Doctoral Thesis

Emerging *Conscience*: Its Circumstances in *Ancrene Wisse*

———————————————

A Thesis
Presented to
Graduate School of Letters
Hiroshima University

———————————————

Chiyoko Inosaki

March 2022

Doctoral Thesis

Emerging *Conscience*: Its Circumstances in *Ancrene Wisse*

Chiyoko Inosaki

March 2022

Acknowledgements

Contents

Chapter VI

Hidden *Conscience* words and Some Comparisons among

Works Cited and Consulted

Introduction

1. *Conscience* as a topic for research

The word *conscience* has long been challenging to comprehend, as evidenced in its long history and broad understanding in a dictionary. Rooted primarily in Greek, with multiple origins, it is derived from the Latin *conscientia*. The word appeared in early-thirteenth-century England and has since been essential to great writings.[1]

Its traditional essence connotes a sense of morality to distinguish right from wrong; however, its definition has a broad range. For instance, it is "the understanding which distinguishes between right and wrong and between virtue and vice." Moreover, it is "an infallible, God-given guide of conduct." For Thomas Aquinas, it is "practical reasoning about moral matters, which, though fallible, must be obeyed." To modern readers, the word carries psychological overtones akin to the superego by Hegel, Nietzsche, and Freud (*Oxford English Dictionary [OED]*, s. v. *conscience*, n.). This "multi-interpretability" is ubiquitous, especially in

---

[1] A historical example of a tip of the enormous iceberg is as follows; Bertrand Russell first considers Socrates' claim in *Phaedo* "to be guided by an oracle or *daimon*" about which Russell inquires whether it was the voice of Christian conscience or an actual voice (107). Russell then notes how Aristotle's *Ethics* introduces "the orthodox view" of conscience, where "conscience tells me which is right, and to choose the other is sin" (190). Thereafter, Russell talks about Rousseau's *Emil*, where a vicar says "I find them [the rules] in the depths of my heart, written by Nature in ineffaceable characters." That is, "conscience is in all circumstances an infallible guide to right action" (667). Finally, Russell introduces Nietzsche's objections to Christianity, quoting: "What is it that we combat in Christianity? That it aims at destroying the strong, at breaking their spirit, at exploiting their moments of weariness and debility, at converting their proud assurance into anxiety and conscience-trouble; that it knows how to poison the noblest instincts and to infect them with disease, until their strength, their will to power, turns inwards, against contempt and self-immolation: that gruesome way of perishing, of which Pascal is the most famous example" (733).

1

philosophy, literature, and psychology as a technical term specifically regarding the human mind.

2. *Conscience* in Middle English works

The *OED* notes that the first English appearance of the loan word, *conscience*, is in the Cleopatra manuscript 226 of the *Ancrene Riwle*, (s.v. *conscience*, n. I.1.a), "Inwið ud seouluen vre achne *conscience*. Þ is ure *þonc* for cweðinde hire seoluen wið þe fur of sunne." However, the *Middle English Dictionary [MED]* notes another example as the first instance: Corpus MS 83a of the *Ancrene Wisse*, (s.v. *conscience*, n.), "Inwið us seoluen ure ahne *conscience*, þet is ure *inwit*, forculiende hire seoluen wið þe fur of sunne." Thus, the authoritative dictionaries introduce *conscience* in vernacular as *þonc* in the Cleopatra and *inwit* in the Corpus manuscript.

Ancrene Riwle* and *Ancrene Wisse* identify the same treatise, originally written for three lay female devotees in early-thirteenth-century England. The dual name stems from its long and complex manuscript history. The title, *Ancrene Wisse*, only appears in the Corpus, and *wisse* seems to be related to *wissian*, an Old English (OE) verb, meaning "to rule, guide." *Ancrene Riwle* is the title Morton introduced in 1853 for his edition and has since been prevalent among scholars (Millett 2009: ix. note. 1). Although the Cleopatra manuscript predates the Corpus, the Corpus is best conditioned and is the core manuscript for modern scholars. This thesis employs the title *Ancrene Wisse* unless otherwise indicated (e.g., a special need to differentiate between titles).

This Middle English (ME) treatise survives in 17 extant manuscripts and fragments ranging from the early thirteenth to fifteenth century, composed variously in English, Latin, French, or

Anglo-Norman. [2] The original, now lost, seems to have undergone significant revision, addition, and modification, to target other audiences, such as certain religious men or a secular mixed-sex audience. Some manuscripts do not contain parts of the original; others are only fragments, the most convenient parts remaining for particular users. The book originally guided laywomen pursuing a contemplative life through religious guidance of what is right. The book is structured in the complete index below, as per the Corpus manuscript. The names for each section and title are for the modern readers:

Preface: Introduction

Part 1: Prayers

Part 2: Five Senses

Part 3: Rule for Inner Feelings

Part 4: Temptation

Part 5: Confession

Part 6: Penitence

Part 7: Pure Heart and Love for Christ

Part 8: Outer Rule

The first instance of *conscience*, recorded in *OED* and *MED*, occurs in

---

[2] The manuscripts and fragments are as follows; Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 402; London, British Library, MS Cotton Cleopatra C. vi; London, British Library, MS Cotton Vitellius F. vii; Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, MS 234/ 120; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Eng. th. c. 70 (the "Lanhydrock fragment"); Oxford, Magdalen College, MS Latin 67; Oxford, Merton College, MS C. I. 5 (Coxe 44); London, British Library, MS Royal 7 C. x; London, British Library, MS Cotton Vitellius E. vii; London, British Library, MS Cotton Nero A. xiv; Cambridge, Magdalene College, MS Pepys 2498; London, British Library, MS Royal 8 C. i; Cambridge, Trinity College, MS 883 (R. 14. 7); Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS fonds français 6276; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 90; London, British Library, MS Cotton Titus D. xviii; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Eng. poet. a. I.

Part 5 on confession. *Conscience* is translated as *inwit* in the Corpus manuscript, while *þonc* is employed in the Cleopatra. Furthermore, the latter shows traces of other lexemes for translation in other parts within the work. Millett's edition of *Ancrene Wisse,* with its full comparison of all the manuscripts, enables us to compare these with other vernacular usages in different manuscripts. The evidence may demonstrate a situation where plural vernaculars co-existed at the time, not only *inwit* or *þonc*. Based on the scarcity of the word's usage in other contemporary works, the lexeme *inwit* seems to have been borrowed into the work.[3]

Conscience is clearly a key medieval word, considering the nature of the mental development of concepts at that juncture. The origins of individual self-consciousness can be traced to the twelfth-century Renaissance.[4] The lexeme *conscience* rapidly grows and comes to play an active part in later Medieval English literature. For example, *conscience* is a protagonist in a popular ME poem, *Prick of Conscience*, dating from the first half of the fourteenth century in over 130 manuscripts. This poem depicts *conscience* as the first accuser of the sinner among 15 accusers at the Last Judgment (Part V.1366-83). All underlinings and translations are the author's in the following excerpt. The numbers are for convenience in recognizing the 15 accusers of the sinner:

> Accusoures mony shul there be thon
>
> Hem to accuse to the domesmon.
>
> I fynde writen as ye shul here

---

[3] *OED* records the second example of *inwit* from *MS Vernon Homilies* (c 1390); *MED* places *South English Legendary: Thomas Becket*, Archbishop of Canterbury (LdMisc 108) at circa 1300 and Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* at circa 1380.

[4] Morris: 6; R. W. Southern: 29–60. Also R. R. Bolgar (1954) and Knowels (1963) are suggestive.

Of accusours fyftene ful seere

That shullen accuse that dredeful day

The synful men, that is to saye:

<u>Conscience</u> that is here<u>Inwytte,</u>

Her owen synnes, and holy writte,

Goddes creatures that we kenne,

Aungelles, develes, and hethen menne,

And martyres that had turmentes sere

And othur that wrong han tholed here,

And mennes children unchastised,

And pore that need myght not hyed,

Sogettes, and benefices taken here,

And alle Cristene turmentes sere,

And sovereyne Lorde in Trinitee --

Thes alle ageyne synful schul bee.

(Many accusers shall be there then

to accuse them at the doomsday.

I find it is written as you shall hear

of as many as 15 various accusers

who shall accuse on that dreadful day

the sinful men; that is to say:

[1] <u>Conscience</u>, that is their <u>sense of right or wrong [inwit]</u>;

[2] Their own sins and [3] the Holy Bible;

[4] God's creatures that we perceive;

[5] Angels, [6] Devils, and [7] Heathen men;

[8] […] Martyrs [who underwent] diverse torments;

[9] […] Others that suffered astray […];

[10] […] Men's unchastised Children;

5

[11] […] the Poor that might not need [to] hide;

[12] Subjects, and [13] Benefits taken […];

[14] […] all the Christ's various torments;

[15] And Sovereign Lord in Trinity—

These all shall be against the sinful.)

Conscience is still glossed into *Inwytte* here as in the Corpus of *Ancrene Wisse*. Another advanced description is taken from the late-fourteenth-century prose *Piers Plowman,* demonstrating its personification as another type of developed *conscience* (Passus XIII. 22-31). The following translation is the author's:

And as Crist wolde ther com <u>Conscience</u> to conforte me that
tyme,

And bad me come to his court—with Clergie sholde I dyne,

And for <u>Conscience </u>of Clergie spak, I com wel the rather;

And there I [merkede] a maister—what man he was I nuyste—

That lowe louted and loveliche to Scripture.

<u>Conscience</u> knew hym wel and welcomed hym faire;

Thei wesshen and wipeden and wenten to the dyner.

Ac Pacience in the paleis stood in pilgrmes clothes,

And preyde mete *par charite* for a povere heremyte.

<u>Conscience</u> called hym in, and curteisliche seide,

(And then, as Christ wants, <u>Conscience</u> came to comfort me that
time,

And he invited me to his manor-house to dine with [the] Clergy.

And because <u>Conscience</u> mentioned [the] Clergy's name, I
accepted promptly.

And there I noticed a doctor of divinity, someone I did not know,

who bowed lowly and courteously to the Divine Scripture.

<u>Conscience</u> knew him well and welcomed him gracefully.

They washed and wiped [their] hands and went to [dine].

But Patience was standing in the courtyard in pilgrim's clothes.

And he requested something to eat for charity for a poor hermit.

<u>Conscience</u> called him in, and said courteously,)

Other examples of the descriptive use of *conscience* show its widespread popularity.[5] Born at the beginning of the thirteenth century in England, *conscience* promptly goes to the world, speaks and talks, dances and acts as a protagonist. It is, therefore, necessary to understand the situation of its birth on the stage of English literature fully.

 Conscience has not been treated thoroughly in ancient philosophy, nor has it been studied adequately in philosophical history: it is indeed the theme lying within the gap between philosophy of mind and ethics (Potts 1). Therefore, pausing here at its first English appearance in a treatise for laywomen in early-thirteenth-century England to grasp the

---

[5] Other examples of *conscience* connoting the moral sense of right or wrong in Medieval English works are as follows (*MED*): *South English Legendary: Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury* (c1300); Chaucer, *Canterbury Tales, Second Nun's Prologue and Tale* (c1380); *Wycliffite Bible* (1) (c1384); *In a Pistel* (c1390); Chaucer, *Canterbury Tales, The Tale of Melibee* (c1390); Chaucer, *Canterbury Tales, The Parson's Tale* (c1390); Gower, *Confessio Amantis* (a1393); Chaucer, *Canterbury Tales, The Merchant's Tale* (c1395); Northern Homily Cycle (1) *A Monk Returns from Death* (c1400/ c1300); William Langland, *Piers Plowman*, B Version (c1400/ c1378); *Prick of Conscience* (a1425/ a1400); *The Cloud of Unknowing* (a1425/ ?a1400); Chaucer, *Boece* (?a1425); Reginald Pecock, *The Rule of Christian Religion* (c1443); Henry Lovelich, *The History of the Holy Grail* (a1450/ c1410); *How the Good Wife Taught Her Daughter* (1) (c1450); *How mankinde doþ* (c1450); Wycliffite tract, *Confession and Penitence* (c1475/ a1400); Richard Rolle, *English Psalter and Commentary* (c1500/ c1340); and John Mirk, *Festial* (a1500/ a1415).

situation completely might mean only to lighten a small foggy spot on a vast terrain with a tiny hand torch. If, however, the term entered the European intellectual field via theological tools (Potts 2)—in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries *conscience* was a "standard component" of major commentaries and debated questions or *summae*, such as Peter Lombard's *Judgements* (Potts 1)—then the present investigation is worthwhile.

The historical background to the emergence of *conscience* is intimately linked with the ecclesiastical policy on theological instruction at the time. Apart from the imposition of annual confession in the thirteenth century, the requirement to examine the inner souls was also emphasized (Gunn 25-26):

> The nature of confession and penance [has changed] significantly over the previous century, and the parish priests' role as confessor developed in significance and importance during […] the thirteenth century. ... This emphasis on intention—on the mental act rather than the physical activity—meant that the penitent had to accept accountability for actions known to the sinful, and confession had to cover, not the action itself, so much as the intention and consent. Interior penitence was what counted.

Thus, though a study on *conscience* may appear to be abstract and vague, it may reveal fresh insights and encourage further research.[6]

---

[6] Potts presents the bulk of Medieval texts on conscience neglected in the literature in Lottin, O. *Psychologie e morale aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles* (1948): Peter Abelard (c. 1135), *Know Yourself*; Udo (1173–76), *Commentary on the 'Judgements' of Peter Lombard*; Simon of Bisiniano (1173–76), *Commentary on Gratian's 'Decretum'*; Peter of Poitiers (1170s), *Commentary on the 'Judgements'*; Stephen Langton (1200–06),

Thus, this thesis clarifies the circumstances around the emergence of *conscience* in English from *Ancrene Wisse* manuscripts. Given that the evidence is over several manuscripts, text comparison is useful.

3. History of *Ancrene Wisse* Studies

Drawing on Millett (1996), this section provides a summarized history

---

Questions; Godfrey of Poitiers (1213–15); Alexander Neckham (died 1217), *Speculum speculationum*; William of Auxerre (1220–25), *Summa aurea on the 'Judgements'*; Hugo of St Cher (c.1230), *Commentary on the 'Judgements'*; Roland of Cremona (c. 1230), *Questions on the 'Judgements'*; William of Auvergne (1231–36), *On the Soul* in *Opera omnia*; Philip the Chancellor (died 1236), *Suma de bono*; John of Rochelle, *Summa de vitiis*; Alexander of Hales (1220–1225), *Commentary on the 'Judgements'*; Alexander of Hales (1240s), *Summa theologica*; Gauthier of Château-Thierry (died 1249), *Questions on Conscience*; Odo Rigaud (1241-45), *Commentary on the 'Judgements'*; Bonaventure (1221–74), *Commentary on Peter Lombard's 'Books of Judgements'* in *Opera omnia*; Albert the Great (c. 1242), *Summa de homine* in *Opera omnia*; Albert the Great (c.1248), *Questions on* synderesis and *on* conscientia; Aquinas (1253–55), *Commentary on the 'Judgements'*; Aquinas (1257–58), *Debated Questions on Truth*; Aquinas (1266–70), *Summa theologiae*; Peter of Tarento (1257–59), *Commentary on the 'Judgements'*; Gauthier of Bruges (1267-69), *Debated Questions*; William de la Mare (c. 1274), *Commentary on the 'Judgements'*; Henry of Ghent (1276), *Quodlibet*; Richard of Mediavilla (1284–87), *Commentary on the 'Judgements'*; Simon of Lens (1284–87), *Commentary on the 'Judgements'*; Peter John Olivi (1294–96), *Questions on book 2 of the 'Judgements'*; Peter of Trabes (c. 1300), *Commentary on the 'Judgements'*; Hannibald (1260–62), *Commentary on the 'Judgements'*; Romano of Rome (1272–73), *Commentary on the 'Judgements'*; John Quidort (1284–86), *Commentary on the 'Judgements'*; Humbert of Prully (1294), *Commentary on the 'Judgements'*; Godfrey of Fontaines (1295), *Quodlibet*; Peter of Auvergne (1298), *Quodlibet*; Bernard of Auvergne (c. 1300); Richard Fishacre (died 1248), *Commentary on the 'Judgements'*; Richard of Cornwall (1250–55), *Commentary on the 'Judgements'*; Robert Kilwardby (1254–61), *On Conscience*; Nicholas of Ockham (c. 1290), *Commentary on the 'Judgements'*; John Duns Scotus (c. 1300), *Ordinatio*; John Duns Scotus (1303), *Reportata Parisiensia* in *Opera omnia*; John Duns Scotus, *Quaestiones quodlibetales*. Some anonymous works are recorded together (Potts 137–39).

of *Ancrene Wisse* studies. *Ancrene Wisse* was first listed in the catalog *Catalogues Librorum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Cottonianae: Cui praemittuntur… R.Cottoni… vita:et Bibliothecae Cottonianae historia et synopsis* by Thomas Smith in 1696. It presents the Cleopatra, Nero, Titus, Vitellius E, and Vitellius F manuscripts. In 1705, Humfrey Wanley included the Corpus and Bodley 34 manuscripts in his *Antiquae Literaturae Septentrionalis Liber Alter; seu Humphredi Wanleii Librorum vett. Septentrionalium, qui in Angliae bibliothecis extant, nec non multorum Vett. Codd. Septentrionalium alibi extantium Catalogus Historico-Criticus, cum totius Thesauri Linguarum Septentrionalium sex Indicibus*. In 1802, *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Cottonian Library, deposited in the British Museum* and based on the Smith edition, was published in London. During the 1841–43 period, Thomas Wright and James Orchard Halliwell edited the anthology, *Reliquiae Antiquae: Scraps from Ancient Manuscripts, illustrating chiefly Early English Literature and the English Language* in two volumes, which includes Part 4 from the Nero, Parts 7 and 8 from the Cleopatra, and Part 8 from the Titus manuscripts, referencing Latin in the Magdalen 67. In 1853, James Morton edited and translated into modern English an *Ancrene Riwle* text based on the Nero manuscript, the Preface from the Corpus, and variations from the Cleopatra and Titus manuscripts. The edition is the first academic text whose accessibility encouraged later full-text editing of *Ancrene Wisse*, initially through criticism of the edition, such as Madden (1854: 5–6), and philological studies, such as Brock (1865: 150–67).

The text of Eng. 70 (lacuna filled by the Nero manuscript) was edited in 1898.[7] In 1905, Morton edited *The Nun's Rule: Being the*

---

[7] Napier, Arthur S, ed. "A Fragment of the *Ancren Riwle*". JEGP 2 (1898: 199–202).

Ancren Riwle modernised by James Morton with Introduction by Abbot Gasquet based on the Nero manuscript.[8] In 1920 an edition of selections, *Selections from Early Middle English, 1130–1250. 2 vols. Part 1: Texts. Part 2: Notes* was published based on Corpus Parts 4 and 8, Gonville and Caius Part 4, and Nero Part 8, with variants of the Cleopatra. In 1936, an edition based on the Corpus with references to the Nero manuscript was published. [9] In 1937, the Index of the Vernon manuscript was completed. [10] In 1944, the Latin text and the F manuscript were edited by the Early English Text Society (EETS). Further, in 1952, the Nero manuscript was also edited.[11] In 1954, the Gonville and Caius college manuscript was published by EETS. Moreover, in 1955, the Modern English translation based on the Corpus was published.[12] The text based on the Royal 8 was edited in 1956. In 1958, the French S edition was also published by the EETS, and in 1959, parts six and seven were edited.[13] In 1962, Tolkien edited the Corpus manuscript, and in 1963, the Titus manuscript was also edited. Dobson edited the Cleopatra manuscript in 1972, with the Pepys edition appearing in 1976, all via the EETS. The EETS continued editing the Vernon manuscript in 2000. Finally, in 2005, the EETS completed all the editions of all the *Ancrene Wisse* manuscripts, with Millett's Corpus

---

[8] The King's Classics. Moring (1905).

[9] Jewitt, Arthur R. "'Ancrene Wisse', edited with an Introduction and Notes". Diss. Cornel U. (1936).

[10] Serjeantson, Mary S. "The Index of the Vernon Manuscript". *Modern Language Review* 32 (1937: 222–61).

[11] Day, Mabel, ed. *The English Text of the Ancrene Riwle: Edited from Cotton MS. Nero A. XIV, on the basis of a transcript of J.A.Herbert,* EETS 225. Oxford UP (1952).

[12] Salu, M.B., trans. *The Ancrene Riwle (The Corpus MS.: Ancrene Wisse)*, The Orchard Books. Burns (1955). (It is reprinted in 1990 by the Exeter University Press.)

[13] Shepherd, Geoffrey, ed. *Ancrene Wisse: Parts Six and Seven*, Nelson's Medieval and Renaissance Library. Nelson (1959).

edition derived from Dobson.

During publication, other extant manuscripts were discovered and added to the *Ancrene Wisse* variants: a fragment of the *Ancrene Riwle*, Eng. 70 in 189, and the Pepys manuscript in 1902. They were soon followed by language, word-order, grammar, and syntax studies.[14] The Merton manuscript was discovered in 1919,[15] followed in 1936 by the final Trinity manuscript.[16]

The Katherine and Wooing Groups, contemporary works related to *Ancrene Wisse*, have also been studied in parallel since an edition of *The Legend of St. Katherine of Alexandria* was published in 1841.[17] In 1862, the first EETS edition out of the Katherine Group was produced as *Seinte Marherete, Þe Meiden ant Martyr: in Old English: Now First Edited from the Skin Books* by Cockayne and Oswald with a translation of the text. The EETS continued publication with *Hali Meidenhad, From MS. Cott. Titus D. XVIII. Fol. 112c.: An Alliterative Homily of the Thirteenth Century* in 1866 with translation. In 1868, *Old English Homilies and Homiletic Treatises (Sawles Warde, and Þe Wohunge of Ure lauerd: Ureisuns of Ure Louerd and of Ure Lefdi, &c.) of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries: Edited from Mss. In the British Museum, Lambeth, and Bodleian Libraries; with Introduction, Translation, and Notes: First Series* with translation appeared. In 1872, *Þe Liflade of St.*

---

[14] Dahlstedt, August. *The Word-Order of the Ancren Riwle: With Special Reference to the Word-Order in Anglo-Saxon and Modern English.* (1903); Williams, Irene F. "The Language of the Cleopatra MS. Of the Ancren Riwle". (1905); Redepenning, Hermann. *Syntaktische Kapitel aus der 'Ancren Riwle'*. Diss. (1906).

[15] Allen, Hope E. "A New Latin Manuscript of the 'Ancren Riwle'". *Modern Language Review* 14 (1919: 209-10).

[16] Allen, Hope E. "'The Ancren Riwle' Letter". *Times Literary Supplement* 24 Oct. (1936: 863).

[17] Morton, James, ed. *The Legend of St. Katherine of Alexandria. Edited from a Manuscript in the Cottonian Library, Abbotsford Club.* Bentley (1841).

Juliana: from Two Old English Manuscripts of 1230 A.D., with Renderings into Modern English was published followed by *The Life of St. Katherine from the Royal MS. 17 A. xxvii, etc., With its Latin Original from the Cotton MS. Caligula, A. viii., etc.* in 1884.

Tolkien first identified and defined the "AB language" in 1929 (104–26), where the "A" language in the Corpus manuscript and the "B" of the Katherine group in MS Bodley 34 were closely compared to establish a variant of the standard local dialect in northern Herefordshire or southern Shropshire. This discovery produced language studies by Bliss (1952),[18] Scragg (1974),[19] and Jack (1975).[20]

The original language and authorship were initially discussed in Morton's 1853 edition, continuing in editions of the Katherine Group in Cockayne (1866)[21] and Morris (1868).[22] The discussion was underway in *Ancrene Riwle* (Bramiette 1893)[23] in a dissertation (1901),[24]

[18] Bliss, A. J. "A Note on 'Language AB'". *English and Germanic Studies* 5 (1952–53: 1–6).

[19] Scragg, D. G. *A History of English Spelling*. Mont Follick Series 3. Manchester UP (1974).

[20] Jack, G. B. "Relative Pronouns in Language AB". *English Studies* 56. (1975: 100–7).

[21] Cockayne, Oswald, ed. and trans. *Hali Meidenhad, From MS. Cott. Titus D. XVIII.Fol. 112c.: An Alliterative Homily of the Thirteenth Century.* EETS 18, Trubner (1866).

[22] Morris, Richard, ed. and trans. *Old English Homilies and Homiletic Treatises (Sawles Warde, and þe Wohunge of Ure lauerd: Ureisuns of Ure Louerd and of Ure Lefdi, &c.) of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries: Edited from Mss. In the British Museum, Lambeth, and Bodleian Libraries; with Introduction, Translation, and Notes: First Series.* EETS 34, Trubner (1868).

[23] Bramiette, Edgar Elliott. "The Original Language of the *Ancren Riwle*". *Anglia* 15 (1893: 478–98).

[24] Muhe, Theodor. *Uber den im MS. Cotton Titus D. XVIII (British Museum London) enthaltenen Text der Ancrene Riwle.* Diss. Georg-Augusts-U (1901).

continued by Heuser and McNabb (1907),[25] Muhe (1908),[26] Macaulay (1914),[27] Hope E. Allen (1918),[28] Joseph Hall (1920),[29] Hope Allen (1921),[30] Coulton (1922),[31] Dymes (1924),[32] McNabb (1926),[33] Hope Allen (1929),[34] Wilson (1932),[35] McNabb (1934),[36] Doyle (1953),[37]

[25] Heuser, W. "Die Ancren Riwle—Ein aus angelsachsischen Zeit uberliefertes Denkmal". *Anglia* 30 (1907: 103–22); Vincent McNabb, "Who Wrote the 'Ancren Riwle?'". *American Ecclesiastical Review* 36 (1907: 54–85).

[26] Mühe, Th. "Uber die Ancren Riwle". *Anglia* 31 (1908: 399–404).

[27] Macaulay, G.C. "The 'Ancren Riwle'". *Modern Language Review* 9 (1914: 63–78, 145–60, 324–31, 463–74).

[28] Allen, Hope E. "The Origin of the *Ancren Riwle*". *PMLA* 33 (1918: 474–546).

[29] Joseph Hall, ed. *Selections from Early Middle English, 1130–1250*. 2 vols., Clarendon (1920); Vincent McNabb. "Further Light on the 'Ancren Riwle'". *Modern Language Review* 15 (1920: 406–9).

[30] Allen, Hope E. "The 'Ancren Riwle' and Kilburn Priory". *Modern Language Review* 16 (1921: 316–22).

[31] Coulton, G. G. "The Authorship of 'Ancrene Riwle". *Modern Language Review* 17 (1922: 66–9).

[32] Dymes, Dorothy M. E. "The Original Language of the Ancren Riwle". *Essays and Studies* 9 (1924: 31–49).

[33] McNabb, Vincent, R.W. Chambers, and Herbert Thurston. "Further Research upon the Ancren Riwle". *Review of English Studies* 2 (1926: 82–9, 197-201).

[34] Allen, Hope. E. "On the Author of The Ancren Riwle". *PMLA* 44 (1929: 635-80).

[35] Wilson, R. A. "A Note on the Authorship of the 'Katherine Group'". *Leeds Studies in English* 1 (1932: 24–7).

[36] McNabb, Vincent. "The Authorship of the Ancren Riwle". *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 4 (1934: 49–74).

[37] Doyle, A. I. "A survey of the origins and circulation of theological writings in English in the 14th, 15th, and early 16th centuries with special consideration of the part of the clergy therein". 2 vols., Diss. Cambridge U (1953).

Talbot (1956),[38] Shuman (1957),[39] Fujiwara (1968),[40] Houle (1972),[41] and Dobson (1976).[42] Finally, the original language was established as English, despite the author being unknown. In accord with McNabb, Millett (1992) suggests he may have been a Dominican. It is astonishing to see how long the identification of the work has been discussed.

From the summarized history of the *Ancrene Wisse*, the researcher likely focused mainly on the philological analysis given the requirement to understand the nature of the work (Wada 2003). For the early publications, the Nero manuscript was chosen as the base text. It then gradually turned to the Corpus, given the textual quality.

4. Previous alternative(s) for *conscience*

If *conscience* and *inwit* are first employed in *Ancrene Wisse*, there must have been a previous alternative or alternatives to them. What was it, and how and where was it used? This thesis examines previous alternative words using Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies I* and *II* to better reflect the novelty of the loan words. *Catholic Homilies* is among a wide range of sources employed in *Ancrene Wisse*,[43] and it is undoubtedly among the greatest prose works before the age of *Ancrene Wisse*. Focusing on *conscience* in *Catholic Homilies* should indicate continuities and discontinuities between OE and ME.[44]

---

[38] Talbot, C. H. "Some Notes on the Dating of the Ancrene Riwle". *Neophilologus* 40 (1956: 38–50).
[39] Shuman, R. Baird. "Concerning the Authorship of the Ancrene Riwle". *Notes and Queries* NS 4 (1957: 415–16).
[40] Fujiwara, Hiroshi. "What was the Original Language of the Ancrene Riwle?". *Annual Collection of Essays and Studies* 14, Faculty of Letters, Gakushuin U (1968: 53–73).
[41] Houle, Peter J. "The Original Language of the Ancrene Riwle". *Massachusetts Studies in English* 3 (1972: 54–64).
[42] Dobson, E. J. *The Origins of Ancrene Wisse*. Clarendon Press(1976).
[43] Millett (2009: xxviii).
[44] Millett, Bella. "The discontinuity of English prose: Structural

Ten words concerning mentality in *Catholic Homilies* were identified to examine alternatives to *conscience*: *saule, mode, heortan, willan, gast, wisdom, geþoht, ingehy(i)de, geþance,* and *gewit*. Figures 1 and 2 show the frequency of appearances of the words. Appendix records the exact numbers. This sampling maps out those vocabularies for a general idea of their linguistic geography. They are temporarily called "mind-words."

4.1. Mind-words in *Catholic Homilies I & II*

The mappings of mind-words in Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies I & II* are as follows:
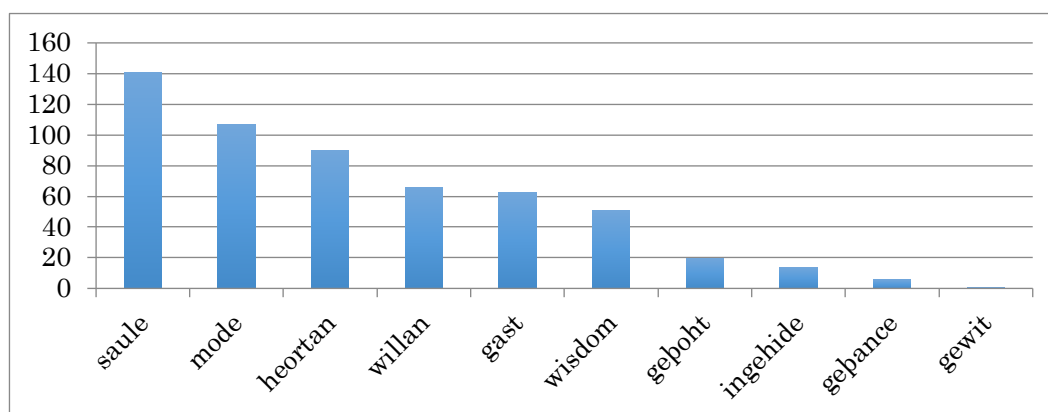
Figure 1: Mind-words in *Catholic Homilies I*

total: 559

---

innovation in the Trinity and Lambeth Honilies". *Studies in English Medieval Language and Literature* 12, Peter Lange (2005). Millett emphasizes "discontinuity" in after admitting "continuity," as defended by Tadao Kubouchi, *From Wulfstan to Richard Role: Papers Exploring the Continuity of English Prose* (D. S. Brewer, 1999) and Mary Swan and Elaine Treharne (eds.), *Rewriting Old English in the Twelfth Century,* Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 30 (Cambridge UP, 2000).
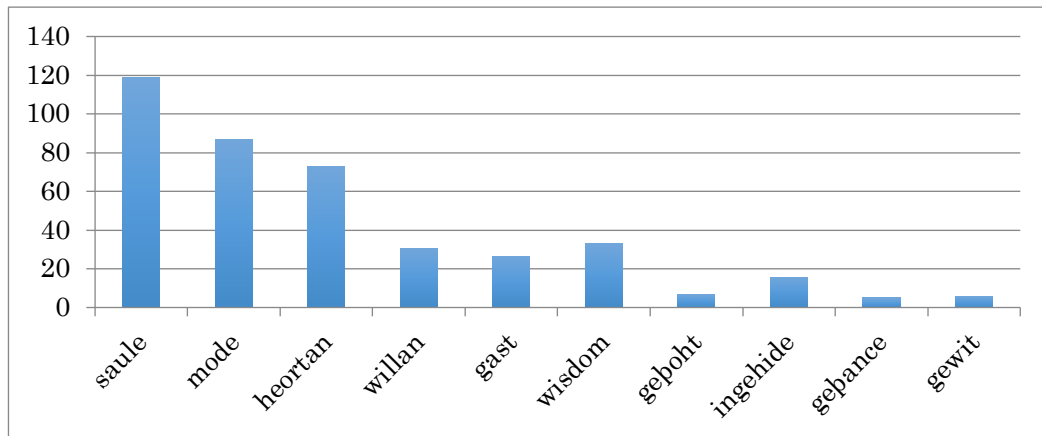
Figure 2: Mind-words in *Catholic Homilies II*

total: 404

The most frequently used word is *saule*, followed by *mode*, *heortan*, *willan*, *gast*, [45] and *wisdom*. The less frequent words are *geþoht*, *ingehy(i)de*, and *geþance*, with *gewit* appearing least.

Godden summarizes the Anglo-Saxon tradition of thought and mind in two streams. The classical tradition incorporates thinkers such as St Augustine, Boethius, and Plato through King Alfred and Ælfric. This stream developed an original concept of the inner self in which the intellectual mind is identified with *soul* and *spirit*. The vernacular tradition is generally represented in Anglo-Saxon poets and sometimes Alfred and Ælfric, where *mind* is distinct from *soul* and is associated with passion and intellect.[46] According to Godden, the most generally used word for the mind in prose is *mod,* which implies "the locus or instrument of thought and imagination" and "the intellectual faculty."[47]

Furthermore, Godden addresses another psychological word *ingehyd*, especially in those cases used by Ælfric. He analyzes the word as below (emphasis is the author's):

---

[45] *Gast,* which means the Holy Ghost, is not counted.

[46] Godden (1985: 271).

[47] Godden (1985: 287).

17

Literally it [*ingehyd*] means <u>inner thought</u> or <u>inner mind,</u> but it translates both *scientia* / and *conscientia* in Latin, and it is impossible to find a close equivalent for it in either Latin or Modern English. ... <u>When it translates *conscientia,* it seems to mean the inner mind or consciousness of innocence or guilt</u>: .... <u>When it translates *scientia* it means knowledge or understanding, but the only [...] informative context relates it to intuitive understanding rather than learned knowledge</u>: .... The term [*ingehyd*] seems to cover both cognition and volition and the inner self from which they proceed.[48]

When employing psychological words, Ælfric tends to use *ingehyd* for the Latin *conscientia* to mean *conscience*; that is, the sense of right or wrong. When he uses it for the Latin *scientia*, however, it only means general knowledge or understanding. All cases where *ingehyd* is used in *Catholic Homilies I, II* are analyzed below to see how *ingehyd* is used for this particular meaning.

4.2. Appearance of *ingehyd*

All instances of *ingehyd* in *Catholic Homilies I, II* are listed in the tables below. The occurrence number, the homily and line number, the original Latin according to Godden's commentary,[49] and Thorpe's translation are recorded in order. The bold is the translated Modern English for *ingehyd.* When the original Latin is not written in his referendum, it is expressed as [-] in each case.

---

[48] Godden (1985: 286–87).
[49] Godden, Malcom, R. *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies Introduction, Commentary and Glossary*. EETS, 2000.

Table 1: *Ingehyd* in *Catholic Homilies I*

no	homily/line	original Latin	Thorpe's translation
1	XXII.110	-	**knowledge** of all languages
2	XXII.180	scientiae	to one [man] good **knowledge**
3	XXII.230	scientiae	with **knowledge** and piety,
4	XXIV.95	scientiae	Cherubim are interpreted as fullness of **knowledge**
5	XXIV.139	scientiae	all **understanding and knowledge** is contained
6	XXIV.180	scientiae	Cherubim is interpreted as fullness of **knowledge**
7*	XXXIII.55	conscientia[50]	if the **mind** of the sinful is touched by fear of the heavenly doom
8	XXXIV.213	-	and perverts their **understanding**
9*	XXXV.171	conscientiae intus[51]	for the Judge who convicts without is cognizant of his **mind within**
10	XXXVI.104	-	the life and extraordinary **knowledge** of anchorites
11	XXXIX.42	-	Of old the light of **knowledge** shone over the circumference of [the] earth
12	XXXIX.45	scientia	Through increasing **knowledge** and good will
13	XXXIX.61	scientiam	and given us the light of **knowledge** and truth
14	XXXIX.71	scientia	the **knowledge** of truth; that is, the thought of our Lord's will

---

[50] Bede. *Commentary on Luke* (*In evangelium Lucae libros VI*). 2.2318–22; *conscientia* (Godden 1985: 278).

[51] Gregory. *Hom.* 38. PL 76, 1289CD; *conscientiae intus* (Godden 1985: 295).

Table 2: *Ingehyd* in *Catholic Homilies II*

no	homily/line	original Latin	Thorpe's translation
1	IV.54	scientiam	**knowledge** of the holy writings
2	XV.280	scientiam	betokens human **knowledge**
3	XVI.204	scientiae	grace of the Holy Ghost: …**knowledge** and piety
4	XIX.60	corde, anima, mente	love God with good **knowledge**
5	XXV.69	scientiae	**knowledge** and piety
6*	XXVI.117	conscientia[52]	thy **mind** be empty of every good?
7	XXXII.102	cognoscimus	gave us **knowledge** of all the wisdom and all the languages
8	XXXIV.119	-	his monastic **strictness** among men
9*	XXXIX.66	conscientiam, conscientiae[53]	they had in their hearts the good **sense**
10*	XXXIX.68	conscientiam, conscientiae	Our glory is the testimony of our **knowledge**
11	XXXIX.143	prudentibus	good **understanding within**
12	XXXIX.151	-	his own **understanding** will seem to him too little
13*	XXXIX.162	conscientia[54]	with good **understanding**
14*	XXXIX.172	conscientia	through good **understanding**

[52] Augustine. *Serm.* 72, § 5, PL38, 469; *conscientia* (Godden 1985: 574).

[53] Partially as Gregory, *Hom.* 12, PL 76, 1119CD (Godden 1985: 657).

[54] "Ælfric mainly develops the contrast between inner disposition, *ingehyd*, and reliance on outward prestige. The identification of merchants as flatterers (*adulatores*) is in Gregory and Augustine; the latter offers a partial parallel for 167–8 and 171–4 (*Serm.* 93, PL38)" (Godden 1985: 660).

| 15* | XXXIX.173 | conscientia | the **understanding** will there quake affrighted |
| 16* | XL.194 | conscientia[55] | the church opens to Christ her **knowledge** |

The First Series of *Catholic Homilies* includes 14 cases of *ingehyd*—two cases from the Latin *conscientia* and the other 12 from *scientia*. The Second Series contains 16 cases, with seven translated from *conscientia* and three from *scientia.* The six remaining cases are unknown. The numbers with an asterisk [*]—I.7, I.9, II.6, II.9, II.10, II.13, II.14, II.15, and II.16—show those cases translated from the Latin *conscientia* into *ingehyd*. Among them, there are five cases in which *ingehyd* appears to mean the sense of right or wrong according to the context—I.7, I.9, II.6, II.9, II.11. The last case of these, II.11, does not show the Latin *conscientia* or *scientia* in a direct source introduced by Godden, but *prudentibus* can be regarded as a possibly translated into *ingehyd*.[56] This case shows that Ælfric does not adopt *ingehyd* simply as a systematic substitute for *conscientia*.[57] Meanwhile, there seem to be some cases of *ingehyd* that do not necessarily connote conscience but can be understood as general knowledge or consciousness, as in Thorp's translations. Thorp generally translates *ingehyd* as *knowledge*, and apart from that, into *mind*, *sense*, *understanding*, but never into *conscience*.

Further investigation highlights the need to clarify the meaning of Latin words such as *scientia*, *conscientia,* and *prudentia* for every case. However, it is sufficient for the present thesis to understand that several

[55] Eusebius, Gallicanus. *Hom.* 47 (Godden 1985: 666).
[56] Gregory. *Hom.* 12, PL 76, 1120AB (Godden 1985: 659).
[57] Godden testifies the gradual change of terminology of Ælfric. See Godden 1980: 206–23.

21

Latin words, such as *conscientia*, *scientia*, *prudentia*, are translated into *ingehyd* by Ælfric, which often means *conscience* as the sense of telling right or wrong. As the word *ingehyd* is not present in *Ancrene Wisse*, its absence reveals a discontinuity in employing the vocabulary for *conscience* between OE and early ME.

5. Method of the thesis

This thesis principally employs a philological and comparative approach. Chapters I and II demonstrate the effectiveness of the comparative method when treating the Cleopatra Scribe B additions and incipits of prayers in Part I, respectively. Chapter III shows the collation of *conscience* words among *Ancrene Wisse* manuscripts. In this thesis, all words examined for *conscience* analysis are termed *conscience* words for convenience. The variety of *conscience* words is revealed, and individual vocabulary is identified by reference to its dictionary description. Chapter IV focuses on the expository apposition marker, the introductory expression for *conscience*, *þet is*. Chapter V compares the differences in *conscience* words between the Corpus manuscript (henceforth "A manuscript") and the Cleopatra manuscript (henceforth "C manuscript") based on the A manuscript, analyzing the concerned narrations of Scribe A and the corrections of Scribe B of the C manuscript. Chapter VI considers other expressions for *conscience* found in the manuscripts apart from A. In Chapter VII, the spotlight falls on Scribe D of the C manuscript who worked after Scribe B. Chapter VIII focuses on the usage of *inwið*, a word whose spelling is similar to *inwit*, in C. Chapter IX examines other vernacular expressions for *conscience,* adding to findings of Chapter VI. Lastly, Chapter X investigates the synonymous expressions for *conscience* within the Katherine and the Wooing Groups, works closely related to *Ancrene Wisse*.

Ancrene Wisse, whose original is considered to have been composed between 1215 and 1222 to disseminate the contents of the Fourth Lateran Council (Gunn 4; Dobson 1967: 192), has been identified as "the most important surviving work of early Middle English prose" (Millett 2009: ix; Heuser 1907: 104). Since the discovery of the text, research has mostly focused on philology to provide evidence of English vernacular[58] and continuity from OE prose,[59] along with the novelty of continental ecclesiastical influences.[60] We know now that it was a very popular treatise. It originated in early thirteenth-century England and underwent many developments. It was translated into other languages and targeted various types of audiences or readerships over several centuries (Millett 2005 I: xxxvii-xlv). These scholastic discoveries have gradually interwoven interdisciplinary methods to shed more light on the work's nature. Regarding *conscience*, the discrepancies of glosses among Scribes A and B in the Cleopatra were identified by Dobson in his edition's note (1972: 3. note b) and repeated by Millett in her Corpus edition's commentary. This noteworthy phenomenon, however, has not been examined any further. Fully investigating the topos of the first appearance of *conscience* would deepen our understanding of *Ancrene Wisse* and other contemporary and earlier works.

The terminology "circumstance" in the title is used to describe the conditions for confession, and its first occurrence as English is recorded in *Ancrene Wisse* (Gunn 147). The number of necessary conditions for confession varies per period and can demonstrate the time of constitution, as Millett (1999) highlights. The title of this thesis implies

---

[58] Of many scholarly works, the one referred to for this thesis is Zettersten (1965), which investigates "the most important features of the dialect and vocabulary" of the manuscripts A, N, and G.

[59] For example, Kubouchi (1999) and Swan and Treharne (2000).

[60] For example, Cooper (1956) traces the Latin sources of the N manuscript.

the "circumstance" of confession since the work is closely related to the trend of confession. Studying the circumstances of *conscience* may resonate with other circumstances of other elements in this field or other fields. For example, in the theological field, *conscience* has received great attention since the Second Vatican Council, as Karl Rahner argued for the importance of recognizing cultural difference, distilled into another recognition of moral theology (Takeuchi xi). The latest Catechism of the Catholic Church clearly declares that *conscience* is the law which a man must obey since it is the law God inscribed on the heart of human beings. [61] Clearly, *conscience* enjoys a special status and imposes a significant responsibility for all contemporary Christians and people living beyond the boundary (Takeuchi 187–200). Though this thesis focuses on a small element, digging into the background of the first English *conscience* can contribute a significant crack into the huge continuous intellectual horizon.

Once again, all emphases are the author's unless otherwise indicated. The Modern English translation of the Corpus is drawn from Millett's *Translation*. For other manuscripts, the translations are the author's but heavily dependent on Millett.

---

[61] "Deep within his *conscience* man discovers a law which he has not laid upon himself but which he must obey. Its voice, ever calling him to love and to do what is good and to avoid evil, sounds in his heart at the right moment... For man has in his heart a law inscribed by God... His *conscience* is man's most secret core and his sanctuary. There he is alone with God whose voice echoes in his depths." [Italics are the author's] Article 6, Moral Conscience 1776, *Catechism of the Catholic Church.* <vatican.va>. "Conscience" is further explained from 1776 to 1802 sections.

Appendix

Mind-words

Catholic Homilies I

saule	141
mode	107
heortan	90
willan	66
gast	63
wisdom	51
geþoht	20
ingehide	14
geþance	6
gewit	1
	559

saule (sawle, saul, sawul, saulum, saula, sawla)

I. 181.67; I. 182.109; 182.115; 184.162; 184.164; 184.169; 184.17o; 184.174; 184.174;

189.29o.

II. 193.101; 193.104; 196.176.

IV. 208.57; 209.102; 211.139; 211.155; 215.26o.

VI. 224.24; 226.65; 227.98; 227.10o; 230.177.

VIII. 242.43; 242.46; 242.48; 243.51; 243.67.

IX. 254.17o; 254.177.

X. 260.64; 262.11o; 262.12o; 262.121; 262.123; 262.125; 262.125; 262.126; 262.128; 263.13o; 263.135; 263.136.

XI. 268.53; 268.55.

XII. 279.119.

XIII. 287.185; 288.205; 288.205.

XIV. 293.9o; 297.215; 298.217.

XVIII. 319.69.

XIX. 328.94; 328.101; 329.103; 329.109; 329.112; 329.114; 329.119; 329.124; 332.209.

XX. 335.14; 342.194; 342.195; 342.201; 342.204; 342.204; 342.206; 342.212; 344.26o; 344.264; 344.264; 344.27o.

XXI. 349.125; 351.179; 352.20o.

XXII. 357.76; 363.24o.

XXIII. 366.36; 367.57; 367.62.

XXIV. 373.63; 376.147.

XXV. 383.114.

XXVI. 395.203.

XXVII. 408.228.

XXVIII. 414.112; 414.114; 414.123; 414.135; 414.136; 415.139; 415.154; 415.157; 417.204; 417.216.

XXIX. 421.102.

XXX. 432.86; 432.91; 433.137; 434.141; 434.145; 438.271.

XXXI. 439.16; 443.105; 443.13o; 444.14o; 444.142; 444.144; 448.256; 450.307; 450.31o.

XXXIII. 460.32; 460.53; 461.81; 461.81; 462.88; 462.9o; 462.103; 462.11o.

XXXIV. 472.208; 473.224; 473.235.

XXXV. 477.31; 477.33; 477.34; 478.76; 479.111; 481.158; 483.233.

XXXVI. 493.203; 494.243; 494.244.

XXXVIII. 507.19; 511.124; 512.143; 515.244.

mode (mod, modes, moode, mód)

Praefatio. 174.48.

II. 192.74.

III. 202.108; 202.133.

IV. 209.8o; 209.83; 212.184; 214.225.

VII. 235.111; 240.26o; 240.262.

VIII. 246.157; 247.182.

IX. 251.65; 252.102; 252.103; 252.104; 254.175; 255.207.

X. 259.27; 260.49; 260.65; 260.72; 260.74; 261.8o; 261.95.

XI. 271.136; 271.141; 271.143; 271.148; 272.222.

XII. 276.42; 278.95.

XIII. 285.123; 286.143; 287.179.

XV. 301.57.

XVI. 310.106; 311.11o.

XVII. 314.43; 315.5o.

XVIII. 324.202.

XIX. 330.136; 330.154; 331.171.

XXI. 351.171.

XXII. 360.151; 361.178; 361.186; 363.229.

XXIII. 366.51; 367.59; 368.95; 368.96; 368.105.

XXIV. 375.142.

XXV.384.152; 384.163; 385.174; 386.206; 386.216.

XXVI. 390.62.

XXVII. 401.28; 403.87.

XXVIII. 415.152; 416.185; 416.186; 416.19o; 416.195.

XXIX. 420.58; 422.105; 423.141; 428.295.

XXX. 430.34; 435.173; 435.193; 436.205; 437.225; 437.236.

XXXI. 440.41; 448.264.

XXXIV. 471.177.

XXXV. 478.73.

XXXVI. 489.92; 489.97; 489.105; 490.133; 492.175; 492.192; 494.231.

XXXVII. 499.68.

XXXVIII. 509.57; 510.103; 511.133; 511.14o; 513.176; 515.24o; 516.254; 517.294; 517.305.

XXXIX. 523.9o; 523.93.

XL. 526.55; 526.79; 527.82; 527.83; 527.84.

heortan (heorte, heortum)

I. 179.32; 188.274.

II. 191.39; 197.204; 197.215.

III. 199.3o; 199.43; 199.46; 203.154; 204.166.

IV. 211.153; 214.23o; 215.257.

V. 220.11o.

VI. 227.106; 228.127.

VII. 235.114; 235.121; 237.159; 237.172; 238.185; 239.236; 240.262.

VIII. 243.57; 243.69; 247.178.

IX. 250.54; 252.94; 253.145; 254.18o.

X. 260.66; 260.7o; 261.8o; 261.83; 262.104.

XI. 272.175.

XII. 279.125.

XVIII. 324.199.

XIX. 330.138; 330.153.

XX. 341.186; 341.187; 341.189.

XXI. 349.115; 351.17o.

XXII. 357.76; 357.93; 359.148; 360.164; 360.17o; 360.17o; 361.187; 363.24o; 363.249.

XXIV. 371.22; 374.88; 375.134.

XXV. 379.18; 386.2oo; 386.201; 386.211; 386.213.

XXVI. 390.59.

XXVII. 405.134.

XXIX. 421.87; 426.22o.

XXXIII. 462.92; 463.122; 464.15o.

XXXIV. 468.105.

XXXV. 477.37; 482.183; 482.186; 484.254; 484.258.

XXXVI. 493.21o; 493.224; 493.227; 495.265; 495.285.

XXXVIII. 509.71; 511.125; 511.131; 511.131.

XXXIX. 523.102; 523.106.

XL. 527.94; 527.96.

willan (willa)

I. 178.13; 179.17; 179.19; 180.47; 180.49; 182.104.

II.191.31; 193.99; 194.132; 194.14o; 194.141.

VII.237.174.

VIII.242.49; 248.209.

X.263.152.

XI.268.57; 268.7o; 270.105.

XII.277.53; 279.116.

XIII.281.5; 284.94; 284.96.

XIV. 291.41; 294.116; 294.119.

XV.304.128; 306.186; 306.191.

XVI. 309.77.

XVIII. 322.152.

XIX. 325.14; 326.39; 328.96; 328.99; 328.10o; 328.101; 328.102; 332.193 (x2).

XX. 336.44; 337.76; 338.83; 338.9o; 338.94; 338.98 (x2); 340.147; 340.149; 342.197; 342.199; 342.203; 342.205.

XXII. 355.37; 358.115; 360.158; 362.204; 363.242.

XXIV. 372.39; 376.161.

XXVII. 404.111; 405.145; 405.148.

XXXIII. 463.136; XXXIII. 463.146.

XXXIV. 466.27; 468.81.

XXXVI. 493.215; 494.234.

XXXVIII. 511.115; 511.116; 511.118; 511.119; 511.123; 511.124; 511.133; 511.134.

XXXIX. 521.45; 522.72.

gast (gasta, gastes, gastum)

I. 179.25; 181.67.

III. 200.56.

IV. 212.183; 215.274.

XV. 301.51.

XVIII. 319.6o; 322.141; 324.213.

XX. 335.12; 335.13; 338.84; 339.118 (x2); 339.133; 341.186.

XXII. 356.6o; 360.156; 361.182; 361.19o; 362.21o; 362.211; 362.212; 362.213; 362.217; 362.218; 363.235; 364.255.

XXIII. 367.63.

XXIV. 374.105; 374.106; 375.118; 375.133; 377.178.

XXV. 379.17; 380.41; 382.93; 383.116; 386.212.

XXVI. 392.107; 392.113; 393.152; 394.181; 396.24o; 398.272.

XXVII. 406.192; 408.243.

XXVIII. 414.136; 415.143; 415.149; 417.203; 417.212; 417.219.

XXIX. 424.159; 425.211; 426.221; 427.263; 428.269.

XXX. 432.93; 433.125; 438.263.

XXXI. 441.51; 441.54; 441.66; 443.125; 444.156; 445.187; 447.231.

XXXIII. 463.135; 464.157.

XXXV. 483.234.

XXXVI. 487.25; 487.27; 492.184; 492.185; 492.189; 492.191; 492.192.

XXXVII. 503.189.

XXXVIII. 507.22; 511.138; 518.334; 519.338.

XXXIX. 520.1o.

wisdom (wisdomes)

I. 179.16; 179.18; 182.103.

II. 195.168; 196.169; 195.171.

III. 198.19.

VII. 239.235.

VIII. 248.208.

XII. 279.126.

XIII. 281.5.

XIV. 291.38.

XIX. 325.7; 326.21; 332.198; 333.234.

XX. 337.54; 337.74; 338.89; 338.93; 338.96; 339.114 (x3); 339.115; 339.116; 342.218; 342.219.

XXII. 361.18o; 362.204; 363.23o.

XXV. 384.139; 384.141; 385.191; 386.192.

XXVI. 390.49.

XXXIII. 463.144; 464.155.

XXXV. 477.31; 477.32; 477.34 (x2).

XXXVI. 486.14; 492.183.

XXXVIII. 508.26.

XXXIX. 523.104.

geþoht (geþohta, geþohtas, geþohtum, geþohtas)

ingehyd (ingehíd, ingehid, ingehides, ingehydes, ingehide)

geþance (geþanc)

XXXV. 478.72.

gewit

XXIV. 375.138.

Catholic Homilies II

saule	119
mode	87
heortan	73
willan	31
gast	27
wisdom	33
geþoht	7
ingehide	16
geþance	5
gewit	6
	404

saule (sawle, sawla, sawul, saule, saulum, sawl)

I.4.14; 8.21; 10.1; 12.8; 16.26.

II.34.28; 36.3.

III.50.2; 50.3.

V.78.3; 80.11.

VI.88.20; 88.22; 88.25; 92.26; 98.6.

VII.104.19 (x2); 108.35.

VIII.110.18; 110.27; 110.31; 116.8.

IX.128.8; 132.2.

X.136.11; 138.22.

XI.156.20; 162.30; 182.19; 184.17; 184.31; 186.4; 186.7; 188.11.

XII.206.25; 206.26; 208.20; 214.16; 220.30.

XIII.226.31; 232.25; 232.27.

XIV.244.8.

XV.270.3; 270.20; 276.33.

XX.308.23; 310.5.

XXI.318.26; 324.31; 326.2; 328.8; 330.21.

XXII.334.6; 334.10; 334.20; 334.28; 336.6; 336.8; 338.7; 338.12; 338.19; 338.22; 340.30; 340.34; 342.23; 344.1; 344.15; 344.18; 344.20; 344.24; 346.3; 346.28.

XXIII.350.10; 350.22; 350.28; 350.31; 352.21; 352.31; 354.30.

XXIV.358.8; 358.15; 358.27.

XXV.362.17.

XXVIII.394.24.

XXIX.400.18; 400.30.

XXXI.418.8.

XXXIV.440.18; 442.3; 444.12.

XXXV.452.23; 454.4; 458.26; 460.16.

(G).XXXI.268.8; XXXVI.462.14; 462.16; 462.19; 462.29.

XXXVII.478.8; 478.22.

XXXVIII.484.32.

XXXIX.518.7.

XLI.532.28.

(G).XXXVII.310.20; XLII.542.15; 544.5.

XLIII.560.33.

XLIV.564.8; 566.19; 568.26.

XLV.580.13; 582.7; .588.1; 590.28; 590.33.

mode (mód, modes, módes, módum)

XXXIII.428.32; 430.4.

XXXIV.440.19; 442.9.

XXXV.450.30; 456.5.

XXXVII.468.23; 478.32.

XXXVIII.496.21.

XXXIX.500.24; 500.29; 504.19; 512.26.

XL.522.19.

XLI.530.11; 536.17.

XLII.538.7; 544.9; 544.33; 546.1.

XLIV.570.20; 572.13.

heortan (heorte, heortum)

II.34.3.

IV.56.8.

V.84.10.

(G).VI.53.22; (G).VI.53.30; VI.90.7; 90.16; 90.28; 92.4; 92.12; 92.23; 92.28; 96.33.

VII.100.32; 104.33.

VIII.112.18.

IX.120.25; 124.8; 124.25; 124.34.

X.146.24.

XI.160.25; 170.28.

XII.204.9; 204.15 (x2); 204.16; 220.18.

XIII.226.8; 228.21; 236.21; 236.31.

XV.266.13; XV.276.2; 276.34; 278.2.

(G).XVI.162.32; XVI.284.13.

XVII.294.5.

XXI.314.5; 316.5; 320.30; 320.34; 326.25.

XXII.336.26; 336.32; 344.3.

XXV.370.24.

XXVIII.392.28; 392.31.

XXIX.402.11; 402.29.

XXX.404.16; 408.35; 410.1.

XXXI.422.15.

XXXV.448.16.

XXXVI.460.28.

XXXVII.468.28; 470.2; 470.25; 474.20.

XXXVIII.486.16.

XL.524.12.

XLI.530.15.

(G).XXXVII.310.13; 542.4.

XLIII.552.10.

XLIV.564.29; 570.19; 574.12.

XLV.576.21; 576.29; 578.29; 584.13.

604.13.

willan (willa)

II.24.30.

III.42.24; 44.31; 52.28.

IV.56.29; 64.1.

V.84.15; 84.16 (x2).

VI.92.11.

IX.128.6.

X.148.17; 152.27.

XIII.226.20.

XIV.258.32.

XXII.338.24; 338.26.

XXV.362.27.

XXX.406.13; 410.31; 412.1; 412.5.

XXXVI.462.18.

XXXVII.470.3; 478.34.

XL.522.3; 522.35; 524.7; 528.13.

XLI.536.1.

gast (gaste, gastum, gastas, gastes)

II.26.14; 34.29.

III.40.2; III.44.1; 46.12.

IV.64.15.

V.82.11.

VII.108.19.

VIII.114.18.

X.152.1; 152.27.

XI.160.6; 166.8; 168.12; 170.27; 172.34; 180.7; 186.32.

XII.204.5; 204.25.

XIV.258.1; 258.18.

XVII.292.25.

XXI.316.11.

XXII.336.11; 336.16; 338.33.

XXV.362.26.

(G).XXIII.218.158; (G).XXIII.218.160; XXVII.378.29.

XXXI.422.15.

XXXII.426.21.

XXXIV.444.28.

XXXVI.462.19.

XXXVIII.492.30.

XXXIX.512.3; 512.33.

XL.524.30; 524.33.

XLII.548.13.

XLV.584.18.

wisdom (wisdome, wisdomes)

I.6.2; 6.4.

III.42.22; 44.9.

VI.88.27.

XII.206.16; 206.17.

XXI.318.33; 326.3.

XXIX.398.22.

XXXIV.444.23.

XXXVII.474.1.

XLI.536.16.

(G).XXXVII.310.14; XLII.542.6; 544.7.

XLIII.550.32.

XLIII.550.32.

XLV.576.17; 576.21; 576.28; 578.7; 584.15; 584.21; 584.23; 584.26; 584.35; 586.3; 586.26; 586.28 (x3); 588.10; 588.13.

geþoht (geþotum, geðohtas)

VI.90.16; 90.19

XXIII.354.1.

XLV.586.21.

ingehyd (ingehydes)

IV.56.7.

XV.280.2.

XVII.292.23.

XXI.316.32

XXIX.398.23.

XXX.410.11.

XXXVII.474.1.

XXXIX.506.13.

XLIV.564.29; 564.32; 570.8; 570.16; 570.27; 572.2; 572.3.

XLV.586.20.

geþance

XIX.304.21.

XXI.326.4.

XXIII.350.14.

XXIX.398.35.

XXX.410.32.

XXXV.446.18.

gewitt (gewitte)

X.142.17; 142.19.

XXXIII.434.10.

XXXVII.476.11.

Chapter I

The Intention of Cleopatra Scribe B: What was the Purpose of His
Additions to Latin Incipits in Part 1 of *Ancrene Wisse*?

0. Introduction

As an introductory section, Chapter I plays the role of testifying the
effectiveness of comparative method, dealing with Scribe B's amendments
in Part 1 of the Cleopatra manuscript of *Ancrene Wisse* (*AW*).

Previous researches into the *AW* have shown that the opus is formed
from two genres: Part 1 as a predecessor of the Book of Hours; and the
rest—excluding Part 8—as the first flowering of the subsequent
confessional literature.[1] This distinction is crucial for the understanding
of the Latin quotations in *AW*. We know that in medieval religious works
Latin is generally employed as authority (Spencer 156; Parks 1991: 275),
but those in *AW*, Part 1, and the rest of the book seem to have quite
different functions. Part 1 conforms to the identity of the *AW* as a "rule,"
derived from monastic tradition, by providing prescriptions of the proper

---

[1] As for the genre, see the following articles: Gerard Sitwell in Salu
(1955); Ackerman (1978), Ackerman and Dahood (1984); Millett (1999),
(2000), (2003), (2005 I), (2007).

prayers for anchoresses. The Latin in Part 1, occupying as it does a significant part of the text,[2] serves as a reminder for the recitation of the requisite prayers. The other Latin in the remaining parts, however, mostly provides, as it were, intellectual or spiritual nutrition for the anchoresses to encourage careful consideration for the procedure of confession with its requirement for thorough preparation and considered self-reflection.

The particular character of Part 1 Latin is found in its use of the "incipit." Quoted chiefly from the Script or some authoritative scripts, some Latin is in the form of complete texts, while others are simply the initial words of a sentence—incipit—which require the readers themselves to supply the full texts from memory. Although scholars have ascertained the origins of a number of the incipits, some still remain unknown.[3] Noted principally as the premier example of English vernacular religious prose (Duffy 7), *AW* has itself received greater consideration within vernacular philological research fields. Additionally, the difficulty of identifying "incipits"[4] and in searching for the liturgical provenance of Part 1 Latin, may have further hindered its examination. As Ackerman declared,

---

[2] Shoko Ono investigated the Latin word rate: in Part 1, 30%, while in the Preface 10%; in Parts 2, 3 and 4, each 6% (Ono 46).
[3] See Dobson (1972), (1976); Ackerman and Dahood (1984); Millett (2005).
[4] For example, Morton, the first editor of *AW*, could not recognize some incipits in his edition (Ackerman 1978: 740).

however, if special importance is assigned to the section it "may provide a new key" to the better understanding of the whole work (1978: 734).

Among the twelve principal extant manuscripts of *AW*, six contain the complete text of Part 1, three the partial text, while the remainder do not include it at all; this reveals the continuous shifting of the audiences to whom the texts were addressed (Millett 2005 II: xxxvii). The cross-textual comparison of the six manuscripts shows that the Latin incipits or texts of the same quotations are not always identical.

A Latin incipit is a key to the correct recitation of prayer. In many cases, the six manuscripts display identical text for a particular scripture. For example, the first morning prayer is induced by the incipit "Veni, Creator Spiritus" in the Corpus (4v.4-5), "Veni creator spiritus" in the Cleopatra (9.14), "Veni creator spiritus" in the French Vitellius (4.19), "veni creator spiritus" in the Nero (4.35), "Veni creator spiritus" in the Pepys (373a.26-27), and "Veni creator spiritus" in the Vernon (372rb.34). This is the beginning of a "widely-used hymn," (Millett 2005 I: 17) supposed to be followed by a versicle.[5] On the other hand, a number of incipits vary the lengths of phrases and show different word usage. Some of them have been emended and extended.

---

[5] The whole hymn can be seen in *Sarum Breviary*, 2.481.

Here a question arises: If incipits play a mnemonic role, what do the differences apparent between incipits of the same Latin quotations among the manuscripts signify? Since the Latin of Part 1 has been principally analyzed for the origins of its incipits, the aforementioned question does not appear to have been, as yet, clearly answered.[6] This chapter aims to reveal the intentions behind the scribal emendations to the Part 1 Latin incipits by focusing on Cleopatra Scribe B's additions, relying on the notes of Dobson and Millett. The two manuscripts, the Corpus as the standard manuscript of *AW* (Millett 1994: 16) and the Cleopatra the oldest extant manuscript, will be compared, while the four other principal manuscripts will be also employed when necessary. The quotations from manuscripts are expressed with sigla; for example, the Corpus is A, while the Cleopatra C.

1. General character of Scribe B's emendation

For Millett, Scribe B provides the key to unlocking the textual transmission through either scribal responses or errors.[7] She summarizes

---

[6] The sole related reference I found is Millett's note of Part 4.295, on the Ps.120:1; "The additions after this verse in NPST are presumably intended to make it clearer that the anchoresses are expected to recite the recommended psalm as a whole, not just the opening verses cited" (2009: 233).

[7] On the textual transmission in *AW*, see Millett 2005 I: liii.

the character of Scribe B's emendation, based on Dobson's comments, as follows (2005 I: liv-lv):

> His method of correction suggests that he is less concerned with restoring the exact verbal form of the original work than with the effective communication of its meaning, and the further modification of its content where changing circumstances had made it necessary… C2 [Scribe B] adds glosses or expansions, particularly in passages where the C scribe [Scribe A] had had problems, replaces ambiguous or difficult words or constructions with clearer ones, smoothies abrupt or elliptical readings, and occasionally adds further emphasis.

According to Dobson, Scribe B is held to be consciously emending the text to provide a better understanding for the audiences rather than a literal reconstruction of the text (1972: cviii). Scribe B's emendations are generally not copies from a Corpus-type manuscript, but rather done freely except in Part 8 (Dobson 1972: cxx). The emendations in Part 1, therefore, can be regarded as Scribe B's original ones, and it is assumed

that Scribe B worked on Scribe A's Latin quotation in Part 1 in order to

better convey its meaning to the audiences.[8]

2. Scribe B's emendations of Latin in Part 1

Scribe A's text was emended by Scribe A himself, together with Scribes

B and D (and a few other scribes making small emendations), of which

Scribe B's works are of the greatest importance (Millett 2005 I: xxxviii;

Dobson 1972: ix). Scribe B's emendations of Latin in Part 1 are

categorized into three types in this chapter: correction, revision, and

addition. [9] Corrections appear in nine places involving deletion, [10]

grammatical addition, [11] word-ordering, [12] and replacing an incorrect

word with a correct one. [13] Revisions can be observed in a further

---

[8] Scribe B's emendations cover a quarter of the whole manuscript with the three principal sections being 4-26, 124v-130, and 190-198. The rest appear in 150v-151, 182r-v, 22v, 23, 125v, 26, 58, 80, and 183 (Dobson 1972: xiii-xciv). The emendation in Part 1 is situated in the first part, 4-26. The contents of his emendations are summarized as follows: 1. emendation on punctuation; 2. correction of word-division; 3. adjustment of spelling, word-form, and grammatical inflexion; 4. correction of text by omission and commission; 5. revision and addition (Dobson 1972: xcv).
[9] All the emendations and alterations recorded with the valuation of "correctness" by Dobson are included in the category of correction in this paper.
[10] C: 9v.9, redempcionins (Dobson is unsure if this is by Scribe A or B, though.); C: 15v.20-21, aue maria magnificat.
[11] C: 17v.4, gabrielis.
[12] C: 17.13, filii tui; C: 17v.7-8,uirgi/num virgo.
[13] C: 10.5,*O*; C: 10.5, triumphate; C: 10.10, sine; C: 11v.8, requiam.

twenty-one places.[14] Additions, the category to be examined below, consist of both the completion of quotations and the addition of "et cetera."

On the Latin emendations of Scribe B in Part 1, Dobson gives only a few comments. For example, he illustrates Scribe B's originality by giving forty-one examples of correction, of which there is only one Latin case.[15] Millett treats the Latin distinctions among manuscripts in the *Apparatus Criticus* in the Corpus edition, but the list is selective without reasoning of the differences.[16]

All the examples of Latin textual additions by Scribe B in Part 1 will be presented in the sections 2.1. and 2.2.. Scribe A's Latin is quoted first as the base text, in which " * " (asterisk) indicates where Scribe B made an addition. "Dob" signifies "Dobson" with his notes on the additions. The sigla of the six manuscripts are as follows: A, Corpus

---

[14] C: 9v.10, gaudium quies; C: 11v.8-9, z pla/ cebo; C: 11v.10, dirige; C: 11v.12, in pace; C: 12.8, gloria Patri.; C: 13.10, deus; C: 13.21, annuncia; C: 14.10, Integra; C: 14.11, Aue; C: 15.2, Adoramus; C: 15.2, tuam; C: 15.3, salue; C: 15.6, Iubilate; C: 15.19, adesto; C: 15v.20, magnificat; C: 16.10, Aue; C: 16.11, Ad; C: 16v.21, ad; C: 17.22, alma; C: 17v.6, o; C: 17v.12, aue.

[15] C: 26v.2: "*quem uidit* corrected to [quoniam] uidit for presumed original *quum uidit* (*Vulgate: cum viderit*)."

[16] For example, "*Emitte spiritum tuum*" (A: 4.24-25) is not in P, which is not mentioned. The case also goes for "*Deus qui corda*" (A: 4.25-26), which is neither in P nor V.

(Millett 2005); C, Cleopatra; F, French Vitellius; N, Nero; P, Pepys; and V, Vernon.

