THE REWARDS OF POETRY: "HOMILETIC" VERSE IN CAMBRIDGE, CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE 201

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 201 is a very busy manuscript, matching in its intermixture of religious poetry and homilies the earlier and better known tenth-century Vercelli Book (Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare CXVII).[1] The compilation as it now stands comprises two distinct eleventh-century collections, probably from Winchester and Exeter, which were bound together by Archbishop Parker in the sixteenth century.[2] In Part I alone, the compilation contains 58 independently rubricated items spanning 178 pages, copied out in fits and starts by at least four different scribes.[3] Though the collection is perhaps best known for its numerous Wulfstan and Wulfstan-related items,[4] these comprise only a portion of what can tentatively be described as a multi-generic miscellany of law codes, homilies, liturgical items, lists, poems, and even the well-known Old English prose romance, *Apollonius of Tyre*, whose place as a secular narrative in the manuscript has seemed generally puzzling.[5]

---

[1] For a description of the contents and layout of Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 201, see especially James 1912: 485–91; Ker 1957: 82–90, no. 49; Budny 1997: 475–86, and Wormald 1999: 204–11.

[2] Several changes were made to the order and content of the manuscript over time. For a concise discussion of the alterations by Archbishop Parker in the sixteenth century (including erasures and the removal of text), see Wormald 1999: 204. For a treatment of the manuscript's rebinding, as well as a list of scholarly annotations made to the manuscript, see Budny 1997: 479–81.

[3] For a list of the changes between scribal hands, see especially Wormald 1999: 204–5 at table 4.3. As can be seen from Wormald's chart, the constant changing of scribes may account for some of the repetition between items in the manuscript (see below, n.37).

[4] See, for example, Wormald 1999: 330–45, and Lawson 1994. On the wider question of generic influences within Wulfstan's prose, see further Orchard 1992.

[5] Typical of criticism on the *Apollonius of Tyre* is the comment by Fulk & Cain (2003: 46), which states that "It is … peculiar that the text is found wedged between a selection from Wulfstan's *Institutes of Polity II* and a list of saints." The issue is completely ignored by Goolden in his brief description of the manuscript (1958: xxxii–xxxiv).

Although the seemingly haphazard arrangement of the items in the collection has presented difficulty for scholars and editors alike who have sought to determine its underlying purpose, the study of generic influences within the collection has proved to be a useful strategy for illuminating some of the thematic connections between discrete items.[6] Yet while the majority of the critical focus has tended to rest upon the fairly homogenous clusters of either poetry or Wulfstanian prose within the manuscript, this paper seeks to take a different approach in focusing on a single poem, namely *The Rewards of Piety*, so chosen precisely because of its complex intermixture of generic influences found in both Old English poetry and homiletic prose. As we shall see, this poem demonstrates clear verbal and stylistic parallels with surrounding texts in the manuscript both in prose and verse and therefore offers a useful index to the aims and methods of the compiler. Moreover, as a piece of homiletic verse with readily identifiable prosaic vocabulary, it stands as a metaphor for the mixed signals and genres of the manuscript as a whole.

The Rewards of Piety stands second in a series of four poems, being preceded by *Judgment Day II* and followed by *The Lord's Prayer II* and *Gloria I*. Fred Robinson (1989) was among the first to seize upon the detail that all four poems in CCCC 201 are grouped together in one cluster (despite the change of scribes after the first two poems) and without the usual markers of division (such as a green capital or a space). Robinson's reexamination of the manuscript context led him to put forward the convincing argument that the items labeled separately in the Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records as *An Exhortation to Christian Living* and *A Summons to Prayer* are in fact part of a single poem that he re-titled *Rewards of Piety* (a title I adopt here).[7] Also stressing the importance of analyzing the text's *mise en page*, Graham Caie (drawing upon Grein's earlier edition of the poetry) likewise demonstrated the importance of manuscript context as a means of discerning thematic and verbal continuity between *Rewards* and the preceding *Judgment Day II* (Caie

[6] For a discussion of the various genres in CCCC 201, see Caie 2000: 1–24.

[7] See, however, Bredehoft 1998, which reexamines some of Robinson's claims about the manuscript layout. Bredehoft suggests that the symmetry of the manuscript layout may ultimately be the result of a misinterpretation by the rubricator. For a somewhat outmoded edition and translation of the poem, see Lumby 1964 [1876]: 29–35.

2000: 1-24). Both these scholars have importantly situated individual poems within their wider manuscript context.

But while the poetry is clustered together within one self-contained section of the manuscript, the poems themselves demonstrate significant and widespread connections with prose located both within and beyond the compilation itself. Such connectedness suggests that modern-day distinctions between poetry and prose are not as rigidly adhered to in the manuscript. For example, Ure's comparison of the poems *The Lord's Prayer II* and *Gloria I* in CCCC 201 with their variant texts in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 121, has shed light upon the arrangement of CCCC 201 itself (Ure 1957: 1-24). In CCCC 201 these two poems are cut off by some eleven items from *The Benedictine Office*, while in Junius 121 variant versions of these poems are embedded within *The Benedictine Office* itself. Ure's finding importantly shows that in at least one other manuscript, poems for *The Lord's Prayer* and *The Gloria* are tightly interwoven with prose.

Moreover, Leslie Whitbread and Don Scragg have argued for a textual connection between the first fifteen lines of *Rewards* and variants for these lines occurring in the prose Napier Homily 30 and Vercelli Homily XXI.[8] This connection shows that although the two homilies overall contain more "prosaic" words, all three variants are in many cases so close that "irregularities" in *Rewards* can sometimes be emended by reference to the homiletic texts.[9] Vercelli XXI is also notable for its connections with other CCCC 201 poems, in particular *Judgment Day II*, since the Vercelli homily contains a portion of the poem's Doomsday catalogue, in addition to parts of two otherwise unattested poems identified by Angus McIntosh and Charles D. Wright.[10] These occurrences of embedded verse within prose texts

[8] See Whitbread 1963 and Scragg 1977. While Scragg opposes Whitbread's earlier claim that Napier 29 and 30 were by the same author, he argues a close if not direct textual connection between Napier 29 and CCCC 201 in the adaptation of lines shared with *Rewards*.

[9] See Wright (2003: 252) for his discussion of the features in Vercelli XXI used to emend perceived "corruptions" in the *Rewards* 1–15.

[10] See McIntosh 1949: 14. McIntosh was the first to identify what he considered to be an example of classical verse in Vercelli XXI.128–31, and of "debased" or alliterative prose in Vercelli XXI.132–41, both apparently derived from lost Old English source(s). See also Wright 2003, who has made a strong case for the presence of an embedded poem in Vercelli XXI.141–49, revisiting an earlier theory

highlight an important paradox with regard to modern-day perceptions of Old English genres: whereas verse influenced by prose has been characterized as "adulterated," prose homilies, such as Vercelli XXI and Napier 30, which incorporate elements of verse, have not been similarly denigrated. Clearly, what these studies reveal is the remarkable evidence for significant literary borrowing between individual texts, without apparent regard for modern distinctions normally imposed upon poetry and prose, not to mention between Latin and vernacular texts.

This chimerical nature of several of the poems in CCCC 201 illuminates further the ways in which modern biases concerning generic distinctions differ from Anglo-Saxon perceptions. And yet, apart from the foundations laid by Graham Caie (1994 and 2000) with respect to *Judgment Day II*, there has been no systematic analysis of the ways in which the poems demonstrate close verbal and stylistic parallels with the prose texts that surround them. The following discussion will attempt to lay the groundwork for this much larger project by analyzing the confluence of generic influences within a single poem in CCCC 201, in this case *The Rewards of Piety*. The poem has not received significant literary attention since an initial flurry of articles published by Leslie Whitbread.[11] While the trend since has been to view *Rewards* as a type of spiritualized "wisdom" poem, aligning it on the one hand with secular works like *Precepts*, *Vainglory*, and *The Fortunes of Men*, and also with religious works, such as *Instruction for Christians*, *The Seasons for Fasting*, and *The Menologium*, the analogy on its own has been insufficient to account for many of the structural and thematic aspects of *Rewards*.[12] The following discussion will develop a thesis first proposed by Whitbread (but never substantially tested) that *The Rewards of Piety* (in his words) "in particular shows little if any traces of the older verse vocabulary" and that its "diction links up with the homiletic output of the tenth and

put forward by McIntosh that these lines presented a looser two-stressed rhythm in a style similar to that later adapted by Wulfstan.

