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**THE TWELFTH-CENTURY CONDUCT OF LIFE,  
FORMERLY THE POEMA MORALE OR A MORAL ODE**

By BETTY HILL

Note: In all quotations from the texts *p* is transcribed as *w*; otherwise the spelling of the manuscripts is retained. For printings of the Trinity text, on which this study is based, see n. 1.

**INTRODUCTION**

The twelfth-century English *Conduct of Life* has vexed many scholars, and with good reason. The sincerity of the author has been praised; the linguistic and metrical interest of his verse-sermon has been acknowledged; and it is over forty years since Professor R.M. Wilson<sup>2</sup> referred, in passing, to "the already sufficiently voluminous literature" on the texts. Yet the *Conduct of Life* still presents problems. I give here some fresh basic information on the texts, including their length and relationship. I summarize and supplement studies already made of such aspects as the language, metre and content of the work. I indicate the direction which future studies may profitably take, pointing out the general and specific difficulties likely to be encountered. Finally I put forward the case for the new title which I have assigned to the work.

**I. THE TEXTS**

**1. Present Localities**

The seven extant copies of the *Conduct of Life*<sup>3</sup> are listed here in chronological order,<sup>4</sup> and the sigla assigned to them are used throughout. I give minimum information from my published findings on the six manuscripts which include them among their contents.<sup>5</sup> Fuller discussion is reserved for the facsimile edition, see n. 1.

- (1) T = Cambridge, Trinity College MS B 14 52, ff. 2<sup>r</sup>-9<sup>v</sup>. Written before 1200. The bequest of Archbishop Whitgift, *ob.* 1604.
- (2) L = London, Lambeth Palace Library MS 487, ff. 59<sup>v</sup>-65<sup>r</sup>. Written about 1200. First listed in 1612 among the books of Archbishop Bancroft, *ob.* 1610.
- (3) e = London, British Library MS Egerton 613, ff. 64<sup>r</sup>-70<sup>v</sup>. Written about 1225.
- (3) E = MS Egerton 613, ff. 7<sup>r</sup>-12<sup>v</sup>. Another copy, in a different

hand, written about 1250. The MS was purchased from Sotheby in May, 1836.

- (4) D = Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Digby 4, ff. 97<sup>r</sup>-110<sup>v</sup>. Written in the early thirteenth century. Donated by Sir Kenelm Digby in 1634.
- (5) J = Oxford, Jesus College MS 29, ff. 169<sup>r</sup>-174<sup>v</sup>. Written between 1270 and 1300. Donated by the Reverend Thomas Wilkins on 9 January, 1693.
- (6) M = Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum MS McClean 123, *The Nuneaton Codex*, ff. 115<sup>r</sup>-120<sup>r</sup>. Written about 1300. The bequest of Mr Frank McClean, received in November, 1904.

## 2. Identification and Publication

These seven texts were identified as copies of the same work during a period of two hundred years. In 1705, the Yorkshireman George Hickes<sup>6</sup> included in his *Thesaurus* extracts from D which Edward Thwaites supplied in 1698. Hickes noted the existence of two other copies "in principio cod. compacti coll. *Trin. Cantabr.* & in bibl. *Lambethanae* cod. MS homil. *Semi-Sax.* fol. 59, b. ubi incipit in rubrica", and added footnote variants from T. But Humphrey Wanley<sup>7</sup> was more exact in indicating their whereabouts, for he added to his description of the manuscript which includes L, cross-references to his descriptions of the manuscripts which include D and T. In the later eighteenth century Thomas Warton<sup>8</sup> noted the existence of J, and, in the nineteenth, e and E were identified as two other versions of the same work.<sup>9</sup> M, which Paul Meyer<sup>10</sup> did not mention in his account of the manuscript while it was still in Mr McClean's possession, was recognized and transcribed by Anna C. Paues in February, 1905.<sup>11</sup>

For the first printing of a complete text in 1862, F.J. Furnivall<sup>12</sup> chose E, with variants from e, and R. Morris<sup>13</sup> published L, J and T between 1867-8 and 1873. Although Hickes (n. 6, p. 222) thought that D deserved to be published entire, it was, of the texts identified in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the last to be published, by J. Zupitza,<sup>14</sup> in 1878. The first composite text, based on the six then known copies, was edited three years later by H. Lewin,<sup>15</sup> who chose E as his base. Since Miss Paues<sup>16</sup> published M, the only critical edition based on a study of the seven texts has been that of Hans Marcus,<sup>17</sup> which was published in Leipzig in 1934. Subsequent printings of selections have been based on, or extracted from, texts published before 1935. Little or no new information has been added, and erroneous details have been repeated.

## 3. Relationship

### (A) LINE VARIATION

T and E are the fullest texts of 398 long lines. T has two extra lines since 73-4 are repeated as 203-4. J. Hall (n. 1, ii, p. 342) suggested that since both couplets (73-4, 203-4) begin a folio [respectively 2<sup>v</sup> and 5<sup>r</sup>], the scribe of T was probably copying page

for page. In his exemplar line 202 completed a quire with an added catchword *Litel*. After beginning f. 5<sup>r</sup> with the catchword, the scribe laid aside his work and, on resuming, he copied lines 73-4 again instead of starting with line 203, which also begins with *Litel*. On discovering his mistake he started afresh with 203.

Hall, however, makes unjustified assumptions about the scribe's exemplar and his habits. The copyist of T is, on the whole, careful. If he realised his mistake, one would have expected cancellation of the duplicated lines; and his exemplar may have already included both couplets. The inclusion of two spelling differences in the relevant lines quoted here is interesting but not unusual:

Litel lac is gode lief þe cumeð of gode wille (203)

Litel lóc is gode lef þe cumeð of gode wille (73).

Line 203 reads (1) *lac*, which preserves the OE spelling, and (2) *lief*, which has the AN spelling *ie* for [ē], which persists throughout Middle English.<sup>18</sup> Line 73 reads (1) *lóc*, with ME rounding of OE ā to [ɔ:], written *ó*, with accent to denote vowel length, and (2) *lef*, a native orthographic variant of *lief*. Instances of orthographical variation in duplicated lines, phrases and words occur in other copies of the *Conduct* and in other Middle English and Latin texts.<sup>19</sup> But, if we accept Hall's suggestion that the scribe erred, it is still not clear whether he mechanically copied line 203 just as it stood (as line 73) in his exemplar, after modernizing line 73 in its proper context.

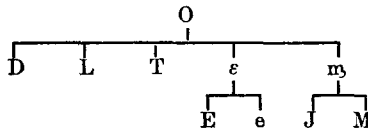
J has 388 long lines plus a unique two-line colophon: e, the end text in the manuscript, which has lost its final leaves, preserves 368 long lines; D has 764 short lines written in one column; M has 335 long lines; and the reconstruction of L, which is written as though it were prose, produces 267 long lines of verse.

The omissions, additions and variant positioning of single, double and multiple couplets in LeEDJM, as compared with T, are listed in Appendix 1. Clearly L and e have no additions. E has no omissions and differs little from T in line and couplet variation. D shows some omissions and unique additions towards the end of the text. J, in particular, has additional single lines. M omits a good deal and has a few additional lines, but it is distinguishable from the other earlier texts by the numerous differences in the order of the couplets. T (in addition to the repeated couplet 203-04, which is included in my line-numbering of this text) differs from LeEDJM, by rhyming 75-80 as *brihte-mihte, nihte-wihte, drihte-nihte*, which in L read *brichte-lihte, mihte-nihte, wihte-drihten*. The difference arises from the omission in T of the line following 75, which in L reads *Sunne 7 mone 7 houen fur boð þestre azein his lihte*, and the addition after line 79 of the unique reading *Boðe ziemeð þe his bien bi daie 7 bi nihte*.

#### (B) VERBAL VARIATION

Between 1878 and 1934, Zupitza, Paues, Samuel Moore,<sup>20</sup> and Marcus attempted to indicate textual relationships on the basis of shared

readings. Zupitza's stemma (n. 14, 36), based on a comparison between the then known texts TLeEDJ, was accepted by Lewin (n. 15, p. 7), and by Miss Paues, who gave M a line of descent from the Original separate from that of the other six texts (n. 16, 226). Although Hall (n. 1, ii, pp. 313-14) did not construct a stemma, he thought that M was related to TD and closest to D. Moore, who (p. 281) constructed an elaborate stemma, supported Hall's view, but (pp. 277-78, 281) he considered J, which previous stemmatologists had related to LeE, to be a composite text, which derived from the same exemplar as M, but had readings from a lost common archetype of LeE which was more closely related to L than to eE. These conflicting discussions and the stemmata are easily accessible and are not reproduced here. The important point is that there is general agreement that e and E are closely related and derive from an exemplar from which no other extant copy derives. I summarize Marcus's views and reproduce his stemma (n. 17, p. 23) since it is the groundwork of the only critical edition which is based on a study of the seven texts, and which is not easily available.



Marcus agreed with Moore in deriving eE from one common source and JM from another. But he was critical of Moore's selective listing of shared errors as a basis for textual comparison; and he attributed differences, which Moore used as criteria, to scribal error and alteration arising independently in different texts and even in texts belonging to different lines of descent. Marcus (p. 18) disagreed with Moore's opinion that J is a composite text; and he concluded that Moore improved on Zupitza's stemma only by showing the relationship between J and M. Marcus's basis for textual comparison was that of positive mistakes, with some discussion of specific lines, and the listing of scribal errors in TLD. Marcus thought that these three texts derived independently from the Original, and that they were co-ordinate with ε (the common source of eE) and with m (the common source of JM).

Dr Marcus disagreed with Hall's conclusion (n. 1, ii, p. 327) that e, which had mostly correct rhymes, probably best represented the Original. In his opinion, D, which was linguistically and metrically reliable, which had the best selection of words, and which was closer to L [then regarded as the earliest copy] than any other text except T, approximated most closely to the original composition. Marcus therefore took D as his base, and deviated from it only when the sense was unsatisfactory, when the rhymes were incorrect, and when L in conjunction with Tεm shared a different reading.

Marcus's work, based on texts (listed on p. 11) which are not wholly reliable, resulted in a personal reconstruction of a text

whose place and date of origin is not proved; and those who attempt a different reconstruction from his footnote variants will find, on consulting the manuscript texts, that there are many omissions of single and shared orthographic variants. Dr Marcus, who included a word list and a German translation of his reconstructed text, and Rolf Kaiser,<sup>21</sup> who published extracts based on Marcus's text in the fifties, must be given due credit for bringing the *Conduct* to the notice of others. But there is no ground for Kaiser's presentation of a modern artifact rather than a genuine Middle English text.

Since Marcus published in 1934, several scholars<sup>22</sup> have objected to pronouncements on textual relationship on the basis of shared errors, negative and positive, and to the process of editing from the genetic theory of stemma. Further, they have drawn attention to the degree of an author's control over the manuscript form of his work and its transmission. Professor E.J. Dobson<sup>23</sup> observed that even in archetypal texts, anomalies and errors may be those of the author, and referred to the revisions and additions in the autograph manuscript of the *Ormulum*. In matters of transmission, S.R.T.O. d'Ardenne<sup>24</sup> sympathized with those deceased Middle English scribes who continue to suffer from the ignorance and misunderstanding of modern transcribers and critics of their work. More positively, F. Madan<sup>25</sup> had demonstrated earlier the versatility of a late thirteenth-century scribe, active at Leominster Priory in Herefordshire. His tasks included correction, adaptation, abbreviation and excerpting; he added a text on the blank leaves of a Bible in the Priory, bought his own parchment and wrote music. More recently, in his admirable edition of MS Cotton Cleopatra C vi of the *Ancrene Riwe*, Professor Dobson<sup>26</sup> has distinguished and listed in detail the errors, erasures, corrections, revisions and additions of two scribes (A and B) of the early thirteenth century and of one scribe (D) of the late thirteenth, all working on the same text of the *Ancrene Riwe*. Scribe B, the "reviser", imposed a more regular spelling system on Scribe A's transcript, and Scribe D, working in an Eastern Midland dialect, is shown adapting a West Midland text.

H.J. Chaytor<sup>27</sup> suggested that the ancient practice of whispering or muttering aloud what one read continued into medieval times; and that the medieval scribe relied not on a visual but on an auditory memory of spoken sounds, probably of one word at a time. Thus, in copying, he substituted his own sounds for the spelling of his exemplar. Miss Sisam<sup>28</sup> thought that the scribe of the *Lambeth Homilies* may well have memorized phrases and sentences in his exemplar and written them down in his own language forms, as long as these were intelligible in the area where his copy was to be used. But she also drew attention to the difficulties of a preacher faced with archaic or unfamiliar forms or syntax or vocabulary, and pointed out that the essential or convenient alterations that the preacher made in his text for delivery might well be incorporated by the next scribe in making a fair copy. Her views are valid for any prose sermon, but in respect of a verse-sermon such as the *Conduct of Life*, other factors, as demonstrated below, must be taken into consideration.

The scribes of the seven copies of the *Conduct* may be seen either as creating textual differences or as copying them from lost exemplars. I give here five examples, which could be multiplied many times, of how the various scribes treated couplets, restored rhythm, altered the sense, achieved rhetorical effect, and substituted one word for another:

EXAMPLE 1: TREATMENT OF COUPLETS

(a) Rhyme

In L 107, *demen* (TeEDJM correctly read *teme(n)*) may be partly copied from *bideme(n)* 106 (the rhyme with 107), but it more probably anticipates *demen* in the second half-line of 108. In any case it is not corrected. In E 155, however, when the scribe omitted after 7 *al eordliche* the rhyme word *blisse* (Te *blisse*; D *blisce*; J *blysse*; M omits), he rewrote the second half-line of 156 as *pat is heuenriche* (T *pis murie mid iwisse*; LeDJ also rhyme on *iwisse*) to provide an exact rhyme. In J, when through line variation the rhyme of a couplet is faulty, the scribe adds a unique line to create a rhyming couplet. For example, T 93-6, rhyming *ladden-ofdradde, iqueme-deme* are differently arranged in J. The first couplet J 92-3 (= T 93, 96) *ledep-demeþ* gives inflexional rhyme as well as assonance, but the second couplet J 94 and 96 (= T 94, 95) *drede-queme* has only end-line assonance. The scribe of J therefore inserted after *drede* (94), *Crist for his muchele myhte. hus helpe þenne and rede* (95), giving the rhyme-sequence *drede-rede-(queme)*.

(b) Addition

J 13-14 already give an exact rhyme *lykeþ-biswikeþ*, but the scribe apparently borrowed, and adapted to the rhythmical requirements of his text, a popular maxim, giving the extra line *Mon let þi fol lust ouergo. and eft hit þe likeþ* (15). This closely parallels *Let lust ouergon and eft hit shal þe liken* in stanza 8 of the *Proverbs of Hendyng*,<sup>29</sup> the earliest text of which survives in the late thirteenth-century Western MS Digby 86. It also appears in *Long Life*,<sup>30</sup> extant in the manuscript which includes J in the same hand, and in the related MS Cotton Caligula A ix, both late thirteenth-century Western miscellanies.

(c) Omission

The omission in D of T 29-30 may be due to a faulty exemplar. On the other hand the scribe of D, after completing f. 97<sup>v</sup> with lines 55-6 (= T 28), may have started f. 98<sup>x</sup> with *Ne hopie* (T 31) instead of with *Ne bie* (T 29). Similarly, he may have omitted T 47-8 after D 88 because he had before him two lines (= T 47, 49, quoted here) which have identical beginnings:

Dider we solden [we solden inserted with caret] drawn

Dider we solde 3ierne drawn.

But in a sermon text such as the *Conduct of Life*, when lines are omitted in close proximity to those beginning with an identical word or phrase, the explanation "due to oral transmission" is often applied and cannot be disproved.

## EXAMPLE 2: TREATMENT OF RHYTHM

When grammatical variation spoils the rhythm of a line, a short word, such as an intensive adverb, is supplied to restore it. For the second half-line of T 38 (*pat hi for3ieteð sone*) LeEJ read (*h*)it followed by the full form of the 3rd sg.pres.ind., which in L reads *þē hīt fōr3etēð sōnē*, giving the essential three stressed syllables alternating with unstressed syllables (see III. THE METRE below). D and M, which have the contracted form of the verb, add the adverb *wel*:

D 72 þet hit fōr3et wēl sōnē  
M 34 7 hit fōr3et wēl sōnē.

## EXAMPLE 3: ALTERATION OF SENSE

## (a) Clarification

T 66 and its variants show how two different scribes clarified the sense of a passage. With the assertion that everyone can buy Heaven, T reads:

þe þe more haueð 7 þe þe lasse boðe iliche.  
Also on mid his peni se oðer mid his punde (66-7).

LeEM also link the *more* in 66 with the *peni* of 67 and the *lasse* with the *punde*. The scribe of D transposes *lesse* and *more*:

se þet lesse 7 se þet more here aider iliche (123-4);

whereas the scribe of J rewrites both lines and alters the sense in the second half of the first line:

þe riche and þe poure boþe . ah nouht alle ilyche.  
þe poure. myð his penyē. þe riche myð his punde (67-8).