2.1. Completing by addition

This section examines the Cleopatra Scribe B's additions when completing incipits. In Millett's edition of the Corpus, the Latin texts are in italics. Numbers in parenthesis indicate folio and line respectively. Underline is employed for the clarity of comparison. Due to the disintegration of P, a late-fourteenth-century manuscript, the paralleling incipits in P are open to dispute (cf. Millett 1994: 19). Slash indicates a following line, employed only in A and C in this paper.

2.1.1:   C: Iesu criste filii /dei uiui miserere nostri. Qui deuirgine

dignatus es*(9.21-22)

[Dob: After *es* B adds *nasci. miserere nobis.* in right

margin (so Corpus)].

A: *Iesu Criste, fili Dei viui, miserere nobis; qui de uirgine*

dignatus es/ nasci, miserere nobis. (4v.9-10)

F: Ihesu christe fili dei uiui miserere nobis. Qui de [virgine

dignatus es nasci miserere nobis.] (4. col.ii. 28-4b.30)

48

N: Iesu christe fili dei uiui miserere nobis qui de uirgine

dignatus es <u>nasci miserere nobis</u> (4.5-6)

P: Domine ihesu christe fili dei viui miserere nobis qui de

virgine

dignatus es <u>nasci miserere nobis.</u> (373a.29-30)

V: Iesu Christe fili dei viui miserere nobis. Qui de virgine

dignatus es <u>nasci. Miserere nobis.</u> (372rb. 2-3)

The added text *nasci miserere nobis* can be seen in A, N, P, and V, while in F the text was completed by the editor to compensate for fire damage. This could be evidence that the Latin quotation was generally supposed to be written as far as *nobis*.

It is traced to Prime in the Office of Hours as follows, showing that the quotation in the six manuscripts derives from Response and Versicle in a collective ceremony, which are combined to be written in those manuscripts under examination:

Cap. Zachariae viii.

Pacem et veritatem diligite ait Dominus omnipotens.

[Deo gratias.]

R. <u>Jesu Christe Fili Dei vivi. Miserere nobis.</u> Alleluya.

Alleluya.

V. Qui sedes ad dexteram Patris.

V. <u>Qui de virgine dignatus es nasci.</u>

V. Qui hodie mundo apparuisti.

V. Qui surrexisti a mortuis.

<u>Miserere nobis.</u> Gloria Patri et.

Jesu Christe (*Sarum Breviary.* II.50)

2.1.2:   C: requiam eternam* (11v.8)

[Dob: After *eternam* double insertion-mark, and above

line and into margin B writes *dona eis domine ƶ lux*

perpetua luceat eis. (cf. Corpus). Words in margin,

from *ƶ* onwards, underlined as before.]

A: *Requiem eternam <u>dona eis, Domine, et lux perpetua luceat/</u>*

<u>*eis*</u>. (6.109-110)

F: Requiem eternam <u>dona eis domine. et lux perpetua luceat eis.</u>

(5.col.ii.24-26)

N: requiem eternam <u>dona eis domine ƶ lux perpetua luceat eis.</u>

(5v.28-29)

P: Requiem eternam <u>etc.,</u> (374a.29)

V: Requiem eternam <u>dona eis domine ⁊ lux perpetua luceat eis</u>

(372vb.6-7)

This comes from the antiphon of the Mass for the Dead or Requiem Mass, and also the doxology after the reading of psalms in the Office of the Dead.[17] A text of the antiphon in the Lauds of the Dead shows that the antiphon is subsumed within the psalm (cf. Psalmus 64). It is clear that AFNV of this case are not the biblical texts but the attached doxology.

It is significant that Scribe A and the Pepys Scribe write the same incipit (Pepys abbreviating with *etc.*, the usage of which will be investigated below), though Scribe B completes the text as in A, F, N, and V. Since it is not a biblical statement but a doxology for a collective gathering—possibly less familiar to the semi-religious—, he might have doubted the users' mnemonic ability and added the rest as an aid.

2.1.3:   C: aporta*/ Inferi. (12.8-9)

---

[17] "… the opening antiphon of the Mass for the Dead or Requiem Mass, used also in Commendation … and in place of the doxology at the end of each psalm in the Office of the Dead (as here). [EJD]" (Millett 2005 II: 25).

[Dob: B adds in margin at end of line *inferi. erue*

domine. animas eorum (cf.Corpus); he ignores A's

Inferi at beginning of next line.]

A: *A porta inferi <u>erue, Domine, animas eorum.</u>* (6v.129)

F: A por-ta inferi. <u>Erue domine animas eorum</u> (5b.30-31)

N: aporta inferi <u>erue domine animas eorum.</u> (5v.18)

P: A porta inferi. <u>Erue domine animas eorum.</u> (374a.14-15)

V: A porta inferi. <u>Erue domine animas eorum.</u> (372vb.24-25)

The quotation, a prayer for the souls of the faithful (Millett 2005 II: 27.n.129-30), is traced back to an antiphon in the Lauds of the Dead as the former case 2.1.2.: "Ant. A porta inferi erue, Domine, animam meam." The ending *animam meam* indicates that there are variations of the phrase. Suggesting its familiarity, the addition might be an indicator for distinguishing the version.

2.1.4:   C: V Emitte spiritum tuum.* (13.8)

[Dob: B adds in margin, heavily abbreviated, ⁊

creabuntur ⁊ *Renovabis faciem terre* (not in F, Corpus,

and Vernon; but cf. Nero).]

A: [Verset:] *Emitte spiritum tuum.* (7v.165)

F: Emitte spiritum tuum (6.3)

N: [V]emitte spiritum tuum ⁊ creabuntur. ⁊ renouabis faciem terre. (6v.8-9)

P: Emitte spiritum tuum ⁊ creabuntur. et cetera. (374b.7-8)

V: [V.] Emitte spiritum tuum ⁊ cetera. Et renouabis faciem terre. (372vb.22-23)

Dobson says that Scribe B's addition is not seen in F, A, or V, but only in N. Since the texts in P and V, however, include "⁊ creabuntur" and "⁊/ et renouabis faciem terre" with the abbreviating expression *et cetera*, the three manuscripts, N, P, and V may cover the same text. On the other hand, A, F, and Scribe A record the shorter incipit. Forming a part of the Litany, this prayer appears beforehand at the earlier stage for the first morning prayer:

A: *Emitte spiritum tuum,* (4v.7)

C: em/itte spiritum tuum. (9.17-18)

F: Emitte spiritum tuum. (4.col.ii.24-5)

N: emitte spritum tuum. (4.2-3)

P: (omit)

V: Emitte spiritum tuum. (372rb.36-1)

All the incipits in A, C, F, N, or V are identical for the first description. It is also used as an antiphon for the collect on the Holy Spirit by religious,[18] and is demonstrated in the Matin of Pentecost in the way of an assembly.[19] The prayer is based on Psalm 103:30, "emittes spiritum tuum et creabuntur et renovabis faciem terrae" just as in the above quotation (Millett 2005 II: 17.n.7). It seems reasonable to suppose that this prayer was so well known that the incipit easily reminded readers of the text for the first morning prayer, but that it may have caused uncertainty for semi-religious people when encountered in a liturgical context as in Litany seen in the present case.

However, and more importantly, at the beginning of the whole prayer for Litany, including the quotation, the prayer to be recited is introduced in the vernacular first, attached to the Latin prayers as

---

[18] " 'Deus…' a collect on the descent of the Holy Spirit. Preceded by the sequence, 'Veni, …' and the versicle, 'Emitte…'" (Millett 2005 II: 17.n.7).
[19] See *Sarum Breviary I.* miii.

follows (the underline is the corresponding Latin translation of A in 2.1.4.):

> For the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, that I may have them, and for the seven Hours that Holy Church sings, that I may participate in them whether I am asleep or awake, and for the seven petitions in the *Our Father* against the seven capital and mortal sins, that you may guard against them and all the lesser sins that flow from them, and may grant me the seven blessed Beatitudes that you have promised your elect, O Lord, in your blessed name, seven Our Fathers. Versicle: <u>*Send forth your spirit.*</u> *Let us pray. O God, to whom every heart is open. We beseech you, O Lord, O Lord, [accept the prayers] of your Church. We beseech you, O Lord, listen to the prayers of your supplicants.*

The vernacular text was to be read verbatim, and this new habit of reading in the vernacular for the semi-religious might have gradually affected users' consciousness concerning the use of manuals. Reading is strongly recommended by the instructor in the later parts, for example,

in Part 4, as the remedy for Sloth. Some users might have been confused

when reading the bilingual script: if they were unskilled in Latin, they

might have been tempted to recite the prayers as written. The more

inclined to illiteracy the readers were, the less hesitating they were

about reading the Latin texts without examining the meaning clearly.

The reason why Scribe B added the latter part of the text for the second-

time reference in Litany, as in N, P, and V, while A and F remain short,

could be to resolve this ambiguity and indicate the correct ones.

2.1.5: C: V annuncia/ verunt opera dei*. (13.21-22)

          [Dob: B adds above line *ẑ facta eius intellexerunt* (so

          Corpus).]

        A: [Verset:] *Annuntiauerunt opera/ Dei, <u>et facta eius</u>*

          <u>*intellexerunt.*</u> (7v.177-178)

        F: Annunciauerunt opera dei. <u>Et facta eius intellexerunt.</u>

          (6.col.ii.32-33)

        N: annunciauerunt opera dei. <u>Et facta eius.</u> (7.28)

        P: Annunciauerunt opera dei <u>et cetera.</u> (374b.20)

        V: (omit)

The quotation is based on the "versicle and response used after the hymn at Lauds for the Common of Apostles" (Millett 2005 II: 30.n.177-78), which is traced in the *Sarum Breviary*,

> V.   Annunciaverunt opera Dei.
>
> R.   Et facta ejus intellexerunt.

The incipit of C, which notes "V" as for versicle, as in the case 2.1.4., and ends with "dei," exactly matching the playing role pattern of V in the *Sarum Breviary*, may tell us the C incipit is strongly influenced by the liturgical tradition. The A manuscript omits "V," a square bracket supplying missing parts from other manuscripts in the edition, in this case from C, so do FNP. The quotation originally comes from Psalm 63:10, "et timuit omnis homo et adnuntiaverunt opera Dei et facta eius intellexerunt" (*Biblia Sacra* 844-45), whose first one-third is cut off in the liturgical text. This part clearly shows the *Sarum Breviary* is based on *Psalterium Gallicacum*, not on *Psalterium iuxta Hebaeos.* All the incipits above show the liturgical trace and NP undergo reduction. Scribe B's addition might have provided assistance for users lacking

familiarity with liturgical procedure, indicating the omitted part of the incipit.

2.1.6:   C: Tu esto nostrum gaudium*. (14.14)

> [Dob: After *gaudium*, rather below line, fine double insertion-mark, and B adds above line and into right margin, heavily abbreviated, *qui es futurum premium. sit nostra in te gloria per cuncta semper secula* (cf.Corpus).]

A: Tu esto nostrum gaudium/ Qui es futurus premium;/ Sit nostra in te gloria/ Per cuncta semper secula. Amen. (8.217-20)

F: (omit)

N: tu esto nostrum gaudi-um qui es futurus premium. sit nostra inte gloria per cunta semper secula. (7v.5-7)

P: Tu esto nostrum gaudium, (375a.10-11)

V: Tu esto nostrum gaudium qui es futurus premium. sit nostra in te gloria. per cunta semper secula. (373ra.25-27)

This prayer occurs for a second time at Holy Communion in the Mass, while its first appearance is as part of a morning prayer. The morning prayer consists of four parts, in which the above prayer forms the second. We can find a number of abbreviations by a comparison of the two prayers in the Corpus. The first descriptions in the morning prayer in A discloses the first and second parts in both descriptions of the prayer are identical, but the third and fourth in the second description retain only the first line (A: 4v.17-32; 8r.212-22). In the Cleopatra manuscript, its first appearance as a morning prayer by Scribe A is as follows (C: 9v.5-14) (Underline corresponds to the case 2.1.6.):

Aue principium nostre creacionis. Aue pre

cium nostre redempcionis. Aue viaticum nostre

peregrinacionis. Aue Premium nostre redempcionis

expectacionis. <u>Tu esto nostrum gaudium quies</u>

<u>futurus Premium. sit nostra inte gloria per cunta</u>

<u>semper secula.</u> Mane nobiscum domine. noctem ob

scuram remoue. Omne delictum ablue. Pi

am medelam tribue. Gloria tibi domine qui natus*

The first, second and third parts are written as full texts, although the first lacks the last line of the Corpus manuscript, while the fourth part remains as an incipit which is supplied with "es de uirgine & cetera" by Scribe B. This quotation will be examined later in 2.2.1. The second appearance of the prayer at the Mass contains part of the example text (C: 14.11-23; 14v.1-4):

Aue Principium

nostre creacionis. aue Premium nostre redempcionis. aue

viaticum nostre peregrinacionis. Aue Premium nostre expec

tacionis. <u>Tu esto nostrum gaudium</u>*. Mane nobiscum*

gloria tibi domine*.

Here only the first part covers the full text, but the second, third, and fourth parts contain the first lines solely as incipits. Scribe B adds the rest of the full texts for the second as seen in example 2.1.6, while for the third and fourth he adds *et cetera*. (C: 28fn). All the N, P, and V manuscripts show the full texts for the first appearance as the morning prayer (N: 4.12-19; P: 373a.4-373b.11; V: 372va.8-13). For the second appearance for Holy Communion, however, only V shows the full texts

of all four parts (V: 373ra.24-30), and N has the full texts of the first, second, and third parts, but the fourth retains only the first line (N: 7v.2-9). P notes only the first lines of all four (P: 375a.10-11).

Abbreviation by incipit for a second appearance is a common method of avoiding repetition and saving space. Then, why did not Scribe B leave the incipits of the second, third, and fourth parts of the prayer as Scribe A did? The whole prayer for Holy Communion at Mass, including the above prayer, is very lengthy from f.14. l.11 to f.14v. l.12 [C], occupying around twenty-five lines of Latin. This long prayer itself is the combination of four different texts, which also suggests an incessant compilation of texts for the semi-religious. Ackerman and Dahood note its use in the conclusion of hymns for the vigil and feast of the Ascension (Millett 2005 II: 18.n.22-25). The first part of the Cleopatra manuscript, with one line less than that of the Corpus manuscript, cannot be a long incipit anticipating a single missing line, but must surely be regarded as independent text. Without Scribe B's additions, some recipients could have read through the written texts as they were.

2.1.7:   C: Kirieleyson.* (15.11)

> [Dob: B adds *criste eleyson. Kyrieleyson* above line
>
> (correct addition; cf.Corpus).]

A: *Kyrie eleison, <u>Christe eleison, Kyrie eleison.</u>* (9.259)

F: Kyrieleison. <u>Christeleison. K[yrieleison.]</u> (7.5)

N: kirieleison. <u>christeleison. kirieleison.</u> (8.22-23)

P: Kyrie eleyson. <u>christe eleyson. Kyrie eleyson.</u> (375a.6-375b.6)

V: kyrieleyson. <u>Christeleyson. kyrieleyson.</u> (373ra.28-29)

Only Scribe A notes the first word of this tripartite prayer, "an invocation in Greek used in the Mass and the Divine Office" (Millett 2009: 174). Scribe B supplies the second and third words as in the other manuscripts. In this he may have been concerned to ensure the repetition of the words, whose description is seen in many places such as in the Preces of Advent in *Sarum Breviary* (*Sarum Breviary* I: xvi).

2.1.8:　　C: [antempne.] Aue regina celorum. Aue domina angelorum/

　　　　　　　Salue radix sancta exqua mundo lux est orta.*/ vale ualde

　　　　　　　decora. ẑ pro nobis semper cristum exora (17.2-5)

> [Dob: B adds in margin *aue gloriosa super / omnes*
>
> *speciosa* (so Nero, Vernon; not in Corpus and F).]

A: [Antefne:]/ *Ave, regina celorum,/ Aue, domina angelorum;/ Salue, radix sancta,/ Ex qua mundo lux est orta;/ Vale, ualde decora,/ Et pro nobis semper Christum exora.* (10.317-323)

F: [Antisme.] Aue regina celorum. aue domina angelorum. (7b.col.ii.27-28)

N: [antiphona.] Aue regina celorum aue domina angelorum salue radix sancta ex qua mun-do lux est orta <u>aue gloriosa super omnes speciosa</u> uale ualde decora. et pro nobis semper christum exora. (9v.33-2)

P: Aue regina celorum aue domina angelorum (375b.1-2)

V: [antiphona.] Aue Regina celorum. Aue Domina Angelorum. Salue radix sancta. Ex qua mundo lux est orta. <u>Aue gloriosa. super omnes speciosa</u>. vale valde decora. Et pro nobis semper Christum exora. (373rb.21-24)

The source is a hymn of the mid eleventh-century, and the standard text is the same as N, V, and C with Scribe B's addition. From the mid eleventh-century standard hymn, the two lines are omitted in AC, but the omission was supplied by Scribe B, and in NV (Millett 2005 II: 39.n.318-23). Even without Scribe B's additional part to the fourth line,

the text enjoys an internal unity and can be accepted as single prayer for the Virgin: "Hali, the queen of heaven's height,/ Hail, the lady of angels bright;/ Hail, sacred root from which there grew/ A light to shine the whole world through;/ May you be ever glorious,/ and always pray to Christ for us" (Millett 2009: 16). It may have been natural that readers would recite Scribe A's text as an independent prayer without the text added by Scribe B as seen in A.

2.2. Addition: et cetera

The expression *et cetera* implies that the written Latin has not been concluded but is to be continued; it does not say until where, though. The method is commonly seen in medieval Latin scripts such as *Sarum Breviary* itself. It is employed in *AW* manuscripts as well as in A, F, P, V, but not found at all in N. The following six examples are cross-textual comparisons of Scribe B's additions of *et cetera*.

2.2.1:   C: Gloria tibi domine qui natus* (9v.14)

[Dob: After *natus* B adds in right margin *es de uirgine ⁊ cetera* (cf. Corpus).]

A: *Gloria tibi, Domine,/ Qui natus <u>es de uirgine,/ Cum Patre, et</u>*

<u>cetra.</u> (5.30-32)

F: (omit)

N: Gloria tibi domine qui natus<u> es de virgine.</u> (4.18-19)

P: Gloria tibi domine qui natus <u>es de virgine cum patre ƶ sancto</u>

<u>spiritu in sempiterna secula Amen.</u> (373b.10-11)

V: Gloria tibi domine qui natus <u>est</u>[20] (372va.13)

According to Millett, only P shows the complete text and the other four texts are incipits (2005 II: 18.n.30-32). Dobson says that it is "a doxology normally used as the conclusion of Christmas hymns, but adaptable to other seasons by variations of the second line," and is also found "appended to hymns in the Hours of the Virgin" (Millett 2005 II: 18.n.30-32). This circulation of the prayer indicates its popularity which may have required additional prompts to identify the quotation.

2.2.2: C: Oremus. Ecclesie tue quesumus domine Preces Placatus*.

(12.6) [Dob: B adds *ƶ cetera* above line.]

---

[20] V's verb form *est* is unsure if it is a variation or wrong word (cf. Millett 2005 I: 170).

A: *Oremus. Ecclesie tue./ quesumus, Domine, preces placatus.*
(6v.126-127)

F: Oremus. Ecclesie tue domine preces placatus <u>admit-te.</u> (5b.25-
27)

N: oremus. Ecclesie tue domine preces placatus <u>admitte ut

destructis aduer-sitatibus uniuersis secura tibi seruiat

libertate.</u> (5v.13-15)

P: oracio Ecclesie tue quesumus domine preces placatus <u>admitte,

etc.</u> (374a.12-13)

V: Oremus. Ecclesie tue (372vb.22-23)

This is "a prayer for divine protection of the Church, used in the Mass
and in the Litany" (Millett 2005 II: 27). Adding *ʒ cetera* implies the text
of C should be as in N or P. If readers were unsure of remembering the
rest, they might have consulted additional books (Donovan 135).

Since F and N are lacking "quesumus," if we agree that N has the
complete text (Millett 2005 I: 171), it means that even the full text is
missing one word, showing textual coalescence. The Corpus incipit can
be accepted as "Let us pray. We beseech you, O Lord, [accept] gladly the
prayers of your Church" (Millett 2009: 10), for a reader with some

literacy, which exactly matches the F and P texts, while A and C only require the addition of "admitte/ accept" as in the brackets. N's "complete" text supplies the latter part in English as follows: "so that when all her adversaries are destroyed, she may serve you in certain liberty" (Savage and Watson 56). The shorter texts found in A, C, F, and P, could have been recited by some recipients, not as an incipit but as a new version, which made sense even without the latter part present in N.

2.2.3:   C: Oremus. Deus cui omne cor Patet*. Ecclesie tue/ quesumus

dues**. exaudi quesumus domine supplicum Preces. (13.9-10)

[Dob: *B adds above line *ƶ cetera*. ** B strikes through

deus and writes *domine ƶ cetera* above.

A: *Oremus. Deus, cui cor omne/ patet. Ecclesie tue, quesumus,*

Domine. Exaudi, quesumus, Domine,/ supplicum preces.

(7v.165-167)

F: Oremus. Deus cui omne cor patet <u>et.</u> Ecclesie tue quesumus

domine.

<u>Et.</u> Exaudi quesumus domine supplicum preces <u>et</u>

<u>confitencium tibi parce peccatis.</u> (6.4-7)

N: oremus. Deus cui omne cor patet <u>et omnis uoluntas</u>

<u>loquitur et quem nullum latet secretum purifica per</u>

<u>infusionem sancti spiritus cogitationes cordis nostri ut</u>

<u>perfecte te diligere et digne laudare mereamur. per</u>

<u>dominum.</u> Exaudi quesumus domine supplicum preces <u>z</u>

<u>confitencium tibi parce peccatis ut pariter nobis indulgen-</u>

<u>ciam tribuas benignignus z pacem. per.</u> Ecclesie tue

quesumus domine preces placatus. (6v.9-17)

P: oracio. Deus cui omne cor patet. <u>et cetera</u>. oracio. Ecclesie tue

quesumus domine <u>et cetera</u>. oracio. Exaudi quesumus domine

supplicum preces. <u>et cetera.</u> (374b.8-10)

V: Oremus Deus cui omne cor patet. Ecclesie tue. domine. Exaudi

quesumus domine supplicum. (372vb.23-25)

This prayer originally consists of three parts: "Deus…Patet" [A] is the

collect for purity in the Preparation at the beginning of the Ordinary of

the Mass (Millett 2005 II: 30); "Ecclesie … dues" [A] is a prayer for divine

protection of the Church, used in the Mass and in the Litany, as seen in

case 2.2.2.; and finally "exaudi … Preces" [A] is a prayer for the

forgiveness of sins used both in the Mass and in the Litany (Millett 2005

II: 30). Relying on this background, the following may be concluded: A, C, and V simply record the three incipits, though V lacks the "quesumus" of the second; C with Scribe B's addition and P retain the three incipits, clearly identified by the description of *et cetera*; F shows the two incipits for which both *et.* and *Et.* seem to work as *et cetera*, while its third part is only half complete when compared with N. The N version is itself the complete text (Millett 2005 II: 30), though the second and the third parts are reversed.

The Corpus in English, "Let us pray. O God, to whom every heart is open. We beseech you, O Lord, [accept the prayers] of your Church. We beseech you. O Lord, listen to the prayers of your supplicants" can be conceived as single prayer, if we discount its possible origin. It is quite possible that the three incipits could be recited as one text of prayer. Scribe B's *et cetera* serves to identify the lines as incipits.

2.2.4:   C: Oremus. exaudi nos dues/ salutaris noster[.]ƶ apostolorum

tuorum*. (13.22-23)

[Dob: B adds above line *ƶ cetera*.]

A: *Oremus. Exaudi nos, Deus salutaris/ noster, et*

apostolorum tuorum <u>nos tuere presidiis.</u> (7v.178-179)

F: Oremus. Exaudi nos dues noster et apostolo-rum tuorum <u>nos</u>

<u>tuere.</u> (6.col.ii.33-1)

N: oremus. Exaudi nos dues sa-lutaris noster et apostolorum

tuorum <u>nos tuere presidiis. quorum donas-ti fideles esse</u>

<u>doctrinis. per.</u> (7.28-30)

P: oracio. Exaudi nos dues noster apostolorum <u>et cetera.</u>

(374b.20-21)

V: (omit)

This is identified as a Collect used on feasts of the Apostles (Millett 2005
II: 31). If N is the full text, the other four texts are the incipits. The
Corpus text can be understood, however, as quite possibly presenting
itself as one complete prayer, viz.: "Let us pray. Hear us, O God our
Saviour, and guard us with the protection of your apostles." With the
sign *ƶ cetera*, however, the Cleopatra users are required to complete this
with "nos tuere presidiis" as in A, or they continue to *per.* as in N. The
vagueness of *et cetera* for defining terminal words connotes that
"completeness" of the requisite prayers was not strictly required, and
that it might have been an on-going process, with texts probably

becoming shorter. The employment of *et cetera* may have acted as a curb

to this tendency.

2.2.5:   C: oremus. Pretende domine famulis.* (14.6)

    [Dob: B adds *ƺ cetera* at end of line.]

  A: *Oremus. Pretende, Domine, famulis <u>et famulabus.</u>* (8.206)

  F: oremus. Pretende domine famulis <u>et famulabus.</u> (6b.25-26)

  N: oremus. Pretende domine famulis <u>et famulabus tuis dexteram</u>

    <u>celestis auxilii ut te toto corde perquirant ƺ que digne</u>

    <u>postulant assequantur. per</u> (7v.29-32)

  P: Pretende domine <u>misericordiam.</u> (375a.38)

  V: Oremus pretende domine <u>famulis.</u> (373ra.12-13)

This collect is used in one version of the Sarum votive Mass, and also in

the two votive Masses (Millett 2005 II: 33). Scribe B's *et cetera* may cover

as far as "et famulabus" as in A and F, or it may go up to "per." as in N,

if the text of N is the longest and fullest: "*Let us pray: O Lord, stretch*

out to your servants and handmaids the right hand of heavenly aid, [*that*

they may seek you with their whole hearts, and that they may gain what

they worthily ask for]" (Savage and Watson 58).

2.2.6:   C: Mane nobiscum*/ gloria tibi domine**. (14.14-15)

[Dob: *B adds ƶ *cetera* at end of line; **B adds ƶ *cetera*

above line.]

A: *Mane nobiscum, <u>Domine</u>./ Gloria tibi, Domine.* (8.221-222)

F: Gloria tibi domine. (6b.col.ii.2)

N: mane nobiscum <u>domine. noctem obscuram remoue omne</u>

<u>delictum ablue piam medelam tribue.</u> Gloria tibi domine.

(7v.7-9)

P: Mane nobiscum <u>domine.</u> Gloria tibi domine. (375a.11)

V: Mane nobiscum <u>domine noctem obscuram remoue omne</u>

<u>delictum ablue piam medelam tribue.</u> Gloria tibi domine <u>qui</u>

<u>natus es de virgine. cum patre</u> ƶ <u>sancto spiritu in seculorum</u>

<u>secula. amen.</u> (373ra.27-30)

This is a part of the prayer partially examined in 2.1.6, which appears at

the beginning of the Mass after the reading of a versicle, "repeating a

sequence of prayers in the anchoresses' regular morning prayers before

the Eucharist" (Millett 2005 II: 34). Being a well-known prayer, the two

incipits may function effectively as in A, C and P. Scribe B's two additions

of *ƺ cetera* may suggest, however, that those incipits were being transformed to a shortened text as in English, "Lord, remain with us. Glory to you, Lord."[21]

3. Final remarks

Obviously Scribe B did not intend to adjust the Latin quotations to any particular exemplar for his additions. Among fourteen, in six cases (2.1.1, 2.1.2, 2.1.3, 2.1.7, 2.2.4, 2.2.5), C with Scribe B's additions became identical, or could be identical by employing *et cetera*, with all the other manuscripts (in 2.1.2. and 2.2.5, P uses *etc.* and employs one different word, respectively; in 2.2.4, V omits the quotation). The case identical with A is 2.2.1, and with AF is 2.1.5. The case identical with N is 2.1.4, while the cases with NV are 2.1.8. and 2.2.6; the cases with NP are 2.2.2. and 2.2.3; the case with ANV is 2.1.6.

Scribe B's way of addition supports Dobson's assertion that he corrects from memory (Dobson 1972: 160). When the arranged incipits match those in other manuscripts, it can be evidence of their conventional usage and popularity. When they tend to match well with

---

[21] Savage and Watson 59; Millett translates this as: "O Lord, depart not from our sight. Born of a virgin, may you, Lord" (2009 :13).

N in many cases, it may show that N has more user-friendly incipits or texts. One of the reasons why N does not include "et cetera" can be that the scribe of N did not assume that readers would have access to other supporting texts. At the same time, we have seen the incipits themselves are the products of incessant coalescence of Latin scriptures, and the border between an incipit and a full-text was becoming quite vague, very much likely a Latin text getting trimmed by users themselves.

It seems possible to suppose that Cleopatra Scribe A noted incipits sometimes by consulting the exemplar, and sometimes copying more briefly with confidence in his own memory. Or Cleopatra's orientation for private usage might have loosened Scribe A's consciousness of the possible users (Kubouchi 2006: 69-70). Being in a clerical occupation, he must have been so accustomed with Latin liturgical prayers, as the strong liturgical influence can be seen in the Cleopatra MS as in the cases 2.1.4 and 2.1.5, that he could have managed to adjust incipits, generally in a shorter way. Scribe B, later on, might have recognized some inconvenience in those incipits for the current users and started to amend them. Scribe B habitually amends the text with more consciousness of function and intelligibility to the audience than the textual integrity (Millett 1994: 15). This kind of transitional assisting

measure for meeting lay demand by a cleric has been reported in early medieval preaching (Wogan-Brown 65, 77). Scribe B's additions seem to fit well into this assistance category. If Scribe A exactly copied the incipits as in the exemplar, it still suggests that the familiarity with liturgical prayers at the earlier stage of manuscript production was already fading among the anchoresses Scribe B had in mind. Presumably the new habit of reading in vernacular as in *AW* unexpectedly bore a tendency of reciting the text verbatim, including the Latin incipits not to be filled out the remaining parts.

Originally identified as three, the *AW* audiences, "semi-religious" lay people on the whole (Millett 2009: xix), seem to have increased and become more varied (Millett 2009: 2). This multiplication of audiences lies in the evolution of the instructions for lay people following aspects of the religious life, and reflects itself in the descriptions of the manuscripts themselves and in a new habit of reading. The anchoresses located "somewhere between illiteracy and *litteratura*" (Millett 2000: 30)—not all, but some–are assumed to have had certain written texts by their sides (Millett 2000: 26). Scribe B's textual additions appear to assist those users "possessing 'comprehension literacy' in the vernacular

but perhaps little more than 'phonetic literacy' in Latin" (Millett 2000:

30), by providing reminders of missing parts to be fully recited.

Chapter II

De-institutionalization in *Ancrene Wisse*, Part 1: The Pater Noster, Credo, and Ave in Six Manuscripts

0. Introduction

Same as Chapter I, Chapter II shows the effectiveness of comparative method, revealing the de-institutionalization in Part 1 of *AW*. Among the seventeen extant manuscripts and extracts or fragments of *AW*, thirteen include Part 1 (though three of these include only sections) while the remaining four totally exclude Part 1 (Harper 243). Parts 1 and 8 form what the author calls the "outer rule", although Millett has argued that they are not in any way legislative, like a monastic rule (2003: 42). Part 1, the key chapter to understanding the whole work, demonstrates to anchorites the manner in which they should pray through the Hours and the Mass (Ackerman and Dahood 734).

The Latin quotations symbolize the authority of the instructor, or lector; they are supposed to be recited (*segge*) by an audience, or rather by a "user," and they are usually indicated by the textual incipits for users to begin (Harper 243). When the three main prayers, "Pater noster," "Credo" and "Ave" in Part 1 of the manuscripts are compared, it is shown that the textual incipits of these three Latin prayers are not always exactly the same, even if they appear in similar contexts and retain the same functions as the others in their respective manuscripts. This chapter will investigate the significance of these distinctions in the textual incipits of these three main Latin prayers in Part 1 of *AW*, comparing the six manuscripts which include the complete texts of Part 1. The manuscripts Ma, Me, R2 and V1 are not treated here, as they are combined to be edited in L, the Latin manuscript. Even minor textual differences may provide clues for the analysis of the shifting nature of the audience and the manner of prayer at a very early stage in the history of prayer books.

The six manuscripts to be compared are A, C, F, N, V, and P.[1]

Among these six manuscripts, A, C and F are closely related, occupying the

earliest stage of textual development, between the 1230s and the later

thirteenth century (Millett 2009: xxxvii-xxxix). N and V belong to a single

derivative, genetically that next to the earliest, ranging from 1240s to the

end of the fourteenth century (Millett 2009: xl-xlii), while P shoots out a

new branch, presumably to be dated to the later fourteenth century (Millett

2009: xl). There is a gap of at least one hundred years between the earliest

group and the supposedly latest manuscript of these six, P or V, which

provides for the possibility of significant change in any aspect of the

manuscripts, and of course, even in the usage of Latin, the official

ecclesiastical language.

Apart from the evidence of the immediate audience, the "three sisters"

in N, we find no clear identification of either audience or user in this

---

[1] As to the comparison of Latin quotations in the latter part of P, I have
less confidence in indicating the correct corresponding Latin due to its
notably modified text.

manuscript. The other manuscripts modified the relevant part in N according to their respective readers (Millett 2005 II: xx). Manuscripts A and C provide evidence of a larger, scattered group of anchoresses (Millett 2005 II: xxiii; Millett 2009: xv). Each of six manuscripts reveals varied kinds of anchoresses as seen in the Preface of A as follows. Slight variations are seen among the manuscripts with the same context:

For sum is strong, sum unstrong ant mei ful wel beo cwite ant paie Godd mid leasse. Sum is clergesse, sum nawt ant mot[t]e mare wurchen ant on oðer wise seggen hire bonen. Sum is ald ant eðelich ant is þe leasse dred of, sum is ʒung ant luuelich ant is neod betere warde. (A: 2.55-9)

(For one person is strong, another is not and can reasonably be excused and please God with less. One is well-educated, one is not and must do more manual labour and say her prayers differently. One is old and unprepossessing and gives less cause for anxiety,

another is young and beautiful and needs to be guarded more

carefully.)

Finally, some parts imply another type of audience: Parts 4 and 5 address

a general audience concerning sins and confession, particularly in APV

(Millett 2005 II: xxiv; Millett 2009: xvi). These indications of immediate

readers, however, are gradually surpassed by connotations of "potential"

general users and wider pastoral use as time passes (Millett 2005 II: xxiv).

The Latin variants in the manuscripts fall into four main categories

to be examined: variants with feminine forms; modification from "textual

incipit" to "title"; the Nicene vs the Apostles' Creed; and variations in the

wording of the Pater Noster. Focusing on these changes, we may encounter

reflections of different kinds of audience and of gaps in time through the

varied usages of prayers or textual incipits.

1. Variants with feminine forms

Ackerman and Dahood, Dobson, and Millett, have noted that the Latin

quotations in the *AW* may have been modified by scribes or other

authorities according to the audience or a particular agenda. In the

following analysis, the text of A manuscript will provide the point of

comparison with the *AW* author's original text, presenting as it does the

authorial revisions of the original text. In the following examples the author

has altered the Latin of the Vulgate to the feminine, or has used a liturgical

version which had already been altered from the Vulgate, based on the

gender of his audience. In some cases, the other manuscripts follow A; in

others the scribes have modified the phrasing in A, suggesting a shift in

audience and gender. Underline is employed for clarification.

A good example of the former case is the following A's Latin quotation:

Saluos fac <u>seruos tuos et ancillas tuas,</u> Deus meus, sperantes in te (A:

6v.123). Millett notes that this quotation is "identified by Ackerman and

Dahood 1984 … as a 'versicle and response used with the Litany' [*Salvos*

fac <u>servos tuos et ancillas tua</u>s: Deus meus sperantes in te (My God, save

your servants and your handmaids, who put their hope in you)] (*Sarum Breviary* II: 254.1-2)." Dobson shows that it is based on Psalm 85:2, *salvum fac servum tuum*, *Deus meus, sperantem in te* (*My God, save your servant, who puts his hope in you*), "used *inter alia* in the introduction to the Mass for Ash Wednesday (*Sarum Missal*: 48–51), in which it is preceded by the Seven Penitential Psalms, *Kyrie* etc., *Pater noster*, and *Et ne nos*" (Millett 2005 II: 26). The example cited above comes just at the beginning of Litany in the anchoress's devotions. Though the quotations are based on the Vulgate, it seems to have come directly from the liturgical text which had altered *servum tuum* into *servos tuos et ancillas tuas*, applying to both genders and plurality. The same variant is followed by all six manuscripts.

In the following two cases, however, not all the manuscripts show the same variation. The first case shows that only *ancillas* is employed for the variants with feminine forms in the manuscripts A, [F][2], N, V:

---

[2] For the French manuscript, the citation in bracket is supplied by the editor of the modern edition.

A: Verset: *Saluas fac <u>ancillas tuas,</u> Deus meus, sperantes in*

    te. (11v.416–17)

C: saluos fac <u>seruos tuos ⁊ ancillas tuas.</u> (18v.14)

F: [Saluas fac <u>ancillas tuas</u> Deus meus][spera]ntes in te. (8v.

    col.ii.4–5)

N: Saluas fac <u>ancillas tuas</u>. deus meus sperantes in (10v.31)

V: Saluas fac <u>Ancillas tuas</u>. Deus meus sperants in te.

    (373v.col.b.1)

P: Saluos fac <u>seruos tuos ⁊ Ancillas tuas.</u> (p.376.20–1)

Here in the prayer said when going to bed, C and P alter the *AW* author's

ancillas tuas to include male servants (*seruos tuos*) as well as female. As

mentioned above, this Latin quotation in *Sarum Breviary* (*S.B.*) II, 254 is a

modification from Psalm 85:2. In the prayer at the beginning of Litany, all

the manuscripts repeat the phrase from *S.B.* II, 254, citing *seruos tuos and*

ancillas tuas, but in the bedtime prayer, only the C and P manuscripts

retain the same citation, and the other manuscripts show the phrase from

the Psalm itself, *ancillas tuas*. We may suppose that in the case of the

devotion at Litany, the liturgical character is stronger so that the citation

for anchoresses is geared to the liturgical tradition.

On the other hand, at the bedtime prayer–one more private and

personal–the same quotation could be cited in a less rigorous form by

scribes. Therefore, the A, F, N and V manuscripts might have been freed

from the liturgical tradition concerning the original biblical phrase, and

such distinctions could be traces of de-institutionalization, i.e.,

privatization in the future reading of prayer books.

Other citations of the phrase from Psalm 85 (Millett 2005 II: 26) show

similar variations as below. Millett translates *servo* as "servant," and both

ancilla and *famula* as "handmaid." Savage and Watson render *ancilla* as

"handmaid," and both *servo* and *famula* as "servant":

A: *Saluam fac <u>famulam tuam,</u> Deus meus, sperantem in te.*

(8v.234–5)

C: Saluam fac <u>famulam tuam</u> dues meus sperantem In te.

(f.14v.6–7)

F: (omit)

N: Suum fac <u>seruum tuum</u> deus meus sperantem inte.

(7v.23–4)

V: Saluam fac <u>famulam tuam</u>. Deus meus sperantem.

(373.col.a.2–3)

P: Saluum fac <u>populum tuum</u> domine. (p.375.19–20)

F does not include the whole text of the long prayer, including the above, but only the first textual incipit, coming just after the greetings to the Virgin at the Mass. This starts with a quotation from St Augustine's *Confessiones*, and then proceeds through five quotations from the Psalms to conclude with a post-communion collect (Millett 2005 II: 34). In the above

case, Millett explains that here "Ps.85: 2 in the Vulgate *saluum…seruum tuum* has been modified to *saluam … famulam tuam* for the female audience (cf. I.123; I.230–1; I.416–17), but restored in N. P substitutes *Saluum fac populum tuum, Domine* (cf. Ps. 27: 9)" (Millett 2005 II: 34). Psalm 27: 9 reads, "salva populum tuum et benedic hereditati tuae et pasce eos et subleva eos usque in sempiternum" (Save your people and bless your inheritance, and rule them and exalt them for ever). Actually the modification to *famulam tuam* resonates with the preceding prayer at the Mass, *Ab ocultis meis munda me, Domine, et ab alienis parce famule tue* (*From my secret ones cleanse me, Lord, and from those of others spare your maid*); and this *famule tue*, the feminine variant, replaces *servo tuo* in Psalm 18:13–14 (Millett 2005 II: 34). This consecutive modification could indicate the existence of a feminine audience, while Pepys' substitution of *populum tuum* connotes a larger and mixed audience. These various replacements, and the French omission, show a scribal flexibility in locating

audiences of domestic status through the selection of names based on those of the users.

These three examples in Part 1 show us that the Latin quotations have been adapted to suit a particular audience. First of all, the original male nouns in the Vulgate have been changed to the feminine or to a mixed gender in the liturgy to appeal to the audience as we see in *S.B.* Further, a number of alterations from the modified liturgical texts may be seen in some *AW* manuscripts which have been adapted to different readers. The number of the initiative audience has also been eliminated in order to correspond to the changeable number of readers. Even though Latin quotations from the Bible and from the liturgy carry great authority, it seems that the person, authority or scribe citing from them in these examples felt free to produce modifications to the texts. One modification from an authoritative Latin quotation provides another step for a further modification, just as we saw *saluum tuum* changed into *famulam tuam*, and again into *populum tuum* in the previous example. The process, though,

might not have been straightforward, but may have been a distillation with several authoritative origins. This process of arrangement, however, would not have been necessary if the instruction of prayers was to be given only within cloisters. Confronting "semi-religious" people in need of a guide, Latin phrases began to be arranged more widely, which in turn became a new authority for a new audience.

2. Modification from textual incipit to title

While the Latin quotations were not originally marked out in Part 1 of the A manuscript, those in Millett's 2005 edition are italicized, in order to distinguish them from the vernaculars printed in block letters (Millett 2005 I: lxv). The three main prayers, however, "Pater noster," "Credo" and "Ave" may be found printed in both forms by the editor, that is, some are in italic as Latin, and others are in block as vernacular. No other Latin words are treated in such a dual fashion.

Throughout *AW,* the complete texts of each of the three prayers are not written out anywhere in the text itself, but rather the textual incipits alone are quoted when they are introduced. The complete text of the three prayers would be as follows:

Pater noster: Pater noster, qui es in caelis: sanctificetur nomen tuum: adveniat regnum, tuum: fiat voluntas, sicut in caelo et in terra. Panem nostrum quotidianum da nobis hodie: et dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris. Et ne nos inducas in temptationem, sed libera nos a malo. (Harper 272)

Credo: Credo in unum deum, patrem omnipotentem, factorem caeli et terrae, visibilium omnium et invisibilium. Et in unum dominum Jesum Christum, filium dei uigenitum. Et ex patre natum ante omnia saecula. Deum de deo, lumen de lumine, deum verum de deo vero. Genitum, non factum, consubstantialem patri: per quem omnia

facta sunt. Qui propter nos homines, et propter nostram salutem

descendit de caelis. Et incarnatus est de spiritu sancto ex Maria

virgine: et homo factus est. Crucifixus etiam pro nobis sub Pontio

Pilato: passus, et sepultus est. Et resurrexit tertia die, secundum

scripturas. Et ascendit in caelum: sedet ad dexteram patris. Et

iterum venturus est cum gloria judicare vivos et mortuos: cuius regni

non erit finis. Et in spiritum sanctum dominum, et vivificantem: qui

ex patre, filioque procedit. Qui cum patre, et filio simul adoratur, et

conglorificatur: qui locutus est per prophetas. Et unam, sanctam,

catholicam et apostolicam ecclesiam. Confiteor unum baptisma in

remissionem peccatorum. Et exspecto resurrectionem mortuorum.

Et vitam venturi saeculi. Amen. (Harper 266, 268)

Ave: Ave Maria, gratia plena, Dominus tecum, benedicta tu in

mulieribus et benedictus fructus ventris tui Jesus. Sancta Maria,

sancta Maria, Maria ora pro nobis, nobis peccatoribus nunc et in hora

mortis nostrae. Amen. (*Compendium* 181)

These three prayers are identified through their respective textual

incipits (Harper 243), that is, the introductory words for each

quotation, as also seen in the liturgy. This variation indicates that

these incipits developed into titles for each prayer. Millett's edition

distinguishes the functions of title and textual incipit, using block

type and italic respectively. I have counted the fifty-five occurrences

of the incipits/ titles and categorized them into three groups: title

(thirty-six attestations); textual incipit (fourteen attestations); and

posture-change/ range indication (five attestations). When "Pater

noster," "Credo" and "Ave" appear as a title they are in block in

Millett's edition, supposed to be vernacular; a textual incipit is

indicated by italics as Latin in the edition; and a posture-

change/range indication is, again, in italics as in Latin. The third

case applies to those instances in which the words indicate the range of prayer recitation, e.g. the span of specific words from which users are required to recite, or those that indicate at which word users should change their posture according to the requirements of the proper protocols of prayer. As we will see, however, there are three attestations of "Ave" among the fifty-five which do not seem to fit the rule in the edition for distinguishing vernacular from Latin.

I will examine the notation of the prayer "Ave." Millett's editorial rule seems to regard "Ave(z)" as vernacular/ titles so that they are printed in block in fourteen cases (A: 5v.60; 9v.278; 9v.282; 9v.293; 10.302; 10.309; 10.315; 10v.347; 10v.351; 10v.352; 10v.359; 11.377; 11.391-92; 12.432). The first one is appearing as follows:

A: wið fif Auez,   (5v.60)

C: mit fiue auees.   (10.16)

F: od cuk auees.   (4v.28–9)

N: mid fif auez. (4v.2)

V: wiþ fyue Aues. (372va.30)

P: wiþ fyue Auees. (p.373v.25)

On the other hand, the posture-change/range indications are in Latin in three places as per the following example, at which the participants are required to assume a certain posture such as kneeling down or standing up:

A: ed te *Aue Maria,* (5v.73)

C: ed þe aue maria. (10v.9)

F: al. Aue maria. (4b.col.ii.20)

N: aue maria. (4v.16)

V: þe Aue Maria. (372va.11)

P: att Aue maria, (p.373v.37)

Furthermore, there are five cases of the exact quotations, or longer textual incipits, to be recited; they are in Latin, and written in italic as the following example. The four others occur at 9v.292; 9v-10.301; 10.308-9; 10.314-15:

A: *Aue Maria, gratia plena, Dominus tecum*;(9v.284)

C: (omit)

F: (omit)

N: (omit)

V: Aue Maria Gracia Plena Dominus Tecum. (373rb.25–6)

P: (omit)

There are three examples, however, where it seems inappropriate to use italics (as in Millett's editorial policy). The cases below show "Ave Maria" written in italic, i.e., as shorter textual incipits, in the 2005 edition:

1)   A: singeð Pater Noster ant *Aue Maria*   (6.99–100)

C: seggeð pater noster ⁊ aue Marie. (11.20)

F: dites. Pater noster. et Aue maria. (4v.col.ii.5–6)

N: siggeð pater noster ⁊ aue maria (5.15–16)

V: siggeþ pater noster. And Aue Maria: (372va.36)

P: seiþ a. Pater noster. atte gynnynge and an. Aue.

(p.374.20–1)

2) A: ant *Aue Maria* efter euch Pater Noster, (12.432)

C: ⁊ Aue maria efter vh an Pater noster. (19.9–10)

F: et aue maria. Apres chescun pater noster. (8v.col.ii.34-5)

N: ⁊ aue maria; efter euerich pater noster. (10v.15–16)

V: And Aue Maria; after vche pater noster. (373vb.15-16)

P: Auees, And after vchone. Gloria patri. (p.376v.34-p.15.1)

3) A: *Aue Maria* al ut (9v.285)

C: aue maria magnificat* al vt (15v.20–1)

96

A himself; correct emendation (cf. *Corpus*).

(Dobson 1972: 31.fn)

F: Aue maria. tout hors.   (7 col.ii.26-7)

N: Aue maria al vt   (8v.24)

V: Aue Maria al out   (373rb.26)

P: aue.   (p.375v.27)

In both cases of 1 and 2, "Ave Maria" is collocated with "Pater Noster," except in P, which is written in block as vernacular in A, and both are supposed to be recited. These two cases occur in the same context as the following example, in which both "Pater Noster" and "Ave" are printed in block:

A: Pater Nostres ant Auez   (11.391–2)

C: pater nosteres ꝝ auees   (18.2–3)

F: paternostres. Et auees.   (8.3)

N: pater nosteres ƺ of auez   (10.17)

V: pater nostres. and Aues.   (373va.14–15)

P: (omit)

Therefore, it seems appropriate to regard the two cases of "Ave Maria" as titles instead of the textual incipits, and they probably could have been printed in block, though other quoted examples of "Ave Maria" are left in italic as Latin, as textual incipits to be recited. The third case can also apply to this principle.

Latin quotations, such as antiphons, collects, hymns in liturgies and so on, are mainly quoted as a phrase, short or long. These three most repeated forms of prayer, however, can be recognized only by the initial words as the users know them well by heart and pray. The two prayers, "Pater Noster" and "Ave," are required to be recited by participants more than once in a certain sequence, while "Credo" is usually said only once.

The frequent repetitions alter the opening words into titles, common nouns and also into plural forms as follows in A: Pater Nostres/ Nosteres/ Nosters as in twelve cases; Auez/ Auees/ Aues as in fifteen cases. The tendency towards the numeration of these two prayers is gradually established in the regulations of prayers within cloisters. The plural "Aves" in the P manuscript occurs more often than in others. In five cases for the instruction of Litany, the P manuscript adds frequent prayers of "Aves," where the others only require "Pater Nostres," or "Pater Nostres" and "Credo" as seen in the following example:

A: þreo Pater Nostres, Credo. (7.145–6)

C: þreo pater nosteres. credo indeum. (12v.8–9)

F: trois Pater nostres et Credo. (5v.col.ii.37–8)

N: þreo pater nosteres. credo. (6.18–19)

V: þre pater nosters. Crede (372vb.5)

P: þre. Pater nostres. and þre Auees. (p.374v.27–8)

In another case, while the other manuscripts request "Ave" once, Pepys

stipulates more:

A: ant *Aue Maria*   (12.432)

C: ƺ Aue maria   (19.9)

F: et aue maria.   (8v.col.ii.34)

N: ƺ aue maria;   (10v.15)

V: And Aue Maria;   (373vb.15)

P: Auees,   (p.376v.34)

This phenomenon shows that when the P manuscript, the later manuscript

of the six, was written, the requirement to employ the "Aves" and the

common usage of this prayer had been greatly increased. When a Latin

textual incipit becomes well-repeated and well-known, it is transformed

into a title which is then categorized as a vernacular, subsequently to be

shown in block as in the 2005 editorial rule. Once recognized as a vernacular, a title developed into plural forms, adjusting to the vernacular grammatical construction.

3. The Nicene vs the Apostles' Creed

Like Aue or Pater Noster, "Credo" is used as a title derived from the very first word of the prayer. The C manuscript, however, uses the longer title or incipit for Creed, "credo in deum," in two cases:

1)   A: Pater Noster ant Credo;   (4v.8–9)

        C: pater noster ꝛ <u>credo indeum</u>.   (9.20–1)

        F: Pater noster. Et. Credo.   (4.27–8)

        N: pater noster ꝛ credo.   (4.4)

        V: pater noster and Crede.   (372rb.2)

        P: (omit)

2)   A: þreo Pater Nostres, Credo.   (7.145–6)

C: þreo pater nosteres. <u>credo indeum</u>.   (12.v.8–9)

F: trois Pater nostres et Credo.   (5v.col.ii.37–8)

N: þreo pater nosteres. credo.   (6.18–19)

V: þre pater nosters. Crede   (372vb.5)

P: þre. Pater nostres. and þre Auees.   (p.374v.27–8)

This textual incipit does not come from the Nicene Creed (Credo: pp. 74-75),

but from the Apostles' Creed, which reads:

Credo: Credo in Deum, Patrem omnipotentem, Creatorem caeli et

terrae, et in Iesum Christum, Filium Eius unicum, Dominum

nostrum, qui conceptus est de Spiritu Sancto, natus ex Maria Virgine,

passus sub Pontio Pilato, crucifixus, mortuus, et sepultus, descendit

ad inferos, tertia die resurrexit a mortuis, ascendit ad caelos, sedet

ad dexteram Dei Patris omnipotentis, inde venturus est iudicare

vivos et mortuos. Et in Spiritum Sanctum, sanctam Ecclesiam

catholicam, sanctorum communionem, remissionem peccatorum, carnis resurrectionem, vitam aeternam. Amen (*Compendium* 15).

These two cases in C appear in the explanation of obligatory prayers for the Hours, while the Creed in the Mass is called the "Great Creed" as in the following case:

A: i þe Muchele Credo,	(5v.84)
C: In þe muchele crede	(10v.25)
F: en le grant Credo	(4v.col.ii.7)
N: et te messe crede	(5.32)
V: In þe muchele crede.	(372va.21–2)
P: in þe Messe crede.	(p.373v.8)

The "Great Creed" (A, C, F, V) is considered to be the Nicene Creed (Savage and Watson 53, 55), as distinguished from the Apostle's Creed, and at the

same time means the "Creed in the Mass" (N and P). While the shortest

incipit "Credo" or the title "Crede" can indicate either of the Creeds, the two

examples from C manuscript (p. 254) are the only written evidence of the

coexistence of (and the distinction between) the Nicene Creed and the

Apostles' Creed at the same time for the same people employing them. Also,

if we accept Harper's comment, that "the Nicene Creed, compiled in its first

form in 325 became a regular item of the Mass only in the eleventh century

(as a measure against the risk of heresy)" (20), it may imply that the Nicene

Creed had already been introduced in the Mass, while the Apostles' Creed

still remained in use for the Hours, and this seems true, at least for the C

manuscript.

At this point it is necessary to consider liturgical notations of the

Creed. The *Sarum Breviary* begins *Psalterium Davidicum Ad Usum Sarum*,

indicating that before the Hours a series of prayers should be said, which

includes the incipit *Symbolum Apostolorum*.[3] It then records the whole

texts of *Brevis Oratio et peculiaris ante Horas*, *Oratio Dominica*, *Salutatio*

Angelica, and *Symbolum Apostolorum*. In *Primam*, the Creed is included in

Preces in an abbreviated written form with an incipit:

Credo in Deum. Carnis resurrectionem. Et vitam aeternam.

Amen (*Sarum Breviary* II: 51).

---

[3] "Ante initium Horarum dicitur semper Oratio Dominica: et in fine similiter, praesertim post Matutinas et Vesperas, per Cap. Id Semper placuit: de Consecratione, Distinctio v. Cap. 14. Identidem, Ave Maria. Credo in Deum. Credo in Spiritum. Unde Hieron. In principio cujuslibet operas praemitte Orationem Dominicam, et signum crucis in fronte: juxta id quod scriptum est. Ante orationem praepara animam tuam Domino, ne sis quasi qui tentat Deum." (Before beginning the Hours, Lord's Prayer is always said : and in the end in the same way, especially after Matin and Vesper, among Chapters. It should be always with "On Consecration, Distinction v. Cap. 14." "Ave Maria," "Credo in Deum" and "Credo in Spiritum" should be constantly said according to St Jerome. Principally before whatever work is done, Lord's Prayer and the sign of cross on the forehead should be forwarded, according to what is written. Before prayer, prepare your heart for your Lord, not like someone who attempts God.) (*Sarum Breviary* II: 1).

(I believe in God. In resurrection of the body. And eternal life.

Amen.)

This incipit is identified as *Symbolum Apostolorum*, and this also occurs in

Preces Completorii (*Sarum Breviary* II: 239). Meanwhile, *Ordinarium*

Missae in *Sarum Breviary* contains a Creed which begins with "Credo in

unum Deum" and includes the whole Nicene text (*Sarum Breviary* II: 483-

84). The coexistence of the Apostle's Creed and the Nicene Creed in the

Sarum Breviary is thus confirmed; the former in the Preces and the latter

in the Mass. Thus, of the six manuscripts, the Cleopatra MS, in which the

two kinds of incipits of the Creed are clearly recorded, is most closely linked

to the inscription of the Creed in the *Sarum Breviary*. This may support the

assumption of the earlier production of this manuscript. The character of

dual employment of the two Creeds may have gradually been changed in

the course of the development of liturgy and prayers, shifting the title of

the Nicene Creed from the Great Creed to the Mass Creed, and dropping

the latter part of the Nicene incipit "in unum deum."

While "Pater noster" and "Ave" transform themselves to plural forms

when necessary, "Credo" does not show the same transformation. It does,

however, develop into a form of noun, "creed," and the tendency of its word-

appearance can be traced among the six manuscripts as follows: in C the

noun-form appears three times; in N and P, twice; in V, six times (V:

372rb.2; 372va.4; 372va.13; 372va.22; 372vb.5; 373ra.2). From these

examples, it can be concluded that the two words "credo" and "creed" are

still used interchangeably in these manuscripts, but the V manuscript

tends to use the newly-forged noun form "creed" more than the other

manuscripts. This may also correspond to the assumption of the later

production date of the V manuscript.

4. Variations in the wording of the Pater Noster: *Pater Noster*; *Et ne nos*;

   Sed libera

When "Pater noster" is cited as a textual incipit, it is written either *Pater noster* the same as a title, or in a longer form, *Pater noster; Et ne nos*, or *Pater noster; et ne nos sed libera*. There is only one case in which the six manuscripts (excepting F which omits the corresponding part) contain the same textual incipit as the title "Pater noster":

A: *Pater noster, Credo...* (8v.233)

C: Pater noster. Credo (14v.5)

F: (omit)

N: pater noster. Credo (7v.22–3)

V: Pater noster. Aue Maria and Crede (373ra.2)

P: pater noster. Credo. (p.375.18–19)

On the other hand, the seven examples given below show variations

in the textual incipits. For the sake of clarity, I have underlined the longer

part and numbered the cases.

1)   A: *Pater noster*; <u>*Et ne nos*</u>;   (6v.122)

     C: Pater noster. <u>ƶ ne nos sed libera.</u>   (12.1–2)

     F: Pater noster. <u>Et ne n[os]</u>   (5v.15–16)

     N: pater noster.   (5v.6)

     V: Pater noster.   (372vb.18–19)

     P: Pater noster.   (p.374.8)

2)   A: *Pater noster*; <u>*Et ne nos*</u>;   (6v.125)

     C: <u>ƶ ne nenos*.</u>   (12.4–5)

     F: Pater noster. <u>Et ne nos.</u>   (5v.22)

     N: pater noster.   (5v.12)

     V: pater noster.   (372vb.21)

     P: Pater.   (p.374.11)

* 'So MS.; dittography of *ne*' (22.fn.12.3)

3)   A: *Pater noster*; <u>*Et ne nos*</u>;   (6v.128–9)

    C: Pater noster. <u>ʒ ne nos.</u>   (12.8)

    F: Pater noster. <u>Et ne nos.</u>   (5v.30)

    N: pater noster.   (5v.18)

    V: pater noster.   (372vb.24)

    P: (omit)

4)   A: *Pater noster.*   (8.204)

    C: Pater noster. <u>ʒ ne nos.</u>   (14.3–5)

    F: Pater noster. <u>Et ne nos.</u>   (6v.23)

    N: pater noster.   (7v.28)

    V: pater noster.   (373ra.11–12)

    P: (omit)

5)   A: *Pater noster.* <u>*Et ne nos.*</u>   (9r.259–60)

    C: Pater noster <u>ʒ nenos.</u>   (15.11)

    F: Pater noster. <u>Et ne nos.</u>   (7.6)

N: Pater noster. (8.23)

V: Pater noster <u>Et ne nos</u> (373ra.29)

P: Pater noster. <u>ƶ ne nos.</u> (p.375v.6–7)

6)   A: *Pater noster. <u>Et ne nos.</u>* (9.264)

C: Pater noster. <u>ƶ ne nos.</u> (15.17–18)

F: Pater noster. <u>Et ne nos.</u> (7.21)

N: pater noster. (8.31)

V: Pater noster (373rb.36)

P: (omit)

7)   A: *Pater noster. <u>Et ne nos.</u>* (11v.416)

C: Pater noster. ƶ <u>ne</u> * (18v.13)

F: [Pater noster.] (8v.col.ii.4)

N: pater noster. (10v.30)

V: Pater noster. (373vb.1)

P: Pater noster. (p.376.20)

* 'So MS., for *ne nos.*' (37.fn.18v.4)

The A manuscript includes the longer textual incipits in six cases out of

seven. The C shows the longer textual incipits in all seven cases, and is the

only manuscript that presents the longest textual incipit "Pater noster. z

ne nos sed libera" in No.1. The F shows the same six longer textual incipits

as A, the last one being supplied by a later editor because of fire damage. It

is possible that the original F manuscript contained the seventh longer

incipit and the later editor did not realize it. The N shows no sign of the

longer textual incipits, while V and P use the longer textual incipit only in

No. 5.

What causes these differences in the textual incipits of the same

prayer among the six manuscripts? Let us review the prayer once again.

Pater noster ： <u>Pater noster,</u> qui es in caelis: sanctificetur

nomen tuum: adveniat regnum, tuum: fiat voluntas, sicut in

caelo et in terra. Panem nostrum quotidianum da nobis

hodie: et dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos dimittimus

debitoribus nostris. <u>Et ne nos</u> inducas in temptationem, <u>sed</u>

<u>libera</u> nos a malo. (Harper 272)

The longest textual incipit in C, "Pater noster. z ne nos sed libera," is

actually a combination of the three textual incipits of the three parts of the

prayer. In order to understand the backgrounds of the textual incipits, it is

necessary to observe where in Part 1 these seven examples appear. It is

found that the longer textual incipits in ACF occur in the anchoress's mid-

morning prayer, said during the last part of the Office of the Hours of the

morning (Nos. 1, 2, 3); a prayer sometime, day or night (No. 4, except A);

the first and second prayers at mid-day, during the prayer for the Cross

(Nos. 5 and 6); and the prayer at retiring to bed (No. 7).

The textual contexts of the examples are as follows in A (the numbers

in the parentheses indicate the cases given above and underline is again

employed for clarity), and No. 4 is compared with the corresponding part in

C:

Efter þe forme fiue, *Kyrie eleison, Christe eleison, Kyrie eleison;*(1)

Pater noster; Et ne nos; Saluos fac seruos tuos et ancillas tuas, Deus

meus, sperantes in te. Oremus Deus, cui proprium est. Efter þe oþre

fiue alswa: *Kyrie eleison, Christe eleison, Kyrie eleison;* (2) *Pater*

noster; Et ne nos; Domine, fiat pax inuirtute tua, et abundancia in

turribus tuis. Oremus. Ecclesie tue, quesumus, Domine, Preces

placatus. Efter þe þridde fiue (þe ȝe schulen segen wiðuten *Gloria*

Patri), *Kyrie eleison* i.i.i.; (3) *Pater noster; Et ne nos; A porta inferi*

erue, Domine, animas eorum. Oremus. Fidelium Deus omnium.

(6v.121–30)

(After the first five, *Lord have mercy, Christ have mercy, Lord have*

mercy; (1) *Our Father; And [lead] us not; My God, save your servants*

and your handmaids, who put their hope in you. Let us pray. O God,

114

whose special nature it is. After the second five similarly: *Lord have*

mercy, Christ have mercy, Lord have mercy; (2) *Our Father; And*

[lead] us not; O Lord, may there be peace in your strength, and

abundance in your towers. Let us pray. We beseech you. O Lord,

[accept] gladly the prayers of your Church. After the third five (which

you should say without the *Glory be to the Father*), *Lord have mercy*

three times; (3) *Our Father; And [lead] us not; Free their souls, O*

Lord, from the gate of hell. Let us pray. O God, Creator of all the

faithful.)

…ant ʒef ʒe habbeð hwile, seggeð þe salm *Leuaui oculos.* (4) *Pater*

noster. [C: (4) Pater noster. ƺ ne nos. (f.14.3–5)] Verset: *Conuertere,*

Domine, usquequo? Et deprecabilis esto super seruos tuos. Oremus.

Pretende, Domine, famulis et famulabus. (8.204–6)

(…and if you have time, say the psalm *I have lifted up* [*my*] *eyes.* (4)

Our Father. Versicle: *Returen, O Lord: how long? And be open to*

115

your servants' prayers. Le us pray. O Lord, hold out to [your]

servants and handmaids.)

…ant þenne þe antefne segge eauer þus: *Salua nos, Christe saluator,*

þer uirtutem sancte Crucis, ant blescin wið *Qui saluasti Petrum in*

mare, miserere nobis, ant beate þe breoste, ant tenne falle adun ant

segge, *Christe, audi nos; Iesu Christe, audi nos. Kyrie eleison,*

Christe eleison, Kyrie eleison.(5) *Pater noster. Et ne nos.* Verset:

Protector noster, aspice, Deus, et respice in faciem christi tui.

Oremus. Deus, qui sanctam Crucem. Eft beginne *Adoramus* as ear,

alle fiue; *Salua nos, Christe*, þe antefne as ear; þe salm *Ad te leauui;*

þe antefne [efter], al ut; ant tenne as ear to þe eorðe; *Christe, audi*

nos twien. *Kyrie* iii. (6) *Pater noster. Et ne nos.* Verset: *Protector*

noster, as ear. *Oremus. Adesto, quesumus, Domine Deus noster, et*

quos sancte crucis letari facis. (9.255–66)

(…and then always say the antiphon as follows: *Save us, O Christ the Saviour, through the power of the holy Cross,* and make the sign of the cross at *You who saved Peter in the sea, have mercy on us,* and beat her breast, and then prostrate herself and say *O Christ, hear us; Jesus Christ, hear us. Lord have mercy, Christ have mercy, Lord have mercy.* (5) *Our Father. And [lead] us not.* Versicle: *Behold, O God, our protector, and look on the face of your anointed one. Let us pray. O God, [who ascended] the holy Cross.* Then begin the *Adoramus* as before, all five; *Save us, O Christ,* the antiphon as before; the psalm *I have lifted up [my eyes] to you;* the antiphon afterwards, right through; and then as before, to the ground; *O Christ, hear us,* twice. *Lord [have mercy]* three times. (6) *Our Father. And [lead] us not.* Versicle: [*Behold, O God,*] *our Protector,* as before. *Let us pray. Stand by us, we beseech you, O Lord our God, and [defend] those whom you cause to rejoice [in the honour] of the holy Cross.*)

117

ʒef ʒe habbeð ei god idon, þonkið him of his ʒeoue, wiðute hwam we
ne mahen ne wel don ne wel þenchen, ant seggeð *Miserere,* ant *Kyrie
eleison, Christe eleison, Kyrie eleison.* (7) <u>*Pater noster. Et ne nos.*</u>
Verset: *Saluas fac ancillas tuas, Deus meus, sperantes in te. Oremus.
Deus, cui proprium est;* ant stondinde*, Visita, Domine, habitationem
istam;* (11v.413–12.418)

(If you have done anything good, thank him, without whom we can
neither act nor think rightly, for his gift; and say *Miserere,* and *Lord
have mercy, Christ have mercy, Lord have mercy;* (7) <u>*Our Father.
And [lead] us not.*</u> Versicle: *Save your handmaids, O my God, who
put their hope in you. Let us pray. O God, whose special nature it is;*
and standing, *O Lord, visit this dwelling;*)

It has been demonstrated that Nos. 1, 2 and 7 have as their background the
Office of the Dead (*Officium Defunctorum*), and No. 3 shows the influence

118

of the Gradual Psalms (*Psalmi Graduales*) (Millett 2005 II: 24-30). Firstly,

in *Officium Defunctorum*, *Placebo Domino* opens with Psalm 114, Psalm

119, Psalm 120, Psalm 129, Psalm 137, and then Preces such as:

Pater noster *secreto ad*

V. <u>Et ne nos</u> inducas in tentationem.

R. <u>Sed libera</u> nos a malo. (*Breviarum Romanum*:

125)

Similarly, in the *Psalmi Graduales*:

Pater noster *secreto ad*

V. <u>Et ne nos</u> inducas in tentationem.

R. <u>Sed libera</u> nos a malo. (*Breviarum Romanum*:

130)

In each case, the attendants begin the prayer in silence until the officiant recites "Et ne nos," and the choir responds with "Sed libera." The longer textual incipit of "Pater noster" thus implies a ritual formation for congregational gatherings.

Harper states that within the Divine Offices, Prime, Terce, Sext, None and Compline also include *Preces* in which the leader and the followers correspond with their own roles in saying the prayer as outlined above. *Preces* is, he says, "a series of psalm verses sung as versicle and response between officiant and choir ... At Prime and Compline the Preces generally included a confession, and even a whole psalm (or psalms)" (84). Preceding the Preces are the Lesser Litany and Lord's Prayer, which Harper explains as follows (84):

An extended litany was said in the early Church, but by medieval times this was truncated to the Greek petitions *Kyrie eleison, Christe eleison, Kyrie eleison …* which were

sometimes sung three times. The exact manner of performance varied, but there was a dialogue between officiant and choir. The Lord's Prayer followed. The officiant either intoned *Pater noster* (the remainder of the text was then prayed silently, possibly with *Ave Maira*), or else he sang the whole prayer. In either case the conclusion was sung as versicle and response:

V. *Et ne nos inducas in tentationem*

R. *Sed libera nos a malo*

(*And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil.*)

Harper's explanation is borne out by the cases of nos. 1, 2, 3, 5, 6 and 7, in that all "Pater noster. Et ne nos" begin just after the *Kyrie eleison*. The Lord's Prayer was a form of dialogue between the officiant/ celebrant/ priest and the choir, and this characteristic remains in the seven longer textual incipits that we have examined above.

The reason for the differences between the longer textual incipits among the six manuscripts cannot be easily discerned, but it might be in some way related to the production period of the manuscripts (Millett 2005 I: xi-xxvii). The A manuscript is generally assigned to the second half of the thirteenth century, probably in the 1270s or 1280s. The C is held to have been made in the first half of the thirteenth century, and is again dated to an earlier period than A, more precisely, the early 1230s. The N is regarded as a product in the second quarter of the thirteenth century or the 1240s, while F is located to around the beginning of the fourteenth century. The V manuscript is placed towards the end of the fourteenth century, and the P manuscript presumably to 1365–75.

