to eradicate doubts regarding apocryphal stories of Mary in order to integrate them into the liturgy, especially her nativity—the feast of which he sought to "magnify."[244]

In *Approbate consuetudinis*, which is the first manuscript evidence of the Nativity apocryphon,[245] Fulbert refers to the Annunciation scene in the Nativity in which an angel appears to Joachim and Anna to announce Mary's birth and what she will be named: *sed divina dispensation nomen accepit, ita ut ipsa quoque vocabuli sui figura magnum quiddam innueret: interpretatur enim maris stella*.[246] The Old Testament prophecy in Isaiah 7:14—*propter hoc*

Peace Movement, see *The Peace of God: Social Violence and Religious Response in France around the Year 1000*, eds. Thomas Head and Richard Landes (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992); Thomas Head, "The Development of the Peace of God in Aquitaine (970-1005)," *Speculum* 74 (1999): 656-86.

[242] Fassler, "Mary's Nativity," 403, 405.

[243] Ibid., Fassler explains that, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, "new pieces for the Mass and, to an even greater degree, for the Divine Office" were being created in large numbers (399).

[244] Ibid., 405.

[245] Frederick M. Biggs, ed., *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture: The Apocrypha*, Instrumenta Anglistica Mediaevalia 1 (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2007), 25.

[246] Fulbert of Chartres, *Approbate consuetudinis*, ed. J. P. Migne, *Patrologia Latina* (Paris: Migne, 1852): 141:321-22: "But she received the name by divine direction, so that the form itself of her name signified sometime great: certainly it means the star of the sea." Notice the final phrase is the same as the one Bede used in one of his homilies, which indicates that Fulbert may

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dabit Dominus ipse vobis signum ecce virgo concipiet et pariet filium et vocabitis nomen eius Emmanuhel[247]—lent itself to claims of prophetic fulfillment in the canonical Gospels, as well as in the New Testament apocrypha.[248] Biblical prophecies drawn from the Hebrew Scriptures were well known when the earliest of the Marian apocrypha were being written in the second century; hence the invention of the apocryphal proclamation of Mary's birth and name in her Nativity, which relates to the events of the Gospels, finds validation through prophetic precedent.[249]

Shortly after discussing the divine plan of Mary's name, Fulbert intensifies the meaning of her name by elaborating on the *iter para tutum* from the *Ave maris stella*:

> Nautis quipped mare transeuntibus, notare opus est stellam hanc, longe a summon coeli cardine coruscantem, et ex respect illius aestimare atque dirigere cursum suum, ut portum destinatum apprehendere possint. Simili modo, fratres, oportet universos Christicolas, inter fluctus hujus saeculi remigantes, attendere maris stellam hanc, id est Mariam, quae supremo rerum cardini Deo proxima est, et respectu exempli ejus cursum vitae dirigere.[250]

As noted above, Bede appears to be the first to elaborate a little more on the metaphor by

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have used Bede as one source for his own sermon on Mary. Fassler also tells us that Fulbert was working from the *Libellus de nativitate Sanctae Mariae*, the source of which was *The Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew*, and "the compiler of the *Libellus* sought to legitimatize the legends found in *Pseudo-Matthew* and to streamline the materials it contained, focusing it more intensely upon the Virgin," 402. Thus, the compiler's goal mirrored Fulbert's own intentions.

[247] "Therefore the Lord himself will give you a sign. Behold a virgin will conceive and bear a son and his name will be called Emmanuel."

[248] Fulbert includes most of Isaiah 7:14 verbatim in his *Approbate consuetudinis*, but not all of it. He adapts the first part and then uses *ecce* […] *Emmanuhel* verbatim.

[249] Clayton, *Apocryphal Gospels*, 7.

[250] Fulbert, 141:322: "For sailors, certainly, crossing the sea, it is necessary to distinguish this star, twinkling from afar at the highest point in the heavens, and to appraise and direct its course out of respect for that, so that they may be able to lay hold of the chosen port. In a similar way, brothers, it is proper for all worshippers of Christ, rowing among the waves of this world, to turn toward this star of the sea; it is Mary, who is nearest to God, the highest point in the universe, and to direct the course of their life through consideration of her example." Additionally, I think it is important to note the use of "fratres" in Fulbert's homily, which is a reference to his monastic brothers. The context for his Latin homily is clearly different from that of Orm, who writes in English for both the religious and the laity.

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alluding to the "waves of the slipping world," and Fulbert, clearly familiar with Bede's work, expands on the theme in a similar fashion. For the first time, we see the beginning of the full potential of the meaning behind the *stella maris* metaphor. Theologians do not liken Mary to a shining celestial entity merely because she is perpetually pure, thus radiating a bright, blinding light, even if that may be how the idea began. Rather, most important to Fulbert and later theologians was the guidance and protection Mary provides by way of the perfect example. Christians must look to Mary's shining example of purity and faith in order to navigate the storms of earthly temptation; she alone can lead the faithful Christian to heaven's gates. Therefore, not only does Mary emerge as the "star of the sea" and the "gate of heaven," but she also becomes the mediator, or "mediatrix," between humans and God. In the twelfth century, Bernard of Clairvaux takes this elaboration to a new level by rendering what has now become familiar Marian devotional material in striking and seemingly new ways.

Born in 1090 in Bourgogne, Bernard was admitted to the Cîteaux monastery, which was the nexus of the Cistercian order, in 1112, and the order went through a vast expansion throughout Europe primarily because of his involvement.[251] Bernard went on to found a monastery at Clairvaux, which he dedicated to Mary as was the custom of the Cistercian order, and he served as abbot for thirty-eight years until he died in 1153.[252] Although Bernard does not write extensively on Mary in his numerous works, his contribution to her devotional writing is found in the beauty with which he writes about her. Chrysogonus Waddell writes, "Bernard's genius was not that [of] an initiator or innovator, but of a witness to tradition," and even though he was influenced by traditional works, Bernard adapted them so beautifullly that "it seemed as

[251] Gambero, *Mary in the Middle Ages*, 131.
[252] Ibid.

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though his hearers and readers were discovering them for the first time."[253] Homily II on the Gospel of Luke, which extols the virtues of Mary and elaborates on her role in human redemption, contains a beautiful elaboration of the *stella maris* imagery in the last section, but Bernard takes his time getting there. As Waddell explains, we see how the traditions of Marian etymology and biblical prophecy play into Bernard's praise of the Virgin as the *stella maris*.

Before he elaborates on the meaning of Mary's name as the star of the sea, in sixteen sections Bernard gives a creative summation of what had become central elements of Marian doctrine by this time, such as Mary's perpetual virginity, a reference to prophecy in Numbers 24:17—*orietur stella ex Iacob* ("A star will rise out of Jacob")—and Mary as guiding intermediary. Finally, in the seventeenth and final section of his homily, the abbot begins with a verse from Luke 1:27, *et nomen virginis Maria* ("And the virgin's name was Mary"), and then proceeds, first, with her perpetual purity relative to the nature of a star:

> Loquamur pauca et super hoc nomine, quod interpretatum *maris stella* dicitur, et matri Virgini valde convenienter aptatur. Ipsa namque aptissime sideri comparator; quia, sicut sine sui corruptione sidus suum emittit radium, sic absque sui laesione virgo parturit filium.[254]

After the direct reference to the rising star prophecy, Bernard finally delves into the meaning and elaboration of the *stella maris* as a guide for the metaphorical seafarers of life:

> O quisquis te intelligis in hujus saeculi profluvio magis inter procellas et tempestates fluctuare, quam per terram ambulare; ne avertas oculos a fulgore hujus sideris, si non vis

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[253] Bernard of Clairvaux, *Homilies in Praise of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, trans. Marie-Bernard Saïd, intro. Chrysogonus Waddell (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1993), xviii.

[254] Bernard of Clairvaux, *Homilia II*, in *Operum Tomus Tertius: Complectens Sermones de Tempore et Sanctis, ac de Diversis*, ed. J. P. Migne, *Patrologia Latina* (Paris: Migne, 1852): 183:70: "Let us say a little about this name, which is said to mean the star of the sea, and for the Virgin mother it is very appropriate. For she is most fittingly compared to a star; because, just as a star sends out its ray without its own corruption, thus without injuring her own virginity she brought forth her son."

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> obrui procellis. Si insurgant venti tentationum, si incurras scopulos tribulationum, respice stellam, voca Mariam.[255]

This passage begins Bernard's exhortation to the audience that they should look to Mary whenever they are in need, and the influence of Bede is clear when Bernard mentions the *saeculi profluvio*, which he then links to the temptation of the deadly sins.

3.6 Old English Vernacularization of the *Stella Maris*

Orm's use of the "sæsterrne" for Mary is only the second occurrence of the *stella maris* epithet in the English vernacular. The first occurrence exists in three manuscripts of the same text, the Old English translation of the apocryphal *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew*: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Hatton 114; Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 367, Part II; and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 343. The source of the Old English text is the Latin *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew*, which is a reworking of the Latin *Proteuangelium Iacobi*. The *Proteuangelium* was the foundation for a great amount of the Marian apocrypha and eventually led to the series of Marian feasts.[256] Additionally, it supplies the first account of the birth and childhood of Mary, which made its way into the vernacular translation of the Latin *Pseudo-Matthew*. The Latin text that was likely the source of the Old English *Pseudo-Matthew* is extant in Cambridge, Pembroke College, MS 25 and can be placed in Bury St. Edmunds by 1154.[257] Although the manuscript dates to the eleventh century, the collection of texts must have been available no later than the

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[255] "O whoever you are who perceives in the flowing waters of this world are more likely to be tossed among storms and tempests, than to walk along the earth; do not avert your eyes from the brightness of this star, if you do not wish to be overwhelmed by the storms. If the winds of temptations rise up, if you run into the rocks of tribulations, look to the star, call Mary."
[256] Clayton, *Apocryphal Gospels*, 8.
[257] Ibid., 129.

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tenth century in England because Old English homilies in the Vercelli Book, the *Old English Martyrology*, and other vernacular compilations draw on its contents.[258]

The earliest evidence of any reference to Marian apocryphal material in Anglo-Saxon England is the Irish monk Adamnan's account of Arculf's visit to Mary's tomb in Jerusalem in *De locis sanctis*, written in Latin in the late seventh century.[259] The *Old English Martyrology* was composed in the mid-ninth century, and *The Benedictional of St. Æþelwold* dates to the late tenth century, both of which make use of the apocryphal material.[260] Unlike his teacher Æþelwold and many other contemporaries, Ælfric chooses not to use apocryphal texts in his preaching, a choice which was likely based on his desire not to perpetuate the supposed heresy.[261] A note titled *De Maria* that was added to the end of the homily for the Sixteenth Sunday after Pentecost in the Second Series of his *Catholic Homilies* reads:

> Hwæt wylle we secgan ymbe Marian gebyrd-tide, buton þæt heo wæs gestryned þurh fæder and ðurh moder swa swa oðre men, and wæs on ðam dæge acenned þe we cweðað sexta idus Septembris? Hire fæder hatte Ioachim, and hire moder Anna, eawfæste men on ðære ealdan æ; ac we nellað be ðam na swiðor awritan, þy-læs ðe we on ænigum gedwylde befeallon.[262]

Ælfric was, however, anomalous in this period for his prolific writing and popularity as much as he was for his orthodoxy: his writings are the only extant forms of resistance to apocryphal

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[258] Ibid., 130.
[259] Ibid., 101.
[260] Ibid., 107-108.
[261] Clayton, *Cult of the Virgin*, 244.
[262] Godden, Malcom, ed., *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: Series II: Text*, Early English Text Society s.s. 5 (London: Oxford University Press, 1979). "What will we say about the birthday of Mary except that she was begotten by father and by mother just as other people, and was born on the day that we call the eighth of September? Her father was called Joachim, and her mother Anna, pious people in the old law, but we will not write more about them, lest we fall into any error."

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texts.[263] Unfortunately, his admonitions do not seem to have had much effect on his reader-audience. As my discussion of Fulbert above demonstrates, the Marian nativity apocrypha found its way into liturgical texts, and the creation of two new feasts in England, which was the first in the West to celebrate such feasts, provides further evidence for this liturgical addition.[264]

The earliest manuscript of the Old English *Pseudo-Matthew*, which does not translate the Latin text in full because the Latin only partially survived into the eleventh century, dates to the end of the eleventh century (MS Hatton 114), but it does translate the surviving chapters I through XII and adds a prologue and epilogue. The narrative contains the Nativity of Mary because it is a homily for the feast of her birth and childhood, but the contents extend past the parameters for her feast as the homily continues into the Annunciation and her pregnancy. Clayton takes the continuation of the homily into the Annunciation as evidence that its composition was not necessarily based on the demands of the feast.[265] Furthermore, the addition of a prologue with a discussion of Mary as the *sæsteorra*, which does not exist in the Latin text, and the continued narration of her life past the Annunciation may suggest that the scribe was more focused on the devotion to the Virgin than the particular theme of the feast. The *sæsteorra* passage reads:

> Sæsteorra heo is ʒecweden, forðan þe se steorra on niht ʒecyþeð scypliðendum mannum, hwyder bið east and west, hwyder suð and norð. Swa þonne wearð þurh ða halʒan fæmnan Sancta Marian ʒecyþed se rihte siðfæt to ðam ecan life þam ðe lanʒe ær sæton

[263] Clayton, *Apocryphal Gospels*, 111.
[264] Ibid., 114. Clayton explains that Winchester began the feast of the conception of Mary around 1030, masses for which are found in the New Minster Missal, Le Havre, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 330 (mid eleventh century) and in the Leofric Missal, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 579 (c.1066).
[265] Ibid., 136-137.

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on þeostrum and on deaþes scuan and on þam unstillum yðum þære sæ þises middaneardes.[266]

The tradition of commenting on Mary's name, especially its significance as the *stella maris*, originates with the early Latin commentators, as I have shown, and while several continental writers contribute to the overall corpus, the Old English *Pseudo-Matthew* author is closer to the insular Latin writings of Bede.

Bede's homily for the feast of the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary refers to the temporal world as *fluctus saeculi labentis* ("waves of the slipping world"), and the Old English prologue mentions *þam unstillum yðum sæ þises middaneardes*. The idea that the North Star represents Mary is perhaps even more strongly evoked in the Old English prologue with the *scypliðendum mannum* seeking the star at night and the reference to the cardinal directions: "hwyder bið east and west, hwyder suð and norð." Although the North Star is implied in the "sæsterrne" passage of the *Ormulum*, the reference is less obvious than the prologue of the *Pseudo-Matthew*—not to mention Orm neglects to refer to waves entirely—which suggests that Orm's homily derives from the continental Latin texts rather than Bede and other insular Latin texts.

3.7 Conclusions

What is most significant about the Old English *Pseudo-Matthew* is the fact that two of the three manuscripts date to the middle and second half of the twelfth century, like the *Ormulum*.

[266] Bruno Assman, ed., *Angelsächsishe Homilien und Heiligenleben*, Bibliothek der angelsächsischen, Prosa 3, (Kassel: G. H. Wigand, 1889), 117-118: "She is called star of the sea because the star of the sea at night makes known to seafaring men where are east and west, south and north. In the same way, was through the holy virgin, Saint Mary made known the right path to eternal life to those who long before sat in darkness and in the shadow of death and upon the restless waves of the sea of this middle-earth."

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Because few people read the *Ormulum* beyond its prefatory material, scholars have overlooked Orm's participation in Marian devotion through his vernacular use of the *stella maris* epithet. Bennett mentions Orm's use of the Norse form "sæsteorrne" in reference to Mary only as an example of his "wholly native" language, and he uses this example to emphasize the mixture of English and Scandinavian languages that arose from the Danelaw.[267] Except for Bennett's minor comment, no other discussion of Orm's use of the "sæsterrne" exists until now.

Futhermore, the sources that Orm used in the creation of his impressive collection are constantly under scholarly debate and include the *Glossa ordinaria*; the pseudo-Anselm *Enarrationes in Matthaeum*; the homilies and commentaries of Bede and Hrabanus Maurus; the homilies of Wulfstan and Ælfric; Fulbert of Chartre's homily on Mary's nativity; and other recently developed material from the early twelfth-century, such as the work of Bernard of Clairvaux. His use of "brihhte shineþþ" is reminiscent of Bede's and subsequent writers' use of *refulsit*, just as his statement that the lost sailor can "lendenn rihht to lande" by following "þatt illke sternes lade" seems to echo the hymn's *iter para tutum* and Maurus's *stellam viros ad portum adducat*. Moreover, Bernard's refrain of *respice stellam, voca Mariam* is echoed in Orm's "birrþ all Crisstene follc till Sannte Marȝe lokenn." Fulbert's treatment of the *stella maris*, though, seems to resonate the most in the *Ormulum*'s passage. Orm's final line of the "sæsterrne" passage reads: "Þatt stannt wiþþ hire sune i stall. þær heȝhesst iss inn heffne." Fulbert refers to the *summo coeli cardine* and then explicitly writes: *id est Mariam, quae supremo rerum cardini Deo proxima est*. Finally, Fulbert is the only writer to refer to the Virgin Mary as an "example" by using *exempli* in his *stella maris* passage, and Orm specifically uses

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[267] Bennett, *Middle English*, 33.

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the word “bisne” to point to Mary as a perpetual holy example embodied by the figure of the sea-star.

Based on the evidence, it would appear that Orm valued Fulbert’s writings above others, even his English predecessors. As I have shown, Morrison’s assertions are credible, especially when considered alongside Orm’s Marian devotion and the similarities between his *stella maris* section and those of writers in or near France. Moreover, another significant change is in the context for the material in the *Ormulum*, which may anticipate the expanded use and wider application of this particular Marian imagery later. For Orm, the meaning of Mary’s name as the “sæsterrne” is crucial to the narration and explication of the Annunciation. As my survey of Latin sources indicates, Orm elaborates on the epithet in a way similar to the texts of major continental Latin writers, and his use of the *stella maris* seems unrelated to the one found in the Old English *Pseudo-Matthew*. The *unstillum yðum* in the Old English *Pseudo-Matthew* is evocative of Bede’s *fluctus saeculi labentis*, and this implies that the composer of the Old English prologue to the *Pseudo-Matthew* relied on insular Latin sources to a greater extent than Orm did. These two earliest vernacular English versions of the *stella maris* epithet, then, are unconnected; however, the fact that two of the three manuscripts of the Old English *Pseudo-Matthew* date from the twelfth century, like the *Ormulum*, indicates the growing popularity of the *stella maris* metaphor in English in this period and the wealth of Latin sources to which medieval English writers could refer in composing their vernacularized versions of the epithet.

Although the Old English *Pseudo-Matthew* is written in the vernacular as well, the composer of the prologue to the Marian apocryphon upheld the native style of Old English prose and relied on insular Latin source material. Orm was shaped by his mulitlingual and

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multicultural environment near a Norman abbey and by his desire to remediate the Latin epithet for the Virgin, which he had the privilege to access, to the English laity through not only a mulitplicity of sources but also through an adapted Latin meter. As a result, the relation of the Virgin Mary as the "sæsterrne" in the *Ormulum* appears, at first glance, less native to England and more comfortable in the Latin works of the continent, both in substance and in poetic form.

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CHAPTER 4

"Fordon and Fordemet": The Homiletics of Judgment Day in *Poema Morale*

4.1 Introduction

Like many other English compositions in the late twelfth century, particularly the verse, *Poema Morale* has been mostly overlooked in medieval scholarship. It is a poem, often called a verse-sermon, of seemingly little consequence that warns against the punishments in hell by drawing on several elements of medieval eschatology. The description of hell and Christ's descent into hell to release the "ancient Elect" are prominent in the poem though it usually ends with an optimistic turn to the requirements for admission into heaven.[268] The poem's connection to the Old English poetic tradition is palpable because it "does not reflect abstract theology," which Judith Garde demonstrates is also true of Old English religious verse; instead, Old English and, I would add, Early Middle English religious poetry "might better be understood as an extra-liturgical, vernacular celebration of a singular redemptive fact: that Almighty God chose to descend, incarnate in Christ, to deliver mankind from the bondage of Satan."[269] This being said, however, *Poema Morale* clearly has ties to the Old English homiletic tradition as well: the poet drew inspiration from the a specific group of Old English homilies to create a new piece of

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[268] Judith N. Garde, *Old English Poetry in Medieval Christian Perspective: A Doctrinal Approach* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1991), 4. A reference to Christ's descent into hell occurs in lines 178-182 in London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 487: "Ne brekeþ ne ure drihte helle gate for lesen hi of bende. / Nis na sullic þech hom bo wa *and* hom bo un cade. / Ne scal neure eft c*ri*st þolie deþ for lessen hom of deaþe. / Eues drihten helle brec; his fro*n*d he ut brochte" ("Our Lord will not break the gate of hell to release them from bonds. It is not surprising that they are miserable and they are troubled. Christ shall never again suffer death to release them from death. Once the Lord broke into hell; he brought out his friends"). All quotations of *Poema Morale* are taken from my own transcriptions of the manuscript texts, which I have edited conservatively. I have expanded the Tironian notae and other abbreviations in italics, and all translations are my own. I use my edition of Lambeth as the default text, unless otherwise noted.

[269] Ibid., 6.

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vernacular devotional verse.

No previous scholars have identified a source or influence for *Poema Morale* beyond a general reference to the Anglo-Saxon homiletic tone of the poem, perhaps because study of the poem has been so scarce. In this chapter, I present a three-pronged argument. First, while I stressed the importance of reading Early Middle English texts in their manuscript contexts in Chapter 1, here I also argue that each manifestation of *Poema Morale* should be read as a poem in its own right and not as a composite text. It is especially important to read the version of the poem found in London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 487 (Lambeth) in this light because it lacks the optimistic shift in tone that gestures towards heaven's bliss that the other versions possess. In order to balance the horror of the poem, one must read the following prayer to Jesus in the manuscript to find hope of a blissful afterlife. Second, I argue that possible influences for *Poema Morale* include the vernacular eschatological sermons by Wulfstan, Archbishop of York (d. 1023) and anonymous Old English homilists based on a shared trope of breaking the bonds of kinship. Finally, I argue that by participating in these two traditions—borrowing from the Old English homiletic corpus and the addition of a thirteenth-century prayer to provide hope that the poem lacks—the manuscript provides us with possibly the earliest iteration of *Poema Morale* and also demonstrates how it begins to shift from a public homiletic context into the more personal context of devotional reading. Further, the poem's use of the English septenary and rhyming couplets while synthesizing Old English material from more than one source strongly demosntrates its rhizomorphous nature.

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4.2 The General Structure and Content

The poem begins with the narrator's first-person confession that his early years were spent in foolishness and sin, for which he repents now, and he urges the reader-audience to do better than he, to repent their sins while they still have time. The first eight lines read:

> Ich em nu alder þene ich wes a winter *and* a lare.
> Ich welde mare þene ich dede; nu wit ahte don mare.
> Wel longe ich habbe child ibon a word *and* a dede
> þah ich bo a wintre ald to Ʒung ich em on rede.
> Vnnet lif ich habbe iled, *and* Ʒet me þingþ ilede.
> þenne ich me biþenche wel ful sare ich me adrede.
> mest al þ*æt* ich habbe idon bifealt to child hade.
> Wel late ich abbe me biþocht, bute God me nu rede. (1-8)[270]

After eight more lines of this, the narrator, who is represented as an elderly preacher, engages in typical medieval homiletic exhortation by doing the following: urging his reader-audience to live according to the Christian principles he praises, to avoid committing sin with their words and deeds, and to remember that hell awaits them if they do not heed his warning. He tends to oscillate between advice in the third-person plural and the first-person plural, which is another typical characteristic of homiletic texts. For example, he complains that "Mare eie stondeð men of monne þanne hom do of c*ri*ste" (18),[271] and then he makes statements that seem to encapsulate all of humanity, himself included, such as when he says, "Vre swinc *and* ure tilþe is ofte iwoned to swinden. / ach þ*æt* þe we doð for godes luue; eft we sculen al finden" (57-58).[272]

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[270] "I am now older than I was in winters and in knowledge. I possess more than I did; my wit ought to do more. Too long have I been a child in word and in deed; though I may be old in winters, too young am I in wisdom. A useless life I have led, and still lead it seems to me; when I contemplate carefully, very painfully am I afraid. Most all that I have done came to pass in childhood. Too late have I considered myself, but God now counsels me."
[271] "More men stand in awe of men than they do of Christ."
[272] "Our labor and our harvest are often accustomed to waste away, but that which we do for God's love, again we shall find it."

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As the narrator begins to approach his primary subject—Judgment Day—he reminds his reader-audience of the omnipotence and omniscience of God, emphasizing that he sees every deed and knows every thought (75-88). From there, the poem turns into a lamenting list of interrogatives reminiscent of the Old English *ubi sunt?* motif, but rather than despairing over lost lords and goods, the narrator desperately asks what might save them on Judgment Day, they who have done nothing to secure salvation before the time has come. Eventually, the narrator explains how each person will be judged by God on their own and by the full duration of their lives, not simply on their beginning or end (106-21), and unrepentant sinners will suffer indescribable hunger, thirst, and pain (122-53).

Finally, the narrator turns to Judgment Day and explains the dread it brings, its short duration, and the singularity of Christ's sacrifice. Significantly, the Lambeth text ends at this point, literally on the brink of the reader-audience's destruction and condemnation. After a long list of sinners one might find inhabiting the dark fires of hell, the Lambeth poem ends as follows:

> Enes drihten helle brec his fro*n*d he ut brochte.
> Him solf he þolede deð for him. wel dore he hom bohte.
> **Nalde hit mei do for mei. ne sust*er* for broðer.**
> **Nalde hit sune do for fader. ne na mon for oðer**. (181-84)[273]

Interestingly, a shift happens mid-sentence in the other six versions of *Poema Morale*, leaving the reader-audience of the Lambeth text without the positive spin and with only the words "fordon *and* fordemet" ("destroyed and condemned," 267). Instead of ending abruptly like Lambeth, the other versions continue with some version of the following, taken from Cambridge,

[273] "Once, the Lord broke into hell; he brought out his friends. He himself suffered death for them; very dearly he bought them. Kinsman would not do it for kinsman, nor sister for brother; neither would a son do it for father, nor any man for another." The bold lines contain the trope that will be discussed in section 4.6 below.

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Trinity College, MS B. 14. 52 (Trinity): "Bute þo þe ofðuhte sore here misdade / *and* gunne here gultes bete *and* betere lif lade" (275-6).[274] This first flicker of hope occurs in the middle of the poem's account of hell, but the reader-audience of Lambeth receives no such hope. In fact, it may be worth entertaining the idea that this couplet may represent an addition to the poem since it reads out of place in the list of torments and inhabitants of hell. It would not be difficult to add such a line seeing as it is a self-contained couplet added to what is otherwise a complete thought.

What follows in the other six versions is a brief narration on how Death came into the world through the fall of Adam and Eve (185-205), the nature of the devil and God (206-17), and the best description of hell that the narrator can muster since he admits never having gone to hell although he *has* read about it in books (218-67). Among other torments, sinners may find hell happily awaiting their arrival with "bernunde pich hore saule to baþien inne" ("burning pitch for their souls to bathe in," 242) and "fur *þæt* efre bernd" ("fire that eternally burns," 246). The list of hell's inhabitants is quite vivid, including "adders and snakes, lizards and frogs" (277) that tear at the souls of the damned in the "evil smoke, darkness, and fear" (281) where "horrible fiends in strong chains" (283) lie in wait along with "the loathsome Satan and Beelzebub the old" (287).

Finally, the narrator claims that he will now instruct people who do not know how to shield themselves from the devil and temptation (305-6). For about forty lines, the poem gives advice on how to avoid damnation and achieve redemption, such as urging the reader-audience to walk the "narewe pað" ("narrow path," 349) that is "godes has" ("God's behest," 349) rather than the "brode strete" ("broad street," 345) of their will. The last fifty lines provide a vague

[274] "[…] except those who greatly repented their misdeeds and began to atone for their sins and lead a better life."

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description of heaven's bliss, such as saying that:

> Al þe blisse þe me us bihat al hit sal ben god one
> Ne mai no blisse ben alse muchel se is godes sihte.
> He is soð sunne *and* briht *and* dai abute nihte.
> He is aches godes ful nis him no wiht uten.
> Nones godes hem nis wane þe wunieð him abuten.
> Þar is wele abuten wane *and* reste abuten swunche. (368-73)[275]

Finally in the safe harbor of heaven, the poet can end his piece of verse with a prayer that asks that the ubiquitous "we" find "our" way to such an end:[276]

> To þare blisse us bringe god þe rixleð abuten ende.
> Þane he ure sowle unbint of lichamliche bende
> Crist Ʒieue us laden her swich lif *and* habben her swilch ende
> Þat we moten þider cumen þane we henne wende.
> AMEN (397-400)[277]

Such is the general structure and content of *Poema Morale*, and as I have shown, Lambeth lacks only the material after the abrupt mid-sentence shift. Thus, a reading of the Lambeth poem must be made within its manuscript context rather than through a supplemented or composite edition.

4.3 Scholarly Editions and Reception

Unlike other Early Middle English texts with which *Poema Morale* shares manuscript

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[275] "All the bliss that is promised to us all shall be God alone. And no bliss may be as great as the sight of God; he is the true sun and bright and day without night. He is full of eternal good and there is nothing he is without. He who dwells about him lacks nothing that is good. There is wealth without deprivation and rest without toil."

[276] A second "incomplete" text survives in London, British Library, MS Egerton 613 (Egerton), which contains two versions approximately 25 years apart. The e text (*c*.1225) ends at line 365 while the E text (*c*.1250) is "complete" with 398 lines (Trinity has 400 lines due to a repeated couplet). Egerton e does not warrant the same treatment as Lambeth, however, because it includes all of the advice on avoiding hell and a good portion of the description of heaven's bliss. Thus, its overall tone is more similar to the other five versions than it is to Lambeth.

[277] "May God, who rules without end, bring us into that bliss. When he unbinds our souls from their bodily bonds, may Christ grant that we lead here such a life and have here such an end that we might come to that place when we leave here. Amen."

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contexts, like *The Owl and the Nightingale*, the poem has not enjoyed much recent scholarly interest apart from Betty Hill's research on its manuscripts.[278] While the poem is often included in scholarly editions of its manuscripts or in collections of Early Middle English, scholars have written very little on the poem itself beyond its varying linguistic characteristics.[279] In 1698, Edward Thwaites sent extracts of the text in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 4 (Digby) to George Hickes, which he used in his *Thesaurus* in 1705.[280] Additionally, Hickes also first presented evidence of the Trinity and Lambeth versions, and the version in Oxford, Jesus

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[278] Hill's work on *Poema Morale* and its manuscripts include: "Notes on *The Conduct of Life*," *Notes and Queries* 56 (2009): 9-12; "The Writing of the Septenary Couplet," *Notes and Queries* 52 (2005): 296; "A Couplet from the *Conduct of Life* in Maidstone MS A 13," *Notes and Queries*, 50 (2003): 377; "Cambridge, Trinity College MS B. 14. 52," *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 12 (2003): 393-402; " A Manuscript from Nuneaton: Cambridge Fitzwilliam Museum MS McLean 123," *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 12 (2002): 191-205; "British Library MS. Egerton 613—II," *Notes and Queries* 23 (1978): 492-501; "British Library MS. Egerton 613—I," *Notes and Queries* 25 (1978): 394-409; "The Twelfth-Century 'Conduct of Life', formerly the 'Poema Morale' or 'A Moral Ode'," *Leeds Studies in English* 9 (1976/77): 97-144; "Early English Fragments and MSS Lambeth Palace Library 487, Bodleian Library Digby 4," *Proceedings of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society* 14 (1972): 271-80; "Notes on the Egerton e Text of the *Poema Morale*," *Neophilologus* 50 (1966): 352-9; "Trinity College Cambridge MS. B . 14. 52, and William Patten," *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 4 (1966): 192-200; and "Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum MS. McClean 123," *Notes and Queries* 12 (1965): 87-90.

[279] The Trinity and Jesus texts are available in Richard Morris, *Specimens of Early English*, Part I (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1882) although Morris also published Trinity separately with a facing-page translation in *Old English Homilies* (1873), 220-32. I completed the most recent edition of the Trinity text with facing-page translation in Treharne, *Anthology*, 336-53. The Lambeth text is available in Morris, *Old English Homilies* (1868), 158-183. The e text from Egerton is available in Julius Zupitza, *Alt-und mittelenglisches Übungsbuch* (Vienna, 1882), 51-61. The Digby text is available in Julius Zupitza, "Zum Poema morale," *Anglia* 1 (1878): 5-38. For composite editions of the poem, see Hall, *Selections*, 30-53; and Hans Marcus, *Das Frühmittelenglische "Poema Morale"* (Leipzig: Mayer and Müller, 1934), 169-200. See Bennett, *Middle English Literature*, 27-30, for a brief consideration of the poem, as well as the note before my edition and translation in Treharn, *Anthology*, 336, among others.

[280] Hickes, *Thesaurus*, vol. 1, 222; Richard L. Harris, *A Chorus of Grammars: The Correspondence of George Hickes and his Collaborators on the* Thesaurus linguarum septentrionalium (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1992), 227.

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College, MS 29 (Jesus) was discovered later in the eighteenth century by Thomas Warton.[281] The two copies in Egerton were discovered in the nineteenth century, and A. C. Paues published her discovery of the text in Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS McClean 123 (McClean) in 1907.[282] The poem has been praised for the "sincerity of the author," as well as its linguistic and metrical particularities, but scholars are still vexed by the indeterminate provenance of the unknowable *Ur*-text.[283]

In 1920, Joseph Hall published his two-volume *Selections from Early Middle English 1130-1250*, which produced in the first volume complete editions of shorter texts, such as *Poema Morale*, and provided edited excerpts from longer ones, such as the *Ormulum* and *Ancrene Wisse*. In this volume, his two editions of *Poema Morale* are emblematic of the approach most scholars have taken to the poem: the composite edition to arrive at a "best" text edition based on a non-extant *Ur*-text (e.g., Lambeth combined with the Egerton texts) and the longest or earliest text edition (e.g., Trinity). Hall chose not to choose between these two principles by having a facing-page edition of Trinity alongside his Lambeth-Egerton composite. In 1934, Hans Marcus chose to rely primarily on Digby, supplemented by Lambeth and Trinity. Two problems worth noting, however, are that scholars still cannot identify the manuscript authority from which all subsequent variants derived, nor have they been able to identify a source, or sources, for the poem. These composite editions, therefore, are the results of an intellectual exercise that cannot be proven and adds little to our knowledge of the versions of the poem as pieces of literature.

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[281] Hill, "Twelfth-Century 'Conduct'," 98. Thomas Warton, *The History of English Poetry,* vol. 1 (London, 1774), 7, note f.
[282] Hill, "Twelfth-Century 'Conduct'," 98. *List of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum 1836-1840* (London: British Museum, 1843): 43; A. C. Paues, "A newly discovered manuscript of the Poema Morale," *Anglia* 30 (1907): 227-37.
[283] Hill, "Twelfth-Century 'Conduct'," 97.

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Over the years, Julius Zupitza, A. C. Paues, Hans Marcus, and Samuel Moore have published different versions of a stemma for the poem.[284] In order to visualize not only the possible relationships between the versions but also their accepted chronology, I have produced a modified version of Zupitza's stemma in Figure 1. The letters in the stemma correspond to the six extant manuscripts, except for U, W, X, Y, and Z, which are bolded and underlined and represent the hypothetical exemplars that are lost to us, and Egerton, the two texts of which are represented by e and E.[285] The significance of this stemma is that it demonstrates the relative individuality of each version of the poem—although variety exists even within those texts that seem to share a common exemplar, as I will explain in the following chapter—and thus should be read within its own context. Thus, producing a composite edition of *Poema Morale* serves more as an intellectual exercise than as a valuable contribution to the knowledge of the poem in its various manifestations. That is, combining the versions into a "best text" edition, like those of Hall and Marcus, will not get us any closer to an *Ur*-text and will only help to obfuscate any literary reading we attempt to make.

[284] Ibid., 99-100. Samuel Moore, "The Manuscripts of the *Poema Morale*: Revised Stemma," *Anglia* 54 (1930): 269. Although Marcus's work was a study of the seven versions, his edition itself is a composite of three.
[285] T = Trinity; L = Lambeth; D = Digby; e = the earlier Egerton text; E = the slightly later Egerton text; J = Oxford, Jesus College, MS 29, Part II; M = Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS McClean 123.

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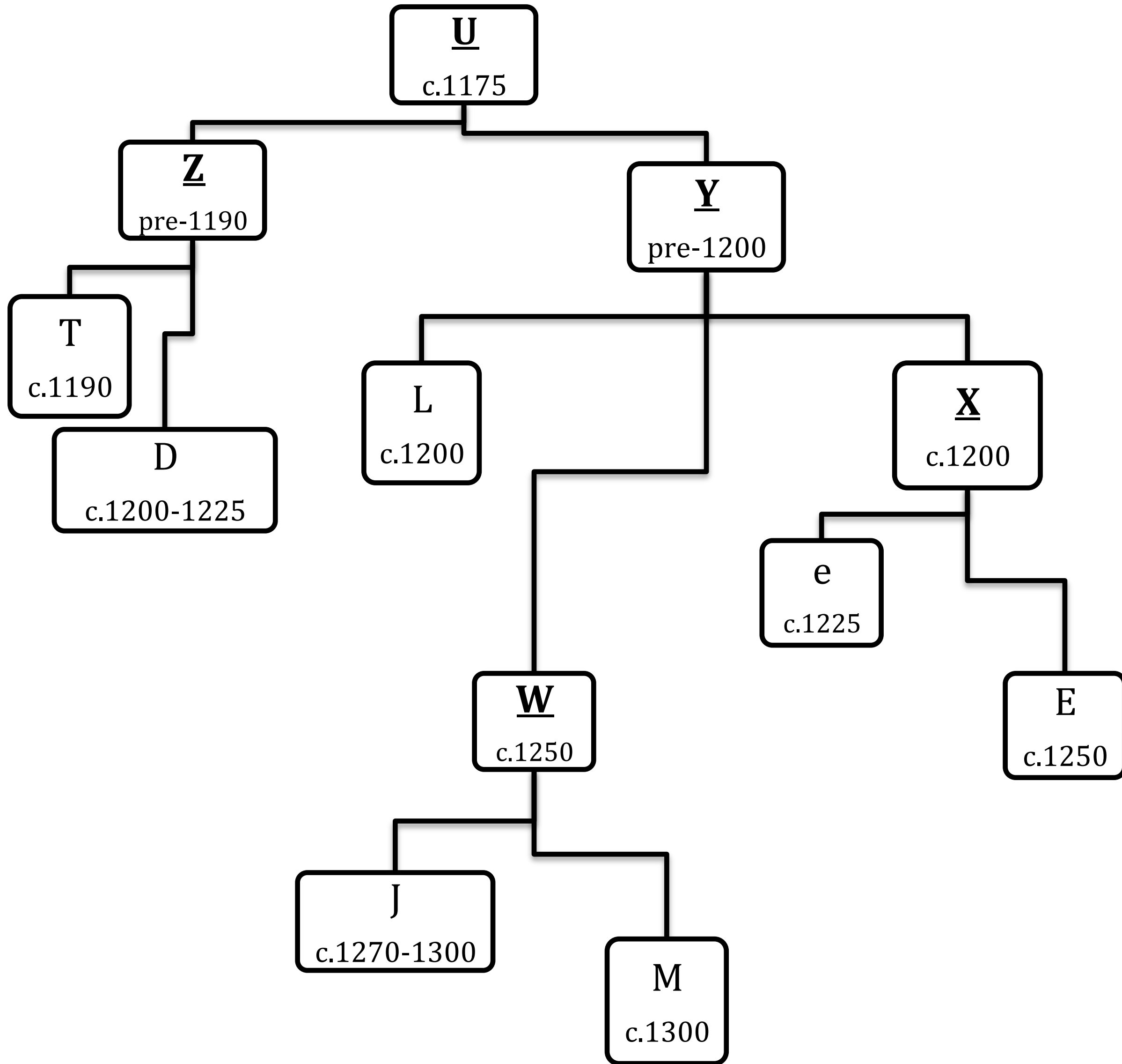

Fig. 1 *Poema Morale* stemma

Hall's second volume of his *Selections of Early Middle English* includes his notes on the texts of volume one, and a brief comparison of the "Literature" sections of *Poema Morale* and the *Ormulum* demonstrates a scholarly reality that is, unfortunately, still true almost a century later: very little work has been done on the poem. Even the *Ormulum*'s "monotonously regular"

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septenary meter receives more attention than *Poema Morale*'s fluctuating lines.[286] Hill's 1976 essay, in which she renames the poem *The Conduct of Life*, is extremely useful in its discussion of the manuscripts and their discoveries, but it too provides little help for the scholar seeking literary interpretations and discussions of literary influence on the poet.[287] Robert D. Fulk's essay on metrical resolution in the poem provides one instance in which a scholar has attempted to connect it to the Old English tradition, but this work provides little by way of attempting a literary reading of the poem.[288] However, Christopher Cannon's essay "Between the Old and the Middle of English" provides one of the first truly engaged discussions on *Poema Morale* as an Early Middle English text that disrupts standard conversations of the period and scholarly parcing of the "Old" and "Middle" English characteristics of the period's texts. He writes, "What the *Poema Morale* might be said to know according to the logic of its own metaphors, in other words, is that a 'Middle English' with 'Old English' characteristics is not both, but neither."[289] Later, in his characterization of Early Middle English as a whole rather than just the poem, he adds that it is "not only that period in which attributes otherwise found separately as 'Old' and 'Middle' English coincide, but where, for that reason, *the distinction between 'Old' and 'Middle' English is annulled*."[290]

Allowing these few exceptions to the general scholarly rule, more work needs to be done on *Poema Morale* and other twelfth-century pieces of English verse in order to better contend

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[286] Hall, *Selections*, vol. 2, 486.
[287] For reasons explained below, I continue to use the title bestowed on the poem by eighteenth- and nineteenth-century scholars: *Poema Morale*.
[288] Robert D. Fulk, "Early Middle English Evidence for Old English Meter: Resolution in *Poema Morale*," *Journal of Germanic Linguistics* 14 (2002): 331-55.
[289] Cannon, "Old and Middle," 218.
[290] Ibid., 219, his emphasis.

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with those opinions that still consider this period a "native literary vacuum"[291] that lacks a "distinctive account of English literature."[292] As discussed in Chapter 1, the poem's combination of what has traditionally been viewed as "old" and "new" traditions is not a novel observation, but what I hope to demonstrate in this chapter is the *specific* ways in which the poem is indebted to Old English homiletic material to present something new using a Latin metrical form synthesized with the alliterative rhythmical prose style characteristic of Ælfric and Wulfstan. The result, as Cannon puts it, is neither a work of Old English nor Middle English but something different, a "strange result" of a period that was undergoing drastic changes.[293]

4.4 Categorization and the Devotional Nature of *Poema Morale*

This section presents the subject of the editorial title of *Poema Morale* as it relates to the genre of the poem, which is important in understanding the shift from the homiletic to the devotional, which Chapter 5 will examine further. As I mentioned above, extracts of the poem first appear in Hickes's *Thesaurus* in 1705 after Thwaites shared them with him, and Hickes refers only to the *carmina* ("songs") and *Rimas* ("rhymes") of the "Codex *Semi-Saxonicus*" (i.e., Digby), which contained *metro rythmoque ineptis* ("inept meter and rhythm").[294] He supplies no title for the poem, but in the following century, F. J. Furnivall provides the title "A Moral Ode" in his edition of the text in London, British Library, MS Egerton 613 (Egerton) for the Philological Society in 1858.[295] Furnivall likely arrived at the idea of an "ode" from Hickes's use

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[291] Short, "Language and Literature," 195.
[292] Hahn, "Early Middle English," 67.
[293] Cannon, "Old and Middle," 204.
[294] Hickes, *Thesaurus*, vol. 1, 222.
[295] F. J. Furnivall, "A Morale Ode," *Transactions of the Philological Society* 5 (1858): 22-34.

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of the word *carmina*, which can have multiple meanings in English: songs, poems, or incantations, among others. A decade later Morris provided the Latin title of *Poema Morale* in his 1867 publication based on Furnivall's English title.[296] More recently, however, Bennett has deemed the title inappropriate to a "homiletic work that enjoins Christian penitence and amendment of life."[297] The only title for *Poema Morale* supported by a manuscript witness is *Tractatus quidam in anglico* in one of the latest manuscripts, Oxford, Jesus College, MS 29, Part II (Jesus).[298] The Latin title, translated as "A certain treatise in English," is, therefore, the only authentic title we have for the poem based on extant manuscript evidence, and the other manuscripts present the text without even this vague rubric.

The manuscript title, the only authentic title of the poem, does little to help describe the text to scholars and other readers of the poem, hence the scholarly impulse to rename it. In an essay from 1976, Hill offers a new title for the poem, *The Conduct of Life*.[299] Bennett seems to approve of Hill's suggestion while also providing two possibilities of his own, keeping the homiletic content in mind: *The Whole Duty of Man* or *Ways to Salvation*.[300] The reason that Hill gives for renaming the poem is that, "although the text may be described as 'moral', it is neither an 'Ode' nor a *Poema*."[301] Unfortunately, she offers no explanation as to why the text should not be considered a poem. The implication here may be a qualitative one because she admits that its contents may be moral in nature.

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[296] Morris, *Old English Homilies* (1867), v.
[297] Bennett, *Middle English Literature*, 27-28.
[298] For a discussion of the other titles that scholars have used since the seventeenth century, see Hill, "Twelfth-Century 'Conduct'," 126-127.
[299] Ibid., 128.
[300] Bennett, *Middle English Literature*, 28.
[301] Hill, "Twelfth-Century 'Conduct',"127.

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Hill defines the text as "an English verse-sermon, in the vernacular homiletic tradition, in which the author shows his concern for his listeners."[302] Bennett seems to disagree that *Poema Morale* is any sort of sermon generically, as he writes: "If, as some think, it is an early sermon in rhyme, it should strictly speaking be classed with other sermons. Yet, if it is a sermon, it is a sermon without a text."[303] He supports his belief that *Poema Morale* is a not a sermon by maintaining that it is generically closer to the "Old English Exile's (or Penitent's) Prayer"—which we now refer to as *Resignation*—"than a sermon by Ælfric or Wulfstan."[304] Bennett concedes that the poem's primary topics are among the favorites of preachers, but he suggests, nonetheless, that the thematic connections to sermons "may simply reflect the habits of a compulsive preacher, one acutely conscious of his responsibilities as 'lichame and sawle leche' (physician of body and soul)."[305] Thus, Bennett's and Hill's interpretations of the poem differ based on individual interpretations of the genres "sermon" and "poem," and the differences between the two seem connected to the intended purpose of the poem rather than its actual use in the approximately 150 years of its dissemination. As I demonstrate below, the genre—and therefore the categorical titling—of *Poema Morale* is much more complex due to the homiletic tradition from which the poem emerges and the devotional tradition to which it ultimately belongs.

What seems to be at stake, here, is deciding exactly what *Poema Morale*—or *Conduct of Life, The Whole Duty of Man,* or *Ways to Salvation*—is as a text at the superficial level. The terms "homily" and "sermon," though often used interchangeably by modern scholars and

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302 Ibid., 127.
303 Bennett, *Middle English Literature*, 28.
304 Ibid.
305 Ibid.

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medieval writers alike, have distinct purposes, as demonstrated in Chapter 2. In their essential differences, we recall that a "homily" explains while a "sermon" exhorts.[306] Thus, the evidence suggests that what most of us refer to as *Poema Morale* may, in fact, be Hill's "verse-sermon" that follows the Old English homiletic tradition. Unlike a homily, a sermon does not depend upon a biblical text for its content, and Bennett very helpfully points out that *Poema Morale* offers no text to explain.[307] Consequently, I assert that *Poema Morale* is generically a verse-sermon or, as this Latin title suggests, a moral poem, and I will continue to use the editorial Latin title for two reasons. First, the Latin title, which calls it a moral poem, is not inaccurate. Second, the consistent use of this title in scholarship has essentially codified it as the definitive title. Furthermore, Hill's hope that *The Conduct of Life* might become more widespread in its use may not be easily attained not only because it is very difficult to change a title once established, but also because her title does not imply its religious content.[308] To modern readers, a reference to a "conduct of life" may seem to indicate a secular notion of how to live one's life rather than a deeply religious moralization of how to attain salvation through Christ.