[11] See Whitbread 1947–8, 1949, 1951, 1957, 1963, 1966, and 1967.

[12] The link between *Rewards* and Old English wisdom poetry has been copiously argued. See, for example, Shippey's brief classification of the poem within this genre (1976), as well as the much more in-depth study by Hansen (1988: 100–125).

eleventh centuries."[13] In order better to assess Whitbread's claim, Dorothy Bethurum's contention that *Rewards* contains patterns of scansion and alliteration that are "far more like that of the heroic poetry" will likewise be considered.[14] Using *Rewards* as a test case for analyzing formal features such as the use of compounds, set phrases, elements of register, and distinctive patterns of alliteration, it seems possible to generate a more specific description of what makes this poem seem more "homiletic," or, to put it another way, generally more susceptible to generic influences normally associated with prose.

One of the most salient features of *Rewards* is its emphatically didactic composition. The poem itself (of which a full edition and translation appears in the Appendix) is comprised mainly of a series of recommendations, presented in list form, for implementing pious and upstanding behavior. The speaker of the poem appears to be a religious teacher of sorts, perhaps even a confessor figure, while the addressee arguably shifts from a more generalized Christian audience to an individual penitent. The poem's structure can roughly be divided into four main portions that outline a guide for spiritual development and the ultimate attainment of the "blossoming kingdom" (*blowende rice*, line 2) of heaven. The first two sections, for example, speak generally about the need to engage actively in righteous behaviors: lines 1–20 prescribe acts of piety such as prayer, contemplation, and almsgiving, while lines 21–56 prohibit actions that promote sin and damnation (such as gluttony, drunkenness, and fornication). By contrast, the final two sections of the poem appear to be aimed at a specific penitent (though in fact the shift in address may well be primarily rhetorical): lines 57–82 present a personal address to a *har hilderinc* ("grey warrior," line 57), exhorting him to follow the religious strategies outlines by the speaker of the poem, while lines 83–112 urge an unnamed *.N.* (here used for the insertion of a personal name, or Latin *nomen*), to plea for mercy and salvation. This latter portion of the

[13] Fulk (1992: 264) echoes this point of view from a metrical standpoint, showing *Rewards* to contain "metrical faults" that are characteristic of late Old English verse.

[14] In her assessment, Bethurum (1957: 48) lumps *Rewards* together with the other poems on the *Gloria*, *Pater Noster*, and *Creed* associated elsewhere with the Wulfstan canon. While we shall see examples of some heroic diction in the following analysis of *Rewards* (see below, pp. 89–91), the overwhelming evidence does not support this claim.

poem, from lines 86–112, contains a series of macaronic verses in both Latin and Old English that teach the penitent to pray for his own soul. This last section of the poem marks an important structural shift within the poem between exhortation and prayer, enshrined in the original editorial presentation of *Rewards* as two distinct poems previously called *An Exhortation to Christian Living* and *Summons to Prayer* respectively.

The forms of address in the poem likewise show a mix of generic influences. For example, while the address to the singular *leofne* ("Dear man," line 1) seems reminiscent of the homiletic *men þa leofestan* ("Dearest men"), the use of the *.N.* in *þænne gemiltsað þe, .N.* ("then he will have mercy on you, N"; line 83) seems rather more evocative of the dynamic between confessor and penitent.[15] The penitential mood appears to be reinforced by the reference to a *har hilderinc*, the "grey warrior" of line 57, whose advanced age presumably quickens his need for penance. This address, however, seems closer to models found in wisdom poetry: consider, for example, the almost inverse relationship in the Exeter Book poem *Precepts* between the *frod fæder* ("old" or "experienced father"; line 1a) who teaches proper modes of conduct to his *freobearn* ("gentle-born son"; 1b).

The structure of the exhortations in *Rewards* also apparently owes in part to the dual influences of wisdom poetry and homiletic or penitential literature: from its opening phrase *nu lære ic þe* ("now I will teach you"), the speaker uses a string of imperatives that stress both action and discipline in body and mind. For the first half of the poem, these occur exclusively in the a-line, forming the daunting sequence: *wyrc* ("do"; line 16), *hafa* ("have"; 17), *ceapa* ("buy [as in salvation]"; 34), *warna* ("be cautious"; 41), and *ondræd* ("fear"; 52). By contrast, in the closing macaronic portion of the poem (lines 83–112), the imperatives appear in *both* half-lines (and indeed in *both* Old English and Latin) as if to drive home an urgent need for penance: see for example, *fo* ("receive"; 90), *uoca* ("call"; 94), *bide* ("bid"; 95), and *roga* ("bid" again; 101). While this type of hortatory structure is readily apparent in Old English homilies,[16] a fitting parallel can once again be drawn

[15] See Whitbread 1957: 126, and Caie 2000: 16–17. Both argue verbal and thematic connections with the *Confessional of Egbert*.

[16] A particularly vibrant example of this feature in homilies can be found in the Vercelli VII, which makes emphatic use of a string of imperatives that urge the

with regard to secular wisdom poetry, which characteristically makes use of gnomes emphasizing wisdom and learning in addition to heroic and feudal behavior.

If the overall structure of the poem seems indebted to a wide range of influences in both poetry and prose, perhaps what is needed is a more nuanced analysis of lexis, syntax, and prosody. A characteristic feature of classical Old English poetry is the occurrence of compounds comprised of two free morphemes. And yet, an analysis of such compounds in *Rewards* does not seem to reflect this general supposition. The following presents a list of all of such adjective and noun compounds in *Rewards* together with their distribution in poetry; those compounds appearing ten or more times in prose are marked with an asterisk, while items appearing only in poetry are indicated by an obelisk:[17]

line 3	*eadmod**	*Genesis*, line 2283b; *Daniel*, 396a; *Andreas*, 270b; *Dream of the Rood*, 60a; *Christ A*, 255a; *Christ B*, 786b; *Guthlac A*, 525a and 599a; *Guthlac B* 1301a; *Seafarer* 107a; *Vainglory* 68b and 78a; *Fortunes of Men*, 91b; *Paris Psalter 73*.19; *Paris Psalter 137*.6; *Lord's Prayer II*, 57a; *A Prayer*, 59a, *Instructions for Christians*, 231b.
line 3	*ælmesgeorn**	*Gifts of Men*, 67b.
line 9	*ælmessylen**	[NONE]

audience to comprehend the message of the homilist: "understand"; (*ongitað*; Section 7), "think" (*geþencað*; Sections 8, 13, 20, and 22), "remember" (*gemunað*; Sections 9, 10, 19, 21 [preceded by *and*], 25, and 26), and "hear" (*gehyrað*; Section 28). For a further discussion of the form and source for this homily, see Zacher [2005].