## (b) Half-line Variation

Sometimes variant readings within a half-line give a different sense. For example, T reads:

þo þe deueles werkes habeð idon 7 þar inne beð ifunde  
Hie sulle fare forð mid hem into helle grunde (179-80).

"Those who have done the works of the Devil and are found at it, they shall proceed with them into the bottom of Hell." LDJ are in general agreement with:

þa þe habbeð doules werc idon . . .  
hi sculen faren forð mid him . . . (L 175-6).

"Those who have done the work(s) of the Devil . . . they shall proceed with him/them . . ." e (E in agreement) reads:

þa ðe nabbeð god idon . . .  
hi sculen falle swiðe raðe . . . (175-6).

"Those who have not done good . . . they shall fall very quickly . . ." The readings of LDJ and eE are conflated and modified in M:

þe opre þat þe deueles worc habbeþ ido . . .  
Hi sculle falle adun mid him . . . (167-8).



"The others who have done the work of the Devil . . . they shall fall down with him/them . . ." Yet all the texts preserve the essential doctrine that for those who have done and continue to do evil, Hell is inescapable.

EXAMPLE 4: RHETORICAL EFFECT

(a) *Word-repetition*

In textual comparison some account must be taken of word-repetition for rhetorical effect, and of the possibility that a preacher had favourite words and phrases. Presumably, towards the end of the *Conduct*, the earliest written text must have read either "mirth" or "bliss" in specific contexts. Yet in T 355-70, *blisse* is repeated seven times, whereas in the corresponding passage in e 349-64 (E in agreement) *murhðe* appears four times (349, 355, 362-3) and *blisse* twice (352, 358); and for T 357 *De last haueð blisse* "who has least bliss", e 351 (E in agreement) reads *þe ðe lest haueð* "he who has least", referring back to *murhðe* in 349.<sup>31</sup> T has eighteen examples of *blisse* meaning "divine joy, grace" (39, 156, 355, 357-8, 361, 364, 368-9, 375, 380, 396-7) or "happiness, pleasure" (142-3, 155, 202, 237); *murihðe* "delights, joys" occurs once in 396 and the related adjective *murie* is used once in 156. It must remain uncertain whether (1) the earliest text varied between "mirth" and "bliss", and *blisse* was repetitively substituted in T for rhetorical effect; or whether (2) some preacher or some scribe, working over the common exemplar of eE, preferred the variation of "mirth" and "bliss" to the repetition of "bliss" in his text.

(b) *Alliterative Phrases*

Whereas in T 300, it is stated that no one in Hell can ever emerge for *peni ne for punde*, e 294 (EDJ in agreement; M omits) reads for *marke ne for punde*. The silver penny was the only coin struck after the Conquest until the minting of the gold penny in 1270;<sup>32</sup> and during the Old and Middle English periods the mark and pound were denominations of weight.<sup>33</sup> *Marke*, recorded in the Chronicle entry for 1087,<sup>34</sup> is of rare occurrence in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries (MED mark (e n. (2))); and it cannot be ascertained whether the alliterative phrase *peni..punde* in T was the original reading or whether it replaced *marke..punde* at some stage of oral or textual transmission. But *peni..punde* would seem to be a natural substitution (see the collocation of *peni* with *punde* in EXAMPLE 3 above) in T, where, as we have seen, *blisse* is so repetitive.

EXAMPLE 5: ONE-WORD SUBSTITUTION

(a) *Pronominal*

The use of different personal pronouns can modify the relationship between preacher and audience. For example, with reference to the gathering of all humanity at the Last Judgement, T 175-6 (LeE in agreement) reads:

Alle þo þe sprunge beð of adam 7 of eue  
Alle hie sulle þider cume for soðe we hit ileuen

"for we believe it to be true", suggestive of a common bond of faith. With the italicized half-line compare:

to soþe 3e mu3en ileuen (D 336)

"you can believe it as the truth", indicating a preacher's authoritative assurance.

(b) *Nominal*

Sometimes a recognized source may indicate the prior reading. In the passage concerning the behaviour of specific sinners when they hear what devils, who forget nothing, relate what they have seen, and when the sinners see the devils' manuscript dossiers on them and find that they are condemned to death, the author asks:

Hwat sullen horlinges don þes wichen 7 þe forsworene  
(T 103).

The variants for *þes wichen* are L *þa swicen*, J *þe swicen*, M *þe suike*, e *þe swikene*, D *þo swikele*, E *þe swikele*. The reading of LeEDJM, based on the *Epistola ad Timotheum I*, i, 10, *fornicariis . . . mendacibus, et periuris*, clearly represents the prior one. As Hall<sup>35</sup> suggested, T *þes wichen* is due to a mis-division of *þe swichen*.

(c) *Adjectival*

At times the explanation is not so simple. The scribe of D, in writing (*ne*) *vnvele* 386 against T 201 (also M) (*ne*) *unsele* "unhappy", Le (*ne nan*) *unsele*, E (*ne non*) *vn ysele*, and against J (*ne non*) *vn hele* "disease", may have had before him:

(1) the reading *vnhele* attested in J. He misread a rubbed or badly-formed *h* as *u* (or as *n*, in which case he made the necessary correction), and wrote *v* for *u* since it was in close proximity to the minim letter *n* of the prefix *vn*.

(2) (i) the reading *vnfele/unfele* attested in TLeM, which he misread as *\*vnfele/unfele*; or (ii) the reading *\*vnfele/unfele* which the scribe of his exemplar had miscopied. The scribe of D may have understood *vnfele/unfele* as a form of OE *unfæle* "evil, ill, bad", and have mechanically transcribed *f* as *v*, the orthographic representation of the initial voiced consonant which was a feature of his South-Eastern dialect (see II. 2. below on the provenance of D).

(3) the attested readings *vnhele/unhele*, *vnsele/unsele* or the postulated reading *\*vnfele/unfele* or any other. He erroneously wrote twice the *v* of the prefix *vn*, giving the form *vnvele*.

(4) the reading *vnvele*, which resulted from any of the three scribal practices described above and which he faithfully copied from his exemplar.

(d) *Verbal*

In some cases the process of substitution is somewhat clearer. For example, for T 24 *lipne* (also J; L *lipnie*) *noman . . to childe*, eE 24 read *hopie*, D 47 *leue* and M 22 *truste*. Since *truste* in intransitive use, as in M, is first recorded in the late twelfth- to early thirteenth-century "Katherine Group" and is confined to Western texts until the fifteenth (OED Trust, v.1.), *truste* is obviously a later variant since the Original was not Western (see II. 3. below).

It may have replaced TLJ *lipn(i)e* rather than eE *hopie* or D *leue*. *Lipne*, first recorded in *Lambeth Homily III* (a revision of OE material) is rare and becomes obsolete in literary use in English after 1330 (*MED* *lipnen* v.), although it survives in modern dialect (*EDD*, s.v. *lippen*). There may be a parallel with stanza 25 of the *Proverbs of Hendyng* (n. 29, 261) where the earliest Western text in MS Digby 86 reads *lipne* (and the early fourteenth-century Cambridge MS *lepni*) against *trost* in the fourteenth-century Western MS Harley 2253. But it is still unclear whether the original reading in the *Conduct of Life* was *hopie* or *leue* or *lipn(i)e*. Each variant is to the preacher or scribe the "preferred" reading in his text.

There is, in fact, no "correct" version of the *Conduct of Life*. Each copy represents a reshaping within an established rhythmical and metrical structure. Each has a distinctive individuality arising from the circumstances of its transmission: from adaptations to suit a preacher's mode of delivery, from syntactical inversions to create familiar phrases, from the rearrangement of significant word-patterns to coincide with rhythmic stress, and the recording of *extempore* revisions.

### (C) SCRIBAL VARIATION

The seven manuscript texts of the *Conduct* are likewise unique, and each has its special interest. For example, e best preserves a system of accentuation (n. 5 (3), esp. 355-7). L retains the fullest punctuation, and parts of the text are rubricated though the whole is written in the vernacular.<sup>36</sup> Only a facsimile, collated with the manuscript, fully reveals individual scribal features and comparative methods of transcribing related copies of one text.

Over fifteen years ago, N.R. Ker<sup>37</sup> pointed out that the two principal advantages of a facsimile edition are the opportunities given to the reader to range over all the scribe's work and understand his methods, and to quickly observe the nature of such ambiguities and alterations which the editor of a text can describe only at length. Professor Dobson<sup>38</sup> has since illustrated the validity of Dr Ker's observations. He notes, in his edition of the Cleopatra text of the *Ancrene Riwe*, that a transcript cannot show Scribe A's two distinct uses of *m*, nor those palaeographical features which not only set him apart from the other scribes working over the same text, but which also may help to identify his work elsewhere. Professor A. McIntosh<sup>39</sup> has recently enlarged on these important points in his discussion of "graphetic profile" - those distinctive palaeographical features of a scribe's work, some of which may have regional correlates.

## II. THE LANGUAGE

### I. The Date of the Original Composition

The early critics and cataloguers, O. Walker,<sup>40</sup> Hicke (n. 6) and Wanley (n. 7, pp. 169, 268, 83) dated the three known texts TLD after the Norman Conquest; and although Warton (n. 8, pp. 7-8)

expressed some doubt about Hickee's dating of D because of its "few Norman terms", he deferred to his authority. Morris, however, in editing L (n. 13 (a), p. vi, n. 1), thought that the six known copies TLeEDJ derived from an OE version, perhaps still extant; and in editing T (n. 13 (c), p. vii and n. 2), he suggested that these six texts were transcribed from some version of the late tenth or early eleventh century, when rhyme was rare but not unknown. Zupitza, in editing D (n. 14, 36-8), found Morris's opinion unacceptable. He listed the Scandinavian and French loan-words in rhyming position common to TLeEDJ,<sup>41</sup> which were apparently retained from the Original; and, on the assumption that the Original rhymed exactly, Zupitza demonstrated that words in different grammatical categories in end-line position would not have given a true rhyme before the twelfth century, e.g. T 9-10 *cuðe-nuðe*, OE *cuðe-nu ða*. He concluded that the Original of the *Conduct of Life* could not have been composed earlier than 1170-1200. My own view that the *Conduct* was first written down during the reign of Henry II [1154-1189] is based on the dating of the earliest copy T, on palaeographical evidence, as late twelfth century (see I. 1. above).

## 2. The Provenance of the Seven Copies

The difficulties of localizing a Middle English text, when the OE dialectal boundaries were not clearly defined,<sup>42</sup> and of separating and identifying the various linguistic layers of its recensions are well known. The progress of Middle English dialectal studies has been briefly, but aptly, summarized in the Translator's preface to R. Jordan's work.<sup>43</sup> References to the diverse opinions on the provenance of the various copies of the *Conduct*, which were published between 1907 and 1974, are listed in a note.<sup>44</sup> I give summary conclusions here.

As regards T, Professor M.L. Samuels and I, on the basis of different kinds of linguistic analysis, both unpublished,<sup>45</sup> are agreed on a London provenance. Jordan (n. 43, pp. 14-15) also suggested this as a possibility. Since Jordan (loc. cit.) and Wyld (n. 44, 113) agree that the ME  $\bar{a}$  reflex of OE  $\text{æ}$  (which is a predominating feature of the language of T) was characteristic of Middlesex, part of Essex and of the shires of Hertford, Bedford and Huntingdon as well as of London, and since, according to Professor Samuels, a few forms suggest a type of London dialect influenced by immigration, perhaps from East Anglia, the other opinions (n. 44) do not contradict our findings.<sup>46</sup> There is no external evidence for the provenance of T. The manuscript was bound for Archbishop Whitgift, ob. 1604, and during the later sixteenth century it was in the hands of William Patten (n. 5 (1), 195-9).

The provenance of L is more complex in view of the different opinions about the three main blocks of text in Lambeth MS 487: (1) the unfinished *Ureisun*, added in an early thirteenth-century hand on ff. 65<sup>v</sup>-67<sup>r</sup>, which were left blank by the "original" scribe. A complete copy (written about 1225-50) of the *Ureisun* exists in the Cotton Nero MS of the *Ancrene Riwe*, though the *Ureisun* and the *Riwe* are in different hands; (2) the *Lambeth Homilies*, which include as item 6 the rhymed English *Pater Noster*; (3) the *Conduct of Life*.

One scribe wrote the items mentioned under (2) and (3) about 1200.

W. Meredith Thompson<sup>47</sup> thought that the texts of the *Ureisun* shared some features of the "AB" language, the West-Midland literary dialect, which Tolkien localized in Herefordshire (see Jordan, n. 43, p. 11). In view of the linguistic and literary relationships of the "Woioing Group", which includes the *Ureisun* texts, and since the most significant errors in the Cotton and Lambeth copies of the *Ureisun*, which derive independently from the Original, occur in transcribing the "AB" forms, the Original of the *Ureisun*, according to Meredith Thompson, must have been written in the "AB" dialect. Thompson also thought that both copies of the *Ureisun* showed a blend of the "AB" language and one other Western dialect, and he placed the Cotton text a little further South than that in the Lambeth manuscript.

He further suggested (p. lvi) that if the Lambeth manuscript came from Lanthony in Gloucestershire, R.M. Wilson's comment [with reference only to the prose *Homilies*] that "such an origin would fit in very well with what we know of the dialect"<sup>48</sup> could still be correct and apply to the whole manuscript; but the non-"AB" linguistic element in the Lambeth text of the *Ureisun* can only be described as "some possible form of early SW. Midland when the border with Southern ME. is still unclear." These views [though Meredith Thompson wrote without reference to J] lend some support to my own that L is more Southerly than J. Although Professor Samuels thinks that L is more Northerly than J, he notes that a few forms of L probably emanate from Southerly exemplars. Professor Dobson (n. 26, pp. lxxix, lxxiii) has since noted some similarities of language between L, the Caligula text of Lajamon's *Brut*, and the work of Scribe A in the Cleopatra manuscript of the *Ancrene Riwe*, who had not been trained in the orthographic tradition of the "AB" language.

Conclusions about the provenance of L and the various dialectal layers in the text can only be conjectural at present; for Miss Sisam (n. 28, 106-10) has demonstrated that the one scribe of the *Lambeth Homilies* (including the rhymed *Pater Noster*) and the *Conduct* took his texts alternately from two exemplars with differing orthographical features. *Homilies* I-V and IX-XIII, which include revisions of OE material, were copied from one exemplar, and *Homilies* VII-VIII, XIV-XVII, (probably) the *Pater Noster*, and the *Conduct* from the other. Until the various opinions on the different texts or groups of texts in Lambeth MS 487 have been fully reconsidered, with Miss Sisam's findings in mind, we can interpret the material briefly presented here in more than one way.

My present tentative conclusion takes into account five additional factors: (1) Professor Dobson's view (n. 26, p. xciii) that Scribe A of the Cleopatra text of the *Ancrene Riwe* was a native of the Eastern periphery of the district in which the "AB" language was spoken, and was probably a native of Worcestershire; (2) Meredith Thompson's opinion (n. 47, p. lvi) that the Lambeth text of the *Ureisun* shares some linguistic features with the *Lambeth Homilies* and the Caligula text of Lajamon's *Brut*; (3) Professor Wilson's statement (n. 2, 39) that the dialect of the *Lambeth Homilies* was almost certainly West Midland and perhaps rather more central than the "AB" dialect of the "Katherine Group"; (4) Professor

Samuels's view that "the predominant features [of L] belong not far from the "AB" area, i.e. the border of North Herefordshire and Shropshire"; (5) my discussion (see 3. (A) below) of the reading of the L text for T 251-2. I suggest that the exemplar of L, and probably (in agreement with Professor Samuels), L itself (see n. 53), was copied in or near the language area of Scribe A of the Cleopatra text of the *Ancrene Riwe*; and that this language area included forms which were characteristic, but not exclusively characteristic, of Worcestershire, and which may well have been current in a more Southerly Western dialect.

Professor Dobson has stated twice<sup>49</sup> that Lambeth MS 487 possibly came from Lanthony near Gloucester, but he has given no reasons for his opinion. There is no external evidence for the provenance of this manuscript. It is included in the two catalogues (Lambeth Records F 1 and F 2) of Archbishop Bancroft's books at Lambeth Palace, compiled, two years after his death, on the instruction of his successor George Abbot. Some of Bancroft's manuscripts undoubtedly came from Lanthony, but not this one (see n. 5 (2) "Fragments", 278, notes 7 and 6 and, on the binding, 271). There is nothing to disprove the hypothesis that Bancroft, who was the Rector of St Andrew's, Holborn, from 1584 to 1597,<sup>50</sup> could have acquired Lambeth MS 487, by some means, from Gratien Patten (the son of William Patten, see n. 5 (1), 195-9), who died in the parish of St Andrew's in 1603,<sup>51</sup> and that the Patten family had both the T and L texts of the *Conduct* (though I do not think so). The only evidence for the provenance of L is linguistic and palaeographical. In view of Professor McIntosh's suggestion (n. 39) that some scribal features may have regional correlates, a comparison between the palaeography of the scribe of L and that of Scribe A of the Cleopatra text of the *Ancrene Riwe* may prove to be instructive.

