

1982

# A New Edition Of The Worchester "soul's Address To The Body"

Douglas Alexander Moffat

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A NEW EDITION OF THE WORCESTER  
"SOUL'S ADDRESS TO THE BODY"

by



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Department of English

Submitted in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy

Faculty of Graduate Studies  
The University of Western Ontario  
London, Ontario  
June, 1982

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## ABSTRACT

The thesis is a new edition of the "Soul's Address to the Body," a poem from the period of transition between Old and Middle English that exists uniquely in Worcester Cathedral MS. F. 174. The MS. dates from either the late twelfth or early thirteenth century; the "Soul's Address" itself is generally dated to the early part of the twelfth century. The MS. presents many problems for the editor. It was disassembled, probably late in the medieval period, and its leaves were trimmed and used as stiffening in another bookbinding. It was not reassembled until the early nineteenth century.

The introductory portion of the edition begins with a description of the MS. that concentrates particularly on the last four leaves, ff. 63-66, which contain the "Soul's Address." The discussion of language which follows is divided into six parts: Phonemic-Graphemic Correspondences, Non-alphabetic Graphemes, Morphemic-Graphemic Correspondences, Syntax, Rhyming and Assonant Lines, and Dialect and Date. A section on prosody investigates the relation of the poem to both Old English verse and rhythmical prose and concludes with a discussion of rhyming lines in the work. After a brief discussion of the poet's style, the introductory material concludes with a long investigation of the relation of the "Soul's Address" to other 'body and soul' works. It is argued in this section that the current order of the poetic fragments is, in fact, not the most probable order of what remains.

Rather, the repositioning of f. 66 between ff. 63 and 64, a change not denied by the facts of the MS., strengthens the poem's internal structure immeasurably and reveals that it is more closely related to the structures of other 'body and soul' poems than has hitherto been noticed.

The alternative order of the text is the one printed. Full explanatory notes follow in which all the previous suggestions for the filling of the various lacunae in the work are considered. The edition concludes with a glossary which, except for a handful of function words, contains a complete record of all the forms in the poem.

## PREFACE

The Worcester "Soul's Address to the Body" is a poem whose significance extends well beyond its intrinsic merits as a work of literature. Relatively few English works survive from the era it represents, the period of transition between Old and Middle English, and only a handful of these are written in verse. Also, the "Soul's Address" belongs to a large group of works written at various times throughout the Middle Ages that take as their theme the conflict between body and soul. It is the longest poem of this kind in English; it is the longest verse address of a soul to its body in any language. For linguistic, literary, and thematic reasons, therefore, the "Soul's Address" ought to interest scholars, and this edition of the poem with its accompanying apparatus and full treatment of these matters should help to increase understanding and appreciation of it. Further, the "Soul's Address" survives in a single, fragmentary copy preserved in Worcester Cathedral, a copy whose arrangement, it will be argued in the following pages, is probably faulty. The reorganization of the remaining fragments proposed in the introductory section of the edition and the reordered version of the text printed thereafter should serve to enhance considerably the poem's reputation as a work of art and bring about a reassessment of its position in English literary history and in the canon of 'body and soul' literature.

I would like to thank my advisors, Prof. Constance B. Heatt and Prof. Peter Auki, for the many helpful suggestions they made during the preparation of this work. I would like to acknowledge the following people for their assistance: Prof. Angus Cameron and the staff of the Dictionary of Old English Project at the University of Toronto; The Reverend Canon J. Fenwick of Worcester Cathedral; and Mr. B. Benedicktsson of Birmingham University. The support and understanding of friends and family have also been invaluable to me, especially that of my wife Elaine.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

ASPR	The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records
BT	Bosworth and Toller, <u>An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary</u>
BT Supp.	Bosworth and Toller, <u>An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary: Supplement</u>
E.E.T.S. (O.S.)	Early English Text Society (Original Series)
ES	<u>English Studies</u>
JEGP	<u>Journal of English and Germanic Philology</u>
ME, eME	Middle English, early Middle English
MED	<u>Middle English Dictionary</u>
MLN	<u>Modern Language Notes</u>
MLQ	<u>Modern Language Quarterly</u>
MP	<u>Modern Philology</u>
MS	<u>Mediaeval Studies</u>
OE, eOE, lOE	Old English, early Old English, late Old English.
OED	<u>The Oxford English Dictionary</u>
P.L.	Patrologia Latina
PMLA	<u>Publications of the Modern Language Association</u>
PQ	<u>Philological Quarterly</u>
SN	<u>Studia Neophilologica</u>
SP	<u>Studies in Philology</u>
SWML	Southwest Midlands
WML	West Midlands
WS	West Saxon

## The Manuscript.

The fragments that remain of the "Soul's Address to the Body" are found on folios 63<sup>v</sup>-66<sup>v</sup> of Worcester Cathedral MS. F. 174 currently located in the Chapter Library of Worcester Cathedral. This manuscript also contains a version of Elfric's Grammar and Glossary, ff. 1-63<sup>r</sup>,<sup>1</sup> and a short fragment of rhythmical prose on the state of learning in England beginning "Sanctus Beda was iboren her," f. 63<sup>r</sup>.<sup>2</sup>

## i Physical Characteristics.

1. Size and Quality of the Sheets. The sheets used in F. 174 were of various sizes and shapes when the text was written and the MS. compiled. E.g., f. 19, which has survived intact, is 198 x 185 mm. and contains twenty-three lines of text; f. 12, which is also intact, measures 276 x 175 mm. with thirty-one lines of text; f. 59, on the other hand, has a writing area that measures about 215 mm. across--i.e., significantly larger than either ff. 12 or 19--despite its having been trimmed along one of its edges. Folios 63-66, which contain the "Soul's Address," have each been trimmed across the top and down their free (as opposed to bound) edge. Folio 63<sup>v</sup> in its current state contains twenty-seven lines of writing and a writing area 205 mm. in width at its largest point; f. 64<sup>r</sup> has thirty lines, the width of the writing space is approximately 193 mm.; f. 64<sup>v</sup>, thirty lines as well, 195-200 mm.;

f. 65<sup>r</sup>, thirty lines, about 195 mm.; f. 65<sup>v</sup>, twenty-nine lines, about 200 mm.; f. 66<sup>r</sup>, twenty-eight lines, 190 mm. at the top broadening to 200 mm. at the bottom; f. 66<sup>v</sup>, thirty lines, 187 mm. at the top, 197 mm. near the bottom.

Given the abuse they have received, the extant leaves of F. 174 have survived remarkably well, particularly those toward the end of the MS. where the poetical leaves are found. Nevertheless, ff. 63-66 are thin and fragile; yellowish in colour, and somewhat translucent. A number of small holes and the occasional tear are present--the latter often the result of ruling; also, on f.64, two creases have occurred along the free edge of the leaf at some time after the writing had been completed.

2. Foliation. In the 19th-century the leaves were numbered 1 through 66 in the upper right-hand corner of the recto side. Because of trimming at the top of some leaves, these numbers sometimes appear between the lines of the text.

3. Gatherings. In its original form the MS. would appear to have been quarto, the leaves arranged in each gathering so that hair side faced hair, flesh side faced flesh, though in some gatherings, if they were indeed quarto, the recto of the first leaf is a hair side, in others, a flesh side. Ker is of the opinion that f. 1 and the misplaced f. 10 are a bifolium and that the six leaves are missing that were originally between them.<sup>3</sup> This would appear to be true: f. 1<sup>v</sup> ends on p. 8 of Zupitza's edition of Elfric's Grammar,<sup>4</sup> f. 10<sup>r</sup> begins at the top of p. 31, and, on the average, one folio of the MS. corresponds to about four pages in Zupitza. It is also assumed by Ker that Elfric's



preface to the Grammar, pp. 1-3 of Zupitza, was never included in this copy;<sup>5</sup> Floyer and Hamilton suggest, however, that two leaves are missing from before current f. 1.<sup>6</sup> One might assume, then, an original collation of I<sup>8</sup> (ff. 1 and 10) wants 2-7, II<sup>8</sup> (ff. 2-9), III-IX<sup>8</sup> (ff. 11-66),<sup>7</sup> but the subsequent damage to the MS. makes certainty impossible. See I iii History, pp. 4-10.

4. Binding. The MS. is currently in a nineteenth-century binding. Each folio is interleaved with paper.

## ii The Scribe

1. Script. The MS. is considered to be wholly the work of an anonymous scribe whose distinctive, quavering script has been named by scholars the "tremulous hand."<sup>8</sup> The letters tend to slope backwards, the strokes are thick rather than fine, and the size of the letters can change quite substantially from one leaf to the next, though on the whole they are fairly large.<sup>9</sup> The "tremulous hand" is found in a number of mss., almost always in glosses, and it is clear from their provenance that he was working at Worcester, the present location of F. 174.<sup>10</sup> Further, Ker has shown that additions in the "tremulous hand" to a marginal index in Bodleian MS. Hatton 114, f. 10, probably date from the second quarter of the thirteenth century.<sup>11</sup>

This is the only extant ms in which the "tremulous hand" is the primary script, and it is interesting to note how variable the hand can be. Of particular interest is f. 1, where the script is characterized by smaller letters produced with finer strokes than elsewhere in the MS., especially in the verse sections, ff. 63-66. On f. 1 occurs

the letter form ð, e.g., habbeð, l. 10 of f. 1<sup>v</sup>; <sup>12</sup> it is not usually found in the work of the "tremulous hand" but does appear in the facsimile of the Nicene Creed reproduced by Crawford. <sup>13</sup> Ker mistakenly says ð does not occur in F. 174. <sup>14</sup> Also, Carolingian g on f. 1 has a tail which ends with a downward turn, e.g., englisc, l. 12 of f. 1<sup>v</sup>; <sup>15</sup> in the verse sections the tail of caroline g turns upward to the line and joins with the body of the letter; it resembles a lopsided 8.

2. Ruling. The MS. is ruled with a pencil. There are no vertical lines demarcating margins, though the scribe left a 5-10 mm. margin on the left-hand side of each leaf, recto and verso. It would appear from ff. 57-58, from which, uncharacteristically, the bound edges have been trimmed, that the scribe used short, ink strokes placed along the free edge of each leaf as a guide in drawing the horizontal lines. These lines are drawn right across the page from one edge to the other. Long lines, as opposed to columns, is an old-fashioned feature in an early thirteenth-century ms, according to Ker. <sup>16</sup>

3. Spacing. As mentioned above, the size of writing in works in the "tremulous hand" can vary from leaf to leaf. On the average, the height of the minims on the poetical leaves of F. 174 is 4 mm.; that of the ascenders and descenders, 2-3 mm. The height of the interlinear space varies from 1-3 mm.

### iii History

The MS. was written at Worcester and apparently has always remained there. It is the only ms containing work of the Worcester scribe with the "tremulous hand" that has remained at its place of origin. Patrick

Young, who compiled the earliest extant catalogue of the Chapter Library in 1622-23, does not mention it, however, because it had been disassembled and used in the binding of another ms in the Library.<sup>17</sup>

Ker suspects this disassembly took place in medieval times.<sup>18</sup> It does seem probable that it took place before the visit of Archbishop Parker, c. 1565, for it is likely he would have taken the work from the Library along with other Anglo-Saxon mss, even though it was probably from the outset a rather plain, undistinguished piece of work compared to other productions of the Worcester scriptorium.<sup>19</sup> Sir Thomas Phillipps, a nineteenth-century antiquarian, discovered the work "in the covers of an old book of which they, with some other fragments, constituted the sole stiffening," and subsequently published the first edition of the "Soul's Address" along with portions of the *Elfric* material and the "Sanctus Beda" fragment in 1838.<sup>20</sup> The reassembled MS. apparently was misplaced again and not rediscovered until 1879, when Zupitza found it while searching for all the extant copies of *Elfric's Grammar and Glossary* in preparation for his edition of that work.<sup>21</sup> Floyer and Hamilton in their 1906 catalogue of the Chapter Library state that the leaves of the MS., after being pasted together, were used "to form covers for a book in the Cathedral archives."<sup>22</sup> However, Phillipps' brief description seems quite unambiguous: they were used as stiffening inside the covers of another book and not as covers themselves. Ker notes that they were used in binding.<sup>23</sup>

Though the leaves of the MS. have survived quite well, some damage has occurred. As a result of leaves being pasted together, the offset of letters from other leaves is found throughout the MS. Perhaps as a result of attempts at cleaning carried out by Phillipps, the ink in some

words is very faded. More serious is the trimming of the top edge and the free edge of most of the leaves. (Some were also cut along the bottom; three were trimmed along the bound edge rather than the free edge; a few were cut in two; some were left uncut.) Folios 63-66 have been trimmed along the top and down the free edge. It is impossible to ascertain exactly how much is missing from the leaves due to trimming at the top. Five to seven lines are missing from the Glossary at the top of f. 63<sup>r</sup>. We might, therefore, assume a similar amount of text has been lost from f. 63<sup>v</sup> where the "Soul's Address" begins. But whether or not this space contained a conclusion to the "Sanctus Beda" passage of f. 63<sup>r</sup> cannot be determined. Also, because of the varying sizes of the leaves, one can only estimate what is missing from the tops of ff. 64-66 to be about five lines of text, give or take two or three lines, i.e., between two and eight lines.

The previous editors state that only one or two letters are missing from each line of writing because of the trimming of each leaf's free edge.<sup>24</sup> However, because of the lack of uniformity in the size of the sheets both before and after the MS. was disassembled, it is impossible to make such a general statement. The scribe left a fairly even left-hand margin of 5-10 mm. on each page but no right-hand margin; therefore, since the free edge of each leaf was trimmed, it is clear that more text--the width of the margin--is missing on the recto side. The best method for estimating how much has been lost from each leaf is to find other occurrences of a word that is almost certainly the one missing from the beginning or end of a given line and to measure the relevant portion thereof. This method yields the following results:

f. 63<sup>v</sup>, fleop would seem to be the word missing in l. A37. It has

an estimated length of 15 mm.

f. 64<sup>r</sup>, puncch is almost certainly required in l. D(B)38. The missing pun probably measured about 14 mm.

f. 64<sup>v</sup>, the last three letters of what must be wurmes, l. E(C)43, probably measured 11-12 mm.

f. 65<sup>r</sup>, licame plus a point, l. F(D)25, beornen, l. F(D)14, and fæderes, l. F(D)23, all seem to be missing about 19 mm. of writing apiece.

f. 65<sup>v</sup>, deope, which is almost certainly the word missing in l. G(E)8, probably measured about 17 mm.

f. 66<sup>r</sup>, the missing portions of both sunfule, l. B(F)9, and makunge, l. B(F)41, probably measured about 17-18 mm.

f. 66<sup>v</sup>, tunge, l. C(G)15, measured 16-17 mm.

With the exception of portions of f. 64, there is room for more than one or two letters to be missing from each line of the poetical leaves. However, the figures are approximations. The width of the margin varies from 5-10 mm.; the scribe did not always write to the right-hand edge of the page, though generally he comes very close to it; the size of the writing can vary somewhat from leaf to leaf.

The disassembly of F. 174 coupled with the trimming of its leaves has created another problem for the editor of the "Soul's Address." Because there are other extant versions of Elfric's Grammar and Glossary, the order of the leaves in that part of the MS., i.e., ff. 1-63<sup>r</sup>, is easy to establish. The poetical leaves present a more difficult task: there is no source or analogue sufficiently close to the "Soul's Address" to serve as a clear-cut pattern, and further, the trimming of the top of each leaf has resulted in the loss of material that might have

allowed the editor to join the fragments together in the correct order on the basis of continuity of subject matter. It is clear that Fragment A on f. 63<sup>v</sup> is the first of the seven fragments: it occurs on the verso side of the leaf on which the Glossary ends. It also seems clear that on the remaining three leaves, ff. 64-66, recto can be distinguished from verso. The markings that were used as guides in the ruling of the leaves are found on ff. 57-58, on which the bound sides were trimmed. Since these markings cannot be found on ff. 64-66, the free edge must have been trimmed on each of them, and it follows that, if any significant trimming took place, the left-hand margin will occur only on the recto side of the leaf. It thus seems evident that in the present arrangement, recto has been correctly distinguished from verso.

It is likely that Sir Thomas Phillipps established the present order of the MS. One error has been made in the Grammar portion of the MS. (f. 10 should, in fact, be f. 2), and it is the contention of this editor that Phillipps made another error in the ordering of the poetical leaves. The only previous editor who addresses the question of order is Buchholz, who argues that the continuity of subject matter is sufficient to link the bottom of f. 64<sup>v</sup> with the top of f. 65<sup>r</sup>. He offers no explanation for the placement of f. 66, however.<sup>25</sup> Neither Haufe, who worked before Buchholz, nor Ricciardi, who worked after him, concern themselves with the question; all three, along with Singer and Hall, accept the order established by Phillipps.<sup>26</sup> While Buchholz's observation on the continuity of subject matter between ff. 64<sup>v</sup> and 65<sup>r</sup> is well taken, the present order of the leaves does not, in fact, rest on an examination of the poem's literary qualities. Rather, it is probable that Phillipps settled on the present arrangement in order to

preserve the structure of what he took to be the last half of a quarto gathering in which hair side faced hair and flesh side faced flesh:

f. 63<sup>r</sup> is a flesh side, 63<sup>v</sup>, hair; f. 64<sup>r</sup> is a hair side, 64<sup>v</sup>, flesh;  
f. 65<sup>r</sup>, flesh, 65<sup>v</sup>, hair; f. 66<sup>r</sup>, hair, 66<sup>v</sup>, flesh.

However, we cannot, in fact, be sure that we are dealing with the last half of a quarto gathering at this point. Given the irregular size of the sheets of the MS. in its original form, it is clear that the work was not a fine production of the scriptorium; Mr. B. Benedicktsson of Birmingham University believes it may well have been, quite literally, the scribe's scrapbook, an assembly of discarded sheets put together for the scribe's own interests.<sup>27</sup> Hall remarks that the writing of the

poetical leaves is "less carefully executed" than that of the Grammar and Glossary,<sup>28</sup> an observation that is borne out by examination of the MS.

It is possible that less care was taken in the assembly of these leaves as well, i.e., they may have been tacked on to the main work at some later date. We cannot know, in other words, if we are dealing with a quarto gathering at this point in the MS. (Indeed, because of the damage, we cannot be absolutely sure of the size of the gatherings at any point in the MS.) Further, we cannot know whether or not we are dealing with consecutive leaves at the end of the MS., whatever the order. Six leaves are in all likelihood missing after f. 1; more leaves may well be missing before f. 1; and it can be argued that at least one leaf is missing from the end of the MS., regardless of the order in which ff. 64-66 are placed.<sup>29</sup> It is not inconceivable that one or more leaves are missing from among ff. 63-66.

Given the structural shortcomings of the "Soul's Address" in its present form,<sup>30</sup> there seems scant justification in insisting upon the

preservation of the present order of the leaves on which it occurs simply because that order preserves an arrangement in which hair side faces hair and flesh side, flesh.<sup>31</sup> It is more reasonable and more profitable to treat the fragments individually on the basis of what is actually being said in each of them in order to arrive at the most probable and the most satisfactory arrangement of what remains.



## II

### Language

The importance of the Worcester "Soul's Address" in English literary history rests primarily on its transitional position between the Old and Middle English periods. The discussion of the poem's language which follows reflects this fact. The original version of the "Soul's Address," though admittedly a late example, was very much an Old English work; its vocabulary, e.g., was almost wholly Old English in origin. The treatment of its language, therefore, focuses on the connections of the work with late Old English language as it is generally understood in order to fix the poem firmly in that context. However, the one copy of the poem that remains (written perhaps a century later than the original), contains many orthographic forms that complicate the relation to Old English. Some of these forms obscure this relation; others reveal linguistic transformations of Old English forms and indicate developments in the language of either the poet or the scribe. Because of this situation, certain methods have been adopted that are not usually employed in editions of Old and Middle English poetry: specifically, more emphasis is placed on the graphemic representations of both phonology and morphology. Also, because of the unusual nature of the work, in linguistic terms, the discussion of language is somewhat more extensive than is currently fashionable in editions of Old and Middle English poetry. It is divided into six parts:

- i The "Phonemic-Graphemic Correspondences" present a list of late Old English phonemes and the graphemes used to represent them, along with pertinent phonological statements and remarks on exceptional forms, where there are any. This part is subdivided into treatments of Stressed Vowels, Foreign Words, Low-Stressed and Unstressed Vowels, and Consonants.
- ii "Non-alphabetic Graphemes," i.e., Punctuation Graphs, Tachygraphs, and Word Signs.
- iii The "Morphemic-Graphemic Correspondences" present the various graphemic representations of the signs used to designate the parts of speech, with special mention of any atypical forms.
- iv "Syntax" provides a categorized discussion of syntactical usage in the poem from the perspective of Old English usage.
- v The brief discussion of "Rhyming and Assonant Lines" investigates the linguistic information, primarily phonological, that can be derived from these lines.
- vi "Dialect and Date" is a summary statement with some indication of where the work can be fixed in place and time.

A thorough perusal of the following material will provide the reader with a comprehensive view of the relation of the language of the "Soul's Address" to late Old English. It will also give the specialist a precise idea of the forms which specific aspects of the language take in the work. Parts i and iii in particular will provide those who are interested in the phonemic-graphemic and morphemic-graphemic fits of Middle English mss with an idea of what they can expect in the "Soul's Address," in Worcester Cathedral MS. F. 174, and in other examples of

work in the "tremulous hand." The discussion of the language here is complemented by the complete Glossary that follows the Explanatory Notes at the end of the edition.

The following symbols are used in the discussion of language:

1. / / enclose phonemes.
2. < > enclose graphemes.
3. { } enclose morphemes.
4. > indicates "becomes."
5. < indicates "derives from."
6. : indicates length, i.e., a: is long a.

The authors whose works are referred to by page or item number in the discussion of language are:

Alistair Campbell, Old English Grammar (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959).

Richard Jordan, A Handbook of Middle English Grammar: Phonology (Heidelberg, 1925; rev. 1934), trans. and rev. Eugene Joseph Crook, *Janua Linguarum, Series Practica*, 218 (The Hague: Mouton, 1974).

Tauno F. Mustanoja, A Middle English Syntax, Part One (Parts of Speech) (Helsinki: Société Néophilologique, 1960).

i. Phonemic-Graphemic Correspondences

A. Stressed Vowels

a. Simple Vowels

1. OE /i/ is written <i>, e.g., lif, l. A4, licame, l. A11.
  - (a) /i/ > /y/ written <u> in present forms of the verb willen, e.g., nulleþ, l. A38, wulleþ, l. E(C)35 (Jordan 36 rem. 2); /i/ remains /i/ in the noun wille, however; e.g., willæn, l. D(B)33, wille, l. E(C)11.
  - (b) The occurrence of <i> in chirche, l. G(E)25, is surprising; see II i 7(b).
2. OE /e/ is primarily written <e>, e.g., bedde, l. A13, brekeþ, l. E(C)44.
  - (a) siggen, l. B(F)7, beside seggen, l. G(E)42, is a common western development (Jordan 34 rem. 1).
  - (b) wranche, l. C(G)48, may show preservation of the æ-step in the i-umlaut of /æ/ before nasals (Jordan 133 rem. 1), but this is primarily a southeastern feature (Campbell 193(d)). It is probably a back spelling.
  - (c) OE /e/ is written <eo> between w and l in weolen, l. D(B)16, weole, ll. E(C)8, 14, 36, a WML feature (Jordan 33 rem. 3), but <e> in wel, l. D(B)9, l. G(E)21. <eo> in this case is probably evidence of back mutation; cf. freome, l. A37, and feole, ll. C(G)11 and C(G)18 (Campbell 210(1)).
3. OE /æ/ is written either <æ> or <e>, e.g., wracche, l. A29, wrecche, l. A41, hafdest, l. F(D)27, hauest, l. E(C)14, reste, l. E(C)24.

(a) This variation probably indicates a narrowing of OE /æ/ to /ɛ/ with the retention of some traditional spellings, i.e., <æ> (Jordan 32). This development is indicative of the southwestern (and Kentish) dialects but was not impossible in the WML as well.

(b) Following /w/, OE /æ/ is written <a>, e.g., watere, l. F(D)12, water, l. B(F)39, and was, the usual form of this common low-stress word, though wæs, l. G(E)27, and nes, ll. F(D)19 and 20, occur also (Jordan 32.2).

(c) messe, l. D(B)23, is probably a French loanword and not from OE mæsse (Jordan 32 rem. 1).

4. OE /a/ is written <o> before nasals where it had become /ɔ/, a typical WML development (Jordan 30); otherwise it appears as <a> (Jordan 29).

(a) The retention of <a> in licame, l. A11, and andweorke, l. B(F)42, may result from reduced stress.

(b) deages, l. A40, beside probably low-stressed lifdawas, l. A14, shows a more fronted sound closer to /æ/ (Jordan 32 rem. 1), perhaps by analogy with the OE singular dæg; see II: 39(a). <æ> in goldfæten, l. D(B)7, which is possibly low-stressed, is probably due to analogy (Campbell 259 fn. 1).

5. OE /o/ for the most part is written <o>.

(a) In words previously effected by i-umlaut, OE /o/ tends to be written <eo>, e.g., seoruhfule, l. A8, seoruwen, l. A27, neose, l. A18 (Jordan 35 rem. 3), but <o> is retained in sorhfulle, l. F(D)25 (also sorhliche, omitted in this edition from l. A27). Feorpsip, l. A27, may have resulted from the <o>/<eo> variation of the OE diphthong /eo/, i.e., <eo>, before lengthening groups

beginning with <r>.

- (b) <u> in iwurpen, l. B(F)46, is probably analogical in origin.
6. OE /u/ is written <u>, e.g., tunge, l. A19, cunep, l. A10 (Jordan 37).
- (a) <o> in iworpen, l. B(F)45, is probably analogical in origin.
7. OE /y/, though written <u>, is still a separate phoneme, a WML feature (Jordan 42), e.g., wurmes, l. D(B)41, cunne, l. F(D)20.
- (a) Following /j/, <e> occurs in get, ll. C(G)7, E(C)2, etc., gerde, l. A33, bigete, l. E(C)13, <i> in given, l. D(B)21, <eo> in geoddede, l. C(G)21.
- (b) Exceptional is chirche, l. G(E)25, where one would expect <u> in the WML owing to the rounding influence of the following palatal (Jordan 42.1, 43.2). synne, l. B(F)33, beside sunne, ll. D(B)18, 22, etc., is probably an archaic form.
8. OE /i:/ is written <i> and in two places <ii>, e.g., pin, l. D(B)8, etc., beside piin, l. G(E)38, lip, l. A36, beside liip, l. E(C)31.
- (a) Rounding of /i:/ to /y:/ is apparent in the variation of <i> and <u> spellings in hwile, l. D(B)17, and hwule, l. D(B)1, and in swuþe, ll. A39 and D(B)11 (Jordan 52 rem. 2).
9. OE /e:/ is written <e>, e.g., fenge, l. D(B)29, icwemdest, l. D(B)42.
- (a) weopinde, l. A10, reveals rounding between labials (Jordan 51 rem. 2).
10. OE /æ:/ from Proto-Germanic /æ:/ and OE /æ:/, the i-umlaut early OE /ɑ:/, are both written either <æ> or <e>, e.g., þærof, l. D(B)33, þeron, l. F(D)11, grædie, l. D(B)13, grædi, l. F(D)33, bedæled, l. D(B)16, bedeled, l. E(C)32, arærep, l. G(E)12, arærest, l. F(D)45. It would appear that /æ:/ of either derivation had

narrowed to /ɛ:/ or was in the process of doing so (Jordan 47).

(a) Late OE /æ:/, the monophthongization of OE /æ:ə/, is primarily written <ea> with some variations in <æ>. The only forms in <e> are ec, l. F(D)12, birefedest, l. C(G)12, beside beræfedest, l. G(E)20, and egen, l. A42, beside eigen, l. A17, where palatal influence must be considered; see II i 19(d). It would appear that /æ:/ </æ:ə/ did not immediately narrow to /ɛ:/, perhaps because it was a more central allophone than the other varieties of /æ:/. The number of <ea> spellings attests to the early date of the poem: the monophthongization of /æ:ə/ is generally placed in the eleventh century. <ea> in bileafen, l. F(D)6, is a back spelling, however.

(b) /æ:/ is written <a> in hwar, ll. D(B)4,5,7,9,10, probably because of the preceding /w/. See II i 3(b).

11. OE /ɑ:/ is written either <a> or <o>, the dominance of the latter indicates a movement to /ɔ:/, e.g., ban, l. A21, bones, l. F(D)25, lac, l. D(B)25, loc, l. D(B)24, ahte, l. G(E)2, ohtest, l. E(C)8 (Jordan 44). <oa> occurs twice: woaning, l. A15, woanep, l. A25 (cf. wonep, l. A12); <eo> occurs in weowe, l. A7, greoning, l. A15, greonep, l. A25, as well as in the npn. demonstrative pronoun, beo beside npf. pa, npn. ba, be, and perhaps beo; see II iii 18.

(a) In ll. A15 and 25 greoning/woaning and greonep/woanep apparently are meant to rhyme.

12. OE /o:/ is written <o>, e.g., moder, l. A25, flore, l. A30 (Jordan 33).
13. OE /u:/ is written <u>, e.g., hwa, l. D(B)15, fule, l. E(C)41 (Jordan 55).
14. OE /y:/ remains a separate phoneme but is written <u>, e.g.,

betuned, 1. E(C)17, fure, 1. F(D)14 (Jordan 42).

(a) Exceptional is hwi, 1. F(D)22, beside hwui, 1. D(B)17; <ui> is a common variant spelling for /y:/ in ME (Jordan 42.2).

b. Diphthongs

15. OE /æ/ written <ea> a. Before r-combinations; it continues to be written <ea>, though forms with <e> and <a> also occur, e.g., bearn, 1. A6, hearpe, 1. G(E)22, markes, 1. D(B)6, bermes, 1. E(C)47, imerked, 1. C(G)39; <æ> occurs once, in ærnes, 1. E(C)43.

b. Before l-combinations, other than -ld, <a> occurs, e.g., alle, 1. A2, walkeb, 1. A12; before the lengthening group -ld, <o> is the rule, e.g., coldeb, 1. A21, itolde, 1. D(B)6, showing movement of Anglian /a:/ >/o:/ in the Midlands (Jordan 61 rem. 1). Exceptional is heldan, 1. E(C)35; see II i 17(b).

c. OE /æ/ before h-combinations is written <ei> in iseize, 11. F(D)8 and 22, <a> in waxen, 1. E(C)38, probably owing to the preceding /w/ (though it may be an Anglian form (Jordan 63)), and <au> in pauh, 11. C(G)27 and 28, probably owing to reduced stress on OE /æ:/ (Jordan 63 rem. 2).

d. Following palatals, OE /æ/ is written <ea>, e.g., isceaft, 1. B(F)35, <æ>, e.g., isceaftan, 1. A2, <a>, e.g., schal, 1. A9, and <e>, e.g., scerpe, 1. B(F)29, perhaps a result of IWS smoothing (Campbell 312), beside scearpe, 1. B(F)25.

e. The i-umlaut of OE /æ/ before r-combinations is written <e>, e.g., scerpeþ, 1. A18, bidernan, 1. B(F)6, ermin, 1. F(D)18 (Jordan 60). Before -ld, <æ> occurs in waldeb, 1. D(B)41, see II i 17(b).



(a) It is generally accepted that by the 10E period /æ/ had monophthongized to /æ/ which in turn moved toward /a/ after the eleventh century outside the WML (Jordan 58). It is curious that only three forms, wædeþ, 1. D(B)41, possibly low stress art, 1. D(B)16, and ærmes, 1. E(C)43, graphically attest to the æ-step of this monophthongization. The spelling <e> from the i-umlaut of /æ/ before r-combinations is predictable (Jordan 60) as is <a> before l-combinations and <o> before <ld> (Jordan 61) and <ei> before h-combinations (Jordan 63).

16. OE /eə/, written <eo>. a. Before r-combinations, <eo> is usually written, especially before lengthening groups, e.g., eorþe, 1. E(C)5, beornen, 1. G(E)49. <o> occurs in herborwen, 11. E(C)23 and F(D)3, and in beworpen, 1. F(D)13; <e> occurs in werke, 1. F(D)30, probably a smoothed Anglian form (Jordan 66 rem. 1), beside andweorke, 1. B(F)42; <u> occurs in wurþe, 1. B(F)45 (Jordan 66 rem. 3).
- b. Before l-combinations, /eə/ is written <u>, e.g., sulfen, 1. E(C)27, 1. B(F)23, suluen, 1. B(F)28, a southwestern form (Jordan 68 rem. ), though <u> probably represents 1WS /y/ in this word.
- c. Before h-combinations, eOE /eə/ is written <i>, e.g., rihte, 1. A35, riht, 1. A38 (Jordan 69). It was probably already <i> in IOE owing to palatal umlaut.
- d. Following palatals, it is primarily written <o>, e.g., scortep, 1. A19, scoldest, 1. E(C)28, but <eo> does occur in sceolde, 1. C(G)32, and sceoldest, 1. C(G)42.
- e. The i-umlaut of OE /eə/ is /y/ and is written <u>, e.g.,

afursed, ll. G(E)6 and 37 (Jordan 70).

(a) OE /ea/ moved to /e/ in the eleventh century and then gradually unrounded to /ɛ/ (Jordan 65). The <eo>/<o> variations would indicate that monophthongization had occurred; the only form that might indicate unrounding, werke, l. F(D)30, could, in fact, be a stray Anglian form (Jordan 66 rem. 1). The <u> in forms of "self" (Jordan 68 rem.), the <i> in the forms of "right" (Jordan 69), and the southwestern <u> in afursed (Jordan 70) are what one might expect.

17. a. OE /æ:ə/ is variously written <ea>, as it was in OE, and <æ>, though the former predominates, e.g., deade, l. A40, dædan, l. A42, seape, l. G(E)8, sæpe, l. D(B)40, dreamburles, l. G(E)30, dreames, l. G(E)26. The only forms with <e> are ec, l. F(D)12, birefedest, l. C(G)12, beside berafedest, l. G(E)20, and egen, l. A42, beside eigen, l. A17, see II i 10(a).
- b. The i-umlaut of /æ:ə/ is primarily written <e>, a WML feature, e.g., alesed, l. D(B)26, lufen, l. F(D)22 (Jordan 83). The <i> and <u> in digalliche, l. B(F)6, and huned, l. F(D)47, are remnants of southwestern /i:/ and /y:/ (Jordan 83 rem. 1), though the former may, in fact, be a preserved WS literary form (Jordan 83 rem. 1).
- (a) It would appear that, while /æ:/ from /æ:ə/ had begun to narrow to /ɛ:/ as had /æ:/ from other sources (see II i 10 above), it was, perhaps, a more central allophone of /æ:/.
- (b) <æ> in waldep, l. D(B)41, and <e> in heldan, l. E(C)35, may result from a confusion of lengthened OE /æ:/ with /æ:ə/.

18. OE /e:ə/ became the monophthong /e:/ and continues to be written <eo>, e.g., teorep, l. A20, deofel, l. F(D)49 (Jordan 84). Also

see /eə/ before lengthening groups, II i 16a above.

(a) The i-umlaut of /e:ə/ apparently does not occur, e.g., neode, l. D(B)5, neowe, l. E(C)29.

19. OE short and long front vowels, including /æ/ and /eə/, preceding OE /j/ and /ç/, the palatal allophone of /x/, are generally written <ei>; /j/, spelled <3>, may or may not follow the diphthong, but /ç/, spelled <h>, does, e.g., ileide, l. A4, unseihte, l. F(D)45. clei, l. A32, unheize, l. E(C)30, heie, l. C(G)40.

(a) OE /æ/+j/ is also written <æi>, e.g., isæid, l. C(G)19, beside iseid, l. D(B)30, sæib, ll. A13, E(C)2, F(D)17, beside seib, ll. F(D)26, G(E)3, 36, and 40, and <ai> once, domesdai, l. G(E)13, probably with reduced stress. deages, l. A40, probably shows influence of OE singular dae3 as well as a movement of the /j/ into the first syllable.

(b) /æ:/+ç/ is written <æih>, e.g., æihste, l. D(B)13, bitæiht, l. C(G)52, perhaps indicating some stability of /æ:/.

(c) /æ:ə/+j/ is written <e3> once, e3en, l. A42, beside eigen, l. A17, perhaps indicating a similarity between the vowels derived from OE /e:/ and /æ:ə/+j/.

(d) Secondary palatalization is apparent in wieles, l. C(G)48, from OE /i:/+j/ (Jordan 90.3), but usually <i> is written, e.g., ile, l. B(F)21.

(e) The i-umlaut of OE /eə/+x/ appears as <i> in besihp, l. A45.

(f) /e:ə/+j/, /ç/ shows early Anglian encroachment of /i:/ (Jordan 98), e.g., driæn, l. D(B)36, beside drei3en, l. C(G)6 and lihte, l. E(C)48.

20. a. OE back vowels before OE /ʁ/, the voiced velar fricative written

- <ɝ> which joined the /w/ phoneme in 10E, retain their OE spellings; it is primarily written <w> though <u> also occurs, e.g., lawe, 1. C(G)46, bowe, 1. E(C)4, owen, 1. E(C)45, reowliche, 1. E(C)7, beside reoulic, 1. B(F)19. See II i 45.
- b. OE back vowels before the voiceless velar fricative written <ɝ>, which had become an allophone of /x/, are primarily written <ou> though <ɔ> does occur, e.g., wrouhte, 1. G(E)16, wrohten, 1. F(D)25, souhte, 1. D(B)19. See II i 46.
- c. OE back vowels before /w/ in words in which syllable shift has occurred are written variously <ow>, <ou>, and <ouw>, e.g., soule, 1. A4, beside sowle, 1. G(E)36, nouht, 1. D(B)33, beside nowiht, 1. F(D)19, toward, 1. B(F)29.

#### B. Foreign Words

21. a. Garsume, 11. E(C)12, C(G)13, and C(G)16, shows <æ> for what was probably Old Scandinavian /e/. See II i 3 above. The 10E form of this word is spelled with <æ>.
- b. Iflut, 1. A30, shows /y/ written <u> for Old Scandinavian /y/, an indication of southern provenance.<sup>32</sup>
- c. Gete, 1. E(C)13, shows /ɛ:/ from Old Scandinavian /æ:/. See II i 10 above.
- d. Lowe, 1. E(C)30, shows /o:/ from Old Scandinavian /a:/.
- e. Messe, 1. D(B)23, shows /e/ from Old French /e/.

## C. Low-Stressed and Unstressed Vowels

22. Phonological levelling of unaccented vowels to schwa, written <e>, a characteristic feature of ME, is very much in evidence medially and finally, but many old spellings remain, particularly <a> when covered in inflectional endings. The presence of <æ> in the same position is quite possibly an example of archaistic spelling as Stanley believes,<sup>33</sup> e.g., weolan, l. D(B)32, weolen, l. D(B)16, weolæn, l. E(C)10, cuman, l. F(D)43, cumæn, l. E(C)6. The <o> in stirope and the second <o> in goldfohne, ll. E(C)3 and 4, indicate some retention of secondary stress, on the other hand (Jordan 24).
23. In the prefixes un-, for-, and a-, OE spelling is preserved; weakened a3an, l. E(C)18, occurs beside on3ean, l. E(C)6, (Jordan 144), but otherwise OE on- is preserved also. OE 3e- is written <i> and OE be- varies between <be> and <bi>, e.g., biwunden, l. A16, beside bewunden, l. A27--both developments are eleventh-century characteristics (Jordan 144). Medial <i> is lost from chirche, l. G(E)25.
24. In the suffix -ing/-ung, variations may derive from OE (Campbell 383), e.g., greoning, woaning, l. A15, becnunge, l. G(E)27, prickunge, l. B(F)31; the -iende/-inde variation of the present participle ending is a southern characteristic (Jordan 135 rem. 2), e.g., spekinde, ll. C(G)16,25, woniende, l. A10; -esse is retained from OE; the OE adjectival suffix -lic is spelled <lic> in sellic, l. C(G)27, and, perhaps, resulic, l. B(F)19, <liche> in reowliche, l. F(D)9; adverbial -lice is spelled <liche> throughout; OE -i3 had already moved to /i:/ in 10E and is written

- <i> in every case but one, luti<sub>3</sub>, l. D(B)2, beside luti, l. F(D)28.
25. Shortening in low-stressed words is graphically apparent in bauh, ll. C(G)27 and 28, from OE beah (Jordan 150). Weakening is apparent in hore, l. A39, l. E(C)45, and ham, ll. D(B)21 and 38, from OE heora and heom after accent shift (Jordan 151). Héom, ll. A39 and D(B)12, also occurs. Also shortened is me "one," l. F(D)10, beside mon, l. A33.
26. Parasiting is largely confined to cases where /r,l/ precede /w/, e.g., seoruhfule, l. A8, beside seorhful, l. A15.

#### D. Consonants

27. OE /p/ continues to be written <p> or <pp> medially. psalme, ll. C(G)19 and G(E)40, occurs beside salmsonge, l. D(B)22, but alliteration would seem to indicate that this <p> was unpronounced.
28. OE /t/ remains unchanged and is written <t> or <tt> medially (Jordan 199). In brosfnian, l. G(E)9, /t/ is added between <s> and <n>.
29. OE /ç/ initially is written <ch>; medially, <c>, e.g., ece, l. F(D)37, and <ch>, e.g., muchele, l. A3, are found, but lengthened <cch> is most common, e.g., wræcche, l. A29, also wrecce, l. F(D)42 (Jordan 179); finally, in the adjectival suffix -lic, <c> is found, e.g. sellic, l. C(G)27, but <che>, the adverbial suffix, can also appear with adjectives, e.g. reowliche, l. F(D)9. The first person singular pronoun is spelled ic throughout.
30. OE /k/, as a rule, is written <k> before front vowels, <c> before back vowels and consonants, including /n/; e.g., coldep, ikunde (where <u> = /y/), l. A32. However, facen, l. C(G)10, occurs beside

faken, l. C(G)17. Medially <ck> prevails, a sign of lengthening (Jordan 178.2). /k/ does not occur finally.

(a) /kw/ in one case is spelled <qu>, qualeholde, l. D(B)42 (Jordan 178.1), otherwise <cw>, e.g., icwemdest in the same line.

31. OE /b/ and /bb/ medially are retained and written <b> and <bb>.
32. OE /d/ and /dd/ medially are retained and written <d> and <dd> for the most part, but iworþen and iwurþen, ll. B(F)45-46, occur.
33. OE /j/ is written <gg> e.g., liggeb, l. A21, except in ruglunge, l. E(C)5 (Jordan 192).
34. OE /f/ is written <f> initially, <f>, <ff>, and <u> medially, e.g., æfre, l. D(B)3, æffre, l. A14, heui, l. A15, and <f> finally; /f/ and /v/ were still allophonic in this poem.
35. OE /θ/ and /ð/ are both written <þ> throughout; OE /ðð/ is also retained medially and written <þþ>. /θ/ and /ð/ would appear to still be allophones in this work. Unvoiced /t/ for /θ/ appears in mænet, l. A7; <f> occurs in hæuf, l. C(G)26, perhaps indicating an early stage in the movement of /θ/ to the sound written <gh><sup>34</sup>. <d> in lod<liche>, l. E(C)48, occurs beside lobre, ll. C(G)1 and F(D)11.
36. OE /s/ and /ss/ are written <s> and <ss> respectively, though it also is possible that blecsien, l. F(D)13, shows <cs> for /ss/. /s/ and /z/ are still allophones.
37. OE /ʃ/ is written <sc> as a rule, but <sch> occurs once, schal, l. A9, beside scal, l. D(B)36 (Jordan 181).
38. OE velar ɣ, i.e., /ɣ/, is written <g> in initial position, e.g., gaderest, l. D(B)34, gultes, l. C(G)11; it had already become a plosive (Jordan 185). Medially, not preceded by /t/, /ɣ/ shows

evidence of having joined the /w/ phoneme, see II i 45 below; when preceded by /t/, as well as finally, it appears to have become an allophone of /x/ as it probably was in 10E. See II i 46 below.

39. OE palatal ȝ, i.e., /j/, is distinguished from /ɣ/ initially by its written form, <ȝ>; the OE prefix <ge-> is written <i>. Medially, /j/ appears to have merged with the preceding tautosyllabic vowel unless followed by /t/. <ȝ> continues to appear in some forms but is missing from others, e.g., unheȝe, l. E(C)30, beside heie, l. C(G)40. Before /t/ and finally it appears to have become an allophone of /x/; it is written in final position only once, lutiȝ, l. D(B)2, beside luti, l. F(D)28. See II i 46.

(a) deages, l. A40, shows a palatal sound, /j/, where one would expect /w/ from the velar /ɣ/ given the OE form, i.e., dagas.

It is conceivable that this form developed by analogy with the singular dæȝ, but cf. possibly low-stressed lifdawes, l. A14.

(b) The variations of the words "sorrow" and "sorrowful" display the phonemic split between the former allophones /ɣ/ and /j/: when followed by a vowel, i.e., when intervocalic, the sound is written <w>, e.g., seorwe, l. A16, seoruwen, l. A27, when followed by /f/ or /l/ it is written <h>, e.g., seoruhfule, l. A8, seorhful, l. A15..

40. OE /m/ and /mm/ medially are retained and written <m> and <mm>; nammore, l. A34, shows <mm> owing to close juncture of OE na mara.
41. OE /n/ and /nn/ generally remain the same, but loss does occur medially and finally in some low-stressed words and syllables, e.g., farene, l. D(B)28, beside wuniennē, l. F(D)18; me, l. F(D)10, beside mon, l. A33; pire, l. D(B) 16, from OE pinre. /n/ > /nn/ in unneape



- is probably owing to close juncture.
42. OE /ŋ/ continues to be written <ng>, e.g., imenged, l. A26, ruglunge, l. E(C)5.
43. OE /l/ and /ll/ are spelled <l> and <ll> respectively, though some simplification of /ll/ is apparent in the -full suffix, e.g., sorhfulle, l. F(D)25, beside seorhful, l. D(B)18, and in all, ll. C(G)6 and 13, beside al, l. A16. The occurrence of a double consonant finally in all and in iwill, l. C(G)3, is rare in this work.
44. OE /r/ is spelled <r>. Metathesis is apparent in wrouhte, l. G(E)16, beside wurcnen, l. G(E)1. Spekinde, ll. C(G)16 and 25, may not, in fact, show loss of /r/ but supplantation of sprecan by specan (Jordan 165 rem. 2).
45. Unvocalized OE /w/ is retained and written <w>, i.e., the runic ƿ. In low-stressed words it is sometimes lost, e.g., so, l. A26, besides swo, l. D(B)4 (Jordan 45.1). /w/ from OE /ƿ/ is usually written <w> though <u> also occurs, e.g., reowliche, l. E(C)7, beside reoulic, l. B(F)19.
46. OE <h>, i.e., /x/, remains initially before vowels and before /w/, e.g., hwo, l. F(D)9, hwui, l. D(B)17, but it has been dropped before /r/ and before /l/, a development already begun in OE (Jordan 195), e.g., reowliche, l. E(C)7, rof, l. E(C)31. Medially, /x/ survives only before /t/ (and in lichame, l. A45, beside licame, ll. A11, 28, etc.), whether it was from OE /x/, /ƿ/, or /j/ (Jordan 196), e.g., wrouhte, l. G(E)16, unseihthe, l. F(D)45. There are no examples of lengthened /x/, i.e., <hh>. OE /hs/ has already become /ks/ written <x>, e.g., waxen, l. E(C)38. <þ> is

written for medial /h/ in pupte, l. D(B)12.<sup>35</sup> Finally, /x/, from whatever origin, is written <h>, e.g., <lo>h, l. E(C)31.

## ii. Non-alphabetic Graphemes

1. Punctuation graphs: The point is used throughout the work to separate line from line and verse from verse, i.e., it would appear to be a metrical rather than a syntactical sign. The colon (it may, in fact, be a punctus elevatus, i.e., '·') that appears in l. A6 does not seem to function differently from the point. At two places in the poem, points are used to separate items of a list, a task for which they were employed in some OE poetical mss as well: pu were wedlowe and monsware and were huned inouh, l. F(D)47; pu scalt rotien and brostnian pine bon beop bedaled, l. G(E)9. And in at least one instance, it would also appear that points have been used to set off a word of one letter from the surrounding words, probably to achieve graphic clarity: wendest pu la erming her o to wunienne, l. F(D)18.
2. Tachygraphs: In the English lines, a tilde over a vowel is used sporadically to indicate a following nasal, e.g., into, l. D(B)28, in, l. G(E)52; þ̃ is used throughout to indicate þet, though the word is often written out in full as well--þt occurs once, in l. E(C)34; þ, meaning þurh, occurs twice, in l. B(F)47 and l. E(C)44, but usually the word is written out in full; þ̃, meaning pri-, occurs three times in Fragment B(F), in ll. 22, 27, and 31; pri- is written out in ll. 21 and 32 of the same fragment.

In the Latin lines, a tilde over a letter is used to indicate

missing letters that generally precede the marked letter, e.g., omīa = omnia, l. B(F)44, redditi = reddituri, l. G(E)41, and sometimes follow it, e.g., eternū = eternum, l. G(E)46, particularly if the following letter is a nasal; p stands for per in l. B(F)2 and for pro- in l. G(E)41; a curving stroke over a letter indicates missing following letters, e.g., q̄ = qui, l. G(E)50, t̄ = ter in eternam, l. G(E)50, and p̄ = pri; as it does in the English lines, in propriis, l. G(E)41.

3. Word signs: There are two word signs used throughout the work, both for the conjunction and -- 7 and &. The word is never written out in the English lines. In the Latin lines, et is written in l. B(F)44 and l. G(E)50, & is written in ll. B(F)2 and 49.

### iii. Graphemic-Morphemic Correspondences

#### A. Nouns

1. Nom. sg. is marked by either {-ø} or {-e}.  
(a) Most fem. nouns show an {-e} ending not present in OE, e.g., ore, l. B(F)8, soule, l. A45, godnesse, l. D(B)3. help, l. G(E)28, is probably masculine.
2. Acc. sg. forms cannot be distinguished from nom. sg. forms on the basis of inflection.
3. Gen. sg. is marked by {-es} except in the weak forms dadān, l. A42, and weolan, l. D(B)32.
4. Dat. sg. is marked generally by {-e}, though {-an, -æn} do occur in nouns of the weak declension, e.g., eorpe, l. E(C)5, beside eorpan, l. E(C)7, and wellan, l. D(B)33. drihten, l. C(G)18, nen, l. F(D)4,

and perhaps lif, 1. C(G)6, and bolster, 1. E(C)26, show an uninflected dat. sg.

5. Nom. and acc. pl. forms are signalled by either {-es}, {-e} (original o-stem nouns), or {-en, -an, -æn}. A number of nouns that were strong in OE show weak plural forms, e.g., isceaftan, 1. A2, misdeden, 1. B(F)9, goldfaten, 1. D(B)7. In a small number of words pl. forms are indicated by ablaut + {-ø}, e.g., men, 1. E(C)16, teþ, 1. C(G)6, bec, 11. B(F)25, C(G)34, 55. feond, 1. E(C)39, bearn, 11. C(G)54 and 55, and þing, 11. B(F)42 and 45, show an uninflected pl.
6. Gen. pl. is marked by {-e}.
7. Dat. pl. is signalled throughout by {-en}, the analogical development of OE {-um} (Jordan 136, rem. 1). {-an} occurs once, in fotan, 1. E(C)3. For possible dat. pl. forms in {-es}, see II iv 6.

#### B. Adjectives

8. Nom. sg. forms are marked by either {-ø}, e.g., sor, 1. A5, or by {-e}, e.g., wræcche, 1. D(B)36, whether predicative or attributive
9. Acc. sg. strong masc. adjectives end in {-ne}, otherwise the ending is {-e}, e.g., seoruhfulnæ, 1. D(B)19, seorhfule, 1. A8.
10. Gen. sg. is signalled by {-es}, e.g., rihtes, 11. C(G)12 and G(E)20, and, in the weak declensions, by {-e}, e.g., heize, 1. G(E)39. However, almihties, 1. B(F)41, occurs in weak position.
11. Dat. sg. forms are marked by {-e}, except for strong fem. forms that have {-re, -ere}, e.g., lopre, 1. C(G)1, deoppere, 1. C(G)26. holi, 1. F(D)12, is almost certainly the first element of a compound,

cf. holie, ll. B(F)43, C(G)40, C(G)45.

12. Pl. forms are signalled by {-e} for the most part. Exceptional is alre, ll. G(E)7 and 47, that shows the survival of the OE {-ra}, and the uninflected acc. unhol, l. F(D)3.
13. The comparative form of the adjective is marked by {-re}, the superlative form by {-est}, e.g., blipre, l. E(C)16, fulest, l. G(E)7.
14. Forms of the suppletive adjectives "large" and "bad" that occur in the poem are muchele, l. A3, nest, l. G(E)47, and wurst, ll. B(F)30 and F(D)30.

#### C. Adverbs

15. Adverbs are formed by the addition of one of three suffixes: {-e}, {-lic, -liche}, and in one case {-lunge}, i.e., ruglunge, l. E(C)5. riht, l. A38, and muchel, l. D(B)6, are uninflected.

#### D. Numbers

16. Three cardinal numbers occur: fem. dat. one, l. A33; neut. dat. one, l. B(F)46; weak fem. seouene, l. B(F)40. The only ordinal form is seoueþe, l. B(F)35.