[17] The list omits *soðfæst* ("righteous"; lines 14, 89, and 101), which occurs over 180 times in poetry, over 500 times in prose, and over 900 times in glossed texts. Also omitted are adverbial forms of the listed adjectives. Translations for the above compounds can be rendered as follows: "humble-minded" (line 3); "willing with alms" (line 3); "giving of alms" (9); "secret fornication" (44); "going to church" (48); "protector" (51); "sinful desire" (54); "warrior" (57); "native country" (75); "gluttony" (77); "dwelling" (78); "glorious king" (84); "gentle-minded" (104).

line 44	*dyrnegeligere**	[NONE]
line 48	*cyricsocn**	[NONE]
line 51	*mundbora**	*Christ A*, 28a; *Guthlac A*, 542a, 695a, and 787a; *Juliana*, 156a and 213a; *Riddle 17*, 1a; *Resignation*, 109a; *Descent into Hell*, 75a; *Beowulf*, 1480a and 2779b, *Paris Psalter 120*. 5; *Capture of the Five Boroughs*, 2a.
line 54	*synlust**	*Christ A*, 269a.
line 57	*hilderinc*†	*Dream of the Rood*, 61b and 72a; *Elene*, 263a; *Beowulf*, 986b, 1307a,1495a, 1576a, 3124a, 3136a; *Battle of Maldon*, 169a; *Battle of Brunanburh* 39a.
line 75	*eþelrice*†	*Andreas*, 120a and 432b; *Christ C*, 1461a; *Solomon and Saturn*, 105b.
line 77	*oferfyll**	[NONE]
line 78	*eardwic*†	*Fates of the Apostles*, 93a; *Guthlac B*, 853b; *Phoenix*, 431b; *Partridge*, 15b.
line 84	*þrymcyningc*†	*Elene*, 494b; *Vainglory*, 62a; *Meters of Boethius 20*, 205a.
line 104	*bliðmod*	*Genesis B*, 1468b and 1800a; *Daniel*, 252a and 712a; *Death of Edward*, 15a.

As one can see, four of the compounds in *Rewards*, namely *almessylen* ("giving of alms"), *dyrnegeligere* ("secret fornication"), *cyricsocn* ("going to church"), and *oferfyll* ("gluttony"), do not occur elsewhere in Old English poetry, though they are common in prose. This is not surprising, given that their initial morphemes (with the marked exception of *ofer*-) rarely occur in poetic compounds. Thus, the initial element *dyrne*- is never attested in poetry, while compounds containing "alms" appear three times,[18] and *ciric*-

[18] Other instances in poetry of the compound element *ælm(e)s*- include *ælmesdæd*- ("the performance of alms") in *The Seasons for Fasting*, lines 41a and 191a, and

only once.[19] By contrast, the solely poetic compounds found in the list are predominantly heroic, a rather strange phenomenon given the generally hortatory feel of the poem: the aforementioned *hilderinc* ("warrior") occurs 11 times in poetry, with the same alliterative half-line *har hilderinc* ("grey warrior") occurring a further four times in *Beowulf* (lines 1306 and 3134), *Maldon* (line 168), and *Brunanburh* (line 37). A similar case could be made for the evidently secular terms emphasizing kingship and homeland, such as *eþelric* ("native country"), *eardwic* ("dwelling"), and *þrymcyning* ("glorious king"). Although these three terms appear exclusively in poetry, their individual compound elements are more ambivalent in terms of their classification: for example, the *þrym-* ("glory") element appears elsewhere in poetry seventeen times while in prose fifty-eight. Such statistics seem to show (as Whitbread earlier argued) the preponderance of "prosaic" forms in *Rewards*.

In exploring these prosaic connections, it is perhaps worth noting that while several are very widely attested in prose of all kinds, many of these compound-forms occur not only in Wulfstan-related texts in the corpus as a whole, but also in such texts within CCCC 201 itself. Consider the distribution of the same nominal and adjectival compounds within the following illustrative sample (and it is intended as no more than that) of legal codes and homilies written by or associated with Wulfstan, where asterisks denote texts found in CCCC 201:

line 3	*eadmod*	*Bethurum Xc, lines 69 and 130; *Bethurum XIII, 21; Bethurum XV, 42 and 69; *Napier 30, 145/34; Napier 49, 261/21; Napier 57, 294/26; **Polity* 2.1.1, line 27; **Polity* 2.1.2., 19.

perhaps also *ælmesman-* ("almsman") in *The Metrical Charms 1,* line 46, although in the latter case the word in question occurs in a prose portion of the charm.

[19] The compound *ciricnytt-* ("church-service") appears once in *The Gifts of Men* (91b).

line 3	*ælmesgeorn*	Bethurum Xa, 21; *Bethurum XIII, 20; *Napier 30, 145/34; Napier 56, 290/7.
line 9	*ælmessylen*	*Napier 30, 146/4; *Polity* 2.2.1, 7.
line 44	*dyrnegeligere*	Napier 56, 290/30.
line 48	*cyricsocn*	*Bethurum XIII, 67; Bethurum XVIII, 106; *Napier 30, 150/13; *Napier 35, 171/20; Napier 44, 223/15; *Polity* 2.2.1, 7; **VIIa Æthelred* 5, 1.
line 51	*mundbora*	*Bethurum XIX, 58; **VIII Æthelred*, 33; **II Cnut*, 40; *Edward and Guthrum*, 12.
line 54	*synlust*	Bethurum IX, 130; Napier 29, 138/13; *Napier 40, 182/13.
line 77	*oferfyll*	Bethurum VIIIc, 165; *Bethurum Xc, 104; Bethurum XIV, 27; *Bethurum XXc, 185; Napier 46, 236/11, 242/2, and 242/3; Napier 47, 245/16; Napier 57, 297/30; **V Æthelred*, line 24; *VI Æthelred* 28, 2.

Though it would be premature to argue for any direct Wulfstanian connection with regard to *Rewards* (pending a more exhaustive survey), the degree of general overlap is nonetheless striking. Indeed, precisely such a connection to Wulfstan has previously been argued with regard to versions of several poems in CCCC 201, namely *Gloria I* and *The Lord's Prayer II*, with some going so far as to ascribe authorship to Wulfstan for these poems.[20] More concrete parallels have likewise been drawn between the content of CCCC 201 and those "Wulfstan Handbooks" that demonstrate clear and direct connections to either Worcester or York.[21] Though the circumstantial

[20] Feiler (1966 [1901]: 42–53) was among the first to advance this argument for Wulfstan's authorship of the poetry. Bethurum (1957: 48), by contrast, has argued strenuously that Wulfstan could not have composed them, since they exemplify forms that are uncharacteristic of his diction and vocabulary.

[21] For a list of the manuscripts most commonly associated with these "Wulfstan Handbooks," see Sauer 2000 [1980], and also Bethurum 1942. For a comparison of the items in CCCC 201 with that found in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 121,

evidence surrounding the provenance of CCCC 201 has not been strong enough to allow for a definitive link to this group,[22] CCCC 201 nevertheless displays important textual overlappings with these more "canonical" manuscripts, and indeed on occasion bears the sole surviving witness to Wulfstanian materials.[23]

The various legal, homiletic, and penitential influences of the sort found in these handbooks can also be detected with regard to several set phrases in *Rewards*. Consider, for example, lines 20–21, which cite the coming of Doomsday as an impetus for quick repentance: *Þeos woruld is æt ende, and we synd wædlan gyt/ heofena rices; þæt is hefig byrden* ("This world is at its end, and we are still destitute of the Kingdom of Heaven; that is a heavy burden"). Though the sentiment of worldly transience is not unfamiliar to poetry,[24] the structure, particularly of the half-line *Þeos woruld is æt ende* (which is echoed with variation in line 22) is rare in verse, but is found regularly in homiletic prose.[25] Likewise, lines 16–17 demonstrate

see Ure 1957, and especially his table of contents for the latter manuscript on pp. 3–5.