The closely-related texts e and E have been assigned by most scholars to the South West. Attention has already been drawn (n. 5 (3), 353-5) to the distinctive South-Western linguistic features of e, and to the archaic grammar and orthography of both texts, but especially those of e. Such features illustrate Professor Dobson's opinion (n. 23, 182) that a copy may be more archaic than the Original. Since some archaic forms are retained in E but are modernized in e, the older forms probably demonstrate an attempt in the exemplar, from which e and E independently derive, to approximate a preaching text to the speech-habits of a South-Western locality. The archaic forms in both texts link with the modern South-Western dialectal retention of *hin*, *hyn* (OE *hine*, acc.sg.masc.pers.pron.), *-y/-ie* (OE *-ian*, the infinitive suffix of weak verbs of class 2) and *ee-* (OE *3e-*, the prefix of the past part.).<sup>52</sup> The different scribes of e and E also copied French texts included in the manuscript.

There is general agreement that D, which is the only vernacular text extant in MS Digby 4, and which is written in a hand found nowhere else in the manuscript, has characteristic Kentish forms. Medieval catalogues<sup>53</sup> sometimes list only the first item or selected items in a manuscript, or refer to a vernacular work simply as "unus liber in anglico". Thus we are fortunate that D is listed among the contents of one of Henry of Eastray's books in the early fourteenth-century Catalogue of Christchurch, Canterbury (n. 3, James, p. 92,

no. 954). This does not necessarily indicate that D was copied there, though some previous exemplar may have been. Professor Samuels thought that the East-Midland forms, which I noted, suggested London itself, and that there was little that had to be Western, since such features appeared in the South East, excluding East Kent [and therefore the Hundred of Eastry, presumably the source of Henry's surname]. Professor Samuels concluded that the language of D showed either two layers of copying (Kent + London or London + Kent), or possibly a single scribe writing in the dialect of an area of Kent or Surrey bordering on London, i.e. North-West Kent or North-East Surrey.

R.A.L. Haworth (see n. 44) who, in my opinion, wrote one of the most appreciative articles on the *Conduct*, based his linguistic analyses of the seven copies on the work of Serjeantson, Wyld and Mackenzie (p. 11), and (pp. 22-6) on the evidence of texts and place-names. Place-name evidence, when used carefully with regard to the date and the type of document in which the names occur, may confirm other reliable findings. But my view that place-names drawn from various sites in one county cannot be usefully compared with the linguistic data which a literary text offers, is shown to be valid by Haworth's localization of J. The place-name evidence (p. 24) led him to assign the text to Sussex. J is certainly West Midland. The consistency of its language supports Professor Samuels's definite localization in South-East Herefordshire, just north of Ross near the Worcestershire border, on later evidence (i.e. dated, localized texts from a later period). His localization also supports my view, based on non-linguistic grounds, that MS Jesus 29 was not a fuller copy of the exemplar from which the scribe of the related MS Cotton Caligula A ix made a selection, but an expanded "local" compilation.<sup>54</sup> Its last private owner, Thomas Wilkins of Lantrisant, Glamorgan, had MS 29 (which contains a fifteenth-century Latin prose Chronicle written in one hand and, in an earlier hand of about 1270-1300, J and other English, French and Latin items) rebound late in 1692 before he presented it to Jesus College. The manuscript had been preserved in Glamorgan after the Dissolution of the monasteries (see Hill, n. 5 (5), 99 and n. 5 and references).

The general consensus of opinion is that M, the latest text to be written at the close of the thirteenth century, is South-Eastern with some Western admixture. Professor Samuels thinks that the language is that of Essex, with possibly a Western dialect layer. The manuscript, in which M is the only vernacular text among the French and Latin items, became associated with Nuneaton Convent, Warwickshire, in the later fourteenth century (Hill, n. 4, 88-9). This manuscript alone, amongst those which include the *Conduct of Life*, retains its original binding.

### 3. The Provenance of the Original Text

Note: in App[endix] 2 I list, without comment, the grammatical forms of the Original, as suggested by the rhyme-evidence, for those who wish to have them for comparative purposes.

A full interpretation of the rhyme-evidence with regard to the phonology and grammar of the Original is beyond my scope here. I

confine my discussion (A) to the internal evidence of the mention of the rivers Avon and Stour, and to the possibility (B) that sporadic forms in the texts in rhyming position, and (C) grammatical forms shared by all the texts in rhyming and mid-line position, are retained from the original text.

(A) THE MENTION OF "AVON" AND "STOUR" IN T 251-2 AND eEDJM

B.E.C. ten Brink<sup>55</sup> localized the non-extant Original in the district between the rivers Avon and Stour, where the boundaries of Dorset, Wiltshire and Hampshire meet, on the evidence of the second half-line of the couplet preserved in TeEDJM, and quoted here from T 251-2:

[D]ar is fur þis [sic] hundredfeald hatere þan be ure.  
[N]e mai hit quenche salt water ne auene stream ne sture.

"There [in Hell] is fire that is a hundredfold hotter than ours is. Neither salt water nor the current of the Avon nor the Stour can put it out." eEJ are closest to T:

e 246...salt weter. nauene striem ne sture.

E 252...salt water. nauene strien [sic] ne sture

J 244...no salt water. ne auene strém. ne sture.

D 483-4 do not distinguish between salt and fresh water, but give three examples of river water:

...no weter  
hauene. stream. ne sture.

M 234 refers only to the two rivers:

Mot hit noþer aquenche auene strem ne sture.

Lewin (n. 15, p. 38) thought that the grammar and phonology supported a South-Eastern provenance, but that ten Brink had mentioned the correct Avon and Stour, since the text could not have originated near the rivers with those names in Worcestershire. Although he disagreed with ten Brink that the author lived very close to the confluence of the two rivers, Lewin assigned the Original to North Wiltshire, since, he thought, the author might have lived on the upper Avon and still mentioned the Stour.

Hall (n. 1, ii, pp. 314, 327, 329), thought that D was inferior and J much altered and rewritten, and that e probably best represented the Original; and he suggested that the author lived in Hampshire near to the junction of the Avon and the Stour [i.e. Christchurch]. Although Marcus (n. 17, pp. 36-7) chose D as his base text, as being the best representative of the Original, he placed the original composition between the South-Western part of Wiltshire and the North-Eastern part of Dorset. S. Moore, S.B. Meech and H. Whitehall<sup>56</sup> accepted the reference to the Avon and the Stour as evidence that the Original was written in the vicinity of Christchurch, Hampshire, where the two rivers merge; and they thought that the language of E was closest to that of the Original.

This view of the original provenance of the *Conduct*, which



circulated as the authoritative one as late as 1973,<sup>57</sup> was challenged over forty years ago by R.A.L. Haworth (n. 44, p. 4), who by a process of elimination (p. 20) assigned the Original to Essex. Haworth (pp. 3-4) listed the various Avons and Stours,<sup>58</sup> referred to *King Horn* for instances of the Avon and Stour meaning "fresh water, stream", and suggested that these two common river-names were used conventionally of stream water. But the literary evidence does not support Haworth's view. Professor S.M. Kuhn<sup>59</sup> has kindly informed me that the *MED* files provide no evidence of ME *stour* with the senses "stream" or "swift-flowing stream" or "swift current", and that the two occurrences in *King Horn* apparently apply to a specific river. Haworth (p. 4) alternatively suggested that if the author of the *Conduct* used these two river-names, they may refer to the Essex Stour, which flows for forty-two miles through Suffolk and Essex to the sea at Harwich, and to the Avon, a familiar river name in Western England, with the implication that neither river in the East nor the West of the country could quench Hell-fire.

L 244-5 read:

Per is fur þet is undret fald hattre. þene bo ure.  
Ne mei quenchen salt weter ne uersc of þe burne.

*Burne* here may be the common noun (OE *burna*) rather than its derivative the river Bourne, which was the Saxon equivalent of the British generic term *afon* "river".<sup>60</sup> The agreement of the six texts against L does not necessarily imply that their reading is the authoritative one. But, if TeEDJM do retain the original reading here, some obscurity or deficiency in some exemplar behind L, or some preacher's impromptu or *extempore* substitution, could have produced in L the reading *ne uersc of þe burne* "nor fresh from the stream/Bourne", which spoils the rhyme with *ure*. In this case the substitution could have been introduced at any stage of oral or textual transmission. But I think that the reading *ure*, possessive pl. adj. "ours", is in L a modernization, or a miscopying, or a dialectal variant, of *\*urne* "ours". This may be compared with *uren* "ours", written twice by Scribe A of the Cleopatra text of the *Ancrene Riwe* (Dobson, n. 26, p. lxxxix) and with the modern dialectal *Ourn* (*EDD*, s.v.). After *urne* replaced the original reading *ure*, the last half of L 245 was rewritten as *uersc of þe burne* to restore an exact rhyme. In this case the reading *\*urne-burne* could only have arisen in a Western exemplar. Since the Original was not Western, TeEDJM retain the original specific references to the Avon and Stour which are significant in their context and useful for rhythm, alliteration and rhyme. There are, however, many English rivers named "Avon" and "Stour" and some of them flow for many miles. Further (see Ekwall, n. 58, pp. xxxviii-xxxix, 22-3) the terms "Avon" and "Stour" were applied to different tributaries of these rivers, and some rivers which were formerly known as the "Avon" now have other names or cannot be identified. It is probable that the names "Avon" and "Stour" would have been applicable to several rivers in different localities. For this reason they do not provide satisfactory evidence for the provenance of the original composition.

It must be made clear that it was not the author of the *Conduct of Life* who referred specifically to the Hampshire Avon and the

Dorset Stour. It was Lazamon, who wrote *vppen Seuarne stape* in Worcestershire, and who, in following Wace, erroneously identified the Severn (which took its name from Loctrine's daughter Habron) as the Hampshire Avon, and correctly identified the Dorset Stour which mingles with the Avon at Christchurch.<sup>61</sup>

(B) SPORADIC FORMS IN RHYMING POSITION

Dr A. Hudson,<sup>62</sup> in discussing the strength of textual tradition in Robert of Gloucester's *Chronicle*, indicated that its Original was linguistically inconsistent; but she drew attention to sporadic forms which occurred at the same place in the extant copies, and which were aberrant from the normal orthography of their various scribes. It may be, then, that occasional forms which appear in the various copies of the *Conduct* are retained from those of the Original.

$\bar{a}$  as the reflex of OE  $\bar{a}$  (see 2. above on the provenance of T) is a characteristic feature of T. (1) For T 99-100 *pare-waren*, only the South-Eastern text M 92-3 retains *pare* in rhyming position to *were*.\* (2) For T 331-2 *hware-~~pare~~*, however, the Western texts read e 325-6 *hware-~~pere~~*, E 329-30 *ware-hware*, J 325-6 *hware-kare*. These forms with  $\bar{a}$  from OE  $\bar{a}$  may be retained from the original text.

\*Variants: (1) L 99 *pere*, omits next line; e 99-100 *pare-were*; EJ 99-100, D 182, 184 *pere-were*. (2) D 634, 636 *hwere-~~pere~~*; M omits.

(C) SHARED GRAMMATICAL FORMS

(1) IN RHYMING POSITION

(a) Retention of "i" in the infinitive suffix (OE "-ian") of weak verbs, classes 1 and 2.

T 337-8, e 331-2, E 335-6, D 642, 644 *biwerien-derien*; J 331-2 *werie-derye*; M 287-8 *werie-derie*. T 153-4, L 150-1 *wunien-bisunien*; e 149-50, E 153-4 *wunien-biscunien*; D 290, 292 *wunie-bisunie*; J 157-8 *wunye-schonye*; M 143-4 *wonie-ysconie*.

(b) Retention of the geminated consonant in the infinitive of weak verbs, class 3.

See App. 2, 1. (2). (d), *libbe(n-sibbe)*.

(c) Past parts. of verbs inflected as adjectives.

TeEJ 103-06, L 102-5 *forsworene-icorene*, *iborene-forlorene*; D 190-96 *vorsworene-icorene*, *iborene-vorlorene*; M 97-100 *forsuorene-ycorene*, *yborene-uorlorene*.

(d) Retention of the prefix "i-" (OE "ge-") in the past part.

T 173-4 *idemð* [sic] *-iquemð*; e 169-70 *idemed-icwemed*; E 173-4, D 330, 332 *idemed-iquemed*; M 163-4 *ydemed-iquemed*; L 170 *idemet* (omits next line; J omits); and see (c) above and App. 2, 3. (1). (a), *ifunde-grunde*.

## (2) IN MID-LINE POSITION

The distinctive case forms which the texts share in the same contexts have been given elsewhere (see n. 5 (3), 353-4), e.g. the acc. sg. masc. form of the def. art., T 343, E 341, J 337 *þene (wei)*; e 337 *ðene*; D 654, M 299 *þane*.<sup>64</sup>

It is likely that metrical requirements affected the retention of inflexions both in end-line and mid-line position. But it is difficult to separate in each text the linguistic forms of the scribes of previous exemplars from those of the copyist of the extant version and from those retained from the original composition, which may have included permissible variants. Haworth (n. 44, p. 20) localized the Original in Essex, and Professor Dobson<sup>65</sup> has recently referred to the eastern provenance of the Original. On the basis of my earlier analyses of the copies (see n. 45), the rhyme evidence (including 3 (A)) and shared forms (3 (C)), I placed the original version of the *Conduct of Life* on the southern border of the South-East Midland dialect area<sup>66</sup> around Middlesex or London.

## 4. The Importance of T

R.A.L. Haworth (n. 44, p. 22) thought that the language of T was nearest to that of the Original. But in addition, T is important for its date, its provenance and its form. As Professor E.G. Stanley<sup>67</sup> stated, Dr Ker's assignment of MS Cotton Caligula A ix to the late thirteenth century has thrown into the melting pot our preconceived notions that *The Owl* and *the Nightingale* and *Lazamon's Brut* may be late twelfth-century compositions. Professor Stanley thought that the items in the Caligula manuscript, which include the *Owl* and *Nightingale*, may have been composed early rather than late in the reign of Henry III [1216-1272], since one of them is an Anglo-Norman prose *Chronicle* which ends at 1216. Although I do not disagree with his views on composition in the early thirteenth century, I have since noted<sup>68</sup> that the *Chronicle*, which, like the other AN items, is written in a hand different from that of the English poems, may have been inserted to fill up the leaves of a quire which were left blank after the completion of the AN *Set Dormanz*.

In the case of *Lazamon's Brut*, Professor Stanley<sup>69</sup> regards the Caligula version, assigned to Worcestershire, as the product of the author's deliberate archaizing of the language (consonant with the content and style of his work) and of the scribal preservation, for the most part, of archaistic forms from an exemplar, close in time to the Original, by the two late thirteenth-century copyists of this text. My own views on the evidence for the date of *Lazamon's Brut* and on the difficulties of its interpretation will be discussed elsewhere. The relevant point here is that for these two important poetic texts, the West-Midland *Brut*, in a form of the old alliterative measure, and the South-Eastern *Owl* and *Nightingale*, in short rhyming couplets, we have no manuscript earlier than the late thirteenth century. As regards the Middle English poetic *Proverbs of Alfred*, originally composed in Sussex, the two oldest extant texts in MSS Cotton Galba A XIX and Maidstone Museum A 13 are early thirteenth century.<sup>70</sup>

T, as a late twelfth-century production, is our earliest example of a South-East Midland rhymed text composed during the Middle English period.<sup>71</sup> As a verse-sermon it antedates the auto-graph manuscript of the *Ormulum*, an imperfect series of homilies on the Gospel Lessons, which was written about 1200 in a systematic orthography, and which Professor McIntosh<sup>72</sup> has assigned to Stamford in Lincolnshire or its neighbourhood. T also antedates the original texts of the West-Midland devotional prose "Katherine Group" and the *Ancrene Riwe*, all of which Professor Dobson (see n. 77) has dated between 1190 and 1221. If the opinions shared by Professor Samuels and myself are accepted, T can be regarded as the first English verse text which can be assigned, with some confidence, to the London area.<sup>73</sup>

### III. THE METRE

The metrical interest of the *Conduct of Life* was first noted by George Hickes (n. 6, p. 222) in describing how the loss of grammatical inflexion in the Semi-Saxon [i.e. post-Conquest] period produced monosyllables, which forced poets to substitute for the OE poetic line a rhymed metre. In illustration, Hickes (pp. 222-24) quoted thirty-seven passages from D, which he arranged in numbered quatrains, and pointed out the rhyme in the second and fourth lines. Apart from L, which is written as though it were prose (see I. 3. (A) above), TeEJM are written in long couplets based on the rhymed Latin septenarius, e.g.:

Mihi est propositum/ in tabernā mori  
Vinum sit appositum/ morientis ori.

Each line of the *Conduct* similarly has seven strong stresses divided by a caesura after the fourth. The first half-line normally has a masculine ending and the second half-line a feminine one, e.g. T 11-12:

Altō lome ich habbe igult/ a werke 7 a worde  
Altō mūchel ic habbe ispend/ tō litel ileid on hōrdē.