## E. Pronouns

17. The forms of the personal pronoun that occur in the work are charted below.

	1st sg.	1st dual	2nd sg.	3rd masc.	3rd fem.	3rd neut.	3rd pl.
Nom.	<u>ic</u>	<u>wit</u>	<u>bu</u>	<u>he</u>	<u>heo</u>	<u>hit</u>	<u>heo</u>
Gen.	<u>min</u> <u>mine</u>	<u>unker</u>	<u>bin</u> <u>pin</u> <u>pine</u> <u>pire</u>	<u>his</u>	<u>hire</u>		<u>hore</u>
Dat.	<u>me</u>		<u>piin</u> <u>pe</u>	<u>him</u>	<u>hire</u>		<u>heom</u> <u>ham</u>
Acc.	<u>me</u>	<u>unc</u>	<u>pe</u>	<u>hine</u>	<u>heo</u>	<u>hit</u>	<u>heo</u> <u>ham</u> <u>hi</u>

(a) For the variation of dat. 3rd pl. heom and ham, see Jordan 151. Heo and hi were variants of the acc. 3rd pl. in OE; ham in this case may be indicative of the collapsing of the dative and accusative cases into a single objective case; hi occurs twice, l. D(B)14 and l. F(D)22.

(b) piin occurs once, l. G(E)8 (see II i 8), as do pire, l. D(B)16 (see II i 41), and pin, l. D(B)32.

(c) ure, gen. 1st pl., occurs once, l. G(E)12.

18. The demonstrative pronouns that occur in the work are charted below:

	Masc.sg.	Masc.pl.	Fem.sg.	Fem.pl.	Neut.sg.	Neut.pl.
Nom.	<u>pe</u>	<u>peo</u>	<u>peo,pe</u>	<u>pa</u>	<u>pet</u>	<u>pa,pe,peq</u>
Gen.	<u>pa</u>		<u>pare</u>	<u>pare</u>	<u>pas</u>	
Dat.	<u>pen</u>	<u>pam</u>	<u>pare</u>		<u>?pen</u>	
Acc.	<u>pe</u>	<u>pa,peo</u>	<u>pa,peo,pe</u>	<u>peo</u>	<u>pet</u>	

(a) If hoc is neut., then pen, l. E(C)20, is neut. dat. sg.; however, hoc could be masc.

(b) The demonstrative pronoun "this" occurs in the following forms: masc. nom. sg. þeð, 1. E(C)9, neut. nom. sg. þis, 11. B(F)40 and 41, neut. dat. sg. þissen, 1. B(F)42, fem. dat. sg. þisse, 1. G(E)35, neut. nom. pl. þeos, 1. C(G)55.

(c) "Self" occurs thrice: 2nd masc. dat. sg. þe sulfen, 1. B(F)28; 2nd masc. dat. sg., þe sulfen, 1. E(C)27; 3rd masc. dat. sg. him sulfen, 1. B(F)23.

(d) As in OE, forms of the demonstrative pronoun also serve as relative pronouns. The predominant form is þe; þet and þeo also occur and þa occurs once, 1. G(E)18.

19. Interrogative forms are hwi and hwui, derived from what is generally classified as the OE instrumental form.
20. Indefinite pronouns are: al, e.g., 1. B(F)46, 1. D(B)41, F(D)50; hwo, 1. E(C)13, 1. F(D)8; nammore, 1. A34; ?nouht, 1. D(B)33; mon/me, 1. A33, 1. E(C)9, 1. F(D)10.

#### F. Verbs

21. Infinitives are signalled by {-en} in general beside {-æn, -an}, e.g., ridæn, 1. E(C)5, cuman, 1. F(D)43. Infinitives of Class II weak verbs are usually marked by {-ien, -ian}, e.g., clensien, 1. F(D)10, brostnian, 1. G(E)9; fostren, 1. F(D)2, occurs beside fostrien, 1. C(G)54. The following inflected infinitives occur: farene, 1. D(B)28, lokienne, 1. B(F)18, wunienne, 1. F(D)18.
22. 1st sg. pres. ind. is marked by either {-ð}, e.g., scal, 1. D(B)36, or {-e}.
23. 2nd sg. pres. ind. is marked by {-t}, e.g., scalt, 1. B(B)89, {-st}, e.g., list, 1. D(B)38, or {-est}, e.g., lettest, 1. E(C)17.

24. 3rd sg. pres. ind. forms are generally marked by {-eþ}, {-þ} before vowels and by {-ø}, e.g., schal, l. A9, ilest, l. F(D)41, beside ilæstep, l. D(B)49 and ilestep, l. A14. Exceptional are mænet, l. A7 and hauef, l. C(G)26; see II i 35.
25. Pl. pres. ind. is signalled by {-eþ} and by {-ieþ} in Class II weak verbs. Exceptional are cumap, l. A44, along with teoreþ, l. A20, and hondleþ, l. A40, which are weak Class II verbs in OE. Synçopated forms are besihþ, l. A45, and liþ, l. A36, liiþ, l. E(C)31 (see II i 8).
26. Sg. subj. is marked by {-e} except in Class II weak forms which show {-ie}.
27. Pl. subj. is marked by {-en}.
28. 1st and 3rd sg. pret. ind. forms are unmarked in strong verbs and signalled by {-ede, de} in weak verbs.
29. 2nd sg. pret. ind. is signalled by {-e} in strong verbs, {-edest, -dest, -test} in weak verbs, and once with {-es}, mostes, l. G(E)26. sleptest, l. G(E)24, indicates that this verb, which was strong in OE, has now become weak.
30. Pl. pret. ind. forms have {-en} in strong verbs, {-eden, -den} in weak verbs.
31. Pres. part. of strong verbs are signalled by {-inde}; pres. part. of weak verbs show {-iende}; see II i 24.
32. Pret. part. of strong verbs end in {-en} and are prefixed by {-i} unless another prefix is already present. Exceptional in regard to the prefix is runge, l. G(E)27; pret. part. of weak verbs end in {-ed, -d, -t} and some pl. forms show inflection, i.e., {-e}, e.g., neut. nom. fordutte, ll. G(E)17 and G(E)30, masc. acc.



ilærede, l. D(B)20.

33. The only imperative form in the poem is iwurpe, l. B(F)45.
34. There is insufficient evidence upon which to base a judgement about the development of ablaut in the forms of the OE strong verbs, but it would appear that, allowing for phonological change, the gradations remained substantially unchanged.
- (a) The interchange of vowels in pl. pret. iworpen (OE wurdon), l. B(F)45, and pret. part. iwurpen (OE worden), l. B(F)46, is probably owing to analogy.
35. The forms of the verb "to be" that occur in the work are charted below:

	Pres.	Pret.
1st	<u>eam</u> , <u>am</u>	<u>was</u>
2nd	<u>ært</u> , <u>eart</u> , <u>ert</u> , <u>bist</u>	<u>wæs</u> , <u>were</u>
3rd	<u>is</u> , <u>mis</u> , <u>bip</u>	<u>nes</u> (negative)
Pl.	<u>beop</u>	<u>weren</u>

- (a) The pres. sg. subj. form is beo; the pret. sg. subj. forms are were and wære; the infinitive is beon.

iv. Syntax

1. Gender: For many forms, gender is unclear because of the levelling of inflectional endings and the fact that a number of words could be found in more than one gender in OE.

A number of apparent changes in gender in some words of the poem may actually be caused by eME developments in the expression of the plural, i.e., these changes may have more to do with number than gender. On the one hand, a number of neut. pl. forms, both nom. and acc., for which one would expect no inflectional ending, show an {-es} ending typical of masc. pl. forms: e.g., modes, l. C(G)48, pundes, l. D(B)5, dreamburles, l. G(E)30, and bones, l. F(D)25, which occurs beside ban, l. A21, and bon, ll. E(C)42, G(E)9, and G(E)11. While this addition of the {-es} suffix would appear to indicate a movement from the neut. to the masc. gender, Von Glahn argues that it is, in fact, evidence of a new way of forming the plural for long stem and polysyllabic neut. nouns that was becoming common in the southwest.<sup>36</sup> On the other hand, a number of strong nouns from all genders appear to have moved into the weak declension, e.g., isceaftan, l. A2, lawen, l. C(G)50, sumnen, l. B(F)11, goldfæten, l. D(B)7, listen, l. G(E)18, deden, l. G(E)42, and misededen, l. B(F)9. However, these may very well exemplify not so much a movement in gender as the prevalence in the south of an alternative plural form in {-en}.

As a rule, gender distinctions are maintained, i.e., pronouns usually show the gender of the noun to which they refer. The fact that the most clear instances of a shift in gender occur in the plural would indicate that, while OE gender distinctions are

generally maintained, number has primacy over gender in the formation of words. In l. C(G)31, however, foster has apparently moved from masc. to neut.

2. Number: Though the treatment of number is, on the whole, unexceptional from the point of view of syntax, see II iv 1 above.
3. Case: There are at least four instances in which an of(at)-periphrasis is used for the genitive: ll. A22, D(B)16, E(C)7, and G(E)10-11. There are a few other instances where it is unclear whether of is used as a preposition marking the genitive or in its OE sense of "out of, from": e.g., ll. A34, B(F)42, G(E)31. Inflectional genitives are the rule (see Mustanoja, pp. 74-6).

The indirect object is expressed once with the to-periphrasis (Mustanoja, pp. 95-7): l. G(E)22 þe <wel> tuhte his hearpe and tuhte þe to him. Indirect objects are expressed otherwise with the inflectional dative. Instrumentality is primarily expressed by a dative governed by the preposition mid.

Generally, one finds that the cases used in particular instances in the poem correspond to the cases that would have been used in similar OE constructions. For example, the adjective lob, ll. B(F)17, C(G)18, and C(G)50, governs the dative case (Mustanoja, p. 103); the verbs helpen, l. E(C)25, and cwemen, l. C(G)19, take objects expressed in the dative (Mustanoja, pp. 101-2); bideled, ll. D(B)16, E(C)32, and G(E)9, and birefen, ll. A22, C(G)12, E(C)7, and G(E)20, all take objects expressed either with an inflectional genitive or an of(at)-periphrasis (Mustanoja, pp. 87-8).

4. Pronouns: As a rule, personal pronouns are expressed; however, þu is omitted, e.g., from F(D)47b. In the two instances in which 2nd person personal pronouns are intensified by "self," ll. B(F)28 and E(C)27, the form of the pronoun is þe, not the possessive þi which later predominated (Mustanoja, p. 146).

Inflected possessive pronouns (adjs.) are a feature of early southern and SWML texts (Mustanoja, p. 151). See II iii 17(b).

The indefinite me "man, one" is a southern or SWML form (Mustanoja, p. 220). It occurs once, l. F(D)19; mon occurs twice, ll. A33 and E(C)9.

5. Adjectives: There are two instances in the poem where the OE distinction between strong and weak adjectives seems to break down: l. B(F)41, þæs almihtiges fader, and l. C(G)6, dreigen þer wrecche sib. In the former, one would expect a weak form of "almighty"; in the latter, a strong form of "wretched." However, it is conceivable in l. B(F)41 that the construction reveals not simply an OE syntactical distinction, but also an early example of a definite article developing out of the OE demonstrative pronoun (Mustanoja, p. 245). In l. C(G)6 it may be that the weak form of the adjective is an error made by analogy with the other forms of this adjective in the similar rhyming lines throughout the poem, or, more probably, that þer is an adverb and not a demonstrative pronoun or definite article.

6. Prepositions: The preposition on is still used to indicate more than surface location, i.e., it has not been superseded by in (Mustanoja, pp. 399-400): e.g., on deope sæpe on dūre lease huse, ll. D(B)40 and G(E)8, and issaid hit is on psalme, l. C(G)19.

at occurs twice with the meaning "of," ll. A23 and E(C)8. mid, which governs the dat. or instr. cases in OE, governs what appears to be an acc. pl. form in {-es} five times: ll. B(F)17, B(F)22, C(G)11, C(G)38, and G(E)48. It also governs bolster in l. E(C)26, but this form may be an uninflected dat. sg.; see II iii 4.

bi, which also is associated with dat. and instr. in OE, governs an acc. pl. in {-es} in l. D(B)6. The traditional distinction between motion (acc.) and location (dat.) is maintained, by and large: e.g., in þet eche fur, l. G(E)48, i.e., "into the eternal fire," and in heuene, l. C(G)42, i.e., "in heaven."

7. Verbs: Reflexive verb forms occur at ll. B(F)8, D(B)14, F(D)13, and G(E)22. The impersonal verb punchen occurs twice, ll. A39 and E(C)34, and in neither case with the formal subject expressed. The OE impersonal verb licien occurs three times: twice in relative clauses, ll. C(G)14 and G(E)21, with a dative object; once, l. E(C)40, with the subject expressed and a periphrastic construction, for heom þin flæsc likeþ. Impersonal grisen occurs once, l. E(C)18.

To plus the inflected infinitive occurs three times in the poem (see II iii 21, above). To plus the uninflected infinitive is not usual but can occur, e.g., ll. D(B)15 and F(D)13.

The {-ing} ending for the present participle occurs twice, greoning and woahing, both in l. A15.

Only a few subjunctive forms are found in the poem and they occur in unexceptional circumstances, e.g., come, l. D(B)11 in an object noun clause of a verb of volition (Mustanoja, p. 454); cume, l. G(E)39, in a temporal clause introduced by ær and expressed in the present tense (Mustanoja, p. 463). There are many periphrastic

constructions involving modal verbs and nonfinite verb forms that are to be construed as subjunctive, however.

8. Word Order: Many varieties of word order can be found in the poem, though in certain constructions the order is quite consistent. Adjectives, demonstratives, and all genitive forms precede the noun or pronoun that they describe. Prepositions generally precede the words that they govern, but, as in OE, they often follow personal pronouns, particularly if this allows them to precede a verb form. Adverbs, as in OE, generally precede that which they modify, but they can occur finally as well, e.g., sore, l. B(F)31, seopben, l. A33. Auxiliaries, as a rule, precede the nonfinite forms to which they are related, though not always, e.g., bonne hit iboren bip, l. A6. In both dependent and nondependent clauses, common word order, i.e., subject-verb-object, is frequent, but other orders do occur--subject-object-verb and object-subject-verb are certainly not rare in either sort of clause; subjects, however, tend not to be in final position; as in OE, direct objects that are pronouns tend to precede the verb.

#### v. Rhyming and Assonant Lines

A number of lines in the "Soul's Address" are composed of verses whose final stressed syllables are either rhymes or assonances. Most of these correspondences are compatible with OE phonology, e.g., greoning/woaning, l. A15, from OE /a:/; fuse/huse, l. D(B)15, from OE /u:/; forscuted/forduttet, l. G(E)38, from OE /y/. The wordplay in l. E(C)27, pu wurpe cneow ofer cneow ne icneowe pu be sulfen, is also based on identical OE sounds: cneow/icneowe from OE /e:/. In a number of

instances, however, the correspondence is not so exact:

1. The apparent assonance of lif/sip, both vowels from OE /i:/, occurs nine times in the poem; wif/-sip occurs twice; ll. A41 and 43. If, however, the occurrence of <f> for <þ> in hauef, l. C(G)26, is indicative of some conflation of the /f/ and /θ/ phonemes (see II i 35), then this assnant pair may be closer to a rhyme than they appear.
2. In ll. A23 and F(D)20 OE /y/ may be in correspondence with OE /u/, wunne/wunede and cunne/icunde. In ll. B(F)26, F(D)48, and F(D)50 OE /y/ may be in correspondence with OE /i/, sunne/wipine, sunne/wipinne, and fullen/wille. If these are indeed assnant pairs or rhymes, this would show some division in the development of OE /y/.
3. If bowe/howe is a rhyme, this would indicate that /o/ in OE boʒa had undergone lengthening in order to correspond to OE /o:/ in hoh, l. E(C)4.
4. If it forms an assnant pair with blisse, the <i> of paradis, l. F(D)37, must be short.
5. The correspondence of helewewes and sidwoves, l. E(C)30, almost certainly should be considered a rhyme, though this appears unlikely from their forms. The first <e> of -wewes could be derived from OE /æ/, i.e., <ea>, but the <o> of -woves reveals a development of this diphthong before l-combinations more usual for /a/ in this work, perhaps with rounding to /o/ because of its location between /w/'s.
6. In l. C(G)43, gif þu hit ne forlure     þuruh þas deofles lore, forlure/lore probably is an example of consonance only.

Definitive statements about phonology cannot be made on the basis of the comparatively few rhyming lines in the poem. In some cases what might be rhyme may, in fact, be consonance, and what might be assonance, simply wordplay.

#### vi. Dialect and Date

The phonological, morphological, and syntactical forms in the poem seem to indicate that the "Soul's Address" was originally composed in a dialect of the southwest or southwest midlands. There is virtually nothing in the language of the work to allow for a consideration of a northern or eastern provenance. An examination of Crawford's description of the language of Worcester glosses in seven Oxford mss, including some in the "tremulous hand"; makes it seem likely that the forms we have in the "Soul's Address" are, by and large, those of the scribe, or, at least, we have no reason to suppose that they predate him.<sup>37</sup> The fundamental defining features of WML dialects found in the work, e.g., /æ/ > /ɛ/, /y/ and /y:/ written <u>, /ɑ:/ > /ɔ:/ before -ld, /ɑ/ > /ɔ/ before nasals, could just as easily be scribal as authorial and probably are. Further, a number of the more remarkable forms might be scribal as well inasmuch as Crawford's description encompasses the possibilities of the Worcester dialect in the last part of the twelfth century. The writing of <e> and <i> for OE /y/ in 3et and chirche (see II i 7) and <i> for OE /y:/ in hwi (see II i 14) may result from the apparent unsteadiness of the sound at Worcester; on the other hand, synne instead of sunne (see II i 7) seems to be an archaic form that has slipped through from the original work. In the glosses OE /eo/, i.e., <eo> appears as <e> in



werke, therefore the occurrence of this form in the poem might be scribal as well (see II i 16a).

In Hatton 113, f.3, the form dages occurs with the <g> glossed by a superscript <i>, an indication that this consonant was perceived as a palatal and as tautosyllabic with the preceding vowel; cf. deages, II i 39a. OE /ʃ/, written <3>, when not preceded by /t/, is consistently glossed <w> (see II i 38). There is some evidence that OE /t/ and /ts/ could be written <c> and that OE /s/ could be written <c> as well, a fact that lends credibility to the form blecsian (see II i 36). The gen. pl. of the 3rd person personal pronoun is frequently glossed with an <o> and the "Soul's Address" consistently shows hore; the dat. pl. is commonly glossed with an <a> and in the poem ham alternates with the older heom. Ham also occurs as the acc. pl. There is also evidence in Crawford's description to show that the Worcester scribes were not above substituting their own forms of the verb beon for ms forms, e.g., am can replace eom and beoð can replace synd(an) (see II iii 35). Further, the preposition fram is often glossed of; to, bi, and for can also occur for wið, wið, and purh respectively.

Hall's view that the work is "probably Middle South,"<sup>38</sup> is disputed by Oakden who points to OE /ɑ/>/ə/ before nasals, OE /æ/ and /æ:ə/ written <e>, and the 3rd person plural pronoun form hore as developments indicative of the extreme southwest midlands,<sup>39</sup> a view corroborated by Moore, Meech, and Whitehall.<sup>40</sup> Kurath and Kuhn describe the work as southwestern.<sup>41</sup> Also supporting a southern provenance are some southwestern phonological forms such as afursed (see II i 16(a)) and huned (see II i 17b) as well as morphological features such as the {-iende, -inde} suffix for the present participle and the preservation of -i-

in Class II weak verbs. The occurrences of both OE neut. nouns with plural forms ending in {-es} and OE strong nouns with plurals in {-en} are also southwestern and southern characteristics respectively (see II iv 1).

The great extent to which the scribe has left his impress on the phonology and probably the morphology of the one copy of the "Soul's Address" that we have makes dating the original work no easy matter. Stanley is of the opinion that many apparently archaic features, especially <a> and <æ> for <e> in unstressed syllables, are examples of archaizing by the scribe with the "tremulous hand."<sup>42</sup> However, Hall is probably correct in his view that the orthography of the poem reveals "two distinct stages of development, the later showing the copyist's practice towards the end of the twelfth century, the more primitive being that of the original, which may have been fifty or sixty years earlier."<sup>43</sup> The large number of <ea> spellings retained from OE (see II i 10, 15, and 17) as well as the examples of back-spelling to <ea>-- deages, l. A40, and bileafen, l. F(D)6,--indicate a date of composition significantly earlier than that of the scribe. The retention of <y> for OE /y/ in synne, l. B(F)33, and the word digelliche, l. B(F)6, probably a West-Saxon literary form, are also indicative of a work older in date than Worcester Cathedral MS. F. 174. And in the area of syntax the work seems quite old, fairly consistent with OE prose usage. It may have been written in the eleventh century after the Conquest, as Chambers and Everett suggest,<sup>44</sup> but most commentators place it, as does Hall, in the first half of the twelfth century. A more thorough study of the work of the Worcester scribes similar to that carried out by Crawford, and a substudy of works in

the "tremulous hand," would allow for a more precise estimate of the impact of the scribe on the language of this version of the poem.

### III

#### PROSODY

In his analysis of prosody in the "Soul's Address," Buchholz finds four groups of lines: those in which the two verses are linked by alliteration, e.g., and a<sup>l</sup>e beo isceaftan be him to sculen, l. A2; those in which the verses are linked together by alliteration and some other phonological device, i.e., rhyme, assonance, etc., e.g., heo weren monifolde, hi markes itolde, l. D(B)6; those in which only rhyme, assonance, etc. link the verses, e.g., he saib on his bedde wo me b(et) ic libbe, l. A13; a number of lines with no apparent connecting features (lines that may, in fact, be defective), e.g., heom puncheb b(et) hore honden swupe beop ifuled, l. A39.<sup>45</sup> Almost every line in the poem consists of two verses; the MS. pointing makes this division clear.<sup>46</sup> In almost every verse one can discern two syllables that ought to receive primary stress. However, if the four-fold division that Buchholz carries out is possible, one is clearly not dealing with "classical" OE verse, as described by Sievers, Pope, Bliss, and a host of other commentators.<sup>47</sup> Nevertheless, since some critics insist on using the OE model in their examinations of ME alliterative verse, it is worthwhile to attempt a more thorough, if preliminary, analysis of the poem's prosodical features from the point of view of OE verse, not only for the light such an analysis may shed on this and other ME alliterative works but also for what might be

revealed, in the process, about OE prosody itself.

If one looks first at the whole line as the significant prosodical unit of the poem, it becomes apparent that the alliterative patterns in the "Soul's Address" are much more varied than those of OE "classical" verse. In the 332 complete English lines of the poem every conceivable pattern occurs besides the standard OE ones: ax/ay, aa/ax, xa/ay, and ab/ab, ab/ba. Further, particles and finite verbs appear capable of receiving stress and alliteration at any point in a verse, e.g., he walkeb and wendeþ and woneþ oftēsibes, l. A12, him scerpeþ be neose him scrinckeþ þa lippen, l. A18. However, setting aside lines from the last two groups listed above (along with lines where damage in the MS. occurs at a place where alliteration might well be expected), one can see that the common OE alliterative patterns continue to predominate. Out of 190 lines, 132 conform to one of the five standard patterns, and all but seven of these to the three main ones: sixty-four lines alliterate xa/ay; thirty-four, aa/ax; twenty-seven, ax/ay.<sup>48</sup> Also, the alliterating staves tend to conform to OE standards, though, as Oakden indicates, some new initial clusters appear to be emerging: sc may alliterate with s; st, sw, and (in every case but one) gr alliterate only with themselves; palatal ǰ does not alliterate with velar g.<sup>49</sup>

Turning to the half-line as the significant prosodical unit, the usual method in the treatment of OE poetry, one finds, as in the case of alliterative patterns, a wider variety of verses than would generally be found in "classical" OE verse. However, one should not be as hasty in discarding the OE system of verse-types when analyzing the "Soul's Address" as Buchholz, Oakden, and others have been.<sup>50</sup> With varying degrees of success, Luick, Schipper, and more recent commentators have

attempted to discern the remnants of the "classical" OE types in eME verse.<sup>51</sup> Most recently, James Noble has shown that, by using Pope's system of rhythmical analysis, one can, in fact, identify what would appear to be the five verse-types, A through E, in Layamon's Brut--in a more relaxed form, to be sure, but the OE verse-types nevertheless.<sup>52</sup> The same identifications can be made in the "Soul's Address." Even if one insists on a strict adherence to the operation of phonological features in the verse, i.e., vowel and syllable quantity and resolution, and on the OE hierarchy of stressed elements, a number of the alliterative verses in the poem can be readily identified as OE verse-types:<sup>53</sup>

- A1:      /    x    /    x  
 lif and|soule,    A4b  
       /    x    /    x  
 licame|cristes,    D(B)25b<sup>54</sup>  
       /    x    x    /    x  
 stonden mid|fotan,    E(C)3b
- A2:      /    x    x    /    \  
 beren ut pin|bedstrau,    F(D)14a<sup>55</sup>  
       \    x    x    /    \  
 ponne lip þe|cleiclot,    A36a<sup>55</sup>
- A3:      \    x    x    x    /    x  
 for heo <we>ren|grædie,    D(B)13a<sup>56</sup>  
       \    x    x    x    /    x  
 nu þu ert a|du(m)bed,    B(F)16a  
       \    x    x    x    /    x  
 nulleþ heo mid|honden,    A38a
- A4:      \    x    x    /    x  
 þe him to|sculen,    A2b<sup>57</sup>  
       x    x    x    x    /    x  
 and him on i|leide,    A4a<sup>57</sup>
- B1:      (/) x    x    x    /    x    \  
 ac þær biþ|sor idol,    A5b  
       (/) x    x    x    /    x    \  
 <op> ure|drihten eft,    G(E)12a  
       (/) x    x    x    /    x    \  
 fo-crpon> ic|secruhful eam,    D(B)18b
- B2:      (/) x    x    x    /    x    \  
 and þene|secruhful e sip,    A8a

- (/) x x / x x \  
 pet ham|gros þe a3an, E(C)18b
- (/) x x / \ x  
 C1 (Sievers C1 and 2): so þeo|þec seggeþ, B(F)35b
- (/) x x / \ x  
 et þen|fontstone, C(G)37a
- \ x x x / \ x  
 C2: hwar' beoþ <nu> þeo|goldfæten, D(B)7a
- / / \ x  
 D1: for||lufe|go<de dæ>lan, F(D)4b<sup>58</sup>
- / / x \  
 D4: brekeþ|liþ from liþe, G(E)11a
- / x \ /  
 E: þonne||domesdai|<cum>eþ, G(E)13b.<sup>59</sup>

There are also a number of expanded D verses, probably a higher proportion than in "classical" OE verse:

- / x x / \ x  
 D\*1: liggeþ þe|bon stil<le>, G(E)11b'
- / x / x x \  
 D\*4: deredest|cristene men, F(D)29b
- / x x / x \  
 dreigen þer|wrecche siþ, C(G)6a.<sup>60</sup>

However, though it is true that a number of verses in the "Soul's Address" seem to correspond to the OE verse-types, and though the alliterative pattern of a majority of the lines corresponds to one of the typical OE patterns, it would be a serious overstatement of the case to argue that this poem presents us with evidence that the OE prosodical system has been preserved here, i.e., that the "Soul's Address" exhibits the continuity of the alliterative tradition in the fullest sense. One must deal with the fact that a number of prosodical features that occur with regularity in this poem tend not to occur in the extant OE verse; and one must conclude that they do not occur in OE because something

inherent in the nature of the verse prevents them from occurring, something no longer present in the verse of the "Soul's Address." Those features in the "Soul's Address" that are absent from OE verse are not insignificant accretions on the basic OE verse-form; their presence is evidence of a fundamental disruption of the OE verse-making process.

If one examines the lines of the "Soul's Address" using the measure as the significant prosodical unit, an approach to OE verse suggested by Creed, an important difference between these lines and the "classical" OE alliterative line is revealed. As Creed demonstrates, there are basically two kinds of measures in OE verse: those with two elements, i.e., / x, / (x), (/) x, / \, and those with three elements, i.e. / x \, / \ x.<sup>61</sup> Taking his cue from Pope, he allows, theoretically, any or all of these elements in a given measure to be taken by doublets or even triplets by a process he calls rhythmemic (as opposed to phonemic) resolution.<sup>62</sup>

In theory, then, one could have a three-element measure such as  $\frac{/}{eee} \frac{\backslash}{eee} \frac{x}{eee}$ , i.e., nine syllables in a single measure of one half-line. Creed, however, acknowledges that such excessive combinations do not occur in the "classical" OE verse of Beowulf; in fact, he denies the existence of triplets in three-element measures altogether.<sup>63</sup> In the lines of the "Soul's Address," however, such crowded and overcrowded measures occur often. Rhythmemic resolution must be the norm rather than the exception if Creed's method of scansion is used. The following three half-lines, for example, are easily identified as B verses, but ones with a triplet rhythmeme between the two main stresses of the second measure:



- (/)  $\overset{x}{\text{p}} \overset{x}{\text{u}} \overset{x}{\text{s}} \overset{x}{\text{c}} \overset{x}{\text{a}} \text{lt} | \overset{x}{\text{f}} \overset{x}{\text{o}} \overset{x}{\text{s}} \overset{x}{\text{t}} \overset{x}{\text{r}} \overset{x}{\text{e}} \overset{x}{\text{n}} \overset{x}{\text{p}} \overset{x}{\text{i}} \overset{x}{\text{n}} \overset{x}{\text{e}} \overset{x}{\text{f}} \overset{x}{\text{e}} \text{ond}, \quad \text{F(D)2a}$
- (/)  $\overset{x}{\text{h}} \overset{x}{\text{e}} \overset{x}{\text{o}} \overset{x}{\text{w}} \overset{x}{\text{u}} \overset{x}{\text{l}} \overset{x}{\text{l}} \overset{x}{\text{e}} \text{þ} | \overset{x}{\text{w}} \overset{x}{\text{u}} \overset{x}{\text{r}} \overset{x}{\text{c}} \overset{x}{\text{h}} \overset{x}{\text{e}} \overset{x}{\text{n}} \overset{x}{\text{h}} \overset{x}{\text{o}} \overset{x}{\text{r}} \overset{x}{\text{e}} \overset{x}{\text{h}} \text{ord}, \quad \text{F(D)5a}$
- (/)  $\overset{x}{\text{f}} \overset{x}{\text{o}} \overset{x}{\text{r}} \overset{x}{\text{p}} \overset{x}{\text{i}} \text{n} | \overset{x}{\text{w}} \overset{x}{\text{o}} \overset{x}{\text{m}} \overset{x}{\text{b}} \overset{x}{\text{e}} \overset{x}{\text{w}} \overset{x}{\text{a}} \overset{x}{\text{s}} \overset{x}{\text{p}} \overset{x}{\text{i}} \text{n} \overset{x}{\text{g}} \text{od}, \quad \text{F(D)36a.}$

Such verses are theoretically conceivable in Creed's system but in OE poetry they are "rare and of doubtful authenticity," according to Pope.<sup>64</sup> They are much more common in the "Soul's Address" and in eME alliterative verse in general.

One can also find examples of measures that fall outside even the theoretical limits established by Creed. In OE poetry, the first measure of an A verse can have a drop of up to four or five syllables.<sup>65</sup> In the following verses from the "Soul's Address," which seem to be A verses (and not A\*), the first measures contain six unstressed syllables:

- /  $\overset{x}{\text{l}} \overset{x}{\text{u}} \overset{x}{\text{p}} \overset{x}{\text{e}} \overset{x}{\text{r}} \overset{x}{\text{l}} \overset{x}{\text{i}} \overset{x}{\text{c}} \overset{x}{\text{h}} \overset{x}{\text{e}} \overset{x}{\text{e}} \overset{x}{\text{a}} \overset{x}{\text{r}} \overset{x}{\text{t}} \overset{x}{\text{p}} \overset{x}{\text{u}} \overset{x}{\text{f}} \overset{x}{\text{o}} \overset{x}{\text{r}} | \overset{x}{\text{l}} \overset{x}{\text{o}} \overset{x}{\text{r}} \text{en} \quad \text{D(B)35a}$
- /  $\overset{x}{\text{s}} \overset{x}{\text{o}} \overset{x}{\text{r}} \overset{x}{\text{i}} \overset{x}{\text{l}} \overset{x}{\text{i}} \overset{x}{\text{c}} \overset{x}{\text{h}} \overset{x}{\text{e}} \overset{x}{\text{t}} \overset{x}{\text{o}} \overset{x}{\text{h}} \overset{x}{\text{i}} \overset{x}{\text{r}} \overset{x}{\text{e}} | \overset{x}{\text{l}} \overset{x}{\text{i}} \overset{x}{\text{c}} \overset{x}{\text{a}} \text{me} \quad \text{F(D)17b and G(E)3b.}$

A more significant disruption of the OE measure system can be seen in the following verses:

- (/)  $\overset{x}{\text{a}} \overset{x}{\text{n}} \overset{x}{\text{d}} \overset{x}{\text{h}} \overset{x}{\text{i}} \text{s} | \overset{x}{\text{d}} \overset{x}{\text{i}} \overset{x}{\text{m}} \overset{x}{\text{m}} \overset{x}{\text{e}} \overset{x}{\text{e}} \overset{x}{\text{g}} \text{en}, \quad \text{A42b}$
- (/)  $\overset{x}{\text{f}} \overset{x}{\text{r}} \text{om} | \overset{x}{\text{h}} \overset{x}{\text{e}} \overset{x}{\text{l}} \overset{x}{\text{l}} \overset{x}{\text{e}} \overset{x}{\text{w}} \overset{x}{\text{i}} \text{te}, \quad \text{D(B)26b}$
- (/)  $\overset{x}{\text{a}} \overset{x}{\text{n}} \overset{x}{\text{i}} \overset{x}{\text{c}} \overset{x}{\text{s}} \overset{x}{\text{c}} \overset{x}{\text{a}} \text{l} | \overset{x}{\text{w}} \overset{x}{\text{r}} \overset{x}{\text{a}} \overset{x}{\text{c}} \overset{x}{\text{c}} \overset{x}{\text{h}} \overset{x}{\text{e}} \overset{x}{\text{s}} \overset{x}{\text{o}} \overset{x}{\text{u}} \overset{x}{\text{l}} \langle \text{e} \rangle, \quad \text{D(B)36b.}$

In the second measure of each of these verses there occurs a four-stress measure, unless one asserts that the rules regarding phonemic resolution do not apply in these cases. The verses themselves could be described as either B verses with an additional final syllable or C verses with an

additional medial one. What has been lost is not the verse-types themselves nor the basic rhythm of the verse but the strict, simple measure system with which they were constructed. The few examples of such B/C verses in OE poetry are classified as remainders by Pope;<sup>66</sup> they would appear to be much more frequent in the "Soul's Address" than in OE verse in general. Further, verses such as

$$\begin{array}{c} / \quad \overset{x}{\times} \quad \overset{x}{\times} \quad / \quad (x) \\ \text{godnesse and|riht, D(B)3a,} \\ / \quad \overset{x}{\times} \quad \overset{x}{\times} \quad \overset{x}{\times} \quad / \quad (x) \\ \text{leofli<che> for|pe, D(B)24a,} \end{array}$$

can be classified as E verses only if one accords formative suffixes, i.e., -nesse and -liche here, a degree of stress that they neither have elsewhere in the poem nor could be expected to have from a strictly linguistic point of view. Nor, given their two heavy stresses, do they seem to resemble the few verses in OE that Pope classifies as remainders similar to normal A3 verses.<sup>67</sup>

It might be argued that D(B)26b should properly be scanned from helle wite, i.e., as an A verse with monosyllabic anacrusis. This is, in fact, a conceivable alternative in this case, but allowing for anacrusis in this verse only brings into focus another prosodical feature of the "Soul's Address" that distinguishes its metre from that of "classical" OE verse, i.e., the high percentage of verses with anacrusis compared to the very small percentage of verses so constructed in a poem such as Beowulf:

. . . syntactically, the five-position pattern [i.e., A verse with anacrusis] of the prose is the expected one. In ordinary formal discourse, many two-stress phrases would begin with an unstressed particle, preposition, or conjunction, and end on an unstressed inflectional syllable; thus: swa ece blisse.

Although this would be a normal pattern for poetry as well, it is avoided, for the meter excludes it. Otherwise one would expect to find the pattern in the same proportions in the poetry as in the prose --in which case Beowulf would contain over 3,000 verses of the type, rather than the 125 that might or might not be so read. However the meter is stated, it must contain an explicit constraint against the occurrence of the five position type . . . . If type A with anacrusis could occur freely, there is good reason, syntactically, for it to be the most common pattern; in fact, it is among the rarest, and two-thirds of the possible occurrences appear to have a common syntactic explanation [i.e., the syllable in anacrusis is a very low-stressed verbal prefix, or the particle ne, or both].<sup>68</sup>

This constraint against anacrusis, whatever it may be, that Cable argues is operating in OE verse, is clearly no longer a factor in the verse of the "Soul's Address."

Scansion of the poem's first fragment as if it were "classical" OE verse--setting aside defective lines and those which most clearly seem to be rhyming rather than alliterative--reveals that twenty-nine of seventy-two verses have anacrusis, approximately forty percent. This figure is clearly far out of line with the less than two percent which Cable finds in Beowulf and much nearer the fifty percent figure he offers for the prevalence of the "five-position pattern" in OE prose.<sup>69</sup> Furthermore, the syllables that one finds in anacrusis are not, by and large, verbal prefixes as they are in Beowulf: conjunctions and pronouns are most common; a verbal prefix occurs only once certainly (30b). It does seem clear that something fundamental in OE verse-metre is lacking in the "Soul's Address" when features that would be considered anomalies in OE verse occur with regularity in that poem. Given the frequency with which they do occur, both anacrusis and crowded, overcrowded, and unprecedented measures must be regarded as such features. And when

these anomalous features are coupled with those features discussed above that might, by themselves, be regarded as evidence of a relaxation of the OE verse-making process rather than a loss of it, e.g., the apparent democratization of the hierarchy of potentially stressed and alliterating elements and the diversity of alliterative patterns, it does seem undeniable that we are dealing with verse in the "Soul's Address" whose prosodical structure is radically different from that of "classical" OE verse.

It might be argued, in fact, that the "Soul's Address" is rhythmic prose and not verse at all, i.e., that it ought to be compared with the work of Elfric and Wulfstan and not OE "classical" verse. This is apparently the view of both N.R. Ker and Angus Cameron.<sup>70</sup> However, the metrical pointing of the MS., the high percentage of rhyming lines in the work, to be discussed below, and the tendency of English writers to treat the 'body and soul' theme in verse (when dealing with it to any great extent), all serve to render it likely that the writer of the "Soul's Address" regarded his own work as verse, regardless of what we might think of it.<sup>71</sup> To insist on a clear, unambiguous distinction between verse and prose in the transitional period between Old and Middle English is unjustified. As Blake and others have pointed out, the boundary between the two in the eleventh and twelfth centuries was not as well defined as it usually has been in the course of English literary history.<sup>72</sup> Whether the lines of the "Soul's Address" be verse or prose, however, they should be examined without imposing the stricter structures of "classical" OE verse on them.

As mentioned above, the "Soul's Address" can be justifiably divided into lines which, by and large, consist of two two-stress half-lines or

verses: the MS. pointing urges this division as does, in most cases, the distribution of apparently stressed and alliterating elements. These verses, in turn, can usually be divided into two or three constituent parts following the method of analysis adumbrated by McIntosh and developed more fully by Funke in their work on Wulfstan's prose.<sup>73</sup>

The three parts are these: the central portion of the verse containing the low-stressed syllables between the two main stresses, if any occur; the low-stressed syllables in anacrusis, if any occur; the low-stressed syllables in the cadence following the second main stress, if any occur. Two of these three constituent parts can be found in every verse almost invariably. It will be apparent that in this method of analysis the measure system of OE prosody is ignored; if one insists on using it, as we have already seen above, one must deal with a great many distortions by OE standards. Also, phonemic resolution, a fundamental feature in the prosodical analysis of OE verse, is not taken into account, even though resolution in all probability occurred in some forms. The following analysis is based on the count of visual syllables; no account is taken of grades of stress.

The typical cadence of the verses in the "Soul's Address," as in the rhythmical work of Ælfric and Wulfstan, is / x which occurs in the first four complete verses of the first fragment:

and alle þeo isceaftan    þe him to sculen  
and mid mucele cre~~c~~fte    þe ne mon he idihte.

Only sculen in A2b might be subject to phonemic resolution. Monosyllabic endings, as in both verses in l. A6; p(et) bodeþ p(et) bearn    þonne  
hit iboren bip, are considerably more common than they are in Wulfstan,<sup>74</sup>

but perhaps not quite as common as they are in Ælfric. The assessment here depends on whether or not rhyming lines are to be considered as a separate group. About fourteen percent of the alliterative lines end in monosyllables; the figure climbs to twenty percent if rhyming lines are included, a figure identical to the one given for Ælfric's rhythmical prose.<sup>75</sup> An examination of cadences in the verses of the poem generally confirms that nominal compounds and nouns with heavy formative suffixes have become, for the most part, words with a single main stress followed by two, three, or four low-stressed syllables, a situation linguistically predictable. Examples are pineþ bene licame, Allb; purh soþe bireousunge, B(F)12a; on holie wisdom, B(F)43b; imeten pine morþdeden, G(E)15a; <f>rom deapes dimnesse, G(E)33a. Alternative scansion from the point of view of OE prosody might be proposed in these and other cases, but they would be unjustified linguistically, particularly in regard to suffixes, and would also serve to swell the already large number of verses in the poem with anacrusis.<sup>76</sup>

Nevertheless, it would appear that some compounds in the "Soul's Address" must receive two heavy stresses in order that the verses in which they are found not be deficient. Certain cases are et þen fontstone, C(G)37a; þu hauest kinemerke, C(G)41a; heo weren monifolde, D(B)6a; pine dreamburles, G(E)30b.<sup>77</sup> Verse D(B)29a, ac þu fenge to þeowdome, may also be included because of the alliteration on d in the off-verse; however, one is tempted to stress fenge in this verse as well. In the use of compounds, the writer seems willing to have them pronounced with stress patterns that suit the requirements of a particular verse, though, in fact, no identical compound in the poem receives in one verse two heavy stresses and in another only one. þeowdome, D(B)29a,

and wisdome, B(F)43b and 48a and G(E)43a may demonstrate this apparent fluidity. The presence of compounds with two significant stresses seems to invite comparisons with "classical" OE verse on the one hand, though they are few in number, and only one, hellewite, actually occurs in the ASPR; on the other hand, the number of cadences composed of trisyllabic compounds with one heavy stress negates the validity of comparisons to OE verse where such cadences would not usually occur.<sup>78</sup>

Verse D(B)29a brings to the fore another feature of the prosody of the "Soul's Address" that concerns the central part of each verse, i.e., the low-stressed syllables between the two main stresses. The number of syllables in this part ranges from zero, in verses similar to the OE type-C, e.g., pine dreampurles, G(E)30b, to six, e.g., lu<per>liche eart bu forloren, D(B)35a, and soriliche to hire licame, F(D)17b and G(E)3b.<sup>79</sup>

In the vast majority of cases, there are two main stresses in a verse, but in certain instances there seem to be three. It might be argued that in D(B)29a, ac bu fenge to peowdome, the verb fenge ought not to be stressed, but, as a rule, finite verbs in the "Soul's Address" must be stressed along with infinitives and participles. (Auxiliary verbs are problematic; it is often difficult to decide whether they should be stressed or not.) A number of the examples of three-stress verses occur

in rhyming lines, to be considered separately below, but some do not, e.g., for ufel is peo wrecche lufe, A44a; peo soule reste onfop, B(F)12b; buruh holie lufe cristes, C(G)45b; heo wullep fraten pine fule hold,

E(C)41a. Among the examples in which a finite verb probably bears stress are ne heold ic pin<a eigen> opene, F(D)21a, deredest cristene mep, F(D)29b, and both verses of 1. G(E)11, brekep lip from libe liggeb be bon stil<le>.<sup>80</sup> In the last three examples, alliteration seems to demand

that the finite verbs be stressed. It is a possibility that the poet looked on certain words as compounds or quasi-compounds that to us appear to be separate, e.g., fule hold, E(C)41a, and holie lufe, C(G)45b. It still appears true, however, that, as in the treatment of compounds, the number of main stresses per verse is not strictly systematic, though the number of instances in which three occur is not so large that we ought to consider that they derive from OE D and E verses, nor do the patterns of three-stress verses in the "Soul's Address" particularly resemble those OE types. It is also apparent that one cannot really speak of a central part of a verse consisting of the low-stressed syllables between the two main stresses if, in fact, there are three such stresses.

Funke, following McIntosh, remarks that anacrusis in the prose of Wulfstan seems to be compensatory: it almost always occurs when the main stresses of the verse form a pattern like the second measure of an OE B or C verse, i.e., / x \ or / \ x; the number of syllables in anacrusis is, for the most part, inversely proportionate to the number of syllables in the rest of the verse.<sup>81</sup> A similar situation exists in the "Soul's Address." Only two verses in the poem that end with a stressed monosyllable lack anacrusis: efre ma eft, B(F)18a, and godnesse and riht, D(B)3a. Verses without anacrusis usually contain a central part of three, four, or five low-stressed syllables, e.g., softliche he heo isom<nede>, A5a; sorliche idalen, A9b; pineþ bene licame, A11b; seoruhliche bereaued, A22b. Verses whose length from the first main stress to the end is seven syllables or longer have only one syllable in anacrusis in nearly every case in which there is any anacrusis at all, e.g., mid seoruwen al bewunden A27b; mid ciutes þu ert for<þun>den, B(F)17a. Exceptional is þonne þe licame and þe soule, A28a, with



trissyllabic anacrusis. Verses whose main part is six syllables in length generally have one syllable in anacrusis and sometimes two, if anacrusis occurs, e.g., and atterne bihinden, C(G)17b; nu heo wuniep on eorbe, F(D)24a. If the main part of a verse contains five syllables, anacrusis occurs frequently. About half the time the anacrusis in this case is monosyllabic; di- and trissyllabic examples are also frequent, e.g., him deaueþ þa aren, A17a; and mid muchele cre<fte>, A3a; and þene seoruhfule sip, A8a. Verses whose main part contains four syllables occasionally have one syllable in anacrusis, but two or three syllables are much more common, e.g., on deope saþe, D(B)40a; þ(urh) þas deofles lore, G(E)21a; for þin fule sunne, G(E)5a. Verses whose main part is only three syllables in length always have anacrusis and rarely only one syllable. Two syllables in anacrusis are usual in such verses, three or four syllables are common, e.g., þurh þopne scrift, B(F)10a; so þeo bec seggeþ, B(F)35b; ac þær biþ sor idol, A5b; þonne hit iboren biþ, A6b.

The average number of syllables in all English verses of the poem, with or without anacrusis, is about 6.5; verses of six or seven syllables are the most common varieties though ones of five and eight syllables certainly are not rare. The figure of 6.5 is lower than that given for the prose of Elfric, 6.7, and lower still than the average length of a verse in Layamon's Brut, 7.26.<sup>82</sup> It is significantly higher, however, than the figures for both Beowulf and the 10E "Exhortation to Christian Living," "not quite five"<sup>83</sup> and 5.3<sup>84</sup> respectively.

It is Pope's view that, since Elfric's prose rhythm only approximates the strict rhythm of OE verse, syntax plays a more funda-

mental role in the establishment of his lines than it does in the verse:

A form so loosely governed as Ælfric's must depend upon syntax even more heavily than the traditional verse. As in the verse, the majority of Ælfric's half-lines are established by the syntactical phrasing even when no actual pause is in order. So far as half-lines go the syntactical indications are about the same for both forms; but syntax establishes the full line more firmly in Ælfric than in most of the poems. That is, Ælfric's lines are prevailingly endstopped, with only light stops or none at all in middle. Full stops in mid-line do indeed occur, but much less frequently than in most of the verse, and enjambment is correspondingly restrained.<sup>85</sup>

Likewise, in the "Soul's Address," endstopped lines established by the syntax are the rule; both full stops after half-lines and enjambment are rare. What Carolyn Friedlander calls the "variance" of OE verse, the tension between prosodical and syntactical units that forms "the basis of inversion, suspension, and enjambement," the characteristic stylistic features of "classical" OE verse, is missing from the "Soul's Address" and eME "accentual" verse in general.<sup>86</sup> The coincidence of half-line and full line divisions with syntactic divisions would seem to indicate that the writer of the "Soul's Address" fashioned his line according to syntactic requirements, that he, along with Ælfric, lacked a strict prosodical system like that found in OE poetry.

It is possible, however, that the compensatory nature of anacrusis in the "Soul's Address" reveals another way in which the poet organized his verses. It would appear that he conceived of them as filling a given length of time just as the OE verses did, according to Pope's theory of rhythm. However, this time had to be established in the eME poem by spoken words, i.e., a significant stress could not coincide with a rest as it does, according to Pope, in most examples of B and C verses

in Beowulf. Therefore, he used syllables in anacrusis to fill out the verse if it was perceived to be too short, and, if this is true, then anacrusis should not be considered extrametrical in the "Soul's Address." In most cases the preceding verse cannot easily accommodate the extra syllables. They are, instead, a fundamental feature of the verse which they begin, and, strictly speaking, probably ought not to be regarded as anacrusis at all. Nor is this situation surprising from a linguistic point of view. Among the important developments in the language in the movement from Old English to Middle English was a general levelling of stress as the basis of English speech rhythm became increasingly sentence-stress instead of word-stress.<sup>87</sup> The stressed words in a verse of the "Soul's Address" would have been less forcefully pronounced than their counterparts in an OE verse, and low-stressed syllables, including those in anacrusis, would, by the same token, receive more stress than their OE counterparts. The line in the "Soul's Address" is, therefore, less weighty and more diffuse than the "classical" OE line. That there is a prosodical system underlying the verse of the "Soul's Address" comparable to the OE system, though different from it, does not seem probable, but more must be learned of the language of the transitional period before the case can be closed.

The usual explanation of the differences between the OE alliterative line and its early and late ME counterparts rests upon the pressure brought to bear on archaic linguistic forms by linguistic change, e.g., the shift from word-stress to sentence-stress just mentioned, the shifting of vowel quantities and the loss of grades of stress in compound words, and the levelling of inflectional endings as the language moved from synthetic toward analytic syntax. Those who argue for the

continuity of the alliterative tradition tend to minimize the effects of this pressure; those who are less concerned with demonstrating this continuity, such as Winfred Lehmann, tend to emphasize them:

Tradition . . . played a greater role in the maintenance of the alliterative line in England than in any of the other West Germanic dialects. In early Old English, the strict Germanic line was maintained through retention of an old poetic vocabulary and syntax; in late Middle English, alliterative poetry was composed, though with linguistic rhythms totally different from those of the Germanic or Old English alliterative line. In Old English, linguistic changes had by no means removed the basis for alliterative verse; the relatively strong stress actually supported it. But as substantives gradually lost their distinctive stresses, the language with its great increase in number of function words was more adaptable to rime than to alliterative verse, and even a strong tradition could not hinder the gradual adoption of rime.<sup>88</sup>

In later OE poems, in a poem such as the OE "Soul and Body," for example, the evidence of linguistic pressure on the old prosodical structure is quite substantial. The average number of syllables per verse is slightly greater than that of Beowulf; anacrusis is somewhat more frequent. There is a marked tendency in the poem toward A1 verses with rather full first measures and to A3, B, and C verses, some of which have first measures larger than any that occur in Beowulf;<sup>89</sup> there is a corresponding tendency away from A2, D, and E verses. These developments can be explained by taking into account the movement towards analytic syntax, the corresponding increase in the number of function words, and the loss of gradations of stress in the compounds necessary for the construction of A2, D, and E verses. However, from the point of view of prosody, "Soul and Body" is still an example of

"classical" OE verse. It is not a simple step or two from its prosodical structure to that of the later 'body and soul' poem, the "Soul's Address." Rather, along with the steady pressure of linguistic change on increasingly archaic forms, there must have been another, more abrupt, change which took place that, together with gradual linguistic developments, accounts for the prosodical nature of the alliterative line in the "Soul's Address."

The OE "Soul and Body," despite being a relative late example of OE verse, is demonstrably formulaic, even if one adopts the conservative definitions of the formula and the formulaic system proposed by Watts: "a repeated sequence that fills one of Sievers' five basic rhythmical types"<sup>90</sup> and "two or more phrases of a similar Sievers' verse-type, syntactical pattern, and lexical significance, which may differ in an important element according to alliterative substitution, or context, or a type of narrative superfluity."<sup>91</sup> Two-thirds of the verses in "Soul and Body" are formulaic according to Watts' definitions, i.e., they either correspond to a verse found elsewhere in the ASPR or differ from another verse only in "an important element"; half of the verses in the poem are formulas. Verses in some way questionable, including all A3 verses, have been excluded from this assessment; their inclusion or the adoption of less strict definitions of the formula and the formulaic system would obviously cause the figures stated above to rise. In the "Soul's Address," on the other hand, thirty verses at most would appear to have some antecedent in the OE verse printed in the ASPR. This is a considerably lower percentage than the OE "Soul and Body," even if these thirty do, in fact, represent an active formulaic structure used by the poet. That they do represent such a structure, however, is itself

questionable at best: a cursory check of OE homiletic prose works reveals that at least half of the collocations in these thirty verses were current in the prose and it seems highly probable this number would increase if a more extensive search were undertaken.<sup>92</sup> The evidence indicates that, despite the occurrence of a few poetic words cited by Oakden,<sup>93</sup> and despite the evidence that the poet could occasionally create compound words,<sup>94</sup> the OE formulaic structure was not a factor in the composition of this poem and that it was, in fact, a thing unknown to the creator of the "Soul's Address."