The C manuscript is the earliest of these six manuscripts; since it is dated to an earlier period than A, we know that the authorial revisions represented in A were made after C. The C manuscript displays most significantly the hue of the earliest stage of the transfer of the Pater Noster from a congregational liturgical environment to a narrower, more private

one. With the help of the Stemma Codicum constructed by Millett, it is possible to draw a tentative line of tendency to reduce the textual incipit among the manuscripts. However, caution needs to be exercised when considering whether these longer textual incipits were actually selected for the purpose of recitation by both an officiant and the audience, i.e., the anchorites, or whether the traditional usage of the longer textual incipits was redundant for the users even when they were noted down as if for congregational use. Nevertheless, the manuscripts V and P support the speculation that the textual incipits of the three main Latin prayers gradually became shortened with the passage of time. Given the other characteristics of these two manuscripts, it is possible to view this as a de-institutionalization or a privatization of the liturgical services.

5. Conclusion

By examining some altered forms (feminine, plural and of two sexes) we have observed that Latin quotations for prayer could be adjusted to the

users of the manuscripts. This informs us that the authenticity of Latin quotations does not always depend on a legacy of strict wording, but can be transferred to users through arranged phrases that would help users understand instructions much better.

The examination of incipits reveals several steps towards de-institutionalization. The incipits of Pater Noster and Ave transformed themselves from textual incipits, originally Latin, to vernacular titles after numerous repetitions of these prayers, as "Aves" are seen most in the P manuscript and the noun "Creed" in the V manuscript. Part 1 in the P manuscript does not directly include the passages referred by Colledge which infer Wycliffite elements (Von Nolcken 178), but there is an inserted paragraph between Part 1 and 2 (p.376v. 23. 377v. 16) on which Colledge clearly pointed out its tone of popularization. The most frequent repetitions of "Aves," some arbitrary omissions of prayers, and the substitution of "populum tuum" to address the audience in Part 1, may indicate secularized characteristics of the P manuscript.

Although in the C manuscript the two kinds of incipits of Creed are recorded, that trace disappears in the other five manuscripts. Moreover, the Nicene Creed, called the Great Creed in the earlier manuscripts, is titled as the Mass Creed in the later texts of N and P. Finally, the C manuscript, presumably reflecting the contemporary or traditional liturgical phrases the most, records the corresponding pattern of incipits of Pater Noster between an officiant and followers. Therefore, it can be assumed that the C audience might be familiar with or accustomed to such a liturgy, or at least the C's Scribe A shows that he himself was nurtured in a very much liturgical environment.

The six manuscripts examined above are scattered across the span of more than a hundred years of time, so it is likely that changes occurred in every section of the manuscripts. If the usages of incipits in the later manuscripts, e.g., in VP, were compared more with the earlier ones, it is possible that a clearer step for de-institutionalization would become

apparent. Latin incipits seem to have more to tell us than we have so far

discovered.

Chapter III

A Mapping of *Conscience* and Its Vernaculars in the Manuscripts of *Ancrene Wisse*.

0. Introduction

The first recorded instance of *conscience* occurs in *Ancrene Wisse* (*AW*), the original of which is considered to have been written between 1215-1222 for the purpose of disseminating the contents of the Fourth Lateran Council (Gunn 4; Dobson 1966: 192). The *AW* has been recognized as "the most important surviving work of early Middle English prose" (Millett 2009: ix; Heuser 104). *Conscience* has been identified as a key Medieval word providing us with an hint of an understanding of the mental development of the age. The twelfth century Renaissance has been held to include the beginnings of self-consciousness and individualism.[1]

This chapter will concentrate upon mapping the appearance of *conscience* and its counter vernaculars among the extant *AW* manuscripts, based principally on the evidence of the A manuscript to show the variety of the borrowed word and glosses. Section 1 contains a table comparing the investigated words, while Section 2 provides the dictionary definitions of each word.

1. Comparative table of the manuscripts based on the A manuscript

Below is the collation table of the ten editions including the seventeen extant manuscripts and fragments. It shows the vocabulary map of

---

[1] See Colin Morris, *The Discovery of the Individual 1050-1300*. Also R. R. Bolgar, *The Classical Heritage and its Beneficiaries*; R. W. Southern, "Medieval Humanism." *Medieval Humanism and Other Studies*; David Knowels, "The Humanism of the Twelfth Century," *The Historian and Character*.

conscience and vernacular glosses based on their occurrence within the A manuscript (Table 1). All the excerpts containing *conscience* words are divided into thirteen cases collated within the manuscripts. *Conscience* has the meaning of "our sense of right and wrong" (Millett 2009: 116), and for convenience in this paper "*conscience* words" include *conscience*, its vernacular glosses, and words to be examined if they carry the same meaning as *conscience*. The location of each case in A is indicated after the Table and all the corresponding cases of other manuscripts are shown in the Appendix. The Table records the targeted vocabularies in each square, and if there is no attestation, the absence is expressed as [–]. The English word *conscience* is shadowed, and vernacular variations of *inwit* are underlined. When a word occurs more frequently than the example in A, as seen quite often in S, it is expressed as [expanded]. The manuscripts thought to have been composed prior to A, are C, N, and T, while those that are contemporaneous are F, G, and S,; later versions are L, P, and V (Millett 2005: I. xi-xxvii). The vernacular manuscripts are A, C, G, N, P, T, and V. The Latin version is L, and the French or Anglo-Norman are F and S. Cases are introduced by sigla, chapter, folio number and line number. All underlining and shadowing is for emphasis.

Table 1: Collated *conscience* words in the *AW* manuscripts

case	A	C	F	G	L
1	inwit	boncg [C2:concience/ conscience]	conscien[ce]	[–]	consciencie
2	consciencia	[–]	consciencia	[–]	consciencia
3	inwit	[–]	[–]	[–]	[–]
4	conscientie	[–]	[–]	[–]	consciencie

	N	P	S	T	V
5	inwit (consciencia)	inwið [C2:inwit Þ is. conscience]	conscience	[–]	conscienciam
6	inwit	wit [C2: inwit]	conscience	[–]	[–]
7	[–]	[–]	conscience	[–]	[–]
8	consciencia-inwit	consiciencia-inwi∂	[–]	consciencia-inþit	consciencia
9	consciencia	consciencia	conscientia	consciencia	consciencia
10	conscience (þet is, ure inwit)	conscience. Þ is ure þonc	conscience	con=sciencie. þat is ure inþit	[–]
11	Consciencia	consciencia	conscientia	consciencia	consciencia
12	Inwit	inwit	conscience	inþið	consciencia
13	inwit	inwit	conscience	inþit	consciencie

case	N	P	S	T	V
1	inwit	þouȝth	conscience [expanded]	[–]	inwit
2	consciencia	consciencia	consiciencia	[–]	consciencia
3	inwit	inwiþ	conscences	[–]	inwit
4	consicencie	consciencie	consiciencie	[–]	consciencie [expanded]
5	inwit	inwiþ	conscience	[–]	inwit
6	inwit	inwiþ	conscience	[–]	inwit

			[expanded]		
7	[–]	[–]	[–]	[–]	[–]
8	consciencia-inwit	consciencia-inwitt	[–]	conscientia-inwit	consciencia-inwit
9	conscientia	consciencia	consciencia [expanded]	consciencia	Consciencia
10	conscience. ðet is ure inwit	conscience þat is oure inwit	conscience [expanded]	concience. Þ is ure inwit	Conscience. þat is vre inwit
11	conscientia	consciencia	consciencia [expanded]	conscientia	Consciencia
12	inwit	witt	conscience	inwit	inwit
13	inwit	inwiþ	conscience	inwit	[–]

Case 1. A: Pre. 1r.14. (16.)

> Þe an riwleð þe heorte, ant makeð efne ant smeðe wiðute cnost ant dolc of woh <u>inwit</u> ant of wreiȝende þe segge, ... þeos riwle is eauer <u>inwið</u> and rihteð þe heorte.
>
> (One of them rules the heart, and makes it even and smooth without the bumps and hollows of a crooked and troubled <u>conscience</u> that says, ... This rule is always <u>internal</u> and directs the heart.)

Case 2. A: Pre. 1r. 17.

> *Et hec est caritas quam describit Apostolus, de corde puro et <u>consciencia</u> bona et fide non ficta.*
>
> *(And this is the charity that the Apostle describes, "of a pure heart and a clear <u>conscience</u> and sincere faith."* (see 1 Tim. 1:5))

Case 3. A: Pre. 1r. 18.

Þeos riwle is chearite of schir heorte ant cleane <u>inwit</u> ant treowe bileaue.

(This rule is the charity of a pure heart and a clear <u>conscience</u> and true faith.)

Case 4.   A: Pre. 1r. 23.

Psalmista: Benefac, Domine, bonis et rectis corde. Istis dicitur ut glorientur—testimonio uidelicet bone <u>conscientie</u> :

(*the Psalmist says: "Do good, O Lord, to those who are good and righteous in heart." They are told that they should rejoice—that is, in the testimony of a clear <u>conscience</u>:*)

Case 5.   A: Pre. 1v. 41.

þet is, alle mahen ant ahen halden a riwle onont purte of heorte, þet is cleane ant schir <u>inwit</u> (<u>consciencia</u>) wiðuten weote of sunne þet ne beo þurh schrift ibet.

(that is, everyone can and should observe one rule concerning purity of heart, which is a clean and clear <u>moral sense</u> (<u>conscience</u>) unaware of any sin that has not been atoned for through confession.)

Case 6.   A: Pre. 1v. 43.

Þis makeð þe leafdi riwle, þðe riwleð ant rihteð and smeðeð ðe heorte ant te <u>inwit</u> of sunne;

(This is the work of the lady rule, which rules and straightens and smoothes away sin from the heart and the <u>conscience</u>;)

Case 7.   A: [absent]

[substituted] Part2. 12r. 219.

Et si nule contredit ceste, ieo treis a testmoigne sa <u>conscience</u> demeyne encontre lui,

(And if anyone denies this, I call her own conscience as a witness against her,)

Case 8.   A: Part 4. 55v. 401, 402.

As Seint Austin seið, *Omissis occasionibus que solent adytum aperire peccatis, potest <u>consciencia</u> esse incol[u]mis;* þet is, hwa‑se wule hire <u>inwit</u> witen hal ant fere,

(As St Augustine says, *If those occasions that tend to open the door to sins are avoided, the <u>conscience</u> can be secure* ; that is, "Anyone who wants to keep her <u>conscience</u> healthy and sound ...)

Case 9.   A: Part 5. 83r. 87.

Hinc erunt accusancia peccata, illinc te[r]rens Iusticia; supra, iratus Iudex, subtra, patens horridum chaos inferni; intus, urens <u>consciencia</u>, foris, ardens mundus.

(*On one side there will be accusing sins, on the other terrifying Justice; the angry Judge above, the hideous chaos of hell gaping below; inside, a burning <u>conscience</u>, outside, a world in flames.*)

Case 10. A: Part 5. 83r. 99.

schule we seon buuen us þe ilke eorre Deme þet is ec witnesse ant wat alle ure gultes, bineoðen us ӡeoniende þe wide þrote of helle, inwið us seoluen ure ahne <u>conscience</u> (þet is, ure <u>inwit</u>) forculiende hire seoluen wið þe fur of sunne, wiðuten us al þe world leitinde o swart lei up into þe skiwes.

(we will see above us that angry Judge who is also a witness and knows all our crimes; below us the wide throat of hell gaping open; inside us our own <u>conscience</u> (that is, our <u>sense of right and wrong</u>) being consumed with the fire of sin; outside us the whole world blazing in dark flames up into the clouds.)

Case 11. A: Part5. 83v. 113, 117.

"Ascendat homo tribunal mentis sue, si illud cogitt quod oportet eum exiberi ante tribunal Christi. Assit accusatrix Cogitatio, testis <u>Consciencia,</u> carnifex Timor"

(Recollecting that he must appear before the tribunal of Christ, a man should ascend the tribunal of his own mind. Recollection should sit there as prosecutor, <u>Conscience</u> as witness, Fear as executioner.)

Case 12. A: Part 5. 83v. 113.

His <u>Inwit</u> beo icnawes þrof ant beore witnesse: ... ȝet nis nawt þe deme (þet is, Skile) ipaiet þah he beo ibunden ant halde him wið sunne,

(His <u>Conscience</u> should admit this and bear witness: ... But the judge (that is, Reason) is still not satisfied even though he is tied up and refraining from sin,)

Case 13. A: Part 6. 101v. 378.

ant þeo ȝet þe habbeð pes ant reste of cleane <u>inwit</u> habbeð in hare heorte bitternesse of þis lif,

(and even those who have the peace and repose of a clear <u>conscience</u> have bitterness in their hearts because of this life,)

A brief analysis reveals that the usage most similar to that of the A manuscript is found in N, one of the earliest manuscripts estimated to have been written in the 1240s, and so predating A (Millett 2005: I. xix-xx). Another A-type version is T, which has no preface, lacks the greater part of Part 1 (up to line 391), and several sections of Part 3 (335-384) and Part 4 (1366-1423). It will therefore contain fewer instances of *conscience* words. This manuscript was probably written in the 1240s, and reveals revisions for male religious communities made following its reworking for female religious (Millett 2005: I. xxiv).

V, containing another A-type version, is regarded as a work of the end of the fourteenth century (Millett 2005: I. xxv-xxvi). As a later version it testifies to an expansion in Latin quotation in Case 4. V includes more

than one Latin *consciencie*, while the A manuscript has only one, and more instances of the vernacular *inwit*. The discussion of *conscience* seems more active in the later version.

In contrary to these A-type versions, C, G and P manuscripts reveal other vernacular descriptions apart from *inwit*, the gloss which the A manuscript applies for *conscience*. Those are *þoncg* (C), *þouȝth* (P) in Case 1, and *þonc* (C) in Case 10. The G manuscript shows other spellings *inþit* and *inþið* for *inwit*, employing *þ* instead of *w*. The G text has been significantly re-arranged after much cutting and pasting, being left in the order of Parts, such as 3, 5, 6, 7, 2, 3, and 4 corresponding to the A manuscript, each Part being excerpted excepting Part 5. The identification of corresponding parts from G is accroding to my own supposition, and is therefore remains open for discussion. Considered to have been written beween 1250-1275, the G manuscript's scribe is believed to be have been from the Continent given his difficulty in writing special "English" orthography (Millett 2005: I. xvi). If so, his background may account for the different spelling of *inwit*.

The P manuscript was probably written, with many revisions, between 1365-1375 by a single scribe localized in the Waltham Abbey area of Essex, and its target audience appears to have been lay people rather than recluses (Millett 2005: I. xx-xxi). On occasion, it speaks contrary to its original purpose, encouraging the active rather than the contemplative life, forgetting that the original addressees were recluses. At one time, these contractions led to the suspicion that the scribe was a Lollard, but this cannot be maintained in the light of its chronology. It is now understood that the work has twice undergone revisions, of which the second was intended to "convert the text to a secular purpose" (Hudson 28). P contains different vernaculars from A, such as *þouȝth*, *inwið*, and *witt*. One possible explanation is that P is the offspring of another manuscript

form separate from the A type. Another is that the scribe freely applied a wide range of vernacular *conscience* words, including *inwitt*, when he made revisions and additions to the text. The only certainty is that there is no identical word or word-spelling for *inwit* in P.

The Cleopatra manuscript warrents particular attentioin. The C manuscript was probably written in the 1230s, forty or fifty years before A (Millett 2005: I. xi; Gunn 4). This manuscript preserves the additions, revisions and annotations of several scribes, that is, Scribe A, Scribe B, Scribe D, and Scribe E with contribution by several minor scribes. This manuscript reveals the English vernacular *conscience* in the annotation of Scribe B (C2)[2] in Case 1, and several different vernaculars, which as they do not appear in A are not included in the above chart. The scrutiny of the cases within C would no doubt shed a beam of light through the occluded circumstances in which the English *conscience* was initially brought into *AW*. However, this is a project for further research.

Millett's Stemma Codicum of *AW* manuscripts (below, Figure 1), was compilled through the comparison of differences in vocabularies between manuscripts and revised that of Dobson (Millett 2005: I. xxix). None of the manuscripts show evidence of direct copying one to another.
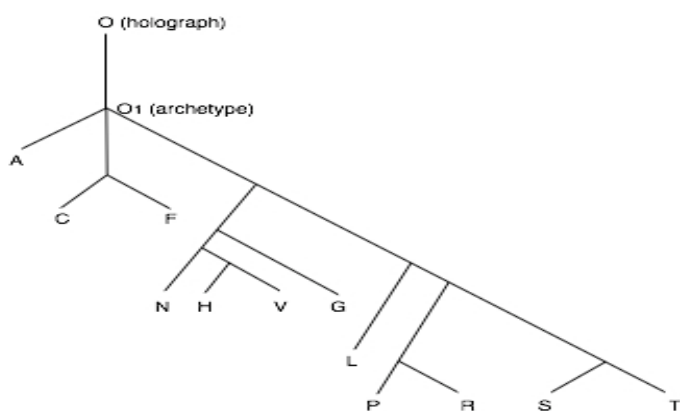
Figure 1. Millett's Stemma Codicum   © Oxford University Press

---

[2] "C2" is how Dobson used to call Scribe B.

The Stemma demonstrates that A has a separate lineage from NTV, while T is located further from NV. Thus the closeness of vernacular usage for *conscience* in ANTV shown in Table 1 does not seem to be attested by the Stemma, although T lacks nearly half of the evidence and V is less closely positioned to its relatives. The N manuscript has an identical vernacular usage to A, and is only missing the Latin gloss in Case 5; while V is almost the same as A apart from Case 13. As for the vernaculars for *conscience*, AN show the greatest similarity with TV following them. In view of the different vernaculars in AC, however, it may be said that the Codicum has the authenticity to testify that AC each have different exempla in terms of *conscience* language. Moreover, although P's remoteness is verified in the Codicum, in terms of prototypes for the *conscience*-vernacular, the Codicum appears to have placed P a little too close to the linage of ANT. Care should be taken in reading the Codicum since it does not exactly reflect the chronological order, so that A is made to appear to have departed from the holograph linage before C and F, but in actuality they predate A.

Apart from the evidence based on the A manuscript in Table 1, some *conscience* evidence from other manuscripts is not listed there. For example, manuscripts other than ACF include *conscience* in the corresponding part of Part 5, 81b. 7-11 within the A manuscript. Moreover, the quotation of Part 5, 86a. 13 of the A manuscript does not have the Latin phrase including *conscience*, but does contain the shorter one identical to F, while the other manuscripts have the longer version with *conscience*. This should prompt further analysis of the other manuscripts' singular expressions.

The collation of manuscripts in Table 1 clearly demonstrate that the vernacular glossing of *conscience* was still in its formative stages when *AW*

was written.[3] It is evident that the new situation found in *AW* was closely related to the emerging pastoral need to convey Latin theological vocabulary to the laity following the Fourth Lateran Council. The council placed central importance on Confession, requiring laity to make confession in front of a priest at least once a year.[4] The *AW*, although initially a instructional handbook for lay women wishing to live as anchoresses, gained a reputation as a good exempla for Confession. This resulted in its copying into several vernaculars and its distribution as a patchwork in relevant sections were cut and pasted depending on the audience (Millett 2005 II: xix-xxiv). These circumstances demand further close investigation through their linguistic, theological and pastoral aspects.

2. Dictionary definitions

As noted, *AW* provides the first recorded appearance of *inwit* as a synonym for *conscience*, as well as several more vernaculars in the different manuscripts. It is desirable to gain a standard view of these particular words; therefore, this section will outline their contemporary meanings of those words as found in *MED* and *OED* with greatest reliance being placed on the former since it contains the largest number of citations.

2.1. *Inwit*

---

[3] For example, Godden has suggested that *ingehyd* was an Old English alternative for *conscience* as seen in Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies* (Godden 1985: 286-287). cf. Introduction.

[4] Constitutions 21. On yearly confession to one's own priest, yearly communion, and the confessional seal: "All the faithful of either sex, after they have reached the age of discernment, should individually confess all their sins in a faithful manner to their own priest at least once a year, and let them take care to do what they can to perform the penance imposed on them…" *Fourth Lateran Council: 1215* <papalencyclicals.net>.

The Middle English *inwit*, a now obsolete word found in *AW* is not identical with the Old English *inwit. MED* defines the former as *conscience* or "inward sense of right and wrong" on its the first recorded usage dated to c.1230 (?a1220), citing the A manuscript: "Þeos riwle is chearite of schir heorte & cleane *inwit* [L conscientia] & treowe bileaue" (This rule is the charity of a pure heart and a clear *conscience* and true faith) from 6/21[5] and 107/5 (Case 8 in Table 1), and 157/17 (Case 10) (*MED*, s.v. *inwit*, n.). Further examples of the word outside *AW*, however, are not found until *South English Legendary: Temorale (Passion of Christ)* in about 1325 (c.1280), and later in *Ayenbite of Inwyt* by Dan Michel, dated 1340.

OED displays minor differences in its introduction to the word. It cites the word from the Corpus dated c.1230 (?a1200) as for the first and third examples in *MED*. The next example listed is R. Rolle's *Prick of Conscience* in 1340 (*OED*, s.v. *inwit*, n.). Thus both *MED* and *OED* demonstrate that the first appearance of *inwit* occurs at a significant distance in time from its succeeding appearances. The *AW* was clearly a harbinger of contemporary theological adoption. Etymologically *MED* explains that *inwit* consists of prefix *in-* and a noun *wit*; on the other hand, *OED* says that *in* is an adverb to which a noun *wit* is added. Further, it notes that the Middle English *inwit* is "not related to Old English *inwit*, 'deceit'". These dictionary definitions demonstrate that there is a clear etymological separation schism between the Old English *inwit* and the Middle English *inwit*.

Zettersten (99) defines *inwit* as *conscience* with reference to the OE *ingewitness*, a female noun which means "knowledge, knowing, consciousness, conscience" (*An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* [*ASD*], s.v. *ingewitness*, n.). It may be said therefore that *ingewitness* is one of the Old

---

[5] The dictionary cites the page and line in Tolkien's edition with page and line.

English alternatives for *inwit* or its previous form. The descriptions in the dictionaries concerning *inwit* and its origin and historical transformation, which show a slight differences between them, appear to be in need of a certain agreement.

2.2. *Conscience*

MED defines *conscience*, in its second entry of the word, as "the faculty of knowing what is right, esp. with reference to Christian ethics; the moral sense, one's conscience: awareness of right and wring; consciousness of having done something good or bad". It records the Corpus manuscript 83a (Case 10) as the first example (*MED*, s.v. *conscience*, n.). The dictionary states that it derives from the Old French and Latin *conscientia*.

　OED principally defines the word mainly: the first is "senses involving consciousness of morality or what is considered right"; and the second, "senses without a moral dimension." The first one includes six divisions of meaning;[6] the first of which is also divided into four functions with the first function meaning "the internal acknowledgement or recognition of the moral quality of one's motives and actions; <u>the sense of right and wrong</u> as regards things for which one is responsible; the faculty or principle which judges the moral quality of one's actions or motives," for which, *AW* (Cle. C. vi. 226) is cited[7]. This explanation demonstrates that the meaning of *conscience* appearing in *AW* is semantically the oldest and most important. The note refering to the definition of I. 1. a. word

---

[6] The other definitions, or rather functions, are: 2) with modifying adjective; 3) practice of, or conformity to, what is considered right or just, equity; regard to the dictates of conscience; 4) moral stance with regard to a particular personal act, especially a wrong one; sense of guilt, remorse; 5) with of, † to. Conscientious observance, reverence, regard. Now rare; 6) † a matter of conscience; something about which scruples are or should be felt. (*OED*)

[7] The citation is drawn from *Ancrene Riwle*, the other title of the work.

emphasizes its dynamics:

> Opinions as to the nature, function, and authority of conscience
> are widely divergent, including that it is: (i) practical reasoning
> about moral matters, which, though fallible, must be obeyed
> (Aquinas); (ii) the understanding which distinguishes between
> right and wrong and between virtue and vice; (iii) an infallible,
> God-given guide of conduct; (iv) a sense of personal or individual
> morality as opposed to customary or social morality (Hegel); (v) a
> sense of guilt and unworthiness which arises when aggressive
> impulses are denied external expression (Nietzsche); (vi) an
> aspect of the superego, the internal perception of the rejection of
> a particular wish (Freud).[8]

This explanation reinforces the importance of the word's first appearance in *AW*, situating it alongside Aquinas and providing significant evidence for the word's meaning. Its employment within *AW* seems to range somewhere from (i) to (iii).

2.3. *Þoncg* (C), *þonc* (C), and *þouȝth* (P)

2.3.1. *Þoncg* and *þonc*

Case 1 in Table 1 shows some alternative nouns for *inwit*; *þoncg* in the Cleopatra manuscript by Scribe A, also *þouȝth* in the Pepys. Case 10 contains *þonc* in C, the same choice as in Case 1. Both *þoncg* and *þonc* are etymologically derived from, amongst others, Old Low German (*MED*, s.v. *thank*, n.), Old Frisian or Old Saxon (*OED*, s.v. *thank*, n.). Those words in *AW* on the whole, not only in both C and P, have several meanings

---

[8] *OED*, s.v. *conscience*, n.

depending on the context as shown in the following examples. The first usage is for pious ejaculations (44/12: A) (63/10: A). *OED* explains the first type as "the expression of gratitude (4)" with no quotation from *AW*. The second usage means "feeling or being grateful to something" (161/22: A). *OED* categorizes this with the preposition *in/ on* as "satisfaction" (Phrase 3) again with no *AW* example. Thirdly, *MED* defines it as "the faculty of thinking, thought, mind; the seat of thoughts, emotions, and spiritual activity" (174/5: A) (206/3: A). The Caias manuscript, included in the coordinated manuscript G, also contains *þonc* with this meaning: "Skile sitte as deme oppen þe dom seotel; Cume þer after ford his *þonc*, þohtes munegunge, wreie him & bi clepie him of misliche sunnen" (Reason sits as judge on the judgement seat; thereafter his *thinking* comes forth, thoughts remember, accuse him and ask him about various sins) (234/120: G). The fourth definition in *MED* is "that which one thinks; a thought, an individual act or product of thinking" (115/7: A). *OED* takes this citation from the C manuscript, "[He] putte... aþullich *þonc* inhire heorte" (C.vi. 165).[9]

Zettersten lists *þonc*, defining *thanks* deriving from OE *þanc* as in the manuscripts N and G (Zettersten 39: N 51:19, 55:3, 55:26 (4x). G 2:31, 3:20, 13:11 (3x)), also interprets it as *thought* as in the A manuscript in his research based on A, N and G (Zettersten 39: A 60b:7, 92b:5, 109b:3 (3x)). *MED* explains that perhaps it has some analogy with OE *geþanc* (*MED*, s.v. *thank*, n.), which Bosworth expresses as "mind, will, opinion, thought" (*ASD*, s.v. *geþanc*, n.). Following Zettersten's suggestion of examining *ingewitness* as a possible origin for *inwit* seen in section 2.1, I would like to refer to OE *ingeþanc* (the male or neutral noun meaning "thought, thinking, cogitation, intent, mind heart, and conscience" (*ASD*, s.v.

---

[9] *OED* uses the Dobson's edition for the Cleopatra manuscript with the page number.

ingeþanc, n.)). For *þonc*, instead of *geþanc*, in order to add another possible origin, *ASD* offers an example of interpreting it as *conscience* from *Ecclesiastical Institute* 35; "Hyra *ingeþanc* his forleósàþ on hyra wege" (they lose their *conscience* on their way). Although this question of the origin of *þonc* cannot be pursued more fully here, the Old English *ingeþanc* or *geþanc* surely are very likely to be the semantic ancestors of the Middle English *inwit*.

2.3.2. *Þouȝth*

Likewise, *þouȝth* is used in *AW* with a number of meanings. These are shown as follows, along with their occurrances in *AW*. It means firstly "a visionary conception; a fantasy, fancy; also, a remembrance" (187/6: A) (*MED*, s.v. *thought*, n.). Secondly, it is used in a phrase, "~of herte, herte~," meaning "innocent thought" or "secret thought" (69/10: A). It may also mean "an object of reflection or meditation; that which is considered," or "the specific subject on which one meditates" (176/11: A). The fourth meaning is "the reasoning capacity or power, the mind," and "the imagination" (52/5: A). The fifth usage is for "consciousness, awareness" and also "the memory"; "Of fif þinges wið þin *þocht* [A: *wit*] gedere þine sunnen" (Organize your sins *mentally* under five headings), quoted from the C manuscript (253/2: C). This example seems to be very close to the meaning of the moral sense of right or wrong, referring to sin. The sixth usage is for "that which produces or experiences emotion" (13/26: N). The seventh is for "a concentration of mental effort, concern, solicitude, attention" (111/12: A). The last is in some "stock comparisons, proverbs, and proverb expressions" (51/23: A). What these examples and definitions tell is that *þouȝth* can generally mean some form of mental phenomena or activities, but it does not always specify the moral sense of right or wrong as *þonc(g)* in *AW*.

OED records the early usage of *thought* in six principal ways: 1.a. the action or process of thinking; mental action or activity in general, esp. that of the intellect; b. as a function or attribute of a living being; c. the product of mental action or effort; 2.a. a single act or product of thinking; b. an idea suggested or recalled to the mind by a situation, observation, or previous idea; 3. conception, imagination, fancy; 4. consideration, attention, heed, care, regard; 5. remembrance; 6.a. the entertaining of some project in the mind. A difference between *MED* and *OED* is that *OED* does not mention any connotation of moral sense for the word, while *MED* does to some extent. For example, the examples of definition 1 in the thirteenth-century works introduce the word closely as a feeling and emotion and also closely as mind: "Quanne Iosep hem alle saȝ, Kinde *ðhoȝt* in his herte was ðaȝ" (When Joseph said to them all, there was a kind *thought* in his heart) (c.1250 *Genesis & Exodus*, 2254); "We hauen on ure *þoht*, to shewen him ure sinnes" (We are *thinking* to show him our sins.) (c.1200 *Trinity College Homilies*, 71) (*OED*, s.v. *thought*, n.).

2.4. *Wit*

Appearing in a form very close to *inwit*, *wit* is seen in Case 6 in C, and *witt* is in Case 12 in P in the position of *inwit*. The *witt* or *wit* of Old English is from Old Frisian *wit*, and Old Low German *(gi-)wit*, and Old High German *wizzi* meaning "wit, intelligence, mind" (*MED*, s.v. *wit*, n.). The *OED* adds its common recognition as *gewit(t* in Old English (*OED*, s.v. *wit*, n.)

MED records five examples from A: first, it means "awareness"; "Alle mahen & ahen halden a riwle onont purte of heorte, þet is, cleane & schir *inwit*, consciencia, wið uten weote of sunne þet ne beo þurh schrift ibet" (7/21: A). Actually, however, this is a wrong quotation because the quoted word is *inwit* not *wit*. This is a good evidence for testifying the confusion of those words among the present dictionary editors to whom those

143

differences might not be a big issue. Secondly, it means the faculty of understanding, and judgement (172/21: A). Thirdly, in a phrase of a state of perplexity (152/12: A). Fourthly, mental ability, intelligence, wisdom, learning; "Womman ȝateward is his *wittskil* þat schulde departen þe whete fram þe chaf" (Woman door keeper is his *reason* which should separate the wheat from the chaff) (119/32: P). This compound word is in the Pepys alone. It has a fifth sense, as one of the five senses (34/12: A). The first definition, "awareness," and the second, "judgment," are closely related to the concept of moral sense provided by "conscience," and may be understood as synonyms; however, simultaneously, *wit* is used more generally and widely.

OED records the first, obsolete meaning of *wit* as "the seat of consciousness or thought, the mind" within the meaning of "denoting a faculty" (*OED*, s.v. *wit*, n.). Also within the meaning of faculty of general thinking and reasoning, there is another obsolete meaning: "particular faculties of perception, classified as *outer* (*outward*) or *bodily*, and *inner* (*inward*) or *ghostly*,[10] and commonly reckoned as five of each kind." The dictionary indicates its closeness to *inwit* in the sense of "reason, intellect, understanding, wisdom" (*OED*, s.v. *inwit*, n. 2b), citing from the Cleopatra: "Þis is nu of þis *wit* [sight] inoh" (C.vi.53) (Now enough has been [said] about this *sense*), which *MED* draws upon for the word's definition as "5. a sense, one of the five senses" as seen above. The two dictionaries show different definitions of *wit* for the same quotation. It can therefor be understood that *wit* ambiguously covers the area where *inwit* has just started showing its identity, bearing a close similarity to both its spelling and meaning.

---

[10] The italics are original.

3. Summary

Inwit appears synonymous with *conscience* in all vernacular manuscripts of *AW*, bearing for the first time the meaning of moral sense as a word completely separate from the Old English *inwit*. On the other hand, other words are recorded in place of *inwit*, that is, *þoncg*, *þonc*, *þouȝth*, and *wit(t)* in C and P, although *OED* does not attribute a moral sense to *þouȝth*. This investigation has shown these vernaculars with an Old English lineage to be alternatives of *inwit*.

These inheritances, *þoncg*, *þonc*, *þouȝth*, and *wit(t)*, however, do not confine their meanings to "conscience," but also carry more general concepts, such as "thinking" or "thought." This fact supports an assumption that these archaic words existed in a prototype of *AW* before *inwit* and *conscience* had been introduced. Although Dobson assumed that the correction of Scribe B of Scribe A's *þoncg* into *inwit* on folio 4, line 17, was "correct" as if Scribe A, the first scribe of the C manuscript, had misconstrued the word's employment (Dobson 1972: 2. f), in fact, the scribe might simply have been copying an exemplum, [11] or was himself employing a familiar word. Through this study, it has become clear that these words were transmitting, at the hands of different scribes, in each manuscript at a particular point, the same meaning contained in themselves as in *conscience* or *inwit*, that is, a moral sense to judge right or wrong. The usages of the words were carried out without clear-cut boundaries between several meanings. This was what was happening just before *inwit* was coined. The aim of the coinage of *inwit* appears to have been the differentiation from commonly known vocabularies and the dissemination of this concept, "conscience," which was rapidly gaining in importance at the time. Although the present investigation is based on the

---

[11] Millett supposes that "it is likely that it was already present in C's exemplar" (2005: II 4. P.16).

A manuscript, every other manuscript should be examined independently to ascertain whether it has its own treatment or evidence of *conscience* words, not present in A, to provide a better understanding of the complexity of this ambiance.

Appendix

Collation of manuscripts

Case 1; C: 4. 17, 20.

þe heorte ⁊ makeð efne ⁊ smeðe wið vte cn oste ⁊ dolke of <u>þoncg</u> <u>inwið</u> unwrest ⁊ ȝirn/ inde Þ þu her.... þeos riwle is eauer <u>Inwið</u> ⁊ righteð þe heorte.

F: p.1.2.26-p.2. 2. 1, 5.

li une reule le/ [queor] et le fet ouel sanz/.... esce de.... oz de <u>conscien-/[ce]</u>. .... Ceste reule est touz[iours] <u>dedenz</u> et reule le queor adreit.

G: [absent]

L: 92a. 9, 10.

illa que cor rectificat et complanat ut sit sine conuexo aut concauo oblique seu accusantis <u>consciencie</u> dicentis, ... Hec regula est semper <u>interior</u> et cor rectificat ....

N: 1.13, 15.

þe on riwleð þe heorte. þe makeð hire efne ⁊ smeðe wiðvte knotte ⁊ dolke. of woh <u>inwit</u> ⁊ of wreinde. þet seið. .... þeos riwle is euerre <u>wiðinnen</u>. ⁊ rihteð þe heorte.

P: p.371a.11, 13.

Þat on reuleþ þe hert and makeþ it euene wiþ oute knoost and doþe of <u>bouȝth</u> <u>inwiþ</u> and bywraieþ þe. .... Þis reule is euere <u>inwiþ</u> þe ⁊ reuleþ þe hert as it auȝth to done.

S: p.161. 24, 27.

La reule ke rectefie le quer. fet le quer oel e suef. e sanz uene
e sanz boce de to‑te <u>conscience</u> e de enclinante a pec‑che. ...
Ceste reule est <u>de denz</u> tut dis. e rectefie issi le quer...
(p.162.2.): Ceste reule <u>de denz</u> Si est ueraie charite charite
de pur quer. e de bone <u>consience</u>. e de ueraie fei

T: [absent]

V: 371vb.12, 14.

þe on ruleþ þe herte. and makeþ euene. and smeþe withouten
spotte of fulþe of vnriht <u>inwit</u> ⁊ of schewynge. .... þis rule is
euer <u>in wiþ</u>. and rihteþ þe heorte.

Case 2; C: [absent]

F: p.2. 2. 8.

Et hec est/ karitas illa in quam scribit apostolus. / De corde puro
et <u>conscientia</u> bona et/ fide non ficta.

G: [absent]

L: 92a. 13.

Finis precepti est caritas de corde puro et <u>consciencia</u> bona et
fide non ficta.

N: 1. 17.

Et hec est caritas quam describit apostolus de corde puro ⁊
<u>consciencia</u> bona ⁊ fi‑de non ficta.

P: p.371a. 15.

Hec est caritas illa quam describit apostolus de corde puro. ⁊
<u>consciencia</u> bona. ⁊ fide non ficta.

S: p.162. 5.

est uera cari‑tas. quam describit apostolus sic. Caritas est finis
precepti de corde puro et <u>consciencia</u> bona et fide non ficta.

T: [absent]

V: 371vb. 15.

Et hec est caritas illa. in quam describit Apostolus. de corde puro z <u>consciencia</u> bona. z fide non ficta.

Case 3; C: [absent]

F: [absent]

G: [absent]

L: [absent]

N: 1. 18.

þeos riwle is cherite of schir heorte. z cleane <u>inwit</u>. z troe we bileaue.

P: p.371a. 16.

Þis reule is charite of schire hert and clene <u>inwiþ</u> and trewe byleue,

S: p.162. 17.

A ceus est dit en le sauter ke il se en ioissent du testmoige de lour bones <u>consciences</u>.

T: [absent]

V: 371vb. 16.

þeos rule is charite of cler herte z clene <u>inwit</u>. z trewe bileue.

Case 4; C: [absent]

F: [absent]

G: [absent]

L: 92a. 20.

Psalmista: Benefac, Domine, bonis et rectis corde. Istis dicitur ut glorientur testimonio, videlicet, bone <u>consciencie</u>.

N: 1. 25.

psalmista. benefac domine. bonis ʒ rectis corde. Istis dicitur ut glorientur testimonio videlicet bone <u>consciencie</u>.

P: p.371a. 22.

Vnde Psalmista. Benefac domine bonis ʒ rectis corde. Isti dicuntur vt glorientur testimonia. videlicet bone <u>consciencie</u>

S: p.162. 20.

Istis enim dicitur ut <de> testimo‑nio bone <u>consciencie</u> glorientur

T: [absent]

V: 371vb. 21, 25, 28.

Psalmista. Bene fac domine bonis ʒ rectis corde. Istis dicitur ut glorientur testimonio videlicet bone <u>consciencie</u> gloriamini omnes recti corde. ... ʒif þi <u>Conscience</u>. þat is þin <u>inwit</u> of þi þouʒt and of þin herte. ... And þat such <u>conscience.</u> and such <u>inwit</u> is wouh and vn euene.

Case 5; C: 4v. 17.

Þ is. alle maʒen ʒ ahʒen. halden an riwle anon den Purte of heorte. Þ is clene ʒ schir <u>inwið</u> wið vten weote of sunne Þ ne beo þurhc schrift ibet.

F: p.3. 2, col. ii. 5.

Cest a dire. / toutes poent et deiuent tenir/ vne reule en droit de purete a‑/ uer. Cest nette et clere <u>conscience</u>/ sanz aparceuance de pecche.

G: [absent]

L: 92b. 11.

et sic omnes vnam regulam seruare possunt, videlicet, quantum ad puram et mundam <u>conscienciam</u> sine labe peccati quod non fuerit per confessionem correctum, quia nichil obliquat cor nisi

peccatum.

N: 1v. 14.

Þ is. alle mu‑wen z owen holden one riwle onont purte of heorte.

Þ is cleane schir <u>inwit.</u> wið vte wite of sunne. Þ ne beo þuruh schrift ibet.

P: p.371b. 28.

bidde fast for hym þat god amende hym ʒif it be his wille. and keepe þine hert clene z schire <u>inwiþ</u> z wiþ oute.

S: p.163. 28.

e si la deiuent tenir quant a purte de quer ceo est quant a nette. e clere <u>conscience</u> sanz uice de pecche

T: [absent]

V: 371vb. 8.

þat is. þat alle mowen and ouʒten holden o rule a nont purte of herte. þat is clene and briʒt <u>inwit.</u> withouten wyte of synne.

Case 6; C: 4v. 20.

þis maket þe laue/ di riwle þe riwlet z smeðeð/ z richteð þe heorte z <u>wit</u> hire from sunne.

F: p.3. 2, col. ii. 13‑14.

Ceo/ fet la dame reule. et adresce et/ enowelist le queor et la <u>con‑ /science</u> de pecche.

G: [absent]

L: [absent]

N: 1v. 17.

ðis makeð ðe leafdi riwle. ðe riwleð z rihteð z smeðeð ðe heorte z tet <u>inwit</u> of sunne.

P: p.371b. 35.

And þerfor it is euere <u>inwiþ</u> z reuleþ þe hert and seiþ to þe here

þou synnest it ne may be non oþere.

S: p.163. 30, 31.

E ceo fet la reule de denz ke est dame. ke reu‑le e adresce le quer. e le fet squef. e la <u>conscience</u> nette de pecche. Car nule rien ne fet la <u>conscience</u> torte e bozuse T: [absent]

V: 371vb. 10.

þis makeþ þe ladi rule. þat ruleþ. and rihteþ. and smeþeþ þe herte ʒ þe <u>inwit</u> of sinne.

Case 7; C: [absent]

F: p.47. 12. 1‑2.

Et si/ nule (contre) contredit ceste / ieo treis a testmoigne sa <u>con‑/ science</u> demeyne encontre lui.

G: [absent]

L: [absent]

N: [absent]

P: [absent]

S: [absent]

T: [absent]

V: [absent]

Case 8; C: 87. 13.

Omis/ sis occasionibus que solent aditumaper/ ire peccatis. potest <u>consciencia</u> esse incolu/ mis. Þ is hwase wule <u>inwið</u> witen hi/ re hal ʒ fere

F: [absent]

G: p.124. 31.

As seint austin seið.

Omissis ocasionibus que solent aditum aperire peccatis potest

consciencia esse incolums. þat is hþa se þile hire inþit þiten hal an fere

L: 121b. 2.

Vnde Augustinus: Omissis occasionibus que solent aditum aperire peccatis potest consciencia esse incolumis. Oportet enim vitare occasiones que peccato aditum pandunt.

N: 53v. 19.

ase seint austin seið. omissis occasionibus que solent aditum aperire peccatis potest consciencia esse incolumis. þet is. hwo se wule hire inwit witen clene ʒ feir

P: p.410b. 31.

as seint Austyn seiþ DImissis occasibus que solent aditum aperire peccatis potest consciencia esse incolumis. C Þat is. who þat wil his inwitt witen al clene fer he most fleiʒe þat fetles þat is wone oft to ben yopened.

S: [absent]

T: 53va. 15, 16.

Omissis occa-sionibus que solent aditum aperire pec-catis potest conscientia esse incolu-mis. Þ is. Hwase wile his inwit witen hal ʒ feare.

V: 381va. 22, 23.

Omissis occasionibus que solent aditum aerire peccatis. potest consciencia esse in columis. þat is. whose wole heore inwit. witen hol and feere

Case 9; C: 138v. 8.

Hinc erunt accu sancia peccata. Illinc terrens iusticia supra. iratus iu dex. subtra patens orridum chaos inferni. In tus urens consciencia. foris ardens mundus.

F: p.215. f.48., col.ii.14.

Hinc orunt accusan-/ tia peccata. Illinc terrenis iusticia. / supra iratus iudex. subtus/ patens horridum cahos in-/ ferni. Intus urens <u>conscientia</u>. / Foris   ardens mundus.

G: p. 17. 15.

Hinc erunt peccata accusancia. Illinc terrens iusticia. supra iratus Iudex. subtra patens horridum chaos inferni. Intus urens <u>consciencia</u>. foris ardens mundus.

L: 142a. 31.

Hinc erunt accusancia peccata, illinc terret iusticia; supra iratus Iudex, subtra patens horridum chaos inferni; intus vrens <u>consciencia</u>, foris ardens mundus.

N: 82v. 19.

hinc erunt accusantia peccata. inde terrens iusticia. subtus patens horridum chaos inferni. desuper iratus iudex intus urens <u>conscientia</u> foris ardens mundus.

P: p.426a. 31.

HInc erunt accusancia terrens supra iratus iudex. subtra patrinus horrendum chaos inferni intus vrens <u>consciencia</u>. foris ardens mundus peccator sic deprehensus in quam partem se premet.

S: p.56. 26, p.57. 6.

De denz nus nostre <u>conscience</u> ardant e nus pur nos mau-ueistez reprennant e remordant. ... hinc erunt inquit accusancia peccata. Illinc terrens iusticia. supra iratus iudex. subtus patens horridum chaos in-ferni. Intus   <u>consciencia</u> urens. foris   mun-dus ardens. peccator sic deprehensus in quam partem se premet.

T: 75vb. 2.

Hinc erunt accusantia peccata Illinc terrens iustitia. Supra

iratus iu‧dens. Subtra   patens horridum cha‧os inferni. Intus
urens <u>consciencia</u>. foris ardens mundus.

V: 386rb. 2.

Hinc erunt accusancia peccata. Illinc terrens iusticia. Supra
iratus iudex. Subtra patens horridum chaos inferni. Intus. Vrens.
<u>Consciencia</u>. Foris ardens Mundus.

Case 10; C: 139. 4, 5.

schule we seon buuen us. Þis ilke eorre dom Þ is ec witnesse ᵹ wat
al ure gultes. bineo ðen us ᵹeoninde þe wide þrote of helle Inwið
ud seoluen vre achne <u>conscience</u>. Þ is ure <u>þonc</u> for cweðinde hire
seoluen wið þe fur of sunne. wið uten us al þe world leitinde on
swart lei up into þe ski[w]es.

F: p.216. 48b. 7.

Juge corou‧/cee qest ensement testmonie. /et siet touz noz trespas.
Par‧/desouz nous. abaiante la lar‧/ge goule denfer. Pardedenz
nous/meismes nostre demeine <u>conscience</u>/ardant sei meismes od
le feu/de pecche. Pardehors nous   tout le mound ardante en noire
flam‧be amount desqes as nues. Li dolourous peccheour issi assis
de toutes parz coment li esterra donqe. al quel de ces quatre se
purra il tourner.

G: p. 18. 29, 30.

shule þe seon buuen us þene ilke eorre deme. þat is ecpit‧nesse.
˥ þat alle ure gultes. Bineþen us. geoniinde þe þide þreote of helle.
Inþid us seoluen ure ahne <u>con=sciencie</u>. þat is ure <u>inþit</u>.
fortuliinde hire seoluen < . . d þe fur. f sunne>. þiduten us al þe
þorld leitinde on sᵹart lei up into þe skues.

L: [absent]

N: 82v. 34, 35.

we schulen iseon buuen us þen ilke eorre demare. þet is ec witnesse ꝛ wot alle ure gultes. bineoðen us geoniinde wide ðe wide þreote of helle. wiðinnen us suluen   ure owune <u>conscience</u>. ðet is ure <u>inwit.</u> uorkuliinde hire suleun mid ðe fure of sunne. wið uten us   al þene world leitinde of swarte leite. up into weolcne.

P: p.426a. 7.

And oure <u>conscience</u> þat is oure <u>inwit</u> brennande wiþinnen vs ꝛ al þe werlde on fyre abouten vs. þe synful þus bisett to which of þise may he turnen hym: nys here bo borne ꝛ here þat wo Word þat griselich word þat sorouȝful word þat god schal seye. [quite different]

S: p.57. 19, p.58. 14.

De denz nus mei-mes. ert la <u>conscience</u> de nus asprement nus remordant e ardant par le feu de pecche. De horS nostot li mond ardant en flamme dekes as nues. Li dolerus pecchour issi assege en tant de tristur. a la quele de cestes deuant dites choses se purra il torner   ... E a donc ueigne a uant [Tr 53d] la <u>conscience</u> e reconnoise tote la uerite. e porte temmoigne aspensers e die. ceo est trestout uoir e mout plus.

T: 75vb. 16.

Nu as ich seide schule we seo buuen us. þis ilke harde deme Þ is eche witnesse ꝛ wat alle ure Gultes. Bineðen us goniende þe wide þrote of helle. Inwið us seluen ure ahne <u>concience</u>. Þ is ure <u>inwit.</u> forswiðande hire seluen wið þe fur of sunne. wið uten us al þe world leitende al oswart leie. up into þe skiwes.

V: 38rb. 14.

schulen we seon a bouen vs þulke steorne demere. þat is. ek witnesse. and wot alle vr gultus. ¶ Bi neþen vs ȝonynge. þe wyde þrote of helle. ¶ Inwith us seluen vr owne <u>Conscience</u>. þat

is vre <u>inwit</u>. for blaket hire seluen. with þe fuir of sunne. ¶ Wiþ outen vsal þe world leytinde on a swart lyʒe. vp in to þe scuwe.

Case 11; C: 139v. 6.

Ascendat homo tribunal mentis sue si illud cogitat quod opor tet eum exiberi ante tribunal cristi. Assit acusa trix cogitacio. testis <u>consciencia</u>. Carnifex timor.

F: p.217. 48b, col. ii.

Ascen-/dat homo tribunal me[ntis sue]/Si illud cogitat quod oportet [eum]/exhiberi ante tribunal Christi. Assit/accusatrix cogitacio. Testis <u>conscientia</u>/ Carnifex timor

G: p. 18. 11.

Ascendat homo tribunal mentis sue. si illud cogitat quod oportet eum exhiberi ante tribunal christi Assit accusatrix cogitacio. testis <u>consciencia</u>.

L: 142a. 20.

Ascendat homo tribunal mentis sue, si illud coitat quod oportet eum exhiberi ante tribunal Christi. Assit accusatrix cogitatio, testis <u>consciencia</u>, carnifex timor, et cetera.

N: 83. 15-16.

ascendat homo tribunal mentis sue si illud cogitat quod oportet eum exiberi ante tribunal christi. assit accusatrix cogitatio. testis <u>conscientia</u>. carnifex timor.

P: p.426b. 22.

Ascendit homo tribunal mentis sue si illud cogitet quod oportet eum exhiberi ante trubunal christi. assit accusatrix cogitacio testis <u>consciencia</u> carnis timor.

S: p.59. 2, 5.

Ascendat homo tri-bunal mentis sue. Si illud cogitat quod oportet

exhiberi ante tribunal cristi. Assit ac-cusatrix. cogitacio. testis.

<u>consciencia</u>. carni-fex. timor. et Gregorius in moralibus. ... Nam

<u>consciencia</u> accusat. racio iudicat. timor

T: 76ra. 33.

Ascendat homo tribunal mentis sue si illud cogitet quod oportet

eum exiberi ante tribu-nal Christi. Assit accusa=trix cogitatio

testis <u>conscientia.</u> Carnifex timor

V: 386rb. 28.

Ascendat homo tribunal mentis sue. si illud cogitat quod oportet

eum exiberi ante tribunal Christi assit acusatrix cogitacio.

testis <u>Consciencia</u>. carnifex timor.

Case 12; C: 139v. 13.

His <u>inwit</u> beo icnawe[s] þrof ⁊ beore witnesse. ... ȝet nis naut þe

deme Þ is skile ipaiȝet þach heo ibunden ⁊ halde him wið sunne.

F: p.217. 48b., col. ii. 10.

sa <u>con-/science</u> soit de ceo reconoissance et/porte testmoigne. ...

Vnquore nest pas le iuge. cest reison pae tout soit il lie et se tienge

de pecche;

G: p.19. 17.

His <u>inþid</u> beo icnaþen þerof ⌐ bere pitt<e>=nisse þerof. ... Get nis

naut þe deme þat is skile ipaied þah he beo ibunden. ⌐ halde him

þid sunne

L: 142a. 22-23.

Agnoscat <u>consciencia</u> et testificetur, ... Ad huc non est iudex

contentus, videlicet, ratio, licet ligatus sit et abstineat a peccato,

nisi luat peccatum quod prius commisit.

N: 83. 21.

⁊ o þisse wise his <u>inwit</u> beo iknowen þerof ⁊ bere him witnesse. ...

get nis nout ðe demare. dðet is skil. ipaied þauhe beo ibunden ⁊ holde him wið uten sunne bute gif he abugge ðe sunne ðet he wrouhte.

P: p.426b. 25.

His <u>witt</u> [inwit?] biknoweþ al soþ it is ⁊ mychel more. [not exist 'skile']

S: p.59. 23.

de uostre <u>conscience</u> e de deu des magestez.

T: 76rb. 4.

His <u>inwit</u> beo hit cnawe ⁊ beore witnesse. ... get nis nawt te deme Þ is. skile i‑paiet. Þ he beo ibunden. ⁊ hal‑de him wið sunne bute gif he abugge þe sunne Þ he wrahte.

V: 386rb. 33.

His <u>inwit</u> beo I. knowen þerof. ⁊ bere witnesse. ... ȝit nis not þe deme. þat is skile payet.

Case 13; C: 174. 13.

⁊ þeo ȝet þe habbeð pes ⁊ reste of cleane <u>inwit</u> habbeð inhare he orte bitternesse of þis lif

F: p.272. f.60b. 6.

et ceaux vnquore qe ount pees/et repos de nette <u>conscience</u> ount/en lour queor amertume de ceste/vie

G: p.87. 22.

⁊ reste of cleane <u>in þit</u> habbet in hare heorte bitternesse of þis lif

L: 157a. 3.

et qui habent pacem et quietem serene <u>consciencie</u> amaritudinem habent in suo corde de vita ista

N: 103. 25.

and þeo get þet habbeð

peis ꝛ reste of cleane <u>inwit</u> heo habbeð in hore heorte bit‑

ternesse of þisse liue.

P: p.440a. 35.

ꝛ ȝut hij þat han rest ꝛ pes ꝛ ben clene <u>inwiþ</u> ȝutt hij han in her

hert bitternesse of loue þat wiþholdeþ hem fram.

S: p.132. 22.

come pes ou repos de nette <u>conscience</u>. Teus e teles ont en lour

quer amertume de ceste uie.

T: 92ra. 24.

And teo g et Þ hauen pes ꝛ reste of cleane <u>inwit</u> hauen in hore

herte bitternesse of lif

V: [absent]

Chapter IV

The Expository Apposition Marker *þet is* and Punctuation in the Corpus MS of *Ancrene Wisse*

0. Introduction

0.1. The Aim of the study

This section investigates the relationship between the expository apposition marker *þet is* and the punctuation employed with the marker in the Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 402, of *AW*. The author's initial interest lay in studying the circumstances in which loan words are frequently introduced in thirteenth-century vernacular treatises for female lay recluses. This interest revealed that new lexemes are often introduced with the phrase *þet is* or its variations, and the accompanying punctuations appear to have several consistent tendencies. This section intends to develop this finding in order to add to the understanding of a neglected period in the study of the expository apposition marker, where research has hitherto been conducted "perfunctorily" (Pahta and Nevanlinna 1997: 122). The research of Päivi Pahta and Saara Nevanlinna (1997, 2001) has shed light upon the structure and use of nonrestrictive expository appositions in Late Middle English and Early Modern English texts, and it is hoped that the data presented here will fill, in a small way, a missing piece in the diachronic sequence, and may be used to identify comparative

characteristics. It is necessary, however, to note that the comparison is between the data derived from a single thirteenth-century manuscript, probably written in the 1270s or early 1280s (Millett 2005-2006: xi-xii), and the much broader and extensive sample from 1350-1710 derived in the main from the Helsinki Corpus.

0.2. Scope and method

AW is an early-thirteenth-century instruction book for lay people, being an example of "pastoral literature,"[1] a "somewhat amorphous" genre full of didactic expressions (Gunn 93). It conveys religious material considered necessary for lay people with the aid of rhetorical methods. Formed from influences originating in the twelfth-century School of Paris (d'Avray 132-203), and incorporating elements from the monastic tradition, the treatise falls within the scheme of contemporary religious rhetorical technique. In this respect, throughout the work the instructor consistently employs a number of interpretive expressions to transmit the teachings – "food for the soul"—in Latin or vernacular, as if breaking bread into manageable pieces for children to consume.[2] For example, the first appearance in English of

---

[1] It was Leonard Boyle who coined the term "pastoralia" for the Christian literature which began to be produced abundantly in the thirteenth and succeeding centuries (Gunn 93; Goering 59).

[2] "And I have broken them all up for you, my dear sisters, as people do for

the term *conscience* is transmitted through the cognate *inwit*, which relies on such an interpretive method with the expository apposition marker: "conscience. *Þ is* ure inwit" ("conscience", that is, our inwit) (83a.17).[3]

The digital manuscript from the Parker Library Web site hosted by Stanford University makes it possible to see the details of punctuation in the manuscript of *AW*. Both Tolkien's diplomatic edition (1962) and Millett's two-volume edition (2005-2006), and its translation (2009), were frequently consulted to read the text and discern meanings. Since research into the punctuation of *AW* is still at an early stage, it is hoped that this section will make a worthwhile contribution, however small, to this field. Philological research employing the Web-based Corpus big data is current in the linguistic and literature research fields, where "unfiltered" "meta-data" assists in identifying linguistic patterns or regularities effectively (Meyer et al 2003: 253). A careful reading of a single manuscript, however, may reveal hidden points, which may have been overlooked within the big data and so provide a novel angle to the research. The masterful investigations of previous researchers have identified how the *AW*

children who might die of hunger with unbroken bread. But be sure that I had let fall many crumbs; look for them and gather them up, because they are food for the soul" (92b.23-26). Examples from *Ancrene Wisse* are drawn from Tolkien's edition. The modern English translations are Millett's (2009).

[3] Unless otherwise stated all italics of *Þ is* are mine and are for emphasis.

developed textually. The editing of all seventeen extant manuscripts was completed in 2006 with Bella Millett's edition of the final manuscript; following this, research into *AW* entered a new epoch. Since the Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 402 has been the central manuscript employed in recent research into *AW*, this will be the manuscript scrutinized in this chapter.

In the semantic analysis by Päivi Pahta and Saara Nevanlinna, based on the 1992 study by Meyer (1997: 125), the researchers adopted his "broad definition of apposition" and decided to deal with nonrestrictive apposition, and further to focus on expository appositions (1997: 126). According to their reading of Meyer, optional expository apposition markers including *that is*, when *or* is identified as obligatory, occur very rarely—less than three percent of the total in present-day English—and are mainly present in academic genres (1997: 128). Pahta and Nevanlinna applied this analysis to earlier periods of English to observe the results, clarifying the "use of the explicit markers and the semantic classes of expository apposition and their distribution across different types of text" (1997: 130). Their targeted markers consist both of fourteen frequently occurring items, ranging from *and*, *&* to *viz.* and ten unique markers, such as *þat is to menynge* and *that is to meane* (1997: 129). As a treatise for female lay recluses, *AW* belongs naturally to a genre that employs large numbers of expository apposition

markers as "indicators of formal style" (1997: 128). This essay focuses on the expository apposition marker *þet is* and its variations because this marker enjoys the highest frequency in the text. The data is based on Tolkien's edition with corrections by a comparison with the digital manuscript. Firstly, the *þet is* marker will be arranged according to the semantic classes categorized by Pahta and Nevanlinna (1997: 134) with comparisons between several modifications. Following this, an investigation into the relationship between the marker and the punctuation placement will be undertaken.

1. Semantic analysis of expository apposition marker *þet is*

1.1. Classification

Pahta and Nevanlinna sorted the expository apposition markers into five semantic categories: Identification, Appellation, Characterization, Paraphrase, and Revision. With Identification the second appositive is more specific than the first. Appellation identifies the referent of the first unit and the second unit names it. In Characterization, the second appositive provides a general characteristic of the first. Paraphrase is related by the synonymy in two synonymous phrases, clauses, sentences, or words. Lastly, in Revision the units of apposition are not synonymous but co-referential; the two subtypes are reorientation and self-correction (1997:

134-141).

Although the present analysis relies on this five-fold classification, I would propose the addition of a further category, *Glossing*. When "the second unit is often added in order to provide a more familiar variant" and "the second unit provides a native translation variant of a Latin term or name," Pahta and Nevalinna classify such cases as Paraphrase (1997: 137). They also categorize the cases of unfamiliar clauses or sentences "where the second appositive provides a translation" as Paraphrase (1997: 140). Neither Meyer's *Apposition in contemporary English* (1992), the basis for Pahta and Nevalinna's research, nor his recent study (2014) touch upon this criterion for classification. This perspective, however, does not clearly distinguish those cases where the first unit is unknown to the audience, from others in which both the first and second vernacular units are familiar to their recipients. They give the examples of the two types as Paraphrase (Italics are original):

þre substaunces ben made of þe chyle by *decoccioun* (i. *seþinge*) in the lyuer (*The Cyrurgie of Guy de Chauliac* 62)

'three substances are made of the fluid of the intestines by a process of decoction, i.e., boiling in the liver'

> þei sche wer *loth & not wylly* to do swech thyngys
>
> (Kempe, *The Book of Margery Kempe* 1 55)
>
> 'though she were reluctant and not willing to do such things'
>
> (1997: 137)

In the second example, the audience know the meanings of both adjectives and the two synonyms resonate with the recipients for a better understanding of the information provided. In the first case of a Latin first appositive and vernacular second appositive, however, the first does not provide a clear meaning or fall within the audience's anticipated literacy, with only the second unit conveying the intended material in the form of translation.

The extent to which Latin could be comprehended by a lay audience is a major question. Medieval Latin "could be deemed the great medieval European vernacular" when each dialect in Europe or a region was not sufficiently systematized to be inter-communicative (Minnis 11). Furthermore, Latin might not be a complete enigma even in the daily life of the laity. With regard to the audience of *AW*, however, it seems reasonable to suppose that the assumption was that they were not literate in Latin. For example, *Seinte Iuliene* and *Seinte Margarete* of the Ancrene Wisse Group narrate, "All lay-people (*Leawede men*) who cannot

understand Latin, listen and hear the life of a virgin, which is translated from Latin into English" (Millett 2009: xiv). The audience of *AW* is regarded as being familiar with other Ancrene Wisse Group works, which all share a common interest in virginity. The recipients of *AW* were accustomed to recite Latin prayers all day as in Part 1, through which practice they may have attained "liturgical literacy," that is, "partial Latin literacy" (Robertson 129). While admitting their "intermediate position between *laici* and *clerici*," Millett still assumes that the author's significant use of Latin would not be readily understood by the recluses (Millett 1993: 94). The Latin quotations and insertions may be deemed to have been for the purpose of "speaking to his peers, a university-educated clerical audience" (Millett 1993: 94-95). For this kind of lay recluse, those cases in which both the first and the second appositives were familiar and those where only the second appositive was familiar would require distinct treatment.

The first appositive which does not convey any signification does not necessarily indicate a Latin lexeme, but might also be applied to a recently vernacularized lexeme or an obsolescent one. For example, the audience are asked to lend their ears to the new loan word, "patience. *Þ is* þolemodnesse" (48b.19). On the other hand, they are taught the meaning of an obsolescent word: "beowiste *Þ is* wununge" (42b.8). The first vernacular appositive *beowiste* would have been unfamiliar to the Corpus MS audience as it was

falling out of use; therefore, it is followed by the familiar noun *wununge* meaning "dwelling" (Millett 2005: II.123. 3.517; Millett 2009: 204. 3.96). This judgement as to whether a first unit was known to the audience or not is based on the *OED* and *MED*, while the determination of an obsolescent case relies on previous research. Thus all cases of the first unfamiliar appositive revealed within *AW* are categorized as *Glossing* with a broader meaning of "interpretation," and so will be differentiated from Paraphrase in this essay.

1.2. Semantic classification

Based on the classification by Pahta and Nevanlinna with the additional category *Glossing*, the expository apposition marker *þet is* in the Ancrene Wisse Corpus manuscript is semantically categorized as in Table 1; this corresponds to Table 4 of Pahta and Nevanlinna (1997), which is attached below Table 1.

Table 1: Semantic Classification of Expository Apposition Marker *þet is* in the *AW* Corpus

Semantic Class	N	%
Identification	22	9.1
Appellation	6	2.5

Characterization	110	45.6
Paraphrase	4	1.7
Revision	1	0.4
Glossing	98	40.7
Total	241	100

cf. The semantic classes of apposition (Pahta and Nevanlinna 1997: 134)

Identification	228	5.9
Appellation	20	0.5
Characterization	8	0.2
Paraphrase	3478	89.9
Revision	135	3.5
Total	3869	100

Table 1 shows that the highest frequency is that of Characterization which is distinct from the data of Pahta and Nevanlinna where Characterization represents only 0.2 %. This result may partly derive from the character of *AW* where metaphorical expressions needing to be explained in plainer expressions occupy a greater part. For example, "hare asse. *Þ is* hare unwise sawle" (their ass, *that is*, their unwise soul) (18b.21). Table 2 shows the number of the cases of the metaphor in first appositive, all the

vernacular.

Table 2: Metaphor used in first appositive

Metaphor	N	%
Identification	0	0
Appellation	1	2
Characterization	60	98
Paraphrase	0	0
Revision	0	0
Glossing	0	0
Total	61	100

Among all 110 cases of Characterization, 60 cases (54 %) show metaphors in the first appositive. This mainly results from the instructor quoting basic materials, which are suitable for lay female recluses, and also where it is necessary to bring interpretations together, such as with Psalms and Canticles.

In order to make an accurate comparison with the data of Pahta and Nevanlinna, the number of Glossing must be added to those of Paraphrase. Then the sum of Paraphrase and Glossing is 102 (42%), which still counts for less than half the number of Paraphrase within the Pahta and

Nevanlinna data (89.9%). Thus Tables 1 and 2 reveal the strong occurrence of Characterization, especially of metaphor, in *AW.*

2. Punctuation and *þet is*

2.1. Background to the punctuation in the Corpus MS

Middle English punctuation underwent a process of constant adaptation through a variety of authors and scribes, reflecting both its Irish origins and the influence of Latin; there was no clear standard for its forms until printing became widely established (Parkes 41). Peter Clemoes notes that further research is required "to establish firm dates for the introduction and obsolescence of particular practices of the liturgical 'positurae' from the tenth to fifteenth centuries" (12).

The expository apposition marker *þet is* is usually accompanied by punctuation marks. Between the Anglo Saxon period and the later middle ages, punctuation developed certain forms. In Anglo Saxon England, Donoghue maintains that basic punctuation was employed differently between Old English poems, Old English prose, Latin poetry, and other forms of writing (40). He presents British Library manuscript Royal 7 C xii, a late tenth-century compilation of Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies*, as a standard example of Old English punctuation. In it he identifies three forms: 1) punctus versus (similar to the modern semicolon); 2) punctus

circumflexus (a raised point); and 3) punctus elevatus (a point with an angled mark above) (42). By the later Middle Ages, the system had developed into "four principal components," as identified by Parkes: 1) punctus (a point); 2) punctus elevatus, 3) punctus interrogativus (the modern question mark); and 4) litterae notabiliores[4] (42). Standing at a point somewhere along the line of this progress, the punctuation of *AW* has not as yet formed the basis for major research. It can be seen, however, in the case of the Corpus MS of *AW*, that three forms of punctuation are present: 1) punctus circumflexus [ˑ]; 2) punctus interrogativus [ꝯ]; and 3) punctus [.]. Parkes explains the function of 3) punctus as follows:

> It was used to indicate all kinds of pauses, to introduce quotations, and to separate. In this last function it was used to prevent the false association of roman numerals with the letters which preceded and followed them, and with or without the common mark of abbreviation, to isolate drastic abbreviations, <u>particularly the suspensions found in citations and quotation</u>... The 'punctus' was also used for 'points of respect' to set off names or titles. (42)

---

[4] A mark indicating a new significant section; usually highly decorated and found at the beginning of a text.

When used in conjunction with the apposition marker *þet is* in the Corpus MS, the punctus may be seen as playing the role ascribed to it in the highlighted section. The punctus gives a pause to highlight the word or phrase being introduced for citation and quotation.

2.2. Punctus of the manuscript

For *þet is* expressions, the punctus is mostly employed either as in Figure 1 (with two punctus) or Figure 2 (with single punctus) in the Corpus MS:
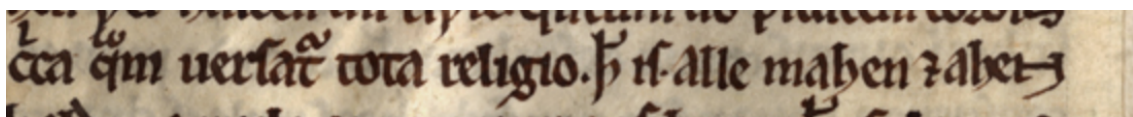
Figure 1: Corpus 1b.19.
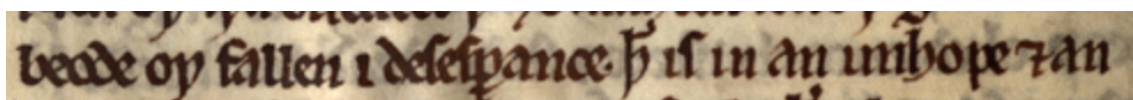
Figure 2: Corpus 2b.22.
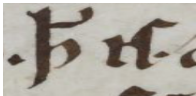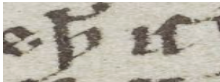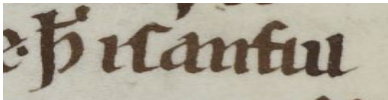
The Corpus manuscript is most likely to have been the work of a single scribe, being amended by several scribes later (Millett 2009: xxxviii). All punctus are placed somewhere near the mid-height of each letter. In explaining his editorial principals regarding punctuation, Tolkien notes simply, "The punctuation of the manuscript has been retained" (vi);

however, in fact all punctus in his edition of the manuscript are printed as for the modern full-stop, probably due to practical convenience in printing.