The preceding discussion on the title of the poem is significant for my following investigation into the genre of *Poema Morale* because its categorization is not stable. Rather, its shift from homiletic to devotional, from presumably public consumption to personal reading, is only truly evident through a closer study of its codicology, which the following chapter will provide in depth. Of the six manuscripts that survive, only two are collections of homilies and

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[306] Cross, "Vernacular Sermons," 563.
[307] Ibid. Albert E. Hartung has also referred to *Poema Morale* as "a kind of versified sermon" in *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English*, vol. 9 (New Haven: Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1993): 3008.
[308] Hill, "Twelfth-Century 'Conduct'," 128.

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sermons devoted primarily to preaching to the laity. The rest, however, are personal miscellanies and the number of vernacular English texts in the remaining manuscripts decreases as their dates creep closer to the fourteenth century such that *Poema Morale* eventually stands as the sole English text in a wealth of Old French and Anglo-Norman devotional texts. This progression suggests a sustained popularity of the poem in particularly devotional vernacular collections. My following discussion of *Poema Morale*, then, will keep in mind the textual transmission of the text rather than the imagined intended use of the unknown, and unknowable, original. This interpretation will allow me to read the text as a poetic meditation meant for devotional reading rather than simply a sermon in verse that happens to originate in the Old English homiletic tradition.

One obvious generic characteristic is the poem's verse form, the English septenary, although there is a level of variation permitted within each line that Orm does not allow in his verse-homilies, as I discussed in Chapter 1. Because I read this piece of English septenary verse not as a sermon but as something more akin to a devotional poem for personal meditation, I follow Anne Savage's argument for meditation in Old English poetry.[309] Savage's article hinges on Rosemary Woolf's explanation of the differences between meditative theories evident in seventeenth-century poetry and later medieval poetry: "The Ignatian method required the exercise of the three faculties, memory, reason, and will. But the medieval method did not require all three faculties to be used, and, indeed, to make easy the emotional response of love, it

[309] Anne Savage, "The Place of Old English Poetry in the English Meditative Tradition," in *The Medieval Mystical Tradition in England*, ed. Marion Glascoe, vol. 4 (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1987), 91-110.

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largely excluded the activity of reason […]."[310] Savage then builds upon this foundation by making a distinction between Old English meditative poetry and affective poetry of the later Middle Ages, arguing that, in Old English poems like *The Wanderer* and *The Dream of the Rood*:

> we find that there is no conscious exclusion of reason for the purpose of facilitating an emotional response; we find that there is, in fact, no definition of reason as such, or of love as an 'emotion'; there is no recognition of boundaries between one and the other. This in no way implies that a given poem cannot be an organised meditation, only that it is not organised in a way common to later meditations, i.e. in three-faculty sequence, or purely affectively.[311]

The "pattern of organisation" that Savage finds in *The Wanderer*, *The Seafarer*, and *The Dream of the Rood* is particularly important here because this pattern also resonates with the Early Middle English *Poema Morale*: "All three have a beginning section in which a first-person speaker describes his situation, then a section in the elegiac and/or homiletic mode in which personal emotion is distanced or generalised, and which applies the wisdom gained through experience of the situation to life in the world."[312] This structure may seem familiar because it resembles the general structure of *Poema Morale* that I outlined above.

Poema Morale, then, functions as a poetic meditation on Judgment Day in two ways. First, the narrator begins with "a first-person speaker [who] describes his situation" and, then, "applies the wisdom gained through experience of the situation to life in the world." The narrator's situation is affected by old age and regret for not repenting sooner to save himself from hell. His earlier immoral life helps the audience identify with his experience of human

[310] Rosemary Woolf, *The English Religious Lyric in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968): 9.
[311] Savage, "Old English Poetry," 93.
[312] Ibid. For a discussion of *The Seafarer* and *The Wanderer*, see Chapter 3.

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frailty, thus drawing them into the poem before the homiletic portion even begins. Second, after the narrator has set the tone with his first-person confession, he turns to the "homiletic mode in which personal emotion is distanced or generalised" through the use of mostly third-person admonition and narration with interludes of the ubiquity of this condition with the first-person plural. Other than to reaffirm his authority in administering this didactic text to his reader-audience, we never again encounter the first-person singular beyond the final use in the opening confession, which indicates a shift from one form of meditation to another: from a personal meditation of the narrator's regrets to a more specific meditation on the coming Judgment and hell, which should motivate the reader-audience to look inwardly, repent their sins, and act accordingly.

Regarding the poetic nature of the Old English meditative poetry, Savage asserts that, in the Anglo-Saxon period, it is an excellent medium for a devotional topic, and, furthermore, poetry "is particularly suited to meditation because it is concise and highly structured," which allows for multiple readings of a poetic text for greater understanding and "enjoyment" while also allowing the poet "to focus his audience's attention in complex ways with great precision."[313] Poetic affectivity mingles with the more distant homiletic section—Savage notes that the homiletic mode is often affective as well, "but in a way which does not involve subjective, personal experience"—to evoke an important moment of and for meditation in the reader-audience.[314] My argument that *Poema Morale* is a poetic meditation relies upon the general understanding of what "meditation" is in the second half of the twelfth century that emerges when we consider the poem's long manuscript transmission. The poem does not depend

[313] Ibid., 94.
[314] Ibid.

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on the memory, reason, and will format of the Ignatian method, nor is it meant purely as an affective experience. Instead, the meditation possible from engaging with the text can be more broadly understood as the vehicle by which the lay reader-audience was able to absorb the terrors of Judgment Day and hell should they not do as the narrator urges. As the following section on the Wulfstanian trope will demonstrate, the poet of *Poema Morale* masterfully incorporates a popular motif from Old English eschatological homilies in order to impress upon his readers the weight of their decision to repent and atone, or not, before Judgment Day. Consequently, the poet contributes to an ongoing native tradition of producing religious vernacular works of verse by taking inspiration from poetic lines in Old English literature.

4.5 An Old English Homiletic Trope: Breaking the Bonds of Kinship

Over the years, scholars have claimed that *Poema Morale* is "a fine example of the *homiletic* tradition of the twelfth tradition"[315] that is "at home in an Anglo-Saxon *homiletic* collection,"[316] likely due to the "Old English cast" of its "manner and spirit."[317] However, few seem interested in investigating its connections to the Old English homiletic tradition further, despite its being "one of the most interesting works" of the Early Middle English period.[318] The poet of *Poema Morale*, however, marked a clear vernacular English influence in material and theme by reusing a trope that was common in Wulfstan's eleventh-century sermons and a few

[315] Charles W. Dunn and Edward T. Byrnes, eds., *Middle English Literature* (New York: Routledge, 1990; edited and revised from the 1973 edition), 46, my emphasis.
[316] Derek Pearsall, *Routledge History*, 90, my emphasis.
[317] Hall, *Selections*, 329.
[318] George Sampson, ed., *The Cambridge Book of Prose and Verse in Illustration of English Literature from the Beginnings to the Cycles of Romance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1924), 174.

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anonymous Old English homilies: breaking the bonds of kinship as a sign of Judgment Day.

In *Poema Morale*, the narrator uses the trope to emphasize the singularity of Christ's self-sacrifice and his descent into hell to free the righteous souls, and the passion and harrowing of hell have traditionally been closely related to the Christ's second coming. As the narrator explains, "Him solf he þolede deð for him; wel dore he hom bohte" ("He suffered death himself for them; he bought them very dearly," 182). The poem underlines not simply Christ's willingness to suffer death for humanity's sins, but also the fact that no one else would have done as he did. The couplet that immediately follows the narrator's reference to Christ's self-sacrifice displays humanity's unwillingness to commit such an act to redeem the souls of others, even for close relatives: "Nalde hit mei do for mei, ne sust*er* for broðer, / nalde hit sune do for fader, ne na mon for oðer" (183-184).[319] Due to Wulfstan's use of the words "gesib" and "gesibban" ("kinsman"), it seems likely that he combined the reference of *cognatis* ("kinsmen") in Luke 21 with the line from Mark 13 in order to maintain the word-play of Mark's *frater fratrem* and the interior rhyme of *fratrem* and *mortem* as seen in Wulfstan's *gesibban* and *fremdan*. Some of the word order in Wulfstan's line changes when it appears in *Poema Morale* because of the influence of the anonymous Old English homilies, but the use of "mei" ("kinsman") remains.

The apocalyptic implication of lines 183-184 in *Poema Morale* carries with it another variation when the other manuscript witnesses of the poem are brought into consideration. While I have been using one of the earliest manuscripts as my source for the line thus far with Lambeth, only one other manuscript of the remaining five contain the masculine form for words referring to kin twice, the Jesus manuscript. The line in Jesus reads: "Nolde hit no mon do for me. ne

[319] "Kinsman would not do it for kinsman, nor sister for brother; neither would a son do it for a father, nor any man for another."

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suster for broþer. / Nolde hit sone do for vader. ne no mon for oþer" (185-186). Both "mon" and "me" may refer to male relatives, especially since an emphasis on the maleness of "me," which is a variant form of "man," is attested in English texts from 1225 to 1500.[320] Of the seven extant versions of *Poema Morale*, five of the texts use a variant of "moue," a female relative, prior to "mei," a male relative, rendering the first half line some version of the following taken from Trinity: "Nolde hit mo3e don for mai." Thus, the general flow of the line has taken on a socially hierarchical structure, placing the subordinate before a following word of kinship: "moue" before "mei"; "suster" before "broþer"; "sune" before "fader"; and the implication of the final half-line is that the "mon" is subordinate to "oðer [mon]." A notable difference, however, is that the Wulfstanian line is devoid of feminine pronouns or nouns while the Early Middle English line eventually introduces the generic kinswoman in the first half-line and always includes a reference to the sister in the mix of tumultuous familial relations.

Along with the variation of "mei" and "moue" in the versions of *Poema Morale*, the specific localizations of the manuscripts that contain these variants are of particular interest because they seem to support my reading of the poem as originating in the West rather than the East. As mentioned above, only two manuscripts contain the masculine variation of the first half-line: Lambeth and Jesus. Both manuscripts have been localized to the West Midlands, as Figure 2 below demonstrates.

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[320] I base all my analysis of Middle English words on the *Middle English Dictionary*.

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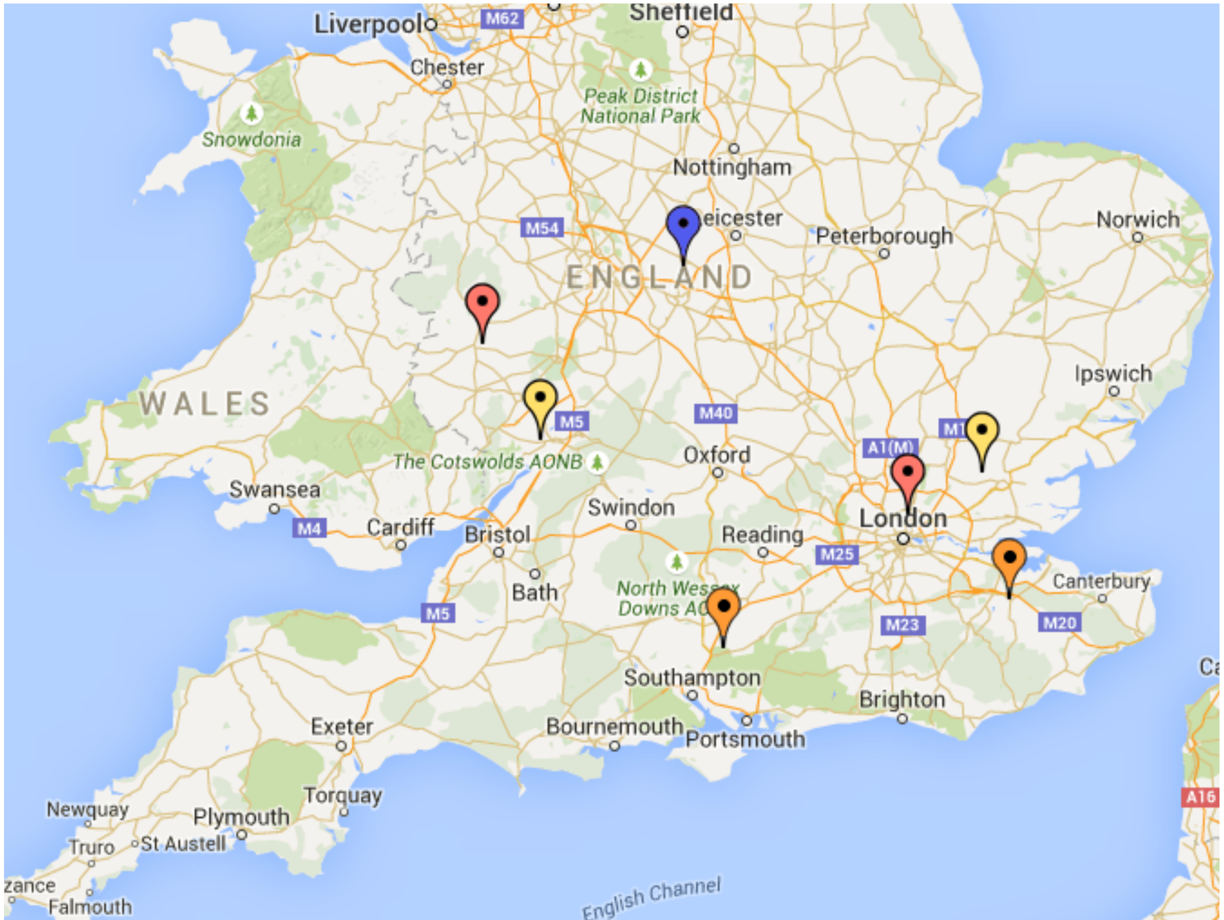

Fig. 2 Map of the *Poema Morale* manuscripts by ZeeMaps.com

The red markers indicate the contemporaneous Lambeth in the West Midlands (northwest Worcestershire[321]) and Trinity in Essex (likely London); the orange markers indicate the roughly contemporaneous Egerton (Hampshire) and Digby (Kent); the yellow markers indicate the roughly contemporaneous Jesus (Herefordshire/Gloucestershire) and McClean (Essex); and the blue marker indicates the place where McClean (Nuneaton in Warwickshire) ended up after its compilation in Essex. The point this image helps me make visually is the necessary

[321] Bella Millett cites a personal communication with Margaret Laing regarding the localization of the language of Lambeth, and Laing ultimately concludes northwest Worcestershire tentatively but possibly "anywhere in the north Herefordshire, northWorcestershire, south Shropshire intersection" in "Pastoral Context," 45, n. 8.

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communication between the West and the East for *Poema Morale* to have been written at roughly the same times in each of its manifestations. For this kind of literary exchange to occur in time for the copying of the poem in Lambeth and Trinity in the late twelfth century, the poem would have to have been originally written around 1175, if not earlier.[322] Moreover, the fact that both Lambeth and Jesus come from the West Midlands and contain the earlier masculine, or gender neutral, words of "kinsman" may indicate a western origin for *Poema Morale* rather than eastern, as has been the consensus, and the manuscript evidence of possible Old English influences support this theory.

Scholars have already established the rare reuse and adaptation of Wulfstan's homiletic work in the post-Conquest period, but no one has explored his possible influence on the composition of verse in the period.[323] The trope as found in *Poema Morale* has resonances with several of Wulfstan's sermons, most of which are either entirely eschatological or contain eschatological elements: the *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*, *Secundum Lucam*, *Secundum Marcum*, and *Be Hæðendome*. His *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos* is his most famous sermon with most versions commenting on the Danish incursions, but he stresses that the English have brought this upon themselves for their immorality. Dorothy Bethurum used the copies of the *Sermo Lupi* in

[322] Mary Swan has persuasively argued for literary exchange between the West Midlands and the Southeast in relation to Old English manuscript production in "Mobile Libraries: Old English Manuscript Production in Worcester and the West Midlands, 1090-1215," in *Essays in Manuscript Geography: Vernacular Manuscripts of the English West Midlands from the Conquest to the Sixteenth Century*, ed. by Wendy Scase (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 29-42.
[323] See, for example, Swan and Treharne, *Rewriting Old English*, especially Susan Irvine, "The compilation and use of manuscripts containing Old English in the twelfth century" (41-61); Mary Swan, "Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies* in the twelfth century" (62-82); Jonathan Wilcox, "Wulfstan and the twelfth century" (83-97); and Loredana Teresi, "Mnemonic transmission of Old English texts in the post-Conquest period" (98-116). More work has been done on the reuse of Ælfric's prose, which is likely because only one manuscript in the twelfth century contains Wulfstan's vernacular homilies (MS Bodley 343; see Wilcox, 83). I will discuss this further below.

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Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 419 and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 343 for her edition, from which the quotation that parallels that in *Poema Morale* comes: *Ne bearh nu foroft gesib gesibban þe ma þe fremdan, ne fæder his suna, ne hwilum bearn his agenum fæder, ne broðer oðrum* (56-8).[324] Wulfstan used this trope of breaking the bonds of kinship as a sign for the inevitable apocalypse, which resembles its origin in the Gospels.

According to Joyce Tally Lionarons, twenty-one extant manuscripts contain texts by Wulfstan, and of these, six manuscripts contain eight copies of the *Sermo Lupi*—three full variants are represented in five manuscripts and two condensed variants are in three manuscripts, two of which are among the five that also include a full variant. *Secundum Marcum* (the only other sermon that focuses on the breakdown of society at the coming of Antichrist to the same extent as the *Sermo Lupi*) and *Secundum Lucam* survive in three manuscripts each, two of which are common to both; *Be Hæðendome* is the only text to survive in just one manuscript.[325] Therefore, the line cited above that makes its altered way into *Poema Morale* survives in at least fourteen texts within eight manuscripts. These manuscripts include: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MSS 421 (A), 419 (B), and 201 (C); Oxford, Bodleian Library, MSS Hatton 113 (E) and Bodley 343 (H); London, British Library, MSS Cotton Nero A.i (I) and Cotton Cleopatra B.xiii (N); and York, Minster Library, MS Additional 1 (Y). According to Lionarons, the *Sermo Lupi* variants are extant in A, B, C, E, H, I, N, and Y; *Secundum Lucam* is extant in A, C, and E; *Secundum Marcum* survives in C, E, and H; and *Be Hæðendome* survives in Y.

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[324] Dorothy Bethurum, ed., "Larspell," in *The Homilies of Wulfstan* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957): 257. "And now very often a kinsman has not saved a kinsman more than a stranger, neither father his son, nor at times a child his own father or a brother the other."
[325] Joyce Tally Lionarons, *The Homiletic Writings of Archbishop Wulfstan* (Rochester: D. S. Brewer, 2010), 12-22.

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Most notable is the localization of most of the manuscripts to Worcester or York, which is reasonable since Wulfstan became Bishop of Worcester and Archbishop of York in 1002.[326] Of the manuscripts listed above, only three manuscripts do not come from the West Midlands or York; instead, they seem to be associated with Exeter (A, B, N), as shown in Figure 3 below.[327]

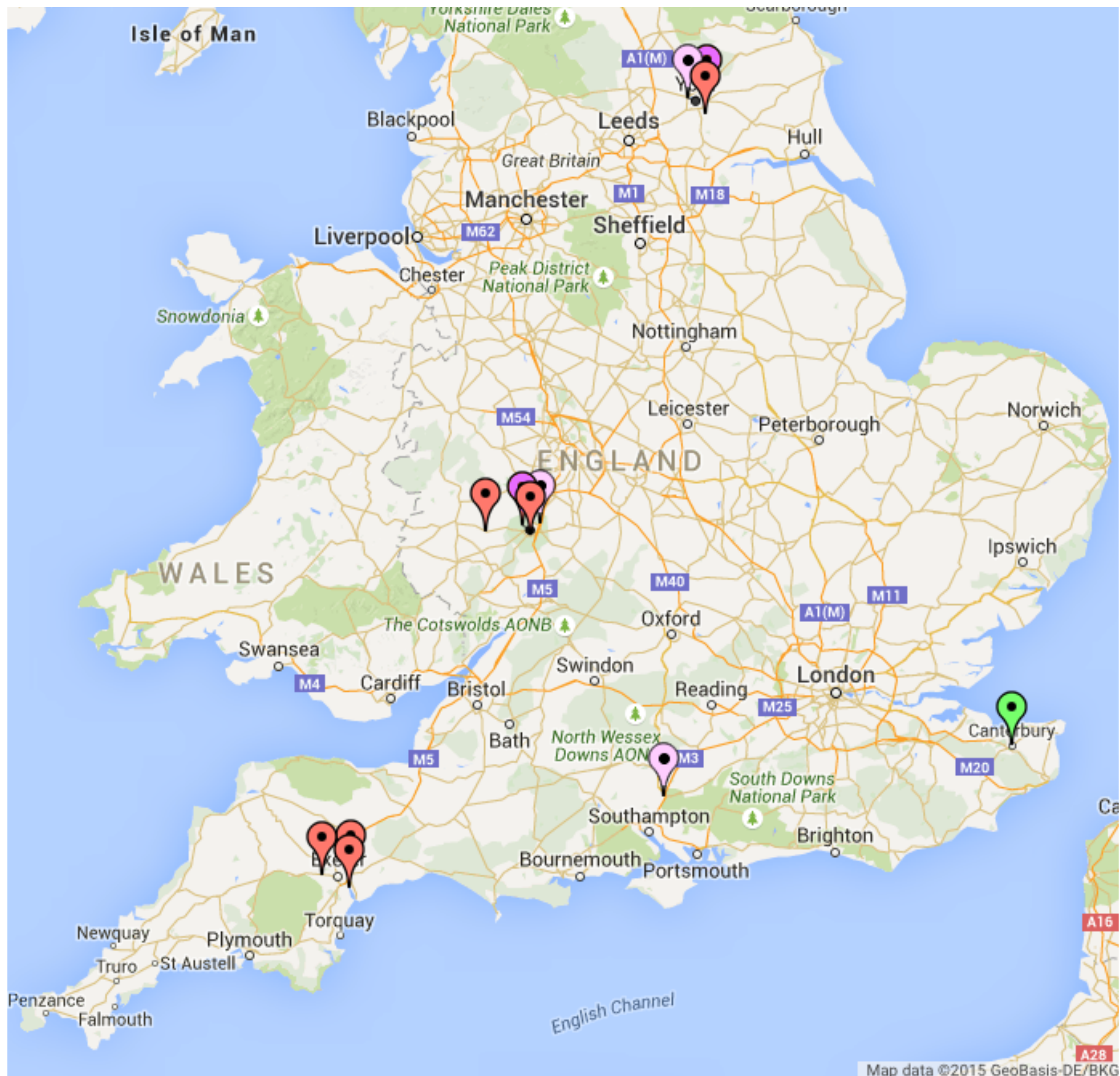

Fig. 3 Map of Wulfstan MSS containing the kinship trope using ZeeMaps.com

[326] Milton McC. Gatch, *Preaching and Theology in Anglo-Saxon England: Ælfric and Wulfstan* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977), 18. He resigned from Worcester in 1016.
[327] Lionarons, *Homiletic Writings*, 14-5, 20.

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The red markers indicate manuscripts that have been securely located to these areas of England (A, B, E, H, N, Y); the two fuschia markers indicate two possible locations for one manuscript (I); the light purple markers indicate three possible locations for another manuscript (C); and the green marker indicates a possible origin for a manuscript that ended up in Exeter in the eleventh century (B). Furthermore, the remaining thirteen manuscripts that contain Wulfstanian material range in date from the early eleventh century to the late twelfth century and most are from Worcester.[328] However, three manuscripts are inconclusive; three are southeastern (two from Canterbury); and one is from Normandy (comes to England by c.1100), as Figure 4 shows.[329] The addition of the remaining Wulfstanian manuscripts in Figure 4 are represented by the blue, teal (one manuscript with two possible places of origin), and sunflower (unknown origin but likely from the West Midlands) markers. Not pictured is the single manuscript that originates outside of England but makes its way onto the island by around 1100.

[328] Ibid., 12-22.
[329] Ibid., 16-22.

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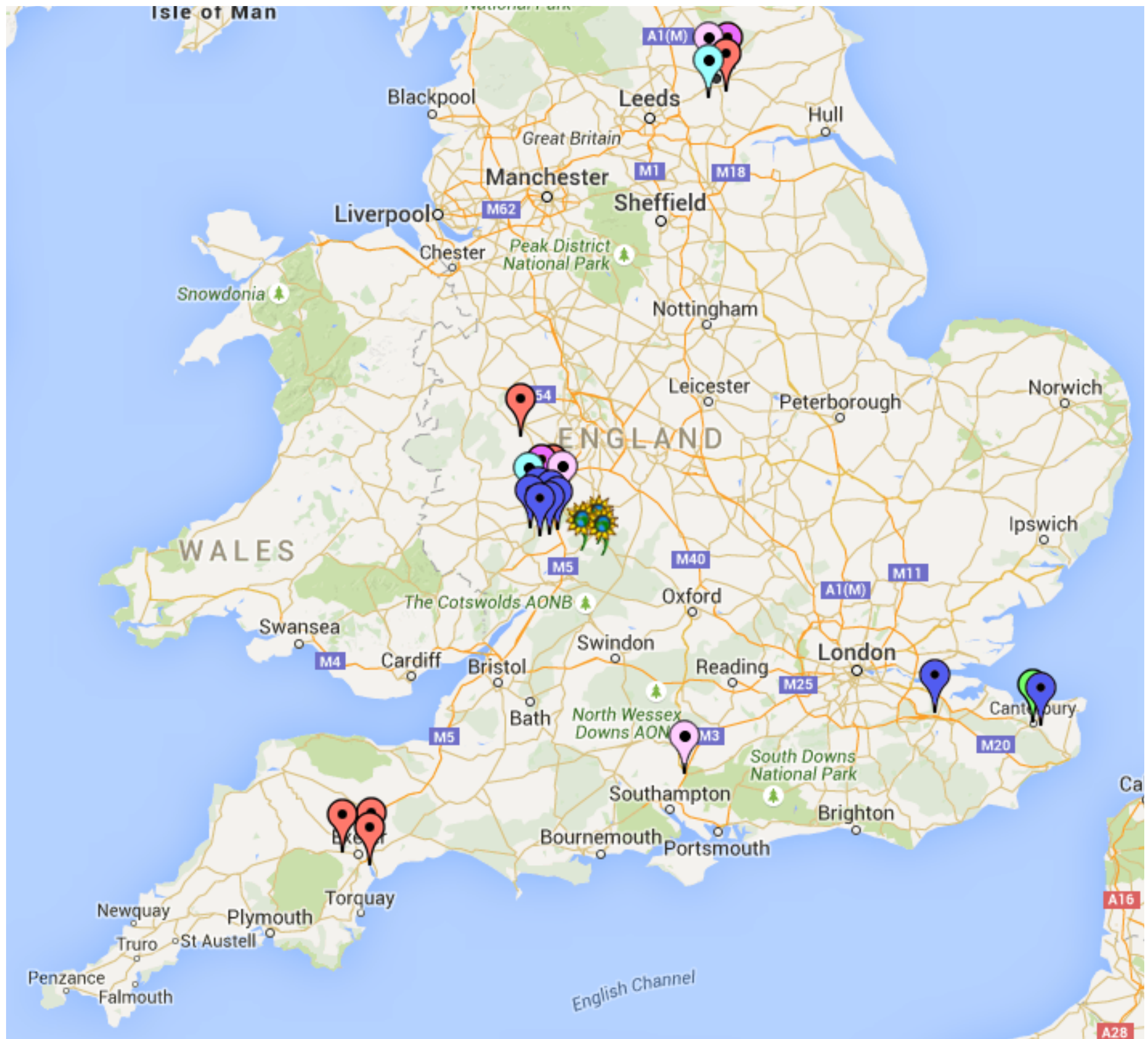

Fig. 4 Map of all extant Wulfstan manuscripts from ZeeMaps.com

The Wulfstanian trope of breaking the bonds of kinship as found in the four sermons noted above seem to have originated in Worcester although this is hardly surprising since Wulfstan was Bishop of Worcester and Worcester was an important center for the production of English vernacular manuscripts after the Norman Conquest. The fact that the trope as found in Wulfstan's material alone adds to the evidence that *Poema Morale* may not have originated in the Southeast.

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Ultimately, the line in Wulfstan derives from the synoptic Gospels—Mark, Luke, and Matthew—and the ordering of the composition of these books may be significant for the interpretation of the medieval English use of the line in vernacular homilies and sermons. Mark 13:12 reads: *Tradet autem frater fratrem in mortem, et pater filium: et consurgent filii in parentes, et morte afficient eos*.[330] Similarly, Luke 21:16, presents Christ presenting not only the signs of Judgment Day but also of the destruction of the temple, which may represent the first sign of the coming apocalypse: *Trademini autem a parentibus, et fratribus, et cognatis, et amicis, et morte afficient ex vobis*.[331] Therefore, the line that influenced Wulfstan's trope can be read as always already being related to the signs of Judgment Day. Unlike Mark and Luke, however, Matthew 10:22 presents Christ explaining that, as his apostles enter towns to preach in his name, they will be met with much resistance: *Et eritis odio omnibus propter nomen meum: qui autem perseveraverit usque in finem, hic salvus erit*.[332] Immediately before this line, Matthew 10:21 offers a similar line as those cited above and the one found in Wulfstan: *Tradet autem frater fratrem in mortem, et pater filium: et insurgent filii in parentes, et morte eos afficient.*[333] The biblical reference, then, draws attention to the inevitable division between families in the face of the converted followers of Christ. When we look at Matthew 24:9, however, we find the same context as Mark 13 and Luke 21—that is, listing the signs that foretell the destruction of the temple and the apocalypse, but the line has become more vague: an unspecified "they" will

[330] "And the brother will betray his brother unto death, and father son; and children will rise up against parents, and will work death."
[331] "And you will be betrayed by your parents, and brother, and kinsmen, and friends, some of you they will present with death."
[332] "And you will be hated by all on account of my name: but he who will persevere until the end, he shall be saved."
[333] "Moreover, the brother will give up brother to death, and the father the son: and the children will rise up against their parents, and will present them with death."

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deliver *vos in tribulationem* ("you all into tribulation"), *occident vos* ("will kill you all"), and, finally, *eritis odio* ("you will be hated") by all because of Christ.

According to *An Index of Theme and Image to the Homilies in the Anglo-Saxon Church*, no other Old English homilies use this trope although Patrizia Lendinara has shown otherwise.[334] In a 2002 essay, Lendinara identifies this trope as "no aid from kin" and interprets it as emphasizing that each person will stand alone before God on Judgment Day.[335] However, she appears to be conflating two different biblical passages in her interpretation. The passage that Lendinara uses refers to a person being judged solely by his deeds, such as Psalm 61:13, which reads: *Et tibi, Domine, misericordia: quia tu reddes unicuique juxta opera sua*.[336] The phrase in Old English with which Lendinara's essay is concerned is much longer, becoming the following, taken from the tenth-century Vercelli Homily IV: *Þær þon*ne *ne mæg se fæder helpan þa*m *suna, ne [se] sunu þa*m *fæder, ne nan mæg oðru*m*. Ac anra gehwylcu*m *men sceal beon demed æfter his agenu*m *gewyrhtu*m.[337] While it may be true that the second half of the phrase (*Ac…gewyrhtu*m) comes from the Psalms and other sections of the Judeo-Christian Bible, the

[334] Robert DiNapoli, *An Index of Theme and Image to the Homilies in the Anglo-Saxon Church* (Ely: Anglo-Saxon Books, 1997). Under "PARENTHOOD," see "collapse of family loyalties during the last days," 60. The *Index* draws its evidence from the homilies of Ælfric and Wulfstan and the anonymous collections of the Blickling Homilies and Vercelli Homilies although use of the trope in Vercelli Homily IV seems to have been overlooked since Patrizia Lendinara reveals its use in "'frater non redimit, redimet homo…': A Homiletic Motif and its Variants in Old English," in *Early Medieval English Texts and Translations: Studies Presented to Donald G. Scragg,* ed. Elaine Treharne and Susan Rosser (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2002), 67-80.
[335] Lendinara, "Homiletic Motif," 67.
[336] "And to you, O Lord, mercy: because you will give back to each person according to his works."
[337] Donald Scragg, ed., "Homily IV," in *The Vercelli Homilies and Related Texts*, Early English Text Society o.s. 300 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 90-107, 93. "There then the father cannot help the son, nor the son the father, nor none can another. But for every single person [he] shall be judged according to his own works."

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first half (*Þær…oðru*m) derives only from the synoptic Gospels as I demonstrated above in relation to Wulfstan's use of the trope. In fact, as Lendinara points out, the likely Latin source for this whole phrase comes from a metrical homily (*De paenitentia*) attributed to Ephrem the Syrian, which reads: *Non liberabit frater proprium fratrem nec iterum pater filium suum sed unusquisque stabit in ordine suo tam in vita quam in incendio*.[338]

It would appear, then, that Ephrem drew from multiple sources in the Bible two very popular lines to create a stirring passage not just about one's judgment, but about one's very damnation (*in incendio*). According to Thomas H. Bestul, six of Ephrem's Greek metrical homilies were translated into Latin and then transmitted to Western Europe at an unknown date but likely in the late fourth or fifth centuries.[339] Because Ephrem's homilies were "concerned with penance, the last judgment, and addressed to 'fratres in eremo'," it seems likely that his work would have been received well by the Anglo-Saxon church, which had a "strongly monastic character and organization […] from its foundation."[340] While only one pre-Conquest English manuscript that contains Latin translations of texts attributed to Ephrem survives today (London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 204 from the early eleventh century), Patrick Sims-Williams makes a persuasive argument that extracts of "Ephremic" texts are present in early Old English manuscripts, like a prayer in the Book of Cerne (early ninth century prayerbook).[341]

Thus, it would not be difficult to imagine the sort of influence the Ephremic phrase cited

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[338] "Brother will not free his own brother nor again the father his own son but each one will stand in his own order as in life so in fire [i.e., hell]."
[339] Thomas H. Bestul, "Ephraim the Syrian and Old English Poetry," *Anglia* 99 (1981), 5.
[340] Ibid., 6.
[341] Patrick Sims-Williams, "Thoughts on Ephrem the Syrian in Anglo-Saxon England," in *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies Presented to Peter Clemoes on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. Michael Lapidge and Helmut Gneuss (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985): 205-26.

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above would have had on anonymous homilists before Wulfstan's eleventh century texts, as well as possibly the poet of *Poema Morale*. In fact, Vercelli Homily IV is only one such example that this phrase was significant to the Anglo-Saxons' contemplation of the apocalypse; there are at least three other manuscripts that contain anonymous homilies that make use of the Ephremic phrase: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MSS 41, 201 (known as the "Marcarius" homily[342]), and 367. Furthermore, CCCC 201 also contains the *Sermo Lupi*, *Secundum Lucam*, and *Secundum Marcum* and comes from any one of three places, as mentioned above: Winchester, Worcester, or York. CCCC 41 and 367 have unknown origins but the former may come from Exeter, and the latter seems to have been compiled in Worcester. Of these four manuscripts of anonymous Old English homilies, only the Vercelli Book derives from southeast England—possibly Rochester or Canterbury—but it was likely already in Vercelli in the early eleventh century.

If we compare the Wulfstanian, Ephremic (via Vercelli Homily IV), and *Poema Morale* phrases side-by-side, then, it becomes clear that the poet likely drew influence from both traditions of vernacular eschatological homiletics: Wulfstan and the anonymous Old English homilists. The overlapping similarities have been put in bold:

PM:	Nalde hit **mei do for mei**, ne sust*er* for broðer, nalde hit **sune do for fader**, **ne na mon for oðer**" (183-4).
Wulfstan:	Ne **bearh nu foroft gesib gesibban** þe ma þe fremdan, ne fæder his suna, ne hwilum **bearn his agenum fæder**, ne broðer **oðrum**. (56-8)[343]
Vercelli:	Þær þon*ne* ne mæg se fæder helpan þa*m* suna, ne [se] **sunu þa*m* fæder**, **ne nan**

[342] Charles D. Wright, "The Old English 'Macarius' Homily, Vercelli Homily IV, and Ephrem Latinus, *De paenitentia*," in *Via Crucis: Essays on Early Medieval Sources and Ideas in Memory of JE Cross*, ed. Thomas Hall (Morgantown: West Virginia University Press, 2001), 210-34.
[343] Bethurum, "Larspell, 257.

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mæg oðru*m*.[344]

Thus, I would argue that, because the suriving manuscripts indicate that both influences on the poet—Wulfstanian and Ephremic—originated almost exclusively in the West Midlands, or traveled there shortly after composition, *Poema Morale* originated in the West Midlands, likely within the Worcester area, and traveled East shortly after its composition where it was copied mostly in Essex.

4.6 Conclusions

As my discussion of the extant manuscripts containing Wulfstanian material above demonstrates, Worcester had already been established as an important cultural center for vernacular textual production in the Anglo-Saxon period. The Norman Conquest had a "real and devastating effect on the English church," but Wulfstan II, who was also a saint, was one of the "most prominent survivors," like Leofric of Exeter, of the post-Conquest Norman program of replacing senior Anglo-Saxon prelates.[345] In fact, Wulfstan II was "responsible for maintaining the energetic work of the Anglo-Saxon church in caring for the souls of the majority of the population" to such an extent that it should not come as a surprise to find echoes of his eschatological sermons in a twelfth-century poem.[346] Further, Swan reminds us in her essay on Worcester as a central place for the production of vernacular English manuscripts that "Worcester's tenth-century self-promotional manoeuvres gave it strong and interesting links with

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[344] Scragg, "Homily IV," 93.
[345] Treharne, *Living Through Conquest*, 106.
[346] Ibid.

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other places in the West Midlands and beyond."[347] These links were made "by setting up various monastic networks at whose centre [Worcester] positioned itself," and such connections included Evensham, Chertsey, Bath, Pershore, Winchcombe, and Gloucester, Ramsey, and Hereford.[348] While these connections also point to the circulation of texts within this larger West Midlands area, they overshadow another form of connection: that between Worcester and the Southeast.

Swan demonstrates, for example, that London, British Library, MS Cotton Fautina A.x and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Hatton 115—two manuscripts previously linked only with Worcester—may provide us with "evidence for manuscripts being brought from the south-east, probably Rochester, to Worcester in the twelfth century, and reorganized there."[349] When considering the Lambeth manuscript, however, Swan points out that "the rhetoric of almost all the items in Lambeth 487 is that of preaching, but this need not preclude its use for private reading," which leads her to then conclude that no matter its purpose—private reading or pastoral care—the manuscript contents required "to be drawn from texts available in major West Midlands cathedral or monastery libraries."[350] There is no reason, then, to exclude *Poema Morale* from this scenario of her "mobile libraries" for Lambeth, nor to exclude the possibility of West-to-Southeast movement of books along with the Southeast-to-West movement that Swan reports.

This is particularly clear when we consider that the only reason given for a southeastern composition of *Poema Morale* is based on its use of the words "sture" and "auene" as possible references to rivers by those names near Essex. The words appear in line 252 of Trinity: "[N]e

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[347] Swan, "Mobile Libraries," 30.
[348] Ibid., 31.
[349] Ibid., 39.
[350] Ibid., 42.

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mai hit quenche salt water ne auene stream ne sture" ("Nor can one quench it [hellfire] with salt water or harbor/bay, stream or river"). While Hall writes simply in 1920, "The author lived in Hampshire somewhere near the junction of the Stour with the Avon,"[351] in a 1934 essay, R. M. Livesey Haworth suggests Essex because of the lack of evidence for the poem indicating such a junction of two rivers.[352] Instead, Haworth considers the reference to "stoure" and "avon" separately such that he "find[s] that Stour is a common river name in the South and Midlands" while "Avon is a common river name in the South and West."[353] Even though he admits that aside from these "indirect reference[s], we have no direct information as to the author's name, place or time," Haworth concludes,

> If the poet used these names, they may refer to that river [the Stour in Essex], and the well-known river name of the West; that is to say, [the poet] would infer, neither the waters of the river in the East, nor in the West of the country, could put out the fire of Hell. However, I do not think that too much stress should be laid on this particular reference.[354]

Nevertheless, he *does* suggest Essex as its origin, as does Hill, who also admits this is weak evidence, noting the probability that "the names 'Avon' and 'Stour' would have been applicable to several rivers in different localities."[355]

The evidence, therefore, for a western origin of *Poema Morale*, as well as Lambeth being or, at the very least, representing the earliest version of the poem, is overwhelmingly strong. The manuscripts of the shared trope that drew influence from both Wulfstan and Ephrem by way of the anonymous Old English homilies, as well as the two *Poema Morale* manuscripts that both

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[351] Hall, *Selections*, vol. 2, 329.
[352] R. A. Livesey Haworth, "Some Notes on the Dialect and Manuscripts of the Poema Morale," *Studies in English Literature* 14 (1934): 3.
[353] Ibid., 3-4.
[354] Ibid., 4.
[355] Betty Hill, "Twelfth-Century 'Conduct of Life'," 112.

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use masculine or gender neutral terms for “kinsman,” originate in the West Midlands. Consequently, we must at least entertain the idea that *Poema Morale* is not, in fact, a Southeastern poem, as previously thought, but rather, a product of the West Midlands that traveled to the Southeast at some point after its initial composition in the twelfth century. The evidence for this possibility seems to rest with not only the distribution of the extant manuscripts but also with some of the content of the poem although such a microscopic study as I have done here is not definitive. More work on specific Old English influences, whether they are homiletic or otherwise, on the poem will likely further demonstrate the extent to which *Poema Morale* embodies the very concept of the rhizome. It was mobile and changing, and the following chapter further develops the argument begun in this chapter that it was received as a devotional poem by looking at the extant manuscript contexts.

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CHAPTER 5

Feeling Popular: The Six Manuscripts of *Poema Morale*

5.1 Introduction

In 1934, Hans Marcus published a composite edition of *Poema Morale* that uses three manuscript witnesses but also provides extensive notes on each word that is orthographically different from his base text and two supplemental texts.[356] As I discussed in the previous chapter, this traditional approach overlooks the elements of each manuscript version that are specific to its cultural milieu.[357] To reiterate: if we wish to understand the particularities of *Poema Morale*, we should not read the poem as a composite whole, cobbled together from various manuscript witnesses. Rather, we should consider each a "particular reading" that "cannot exist without the medium which transmits it."[358] When we remove a text from its immediate manuscript context, we lose a certain amount of information about the circumstances under which that manifestation of a poem was written. Crucially, the other texts with which a piece of literature circulated often reveal a more nuanced grasp of the function and reception of such an object. Unlike earlier scholarship that tended to search for the elusive *Ur*-text, this approach to literary and manuscript studies focuses not on the intention of the author(s), but, rather, on the compilers and intended reader-audiences of such textual artifacts. A new critical edition of *Poema Morale,* then, would strive to place a given version of the poem within its specific "place and time," and while this

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[356] For more on Marcus's composite edition, see Chapter 4.3.

[357] See, for example, the discussion below of an added couplet in Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS McClean 123, which may be explained by the overall nature of the McClean manuscript though a reader of Marcus's edition would neither realize their existence nor have access to their manuscript context, which limits the knowledge we can gain.

[358] Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe, "Editing and the Material Text," in *The Editing of Old English: Papers from the 1990 Manchester Conference*, eds. D. G. Scragg and Paul E. Szarmach (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1994), 151.

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chapter does not present a critical edition, it does locate the surviving versions of the poem within their own historical and manuscript contexts.[359] In the following sections, I expand my argument concerning the shift from homiletic to devotional milieu of *Poema Morale* to its manuscripts in detail. Whereas in the previous chapter introduced the poem and examined its connection to a specific group of Old English homilies, in this chapter I will demonstrate the increasingly personal and devotional nature of the manuscript contexts, which will ultimately support my reading of *Poema Morale* as a devotional poem influenced by the Old English homiletic tradition, not a verse-sermon *per se*. I will also expand on the comment I made earlier about considering each manifestation as a poem in its own right, especially Lambeth, and I will demonstrate this with an Old English poetic analogue.

The poem survives in seven versions in six manuscripts, which range from the end of the twelfth century to the first quarter of the fourteenth century, and three other manuscripts contain fragments.[360] The reader-audience of *Poema Morale* seems to have changed during its 150 years of continued transmission, suggesting the poem's immense popularity in the High Middle Ages.[361] The versions and fragments of the poem are extant in the manuscripts listed in Table 1 below, which I have arranged based on the chronology generally accepted in medieval studies.

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[359] I have, however, included an interlinear edition of each version of the poem, which is based on my own diplomatic transcriptions, in Appendix B.
[360] Margaret Laing, *Catalogue of Sources for a Linguistic Atlas of Early Medieval English* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1993), 27.
[361] The popularity of *Poema Morale* is similar to that of *Ancrene Wisse*, which often circulated with the texts of the "Katherine Group." These texts include three saints' lives (*Seinte Katerine*, *Seinte Margarete*, and *Seinte Iuliene*), a sermon on the value of virginity (*Hali Meiðhad*), and an allegorical sermon based on a few chapters from Hugh of St. Victor's *De Anima* (*Sawles Warde*). While *Poema Morale* has seven extant versions, *Ancrene Wisse* has nine extant English versions, four French translations, and four Latin translations. The key difference between these two works' transmission histories is the lack of translating *Poema Morale* from English into Latin or French, which places it securely in the English literary tradition.

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Variant Date[362]	Shelfmark
ca.1190	Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B. 14. 52
ca.1200	London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 487
ca.1225*	London, British Library, MS Egerton 613, e text (ff. 64r-70v)
ca.1250*	London, British Library, MS Egerton 613, E text (ff. 7r-12v)
ca.1200-1250	Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 4
ca.1275-1300	Oxford, Jesus College, MS 29, Part II
ca.1275-1325	Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS McClean 123

Fragment Date[363]	Shelfmark
12th- or 13th-c. marginal hand	London, British Library, Royal 7 C iv (11th c.)
ca.1200-1250	Maidstone, Kent, Maidstone Museum A.13
ca.1300-1325	Durham University Library, Cosin V.III.2

Table 1 *Poema Morale* Manuscripts and Dates

The most common difference among the versions is dialectal and orthographic variation and the condensation, omission, or reordering of lines. In the case of McClean, however, the scribe added a whole couplet with a reference to Jesus and Saint Mary, indicating that it had a specific kind of devotional reader-audience. The couplet reads:

> "Iesu crist seinte marie sone us alle helpe *and* rede

[362] I took most of the dates from Laing, *Catalogue of Sources*, as well as *The Production and Use of English Manuscripts 1060 to 1220* database. The dates marked with an asterisk come from Hill, "Twelfth-Century 'Conduct,'" 97-8.

[363] All dates come from Laing, *Catalogue of Sources*.

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and eueremore yscilde us uram euele yuerrede." (97-8)[364]

Additionally, the McClean scribe writes "iesu crist" three more times (ll. 116, 206, and 230) and "iesus" once (l. 172), which demonstrates an emphasis on the humanity of Christ reminiscent of women's devotional writing in this period, as seen in the texts of the "Wooing Group."[365] The manuscripts in which *Poema Morale* is extant vary in size, ranging from the smallest dimensions of Digby (130 mm x 97 mm) to the largest dimensions of McClean (262 mm x 173 mm). The portability of the *Poema Morale* manuscripts, however, is never in question, even though the sizes vary.

5.2 Lambeth and Trinity: A Complex Relationship

Lambeth and Trinity are the only two manuscripts that offer a tenuous connection to the use of *Poema Morale* as a preached sermon. Lambeth seems to have changed ownership approximately fifty years after the contents in the manuscript were compiled by a male religious. Subsequently, an early thirteenth-century hand added an incomplete prayer from the "Wooing Group" known as *An Ureisun of Oure Louerde*, the target reader-audience of which was women, to the last blank folios of the late twelfth-century manuscript. In Trinity, the poem was added as a separate booklet that was then bound to the beginning of the contemporaneous homilies and

[364] "Jesus Christ, Saint Mary's son, help and guide us all and forevermore shield us from evil companionship."

[365] The Wooing Group includes the title piece *Þe Wohunge of ure Laured*, *On Lofsong of ure Loured*, *On wel swiþe God Ureisun of God Almihti*, *On Lofsong of ure Lefdi*, and two fragmentary versions of the last two pieces, *On Ureisun of ure Lourede* and *Þe Oriesun of Seinte Marie*. These texts are typically characterized as lyrical prose that portray Christ as a courtly lover with more worldly language. For example, *On Ureisun of Oure Louerde*, which follows *Poema Morale* in the Lambeth manuscript, constantly refers to Christ's humanity by using his human name, referring to his state as a "son" and a "mon," and reminding us that he was born of a "Maidene": "Ih*es*u, soð god, godes sone! ih*es*u soð goð, soð mon, mon Maidene bern!"