Need the disappearance of the OE formulaic structure have had an effect on the OE prosodical structure? To answer in the negative is to assert that the two structures could, and, in fact, did exist independently of one another, that it was possible that an OE singer/poet learned OE poetic rhythms exclusively, without content or, to be more charitable, without significant content, i.e., that he learned the prosody of his native poetry as a series of rules much as undergraduates today must learn it. And onto these various rhythmical structures at some later date he placed surprisingly regular patterns of words, perhaps in his sophomore year. Likewise, if it is asserted that formulaic structure existed exclusive of prosodic structure, it is conceivable that a singer/poet learned lists of collocations unconnected syntactically, without the distinctive poetic rhythms, and that these collocations were fitted to one of the five verse-types learned at some other time, later or, perhaps, earlier. It seems much more probable and, in fact, essential that the two structures (inasmuch as they were divisible) were learned simultaneously, that aspects of one controlled and shaped the other, that they were interdependent, and that the absence of one necessarily

affected the other.<sup>95</sup> Any attempt to recreate the OE verse without command or use of either one or the other must, by necessity, fail, and, the result of such an attempt ought, therefore, to be regarded as a pale and imperfect approximation of its original inasmuch as fidelity to that original is the sole criterion of aesthetic judgement. Such attempts should not be treated as evidence of a continuous tradition, if one is speaking in terms of the continuity of a technique of verse-making, of OE poetic craft, and not of efforts to reproduce a vaguely remembered form without the necessary technique. From the point of view of either prosody or formulaic structure, there is insufficient reason to regard the "Soul's Address" as "classical" OE verse.

However, the most striking prosodical feature in the "Soul's Address" does not concern the alliterative lines, perhaps, but rather those lines in the poem whose verses are linked by rhyme or assonance. Much has been made of the rhymed verse in eME poetry. Its presence has been cited as evidence of a fundamental change in poetic technique usually thought by those who argue for the continuity of the alliterative tradition to have been brought about by the subterranean influence of a popular style of verse that supposedly thrived unrecorded alongside the OE alliterative verse.<sup>96</sup> Blake's criticisms of these theories are well taken, however: there are no examples of such verse extant; eME verse (or "rhythmical alliteration" as Blake calls it) was literary in nature, not popular; the persistence of alliteration is left unexplained; the fact that the eME "evidence" for this popular tradition is found only in the west of England is also unexplained.<sup>97</sup> Further, it must be acknowledged that rhyme was an intermittent feature in OE verse and prose, though not one that superseded or replaced alliteration as a

means by which the verses of the line were linked together.<sup>98</sup>

There are about forty lines in the "Soul's Address" that show rhyme, assonance, or, to a much smaller extent, consonance, as their sole means of linkage. (There are a number of lines where either rhyme or alliteration or both may be serving a function in establishing the line.) In fifteen of these cases, four rhymed or assonant pairs recur in substantially the same lines: lif - sip, eight times;<sup>99</sup> agon - fornon, three times; <sup>100</sup> efre - nefre, twice; <sup>101</sup> sunne - wipinne, twice (?).<sup>102</sup> In other words, one could say there are twenty-nine different instances of rhyme or assonance linking lines together in the poem, which, in fact, is Oakden's figure.<sup>103</sup>

The recurrence of the pairs cited above in substantially the same lines throughout the poem offers one clue to the use of these lines and of rhyming lines in general in the poem. On each occasion when the lif - sip pair, or the agon - fornon and efre - nefre pairs occur, they serve, through their different prosodical form, to halt the progress of the description in the alliterative verses, and often they also signal a modulation in focus in the work. Because of their different prosodical form, in other words, the poet seems to employ rhyming lines to signal structural changes in the poem. For example, l. C(G)25, a wurpe hire wa p(et) heo spekinde was so, might be taken as a summation of the lines preceding it. Line B(F)26, so þu wē<re> mid sunne iset al wipine, serves to introduce the tenor of the metaphor of the hedgehog begun at l. 21. The wrecche sip-sori lif lines, besides effectively halting the progression of the alliterative lines preceding them, also serve as a kind of refrain reinforcing and restating throughout the poem its basic theme of damnation.<sup>104</sup> The occurrence of pairs of



rhyiming lines at the two points in the poem, ll. D(B)44-5, þeo swetnesse  
is nu al agon, þ(et) b<ittere> þe biþ fornon; / þ(et) bittere ilæsteþ  
æffre, þet swete ne cumeþ þe <æffre>, and ll. G(E)39-40, <nu> is þiin  
mup forscuttet for deap hine haueþ forduttet, / ne biþ he ne <nam>pare  
undon ær cume þæs heige kinges dom, both intensify the halting effect  
of the single rhyiming lines and restate the apocalyptic theme. And in  
the penultimate fragment, six rhyiming lines, ll. F(D)38-43, occur in  
succession:

forloren þu hauest þeo ece blisse, binumen þu hauest þe paradis:  
bi<nu>men þe is þ(et) holi lond, þen deofle þu bist isold on hond,  
for noldest þu nefr<e hab>ben inouh buten þu hæfdest unifouh;  
nu is þ(et) swete al agon, þ(et) bittere þe<bi<þ> fornon;  
þ(æ) bittere ilest þe efre, þet gode ne cumeþ þe nefre;  
þus ageþ nu þ<in siþ> æfter þin wrecce lif.

These lines mark the emotional climax of the poem, and, when the  
fragments have been reordered in the way proposed below, their position  
near the end of the work, rather than in the middle, would seem to  
strengthen this view. It does seem clear, that the poet of the "Soul's  
Address" used rhyiming lines to achieve stylistic effects, to signal  
structural changes, and to emphasize one of his basic thematic  
interests--damnation; they do not seem to have provided him with a  
prosodical alternative to alliteration.

The scansion of the rhyiming lines in the "Soul's Address" as a  
group appears to be irregular. A number of lines seem to be composed  
of verses that correspond, in terms of rhythm, to the alliterative  
verses in the work, e.g., þeo moder greoneþ and þ(et) bearn woaneþ,

1. A25, sone þu were lifleas seoppen ic þe forleas, 1. C(G)33,<sup>105</sup>  
beornen <þer e>fre .ende nis þer nefre, 1. G(E)49. However, other  
 rhyming lines seem rather too long to be so treated, e.g., 11. F(D)37-39.

If one adopts a somewhat relaxed version of C.B. Hiatt's theory of  
 hypermetric scansion in OE verse, lines such as these might be scanned  
 as hypermetric:<sup>106</sup>

for||loren þu hauest þeo | ece | blisse bi||numen þu hauest þe | paradis  
 bi||numen þe is þ(et) | holi | lond pen||deofle þu bist i | sold on | hond  
 for||noldest þu | nefræ | hab>ben inouh ||buten þu | hefdest | unifouh.

Alternatively, and perhaps preferably, they could be scanned as syllabic  
 couplets, a possibility suggested by Haufe in the introduction to his  
 edition of the work and also recommended by Noble in regard to the  
 rhyming lines of Brut:<sup>107</sup>

for||loren þu | hauest þeo | ece | blisse bi||numen þu | hauest þe | para | dis  
 bi||numen þe | is þet | holi | lond pen || deofle | þu | bist | i | sold | on | hond  
 for || noldest þu | nefræ | hab>ben | inouh ||buten þu | hefdest | uni | fouh.

Syllabic scansion also seems to provide a framework that renders such  
 lines as D(B)17 and G(E)39 explicable:

hwui noldest | þ <u be> | þenchen | me þeo || hwile | ic was | innen | þe  
 ne biþ | he ne | <nam>more | undon ær || cume þæs | heige | kinges | dom.

The syllabic rhythm of some of the rhyming lines in the poem may  
 indicate a desire on the part of the poet to accentuate the rhyming

words in the line by creating verses that mirror one another rhythmically. This mirroring is apparent not only in the lines susceptible to syllabic scansion, but also in some lines whose verses exhibit alliterative rhythms, e.g., l. C(G)33 and l. G(E)49 quoted above.

It is not, however, a universal feature. The poet's apparent use of syllabic couplets reflects back on the prosodical structure of the alliterative line. The fact that he could treat the language the way he does in the rhyming lines, from the point of view of stress, tends to strengthen the notion that his line was more diffuse than its OE counterpart, its nature less thoroughly established by the heavily stressed syllables alone.

#### IV

#### Style

The author of the "Soul's Address" has not been accorded much praise for his stylistic achievements.<sup>108</sup> He is not, however, quite as artless a poet as it might at first appear. The portrayal of a soul addressing its body after death obviously involves an expanded use of prosopopoeia, a rhetorical figure that the medievals found particularly fascinating. In the English literature that precedes the "Soul's Address," "The Dream of the Rood" comes to mind as an outstanding example of the use of this figure along with the Exeter Book Riddles and, of course, the Old English "Soul and Body" poems. In the context of 'body and soul' literature, however, a speaking soul (and a speaking body, in the case of debate) constitutes not so much a rhetorical device as a convention, a fundamental feature of the form that creates opportunities for the use of certain rhetorical devices while limiting the possibilities for the use of others. The author of the "Soul's Address" avails himself of a number of traditional rhetorical figures and devices in the composition of his poem, and he achieves a style which is distinctive, if not exalted.

The most striking stylistic feature of the "Soul's Address" is repetition. Though examples of other basic types of rhetorical devices can be found in the work (some of which will be listed below), it is clear that the poet sought to move his reader or auditor and to convey

to him the import of his work primarily through the repetition of words, phrases, and whole lines. And by examining patterns of repetition, particularly those of significant words, one can understand, to some extent, the compositional strategy or impetus that lies behind the poem. Each of the fragments can be divided into quite clearly defined subsections (not marked in the MS.) in which the focus of the poet's commentary (in Fragment A) or the soul's address (in Fragments B(F) through G(E)) is accentuated by the repetition of key words and sometimes by other devices, especially kinds of balance and antithesis that are themselves often established by repetition. It seems clear that the poet was consciously employing rhetorical devices to define these subsections of his work: the repeated elements change with the usually abrupt shifts in focus, and brief summarizing statements, often rhyming or assonant lines, usually signal the end of one subsection or the beginning of the next. As a rule, in the soul's address proper the focus of the subsections alternates back and forth between the current state of the body and its actions in life. However, though one can generally detect these shifts in focus without difficulty, the precise reason for many of the developments in the work remains unclear.

Perhaps the finest passage in the "Soul's Address" from the point of view of style, and one which displays the characteristics of that style at its best, is the soul's relation of the body's refusal to take communion while living, ll. D(B)20-29:

- 20 Noldest þ<u> ma>kien l<o>fe wip ilarede men,  
 3iuen ham of þine gode þ(et) heo þe fo<re> beden.  
 Heo mihten mid salmsonge þine sunne acwenchen,  
 mid <ho>re messe þine misdeden fore biddan;  
 heo mihten offrian loc leofli<che> for þe,  
 25 swuþe deorwurþe lac, licame cristes;  
 þurh þære þu were alese<d> from hellewite,

and mid his reade blode þ(et) he geat on rode.  
 þo þu we<re> ifreoed to farene i(n)to heouene,  
 ac þu fenge to þeowdome þ(urh) þæs de<ofles> lore.

The first two lines establish the context of what follows: the refusal to participate in religious activities; the primary focus of ll. 20-29, and the avaricious nature of the body, reasserted in the lines immediately following the passage in question. One can see a three-fold balancing of ll. 22 and 23: mid salmsonge/mid <ho>re messe, þine sunne/þine misdeden, acwenchen/biddan, and further, fore biddan in l. 23 echoes fþ<re> beden in l. 21, both occurring in final position in their respective lines. Line 24 repeats the opening phrase of l. 22, heo mihten, and loc, in final position in the on-verse, balances both salmsong and messe of the previous lines. The term loc also both intensifies the beneficial nature of that which the soul has lost and introduces the idea of Christ's sacrifice. The beneficial nature of the host is amplified by 24b, leofli<che> for þe, and by the phrase swuþe deorwurþe that precedes the repetition of loc, i.e., lac, in l. 25, once again in final position in the on-verse; the host's sacrificial attribute is made explicit in 25b, licame cristes. Lines 26 and 28 balance one another in the on-verse by means of anaphora--þu were alese<d>/ þu we<re> ifreoed--and also, in the off-verse, through the restatement of the same idea from antithetical viewpoints--from hellewite / to farene i(n)to heouene. Line 27 introduces the other key element of the communion sacrament, the blood, with rhyming verses, blode / rode; so that ll. 26 and 28, besides balancing one another, each follow a line in which one of the eucharistic elements is named. In l. 29 the adversative ac, the movement from subjunctive to indicative mood, and the word þeowdom in the same position as the participles of opposite

meaning from ll. 26 and 28, alese<d> and ifreod, mark the end of the passage, an abrupt return from what might have been to what is. The citation which follows signals a shift in focus to the avaricious nature of the body.

This subsection of the "Soul's Address" is unusual for its density of rhetorical patterning, however. Very different is the following subsection, l. 30 to the end of the fragment, one of the most diffuse in the poem. The focus shifts rapidly from the greedy nature of the body, to the disgust of the friends, to the grave and worms, to a pair of rhyming lines contrasting the transitory nature of earthly joy with the eternal nature of suffering in hell. The chiasitic pattern of the concluding rhyming lines, ll. 44-45--swetnesse, b<ittere> / bittere, swete), the repetition in l. 40 (on deope sape on durelease huse), and the repetition of lufedest in final position in the off-verse in both ll. 35 and 43 (epistrophe) are all striking rhetorical features, but repetition and other devices are, nevertheless, comparatively rare in these fifteen lines. That this scarcity of repetition coincides with an impression of diffusion and rambling is probably not accidental.

Other passages clearly established by the repetition of key words and phrases are ll. B(F)1-15 on the refusal of the body to take confession; ll. B(F)22-33, the amplification of the hedgehog simile expressed in ll. 20-21; ll. E(C)23-37 concerning the house of the living body and that of the dead; ll. E(C)38-50 and F(D)1-8 on the assault of the worms on the corpse; ll. G(E)12-52 on the Last Judgement, particularly towards the end of the passage, and, embedded in it, ll. 17-35 on the ears of the body which refused, while living, to hear the various signals that might have led to salvation and will now hear instead the

heard dom on Judgement Day.

Among the other particularly noteworthy rhetorical features in the poem are the following:

1. Asyndetic isocolon with epanaphora: ll. A17-21, Him deaueþ þa æren,  
him dimmeþ <þa> eigen, / him scerpeþ þe neose, him scrinckeþ þa  
lippen, etc.
2. Prosopopoeia, the personification of death: ll. A11, B(F)16,  
F(D)44, G(E)38.
3. The extended amplification of the hedgehog simile: ll. B(F)20-33.
4. Chiastic patterns: ll. B(F)12-13, B(F)21-22, D(B)44-45, E(C)48-49.
5. Citation of authority, mostly examples of oraculum: ll. B(F)43-45,  
B(F)49, C(G)19-21, C(G)34-36, E(C)20-22. G(E)40-42, G(E)45-46,  
G(E)50, ?B(F)2.
6. The ubi sunt (or quid profuit) passage: ll. D(B)4-11.
7. Zeugma: ll. B(F)8-11, F(D)12-14.
8. Ecphonesis, i.e., exclamations expressing emotion: ll. A13-14,  
B(F)4, C(G)3, D(B)19, E(C)10.
9. Puns: ll. A23, C(G)51, E(C)27, F(D)20, G(E)51.
10. Isocolon with intensive alliteration: l. G(E)33, <f>rom deapes  
dimnesse to drihtenes dome.
11. Ploce, i.e., repetition of a word with a new meaning after the  
intervention of one or a few words: l. G(E)22, þe <weþ> tuhte his  
hearpe and tuhte þe to him.
12. Polyptoton: l. B(F)48, wisliche/wisdome/wiseþ; l. G(E)43,  
wisliche/wisdome; ?l. D(B)7, goldfaten/guldene.
13. Periphrasis: most examples, such as hellewite, l. D(B)26, fontston,  
l. C(G)37, salsong, l. D(B)22, heapedbonne, l. F(D)5, and



bedstrau, l. F(D)14, are commonplace; a few, earfeþsiþ, ll. A41 and 43, soulehus, l. A22, and perhaps goldfæt, l. D(B)7, may derive from OE verse; dræmburl, l. G(E)30, and the problematical qualehold, l. D(B)42, may be original coinages of the poet.

Also of interest from the point of view of style are a number of verses and whole lines that occur more than once in the work. Some of these may have a formulaic or quasi-formulaic stature: e.g., on deope seape on durelease huse, ll. D(B)40 and G(E)8; þu were leas and luti and unriht lufedest, ll. D(B)2 and F(D)28; wowe domes and gultes feole / opre birefedest rihtes istreones, ll. C(G)11-12 and G(E)19-20; purh þæs deofles'lore, ll. C(G)14, C(G)43, D(B)29, and G(E)21; þe drihten weren loþe or he was drihten ful loþ, ll. C(G)18, C(G)50, and G(E)23. Other repeated lines indicate stages in the development of the work. Variations of the line 3et sæiþ þeo soule soriliche to hire licame mark changes in the focus of the soul's address, particularly towards the end of the poem: ll. E(C)2, F(D)17, F(D)26, G(E)3, and G(E)36. Whether the repetition of this line was employed to produce a cumulative climactic effect or to impel forward to a conclusion an already long work is not clear. From the standpoint of style, however, the repeated rhyming or assonant lines are of particular importance in the "Soul's Address," for they fulfill not only a structural but also a thematic function by expressing in a brief, almost proverbial, manner summations of the significance of particular passages in the work and of the work as a whole.

The opening twenty-eight lines of Fragment A, portraying the birth and death of man in general, conclude with the line þonne biþ þ(et)

wrecche lif iended al mid sori sib which separates them from the ensuing description of the preparation of the corpse for burial. Variations of this line recur throughout the work, always in similar pivotal circumstances: l. B(F)19 between the soul's description of the body's refusal to confess and the simile of the hedgehog; l. C(G)6 between a passage on the damnation of the soul and one on the particular sins of the body's tongue; l. E(C)15 between the description of the corpse's new house, the grave, and the portrayal of the worms' assault on the corpse; l. E(C)37 dividing a revelation of the ingratitude of servants and friends and a most thorough description of the worms' voracity; l. F(D)9 between the description of the worms' voracity and the cleansing of the body's former residence; l. F(D)16 between the passage on the cleansing of the house and the soul's description of the body's blindness to its eventual fate; and finally l. F(D)42 as the culmination of six rhyming or assonant lines all dealing with the loss of eternal bliss and the prospect of eternal woe. The line serves, as Dorothy Everett suggests, as a kind of refrain that "emphasizes a main idea of the poem,"<sup>109</sup> and it works quite successfully as a striking counterpoint to the repetitive and sometimes overlong subsections of the poem it concludes or introduces.

The other repeated rhyming or assonant lines in the poem seem to serve a similar function. The line so þu we<re> mid sunne iset al wipihne, l. B(F)26, is used to divide *vehicle* from *tenor* in the amplification of the hedgehog simile; as l. F(D)48 it may be viewed as either a summation of the previous five lines on the fractious nature of the living body or an introduction to the next passage, the last two lines of the Fragment F(D) and what has been lost from the beginning of

Fragment G(E). It also "emphasizes a main idea of the poem" as do the lines, þet swetnesse is nu al agon, þ(et) b<ittere> þe biþ fornon / þ(et) bittere ilaſteþ affre, þet swete ne cumeþ þe <þaffre>. As ll. D(B)44-45, this pair of lines seems to serve as a conclusion to a rather diffuse subsection of Fragment D(B), i.e., ll. 30-45; as ll. F(D)40-41, it appears as part of the series of rhyming or assonant lines mentioned above, ll. F(D)37-42.<sup>110</sup> Each of these six lines in itself encapsulates one of the key themes of the poem; together they act as the emotional climax of the work because of their terse quality and their distinctive prosodical form. The poet clearly intended that they should perform such a function and therefore grouped them together in this manner.

The use of repetition and other rhetorical devices, coupled with the employment of rhyming and assonant lines, defines the style of the "Soul's Address." However, mention must be made of two features remarkable for their relative absence. The poet does not use litotes, understatement, an omission interesting because it is such a common rhetorical device in Old English verse. Also, he tends to avoid words and phrases of description, amplification, and embellishment. Certain terms in keeping with the tone of the work occur with some frequency, e.g., ful "foul", luber "loathsome", wrecche "wretched," and variations of "sorry," "sorrowful," etc. For example, variations of the latter occur seven times in the first twenty-eight lines of Fragment A; ful is used three times in ll. F(D)5-7 and in l. 5 the verb afulen occurs as well. For the most part, however, the poet either leaves his nouns undescribed or uses adjectives so worn that they have little impact on the imagination: e.g., dinne egen, l. A42, on holie wiſdoms, l. R(F)43, mid hearde worde, l. C(G)22; somewhat stronger are on durſeſe huſe, ll. D(B)40 and G(E)8, and hungria found, l. E(C)99. As a result, his

work takes on a stark, almost ascetic quality. This lack of description may arise from an inability to handle the more intricate rhetorical figures in a metrical context. Certainly the amplification of the hedgehog simile, ll. B(F)22-33, is a laboured and unpromising affair. It must be allowed, however, that the poet might have made a conscious decision to reduce the aesthetic appeal of his work by keeping amplification to a minimum, thereby enhancing his overriding didactic purpose. If this was his intention, he has certainly succeeded; there are very few passages in the poem where the manipulation of language is such that one might be seduced into disregarding the moral import of what is being said.

## Sources and Structure

It is quite well established now that the medieval 'body and soul' poems have their antecedents in the prose versions of the theme,<sup>111</sup> and one can indeed discover similarities of detail and tone between the English and Latin prose works that contain addresses made by souls and the Worcester "Soul's Address to the Body."<sup>112</sup> One can also find short addresses of souls to bodies.<sup>113</sup> However, there is nothing in the prose 'body and soul' literature really comparable to the Worcester poem if one makes this comparison with a view to solving the fundamental structural problem caused by the disassembly of the MS., i.e., what is the correct order of the fragments that remain?<sup>114</sup> Therefore, while the belief that the "Soul's Address" and the early 'body and soul' poems in general represent poetic responses to prose expressions of the theme need not be challenged, it is more profitable, when the discussion focuses on structure, to examine the poem in the context of the other extant metrical versions, particularly those written in English, and particularly the English addresses that were popular in the Old and early Middle English periods. The extent to which the writers of 'body and soul' poems had access to the works of other poets we cannot know. A substantial number of works have survived,<sup>115</sup> however, and it is clear in some cases that their creators were aware of a verse tradition exemplifying the 'body and soul' theme.<sup>116</sup> In regard to questions of structure

and form, it was in the other poetic treatments of their theme that these men found models from which to copy and diverge. Before examining the poetic versions of the 'body and soul' theme, however, we must look briefly at the key monuments of the prose tradition that do remain in order to establish, as best we can, the context out of which these poetic versions, and specifically the Worcester "Soul's Address," developed.

It is generally agreed that one ancient work that does lie behind the development of the 'body and soul' theme in the Latin and vernacular homiletic prose of Western Europe is the apocryphal Visio Sancti Pauli, a work probably of Coptic origin<sup>117</sup> written in Greek<sup>118</sup> not later than 250.<sup>119</sup> It was ascribed to Paul in what is likely a later preface. The Visio was a very popular work in the Middle Ages, probably second only to the canonical Revelation as a source of information about the afterlife.<sup>120</sup> Of particular importance to the development of the 'body and soul' theme was the Visio's initial section, chapters 1-18, a summary of which Antonette Healey conveniently provides in the introduction to her edition of the Old English translation of the work:

Opening with a quotation from 2 Cor. 12.2-4, in which St. Paul speaks of his rapture to the third heaven, P. evokes the appropriate visionary atmosphere. An account of the discovery of the revelation in a box of marble under the foundations of Paul's house in Tarsus (1-2) is a prelude to hearing the contents of the work. The vision proper then begins (3), narrated in the first person, with Paul's statement that the voice of God came to him, commanding him to chastise these people for their transgressions. Paul learns (4-6) that not only God but also the elements are weary of the sinfulness of man. The sun, the moon and stars, the seas, the waters, and the earth are only checked from destroying man by the mercy of God. The voice further describes (7-10) how the angels report to God twice a day, at sunrise and sunset, concerning the

deeds of men. . . . A guiding angel then carries Paul to the third heaven (11-12) to see the places of the righteous and the damned. During the journey, he notices a group of evil spirits who dwell beneath the firmament of heaven. In addition, he sees two bands of angels, angels without mercy and angels with radiant faces, who function as psychopomps, those who lead out the souls of the dying. Paul then requests to see the deaths of a good man and a sinful man (13), and as he looks down from heaven, the world appears as nothing to his eyes. He looks again (14) and sees a good man about to die with all his deeds lying about him. As his soul leaves the body, it is met by psychopomps, both good and evil, but only the good angels have control of it. The good angels encourage it; its guardian angel praises it; its spirit comforts it. On the way to heaven it is challenged by wicked powers who search it in vain for "something of ours." When the soul is brought to God, its guardian angel and its spirit testify to its goodness, God commands it to be given to Michael and brought to Paradise. The outgoing of the wicked soul (15-16) follows a similar pattern. This time, however, the evil angels snatch the soul at the moment of death. Likewise, the evil powers meet it on its way to heaven and claim it as their own. The soul is carried to God's throne, where its angel and its spirit testify against it. God rejects it and the soul is handed to the angel Tartaruchus to be punished. A second wicked soul is then brought before God (17-18), who laments that it has been tormented by merciless angels for seven days. However, it denies having sinned until confronted by its guardian angel with a list of its sins and by those whom it has injured. The soul finally acknowledges its guilt and is handed over to Tartaruchus.<sup>121</sup>

The work goes on to present portrayals of righteous and wicked souls after death and immediate judgement; it concludes with a vision of the garden of Eden.<sup>122</sup>

Even from this brief summary it should be apparent that the "Soul's Address" differs greatly from that part of the Visio Sancti Pauli that concerns us. Not to be found in the "Soul's Address" is the elaborate superstructure of extraterrestrial beings: the psychopomps, the guardian angel, and the spirit separate from the soul itself; also missing is the journey past the powers of the air to heaven where immediate judgement

is rendered by God in the presence of the heavenly host.<sup>123</sup> The "Soul's Address" is incomplete and some mention of this superstructure may have been lost, but it would have been a jarring development in the work had it been made. The soul in the "Soul's Address" refers repeatedly to the devil who apparently led the body astray, and there are extended references to the soul's origin in heaven, to its position in the broader cosmological scheme as well as to its eventual damnation and punishment, but there is no indication in what remains that any journey of the soul after death will be described to any great extent: the focus is, by and large, on the actions of the body and the sorrows of the soul in the life that has just ended. Also missing from the "Soul's Address," though of primary importance in the Visio, is the balancing portrayal of the righteous soul. Once again, the fragmentary state of the "Soul's Address" makes it impossible to say with complete assurance that such a balancing portrayal never occupied a place in the work, but it will be argued below that it is unlikely that there ever was one.

For the purposes of this discussion, special attention must be paid to Chapter 15, of the Visio, the departure of the wicked soul from its body:

And he said unto me: Look down again upon the earth and wait for the soul of a wicked man going forth of the body, one that hath provoked the Lord day and night, saying: I know nought else in the world, I will eat and drink and enjoy the things that are in the world. For who is he who hath gone down into hell and come up and told us that there is a judgement there? And again I looked and saw all the despising of the sinner, and all that he did, and they stood together before him in the hour of necessity: and it came to pass in that hour when he was led out of his body to the judgement; that he said: It were better for me that I had not been born. And after that the holy angels and the evil



and the soul of the sinner came together, and the holy angels found no place in it. But the evil angels, threatened (had power over) it, and when they brought it forth out of the body, the angels admonished it thrice, saying: O wretched soul, look upon thy flesh whence thou art come out; for thou must needs return into thy flesh at the day of resurrection to receive the due reward for thy sins and for thy wickedness.<sup>124</sup>

A number of features should be taken note of here. First, it is apparent that the soul, rather than or as well as the body, is guilty and this guilt is apparent not only in the initial statement in the chapter but also throughout the opening section. Secondly, it should be noted that the soul in the Visio does not actually address the body; it speaks a single line upon leaving the body and that is all. Thirdly, the evil angels who have power over the wicked soul tell it three times to look at the body it has just left since it must return to it at the Last Judgement. It is Silverstein's opinion that this admonition, which is balanced by a similar statement made by the good angels to the righteous soul, is the basis of the 'body and soul' theme in later literature.<sup>125</sup>

Batiouchkof believes that the 'body and soul' material of the Visio Sancti Pauli was transmitted to the west not in a redaction of that work itself but rather in another ancient work known as the legend of St. Macarius.<sup>126</sup> Three late versions of this legend survive: two in Latin and one in Old English (of which there are two copies).<sup>127</sup> In the version which Batiouchkof knew,<sup>128</sup> Macarius of Alexandria relates the visions of a monk who sees first a wicked, then a righteous soul exiting from their respective bodies, a reversal of the order in the Visio. As in the Visio, there is a superstructure of angelic and demonic beings that come into play at the point of death; however,

immediate judgement has already been rendered so that, in the case of the wicked soul, no guardian angel or spirit appears and no journey to heaven occurs, though on their way to hell the soul and its vanguard of demons do come close enough to heaven for the soul to ask "Ubi est ista claritas?" and be told by his companions that it was his original home: "Nonne cognoscis patriam tuam unde existi quando fuisti in peregrinatione?" This passage may be related to statements on the origin of the soul in the Visio. Not found in the Visio is the role of the devils at the point of death. As the body begins to change colour and the face begins to sweat, they attack the body, stabbing the eyes, mouth, and heart in retribution for the particular sins each committed. This relation of specific parts of the body to specific sins in the context of the 'body and soul' theme, or something similar, may lie behind the recurring references to parts of the body in the "Soul's Address," e.g., 11. C(G)11-25, E(C)16-22, G(E)17-35.

In this homily the wicked soul expresses the opinion that the body, and not itself, is to blame for their damnation, but its statements are thoroughly discredited by the context as well as by what appears to be the demons' rejoinder that serves to divide the soul's address into two parts:

Heu me, heu me, quare unquam in corpore illud tenebrosum et pessimum ingredi merui!--Ve tibi, misera anima, quare pecunias et alienas facultates et substantias pauperum tulisti et congregasti in domo tua! Tunc bibebas vinum et nimis decorasti carnes tuas illustrissimis vestibus et pulcherrimis.--Tu eras fecunda, o caro, et ego maculenta; tu eras virens et ego pallida; tu eras hiliaris (sic) et ego tristis; tu ridebas et ego semper plorabam. Modo eris esca vermium et putredo pulveris, et requiesces medicum tempus, et me deduxisti cum fletu ad inferos, 129

(Alas for me, alas for me, why did I ever deserve to enter that gloomy, wicked body! (Woe to you, wretched soul, why did you carry off the money and belongings of others and the goods of paupers and accumulate them in your own home! You drank wine then and over-adorned your body with most glorious and beautiful clothes.) Flesh, you were fat and I was thin; you were vigorous and I was wan; you were merry and I was sad; you laughed and I always wept. Now you will be food for worms and dust's decay. You will rest for a little while, but you have led me with weeping to hell.)<sup>130</sup>

Also, after the soul has been told what the brightness is that it sees on the way to hell, it laments ever leaving that original home to go down into the body, its Egypt. It is then swallowed by the devil in the shape of a dragon and vomited into hell. Therefore, there occur in this work two short addresses by the wicked soul: one of condemnation to the body and one of self-pity. More interest in what the soul might say in this remarkable situation is evident in the Batiouchkof homily than in the Visio Sancti Pauli, and this increased interest probably results, given the didactic intention of the homilist, from a desire to arouse some degree of apprehension and terror in the auditor about last things.

The other Latin version of the St. Macarius legend occurs in the pseudo-Augustinian "Sermones ad Fratres," Sermon 69.<sup>131</sup> In this version only the wicked soul is portrayed, but this portrayal follows the earlier work quite closely; the soul's lament before entering hell is somewhat expanded.<sup>132</sup> The "Sermones" are particularly rich in expressions of the 'body and soul' theme. In Sermon 56 a brief reference is made to the reunification of the soul and Body on Judgement Day;<sup>133</sup> in Sermon 58 on the transitory nature of earthly glory, following an ubi sunt passage, a rotting body is depicted, its soul in hell.<sup>134</sup> The decomposition of a

a dead body is also portrayed in Sermon 48.<sup>135</sup> However, perhaps the most interesting piece, from the perspective of the "body and soul" theme, is Sermon 49, a work characterized by sudden shifts in the focus of the preacher's vitriolic attack and by a consistent, accusatory tone and severely dualistic statements on the relation of soul to body.<sup>136</sup>

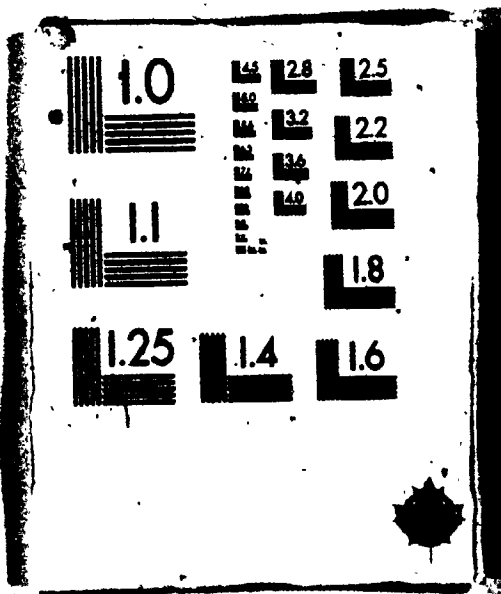
The sermon begins with an attack upon life, vita, and targets for attack throughout the piece are variously life, the world, and the devil; however, the preacher is primarily concerned with castigating the flesh, caro, which is depicted at every turn as the enemy of the soul:

Caro inimica est animae: quae si inimica non esset, non utique dilexisset istius saeculi vanitatem, et vita vana non frueretur. . . . O caro misera, quid habes, quid agis, quid tantum gravas animam, quae nihil desiderat nisi Deo servire? . . . Anima nostra carcerem patitur, caro eam tenet inclusam.<sup>137</sup>

(The flesh is the soul's enemy; if it were not the enemy, it would certainly not delight in this world's vanity, nor enjoy life's emptiness. . . . Miserable flesh, what have you got, what are you doing? Why do you weigh the soul down so heavily, when it only wants to serve God? . . . Our soul suffers in prison; the flesh holds it shut up.)<sup>138</sup>

At only one point is there any indication of the soul's culpability in its own and the body's damnation: Et scito, anima, dum corpus tenebrosum et fetidum reficiebas atque fovebas, escas vermibus praeparabas. (But, when you refreshed and pampered the shadowy, disgusting body, understand soul, that you were preparing food for worms.) This statement comes, however, in the midst of an assault on the flesh. Toward the end of the work God is portrayed speaking to the flesh, claiming that it (not the soul, apparently) was created in his image, and at the conclusion a soul addresses its body:

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these words may not have been archaic (or quite so archaic) when the "Soul's Address" was first composed, i.e., the early twelfth century or, perhaps, the late eleventh.

<sup>94</sup> E.g., dreamburl, l. G(E)30, and the problematic qualehold, l. D(B)42.

<sup>95</sup> See Albert B. Lord, The Singer of Tales (1960; rpt. New York: Atheneum, 1978), pp. 13-29.

<sup>96</sup> See, e.g., Oakden, I, 138ff., 242ff., and R.M. Wilson, Early Middle English Literature, 3rd ed. (London: Methuen, 1968), p. 15.

<sup>97</sup> Blake, pp. 118-19.

<sup>98</sup> On rhyme in Ælfric and in OE poetry, see Pope, Homilies, I, 133, and Kuhn, p. 648.

<sup>99</sup> Lines A29, B(F)19, C(G)6, E(C)15, E(C)37, F(D)9, F(D)16, and F(D)42.

<sup>100</sup> Lines D(B)8, D(B)44, and F(D)40.

<sup>101</sup> Lines D(B)45 and F(D)41.

<sup>102</sup> Lines B(F)26 and F(D)48.

<sup>103</sup> Oakden, I, 138-39.

<sup>104</sup> Everett, p. 39; see the discussion of rhyming lines below, IV, "Style," pp. 75-77.

<sup>105</sup> Perhaps sone and seoppen were meant to alliterate in this line, in which case both rhyme and alliteration would be present.

<sup>106</sup> Constance B. Heatt, "A New Theory of Triple Rhythm in the Hypermetric Lines of Old English Verse," MP, 67 (1968), 1-8. The use of certain rhyming lines in the "Soul's Address" to highlight various themes of the poem is reminiscent of the way in which hypermetric lines are sometimes employed in Old English verse; see, e.g., "The Wanderer," ll. 112-15, and "The Seafarer," ll. 106-08.

to Death, which are characteristic features of the poetic versions of the theme.<sup>152</sup> Within this passage a number of phrases occur which are strikingly similar to ones in the Old English "Soul and Body" as well as a few that are reminiscent of lines in the "Soul's Address." No direct structural relation to the "Soul's Address" is apparent, however. The 'body and soul' passage edited by Zupitza is a variant of the portrayal of the blessed soul in the Förster work.

This cursory examination of the prose tradition of the 'body and soul' theme provides us with a broader context in which to study that theme's poetic manifestations.<sup>153</sup> It allows us to see the features that have been taken from the prose tradition and incorporated into the poetic tradition as a whole and the "Soul's Address" in particular, for it alone among the extant English poems preserves some of these features. This brief examination of the prose treatments of the theme also allows us to see the differences between them and their verse counterparts.

Batiouchkof admitted that some intermediary work must have stood between the St. Macarius legend and the Old English "Soul and Body" though no such work has come to light as yet.<sup>154</sup> Louise Dudley pointedly omits the English verse tradition from her study of the Egyptian antecedents to the Occidental versions of the theme. Those Egyptian elements which can be discerned even in the Old English prose--most clearly in the Thorpe and Napier homilies which are themselves versions of the St. Macarius legend--are not significant features in the English verse tradition.<sup>155</sup>

Further, as we have seen, these prose versions occur, for the most part, as exempla in homilies, and, as such, they have been shaped with greater or lesser skill to the specific needs of the homilist:

actual address of the soul to the body is short:

. . . .wā me earmre, þæt ic æfre geboren sceolde  
wurðan, oððe þæt ic æfre sceolde niman eardung-  
stowe on þis fulestan and on þis wyrstan lichaman,  
þe was â nymende earmra manna ehta on unriht.  
eala þu earma lichama and wurma mēte, â þu wunne  
æfter eorðlicum welum, and a ðu geglengdest þe  
mid eorðlicum hræglum and forgeate me. þonne ðu  
wære glæd and reod and godes hiwes, þonne was ic  
blâc and swyðe ûnrot; þonne þu smercodest and  
hloge, þonne weop ic biterlice. eala þu earma  
lichama, nu þu scealt gewurðan to fûlan hræwe  
and wyrmmum to mete; and ic mid sare and mid  
geomerunge sceal to helle beon gelæd.<sup>144</sup>

As in the Latin examples of this version, mention is made of the soul's birthplace that is, in its greatly expanded form, such a curious feature in the "Soul's Address," ll. B(F)34 and C(G)29-31. Also of interest is the short address made by the soul in the Napier homily before the exemplum of the departing soul occurs:

. . . .hwæt dest þu, la flasc, oððe hwæt driht  
þu nu? hwæt miht þu on þa tid þearfe wepan? wa  
ðe nu, ðu þe þeowest ðissere worulde and her on  
galnyse leofast. hwi ne forhttast þu ðe fyrene  
egesas and þe sylfum ondrætst swiðlice witu, þa  
drihten geo deoflum geworhte, awyrgedum gastum,  
wonna to leanes?<sup>145</sup>

The opening lines of this statement are very reminiscent of lines found in the Old English "Soul and Body" and in "Judgement Day II," the source of the latter generally being attributed to Bede.<sup>146</sup> Similar lines do not occur in the "Soul's Address," however.

Different from the Napier and Thorpe homilies, but also occurring at the time of death, are the addresses of a righteous and a wicked soul presented as an exemplum in a homily edited by Morris.<sup>147</sup> The passage begins with the soul, i.e., every soul, penning up the various organs



of the body, actually carrying out the physical death of the body. The righteous soul, which is sorry to leave its body, speaks first, then the wicked soul. The addresses themselves are brief and undistinguished and are followed by a description of the fate of the wicked man's worldly possessions:

þe frendmen him biwepeð gef anie ben. bigemeð þe  
 licame ⁊ and forgemeð þe sowe. þanne fon uncuðe  
 men to þe aihte þe arure his waren. also þe boc  
 seið Relinquent alienis divitias suas. Hie bileueð  
 uncuðe men þe aihte þe hie forleten haddeð. þe  
 man is uncuð þe oðer þe nele naht him cnowen.  
 ne helpen him gief he neod haueð. þus doð þe  
 libbende frend to-genes þe liggende. Gief þe quike  
 haueð aihte þe were þe dedes arure. þe he him  
 biqueð. þo he him seluen habben ne mihte. þe  
 quike hem doð him selue to note. and nohte deades  
 sowe to note.<sup>148</sup>

This is not part of the soul's address proper, but it is clearly related to the misuse of worldly possessions mentioned so often in 'body and soul' literature and to the attitudes of the living to the dead that seem to have been of particular interest to the English poets who explored the theme, e.g., ll. A38-40, D(B)4-16, F(D)10-15; "Soul and Body I," ll. 57-60. It should also be mentioned that the 'body and soul' passage in this homily is virtually unique in its relative unconcern for Last Judgement, for the punishments or rewards for soul and body.

It seems clear that the "Soul's Address" takes place at the time of death or shortly thereafter: the final line on f. 63<sup>v</sup>, þonne besihþ þeo soule soriliche to þen lich~~ame~~ (l. A45), indicates a physical detachment of soul and body at the outset of the address; the references to burial customs on ff. 63<sup>v</sup> (ll. A30-36) and 65<sup>r</sup> (ll. F(D)10-14) also make it seem likely that death has just occurred, as do the Signs of Death listed on f. 63<sup>v</sup> (ll. A16-21). In most of the Latin prose versions, we

have seen that addresses of the soul to the body also occur soon after death. In the Old English prose passages, however, two other possible times of address are found. In two similar homiletic exempla edited by Willard, both a blessed soul and a damned soul return to their respective bodies at some time of respite between death and Last Judgement to either praise or condemn as the case may be.<sup>149</sup> The damned soul accuses its body of sin in the usual fashion and then bemoans its fate:

Wa me, forðam ic þa awirgedan þinc mid ðe lufode!  
 Wa me, forðam ic þa toweardan þingc ne gemunde!  
 Wa me, forðam ic me hellewite ne ondred! Wa me,  
 forðam þe ic heofonarice ne lufode! Wa me, forðam  
 þe ic geþafode ealle ða yfel þe þu dydest! Forþon  
 ic nu for ðinum gewyrhtum eom cwylmed, and for  
 þinum yfelum dædum ic eom on hellewitum bescofen.  
 Ic was Godes dohter, and engla swistor gescapen,  
 and þu me hafast forworht, þæt ic eam deofles  
 bearn, and deoflum gelic. Forþon ic ðe wrege and  
 þe ofercyme mid wærignesse, forþam þu me forworht-  
 est and awergedne gedydest.<sup>150</sup>

The references to the soul being the daughter of God closely parallels 1. C(G)31 of the "Soul's Address." In both homilies the blessed soul offers a similarly structured statement of the opposite sentiments.

In three Old English homilies edited by Assmann, Förster, and Zupitza, the addresses of the souls to their bodies take place on Judgement Day.<sup>151</sup> The passage in the Assmann piece, where a damned and a blessed soul address their respective bodies, is quite short and of no particular significance to the "Soul's Address" when examined from the point of view of structure. The 'body and soul' passage in the Förster homily is distinctive among the Old English prose versions for its length and its rambling style. Eleanor K. Heningham has drawn attention to the use of memento-mori themes and devices within the context of the 'body and soul' segment of the work, e.g., an ubi sunt passage, an apostrophe

to Death, which are characteristic features of the poetic versions of the theme.<sup>152</sup> Within this passage a number of phrases occur which are strikingly similar to ones in the Old English "Soul and Body" as well as a few that are reminiscent of lines in the "Soul's Address." No direct structural relation to the "Soul's Address" is apparent, however. The 'body and soul' passage edited by Zupitza is a variant of the portrayal of the blessed soul in the Förster work.

This cursory examination of the prose tradition of the 'body and soul' theme provides us with a broader context in which to study that theme's poetic manifestations.<sup>153</sup> It allows us to see the features that have been taken from the prose tradition and incorporated into the poetic tradition as a whole and the "Soul's Address" in particular, for it alone among the extant English poems preserves some of these features. This brief examination of the prose treatments of the theme also allows us to see the differences between them and their verse counterparts.

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Further, as we have seen, these prose versions occur, for the most part, as exempla in homilies, and, as such, they have been shaped with greater or lesser skill to the specific needs of the homilist:

In the Anglo-Saxon homiletic tradition the meeting of Body and Soul was presented as an episode in a long sermon that often contained other themes of death. . . . But in the twelfth century a development took place in the Body and Soul tradition . . . whereby the theme, instead of being a short and isolated anecdote, became a large and flexible framework, with all the traditional death themes accumulated into the reproach of the soul. This transition was of very great importance, firstly, because through it separate themes became organized into a dramatic whole, and, secondly, because the tone inevitably changed, for what before had been a rhetorical and objective description of a preacher became, when spoken by the soul, entirely filled with a personal vindictiveness and horror.<sup>156</sup>

As a literary form, the address of the soul to its body was transformed in the movement from prose to verse and it is not surprising, therefore, that the prose versions that remain do not provide us with much useful information on the questions of structure that are so vital in the case of the fragmentary "Soul's Address."

The Worcester "Soul's Address to the Body," when viewed from the perspective of English medieval 'body and soul' poems, stands out as a rather unusual and idiosyncratic work. It is the largest and also the most comprehensive of these works, containing, as it does, all the important details and motifs generally associated with 'body and soul' poetry, leaving aside the basic formal distinctions of address and debate. It contains a number of features found in only one or two other poems; it is the one Middle English version which can be shown to have some relation, albeit distant, to the Old English "Soul and Body." However, the "Soul's Address" also contains a number of features that do not occur in the other extant 'body and soul' poems (some are found in the prose tradition; others, not), and one must wonder what position these features took in the original structure of the work and whether or

not we can re-discover that original structure by examining that which remains in the light of both the verse and, to a lesser extent, the prose tradition of 'body and soul' literature.

Unlike the homilies in which 'body and soul' passages occur, the primary focus in the poems is the 'body and soul' material itself. This is especially true in the addresses in which the body does not respond to the soul's accusations: the most important of these addresses are the Old English "Soul and Body," the "Soul's Address," and the early thirteenth-century "Latemest Day."<sup>157</sup> In the later thirteenth-century debates, "Als y lay in a winters niȝt" and "In a thestri stude,"<sup>158</sup> and to some extent in the "Latemest Day" as well, concern with the depiction of torments in hell begins to vie with the more usual 'body and soul' material for the primary focus of the work. Incorporated into all the poems are features often associated with the 'body and soul' theme in the homilies: e.g., the ubi sunt passage which occurs in all the Middle English versions, though not in the Old English "Soul and Body"; the passage on the friends of the dead similar in tone to that in the Morris homily; the depiction of the grave and worms which occurs in the Old English "Soul and Body" though not as part of the soul's address proper, but which is in the "Soul's Address" and the later works.<sup>159</sup> As a form, the 'body and soul' poem broadens to incorporate a number of related features from the prose tradition.

The scope of the English poems, particularly the addresses, seems narrower in relation to the prose versions in many ways. The superstructure of angels and devils, the concern with the depiction of the journey of the soul, etc., have been largely eliminated or at least subdued. Yet, at the same time, the scope of the poems is broader than

the prose versions, not only structurally, because of the incorporation of the features mentioned above, but also in terms of the realism brought to the portrayal of the soul in its predicament.<sup>160</sup> The souls in the English poems, and especially the addresses, once again, seem to be more conscious than their prose counterparts and more willing to complain about their predicaments. Therefore, the potential exists for increased psychological and physical realism as the soul portrays the body's past life and current state and bewails its own past life in the body and current state of turmoil. One must not exaggerate the presence of realism in medieval poetry, but within the limits set by the 'body and soul' theme, the English poets of the addresses do tend toward it.

Neither the combined narrowing and broadening of scope nor the increased realism that results are so apparent in the debates where the rejoinders of the body to the soul serve to move the work toward the realm of dialectic, argument, and reason, engaging thereby the intellect of the auditor, even giving rise, at some points, to humour. The physical and psychological details are enclosed within the schema of the debate and much of their force is lost, even though the concluding depictions of hell torment, one of which also occurs in the "Latest Day," are exceedingly gruesome.<sup>161</sup> In the addresses there is, at least superficially, some reason to doubt the orthodoxy of the sentiments put forward by the speaking souls and, therefore, perhaps an unvoiced appeal to the theological understanding of the auditor; but the primary goal of these poets is not the investigation of argument or the stimulation of intellect but the arousal of feelings of foreboding in the auditor through the portrayal of the lost soul in a dialogue of one, unable to communicate with its body and condemned by this silence, and by its own

excessive complaining, as effectively, and a good deal more affectively, as by the rejoinders of the bodies in the debates.<sup>162</sup>

In all the longer 'body and soul' poems in English, the 'body and soul' material itself is contained within a framing device of some sort. The confrontation between soul and body is set within a context established at the beginning of the work. In the Old English "Soul and Body" and the "Latemest Day" this context is eschatological; all men are encouraged to think of last things both at the beginning and at the end of both works. In the Latin and Old French debates and "Als y lay in a winters ni3t," the context is visionary in nature:

Als y lay in a winters ni3t  
In a droupening bifor pe day  
Me pou3t y seige a selli sigt,  
A bodi opon a bere lay.<sup>163</sup>

The opening of "In a thestri stude" recalls a chanson d'aventure.<sup>164</sup> The tone of the concluding statements in the debates is eschatological, however. In neither case, address or debate, is the framing device obtrusive. In the "Soul's Address," we cannot be sure what exactly the context is from what remains of f. 63<sup>v</sup>.<sup>165</sup> To judge from the earlier and later addresses and from the general tone of the statements in the first fragment, one would suspect it is eschatological; however, the apparent concern with the creation in the opening lines of f. 63<sup>v</sup> strikes one as an unusual feature for a 'body and soul' poem. It does seem certain, however, to judge from the extant 'body and soul' literature as a whole--not just the English poems--that there must have been a closing statement, probably exhorting the reader to piety in the usual fashion, which has not survived. For a 'body and soul' poem to end without a return to the framing device would be unprecedented, and,

therefore, it is almost certain that something, at least one leaf, is missing from the end of the MS.

Turning from the framing device to the 'body and soul' material itself, we can see that the features that the "Soul's Address" has in common with all the 'body and soul' poems, address or debate, are found primarily on ff. 64 and 65. It is there we find the ubi sunt<sup>166</sup> passage (ll. D(B)4-11) not found in the Old English poem but present in the three other Middle English poems of substantial length. It is there we find that universal feature of medieval 'body and soul' literature, the description of the grave and worms (especially ll. E(C)29-50 and F(D)1-8). It is there where we discover the most forceful descriptions of the attitudes of the living to the dead body (ll. D(B)10-16; D(B)37-39; E(C)16-18; E(C)32-36; F(D)10-15). Concentrated on ff. 64 and 65, though occurring elsewhere as well, are the descriptions of the body's sins in life (ll. D(B)20-21; D(B)32-34; E(C)23-28; F(D)27-36; F(D)45-48; G(E)18-28). Accusations of this type are found in all the poems of any length, and some indication of the body's actions in life is found in almost every 'body and soul' poem. Also on f. 65 we find much concern expressed about judgement and damnation and, at the bottom of f. 65<sup>v</sup>, the Last Judgement is described, a feature that also occurs in all the longer 'body and soul' poems. Compared to the later Middle English poems, in which the emphasis on the apocalyptic implications of man's activity in life, on judgement, and on hell torment is greatly increased, this description in the "Soul's Address" and the one in the Old English "Soul and Body" are quite tame. In "Als I lay in a winters nigt" and "In a thestri stude" the passages dealing with hell torment and judgement occupy as much space as the rest of the 'body and soul' material combined.



It must be added, as would perhaps seem logical, that the longest and most intense of these descriptions in each poem comes near the end of the poem followed only by a brief return to the framing device.