I compared all punctuations in Tolkien's edition with those of the digital Corpus MS, and found a number of differences. Tolkien sometimes omits punctus, adds unnecessary ones, or puts them in the wrong place. There are also several misunderstandings concerning the recognition of words. Among thirty-six differences between the Online manuscript and the Tolkien edition, there are three cases related to a *þet is* expression as in Table 3: 1) the punctus after *is* is missing (1b.19); 2) the punctus before Þ is missing (49b.18); 3) *is* is integrated with the next word [*isanful*] not being counted as *þet is* (69a.22). Millett's edition is added for reference.

Table 3: Differences between punctus related to *þet is* in three sources

Corpus MS	Tolkien	Millett
1) 1b.19	. Þ is	; þet is,
2) 49b.18.	Þ is	, þet is,
3) 69a.22.	. Þ isanful	, þet is anful

Tolkien's transcriptions have been corrected and this is reflected in the data to be considered below.

All occurrences of *þet is* in the Corpus MS were identified and collated. The expression *þet is* functions as an expository appositive marker for both Latin and vernacular predecessors. Within the expression, *þet* may have two functions: demonstrative pronoun and relative pronoun. In the *MED* the *þet* in *þet is* is identified as a demonstrative or anaphoric pronoun, "pointing to a person, an object, attribute, a condition, an event, a sequence of actions, an aggregate of things or qualities, etc. previously mentioned"; accompanied with *is* (or *was*), it functions "in parenthetic, explanatory, or amplifying expressions" (*MED* s.v. *that* pron.).[5] While the *MED*'s earliest example is taken from the *Peterborough Chronicle* (a1121), an example is also drawn from the Corpus MS 163/27 (c.1230) of *AW*. As a demonstrative pronoun in the *AW*, *þet is* indicates two forms of first appositive: 1) Latin word, phrase, or sentence quotation; or 2) vernacular word, phrase, or sentence. The following sections investigate the relation between these appositives and the punctus.

---

[5] The variations are "~weren, ~is to seien (knouen, menen, witen), ~is (beth) to understonden, etc.".

2.3. Latin first appositive + punctus + *þet is* + punctus

The total number of Latin quotations in the manuscript is 575. Identifying a single unit of Latin quotation in Part 1 is difficult since the section continuously introduces prayers, both long and short, including a number of abbreviations, contractions and incipits, without any clear pauses. Essentially a unit is defined as a case in which a vernacular narration is inserted or the prayers are obviously distinct from each other. A set of prayers with established phrases, such as *Kyrie eleison, Christe eleison, Kyrie eleison*, is counted as one unit. In uncertain cases, Millett's edition was consulted where Latin is rendered in Italics.

The marker *þet is* acts in combination with "punctus [.]." The formation of the marker can be divided into four: 1) a punctus + Þ + is [single punctus]; 2) a punctus + Þ + is + a punctus [two punctus]; 3) Þ + is [no punctus]; and 4) a punctus + Þ.[6] The fourth form lacks "is," but it obviously signifies *þet is*, and as the form appears only once, it is likely that it was a copying error. Table 4 below shows the occurrences in each section.

---

[6] Examples of each of the four forms are as follows: 1) quantum ad puritatem cordis circa quam uersatur tota religio. *Þ is* alle mahen ƺ ahen halden a riwle onont purte of heorte. (1b.19); 2) Ah moni siheð þe gneat ant swolheð þe flehe. *Þ is.* makeð muche strengðe þer as is þe leaste (3b.2); 3) ah chearite *Þ is* luue. (2b.7); 4) con temptus eiusdem. *Þ* alswa as prude is wilnunge of wurðschipe (76a.13).

"None" indicates those cases in which the Latin is interpreted, glossed, translated, or paraphrased into the vernacular with no interpretation marker, including those left with no vernacular explanation, which could indicate a type of restrictive expository apposition. Since this essay only analyzes the non-restrictive apposition marker *þet is*, it is not concerned with the difference between these two forms. "Others" comprises the six variations listed below in Table 4. The last case of Others from Part 6, ". Þ is as ich seide ear." actually contains *Þ is* with one punctus, but the following phrase with another punctus defies categorization as one of the types. The corresponding places for each category are shown in Appendix I.

Table 4: Latin first appositive with/ without *þet is*

	. Þ is	. Þ is .	Þ is	. Þ	others	sum		none/ sum
Pre	4	1	0	0	0	5		6/ 11
P1	0	0	0	0	0	0		127/ 127
P2	1	6	1	0	1	9		70/ 79
P3	6	7	1	0	0	14		72/ 86
P4	11	19	1	1	2	34		103/ 137
P5	0	8	0	0	1	9		46/ 55
P6	0	6	0	0	2	8		36/ 44
P7	0	5	0	0	0	5		24/ 29

P8	0	1	0	0	0	1		6/ 7
sum	22	53	3	1	6	85		490/ 575
(%)	(25.9)	(62.4)	(3.5)	(1.2)	(7)	(100)		

Others[7]:

P2: __. Þis beoð pe wordes. (26a.21)

P4: __. þis is Þ englisch. (72b.7-8)

P4: __. Þis is Þ englisch. (74b.15)

P5: __. Þis wes bitacnet þurh þet (82a.19)

P6: __. Þis is Þ ich seid þruppe. (95b.3)

P6: __. Þ is as ich seide ear. (95b.27)

Table 4 shows that, 490 cases of the total of 575 (85%) have no expository apposition marker. The total number of all these patterns of *þet is* in the manuscript is only 79 (13.5%), being deducted from the number of its variations, six, from the total number 85. This means that those cases with a *þet is* marker are significantly fewer than those without any marker. This demonstrates that the employment of *þet is* is a sign of the presenter's clear intention to convey the contents of the first appositive to the audience. The use of the expository apposition marker alerts the audience to anticipate

---

[7] Underlining indicates a preceding word.

receiving information in a language they can easily comprehend.

Table 4 also reveals that Part 1 includes only Latin prayers, which are not translated into the vernacular: 127 Latin units do not accompany any apposition markers, but are simply listed with vernacular instructions. This suggests that lay audiences had some liturgical Latin literacy. Part 1 contains the largest number of Latin quotations of all the sections, and in fact the whole section consists mainly of Latin prayers. This characteristic of Part 1 is a reminder that monastic culture was being transferred to the schools in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, from which time the schools valued grammar and logic more for ratiocinative study on texts and to gain the newly emergent readers (Parkes 44). Thus the lack of *þet is* expression in Part 1 is a remnant of the monastic tradition, which contrasts with the other parts of *AW*.

The most remarkable feature is that the form of "a punctus + Þ + is + a punctus" (. Þ is .) [two punctus] is used only for Latin from Part 5 to Part 8, where there is no trace of the "punctus + Þ + is" (. Þ is) [single punctus] form. That would indicate that the single scribe or author was beginning consciously to differentiate these two forms, the former for Latin and the latter for vernacular. The absence of the "punctus + Þ + is" (. Þ is) [single punctus] form in the latter parts of the work may indicate that the different uses of punctus served as a visual aid to users with the second punctus

indicating that a pause was required before the reading out of the following word, because the sign of punctus [circumflexus] suggests a lowering of the voice (Kubouchi 172). This demonstrates that when a punctus appears the reader's voice drops, which alerts the audience to the need to catch the following word or phrase, because the expected utterance must have some importance. Further research from an oral perspective is required in order to examine this supposition. Part 4, the section on temptation, contains the largest number—34—of both "punctus + Þ + is + punctus" (. Þ is .) and "punctus + Þ + is" (. Þ is), together with 103 with no marker. Thus Part 4 has the greatest concentration of Latin authoritative quotations employed to confirm the contents for the audience or readers.

2.4. Latin *id est* + punctus

Tolkien transcribes the corresponding line of the Corpus MS shown below (Figure 3) as "ƶ iusticiam tuam .id est. uite rectitudinem híís qui recto" in his edition; he tacitly reads the Latin abbreviation ".i." as ".id est."
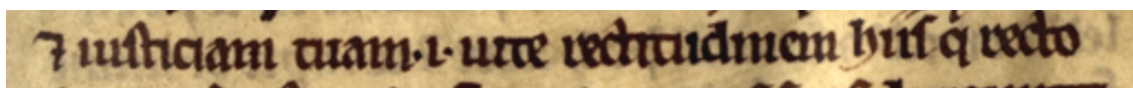
Figure 3: Corpus folio. 1a.23.

The Latin expository apposition marker, ".id est." [. i .] is seen in the

following eight Latin quotations in the Corpus:

1. Pretende inquit psalmista. misericordiam tuam scientibus te per fidem non fictam. ƶ iusticiam tuam .id est. uite rectitudinem híís qui recto sunt corde. ... (Preface.1a.23)

2. ... Melchia enim corus domino interpretatur filius recab .id est. mollis patris. ... (Part II.21b.25)

3. ... Item. ƶ capilli de ca/pite non peribunt. id est. cogitatio non euadet inpunita. ... (Part III.39b.10)

4. Híí secuntur agnum quocumque ierit. utroque scilicet. pede. id est. integritate cordis ƶ corporis. (Part III.45b.11)

5. Salomon. Via impiorum complantata est lapidibus. id est. duris afflictionibus. (Part IV.50b/24)

6. Gregorius. ysboset inopinate morti nequaquam succumberet⸴ nisi ad ingressum mentis. mulierem. id est. mollem custodiam deputasset. (Part IV.75a.3)

7. Quí causa humilitatis de se mentitur⸴ fit quod prius ipse non fuit. id est. peccator. (PartV.90a.28)

8. Confi/tebor tibi in directione. id est. in regulatione cordis. ... (Part VII.111a.5)

Thus the Latin expressions originally contained two punctus before and after *id est*. The system is reflected in the usage of *þet is* for those Latin first appositives accompanying two punctus before and after *þet is* as seen above. There can be little doubt that the formation of "punctus + Þ + is + punctus" (. Þ is .) [two punctus] derives from the Latin formation of ". id est .".

2.5. Vernacular first appositive + punctus + *þet is*

The marker *þet is* is also employed for vernacular-vernacular apposition. The total number of this form is less than for Latin-vernacular apposition, as Tables 4 and 5 indicate. The places where the cases appear are shown in Appendix II. Since appositive relation between vernacular and vernacular without a marker is harder to recognize than those from Latin to the vernacular, those cases of vernacular-vernacular apposition without an expository apposition marker are not included in Table 5.

Table 5: Vernacular first appositive accompanied with *þet is*

	. Þ is	. Þ is .	Þ is	others	sum
Preface	4	1	1	1	7
P1	0	0	0	0	0
P2	7	2	0	4	13

P3	42	0	4	0	46
P4	28	2	1	5	36
P5	12	3	6	2	23
P6	6	5	0	3	14
P7	8	1	2	2	13
P8	1	2	0	0	3
sum (%)	108 (69.7)	16 (10.3)	14 (9)	17 (11)	155 (100)

Table 5 demonstrates the greater frequency of the marker under discussion
than the Latin equivalent. At the same time, the table suggests that there
are numerous unfamiliar or significant vernacular expressions requiring
reinforcement to the audience where, in order to aid comprehension, it was
necessary to link them with more familiar vernacular words or expressions.

Table 5 shows that the pattern "punctus + Þ + is" [single punctus] is
most frequently used with a vernacular first appositive; eg. "purte of
heorte. *Þ is* cleane ⁊ schir inwit" (purity of heart, *which is* a clean and
clear moral sense) (1b.20). The second form, "punctus + Þ + is + punctus,"
[two punctus] is also employed in every part, excepting Part 3, but the
frequency of this pattern is almost one tenth of that with a single punctus;
eg. "⁊ rad hire baðe dei ⁊ niht twenti ȝer fulle. *Þ is.* ha dude a sunne i þe il
niht þurh his procunge" (and [he] rode her both day and night for a full

twenty years—*that is,* she committed a sin that very night through his incitement) (73a.14). It has been noted previously that the form with two punctus is more frequently used for Latin first appositives. Thus the scribe may be beginning to develop a distinction between Latin and vernacular first appositives through different usages of punctus. There are also some cases of "Þ + is" with no punctus; eg. "totred te neddre heaued *Þ is* þe biginnung of his fondunge" (trample on the serpent's head—*that is,* the beginning of his temptation.) (80b.5). From this, it may be concluded that the use of punctus with the *Þ is* marker is not governed by a strict rule; however, it is apparent that the "punctus + Þ + is" form [single punctus] is mainly employed for vernacular-vernacular apposition.

As can be seen below, the vernacular-vernacular expository apposition marker demonstrates a greater number of variations than those with a Latin first appositive. The case of Part 2 ". Þ is as ich seide." is not categorized into the three types even though it includes *Þ is* for the same reason as the last category of Others for the Latin first appositive type.

Pre: __. Þ ȝe cleopieð (4a.20)

P2: __. Þ is to seggen. (20b.14)

P2: __. Þ is as ich seide. (26b.10)

184

P2: __. Þ is to seggen. (26b.27)

P2: __. Þ beoð (27a.11)

P4: __. Þ is to seggen. (61b.15)

P4: __. Þ is to seg/gen. (64a.15-16)

P4: __. Þ is to seggen. (75b.16)

P4: __. Þ is to seggen. (75a.20)

P4: __. Þ is to seggen. (75b.2)

P5: __. Þ is to seggen. (81b.17)

P5: __. þis is bitacnet /þerbi Þ (82a.23-24)

P6: __ʕ Þ is to seggen. (95a.6)

P6: __. Þ is to seggen. (97b.2)

P6: __. Þ is to un/derstonden. (101b.20-21)

P7: __. Þ is to understonden. (109b.13)

P7: __. Þ is to seggen. (109b.17)

Although Latin first appositives always follow a punctus [.], a few vernacular first appositives come after other marks, that is, punctus circumflexus [ˇ] or punctus interrogativus [ʕ] as seen in one of the variations of Part 6 above (95a.6). Since the present investigation does not concern differences among punctus, the cases accompanied with punctus circumflexus and punctus interrogativus are counted as for the punctus

cases. [8] It would appear that the expository apposition markers for vernacular-vernacular apposition have become more flexible in order to convey the vernacular meanings of sentences, phrases, words, and people's names or place names. The markers seem to be employed more loosely, while for the Latin quotation, the expression remains formal and fixed in a form of inherited pattern from the Latin script in order precisely to transmit authoritative sentences.

2.6. As a relative pronoun

Tables 4 and 5 indicate that *þet is* is a very common expression, not only in Latin, but also in the vernacular. Moreover, this combination is often used to modify a predecessor as a relative pronoun plus a be-verb. This form amounts to 77 examples in the work as a whole. Table 6 reflects this frequency.[9] There are two forms: 1) Þ + is [no punctus]; 2) punctus + Þ + is [single punctus]. All appear within vernacular sentences and their occurrences are shown in Appendix III.

---

[8] The corresponding other marks are noted before the manuscript page and line in the Appendix.

[9] Millett puts *þet is* in some places, for example, Part 4 line 862, to make the sentence clearer, where originally there is no such description.

Table 6: Relative Pronoun

	1) Þ is	2) . Þ is	sum
Preface	0	0	0
P1	1	0	1
P2	9	2	11
P3	8	8	16
P4	16	4	20
P5	7	2	9
P6	6	3	9
P7	4	1	5
P8	5	1	6
sum (%)	56 (72.7)	21 (27.3)	77 (100)

Additionally, there are some irregular forms of the relative pronoun which are counted in either 1) or 2) above: Þe is (93a.3) [1][10]; �á Þ is (97a.10, 98b.28) [2]; Þ wes (109a.24) [1]; Þe is (111b.22) [1]. In terms of distinction, an expository apposition marker is defined here as one which replaces a first unit with a second one, while a relative pronoun modifies a preceding expression by adding relevant information.

Table 6 shows that Part 4 has the greatest frequency in the whole text.

---

[10] [1] denotes "Þ is," while [2] does ". Þ is".

As the form of the relative pronoun is the same as the expository apposition marker, confusion between the two sometimes occurs. In ambiguous cases Millett's translation was consulted.[11] Table 6 reveals that the author or scribe tends to omit a punctus before a relative pronoun *þet*. Although the presence of a punctus is not a perfect means to distinguish a relative pronoun from an expository apposition marker, Tables 5 and 6 suggest that the author or scribe was consciously employing the punctus for different purposes. This was either to indicate an expository apposition marker or a relative pronoun. It seems likely that *þet is* is employed so frequently, that the placement of a punctus can act not only as an indicator for both Latin and vernacular quotation, but also for relative pronouns, particularly in the later sections of the work.

3. Summary

This investigation into the expository apposition marker *þet is* and its accompanying punctus in the Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 402 of *AW* has revealed that the author or scribe was applying an experimental method. It is clear that two punctus plus *þet is* mainly follows a Latin first

---

[11] The following ambiguous examples were encountered in attempting to distinguish apposition marker from relative pronoun (with part number and the line of Millett's edition): 42b.1 (P3.511), 44b.9 (P3.629), 76b.2 (P4.1459), 98b.28 (P6.245).

appositive, and one punctus plus *þet is* is usually used for a vernacular first appositive. Furthermore, the relative pronoun *þet* plus *is* is not generally accompanied by a punctus. These tendencies probably originate from the custom of punctuation in Latin texts where *id est*, meaning *þet is*, is written between two punctus. Both forms with one or no punctus for vernacular sentences may have derived from this Latin formation. The loose regulation among these forms indicates that the method was developing and becoming more consistent through the latter part of the work. It may be supposed that this tendency did not imitate the scribe's exemplar, but probably reflects arbitrary experimentation by the scribe himself.

Millett points out that the recluses lived a solitary life with the custom of reading written texts, which included "books, pamphlets and scrolls" (1993: 95). She emphasizes the author's consistent advice for the anchoresses to read the text, which probably testifies to the recluses' vernacular literacy. The loose rules of punctus placement might have helped them read the text in silence by distinguishing the vernacular from the Latin context; or, if the punctus still bore the function of indicating a lowering of the voice, it can be assumed that the females had opportunities to listen to recitals by a third party or to do so themselves.

The result of this investigation has highlighted the particular character of Part 1's liturgical inheritance without the necessity of

translation from Latin, while Part 4, the section concerning temptation, has emerged with the greatest number of inserted Latin references and their explanations, which served to strengthen the theological teaching for the audience. This demonstrates the strong influence of scholastic theologians on "pastoralia" in general and *AW* in particular, on the need to inform audiences of the increased emphasis placed on confession and penitence following the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215. The expository apposition marker *þet is* played the role of transmitting this new wave of pastoral theology into the English lay world. The marker interprets the metaphorical expressions for the primary lay recluses, and interprets unknown clerical lexemes for the audience's better understanding. The results of semantic analysis support the findings of Pahta and Nevanlinna's research; that is, the expository apposition marker functioned in the learned field, and provides fresh evidence of its use in the early thirteenth century. On the other hand, *AW* seems to require special care when categorizing its semantic functions because it is a treatise written in the vernacular with many Latin quotations and prayers. Whether my proposition of a "Glossing" category is appropriate remains to a degree uncertain, but consideration should be given to the possibility. The wide employment of the expository apposition marker *þet is* for Characterization and Glossing in the Corpus MS is due to the metaphorical textual

expressions and the introduction of a large number of new lexemes within the manuscript. This study of *þet is* in *AW* the Corpus MS reveals a process in the development of the use of punctuation at a time of fusion between Latin and vernacular sources in early-thirteenth-century England when a wave of new concepts was entering into English.

Appendix I

Latin first appositive

Preface— . Þ *is*: 2a.4, 3a.10, 3b.16; . Þ *is* . : 1b.19; *none*: 1a.1, 1a.20, 1b.3, 3b.11,4a.4, 4a.14.

Part 1— *none*: 4b.18, 4b.19, 4b.22, 4b.23, 4b.25, 5a.11, 5a.23, 5a.24, 5a.27, 5b.9, 5b.10, 5b.13, 5b.14 (x2), 5b.15 (x3), 5b.16, 5b.20, 5b.23, 5b.24, 5b.25, 5b.26, 5b.27, 5b.28, 6a.1, 6a.8, 6a.15, 6a.18 (x2), 6a.21, 6a.22, 6a.25, 6a.27, 6a.28 (x2), 6b.1 (x2), 6b.2 (x3), 6b.3 (x2), 6b.7, 6b.8, 6b.16, 6b.18, 6b.20, 6b.21, 7a.13, 7a.20, 7a.22, 7b.3, 7b.9, 7b.16, 7b.23, 7b.24, 7b.25, 8a.5, 8a.6 (x2), 8a.17, 8a.18, 8a.21, 8b.17, 9a.4, 9a.5, 9a.6, 9a.7, 9a.8, 9a.9, 9a.11, 9a.12 (x2), 9a.13, 9a.14, 9a.16 (x2), 9a.17, 9a.20 (x3), 9a.21 (x2), 9a.24 (x2), 9b.2, 9b.7, 9b.10, 9b.19, 10a.1, 10a.8, 10a.15, 10a.16, 10a.19, 10a.20, 10a.25, 10a.27, 10b.2, 10b.4, 10b.9, 10b.11, 10b.13, 10b.14, 10b.15, 10b.25, 11a.5, 11a.11, 11a.14, 11b.6, 11b.9, 11b.11, 11b.17, 11b.18, 11b.20, 11b.21, 11b.23, 11b.24 (x2), 11b.28, 12a.1, 12a.5, 12a.6, 12a.7, 12a.10, 12a.11 (x2).

Part 2— . Þ is: 18b.24; . Þ is. : 12b.13, 13b.15, 19b.1, 20a.15, 25b.24, 27a.14;

Þ is: 23b.14; none: 12b.2, 12b.10, 12b.15, 14a.17, 14b.13, 15b.8, 15b.24 (x2),

16b.7, 16b.18, 16b.27, 17b.27, 18a.12, 18a.19, 18a.22, 18b.5, 18b.7, 18b.10,

18b.18, 19a.8, 19a.17, 19b.12, 19b.15, 19b.22, 20a.3, 20a.6, 20a.9, 20a.12,

20b.17, 20b.24, 21a.17, 21a.28, 21b.7, 21b.12, 21b.26, 22a.16, 22b.6, 22b.13,

23b.4, 23b.6, 23b.7, 23b.10, 23b.11, 23b.14, 23b.16, 24a.4, 24b.3, 24b.10,

25a.3, 25a.17, 25a.18, 25a.19, 25b.16, 25b.19, 25b.26, 25b.28, 26a.4, 26b.25,

27a.6, 27b.1, 27b.13, 27b.17, 28b.22, 28b.26, 29a.13, 30a.1, 30b.6, 30b.9,

31b.26, 32a.10; others: 26a.21.

Part 3—. Þ is: 35a.6, 37b.24, 38a.24, 46b.1, 46b.27, 46b.28; . Þ is. : 36b.20,

37a.3, 40a.1, 40a.9, 43b.14, 44a.17, 44a.21; Þ is: 46a.8; none: 32a20, 32b.21,

32b.23, 33a.4, 33a.8, 33a.23, 33b.19, 33b.23, 34a.12, 34a.26, 34b.5, 34b.19,

34b.23, 34b.27, 35a.25, 35b.13, 36a.2, 36a.25, 36b.15, 37b.5 (x2), 37b.10,

37b.13, 38a.12, 38a.22, 38b.2, 38b.26, 39a.19, 39a.22, 39a.25, 39a.27, 39b.1,

39b.13, 40a.17, 40a.22, 40b.6, 40b.15, 41a.16, 41a.19, 41b.5, 41b.14 (x2),

41b.15, 41b.20, 42a.8, 42a.12, 42a.21, 42a.23, 42a.28, 42b.3, 42b.4, 42b.11,

42b.14, 42b.17, 42b.22, 43a.15, 43a.16, 43a.19, 44a.14, 44a.20, 44b.5, 44b.11,

44b.25, 45a.4, 45a.11, 45a.27, 45b.11, 45b.15, 45b.17, 46a.15, 46a.17, 46a.18.

Part 4—. Þ is: 48b.19, 48b.22, 52a.27, 52b.6-7, 52b.28, 53b.18, 53b.23, 54b.1,

54b.3, 60a.8, 63b.11; . Þ is. : 49b.19, 51a.3, 51b.24, 55b.4, 60a.1, 60a.18,

60b.23, 62a.1, 62b.25, 64b.18, 65a.18-19, 66b.24, 67a.16, 67b.15, 67b.27,

76a.6, 79a.12, 79b.18, 80a.1; *Þ is* ꞉ 78b.20; . *Þ*꞉ 76a.13; *none* ꞉ 48a.3, 48a.8, 48a.20, 48b.25, 49b.10, 50a.2, 50a.15, 50a.20, 50b.24, 51a.24, 51a.27, 52b.4, 52b.9, 52b.10, 53b.11, 54b.6, 56a.28, 57a.13, 57b.22, 58a.9, 58a.18, 58a.22, 58b.5, 59b.5, 59b.21, 59b.23, 59b.27, 60a.4, 60b.22, 61a.21, 62a.8, 62a.18, 62b.1, 62b.18, 62b.26, 63a.2, 63a.18, 63a.27, 63b.5, 63b.9, 63b.19, 64a.18 (x2), 64b.9, 66a.21, 66a.25, 66b.6, 66b.27, 67a.6, 67a.9, 67b.9, 67b.19, 67b.21, 68a.27, 68b.5, 68b.25, 69a.12 (x2), 70a.5, 70a.7,70a.25, 70b.3, 70b.22, 71a.1, 71b.26, 72a.1, 72a.4, 72a.15, 72a.19, 72b.20,73a.1, 73a.5, 73a.8, 73b.18, 74a.11, 74b.6, 74b.26, 75a.3, 75b.15, 75b.26, 76a.19, 76a.28, 76b.2, 76b.19, 77a.3, 77a.5, 77a.17, 77b.23, 78a.2, 78a.8, 78a.20, 78b.13, 78b.17, 78b.19, 79a.2, 79a.17, 79a.19, 79b.14, 79b.24, 80b.3, 80b.7, 80b.11, 81a.11; *others* ꞉ 72b.7-8, 74b.15.

Part 5—. *Þ is .* ꞉ 82a.19, 82b.27, 83b.6, 84b.5, 84b.24-25, 89a.15, 90a.19, 92a.13; *none* ꞉ 81b.19, 81b.21, 82a.8, 82a.12, 83a.5, 83a.11, 83a.14, 83a.24, 83b.25, 84a.1, 84a.15, 84b.11, 84b.14, 85a.7, 85b.5, 87a.24, 87b.3, 87b.13, 87b.20, 87b.28, 88a.1, 88a.14, 88b.5, 88b.7, 88b.8, 88b.12, 88b.15, 88b.22, 88b.24, 89b.28, 90a.3, 90a.13, 90a.15, 90a.21, 90b.6, 90b.17, 90b.20, 91a.28, 91b.3, 91b.12, 92a.8, 92a.10, 92a.17, 92a.22, 92b.11, 93b.25; *others* ꞉ 82a.15.

Part 6—. *Þ is .* ꞉ 94b.17, 96b.9, 97a.23, 98a.26, 100a.11, 102a.2 (*þet*); *none* ꞉ 94a.19, 94a.22, 94a.23, 94b.6, 95a.13, 95a.23, 95b.8, 96a.6, 96a.13, 96a.20, 96b.23, 96b.28, 97a.8, 97a.14, 97a.28, 97b.6, 97b.9, 97b.13, 97b.27, 98a.21,

99a.7, 99a.12, 99a.16, 100b.3, 101a.20, 101a.25, 101b.26, 102a.4, 102a.7, 102a.11, 102a.13, 102a.20, 103a.7, 103a.25, 103b.2, 103b.3; *others* ꞉ 95b.3, 95b.27.

Part 7—. *Ꝥ is* . ꞉ 104a.6, 104b.13, 109b.12, 110a.2, 110b.17; *none* ꞉ 104a.11, 104b.17, 104b.18, 105a.8, 106a.6, 106a.10, 106a.12, 106b.19, 107a.1, 107a.14, 107a.17, 107a.19, 108a.24, 108b.1, 108b.6, 108b.14, 109a.17, 109a.28, 110a.18, 110b.8, 110b.13, 110b.24, 111a.3, 111a.6.

Part 8—. *Ꝥ is* . ꞉ 114b.17; *none* ꞉ 112a.5, 112a.18, 113b.24, 114a.3, 116a.2, 116a.26.

Appendix II

Vernacular first appositive

Preface— . *Ꝥ is* ꞉ 1b.20, 2a.21, 2b.22, 3a.21; . *Ꝥ is* . ꞉ 3b.2; *Ꝥ is* ꞉ 2b.7; *others* ꞉ 4a.20.

Part 2— . *Ꝥ is* ꞉ 18b.21, (ꝥ) 21a.3, 26b.1, 30a.9, 31a.28, 31b.4, 31b.5; . *Ꝥ is* . ꞉ 21b.14, 21b.17; *others* ꞉ 20b.14, 26b.10, 26b.27, 27a.11.

Part 3— . *Ꝥ is* ꞉ 32b.3, 32b.5, 34a.8, 35b.9-10, 35b.21, 35b.23, 36a.9, 36a.18, 36a.28, 36b.2, 37a.13, 37a.24, 37a.27, 37b.7, 37b.12, 38a.20, 38b.3, 39a.1, 39a.14, 39b.28, (⸵) 40a.2, 40a.4, 40a.5, 40a.12, (ꝥ) 40a.14, 40b.28, 41a.10, 42a.11, 42b.1, 42b.19, 44a.8, 44b.11, 45a.16, 46a.2, 46a.3, 46b.2, 46b.3, 46b.7, 46b.8, 47a.13, 47a.15, 47a.24; *Ꝥ is* ꞉ 35b.6, 37a.11, 42b.8, 46b.13.

Part 4— . Þ is : 48a.12, 49b.18, 50b.28, 51a.10, 51a.18, 52a.24, 55a.15, 55b.26, 56a.20, 58a.3, 58b.18, 61a.16, 66b.7, 66b.17, 69a.6, 69a.22, 74a.24, 74a.25, 74b.3, 75a.10, 76a.1-2, 76b.2, 76b.14, 76b.27, 79b.16, 79b.27, 80a.27, 80b.17; . Þ is . : 73a.14, 74a.20; Þ is : 80b.5, *others* : 61b.15, 64a.15-16, 75a.16, 75a.20, 75b.2.

Part 5— . Þ is : 81b.3, 81b.11, 82a.2, 82a.23, 83a.17, 84b.20, 86a.15, 89b.11, 90b.14, (·) 90b.15-16(*þet*), 91b.23, 94a.10; . Þ is . : 85b.8, 86a.27, 87a.28; Þ is : 81b.2, 82a.25 (*þet*), 82a.28, 83b.18, 90b.24-25, 90b.26; *others* : 81b.17, 82a.23-24.

Part 6— . Þ is : 96a.2, 96a.22, 98b.8, 100b.19, 101a.24, 101b.24 (*þet*); . Þ is . : 96b.4, 101b.18, 102b.26, 103a.7, 103a.18; *others* : (ɔ) 95a.6, 97b.2, 101b.20-21.

Part 7— . Þ is : 104b.8, 106a.24, 107b.1, 108b.21, 109a.1, 109a.4, 109a.14, 110a.13; . Þ is . : 108b.2; Þ is : 109b.4, 110a.2; *others* : 109b.13, 109b.17.

Part 8— . Þ is : (·) 117a.2; . Þ is . : 113a.9, 117a.1.

Appendix III

Relative pronoun

Part 1— Þ is: 5a.2.

Part 2— Þ is: 13a.28, 15b.10, 16a.3, 21b.10, 21b.18, 23a.10, 23a.13, 24b.10, 30a.8; . Þ is: 13a.6 (*þet*), (·) 26b.28.

Part 3—*Þ is*: 33a.2, 39a.5, 39b.5, 40a.16, 41a.20, 42b.1 (*þet*), 44b.12, 46a.3; .
Þ is: 34a.28, 35b.16, 38a.14, (∴) 39b.15, (∴) 42b.9, 43b.24, 47a.23, 47b.6.

Part 4—*Þ is*: 48b.4, 49b.12-13, 51b.11, 52a.9, 52b.13, 56a.8, 59b.28, 60a.5,
63b.13, 69b.4, 70a.16, 75a.7, 75b.20, 76a.4, 78a.17, 78b.10; . *Þ is*: 55a.22,
56b.14, 75b.12, (∴) 77b.19.

Part 5—*Þ is*: 83a.15, 84a.6, 85a.5, 87a.28 (*þet*), 89b.28, 92a.11, 93a.3 (*þe*); .
Þ is: 87a.5, 89b.24.

Part 6—*Þ is*: 95a.14, 98a.4, 99a.19, 99b.9, 103b.13, 103b.28; . *Þ is*: (∴) 97a.10,
(∴) 98b.28, 102b.12.

Part 7—*Þ is*: 105a.1, 105a.4 (*is .*), 110a.20, 110a.27; . *Þ is*: 109a.24 (*wes*).

Part 8—*Þ is*: 111b.10 (*þe*), 111b.22-23 (*þe*), 113a.9, 116a.10, 117a.26; . *Þ is*:
115a.16 (*þet*).

Chapter V

A Comparison of *Conscience* and *Inwit* between the Corpus and the
Cleopatra Manuscripts, Based on Their Occurrence in the Corpus
with Reference to Scribe A and Scribe B of the Cleopatra

0. Introduction

This chapter primarily clarifies the difference between *conscience*
and *inwit* in the A and C manuscripts based on A occurrences due to
the A manuscript's completeness, especially regarding the C text
before the Scribe B's corrections and other manuscripts when
necessary. The investigation starts with a careful comparison of each
attestation. Scribe B's corrections are then studied and categorized.
Next, *wit-*oriented verbs in the C manuscript are researched, ending
with the investigation of the usage of *þonc, conscience* in the C
manuscript.

1. Comparison of *conscience* and *inwit* between two manuscripts

This section compares *conscience* and *inwit* in the A and C
manuscripts. There are 12 attestations of *conscience* words in the A

manuscript, as in Table 1 in Chapter III. They are identified per case

with comparison to corresponding parts of the C manuscript.

1.1. The Preface

The Preface introduces the thesis and frames the eight chapters that

follow. Moreover, it contains crucial evidence on *conscience* and *inwit*

in both manuscripts, including six cases of *conscience* words (Cases 1

to 6) among 12 in the A manuscript and three out of seven in the C

manuscript. Tolkien's diplomatic edition of the A, Dobson's C

diplomatic edition, and the digital manuscripts of A and C

contributed by the Parker Library are used for comparison. Millett's

modern English translation provides a textual understanding of the

A manuscript, which assisted the author of this thesis when

suggesting C text reading.

1.1.1. Case 1

The first example appears in the A and the C manuscripts as follows.

The digital manuscripts are from the Parker Library web site.

A: 1a.15-18.
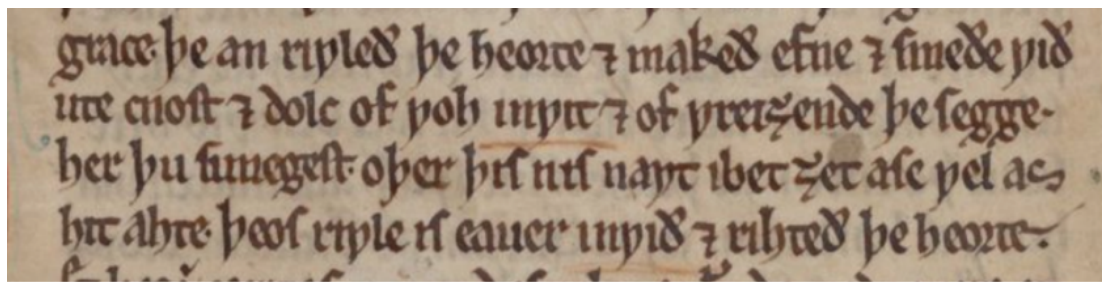
þe an riwleð þe heorte ʒ makeð efne ʒ smeðe wið

ute cnost ʒ dolc of woh <u>inwit</u> ʒ of wreiʒende þe segge.

her þu sunegest. oþer þis nis nawt ibet ʒet ase wel as

hit ahte. þeos <u>riwle</u> is eauer <u>inwið</u> ʒ rihteð þe heorte.

(One of them rules the heart and makes it even and smooth

without the bumps and hollows of a crooked and troubled

<u>conscience</u> that says, "You are committing a sin here," or

"This is not yet atoned for as well as it ought to be." This <u>rule</u>

is always <u>internal </u>and directs the heart.)

C: 4.15-20.
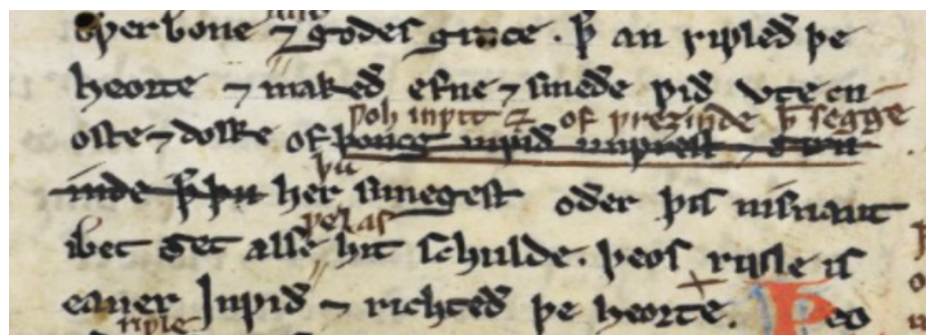
199

... Þ an riwleð þe

heorte ƺ makeð efne ƺ smeðe wið vte cn

oste ƺ dolke of þoncg inwið unwrest ƺ ƺirn

inde Þ þu her sunegest oðer þis nisnaut

ibet ƺet alse hit shulde. þeos riwle is

eauer Inwið ƺ righteð þe heorte.

The subject, *Þe an* (A) or *Þ an* (C), refers to the rule the author wishes to demonstrate. There are two rules to follow, the internal and external, the former being focus of the discussion. The A manuscript describes that the rule amends the disfigured (*of woh* and *of wreiƺende*) *inwit,* indicating whether a person's deeds are right or wrong. Scribe A of the C manuscript, however, used *þoncg* in the place of *inwit* of the A manuscript. Scribe B then underlined the section from *þoncg* to *ƺirn* and struck out the beginning of the next line, *inde Þ þu*, to write "woh *inwit* ƺ of wreƺende Þ segge" on which Dobson commented, "correct emendation" (Dobson 1972: 2. note f). Scribe B emphasizes *inwit* instead of *þoncg inwið*. The close spelling of *inwit* and *inwið* is perhaps noteworthy.

Another correction appears when Scribe B crossed through *te* of

heorte (C: 20) and added a long annotation in the right-hand margin:

C: 4.15-20.
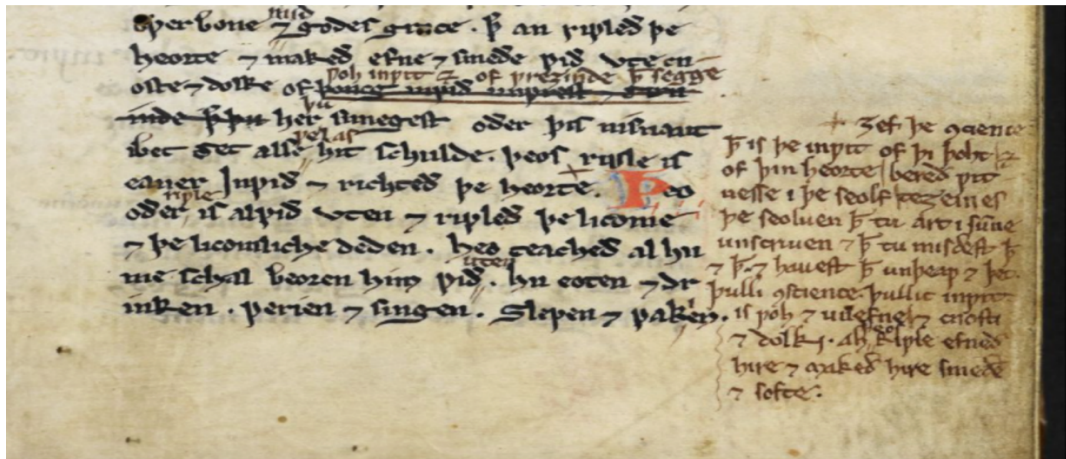
ʒef þe <u>concience</u> Þ is þe <u>inwit</u> of þi þoht ʒ of þin <u>heorte</u> bereð

witnesse i þe seolf teʒeines þe weoluen Þ tu art i sunne

unscriuen ʒ Þ tu misdest Þ ʒ Þ. ʒ hauest Þ unþeaw ʒ þet. þulli

<u>conscience.</u> þullic <u>inwit</u> is woh ʒ uilefne ʒ cnosti ʒ dolki. ah

<þeos> Riwle efneð hire ʒ Makeð hire smeðe ʒ softe.

(If the <u>conscience</u>—that is, your <u>intellectual and emotional</u>

<u>sense of right and wrong</u>—bears witness against you

internally that you are in a state of sin and are doing wrong

in such and such a case and practicing such and such a vice,

that <u>conscience</u>, that <u>moral</u> <u>sense</u>, is warped and uneven and

full of bumps and hollows; but this rule levels it out and
makes it smooth and soft...)

The first word, *concience,* is misspelled for *conscience*, or a variation,
which might signify that the word was still novel and unfamiliar for
the writer.

In this addition by Scribe B, *conscience* or *inwit* is explained as
the element within *thought* or *heart* which, though "warped and
uneven," bears witness to whether its owner has sinned and may be
redeemed. *Cnosti* (lump) is a nonce-word, and *dolki/ dolc* is probably
from OE *dolg* (wound) (Millett 2005 II: 3.P.13-14). This image of
distortion is common as reflected in Isidore's *Etymologiae*, Lietbert
of St Ruf's *Expositio in regulam beati Augustini*, Adam of Dryburgh's
*De ordine, habitu et professione canonicorum ordinis
Praemonstratensis* (before 1178), and the Dominican Humbert of
Romans in his mid-thirteenth-century commentary (Millett 2005 II:
2.P.3-33). An example of Humbert of Romans is presented from
Millett's note. Underlines and translation are the author's:

Dicitur hoc opus <u>regula</u> dupliciter: <u>regula</u> enim vno modo

dicitur a rectitudine, quasi rectula, sicut est illa, qua vtuntur scriptores, et lignarij, et cementarij; alio modo dicitur a regendo, vt in grammatica, et in alijs scientijs; iuxta primum modum dicitur hoc opus <u>regula</u>, quia sicut per <u>regulam</u> <u>distorta</u> diriguntur, sic per hoc opus <u>distortae</u> vitae diriguntur; item, sicut per illam gibbi remouentur, ut patet in cementario, sic per <u>istam</u> superbiae et superfluitates complanantur ....

(This <u>rule</u> is said to be two-way. In one way, the <u>rule</u> talks about righteousness, just like [the] right [tool with which] writers, [...] wood-traders, and stone-cutters serve themselves [...]. In the other way, it [...] talks about [the] rule such as [that] in grammar and other sciences. According to the first way, [...] the <u>rule</u> [is such] that [...] <u>distorted</u> people are straightened by [it]; so the <u>distorted</u> lives are straightened by this work. Likewise, just as crookedness is removed by a <u>rule</u>, as with quarry-stone, so [...] arrogant and [...] super-abundant people are reformed [...])

This quotation clearly demonstrates its reflection in the *Ancrene*

Wisse text. Although Humbert's commentary does not mention the relationship between "conscience" and the rule, it echoes the principle that a rule directs that which is distorted into a correct form. It may be deduced that this image in Latin was brought into vernacular explanations by means of concrete, secular, and more visual images created in the nonce-words.

1.1.1.1. *Inwit* vs *inwið*

The comparison of AC shows that the A manuscript corresponds with Scribe B's correction. Scribe B refers to himself as "I." His additions have "quality and character" and show "precision, skill, intelligence, and understanding" (Dobson 1972: xcvi). Scribe A does not seem to understand lexical units, and his handwriting is quite hard to read. Given his careless errors and general inaccuracy, Dobson believes Scribe B revised Scribe A's texts to agree with the superior text as the A manuscript (Dobson 1972: xcvii–xcviii).

A closer comparison, however, reveals that the alternative for *inwit* in A is not only *þoncg*, but *þoncg inwið* in C. Scribe B does not allow the use of *þoncg* here, and he seems to be keen to use the word *inwit* in its place. Regarding *inwið*, it surely seems to mean "*within*

204

(the *þoncg*)" in the first appearance, as its second appearance is as "þeos riwle is eauer *Inwið* z righte∂ þe heorte" (this rule is always *within* and corrects the heart) (C: 4.20). Therefore, *þoncg inwið* (17) in the original sentence of Scribe A of the C manuscript can easily be read as "the thought inwardly" or "the inward thought," where *inwið* is an adverb or adjective. Arguably, Dobson's comment on Scribe A was excessive. Millett notes that this expression in C *þoncg inwið* seems to have influenced P's *þouȝth inwiþ* (Millett 2005 II: 4.P.16), proving the consistency and legibility of the C expression.

1.1.1.2. *Inwit* and rule

The word *riwle* exactly matches the work's title, whose history Dobson explains (1976: 51–53). *Ancrene Riwle* (rather than *Ancren Riwle* as Morton translated), as it is commonly known, is a modern title conveniently translated from *Regula Anachoritarum*, a title added by a later hand. Another title *Regula Inclusarum* is written on folio 3 of the Cleopatra MS by a fourteenth-century hand. Moreover, *Regula monacharum saxonice* is on the folio 3v. in the hand of Robert Talbot, who died in 1558. Finally, Richard James, a Cotton's librarian, left his colophon *Regula inclusarum veteri Anglicanâ*. *Ancrene Wisse*

(*AW*), however, is the title used only for the Corpus MS; *wisse* is "an otherwise unrecorded noun derived from the stem of the verb *wissin* (OE *wissian*)" (Dobson 1976: 51). Millett comments on these double titles as arguably misleading (Millett 1996: 5). The point here is that the concept of *inwit* is relevant to *riwle*, a rule.

Other manuscripts' corresponding parts to Case 1 show similarities and differences:

F: p.1.2.24–p.2.2.6.

li une reule le/ [queor] et le fet ouel sanz/....esce de....oz de conscien⁻/[ce]. la quele dit. ici/ ...pas/ ...Ceste <u>reule</u> est/ touz[iours] <u>dedenz</u> et reule le/ queor adreit.

L: 92a. 7-12.

Circa cordis rectificationem est illa que cor rectificat et complanat ut sit sine conuexo aut concauo oblique seu accusantis <u>consciencie</u> dicentis, ... Hec <u>regula</u> est semper <u>interior</u> et cor rectificat et est illa de qua apostolus, j ad Thimotheum j:

N: 1.12-16.

þe on riwleð þe heorte. þe makeð hire efne ʒ smeðe wiðvte

206

knotte ⁊ dolke. of woh <u>inwit</u> ⁊ of wreinde. þet seið. ... þeos

<u>riwle</u> is euerre <u>wiðinnen</u>. ⁊ rihteð þe heorte.

P: 371a.10-14.

Þat on reuleþ þe hert and makeþ it euene wiþ oute knoost

and doþe of <u>þouȝth inwiþ</u> and bywraieþ þe. ... Þis <u>reule</u> is

euere <u>inwiþ</u> þe ⁊ reuleþ þe hert as it auȝth to done.

S: 161.23-161-2.

La reule ke rectefie le quer. fet le quer oel e suef. e sanz

uene e sanz boce de to-te <u>conscience</u> e de enclinante a pec-

che. ... Ceste reule est <u>de denz</u> tut dis. e rectefie issi le

quer... :Ceste <u>reule de denz</u> Si est ueraie charite charite de

pur quer. e de bone <u>consience</u>. e de ueraie fei...

V: f.371vb.11-14.

þe on ruleþ þe herte. and makeþ euene. and smeþe

withouten spotte of fulþe of vnriht <u>inwit</u> ⁊ of schewynge. ...

þis <u>rule</u> is euer <u>inwiþ</u>. and rihteþ þe heorte.

F is hard to read, given the damage to the manuscript. However,

similar to A, N, and V, the rule rectifies the distorted *conscience*

inside the heart. N uses *wiðinnen* instead of *inwið* to mean "interior,"

which Scahill explains as a dialectical difference.[1] P shows *þouȝth inwiþ* instead of *inwit*, which reminds us of the C's case "of *þoncg inwið* unwrest ȝ ȝirn/inde," as Millett identifies. The L manuscript supports A's description of *conscience,* which could be "convex or concave" (*conuexo aut concauo*). The theme is a variation of another expression in S where *conscience* should be good to direct the heart. All the manuscripts suggest that *conscience* is within the heart and might be crooked or straight.

What is remarkable is the extension of the S manuscript. The corresponding part is exaggerated with the following additional narrative (The translation and the underlined emphases are the author's):

S: 161.27–162.4.

---

[1] "The inherited *inwið* and *utewið* for 'inside' and 'outside' (A has *wið /ten* [sic] in 12v27, prompted perhaps by *utewið* five words before) are in all but a few cases replaced in N by *wiðinnen* and *wiðuten*. Notably, N's close relative V, from further north in Worcestershire or Warwickshire, almost always retains the inherited forms. The *MED* citations indicate a Northern and West Midland distribution for those forms, receding from the South-West Midlands during the fourteenth century" (Scahill: 221).

… ke il ne pout en pecche demorir. *Regula enim ut dicit in*

libro ethimologiarum dicta est eo quod recte ducit. nec

aliquando aliorsun trahit vel quod trahit regat uel quod

normam rec-te uiuendi prebeat. uel distortum.

prauum=que quod est corrigat. Ceste reule de denz Si est

ueraie charite charite de pur quer. e de bone <u>conscience.</u> e

de ueraie fei si com dit seint poel li apostle. *Regula enim*

que est circa direc=cionem est uera cari-tas. quam

describit apostolus sic. Caritas est finis precepti

de corde puro et <u>*consciencia*</u> *bona et fide non ficta.*

(… so that the heart would not break up in sin. *The rule is*

like the one that is written in the Book of Etymology. The

rule guides the heart directly. It does not take

[something] away somewhere [at] anytime. […] it

rules it, […] provides the norm to the people living

rightly, or […] corrects the one that is distorted and

crooked. This rule [is] inside; thus, it is the true charity,

the charity of the pure heart, […] the good

<u>conscience,</u> and […] the true faith. It is like [what] St. Paul

the Apostle says: *therefore, the rule is for the heart's*

209

direction: it is the true charity, about which the Apostle

describes as [...] the final commandment of pure heart and

clear <u>conscience</u> and sincere faith.)

S emphasizes that the rule inside the heart guides the heart, and the rule itself is charity; that is, the charity of the good conscience and true faith.

With all the considerations above, Scribe A's phrase in Case 1 of C can be translated as follows and makes sense even without Scribe B's amendment:

One of them rules

the heart, and makes it even and smooth without

the bumps and hollows of thought, inside being unrestful and

troubled,

saying that "You sinned here" or "You should not do this" or

"You should do this." This rule is always internal and directs

the heart.

This reading suggests that Dobson's comment on Scribe B's correction,

which he holds to be correct, should be open to reconsideration.

1.1.2. Cases 2 and 3

This section examines Cases 2 and 3. Cases 2 to 4 are included in a
part of the A manuscript's later incorporation, which C does not have.

Case 2   A: Pre. 1a.19–20.

> Et hec est caritas quam describit apostolus, de corde puro
> et <u>consciencia</u> bona ⁊ fide non ficta.
>
> (*And this is the charity that the Apostle describes, "of a*
> *pure heart and a clear <u>conscience</u> and sincere faith."*)

Case 3   A: Pre. 1a.20-21.

> þeos riwle is chearite of schir heorte ⁊ cleane <u>inwit</u> ant
> treowe bileaue.
>
> (This rule is the charity of a pure heart and a clear
> <u>conscience</u> and true faith.)

Case 2 occurs in the Latin quotation of a commentary on I Timothy
1:5. In fact, the Latin quotation, which includes *conscience,* mainly
advocates *charity* instead of *conscience*: "Et hec est *caritas* quam

describit apostolus, de corde puro et *consciencia* bona ʒ fide non ficta"

(And this is the *charity* that the Apostle describes, "of a pure heart

and a clear *conscience* and sincere faith"). The other manuscripts

lacking this quotation are G and T, placed far from the A manuscript

in the Stemma Codicum of Millett (shown in Chapter III.1), which

confirms A's later insertion. The original phrase of the corresponding

part in the *Vulgate Bible* is "finis autem praecepti est caritas de corde

puro et *conscientia* bona et fide non ficta" (Now the end of the

commandment is charity from a pure heart, and a good *conscience*,

and an unfeigned faith).[2] This part is expounded "to show that it [the

rule] commands the embrace of the three theological virtues of faith,

hope, and charity" by later theologians (O'Donnell: 326). As an

example, St Augustine states these concepts in his *De Doctrina*

Cristiana Libri Quatuor as follows (Liber I, 40.44) (underlines are the

author's and italics are original):

Quapropter, cum quisque cognoverit finem praecepti esse

<u>caritatem</u> de <u>corde puro</u> et <u>conscientia bona</u> et <u>fide non ficta</u>,

---

[2] <catholicbible.online.>

omnem intellectum divinarum Scripturarum ad ista tria relaturus, ad tractationem illorum Librorum securus accedat. Cum enim diceret: *caritas*, addidit: *de corde puro*, ut nihil aliud quam id quod diligendum est diligatur. <u>*Conscientiam*</u> vero *bonam* subiunxit propter spem. Ille enim se ad id quod credit et diligit perenturum esse desperat, cui malae <u>conscientiae</u> scrupulus inest. Tertio et *fide* inquit *non ficta.* Si enim fides nostra mendacio caruerit, tunc et non diligimus quod non est diligendum, et recte vivendo id speramus, ut nullo modo spes nostra fallatur. ...

("And, therefore, if a man fully understands that 'the end of the commandment is *charity*, out of a <u>pure heart</u>, and of a <u>good</u> <u>conscience</u>, and of <u>faith unfeigned</u>,' and is bent upon making all his understanding of Scripture to bear upon these three graces, he may come to the interpretation of these books with an easy mind. For while the apostle says 'love,' he adds 'out of a pure heart,' to provide against anything being loved but that which is worthy of love. And he joins with this 'a good <u>*conscience,*</u>' in reference to hope; for, if a man has the burden of a bad <u>conscience</u>," he despairs of ever reaching that

which he believes in and loves. And in the third place he says: 'and of faith unfeigned.' For if our faith is free from all hypocrisy, then we both abstain from loving what is unworthy of our love, and by living uprightly. we are able to indulge the hope that our hope shall not be in vain.")[3]

The supreme end of the followers of Christ is charity, which comes from a pure heart, a good conscience, and true faith. They embody the three theological virtues of charity, hope, and faith, incorporated into a pure heart and a good conscience. Though the quotation from I Timothy, "Et hec est *caritas* quam describit Apostolus, de corde puro et *consciencia* bona et fide non ficta" advocates for the importance of a good "conscience," a component of "charity" does not go any deeper; it does not mention any connection with sin or the last judgment but simply seems to introduce the idea as an embodiment of lay theology. The inserted statement seems to supply the idea along with the theological development at that time.

The Latin quotation in Case 2 is interpreted in the vernacular

---

[3] See <augustinus.it/links/inglese/index.htm.>.

in A, which is Case 3: "þeos riwle is chearite of schir heorte ⁊ cleane *inwit* and treowe bileaue" (This rule is the charity of a pure heart and a clear *conscience* and true faith). Again, the importance of the rule is enforced, and it is described as *chearite*, a loan word from Latin. In the text, the Latin word *consciencia* is translated into *inwit* in A without emphasizing the explanation of the word. This fact gives rise to two suggestions: the writer may have been keen to introduce only the concept of the rule and its importance and did not intend to focus on *inwit*, or the Preface has a framing character in this work and acts as an introduction to its theme or key concepts; thus, it was not yet necessary to explain individual vocabulary. *AW* is identified as having a high degree of independence between each section to render for the construction as "distinction" (Gunn 139). Thus, the Latin *consciencia* is interpreted into *inwit* in the Preface as in Cases 1 and 3 without any marker or explanation, revealing a difference from its employment in Part 5 where the borrowed word *conscience* is glossed via the expository apposition marker *þet is*.

Regarding the other manuscripts, the Latin *consciencia* (Case 2) is translated into *inwit* (Case 3) in vernacular manuscripts A, N, and V; however, P attests to *inwiþ*: "Þis reule is charite of schire hert

215

and clene *inwiþ* and trewe byleue" (371a.16). This *inwiþ* cannot be an
adjective or adverb syntactically; it must be a noun. This confusion
between *inwit* and *inwiþ* may suggest a degree of unfamiliarity with
the word on the part of the scribe.

1.1.3. Case 4

This section examines Case 4. The Latin phrase of Case 4 in A is not
seen in C; thus, it is regarded as a later insertion into the text.

Case 4   A: 1a.26-27.

> psalmista. Benefac domine bonis & rectis corde. istis
>
> dicitur ut glorientur testimonio uidelicet bone <u>conscientie</u>
>
> (*the Psalmist says:* "*Do good, O Lord, to those who are good*
>
> *and righteous in heart.*" *They are told that they should*
>
> *rejoice—that is, in the testimony of a clear <u>conscience</u>:*)

Millett notes that the Latin is based on Psalm 31:11. However, Psalm
31:11 says only "laetamini in Domino et exultate iusti et laudate
omnes recti corde" (Be glad in the Lord, and rejoice, ye just, and glory,

216

all ye right of heart);[4] the word *conscience* is not included, but *omnes recti corde* (all ye right of heart) can here stand for *conscience.*

The preceding Latin of Case 4 in A, also absent in C, is extracted from Psalm 35:11, with additions from I Timothy 1:5 (Millett 2005 II: 4.P.18-26). Psalm 35:11, "adtrahe misericordiam tuam scientibus te et iustitiam tuam rectis corde" (Extend thy mercy to them that know thee, and thy justice to them that are right in heart) also does not include *conscience*. Therefore, the phrase from I Timothy 1:5, "finis autem praecepti est caritas de corde puro et *conscientia* bona et fide non ficta," seems to have influenced the quotation from Psalm 35:11 to create a new phrase in the preceding Latin of Case 4. Moreover, the mixture seems to have influenced the subsequent Latin quotation in Case 4, which originally did not contain the word *conscientie.* Millett notes that the description of "the right heart" is seen in Peter Lombard's (c.1100-c.1160) *Commentarius in Psalmos* (PL 191.366). The translation below is author's:

"Prætende misericordiam tuam scientibus te, et justitiam

---

[4] *Douay-Rheims Bible.*

tuam his qui recto sunt corde." Prætende misericordiam

tuam scientibus te, recte credentibus scilicet, (Aug., Gl. int.)

quod bona a te, mala a se, et justitiam tuam scilicet vitæ

rectitudinem, his qui recto sunt corde, qui dirigunt se ad

voluntatem Dei, [Cassiod.] non eam curvant a se ut in

omnibus, [Aug.] scilicet prosperis et adversis, laudent Deum.

("Extend your mercy to them that know thee, and thy justice

to them that are right in heart." Extend your mercy to them

that know thee, and to them that rightly believe, that is,

(Aug., Gl. int.) that good things come from you, and bad

things do from themselves. And extend your justice, that is,

right life to them that are right in heart, that direct toward

God's will, [Cassiod.] and that do not crook it by themselves

so that they would praise God anytime, [Aug.] that is, in

blessing or in adversity.)

The comment emphasizes that God's grace should be distributed to

those righteous people who do not *crook* or *bend* God's will. Although

the verb *curvant*, "*curvo*," is not included in the Psalm, the comment

exerts a strong impression on listeners or readers. Such a quotation

was created to emphasize the importance of the rule, coming as it does from divine goodness, and advocated that righteous people with a clean heart and a good conscience shall be recipients of this goodness.

The comparison between A and C of Case 1 showed an insertion of Scribe B in the C manuscript just after the text's definition of a rule: "þeos *riwle* is eauer *inwið* ʒ rihteð þe heorte"; this is incorporated in the A text. Here in Case 4, A includes several references from Latin texts: a phrase concerning Psalms 35:11, possibly based on Peter Lombard's *Commentarius in Psalmos*; and a probable phrase from Augustine's *In Iohannis Evangelium tractatus* on John 14:14 (Millett 2005 II: 4.P.25); "Propterea non solum Saluator, sed etiam magister bonus, ut faciat quodcumque petierimus, in ipsa oratione quam nobis dedit, docuit quid petamus, ut etiam sic intellegamus non petere nos in nomine magistri, quod petimus praeter regulam ipsius magisterii" (Therefore, not only the Savior but also the Good Lord would fulfill whatever we beseech him, through the prayer which He gave us and teaches what we ask; so that we understand not to ask in the name of the Lord, what we ask according to the Lord's rule itself) (The translation is the author's). These are

supposed to be previous marginal annotations as testified in Case 1 (Millett 2005 II: 4.P.18–26). All Latin quotations above remain untranslated in A, showing that they are insertions, which vividly reveals the character of *AW* as a work constantly in progress, undergoing repeated amendment, revision, or insertion to meet user and audience needs. The repeated insertions also provide a picture of significant waves of theological development or evolution at the time of *AW*, where the Latin quotations are supportive of the instructor's aims and supply new materials for lay instruction, which might be better explained subsequently by the instructor in the vernacular.

As to other manuscripts, L, N, P, and S include this Latin quotation of Case 4 without vernacular translation as in A. Only V interpreted it into vernacular:

V: 371vb. 21, 25, 28.

Psalmista. Bene fac domine bonis ʒ rectis corde. Istis dicitur ut glorientur testimonio videlicet bone <u>consciencie</u> gloriamini omnes recti corde. ... ʒif þi *Conscience*. þat is þin <u>inwit</u> of þi þouʒt and of þin herte. ... And þat such <u>conscience</u> and such <u>inwit</u> is wouh and vn euene.

This interpretation of *conscience* is close to the annotation of Scribe B of the C MS in Case 1, reflected in A's understanding. Although the precise features of the audience of V are unknown, the estimation of its late transcription around the end of the fourteenth century and the large, gorgeous make-up of the manuscript may have resulted in a wider audience than the original (Millett 2005 I: xxv-xxvi). This assumption matches the nature of the vernacular translation.

1.1.4. Case 5

By equating rule and conscience, A in Case 5 clearly attests to the connection between *conscience* and *confession* for the first time.

> A: 1b. 19-22.
>
> Þ is alle mahen ʒ ahen halden a *riwle* onont purte of heorte.
>
> Þ is cleane ʒ schir <u>inwit.</u> <u>consciencia</u>. wið uten weote of
>
> sunne Þ ne beo þurh <u>schrift</u> ibet.
>
> (that is, everyone can and should observe one *rule*
>
> concerning purity of heart, which is a clean and clear <u>moral</u>
>
> <u>sense</u> (<u>conscience</u>) unaware of any sin that has not been

atoned for through *confession*.)

Although *consciencia* is obviously a later insertion, the sentence affirms that a confession purifies any sin found by clean and clear *inwit* or *conscience*. This explanation clarifies the purpose of introducing the concept of *conscience* to direct people to undertake confession, which is elaborated further in later chapters.

However, the corresponding place in the C manuscript by Scribe A shows *inwið* instead of *inwit* as in A.

C: 4v. 14–18.

[...] Þ is. alle

maȝen ƻ ahȝen. halden an riwle anon

den Purte of heorte. Þ is clene ƻ schir

inwið wið vten weote of sunne Þ ne beo

þurhc schrift ibet.

Thus, to correct this error, Scribe B of the C MS writes *inwit* after *schir* (16) in the margin and adds a phrase, "Þ is. *conscience* þe ne beo weote ne witnesse of nan gret sunne *inwið* hire seoluen" (Dobson

1972: 3. note b). It translates to "that is *conscience* which is unaware nor witness of no great sin *within* themselves." Moreover, Scribe B "strikes through *inwið* and then in a separate single stroke adds *wið vten weote of sunnen*" (Dobson 1972: 3. note c). Dobson regards this substitution of *inwit* for *inwið* as a "correct emendation" (1972: 3. note c). However, Dobson's comment is arguably too early to be justified as Case 1 for several reasons. First, if *inwið* is read as an adverb or adjective "within" or "inward," the C sentence of Scribe A makes sense: *þoncg inwið* translates into *conscience [that] is within* (seen in Case 1), and "Purte of heorte. Þ is clene ʒ schir inwið" is "purity of heart, that is, clean and beautiful within," which is an intelligible sentence with no need of correction.

The corresponding part of the P manuscript also attests to *inwiþ* for this part:

P: 371b. 27–29.

... bidde fast for hym þat god amende hym ʒif it be his wille. and keepe þine hert clene ʒ schire <u>inwiþ</u> ʒ wiþ oute. clene & white fram synne.

Obviously, *inwiþ* contrasts to *wiþ oute,* which means "outside," both modifying *hert*: "... and keep your heart clean and pure inside and outside, clean and white from sin" (The translation is the author's). This usage of *wiþ oute* is different from those of A and C, but P's *inwiþ* signifying "inside" resonates with that of C.

MED (s.v. *inwith*, adv. 2.) notes the adverbial usage of *inwið*, meaning "in a person's inner being," in several contemporary works: *Hali Meiðhad*[5] (Bod 34) [c1225 (?c1200)], *Seinte Juliana* (Bod 34) [c1225 (?1200)], *Seinte Katerine* (1) (Einenkel) [c1225 (?c1200)], and *Seinte Margarete* (1) (Bod 34) [c1225 (?1200)]. *AW* gives an example of A: "Make me telle lutel of euch blisse utewið, ah froure me *inwið* [Nero: *inewið*]" (23/3). Thus, Scribe A of the C manuscript had good reason for using the word, and he might have simply copied his exemplum. The lexeme *inwið* will be treated further in Chapter VIII.

1.1.5. Case 6

Case 6 depicts the relationship between a rule and *conscience*:

---

[5] *Hali Meiðhad* is an editorial and traditionally used, but the only recorded title in Bodley 34 is *Epistel of Meidenhad* (Millett 2009: x).

A: Pre. 1b. 22–23.

Þis makeð þe leafdi <u>riwle</u> þe riwleð ʒ rihteð ʒ smeðeð þe

heorte. ʒ te <u>inwit</u> of sunne.

(This is the work of the lady <u>rule</u>, which rules and

straightens and smooths away sin from the heart and the

<u>conscience</u>;)

The rule sweeps away sin from the *conscience*, which can be distorted,

warranting correction by the rule. The description identifying the

rule and *conscience* as independent functions matches Case 1. The C

manuscript reveals the following:

C: Pre. 4v. 18–20.

... þis maket þe laue

di <u>riwle</u> þe riwlet ʒ smeðeð ʒ richteð

þe heorte ʒ <u>wit</u> hire from sunne. ...

Scribe B in C strikes through *wit hire from* and writes there *þe inwit*

aʒein (Dobson 1972: 3. note. e). Scribe B might have read *wit* as a

misspelled noun for *inwit* and omitted *hire* (Millett 2005 I: xi-xii).

However, the word *wit* written by Scribe A is arguably a variant of the verb *witien* 1 (*MED*, s.v. *witien*, v.1) [*wite* 2 (*OED*, s. v. *wite*, v.2)] accompanying *from* to mean "to guard or keep something against something." The following *hire*, a direct object, should be taken as a pronoun of the antecedent *þe heort*. The C text has the reversed order of the verbs *smeðeð ȝ richteð* in the A text. Thus, the sentence in C can be translated as follows: "This is the work of the lady rule, who rules and straightens the heart and *keeps* the heart away *from* sin" (The translation is the author's). This hypothesis is considered further in Section 6.

What is particular in the C quotation is the verbs' percussiveness: "*riwle* þe riwlet ȝ *smeðeð ȝ richteð* þe heorte ȝ *wit* hire from sunne." The rhythm of four verbs contributes strength and demonstrates the power of the lady rule. Scribe B's amendment shows his strong aim to establish the importance of the word *inwit*; thus, he might have recognized *wit* as a noun, which is arguably a verb, and erased and replaced it with *inwit.*

1.2. Part 2

Part 2 addresses the five senses facing the danger of temptation. It

analyzes the outer senses whose organs might detract from the life of an anchoress. *AW* warns anchoresses to protect their five senses and directly calls on anchoresses more than in Part 1, where devotion ways were imparted. Neither A nor C contains the sentence with *conscience* in Part 2. Only the F manuscript does in one place as follows:

Case 7   F: 12. 1–2.

> Et si/ nule (contre) contredit ceste/ ieo treis a testmoigne
>
> sa <u>con ⫽science</u> demeyne encontre lui.
>
> (And if anyone denies this, I call her own <u>conscience</u> as a
>
> witness against her.)

This part shows itself in an extended passage added to the basic text, only found in A and F. The part shown above is included at the beginning, lacking in A (A: between 14b and 15a). The lost part in A is judged to be identical to the corresponding part in F (Millett 2005 II: 59-60.2.208-262). Supposedly, A must have had the same expression as quoted above.

The missing part warns that the windows of the residences of anchoresses should be firmly closed to prevent men from gazing in

since this could be a cause of the sin of lechery. If any anchoress

denies through word of mouth the truth concerning what could have

happened to her, the author persuades her to "ask her *conscience*."

Attested by similarities with Limebrook Priory (Millett 2005 II: 60;

Dobson 1976: 265–266), it is clear this section is a proponent of the

need to confess. Thus, Case 7 in Part 2 is evidence of the attachment

of explanation regarding confession, adapted to an audience of

anchoresses, warning of the dangers present beyond the walls of their

cells.

1.3. Part 4

Part 4 is the longest section, dedicating a third of the whole work to

discussing temptation (Savage and Watson: 368). However, there is

only one case for *conscience* in A; but it sheds light on the

circumstance surrounding the introduction of the neologism,

conscience. This part reveals the contemporary theological

background, expressing much about the Seven Deadly Sins,

particularly animals, as metaphors for different sins. Both texts of A

and C contain several insertions to the original text. Given the

significant volume of the text in Part 4 with several theological

introductory metaphorical explanations, the scarcity of the use of the word *conscience* may denote that this word does not necessarily originate directly from the temptation description.