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sermons that make up the collection, effectively making the booklet the first quire in the manuscript. This fact suggests that *Poema Morale*, in its "easy circulation" as a booklet based, at least, on the evidence presented by the Trinity manuscript, "was intended for the much better educated lay audiences of substance and simple faith."[366] Scholars know very little about the history of Lambeth before it became a part of the bequest of Archbishop Richard Bancroft, Primate 1604-1610. When William Bancroft (Primate 1679-1681) examined the manuscript to be rebound, he listed the poem as a "Saxon poem or Rhythms," despite its being undifferentiated in its layout, in a table of contents he titled "Old Saxon Homilies." The cover is actually a light vellum wrapper, which predates Bancroft's handling of the manuscript, and with its relatively few contents and small size, the wrapper makes Lambeth an especially light book to transport.

The Lambeth manuscript, commonly referred to as the Lambeth Homilies, has been considered a "composite collection" of texts ever since Richard Morris first pointed out that items 9 and 10 (*De Die Pentecosten* and *De Octo Uiciis & de Duodecim Abusiuis Huius Seculi*) are reworkings of material from Ælfric, and Celia Sisam maintains that item 11 (*Dominica V. Quadragesimæ*) contains Ælfrician material as well.[367] The manuscript itself can be traced to the West Midlands and is written in late twelfth-century English vernacular minuscule. Items 1-17, which are mostly religious prose, both homilies and sermons, with item 6 (*Pater Noster*) being the only other piece of verse in the compilation, are written on folios 1 through 59v; item 18 (*Poema Morale*) is written on folios 59v-65r, leaving sixteen lines after the end of the poem

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[366] Hill, "Cambridge, Trinity College," 396.
[367] For a list of all the contents in Lambeth and the other five manuscripts, see Appendix A. For more on the composite nature of the manuscript, see Celia Sisam, "The Scribal Tradition of the *Lambeth Homilies*," *The Review of English Studies*, 2 (1951): 105. For Morris's discussion of the material from Ælfric, see his *Old English Homilies* (1867).

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blank, which I will discuss further below; and item 19 (*On Ureisun of Oure Louerde*) was added later on folios 65v-67r with folio 67v left blank. We know that this last item was added in the middle of the thirteenth century after the compilation changed ownership because it is written in a "smaller and later hand," as opposed to the late twelfth-century hand responsible for copying items 1-18.[368]

As I mentioned in Chapter 4, the hopeful ending of *Poema Morale* in the other five manuscripts would have been lost on the immediate Lambeth reader-audience, who, instead, would have walked away with "fordon *and* fordemet" ("destroyed and condemned," 267) resonating in their minds. Morris's comment about "a *portion* of an old English poem known as 'A Moral Ode'" following the Lambeth homilies led Celia Sisam to refer to this version as "unfinished," particularly since it ends abruptly at folio 65r. *On Ureisun of Oure Louerde*, a prayer beseeching Christ, on folio 65v was added some fifty years later, and Sisam asserts that the fragmentary prayer "was evidently inserted to fill the space at the end of the manuscript which the *Poema Morale* would have filled had it been completed."[369] Sixteen empty lines, however, follow the end of the poem on folio 65r with the "flourish" in the cross stroke of /t/ in the final word "fordemet."[370] Therefore, to find the hope for redemption, one must turn the parchment leaf to find the prayer on the verso side. While the added prayer does *not* "fill the space" adequately, its inclusion in the manuscript does serve as a substitute for an optimistic devotional ending. Further, it gestures towards the developing tradition of devotional poems that

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[368] Morris, *Old English Homilies* (1867), vii. Mary Swan believes that the manuscript ended up in the hands of a woman by the early thirteenth century based on the fact that the added prayer belongs to the "Wooing Group." I see no reason to question this conclusion. See Swan, "London, Lambeth Palace, 487," in *The Production and Use of English Manuscripts: 1060 to 1220*.
[369] Sisam, "Scribal Tradition," 105.
[370] Ibid., 110, n. 2.

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arise from the native homiletic tradition and come in pairs: despair and damnation balanced by hope and faith.

Later, Sisam builds on the flourishing end of the poem as she notes further in her essay that, although the scribe "stopped in the middle of *Poema Morale*, [...] he must have known there was more, as he left room for it."[371] In a footnote, Sisam muses over the reasons for the poem's incomplete state, as well as the seeming lack of use of the Lambeth manuscript. She writes:

> It is significant that the Lambeth MS. bears no marks of use: the scribe's errors are not corrected, and there is no sign of revision by any other hand. Although the scribe had provided vellum enough to finish the *Poema Morale*, he stopped with a flourish in the middle of it, as if his commission had been withdrawn. Perhaps a more modern collection had displaced the old one, or a younger preacher had come to the parish.[372]

Importantly, while Sisam believes that the Lambeth manuscript provides us with "a specimen of the sermons a parish priest gave to his congregation at the end of the twelfth century," Millett has convincingly argued that the Lambeth and Trinity homilies are "unlikely to be typical of the parish preaching of the time."[373] Even if their compilations were meant for parish priests, the homilies and sermons within them suggest other functions, such as instruction *for* parish priests on pastoral care.[374] As discussed above, I disagree with Sisam's critique of empty space, but I also take issue with her assertion that Lambeth was not used. Both interpretations of the paleographical and codicological evidence seem inextricably tied to a reading of the making and original intentions for the manuscript. I believe, rather, that we must critique the manuscript based on its likely reception because the manuscript itself was not entirely out of use.

Sisam's conclusion of a perceived lack of use of the Lambeth manuscript due to the

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[371] Ibid., 109.
[372] Ibid., 110, n. 2.
[373] Millett, "Pastoral Context," 53.
[374] Ibid.

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absence of revision and other "marks of use" urges me to point out, however self-evident it may seem, that the ownership of Lambeth had clearly changed by the early thirteenth century when *On Ureisun of Oure Louerde* was added. This exchange of hands and the addition of the prayer suggests not only use, but also *continued* use of the manuscript. It seems clear that *On Ureisun of Oure Louerede* in Lambeth is a part of the meditational "Wooing Group," which points to not simply a perceived but very tangible change in the use of the Lambeth compilation of texts. In fact, Millett explains, "[It] is possible that the Lambeth collection and the works of the *Ancrene Wisse* group were successive products of the same diocesan *milieu*," which would explain the addition of the prayer in the mid thirteenth century.[375] Thus, the thirteenth-century owner of the manuscript would likely have moved from the dismal conclusion of *Poema Morale* to the more hopeful *On Ureisun of Oure Louerede* that offers the chance of salvation by beseeching the love of Jesus as well as his interceding mother Mary.

Lambeth shares six of its nineteen texts with Trinity, which is commonly known as the Trinity Homilies. Apart from *Poema Morale*, the five Early Middle English sermons that Trinity and Lambeth share are "not recorded elsewhere" and, more importantly, these five homilies (Lambeth items 7, 13, 15, 16, and 17) "have no identified connection to pre-Conquest Old English sources."[376] Other than the Ælfrician material in Lambeth items 9-11, Millett concludes Lambeth item 2 (*Hic Dicendum est de Quadragesima*) has a section that adapts part of Wulfstan's *Be Godcundre Warnunge*.[377] Additionally, Swan adds Lambeth item 3 (*Dominica Prima in Quadragesima*) to Millett's list of texts influenced by or making use of the work of a pre-Conquest English source, and she points out that the "remaining items have no securely identified sources, although the subject-matter and tone of some suggest pre-Conquest

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[375] Ibid., 63.
[376] Ibid., 45.
[377] Ibid.

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influences."[378] Sisam believes that the scribe of Lambeth was likely a "faithful transcriber" who was "copying the work of at least two
different scribes."[379]

To this end, Sisam assigns Lambeth items 1-5 and 9-13 to Group A from exemplar "X"; Lambeth items 7, 8, 14-18 to Group B from exemplar "Y"; and even though Lambeth item 6 has "orthographical affinities" with both groups, she attributes it to B.[380] In creating these two categories, Sisam is able to then argue that the scribe of X was likely from the West Midlands while the scribe of Y may have come from a more Southeastern region, which she concludes makes sense due to the more traditional spelling and use of Anglo-Saxon material in some of the Group A's texts. Additionally, the only two rhyming texts, *Poema Morale* and *Pater Noster*, are in Group B, which lends itself to greater influence by Latin and French.[381] Millett suggests, however, that we reconsider the conclusions Sisam draws from this evidence for two reasons. First, the "more traditional orthography" of X may not necessarily point to an earlier date, but rather, "more thorough standardization of its spelling on older models."[382] One of the shared sermons between Lambeth and Trinity, Lambeth item 13, is also included in Group A, and none of the five shared sermons contains pre-Conquest material. In fact, Millett argues that these texts derive from modern sermon material from the twelfth century, and combined with the presence of a large amount of French words in Lambeth item 5, this would suggest a different

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378 Swan, "London, Lambeth Palace, 487."
379 Sisam, "The Scribal Tradition," 107.
380 Ibid.
381 *Poema Morale* and *Pater Noster* receive the same treatment in manuscript layout as most of Old English poetry. That is, even though they both make use of verse in rhyming couplets, the scribe wrote them both out across the single column in a prose format, which is a distinctly Old English tradition.
382 Millett, "Pastoral Context," 63.

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interpretation of the evidence.[383] Because there is crossover between Sisam's two groups, Millet's second reason for reconsidering Sisam's conclusions is that the evidence indicates that the scribes "were working in the same place, with access to the same material."[384]

That is, like my argument for a synthesis between old and new traditions in the previous chapters, Millett believes that this "combination of newer and more traditional preaching material was already taking place in a West Midlands context before Lambeth 487 was copied."[385] Most important for my argument that *Poema Morale* may be a product of the West Midlands is Millett's suggestion that the use of an extract from Wulfstan in Lambeth item 2 (a "much more 'modern' sermon") may indicate "a more active process of integration" instead of mere supplementation of older work.[386] To push this further, I argue that this would not only indicate a more complex relationship with pre-Conquest Old English material than simple reuse, but also that although manuscripts containing copies of Wulfstan's vernacular eschatological homilies do not extend beyond the first half of the twelfth century, this does not mean they fell into complete disuse.

Despite these complex textual relationships, the layout of the Lambeth manuscript is distinctly English. That is, one ruled column throughout, and even though there are two poems that make use of sustained rhyming couplets (*Pater Noster* and *Poema Morale*), they receive the same treatment in their manuscript layout. The scribe wrote them both out across the single column in a prose format, which may point to "the very strong continuing tradition of prose

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[383] Ibid., 62-3.
[384] Ibid., 63.
[385] Ibid.
[386] Ibid.

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writing in the West Mercian area from Old English to Middle English."[387] The accompanying rubrication, including its rubricated first four lines on folio 59v, strengthens the verse texts' association with the prose tradition; the *incipits*, Latin quotations, important initial letters, and other key words and phrases are written in red ink while the rest of the text is written in black ink. In contrast, the added item 19 is written entirely in black ink and contains no rubrication.

The rubrication practice seen in Lambeth "is a well-known distinguishing feature in Middle English writings as between Latin and a vernacular."[388] *Poema Morale*, however, does not contain any Latin words. Instead, the rubricated English text likely "functions as a distinguishing feature" that would have helped "a preacher compiling a discourse" on the topics indicated by the rubrics. This may suggest one of two possibilities. First, *Poema Morale* may have been written in Lambeth for the unlikely purpose of preaching to a lay audience, like the seventeen prose homilies in the manuscript, which would require visual cues for the preacher reading it aloud. Second, and the possibility to which I am partial, the scribe who wrote Lambeth items 1-18 may have been more accustomed to laying out texts that were supposed to be read aloud; hence, the rubrication he or she has added to the text of *Poema Morale* is a product of scribal habit rather than pastoral necessity.[389]

The Trinity manuscript (Trinity homilies) found its way to Trinity College through John Whitgift's (Archbishop of Canterbury, 1583-1604) bequest after he was the Master of Trinity College, 1567-1577. We also know that Whitgift rebound it prior to its 1984 rebinding because

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[387] Hill, "Notes on *Conduct*," 10.
[388] Ibid.
[389] Ibid.

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his coat of arms are embossed in gold on the sixteenth-century cover.[390] The collection can be localized to the area of Essex, perhaps London, and dated to the late twelfth century.[391] The manuscript is in three hands, which Laing calls scribes A, B, and C.[392] Scribe B wrote most of the contents while scribe A heavily contributed, most notably *Poema Morale* (item 1), and C only added a sermon on Isaiah (item 36). The evidence suggests that *Poema Morale* was likely a pre-existing booklet, perhaps originally used for private devotion, and was bound later with the homilies as the first quire. The poem was first written on a quaternion, but an added bifolium (current folio 1 and the excised would-be folio 10, of which only a stub remains) made it a quire of ten before binding. Scribe A also wrote the first thirteen homilies (10r-21v/21) although Hill suggests that the poem was added later, no later than the fifteenth century.[393]

Although the Trinity version of *Poema Morale* should likely be only 398 lines, it is the longest version at 400 lines because lines 73-74 are repeated at lines 203-204. The only rubrication is the capital /i/ of "ich" in the first line, which is four lines deep. Unlike Lambeth, this is the first time we see the poem written in verse so that its septenary rhyming couplets are clear. The scribe uses the *punctus* regularly at the end of the lines but rarely at the caesura, of which both Lambeth and later versions sometimes make use to mark the caesura.[394] Scribal corrections are written interlinearly where words were previously omitted, and erasures help demonstrate that the scribe was copying from an exemplar and sometimes fell prey to error, like eye skips. For example, at line 153 the scribe wrote the first four words of line 154 and then

[390] Ibid., 192.
[391] Laing, *Catalogue of Sources*, 38.
[392] Ibid.
[393] Hill, "Trinity College Cambridge," 192.
[394] See, for example, both Egerton texts and the Jesus text in Appendix B. Lambeth, to a less consistent degree, uses the *punctus elevatus* to mark the half-line.

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erased them. This interference, however, is the only medieval scribal engagement with the text. All other interlinear writing, marginalia, and underlining are from the sixteenth century and later.

One such example of a later reader commenting in the manuscript is line 70, which ends with the word "manke." A sixteenth-century hand has glossed it with the words "Manca" and "Mancus" beside it in the outer margin. A Latin prayer seems to have been added, shakily, at the bottom margin of folio 8v, which I interpret as the likely work of the seventeenth-century hand responsible for the second set of pagination because it appears that the hand attempted to replicate the unfamiliar medieval script. Due to the scribe's inexperience with the medieval script and the fact that there is little writing space in the bottom margin, perhaps due to cropping, the added text is not as well-spaced and regular as the main text of the manuscript. The argument that Sisam makes for Lambeth's lack of use should be true of the Trinity version as well since there are "no marks of use" on the Trinity *Poema Morale* contemporaneous with the compilation itself other than scribe A's own corrections. However, I have not come across any mention that Trinity was out of use in the way that scholars have treated Lambeth.

In Table 1 above, I have placed Lambeth in its canonical position within the chronology of the *Poema Morale* manuscripts; however, in the order of discussion of the manuscripts within this chapter, I have placed Lambeth first because I believe it may contain an older version of *Poema Morale* than Trinity. While the debate for the dating of the manuscript often leaves scholars placing Lambeth in the early thirteenth century, or perhaps around 1200, I maintain that there is no reason not to date the manuscript to the last decade of the twelfth century, like Trinity. In Sarah M. O'Brien's unpublished doctoral thesis from 1985, N. R. Ker admits, concerning the primary scribe of Lambeth, "whether he was writing before or after 1200 who can tell? [...] I don't see why it shouldn't be before [...] there don't seem to be any features [...] which would

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suggest that a post-1200 date is likely."[395] Furthermore, J. P. Gilson, Keeper of Manuscripts in the British Museum in 1923, wrote a note in the back of the manuscript, the loose leaf of which is no longer within the manuscript itself and which read:

> on purely palaeographical grounds I should be disposed to date Lambeth MS 487 somewhere in the forty years 1185-1225 […]. The materials however for dating vernacular writing are so slight that any opinion must be tentative. I base the above mainly on the Latin scraps, the extent of which is small.[396]

In a personal correspondence with Millett, Ralph Hanna has suggested that Lambeth "might be s.xiii, not especially advanced (but *perhaps* as late as 1225)," but Millett has recently shown that the only internal evidence for a later date is a reference to the necessity of confession during Lent in item 3, which Canon 21 of the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 enforced.[397] However, because Canon 21 was "a powerful reinforcement, rather than a replacement, of an existing custom," this scant piece of proof of a post-1215 date is unconvincing.[398]

Admittedly, dating the manuscript in which the Lambeth version of *Poema Morale* survives to the late twelfth century may not be critical for considering it as a represention of the earliest version of the poem. I believe, however, that placing Lambeth and Trinity within a more immediate context to one another, thus making them true contemporaries, helps us to further complicate the origins of the poem itself. If the poem was originally composed in the second half of the twelfth century, as Elaine Treharne has suggested, then it would stand to reason that, based

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[395] Sarah M. O'Brien, *An Edition of Seven Homilies from Lambeth Palace Library MS. 487,* unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 1985, quoted in Swan, "London, Lambeth Palace, 487."
[396] Jonathan Wilcox, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts in Microfiche Facsimile*, Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies (Tempe, Arizona: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2000), vol. 8, p. 72, quoted in Swan, "London, Lambeth Palace, 487."
[397] Millett, "The Pastoral Context," 61, his emphasis.
[398] Ibid., 62.

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on the presence of *Poema Morale* in both Trinity (Essex) and Lambeth (West Midlands) it would have to be dated before 1185.[399] If we recall both the map in Figure 2 from Chapter 4, which depicts the localizations of the *Poema Morale* manuscripts, thus showing the contemporaneous Lambeth and Trinity split between the West Midlands and the Southeast, and the manuscript stemma in Table 1 in Chapter 4, it should be unsurprising that Trinity and Digby may descend from a similar exemplar. However, the connection between Jesus and McClean is a bit surprising since they, too, are contemporaneous and yet geographically distant. As I argued in the previous chapter, there must have been communication between the West and the East beyond just the East-to-West movement of books that Swan discovered. Indeed, the temporal proximity for the copying of different versions of the poem, stemming from different exemplars, indicates that there must have been more back-and-forth exchange between the two geographical regions than previously thought.

5.3 London, British Library, MS Egerton 613

Unlike the homiletic contexts of Trinity and Lambeth, whose texts are all English, Egerton is an early thirteenth-century multilingual—Anglo-Norman, Old French, English, and Latin—religious miscellany that contains 21 texts, including a copy of Guillaume le Clerc's *Bestiare* (item 18). Items 1, 3, 5, 9, 20 and 21 are the only exclusively English texts in the manuscript, and all the English texts are in verse, except item 21 (medical recipes).[400] Item 2

[399] Elaine Treharne, "The Life and Times of Old English Homilies for the First Sunday in Lent," in *The Power of Words: Anglo-Saxon studies Presented to Donald G. Scragg on his Seventieth Birthday*, ed. by Hugh Magennis and J. Wilcox (Morgantown: West Virginia University Press, 2006), 205-42, cited in Elaine Treharne, "Cambridge, Trinity College, B. 14. 52," *The Production and Use of English Manuscripts: 1060 to 1220*, available at http://www.le.ac.uk/english/em1060to1220/mss/EM.Lamb.487.htm (accessed June 15, 2015).
[400] See Appendix A for a full list of contents.

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("Of on þat is so fayr and bri3t"[401]) is a macaronic poem in English and Latin, and the only other macaronic text is the prose of item 6 (*Salut et solace par l'amour de Jésu*), which is written in "Anglo-Norman with Latin quotations and English phrases."[402] Furthermore, item 6 appears to be a treatise written for nuns living under "conventual discipline."[403] The other Anglo-Norman texts include items 4, 8, 17, and 19, which are all verse, and item 7 (*Catharina virgo pura*) is the only other Latin text in the manuscript, which is a hymn to St. Catherine of Alexandria written in ten eight-line stanzas.[404] The rest of the texts in Egerton are Old French: items 10-16 are prose, and item 18 is the only piece of verse in Old French.

Based on linguistic features, the manuscript seems to have originated in northwestern Hampshire. Egerton was written in several mid-thirteenth-century hands using a textura book hand in black and brown inks with rubricated incipits and explicits in folios 1-70 (items 1-20); the text on folios 71-74 (item 21) is in one fifteenth-century hand. Hill notes that items 1, 4-8, 10, 17, and 19 are extant only in this manuscript.[405] Before the British Museum purchased Egerton at Sotheby's in 1836, the manuscript belonged to William Bentham, which the notes on the recto of flyleaf ii indicate.[406] Ownership prior to the nineteenth century can only be inferred by the manuscript contents themselves, which is made more difficult due to the miscellaneous nature of the collection. The intended audience may have been for nuns or male religious responsible for nuns at an abbey established by Normans as the content of some of the texts suggest an Anglo-Norman female religious reader-audience, such as item 6 (*Salut et solace par l'amour de Jésu*).

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401 DIMEV 4198.
402 Hill, "Egerton 613—I," 398.
403 Ibid. Hill provides a transcription of the text with some discussion.
404 Ibid.
405 Ibid., 395. See 397-404 for a detailed account of the manuscript contents.
406 The hand has been identified as belonging to Frederic Madden, who was the Keeper of Manuscripts, 1837-1866, Hill, "Egerton 613—I," 408.

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Additionally, over half the contents in the manuscript are written in Old French or Anglo-Norman; the *Bestiaire* alone spans the length of three and a half quires, filling 31r through 58v. The English texts only take up such a large portion of the manuscript in its current state because *Poema Morale* was copied twice (7r-12v and 64r-70v) and a fifteenth-century hand added four folios' worth of medical recipes (71-74). Other than these seventeen folios, the other three pieces of English verse barely take up two folios: item 1 on 1v ("Somer is comen *and* wint*er* gon"[407]); item 3 on 2r-v ("Blessed beo þu lauedi"[408]); and item 5 on 2v (*Love Song of Our Lady*[409]). As a result, English is a minority language in this religious miscellany, and one might wonder why *Poema Morale* would be included at all.

The reasons for including the poem are obvious, however, when we consider the texts that accompany it in the manuscript. Following item 9 (the later E text), we find religious moralizations, a triumphant account of Christ in hell, and a conversion story: item 10 (*Dits moraux*); item 11 (*L'Évangile de Nicodème*, a French version of the apocryphal *Gospel of Nicodemus* that relates Christ's Descent into and Harrowing of Hell); and item 12 (*La Venjance de Nostre Seignur*, a translation of the eighth-century *Vindicta Salvatoris* that relates the story of Titus of Aquitaine's conversion to Christianity and vengeance on the Jews). The Egerton compiler next includes items 13 (*L'Invention de la Sainte Croix*) and 14 (*L'Exaltation de la Sainte Croix*), which narrate the story of Constantine's vision of the Cross and then Helen's subsequent discovery of it, and the ordering of the texts seem to imply a need for spiritual preparation in the reader-audience before reading the eschatological prose of item 16 (*Les Quinze Signes du Jugement Dernier*). Item 15 (*La Légende des Trois Maries*) immediately

[407] DIMEV 5051.
[408] DIMEV 2341.
[409] DIMEV 3138.

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follows the two texts on the Cross and precedes the one on the fifteen signs of Judgment Day, which is interesting because this text is "normally an introductory piece […] to the pseudo-Matthew *Liber de Ortu Beatae Mariae et Infantia Salvatoris*."[410] The *Liber* is the French version of the apocryphon on the nativity and childhood of the Virgin Mary, to which the first English translation of the *stella maris* is added, which I discussed in Chapter 3. One of the sets of three Marys included in this *Légende* follows the tradition of the daughters of St. Anne (by different husbands) so that the Virgin Mary, Mary Cleophe (or Jacobi), and Mary Salome are listed to present a holy kinship that leads directly to Christ.[411] And it is in Christ's Second Coming that Judgment Day takes place. Therefore, item 16 on the signs of Judgment Day rounds out the eschatological and praise literature. Because of *Poema Morale*'s concentration on eschatological themes and references to Christ's passion and descent, the texts listed above explain its inclusion in Egerton, even though it is only one of the very few English texts present.

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[410] Hill, "Egerton 613—I," 401.
[411] This lineage can be found in the *Legenda Aurea* (*Golden Legend*) by Jacobus de Voragine, which is succinctly contained in the following verse:

Anna soles dici tres concepisse Marias,
Quas genuere viri Joachim, Cleophas Salomeque.
Has duxere viri Joseph, Alpheus, Zebedeus.
Prima parit Christum, Jacobum secunda minorem,
Et Joseph justum peperit cum Simone Judam,
Tertia majorem Jacobum volucremque Johannem.

(Anna is usually said to have conceived three Marys, whom her husbands Joachim, Cleophas, and Salome begot. The men Joseph, Alpheus, and Zebedee married these [women]. The first bore Christ; the second, James the Less and Joseph the Just with Simon [and] Jude; the third, James the Greater and the winged John.) "The Nativity of Our Lady," in *The Golden Legend or Lives of Saints*, edit. F.S. Ellis, vol. 5 (Temple Classics, 1900, reprinted 1922, 1931), *Internet Medieval Sourebook*, s.v. Fordham University, The Jesuit University of New York, available at http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/basis/goldenlegend/GoldenLegend-Volume5.asp#Nativity%20of%20our%20Blessed%20Lady, accessed on April 30, 2014.

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The earlier e text of *Poema Morale* (item 20) in Egerton ends at line 367, thus rendering it the second shortest version of the poem that survives, while the E text ends at line 398, which is how long the Trinity version would have been if the scribe had not repeated a couplet. Hill theorizes the reason for a second copy of *Poema Morale* in the manuscript is that the earlier e hand showed signs of scribal "inadequacy" while the slightly later E hand is "assured" and "competent in copying continental French material also."[412] Additionally, Hill adds that "although the catchwords at the end of the quire are visible on fol. 70v, there is no certainty that the scribe completed item 20 on another quire nor that any more of the text was ever included in this volume."[413] While I agree that the amount of text that survives for the e text is likely all that was ever included in the manuscript, Hill's assertions that the text was never finished and the existence of a catchword on folio 70v are less convincing. The only text that uses catchwords between quires in the manuscript is the *Bestiaire*, which was copied by a different scribe (the only text this scribe copied in the manuscript) and spans more than one quire. Save for this one exception, none of the other hands added catchwords, and if there was ever a catchword on the bottom of folio 70v, it is long gone.

Based on the condition of the vellum, darkened from being unbound for a while, I find it difficult to believe a catchword could have been seen with the naked eye. Moreover, the supposed "inadequacy" that Hill identifies in the e hand is unclear to me. In fact, there are almost an equal number of discrepancies between both e and E. Rather, it is my opinion that another copy of *Poema Morale* was added slightly later when the texts were compiled because the previously complete e text was left unbound for a time such that the quire that completed the

[412] Hill, "Egerton 613—I," 409.
[413] Ibid., 409.

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poem, which only lacked some 31 lines (requiring a single folio), was lost. No paleographical or codicological evidence suggests that the e text was left unfinished, as we see in the Lambeth text. That is, there is no flourish of a final letter or even empty lines. All 27 ruled lines are filled with the poem; there are interlinear corrections by the same hand; and the scribe took the time to include rubricated letters in the outer margin that are now gone due to wear. The reasonable conclusion, then, is that the poem was likely finished, but, upon the compiling of all the texts at the time that the E text was written, the quire that concluded the e text was lost.

Although the e text lacks some of the conventional ending of *Poema Morale,* unlike Lambeth's version, it does end with part of the description of the pleasures of God and heaven. The last couplet reads:

> Þer is wele abute gane *and* reste abuten swinche.
> Þe mei *and* nele þider cume sare hit hi*m* sceal ofðinche. (366-367)[414]

While this ending is not as positive as the blissful ending of the other five versions—the reference to "sare […] ofðinche" ("severely regret") is not especially favorable—it still delves into an account of the pleasure of heaven before this point. The other versions elaborate a little further on God's glorious bliss and how it will fulfill every person's desire so that no one will need or desire anything (e.g., Trinity, 371-372, 387, 391). The e text's only real omission is the narrator's final invocation to God and his mercy.

The inclusion of *Poema Morale* in this manuscript, then, compliments the other texts well due to their focus on eschatological themes, religious moralization, and personal devotion. However, the key element of Egerton is its implied female audience because it differs greatly from the first manifestations we have of *Poema Morale* (i.e., lay preaching material in English).

[414] "There is wealth without misfortune and rest without toil. He who is able and will not come to that place [heaven] shall regret it severely."

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While Trinity indicates no change in ownership or an engaged readership until the sixteenth-century annotations, Lambeth's addition of *On Ureisun of Oure Louerde* demonstrates likely female ownership as soon as the early thirteenth century. Following the emerging pattern, Egerton seems to have been compiled with a specific religious female reader-audience in mind. The chronology of textual transmission thus far implies that the poem was a likely candidate for manuscripts compiled for not just personal but also for women's religious devotion by the early to mid thirteenth century alongside similar French and Latin texts.

5.4 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 4

Digby further demonstrates how far-reaching *Poema Morale* was by presenting us with the only Latin miscellany of the extant manuscripts, the contents of which are mostly ecclesiastical. The poem is the only vernacular English text present in Digby while the majority of its contents are Latin prose and poetry. The manuscript appears to have been compiled at Christ Church, Canterbury, and eventually to have come into the possession of Thomas of Sturry senior, who entered the church around the mid thirteenth century and became sub-Prior by 1270.[415] The title of the first text "Tractat*us* sup*er* canone*m* misse" (fols. 1r-30v) is written in black ink at the top of folio 1r, and "Thome de Stureya" is written in a different hand in brown ink just below it. This writing is the only text on folio 1r, and an approximation of the treatise by Odo, Bishop of Cambrai (1105-1113) follows.[416] Folios 31r-38r contain six Latin poems (the sixth poem has a French opening), which a later hand attributes to "Gwaltir*us* mahap. Archidiaconus Oxon" in the top margin of 31r. Hill suggests that, instead, the poems are by a

[415] Hill, "Early English Fragments," 277.
[416] Ibid., 274.

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twelfth-century canon Gautier de Chatillon.[417] A collection of Latin sayings by Seneca (folios 38v-40r) follows, and on folio 40v, the incipit "Duas natiuitates ueneramur […]" begins a brief explanation of the births of Jesus's earthly parents. In dense black ink on folios 41r-47v, "theologica *varia*," such as a passage on "the power of the Cross" (45v), are written in Latin with each new section indicated by a capitulum.

The last text before the fourteen folios of *Poema Morale* (97r-110v) discusses the virtues of herbs, as indicated in the unrubricated incipit and later addition of a title in the upper margin. The main text seems to contain the specific characteristics of the herbs in question, and a variation of the *punctus*, *punctus elevatus*, and *punctus versus* are used in the outer margin to allow the scribe to write the particular application for each herb, such as the "Ad menstrua" written beside line 8 and "Ad vrina*m*" at line 14. Large margins are typical of the manuscript, which indicates that the person who commissioned the manuscript did not lack resources, material or financial. In the case of manuscripts produced in poorer scriptoria or with less well-funded commissions, most of the blank space of each folio is used (e.g., the *Ormulum* in MS Junius 1). Moreover, rarely are entire folios left blank although this is the case with 15 folios in Digby: three folios numbered in pencil as folios 47a-c, 11 unnumbered folios between folios 96 and 97, and folio 111r. The availability of high quality parchment was clearly not a problem.

The beginning of *Poema Morale* appears on 97r with a large red capital /i/ spans seven lines. The only other coloring in the poem is the splash of red in the letters written in the margin to indicate the start of each quatrain because, unlike Lambeth's unlineated presentation and also unlike the long verse lines in each of the other manuscripts, the Digby scribe broke the lines in

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[417] Ibid.

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half so that each couplet is contained within a quatrain. This shortening of the long line was likely due to the manuscript's small size, which, as mentioned above, is the smallest of the *Poema Morale* manuscripts.[418] After the poem, a later hand in an English cursive book script of the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century adds sixteen lines of verse with the title "Vers*us* de Christo *and* mat*r*e ei*us*" (item 9). Folio 111r is left blank, and another Latin verse text takes over folios 111v-112r in a hand probably contemporaneous with that of 110v. Ker and Hill maintain that the folios containing *The Proverbs of Alfred* that made up London, British Museum, MS Cotton Galba A. XIX, now lost due to the 1734 fire at the British Museum, once concluded the Digby compilation.[419] This possible early inclusion of the *Proverbs* in a *Poema Morale* manuscript is important since the same scribal hand writes both poems in Oxford, Jesus College, MS 29, Part II, and Maidstone, Kent, Maidstone Museum A.13 contains a couplet from *Poema Morale* among a short version of the *Proverbs*. It would seem that the two poems tended to be associated with one another in the thirteenth century, which is unsurprising since both contain common Christian wisdom and exhortations mixed with comments about how those in positions of authority ought to be righteous.

With the contents of the manuscript being so varied—from the sayings of Seneca and a discussion on the virtues of herbs and their uses, to various theological passages and prose on the parents of Christ—the only conclusion seems to be that Digby was a personal collection owned

[418] It is curious to note here that, as Haruko Momma pointed out to me in conversation (August 24, 2015), the broken line, similar to the nineteenth-century editorial layout of the *Ormulum*, is similar to the composition of medieval ballads, which often have four-stress lines followed by three-stress lines. Thus, it may be that the composers of both the *Ormulum* and *Poema Morale* had oral performativity in mind.

[419] On the Cotton Galba manuscript, see Edvard Borgström, *The Proverbs of Alfred: Re-Edited from the Manuscripts with an Introduction, Notes, and Glossary* (Lund, 1908) and Hill, "Early English Fragments," 275-8.

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by a church figure, likely Thomas of Sturry, at Christ Church, Canterbury, in the first half of the thirteenth century. The inclusion of *Poema Morale* in what is otherwise a Latin miscellany may indicate the popularity of the poem for private devotion as well as its ready availability for such personal compilations.[420]

5.5 Oxford, Jesus College, MS 29, Part II

Thus far, we have found *Poema Morale* in collections of English prose homilies (Trinity and Lambeth), a multilingual collection of devotional texts for female religious (Egerton), and a Latin miscellany of a male religious (Digby). By contrast, the late thirteenth-century Jesus manuscript comprises a collection of mostly English religious poetry. It comes from southeastern Herefordshire or northwestern Gloucestershire, making it the closest to Lambeth in its localization than any of the other manuscripts, and consists of two parts: Part I is a fifteenth-century Latin copy of the Chronicle of the Kings of England from 900 to 1445 on paper;[421] Part II was composed by one scribe in an English textura hand between 1285 and 1300, and contains 33 pieces of Latin, Anglo-Norman, and English prose and poetry, including *The Owl and the Nightingale, The Proverbs of Alfred*, *The Eleven Pains of Hell*, and eleven Middle English

[420] Concerning the inclusion of *Poema Morale* in Digby, Hill writes, "Whether this English text was included by virtue of its size, metrical form, or homiletic content cannot be determined" (275) in "Early English Fragments." What Hill leaves unsaid, however, is that Digby is clearly a collection for personal use, which implies a personal devotional use of *Poema Morale*, and that would be enough reason to include the poem in such a miscellany.
[421] The Latin title of the chronicle is given on the verso of flyleaf ii and written in the same seventeenth-century hand on the recto side that mentions a "Thom. Wilkins." Hill believes that Thomas Wilkins owned the manuscript in the seventeenth century, and that the two parts of the manuscript were already together before Wilkins had it rebound. See Betty Hill, "The History of Oxford, Jesus College, MS. 29," *Medium Aevum* 32 (1963), 208.

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poems that do not exist elsewhere.[422] The first folio of Part II begins with *The Passion of Our Lord* in what appears to be another example of the English septenary, which has gone essentially unnoticed in scholarship. The thirteenth-century section runs from folios 144 to 257, beginning with the English verse passion of Christ in item 1 and ending with the Anglo-Norman debate-poem *Le Petit Plet* in item 33, which is ascribed to Chardri. The rubricated incipits appear in Latin and Anglo-Norman, such as the Latin title *Tradatus quidam in anglico* of *Poema Morale*, and the reader will recall that this is the only manuscript witness for a title of the poem (see Chapter 4). *The Eleven Pains of Hell* (item 29) begins with an Anglo-Norman rubric, "Ici comencent les unze peynes de enfer. les quens seynt pool vi[…]," and, in this case, the use of Anglo-Norman continues into the body of the otherwise English poem (1-6, 11-16, and 281-282).

Interestingly, the metrical styles vary in the manuscript and represent both the English tradition and the Latin and French traditions. The septenary is used in items 1, 3, 5, 6, and 25 (*The Passion of Our Lord*, *Poema Morale*, *De Muliere Samaritana*, *On Fortune*, and the homily on "Soþe Luue," respectively) while item 2 (*The Owl and the Nightingale*) makes use of octosyllabic couplets and item 23 (*Proverbs of Alfred*) suggests the influence of Old English alliterative verse with occasional rhyme. Finally, items 7 (*Long Life*) and 18 (*A Luue Ron*) use stanzaic forms of verse, which the others do not use.[423] English items 2, 7, 8, and 12-15

[422] Hill, "Notes on *The Conduct*," 11. For the eleven poems extant only in Jesus, see Carleton Brown, *A Register of Middle English and Didactic Verse*, Part II (Oxford: Printed for the Bibliographical Society by the University Press, 1916), nos. 865, 2356, 2494, 544, 1133, 2601, 2650, 43, 1207, 2234; and *Fragment of a Song*, in Morris, *Old English Miscellany*, 100-101.
[423] Information on the metrical differences of these texts come from Hill, "Oxford, Jesus College" although she cites the unpublished doctoral thesis of E. Solopova, *Studies in Middle*

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correspond to items 5-7 and 9-12 in the contemporaneous London, British Library, MS Cotton Caligua A.ix, which also contains one of the two surviving copies of Laȝamon's *Brut*.[424] Moreover, items 31-33, which are poems by Chardri (or at least attributed to him)—*Vie des set dormanz*, *Vie de Josaphaz*, and *Le Petit Plet*—correspond to items 3, 2, and 13 in Caligula, respectively.[425] In addition to the Cotton manuscript, Jesus shares three texts with Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 86 (Digby 86), which is another late thirteenth-century multilingual miscellany: *The Latemest Day* (Jesus 13/Digby 66.3), *On Doomsday* (Jesus 20/Digby 66.2), and *The Eleven Pains of the Hell* (Jesus 29/Digby 46.1). Digby 86, however, is both more multilingual and more miscellaneous in nature than Jesus's collection of mostly religious English verse.

The Jesus version of *Poema Morale* (item 3) appears on folios 169r-174v immediately following *The Owl and the Niqhtingale* (156r-168v). Item 4 (*The Sayings of St. Bede* or *Sinners Beware*) comes immediately after *Poema Morale* on folios 175r-178v. Most notably, the first two lines of *The Sayings of St. Bede* begin the latest manuscript version of *Poema Morale* in Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS McClean 123:

> [Þ]e holi gostes miȝte us alle helpe *and* diȝte us wissie *and* us teche
> […] yscilde us fram þe unwiȝte bi daie *and* bi niȝte þat þencheþ us bipeche.[426]

It seems likely, therefore, that, by the late thirteenth century, the two poems were circulating

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English Syllabic Verse before Chaucer, University of Oxford, 1994, particularly 26 ff., 40 ff., and 90.

[424] Hill, "Oxford, Jesus College," 271.

[425] Ibid.

[426] "May the power of the Holy Ghost help us all and prepare us truly and teach us. […] shield us from the evil spirit by day and by night that thinks to deceive us." These lines do not correspond verbatim to the text of Jesus, which may lend more credence to Hill's assertion, with which I agree, that the McClean copyist was working from an exemplar that was largely written from memory.

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together in manuscripts other than Jesus. Moreover, the central focus for many of the poems is the *contemptus mundi* theme, such as items 6 (*On Fortune*) and 7 (*Long Life*). The lesson for the reader-audience is that they should not put much stock into worldly goods because life is short, and poems like items 21 (*Signs of Death*) and 22 (*Three Sorrowful Things*) embody the human condition and its preoccupation with death. *Three Sorrowful Things*, for example, explains in six octosyllabic rhyming couplets that the speaker knows three terrifying things:

> Þe on is þat ich schal heonne.
> Þ*at* oþer þat ich noth hwenne.
> Þe þridde is my meste kare,
> Þat ich not hwider ich scal fare. (3-6)[427]

In fact, these two short poems were likely so commonly read together that the Jesus scribe does not even include a rubric or other form of division between the two texts. The first line of *Three Sorrowful Things* reads, "Yche day me cumeþ tydinges þreo." Aside from the single /f/ and three /þ/ that are slightly set apart from the main text in the inner margin, there is no other way to distinguish the poem from *Signs of Death* immediately above it.

Other English texts that make use of the *contemptus mundi* in order to prepare their reader-audience for Judgment Day include *Poema Morale* (item 3), *Doomsday* (item 12), *Latemest Day* (item 13), *On Doomsday* (item 20), and *The Eleven Pains of Hell* (item 29). Scattered amongst these bleak poems, however, are an account of the passion of Christ, prayers to both Christ and the Virgin Mary (items 8 and 24), songs on the Annunciation (items 9 and 19), *On the Five Joys of Our Lady* (item 10), an antiphon of St. Thomas the Martyr (item 16), and texts on the true love to be found with Christ, such as *A Love Rune* (item 18) and a homily on

[427] "The first is that I shall [go] from here. The second [is] that I know not when. The third is my greatest grief, that I [know] not where I shall go."

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"Soþe Luue" (item 25). Jesus, therefore, contains a mix of religious literature to remind its reader-audience that they will soon leave this world, with the uncertainty of their afterlives, but it also supplies them with the necessary spiritual weaponry to guide them to the best possible outcome. In a sense, the balance of texts within Jesus mirrors the balance of exhortatory warnings against sin and advice on gaining heaven come Judgment Day in the long versions of *Poema Morale*.[428]

5.6 Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS McClean 123

The McClean manuscript is the latest of the six that contain a version of *Poema Morale*—though it could be as early as 1275 and as late as 1325—and it has been localized to northern Essex. However, because McClean ended up in the hands of nuns in a Cistercian convent at Nuneaton where a French verse translation of *Apocalypse* was added in the fourteenth century, the manuscript is also known as "The Nuneaton Codex."[429] The manuscript contains only nine prose and poetic texts, of which *Poema Morale* is the only English text. Other than the double columns of item 4 (Guillaume le clerc's *Bestiare*), the rest of the contents are laid out in one column. Red and blue decorated capitals are common throughout the manuscript, but the capitals of *Poema Morale* were never added, even though space was left for them.

There are two possible reasons why *Poema Morale* would be the only English text in a manuscript filled with Old French and Anglo-Norman texts of a similar genre with a couple texts relating a similar eschatological theme. First, there was no Latin or French translation of the

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[428] I will discuss this balance further in a section below.
[429] Laing, *Catalogue of Sources*, 27. For an argument for a connection to specific people, especially women, leading up to the manuscript's arrival at Nuneaton, see Hill, "Manuscript from Nuneaton," 191-205.

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poem available to the compiler, even though a similar and somewhat connected Anglo-Norman verse-sermon did exist by this time (the "Sermon" of Guischart de Beauliu).[430] Second, the poem held such a high position in devotional literary culture in England by this time that the compiler felt compelled to include it. Whatever the case may be, *Poema Morale*'s inclusion in this wholly vernacular but marginally English devotional manuscript is quite peculiar and worthy of a more in depth study than I can provide here.

The second shortest version of *Poema Morale* is the McClean text, which consists of only 337 lines. The final section that addresses heaven's bliss is normally between 42 and 46 lines long; however, McClean contains only 25 lines. Similarly, the catalogue of the creatures in hell is eight lines shorter in McClean (257-266) than in Trinity (278-296), and the advice on how to avoid hell and secure a place in heaven for oneself is six lines shorter in McClean (269-312) than in Trinity (307-354). Thus, an additional 30 lines are missing from the homiletic exhortations earlier in the poem, which has led to the assertion that McClean "shows signs of oral transmission at some stage behind the exemplar which the McClean scribe copied."[431] The scribe, and possibly the intended reader-audience of *Poema Morale*, was unfamiliar with the English graphemes present in the exemplar of the English poem meant to be copied, and this unfamiliarity is indicated by the list of letters, names, and examples of use for the /þ/, /ƿ/, /ʒ/, and the Tironian nota on folio 114v. Additionally, this is only the second manuscript that contains a version of *Poema Morale* to include illustrations—the other one being the incomplete miniatures of the *Bestiare* in Egerton—though most have been excised completely (e.g., the

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[430] See Arvid Gabrielson, *Le Sermon de Guischart de Beauliu: Édition Critique de Tous les Manuscrits Connus avec Introduction* (Leipzig: Uppsala, 1909); Gabrielson, "Guischart de Beauliu's debt to religious learning and literature in England," *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* 128 (1912): 308-328.
[431] Hill, "Manuscript from Nuneaton," 195.

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seventh quire) and partially mutilated or defaced. Folios 66-104 retain some of its text but the pencil sketches have largely been removed from the top half of the pages, and the only images that survive are on folios 72r-73v, 78r-v, 89r-v, 91r-v, 97r-v, 102r-103v, 105r. One possible reason for this excision and mutilation may be explained by Protestant iconoclasm during the dissolution of the Nuneaton convent in 1539.[432]

The contents of McClean replicate the general theme seen thus far aside from Digby's peculiarities: three texts on Christ's descent into hell and the coming Apocalypse (items 3, 5, and 9) interspersed with optimistic religious literature meant to evoke religious devotion in preparation for Judgment Day (items 1, 2, and 6-8). The shared texts between McClean and Jesus—items 4 and 5; possibly item 3—demonstrate both the status of these pieces of literature within England in the late thirteenth century as well as a custom in which certain vernacular miscellaneous compilations seemed to require similar texts, whether they were in French or English. Finally, the fact that the collection ended up in a medieval convent speaks to not only the general attraction these eschatological texts held for female religious but also *Poema Morale's* status as appropriate devotional reading for women, be they literate in English or not.

5.7 The Three Fragments

I will end my examination of the *Poema Morale* manuscripts by briefly considering the three fragments in London, British Library, MS Royal 7 C. iv (Royal); Maidstone, Kent, Maidstone Museum A. 13 (Maidstone); and Durham University Library, Cosin V.iii.2 (Cosin). In Royal, which is a mid eleventh-century gloss to the Defensor's *Liber scintillarum*, two partially erased lines of *Poema Morale*, which correspond to lines 17-18 in Digby, have been added as part of the twelfth- or thirteenth-century "scribbles" on folios 106v:

[432] Ibid., 203. See 203-5 for the post-dissolution history of McClean.

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Elde me is bestolen on
er […]
Ne mæg ic geseo before me.[433]

Maidstone is a mid thirteenth-century manuscript containing primarily Latin texts, such as prayers to Christ and the Blessed Virgin, although Carleton Brown found that it also contains two Anglo-Norman verse texts and the Middle English *Three Sorrowful Things*, which had been "incorporated into a Latin prose treatise," and *The Proverbs of Alfred*.[434] Ker was the first to note the extracts from *Poema Morale* in the manuscript, which are variations of the same two lines, cited here from Lambeth: "Swines brede is swiðe swete, swa is of wilde dore; / Alto dore he is abuh þe Ȝefð þer fore his swore" (142-143).[435] A different hand adds the full two lines between the two inner columns of the three that make up *The Proverbs of Alfred* on folio 93r, as well as in the inner margin of folio 46v of *De unitate et concordia prelatorum* (item 2).[436] The final extract is on folio 253r and "forms part of the Latin text in the same hand" as the incipit, written simply, "swþe swete is swines brede &c."[437] Cosin is an early thirteenth-century collection of Latin sermons, and it contains a very brief excerpt from *Poema Morale* on folio 126v.

In response to the heavy use of the two lines in Maidstone, it seems reasonable to conclude that the distribution of *Poema Morale* was not restricted to the extant manuscripts we

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433 Text taken from Takako Kato, with the assistance of Hollie Morgan, "London, British Library, Royal 7 C. iv," in *The Production and Use of English Manuscripts 1060 to 1220*. The versification is based on Hill, "Septenary Couplet," 296. Although the scribbler had enough space to write the text in long lines, he chose to write the short lines, which further link the extract to Digby.
434 Carleton Brown, "A Thirteenth-Century Manuscript at Maidstone," *Modern Language Review* 21 (1926), 1. Recall that *Three Sorrowful Things* and *The Proverbs of Alfred* are also found in Jesus.
435 "Swine's flesh is very sweet, so is that of wild deer; all too dear he may buy it who gives his neck for it."
436 Hill, "Couplet from *Conduct*," 377.
437 Ibid.