Concepts on ff. 63 and 66 of the "Soul's Address" are a number of features that must be judged unusual from the point of view of the extant 'body and soul' material. Some of them do occur in prose versions but, by and large, without the development they receive here. The remains of the poem begin with the end of what must have been a short statement on the creation that served as a preamble to the depiction of the joining of body and soul. Mention is made in other poems of birth and the Body's condition at birth, but in no poem is the image of birth and the relation of the pain felt then to the pain of death given such an extensive treatment. This concern with creation in general and with the joining of body to soul is amplified considerably on f. 66 where we find passages dealing with the creation of the soul in the context of the universal creation (ll. B(F)34-50) and the marriage of the soul to the Body at baptism in which mention is made of the soul's being the daughter of God and of the lost children of the soul and body, probably their good deeds (ll. C(G)27-56). The soul's creation and its familial relation to God are briefly discussed in some prose versions, as we have seen; it is not a key feature in the English poems, however, though brief references to the creation of the soul occur in the Old English "Soul and Body" and in the Latin poetic version "Noctis sub silentio." To judge from what remains, this poet, atypically, is as concerned with the creation and origin of the soul as he is with its judgement and damnation; in the later works, as mentioned above, the focus narrows to a concern with the later aspects

of the soul's career.

Other features that appear unique to the "Soul's Address" also occur largely on ff. 63<sup>v</sup> and 66. On f. 63<sup>v</sup> are found the Signs of Death (ll. A16-21) which recur in the "Latetest Day" in a shorter form.<sup>167</sup> On f. 66<sup>r</sup> is found an extended simile in which the body and its sins are compared to the hedgehog and its quills (ll. B(F)20-33); this does not occur in other 'body and soul' poems. Near the bottom of f. 66<sup>v</sup> there appears a reference to the body "withsaking" the devil (l. C(G)47), a clear indication that there was a time in the life of the body when it was not a sinner. This is unparalleled in English 'body and soul' literature; as a rule, the soul depicts the body as wholly bad and no mention is made of a time before sin, a time of relative innocence. The devil also plays a unique role in this poem; he actively participates in the corruption of the body (especially ll. G(E)17-30). In the other 'body and soul' poems, the devil or devils torture the soul after death as they do primarily in the prose; in the "Soul's Address" references to the blandishments of the devil and the slavery of the body to him occur throughout. Also occurring throughout the work and not elsewhere in the English 'body and soul' poems are references to the particular sins of the bodily organs. Primarily singled out are the ears (ll. G(E)17-30) and the tongue (ll. C(G)9-26); the eyes, surprisingly, are not mentioned in this manner.

There is no English 'body and soul' poem sufficiently close to the "Soul's Address" to enable us to judge precisely how these many features enumerated above were bound together into a single structure. In "The Grave," a short fragment of roughly the same date, a number of lines occur that are very reminiscent of certain lines in the "Soul's

Address."<sup>168</sup> Especially striking are the ll. 9-10 of "The Grave,"  
Ðe helewages beoð lage, sidwages unhege; / Þe rof bið ibyld þire broste  
ful neh, compared to ll. E(C)30-31, lowe beop <be> helewewes, unheige  
beop þe sidwoves, / þin rof liip on þine breoste ful <lo>h. Also of  
 interest are ll. D(B)39-40, ær þu beo ibrouht þar þu be<on> scalt, /  
on deope sape, on durelease huse, in relation to l. 5 of "The Grave,"  
Nu me þe bringeð þer þu beon scealt, and l. 13, Durelease is þet huse  
and dearc hit is wiðinnen. There does seem to be some relation between

the works, but what it is cannot be determined.<sup>169</sup> Though it certainly  
 does contain many of the features associated with 'body and soul' poetry,  
 there is no overt proof that "The Grave" should be so classified, nor is  
 its distanced, universal tone typical of an address of a soul to its  
 body.<sup>170</sup> "The Grave" provides little evidence as to the original  
 structure of the "Soul's Address": in the comparison of a work of twenty  
 lines with one of 350, one is clearly limited.

It would appear that the poet who wrote the early thirteenth-  
 century "Latemest Day" was familiar with the "Soul's Address," to judge  
 from the significant number of verbal echoes of the earlier work in the  
 later: e.g., l. 76 of the "Latemest Day," Me wule swopen þin hus, and  
 l. F(D)10 of the "Soul's Address," nu me wule swopen þine flor; l. 79,  
Nu þe sculen wormes wunien wið-inne, and l. E(C)28, þ(et) þu scoldest  
mid wurmen <wunien in eorpan; l. 45, Ne schaltu neuer sitten on  
holstre ne on benche, and l. E(C)26, ac þu sete on þine benche underleid  
mid þine holster.<sup>171</sup> However, if the "Soul's Address" was indeed a  
 primary source for the "Latemest Day," the later poet largely recast the  
 structure, eliminating virtually all the references to the creation  
 while expanding the emphasis on the pain of hell concentrated at the

end of the work. In each of the four MSS. where the "Latemest Day" occurs, it is preceded by the poem "Doomsday" so that it might be argued that the soul's address in the poem has become a feature of a larger apocalyptic work.<sup>172</sup> In the Middle English debates, "Als y lay in a winters nigt" and "In a thestri stude," given their increased emphasis on hell torment and the Last Judgement, the 'body and soul' material might almost be viewed as a vehicle by which the poets could proceed to these descriptions, though a vehicle far more interesting and aesthetically pleasing than that which follows.

Therefore, while the "Soul's Address" contains many features that do link it with other English 'body and soul' poems as well as many features that make it distinctive, there is no obvious source or analogue that allows us to place the fragments in what is clearly the correct order. Must we, therefore, be content with the order of the fragments Phillipps established in the nineteenth century? Or can we examine each fragment again in the light of what we know of 'body and soul' literature in order to establish the most probable order of what remains? We know from the evidence of the MS. that f. 63 precedes the other three leaves of verse and that f. 63<sup>v</sup> contains the first part of the "Soul's Address." We can also be quite certain that recto can be distinguished from verso on ff. 64, 65, 66 and that, in the current order, the leaves are facing the correct way around. The problem lies with the order of the final three leaves.

Buchholz, the only previous editor who addresses the question of order, argues that the similarity in subject matter between the last lines on f. 64<sup>v</sup> and the opening lines on f. 65<sup>r</sup> renders it likely that f. 65 does, in fact, follow f. 64.<sup>173</sup> In a poem in which repetition is

a key stylistic attribute, one must exercise caution in ascribing structural significance to a given feature that may, in fact, recur at almost any point in the poem--almost, it seems, at random--but in this case it can be argued that Buchholz is correct: The description of the worms ravaging the dead body at the bottom of f. 64<sup>v</sup> (ll. E(C) 38-50) is very specific; it portrays them attacking various parts of the body:

	heo wulleþ gnawen þine bon,
þeo orlease wur<mes>.	Heo windeþ on þin armes,
heo brekeþ þine Breoste	and borieþ þ(urh) ofer al,
<heo c>reopeþ in and ut:	þet hord is hore owen.
And so heo wulleþ waden	wide in þi<n wom>be,
todelen þine þermes	þeo þe deore weren,
lifre and þine lihte	lod<liche> torenden,
and so scal formelten	mawe and þin milte.

The same sort of specificity occurs at the top of f. 65<sup>r</sup> (ll. F(D)6-7): heo wulleþ wurchen hore hord on þine heauedþonne, /n<ulleþ> heo bileafen þine lippen unfreten. This may be taken as the completion of the passage begun on f. 64<sup>v</sup>. Elsewhere in the poem the references to the worms voracity are more general, e.g., ll. C(G)4, D(B)41, E(C)28, F(D)24. Also, on f. 65<sup>r</sup> we find l. F(D)3, <þu> scalt nu herborwen unhol wihte, i.e., the worms, which is quite likely an ironic reverberation of l. E(C)23, <nol>dest þu on þine huse herborwen þeo wrecchen, on f. 64<sup>v</sup>, and would, therefore, probably occur after it. If we can accept, then, that f. 65 does, indeed, follow f. 64, we are able to eliminate four possible orders of the final three fragments: 65-64-66, 65-66-64, 66-65-64, as well as 64-66-65 in which the separation of the two leaves would significantly disturb the continuity Buchholz noticed. Two alternatives remain: the current order and 63-66-64-65.

No one has yet come forward in print to offer an explanation of

the current order of the "Soul's Address." The commentary on the literary qualities of the work has been sparse. This is not very surprising, however, because no underlying structural principle is readily apparent in the current order of the fragments. To move right to the heart of the matter, there seems little justification after the material on ff. 64 and 65--the ubi sunt passage, the recurring condemnation of the body's activity in life, the grisly description of the worms at work in the grave, the lengthy consideration of the consequences of sin, i.e., the eternal damnation that body and soul will receive on Judgement Day--for the poet to begin an extended passage, interspersed with further accusations, on the soul's role in creation and on the birth and youth of this particular man. Yet this is what the current order presents in the movement from f. 65<sup>v</sup> to f. 66<sup>r</sup>. It does not lend itself to either explanation or explication. A defence of it would have to rely on a belief in the poet's tendency toward prolixity and his obscured notion of structure. One might explain the material on creation, birth, and baptism as a digression from which the poet must have proceeded to yet another depiction of the Last Judgement before returning to the framing device of the work. One could point to the fact that in "Als y lay in a winters nigbt" the soul's speech begins with an ubi sunt passage and further argue that in the prose versions any references to the soul's origin tend to come near the end of the 'body and soul' passages.

Such a defence is not without problems, however. The ubi sunt passage in "Als y lay in a winters nigbt" does occur at the beginning of the soul's first speech and early in other poems in general; however, one does not occur at all in the Old English "Soul and Body" nor is it

the first thing the soul says in the "Latest Day"; the ubi sunt passage may have gradually moved to its initial or early position in 'body and soul' poems and need not have occurred in such a position in the "Soul's Address." The statements on the origin of the soul in various prose versions of the 'body and soul' theme are interesting for the details they provide, but they do not tell us much about the structure of this poem. These passages in the poem are greatly expanded in comparison to the analogous passages in the prose versions, and further, the poet has treated the origin of the soul differently from the prose writers in a way we shall see shortly. Finally, in its current, imperfect state, the "Soul's Address" is approximately twice as long as any other of the English 'body and soul' poems, earlier or later, address or debate. Only debates such as the Latin "Nuper huiuscemodi visionem somnii" and "Noctis sub silentio" and the French "Un Samedi par Nuit" rival it in length and do so largely on the basis of the increased scope that the debate format provides. In English, the 'body and soul' poem appears to have been regarded as a short form. If the material on f. 66 is viewed as a digression, the "Soul's Address" in its original form would probably have stretched to over five hundred lines in length, and perhaps even longer given the poet's tendency to recapitulate. While this is not, of course, impossible, it must be considered unlikely.

The alternative possible order--63-66-64-65--has not been examined in any printed account, but it goes a long way toward removing the problems presented by the current order. It brings the "Soul's Address" more into line with other English 'body and soul' poems in terms of structure (though it does remain, as mentioned above, an

idiosyncratic work). It also establishes more strongly within the work a chronological, quasi-narrative structure. The concern with chronology is noticed by Ricciardi,<sup>174</sup> but she fails to see or, at least, entertain the possibility that an adjustment in the current order of the fragments serves to strengthen that aspect of the poem and give it a unity it otherwise lacks.

When f. 66 is placed in the second position, the "Soul's Address" moves from its introductory lines with their general description of birth, death, and the time immediately following death to the voice of the soul castigating the body in the context of a lament on its implantation therein:

os meu(m) a(pe)rui et attraxi sp(iritu)m,  
pu[ . . . . ]<dest þin muþ> and drowe me to þe.  
 Walawa and wa is me þ(et) ic efre com to þe,  
 for nold<est þu> mid þine muþe bimænen þine neode,  
 ac efre digelliche þu wold<est ham> biderman.

Lines B(F)34-50 on f. 66<sup>F</sup> describe the creation and the soul's particular place in it and f. 66<sup>V</sup> ends with a lengthy description of the body receiving the soul, their marriage, i.e., baptism, the body's apparent initial rejection of the devil, the subsequent capitulation, and the resultant loss of the bearn, i.e., the good deeds the soul and body should have done together (ll. C(G)27-56). Though the poem cannot be neatly summarized because of the recurrent castigation of the body and the general diffuseness of the poet's style, the primary line of development on f. 66 is chronological.

On ff. 64 and 65 the accusations continue; the emphasis shifts to the desserts of the body, moving first to its worldly possessions (the ubi sunt passage (ll. D(E)4-11), the acquisition of these goods by



others (ll. D(B)12-16, E(C)9-14, E(C)33-36)), then to the body itself, the culmination of that particular concern being the putrefaction in the grave (ll. E(C)38-50, F(D)1-8). This key description of the putrefying body ends on f. 65<sup>r</sup>, as we have seen, and the primary focus shifts on f. 65 to the damnation of the soul and body and the loss which that entails, culminating in the Last Judgement. The former predominates on f. 65<sup>r</sup>: Forloren þu hauest þeo ece blisse, binumen þu hauest þe paradis/bi<nu>men þe is þ(et) holi lond, þen deofle þu bist Asold on hond (ll. F(D)37-38); the latter on f. 65<sup>v</sup>, ll. G(E)30-52:

ite maledicti in ignem eternu(m)  
 Þonne sculen wit si<þien> to alre seorwe mest,  
 faren mid feondes in þet eche fur,  
 beormen <þer e>fre, ende nis þer nefre,  
et q(ui) bona egeru(n)t ibu(n)t in uita(m) et(er)na(m),  
 þonne <scule>n þeo goden mid gode siþian,  
 echeliche wunien i(n) alre wuldre mest>.

In the alternative ordering of the leaves proposed here, then, the soul's address begins with its creation and initial life in the body, describes in some detail, though not chronologically, its torment in the body, and ends with its damnation on Judgement Day. The body is simultaneously seen moving from birth, old age, and death on f. 63<sup>v</sup> to putrefaction and its eventual damnation on ff. 64-65.

Is there any justification for accepting this order in the "Soul's Address" in any of the other 'body and soul' poems? In fact, it can be argued that the Old English "Soul and Body" has a structure roughly analogous to the "Soul's Address." In it, the soul returns to the body at a time of respite. It begins castigating the body and, near the outset of its speech mentions that it was sent to the body from heaven: Hwat, þe la engel ufan of roderum/sawle onsende þurh his sylfes

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hand, ll. 27-28; it portrays its torment in the body, mentioning that worldly possessions proved useless after death; it points out that it would have been preferable had the body not been born a human; it ends with a description of soul and body at the Last Judgement. The portrayal of the worms' assault on the body occurs after the address, just before the end of the poem. In the Latin 'body and soul' debate "Noctis sub silentio", the soul's initial speech, made before the auditor realizes that the body will respond, also has a structure roughly analogous to the Old English "Soul and Body" and the alternative order of the "Soul's Address." The soul begins with a general condemnation and assessment of the body, then talks of its own creation before moving on to a description of its torment in the body; then follows an extended ubi sunt passage, an estimation of the body's present quarters, the grave, and a portrayal of the reactions of the living to the corpse. Near the end of this initial speech, references are made to the eternal damnation that will follow the Last Judgement and mention is made in the last line but one of the worms that gnaw the body.

One cannot press these structural analogies too hard, and it is certainly not being implied here that there is any direct relation between these three poems.<sup>175</sup> However, it is interesting and instructive, nevertheless, that the references to the origin of the soul in both "Soul and Body" and "Noctis sub silentio" occur near the beginning, that the portrayals of the decomposing bodies come near the end, that the visions of the Last Judgement, as is the case in all 'body and soul' poems, occur at the end (of the poem in "Soul and Body," of the soul's first speech in "Noctis sub silentio"). It is also interesting to note that on f. 66 of the "Soul's Address" no mention is made of the decomposed

Body that has been described so vividly on ff. 64-65. The tongue is described as ascorted, l. C(G)9, but this would follow from the Signs of Death on f. 63<sup>V</sup>, l. A19; it is not a Sign of Decomposition.<sup>176</sup> Whereas in other 'body and soul' poems the horrific details--either of the putrefying body or hell torment or both--occur near the end of each work, where they can achieve their optimum effect, in the "Soul's Address" of the current order such descriptions are buried in the centre of the poem. In the revised order, the passage describing the activity of the worms comes towards the end of the poem, the prelude to the consideration of Last Judgement and damnation. Further, if the assessment made above concerning the function of rhyming lines in the poem is correct, i.e., that they serve a stylistic function, breaking up the flow of the alliterative verse, thereby arresting the attention of the auditor,<sup>177</sup> the passage of six consecutive rhyming lines on f. 65<sup>F</sup>, ll. F(D)37-42, can be seen as the emotional climax of the address, and of the poem itself: <

Forloren þu hauest þeo ece blisse, binumen þu hauest þe paradis;  
 bi<nu>men þe is þet holi lond, þen deofle þu bist isold on hond,  
 for noldest þu ne fr<e> hab>ben inouh buten þu hefdest unifouh;  
 nu is þ(et) swete al agon þ(et) bittere þe bi<p> fornon;  
 þ(et) bittere ilest þe efre, þet gode ne cumeþ þe nefre;  
 þus ageþ nu þi<n sip> after þin wrecce lif.

In the alternative order proposed here, these lines would come near the end of the work, followed on f. 65<sup>V</sup> by the vision of the "Last Judgement"; in the current order, they, like the portrayal of the putrefying corpse, lie in the center of the poem, their effectiveness wholly undercut by the long discussion of the origin of the soul and its implantation in the body which follows on f. 66.

The reordering of the last three leaves of Worcester Cathedral MS. F. 174 so that current f. 66 is placed between ff. 63 and 64 is put forward here as an alternative. Without the evidence that a clear source or analogue would provide, no final choice can be made as to which order is correct. This easiest avenue to knowledge of the original structure of the "Soul's Address" being blocked, however, it is clearly better for the critic to pursue admittedly less preferable and less precise ways to establish what that structure probably was than simply to throw up his hands. And it is the view of this writer that, when the remains of the "Soul's Address" are examined from the perspective of the structure of thematically similar works, particularly other English 'body and soul' poems, the alternative order of the fragments is clearly preferable to the current one. The problem for the editor, of course, is whether or not the superiority of the alternative order is sufficient to justify offering it as the text of the poem instead of what has been heretofore accepted virtually without question.

The current order is not defensible on the basis of an evaluation of its intrinsic merits. One could argue, however, that, since this order cannot be proved incorrect beyond a shadow of a doubt, the status quo ought to be maintained and any alternatives to it be brought forward in an introduction. This approach would appear to be the safest method an editor could adopt: to have his cake and eat it too. To print the alternative order is to run the risk of error and embarrassment; but, nevertheless, it is proper for the editor to attempt to put forward what he believes is the best version of the work in front of him.

In writing on the authority of Old-English poetical manuscripts, Kenneth Sisam has the following to say about conjectures:

The difference between a better reading and a worse is, after all, a matter of judgement; and however fallible that faculty may be, the judge must not surrender it to the witness. To support a bad manuscript reading is in no way more meritorious than to support a bad conjecture, and so far from being safer, it is more insidious as a source of error. For, in good practice, a conjecture is printed with some distinguishing mark which attracts doubt; but a bad manuscript reading, if it is defended, looks like solid ground for the defence of other readings. So intensive study with a strong bias towards the manuscript reading blunts the sense of style, and works in a vicious circle of debasement.<sup>178</sup>

And George Kane has the following to say on conjectural emendation:

. . . active editing, whether positive in establishing originality of readings, or negative in merely identifying corruption, or conjectural, in proposing hypothetical original readings which would account for putative corruptions, appears an intellectual responsibility, and one which from its character it would be wrong to abdicate or to restrict because its problems are not often or always conclusively soluble. In these terms conjectural emendation loses any character of unbridled self-indulgence and seems, rather, a valuable activity, hazardous indeed to the reputations of those who undertake it, but if correctly practised more likely to promote knowledge than to mislead.<sup>179</sup>

In the case of the ordering of the "Soul's Address" fragments, one is clearly dealing with a larger problem than either Sisam or Kane was considering, but the principle remains the same. Though it has always been readily apparent that, in dealing with the "Soul's Address," one is dealing with the fragments of a manuscript reconstructed in the nineteenth century, no scholar since the publication of the last complete edition by Buchholz in 1890 has even mentioned parenthetically that the order of the leaves established by Phillipps might be questionable, let alone

wrong. The two most recent editors of the work have both failed to investigate the possibility of an alternative order at all.<sup>180</sup> In short, to judge from the printed evidence, scholars have acquiesced in accepting the current order without question as the correct one. This edition, therefore, presents the fragments in the alternative order, which, it has been argued, is significantly more probable than the order printed heretofore, so that the reader, whether or not he be convinced by the reasons for this decision, will be inescapably confronted with this fundamental problem when dealing with the poem.

In conclusion, it is necessary, and not purely a matter of speculation, to consider what might be missing from the "Soul's Address." It has already been stated that, after the soul finishes speaking, the poem almost certainly would have returned to the framing device with which it began. The failure to do so would be an unprecedented structural feature for a 'body and soul' poem. It was also briefly indicated above that it was unlikely that a balancing portrayal of a righteous soul was ever a feature in the "Soul's Address." The poem as it stands is by far the longest 'body and soul' poem in English; the addition of a balancing address by a righteous soul would double the length at least, and, to judge from the evidence of the other works, the existence of a 'body and soul' poem of this length, perhaps 1000 lines, would have to be considered an unlikely prospect. Further, only the Old English "Soul and Body I" provides any indication that the English poets were interested in such balancing portrayals, and the integrity of this address by a blessed soul vis à vis its relation to the depiction of the damned soul has recently been questioned; it should probably be considered a later, less skillful addition.<sup>181</sup> Perhaps the

best argument against the possible inclusion of a portrayal of a righteous soul in the "Soul's Address" depends on the introductory material on f. 63<sup>v</sup>. It concentrates primarily on the painful nature of birth and death and the ingratitude of friends. It seems suitable only to introduce an address by a wicked soul, but there is no indication on f. 63<sup>v</sup> that the soul of the man who has died is, in fact, wicked, i.e., it is a general description, but one that stresses pain and suffering. It is not probable that such a dreary introduction could serve to introduce an address by a righteous soul. One feature which possibly is missing is a description of the sins of the eyes to balance those of the tongue and the ears, ll. C(G)9-26 and G(E)17-31. It seems unlikely that the tongue and the ears could be singled out for condemnation in a medieval work and the eyes ignored, since the eyes were considered the chief organs by which man sinned. In some of the prose versions discussed above, the devils attacked the eyes, heart, and mouth of the dying man as retribution for the specific sins each wrought. It is conceivable that other organs as well were also mentioned in a lost portion of the "Soul's Address."

NOTES

<sup>1</sup> The standard edition of this work is Elfric, Abbot of Eynsham, Elfrics Grammatik und Glossar, ed. Julius Zupitza (1880; rpt. Berlin: Wiedmann, 1966).

<sup>2</sup> Among the editions of this fragment are Joseph Hall, ed., Selections from Early Middle English: 1130-1250, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1920), pp. 1 (text) and 223-28 (notes), and Bruce Dickins and R.M. Wilson, eds., Early Middle English Texts (1951; rpt. London: Bowes and Bowes, 1965), pp. 1-2 (text) and 151-52 (notes).

<sup>3</sup> Neil Ripley Ker, Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), p. 466 (item 398).

<sup>4</sup> Elfric, Grammatik und Glossar.

<sup>5</sup> Ker, Catalogue, p. 466.

<sup>6</sup> John K. Floyer, Catalogue of Manuscripts Preserved in the Chapter Library of Worcester Cathedral, ed. and rev. Sidney G. Hamilton (Oxford: James Parker, 1906), p. 101.

<sup>7</sup> Ker, Catalogue, p. 466.

<sup>8</sup> Julius Zupitza, "Das Nicaeische Symbolum in englischen Aufzeichnung des 12 Jahrhunderts," Anglia, 1 (1878), 286-87; Wolfgang Keller, Die litterarischen (sic) Bestrebungen von Worcester in angelsächsischen Zeit, Quellen und Forschungen zur Sprach- und Culturgeschichte der germanischen Völker, 84 (Strassburg: Karl J. Trübner, 1906), p. 20.

<sup>9</sup> S.J. Crawford, "The Worcester Marks and Glosses of the Old



English Manuscripts in the Bodleian, Together with the Worcester Version of the Nicene Creed," Anglia, 52 (1928), 1-25, and Neil Ripley Ker, "The Date of the 'Tremulous' Worcester Hand," Leeds Studies in English, 6 (1937), 28-29, both contain facsimiles of the scribe's work. Also see p. 154 below.

<sup>10</sup> A list of the MSS. in which the "tremulous hand" occurs can be found in Neil Ripley Ker, Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: A List of Surviving Books, 2nd ed., Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks, no. 3 (London: Royal Historical Society, 1964), p. 206, fn. 3.

<sup>11</sup> Ker, "Date," pp. 28-29.

<sup>12</sup> Elfric, Grammatik und Glossar, p. 7 (1.6).

<sup>13</sup> Crawford, facing p. 1.

<sup>14</sup> Ker, Catalogue, p. 467.

<sup>15</sup> Elfric, Grammatik und Glossar, p. 7 (1.2).

<sup>16</sup> Neil Ripley Ker, English Manuscripts in the Century after the Norman Conquest: The Lyell Lectures, 1952-53 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960), p. 42.

<sup>17</sup> Patrick Young, Catalogus Librorum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Wigorniensis, Made in 1622-23, ed. and introd. Ivor Atkins and Neil R. Ker (Cambridge: University Press, 1944).

<sup>18</sup> Ker, Catalogue, p. lxxi. A similar fate befell one of the most important manuscript products of medieval Worcester now known as the "Worcester Fragments," "the largest extant repertory of English polyphonic music" of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. See Dom Anselm Hughes, Worcester Mediaeval Harmony of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries Transcribed with a General Introduction, Fifteen Facsimiles, and Notes (1928; rpt. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1971) and

Luther A. Dittmer, The Worcester Fragments: A Catalogue Raisonné and Transcription, Musicological Studies and Documents, 2 (American Institute of Musicology, 1957).

<sup>19</sup> On the history of the Chapter Library of Worcester Cathedral, see the Introduction by Atkins and Ker to Young, Catalogus.

<sup>20</sup> Sir Thomas Phillipps, ed., A Fragment of Alfric's Grammar and Glossary and a Poem on the Soul and Body (London: W. Clowes, 1838).

<sup>21</sup> Ernest Haufe, ed., Die Fragmente der Rede der Seele an den Leichnam in der Handschrift der Cathedrale zu Worcester (Greifswald, 1880), pp. 6-7.

<sup>22</sup> Floyer, p. 100.

<sup>23</sup> Ker, Catalogue, p. 466.

<sup>24</sup> E.g., Haufe, p. 7, and Hall, Selections, p. 223.

<sup>25</sup> Richard Buchholz, ed., Die Fragmente der Reden der Seele an den Leichnam in zwei Handschriften zu Worcester und Oxford (Erlangen, 1890; rpt. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1970), pp. I-II.

<sup>26</sup> Haufe, Die Fragmente; Gail D.D. Ricciardi, ed., "The Grave - Bound Body and Soul: A Collective Edition of Four Related Poems from The Vercelli and Exeter Books, Bodley and Worcester Manuscripts," Diss. University of Pennsylvania 1976; S.W. Singer, ed., The Departing Soul's Address to the Body: A Fragment of a Semi-Saxon Poem Discovered among the Archives of Worcester Cathedral by Sir Thomas Phillipps, Bart., with an English Translation (London: Luke James Hansard, 1845); Hall, Selections, pp. 2-4 (text) and 228-40 (notes); Phillipps, A Fragment.

<sup>27</sup> Personal interview, 10 July 1981.

<sup>28</sup> Hall, p. 223.

<sup>29</sup> See V, "Sources and Structure," pp. 96-97.

<sup>30</sup> See V, "Sources and Structure," below.

<sup>31</sup> Ker, who usually notes the arrangement of leaves in gatherings, says nothing in this regard about Worcester Cathedral MS. F.174 (Catalogue, pp. 466-67). He does say that the leaves of the MS. are "bound up in the correct order, except that f.10 should precede ff.2-9" (p. 466), and he offers, without caveat, the collation reproduced on p. 3 above. His statement is certainly accurate for the first sixty-three of the MS.'s sixty-six leaves, and it is, perhaps, based more on an appraisal of them than of the final three leaves that are of special concern to the editor of the "Soul's Address."

It is interesting to note that, despite the regularity of pattern that can generally be found in the arrangement of leaves in gatherings in early English mss (see Ker, Catalogue, p. xxv), the investigators of lacunae and possible lacunae in these mss seem to ignore the evidence that such an arrangement might provide. For example, some scholars have suggested that a leaf is missing from the second gathering of The Exeter Book, between ff. 15 and 16, and this view seems to have achieved general critical acceptance since Pope's advocacy of it in 1969 (John C. Pope, "The Lacuna in the Text of Cynewulf's Ascension (Christ II, 556b)," in Studies in Language, Literature, and Culture of the Middle Ages and Later, ed. E. Bagley Atwood and Archibald A. Hill (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1969), pp. 210-19). In that part of his argument that depends on an examination of the MS., Pope pays no attention to the arrangement of the leaves in the second gathering. Ker, however, indicates that in The Exeter Book this arrangement is regular (Catalogue, p. xxv). If, in fact, f. 15<sup>v</sup> and f. 16<sup>r</sup> are both flesh sides (f. 15<sup>r</sup> being a hair side, if Ker is correct), then the theory of the missing

leaf would be placed in some jeopardy; if, on the other hand, f. 15<sup>v</sup> is a flesh side and f. 16<sup>r</sup> a hair side, the theory would be provided with stronger manuscript evidence than it has now. The second gathering's supposedly original arrangement ought, at least, to be compared to that of the sixth gathering of The Exeter Book which also has two single leaves folded in with three bifolia.

A case in which the examination of the arrangement of leaves might provide clues for the correct placement of fragments occurs in the second gathering of the Junius MS., only two of whose leaves remain. If there is a consistent pattern to the arrangement of the leaves in the MS., then the exact position that the remaining leaves held in the original gathering could be established with greater precision than they have been up to now. Unfortunately, neither Ker, Gollancz (the editor of the facsimile), nor Doane (the most recent editor of Genesis A) concerns himself with the arrangement of leaves according to hair side and flesh side. However, in the case of the Junius MS., and even more so in the case of Worcester Cathedral MS. F. 174, the fragmentary state of what remains removes a great deal of certainty from the matter.

<sup>32</sup> Jacek Fisiak, A Short Grammar of Middle English, Part One: Graphemics, Phonemics, and Morphemics (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 47, fn. 2 (item 2.40(7), fn. 2).

<sup>33</sup> E.G. Stanley, "Layamon's Antiquarian Sentiments," Medium Aevum, 38 (1969), 26.

<sup>34</sup> Wilhelm Horn, Beiträge zur Geschichte der englischen Guttural-laute (Berlin: Wilhelm Gronau, 1901), pp. 91-94.

<sup>35</sup> Horn, pp. 89-91, offers a possible phonological explanation for this form; however, it may be a scribal error (Jordan 17 rem. 1).

<sup>36</sup> Nikolaus Von Glahn, Zur Geschichte des grammatischen Geschlechts im Mittelenglischen vor dem völligen Erlöschen des aus dem Altenglischen ererbten Zustande, Anglistische Forschungen, 53 (Heidelberg: Carl Winters, 1918), pp. 42-44.

<sup>37</sup> Crawford, "Worcester Marks and Glosses," pp. 6-19.

<sup>38</sup> Hall, p. 232.

<sup>39</sup> J.P. Oakden, Alliterative Poetry in Middle English, I (Manchester, 1930; rpt. Archon Press, 1968), 43-44.

<sup>40</sup> Samuel Moore, S.B. Meech, and H. Whitehall, "Middle English Dialect Characteristics and Dialect Boundaries: Preliminary Report of an Investigation Based Exclusively on Localized Texts," in Essays and Studies in English and Comparative Literature by Members of the English Department of the University of Michigan (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1935), p. 55.

<sup>41</sup> Hans Kurath and Sherman Kuhn, Middle English Dictionary: Plan and Bibliography (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1954), p. 12.

<sup>42</sup> Stanley, p. 26.

<sup>43</sup> Hall, p. 232.

<sup>44</sup> R.W. Chambers, "The Continuity of English Prose from Alfred to More and his School," in Harpsfield's Life of More, ed., Elsie Vaughan Hitchcock, E.E.T.S. (O.S.), no. 186 (London: Oxford University Press, 1932), p. xci; Dorothy Everett, Essays on Middle English Literature, ed. Patrick Kean (1955; rev. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959), pp. 24-25.

<sup>45</sup> Buchholz, pp. LXII-LXXIV. In the discussion of the poem's prosody, capitalization and punctuation have been omitted from the examples.

<sup>46</sup> A few lines lack dividing punctuation: ll. D(B)28, E(C)10, E(C)31, F(D)3, and G(E)7. These omissions are probably scribal in origin. Metrical pointing is not an uncommon feature in Old English mss. It occurs in the Junius MS., in some mss of Ælfric, and in portions of Wulfstan's works as well.

<sup>47</sup> Eduard Sievers, "Zur Rhythmik des germanischen Alliteration-verses," Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur, 10 (1885), 209-314; John C. Pope, The Rhythm of Beowulf: An Interpretation of Normal and Hypermetric Verse-Forms in Old English Poetry (1942); rpt. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966); A.J. Bliss, The Metre of Beowulf (1958; rpt. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1962).

<sup>48</sup> Oakden's figures, I, 139, based on an analysis of 165 lines (?), are seventy-nine lines alliterating xa/ay, forty-three alliterating aa/ax, and thirty-seven alliterating ax/ay. The proportions are similar; the different totals probably arise from conflicting views as to what constitutes deliberate, as opposed to accidental, alliteration. It is interesting to note that, while Oakden acknowledges the authority of Buchholz's edition, he quotes throughout from Singer's edition of the "Soul's Address."

<sup>49</sup> Oakden, I, 139, claims that in "Soul's Address" sc does alliterate with s and sk but gives no examples. Lines such as B(F)10, 29 and 34 provide possible, though not unequivocal, evidence to substantiate his view. In l. D(B)34 gr alliterates with g. Of the two other initial clusters that Oakden mentions, fl occurs most clearly as an alliterating stave in l. F(D)10, but no evidence supports his notion that cl functioned in this manner. Neither sl nor the traditional Old English stave sp occurs in alliterating position in the poem. ʒ alliterates with g in

in most Old English poems, but they are distinct staves in the late "Battle of Maldon."

<sup>50</sup> Oakden, I, 140, does find descendents of the OE A, B, and C verse-types in the "Soul's Address"; he calls them respectively Falling, Rising, and Clashing rhythms. The usual rhythm, however, is one he calls the Rising-Falling type, i.e., xxx/xx/x. Dorothy Everett, p. 27, follows Oakden's categorization. Thorlac Turville-Petre, in The Alliterative Revival (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1977), classifies the "Soul's Address" with Layamon's Brut, "The Grave," and a few chronicle poems as examples of a "loose alliterative style," a kind of verse that shows some of the features of "classical" OE verse but which ought not to be compared to the "classical" form as an inferior or debased derivative, pp. 6-14.

<sup>51</sup> Karl Luick, "Geschichte der heimischen Metra," Grundriss der germanischen Philologie, II, 1889, 996-1004; Jakob Schipper, A History of English Versification (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1910), pp. 64-79; Sherman Kuhn, "Was Ælfric a Poet?" PQ, 52 (1973), 643-62.

<sup>52</sup> James Erwin Noble, "Layamon's Brut and the Continuity of the Alliterative Tradition," Diss. University of Western Ontario 1981, pp. 55-121.

<sup>53</sup> The following examples are scanned according to Pope's theories of OE verse rhythm; see The Rhythm of Beowulf and Seven Old English Poems (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1966), pp. 97-138. /, \, and x mark primary, secondary, and low stress respectively (double accents are not used); ~ marks phonemic resolution; () mark elements in the rhythm taken by rests in Pope's system.

<sup>54</sup> Shortening of long i in trisyllabic licame would change the

scansion of this verse slightly; it would remain an A verse, however.

<sup>55</sup> This scansion assumes that the first element of the compound has been shortened.

<sup>56</sup> If æ in grædie has not shortened owing to its position in this trisyllabic word, then this verse cannot be scanned as an OE verse-type.

<sup>57</sup> However, according to Pope, the "only frequent and obviously approved form" of the A4 verse-type was one with both primary and secondary stress in the first measure, Seven Old English Poems, p. 110, fn. 25.

<sup>58</sup> However, if the low-stressed syllable before the first measure of this verse is assigned to the preceding verse, the preceding verse becomes overburdened metrically. Regarding anacrusis in the poem, see pp. 52ff. below. Also gode would not be resolved in OE verse; however, it is possible that go<d> is the correct reconstruction.

<sup>59</sup> However, if bonne is regarded as anacrusis, verse G(E)13a becomes overburdened metrically. Also, shortening of the o in the trisyllabic compound domesdai would invalidate this scansion.

<sup>60</sup> This verse is part of a rhyming line; see pp. 65ff. below.

<sup>61</sup> Robert P. Creed, "A New Approach to the Rhythm of Beowulf,"

PMLA, 81 (1966), 28-29.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., pp. 28-31.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., p. 30.

<sup>64</sup> Pope, Seven Old English Poems, p. 111, fn. 30.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., p. 109.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid., pp. 127-28.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid.

<sup>68</sup> Thomas Cable, The Meter and Melody of Beowulf (Urbana, Ill.:



University of Illinois Press, 1974), pp. 42-43. My brackets.

<sup>69</sup> A more probable system of scansion, see pp. 54 ff. below, pushes the figure to fifty-six or fifty-seven percent.

<sup>70</sup> Ker, Catalogue, p. 466 (item 398), refers to the work as a "rhythmic-prose text"; Angus Cameron, "A List of Old English Texts," in A Plan for the Dictionary of Old English, ed. Roberta Frank and Angus Cameron (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973), lists it as a prose text, p. 106 (item 3.4.5.).

<sup>71</sup> With the one exception of Phillipps, all the previous editors have followed the MS. punctuation and printed the work as verse.

<sup>72</sup> N.F. Blake, "Rhythmical Alliteration," MP, 67 (1969), 120; Turville-Petre, pp. 6-14; Derek Pearsall, Old and Middle English Poetry, The Routledge History of English Poetry, I (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1977), pp. 76-77.

<sup>73</sup> Angus McIntosh, Wulfstan's Prose: The Israel Gollancz Memorial Lecture for 1948 (1949; rpt. Folcroft Press, 1970); Otto Funke, "Some Remarks on Wulfstan's Prose Rhythm," ES, 43 (1962), 311-18.

<sup>74</sup> Funke, p. 315, estimates only two or three percent of Wulfstan's "two-stress phrases" end with a monosyllabic main stress.

<sup>75</sup> Funke, p. 315.

<sup>76</sup> It could be reasonably argued that licame in A11b and elsewhere would be resolved and scanned / \* owing to the shortening of i in the first syllable of a trisyllabic word. Resolution is not a reasonable alternative in the other examples, however.

<sup>77</sup> Line C(G)41 may be corrupt; l., D(B)6 may be a rhyming line.

<sup>78</sup> In OE verse, certain words which were compounds in origin, e.g., hlaford, could be treated as simplex.

<sup>79</sup> Shortening may have brought about resolution in both luberliche, D(B)35a, and soriliche, F(D)17b and G(E)3b.

<sup>80</sup> Certain words in these examples would probably contain a secondary stress if scanned from the point of view of OE verse: e.g., lufe, A44a, onfob, B(F)12b, hold, E(C)41a.

<sup>81</sup> Funke, pp. 316-17.

<sup>82</sup> Kuhn, p. 656.

<sup>83</sup> John C. Pope, ed. Homilies of Ælfric: A Supplementary Collection, I, E.E.T.S.(O.S.), no. 259 (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 119.

<sup>84</sup> Kuhn, p. 656.

<sup>85</sup> Pope, Homilies, I, 122.

<sup>86</sup> Carolynn Van Dyke Friedlander, "Early Middle English Accentual Verse," MP, 76, (1979), 219-30.

<sup>87</sup> See especially Winfred P. Lehmann, The Development of Germanic Verse Form (1956; rpt. New York: Gordian Press, 1971), pp. 93-103.

<sup>88</sup> Lehmann, pp. 102-03.

<sup>89</sup> E.g., verses 97a, 101a, 153b, and 157a in "Soul and Body I" as well as 46a and 94a in "Soul and Body II." "Soul and Body I," The Vercelli Book, The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records, II, ed. George Phillip Krapp (New York: Columbia University Press, 1932), pp. 54-59; "Soul and Body II," The Exeter Book, The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records, III, ed. George Phillip Krapp and Elliott Van Kirk Dobbie (New York: Columbia University Press, 1936), pp. 174-78.

<sup>90</sup> Ann Chalmers Watts, The Lyre and the Harp: A Comparative Reconsideration of Oral Tradition in Homer and Old English Poetry (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969), p. 90.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid., p. 144.

<sup>92</sup> The prose works examined by means of available glossaries were Pope's Homilies of Ælfric; Arthur Napier's Wulfstan: Sammlung der ihm zugeschriebenen Homilien nebst Untersuchungen über ihre Echtheit, Sammlung englischen Denkmaler in kritischen Ausgaben, 4, 1 Abteilung (1883; rpt. Berlin: Wiedmann, 1966); and Walter W. Skeat's Ælfric's Lives of Saints, 2 vols., E.E.T.S. (O.S.), nos. 76 and 82 (London: N. Trübner, 1881) and nos. 94 and 114 (1890, 1900; rpt. London: Oxford University Press, 1966). Though beyond the scope of this study, a thorough examination of the entire Old English corpus can now be carried out using A Microfiche Concordance to Old English, ed. Richard L. Venezky and Antonette diPaolo Healey (The Dictionary of Old English Project, Centre for Medieval Studies: University of Toronto, 1980).

<sup>93</sup> The words which Oakden, II, 170, finds of special significance for their archaic quality are the compounds earfeþsib, 11. A41 and 43, sorimod, 1. G(E)16, feorþsib, 1. A27, goldfæt, 1. D(B)7, goldfoh, 1. E(C)4, soulehus, 1. A22, lifdai, 1. A14, weasib, 1. C(G)7, and mabemete, 1. C(G)4, and the simplex afursen, 11. G(E)6 and 37, bideled, 11. D(B)16, E(C)32, and G(E)9, brostnien, 1. G(E)9, fakenliche, 1. C(G)21, forscutten, 1. G(E)38, fus, 1. D(B)15, idol, 11. A5 and 8, loc, 11. D(B)24 and 25, sap, 11. D(B)40 and G(E) 8, lutig, 11. D(B)2 and F(D)28, and sibien, 11. B(F)10, C(G)8, G(E)47, and G(E)51. Had he used Buchholz's edition instead of Singer's, he probably would have added geddien, 1. C(G)21, to the list. Some of these words do indeed appear to be survivals from OE verse. e.g., earfeþsib, soulehus, and goldfoh; others, e.g., sorimod and lifdai, were quite common in prose and verse in both Old and Middle English. It must be made clear, however, that many of

these words may not have been archaic (or quite so archaic) when the "Soul's Address" was first composed, i.e., the early twelfth century or, perhaps, the late eleventh.

<sup>94</sup> E.g., dreamburl, l. G(E)30, and the problematic qualehold, l. D(B)42.

<sup>95</sup> See Albert B. Lord, The Singer of Tales (1960; rpt. New York: Atheneum, 1978), pp. 13-29.

<sup>96</sup> See, e.g., Oakden, I, 138ff., 242ff., and R.M. Wilson, Early Middle English Literature, 3rd ed. (London: Methuen, 1968), p. 15.

<sup>97</sup> Blake, pp. 118-19.

<sup>98</sup> On rhyme in Elfric and in OE poetry, see Pope, Homilies, I, 133, and Kuhn, p. 648.

<sup>99</sup> Lines A29, B(F)19, C(G)6, E(C)15, E(C)37, F(D)9, F(D)16, and F(D)42.

<sup>100</sup> Lines D(B)8, D(B)44, and F(D)40.

<sup>101</sup> Lines D(B)45 and F(D)41.

<sup>102</sup> Lines B(F)26 and F(D)48.

<sup>103</sup> Oakden, I, 138-39.

<sup>104</sup> Everett, p. 39; see the discussion of rhyming lines below, IV, "Style," pp. 75-77.

<sup>105</sup> Perhaps sone and seoppen were meant to alliterate in this line, in which case both rhyme and alliteration would be present.

<sup>106</sup> Constance B. Heatt, "A New Theory of Triple Rhythm in the Hypermetric Lines of Old English Verse," MP, 67 (1968), 1-8. The use of certain rhyming lines in the "Soul's Address" to highlight various themes of the poem is reminiscent of the way in which hypermetric lines are sometimes employed in Old English verse; see, e.g., "The Wanderer," ll. 112-15, and "The Seafarer," ll. 106-08.

107 Haufe, pp. 15-16; Noble, pp. 100-06.

108 R.M. Wilson, p. 171, notes that, in its original form, the poem "must have been a powerful, if gloomy, work" and that in it "some of the descriptions are characterized by considerable vigour and power." Rosemary Woolf, The English Religious Lyric in the Middle Ages (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), p. 94, comments in passing on the "force of the laconic straightforwardness" of descriptive passages in the poem.

109 Everett, p. 39.

110 Cf. l. D(B)8, þin blisse is nu al agon min seorwe is fornon.

111 See especially Théodor Batiouchkof, "Le Débat de l'Âme et du Corps," Romania, 20 (1891), 1-55; Louise Dudley, The Egyptian Elements in the Legend of the Body and Soul, Bryn Mawr College Monographs, Vol. VIII (Bryn Mawr, Penn., 1911); Eleanor Kellogg Heningham, ed., An Early Latin Debate of the Soul and Body Preserved in MS. Royal 7a III in the British Museum (New York, 1939).

112 See Eleanor Kellogg Heningham, "Old English Precursors to the Worcester Fragments," PMLA, 55 (1940), 291-307, as well as the following pages.

113 See below, pp. 83-92.

114 See I, "The Manuscript," above, pp. 4-10.

115 Francis Lee Utley, "Dialogues, Debates, and Catechisms," in A Manual of Middle English Writings: 1050-1500, III, ed., Albert E. Hartung (New Haven: The Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1972), 691-95, lists thirteen separate English works in the category of "The Debate between the Body and the Soul"; a number of these exist in more than one manuscript. Some of the works listed are certainly not debates, however, and a few of them may not be 'body and soul' works,

strictly speaking. Utley also gives some idea of the vast number of non-English works on the theme in his bibliography of 'body and soul' materials, Manual, III, 853-62.

<sup>116</sup> The relation of the French "Un Samedi par Nuit" and the Latin "Noctis sub silentio" is noticed by many writers as is the probable influence of both on the English "Als y lay in a winters nigt." See particularly Théodor Batiouchkof, "Le Débat de l'Ame et du Corps," Romania, 20 (1891), 511-78. Heningham argues, in the introduction to her edition of "Nuper huiuscemodi visionem somnii," that that poem is the source of "Un Samedi par Nuit" and "Noctis sub silentio." On the clear relation of the "Soul's Address" to "The Grave" and "The Latest Day," see below, pp. 99-101.

<sup>117</sup> Theodore Silverstein, Visio Sancti Pauli: The History of the Apocalypse in Latin together with Nine Texts (London: Christophers, 1935), p. 3, fn. 1.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid., p. 15, fn. 3.

<sup>119</sup> Ibid., p. 3, fn. 2.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid., p. 3.

<sup>121</sup> Antonette diPaolo Healey, ed., The Old English Vision of St. Paul, Speculum Anniversary Monographs, II (Cambridge, Mass.: The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1978), pp. 21-22. "P" refers to the Paris MS. of the Visio, the oldest extant copy of the long Latin version; see fn. 124 below.

<sup>122</sup> In most of the numerous Latin redactions of the Visio, the portrayal of the "going-out of souls" is abbreviated and transferred to the end of the work (Silverstein, p. 60). Besides the visit to Hell, it is the only portion of the original work to survive in the redactions.

<sup>123</sup> Regarding the concept of immediate judgement, see Batiouchkof, p. 41. Dudley, in her work on the Egyptian elements in the 'body and soul' theme, excludes the English poems from consideration, probably because these elements occur, by and large, in portrayals of this superstructure of extraterrestrial beings. Such portrayals are not nearly so significant in the English poems as in other 'body and soul' works, particularly ones written in prose.

<sup>124</sup> "Apocalypse of Paul," The Apocryphal New Testament, Being the Apocryphal Gospels, Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypses with other Narratives and Fragments, trans. Montague Rhodes James (1924; rpt. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), p. 532. The James translation is the closest approach to a critical edition of the Visio thus far.

<sup>125</sup> Silverstein, p. 23.

<sup>126</sup> Batiouchkof, pp. 5-17 especially.

<sup>127</sup> Louise Dudley, "An Early Homily on the 'Soul and Body' Theme," JEGP, 8 (1909), 226-35, provides a parallel edition of both Latin versions and both copies of the English version which supersedes Zupitza's parallel edition of the Batiouchkof homily and the English version in Zu 'Seele und Leib', "Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen, 91 (1891), 369-404.

<sup>128</sup> Batiouchkof provides a text of this homily, pp. 576-77, found in Bibliothèque Nationale no. 2096(52). The MS. is eleventh or twelfth century (Dudley, "Early Homily," p. 230), but the homily itself is considered much older.

<sup>129</sup> Batiouchkof, pp. 576-77; Dudley, "Early Homily," p. 230;

<sup>130</sup> "Soul and Body I' and 'II': Nonantola Version," in Sources and Analogues of Old English Poetry: The Major Latin Texts in Translation,

trans. Michael J.B. Allen and Daniel G. Calder (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1976), pp. 41-42.

<sup>131</sup> This collection of sermons probably dates from the fourteenth century, but many of the works in it are much older. Dudley, "Early Homily," pp. 225-26, claims that Sermon 69 is one of these older pieces; Allen and Calder date it later than the Old English poem, pp. 40-41. Dudley prints the work in her article.

<sup>132</sup> Dudley, in "Early Homily," shows that neither Latin version derives from the other; there is a lost anterior version.

<sup>133</sup> "Sermones ad Fratres in Eremo Commorantes, et quosdam alios," in Vol. 40 of *Patrologia Cursus Completus: Series Latina*, gen. ed. J.P. Migne (Paris, 1845), cols. 1339-41.

<sup>134</sup> Ibid., col. 1341-42.

<sup>135</sup> Ibid., cols. 1328-32.

<sup>136</sup> Ibid., cols. 1332-34.

<sup>137</sup> Ibid., cols. 1332-33.

<sup>138</sup> Allen and Calder, pp. 45-46.

<sup>139</sup> "Sermones ad Fratres," col. 1334.

<sup>140</sup> Allen and Calder, p. 47.

<sup>141</sup> See Woolf, pp. 93-94, and Mary Heyward Ferguson, "The Structure of the 'Soul's Address to the Body' in Old English," JEGP, 69 (1970), 74.

<sup>142</sup> Napier, Wulfstan, pp. 140-41 (MS: Hatton 113; see Ker, Catalogue, item 331, art. 22); Benjamin Thorpe, ed., Ancient Laws and Institutes of England, The Commissioner's Report on the Public Records of England, Vol. II (1840), pp. 396-98 (Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS. 201; see Ker, Catalogue, item 50, art. 2).

<sup>143</sup> Dudley, "Early Homily," pp. 236-53, shows that the OE version



derives from neither of the Latin versions of the St. Macarius legend.

<sup>144</sup> Napier, pp. 140-141.

<sup>145</sup> Ibid., p. 138.

<sup>146</sup> See Allen and Calder, pp. 208-12.

<sup>147</sup> Richard Morris, ed., Old English Homilies of the Twelfth Century, E.E.T.S. (O.S.), no. 53 (London: N. Trübner, 1873), pp. 181-85 (Trinity College, Cambridge, MS. B.14.52; not described in Ker, Catalogue).

<sup>148</sup> Ibid., p. 183.

<sup>149</sup> Rudolph Willard, "The Address of the Soul to the Body," PMLA, 50 (1935), 957-65 (MS. Junius 85; see Ker, Catalogue, item 336, arts. 2 and 6; University Library, Cambridge, MS. li 33; see Ker, Catalogue, item 18, art. 40). Willard, pp. 965-83, discusses the development of the weekly respite from hell torment and the use of Sunday as a universal day of rest early in the Christian era. Silverstein, pp. 79-81, discusses the relation of the concept of weekly respite to the Visio Sancti Pauli.

<sup>150</sup> Willard, p. 962.

<sup>151</sup> Bruno Assmann, ed., Angelsächsische Homilien und Heiligenleben, Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa, III (Kassel: Georg H. Wigand, 1889), pp. 167-69 (Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS. 302; see Ker, Catalogue, item 56, art. 11 and item 153, art 5); Max Förster, ed., Die Vercelli-Homilien: I-VIII Homilie, Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa, XII (1932; rpt. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1964), pp. 84-103 (The Vercelli Book; see Ker, Catalogue, item 394, art. 4); Julius Zupitza, "Zu 'Seele und Leib'," 379-81 (Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS. 41; see Ker, Catalogue, item 32, art. 9).

Zupitza prints only the 'body and soul' material, not the whole homily.

<sup>152</sup> Henningham, "Old English Precursors," pp. 300-02.

<sup>153</sup> Among the works which contain 'body and soul' material but which are not described here are Old English homilies edited by Napier and Willard, the Old English translation of the Visio Sancti Pauli, the Latin work that lies behind the Irish homily edited by Atkinson (whose accusation-reply structure was probably fundamental in the development of the debate form), and some Old English poems such as "Guthlac A" and "Judgement Day II." For bibliographical details, see Bibliography 5a.

<sup>154</sup> Batiouchkof, p. 8.