The alternations of trochaic and iambic half-lines, with elision, hiatus and syncopation throughout the *Conduct*,<sup>74</sup> offer more variety than Orm's unrhymed septenary, which invariably has fifteen syllables including final *e*, and sparse alliteration. As Thomas Warton (n. 8, p. 38) observed, in comparing the regular arrangement in half lines of D with the long lines of T, "How it came originally from the poet I will not pretend to determine." But it is clear, from the use of capitals on f. 3<sup>r</sup> of the *Ormulum*,<sup>75</sup> which Thomas Tyrwhitt<sup>76</sup> first recognized as verse, that Orm intended his work to be reconstructed in half-lines.

The *Conduct* had important effects on English poetry. It demonstrated that the penitential mood, whether deriving from Bible, Homily, Patristics or Liturgy, could be expressed in a new adaptable verse form; and although Meredith Thompson (n. 47, p. xxi) noted that the chief home of the lyric in the thirteenth century was in the West,

one of the most common lyric forms, the septenary couplet, was first used for the South-East Midland *Conduct*, and is found, by the last decade of the twelfth century, in the West-Midland prose *Life of St Margaret*.<sup>77</sup> In the West Midlands it continued in use into the late thirteenth century for religious poems in the manuscript which includes J, e.g. *The Passion of Our Lord* (printed in Morris, n. 13 (b), *Miscellany*, pp. 37 ff.). In the Western MS Harley 2253, compiled during the second quarter of the fourteenth century, the septenary couplet is used with some versatility in the secular lyric. For example, *De Clerico et Puella*<sup>78</sup> includes some internal rhyme, e.g. 5-6 *mod-wod*, 17-18 *riht-niht*, 35-6 *kun-myn* [altered from an original exact rhyme *kyn-myn*] and, e.g. full internal rhyme in 21-4 *mod-mon-stod-mon*, which may be divided into short lines rhyming *abcbabcb*. The couplets, in this lyric debate, form mono-rhyming quatrains, alternatively assigned to the Cleric and the Maiden. The early Northern adoption of the septenary form for religious material is evident from lines 14937-17110 of the *Cursor Mundi*,<sup>79</sup> which describe Christ's entry into Jerusalem, the Last Supper and the Passion. From line 14937, the septenaries on the next fourteen leaves of the Göttingen MS (and the corresponding thirteen leaves of the Trinity MS) are written in long couplets in one column. After line 17110 the scribe began writing the shorter lines again in double columns at the bottom of the leaf.

Professor A.J. Bliss<sup>80</sup> suggested that the alternation of stressed and unstressed syllables, consistent in the *Ormulum*, but more versatile in the *Conduct*, became the norm of Chaucer's verse and all subsequent verse, and that Chaucer possibly took over this alternation when he used metres of less obvious medieval Latin origin, and merely formalized the "speech material" of the English language.

In later verse, the arrangement in four short lines with alternation of four and three strong stresses, rhyming either *abcb* as in D, or *abab* as in William of Shoreham's fourteenth-century Kentish translation of the *Horae Canonicae Salvatoris* (n. 44, Wells, p. 349), survives as the popular ballad measure. The rhyme-scheme of D, which culminated in Coleridge's haunting *Rime of the Ancient Mariner*, fully validates Samuel Johnson's opinion<sup>81</sup> that D contains "the rudiments of our present lyric measures", the authors of which "may be justly considered as the genuine ancestors of the *English* poets."

#### IV. THE CONTENT

##### 1. Relationships with Vernacular Literature

The *Conduct*, as Dr Marcus (n. 17, p. 1) suggested, holds a pre-eminent place in Middle English sermon literature. In his brief resumé of the content (pp. 1-2) Marcus drew attention to the author's exhortation that the salvation of one's soul should be placed above the lure of worldly goods and human relationships. He also noted the author's emphasis on God's omnipotence against Man's helplessness, and on the urgency of Man's concern with the world to come, the threat of the Last Judgement and Hell, and the opportunity of gaining Heaven. Marcus (pp. 2-5), in his brief discussion of the place

of the *Conduct* in homiletic literature to 1200, observed that the few late OE homiletic poems (*The Giving of Alms*, the *Exhortation to Christian Living* and the *Worcester Debate between the Body and Soul*) also include exhortations to purchase eternal life by gifts to the poor and the Church; and this is true of the OE prose sermons (*Blickling Homilies*, *Vercelli Homilies* and *Wulfstan's homilies*). These texts state that it is a mortal sin to put possessions to a wrong use, and that, apart from Man's necessities, wealth belongs to the Church. But, as Marcus pointed out, whereas they mention that family love is ineffective in the next world and that love for God is all-important, the *Conduct* is unique in that it associates the giving of wealth for personal salvation with the renunciation of kin, and it does not recommend gifts for the souls of the dead.

The *Conduct of Life* is a digest of basic doctrines and themes, found separately and together in differing combinations in vernacular literature. In illustration, I select for comment here with reference to, and quotations from, the T text, (A) the author's use of the first person convention, (B) his treatment and expression of stock themes and (C) his references to contemporary abuses.

#### (A) THE FIRST PERSON CONVENTION

The figure of *ethopœia*, the informal confession, whereby a speaker assigns to himself the shortcomings of typical sinners and which is characteristic of the OE elegiac and penitential tradition,<sup>82</sup> is used to good effect in the first eighteen lines of the *Conduct*. In confessing various sins and expressing penitence for a wasted life, the author identifies with his listeners and offers them an opportunity of including themselves, while creating the presence of an authoritative preacher. The references to his age:

Ich am nu elder þan ich was . . . (1)

Peih ibie a winter eald to jung ich am on rade (4)

are applicable to anybody; but these, together with the more specific statements:

Nu ich wolde ac ine mai for elde 7 for unhalðe.

Elde me is bistolen on ar ich hit iwiste

Ne mai ich isien bifore me for smeche ne for miste. (16-18),

have been taken as autobiographical indications. *Elde*, however, may signify "age" (*OED* *Eld*, sb.<sup>2</sup> 1.) rather than "old age". Mistiness of the eyes was a common complaint in the twelfth century;<sup>83</sup> but the "smoke and mist", which hinder the preacher's vision, probably refer figuratively to the blinding of the sight by affection for the fleshly sins of this world, as in the OE version of "Gregory's Dialogues": *se mist þære fulnesse þa ðe her þonne 3yt blissað 7 gelustfullaþ se lust þæs lichaman*,<sup>84</sup> and in the poetic *Be Domes Dæge*: *ne þone wlacan smocan waces flæsces*.<sup>85</sup>

Similarly:

[I]ch can ben aiðer zief isal lichame 7 sowle lache (306)

led Hall (n. 1, ii, p. 349) to suggest that the author may have had some skill in medicine. Rubin (n. 83, pp. 182-3, 98, 17) has indicated

the importance and the royal patronage of physicians in twelfth-century England (chiefly those from among the Black Monks though lay practitioners were not unknown), who were trained in the Anglo-Saxon tradition and treated the effects of famine, plague and violence. But Hall (loc.cit.) alternatively suggested that the author may be asserting the claim of Christianity to benefit the body as well as the soul, as in Missal, Breviary and the *Epistola ad Thessalonicenses* I, v, 23 quoted here : . . . *ut integer spiritus vester, et anima, et corpus sine querela in adventu Domini nostri Iesu Christi servetur.*

The phrase "physician of the body and soul" has, however, more specific applications in (1) theological doctrine, (2) liturgical use and (3) vernacular prose sermons. For example, (1) Theofrid of Epternach,<sup>86</sup> in his *Flores Epitaphiorum Sanctorum*, repeated the doctrine that the relics of the saints gave health to the bodies of men and absolution to their souls. (2) The prayers in adoration of the Cross manifest faith in Christ's healing power of body and soul through the instrument of His salvation of Mankind, e.g.: *Quapropter a te, summo medico, remediabilem corporis et animae deposco medicinam . . . Crucem tuam adoro domine per quam saluasti mundum, salve animam meam et corpus meum . . .*<sup>87</sup> (3) The belief is widespread in OE literature (Stanley, n. 82, 418-25) that the Devil, through his arrows, afflicts Mankind with sinful thoughts and physical illness, and that the trials of the mind and body are directly related to the sins of the flesh. But against the idea, which persisted down to the fifteenth century,<sup>88</sup> of the Devil's perverted practices, God is acknowledged as the only healer of bodily and spiritual illness, e.g. † *he wunda her woƿe gecyðe/uplicum læce. Se ana mæg/agiltende gyltas mid gode gehælan.*<sup>89</sup> In the sermon for the Second Sunday in Lent in the *Trinity Homilies* (Morris, n. 13 (c), pp. 77, 79), the preacher quotes the text: *Celestis medicus ut cognouit quod ope sua prius creati postmodo uariis languoribus peccatorum uexarentur. Scripto uisitans eos. hortatur eos ad medicinam confessionis, and exhorts his flock, biseche we þanne þe sowe leche þat is þe prest . . . þat he us wissie to wið-tien of alle flesliche lustes þe derieð ure sowe.* Since saintly relics, the adoration of the Cross, and God, all function as the physician of the body and soul, it is possible, depending on the circumstances of delivery, that as the preacher intoned the relevant line, he might draw attention to a relic or the Cross or a representation of Christ or God. But within its context as the rhyming line to 305:

Ðo þe silde hem ne cunnen ich hem wille tache  
[I] ch can ben aiðer 3ief isal lichame 7 sowele lache

"I will instruct those who do not know how to shield themselves [against the tortures of Hell], I can be both, if I must, the physician of the body and soul", 306 is probably best interpreted as a reference to the priest's power to save by instruction.

After the figure of ethopœia, at the beginning of the *Conduct*, the author overtly identifies himself with his listeners by using the personal pronoun *we*. He then refers to the individual, indicating each man's responsibility for himself and his own salvation. From that point the alternation of *we* and the individual person forms the general pattern of address. Apart from the personal intrusion in

305-6, the author uses the first person in only two passages. At line 157:

Ich wulle nu cumen eft to þe dome þe ich eow ar of sade,  
he indicates that he is returning to the subject of the Last Judgement, and then, within the usual pattern, identifies himself with all Mankind who will be present:

On þe daie 7 on þe dome us helpe crist and rade  
Par we muþen ben sore offerd . . . (158-9).

In lines 225 ff., he offers to warn his listeners against the tortures of Hell, not from personal experience, which he is thankful to have missed, since those in Hell can never emerge, but from written authority where it can be read. Hell is only one of the stock themes on which he enlarges, and with more confidence than the Bodley homilist, who concluded after only a brief account that in Hell were *alle earmþe swa fela swa nan mon oðrum secgan ne mæz*.<sup>90</sup>

#### (B) STOCK THEMES

In his treatment of stock themes, notably the Harrowing of Hell, the Last Judgement, and Hell and Heaven, the author demonstrates his use of contrast and the conventional catalogue. The Harrowing of Hell<sup>91</sup> is mentioned only briefly to indicate the finality of Hell:

Brecó nafre eft crist helle ðure for lesen hem of bende  
(182)

and:

Ænes drihten helle brac his frend he ut brohte  
Him self he þolede deað for hem wel diere he hes bohte  
(185-6)

to emphasise a unique loving sacrifice, which can be understood only with difficulty, since no human being would do it for another.

When he first mentions the Last Judgement (92 ff.), the author successfully emphasises Man's inadequacy by a series of rhetorical questions, starting with we:

Hwat sulle we seggen oðer don þar ængles beð ofdradde  
(94).

He then progresses to specific sinners:

Hwat sullen horlinges don þes wichen 7 þe forsworene (103),

then to the wastage implied in:

Wi hwi waren hie biþiete to hwan waren hie iborene  
Ðe sulle ben to deaðe idemð 7 afremo forlorene (105-6),

reminiscent of *Ieremias*, xx, 18, *Quare de vulva egressus sum* . . . The author then indicates the responsibility of each individual for his own salvation:

Elch man sal þar bicleþien himselfen 7 ec demen  
His oþen werc 7 his þanc to witesse he sal temen (107-08);



and he uses *oratio recta* to good effect to press home the heedlessness of the majority:

Maniman seið hwo reche pine þe sal hebben ende  
Ne bidde ich no bet bie ich alesed a domesdai of bende  
(135-6).

These stock themes, however, are so interwoven that Hell brings to mind the Harrowing of Hell. Christ's selfless action there leads on to His judicial role at the second mention of the Last Judgement and to the account of the Second Fall. This Fall is responsible for the sin and misery of Mankind, who yet can obtain God's mercy and forgiveness, those positive benefits and merits, which are neither offered by nor obtained from the King of Hell.

The accounts of Hell (233-302) and Heaven (355-96) form part of a large body of vision literature in Latin and English. E.J. Becker<sup>92</sup> pointed out that some of the most important patristic doctrines on the after-life circulated in England by way of Bede's eighth-century Latin prose account. The vision of the Northumbrian Drythelm, who died and came back to life,<sup>93</sup> of souls tossed about from side to side, as if by the fury of the tempest, bears comparison with the *Conduct*, where the inhabitants of Hell *walkeð* (OE *wealcan* "roll, toss") *weri up 7 dun se water doð mid winde* (244). The detailed catalogue in the *Conduct* includes the stock ingredients of alternating heat and cold (236), smoke and darkness except for the dark flame (281-2), and the bath of bubbling pitch and the bed of hot coals (222). Hell is a state of tremendous activity, a place of timeless movement, ceaseless wandering and everlasting torment.

The mental anguish of the wretched inhabitants comes from their knowledge that the mutability that they suffer is in itself immutable. Their physical suffering arises from the absence of the heavenly elements, the sun, moon and stars (279), which are the natural sources of heat and light and cause earthly mutability; and from the indigenous population of monstrous beings and slimy creatures, who mete out the punishment that the sinners have earned. For example, those who sinned with their eyes shall look on foul devils and horrible creatures (285-6). Those who dealt the sting of treachery and felt the sting of envy and arrogance shall feel the gnawing of vipers, snakes, newts and frogs (277-8). Those who gave food grudgingly shall have two evil companions, Hunger and Thirst (233-4). Their fellow-inhabitants will be the faith-breakers, warmongers, robbers, whoremongers and drunkards, liars, unjust judges, unscrupulous reeves, adulterers, gluttons, and all those who were the Devil's instruments in this world (245-74), and, the most horrible of sights, Satan and Beelzebub (287-8). These miseries, however, are only a selection, for (289-90) the author believes that it is impossible for the human mind to comprehend, and for the human tongue to relate, the varieties and magnitude of the suffering of those whom no prayers nor alms can ever release from Hell (300-01).

The way along the narrow path of God's commandment, which breasts the high hill (349 ff.), leads to a Heaven spiritually conceived. In *Be Domes Dæge* (n. 85, p. 16, lines 252-66), Heaven is characterized by its lack of the human misery caused by the weather of this world. In the *Conduct*, Heaven is notable for its absence of pleasurable

worldly goods, bread and wine, fine furs and any kind of earthly raiment (363, 365-7). Whereas in *Lambeth Homily XIV* (Morris, n. 13 (a), pp. 143, 145), the contrast between the positive and negative joys of Heaven are thickly clustered, e.g. *hele; wiðuten unhele. reste; wiðuten swinge. blisse; wiðuten sarinesse. Ivgeðe; wiðuten elde*, they are placed more selectively in the *Conduct*, e.g.:

Ðar is wele a buten wane 7 reste a buten swunche (373)  
 Ðe muzen 7 nelleð þider cume hit hem mei ofþunche. (374)  
 Ðar is 3ieuð abuten elde 7 hale abuten unhalðe (377)  
 Nis þar sareþe ne sor non ne nafre unisalðe. (378).

In direct contrast to Hell, Heaven is a state of eternal rest. In place of the wailing of Satan's kingdom, there is angelic song. Instead of ceaseless wandering, there is the security of a dwelling appropriate to one's merits but sufficient for one's needs. Heaven is a state of total withdrawal of want and wanting. The sight of God, the true sun, who creates eternal light is sufficient for those who dwell round Him (cf. *Apocalypse*, xxi, 23). But the author of the *Conduct* considers no one able to express truly the joy of those who rest in God's eternal bliss (395-6). He hopes in his final four-line prayer that he and his listeners may be brought to that joy when God, the Eternal Ruler, frees their souls from *lichamliche bende*, and concludes:

[C]rist 3ieuwe us laden her swilch lif 7 habben her swilch ende;  
 [þ]at we moten þider cumen þane we henne wende. (399-400).