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have today.[438] I would add that Maidstone's use of only very short excerpts from *Poema Morale* may indicate a few things: first, the alliteration and sound-play helped audiences retain the lines, just as the couplets did (note the alliteration and consonance of line 142 above); second, the popularity of the poem allowed it to circulate orally, possibly more frequently than in written form, as the exemplar of the McClean version may indicate; and, finally, scribes were likely more comfortable with the idea of including the full poem in personal collections of vernacular devotional literature than in Latin collections that possibly served different purposes from personal devotion.

5.8 A Poem Unto Itself: An Old English Precedent

Before I discuss the balance of death poetry and hopeful devotional literature in Early Middle English manuscripts to help shed light on the grim Lambeth version, I think it is important to first consider an Old English poetic analogue that will help us read each version, especially Lambeth, as a poem in its own right. The disparity between the Lambeth version and the other extant versions of *Poema Morale* is similar to that of the Old English *Soul and Body* poems. The Lambeth text presents an uninterrupted and grueling list of pains and tormenters of hell for over a quarter of the poem. Before there can be any hope, Lambeth ends, not unlike the Old English *Soul and Body II* with its masticating worms.

The two related Old English poems entertain the same popular trope, the debate between body and soul; however, the endings of these poems are vastly different from one another and

[438] Ibid.

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have been the topic of much scholarly debate.[439] *Soul and Body I* survives in the Vercelli Book, and *Soul and Body II* survives in the Exeter Book. Both manuscripts are vernacular compilations, the former a collection of prose homilies and the latter a collection of poetry, and they both date to the late tenth century. *Soul and Body I* is the longer of the two poems, and it ends with the soul, which has previously been berating the sinfulness of the body that has led to the soul's damnation as well, turning its attention to the alternative: if its body has been humble and led a good Christian in life, it will reunite with the soul in heaven. In the shorter *Soul and Body II*, conversely, heaven is never mentioned. The only possible result of death, after the worms have had their fill of the body's decay, is eternal torment in hell.

The traditional discussion regarding the two poems stems from the perennial quest of the *Ur*-text, that ever evasive original that scholars have long sought. The problem of the traditional approach is that it divorces the text from the manuscript context in which it is found and the textual transmission of which it is a part. In relation to Anglo-Saxon studies specifically, Allen Frantzen reminds that the extant Anglo-Saxon texts are "largely of anonymous authorship, sometimes incomplete, and usually undated and undatable."[440] He further elaborates on the ambiguity of working with such a collection, writing:

> One manuscript can supply the basis for many different—that is, conflicting—but plausible claims relating to its historical value and hence its originary status. This incompleteness in the origin has important consequences for those who decode and recode texts. Incompleteness is an aspect of textually, historically, and humanly produced

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[439] See, for example, Mary Heyward Ferguson, "The Structure of the *Soul's Address to the Body* in Old English," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 69 (1970): 72-80; Douglass Moffat, "A Case of Scribal Revision in the Old English *Soul and Body*," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 86 (1987): 1-8; and Cyril Smetana, "Second Thoughts on 'Soul and Body I'," *Mediaeval Studies* 29 (1967): 193-205.

[440] Allen J. Frantzen, *Desire for Origins: New Language, Old English and Teaching the Tradition* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1990), 25.

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> beginnings. That data must be interpreted and those gaps filled: the origin, therefore, is incomplete. It is a question needing an answer; it is an origin needing a supplement.[441]

Frantzen continues to point out that the history of the scholarship of Anglo-Saxon literature is a "repetition of conflicts in different contexts rather than a progression from conflict to harmony" because the search for "originary status" is always in conflict based on disputable evidence that results in a "multiplicity of reading and writing" in which "many desires […] are possible."[442] Frantzen's discussion of origins therefore relates not only to the current section on the Old English *Soul and Body* poems but also the enigma that is Early Middle English verse more broadly. As we will see, though, Michael Matto persuasively argues that this closes down the "multiplicity of reading and writing" while supporting the "many [possible] desires" of scholars concerned with valuing one version over the other.

Cyril Smetana's and Mary Heyward Ferguson's essays on the *Soul and Body* poems each try to "efface the second text" by promoting the primacy of the version they use for an interpretation of the structure of the poem.[443] Matto, however, has pointed out that the particular example of *Soul and Body* "offers us a unique look into the assumptions that underlie our understanding of the relationship a manuscript text has to the poem we imagine it represents."[444] The secret knowledge of some imagined original that may lie hidden within one of the poems is not important to Matto, but rather, he believes that displacing the texts "from their manuscripts and plac[ing] them next to one another either to compare their poetic merits (as do the critics) or to reconcile their differences (as would the textual editors) creates a new and ahistorical

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[441] Ibid.
[442] Ibid.
[443] Michael Matto, "The Old English *Soul and Body I* and *Soul and Body II*: Ending the Rivalry," *In Geardagum* 18 (1997), 46.
[444] Ibid., 42.

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experience of the poems we are trying to read."[445] As with most medieval texts that survive in more than one manuscript, the medieval reader-audience of the *Soul and Body* poems would likely never have experienced both versions of the poem. Thus, Matto argues, "To treat *Soul and Body I* and *Soul and Body II* as the same poem is […] to erase them, treating them not as poems at all but as echoes of a ghost poem."[446] Matto promotes a consideration of the two poems as "individual poetic expressions—'individual' not defined as the product of one person's work, but as *coherent and unique cultural artifacts*."[447] If read separately as "individual poetic expressions," then the poems themselves take on new meanings that we might not have otherwise considered.

In *Soul and Body II*, worms—which represent the filth of physical decay in death and one's fear of being devoured, as well as anticipate the tortures in hell—have a near constant presence within the poem, having been mentioned seven times, half of which are within the last fifteen lines of the poem. As the soul's address to the body comes to an end, the narrator explains that the soul must now go away, *secan helle grund* ("to seek the bottom of hell," 98a), while the body remains food for worms. With the worm personified as Glutton, *Soul and Body II* ends with a tone of utter desolation as it describes what Glutton does to the body:

Se geneþeð to
ærest ealra on þam eorðscræfe;
he þa tungan totyhð ond þa toþas þurhsmyhð,
ond to ætwelan oþrum gerymeð,
ond þa eagan þurhiteð ufon on þæt heafod
wyrmum to wiste, þonne biþ þæt werge
lic acolad þæt he longe ær
werede mid wædum. Bið þonne wyrmes giefl,

[445] Ibid., 47.
[446] Ibid., 47.
[447] Ibid., 49, his emphasis.

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æt on eorþan. (112b-120a)[448]

The only consolation the narrator offers at the end of the poem, aside from the reminder that one's earthly belongings, like clothes, will not help when one's corpse lies cold in the ground, is the following final line and half: *þæt mæg æghwylcum / men to gemyndum modsnotterra* ("This every man of a prudent mind can remember," 120b-121). This statement is reminiscent of what we find in other Old English poetry, like *The Wanderer*.[449] Here, the poem gestures away from the fictionalized address of the soul to the body and then the narration of the decomposition and consumption of the body in order to speak directly to the reader-audience: if you are wise, you will avoid this fate. The poem offers no advice on how not to succumb to such an end, except for the implication of *not* doing what the soul previously condemned the body for doing (i.e., giving into carnal desires).

In contrast, the end of *Soul and Body I* includes an additional forty lines that begin to relate the other possible outcome: the death of a person who lived free of sin. The soul wishes the body could accompany it to heaven, where together they could see the *englas* ("angels," 140a) and *heofona wuldor* ("glory of heaven," 141a). As it is, even though the body must succumb to the inevitable decay, just like all other human beings, the soul reminds the body that it will be reunited with the soul in heaven on Judgment Day because it lived a proper Christian

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[448] "He ventures into the earth-cave first of all; then he tears the tongue to pieces and creeps through the teeth, and he makes room for others at the feast. And then he eats out the eyes at the top of the head; as sustenance for worms will the weary body be when it has become cold which long before was clothed with garments. Then will it be the meat for worms, food in the earth."
[449] Line 112a in *The Wanderer* reads, *Til biþ se þe his treowe gehealdeþ* ("It is good for him who retains his faith"), and two lines elaborate on this statement. Recall that the poem ends with the following: *Wel bið þam þe him are seceð, / frofre to Fæder on heofonum, þær us eal seo fæstnung stondeð* ("It will be well for him who seeks mercy, comfort from the Father in the heavens, where for us all that stability stands," 114b-115b).

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life in humility, hunger, and poverty. The present humiliating state of decomposition will come to an end as the body reunites in heaven's bliss with its soul, thus removing the dread of Judgment Day (160-164). The conclusion of *Soul and Body I*, therefore, exudes hope as opposed to the feeling of inevitable damnation with which *Soul and Body II* concludes. The dismal ending of *Soul and Body II* parallels that of the Lambeth *Poema Morale* by also not offering advice on how to avoid the fires and pains of hell and by leaving the reader-audience with the feeling of helplessness in the face of such an afterlife. *Soul and Body I* and the other versions of *Poema Morale*, by contrast, gesture towards heavenly reward by following the necessary Christian rules, much like the added prayer in the Lambeth manuscript.

5.9 Conclusions with *The Eleven Pains of Hell*

This section provides a reading of *Poema Morale* in Lambeth with its bleak ending and added prayer to Jesus through a consideration of the manuscript context of *The Eleven Pains of Hell*, which also circulated with the poem and which has two extant versions in MS Jesus 29 and MS Digby 86. Both manuscripts demonstrate the likelihood that poems like *Poema Morale* were a commonplace in personal collections because Digby 86, like Jesus, was a multilingual personal compilation although more miscellaneous in nature than Jesus. What I find most compelling is the fact that *Poema Morale* circulated with *The Eleven Pains of Hell*, which also travelled with other death lyrics, such as "Death," a short meditation on death with eleven manuscript witnesses.[450] Matthias Galler explains that death lyrics "argue that whatever kind of life one has

[450] The version beginning "If man him biðocte" survives in London, British Library, MS Arundel 292, fol. 3v. The other more popular, though essentially the same, version begins "Who so him biþou3te," and suvives in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS 416, fo. 109; MS Douce A.314, fol.

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led, no one can be sure of salvation," and, like *Poema Morale*, "[t]he sufferings of hell are evoked as a strong warning against committing sins," which are meant as meditative exercises.[451] Furthermore, Galler writes, "Heaven is conspicuously absent in the death lyrics," which emphasizes the fact that "an unfathomable God" makes "the decision whether our soul will be saved or damned […] that its destiny is *beyond our control* makes death so *frightening*."[452]

While the point of Galler's essay is to show the striking difference between the treatments of death in Middle English lyrics as opposed to Middle English hagiographies, I think his conclusion may be applied to earlier medieval religious writing as well. He concludes, "Clerical authors would have wanted to provide their audience with both, saints' lives for encouragement and death lyrics as a warning."[453] If we consider the manuscript contexts of *Poema Morale*, especially that of the Lambeth manuscript, it becomes readily apparent that these eschatological meditations and death lyrics are rarely compiled with *only* similar texts. Instead, compilers and later owners of these books were compelled to partner them with texts that provided a more positive view on the afterlife and offered the reader-audience the *possibility* of redemption through proper Christian living.

The Eleven Pains of Hell follows the popular tradition set by the *Visio S. Pauli*. In fact, the incipit of the Jesus text reads, "Ici comencent les vnze peynes / de enfern les queus seynt

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118v; MS Tanner 407, fol. 36v; Cambridge, Magdalene College, MS 13 (F. 4. 13), fol. 2; Trinity College, MS O. 2. 53, fol. 74; London, British Library, MS Harley 5312, fol. 1v; Aberdeen, Aberdeen University Library, MS 154, fol. 155v; Hereford, Hereford, Cathedral Library, MS O. 4. 14, Part II, fol. 223; Erfurt, Stadtbiblioteck, Erfurt Amplon Oct. 58, fol. 139v; and Sankt Florian, Stiftsbibliothek, MS XI 57.

[451] Matthias Galler, "Attitudes Towards Death in Middle English Lyrics and Hagiography," *Connotations* 16 (2006/2007), 148-9.

[452] Ibid., 151, my emphasis.

[453] Ibid., 155.

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pool vi[st]" ("Here beings the eleven pains of hell which Saint Paul saw"). In an essay on the "Seven Pains of Hell" motif in Old English, Stephen Pelle shows that "listing the pains of hell was a widespread admonitory technique in medieval religious literature in general and in Old English homilies in particular," in which the number of pains "was never universally fixed, as the rhetorical effect of such passages could (arguably) be enhanced by the progressive addition of more and more horrors."[454] In the thirteenth-century *Eleven Pains of Hell*, the number of pains has clearly been "enhanced" for greater effect, which are far more graphic than the eternal hunger, thirst, wandering, fire, cold, and stench that we have seen up to now.[455] The Jesus version begins its concluding section with a prayer seeking help from Christ and his mother:

> Ac bidde we crist þ*at* is vs buue,
> For his swete moder luue,
> Leue vs suche werkes wurche,
> *And* so anuren holy chireche.
> Hwar-þurh we beon iborewe
> *And* ibrouht vt of kare *and* seorewe. (275-280)[456]

The final lines of the poem ask the reader-audience to pray for the person, "Hug" ("Hugh," 288), who wrote this poem. Similar to the Old English *Judgment Day I* and *Soul and Body II*, this version of *The Eleven Pains of Hell* contains no reference to heaven, but, rather, a general hope that one may not be damned through a change in living and thinking. In Digby 86, however,

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[454] Stephen Pelle, "The Seven Pains of Hell: The Latin Source of an Old English Homiletic Motif," *Review of English Studies* 62 (2011), 170.
[455] For example, there are "bernynde treon" ("burning trees," 33) from which those souls would hang who never went to church; a "ouen ihat" ("hot oven," 41) into which seven devils would throw souls; a "hwel of stele" ("wheel of steel," 67) that are covered in spikes and which hold those who upheld unjust laws; a "ful deop fen / Ful of wowares *and* of wymmen" ("very deep fen full of wooers and women," 119-120) that's dark and stinks of brimstone; and more. These extracts come from Morris, *Old English Miscellany*, 147-155.
[456] "But we ask Christ who is above us, for his sweet mother's love, stop us from doing such deeds, and in such a way honor Holy Church, through which we may be bought and brought out of pain and sorrow."

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Marilyn Corrie has found another Middle English poem grafted onto the end of the poem.

In her essay on the compilation of MS Digby 86, the rationale for which has long eluded scholars, Corrie argues for a preoccupation with rhyme that leads the compiler to adding lines from one or more poems to one primary poem.[457] Woolf actually makes the first discovery of an instance in which one poem leads into another with no discernible breaks: the soul and body lyric "Hon an þester stude I stod, an luitel strif to here" leads into "On Doomsday," which is copied as a text in its own right in other manuscripts.[458] Corrie has discovered several other instances in which this grafting has occurred in both English and Anglo-Norman texts. Most importantly, however, *The Eleven Pains of Hell* in Digby 86 ends with a few stanzas that begin "Swete Ihesu, King of Blisse" in other manuscripts.[459]

This grafted lyric is traditionally in fifteen mono-rhyming quatrains and is a hymn based on *Iesu dulcis memoria*.[460] The disparity in subjects between the lyric to Jesus and *The Eleven Pains of Hell* is incredibly obvious, which makes Corrie's attempt to rationalize the pairing a little more difficult. Previously, she is able to show thematic similarity in the combining of "Hon an þester stude I stod" with "On Doomsday" with the fact that the former ends with a soul and body address that leads well into the same found in the latter. However, Corrie persuasively

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[457] Marilyn Corrie, "The Compilation of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 86," *Medium Ævum* 66 (1997): 236-49.
[458] Woolf, *English Religious Lyric*, 97n1. Woolf refers to "On Doomsday" as "Þene Latemeste Dai" and Corrie refers to it as "Uuen I Þenke on Domesdai, Wel Sore Mai Me Drede." I have used Morris's title from *An Old English Miscellany*, which he gives to the Jesus manuscript's version of the poem.
[459] Corrie, "Compilation," 241.
[460] "Sweet Jesu king of bliss" (DIMEV 5075, IMEV 3236), *The* DIMEV: *An Open-Access, Digital Edition of the* Index of Middle English Verse, compiled, edited, and supplemented by Linne R. Mooney, Daniel W. Mosser, and Elizabeth Solopova with Deborah Thorpe and David Hill Radcliffe, s.v. http://www.dimev.net/record.php?recID=5075, accessed April 18, 2014.

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argues:

> the lyric could have been regarded more as an appropriate response to the foregoing piece than as an analogous continuation of it—the gentle, tentative address to Jesus may have been appended as an answer to the uncompromising call for virtue with which the description of the torments of hell ends.[461]

Corrie views this "composite item," however, through the interest of her argument, which is tied to rhyme.[462] The pairing of *The Eleven Pains of Hell* with "Swete Ihesu, King of Blisse," is ultimately linked to the fact that "the third stanza of the lyric uses the same two rhyme-words as the final two lines" of *The Eleven Pains of Hell* in Digby 86.[463]

While Corrie's evidence is compelling for her argument of a compiling method based on the importance of end-rhyme, I believe she also overlooks a long-held English tradition of picking portions of poetic texts to be included in new compositions and compilations. I find no reason to perceive the Digby 86 compiler's choice to put *The Eleven Pains of Hell* and "Swete Ihesu, King of Blisse" together as an "either . . . or" situation, either for the rhyme or for the "appropriate response" of a prayer to Jesus "as an answer to the uncompromising call for virtue."[464] In fact, by allowing for both considerations in the compiler's methodology, we may understand the manuscript as both an artifact deeply entrenched in the vernacular English tradition of what Bredehoft has seen as textual "mining" in the late Anglo-Saxon period and new

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[461] Corrie, "Compilation," 242. She includes the final four lines in Dibgy 86, which I have reproduced below:

Let ous swecche werkes werche,
And so to serui holi chirche
Þat we moten ben iborewe
And ibrout from alle serewe.

[462] Ibid., 241.
[463] Ibid., 242.
[464] Ibid.

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fascination with rhyme in Middle English. And this, in turn, brings me back to the purpose of this chapter. As an Early Middle English text written at the end of the period Thornbury might consider as making use of the "Southern mode"—or Bredehoft might consider as evolving the late Anglo-Saxon tradition of picking poetic lines of texts for new compositions—*Poema Morale* stands at the apex of what will become a popular trend in Middle English textual production.

In most contexts, the poem was considered ideal not for lay preaching, but rather, for personal meditation on eschatological themes, either individually or in groups. Based on my discussions of the Trinity and Lambeth manuscripts, the only examples of possible use of the poem as a preaching text, it seems unlikely that even in those circumstances that it was used to preach to the laity. Similar to the tenth-century Old English miscellaneous compilation the Vercelli Book, which contains both religious verse and homiletic prose, Trinity and Lambeth may represent the earliest material context for the poem while the reader-audience of the manuscripts may have still used the "verse-sermon" as devotional reading in their private spaces. Additionally, *Poema Morale* frequently appears with other vernacular poetry and prose of similar content and theme written in Anglo-Norman, French, and English. Only in the instance of Digby do we find *Poema Morale* amongst primarily Latin prose and poetry, which possibly means that this was an uncommon context for it.[465] Finally, as we see in Egerton, Jesus, and McClean, the manuscripts often contain a combination of didactic and devotional texts that balance each other in their distribution of content focused on heaven and hell, the mercy of Christ, and the inevitable condemnation of sinners, thereby giving their reader-audience an opportunity to consider the perils of living unrepentant, sinful lives and then providing the

[465] The excerpts in Cosin seem to support this interpretation of the evidence as well.

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material to aid them in their choices to follow the path to redemption. With the example of the grim Lambeth version—read with the understanding that, first, there is a precedent for reading supposedly "incomplete" poems on their own, and, second, medieval scribes and compilers not only placed eschatological and death poetry alongside hopeful prayers and hagiographies but also *grafted* them together in some cases—we can see that the devotional context in which we should read the poem provides us with greater understanding of the poem than its supposedly original homiletic context.

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CONCLUSION

The literary cluster of the *Ormulum* and *Poema Morale* that makes up only one part of the Early Middle English rhizome, as I have demonstrated, drew from multiple sources, influences, and traditions to create new redemptive works in the English vernacular at a time when a prevailing assumption is that such work was being undertaken solely by writers in Latin. By interweaving the style of Old English rhythmical prose homilies with the Latin septenarius, Orm and the anonymous poet of *Poema Morale* were able to remediate their works while still maintaining a certain level of familiarity for audiences who would have been accustomed to such aural/oral homiletic deliveries. The sound-play, occasional alliteration, and, in the case of *Poema Morale*, consistent end-rhyme were poetic features meant to aid the retention of an orally delivered text, and in addition to these features, Orm also repeated many of his word, phrases, and even whole sentences as a rhetorical device as a mnemonic for both the Anglo-Norman preachers who would deliver his homilies and the audiences that would receive them. Further, we see in the textual transmission of *Poema Morale* that there were more devotional works of verse that used the English septenary, possibly indicating the oral, even muscial, nature of these poems.

By approaching these late twelfth-century works of verse as individual manifestations of a particular embodiment of the convergence of literary multiplicities, further connective tissues may be revealed that warrant further study. For example, while I did not discuss the proverbial elements of *Poema Morale* in favor of highlighting its connection to Old English homiletic material, a similar investigation could be done on it with Old English wisdom poetry and *The Proverbs of Alfred*, with which it shares more than one manuscript context. Another avenue of

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inquiry would be a deeper consideration of not only the Anglo-Norman analogue of *Poema Morale*, the roughly contemporaneous "Sermon" supposedly by one Guischart de Beauliu, but a further examination of the poem within its thirteenth-century multilingual, particularly Anglo-Norman and Old French, context. The extent to which Latin, French, and English works were anthologized together in the thirteenth century, as seen in the Egerton and Jesus manuscripts, not to mention other miscellanies like MS Digby 86, is a phenomenon that begins to develop more fully in the century after *Poema Morale*'s initial composition, but such research is rare in medieval studies precisely because scholars, like myself, have a habit of focusing on one or a maximum of two languages at a time. A true consideration of a thirteenth-century context of *Poema Morale* must keep all the languages and texts that travel with it in its manuscript context in mind.

As for the *Ormulum*, it is like the old adage goes, "The more I know, the less I understand." This dissertation, and the translation project that began because of it, has only shown me just how much more there is to know about the way Orm interacted with his multiple source materials, how the Old English homiletic tradition influenced him, and how he began to construct his own analogies and metaphors in his verse-homilies. For example, where did he arrive at such ideas as each virtue needing to be gilded over in the gold of patience to be valued by God?

> Forr niss nan mahht rihht god inoh   biforenn Godess e3hne,
> Butt iff itt beo þurrh þildess gold   all full wel oferrgildedd. (H2,609-2,612)

Images such as this and other profound topics that arise, such as Orm's discussion of the "Cossmos" and "Mycrocossmos" in Homily 26, require that we begin to approach the *Ormulum*'s individual verse-homilies to learn more about the work overall and give up our

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attempts to analyze it as a single poetic work and speculate about Orm's library more broadly. Although, in a sense, its distinctive parts do render it a single poetic work, the knowledge and understanding we can gain from that perspective only takes us so far. Instead, to truly "sen *annd* tunnderrstanndenn," as Orm says, we need to place the work under the microscope of literary analysis, as well as the rest of the neglected corpus of Early Middle English.

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APPENDIX A

LISTS OF CONTENTS IN *POEMA MORALE* MANUSCRIPTS

London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 487

1. *In Dominica Palmarum*
2. *Hic Dicendum est de Quadragesima*
3. *Dominica Prima in Quadragesima*
4. *In Diebus Dominicus*
5. *Hic Dicendum est de Propheta*
6. *Pater Noster*
7. *Credo* **§**[466]
8. *De Natale Domini*
9. *In Die Pentecosten*
10. *De Octo Uiciis & de Duodecim Abusiuis Huius Seculi*
11. *Dominica V. Quadragesimæ*
12. *Dominica Secunda Post Pascha*
13. *Sermo in Epist 2 ad Corinth IX.6* **§**
14. *In Die Dominica*
15. *Sermo in Marcum VIII. 34* **§**
16. *Estote Fortes in Bello* **§**
17. *Sermo in PS. CXXVI. 6* **§**
18. *Poema Morale* **§**
19. *On Ureisun of Oure Louerde*

Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B. 14. 52

1. *Poema Morale* **§**
2. *De Aduentu*
3. *Dominica Secunda in Aduentu*
4. *Dominica Tertia*
5. *Credo* **§**
6. *Pater Noster*
7. *In Die Natalis Domini*
8. *In Epiphania Domini*
9. *In Purificatione S. Marie*
10. *In Septuagesima*
11. *De Confessione*
12. *In Capite Ieiunii*
13. *Dominica I in XLA*
14. *Dominica II in Quadragesima*

[466] The **§** symbol indicates a text shared with the Trinity manuscript.

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15. *In Media XLA*
16. *Dominica Palmarum*
17. *In Die Pasche*
18. *Dominica I Post Pascha*
19. *Dominica IV Post Pascha*
20. *In Ascensione Domini*
21. *In Die Pentecoste*
22. *Sermo in PS. LIII. 1*
23. *De Sancto Iohanne Baptista*
24. *De Sancto Iohanne Baptista*
25. *De Sancta Maria Magdalena*
26. *De Sancto Iacobo* §
27. *De Sancto Laurentio* §
28. *Assumptio S. Marie Virginis*
29. *De Defunctis*
30. *De Sancto Andrea*
31. *Estote Fortes in Bello* §
32. *Estote Prudentes et Vigilate in Orationibus*
33. *Sermo in Marcum VIII. 34* §
34. *Sermo in PS. CXIX. 110*
35. Added thirteenth-century Latin text in short verse
36. *Sermo in Isa. XI. 1*

London, British Library, MS Egerton 613

1. "Somer is comen *and* wint*er* gon"[467]
2. "Of on þat is so fayr and briȝt"[468]
3. "Blessed beo þu lauedi"[469]
4. *Chanson amoureuse de Notre Seignur*
5. *Love Song of Our Lady*[470]
6. *Salut et solace par l'amour de Jésu*
7. *Catharina virgo pura*
8. *Prière à Sainte Catherine d' Alexandrie*
9. E text of *Poema Morale**[471]

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[467] DIMEV 5051.
[468] DIMEV 4198.
[469] DIMEV 2341.
[470] DIMEV 3138.
[471] I have placed an asterisk beside items 9/20, 11, and 18 because these texts also appear compiled together in McClean (items 3, 4, and 9). In the case of McClean item 3, Chrétien's *Nicodème*, which is a "continental French prose apocrypha which begins with the Gospel of Nicodemus" that provides the same story as the French text in Egerton, I cannot say whether or not it is by Chrétien as well (Hill, "Manuscript from Nuneaton," 197).

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10. *Dits moraux*
11. *L'Évangile de Nicodème**
12. *La Venjance de Nostre Seignur*
13. *L'Invention de la Sainte Croix*
14. *L'Exaltation de la Sainte Croix*
15. *La Légende des Trois Maries*
16. *Les Quinze Signes du Jugement Dernier*
17. *La Souris*
18. Guillaume le clerc's *Bestiaire**
19. *Les Quatre Titres d'une Nonne*
20. e text of *Poema Morale**
21. Medical Recipes (23 total)

IV. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 4

1. Approximation of a Latin treatise by Odo, Bishop of Cambrai
2. Six Latin poems, probably by Gautier de Chatillon
3. Latin sayings by Seneca (over 60)
4. 13 lines of Latin prose on the births of Christ's earthly parents
5. Latin passages on various theological topics
6. *Macer de virtutibus herbarum*
7. *Macer floridus, de herbis*
8. *Poema Morale*
9. *Versus de Christo and matre eius*
10. 40 lines of Latin verse ("Si de leto stigmata…")

Oxford, Jesus College, MS 29, Part II[472]

1. *The Passion of Our Lord*[473]
2. *The Owl and the Nightingale*[474]
3. *Poema Morale*
4. *The Sayings of St. Bede*[475]
5. *De Muliere Samaritana*[476]
6. *On Fortune*[477]

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[472] For this list, I have consulted two sources: *Manuscripts of the West Midlands: A Catalogue of Vernacular Manuscript Books of the English West Midlands, c. 1300 - c. 1475* (Birmingham: University of Birmingham, 2006), http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/mwm/, accessed October 10, 2012, entry for Oxford, Jesus College, 29/2; and Hill, "Jesus College MS 29," 268-76 (list of contents with modern titles that are either editorial or her own preference, 269-70).
[473] DIMEV 2431.
[474] DIMEV 2307.
[475] DIMEV 5698, also known as *Sinners Beware* and *The Wages of Sin*.
[476] DIMEV 5874.

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7. *Long Life*[478]
8. A Prayer to the Virgin Mary[479]
9. A Song of the Annunciation[480]
10. *On the Five Joys of the Virgin Mary*[481]
11. *Against Simony*[482]
12. *Doomsday*[483]
13. *The Latemest Day*[484]
14. *The Abuses of the Age*[485]
15. *A Lutel Soþ Sermun*[486]
16. *Antiphona de sancto Thoma Martyre*[487]
17. An Exhortation to Serve Christ[488]
18. *A Luue Ron*[489]
19. A Song on the Annunciation[490]
20. *On Doomsday*[491]
21. *Signs of Death*[492]
22. *Three Sorrowful Things*[493]
23. *Proverbs of Alfred*[494]
24. A Prayer of Our Lord[495]
25. A homily on "Soþe Luue"[496]
26. *The Shires and Hundreds of England*[497]
27. *Assisa panis Anglie*[498]

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[477] DIMEV 6182, also known as *Curse of Wealth*.
[478] DIMEV 3370.
[479] DIMEV 4270.
[480] DIMEV 1467. This is the end of item 19.
[481] DIMEV 3019.
[482] DIMEV 6528.
[483] DIMEV 6339.
[484] DIMEV 5640, also known as *On Death* and *Certainty of Death*.
[485] DIMEV 6475, also known as the *Ten Abuses* and *Eleven abuses*.
[486] DIMEV 1773, also known as *Little sermon against forbidden fruits* and *Little Sooth Sermon*.
[487] DIMEV 2047, also known as *Anthem to St Thomas of Canterbury*.
[488] DIMEV 6672, also known as *The service of Christ*.
[489] DIMEV 104.
[490] DIMEV 1467. This is the beginning of item 9.
[491] DIMEV 3676, also known as *Prayer for Salvation*.
[492] DIMEV 6462.
[493] DIMEV 1157, also known as *Three sorrowful tidings*.
[494] DIMEV 714.
[495] DIMEV 3190, also known as *An Orison of Our Lord* and *In praise of Christ*.
[496] DIMEV 5479, also known as *Duty of Christians*.
[497] IPMEP 163, *Index of Printed Middle English Prose*, ed. R. E. Lewis, N. F. Blake, and A. S. G. Edwards (New York: Garland, 1985). First prose text of the manuscript.

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28. *Vie de Tobye*[499]
29. *The Eleven Pains of Hell*[500]
30. Sauvage d'Arras, *Doctrinal*[501]
31. Chardri, *Vie des set dormanz*[502]
32. Chardri, *Vie de Josaphaz*[503]
33. Chardri, *Le Petit Plet*[504]

Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS McClean 123

1. Robert Grosseteste, *Chasteau d'Amour*
2. Chapter 17 from *Mirour de Seint Églyse*
3. Chrétien, *L'Évangile de Nicodème**
4. Guillaume le clerc, *Bestiare**
5. *Apocalypse*, beginning at chapter 5, verse 7
6. Five antiphons for *Hours of the Virgin*
7. *Pseudo-Augustine Prayer*
8. Second version of chapter 17, *Mirour de Seint Églyse*
9. *Poema Morale**

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[498] Latin text that, as Hill explains, "gives relevant weights of the loaf hen the price of corn rises from one to seven shillings" (204) in "History of Jesus." Hill also notes that this is the earliest writing in Part II of Jesus, based on the inclusion of this Latin text, must be after 1256, which is when "the promulgation of the Assize" is noted in the statutes (204).
[499] Verse written in Anglo-Norman.
[500] DIMEV 6112, also known as *St. Paul's Vision of Hell*. Written mostly in English with some Anglo-Norman text at the beginning and the end of the poem.
[501] Also known as *Doctrinal Sauvage*, it is Anglo-Norman verse on moral instruction "addressed to society as a whole" (257), Neil Cartlidge, "The Composition and Social Context of Oxford, Jesus College, MS 29(II) and London, British Library, MS Cotton Caligula A.ix," *Medium Ævum* 66.2 (1997): 250-69. At this point, I am using only Hill, "Oxford, Jesus College" and Cartlidge, "Composition and Social Context" as the sources for the contents of Jesus. *Manuscript of the West Midlands* contains only the English texts.
[502] Also known as *Set Dormanz*, this Anglo-Norman verse is on the Seven Sleepers.
[503] Also known as *Josaphaz*. This is an Anglo-Norman verse hagiography.
[504] This is an Anglo-Norman debate poem.

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APPENDIX B

<u>*POEMA MORALE* INTERLINEAR EDITION</u>

The following is a conservative edition of each of the seven surviving copies of the poem based on my own diplomatic transcriptions. The transcriptions were completed in the autumn of 2012 and rechecked in the summer of 2014. All abbreviations and Tironian notae have been expanded in *italics*; **bolded** text indicates words not present in the other copies; <u>underlined</u> text indicates words out of order based on majority agreement; **[bolded bracketed]** text indicates words or whole lines missing based on majority agreement; and [bracketed] text indicates editorial interference. I have retained manuscript capitalization and punctuation, and only the West Midland manuscripts, Lambeth and Jesus, use the *punctus elevatus* although Lambeth uses it with greater frequency than Jesus, normally at the caesura. Line numbers are indicated to the left of the text with a letter to identify a line's associated manuscript witness: L for Lambeth; T for Trinity; e for the earlier Egerton copy; E for the later Egerton copy; D for Digby; J for Jesus; and M for McClean. Where a line deviates from the general structure based on majority agreement, I have indicated in (parentheses) to the right the line numbers with which it agrees.

L1 Ich em nu alder þene ich wes a wintre *and* a lare.
T1 Ich am nu elder þan ich was a wintre *and* a lore.
e1 Ich æm elder þen ich wes. a wintre and a lore
E1 Ic æm elder þænne is wæs. a winter and a lore
D1 Ic am elder þanne ic wes a wintre *and* **ec** a lore
J1 Ich am eldre þan ich wes a winter and **ek** on lore.
M1 Ich am elder þane ich was **of** wintre *and* **of** lore

L2 Ich welde mare þene ich dede mi wit ahte **don** mare.
T2 Ich wealde more þan idude mi mit oh to be more.
e2 Ic wælde more þanne ic dude. mi wit ah to ben more
E2 ic wælde more þænne ic dude. mi wit ah to ben more

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D2 ic ealdi more þanne ic dede mi wit o3hte to bi more
J2 Ich welde more þan ich dude. my wyt auhte beo more.
M2 Ich eldi more þane ich dude mi wit a3te beo þe more

L3 Wel longe ich habbe child ibon a word *and* a dede
T3 **To** longe ich habbe child iben a worde *and* a dade.
e3 Wel lange ic habbe child ibeon. a weorde *and* **ech** a dede
E3 Wel lange ic habbe childe iben. a worde *and* **ec** a dede
D3 Wel longe ic habbe child ibien on worde *and* on dede
J3 Wel longe ich habbe child ibeo. a werke and **eke** on dede.
M3 **To** longe ich habbe child ibeo **of** wordes *and* **of** dede

L4 þah ich bo a wintre ald to 3ung ich em on rede.
T4 Þeih ibie a winter eald to iung ich am on rade.
e4 Þeh ic beo awintre eald. tu 3yng i eom a rede
E4 þech ic beo a wintre eald. to 3ung ic eam at rede
D4 þe3h ic bi on winten eald to 3iung ic am on rede
J4 Þah ich beo of wynter old. to yong ich am on rede.
M4 Þe3 ich beo of wintres eld to 3ung ich am of rede

L5 Vnnet lif ich habbe iled. and 3et me þingþ ilede.
T5 Vnnet lif ich habbe ilad *and* 3iet me þincheð ilade
e5 Vnnut lif ic habb <u>ilæd</u>. *and* 3yet me þincð ic lede
E5 Vnnyt lyf ic habbe 3elæd. *and* guet me þinh ic lede
D5 Vnnet lif ic habbe iled *and* 3iet me þin3h ic lede
J5 Vnned lif ich habbe ilad. and yet me þinkþ ich lede.
M5 Vnnet lif ich habbe ilad *and* 3et me þincþ ich lede

L6 þenne ich me bi þenche wel **ful** sare ich me adrede.
T6 Þan <u>ibiðenche</u> <u>me</u> **þar on** wel sore ime adrade.
e6 Þanne ic me biþenche. wel sore ic me adrede
E6 þanne ic me biþanche. wel sore ic me adrede
D6 þanne ic me biþenche wel wel sore ic me adrede
J6 Hwenne ich me biþenche. **ful** sore ich me a drede.
M6 Whane ich me biþenche wel sore ich me a drede

L7 mest al þæt ich habbe idon **bi fealt to child hade**.
T7 Mast al ich habbe idon is idelnesse *and* chilce.
e7 Mest al þat ic habbe ydon. ys idelnesse and chilce

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E7 Mest al þæt ic habbe ydon ic idelnesse and chilce
D7 Mest al þ ic habbe idon is idelnesse *and* **childe**
J7 Mest al þat ich habbe idon. is idelnesse and chilce.
M7 Mest **what** þat ich habbe ido is idelnes *and* chilse

L8 Wel late ich abbe me biþocht: bute God me **nu** rede.
T8 Wel late ich habbe me biþoht bute me god do milce.
e8 Wel late ic habbe me biþoht. bute me god do milce
E8 wel late ic habbe me biþoht. bute me god do milce
D8 **to** late ic habbe me biþoȝt bute god me don milce.
J8 Wel late ich habbe me biþouht. bute god do me mylce.
M8 **To** late ich habbe me biþoȝt bute me **crist** do milse

L9 Fole idel word ich halbe iqueðen soððen ich speke kuðe.
T9 Fele idel word ich habbe **ispeken** seðen ich speken cuðe.
e9 Fele ydele word ic habbe iqueden. syððen ic speke cuþe
E9 Fele ydele word ic habbe iqueþen syðen ic speke cuþe
D9 Vele idel word ic habbe iquede siþen ic speke cuðe
J9 Veole idel word ich habbe **ispeke**. seoþþe ich speke cuþe.
M9 Vele idele word**es** ich habbe **ispeke** siþþe ich speke cuþe

L10 Fole ȝunge dede idon: þe me of þinchet nuðe.
T10 *and* fele ȝeunge dade idon þe me ofdinkeð nuðe.
e10 And fale ȝunge dede ido. þe me ofþinchet nuþe
E10 and fele ȝuinge dede**n** ido þat me ofþinchet nuþe
D10 *and* vele **euele** dede**n** idon þ me ofþencheð nuðe
J10 And feole yonge dede**n** ido. þat me of þincheþ nuþe.
M10 *and* fele ȝunge dede ido ***and*** þat me **reweþ** nuþe

L11 Mest al þæt me likede er nu: hit me mislikeð. (TeEDJM13)
T11 Alto lome ich habbe igult a werke *and* a worde.
e11 Al to lome ic habbe a gult. a weorche *and* **ec** a worde
E11 Al to lome ic habbe agult a werche *and* **ec** a worde
D11 Al to lome ic habbe igelt on worke *and* on worde
J11 Al to lome ich habbe a gult. on werke and on worde.
M11 Al to **muchel** ich habbe a gult **of** wrke *and* **of** worde

L12 Þa muchel fulieð his wil: hine solf he biswikeð. (TeEDJM14)

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T12	Alto muchel ic habbe ispend to litel ileid on horde.	
e12	Al to muchel ic habbe ispend. to litel yleid an horde	
E12	al to muchel ic habbe ispend. to litel yleide an horde	
D12	al to muchel ic habbe ispent to litel ileid on horde.	
J12	Al to muchel ich habbe ispend. to lutel ileyd an horde.	
M12	Al to muchel ich habbe ispend to litel ileid on horde	

L13	Ich mihte habbe bet idon. hefde ich þe iselþe.	(TeEDJ15/M13)
T13	Mast al þat me likede ar nu hit me mislicað.	
e13	Mest al þet me licede ær. nu hit me mislichet	
E13	Mest al þat me likede ær. nu it me mysliked	
D13	Mest al þ me likede **þo** nu hit me mislikeð.	
J13	Best al þat me likede er. nv hit me myslykeþ.	
M	**[Lacks LTeEDJ13]**	

L14	Nu ich walde ah ich ne mei: for elde **and** for unhelþe.	(TeED16/J17/M14)
T14	Þe muhel folʒed his iwil him selfen he biswicað.	
e14	Þe mychel folʒeþ his ywil. him sulfne he biswikeð	
E14	þe muchel folʒeþ his ywil. him sulfne he biswikeð	
D14	**se** þe muchel voleð his iwil himselue he biswikeð.	
J14	Þe muchel foleweþ his wil. him seolue he bi-swikeþ.	
M	**[Lacks LTeEDJ14]**	

L15	Ylde me is bistolen on. er ich hit wiste.	(TeED17/J18/M15)
T15	Ich mihte habben bet idon hadde ich þo iselðe	
e15	Ich mihte habbe bet idon. habbe ic þo yselþe	
E15	Ic myhte habbe bet idon hadde ic þer yselþe	
D15	Ic miʒte habbe bet idon hadde ic þo iselðe	
J15	**Mou let þi fol lust ouer go. and eft hit þe likeþ.**	(Unique added line)
M13	Ich miʒte bet habbe ido **ʒef** ich hadde þe selþe	

L16	ne michte ich seon bi fore me. for smike ne for miste.	(TeED18/J19/M16)
T16	Nu ich wolde ac ine mai for elde ***and*** for unhalðe.	
e16	Nu ic wolde ac ic ne mei. for elde ne for unhelþe	
E16	nu ic wolde ac ic ne mai. for elde ne for unhelþe	
D16	nu ic wolde ac ic ne mai vor helde ne uor unhelðe	
J16	Ich myhte habbe bet ido. heuede ich eny selhþe.	(LM13/TeED15)
M14	Nu ich wolde ***and*** ich ne mai for elde ne for unhelþe	

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L17 Yr3e we beoð to done god. **and** to ufele al to þriste. (TeED19/J20/M17)
T17 Elde me is bistolen on ar ich hit iwiste
e17 Ylde me is bi-stolen on. ær ic hit a wyste
E17 Elde me is bistolen on. ær ic hit awuste
D17 Elde me is bistolen an er ic hit iwiste
J17 Nv ich wolde **and** ine may. for elde. ne for vnhelþe. (LM14/TeED16)
M15 Elde me is istolen **up** on er **þan** ich hit wiste

L18 Mare eie stondeð men of monne þanne hom do of criste. (TeED20/J21/M18)
T18 Ne mai ich isien bifore me for smeche ne for miste.
e18 Ne mihte ic iseon before me. for smeche ne for miste
E18 ne myht ic isen before me. for smeke ne for myste
D18 ne mai ic isien biuore me vor smeche ne uor miste.
J18 Elde is me bi-stolen on. er þan ich hit wiste. (LM15/TeED17)
M16 **Þat** ich ne mai me iseo bifore uor smiche ne for miste

L19 Þe wel ne doð þe hwile þe ho mu3en. wel oft hit schal rowen.· (TeED21/J22/M19)
T19 Ar3e we beð to don god to iuel al to þriste
e19 Ærwe we beoþ to done god. ***and*** to yfele al to þriste
E19 Ar3e we beoð to done god to vuele al to þriste
D19 Ar3e we **breð** to donne god to euele al to þriste
J19 Ne may ich **bi**-seo me bifore. for smoke ne for myste. (LM16/TeED18)
M17 Ar3 we beoþ to donne god **of** euel al to þriste

L20 þenne 3e mawen sculen and repen þæt ho er sowen. (TeED22/J23/M20)
T20 More eie stondeð man of man þan him do of criste.
e20 more æie stent man of manne. þanne hym do of criste
E20 more eie stont man of manne. þanne him det of criste
D20 more eie stondeð man of man þanne him doð of criste.
J20 Erewe we beoþ to donne god. vuel al to þriste. (LM17/TeED19)
M18 More eie stondeþ man of man þane him do of criste

L21 Do **he** to gode þæt he mu3e þe hwile **þæt** he bo aliue. (TeED23/J24/M21)
T21 Þe wel ne deð þe hwile he mai wel ofte hit sal him rewen.
e21 Þe wel ne deþ þe hwile he mei. wel oft hit hym scæl ruwen
E21 Þe wel ne deþ þe hwile he mei wel oft hit hym scæl ruwen
D21 Þo þ wel ne doð þer wile hi mu3e ofte hit ham sel riewe
J21 More eye stondeþ mon of mon. þan him **[do]** of cryste. (LM18/TeED20)
M19 **[Þ]**e wel ne deþ þe while he mai **sore** hit scal him rewe

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L22 ne lipnie na mon to muchel to childe ne to wiue. (TeED24/J25/M22)
T22 Þan **alle men** sulle ripen þat hie ar sewen.
e22 þænne hy mowen sculen *and* **riwen**. þer hi ær seowen
E22 þenne hy mowen sculen *and* **riwen** . þer þe hi ar seowen
D22 þanne hi mouwe sulle *and* ripe þ hi herþan siewe
J22 Þe wel ne doþ hwile he may. hit schal him sore reowe. (LM19/TeED21)
M20 **Whane** hi sculle mowe *and* ripe **her** þat hi er sewe

L23 Þe him solue for3et for wiue **ne** for childe: (TeED25/J26/M23)
T23 Do **al** to gode þat he mu3e **ech** þe hwile he beð aliue.
e23 don **ec** to gode **wet 3e** mu3e. þa hwile **3e** buð alife
E23 Don **ec** to gode **we 3e** muge þa hwile **3e** buð alife
D23 Do **ech** to gode þ hi mu3e þer wile hi bieð aliue
J23 **Hwenne alle men** repen schule. þat heo ear seowe. (LM20/TeED22)
M21 Doþ **al** to gode þat **3e** mu3e þe while **3e** beþ aliue

L24 he scal cumen in uuel stude bute him God bo milde. (TeED26/J27/M24)
T24 Ne lipne no man to muchel to childe ne to wiue.
e24 ne **hopie** no man to muchel to childe ne to wife
E24 ne **hopie** no man to muchel to childe ne to wyfe
D24 ne **leue** no man to muchel to childe ne to wiue
J24 Dod to gode þat **ye** muwen. þe hwile **ye** beoþ alyue. (LM21/TeED23)
M22 Ne **truste** noman to muchel to childe ne to wiue

L25 Send**eð** sum god biforen **eow**. þe hwle þæt **3e** mu3en to houene. (TeED27/J28/M25)
T25 **Þe** þe him selfe for3iet for wiue oðer for childe
e25 þe him selue for3ut for wife. oðer for childe
E25 Þe him selue for3ut for wyfe oþer for childe
D25 **Se** þ hine selue vor3et vor wiue oþer uor childe
J25 Ne lipne no mon to muchel. to childe. ne to wyue. (LM22/TeED24)
M23 **Man þan** hine selue uor3et uor wiue oþer uor childe

L26 for betere is an elmesse biforen: þenne boð efter souene. (TeED28/J29/M26)
T26 He sal cumen on euel stede bute him god be milde.
e26 he sceal cume an uuele stede bute hi god beo milde
E26 he sæl comen on vuele stede bute hym god be milde
D26 he sal comen on euele stede. bute god him bi milde.