<sup>155</sup> See above, fn. 123.

<sup>156</sup> Woolf, p. 93.

<sup>157</sup> Two versions of the Old English address remain: "Soul and Body I," The Vercelli Book, The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records, II, ed., George Phillip Krapp (New York: Columbia University Press, 1932), pp. 54-59, and "Soul and Body II," The Exeter Book, The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records, III, ed., George Phillip Krapp and Elliott Van Kirk Dobbie (New York: Columbia University Press, 1963), pp. 174-78. Four versions of "The Latemest Day" survive (see Utley, "Dialogues," p. 850), two of which appear in Carleton Brown, ed., English Lyrics of the Thirteenth Century (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1932), pp. 47-54.

<sup>158</sup> "Als y lay in a winters nigt" is often titled "The Debate (Dispute) between the Body and the Soul." It remains, in whole or in part, in seven manuscripts (see Utley, "Dialogues," p. 848). The standard edition is Wilhelm Linow, ed., De Desputisoun bitwen be Bodi and be Soule, Erlanger Beiträge zur englischen Philologie, I (Erlangen and Leipzig: A. Deichert (Georg Böhme), 1889). "In a thestri stude" is

found in three manuscripts (see Utley, "Dialogues," p. 849). A critical edition exists: Ardath Sue McKee Clark, ed., "'Seinte Maregrete' and 'Body and Soul': An Edition from the Trinity College, Cambridge, MS. B.14.39 with Variant Texts in Parallel," Diss. University of Michigan 1972. However, the only published edition is still Thomas Wright, ed., The Latin Poems Commonly Attributed to Walter Mapes (London, 1841; rpt. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1968), pp. 346-49, which deals with only one of the extant versions.

<sup>159</sup> Arnold Barel Van Os, Religious Visions: The Development of the Eschatological Elements in Mediaeval English Religious Literature (Amsterdam: H.J. Paris, 1932), pp. 194-98.

<sup>160</sup> Concerning the Old English "Soul and Body," Batiouchkof, p. 36, remarks that ". . . nous sommes loin de vouloir nier une certaine originalité de conception dans ce poème . . . , due au talent de l'auteur: comme effet dramatique, comme vigueur et peinture vraiment réaliste des ravages de la mort et de la vanité des aspirations mondaines . . . ."

<sup>161</sup> This is particularly true of "Noctis sub silentio" and "Als y lay in a winters nigt"; in "Nuper huiuscemodi visionem somnii" and "Un Samedi par Nuit," where the basic structure is accusation-reply, the impression of debate is not as strong.

According to Hans Walther, Das Streitgedicht in der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters, Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters, V, 2 Abteilung (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1920), pp. 211-14, "Noctis sub silentio" is found, in one form or another, in 132 manuscripts. It is often referred to as the "Visio Philiberti," but it seems likely that the opening stanzas ascribing the vision to St.

Philibert that occur in some versions of the work are, in fact, a later addition. Nothing resembling a critical edition of the work has appeared; Wright, Latin Poems, pp. 95-106, prints one of the extant versions. Only one copy of "Nuper huiuscemodi visionem somnii" survives; see Heningham, An Early Latin Debate, for an edition of this work. "Un Samedi par Nuit," of which five copies are extant, is edited by Hermann Varnhagen, ed., "Das altfranzösische Gedicht 'Un Samedi par Nuit'," Erlanger Beiträge zur englischen Philologie, I, 1 Anhang (Erlangen and Leipzig: A. Deichert (Georg Böhme), 1889). All three works are generally considered to be twelfth century in origin.

162 See Ferguson, p. 74.

163 Linow, p. 24 ("Als y lay in a winters niht," ll. 1-4).

Batiouchkof divides his discussion of debates, pp. 511-78, into sections on visions and non-visions.

164 Woolf, p. 97.

165 Heningham, "Old English Precursors," p. 292, advances the opinion that the "Sanctus Beda" fragment on f. 63<sup>r</sup> serves as a prologue to the "Soul's Address"; however, this view has gained no critical acceptance and there is nothing in the 'body and soul' tradition to substantiate it. Ricciardi, pp. 208-10, points out the occurrence of two French words in the vocabulary of the "Sanctus Beda" fragment (only the very common messe occurs in the "Soul's Address") as well as some possible stylistic differences between the works. It is not inconceivable that the scribe of MS. F.174 viewed the two poems in some sort of relation and that their placement in the MS. with Elfric's Grammar and Glossary may signify an intention by the scribe to preserve English works. However, though they do have linguistic and ~~rhythmical~~ affinities, if there is anything

artful in the positioning of the "Sanctus Beda" fragment before the "Soul's Address," it is almost certainly the art of the compiler of the MS. and not the authors of the works. For editions of the "Sanctus Beda" fragment, see fn. 2 above.

<sup>166</sup> Woolf, p. 96, prefers the term quid profuit for passages which focus on the loss of apparently valuable items that have proved worthless in the end.

<sup>167</sup> Brown, English Lyrics, p. 47 ("The Latemest Day," ll. 33-36). Also see Woolf, pp. 78-82 and 95, and Rossell Hope Robbins, "Signs of Death in Middle English," MS, 32 (1970), 282-98.

<sup>168</sup> "The Grave," ed. Arnold Schroeer, Anglia, 5 (1882), 289-90. Both Buchholz and Ricciardi include editions of the poem in their editions of the "Soul's Address." Douglas D. Short, "Aesthetics and Unpleasantness: Classical Rhetoric in the Medieval English Lyric 'The Grave'," SN, 48 (1976), 291-99, also prints a version of the poem.

<sup>169</sup> Buchholz advances the opinion that "The Grave" is a further fragment of the "Soul's Address," a view examined and rejected by Louise Dudley in "'The Grave'," MP, 11 (1914), 429-42. The alternative view, that the "Soul's Address" derives from "The Grave," seems equally improbable. It is put forward by Dudley and, most recently, by Turville-Petre, pp. 9-10.

<sup>170</sup> Dudley, "'The Grave'," pp. 436-38.

<sup>171</sup> Lists of correspondences and possible correspondences between the two works can be found in J.D. Bruce, "A Contribution to the Study of 'The Body and the Soul' Poems in English," MLN, 5 (1890), 197-99; Brown, English Lyrics, pp. 189-91; Heningham, "Old English Precursors," p. 293.

fn. 7. A number of the correspondences listed by Henningham seem rather far fetched while others are so short and mundane as to be of no significance. The references here are to Brown's B version of "The Latemest Day," pp. 50-54.

<sup>172</sup> Further, in two of these MSS., Bodley 1687 and Trinity College, Cambridge, MS. 323, "Doomsday" is itself preceded by "In a thestri stude." Trinity College MS. 323 also contains the short 'body and soul' fragment "Nou is mon hol and soint," Brown, English Lyrics, p. 31. "Doomsday" can be found in Brown, English Lyrics, pp. 42-46.

<sup>173</sup> Buchholz, pp. I-II.

<sup>174</sup> Ricciardi, pp. 127-28.

<sup>175</sup> Oakden, II, 3-4, lists a number of "parallel" passages from "Soul and Body" and "Soul's Address," but the verbal similarities between the two poems are not particularly striking.

<sup>176</sup> On the Signs of Death, see Woolf, pp. 78-82, and Robbins; on the Signs of Decomposition, see Woolf, p. 95.

<sup>177</sup> See III, "Prosody," pp. 66-67, and IV, "Style," pp. 75-77.

<sup>178</sup> Kenneth Sisam, Studies in the History of Old English Literature (1953 ; rpt. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), p. 39.

<sup>179</sup> George Kane, "Conjectural Emendation," in Medieval Literature and Civilization: Studies in Memory of G.N. Garmonsway, ed., D.A. Pearsall and R.A. Waldron (London: Athlone, 1969), pp. 155-69; rpt. in Medieval Manuscripts and Textual Criticism, ed., Christopher Kleinhenz, North Carolina Studies in Romance Languages and Literatures, Symposia no. 4 (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1976), p. 219.

<sup>180</sup> Hall and Ricciardi.

<sup>181</sup> P.R. Orton, "The Old English 'Soul and Body': A Further Examination," Medium Aevum, 48 (1979), 173-97.

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## THE TEXT

The text is accompanied by two sets of notes: textual at the foot of the page and explanatory following after the text.

MS. spelling is reproduced, except in cases of emendation; g is distinguished from 3 as it is in the MS.; q is printed w; word division is regularized. The abbreviations 7 and & for and are expanded without notice. The abbreviations p for pet and ~ (tilde) for a following nasal are expanded with indication in the text. Other abbreviations, including all those in the Latin lines, are expanded in the text and marked in the textual notes. Capitalization and punctuation are the editor's own. MS. capitalization is recorded in the textual notes. Metrical pointing in the MS. is indicated by the line division of the text; any eccentricities in this pointing are marked in the textual notes. Accent marks in the MS. are indicated in the textual notes as are some particularly faded words. Except for the first fragment, f. 63<sup>v</sup>, the fragments of the work are designated by two letters; the first, unbracketed, letter indicates the alternative order of the fragments presented in this edition; the second, bracketed, letter indicates the order accepted heretofore. At the beginning of Fragment C(G), f. 66<sup>v</sup>, and Fragment F(D), f. 65<sup>x</sup>, occur portions of lines that are designated la in order to preserve the established lineation of these fragments. All emendations are indicated in both the text and the textual notes and are discussed in the explanatory notes.

The critical symbols used in the text and the notes are, with some adaptation, those recommended by M.L. West in Textual Criticism and Editorial Technique (Stuttgart: B.G. Teubner, 1973), pp. 80-82. They are as follows:

1. ( ) enclose expanded abbreviations as well as ordinary parentheses.
2. < > enclose letters, words, or passages added to the transmitted text by conjecture, including emendations.
3. { } enclose editorial deletions.
4. [ ] enclose probable scribal deletions.
5. † † mark passages judged to be corrupt. If only one word is involved, a single obelus is used.
6. a b c Dots under letters indicate that they are difficult to decipher or, more usually, that only a portion of them remains. When it occurs under a letter enclosed by angle brackets, a dot indicates that, though a portion of the letter remains, its identity has been surmised from the context. A dot under a letter not enclosed by angle brackets indicates that enough remains of the letter in the MS. to allow probable identification.
7. [ ] enclose sections of the text lost due to MS. damage. Asterisks in square brackets indicate that the amount of text lost cannot be accurately determined; dots, on the other hand, indicate approximately the number of letters that are missing owing to the damage.



en eare. 7 alle peo is ceartan. þe him to icura. 7 mo tuuere cu  
 ne man he idiste. 7 him en ilode. is 7 soule. softliche he heo isom  
 . ac þa he soz idol. þ̄ boðeþ þ̄ bearn. þ̄ onne hrc iloxen biþ. hit  
 ep tuanet peo peope. 7 þere seozuhfule sip. 7 þ̄ soz idol. þ̄ soule schal  
 ame. sozliche idalen. soþ on hit cumep peopinde. 7 poncæde iprep.  
 . cap mid his wæke pinep þene licame. he palkeþ 7 pendeþ 7 poneþ  
 ipes. he larþ dar his bedde. pone þ̄ seub be. þ̄ æfre mine lif dæges. þ̄  
 re me illest. for heu il hit greoung. 7 seozuhful is his wadung. 7 al  
 his sip. mid seoye bi punden. him deauch þa æren. him dunnep  
 . eren. him scerpeþ þe neose. him scrunkeþ þa lippen. him seozep  
 . ringe. him truckep his ipit. him teozeþ his miht. him coldeþ his  
 . ingeþ þe bon stille. pone biþ þ̄ soule haf. seozuhliche be seared.  
 . isen. mæchele punne þe þ̄c. une punede þ̄ biþ þ̄ bearnes.  
 . unge stulles. peo. uode. seozep. 7. bearn woneþ. so biþ þ̄ co  
 . widd. qua bæþen ienwed. so b. heft þe seozuh. sozliche to  
 . mid seozuþen al bepuntæn. pone þe icame 7 be soþle. sozliche to  
 . 7. þ̄ onne biþ þ̄ wæche. is funded al mid soz sip. þ̄ onne biþ þe  
 . ge. is. tuuopen flæse. he biþ. 7. is. he biþ soz. he  
 . dep. also. clæ. hit is. im. ande. won hære niet. mid one. seozuh. mel  
 . seozuh. me. nac. he. of. þ̄ æ. n. olde. sab. en. i. ap. oze. þ̄ othe. þ̄. 7. hre. met  
 . clæche. tæcheþ. þ̄ onne. sip. þe. clæ. clot. colde. en þ̄ a. floze. 7. him. ene. stæþ.

TEXT

Fragment A, f. 63<sup>v</sup>

[ \* \* \* \* ] <mid>enearde

and alle þeo isceaftan þe him to sculen,  
and mid muchele cre<fte þe>ne mon he idihte  
and him on ileide lif and soule.

- 5           Softliche he heo isom<nede>,       ac þær biþ sor idol  
þ(et) bodeþ þ(et) bearn   þonne hit iboren biþ.  
Hit † <woan>eþ       † and mænet þeo weowe  
and þene seoruhfule sip   and þ(et) sori idol:  
þ(et) soule schal <of lic>ame   sorliche idælen.  
10       Forþon hit cumeþ weoþinde   and woniende iwiteþ,  
<for d>eaþ mid his pricke   pineþ þene licame;  
he walkeþ and wendeþ   and woneþ <oftes>iþes;  
he sæþ on his bedde:       "wo me þ(et) ic libbe,  
þ(et) affre mine lifdawes,   þus <lon>ge me ilestep";  
15       for heui is his greoning   and seorhful is his woaning  
and al<so biþ> his sip   mid seorwe biwunden.  
† Him deaueþ þa æren,       him dinneþ <þa> eigen,

1 enearde: begins the first line of what remains of f. 63<sup>v</sup>.

2 The ascenders of long s and l in sculen have been cut away.

3 The ascenders of h and l in muchele as well as the tops of the first four letters in cre<fte> have been cut away.

6 bearn þonne: MS. bearn + þonne

him scerpeþ þe neose,      him scrinckeþ þa lippen,  
 him sporteþ <þe> tunge,      him trukeþ his iwit,  
 20 him teoreþ his miht,  
 him coldeþ his <liche>:      liggeþ þe þan stille. †  
 þonne biþ þ(et) soulehus      seoruhliche þereaued  
 <at a> lso muþhale wunne      þe þerinne wunede;  
 þus biþ þæs bearnes      <bod>unge ifulled:  
 25 þeo moder greoneþ      and þ(et) bearn woaneþ.  
 So biþ þeo <burd tid      mid balewan imenged,  
 so biþ eft þe feorþsib      mid seorsten al bewunden,  
 þonne þe lfrage and þe soule      soriliche to <dal>eþ:  
 þonne biþ þ(et) wracche lif      .lended al mid sori sib.  
 30 þonne biþ þe <fel>ge      iflut to þen flore;  
 he biþ eastward istreikt      he biþ nose stif,  
 he <cel>deþ also clei ---      hit is his ikunde.  
 Non hine met mid one gerde      and þa moldeþ seoppen,  
 þe met he of þere molde      habben na(a)stere  
 35 þonne þ(et) rihte iæt      crihtiliche techþ.  
 þonne lif þe cleiclet      ceald on þen flote  
 and his scow from <flæp>      þeo he on þeame dute;  
 nullep heo mid handan      his heofod alre weardnes;  
 þeen þuncheþ þ(et) hore handan      wege heoþ lated

20 bearnes: BE. bearn, with a space after wege.

27 seorsteþ mid: BE. seorsteþ mid seorsten.

40    3if heo hondleþ þe<ne> deade        seopþen his deages beoþ igon.  
       Sone cumeþ þ(et) wrecche wif        þe <forh>oweþ þene earfeþsip,  
       forbindeþ þæs dædan muþ        and his dimme e3en;  
       <þon>ne þet riche wif        forhoweþ þene earueþsip,  
       for ufel is þeo wrecche lufe        <þo>nne þeo unblisse cumað.  
 45        þonne beþiþ þeo soule        sorliche to þen lich<ame>

[ \* \* \* \* ] "me suke to þe:  
os meu(m) ap(e)rui et attraxi sp(iritu)m,  
 þu[.....]<dest þin muþ> and drowe me to þe.  
 Walawa and wa is me þ(et) ic efre com to þe,  
 5 for nold<est þu> mid þine muþe bimænen þine neode,  
 ac efre digelliche þu wold<est ham> bidernan.  
 Noldest þu ham siggen biforen none preosten  
 þer <sunfu>le men secheþ ha(m) ore,  
 bimæneþ hore misdæden and seopþen milts<e on>foþ,  
 10 þurh soþne scrift sipieþ to criste,  
 seggeþ hore sunnen and hor<e soule> helpeþ.  
 Þurh soþe bireousunge þeo soule reste onfoþ,  
 ac ne þe<arf ic> nefre resten þurh þine bireousunge,  
 ac altogadere ic am forlor<en þurh> þine lufere deden:  
 15 noldest þu mid muþe bidden me none milts<unge>.  
 Nu þu ert adu(m)bed and deap hæueþ þeo keige;

1 me suke to þe begins the first line of what remains of f. 66<sup>r</sup>.

2 MS. os meu aprui & attraxi spm. The ascenders of s in os and spm and tt in attraxi have been cut away along with some abbreviation marks.

3 The ascender of þ in þu has been cut away as have the tops of the letters in the subsequent words of this verse that still remain.

5 nold<est> MS. noln, with a d above the second n. There is a small hole in the n of muþe.

mid clutes þu ert for<bun>den and loþ alle freonden  
efre ma eft on to lokienne.

þus is reoulic <þin> siþ efter þin wrecche lif,  
20 for þu were biset þicke mid sunne<n>  
and alle <heo> weren prikiende so piles on ile.  
He biþ þicke mid piles ne p(ri)kieþ he<o hine> nowiht,  
for al biþ þ(et) softe iwend to him sulfen  
þ(et) ne mawen his pilkes prikien hine sore,  
25 for al biþ þ(et) scearpe him iwend fromward:  
so þu we<re> mid sunne iset al wiþine.  
þeo sunfule pikes p(ri)kieþ me ful sore,  
ac <al þet> softe was iwend to þe suluen  
and efre þet scerpe scorede me touwar<d>,  
30 for> heo wæren iwend so me wurst was:  
ic was mid þine p(ri)ckunge ipin<ed ful> sore.  
Ac nu me wulleþ prikien þeo pikes inne helle,  
pinien me ful so<re> all>for þine synne.

Ic was on heihnesse isceapen and soule ihoten;  
35 ic was þe se<oueþe> isceaft, so þeo bec seggeþ,  
þe þe almihti god mildeliche iwrouhte  
wisli<che> mid worde; so hit al iwearþ --

22 p(ri)kieþ: MS. þkieþ

25 him iwend: MS. himiwend

26 so: s is perhaps a small capital.

27 p(ri)kieþ: MS. þkieþ

31 p(ri)ckunge: MS. þckunge

heouene and eorþe,      luft and engles,  
 wind and wate<r,      and> þæs monnes soule --  
 40 þis beoþ þeo seouene      þe ic ær fore seide.  
 þis was ma<kunge>      þæs almihties fæder,  
 of þissen andworce:      alle þing he iwrouhte  
 and þ<us> hit is fūriten on holie wisdom:  
fiat et f(a)c(t)a sunt om(n)ia,  
 45 he seide, 'iwu<rþe'      and> alle þing iworþen.  
 þus mid one worde      al hit was iworþen;  
 he iscop þ(urh)<sup>†</sup> þene sune      alle isceafte  
 wisliche þurh wisdom,      and efre he hit wiseþ;  
 [....] imaginem et similitudinem,  
 50 and ic deorewurþe      drihtenes onlicn<esse>

---

42 of: o is perhaps a small capital.

44 MS. fiat et fca sunt omia

49 MS. imaginem & similitudinem

50 drihtenes is very faded.

- 1a [ \* \* \* \* ] <god>
- 1 and ic þe <imæne> mid loþre lufe  
 and ic þin wale iwearþ hu so <þu wol>dest.  
 weila, þine fule iwill, wo haueþ hit me idon.  
 Þu fule maþe<me>te, hwi hauest þu me biswiken?
- 5 For þine fule sunne ic scal nu <to hell>e,  
 dreizgen þer wrecche siþ all for þine fule lif.  
 ʒet ic wulle þe atwi<ten mi>ne weasiþes  
 nu ic scal soriliche siþien from þe.  
 Nu beoþ þine teþ atru<ked; þi>n tunge is ascorted
- 10 þeo þe facen was and þen feonde icwem<d>e  
 mid wowe <domes> and mid gultes feole;  
 oþre birefedest rihtes istreones,  
 gaderest to <gærsu>me. Ac hit is nu all agon  
 þurh þæs deofles lore þe þe licode wel.
- 15 Nu liþ þin <tunge>e stille on ful colde denne;  
 nafest þu gærsune þe mo þe heo was spekinde <so,

1a Before god there is at least one letter still partially visible; this letter begins the first line of what remains of f. 66<sup>v</sup>.

5 There is a small hole in the e of sunne.

9 There is a small hole in the g of tunge.

10 icwem<d>e: MS. icweme.

11 gultes: g is a small capital.

15 gaderest: g is a small capital.



for> heo was faken biforen and atterne bihinden;  
 heo demde feole domes þe drihten <weren> lope;  
 isæid hit is on psalme and ful soþ hit is bi hire:  
 20 lingua tua concinnabat <dolos>,  
 heo 3eo<dde>de fakenliche and þen feonde icwemde.  
 Heo heou mid hearde worde and <huned>e þa wrecches;  
 scearp heo was and kene and cwemde þen deofle  
 mid alle þ<i>n sun<nen so> efre was his wille --  
 25 a wurþe hire wa þ(et) heo spekinde was so --  
 heo hauef unc <þus ide>med to deoppere helle.  
 Nis hit non sellic þauh ic segge of boken,  
 þauh ic <sorilich>e þ(et) soþe repie,  
 for ic was ilered of mine leoue fæder,  
 30 feire on frumþe ær <ic to>ferde.  
 Ic was godes douhter, ac þu amerdest þ(et) foster;  
 ic sceolde lif holden <nouht u>nleþe he wolde;  
 sone þu were lifleas seopþen ic þe forleas;  
 ic was þin imake <so so> bec siggeþ:

19 isæid: i is a small capital.

20 concinnabat: MS. concinnabat

21 3eo<dde>de: MS. 3eo{33}de

24 There is a small hole in the s of was. þ<i>n: MS. þ{e}n

25 a is a small capital.

31 godes: g is a small capital.

32 There is a small hole in the e of he.

34 ic: i is a small capital.

35 uxor tua sicut uitis habundans.

Ic was þe biwedded wurpliche <so winbow>e

et þen fontstone þ(et) þu hauest ifuled

mid þine fule opes; þu hafest þin ful<luht> forloren

bihinden and biforen; feire þu were imerked

40 heie on þine heafde <mid þ>en holie ele;

þu hauest † kinemerke †

þu sceoldest beon in heouene heih<est> under gode

3if þu hit ne forlure þuruh þas deofles lore.

þine godfaderes <behet>en ær heo þe forleten

45 þ(et) þu me scoldest holden þuruh holie lufe cristes

and <mid r>ihtere lawe leden me to criste.

þu wiþsoke þene deofel after drihtenes cwi<de,

his modes and his wrenches and his wieles þarto;

seopþen þu hine lufedest and for[....]inne drihten,

50 for þu lufedest þeo lawen þe drihten were loþe.

Unker team <is for>loren þe wit scolden teman

so ic was þe bitæiht þ(et) wit scolden teman;

þu <scolde>st beon bearne fader and ic hore moder;

wit scolden forþrien bearn and bring<en ham t>o criste.

36 ic: ei is a small capital.

42 gode: g is a small capital.

49 seopþen: s may be a small capital; ...]inne: MS. inne

51 unker: u may be a small capital.

52 so: s may be a small capital.

55 Pet beop þeos bearn, so so bec mænep:

fili tui sicut nouella <oliuarum>[.....]

[ \* \* \* \* ]

- 1 <woa wrohtest> þu me þeo hwile þet ic wunede inne þe,  
 for þu were leas and lutig and u<n>riht lufedest;  
 godnesse and riht æfre þu onscunedest.  
 Hwar is nu þe<o mo>dinesse swo muchel þe þu lufedast?
- 5 Hwar beoþ nu þeo pundes þurh <pa>newes igædered?  
 (Heo weren monifolde bi markes itolde.)  
 Hwar beoþ <nu> þeo goldfaten † þeo þe guldene comen to þine †  
 honden? †  
 (þin blisse is <nu> al agon, min seoruwe is fornon.)  
 Hwar beoþ nu þine wæde þe þ<u> wel lufedest?
- 10 Hwar beoþ þe [ sibbe þe ] seten sori ofer þe,  
 beden swaþe georne <þet> þe come bote?  
 Heom þuþte al to longe þ(et) þu were on liue,  
 for heo <we>ren grædie to gripen þine ahte;  
 nu heo hi dælep heom imong, <heo> doþ þe wiputen,  
 15 ac nu heo beoþ fuse to bringen þe ut of huse,  
 h<rin>gen þe ut at þire dure: of weolen þu ært bedaled.  
 Hwui noldest þ<u be>þenchen me þeo hwile ic was innen þe,

1 þu me begins the first undamaged line of f.64<sup>r</sup>. The bottoms of the letters in the preceding line are still visible.

2 There is a small hole in the l of lufedest.

3 godnesse: g is a small capital.

7 goldfaten: g is a small capital, guldene: g is a small capital.

10 þe [ sibbe þe ] seten: MS. þe seten

ac semdest me mid sunne,      fo<rpon> ic seoruhful eam?  
 Weile, þ(et) ic souhte      so seoruhfulne bucl  
 20      Noldest þ<u ma>kien l<o>fe      wiþ ilarede men,  
 given ham of þine gode      þ(et) heo þe fo<re>beden.  
 Heo mihten mid salmsonge      þine sunne acwenchen,  
 mid <ho>re messe      þine misdeden fore biddan;  
 heo mihten offrian loc      leofli<che> for þe,  
 25      swuþe deorwurþe lac,      licame cristes;  
 þurh þære þu were alese<d>      from hellewite,  
 and mid his reade blode      þ(et) he geat on rode.  
 Þo þu we<re> ifreod      to farene i(n)to heouene,  
 ac þu fenge to þeowdome      þ(urh) þæs de<oflæs> lore.  
 30      Bi þe hiþ is iseid      and soþ hit is on boken:  
qui custodit diuitias ser<uus> est diuitiis.  
 þu were þeow      þines weolan,  
 noldest þu nouht þarof d<elen>      for drihtenes willan,  
 ac æfre þu gædiliche      gæderest þe more.  
 35      Lu<þer>liche eart þu forloren      from al þ(et) þu lufedest  
 and ic scal, wracche soul<e>,      weo>we nu drian.

19 MS. seoruhfulne bucl

20 l<o>fe: MS. l{u}fe

21 gode: g is a small capital.

28 There is no point between ifreod and to.

30 bi: b is a small capital.

31 MS. diuitias ser<uus>

Eart þu nu loþ and unwurþ alle þine frǫnden;  
 nu ham <þun>cheþ al to long þ(et) þu ham neih list  
 ær þu beo ibrouht þær þu be<on> scalt,  
 40 on deope sæpe, on durelease huse,  
 þær wurmes wældes al <þet þe> wurpest was,  
 fules<t> qualeholde þe þu icwemdest ær  
 mid alre <þære> swetnesse þeo þu swuþe lufedest;  
 þeo swetnesse is nu al agon, þ(et) b<ittere> þe biþ fornon;  
 45 þ(et) bittere ilæsteþ æfre, þet swete ne cumeþ þe < næffre>

40 on the first one is a small capital.

42 fuleset: MS. fulwiles

1 [ \* \* \* ] <punc>heþ þ(et) þu hire bilefedest."  
 3 et sæiþ þeo sow<l>e soriliche to þen licame:  
 "Ne <þea>rft þu on stirope stonden mid fotan,  
 on nenne goldfohne bowe, for þu <scal>t faren al to howe  
 5 and þu scalt nu ruglunge ridan to þære eorþe,  
 ut<se>t æt þære dure (ne þearft þu næffre on gearum cuman),  
 reowliche riden <þonn>e beræfed  
 a<t>þene eorþliche weole þe þu iwold ohtest.  
 Nu mon mæi <seg>gen bi þe: 'Þes mon is iwiten nu her,  
 10 weila, and his weolan beoþ her belæfed;  
 <nol>de he nefre þarof don his drihtenes wille.  
 Ac æfre þu gaderest gar<sume o>n þine feonde;  
 nulleþ heo nimen gete hwo hit biþete;  
 næfst þu bute <wei>lawei þ(et) þu weole heuedest:  
 15 al is reowliche þin siþ after þin wrecche <lif>.  
 Þeo men beoþ þe bliþre, þe arisen ar wip þe.

1 heþ begins f. 64<sup>v</sup>. The tops of the letters in this line are missing.

4 nenne: The first e appears to have been written sometime after the first and second n.

6 ut<se>t: u is a small capital.

7 reowliche: r is a small capital.

8 a<t>: MS<sub>A</sub> a(c)

10 weila and: MS. weila. 7 (and); no point between weolan and beoþ.

- þ(et) þin muþ is betuned;      <þu> þeo teone ut lettest  
 þe heom sore gruldé,      þet ham gros þe aþan;  
 <deað> þ hine haueþ bituned      and þene teone aleid.-  
 20      Soþ is iseid on þen salme <bo>c:  
       os tuu(m) hābundauit malitia,  
       was on þine muþe      lūbernesse ri<f>e.  
       <Nol>dest þu on þine huse      herborwen þeo wrecchen,  
       ne mihten heo under <þin>e rōue      none reste finden;  
 25      noldest þu nefre helpen      þam orlease wrec<che>n,  
       ac þu sete on þine benche      underleid mid þine bofster;  
       þu wurpe <cne>ow ofer cneow      ne icneowe þu þe sulfen  
       þ(et) þu scoldest mid wurmen      <wu>nien in eorþan.  
       Nu þu hauest neowe hus,      inne beþrunge;  
 30      lowe beoþ <þe> helewewes,      unheige beoþ þe sidwoves,  
       þin rof liip      on þine breoste ful <lo>h;  
       colde is þe ibedded,      cloþes bideled,  
       nulleþ þine hinen      cloþes þe sen<den>,  
       for heom þuncheþ al to lut      þ(e)t þu heom bilefdest;  
 35      þet þu hefdest onhor<ded>      h>eo hit wulleþ heldan.  
       þus is iwitan þin weole,      wendest þet hit þin were:

18 There may be a point after gros.

22 ri<f>e: MS. ri{þ}e

31 There is no point dividing this line.

32 There is a small hole in the i of is.

34 þ(e)t: MS. þt



þus <ageþ> nu þin siþ . efter þin wrecche lif.

De sculen nu waxen wurmes besiden,

<þeo> hungrie feond þeo þe freten wulleþ;

40 heo wulleþ þe frecliche freten for <heom> þin flæsc likeþ;

heo wulleþ freten þin fule hold þeo hwule heo hit fin<deþ>;

þonne hit al biþ agon heo wulleþ gnawen þine bon,

þeo orlease wur<mes>. Heo windeþ on þin ærmes,

heo brekeþ þine breoste and borieþ þ(u)gh ofer al,

/ 45 <heo c>reopeþ in and ut: þet hard is hore owen.

And so heo wulleþ waden wide in þi<ne wom>be,

todelen þine þeas þeo þe deore weren,

lifre and þine lihte lod<liche> forenden,

and so scal formelten mawe and þin milte,

50 and so scal þin i(n) [ .... ]

1a [ \* \* \* \* ]w efre þinra [.....]  
 þu scalt nu [.....] <wur>mes of þine flæsce;  
 þu scalt fostren þine feond þet þu beo al ifreten;  
 <þu> scalt nu herborwen unhol wihte;  
 noldest þu ær gode men for lufe go<de dæ>lan;  
 5 heo wulleþ wurchen hore hord on þine heauedþonne,  
 n<ulleþ> heo bileafen þine lippen unfreten  
 ac þu scalt grisliche grennien of[.....],  
 hwo so hit iseige he mihte beon offered:  
 reowliche biþ so þin siþ efte<r þin> wrecche lif.  
 10 Nu me wule swopen þine flor and þef flet clensien,  
 for hit is h<eom þe> lopre þe þu þeron leize;  
 heo wulleþ mid holiwatre beworpen ec þeo w<ewes>,  
 blecsien ham georne to burewen ham wiþ þ  
 beren ut þin bedstrau, b<eornen> hit mid fure;  
 15 þus þu ert ilufed seoppen þu me forlure:  
 al hit is re<owliche> þin siþ efter þin wrecche lif."  
 ʒet saip þe soule soriliche to hire licame:

14 The first line that remains of f. 65<sup>F</sup> is cut through the middle.

3 There is no point between herborwen and unhol.

5 wulleþ: MS. wulleþ (wulleþ)

9 reowlicha: r is a small capital.

17 ʒet: ʒ is a small capital.

"<Wen>dest þu, la, erming, her o to wunienne.  
 Nes hit þe nowiht icunde þet þu icore<n hit> hefdest;  
 20 nes hit icunde þe more þen þine cunne biuoren þe.  
 Ne heold ic þin<e eizen> opene þeo hwule ic þe inne was?  
 Hwi noldest þu lefen þa þu hi iseize,  
 hu þine fordf<æderes> ferdn biforen þe?  
 Nu heo wunieþ on eorþe, wurmes ham habbeþ todaled,  
 25 isc<end hore> sorhfulle bones þe þeo sunne wrohten."

þa get seiþ þeo soule soriliche to hire l<icame>:  
 "Æfre þu were luper þeo hwile þu lif hæfdest;  
 þu were leas and luti and unriht lufede<st;  
 mid þine> luperē deden deredest cristene men  
 30 and mid worde and mid werke so þu wurst mihte<st.  
 Ic was> from gode clene to þe isend,  
 ac þu hauest unc fordon.. mid þine luperē deden;  
 <æfre> þu were gredi and mid gromen þe onfulled;  
 unneape ic on þe eni wununge hæ<fde>

18 MS. erming·her·o·to wunienne

19 There is a small cut in the MS. through the middle of nes hit.

23 þine fordf<æderes>: MS. þinef with ford written above it.

26 get: 3 is a small capital.

30 wurst mihtest: What appears to be an i between the two words  
 is probably the faulty first stroke of an n.

31 gode: g is a small capital.

34 unneape: u is a small capital.

35 for hearde niþe and ofermete fulle,  
 for þin wombe was þin god and þine wulder <was> iscend.  
 Forloren þu hauest þeo ece blisse, binumen þu hauest þe paradis;  
 bi<nu>men þe is þ(et) holiþ lond, þen deofle þu bist isold on hond,  
 for noldest þu nefr<e hab>ben inouh buten þu hefdest unifouh;  
 40 nu is þ(et) swete al agon, þ(et) bittere þe bi<þ>fornon;  
 þ(et) bittere ilest þe efre, þet gode ne cumeþ þe nefre;  
 þus ageþ nu þ<in sip> after þin wrecce lif.  
 þu wendest þ(et) þin ende nefre ne cuman scolde;  
 to long<e þo>lede deap þe þ(et) he nolde nimen þe,  
 45 for efre þu arerdest sake and unseihte <were>,  
 and ic was wipi(n)nen þe bicluded swuþe fule.  
 þu were wedlowe and monsware and <were> huned inouh,  
 for þu were mid sunne ifulled al wipinne,  
 for þe deofel <leide his h>ord ful neih þine heorte;  
 50 efre þu woldest fullen al þ(et) was his wille  
 ic

36 There is a small hole in the w of wulder.

38 binumen: b is a small capital.

47 MS. wedlowe . 7 monsware . 7 . . . ; the e in huned is a later  
addition.

49 There is no point before ful.

[ \* \* \* \* ]

<nold>est þu nefre wurcnen drihtenes <wille>

[ \* \* \* \* ] <iwo>ld ahte."

þe get seiþ þeo soule soriliche to hire licame:

"Clene biþ þeo eorþe ær) þu to hire tocume,

5 ac þu heo afulest mid þine fule holde;

þet is þ(et) fu(le hol)d aftursed from monnen.

Nu þu bist bihuded on alre horde fulest,

on <deope> seape, on durelease huse.

þu scalt rotien and brostnian, þine bon beoþ bedæled

10 <of þ>ære wæde þe heo weren to iwunede;

brekeþ liþ from liþe, liggeþ þe bon stilkle,

oþ) ure drihten eft of deape heo aræreþ,

so he alle men deþ þonne domesdai <cum>eþ.

þonne scalt þu, erming, up arisen,

15 imeten þine morþdeden, þeo þe murie <were>n,

seoruhful and sorimod so þin lif wrouhte.

1 I <nold>est begins the first line of what remains of f. 65<sup>v</sup>.

The last half of this line is almost totally lost.

7 This line is not divided by a point.

9 MS. þu scalt rotien . 7 brostnian . þine

11 brekeþ: b is a small capital.

13 so: s is a small capital.

15 imeten: i is a small capital.

16 seoruhful: s is a small capital.

Nu beoþ þine earen fordutte <ne drea>me ihereþ;  
 þeo leorneden þeo listen þa lufere weren,  
 wowe domes and gultes <feole>;  
 20 opre beræfedest rihtes istreones  
 þ(urh) þæs deofles lore þeo þe likede wel.  
 Þe <wel> tuhte his hearpe and tuhte þe to him;  
 þu iherdest þene dream; he was drih<ten f>ul loþ;  
 he swefede þe mid þen sweiþe; swote þu sleptest  
 25 ge on þine bedde [. . .]is þe to chirche;  
 ne mostes þu iheren þeo holie dreames,  
 þeo bellen rungen <þet unker becnunge wæs,  
 ne holie lore þe unker help wære;  
 ac efre he tuhte þe <þet lut> þeo þe iwold ahte.  
 30 Ac nu beoþ fordutte þine dreampurles,  
 ne ihereþ heo <nefr>e more none herunge of þe  
 ær þeo bemen blowen þe unc becnien scu<len  
 f>rom deaþes dimesse to drihtenes dome.  
 Þonne þu scalt iheren þene <hea>rde dom  
 35 þe þu on þisse life lufelicche ofeodest."  
 þe get seiþ þe sowle s<oril>iche to hire licame:  
 "Nu þu bist afursed from alle þine freonden;  
 <nu> is þin muþ forscuttet for deaþ hine haueþ forduttet,

20 rihtes: r is a small capital.

24 MS. he swefede þe mid þen sweiþe swote

25 chirche: MS. chirche

ne biþ he ne <nam>mare undon ær cume þæs heige kinges dom .

40 Þonne hit biþ isene <so hi>t on psalme seiþ:

reddit(ur)i su(n)t de factis p(ro)p(ri)is rat(i)one(m),

Þonne sculen þeo <so>ule seggen hore deden

wisliche þurh wisdomes, for drihten hit wot;

<þon>ne heo onfoþ hore dom of drihtenes muþe,

45 Also hit is awriten of <drih>tenes <word>e:

ite maledicti in ignem eternu(m).

Þonne sculen wit si<þien> to alre seoruwe mest,

faren mid feondes in þet eche fur,

beornen <þer e>fre, ende nis þer nefre,

50 et q(ui) bona egeru(n)t ibu(n)t in uita(m) et(er)na(m),

þonne <scule>n þeo goden mid gode siþian,

echeliche wunien i(n) alre wuld<re mest>

[ \* \* \* \* ]

41 MS. redditī suſ de factis p̄p̄is ratōnē

45 <word>e: MS. {muþ}e

46 ite: i is a small capital; eternu(m): MS. eternū

49 beornen: b is a small capital.

50 MS. Et q̄ bona eger̄t ibut̄ ī uitā etnā

51 goden: g is a small capital; gode: g is a small capital.

## EXPLANATORY NOTES

An effort has been made in the explanatory notes to make the text accessible to the reader at a linguistic level; discussions of a more speculative nature have been kept to a minimum, though attempts have been made to illuminate especially murky passages and to guide the reader to secondary sources that should be of use in coming to terms with the work. All the reconstructions proposed by the previous editors for the damaged portions of the MS. that differ from those of the present edition have been included in the notes, regardless of merit; the critical symbols used are those of the present edition, however. The previous editions are as follows:

1. Sir Thomas Phillipps' work (1838) is a fairly accurate diplomatic edition with no attempts at reconstruction of damaged portions of the MS.
2. S.W. Singer (1845) attempts reconstructions on the basis of Phillipps' text, i.e., he did not actually see the MS. itself. His text is laid out in half-lines (rather than full-lines) with a facing translation; it is numbered continuously from the beginning of the first fragment to the end of the work.
3. Ernest Haufe (1880) based his knowledge of the MS. on a collation of it made by Julius Zupitza and Hermann Varnhagen in 1879 while Zupitza was preparing his edition of Elfric's Grammar and Glossary. He also knew the Phillipps and Singer editions, though he



acknowledges the latter only sporadically. Haufe provides a brief introduction touching on matters of language, prosody, and the state of the MS.; he divides the text into fragments lettered A through G; he also provides explanatory notes to which he makes a few additions in an 1881 Anglia article. The Haufe edition was reviewed by Wissmann in 1881.

4. Richard Buchholz's edition (1890) contains the most thorough discussion of the poem's language to date as well as a complete description of the poem's prosody. Like Haufe, Buchholz relied on the Zupitza-Varnhagen collation for his knowledge of the MS., and further, it is only through Haufe's edition that he is aware of Singer's work. Important reviews of the Buchholz edition, which provide essential modifications of the work, were written by Zupitza (1891), Kaluza (1891), and Holthausen (1892). Buchholz, whose work includes an edition of "The Grave," also provides a German prose translation of "Soul's Address."
5. Joseph Hall (1920) apparently saw the MS., but he offers an edition of only Fragments A and D(B).
6. Rolf Kaiser (1958) presents part of Fragment A and all of D(B); however, his work is based entirely on previous editions and therefore, is not mentioned further in the present edition.
7. Gail D.D. Ricciardi's edition (1976), an unpublished dissertation, is a collection that includes the two versions of the Old English "Soul and Body" and "The Grave" as well as the "Soul's Address." She was the first editor of the complete poem since Phillipps to actually study the MS., and, consequently, her work includes a number of superior suggestions in regard to possible reconstructions

of damaged portions. However, the effectiveness of Ricciardi's edition of the "Soul's Address" (and of "Soul and Body") is undermined by the vast scope of her project.

In the explanatory notes the previous editions are referred to by the names of their editors; reviews of these editions are referred to by the names of the reviewers.

Abbreviations and short titles for reference works mentioned in the notes are OED, Oxford English Dictionary; MED, Middle English Dictionary; BT and BT Supp., Bosworth-Toller's An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary and Supplement; Mustanoja, Tauno Mustanoja's A Middle English Syntax; Woolf, Rosemary Woolf's The English Religious Lyric in the Middle Ages; Visser, F.Th. Visser's An Historical Syntax of the English Language; Mossé, Fernand Mossé's A Handbook of Middle English; Robbins, R.H. Robbins' "Signs of Death in Middle English," MS, 32(1970), pp. 282-98; Stratmann, F.H. Stratmann's A Middle English Dictionary; Jordan, Richard Jordan's Handbook of Middle English Grammar; Rock, Daniel Rock's The Church of our Fathers: A New Edition in Four Volumes, ed. G.W. Hart and W.H. Frere (London: John Murray, 1905). Complete information on the above works can be found in the Bibliography.

Other mediæval works referred to in the notes are the "Latemest Day," an edition of which occurs in Carleton Brown's English Lyrics of the XIIIth Century; "The Grave," Arnold Schroeder, ed., Anglia, 5(1882), 289-90 (see also Douglas Short, SN, 48(1976), 291-9); "Soul and Body I," G.P. Krapp, ed., The Vercelli Book; OEH, Old English Homilies, Richard Morris, ed., E.E.T.S. (O.S.), nos. 29, 34, 53; PRL, Political, Religious, and Love Poems, F.J. Furnivall, ed., E.E.T.S. (O.S.), no. 15; ASE, Angelsächsische Homilien, Bruno Assmann, ed., Bibliothek der

angelsächsischen Prosa, III; Vices and V, Vices and Virtues, Ferdinand  
Holthausen, ed., E.E.T.S. (O.S.), nos. 89, 159; St. Marg., Seinte  
Marhêrete, Frances Mack, ed., E.E.T.S. (O.S.), no. 193; P.L.,  
Patrologia Cursus Completus. Series Latina, J.P. Migne, ed.

For other abbreviations, see the list of Abbreviations, p. viii.

Fragment A, f. 63<sup>v</sup>

1. enearde begins the first line of the remaining portion of f. 63<sup>v</sup>: the top of the leaf has been trimmed off. Hall thinks it likely that enearde are the last seven letters of middenearde since the usual uncompounded form for "earth" in the poem is eorb; Ricciardi includes mid- in her version of the text.
2. Phillipps and Hall retain the abbreviation ȝ for "and"; Buchholz and Ricciardi expand to ond; Singer and Haufe expand to and. While OE /a/ before nasals becomes /o/, written o, when accented, a prevails in unaccented position, e.g., licame, ll. A9, 11. (See Introduction II i 4 above.) Phillipps prints iculen in italics and Singer leaves this word out; all other editors print sculen. Haufe's suggestion is that sculen is used here as an auxiliary with an elided verb of motion, a view accepted by Buchholz; alternatively, Hall suggests sculen is an independent verb with the meaning "to pertain to, to be proper to" and translates the line "and all created things which pertain to it" (see Visser 176). Without the context that would be provided by the lines missing from the top of the leaf, the meaning of sculen cannot be precisely determined.
3. Singer reconstructs the damaged portion <wisdome bon>ne, but cre is clearly visible along with part of a fourth letter that Haufe says could be an f, l, or s. He reconstructs cre<fte bon>ne; Buchholz accepts crefte but changes the adverb to the demonstrative pronoun þene; Hall and Ricciardi accept Buchholz's reconstruction,

though the former believes ponne to be a plausible alternative, which it is.

4. him on ileide: In poetry, prepositions sometimes follow the personal pronouns they govern, particularly if this allows them to stand before a finite verb (Mossé 169.1). Hall is of the opinion that ileide on has a meaning "apparently without a parallel" in this line: "put into" or perhaps "entrusted to"; however, as Ricciardi points out, "to lay on" meaning "to bestow," OED lay, 55, is acceptable in this context; cf. MED leien, 12a, "to put in place, set."
5. isom<nede>: Singer reconstructs isom<ne> but the preterite must have a -d- in the suffix; Haufe prints isom<nede> and is followed by all subsequent editors. Ricciardi believes part of the final -e of this word is visible, but the mark on the MS. is probably the point dividing the verses.
6. þ is expanded to þet, the form that consistently appears when the word is unabbreviated.
7. The line has only three stresses. Singer reconstructs the text <woan>eþ without comment; Haufe prints <won>eþ noting that a stress is missing from the on-verse. Buchholz prints greoneþ ond woaneþ by analogy with ll. A15 and 25; Hall points out that this reconstruction is too long for the gap in the MS. and he returns to Singer's suggestion while noting that weopeþ and woaneþ might have been the original construction; Ricciardi reconstructs weopeþ by analogy with l. A10, another possibility. As there is no point in the MS. before and amnet, it may be suspected, at least, that the

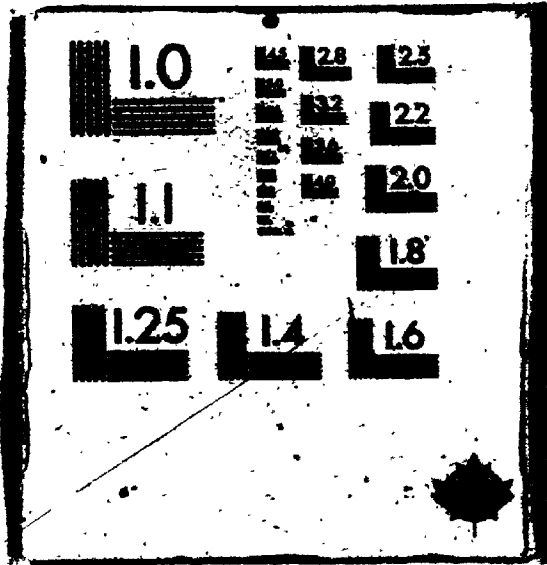
scribe copied the defective line from his exemplar and did not make the error himself. Regarding the two conjectures that have been made about the original line, one can note that in this poem lines with the alliterative pattern xa : ya are roughly twice as common as lines with the pattern aa : ax. It might be allowed, therefore, that Buchholz's suggestion is the more probable of the two. Regarding manet, see Introduction II i 35.

9. of: Singer reconstructs the text <hire li>came; Haufe and Buchholz, <and li>came; Hall, <fro li>came; Ricciardi, <wip li>came. Hall argues that idalen here is transitive so that a preposition is probably required; and, which occurs in the apparently similar l. A28, would be unusual in this position, and furthermore, todaleb in that line is intransitive. Hall provides one example for the use of fro in this situation, OEH ii, 61/31, but the form does not occur elsewhere in the poem; from/fram is consistently used but would probably be too long for the space missing from the MS. Hall also provides an example for the use of wip from ASH, 167/17, "wið þone lichaman seo sawle, 3edalan"; wip governing the accusative usually means "against," however. This is not an impossible reconstruction here, but of with its clear sense of separation seems preferable and is found in l. D(B)33 following delen.
10. hit, i.e., the bearn of l. 6.
11. <for >eah: Singer reconstructs the text <þone D>eah; Haufe and Buchholz have simply <D>eah; Hall has <an D>eah; Ricciardi, <for D>eah. Singer's reconstruction is probably too long while

3

3

OF / DE



that of Haufe and Buchholz is almost certainly too short. swo or for seem equally possible. There is no MS. justification for the capitalization of deap: only a very small portion of the d remains.

12. <oftesi>bes: Singer reconstructs the text <his si>bes, but, as Ricciardi points out, this would be the only occurrence in the poem of sip in the plural. Haufe reconstructs <oftes>ibes and is followed by both Buchholz and Hall though the former, in a list of corrections to his edition, reveals a later preference for weasibes by analogy with l. C(G)7. However, wonien is intransitive in this poem, as a rule, and further, weasibes would create a line with the alliterative pattern aa : aa, a much less common type than aa \ ax. Ricciardi prefers the usual OE spelling, oftsibes for reasons of length, but if fleoþ can be accepted in l. 37, as it is by all editors including Ricciardi, the common ME spelling, oftesibes, cannot be considered excessively long. he, i.e., the licame of l. 11.

16. al<so biþ>: Singer's reconstruction, <reowliche>, is very long, but <is>, printed by Haufe and Buchholz, and even <biþ>, preferred by Hall and Ricciardi seem rather short. Perhaps preferable is and al<so biþ> his sip, i.e., "and thus is his death . . ."

- 17-21 One verse is missing from this passage. Singer apparently did not notice the omission; he reconstructs 21a him coldeþ his <heortē> and changes the spelling of liggeþ to leggeþ. Haufe and Buchholz believe the missing verse is in l. 21, and for l. 20 they print him teoreþ his miht him coldeþ his <muþ>.

Hall, following an analogous passage in PRL, 253/3-6, reconstructs



11. 19-21:

him scortep <þe> tunge <him starkep his skin>

him trukeþ his iwit him teoreþ his miht

him coldeþ his <siden> liggeþ þe ban stille.

Hall admits the alliteration of siden/stille is imperfect but claims that a more general term than heorte or mub is wanted here. Robbins, p. 291, and Woolf, p. 80, both suggest fet. Ricciardi locates the missing verse in l. 20 and replaces Hall's siden with the stronger lipe "limbs" by analogy with l. G(E)11; liche "body" renders 21a similar to a number of OE verses: e.g., lic acolod bið, "Soul and Body I" 123a and lic colode, "Guthlac" 1307b as well as hraw colian, "Rune Poem" 92a, hraw colode, "Dream of the Rood" 72b, etc. In this passage, the various parts of the body may be construed as the causative objects of impersonal verbs (Visser 31), but, since the -ep ending marks the pl. form of the verb as well as the 3rd sg., æren, eigen, and lippen may, in fact, be subjects: "his ears become deaf, his eyes become dim, etc." On the Signs of Death in ME literature see Woolf, pp. 78-82, 95, 102, 330-2, 341, 373, 376, and Robbins, pp. 282-98.

23. <at> Singer and Haufe have <of>. The two prepositions are often interchanged (Mustanoja, pp. 350-1); however, bereven is followed by at at ll. E(C)7-8 (by emendation).
24. <bod>unge: Singer has <pin>unge. Little of the d remains, but cf. bodeþ, l. A6.
26. <bu>rdtid: Singer has <hear>dtid which gives no alliteration and is otherwise unattested.

