On *Ancrene Wisse* MS. CCCC402, f. 98r. 23-24

Shoko Muraosa

The University of Tokyo

Introduction

18	Of þeo
19	þe hare curtles toteoreð o þisse wise.ʼ seið ysaie. Deferetur
20	munus domino exercituum a populo díuulso 7 dilacerato.ʼ a
21	populo terribili. A folc tolaimet 7 totoren. A folc he seið fear
22	lich. schal makien to ure lauerd present of him seoluen.
23	Folc tolaimet. 7 totoren wið strong liflade 7 wið heard.ʼ
24	he cleopeð folc fearlac. for þe feond is of swucche offruht
25	7 offearet.

(*Ancrene Wisse*, MS. CCCC 402, f.98r. 18-25)[1]

Tolkien (1962) takes *fearlac* in line 24 as an error for *fearlic(h)*, surely considering the occurrence of the adjective *fearlich* just above in line 21. From this it follows that he considers *Folc tolaimet 7 totoren wið strong liflade 7 wið heard* in line 23 is the object of the verb *cleopeð* and **folc fearlic(h)* is its complement, a noun modified by a following adjective.[2] On the other hand, Shepherd (1959) who follows the manuscript and takes

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[1] This citation is from J. R. R. Tolkien's diplomatic edition, *Ancrene Wisse* (EETS 249, 1962). This prose work survives in several manuscripts and is generally called *Ancrene Riwle*. *Ancrene Wisse* is a name given to the text extant in the MS. Corpus Christi College Cambridge 402.

[2] Tolkien points out the error in his footnote but does not emend the text following his principle that the text is reproduced without emendation (p. vi). A. Zettersten (1965, p.185) refers to Tolkien and agrees with him.

The other three contemporary manuscripts, Cotton Cleopatra C. 6, Cotton Nero A. 14 and Cotton Titus D. 18 which have the corresponding parts of this passage unmistakably have an adjective *fe(o)rlich* or *fearlich*. As to the relationship among the manuscripts, R. Chambers (1932, p.98) remarks 'Ancrene Riwle is extant in its simplest form in Cotton MSS. Nero and Titus.' and that 'the revised version *Ancrene Wisse* survives only in one manuscript, but Cotton Cleopatra shows occasional traces of the influence of the revised version.'

fearlac as a noun seems to consider that *Folc tolaimet 7 totoren wið strong liflade 7 wið heard* is the extraposed object of the verb and is recapitulated by the second *folc*, and that the noun *fearlac* is complement of *folc*.[3] In the other words, he regards the second *folc* as used to sum up the preceding *Folc tolaimet 7 totoren wið strong liflade 7 wið heard*. It, however, seems unusual that the recapitulating element is not a pronoun but the same noun as occurs in the preceding extraposed part with no article or demonstrative attached to it.

The aim of the present study is to provide some evidence against Shepherd and to handle another question as to the element order 'Noun - Adjective', which arises when we accept Tolkien's view. In the following section, the use of recapitulation in *Ancrene Wisse* will be briefly discussed and then the arrangement 'Noun - Adjective' will be examined based on examples collected from *Ancrene Wisse* Parts Six and Seven. The edition used in this study is that of Shepherd. But Tolkien's edition will be referred to where necessary. Citation from Shepherd is by page and line numbers following the edition and that from Tolkien is by folio and line numbers in the manuscript.

§1

There are 31 examples in *Ancrene Wisse* Parts Six and Seven in which the preceding part of a clause is recapitulated within the same clause by some element(s). Out of them, in 24 examples the recapitulating element is a pronoun in the appropriate case. Closer observation will show that there are several types of recapitulation, but no distinction is made here because further classification is not needed for the purpose of this study.[4]

Some of the examples follow, in which the recapitulating element is italicized.

4/12   ah þeo pilegrimes, þe gað toward heouene, *ha* gað to beon isontet & to finden Godd seolf & alle his hali halhen liuiende i blisse, & schulen liuien wið him i wunne buten ende.

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[3] See the glossary of his edition under the entry for *fearlac*.

