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An Unedited Old English Homily
in MS. Cambridge, U.L. II. 133

by

Kathleen Much Murfin

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ABSTRACT

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Kathleen Much Murfin

This thesis is an attempt to establish an authoritative text for a previously unedited anonymous Old English homily, with a parallel re-creation of a text for the probable source.

The untitled homily is probably late tenth or early eleventh century, copied in the late twelfth century into a collection of Aelfrician sermons. It is a translation of a lost version of a Latin sermon of Pseudo-Isidore, based in turn on three sermons of Pseudo-Augustine. Sources and analogues are traced and discussed. A fairly literal translation into Modern English is included.

This homily may be useful to lexicographers for several early appearances of Middle English words and a few unusual Old English spellings or compounds.
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INTRODUCTION

In order to compile an Old English dictionary drawing from all known Old English texts, it is necessary to edit a number of short, mostly anonymous works which have never been edited previously, and to re-edit some of the longer ones in the light of modern scholarship and linguistic techniques. A dictionary of Old English, to be complete, should be able to refer to all words and forms of words found in Old English anywhere, and it would be impossible to work from unedited manuscripts. The project of writing a dictionary to replace Bosworth-Toller\(^1\) is already under way, sponsored by the Centre for Mediaeval Studies at the University of Toronto, but its completion is still some years in the future. In an attempt to aid in the project, which will be of great benefit to Old English scholars and students, I have edited one sermon of the approximately fifty homilies which remain unprinted.

The untitled homily in MS. Cambridge, University Library Ti. 133, folios 207-211 (hereinafter called Camb.), has never been edited completely, although Rudolph Willard printed about seventy-five lines of it in a 1935 article discussing one of the homily's themes.\(^2\) J. E. Cross printed about twenty lines in a 1957 article on ubi sunt passages in Old English Literature.\(^3\) In the course of this article, Cross iden-
tified the probable source of the homily, discussed below, which I identified again, independently.

Camb. should be of interest to lexicographers for very early appearances of *cwoa* and *pur*; for the unusual forms *eot* 'yet,' *folum* 'foul,' and *hwilefæce*; for a hapax legomenon, *unrihtnimendum*; and for examples of *y* spellings for etymological *y*. Most of the spellings are typical late West-Saxon.

Camb. is a twelfth century copy of a sermon on the need for penance before death. It is probably a fairly faithful translation of a Latin original, which is a version of a homily by Pseudo-Isidore, which is in turn based on three sermons attributed in the Middle Ages to St. Augustine, LXVI, LXVIII, and LXIX in the collection called *Ad Fratres in Eremo*.¹ The Camb. sermon is included in a collection of homilies and lives of saints written at several intervals, most of which are copied from Aelfric's *Sermones Catholici* and *Lives of Saints*.⁵ Probably the codex was intended for use by monastics instead of at Sunday Mass for the laity, because it does not follow the liturgical year closely or include homilies for each Sunday. Ker calls it "chiefly a passional."⁵

The word forms and inflectional endings of Camb. indicate that it was not written in the twelfth century, but copied from an earlier manuscript. The date of original composition must remain conjectural, there
being no unambiguous internal evidence for dating.
By the late twelfth century, of course, most of the composition in the vernacular in England was done in Norman French or what we now call Early Middle English; however, copying of Old English texts did not die out until the thirteenth century. There were still many English-speaking and English-reading ecclesiastics who would have been able to understand Old English readily, although they probably would have found it somewhat archaic. R. W. Chambers states that "whilst illumination disappears, manuscripts in the English language continue to be transcribed, not only at Worcester, under Wulfstan, but under Norman rule in many other places. Norman bishops and abbots did not, it would seem, actively persecute the English language." Also, "in the latter half of the Twelfth Century we find great collections of Homilies, almost entirely drawn from Aelfric and other pre-Conquest sources." Rolf Berndt assumes that there was at least some bilingualism in religious communities in the twelfth century; therefore there still would be an audience for this sort of book.

DATE AND LANGUAGE

Ker dates the manuscript in the second half of the twelfth century from the handwriting. I find this borne out by certain linguistic forms.

The copyist used late West-Saxon spelling forms, but appears to have updated his text from his exemplar
in a few instances. He still keeps all pronouns in their Old English forms except the third person singular masculine nominative se, which he has changed to the Middle English indeclinable article pe eight times (11. 8, 14, 67, 93, 94, 100, 102, 103). The scribe keeps se seven times, however (11. 23 [twice], 27, 31, 108, 168, 178). There is a tendency to level unstressed vowels, especially in inflectional endings, to a, usually spelled e: e.g. geogephade 11. 17 and 19 (for geogop-), cumen 23 (for inf. cuman), seolfer 42 (for -for), muneca 84 (for munucas), gode 103 (for -a), manede 178 and gelapde 199 (for -ode). Sometimes leveling gives a: awacnap 46 (for -ep), gefultumap 75 (for -ep), noldan 75 (for -on), elypad 169 (for -ep), utan 184 (for -on), onwunad 200 (for -ied). There is one case of ME dative plural ending -an for OE -um: pysan 190 (usually pism 12 et passim, pistols 203, or pistols 105 et passim). In two words, wære 121 and mote 191, ME loss of final -n is shown. A late form cwod 15 is used once, as is the earlier form, cwæd 175 (other instances are abbreviated).

The scribe is relatively faithful to his older original, since most inflectional endings are intact. According to Robert Stevick, inflectional endings on nouns were leveled in the twelfth century, so the date of composition must be earlier than that. It is of course possible that some of the forms I have
attributed to scribal change were in an earlier original. F. P. Magoun, following Kemp Malone, has found a number of "Middle Anglicisms" in tenth century texts, especially including verb endings in -ab<ep and unstressed vowels leveling to e.11 The scribe is probably responsible for the seven spellings of u or o for y: orsorhnuus 25, mordran 80, wurcap 86, dudest 117, scruddest 118, cymd 132, wurdmunt 207. This Southwest or West Midlands spelling, in which a rounded y sound is spelled with u as in French words, is also found in other parts of the codex copied by the same hand.12 The second hand apparently does not spell u for y, and in this homily the first scribe also uses a second, older, spelling, cymd 105. He is generally quite careful to preserve old spellings.

For several reasons I tentatively assign the original composition to the late tenth or early eleventh century. The age of the Benedictine revival saw the creation of many large collections of homilies, such as the Blickling and Vercelli homilies, and later, but in the same tradition, the prolific writings of Aelfric and the sermons of Wulfstan. C. L. Wrenn says that in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries "the art of vernacular translation from Latin considerably improved and enlarged its scope;"13 and "most of the basic material of the homilies . . . was adapted or translated from Latin sources."14 Because of the inclusion in the
codex of so much Aelfrician material (39 out of 44 items), it is possible that the later compiler assumed this sermon also to be Aelfrician, or at least contemporaneous with him. The sermon has parallel passages (such as the list of sufferers in hell, the catalogue of good deeds and bad deeds), and some approximations of theme or phrasing, in several of the Blickling and Vercelli homilies, especially Bl. Homs. V, VIII, and X (Ker 382, Arts. 5, 8, 9), and Verc. Homs. III, IV, IX, X, XXII (Ker 394, Arts. 3, 4, 11, 12, 27). It diverges from all of them, however, in important ways, so it is definitely not a version of any of them.

Like some of the Blickling Homilies, Camb. has a direct reference to the coming end of the world, which was an especially popular theme in the years prior to A.D. 1000: "forpan domesdæg is wel neah pe bu [the evil body] a-risan scealt 2 ic [the bad soul] bonne cume to be" (11. 155-156). This, however, is translated directly from the Latin source, so cannot be used to date the Old English sermon.

Word-forms and inflections are generally conservative West-Saxon, similar to those used by Aelfric and Wulfstan (the language that Campbell, in his Grammar, designates as lW-S). There are no extremely early forms; but the text does retain forms and inflections which were in the process of leveling in the eleventh century, with the exceptions noted above. If the text was composed
much after the Conquest, one would expect to find the processes of change much further advanced than they in fact are. The pronouns are still fully declined; there is virtually no tendency to level the stem vowels of past and present forms of strong verbs; the only French influence is in the few spellings of y for etymological y mentioned above. The complete absence of any French-derived words in an ecclesiastical manuscript would bolster rather than contradict a date of composition before the Conquest.

Other clues to the time of original translation from the Latin are the stability of æ, change of ie to i or y, and progressive unrounding of y. In Southern dialects other than Kent and Surrey, æ remains relatively stable until after 1000.\(^{16}\) æ remains stable in Camb. except in the common words par 73 et passim, parinne 58, which are in low stress positions), cwod 15 (already posited as a scribal change), and awacnap 46 (in which the æ could be retracted to a following w). There are also three occurrences of the spelling pœr 70, 71, and 134, one of cwœd 175. After 1000, æ began to change, usually to ME e, and by the late twelfth century the change was almost completed. Having so many words with æ before him which were probably spelled with a or e in his dialect, the twelfth century scribe has even archaized wærigan 6 by spelling æ for a in stressed position. In positions of low stress, æ
or e may appear as æ, probably a late West-Saxon reverse spelling: bæra 18 and 67, unalifedlice æ 86 (this may be an attempt to correct a to e), beowæna 120, afullæd 154.