- 27- Haufe prints So biþ eft þe feorþsiþ sorhliche to dæ<len> mid  
 28. seoruwen al bewunden as a single line, which it clearly is not;  
 Buchholz prints mid seoruwen al bewunden as a separate half line  
 making his lineation one number greater than the other editions  
 from this point to the end of the fragment; Hall omits sorhliche  
todalen as does Ricciardi. It would appear that at some point in  
 the MS. history of the poem 28b, soriliche todaleþ, was miscopied  
 into a position between 27a and b. Regarding feorþsiþ, see  
 Introduction II i 5.
29. Cf. ll. B(F)19, C(G)6, E(C)15, 37, F(D)9, 16, 42.
30. <fei>ge: Singer reconstructs the word <bod>ige which Haufe  
 accepts despite the lack of alliteration. Haufe rejects his own  
 suggestion, felage, and Buchholz also rejects bodige which does  
 not agree with the masculine pronouns of the following lines. He  
 offers no alternative suggestion, however. Zupitza, p. 79, and  
 Holthausen both suggest feige and this has been adopted by both  
 Hall and Ricciardi.
- iflut: pret. part. of flitten. "to move, convey (something)"  
 from ON flytja. The movement of the body to a position on the floor  
 just prior to death was an Anglo-Saxon custom that continued into  
 Norman times (Rock, II, 246).
31. In the church the body was laid with its feet toward the high  
 altar, i.e., the east; it lay in the same direction in the grave  
 (Rock, II, 380).
32. <col>deþ: Singer and Haufe reconstruct this word <hear>deþ;  
 Buchholz rejects this suggestion but offers no alternative;

Zupitza, p. 79, and Holthausen both suggest coldeþ, and both Hall and Ricciardi have accepted this suggestion. Cf. l. A36.

33-35. Cf. "The Grave," l. 6, "Nu me sceal þe meten and þa molde seoðða."

The priest marks the length and breadth of the grave with the sign of the cross, using a spade (Rock, II, 303-4). gerde would appear to mean "staff" here.

37. Haufe suggests that a relative pronoun is missing after fleop; however, þeo may be a relative and the subject of fleop may be unexpressed.

40. þe<ne> deade: Singer has þe <d>æde; Haufe, þe <d>eade. Neither suggestion is long enough for the gap in the MS. and the masc. acc. sg. definite article is regularly þene in this poem, not þe. Buchholz prints þe<ne d>eade and is followed in this by Hall and Ricciardi.

41. In OE, earfopsiþ occurs only in verse.

42. Phillipps prints eigen and is followed by Singer. All other editors have ejen which is the MS. reading.

43. <þon>þe: Singer, following Phillipps, prints ie in italics. Haufe reconstructs <þon>ne as do all subsequent editors except Buchholz, who prints <Ec>, a word that is both too short for the space available and paleographically unjustified. The similarity of this line to l. A41 has prompted all editors since Singer to suggest that riche is a mistake for wrecche, though no one emends. It is unclear, however, how the repetition of wrecche would strengthen the passage or why it is required or likely. Perhaps the poet was trying to achieve an antithetical balance between the

A, f. 63<sup>v</sup>

verses: riche meaning "great, powerful"; wrecche meaning "weak, insignificant." Hall is also of the opinion that A41b is A43b misplaced through scribal error and that A41b should actually be something like be woneþ be feorþsiþ. While this is not inconceivable, it also must be remembered that repetition of verses, even within a small number of lines, is a characteristic of the style of this poem; cf. A5b and A8b.

44. <po>ne: Phillipps has ine in italics; Singer and Ricciardi have <po>ne; Haufe and Buchholz, <In>ne; Hall, <parin>ne. Inne and parinne are both possible reconstructions, though the former is probably too short; ponne, as Ricciardi points out, is more in keeping with the style of the poem, i.e., it is a word used very often. Despite its ending, cunap is, in all probability, singular: if unblisse were plural it would end in -s or -n.
45. Singer translates besihþ as "saith" while Buchholz translates it as "seufzt," i.e., "sighs." Neither rendering is phonologically justified: according to Zupitza, p. 79, the development of the c in OE besican into h would be unparalleled; the development of æ in 3rd sg. sæþ into i is also unlikely. Zupitza believes that besihþ is, in fact, derived from OE beseon, and the MED confirms that it is a common early form of bisen, 2b, "to give heed, pay attention."

Fragment B(F), f. 66<sup>r</sup>

1. me suke to þe begins the first line of the remaining portion of f. 66<sup>r</sup>: the top of the leaf has been cut away.

B(F), f. 66<sup>r</sup>

2. "I opened my mouth and drew in the spirit." sp(iritu)m: MS. is either ipm or spm with the ascender of the long s cut away. All editors since Phillipps have printed ipsum, though this does not give good sense. Kaluza, p. 16, notes, however, that the Vulgate reads spiritum at this point and suggests that the abbreviation of this word was confused with that of ipsum by the scribe. In fact, the damage to the MS. here makes it impossible to tell whether the first letter of the word in question is an i or a long s, and, since spiritum is the desired reading and ipsum makes little sense, it seems preferable to accept the former as the MS. reading. Any abbreviation marks that may have been above the letters have been lost in the trimming of the leaf. Cf. Ps. 118 (119), 131: "Os meum aperui, et attraxi spiritum."
3. Because the top of the leaf was not trimmed off evenly, the remains of the letters of the first line on f. 66<sup>r</sup> become progressively smaller. In the on-verse pu can still be made out, but the following words cannot. Neither Singer nor Haufe attempts to fill this gap; Buchholz, following the Latin of the previous line, reconstructs opnedest pin bon for the damaged portion of the verse. Zupitza, p. 82, Kaluza, p. 16, and Holthausen all point out that os in this case is to be translated "mouth," not "bone." Ricciardi prints pu .... dest pin mup, claiming correctly that opnedest is paleographically unjustified: the word following pu contains no letter with a descender; therefore p is an impossibility. In the OE psalters aperui is usually translated with a form of ontynan "to open, reveal, display," but this word--even with y written

as u--does not seem to fit the remains of the letters either.

Phillipps prints et for and, MS. &.

5. nold<est pu>: Haufe does not include pu in his reconstruction. The MS. seems to read noln with a superscript d over the second n. MED bimenen, 1b, means "to complain about one's troubles," or in this case, "needs"--not necessarily "sins" as Buchholz suggests; certainly not "pleasures" as Ricciardi suggests.
6. wold<est ham>: Haufe does not include ham in his reconstruction.
8. <sunfu>le: The reconstruction of Singer and Haufe, <al>le, seems rather short. Buchholz and Ricciardi have sunfule, cf. l. B(F)27. ber, i.e., "where."
9. milts<e on>fop: Singer's reconstruction is milts<unge> fop. It is likely, given the presence of onfop in l. B(F)12, that onfop is correct here, and miltsunge onfop would be too long for the gap in the MS.
10. In this line, purh governs the accusative case; in l. 12, the dative case.
11. hor<e soule>: Singer's reconstruction is hor <soules>. soules is not inconceivable; the OED, soul, 11b, records an example of a plural in -s c. 1200; the form hor does not occur elsewhere in the work.
13. be<arf ic>: Singer has be <scalt>; Haufe, be <bearf>; Buchholz and Ricciardi, be<arf ic>. It is probable that the soul is the subject of this clause; Haufe believes it is an impersonal construction.
15. milts<unge>: Singer reconstructs miltsunge; all subsequent

B(F), f. 66<sup>r</sup>

editors print miltse, probably by analogy with l. B(F)9. However, miltse would leave a rather large space in the MS., certainly enough space for a point and the first word on the next MS. line, nu. Singer's miltſunge plus a point would likely have filled up the space in the MS. right to the edge of the leaf. It must, therefore, be given consideration.

16. Ricciardi capitalizes deap.
17. for<þun>den: Phillipps has forl..../den, and Singer reconstructs forligden "covered up." Haufe, Buchholz, and Ricciardi have forbunden "bound." Either reconstruction is acceptable in terms of meaning. Paleographically it seems more probable that the vertical stroke after the r is a partially visible l, not, the back of a b. Further, forleiden from OE forlecgan would provide the line with an alliterative pattern of xa : ay, a very common one in the poem, while forbunden would leave the line without alliteration. However, it is very unlikely that the pret. part. of an OE weak verb would end in -en in this poem (see Introduction II iii 32); therefore, forbunden has been accepted here.
18. Ricciardi prints efre ma as a compound.
19. þin wrecche lif: Phillipps mistakenly prints þine and is followed in this error by Singer. Singer and Buchholz reconstruct reouliche þin; Haufe and Ricciardi, reoulic <þin>. As Ricciardi points out, the space between the c of reoulic and the remains of the letter which followed it is closer in length to a space separating two words than two letters of the same word. reowliche is the usual form in this poem, but -lic does occur in sellic, l. C(G)27.

- 20- alle <heo>: Singer has alle <beo>; Haufe and Ricciardi, alle  
 21. h<eo>; Buchholz, alle <sunnen>. The remains of the letter after alle are probably those of an h, though p is not an impossibility; s, however, is very unlikely so that Buchholz's reconstruction can be dismissed. The referent of the plural heo clearly should be sunne, l. 20, which is singular, and both the plural verb in 21a and the comparison to the plural piles in 21b reinforce Ricciardi's decision to emend sunne to sunnen, a change that has been adopted in this edition as well. It is possible that a tilde representing the final n was lost in transmission. piles: Phillipps prints wiles and is followed by Singer.
22. piles: Phillipps prints wiles and is followed by Singer.  
he<o hine>: Singer has he<om>, but cf. l. B(F)24.
24. piles: Phillipps prints wil....; Singer has wil<es>
25. Ricciardi's view is that the unusual word order and lack of alliteration indicate that this line is corrupt. If fromward is construed as an adverb, its position is defensible; however, if, as is more likely, it is a preposition with him as its object, its position is unusual. Lack of alliteration does not necessarily imply corruption in this poem. Ricciardi also points out that the i of iwend is probably a later addition to the MS. as it is squeezed in between the w and the m of him and written in a different ink than the words around it. The letter is squeezed in, but variations in ink colour occur throughout the MS., often on the same leaf:
26. we<re>: Singer has we<ren>. wipine: Phillipps prints wip inne



B(F), f. 66<sup>r</sup>

as does Singer; Haufe and Buchholz both have wipi(n)ne; Ricciardi prints wipine. Double n is the usual spelling in OE forms of the word and it is possible that a tilde over the second i has been lost in transmission. Forms with a single n do occur in ME, however. This compound could be two separate words. See OED, within. Cf. l. F(D)48, basically the same line with the form wipinne.

27. ful sore: Phillipps prints fulsore as does Singer. This is an accurate rendering of the MS., but it is very unlikely the two words form a compound. Haufe, Buchholz, and Ricciardi print two separate words.
28. <al þet>: Singer has <þu al þet>; Haufe has <þet>: Buchholz and Ricciardi have al þet. Cf. ll. B(F)23, 25. The pointing in the MS. indicates that was in this line is in the on-verse, and in the on-verse is where it is placed by both Singer and Ricciardi. (Neither Haufe nor Buchholz shows half-line divisions in his text.) Ricciardi notes, however, that the point after was is probably misplaced since it creates syntactical confusion by separating the auxiliary from the participle and disrupts the balance between B(F)28a and B(F)29a. In OE poetry, the auxiliary was, in the final position of a verse is almost invariably preceded by the participle. On the few occasions when the participle follows in the next verse, it is separated from the auxiliary by a direct, or indirect object, e.g., "Andreas" l. 1307, ond se halga was to hofe laded, "Guthlac" l. 1317, Swa se burgstede was blissum gefylled.

29. touwar<d/for>: Singer reconstructs touwar<des>; Haufe, Buchholz, and Ricciardi have touwar<d>. If the correct reconstruction is touward, however, sufficient space would have been left after the point to write the next word, heo, without beginning a new MS. line. Singer's reconstruction is possibly correct, though one might have expected fromwardes in l. B(F)25. Alternatively, a short word, such as for or bus, may have been wholly lost when the leaf was trimmed. Cf. l. B(F)23.
30. ipin<ed ful>sove: Singer has ipin<ed ful>sove; Haufe, ipin<ed>sove; Buchholz and Ricciardi, ipin<ed ful>sove. Haufe's completion is almost certainly too short. Cf. ll. B(F)27, 33.
33. pinien: Phillipps has pinion as does Singer. so<re all>: Singer and Haufe have only so<re> which is very short; Buchholz and Ricciardi have so<re all>. al is the usual spelling in the poem; all occurs twice, ll. C(G)6 and 13. Buchholz uses the -ll form because the word is in stressed position. synne is the only form in the poem in which y occurs.
34. heihnesse: Singer has heihnes, though Phillipps prints the MS. reading.
35. se<ouepe>: Singer has se<ofope>; Haufe se<ovepe>; Buchholz and Ricciardi seouepe. Singer's is the most archaic form and also a possibility.
37. Haufe has only a comma after worde.
- 38- In the MS. there is a point after each item listed in these lines.
39. wate<r and>: Singer has wa<tere>; Haufe, Buchholz, and Ricciardi have wat<er>, which seems a little short; a variant in -rr is not

probable as doubled consonants occur finally only three times in the work, all, ll. C(G)6 and 13, and iwill, l. C(G)3.

40. fore seide: Phillipps, Singer, and Haufe print one word, foreseide. However, OE forsecgan, as Ricciardi points out, means "to accuse, slander." Buchholz and Ricciardi print two words, fore seide, i.e., "said before."
41. ma<kunge>: Singer has ma<kede>; Haufe, Buchholz, and Ricciardi have makunge. Ricciardi believes the MS. may say mæ and she also thinks makunge is too long a reconstruction. The addition of -kunge to what appears to be ma would take the writing on this MS. line to the edge of the leaf, but it is not too long for the space available. almihties: one might expect a weak form of the adjective following the definite article, but, even in early ME, strong and weak forms were often confused (Mustanoja, pp. 276-7).. See Introduction II iv 1. Ricciardi capitalizes fader.
44. "Let there be, and all things were"; cf. Gen. 1, 3. Fiat lux. Et facta est lux.
47. The MS. reads þ[....]/þene sune. Phillipps, however, prints þ.....þene sune causing Singer to reconstruct the passage þ<onne> þene sune and translate the verse "he made then the sun." All editors since Singer have expanded þ to þurh. Haufe and Buchholz print þ(urh) <hit> þene sune, and Buchholz translates the verse Er schuf durch desselbe den Sohn... : sune is an improbable spelling for "sun"; it would seem to mean "son." Zupitza, p. 82, and Holthausen strenuously object to this reading on theological grounds, i.e., that the Son was created by the word of the Father

would never have been written. They recommend the elimination of hit, arguing that nothing is missing from the MS. at this point. And, in fact, if the reconstructions in ll. B(F)45 and 50 are correct, at least nine millimetres of space were available after p, sufficient for a short word such as hit, though perhaps not sufficient for bene, the next word in the text that still remains. Ricciardi prints p(urh)... bene Sune but suggests that sune may, in fact, refer to the sun, as Singer suggests, and the reconstruction hit to the "word" of the previous line. Given the tendency toward repetition in the poem and given the subject under discussion, the creation, this latter view must be considered; possibly a tilde representing the second n of sūne has been lost in transmission. However, bene is unambiguously masc. in the "Soul's Address" while in OE sunne is fem. Unless gender distinction has broken down here (which is not probable) or MS. corruption has caused the scribe to alter the form of the article, the view of Zupitza and Holthausen seems preferable.

49. [...]imaginem: Phillipps and Singer have imaginem; Haufe and Buchholz have ad iymaginem; Ricciardi has ... iymaginem. Ricciardi thinks it possible that the remains of the letter following wiseb, l. B(F)48, is an f, perhaps the first letter in an abbreviation of faciamus. Cf. Gen I 26-7, faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram: "we made man in our image and likeness."
50. Ricciardi capitalizes drihtenes. This word is very faded in the MS, but it does not have a capital.

Fragment C(G), f. 66<sup>v</sup>

1a- Most has been lost of the first few letters of the first line  
1. that remains on f. 66<sup>v</sup>, and at least part of any ascender in the other letters of the line is missing as well. Preceding ic, l. 1, are three letters, the first of which is almost certainly a g, followed by what appears to be .j (and). The remains of perhaps two letters before the g offer no clue to their original form. Phillipps prints (of God).j ic; Haufe prints <god> as part of his first line, i.e., l. 1; Buchholz notes the possibility of this word being present but does not include it in his text; Ricciardi prints God and calls that word l. 1, thereby causing all her numbers in this fragment to be one greater than all the other editions. It is possible that Phillipps could make out of when he examined the MS., and that further damage has obliterated it; god is a very feasible reconstruction of what remains in the MS.

All editors, with the exception of Ricciardi, follow Phillipps and print and ic be imane as C(G)2a. Buchholz translates imane as "Genosse," i.e., "comrade," though "slave" might be a better translation. The first meaning given for menè (1) in the MED, however, is "sexual intercourse," which would go well with the phrase in the off-verse, "with loathsome love." Zupitza, p. 82, notes that the word could also be an adjective, i.e., "false, wicked;" or an adverb. Damage to the MS. here makes precision impossible. Ricciardi prints ond ic be . . . . a.e mid lopre lufe. She thinks it unlikely that imane is the correct reconstruction, but admits that it is paleographically possible. If imane is

accepted, the line has neither strong alliteration nor rhyme.

Ricciardi suggests, with reservation, lufæste, a reconstruction that would provide the line with alliteration, though not much sense.

2. <þu wol>dest: Singer has <þu nol>dest.
4. mæbe<mæ>te: Singer has mæbe<mæ>te; all other editors, mæbemete. Ricciardi quite correctly questions the shortness of this completion. It does not seem at all sufficient.
5. <to hell>e: Singer's reconstruction is <in hell>e; Haufe and Buchholz print <inne hell>e by analogy with 1. B(F)32. Ricciardi rejects inne because of its length and prints to instead, suggesting that an alliterating verb such as sechen might be lost. However, in eME in as well as to can be used with a verb of motion (Mustanoja, pp. 388-9), in this case an elliptical verb of motion with "shall." Singer's completion, therefore, is also acceptable.
6. þer is likely an adverb, i.e., "there," not a demonstrative pronoun. lif would appear to be an uninflected dative form; see Introduction II iii 4.
7. ætwi<ten mi>pe: Singer reconstructs ætwi<nne and þin>e; Haufe and Buchholz, ætwi<ten þe>; Ricciardi, ætwiten mine. Ricciardi's concern with the shortness of ætwiten þe is well founded, and her own reconstruction seems preferable. weasip "woetime" or "journey," is probably related, at least in connotation, to OE weagesip "companion in woe" often used for the inhabitants of hell.
9. atruk<ed þi>ŋ: Singer has atru <þin>; Haufe, atruk<ied þi>. Buchholz, in his text, prints atrukied þin, but he changes this to atruk<ed þin in his list of corrections. Ricciardi has atruk<ed þin.

Cf. 1. A19.

10. icwem<de>: the subject of MS icweme is almost certainly tunge, 1. 9, and the sense of the passage requires a pret. ind. form, i.e., icwemde; cf. the identical C(G)21b and the similar C(G)23b where the tongue is also the subject. All previous editors print icweme. Haufe has no punctuation after this line; however, the subject changes from the 3rd to the 2nd sg., i.e., from the tongue to the body.
11. <domes>: Singer reconstructs <dreames>. Cf. 1. G(E)19.
12. opre: Singer emends to pu opre; however, "non-expression of the pronoun may occur when it has been expressed in a previous oblique case" (Mustanoja, p. 141, no. 4). The addition of pu is unnecessary, therefore. Cf. 1. G(E)20.
13. <garsu>me: Phillipps prints .ime, and Singer attempts no reconstruction. Haufe supplies garsume and this is accepted by both Buchholz and Ricciardi. to may be an adverb meaning "too, also" (this is Haufe's opinion), but it could also be construed as a preposition used in a final sense (Mustanoja, p. 410), i.e., C(G)13a may be translated either "you gathered also treasure" or "you gathered (them) as treasure." Zupitza, p. 82, believes the off-verse of this line is parenthetical, and Ricciardi treats it as such. However, perhaps what is implied is that the garsume was not only gathered by means of the deofles lore, but also lost by means of it as well: C(G)13b need not be parenthetical.
14. Cf. 1. G(E)21.
15. <tung>e: Singer has <bodig>e which agrees neither with the fem.

- pronouns nor with the context of the following lines. The line neither rhymes nor alliterates with either reconstruction, however.
16. Singer, following Phillipps, prints be mo as a compound. Singer's reconstruction of the damaged passage is <for>, l. 17. Haufe has of, l. 16, which Buchholz changes to so, a reconstruction that gives the line rhyme and is analogous to l. C(G)25. Ricciardi follows Buchholz. All these reconstructions seem too short, however; a combination of Singer's and Buchholz's suggestions seems preferable.
18. <weren>: Singer has <was>, but cf. l. C(G)50.
19. bi hire: Singer, following Phillipps, prints these words as a compound.
20. "Your tongue framed deceit." <dolos>: Ricciardi reconstructs <dolum>. In the Vespasian Psalter, Ps. 49(50), 19 reads concinnavit dolum; in the Salisbury Psalter it reads concinnavat dolos.
21. geoddede: MS geoððe. Phillipps prints geoððe and Singer simplifies this to geopode, which he translates "poured." Haufe, Buchholz, and Ricciardi all adopt Stratmann's emendation to geoddede "sang, recited" from OE gieddian; in the BT entry for giddian, the form geoddede does occur. Ricciardi believes the MS form actually signifies geodedede; d with a loop to the right-hand side of its ascender is a scribal abbreviation for de, but it does not occur elsewhere in the work. She thinks it possible that the scribe was confused by a word unusual in a homiletic context. In the OE psalters, concinnavat/concinnavit is translated either by singan or hleobrian; it would appear that the word was taken to be a form of concinere, "to sing in a chorus, harmonize," rather than



of concinnare "to put or fit together carefully."

22. <huned>e. Singer reconstructs <icwem>de, a form which does not make sense here. Haufe, in his edition, offers no reconstruction here, but later, in his Anglia article, he suggests <chid>de, a reconstruction adopted by Buchholz. Ricciardi suggests hunede; cf. l. F(D)47. Either chidde or hunede would be acceptable (both can mean "abused, insulted"), but we might expect the dative case after chidden (Mustanoja, p. 101), and hunede provides the line with alliteration. Regarding héou, see MED heuen (1), 1f, "to be cutting."
24. sun<nen so>: Singer has sun<ne pat>; Haufe, sun<ne be>; Buchholz, sun<nen so>; Ricciardi, sun<ne so>. The number of sunne(n) is unclear. pen invariably denotes masc. dat. sg. nouns in this poem, while alle is invariably plural. The reconstructions of both Haufe and Ricciardi are probably too short for the gap in the MS., but Singer's is comparable to Buchholz's in length. Buchholz argues that pen is derived from masc. dat. pl. pam, but this word occurs in an unweakened form in l. E(C)25. For the plural form of sunne in -n, see l. B(F)11. The problem here can be solved by emending pen to pin which occurs as a plural form in l. E(C)43.
26. hauef: Singer and Haufe, in his edition, emend to hauep. In his Anglia article, however, Haufe reverts to the MS. reading which is also accepted by both Buchholz and Ricciardi. (See Introduction II i 35.) Phillipps prints ...ned, and Singer, following him, reconstructs <dom>ned. The partially visible letter in the MS. would appear to be an n, however. Haufe and Buchholz

print <de>med, which is too short; Ricciardi expands this to <so de>med. pus yields a slightly longer completion. Also, pret. part. in this work usually take the verbal prefix i- if another prefix is not already present.

27. non sellic: The second n of non is very indistinct now and was apparently unclear when Zupitza and Varnhagen made the collation of the MS. on which Haufe depended. He prints nou claiming that non, printed by Phillipps and accepted by Singer, makes no sense in the context. Wissmann, p. 92, rejects nou on the grounds that it is a late 13th century form, i.e., too late for this MS. Buchholz prints non but translates the verse "Nicht ist es . . . seltsam," apparently believing the substantive described by the adjective sellic to be missing. However, Zupitza, p. 82, points out that OE sellic could be used as a substantive in ME. See also Mustanoja, pp. 646-7.
28. <sorilich>e: Singer's reconstruction is <ponne>. Haufe prints <wrecch>e; Buchholz, <wræcche soul>e; Ricciardi, <þin sou>le. Cf. l. D(B)36. Part of a letter is still visible before the e that precedes þ(pet). While it might be an h or a d, this letter does not appear to be an n or an l. Haufe's reconstruction is paleographically possible, therefore; the reconstructions of Singer, Ricciardi, and Buchholz are less likely. (Buchholz's is almost certainly too long.) The adverb soriliche, which occurs elsewhere in the poem, fits both the context and the space available while providing the line with alliteration.
29. leoue: Phillipps prints leone.

30. <ic t>ferde: Singer's reconstruction is ic <ford>ferde; Haufe and Buchholz shorten this to <ic for>ferde. The remains of the letter before f, however, are definitely not those of an r; they would appear, as Ricciardi points out, to belong to an o. Her reconstruction that is adopted here is <ic t>ferde.
31. MED foster, lb, gives the meaning "care, keeping, protection," but quite possibly the meaning of the word here is closer to "bringing up, fostering" given in BT Supp. foster, 3.
32. <nouht u>nebe: Phillipps prints nebe, but Singer reconstructs <me sell>nebe which is paleographically impossible. Haufe prints <noht u>nebe and Buchholz expands noht to nouht by analogy with l. D(B)33. Buchholz's reconstruction is accepted by Ricciardi. The two somewhat indistinct vertical strokes that precede the l are rather close together. They could very well form an n, though they could also be a u, the form Phillipps prints. At less well preserved places in the MS.--and less carefully written places as well--these two letters are hard to distinguish from one another. nebe, if that is the correct form, would appear to be from OE unlade "misery, suffering."
- 34- In this passage, baptism is seen as a wedding of the soul and body.  
46. The fontston in l. 37 is obviously the baptismal font; ll. 39b-40 refer to chrismation, the anointing of the initiate with chrism, i.e., mid ben holie ele; the kinemerke of l. 41 is probably a reference to the <sup>8</sup>post-baptismal consignation of the initiate with the cross, i.e., the seal of the cross; the godfaderes of l. 44 are those who sponsor the initiate. G.W.H. Lampe in The Seal of the

Spirit (London: Longmans, Green, 1951) gives no indication that such a view of baptism was ever held.

34. <so so>: Singer has so so by analogy with l. C(G)55. The other editors have <se þeo>, which is acceptable and perhaps preferable from the point of view of length.
35. "Your wife will be like a fruitful vine"; Ps. 127(128), 3.
36. <so winbow>e: Singer offers no reconstruction at this point. Haufe has <þonn>e; Buchholz, <in wedd>e; Ricciardi, <on wedd>e. Buchholz argues that the neuter wed is required as an antecedent for þet in the next line since þet cannot agree with the masculine fontston. However, neither se nor seo, the OE masculine and feminine forms, is found in this text; and, elsewhere, þet is used as a relative pronoun with a masculine antecedent in an oblique case, e.g., ll. A5-6 and l. D(B)21. Even in OE the neuter þæt occurs as the relative pronoun for masculine and feminine forms (Mustanoja, pp. 188-9).

The previous suggestions would leave the Latin vitis untranslated, and, given the poet's treatment of the other Latin passages in the poem, this omission would be unusual. In the OE psalters, vitis is translated by either wintreow or wingearð; in the OE Gospels, vitis in John 15, 5 is translated wintreow while in the ME "Genesis and Exodus," the accusative vitem in Gen. 40, 9 is translated win-tre. It is unlikely that either wintreow or wingearð can fit here as the word required must end in -e and is probably nominative in case: win-tre is a later 13th-century form. However, the synonymous winbowe from OE winboh would fit. So is

probably preferable to also given the length of wipbowe. For ME use of so in this sense, see Mustanoja, p. 336. The line could be translated: "I was to you wedded as a worthy vine."

38. ful<luht> forloren: Ricciardi prints ful<luht f>orloren, but part of the f is still visible.
41. One verse is missing at this point, or, at least, the equivalent of one verse. There appears to be a point after hauest, and, for this reason, Ricciardi suggests the words omitted lay between hauest and kinemerke. Singer, following Phillipps, prints kinemerke as two words.
42. heih<est>: Singer attempts no reconstruction here; Haufe and Buchholz have heih<mod> which like heihest, seems rather short. Ricciardi's suggestion, <hefde>, is possible; arerde might be preferable by analogy with l. G(E)12 where the context is similar. Both these suggestions would give the off-verse three stresses, however.
44. <behet>en: Haufe's reconstruction, <tauht>en, is rejected by Wissmann, p. 92, as unlikely, but Wissmann's own suggestion, loveden with a meaning of "promised," cannot be justified either. Singer has <ihat>en (Zupitza, p. 79, believes this is a misprint for iheten); Buchholz and Ricciardi have beheten, though the former acknowledges that iheten would be equally suitable. Buchholz did not have access to Singer's edition, of course, and if Haufe neglects to note Singer's reading of a particular passage--as he does in this case--Buchholz makes no mention of it.
46. <mid r>ihtere: Phillipps prints .ihtere; however, Singer

C(G), f. 66<sup>v</sup>

- reconstructs <drig>htene. The other editors follow Haufe's suggestion and print mid rihtere.
- 47- cwi<de/his>: Singer reconstructs cw<ipe/his>; Haufe, Buchholz,  
48. and Ricciardi have cwide/his. Ricciardi points out that this is a very early occurrence of the pl. form, modes. MED mod, lā, records one 12th-century occurrence.
49. for[....]inne: Singer has for<wi>nne, Haufe and Buchholz have for<lu>nne. The MS. appears to have inne, perhaps with an acute accent over the i, which would render forlunne paleographically impossible since such accents occur only over i. Also, as Ricciardi points out, both reconstructions are far too short for the gap in the MS.
- 51- <is for>loren: Singer has <for>loren. It does seem likely that  
52. the repetition of the off-verses in these two lines is an example of dittography, as Ricciardi believes. However, one cannot be certain, because the passage does not fall apart semantically and repetition is one of the essential features of the poem's style.
53. <scolde>st: Singer has <haue>st but the following line makes it seem certain that scoldest is correct.
54. bring<en ham>: Haufe and Buchholz have bringen heom, which Ricciardi rejects on the basis of length. Ham is the usual accusative plural form in the poem; heom occurs exclusively as a dative plural.
56. nouella oliuarum: Haufe and Buchholz misspell oliuarum as oliarum (Zupitza, p. 83). The Vespasian Psalter has novella, not novella, so that a and not æ may be the correct reading. In the lower right-

C(G), f. 66<sup>v</sup>

hand corner of f. 66<sup>v</sup>, the words are very blurred and indistinct. Ps. 127(128), 3: "Your children will be like olive shoots." Cf. Hrabanus Maurus, P.L., vol. 112, col. 927: "Per filios, bona opera, ut in Paulo: 'Salvabitur mulier per filiorum generationem' (1 Tim 2, 15) id est, anima fidelis per bonorum operum multitudinem; item juxta illud: 'Et videas filios tuos' (Ps. 127(128), 6), id est, praemia bonorum operum." (By children we should understand good works, as in Paul: "A woman will be saved by bearing children," i.e., the faithful soul by many good works; likewise: "And may you see your children," i.e., the rewards of these good works.)

Fragment D(B), f. 64<sup>r</sup>

1. The first line of f. 64<sup>r</sup> is almost wholly cut away. On the left-hand side of the leaf only descenders remain; on the right-hand side bottoms of letters can be made out as well. The second MS. line begins with pu me. By analogy with l. D(B)17, Singer, Haufe, and Buchholz offer the reconstruction <Hwui noldest bepenchen> pu me for the on-verse of the first line, but this is paleographically unjustified. Haufe proposed p pu ligge woa w in his note. Ricciardi's reconstruction of the damaged first line; .. <ob pu wa ligge . woa wro> ... appears to be possible and her suggestion for the on-verse of l. 1, <woa wrohtest> pu me, also seems reasonable. Hall's alternative suggestion, lob were, is unlikely; the letter in woa that Ricciardi takes to be a p, i.e., w--its descender is partially obscured--is almost certainly not an l.

2. Cf. l. F(D)28.
- 4-11. On the ubi sunt theme in OE, see J.E. Cross, "Ubi Sunt Passages in Old English -- Sources and Relationships," Vetenskaps-Societetens i Lund Årsbok (1956), pp. 25-44. Woolf, p. 96, is of the opinion that quid profuit would be a more accurate designation of this type of passage than ubi sunt.
4. be<q>: Part of the o is still visible, but Phillipps prints be as does Singer.
5. <pa>newes: This reconstruction is suggested by Holthausen and adopted by both Hall and Ricciardi. Cf. "Latemest Day," A., l. 45, "Wer boit pine ponewes." Another possible spelling is <pe>newes.
7. Though he himself prints the MS. version, Hall states that guldene "golden" is a corruption of glyden "glided" and that comen is a gloss on guldene/glyden. He suggests emending the off-verse to be glyden to pine honden by analogy with "Latemest Day" B., l. 54, "Hwer beoð pine nappes þat be glideþ to honde?" This change is adopted by Ricciardi. There is clearly corruption here, but while Hall's suggestion makes fine sense, it is not without difficulties. One must wonder why comen should be written after, rather than over, the word to which it is a gloss and why it should be separated by a point from that word. Indeed, the points after goldfæten, guldene, and honden may indicate the omission of words-- at least one verse--as has happened elsewhere in the poem. Also, one might expect glyden to be spelt gluden since OE /y/ is predominantly written u in the poem, though the MED does not record a form of gliden with the root vowel written u. goldfæt may mean



D(B), f. 64<sup>r</sup>.

"golden," rendering the troublesome guldene redundant; however, it could also be a survival of the OE poetical goldfæt meaning "golden vessel."

8. agon: Singer has igon. Haufe believes fornon derives from OE fornean "near"; Hall says it is a contraction of foran an meaning "before, to come." See OED forne, 3b, "before, in front of." Cf. 11. D(B)44, F(D)40.
10. Hall adds sibbe to the on-verse which is otherwise deficient. Ricciardi expands this to þe sibbe as the omission is probably an example of homoeoteleuton, i.e., the scribe omitted sibbe due to the repetition of þe in the line.
12. heom: Phillipps prints heo in. Regarding þuþte, see Introduction II i 45.
13. <we>ren: Haufe has <w>eren.
14. Singer prints dælip and imang: he follows Phillipps in the latter case. In his corrections Buchholz proposes to change the reconstruction <heo> to <heo hit>, but don here has the meaning "to put, bring" as it did in OE; see BT Supp. don, 4. þe is the direct object and wiþuten is an adverb: "they put you without." Furthermore, heo hit is too long for the gap in the MS. The earliest instance of do without, i.e., "to get on without, dispense with," is 1713, according to the OED.
16. þ<rin>gen: Singer reconstructs þ<er>gan.
18. semdest: Singer emends to scendest. fō<rþon>: Singer and Haufe have fo<rþi>; Buchholz and subsequent editors have forþon by analogy with l. A10. semdest from OE siman "to load, place a

burden on."

19. The point in the MS. between seoruhfulne and buc would appear to be a scribal error.
20. Singer, Hall, and Ricciardi reconstruct þu lo>kien here and would have the verse translated "you would not look to, i.e., take heed of, love." Haufe has þu <ma>kien, though he himself finds it unsatisfactory; Buchholz expands Haufe's suggestion to þu þe ma>kien, which is rather long. Makien lufe, "to make love" is unattested in English before the 16th century--it is for this reason that Hall rejects it--but lokien lufe is itself rather obscure in this context. The phrase intended in all probability is makien lof "to praise" a common eME construction, e.g., Brut 8376, scullen alle mine Bruttes .. liðen to Lundene, & þer lof makien ure lauerd Appollin. See MED maken, 8a(c). It is conceivable that the spelling lufe has been caused by confusion with "love," i.e., OE lufu, as indicated in the MED lof. It is emended here for the sake of clarity.
23. <ho>re messe: Phillipps prints reinesse, and Singer attempts no reconstruction. biddan likely means "to pray" in this context; see BT Supp., 25 and MED, 2. According to the MED citation, fore, as opposed to for, is used as a preposition only in regard to spatial relations; according to Mustanoja, pp. 377-78, however, the distinction was not so pronounced in either the OE or ME periods. Therefore, fore in both ll. 21 and 23 can be construed as a preposition meaning "in the place, instead of."
24. leofli<che>: Singer, Hall, and Ricciardi have leofli<che>: Haufe

has leofli<ch>; Buchholz, leofli<c>. The OE adjectival suffix -lic is written liche in all instances in the poem but two--sellic, l. C(G)27, and probably reoulic, l. B(F)19. However, -che may be a little long for the gap in the MS.

25. Phillipps prints deorwurpe as two words. Singer has swup deor burpe lac for the on-verse; he translates it "through the most dear sacrifice."
26. þære: Haufe and Buchholz accept the MS. reading but for different reasons. Haufe believes it is a masc. gen. pl. form referring to men, l. 20; Buchholz believes it is a fem. gen. sg. form referring to messe, l. 23. As Hall points out, þurh + gen. is very rare in ME, and the antecedent in this case is rather far removed from the pronoun if either Haufe or Buchholz are correct. Zupitza, p. 79, suggests the antecedent is cristes in the previous line and recommends emendation to the masc. þære, a change accepted by both Hall and Ricciardi. If one were to accept this emendation, it is more probable that licame, not cristes, would be the antecedent in question: if it were cristes, one would expect him, not þære. The MS. reading need not be abandoned; however. Þære, as Hall concedes, can be dative as well as genitive, and its antecedent, as Hall does not notice, can be the fem. sg. lac of the previous line. Also militating against the change proposed by Zupitza is the fact that þære does not occur elsewhere in the poem; the masc. dat. sg. demonstrative pronoun is always þen, the acc. form is always þene. The mood of were is probably subjunctive.
- There is a point in the MS. after were, and both Singer and

D(B), f. 64<sup>r</sup>

- Hall accept this division of the line. However, as in l. B(F)28, this division causes an auxiliary to be separated from the participle that follows it--an unlikely situation. Including alesed in the on-verse renders it stronger metrically and does not cause the off-verse to be deficient.
28. wę<re>: Singer has wę<ren>. The verses in this line are not separated by a point in the MS. The mood of were is probably subjunctive.
29. de<ofles>: There is a crease in the leaf at this point. Regarding fenge to, see MED fon, 2, "to succeed to, inherit." Cf. l. C(G)14.
31. Remotely similar biblical passages occur at Prov. 11, 28 and Eccl. 5, 9, but Hall suggests the line is an "imperfect reminiscence" of "Qui enim divitiarum servus est, divitias custodit ut servus," Bedae Opera (1612), v, col. 378. "He who gathers riches is the slave of riches."
33. Singer divides this line into three verses: noledst pu nouht/ þærof d<ælēn>/for Drihtenes willæn. The point in the MS. has been lost. d<ælēn>: All editors print d<ælēn>, but what remains of the letter following d would indicate that it was more likely an e or o, than an æ. For this reason, and for reasons of length, delen seems preferable here, though dalen would be the more usual spelling; cf. l. D(B)16, but also l. E(C)32. See also l. E(C)11.
35. forloren frōm, i.e., "removed from"; see MED from, 5a, in prepositional phrases construed with verbs . . . denoting "separation, removal, etc."
36. <weo>we: Singer has <eēe>we "eternal woe."

D(B), f. 64<sup>r</sup>

38. nu ham <pun>chep: Phillipps prints har; Haufe and Hall both note that the MS. reads han. The last part of the m in ham has been cut away.
39. be<on>: Singer's reconstruction, be<grafen>, is almost certainly too long. All other editors print beon by analogy with l. 5 of "The Grave": "Nu me be bringæð þer ðu beon scealt."
40. Regarding the off-verse, cf. l. 13 of "The Grave": "Dureleas is þ(et) hus." Cf. l. G(E)8.
41. <þet þe>: Singer has al<le þat>. þet could have been written as an abbreviation, i.e., þ in this instance.
42. fules<t> qualeholde: This is a puzzling verse. Singer prints fuweles quale holde and translates "of the foul dead carcass." Haufe and Buchholz both print qualeholde, a compound, and Buchholz offers the translation "dem Töde holde Vögel," i.e., "birds friendly to death" which Hall rejects as "a flight of imagination beyond our writer's power." Though he himself prints the MS. version, Hall suggests, by analogy with ll. E(C)41, G(E)5, and G(E)7, that fulest alre holde, "foulest of all bodies," is the correct reading. His suggestion is adopted by Ricciardi. However, while fuweles would indeed appear to be a corruption of fulest, the unique qualeholde need not be rejected. A similar compound, qualehus "torture house" occurs twice in Brut, ll. 727 and 3770, and it seems conceivable that what to the body was wurþest "most honourable" would be to the soul "the foulest torture-body." This is less prosaic than Hall's suggestion and admittedly a little unusual for this poet, but there is some

D(B), f. 64<sup>r</sup>

evidence in the poem, e.g., dreamburles, l. G(E)30, for unusual and, perhaps, original compounds of which this could very well be one. icwemdest: Haufe's icwendest is probably a misprint as Buchholz indicates.

43. <bare>: Singer reconstructs <kunde> "kind" here and is followed by both Haufe and Buchholz. However, the vertical stroke that remains after alre descends below the line, a fact that rules k out as a possibility and makes b likely. Hall prints bare as does Ricciardi.
- 44- Cf. ll. F(D)40-41. <naffre> by analogy with affre in the on-verse;  
45. nefre is the more usual form.

Fragment E(C), f. 64<sup>v</sup>

- 1-3. The tops of the letters of the first line on f. 64<sup>v</sup> are missing. All the editors offer punchep·bet bu hire as the reconstruction of the first four words. Phillipps reconstructs the next word as bileiben and Singer accepts this, translating "remain." Haufe prints b.ei.en in his text but ..ei.en in both his note and his Anglia article: Buchholz prints ...e..en. Ricciardi offers bilefdest which seems somewhat more probable than bileiben paleographically. Certainty cannot be achieved here, but cf. l. E(C)34.

All editors reconstruct the second line get sæp þeo sowle scriliche to þen lichame by analogy with l. F(D)26. Nevertheless, it is clear in the MS. that sowle lacks an l. The last word on

E(C), f. 64<sup>v</sup>

the first line of f. 64<sup>v</sup> is printed sæ by Phillipps, and Singer, following him, reconstructs the on-verse of the third line sæ, <ne þearft þu on stirope, "see, thou canst not on stirrup." Subsequent editors have construed the last word in the first line of the leaf as ne and reconstructed the verse ne þearft þu on stirope.

3. On the significance of the horse-and-rider image in the later ME soul and body poem, "Als y lay in a winters niȝt" see Sister Mary Ursula Vogel's Some Aspects of the Horse and Rider Analogy in "The Debate between the Body and the Soul" (Washington: Catholic University, 1948). She does not mention this passage in the "Soul's Address."
5. ruglungē, i.e., "backwards," from OE hrycg "back".
6. ut<se>t: Singer has ut<sce>t. Buchholz prints the off-verse of this line in parentheses as does Ricciardi: riden, l. 7, appears to be parallel with ridæn, l. 5, and not cumæn, l. 6.
7. <þonn>e: Singer prints <nu all>e, but the letter before the remaining e could not have been an l; it might have been an h, n, or w, as Ricciardi points out. She prints <so>ne in her text but suggests niwe as another possibility; a stronger alternative is þonne meaning "when," though it might be considered too long for the gap in the MS. Haufe attempted no reconstruction for this gap; Buchholz reconstructs <seorulich>e by analogy with l. A22, but this is much too long for the space available.
8. a<t>: MS ac. Singer and Haufe retain the MS. reading which does not give good sense. Buchholz emends to at and is followed by

E(C), f. 64<sup>v</sup>

Ricciardi; the MED indicates bireven of (at) is a common ME construction. Perhaps c was accidentally written for t in this case; see Jordan 17 rem. 1 and cf. blecsien, l. F(D)13.

10. In the MS. there are points after her, l. 9, and weila, l. 10, but no point after weolan, which would seem to be the last word in the on-verse of l. 10. Singer includes nu her from l. 9 in a verse with weila and prints and his weolan beoþ her belæfed as a single verse. Ricciardi conjectures that an omission has occurred after weila, but she, along with the other editors, prints that word with and his weolan as the on-verse of l. 10, leaving nu her in l. 9. If there has been an omission, it has not damaged the sense of the passage. It is possible that the point that should have been after weolan has been misplaced after the somewhat similar weila. Ricciardi alone prints weolan; the MS. appears to read weolan.
- 12- Zupitza, pp. 79-80, argues that the antecedent of the plural heo  
13. in l. 13 is þine feonde, l. 12, and that þine feonde is not likely to be dative plural. Therefore, he rejects the reconstruction of Haufe and Buchholz for l. 12, gær<sume o>n, and prefers Singer's gær<sumen>. It is not strictly necessary that heo refer to feonde, however; also, if gærsumen, the pl. form, is accepted, a problem is created by its relation to the sg. hit of l. 13. Ricciardi believes a preposition might well be expected here--fra rather than on--but rejects one on the basis of length. She prints gærsuman, though the weakened -en ending would perhaps be more likely in this form. nimen gete means "to take care"; see MED gete.



Zupitza also argues that bigete meaning "acquire," l. 13, is a preterite form; Buchholz and Ricciardi believe it is present subjunctive, a reading which does seem preferable in the context.

14. <wei>lawei: Singer alone reconstructs the word <we>lawei. Cf. l. C(G)3, l. D(B)19, and l. E(C)10.
15. reowliche: Haufe prints reowlich. Phillipps prints a colon between the two verses of this line.
17. <pu>: All the previous editors view the off-verse of this line as a relative clause dependent on the on-verse. Singer and Haufe reconstructs <pe> therefore, and Buchholz expands this to <pe pu> in order to provide the 2nd sg. lettest with a subject. Ricciardi returns to the reconstruction <pe> but emends lettest to 3rd sg. lettet: "...your mouth is closed which let out injury." Emendation can be avoided by reconstructing pu for the damaged portion of the MS. and by viewing the off-verse of the line as a nondependent clause: "the men are blither, who struggled with you before, that your mouth is closed: you let out injury, that sorely offended them, that made them frightened of you." teone appears to have moved from the masc. to the fem. gender at this point; in l. 19 it is masc.
18. Phillipps prints pe he heom sorc; Singer, pe he heom sore. There is a point after gros for no apparent reason.
19. <dea>p: Singer has <da>p.
20. <bo>c: Haufe prints <e>c, Buchholz, <be>c. The singular <bo>c supplied by Ricciardi is required for agreement with pen, unless the OE ablaut dat. has survived, in which case bec would be.

acceptable.

21. "Your mouth was overflowing with wickedness." Ps. 49(50), 19:  
Os tuum abundavit malitia.
22. ri<f>e: Ms. ripe. Zupitza, p. 80, and Holthausen both suggest emending the MS. ripe "ripe" to rife "abundant" and this is accepted by Ricciardi. rife provides a more prosaic reading and is perhaps defensible on that ground, but it is not strictly necessary. The corresponding word in the OE psalters is usually a form of the verb nyhtsumian "to suffice, abound."
27. Buchholz translates be sulfen as an accusative, "Nicht erkannest du dich selbst"; Zupitza, p. 80, and Ricciardi claim it is more likely dative, i.e., "you did not acknowledge to yourself." Woolf, obviously taking it as an accusative, views the line as a strikingly early punning reference to the nosce teipsum theme, p. 87, fn. 4.
28. <wu>nien: Phillipps neglects to print the nien visible in the text; Singer reconstructs <husien>. bebrungen occurs only in verse in OE. "Now you have a new house, (you are) encircled within."
30. There is a crease in the leaf that has caused some letters to be obscured. One of these is the sixth letter of helewewes "endwalls." Phillipps prints helewewes and is followed by Singer; Haufe, Buchholz, and Ricciardi print helewewes; cf. sidwoves in the off-verse. The letter seems more likely to be an e than an o, however. Cf. "The Grave," l. 9, "Be helewages beoð lage, sidwages unhege."
31. <lo>h: The h is very distinct in the MS. Phillipps, however,

E(C), f. 64<sup>v</sup>

- prints ....i and Singer reconstructs <nei> "near" which Haufe expands to <neih> to take account of the MS. reading. Buchholz also has neih and this completion would seem to follow from the similar l. 10 of "The Grave," "þe rof bið ibyld þire broste ful neh." Ricciardi, nevertheless, prefers the alternative reconstruction, loh, that Buchholz suggests in his note, as it gives the line the alliteration it otherwise lacks. In the MS., there is no point separating the verses of this line.
- 32- The crease that affects l. 30, as well as l. D(B)29, also causes  
33. the word colde to be very distorted, and a small hole partially obliterates the i of is. Phillipps misreads bideled and prints bicled and is followed in this by Singer. Phillipps also leaves out the point in the MS. between bideled/bicled and nulleþ. Singer attempts no reconstruction in l. 33.
35. onhor<ded h>eo hit: Phillipps prints on hor/...þeo hit and Singer reconstructs the passage on þor<de>/þeo hit and translates the line "that," i.e., that which, "thou hadst in hoard they will keep it." Haufe claims, however, that what Phillipps took to be þeo is, in fact, -ed; he offers the reconstruction onhor<d>ed hit and Buchholz accepts his view. Ricciardi correctly points out, however, that the second letter of the MS. line is very likely an o with an indistinct mark over it that has the appearance of an ascender of a d. Also, the single letter reconstruction proposed by Haufe and Buchholz is very short for the space available; and further, there is no point before hit indicating the verse division Haufe proposes. Ricciardi's alternative proposal is onhorded heo

- hit; one would expect the personal pronoun heo, especially since its antecedent is animate, i.e., hinen, l. 33.
36. iwitan: Haufe emends to iwiten. He also has a question mark after this line.
37. <ageþ>: Singer's reconstruction, <reowliche>, is far too long for the space available; <is>, proposed by both Haufe and Buchholz, is not justified paleographically: the remains of the letter before nu probably belong to a þ, certainly not to an s. Ricciardi prints ageþ by analogy with l. F(D)42 but acknowledges that biþ, by analogy with l. F(D)9, would also be acceptable.
38. Cf. "Soul and Body I," ll. 112-25.  
50.
38. besiden is ambiguous. It could mean "in the sides": Buchholz translates the line "Dir sollen nun wachsen Würmer in den Seiten." It could also be an early occurrence of the preposition "beside" (Mustanoja, p. 369). Haufe and Buchholz print it as two words; in the MS. and the other editions it appears as one word.
39. <þeo>: Singer reconstructs <þene>, but feond is nominative, not accusative; Haufe believes no reconstruction is necessary, but it is certain the gap in the MS. would have been filled. Buchholz offers þeo, and this is accepted by Ricciardi.
40. <heom>: Singer has <heo>, but a dative is required, Ham is a conceivable alternative.
41. For heo of the on-verse, Phillipps prints he.
42. Phillipps prints þin for the MS. þine and is followed in this by Singer. Haufe places a full stop after agon, but this does not seem probable syntactically, i.e., the on-verse depends on the off-

verse.

43. armes: All editors prior to Ricciardi print armes. The MS. reads armes, however, though the a and r are crowded rather closely together.
44. b(urh) MS p. Phillipps expands this contraction to be and is followed in this by Singer.
45. <heo c>reoweþ: Singer, following Phillipps, reconstructs <heo> reoweþ in and ut and translates it "they rove in and out." His suggestion is accepted by both Haufe and Buchholz, though the latter translates reoweþ as "rudern," i.e., "row." However, Zupitza, p. 80, argues that "rowing" would be a very unusual term to apply to the movement of worms; he suggests that the w, i.e., þ, of reoweþ is, in fact, a p and that the correct reconstruction is heo creoweþ. Ricciardi accepts this suggestion. The MS. is quite unambiguous: the letter in question is a p.
46. þi<ne wom>be: Singer has þi <wom>be; all other editors, þine wombe.
48. lihte, i.e., "lungs."
49. milte probably means "spleen" in this instance since lungs have already been mentioned in l. 48.
50. Phillipps, followed by Singer, prints and so scal win as the final words on this leaf; Haufe and Buchholz print and so scal þin which does seem more probable. Ricciardi adds to this the beginning of another word: i with a tilde over it followed, perhaps, by a w.

Fragment F(D), f. 65<sup>r</sup>

- 1a-1. Only the bottom portion of letters in the first line on f. 65<sup>r</sup> remains. Ricciardi prints was...ond....efre pinra ...../  
bu scalt nu..... wurmes of pine flasce for the first two lines of the fragment, and, therefore, her lineation in this fragment is one number greater than in the other editions. In line 1a she appears to be correct regarding the words efre pinra (more of the letters remain from those words than others in the line), but her estimation of the other words and the number of letters in the line is more conjectural. Her construction for the on-verse of l. 1 is not only acceptable paleographically but also strengthened by the repetitions of bu scalt in ll. 2 and 3. The word missing from this verse likely begins with an f to establish alliteration with flasce; it does not begin with a w to establish alliteration with wurmes as there is no descender from it. There are 8-10 letters at the beginning of the first MS. line, some or all of which must belong to another line of poetry. They cannot be distinguished, however. The second MS. line begins with -mes of wurmes, l. 1.
2. The mood of beo is subjunctive.
  3. unhol offers some difficulties. Buchholz translates the word "unrein," but Zupitza, p. 80, contends that "krank" is the only legitimate translation available; he recommends accepting Haufe's suggested emendation of unhol "sick" to unholde "hostile." Ricciardi defends the MS. reading on the basis of a rare meaning for unhol "causing sickness" that occurs in the Ancrene Riwle. It seems more probable, however, that the verse is related to

F(D), f. 65<sup>r</sup>

Beowulf 120b, wihte unhælo, which Klaeber translates "creature of evil." Phonologically, the development  $\bar{a} > \bar{o}$  would not appear defensible, but the primary meaning of OE unhælu "sickness, unsoundness" may have caused it to become confused with unhal "sick, ill, weak" from which the form in l. 3 would appear to derive. Certainly the translation of unhol as "evil" is preferable in this context to either "sick" or "causing sickness."