[22] Bethurum (1957: 2) demonstrates that the strongest textual connections are between CCCC 201 and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 113 and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 121. The best case for manuscript links to Wulfstan are made on the basis of alleged examples containing Wulfstan's own handwriting. For a discussion of manuscripts containing Wulfstan's handwriting, see Ker 1971. For facsimiles of some of these examples, see Loyn 1971. The manuscripts alleged to contain Wulfstan's handwriting include: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 402 (S.C. 4117) (Brittany, s. ix^2; France, s. x); London, British Library, Cotton Claudius A. iii (s. x/xi^1), fols. 31–86 and 106–50; Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 190, pt 1 (s. xi^1), pp. iii–xii and 1–294; Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, Gamle Konglige Sammlung 1595 4^o (s. xi^1), fols. 48r, 65v–66v, and 81r; London, British Library, Harley 55 (s. xi^1), fols. 1–4; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 20 (S.C. 4113) (890–7); London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian A. xiv (Worcester or York, s. xi^1), fols. 114–79; London, British Library, Add. 38651 (s. xi^{in}), fols. 57–8; London, British Library, Cotton Nero A. i (Worcester or York, s. xi^{in}), fols. 70–177; London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A. xiii (Worcester, s. xi^1-xi^{ex}), fols. 1–118; Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale 1382 (U109), fols. 173r–198v; York, Minster Library, Add. 1 (s. xi^1– s. xi^2).

[23] The manuscript contains, for example, a portion of the only extant version of Wulfstan's first pastoral letter (pp. 19–20). For a recent discussion of Wulfstan's letter, and its Worcester connections see Hill 1992: 113–14.

[24] Cf., for example, the *ubi sunt* passage in *The Wanderer* 91–109, or *The Dream of the Rood* 135b–144a.

[25] A comparable phrase in poetry can be found in the *Paris Psalter* 118. 96, *Ic soð geseah and swylce wat, ealre þysse worulde wurðeð ende* ("I saw the truth and also knew, that all this world will come to an end.")

connections with extant prose: the phrase *Wyrc þæt þu wyrce* (translated as "whatever you do… have") has wider parallels in legal expression, and may even present something of a signature-phrase within Alfredian prose.[26] The prosaic sense of this passage carries over to line 17, in the command to *hafa metodes ege on gemang symle* ("have the fear of the Creator continually about you"), which contains a biblical parallel with the theme of *timor domini* found in Proverbs i.7. These prosaic expressions exemplify several explicitly homiletic features discernible within *Rewards*.

An evaluation of syntactic patterns in *Rewards* reveals additional formal connections with prose. For example, a quick scan of the poem reveals an abundance of adverbs, the proliferation of which is relatively rare in "classical" Old English verse. Specifically, there is an unusually high occurrence of alliteration on a single adverbial element in the a-line (a feature which in this poem never occurs in the b-line). Consider, for example, the following self-contained half-lines comprised solely of adverbs ending in –*lice*: *digolice* ("secretly"; line 33), *eadmodlice* ("humbly"; 49), *earfoðlice* ("shamefully"; 55), and *digollice* ("secretly"; 71). One might even add to the list the adverbial phrase *embe þæt* ("about that"; in line 67), which is similarly stressed. In fact, a consideration of all similarly stressed alliterative lines in the extant Old English corpus reveals that the proportional ratio in *Rewards* is far greater than in most any other Old English poem; a high ratio also occurs in *The Meters of Boethius*, another text with demonstrable prosaic connections.[27] Though it cannot be ruled out that the preponderance

[26] While the phrase *wyrc þæt þu wyrce* has been explained by Grein as the protasis of a conditional statement perhaps best translated as "whatever you do... have," Whitbread has noted parallels with legal expression (for both examples, see Whitbread 1949: 181). More instances are also to be found in Alfredian prose, since similar phrases occur in the Old English *Dialogues of Gregory the Great*, for example, at Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 12, Book 4, 58.346.16 (*wyrc þæt þu wyrcest*); Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 12, Book 2, 6.114.18 (*wyrc þin weorc*); Oxford, Bodleian Library Hatton 76 part 1, Book 2, 6.114.17 (*wyrc þin worc*).

[27] A survey of just the a-lines containing alliteration on a single adverbial element ending in –*lice* produces the following results: *Beowulf* [total of 3,182 lines], lines 1556 (*yðelice*), 1636 (*earfoðlice*), 1657 (*earfoðlice*), 1756 (*se þe unmurnlice*), 2122 (*ellenlice*), 2303 (*earfoðlice*), 2822 (*earfoðlice*); *Christ A* [439 lines], lines 340 (*anmodlice*), 433 (*ond geornlicost*); *Christ C* [797 lines], line 898 (*ungelice*); *Elene* [1,321 lines], lines 99 (*heht þa onlice*), 746 (*singallice*), 1140 (*ondweardlice*) 1158 (*ond deorlicost*), 1307 (*ungelice*); *Genesis A* [2,320 lines], lines 1519 (*unarlice*), 2252 (*unarlice*), 2461 (*unscomlice*), 2690 (*unfreondlice*); *Gifts of Men* [113 lines],

of this feature in *Rewards* is merely a stylistic feature characteristic of late verse, it may also relate to potent parallels with homiletic prose, where the emphasis upon pious behavior seems characteristically to employ adverbs of manner.

An investigation of patterns of alliteration in *Rewards* is also helpful, especially in instances of irregular patterns in prosody. There are a surprisingly large number of verses within this relatively short poem, for example, that do not contain "classical" forms of alliteration (according to the types identified by Sievers [1893]or McIntosh [1949: 110] for example):

line 2	gif þu wille þæt blowende rice gestigan
line 9	godes and manna and seo ælmessylen
line 11	þæt he þine synna adwæscan wylle
line 25	ne mihtu mid þæm eallum sauwle þine
line 56	gyltas þine swiðe bemurnan
line 66	sauwle þine a hi winnað
line 73	hu þu þæt ece leoht æfre begytan mæge
line 94	and þurh þæne halgan gast Uoca frequenter
line 95	bide helpes hine clemens deus

Though in Old English poetry it is relatively common to find subsidiary types of linking or ornamental alliteration that compensate for irregularly

line 28 (*missenlice*); *Judgment Day II* [306 lines], line 167 (*and biterlice*); *Judith* [349 lines], line 100 (*bysmerlice*); *Juliana* [731 lines], line 50 (*unwaclice*); *Lord's Prayer II* [123 lines], line 69 (*dæghwamlice*); *Maldon* [325 lines], line 308 (*unwaclice*); *Menologium* [231 lines], line 94 (*mænifealdlice*); *Meters of Boethius 1* [84 lines], line 64 (*degelice*); *Meters of Boethius 5* [45 lines], line 14 (*and gereclice*); *Meters of Boethius 7* [54 lines], line 46 (*singallice*); *Meters of Boethius 13* [80 lines], line 5 (*wundorlice*); *Meters of Boethius 20* [281 lines], lines 5 (*wundorlice*), 68 (*gesiblice*); *Meters of Boethius 22* [65 lines], line 2 (*inweardlice*); *Meters of Boethius 31* [23 lines], line 2 (*þætte mislice*); *Metrical Solomon and Saturn* [506 lines], line 29 (*bismorlice*); *Paris Psalter* [5040 lines], *Ps 104*.27 (*and gleawlice*); *Ps 118*. 463 (*and cuðlice*); *Ps 52*. 2 (*ungleawlice*); *Ps 68*. 16 (*unrihtlice*); *Ps 77*.56 (*and geornlice*); *Ps 77*. 58 (*and gramlice); Ps 83*. 7 (*and tidlice*); *Ps 91*. 2 (*and neodlice*); *Precepts* [94 lines], line 87 (*ond gemetlice*); *Riddle 67* [16 lines], line 12 (*missenlice*); *Seasons for Fasting* [230 lines], lines 185 (*dæghwamlice*), 199 (*dæghwamlice*); *Soul and Body I* [166 lines], line 38 (*earfoðlice*); *Soul and Body II* [121lines], line 35 (*earfoðlice*).

stressed lines, *Rewards* omits even these ancillary devices. This pattern contrasts starkly with that found elsewhere in CCCC 201, particularly in the poem Judgment Day II, which as Graham Caie (2000: 56) has shown, uses rhyme and homoeoteleuton (sharing the same grammatical ending) to compensate for the lack of alliteration in at least three cases: þær þa wæterburnan swegdon and urnon ("where the water-streams swayed and ran"; line 3); hate of hleorum, recene to tearum ("hot from cheeks, quickly to tears"; line 28); and ne biþ þær wædl ne lyre ne deaðes gryre ("nor is there any destitution, nor loss, nor the terror of death"; line 267). While many editors emend most of the alliteratively "defective" lines in *Rewards* to create more "correct" poetry, such a revision perhaps misrepresents the very real blurring of boundaries between poetry and prose found in the compilation of CCCC 201.