In early West-Saxon y is hardly ever written i; in late West-Saxon etymological y and ie have a tendency to appear as i before palatal consonants or groups containing them, and as y before r groups and other consonants. In Camb., ie>y in syt 1 et passim, (ge)scyl-
dan 7 and 77, wyrrestan 7, ylde 8, sy 23 et passim.
tydderlice 29, stryndon 39 and 41, besyten 44, gecwylmede 51 et passim, bystrum 56 et passim, gehyrst 66, hyrsum-
edest 113 and gehyrsum 144, gepyredest 124, gesynst 129, gymeleæstum 162, seyr 164 et passim, clypad 169, syppan 177 (also appears as sidden 129). In one word etymo-
logical ie>i following a palatal: forgifenysse 175 and 193. There are several instances of i before pala-
talized h, as in mihta 31, drihtenlican 92, etc. Camb.
therefore generally follows normal late West-Saxon spelling usage of y, i, and ie.

Camb. also shows some evidence of late West-Saxon unrounding of y (both mutated u, and from ie) by some spellings of i for y, and inverted spellings with y for i where there is nothing to cause rounding. Instances of these changes in Camb. are wyllat 2 (and other forms of willan), syndon 12 et passim, hym 48 (usually him), (med)mycel 64, 88, and 126, cyrcan 119, hwyc 129.
lyhtende 134, wyt 136 et passim, cwyde 138, and mort-
glyhtas 149. Some of these i's may have been rounded to y's by their labial environment, and thus may not be true inverted spellings. Words which retain the y or earlier eo and u spellings indicating rounding include swystra 6, weorpe 23, bwyre 25, hwyrfe 128, and wurdmunt 207 (for weorpmynt). There is no sure way of knowing how far unrounding had progressed in the translator's dialect. The evidence of the spellings of French u for y would indicate that the scribe retained rounding in at least some y's.

SCRIPT AND PUNCTUATION

The hand of scribe 1, who copied this homily, is a medium-sized, neat twelfth century script. The scribe differentiates somewhat in script between Latin and English, but he is not wholly consistent. Certain abbreviations and letter forms are found only in the Latin, but the scribe mixes English letter forms with them freely in his Latin quotations. Letter forms found only in the Latin are a-d, g- small majuscule G and minuscule q, q- q, r-x and r, and s-s. The letters in the Old English portions are standard caroline minuscule a, b, c, d, e, f-f, yogh, h, i, l, m, n, o, p, s-f, t-r and i in ligation, u, x, dotted y, æ; with insular minuscule f-p, r-p, wen, p, ð, and s-þ.

The most common abbreviation in both Latin and Old
English is the macron, standing for a following nasal (-n 8 et passim, -m 4 et passim, or -ne 14 et passim), or for -æd in cwæd 5 et passim. A crossed ṭ, ṯ, stands for þæt 6 et passim. Two Latin abbreviations unusual in Old English occur, Æ for final -or in «after 48 (also seen in this MS. internally in Latin convertimini 170 and revertar 172), and a hook on ƙ, ʃ, for final -e (at the end of a line only) on lines 84 and 132. The abbreviations used in the Latin quotations are common ones in ecclesiastical manuscripts, and I will not concern myself with them here. I have expanded all abbreviated words with italics in my text, except for Æ. The scribe never writes the expanded form of and or et.

The punctuation of Camb. is simpler than that found in most ecclesiastical manuscripts composed in the twelfth century. Only one mark of punctuation is used, the point on the line, and it has to serve for any pause or rhetorical division. There is no differentiation between modern comma, semicolon, or period, either by placement of the point or by different punctuation marks. Because of this, the punctuation would not contradict a date of composition in the tenth or eleventh century. If the scribe had changed the punctuation, one would expect it to be more elaborate, since the general tendency from the tenth to the twelfth century was to use increasingly elaborate punctuation. The point is used to mark phrases in the text as an aid to a reader, as well as
to end sentences. Generally the scribe uses a small majuscule at the beginning of each sentence, but as some of his sentences are immoderately long, I have replaced his punctuation silently with more modern usage and divided some "sentences" into two or more. In one passage the scribe (or author) has used the point to mark the division between antithetical pairs rather than the division between one pair and the next in the series:

of swa sceortum life pyssere worulde. to swa langum deape of swa lytelre fofre. to swa langere unrotnysse of swa sceortum leohte.
to swa langum bystrum of swa ðægerum gestreone. to swa micclum deape of swa litele hwihte fæce, to swa langum tintregum butan ælcum ende. of swa medmycelre wynsumnesse. to swa langum wite 7 to swa biterum tearum. (11. 59-65)

SOURCES AND ANALOGUES

As I have said previously, Camb. is almost certainly translated from a Latin sermon of Pseudo-Isidore, a variant of which is printed as Sermo III—Homilia in Migne. It is not, however, a direct translation of the version quoted there, for in several instances it is closer to Pseudo-Isidore's source, Pseudo-Augustine's three Sermones ad Fratres in Eremo LXVI, LXVIII, and LXIX (PL, XL, cols. 1352, 1354, and 1355). Camb.'s exemplar seems to have been an expanded and elaborated redaction of the themes in these three sermons: Pseudo-Isidore is fuller than Pseudo-Augustine, but it follows the latter closely in places, and even attributes its
ideas to Augustine: "sicut beatus Augustinus dicit."

There must have existed another redaction of Pseudo-Isidore which was more dependent on its source, but much expanded, and which the author of Camb. quoted more or less exactly. In several places Camb. has translated Latin phrases which evidently are drawn directly or with very little change from Pseudo-Augustine, and which are expanded, abridged, reworked, or omitted in the version of Pseudo-Isidore which has come down to us via Migne. For specific examples of this, see my footnotes to the Latin sources, notes 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 13, 15, 21, 23, 24. Also, Camb.'s exemplar follows the phrase order or sentence order of Pseudo-Augustine, using wording more similar to Pseudo-Isidore's, in ll. 70-73 and 84-85 (see my footnotes 9 and 12, 14).

Pseudo-Augustine fills a number of gaps in Pseudo-Isidore and explains some of the wording in Camb.

The word order of the ubi sunt passage and the list of sufferers in hell is not precisely like either source, but it is probably a translation from a Latin version that stands between Pseudo-Augustine and Pseudo-Isidore. See also my footnotes 2, 3, 16, 17, 19 for further evidence of a Latin intermediary homily. I believe that Camb.'s exemplar was an elaboration of themes from the three Pseudo-Augustine sermons, and that it was subsequently reworked and abridged into what we know as Pseudo-Isidore Sermo III, which leaves
off the call to penance from Pseudo-Augustine Sermo LXVI that Camb. translates. We may never be certain whether the Old English homilist or the Latin intermediary homilist expanded the Pseudo-Augustine call to penance into the intense exhortation of Camb.'s last forty lines. From the evidence of his expansion of Pseudo-Augustine's Sermo LXVIII and his development of the Soul and Body passage from Pseudo-Augustine's suggestions in Sermo LXVI and Sermo LXIX, the Latin homilist clearly seems capable of the strong closing. Old English homilists frequently expanded their Latin materials, however, as the author of Camb. appears to have done in such passages as ll. 5-6, 15-17, 24-27, 39-42, 71, etc. On the other hand, Camb. diverges from its exemplar only for short amplifications in the portions where we can be relatively certain that comparison is valid, and there is no compelling reason to believe that his practice would change in the last forty lines.

The redaction used by Camb.'s author may have been a "colloquialized" Latin copy--the use of prepositions is greater than in either existing Latin source; e.g. Potentes cum potentibus in Camb. appears as Potentes potenter in both Latin sermons and as Potentes autem potenter in the Vulgate, and Pseudo-Isidore has qua hora for Camb.'s in qua hora. Also Camb. extends the quotation "Convertimini ad me in toto corde vestro, in jejunio et fletu et planctu" from Pseudo-Augustine
Sermo LXVI with "peccatorum vestrorum et ego revertar ad vos" (an idea not in either source, as the return of Christ and the attribution of the quote from Joel 11:12 to Christ are unique to Camb.); and the "bene valeas" and "Dominicae resurrectionis" passages quote a Latin version slightly different and less "classical" than Pseudo-Isidore. J. E. Cross has treated the relationship of the ubi sunt passages in all three sermons (Camb., Pseudo-Augustine, and Pseudo-Isidore) fully in "'Ubi Sunt' Passages in Old English" and traces them ultimately to Isidore of Seville's "Synonyma de Lamentatione animae peccatoris" (PL, LXXXIII, 825 seq.).

It is possible that the sermon was intended for the Vigil of Easter, the "night . . . on which the whole world keeps watch." Both Willard and Batiouchkoff discuss the tradition that the soul returns and speaks to the body periodically before the Last Judgment. Some versions of the debate between the body and the soul have the weekly Respite of Jewish tradition, others place the return yearly on the night before Easter, in preparation for the Day of Judgment which was believed to be coming on the day of Christ's Resurrection. Camb. states that souls return to the burial place on Easter:

Nabbâd pa sawla witodlice nane odre reste pe on witum beoð butan on þam drihtenlican æriste. Ón þam dæge þe drihten of deaþe aras, þonne mot anra gehwylces mannes sawl, ge socdæstes mannes ge synfulles, pa byrgen-stowe gesecan þe de lichama on aled wæs.