4. gō<de dæ>lan: Singer's completion, gō<de sel>lan, "give goods," is not an impossibility, but dælan occurs elsewhere in the poem, e.g., l. D(B)14, and is frequently found in OE verse in combination with articles of value, e.g., frætwa dælan, "Genesis" 2830b, and hringas dælon, Beowulf 1970a. The form god might be considered preferable from the point of view of length, but sg. gode does appear in l. F(D)41. Ricciardi treats this line as parenthetical, oddly placed within the description of the worms' activity; however, she notes correctly the ironic parallel between the "hoard" of the body, which it would not share, and the hord of the worms in the following line, which is vigorously worked. If men is pl., one would expect godum rather than gode in the on-verse; men may be, therefore, a survival of the dat. sg. ablaut form from OE.
5. wulleþ: MS. wulleþ wulleþ. Dittography.
6. n<ulleþ>: Phillipps prints m.... and Singer reconstructs moton. Haufe's nulleþ is accepted by both Buchholz and Ricciardi; it is syntactically superior and paleographically sound.
7. grennien o[.....]: Singer prints ac þu scalt grisliche grennien /<þat> hwo so hit iseige. However, there is a point in the MS.

after grisliche and no point after grennien so that what is missing (if all likelihood belongs to the off-verse of l. 7 of which grennien is the first word. Haufe, who says the letter following grennien must be an a, offers grennien and gristbitien by analogy with "Juliana," l. 596; Buchholz accepts this reconstruction but it is clearly too long for the space available. Zupitza's alternative suggestion, mid tep, p. 80, is appropriate in length, despite Ricciardi's view to the contrary, but must be ruled out on the basis of paleography along with the more usual ME construction, wip tep: the letter after grennien--which almost wholly remains--is in all probability an o though a is possible, and certainly not either an m or a w. Ricciardi offers no reconstruction herself but does suggest an adverbial phrase such as ofer al or on al might be acceptable. Alternatively, a phrase such as on eorpe would fit, but, until a similar passage comes to light, one is reduced to guesswork.

9. reowliche: Haufe emends to reowlich. In Singer's edition, wrecche is misspelled wercche.
11. h<eom be>: Singer has h<eom>; Haufe and Buchholz, h<am>. Zupitza, p. 80, suggests h<am be> lopre by analogy with l. E(C)16, þeo men biþ þe bliþre; Ricciardi prefers heom for paleographical reasons: the remains of the letter following h are unlikely to belong to an a.
12. w<awes>: Phillipps prints p.... and Singer reconstructs pedas "vestments." In fact, what remains are ꝥ, i.e., a w and part of another letter which was either an o or an e. Haufe reconstructs



F(D), f. 65<sup>r</sup>

wæde which Buchholz changes to wæde by analogy with ll. D(B)9 and G(E)10. Zupitza, pp. 80-1, concludes from the context that wæalles is a more probable reconstruction, and Ricciardi accepts this proposal but alters the spelling to wowes by analogy with l. E(C)30, i.e., sidwoves. However, in the same line helewewes occurs. If "holy water" in the on-verse was, in fact, two separate words (they are so printed by the previous editors), it is certain that holi would end in -e to mark the dative case; cf. ll. B(F)43 and C(G)40. Apparently "holy water" was still considered a compound in this work as it was in OE.

13. blecsien. Buchholz and Ricciardi emend blecsien to the usual OE form, bletsien; often, as Ricciardi points out, the orthographically similar c and t were confused in ME (Jordan 17 rem. 1); cf. l. E(C)8. However, as the MED citations for blessen show, early 13th-century forms of the word frequently are written with a c: e.g., Heo hef up hire hond & blecede al hire bodi wið þe taken of þe holi rode, St. Marg. (1), 18/22; From all uuele he scal blecen us, OEH, 57/64. It would appear that the phoneme /s/ could be graphemically represented by c at this time and /ss/ by sc, e.g., iblesced, Vices and V(i), 51/18. blecsien, then, could be a representation of OE Bletsien after the assimilation of ts to ss. It does not seem likely that cs could represent a transitional phonological stage in the assimilation process. See Introduction II i 36. þurswen han, i.e., "to guard themselves against," from OE beorgan with a reflexive dative.
14. þæornen: Singer has þæornen, but see l. G(E)49.

16. re<owliche>: Haufe reconstructs re<owlich>, but OE -lio never occurs written -lich in the poem. The shorter reowlic may be preferable here; cf. l. B(F)19.
- 18-23. Buchholz treats this passage as a series of five questions. Zupitza, p. 81, concedes that l. 19 may be a question but doubts that either ll. 20 or 21 should be so viewed. Ricciardi places question marks after ll. 22 and 23-4 only. Nevertheless, given the fact that l. 19 might be a question and that ll. 22 and 23-4 are, the possibility must be entertained that ll. 20 and 21 are questions as well: the finite verb in both cases is in initial position, the usual situation for interrogative statements, and the initial negative of l. 22 is quite possibly to be seen as parallel to the initial negative forms in the preceding two lines.
18. <wen>dest: Singer has <no!>dest. It would appear that pointing has been used in the MS. here to draw attention to the adverb o "ever, always," perhaps in an effort to distinguish it from adjacent words. The MS. reads erming.la.her.o.to.wunienne.
19. icore<n hit>: icoren, the pret. part. of OE ceosan "to choose" would appear to require an object that is not supplied in what remains of l. 19. Ricciardi, following Zupitza, p. 81, takes this object to be 18b her o to wunienne, i.e., "...you had not chosen always to be living here." Buchholz's translation, "War es dir nicht natürlich, was du erwählt hattest?" only obscures the identity of this object. Haufe admits difficulty with this line and suggests that something more than the n of icoren might be missing from the text, a suggestion no doubt inspired by Singer's

F(D), f. 65<sup>r</sup>

reconstruction, icore<n me>, which Haufe neglects to mention in his note. Singer translates the line "it was no whit known to thee that thou hadst chosen me." The problem with this translation is the misinterpretation of icunde as the pret. part. of cunnan "to know"; it is almost certainly related to OE cynde. Buchholz translates the word "natürlich," a meaning rejected by both Zupitza and Ricciardi. The latter translates the word "innate," which is not obviously better. It is possible that the word, as in l. A32, has a moral connotation, i.e., "fitting, proper," along with the more neutral "natural, innate," and this possibility is strengthened by the statement in 19b that the body has "chosen" something or other. The Zupitza suggestion, that this object of selection is represented by the phrase in 18b, seems the best available, but it would appear, nevertheless, that something more than the n of icoren is required to fill the gap in the MS.

20. A line with rhyme, be/be, and a rather long off-verse is created if one follows the MS. pointing here. Alternatively, more could be placed in the on-verse in order to create balance between the verses.
21. Phillipps prints is instead of ic and is followed in this by Singer, who also supplies the reconstruction <ai3e> "eye" for the damaged portion of the MS. Haufe rejects this reconstruction without comment and offers none of his own; Wissmann, p. 92, proposes <eigen> which is accepted by subsequent editors. From her note it would appear that eigen is the form Ricciardi prefers, but e3en appears in her text. Either spelling is possible, cf.

11. A17 and A42.
22. hi: Buchholz emends the MS. hi to hit. Hi does occur as an accusative plural, however, in l. D(B)14 and it may refer here to the cunne of l. 20 who are also the fordfaderes of l. 23.
23. fordf<aderes>: The MS. appears to read <sup>ford</sup>pinef; Phillipps prints ford f...; Singer reconstructs fordf<eren> which he translates "forefathers"; Haufe emends to forefaderes and is followed by both Buchholz and Ricciardi. The adverb forþ is occasionally spelled ford, however, and does occur so spelled as a loosely connected prefix in the word forddages, see MED forþdæg. It does not seem necessary to reject the MS. reading, therefore.
25. isc<end hore>: Phillipps prints is... and Singer reconstructs isc<eorf hore>; Haufe alters and shortens this to isc<end> by analogy with l. F(D)36; Buchholz expands Haufe's reconstruction to iscend hore which is accepted by Ricciardi. In her note to this line, Ricciardi finds it odd that the worms would be described as having "wrought sin." However, Buchholz is clearly correct in seeing bones of the on-verse as the referent of þe in the off-verse and þeo as the definite article, i.e., "the worms have dismembered them, confounded their sorrowful bones which wrought sin."
26. l<icame>: Singer has li<chame>.
28. Cf. l. D(B)2.
- 28-29. lufede<st/mid þine>: Singer has lufede<st/and>; Haufe, lufede<st/þurh þine> by analogy with l. B(F)14; Buchholz and Ricciardi, lufedest/mid þine by analogy with the following line, i.e., because of the repetition of mid.

F(D), f. 65<sup>r</sup>

- 30-1 There appears to be an i jammed between wurst and mihtest in l.30. Magnification reveals, however, that this stroke was likely an errant first stroke of an m that has been left unerased. Singer's reconstruction for the damaged portion here is simply <ic was>; Haufe has mihte<st/ic was>. Buchholz changes was to com for the sake of alliteration but Ricciardi prefers was in order to provide isend with an auxiliary. (In l. E(C)29, however, the pret. part. biþrunge occurs, apparently without an auxiliary.) The MS. pointing indicates that clene should be placed in the on-verse, but it seems preferable that it be moved to initial position in the off-verse, a change that provides a more even distribution of the stressed words in the line.
33. þe is an example of an ethical dative (Mustanoja, pp. 99-100).
34. hæ<fde>: Phillipps prints ha....; Singer reconstructs ha<uede>; the other editors print hafde. The root vowel in the preterite forms of habben is either e or æ in this poem, and the former is clearly ruled out in this case.
36. <was>: ✓ Singer has <þu>; ʋ, i.e., w, can be made out after wulder.
38. bi<nu>men. Phillipps prints bu ...; Singer has binumen. isold on hond, i.e., "given into the possession of."
40. bi<þ>: This reconstruction is very short. It is possible that a short word such as nu or þus has also been lost, but cf. l. D(B)45.
44. long<e þo>lode: Singer offers no reconstruction here; Haufe and Buchholz print long<e mape>lede which does not make particularly good sense. Zupitza, p. 81, suggests long<e dwe>lede but acknowledges that it too is unlikely. Kaluza's suggestion, longe

F(D), f. 65<sup>r</sup>.

sparede, p. 16, does not take account of the -lede that remains in the MS. Holthausen's suggestions, longe bolede and long<e gi>lede, are both superior to the others made. Ricciardi prefers bolede from OE bolian "to suffer (a person), bear with, tolerate" (see BT bolian, 2) which does provide adequate sense. gilede "beguiled" is a possibility, but it perhaps makes its way into the English language too late to be considered for this poem; its earliest recorded occurrence is in the Ancrene Riwe.

45. <were>: Singer offers no reconstruction here. Haufe's proposal, <makedest>, is accepted by Buchholz by analogy with Brut 1.11457, but Ricciardi is almost certainly correct in thinking it too long for the space available. Her alternative reconstruction is <scerp>. unseihte need not be a substantive meaning "hostility," however; it could be an adjective meaning "hostile" and the missing word could simply be were.
47. huned: Phillipps prints hund as does Singer who offers no reconstruction here and no translation for hund. In the MS. it appears that an e has been squeezed in between the n and d and all editors since Haufe print huned the pret. part. of OE hianan meaning, in this case, "to accuse, condemn." Ricciardi notes the MS. might read hined, but this form would be difficult to explain. Singer follows the MS. pointing and divides this line into three verses: pu were wedlowe / and monsware / and \* \* \* hund inouh.
49. The damage to this line is more extensive than elsewhere on f. 65<sup>r</sup> because the left-hand corner of the leaf is missing and, with it, the beginning of the last line of the fragment. Phillipps prints

F(D), f. 65<sup>r</sup>

l..... / ...l.ord; Singer reconstructs l<ored be al>l / ord and translates the line "for the devil taught thee all, chief full nigh thy heart." Haufe's l<æi la>ford is too short; Buchholz offers no reconstruction. Ricciardi supplies a common ME phrase, l<eide hi>ʒ hord, a reconstruction which provides both adequate sense and alliteration but is not without problems. One would have expected a point in the MS. after hord, and this reconstruction also places three stresses in the on-verse of the line.

Fragment G(E), f. 65<sup>v</sup>

- 1-2. The first line on f. 65<sup>v</sup> is partially cut away and the letters toward the right-hand side of the leaf--the on-verse of l. 2 and probably some of the off-verse as well--are almost wholly missing. The words pu nefre wurchen drihtenes in l. 1 are quite distinct; though Phillipps has purchen for wurchen; the word wille is probably correct. In his Anglia article, Haufe suggests <nold>est as a reconstruction for the first word of the line, most of whose letters remain, and this suggestion is adopted by both Buchholz and Ricciardi. Singer reconstructs <iwo>ld ahte for what remains of l. 2 and is followed by the later editors; cf. ll. E(C)8 and G(E)29.
4. tocume: Singer prints to cume.
6. Ricciardi remarks in her note that pet, presumably the first one, may be a corruption of another short word such as pus. This is possible, but there is no reason to assume that pet is relative

G(E), f. 65<sup>v</sup>

pronoun as Ricciardi does; it can be simply a demonstrative pronoun used as a pronoun rather than a definite article: "but you befouled it with your foul body: that is that foul body removed from men." Singer reconstructs fu<lnesse> here.

7. There is no point separating the verses of this line.
8. Cf. D(B)40.
9. There is a point before ᵛ(and) brostnian, and Singer prints this as a separate verse..
- 9- On the Signs of Decomposition in ME lyrics, see Woolf, pp. 94-5.
- 11.
10. <of þ>ære: Singer has <from þ>ære, but see l. D(B)16, where of is used with bedælen. iwunede is the pret. part. of OE wunian and probably has the meaning "to be accustomed to, used to" in this passage. The position of to, as Ricciardi points out, is unusual; it probably should be taken with the relative þe, i.e., "to which."
- 11- stil<le / op>: Singer has stil / <þa>; Haufe and Ricciardi,
12. stille / op; Buchholz, stil<le / ac>. Either op or ac is possible, but the former seems preferable. Cf. l. A21.
- 12- Ricciardi indicates by her punctuation that these lines are to be
31. treated as parenthetical. They are not so obviously parenthetical in the alternative order of the fragments presented here, however.
13. domesdai: All the previous editors except Ricciardi print two separate words; Singer prints daie.
15. ineten is ambiguous: it could be either the strong, class V OE verb meaning "to repay, requite" or the weak, class I OE verb meaning "to meet, encounter."



17. <ne drea>me: Singer reconstructs the off-verse <non drea>me ihereþ and translates "no pleasant sounds they hear"; Buchholz reconstructs the verse <heo none herunge> ne ihereþ by analogy with l. 31. Ricciardi, however, follows Haufe's example and offers no reconstruction. She rejects Buchholz's proposal as too long, which it is, and Singer's for the same reason, which it might be. A further problem with Buchholz's reconstruction is that the letters which remain in the MS. are clearly me, not ne. Singer's suggestion has some merit, however, since in both l. 23 and l. 26 dream occurs as the object of heren, and in l. 30 the ears are called dreampurles. With an -e ending dream would be dative singular, but if heren has the meaning "to listen to" in this instance, it would take an object in the dative; the preposition to would not be necessary (see BT Supp. hiran, 4a, and MED heren, 4a(a)). dream also provides the line with alliteration, and the reconstruction <ne drea>me is similar in length to <deope>, the reconstruction accepted by all editors for l. 8 of this fragment.
- 19- wowe domes: Singer adds mid to the text before the words; Haufe  
20. prints them as a compound. Singer's reconstruction here is <feole / þu>. Cf. li. C(G)11-2.
22. <weþ>: Singer has <deafle> which is paleographically impossible: the l remains; Haufe has <deofel> which Buchholz rejects for reasons of metre, i.e., the verse with this reconstruction would have three stressed words; however, there are certainly other verses in the poem with three apparently stressed words. þe, which begins the line, is most likely a dative personal pronoun

rather than a relative pronoun, i.e., "for you (he) plucked his harp well."

23. drih<ten f>ul loþ: Phillipps prints ..ulioþ; Singer reconstructs drih<tene f>ulloþ; Haufe prints drih<tene f>ul loþ; Buchholz shortens drihtene to drihten by analogy with l. C(G)50; it is probably dative referring to God. Ricciardi emends he to þe, a relative pronoun whose antecedent is dream in the on-verse. This change does render the line more typical syntactically of others in the poem, but it is not strictly necessary. If one places a full stop after dream (Buchholz has a colon), the MS. he can be retained as a personal pronoun referring to the devil mentioned in the previous two lines. One might also construe he as referring to the masc. dream, i.e., "you heard the joy--it was to the lord wholly loathsome--" though this is a less probable alternative.
24. sweige: Singer has sweize. There are points in the MS. after þe, sweige, and sleptest; Singer divides the line into three verses accordingly. However, though the on-verse is rather long, it is not overburdened metrically by the standards of this poem.
25. ... is þe: Singer's completion, <n>is, changes the tense of the passage abruptly and is also rather short; Wissmann's suggestion, p. 42, <loþ was, is adopted by Buchholz but is paleographically unlikely: the letter that remains or partially remains before s is not an a; Ricciardi and Haufe both offer no reconstruction and print ...is þe. Ricciardi suggests lat þis þe in her note to this line, but without much conviction. It is possible that what remains before the s is the left side of an n, less possibly, a u,

instead of an i.

27. <bet u>nker: Phillipps prints ..iker; Singer has <pat s>iker; Haufe, <be un>ker, by analogy with the following line; Buchholz and Ricciardi have bet unker. rungen is the only unquestionable occurrence of an unprefixed pret. part. in the poem.
28. Ricciardi questions the agreement of the sg. lore with the pl. ware, but Buchholz is certainly correct in viewing ware as singular subjunctive in this instance.
29. <bet lut> beo: Phillipps prints ..beo and Singer reconstructs the passage <and nu> beo. Haufe offers <op> heo; Buchholz proposes <to him, ne> heo, but concedes in his note that the h of heo may, in fact, be a p. The remains of the letter do look more like p than h, the bottom of the letter is missing but the right-hand side of the top portion which remains has the shape and the distance from the ascender more characteristic of the bow of a p than the second leg of an h. Ricciardi's reconstruction, bet lut beo iwold ahte, "so that little they had power over you," does not provide the line with alliteration, but it gives adequate sense: beo refers to the holy alternatives to the devil's blandishments.
30. dreamburles, i.e., "soundholes, ears," is a hapax legomenon.
31. <nfr>e: Singer and Buchholz reconstruct <n>e which is rather short; Ricciardi reconstructs <nu n>e; Haufe has <naffr>e. Ricciardi's reconstruction is acceptable but Haufe's seems stronger. nefre is the usual spelling of the word in this poem; naffre occurs only once certainly, l. E(C)6. Haufe has a period after

G(E), f. 65<sup>v</sup>

this line.

- 32-3 scu<len>: Singer prints scu<llen / f>rom, as does Ricciardi; Haufe and Buchholz have scu<len / f>rom. sculen would appear to be the more likely form; what appears to be the remains of the top portion of two l's after scu- is probably offset from another leaf.
34. Phillipps indicates a tilde over the n of bene. Singer's reconstruction for this line is <lauer>de.
35. ofeodest: Singer prints of eodest.
36. be get: Phillipps prints bet et, as does Singer; the letter is indistinct but does appear to be a 3.
38. piin: Phillipps prints piim, a reading which could, in fact, be justified from the MS. The second minim after p could be taken either as an i or the first stroke of an m, but it is not exactly parallel with the two strokes that follow it--the three strokes of the m usually are. Singer emends to pine. Haufe emends what he says is piin or pin. Buchholz and Ricciardi accept piin; ii, a graphic representation of long i, also occurs in liip, l. E(C)31; see Introduction II i 8.
39. <nam>nare: Phillipps prints ..nare which Singer expands to mare. The letter before a is quite clearly m, not n; therefore, Haufe and Buchholz, who accept Singer's reconstruction, give no indication of anything being missing from the MS. Since the damage to f. 65<sup>v</sup> is on the left-hand side, however, something must have been in the space between nare and what would have been the margin of the leaf. Ricciardi suggest <nam>nare; cf. l. A34.
40. <so hit>: Singer and Haufe both print <be>t. Buchholz has <so he

G(E), f. 65<sup>v</sup>

hi>t, which Zupitza, p. 81, suggests be shortened to so hit since the pronoun he is superfluous. Ricciardi's complaint that Buchholz's reconstruction is too long is not necessarily just; she follows Zupitza. Cf. l. C(G)55, l. D(B)30, and l. G(E)45.

41. "They will give an account of their own deeds." Remotely similar are Mat. 12, 36, 1 Pet. 4, 5, and Rom. 14, 12.
42. <so>ule: Phillipps prints .e.ile; Singer reconstructs <w>eile "servants." Haufe has <f>ule; Buchholz, <so>ule.
43. As Ricciardi indicates, hit does not agree in number with deden, the word to which it would appear to refer. It is perhaps possible that hit refers to wisdome, though OE wisdom is masculine in gender, i.e., "wisely through wisdom for the Lord knows it (their knowledge, wisdom)." Cf. the identical phrase at l. B(F)48 where wisdom may have some theological connotation (OED wisdom, 1c).
- 44-5 Phillipps prints .te tenes and Singer completes the gap in l. 45 with <drih>tenes. The repetition of the off-verse in these two lines leads one to suspect dittography in l. 45 where there is no alliteration. Ricciardi emends mube in l. 45 to write; a stronger alternative is word which alliterates with awriten and also retains the oral quality of mub. The MS. reading can be defended semantically but, even though repetition is a key stylistic feature in this poem, identical verses are almost always separated from each other by at least one line.
46. "Go, you cursed ones, into the eternal fire." Cf. Mat. 25, 41:  
"Discredite a me maledicti in ignem aeternum."

48-9 Phillipps misses the point separating these lines. Singer reconstructs the lost portion <æ>fre; Haufe, <e>fre; Buchholz, <per e>fre which balances per nefre of the off-verse and is of a more probable length than the one letter reconstructions of Singer and Haufe.

50. "And those who did good works will go into eternal life." Cf. Mat. 25,46: "Et ibunt hi in supplicium aeternum: iusti autem in vitam aeternam."
51. <scule>n: Singer has <go>n.
52. <mest>: Haufe reconstructs mest by analogy with l. 47 and is followed by both Buchholz and Ricciardi.

## GLOSSARY

With the exception of a handful of very common words, the glossary is a complete presentation of the English forms in the poem. Not included are the Latin words of 11. B(F)2, B(F)44, B(F)49, C(G)20, C(G)35, C(G)56, D(B)31, E(C)21, G(E)41, G(E)46, G(E)50. Each of the entries in the glossary consists of four main parts: HEADWORD, GRAMMATICAL CATEGORY, DEFINITION, CITATION.

1. The Headwords are arranged alphabetically; a, g, and p are treated as separate letters after a, g, and t respectively. (However, words beginning with bi- or be- are all grouped under bi-; the prefix i- has been ignored in the alphabetical arrangement.) Unusual forms, i.e., ones orthographically remote from the chosen headword, are cross-referenced with that headword. Also, a number of similar words with separate entries are cross-referenced with one another, e.g., FON and ONFON.
2. If a single headword represents more than one Grammatical Category, these categories are marked by Roman numerals, e.g., I adj. . . . . II adv. . . . . Nouns are marked by their gender distinction, i.e., masculine (m), feminine (f.), or neuter (n.). Verbs are indicated by the abbreviation v. followed by a designation of the verb class to which they belong. Clear abbreviations mark the other grammatical categories: adj. (adjective); pron. (pronoun), adv. (adverb), prep. (preposition), conj. (conjunction), num.

(number), and interj. (interjection).

3. Some headwords have more than one Definition, and, if these definitions for a single headword are sufficiently distinct from one another, each is marked by an Arabic numeral and grouped with the citations representative of it, e.g., prep., 1. at: . . . .  
2. of: . . . .
4. The citations exemplifying a given definition or series of definitions form the final part of the entry. If no form appears before a line number, the headword is to be assumed. All reconstructed forms are marked as they are in the text; all emended forms are followed by the MS. form in brackets; all forms for which further information can be found in the explanatory notes are preceded by an asterisk (\*).

A more detailed description of the style of entry for each grammatical category follows.

1. Nouns. The gender of a noun appears after the headword. Each citation is marked according to number, i.e., singular (s.) or plural (p.), and according to case, i.e., nominative (n.), accusative (a.), dative (d.), and genitive (g.). All singular forms appear first so that the sequence of citations moves from nominative singular (ns.) to genitive plural (gp.).
2. Adjectives. Besides number and case, each citation of an adjective includes a designation of gender, i.e., m., f., and n. All singular forms are given first; masculine forms precede feminine forms with neuter forms last; the order of cases, as with the nouns, is n., a., d., and g. The sequence of citations proceeds from nm. to gpn. Comparative forms (comp.) and superlative forms (supl.) occur



at the end of the entry.

3. Pronouns. Pronouns are described, by and large, in the same manner as adjectives. The dual number occurs occasionally in the personal pronouns.
4. Verbs. After the headword and the abbreviation v., one of the following indications of verb class appears: an Arabic numeral indicating a strong verb class; a Roman numeral indicating a weak verb class; PP indicating a Preterite-Present verb; AN indicating an Anomalous verb. The citations are in the indicative mood, unless otherwise indicated. Their sequence is: infinitive (inf.); present forms, singular, then plural, in all three persons (1s., 2s., 3s., 1p., 3p.; 2p. does not occur); preterite forms (pret. 1s., pret. 2s., etc.); subjunctive forms (subj. pres. and subj. pret.); imperative (imp.); present participle (prp.); past participle (pp.); negative forms (neg.).
5. Other forms--Adverbs, Prepositions, Conjunctions, Numbers, and Interjections--require no special attention.

Precision has been aimed for in the glossary, but much imprecision is unfortunately inevitable. The spellings of a number of headwords and some reconstructed words for lost portions of the text are conjectural and should be treated as probable alternatives rather than absolute certainties. In some cases, definitions or syntactical designations are ambiguous and the alternative possibilities have been given. Regarding definitions, one must, of course, be alive to the possibility of shades of meaning. Regarding syntax, it is clear that a form cannot be, for example, both singular and plural; however, if ambiguity exists, it is preferable to reveal the difficulty to the reader rather than to insist

a guess on one option or another. Question marks precede questionable definitions or syntactical designations. Regarding vowel quantity, see Richard Jordan, 22-24 (Bibliography, Language, Comprehensive Studies). Some imprecision exists here as well, however. Some class two weak verbs, for example, retain the -i- of their OE forms; others do not. The presence or absence of this vowel not only affects spelling, but also the quantity of the preceding root vowel.

GLOSSARY

- $\bar{A}$  adv. always: C(G)25,  $\bar{O}$  F(D)18.
- AC conj. 1. but: A5, B(F)13, B(F)28, etc.; 2. on the contrary, but rather: B(F)14, D(B)18, etc.; 3. moreover, and, also: B(F)32, D(B)15, etc.
- ACWENCHEN v.I to subdue, overcome: inf. D(B)22.
- ADÜMBIEN v.II to become dumb: pp. ADÜMBED B(F)16.
- AFÜLEN v.I to defile, corrupt: 2s. AFÜLEST G(E)5.
- AFÜRSEN v.II to remove, expel: pp. AFÜRSED G(E)6, G(E)37.
- AGÖN v.AN 1. (with  $\bar{B}\bar{E}\bar{O}\bar{N}$ ) to be gone: inf. E(C)42; 2. (with  $\bar{B}\bar{E}\bar{O}\bar{N}$ ) to be lost, vanished: inf. C(G)13, D(B)8, D(B)44, F(D)40; 3. to come to pass: 3s. AGE $\bar{P}$  F(D)42, <AGE $\bar{P}$ > E(C)37. Cf. GÖN, OFGÖN.
- A3ÄN prep. before, in the presence of: E(C)18. See ON3ÄAN.
- AHTE v. , see ÄWEN.
- AL I adj., all: ns ?n. <AL> B(F)28; dsf. ALRE D(B)43; gsf. ALRE G(E)7, G(E)47, G(E)52; npf. ALLE A2; apmn. ALLE G(E)13, B(F)42, B(F)45, B(F)47; dpmf. ALLE B(F)17, D(B)37, G(E)37, C(G)24. II, pron. all: nsn. AL B(F)46, D(B)41, F(D)50; ?dsn. AL D(B)35, E(C)44; npf. ALLE B(F)21. III adv., utterly, entirely, completely: AL A27, A29, B(F)23, B(F)25, etc., ALL C(G)6, C(G)13, \*<ALL> B(F)33.
- ALEGGEN v.I, to quell, stop: pp. ALEID E(C)19. Cf. LEGGEN.
- ALEID v., see ALEGGEN.
- ALĒSEN v.I, to deliver, redeem: pp. ALĒSE<D> D(B)26.

ALMIHTĪ adj., almighty: nsm. B(F)36; gsm.\*ALMIHTĪES B(F)41.

ALSŌ adv. 1. like: A32. 2. ? likewise, in this manner: \*AL<SŌ> A16,

<A>LSŌ A23. 3. ? likewise, ? thus, moreover: G(E)45.

ALTOGÆDERE adv., completely, entirely: B(F)14.

AMERREN v.I, to mar, destroy: pret. 2s. AMĒRDEST C(G)31.

AND conj., and: \*A2, A3, A4, A7, etc. (written in the MS. as ṽ and ḡ).

ĀNDWEORK n., handiwork, creation: ds. ĀNDWEORKE B(F)42.

ARĀREN v.I. 1. to raise, resurrect: 3s. ARĀREP G(E)12. 2. to cause discord, strife: pret. 2s. ARĒRDEST F(D)45.

ARĪSEN v.i 1. to rise: inf. G(E)14. 2. to rise in hostility: pret.

3p. ARISEN E(C)16.

ASCORTIEN v.II, to become short, to fail: pp. ASCORTED C(G)9. Cf.

SCORTIEN.

AT prep., see ĀT.

ATRUKIEN v.II to fail, ? deceive: pp. ATRU<KED> C(G)9. Cf. TRUKIEN.

ATTERN adj., poisonous: nsf. ATTERNE C(G)17.

ĀWEN v.PP., to have, possess: 2s. OHTEST E(C)8; pret. 3s. AHTE

G(E)2, G(E)29.

AWRĪTEN v.i, to write: pp. AWRITEN G(E)45. Cf. WRĪTEN.

ĀFRE; ĀFFRE adv., see ĒFRE.

ĀFTĒR adv., see ĒFTĒR

AIHTE n., possessions collectively, property; a. D(B)13.

ER I adv., before: A37, B(F)40, C(G)30, C(G)44, etc. II prep. before:

F(D)4.

ĀRE n., see ĒARE

ARM n., arm: dp.\*ARNES E(C)43.

ET prep. 1. at: ET C(G)37, ET D(B)16, E(C)6. 2. of: \*<AT> A23,

\*A<T> (MS.AC) E(C)8.

ÆTWĪTEN v.6, to attribute to, to blame on: inf. ÆTWĪ<TEN> C(G)7.

BALE n., pain: ds. BALEWEN A27.

BĀN n., bone, skeleton (in p.): np. BĀN A21, BŌN G(E)9, G(E)11; ap.

BŌN E(C)42, BŌNES F(D)25.

BE- , see BI-.

BĒARN n. child: ns. A25; as. A6; gs. BĒARNES A24; np. C(G)55; ap.

BĒARNES C(G)54; gp. BĒARNE C(G)53.

BECNIEN v. II, to summon: inf. G(E)32.

BECNŪNGE f., summons, order: ns. G(E)27.

BED n., bed: ds. BEDDE A13, G(E)25.

BEDDEN v. II, to put to bed: pp. IBEDDED E(C)32.

BEDEN v., see BIDDEN.

BEDSTRĀU n., straw for bedding : as. F(D)14.

BELLE f., bell: ap. BELLEN G(E)27.

BĒME f., trumpet: np. BĒMEN G(E)32.

BENCH f., bench, seat: ds. BENCHE E(C)26.

BĒON v. AN 1. to be: inf. C(G)42, C(G)53, BĒ<ON> D(B)39; 1s. EAM

D(B)18; 2s. EART D(B)37; 3s. BIP A5, A31 (twice), B(F)22, D(B)44,

etc., IS A15 (twice), A44, B(F)19, etc.; 3p. BĒOP B(F)40, C(G)55,

D(B)5, D(B)7, D(B)9, etc.; pret. 1s. WAS B(F)35, C(G)31, C(G)34,

D(B)17, D(B)41, etc.; pret. 2s. WĒRE C(G)33, D(B)2, D(B)12, D(B)32,

F(D)27, etc.; pret. 3s. WAS B(F)30, B(F)41, C(G)10, C(G)16, C(G)17,

etc.; pret. 3p. WĒREN B(F)21, D(B)6, E(C)47, G(E)18; subj. pret. s.\*

WĒRE G(E)28, ?WAS G(E)27; neg. NIS C(G)27, G(E)49, NES F(D)19,

F(D)20. 2. (as a auxiliary with a past participle): inf. F(D)8;

1s. AM B(F)14; 2s. BIST F(D)38, G(E)7, G(E)37, ERT D(B)16, ERT B(F)16,

B(F)17, F(D)15, EART D(B)35; 3s. BIP A6, A22, A24, A26, A27, etc., IS  
 A32, B(F) 43, C(G)9, C(G)13, C(G)19 (the first one), etc.; 3p.  
 BĒOP A39, A40, C(G)9, E(C)10, G(E)9, etc.; pret 1s. WAS B(F)31,  
 B(F)34, C(G)29, C(G)36, C(G)52, etc.; pret 2s. WĒRE B(F)20, C(G)29,  
 D(B)26, F(D)48, etc., pret 3s. WAS,\* B(F)28, B(F)46; pret. 3p.  
 WĒREN B(F)30.

BĒORNEN v. 3, to burn : inf. G(E)49, B<ĒORNEN> F(D)14.

BEREN v. 4, 1. to carry: inf. F(D)14. 2. to give birth to: pp.

IBOREN A6.

BĪ prep., 1. with reference or respect to: C(G)19, D(B)30, E(C)9.

2. according to or by a certain standard unit D(B)6.

BICLŪSEN v. I, to confine: pp. BICLŪSED F(D)46.

BIDDEN v.5, to ask, entreat for: inf: B(F) 15, \*BIDDAN D(B)23;

pp. BEDEN D(B)11, D(B)21.

BIDELEB pp. deprived, bereft: E(C)32, BEDĒLED D(B)16, G(E)9. Cf. DELEN.

BIDERNEN v. I, to conceal: inf. BIDERNAN B(F)6.

BIFOREN adv. 1, before (in terms of position): B(F)7, C(G)17.

2. (with BEHĪNDEN) front and back: C(G)39. 3. before (in terms of  
 time): F(D)23; BIUOREN F(D)20.

BIZETEN v. 5, to acquire: subj. pres. BIZETE E(C)13.

BIHĒTEN v., see BIHŌTEN.

BIHĪNDEN adv., 1. in back, behind: C(G)17. 2. (with BIFOREN) back and  
 front: C(G)39.

BIHŌTEN v. 7, to promise, pledge: pret. 3p. <BEHĒTEN> C(G)44.

Cf. HŌTEN.

BIHŪDEN v. I, to conceal, hide: pp. BIHŪDED G(E)7.

BILĒFEN v. I, to leave ~~back~~ inf. BILĒAFEN F(D)6; pret. 2s.

BILĒFDEST E(C)34, ? E(C)1; pp. BELĒFED E(C)10.

BIMĒNEN v.I, to bemoan: inf. B(F)5; 3p. BIMĒNEP B(F)9. Cf. MĒNEN.

BINIMEN v. 5, to take away, destroy: pp. BINUMEN F(D)37, BI<NU>MEN  
F(D)38. Cf. NIMEN.

BIRĒFEN v.II, to deprive, rob: pret. 2s. BIRĒFEDEST C(G)12, BERĒFEDEST  
G(E)20; pp. BERĒAUED A22, BERĒFED E(C)7.

BIREOUSŪNGE f., contrition: ads. B(F)12, B(F)13.

BISĒON v. 5, to look to, pay attention to: 3s. \*BESIHP A45. Cf.  
SĒON.

BISIHP v., see BISĒON.

BISSETTEN v. I, to beset, studded (pp.): pp. BISET B(F)20.

BISĪDEN adv., at the side of, beside, ? in the side of: \*BESĪDEN  
E(C)38.

BISWĪKEN v. 1, to seduce, deceive: pp. BISWIKEN C(G)4.

BITĀCHEN v. I, to give, grant: pp. BITĀIHT C(G)52.

BITTERE n., grief, suffering: ns. BITTERE D(B)45, F(D)40, F(D)41,  
B<ITTERE> D(B)44.

BITŪNEN v.I, to shut: pp. BITŪNED E(C)19, BETŪNED E(C)17.

BIPENCHEN v.I, to think on, consider: inf. <BE>PENCHEN D(B)17.

BIPRŪNGEN pp., enclosed, hemmed in: \*BEPRŪNGEN E(C)29.

BIWEDDEN v.I, to give in marriage: pp. BIWEDDED C(G)36.

BIWORPEN v.3, to sprinkle: inf. BEWORPEN F(D)12.

BIWĪNDEN v.3, to wind, entwine: pp. BIWŪNDEN A16, BEWŪNDEN A27.

Cf. WĪNDEN.

BLECSIEN v.II, to bless oneself: \*inf. F(D)13.

BLISSE f. bliss: ns. D(B)8; 'as. F(D)37.

BLĪPE adj., joyful, glad: comp. BLĪPRE E(C)16.

- BLÖD n. blood: ds. BLÖDE D(B)27.
- BLÖWEN v. 7, to sound (a wind instrument): 3p. G(E)32.
- BÖC ?m., book, authoritative source: ds. \*<BÖ>C E(C)20; np. BĒC  
B(F)35, C(G)34, C(G)55; dp. BÖKEN C(G)27, D(B)30.
- BODEN v.II, to announce, ?to threaten: 3s. BODEP A6.
- BODŪNGE f., announcement, declaration, ?omen, ?portent: ns. <BOD>ŪNGE  
A24.
- BOLSTER m., a cushion or pad for leaning or sitting on: ds. E(C)26.
- BORIEN v.II, to bore a hole, make a perforation: 3p. BORIEP E(C)44.
- BÖTE f., relief: ns. D(B)11.
- BOWE m., saddlebow: ds. BOWE E(C)4.
- BREKEN v.4, to break or carve into pieces: 3s. BREKEP G(E)11;  
3p. BREKEP E(C)44.
- BRĒOSTE ?f., breast, chest: as. E(C)44; ds. E(C)31.
- BRĪNGEN v.3, to bring, convey: inf. D(B)16, (with TO) D(B)15,  
BRĪNG<EN> C(G)54; pp. IBROUHT D(B)39.
- BROSTNIEN v.II, to decay, rot: inf. BROSTNIAN G(E)9.
- BŪC m., body, carcass: as. D(B)19.
- BURDTĪD f., time of birth: <BU>RDTĪD A26.
- BUREWEN v.3, to protect (with d.): inf. F(D)13.
- BŪT conj., 1. unless: BŪTEN F(D)39. 2. (with adv. force) nothing but,  
only: BŪTE E(C)14.
- CĒOSEN v.2, to choose, select: pp. \*ICORE<N> F(D)19.
- CHIRCHE f. church: ads. G(E)25.
- CLĒI m., clay: ns. A32.
- CLEICLOT n., a lump of dirt, a corpse: ns. A36.
- CLĒNE adj., pure, unpolluted: ? nsn. F(D)31; nsf. G(E)4.



CLENSIEN v.II, to cleanse: inf. F(D)10.

CLOP m., clothes, garment: ap. CLOPES E(C)32, E(C)33.

CLUT m., rags, sheets: adp. CLUTES B(F)17.

CNEOW n., knee: as. CNEOW E(C) 27, <CNE>OW E(C)27.

CNEOWEN v.7, to acknowledge to oneself, ?to know: pret. 2s.

ICNEOWE E(C)27.

COLD adj., cold: nsn. COLDE; dsn COLDE.

COLDE adv., coldly: E(C)32.

COLDEN v.II, to lose warmth, feel cold: 3s. COLDEP A21, <COL>DEP A32.

CREFT m., skill, might: ds. CRE<PTE> A3.

CREOPEN v.I, to crawl, creep: 3p. \* <C>REOPEP E(C)45.

CRIST m., Christ: ds. CRISTE B(F)10, C(G)46, C(G)54, gs. CRISTES C(G)45,  
D(B)25.

CRISTENE adj., Christian: apm. F(D)29.

CUMEN v.4, to come, approach: inf. F(D)43, CUMEN E(C)6; 3s. CUMEP

A10, A41, D(B)45, F(D)41, <CUM>EP G(E)13, \*CUMAP A44; pret. 1s.

COM B(F)4, F(D)31; pret. 3p. COMEN D(B)7; subj.?pres. 1s. COME;

subj. pres. 3s. CUME G(E)39. Cf. TOCUMEN.

ICUNDE adj., natural, ?instinctive, ?fitting, ?proper: nsn. \*F(D)19,

IKUNDE A32.

CUNNE n., kin: ds. F(D)20.

CWEMEN v.I, to please (with d.): pret. 2s. ICWEMDEST D(B)42;

pret. 3s. CWEMDE C(G)23, ICWEMDE C(G)21, \*ICWEM<D>E C(G)10.

CWIDE m., speech, statement: ds. CWI<DE> C(G)47.

DAI m., day: np. DEA3ES A40.

DEADE m., a dead person or thing: as. A40; gs. DEDAN A42.

DEAP m., death, death personified: ns. B(F)16, G(E)38, <D>EAM A11,

<DEA>P E(C)19, <DEA>P F(D)44; ds. DEAPE G(E)12; gs. DEAPES  
G(E)33.

DEAUFEN v.II, to destroy the hearing, make deaf: 3sp. DEAUPEP A17.

DEDE f., deed, action: ap. DEDEN G(E)42; dp. DE DEN B(F)14, F(D)29,  
F(D)32.

DELEN v.I, 1. to separate, divide: inf. \*IDELEN A9. 2. to divide up,  
distribute: 3p. DELEP D(B)14. 3. to give away, share: inf. D<ELEN>  
D(B)33, \* <DE>LEN F(D)4. Cf. BIDELED.

DEMEN v.I, 1. to pass judgement: pret. 3s. DEMDE C(G)18. 2. to  
sentence, condemn: pp. \* <IDE>MED C(G)26.

DEN n., grave, ?chamber: ds. DENNE C(G)15.

DEOFEL m., the devil: ?ns. DEOFEL F(D)49; as. DEOFEL C(G)47; ds.  
DEOFLE C(G)23, F(D)38; gs. DEOFLES C(G)14, C(G)43, G(E)21,  
DE<OFLES> D(B)29.

DEOP adj. deep: dsm. DEOPE D(B)40, <DEOPE> G(E)8; dsf., ?comp.  
DEOPPERE C(G)26.

DEREN v.II, to hurt, injure: pret. 2s. DEREDEST F(D)29.

DEORE adj., dear, beloved: nfm. E(C)47.

DEORWURPE adj., excellent, precious: ?nsm. B(F)50, asnf. D(B)25.

DĪĪELLĪCHE adv., secretly: B(F)6.

DIHTEN v.I, to make, fashion: pp. IDIHTE A3.

DIMMEN v.I, to become dim, i.e., the eyes: 3sp. DIMMEP A17.

DIMME adj., dim, lacking clear vision: apn. A42.

DIMNES f., dimness, darkness: ds. DIMNESSE G(E)33.

IDOL m., parting, separation: ns. A5; as. A8.

DOM m., judgement, decision, choice: as. G(E)34, G(E)39, G(E)44; ds.

DOME G(E)33; ap. DOMES C(G)18, G(E)19; ?adp. <DOMES> C(G)11.

DOMESDAI m., Doomsday, Judgement Day: ns. G(E)13.

DŌN v. AN., 1. to perform (an action), to do: inf. E(C)11; 3s. DĒP

G(E)13; pret. 3s. DUDE A37; pp. IDON C(G)3. 2. to put, bring: 3s.

\*DŌP D(B)14. Cf. FORDŌN, UNDŌN

DOUHTER f., daughter: ns. C(G)31.

DREĀM m., sound, ?mirth: as. G(E)23; ds. <DREĀ>ME G(E)17; ap.

DREĀMES G(E)26.

DREAMPURL n., sound-hole, i.e., ear: ap. \* DREAMPURLES G(E)30.

DREĪ3EN v.2, to suffer, endure: inf. C(G)6, DRĪĒN D(B)36.

DRIHTEN m., God: ns. G(E)12, G(E)43; ?aa. C(G)49; ds. C(G)18, C(G)50,

G(E)23; gs. DRIHTENES, B(F)50, C(G)47, D(B)33, E(C)11, G(E)33,

G(E)44, DRIHTENES G(E)1, <DRIH>TENES, G(E)45.

DRAWEN v.6, to attract, draw: pret. 2s. DRŌWE B(F)3.

DURE f., door: ds. D(B)16, E(C)6.

DURELEASE- adj., doorless: dsn. D(B)40, G(E)8.

ĒARE n., ear: ?nap. \* ĒREN A17; ap. ĒAREN G(E)17.

EARFĒPSĪP m., misfortune: as. \*A41, EARUEPSĪP A43.

ĒASTWĀRD adv., toward the east, in an easterly direction: A31.

ĒC I adj., eternal: asf. ĒCE F(D)37; asn. ĒCHE G(E)48. II pron., each,  
every, each and every: F(D)12.

ĒCHELĪCHE adv., eternally, forever: G(E)52.

ĒI3E n., eye: nap. \* ĒI3EN A17; ap. Ē3EN A42, <ĒI3EN> F(D)21.

ĒFRE adv., 1. always, perpetually: B(F)6, B(F)29, B(F)48, C(G)24,

F(D)41, F(D)45, F(D)50, G(E)29, ĒFRE, F(D)1a, <Ē>FRE, G(E)49,

ĒFFRE D(B)45, ĒFRE D(B)3, D(B)34, E(C)12, F(D)27, <ĒFRE>F(D)33.

2. at any particular time, i.e., with particularizing force: B(F)4.

3. by any means, i.e., with emphasis: EFFRE A14.

EFT adv., 1. again, once more: G(E)12. 2. likewise: A27.

3. afterwards: B(F)18.

EFTER prep., 1. following after (in time): B(F)19, E(C)15, E(C)37,  
F(D)9, F(D)16, EFTER F(D)42. 2. because, as a consequence of:  
C(G)47.

ELE mn., oil, chrisem : ds. ELE C(G)40.

ENDE m., end: ns. F(D)43, G(E)49.

ENDEN v.II, to end, finish: pp. IENDED A29.

ENGEL, m., angel: np. ENGLES B(F)38.

ENI adv., any: F(D)34.

EORPE f., earth, ground, the world: ns. B(F)38, EOR<PE>G(E)4; ads.  
E(C)5; ds. EORPE F(D)24, EORPAN E(C)28.

EORPLICHE adj., earthly, transitory: gsm. E(C)8.

ERMING m., wretch: ns. F(D)18, G(E)14.

FACEN adj., deceitful, false: nsf. C(G)10, FAKEN C(G)17.

FAKENLICHE adv., deceitfully: C(G)21.

FAREN v.6, to go, journey, to fare: inf. E(C)4, G(E)48, FARENE (with TO)  
D(B)28. Cf. FEREN.

FEDER m., father, God: ns. C(G)53; ?dgs. C(G)29; gs. B(F)41.

FEI3E m., the doomed or dead one: ns. <FEI>3E. A30.

FEIRE adv., properly, precisely: C(G)30, C(G)39.

FENGE v., see FON.

FEOLE adj., many: apm. C(G)18; ?adpm. <FEOLE> G(E)19; dpm. C(G)11.

FEOND m., 1. foe, enemy: ds. FEONDE E(C)12; ap. E(C)39; ap?a F(D)2.

2. fiend, the Devil: ds. FEONDE C(G)10, C(G)21, ap. FEONDES G(E)48.

FEOR3IP m., a going forth, i.e., death: \*A27.

FĀREN v.I, to undergo, suffer, ?depart: pret. 3p. FERDEN F(D)23,

Cf. FAREN.

FINDEN v.3, to find: inf. E(C)24; 3p. FĪN<DEP>E(C)41.

FLĒSC n., flesh: ns. E(C)40; ds. FLĒSCE F(D)1.

FLEON v.2, to go away from, flee: 3p. <FLEOP> A37.

FLET n., paved floor of a room or hall: as. F(D)10.

FLĀTTEN v.I, to convey or move something: pp. IPLUT A30

FLŌR m., floor: as. F(D)10; ds. FLŌRE A30, A36.

FON v.7, to succeed to, inherit: pret. 2s. \*FĒNGE D(B)29. Cf. ONFŌN.

FONTSTŌN m., baptismal font: ds. C(G)37.

FOR I. prep., 1. on account of, for the love of: D(B)33, F(D)4,

F(D)35. 2. for the sake of, because: B(F)33, C(G)5, C(G)6,

D(B)24. II conj. (introducing causal clauses) because: A15,

A44; B(F)5, B(F)20, D(B)2, E(C)4, etc. Cf. FORE.

FORBĪNDEN v.3, to bind up, wrap: 3s. FORBĪNDEP A42; pp. \*FOR<BUN>DEN

B(F)17.

FORDFĒDER m., ancestor: np. \*FORDF<EDERES> F(D)23.

FORDUTTEN v.I, to obstruct, block up, shut: pp. FORDUTTE (apparently

agreeing with p: nouns) G(E)17; G(E)30, FORDUTTED G(E)38.

FORDŌN v. AN to ruin: pp. F(D)32. Cf. DŌN, UNDŌN.

FORE I. adv., beforehand, previously: B(F)40. II. prep., for, instead

of, on behalf of: \*D(B)23, FO<RE> D(B)21. Cf. FOR.

FORHŌVEN v.II, to despise or reject something: 3s. FORHŌNED A43,

<FORH>ONED A41.

FORLŌSEN v.2, 1. to lose or forfeit something: pret. 2s. FŌRLŪSE

C(G)43; pp. FORLŌREN C(G)51, F(B)37, FORLŌRENEN B(F)14. 2. to

abandon, leave: pret. 1s. FORLĒS C(G)33; pret. 2s. FŌRLŪSE F(D)15.

3. to repudiate: pp. FORLOREN C(G)38. 4. to remove: pp.\*FORLOREN  
D(B)35.

FORLĒTEN v.7, to release or let go (someone): pret. 3p. C(G)44.

FORLOREN v., see FORLĒOSEN.

FORLURE v., see FORLĒOSEN.

FORMELTEN v. 3, to decay: inf. E(C)49.

FORNĒN adv., before, ahead, still to come: \*D(B)8, D(B)44; F(D)40.

FORSCUTTEN v.I; to shut completely, stop up: pp. FORSCUTTED G(E)38,

FĒRĒPON conj., therefore, consequently: A10, FĒ<RĒPON> D(B)18,

FĒSTER ?nm., bringing up, care, protection: as. \*C(G)31.

FĒSTRIEN v.I, to feed, nourish, bring up a child: inf. C(G)54, FĒSTREN  
F(D)2.

FĒT m., foot: dp. FĒTAN E(C)3.

FRECLĒICHE adv., eagerly, greedily: E(C)40.

FREĒN v.I, to free, liberate: pp. IFREĒED D(B)28.

FRETEN v. 5, to devour, consume: inf. E(C)39, E(C)40, E(C)41; pp.

IFRETEN F(D)2.

FREOME f., advantage, good (with the verb DĒN): as. A37.

FREĒND m., friend: dp. FREĒNDEN B(F)17, D(B)37, G(E)37.

FROM prep., from (in terms of position, location): A37, C(G)8, D(B)26,  
\*D(B)35, F(D)31, G(E)6, G(E)11, G(E)33; G(E)37.

FROMWARD prep., away from: \*B(F)25.

FRUMP nf. the beginning of one's life: ds. FRUMPE C(G)90.

FUL adv., completely, entirely: B(F)27, B(F)31, B(F)33, C(G)15, C(G)19,  
E(C)31, F(D)49, G(E)23.

FĒLE adj., foul: nsm. C(G)3, C(G)4; nsn. G(E)6; asn. E(C)41, G(E)5;

def. C(G)5; asn. C(G)6; dpm. C(G)38; supl. FĒLEST G(E)2, \*FĒLES<T>

(MS. FUWELES) D(B)42.

FÜLEN v.II, to befoul, desecrate: pp. IFÜLED A39, C(G)37. Cf. AFÜLEN

FULL adj., enough, too much: dsm. F(D)35.

FULLEN v.I, 1. to fill pp. IFULLED F(D)48. 2. to fulfill: inf.

F(D)50; pp. IFULLED A24.

FULLUHT mfn., the sacrament of baptism: as. FUL<LUHT> C(G)38.

FÜR n., fire: as. G(E)48.

FÜS adj., eager: npm. D(B)15.

GEDEREN v.I, to bring together, gather, accumulate: pret. 2s. GEDEREST

C(G)13, D(B)34, E(C)12; pp. IGEDERED D(B)5.

GERSUME f., treasure, valuables (collective): as. C(G)16, \*GER<SUME>

E(C)12; ?ads. <GERSU>ME C(G)13.

GETE ?f., (with the verb NIMEN) to pay attention, take pains: as

\*E(C)13.

GNAWEN v.6, to gnaw: inf. E(C)42.

GOD m., god, God: ns., B(F)36, F(D)36, ? <GOD> C(G)1a; ds. GODE C(G)42,

F(D)31, G(E)51; gs. GODES C(G)31.