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J26 Þe him seolue foryet. for wiue. oþer for childe. (LM23/TeED25)
M24 He scal come in euele stede bute god him beo milde

L27 Alto lome ich habbe igult a werke and o worde. (TeEDJM11)
T27 Sende god biforen him **man** þe hwile he mai to heuene
e27 Send **æch** sum god bi-foren hi. þe hwile he mei to heuene
E27 Sende **ec** sum god beforen hym þe wyle **ȝe ben aliue**
D27 Sende sum god biuoren him **man** þ wile **[he mai]** to heuene
J27 He schal cumen on vuele stude. bute god him beo milde. (LM24/TeED26)
M **[Lacks TeED27]**

L28 al to muchel ich habbe ispent. to litel **ihud** in horde. (TeEDJM12)
T28 For betre is on almesse biforen þan ben after seuene.
e28 **[for]** betere is an elmesse bifore. þenne beon æfter seouene
E28 for betere his on almesse before þanne ben after **vyue**
D28 for betere is on elmesse biuore þanne ben efter seuene
J28 Sende **vch** sum god bivoren him. þe hwile he may to heouene. (LM25/TeED27)
M **[Lacks TeED28]**

L29 Ne beo þe loure þene þe solf: **ne** þin mei. ne þin maȝe.
T29 Ne bie þe leuere þan þe self **ne** þi ma*e*i ne þi mowe
e29 Ne beo þe leure þene þe sulf. þi mæi ne ði maȝe
E29 Ne beo þe leure þan þi self þi mei ne þi moȝe
D **[Lacks LTeE29/M25]**
J29 **[for]** Betere is on almes biuoren. þane beoþ after seouene. (L26/TeED28)
M25 Ne beo þe leuere þane þi self þi mei ne þi moȝe

L30 Soht is þæt is oðers monnes frond beter þen his aȝen.
T30 Sot is þe is oðer mannes frend betere þan his owen.
e30 sot is ðe is oðres mannes freond. betere þene his aȝe
E30 **for** sot ys þat ys oþer mannes frond betre þanne his oȝe
D **[Lacks LTeE30/M26]**
J30 Ne beo þe leouere þan þi seolf. þi mey ne þi mowe. (LTeE29/M25)
M26 Sot is þat is oþre mannes frend betere þane his oȝe

L31 Ne **lipnie** wif to hire were. ne were to his wiue
T31 Ne hopie wif to hire were ne were to his wiue
e31 Ne hopie wif to hire were. ne wer to his wife

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E31 Ne hopie wif to hyre were ne were to his wife
D29 Ne hopie wif to hire were ne were to his wiue
J31 Sot is þat is oþer mannes freond. more þan hi owe. (LTeE30/M26)
M27 Ne **truste** wif to hire were ne were to his wiue

L32 bo-for him solue ech man þe hwile **þæt** he bo aliue.
T32 Befor him self afric man þe hwile he beð aliue.
e32 beo-for hi*m* sulue æurich man. þe hwile he beo aliue
E32 bue-for him selue æfrech man þe wyle he bo alife
D30 bi for himselue eurich man þer wile hi bieð aliue.
J32 Ne **lipne no** wif to hire were. ne were to his wyue. (LTeE31/M27)
M28 Biuore him **[selue] to wel** euerich man þe while he **is** aliue

L33 Wis is þe to him solue **[bi]**þench þe hwile þe mot libben.
T33 Wis **[is]** þe him selue biðencheð þe hwile he mot libben
e33 Wis is þe him sulfne biþencð. þe hwile he mote libbe
E33 Wis is þe him sulf beþenþ þa hwile **þe** he mot libbe
D31 Wis is þ hine biþencheð. þo hwile **þ** he mot libbe
J33 Beovor him seolue vych mon. þe hwile he beoþ alyue. (LTeE32/M28)
M29 **Uor** he *is* wis þat **hine** biþancþ þe while **þat** he mot libbe

L34 for sone wule hine for3eten þe fremede and þe sibbe.
T34 For sone willeð him for3iete þe fremde *and* þe sibbe.
e34 for sone wulleð hine for3ite ðe fremde *and* þe sibbe
E34 for sone willet him for3yten þe fræmden and þo sibbe
D32 vor hine willeð sone uor3iete þo fremde *and* þo sibbe **[Lacks LTeE33/D31/M29]**
J34 Vor sone willeþ him foryete þe fremede and þe sibbe.
M30 **So** sone willeþ hine uor3ete þe uremde *and* þe sibbe

L35 Þe wel ne deð þe hwile he mai: ne scal **[he]** wenne he walde.
T35 þe wel ne doð þe hwile he mai ne sal he **þan** he wolde.
e35 Þe wel ne deð þe hwile he mei. ne sceal he hwenne he wolde
E35 Þe wel ne deþ þe wile he mai ne scal he wanne he wolde
D33 **Se** þ wel ne deð þe wile he mai ne sal he **þanne** he wolde.
J35 Þe wel **nule do** hwile he may. ne schal he hwenne he wolde.
M31 [Þ]e wel ne deþ þe whil he mai ne scal he whane he wolde

L36 Monies monnes sare iswinc habbeð oft unholde.
T36 **For** manimannes sore iswinc habbeð ofte unholde.

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e36 manies mannes sare iswinch. habbeð oft unholde
E36 mani mannes sor ȝeswynch habbet ofte **alle** vnholde
D34 **vor** manies mannes sore iswinch habbeð ofte unholde.
J36 **vor** manies mannes sore iswinch habbeð ofte unholde.
M32 Manies mannes sor yswinch habbeþ ofte unholde

L37 Ne **scal** na mon don afirst. ne slawen wel to done.
T37 Ne solde noman don a furst ne **laten** wel to done
e37 Ne scolde na*m*man don a furst. ne slawen wel to done
E37 Ne solde no man don a ferst. ne sclakien wel to done
D35 Ne solde noman don afirst ne sleuhþen wel to donne
J37 Ne scholde no mon don a virst. ne slakien wel to donne.
M33 Ne scolde noman don auirst ne sclakie wel to done[505]

L38 for moni mon bihateð wel þe hit forȝeteð sone.
T38 For maniman bihoteð wel þat hi forȝieteð sone.
e38 for maniman bi-hateð wel. þe hit forȝitet sone
E38 for mani man bihoted wel he it forȝytet sone
D36 for mani man bihoteð wel þ hit forȝet **wel** sone.
J38 Vor mony mon bihoteþ wel. þat hit foryeteþ sone.
M34 Vor maniman bihoteþ wel **and** hit forȝet wel sone

L39 Þe man þe wule siker bon to habben Godes blisse.
T39 Þe man þe wile siker ben to habben godes blisse.
e39 Þe man ðe siker wule beon to habbe godes blisse
E39 Þe man þe wule siker ben to habbe godes blisse
D37 **Se** man þ wile siker bien to habbe godes blisce
J39 Þe mon þat wile syker beo. to habbe godes blysse.
M35 **Ac þilke** man þat wle beo siker to habbe godes blisse

L40 do wel him solf hwile þæt he mai: þenne haueð he his mid iwisse.
T40 Do wel him self þe hwile he mai þanne haueð hes mid iwisse.
e40 do wel him sulf þe hwile he mei. ðen haueð he mid iwisse
E40 do wel him silf þe wile he mai þanne haued he it mid ywisse
D38 do **eure god þer** hwile he mai þanne haueð he hit **to** iwisse
J40 Do wel him seolf þe hwile he may. þenne haueþ he hit myd iwisse.

[505] According to the *Middle English Dictionary*, "slawen," "sleuhþen," and "leten" all mean either "to be slow" or "to neglect, abandon" while "slakien" means "to slack off."

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M36 Do wel him self þe while he mai þanne haueþ he mid ywisse

L41 Þes riche man weneð bon siker þurh walle and þurh diche.
T41 Þe riche men weneð siker ben þurch wallen *and* thurh dichen.
e41 Þes riche men weneð beo siker. þurh walle end þurh diche
E41 Þos riche men wened ben sikere þurh walles *and* þurh diche
D39 þo riche **[men]** weneð siker bien þurh walles *and* þurh diches.
J41 **Ah** heo doþ **heore** ayhte ***and*** siker stude. þat sendeþ it to heoueriche.[506]
M37 Þis riche men weneþ beo siker þurȝ walles *and* þurh diche

L42 Þe deð his echte on sikere stude he hit sent to heueneriche.
T42 He deð his aihte an siker stede þe hit sent to heueriche.
e42 he deð his **[aihte]** a sikere stede. Þe **[hit]** sent to heueneriche
E42 he ded his eitte on sikere stede þe hi send to heuene-riche
D40 se deð his heȝhte on sikere stede þ sent hi to heueriche
J42 Þeos riche men weneþ **to** beon syker. þurh walles *and* þurh diche.
M38 **Ac** þe deþ his eȝte in sikere stede he hit sent to heueneriche

L43 for þer ne þerf he bon of dred of fure ne of þoue
T43 For **[þer ne]** þarf he ben ofdrad of fure ne of þieue.
e43 For ðer ne ðierf beon of dred. of fure ne of þeoue
E43 For þer ne þarf he ben of drad of fure ne of þeve
D41 Þer ne darf he habben kare of ȝieue ne of ȝielde (LTeEJ45/M41)
J43 Vor þer ne þarf. he beon adred. of fure ne of þeue.
M39 Vor þar ne darf he ben afered of fure ne of þeue

L44 Þer ne **þerf he** him binimen þe laðe ne þe loue.
T44 Þar ne mai hit him ninime þe loðe ne þe **neue**.
e44 Þer ne mei hi binime. ðe laðe ne ðe leoue
E44 þer ne mai it hym binimen þe loþe ne þe leue
D42 þider we sendeð *and* selue bereð to litel *and* to selde (LTeEJ46/M42)
J44 Þar ne may hit **[him]** bynyme. þe loþe ne þe leoue.
M40 Þar ne mai hit him binime þe loþe ne þe leue

L45 Þer ne þerf he habben kare of ȝefe ne of ȝelde.
T45 Þar ne þarf he habben care of **here** ne of ȝielde

[506] In the margin, the scribe has written ".b." beside this line and ".a." beside the following line to indicate that they had copied the couplet out of order mistakenly.

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e45 Þar ne þærf he habbe kare of **wyfe** ne of **childe**
E45 Þer ne þerf ne habbe kare of **wiue** ne of **childe**
D43 **[for]** Þer ne darf **man** ben ofdred of fere ne of þieue (LTeEJ43/M39)
J45 Þer ne þarf he **beon of dred**. of yefte ne of yelde.
M41 Þar ne darf he habbe care of **3unge** ne of 3elde

L46 þider **he** sent. and solf bereð to lutel and to selde.
T46 Þider we sendeð *and* **ec** bereð to litel *and* to selde.
e46 þuder we sendet *and* sulf bereð. to lite *and* to selde
E46 þider we sended suuel and bred to lutel and to selde
D44 þer ne mai him **naht** binime se loþe ne se lieue. (LTeEJ44/M40)
J46 Þider we sendeþ and seolf bereþ. to lutel and to selde.
M42 Þider we sendeþ *and* **us** self bereþ to litel *and* to selde

L47 Þider we sculen dra3en and don wel ofte and ilome.
T47 Þider we solden drawen *and* don wel ofte *and* ilome.
e47 þider we scolden dra3an *and* don wel oft *and* **wel** 3elome
E47 Þider we solden drawen and don wel oft *and* **wel** 3elome
D **[Lacks LTeEJ47]**
J47 Þider we schulde drawen and don. wel ofte and ilome.
M43 Þider **3e** scolde **alle** don wolde **3e** me yleue (LTeEJ49)

L48 for þer ne scl me us naut binimen mid wrangwise dome.
T48 For þar ne sal me us naht binime mid wrongwise dome.
e48 For þer ne sceal me us naht bi-nime. mid wranc wisedome
E48 for þer ne scal me us nout binimen mid wronge **ne mid wo3e**
D **[Lacks LTeEJ48]**
J48 **Ne may þer non hit** vs bynymen. myd wrongwise dome.
M44 Þar ne mi3te hit us binime king ne no scerreue (LTeEJ50)

L49 Þider 3e sculen 3orne dra3en. walde 3e god ileue.
T49 Þider we solde 3ierne drawen wolde 3ie me ileuen.
e49 þider we scolden 3eorne dra3en. wolde 3e me ileue
E49 Þider we scolde 3erne drawen *and* don wolde 3e me ileue
D45 Þider we solden **alle** dra3hen wolde **3e** me ileuen
J49 Þider we schulden drwen and don. wolde ye me ileue.
M45 Þider we scolde **bere** ***and*** dra3e ofte *and* **wel** ylome (LTeEJ47)

L50 for **[þer]** ne mei **þæt** hit **ou** binimen king ne reue.

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T50 For **[þer]** ne mai hit us binime **no** king ne **no** syrreue.
e50 for ðere ne mei hit bi-nimen **eow** þe king ne seireue
E50 for þer ne mai hit **ou** binimen þe king ne þe scirreve
D46 for þer mai hit us binime **ne** king ne **his** serreue.
J50 Vor þer ne may hit vs bynyme þe king. ne þe schirreue.
M46 Þar ne **mi3te** me **hit** us binime mid **none** wronge**[wise]** dome (LTeEJ48)

L51 Al þæt beste þæt we **b**efden þider we **hit** solde senden
T51 Al þat beste þat we habbeð **her** þider we solde sende.
e51 **[al]** þet betste þ we hedde. þuder we scolde sende
E51 Al þat beste þ'at we habbet þider we scolde sende
D47 **[al]** Þet beste þ we **ho3eð.** þider we solde senden.
J51 Al þe beste þat we habbeþ. þider we schulde sende.
M47 Al þat **faireste** þat **man** haueþ **to gode he hit** scolde sende

L52 for þer we hit michte finden eft. and habben buten ende.
T52 For þar we **[hit]** mihte finden eft *and* habben abuten ende.
e52 For þer we hit mihte finde eft. *and* habbe bute ende
E52 for þer we it muwen finden eft *and* habben abuten ende
D48 for þer we mu3en hit finden eft *and* habben buten ende.
J52 Vor þer we hit myhte vinden eft. *and* habben **.o.** buten ende.
M48 Þar he hit mi3te finde eft *and* habbe **euere** bute ende

L53 Þo þe er doð eni God for habben godes are.
T53 Se þe her doð ani god for to haben godes ore.
e53 he ðe her deð eni god. for habbe godes are
E53 Þe þe her det ani god for to habben godes ore
D49 Se þe her deð ani god to habbe godes ore
J53 He þat her doþ eny god. to habbe godes ore.
M49 Þe **man** þe his e3te wel wile **wite** þe while he mai welde (LTeEJ55/D51)

L54 al he hit scal finden **eft** þer and hundredfald mare.
T54 Al he hit sal **eft** finde þar *and* hundredfealde more.
e54 eal he hit sceal finde ðer. *and* hundredfealde mare
E54 al he it scal finden þer. *and* hundredfelde more
D50 al he hit sel finde þer *and* hundredfealde more
J54 Al he **[hit]** schal vynde þer. **an** hundredfolde more.
M50 3eue he uor godes loue þanne **beþ** hi wel ihelde (LTeEJ56/D52)

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L55 Þe þet echte wile halden wel hwile **þe** he mu3e es welden.
T55 Se þe aihte wile holde wel þe hwile hes mu3e wealden.
e55 þe ðe ehte wile healden wel. þe hwile he mei his wealden
E55 Þe þe ehte wile healden wel þe wile he mai his welden
D51 Se þ e3hte wile hialde wel þe hwile **þe** hi mot wealde
J55 Þe þat ayhte wile holde wel. þe hwile he may **him** wolde.
M51 **Þe man þa** ani god doþ her uor habbe godes ore (LTeEJ53/D49)

L56 giue hies for godes luue: þenne deþ hes wel ihalden.
T56 3ieue hes for godes luue þanne doð he wel ihealden.
e56 3iue his for godes luue. þenne beð he his wel ihealden
E56 3iue his fod godes luue **eft heo hit scullen a finden**
D52 3ieue hi for godes loue þanne deð he **hi** wel ihialde.
J56 Yeue **hit** for godes luue þenne doþ he **hit** wel iholde.
M52 Þar he hit scal finde **eft** an hundredfelde more (LTeEJ54/D50)

L57 Vre swinc and ure tilþe is ofte iwoned to swinden.
T57 **For** ure swinch *and* ure tilð is ofte wuned to swinde.
e57 Vre iswinch *and* ure tilðe. is oft iwuned to swinden
E57 Vre iswinch *and* ure tilþe is ofte iwuned to swinden
D53 Vre siwinch *and* ure itilðe is ofte iwoned to aswinde.
J57 Vre swynk *and* vre tylehþe. is iwuned to swynde.
M **[Lacks LTeEJ57/D53]**

L58 ach þæt þe we doð for godes luue: eft we **[hit]** sculen al finden.
T58 Ac **al** þat we **3ieueð** for godes luue **al** we hit sulen eft finden.
e58 ac ðet we doð for godes luue. eft we hit sculen a finden
E58 ac þat we dot for godes luue eft we it scullen a finden
D54 ac þ we doð for godes loue eft we sollen hit **al** vinde
J58 Ah **heo** þat **hit yeueþ** for godes luue. eft hit **mowen** ivynde.
M **[Lacks LTeEJ58/D54]**

L59 Ne scal nam ufel bon unbocht. ne nan god unfor3olden.
T59 Ne sal **þar** non euel ben unboht ne **[nan]** god unfor3olden.
e59 Ne sceal nan uuel beon unboht. ne nan god unfor3olde
E59 Ne scal non vuel ben vnbout ne non god vnfor3olde
D55 Ne sel non euel bien vnboht. ne no god unfor3olde.
J59 Ne schal non vuel beon vnbouht. ne no god vnvorgulde.
M53 Þe **man** þat deþ **her** mest to gode *and* **alþre** lest to loþe (LTeEJ61/D57)

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L60 Vfel we doþ al to muchel. and god lesse þenne we sculden.
T60 Euel we doð al to muchel *and* god lasse þan we solden.
e60 uuel we doð eal to michel. *and* god lesse þenne we scolde
E60 vuel we doð al to muchel *and* god lasse þanne we scolde
D56 euel we doð al to muchel **[and]** god lesse þanne we solde.
J60 Vuel we doþ al to muchel **[and]** god.·lasse þane we scholde.
M54 Aiþer to litel *and* to muchel hit scal him þinche **loþe** (LTeEJ62/D58)

L61 Þo þe mest doð nu to gode. and þe lest to laðe.
T61 Se þe mast doð nu to gode *and* se last to lothe.
e61 Þe ðe mest deð nu to gode. *and* ðe þe lest to laðe
E61 Þe þe mest deð nu to gode *and* þe þe lest to laðe
D57 Se þ mest deð nu to gode *and* se þ lest to loðe
J61 Þe þat mest doþ nv to gode. *and* te þe leste to laþe.
M55 **Whane** me scal ure wurkes we3e **to** uore þe heuenkinge (LTeEJ63/D59)

L62 eiðer to lutel and to muchel scal þunchen eft hom baþe.
T62 Eiðer to litel *and* to muchel hem sal þunche **[eft]** boðe.
e62 æiðer to litel *and* to michel sceal ðinche eft him baðe
E62 ayþer to lutel *and* to muchel scal þinchen eft hym baðe
D58 aider to litel *and* to muchel sal þenchen eft hem boðe.
J62 Eyþer to lutel and to muchel. schal þunchen heom ef **to** baþe.
M56 *and* 3eue us ure suinches lien after ure ernigge (LTeEJ64/D60)

L63 Þer me scal ure werkes weien biforan þe heuen king.
T63 Þar me sal ure werkes wei3en bifore þan heuen kinge.
e63 Þer me sceal ure weorkes we3en. beforen **[þe]** heue kinge
E63 Þer me scal vre werkes we3en biforen þen heuene kinge
D59 Þer me sal ure werkes we3e biuore þe heuene kinge
J63 Þer me schal vre werkes weyen byvore **[þe]** heouene kinge.
M57 Ne scal non euel beo unbo3t ne no god **un3ulde** (LTeEJ59/D55)

L64 and 3euen us ure swinkes lan efter ure erninge.
T64 *and* 3ieuen us ure werkes lean after ure erni*n*ge.
e64 *and* 3ieuen us ure swinches lien æfter ure earninge
E64 *and* 3iuen us vre swinches lyen after vre erninge
D60 *and* 3ieuen us ure workes lean efter ure earninge.
J64 And yeuen vs vre swynkes lean. after vre earnynge.

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M58 Euel we doþ al to muchel god lasse þane we scolde (LTeEJ60/D56)

L65 Ech mon mid þæt he hauet mei buggen houene riche.
T65 Africh man mid þat he haueð mai bugge heueriche
e65 eure-elc man mid **þan** ðe haueð mei bigge heueriche
E65 Eure-ilc man mid **þan** þe he haued mai biggen heueriche
D61 Eurich man mid þ he haueð mai beggen heueriche
J65 Everuych mon myd þat he haueþ. may bugge heoueriche.
M59 **Ac** euerich man mid **þan** þe he haueþ mai bugge **godes**riche

L66 þe **[þe]** mare haueþ and þe þe lesse჻ baþe **hi muȝen** iliche.
T66 Þe þe more haueð *and* þe þe lasse boðe iliche.
e66 þe ðe mare hefð *and* ðe þe lesse. baðe **mei** iliche
E66 þe þe more haued *and* þe þe lasse. boþe **mai** iliche
D62 se þ lesse *and* se þ more **here aider** iliche.
J66 Þe **riche and þe poure** boþe. **ah nouht alle** ilyche.
M60 Þe þe more haueþ *and* þe þat lasse boþe iliche

L67 alse mid his penie alse oðer mið his punde.
T67 Alse **on** mid hes peni se oðer mid his punde
e67 eal se mid his penie. se ðe oðer mid his punde
E67 **He** alse mid his penie se þe oþer mid his punde
D63 Al suo **on** mid his panie swo oþer mid his punde
J67 **Þe poure** myd his penye. **[alse]** þe **riche** myd his punde.
M61 Ase **wel þon** mid his penie alse þe oþer mid his punde

L68 Þæt is þe wunderlukeste **chep**჻ þæt eni mon efre funde.
T68 **Þis** is þet wunderlukeste ware þat animan **[efre]** funde.
e68 þet his ð wunderlukeste ware. ðe æniman æure funde
E68 þat is þe wunderlikeste ȝare þat eni man eure funde
D64 þ is si wonderlicheste ware þ ani man eure vonde.
J68 Þat is þe wunderlicheste ware. **þat** euer **was** ifunde.
M62 **Þis** is þat **alþre beste** ware **þat** euere **was** ifunde

L69 and þe ðe mare ne mai don჻ do **hit** mid his gode þonke.
T69 *and* se þe more ne mai don mid his gode iþanke.
e69 And þe ðe mare **me [ne?]** mei don. mid his god iþanke
E69 And þe þe more ne mai don **bute** mid his gode þanke
D65 *and* se þ more ne mai don mid his gode þonke

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J **[Lacks LTeE69/D65/M63]**
M63 *and* þe þat ne mai namore do mid is gode þonke

L70 alse wel se þe þe haueð golde fele manke.
T70 Alse wel se þe þe haued goldes fele manke.
e70 eal se wel se ðe haueð goldes feale marke
E70 al se wel se þe haued goldes feale manke
D66 al swo wel **swo** se þ haueð. goldes vele monke.
J **[Lacks LTeE70/D66/M64]**
M64 Al so wel so he þat haueþ **of** goldes fele monke

L71 And oft god kon mare þonc þen þe him ʒeueð lesse.
T71 And ofte god can more þanc þan þe him ʒieueð lasse.
e71 and oft god kan mare þanc ðan ðe him ʒiuet lesse
E71 And god can more þanc ðan þe him ʒiued lesse
D67 *and* ofte god can more þanc þan þe him ʒiefð þet lesse
J69 *and* ofte god con more þonk. **ye** þat yueþ him lasse.
M65 **Vor** ofte god kan more þonc **[þan] him** þat him ʒefþ lasse

L72 **and** his werkes and his weʒes his milce. and rihtwisnesse.
T72 Al his werkes *and* his weies is milce *and* rihtwinesse.
e72 eal his weorkes *and* his weies is milce *and* rihtwisnesse
E72 al his werkes *and* his weies is milce *and* ritʒifnesse
D68 alle his workes *and* **alle** his weʒes is mihte *and* rihtwisnesse.
J70 Alle his werkes. *and* his **yeftes**. is **[milce] in** ryhtwisnesse.
M66 **ʒef** his workes *and* his weʒes is milse *and* riʒtwisnesse

L73 Lutel lac is gode lof: þæt kumeð of gode wille.
T73 Litel loc is gode lef þe cumeð of gode wille
e73 Lite lac is gode leof. ðe cumeð of gode iwille
E73 Lutel loc is gode lef þat comed of gode wille
D69 Litel loc is gode lief þ cumð of gode iwille
J71 Lutel lok is gode leof. þat cumeþ of gode wille.
M67 Litel loc is gode lef þat cumþ of gode wille

L74 and eclete muchel ʒeue **of** þan þe herte is ille.
T74 *and* eðlate muchel ʒieue þan **his** herte is ille.
e74 *and* eðlete muchel ʒiue ðenne ðe heorte is ille

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E74 *and* eðlete muchel ȝyue ðenne ðe heorte is ille
D70 *and* eðlete muchel iȝeue þanne si hierte is ille.
J72 *and* **lutel he let on muchel wowe**. þer **he** heorte is ille.
M68 *and* ȝeþlete muchel ȝeue **of him** þat his herte is ille

L75 Houene and horþe he ouer-sich. his eȝen boð swa brichte.
T75 Heuene *and* erðe he ouer-sihð his eien beð **ful** brihte.
e75 Heuene *and* eorðe he ouer-sihð. his eȝen beoð swo brihte
E75 Heuene *and* erþe he ouer-sihð. his eȝen bed so britte
D71 heuene *and* erðe he ouersieð his eȝhen beð **ful** brihte
J73 Heouene *and* eorþe he ouer-syhþ. his eyen beoþ so brihte.
M69 Heuene *and* erþe he ouersicþ his eȝene beþ **wel** briȝte

L76 Sunne and mone and houen fur boð þestre aȝein his lihte.
T **[Lacks LeE76/D72/J74/M70]**
e76 sunne. mone. **dei**. *and* fur. bið þustre to ȝeanes his lihte
E76 sunne. mone. **dai**. *and* fur bud þustre to ȝenes his lichte
D72 sunne *and* mone *and* **alle starren** bieð þiestre on his lihte.
J74 Sunne. *and* mone. heuene. ***and*** fur. beoþ þeostre ayeyn his lyhte.
M70 Sonne. *and* mone. **sterre. *and*** fur. **is** þestre to ȝenes his liȝte

L77 Nis him noht forholen nilud. swa muchele boð his mihte.
T76 Nis him **noþing** forholen **[ni hud]** swo muchel **is** his mihte.
e77 Nis him naht forhole. ni hud. swa michel bið his mihte
E77 Nis him nout forho**t**e ni hud so muchel bet his mihte
D73 Nis him **ec noþing** uorhole swo muchel bieð his mihte.
J75 Nis him forhole nowiht. ne ihud. so muchele beoþ his myhte.
M **[Lacks LeE77/T76/D73/J75]**

L78 Nis hit ne swa derne **[idon]** ne swa þostre nihte.
T77 **Ne bie** hit no swo derne idon ne on swo þuster nihte.
e78 nis hit na swa durne idon. ne a swa þustre nihte
E78 nis it no so derne idon. ne a swa þustre nihte
D74 nis **noþing** swo dierne idon ne on swo þiestre nihte.
J76 **Nu** no so derne **dede** idon. **[ne]** in so þeostre nyhte.
M **[Lacks LeE78/T77/D74/J76]**

L79 he wat wet þenkeð *and* hwet doð alle q*ui*ke wihte.
T78 He wot hwat þencheð *and* hwat doð alle quike wihte

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e79 He wat hwet deð. *and* **[hwat]** ðenchet. ealle quike wihte
E79 He wot wat deht *and* **[hwat]** þenchet alle quike wihte
D75 He wot hwet þencheð *and* hwet doð alle quike wihte
J77 He wot hwat þencheþ. *and* hwat doþ. alle quyke wyhte.
M71 He wot **[hwat þencheþ]** *and* **walt** what doþ ***and*** **queþeþ** alle quike wi3te

L80 Nis na lauerd swich **se** is crist. ne king swuch ure drihten.
T79 Nis **[no]** louerd swilch is crist ne king swilch ure drihte
e80 nis na hlauord swilc **se** is crist. na king swilch ure drihte
E80 nis no louerd swilc **se** is crist. na king swilc vre drihte
D76 nis no louerd swich is crist ne no king swich **is** drihte
J78 Nis no lou'd such is crist. ne king. such vre dryhte.
M72 Nis no louerd suich is crist no king suich **is** ure dri3te

L **[Lacks T80]**
T80 Boðe 3iemeð þe his bien bi daie *and* bi nihte.
e **[Lacks T80]**
E **[Lacks T80]**
D **[Lacks T80]**
J **[Lacks T80]**
M **[Lacks T80]**

L81 Houene and orðe and al þæt is biloken is in his honde.
T81 Heuene *and* erðe *and* al þat is biloken is in his honden
e81 Heouene *and* eorðe. *and* eal þet is. biloken **[is]** in his hande
E81 Heuene *and* herþe *and* **at** þat is beloken **[is]** in his honde
D77 Heuene *and* erðe *and* al þat is biloken is on his honde
J79 Heouene *and* eorþe. and al þat is. biloken is. in his honde.
M73 Heuene *and* erþe **[and al þat is biloken] godalmi3ti halt al** in his honde

L82 He deð al þæt his wil is: a wettre and alonde.
T82 He doð al þat his wille is awatere *and* alonde.
e82 he deð eal þ his wille is. awetere and alande
E82 he ded al þat his willes is a watere *and* a londe
D78 he deð al þ his wille is on **sae** *and* **ec** on londe.
J80 He doþ al þat his wille is. a watere. and **eke** on londe.
M74 He deþ al þat his wille is awatere *and* alonde

L83 He makede fisses in þe se and fu3eles in þe lifte.

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T83 He makeð **þe** fisses in þe **sa þe** fueles on þe lofte.
e83 He makede fisces in ðe se. *and* fuȝeles in ðe lufte
E83 He makede fisses inne þe see *and* fuȝeles inne þe lofte
D79 He witeð *and* wialdeð alleþing. he iscop alle seafte (LTeE84/J82/M76)
J81 He makede fysses in þe sea. and fuweles in þe lufte.
M75 He **scuppeþ þe** fish in þe **seo þe** foȝel **bi** þe lefte

L84 He wit and waldeð alle þing and **[he]** scop alle scefte.
T84 He wit *and* wealdeð alle þing *and* he sop alle safte.
e84 he wit *and* wealdeð ealle ðing. *and* he scop ealle **ȝe** sceafte
E84 he wit *and* walt alle þing *and* he scop alle scefte
D80 he wrohte fis on þer sae *and* foȝeles on þar lefte (LTeE83/J81/M75)
J82 He wit and wald alle þing. and **[he]** schop alle schafte.
M76 He wot **[and wald]** alle **kennes** þing **[and]** he scop alle scefte

L85 He is hord buten horde and ende buten ende.
T85 He is ord abuten ord *and* ende abuten ende
e85 He is ord abuten orde. *and* ende abuten ende
E85 He is ord abuten orde *and* ende abuten ende
D81 He is ord albuten orde *and* ende albuten ende
J83 He **wes erest of alle þing**. and **euer byþ** buten ende.
M77 *and* he is ord bute ord *and* ende bute ende

L86 He ane is eure an ilche stude wende þer þu wende.
T86 He is one afre on eche stede wende þar þu wende.
e86 he ane is æure en elche stede. wende þer þu wende
E86 he one is eure on elche stede wende war þu wende
D82 he one is eure on eche stede wende wer þu wende
J84 He is on **[euer on]** ewiche stude. wende hwer þu wende.
M78 He is one **[euer on]** in eueriche stede wende whider þu wende

L87 He is buuen us and binoþen. biforen and bihinden.
T87 He is buuen us *and* bineðen biforen *and* bihinde
e87 He is buuen us *and* bineoðen. biforen *and* bihinde
E87 He is buuen us *and* bineþen biforen *and* bihinde
D83 He is buuen us *and* bineþen biuoren *and* **ec** bihinde.
J85 He is buuen and bineþen. bivoren vs and bihinde.
M79 He is boue **[us]** *and* **he is** bineþe biuore *and* bihinde

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L88 Þe þe deð godes wille uwer he mei him finden.
T88 Þe **[þe]** godeswille doð aihware he maiƷ him finde.
e88 þe ðe godes wille deð. eiðer he mei him finde
E88 þe þe godes wille ðe eiðer he mai him finde
D84 se **man** þ godes wille deð. he mai hine aihwar uinde.
J86 Þe þat godes wille doþ. ichwer **[he]** may him fynde.
M80 Þe **man** þat godes wille deþ **oueral** he hine mai finde

L89 **N**elche rune he iherð and wat alle deden.
T89 Elche rune he hereð *and* he wot alle dade
e89 Elche rune he ihurð. *and* he wat ealle dede
E89 Elche rune he ihurd *and* he wot alle ded
D85 Eche rune he iherð. *and* wot **eche** dede
J87 Hvych rune he iherþ. **[and] þe** wot alle dede.
M81 Eche rune **god** ihurþ **[and] god** wot **ache** dede

L90 he þurh-sicheþ uches monnes þonc. Wi hwat scal us to rede.
T90 He þurh-sihð elches mannes þanc wi hwat sal us to rade.
e90 he ðurh-sihð ealches mannes ðanc. **[wi]** whet sceal us to rede
E90 he þurð-sihð elches mannes þanc **[wi]** wat scal us to rede
D86 he þurhsiƷð eches **[mannes]** iþanc wai hwat sel us to rede.
J88 He þurh-syhþ. vych monnes þonk. wy hwat schal vs to rede.
M82 He **wurƷ**-sicþ aches mannes þonc **[wi]** what scal us to rede

L91 we þæt brokeð godes hese and gulteð swa ilome.
T91 We þe brekeð godes has *and* gulteð swo ilome
e91 **Þe** ðe brekeð godes hese. *and* gultet swa ilome
E91 **Þo** þe breked godes hese *and* gultet so ilome
D87 We þ godes hesne brekeð *and* gelteð swo ilome
J89 **Þe** þat brekeþ godes hes. and gulteþ so ilome.
M83 We þat brekeþ godes isest *and* gulteþ suo ylome

L92 Hwet scule we seggen oðer don et þe muchele dome.
T92 Hwat sulle we seggen oðer don ate muchele dome
e92 hwet scule we seggen oðer don. æt ðe muchele dome
E92 wet sulle **he** segge oþer don. at þe muchele dome
D88 hwet sulle we siggen oðer don at to **heaƷe** dome.
J90 Hwat schulle we seggen oþer don. at þe muchele dome.
M84 What sculle we sigge oþer do atte **heƷe** dome

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L93 þa þe luueden unriht and ufel lif leden.
T93 **We** þe luueden unriht *and* euel lif ladden
e93 Þa ða luueden unriht. *and* uuel lif ledde
E93 Þo þe luueden vnriht *and* vuel lif ladde
D **[Lacks LTeE93 / J91 / M85]**
J91 Þe þat luueþ vnryht. and **heore** lif. vuele ledeþ.
M85 **We** þat **her habbeþ a gult** *and* euel lif **her** ladde

L94 Wet sculen ho seggen oðer don: **þen þe** engles bo**n** of dred.
T94 Hwat sulle **we** seggen oðer don þar ængles beð ofdradde
e94 hwet scule hi segge oðer don. ðer engles beoð of dredde
E94 wat scullen hi seggen oþer don þar engles bed of dredde
D **[Lacks LTeE94/J93/M86]**
J92 We þat neu*er* god ne duden. þen heueneliche demeþ. (LTeE96/M88)
M86 Huat sculle **we come to dome** þar angles beþ adradde

L95 Hwet sculen we beren biforen us mid hom scule we iquemen.
T95 Hwat sulle we beren us biforen mid hwan sulle we iqeme
e95 Hwet scule we beren biforen **[us]**. mid hwan scule we cweman
E95 Hwat sculle we beren biforen us mid wan sculle we him iquemen
D **[Lacks LTeE95/J95/M87]**
J93 Hwat schulle **[hi]** seggen oþer don. þer engles **[beþ] heom [of]**drede
M87 What sculle we bere us biuore mid wham sculle we yqueme

L **[Lacks J94]**
T **[Lacks J94]**
e **[Lacks J94]**
E **[Lacks J94]**
D **[Lacks J94]**
J94 Crist for his muchele myhte. hus helpe þenne and rede.
M **[Lacks J94]**

L96 **þo** þe neure god ne dude þe houenliche deme.
T96 We þe nafre god ne duden þan heuenliche deme.
e96 we þe næure god ne duden. þe heuenliche demen
E96 we þe neure god ne duden þe heuenliche demen
D **[Lacks LTeE96/J92/M88]**
J95 **H**wat schulle we beren vs bivoren. and hwan schulle we queme. (LTeE95/M87)
M88 We þat **non** god ne **habbeþ** ydo þe heuenliche deme

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L97 Þer sculen bon doule swa fole þæt wulleð us forwreien.
T97 Þar sulle ben deflen swo fele þat willeð us forwreien.
e97 Þer scule beon defles swa uele. ðe wulleð us forwre3en
E97 Þer sculle ben deofles swo fele þe wulled us forwreien
D89 Þer sulle deoflen bi swo uele þ willeð us vorwreien
J96 Þe schule beon deoulen so veole. þat wulleþ vs forwreye
M89 Þar sculle beo deueles suo fele ***and*** wulleþ us forwreie

L98 **and** nabbeð hi naþing for3eten of al þæt ho ise3en.
T98 Nabbeð hie no þing for3ieten of **[al]** þat hie **her** iseien.
e98 nabbeð hi naþing for3yte. of eal þ hi ise3en
E98 nabbet hi noþing for3yte of al þat hi ere se3en
D90 nabbeð hi noþing vor3ete of **þan [al]** þ hi ise3en
J97 Nabbeþ heo nowiht foryete. of al þat heo iseyen.
M90 Ne habbeþ hi noþing for3ete **her [of al]** þat hy yse3e

L99 Al þæt we misduden her: ho hit wulleð kuðe þere.
T99 Al þat **hie iseien** her hie **[hit]** willeð cuðen þare
e99 Eal þ we misdude her. hit wulleð cuðe þære
E99 Al þat we misduden her hit wullet cuþe þere
D91 Al þ we misdeden hier hi **[hit]** willeð keðen þere
J98 Al þat we mysduden here. heo hit wulleþ cuþe þere.
M91 Al þat we misdude her hi hit **us** wlleþ cuþe þare

L **[Lacks TeE100/D92/J99/M92]**
T100 Bute we haben hit ibet þe hwile we here waren.
e100 buten we habbe hit ibet. ðe hwile we her were
E100 buten we habben it ibet þe wile we her were
D92 bute we habben hit ibet þer hwile we hier were.
J99 Bute we habben hit ibet. þe hwile we her were.
M92 Bute we hit habbe **her** ibet þe while **þat** we her were

L100 Al ho habbeð in hore write: *þæt* we misduden here.
T101 Al hie habbeð on here write þat we misduden here.
e101 Eal hi habbet an heore iwrite. þ we misdude here
E101 Al hi habbet an here iwrite þat we misduden here
D93 Al hi habbeð on her write þ we misdeden hiere
J100 Al heo habbeþ in heore wryte. þat we mysduden here.

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M93 Al hi habbeþ in hure write þat we misdede here

L101 Þach we **[hit]** nusten ne nise3en: ho weren ure ifere.
T102 Þeih we hes **[nusten]** ne niseien hie waren ure iferen.
e102 þeh we hi nuste ne nise3en. hi weren ure iuere
E102 þei we it nusten **[ne]** iseien hi were vre ifere
D94 þe3h we hi nisten ne ise3en hi weren vre iueren.
J101 Þah we hit nusten **[ne nise3en]**. heo weren vre ifere.
M94 Þe3 we hi neste ne ne ise3e hi were ure yfere

L **[Lacks M95]**
T **[Lacks M95]**
e **[Lacks M95]**
E **[Lacks M95]**
D **[Lacks M95]**
J **[Lacks M95]**
M95 Iesu crist seinte marie sone us alle helpe *and* rede

L **[Lacks M96]**
T **[Lacks M96]**
e **[Lacks M96]**
E **[Lacks M96]**
D **[Lacks M96]**
J **[Lacks M96]**
M96 eueremore yscilde us uram euele yuerrede

L102 Hwet sculen ordlinghes don. þa swicen and ta forsworene
T103 Hwat sullen horlinges don þe swichen *and* þe forsworene
e103 Hwet sculen horlinges do. þe swikene **[and]** þe forsworene
E103 Hwet scullen horlinges do. þe swikele **[and]** þe forsworene
D95 Hwet sulle **þo** horlinges don þo swikele *and* þo vorsworene
J102 Hwat schulleþ horlinges don. þe swiken. and þe forsworene.
M97 [W]hat sculle horlinges do þe suike *and* þe forsuorene

L103 Hwi **[swo]** boð fole iclepede. ***and*** swa **lut** icorene.
T104 Wi swo fele beð icleped swo fewe bed icorene
e104 wi swa fele beoð icluped. swa fewe beoð icorene
E104 wi swo fele beod icleped swa feuwe beod icorene
D96 awei swo uele beð icleped ***and*** swo viawe **[beoþ]** icorene

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J103 **[wi] Swiþe** veole beoþ icleped. **And [swo]** fewe boeþ icorene.
M98 Awi so fele beoþ icliped so uewe beoþ ycorene

L104 Wi hwi weren ho biȝeten to hwon weren ho iborene.
T105 Wi hwi waren hie biȝiete to hwan waren hie iborene.
e105 Wi hwi were hi biȝite. to hwan were hi iborene
E105 Wi hwi were he biȝite to wan were hi iborene
D97 Wei hwi weren hi biȝete ***and*** to **hwi [were hi]** iborene
J104 Way hwi were heo bi*yete*. **[to] Hwi** weren heo iborene.
M99 Awi **what scolde** hi biȝete **[to] what scolde** hi yborene

L105 þ*æt* sculen bon to deþe idemet. *and* eure ma forlorene.
T106 Þe sulle ben to deaðe idemd *and* afremo forlorene.
e106 þe scule beon to dieðe idemd. *and* eure ma forlorene
E106 þe sculle ben to deþe idemd *and* eure mo forlorene
D98 þ sullen ben to deaðe idemd *and* eure mo vorlorene.
J105 Þat schulle beo to deþe idemed. and euer more forlorene.
M100 Þat sculle beo to deþe **ydo** *and* eueremore uorlorene

L106 Ich *man* scal him solue þer biclepie *and* **[ec]** bideme*n*.
T107 Elch man sal þar biclepien himselfen *and* ec demen.
e107 Elch man sceal hi*m* ðer biclupien. *and* ech **sceal hi*m*** demen
E107 Elch man scal him sulue þar biclepiean *and* ec demen
D99 Ech man sel himselue þer biclepien **bitelle** *and* **[ec]** deme
J106 Huych mon him seolue schal **her**. bicleopien. and ek deme.
M101 **Ac euerich** man him selue scal **[þer]** bi**chipie** *and* eke deme

L107 His aȝen werch *and* his þonc te witenesse he scal **d**emen.
T108 Hi**c** owen werc *and* his þanc to witnesse he sal temen.
e108 his aȝe weorc *and* his iðanc. to witnesse he sceal temen
E108 his aȝe werc *and* his iþanc to witnesse he scal temen
D100 his oȝen werc *and* his iþanc to witnesse teme
J107 His owene werkes and his **þouht**. to witnesse **hit** schal teme.
M102 **Al** his **[owen]** workes *and* his þoȝt **þar** to **[witnesse]** he scal teme

L108 Ne mei him na *man* alsa wel demen ne alswa rihte
T109 Ne mai him noman alse wel demen ne alse rihte
e109 Ne mei him naman eal swa wel demen ne **[al]**swa rihte
E109 Ne mai hym na man al swa wel demen ne al sa richte

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D101 Ne mai him no man al swo wel demen ne swo rihte
J108 Ne may him no mon deme **[al]** so wel. **iwis**. ne also ryhte.
M103 Euerich man him selue scal deme to diaþe oþer to liue (LJ114/TeE115/D107)

L109 for nan ne knauð him **ase3ere**: buten ane drihte.
T110 For non ne cnoweð hine alse wel buten one drihte.
e110 for nan ni cnawað him swa wel bute ane drihte
E110 for nan ni cnawed him swa wet buten one dricte
D102 vor non ne knowed hine swo wel bute one ure drihte.
J109 For non ne knoweþ so wel **his þonk**. bute **[one]** vre dryhte.
M104 Þe witnesse of his workes to oþer þan him scal driue (LJ115/TeE116/D108)

L110 Ech *man* wat him solue best: his werkes. *and* his wille.
T111 **[ech]** Man wot him self best his werkes *and* his wille.
e111 Elc man wat him sulf betst. his weorch *and* his iwille
E111 Elc man wot him sulue best his werc *and* his iwille
D103 Ech man wot himselue best his workes *and* his wille
J110 Vych mon wot him seolue best. his werkes and his wille.
M105 Nis no witnesse al so muchel so **is þe** mannes **[owe]** herte (LJ112/TeE113/D105)

L111 Þe ðe lest wat bi [hi?] seiþ ofte mest: þe hit al wat is stille.
T112 Se þe last wot he seið ofte mast se þit al wot is stille
e112 he ðe lest wat he seið ofte mest. ðe ðe hit wat eal is stille
E112 þe þe lest wot **[he]** seit ofte mest ***and*** þe þe it **[al]** wot is stille
D104 se þ lest wot **[he]** seið ofte mest ***and*** se þ al wot is stille.
J111 **[þe]** Þat lest wot he seyþ ofte mest. ***and*** he þat al wot is stille.
M106 Þe man þat saiþ þat he is lame him self he wot þe smerte (LJ113/TeE114/D106)

L112 Nis nan witnesse alse muchel se mo*nne*s a3en horte.
T113 Nis no witnesse alse muchel se mannes o3en hierte
e113 Nis nan witnesse eal se muchel. se mannes a3e heorte
E113 Nis no witnesse al so muchel so mannes howe heorte
D105 Nis no witnesse al swo muchel swo mannes o3en hierte
J112 Nis no witnesse also muchel. so monnes owe heorte.
M107 Ne mai **[him]** no man **[al swo wel]** deme **þane man al**so ri3te (LJ108/TeE109/D101)

L113 Wa se seið þ*æt* he bo hal. him solf wat best his smirte.
T114 Hwo se seið þat hie beð hol him self wot **[best]** his smierte.

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e114 hwa se segge þe he beo hal. him self wat betst his smeorte
E114 hwa se segge þe he beo al him self wat best his smerte
D106 **þe3h** 3wo sigge þe he bi hol him self he wot **[best]** his smerte
J113 **For** so seyþ þat **vn**hol **is**. him seolue **[he]** hwat **[best]** hi**m** smeort**eþ**.
M108 **[for] Not** non **[ne knoweþ] his workes** so wel **so wot** ure dri3te (LJ109/TeE110/D102)

L114 Ich man scal hm solf demen to deðe oðer to liue.
T115 Elch man sal him selfen demen to deaðe oðer to liue.
e115 Elc man sceal him sulf demen. to dieðe. oðer to liue
E115 Elc man scal him suelf demen. to deþe oþer to liue
D107 **Eurich** man him **[self]** demen sel to deðe oþer to life
J114 Vych mon schal him seolue deme. to deþe oþer to lyue.
M109 **Euerich** man himself wot best his workest *and* his wille (LJ110/TeE111/D103)

L115 Þa witnesse of his a3en werch: **[to oþer]** hine þer **to** scal driue.
T116 Þe witnesse of his o3en werc to oðer þan hine sal driue.
e116 þe witnese of his **[owe]** weorc. to oðer ðis. him sceal driue
E116 þe witnesse of his owe werc to oþer ðis him scal driue
D108 se witnesse **[of]** his **selue** workes to aider **[þan]** hine sel driue
J115 Þe witnese of his owe werk. **[to oþer]** þer **to** him schal dryue.
M110 **Ac** þe þat wot lest **[he]** saiþ ofte mest ***and*** þe þat al wot is stille (LJ111/TeE112/D104)

L116 Al þet **ech** *man* haueð idon soððen he com to mo*n*ne
T117 Al þat alfri man haueð idon seðen he cam to manne
e117 Eal ðet eure-elc man hafð ido. suððe he com to manne
E117 Eal þat eure-ilc man haued ido sutþe he com to manne
D109 Al þat **ech** man haueð idon seðe he cam to manne
J116 ***and*** al þat eure mon hafþ idon. seþþen heo com to monne.
M **[Lacks LJ116/TeE117/D109]**

L117 **sculde** he hit sechen o boke iwriten he scal **[hit]** iþenchen þenne.
T118 Swo he hit iseie aboc iwrite he sal hit þenche þanne.
e118 swilc **[he]** hit si a boc iwriten. he sceal **[it]** iðenche ðenne
E118 swilc **[he]** hit seie on boc iwriten he scal it þenche þanne
D110 swich **[he]** hit **were** on boc iwrite isien he sel hit **[þenche]** þanne.
J117 **Al**so he hit iseye on boke iwryten. hit schal **him** þinche þenne.
M **[Lacks LJ117/TeE118/D110]**

L118 Ah drihten ne demeð nenne *man* eft*er* his biginingge.