(11. 98-103)
Willard thinks the Easter Respite tradition is earlier than the weekly Respite. The Easter Respite story is contained in a long Latin version (Paris MS.) of the Apocalypse of Paul, an apocryphal tale popular throughout the Middle Ages. (Batiouchkoff notes that there were four versions in English. One Old English translation is Ker 336, Art. 4). In a homily by Cyril of Alexandria, "De exitu animae et de secundo adventu," the bad soul returns to vilify its body (there is no good soul in Cyril) and goes on to discuss transitory wealth in an ubi sunt passage. These two ideas are combined in Pseudo-Isidore: the souls return on Easter as they will on Judgment Day, as witnesses to the living of the transitoriness of earthly wealth and the need for pious living and penance to insure eternal wealth in heaven.

The two major dramatic or rhetorical themes of Camb., the ubi sunt and "soul and body" passages, are not uncommon in Old English literature. Cross lists fourteen examples of ubi sunt passages in Old English, including MS. Bodley 343 Hom. 12 (Ker 310, Art. 80), which also includes an admonition to penance by the bones of a dead man; and Bl. Hom. V, in which a list of the denizens of hell very like Camb.'s precedes the statement that no one can aid one condemned to hell. Bl. Homs. VIII and X also combine ubi sunt passages with exhortations to penance. Willard discusses
the soul and body theme (which is very like the "dry bones" theme of Pseudo-Augustine Sermo LXVI and Verc. Hom. XIII, Bl. Hom. X, and MS. Bodley 343 Hom. 1234) in MS. Junius 85 of the Bodleian Library (Ker 336, Art. 2);35 he mentions other versions in Verc. Hom. IV, which also includes a list of sinners in hell similar to Bl. Hom. V,36 a homily in the Assmann collection,37 and the Vercelli and Exeter Book poems. The homily "De Sancto Andrea"38 has a version of the soul and body theme similar to Camb. but considerably abridged. Several of these homilies can be shown to have close correspondences to Pseudo-Augustine's Sermones ad Fratres in Eremo LXVI, LXVIII, and LXIX. In LXVI, "De agenda poenitentia" (PL, XL, cols. 1352-1353) the call to penance, including the "convertimini" quote from Joel, is combined with an ubi sunt passage and a statement from the tomb about the transitoriness of earthly wealth by the dry bones (ipsa casa arida) of the inhabitant. The motive is the same in Sermo LXIX, "De exhortatione ad orandum, cum exemplo cujusdam defuncti in Aegypto; et de miseria animae" (PL, XL, cols. 1355-1357), although this time the dramatic speech is put in the mouth of a bad soul leaving its body at the time of death, reviling it as the soul is led away by demons. Sermo LXVIII, "Quomodo per virtutes obviandum sit vitiis; et de miseria infernali" (PL, XL, cols. 1354-1355), lists the proper virtues to combat vices, then follows Pseudo-Isidore
from the passage "arm yourselves against the devil's cozenings" through those passages characterized by "I am still a young man," ubi sunt, the comparison of brief life with eternity after death, and the list of the damned.

Naturally, the ubi sunt and "soul and body" themes are merely dramatizations of underlying religious doctrines. The rationale for the homily was to teach and exhort. Camb. illustrates medieval Catholic doctrine in England with regard to souls, purgatory, salvation, and penance. The doctrine of purgatory as an interim "purification by fire" was not promulgated by the Church very early. There is evidence of popular belief in an interim before Doomsday when souls can be cleansed by punishment and when intercession can avail the soul, but it is not a part of Camb.'s doctrines. Camb. is much closer to Aelfric's beliefs: "The state of existence of the soul immediately after death is, according to Aelfric, a conscious one, during which different destinies await the chosen and the reprobate. The righteous continue in glory and enjoy the association of saints (ii.232), while the reprobate suffer punishment for their sins before the advent of the universal doom (ii.592)." It is evident that the two souls in Camb. have already gone to their reward and are merely awaiting the reunion with their bodies at Judgment Day. The good soul says: "in on godre reste bin beo abidende" (11. 124-125; the
bad soul says: "ic eom geowylmed þ forbærned dæg-hwamlice on hellewitum" (ll. 154-155). Intercession cannot help the doomed soul: "on þæræ stowe þæ fæder ne gehelpd his suna, ne him to nane gode beon ne mæg, ne suna þam fæder, ne moder þæra dohter, ne þan oðer freond ne mæg to nane helpe" (ll. 67-69).

The author of Camb. presumably believed that men are responsible for their own salvation, and that good works are necessary to achieve it. The good soul cites as reasons for its salvation the good works done by the body: fasting, almsgiving, helping the wretched, clothing the naked, visiting the sick, feeding the needy, going to church, befriending nuns, and listening to the Scriptures. Camb.'s views, like Aelfric's, "are typical of the traditional conception of good works as a necessary part in the attainment of salvation."40

Good works are not sufficient to earn salvation, however. Penance is also necessary. The Irish church before the Old English period diverged from the Continental attitude toward penance.41 The insular church developed a system of private penance, recurring and done in time of health, as opposed to Continental practices of public penance and deathbed confession. The English adopted Irish attitudes and practices when they became Christianized, and in the seventh century they spread their beliefs to the Continent. The use of
pontentials (books professional, not penance for particular sins) became widespread, and the practice of regular confession took hold. No longer was penance a one-time public affair, to be put off till the last moment because it could not be repeated. Camb. obviously embraces the tenet of penance as a necessity, and urges men to undertake "laedhote" in their youth, indicating that it could be repeated before death. The damned are tormented "forpan be hi heora lif ær ni ælne hælfeleor on hisum deadlican lif æræfre laedbote don noldon" (11. 89-90). The major theme of the sermon is contained in the exhortation "peycy to laedhote ðæ to hroewcunume pinne synna" (1. 164), amplified in the remainder of the homily and especially in lines 186-192: "Fear he [God] byd on dorsetæere ælce for æ hine ou secan neale mid synna laedhote. Seca we hine ou, nu we gehryfæ þæt we hine gemætan monc, ðæ behroewçæpon we nu 7 wepan ure synna..."

STYLE AND STRUCTURE

Camb. is quite close to Pseudo-Isidore and Pseudo-Augustine in the parts where they converge, and it seems likely that the author was translating a sermon from Latin to English with some amplification. There are some differences which may be due to what Cross calls "the inflated style of this CE homilist."14 Lines 106-108 and 196-202 may be additions of the author of
Camb., as may amplifications of several of the "lists" of the sources. As I have said before, since we do not have the version of Pseudo-Isidore which was evidently before the author of Camb., we can only conjecture as to what is translation and what amplification.

In editing this homily, I have put parallel passages of a hybrid Latin homily at the bottom of each page, using Pseudo-Isidore as a basic text and adding parts of Pseudo-Augustine in brackets where its wording more nearly approximates Camb. The companion parts of Pseudo-Isidore so replaced are quoted in footnotes.

Camb. follows Pseudo-Isidore from its Section 4 to the end of that sermon as we have it in Migne (Camb. 11. 5-170), at which point Camb. continues with and amplifies the beginning of Pseudo-Augustine Sermo LXVI. The Cambridge codex, as I have said, was probably intended for monastic use, but as our particular homily is written, it is surely a sermon for a wider audience, as it addresses "ow ... ealle, ægper ge brodær ge swystra, ge weras ge wif, geonge men 2 ealde" (11. 5-6). The sources address fratres charissimi and dilectissimi fratres.

The sermon is a simple exhortation to penitence and righteous living, with vivid but typical illustrations of the fates of good and evil men, and a dramatic style calculated to hold the interest of the hearers. The sermon is not particularly inventive, for as I have shown above, it is a collection of several current themes.
which are combined in a sincere and insistent plea.

My editorial policy has been to emend only when necessary for the sense, if a word form is known or probable for linguistic reasons, except in ll. 135 and 140, where the probability of scribal error is far greater than the unusual word in the text. All reference works cited in short form in the textual notes can be found in expanded form in the Bibliography.
NOTES


2. Rudolph Willard, "The Address of the Soul to the Body," PMLA, L (1935), 957-983. Willard prints from f. 208v l. 13 through f. 210 l. 17, a total of 76 lines in the MS. These lines correspond to ll. 87-167 in my text.


10. Stevick, English and Its History, §15.5.


12Ker, Catalogue, Item 18.


14Wrenn, A Study, p. 196.


17Campbell, Grammar, §§301 and 316.

18Campbell, Grammar, §317.

19Peter Clemoes, Liturgical Influence on Punctuation in Late Old English and Early Middle English Manuscripts (Cambridge, 1952), says: "The punctus circumflexus was used at the end of a comma; punctus elevatus at the end of a colon; punctus versus or punctus interrogativus at the close of a period. They begin to appear as original punctuation in liturgical MSS. in England in the late tenth century; in the twelfth century they were uniformly used; in the fifteenth century the system was in decay" (p. 12). "Posituras were a part of almost all good writing of the twelfth century, and not only in England. . . . Their first contact with the English vernacular tradition was in the homily. Blickling and Vercelli were too early to show the new punctuation. Posituras were, however, an integral part of Aelfric's homiletic prose" (p. 16).