1.3.1. Case 8

Case 8 in Part 4 is in a sentence derived from Augustine, translating the Latin *consciencia* into the vernacular *inwit* in the A manuscript:

Case 8   A: 55b. 3–6.

> as seínt austín seið. Omissis occasionibus que solent
>
> aditum aperire peccatis⁚ potest <u>consciencia</u> esse incolimis.
>
> Þ is. hwa se wule hire <u>inwit</u> witen hal ᵹ fére⁚ ha mot fleon
>
> þe foreridles ...
>
> (As St Augustine says, "*If those occasions that tend to open*
>
> *the door to sins are avoided, the <u>conscience</u> can be secure*";
>
> that is, "Anyone who wants to keep her <u>conscience</u> healthy
>
> and sound must avoid such occasions...")

The quotation emphasizes the importance of avoiding any potentially dangerous occasion. There is also an undertone that *conscience* could

229

be affected by the situation; that is, if it is at some fatal occasion, it may not be "healthy and sound."

The C manuscript shows the corresponding part as follows:

C: 87. 11–15.

… Omis

sis occasionibus que solent aditumaper

ire peccatis. potest <u>consciencia</u> esse incolu

mis. Þ is hwase wule <u>inwið witen</u> hi

re hal ȝ fere …

The vernacular paraphrase of the Augustinian maxim may be "Anyone who wants *inwardly* to keep *hi/ re* (her) healthy and sound." The latter part *-re* of the word *hire* runs over to the next line. The part of speech of *hire* in A is a genitive pronoun adjusted to the noun *inwit* (her conscience), while the one in C is an objective pronoun governed by the verb *witen,* as in Case 6. Both cases of *hire* have *hwase* (anyone or whoever) as the antecedent.

There is no record of Scribe B's correction of the *inwið* of Scribe A with Case 8. Although Scribe B's corrections from *inwið* to *inwit* in

Cases 1, 5, and 6 are attested to within the Preface, the vernacular phrase of C in Case 8 displays a comprehensible sentence left free from Scribe B's correction. Scribe B stops any correction after folio 124 in Part 4 (Case 8 is on folio 87); therefore, his disinterest or neglect in word correction at this place may have some connection with his soon-to-be-revealed abandonment of emendations.

1.3.2. Pronoun *hire*

As the quotation above includes a pronoun *hire* (C: 87.13-14), shown to be key to understanding Scribe A's text, a consideration of the pronoun hereby follows. According to *MED*, when *hire* is used as a pronoun, it refers to "things, abstractions, the soul," with "an antecedent having feminine gender in OE or OF: its, her" (*MED*, s.v. *hir*(*e*, pron.1). In Case 6, the antecedent word written by Scribe A is *þe heorte,* whose gender was feminine in OE. *OED* also records an obsolete meaning of the pronoun *her*, "used of things whose names were grammatically feminine, e.g., sun, soul, book, shire, love" (*OED*, s.v. *her*, poss. adj. pron).

This basic usage of *hire* is seen in several examples of twelfth-century documents. For instance, *MED* records *Twelfth Century*

Homilies in MS Bodley 343, (Bod. 343; 20/23-4) in about 1175 as

following: "Sceawæ bi þare synnan, ðe is Godes ʒesceaft, hu heo maʒe

sendon *hire* scinende leome from *hire* upplice ryne ofer alne

middaneard" (Look at those sins... how she sends *to it* the shining

light from *its* upper course over all the world) and also "He bæd þæt

þeo heofen sealde ræiʒnæs, & ðeo eorðæ *hire* wæstmæ" (48/6) (He bids

that the heaven gives rain and the earth [gives] *its* fruits) and several

more (The translations are the author's). In the first example,

ʒesceaft (creature, which here means *Christ*) is a feminine noun. In

the second, *eorðæ* (earth) is likewise so, both modifying *hire*. *OED*

records much earlier examples, such as *Vesp. Psalter* ciii (c 825) or

Ags. Ps. (Th.) (c 1000).

Further, many thirteenth-century documents show such

examples: a contemporary of *Ancrene Wisse*, *Body and Soul* (2) (*The*

Worcester Fragments. 174; 5/17) in about 1225 has "ʒet sæiþ þe soule

soriliche to *hire* licame" (Then the soul truly says to *its* body). In

another one, *Vices & Virtures* (1) (Stowe 34; 37/22) in about 1200–

1225 has "Betere is an god saule ðan all ðe woreld mid all *hire* eihte"

(It is better to have a good soul than to have the world with all *its*

power) (The translations are the author's). *Hire* in both examples

refers to *soul* as their predecessors.

To examine the usage of Scribe A's *hire*, the parts that include *hire* in Part 4 of the C manuscript are displayed in Table 1 below.

Table 1: *Hire* in Part 4 in the Cleopatra manuscript

No.	Place (folio. line)	Form	Antecedent
1	76v.9	hire	sum
2	81v.3	hire, hire	worldes
3	83v.8	hire	ha
4	83v.11; 83v.10	hire, hire; hire	ha; Meiden
5	87.22	hire	ha
6	87v.3	hire	euchan
7	87v.10	hire	hahit
8	87v.13	inhire	ha
9	88.14; 89.22	hire; hire	þe deofles beast; Þe
10	93v.15; 93v.16; 93v.18; 93v.21; 93v.22;94.3; 94.6; 94.9;	hire; hire; hire; hire; hire; hire; hire; hire;	wif
11	95v.22; 96.16; 96.17; 96.19;96v.3; 96v.5;96v.6; 96v.8;96v.9;	inhire; hire; hire; hire; hire; hire; hire; hire; inhire;	ha

	96v.14; 96v.20; 96v.21; 97.3;	hire; hire; hire; hire	
12	97v.15;98.4; 98.5;	hire; hire; hire	wummon
13	98v.21; 99.1;	hire; hire	se
14	99v.10-11;	hi/re;	wummon (12)
15	100v.8;	hire	moder
16	102v.9;102v.14; 102v.18; 103.1;	hire; hire; hire; hire	sare [St. Sarah]
17	104.9;	hire	[subpuncted as mistake]
18	104v.12; 104v.13;	hire; hire	hwase
19	105v.1	hire	?
20	105v.19	hire	?
21	113v.8;113v.12; 113v.17	hire; hire; hire	oðer
22	114.3; 114.6; 114.10	hire; hire; hire	ha
23	114.20; 114.22	hire; hire	ha
24	115v.1	hire	lefdi
25	119.6	inhire	bileaue
26	119v.8;119v.11; 119v.15-16	hire; hire; inhire	Sum
27	120v.17 (x2)	hire	maiden
28	123.9;123.10; 123.12; 123.14	hire; hire; hire; hire	wimmon
29	127v.4	inhire	icorene?
30	128v.4	hire	ani
31	130v.8-9;130v.10;	hi/re; hire; hire	saule

	130v.11		
32	131.8; 131.10	hire; hire	heorte
33	132.12;132.13; 132.14; 132.17;132.19; 132.20	hire; hire; onhire; hire; hire; hire	þisaule
34	133v.18	hire	heorte
35	134.21	hire	þe

Nos. 31, 32, 33, and 34 show the usage of *hire* as a pronoun referring to "things," "abstractions," and "the soul," which are feminine nouns in OE or OF as witnessed by *MED* and *OED*. The table shows those particular usages as occurring on folios 130v to 133v. These folios present the warning against lechery: where it comes from, how dangerous it is, and how it should be avoided. Much of the passage comes from Bernard of Clairvaux's sermons (Millett 2009: 231–233). The warning relating to lechery is one of the key points to be given to anchoresses. This part also includes a fundamental description of *consent* which is investigated in Chapter VI.

The pronoun *hire* in No. 6 in C also testifies to the function of *hire*; "þis maket þe laue di riwle þe riwlet ƺ smeðeð ƺ richteð þe heorte ƺ wit *hire* from sunne," in which the antecedent of *hire* is "the heart."

In No. 8, the antecedent of *hire* is *hwase* (whoever), and *hire* must be "her" (*MED*, s.v. *hir*(*e*, pron.1), indicating the audience are female. The other manuscripts follow the A pattern; that is, the corresponding word of *hire* comes just before the noun of corresponding *inwit*, but the adjective pronoun has several variations—G: *hire inþit*; N: *hire inwit*; P: *his inwitt*; T: *his inwit*; V: *heore inwit*. *His* can be an "obsolete objective case of the feminine third-person singular pronoun" (*OED*, s.v. *his*, pron[2]), while *heore* is a variant of *her* (*OED*, s.v. *her*, pron[1] and adj[1]). The variations in the spelling of *inwit*, including C's distinctive use of *inwið*, testifies to the primitive circumstance where the word *inwit* was just being introduced into the field of lay theology with *AW*.

Consequently, the vernacular paraphrase of the Augustinian quotation in the C manuscript can be translated as "Anyone who wants *inwardly* to keep her healthy and sound." The verb *witen* in Case 8 will be considered more closely in Section 6.

1.4. Part 5

Part 5 provides instruction on confession—its effects and necessary conditions to proceed. The greater part of the section in A is addressed

to a larger audience than the original (Gunn 3). In that section, *conscience* first appears to accompany the instructive expression, which establishes this section as the one most related to the emergent *conscience* of all the chapters in the book. Part 5 has four cases—Cases 9, 10, 11, and 12.

1.4.1. Case 9

Both A and C show the Latin quotation including *consciencia* in Case 9. Part 5 describes the confession, stating two things to be mentioned: its power and how to achieve it. Six kinds of power are explained. Three are against the devil, and the other three are for the audience. The story of Judith and Holofernes is told as a metaphor of the devil and the six powers of confession. First, confession (i.e., Judith) defeats the devil, Holofernes and second, cuts off his head; third, she scatters his army, and fourth, washes away our filth; fifth, she gives back what we lost, and lastly, makes us God's children again (Millett 2009: 114).

The author then explains how to confess with 16 conditions. The description accords with an existing tradition in the first half of the thirteenth century (Millett 2009: 237). The first condition is that

confession must be accusatory. We must accuse ourselves in confession because sin is produced by free will. Accordingly, authoritative statements are quoted. First, St Paul states: "Si nos ipsos diiud[ic]aremus, non utique iudicaremur." The author explains that if we accuse ourselves properly and pass judgment on ourselves here in this world, we will be spared from accusation at the final judgment (Millett 2009: 116). The quotation entails the next one from St Anselm as below:

Case 9   A: 83a. 1–4. (C: 138v. 5–8)

> Hinc erunt accusancia peccata. Illinc terens iusticia. Supra
>
> ⁓ iratus iudex. Subtra patens horridum chaos inferní.
>
> Intus⁓urens <u>consciencia</u>. foris⁓ ardens mundus.
>
> (On [the one hand], there will be [accusations of] sins; on
>
> the other, terrifying Justice; the angry Judge above, the
>
> hideous chaos of hell gaping below; inside, a burning
>
> <u>conscience</u>, outside, a world in flames.)

The description here is allegorical and astronomical. There are two beings to judge us; one is the angry Judge above who accuses us of

238

our sins on the Last Judgment Day, and the other is Justice, which is also called *conscience* residing within ourselves. Contrasted with the outer Judge, the "locus" of *consciencia*, the place of the inner Justice, is indicated to be inside ourselves. The contrast between "inner" and "outer" comes from the Latin *intus* and *foris,* respectively. The context of the Latin phrase is explained in vernacular in Case 10 as follows.

1.4.2. Case 10

Case 10 is presented in *OED* and *MED* as the first occurrence of *conscience* as an English word. The direct source, as in Case 9, may have been St Anselm of Canterbury's *Meditatio I, Opera,* 3.78–79 (Millett 2005 II: 206. 5.85–88). The Latin quotation and its vernacular explanation reveal that the author's prose style is influenced by English and Latin techniques. Moreover, he sometimes expands the Latin quotation's antitheses with traditional alliterative collocations in the vernacular (Millett 2005 II: li):

Case 10 A: 83a. 14-19.

> schule we seon buuen us þe ilke eorre deme Þ is ec witnesse
>
> ƶ wat alle ure gultes. Bineoðen us ȝeoniende þe wide þrote

239

of helle. <u>Inwið</u> us seoluenᐟ ure ahne <u>conscience</u>. Þ is ure

<u>inwit</u> *forculiende* hire seoluen. wið þe fur of sunne. wið

uten us al þe world leitinde o swart lei up in to þe skiwes.

(we will see above us that angry Judge who is also a

witness and knows all our crimes; below us the wide throat

of hell gaping open; <u>inside</u> us our own <u>conscience</u> (that is,

our <u>sense of right and wrong</u>) <u>being consumed</u> with the fire

of sin; outside us the whole world blazing in dark flames

up into the clouds.)

The method of introducing the new loan word, *conscience*, employing

þet is, lacking in the previous sections where the lexeme *conscience*

appears, may indicate an introduction of a word previously unknown

to readers. This notion emphasizes its importance and the need for

accurate delivery.

The possessive pronoun *ure* (our) indicates that *inwit* is shared

between the instructor and receivers, though how long and how much

cannot be ascertained. It should be recognized that these "first"

appearances of *conscience* and *inwit* occur in the middle of the

development of an explanation in vernacular concerning the outside

Judge and inside *conscience* and not as a direct gloss from Latin. It is important to recognize that the necessity for a particular terminology to explain theology in the vernacular might have resulted in the production of a new vocabulary for it to be conveyed effectively to a lay audience. The origin of *inwit* is held to be *in* + *wit* (*OED*, s.v. *inwit*, n.). It is possible to argue that this is not simply a translation from a known word to another established word but a kind of "word-transformation" to advance lay theology. With no corresponding lexeme to the borrowed word, the unknown lexeme would be explained to the audience through a cognate; consequently, the cognate should mean something to recipients. As to the case of *inwit*, the components of *in* and *wit* give a fair suggestion of the meaning of the new lexeme to the audience because both components would be well-known and understandable to them. Thus, the new combination of *in* + *wit* would deliver the theological meaning of *conscience* as the moral sense of distinguishing right from wrong.

The C manuscript notes another vernacular gloss—*þonc,* as noted in *OED*—for this place instead of the newly minted *inwit*. As Scribe B stopped any correction at folio 124v in Part 4, there is no amendment.

C: 139. 1-7.

schule we seon buuen us. Þis ilke eorre dom

Þ is ec witnesse ʒ wat al ure gultes. bineo

ðen us ʒeoninde þe wide þrote of helle

Inwið ud seouluen vre achne conscience. Þ is

ure þonc for cweðinde hire seoluen wið

þe fur of sunne. wið uten us al þe world

leitinde on swart lei up into þe ski[w]es.

First, the pronoun *hire* (5) and the verbs which precede it, *forculiende*
(17, in Italic) in A and *cweðinde* in C are examined. The pronoun *hire*
has *conscience* for its antecedent in A and *þonc* in C. This usage of
the pronoun is, as Section 3.2 testified, compared with the one in
Scribe A's quotations in Cases 6 and 8, attested in OE tradition as
representing spiritual affairs. The A text reads the pronoun with the
following word *seoluen*[6] into *herself*, an object of the preceding verb
forculiende, the form of the present participle of *forcul(i)en* connoting

---

[6] The pronoun could be singular or plural (*MED*).

242

"to darken or blacken (something) by scorching" (*MED*, s.v. *forcul(i)en*, v.). This example appears only in *AW* (Millett 2005 II: 371). *Hire seoluen* (herself) is not clearly translated in Millett's translation.

The corresponding part in C shows *ure þonc for cweðinde hire seoluen*, in which there is a space between *for* and *cweðinde* in Dobson's edition, although Millett renders these words as one (2005 II: 207. 5.99). Consulting the corresponding part of the Cotton Cleopatra C. vi. folio 139r may help us[7]:
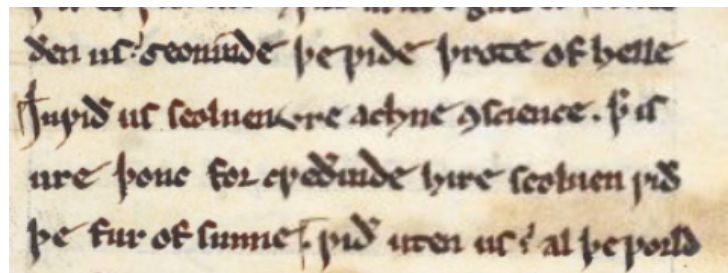
The third line of the photo above is the part under discussion, f.139. line 5. Richard Dance suggests reading the verb as *forcweðinde* "reproaching" (*MED*, s.v. *forquethen* v., cites only one ME instance of this verb, *forcweðest SK* 142, in the sense of "repudiate") (2005 II:

---

207. 5.99). In this case, the C text could be translated as follows:

> We will see above us the angry Judge
>
> who is also a witness and knows all our crimes; below
>
> us the wide throat of hell gaping open;
>
> inside ourselves our own <u>conscience</u>; that is,
>
> our <u>thought reproaching herself with</u>
>
> the fire of sin; outside of us all the world
>
> blazing in dark flames up into the clouds.

The phrase can be read that our thought or *conscience* accuses herself severely with the fire of sin when it considers evil things. This reading could be evidence that Scribe A of the C manuscript had his own description of *conscience* using a different vocabulary from the one the A manuscript contains. Alternatively, it might be simply a scribal mistake, given the similarity of the verbs. Scribe B tried to identify the sentences on *conscience* words in the C manuscript with those in the A as in the previous revised parts at Cases 1, 5, 6, and 8. The correction-free case of Case 10, however, reveals Scribe A's original text.

1.4.3. Case 11

This case is a Latin quotation contained in A and C:

Case 11 A: 83v. 3-6. (C: 139v. 6.)

> Ascendat homo tribunal mentis sue. si illud cogitat quod
>
> oportet eum exiberi ante tribunal christi. Assit accusatrix
>
> cogitatio. testis ͻConsciencia. Carnifex ͻ timor.
>
> (Recollecting that he must appear before the tribunal of
>
> Christ, a man should ascend the tribunal of his own mind.
>
> Recollection should sit there as prosecutor, Conscience as
>
> witness, [and] Fear as executioner.)

Millett says it is from "a sermon on penance doubtfully attributed to

Augustine (cf.5.409-412n), *Sermo* 351, ch. 4. §7, PL 39 1542..., briefly

referred to by Raymond of Peñafort in the account of incentives to

contrition in his *Summa de paenitentia*, bk. 3, tit. 34, ch. 9" (2005 II:

5.111–113). The corresponding part of Peñafor on Augustine says,

"Augustinus: 'Ascendat homo tribunal mentis suae'" (Augustine says

"a man should ascend the tribunal of his own mind"), which is the

phrase that comes first in the quotation above. The Latin text testifies to the role of *conscience* as a witness to the committing of sins. The Latin quotation reconfirms the popularity of *conscience* as the topic to be examined in this treatise.

1.4.4. Case 12

While Case 11 clearly indicates in Latin that *conscience* is a witness, Case 12 recounts it in the vernacular and shows another presence of the Judge in A and C:

Case 12 A: 83v. 11–19.

>   His <u>inwit</u> beo icnawes þrof ant beore witnesse. ... ʒet nis
>
>   nawt þe <u>deme</u> Þ is <u>skile</u> ipaiet. þah he beo ibunden ʒ halde
>
>   him wið sunne⸵
>
>   (His <u>*Conscience*</u> should admit this and bear witness: ... But
>
>   the <u>judge</u> (that is, <u>Reason</u>) is still not satisfied even though
>
>   he is tied up and refraining from sin)

> C: 139v. 13/ 140.3.

> ... His <u>inwit</u> beo icnawe[s] þrof
>
> ʒ beore witnesse. ...

... ȝet nis naut þe <u>deme</u> Þ is

<u>skile</u> ipaiȝet þach heo ibunden � halde him

wið sunne.

Cases 9 and 10 show that there is the angry Judge above us who will pass judgment on judgment day. Here, there is another one, *Skile*, reason. This second judge, reason, exists inside a human heart with *conscience*. Since the relationship between *conscience* and reason as judges within a human heart may have been theologically confusing for the audience, they might have ignored it. Chapter IX addresses this concern further.

Notably, the C manuscript first shows *inwit* as *conscience*, which is surely a chronological sign among the parts. This evidence suggests that its exemplar contained the chronological double-vernacular system of *þonc* and *inwit*, which shows the independence in the composition of each topic-section, the chronological transcription, or the existence of plural exemplar.

1.5. Part 6 (Case 13)

Part 6 concerns penitence after confession. Case 13 is the last

example of *conscience* words based on the A manuscript:

Case 13 A: 101b.6–7.

> ⁊ þeo ȝet þe habbeð pes. ⁊ reste of cleane <u>inwit</u> habbeð in
>
> hare heorte bitternesse of þis lif
>
> (and even those who have the peace and repose of a clear
>
> <u>conscience</u> have bitterness in their hearts because of this
>
> life,)

> C: 174. 12-14.

> ... ⁊ þeo ȝet þe habbeð pes
>
> ⁊ reste of cleane <u>inwit</u> habbeð inhare he
>
> orte bitternesse of þis lif ...

Here again, the C manuscript demonstrates clear evidence of *inwit*.
The fact that Cases 12 and 13 display *inwit* by Scribe A shows that
AW comprises distinct parts independently transcribed. Thus, *inwit*
is introduced in Parts 5 and 6 in the C manuscript, where the author
provides instruction on confession and penitence, respectively. At the
beginning of the composition of *AW*, the vernacular terminology for
moral sense was not clearly arranged, which C attests to, and *inwit*

was later employed as the counterpart of *conscience* within the discussion of confession and penitence. The possibility of using the *pecia* system—a regulated process of manuscript production used chiefly in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and (to some extent) fifteenth centuries [8] for the C manuscript (Millett 2005 I: xxxvi)—might explain the dual existence of *þonc* and *inwit* in the manuscript. After the Fourth Lateran Council, once-a-year confessions were made obligatory, and the immediate necessity to instruct in confession grew (Gunn 22-26). In response to the ecclesiastical demand, all the necessary "conditions" must have been arranged rapidly, among which were obviously theological terminologies.

2. On Scribe B's emendation

The complete analysis of all Scribe B's amendments is a topic for another thesis. It would be necessary to check manuscripts of the Cleopatra and the Corpus, identify all scribe scripts, and trace these back to the supposed original, beyond the scope of this thesis. Thus, this section investigates Scribe B's emendations relying on Dobson's

---

[8] <oxfordreference.com> (s.v. *pecia system*)

comments in his Cleopatra edition to understand his alterations concerning *conscience* and *inwit.*

2.1. Categorization of Scribe B's emendation

Scribe B, whose orthographic and linguistic forms are based on the AB language, corrected some parts of the text of Scribe A, "a native of Worcestershire" who "had not been trained in the orthographic tradition of the AB scribes" (Dobson 1972: lv, lxxxiii, cxxvi, cxxx). Scribe B amended Scribe A's text largely following the Corpus but in several cases unsystematically restoring "the original text at points where Corpus itself is wrong or at least varies from the original" (Dobson 1972: xcviii, cviii, xcv. n.3). Dobson concludes that "scribe B's revisions were not transferred to Cleopatra from some other manuscripts but were specifically written for it, and [...] those [that] recur in Corpus had originated in Cleopatra" (Dobson 1972: cxxv). Dobson believes Scribe B is the author of *AW*: the marginal additions of Scribe B are incorporated in the Corpus text after he corrected the Cleopatra text, and the Corpus was composed to match the original closely. However, scholars do not support this supposition; moreover, recent scholarship disagrees with his claim that the Corpus is "the

final and definitive" text of *AW.* Such scholarship regards the manuscript as an open version with "ongoing" modifications (Millett 2009: xlvii). More precisely, the Corpus does not normally reflect Scribe B's modifications in the Cleopatra, except in Part 8 (Millett 2005 I: xlii). Thus, Dobson's principle that Scribe B's amendments should be referenced with Corpus to check their accuracy cannot be thoroughly employed. As to Scribe B's amendments, although Millett discloses the gradation and development of Scribe B's alterations in Part 8, where his amendments can be seen on the outer rules as "more extensive changes" (Millett 2005 I: xxxviii), further analysis should be employed.

Dobson, an outstanding forerunner of *AW* research, categorized Scribe B's amendments as follows: 1) corrections and modifications of punctuation; 2) correction of word-division; 3) modifications of spelling or word-form or grammatical inflection; 4) corrections of Scribe A's textual errors; 5) revisions and additions to the text (Dobson 1972: xcv). Since no other scholar, including Millett, the current leading researcher and Dobson's successor, has demonstrated any other categorizations, his division is chosen to be the basic understanding of Scribe B's corrections. The distinction, however,

between Scribe A's textual errors of omission or commission (Category 4) and his errors in copying (Category 5) is not clear.

Accordingly, this study offers five renewed categories based on Dobson: 1) Omission, addition, and revision of punctuation, which include point, hyphen, paragraph-mark, punctus elevatus, and question mark; 2) Word-division; 3) Spelling, word-form, and grammatical inflection, added with capitalization, clarification of capital letter, and turning a capital letter into a smaller letter; 4) Textual errors; and 5) Revisions and additions. While Category 4 refers to the Corpus or the original, category 5 is "independent [revisions and additions] of [...] Scribe A's correctness or errors," to which Dobson does not refer the Corpus or the original. Dobson records the reference of the Corpus and the original to Scribe B's amendment in his footnotes to establish their correctness, though incomplete. For example, on the capitalization (in Category 3), Dobson does not refer to the Corpus in a footnote for every case, despite mentioning in the introduction of his edition that most of the substitutions of capitals agree with Corpus (Dobson 1972: xcviii). On punctuation, he admits the challenge of establishing the correctness of the amendments, and he left no reference to the Corpus in his

footnotes. Thus, considering the ambiguity, the cases with no reference to the Corpus or the original are categorized in the independent corrections of Scribe B, marked with an asterisk in Table 2. The numbers with asterisk in parentheses are part of the whole occurrence numbers.

Table 2: Scribe B's amendment category

Category of amendment	Occurrence
1) punctuation	207*
2) word-division	7 (6*)
3) spelling, word-form, grammatical inflection	174 (79*)
4) textual errors	121
5) revisions and additions	149*
sum	658 (447*)

*No reference to the Corpus or the original

Although Dobson's references to the Corpus or the supposed original (those without asterisk) comprise 217 (1+95+121) cases,[9] there may be more in reality because it is uncertain if Dobson traces all the

---

[9] Dobson says he did not keep a tally of the number of justified cases by the Corpus (Dobson 1972: xcviii).

Corpus or the original footprints. Table 2 displays some results: the corrections of the categories from 1 to 4 (509) do not go much further beyond the Corpus-type text or the original, which simultaneously do not change much of Scribe A's text. Moreover, they share 77% of all the amendments. However, Category 5, the Corpus-free additions or revisions (149), share only 23%. These will be the focus of the next section.

2.2. Revisions and additions of Scribe B

The fifth category of revisions and additions by Scribe B comprises the erasure of words or phrases and the addition of words, phrases, or sentences to which Dobson provides no reference to the Corpus or original. Thus, this category shows the furthest amendments from the Corpus or the original of the categories. Neither Dobson nor Millett categorize further this kind of alteration, but on the whole, the revisions comprise 1) changing preposition, article, relative pronoun, and verb; 2) addition of article, relative pronoun phrase, or pronoun; 3) word-order change; 4) grammatical inflection; 5) revision of Latin quotation, including the addition of *et cetera*; 6) glossing; 7) addition of a word or phrase for clarity, including addresses to the

audience; and 8) additional explanation. Category 4, grammatical inflection, can be equivalent to Category 3 in Table 2, unless the altered lexeme is struck through (e.g., 16.10 [d]) or accompanied by punctuation (e.g., 16.15 [g]).

Of 149 cases of Scribe B's revisions, distinct from the Corpus or the original, additional explanations are found in only four cases where Scribe B incorporates independent information in several sentences: all additions include *conscience* words. Three appear in the Preface and one in Part 8 on the outer rule. The two cases, Case 1 (4.20 [i]) and Case 5 (4v.16 [b]), have been discussed in this chapter concerning *conscience* and *inwit* in Sections 1.1.1. and 1.1.4, respectively. Case1 (4.20 [i]) provides the first mention of *conscience* by Scribe B, and Case 5 (4v.16 [b]) records his first use of *inwit*. The third case, 5.17 [h], provides *wit*, a traditional alternative for the newborn *inwit*, quoting an authoritative statement: "hire meistre seið hire. for he bereð þeos riwle inwið his breoste ꝣ he efter Þ sum is oðer sec oðer hal ꝝ scal efter his *wit* changi þeos uttere riwle efter euchanes euene" (Her master said to her: because he bears this rule in his breast, […] according to [which] someone is sick or sound. According to his *wit* each one shall change this outer rule). These

three cases of Scribe B's corrections in the Preface add to the Preface's importance given the newly layered information of *conscience* words. The last case in Part 8, 191.9 [d], also includes *wit* in a statement concerning the rule (the modern translation is tentatively done by the author of the thesis.): "§ þes riwle and alle oðer beoð in owres scriftes read and in oweres meistres breoste. he mei forkeoruen of ham oðer echi Mare to ham efter Þ god þurh his *wit* wisseð him te donne efter hare biheue Þ he haf te read[en]" (Read this rule and all the others in your scripts and in your master's breast. He may compel them or each one more to follow them so that God through his *wit* guides them to do according to their benefits that they have to read). These cases share a tiny ratio in all Scribe B's revisions and additions. They form the longest of all the alterations, suggesting they are a special type of revision. The first two cases provide evidence for the introduction of new theological terms, *conscience* and *inwit*, while the other two employ the terminology *wit*, an earlier alternative for *inwit*. Within all Scribe B's alterations, the first two are the only examples demonstrating the introduction of theological terms to update the text. Thus, I would like to propose labeling these two particular cases as "theological vernacular revision" to distinguish them as a special

256

type of Scribe B's alteration given their theological context and vernacular description.

3. *Wit*-verbs in the Cleopatra MS

Cases 6 (Section 1.1.5.) and 8 (Section 1.3.1.) suggest different understandings from the traditional interpretations by Dobson and Millett of the words *wit* (Case 6) and *witen* (Case 8) in the C manuscript. The following argument identifies *wit* (Case 6) as a verb to clarify their meanings. This section references Millett's Corpus edition.

3.1. Definition by dictionary

The verbs *witien* and *witen* are examined to identify *wit* (Case 6) and *witen* (Case 8) since they commonly stem from *wit*.

MED's classification of the verbs under examination:

- *witien* 1: to guard something against, to keep aside

- *witen* 1: to be certain about, to know

- *witen* 3: to make an accusation, to blame

OED describes the corresponding words as follows:

257

● *wit* 1: to have recognition or knowledge of, to know [*witen*

1: *MED*]

● *wite*, *wyte* [WAIt] 1: to impute guilt or lay the blame of

(something) to or upon a person [*witen* 3: *MED*]

●†*wite* 2: to keep, keep safe, guard, preserve[*witien* 1: *MED*]

The two dictionaries present different spellings of each verb; those of

MED will be employed first in the following analysis, accompanied by

those of *OED*. Zettersten analyzed the vocabularies of *AW* in the A,

N, and G manuscripts; however, concerning the verb *wit*, he

introduces it as "wit: *witen* (inf.) (OE *witan*) 'guard'; *witen* (inf.) (OE

witan) 'know'" (1965: 109). As his explanation does not cover the cases

in C, further analysis is necessary.

3.1.1. *Wit-* verbs in the Cleopatra

Table 3 presents 66 cases of the verbs concerned with *wit/witen* in the

Cleopatra manuscript. Those verbs are placed into three categories

according to *MED* [*OED*]: 1) *witien* 1 [*wite* 2] (v. to protect, to

maintain possession of, preserve); 2) *witen* 1 [*wit* 1] (v. to be certain

about, to know); and 3) witen 3 [*wite* 1] (v. to make an accusation, to

reproach). The verbs which accompany the prepositions *from* or *wið* are recorded with those prepositions. Since the C manuscript has no modern English translation, those of Savage (the upper translation in the Table) and Millett (the lower translation) for the A manuscript are borrowed, and A's verbs are recorded under the verbs in C when they differ.[10] The enclosed No. 2, corresponding to Case 6 and No. 30, are the cases for which the word *wit* is arguably a verb. All the evidence of the verbs *witien* and *witen* in the C manuscript justifies the assumptions of Case 6 above.

Table 3: *Wit*-verbs in the Cleopatra manuscript

C: No. (Place) Verb A:　　Trans.(Savage/Millett) Original form
Pre.

1)	4v.7	*witen*	・You should... guard	*witien* 1
		(+aux)	the inner and the	[*wite* 2]
			outer	
			・You should...observe	
			the inner rule and	
			the outer	

---

[10] The formation of the verbs is explained as follows: with an auxiliary verb: (+aux; first/ second/ third person, singular/ plural, present/ preterite: (1/ 2/ 3. sg/ pl. pres/ pret); infinitive: (inf); imperative (impv); past participle: P.ppl; (prayer); gerund: (gerund).

2) 4v.20   *wit/from*   · the lady rule, who rules   *witien* 1

    [A: inwit/conscience]   and sets right and smooths   [*wite* 2]

         (3.sg.pres)   away sin from the heart

                     and the conscience.

                     · the lady rule, which rules

                     straightens and smooths

                     away sin from the heart

                     and the conscience;

3) 6v.20   *witen/from*   · Religion pure and   *witien* 1

         (inf)   without stain is ...to keep   [*wite* 2]

                     oneself from the world

                      · Pure and immaculate

                     religion is ... to keep

                     yourself pure and

                     unspotted from the world

4) 7.16   *wited/from*   · you(pl) who guard   *witien* 1

         (3.sg.pres)   yourselves from the   [*wite* 2]

                     world, pure and

                     unstained by the

                     world

                      · keeping yourselves

                     pure and unspotted from

                     the world

5) 7v.16   *witen/From*   · to keep oneself   *witien* 1

         (impv)   from the world, clean   [*wite* 2]

260

and unstained
・to keep yourself
pure and unspotted
from the world

| 6) | 8v.9 | *witen* (+aux) | ・you must guard your heart ・you should use five senses to guard your heart | *witien* 1 [*wite* 2] |

| 7) | 8v.13 | *witeð* (3.pl.pres) | ・which [five senses] guard the heart ・five senses, which guard the heart | *witien* 1 [*wite* 2] |

| 8) | 9.6 | *witen* (+aux) | ・what things you may keep ・things you are allowed to guard | *witien* 1 [*wite* 2] |

P1

| 9) | 13.5 | *wite/wið* (+aux) | ・you may guard me from them [seven deadly sins] ・you may guard against them [mortal sins] | *witien* 1 [*wite* 2] |

P2

| 10) | 19v.15 | *wite* (impv) | ・Protect your heart well | *witien* 1 [*wite* 2] |

			・Guard your heart well	
11) 19v.21	*wit* (3.sg.pres)	・whoever protects these well [five senses] ・anyone who guards these well	*witien* 1 [*wite* 2]
12) 19v.22	*wit* (3.sg.pres)	・[whoever] protects well their heart ・he takes good care of his heart	*witien* 1 [*wite* 2]
13) 20v.15	*witene* [A: *to biwitene*] (inf)	・chastity, which it is very hard to protect well. ・chastity, which one must suffer a great deal to guard well.	*witien* 1 [*wite* 2]
14) 20v.21	*witeð* (impv)	・guard your eyes ・keep custody of your eyes	*witien* 1 [*wite* 2]
15) 21.18	*werien*/*wið* (inf)	・[the old] give them [the younger] a shield to guard themselves with. ・[the old] give...a shield to defend themselves with	*witien* 1 [*wite* 2]

| 16) 25v.9 | *wið/wite* * | ・Whoever is wise and innocent should guard herself from the arrows, | *witien* 1 |
| | (impv?) | ・Anyone who is wise and innocent should be on guard against these arrows, | [*wite* 2] |

17) 25v.10	*wið/wite**	・[should] guard her eyes.	*witien* 1
[A: *wite* (without *wið*)]		・[should] guard her eyes.	[*wite* 2]
	(impv?)		

| 18) 27v.6 | *witeð* | ・defend yourself | *witien* 1 |
| | (impv) | ・guard yourselves | [*wite* 2] |

| 19) 29.3 | *witene* | ・those who... have to guard them [the young] | *witien* 1 |
| | (inf) | ・those who...are responsible for them [others] | [*wite* 2] |

| 20) 29v.5 | *iwist* | ・well kept | *witien* 1 |
| | (P.ppl) | ・well observed | [*wite* 2] |

| 21) 31v.22 | *wite/wið* | ・I will defend my ways *with* my tongue-guard | *witien* 1 |
| | (+aux) | ・I will protect my ways *by* guarding my tongue | [*wite* 2] |

263

22) 31v.23	*wite* (1.sg.pres)	・if I defend my tongue well ・if I guard my tongue well	*witien* 1 [*wite* 2]
23) 36v.9	*wite* (impv)	・Now understand well ・Now guard yourself	*witen* 1 [*wit* 1] witien 1 [wite 2]
24) 37.5	*witeð* (impv)	・And know it ・And be quite sure of it	*witen* 1 [*wit* 1]
25) 37.13	*wit* (3.sg.pres)	・Whoever guards her outward eye carelessly ・Whoever is negligent in guarding her outer eyes	*witien* 1 [*wite* 2]
26) 37v.19	*wite* [A:*witen*] (3.pl.pres)	・Holy men...know ・Holy men...know	*witen* 1 [*wit* 1]
27) 38v.10	*witen* (inf)	・who do not care to know about outward things ・who are not concerned	*witen* 1 [*wit* 1]

now with learning about
outward things

28) 39.11	*witen* (+aux)	・you will never again know ・you'll never know	*witen* 1 [*wit* 1]
29) 42.13	*witeð* (impv)	・guard your heart ・guard your heart	*witien* 1 [*wite* 2]
30) 44.10	*wit* [A: edwit.(n)] (3.sg.pres)	・the heavenly Lord had all the reproach ・the heavenly Lord had all the blame	*witen* 3 [*wite* 1]
31) 44v.8	*wiste* (3.sg.pret)	・Our Lord knew it well ・Our Lord guarded it well	*witen* 1 [*wit* 1] *witien* 1 [*wite* 2]
32) 47.3	*witen* (impv)	・guard this sense[wit] ・You,...should guard this sense	*witien* 1 [*wite* 2]

P3

33) 48.3	*witeð* (2.pl.pres)	・you guard well your senses ・you guard your senses well	*witien* 1 [*wite* 2]

265

34) 55.11	*wite* (+aux)	· I shall guard my strength · I will guard my strength	*witien* 1 [*wite* 2]
35) 62v.14	*wit* (3.sg.pres)	· The bark...keeps it [tree] in strength · The bark...keeps it strong	*witien* 1 [*wite* 2]
36) 69.20	*witene* (inf)	· a maiden to protect · a virgin commended to his care	*witien* 1 [*wite* 2]
37) 73.10	*wite* (2.pl.pres)	· People that you know very well are waiting for you outside, · A close watch is being kept for you outside, be sure of that,	*witen* 1 [*wit* 1]
38) 73.22	*wite*/*wið* (+aux)	· he may defend and guard you against all who wait for you. · he will guard and protect you against all those who lie in wait for you.	*witien* 1 [*wite* 2]

P4

266

| 39) 80.9 | *wite* (impv) | · Know this one thing | *witen* 1 |
| | | · Be sure of one thing | [*wit* 1] |

| 40) 86.15 | *wite* (2.pl.pre/ impv) | · As you know | *witen* 1 |
| | | · understand this | [*wit* 1] |

41) 87.14	*witen* (3.sg.pres)	· Whoever wants to keep her *conscience* pure and fair	*witien* 1
			[*wite* 2]
		· Anyone who wants to keep her *conscience* healthy and sound	

| 42) 89.11 | *witene* (inf) | · to look after | *witien* 1 |
| | | · to be looked after | [*wite* 2] |

43) 97v.10	*witen*/*wið* (+aux)	· you must defend yourself against these devil's wiles	*witien* 1
			[*wite* 2]
		· you must guard yourselves against this devil's wiles	

44) 101v.11	*witen* [A: *edwiten*] (inf)	· Whoever...is much to be blamed.	*witen* 3
			[*wite* 1]
		· Anyone who...is much to be blamed.	

267

45) 102.6	*wite*	· you will guard him	*witien* 1
	(2.pl.pres)	[Lord]	[*wite* 2]
		· you should guard	
		him	

| 46) 102v.10 | *wiste* | · she[St Sarah] knew | *witen* 1 |
| | (3.sg.pret) | · she knew | [*wit* 1] |

| 47) 103.5 | *witen* | · you know well | *witen* 1 |
| | (2.pl.pres) | · You know well | [*wit* 1] |

48) 109.16	*witet*	· remember	*witen* 1
	[A: *witeð*]	· realize	[*wit* 1]
	(impv)		

49) 110v.12	*wite*	· May God know	*witen* 1
	(prayer)	· May God be my	[*wit* 1]
		witness	

| 50) 111v.20 | *witen* | · we know | *witen* 1 |
| | (1.pl.pres) | · We know | [*wit* 1] |

| 51) 118v.14 | *wite* | · do you know | *witen* 1 |
| | (2.pl.pres) | · do you know | [*wit* 1] |

52) 126.13	*witen/wið*	· Who can defend	*witien* 1
	(+aux)	themselves from	[*wite* 2]
		these [devil's traps]	
		· who can guard	

himself against these

P5

53) 138.15   *witest*   ・If you blame your sin   *witen* 3
          (2.pl.pres) ・If you blame anything   [*write* 1]
                    but yourself for your
                    sin

54) 142v.3   *wit*/*wið*   ・who always guards   *witien* 1
          (3.sg.pres) and protects us   [*wite* 2]
                    against the wicked
                    spirits
                    ・who constantly protects
                    and defends us against evil
                    spirits

55) 154v.9   *wiste*   ・I want it to be known   *witen* 1
          (3.sg/pl.   ・would like somebody   [*wit* 1]
          pres/pret;   to know about it
          P.ppl)

56) 156.4   *wite*   ・the father confessor   *witen* 1
         (3.sg.pres) knows quite well   [*wit* 1]
                   ・the confessor may
                   know very well

57) 156v.18   *wite*   ・as you know   *witen* 1
          (2.pl.pres/ ・be sure   [*wit* 1]
          impv)

58) 159.3	*wite* (3.sg.pres)	· Let her understand · she can be sure of that	*witen* 1 [*wit* 1]
P6			
59) 170v.5	*witen* (+aux)	· She will not ... keep herself pure · She will not keep herself "completely" pure	*witien* 1 [*wite* 2]
60) 171.12	*witeð* (3.pl.pres)	· lest...[they] guard their health so carefully · many...look after their health so assiduously	*witien* 1 [*wite* 2]
P7			
61) 187v.13	*witen/wið* (inf)	· there is nothing else to do except to guard yourselves carefully against all that quenches it[love] · Now all that remains is to guard yourself carefully against everything that quenches it	*witien* 1 [*wite* 2]
P8			
62) 193v.2	*wite* (impv)	· Do not look after other people's things · Do not keep anything	*witien* 1 [*wite* 2]

in your house

63) 193v.4	*witung* (gerund)	・guarding ・storage	*witien* 1 [*wite* 2]
64) 195.10	*witeð* (impv)	・look after yourselves ...in your blood-letting ・Look after yourselves so carefully during your bloodletting	*witien* 1 [*wite* 2]
65) 196.14	*wite* [A: *edwiten*] (+aux)	・no one can blame them [maids] inside the house or outside. ・they give no occasion for criticism indoors or out	*witen* 3 [*wite* 1]
66) 198v.13	*wite* (prayer)	・God, keep you in his [God] care ・May...God, have you in his keeping	*witien* 1 [*wite* 2]

Although the verbs are categorized into three, it is obvious that they were often confused. Nos. 23 and 31 show that different readings are possible: while Savage reads both as *witen* 1 [*wit* 1] (to be sure, to know), Millett has both as *witien* 1 [*wite* 2] (to guard). Millett

271

explains the reason for reading the verb as *witien* "to guard" for No. 31 on the grounds of syntax and meaning (Millett 2005 II: 101.2.955).[11] Since both readings seem plausible in the two cases, both are individually categorized in Table 4 below, mapping the three verbs, including two proposals of this study (Nos. 2 and 30):

Table 4: Mapping of *witien* 1, *iwiten* 3, *witen* 1, and *witen* 3

witien 1 [*wite* 2]	1, 2 (the author's), 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, (23: Millett), 25, 29, (31: Millett), 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 38, 41, 42, 43, 45, 52, 54, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 66.
witen 1 [*wit* 1]	(23: Savage), 24, 26, 27, 28, (31: Savage), 37, 39, 40, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 55, 56, 57, 58.
witen 3 [*wite* 1]	30 (the author's), 44, 53, 65.

The table evidently shows that *witien* 1 [*wite* 2] (to guard) has the greatest frequency among *wit*-verbs, while the second is *witen* 1 [*wit* 1] (to be sure or to know). Arguably, *wit* in No. 2 is not a noun but the

---

[11] "the form could mean either 'knew' (*sout* S) or 'guarded' (*custodiuit* L). Modern translators prefer the former; but 'Þis … wit' 2.953 is a more likely an antecedent of *hit*, and 'guarded' explains the following *for-þi* (the comfort comprises Christ's demonstration of control over the most uncontrollable of the senses)."

verb *witien* 1 [*write* 2]. Therefore, Case 6 can read as follows:

> ... þis maket þe laue
>
> di <u>riwle</u> þe riwlet ʒ smeðeð ʒ richteð
>
> þe heorte ʒ <u>wit</u> hire <u>from</u> sunne. ...
>
> (This is the work of the lady <u>rule</u>,
>
> who rules and straightens the heart and <u>keeps</u>
>
> the heart <u>away from</u> sin)

For No. 30, *wit* is arguably the verb *witen* 3 [*write* 1], though the A manuscript reads *edwit*, a noun that means "blame." Thus, the C text can be read as follows:

> inhis eare hehefde þe heouenliche la
>
> uerd al Þ <u>wit</u> ʒ þe upbrud. ...
>
> (In his ears had the heavenly Lord
>
> all that <u>blames</u> and the reproach)

Further examination in the following section supports these claims.

3.1.2. Word-form of *wit*-verbs between C and A

273

Table 5 demonstrates seven cases where C and A record different word-forms concerning *wit*-verbs. When a case indicates a noun *wit* in C, it is discounted. The numbers of cases correspond with those of the *wit*-verbs of C in Table 3 at 3.1.1.

Table 5: Different word-forms of *wit*-verbs between C and A

No	C	A
13	witene	biwitene
17	wite wið	wite
26	wite	witen
30	wit	edwit (n.)
44	witen	edwiten
48	witet	witeð
65	wite	edwiten

These differences indicate that the use of *wit* beginning words was undergoing some descriptive change, which might confuse the scribes and readers. Nos. 13, 44, and 65 demonstrate that the A manuscript intends to create a clearer meaning with these prefixes. Nos. 26 and 48 show different word-endings. No. 30 provides evidence of the difference in parts of speech. Finally, No. 17 shows the preposition *wið* could be omitted.

3.1.3. *Witien* + *wið*

The verb *witien* 1 [*wite* 2] (to guard) often accompanies a preposition, *from* or *wið,* as follows (the numbers indicate the cases given above):

witien 1 [*wite* 2] + *wið*= to guard something against/ from

witien 1 [*wite* 2] + *from*; 2, 3, 4, 5. (only in Preface)

witien 1 [*wite* 2] + *wið*; 9, 15, 16, 17, 21, 38, 43, 52, 54, 61.

(Part I, II, III, IV, and VII)

witien 1 [*wite* 2] + *wið*= to guard something with; 21.

(Part II)

In four cases—that is, 2, 3, 4, and 5—*witien* 1 [*wite* 2] accompanies the preposition *from*. Those accompanying *wið* appear in 10 cases: 9, 15, 16, 17, 21, 38, 43, 52, 54, and 61. Both expressions mean "to guard something against/from." Significantly all four cases of *witien* 1 + *from* only occur in the Preface; however, the other cases with *wið* appear in Parts I, II, III, IV, V, and VII. This difference may reveal distinctions in the exemplar of each section. Only No. 21 takes *wið* to mean "accompanied by" (*OED* [with *prep.*]). This evidence indicates

that the verb + preposition pattern, *witien* 1 + *wið*, is the most

common pattern for the meaning of "to guard something against."

3.1.4. Cases 16 and 17 of Table 3

The focus is on the preposition *wið*. Nos. 16 and 17 show Scribe B's

negation of the use of *wið*. Dobson comments: "B first altered the

initial *wynn* of *wið* [No. 17] to capital, but then, realizing the phrase

was corrupt, struck through *wið þis*, put double insertion-mark after

þis, and wrote above it *Þ is'* (1972: 51. note. d). Dobson labels the

correction as "correct emendation" as he regards the expression as

corrupted. However, the following evidence casts doubt on this.

The sentences of Scribe A in question are as follows:

... Þouðer hondli oðer oðer ifele.	
hwase is wis ƹ seli <u>wið</u> þe schute <u>wite</u> hi	[No.16]
re. <u>wið</u> þis <u>wite</u> hire echnen. For al Þ u	[No.17]
vel þerefter kimeð of þechne arewen.	(25v.8–11)

Scribe B's reading is reflected in Millett's translation: "Anyone who

is wise and innocent should be on her guard against these arrows—

that is, guard her eyes" (2009: 24). Accordingly, this study considers Scribe A's description as it is. In the cases of Nos. 16 and 17, *wið* comes before the verb *wite.* If we read *þis* as *þe schute* on the previous line, Scribe A's text reads as follows: "Anyone who is wise and innocent should be on her *guard against* these arrows, *against* these arrows, *guard* her eyes." The phrase *wið þis* on line 10 could be a repetition of line 9, emphasizing "guarding her eyes" with the same syntax as *wið…wite*. Although Scribe B strikes through *wið þis* to change it into *Þ is* as the A manuscript says, the reading of the C proposed above seems possible. Thus, Scribe A's original sentences in Nos. 16 and 17 are arguably valid without Scribe B's emendation.

3.2. Relation with quotation

The analysis of the *wit*-verbs disclosed that the verb *witien* 1 [*wite* 2] (to guard) has the highest frequency. This section examines how and where the verb appears in the C text, focusing on quotations that include lexemes with the meaning of "to guard." They demonstrate the meaning of *wit*-verbs in the explanatory quotation narratives. The examination shows that the verb is usually before, within, or after the quotation.

3.2.1. Before a quotation

There are two cases of the verb appearing before a Latin or vernacular quotation. The following case numbers are matched with those in Table 3.

First in Part 3, the instructor gives eight reasons anchoresses should retreat from the world. In the second reason, he warns that maidenhood is like brittle glass; once it is broken, it is never mended completely, giving an example of St. John the Evangelist's virginity (36). The modern English translations below are Millett's:

> ...Seoððen
>
> nes he neauer meiden þe unhalre. ach
>
> wes meiden bitacht meiden to <u>witene</u>
>
> virginem uirgini commendauit. ... (69.20)
>
> (However, he was no less fully a virgin afterward,
>
> but as a virgin had a virgin <u>commended to his care</u>:
>
> He commended a virgin to a virgin.)

The Latin quotation is from John 19:25–7, whose verb *commendauit*

is vernacularized into *witene* before the quotation, and the phrase emphasizes the importance of virginity.

The other case (60) quotes St Agatha's example:

> … Ach monie mare harm is beoð se/ fleswise ƺ se ouerswiðe of dred leoste hare licom febli to/ swiðe. ƺ <u>witeð</u> swa his heale Þ þe gast unstr/engeð ƺ seccleð insunne ƺ þeo þeschulden /ane lechni[n] hare saule wið heorte bireo/usunge ƺ flesches pinsunge for wurðeð/ fisiciens ƺ licomes leche. dude swa seint/ agace þe ondswerede ƺ seide to ure lauerdes/ sonde. …
>
> (171.12)
>
> (But many, unfortunately, are so wise where the flesh is concerned and so excessively afraid that their head might ache, that their body might be too weakened [to] <u>look after</u> their health so assiduously, that the spirit weakens and falls sick in sin, and those should only treat their souls, with contrition of heart and mortification of the flesh, degenerate into physicians and doctors of the body. Is this what St Agatha did when she answered our Lord's messenger…)

The descriptions before St Agatha's name, as mentioned by the instructor, refer to the life of St Agatha and its antithesis where the verb *witien* 1 [*wite* 2] is used with a negative meaning; those who *care* more of the body than of the soul are criticized. St Agatha is quoted as the figure that, in contrast, "cares" for the soul.

In these cases, 36 and 60, the verb *witien* 1 [*wite* 2] functions as a keyword to convey an important message: virginity and chastity should be "guarded" well, just as St John commends and St Agatha testifies by her example. Thus, the verb *witien* 1 [*wite* 2] derives from the point of view of the saints' authority. The verb conveys this very important teaching to the audience as if it had come directly from the two saints rather than the author.

3.2.2. Direct transmission

Among four cases in which the verb appears within the direct transmission of authority—Cases 6, 7, 9, and 59—the first two occur in the Preface. The instructor explains the structure of the book as *distinctiones* per section, a chapter. The second section (distinction) is (6) "about how you should use your five senses *to guard* your heart" (þe oðer is hu ȝe schu/len þurch ouwer [v]if wittes *witen* ouwer/

heorte). In the following sections, (7) "there are five chapters, that is, five sections corresponding to the five senses, which *guard* the heart like watchmen wherever they are faithful' (beoð chapitres/ fiue. ase [v]if stuche[n] efter þe [v]if wittes/ þe *witeð* þe heorte ase wakemen. hwer/se heo beoð treowe). These statements are influenced by the later-twelfth-century revision of the Premonstratensian statues (Millett 2005 II: 15.P.157–181).

The third, Case 9, appears in Part 1. In the vernacular prayer, before a verset, the collect for purity in the Preparation at the beginning of the Ordinary of the Mass starts in Latin, after which comes the instruction for the *Pater Noster* with the verb *witien* 1 [*wite* 2]:

> 9) ... for þe seoue bonen
>
> inþe Pater noster[.] aȝein þe seouen heaued ⁊ dedliche
>
> sunnen. Þ þu <u>wite</u> me <u>wið</u> ham ⁊ alle heore
>
> strunden. ... (13.5)
>
> (for the seven petitions in the *Our Father* against the
>
> seven capital and mortal sins, that you may <u>guard against</u>
>
> them and all the lesser sins that flow from them...)

The following Latin quotation is drawn from the *Sarum Missal* (Millett 2005 II: 29.I.165–166), which does not contain the expression for the verb *witien* 1 [*wite* 2]. The quoted part is a section of the continuing introduction of Latin and vernacular prayers, and the actual prayers are written in the text in a contracted and paraphrased form (Millett 2005 II: 29. I. 157–158). The verb *witien* 1 [*wite* 2] is again employed to express the importance of protecting the heart from the deadly sins.

The last example in Part 6 advocates the challenge of keeping life pure, just before quoting St Ælred's warnings: (59) "Ne schal hafor hire lif *witen*/ hire cleane nehalde richt hire chastete wið/ ute twa þinges. as seint ailret wrat. to his/ suster. (170v.5)" (She will not *keep* herself pure for life or maintain her chastity properly without two things, as St Ælred wrote to his sister.).[12] The verb *witen* in the sentence before the vernacular quotation reinforces the importance of chastity. The quotation of St Ælred from his *De Institutione*

---

[12] The Corpus MS contains some additions to this part. This study's translation of (59) matches the C text depending on Millett's translation.

inclusarum, CCCM I. 653–6, does not include the verb *witien* 1 [*wite* 2] in the vernacular.

3.2.3. After a quotation

There are 24 cases of *witien* 1 [*wite* 2], following quotations in Table 6. All the references of the sources of quotations depend on Millett's notes. When the verb appears in a paraphrased sentence, it is denoted as "paraph," and if translated, "trans." The sources underlined with a wavy line indicate that the instructor clearly mentions them, and the shadowed Latin words correspond to the vernacular verb, considered as a translation from Latin.

Table 6: Verb *witien* 1: translation method and quotation

1	paraph.	probably, Cassian: *Collationes*; Latin
2	paraph.	(following 1)
3	paraph.	St James: Jas. I:27; Latin, *se custodire*
4	paraph.	St James: following 3, vernacular
5	trans.	Jas. I:27; Latin, *se fustodire*
10	trans.	Solomon: Prov. 4:23; Latin, *custodia*
11	paraph.	Solomon (following 10)
12	paraph.	(following 11)
16	paraph.	St Augustine: the Augustinian Rule
17	paraph.	(following 16)

18	paraph.	Matt.7.15/24:5; Latin
19	paraph.	St Paul: 1 Tim 2:12
20	paraph.	St Gregory --> Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep.*
21	trans.	the Psalmist: Ps.38:2; Latin, *custodiam*
22	trans.	(following 21)
23	paraph.	Solomon: Wisd. I:10/ proverb
25	paraph.	St Gregory: *Moralia in Iob*
29	trans.	Solomon [Proverbs 4:23; Latin, *custodia custodi cor tuum*
34	trans.	the Psalm: Psalm 58:10; Latin, *custodiam*
35	paraph.	Joel 1:7; Latin
41	paraph.	St Augustine --> Ambrosiaster/ Peter Lombard, 1 Tim. 5:7
43	paraph.	*Vitae Patrum*
52	paraph.	St Antony: *Vitae Patrum*
61	paraph.	Cant 8:7

The verb *witien* 1 [*wite* 2] is frequently seen after a quotation. The *AW* calls forcefully to its audience to beware of outward evils. The Latin verb *custodire* (to guard) seems to be the original word for the vernacular *witien* 1[*wite* 2]. The direct Latin quotations which contain the word *custodire* amount to 10 cases: 3, 4, 5, 10, 11, 12, 21, 22, 29, and 34. The interpreted vernacular phrases which include *witien* 1 [*wite* 2] are recognized in 14 cases: 1, 2, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20,

23, 25, 35, 41, 43, 52, and 61. The repetition of the warning to guard oneself is an overriding feature of this treatise for anchoresses. Numerous authorities are repeatedly cited to drive home the importance of protecting oneself from outer temptation, and the authoritative names are usually clearly identified. The verb *witien* 1 [*wite* 2] is addressed to the audience through these authorities rather than the instructor. The word is conveyed with such significance to the audience that it is minted into their mind.

3.3. Object of *witien* 1 [*wite* 2]

The next thing to establish is what requires *guarding*. The objects of the verb *witien* 1 [*wite* 2] are investigated below to clarify the difference between the verb's usage with authoritative quotations and that in non-authoritative sentences.

3.3.1 Used with an authoritative statement

There are 24 attestations where the verb *witien* 1 [*wite* 2] occurs regarding quoted authoritative statement in Table 6. Table 7 presents the verb alongside the 29 objects. The objects are listed in the left column in modern English, their frequency in the middle, and the

case numbers on the right:

Table 7: Object of verb *witien* 1 in authoritative statement

Object	Frequency	No
one/ oneself	10	3, 4, 5, 16, 18, 23, 43, 52, 59, 61
(one's) heart	6	2, 6, 7, 10, 12, 29
eyes	2	17, 25
rule, me [in prayer], (five) sense(s), silence, ways, tongue, strength, tree, maiden, conscience*, health	1 (each) x 11	1, 9, 11, 20, 21, 22, 34, 35, 36, 41, 60

Table 7 clearly shows that the verb *witien* 1 accompanies the objects listed above to strengthen the importance of controlling *oneself* to be rid of any worldly temptation; one of these is *conscience*, the topic lexeme of this thesis.

3.3.2. Used in author's statement

The verb appears in the author's statement in 15 cases, as highlighted below. The underlined words are the objects of the verb.

8) … þinges ȝe maȝe *witen* oðer habben

(things you may *keep*)

13) … chastete[.] Þ is muche pi/ne wel to be *witene*.

(chastity, which […] is very hard to *protect* well)

14) … *witeð* þer ouwer echnen (*guard* your eyes)

15) … schald þu/ *werien* ham wið

([give them] a shield to *guard* themselves)

31) … vre lauerd *wiste* hit wel.

(Our Lord *guarded* it well)[it=the fifth sense, feeling]

32) … ȝe *witen* þis/ wit

(You should *guard* this sense)

33) … ȝe *witeð*/ wel ouwer wittes utewið

(you *guard* your senses well)

38) … he *wite* z wardi ow.

(he will *guard* and protect you)

42) ȝef me ȝemeð wurse ani þing ilean/ed. oðer bitacht to

witene.

(If less good care is taken of anything that has been lent or given to *be looked after* [than the person])

45) … Þ þu þer efter þe witluker *wite*/ him

(you should *guard* him more carefully) [him=Lord]

54) … þe *wit* z wereð us eauer/ wið þe unseinede gastes.

(who constantly *protects* and defends us against evil

287

spirits)

62・63) ... <u>Naut</u> ne *wite* in ouw/er hus of oðer monne þinges ne achte ne/ claðes・of swich *witung* is muchel uuel jl/umpen ofte siðen.

(Do not *keep* <u>anything</u> in your house that belongs to other people—livestock or clothes. This kind of *storage* has often led to [much] trouble)

64) ... Swa wislich/ *witeð* <u>ow</u> inower blodletunge.

(*Look after* <u>yourselves</u> so carefully during your bloodletting)

66) ... fader sune ha/ligast an almichti god *wite* <u>ow</u> inhis warde

(May Father, Son, Holy Ghost, one almighty God, *have* <u>you</u> in his keeping)

The result is summarized in the following Table 8.

Table 8: Object of verb *witien* 1 in author's statement

Object	Frequency	Case
Things	4	8, 42, 62, 63
One/oneself	4	15, 38, 54, 64
(Five) Sense(s)	3	31, 32, 33
Chastity, Eyes, Lord, You[in prayer]	1 (each)	13, 14, 45, 66

The objects of the verb emphasize the importance of guarding oneself in authoritative statements. The object word *tree* in Table 7 is a metaphor to advocate the significance of protecting oneself—"the bark keeps the tree strong." As for the objects of the verb in the author's narrative sentences, although a few are not seen in the authoritative statements, the results suggest that even the author's statements express the same aim as the authoritative quotations, restating what is important for the audience. The English verb *witien* 1 [*wite* 2] comes from Latin words, such as *se custodire* or *attendire*. The verb *witien* 1 [*wite* 2] appears throughout the work, admonishing the audience that they must protect themselves from the world using various objects.

4. Analysis of *þonc*

The word *þonc* is the gloss for *conscience* in the C manuscript within Part 5. This section examines the usage of *þonc* in the C text comparing to the A manuscript, referencing Millett's Corpus edition. The word *þonc* appears as the gloss for *conscience* in the C text and also occurs in other statements. Analyzing the meanings of *þonc* in the C manuscript could reveal why the manuscript employs *inwit* as

the gloss for *conscience* in the latter part.

4.1. *Þonc* as thinking/ thought

The noun *þonc*, with the meaning of "thinking/ thought" (*MED*, s.v. 4a), has seven cases in the Cleopatra. They are listed below with the corresponding descriptions of the Corpus in the square brackets on the right:

1) .... Þ an riwleð þe

    heorte ƺ makeð efne z smeðe wið vte cn

    oste ƺ dolke of <u>þoncg</u> inwið unwrest z ƺirn

    inde Þ þu her sunegest oðer þis nisnaut

    (4.17) [A: *woh inwit*]

2) ... for

    naut ne marreð hire <u>þong</u> bute sunne

    ane. ...   (4v.21) [A: *woh*]

3) ... long silen

    ce ƺ wel iwist nedeð þe <u>þong</u> upwart towart

    heouene. ...   (29v.5)[A: *þohtes*]

4) ... ƺ putte þenne a þullich

    <u>þonc</u> inhire heorte. ...   (96v.9) [A: *þonc*]

290

5) Inwið ud seouluen vre achne conscience. Þ is

ure <u>þonc</u> ...   (139.5) [A: *inwit*]

6) ... ich habbe studeuestliche i <u>þong</u>

ʒ inheorte þis sunne to for leten. ... (156.9) [A: *þong*]

7) ... þis eisil

of sur heorte ʒ of bittere <u>þonch</u> ouer al oðer þing

acwencheð grickis fur ...   (188.22)[A: *þonc*]

The list shows that the Cleopatra Scribe A employs *þonc* with some

spelling variations, such as *þoncg*, *þong*, *þonc*, and *þonch.* Scribe B

corrected *þonc* in Cases 1 and 2 to accord with the Corpus. Cases 1

and 5 show the transcriptions of *inwit* in the A manuscript, as in

Sections 1.1.1 and 1.1.4, respectively. The comparison between C and

A suggests that the *inwit* of A was previously a variant of *þonc,* which

preserved the meaning of the thought process before *inwit* was coined.

4.2. Other types of *þonc*

Further, to investigate the usage of *þonc*, the other types of its

meaning instead of "thinking" are analyzed in this section. *Þonc* is

also applied to a noun derived from the verb *thinken* v. (2), which

connotes "thank" (*MED*, s.v. *thinken*, 2a). The following list shows the

five cases of this type in C and A:

1) ... heresie gode þonc ...   (31v.1) [A: 33.521]

2) crist a þonc ...   (48.1) [A: 47.1047]

3) ... nalde he cunne god þonc þe mon   (51.14) [A: 50.100]

4) ... Þach god ne

   cunne him neauer þonc of his sonde.   (51v.20) [A: 51.119]

5) ... cunnen hi to lute

   þong of his seruise.   (142v.11) [A: *þonc*: 119.197]

Thus, *þonc* exactly identifies with "thinking/ thought."

The second form is *þonke*, a past-participle form of the verb

thanken, "to feel grateful*.*" It appears in the three places: C: 51v.19,

113v.17, 178.16 [A: 51.118, *þoncki*: 97.1120, 144.492].

Further forms come from the verb *thinken*, as in Table 9. This

verb can be etymologically divided into two groups: *thinken* (1)

mainly expresses "to seem," which is an obsolete function, and

thinken (2) mainly means "to think" or "to meditate." These two kinds

are very frequently used, and some of the form-variations are similar

to *þonc,* such as *þunche, þunge, þench,* or *þochte.*

Table 9: *thinken* (1) and *thinken* (2), form and frequency

Thinken (1)	Frequency	Thinken (2)	Frequency
iþucht	1	þench	10
þunche	11	þenche	11
þuncheð	22	þencheð	23
þunchen	1	þenchen	8
þuchte	5	þenchest	1
þunge	1	þenchet	1
		þenh	5
		þochte	7
		þochtest	1
		þuncheð	7
		þunchen	1
Total	41	Total	75

The verb *thanken* "to thank" also morphs into similar variants. The frequency of such verbs is shown in Table 10 below.

Table 10: *thanken*, form and frequency

Form	Frequency
aþonc	1
þonc	2
þonke	3
þonked	1
þonkeð	1

iþonked	2
þonkede	1
þonkin	1
Total	12

The conjugated forms *þuncheð* and *þunchen* can come from *thinken* (1) or *thinken* (2). Apart from the first vowels of each verb, the forms resemble each other. In particular, some dialectical variations of the noun *þonc* include *þoncke* and *þeonke* in South West Midland (*MED*, s.v. *thank*, n.), the birthplace of *AW*, with similar inflections in Tables 9 and 10.

Moreover, the noun *þohtes* also exhibits a similar form *þong* whose cases are found twice in the C manuscript (C: 29v.5, 29v.11). The variants of *þohtes* are also collected with their meanings in the Appendix to this chapter. Since the vowels can be misspelled, caused by geographic milieu, or changed as seen in some cases, such as *þinge* (A: 149.189) and *þunge* (C: 185.11), *cunsence* (A: 109.1573) and *consence* (C: 130v.5), similar word-forms can shift from one to another leaving some ambiguity.

4.3. Preservation of *thinken* in the Cleopatra

Adding to the greater employment of *þonc* (*thank* (n.)) in the Cleopatra than in the Corpus*,* the verb *thinken* is also used more frequently in C. The A manuscript differentiates the usage of the verb *thinken* from C. The investigation of the frequency of the verb in C explains the employment of *þonc* as the gloss of *conscience.* The different usage of the verb in the corresponding parts between C and A are as follows:

C: þencheð (13v.17) [thinken (1)]   A: gederið (12.197) [gaderen (v.)]

þencheð (53v.22) [thinken (2)]   wengen (52.181) [wing(e (n.)]

þencheð (96v.4) [thinken (2)]   seið (85.643) [seien (v.)]

The A manuscript shows more variety in defining the words more precisely. The second case *wengen*, "wings," even displays different parts of speech. In fact, this part of the C text *þencheð* is regarded as an error by Dobson given the spelling similarity of wynn to thorn (1972: 105. n.8)*.* Anchoresses are compared to birds as the A text reads, "þe *wengen* þe uppard beoreð ham," translated as "the wings that carry them upwards." The C text, however, could even have the same meaning of "thinking upward to the heaven," directly expressed beyond the metaphor. Arguably, Scribe A did not fail in transferring the true meaning of the sentence even if he slipped in copying the

spelling. Scribe A understood the context and that the verb *þencheð* was very familiar to him. These cases show that the C text preserves *thinken* stemmed words, while the A text shows some development in the verbs used for expression.

4.4. Meaning of *thinken* (2)

The verb *thinken* (2) often takes objects related to religious virtues or topics, such as God's cross or God's pain, familiar objects for meditation. For example, in Part 1, the author admonishes that "whoever can, whoever cannot then, at some other time, should *meditate* (*þench*) on God's cross, as far as she is best able to or may, and on his cruel suffering" (A: 13.248; C: 14v.19). Another example in Part 5 shows that a Latin quotation warns of the fear of the Last Judgment, "Assit acusa/trix cogitacio. testis *consciencia*. Carnifex timor" (Recollection should sit there as prosecutor, *conscience* as witness, Fear as executioner),[13] and the Latin is paraphrased as "Þ is *þench* mon ondomes dei' (A:117.113; C: 139v.6–7) (i.e., a man should recollect Judgment Day). In this case, *consciencia* is

---

[13] Millett's translation.

paraphrased and incorporated into the verb *þench*.