A similar case can be made for the half-lines in *Rewards* that appear to be missing b-lines (or, of course, a-lines; they seem at least incomplete as they stand), and a full list of these according to the edition in the Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records is as follows: line 12 (*and eac oþera fela*; "and also many others"); line 39 (*gif he him god ne ondræt*; "if he does not fear God"); line 46 (*þa man mæg mid fæstenum*; "which with fasting … one is able"); line 67 (*embe þæt*; "about that"); line 85 (*a butan ende*; "always without end"); line 86 (*saule þinre*; "your soul"). This list cannot be definitive, however, since it is ultimately unclear whether these lines should be read as hypermetric or hypometric verse;[28] the ambiguity arises from the fact that these lines may be taken either as widowed half-lines, or (as Bliss [1971] has argued in relation to gnomic verse) as extensions of the surrounding "regular" verse. Without rekindling the debate over "debased verse" (argued most notably by Sievers and McIntosh)[29] it seems sufficient to point out that in none of the six examples listed above do the perceived "omissions" of half-lines damage the sense of the passage, even though many editors tend to subtract, add, or

[28] For a discussion of patterns of alliteration in hypermetric verse, see further Hieatt 1974.

[29] By "debased verse" I am referring to those verses that contain half-lines joined together by alliteration or rhyme or both, but which do not follow the "standard" rules for "classical verse" as discussed by McIntosh 1949: 110. For a general treatment of this debate and a consideration of this feature as it applies to *Rewards*, see Wright 2003: 247.

otherwise change these verses to create more classically perfect verse. The ambiguity, then, cannot be resolved without deeper consultation of the manuscript evidence: while it is often the habit of Scribe B to correct himself with regard to both spelling and omissions,[30] there are no parallel signs of self-perceived error with regard to these half-lines.

In fact, both the manuscript punctuation and spacing continue normally throughout these lines in every case but line 12 (containing the "irregular" line *and eac oþera fela* ["and also many others"]), where the punctus denoting a new half-line may either be missing or attached to the following "g" of *godra worca* ("of good works") in line 13. This practice stands in sharp contrast with the distinctly long and metrically odd b-line *Þu scealt glædlice swiðe swincan* ("you must greatly labor gladly"; line 74) where the scribe inserts what may seem an extra punctus, perhaps to highlight this very irregularity. On the basis of the punctuation, then, there does not seem to be a perceived lack in prosody for these half-lines. Syntactical evidence could likewise be called upon to demonstrate the scribe's treatment of these half-lines. Here again, an examination of what we might call "compensatory features" is illuminating: in the case of the aforementioned isolated half-line *and eac oþera fela* (of line 12), it could be argued that the internal rhyme that follows in *glengað and bringað* ("adorn and bring"; line 13) acts as a correcting linking device that balances out this "irregularity." Likewise, in the case of the stray half-line *þa man mæg mid fæstenum* (in line 46), the use of the near-alliterating *forhæfdnessum* ("[with] self-restraint") in the following line 47b may serve the double duty of alliterating both forwards and backwards through ornamental alliteration with both *fæstenum* ("with fasting"; line 46) and *heonan* ("away"; 47b). Though it cannot be said for certain whether these half-lines represent interpolations or omissions (if either), the manuscript evidence does not betray any perceived error with regard to these truncated lines. Moreover, in at least one instance it seems plausible that text has been added (rather than lost through transmission): the

[30] See, for example, the scribe's apparent self-corrections for line 13b *bringað* (with *b* altered from *þ*), line 21b *byrden* (ms *byr dæn*; with the *a* of *æ* dotted beneath for deletion); line 34b *gelyfð* (ms *belyfð*; with *b* dotted beneath for deletion and *g* written above); line 47a *forhæfdnessum* (with the *d* added above the line); line 58b *ongyte* (with *y* written on an erasure); line 80b *gebindan* (ms *gebinde*; with the letters *ge* added above the line); line 102a *bidde* (added above the line in the same hand); line 102a *friclo* (ms *fricolo* with the first *o* dotted beneath for deletion).

a butan ende in line 85 functions like a standard homiletic close in order to cap off the preceding benediction. Perhaps, then, as in the case of line 85, it is not unfeasible to imagine that some of the half-lines could have been included to make the poetry seem more homiletic (rather than that the homiletic text has been altered to make it seem more poetic).

The types of questions raised so far with respect to genre are not limited solely to distinctions between poetry and prose. A parallel cross-pollination can be discerned in the closing macaronic section of the poem, which combines two languages, namely Latin and Old English, even as it straddles the line between prayer and exhortation. This section of the poem has often been compared to the macaronic portions of *The Phoenix* and *Aldhelm*, strictly on account of their formal and metrical similarities.[31] Given the prayer-like language of this section, further contextual parallels may be sought elsewhere: a potent analogy might be made, for example, with regard to the four runic signatures by Cynewulf in *Fates of the Apostles*, *Elene*, *Christ B* and *Juliana*, since these Cynewulfian texts not only combine runes with Latin letters, but also present a mixture of self-reflection, exhortation and prayer, sometimes in terms not unlike those presented here.[32] While in *Rewards* neither the interwoven Latin nor the Old English has been traced to a single source, some of the Latin verses echo widely known liturgical texts (such as the *supplex rogo* formula which resembles the *supplices rogamus* formula of the Canon for the Mass),[33] while others arguably translate portions of text found in the three surrounding poems in CCCC 201. The argument that some of these lines present translations from Latin materials is

[31] See especially Robinson 1989: 195–6.

[32] The four runically signed poems attributed to Cynewulf are *Fates of the Apostles* and *Elene* in the Vercelli Book (Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare CXVII), and *Christ B* and *Juliana* in the Exeter Book (Exeter, Cathedral Library 3501). A further comparison may also be made with devotional literature associated with the Virgin Mary, since not only is she glorified in *Rewards*, lines 91–94, but there seems to be an incorporation of the standard pun on *mæra* ("famous"; line 88) and *Marian* ("Mary"; 93), even though *mæra* here appears specifically in association with Christ. I am grateful to Professor Mercedes Salvador for sharing this latter analogue with me.

[33] One would like to emend the ASPR VI reading *rogo* ("I ask"; line 101) to the imperative *roga* ("[you] ask") in keeping with the run of imperatives in the macaronic section. Though it may be that the scribe was influenced by the surrounding *uiuendo* ("in living") and *friclo* ("aid"), the transmitted form may just as well reflect an earlier first-person benediction.

strengthened by the fact that running some of these phrases (such as *alta polorum* and the oddly ungrammatical *luce perhennem*) through databases like the PL or CETEDOC do not turn up many Latin matches. Since both of these phrases present acceptable hexameter cadences, however, they may ultimately derive from Latin poetry: thus while *alta polorum* is first witnessed in a ninth-century poem by Sedulius Scottus, the clearly related *alta poli* is made popular by Aldhelm, just as *luce perenni* appears in the poetry of Alcuin. Whether or not further Latin parallels can be produced for all the phrases in the macaronic section, the majority of the lines here are nevertheless demonstrably formulaic: for example, in lines 86–93 there is a sequence of sometimes synonymous genitives all modifying the glory of Christ. Many of these seemingly formulaic Latin phrases also form direct parallels with the contiguous Old English verse: for example, the *pacis* of line 86 is followed in the next line by the synonymous Old English *sibbe* (both meaning "peace"), just as *supplex* ("supplicant") in line 101 is answered by the semantically related *fultumes* ("aid") in 102.