Besides this occurrence, the word *fealac* is used five times in *Ancrene Wisse*, obviously as a noun (83v.13, 83v.16, 83v.17, 87r.13, 90r.28). An adjective *fearlich* is not found elsewhere except in 98r. 21. See the citation above.

According to OED, the earliest examples of the noun *fearlac* occur in *Ancrene Riwle*, and soon the word became obsolete in the following century along with a few other compounds of *lác* which came into use in early ME. The OE suffix *-lác*, now remaining only in *wedlock* with altered meaning, lost its productivity very early. Out of the OE compounds of *lác*, only three survived into early ME.

[4] All the examples are given in Appendix A including those cited in this section, subdivided into two groups according to recapitulating element(s).

12/1   Alswa ure lauerd, þet is þe sawle spus, þet sið al þet ha deð þah he hehe sitte, *he* is ful wel ipaiet þet ha murneð efter him & wule hihin toward hire mucheles þe swiðere wið ȝeoue of his grace, oðer fecchen hire allunge to him gloire & to blisse þurhwuniende.

24/5   Child þet hefde swuch uuel þet him bihofde beað of blod ear hit were ihealet, muchel þe moder luuede *hit* þe walde þis beað him makien.

In the remaining seven examples, things listed at the beginning of the clause are summed up by *alle* or *þinges* with determiner(s) attached to it. In all the examples except two, the recapitulated part is introduced by the word *al(le)*.[5]

19/1   SEINTE Pawel witneð þet alle uttre heardschipes, alle flesches pinsunges ant licomliche swinkes, *al* is ase nawt aȝeines luue þe schireð & brihteð þe heorte.

19/15   for as þe hali abbat Moyses seide, al þet wa & al þet heard þet we polieð o flesch, & al þet god þet we eauer doð, *alle swucche þinges* ne beoðnawt bute as lomen to tilie wið þe heorte.

Apart from these examples of recapitulation using *alle* or *þinges*, no examples are found in which the recapitulating element is a noun, whether or not accompanied by a definite article or a demonstrative. That means there are no examples in which the head noun of the preceding extraposed part occurs again as a recapitulating word as Shepherd suggests. If the second *folc* were accompanied by the word like *swuch* or *þet*, there might be left a room for considering Shepherd's view, although even recapitulation of that kind is not observed within the scope of my investigation. Therefore what Shepherd seems to claim is unlikely and it is better, as Tolkien does, to consider *folc fearlac* to be a single unit serving as complement in the sentence which has the element order 'O. S. V. C.'[6]

§2

In adopting Tolkien's view that *Folc tolaimet 7 totoren wið strong liflade 7 wið heard* is the object of the verb *cleopeð* and that *folc fearlac* is its complement, another question arises, that is, the supposedly uncommon element order 'Noun - Adjective'.

In Middle English, when the adjective is used alone, 'Adj. - Noun' is the standard. The inverted order 'Noun - Adj.' is often observed in verse and in phrases under

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[5] The two exceptions are 22/14 and 24/3.

[6] According to Kubouchi (1975), initial object is the norm when the object is topicalized or emphasized. If we do not consider topicalization or emphasis and put the sentence in the element order 'S. V. O. C.' which is also the standard in *Ancrene Wisse*, the sentence becomes very complicated, though the complicity might be partly removed by the effective use of punctuation.

*He cleopeð folc tolaimet 7 totoren wið strong liflade 7 wið heard folc fearlac.

influence of French, but *Ancrene Wisse*, which is considered to have been written originally in English and then translated into French and Latin, is not verse nor under French influence.[7] So neither of these explanations suffices here. In this section, however, before we discuss what causes the arrangement *folc fearlac*, the usage in *Ancrene Wisse* in respect of the arrangement of the noun and the adjective must be examined to see if this element order is really uncommon in this work.

In examining the arrangement of the noun and the attributive adjective in *Ancrene Wisse* Parts Six and Seven, all the examples were picked up and analysed in which the adjective modifies the noun, both preceding and following. Participial adjectives and genitive nouns dependent on the noun are included as adjective equivalents.[8] Adjective clauses and prepositional phrases dependent on the noun are excluded.[9] Also excluded are demonstrative and possessive adjectives, numerals and other determiners like *sum*, *al*, *eani*, *ahne* and *swuch*.[10] By analysing the examples, the following results are obtained.