21Cross, "'Ubi Sunt' Passages," pp. 23-44.


24Laurence K. Shook, C.S.B., "The Prologue of the Old

26Willard, "The Address," p. 978, says: "My belief is that Camb. represents the earlier tradition, in spite of the fact that it is the latest of our texts--full 12th century. Though a late copy, as certain errors make clear, it belongs to the early stage of our legend."


29Batiouchkoff, "Le Débat," p. 28.

30Batiouchkoff, "Le Débat," p. 13, says: "cet épisode correspond aux recriminations de l'âme dans la vision de St. Macaire, seulement il est compliqué par une autre idée: à la vanité des désirs mondiaux, à l'inutilité des richesses l'auteur joint l'idée de l'imimplacabilité de la mort." In most of the "débats" discussed by Batiouchkoff, the two speakers are the body and the soul of a bad person. "On admet généralement que la forme de la légende où l'âme parle seule offre un rapport direct avec celle où il y a un débat ou dialogue entre l'âme et le corps. Les versions dans lesquelles l'âme seule prend la parole nous sont surtout connues par des textes anglais, dont l'un remonte au xe siècle" (p. 3). "Quant au poème anglo-saxon du xe siècle, ... Thorpe lui avait déjà supposé une origine latine: <<The original of the present poem, dit-il, is a prose homily to be found in most of the mss, of which a Latin original no doubt exists.>> On n'a pas pu retrouver l'homélie anglo-saxonne qu'avait en vue Thorpe" (p. 4).

31Cross, "'Ubi Sunt' Passages."


35Willard, "The Address."

36Die Vercelli-Homilien, ed. Max Förster (Hamburg, 1932), Hom. IV.


38"De Sancto Andrea," in Old English Homilies of the Twelfth Century from the Unique MS. B.14.52, Trinity Coll., Cambridge, ed. Rev. R. Morris (London, 1873), p. 183. has the good soul speaking thus: "Awi leof ware pu me, nu ich shal pe forleiten. pu ware me lastful on alle po pe ich wolde, we ware onmode godes wille to done. Hwu shal ich of-longed wid-ute pe libben. And gief pe licame bed euel. lod is heo pe sowle. 7 hire punched lang: pat hie on him bileued ... Aweilewei pu fule hold bat ich auere was to pe iteied. longest habbe ich on pe wuned. swo wo is me pe hwile. for al pat me was leof: hit was pe lod. pu ware a sele gief ich was wrof. To gode pu ware slaw and let. and to euele spac and hwat. Al pat good het. pe buht andsete. pat forbode pe buhte swe te. Tuele wurmes mote pe chew. swo we pe be pat tu me [ne] rewe. for pine gulte ishal nu to pine. rotie mote pu to time."


40Halvorson, Doctrinal Terms, p. 71.


42Cross, "'Ubi Sunt' Passages," p. 34.
(f. 207) Mage we gyt her gehyran, men pa leofestan,  
eowre sawle pearfe, gif ge me hlystan wyllad 7 on  
eowre heortan pas halgan lare underniman, swa swa  
Sanctus Augustinus hit ærest on bocum awrat, 7 þus  
se tæp: "Ic eow lære ealle, ægeber ge brodra ge  
swystra, ge weras ge wif, geonge men 7 ealde, þæt  
ge eow scyldan 7 wærnigan wid þam wyrr estan feonde,  
forþan pe he is on us weard swa þe sceapa ure godan  
weorc to forstelenne 7 he þæt mid yfelum gepance 7  
gediht eall."

1 mage/ =magen, pres. subj. pl.; in W-S, pl. endings  
can be reduced to -e when a pronoun of the first or  
second person follows; see Campbell, Grammar, §730.

2 wyllad/ =willad; inverted spelling is evidence for  
unrounding of [y]; see Campbell, §317.

8 de/ ME substitution for se; see Brunner, Al ten g l is che  
Grammatik, §337.2; Stevick, English and its History,  
§13.4; or Brunner, ME Grammar, §56. Used in this text  
only for nsm.

O dilectissimi fratres, contra pessimum hostem tantum  
armare nos debemus, ut illum superare valeamus, quia  
ipse præparatus est, ut latro, ad furandum [opera  
nostra bona,]1 mala consiliat et subministrat.2

1bona opera, Ps-I.

2OE he þæt mid yfelum gepance 7 gediht eall is appar-  
ently an attempt to translate Lat. mala consilia et  
subministrat, which I would like to propose as the  
probable reading of the exemplar. Ps-A has consilia  
mala subministrando.
We seegaæ eac to sopan pæt hit is yfel wise
pæt monige, men ba leofestan, syndon on pisum life.
Swa pæt hig synjon beswicene durn deofles lare ealles
to swide, durn pæt, ponne de man pæned swide unwislice
on him sylfum ? pus cwod: "Ic som me eot geong man
7 ic hæbbe me lange tid on to plegenne ? fela pinge
to enginne on minum geogedhade; ic wylle eft bonne
ic to ylde become, don dæbote ? behrowaunga pæra
misdaæde pe ic ær gewochte on minum geogedhade."

15 cwod/ see Brunner, ME Grammar, §69 n.12, "quoth
(OE cwæð) is probably due to weak stress." NED Quoth
cites 13th c. forms cwæð, quæden (pl.). This would be
a very early occurrence for cwod. L. mg has cwæþ,
eot = giet 'yet'; a spelling on the order of this
variant does not seem to be otherwise recorded in Old
or Middle English. ME spelling geot is found in an
Early South English Legendary from Laud MS. 108 (ca.
1290, see ME Dictionary). See Campbell, §303. Spelled
geot 11. 1, 56.

17 geogedhade/ -cogedhade; leveling of vowel in un-
stressed syllable; see Campbell §387. Also l. 19.

18 ylde/ in 17-8 is became y before consonants other
than palatals; see Campbell, §301.

[Caritate multi audacia diabolica decipiantur, et securi-
tate propria, quam sibi fingunt, decipiantur, [sic] Dicunt
enim, Juvenis sum, dum est mihi tempus, et interim
quod floret in me juvenus, fruar mundo;|3 cum ad
senectutem venero, | et amplius quae volo exercere ne-
quivero, tunc poenitentiam agens abstinebo.|4

Sunt multi qui per audaciam adversarii mala securitate
decipiantur, et cogitant inter se dicentes: Juvenis sum,
et tempus habeo mundo frui: Ps-I. In OE Ic eom me eot
geong man, reflexive me is probably influenced by am mini
or similar wording in exemplar. Compare the phrase in
Ps-A with Ps-I's abridged version.

pœnitentiam agam. Ps-I.
Hw æt, he lyt gepencan on his mode þæt he nan anre tide fæces geweald be his lifes lenge. Eac hit is swipe uncud us eallum, geongum ge ealdum, hwænne seo tid síde se dæg sy to cumen þæt se gast weorpe alædd of þam lichaman. Forþpan ic bidde ne beswice us næfre peos pwyre orsorhnus pyllic, ac æfre (f. 207V) habbe we ures deapes dæg ær foresewenne 7 gesceawodne hwænne se utgang sy ure sawla of urum lichaman. Utan gepencan þæt dis is sceort wuldor on þissere worulde 7 tydderlice syndon pas tida, 7 feallendlice syndon pas gemeto pises lifes, 7 earmlice syndon pas mihta pises middangeardes. Be þam se halga mann

23 sy/ =pres. subj. sie; LW-S form; see Campbell, §768.
cumen/ =inf. cuman; confusion of e and unaccented back vowel is 11th c.; see Campbell, §379.

24 alædd/ syncopation of -ded in pp. is w-s; see Campbell, §751.3.

25 orsorhnus/ substitution of u for y in English words is characteristic of SW spelling on a Norman-French model; see Luick, Historische Grammatik, §57.

28 utan/ =wuton; -an for -on is the result of LW-S confusion of vowels in inflectional endings; see Campbell, §377.

29 tydderlice/ =tiederlice

[Et non cogitat ille miser, quod non habet certum unius horae vel momenti spatium, seu etiam potestatem de vita sua.]5 Fratres, non decipiat vos ista prava securitas, sed semper diem mortis ante oculos habeamus enim timore, et vera poenitentia [quia transitus noster, vita videlicet hujus saeculi, brevis est, et caduca ac fragilis ista misera praeassertis mundi temporalis potentia.]6

50 miser qui haec cogitas, quia una hora vitae tuas spatium non habes, nec potestatem unius diei. Ps-I. 8not in Ps-I.
Sanctus Augustinus: "De hominis medio ubi sunt reges ubi sunt principes ubi imperatores ubi barones aut barones ubi dividit, ubi est aurum et argentum 2 ornamenta eorum, ipsi velut 35 umbra transierunt." Dego me la man, pu pa nu yst lafast?