The verb *thinken* (2) means "to meditate" and is present in 33 cases (32 in A) out of 72 instances of the verb in each manuscript.[14] Approximately 46% of *thinken* (2) means "to meditate or cogitate" (*OED*, s.v. *think*, v. 2. 3a; *MED*, s.v. *thinken*, v. 2. 1a), and 54% means "to exercise the faculty of reason." Thus, almost half of the word usage of *thinken* (2) expresses "to meditate [on] divine things." These states of mind or inner activities serve as the groundwork to create the conditions for scrutinizing personal sin prior to confession, with the *conscience* as a judge. Thus, the verb *thinken* (2) is closely related to *conscience* and *confession.*

---

[14] *þenche* (A: 13.248, 60.490, 79.408, 117.113; C: 14v.19, 64v.7, 87v.3, 139v.7), *þenche* (A: 7.14, 18.412, 47.1039, 53.202, 72.152, 86.692, 88.773, 99.1186, 100.1218-1219; C: 9v.4, 18v.8, 47v.12, 54v.8, 79v.16, 98v.6, 232.11, 116v.1, 116v.18-19), *þenchen* (A: 19.444, 60.483, 63.598, 78.379, 85.644, 105.1424, 121.291; C: *þencheð*: 19.22, 64.18, 68.3, 86.16, 96v.7, 125.14, 146.7), *þenchet* (C: 24.17), *þohte* (A: 42.845; C: 42v.27), *þench* (A: 91.880, 91.881, 91.882, 91.884, 91.885, 92.888, 92.904, 104.1396, 105.1407, 105.1408, 108.1538; C: *þenh*: 105v.12, 105v.13-14, 105v.15, 105v.18, 105v.19, 106.5, 106v.7-8, 124.15, 124v.8, 124v.10, 129.16).

4.5. Employment of *þoch*

In addition to *thinken* (2), the noun *þoch* (*þocht/ þochtes*) conveys meditation and contemplation. In Part 1, anchoresses are told to think about God all the time so that their "*þochtes* ne beon fleotinde þenne" (thoughts may not be wandering) (A: 19.445; C:19v.1). In Part 3, *þoch* is employed to mean "inner contemplation" three times; (A: *i þoht*: 52.185, 53.204, 54.242; C: 54.5, 54v.12, 56.3). The word *contemplatiun* is glossed as "elevated *þoch*": "Alswa schal ancre fleon wið *contemplatiun* (þet is, wið *heh þoht*)" (A: 56.341; C: 59v.12).

In Part 4, *þoch* as meditation appears in 11 cases. When the audience is instructed in the correct posture for prayer, the instructor says, "Arm yourselves, with the *þoch* of Jesus Christ" (A: 100.1216; C: 116v.15). They are encouraged through "holy *þoch*" (A: 109.1553; C: 129v.15), and by "*þoch* of the cross in your heart" (A: 110.1602; C: 131v.8) to "creep into the holes pierced in Christ's body with your *þoch*" (A: 111.1630; C: 132v.9-10). They are expected to "give serious *þoch* to God's trumpeters, to the angels' trumpets" (A: 81.476, 81.479; C: 90.5, 90.11). Some other "thoughts" give protection from extreme temptations (A: 92.901, 92.908, 92.918; C: 106v.3, 106v.14–15, 107.9). Part 5 records "holy thoughts" (A: 123.349; C: 148v.21). Part 8 warns

that entertaining strange beggars "would sometimes be a hindrance to heavenly *þochtes*" (A: 156.43; C: 191v.11).

There are two cases in which the Corpus differs from the Cleopatra in the usage of *þoch*. First, A introduces the terminology *meditatiuns* in Part 1 (A: *meditatiuns* 18.394; C: *þohtes* 18.7). Second, A employs *þochtes* in Part 2, where C shows *þong* (A: 30.389; C: 29v.5) to express "forces the thoughts up toward heaven," meaning "meditation." Both cases suggest that the Corpus scribe or his exemplar chose the words to clarify the meaning of meditation while Cleopatra holds to the *thinken* set.

Þoht, however, signifies worldly thoughts as well: for example, "ʒe al þisses weis pundeð ower wordes, forstoppið ower *þohtes*, as ʒe wulleð þet ha climben ant hehin toward heouene' (you too similarly should dam up your words, block off your *thoughts*, if you want them to climb and rise up toward heaven) (A: 30.393; C: 29v.11). Furthermore, in Part 4, just after *hali þoht* meant "meditation" (A: 109.1553; C: 129v.15), *cogitatiun* is explained as "fleonninde *þohtes*" (A: 109.1574; C: 130v.6). St Bernard says that there are three steps toward lechery: the first is *cogitatiun*; the second *affecatiun*; and the third *consence*. Thus, "fleonninde *þohtes*" contains not only secular

299

but negative implications concerning the word. The collected cases of

þoht with the meaning of secular thoughts are listed in the Appendix.

Table 10 records the frequency of *þocht* and whether they are secular

or religious:

Table 10: *þocht* (n.) in the C (A) MS: secular or religious

Secular: Form	Frequency	Religious: Form	Frequency
þocht	14	þoch	1
þochte	2	þocht	8
þochtes	12	þochtes	6 (7)
		þochten	2
		þohtes	1 (0)
	Total: 28		Total: 18

Altogether, 18 cases out of 46 cases of *þocht* mean "meditation" (39 %),

and 28 connote pondering secular things (61%). Thus, although the

noun *þoht* means "religious meditation," it is twice as likely to signify

"secular thought."

Thus, when *AW* records theological concepts such as

"meditation," "contemplation," and "cogitation" in English as their

first occurrences, all are rendered into *þoht.* Given that *þoht*

indicates both divine and secular thought, it is accompanied by modifications, such as "high" or "fleeting," to explain the concept more fully. In these cases, *þoht* reveals its limitations in conveying a clear meaning through a single word. It is also apparent that, while C continues using *þoch*, A subdivides the polyvalence of the noun, sometimes resulting in a slightly different meaning. For example, *þocht*(*es*) in the C (75v.21/ 80.18) corresponds to *woh*(*es*), "injury," in the A (69.44/ 72.168).

The previous discussion shows that the word-form *þonc* assimilates many variations of other words: a noun from the verb *thanken*, a past-participle of *thanken*, a verb *thinken*, and a noun *þoht*. Those *thinken/ thanken*-stemmed lexemes are ubiquitous in the texts, and their similarity in form is effectively economical and confusing.

5. Summary

The analysis suggests that the texts of Scribe A of the C manuscript were composed largely coherently and intelligibly before they underwent Scribe B's corrective hand. Although modern scholars have disparaged Scribe A, it seems reasonable to suggest that Scribe

A's original descriptions were not actually erroneous.

Scribe B amended *wit* (4v.20) into *inwit*, presumably considering it as a noun. The word *wit* in the C manuscript, used as a present verb, third-person singular, appears in six Cases (2, 11, 12, 25, 35, 54), of which three (25, 35, 54) are included in the pages where Scribe B left no amendment without any clear reason. Although Cases 11 and 12 are included where he made some revisions, he did not touch these cases apart from Case 2. It means that Scribe B read *wit* as a noun and transcribed it into a new coinage *inwit*.

The borrowed word *conscience* was first introduced as new theological terminology to the audience in Part 5 in the case of Corpus manuscript with the gloss of *inwit* on Anselm's *Meditatio*, where the angry Judge above us and our inner *conscience* are emphasized as a warning to guard against sin. In the corresponding part of the Cleopatra manuscript, however, *conscience* is still glossed into *þonc*. The close investigation of *þonc* and *þoht* disclosed that they were alternative vocabularies for the meaning of divine thinking or meditation, which also covers *conscience* and *inwit.* The clear distinction between "high thinking" or "secular thought" was not carried out completely with the *thinken* vocabularies, as modern

scholarship testifies through difficulties in reading. In this situation, the new theological lexemes, *conscience* and *inwit,* were cultivated to meet the increasing necessity for confession. In the case of Scribe B's addition of the new lexemes, the analysis suggested adopting the term "theological vernacular addition" as a special category of revision.

Following a Latin quotation that includes *consciencia* in the later section, the Cleopatra manuscript tacitly employs *inwit* without formal introductory expression. The text also introduces Reason (*Skile*) as a judge alongside *conscience*, the former being the final judgment on the sinner and the latter bearing witness, reflecting theological developments on confession at the time. The distinctive usage of *þonc(g),* *conscience*, and *inwit* by Scribe A of the C manuscript in distinct parts show that these theological concepts were introduced section by section per topic, revealing clearly the chronological differences in the production of each part.

Appendix

þocht (n.) in the C MS

1. secular or neutral thought (with *asterisk)

þocht *(P2.26.16) [thought (n.): thought]

*(P2.38.22) [thought (n.-6a): thought]

*(P2.39.19) [thought (n.-3a): mind]

*(P4.121v.9) [thought (n.-4a): thought]

*(P4.131.3) [thought (n.-2a): thought]

*(P4.134.8) [thought (n.-2a): thoughts]

*(P4.75v.21) [thought (n.-2a): thought]

*(P4.92.9) [thought (n.-4b): mind]

*(P4.98.1) [thought (n.-3a/2a): thoughts]

*(P4.104.7) [thought (n.): wishes]

*(P5.156v.2) [thought (n.): thought]

*(P5.156v.3) [thought (n.): thought]

*(P5.158v.9) [thought (n.2): thought]

*(P6.170.14) [thought (n.-1a): thinking]

þochte *(P5.145v.3) [thought (n.-2a): thoughts]

*(P5.153.13) [thought (n.-2c): impulse]

þochtes *(P1.19v.1) [thought (n.-3a): thoughts]

*(P2.29v.11) [thought (n.): thoughts]

*(P3.60.20) [thought (n.-4a): thoughts]

*(P3.68.4) [thought (n.): thoughts]

*(P4.76.7) [thought (n.-2a): thoughts]

*(P4.79.16) [thought (n.-2a): thoughts]

*(P4.80.18) [thought (n.-2a): thoughts]

*(P4.130v.6) [thought (n.-2a): thoughts]

*(P4.131v.2) [thought (n.-2a): thoughts]

*(P5.143.20) [thought (n.): thoughts]

*(P5.146.8) [thought (n.): thought]

*(P5.157.15) [thought (n.): thoughts]

2. non-secular/ religeous

þoch (P3.56.3) [thought (n.-3a): thought]

þocht (P3.54.5) [thought (n.): inner contemplation]

       (P3.54v.12) [thought (n.-4a): contemplation]

       (P3.59v.12) [thought (n.4a): thought]

       (P4.116v.15) [thought (n.-4a): thought]

       (P4.129v.15) [thought (n.): meditation]

       (P4.131v.8) [thought (n.-2a): thinking]

       (P4.132v.9-10 [thought (n.-2a): thought]

       (P5.139v.10) [thought (n.): mind]

þochtes (P4.106v.3) [thought (n.-2a): thoughts]

       (P4.106v.14-15) [thought (n.-2a): thoughts]

       (P4.107.9) [thought (n.-2a): thoughts]

       (P5.139v.10) [thought (n.): Recollection]

       (P5.148v.21) [thought (n.): meditations]

       (P8.191v.11) [thought (n.-2a): thoughts]

þochten (P4.90.5) [thought (n.-2a): thought]

       (P4.90.11) [thought (n.-2a): thought]

þohtes (P1.18.7) [thought (n.-2a): thoughts]

Chapter VI

Hidden *Conscience* words and Some Comparisons among Manuscripts

0. Introduction

As per recent studies on *AW*, prior manuscript comparisons are based on the Corpus (A) manuscript. However, some cases are latent; thus, they are neither in Table 1 in Chapter III nor previous chapters. This chapter addresses these *conscience* words, focusing on Cleopatra (C), the oldest extant manuscript, for a clearer picture of the circumstance of the emergence of *conscience*. Further, other manuscripts' *conscience*-word descriptions are also analyzed to clarify each character of the manuscripts and any tendency of the description. The A manuscript is compared to each manuscript to highlight differences. Except for A, the modern English translations are the author's, drawing much from Millett (2009).

1. C's *conscience* in Part 4
1.1. C's evidence unseen in A

One case in Part 4 of C goes unnoticed through the A-based investigation. *Conscience* (99.22) appears as a vernacular in the text:

> Þe þridde cumfort is Þ ure lauerd seolf
>
> inþe pater noster teacheð us to bidden
>
> ƺ ne nos inducas ƺ cetera. Þ is lauerd ƺ fader
>
> ne suffre þu naut þe feont Þ he
>
> leade us allunge into fondunge
>
> Lo neomet ƺeme. he nule naut Þ
>
> ƺebidden Þ ƺe ne beo naut ifondet
>
> for Þ is ure purgatorie. vre clensig

fur. achþ we nebeon naut allunge

ibrocht þer in wið <u>conscience</u> of heorte.

wið skiles ȝettunge*.*   (99.13–23)

(The third comfort is that our Lord himself

in the Our Father teaches us to pray,

and *lead us not into temptation*, that is, 'Lord, and Father,

do not allow the enemy

to lead us completely into temptation.'

Now, take note: he does not want us

to pray that we should not be tempted,

since that is our purgatory, our cleansing

fire, but that we should not be led into it completely

against the <u>conscience</u> of heart,

against the assent of the reason.)

A's corresponding line to C's line 99.22, however, is "ibroht þrin wið *consens of heorte*" (62.716). A's translation is "we should not be led into it completely with the *consent of the heart*, with the assent of the reason" (Millett 2009: 87). This appearance of *consens* in A is its first record in English (*MED*, s.v. *consence*, n.).

As both *conscience* (C) and *consens* (A) are newly borrowed words, the line by *wið* (23) can be detected as the paraphrase of the previous line by *wið*; that is, it is glossed by the following line. The glossed word *skil*, in *skiles ȝettunge* on the last line, originated from Old Norce, and perhaps "already borrowed in OE" (*MED*, s.v. *skil*, n.). *Trinity Homilies* (a1200) and *Vices & Vertues* (c1200) show earlier ones than *AW*, with the meaning of "reasonableness or moderation" (*MED*, s.v. *skil*, n.2a). The meaning of "sound judgment or good sense" is also shown in *Ormulum* (c1175) and *Vices & Vertues* (c1200) (*MED*, s.v. *skil*, n.2b). *ȝettunge* is a gerund, a

variation of *yēting,* derived from the verb *yēten* with the meaning of "assent or consent" (*MED*, s.v. *yēting,* ger.1). Thus, *skiles ʒettung* in C above would mean "the assent of the reason."

1.2. Definition of *consence*

Consence is defined as "(a) yielding (to a sinful desire), (b) acquiescence (in) or tacit encouragement (of sinful conduct)" (*MED*, s.v. *consence*, n.), which is the third step for yielding to gluttony, according to St Bernard (C: 130v.3).[1] *Cogitaciuns* (*OED*, s.v. *cogitation*, n./ *MED*, s.v. *cogitacioun*, n. "A thought, idea, or notion") is the first step of yielding to gluttony, being first recorded in *AW*, glossed as "fleeting thoughts" (C: 130v.6). The second step is *affecciun* (C: 130v.5), which means "inclination." Those words of A, C, F, G, L, N, T, and V have the same context except for small spelling differences. The reference number indicates only the line of the spotted word:

> C: 130v.5.
>
> ... þe forme is cogitaciun. þe oðer is
> affecciun. þe þridde is <u>consence.</u> ...
> (The first is cogitation; the second is
> inclination; the third is <u>consent.</u> ...)

> C: 131.4.
>
> ... <u>Cunsence</u> Þ is <u>schiles ʒettunge</u>. hwen
> þe delit iþe lust is igan se ouer forð Þ þer
> nis nan wið seggunge ʒef þer is eise to

---

[1] *Sermones de diversis, Sermo* 32, §3, *Opera,* 6 (1). (Millett 2005: II. 194.4. 1574–75)

fulle þe dede. ...

(... <u>Consent</u> is <u>the agreement of the reason</u> when

the pleasure in the desire has gone [...] too far [such] that

there would be no refusal if there were the opportunity to

carry out the act. ...) (Millett 2009: 109–110)

The introduction via the expository apposition marker *Þ is* suggests that it is the first formal introduction of *consence* to the audience.

The word *conscience* in C (99.22) is not corrected or revised by Scribe B. Dobson solely comments on this word: "So MS., for *consens* (Corpus, F)" (1972: 168. n.5). Moreover, *conscience* and *consens* have closeness in spelling; they are both related to sin. However, the roles of *consence* and *conscience* are distinct; *consence* occurs when a man agrees to commit a sin, while *conscience* distinguishes right or wrong. Cate Gunn asserts that the author of *AW* emphasizes the role of *consence* on the side of a person in rendering himself to temptation and falling into sin, which shows the book is typical pastoral literature to help religious instructors in the thirteenth century for their hearing of confession (26). In one way, Cleopatra Scribe A's employment of *conscience* at this place could be an error given the similarity of these two words' function and spelling. Scribe A's quoted phrase, however, makes sense, as translated above, if line 23 was not read as the gloss of the previous line. Therefore, the C manuscript employs the lexeme *conscience* before it is introduced in Part 5 with the formal expression of the expository apposition marker *þet is*.

1.3. Comparison among manuscripts

St Bernard's teaching of the three steps for gluttony is, thus, introduced: *cogitacioun*, *affeccioun*, and *consence*. The comparison of the part, shown at 1.1 above among the other manuscripts, shows that the confusion of

consence and *conscience* might not simply result from their spelling closeness. Each manuscript's reference is in Chapter III. I.

A: 62.716. ... ah þet we ne beon nawt allunge ibroht þrin wið

consens of heorte, wið skiles ӡetunge.

C: 99.22. for Þ is ure purgatorie. vre clensig

fur. achþ we nebeon naut allunge

ibrocht þer in wið conscience of heorte.

wið skiles ӡettunge.

F: 34b.28. ... mes qe nous ne soom pas del tout menez dedenz par

consens de queor par appetit de raison.

G: [absent]

L: 126a.15. ... sed ne inducamur in temptationem per *consensum*

cordis et rationis conscienciam seu conniuenciam.

N: 60v.7. ... auh ðet we ne beon nout allunge ibrouht ðerin mid

kunscence of herote ᷑ ӡ mid skiles ӡettunge.

P: 414b.13. ... ac þat we ne be nouӡth a longe brouӡth þere inne

wiþ consent of hert ӡ wiþ skilles ӡetyinge.

S: [expanded]

T: 58v.10. ... Ah Þ we ne beon nawt allunge ibroht þrin wið

consence of herte wið skiles ӡeatinge.

V: 382v.22. ... Ac þat we ben not allynge I. brouht þerin ⌐ with <u>concense</u> of hert.

The Latin manuscript (L) testifies that *consensus* and *consciencia* are employed, noting that we should not be led into temptation through the *consent* of heart and *conscience* of reason, while C says "through *conscience* of heart, through *consent* of reason." *Consens* (A) is also spelled *kunscence* (N), *consent* (P), *consence* (T), *concense* (V), whose spelling variety reveals the novelty and unfamiliarity of the word. The others—A, N, P, S, and T—indicate the same observation, except that V only considers the first half, omitting the phrase with *consence.*

P and S show more expanded expressions of *consence* than in the quotations above (S's bold and italic are original):

P: 424a.36, 424a.9-10.

on is cogitacio. anoþer affectus. þe þridd <u>consensus</u>, cogitacio. ... Rede þouȝth þou blody delytt ne wexe þou neuere <u>consente</u>, þat is ne <u>consente</u> þou neuere þerto.

S: 13.17, 14.5-6.

Li primer de gre⌐ si est cogitacion. Li secund de gre⌐ si est affeccion. Li trez de gre⌐ si est <u>consen-te=ment</u>. ... *Ruben primogenitus meus non crescas*. **quei seit <u>consentement</u>**. <u>Consen-tement</u> ce est otrei de la <u>reson</u> quant li delit e-stale issi auant en le desir. ke il ni faut nul contredit de la <u>reson</u>.

While A glosses *consent* into "the agreement of reason," P adds and repeats the word, without referring to "reason": "... Beware of your thought that your bloody delight will not wax and you should not *consent*, that is, you

should never *consent* it" (The translation is the author's). Thus, written in the late fourteenth century, given the familiarity with the lexeme *consent*, P strongly warns against the danger of submitting oneself to temptations. S describes the relationship between *consentment* (*consence*) and *reason* as C does: "... Ruben the first-born child, you had better not believe what *consent* says. *Consent* is the permission of reason when […] delight [is allowed to progress] in the desire for which there is no strife of the reason' (The translation is the author's).

F shows two types of the word noun form in French (*consence* and *consentement*), while S only uses *consentement* in this part. The *Anglo-Norman Dictionary* posits that *consence* has two meanings: 1) consent, agreement, connivance, or complicity; and 2) support or help (s.v. *consence*, n.). *Consentement* also means "consent," which indicates "agreement" and "connivance and complicity" as *consence*. This French word appears as an ME noun first in *Arthur and Merlin* (c 1330 (? a 1300)) as "consent, approval" and also in *Ayenbite of Inwyt* (1340) as "acquiescence, toleration" (of sinful desire) (*AND*, s.v. *consence*, n.). Though *consence* is Anglicized earlier than *consentement*, both French words are simultaneously in F.

The L manuscript indicates the closeness of *consence* and *conscience*. It is chronologically regarded to have been written after the C manuscript. If "*consens* of heorte, wið skiles ȝetunge" was translated into Latin as "per *consensum* cordis et rationis *conscienciam* seu conniuenciam," *consence* and *conscience* could both induce the sense of committing sin. This translation permits both lexemes to function almost the same.

The collation shows that *consence* is introduced to scribes of *AW* as a borrowed word, just as *conscience* is. Thus, the situation is confused between the two words ascribed to Scribe A of C, the oldest extant MS, because both appear in the context of agreeing with sinful acts. Since those words are involved in the same context, the statement of Scribe A of C does

312

not sound odd, even if the employment of *conscience* is a mistake. The spelling of *kunscence* in N, another old manuscript, should also be considered as similar to *conscience* (*OED*, s.v. *consense*, n.).

2. Other manuscripts' descriptions

This section highlights further differences or characters of other manuscripts on *conscience* words, basically compared with the C text. Manuscripts P, G, F, L, S, and V are investigated. N and T are not examined, given their similarity with A.

2.1. P manuscript

The P manuscript, situated far from the original, incorporates revisions to Part 4 in L and V and a later form in A (Millett 2005: I. xx–xxi). Apparently, "its text has been extensively abridged, rewritten, and interpolated; it addresses a general audience of both sexes, and sometimes works against the sense of the original, celebrating the active rather than the contemplative life" (Millett 2005: I. xx-xxi). Regarding its audience, it seems to be "a rule for all Christians" (Watson 219). The P text is "extraordinarily garbled, probably through a combination of its remoteness from the original and the scribe's inability to cope adequately either with Latin or with the *AW* author's difficult Middle English" (Millett 2005: I. xxi). The P text, with reference to V after garnering much attention on the relationship with the Lollard (Millett 2005: I. xxi),[2] shows

---

[2] As per Millett, Colledge (1939) argued that P was revised by Lollards, but his idea was challenged given the chronological difficulty; however, the P text contains "unorthodox" milieu which still attracts researchers. The Lollards were against the absolution system through confession as listed in the ninth conclusion ("The Twelve Conclusions of the Lollards,"

similarities for *conscience* word usage to C as follows.

2.1.1. *Inwið* vs *inwit*

2.1.1.a. P1 [Case 1]

The P scribe uses *inwið(þ)*, *inwit*, and *witt*, which resembles C's usage. C and P use *inwið(þ)* when the other manuscripts record *inwit*.

> C1: 4.17, 20.
>
> Þ an riwleð þe heorte ƷƷ makeð efne ƷƷ smeðe wið vte cn oste ƷƷ dolke of þoncg <u>inwið</u> unwrest ƷƷ ȝirn inde Þ þu her... þeos riwle is eauer <u>Inwið</u> ƷƷ righteð þe heorte.

> P1: 371a.11, 13, 16.
>
> Þat on reuleþ þe hert and makeþ it euene wiþ oute knoost and doþe of þouȝth <u>inwiþ</u> and bywraieþ þe. ... Þis reule is euere <u>inwiþ</u> (13) þe ƷƷ reuleþ þe hert as it auȝth to done. Hec est caritas illa quam describit apostolus de corde puro. ƷƷ consciencia bona ƷƷ fide non ficta. **C** pis reule is charite of schire heart and clene <u>inwiþ</u> (16) and trewe byleue,

This part of the Preface highlights the importance of the rule that rules the heart and straightens a crooked *þoncg* (C) and *þouȝth* (P), for which *inwit* is used in A. The rule is ever "inside" of "you." Zettersten simply gives a note on *inwið* on line 13 in his edition as follows:

> 13: inwiþ, *sic for* inwit. (P. 1. note.13)

English Historical Review: 22); therefore, for them, *conscience* is not a preparatory instrument or faculty before confession.

314

The corresponding part in A, however, reads, "Þeos riwle is eauer *inwiþ* and rihted þe heorte" (A. 1.15–16), which means the P text is correct. It seems that Zettersten's note should have been given to *inwið* on line 16 as the corresponding A text shows:

> A: 1.17-18.
>
> Þeos riwle is chearite of schir heorte ant cleane <u>inwit</u> and treowe bileaue.

This example may justify the easy confusion between *inwiþ* and *inwit* even to modern scholars.

2.1.1.b. P3 [Case 3] and P5 [Case 5]

Cases 3 and 5 are examined, while Cases 2 and 4 are omitted since they are cases of Latin quotations. The example below does not have a corresponding part in C.

> P3: 371a.16.
>
> Þis reule is charite of schire hert and clene <u>inwiþ</u> and trewe byleue, ...

Case 5 below is where A shows the insertion of the Latin *consciencia* after *inwit* as the gloss, explaining the rule concerning the purity of heart; that is, clean and clear moral sense. Both C and P record *inwið* and *inwiþ*, respectively, and C5 already makes sense, as shown in Chapter V.

> C5: 4v.17.
>
> Þ is. alle maȝen ȝ ahȝen. halden an riwle anon den Purte of heorte.

315

Þ is clene ƺ schir <u>inwið</u> wið vten weote of sunne Þ ne beo þurhc schrift ibet.

P5: p.371b.28.

bidde fast for hym þat god amende hym ƺif it be his wille. and keepe þine hert clene ƺ schire <u>inwiþ</u> ƺ wiþ oute.

Thus, C5 and P5 [Case 5] testify that P5 can be read as C5 without the necessity of correction, which highlights that *inwiþ* of P3 [Case 3] means *inwið* following the reading of P5, while the corresponding A5 [Case 5] shows *inwit*.

2.1.1.c. P6 [Case 6]

The next example is as follows:

C6: 4v.20.

þis maket þe laue di riwle þe riwlet ƺ smeðeð ƺ richteð þe heorte ƺ <u>wit</u>* hire from sunne.

[*B strikes through *wit hire from* and above line writes *þe inwit aƺein* (Corpus *te inwit of,* So Nero).] (Dobson 1972: 3. note)

P6: 371b.35.

And þerfor it is euere <u>inwiþ</u> ƺ reuleþ þe hert and seiþ to þe here

C6 and P6 do not correspond exactly; P6 repeats the context of P1, emphasizing that the rule is always within (*inwiþ*) the heart and rules the heart.

2.1.1.d. P8 [Case 8]

Case 8 shows a Latin quotation:

C8: 87.13.

Omis* sis occasionibus que solent aditumaper ire peccatis.
potest <u>consciencia</u> esse incolu mis. Þ is hwase wule <u>inwið</u> witen
hi/ re hal ʒ fere

P8: 410b. 31.

as seint Austyn seiþ DImissis occasibus que solent aditum
aperire peccatis potest <u>consciencia</u> esse incolumis. Ⅽ Þat is. who
þat wil his <u>inwitt</u> witen al clene fer he most fleiʒe þat fetles þat
is wone oft to ben yopened.

P8 shows that *inwitt*, not *inwiþ*, translates *conscientia,* as other
manuscripts ANTV. Thus, P8 [Case 8] demonstrates a different case.

2.1.1.e. P13 [Case 13]

There are other examples:

C13: 174. 13.

ʒ þeo ʒet þe habbeð pes ʒ reste of cleane <u>inwit</u> habbeð inhare he
orte bitternesse of þis lif

P13: 440a.35.

ʒ ʒut hij þat han rest ʒ pes ʒ ben clene <u>inwiþ</u> ʒutt hij han in her
hert bitternesse of loue þat wiþholdeþ hem fram.

CP1, P3, C5, P6, and P13 accommodate *be*-verb with *inwiþ*, and P5 leads
with the form "*keep* + object + adjective" before *inwiþ*, such as "keep your

317

heart clean and pure within." This repeating pattern to describe the role of the rule comes from Latin scripts. For example, as in Case 1, this expression pattern comes from *Etymologiae*, drawn from the twelfth- and thirteenth-century tradition of commentary of the Augustinian Rule such as *Expositio in regulam beati Augustini* (Millett 2005: II. 2). Moreover, Adam of Dryburgh and the Dominican Humbert of Romans use this image in their sermon and commentary (Millett 2005: II. 2). This wide-spread image of the rule, which directs the distorted heart and makes it straight, is kept within the translated expression pattern noted above. The expression "to keep the heart clean and pure" is accompanied with "within" (*inwiþ*) as CP1, P3, C5, P6, and P13 witness. P13 reflects a variation of this expression pattern, resulting in the usage of *inwiþ* where all other manuscripts say *inwit*.

2.1.2. *Þonc(g)*/ *þouȝth* vs *inwit*

Another common usage between C and P is *þonc(g)* / *þouȝth* for *inwit*; CP record the words in Case 1, and C records it in Case 10.

C1: 4. 17, 20.

þe heorte ⁊ makeð efne ⁊ smeðe wið vte cn oste ⁊ dolke of <u>þoncg inwið</u> unwrest ⁊ ȝirn/ inde Þ þu her... þeos riwle is eauer Inwið ⁊ righteð þe heorte.

P1: 371a.11, 13.

Þat on reuleþ þe hert and makeþ it euene wiþ oute knoost and doþe of <u>þouȝth inwiþ</u> and bywraieþ þe. ... Þis reule is euere inwiþ þe ⁊ reuleþ þe hert as it auȝth to done.

C10: 139. 4, 5.

schule we seon buuen us. Þis ilke eorre dom Þ is ec witnesse ȝ wat al ure gultes. bineo ðen us ȝeoninde þe wide þrote of helle Inwið ud seouluen vre achne conscience. Þ is ure <u>þonc</u> for cweðinde hire seoluen wið þe fur of sunne. wið uten us al þe world leitinde on swart lei up into þe ski[w]es.

Millett explains this phenomenon as follows: "The C reading *þoncg⸱ inwið* seems to have influenced P *þouȝth inwiþ*; but since in C the error was corrected at an early stage by C2, it is likely that it was already present in C's exemplar" (Millett 2005: I. 4. P.16). Thus, she suggests C's exemplar contained these words and regards them to be in "error." However, from Chapters III and V, *þonc(g)* and *þouȝth* are used as the faculty of thinking, thought, mind (*þonc(g)*), reasoning capacity or power of the mind, and consciousness (*þouȝth*) in *AW*.[3] This commonness of the usages of *þonc(g)* and *þouȝth* proves to have been an alternative of *inwit* in C's exemplar, not simply as an error. Since C1 and C10 are justified, P1 can follow C1 to bear the same meaning, as it has the same syntax as C1. Thus, C and P arguably have inherited the text from their exemplars, and the exemplars have the common context and different vocabularies from A's *inwit*.

2.2. G manuscript

The G manuscript is a compilation extracted from Part 3 on remedies against wrath (3. 50–123) and the need to do good by stealth (3. 355–469); Part 5 and most of Part 6 (to 6.417) are included. The extracts from Part 7 on Christ as the lover of the soul (7. 118–242), Part 2 on the soul as the

---

[3] The quote references in *MED* are þonc(g)—A: 115/7 [þonc], 174/5 [þonc], 206/3 [þonc]; G [Cai]: 10/14 [þonc]. þouȝth—A: 52/5 [þoht]; C: 253/2 [þocht]; N: 13/26[þouhte].

bride of Christ (2. 735–824), and Part 3 on reasons for fleeing from the world (3. 615–743) are included (Millett 2005: I. xvi). Since the order of parts of G is freely arranged, the matching of proposed corresponding parts is open for discussion. The text, arranged to address a male audience, indicates an adaptation for a mendicant community (Millett 2005: I. xvi). The following four cases correspond to A and C (2.2.1-2.2.4):

2.2.1. G 8 [Case 8]

As seint austin seið. Omissis ocasionibus que solent aditum aperire peccatis potest <u>consciencia</u> esse incolums. þat is hƿa se ƿile hire <u>inƿit</u> ƿiten hal an fere

A8: 55v. 401-402.

As Seint Austin seið, Omissis occasionibus que solent adytum aperire peccatis, potest <u>consciencia</u> esse incol[u]mis; þet is, hwa-se wule hire <u>inwit</u> witen hal ant fere,

C8: 87. 13.

Omis*/ sis occasionibus que solent aditumaper/ ire peccatis. potest <u>consciencia</u> esse incolu/ mis. Þ is hwase wule <u>inwið</u> witen hi/ re hal ʒ fere

2.2.2. G 10 [Case 10]

shule ƿe seon buuen us þene ilke eorre deme. þat is ecƿit-nesse. ⁊ þat alle ure gultes. Bineþen us. geoniinde þe ƿide þreote of helle. Inƿid us seoluen ure ahne <u>con=sciencie</u>. þat is ure *inƿit.* fortuliinde hire seoluen < . . d þe fur . f sunne>. ƿiduten us al þe ƿorld leitinde on sƿart lei up into þe skues.

A10: 83r. 99.

schule we seon buuen us þe ilke eorre Deme þet is ec witnesse
ant wat alle ure gultes, bineoðen us ʒeoniende þe wide þrote of
helle, inwið us seoluen ure ahne <u>conscience</u> (þet is, ure <u>inwit</u>)
forculiende hire seoluen wið þe fur of sunne, wiðuten us al þe
world leitinde o swart lei up into þe skiwes.

C10: 139. 4-5.

schule we seon buuen us. Þis ilke eorre dom Þ is ec witnesse ʒ
wat al ure gultes. bineo ðen us ʒeoninde þe wide þrote of helle
Inwið ud seouluen vre achne <u>conscience</u>. Þ is ure <u>þonc</u> for
cweðinde hire seoluen wið þe fur of sunne. wið uten us al þe
world leitinde on swart lei up into þe ski[w]es.

2.2.3. G 12 [Case 12]

His <u>inpid</u> beo icnapen þerof ꝛ bere pitt<e>=nisse þerof. ... Get
nis naut þe deme þat is skile ipaied þah he beo ibunden. ꝛ
halde him pid sunne

A12: 83v. 113.

His <u>Inwit</u> beo icnawes þrof ant beore witnesse⁚ ... ʒet nis nawt
þe deme (þet is, Skile) ipaiet þah he beo ibunden ant halde him
wið sunne,

C12: 139v. 13.

His <u>inwit</u> beo icnawe[s] þrof ʒ beore witnesse. ... ʒet nis naut þe
deme Þ is skile ipaiʒet þach heo ibunden ʒ halde him wið sunne.

2.2.4. G 13 [Case 13]

ꠓ reste of cleane <u>in þit</u> habbet in hare heorte bitternesse of þis lif

A13: 101v. 378.

ant þeo ʒet þe habbeð pes ant reste of cleane <u>inwit</u> habbeð in hare heorte bitternesse of þis lif,

C13: 174. 13.

ƹ þeo ʒet þe habbeð pes ƹ reste of cleane <u>inwit</u> habbeð inhare he orte bitternesse of þis lif

The unsettled condition of introducing the new word, *inwit*, is attested in the G manuscript; G's spelling *inþid* for *inwit* is separately written in G 13 [Case 13]. The scribe is regarded to have his origin abroad given his problems with the English special characters (Millett 2005: I. 16). Though the spelling of his *inþid* justifies this assumption, his syntax generally matches with A. The spelling of *inþid* corresponds to A's *inwit.*

2.3. F manuscript

F is estimated to have been written before 1272; it is the only surviving copy of the earlier French translation, according to Millett (2005: I. xv). She notes that although the manuscript is relatively produced late, and the scribe is a little careless, the translation is a close rendering of what appears to have been a good early text of the English version. Her explanation continues that it shares three substantial additions in Part 2 with A (in one case, the *Quomodo obscuratum* addition at 2.884–940, drawing on a better text than A's) and includes a unique addition in Part 8, comparing the regulations of different orders on abstinence. Moreover, the loss of a quire in the exemplar probably caused an extended omission

(3. 648–4. 437).

This French manuscript identifies the French *conscience* with the new English one. Originated from the Latin *conscientia*, the French *conscience* appears in Case 1 (*conscien‑/[ce]*), Case 5 (*conscience*), Case 6 (*con‑/science*), Case 7 (*con‑/science*), Case 10 (*conscience*), Case 12 (*con‑/science*), and Case 13 (*conscience*). In Case 10, where *conscience* is introduced as recorded in *MED*, while the other manuscripts A, C, G, N, P, T, and V introduce the word with the expository apposition marker *þet is*, F lacks a corresponding marker given its unnecessary vernacular translation (underlines are the author's):

> F10: 48b.7.
>
> Juge corou‑cee qest ensement tetmonie. et siet touz noz trespas. Par‑desouz nouz. abaiante la lar‑ge goule denfer. <u>Pardedenz nous meismes nostre demeine conscience ardant sei meismes od le feu de pecche. Pardehors nous tout le mound ardante en noire flam‑be amont desqes as nues.</u>
>
> C: 139. 4‑5.
>
> schule we seon buuen us. Þis ilke eorre dom
>
> Þ is ec witnesse ⁊ wat al ure gultes. bineo
>
> ðen us ʒeoninde þe wide þrote of helle
>
> <u>Inwið</u> ud seouluen vre achne <u>conscience</u>. Þ is
>
> ure <u>þonc for cweðinde</u> hire seoluen wið
>
> þe fur of sunne. wið uten us al þe world
>
> leitinde on swart lei up into þe ski[w]es.

This part of the quotation is justified in Chapter V, Section 4.2, where A does not accord with C. The A phrase *for cweðinde* in C changes into another verb's present participle *forculiende* in A, where *wið* is "against" in C and "with" in A. The dualism of *wið* could induce some scribes to consider the word as "against" or "with." The dual reading of the preposition affects the understanding of the linked verb as *cweðinde* in C and *forculiende* in A.[4] When the context is considered, however, the subject's *conscience* must be warded against temptation. Thus, the quotation of F can be understood as

> . . .angry judge who [is] also a witness and knows all our crimes. Below us, the wide gulp of hell [is] open. <u>Within ourselves, our own *conscience* [is] burning ourselves against the fire of sin. Outside us, the whole world [is] burning in dark flames upward into the clouds.</u>

C and F are located as the nearest and the earliest in the Stemma Codicum (Chapter I). The comparison and the chronological estimation of A, C, and F—the earliest C, then F, and last A—suggests some possible processes for transforming the preposition *wið* and the verb through their exemplar.

2.4. L manuscript
Collected and rebuilt from four extant manuscripts—Ma, Me, R2, and

---

[4] The French corresponding preposition *od* itself also means both "with" and "against." <anglo-norman.net.> (s.v. *od*, 1. prep.).

Vi[5]— this Latin translation L "shows evidence of adaptation for a wider audience of religious [people], including male and female regulars [and] recluses" (Millett 2005: I. xvii-xviii). The Latin combined manuscript does not need a vernacular translation as in Cases 2, 4, 8, 9, and 11 (Chapter III.1. Table 1). However, for the translation from the vernacular *AW*, as the original is English, the scribe (or the exemplar scribe) must employ an alternative Latin, and he uses *conscience* to mean the vernacular, as in Cases 1, 5, and 12, whose texts are compared with A.

Case 1   A: 1r. 14. (16.)

> Þe an riwleð þe heorte, ant makeð efne ant smeðe wiðute cnost ant dolc of woh <u>inwit</u> ant of wreiʒende þe segge, …þeos riwle is eauer <u>inwið</u> and rihteð þe heorte.
> (One of them rules the heart and makes it even and smooth without the bumps and hollows of a crooked and troubled <u>conscience</u> that says, …. This rule is always <u>internal</u> and directs the heart.)

> L: 92a. 9. (10.)
>
> illa que cor rectificat et complanat ut sit sine conuexo aut concauo oblique seu accusantis <u>consciencie</u> dicentis, … Hec regula est semper <u>interior</u> et cor rectificat …
> (that governs the heart and makes it even without the bumps and covert hollows or rather accusing <u>conscience</u> that says, … This rule

---

[5] Ma: Oxford, Magdalen College, MS Latin 67; Me: Oxford, Merton College, MS C. 1.5; R2: London, British Library, MS Royal 7 C. x; V1: London, British Library, MS Cotton Vitellius E. vii.

is always <u>within,</u> and it governs the heart....)

Case 5   A: 1v. 41.

þet is, alle mahen ant ahen halden a riwle onont purte of heorte,
þet is cleane ant schir <u>inwit</u> (<u>consciencia</u>) wiðuten weote of
sunne þet ne beo þurh schrift ibet.
(that is, everyone can and should observe one rule concerning
purity of heart, which is a clean and clear <u>moral sense</u>
(<u>conscience</u>) unaware of any sin that has not been atoned for
through confession.)

L: 92b. 11.

et sic omnes vnam regulam seruare possunt, videlicet,
quantum ad puram et mundam <u>conscienciam</u> sine labe peccati
quod non fuerit per confessionem correctum,
(and thus everyone can keep observ[ing] one rule, evidently,
concerning pure and clean <u>conscience</u> without a stain of sin that
has not been corrected by confession)

Case 12 A: Part 5. 83v. 113.

His <u>Inwit</u> beo icnawes þrof ant beore witnesse: ... ȝet nis nawt
þe deme (þet is, Skile) ipaiet þah he beo ibunden ant halde him
wið sunne,
(His <u>Conscience</u> should admit this and bear witness: ... But the
judge (that is, Reason) is still not satisfied even though he is
tied up and refraining from sin)

L: 142a. 22-23.

Agnoscat <u>consciencia</u> et testificetur, ... Ad huc non est iudex

326

contentus, videlicet, ratio, licet ligatus sit et abstineat a peccato, (Conscience recognizes and bears witness... But the judge, that is, reason, is not satisfied with this, although he is tied up and refraining from sin)

The vernacular *inwit* is translated as *consciencia* in the L manuscript and *inwið* as *interior.*

Case 8 shows the scribe's translation technique, which escapes from the repetition of the word:

Case 8   A: 55v. 401, 402.

As Seint Austin seið, *Omissis occasionibus que solent adytum aperire peccatis, potest <u>consciencia</u> esse incol[u]mis;* þet is, hwa-se wule hire <u>inwit</u> witen hal ant fere,
(As St Augustine says, *If those occasions that tend to open the door to sins are avoided, the <u>conscience</u> can be secure;* that is, Anyone who wants to keep her <u>conscience</u> healthy and sound must avoid the occasions)

L: 121b. 2.

Vnde Augustinus: Omissis occasionibus que solent aditum aperire peccatis potest <u>consciencia</u> esse incolumis. Oportet enim vitare occasiones que peccato aditum pandunt.

The latter part of L, which begins with *Oportet,* comprising the vernacular translation in A after the Latin quotation, does not include *consciencia,* omitting the subject's repetition. The L text can read as "If those occasions that tend to open the door to sins are avoided, the conscience can be secure. Therefore, it is correct to avoid the occasions [that] would open the gate for

sin."[6] Since the L text does not have to translate the Latin quotation, the latter half is the scribe's (or his exemplar's) original phrase, unseen in other manuscripts. The additional phrase enforces the importance of shutting out any dangerous opportunities for plummeting into sinful acts; generally, L accords with A.

2.5. S manuscript

The S manuscript is an independent Anglo-Norman translation from the early French of *AW*. It is supposed to be a completion of four *compileisons*— the seven deadly sins (including extracts from Part 4), penance (using Parts 5–7), the pains of purgatory, and the 10 commandments—and a treatise on the *Vie de gent de religion* (based solely on *AW*, using the Preface, Parts 2 and 3, and an extract from Part 4) (Millett 2005 I: xxii–xxiii). Targeted for a much wider audience than the original, including all religious, men and women, and lay people, the wording of S "has sometimes been considerably expanded by the translator(s)" (Millett 2005 I: xxii–xxiii). This expansion also applies to *conscience* word expressions, analyzed below. On these Cases of S, Millett comments that a certain passage is not translated in any except S and is not in CF (Millett 2005 II: 4.P.18-26). In this section, the S texts are introduced and translated into modern English to clarify the originality of S.

2.5.1. Cases 1 and 2

The beginning of Preface in S differs from A's and that of others. The introduction of Canticle being omitted and the address to anchoresses being cut indicates a wider audience, starting with the quotation of Philippians 3:16. Cases 1 and 2 in A in the Preface show a Latin quotation

---

[6] The translation is the author's.

(underline for clarity) and its translation to which S adds vernacular explanation.

A: 1r. 13-18

Þe an riwleð þe heorte, ant makeð efne ant smeðe wiðute cnost ant dolc of woh <u>inwit</u> ant of wreiȝende þe segge, "Her þu sunegest" oþer "Þis nis nawt ibet ȝet ase wel as hit ahte." þeos riwle is eauer inwið and rihteð þe heorte. <u>*Et hec est caritas quam describit Apostolus, de corde puro et consciencia bona et fide non ficta.*</u> Þeos riwle is chearite of schir heorte ant cleane <u>inwit</u> ant treowe bileaue.

The corresponding vernacular before the Latin quotation in S omits the two dictations, "Her þu sunegest" (You are committing a sin here) and "Þis nis nawt ibet ȝet ase wel as hit ahte" (This is not yet atoned for as well as it ought to be), which have a dramatic effect to the audience. Instead, the S adds a reference to the amendment of the soul, as indicated with the waving line:

S: 161. 24.

La reule ke rectefie le quer. fet le quer oel e suef. e sanz uene e sanz boce de to-te <u>conscience</u>·e de enclinante a pec-che. <u>Ceste reule dit al alme issint. Cist pecchez ou ceste chose ne est pas amendesé unkore a ausibien com ele deut estre.</u> Ceste reule est de denz tut dis. e rectefie issi le quer.

(The rule which rectifies the heart makes the heart even and smooth, and without knot[7] nor lump of all <u>conscience</u> and

---

[7] *Uene* unknown.

inclination to sin. This rule speaks to the soul to leave [from sin]. This sin or that thing is not amended yet until, by permission, he is what he should be. This rule is completely inside of you and speaks and rectifies the heart.)

In S, the first Latin quotation not found in A (the first underline below) follows, after which an additional vernacular sentence (waving line), including *conscience,* appears. The second Latin quotation (the second long underline) follows:

S: 161.27–162.4

ke il ne pout en pecche demorir. *Regula enim ut dicit in libro ethimologiarum dicta est eo quod recte ducit. nec aliquando aliorsun trahit vel quod trahit regat uel quod normam rec-te uiuendi prebeat. uel distortum. prauum=que quod est corrigat.* Ceste reule de denz. Si est ueraie charite charite de pur quer. e de bone conscience. e de ueraie fei si com dit seint poel li apostle. *Regula enim que est circa direc=cionem: est uera cari-tas. quam describit apostolus sic. Caritas est finis precepti de corde puro et consciencia bona: et fide non ficta.*

(so that the heart would not break up in sin. *The rule is like the one that is written in the Book of Etymology. The rule guides the heart directly. It does not take [something] away somewhere [at] anytime. […] it rules it, […] provides the norm to the people living rightly, or […] corrects the one that is distorted and crooked.* This rule [is] inside; thus, it is the true charity, the charity of the pure heart, […] the good conscience, and […] true faith. It is like [what] St. Paul the Apostle says: *therefore, the rule is for the heart's direction; it is the true charity, about which*

the Apostle describes as [...] the final commandment of pure heart and clear conscience and sincere faith.)

The second Latin quotations, presumably from Peter Lombard (Millett 2005 II: 4.P.18–21), in A and S correspond, but the one in S is longer. Obviously, S talks about the rule in more detail than A. In A, the Latin entails the vernacular translation, but in S, the Latin makes another appearance as if to confirm the former after the vernacular explanation. S continues to employ vernacular after the common Latin quotation before another Latin quotation to emphasize the importance of the rule. The following is the vernacular beforehand explanation of the coming Latin quotation in lines 10–14.

> S1: 162.6-10. [A: 1.17-18]
>
> Pur cels ke solonc cete <u>reule</u> lour quers reule-ront ꞏprie seint daui en tentiuement nostre seignur e dit. Sire ieo vus pri ke vus donez uostre merci deuant toz antres a ceus ke vus conoissent par ueraie fei. e vostre dreiture a ceus. ke ont le quer <u>reule</u>ꞏ
> [Tr 125c: par ueraie charite].
> (For those who according to this <u>rule</u> [direct] their hearts Rightly, St. David prays in the Testament to Our Lord and says, "I pray to you that you give your mercy to those who know you by the true faith, and your righteousness to the <u>righteous</u> in heart. [Tr.125c: through charity]")

S continues to talk about the rule in three sentences; the first is the paraphrase of the Latin quotation quoted above, the second matches with the text of the Latin in A (not in S), and the third introduces the following Latin quotation as below:

S1: 162.14-5.

Ceus ke sunt issi <u>reulez</u>꞉ il sunt deuant autres. bons

ap-pellez꞉ si com daui li prophet edit en le sau-ter.

(Those who live in accordance with the <u>rule</u> […] take priority

of the rule over the other things. Those people are called good

people, just like David the prophet says in the Psalter.)

The Psalter asserts the importance of the rule, of which the most important is charity. Below is the Anglo-Norman translation of the following Latin quotation.

S1: 162.16-19.

A ceus est dit en le sauter ke il se en ioissent du testmoige de

lour bones <u>consciences</u>. les queles la souereie <u>reule</u> ceo est

<u>charite</u>꞉ a reulez sanz la quele nul quer [BN 103c] ne est

rectefie.

(It is said in the Psalter that they should rejoin in the testimony

of their good <u>conscience</u>. Of those, the most sovereign <u>rule</u> is

<u>charity</u>. Following the rules without charity [means] any heart

is not righteous.)

Where A has no vernacular translation of an Augustin quotation (A.1v.24-26), S has a vernacular translation, and the Latin quotation is longer:

S1: 162.22-25

De ceste reule parout seint au-gustin e dit. Nule chose ne est

tant a prier a deu꞉ come la <u>reule</u> de mestrie. ceo est com

<u>charite</u>. ke est mestresse e so-uereine de tutes uertuz.

(Of this rule, St. Augustine speaks and says: Nothing should be prior to God, just like the <u>rule</u> of authority. It is <u>charity</u> that is the mistress and the sovereign of all virtues.)

The following additional paraphrase also comes before the Latin quotation.

S1: 162.25–163.2

id est nisi caritas que est magistra et supprema omnium uirtutum. Ceste fermement garder. Car
ke conkeS ceste <u>reule</u> deske sa fin tendra꞉ sanz nule doute sauue serra. Si com seint po-el muster nus aperte=ment. *Quicumque inquid hanc regulam secuti fuerint. pax dei id est quies a peccatis super illos in pre-senti uita. Et misericordia id est remissio peccatorum in uita futura.* E pur ceo en ceste <u>reule</u> par fin estouer si nus uolom ester sauuez des-ke nostre mort deuom demorer. E si com seint poel nus amoneste꞉ en ceo uostre uie terminer. *hinc est quod dicit apostolus.*
(*that is, without charity that is the master and the supreme of all the virtues.* This <u>rule</u> indeed summons us for all the other bitter things and [preserves] your life firmly. Indeed, whoever obtains this rule until he has his life's end, without [any] fear, he will be secure. Just like St. Paul shows us openly, whoever asks for this rule will be secure [in the] Peace of God, that is, recess from the sins over those in the present life, and mercy, that is, remission of the sins in future life. And according to this, finally retaining this <u>rule</u>, our injury will be secure until our death calls for death. Thus St. Paul admonishes us [that] in accordance with this rule, our life should be terminated. *This is what the Apostle says.*)

333

The rule's significance is still emphasized. The original bold type in S seems to be the title of the next section:

> S1: 163.4-6.
>
> Ceste deuant dite <u>reule</u> donc deit checun home en soen quer aue∙ir. si il a uolente de sa alme sauuer. la quele reule est de denz. **de la <u>reule</u> ke rectefie le cors**.
>
> (The aforementioned rule, indeed, requires every person to confess in one's heart. Thus, he prevents his soul from being stolen. That rule is inside of us—**the <u>rule</u> which guides the hearts**.)

The expanded parts of S emphasize the importance of the rule, of which charity is of the dominant. The statement has been freely expanded, leaving a message on how the rule governs our hearts, and our defects should be amended through conscience and the right confession. Although the original of *AW* is assumed to be done by a Dominican, the compilation of S is assumed to originate from a Franciscan community (Millett 2005 I: xxii–xxiii).[8]

2.5.2. Case 6

Case 6 also indicates the importance of the rule, of which S's extension is again obvious. S highlights the connection between the rule and *conscience* repeatedly. In this part, *conscience* is referenced more than once.

---

[8] The first Dominicans arrived in England in 1221, and a little later the Franciscans reached the shore in 1224 (Shepherd xxi).

A: 1v. 43.

Þis makeð þe leafdi <u>riwle</u>, þe riwleð ant rihteð and smeðeð ðe heorte ant te <u>inwit</u> of sunne;

S6: 163.30,31. [A: 1v.43]

E ceo fet la <u>reule</u> de denz ke est dame. ke <u>reu·le</u> e adresce le quer. e le fet squef. e la <u>conscience</u> nette de pecche. Car nule rien ne fet la <u>conscience</u> torte e bozuse⸵
(And the rule which works inside is the lady. That rule directs the heart and makes it smooth. And the <u>conscience</u> is clear from sin. Because nothing [can] make the <u>conscience</u> distorted or humped.)

2.5.3. Case 9

Case 9 is a Latin quotation, extended in S; first, the vernacular emerges, and the Latin becomes longer.

A: 83r. 87.

Hinc erunt accusancia peccata, illinc te[r]rens Iusticia; supra, iratus Iudex, subtra, patens horridum chaos inferni; intus, urens <u>consciencia</u>, foris, ardens mundus.

S9: 56.26, 57.6. [A: 116.83r.87]

De denz nus nostre <u>conscience</u> ardant e nus pur nos mau· ueistez reprennant e remordant. ... *hinc erunt inquit accusancia peccata. Illinc terrens iusticia. supra⸵ iratus iudex. subtus⸵ patens horridum chaos in·ferni. Intus⸵ <u>consciencia</u> urens. foris⸵ mun·dus ardens. peccator sic deprehensus in quam partem se premet.*

(Within us, our <u>conscience</u> burns and makes us […]
repent and remorse [over our evils]. . .
On [the] one [hand], there will be accusing sins,
on the other terrifying Justice; the angry Judge above, the
hideous chaos of hell gaping below; inside, a burning <u>*conscience*</u>,
outside, a world in flames. Then the sinner, recognizing by that
part, suffers himself.)

2.5.4. Case 10

Case 10 follows soon after Case 9, the case recorded in *OED* and *MED* as
the first appearance of English *conscience*. S's Case 10, however, does not
show the expository apposition marker, *þet is*, to introduce the new word,
which suggests *conscience* is not a word with any novelty for the audience
of S. Thus, S shows a development of the explanation.

A: 83r. 99.

schule we seon buuen us þe ilke eorre Deme þet is ec witnesse
ant wat alle ure gultes, bineoðen us ȝeoniende þe wide þrote of
helle, inwið us seoluen ure ahne <u>conscience</u> (þet is, ure <u>inwit</u>)
forculiende hire seoluen wið þe fur of sunne, wiðuten us al þe
world leitinde o swart lei up into þe skiwes.

S10: 57.19, 58.14.

De denz nus mei-mes. ert la <u>conscience</u> de nus asprement nus
remordant e ardant par le feu de pecche. De horS nostot li mond
ardant en flamme dekes as nues. Li dolerus pecchour issi
assege en tant de tristur. a la quele de cestes deuant dites
choses se purra il torner: ... E a donc ueigne a uant [Tr 53d] la
<u>conscience</u> e reconnoise tote la uerite. e porte temmoigne

336

aspensers e die. ceo est trestout uoir e mout plus.

(Inside us, our own <u>conscience</u> severely pricks us and burns by the fire of sin. Outside us, the whole world burns in dark flames like clouds. Thus, the painful sinner is besieged in full sadness. By […] one of the aforementioned things, he examines the disordered matters by himself… In the meantime, in front of <u>conscience,</u> he recognizes all the truth and bears witness [thoroughly every day]. This is completely true in a [significant way].)

This case affirms that the audience of S already knows about *conscience* as an important concept for their religious life, given the repetition of the lexeme.

2.5.5. Case 11

Case 11 is a Latin quotation. S extends the quotation more to emphasize the importance of *conscience* again.

> A: 83v. 113, 117.
>
> *Ascendat homo tribunal mentis sue, si illud cogitat quod oportet eum exiberi ante tribunal Christi. Assit accusatrix Cogitatio, testis <u>Consciencia</u>, carnifex Timor.*

> S11: 58.30-59. 2, 5.
>
> *Ascendat homo tri-bunal mentis sue. Si illud cogitat quod oportet exhiberi ante tribunal cristi. Assit ac-cusatrix. cogitacio. testis. <u>consciencia</u>. carni-fex. timor. et Gregorius in moralibus. … Nam <u>consciencia</u> accusat. racio iudicat. timor⸗*
> *(Recollecting that he must appear before the tribunal of Christ,*

a man should ascend the tribunal of his own mind. Recollection

should sit there as prosecutor, <u>Conscience</u> as witness, [and]

Fear as executioner. St. Gregory says in Moralibus: … Indeed

<u>conscience</u> accuses. Reason judges. Fear [executes].)

Overall, S shows the importance of the rule and *conscience* more than A. The audience seems to have a more theologically trained background in an assumedly Franciscan community.

2.6. V manuscript

"Produced in the West Midlands, probably toward the end of the fourteenth century" (Millett 2005 I: xxv), uncertainty prevails over its exact date, place of origin, patron(s), and intended audience. Internal evidence proves this notion after 1384, and its dialectal and other evidence shows it is a product in the area including South Staffordshire, North Worcestershire, and West Warwickshire (Millett 2005 I: xxv). It includes several revisions in A, showing the connection between the two manuscripts.

Case 4 below shows V's extension of the Latin quotation and its additional vernacular explanation in A. The underlined expression apart from the ones for *conscience* is the longer part of the Latin quotation than the one in A, and the double underlines are the vernacular addition:

A: 1r. 23.

Psalmista: Benefac, Domine, bonis et rectis corde. Istis dicitur

ut glorientur—testimonio uidelicet bone <u>conscientie</u>:

V4: 371vb.21, 25, 28.

Psalmista. Bene fac domine bonis z rectis corde. Istis dicitur ut

glorientur testimonio videlicet bone <u>consciencie</u> <u>gloriamini</u>

omnes recti corde. … ȝif þi Conscience. þat is þin inwit of þi

þouȝt and of þin herte. … And þat such conscience. and such

inwit is wouh and vn euene.

(*the Psalmist says: "Do good, O Lord, to those who are good and*

righteous in heart." They are told that they should rejoice—that

is, in the testimony of a clear conscience; all you […] righteous

heart will be glorified*. …* If your conscience, that is your moral

sense of [in] thought and […] heart. … And that such

conscience and such moral sense is crooked and uneven.)[9]

The common Latin quotation is from 2 Corinthians 1:12, and the added part in V is from Psalm 31:11 (Millett 2005 II: 4). The text is well blended as if originating from the same source, emphasizing the importance of having a clear conscience and a right heart. Basically, as in A concerning the expression for *conscience*, V's expansion suggests *conscience* had been gaining more attention when the manuscript was produced.

3. Commonality among the later ones

A case shows an additional Latin quotation concerning *confession*, only in the later manuscripts, G, N, L, P, S, T, and V, not in the early ones A, C, F. Part 5 reads as below in A:

> A: 81v.15.
> þenne is þe feond ischend hwen me schaweð [i schrift] alle hise
> cweadschipes.
> (The devil is defeated when all his crimes are revealed)

---

9 The latter part of the translation (from *gloriamini*) is the author's.

Millett informs that "after *cweadschipes* (GNTV), *heorte* (5.17) (PS), or *Iudith* (5.18) (L), all manuscripts, except ACF, have (with minor variants) *compuncte <u>consciencie</u>; vnde in cubiculo abscidit capud eius*" (Millett 2005 I: 114), translated as "prick your conscience into the bedchamber where his head hides." Obviously, it is a Latin addition emphasizing *conscience* for recognizing "sin." The expression originates from Psalms 4:5, *in cubilibus vestris compungimini* ("be sorry for them [things] upon your beds"),[10] which invokes a heart of compunction with [the] consciousness of sin. This image is widely recognized, such as Augustine's *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, Peter Lombard's commentary on the Psalms, or James of Vitry's *Sermo* (Millett 2005 II: 202.n.5.15). Thus, the later manuscripts indicate that the significance of the concept of *conscience* is much bigger than in earlier ones.

4. Summary

The C text proposes an important element of telling the circumstance of the time of introducing *conscience* regarding the confusion between *conscience* and *consence*. Both words are related, with recognition and admission of sin. C and P employ *inwið*, which suggests they might have been rooted from the same exemplar. G records the vernacular spelling, which might have been from a foreigner who faces challenges in writing correctly, but is generally in accord with A. F indicates a possibility that English *conscience* directly comes from French *conscience* given the identical spelling and confirms the closeness to C. L, with no need for translation, displays the importance of *conscience* and the rule, emphasizing the avoidance of any dangerous sin-inducing situation.

All investigations in this chapter reveal a tendency where the later manuscripts openly describe the importance of the rule and refer to

---

[10] <drbo.org/dr/chapter/21008.htm.>

conscience more than the earlier texts. Especially, S expands the whole volume regarding *conscience*, quoting and adding more Latin expressions about *conscience* and referring to *conscience* much more often. This situation is because the audience of S is assumed to have a background in theological education, probably of a Franciscan community. The V also shows some significant expansion of *conscience* statements.

This chapter clarified that the earliest C, including two vernacular alternatives for *conscience*, *þonc* and *inwit*, underwent a wave of adaptation of theological vocabularies, including *consence*, which shows the so-called contemporary ideological schism. The later manuscripts—L, S, and V—record the diffusion of *conscience.*

Chapter VII

Cleopatra MS Scribe D's Amendments on *Conscience* words

0. Introduction

The Cleopatra manuscript (C) is the most important among the extant manuscripts to trace the *conscience* word history within *AW*. This chapter considers another kind of amendment to the text for further insight. Apart from Scribe B, another scribe, Scribe D, amended Scribe A's text greatly. Dobson describes Scribe D in the explanatory preface of his Cleopatra edition, and since Scribe D does not seem to have been a serious focus for research, except for Dobson, this introductory section draws from Dobson (1972). Scribe D's alterations are much more than Scribe B's, though the importance is less (cxl). He mainly corrects punctuations; however, he is also a reviser, corrector, and glossator for various works on the C manuscript (xlvi). Scribe D perhaps worked on the manuscript much later, probably after 1284 and before 1289 (cxlvii), resulting in a distinctive alteration from Scribe B.

Scribe D seems to come from North-east Midlands, based in Anglian, most probably localized in South Lincolnshire (cxlviii-clx). His works should be regarded as evidence of "changes in vocabulary and word-form during the thirteenth century" (clxiv). Though Scribe D works differently from Scribe B, whose corrections are precise, skillful, intelligent, and intelligible (xcvi-xcvii), it is worth analyzing his alterations as long as he works on the "inadequate" (xlix) text of Scribe A, especially as Scribe D had another manuscript to consult (clxix). His many corrections show that Scribe A's text was not easy for him to read. This section analyzes D's *conscience*-words corrections, though few relative to his full amendments. Collating them with Scribe A and B texts unveil the earlier attitude toward

conscience words. The A text is consulted via Millett (2005).

1. Cases of Scribe D's correction concerning *conscience* words

First, this section presents all the cases where *conscience* words are corrected by Scribe D. "D-Case" signifies the cases in which Scribe D is involved, and the number shows the sequence.

1. 1. D-Case 1: addition of *wit*

When Part 2 talks about the five senses to be careful of temptation, Scribe D re-corrects Scribe A's correction. All notes with asterisks are Dobson's.

> C: 44v.11–12
>
> > Þe fifte wit is felunge. þis is
> >
> > anwit Þ is inalle þeode ⁊ inal
> >
> > þe licome. ⁊ for þi hit is neod to habbe\<n>
> >
> > best warde. vre lauerd wiste hit wel. for þi
> >
> > he walde mest i Þ wit þolien. forto
> >
> > frofrin us ȝef we þrin wa þolieð. ⁊ to wen
> >
> > den us fromward þe licunge. Þ flesches
> >
> > lust askeð fromward þe licunge* felunge ma
> >
> > re þen inoðre   §   ...   (4-12)
> >
> > > *A [...] subpuncts *licunge* but corrects his error only in part; he [...] repeated *fromward þe licunge* from [the] previous line in place of *nomeliche i felunge* (Corpus).
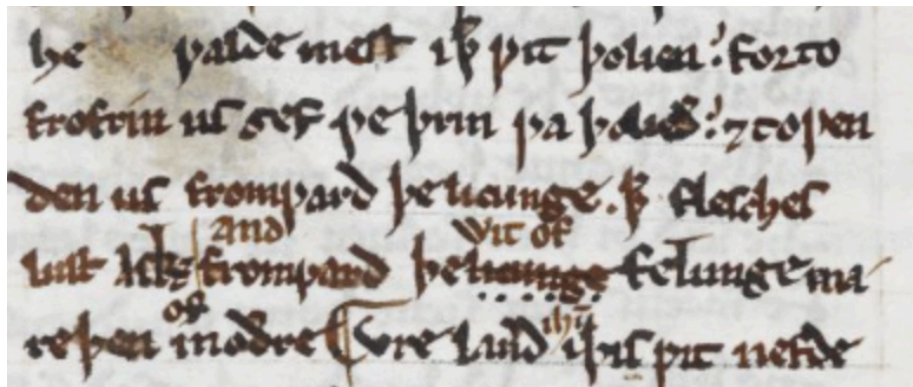
Figure 1: Cleopatra MS 44v.8-12.

According to Dobson, D strikes through the subpuncted *licunge* (11) and writes *wit*, a *conscience* word, above such that his "emended" text reads *askeð and fromward þe wit of felunge*. Scribe A's repetition of *licunge* (11) probably comes from an eye-skip to the previous line; therefore, Scribe D's correction is warranted. With other emendations of Scribe D, this part including *þe wit of felunge*, is as follows:

> The fifth sense is feeling. This is a sense that is
>
> present in all the others and through
>
> the whole body, and for this reason, it needs to be
>
> most closely guarded. Our Lord guarded it well, [which]
>
> is why he wanted to suffer most in that sense […] to
>
> comfort us through the body. The flesh's
>
> lust asks through the sense of feeling more
>
> than the others.

Wit is one of the glosses of *inwit* employed in the P text (426 v.25: *witt*) [Case 12 in Table 1, Chapter III], where other manuscripts show *inwit*,

conscience, or *consciencia.*[1] In the corresponding part, the A text employs *te licunge þet flesches lust easkeð, nomeliche i felunge mare þen oþre* (A: 44.952-53), where the lexeme *wit* is not found. Scribe D seems to employ intentionally *wit* regarding *flesches lust.* This *wit*, picked up by Scribe D for correction, clearly means one of the five senses. Scribe D's insertion of *wit*, not *inwit*, clarifies the topic that warns of carnal temptation. The clear identification of *wit* as a "sense of feeling" seems to have also been established in the C text.

1. 2. *Þout/þonch*

Scribe D employs *þout/þonch*, one of the *conscience* words, in two cases.

1. 2. 1. D-Case 2: *þout*

In Part 3, one page in the folio 57v was left blank and ruled with a ruler by Scribe D via a different system; he then filled the page with St Bernard's Latin quotation before its vernacular text. The text runs by the hand of Scribe D only in the C manuscript.[2] A *conscience* word, *þout,* appears near the end of the text. All underlinings for emphasis are the author's.

> C.57v. [near the end]
> ... And oþe toþer half þe þu/ schalt sen al redilike ⁊ al opinlike
> biforn al þe werld / alle þo ilke sinnes þat tu hast don agennis
> his forbode wid <u>þout</u> oþer wid worde oþer wid werke⸗ but it be
> hire þoru uerrai <u>penance</u> ibet. þanne maitu singin

The following is a tentative translation of all the text, relying on the

---

[1] G has *inþið* which corresponds to *inwit* (See Chapter VI.2.2.).
[2] The text is parallel to the text in MS. Trinity College Cambridge B. I. 45, f.24r-v, also written by the same Scribe D. (Dobson 1972: 110.n.)

scrupulous notes of Dobson (111).[3] The Italic is in Latin in the original script.

> *Bernard. As long as I can remember, I will remember what Christ suffered, in praising labors, in dissolving fatigue, [...] in pleading carefulness, and in having compassion for tears and refraining [from] temptations. I will also remember the nails, and spittle, blows, and the things like that. In any case, the blood of the just*

---

[3] The whole text of Scribe D is printed by Max Förster: "*Bernardus. Quamdiu fuero memor ero laborum quos cristus sustinuit in predicando/ fatigacionum in discurrendo vigiliarum in orando. lacrimarum in compaciendo/ temptacionum in ieiunando. Recordabor etiam Clauorum. sputorum colaphorum / z hiis similium. Alioquin requiretur a me sanguis iusti qui effusus / est super terram.* Alse longe as i liue iþis werld ⁊ i schal þenkin / oþe michele suink. þat iesu crist þolede in spellinge. And tat / mikele werinesse þat he drei rennende aboutin fro tune te / tune. And te stronge fondingis þat he hadde of hunger and / of meseise in fastinge. And te longe wakinges þat he wok / in bedis biddinge. þat he had for sinful folk and te manie / soruful teris. þat he gret for reunesse of hem þat werin at / mal aise. And alse i schal vnderstondin seid seind Bernard his mi⁃/chele sorewen þat he drei. in his þrowing time. And te / schameful upbreidingis. and te schoffinggis and te / schorningis. þe fule bi spitlingis. þe betingis and te bis⁃ /tingis. And te smerte scurgingis. And te angerful / wondis of þe grete nailes. And of þe manie oþere / bittere pines z sore akinde wondis þat he þoede in / his fles euere me mai monenin⁊ and tar onne i schal / þenkin. And gif inedo⁊ bitterlike schal it me ben upbroiden / a domesdai þe blescede blod of suete Iesu crist þe rit / wise man þat schad abuuen erþe for me. Also / cristine man z cristine wumman. bute þou ofte þenke of þe longe / stronge pines Þ iesu crist godes sune drei for þine foule / sinnes. And but tu let þine fule sinnes for þe luue of / him þat gaf his lif z his soule. for to lesin þe ut of þe / grislike det of helle. þat alle werin dempt to⁊ weilawei / weilawei. harde mai þe grisen agein þat wrethful / dai of dom þanne þu schalt sen and vnderstondin alle þe / pines and te michele meseise þat iesu crist drei. for þi / luue in erþe⁊ oþe ton half þe. And oþe toþer half þe þu / schalt sen al redilike z al opinlike biforn al þe werld / alle þo ilke sinnes þat tu hast don agennis his forbode / wid *þout* oþer wid worde oþer wid werke⁊ but it be / hire þoru uerrai <u>penance</u> ibet. þanne maitu singin / weilawei. wolewo þat euere were þou born or biyetin / Ak goditot tanne isto late⁊ for þe<de>uel is redi þe to takin. Man ware þe." (Dobson 1972: 110–11)

which is shed on the earth is required.