GÖD adj., 1. (as a noun) ?n. good people: np. GÖDEN G(E)51. 2. (as a

collective noun) n. goods, property: ns. GODE F(D)41; as. \*GÖ<DE>

F(D)4; ds. GÖDE D(B)21. 3. (as an adj.) good: dsp. \*GÖDE F(D)4

(the first one).

GODFÄDER m., godfather: np. GODFÄDERES C(G)44.

GODNESSE f., goodness: as. D(B)3.

GOLDFÄT ? n. noun, golden vessel, or adj. as a noun, golden thing;

np. \*GOLDFÄTEN. D(B)7.

GOLDFÖH adj., variegated, shining with gold: ? asm. GOLDFÖHNE E(C)4.

GÖN v. AN, to go: pp. IGÖN A40. Cf. AGÖN, OFGÖN.

- GRĒDI adj. greedy, eager: nsm. GRĒDI F(D)33; nfm. GRĒDIE D(B)13.
- GRĒDILĪCHE adv., greedily, covetously: D(B)34.
- GRENNIEN v.II, to bare the teeth, to grimace: inf. F(D)7.
- GRĒONEN v.II, to groan, moan: 3s. GRĒONEP A25; prp. GRĒONING A15.
- GRĪSEN v.1., (impersonal) to be frightened of: pret. 3s. GRĪS E(C)18.
- GRĪPEN v.I, to grasp, take hold of: inf. (with TO) D(B)13.
- GRISLĪCHE adv., terribly, hideously: F(D)7.
- GROM m. anger, rage: ?dp. GROMEN F(D)33.
- GRĪS v., see GRĪSEN.
- GRULLEN v.I, to offend, enrage: pret. 3s. GRŪLDE E(C)18.
- GŪLDEN adj., golden: ?nfm., \*GULDENE D(B)7.
- GULT m., guilt, offence: ap. GULTES G(E)19; ?adp. GULTES C(G)11.
- 3ĒAT v., see 3ĒOTEN.
- 3EDDIEN v.II, to speak formally, to sing: pret. 3s.\* 3EO<DDE>DE  
(MS. 3EO&&DE) C(G)21.
- 3ĒORNE adv., earnestly, zealously: D(B)11, F(D)13.
- 3ĒOTEN v.2, to shed, pour forth: pret. 3s. 3ĒAT D(B)27.
- 3ĒERDE f.; staff, rod (for measuring): ds. A33.
- 3ET adv., yet, still, further: C(G)7, E(C)2, F(D)17, F(D)26, G(E)3,  
G(E)36.
- 3IF conj., if (introducing conditional clauses): A40, C(G)43.
- 3IUEN v.5, to give: inf. D(B)21.
- HABBEN v.III, 1. to have, possess, own: inf. A34, F(D)39; ?2s. HAUEST  
G(G)41, E(C)29; 3s. HAUEP B(F)16; pret. 1s. HEBDE F(D)24; pret. 2s.  
HAFDEST F(D)27, HEUEDEST E(C)14, HEFDEST F(D)39. 2. a finite  
auxiliary preceded or followed by a pp.: 2s. HAUEST C(G)4, C(G)37,  
F(D)32, F(D)37 (twice), HAFEST C(G)38; 3s. HAUEP C(G)3, E(C)19,



G(E)38, \*HAUEF C(G)26; 3p. HABBEF F(D)24; pret. 2s. HEFDEST E(C)35,  
F(D)19; neg. 2s. NAFEST C(G)16, NAFST E(C)14.

HĒ pron. of the 3rd person: nsm. A3, A5, \*A12, A13, A31, \*G(E)23, etc.;  
asm. HINE A33, B(F)24, E(C)19, G(E)38; dsm. HIM A2, A4,  
A17, A18, A20, etc., gsm. HIS A11, A13, A15, A16, A19, etc.; nsf.  
HĒO C(G)16, C(G)17, C(G)18, C(G)21, C(G)22, etc.; asf. HĒO G(E)5;  
dsf. HIRE C(G)19, C(G)25, G(E)4, ?E(C)1; gsf. HIRE F(D)17, F(D)26,  
G(E)3, G(E)36; nsn. HIT A6, A7, \*A10, A32, B(F)37, etc.; asn. HIT  
B(F)48, C(G)43, E(C)41, F(D)8, F(D)14, G(E)43, HIT E(C)35, <HIT>  
B(F)46, F(D)19; np. HĒO A38, A40, B(F)30, D(B)6, D(B)13, etc.;  
ap. HĒO A5, HAM B(F)7, D(B)38, F(D)13, F(D)24, <HAM> B(F)6, C(G)54,  
HĪ D(B)4, ?F(D)22; dp. HEOM A39, D(B)12, D(B)14, E(C)18, E(C)34  
(twice), H<EOM> F(D)11, <HEOM> E(C)40, HAM B(F)8, D(B)21, E(C)18,  
F(D)13, HAM D(B)38; gp. HORE A39, B(F)9, B(F)11, E(C)45, F(D)5,  
G(E)42, G(E)44, <HORE> F(D)25.

HĒAFOD n., head: as. A38; ds. HEAFDE C(G)40.

HĒAUEDPONNE f., skull: ds. F(D)5.

HĒARD adj., hard, bitter: asm. <HĒA>RDE G(E)34; dsm. HĒARDE F(D)35;  
dpn. HĒARDE C(G)22.

HEARPE f., harp: as. G(E)22.

HĒIH adj., high: gsm. HĒI3E G(E)39; supl. \*HĒIH<EST> C(G)42.

HĒIE adv., high, high up: C(G)40.

HEIHNESSE f., excellence, ?highness, i.e., heaven: ds. B(F)34.

HELEWEH ?n., the end wall of a building: np. \*HELEWES E(C)30.

HELLE f., hell: ds. B(F)32, C(G)26; ?ads. <HELL>E C(G)5.

HELLEWITE n., hell pain, torment: ds. D(B)26.

HELP m., ?f., help, succour: ns. G(E)28.

HELPEŃ v.3, to help, aid, assist: inf. E(C)25; 3p. HELPEP B(F)11.

HEORTE f., heart: ds. F(D)49.

HĚR adv. here: E(C)9, E(C)10, F(D)18.

HERBORWEN v.3, to harbour, shelter: inf. E(C)23, F(D)3.

HĚREN v.I, 1. to hear: inf. IHĚREN G(E)26, G(E)34; 3p. IHĚREP G(E)31;

pret. 2s. IHĚRDEST G(E)23; 2. to listen to (with d.): \*IHĚREP G(E)17.

HERUNGE f., that which is heard, words, sounds: as. G(E)31.

HĚAWEN v. 7, to hew, slander, to be cutting: pret. 2s. HĚOU C(G)22.

HEOUENE f., heaven: ns. B(F)38; as. D(B)28; ds. C(G)42.

HEUI adj., woeful, sorrowful: nsf. A15.

HĚNE m., servant, member of a household np: HĚNEN D(B)33.

HOLD n., dead body, corpse: ns. <HO>LD G(E)6; as. HOLD E(C)41;

ds. HĚLDE G(E)5.

HĚLDEN v.7, 1. to possess, own, have: inf. E(C)35; pp. HĚLDEN C(G)32.

2. to hold, keep: pret. 1s. HĚOLD F(D)21; pp. HĚLDEN C(G)45.

HĚLĪ adj., holy: nsn. F(D)38; asf. HOLĪE G(E)28; dsm. HOLĪE B(F)43,

C(G)40; dsf. HOLĪE C(G)45; apm. HOLĪE G(E)26.

HĚLIWATER n., holy water: ds. \*HĚLIWATERE F(D)12.

HĚND f., hand: ?as. \*HĚND F(D)38; np. HĚNDEN A39; dp. HĚNDEN A38;

?adp. HĚNDEN: A39.

HONDLEN v.II, to handle: 3p. HONDLEP A40.

HĚRD n., treasure hoard: ns. F(C)45; as. F(D)5, \*<H>ĚRD F(D)49; ds.

HĚRDE G(E)7.

HĚFEN v.7, to be named or called something: pp. IHĚTEN B(F)34.

Cf. BIHĚTEN.

HOWE f. care, anxiety: ads. E(C)4.

HŪ conj. adv., in what manner, to what extent: C(G)2. F(D)23.

HŪNEN v.I, to abuse, hate: pret 3s. \*<HUNED>E C(G)22; pp. \*HŪNED F(D)47.

HÜNGRĪ adj., hungry: npm. HÜNGRĪE E(C)39.

HŪS n., house, dwelling: as. E(C)29; ds. HŪSE D(B)15, D(B)40, E(C)23,  
G(E)8,

HWĀR adv., where: D(B)4, D(B)5, D(B)7, D(B)9, D(B)10.

HWĪ adv., why, wherefore: C(G)4, F(D)22, HWĪI D(B)17.

HWŪLE adv. (with PĒO) while, at the time: D(B)1, E(C)41, F(D)21,  
HWĪLE D(B)17, F(D)27.

HWŌ pron. (indefinite), whosoever: E(C)13, F(D)8.

IBOREN v., see BEREN.

IC pron. of the 1st person: ns. A13, B(F)4, B(P)31, B(F)34, B(F)35, etc.;  
as. ME B(F)3, B(F)27; B(F)32, B(F)33, etc.; ds. ME B(F)15, B(F)29,  
B(F)30, C(G)3; gs. MĪN D(B)8, MĪNE A14, C(G)29, <MĪ>NE C(G)7; n.  
dual WIT C(G)51, C(G)52, C(G)54, G(E)47; a. dual UNC C(G)26, F(D)32,  
G(E)32; g. dual UNKER C(G)51, G(E)28, <U>NKER G(E)27; gp. ŪRE G(E)12.

ICOREN pp., see CĒOSEN

ĪL m., hedgehog: ds. ĪLE B(F)21.

IN I prep., 1. in: C(G)42, E(C)28, E(C)46, I(N) G(E)52, ?I(N) E(C)50.

2. into: G(E)48, II adv. in: E(C)45.

INNE I. prep., in, within: B(F)32, D(B)1, F(D)21, INNEN D(B)17.

II adv., within, inside: INNE E(C)29.

INTO prep., into: I(N)TO D(B)28.

KĒI3E f., key: as. B(F)16.

KĒNE adj., sharp, fierce, keen: nsf. C(G)23.

KINEMERKE f., ?the post-baptismal seal of the cross, ?a mark signifying  
royalty: ?as. C(G)41.

KĪNG m., king, God: gs. KĪNGES G(E)39.

IKÜNDE adj., see ICÜNDE.

LĀ interj., a particle emphasizing a question: F(D)18.

LAWĒ f., law, practice, ?way of life: ds. C(G)46.

LĒAS adj., false, faithless: nsm. D(B)2, F(D)28.

LĒDEN v.I, to lead, conduct: inf. C(G)46.

LĒFEN v.I, to believe: inf. F(D)22.

LEGGEN v.I, to put, place, set: pret. 3s. \* ILEIDE A4, ?\* <LEIDE> F(D)49.

Cf. UNDERLEGGEN.

LEOFLĪCHE adj., worthy of love or adoration, precious: asn.

LEOFLĪ <CHE> D(B)24.

LĒORNEN v.II, to learn: pret. 3p. LĒORNEDEN G(E)18.

LĒOU adj., dear, precious: dsm. LĒOUE: C(G)29.

LĒREN v.I, to teach, to give instruction: pp. ILĒRED C(G)29,

ILĒREDE D(B)20.

LĒSTEN v.I, to last, endure, go on: 3s. ILĒSTEP A14, ILĒSTEP D(B)45,

ILEST F(D)41.

LĒTEN v.7, to let out, emit: pret. 2s. LETTEST E(C)17, Cf. FORLĒTEN.

LIBBEN v.III, to live, exist: 1s. LIBBE A13.

LICAME m., body, corpse: ns. A28; as. A11, D(B)25; ds. F(D)17, G(E)3,

G(E)36, <LIC>AME A9, LICH <AME> A45, LICAME E(C)2, L <ICAME> F(D)26.

LĪCHE n., body, corpse, torso: na s\* <LICHE> A21.

LICIEN v.II, to be pleasing to (with d:) 3p. LĪKEP E(e)40; pret. 3s.

LICODE C(G)14, LIKEDE G(E)21.

LĪF n., animate existence, vitality, the span of life: ns. A29,

G(E)16; as. A4, C(G)32, F(D)27; ?ads. B(F)19, \*C(G)6, E(C)37,

F(D)9, F(D)16, F(D)42, <LĪF>E(C)15; ds. LĪUE D(B)12, LĪFE G(E)35.

LĪFDĀI n., the span of life: np. LĪFDĀWES A14.

LĪFLĒAS adj., lifeless, dead: ns. C(G)39.

- LĪFRE f., the liver: as. E(C)48,  
 LIGGEN v.5, to lie down: 2s. LIST D(B)38; 3s. LIP A36, C(G)15, LĪIP  
 E(C)31; 3p. LĪGGEÞ G(E)11, LĪGGEÞ A21; pret. 2s. LĪI3E F(D)11.  
 LIHT n. light, i.e., lung: ap. LIHTE E(C)48.  
 LIPPE f., lip: nap. \*LIPPEN A18; ap. LIPPEN F(D)6.  
 LĪST mf., trick, artifice: ap. LĪSTEN G(E)18.  
 LĪÞ mn. limb, member: ns. LĪÞ G(E)11; ds. LĪÞE G(E)11.  
 LĀC n., gift: as. D(B)25, LĀC D(B)24.  
 LODLĪCHE adv., fiercely, grievously: LOD<LĪCHE> Ē(C)48.  
 LOFE nf., praise, an expression of praise: as. \*L<O>FE (MS.: LUFE)  
 D(B)20.  
 LOKIEN v.II, to look: inf. LOKIENNE B(F)18.  
 LĀND n, land: ns. F(D)38.  
 LĀNG adj., long in duration, i.e., in terms of time: D(B)38, LĀNGE  
 D(B)12 (but see following entry).  
 LĀNGE adv., for a long time: G(E)25, <LĀN>GE A14, LĀNG<E> F(D)44.  
 (see previous entry).  
 LĀRE f., loré, teaching: as. C(G)14, C(G)43, D(B)29, G(E)21, \*G(E)28.  
 LĀÞ adj., loathsome, horrible: nsm. B(F)17, D(B)37, G(E)23; dsf. LĀPRE  
 C(G)1; npm. LĀÞE C(G)18; npf. LĀÞE C(G)50; comp. LĀPRE F(D)11.  
 LĀWE I. adj. low, not high: nsn. E(C)30. II adv., low in height:  
 <LO>H E(C)31.  
 LUFE f., love: ns. A44; ds. C(G)1, C(G)45, F(D)4.  
 LUFIEN v.II; to love, to feel affection for: pret. 2s. LUFEST C(G)49,  
 C(G)50, D(B)2, D(B)9, D(B)35, D(B)43, LUFEST D(B)4, LUFED<EST>  
 F(D)28; pp. ILUFED F(D)15.  
 LUFT mn., air, sky: ns. B(F)38.

LŪT I adj., little; ? nsn. E(C)34. II adv., little, to a small extent:  
G(E)29.

LŪTĪ3 adj., crafty, cunning: nsm. D(B)2, LŪTĪ F(D)28.

LŪPER adj., bad, wicked: nsm. F(D)27; npmf. LUPERE G(E)18; dpf. LUPERE  
B(F)14, F(D)29, F(D)32.

LŪPERLICHE adv., wickedly: G(E)35, LŪ<PER>LICHE D(B)35.

LŪPERNESSE f., wickedness: ns. E(C)22.

MĀ adv., 1. more (in terms of time), again: B(F)18, MŌ C(G)16, MŌRE  
G(E)3. 2. more, to a greater extent, more fully: MŌRE D(B)34,  
F(D)20.

MAGEN v.PP., to be able or capable of doing something (with a following  
infinitive): 3s. MEI E(C)9; 3p. MAWEN B(F)24, pret. 2s. MIHTE<ST>  
F(D)30; pret. 3s. MIHTE F(D)8; pret. 3p. MIHTEN D(B)22, D(B)24,  
E(C)24.

MAKE f., wife: ns. IMAKE C(G)34.

MAKIEN v.II, to make, perform: inf. \*<MA>KIEN D(B)20.

MAKUNGE f., making, doing: ns. MA<KUNGE> B(F)41.

MARK f., a monetary unit equivalent to 160 pennies or 2/3 of a pound  
sterling: ap. MARKES D(B)6.

MAPEMETE m., food for worms: ns. \*MAPE<ME>TE C(G)4.

MAWE m., stomach, belly: ns. E(C)49.

MAWEN v., see MAGEN.

MĀNE n. ?sexual intercourse, ?fellowship: ?nas. \*<IMENE> C(G)1.

MĀNEN v. I, 1. to bemoan, complain: 3s. MĀNET A7. 2. to signify,  
tell of, mean: 3p. MĀNEP C(G)55. Cf. BIMĀNEN.

ME pron., see MON II.

MĀNGEN v. I, to combine, mix: pp. MĀNGED A26.

MERKEN v.II, to mark, seal: pp. IMERKED C(G)39.

MESSE f., mass, a celebration of the Eucharistic service: ds. D(B)23.

MET n., rule, law: ns. IMET A35.

MĒTEN v.I, to meet, encounter: inf., \*IMĒTEN G(E)15 (but see following entry).

METEN v.5, 1. to measure: 3s. MET A33. 2. to repay, requite: inf.

\*IMETEN G(E)15 (but see previous entry).

MID prep., 1. in conjunction with, in the company of, with: A11, A16,

A26, A27, A29, etc. 2, by means of, by, with: A3, A33, A38,

B(F)31, B(F)37, etc.

MIDDENĒARD m., the world, the earth: ?ds. <MIDD>ENĒARDE A1.

MIHT f., might, strength: nas. A20.

MIHTE, MIHTEST, MIHTEN v., see MAGEN.

MĪLDELĪCHE adv., kindly, ?gently: B(F)36.

MILTE mf. spleen: ns. \*E(C)49.

MILTSE f., compassion, forgiveness: as. MILTS<E> B(F)9.

MILTSŪNGE f. compassion, forgiveness: as. MILTS<ŪNGE> B(F)15.

MISDĒDE f. misdeed, crime, sin: ap. MISDĒDEN B(F)9, D(B)23.

MŌ adv., see MĀ.

MŌD n., wile, trick, ?thought: ap. \*MŌDES C(G)48.

MŌDER f., mother: ns. A25, C(G)53.

MŌDĪNESSE f., pride: ns. <MŌ>DĪNESSE D(B)4.

MŌLDE f., earth, ground: as. MŌL<DE> A33; ds. MŌLDE A34.

MON I m., a person, a man? ns. E(C)9 (the second one); as. A3; ds.

?ap. \*MEN F(D)4; gs. MONNES B(F)39; np. B(F)8, E(C)16; ap. D(B)20,

F(D)29, G(E)39; dp. MONNEN G(E)6. II. pron. (indefinite)

one, a man, a person: ns. A33, E(C)9 (the first one), ME F(D)10.

IMONG prep., among, between: D(B)14.

MONIFOLD adj., numerous, many: npm. MONIFOLDE D(B)6.

MONSWARE m., perjurer: ns. F(D)47.

MORE adv., see MĀ

MORPDEDE f. deadly sin, crime: ap. MORPDEDEN G(E)15.

MOTEN v. PP, 1. to be allowed or permitted, may: 3s. MÖT A34.

2. to be compelled, ?to desire, wish: pret. 2s. MÖSTES G(E)26.

MUCHEL I. adj., great, much: asf. MUCHELE A23; dsm. MUCHELE A3; supl.

MĚST G(E)47, <MĚST> Ğ(E)52. II. adv. so much, greatly: MUCHEL

D(B)4.

MURĪ adj., pleasing, agreeable: npf. MURĪE G(E)15.

MŪP m., mouth: ns. E(C)17, G(E)38; as. A42, <MŪP> B(F)3; ds. B(F)5,

B(F)15, E(C)22, G(E)44.

NAMMÖRE I. pron., nothing more, nothing further: NA(M)MORE A34.

II adv., no longer, not again: <NAM>MORE G(E)39.

NE I adv., no, not: A34, B(F)13, B(F)24. C(G)43, D(B)45, etc.;

II conj., nor: B(F)22, E(C)24, G(E)26, G(E)28, G(E)39 (the first one).

NĚFRE adv., never, at no time: B(F)13, E(C)11, E(C)25, F(D)43, G(E)49,

NĚFR<E> F(D)39, NĚFRE G(E)1, <NĚFR>E G(E)31, NĚFFRE E(C)6,

<NĚFFRE> D(B)45.

NĚIH prep., near, close to: D(B)38; adv., near, close: F(D)49.

NĚODE f., need, care: ap. B(F)5.

NĚOSE f., nose: nas. A18.

NĚOWE adj., new: asn. E(C)29.

NIMEN v. 4, to take, to get possession of: inf. \*E(C)13, F(D)44.

Cf. BINIMEN.



NĪP m., hatred, spite, ?affliction: ds. NĪPE F(D)35.

NŌNE I adj., no, not any: B(F)7, B(F)15, E(C)24, G(E)31, NENNE E(C)4.

II adv., not, not at all: NŌN C(G)27.

INŌUH I, adj., enough, sufficient: as. F(D)39. II. adv., sufficiently:

F(D)47.

NOUHT adv., see NOWIHT

NOWIHT adv., not at all: B(F)22, F(D)19 <NOUHT> C(G)32, ?pron. NOUHT

D(B)33.

NŪ adv., now, at the present time: B(F)16, B(F)32, C(G)5, C(G)8,

C(G)9, etc.

Ō see Ā.

OF prep., 1. from, out of, of: \*A9, A34, B(F)42, C(G)27, D(B)15,

D(B)16, etc.; 2. by: C(G)29.

OFĒODEST v., see OFGŌN.

OFER prep., 1. over, across, through: E(C)27, E(C)44. 2. beside, next

to, over: D(B)10.

OFERMETE m. gluttony: ds. F(D)35.

OFFEREN v. I, to frighten: pp. OFFERED F(D)8.

OFFRIEN v. I, to offer, i.e., to offer an oblation: inf. OFFRIAN

D(B)24.

OFGŌN v. AN, to obtain, acquire: pret. 2s. OFĒODEST G(E)35. Cf.

GŌN, AGŌN.

OFTESĪPES adv., many times, frequently: \*<OFTES>ĪPES A12.

OHTEST v., see ĀNEN.

ON prep., 1. on, upon: A13<sup>o</sup>, A36; B(F)18, B(F)21, D(B)27, etc.; 2. in

A4, B(F)43, C(G)15, C(G)19, D(B)12, etc.; 3. among: ?\*<O>N E(C)12.

4. at: C(G)40.

- ONE num., one (used adjectively): dsf. A33; dsn. B(F)46.
- ONFÖN v.7, to receive, accept: 3s. ONFÖP B(F)12, <ON>FÖP B(F)9;
- 3p. ONFÖP G(E)44. Cf. FÖN.
- ONFULLEN v. I, to fill up, to sate: pp. ONFULLED F(D)33. Cf. FULLEN.
- ON3ĒAN adv., again: E(C)6. See A3ĀN.
- ONHÖRDEN v.II, to hoard up, to store: pp. ONHÖR<DED> E(C)45.
- ONLICNESSE f., likeness, image: ?as. ONLICN<ESSE> B(F)50.
- ONSCUNEN v.II, to shun, avoid: pret. 2s. ONSCUNEDEST D(B)3.
- OPEN adj., open: apn. OPENE F(D)21.
- ÖRE f., grace, mercy: as. B(F)8.
- ORLEĀS adj., 1. dishonourable, base, ?poor: dpm. E(C)25. 2. base,
- cruel, pitiless: npn. E(C)43.
- ÖP m., oath: ap. ÖPES C(G)38.
- ÖP conj., until: <ÖP> G(E)12.
- ÖPRE pron., other (used substantively): ap. C(G)12, G(E)20.
- ÖWEN adj. own, i.e., possession: nsn. E(C)45.
- PANEH m., penny: ap. \*<PA>NEWES D(B)5.
- PARADĪS ?f., paradise: as. P(D)37.
- PĪK m., a pointed tool, pick: np. PĪKES B(F)27, B(F)32.
- PĪL m., a pointed object, spine, needle: np. PĪLES B(F)21, PĪL<ES>
- B(F)24; ap. PĪLES B(F)22.
- PINIEN v.II, to torture, torment: inf. B(F)33; 3s. PĪNED A11; pp.
- IPĪNED B(F)31.
- PRĒOST m.; priest, presbyter: dp. PRĒOSTEN B(F)7.
- PRIC mf. prick, pain: ds. PRICKE A11.
- PRIKIEN v.II, to pierce, prick, sting: inf. B(F)32, <PRI>KIEN B(F)24;
- 3p. P<AI>KIED B(F)22, B(F)27; prp. npf. PRIKIENDE B(F)21.

PRICKUNGE f., pricking: ds. P(RI)CKUNGE B(F)31.

PSALM. see SALM.

PUND n. pound, i.e., 240 pennies: np. PUNDES D(B)5.

QUALEHÖLD n.; "torture-body": gp. \*QUALEHÖLDE D(B)42.

READ adj., red: dsn. READE D(B)27.

REOWLICHE I adj., wretched, grievous: nsm. E(C)15, F(D)9, RE<OWLICHE>

F(D)16, \*REOULIC B(F)19. II adv., pitifully, wretchedly:

REOWLICHE E(C)7.

REPIEN v.II, to refer to, to touch: 1s. REPIE C(G)28.

RESTE f., rest, repose: as. B(F)12, E(C)24.

RESTEN v.I; to rest; repose: inf. B(F)13.

RICHE adj., great, of high rank: nsf. \*A43.

RIDEN v.1, to ride: inf. E(C)7, RIDEN E(C)5.

RIF adj., rife, abundant: nsf. \*RI<F>E (MS: RIPE) E(C)22.

RIHT I n., justice, law, truth: as. D(B)3. II adj., lawful, fair,

just: nsn. A35; dsf. <R>IHTERE C(G)46; gsn. RIHTES C(Ø)12,

G(E)20. III ?adv., correctly: A38.

RINTLICHE adv., correctly, exactly: <RIH>TLICHE A35. Cf. RIHT III.

RINGEN v.3 (OE I), to ring: pp. \*RÜNGEN G(E)27.

RÖDE f., rood, cross: ds. D(B)27.

RÖF n., roof; ns. E(C)31; ds. RÖUE E(C)24.

ROTIEN v.II, to rot, putrefy: inf. G(E)9.

RUGLUNGE adv., backwards: \*E(C)5.

RÜNGEN v., see RINGEN.

SAKE f., strife, sedition, a lawsuit: as. F(D)45.

SALM n., psalm: ds. PSALME C(G)19, G(E)40; (used adjectivally) ds. 7n.

SALME E(C)40.

SALMSÖNG m. psalm: ds. SALMSÖNGE D(B)22.

SĒP m., hole, pit: ds. SĒPE D(B)40, SĒAPE G(E)8.

SCEAFT mf., created being, creature: ns. ISCEAFT B(F)35; ap. ISCEAFTE B(F)47, ISCEFTAN A2.

SCEARP adj., 1. sharp, bitter: nsf. C(G)23. 2. n. (used substantively) sharpness: ns. SCEARPE B(F)25, SCERPE B(F)29.

SCĒNDEN v.I, to corrupt, injure: pp. ISCĒND F(D)36 ISCĒND F(D)25.

SCEPEN v. 6, to shape, create: pret. 3s. ISCĒP B(F)47; pp.

ISCEAPEN B(F)34.

SCERP adj., see SCEARP.

SCERPEN v.II, to become sharp: 3s. SCERPEP A18.

SCORIEN v.I, to jut out, to point: pret. 3s. SCOREDE B(F)29.

SCORTIEN v.II, to become short: 3s. SCORTEP A19. Cf. ASCORTIEN.

SCRIFT m., penance: as. B(F)10.

SCRINCKEN v.3, to shrink, shrivel up: 3sp. SCRINCKEP A18.

SCULEN v. PP. 1. to be obliged to, to have to (as an auxiliary, followed or preceded by an inf.) 1s. SCAL C(G)8, D(B)36; 2s. SCALT D(B)39, E(C)5, F(D)1, F(D)2, F(D)3, F(D)7, G(E)9, G(E)14, G(E)34, <SCAL>T E(C)4; 3s. SCAL E(C)49, E(C)50, SCHAL A9; 3p. SCULEN E(C)38, G(E)42, G(E)47, SCU<LEN> G(E)32, <SCULE>N G(E)51; pret. 1s. SCĒOLDE C(G)32; 2s. SCĒOLDEST C(G)42, SCĒLDEST C(G)45, E(C)28, <SCĒOLDE>ST C(G)53; pret. 3s. SCĒLDE F(D)43; pret. 3p. SCĒLDEN C(G)51, C(G)52, C(G)54. 2. to be obliged to, to have to (with an elided verb of motion): 1s. SCAL C(G)51; ? 3p. SCULEN A2; 3. to pertain to, to be proper to: 3p. #SCULEN A2.

SEEK see SEK.

SEKEN v.I, to seek, to look for: 3p. SEKED B(F)34; pret. 1s. SEKITE

SEEK A2.

SEGGEN v.III, 1. to say, tell, reveal: inf. G(E)42, SIGGEN B(F)7,  
 <SEG>GEN E(C)9; 1s. SEGGE G(C)27; 3s. SEIP A13, E(C)2, F(D)17, SEIP  
 F(D)26, G(E)3, G(E)36, G(E)40; 3p. SEGGEÞ B(F)11, B(F)35, SIGGEÞ  
 C(G)34; pret. 1s. SEIDE B(F)40; pret. 3s. SEIDE B(F)45; pp. ISEID  
 D(B)30, E(C)20, ISEID C(G)19.

SELLEN v.I, to give, deliver: pp. \*ISÖLD F(D)38.

SELLIC adj., strange, marvellous: (used substantively): ns. \*C(G)27.

SĒMEN v.I, to load, burden: pret. 2s SEMDEST D(B)18.

SĒNDEN v.I, to send: inf. SĒN<DEN> E(C)33; pp. ISEND F(D)31.

ISĒNE adj., easy to see, clear: nsn. G(E)40.

SĒON v.5, to see, to look on: ?pret. 2s. ?subj. pret. 2s. ISEI3E F(D)22;  
 subj. 3s. ISEI3E F(D)8. Cf. BISEON.

SĒORUHFUL adj., full of sorrow, grief: nsm. D(B)18, G(E)18; nsf.

SEORHFUL A15; asm. SĒORUHFULE A8, SĒORUHFULNE D(B)19; apn.

SORHFULLE F(D)25.

SĒORUHLĪCHE adv., sorrowfully, in a sorrowful manner: A22.

SEORWE f., sorrow, care: ns. D(B)8; ds. A16, G(E)47; dp. SĒORUWEN

A27.

SEOPPEN I adv., afterwards: A33. II conj., after, when, since:

A40, B(F)9, C(G)33, C(G)49, F(D)15.

SEOUEN num., 1. seven (used substantively): np. SEOUENE B(F)40.

2. the ordinal, seventh (used adjectively): nsmf. SE<QUEPE> B(F)35.

SETTEN v.I, to occupy, set, fix: pp. ISETÞ B(F)26. Cf. UTSETTEN.

SIBBE fn. kinsmen, relation: np. <SIBBE> D(B)10.

SIDWOH n., sidewall: np. SIDROWES E(C)30.

SITTEN v.5, to sit: pret. 2s. SEYE E(C)26; pret. 3p. SETEN D(B)10.

SĪP n., fate, fortune, time, i.e., occasion, departure, i.e., death:

ns. A16, B(F)19, E(C)15, E(C)37, F(D)9, F(D)16, <SĪP> F(D)42;

as. A8, C(G)6; ?ads. A29.

SĪPIEN v. II, to go, travel, depart: inf. C(G)8, SĪPIAN G(E)51,

SI<PIEN> G(E)47; 3p. SĪPIEP B(F)10.

SĪEPEN v. I (OE 7), to sleep: pret. 2s. SLEPTĒST G(E)24.

SŌ I adv. conj, so, as, consequently, thus: A26, A27, B(F)30, B(F)35,

B(F)87, etc. II adv., in such wise, so: C(G)25, D(B)19, <SŌ> C(G)16,

C(G)36, SWŌ D(B)4. 3 (with HŪ) howsoever: C(G)2. 4. (SŌ SŌ) just

as: C(G)55, <SŌ SŌ> C(G)34. 5. (with HWŌ) whosoever: F(D)8.

SOFTE n., softness: ns. B(F)23, B(F)28.

SOFTLĪCHE adv., gently, calmly: A5.

SOMNIEN v. II, to unite, join together, pret. 3s. ISOM<NEDE> A5.

SŌNE adv., soon, directly, forthwith: A31, A37, A41, C(G)33.

SŌR adj., sore, painful: nsm. A5.

SŌRE adv., painfully, with much suffering: B(F)24, B(F)27, B(F)31,

B(F)33, E(C)18.

SŌRĪ adj., full of grief or sorrow: nsm. D(B)10; asm A8; adsm A29.

SŌRĪLĪCHE adv., in a sorrowful manner: A28, C(G)8, F(D)17, F(D)26,

G(E)3, SŌRĪLĪCHE E(C)2, S<ŌRĪL>ĪCHE G(E)36, SORLĪCHE A9, A45,

<SŌRĪLĪCH>E C(G)28.

SORIMŌD adj., dejected, sad: nsm. G(E)16.

SŌP I n., truth: ?ns. E(C)20; ?as. SŌPE C(G)28. II adj., true, just:

nsm. C(G)19, D(B)30; asm. SOPNE B(F)20; adsf. SŌPE B(F)12. See

SŌPE.

SŌPE adv., truthfully: ? C(G)28.

SOUITE v. see SĪCHEN.

SŌULE f., soul: ns. A9, A45, B(F)12, B(F)39, F(D)17, F(D)28, G(E)3.

SOWLE, G(E)36, ŠOW<L>E (MS. SOWE) E(C)2, SOUL<E> D(B)36; as. A4,  
B(F)34; np. <SO>ULE G(E)42; ?ap. <SOULE> B(F)11.

SOULEHŪS n., the body: ns. A22.

SPECEN v.5, to speak, say: prp. SPEKINDE C(G)16, C(G)25.

STĪF adj., stiff, rigid: nsm. A31.

STILLE adv., quietly, silently: A21, C(G)15, G(E)11.

STIRŌP m. stirrup: ds. STIRŌPE E(C)3.

STŌNDEN v.6, to stand: inf. E(C)3.

STREIHT adj., straight: nsm. ISTREIHT A31.

STRĒON n., property, treasure: gs. ISTRĒONES C(G)12, G(E)20.

SŪKEN v.2, to suck, draw: ?subj.s. SŪKE B(F)1..

SULF pron., self: 2dsm. SULFEN B(F)23, \*E(C)27, SULUEN B(F)28.

SUNE m., son, Christ: ?as. \*B(F)47.

SUNFUL adj., sinful, guilty: np, SUNFULE B(F)27, <SUNFU>LE B(F)8.

SUNNE I f., sin, guilt: as. D(B)22, F(D)25; ads. B(F)26, D(B)18,

F(D)48; ds. SYNNE B(F)33, SUNNE C(G)5; ap. SUNNEN B(F)11; adp.\*

SUN<NEN> C(G)24, \*SUNNE<Ń> (MS. SUNNE) B(F)20.

SWEI3E m., sound, melody: ds. G(E)24.

SWEFIEN v.II, to put to sleep, lull: pret. 3s. SWEFEDE G(E)24.

SWĒTE n., sweetness: ns. D(B)45, F(D)40.

SWETNESSE f., sweetness, ns. D(B)44; ds. D(B)43.

SWŌPEN v.7, to sweep: inf. F(D)10.

SWŌTE adv., sweetly: G(E)24.

SWŪPE adv., very much, exceedingly: A38, D(B)11, D(B)25, D(B)43,

F(D)46.

TĒCHEN v.I, to prescribe, direct: 3s. TĒCHĒP A35. Cf. BĪTĒCHEN.

TEAM m., family, children; ns. C(G)51.

TĒMAN v.I, to bring forth, engender: inf. C(G)51, C(G)52.

TĒONE m?f., insult, reproach: as?p. \*E(C)17; as. E(C)19.

TEORIEN v.I, to fail, weary: 3s. TEOREP A20.

TŌ I prep., to, into, for, as: A2, A45, B(F)1, B(F)3, \*G(E)10, etc.

II adv., too, excessively: \*C(G)13, D(B)12, D(B)38, E(C)34,

F(D)44.

TOCUMEN v.4, to come, arrive: subj. 2s. TOCUME G(E)4. Cf. CUMEN.

TODELEN v.I, 1. to separate, divide: 3p. TO<DĒL>EP A28. 2. to rend,

destroy: inf. TODELEN E(C)47: pp. TODELED F(D)24. Cf. DĒLEN.

TOFĒREN v.I, to depart, go: pret. 1s. <TO>FĒRDE C(G)30. Cf. FĒREN.

TOLIEN v.II, to count, reckon: pp. ITŌLDE D(B)6.

TORĒNDEN v.I, to rend apart, tear in pieces: inf. E(C)48.

TŌP m. tooth: np. TĒP C(G)9.

TOUWARD prep., towards, in the direction of: TOUWAR<D> B(F)29.

TRUKIEN v.II, to fail, run short: 3s. TRUKEP A19. Cf. ATRUKIEN.

TUHTEN v.I, to draw, pull, seduce: ?pret. 3s. TUHTE G(E)22 (twice),

G(E)29.

TŪNGE f., tongue: ns. C(G)9, <TŪNG>E C(G)15; nas. A19.

PĀ adv. conj. see PŌ.

PAUH conj., although, even if: C(G)27, C(G)28.

PĒR adv. conj., there, where: A5, D(B)39, D(B)41, PĒR B(F)8, C(G)6,

G(E)49, <PĒR> G(E)49.

PĀROF adv., thereof: D(B)33, E(C)11.

PĀRTŌ adv., thereto: C(G)48.

PE pron., 1. as a demonstrative adj. or article with a following noun:

nsm. A27, A28 (the first one), A30, B(F)36 (the second one),

F(D)49; asm. PEPE A8, A11, A41, A43, B(F)47, etc., ?PEŌ E(C)17;



dsm.  $\overline{\text{PEN}}$  A30, A36, A45, C(G)10, C(G)21, C(G)37, etc.; gsm.  $\overline{\text{PES}}$  A42, B(F)39, B(F)41, C(G)14, C(G)43, etc.; nsf.  $\overline{\text{PEO}}$  A25, A26, A44 (the first one), A45, B(F)12, etc.,  $\overline{\text{PE}}$  A28 (the second one), F(D)17, G(E)36 (the second one); asf.  $\overline{\text{PEO}}$  A7, A44 (the second one), B(F)16, F(D)25, F(D)37, etc.;  $\overline{\text{PA}}$  A33, ? $\overline{\text{PE}}$  F(D)37, ?A18, ?A19; dsf.  $\overline{\text{PERE}}$  A34, E(C)5, E(C)6, < $\overline{\text{PERE}}$ > D(B)43; gsf. does not occur; nsn.  $\overline{\text{PET}}$  A22, A25, A29, A35, A41, etc., ? $\overline{\text{PE}}$  A36; asn  $\overline{\text{PET}}$  A5, C(G)31, F(D)10, C(E)48; dsn. ?< $\overline{\text{P}}$ >EN C(G)40; gsn.  $\overline{\text{PES}}$  A24; npm.  $\overline{\text{PEO}}$  B(F)27, B(F)32, E(C)16, E(C)43, < $\overline{\text{PEO}}$ > E(C)39; apn.  $\overline{\text{PA}}$  C(G)22,  $\overline{\text{PEO}}$  ?A2, E(C)23, ?F(D)12, ?G(E)18 (the second one), G(E)26; dpm.  $\overline{\text{PAM}}$  E(C)25; npf.  $\overline{\text{PEO}}$  G(E)32, G(E)42; apd.  $\overline{\text{PEO}}$  ?A2, C(G)50, ?G(E)18, G(E)27,  $\overline{\text{PA}}$  ?A18; npn  $\overline{\text{PE}}$  A21, ?D(B)10, E(C)30 (the first one), G(E)11,  $\overline{\text{PEO}}$  ?B(F)35, ?B(F)40, D(B)5, ?D(B)7; apn.  $\overline{\text{PA}}$  ?A17 (twice). 2. as a demonstrative pron.:  $\overline{\text{PET}}$  ?A9, C(G)55, \*G(E)6 (the first one), \* $\overline{\text{PERE}}$  D(B)26.

3. as a relative pron.:  $\overline{\text{PE}}$  A2, A23, A41, B(F)36, B(F)40, etc.,  $\overline{\text{PET}}$  A6, A13, A14, A39, B(F)4, etc.,  $\overline{\text{PEO}}$  \*A37, C(G)10, D(B)7, D(B)43, E(C)47, etc.,  $\overline{\text{PA}}$  G(E)18. 4. with a comparative form, i.e., "the":  $\overline{\text{PE}}$  C(G)16 (the first one), < $\overline{\text{PE}}$ > F(D)11, E(C)16 (the first one).

5. adv. conj., see  $\overline{\text{PO}}$ .

$\overline{\text{PEARF}}$  \v., see  $\overline{\text{PurfEN}}$ .

$\overline{\text{PEOW}}$  ?m., slave: ns. D(B)32.

$\overline{\text{PEOWDÖM}}$  m., slavery, servitude: ds.  $\overline{\text{PEOWDÖME}}$  D(B)29.

$\overline{\text{PER}}$ , adv. conj., see  $\overline{\text{PÄR}}$ .

$\overline{\text{PERINNE}}$  adv., therein: A23.

$\overline{\text{PERM}}$  m., gut, entrail: ap.  $\overline{\text{PERMES}}$  E(C)47.

$\overline{\text{PERON}}$  adv., thereon: F(D)11.

$\overline{\text{PICKE}}$  I adj., thick, dense: nsm. B(F)22. II adv., thickly/

abundantly: B(F)20.

PING n. (with ALLE) everything: ns. B(F)45; as. B(F)42.

PIS pron., (demonstrative), this: nsm. PES E(C)9; dsf. PISSE G(E)35; ?nsn.

PIS B(F)40, B(F)41; dsn. PISSEN B(F)42; npn. PĒOS C(G)55.

P̄O adv. conj., then, when: D(B)28, PĀ F(D)22, F(D)26, PE G(E)3, G(E)36  
(the first one).

POLIEN v.II, to suffer, endure: pret. 3s. \*P̄O>LEDE F(D)44.

PONNE adv. conj., then, therefore, when: A6, A22, A28, A29, \*E(C)7,

etc.

PU pron. of the 2nd person: ns. B(F)3, B(F)5, B(F)6, B(F)7, B(F)15, etc.;

as. PE C(G)7, C(G)33, C(G)44, D(B)14, D(B)15, D(B)16, etc.; ds. PE

B(F)1, B(F)3, B(F)4, B(F)28, C(G)8, etc.; gs. PĪN B(F)3, B(F)19,

C(G)2, C(G)15, C(G)34, etc., \*P̄I>N (MS. PEN) C(G)24, \*PIIN

G(E)38, PĪNE B(F)5 (twice), B(F)13, B(F)14, B(F)31, B(F)33, etc.,

PĪNES D(B)32, PĪNRA F(D)1a, PIRE D(B)16. Neither plural nor dual

forms occur.

PUNCHEN v.I, to appear, seem (impersonal with d.): 3s. PUNCHEP A39,

E(C)34, <PUN>CHEP D(B)38, <PUNC>HEP E(C)1; pret. 3s. \*PUPTE D(B)12.

PURFEN v.PP. to need, to have occasion to (preceding an infinitive):

1s. PE<ARF> B(F)13; 2s. <PEA>RFT E(C)3.

PURH prep., through, by means of, as a consequence of: \*B(F)10; B(F)12,

B(F)14, B(F)47, B(F)48, etc., PURUH C(G)43, C(G)45.

PUS adv., thus, in this way: A14, A24, B(F)19, B(F)46, C(G)26, etc.

PUPTE, v., see PUNCHEN.

UFEL adj., bad, ill, wicked: nsf. A44; supl. WURST B(F)30, F(D)30.

UNBLISSE f. sorrow, affliction: ns. \*A44.

UNC, UNKER pron., see IC.

UNDER prep., under, beneath: C(G)42, E(C)24.

UNDERLEGGEN v.I, to prop, support: pp. UNDERLEID E(C)26. Cf. LEGGEN.

UNDŌN v. AN, to open, loosen: inf. G(E)39. Cf. DŌN, FORDŌN.

UNHĒIH adj., low: np?n. UNHĒI3E E(C)30.

UNHŌL adj. eyil, ?sick: ap?f. \*F(D)3.

UNIFŌUH n., excess: as. F(D)39.

UNLĒPE f., misery, suffering: as. <U>NĒPE C(G)32.

UNNEAPE adv., hardly, scarcely: F(D)34.

UNRIHT n., sin, vice, evil: as. F(D)28, U<N>RIHT D(B)2.

UNSEIHT adj., hostile, quarrelsome: nsm. \*F(D)45.

UNWŪRP adj., contemptible, worthless: nsm. D(B)37.

UP adv., up: G(E)14.

UTSETTEN v.I, to place outside: pp. UT<SE>T E(C)6. Cf. SETTEN.

ŪT adv., out, outside: D(B)15, D(B)16, E(C)17, E(C)45, F(D)14.

UNFRETEN v.5 (pp.) unēaten, undevoured: pp. F(D)6.

WĀ f?m. and interj, see WŌ.

WADEN v.6, to go, move, advance: inf. E(C)46.

WĀLAWĀ interj., oh!, alas!: B(F)4, WĒILA C(G)3, E(C)10, WĒILE D(B)9,

<WĒI>LAWĒI E(C)14.

WALE ?mf., slave, servant: as. C(G)2.

WALKEN v.7, to move around, roll, toss: 3s. WALKEP A12.

WAS, WĒRE v., see BĒON

WATER n., water: as. WATE<R> B(F)39; ds. WATERE F(D)12.

WAXEN v.7, to flourish, grow: inf. E(C)38.

WĒDE f., robe, garment, covering: n?p. D(B)9; ds. G(E)10:

WĒLDEN v.I, to have control or power over: 3p. WĒLDEP D(B)41.

WĒARD v., see WĒORDEN.

- WEASĪP m., time of woe, ?troubles: ap. WEASĪPES C(G)7.
- WEDLOWE m., violator of an agreement, traitor: ns. F(D)47.
- WEH m., wall: ap. \*W<EWES> F(D)12. Cf. HELEWEH, SIDWOH
- WEILA, WĒILE, WĒILAWĒI interj., see WĀLAWĀ:
- WEL adv., well, abundantly: C(G)14, D(B)9, G(E)21, <WEL> G(E)22.
- WĒNDEN v.I, to turn, direct: inf. WĒN<DEN> A38; 3s. WĒNDEP A12;  
pp. IWĒND B(F)23, \*B(F)25, B(F)28, B(F)30. See WĒNEN.
- WĒNEN v.I, to expect, imagine, believe: pret. 2s. WĒNDEST E(C)36,  
F(D)17, F(D)43.
- WEOLE m., prosperity, riches, weal: ns. E(C)36; as. E(C)8, E(C)14,  
ds?p. WEOLEN D(B)16; gs?p. WEOLAN D(B)32; np. \*WEOLĒN E(C)10.
- WĒOPEN v.7, to weep, complain: prp. WEOPĪNDE A10.
- WEORPEN v.3, to cast, throw: pret. 2s. WURPE E(C)27.
- WĒORPEN v.3, to become, be made, to get: pret. 1s. IWĒARP C(G)2;  
pret. 3s. IWĒARP B(F)37; pret. 3p? IWĒORPEN B(F)45; ?subj. 3s.  
WŪRPE C(G)25, imp.s. IWŪ<RPE>B(F)45; pp. IWŪRĒEN B(F)46.
- WĒOWE, WŌWE f.m. and adj., see WŌ.
- WERK n., deed, action: ds. WERKE F(D)30.
- WĒDE adv., widely, far and wide: E(C)46.
- WĒELE n., wile, strategem: ap. WĒELES C(G)48.
- WĒIF n., wife, woman: ns. A41, A43.
- WIHT ?f., creature, thing: ap. WIHTE F(D)3.
- WILLE m., desire, mind, pleasure, will: ns. C(G)24, F(D)50, IWILL  
(C)G3; as. E(C)11, <WILLE> G(E)1; ds. WILLEN D(B)33.
- WILLEN v. AN, 1. to will, desire: ?pret. 2s. <WŌL>DEST C(G)2; pret. 3s.  
WŌLDE C(G)32. 2. will, shall (accompanying an inf. as a sign of  
the future): 1s. WULLE C(G)7; 3s. WULE F(D)10; 3p. WULLEP B(F)32,

E(C)39, E(C)40, E(C)42, E(C)46, F(D)5, F(D)12; neg. 3p. NULLEP A38, E(C)13, E(C)33, N<ULLEP> F(D)6. 3. (accompanying an inf., perhaps as a sign of the subj.) to be used to, would: pret. 2s. WÖLDEST F(D)50, WÖLD<EST> B(F)6; neg. 2s. \*NÖLDEST B(F)5, B(F)7, B(F)15, D(B)17, D(B)20, etc.; pret. 3s. NÖLDE F(D)44, <NÖL>DE E(C)11.

WINBÖH m., vine: ads. <\*WINBÖW>E C(G)36.

WĪND n., wind: as. B(F)39.

WĪNDEN v.3, to wind, curl: 3p. WĪNDEP E(C)43. Cf. BIWĪNDEN.

WISDÖM m., learning, wisdom: ds. WISDÖME B(F)43, B(F)48, \*G(E)43.

WĪSEN v.II, to direct, guide: 3s. WĪSEP B(F)48.

WISLĪCHE adv., truly, certainly: B(F)48, G(E)43, WISLĪ<CHE> B(F)37.

WIT pron., see IC.

IWIT n., understanding, consciousness: nas. A19.

WĪTEN v.I, to depart, leave, lose: 3s. IWĪTEP A10; pp. IWITEN E(C)9,

IWITAN E(C)36.

WITEN v.PP, to know, to observe: 3s. WÖT G(E)43.

WIP prep., 1. with, beside: D(B)20. 2. against: E(C)16. 3. against, from: F(D)13.

WIPINNE I adv., within: F(D)48 \*WIPINE B(F)26. II prep., within, inside: wipi(n)nen F(D)46.

WIPSOKEN v.6, to renounce, abandon: pret. 2s. WIPSOKE C(G)47.

WĪPŪTEN adv., without, outside: \*D(B)14.

WÖ I f?m., woe, misery, affliction: ns. WĀ C(G)25; as. WÖ G(G)3,

WĒOWE A7, <WĒOA> D(B)1, <WĒO>WE D(B)36. II adj., evil, nasty:

adpm. WÖWE G(E)19; dpm. WÖWE C(G)11. III interj. woel, alas!

WÖ A15, ?WĀ B(F)14.

IWÖLD n., might, power, possession: as. E(C)8, G(E)29, <IWO>LD G(E)2.

WÖMPE f., belly: ns. F(D)36; ds. <WÖM>BE E(C)46.

WONEN v.II, to complain, bewail, bemoan: 3s. WONEP A12, WOANEP A25,

<WOAN>EP A7; prp. WONIENDE A10, WOANING A15.

WÖRD n., word, speech: ds. WÖRDE B(F)37, B(F)46, C(G)22, F(D)30,

G(E)45.

WRECCE I m., wretch, outcast: ap. WRECCHES C(G)22, WRECCHEN E(C)23;

dp. WRE<CCHE>N E(C)25. II a4j., wretched, miserable: nsf. A44,

WRECCE D(B)36; nsn. WRECCE A41, WRECCE A29; asm. WRECCE C(G)6;

adsn. WRECCE B(F)19, E(C)15, E(C)37, F(D)9, F(D)16, WRECCE F(D)42.

WRENC m., stratagem, trick: ap. WRENCHES C(G)48.

WRITEN v.1, to write: pp. IWRITEN B(F)43. Cf. AWRITEN.

WROUHTE, WROHTEN v., see WURCHEN.

WÜLDER n. glory, splendour: ns. F(D)36; ds. WULD<RE> G(E)52.

WUNIEN v.II, 1. to dwell, live: inf. G(E)52, WUNIENNE F(D)18, <WU>NIEN

E(C)28; 3p. WUNIEP F(D)24; pret. 1s. WUNEDE D(B)1; pret. 3s. WUNEDE

A23. 2. to be accustomed to: pp. \*IWUNEDE G(E)10.

WUNNE f., joy, delight, pleasure: ns. A23.

WUNUNGE f., space for dwelling, habitation: as. F(D)34.

WURCHEN v.I, to work on, make, create: inf. F(D)5, WURCHEN G(E)1; pret.

2s. <WROHTEST> D(B)1; pret. 3s. IWROUHTE B(F)36, B(F)42, G(E)16;

pret. 3p. WROHTEN F(D)25.

WURM m., worm, insect: np. WURMES D(B)41, E(C)38, F(D)24, WUR<MES>

E(C)43; ?ap <WUR>MES F(D)1; dp. WURMEN E(C)28.

WURPE v., see WEORPEN.

WURST adj., see UFEL.

WÜRDE, IWÜRDEN v., see WEORDEN.

WÜRDE adj., worthy, honoured: supl. WÜRDEST D(B)41.

WÜRDLICHE adv., worthily, honourably: C(G)36.

**END**

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