2 fela gemunan mint, hwar synylon pa cyningas pa pa la cupeast, 2 pa adormen 2 pa casaras 2 pa rican gerefan, pa be fela pim. on earring numnum mid woge stryndon, 2 mid wog(a) hi lo condon. Gesge me, la hwar synylon pa hi nu gesewene, ade pa waian pa hig lurge gostrynd

hæfdon, ade hwar is þæt gold 2 þæt scótter 7 salla pa fæganan freætswunga on hínum 7 on gedeæbyng pa hig begyten hæfdon; hwar synlon pa nu gesewen? Ha ne synlon hi salla gowtena 7 aweg afaren, erna sue 75 axan ðæs mannes swefn bonne he of hlaece awacnað.

33 ubi sunt reges/ sunt added above the line by the scriba.

40 woge/ wos. wog. Should be neuter dat. sing. after mid. Possibly the -g is elided before following hi.

6 awacnan/ e possibly retracted to a following w. For discussion of 10th c. leveling of inflectional -ap and -ep, see Francis P. Magoun, Jr., "Colloquial Old and Middle English," Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature, Vol. 19 (1937), 137-172.


7 not in Ps-I.

2 not in Ps-I. Note by Migne.
aurum, et argentum, et omnia ornamenta eorum in hoc
mundo remanserunt, et ipsi sine fine cruciantur in
inferno, ubi vermes eorum non moriuntur, et ignis eorum
non exstinguitur. In quo inferno non est ulla vox,
nisi gemitus; ibi non est ulla requies, nisi flamma
ubi multi quaerunt finem mortis, et mori non possunt. 9
Scriptum est enim: Potentes potenter tormenta patiuntur. 10

9 This sentence is translated by Camb. at 11. 70-73. Thus
the OE version follows the order of Ps-A, but is much
closer to the wording of Ps-I, which is an expanded form
of Ps-A. See note 12, p. 32.

10 Vulgate Liber Sapientiae 6:7, has: Potentes autem
potenter tormenta patienter.
Wala pam be on pystrum wunigan sceal, on swa langum sceafe ? on swa pystrum stowum ? on swa dimnum holum pæt hi parinne wuniad; pæt hig pæt æfre sceoldon geearnigan, of swa sceortum life pyssere worulde to swa langum deape, of swa lytelre frofre to swa langere 60 unrotnysse, of swa sceortum leonte to swa langum pystrum, of swa fægerum gestreone to swa micclum deape, of swa litelre hwilefæce to swa langum tintregum butan ælcum ende, of swa medmycelre wynsumnesse to swa langum wite 7 to swa biterum tearum.

Eala, man pe pis gehyrst pæt ic de scege, pæt

63 hwilefæce/ h inserted by scribe above the line. Hwulfæc occurs in Dictionarium Saxonico- et Gothico-Latinum, by Eduardo Lye, ed. Owen Manning (London, 1772); see B-T. No occurrence for hwile- is otherwise recorded.

O fratres, intelligite, dicit Psalmista: Non mortui laudabunt te, Domine, neque omnes qui descendunt in infernum.11 Fratres, quomodo possunt nominare Deum, qui semper sunt in tenebris, et in loco tenebroso, et semper clamant: Vae tam tenebrosum locum, tam tenebrosum foveum, tam obscum cavernam, tam amarem locum, tam miserrimam vitam, tam dolorosam mansionem? O miser, de tam parva vita tam longam mortem, de tam parva consolatione tam longam captivitate, de tam parva lae- titia tam longam tristitiam, de tam parvo lucro tam grave damnum, de tam parvo honore tam longos dolores, de tam parva jucunditate tam amaras lacrymas, tam immensa suspiria, tam luctuosos gemitus, tam magnam iram et tristitiam.

11Vulgate, Psalms 113A and 113B:17.
on þære stowe þe fæder ne gehelpð his suna, ne him
to nane gode beon ne mæg, ne suna þam fæder, ne moder
þæra dohter, ne nan oðer freond ne mæg to nane helpe.
Ne þær naht elles nis gehyred butan wanung 7 granung 70
7 grisbitung to tobe. Hwæt, þar mænig earm man
seod georne, 7 him wisced ðeapes ende; 7 hi hwæðere
þar næfre sweltan ne magon, 7 þar hig woldan ðædbote
don heora synna, (f. 208v) ac hym þar nan behreowsung
ne gefultumæþ forðan hi noldan ær nane don þa hig
on þisum life ðæron swa swa we nu syndon, 7 hig þa
mighton eape gescyldan wid pyllic wite gif hig woldon.

þar eac swilce beod þa earman mid þam earmum
æfre gemengede, 7 þa oferhydigan mid þam oferhydigan.

66 suna/ =nom. sing. sunu; shows 10E confusion of back
vowels; see Campbell, 1613.

71 grisbitung/ =gristbitung; 1w-s loss of t/s_C; see
Campbell, §477.2.

74 synna/ added below the last line on f. 208, by scribe.

Ibi non adjuvat pater ad filium, nec filius ad patrem;
ibi non invenitur amicus qui redimat amicum, neque
frater qui succurrat fratri. [Ubi qui ibi sunt, mori
quaeurent, sed mortem impetrare nequeunt.]12 Ibi amatur
poenitentia, sed tarde agitur. Vae! duram mansioem,
tam cruciabilem flammam, tam immensa tormenta.
Ibi miseri cum miseriis, superbi cum superbis,

12Ps-I has transposed its equivalent of this passage
before the "Potentes potenter ...". The wording of
Camb. is evidently a translation of a version of Ps-I
in the position of Ps-A; see note 9, p. 30, and compare
the expanded version of Ps-I.
7 pa mordran mid pam mordslagum 7 pa unrihtæmendan mid pam unrihtæmerum. 7 par beó ða gitseras mid pam unrihtnimendum peofum, 7 par beó eac gewislice ða unrihtwise mæssepreostas mid pam unrihtwisum bisceopum, 7 pa unrihtwurcende munecas mid pam unrihtæmendum nunnum. 7 gelice ðar eac beó ealle ða ofre hadesmen pe her on life ðænge unalifedlic æ dæda wurcað. Sodlice ðis halig gewrit cwyc, ðæt ealle pas fordonan 7 heora gelican on mycelre unare beó ðar gecwylmede, forpan pe hi heora lif ær mid unrihte leofedon on

80 mordran/ =myrdran, Lat. homicidae.

82 unrihtnimendum/ pr. ptc. Compound not otherwise recorded, ðar/ h corrected to ð by the scribe.

84 wurcende/ abbreviation ȝ for final de. For the use of this device in Latin MSS., see Dizionario di Abbreviature Latine ed Italiane, ed. Adriano Cappelli (Milan, 1961).

86 unalifedlic æ/ æ is 1W-S reverse spelling for unstressed e; see Campbell §641.

89 leofedon/ reformed verb leofian from libban is 1W-S; see Campbell, §762.

homicidae cum homicidis, adulteri cum adulteris, [avari cum avaris, fures cum iniquis,] falsi monachi cum falsis puellis, falsi sacerdotes cum falsis episcopis, [dissoluti religiosi cum dissolutis sociis et sociabus lascivis,] laici similiter cum pessimis laicis, [Qui omnes simul inenarrabiliter cruciabuntur,]

13 iniqui fures cum falsis mercatoribus, Ps-I. The order of Camb. follows Ps-A, but cf. falsi monachi cum falsis puellis, above.

15 Ibi pessimae mulieres cum infeliciissimis meretricibus; omnes inenarrabilibus cruciabuntur flammis, Ps-I. Ps-A Sermo LXVIII ends here after a sentence of exhortation.
pisum deadlican life, ? næfre nane dædbote don noldon; 7 hig bonne þar nane reste nabad dæges ne nintes butan
on þære drihtenlican æristes tide þæ we weorpiæd ?
mærstaþ ymbe twelfmond, þæt is, ðe Easter dæg.
Swa ðe eadiga Augustinus pur God be þam saeda þe pis
godspel dihte ? þus cwæþ: "Dominicae resurrectionis
manc in qua hora dominus noster Iesus Christus resurrexit
a mortuis; ille omnes animae justorum ueniunt uisitare
sepulchra sua." Nabad þa sawla (f. 209) witorlice
nane edre reste þe on witum beod butan on þam drihten-
lican æriste. On þam dæge þe drihten of deape aras, 100
bonne mot anra gehwylces mannes sawl, ge soðfæstes
mannes ge synfulles, þa byrgenstowe gesecan þe ðe lic-
hama on aled wæs. Uton nu þi gehyran hwæt þe gode
gast speed þe þam lichaman bonne he him ærest to

91 nabad/ pres. 3 pl.; see Campbell, §457. Spelled
nabad 1. 98.

94 pur/ NED 'through' says "when unstressed and proclitic,
purh became pur." Spelled purh 1. 13.