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T119 Ac drihte ne demeð noman after his biginninge
e119 Ac drihte ne demð nanne man. æfter his biginninge
E119 Ac drichte ne demed nanne man after his biginninge
D111 **[ac]** Drihte ne demeð nenne man **bi** his biginninge
J118 **Ne schal** no mon **beon** ydemed. after his bigynnynge.
M111 Ac **crist** ne demeþ nanne man after his ginnigge

L119 ah al his lif scal bon suilch boð his endinge.
T120 Ac al his lif sal ben **teald after** his endinge.
e120 ac al his lif sceal beo swich. **se** buð his endinge
E120 ac **[al]** his lif scal beo swulc **se** bued his endinge
D112 **[ac]** al his sel lif ben **iteald bi** his endinge.
J119 Ah **dom schal þolyen vych mon**. after his endinge.
M112 Ac al scal beo his lif **iteld** suich **is** his endigge

L120 ȝef þæt **his** uuel al hit is uuel and God ȝefe god his ende.
T121 ȝief þe endinge is god al hit is god. *and* euel ȝief euel is þe ende.
e121 **AEc** ȝif þe end is uuel. eal hit is uuel. *and* god ȝif god is **þenne**
E121 **Ac** ȝif þe ende is euel al it is uuel *and* . **al** god ȝif god is ende
D113 Ef se ende is euel hit is al euel *and* god ef god is **se** ende
J120 If þe ende is vuel. al hit is vuel. **[and]** god yef vs god ende.
M113 ȝef **his** ende is euel al hit is euel *and* god ȝef god **beoþ** his ende

L121 God ȝeueð þ*æt* ure ende bo god. *and* wite þ*æt* he us lende.
T122 God ȝieue þat ure ende be god *and* **ȝieue** þat he us lende.
e122 god ȝyue þ ure ende beo god. *and* wit þet he us lenne
E122 god ȝuue þat ure ende beo god. *and* wite þet he us lende
D114 God ȝeue þ ure ende bi god *and* wite hwet he us lende.
J121 God yef **vs** vre ende god. **[and] hwider** þat he vs lende.
M114 **Iesu crist leue** þat ure ende beo god *and* witie þat he us lende

L122 Þe *man* þ*æt* **[nafre] uuel [nuel?]** don na god. ne neure god lif leden.
T123 Se man þe nafre nele don god ne nafre god lif lade.
e123 Þe man þe **[nafre]** nele do na god. ne neure god lif læden
E123 Þe man þe **[nafre]** nele do no god ne neure god lif leden
D115 Se man þ neure nele don god ne neure god lif leden
J122 Þe mon þ*æt* neure nule do god. ne neure god lif lede.
M115 **Ac** þe **þat** nele neuere no god do ne god lif **her** lede

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L123 er deð *and* dom come to his dure he mei him sare adreden.
T124 Are deað *and* dom cumeð to his dure he mai3 hi*m* sore adrade
e124 ær dieð *and* dom cume. **æt** his dure. he mei **[him]** sare adreden
E124 ær ded *and* dom come to his dure he mai **[him]** sore a-dreden
D116 er deð *and* dom come to his dure he mai him sore adreden.
J123 **Þat [er]** deþ **[and dom]** cume to his dure. he may **[him]** sore a drede.
M116 Ere deþ *and* dome come to his dore sore he mai **[him]** adrede

L124 þ*æt* he ne mu3e þenne biden are. for þ*æt* itit ilome.
T125 Þat he ne mu3e þanne bidden ore for þat itit ilome.
e125 Þet he ne mu3e ðenne bidde are for **hit** itit ilome
E125 Þat he ne muwe þenne bidde ore. for **it** itit ilome
D117 Þ he þanne ore bidde ne mu3en vor þ **bilimpeð** ilome
J124 Þat he ne muwe **[þenne]** bidden ore. for þat ityt ilome.
M117 Þat he ne mu3e þanne bidde ore uor þat itit ilome

L125 Forþi he is wis þe biet and bit and bet bifore dome.
T126 For þi he **[is]** wis þe bit *and* bi3iet *and* bet bifore dome.
e126 **[for]**ði he is wis ðe beot *and* beat. *and* bit beforen dome
E126 **[for]**þi he is wis þe bit *and* be3it. *and* bet before dome
D118 **[forþi]** he is wis þ bit *and* bete *and* bet biuoren dome
J125 Vorþi is wis þat bit **ore**. **[and be3it]** and bet. bivore þe dome.
M118 Vorþi he is wis þat **ore** bit **[and be3it]** *and* bet biuore **þe** dome

L126 **Wenne** deð is at**tere** dure wel late he biddeþ are.
T127 Þanne **þe** deað is ate dure wel late he biddeð ore.
e127 Þenne deað is æt **his** dure. wel late he biddeð are
E127 Þenne ded is a**r**e dure. wel late he biddet ore
D119 Þanne deað is at **þare** dore **to** late he biddeð ore
J126 **Hwenne** deþ is at **þe** dure. wel late he **bit** ore.
M119 **Vor whane** deþ ***and*** **dome comeþ to his** dore **to** late he biddeþ ore

L127 Wel late he latheð uuel werc: þe ne mei hit don ne mare.
T128 Wel late he lateð euel werc **þan he** hit ne mai don no more.
e128 wel late he leteð uuel weorc. þe hit ne mei don na mare
E128 wel late he leted vuel weorc. þe hit ne mai do na mare
D120 **to** late **uorlet þ** euele worc þ hit ne mai don namore
J127 Wel late he leteþe **þat** vuel **[work]**. **þenne he** ne may do namore.
M120 To late he leteþ euele workes þat ne may **hi** do namore

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L **[Lacks TE129/DM121]**
T129 Senne lat þe *and* þu nah h*im* þan þu **hit** ne miht do no more:
e **[Lacks TE129/DM121]**
E129 Sunne let þe *and* þu naht hire þanne þus ne miht do no more
D121 Senne let þe *and* þu nah hoe þanne þu ne miht **hi** do **[no]** more
J128 **Bilef** sunne **hwil þu myht**. **and do bi godes lore**. (Unique; same sense/rhyme of couplet)
M121 **Whane** senne let þe *and* þu na3t hi **[þan]** ***and*** þu ne mi3t do namore

L **[Lacks TE130 / DM122]**
T130 For þi he is sot þe swo abit to habben godes ore.
e **[Lacks TE130 / DM122]**
E130 forþi he is so**r** þe swa abit to habbe godes hore
D122 **[forþi]** he **[is]** sot þ swo abit to habben godes ore
J129 **And do to gode hwat þu myht. if þu wilt** habben ore. (Same as above)
M122 **To longe** he **abit [is sot]** þat suo abit to **bidde cristes** ore

L128 Þ*æt* **achten** we **to [hit]** leuen wel. for **ure** drihten solf hit seide.
T131 Þeih hweðere we hit leueð wel for drihte self hit sade.
e129 þeh wheðer we hit ileueð wel. for drihte sulf hit sede
E131 Þeh hweðer we it iluuet wel. for drihte sulf hit sede
D123 **Swo** <u>ileuen</u> we hit **mu3en [wel]** vor drihten self hit sede
J130 **For** we hit ileueþ wel. **and [for]** dryhten seolf hit seyde.
M123 **Ac naþeles** we hit ileueþ **[wel]** uor dri3ten self hit sede

L129 A hwilke time se eure **[þe]** *man* of þinchþ his misdede.
T132 **Elche** time **sal** þe man ofþunche his misdade
e130 a whilche *time* se eure ðe man of ðinchet his misdede
E132 a wulche time so eure þe man ofþinchet his misdede
D124 on hwiche time se þe man ofþencheð his misdede.
J131 On hwiche tyme so eure þe mon. of þincheþ his mysdede.
M124 **Of** whiche time **[se eure]** þat man ofþincþ his misdede

L130 oþer ra-þer oðer later: milce he scal imeten.
T133 Oðer raðer oðer later milce he sal imete.
e131 Oðer <u>later</u> oðer <u>raðe</u> milce he sceal imeten
E133 Oþer <u>later</u> oþer <u>raþer</u> milce he scal imeten
D125 Oþer raðer oþer later milce he sel imeten
J132 Oþer raþer oþer later. milce he schal ymete.
M125 Oþer raþer oþer later milse he scal ymete

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L131 Ac **we** þ*æt* **þ**er naf nocht ibet: **wel** muchel he haueð to beten.
T134 Ac þe þe her naueð **[noht]** ibet muchel he haued to bete
e132 ac ðe þe **[her]** nafð naht ibet. **wel** muchel he **sceal** beten
E134 ac þe þe **[her]** nout naued ibet **wel** muchel he **scal** beten
D126 ac se þ naueð hier naht ibet muchel he haueð to beten.
J133 Ah he þat **[her]** nauht naueþ ibet. muchel he haueþ to bete.
M126 Ac **[þe/he]** who so noþing her naueþ ibet muchel he haueþ to bete

L132 Moni mon seit hwa rechð of pine þe scal habben hende.
T135 Maniman seið hwo reche **[of]** pine þe sal habben ende
e133 Mani man seið. hwa recþ of pine. ðe sceal habbe ende
E135 Mani man seid wo recke of pine þe scal habben ende
D127 **Sum** man saið hwo reȜh of pine þ sel habben ende
J134 Mony mon seyþ hwo rekþ of pyne. þat schal habben ende.
M127 **Ac** maniman saiþ who recþ of pine þat scal habbe ende

L133 Ne bidde ich na bet bo **[ich]** alesed a domes dei of bende.
T136 Ne bidde ich no bet bie ich alesed a domesdai of bende.
e134 ne bidde ich na bet beo **[ich]** ilusd. a domes dei of bende
E136 ne bidde ic no bed beo **[ich]** alused a domesdai of bende
D128 ne **recche** ic **hote** bi ic alesd **on** deomesdai of bende.
J135 Ne bidde ich no bet. **bute** ich beo. ilesed a domes day of bende.
M128 Ne **recche** ich **[no bet]** beo ich a domesdai ilesed **ut** of bende

L134 Lutel he wat wet is pine. *and* lutel he hit scaweð
T137 Litel wot he *h*wat is pine *and* litel he **[hit]** cnoweð
e135 Lutel wat he hwet is pine. *and* litel he **[hit]** icnaweð
E137 Lutel wat he hwat is pine *and* lutel he it icwoweð
D129 Litel he wot hwet pine is. *and* litel hi **[hit]** iknoweð
J136 Lutel wot he hwat is pyne. *and* lutel he hit iknoweþ.
M129 **O.** lite whot he what is pine *and* lite **pine** he knoweþ

L135 hwice hete is þer þa saule wuneð hu biter wind þer blaweð.
T138 Hwilch hit is þar **[þe]** sowle wunieð hwu biter wind þar bloweð.
e136 hwilc hete is ðer **[þe]** saule wuneð. hu biter winde þer blaweð
E138 hwilc hete is ðer **[þe]** saule wuneð. hu biter winde þer blaweð
D130 hwich hete is þer þe saule woneð hu biter wind þer bloweð.
J137 Hwich hete is þar þe soule wuneþ. hw bitter wynd **þ*æt*** bloweþ.

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M130 Huiche **pine [is þer]** þe soule **þoleþ** hu biter wind þar bloweþ

L136 Hefde he bon þer enne dei oðer twa bare tide.
T139 Hadde he ben þar on **[dai]** oðer two bar tiden.
e137 Hedde he ibeon ðer anne dei. oðer twa bare tide
E139 Hadde he ibeon þer anne dai. oþer twa bare tide
D131 **Ef** he hedde þer ibie on **[dai]** oþer two **[bare]** itide
J138 Hedde he **iwuned** þer enne day. oþer **vnneþe one** tyde.
M131 **Vor** hadde he þar ibeo **[on dai oþer]** tuo bare tide

L137 nolde he for al middenerd þe þerdde þer abiden.
T140 Nolde he for al middeneard þe þridde þar abiden.
e138 nolde he for æl middaneard. ðe ðridde þere abide
E140 nolde he for al middæneard. þe þridde þer abide
D132 nolde he uor al middeneard þo þridde þer abiden
J139 Nolde he for al þe middelerd. **an oþer** þer abyde.
M132 **Vor al þat gold of** midelerd þe þridde **he nolde [þer]** abide

L **[Lacks J140]**
T **[Lacks J140]**
e **[Lacks J140]**
E **[Lacks J140]**
D **[Lacks J140]**
J140 Swiþe ge*r*nilych stench þer is. *and* wurþ wyþvten ende.
M **[Lacks J140]**

L **[Lacks J141]**
T **[Lacks J141]**
e **[Lacks J141]**
E **[Lacks J141]**
D **[Lacks J141]**
J141 *and* hwo þe enes cumeþ þer. vt may he neu*er* þenne wende.
M **[Lacks J141]**

L [Le218/T225/E123/D215/M205]
T [Le218/T225/E123/D215/M205]
e [Le218/T225/E123/D215/M205]
E [Le218/T225/E123/D215/M205]
D [Le218/T225/E123/D215/M205]

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J142 Neu*er* ich in helle ne com. ne þer to cume ne recche.
M [Le218/T225/E123/D215/M205]

L [Le219/T226/E124/D216/M206]
T [Le219/T226/E124/D216/M206]
e [Le219/T226/E124/D216/M206]
E [Le219/T226/E124/D216/M206]
D [Le219/T226/E124/D216/M206]
J143 Þah ich al þes worldes weole. þer wende to vecche.
M [Le219/T226/E124/D216/M206]

L138 Þet habbeð aseid þ*æt* comen þonen þa hit wisten mid iwissen.
T141 Þat habbed isaid þe come þanne þit wiste mid iwisse.
e139 Þet habbet ised þe come ðanne. þ **[hit]** wiste mid iwisse
E141 Þat habbet ised þan comen þanne þit wuste mid iwisse
D133 Þ **[habbed]** sed**en þo** þ camen þannes þ hit wisten mid iwisse
J144 Þat **[habbed]** seyd**en þeo** þat **weren þer**. **heo** hit wisten myd iwisse.
M133 Þat **[habbed]** sig**geþ þe** þat **were þar *and* [þa]** wite hit mid iwisse

L139 Wa wurð sor3e seue3er. for souenihte blisse.
T142 Wo wurðe sore3e seue 3ier for seue-nihte blisse.
e140 **uuel is pune** seoue 3er. for seouenihtes blisse
E142 **uuel is pine** seoue 3er for seoue-nihtes blisse
D134 **þer þurh** sor3e seue 3ier vor seuenihte blisce
J145 **Þer þurh** seorewe **of** seoue yer. for souenyhtes blysse.
M134 Wo wrþe **þe** sor3e **of** seue3er uor **ore** ni3te blisse

L140 **In** hure blisse **þe** þe ende haueð. for endelese pine.
T143 *and* ure blisse þe ende haueð for endelease pine
e141 And ure blisse þe ende hafð. for endeliese pine
E143 And ure blisse þe ende hafh. for endeliese pine
D135 **[and]** Vre blisce þ ende haueð vor endelese pine
J146 *and* **for þe** blysse þat ende haueþ.· **[for]** endeles **is þe** pyne.
M135 **Vor** ore blisse þat ende haueþ **[for]** endeles pine

L141 Betere is wori water drunch.· þen atter meind mid wine.
T144 Betere is wori water **[drunch]** þan atter imengd mid wine.
e142 betere is wori wet' idrunke. þene atter imen3 mid wine
E144 betre is wori water **to** drinke þenne atter imeng mid wine

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D136 betere **were** drinke wori weter þanne atter imai*n*gd mid wine
J147 Beter is worie wateres drung. þane atter meynd myd wyne.
M136 Betere is wori wateres drinch þane atter imegd mid wine

L142 Swines brede is swiðe swete. swa is of wilde dore.
T145 Swines brade is **wel** swete swo is of wilde diere.
e143 Swunes brede is swuðe swete. swa is of wilde deore
E145 Swunes brede is swuþe swete so is of wilde dere
D137 Swines brede is swiþe swete swo is of wilde diere
J148 Swynes brede is swete. so is of **þe** wilde deore.
M137 Suines brede beþ **wel** suete ***and*** so **hi** beþ of **þe [wilde]** dere

L143 alto dore he **is** abuh꞉ þe ȝefð þer fore his swore.
T146 **Ac** al to diere he hit abuið þe ȝiefð þar fore his swiere.
e144 **ac** al to dure he hi biȝð. ðe ȝifð þer fore **[h]**is sweore
E146 **ac** al to duere he **[hi]** ibuȝed. þat ȝiued þe**i**e fore his swere
D138 al to diere he hi beið þ ȝief þer uore his swiere.
J149 Al to deore he hit buþ. þat yeueþ þar vore his sweore.
M138 Al to dere he hi beiþ þat ȝefþ þar uore his suere

L144 Ful wombe mei lihtliche speken of hunger. *and* of festen꞉
T147 Ful wombe mai lihtliche speken of hunger *and* of fasten
e145 Ful wambe mei lihtliche speken. of hunger *and* **[of]** festen
E147 Ful wombe mai lihtliche speken of hunger *and* of fasten
D139 Lihtliche mai ful wombe speke of hunge *and* of **þurste**
J150 Ful wombe may lihtliche speken. of hunger and of festen.
M139 Vul wombe mai liȝtliche speke of hunger *and* of uaste

L145 swa mei of pine þe ne **cnauð [is pine]** þe scal a ilesten.
T148 Swo mai of pine þe not hwat is pine þe sal ilasten.
e146 swa mei of pine þe naht **nat**. **hu** pine **[þe]** sceal alesten
E148 swa mai of pine þe naht **not**. **hu** hi scullen ilesten
D140 swo mai of pine þ not wat is pine. þ **euremo** sel leste.
J151 So may of pyne. þat not hwat **hit** is. þat **eu*er* mo** schal lesten.
M140 Suo mai of pine þat not what **hie** is þat **euere** scal ilaste

L146 Hefd he ifonded su*m*me stunde꞉ he wolde al seggen oðer.
T149 Hadde **[he]** fonded sume stunde he wolde **[al]** seggen oðer

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e147 Hedde **his** a fanded sume stunde. he wolde eal segge oðer
E149 Hædde he ifonded sume **hwile**. he wolde al seggen oþer
D141 hauede he uonded sume stunde he wolde <u>siggen</u> <u>al</u> oþer
J152 Hedde he ifonded sūme stunde. he wolde <u>seggen</u> <u>al</u> oþer.
M141 Hadde he yfonded **one** stunde he wolde **[al]** sigge **an**oþer

L147 Eclete him were wif. child. suster. feder *and* broðer.
T150 Eðlate him ware wif *and* child suster ***and*** fader *and* broðer.
e148 eðlete h were wif *and* child. suster. ***and*** feder *and* broðer
E150 eðlete him were wif. *and* chi*l*d. suster. ***and*** fader. *and* broþer
D142 eðlete him were wif *and* child sust*er*. vader. **moder** *and* broðer
J153 ***and*** lete **for crist**. **beo** wif *and* child. <u>fader.</u> <u>suster</u>. and broþer.
M142 3eþlete him were wif *and* child. suster. vader *and* broþer

L148 Al he walde **and** oðerluker don and oðerluker þenchen.
T151 Al he wolde oðerluker don *and* oðerluker þenche
e **[Lacks L148/TE151/D143/J154]**
E151 Al he wolde oþerluker don *and* oþerluker þenchæ
D143 Al he wolde oþer don *and* oþerlaker þenche
J154 Al he wolde oþer don. *and* oþerluker þenche.
M **[Lacks L148/TE151/D143/J154]**

L149 wenne he biþohte on helle-fur þe nawiht ne mei quenchen.
T152 Þan he biðohte an helle-fur þat no wiht ne mai quenche.
e **[Lacks L149/TE152/D144/J155]**
E152 Ʒanne he biþouhte on helle-fur þe nowiht ne mai **a**quenche
D144 þanne he þohte of helle-ver þ **noþing** ne mai quenche
J155 Hwenne he biþouhte on helle-fur. þat **noþing** ne may quenche.
M **[Lacks L149/TE152/D144/J155]**

L150 Eure he walde her inne wawe *and* ine wene wunien:
T153 Afre he wolde her in wo *and* in pane wunien
e149 Eure he wolde inne wa <u>her</u>. *and* inne wawe wunien
E153 Eure he wolde inne wa <u>her</u>. *and* inne pine wunien
D145 **Oft** he wolde her on wo *and* on wope wunie
J156 Eure he wolde **[her]** in **bonen beon**. *and* in **godnesse** wunye.
M143 Eure**more [he wolde]** her in wo *and* in pine wonie

L151 wið ***þæt*** þe mihte helle pine biflien *and* bisunien

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T154 Wið þan **he** mihte helle **fur** biflen *and* bisunien
e150 wið ðan þe mihte helle pine bifleon *and* biscumen
E154 wid þan þe mihte helle pine bifluen *and* biscunien
D146 wið **þet he moste** helle **uer** biflien *and* bisunie
J157 Wiþ **þat he** myhte helle **fur**. **eu*er*** fleon and schonye.
M144 Wiþ þan **þe he** mi3te helle pine ule *and* ysconie

L **[Lacks M145]**
T **[Lacks M145]**
e **[Lacks M145]**
E **[Lacks M145]**
D **[Lacks M145]**
J **[Lacks M145]**
M145 Vor of þar pine þat þar beoþ nelle ich 3o noþing le3e

L **[Lacks M146]**
T **[Lacks M145]**
e **[Lacks M145]**
E **[Lacks M145]**
D **[Lacks M145]**
J **[Lacks M145]**
M146 Nis hit bute game *and* gleo her þat þat flesh mai dre3e

L152 Eclete him were al world wele *and* orðliche blisse.
T155 Eðlate him ware al **[world]** wele *and* erðeliche blisse
e151 Eðlete hī were eal woruld wele. *and* **eal** eordliche blisse
E155 Eð-lete him were al woruldes wele. *and* **al** eordliche
D147 Eðlete ham were al werldes wele *and* **werld**liche blisce
J158 ***and*** lete **sker [were]** al **þes** worldes weole. *and* **þes worldes** blysse.
M **[Lacks L152/TE155/e151/D147/J158]**

L153 for to þ*æt* muchele **blisse** cumen is murþe mid iwisse.
T156 For to þe muchele **blisse** cume þis murie mid iwisse.
e152 for to ðe muchele murhðe cume. ðis murhðe mid iwisse
E156 for to þe muchele mureð cume þat is **heuenriche [mid iwisse]**
D148 for to **þare** muchele merhðe come þ is merhð mid iwisse
J159 **Wiþ** þat **he** myhte to **heouene** cumen. ***and*** **beo þer** myd iwisse.
M **[Lacks L153/TE156/e152/D148/J159]**

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L154 **Swule** nu cumen eft to þe dome þich er ow of sede
T157 Ich wulle nu cumen eft to þe dome þe ich eow ar of sade.
e153 Ich wulle nu cumen eft to ðe dome. þe ich eow **[er]** of sede
E157 I wulle nu comen eft to þe dome þat ic eow er of sede
D149 Ic wille nu come **[eft]** to þon dome þ ic ȝeu of er sede
J160 Ich wile **eu seggen [eft] of** þe dome. **as** ich eu er **[of]** seyde.
M147 [O]f þe dome **we** wlleþ **speke of whan** ich ȝo er **[of]** seide

L155 A þa dei *and* at ta dome us helpe cr*i*st *and* rede.
T158 On þe daie *and* on þe dome us helpe crist *and* rade
e154 on þe deie *and* æt þe dome. us helpe crist *and* rede
E158 on þat dai *and* at þe dome. us helpe crist *and* rede
D150 on þan deie *and* on þan dome vs helpe crist *and* rede.
J161 On þe day and on þe dome. vs help cryst and rede.
M148 At þan daie *and* þan dome crist us helpe *and* rede

L156 Þer we muȝen bon eþe offerd *and* herde us a drede*n*.
T159 Þar we muȝen ben **sore** offerd *and* harde us ofdrade.
e155 Þer we maȝen beon eðe of dredde. *and* herde us adrede
E159 Þþer we maȝen beon eðe of drad *and* harde us adrede
D151 **[þer]** We muȝen eaðe ben ofherd *and* harde vs **mai** ondrede
J162 Þ*æt* we muwen beon **[eþe]** aferd. and **sore** vs of drede.
M149 Þar we muȝe beo **[eþe]** afered *and* harde us adrede

L157 Þer **he** scal **al** son him biforen his word *and* ec his deden.
T160 Þar elch sal **al** isien him biforen his word *and* ec his dade.
e156 þer elch sceal seon hi*m* biforen. his word *and* ec his dede
E160 þer elc sceal iseo biforen him. his word *and* ec his dede
D152 þer ech sel him biuoren sien his **werkes** *and* **[ec]** his dede
J163 Þer vych schal seon him bifore. his word and ek his dede.
M150 Þar **euerich man** ysicþ **[him]** biuore his **workes** *and* **[ec]** his dede

L158 Al scal þer bon þenne cud **þer** me*n* luȝen her ent stelen.
T161 Al sal þar ben þanne cuð þat men luȝen her *and* halen.[507]
e157 Eal sceal beon ðer ðenne cuð. þ man luȝen her *and* stelen
E161 Eal scal ben **[þer]** þanne cud. þ man luȝen her *and* stelen
D153 Al sel þanne bi þer cuð þ men hier luȝen *and* stelen
J164 Al schal beon þer þeonne ikud. þat er men lowen and stelen.

[507] The scribe accidently swapped the last words of the couplet in lines T161 and T162.

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M151 Al scal beo þar **vnbed her þat we hele** (L159/e158/E162/D154/J165)

L159 Al scal þer bon þa*n*ne unwron: þ*æt* men wru3en her *and* helen.
T162 Al sal þar ben þanne unwrien þat men her **budden** *and* stalen.
e158 eal sceal beon ðer unwri3en. þ*æt* men wri3en her *and* helen
E162 al scal ben þer vnwrien. þat men wru3en her *and* helen
D154 al sel þanne ben vnwro3e þ men her **hidden** *and* helen.
J165 Al schal beon þer þeonne vnwrien. þ*æt* men her wrien *and* helen.
M152 Al scal beo þar **unwri3e** her þat man lu3e *and* stele (L158/e157/E161/D153/J164)

L160 We sculen alre monne lif iknauwen alse ure ahen.
T163 We sullen alre manne lif icnowen alse ure o3en
e159 We sculen ealre manne lif icnawe. ealswa ure a3en
E163 We scullen alre manne lif icnawe **þer** also vre owe
D155 We sullen alre manne lif iknawen swo ure ho3en
J166 **Vre** schulleþ alre monne lyf. iknowe also vre owe.
M153 **Þar** we sculle **aches** mannes lif iknowe ase ure o3e

L161 Þer sculen eueni*n*gges bon þe **riche** *and* þe la3e.
T164 Þar sullen efninges ben to þe heie *and* **to** þe lo3e.
e160 ðer sculen eueninges beon þe he3e *and* **[þe]** la3en
E164 þer sculle heueninges ben þe hei3e *and* þe lou3e
D156 þer sullen eueninges ben þo he3e *and* þo lo3e.
J167 Þer schulle beon euenynges. þe **riche** and **ek** þe lowe.
M154 Þar sculle euenigges beo þe he3e *and* þe lo3e

L162 Ne scal **[þeih]** na mon **smakie** þer ne þerf he him a dreden.
T165 Ne sal þeih no man samie þiar ne þarf he him adrade.
e161 Ne sceal þeh **nan [man]** scamian ðer. ne ðearf he hi*m* adrede
E165 Ne scal þei no man scamien þer. ne þerf he him adrede
D157 Ne sel þeð no man samien þer ne darf he him on drede
J **[Lacks L162/TE165/e161/D157/M155]**
M155 Ne scal **him na3t** scamie þar ne darf he him adrede

L163 Gif him her of þincþ his gult *and* bet his misdede.
T166 3ief him her ofþincheð his gult *and* bet his misdade.
e162 3if hi*m* her ofþincð his gult. *and* bet his misdede
E166 3if him here ofþinched his gult. *and* bet**ed** his misdede

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D158 ef him her ofþencheð his gelt *and* bet**eð** his misdede.
J **[Lacks L163/TE166/e162/D158/M156]**
M156 **Ne þe ofþu3te** her his gult *and* bette his misdede

L164 for him ne scameþ ne ne gromeð þe sculen bon ibor3en.
T167 For hem ne sameð ne ne grameð þe sulle ben ibore3e
e163 For heom ne scamet ne **[ne]** gramet. ðe scule beon ibore3e
E167 For heom ne scamet ne ne gramet þe sculle beon iboruwene
D159 **[for]** Ham ne shameð ne ne gameð þ sullen b*e*n ibor3e
J **[Lacks L164/TE167/e163/D159/M157]**
M157 **[for]** Him ne scameþ ne **him** ne grameþ þat scal beo ibore3e

L165 Ach þoþre habbeþ scome and grome and **oft** fele sor3e.
T168 Ac þoðre habbeð same *and* game *and* oðer fele sore3e.
e164 ac þe oðre habbet scame *and* grame *and* oðer fele sor3e
E168 ac þe oþre habbet scame *and* grame **þat sculle beon forlorene**
D160 **[ac]** þoðre habbeð same *and* g**r**ame *and* fele oþre sor3e.
J **[Lacks L165/TE168/e164/D160/M158]**
M158 Ac þe oþre habbeþ scame *and* grame *and* oþre fele sore3e

L166 Þe dom scal sone bon idon ne lest he nawiht longe.
T169 Þe dom **þal** ben sone idon ne last **hit** no wiht longe
e165 Þe dom sceal sone beon idon. ni lest he nawiht lange
E169 Þe dom scal sone ben idon. ne last he nowit longe
D161 Se dom sal bñ sone idon ne lest**eð** he noht longe
J168 Þe dom schal beon sone idon. ne lest he nowiht longe.
M **[Lacks L166/TE169/e165/D161/J168]**

L167 Ne scal him na mon mene þer of st*e*ngþe ne of wronge.
T170 Ne sal him noman mene þar of strencðe ne of wronge
e166 ne sceal hi*m* na*m*me mene ðer of strencðe ne of wrange
E170 ne scal him no man mene þer of strengþe ne of wrange
D162 ne sal non him **[man] bi**mene þer of strenhðe ne of wronge.
J169 Ne schal him no mon menen þer. of strengþe. ne of wronge.
M **[Lacks L167/TE170/e166/D162/J169]**

L168 Þe sculen habbe herdne dom þa her weren herde.
T171 Þo sulle habben hardne dom þe here waren hardde
e167 Þa sculen habbe herdne dom. þe here were hearde

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E171 Þo scullen habbe hardne dom. þe here weren herde
D163 Þo sullen habbe hardne dom þ her weren harde
J170 Þeo scullen habbe harde dom. þat er weren harde.
M159 Al þat **euere** ysprungen **is** of adam *and* of eue (Le171/TE175/D167/J172)

L169 Þa þe uuele holden wreche men *and* uuele la**t**e redde.
T172 Þo þe euel hielden wreche men *and* euel la3e arerde.
e168 þe **[þe]** uuele heolde wrecche men. *and* uuele la3he arerde
E172 þa þe euele heolden wreche men *and* vuele la3es rerde
D164 þ **[þe]** euele hielden wrecche men *and* euele la3en arerde
J171 Þeo þat vuele heolde wrecche men. and vuele lawe arerde.
M160 **To þe dome** hi sculle come for soþ **3e** hit yleue (Le172/TE176/D168/J173)

L170 Ec efter þ*æt* he efþ idon sal þer þenne idemet.
T173 Elch after þat he haueð idon sal þar ben þanne idemð
e169 **End** efter þ he hauet idon. scal ðer beon idemed
E173 **Ac** after þan þe he haued idon. **he** scal þer beon idemed
D165 Ech aft*er* þ*æt* he haueð idon sal þanne b*e*n idemed
J **[Lacks L170/TE173/e169/D165/M163]**
M161 **Hi** sculle habbe hardne dom þat her were harde (L168/TE171/e167/D163/J170)

L **[Lacks TE174 / e170 / D166 / M164]**
T174 Bliðe mai he þanne ben þe god haueð **wel** iquemd.
e170 bliðe mei he ðenne beon. þe god hafð **wel** icwemed
E174 bliþe mai he þanne buen . þe god haued iquemed
D166 blþe mai he þanne b*e*n þ gode haueð iquemed
J **[Lacks TE174 / e170 / D166 / M164]**
M162 Þe **[þe]** euele helde **poure** men *and* euele la3e arerde (L169/TE172/e168/D164/J171)

L171 Alle þa þi sprunge boþ of adam and of eue.
T175 Alle þo þe sprunge beð of ada*m* *and* of eue
e171 Eælle ða þe isprungen beoð of adam *and* of eue
E175 Alle þo þat isprunge beð of adam *and* of eue
D167 Alle þo þ asprun*g*en bieð of adame *and* of euen
J172 Alle þeo þat beoþ **icumen**. of adam and of eve.
M163 **Euerich** after þan þe he haueþ ido **he** scal þar beo ydemed (L170/TE173/e169/D165)

L172 alle hi sculen cumen þider for soðe we hit ileueð.
T176 Alle hie sulle þider cume for soðe we hit ileued.

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e172 ealle hi sculen ðuder cume. for soðe we hit ileue
E176 ealle he sculle þuder come. for soþe we it ileued
D168 alle hi sullen þider comen **to** soþe **3e mu3en [hit]** ileuen.
J173 Alle heo schule þider cumen. **and so** we **owen** hit ileue.
M164 **Welle** bliþe mai he **[þanne]** beo þat gode **her** haueþ iquemed (TE174/e170/D166)

L173 Þa þe habbeð wel idon efter hore mihte.
T177 Þo þe habbed wel idon after here mihte
e173 Þa ðe habbeð wel idon. efter heore mihte
E177 Þo þe habbed wet idon. after heore mihte
D169 Þo þ habbeð wel idon efter hire mihte
J174 Þeo þat habbeþ wel idon. after heore mihte.
M165 Þo þat **gode iserued** habbeþ after hare mi3te

L174 to houeneriche hi sculen faren forð mid ure drihte.
T178 To heueriche hie sulle fare forð mid ure drihte.
e174 to heuenriche **[hie]** scule faren forð mid ure drihte
E178 to heuenriche he scullen **[faren]**. ford mid vre drihte
D170 to heuene riche hi sullen vare vorð mid ure drihte
J175 To heoueriche heo schulle vare. forþ myd vre dryhte.
M166 Hi sculle to heueneriche fare uorþ mid ure dri3te

L175 Þa þe habbeð doules werc idon. *and* þer inne bo ifunde.
T179 Þo þe deueles werkes habeð idon *and* þarinne beð ifunde
e175 Þā ðe **nabbeð god idon**. *and* ðer inne beoð ifunde
E179 Þo þe **nabbeð god idon**. *and* þer inne beð ifunde
D171 Þo þ **wrohten** dofles werc *and* **weren** þerinne iuonde
J176 Þeo þ*æt* habbeþ **feondes** werk idon. *and* þer in beoþ ifunde.
M167 **Þe oþre** þ*æt* þe deueles worc habbeþ ido *and* þar inne beoþ ifunde

L176 hi sculen faren forð mid him in to helle grunde.
T180 Hie sulle fare forð mid hem into helle grunde.
e176 hi sculen **falle swiðe raðe** in to helle grunde
E180 he sculle*n* **falle swiþe raþe** in to helle grunde
D172 þo sullen vare vorð mid him in to helle grunde
J177 Heo schulle fare forþ myd him.׳in to helle grunde.
M168 Hi sculle **falle adun** mid him into hele grunde

L177 þer hi scule*n* wunien a buten are *and* ende.

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T181 Þar hie sulle wunien a buten ore *and* ende.
e177 Þer hi wunie sculen a ***and*** buten **[ore and]** ende
E181 Þær inne he scullen wunie buten ore *and* ende
D173 Þer hi sullen wonien ai buten ore *and* ende
J178 Þer ho schulle wunyen .o. buten ore and ende.
M169 ***and*** þare hi sculle wonie **eueremore** bute **[ore and]** ende

L178 Ne brekeþ neure **[eft] drihte** helle **gate** for lesen hi of bende.
T182 **[ne]** Brecð nafre eft crist helle dure for lesen hem of bende
e178 ne brecð neure eft crist helle dure. for lese hi of bende
E182 ne brecð neuere uft crist helle dure to lese hem of bende
D174 ne brekeð neure eft czst helle dure to alesen hi of bende.
J179 Ne brekeþ **nouht** crist eft helle dure. to lesen heom of bende.
M170 Ne brecþ neuere eft **iesus** helle **[dure]** for **ham to bringe** ham **ut** of bende

L179 Nis na sullic þech hom bo wa and hom bo uneade.
T183 Nis no sellich þeih hem be wo *and* **þeih** hem be uneaðe
e179 Nis na sellich ðeh heo*m* beo wa. *and* heo*m* beo unieðe
E183 Nis no **selue** þei heom beo wo . *and* hem beo vneþe
D175 **to hit wonder þa3h** hem bi wo **ne þa3h** hem bi vnnede
J180 Nys no seollich þeh heom beo wo. **[and]** he **mawe wunye eþe**.
M **[Lacks Le179/TE183/D175/J180]**

L180 Ne scal neure eft cr*i*st þolie deþ for lessen hom of deaþe.
T184 Ne sal nafre eft crist þolien deað for lesen hem of deaðe.
e180 **[ne]** sceal neure **[eft]** crist ðolie dieð. for lese heo*m* of dieðe
E184 nele neureit **[eft]** crist þolie deð. for lesen heom of dieþe
D176 ne þoleð neure eft **drihten** ded to lesen hi of deade
J181 Nul neu*er* eft crist þolye deþ. to lesen heom of deþe.
M **[Lacks Le180/TE184/D176/J181]**

L181 Enes drihten helle brec his fro*n*d he ut brochte.
T185 Ænes drihten helle brac his frend he ut brohte
e181 Ænes drihte helle brec. his frund he ut brohte
E185 E**u**es drihte helle brac. his frend he ut broucte
D177 Ones drihten helle brec ***and*** his frend hut brohte
J182 E**u**es drihte helle brek. his freond he vt brouhte.
M171 E**u**es **ure louerd** helle grac his frend he ut bro3te

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L182 Him solf he þolede deð for him. wel dore he **hom** bohte.
T186 Him self he þolede deað for hem wel diere he **hes** bohte.
e182 him sulf þe þolede dieð for heo*m*. wel deore he us bohte
E186 him self he þolede dieð for hom. wel dore he us bouhte
D178 him self **[he]** þolede deð for ham wel diere he **hi** bohte
J183 Him seolue he þolede deþ for **vs**. wel deore he vs abouhte.
M172 Him self he þolede deþ for **us** wel dere he us bo3te

L183 Nalde hit **mei** do for mei. ne sust*er* for broðer.
T187 Nolde hit mo3e don for mai ne suster broðer
e183 Nolde hit ma3he do for mei. ne suster for broðer
E187 Nolde it mouwe don for mey. ne suster for broþer
D179 Nalde hit mo3e do vor meie ne suster vor broþer
J184 Nolde hit no **mon** do for me. ne suster for broþer.
M173 Nolde hit fader do for þe sune ne suster uor **þe** broþer

L184 Nalde hit sune do for fader. ne na mon for oðer.
T188 Nolde **[hit]** sune don for fader ne no man for oðer.
e184 nolde hit sune do for feder. ne nama*n* for oðer
E188 nolde it sune don for fader. ne no man for oþer
D180 nolde hit sune do vor vader ne no man vor oþer.
J185 Nolde hit sone do for vader. ne no mon for oþer.
M174 Ne hit mo3e uor þe mei ne noman uor oþer

L185 Vre alre lauerd for his þrelles ipined wes a rode.
T189 Vre alre louerd for his þralles ipined **he** was arode
e185 Vre ealre hlauerd for his ðreles. ipined wes arode
E189 Ure **[alre]** lauerd for his þreles. ipined was on rode
D181 Vre **[alre]** louerd vor his **wiales** ipine**s** wes an **þo** rode
J186 Vre alre lou*er*d for **vs** þrelles. ipyned we**l** on rode.
M175 Vnneþe we 3eueþ for his loue a stecche of ure brede (Le187/TE191/D183/J188)

L186 Vre bendes he unbon *and* bohte us mid his blode.
T190 Ure bendes he unbond *and* bohte us mid his blode.
e186 ure bendes he unband. *and* bohte us mid his blode
E190 ure bendes he unbond. *and* bouht us mid his blode
D182 vre bendes he vnband **he** bohte us mid his blode.
J187 Vre bendes he vnbond. *and* bouhte vs myd his blode.
M176 **Lite** we þencheþ **[noht]** þat he scal deme þe quikewe *and* þe dede (Le188/TE192/D184/J189)

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L187 We ʒeueð uneðe for his luue a stuche of ure brede.
T191 We ʒieueð uneaðe for his luue a steche of ure breade
e187 **Þe** ʒiueð uneðe fo his luue. a sticche of vre briede
E191 We ʒieued vneþe for his luue a sticche of vre brede
D183 We ʒeueð unneaðe uor his loue a stecche of ure breade
J188 **And** we yeueþ vnneþe **[for his loue]**. a stucche of vre brede.
M177 Vre **[alre]** louerd uor his þreles ipined was on **þe** rode (Le185/TE189/D181/J186)

L188 Ne þenke we noht þ*æt* he scal deme þ*a* qu*i*ke *and* þa dede.
T192 Ne þenche we naht þar þat sal deme þe q*ui*ca *and* þe deade.
e188 ne ðenche we naht þ*æt* he sceal deme **[þe]** quike *and* **[þe]** diede
E192 ne þenche *we* nout þat he scal deme þo quike *and* to dede
D184 ne þenche we naht þ he sel demen **[þe]** quike *and* **[þe]** deade
J189 We ne þencheþ nouht þat he schal deme þe quyke *and* **ek** þe dede.
M178 Vre bendes he unbond *and* boʒte us mid his blode (Le186/TE190/D182/J187)

L189 Muchele luue he us cudde. walde we hit und*er*sto*n*de.
T193 Muchel luue he us kedde wolde we hit understonde.
e189 Muchele luue he us cudde. Wolde we **þ** under-stande
E193 Muchele luue he us cudde. wolde we it understondo
D185 Muchel loue he kedde us wolde we hit understonde
J190 Muchel luue he vs cudde. wolde we hit vnderstonde.
M179 Muchel he **dude for ure loue ʒef** we hit wolde understonde

L190 Þ*æt* ure eldre misduden: we habbeð uuele on honde.
T194 Þat ure elderne mi*s*d*u*den we habeð euel an honde.
e190 ꝥ ure ældrene misdude. we habbet uuel en hande
E194 þat vre eldrene misduden we habbet vuele an honde
D186 þet ure eldren misdeden **harde** we habbeð on honde
J191 Þat vre elderne mysduden. we habbeþ **harde** on honde.
M180 **Ac** þat **þe** ure eldringes misdede we **hit** habbeþ **wel harde** on honde

L191 Deþ com in þis midde**n**erde þurh þes doules honde.
T195 Deað cam in þis midde**n**ærd þurh **[þe] ealde** deueles onde
e191 Dieð cō on þis middeleard. ðurh þe **ealde** deofles ande
E195 Dieð com in þis midde**n**erd. þurh þe **ealde** deofles onde
D187 Deað com on þis midelard þurð þes defles onde.
J192 Deþ com i **[þis]** midddelerd. þurh þe deofles onde.
M181 ***and*** lite **[hit]** þencheþ **[m]**animan **hu lite** was þe sunne (L198/T205/e199/E203/D195/J200)

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L192 *and* **sake** *and* sor3e *and* swinc a wat*er*e *and* a londe.
T196 *and* senne *and* sore3e *and* iswinch awatere *and* londe.
e192 *and* sunne. *and* sor3e. *and* iswinch. awetere *and* alande
E196 *and* synne *and* sor3e *and* 3eswinch. a watere *and* **ec** a londe
D188 *and* senne *and* sor3e *and* iswinc **on se** *and* on londe.
J193 *and* sunne. *and* sorewe. *and* **muchel** swynk. a watere. *and* a londe.
M182 **Þur3** whan **we** þolieþ alle deþ þe come of **adammes** kunne (L199/T205/e200/E204/D196/J201)

L193 Vre forme fader gult. we abu3eð alle.
T197 Vre foremes faderes gult we abugeð alle
e193 Vres formes federes gult. we abigget alle
E197 Vres formes faderes gult. we abigget alle
D189 Vres uormes uader gelt we abeggeð alle.
J194 Vre forme faderes gult. we abuggeþ alle.
M **[Lacks Le193/TE197/D189/J194]**

L **[Lacks TE198/e194/D190/J195]**
T198 Al his ofsprung after him in harem is biualle
e194 eal his ofspring efter hi*m*. en hearme is bifealle
E198 al his ofsprung after hym in herme is bifalle
D190 ***and*** his ofspring efter him on harme **bieð** biualle
J195 Al his ofsprung after him. in harme is ifalle.
M **[Lacks TE198/e194/D190/J195]**

L194 þurst *and* hunger. chele *and* hete. **helde** *and* **[al]** unhelðe.
T199 Þurst *and* hunger. chele *and* hete **[eche]** *and* alle unhalðe.
e195 Þurst. *and* hunger chule. *and* hete. Eche. *and* eal unhelðe
E199 Þurst. *and* hunger. chule. *and* hete. eche. *and* al unelþe
D191 Huger *and* þurst hete *and* chele ecðe *and* al unhelðe
J196 Þurst and hunger. chele. and hete. ache and **[al]** vnhelþe.
M183 Deþ com in þis midelerd þur3 þes deueles onde (Le191/TE195/D187/J193)

L195 Þurh **him** deð com in þis middenerd *and* oðer uniselðe.
T200 Þurh deað cam in þis middeneard *and* oðer unisalðe.
e196 ðurh dieð co*m* in ðis middeneard. *and* oðer uniselðe
E200 **[þurh]** dieð com in þis middenerd. *and* oþer vnisalþe
D192 þurh deað com on þis mide**l**ard *and* oþer vniselðe
J197 Þurh **him** com i*n* þ*i*s mydde**l**erd. *and* oþe vnyselyhþe.