As long as I live in this world, I shall think of the great labor that Jesus Christ suffered in preaching, and that much weariness that he greatly used to run around from town to town, and the strong temptations that he had of hunger and […] pain in fasting, and the long waking in which he awoke in prayer in bed—the prayers he had for the sinful people and the many sorrowful tears—the tears that he shed for the pain of [those] who were suffering. And also I shall understand what St Bernard said about his great sorrow that he had in his suffering, and the shameful reproaches and the disdains and the scorning, […] completely by spitting, […] beatings, and blows, and the stinging scourge, and the grievous wounds of the big nails, the many other bitter pains and sorrowful, painful wounds that he suffered through his flesh [to] ever remind me, and on which I shall think. And if necessary, it will be bitterly entangling […] me on the Last Judgment, the blessed shedding blood of Jesus Christ, the righteous, wise man […] shining above on the earth for me. Also, [for the] Christian man and […] woman, […] you should often think of the long, strong pains that Jesus Christ the Son of God [had] greatly for your foul sins. And you should only grant your foul sins for the love of him who gave his life and his soul to lose the slavery bondage of the horrible death of hell to which all the people are condemned. Alas, alas. You may shudder harder in front of the enraged day of the Judgment than you shall see and understand all the pains and the great sufferings Jesus Christ terribly [had] for your love on earth or just one half of them. And for the other half, you shall see, very wisely and very openly facing all the world, all those same sins that you have done, despite prohibition, with <u>thought</u> […], word […], or

work. But it will be relieved through accurate <u>penance</u> here, rather than [singing] "Alas, I regret […] having been born or begotten." But God knows [that] at that time it is too late, for the devil is cunning to take you in. Man should know that.

The first half of the text urges the readers to remember the great suffering of Christ and visualize his physical pains so that they can meditate on them. The text emphasizes the fears on the Last Judgment day in the second part. It enforces the severe judgment on sins with glimpses of the fearful depiction of hell. The whole text focuses on the necessity of accurate penance after confession rather than being eternally punished. Scribe D's alterations show his inclination to make the Cleopatra manuscript more characteristic as a manual for confession as *penance* (underlined) is referenced. Scribe D adds many headings for conditions for confession in margins in Latin for his use. The usage of *þout* here is for "thought" or "thinking" in the modern sense, not particularly with the meaning of *conscience.* This *þout* only suggests one of the fields where a man commits sin; that is, " with thought […], word […], or work." Scribe D does not dare to induce the function of *conscience* in this text.

1. 2. 2. D-Case 3: *þonch*

Another case for *þonch* among Scribe D's corrections follows:

> C: 188.22.
>
>   … þis eisil
>
>   of sur heorte ꝛ of bittere þonch* ouer al oðer þing
>
>   * D adds *mede* (clearly intended as gloss) above *þonch*; not in other MSS.

The corresponding part of the A manuscript employs another noun *onde* instead of *þonch* as follows: "sur heorte of nið oðer of *onde* omitting al oðer þing" (A: 109.273). *Onde* means "envy, jealousy, and spite," matching the preceding adjective "bitter" (Millett 2005: II. 420), such that the A text cut the latter part "ouer al oðer þing."

Regarding the C text, after demonstrating sufficiently that Scribe A "had not been trained in the orthographic tradition of the AB scribes" (C: 297.n.), Dobson picks up *þong* and *þonc* as an example of some agreements between Scribe A and AB scribes. "AB scribes" use "AB language," the West Midlands dialect, to which the works of the *AW* Group are linked. The name stems from the language consistency of two manuscripts, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 402 (A) including *AW* (A) and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 34 (B), which contains the Katherine Group (Millett 2009: xi). What *þong* and *þonc* show is the tendency that final consonants become unvoiced and are sometimes interchangeably used in texts (Dobson 1972: 297.n.). As seen in Chapter V, Section 1.1, where Scribe B erased and corrected *þonc* of Scribe A into *ʒirn*, the word does seem to sound familiar neither to Scribe B nor D.

The gloss *mede* Scribe D adds possibly comes from *mēde*, a familiar ME noun, which could be understood as "moral consequence or spiritual reward" (Dobson 1972: 297.n.). *Mēde* comes from *mêd* in OE, *mêda*, *miéda* in Old Saxon, *mêde*, *meide*, *mîde* in Old Frisian, and *mieta*, *miata* in Old High German (*ASD*, s.v. *mêd*, n.). With this *þonch*, there is no inconvenience to understand the phrase as "of sour heart and bitter thought over all other thing[s]." This part shows up in the explanation of Greek fire (Hazenfratz 473-74), the love of Jesus Christ, which is only extinguished by urine, sand, and vinegar. They respectively symbolize sin, idleness, and envious heart, expressed as *onde* in the A manuscript or bitter "thought," as per Scribe A in C. As for the third element, the text

reads as "the third thing is vinegar, that is, a heart sour with envy or hatred(A) / with bitter thought (C)." The word *mede*, however, means "a given reward."

Þonc comes from *þanc* in Old Saxon, meaning "grace, pleasure, [and] thanks," *þank*, *þonk* in Old Frisian, and *danc*, *þanc* in Old High German (*ASD*, s. v. *þanc*, n.). Scribe D, however, chooses the sense of "reward" so that the contemporary *þonc* could mean (*MED*, s.v. *thank*, 1c.): "A reward, something that is given in return for good or evil done." The first example in *MED* is from *Lambeth Homily* 487 (a. 1225). Scribe D's choice amounted to ambiguous glossing, testifying that he felt alienated from Scribe A's vocabulary. This attitude is seen in another gloss a little before this example. He writes *acetum,* a Latin word for vinegar, above *eisil* (C: 187v.23). This set of glosses shows us that Scribe A's use of *þonc* might not mean the same sense for Scribe D. At least he had a problem with the word *þonch* and glossed it for another vernacular.

1. 3. D-Case 4: *wittes* vs *ratio*

At D-Case 1, Scribe D writes a gloss *wit* above *licunge,* which means "sense," as in the five physical senses of humans. In Case 4, however, he glosses the *ratio* above *wittes*:

> C: 122.14.
> pen. þe ʒetewart is wittes* sckile Þ ach
>
> * Above the line, in the space after *wittes*, D adds *ratio.*

This part is included in the paragraph which starts "*Wereded i Regum*" (122.3) in the A manuscript, "*We reded i Regum*" (We read in *Kings*), indicating the popularity of the book. It tells of the tragedy of Ishbosheth. He appoints a woman as a doorkeeper, and she falls asleep, and Rechab's

sons, Rimmon and Baanah, enter and kill the wretched Ishbosheth. The doorkeeper is called *ʒetewart* (doorkeeper); that is *wittes sckile* (*wittes skile* in A), the power of understanding (Millett 2009: 103). This obviously different *wit* has a different meaning to the one in D-Case 1, which means "sense."

One distinction is that D-Case 1 shows his vernacular-vernacular gloss (*licunge*/ *wit*), and he glosses Latin for the vernacular in D-Case 4 (*wittes* [genitive of *wit*]/ *ratio*). The former shows Scribe D's unfamiliarity with *licunge*, and the latter suggests that he is reconfirming the meaning of *wit*, as he seems to know this story in Latin much better. This plural usage of the word *wit* tells us that the word is not fixed as a technical term, in that Scribe D recognizes the word as "sense" and "ratio" that is also "reason."

1. 4. *Consence*

1. 4. 1. Case of *consence*

There is another correction of a *conscience* word by Scribe D in Part 4, the section of temptation, where quite a few quotations are inserted into the original text. The novelty of the concept of *conscience* confuses scribes; as previously seen, the C text of Scribe A attests to *conscience* while the A manuscript employs *consens* (Chapter VI, Section 1). Below is an instance of *consence* in the C with no correction by Scribe B nor D.

> C: 130v.5.
>
> affecciun. þe þridde is <u>consence</u>. Cogitaciuns

This part is in the citation of lechery, of which there are three stages; the first is cogitation, the second inclination, and the third, as above, consent. This explanation is notable as it matches Bernard of Clairvaux's sermons:

"Sicut enim peccati cogitatio decolorat, affectio vulneraty, sic *consensus* omnino animam necat" (Millett 2005: II. 193.n.4.1572). Though Scribe D skips this spelling untouched, at the next appearance, Scribe D does some correction while Scribe B passes it through.

> D-Case 6: *cunsence*
>
> C: 131.4.
>
>   auer. <u>Cunsence</u>* Þ is schiles ȝettunge. hwen
>
> > * D alters *u* to *o* and *c* to *t* (both imperfectly) and adds *ment* above the line, marked for insertion after the final *e* to make <u>*consentement*</u> (cf. Trinity French version) (213).

Apart from the alteration of *u* and *o* in D-Case 6, what could be significant is that *Cunsence* precedes "that is," an expository apposition marker seen in Chapter IV. It suggests that the author intends to introduce this particular new word to the audience. The same word *consence* (130v.5) has previously not undergone any correction into *consentement* by Scribe D. Once the new lexeme is introduced as one of the keywords, after the quotation, the second appearance of the word entails the exposition. This case shows the effect of the expository apposition marker conveyed to bring the definition of the new word to the audience. Furthermore, the two-fold introduction of a novel word can be rhetorical.

Dobson explains this gloss by Scribe D, saying that, "... at f. 131 (n.4) *cunsence* is altered to *consentement*, the word used in [the] S [manuscript]'s translation" (clxix) (actually in the F manuscript as well), and recognizes it as one of the very early first instances which *OED* does not include as follows:

Some of Scribe D's words are not included in *OED*; ... In other cases, Scribe D's uses of words are certainly or probably <u>earlier than the first instances cited in *OED*</u> (or the earliest cited from other sources, in the few cases in which Scribe D himself is cited): [thus], the phrase *o bref* "in brief" (f.50), and the words *consentement* (altered from cunsence, f. 131), *gif* 'if' (ff. 6v, 57v; Tr. 24v, 42), *globering* vbl. sb. (in *werldis globering* glossing *utward gelsunge*, f. 40), hatelich 'hately' adj. (altered from *atelich*, f. 48v), ... / [and] other words are evidenced by *OED* from works roughly contemporary with Scribe D [such] that his instances may not be the first <u>but are still among the earliest</u> ... Such words are *amendement* (glossing bote, f. 198), *cuvenant* in treecuvenant (Tr. f. 41v), ... *demesteres* gen. sg. (altered from deme, f. 139), ...; (clxii–clxiii)

Actually, *MED* records the first instance of *consentement* with the meaning of "consent, approval" at c.1330 (?*a* 1300) *Of Arthur and of Merlin* (Auch) (*MED*, s. v. *consentement*, n: Þe bischop seyd. "þis swerd who drawe of þe ston, He schal be our king"... Þai ȝaue al her to *concetement.* 2825). Dobson claims that Scribe D used the word earlier.

1. 4. 2. Gloss in vernacular?

Dobson's claim presupposes *consentement* to be vernacular, but is it self-evident? Scribe D's alterations are more numerous than Scribe B's. Although his main work adds or changes punctuations, his corrections and what he does with Scribe A's text vary. He alters the spellings of words and grammatical inflections, attempts to emend the text, writes glosses, gives references for Biblical and other citations, supplies marginal headings and sub-headings, and, more importantly, fills a vacant page with his second

manuscript, though now lost (cxli, clxv-clxvi). Further, his language to use for the alteration is vernacular,[4] Latin, as in D-Case 4 (*wittes/ ratio*), and Anglo-Norman. He leaves numerous "glosses" between the lines of Scribe A's text. Most are vernacular to change obsolete-like words, but other kinds of examples that show Scribe D's intentions for his work:

1. C: 36.3.

   telleð ilonde. An kikelot* Þ kakeleð al

   > * So MS., for *rikelot*. D adds gloss *piot* above. This is the first instance cited by *OED* s.v. *piet* but is treated as if original to MS. and dated *a.* 1225 (60 years too early); next instance dated *c.* 1450.[5]

2. C: 73v.9.

   þach me hit hatie. Þ is þe fallinde* uuel

   > * Above *fallinde* (beginning and ending a little before and after) D writes *de morbo caduco.*

3. C: 122.9.

   uuele. þe bitachnung* her of is ful mu

   > * D adds Latin gloss *Singnificacio* above.

4. C: 122.14.

---

[4] Regarding his dialectical characters, see Dobson 1972: cxlix–clxv.

[5] *OED* has renewed the description of *piet* with the information of Scribe D: ?a1289 *Ancrene Riwle* (Cleo.: Scribe D) ... ; *MED* shows the instance quoted above: *piot* (n.) [OF pïot] (a) A (a) A magpie; *fig.* a chattering woman; (b) as place name [see Smith *PNElem.*2.65]. (a) ?a1289 Ancre. (Cleo C.6) 71/3: 71/3: Me seið up on ancre þet [e]uch an mest haueð an old quene to feden hire earen, þet maðeleð alle þe tale þe me telleð ilonde, An kikelot [glossed:] piot.

pen. þe ʒetewart is wittes* sckile Þ ach

> * Above the line in the space after *wittes*, D adds <u>*ratio.*</u>

5. C: 130.20.

ʒiuernesse* ihelet ow Mid alle. Achgalnesse

> * D adds gloss <u>*glotounie*</u> above; cf. *glotenye* (first instance) and *glotonye* (second) in Vernon.

6. C: 135.1.

atter. ʒ tetreð his heaued. þe Quene* seide

> * D adds Latin gloss <u>*vetula*</u> above, in plummet [6]; translated in Latin version (cf. *La veille* F, Trinity).

7. C: 135.17.

hit timeð ofte. ʒ hit is richt godes dom*

> * In the right margin, a little above the level of this line, D writes in plummet <u>*Ki ne fet kant i put.*</u> French form, using the masculine pronoun, of the English proverbial expression *hwa ne deð hwen ha mei* in following line of text; cf. Trinity French version (identical except in spelling) and for masculine pronouns (contrasting with feminine in Corpus, F, and Scribe A) cf. also Nero, Vernon, Titus, Pepys, and Latin version.

8. C: 138.3-4.

Schrift* schal beon wreiful. Mon schal wre**

iʒen him ischrift. ...

> * ..., in the left margin, D adds .*Ia. condicio.* in ink.
>
> ** D adds gloss <u>*accusans.*</u> above.

9. C: 143v.10.

---

[6] Plummet (n.): "ball of lead, plumb of a bob-line," from Old French *plomet* "graphite, lead; plummet, sounding lead, diminutive of plom sounding lead" (*Online Etymology Dictionary*).

an war þurch ha druncneð alle. Metelleð*

> * Unusually large and elaborate black initial *M*. D
> writes .*narracio.* above the words.

10. C: 144.3, 4.

forlorene. Alswa* of an oðer Þ wes for nech

for demet for þi Þ he hefde enchere i

> * Unusually large black initial. D adds .*narracio.* above
> word.

11. C. P5.144.6.

schriuen. alswa* [as] þe lauedi for þi Þ ha

> * D writes *Item. narracio.* over *swa*, following the
> (erased) word.

12. C: 147v.19.

cusandas* excusaciones in peccatis. Schrift

> * In the left margin, D writes *frequens.* in plummet; faint
> but clear.

13. C: 148v.5.

Schriftschal beon onhi[ch*te*]* imaked.

> * ... Above [onhichte], D writes .*festina.* in ink.

(14). C: 148v.8.

... Hwa durste slepen hwil*

> * D adds .*exemplum.* in the right margin.

14. C: 148v.12.

he lest wene. hwase* is ifallen amit þe bear

> * D .... writes .*exemplum.* above.

15. C: 150.4.

hðe. Schrift ach to beon edmod*. as

> * D writes .*humilis.* above.

16. C: 153v.14.

Schrift* schal ʒet beon wis. ⁊ to wis mon

> *.... In the left margin, D writes *.xi. Discretta.* in plummet, ... Between lines, ... <u>*Discreta debet esse confessio.*</u>

17. C: 188.6.

ondfule nið. Þ þe eisil* bitacnede Þ ha him

> * D adds gloss <u>*acetum*</u> above eisil.

18. C: 198.11.

icnaweð ⁊ bihateð* bote. Alse forð as

> * Above the latter part of *bihateð* D writes <u>*amendement*</u> (gloss to *bote*).

19. C: 198.16.

weð went* þe rarewe of þe horn to his

> * Above *went* D writes <u>*exemplum*</u>.

Nos., 2, 3, 4, 6, 8, 9, 11, 13, 15, and 17 are all "glosses," written in Latin above the vernacular words. For example, *acetum* the Latin in No. 17 only changes into *acēte,* a Middle English word, only in the fifteenth century (*MED*, s. v. *acēte*, n.). Scribe D could understand all these cases better in Latin than in the vernacular.

The other "glosses" are in Anglo-Norman or Old French, such as Nos. 1, 5, and 18. Regarding No.1 *piot*, as already seen above, this case of Scribe D's gloss is recorded as the first instance in *OED* and *MED* now. Regarding No. 5, although Dobson notes *glotounie*, *glotenye* and *glotonye* in the Vernon manuscript of *AW* are the first and second instances of this word according to *OED*, the latest version of *OED* says the first record is in the Cleopatra manuscript (81v. 18) (*OED*, s. v. *gluttony*, n.). The spelling of *glotounie* by Scribe D, to whom *ʒiuernesse* is a strange word, seems to

match the Anglo-Norman spelling.[7] Moreover, No. 18 *amendement*, whose suffix *–ment* matches with *consentement*, is Old French, according to *MED*,[8] and the instance in the F manuscript of *AW* is recorded as an Anglo-Norman in the dictionary.[9] Dobson comments on Scribe D's "gloss" as follows (1972: cxli):

> He often writes between the lines what at first sight appear to be glosses of rare or obsolescent words but are sometimes variant readings derived from his second manuscript.

Though Dobson describes "gloss" at length, he does not analyze the written words between the lines any further. He generally treats them as glosses and puts some of those in the list of the words not included in *OED* as the first instance, such as *consentement* and *amendement* (clxii–clxiii).

The question is, what was the purpose of Scribe D's distinctive "gloss." It is known that he had another manuscript, which is now lost, and he was consulting that manuscript to work on the Cleopatra. Illustrating amply "the normal inability of a medieval scribe to choose the true text" (clxvi), yet Scribe D's systematic correcting style revealed his intention (cxli–clx). When he repeatedly "glosses" a word, he intends to change the text with the glossed word. For example, *derf* is glossed to *hard* several times,[10]

---

[7] *Anglo-Norman Dictionary*: gluttonie, glutenie, glutonie; glotenie, glotonie, glotonye, glotunie, gloutenie, gloutonie: s. *gluttony, voracity*: Ausi seif avient a la foyz de glotonie de manger e de beyvre (*A-N Med ii* 168); Ne aprés yveresce ne glotonie Vin a beivre ne fet mie (*Secr* 2210); glutenie ceo est devorer e sanz bin mascher viande (*Pecchez* 209vb).
[8] The first instance shows up at (1340) *Ayenbite of Inwyt* (Arundel 57).
[9] *Anglo-Norman Dictionary* : amendement, amandement, amaumdement; amendment, amendiment: s. correction, putting right; education; amends, repentance, contrition; ... par repentance et par verrai amendement (*Ancren* 29.18).

[10] 32v.5, 45v.2, 47.1. (from *deorfeliche*); 138v. 14. (from *eorre*); 139.1. (from

making the text be read with *hard.* This kind of vernacular-vernacular gloss might have been done for the reader or the audience. The other type of "glossing," however, does not fit this purpose; the Latin "glosses" listed on the vernacular words would not be simply inserted into the text to be read. Meanwhile, the Anglo-Norman "glosses" appear solely once on each word, which does not testify to the Scribe's intention for textual revision. Rather, it may be "annotation" for the user to understand unfamiliar vocabulary.

Scribe D has another type of gloss that makes the text easier to follow by clarifying the function of elements in the text, such as Nos. 10, 14, 19, all in Latin. Further, he uses marginal spaces on the left and right, as in Nos. 7, 8, 12, and 16, of which No. 7 is Anglo-Norman and the others, Latin.

Having another manuscript that is close to the S manuscript, the later French version (Dobson 1972: clxix), he conducts numerous alterations on the unfamiliar text of Scribe A with his vernacular based on his dialect, Anglo-Norman and Latin, which may stem from the side-by-side manuscript or his knowledge. To bridge the gap between Scribe A's text and his understanding, Scribe D needs many glosses, some for the readers, some for himself. Arguably, the Latin and Anglo-Norman words, written between the lines, are not "revisions" but simply "annotations" for the user himself. Thus, *piot*, *glotounie*, and *amendment* are not vernacular words yet to be the first instances but must be treated as Anglo-Norman.

Therefore, this conjecture applies to the case of *consentement.* Though Dobson suggests this word should be included in *OED* as the first instance, it arguably still belongs to Anglo-Norman vocabulary, and Scribe D annotated to take notes to make sure *cunsence* is *consentement.* As the dictionaries testify, these words from Latin were still under development;

eorre); 159v.16.

hence, there are various spellings. Scribe D seems to have been trying to make the words sure with another Anglo-Norman type manuscript in his hand with more familiar word-spelling to him. This estimated circumstance may explain the unsettledness of the word *consence* in the manuscripts.

1. 5. *Unwit*

In another example, Scribe D adds *wit* to a prefix *un-* in Part 5.

> C: 142.16.
>
> Þ un þeode*. nalde þe cnicht beon sari ȝ sche
>
> > * D adds <u>*wit*</u> above þeode, apparently to make *unwit* (for *unwiȝt*?).

The word *unþeode* is very particular in *AW,* as *MED* records several instances only from the book (*MED*, s. v. *unthēde*, n.).[11] It means "people not belonging to one's own group, strangers, an enemy force." This word may sound awkward to Scribe D; thus, he produces *unwit* which has another meaning: "foolishness, folly; lack of knowledge or understanding, ignorance" (*MED*, s. v. *unwit*, n.).[12] As Dobson presumes, it should be *unwight* (or *unwiȝt(e, unwiht(e, unwhit, unhwiht, onwiȝtte*; pl. *unwiȝtis* & *unwhihtes*), which means an evil spirit, a fiend, and the devil, as in A. This case shows that Scribe D does not know well either *unþeode* or *unwight*. Dobson identifies *unwit* to be an East Midland origin (cliii). Thus, starting at the beginning of the thirteenth century, the word gradually diffused

---

[11] See also (early SW or SWM) *unþeode*, (?error) *unðode* [From *thēd(e*, n(2.))

[12] See also *unwitte, onwit*.

until the dawn of the sixteenth century (*MED*, s. v. *unwit*, n.).[13] Actually, *wit* or *witen* easily attaches to other words or parts of the words and makes various derivatives.[14] Although *unwit* does not have anything to do with *conscience*, it shows the adaptability of the word *wit*, which is a core component of *inwit*. This example could be evidence of composing a cognate with *in* and *wit*.

1. 6. *Siconsciencia*

Scribe A is esteemed to be a professionally trained scribe, and his Latin skill is sure enough to copy the text (lvi), but sometimes he carelessly works. For a quotation of Augustin, he does not create space before *consciencia*:

> C: 144.13, 14.
>
> Augustinus.* <u>Siconsciencia</u> desit pena satisfacit. Sch
>
> rift ʒet ** schal beon Naked. Þ is naked
>
>> * In the left margin, D wrote *.4. Nuda.* in plummet, and
>> then inserted, in space before *N*, another *.4.* in ink, the
>> first ink point over the second plummet one. ...
>>
>> ** Above the space after *ʒet* D writes *.nuda.* in ink.

Scribe D has not cut the word into *Si consciencia,* but only cares for the vernacular "naked," which he should change into Latin. This example may show the indifference of both scribes to *conscience* in the quotation.

---

[13] The first instance is *Orm* (?c1200).

[14] For example, *al-wit, atwiten, awīten, biwiten, edwit, edwitwn, fēd-wīte, flīt-wīte, fōre-wit, gilt-wīte, hitte-wīte, iwis, iwit, leir-wīte, light-witted, outh-wite, outwit, wanwit, witer, witeriche, witi, witless, witness*.

1. 7. *Wit* / *sapientis*

Scribe D writes some Latin, including a *conscience* word in the right margin at the beginning of Part 8, the final section, corresponding to what Scribe B wrote above. Below is a tentative translation of what they wrote in the margin (C: 191.1).

B: § *Þes riwle Ꝥ alle oðre beoð/ in owres* <u>*scriftes*</u> *read Ꝥ in/ oweres meistres breoste. he/ mei forkeoruen of ham/ oðer echi Mare to ham/ efter Þ god þurh his* <u>*wit*</u>*/ wisseð him te donne efter/ hare biheue Þ he haf te read* (the last line cropped at edge; probably originally *read[en]*.) The initial *Þ* has been shaded in red, doubtless by D. ...

(This rule and all the others should be read for our <u>confession</u> in your master's bosom. He [God] may separate them into two or more [individuals], among [whom] God through his <u>"wit"</u> instructs him to do [something for] their benefits, which he has to read.)

D: § *Octaua pars. Principalis* and in left margin, beginning just below first line of text, *In hac .8a. parte agitur/ de obseruantijs corpora-/libus inclusarum in quibus / potest fieri dispensatio secundum / consilium* <u>*sapientis*</u> <u>*confes/soris*</u>*. Et quid retinere* [sic] *possit/Ꝥ quid non. Et in fine de/ doctrina ancillarum suarum.* As this text considers B's note in the right margin (see note d above), it was obviously written later.

(Chapter 8. The beginning. In Chapter 8, the section of physical observance [considers] the provision [that] can be conducted according to the <u>confessor's</u> <u>wisdom</u>. Someone would keep himself, and someone would not. Moreover, this is the end of the doctrine

362

of God's servants.)

Scribe B's *wit* is employed to express God's wisdom, and in this situation, that wisdom works for confession, which is gradually emphasized as the main topic of *AW*. Scribe D seems to have taken Scribe B's *wit* and recognized as *sapientia*, the wisdom or knowledge of confessor, which is in accordance with the analysis in Section 1.3. Scribe B's *wit* is not considered *conscience* by Scribe D through his Latin quotation but "reason."

2. Summary

Since *AW* bears the characteristics of the handbook for confession, the endnotes of Scribes B and D above clearly identify the book as a treatise for confession. Scribe A's text surely includes English marginal rubrics, headings to the main parts, or subdivisions (lvi). The headings are supposed to originate from the exemplar and are to be compared with those in the F manuscript, Vitellius, which shows "multiplied and elaborated" rubrics (lvii). Thus, *AW* is oriented to be revised and amended for much more convenience. This adaptation may be principally for the audience. Scribe D's marginal additions of headings, however, are written in Latin (cxlii), which indicates those are for the usage or consultation of instructors rather than lay people.

The supplies Scribe D fits a Latin quotation and vernacular citation at 1.2.1 (57v.) and a citation in Latin at 1.8. (191.1.) focus on the importance and necessity of confession. All alterations by Scribe D induce readers to recognize the ecclesiastical obligation of the lay people. Thus, Scribe D's work makes the text more accessible and easier for the instructors (i.e., confessors).

The investigation proves that Scribe D's alterations do not show special concern to the lexeme *conscience* itself. He alters neither *conscience*

nor *inwit* but follows the pattern of the A manuscript. His *wit* does not mean the same alternative for *conscience* as the P manuscript. However, *wit* undergoes some additions, which means Scribe D needs a clearer understanding of this lexeme. *Wit* could mean "sense" and "reason," both of which Scribe D could understand but needed to distinguish one from the other; thus, Scribe D adds a note to clear the meaning of *wit* as "reason."

The only amendment to be noted is from *Cunsence* to *consentement,* which is claimed to be Anglo-Norman. Along with the word *conscience*, these newly born theological terminologies seem very tentative to scribes. Though Scribe D is considered to have a theological education background, he must clarify the lexeme *wit* for a better understanding. New words remain in the furnace to be formed in the C manuscript of Scribes A, B, and D, as more stable forms are seen in the later manuscripts.

Chapter VIII

Analysis of *Inwið* in C Manuscript and an *In*-oriented Word

0. Introduction

This chapter first examines the lexeme *inwið* and secondly *in*-oriented word that begins with *in* (whether a prefix, preposition, or adverb) and connects with the following word. It furnishes a reason for the word-formation of the cognate *inwit*, a counterpart of the newly borrowed *conscience.* Analyzing these lexemes on the C manuscript, the earliest extant manuscript is worthwhile since it contains the two glosses, *þoncg* and *inwit*. Thus, the C manuscript gives evidence of how the lexeme *inwit* was generated. It is possible that during the same period of the composition of C, *inwit* was composed and began to be recognized as an alternative. Moreover, words beginning with *in* are frequently seen in the manuscript, suggesting a means by which the new lexeme *inwit* was composed.

1. Analysis on *inwið*

Scribe A's *inwið* is corrected into *inwit* by Scribe B in the Preface, which is regarded as "a correct emendation" by Dobson, whose judgment is the outcome in the difference from the A manuscript. However, since Dobson's argument is not adequate, an analysis of whether Scribe A's original description is a simple error was conducted in Chapter III. Accordingly, *inwið* is the focus in this chapter to probe Scribe A's composition better because the lexeme *inwið* prominently occurs along with the vernacular alternative of *conscience*, *inwit.*

Regarding *inwið,* Scahill (2005: 221) notes the following in

AW:

> The inherited *inwið* and *utewið* for "inside" and "outside" (A has *wið/ten* [sic] in 12v27, prompted perhaps by *utewið* five words before) are in all but a few cases replaced in N by *wiðinnen* and *wiðuten*. Notably, N's close relative V, from further north in Worcestershire or Warwickshire, almost always retains the inherited forms. The MED citations indicate a Northern and West Midland distribution for those forms, receding from the South-West Midlands during the fourteenth century.

Thus, *inwið* was used chronologically before *wiðinnen* and geographically in the north of Worcestershire or Warwickshire, the home of *AW*. The C text's employment of *inwið* seems to reflect this background.

1.1. Dictionary description

MED says the adverb *inwið* or *inwith* has a two-fold meaning (s.v. *inwith*, prep.). The first consists of three distinctions: I-1) within a limited surface or bounded area; I-2) within a building, ark, or barrow; and I-3) within the body. The earliest example of the first comes from the fourteenth-century *Winner & Waster*, and the second is from *Sawles Warde*, the contemporary of *AW*. The third is from *Hali Meiðhad*, another contemporary. The second division (II) means "in a person's inner being," and the examples in *AW* include "Make me telle lutel of euch blisse utewið, ah froure me inwið" (23/3).

 Inwið or *inwith* as preposition means within I-1) the boundaries of a region, I-2) the borders, I-3) a building, and I-4) a solid object.

For an example of a building (I-3), *Hali Meiðhad* and *AW* (55/27) note II-1) a body, a breast, heart, or thought; II-2) the consciousness or nature; and II-3) sorrow. *Ancrene Wisse* (33/1) also notes III-1) the limit of time and III-2) the course of the Mass. Both usages of adverb and preposition of *inwið* include being inside of something physical and inner human mentality. These examples indicate that the word was activated in the same era as *AW*.

1.2. *Inwið* in the C manuscript

To see the appropriateness of Scribe A's employment of *inwið*, all mentions of *inwið,* 38 examples in all in the C manuscript, are analyzed below. The modern English translation of the C text is the author's, owing much to Millett's translation of the Corpus. Scribes B and D's corrections are not referenced. The following examinations are drawn from Dobson's text. *Conscience* words and related words to *inwið* are underlined. The cases from 1 to 38 refer to the chapter and the line, which includes the word under examination:

1) Pre.4.17. [A: <u>inwit</u>] [adv.]
ni cunne riwlen beoð. Ach twa beoð bi
mong alle Þ ich wille speoken of þurch
ower bone ⁊ godes gr[a]ce. Þ an riwleð þe
heorte ⁊ makeð efne ⁊ smeðe wið vte cn
oste ⁊ dolke of <u>þoncg inwið</u> unwrest ⁊ ӡirn
inde Þ þu her sunegest oðer þis nisnaut
ibet ӡet alse hit schulde. þeos riwle is

2) Pre.4.20. [A: inwið] [adv.]
eauer <u>Inwið</u> ⁊ richteð þe heorte. Þeo

367

(... But there are two in particular
that I will talk about because of
your request with the grace of God. One of them rules the
heart and makes it even and smooth without
the bumps and hollows of crooked and troubled <u>thought</u>
<u>inside</u> that says you are committing a sin here or this is not
yet atoned for as well as it ought to be. This rule is always
<u>internal</u> and directs the heart.) [Translation of 1) and 2)]

3) Pre.4v.17. [A: <u>inwit</u>] [adv.]
... Þ is. alle
maȝen ȝ ahȝen. halden an riwle anon
den Purte of heorte. Þ is clene ȝ schir
<u>inwið</u> wið vten weote of sunne Þ ne beo
þurhc schrift ibet. ...
(...that is, everyone
can and should observe one rule concerning
purity of heart, which is clean and clear
<u>inside</u> unaware of any sin that has not
been atoned for through confession...)

4) P1.15v.16. [A: <u>inwið</u>] [adv.]
... ȝ make me telle
lutel of uch blisse utewið. Ach freoure
me <u>inwið</u>. ȝ erende me þe blisse of heoue. z
(but comfort me <u>within</u>. and send me the bliss of heaven.)

5) P2.32.22. [A: <u>inwið</u>] [prep.]
reisun. hope is an swete spice <u>inwið</u> þe

heorte. ...

(hope is a sweet spice <u>within</u> the heart.)

6, 7) P2.32v.14, 16. [A: inwið, inwið] [prep.]

... For þi as ȝe wulleð

halden <u>inwið</u> ou hope ⁊ te swote breað of

hire Þ ȝeueð þe saule michte wið muð

ituned. cleopeð hire <u>inwið</u> ouwer heorte.

(For this reason, if you want

to keep hope <u>inside</u> you, and its sweet fragrance

that gives spiritual strength, keep your mouth

shut and chew it <u>within</u> your heart.)

8) P2.38v.27. [A: inwið] [prep.]

... Ne ch

aste ȝe nan swich mon neauer on oðerwise

for <u>inwið</u> þe chastiement he machte swa

ondsweren. ⁊ blawen swa lichtliche Þ sum

sperke machte aquikien. ...

(Never

rebuke a man of this sort in any other way,

because <u>in the course of</u> the rebuke, he might

answer in such a way and blow so gently that some

sparks might be kindled.)

9) P2.41.21.[A: inwið þi breoste] [prep.]

leaf me ⁊ mi cumfort Þ is <u>inwið þe</u> heorte

(Leave me and my comfort, which is <u>within</u> your heart)

10) P2.42.9. [A: inwið] [prep.]

.... For naut ha beoð biloke

ne <u>inwið</u> wach o[d]er wal openi ʒe naut

ower ʒeten buten aʒein godes sonde ⁊

lif of saule. ...

(it is pointless for people

to be confined <u>inside </u>a wall or enclosure if they open

these gates, except to receive God's message and

sustenance for the soul.)

11) P2.44v.15. [A: inwið] [prep.]

.... vre lauerd iþis wit nefde

naut in an stude pine. ach hefde ouer

al þe bodi ⁊ ʒet <u>inwið</u> þe seli saule. in

(Our Lord did not suffer

pain in this sense [...] in [just] one place, but everywhere;

he had it not only through his whole body but even <u>in</u> his

blessed soul.)

12) P2.47.9. [A: P2. inwið] [prep.]

... ach oðer for hit nis naneoð

mine leoue susyren haldeð ouwer hon

den <u>inwið</u> ouwer þurles. Handlung oðer

(but I do others because there is no need for you

my dear sisters; keep your hands

<u>inside</u> your windows.)

13) P3.48v.11. [A: inwið] [adv.]

An oðer half nan mon ne mei wel iuge

blod ear hit beo icolet. as swa is of sunne

hwil þe heorte walle[d] <u>inwið</u> of þe wraððe

nis nan richt dom. o[d]er hwile þe lust is

hat towart an sunne. ...

(Furthermore, nobody can judge blood properly

before it has cooled. The same applies to sin.

While the heart is boiling <u>inwardly</u> with anger,

good judgment is impossible; indeed, while the desire

for any sin is hot...)

14) P3.49.18.[A: inwið] [adv.]

... hu fareð his he

orte <u>inwið</u> him. hwiche beoð utewið alle

his lates.

(What is going on

<u>inwardly</u> in his heart? What is his outward

behavior like?)

15) P3.55.5. [A: inwið] [adv.]

Þeos briddes habbeð nestes he seið

vre lauerd.*[1] nest is eart utewið of prikin

de þornes. <u>inwið</u> nesche ᴣ softe. swa sc

hal ancre þolien utewið hard onhire

flesch ᴣ prikiende pinen. ...

("These birds have nests," he says

our Lord. A nest is hard on the outside with piercing

thorns, smooth, and soft <u>inside</u>. Thus,

an anchoress should bear physical hardship...)

---

[1] A has *volucres celi nidos* here.

16) P3.61v.16. [A: inwið] [prep.]

... for

þi Mine leoue Men. habbeð ower richt

hond <u>inwið</u> ouwer bosum. leoste mede en

(And so,

my dear brothers, keep your right

hand <u>in</u> your breast, so that endless

reward should not come to a sudden end.)

17) P3.62v.19. [A: inwið] [adv.]

... þenne as þe bochdeð hwi

teð hit utewið þurch worldlich hereword

ȝ adruȝeð <u>inwið</u>. ȝ leoseð þe þetnesse of godes

grace Þ makede hit grene. ...

(...then as the branch does,

they turn white on the outside through worldly praise,

and dry up <u>inside</u> and lose the moisture of God's

grace, which made them green...)

18) P3.72v.3. [A: inwið] [prep.]

... Ach

ȝef ha antermeoteð hire of þinges wiðuten⁚

mare þenne haþurðe ȝ hire heorte beo utewið

þchanclod of eorðe Þ is hire licome beo

<u>inwið</u> þefouwer waȝes. hais iwent ut wið se

(But

if she involves herself in outside affairs

more than she needs to, and her heart is outside,

372

even if a clod of earth; that is, her body, may be
<u>inside</u> the four walls, she has gone out of ...)

19) P3.74.3. [A: inwið] [adv.]
... ȝef god fondeð an
cre wið ani vuel utewið oðer þefeont <u>inwið</u>
wið gastliche unþeawes. ase prude wreððe
onde. oðer wið flesches lustes. ...
(If God tests an anchoress
externally with any illness, or the devil <u>internally</u>
with spiritual vices such as pride, anger,
envy or with the desires of the flesh...)

20) P4.81v.8. [not in A] [prep.]
   aȝein þeose
fondunges beoð warre leoue sustren
hwet se cume vtewið to fondin ow Mid li
cunge oðer mislicunge haldeð ow eauer
<u>inwið</u> ower heorte. Þe inre fondunge
(Be wary
against these temptations, dear sisters.
Whatever comes to tempt you externally, with pleasure
or displeasure, constantly guard your heart
<u>inwardly</u>.)

21) P4.84v.4-5. [A: inwið] [prep.]
... hais þe leun
nesse make. ȝ fed hise wode hwelpes <u>in</u>
<u>wið</u> hire heorte. Þe neddre of attri on

(she is the mate of the

lion, and feeds its raging cubs <u>in</u>

her heart.)

22) P4.87. [A: <u>inwit</u>] [adv.]

... Omis

sis occasionibus que solent aditumaper

ire peccatis. potest <u>consciencia</u> esse incolu

mis. Þ is hwase wule <u>inwið</u> witen hi

re hal ʒ fere ha mot fleon þe for

forridles. ...

(*If those occasions that tend to open the door*

to sins are avoided, the <u>conscience</u> can be secure:

that is, anyone who wants to keep her

healthy and sound <u>inside</u> must avoid

the occasions. ...)

A: 55v. 401, 402.

As Seint Austin seið, *Omissis occasionibus que solent*

adytum aperire peccatis, potest <u>consciencia</u> esse incol[u]mis;

þet is, hwa-se wule hire <u>inwit</u> witen hal ant fere, ha mot fleon

þe forefidles

(As St Augustine says, *If those occasions that tend to open*

the door to sins are avoided, the <u>conscience</u> can be secure;

that is, "Anyone who wants to keep her <u>conscience</u> healthy

and sound must avoid the occasions")

cf. P4.88v.8. [in wið]

ren iþe wildernesse Þ ʒe gað <u>in wið</u>

(This case is *in* + *wið*.)

23) P4.92v.5. [A: inwið] [adv.]

[after the Latin quotation]

... ȝef þe keache cuppe wel

linde bres to drinken. ȝeot in his

wide þrote. Þ he swelte inwið. aȝein

an ȝef him twa. ...

(Give the drunkard boiling brass

to drink, pour it into

his gaping throat so that he burns inside, give him

two in exchange for one.)

24) P4.105.10. [A: inwið] [adv.]

Þ is þe beste þenne.*2 schawen hit anan

vtewið schrift to þe preost. for lea

ue hit inwið hit wule deað breden

(The best thing, then, is to vomit it

out at once with confession to the priest because

if it stays inside, it will breed death.)

25) P4.117.12. [A: inwið] [prep.]

... euche

dei he kimeð forð ᵹ schaweð him to

ow fleschliche ᵹ licomliche inwið þe

messe. biwrixlet þach on oðeres liche

under breades furme. ...

---

[2] A's text is slightly different: [omitting "Þ is þe beste þenne"]
speowen hit ana ut wið schrift to þe preoste, for leaue hit inwið, hit
wule deað breden. (65r.862–63)

(... every

day he comes out and reveals himself to

you physically and bodily <u>in</u> the

Mass—changed, however, into something else

under the form of bread...)

26) P4.120.7. [A: inwið] [adv.]

... þe licomliche lichteð oðer

hwile to ower in z <u>inwið</u> ow edmod

liche nimeð his herbarʒe Crist

hit wat habeoð to woake z to un

wreste iheorted þe wið þullich gest

hardeliche ne fechteð. ...

(who sometimes comes down physically

to your inn, and humbly takes up his

lodging <u>in</u> you. God knows

those who will not fight bravely;

having such a guest [who is] too weak

and too wicked at heart.)

27) P5.137.14. [A: inwið] [adv.]

(After the Latin quotation)

Þis wes bitachned þurch Þ þe Iudit schr[u]d

de hire Mid halidaʒene weden. z feʒede

hire utewið as schrift deð us <u>inwið</u>. wið

(This was signified by Judith's dressing

herself in holiday clothes, and adorning

herself outwardly, as confession adorns us <u>inwardly</u>, with)

28) P5.139.4. [A: inwið] [prep.]

schule we seon buuen us. Þis ilke eorre dom

Þ is ec witnesse ⁊ wat al ure gultes. bineo

ðen us ȝeoninde þe wide þrote of helle

Inwið ud seouluen vre achne conscience. Þ is

ure þonc for cweðinde hire seoluen wið

þe fur of sunne. wið uten us: al þe world

leitinde on swart lei up into þe ski[w]es.

(we will see above us that angry Judge

who is also a witness and knows all our crimes; below

us the wide throat of hell gaping open;

inside us our own conscience, that is

our thought being consumed herself

with the fire of sin; outside us the whole world

blazing in dark flames up into the clouds.)

29) P5.140.6. [A: inwið] [adv.]

... ȝet nis naut þe deme Þ is

skile ipaiȝet þach heo[o is subpuncted by A] ibunden ⁊ halde

him wið sunne. bute ȝef he abugge þe sunne

Þ he wrachte ⁊ cleopeð forð pine ⁊ soreȝe.

⁊ hat Þ soreȝe þerschen inwið þe heorte

wið sar bi reowsunge.

(But the judge, that is,

Reason, is still not satisfied, even though he is tied up and

refraining from sin, unless he pays the penalty for the sin

that he has committed; and calls forward Pain and Sorrow,

and orders Sorrow to punish his heart internally

with bitter repentance.)

30) P5.141.2. [A: inwið] [prep.]

.... God hit wat he mei beon muche
sorechfulre. Þ haueð wið deadlich sunne. gast
liche islein god <u>inwið</u> his saule. Naut ane
(God knows, whoever has spiritually
killed God <u>in</u> his soul with mortal sin
should be far more wretched;)

31) P5.151v.4. [A: inwið] [adv.]

... Schrift is ansacrament. ꝣ euch sacre
ment haueð anlichnesse utewið of Þ hit w
urcheð <u>inwið</u>. as hit is ifulloacht þe weschun
ge wið uten. ...
(Confession is a sacrament, and every sacrament
has an external sign of what it does
<u>internally</u>, as for example with baptism: the
external washing...)

32) P5.155v.14. [A: inwið] [prep.]
(After the Latin quotation)
edmodnesse. abstinence. culure
vnlaðnesse. ꝣ oðre swiche uertuz. beoð fe
ire ingodes echnen. ꝣ swote ingodes nase
smellinde flures. of ham make his
erber <u>inwið</u> þe seoluen. for his delices
(Humility, abstinence, the innocence of
the dove, and other such virtues are
flowers beautiful to God's eyes and sweet-scented

to his nose. Make his pleasure-garden

from them <u>within</u> yourself, because his delight,)

33) P5.159.17. [A: inwið] [prep.]

... Al þe good

Þ þu eauer dest. ꝫ al þe uuel Þ þueauer þo

lest for þe luue of Iesu crist <u>inwið</u> þin

ancre wawes.

(all the good

that you ever do and all the harm that you ever suffer

for the love of Jesus Christ <u>within</u> the walls

of your cell.)

34) P6.173.4. [A: inwið] [prep.]

wið. Of bitternesse <u>inwið</u> segge we her sum

hwet.

(Let us say something now about <u>internal</u> bitterness)

cf. Case 13; A: Part 6. 101v. 378[3]

ant þeo ꝫet þe habbeð pes ant reste of cleane <u>inwit</u> habbeð in

hare heorte bitternesse of þis lif,

(and even those who have the peace and repose of a clear

<u>conscience</u> have bitterness in their hearts because of this

life,)

cf. C: 174. 13.

---

[3] Near Example 34, both A and C testify that *inwit* features its location "within" the heart.

ƻ þeo ȝet þe habbeð pes ƻ reste of cleane <u>inwit</u> habbeð inhare

he orte bitternesse of þis lif

35) P6.175v.13. [A: inwið] [prep.]

rie wombe. Beo ȝe ibunden <u>inwið</u> four

large waȝes. ƻ he in an naru cader Inei

let onrode.

(Are you confined <u>inside</u> four

spacious walls? So too was he in a narrow

cradle,)

36) P7.181.2. [A: inwið] [prep.]

A lefdi wes mid hire fan biset al abuten

hire lond al to struet. ƻ heo alpoure <u>inwið</u>

an eorðene castel. ...

(A lady was completely surrounded by

her enemies, her land laid waste, and she herself quite

destitute, <u>in</u> a castle of earth.)

37) P7.187.9. [A: inwið] [prep.]

... of þeose twa treon

ȝe schulen ontenden fur of luue <u>inwið</u> ou

wer heorte. biseoð ofte towart ham. þencheð

(With these two pieces of wood,

you must kindle a fire of love <u>in</u> your

heart. Often look toward them;)

38) P8.193v.5. [A: Inwið] [prep.]

... Naut ne wite in ouw

er hus of oðer monne þinges ne achte ne

claðes. of swich witung is muchel uuel jl

umpen ofte siðen. <u>Inwið</u> ower wanes ne lete

ȝe nan mon slepen. Gef Muche neod mid*4

(Do not keep anything in your

house that belongs to other people, livestock,

or clothes. This kind of storage has often led to

a lot of trouble. <u>Within</u> your premises, do not let

any man sleep. If some really major emergency)

All these 38 samples are analyzed to each definition of the meanings according to parts of speech in *MED* as in Table 9 below.

Table 9: Definition of *inwið* according to parts of speech

_____

Adverb	I-1: 0; I-2: 15; I-3: [26]
	II: 1, 2, 3, 4, 13, 14, 17, 19, 22, 23, 24, 26, 27, 29, 31
Preposition	I-1:0; I-2: 0; I-3: 36; I-4: 10, 12, 18, 33, 35, 38
	II-1: 5, 6, 7, 9, 11, 16, 20, 21, 30, 32, 34, 37; II-2: 28
	III-1: 8; III-2: 25

_____

The result shows that *inwið* is widely used by Scribe A, and both the adverb and the preposition are mainly related to human inner being (II-1, II-2).

Examples 1 and 3 testified in Chapter V (Cases 1 and 5) that Scribe A's sentences with *inwið* make sense without a change into *inwit*. In Example 22, where A manuscript remains with *inwit*, C uses

_____

4 Overall, A has another version.

inwið with no correction by Scribe B, showing that the sentences of C make sense, as in Chapter III (Case 8), an evidence that Scribe A's original sentence with *inwið* can be read without any challenge. Example 28 shows that Scribe A's original sentences distinguish *inwið* from the *conscience*-word *þonc*, as demonstrated in Chapter V (Case 10).

All other examples show that *inwið* is greatly used in A and C as "within" "inside" or "inward," confirming that Dobson's comment on Scribe B's corrections is not necessarily true. Scribe A's sentences before Scribe B's correction can be inherited from his exemplar. Dobson's defense of Scribe B's correction can be correctly challenged.

2. Fluidity of *in*: other words for expressing *within*

Inwið consists of *in* (preposition) + *wið* (preposition), according to *MED.* This nature of the word-formation "*in* plus another word" can be seen in other written words by Scribe A frequently. He tends to scribe two or three words continuously without space as if they were one word. This section examines the extended usage of *in*-oriented words of Scribe A. There are many connected words as below.

2.1. Expression related to "within the heart"

Scribe A writes to connect *in* with the words for human inner being. The following examinations are on Dobson's C text, as in Table 10. The section, the page, the folio number, and the line number are listed.

Table 10: Token of *in* + *heorte*/ *saule*

inheorte:	P3.64.19; P4.79.9; P4.91v.19; P4.112.9; P5.156.10; P6.176v.9.
inӡeong saule:	P3.68v.11.

These examples presume the word-formation, which takes *in* as a prefix added to a lexeme with the meaning regarding mentality, just like the coinage *inwit*.

2.2. *In* as preposition: *in* + pronoun, relative pronoun

The preposition *in* connects very easily with other words like a prefix. The following Table 11 shows the examples. An asterisk means that *in* is repeated by dittography at the beginning of the line.

Table 11: Token of preposition *in* + pronoun, relative pronoun

inham	P1.17v.18; P4.113.2; P6.168.19.
inhare	P3.73.4; P4.113.4; P6.165.6; (in/hare) P6.165.7-8; P6.165.10; P6.174.13; P8.197.8.
*inheore	P1.13v.1; P1.16.10
inhire	P2.28.15; P3.56.13; P3.58v.17; P3.60v.9; P3.72v.8; P4.87v.13; P4.95v.22; P4.96v.9; P4.119.6; P4.127v.4; P6.161v.20.
inhis	P2.44.9; P2.45.4; P2.45.8 (x2); P3.55v.13; P3.66.15; P3.66.22; P3.67.4; P4.92.13; P4.100.13; P4.101v.12; P4.110v.3; P4.129.13; P5.142.14; P5.149v.6; P5.153v.1; P6.161v.6; (Inhis) P6.167.3; P7.182.10; P7.186v.7; P8.198v.13.

inhwich	P3.58v.15.
* inoure	P1.13v.18;
inþe[5]	Pre.7v.8; Pre.8v.16; P1.11v.12; P1.12v.19; P1.13.4; P1.13.15; P1.14.7; P1.15v.13; P1.17v.18; P2.23.9; P2.33v.25; P3.59.12; P3.63.10; P3.66.1; P3.69v.4; P3.70v.4; P3.72v.17; P4.74v.16; P4.75.9; P4.76.20 [A subpuncts *inþe* and wirtes *mid* above.]; P4.78.2; P4.87.10; P4.90v.21; P4.93v.4; P4.95.1; P4.99.14; P4.99v.8; P4.103.11; P4.106v.11; P4.115v.13; P4.117v.20; P4.119v.9; P5.152v.8; P6.165v.14; P6.176v.13; P7.186v.7; P7.186v.13.
inþeos	P4.92v.10.
* inþi	P2.42.4.
inþin	P3.55v.21.
inþis	P4.98.18; P4.105v.4; P5.157v.12; P6.162.13; P7.182v.16.
intoþet	P5.139.14.

The preposition *in* proves its flexibility for connecting with other nouns, resulting in the similarity with the preposition *in* in the word-formation.

2.3. *In* as suffix, added to pronoun, article, or preposition

In is also attached afterwards to a pronoun, article, and preposition

---

5 Neither *iþe* nor *iðe* are included here because the complete form of *in* is abridged.

just like suffix, as shown in Table 12 below:

Table 12: *In* as suffix, added to pronoun, article, or preposition

þein	P4.120v.10 [So MS., but read as two words, *þe in* "thyself in."]
þin	P4.101v.2; P4.101v.5; P4.102.19; P4.130.6; P5.138.19; P5.147.13; P5.153.11.
Þrin	P3.55v.7; P3.55v.8; P5.155.8; (þrin) P6.162.10.

The examinations above reveal the character of *in*, which tends to be connected with other lexemes with the ease of a prefix or suffix.

2.4. Other words for "within" or "inward"

Apart from *inwið*, some prepositions or adverbs express "within" or "inward" as Table 13 indicates.

Table 13: *In*-words that mean "within" or "inward"

inde	P5.157.5.
inn	(Inne) P2.24v.8; P2.42.6; P2.45v.13; (inne) P2.47v.7; (inne) P2.47v.22; (inne) P3.48v.4; (inne) P3.52.12; (inne) P3.52.15; (inne) P3.67.18; (Inne) P3.71v.margin; (in/ne) P3.73.12-13; (inne) P5.153.18; (inne) P8.195v.5.
inre	Pre.4v.11; Pre.5.12; Pre.5v.6; P2.37.15; P3.74.12; P3.74.margin; P4.75.18; (Inre) P4.76.5; P4.76.8; P4.76.11(-->wisdom); P4.81v.8; P4.81v.11; P4.81v.16; P4.81v.20;

	P4.95.3; P4.95v.14; P7.184.19; P7.187v.11.
into	P1.16v.9; P2.22v.10; P2.25v.22; P2.38.23; P2.38v.19; P2.42v.22; P2.43v.23; P2.43v.23-24 (in/to); P2.47v.18; P3.49.8; P3.50.2; P3.52v.4; P3.52v.8; P3.52v.20; P3.52v.22; (in to) P3.53.12; P3.53v.24; P3.58.18; P3.58v.10; P3.60.6; P3.66.16; P3.66.20; P3.66v.19; P3.67.18 [from Latin *ingressus*]; P3.70v.10; P3.70v.20; P4.75.11; P4.78.7; P4.92v.21; P4.97v.8; P4.98.1; (Into) P4.99.3; P4.99.17; P4.100.4; P4.103.2; P4.110.18; (in/to) P4.110v.8-9; (in/to) P4.117v.12-13; P4.119v.17;P4.120v.11; P4.120v.14; P4.123.19; P4.123v.6; P4.126v.13; P4.126v.16; P4.127v.11; P4.134.5; P4.134.8; P4.135v.5; P5.139.7; P5.147.16; P5.148.3; P5.153.17; P5.159v.11; P6.161v.12; P6.162v.13; P6.164.13; P6.167.11; P6.167.12; P6.173v.3; P6.178.11; (Into) P6.178v.3; P7.179v.4; P7.186.11; P7.186v.9; P7.186v.10; P8.198v.18.
intoþet	P5.139.14.
intowart	P4.130v.18.
inwa	P6.163.11; P6.163v.12.
inwart	P2.36v.19; (inward) P2.37.7; (inward) P2.37.9; P3.52v.2; (inward) P4.90.1; (inwarde)P4.105.19; (inwarde) P4.107.12; (inward [-->consentin] P4.122v.7; P4.130v.15; P4.131v.6.

386

inwardliche	P2.21v.20; P3.50v.6; (inward/liche) P4.79.17-18; (in/wardliche) P4.93v.17-18; P4.116v.9; (inwardlukest) P4.127v.2; (inwarliche) P4.128.11; P6.160.15; (inward/liche) P7.183.7-8.
wið innen	Pre.4v.4; Pre.8.2; P2.20.20-21; P2.32.26; P2.37.25; P3.48.5; P3.55.14; P3.55.18; P3.55.19-20 (wi[d]/ innen); P3.55v.11; P3.56.1; P3.56.7; P3.62v.11; (wið in/ innen)* P4.75.20-21; (Wi[d] innen) P4.75v.1; P4.75v.5; P4.75v.12; P4.108.6; P5.151v.6; P6.175.14.
wið inwarde	P4.108.9; P4.108v.11.
wið/iren	P6.177v.17-18.

*So MS., *in* repeated by dittography at beginning of line.

2.5. *In* + noun/ pronoun/ adjective

There are quite a few combinations of *in* with nouns, pronouns, and adjectives, as Table 14 shows. A contracted form, however, "*Iwinter* (In winter)" (11v.8) is not included.

Table 14: Token of *in* + noun/ pronoun/ adjective

_____

Preface	inhali (6v.14); incouent (8.6).
Part 1	inmuðe (9v.1); Inalle (12.11); Insperclinde (14v.14); ineu/chan (15v.3); inblisse (16.10); introne (16v.17).
Part 2	Insumme (20.4); Indauiðes(23.11); inschrifte (24v.19); inbluðelich (24v.20);

387

inane[6] (25.8);inechȝe (26v.7); inhope (32.9);
insilence (32.9); inheo/uene (32.15);
insilence (32.18); ingodes (32.19);
infon/dunge (32v.5); inwritunge (33.1);
inengelon (33v.2); infulðe (34.6); inbisaȝe
(36.4); incanticis (36v.15); inane (38v.3);
inheouene (38v.6); Incanticis (40.22);
inflesch (42v.6); inoðre (44v.13); Inþilke
(46.15); infelunge (47.2); inahlhis (47v.16).

Part 3	instreng/ðe (62v.14-15); instrengðe (62v.16); inquicschipe (62v.15); iswið* (64v.9); inworldes (69v.3); insepulcre (71.8); inheouene (73.4); inþrung (73v.5).
Part 4	inea/dmodschipe (76v.12-13); inalle (79.17); inwere (80.19); inmisliche (81.4); ingodes (81v.15); ingodes (82.11); Ino/bediencia (83v.12-13); inpaciencia (84.4); Ingratitudo (84v.6); inbreoste (84v.17); inwedlac (87v.7); imea/ne (89v.9-10); inhelle (91v.2); inhelle (92.1); inceler (92.8); incuchene (92.8); indialoge (100.16); inwrestlunge (104.13); inhare (107.8); inan (109v.6); insachnesse (110v.19); inan (111v.3); inswifte (111v.17); inmi/ne (114.2-3); inchambre (114v.16); inancreche (115.17); insare (116.19); inhardi (121.18); ingodes(121v.7); Inþelicome (124v.14); inmine (133.7); innunge (134.19);

---

[6] "B strikes through final *ne* and writes *cuple* above to make *in a cuple*; original text *in a weie* (so Titus and Vernon, supported by other MSS." (Dobson 1972: 50).

incanticis (134v.3).

Part 5 iþebiginnunge (135v.7); ingenesy (137v.3); inhelle (143.9); inhalidaʒes (145v.7); inswich (145v.13); ingode (152.12); inþiba/ndun (155.10-11); ingodes (x2) (155v.12); indeaðes (158.15); inschrift (159.6); inforʒeouenesse (159.20); inʒeong (159v.10).

Part 6 inheoune (160.2); inquirimus (160v.13); inmuche (161.1); inanþing (162.18); insore/ʒe (163v.12-13); inme[7] (163v.15); ingod (164v.9); inheouene (165.9); ineorðe (165.10); inure (165v.6); inʒeong (167.12); inan (170.13); indelices (170.17); insecnesse (172.18); inmuche (173.19); inwei (173v.10); inegypte (173v.16); inma/rie (175v.12-13); instanere (175v.15); innouðer (175v.17); incuchene (176v.11); instrengðe (178.16).

Part 7 inturnement (182.5); infecht (182.6); inheouene (182v.2); Inschelt (182v.14); inchirche (182v.20); iþeworld (183.9); ingyr<i>e[8] (183.15); ingi/uwrie (183.16-17); ingywene (183.18); insaule (184.7); inham[?] (184.17); inme (185.16); inheouene (185v.15); ineor[d]e (185v.16); Inhelle (185v.16); inmi (186v.16); insarepte (187.19); inread (187v.6);

---

[7] "D adds marks of separation, in plummet, above and below line between *in* and *me.*" (Dobson 1972: 262)
[8] The word means "Jew; gyus."

Part 8	ingode (187v.18); InGenesi (190v.21). inheruest (191.10); inumen (191v.16); Insumer (194.5); ingodes (194v.7); inower (195.10); inswich (195.11); inalle (195v.7); insunne (195v.8); inure (196v.14); inluue (196v.21); inwunden (198.5).[9]

*It is categorized as a variation of *inwið* here.

2.6. *In* + Latin

The tendency of continuous writing of *in* plus other words is found in Latin, as Table 15 reveals. The A manuscript is consulted to distinguish the one word consisting of a prefix and a stem from the continuous spelling of two distinct words. The words with asterisk (*) are not seen in A.

Table 15: Token of *in* + Latin

Part 1	Innomine (9.13); inte (9v.11); inadiutorium (10v.3); Inadiutorium (10v.18); inpace (11v.12); Inte (12.3); Inuirtute (12.5); indeum (12v.9); Inconfessione (12v.12); inme (x2) (14.15); inme (14.16); inme (14.18); incor (14.19); Infaciem (15.12); Insanctis (15v.3); Inconuertando (16v.13); Inte (17.1); Intuis (17.19); Innomine (18v.4); Innomine (19.7); inadiutorium (19.17); inadiutorium (19.18).
Part 2	inorbem* (25v.21); inmentem* (25v.21);

---

[9] D alters final *n* to *s.*

	inmanibus (29v.15); inlocutione (30v.21); interra (31v.18); Insilencio (32.8); insilencio (33v.18); Inpropheta (36.23); Inexodo (36v.2); interram (45.20); inhali (46.7); ineternum (47v.10).
Part 3	inpopulis (72v.20).
Part 4	indeserto (82v.4); indesiderio (90.15); Inapocalipsi (92v.1); intenebris (95.11); inporcos (100.3); inaquis (108.12); inhoc (110v.9); Inpace (110v.17); incarne (116v.13); Inparalipomenon (118.6); ingwine[10] (122v.15); inconuallibus (127v.7); Inmanu (130.2); inadiutorium (131v.13); innomine (131v.15); inpetram (132v.12); inforaminibus (133.5); incauerna (133.6).
Part 5	inuerba (147v.18); inpresumpcionem (152.15); indesperacionem (152.16); Incanticis (155v.9); inter/ra (155v.9-10).
Part 6	incruce (160.3,5); indeo (161v.7); ingloria (161v.8); inme (162.2); incelo (165.12); interra (165.12); insede (165v.8); insedibus (165v.9); ingloriam (167.8); inscandalum (173v.15); intempus (174v.13); Incanticis (175.5); incorpore (177v.1); incorporibus (177v.2).
Part 7	incibos (178v.14); insola (180.6); inintegrum (184.5); insanguine (184v.1);

---

[10] So MS., for *inguine*; *wynn* for Latin consonantal *u.* (Dobson 1972: 199). However, the A manuscript reads *In iguine* (74b.6).

Inmanibus (184v.7); interram (186v.8); inha/li (188v.20-21).

_____

The table obviously reveals that *in* could be spelled continuously with the following Latin words without any space. This tendency can explain the word-formation of the coinage of *inwit.*

3. Summary

It is apparent that *inwið* is such a common word that Scribe A of the C manuscript and the scribe of the A use the word with significant frequency. The word is necessary to demonstrate the multi-layered structure of human mentality. It is also demonstrated in this section that the "*in*-oriented" vocabulary in the C manuscript is numerous. Scribe A tends to connect two words such that *in* is in many cases written and adjusted to the following words. The phenomenon signifies that the text of Scribe A was "oral," to be recited without the rigid clearness of identifying each word for reading with eyesight in silence.

As the authenticity of Scribe A's sentences examined above is verified, Dobson's assumption drawn by making the A manuscript the criteria for comparison cannot be justified. Though Dobson's judgment has long contributed to Scribe A's bad reputation as a scribe, the investigated sentences redeem his quality a little. Furthermore, the numerosity of "*in*-oriented" words in C easily convinces us how *inwit* was coined.

Chapter IX

Other Vernacular Expressions for *Conscience*

0. Introduction

Conscience has been described as "the moral sense of telling right or wrong" to the audience; however, the same meaning is sometimes expressed through other vocabularies or phrases. Examining these expressions may help confirm the situation where the topic word was just being introduced as new terminology. This chapter considers the expressions that convey the equivalent meaning of *conscience*, mainly based on A and C. The A text is rendered from Millett's edition (2005), and the C from Dobson's (1972).

1. *Cor*

In the following example, "... ich habbe studeuestliche *iþong/ ƺ inheorte* þis sunne to for leten" (I have a resolution *in my conscience* and *in my heart* to give up this sin) (C: 156.9-10), *heorte* is juxtaposed with *þong*. Other examples of the *heorte* juxtaposition are as follows:

> A: 1v.42-43.
> Þis makeð þe leafdi riwle, þðe riwleð ant rihteð and smeðeð ðe <u>heorte</u> ant te <u>inwit</u> of sunne;
> (This is the work of the lady rule, which rules and straightens and smoothes away sin from the <u>heart</u> and the <u>conscience</u>;)
>
> C: 4v.18-20.
> þis maket þe laue/ di riwle þe riwlet ƺ smeðeð/ ƺ richteð þe

heorte ȝ <u>wit</u> hire from sunne.

These examples show that *heorte* juxtaposes *þong*, *inwit*, or *wit* in A and C. *Heorte* is usually translated from the Latin *cor,* as in A, 1r. 17, where again *heorte* is juxtaposed with *inwit*:

> *Et hec est caritas quam describit Apostolus, de <u>corde puro</u> et <u>consciencia</u> bona et fide non ficta.* Þeos riwle is chearite of <u>schir heorte</u> ant <u>cleane inwit</u> ant treowe bileaue.
> (*And this is the charity that the Apostle describes, "of a <u>pure heart</u> and a <u>clear conscience</u> and sincere faith."* This rule is the charity of a <u>pure heart</u> and a <u>clear conscience</u> and true faith.)

The juxtaposition gives evidence of two words as different and independent but resonate, emphasize, and reflect their similarity silmultaneously. For example, in the initial Latin quotation in *AW, cor* is depicted as what rules the inner part of us:

> A: 1r.3-7.
> *Recti diligunt te. In Canticis: sponsa ad sponsum. Est rectum gramaticum, rectum geometricum, rectum theologicum; et sunt differencie totidem regularum. De recto theologico sermo nobis est, cuius regule due sunt: vna circa <u>cordis directionem</u>, altera uersatur circa exteriorum rectificationem.*

There are two rules for the audience: one is concerned with the "direction of the heart" (*cordis directionem*), and the other, external

things (*exteriorum rectificationem*). Here, *cor* is meant as the whole entity of human mentality. The inner rule guides *cor* toward the expected direction. However, *cor* directs the human mind to tell the truth in confession, as seen at the end of the C manuscript.

> C: 199: 9-11.[1]
>
> Confitebor tibi *in directione cordis.* id est. *in regulacione. cordis.* exprobracione malorum. Generacio que non direxit cor suumᵓ et non est creditus cum deo spiritus eius. Amen.

The underlined part could be "I confess in the direction of my heart, that is, in the rule of my heart" (author's translation). This *cor* finds any sin according to its rule when the person confesses and has a similar role to *conscience*.

Though *cor* is usually translated into vernacular as *heorte*, another Latin word, *mens* in Part 5, can also mean *heorte*:

> A: 91v.518-21:
>
> Sein Gregoire seið þah, <u>*Bonarum*</u> <u>*mentium*</u> *est culpam agnoscere ubi culpa non est*: cunde of <u>god heorte</u> is to beon offearet of sunne þer-as nan nis ofte, o[d]er weie swiðre his sunne sumchearre þen he þurfte.
>
> (St Gregory says, however, *It is the nature of <u>virtuous minds</u> to perceive a fault where there is no fault*: the nature of a <u>virtuous heart</u> is to be afraid of sin often where there is none, or to give its sin more weight than it ought.)

---

[1] After M.401.18, one leaf is missing in C. The previous part is completed in the last leaf at the end of the manuscript. See Dobson (1972: 318).

Further, the two examples in Part 7 show what *heorte* and *sawle* are:

A: 104v.38-39.

<u>Schirnesse of heorte</u> is Godes luue ane. I þis is al þe strengðe of alle religiuns, þe ende of alle ordres.

(<u>Purity of heart</u> is the love of God alone. In this lies all the strength of every kind of religious life, the purpose of all orders.)

A: 107v.180-81.

Þus lo, Iesu Cristes luue toward his deore spuse—þe is, Hali Chirche oðer <u>cleane sawle</u>—

(In this way, as you can see, Jesus Christ's love for his dear wife—that is, Holy Church or the <u>pure soul</u>—)

These examples reveal that pure heart and pure soul describe the same entity; they emphasize purity and importance.