103 lichama/ h inserted above the line by the scribe.
gode/ inserted above the line by the scribe.

et non habebunt requiem, nisi Dominica die resurrec-
tionis, sicut beatus Augustinus dicit: Dominica die
resurrectionis qua hora Dominus noster surrexit a
mortuis mane, illas animae justorum veniunt visitare
sepulcra sua.15

16Camb.'s exemplar differs in wording from Ps-I.
Ponne gret he hine pus pylum wordum: "Bene valeas bene eis qui bonum vas electio mini fuisti, amice dilectissime, qui bene mecum egisti in saeculo."

bæt is, hal westu, min se leofa freond, pu þe on þisum restest, hwæt, þu waere me god gefere þa hwile þe ic on worulde wæs mid þe, þu waere me god fætels? Þæt pu garor. Eall swa ic wolde þæt pu waere godes donde. Eall þæt pu me gepafodest, þu a Godes engla larum geornor hyrsumedest, ponne pu æfre deofles tihtingum odde costnungum gepafa waere, ac pu him eallum widsoce æfre on uncrum life. Sodliche ponne ic wolde þæt dū fæstest odde ælmesan sealdest for Godes lufan, odde ænig god waere donde. Eall þu þæt dudest: earme pu gefrefrodest, nacode pu scruddest, untrume

105 gret/ -griht; see Campbell, §§711.1, 480.3, 457.

bylum/ 1w-S; see Campbell, §711.

116 fæstest/ medial syllable syncopates, giving -stdest, which simplifies to -stest. See also hlystest, l. 122.

117 dudest/ French-influenced SW spelling; see note to l. 25.

118 scruddest/ c inserted above the line by the scribe. French-influenced SW spelling. NED 'shroud' cites scrud, scruded ca. 1300.

et dicere: Bene valeas, bone [sic] socie quia bene egisti mecum in hoc saeculo, bonum vas, amice dilectissime.17 Tu magis consensisti arma angelica, quam impugnationem diaboli, quia scriptum est: Volui jejunare, pennisentiam agere, cleemosynas dare, nudos vestire,

17Cf. Camb.'s quote from exemplar. Ps-I omits electio, translated as geceor, and the wording is different.
pu geneosedest, pearfan pu feddest, Godes cyrcan gelome
pu sohtest, Godes peowæna freond pu wære, 7 hi pe 120
leofe wære 7 weorpe. Godes þam halgum gewritum þu
georne gehyrdest, 7 pare lare hlystest þe hig gode
folce bodedon 7 sædon. Ealles ðyses þu wære me ge-
þafiend, 7 mid eallum pisum gegeyredest þæt ic on godre
reste þin beo abidende, 7 hwænne þu (f. 209v) scealt 125
of deape arisan, on þam mycelan deige, forpan þu eart
Godes handgeworc gescapenum unc bam. Gereste nu on
sibbe, 7 ic eft hwyrfe to þe, 7 ic ponne mot beon
mid þe æfre sidden, 7 þu ponne gesyahst hwylc wuldor
7 hwylce wynsumnesse un(c) togeanes gegearwod hæð 130
Drihten Hælend Crist on þære heofenlican wununge
þar þæfre þan ende ne cumd þæs wuldres. þæs wuldres

120 hi pe leofe wære 7 weorpe/ ms. hi pe leofe 7
wære 7 weorpe. Wære is ME pret. pl. of beon, showing
ME loss of final -n; see Mosse, Handbook of ME, p. 84.
This is an expansion of the Lat. Dei servos amare, and
a change of gender of the ‘servants.’

127 gescapenum unc bam/ cf. Lat. et a Deo creata. Camb.
takes this in a relative sense, ’(of God) who created
us both.‘

130 unc togeanes/ ms. unto geanes.

132 ende/ same abbreviation for final de as on 1. 84.

infirmos visitare, ad ecclesiam venire, sanctas Scriptu-
turas audire, et custodire, Dei servos amare, tu mini
consensisti, et honorasti, quia tu es factura Dei,
et ego inspiratio vitae, et a Deo creata. Tu requiesce
modicum tempus in pace securus, et ego revertar ad
te in mansione aeterna, ut videns qualem mansio-
et quantum gloriam nobis praeparavit Deus in aeternum,
'7 hi par head scénende 'fyntende cea swe sunne on hag
ecan life a on woruld(i)l, '7 pu ponne on pam mid me lе3- 135
cast a butan ende, '7 wyt ponne onfod pære made on
pam ecan wulde pe fu um her gæarnoclest.'

Ungelwe cwyde ponne pysum hyd bes synfullan
mannes sawl apecsonic to pam synfullan lichaman ponne
he pus cwyd brawolicere stæfme pysum wordum: 'Wa pe, 143
earne lichama min. Wa pe, forpan pe bu worhtest mycel
yfel mid me pa pu on life waar 7 on eorpan, 7 is

134 paer/ of. par, I. 132, the usual spelling in this
ms.

135 woruld/ ms. worud. B-T cites a form woruld for
werold, but in the commonplace phrase a on woruld it
would seem better to emend. It would be possible to
read 'forever among the hosts,' but I think this is
less likely than 'forever.'

140 he/ ms. hu. This ms. does not omit pronoun subjects,
so although 'Indeed' is a possible translation, I prefer
to emend.

quia felices sunt qui serviunt ei, et lucebunt cum
cor sicut sol, sicut ipse Dominus ait: Justi fulgebunt,
sicut sol in regno Patriæ mei, et tunc saudabunt mecum
sine fine. 10 Quia quamvis duae concupiscentias fuissent
inter oculorum et oris luxuriam, als non consensisti,
Prope est ubi mecum mercedem aeternam recipias, et ibi
requiesces in sæcula sæculorum.
Similiter et illa pecatrices animæ cum nequissimo
angelo Satanae cum columna et cum vitiiis suis loquitur
dicens: Heu! heu! miserrimum corpus, quid tanta tala
est isti mecum?

Vulgate Matthew 13:43, has: Tunc Justi fulgebunt
sicut sol in regno Patriæ eorum.
et ego cum Satana fui cum vitiiis suis, quia non consensisti arma angelica contra insidias diaboli. Quia tu concupisti manducare, bibere, luxuriare, occidere, adulterari, fornicari, furari, concupiscere, mentiri, falsum testimonium dicere, opera diaboli facere, et non egisti poenitentiam, sed in mala securitate, et negligentia defecisti, tu jaces in imo, ego crucior in inferno. Prope est dies judicii, quando revertar ad te, et

19 The Lat. series does not correspond exactly with Camb. It is amusing to speculate whether Camb. added morgenmettas 'breakfasts' to this list of sins, mistranslated a Lat. word, or found this in his exemplar.
pu ponne onfehst min mid þinum yfelum dædum pe þu ær geworhtest on þisum middancanarde. 7 wyt þonne beod mid deofle, 7 wyt þar beod gecwylmede 7 getintregode butan ælcum ende æfre to worulde."

La þu, man þe þis nu gehyrest, forhta nu ic bidde, 7 on-dræd for þinum synnum 7 for þinum gymelestum þa hwile þe þu pyssere tide fyrst hæbbe þaefst nu swipe 7 gecyr to dædbote 7 to hreowsunge þinra synna, ær þan þe þu sy belocen beforan pines lifes durum, þæt 165 þu mage onfon þære wulderfullan mede on þam ecan life þe us togeanes is gearcod on heofena rice.

Forpan, men þa leofestan, se mild-heorta cyning us swipe lufelice olypad to soðre dædbote ura synna to be-tenne þa he þus cwæd: "Convertimini ad me in toto corde" 170

resurges in novissima die, ut recipias mala quae operatur es in mundo cum auctore diabolo mortis, et mecum eris in damnatione mortis, et sine fine cruciaberis in saecula saeculorum. 0 homo, qui haec audis, expavesce pro pecocatis et negligentii, et cum tempus habes et spatium, festina, et age poenitentiam, antequam claudatur janua vitae, ut securum recipias praemia gloriae, et vitam aeternam cum angelis Dei, et cum omnibus sanctis in saecula saeculorum. Amen. 20

[Ps-1. 21 Pius et misericors Deus, fratres charissimi, ad compunctionem et poenitentiam nos hortatur, dicens: Convertimini ad me in toto corde] 21

End of Ps-I. 20Ps-A, Sermo LXVI. 21
uestro in jejunio et fletu et planctu peccatorum yestrorum
22 Vulgate Joel 2:12.
23 Ps-A, Sermo LXVI.
nu we gehyrad þæt we bīne geman tan magon, 7 behreowsigan we nu 7 wēpan ure synna, þæt we eah beforan God on domed age blīde been.

Nu bidde in eow, þa hwīlē þe ge on þysan midan- 192 geardē been note, 7 þæt þe cyrre to dāebote 7 behreowsige ure synna. 7 bidde þæs God þæt we magon geearnigan forgifensēsa salra 7 ura misdāeda, þæt we magon forbugan hellewite tīntrege, 7 to þāre scan eadigesse become motein heofena rīces.

Forpon, men þa leofestan, nu þa hwīlē þe we on piesses wēorulde beocf, uton been weal done 7 geswīcan ure synna 7 ura wōndāeda; 7 ne forwyrcce we ud pyllic witestowe, 7 lægernysse to þāre we galapede synden, on þāre stowę pe Crist sylf onwunad mid his englum 200 ? mid his apostolum 7 mid pam halgum martirum, ? mid

187 behreowsigan/ = behreowsigen; see Campbell, § 735f.
188 wēpan/ = wēpan; see note to l. 187.
191 moτe/ = moτon. For loss of final -n elsewhere, see wēorc l. 121.
    behreowsie/ ms. bēo hreowsaie.
200 onwunab/ = onwunab; see note to l. 46.