Table 1

			Adj. - Noun	Noun - Adj.
		Parts	VI / VII	VI / VII
Nouns in genitive	Common Nouns		57/ 23 (80)	0/0 (0)
	Proper Nouns		33/ 20 (53)	0/0 (0)
Adjectives			131/101 (232)	4/1 (5)
Participial Adjectives	Present Participles		5/ 2 (7)	2/0 (2)
	Past participles		4/ 2 (6)	7/5 (12)

(Numbers in parenthesis show the total of Parts VI and VII for each category.)

As seen in Table 1, the examples of postmodification are small in number compared with those of premodification.[11] When the past participle serves as the adjective equivalent, postmodification outnumbers premodification (Postmodification 12 against premodification 6). In most of those examples, however, postmodification is required

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[7] There are a number of Latin versions and two of French.

[8] Hereafter, when the term 'adjective' is used alone, it refers to the adjective proper to distinguish it from adjectives derived from present and past participles.

[9] Indeed in *Ancrene Wisse* Parts Six and Seven, an adjective clause always follows the noun it modifies.

A prepositional phrase dependent on a noun almost always follows it. The only exceptions I found are

10/33 *prof pe schadewe* and 13/8 *of gold a sticcke*.

[10] With these words, postmodification is not observed in *Ancrene Wisse* Parts Six and Seven.

[11] All of the 19 examples of postmodification shown in Table 1 are given in Appendix B, subdivided into three groups. Those cited in this section are included.

because other element(s) such as a prepositional phrase, an adverb and an adverbial clause follow the past participle to make it heavy.

18/25   he is mare mat þen þeof inume wiðꝺ þeofðe.
27/15   Iesu Crist ireadet wiðꝺ his ahne blod o þe deore rode,

The same applies to the other examples of postmodification using the present participle or the adjective.

4/13   ha gaðꝺ to beon isontet & to finden Godd seolf & alle his hali halhen liuiende i blisse,
8/10   i þe menske of þe dom þet ha schulen demen is hehschipe menskeful ouer alle understonden aȝein scheome & lahschipe þet ha her for Godes luue mildeliche þoleden.
21/19   spec se swiðꝺe swoteliche & wordes se murie þet ha mahten deade arearen to liue,

To restrict our discussion to the adjective proper, it occurs only five times in postmodification as against 232 in premodification, as shown in Table 1. Out of the five examples, two are just mentioned (8/10 and 21/19). The other three examples follow in which postmodification by the adjective is not attributed to heavy complement of the adjective.

8/18   ȝef we wrecche sunfule þolien her pine,
9/17   ant we wrecches sunfule wulleðꝺ wiðꝺ eise stihen to heouene þet is se hehe buuen us & se swiðꝺe muchel wurðꝺ;
9/36   a folc, he seiðꝺ, fearlich,

The arrangement *we wrecche sunfule* in 8/18 and 9/17 may be due to alliteration. *Ancrene Wisse* is alliterative prose, although alliteration in *Ancrene Wisse* is said to be lighter than other works of the Katherine Group. Bethurum (1935, p.556) says rhythm of *Ancrene Riwle* 'is not so invariable as that of the saints' lives,' and 'there is wanting in the *Ancrene Riwle* the regular use of alliteration which is so characteristic a feature of the saints' lives.' But lighter alliteration does not adversely affect the work. Clark (1968, p.371) mentions that in *Ancrene Wisse* alliteration 'is only one rhetorical "figure" among many' and 'the alliteration itself becomes a far more effective means of highlighting important words.' The author's stylistic device is not limited to alliteration but he (or she) is proficient at several skills to make passages impressive.

Now we go on to examine the noun phrase in question *folc fearlac,* to see how this occurrence of the uncommon element order 'Noun - Adj.' can be explained along with neighbouring examples including 9/36 cited above.