#### A M E N .

This stock material is often expressed in the alliterative phrases which characterize earlier vernacular literature. The phrases in the *Conduct* were first noticed by George Hickes (n. 6, p. 196) who, in discussing alliteration in post-Conquest poetry down to Cowley, quoted D 232-36, 373-76, as his first illustration. The alliterative phrases in the *Conduct* (of which I am making a separate study) are functional in that they form half lines, create rhythms and reinforce rhythmic and sense stress. They fall naturally into the same syntactic frames as those of OE poetry; and although omissions and substitutions occur in some texts of the sermon, these syntactic frames remained unchanged throughout the hundred odd years during which the texts of the *Conduct* were copied. Some of the alliterative phrases, e.g. *soð sunne* (370), *bohte us mid his blode* (190) are grounded in the Liturgy, and many must have been as familiar to the author's audience as the proverbs which are his *authorities*. Thus the *Conduct*, while existing as part of the mainstream of the transmission of basic religious doctrines in the penitential tradition, also formed a channel whereby much of the phraseology of OE alliterative verse and rhythmical prose, fully blended with a foreign metre, remained current in later English literature.<sup>94</sup>

#### (C) REFERENCES TO CONTEMPORARY ABUSES

In the OE penitential poems attention is drawn to the hardships suffered by the speaker. In the *Conduct of Life*, the author refers to the uncertainties, fears and trials of this life suffered by both

clergy and laity, and which his listeners can alleviate for themselves by heeding his exhortations. Probably the author and some of his audience lived through the anarchy of Stephen's reign, although the country was peaceful from 1148 to 1153.<sup>95</sup> The religious revival during the Anarchy is demonstrated by the establishment and endowment of monastic foundations;<sup>96</sup> and the twelfth-century system of fraternities between monks and lay men and women, when the monasteries stood high in public esteem, ensured extensive gifts from the laity.<sup>97</sup>

Lady Stenton (n. 96, pp. 18, 37-8) noted the contrast emphasized by Walter Map between the comparative stability of Henry I's court and the uncertainties of the court of Henry II caused by political distractions. In 1156-7 Henry II subjugated his brother in France. In 1157 he warred against the Welsh and, in 1159, against the Count of Toulouse. In particular, Henry's suppression of his sons' revolt in 1173-4 was preceded by heavy expenditure and the extensive building of castles in all districts.<sup>98</sup> The subsequent taxation in 1185 was collected by the military orders; and the Saladin tithe of 1188, which was extracted from both clergy and laity, demanded one-tenth of the alms of those who died in the ten years following 24 June, 1184.<sup>99</sup> Famine and pestilence increased the burden of daily living.<sup>100</sup>

The author makes direct reference to two specific standing grievances. The line

For ne mai hit us binime no king ne no syrreue (50)

reflects on the unjust seizure of worldly goods by the King and his sheriff. As W.A. Morris<sup>101</sup> has observed, the reeve, the King's agent and a symbol of earthly power, is also specifically mentioned in tenth- and eleventh-century prose homilies as an important public functionary, unscrupulous and extortionate, whose iniquities and severities are roundly condemned by the preacher. In 1170 the Inquest of Sheriffs, which investigated complaints against them, led to the removal of most of them from office during the fiscal year. In the same century William of Newburgh stigmatized the sheriffs for sparing neither clergy nor laity, and for retaining bands of armed men who perpetrated enormities.

The caution recommended in:

Swines brade is wel swete swo is of wilde diere.

Ac al to diere he hit abuið þe ȝiefð þar fore his swiere  
(145-6)

had special significance for a twelfth-century audience. The strict laws of the King's Forest, within whose boundaries whole villages were included, protected wild boar as well as venison, and the forests, the forest laws and the behaviour of the forest officials were a constant source of trouble. The relief given in the Forest Charter, which was issued in 1217, after the succession of Henry III, that "in future no one shall lose life or limb for our venison", (n. 96, pp. 102, 104, 110, 113), indicates that this proverbial couplet had a bitter origin.

Although the forest situation improved, other hardships such as plague and famine (n. 100, p. 17), the Civil War of 1215 and the Barons' revolt in 1258, continued during the transmission of the

texts of the *Conduct*. The new powers of collecting taxes, which the sheriffs acquired in the early thirteenth century, the establishment of the Sherriff's Peace, and their practice in the late thirteenth century of wrongfully imprisoning persons for purposes of financial extortion,<sup>102</sup> ensured that much of the content of the *Conduct of Life* remained topical over a long period of time. For this reason, the references to various forms of abuse do not provide reliable evidence for a precise dating of the original composition.

## 2. Relationships with Anglo-Norman Literature

It is of some importance that the *Conduct* includes striking resemblances to a late twelfth-century Anglo-Norman verse *Sermon*, in laisses of alexandrines, for which we have an attribution of authorship. Arvid Gabrielson,<sup>103</sup> who edited the work, subsequently made a separate study of the relationship between the *Sermon* and vernacular and AN literature.<sup>104</sup> He demonstrated that the *Sermon* showed affinities with the OE and early ME prose homilies; but that its content was also paralleled in three AN works, extant in mid-twelfth to early thirteenth-century manuscripts of English provenance. These are the *Grant Mal fist Adam*, the *De conflictu corporis et animae*, and *St Alexis*, which, according to Professor Legge,<sup>105</sup> was probably written in England by a Norman, in the second decade of the twelfth century, when an altar or chapel to St Alexis was consecrated at the Benedictine Abbey of St Albans. H.K. Stone<sup>106</sup> also observed resemblances between the *Sermon* and the much shorter Continental French *Vers*, composed in the same metre as the *Sermon* between about 1182 and 1185, by Thibaud Montmorency, Lord of Marly, who became a monk at the Cistercian Abbey of Val-Nôtre Dame in 1182. Stone (pp. 69-76) noted that the authors of the *Vers* and the *Sermon* used common sources, and he concluded that Thibaud did not directly borrow from the *Sermon*, but had recollections of it as of other works. As Professor Legge (n. 105, p. 138) pointed out, Thibaud probably had access to the AN courts through his mother, who was a natural daughter of Henry I.

The parallels between the AN *Sermon* and the *Conduct of Life* were conveniently incorporated into Hall's notes (n. 1, ii, pp. 329-54) to L and T. Of special interest is the parallel between: *Par me sal ure werkes weigen bifore þan heuen kinge* (63) and the *Sermon: E les biens e les mals tuz nus serrunt pesez* (443a), since the weighing of works at the Last Judgement, based on Augustinian tradition, is rare in vernacular literature, though it is depicted as part of a wall painting executed about 1200 at Chaldon, Surrey.<sup>107</sup> The general conclusion, however, (Gabrielson, n. 104, p. 309, Legge, n. 54, *Cloisters*, p. 34) about the relationship between the *Sermon* and the *Conduct* is that both authors reproduced ideas which everyone shared towards the end of the twelfth century. The similarities observed in their respective compositions demonstrate the closeness between the vernacular and the AN literatures, both written on English soil.

The *Sermon* is extant in four manuscripts, all of English provenance (n. 103, p. XLVIII): (1) Paris BN fr. 19525, which preserves 666 lines and derives from the same exemplar as (2) BL MS Egerton 2710 (659 lines), where the work is entitled *Sermun del secle*, and

which belonged to the Priory of the BVM, a House of Benedictine Nuns at Kings Mead, Derby (n. 3, Ker, *Medieval Libraries*, p. 57).

(3) The Western MS Digby 86 (264 lines), where the work is headed *Ci comence le romaunz de temtacioun de secle* and which was probably the private compilation of a layman.<sup>108</sup> (4) BL MS Harley 4388, the oldest manuscript of the early thirteenth century. This has 1923 lines plus the *Explicit*, though the work is given no title. This manuscript alone preserves two specific lines (to which I shall return) and, after the *Explicit*, the name "Guischart de beauliu", who is regarded as the author of the original late twelfth-century composition.

The authorship was, for some time, a confused issue, and Professor Legge (n. 54, *Cloisters*, pp. 31-2) has discussed the prior attribution of the *Sermon* to the Continental French Guischart of Beaujeu, who died at the Benedictine Abbey of Cluny in 1137. Gabrielson<sup>109</sup> appeared to accept the Abbé de la Rue's identification of the author as Guischart of the Benedictine Priory of Beaulieu in Bedfordshire, a cell of St Albans, Hertfordshire; but three years later (n. 104, p. 312) Gabrielson thought that Guischart may have belonged to Beaulieu in Hampshire, if "a settlement with that name" [not as Legge (n. 54, p. 32) suggested that he meant "some earlier religious House" ] existed there before the foundation of the Cistercian monastery in 1204. Gabrielson also suggested that, in this case, the author of the *Sermon* lived not far from the neighbourhood (near the Hampshire Avon and Stour) in which the author of the *Conduct* must have lived. Hall (n. 1, ii, p. 329) subsequently adopted this view, which was repeated by Reichl (n. 57, loc.cit.) in 1973. Professor Legge, however, (n. 54, p. 32) pointed out that since the *Sermon* is of late twelfth-century origin and since (in line 1312 preserved only in the Harley manuscript) the author states that he is a follower of the Rule of St Benedict, he could not have belonged to the Cistercian foundation at Beaulieu in Hampshire, whose buildings were dedicated only in 1246. Guischart must therefore have taken his name from the Benedictine Priory of Beaulieu (later Beadlow) in Bedfordshire, which was founded between 1140 and 1146.<sup>110</sup>

Line 1519, which is preserved only in the Harley manuscript of the *Sermon*, reads: *Par la fei ke io dei a dame dionise*. Professor Legge (n. 54, *Cloisters*, p. 33) conjectured "dame dionise" to be a Lady Dionysia, who with her husband Walter Hacon owned lands in Hertfordshire and Bedfordshire in 1198, and was a neighbour both of St Albans and of its cell Beaulieu. Since (n. 54, p. 122) AN works were written for the laity by Regulars, Professor Legge's later view (n. 105, *Background*, pp. 134-5) would seem to be acceptable. She suggested that the *Sermon*, "perhaps the most sombre text written in Anglo-Norman", was addressed by a monk at Beaulieu, Bedfordshire, to a great lady in the neighbourhood, Dionysia Hacon, who was bedridden for some years shortly before 1200. In that case, the author of the *Sermon* may still have lived not far from the author of the *Conduct of Life*, which is a South-East Midland composition (see II. 3. above).

I am not convinced, however, that Guischart de Beauliu was the author of the late twelfth-century *Sermon*. Professor Dobson,<sup>111</sup> in discussing the difficulties of distinguishing between authors and

scribes, pointed out (p. 327) the rashness of an author who gave his name in a rubric, which could be separated from the text or in which a substitution could be made during the course of transmission; and he noted (p. 329) that an author usually embodied his name in a prayer or worked it into the text. This I have found usual in early AN texts;<sup>112</sup> but the hazards of this practice can be demonstrated from the final prayer in the Continental French *Le Lucidaire*. In BN MS 1807, f. 207 d, the writer beseeches Christ:

Qu'il ait merci de Gillebert  
Et en son regne le herbert  
Cil qui a Quambroi fu norri  
Et a Belboec fu convertiz.

But there is a neat two-line substitution for these four lines in MS Barrois no. 171 of the work:

Que merci ait dou prestre Huon  
De son pere, signor Odon.<sup>113</sup>

Yet, even here, as H.E. Allen<sup>114</sup> observed, Gillebert may also be a scribe rather than (as Meyer, n. 113, 73, thought) the author; and the connection with Cambrai, in the first passage quoted, led the authors of two dissertations to attempt to show the Picard origin of the work, though Meyer (n. 113, 74) thought Gillebert was of Norman origin.

MS Harley 4388, which preserves the name "Guischart de beaulfu", includes four texts: (1) The French verse translation of the *Proverbs of Solomon*, which Sanson de Nantuil, the private chaplain of Alice de Condet of the Castle of Thorngate, Lincoln, translated for her son Roger (n. 105, pp. 36-42). (2) The *Sermon*. (3) *The Chastoiement d'un Père a son fils*, a metrical French version of Peter of Alphonse's *Disciplina Clericalis*. (4) Elie de Winchester's late twelfth-century French translation of Cato's *Distichs*.<sup>115</sup> The *Sermon* covers ff. 87<sup>r</sup> to 99<sup>v</sup>, leaving eleven lines of the first column blank. It is followed at the beginning of the second column by item (3) in the same hand. Sanson de Nantuil's name in item (1) is embodied in the Prologue (the end of the text is missing). Elie de Winchester gives his name in the Prologue and conclusion of his work (item 4).<sup>116</sup>

The *Sermon*, however, ends:

Vus salt e beneie de ci en auant

A M E N.

Ici fine le sermun. Guischart de beaulfu.

It seems to me a matter for reconsideration as to whether (1) the scribe who wrote out the *Sermon* and the following item, faithfully preserved in his early thirteenth-century copy the name of the author, as it stood at the end of the original composition, and the line mentioning "dame dionise"; or whether (2) the early thirteenth-century scribe added, after A M E N., *Ici fine le sermun.*, and his own name, the spelling of which is supported by thirteenth-century place-name evidence;<sup>117</sup> and preserved the reference to "dame dionise" because he was copying an authoritative exemplar in the same area as the original composition. Perhaps it is not mere chance that the

three short versions of the *Sermon*, which omit the references to the Benedictine Order (1312), "dame dionise" (1519) and the name "Guischart de beaulfu", are all of Western provenance.

We may, meantime, take the view that the Original of the *Sermon* was composed not far from where the earliest extant copy in MS Harley 4388 was written out by Guischart de Beauliu, in Bedfordshire or in Hertfordshire. The Harley manuscript was in the possession of James Ravenscroft of Hertfordshire in the seventeenth century,<sup>118</sup> though its previous whereabouts are not known. But, even if "dame dionise" can be clearly identified, we cannot confidently assign the original text of the *Sermon* to the Priory of Beaulieu or to the Abbey of St Albans.

The provenance of the *Sermon* is particularly relevant to the authorship of the *Conduct of Life* and to the relationship between these two texts. For Gabrielson (n. 104, p. 312) thought that, since both texts have in common short sentences deriving from a stock of examples from different sources, some of them older than either the *Sermon* or the *Conduct*, the authors of both had access to the same Latin sources and were generally influenced by the same instruction and religious training.<sup>119</sup>

## V. THE TITLE

The seven copies of the work have been given numerous titles in manuscript and printed catalogues from the fourteenth century, and in critical works, editions and standard bibliographies, from the later seventeenth century, onwards. Only the late thirteenth-century rubricated title of J (f. 169<sup>r</sup>), *Tractatus quidam in anglico* has manuscript authority.

The early entitlement of the various texts depended on the recognition of their form. For example, D was easily identifiable as "Rithmus Anglice" for the fourteenth-century Catalogue of books at Christchurch, Canterbury (n. 3, James, p. 92, no. 954). But, although the manuscript including L, which is written out as prose, had been listed in six previous catalogues, Archbishop Sancroft was the first to recognize L as "a Saxon poem" in his late seventeenth-century Catalogue of Manuscripts at Lambeth Palace, Bodl MS Tanner 270, f. 18<sup>r</sup>, no. 163 (Hill, n. 5 (4), "Fragments", 272). It is, however, clear from his listing of L, in his Table of Contents on fly-leaf 3V of MS Lambeth 487, as "A Saxon poem, or Rhythmi on . . .", that he did not understand the subject-matter. Other cataloguers of the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries were also concerned with the form and language of the *Conduct*. For example, in Cambridge, Trinity College MS B 14 52, T is entitled "Rithmus anglicus" in a fifteenth-century hand on f. 1V, and, on fly-leaf 2V, "Rithmus Anglicus" in the hand of the compiler of the 1667 Catalogue of Trinity books, Cambridge, Trinity College Add Ms a 101.

From the seventeenth century interest was also shown in the nature and content of the work. It was identified as "Moral rhymes in couplets",<sup>120</sup> "An English Religious Poem",<sup>121</sup> and recognized as dealing with the conditions and duties of Man, e.g., "poema . . . de

vitae humanae conditionibus & statibus diversis" (Walker, n. 40, loc.cit.), "TRACTATUS SAXONICUS de OFFICIO HOMINIS",<sup>122</sup> "a moral poem upon old age" (Tyrwhitt, n. 76, loc.cit.) and as treating of universal themes, e.g. . . . *de Deo, de Die Judicii, de Inferis, &c* . . . (Wanley, n. 7, p. 268, no. 185).

F.J. Furnivall (n. 12), who was the first to publish a complete text in 1862, assigned the title "Moral Ode", which he thought (p. IV) was less interesting than the work itself. Although Furnivall gave no reason for his choice, he may have been influenced by Thomas Warton's description of the work as a "religious or moral Ode" (n. 8, p. 7). Morris, in publishing L (n. 13 (a)) re-entitled the work "Poema Morale". In publishing J and T in 1872 and 1873 (n. 13 (b), (c)), Morris reverted to "Moral Ode", as did W.W. Skeat<sup>123</sup> in 1892. But J. Zupitza's adoption of the title "Poema Morale", in editing D in 1878 (n. 14), ensured its vogue in Germany, and Lewin (n. 15) retained it for the first critical edition of the six known texts in 1881. G.E. MacLean,<sup>124</sup> who in 1893 published a selection from Zupitza's 1882 edition of e (n. 1 (2)), took over the title "Poema Morale", and so ensured the acceptance of this title by English readers; and Miss Paues (n. 16) retained it for her printing of M in 1907. Marcus (n. 17) published the first and only critical edition based on the seven known texts under the title "Poema Morale", although (p. 1) he did not think that it characterized the content.