[non dedignemur in hoc sæculo agere poenitentiam, et
pecatorum nostrorum precari veniam, ut infernalem
evasere possimus poenam, ac ad aeternam pervenire lae-
titiam. Emendemus ergo nos in jejuniis et vigiliis
et castris operibus pilis, sciantes quod cor contritum
et humiliatum Deus non spemnit.]24

24Ps-Æ, Sermo LXVI.
eallum his gecorenum halgum pa ðe æfre halige gewurdon on (f. 211) pissum life fram middaneardes fruman oðde gyt halige gewurđad.

Ðe, driht, se ðe leofad 7 rixad mid þam Fæder 7 mid þam Sune 7 mid þam Halsæn Gaste a to worulde woruld, þam sy ar 7 wurdmunt 7 miht 7 wuldor 7 anweald æfre butan ælcum ende. Amen.

207 wurdmunt/ =weordmynt. French-influenced SW spelling produces -munt for -mynt. In W-S, V/w_r >wur; see Campbell, §320.
TRANSLATION

Most beloved men, here we may yet hear, for your soul's need, if you will listen to me and accept this holy counsel in your hearts, just as St. Augustine first wrote it in books. And he spoke thus: "I advise you all, both brothers and sisters, men and women, young men and old, to defend yourselves and be on guard against the worst enemy; because he is waiting for us like a thief, to steal our good work; and he counsels all that with evil thoughts."

We say also in truth that it is an evil condition that many, beloved men, inhabit in this life; likewise they are deceived through the devil's counsel all too quickly; namely, when a man thinks very unwisely about himself and spoke thus: "I am still a young man and I have a long time left for me to play in, and many things to begin in my youth. Afterwards, when I am come to old age, I will do penance and lamentation for those misdeeds that I did before in my youth."

Lo, he little thinks in his mind that he does not have control on any occasion over the portion of time regarding the length of his life. Also it is quite unknown to all of us, young and old, when the time or the day is to come that the spirit will be taken from the body. Because of that, I urge that this perverse freedom from sorrow never deceive us in this manner,
but that we may always have provided earlier for our death's day and considered well when our soul's departure from our bodies will be. Let us recall that there is short glory in this world, and weak are the times and fallen are the measures of this life and miserable are the powers of this earth. About this the holy man, St. Augustine, was speaking formerly, and he spoke thus: 

"O homo dic mihi ubi sunt reges ubi sunt principes ubi imperatores qui fuerant ante nos, aut ubi sunt divites, ubi est aurum et argentum et ornamenta eorum, ipsi velut umbra transiuptum." Say to me, 0 man, you who now yet live and can remember much, where are those kings whom you formerly knew: and where are those nobles and those emperors and those rich reeves? Those who acquired many things wrongly from wretched men, and who damned themselves with wickedness, tell me, 0 where are they now seen, either the riches that they acquired over a long time, or that gold or that silver and all those fair treasures consisting of gems and fine cloth that they have obtained--where are they now seen? Indeed, are they not all vanished and gone away, just like ashes or a man's dream when he wakes from sleep? Suppose the gold and silver and ornament and all that they acquired here in this world remained always after them as an heirloom; still the bodies themselves which obtained all this beforehand, their souls are daily tormented
in that eternal punishment, in the torments of hell, for
their wicked treasure. There the body's worms will
never die, nor will its fire ever be quenched, concerning
which it is written: "Potentes cum potentibus tormenta
patiuntur." There the powerful also with the powerful
will suffer the torments of hell. Alas for them who
shall dwell in darkness, in so deep a pit, in such dark
places and in such dim holes as they will dwell in.

Alas, that they ever should deserve that—from
such a short life in this world to such a long death;
from so little pleasure to such relatively long sorrow;
from such short light to such long darknesses; from
such fair treasure to such a great death; from such a
little space of time to such long torments without
any end; from such a small pleasure to so long a punish-
ment and to such bitter tears.

Alas, man who hears this, I say to you that in that
place the father will not help his son, nor might he be
any good to him, nor the son to the father, nor mother
to her daughter, and no other friend may be a help to
any. Nor there is anything else heard, except wailing
and groaning and gnashing of teeth. Indeed, there many
a poor man eagerly seeks death's end and wishes it for
himself; there, however, they may never die. And there
they wish to do remedy for their sins, but there no
penance assists them because they would not do any
then may seek the burying place where the body was laid.

Now through this means we ought to hear what the good spirit says to the body when he first comes to it.

Then he greets him thus by these words: "Bene valeas
bene sis qui bonum vas electio mini fuisti, amice dilec-
tissime, qui bene mecum egisti in saeculo." That is,
"Hello, my beloved friend, you who remain in this place.
Indeed, you were a good companion to me while I was in the world with you, and you were a good and choice vessel to me. Likewise I desired that you should be doing good; you suffered all that for me, and you readily obeyed the teaching of God's angels when you were ever sufferer to the devil's accusations or temptations, but you always rejected them all, in our life. Truly when I desired that you would fast or give alms for God's love, or that you were doing any good, you did all that: you helped the wretched, you clothed the naked, you visited the sick, you fed the needy, you sought God's church often, you were a friend of God's handmaidens, and they were dear to you and honored.

You readily listened to God's holy scriptures, and listened to their teaching, which they preached and said to good folk. In all this you did my will, and you arranged it with all this so that I shall be awaiting you in the good rest, for the time when you shall arise from death on the great day, because you are the handiwork
between men, and you never would desist from these evils before your death's end. Lie now in this dust putrefied and rotted. And I am tormented and burned up daily in the torments of hell. Verily, doomsday is very near when you shall arise, and then I will come to you and you then will receive me with your evil deeds which you performed before on this earth. And then we two will be with the devil and there we will be wracked and tormented without any end ever in the world."

Alas, you man who now hears this, I bid you tremble now and dread for your sins and for your neglect then while you in this life have time, and hasten now quickly and turn to penance and to lamenting for your sins before you are locked out before the doors of your life, so that you may receive the wonderful reward in the eternal life which is prepared for us in the realm of heaven.

Therefore, most beloved men, the mild-hearted king calls us very lovingly to true penance to remedy our sins when he spoke thus: "Convertimini ad me in toto corde vestro in ieiunio et fletu et planctu peccatorum vestrorum et ego revertar ad vos." Turn to me and convert with your heart and with fasting and with weeping and with lamenting for your sins; then I will return to you with forgiveness for your sins. Verily he spoke, "I do not wish the sinful man's death, but I wish that he would convert before his end, and he afterwards will
live and never suffer eternal death." Afterwards the wise man exhorted us, speaking thus: "Will you not hasten and fear for yourselves? If you will turn in time to the Lord with penance, you will not delay at all from day to day. Verily, he who is changed with lamentation shall be eternally whole."

Now we also ought to turn readily to the Lord in God's thraldom. And we ought to seek him now while we may easily find him. He will be far on doomsday from each of those who will not seek him now with penance for their sins. Let us seek him now, now that we hear that we may meet him; and we now may lament and weep for our sins, so that afterwards before God on doomsday we will be happy.

Now I exhort you during the time that you may be on this earth, that you turn to penance and lament for our sin. And we pray God that we may earn forgiveness for all our misdeeds, so that we may avoid the torments in hell's punishment and might come to the eternal happiness of heaven's realm.

Therefore, most beloved men, now for the time that we are in this world, we ought to be doing well and we ought to desist from our sins and our crimes. And let us not condemn ourselves to such places of punishment and forfeit that beauty to which we are invited, in that place where Christ himself dwells with his angels and with his apostles and with the holy martyrs and with
all his chosen ones, those who were forever holy in this
life from earth's beginning, or yet will become holy.

To You, Lord, who lives and rules with the father
and with the son and with the holy ghost ever world
without end, be honor and dignity and might and glory
and power forever without any end. Amen.
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habbept uesti dotes dacyt pope septemne ges seapod
pedumnde se methui neupplata op uel lechaman.

Vut se ponean si dis ist freont pulde on hissepe po.
pulde uesti dotes spondon pasruda yseallendulce syl
sempas se mete prses lupa. yacapniu spondon pas
uberta prses uiddan spards. Be sa se halza mann.
se dagusti pet sepedende uu yhusop. O homo dic
uu ubi segeres ubi se prinipes ubi unat owes s suet
aue nos. aut ubi se uitten ubi. aue uat genu
unseuera cuu ysh nelut umbra vihert. Sege me
bisen pu pe uu yuc leopast ucula genuinam mih.

Repando ha of mungas pe pu uicupest. yperaldon
ypem yha celepas yha pican se pe pan. ha pe selu.