§3

As we read in the citation at the beginning of this study, besides two *folc*s in the sentence *Folc tolaimet. 7 totoren wið strong liflade 7 wið heard.·he cleopeð folc fearlac.* (23-24), the word occurs twice before in line 21.[12]

[1] A folc tolaimet 7 totoren.   (21)
[2] A folc he seið fearlich.   (21)
[3] Folc tolaimet. 7 totoren wið strong liflade 7 wið heard.· (23)
[4] folc fearlac   (24)

In all of the four examples, *folc* is postmodified by the adjective or the adjective equivalent(s). The first two are translations of the preceding Latin, *populo díuulso 7 dilacerato* and *populo terribili* respectively and have the same element order as Latin, with *fearlich* and *folc* separated from each other by the insertion of *he seið* in the second example, in which, however, the two words may be bound together by the use of alliteration. Alliteration is used by Ælfric 'to bind together phrases, clauses or single words' in his *Lives of Saints*, which are said to have influenced many early Middle English devotional works (Bethurum p.561). It is quite possible that the author of *Ancrene Wisse* uses the skill here. The element order 'Noun - Adj.' of the second example, *folc ... fearlich* seems to be the result of translating the Latin *populo terribili* word by word, whereas this order is the norm in the first example, in which two participial adjectives modifying the noun *folc* are followed by two prepositional phrases, although the influence of the preceding Latin, *populo díuulso 7 dilacerato*, cannot be entirely denied. There are further correspondences between the first and the third, and between the second and the fourth from its contextual meaning. Therefore it is possible that the order *folc fearlac* is the result of following the corresponding *folc ... fearlich* in respect of the arrangement of the words or following the Latin *populo terribili* directly.

The order *folc fearlac* can be explained also in terms of stylistic factors. We must note that *Folc tolaimet. 7 totoren wið strong liflade 7 wið heard* and *folc fearlac* are syntactically in apposition. The order *folc fearlac* produces the condition that the two noun phrases in apposition are equal in arrangement of the elements. This makes the passage rhythmical and far more impressive than if it went like **Folc tolaimet. 7 totoren wið strong liflade 7 wið heard.·he cleopeð fearlic(h) folc.* Furthermore the repetition of the element order 'Noun - Adj.' has another stylistic effect. As we have seen so far, this

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[12] Longer citation is given in Appendix C.   Hereafter the citation is from Tolkien's edition.

element order is not limited to lines 23-24, but occurs consistently from line 21 above. Among them, the uncommon arrangement *folc ... fearlich* and *folc fearlac* occur. It seems this arrangement helps to give prominence to the passage the more because it is uncommon. In this respect, we must note two remote examples 98r. 28 and 98v. 7, in which the past participle as the adjective equivalent *totore* premodifies the noun. Here the demonstrative *þet* is attached referring back to the part now under discussion.[13]

98r.28   he is of þet totore folc
98v.7   I þet totore folc he misseð his merken.

As we have discussed so far, various factors have combined to determine the arrangement 'Noun - Adj.' of *folc fearlac*. Among them, stylistic devices such as marked element order and rhythm are important to make deep impression upon audiences in the devotional work as *Ancrene Wisse* which is presupposed to be read aloud. The order *folc fearlac* seems best explained from this point of view.

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[13] See Appendix C.

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Appendix A

(a) Here included are those in which the recapitulating element is a pronoun.

(1) 4/2 þis beoð hali men þe, þah ha beon i þe world, ha beoð þrin as pilegrimes, & gað wið god liflade toward te riche of heouene, & seggeð wið þe apostle,

(2) 4/12 ah þeo pilegrimes, þe gað toward heouene, ha gað to beon isontet & to finden Godd seolf & alle his hali halhen liuiende i blisse, & schulen liuien wið him i wunne buten ende.

(3) 4/18 for allegate pilegrimes, as ich ear seide, al gan ha eauer forðward,

(4) 4/37 þe nu beoð þus deade, hare liflade is herre.

(5) 5/4 ah sikerliche hwa se is þus dead in hire seoluen, Godd liueð in hire heorte,

(6) 5/10 ah þet te limpeð to Crist, þet ich seo & here & wurche i cwicnesse.