Apart from Marcus's valid objection to "Poema Morale", this title has caused some confusion with a late twelfth-century *Poème moral*, almost four thousand lines long, which originated in the diocese of Liege (n. 115, Bossuat, nos. 3555, 3554). Walberg's "Remarques sur le texte de la seconde partie du Poème moral", published in 1925, was erroneously included as an article relating to the Middle English "Poema Morale" by J.E. Wells,<sup>125</sup> and his error has been repeated in a standard bibliography as recently as 1974.<sup>126</sup>

It is clear from my discussion so far that, although the text may be described as "moral", it is neither an "Ode" nor a *Poema*. It is an English verse-sermon, in the vernacular homiletic tradition, in which the author shows his concern for his listeners. He advises them with sincere conviction and "a large wisdom that is the fruit of earnest contemplation" (n. 44, Wells, *Manual*, p. 386) about the rules of virtuous living; and he instructs them how to protect themselves from sin, and ultimately from Hell, by alms, fasting and prayers (339). Everything that is read or sung before God's altar rests on two loves, the keeping of the Old and New Law (311-14). But, as in *Matthaeus*, xxii, 36-8, *Magister, quod est mandatum magnum in lege? Ait illi Iesus: Diliges Dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde tuo, et in tota anima tua, et in tota mente tua. Hoc est maximum, et primum mandatum*, so the author of the *Conduct* first enjoins, *Luue we god mid ure herte 7 mid al ure mihte* (309). Although he adds the second commandment from the New Law, *7 ure emcristen else us self swo us tached drihte* (310), love of God must precede the will to carry out God's teaching. He urges *Mid almihtin godes luue ute we us biwerien [w]ið þesses wreches woreldes luue* (337-8), and emphasises that God *one sal ben ache lif* (364).



During the past twenty years, at least three well-known early English works have been re-entitled for various reasons.<sup>127</sup> The difficulty in the case of the text under discussion does not lie in reluctance to discard an unsuitable Latin title, but in finding a short title which gives as much information as possible about the content, nature, form and language or date of the work. A modern English title which covers all the extant texts is to be preferred rather than a short quotation selected from one of them. The title *Middle English Verse-Sermon* indicates the language and approximate date, and the form and nature of the work, but it reveals nothing of the content. Bearing in mind the couplet:

Materiam titulo, causam, fructum retinemus  
Hec tria, si titulus bene ponitur, invenimus<sup>128</sup>

I have chosen *Conduct of Life*. This title seems to me to embrace the author's concern with Man in this life and with the universal theme of the after-life; for he advises his listeners how to conduct their lives and instructs them as to where their lives will conduct them.

I hope that the title *Conduct of Life* will be generally adopted, and that those who wish to know more about the nature, form and language of the work, will recall with the readers of the *Ancrene Wisse* that *Redunge is god bone*.<sup>129</sup>

### CONCLUSION

It is clear from the preceding sections that the original composition of the *Conduct of Life* cannot be precisely dated and localized; but I have implied in my discussion of *lichame and sowle lache* (IV. 1. above, and see the material relating to n. 97) the kind of circumstances in which such a sermon might be preached. The content indicates that it was intended for a mixed lay audience of some substance and of simple faith; and the two earliest extant copies T and L are included with vernacular prose homilies.

After the first quarter of the thirteenth century, the popularity of the *Conduct* was probably reinforced by the Franciscan method of preaching in verse; and, judging from the contents of the thirteenth-century manuscripts with which the other five copies became associated, the *Conduct* was widely disseminated and reached different kinds of audiences. Texts e and E form part of a composite manuscript, along with Guillaume le Clerc's metrical *Bestiaire*,<sup>130</sup> the Apocryphal French prose *Gospel of Nicodemus* and *Invention of the Cross*, and other miscellaneous items, suitable for a House of Regular "beles soers". D is also preserved in a composite manuscript, consisting originally of separate booklets of twelfth- and thirteenth-century liturgical, theological and medical works, and Latin and French satirical verse, and brought together by the early fourteenth century. J is an item in a miscellany, copied by one scribe, who included debate poems in AN and English, the Franciscan lyrical *Love Rune* and the *Proverbs of Alfred*. M was chosen as the last item for a selectively compiled manuscript with e.g. Bishop Grosseteste's *Chasteau d'Amour*, a French and Latin

*Apocalypse*, and Antiphons to the BVM set to music.

It cannot be determined whether the author of the *Conduct* wished to remain anonymous; or whether he was so well-known in his time that it was thought that he would never be forgotten. For he perpetuates, in familiar language in a new verse-form, the deep-rooted English masculine ideal of the *comitatus*, by exhorting his listeners to place their love for their Lord above earthly treasures and the claims of kinship. This placing of love, this conduct of life, has remained the austere ideal, towards which each strives, in every religious Christian Order.

NOTES

This study is dedicated to C.L. Wrenn, one-time Rawlinson and Bosworth Professor of Anglo-Saxon in the University of Oxford, ob. 1969. Some material included here was collected during my tenure of a Leverhulme Research Fellowship for vacation use, July, 1975-September, 1976, and I have pleasure in thanking the Leverhulme Trust for financial assistance and encouragement.

- 1 Available in R. Morris, n. 13 (c) below; R. Morris and W.W. Skeat, *Specimens of Early English*, pt. i (Oxford, 1882, 2nd ed., rev. A.L. Mayhew and W.W. Skeat, 1885, impression of 1935), pp. 195-221; J. Hall, *Selections from Early Middle English 1130-1250* (Oxford, 1920), pt. i, pp. 31-53. Pt. ii includes notes to the text. For printings of complete texts of the other six copies, see (1) L: Hall, above, i, pp. 30-46 (parallel text); Morris, n. 13 (a); F. Kluge, *Mittelenglisches Lesebuch* (Halle, 1904), pp. 57-61. (2) e: J. Zupitza, *Alt-und mittelenglisches Übungsbuch* (Vienna, 1882), pp. 51-61, with J. Schipper (1897), pp. 77-87, (1904), pp. 81-91, (1912), pp. 86-96. (3) E: Morris, n. 13 (a), *OE Homilies*, 1st series, pp. 288-95 (lines 1-272), 175-83 (lines 273-398); Furnivall, n. 12. (4) D: Zupitza, n. 14. (5) J: Morris and Skeat, above, pp. 194-220 (parallel text); Morris, n. 13 (b). (6) M: Paues, n. 16. Editions of complete texts and selections are listed in the facsimile edition of the seven texts which I am preparing.
- 2 "The Provenance of the Lambeth Homilies with a New Collation", *Leeds Studies in English*, 4 (1935), 24.
- 3 One and a half lines of the *Conduct* (= T 17-18a) are written in a hand of the 12th-13th century on f. 106<sup>v</sup> of BL MS Royal 7 c IV (see N.R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts containing Anglo-Saxon*, (Oxford, 1957), no. 256, pp. 323-4). This MS is no. 246 in the early 14th-century catalogue of Eastry's books at Christ Church, Canterbury (printed in M.R. James, *The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover* (C.U.P., 1903), p. 45). Line 1a agrees with the reading of TLeEDJ; line 2a agrees most closely with TD, though JM also have the present tense "may". One couplet (= T 145-6), agreeing closely with L, is written in the lower margin of f. 93<sup>r</sup>, which contains the *Proverbs of Alfred* in a different hand, in Maidstone Museum MS A 13 (quoted in O. Arngart, *The Proverbs of Alfred*, ii (Lund, 1955), p. 26). Dr Ker (*Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*. Royal Historical Society. Guides and Handbooks. No. 3 (London, 2nd ed., 1964), p. 135) rejected the Maidstone MS as belonging to St Andrew's, Northampton. He has since informed me (letter of 22 October, 1972) that it belonged to the Master of a Hospital in Northampton, and has connections with that town, though it did not originate there.
- 4 On the dating of the texts see Hill, "Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum MS. McClean 123", *Notes and Queries*, 210 (1965), 88 and n. 6.
- 5 See on (1): "Trinity College, Cambridge MS. B. 14. 52, and William Patten", *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 4 (1966), 192 ff.; on (2) and (4): "Early English Fragments and MSS Lambeth Palace Library 487, Bodleian Library Digby 4", *Proceedings of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society*, 14 (1972), 269 ff.; on (3): "Notes on the Egerton e Text of the *Poema Morale*", *Neophilologus*, 50 (1966), 352. My separate description of the Egerton MS is in preparation; on (5): "Oxford, Jesus College MS. 29: Addenda on Donation, Acquisition, Dating and Relevance of the "Broaken Leaf" note to *The Owl and the Nightingale*", *N&Q*, 220 (1975), 98 ff. and fn. 1; on (6): n. 4, above, 87 ff., and *N&Q*, 217 (1972), 45 ff.

- 6 *Linguarum Veterum Septentrionalium Thesaurus Grammatico-Criticus et Archaeologicus* (Oxford, 1705), I, p. 222. On Thwaites, see Hill, n. 5 (2) above, "Fragments", 277 and n. 39.
- 7 *Antiquae Litteraturae Septentrionalis Liber Alter, seu H. Wanleii Librorum Vett. Septentrionalium, qui in Angliae Bibliothecis extant . . . Catalogus Historico-Criticus [etc.]* (Oxford, 1705), p. 268, no. 185.
- 8 *The History of English Poetry*, I (London, 1774), p. 7, note f.
- 9 *List of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum 1836-1840*, (London, 1843), p. 43.
- 10 "Version Anglo-Normande en vers de l'Apocalypse", *Romania*, 25 (1896), 180-81.
- 11 In the file of notes relating to MS McClean 123, in the Library, Fitzwilliam Museum.
- 12 *Early English Poems and Lives of the Saints* (Berlin, 1862), pp. 22-34.
- 13 (a) L in *Old English Homilies*, 1st series, EETS, OS 29, 34 (1867-8), pp. 159-175. (b) J in *An Old English Miscellany*, EETS, OS 49 (1872, repr. 1927), pp. 58-71. (c) T in *Old English Homilies of the Twelfth Century*, 2nd series, EETS, OS 53 (1873), pp. 220-232.
- 14 "Zum Poema Morale", *Anglia*, 1 (1878), 6-32.
- 15 *Das Mittelenglische Poema Morale* (Halle, 1881).
- 16 "A Newly Discovered Manuscript of the Poema Morale", *Anglia*, 30 (1907), 227-237.
- 17 *Das Frühmittelenglische "Poema Morale"*, Palaestra, 194 (Leipzig, 1934).
- 18 W. Van der Gaaf, "Notes on English Orthography (ie and ea)", *Neophilologus*, 5 (1920), 138-41.
- 19 E.g., E 56 *hit scullen a fīnden* is repeated erroneously in line 58 as *it scullen a fīnden*, E 329 *elles ware* is repeated erroneously in line 330 as *elles hware*. Other less simple examples of this scribal practice will be given for comparison in my facsimile edition.
- 20 "The Manuscripts of the *Poema Morale*: Revised Stemma", *Anglia*, 54 (1930), 269 ff.
- 21 *Alt- und mittelenglische Anthologie* (Berlin, 1954, repr. 1955), no. 68, pp. 173 ff., 3rd ed. revised and greatly enlarged as *Medieval English. An Old and Middle English Anthology* (Berlin W., 1958), pp. 209, ff. (based, with modification and excluding J and M, on Marcus, n. 17).
- 22 In particular, E.T. Donaldson, "The Psychology of Editors of Middle English Texts", *English Studies Today*, 4th series, ed. I. Cellini and G. Melchiori, (Rome, 1966), 45-62, esp. 50-52; and note the reference to Professor Kane's view that difficult contexts probably suggested the same solution to different scribes. For a brief sensible discussion of textual criticism, see

- H.J. Chaytor, *From Script to Print*, (Cambridge, 1945; repr. 1950), pp. 148-52.
- 23 "The Date and Composition of *Ancrene Wisse*", *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 52 (1966), 196 and n. 3, 197, 199.
- 24 "The Editing of Middle English Texts", *English Studies Today*, 1st series, ed. C.L. Wrenn and G. Bullough, (O.U.P., 1951), 74-84.
- 25 "The Literary Work of a Benedictine Monk at Leominster in the Thirteenth Century", *The Bodleian Quarterly Record*, 4 (1923-5), 168-70.
- 26 *The English Text of the Ancrene Riwle*, EETS, OS 267 (1972), Introduction, esp. pp. xcv-cxvi, cxxvi-cxxviii, cxl-cxliii, clxiv-clxv.
- 27 "The Medieval Reader and Textual Criticism", *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 26 (1941-2) 49-56, esp. 49, 51, 55.
- 28 "The Scribal Tradition of the Lambeth Homilies", *Review of English Studies*, NS 2 (1951), 112.
- 29 G. Schleich, "Die sprichwörter Hendyng und Die Prouerbis of Wysdom", *Anglia*, 51 (1927), 252, line 7.
- 30 Morris (n. 13 (b), *Miscellany*), pp. 158, 159 (parallel texts), lines 45-6.
- 31 The corresponding passages read: D 673-700, *blisce* 677, 679, 692, *mergþe* 673, 685, 695, 697; J 347-62, *blisse* 350, 356, *mureþe* 347, 349, 353, 360-1; M 311-24, *blisse* 311, 318, 320, 324, *murþe* 315. M (like eE) omits the noun in 317, omits lines 369-70 and has line-variation (see Appendix 1, (6), 1., 2 (c).). These readings suggest that "bliss" is preferred in the Eastern texts TM and "mirth" in the Western versions. There is no systematic substitution to create alliterative phrases. In M 315 the final words of each half line *murþe* - more alliterate, but the alliterative phrase *murhþe mest* in e 349 is spoilt in M 311 *blissene mest*. The archaic gen. pl. form *blissene* does not necessarily indicate retention of the original reading here, see II. LANGUAGE below.
- 32 G.C. Brooke, *English Coins from the seventh century to the present day*, (London, 3rd ed., 1950), p. 110.
- 33 H.A. Grueber, *Handbook of the Coins of Great Britain and Ireland in the British Museum*, (London, 1899; with revisions, 1970), p. ix.
- 34 C. Clark, *The Peterborough Chronicle 1070-1154*, (Oxford, 2nd ed., 1970), pp. 14-15, referring to William Rufus's distribution of marks to every monastery (and pounds to every shire) for his father's soul.
- 35 n. 1, ii, p. 336. I owe the Biblical reference to Mr R.L. Thomson. Hall alternatively suggested that T þes *wichen* may be a deliberate variation of the other readings. If so, the writer responsible may have had in mind *Apocalypsis*, xxi, 8, . . . et fornicatoribus, et veneficis, . . . Hall, pp. 329-54, gives some textual variants and suggests some likely original readings on the grounds of metre, sense, well-attested formulas and imitation of French constructions.
- 36 On the study of MS punctuation to elucidate the "syntactical preoccupations" of ME writers, see N.F. Blake, "The English Language in Medieval Literature",

- Studia Neophilologica*, 48 (1976), 61. The use of rubrication in MSS as one method of distinguishing one language from another, e.g. Latin quotations from the English passages in the *Lambeth Homilies*, will be discussed in the facsimile edition.
- 37 Facsimile of MS. Bodley 34, EETS, OS 247 (1960), p. x.
- 38 n. 26, pp. lxx ff. S.R.T.O. d'Ardenne, "On Middle English Textual Criticism", *Études Anglaises*, 7 (1954), 12 ff. and N.R. Ker (*The English Text of the Ancrene Riwe*. Gonville and Caius MS. 234/120, ed. R.M. Wilson, EETS, OS 229 (1954), Introduction, pp. ix-x, xii) indicated the value of a study of scribal habit and letter forms for the editorial understanding and interpretation of specific textual readings.
- 39 "Towards an Inventory of Middle English Scribes", *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 75 (1974), 608, n. 1.
- 40 C. Wase, *Vita Elfredi Magni Anglorum Regis*. Augmented and published by O. Walker (Oxford, 1678), p. 98, note a.
- 41 First usages of loan words in rhyming position include: Scandinavian: TLeEDJM: T 74 (*MED* il (le adj. 1 (c)), T 164 (*MED* loue n. (3) 2 (a)), T 238 (*OED* Miss, sb.<sup>1</sup> 2); TeEDJ: T 277 (*MED* froude n.). French: TeED: T 322 (*MED* bicacchen v. (b)); TeEJM: T 365-6 (*MED* ermin n. 1; *OED* Sabeline, sb. Obs.); TeEDM: T 341 bene (J grene), which *MED* bēne adj. derives from AN, needs fuller discussion than can be given here. It next appears in the works of the "Gawain-poet". In view of the relationship between the *Conduct* and Guischart de Beauliu's *Sermon* (see IV. 2. below), it is worth noting that M.D. Legge, "Some Notes on Anglo-Norman Vocabulary", *Studies in medieval French presented to Alfred Ewert in honour of his Seventieth Birthday* (Oxford, 1961), p. 226, conversely points out that trauns "trick", *Sermon* 99a (for edition see n. 103 below), is curious if it represents English trant since trant is first attested in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* [line 1700, traunt].
- 42 K. Sisam, *Studies in the History of Old English Literature* (Oxford, 1953; repr. with corrected sheets of the 1st ed., 1962), p. 95.
- 43 *Handbook of Middle English Grammar: Phonology*, transl. and rev. by E.J. Crook (The Hague, 1974), pp. XIV-XV.
- 44 Paues (n. 16, 219) on M; J.E. Wells, *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English 1050-1400*, with nine supplements to 1951 (U. of Yale Press, 1916), p. 386 (excluding LJ); H.C. Wyld, "South-Eastern and South-East Midland Dialects in Middle English", *Essays and studies by Members of the English Association*, 6 (1920), 138 (on the *Trinity Homilies* in the same MS as the *Conduct*, which is in the hand of one of the two scribes who copied the *Homilies*; see n. 46 below). Hall (n. 1, ii) pp. 327 (TLeE), 313 (DM), 292 (J); R.A.L. Haworth, "Some Notes on the Dialect and Manuscripts of the *Poema Morale*", *Studies in English Literature by the English Seminar of Tokyo Imperial University* (1934), 22; *Middle English Dictionary. Plan and Bibliography*, ed. H. Kurath and S.M. Kuhn (U. of Michigan Press, 1954), pp. 11-12 (excluding M); Jordan (n. 43) pp. 14-15 (T), 11 (L), 6 (eE), 10 (D), 8-9 (J), 10 (M).
- 45 Professor Samuels's views on the texts (excluding E), which were communicated in a letter of 5 January, 1966, remain unchanged and are now quoted by permission. My own work was undertaken in the 1950s.