Saciniu marnu mid posse spondon. ymu pos
bapen demdon. Ge sege me la bpan spondon ha uu se
sempas. odde ha pelan pe his lange ge seyined has.

odde bpan is y gold y seolser y ackul. ha pase
pan frapupuza on ynymu yon yode pebhu pe his
begyen hardon. bpan spondon ha uu ge sepenne.
un ne spondon hu acce gependen. yapet apen. spa
spam en ofte mannei speen bon he of sala de
pan nad, la bpan is y gold y seolser y se speapun.

call y. hu he onifhu uiddan spards uel brym uu
lape buph punode a y esa yell lechaman pe bish
ac hi[m] ha[p] n[m] bebreopsum ne[se] pul[m]umad[s] fon[s]an
hi noldan [e]p nane don [h]a [h]is on[s]tus lu[p]e pa[t]on [s]pa
spa pe num [s]yon don [h]a [m]is ton cap[t]e [g]e [s]cyldan
[p]id [s]y[l]lic pire [s]p [h]is poldon [ha] eac spolc be[d] [h]a
dun [m]id [p]a [a]p e[p] hy[d]y[s] [h]a [m]ond[m]an [m]id [p]a [m]ond

[r]ap be[d] eac spolc [h]a un[p]h[es] [m]a[t]e spolc[es]as
min[ec]as [m]id [p]a un[p]h haem[en]du nun[m]u [h]e[se]
[r]ap eac be[d] calle [h]a od[he] [h]ades [m]en [h]e [h]en on [l]i
h[is] [h]e[no]a [l]i [e]p [m]id [u]n[p]h[es] [t]ep[edon on]p[t][u]
hon [h]a[p] [n]a[e] n[p]e[se] [u]nbad. [d]e[ge] [h]e [s]e [m]bretes [b]u[n]a
[e]adig a disjusm pup [s]od be [h]a [s][e][d]e [h]is [s]od [s]p[el]
dis[n]ir ibs [r]is pes[urac]tio[m]a[m]ozcun[s], [d]e [h]is [r][u][t]op
prodice nanc odje peste pe onpur beod butan onha. 

nuhtenlacan aпустe. Onha dege peduhten op deape apas.

pont ma apma ye hyolkes mannes his e sodraestes man 

neh se sumpulles babynzenstope gescan hebe leama 

on aled paol seon mi bi ze hispan hpar de gast be spre 

to samlichaman poi he bi onest to cynd. Poni spe 

he kint hid hisri pondu. Bene ualeas bene sit ge bonu 

uas electio nis funsti amm e'de tissime qe bene metu 

estu insete. Hs hal peestu min se leora tymond pu pe 

on funi pestest. Hpar du pepe me god sepea habpile 

he ic on populupe pas mid pe. Yh pu pepe me god pestels 

7 se copen. call rpa ic polde hsu pepe godes donde. call 

1. hsu me geperodeset. Yh u a godes engla lapi geopnon 

his sumedest. Poni hsu appe deople de rhibingu odde costman 

su ge papa pepe, ac porlu callu pod soco appe on uetepn 

lape. Bodlce poni ic polde hdu pestest odde almeslan sealdest 

pon godes lupan. Odde song god pape donde. call hsu judepest. 

eaprie hsu ze pape moest. nacode hsu fsuedest. untyrame

hus ze neosedest. keppan hsu peddest. godes cyncan gelome 

hus sofdest. Godes apoena tymond hsu pape. Yhis leope 

y pape ypeope. Godes halsu zepnutu hussone gehypn 

dest. Ypape lape blusest pe hig gode solce bodeden. Sedon 

alles hises humpene me gepepeend. Ymu callu pasu geypne 

dest hic on gode peste hnu beo abidende. Yhpamne h
Sectio de decepta aperita. Onpã myoelam uexogpobhan pu eme
hodes hand sopope ge scapentii uex hamb ge pesten nu on
fibble. Ye ept hysippe tope. Ye pon mot hesperumd pe appe
piden. Ye pon gesybi hyslep puldon yhysippe ynisunyss:
un to sequene ge sequoped tarid duphren helend est on
pepe heopenbacan ecan pinnen yh pe netpp ean end
ne cumid hes pulpitres. Hes pulpitres byuecad appe ha
he godes pillaon ypnead on yhisi lype. Hih peys bood sten
de ylhtende sjia sjia suime onpã ecan lype a on ponped
thi pon onpã mid me leopast abutan ende. Yper pon
onped pepe mede onpã ecan pulpitpe pe du une hept
ge aequoster. Angelse espide thi yhisu hib hasyss
pullan manness apt sypereonde tosa yhsulflla hicha
man pon hu bus oppd huseoplepe seberhe yhisu poplu.
Yape eanme lichama min. Yape byophan pe hu pophrest
mycel yrel mid me habu onlpe pepe 7on ecoxhan yz
un lade pey hu sauend jyma heta hu nolesst netpe
beu yhys yhisu godes engta lapus pid degles scothmung bi
he pe lode yhu mamy sialde suime pepe de saugen
de. Yhui he pe yhara pepe yat aepstan he pe lade
und hispolin lot prencui open atwysopen dpmenc
mysse. Ymogen mettas yhisiname lusfas. Siala, yhyt
hau. Yh aes pepreness, ymogtibral, ymanadas, yzite
sepe. Yfaen, ycalssax, ypearlac yopey, yman yfals
ypel ypita ungulice. sic pecce a unsibbe sapende be-
tegri mannti. yp unoldest ypseppa ypela nape
ysepan ac tines deapes ende. lige uon ypiti
duste aulfred ypoperad. ic eom yp cyplmed.
ypon bætuned deghnamlice on helle piru. topnan
domnes dæg ypel neah be þu apusani sealec. ic
þu cume wicpe. þu þon onfæst. mid þunu
ypelü dæd þiþu eþ zeoppstest. onpitu middan
capde. þis þon beod mid deople. þyr tan beode yp
cyplmede zetincpeode butan alcu ende æþpe co
pounde. la þu man þe þis nu ze heypst zophtu. nu
ic bidde. þon opad þu þonu þunn. þis þunu ýme
leasþu þa hile þe þu ypseppa cide fy nast habbe. erst
nu spipe ðe eþn to dæd bote þo byepsunste þyna þyn
na. acþan þe þu sy belycen beþopan þines lypes duinai
þu maze onpon þeþe pulden fullan mede onþa ecan
lyse þe us to zeanes. is tæangod on baspena pecþopan
oþpat. semld beopas oþmung. uþspipe lupelice chipad
to sode þe þed bote upa þyna to betene þa heþus ep.
þúhðþnum ad me ðeto cunde uþo ic þerip 2 sterilg pland
t. pocertæ uþæþu þoþo peluta þad uþ. beþpypad be
þe þe eþquad mid oppuþ beþic. þmid ðæþmitu þmid
pope. þmid hyeopsuþga eþppa þyna. þon ze þendec e
þo 2þ mid þon 2þenþþfe eþppa þylta. þon þan he opad
nelle tis sui pullani mannes dead. ac te pulla si he se
scippe eti his ende. yhe sifpan libbe ypa esa deape ne.
sielec. eft se putga us manede sius espeende. Helle se epestan
oun dyanan cop. zif se pullad ze bsy ypan on tid to dyhtene
mid dad bote. ne ylece ze nafs fna dage to dage. popfan
se de hidd ze hemped mid geomensu in he byd dote hal.
Tont pe nu es sequine ze yippan to dyhtene on sodedef peop
dome ytan secan hune nu pe hune aidi pindan magan.
peop he by-d ondomes dage aclefpate pe hune nu secan
nele mid sfima dad bote. Sede pe hune nu nupe zebi
pad by hune gz metan mazon. yse bneopysgan pe nu
yepan upe sfima. sere ezt be popan gode ondome dage
bilde beon. Hu bidde ze cop ha lyple pe ge on yzan mid
dan scapde beon more. yz ge cippe codun bote. ydeo bneop
he upe sfima. ybidde pe god by pe mazon ze aupisan sope
supennysa salpa ypa mus dada. ype mazon pop buzan
helle pite crumpego. yco hepe etan sidgnesse be csuan
moreu hemena mces. fopson o6. Hu ha lyple pe pe on
hillese poxtide beod. yton beon pe donde zte spican
upe sfima. yupa pod. dada. yte pop pyjte fe us sollice
pote scope yergenisse tohede pe ge lapede sondon. yz
pote scope pe cunt sike on punad mid his engli y
mid his. wos tolu ymnd fe balgu mapynui. mid callui
hus pe opeynu balgu hade syte balye ze purdon on
Aest calpa tinta gelipileu, men swv secernu.

Hvar il sce sodae suotepnes, pophan happe popule pisdorn is stumnesse be popan gode. Pe sodae pisdorn il popman suad leople seop dome ge pite, his hymna sop kerse, seol humedse suotepo is popman gode peopge aemet be boda. Sodapastnesse, pophanhpe hupibp ha epa ping bid eadige lup he guran spa he sealm soon sp. ge sip fria yecele, do god, butan tpen, ne samn gan samn to scepe harlo ge helsan. He yepeles ysnoc butan he eac do god, nes he god do, butan he eac hes yepeles ye spice. De poduce ale man he spa pil bid ile yepeles ye spice. God do, he bid eadig on eynisse, eadige lup is on enapennisse god cundynisse. Seo on enapennisse hape god cundynisse is marni godes poppes cymain godes poppes. Is pelem hape ean eadynisse, he side.

Ac peos on enapennisse hape god cundynisse, is pepe sodapastynisse is pisdorn ro leupmenne, bungu bon piliane geleapan popjan de nan man nemas gode gelian butan ikeni geleapan. Sodurna pebid ge felis.