(7) 5/25 þe pilegrim i þe wor[l]des wei þah he ga forðward toward te ham of heouene, he sið & hereð unnet — & spekeð umbehwile —, wreaðeð him for weohes;

(8) 5/31   ah þe þe is o rode & haueð blisse prof, he wendeð scheome to menske & wa in to wunne, & ofearneð for þi hure ouer hure.

(9) 7/13   Hwa se eauer deieð ine Godd & o Godes rode, þeos twa ha mot þolien, scheome for him & pine.

(10) 9/4   Hwen þe heaued sweat wel, þet lim þe ne swet nawt, nis hit uuel tacne?

(11) 9/7   þe lim þe ne sweat nawt i swincful pine for his luue, deuleset, hit leaueð in his secnesse & nis þer bute forkeoruen hit, þah hit þunche sar Godd;

(12) 10/34 Godd feader almihti hu beot he bitterliche his deorewurðe sune, Iesu ure lauerd, þet neauer nefde sunne, bute ane þet he ber flesch ilich ure, þet is ful of sunne!

(13) 11/24 Soðliche hwa se is neh him þe ikepte se heui dunt, hit wule bulten on him, ne nule he him neauer meanen,

(14) 11/33 A mon þe were feor ifearen & me come & talde him þet his deore spuse se swiðe murnede efter him þet heo wið uten him delit nefde i na þing, ah were for þoht of his luue, leane & elheowet, nalde him betere likin þen þet me seide him þet ha gleowde & gomnede & wedde wið oþre men & liuede i delices?

(15) 12/1   Alswa ure lauerd, þet is þe sawle spus, þet sið al þet ha deð þah he hehe sitte, he is ful wel ipaiet þet ha murneð efter him & wule hihin toward hire mucheles þe swiðere wið ȝeoue of his grace, oðer fecchen hire allunge to him gloire & to blisse þurhwuniende.

(16) 12/21 Pot þe walleð swiðe nule he beon ouerleden, oðer cald weater iwarpe þrin & brondes wiðdrahene?

(17) 16/11 þeos Maries, hit seið, þeose bitternesses, weren cuminde to smerien ure lauerd — þeo beoð cuminde to smirien ure lauerd þe me þoleð for his luue — þe strecheð him toward us as þing þet ismired is, & makeð him nesche & softe to hondlin.

(18) 17/24 þe hulles, þe beoð lahre, þeo as þe leafdi seið hire seolf, he ouerleapeð, ne trust nawt se wel on ham for hare feblesce;

(19) 18/2   Godd hit wat, þe þus doð, ha pruuieð us hare luue toward ure lauerd.

(20) 19/27 Schir heorte, as seint Bernard seið, makieð twa þinges: þet tu al þet tu dest, do hit oðer for luue ane of Godd, oðer for oþres god & for his biheue.

(21) 23/28 ȝet, he ȝeiȝeð al dei, þu þet hauest se unwreaste idon, biturn þe & cum aȝein, welcume schalt tu beo me.

(22) 24/5   Child þet hefde swuch uuel þet him bihofde beað of blod ear hit were ihealet, muchel þe moder luuede hit þe walde þis beað him makien.

(23) 24/18 þet he luueð us mare þen eani moder hire child, he hit seið him seoluen þurh Ysaie:

(24) 28/12 Ant hwa se hit bereð i breoste toward wummon oðer mon, ha is Giwes make, ha offreð Godd þis eisil & þurhfulleð onont hire Iesues pine o rode.

(b) Here included are those in which the recapitulating element is not a pronoun.

(25) 18/17 Al þet is bitter, for ure lauerdes luue, al him þuncheð swete.

(26) 19/1   SEINTE Pawel witneð þet alle uttre heardschipes, alle flesches pinsunges ant licomliche swinkes, al is ase nawt aȝeines luue þe schireð & brihteð þe heorte.

(27) 19/15 for as þe hali abbat Moyses seide, al þet wa & al þet heard þet we þolieð o flesch, & al þet god þet we eauer doð, alle swucche þinges ne beoð nawt bute as lomen to tilie wið þe heorte.

(28) 22/14 þet þis scheld naueð siden is for bitacnunge þet his deciples þe schulden stonden bi him & habben ibeon his siden, fluhen alle from him & leafden him as fremede,

(29) 24/3   Gode werkes & treowe bileaue, þeose twa þinges beoð meiðhad i sawle.