Another feature of the macaronic verse that shows signs of deliberate generic admixture can be found in examples of bilingual double alliteration, as in the following lines (the alliterative segments are in bold, while the Latin text is underlined):

line 84 **ð**eoda **þ**rymcyningc **th**ronum sedentem
line 87 **s**ibbe ge**s**ælða **s**alus mundi
line 88 **m**etod se **m**æra **m**agna uirtute
line 90 **f**o on **f**ultum **f**actor cosmi
line 92 **c**læne a**c**enned **C**hristus in orbem
line 93 **m**etod þurh **m**arian **m**undi redemptor
line 98 þa ge**b**yrd **b**odade **b**ona uoluntate
line 104 **b**liðmod **b**idde **b**eatus et iustus
line 106 **þ**ingian to **þ**eodne **th**ronum regentem
line 109 on**f**o **f**reolice **f**actor aeternus

In two of these cases, the author has recognized that both "ð" and "þ" alliterate with the Latin "th" in ***ðeoda þrymcyningc th**ronum sedentem* (line

84), and again in ***þ**ingian to **þ**eodne **th**ronum regentem* (line 107). By the same token, the author has assumed that a vowel can alliterate with the Latin "u or v" in both *se of **æ**þelre wæs **u**irginis partu* (line 91) and in *þæt hi **ea**lle þe **u**nica **u**oce* (line 105). One must wonder too whether there is a play on the Latin "u or v" as a fricative in ***f**ultumes bidde **f**riclo **u**irginem almum* (line 102). To add to these effects, we might include the presence of linking alliteration as a type of ornamental effect between lines 99 and 100 with the repeated "c" in ***c**ennan*, ***C**hristum*, ***c**yninga*, ***c**yningc,* and ***c**asta*, where from a visual standpoint the "ch" of Christ is comfortably paired with velar "c." These impressive aural and visual effects foreground the mixture of genres and languages in the macaronic portions of the poem, and indeed, represent only a small portion of the same in the poem as a whole.

As can be seen from the foregoing analysis, the poem *Rewards* in many ways presents a model in miniature of the type of generic hybridization seen throughout CCCC 201. The influence of different kinds of poetic and prosaic diction, style, and formulae can be felt at work here, even if the overall sensibility is classifiably different from earlier poetic compositions. The detailed study of this individual poem also, perhaps, reveals the need for a new edition of CCCC 201 as whole, since no small part of the difficulty in assessing how the various texts and genres in CCCC 201 are linked is that one is forced to consult an array of editions all produced to very different standards, with very different intentions, and sometimes with a radically different sequencing of texts.[34] Complicating matters further is the fact that there are significant portions of CCCC 201 that are not officially part of the Old English corpus at all, as they do not appear in the massive assemblage of canonical texts compiled for *The Dictionary of Old English*, which serves for most Anglo-Saxonists as their first port of call.[35] These portions of CCCC 201 have been omitted either because they appear in the critical apparatus of the main editions and have therefore been ignored,[36] or else because they are

[34] See, for example Bethurum 1957; Napier 1967 [1883]; Jost 1959; Ure 1957; Liebermann 1960; and Dobbie 1942.

[35] Healey, *et al*. 2000 (last accessed 27 February 2005).

[36] Bethurum's edition in particular has been criticized for this tendency; see McDougall 1995: 3–4; Franzen 1991: 32–33; and Orchard 2003. Andy Orchard is also currently undertaking a new edition of Wulfstan's homilies that aims accurately to report all manuscript variants for these texts.

assumed to present close variants of material that has already been anthologized, even when upon further inspection the variants do not appear very close at all.[37] While an edition meeting all these needs would offer the ideal solution, the current plan to digitize CCCC 201 (along with all the other manuscripts held at the Parker Library at Cambridge, Corpus Christi College) marks the first significant step in redressing this need.[38]

At all events, it is hoped that this brief analysis of *Rewards* has demonstrated the potential benefits of a more manuscript-based therefore necessarily cross-generic view in seeking to situate *Rewards* in its literary and cultural context. Though the poem has so often been overlooked for its almost bland and predictable message, perhaps the interest of this humble piece is more to be found in its manipulation of genre, language, and form. In its own small way, the *Rewards of Piety* teaches us a lesson or two about the rewards of poetry, no matter how prosaic those rewards may sometimes seem.[39]

Samantha Zacher

Vassar College

[37] In fact, one need not even go beyond the pale of the manuscript to look for variants: at least eight substantial examples of intertextual repetition can be located within CCCC 201. The repetition of discrete items within CCCC 201 can be seen with reference to Ker (1957: 82–90), no. 49, between the following: Items 13 and 41 (of portions of Napier 34 [cf. Bethurum XXI]); Items 18 and 42 (of portions of Polity 23); Items 19 and 42 (of portions of Polity 22); Items 20 and 42 (of portions of Polity 25); Items 24 and 42 (of portions of Polity 24); Items 25 and 29 (of portions Napier 10 (2nd prg.) [cf. Bethurum Xc.20–38]); between Items 26 and 27 and 29 (of portions of Napier 10 [cf. Bethurum Xc.62-71; out of order]); Items 50 and 58 (of portions of *De confessione* I–XI). For an in-depth account of some of these repetitions, see further Orchard (2003: 311–40), who documents the double occurrence within CCCC 201 of what we know as Bethurum XXI. There is still much work to be done, for example, on the various repetitions of parts of Bethurum Xc.

[38] See the description of the Parker Library project at http://parkerweb.stanford.edu/about/project.jsp.

[39] I would very much like to thank Andy Orchard for his helpful suggestions in writing this article. I would also like to thank the National Endowment for the Humanities, whose sponsored 2004 Summer Institute on *Anglo-Saxon England* in Cambridge gave me the opportunity to spend time at the Parker Library studying CCCC 201. I am grateful too to Paul Szarmach, the director of the NEH institute, and Emily Thornbury, the intern on that program, for their stimulating comments about the paper.

APPENDIX: TEXT AND TRANSLATION OF *THE REWARDS OF PIETY*

(TEXT IS ADAPTED FROM ASPR VI)