- <sup>46</sup> Jordan (n. 43, 15) gives the *Trinity Homilies* a provenance different from that of the *Conduct*. The MS was written by two scribes. The first copied the *Conduct* and the beginning of the *Homilies*, then alternated with a second scribe throughout the *Homilies* (N.R. Ker, "The Scribes of the Trinity Homilies", *Medium Aevum*, 1 (1932), 139). An analysis, in hand, of the work of the two scribes will indicate their spelling habits. An additional comparison of their palaeography would be useful. My study of the facsimile of T (see n. 1 above) will elucidate that of the first scribe.
- <sup>47</sup> *De Wohunge of Ure Lauerd*, EETS, OS 241 (1958; repr. 1970), pp. liii, xxvii, lix-lx, lv, lviii.
- <sup>48</sup> Wilson, n.2, 39, as Meredith Thompson (p. xi) was aware, placed Lanthony in Worcestershire, and apparently localized the *Lambeth Homilies* there.
- <sup>49</sup> n. 26, p. lxxix, and *The Origins of Ancrene Wisse* (Oxford, 1976), p. 359.
- <sup>50</sup> P.E. Jones and R. Smith, *A Guide to the records of The Corporation of London Records Office and the Guildhall Library muniment room* (London, 1951), p. 111. Bancroft partly wrote the accounts for charges for the bells and clock at St Andrews in 1587 and the names of the contributors. His Rectorship of St Andrews is omitted from the relevant entry in *DNB*.
- <sup>51</sup> Gratien was baptized at Stoke Newington on 22 August, 1563 (E.J. Sage, "St Mary, Stoke Newington, Extracts from the Parish Registers to 1812", *North London Guardian* (1888-9). Mr J.W. Hume, District Librarian, kindly checked this for me in November, 1975. On Gratien's death see *The Index of Wills proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury 1584-1604*. Index Library, 25, IV (London, 1901), under 1603.
- <sup>52</sup> G. Watson, "Dialectal Survivals of Anglo-Saxon Inflection", *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 35 (1936), 53, 57, 59. The preservation of accentuation in e (see n. 5 (3), 355-7) may relate to continuing scribal activity in the South West after the Conquest (on which see P.H. Sawyer, "The Place Names of the Doomsday Manuscripts", *BJRL*, 38 (1955-6), 495).
- <sup>53</sup> The theory that MSS may be identified from the quotation of the opening words of their second folios in medieval catalogues, excludes the possibility of "leaf for leaf" copies. I suspect the MS Lambeth 487 may be one, and I do not think that all MSS can be authoritatively localized on the evidence of second folio quotations only.
- <sup>54</sup> Hill, n. 5 (5) above, 103-4 and n. 42, referring to Adam of Ross's Anglo-Norman version of "St Paul's Descent to Hell"; and n. 24, where I question Adam's authorship. My view that Adam was the scribe indicates that the text was circulating in Herefordshire. MS Cotton Vespasian A VII includes, with another copy of the AN "Descent" (which lacks the colophon mentioning Adam), *Ipomedon* by the Herefordshire Hue de Rotelande (M.D. Legge, *Anglo-Norman in the Cloisters* (U. of Edinburgh Press, 1950), p. 53).
- <sup>55</sup> *Geschichte der englischen Litteratur* (Berlin, 1887), I, p. 191.
- <sup>56</sup> "Middle English Dialect Characteristics and Dialect Boundaries: Preliminary Report of an Investigation based exclusively on Localized Texts and Documents", *Essays and Studies in English and Comparative Literature*, University of Michigan, 13 (1935), 56.
- <sup>57</sup> K. Reichl, *Religiöse Dichtung im englischen Hochmittelalter*, ed. W. Clemens and H. Gneuss, *Münchener Universitäts-Schriften*, I (Munich, 1973), p. 66,

- n. 17, where Hall's opinion is quoted.
- 58 As in E. Ekwall, *English River Names* (Oxford, 1928), pp. 20-3 (Avon), 378-81 (Stour), and see pp. 1, 381, for statements that names such as Avon, originally meaning "the river", are often applied to rivers of some importance, and that *sture* may have become a generic term for "river".
- 59 Letter of 21 January, 1966, in reply to specific enquiries. *King Horn*, line 685, *bi sture* is glossed as "the Mersey" in W.H. French and C.B. Hale, *Middle English Metrical Romances* (1930; new ed., New York, 1964), I, p. 45.
- 60 Ekwall, n. 58, p. 23. The Bourne rivers are listed on pp. 41 ff. The spelling *ou*, indicating a lengthened *u*, is first attested in 1286 for Bourne Brook in Staffordshire and Warwickshire (p. 42, *La Bourne*). Ekwall (p. 43) states that OE *burna* went out of use early in most parts of England, and the river-name Bourne is generally of very early date.
- 61 R.A. Caldwell, "Geoffrey of Monmouth, Wace, and the Stour", *Modern Language Notes*, 69 (1954), 237.
- 62 "Tradition and Innovation in some Middle English Manuscripts", *RES*, NS 17 (1966), 361-2. But she concluded (371) that unaltered linguistic forms were part of the scribe's written dialect.
- 63 T 3-4, 89-90 *dade-rade*, 5-6, 123-4 *lade-adrade*, 131-2 *sade-misdade*, 157-8, 227-8 *sade(n-rade*, 159-60 *ofdrade-dade*, 161-2 *halen-stalen*, 165-6 *adrade-misdade*, 235-6 *strate-hate*, 275-6 *misdade-lade* (cf. 201-02 *unsele-hale*, 209-10 *misdede-ofdrade*, 345-6 *late-strate*).
- 64 The texts of the *Conduct* have also been utilized for general grammatical studies, e.g. O. Knapp, "Die ausbreitung des flektierten Genitive auf -s im Mittellenglischen", *Englische Studien*, 31 (1902), 20-77 (D); A. McIntosh, "The relative pronouns *þe* and *þat* in Early Middle English", *English and Germanic Studies*, 1 (1947-8), 73-87 (T); G. Forrström, *The Verb "To Be" in Middle English*, Lund Studies in English, 15 (1948) (TLeDJ); D.W. Reed, *The history of Inflectional "n" in English verbs before 1500*, University of California publications in English, 7 (1950) (LEDJ); T. Heltveit, *Studies in English Demonstrative Pronouns* (Oslo, 1953) (TeD); Kikuo Yamakawa, "ME *Ther* and *wher* -: A Study of WHERE developing in the Subordinating Function (II)-", *Hitotsubashi Journal of Arts and Sciences*, 12 (1973) (LJ).
- 65 n. 49, *Origins*, pp. 358-59, in suggesting that the spelling *th*, once in L 216 *with*, is perhaps a relic of the eastern original, since *th* is contrary to normal West-Midland scribal practice. The context reads *with þa þe* and *th* may have replaced *þ* for clarity at any stage of transmission. *th* also occurs in L 127 *late he lathē* "hates" ((an) evil deed(s)), as a variant to T 128 *late he lateō* "leaves", e 128 *late he leteō*, E 128 *late he leted* [sic], D 239 *late uorlet*, J 128, M 120 *late he leteþ*. L *lathē* may represent the original reading and *lateō* then arose from the erroneous repetition of *t* in *late*; or *lathē* may show intrusion of inorganic *h* in an original reading *lateō*. In L, *h* is omitted 6x and added initially 8x, and medially 1x in line 102 *ordlinghes*. T has *th* in 41 *thurh*, 61 *lothe*. In J, assigned by Professor Samuels to the "AB" language area (see II. 2. on the provenance of J), *th* is written once between vowels in 271 *euethen* (OE *efete*). Otherwise inorganic *h* is written 2x in 95 *hus*, 357 *hermyne*, and between *l* and *þ*, e.g. 16 *selhþe*, 58 *tylehþe*. In E *tht* is written for *ht* (cf. E 77-80 *mihte-nihte*, *wihte-drihte*) in 76 *lihte*, 109 *rihte* 119 *drihte*, where *h* is interlined with caret, 240 *mithten*, and cf. the spellings 75 *britte*, 110 *dritte*.



- 66 According to Map II in the end pocket of Moore, Meech and Whitehall, n. 56.
- 67 Review of *The Owl and the Nightingale*, ed. N.R. Ker, EETS 251 (1963), in *N&Q*, 209 (1964), 191-3.
- 68 *N&Q*, 220 (1975), 103, n. 35.
- 69 "Laḡamon's Antiquarian Sentiments", *Medium Ævum*, 38 (1969), 23 ff.
- 70 n. 3, Arngart, pp. 57-64, 15-38. For a different opinion of the history of the Galba fragments, see Hill, n. 5 (2), "Fragments", 275-8.
- 71 A. Campbell, *Old English Grammar* (Oxford, 1959), para. 18, observes the difficulty of stating with confidence that a given OE poem is in a particular dialect or even a non-WS one, and see para. 21. Dr Joyce Hill assures me that apart from Sisam's discussion (n. 72 below) this problem has not been generally elucidated. Mr A.R. Taylor's occasional assistance is acknowledged here.
- 72 "A New Approach to Middle English Dialectology", *English Studies*, 44 (1963), 11. K. Sisam, n. 42, p. 134, points out that the two OE poems on *St Guthlac* are assumed East Mercian on the evidence of their content not of their language.
- 73 Sisam, n. 42, pp. 95-6, though expressing reservations that the dialectal areas in the late tenth century are indefinable, thought that the *Beowulf* MS may have been compiled [italics mine] in London for suitable reading in a monastic library or cloister.
- 74 J. Schipper, *A History of English Versification* (Oxford, 1910), paras. 135-7 and M. Kaluza, *A Short History of English Versification* (London, 1911), paras. 127-9, give a general discussion of the septenary. Hall, n. 1, ii, pp. 327-9, illustrates, from L, deviations from the norm and rhythmic licence. For further detail see Lewin, n. 15, pp. 39-42, Marcus, n. 17, pp. 29-35.
- 75 Reproduced by C.E. Wright, *English Vernacular Hands from the Twelfth to the Fifteenth Centuries* (Oxford, 1960), Plate 2.
- 76 *The Canterbury Tales of Chaucer*, IV (London, 1775), p. lxxii.
- 77 The Originals of the "Katherine Group", including *St Margaret*, and the later *Ancrene Wisse*, are dated by Dobson, n. 49, *Origins*, pp. 164-6, between 1190 and 1221. The septenaries (C. Brown and R.H. Robbins, *The Index of Middle English Verse* (U. of Columbia Press, 1943) item 3568) appear in *Ancrene Wisse*. But F.M. Mack (ed. *Seinte Marharete*, EETS, OS 193 (1934), n. to 34/18 ff., pp. 73-4) thought that the author of the *Wisse* based his translation and expansion of the Latin couplet he quotes on the English septenaries in *St Margaret*, of which the first two lines translate the Latin couplet in the *Wisse*, though the Latin is not given in *St Margaret*. Meredith Thompson, n. 47, p. xxi, thought that the *Conduct of Life* may have influenced the penitential tone of the *Ureisun*. But the immediate influence may derive from *St Margaret* and the *Wisse*. A more exact provenance for L would clarify this matter.
- 78 G.L. Brook, *The Harley Lyrics* (U. of Manchester Press, 2nd ed., 1956), no. 24, pp. 62-3.

- 79 Ed. R. Morris, II, EETS, OS 59, 62 (1875-6), pp. 855 ff.
- 80 "The Appreciation of Old English Metre", *English and Medieval Studies presented to J.R.R. Tolkien*, ed. N. Davis and C.L. Wrenn (London, 1962), pp. 35-6.
- 81 *A Dictionary of the English Language* (London, 1775), p.4.
- 82 E.G. Stanley, "Old English Poetic Diction and the interpretation of *The Wanderer*, *The Seafarer* and *The Penitent's Prayer*", *Anglia*, 73 (1955-6), 447, 450, 452.
- 83 S. Rubin, *Medieval English Medicine* (Newton Abbot, 1974), p. 120.
- 84 *Bischofs Wærferth von Worcester Übersetzung der Dialoge Gregors des Grossen*, ed. H. Hecht, *Bibliothek der Angelsächsischen Prosa*, V (Leipzig, 1900), Book IV, ch. xxxviii, p. 322, lines 29-30 (referred to by H.A.C. Green, "The Medieval Conception of Heaven and Hell in literature after 1150", M.A. thesis, London, 1923, p. 27.).
- 85 Ed. J. Rawson Lumby, EETS, OS 65 (1876), p. 4, line 51.
- 86 See J. Sumption, *Pilgrimage* (London, 1975), pp. 21, further 79-80 and the notes to them.
- 87 From the eleventh-century Psalter of Farfa in A. Wilmart, "Prières medievals pour l'adoration de la croix", *Ephemerides Liturgicae*, 46 (1934), pp. 32, [2], lines 11-12, 35, [5]; see also pp. 32, lines 20-21, 40 [20].
- 88 Cf. the quotation from *Theophilus* (MED leche n. (3) 1 (c)) "Of al my sorwe þu [Satan] art my leche; Body and soule I the be teche."
- 89 *Be Domes Dæge*, n. 85, p. 4, lines 45-7; and see *The Giving of Alms, The Exeter Book*, ed. W.S. Mackie, pt. ii, EETS, OS 194 (1934), p. 182, lines 8-9.
- 90 *Twelfth Century Homilies in MS Bodley 343*, ed. A.O. Belfour, pt. i., EETS, OS 137 (1909), p. 52.
- 91 For the widespread popularity of the theme see *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English 1050-1500*, ed. J. Burke Severs (Connecticut, 1970), pp. 448-9, 640-41, [312], [313]. A.E. Holden, "The Gospel of Nicodemus", M.A. thesis, London, 1950, p. cxix, has a valuable list of references to the subject and its treatment.
- 92 *A Contribution to the Comparative Study of the Medieval Visions of Heaven and Hell, with special reference to the Middle-English versions* (Baltimore, 1899), p. 49. C. Fritzsche, "Die lateinischen Visionen des Mittelalters bis zur Mitte des 12. Jahrhunderts", *Romanische Forschungen*, 2 (1886), 247-79, 3 (1887), 337-69, lists the vision texts in chronological order from the fifth century.
- 93 *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. B. Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors, (Oxford, 1969), Book V, ch. xii, pp. 488-92. Cf. also the Mercian's vision of the Devil's written records of his deeds, pp. 498-500, with T 97-102.