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M184 **[*and*]** Sunne *and* sore3e *and* **in** suinch a wat*ere* *and* a londe (Le192/TE196/D188/J194)

L196 Nere na mon ells ded ne sec ne nan unsele.
T201 Nare noman elles dead ne sic ne unsele
e197 Nere **[no]** man elles died. ne sic. ne nan unsele
E201 Niere no man elles died. ne sic. ne non vnysele
D193 Nere noman elles dead ne sie**t** ne vn**v**ele
J198 Nere no mon elles ded ne sek. ne non vn**h**ele.
M185 Þurst *and* hunger. chele. *and* hete. eche. *and* **[al]** unhelþe (L194/TE199/e195/D191/J196)

L197 ac mihten libben eure ma a blisse *and* a hele.
T202 Ac mihte libbe afremo ablisse *and* an hale.
e198 ac mihten libben æure ma. ablisse *and* on hele
E202 ac mihten libbe eure mo a blisse *and* on hele
D194 ac mihte libben euermo on blisce *and* on hele
J199 Ah myhten libben eu*er* mo. **myd** blysse and **myd wele**.
M186 Þur3 deþ com in þis mide**l**erd *and* **manie** oþre unselþe (L195/TE200/e196/D192/J197)

L **[Lacks T203's duplicated line from LTeE73/D69/J71/M67]**
T203 Litel lac is gode lief þe cumeð of gode wille
e **[Lacks T203's duplicated line from LTeE73/D69/J71/M67]**
E **[Lacks T203's duplicated line from LTeE73/D69/J71/M67]**
D **[Lacks T203's duplicated line from LTeE73/D69/J71/M67]**
J **[Lacks T203's duplicated line from LTeE73/D69/J71/M67]**
M **[Lacks T203's duplicated line from LTeE73/D69/J71/M67]**

L **[Lacks T204's duplicated line from LTeE74/D70/J72/M68]**
T204 *and* eðlate muchel 3ieue þan his herte is ille
e **[Lacks T204's duplicated line from LTeE74/D70/J72/M68]**
E **[Lacks T204's duplicated line from LTeE74/D70/J72/M68]**
D **[Lacks T204's duplicated line from LTeE74/D70/J72/M68]**
J **[Lacks T204's duplicated line from LTeE74/D70/J72/M68]**
M **[Lacks T204's duplicated line from LTeE74/D70/J72/M68]**

L198 Lutel hit þu*n*cheð moni mon. ac mucel wes **wa** su*n*ne.
T205 Litel hit þuncheð maniman ac muchel was þe senne
e199 Lutel **[hit]** iðencð maniman*n*. **hu** muchel wes þe sunne
E203 Lutel **[hit]** iþenchð mani man **hu** muchel wes þe synne
D195 Litel hit þencheð maniemen a**l** muchel wes si senne

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J200 Lutel hit þincheþ mony mon. ah muchel wes þe sunne.
M187 Elles nere noman died ne sike ne **[non]** unsele (L196/TE201/e197/D193/J198)

L199 for hwam alle þolieð deð þe comen of hore cunne.
T206 For hwan alle þolieð deað þe comen of here kenne
e200 for hwan ealle ðolieð dieð. þe come*n* of **þe** cunne
E204 for þan þolied alle died þe comen of here cunne
D196 vor **hwi** þolieð alle dead þ comen of **þo** kenne.
J201 For whon alle þolieþ deþ. þat comen of heore kunne.
M188 Ac mi3te libbe eueremore in blisse *and* in hele (L197/TE202/e197/D194/J199)

L200 Hore sunne and ec ure a3en sare us mei of þinche.
T207 Here senne *and* ec ure o3en us mu3e **rewen** sore ofþunche
e201 Heore sunne *and* **[ec]** ure a3en. sare us mei ofðinche
E205 Here synne *and* ec vre owen. sore us mai ofþinche
D197 Here senne *and* ec vre sore **[owen]** us mai ofþenche
J202 **Vre** sunne and **[ec]** vre **[owen]** sor. vs may sore of þunche.
M **[Lacks L200/T207/e201/E205/D197/J202]**

L201 **Þurh** su*n*ne we libbeð alle **[her]** in sor3e *and* in swinke.
T208 For senne we libeð alle her in sore3e *and* in swunche.
e202 for sunne we libbeð alle her. asor3en *and* aswinche
E206 for **in** synne we libbet alle **[her]** in sorewen *and* in swinche
D198 for senne we alle hier in sor3e **bieð** *and* in swinche
J203 **In** sunnen we libbeþ alle **[her]**. ***and*** seorewe. and in swynke.
M **[Lacks L201/T208/e202/E206/D198/J203]**

L202 suððen God nom swa muchele wrake for a**r**e misdede:
T209 Seðen god na*m* swo mukel wrache for one misdede
e203 Siððe god na*m* sa michele wrecche for ane misdede
E207 Sudþe god nam swa muchele wreche for ane misdede
D199 Seðe God swo muchele wreche **dede** vor one misdede
J204 **Hwenne** god nom so muche wreche. for one mysdede.
M189 Adam *and* his ofspreng uor ore bare sunne (L204/T211/e205/E209/D201/J206)

L203 We þe swa muchel *and* swa ofte misdoð. we mu3en eðe us adrede.
T210 We þe swo **[muchel and swa]** ofte misdoð we mu3en us eaðe ofdrade.
e204 we *þe* swa muchel *and* oft misdoð. **[we]** mu3en us eaðe adrede
E208 **þe** þat so muchel *and* swa oft misdoð **[we]** mu3en vs sore adrede

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D200 we þ*æt* **[swo]** <u>**gelteð**</u> <u>ofte</u> *and* muchel **hwat** sal us to **rede**
J205 We þat **[swa muchel and swa]** ofte mysdoþ. we mowen vs sore adrede.
M190 **Were** uele hundred wintre in helle pine *and* in unwenne (L205/T212/e206/E210/D202/J207)

L204 Adam and his ofspru*ng* for are **þ**are sunne.
T211 Adam *and* al his ofspreng for one bare senne.
e205 Adam *and* his ofspring. for ane bare sunne
E209 Adam *and* his ofspring for one bare sunne
D201 Adam *and* his o**[f]**spreng **al**. vor one bare senne
J206 Adam *and* his ofsprung. for ore bare sunne.
M191 ***and*** suþþe god **[nam]** <u>dude</u> so muchel *wreche* uor o**r**e misdede (L202/T209/e203/E207/D199/J204)

L205 wes fele undret wintre an helle pine *and* an unwunne.
T212 Was fele hundred wintre an helle **a** pine *and* unwenne.
e206 wes fele hundred wintre. an helle pine. *and* a unwunne
E210 was fele hundred wintre in helle **in** pine *and* in vnwunne
D202 **weren** vele hundred Ʒer on helle **[pine]** *and* on vnwenne.
J207 **Weren** feole hundred wynter in **[helle]** pyne. *and* on vnwunne.
M192 We þat so **ylome** *and* **[so]** ofte **agulteþ her wel** <u>sore</u> <u>we</u> <u>maie</u> adrede (L203/T210/e204/E208/D200/J205)

L206 **[And]** Þa þe ledden hore lif mid unriht *and* mid wrange.
T213 **[And]** Þo þe ladeð here lif mid unrihte *and* mid wronge
e207 End þa ðe ledeð heore lif. mid unriht *and* **[mid]** wrange
E211 And þo þe leded here lif mid vnriht *and* mid wronge
D203 **[And]** Þo þ*e* ledeð here lif mid vnrihte *and* mid wronge
J208 And þeo þat ledeþ heore lif. myd vnriht *and* myd wronge.
M193 *and* þe þat ledeþ hare lif mid **werre** *and* mid ywronge

L207 buten hit gode*s* milce do ho sculen bon þer wel longe.
T214 Bute hit godes milce do hie sulle wunie þar **[wel]** longe.
e208 buten hit godes milce do **[hi]** scule beo ðer wel lange
E212 bute it godes milce do **[hi]** sculle beo þer wel longe
D204 bute hit godes milce do hi sulle bi þer wel longe
J209 Bute hit godes mylce **beo**. he **[sculle]** beo**þ** þar wel longe.
M194 Bute hit godes milse do hi sculle beo þar wel longe

L208 Godes wisdom is wel muchel. *and* al swa is his mihte
T215 Godes wisdom is wel mulchel *and* alsse is his mihte
e209 Godes wisdom is wel muchel. *and* eal swa is his mihte

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E213 Godes wisdom is wel muchel. *and* al swa is his mihte
D205 Godes **milce** is **swo** muchel *and* al swo is his mihte.
J210 Godes wisdom is wel muchel. *and* also is his myhte.
M195 Godes wisdom is wel muchel *and* **[al]** so **beþ** his mi3te

L209 *and* nis his milce naut lesse. ac bi þan ilke iwichte.
T216 **Ac** nis his **mihte** nowiht lasse ac bi ðer ilke wihte.
e210 *and* nis his milce nawhiht lesse. ac bi ðe**s** ilke wihte
E214 *and* nis is milce nawiht lasse. ac bi ðer ilke wihte
D206 nis hi**m** no **þing litlinde** ac bi **emliche** wihte
J211 **[and]** Nis his mylce nowiht lasse. ah al by **[þan/þer] one** wyhte.
M196 **[and]** Nis his **mi3te** no lasse **þane was þo** bi þan ilke wi3te

L210 Mare he ane mei for3euen. þen al folc gulte cunne.
T217 More he one mai3 for3ieue þan alle folc gulte cunne
e211 Mare he ane mei for3iuen. ðenne eal folc gulte cunne
E215 More he one mai for3iuen. þenne al folc gulte cunne
D207 He one mai <u>more</u> vor3eue þanne al uolc gelte cunne.
J212 More he one may foryeue. þan al volk agulte kunne.
M197 More he one mai uor3eue þane al uolk gulte kunne

L211 Sulf douel mihte habbe*n* milce. 3if he hit bigunne.
T218 Self deuel mihte habben milce 3ief he hit bigunne.
e212 **[self]** deofel mihte habbe milce. 3if he hit bigunne
E216 deofel <u>suelf</u> mihte habbe milce. 3if he it **bidde gunne**
D208 **se** deuel <u>self</u> mihte habbe milce ef he hit bigunne.
J213 **Þeyh** seolf deouel myhte habbe mylce. if he hit bigunne.
M198 **Þe** selue deuel mi3te habbe milse 3ef he hit **hadde** bigunne

L212 Þa þe godes milce secheð: <u>he</u> <u>iwis</u> mei h**a** if*n*den.
T219 Þe þe godes milche secð iwis he mai hes finden
e213 Þe ðe godes milce sechð. iwis he mei his finde
E217 Þe ðe godes milce sechð. iwis he mai is finde
D209 **Hwo swo** godes milce secð iwis he <u>hi</u> <u>mai</u> vinde.
J214 Þe þ**at** godes mylce sekþ. iwis he <u>hit</u> <u>may</u> fynde.
M199 Þe **man** þe godes milse isecþ iwis he <u>hit</u> **scal** finde

L213 A**l**c helle king is areles **wich** þa þe mei binden.

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T220 Ac helle king is oreleas wið þo þe he mai binden.
e214 ac helle king is arelie**f**. wið ða þe he mei binde.
E218 ac helle king is oreles. wið þa þe he mai binde
D210 ac helle king is **swiþe hard** wið þo þ*e* he mai binde.
J215 Ah helle kyng. is oreles. wiþ þon þat he may bynde.
M200 Ac helle king is oreles wiþ þan þat he mai binde

L214 Þe þe deþ is wille mest: he haueð wurst mede.
T221 Se **[þe]** deð his wille mast he **sal** habbe werest mede
e215 þe ðe deð his wille mest **[he]** haueð **[wurst]** m[ede][508]
E219 Þe ðe deð his wille mest. he haueð wurst mede
D211 Se þ*e* **eure** deð his wille mest he **sal [habbe] him** werse mede
J216 His baþ schal beo wallynde pich. his bed bernynde glede.[509]
M201 Þe þat deþ his wille **b**est **wist** he haueþ **[wurst]** mede

L215 His baþ scal bon wallinde **[pich]**. his **bað sca*l* bon** bernu*n*de glede.
T222 His bað sal be wallinde pich his bed barnende glede.
e216 his bæð sceal beo weallende pich. his bed. burnende glede
E220 his be*a*ð scal beo wallinde pich. his bed berninde glede
D212 his behð sal bi wallinde pich. his bed berninde glede
J217 Þe þat doþ his wille mest. he **schal** habbe w[u]rst mede.
M202 His baþ scal beo wallinde pich his bed berninde glede

L216 Wurst he deð his gode **frond**: þenne his fulle fond:
T223 Werse he doð his gode wines þan his **[fulle] fiendes**
e217 Wurse he deð his gode wines. þenne his fulle feonde
E221 Wurs he deð his gode wines. þene his fulle feonde
D213 Wers he doð his gode wine þanne his **loðe** viende
J **[Lacks L216/T223/e217/E221/D213/M203]**
M203 W[u]rst he deþ **he deþ** his gode wines þane his fulle uende

L217 God scilde alle godes frond. **a** wih swilche freonde.
T224 God silde alle godes friend wið **swo** euele friende.
e218 god sculde ealle godes frund. **a** wið swiche freonde
E222 god sculde alle godes frend **a** wihd scuche f**i**eonde

[508] This line was added in the margin after the scribe realized it had been skipped. However, the later trimming of the manuscript for rebinding cut off the rest of the line.
[509] Just as with lines 41-42, the scribe has written in the margin ".b." beside this line and ".a." beside the following line to indicate that they had copied the couplet out of order mistakenly.

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D214 isilde **us eure drihte crist [godes frend]** wið swiche **loðe** frende.
J **[Lacks L217/T224/e218/E222/D214/M204]**
M204 **Iesu crist us** iscilde alle **[godes frend]** fram suiche **euele** frende

L218 Neure in helle **hi [ne]** com. ne þer ne come **[ich]** reche.
T225 Nafre an helle i ne cam ne cumen iche þar ne reche
e219 Neure an helle ic ne co*m*. ne cume ic ðer ne recche
E223 Neure on helle ic ne com ne comen ic þer ne reche
D215 Neure ich on helle ne com ne comen ic þer ne recche.
J **[Lacks L218/T225/e219/E223/D215/M205]**
M205 [N]euere in helle ich ne com ne neuere **[ic þer]** come ne recche

L219 þach ich elches worldes wele. þerine mahte feche
T226 Þeih ich aches woreldes wele þare[**-ine]** mihte feche.
e220 ðeh ich æches woruld wele. ðerinne mihte **s**ecche
E224 ðeh ich elches wurldes wele. þerinne mihte fecche
D216 þeh ich **alle** werlde wele þerinne **wende** vecche
J **[Lacks L219/T227/e220/E224/D216/M206]**
M206 Þa3 ich **al þes** worldes wele þarinne **wende** uecche

L220 þ*æt* **his** wulle seggen ou þat wise men us seiden.
T227 Þeih ich wille seggen eow þat wise men us saden
e221 Þeh ich wulle seggen eow. þ*æt* wise men us sede
E225 Þeh ic wulle seggen eow þ*æt* wise men us sede
D217 Ich wille **þeð** siggen 3eu þ*æt* wismen us sede
J218 **Also** ich **hit [wille] telle [eow] as** wyse men vs seyden.
M207 **Ac** þe3 ich wlle 3o **telle ase** wise men **me** seide

L221 *and* a boken hit written þer **[me]** mei hit reden.
T228 *and* **[a]** boc hit is write þar me hit mai rade.
e222 *and* a boke hi hit write. þer *me* mei hit rede
E226 and a boke it is iwrite. þer me mai it rede
D218 *and* on boc hit **stant** iwrite ***and* [me] alle we** mu3en hit rede.
J219 And on **heore** boke. hit iwryten is. þat me may hit reden.
M208 *and* on boc hit is iwrite ***and* 3e** hit **habbeþ ihurd** rede

L222 Ich hit wille seggen þan þe hit hom solf nusten.
T229 Ic wille seggen hit þo þe hit hem self nesten
e223 Ich hit wulle segge þam. þe hi*m* sulf hit nusten

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E227 Ic it wulle segge **heom** þe hem self it nusten
D219 Ich hit wille siggen þan þ*e* hit ham selue nesten
J220 Ich hit **[wille]** segge **for heom**. þat **er þis [hem self]** hit nusten.
M209 ***and*** ich hit w[i]lle **telle us** þat hit **er [hem self]** neste

L223 **[and]** warni hom wið hore unfrome. ʒif ho me wulleð lusten.
T230 *and* warnin hem wið here unfreme ʒief hie me willeð hlesten.
e224 *and* warnie heo*m* wið heora unfreme. ʒif hi me wulle hlusten
E228 *and* warnen heo*m* wit heore **hearme** . ʒif hi me wulled lusten
D220 *and* warni hi wið here **vnwines** ef hi me willeð hlesten
J221 And warny heom wiþ **[here] harme**. if heo me wulleþ lusten.
M210 *and* warni **us** wiþ **[here]** unureme ʒef ʒe me w[u]lleþ ileste

L224 Vnd*er*stondeð nu to me edi men *and* arme.
T231 Vnderstandeð nu to me **ward** eadi men *and* arme
e225 Understandeð nu to me. ʒedi men *and* earme
E229 Vnderstondet nu to me. æidi men *and* earme
D221 vnderstondeð nu to me eadi men *and* arme
J222 Vnderstondeþ nv to me. edye men and arme.
M211 Vnderstondeþ nu to me ʒedi men *and* **areʒe**

L225 Ich wulle tellen of helle pin*:* *and* wernin ow wið herme.
T232 Ich wille tellen **eow** of helle pine *and* warnin eow wið harme.
e226 ich wule telle of helle pine. *and* warnie eow wið hearme
E230 ic wulle telle of helle pine. *and* warnie ow wið herme
D222 ich wille **[telle]** of helle pine warni ʒeu *and* **fram** harme
J223 Ich wille **ou** telle of hell pyne. and warny [**eow**] **of** harme.
M212 *and* ich **ou** wille telle of helle pine *and* warni **us** wiþ harme

L226 In helle his hunger *and* þurst*:* two uuele iuere.
T233 An helle **[is]** hunger *and* þurst euel two iferen.
e227 An helle is hunger *and* ðurst. uuele twa ifere
E231 On helle is vnger *and* þerst. vuele tuo ifere
D223 In helle is hunger *and* þurst euele two iueren
J224 **Þar [in helle]** is hunger and þurst. vuele tweye ivere.
M213 In helle is hunger *and* þurst wel euele tuo iuere

L227 þas **[pine]** þolieð þa **[þe]** weren **maket** niþinges here.

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T234	Þos pine þolieð þo þe ware mete niðinges here.
e228	þas pine ðolieð þa þe were mete niðinges here
E232	þos pine þolied þo. þe were mete niþinges here
D224	þos pine þolieð þo þ*e* weren mete niþinges hiere
J225	Þeos pyne þolieþ þer. þa*t* were mete nyþinges here.
M214	Þos pine **sculle** þolie þar þat were **[mete]** niþinges here

L	**[Lacks M215]**
T	**[Lacks M215]**
e	**[Lacks M215]**
E	**[Lacks M215]**
D	**[Lacks M215]**
J	**[Lacks M215]**
M215	Þe hadde þis worldes e3te *and* faste ginme hielde

L	**[Lacks M216]**
T	**[Lacks M216]**
e	**[Lacks M216]**
E	**[Lacks M216]**
D	**[Lacks M216]**
J	**[Lacks M216]**
M216	*and* hi nolde helpe þar of þe hungri ne þe chielde

L228	Þer is waning *and* wop. eft*er* eche **streche**.
T235	Þar is woning *and* wop after ache strate
e229	Þer is wanunge *and* wop. efter eche strete
E233	Þor is woninge *and* wop after eche strete
D225	Þer is **sorinesse** *and* wop efter eche strete
J226	Þar is wonyng and wop. after vlche strete.
M217	Þar is wonige *and* wop **in eueriche** strete

L229	Ho fareð from hete to **hete**. *and* **hech** to **frure þe wreche**.
T236	Hie fareð fram hate **[to]** chele fra*m* chele to hate.
e230	hi fareð fra*m hete* to chele. fra*m* chele to hete
E234	hi fared fram hete to þe chele. from chele to **þe** hete
D226	hi uareð vram hete **in** to chele *and* fram chele **in** to hete.
J227	Ho vareþ from hete to chele. from chele to **þar** hete.
M218	Hi uareþ uram hete to þe chele uram chele to **þe** hete

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L230 Þenne hi bið in þere hete: þe chele him þunchet blisse.
T237 [Þ]an hie beð in þe hate **[þe]** chele hem þuncheð blisse
e **[Lacks L230/T237/E235/D227/J228/M219]**
E235 Þanne hi bead in þe hete. þe chele **[him]** ðinchet blisse
D227 þanne hi in þare hete <u>bieð</u> se chele ham þencheð blisce
J228 Hwenne heo **cumeþ** in hete þe chele heom þincheþ **lysse**.
M219 Whane hi beoþ in hete þe chele ham þincheþ blisse

L231 Þenne hi cumeð eft to **þe** chele: of hete hi habbeð misse.
T238 [Þ]an hie cumeð eft to chele of hate hie habbeð misse.
e **[Lacks L231/T238/E236/D228/J229/M220]**
E236 þenne hi comeð eft to chele. of hete hi habbed misse
D228 þanne hi **to** <u>chele</u> <u>comeð</u> of hete hi habbeð misse.
J229 Þenne heo cumeþ eft **to** chele. of hete heo habbeþ mysse.
M220 **Wh**ane hi **beoþ in [to] þe** chele of **þar** hete hi habbeþ misse

L232 **Hi** hem deð wa inoch nabbeð hi nane **blisse**.
T239 [E]iðer *doð* hem wo inoh nabbeð **[hi]** none lisse.
e **[Lacks L232/T239/E237/D229/J230/M222]**
E237 Aiþer hem deð wa inou. nabbet *h*i none lisse
D229 Eider ham deð wo inoh nabbeð hi none **blisce**
J230 Eyþer heom doþ wo ynouh. nabbeþ heo none lisse.
M221 Neteþ hi **neure** whaþer ham doþ w[u]rs **to** neuere none ywisse (L233/T240/E239/D230/J231)

L233 Nute he hweþer hem deþ **þin** *and* mid neure nane wisse.
T240 [N]iten **[he]** hweðer hem doð wers **to** nafre none wisse.
e231 nuten **[hi]** wheðer hi*m* deð **wines** mid **[neure]** nane iwisse
E238 **m**uten hi weþer heom ded wurst. mid neure non iwisse
D230 niteð hi hwer **hi wonieð mest** mid neure none iwisse
J231 <u>Heo</u> <u>nuten</u> hweþer heom doþ wurse. myd neu*er* none iwisse.
M222 Aiþer ham doþ wo ino3 ne habbeþ **bi [neuer]** none lisse

L234 Hi walkeð eure *and* secheð reste ac *ho* ne mu3en imeten.
T241 [H]ie walkeð afre *and* secheð reste ac hie **hes** ne mu3en imeten.
e231 Hi walkeð eure *and* secheð reste. ac hi ne mu3en imete
E239 Hi walked eure *and* sechet reste. ac hi ne mu3en imeten
D231 Hi walkeð eure *and* <u>reste</u> <u>secheð</u> ac hi ne mu3en imeten
J232 Heo walkeþ eu*er* and secheþ reste. ah heo **hit** ne muwe unete.
M223 Hi walkeþ euere *and* secheþ reste ac hi ne mu3e ymete

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L235 forþi þe ho nolden þe hwile ***þæt*** ho mihten here sunne beten.
T242 [F]orþi þe hie nolde þe hwile hie mihten here senne beten.
e232 forþi ði **[hi]** nolden **[þe]** hwile hi mihten heore sunne bete
E240 forþi **[þe]** hi nolden þo wile hi muchten here sunne beten
D232 vor**[þi þe]** hi nolden þo **[hwile]** hi mihte hire sennen ibeten
J233 For**[þi þe]** heo nolde **[þe]** hwile heo myhten. heore sunnen ibete.
M224 Vor **þan** þe hi nolde þe huile hi mi3te hure sennes bete

L236 Ho secheð reste þer nis nan. **forþi** ne mu3en hies finden.
T243 [H]ie sec*h*eð reste þar non nis **ac hie** hies ne mu3en ifinden.
e233 Hi secheð reste ðer nan nis. **[for/ac]** þi ne mu3en hi finde
E241 Hi seched reste þer non nis. **ac** þi ne muwen **[hi]** ifinde
D233 Hi secheð reste þer non nis **for** hi ne mu3en iuinde
J234 Heo s**ch**echeþ reste þer non nys. **forþi** ne mywen hi finde.
M225 Hi secheþ reste þar non nis ***and*** hi ne mu3e non þar finde

L237 ac walkeð weri up *and* dun: se wat*er* deþ mid winde.
T244 [A]c walkeð weri up *and* dun se water doð mid winde
e234 ac walkeð weri up *and* dun. se weter deð mid winde
E242 ac walked weri up *and* dun. **al** se water deð mid winde
D234 ac walkeð weri up *and* dun swo water doð mid winde
J235 Ah walkeþ **þar boþe** vp and dun. so water doþ myd winde.
M226 Ac walkeþ weri vp *and* dun suo water doþ mid þe winde

L238 Þo boð þa þe weren her a þanke unstedefeste.
T245 [Þ]at beð þo þe waren her an þanc unstedefaste
e235 Þis beoð þa ðe were her. a ðanke unstedefeste
E243 Þis beod þo þe weren her. on þonke vnstedefaste
D235 Þ*æt* **seden** þo þ*e* were her on þonke unstedeueste
J236 Þis beoþ þe þat weren her **mid hwom me heold** feste.
M227 Þos beoþ þe þat were her of þonke unstedeuaste

L239 *and* þa þe gode b*i*heten **heste** *and* nolden hit ileste.
T246 [*and*] þo þe gode biheten aihte *and* **[nolde]** hit **him** ilaste.
e236 *and* to **[þe]** gode beheten aht. *and* nolde hit ileste
E244 *and* þo **[þe]** god biheten auht. *and* nolden it ilaste
D236 *and* þo þ*e* biheten gode [**heste/aihte/wel]** *and* nolden hit ileste
J237 And þeo þat gode biheyhte **wel**. and nolden hit ileste.
M228 **[and]** Þe þe bihete **iesu crist [heste/aihte/wel]** *and* nolde hi**m** ylaste

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L240 þa þe god werc bigunnen *and* ful enden hit nolden.
T247 **[*and*]** þo þe god werc bigunnen *and* ful endin hit nolden.
e237 Þa þe god weorc bigunne. *and* ful endien hit nolde
E245 Þo ðe god weorc bigunne. *and* ful enden hit nolden
D237 Þo þ*e* agunne god**es** werc *and* hit ful endi nolde
J238 **And** þeo þat god werc bygunne and ful endy hit nolden.
M229 Þe þat god w[e]rc bigunne *and* ful endi hit nolde

L241 nu **witen** here. *and* nuðe þer. *and* nusten hwat hi wolden.
T248 [N]u waren her *and* **nu** þer *and* **m**esten hwat he wolden
e238 nu weren her. *and* nuðe ðer. *and* nuste hwet hi wolde
E246 **þe** weren her *and* nuþe þer. *and* nusten wet he wolden
D238 nu weren hier *and* **nu** þer *and* **deden þet** hi wolde
J239 Nv were her. **nv were er**. **heo** nuste hwat heo wolden.
M230 ***and*** were her *and* **while** þar *and* neste huat hi wolde

L242 þer is **bernunde** pich **[afre walleð] hore** saule **to** baþien inne.
T249 [Þ]ar is pich þat afre walled þar sulle **wunien** inne
e239 Þere is pich ðe æure wealð. þer scule baðie inne
E247 Þere is pich þat eure wealð. þat sculle baþien inne
D239 þer is pich þ*æt* eure walð þ*er* sullen baþien inne
J240 **Þet** ich pych. þat eu*er* walleþ. þ*at* heo schulle **habbe þere**.
M231 Þar is **þat** pich þat euere walþ þat sculle **þe beo** inne

L243 Þa þe ledden here lif in werre *and* in winne.
T250 [Þ]o þe laded here lif on werre *and* an unwinne.
e240 þa þe ledde **uuel** lif. **in feoht** end in **iginne**
E248 þo þe ladde **vuel** lif. **in feoh** end in **iginne**
D240 þo þ*e* ledden here lif **in vele** *and* in **senne**
J241 Þeo þ*e* ledeþ heore lyf **vnwreste**. and **eke fase were**.
M232 Þe þat ladde hure lif **mid** werre *and* **mid** ywinne

L244 þer is fur þ*æt* is undretfald hattre. þene bo ure.
T251 [Þ]ar is fur þis hundredfeald hatere þan be ure.
e241 Þer is fur ðe is hundredfealde hattre ðen **[be]** ure
E249 Þer is fur þat eure barnð. ne mai hit nawiht quenche (L246/T253/eD243/E251/J244/M235)
D241 Þer is ver þ*æt* is hudredfealde hotter þanne is vre
J242 Þar is fur **[þat is] an** hundredfolde. hatture þane be vre.

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M233 Þar is **þat** fur þat is hundredfelde hatter þane **[be]** vre

L245 Ne mei **[hit]** q*ue*nchen salt weter ne **uersc of þe burne**.
T252 [N]e mai hit quenche salt water ne auene stream ne sture.
e242 ne mei hit cwenche salt weter. nauene striem ne sture
E250 **h**erinne beod þe we to lef. wrecche men to swenche (L247/T254/eD244/E252/J245/M236)
D242 ne mai hit kuenche **no [salt]** weter **h**auene. stream. ne sture.
J243 Ne may hit quench **no** salt water. ne auene strem. ne sture.
M234 **Mot** hit **noþer** aquenche **[ne]** auene strem ne sture

L246 Þis is þ*æt* fur þ*æt* efre bernd ne mei nawiht hit que*n*chen.
T253 [Þ]is is þat fur þat afre barneð ne mai **[hit]** nowiht quenche.
e243 Þis is þ*at* fur ðe eure burnð. ne mei hit nawhit cwenche
E251 Þer is fur þat is vndredfelde hatere þanne beo vre (L244/T251/eD241/E249/J242/M233)
D243 Þer is **[þat]** uer þ*at* eure bernneð ne mai hit noþing quenchen
J244 Þat is þet fur þat eu*er* barnþ. ne may hit **no mon** quenche.
M235 Þat is þat fur þat euere barnþ **þat** noþing ne mot aquenche

L247 Þerinne boð þa þe was to lof wreche men to swenchen.
T254 [Þ]arinne beð þe was to lef wreche men to swenche.
e244 **h**erinne beoð þe wes to leof. wrecche men to swenche
E252 ne mai it quenchen salt water. nauene strien ne sture (L245/T252/eD242/E250/J243/M234)
D244 þerinne **sendeð** þo þ*e* **loueden** wrecche men to swenchen.
J245 Þarinne beoþ þeo. þat her wes leof. **poure** men to swenche.
M236 **Þe sculle** beo inne þe **were** lef **poure** men to suenche

L248 þa þe weren swikele men *and* ful of uuel wrenchen.
T255 Þo þe **[were]** swikele men *and* ful of euele wrenchen.
e245 Þa ðe were swichele men. *and* ful of uuele wrenche
E253 Þo þe were swikele men. *and* fulle of vuele wrenche
D245 ***and*** þo þ*at* were swikele men *and* ful of euele wrenchen
J246 Þeo þat were swikele men. and ful of vuele wrenche.
M **[Lacks L248/T255/eD245/E253/J246]**

L249 þa þe mihten uuel don. **[and] þe þe** lef hit wes to þenchen.
T256 *and* þo þe mihten euel don *and* lief hit was to þenchen.
e246 þa ðe ne mihte uuel don. *and* leof **[it]** wes to ðenche
E254 þo þe ne mihte euel don. *and* lef was it to þenche
D246 *and* þo þ*e* mihte **vnriht** do *and* lief hit **hem** wes to þenche

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J247 And þeo þat ne myhte vuele do. *and* was hit leof to þenche.
M **[Lacks L249/T255/eD245/E253/J246]**

L250 Þe **[þe]** luueden **tening** *and* stale. hordom *and* drunken
T257 Þe **[þe]** luueden rauing *and* stale hordom *and* druken
e247 Þe **[þe]** luuede reauing *and* stale. hordom *and* drunke
E255 Þo þe luueden reuing *and* stale. hordom. *and* drunke
D247 Þo þ*e* louede hordom *and* stale ***and*** reauinge *and* dru*n*ke
J248 Þeo þat luued reving. and stale. ***and*** hordom. *and* drunken.
M237 ***and*** þe þe louede reuing *and* stale **[hordom]** *and* **unmetliche** drunke

L251 *and* a doules werche bliþeliche swunken.
T258 *and* an defles werkes bliðeliche swunken.
e248 *and* **a.** on **ðes** deofles weorc. bliðeliche swunche
E256 *and* **þe** on **þes** deofles weorkes bliþeliche swunke
D248 *and* on **þos loþer** diefle werkes **to** bleðeliche swunke
J249 And on deoueles werke. bluþeliche swunken.
M238 *and* **ec** in **þes** deueles work **suo** bleþeliche swonke

L252 Þa þe weren swa le**l**e *þæt* me ho*m* ne mihte ileuen.
T259 Þo þe waren swo lease men þat **mes** ne mihte leuen
e249 Þa ðe were swa lease. þet me hi ne mihte ileue
E257 Þo þe were so lease. þat me hi ne mihte ileuen
D249 Þo þ*e* weren **[so]** lease **[þat]** men ne mihte **me** hem ileuen
J250 Þeo þat were so lese. þat me heom ne myhte ileuen.
M239 Þe þe were so lese þat me ne mi3te ham yleue

L253 Med-ierne domes-men. *and* wro*n*g-wise reuen.
T260 Med-3ierne domes-men *and* wrong-wise reuen.
e250 med-3eorne domes-men. *and* wranc-wise ireue
E258 med-3eorne domes-men. *and* wranc-wise reuen
D250 ***and*** mede-3ierned domes-men *and* wrang-wise ireuen
J251 Med-yorne domes-men. and wrong-wise reuen.
M240 Me-3erne domes-man *and* wrong-wise reue

L254 *þæt* **[þe]** oðer mo*n*nes wi**s** **[was]** lof. his a3en e**c**-lete.
T261 Þo þe oðer mannes wif was lief **her** o3en eð-late
e251 Þe **[þe]** oðres mannes *wif* wes lief. his a3en eð-lete
E259 Þe **[þe]** oþre mannes wif wes lef. his awene eð-lete

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D251 Þo þ*e* oþres **[mannes]** wif **haueden** lief *and* **here** o3en eð-lete
J252 Þe þat wes leof oer mannes wif. *and* his owe **[eþ-]**leten.
M241 Þe þe was oþre mannes wiues lef his o3en 3eþ-lete

L255 **[and]** þo þe sungede muchel: a drunke *and* an ete.
T262 *and* þo þe sunegeden muchel on druken *and* on ate.
e252 **[and]** þe ðe sune3ude muchel a drunken *and* en ete
E260 *and* þo þe sunegede muchel. on drunke *and* on ete
D252 *and* þo þ **swiþe** sene3eden on drunke *and* on hete
J253 And þe þat sunegeþ **[muchel] ofte**. on drunken. and on **mete**.
M242 *and* **[þe þat]** sene3ede **[muchel] bluþeliche** on drunke *and* on ete

L256 þe wreche mon binom his ehte. *and* leide his on horde.
T263 Þe wreche men binomen **here** aihte *and* leide his on horde.
e253 Þe wrecche **[men]** benam his ehte. *and* leide hes en horde
E261 Þe wrecchen **[men]** binemen **hure** ehte. *and* leiden **huere** on horde
D253 Þe wrecche man binam his **god** *and* leide **hit** on horde
J254 Þeo **þat** wrecche men bynymeþ. his eyhte. *and* **hit** leyþ an horde.
M243 Þe **þat poure** men binome **[his ehte]** *and* leide in **hare** horde

L257 þ*æt* lutel let of godes borde. *and* **of** godes worde.
T264 Þe litel lete of godes bode *and* of godes worde.
e254 þe lute let of godes **bi** bode. *and* of godes worde
E262 þe lutel leten of godes bode. *and* of godes worde
D254 þe lutel leten of godes bode. *and* of godes worde
J255 **And** lutel let **on** godes bode. and of godes worde.
M244 ***and*** litel lete of godes **hest** *and* of godes worde

L258 *And* þo þe his a3en nalde 3euen þer he isech þe node.
T265 *And* þe **[þe]** his o3en nolde 3ieue þar he iseih þe niede
e255 End te **[þe]** his a3en nolde 3iuen. þer he iseh þe neode
E263 And of **[þe]** his owen nolde 3iuen. þer he sei þe nede
D255 And se þ*e* his o3en nolde 3euen þer he ise3h þa niede
J256 **[And]** Þeo þat **almes** nolde yeue þere he iseyh þe neode.
M **[Lacks L258/T265/eD255/E263/J256]**

L **[Lacks J257]**
T **[Lacks J257]**
e **[Lacks J257]**

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E	**[Lacks J257]**
D	**[Lacks J257]**
J257	Ne his poure kunesmen. At him ne myhte nouht spede.
M	**[Lacks J257]**

L	(see L263)
T	(see T270)
e	(see e260)
E	(see E268)
D	(see D256)
J	(see J263)
M245	Þe þe were ȝeseres of þisse world este

L	(see L264)
T	(see T271)
e	(see e261)
E	(see E269)
D	(see D257)
J	(see J264)
M246	*and* dude al þat þe loþe gost hem tiȝte to *and* teȝte

L259	Ne nalde iheren godes sonde. þen ne he hit herde bode;
T266	Ne nolde ihere godes **men** þan he sat at his biede.
e256	ne nolde ihuren godes sande. þer he sette his beode
E264	ne nolde ihuren godes sonde . þer ne sette his beode
D256	ne nolde ihiere godes **men** þer he set at his biede
J258	**Þe þat** nolde here godes sonde. þar he sat. at his bo**r**de.
M	**[Lacks L259/T266/eD256/E264/J258]**

L260	þe þ*æt* **is** oðers mo*n*nes þing. loure þene hit sculde.
T267	Þo þe was oðer mannes þing leuere þan hit solde
e257	Þa ðe wes oðres mannes ðing. leoure þenne hit scolde
E265	Þo þe weren oþeres mannes þinc. leure þanne it scolde
D	**[Lacks L260/T267/e257/E265/J259/M247]**
J259	*and* was **leof** oþer mannes þing. leu*er*e þan **beon** schulde.
M247	Þe þe was oþre mannes **god** leuere þane **him** scolde

L261	*and* weren **[al]** to gredi of solure *and* of golde.
T268	*and* waren al to gradi of siluer *and* of golde.
e258	**i**weren eal to gredi of seoluer end of golde

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E266 *and* weren al to gredi. of suelfer *and* of golde
D **[Lacks L261/T268/e258/E266/J260/M248]**
J260 *and* weren al to gredi. of seoluer. and of golde.
M248 *and* were al to gredi of selure *and* of golde

L262 *and* þa þe untrownesse duden þon **þe** ho scu*l*den bon holde
T269 **[and]** Þo þe untrewnesse deden þan **þe** he solden ben holde.
e259 End þa ðe untruw*n*esse dude þam ðe hi **ahte** beon holde
E267 And þo þe vntreunesse deden. **Ʒ**am hi **ahte** ben holde
D **[Lacks L262/T269/e259/E267/J261/M249]**
J261 *and* **luueden** vntrewnesse **[deden]** þat heo schulden beon holde.
M249 *and* **vnriʒwisnesse** dude þar hi scolde beo holde

L263 *and* leten þet ho sculden don. *and* duden þ*æt* ho wolden.
T270 *and* leten **al** þat hie solden don *and* deden þat hie wolden.
e260 *and* leten ðet hi scolden don. *and* dude þet hi wolde
E268 *and* leten þat hi scolden don. *and* duden þet he wolde
D **[Lacks L263/T270/e260/E268/J262/M250]**
J262 *and* leten þat hi scolden do. and duden þat heo **ne scholden**.
M250 **[and]** Lete **wh**at hi scolde do *and* dude þat hi **ne scolde**

L **[Lacks J263]**
T **[Lacks J263]**
e **[Lacks J263]**
E **[Lacks J263]**
D **[Lacks J263]**
J263 Heo schulleþ wunyen i*n* helle. þe ueondes on wolde.
M **[Lacks J263]**

L264 þa þe weren **eure abuten wisse [of þis]** worldes echte.
T271 Þo þe waren ʒietceres of þis wereldes aihte
e261 Þa ðe witteres of ðis woruldes ehte
E269 Þo þe ʒysteres weren of þis woruldes ehte
D257 ***And*** þo þ*e* weren ʒetseres of þise worldes eʒhte
J264 Þe þat were **gaderares**. of þisses worldes ayhte.
M (see M245 above)

L265 *and* duden al þ*æt* þe laþe gast **[hem] hechte** to *and* tachte.
T272 *and* dude al þat þe loðe gost hem tihte to *and* taihte.

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e262 *and* dude *þæt te* laðe gast heo*m* tihte *and* to tehte
E270 *and* dude þat **he** loþe gost. hem tiht **[to]** *and* **ec** tauhte
D258 *and* deden al þ*at* se loþe gost ham tichede to *and* taðte
J265 And duden þat þe loþe gost heom tytede **[to]** and tahte.
M (see M246 above)

L266 *and* alle þe þen ani-gewise doulen **[her]** iquende.
T273 *and* al *þo* þe ani-wise deuel **[her]** iquemde
e263 End ealle þa ðen eni-wise deoflen *her* iquemde
E271 And alle þo ðen eni-wise. deoflen her iquemde
D259 *and* alle þo þ*en* anie-wise þo diefle er ikuemde
J266 And alle þe þe **myd dusye [ani-]**wise. deouele her iquemeþ.
M251 **[and]** Þe þat in alle **[ani]** wise þe deuele her iquemde

L267 þa boð nu mid him in helle fordon *and* fordemet.
T274 Þo beð **[nu]** mid hem in helle fordon *and* demde.
e264 þa beoð nu mid hi*m* an helle fordon *and* fordemde
E272 Þo beoð nu mid him an helle fordon *and* fordempde
D260 þo **sullen** ben **vod [nu]** mid him **[in helle]** vordon *and* vordemde
J267 Þeo beoþ nv *in* helle **wiþ** him. fordon. and fordemde.
M252 Þo **leoþ [nu]** in helle mid him uordone *and* uordemde

Lambeth ends here.

T275 Bute þo þe ofðuhte sore here misdade
e265 Bute þa þe ofðufte sare heore misdede
E273 Bute þo þe ofþouhte sore. her **here** misdeden
D261 Bute þo þ*e* vorþuhte **ham** here **sennen *and*** here misdeden
J268 Bute þeo þat ofþincheþ her. sore heore mysdede.
M253 Bute þe þat osþuȝte sore hure misdede.

T276 *and* gunne here gultes bete *and* betere lif lade.
e266 *and* gunne heore gultes beten *and* betere lif læde
E274 *and* gunnen hure gultes beten. *and* betere lif leden
D262 *and* gunnen here **sennes** beten *and* betere lif leden.
J269 *and* heore gultes gunnen **lete**. and betere lif **to** lede.
M254 *and* hure gultes gunne bete *and* betere lif lede

T277 Þar beð naddren *and* snaken. eueten *and* fruden
e267 Þer beoð neddren *and* snaken. euete *and* frute

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E275 Þeor beð naddren *and* snaken. eueten *and* frude
D263 Þer bieð naddren *and* snaken eueten *and* **ec** fruden
J270 Þer beoþ neddren. *and* snaken. euethen and fruden.
M **[Lacks T277/e267/E275/D263/J270]**

T278 Þe tereð *and* freteð þo euele s**wi**ken þe niðfule *and* þe prude
e268 þa tereð. *and* freteð. þe uuele speke. þe niðfulle. *and* te prute
E276 þa tered *and* freteð þe uuele speken. þe nihtfulle *and* þe prute
D264 þo tereð *and* freteð þo ***þe*** euel spekeð þo **on*d***fulle *and* þo prude
J271 þer tereþ and freteþ. þ*æt* vuele spekeþ. þe nyþfule *and* þe prude.
M **[Lacks T278/e268/E276/D264/J272]**

T279 Nafre sunne þar ne sineð ne mone ne storre.
e269 Neure sunne ðer ne scinð. ne mone ne steorre
E277 Neure sunne þer ne scinð. ne mone ne steorre
D265 Neure sunne þer ne sinð ne mone ne **no** sterre
J272 Neuer sunne þer ne schineþ. ne mone. ne steorre.
M255 Þar **beoþ** lodlich fend in stronge rakete3e (T283/e273/E281/D269/J276)

T280 Þar is muchel godes hete *and* muchel godes oerre.
e270 þer is muchel godes hate. *and* muchel godes eorre
E278 þer is muchel godes hete. *and* muchel godes 3eorre
D266 þer is muchel godes hete *and* muchel godes herre.
J273 þer is muchel godes hete. *and* muchel godes eorre.
M256 Þos beoþ þe þat were mid gode in heuene swiþe he3e (T284/e274/E282/D270/J277)

T281 Afre þar is euel smech þiesternesse *and* eie
e271 Æure ðer is uuel smech. ðusternesse *and* eie
E279 Eure þer is vuel smech. þusternesse *and* eie
D267 Eure þer is euel smac þiesternesse *and* e3ie
J274 Euer þar is **muchel** smech. þeosternesse and eye.
M257 Þar beoþ grisliche fend *and* aterliche wi3te (T285/e275/E283/D271/J278)

T282 Nis þar nafre oder liht þan þe swarte leie.
e272 nis ðer neure oðer liht. ðene þe swierte leie
E280 nis þer neure oþer liht. þanne þe swarte leie
D268 nis þer neure oþer liht þanne **[þe] þiester** leie
J275 Nis þer neuer oþer lyht. **bute** þe swarte leye.
M258 Þe sculle þe wrecche saule iseo þat sene3ede **mid** isi3te (T286/e276/E284/D272/J279)

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T283 Þar ligeð **ate**liche fiend in stronge raketeie
e273 Þer ligget ladliche fund. in strange raketeȝe
E281 Þer ligget laðliche fend. in stronge raketeie
D269 Þer liggeð **att**liche feond in stronge raketeȝe
J276 Þer lyþ **þe** lodliche ueond. in stronge raketeye.
M259 Neuere sunne þar ne scinþ ne mone ne sturre (T279/e269/E277/D265/J272)

T284 Þat beð þo þe waren mid god **angles** swiðe heie.
e274 þ*æt* beoð þa ðe were mid gode on heuene **wel** heȝe
E282 þ*at* buð þe þe were mid gode. on heuene **wel** weie
D270 þ*at* bieð þo þ*e* weren mid gode **engles** swiþe heȝe
J277 þ*at* **is** þe þat **wes** myd god. ***and*** heouene swiþe heye.
M260 **Euere** þar is muchel godes hate *and* muchel godes erre (T280/e270/E278/D266/J273)

T285 Þat beð ateliche fiend *and* Eiseliche wihten
e275 Þer beoð ateliche fund. *and* eisliche wihte
E283 Þer buð ateliche fend. *and* eisliche wihte
D271 þer bieð atteliche vend *and* eiliche wihte
J278 þer beoþ ateliche ueond**es**. *and* **grys**liche wyht**es**.
M261 Euere þar is **muchel** smich ***and*** þusternesse *and* eie. (T281/e271/E279/D267/J274)

T286 Þo sulle þe wreche sowle isien þe sinegeden þurh sihte
e276 þas scule þa wrecche **[saule]** ifon. þe suneȝede ðurh sihte
E284 þos sculle þa wrecchen **[saule]** ison. þe sunege þurð sihte
D272 þo sulle þo **arme** saule iseon þ gelten þurh isihðe.
J **[Lacks T286/e276/E284/D271/M258]**
M262 **Ne com** þar neuere oþer liȝt þane **of** þe suarte leye (T282/e272/E280/D268/J275)

T287 Þar is se loðe sathanas *and* belzebub se ealde
e277 Þer is ðe laðe sathanas. *and* belzebud se ealde
E285 Þer is þe loþe sachanas. *and* belsebuc þe ealde
D273 Þer is se loðe sathanas *and* belzebub se ælde
J279 þer is þe loþe sathanas. *and* beelzebub þe olde.
M263 Þar is þe loþe sathanas *and* belzebuc þe ȝelde

T288 Eaðe he muȝen ben **sore** ofdrad þe sullen hes bihealde.
e278 eaðe hi muȝen beo ofdred. þe hine scule bihealde

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E286 **le**þe he muwen ben ofdrard. þe hine sculled bihelde
D274 eaðe hi mu3en bi ofherd þ*e* sullen hine bihialde
J280 Eþe heo m[u]wue beon adred. þat heom schulde biholde.
M264 **Welle sore** hi mu3e ben afered þat **suiche** sculle bihielde

T289 Ne mai non herte hit þenche ne **[no]** tunge **hit** ne mai telle
e279 Ne mei nan heorte hit iðenche. ne **[no]** tunge ne can telle
E287 Ne mai non heorte it þenche. ne no tunge ne can telle
D275 Ne mai non herte hit iþenche ne no tunge **[ne mai/can]** telle
J281 Ne may non heorte hit þenche. ne no tunge **[ne may/can]** telle.
M **[Lacks T289/e279/E287/D275/J281]**

T290 Hwu muchele pine ne hwu fele senden in helle
e280 hu muchel pine na hu uele sunden inne helle
E288 hu muchele pine. *and* hu vele. senden inne helle
D276 hu muchele pinen *and* hu uele **bieð** inne helle
J282 hw muche pyne. **[ne/and]** hw ueole **ueondes**. **beoþ** i*n* **þeostre** helle.
M **[Lacks T290/e280/E288/D276/J282]**

T291 Of þo pine þe þar bieð nelle ich eow naht lie
e281 Wið þa pine ðe þer beoð. nelle ich eow naht leo3en
E289 Of þo pine þe þere bued. nelle ic hou nout leio3en
D277 Wið þo pinen þ*e* þer bieð nelle ich 3eu noht lie3en
J283 **for al** þe pyne þat her **is**. nulle ich eu nouht lye.
M **[Lacks T291/e281/E289/D277/J283]**

T292 Nis hit bute gamen *and* glie **of** þat man mai here drie.
e282 nis hit bute gamen *and* gleo. eal þ*at* man mei her dreo3en
E290 nis it bute gamen *and* gleo. al þat man mai here dreo3en
D278 nis hit bute gamen *and* glie al þ*at* man her mai drie3en.
J284 Nis hit bute gome and gleo. al þat mo*n* may her dreye.
M **[Lacks T292/e282/E290/D278/J284]**

T293 *And* 3iet ne doð hem naht alse wo in þe loðe bende
e283 End 3ut ne deð heo*m* naht sa wa. in ða laðe bende
E291 **Ac** 3et ne deð **b**eom nout so wo. in þo loþe biende
D279 **Ne [3et ne]** doð ham **noþing** swo wo on þo loðe bende
J285 *And* yet ne doþ heo*m* **no þing** so wo. in þe loþe bende.
M **[Lacks T293/e283/E291/D279/J285]**

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T294 Swo þat he witen þat here pine **[ne]** sal nafre habben ende
e284 **[swa/ase]** þ*at* hi witeð þ*at* heore pine **[ne]** sceal neure habbe ende
E292 **bute** þat hi *witeð* þ*at* heore pine. ne scal neure habben ende
D280 swo þ*at* hi **n**iten þo here pine ne sal **[neure]** habben ende.
J286 Ase þ*at* witen **[þat]** heore pyne. ne schal **[neure]** habbe **non** ende.
M **[Lacks T294/e284/E292/D280/J286]**

T295 Þar beð þe haðene men þe waren laȝelease
e285 Þar beoð þa heðene men. þe ware laȝeliese
E293 Þer buð þo heþene men. þe were lawelese
D281 Þer bieð þo heþene men þ*e* weren laȝelease
J287 Þar beoþ þe heþene men. þat were lawele*s*e.
M **[Lacks T295/e285/E293/D281/J287]**

T296 Þe nes naht of godes bode ne of godes hease.
e286 þe nes naht of godes **bi** bode. ne of godes hese
E294 þe **heom** nas nout of godes bode. ne of godes hese
D282 **þer [nes]** naht of godes bode ne of godes hesne
J288 þet nes nouht of godes **for**bode. ne of godes hese.
M **[Lacks T296/e286/E294/D282/J288]**

T297 Euele cristene men hie beð here iferen
e287 Uuele cristene men. hi beoð heore ifere
E295 Vuele criste nemen. hi bud here ivere
D283 Euele *cr*istene men hi bieð here iuere
J289 vuele cristene men. **[hi]** beoþ **þer heorure nere**.
M **[Lacks T297/e287/E295/D283/J289]**

T298 Þo þe here cristendom euele hielden here.
e288 þa ðe heore cristendom. uuele heo*l*de here
E296 þo þe heore cristendom. vuele heolden here
D284 þo þ*e* here *cr*istendom euele hielden hiere
J290 þeo þat heore cristendom. vuele heolden here.
M **[Lacks T298/e288/E296/D284/J290]**

T299 ***and*** ȝiet he beð a werse stede a niðer helle grunde
e289 ȝut hi beoð a wurse stede. on **ðere** helle grunde

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E297 Ʒut hi bud a wurse stede. on **þere** helle grunde

D285 ***and*** Ʒet hi bieð on werse stede in niþer helle grunde

J291 yet heo beoþ a w[u]rse stude. a nyþe helle grunde.