1	Nu lære ic þe swa man leofne sceal.	Now I will teach you, as one must a dear man.
2	Gif þu wille þæt blowende rice gestigan,	If you wish to ascend to that blossoming kingdom,
3	þænne beo þu eadmod and ælmesgeorn,	then be humble-minded, and willing with alms,
4	wis on wordum, and wæccan lufa	wise in words, and love vigils
5	on hyge halgum on þas hwilwendan tid,	in holy contemplation in this transitory time
6	bliðe mode, and gebedum filige	with a cheerful heart, and pursue [your] prayers,
7	oftost symle þær þu ana sy.	most often continually, where you are alone.
8	Forðan þæt halige gebed and seo hluttre lufu	Because holy prayer, and pure love
9	godes and manna and seo ælmessylen	of God and men, and the giving of alms,
10	and se miccla hopa to þinum hælende,	and the great hope in your savior
11	þæt he þine synna adwæscan wylle,	that he will extinguish your sins,
12	and eac oþera fela	and also many others
13	godra weorca glengað and bringað	of good works will adorn and bring
14	þa soðfæstan sauwle to reste	the righteous soul to rest
15	on þa uplican eadignesse.	in that heavenly blessedness.
16	Wyrc þæt þu wyrce, word oððe dæda,	Whatever you do in word or deeds
17	hafa metodes ege on gemang symle;	have the fear of the Creator continually about you;
18	þæt is witodlice wisdomes ord,	that is certainly the origin of wisdom,
19	þæt þu þæt ece leoht eal ne forleose.	so that you might not entirely lose that eternal light.
20	Þeos woruld is æt ende, and we synd wædlan gyt	This world is at its end, and we are still destitute
21	heofena rices; þæt is hefig byrden.	of the Kingdom of Heaven; that is a heavy burden.
22	And þeah þu æfter þinum ende eall gesylle	And although after your end you [will] give all
23	þæt þu on eorðan ær gestryndes	that you before hoarded on earth
24	goda gehwylces, wylle gode cweman,	of every good thing, you [will] wish to please God,
25	ne mihtu mid þæm eallum sauwle þine	you might not with all of that release
26	ut alysan, gif heo inne wyrð	your soul, if within it has become
27	feondum befangen, frofre bedæled,	ensnared by fiends, deprived of comfort
28	welena forwyrned; ac þu wuldres god,	bereft of wealth; but you must continually pray
29	ece ælmihtigne, ealninga bidde	the God of glory, the Eternal Almighty,
30	þæt he þe ne forlæte laðum to handa,	that he does not abandon you to the hands of foes,
31	feondum to frofre, ac þu fleoh þanan,	as a comfort for fiends, but you must flee thence,
32	syle ælmessan oft and gelome	give alms, often and repeatedly,
33	digolice; þæt bið drihtnes lar	secretly; that is the Lord's teaching
34	gumena gehwylces þe on god gelyfð.	for each man who believes in God.
35	Ceapa þe mid æhtum eces leohtes,	Buy with your possessions the eternal light
36	þy læs þu forweorðe, þænne þu hyra gewealdnafast	lest you perish when you have no control over them
37	to syllanne. Hit bið swiðe yfel	to give. It is very bad
38	manna gehwilcum þæt he micel age,	for each man that he possess much
39	gif he him god ne ondræt	if he does not fear God
40	swiðor micle þonne his sylfes gewil.	much more greatly than his own will.
41	Warna þe georne wið þære wambe fylle,	Be fully cautious against filling your stomach
42	forþan heo þa unþeawas ealle gesomnað	because it gathers all those vices
43	þe þære saule swiðost deriað,	which most greatly harm the soul,
44	þæt is druncennes and dyrnegeligere,	that is drunkenness and secret fornication,
45	ungemet wilnung ætes and slæpes;	immoderate desire for food and sleep,
46	þa man mæg mid fæstenum	which with fasting
47	and forhæfdnessum heonon adrifan,	and self-restraint one is able to drive away,
48	and mid cyricsocnum cealdum wederum	and with going to church in cold weather
49	eadmodlice ealluncga biddan	always humbly to pray

50	heofena drihten þæt he þe hæl gife,	the Lord of the Heavens that he give you health
51	milde mundbora, swa him gemet þince.	the gentle protector, as seems fitting for him.
52	And ondræd þu ðe dihle wisan,	And fear the secret customs,
53	nearwe geþancas, þe on niht becumað,	narrow thoughts, which come in the night
54	synlustas forofl swiðe fremman	very often painfully to produce sinful desires
55	earfoðlice, þy þu earhlice scealt	[since] afterwards shamefully you must greatly
56	gyltas þine swiðe bemurnan,	mourn for your sins,
57	har hilderinc; hefie þe ðincaþ	grey warrior; heavy to you will seem
58	synna þine. Forþam þu sylf ongyte	your sins. Wherefore you yourself perceive
59	þæt þu alætan scealt læne staþelas,	that you must abandon transitory estates,
60	eard and eþel. Uncuð bið þe þænne	land and country. Unknown it will be to you then
61	tohwan þe þin drihten gedon wille,	what your Lord will do to you
62	þænne þu lengc ne most lifes brucan,	when you no longer must enjoy life,
63	eardes on eþle, swa þu ær dydest,	the land in [your] country, as you once did,
64	blissum hremi. Nu þu ðe beorgan scealt,	exulting in joys. Now you must protect yourself
65	and wið feonda gehwæne fæste healdan	and against every fiend hold fast
66	sauwle þine; a hi winnað	your soul; they always fight
67	embe þæt	about that
68	dæges and nihtes ongean drihtnes lif.	day and night, against the life of a lord.
69	Þu miht hy gefleman, gif þu filian wilt	You can set them to flight, if you wish to follow
70	larum minum, swa ic lære þe	my teachings, just as I teach you
71	digollice þæt þu on dægred oft	secretly that you in the early dawn
72	ymbe þinre sauwle ræd swiðe smeage,	often consider greatly about your soul's remedy,
73	hu þu þæt ece leoht æfre begytan mæge,	how you ever may acquire that eternal light,
74	siðe gesecan. Þu scealt glædlice swiðe swincan	seek the journey. You must gladly labor greatly
75	wið þæs uplican eþelrices	after the heavenly native country
76	dæges and nihtes, þu scealt druncen fleon	day and night, you must flee drunkenness
77	and þa oferfylle ealle forlætan.	and abandon all gluttony.
78	Gif þu wilt þa upplican eardwic ceosan,	If you wish to choose that heavenly dwelling,
79	þænne scealt þu hit on eorðan ær geþencan,	then you must consider it before on earth
80	and þu þe sylfne swiðe gebindan	and greatly bind yourself
81	and þa unþeawas ealle forlætan	and abandon all those vices
82	þe þu on þis life ær lufedest and feddest.	which you before loved and cherished in this life.
83	Þænne gemiltsað þe, .N., mundum qui regit,	Then he will have mercy on you, N, who rules the world
84	ðeoda þrymcyningc thronum sedentem	the glorious king of nations, sitting on the throne
85	a butan ende	always without end,
86	saule þinre.	for your soul.
87	Geunne þe on life auctor pacis	May he grant you in life, the author of peace
88	sibbe gesælða, salus mundi,	the joys of peace, [who is] the world's salvation,
89	metod se mæra magna uirtute,	the famous creator, by his great strength,
90	and se soðfæsta summi filius	and the righteous son of the most high
91	fo on fultum, factor cosmi,	receive [you] in comfort, the maker of the world,
92	se of æþelre wæs uirginis partu	who was from the birth of the noble maid,
93	clæne acenned Christus in orbem,	purely born, Christ into the world,
94	metod þurh Marian, mundi redemptor,	the creator through Mary, the world's redeemer
95	and þurh þæne halgan gast. Uoca frequenter	and through the holy spirit. Call frequently,
96	bide helpes hine, clemens deus,	pray him for help, the clement lord
97	se onsended wæs summo de throno	who was sent from the highest throne
98	and þære clænan clara uoce	and to the pure one with clear voice
99	þa gebyrd bodade bona uoluntate	heralded the birth, with good will,
100	þæt heo scolde cennan Christum regem,	that she must give birth to Christ the king,
101	ealra cyninga cyningc, casta uiuendo.	the king of all kings, by living chaste.
102	And þu þa soðfæstan supplex roga,	And you, as a suppliant pray the righteous one,
103	fultumes bidde friclo uirginem almum,	pray eagerly for aid the gracious virgin,
104	and þæræfter to omnes sancti	and thereafter all the saints;
105	bliðmod bidde, beatus et iustus,	gentle-minded pray, blessed and just,

106	þæt hie alle þe unica uoce	that they all for you with one voice
107	þingian to þeodne thronum regentem,	intercede to the Prince ruling the throne,
108	æcum drihtne, alta polorum,	the eternal Lord, [ruling] the heights of heaven,
109	þæt he þine saule, summus iudex,	that he your soul, the highest judge,
110	onfo freolice, factor aeternus,	receive freely, the eternal creator,
111	and he gelæde luce perhennem,	and lead into eternal light,
112	þær eadige animæ sanctæ	where blessed the holy souls
113	rice restað regna caelorum.	rest in the kingdom, the kingdom of Heaven.