- <sup>94</sup> Lewin, n. 15, pp. 43-9, and Marcus, n. 17, pp. 6-10, list phrases common to the *Conduct* and later poetry and prose; and see Hall, n. 1, ii, pp. 329-54, for similar correspondences. F.A. Patterson, *The Middle English Penitential Lyric* (U. of Columbia Press, 1911; repr. 1966), pp. 165-6, demonstrates in detail the verbal influence of the *Conduct*, including alliterative phrases, on *A Prayer to Our Lady*.
- <sup>95</sup> A.L. Poole, *From Doomsday Book to Magna Carta* (Oxford, 1955), p. 150.
- <sup>96</sup> D.M. Stenton, *English Society in the early Middle Ages 1066-1307* (4th ed. Pelican books, 1965), p. 219. Th. Callahan, "A Revaluation of the Anarchy of Stephen's reign 1135-1154: The Case of the Black Monks", *Revue Benedictine*, 84 (1974), 338-51, esp. 347, concludes that the Benedictine Houses suffered most from the loss of revenue, though over half (but, 350, n. 4, not St Albans) received compensation.
- <sup>97</sup> J.R.H. Moorman, *Church Life in England in the Thirteenth Century* (O.U.P., 1946), p. 301.
- <sup>98</sup> R. Allen Brown, "Royal Castle-Building in England 1154-1216", *EHR*, 70 (1955), 353-90, esp. 360.
- <sup>99</sup> F.A. Cazell, "The Tax of 1185 in aid of the Holy Land", *Speculum*, 30 (1955), 385-92.
- <sup>100</sup> C. Creighton, *A History of Epidemics in Britain* (2nd ed., with additional material by D.E.C. Eversley, E. Ashworth Underwood and L. Ovenall, London, 1965), I, Creighton's Text, pp. 16-17.
- <sup>101</sup> *The Medieval English Sheriff to 1300* (U. of Manchester Press, 1927), pp. 15-16 and references, 113, 136.
- <sup>102</sup> Morris, n. 101, pp. 148-9, 230. See also S.K. Mitchell, *Taxation in Medieval England* (U. of Yale Press, 1951), chs. v-vii, and the beginning of ch. viii, which cover the late twelfth century to about 1300.
- <sup>103</sup> *Le Sermon de Guischart de Beaulieu*, Humanistiska Vetenskaps-Samfundet i Uppsala, Skrifter, 12:5 (Uppsala, 1909), from which all quotations are taken. The edition lacks a glossary. For a summary of the content of the *Sermon*, see p. LI, and Legge, n. 105, pp. 135-7.
- <sup>104</sup> "Guischart de Beaulieu's debt to religious learning and literature in England", *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, 128 (1912), 309-28.
- <sup>105</sup> *Anglo-Norman Literature and its Background* (Oxford, 1963), pp. 243-4.
- <sup>106</sup> Ed. *Les Vers de Thibaud de Marly, Poème Didactique du XII<sup>e</sup> Siècle* (Paris, 1932), pp. 46, 42; for a synopsis of the poem, see pp. 57-67.
- <sup>107</sup> On the Augustinian doctrine, see E. Mâle, *L'Art religieux du XIII<sup>e</sup> Siècle en France* (Paris, 1925), p. 381 and n. 3; on other weighings, e.g. love, see Green, n. 84, p. 20; on the wall painting, see E.W. Tristram, *English medieval wall painting, I. The Twelfth Century* (O.U.P., 1944), p. 108 and plates xlviiii-xlix. A soul faces St Michael, who is holding the scales, with one hand raised in entreaty, and the other hand beneath the pan containing its virtues. A gigantic devil presses down the pan containing its vices with one hand, and, with the other, grasps a rope securing damned souls.

- 108 M.B. Parkes, *The Literacy of the Laity*, ch. 16 in *Literature and Western Civilization*, ii, *The Medieval World*, ed. D. Daiches and A.K. Thorlby (London, 1973), p. 562 and n. 38.
- 109 n. 103, p. XLVIII, but cf. p. LVII. In support of AN, rather than CF, authorship of the *Sermon*, Gabrielson, p. LIII, mentions English words which, he suggests, indicate the author's familiarity with the English language; but Legge, n. 41, *Ewert Studies*, pp. 224 ff., pointed out that recorded English words are not even a guarantee that a text is of AN origin, since some of them appear in CF texts.
- 110 D. Knowles and R.N. Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses, England and Wales* (2nd ed., London, 1971), p. 52.
- 111 n. 49, *Origins*, pp. 327-36. Dobson's statement (pp. 335-6, in following Kane, to whom he refers on p. 328, n. 3) that the anagram was introduced or put in vogue by Nicole de Margival, who uses it in the conclusion to his *Dit de la Panthère*, composed 1290-1328, takes no account of E.G. Stanley's suggestion (B.S. Merrilees, *Le Petit Plet*, AN Texts XX (Oxford, 1970), p. xxxi, n. 1) that Chardri (the accepted author of three AN poems extant in MSS Jesus 29 and Cotton Caligula A ix) may be an anagram for Richard.
- 112 E.g. Guillaume de Barnwell's *Life of Saint Giles*, written about 1170-1200; Legge, n. 54, pp. 58-9, quotes the relevant lines.
- 113 P. Meyer, "Notice sur le Manuscrit II 6 24 de la Bibliothèque de l'université de Cambridge", *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale et Autres Bibliothèques*, 32 (1888), ii, 72 ff.
- 114 "The *Manuel des Pechiez* and the Scholastic Prologue", *Romanic Review*, 8 (1917), 436, n. 5.
- 115 On the MS, see A-M Bouly de Lesdain, "Les Manuscrits Didactiques antérieurs au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle, Essai d'inventaire (Deuxième Article)", *Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes. Bulletin no. 14* (1966), III. Section Romane: p. 79, no. 177. On the four items, see R. Bossuat, *Manuel bibliographique de la littérature française du Moyen âge* (Melun, 1955), nos. 3039-40, 3537, 2493, 2646.
- 116 *A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, (London, 1808), III, p. 140.
- 117 *Beaulieu* and *Bello Loco* are recorded contemporaneously from 1254. *Beulliu*, corresponding most closely to the form of Guischart's surname, is recorded once about 1270 (*The Place-Names of Bedfordshire and Huntingdonshire*, EPNS, III (C.U.P., 1926), p. 147).
- 118 C.E. Wright, *Fontes Harleiani* (London, 1972), pp. 281-2.
- 119 It may be worth noting that Simon, Abbot of St Albans from 1167 to 1183, who had been a gifted scribe, not only added books to his own collection but constantly maintained two or three professional writers in his apartments (see D. Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England* (C.U.P., 2nd ed., 1963), p. 310).
- 120 *A Catalogue of a Valuable Collection of Historical and Topographical Books, . . . also, some few VERY CURIOUS MANUSCRIPTS, . . . which will be sold by*

- auction by Mr Sotheby and Son, 21 May (London, 1836), pp. (8) - (9), no. 170.
- <sup>121</sup> A Catalogue of manuscripts arranged in chronological order and of books illustrating the science of palaeography, Bernard Quaritch Catalogue, no. 138 (London, 1893), p. 10, no. 20.
- <sup>122</sup> Lambeth Palace Library MS Whartoniani 580 in the hand of Henry Wharton, Librarian, 1688, p. 513, no. 163, item 19.
- <sup>123</sup> Twelve Facsimiles of Old English Manuscripts (Oxford, 1892), Plate VI, p. (24) (J).
- <sup>124</sup> An Old and Middle English Reader (New York, 1893), pp. 49 ff.
- <sup>125</sup> n. 44, Third Supplement (1926), p. 1218, 823 [25]; Seventh Supplement (1938), p. 1623.
- <sup>126</sup> The New Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature, ed. G. Watson, (C.U.P., 1974), I, p. 509, §2.
- <sup>127</sup> Stanley, n. 82, 414, who altered the title of the third poem in the Exeter Book from *The Exile's Prayer* or *Resignation* to *The Penitent's Prayer*; *Sir Gawain and the Green Gome*, ed. R.T. Jones (London, 1972), p. 8; (but the substitution *Gome*, from the text of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, is obsolete after the sixteenth century (*OED Gome, Obs.*), whereas *Knight* is not; and *MED gōme* n (1) gives four well-attested senses of the word in Middle English); Dobson, n. 49, *Origins*, pp. 51-3, chose *Ancrene Wisse* (instead of *Ancrene Riwe*), as the only title of the work with any manuscript authority, from the colophon of the Corpus MS.
- <sup>128</sup> Allen, n. 114, 460, n. 67. Quoted from the commentary on the *Exoticon* of Alexander of Hales.
- <sup>129</sup> Dobson, n. 26, p. 211, line 18.
- <sup>130</sup> Reichl, n. 57, pp. 64-5, has a table of the MSS which include some of the verse texts which also appear in the various MSS of the *Conduct*.

APPENDIX I

LINE VARIATION IN *LeEDJM*

Line variations from T (for the text see n. 1) are listed in the chronological order of the texts, and are arranged under 1. *Omissions*. 2. *Variant Order* (a) The same couplet placed in a different context. (b) Two lines of one couplet reversed in the same context. (c) Two or more couplets reversed in the same context. 3. *Additions*.

- (1) L: 1. *Omissions* = T 100, 129-30, 174, 198, 275-400.  
2. *Variant Order* (a) T 11-12 *worde-horde*, L after T 28.  
(b) T 161-2 *halen-stalen*, L 158-9 *stelen-helen*.
- (2) e: 1. *Omissions* = T 151-2, 375-400. 2. *Variant Order* (a) = T 129-30 are added in the scribe's hand (partly erased) in the bottom margin of f. 66<sup>v</sup> after e 151. N.B. *My line numbering of e throughout omits these two lines*. (b) T 161-2 *halen-stalen*, e 157-8 *stelen-helen*.
- (3) E: 2. *Variant Order* (b) T 161-2 *halen-stalen*, E 161-2 *stelen-helen* (c) E 249-52: *quenche-swenche* (T 253-4), *vre-sture* (T 251-2).
- (4) D: 1. *Omissions* = T 29-30, 47-8, 93-6, 267-70, 335-6, 351-2, 365-6, 371-2. 2. *Variant Order* (b) T 83-4 *lofte-safte*, D 158, 160 *seafte-lefte*; T 161-2 *halen-stalen*, D 306, 308 *stelen-helen*. (c) D 81-8: *zielde-selde* (T 45-6), *pieue-lieue* (T 43-4). 3. *Additions*. After T 396, D 749-56 *jernuolnesse-wouernesse*, *blisce-ecnesse*.
- (5) J: 1. *Omissions* = T 69-70, 165-8, 173-4, 223-4, 347-8, 381-4. 2. *Variant Order* (a) T 96 - *deme* = J 93; T 225-6 *reche-feche* = J 143-4 (after T 140 and after the addition *ende-wende*, see 3 below). (b) T 161-2 *halen-stalen*, J 165-6 *stelen-helen*. 3. *Additions*. After T 14, J 15 - *likeð*; after T 94, J 95 - *rede*; after T 140, J 141-2 *ende-wende*; after T 265, J 258 - *spede*; after T 270, J 264 - *on wolde*; after T 400, J 389-90 *olde-atholde*. *Amen*.
- (6) M: 1. *Omissions* = T 13-14, 27-8, 57-8, 76-7, 117-18, 151-2, 155-6, 169-70, 183-4, 197-8, 207-08, 255-6, 265-6, 277-8, 289-90, 293-302, 325-8, 331-2, 369-79, 382, 387-92, 394-6. 2. *Variant Order* (a) T 59-60 *unforzolden-solden* = M 57-8 (after T 64); T 205-6 *senne-kenne* = M 181-2 (after T 194); T 271-2 *aihte-taihte* = M 245-6 (after T 264); T 291-2 *lie-drie* = M 145-6 (after T 154); T 393 *godcunnesse* = M 325 *godnesse* (after T 379, but M omits T 369-79, see 1 above). (b) T 239-40 *lisse-wisse*, M 221-2 *ywisse-lisse*. (c) M 43-6: *yloue-scerreue* (T 49-50), *ylome-dome* (T 47-8); M 103-

110: *liue-driue* (T 115-16), *herte-smerte* (T113-14), *rigte-drigte* (T 109-10), *wille-stille* (T 111-12); M 159-64: *eue-yleue* (T 175-6), *harde-arerde* (T 171-2), *ydemed-iquemed* (T 173-4); M 175-77: *brede-dede* (T 191-2), *rode-blode* (T 189-90); M 189-92: *sunne-unwenne* (T 211-12), *misdede-adrede* (T 209-10); M 255-62: *raketeze-heze* (T 283-4), *wizte-isihte* (T 285-6), *sturre-erre* (T 279-80), *eie-leye* (T 281-2); M 287-95: *werie-derie* (T 337-8), *senne-mankenne* (T 339-40), *ylome-come* (T 329-30, M omits T 331-2, see l. above), *penche-drenche* (T 333-4), *scenche-schrenche* (T 335-6); M 313-18: *riche-unliche* (T 359-60), *more-sore* (T 361-2), *nammore-sore* (T 357-8). 3. Additions. Prefaced to T 1-2, two lines from *Sinners Beware*, (n. 77, *Index*, item 3607). N.B. My line numbering of M throughout omits these two lines. After T 102, M 95-6 *rede-yuerrede*; after T 234, M 215-16 *hielde-chielde*.

## APPENDIX 2

### THE RHYME-EVIDENCE FOR THE GRAMMATICAL FORMS OF THE ORIGINAL TEXT

In listing these forms, which are based on T, I give one example of each kind of evidence for the form, which I capitalize, and then indicate the number of occurrences.

#### VERBS

##### 1. INFINITIVE SUFFIX

###### (1). -e

rhyiming with (a) 1st sg. pres. ind.: T 225-6 *reche-FECHE* 1x.

(b) OE strong noun sg. in oblique case: T 51-2 *SENDE-ende*. 12x; excluding T 391-2 and EJ, which "rhyme" 3 sg. pres. ind. with infinitive/ind. pres. pl. D 738, 740 *wealde* dat. sg. noun-*BIHIALDE* apparently retain the original rhyme words.

(c) OE weak noun, nom. sg.: T 49-50 (and D) *ILEUEN-syrreue*; LeEJM have -e infinitive forms. 1x.

(d) sg. adj. declined strong in OE, in oblique case: T 245-6 *unstedefaste-ILASTE*. 2x.

(e) nom. pl. adj. in absol. use: T 315-16 *alle-FALLE* 1x.

###### (2). -en OR -e

rhyiming with (a) OE strong noun sg. in oblique case: T 147-8 *fasten* (OE *fāsten* "fasting")-*ILASTEN*; M *uaste-ILASTE*. 1x. On the possible loss of final *n* in the noun, see 4. (1). below.

(b) OE strong noun pl.: T 139-40 *tiden-ABIDEN*; eEJM *tide-ABIDE*. 2x.

(c) OE weak noun (i) pl. and (ii) dat. sg.: (i) T 259-60 (and LEDJ) *LEUEN-reuen*; e (and M) *ILEUE-ireue*. 1x. (ii) T 95-6 *IQUEME-deme*. 2x; T (175)-76 (and LeEM) have pres. pl. ind./subj., but J 173-4 read *eve-ILEUE* and D 334, 336 *euen-ILEUEN*.

(d) nom. pl. adj. in absol. use: T 33-4 (and L) *LIBBEN-sibbe*; eEDJM *LIBBE-sibbe*. OE *sib(b* adj. could give ME *sibbe* nom. pl. in absol. use or *sibben* weak noun nom. pl. 1x.

(e) adv.: T 87-8 *bihinde-FINDE*; L *bihinden-FINDEN*. 1x.

##### 2. IND. PRET. PL. ENDING

###### (1). -e

rhyiming with (a) nom. pl. adj. declined strong in OE: T 171-2 *harrde-ARERDE*. 2x.

(b) adv.: T 99-100 *pare-WAREN*; eEDJM - *WERE*. 1x.

###### (2). -en OR -e

rhyiming with (a) OE strong noun, acc. sg.: T 257-8 (and LJ) *dru[n]ken-SWUNKEN*; e (and EDM) *drunke-SWUNCHE*. The original rhyme could have been either *drunken* (OE *druncen*, n.) -*swunken*, or, if *drunken* lost



final *n* (see 4. (1). below), *drunke-swunke*. 1x.

(b) infinitive (see 1. (2). above): T 21-2 (and LeE) *rewen-SEWEN*; D (and JM) *riewe-SIEWE*. 4x.

### 3. PAST PART. OF STRONG VERB

(1). *i-e*

rhyiming with (a) OE strong noun dat. sg.: T 179-80 *IFUNDE-grunde*. 1x.

(b) OE strong noun pl.: T 167-8 *IBORE3E-sore3e*. 1x.

(c) nom. pl. adj. in absol. use: T 197-8 *alle-BIFALLE*. 1x.

(2). *-en* OR *-e*

rhyiming with ind. pret. pl. (see 2. (2). above): T 59-60 (and L) *UNFOR3OLDEN-solden*; e (and EDJM) *UNFOR3OLDE-scolde*. 1x.

## NOUNS

### 4. OE STRONG NOUNS

(1). *Loss of final n from OE dryhten masc. ǣ stem*

rhyiming with (a) adv.: T 109-10 *rihte-DRIHTE*. 1x.

(b) OE strong noun dat. sg.: T 309-10 *mihte-DRIHTE*. 1x.

(2). *Pl. ending -e*

rhyiming with OE strong noun sg. in nom. and oblique cases: T 285-6 *WIHTEN-sihte*; e (and EDM) *WIHTE-sihte*. 5x.

(3). *Pl. ending -en* OR *-e*

rhyiming with infinitive (see 1. (2). above). 2x.

### 5. OE WEAK NOUNS

(1). *Pl. ending -e*

rhyiming with adv.: T 101-02 (and D) *here-IFEREN*; L (and eEJM) *here-IFERE*. 3x.

(2). *Nom. pl. and dat. sg. ending -e* OR *-en*

rhyiming with (a) infinitive (see 1. (2) above). 2x.

(b) adj. in absol. use: T 29-30 (and L) *MOWE-owen*; e (and EJM) *MA3E-a3e*. 1x.