M **[Lacks T299/e289/E297/D285/J291]**

T300 Ne sullen **[hi]** nafre cumen ut for **peni** ne for punde.

e290 ne sculen hi neure cume*n* ut. for marke ne for punde

E298 ne sculle hi neure comen v**p**. for marke ne for punde

D286 ne sulle hi neure comen vt vor marke ne vor punde.

J292 Ne schullen heo neu*er* cumen up: for marke. ne for punde.

M **[Lacks T300/e290/E298/D286/J292]**

T301 Ne mai hem noðer helpe þar ibede ne almesse

e291 Ne mei heo*m* naðer helpen þer. ibede ne elmesse

E299 Ne mai heom noþer helpen þer. ibede ne almesse

D287 Ne mai ham noþer helpe þer be**n**e ne elmesse

J293 Ne may **[hem]** helpe þer. nouþer beode ne almesse.

M **[Lacks T301/e291/E299/D287/J293]**

T302 For **naht solden bidde þar** ore ne forƷieuenesse.

e292 **[f]**or nis naðer inne helle. are ne forƷiuenesse

E300 for nis noþer inne helle. ore ne forƷiuenesse

D288 vor **naht hi solden bidde þer** ore ne **Ʒeuenesse**.

J294 for nys noþer in helle. ore ne **yeuenesse**.

M **[Lacks T302/e292/E300/D288/J294]**

T303 Silde him elch man þe hwile he mai wið þos helle pine.

e293 Sculde hi*m* ech man ðe hwile he muƷe **of** ðas helle pine

E301 Sculde him elc man þe wile he mai. **of** þos helle pine

D289 Shilde him ech **[man]** þe hwile he mai wið þo helle pine

J295 **Nu** schilde him vych mon **[þe]** hwile he may. wiþþe **ilke** pyne.

M265 Scilde him **euerich** man **[þe hwile he mai]** wiþ þe helle pine

T304 [*And*] warnie **[ech]** his frend þar-wið swo ich habbe **ido** mine.

e294 *And* werni ech his freond þer-wið swa ich habbe mine

E302 And warnie æc his frend þer-wid. **sore [ich]** *mine* habbe

D290 *And* warni ech hes frend þer-wið swo ich **wille** mine.

J296 And warny vich his freond **[þer-wið]**. so ich habbe myne.

M266 **[And]** Warni **euerich man** his frend **[þer-wið]** ***and*** suo ich **wulle do** mine

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T305 Þo þe silde hem ne cunnen ich hem wille tache
e295 Þa ðe sculden heo*m* ne cunne. ich heo*m* wulle teche
E303 Þo þe scilden heom ne cunnen. ic heo*m* wulle teache
D291 Þo þ*e* silden hem ne cunne ich ham wille teche
J297 þeo þ*e* schilde heom ne kunnen. ich heom wille teche.
M267 ***and*** þe þat scilde ham ne cunne **þis** ham wile teche

T306 [I]ch can ben aiðer ʒief isal lichame *and* sowle lache.
e296 ich kan beon **[aiþer]** ʒief ich sceal. lichame *and* sawle leche
E304 ich kan beo **[aiþer]** ʒif iscal. lichame *and* soule liache
D292 ich kan bien aider ef ich sal licham**es** *and* saule leche
J298 Ich con beon eyþer if ich schal. lycome and soule leche.
M268 **Þis word may** aiþer ʒef **hi** sculle **beo** lichames *and* saule leche

T307 Late we þat god forbet alle man-kenne
e297 Lete we þ*at* god forbut. ealle manne-cunne
E305 Lete we þat god forbet. alle man-cunne
D293 Lete we þ*at* god vorbiet ***and*** **do wel swo he us hot**[510]
J299 Lete we þat god forbed. alle mon-kunne.
M269 Lete we þat god forbet alle man-kinne

T308 *And* do we þat he us hat *and* silde we us wid senne.
e298 *And* do we þ*at* he us het. *and* sculde we us wið sunne
E306 *And* do we þat he us hat. *and* scilde we us wid sunne
D294 **alle mankenne** *and* **warni [we]** us wið senne
J300 And do we þat he vs hat. *and* schilde we vs wiþ sunne.
M270 **[And]** Do we þat **god** us het *and* **werie [we]** us wiþ senne

T309 Luue we god mid ure herte *and* mid al ure mihte
e299 Luuie we god mid ure heorte. *and* mid al ure mihte
E307 Luuie we god mid vre heorte. *and* mid al vre mihte
D295 Louie **[we]** gode mid ure hierte *and* mid al ure mihte
J301 Luuye we god myd vre heorte. *and* myd alle vre myhte.

[510] Because this half line of Digby has been confused with the first half of the following line, which are laid out as their own lines in the manuscript, the likely scenario was that the Digby scribe was copying from an exemplar that was also lineated in half lines such that he experienced eye skip here and immediately corrected it in the following line.

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M271 Louie **[we]** god mid **[ure]** herte *and* mid al ure mi3te

T310 *and* ure em cristen alse us self swo us **tached** drihte.
e300 *and* ure em cristen eal us sulf. swa us lerde drihte
E308 *and* vre em cristene alle us suelf. swa us lerde drihte
D296 *and* ure em cristene **[al]** swo us self swo us lereð drihte.
J302 **[and]** Vre euen christen. **[al]** as vs seolf. **for** so vs lerede dryhte.
M272 *and* vre **nexte** al suo us self suo us **het ure** dri3te

T311 Al þat me radeð *and* singeð bifore godes borde
e301 Eal þ*at* me ræt *and* **eal þ*at* me** singð. bifore godes borde
E309 Al þat me rat *and* singð. before godes borde
D297 Al þ*at* men ret *and* singð biuoren godes borde
J303 Al þat me redeþ and syngeþ. bivoren godes borde.
M273 Al þat me redeþ *and* sincþ biuore godes borde

T312 Al hit hangeð *and* halt bi þese twam worde
e302 Eeal hit hanget *and* bihalt. bi ðisse twam worde
E310 al it hanged *and* bihald. bi wisse twam worde
D298 al hit hongeð *and* halt bi þise twam worde.
J304 Al hit hongeþ and hald. bi þisse twam worde.
M274 Al hit hongeþ *and* halt bi þe **ilke** tuam worde

T313 Alle godes la3es hie fulleð þe newe *and* þe ealde
e303 alle godes la3e he fulð. ðe niwe *and* ða ealde
E311 Alle godes lawe he fulð. þe newe *and* þe ealde
D299 **[Alle]** Godes la3e he **uoluelð** þo niewe *and* þo ealde.
J305 Alle godes lawe he fulleþ. þe newe. *and* þe olde.
M275 ***And*** alle godes la3e he felþ þe niwe la3e *and* þe 3elde

T314 Þe þe þos two luues halt *and* wile hes **wel** healde.
e304 þe ðe ðas twa luue hafð. *and* wel hi wule healde
E312 he þe þos twa luue haued. *and* wel hi wule healde
D300 Þ*e* þos two loue haueð *and* wel hi wile healde
J306 **[Þe]** Þat haueþ þeos **ilke** two luuen. *and* wel heom wile atholde.
M276 Þe þis **la3e uelleþ** *and* **can** hi **wel** yhelde

T315 Ac hie bieð **wel** arefeð heald swo ofte we gul*t*eð alle

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e305 Ac hi beoð **wunder** earueð healde. swa ofte gulteð ealle
E313 Ac hi buð **wunder** erued helde. swa ofte we gulted alle
D301 Ac hi bieð harue ihialde **wel** swo ofte we gelteð alle
J307 Ah **soþ ich hit eu segge**. **[so]** ofte we agulteþ alle.
M277 Ac **strong** hie is **to** yhelde so ofte we agelteþ alle

T316 For hit is strong te stonde longe *and* liht hit is to falle.
e306 For hit is strang to stande lange. *and* liht **[it]** is to fealle
E314 for it is strong to stonde longe. *and* liht it is to falle
D302 vor hit is strang to stonden **veste** *and* liht hit is to ualle.
J308 For strong hit is to stoned longe. *and* lyht hit is to falle.
M278 **[For]** Strong hit is to stonde longe *and* li3t hit is to falle

T317 Ac drihte c*ri*st 3eue us strengðe stonde þat we moten
e307 Ac drihte crist **he** 3iue us strengðe. stande þ*at* we mote
E315 Ac drihte crist **he** 3iue us strencþe. stonde þat we mote
D303 **[Ac]** Drihte *cr*ist us i3ieue stonde þ*at* we mote
J309 Ah dryhten c*ri*st vs yeue strengþe. stonde þat we mote.
M279 Ac **[drihte]** crist us 3eue **his mi3te** stonde þat we mote

T318 *And* of alle ure gultes **3ieue** us cume **[to]** bote.
e308 *And* of ealle ure gultes ***unne*** us cume to bote
E316 *And* of alle vre gultes **unne** us come **[to]** bote
D304 *And* of alle ure **vallen he one** us come to bote.
J310 And of alle vre **sunnen**. vs **lete** cume to bote.
M280 *And* of alle ure **sunne leue** us come to bote

T319 We wilnieð after wereldes wele þe longe ne mai ileste
e309 We wilnieð efter woruld wele. ðe lange ne mei leste
E317 We wilnied efter worldes wele. þe longe ne mai ileste
D305 We wuneð efter werldes wele þ*e* longe **nele** ileste
J311 We wilneþ after worldes **ayhte**. þat longe ne may ileste.
M281 We wilnieþ after worldes wel þat lange **nele** ileste

T320 *And* legeð mast al ure swinc on þing unstedefaste.
e310 *And* leggeð eal ure iswinch. on ðin3e unsete*de*feste
E318 *And* leggeð al ure iswinch. on þinge unstedefaste
D306 *And* leggeð al mest ure iswinch on þinge vnstedeueste
J312 And mest leggeþ **[al]** vre swynk. on þing vndstudeueste.

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M282 *And* leggeþ **muchel [al]** ure suinch in þing unstedeuaste

T321 Swunke for godes luue half þat we doð for eihte.
e311 Swunche we for godes luue. healf þ*at* we doð for æhte
E319 Swunche we for godes luue. half þ*at* we doð for ehte
D307 Swugke we vor godes loue **swo [half þat]** we doð vor e3te
J313 **If þat** we swunken for gode**[s loue]**. half þat we doþ for eyhte.
M283 Suonke we uor godes loue **alse [half þat]** we doþ uor e3te

T322 Nare we naht swo ofte bicherd ne swo euele bikeihte
e312 **ne beo** we naht swa of**[t]** bicherd. ne sa uuele bikehte
E320 **ne were** we nout swa **[oft]** bicherd. ne swa vuele bicauhte
D308 nere we **[naht]** so ofte bicherd ne swo euele bika3te
J314 Nere we nought so ofte bicherd. ne so vuele byþouhte.
M284 Nere we **noþing** suo ofte **forgelt** ne **[so euele]** bipe3te

T323 3ief we serueden god **half þat [swa]** we doð **for** erminges
e313 3if we serueden gode swa we doð erminges
E321 3if we serueden god. so we doð erninges
D309 Ef we **wolden herie** gode swo we doð arminges
J315 Yef we seruede god. so we doþ earmynges.
M285 ***And*** 3ef we seruede gode **al** suo we doþ ermigges

T324 We mihten habben more an heuene þa 3ierles ***and*** kinges
e314 mare we **[mihte]** hedden en heuene. ðenne eorles **her *and*** kinges
E322 more we **[mihte]** haueden of heuene. þanne eorles oþer kinges
D310 we mihten **richer bi mid him** þanne eorles oþer kinges
J316 We **auhte** habbe more of houene. þan eorles oþer kynges.
M286 We mi3te in heuene habbe **[more] al so muche ase [þan]** erles oþer kinges

T325 Ne mu3e we werien **naðer ne** wið þurst ne wið hunger
e315 Ne mu3en hi werien heo*m* **wið chele**. wið þurste ne wið hunger
E323 Ne muwe*n* hi her werien heo*m* **wid chele**. wid þurst. ne wid hunger
D311 Ne mu3en we us biwerien her wið þurste ne wið hungre
J317 Ne mowe **nouht** weryen heom. **wiþ chele** ne wiþ hunger.
M **[Lacks T325/e315/E323/D311/J317]**

T326 Ne wid elde ne wið elde ne wið deað þe elder ne þe 3eunger

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e316 ne wið ulde. ne wið deað. þe uldre ne ðe ȝeonger
E324 ne wid elde ne wid deð. þe eldre ne þe ȝeonger
D312 ne wið elde ne wið deað se eldre ne se ȝungre.
J318 Ne wiþ elde ne wiþ deþe. þe eldure ne þe yonge.
M **[Lacks T326/e316/E324/D312/J318]**

T327 Ac þar nis hunger ne þurst. **[ne]** deað ne unhalðe ne elde.
e317 Ac ðer nis hunger ne ðurst. ne dieð. ne unhelðe ne elde
E325 Ac þer nis hunger ne þurst ne deð. ne vunhelþe ne elde
D313 **[Ac]** Þet nis hung*er* ne þurst **[ne]** deað **[ne]** hunhelðe ne elde
J319 Ah þer nys hunger ne þurst. ne deþ. ne vnhelþe ne elde.
M **[Lacks T327/e317/E325/D313/J319]**

T328 Of þesse riche we þencheð **to** ofte **[and]** of tare al to selde.
e318 of þisse riche we ðencheð ofte. *and* of þere **[al]** to selde
E326 of þisse riche we þenchet oft. *and* of þere **[al]** to selde
D314 **to ofte man bicareð þis lif** *and* **þet** al to selde.
J320 Of þis **world** we þencheþ ofte: and þer of al to selde.
M **[Lacks T328/e318/E326/D314/J320]**

T329 We solden biþenchen us **wel** ofte *and* **[wel]** ilomo
e319 We scolden **ealle** us biðenche ofte. *and* wel ilome
E327 We scolden **alle** us biþenche oft *and* wel ilome
D315 We solden us biþenche bet ofte *and* wel ilome
J321 We schulde vs biþenche. **wel** ofte and wel ilome.
M (see M291 below)

T330 Hwat we beð to hwan we sullen *and* of hwan we come.
e320 hwet we beoð to whan we scule. *and* of hwan we come
E328 hwet we beð. ***and*** to wan we sculle. *and* of wan we come
D316 hwet we bieð. to hwam we sulle *and* of hwam we come
J322 Hwat we beoþ. to hwan we schulen. *and* of hwan we comen.
M (see M292 below)

T331 Hwu litle hwile we bieð her hwu longe elles hware
e321 Hu litle hwile we beoð her. hu lange elle*s* hware
E329 Hu lutel wile we beð her. hu longe elles ware
D317 Hu litle hwile we bieð hier hu longe elles hwere
J323 Hw lutle hwilc we beoþ here. hw longe ells hware.

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M287 Vor almi3ti godes loue wute we us werie
[M Lacks T331/e321/E329/D317/J323 but M287 = T337/e327/E335/D321/J329]

T332 Hwat we mu3en habben her *and* hwat **we** findeð þare.
e322 hwet we mu3e habben her. *and* hwet finde þere
E330 hwat we mu3en habben her. *and* hwet **elles hware**[511]
D318 hwet we mu3er halben hier *and* hwet vinden þere.
J324 ***and* after gode wel wurche. þenne ne þuruue noht kare.** (Unique line; maintains rhyme)
M288 Wiþ þe wrecche worldes wele þat hie us ne derie
[M Lacks T332/e322/E330/D318/J324 but M288 = T338/e328/E336/D322/J330]

T333 3ief **[we]** waren wise men þus we solden þenchen (M293)
e323 3ief we were wise men. ðis we scolde ðenche (M293)
E331 3if we were wise men. þis we scolden iþenche (M293)
D319 Ef **[we]** were wise men þus we solden þenche (M293)
J325 If we were wyse men. þus we schulde þenche. (M293)
M289 Mid **[fasten]** almesse **[and] mid** ibede werie **[we]** us wiþ senne (T339/e329/E337/D323/J329)

T334 Bute we wurðen us iwar þis wereld us wile **[for]** drenchen (M294)
e324 bute we wurðe us iwer. ðeos woruld wule us for drenche (M294)
E332 bute we wurþe us iwar. þes world us wule for drenche (M294)
D320 bute we wurðe us iwer þis world us wile **a** drenche (M294)
J326 Bute we wurþe vs iwar. þes world vs wile for drenche. (M294)
M290 Mid þe wepne þat god **almi3ti bite3te** alle man-kenne (T340/e330/E338/D324/J330)

T335 Mast alle men hit 3ieueð drinken of on **euel** senche (M295)
e325 Mest ealle men he 3iueð drinche. of ane deofles s**c**enche (M295)
E333 Mest alle men he 3iued drinke. of one deofles s**t**enche (M295)
D **[Lacks T335/e325/E333/J327/M295]**
J327 Mest alle men he yeueþ drynke. of one deofles *senche* (M295)
M291 We scolde us biþenche ofte *and* wel ylome (T329/e319/E327/D315/J321)

T336 He sal him cunnen silde wel 3ief hit him nele screnche. (M296)
e326 he sceal hi*m* cunne sculde wel. 3if he hine nele screnche (M296)
E334 he sceal him cu*n*ne sculde wel. 3if he him nele strenche (M296)
D **[Lacks T336/e326/E334/J328/M296]**
J328 He schal him cunne schilde wel. yef he him. ***wole biþenche*** (M296)

[511] The scribe of the E text rewrote the last two words of line 329 by accident.

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M292 What we beþ to whan we sculle *and* whar of we come (T330/e320/E328/D316/J322)

T337 Mid almihtin godes luue ute we us biwerien (M287)
e327 Mid ealmihti3es godes luue. ute we us biwerien (M287)
E335 Mid ealmihties godes luue. vte we us biwerien (M287)
D321 Vœ almihti godes luue ute we us biwerien (M287)
J329 Mid almyhtyes godes luue. vte we vs **[bi]**werie. (M287)
M293 3ef were wise men þus we scolde þenche (T333/e323/E331/D317/J325)

T338 [W]ið þesses wreches woreldes luue þat hit ne mu3e us derien. (M288)
e328 wið ðises wrecches woreldes luue. þ*at* he ma3e us derien (M288)
E336 wid þes wrecches worldes luue. þat he ne mawe us derien (M288)
D322 **[wiþ]** þises wrecches werldes loue þet hi ne mu3en us derien. (M288)
J330 Wiþ þeos wrecche worldes luue. þe heo **[mu3e]** vs ne derye. (M288)
M294 ***and*** bute we w[u]rþe us iwar þe uorld us w[i]le **a** drenche (T334/e324/E332/D318/J326)

T339 Mid almesse. **mid** fasten *and* **mid** ibeden werie we us wid senne. (M289)
e329 Mid festen ælmes *and* ibede. werie we us wið sunne (M289)
E337 Mid fasten. ***and*** almesse. *and* ibede. werie we us wid sunne (M289)
D323 Mid uastinge elmesse *and* **mid** ibede werie we us wið senne (M289)
J331 Mid festen. **and** almesse and beoden. were we vs wiþ sunne. (M289)
M295 Mest **[al]** manne hie 3eueþ drinch of one duole scenche (T335/e325/E333/D319/J327)

T340 Mid þo wapne þe god haued 3ieue alle man-kenne. (M290)
e330 Mid ða wepne ðe god haueð. **bi3iten [alle]** man-cunne (M290)
E338 mid þo wepnen þe god haued 3iuen alle man-cunne (M290)
D324 mid þo wepnen þ*e* god haueð i3euen al man-kenne (M290)
J332 Mid þe wepnen þat go[d] haueþ *y*euen. to alle mon-kunne. (M290)
M296 He scal him cunne scilde wel 3ef hie him nele screnche (T336/e326/E334/D320/J328)

T341 [L]ate we þe brode strate *and* þane wei3 bene
e331 Lete we þe brade stret. *and* ðene wei bene
E339 Læ**r**e we þe brode stret. *and* þe wei bene
D325 Lete we þo brode strete. *and* þane wei bene
J333 Lete we þeo brode stret. and þene wey **grene**.
M297 Lete we þe brode strete *and* þane wei bene

T342 [Þ]e lat þe nieðe dal to helle of manne **[and]** me **mai** wene.

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e332 þe let þ*e* niȜeðe del to helle of manne. *and* ma ich wene
E340 þe lac þe niȜeðe del to helle of manne. *and* mo ic wene
D326 þ ledeð þo niȜende del to helle of men *and* mo ich wene.
J334 þat lat þe nyeþe **[del]** to helle. of **folke**. and mo ich wene.
M298 Þ*at* let þ*e* niȜende del to helle of man**-kenne** *and* mor **þast** ich wene

T343 Go we þane narewe **pað** *and* þene wei grene
e333 Ga we ðene nærewue wei. *and* ðene wei grene
E341 Go we þene narewe wei. *and* þene wei grene
D327 Go we þane narewe wei *and* þane wei grene
J335 Go we þene narewe wey. þene wey **so schene**.
M299 **Nime** we þane narewe **paþ** *and* þane wey grene

T344 [Þ]ar forð fareð **wel** litel folc ***and*** **eche** is fair *and* **isene**
e334 ðer forð fareð litel folc. ac **hit** is ferr *and* scene
E342 þer forð fareð lutel folc. ac **it** is feir *and* scene
D328 þer uorð vareð litel volc ac þet is vair *and* scene.
J336 þer forþ fareþ lutel folk. **and** þat is **wel eþ sene**.
M300 Þar forþ farþ **wel** litel folc ***and*** þat is **þe worlde on sene**

T345 [Þ]e brode strate is ure wil. þe is loð **te** læte
e335 Þe brade stret is ure iwill. ðe is us lað to **for**læte
E343 Þe brode stre is vre iwil. ðe is us lod **for** to leten
D329 **Si** brode strete is ure iwil þ*e* us is loð to lete
J337 þe brode stret is vre wil. þat is vs loþ to lete.
M301 Þe brode stret is ure wil **he** is us loþ to lete

T346 [Þ]o þe **[al]** folȜeð **here** iwil hie fareð bi þare strate.
e336 þa ðe eal folȜeð his iwill. **[hi]** fareð bi ðusse strete
E344 þe ðe al folewed his wil. **[hi]** fared bi þusse strete
D330 þo þ*e* al volȜeð hi wil hire hi vareð þo **brode** strete
J338 þe þat al feleweþ his wil. he fareþ þe **brode** strete.
M302 Þe þat folȜeþ al **hare** wil hi fareþ **mid** þe **ilke** strete

T347 Hie muȜen lihtliche **cumen** mid þare niðer helde
e337 Hi muȜen lihtliche gan mid ðere **under** hulde
E345 Hi muwen lihtliche gon. mid ðere nuðer hulde
D331 Hi muȜen lihtliche **vare** mid þare niþer helde
J **[Lacks T347/e337/E345/D331/M303]**

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M303 Hi mu3e li3tliche go mid þar niþer helde

T348 [Þ]urh one godelease wude **[in]** to one bare felde
e338 ðurh ane godliese w[o]de in to ane **[b]**are felde[512]
E346 ðurh ane godliese wude. in to ane bare felde
D332 þurð one gutlease wode in to one **brode** velde.
J **[Lacks T348/e338/E346/D332/M304]**
M304 Þur3 **ut þe** godlese wode in to **þe** bare felde

T349 [Þ]a narewe **pað** is godes has. þar forð fareð wel feawe
e339 [Þ]e nære wei is godes hese. ðer forð fareð wel fiewe
E347 Þe nare wei is godes hes. þer forð farð wel feuwe
D333 Se narewe wei is godes hesne þer uorð vareð wel viawe
J339 Þe narewe wey is godes heste. þat forþ fareþ wel fawe.
M305 Þe narewe **paþ** is godes heste **ac** þare uorþ uareþ wel uewe

T350 [Þ]at beð þo þe hem sildeð 3ierne wið achen unðeawe.
e340 þ*at* beoð ða ðe **beo***m* sculdeð 3eorne wið æche unðeawe
E348 þ*at* buð ða þe heo*m* sculdeð 3eorne. wid elche unðeawe
D334 þ*at* bieð þo þ*e* **hier** ham silten **[3ierne]** wið echen vnþeawe.
J340 þat beoþ þeo. þe heom schedeþ **wel**. wiþ vych vnþewe.
M306 ***and*** þis beoþ þe þat <u>scildeþ</u> <u>ham</u> **her** wiþ **euerich** unþewe

T351 [Þ]os goð uneaðe **cliue** a3ien þe cliue ***and*** a3ien þe heie hulle
e341 [Þ]as gað unieðe 3eanes ðe cliue a3ean þe hea3e hulle
E349 Þos god unieþe **to** 3eanes þe cliue a3ean þe hei3e hulle
D **[Lacks T351/eJ341/E349/M307]**
J341 þeos goþ vnneþe ayeyn þe **cleo**. ayeyn þe heye hulle.
M307 Þos goþ **[uneþe]** a3enes þe he3e clif a3enes þe he3e hulle

T352 [Þ]os leten al here **[a3en]** iwil for godes **luue** to fulle.
e342 ðas leteð eal heore a3en will. for godes hese to fulle
E350 þos leteð al here a3en wil. for godes hese to fulle
D **[Lacks T352/eJ342/E350/M308]**
J342 þeos leteþ <u>awei</u> <u>al</u> <u>heore</u> wil. for godes hestes to fulle.
M308 **Hi** leteþ al hure o3e wil **[for]** godes hesne to felle

[512] The inserted /o/ in "w[o]de" is actually a small bookworm hole that was in the parchment prior to writing so that the scribe used it as a letter instead of writing around it.

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T353 [G]o we alle þane wei for he us wile bringe
e343 [Þ]a we alle þene wei. for he us wule bringe
E351 Go we alle þene wei. for he us wulle bringe
D335 Go we alle þane wei **[for]** he us wile bringe
J343 Go we alle þene wei. for he vs wile brynge.
M309 Go we alle **in þilke paþ** *and* **[for]** he us wule bringe

T354 Mid þo feawe faire men bifore **þe** heuen kinge
e344 mid te feawe ferre men. beforen heuen kinge
E352 mid þo faire feuwe men. beforen heuene kinge
D336 mid þo veawe vaire men biforen heuen kinge
J344 Mid þe fewe feyre men byuoren heouene kinge.
M310 Mid þe uewe uaire men biuore **þe** heuen kinge

T355 [Þ]ar is alre **blisse** mast mid angles songe.
e345 Þer is ealre murhðe mest. mid englene sange
E353 Þer is alre meruþe mest. mid englene songe
D337 Þer is alþer merʒþe mest mid englene songe
J345 þer is alre murehþe mest. myd englene songe.
M311 Þar is **[alre] blissene** mest mid anglene songe

T356 [Þ]e is a þusend wintre þar ne þuncheð hit him naht longe.
e346 ðe is a þusend wintre ðer. ne ðincð **[hit]** hi*m* naht **to** lange
E354 þe þis a þusen*t* wintre þer. ne þineð **[hit]** him noht **to** longe
D338 se **þ*e*** is a þusend wintre þer ne þingð hit him naht longe
J346 **wel edy wurþ þilke mon. þat þer byþ vnderuonge.** (Unique line; maintains rhyme)
M312 Þe **þ*e*** is **uele** hundred wintre þar ne þincþ hit hi naʒt longe

T357 Þe **[þe]** last haueð blisse he haueð swo muchel þat he ne bit no more
e347 Þe ðe lest haueð **[blisse]**. **[he]** hafð swa muchel þ*at* he ne bit namare
E355 Þe þe lest haued **[blisse]**. **[he]** haued so muchel. þat he ne bit no more
D339 Se þ*e* lest haueð blisce he heð swo muche **[þat]** ne biddeð he no more
J347 **[Þe]** þe lest haueþ murehþe. he haueþ so muche **[þat]** ne bit he namore.
M313 **[Ne]** Mai non **hunger** ne no wane beo in godes riche (T359/eJ349/E357/D341)

T358 Þe þat blisse **[for þis]** forgoð hit sal him rewen sore.
e348 þe ða blisse for ðas forlet hit hi*m* **mei** reowe sare

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E356 þe ðe blisse for ðos forlat. it him **mai** reuwe sore
D340 se þ*e* þo blisce let vor þos hit him sel rewen sore.
J348 **hwoso** þeo blisse for þ*isse* foryet. hit **may** him rewe sore.
M314 **[Þah]** Þar beoþ woniegges fele ***and*** ech oþer unliche (T360/eJ350/E358/D342)

T359 Ne mai non euel ne non wane ben in godes riche
e349 Ne mei nan uuel ne na wane beon inne godes riche
E357 Ne mai non vuel ne no*n* wane. beon inne godes riche
D341 Ne mai non euel ne no wane bi in **heueriche**
J349 Ne may no **pyne** ne no wone beon in **heouene** riche.
M315 Sum þar haueþ lasse murtþe *and* sum þar haueþ more (T361/eJ351/E359/D343)

T360 Þeih þar ben wuniinges fele elch oðer uniliche
e350 ðeh þes beoð wunungesfele. æch oðer uniliche
E358 ðeh þer beð wunienges fele. elc oþer vniliche
D342 þe3 þer bi waniinge vele ech oþer vniliche.
J350 þah þer beon wonynges feole. and oþer vnyliche.
M316 **Euere** after þat þe he dude her **of** þat þe he **bi**suanc sore (T362/eJ352/E360/D344)

T361 Sume þar habbeð lasse **blisse** *and* sume þar habbeð more
e351 Sume ðer habbeð lesse murhðe. *and* sume **[þer]** habbeð mare
E359 Sume þer habbet lasse murhðe. *and* sume **[þer]** habbed more
D343 Sume þer habbeð lesse mer3þe *and* sume þer habbeð more
J351 Summe habbeþ lasse murehþe. *and* summe **[þer]** habbeþ more.
M317 *and* þe þat haueþ lest **[blisse] he** he haueþ suo muche þ*at* **he** ne bit na*m*more (T357/eJ347/E355/D339)

T362 Elch after þat **[þe]** he dude her after þane þe swanc sore
e352 **[elch]** æfter ðan þe dude her. efter ðan þ*e* he swanc sare
E360 **[elch]** after þan þe hi dude her. after þan þe swonke sore
D344 ech eft*er* þan þ*e* he dede **[her]** efter þ*e* he swanc sore.
J352 vych after þat **[þe]** he dude her. ***and*** after þ*e* heo swunken sore.
M318 Hwose **[þe]** let þe blisse uor þes hit scal him rewe sore (T358/eJ348/E356/D340)

T363 Ne sal þar ben bread ne win ne oðer kennes este
e353 Ne sceal ðer beon **ne** bried ne win. ne oðer cunnes este
E361 Ne scal þer ben bred ne win. ne oþer cunnes este
D345 Ne sel þer bi bred ne win ne oþer kennes este
J353 Ne **wrþ [scal]** þer bred ne wyn. ne **nones** kunnes este

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M319 Ne scal þar beo **noþer** bred ne win ne oþre kenne este

T364 God one sal ben ache lif *and* blisse *and* ache reste.
e354 god ane sceal beo eche lif. *and* blisse. *and* eche reste
E362 god one scal beo eche lif. *and* blisse. *and* eche reste
D346 God one sel bi eches lif *and* blisce *and* eche reste.
J354 God one schal beon eche lif. *and* blisse **[and]** eche reste.
M320 God **[one]** scal beo **eueriches** lif **[and]** blisse *and* eke reste

T365 Ne sal þar ben foh ne grai ne cunin ne ermine
e355 Ne sceal ðer beo fah ne græi. ne kuning ne *er*mine
E363 Ne scal þer beo fou ne grei. ne cunig ne ermine
D **[Lacks T365/e/E/J/M]**
J355 **Þer nys nouþer** fou ne grey. ne konyng. ne hermyne.
M321 Ne scal þar beo **noþer** foʒ ne grei **[ne]** cuniʒ ne ermine

T366 Ne aquerne ne methes chele ne beuer ne sabeline.
e356 ne aquierne. ne martres cheole. ne beuer ne sabeline
E364 ne ocquerne ne martres cheole. ne beuer ne sabeline
D **[Lacks T365/e/E/J/M]**
J356 Ne **oter**. ne <u>acquerne</u>. beuveyr ne sablyne.
M322 Okerne ne martrin beuer ne sabeline

T367 Ne sal þar ben naðer scat ne srud ne wereldes wele none.
e357 Ne sceal ðer beo sciet ne scrud. ne woruld wele nane
E365 Ne scal þer beo sced ne scrud. ne woruld wele none
D347 Ne sal þer bi scete ne scrud ne worldes wele none
J357 Ne **[scal]** þer **ne wurþ ful iwis**. **[ne]** worldes wele none.
M323 Ne scal þar beo noþer schat ne scrud ne worldes wele none

T368 Al þe **blisse** þe me us bihat al hit sal ben god one
e358 eal þe murhðe þe me us bihat. al hit sceal beo god ane
E366 al þe murhðe þe me us bihat. al it scal beo god one
D348 **ac si** merʒþe þ*e* men us bihat al **[it]** sal ben god one.
J358 Al þe murehþe þat me vs bihat: al hit **is** god one.
M324 Al þe **blisse** þat me us bihot al hit scal beo god one

T369 Ne mai no **blisse** ben alse muchel se is godes sihte.

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e359 Ne mei na murhðe. beo swa muchel. se is godes **l**ihte
E367 Ne mai no*n* murhðe be so muchel. so is godes sihte
D349 Ne mai no merȝþe bi swo muchel swo is godes isihþe
J359 Nis þer no murehþe **[be]** so muchel. so is godes syhte.
M **[Lacks T369/eJ359/E367/D349]**

T370 He is soð sunne *and* briht *and* dai abute nihte.
e360 **eal [he is]** soð sunne *and* briht. *and* dei abuten nihte
E368 he is soð sunne *and* briht. *and* dai abuten nihte
D350 hi is soð sune *and* briht *and* dai bute nihte.
J360 He is soþ sunne. and briht. and day bute nyhte.
M **[Lacks T370/eJ360/E368/D350]**

T371 He is aches godes ful nis him nowiht uten.
e361 [He] is ælches godes ful. nis hi*m* na wiðuten
E369 He is elches godes ful. nis him **noþing** ȝitvten
D **[Lacks T371/e/E/J/M]**
J361 He is vyche godes ful. nys him nowiht wiþvte.
M **[Lacks T371/eJ361/E369/D351]**

T372 **Nones** godes hem nis wane þe wunieð him abuten.
e362 na god nis hi*m* wane þe wunieð hi*m* abuten
E370 no god nis him wane. þe wunied him abuten
D **[Lacks T372/e/E/J/M]**
J362 Nis heom nones godes wone*: and þat wuneþ hym abuten.*
M **[Lacks T372/eJ362/E370/D352]**

T373 Þar is wele abuten wane *and* reste abuten swunche.
e363 Þer is wele abute **gane**. *and* reste abuten swinche
E371 Þer is wele abute **grame**. *and* reste abtuen swinche
D351 þer is wele bute wane *and* reste buten iswinche
J363 þer is weole bute wone. and reste bute swynke.
M **[Lacks T373/eJ363/E371/D353]**

T374 Þe muȝen *and* nelleð þider cume **[sore]** hit hem **mai** ofþunche.
e364 þe mei *and* nele þider cume. sare hit hi*m* sceal ofðinche
E372 þe mai *and* nele þider come. sore it him scal ofþinche
D352 **se** þ*e* mai *and* nele þider come sore hit hit sel vorþenche
J364 **hwo** may þider cume and nule. hit schal hym sore ofþinche.

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M [Lacks T374/eJ364/E372/D354]

The Egerton e text ends here.

T375 Þar is blisse abuten trei3e and lif abuten deaðe
E373 Þer is blisse abuten tre3e. *and* lif abuten deaþe
D353 Þer is blisce buten tre3e *and* lif buten deaðe
J365 þer is blysse bute **teone**. and lif **wiþvte** deþe.
M **[Lacks T375/E373/D353/J365]**

T376 Þo þe afre sulle wunie þar bliðe hie mu3e ben eaðe.
E374 **[þe]** þe eure scullen wunien þer. bliþe **[hi]** muwen ben eþe
D354 **[þe]** þet eure sullen wunie þer bliðe hi **[muwen]** bieð ***and*** eade
J366 þeo þat schulle wunye þer. bliþe mvwen heo beon eþe.
M **[Lacks T376/E374/D354/J366]**

T377 Þar is 3ieuð abuten elde *and* hale abuten unhalðe
E375 Þer is 3eo3eðe bute ulde. *and* hele abuten vnhelðe
D355 Þer is 3eu3eþe buten elde *and* **elde** buten vnhelðe
J367 Þer is **yonghede** buten ealde. and hele buten vnhelþe.
M **[Lacks T377/E375/D355/J367]**

T378 Nis þar sare3e ne sor non ne nafre unisalðe.
E376 nis þer so*re*we ne sor. ne neure nan vnsealþe
D356 nis þer sor3e ne sor **non** ne **[neuer]** non vniselþe.
J368 þer nys seorewe ne no sor. **[ne]** neu*er* non vnhelþe.
M **[Lacks T378/E376/D356/J368]**

T379 Þar me **[scal]** drihte self isien swo se is mid iwisse
E377 Þer me scal drihte sulf iseon. swa he is mid iwisse
D357 Þer me sel drihten **[self]** isen swo **ase** he is mid iwisse
J369 **Seoþþe** me **[scal]** dryhten **[self]** iseo. so he is myd iwisse.
M325 God is suo mer *and* suo muchel in his god**[cun]**nesse (T393/E391/D371/J379)

T380 He one mai *and* sal al ben angles *and* manne blisse.
E378 he one mai *and* scal al beo. engle *and* manne blisse
D358 he one mai *and* sel al bien engles *and* mannes blisce.
J370 he one may **[al]** beon and schal. englene and monne blisse.
M326 **Þat** he mai *and* **wule** **[al]** beo anglene **[and mannes]** blisse

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T381 *And* þeih ne be here eien naht alle iliche brihte
E379 And ðeh ne beod heore e3e naht. alle iliche brihte
D359 **[And]** Þah ne bi here ea3en naht al iliche brihte.
J **[Lacks T381/E279/D359/M327]**
M327 **Ac** þe3 ne beoþ **ure** e3ene **[naht]** alle iliche bri3te

T382 Hi nabbeð naht iliche muchel alle of godes lihte
E380 **ði** nabbed hi nouht iliche. **[muchel]** alle of godes lihte
D360 nabbeð hi naht iliche muchel alle of godes lihte
J **[Lacks T382/E280/D360]**
M **[Lacks T382/E280/D360]**

T383 On þesse liue he naren naht alle of o**r**e mihte
E381 On **w**isse *liue* hi neren nout. alle of one mihte
D361 On þise liue **we** nere noht alle of one mihte
J **[Lacks T383/E281/D361/M328]**
M328 **Ne** in þis **worlde [he/we]** nere na3t alle of one mi3te

T384 Ne þar ne sullen **[hi/naht]** habben god alle bi one wihte.
E382 ne þer ne scullen hi habben god. alle bi one 3ihte
D362 ne þer ne sullen hi habben gode alle bi one **rihte**.
J **[Lacks T384/E282/D362/M329]**
M329 **[Ne]** Þar ne sculle **na3t** habbe god al **mid** one wi3te

T385 Þo sullen more of him isien þe luueden hine more
E383 Þo scullen more of him seon. þe luuede him **her** more
D363 Þo sullen more of him iseon þ*e* hine luuede more
J371 Þeo schulen of him **more** iseon. þat **her** him luuede more.
M330 **Hi** sculle more of him **wite** þe louede hine more

T386 *and* more icnowen *and* **ec** witen his mihte *and* his ore
E384 *and* more icnawen *and* iwiten. his mihte *and* his ore
D364 *and* more iknowen *and* **isien** his mihte *and* his ore
J372 And more iseon and iwyten. his milce and his ore.
M331 *and* **[more]** **b**iknowe *and* **yseo** his milse *and* his ore

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T387 On him hie sulle finde al þat man mai to hleste
E385 On him hi scullen finden al þat man mai to lesten
D365 On him hi sullen vinden al þ*at* man mei **þer** to lesten
J373 On him heo schullen fynden. al þat mon may **[to]** luste.
M **[Lacks all lines between here and T397/E395/D379/J383]**

T388 [O]n **him** he sullen **ec** isien al þat hie ar nesten.
E386 **[in] hali** boc hi sculle iseon. al þat hi her nusten
D366 in **liue** boc hi sullen isien **[al]** þ*at* her hi **ne wisten**
J374 ***and*** on lyues **be** iseon. al þat heo her nusten.
M **[Lacking]**

T389 [C]rist sal one bien ino3h alle his derlinges.
E387 Crist scal one beon inou. alle his durlinges
D367 Crist one sel ben inoh alle his deorlinges
J375 Crist **seolf** one schal beon. inouh **to** alle **[his]** derlinges.
M **[Lacking]**

T390 [H]e one is much more *and* betere þan alle oðer þinges.
E388 he one is muchele mare *and* betere. þanne alle oþere þinges
D368 he one is muchele more *and* betere þanne alle oþre þinges.
J376 he one is **[muchele]** more and betere. þan alle **wordliche** þinges.
M **[Lacking]**

T391 [I]noh he haueð þe hine haueð þe alle þing wealdeð.
E389 Inoh he haued þe hine haueð. þe alle þing wealded
D369 Inoh he haueð þ*at* hine haueð þ*at* alle þing **haueð on** wealde
J377 Inouh hi habbeþ þat hyne habbeþ. þat alle þinges weldeþ.
M **[Lacking]**

T392 Of him to isiene nis non sæd swo fair he is to bihelden
E390 of him to sene nis no sed. **wel h*e*m is þe hine** bi-healdeð
D370 of him to isien nis non sed swo vair he is to bihialde
J378 **[of]** him to seonne **murie hit is**. so fayr he is to biholde.
M **[Lacking]**

T393 [G]od is swo mere *and* swo muchel in his godcunnesse
E391 God is so mere *and* swa muchel. in his godcunnesse

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D371 God is swo mere *and* so muchel in his godcunnesse
J379 God is so **swete** *and* so muchel. in his god**[cun]**nesse.
M (see M325 above)

T394 [Þ]at al þat **elles** was *and* is is fele werse *and* lasse.
E392 þ*at* al þ*at* **is**. al þat wes **[and]** is **[fele]** wurse. **þenne he** 7 lesse
D372 þ*at* al þ*at* **he** wes *and* is is vele werse *and* lesse
J380 **[þat]** Al þat wes *and* is. is **wel** wurse and lasse.
M **[Lacking]**

T395 [N]e mai hit **nafre** no man oðer seggen mid iwisse
E393 Ne mai it **neure** no man oþer segge mid iwisse
D373 Ne mai hit no man oþer siggen mid iwisse
J381 Ne may no mo*n* hit **[oþer]** segge. **ne wyten** myd iwisse.
M **[Lacking]**

T396 [H]wu muchele murihðe habbeð þo þe beð in godes blisse
E394 hu muchele murhðe habbet þo. þe bead inne godes blisse
D374 hu muchele merȝþe habbeð þo þ*at* bieð in godes blisce
J382 hu muchele murehþe habbeþ **heo**. þat beoþ i*n* **heuene** blisse.
M **[Lacking]**

T **[Lacks D375]**
E **[Lacks D375]**
D375 Vten eft in þiderward mid aldre ȝernuolnesse
J **[Lacks D375]**
M **[Lacks D375]**

T **[Lacks D376]**
E **[Lacks D376]**
D376 *andd* vorsien þisne midelard mid his wouernesse
J **[Lacks D376]**
M **[Lacks D376]**

T **[Lacks D377]**
E **[Lacks D377]**
D377 Ef we vorsieð þis loþe lif vor heuenriche blisce
J **[Lacks D377]**

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M **[Lacks D377]**

T **[Lacks D378]**
E **[Lacks D378]**
D378 þanne selð us crist þ eche lif to medes on ecnesse.
J **[Lacks D378]**
M **[Lacks D378]**

T397 [T]o þare blisse us bringe god þe rixleð abuten ende.
E395 To þere blisse us bringe god. þe rixlet abtuend ende
D379 To þare blisce us bringe god þet rixeð buten ende.
J383 To þare blisse bringe vs god. þat **lesteþ** buten ende.
M332 To þare blisse us bringe god þat ricscleþ **ay** bute ende

T398 [Þ]ane he ure sowle unbint of lichamliche bende
E396 þenne he vre soule vnbint. of licames bende
D380 þanne he ure saule vnbint of lichamlice bende.
J384 **hw**enne he vre saule vnbind. of lichomliche bende.
M333 **Wh**ane he ure saule unbint of lichamliche bende

T399 [C]rist 3ieue us laden her swilch lif *and* habben her swilch ende
E397 Crist 3yue us leden her swilc lif. *and* habben her swilc ende
D381 Crist 3eue us lede **[her]** swich lif *and* habbe **[her]** swichne ende
J385 Crist vs **lete** such lif lede **[her]**. *and* habbe her such ende.
M334 Crist us **leue** lede **[her]** suich lif *and* habbe suicchne ende

T400 [Þ]at we moten þider cumen **þ**ane we henne wende. Amen
E398 þat we moten þuder come. wanne we henne wende. Amen
D382 þet we moten þider cumen **þ**anne we hennes wende Amen
J386 þat we mote **to him** cume. hwenne we heonne wendeþ.
M335 Þat we mote **to him** come whane we henne wende Amen

Trinity, the Egerton E text, Digby, and McClean end here.

J387 Bidde nu we leoue freond. yonge and ek olde.

J388 þat he þat þis wryt wrot. his saule beo þer atholde. Am*en*.

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