(30) 29/19 for al þet ha rineð, al ha turneð to hire & makeð al hire ahne.
(31) 29/22 Deore walde moni mon buggen a swuch þing þet al þet he rine to, al were his ahne.

Appendix B

(a) Here included are those in which the modifying element(s) is the adjective.

(1) 8/10   i þe menske of þe dom þet ha schulen demen is hehschipe menskeful ouer alle understonden aȝein scheome & lahschipe þet ha her for Godes luue mildeliche þoleden.
(2) 8/18   ȝef we wrecche sunfule þolien her pine,
(3) 9/17   ant we wrecches sunfule wulleð wið eise stihen to heouene þet is se hehe buuen us & se swiðe muchel wurð;
(4) 9/36   a folc, he seið, fearlich,
(5) 21/19   spec se swiðe swoteliche & wordes se murie þet ha mahten deade arearen to liue,

(b) Here included are those in which the the modifying element(s) is the present participle.

(6) 4/13   ha gað to beon isontet & to finden Godd seolf & alle his hali halhen liuiende i blisse,
(7) 12/4   oðer fecchen hire allunge to him to gloire & to blisse þurhwuniende.

(c) Here included are those in which the modifying element(s) is the past participle.

(8) 9/35   a folc tolaimet & totoren,
(9) 9/37   Folc tolaimet & totoren wið strong liflade & wið heard,
(10) 16/38 ȝe beoð ȝunge impen iset i Godes orchard.
(11) 17/9   Scandle is heaued sunne, þet is, þing swa iseid oðer idon þet me mei rihtliche turnen hit to uuele & sunegin þrefter þer þurh wið misþoht,
(12) 17/16 þenne beo ȝe dunes ihehet toward heouene.
(13) 18/12 heui brunie & here, ibunden hearde wið irn,
(14) 18/25 he is mare mat þen þeof inume wið þeofðe.
(15) 21/2   he sende his sonden biuoren, þet weren þe patriarches & te prophes of þe alde testament, wið leattres isealet.
(16) 21/4   On ende he com him seoluen & brohte þe godspel as leattres iopenet
(17) 25/32 Absalones schene wlite, þe as ofte as me euesede him, salde his euesunge — þe her þet he kearf of — for twa hundret sicles of seoluer iweiet;
(18) 27/15 Iesu Crist ireadet wið his ahne blod o þe deore rode,
(19) 27/17 þis blod for ow isched up o þe earre twa treon, schal makien ow Sareptiens,

Appendix C

f. 98r 18   Of þeo
          19   þe hare curtles toteoreð o þisse wise.· seið ysaie. Deferetur
          20   munus domino exercituum a populo díuulso 7 dilacerato.· a
          21   populo terribili. A folc tolaimet 7 totoren. A folc he seið fear
          22   lich. schal makien to ure lauerd present of him seoluen.
          23   Folc tolaimet. 7 totoren wið strong liflade 7 wið heard.·
          24   he cleopeð folc fearlac. for þe feond is of swucche offruht
          25   7 offearet. For þi þ Iob wes þullich.· he meande him ant
          26   seide. Pellum pro pelle 7 uni 7 cetera. þis. he wule ȝeouen fel for
          27   fel. þe alde for þe neowe. as þah he seide. Ne geineð me
          28   nawt to asailín him. he is of þ totore folc. he tereð his
f.98v   1   alde curtel. 7 torendeð þe alde pilche of his deadliche fel.
           2   for þe fel is undeadlich þ i þe neowe areste schal schíne
           3   seoueuald brihtre þen þe sunne. Eise 7 flesches este beoð
           4   þes deofles mearken. Hwen he sið þeos mearken i mon.
           5   oðer i wummon.· he wat þe castel is his.· 7 geað baldeli
           6   che in.· þer he sið i riht up swucche baneres as me deð i
           7   castel. I þet totore folc he misseð his merken. 7 sið in ham
           8   iriht up godes banere. þ is heardschipe of lif. 7 heaueð
           9   muche dred þrof as ysaie witneð.

This citation is from Tolkien's edition.