REFERENCES

Bethurum, D. 1942: Archbishop Wulfstan's Commonplace Book. *Publications of the Modern Language Association* 57: 916–29.

Bethurum, D. ed. 1957: *The Homilies of Wulfstan*. Clarendon Press, Oxford.

Bliss, A. J. 1971: Single Half-Lines in Old English Poetry. *Notes and Queries* 18: 442–49.

Bredehoft, T. A. 1998: A Note on Robinson's *Rewards of Piety*. *Notes and Queries* 45.1: 5–8.

Budny, M. 1997: *Insular, Anglo-Saxon, and Early Anglo-Norman Manuscript Art at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge*: *An Illustrated Catalogue*. Medieval Institute Publications, Kalamazoo, Michigan.

Caie, G. D. 1994: Text and Context in Editing Old English: the Case of the Poetry in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 201. In *The Editing of Old English*: *Papers from the 1990 Manchester Conference*. Ed. D. Scragg & P. Szarmach. D. S. Brewer, Cambridge. 155–62.

Caie, G. D. ed. 2000: *The Old English Poem Judgment Day II*: *A Critical Edition*. D. S. Brewer, Cambridge.

Dobbie, E. V. K. ed. 1942: *The Anglo-Saxon Minor Poems*, *ASPR*, vol. 6. Columbia University Press, New York.

Feiler, E. 1966 [1901]: *Das Benediktiner-Offizium, ein altenglisches Brevier aus dem 11. Jahrhundert*; *ein Beitrag zur Wulfstanfrage*. Swets & Zeitlinger, Amsterdam.

Franzen, C. 1991: *The Tremulous Hand of Worcester*: *a Study of Old English in the Thirteenth Century*. Clarendon Press, Oxford.

Fulk R. D. 1992: *A History of Old English Meter*. University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

Fulk R. D. & C. M. Cain 2003: *A History of Old English Literature*. Blackwell, Oxford.

Goolden, P. ed. 1958: *The Old English Apollonius of Tyre*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Hansen, E. T.. 1988: *The Solomon Complex*: *Reading Wisdom in Old English Poetry*. University of Toronto Press, Toronto.

Healey, A. diP., *et al*. 2000: *The Dictionary of Old English on-line Old English Corpus*. http://ets.umdl.umich.edu/o/oec/.

Hieatt, C. B. 1974: Alliterative Patterns in the Hypermetric Lines of Old English Verse. *Modern Philology* 71: 237–42.

Hill, J. 1992: Monastic Reform and the Secular Church. In *England in the Eleventh Century*. Ed. C. Hicks. Paul Watkins, Stamford. 103-17.

James, M. R. 1912: *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Jost, K. 1959: *Die Institutes of Polity, Civil and Ecclesiastical*. Swiss Studies in English 47. Francke, Bern.

Ker, N. 1957: *A Catalogue of Manuscripts containing Anglo-Saxon*. Clarendon Press, Oxford.

Ker, N. 1971: The Handwriting of Archbishop Wulfstan. In *England Before the Conquest*: *Studies in the Primary Sources Presented to Dorothy Whitelock*. Ed. P. Clemoes & K. Hughes. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge. 315–31.

Lawson, M. K. 1994: Archbishop Wulfstan and the Homiletic Element in the Laws of Æthelred II and Cnut. In *The Reign of Cnut, King of England, Denmark, and Norway*. Ed. Alexander Rumble. Leicester University Press, London. 141–64.

Liebermann, F. ed. 1960 [1903–16]: *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, 3 vols. Scientia, Aalen.

Loyn, H. R. ed. 1971: *A Wulfstan Manuscript containing Institutes, Laws and Homilies* (*British Museum Cotton Nero A.I*). Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile 17. Rosenkilde and Bagger, Copenhagen.

Lumby, J. R. ed. 1964 [1876]: *Be Domes Dæge*. *De Die Iudicii*: *An Old English Version of the Latin Poem Ascribed to Bede*, [EETS 65]. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

McDougall, I. 1995: Some Remarks on Dorothy Bethurum's Treatment of Glosses in MS. Bodleian Hatton 113. *American Notes and Queries* 8: 3–4.

McIntosh, A. 1949: Wulfstan's Prose. *Proceedings of the British Academy* 35: 109–42.

Napier, A. ed. 1967 [1883] *Wulfstan*: *Sammlung der ihm zugeschreibenen Homilien nebst Untersuchungen über ihre Echtheit*. Max Niehans, Dublin.

Orchard, A. 1992: Crying Wolf: Oral Style and the *Sermones Lupi*. *Anglo-Saxon England* 21: 239–64.

Orchard, A. 2003: On Editing Wulfstan. In Treharne & Rosser 2003: 311–40.

Robinson, F. C. 1989: *The Rewards of Piety*: Two Old English Poems in their Manuscript Context. In *Hermeneutics and Medieval Culture*. Ed. P. J. Gallacher & H. Damico. State University of New York Press, Albany, New York. 193–200.

Sauer, H. 2000 [1980] The Transmission and Structure of Archbishop Wulfstan's 'Commonplace Book.' In *Old English Prose: Basic Readings*. Ed. P. E. Szarmach. Garland, New York. 339–94.

Scragg D. G. 1977: Napier's 'Wulfstan' Homily XXX: Its Sources, its relationship to the Vercelli Book and its Style. *Anglo-Saxon England* 6: 197–211.

Shippey, T.A. 1976: *Poems of Wisdom and Learning in Old English*. D. S. Brewer, Cambridge.

Sievers, E. 1893: *Altgermanische Metrik*. Niemeyer, Halle.

Stanley, E. G. 1985: *The Judgment of the Damned*, from Corpus Christi College Cambridge 201 and Other Manuscripts, and the Definition of Old English Verse. In *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies Presented to Peter Clemoes on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*. Ed. M. Lapidge & H. Gneuss. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge. 363–91.

Treharne, E. & s. Rosser ed. 2003: *Early Medieval Texts and Interpretations*: *Studies Presented to Donald G. Scragg*. MRTS, Tempe, Arizona.

Ure, J. 1953: *The Benedictine Office* and the Metrical Paraphrase of *The Lord's Prayer* in MS. C.C.C.C. 201. *Review of English Studies* 16: 354–56.

Ure, J. ed. 1957: *The Benedictine Office*: *An Old English Text*. Edinburgh, University Press, Edinburgh.

Whitbread, L. 1947–8: Two Notes on Minor Old English Poems. *Studia Neophilologica* 20: 192–98.

Whitbread, L. 1949: The Old English *Exhortation to Christian Living*: Some Textual Problems. *Modern Language Review* 44: 178–83.

Whitbread, L. 1951: Notes on the Old English *Exhortation to Christian Living*. *Studia Neophilologica* 23: 96–102.

Whitbread, L. 1957: Notes on Two Minor Old English Poems. *Studia Neophilologica* 29: 123–29.

Whitbread, L. 1963: 'Wulfstan' Homilies XXIX, XXX and Some Related Texts. *Anglia* 81: 347–64.

Whitbread, L. 1966: The Old English Poem *Judgment Day II* and its Latin Source. *Philological Quarterly* 45: 635–56.

Whitbread, L. 1967: Text-Notes on the Old English Poem *Judgment Day II*. *English Studies* 48: 531–33.

Wright, C. D. 2003: More Old English Poetry in Vercelli Homily XXI. In Treharne & Rosser 2003: 245–62.

Wormald, P. 1999: *The Making of English Law*: *King Alfred to the Twelfth Century*. *Volume I: Legislation and its Limits*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Zacher, S. [forthcoming 2005]: The Source of Vercelli VII: an Address to Women. In *New Readings on the Vercelli Book*. Ed. S. Zacher & A. Orchard. University of Toronto Press, Toronto.

* † *