Next, a figurative expression of *heorte* reminds us of *conscience.* Below follows a complete expression of one of the conditions of confession:

A: 85v.217–219.

ȝef dust of lihte þohtes windeð to swi[d]e up, flaski teares on ham; ne schulen ha nawt þenne ablende <u>þe heorte ehnen.</u>

(If the dust of frivolous thoughts flies too thickly, he should sprinkle tears on them; then they will not blind <u>the eyes of the heart</u>.)

The image in which the sin as dirt in the house is swept away by confession as a broom was very popular, and the image of "the eyes of the heart" probably comes from Gregory.[2] This expression of heart whose eyes can mean to be watchful of faulty behavior is easily connected with *conscience*.

The following shows a contrary example between *heorte* and *heaued*:

> A: 109v. 300–301.
>
> þet is to seggen, þus þu schalt ontenden his heorte forte luuie þe—for "heorte" is in Hali Writ bi "heaued" understonden.
>
> (that is to say, in this way, you will kindle his heart to love you—since "heart" in Holi Scripture is taken to mean "head".)

Millett reverses "heart" and "head" in her translation. For instance, "'head' in Holy Scripture is taken to mean 'heart'" (2009: 152). Either way, the heart plays the most important role for people; thus, it is metaphorically called the *head*.

Soul, mind, and heart have been the authentic theological and philosophical themes since ancient times, but we cannot find a serious discussion of this topic (Millett 2005 I: 117). There is a loose reciprocal usage among these words for mind, and imagery blurs its strict definition. The words investigated above contextually play the role of *conscience.* However, even if we can say that the function of *conscience* as a moral sense is shared with *heorte*, the latter word does not necessarily mean to express that sense in the whole book.

---

[2] *Moralia in iob,* bk.8, ch.10, § 22, CCSL 143, 398. (Millett 2009: 239. note. 5.48)

The borderlines of the three words for mind are ambiguous and must be clearly distinguished from every identity.

2. *Witnesse* and *deme*

The system of confession where a man finds a sin or sins by himself is described in Part 5 of the A manuscript. Reason as judge sits in the seat, then Recollection comes and accuses him, and he finds the sin; then his *conscience* admits this as a witness; Fear comes over, and the unsatisfied judge Reason pays the penalty for the sin, calling Pain and Sorrow to punish the heart of the sinner with repentance, Sorrow to punish internally and Pain, externally. All such terminologies have already been personified to act much more freely in a High Medieval Age, as in *Prick of Conscience* and *Piers Plowman*. Surely *conscience* is depicted as a witness:

> A: 83v.111-113.
>
> *Ascendat homo tribunal mentis sue, si illud cogitt quod oportet eum exiberi ante tribunal Christi. Assit accusatrix Cogitatio, <u>testis Consciencia,</u> carnifex Timor*
>
> (Recollecting that he must appear before the tribunal of Christ, a man should ascend the tribunal of his own mind. Recollection should sit there as prosecutor, <u>conscience as witness</u>, Fear as executioner.)[3]

Conscience is also closely related with "Judge the Reason":

> A: 83v.117-124.

---

[3] Ascendat homo tribunal mentis sue si illud cogitat quod opor tete um exiberi ante tribunal crist. Assit acusa trix cogitacio. <u>testis consciencia</u>. Carnifex timor. (C: 139v.6)

His <u>Inwit</u> beo icnawes þrof ant beore witnesse: ... ȝet nis nawt

þe <u>deme</u> (þet is, <u>Skile</u>) ipaiet þah he beo ibunden ant halde

him wið sunne,

(His <u>conscience</u> should admit this and bear witness: ... But

the <u>judge</u> (that is, <u>Reason</u>) is still not satisfied even though

he is tied up and refraining from sin,)

C: 139v.13-140.4.

... His <u>inwit</u> beo incnawe[s] þrof

ʒ beore witnesse. ...

...

ȝet nis naut þe <u>deme</u> Þ is

<u>skile</u> ipaiȝet þach heo ibunden ʒ halde him

wið sunne. ...

It is difficult to disconnect completely *conscience* from "witness" and
"judge" because they are close in meaning and share the same
functions. *AW* does not disclose further theological discussions over
these terms, and the lay audience might have eventually taken these
related words into account, figuring them out by themselves without
any strict differences.

3. *Riwle*

Ancrene Wisse begins with the description of rules:

Recti diligunt te. In Canticis: sponsa ad sponsum. Est rectum
gramaticum, rectum geometricum, rectum theologicum; et
sunt differencie totidem regularum. De recto theologico
sermo nobis est, cuius <u>regule</u> due sunt: vna circa cordis

399

directionem, altera uersatur circa exteriorum rectificationem. (A: 1r.3–7)

("The righteous love you." The bride says this to the bridegroom in Canticles. There is what is right in grammar, what is right in geometry, and what is right in theology; and each of these has its separate <u>rules</u>. Our subject is rightness in a theological sense, which has two rules: one is concerned with the direction of the heart, the other with the rectification of external things.)

The first sentence is from Canticles (Song of Songs), the last sentence of 1:3 (Millett 2005 II: 2). Though it is the only direct sentence referencing Canticles in the work, it hints at a greater insight into *AW.*

From Origen of Alexandria (184/185-253/254), who produced a new genre of Christian exegesis of Canticles out of Jewish interpretation as love songs, Canticles grew to become an allegory which embodies "the heavenly epithalamium between Christ and the Church or Christ and the human soul" (Matter 11). Some works of Origen on Canticles were translated into Latin by Jerome (347–420) and Rufinus (340/345-410) and widely spread into the western world in the Middle Ages (Matter 12). Through its expansion along with the monastic ideal, in the eleventh century, when the monastic emphasis on individual devotion and the purity of the Church was gradually enforced, the idea of the commentary of Canticle became the common representation (Matter 14). The concern of "purity" of the Church was even inspired by the central idea of Canticle, allegorically recognized. The understanding of the exegesis of Canticle became more moral and personal, and in the next century, when the exegesis of Canticle

bears allegoric tropological character, an emphasis on the human soul was strengthened, reaching the peak of its exegesis (Matter 14). The tropological interpretation of Canticles includes a union via a sexual, mystical marriage with Christ, which supposedly gives spiritual empowerment to monastic and lay piety (Matter 15). Then the genre of Canticles entered vernacular tradition, simply via "the translation of an already existing commentary" (Matter 179). The new genre came from William of Ebersberg's work as a treatise on Haimo, translated in early Middle High German in the mid-eleventh century. With the other works together, for example, *St. Trudperter Hohelied*, the vernacular versions spread to become more available to the audience. The case of *AW* above places itself at the very beginning of the work introducing the idea of Canticles with no vernacular interpretation; the connotation should be directed to the listeners.

The intended audience of *AW* was originally three laywomen who did not have to worry about making a living. They surely were purely devoting themselves to the pious life as anchoress living in a cell attached to the church. For their enthusiasm, this core idea of Canticles must come into the center of their anchoret life. The idea of Canticles is interpreted as a call to chastity, showing that the Christian union of the bridegroom and the bride is rooted in those anchoresses. They are lay people, but the way of their living should be called monastic.

The second sentence of the quoted Latin above lists "three traditional university disciplines" (Millett 2005 II: 2.n.P.3-4): grammar, geometry, and theology, among which the last topic is supposed to be most expected to be delivered to the audience of *AW*. However, it is not explained in the vernacular like a lecture to them. What is transferred to the audience is that there are two rules, and

the internal one controls the heart (A: 1r.13-14):

> Þe an riwleð þe heorte, ant makeð efne ant smeðe wiðute
> cnost ant dolc of woh <u>inwit</u> ant of wreiȝende ...
> (One of them rules the heart, and makes it even and
> smooth without the bumps and hollows of a crooked and
> troubled <u>conscience</u> ...)

The statement explains that the *rule* makes the crooked *conscience* smooth; that is, the rule directs the heart in a way. However, at the same time, it is said that this rule "is always internal," which reminds us of *conscience* being within us (A: 1r.14-16.):

> "Her þu sunegest," oþer "Þis nis nawt ibet ȝet ase wel as hit
> ahte." <u>Þeos riwle</u> is eauer inwið ant rihteð þe heorte.
> ("You are committing a sin here," or "This is not yet atoned
> for as well as it ought to be." <u>This rule</u> is always internal and
> directs the heart.)

This explanation of *rule* and *inwit* (*conscience*) induces the feeling that they overlap; both are internal and tell the heart what is wrong and direct the heart. This rule is also allegorized in another part (A: 1v.39-47):

> alle mahen ant ahen halden a <u>riwle</u> onont purte of heorte,
> þet is cleane ant schir inwit (consciencia) wiðuten weote of
> sunne þet ne beo þurh schrift ibet. Þis makeð <u>þe leafdi riwle</u>,
> þe riwleð ant rihteð ant smeðeð þe heorte ant te inwit of
> sunne; for nawt ne makeð hire woh bute sunne ane. Rihten

hire ant smeðin hire is of euch religiun ant of euch ordre þe go[d] ant al þe strengðe. Þeos <u>riwle</u> is imaket nawt of monnes fundles, ah is of Godes heaste; for-þi ha is eauer a[n] wiðute changunge, ant alle ahen hire in an eauer to halden.

(everyone can and should observe one <u>rule</u> concerning [the] purity of heart, which is [a] clean and clear moral sense (conscience) unaware of any sin that has not been atoned for through confession. This is the work of <u>the lady rule</u>, which rules and straightens and smoothens away sin from the heart and the conscience; because nothing makes it crooked apart from sin. Straightening and smoothing it is the virtue and the whole strength of every form of religious life and every order. This <u>rule</u> is not a product of human invention, but of divine precept; therefore, it is always the same without any change, and everyone should always observe it in the same way.)

This explanation induces us to agree with the governess of the rule, allegorized as the "lady,"[4] the sovereign rule who works to keep the heart pure as ever inside of the heart. The relationship between the *rule* and *conscience* expresses that the former is placed above the latter; however, once they are depicted to occupy themselves *within the heart*, it is challenging to visualize their precise placement and relationship. The allegorical description might simply leave a vivid image of the lady rule who controls the heart and also judges the good from the wrong, just like *conscience*.

"Regular" borrows the name from "rule," *regula* in Latin, which

---

[4] Another allegory of lady is seen in Part 7 (105r.68); see *MED* (s.v. *lādī(e* n.1.(a)).

means the people "who followed a rule which was normally understood to mean a monastic rule" (Gunn 27). It is also claimed to indicate all the faithful people following the rules of their own callings by James of Vitry (Gunn 27).[5] James of Vitry is the cleric who was deeply involved in the education of preachers, the Franciscans and Dominicans; now, the Dominicans are believed to be the original author of *AW* (Millett 1992). Hence, lay anchoresses can be regarded as *regulars*, earnestly having demanded the rule to follow. If *conscience* occupies the center of the rule, it would not be so much against the rule to consider them as somewhat overlapping.

4. Summary

As the Preface recognizes that this book addresses a theological concern through authoritative quotations written in Latin, the introduction of the concept or vocabulary *conscience* should begin with a very theological instructive account. If a reader expects to gain complete theological understanding from this book, he would be left in the fog. *Conscience* is the moral sense of telling right or wrong, but other detailed parts of *conscience* are not fully explained. For a theologically thirsty mind, the notion of *conscience* is sometimes expressed via some familiar words, *heart* or *rule*, and metaphorical expressions, witness or judge. Given the long process of Biblical commentary, the explanation of the new word *conscience* may have the right to bear some ambiguous overlapping self-identification ambiance. It reminds us that this work is a "theological work" but not a work of theology, and it is the work basically for lay people for guiding their virtuous life to be finally rewarded by God.

---

[5]. cf. James of Vitry, *Historia occidentalis.* 165-66.

Chapter X

Expressions for *Conscience* in the Ancrene Wisse Group

0. Introduction

The early-thirteenth-century English prose work, *Ancrene Wisse* (*AW*), is closely related to other contemporary religious materials in the Katherine Group and the Wooing Group, all of which together compose the Ancrene Wisse Group. The Katherine Group is formed of *Seinte Katerine* (SK), *Seinte Margarete* (SM), *Seinte Iuliene* (SJ), *Hali Meiðhad* (or *Epistel of Meidenhad*) (HM), and *Sawles Warde* (SW), while to the Wooing Group belong *On Ureisun of God Almihti* (UG), *Þe Oreisun of Seinte Marie* (OM), *On Lofsong of ure Louerde* (LL), and *Þe Wohunge of ure Lauerd* (WL). Several of these works appear to have been written originally for a particular audience–groups of unmarried female devotees as *AW*–while others are tailored more for a general Christian audience, sharing similar themes presented in rhythmical and alliterative traditional prose (Millett 1990: xiii). Some common linguistic traits were named AB language by Tolkien (108), and it has been suggested that the Groups are linked to the West Midlands, where an area near Hereford and Worcester may have been the centre for those scribes involved in transcribing the manuscripts (Millett 2009: xii).

As a practical religious handbook, *AW* is a patchwork of theological and devotional book for anchoresses, or other audiences, to provide instruction in the solitary life (Millett 2005 II: xix-xxiv). Since *nouveau* expressions—the first English loanword *conscience* and its vernacular counterpart *inwit*—are present in Part V of *AW*, the section concerning confession, it may be inferred that the closely

interlinked works in the same group of *AW* will display some evidence of preceding substitutive expressions for these new lexemes. *OED* explains that the neologism *inwit* consists of "IN *adv*. 12 + WIT *sb*." and it is unrelated to OE. *inwit* or *inwid*, which means "deceit" (s.v. *inwit*).

Since it is clear that the background of the coinage has not yet been thoroughly investigated, this chapter will examine the equivalent expressions to *conscience/ inwit* in the Katherine and Wooing Groups as in *AW*, to ascertian the antecedent situation, which anticipated the arrival of these new words. The expressions to be examined here, "*conscience* words," are analyzed in each work together with the context in which they appear, that is, the meaning of "the sense of right or wrong" (Millett 2009: 116). First, all *conscience* words are identified and placed in a chart. Following this, each lexeme is examined from the point of view of the meaning of 'conscience'. Finally, the alliteration and word-pairing of *conscience* words are examined.

The following listing shows the manuscripts containing either the Katherine Group or the Wooing Group.[1] Those manuscripts analyzed here are marked with an asterisk:

Katherine Group
Seinte Katerine (SK)
London, British Library, Cotton Titus D.xviii. (T)
London, British Library, Royal 17 A. xxvii. (R)
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 34. (B)*

---

[1] The data is referred to *Sawles Warde and the Wooing Group: Parallel Texts with Notes and Wordlists* (2015).

Seinte Marherete (SM)

London, British Library, Royal 17 A. xxvii. (R)

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 34. (B)*

Seinte Iuliene (SJ)

London, British Library, Royal 17 A. xxvii. (R)

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 34. (B)*

Hali Meiðhad (HM)

London, British Library, Cotton Titus D. xviii. (T)

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 34. (B)*

Sawles Warde (SW)

London, British Library, Cotton Titus D. xviii. (T)

London, British Library, Royal 17 A. xxvii. (R)

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 34. (B)*

Wooing Group

On Ureisun of God Almihti (UG)

London, Lambeth Palace, 487 (L)

London, British Library, Cotton Nero A.xiv (N)*

Þe Oreisun of Seinte Marie (OM)

London, British Library, Cotton Nero A.xvi (N)*

London, British Library, Royal 17 A.xxvii (R)

On Lofsong of ure Louerde (LL)

London, British Library, Cotton Nero A.xvi (N)*

Þe Wohunge of ure Lauerd (WL)

London, British Library, Cotton Titus D.xviii (T)*

The distribution schema for the Ancrene Wisse Group manuscripts is shown in Table 1 below, which displays the closeness of the works within the Group.[2]

Table 1: Distribution schema for the Ancrene Wisse Group mauscripts

	AW	SK	SJ	SM	HM	SW	UG	OM	LL	WL
Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 402	○									
Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, 234/120	○									
Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepys 2498	○									
London, British Library, Cotton Cleopatra C. vi.	○									
London, British Library, Cotton Nero A.xiv.	○						○	○	○	
London, British Library, Cotton Titus D.xviii.	○	○			○	○				○
London, British Library, Royal 8 C.i.	○									
London, Lambeth Palace, 487							○			

---

[2] The schema was composed by the author of this paper based on that created by Kano (2015) for *Ancrene Wisse* and the Katherine Group.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Royal 17 A.xxvii.		○	○	○		○		○	
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 34.		○	○	○	○	○			
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Eng. th.c. 70	○								
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Eng. poet. a.1	○								
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud misc.	○								
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud. misc. 381.	○								

The editions used for this article, *The Katherine Group: A Three-Manuscript Parallel Text: Seint Katerine, Seinte Marherete, Seinte Iuliene, and Hali Meiðhad, with Wordlists* (2011) and *Sawles Warde and the Wooing Group: Parallel Texts with Notes and Wordlists* (2015), cover all the manuscripts of each work so that any difference between *conscience* words can be clearly identified, though this paper only deals with single manuscript for each work. The modern English translations are taken from Anne Savage and Nicholas Watson, *Anchoritic Spirituality: Ancrene Wisse and Associated Works.*[3]

1. Mapping of *conscience* words

The number of *conscience* words, of the noun-form, is 363: *breoste/bosum, gast, heorte, mod, sawle, wil, wisdom, wit, þohte,* and *þonc.* Since *breoste* and *bosum* are counted together, the actual

---

[3] The manuscript history of the Katherine Group and Wooing Group can be seen in the book: 28-39, 209-87.

number of lexemes analyzed was reduced to ten. The frequency of *conscience* words in the Katherine and the Wooing Groups is shown in Table 2.

Table 2: The frequency of *conscience* words in the Katherine and Wooing Groups

	SK	SM	SJ	HM	SW	UG	OM	LL	WL	total	%
breoste/ bosum	4	1	1	7	0	3	0	0	0	16	4
gast	7	13	8	2	7	1	0	4	0	42	11
heorte	15	11	8	21	7	7	1	7	20	97	27
mod	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1
sawle	3	11	3	2	4	3	4	2	5	37	10
wil	8	15	15	12	7	1	1	1	2	62	17
wisdom	14	2	3	1	1	0	0	1	6	28	8
wit	18	7	1	9	19	1	1	2	4	62	17
þohte	1	3	1	2	2	1	0	0	0	10	3
þonc	0	0	1	4	1	0	0	1	0	7	2
total	72	63	41	60	48	17	7	18	37	363	100
%	20	17	11	17	13	5	2	5	10	100	

Leaving aside the length of each work, SK presents the greatest frequency of *conscience* words. This is followed in order by SM, HM, SW, and SJ, all in the Katherine Group, while the works of the Wooing Group display fewer examples (SK> SM > HM > SW > SJ > WL > LL > UG > OM).

SK was translated from Latin in the late eleventh or early twelfth centuries, and is therefore later than SM and SI. All these Passions provide their audience with information about popular

virgin saints who possess enormous spiritual power, thereby elevating maidenhood to the highest status. They work as material for teaching lay maidens the basic doctrines of Christianity (Savage and Watson 285-87). SK specifically describes Katherine's skilful speech and debates against the pagans, so the work itself is more dogmatic, which is reflected in Table 2. Moreover, HM is categorized as a letter in which Christian doctrine can also reveal itself. SW also displays a number of *conscience* words, since it is an allegorical work, depicting Christian morality (Savage and Watson 209-210, 223-224).

In Table 2, it may be seen that *heorte* appears most frequnetly, followed by *wil* and *wit*, and finally *gast*, *sawle*, *wisdom*, *breoste/bosum*, *þohte*, *þonc*, and *mod* in order. The next section will analyze lexemes to ascertain whether they display any connotation of *conscience.*

2. Analysis of lexeme

Each lexeme was semantically examined for the meaning of *conscience*, the sense of right or wrong. As a result, the lexemes *heorte*, *wisdom*, and *wit* were discovered to be paid a special attention to. Although *þohte* and *þonc* appear as *conscience's* glosses in the Pepys and the Cloepatra manuscripts respectively (Inosaki 12-14), they do not connote "conscience" in any work under consideration. The three lexemes *heorte*, *wisdom*, and *wit* appear in alphabetical order in the following sections. All underlinings are mine.

2.1. *Heorte*

Heart is defined firstly as "the organ" of a body, and secondly as "the bodily organ considered or imagined as the seat of feeling, understanding, and thought," and in the most general sense, as

411

"mind" (*OED*, s.v. *heart*, n. I, II). The Ancrene Wisse Group on the whole employs *heorte* in the meaning of "mind." Out of 97 cases, the physical *heorte* appears only three times to depict horrifying tortures, once in SM and twice in WL.

One of the characteristics of *heorte* is that this lexeme sometimes accompanies *inwið* or *inwarde* in the form of an adjective or adverb (SK 2; SM 1; HM 1; LL 1). The examples are: "C'onstu bulden a[ᵥ]bur *inwið* þin *heorte* al abute bitru/met" (Can you build a city *inwardly* in your *heart*, all surrounded by a precious wall: SK. B 11r03); "Alle/ þeo þe munneð þe & ti passiun hu þu deað drohe/ wið *inwarde heorte* in eauer_euch time Þ heo to/ þe cleopien wið luue & riht bileaue" (all those who *in their inmost hearts* remember you and your passion, how you endured death—every time they call to you with love and true belief: SK. B 17v05-08). This combination of *heorte* and *inwið* or *inwarde* seems to have two effects. One is to differentiate the outside of the body from the inside; the other is to imply the layers within a heart.[4]

The latter effect can be seen from another expression as well, "the eyes of heart." *OED* defines this expression as: "[the heart] described as having ears, eyes, or other organs or limbs, by analogy with the faculties of the mind, understanding, or emotions that these may be said to represent" (II.5.b), drawing an example from UG: "hwi lefdi hwi [;] nabe ich euer bi_foren/ mine *heorte_eihen* . þeo ilke þreo stondunges" (Lady, why do I not always have before my *heart*'s eyes these three who stand there?: N 126r21-22). *MED* explains this expression as "the Christian soul, the center of spiritual life and moral virtues" (2a.(b)), with an example from

---

[4] This is reminiscent of Ohno's pointing a description of *herte* in Chaucer's *Parson's Tale* and *Troilus and Criseyde* by which "*herte* is a vessel or frame in which mind dwells" (Ohno 131).

HM: "opene to understonde me [;] *þe echnen . of þin heor/te*" (Open to understand me *the eyes of your heart*: B 52v14). Both dictionaries suggest that, while the heart has a range of several distinctive functions, the eyes signify the core of all the faculties of heart through the physical allegory of eye. This expression is very close to *conscience* as in the *MED* explanation of its moral sense.

Furthermore, *OED* clearly identifies *heart* with "conscience; a person's moral sense," with an example from *Poema Morale*, a contemporary work from around 1200 (II.13): "Nis nan witnesse alse muchel se monnes aȝen *horte*" (There is no witness so great as a man's own *heart*: *Lambeth* 113).[5] Thus, *heorte* encompasses all emotional and intellectual functions. On the other hand, the lexeme plays the roll of indicating more specifically the moral sense of telling right from wrong with expressions such as *inwið* or *inwarde*, and "the eys of heart."

2.2. *Wisdom*

Wisdom is used as *conscience* once in SK together with *wit* as follows: "... Þ he schop & ȝef schad ba of god & of ufel þurh wit & þurh *wisdom*" (whom he [God] made and to whom he gave discernment of both good and evil through reason and *wisdom*: SK: B 2v21-24).[6] God gave human beings *wit* and *wisdom* through which they are able to discern good and evil. That function is the same as that of *conscience*. *OED* states its closest meaning to *conscience* as a "capacity of judging rightly in matters relating to life and conduct; ...; opposed to *folly*" (s.v. *wisdom*, n.1.a). The example above obviously implies that the moral sense of *wisdom* is equivalent to *conscience*.

---

[5] The modern English translation comes from Thomas.
[6] The marked grey signifies the part meaning *conscience*.

Wisdom was originally in the possession of God, which is expressed in five cases in SK, once in SM and SJ, in three cases in WL. *Wisdom* is also identified with Jesus himself, both in SJ and WL with once for each. The *wisdom* of Margaret and Julia is emphasized when it is used in the possessive form, and it is also possessed by Strength, a personified daughter of SW. It is employed ironically on one occasion for the emperor in SK.

2.3. *Wit*

OED defines *wit* to be "the seat of consciousness or thought, the mind: sometimes connoting one of its functions, as memory or attention"; this is as an obsolete (s.v. *wit*, n.I.1). In the first example of *wisdom* above, *wit* functions as *conscience* together with *wisdom* (SK: B 2v21-24). Although *wisdom* played the role only once, *wit* demonstrates more cases.

Julian admonishes people to cry sincerely to God that "he may give you the *sense* to do well, and strengthen you" (ȝeoue ow *wit* wel forte donne . & strenge ow) with his strength against the strong demon (SJ: B 51r10-11). The *wit* here functions like *conscience* to distinguish right from wrong. The importance of this function is revealed in other works. The author of HM criticizes those who are obsessed by fleshly lusts like beasts without the reason to tell good from evil; "ha nefden *wit* in[ᵥ]ham ne tweire schad as mon" (they have no *reason* in them, no power, as human beings have; HM: B 62r04). Justice, a daughter of Wit in SW, tells her sister Caution that Caution has *wit* to be able to discern that which is right or wrong; "þe haueð *wit* . & schad bituhhe god . & uuel" (who is *clever* and can distinguish between good and evil; SW: B 76v11). Lastly, the author of LL recommends readers to pray to God to "give them [me] the will and

414

the strength and the *understanding* to abandon every evil and to do good" (ʒif "me" will & mihte & *wit* to leten euch uuel/ & wel uorto wurchen) (LL: N 131r07-08).

All the five cases of *wit* are indicative of an imperative for an individual to examine their minds for any hint of evil. Within the Church from the twelfth to thirteenth centuries, clergy were required to be sufficiently educated in order to guide lay people. After the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) declared annual confession compulsory, it became necessary for laymen themselves to possess the faculty of telling right from wrong before confession. The demand for practical handbooks of confession for clergy grew rapidly,[7] as did books of instruction, such as *AW*, for the laity. The five cases of *wit* in the Ancrene Wisse Group above reflect this background.

Wit may also express the "five senses" (fif wittes) in HM (1), SW (3), UG (1), OM (1), and LL (1), although the three Passions do not include this usage at all. All the works in which explanations of the five senses occur are intended to warn maidens of the potential danger posed by the five senses.

3. Alliterative expression

Millett points to "a relatively heavy use" of alliteration in the Katherine Group and the method is probably a "part of a broader stylistic tradition" shared with other contemporary works (Millett 1982: xix). Dance (2003) investigated the alliterated phrases borrowed from Old Norse in the Katherine Group, establishing that 66 out of 119 lexemes are used for the phrases (339-363). He demonstrated the frequency rate of the phrases in each work in the group: SM> SK> SJ> HM> SW. Ono (2013) emphasizes the

---

[7] Savage and Watson 42; Millett (2009: xxii).

importance of distinguishing the differences in alliteration between the works; SK and SM are close, while SJ and HM are closer to each other (34). She maintains that composition in alliteration may indicate such expressions are already wide spread and established.

In this section, the three *conscience* words with the greatest frequency, *breoste/ bosum*, *heoerte*, and *wit* are examined for their alliterations and word-pairs. All the works under consideration are written in a loosely alliterative prose style. In this analysis, the more obvious characteristics of consonants are identified as alliterative rather than those of vowels, whether in the same line or running from the previous or to the following line. [8] Comparison between the manuscripts was undertaken only where necessary. Each siglum below represents the abbreviated name of the work and the first letter of the *conscience* word, and its occurrence number: for example, "SKb1" means "*Seinte Katerine*, *breoste/ bosum*, first occurrence."

3.1. *Breoste/ bosum*

Breoste and *bosum* are alliterated as the following:

SKb1): B 2v02-2v03

    B hire wið soðe <u>bileaue</u> ant wrat on hire . <u>breoste</u> ant

       <u>biuoren</u> hire teð & te tunge of hire muð . þe hali rode/taken

SKb2): B 14v11

    B & teo þe tittes awei of þine <u>beare</u> <u>breosten</u> . ant

SKb3) B 15r18

    B tittes: up of hire <u>breosten</u> <u>bi[ᵥ]þe</u> <u>beare</u> <u>bane</u> wið ea/wles

---

416

SMb1) B 26r02, R 45v07

    B <u>blostme</u> <u>iblowen</u> & <u>iboren</u> of meidenes <u>bosum</u>

HMb1) B 60v14

    B i <u>bodi</u> & i <u>breoste</u> . ...

HMb2) B 66v01

    B ... þine <u>breostes</u> <u>burþerne</u>⁚

HMb3) B 69r19

    B ... <u>beddin</u> in a <u>breoste</u> .

HMb4) B 69v03

    B & cleaneste <u>breosten</u> <u>bredeð</u> hire ʒetten . þe <u>be/ste</u>

UGb1) N 123v18-19

    N 123v18: Iesu mi weole . mi wunne . mi <u>bliðe</u> <u>breostes</u>

UGb2) N 124r12-13

    N 124r12: luue & heouenlich ⁚ ne muhen on*one wise <u>bed-</u>
<u>/den</u>

    N 124r13: in one <u>breoste</u> . hwoa_so_euer haueð longe

The examples from SK show that the *b*-sound emphasizes the brutality of the actions towards the delicate organ: [they] tore up her *breasts* to the bare bones with iron awls (SKb3). The example from SM (SMb1) also testifies that *bosum* is interchangeable with *body*.

HMb1 shows the contrast of *bodi* and *breoste* of the virgins who praise the Lord, dancing in a circle and keeping "[themselves always clean of fleshly filth] in *body* and in *heart*," where *breoste* means "heart." Although HMb2 expresses the physical weight of *breast* (the burden of your *breasts*), HMb3 and HMb4 translate the lexeme into *heart*: "[because those who could not live together in heaven can in no way] bed together in one *heart*," and "the purest *hearts* still breed her [pride]" respectively. Thus, HM contains alliterated *breoste* both as "body" and "heart."

3.2. *Heorte*

The alliterated expressions of *heorte* are as follows:

SKh1) B1v10, R11v17, T134ra06

    B   nawt forþi Þ hire þuhte god in[ᵥ] <u>hire</u>

    <u>heorten</u> to <u>habbe</u> mo/nie

    R   nawt / for_þi hire þuhte god to habben monie

    T   nawt / for_þi Þ hire þuhte god in <u>hire</u> / <u>heorte</u> to <u>habbe</u>

    monie

SKh2) B 1v20-21

    B   ...ah euer <u>ha</u> <u>hefde</u> on <u>hali</u> writ ehnen

    oðer <u>heorte</u> ...

SKh3) B 2r23-24

    B   ... stot stille ane <u>hwile</u> . & <u>hef</u> <u>hire</u>

    <u>heorte</u> up to þe <u>hehe</u> . <u>healant</u> þe <u>iheret</u> is in[ᵥ]<u>heouene</u>

SKh4) B 7v03-04

B ...& þet

haueð in <u>heorte</u> nu we schullen tali 'i'en take ut on his

SKh5) B 9v19-21

B ... tu wite ne maht tu wið na/whit

wende min <u>heorte</u> from <u>him</u> Þ ich <u>heie</u> & wulle

<u>herien</u> . ...

SKh6) B 11v06

B <u>hercnin</u> ne <u>heren</u> ne <u>heorte</u> þenchen of mon & <u>hu/re</u>

SKh7) B 13v10-11, R 31v12-13, T 144vb05-06

B ... Ah heo keaste up hire ehnen & cleopede to/wart

<u>heouene</u> ful <u>heh</u> wið <u>hire</u> <u>heorte</u> ah wið steuene .

R ... ah heo kaste up <u>hi-/re</u> <u>hehnen</u> ant cleopede toward

<u>heouene</u> ful <u>heh</u> / mid <u>hire</u> <u>heorte</u> ant wið stille stefne .

T ... **a**h heo kast up / hire ehne & cleopede toward

<u>he/uene</u> ful <u>hehe</u> wið <u>hire</u> <u>heorte</u> / ah wið stille steuene .

SKh8) B 14v15-16

B ... se þu wurchest mi wil & mi weole

mare . do nu þenne <u>hihendliche</u> Þ tu <u>hauest</u> on <u>heorte</u> . for

SKh9) B 14v19

B <u>het</u> on <u>hat</u> <u>heorte</u> <u>unhendeliche</u> neomen <u>hire</u> & bute

SKh10) B 14v25-26

B Þ he i[ᵥ]þe tintreohe Þ ich am iturnt to <u>heardi</u> min <u>heorte</u>

Þ tet wake ules ne wursi neauer mi mod swa Þ ich ea/rni

419

SKh11) B 16r23

    B Þ tu <u>hauest</u> in <u>heorte</u> . ...

SKh12) B 17r03-04

    B ...& <u>heo</u> <u>bi/heolt</u>

    uppart wið up<u>_aheuen</u> <u>heorte</u> & cneolinde du/newart

SMh1) B 19v16

    B ... <u>Hal{d}</u> <u>hehe</u> lauerd min <u>heorte</u> ich bise/che

SMh2) B 21v06

    B Þ eadie meiden a<u>_hef</u> <u>hire</u> <u>heorte</u> <u>heh</u> . up towart

SMh3) B 23r03-04

    B ... ah <u>hud'd'en</u> <u>hare</u>

    <u>heafden</u> þe <u>heardeste</u>_<u>i_heort[t]e</u> under <u>hare</u> ma/ntles .

    R ...ah <u>hudden</u> <u>hare</u>

    <u>heauet</u> under <u>ha/re</u> mantles . ...

SMh4): B 24r07-08

    B <u>heorte</u> . Þ <u>he</u> <u>heateð</u> euch god . ant euch <u>hali</u>

    þing & <u>halewinde</u> is <u>him</u> lað . þu art drihtin domes/mon

SMh5) B 28v12-13

    B ha witen hit . wið swiðe attri <u>healewi</u> <u>hare</u> unwarre

    <u>heorte</u> . lihtliche on alre earest wið luueliche la/tes .

SMh6) B 30r07-8

B Þ mein of <u>hare</u> <u>heorte</u> mealteð þurh þe <u>hea/te</u> .

& forwurdeð <u>hare</u> wit . & woreð <u>hare</u> wisdom .

SMh7) B 33v10

B ...& <u>het</u> on <u>hot</u> <u>heorte</u>

SMh8) B 36v04

B Alle þeo þe þis <u>iherd</u> <u>heorteliche</u> <u>habbeð</u> in ower

beoden

SJh1) B 40v17-18, R 59v05-05

B ... His

<u>heorte</u> feng to <u>heaten</u> & <u>his</u> meari mealten þe

R ... his

<u>mod</u> feng to <u>heaten</u> ant <u>his</u> <u>meari</u> to <u>melten</u>

SJh2): B 41r05

B <u>heorte</u> . & <u>het</u> <u>his</u> <u>heaðene</u> men strupin <u>hi/re</u>

SJh3) B 43r19

B bute steauene on <u>hehe</u> in <u>hire</u> <u>heorte</u> cleopede

SJh4) B 46v05

B <u>habbeð</u> <u>hire</u> in <u>heorte</u> forte <u>halden</u> . ...

HMh1): B 62r18

B þin <u>heorte</u> <u>heouen</u> þiderwart . as þin eritage

HMh2): B 64r19

      B poure beon þer_in [;] wið <u>halinesse</u> of <u>heorte</u> . þus

HMh3) B 71v10

      B <u>ham</u> swa <u>hare</u> <u>heorte</u> <u>halden</u> to <u>him</u>꞉ Þ <u>hare</u>

LLh1)꞉ N 129r25

      N godd <u>help</u> me . & <u>hel</u> <u>herof</u> mine <u>heorte</u> . leo/ue

WLh1) T 127va08

      T127va08꞉ mi <u>heorte haliwei</u> . mi sawle_swetnesse .

It may be seen that the alliteration of *heorte* affects the employment of the following word. For example, SKh1 shows the R manuscript lacks the *h*‑alliteration because R does not include the lexeme *heorte*, while both B and T do and resonate with *hire* and *habben*. In SKh7, B and T show *hire ehnen* for "her eyes," but R has *hi‑re hehnen*. The Middle English form of plural "eye," *ehnen*, derives from the Old English *eagenum* (dative, rare) or *egna* (Mercian, rare), and it allows *ehnen* as a contemporary form (*OED*, s.v. *eye*, n.). It is obvious that the scribe of R chose *hehnen* for its alliteration. Moreover, SJh1 shows that *heorte* and *mod* are equally employed in B and R respectively, depending on the alliteration of each *conscience* word. These cases testify that *heorte* accompanies quite a number of alliterations, and it can shift to *mod(e)* in another manuscript for alliterative convenience without affecting the strict meaning of each lexeme.

    There are some preferred alliterated expressions concerning *heorte*. The verb *haven* repeatedly accompanies *heorte* eight times (SKh1, SKh2, SKh4, SKh8, SKh11, SMh7, SMh8, SJh4). The verb

heren occurs twice (SKh6, SMh8), and once with the verb *herkenen* (SKh6). The verb *holden* is used with *heorte* three times (SMh1, SJh4, HMh3), as is the verb *heaten* in SJh1, and the noun form in SMh6. These verbs indicate a tendency towards the taking of *heorte* as an alliterated objective word.

The adjective *heigh* occurs five times with *heorte*, such as in SKh3, SKh7, SMh1, SMh2, and SJh3. This adjective is related with the noun *heven* in SKh7, in which a heart is admonished to direct itself towards heaven. The adjective *hot* also combines with *heorte* twice in SKh9 and SMh7 respectively where a heart is heated hot: one in Katherine's eagerness to proclaim her beliefs, and the other in Olibrius' anger.

SMh3 shows a difference between the manuscripts B and R. While B keeps to *heafden* and *heort[t]e*, R omits the noun form of *heorte*, thereby lacking alliteration.

3.3. *Wit*

Wit provides the most frequent alliterations. It has numerous word variations in parts of speech through the addition of prefixes and suffixes. This section, however, only examines the noun form.

SKw1) B 2v21-25

  B … Þ he schop & ȝef schad ba

  of god & of ufel þurh <u>wit</u> & þurh <u>wisdom</u> schal <u>wurðe</u>

  se uorð ut of his <u>witte</u> þur þe awariede gast Þ . he ȝelt

  þe <u>wurðemunt</u> to <u>unwitelese</u> þing Þ te feont <u>wuneð</u>

  in ∨ þet he ahte to gode …

SKw2) B 4v22-24

B   ...ich chulle fordo þe

wisdom of þeos wise world_men he seið . ant awarpen þe wit

of þeos world_witti . ...

SKw3): B 4v08

B ant ti sputi speche walde of wisdom & of wit beore

þe[ᵥ]wittnesse .

SKw4) B 5r15-16, R 16r22-16v01, T 136vb01-03

B ...of alle þe creftes þe cle{a}rc ah to cun/nen

& in alle witts of worldliche wisd{o}mes wisest o worlde .

SKw5) B 5r17-19

B þe king wes swiðe icwemet & walde witen {ʒ}ef ha weren

se wise ant se witi as me fore_seide . ant ha somet seiden

Þ witiest ha weren of alle þe meistres þe weren in est_lon/de

SKw6) B 5r23

B ...ah se swiðe witti & wis

SKw7) B 5v15-16

B Me an mahte of ure men wið his mot meistrin & wið his

anes wit awarpen þe alre wiseste þe wuneð bi westen . Ah

SKw8) B 6r15

B þurh þi wisdom hare worldliche wit ant þurh þi

SKw9) B 6v01-02

B ant i[ᵥ]stalle þe wel wule wite þe He bihat te Þ he wule

i[ᵥ]þi muð healden <u>flowinde</u> <u>weattres</u> of <u>wittie</u> <u>wordes</u> þe

SKw10): B 7v08

B Ich qð Þ meiden se ich <u>awei</u> <u>weorp</u> <u>ower</u> <u>witlese</u> lei[;]

SKw11) B 7v12-13

B ... Þ ȝe beoð <u>wið</u> to_<u>swollen</u> <u>nawit</u> <u>wið</u> <u>wit</u> ah <u>wið</u> <u>wint</u>

of ane <u>wlonke</u> <u>wordes</u> ...

SKw12) B 7v22-23

B & segge Þ ich ne con ne ne cnawe na creft bute of an

Þ is soð <u>wit</u> & <u>wisdom</u> & heore eche heale Þ him riht leueð .

SKw13) B 7v25

B ...Perdam sapientiam sapientium . & intel | [9]

SKw14) R 20r10-12

R ... þe alre schafte

schuppen schawde ure eareste aldren adam ant

eue þe <u>wit</u> . & te <u>wei</u> of lif þurh his <u>halwunde</u> he/ast

SKw15) R 21v05-06

R ... leaf þi

lease <u>wit</u> . Þ tu <u>wlenchest</u> te in . ...

SKw16) R 23v20-21

R ... ȝe <u>wið</u> his an <u>wil</u> . ah þe <u>witti</u> <u>wel/dent</u> .

ant te <u>rihtwise</u> [þe] godd . bireadde hit swa

---

[9] There is no text in B until 8r01.

SKw17) R 24r06

    R <u>warð</u> <u>swa</u> <u>awundret</u> of hire <u>wittie</u> <u>wordes</u> . ant

SKw18) B 8r01-03

    B <u>þ</u>es keiser bicapede ham & ase mon bigon to

    <u>weden</u> & to <u>wurðen</u> ut of his ahne <u>wit</u> <u>wodeliche</u>

    ʒeide . ...

SKw19) B 8r04

    B ei <u>wake</u> of deað & of dult <u>wit</u> . ...

SKw20): B 8r07

    B unstreged <u>ower</u> strengðe & <u>ower</u> <u>wit</u> <u>awealt</u> <u>swa</u> Þ te

SKw21) B 8r16-17

    B ... <u>Hwider</u> is <u>ower</u> <u>wit</u> & <u>ower</u> <u>wis/dom</u>

    [i]wen{t} . ...

SKw22) B 8v09

    B ...al <u>wat</u> <u>awei</u> ure <u>worldliche</u> <u>wit</u> <u>swa</u> <u>we</u> <u>weren</u> adrede

SKw23) B 9r24-25

    B ... O mihti meiden . O <u>witti</u> <u>wummon</u> <u>wurðmunt</u>

    & alle <u>wur'ð'schipe</u> <u>wurðe</u> . ...

SKw24): B 10r10

    B <u>wite</u> þu to <u>wisse</u> . þe king ne cuðe na <u>wit</u> ah bigon to

SMw1) B 20r03

    B Þ he <u>wori</u> mi <u>wit</u> ne <u>wonie</u> mi <u>wisdom</u> . Ah send

SMw2) B 21r04

    B ... & habbe to bileue þe <u>weld</u> & <u>wisseð</u> <u>wið</u> hit <u>wit</u>

SMw3) B 21v08-09

    B ... hald me

    mi <u>wit</u> <u>wel</u> <u>swa</u> & mi <u>wil</u> to þe . ...

SMw4) B 22r09

    B <u>wrecches</u> <u>unweoten</u> bute <u>wit</u> . ...

SMw5) B 22v02-03

    B ... He o <u>wraððe</u> <u>warð</u> for_neh

    ut of his <u>witte</u> . ...

SMw6) B 24r11-13

    B ... Þ tu <u>wite</u> to þe

    mi meiðhad unmerret . Mi sawle from sunne .

    Mi <u>wit</u> & mi[ᵥ]<u>wisdom</u>ᷤ from <u>unwitlese</u> <u>wiht</u> . ...

SMw7) B 30r07-8

    B Þ mein of hare heorte mealteð þurh þe hea/te .

    & forwurdeð hare <u>wit</u> . & <u>woreð</u> hare <u>wisdom</u> .

SMw8): B 32r16

    B noðletere . Ah þu <u>witlese</u> <u>wiht</u> <u>wurchest</u> as þu art

SJw1) B 44r04

　　B muchele <u>witti</u> <u>witege</u> ysaie . ...

SJw2)⋮ B 46r13

　　B þen oþer . & a_hon him_seoluen . Me <u>witti</u> <u>wummon</u> .

SJw3) B 51r10

　　B ʒeoue <u>ow</u> <u>wit</u> <u>wel</u> forte donne . & strenge <u>ow</u>

SWw1) B 72v15

　　B vnder <u>wittes</u> <u>wissunge</u> Þ is huse_lauerd . is eauer

SWw2) B 72v19

　　B & his keis . þe husebonde Þ is <u>wit</u>⁓ warneð his

SWw3) R 10r17-20

　　R Nv is <u>wil</u> Þ <u>husewif</u> al stille . Þ er <u>wes</u> so <u>willesful</u> . al ituht

　　efter

　　<u>wittes</u> <u>wissunge</u> Þ is husebonde . & al Þ hird halt him stille.

　　Þ <u>wes</u> <u>iwunet</u> to beon fulitohen & don efter <u>wil</u> hare lefdi .

　　ant

　　nawt efter <u>wit</u>⁓lustneð nu his lare . & fondeð euer/euchan

SWw4) R 10v06-08

　　R nawt efter <u>wil</u> þe untohe lefdi & his lust leareð . ah efter

　　Þ <u>wit</u> <u>wule</u> Þ is husebonde . tuhten & teachen Þ <u>wit</u> ga euer

　　bi/uore ant teache <u>wil</u> efter him . to al Þ he dihteð & demeð

　　to don/ne.

LLw1) N 131r07

    N [...] & ʒif 'me' <u>will</u> & mihte & <u>wit</u> to *leten euch uuel &

WLw1) T 127rb21-23

    T ....Summeˊ

    <u>wit</u> & <u>wisdom</u> & ʒapschipe of

    <u>werde</u>. ...

WLw2) T128rb26-29

    T for ne mihte na_mon him seo &

    in his <u>wit</u> <u>wunie</u> . bute ʒif þe grace

    & te strengðe of crist baldede

    his heorte . ...

WLw3) T129va12

    T þu <u>wið</u> <u>wit</u> & <u>wisdom</u> . þu ...

The analysis of the alliteration of *wit* runs in the following sections.

3.4. Classification by part of speech

All the alliterations identified above are classified into groups on the basis of a part of speech (Table 3): verb, noun, adjective, adverb, preposition and pronoun. In addition to the noun *wit*, the adjective form *witti* is also counted in the parenthesis as evidence of *wit*'s greater frequency.

Table 3: Co-occurrence of alliterative *conscience* word and part of speech

	brest / bosom	heorte	wit (+ witti)

verb	7	26	29 (42)
noun	4	10	32 (43)
adjective	3	11	15 (20)
adverb	-	5	10 (14)
pronoun	-	24	7 (7)
preposition	1	-	6 (7)
Total	15	76	99 (133)

Table 3 clearly demonstates that *wit* attracts the greatest alliteration in any part of speech. Its variation of word formation is wide,[10] and if it is counted with the other variations of *wit*, the number will increase significantly.

3.5. Alliterative word-pairing of c*onscience* words

Apart from alliteration, there can be generally seen some repetitive expressions in early English prose works: word-pairs, paralleled syntax, and alliterated combination. Word-pairs, which this section examines, are one of the rhetorical devices used most frequently in prosaic works, such as dialogues or preaching. Although there are several variations of word-pairing, it is here defined as two words combined by a conjunction, being syntactically equally posed (Malkiel 126; Katami 170). The combined words are orally transmitted to the audience in order to enhance their memorization. The method is already apparent in *Beowulf*, which is identified as one of the oldest English rhetorical prose traditions (Katami 170-71). The cases of the conventional word usage concerning to *breoste*, *heorte*, and *wit* are examined as in Table 4 below.

---

[10] The variations of *wit* are *witti*, *wittlese*, *witiest*, *unwit*, and *unwitschipe*, found in the works under examination.

Table 4: Alliterative word-pair of *conscience* words

conscience words	alliterated word-pair	occurrence	case
breoste	i bodi & i breoste	1	HMb1
heorte	--	0	--
wit	wit and wisdom	8	SKw1, SKw12, SKw21, SMw1, SMw6, SMw7, WLw1, WLw3

3.5.1. Alliterative word-pair of *breoste*

There is only one alliterated word-pair expression of *breoste* at HMb1, "*i bodi & i breoste.*" As seen at 3.1, *breoste* in this case means "heart," making the opposite meaning for the pair. The alliterated word-pair, *i bodi & i breoste*, sounds more rhythmical than *i bodi & i heorte*, a supposed word-pair, although both would mean the same. *Breoste* occurs twice with the verb *bedden* at HMb3 and UGb2, but no other repetitive expression is apparent.

3.5.2. Alliterative word-pair of *wit*

In compariosn with other lexemes, the usage of *wit* shows clearer traces of word-pairing or other characteristic features. First of all, the alliterated word-pair of *wit and wisdom* is the most obvious as shown eight times in SKw1, SKw12, SKw21, SMw1, SMw6, SMw7, WLw1, and WLw3. Standing apart from these, the example of SKw2 is not a simple set of A and B word-pairs, but the two words are obviously contrasted and paralleled in syntax: "... ich chulle fordo þe *wisdom* of þeos wise world_men he seið . ant awarpen þe *wit* of þeos

world_witti." SKw5 and SKw6 contain examples of the alliterated word-pair of the adjective *wise* and *witti*.

God created humans and gave them discernment between good and evil through *wit* and *wisdom* (SKw1). St Katherine quotes a Latin phrase in which the divine existence announces that he will destroy the worldly *wisdom* and *wit* which she translates from "sapientiam sapientum intellectum intelligentium" (SKw2). She declares that she only knows a single skill, that is, *wit* and *wisdom* (SKw12), but the only important one. Also the angry emperor scolds the doctors for their errant *wit* and *wisdom* (SKw21). Among the cases above, only that of SKw1 contains the direct meaning of *conscience*.

St Margaret prays to God that the evil Olibrius may never weaken her *wit* and *wisdom* (SMw1). Again she prays in the prison for God to keep her maidenhood and her soul from sin and her *wit* and *wisdom* from a senseless creature, the Monster (SMw6). The Monster condemns humans' stupidity to Margaret whereby their courage melts in the heat and their *wits* and *wisdom* are destroyed (SMw7). The word-pair *wit and wisdom* signifies an important intellectual faculty for Margaret in particular and more generally for human beings, but it does not directly mean *conscience* in the story of St Margaret.

WL also uses the word-pair to express worldly cleverness, *wit and wisdom* (WLw1). In contrast, *wit* and *wisdom* are also have their source in Jesus Christ Himself (WLw3).

There are several more alliterated expressions of *wit* (*witti*). Adding to SKw2, *wit* is sometimes connected with the noun *world* and the adjective *worldliche* as in SKw4, SKw8, and SKw22. All the cases of this type occur in SK when the torturer and the martyr engage in a fierce debate. In this usage, *wit* is identified as the human

432

intelligence necessary to debate and survive on the earth. The adjectival use of *witti* when combined with *word* emphasizes the earthly feature of the word emitted by human beings, as in SKw9 and SKw17; this is only apparent elsewhere in SK.

4. Conclusion

This examination has demonstrated that a number of alternative expressions for *conscience* had appeared in the Katherine Group and the Wooing Group before the new coinages *conscience* and *inwit* appeared in *AW*.

Those works in the groups where *conscience* is expressed comparatively clearly in the moral sense of discerning right or wrong in the Groups are *Seinte Katherine*, *Seinte Iuliene*, *Hali Meiðhad*, *Sawles Warde*, and *On Lofsong of ure Louerde*, as the six cases highlighted in Sections 2.2 and 2.3 show. Although SK reveals partly a theological explanation of *conscience*, the terminology seems not to be sensitively or purposefully or professionally chosen to eliminate any ambiguity in the process. The same phenomenon surrounding *wit* can be seen in SM and SJ where heavy alliteration might suggest that the word-usage relies on traditional employment rather than an inevitable assertion of the concept of *conscience.* HM, however, shows *wit* functioning as *conscience*, without alliteration; this is due to its homiletic character.

At the beginning of SK, Katherine asserts God gave humans *wit* and *wisdom*, similarly intensified as the ability to tell right and wrong. In SJ, Julian prays for the people around her, that God give them the "sense" to do well. *Wit* is employed for "sense" and alliterated with *well*. The speaker of HM accuses beastly lechers who lack *wit*, meaning *conscience*. While *wit* in the example of SJ is

alliterated, that in HM is not.[11] The character of HM, which has as a form of preaching more prosaic tendencies than the saints' lives (Millett and Browne xv), is thereby confirmed.

In addition, SW demonstrates the allegorical characterization of *Wit*. The householder *Wit* lives inside a house, identifie as "soul." All the employees of the household are as equally wicked as his wife *Wil*, so *Wit* must prohibit *Will* from desiring anything. Thus, *Wit* acts as both a dominant and a key character. SW also depicts further allegorical figures, "the four chief virtues" (Caution, Strength, Measure, and Justice) who assist hearts in directing themselves towards heaven. They protect souls and make people avoid all vices. Measure, one of the four chief virtues, also has the function "to act rightly and judge rightly." Measure's function overlaps with that of of *Wit* who discerns every act of the family members. *Wit* has been noted as carrying the function of *conscience*; however, nowhere is it clearly stated that *Wit* is able to "distinguish good from evil." As a result, Measure appears to hold that function as an allegorical figure of *conscience.*

The original Latin version of SW, the Pseudo-Anselmian dialogue *De custodia interioris hominis* has another scheme; instead of setting the "man himself," the household itself is called *conscientia* (Millett: 1990 xxvii). In this case, *Wit* is most probably a translation from *conscientia.* The setting in a Latin text indicates that *conscience* was then one of the big issues in theology. It is suggested that the anonymous author of SW possibly avoided the debatable topic, which differentiated *conscientia* from *synderesis*: the former "the location and faculty of an immediate ethical decision" and the latter "the

---

[11] Millett (note to 12/ 19-28) offers a parallel to this passage in Peter of Blois, *De Charitate Dei et Proximi* 7 ; PL 207, col. 902 (Savage 415).

habitual ethical knowledge still left to Man after his Fall" (Millett: 1990 xxvii). The word *conscientia*, however, appears only once in *De custodia interioris hominis*, although the dialogue itself is a short text. It can be said that both the Latin dialogue and the English homily version are structured as allegorical literature, posing allegorical characters as family members in each work, and not interested in developing theologically intricate arguments for the purpose of instruction (Millett: 1990 xxvii).

From the point of view of alliteration, a tendency appears in the heavy alliterative wordings. *Wit* is much paralleled with *wisdom,* particularly in the Saints' Lives, which indicates that these Passions maintain the traditional rhythmical character of Old English to a greater extent than other works. The alliterated word-pair of *wit* and *wisdom* conveys the clear meaning of *conscience* once. On the other hand, *wit* is often modified with the alliterative adjectives "world" or "worldly" to mean human intelligence, which could be sometimes false. The adjective form *witty* usually connotes this phase of the expression.

Out of all the *conscience* words, *mod*, *sawle*, *wisdom*, and *wit* are held by the dictionaries to connote moral sense or consciousness, and our semantic examination here has provided examples for both *wisdom* and *wit*. *OED* records *heorte* as having had the meaning of "conscience" at that time, and the examples have been verified in this investigation. *Heorte*, the most popular *conscience* word, is sometimes modified with the adjective or adverb *inwið* or *inwarde* to express the profound and layered composition of the human mind. Furthermore, the lexeme has an expression, "the eyes of heart," to indicate the inmost platform for judgement. All the evidence revealed here, however, demonstartes that *wit* plays the role best for

conscience in the Katherine and Wooing Groups, although it does not always have this sense, encompassing as it does the five senses and human intelligence as well. The frequent and preferred alliteration with *wisdom* reveals that *wit* cannot stand alone to mean *conscience.* The alternatives, *þonc* and *þohte*, recognized in the C and P manuscripts of *AW*, are not found in either the Katherine or Wooing Groups. This suggests both the contemporary employment of words for the sense of right or wrong was arbitrary and idiosyncratic, and that the Cleopatra and Pepys manuscripts have different exempla from those of Bodley 34 and Nero . The ambiguity of any lexeme may have prompted the necessity for the introduction of clearer technical terms when facing the challenges posed by the post-Lateran system of confession. The structure *IN + WIT* of *inwit* reminds us of the modification of *inwið* or *inwarde* to *heorte* and the predominance of *wit* to represent the sense of right or wrong in those two Groups.

Conclusion

This thesis discloses the following elements on the circumstances by which *conscience* emerges in *AW.*

Chapter I clearly shows in its comparison of the Cleopatra and Corpus manuscripts, with the focus on the second scribe's hand, that the original *AW* text was adapted according to both users and audience. The second scribe's additions were targeted to contemporary demand, and this examination reconfirms the fluidity of textual authenticity.

Chapter II further testifies to the effectiveness of the comparative method by revealing that the titles of the prescribed prayers for anchoresses in Part 1 have been arranged to meet audience and user convenience and needs. The process can be recognized in the secularization of the Latin prayers, where Latin incipits became vernacular nouns in the process of ellipsis.

Chapter III considers variations in the first appearances of the English *conscience,* and its vernacular gloss, among the manuscripts of *AW.* The antecedent Cleopatra manuscript contains the gloss *þoncg* in contrast to the Corpus version, *inwit* (together with the Nero, Vernon, and Titus manuscript), while the Pepys manuscript records the gloss *þouȝth* and the Gonville and Caius manuscripts employ *inþit* and *inþið,* respectively. Although C's gloss was presented as "an error," the variety of vernacular glosses for *inwit* hint at several previous vernacular alternatives for glossing *conscience.*

Chapter IV focused on the expository apposition marker, introducing the new loan word and the vernacular gloss, *þet is*, as in "*conscience,* þet is, oure *inwit.*" With variations in the usage of "punctus," three types of combinations were investigated: "a punctus + *þet* + is + a punctus"; "a puntus + *þet* + is"; and "*þet* + is with no punctus." A close study of these types revealed that the first type is usually used with a

Latin predecessor, the second mainly for a vernacular predecessor, and the last is mostly used for relative pronouns. This distinction appears to be based on the Latin punctus usage. Though a significant number of new loan words are introduced in *AW*, it occurs without any expository marker in many cases. Thus, when the author employed an expository marker, he had a clear intention of emphasizing and clarifying the word to his audience. *Conscience* is just one among such new words.

Chapter V demonstrates that the Cleopatra manuscript recorded a traditional vocabulary when expressing *conscience—þonc—*despite this being viewed as an erroneous description. The word *þonc* is among the *thinken/thanken*-stemmed lexemes, widely employed in Old English. The verb *þenchen* often means "to meditate." Thus, the noun form *þonc* could indicate "to meditate" or "to think about divine things." The difference between A and C (i.e., *inwit* and *þonc*) reflects the gap between these words' lifecycles: as *inwit* was emerging, *þonc* was disappearing. It was thrilling to see the co-existence of the two lexemes in the C manuscript. Hopefully, this study's argument against the supposition that C's *þonc* was an error is persuasive.

Chapter VI revealed the confusion apparent in several manuscripts in the handling of the new *conscience*-vocabularies. The C text revealed the words being mixed up with other words, such as *consence* or *inwið,* while G records an irregular spelling for *inwit*. Most impressively, the S scribe recorded a much further expansion of the description of *conscience*, with the V text also showing some expansion.

Chapter VII clarified how Scribe D amended *conscience* words in the Cleopatra. His alterations do not reveal any special concerns with the *conscience* words. This result strengthened the supposition that the new terminologies were still in the process of composition in the C manuscript, while the A showed the more settled forms.

Chapter VIII focused on the word *inwið* in C and revealed that

there were many in-oriented vernaculars within it. This result accords with the production of the gloss *inwit*, a coinage beginning with the morpheme "in" followed by a noun "wit." The numerous in-oriented vocabularies were reflected in the numerous combined Latin spellings of the morpheme "in" plus noun.

Chapter IX examined synonymous *conscience* words which connote the same meaning or function of *conscience*, "the moral sense of telling right or wrong": *cor*, *witness*, *judge,* and *rule.* The examination showed that *conscience* was depicted as allegorical figures, such as a witness or judge, holding the function of rule. The example of word-pairing of *inwit* and *heart* in A and of *wit* and *heart* in C showed a lack of clarity in the theological distinctions among the *conscience* words, which strongly suggests the work as being a product of lay theology.

Chapter X investigated the *conscience* words in the Katherine and Wooing Groups to examine the contemporary use of *conscience* words. Numerous alliterative expressions identified themselves as traditional Old English formulas, and *wit* claimed the highest frequency among these expressions. *Wit* appeared in parallel with *wisdom* as a word-pair. Sometimes *wit* was understood as *inwit*, but at other times it was related to secular things, such as "worldly wit." The alliteration and plurality of the meaning of the words demonstrate a lack of technical terminology within those works for the specific meaning of *conscience*. Although *Seinte Katherine* and *Hali Meiðhad* showed some theological development concerning *conscience*, it was still limited. The alliterative word-pair *wit and wisdom* "suggests" a description of *conscience* in *Seinte Katherine* and *Hali Meiðhad*, while in *Sawles Warde,* the allegorical *wit* was constructed as the ruling character.

Conscience, in its first appearance in English in the early-thirteenth-century English treatise, does not appear to have been intended as a topic for any serious theological discussion. Rather, it is

situated in the traditional format to be conveyed to a lay audience. The coinage is conveyed in the expression *þet is*, which comes from the Latin expression *id. est.*, with the three different patterns, varied to distinguish the vernacular predecessors. This expository marker expresses the conveyer's strong intention in making the word available to groups with common interests. The vernacular gloss *inwit* itself also seems to have been affected by the *in-*oriented Latin description.

The previous synonymous alternatives for *inwit*, which were all co-existing, and showed no trace of the *ingehyd* of Ælfric, were recognized with some theological leeway. Of all the substitutes, *wit* demonstrated the greatest frequency. The Katherine and the Wooing Groups revealed that *wit* is the closest terminology to *conscience*, but initially, it had usually been employed as an alliterative noun and had formed the word-pair *wit and wisdom*. The word *wit* covered human intelligence and a moral sense of right or wrong. It is surprising to learn that the theological core word *conscience* first appeared in English in an early-thirteenth-century English treatise for young lay anchoresses before appearing in later vernacular works. This time lag indicates that the lexeme was first transmitted to a highly restricted audience; thus, the vocabulary was not shared within other works quickly. The English treatise, however, clearly reflects the contemporary European trend of theological development in which the Church had just started the systematization of the concept of sin. This situation is the context in which *conscience* and *inwit* were born.

Works Cited and Consultled

Primary Sources

Ancrene Riwle/ Wisse:

Ancrene Riwle: Introduction and Part I. Edited by Robert W.
        Ackerman, and Roger Dahood, Medieval and Renaissance
        Texts and Studies 31, Binghamton, 1984.

Ancrene Wisse: Parts Six and Seven. Edited by Geoffrey Shepherd,
        Nelson's Medieval and Renaissance Library, Nelson, 1959.

Ancrene Wisse, Corpus Christi College Cambridge 402. Edited by J.
        R. R. Tolkien, EETS os 249, Oxford UP, 1962.

Ancrene Wisse: a Corrected Edition of the Text in Cambridge,
        Corpus Christi College, MS 402 with Variants from Other
        Manuscripts, Vol. I. II. Edited by Bella Millett, and Richard
        Dance, EETS os 325, 326, Oxford UP, 2005.

Ancrene Wisse, Corpus Christi College Cambridge 402, manuscript

        reproduction, Parker Library On the Web,

        https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/. Accessed 25 November

        2019.

The British Library Manuscript Viewer, Cotton MS Cleopatra C VI.
        https://www.bl.uk/mauscripts/. Accessed 11 May 2020.

The English Text of the Ancrene Riwle: Edited from Cotton MS.
        Nero A.XIV, on the Basis of a Transcript by J. A. Herbert.
        Edited by Mabel Day, EETS os 225, Oxford UP, 1952.

The English Text of the Ancrne Riwle, Edited from B.M.Cotton MS.
        Cleopatra C. VI. Edited by E.J. Dobson, EETS os 267,
        Oxford UP, 1972.

The English Text of the Ancrene Riwle: Edited from Magdalene College, Cambridge MS. Pepys 2498. Edited by Arne Zettersten, EETS os 274, Oxford UP, 1976.

The English Text of the Ancrene Riwle: The 'Vernon' Text, Edited from Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Eng.Poet. a. I, introd. H. L. Spencer. Edited by Arne Zettersten, and Bernhard Diensberg, EETS os 310, Oxford UP, 2000.

The French Text of the Ancrene Riwle: Edited from British Museum MS. Cotton Vitellius F vii. Edited by J. A. Hebert, EETS os 219, Oxford UP, 1944.

Others:

Ælfric's Catholic Homilies the First Series: Text. Edited by Peter Clemoes, EETS ss 17, Oxford UP, 1997.

Ælfric's Catholic Homilies, Series I and II: Commentary. Edited by Malcolm Godden, EETS ss 18, Oxford UP, 1979.

Augustine, Saint. *De Doctrina Christiana Libri Quatuor, Liber I*, www.augustinus.it/links/inglese/index.htm. Accessed 24 Mar. 2019.

Beowulf. https://www.humanities.mcmaster.ca. Accessed 8 Oct. 2019.

Biblia Sacra: Iuxta Vulgatam Versionem. Adiuvantibus Bonifatio Fischer et al, recensuit et brevi apparatus instruxit Robertus Weber, editio 3, emendata, quam paravit Bonifatius Fischer, cum sociis H. I. Frede et al, Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1983.

The Blickling Homilies of the Tenth Century. Edited by R. Morris, EETS os 58, Oxford UP, 1880.

Breviarum Romanum ex decreto SS. Concilii Tridentini. Edited by
        H. Dessain, Summi Pontificis, S. Congregationis de
        Propaganda Fide Et Archiep. Mechliniensis Typographis,
        1893.
        https://allsoulsguild.net/links.htm. Accessed 14 Jul. 2019.

Chaucer, Geoffrey. *The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer.* Edited by F. N.
        Robinson, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1957.

Compendium: Catechism of the Catholic Church. United States
        Conference of Catholic Bishops, Washington, DC., 2006.

Douay-Rheims Bible.www.drbo.org/dri/chapter/21008.htm. Accessed
        28 Oct. 2018.

Dryburgh, Adam. *De Ordine, Habitu et Professione Canonicorum*
        Ordinis Praemonstratensis, Sermo I. PL 176, 1880.

Hali Meiðhad. Edited by Bella Millett, EETS os 284, Oxford UP,
        1982.

Lombard, Peter. *Collectaneorum in Paulum continuatio In*
        Epistolam I ad Timotheum. ch. 5, *PL* 192, 1855.

The Homilies of The Anglo-Saxon Church, The First Part:
        Containing The Sermones Catholici, or Homilies of Ælfric.
        In the Original Anglo- Saxon, With An English Version.
        Vol. I. Edited by Benjamin Thorpe, The Ælfric Society,
        1844.

The Homilies of The Anglo-Saxon Church, The First Part:
        Containing Homilies of Ælfric. In the Original Anglo-Saxon,
        With An English Version, Vol. II. Edited by Benjamin
        Thorpe, The Ælfric Society, 1846.
        www.archive.org/stream/sermonescatholic02aelfuoft#page/8
        6/mode/2up. Accessed 9 Jan. 2018.

The Katherine Group: A Three-Manuscript Parallel Text: Seint Katerine, Seinte Marherete, Seinte Iuliene, and Hali Meiðhad, with Wordlists. Edited by Ono, Shoko, et al. *Studies in Medieval English Language and Literature*, 32, Peter Lang, 2011.

Sawles Warde and the Wooing Group: Parallel Texts with Notes and Wordlists. Edited by Tanabe, Harumi, et al. *Studies in Medieval English Language and Literature*, 48, Peter Lang, 2015.

Langland, William. *The Vision of Piers Plowman: The B Version*. Edited by George Kane and E. Donaldson, Athlone, 1988.

Prick of Conscience. Teams, Middle English Texts Series, ed. James H. Morey. https://d.lib.rochester.edu. Accessed 4 Apr. 2020.

Sarum Breviary, Breviarium ad usum insignis Ecclesiae Sarum. Edited by Francis Procter and Christopher Wordsworth, 3 vols, Cambridge UP, 1879-86.

Vulgate Bible, Douay-Rheims. www.catholicbible.online. Accessed 5 May 2019.

Dictionaries:

Anglo-Norman Dictionary. https://anglo-norman.net. Accessed 25 Sep 2020.

An Anglo-Saxon dictionary. Edited by Bosworth, Joseph, and T. Northcote Toller. https;//bosworthtoller.com. Accessed 13 Aug. 2019.

Middle English Dictionary. Edited by Kurath, Hans, et al. University of Michigan Press, 1956-2000,

https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/middle-english- dictionary/dictionary.

Accessed 8 Jul. 2020.

Middle English Dictionary, Containing Words Used by English Writers from the Twelfth to the Fifteenth Century. Edited by Francis Henry Stratmann, 1845-1923, https://archive.org/details/middleenglishdic00stra/page/. Accessed 18 Feb. 2019.

Oxford English Dictionary. Oxford UP, 1989.

Oxford English Dictionary. https://www.oed.com. Accessed 23 Oct. 2021.

Oxford Reference. http://www.oxfordreference.com. Accessed 4 Feb. 2018.

Online Etymology Dictionary. https://www.etymonline.com. Accessed 8 Feb. 2018.

Papal Encyclicals Online. https://www.papalencyclicals.net. Accessed 25 Sep. 2018.

Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources. www.dmlbs.ox.ac.uk/web/index.html. Accessed 11 Feb. 2018.

Secondary Sources

Ackerman, Robert. "The Liturgical Day in *Ancrene Riwle*". *Speculam* 53, The University of Chicago Press, 1978, pp. 734-44.

The Ancrene Riwle (The Corpus MS.: Ancrene Wisse). Translated by M. B. Salu, The Orchard Books, 1955.

Ancrene Wisse, Guide for Anchoresses. Translated by Hugh White, Harmondsworth, 1993.

d'Avray, D. L. *The Preaching of the Friars: Sermons diffused from Paris before 1300*. Clarendon, 1985.

———. *Medieval Marriage Sermons: Mass Communication in a Culture without Print*. Oxford UP, 2001.

Bolgar, R. R. *The Classical Heritage and its Beneficiaries.* Cambridge UP, 1954.

Bolton, Brenda. *The Medieval Reformation, in a series of Foundations of Medieval History.* Edward Arnold, 1983.

———. "A show with a meaning: Innocent III's approach to the Fourth Lateran Council, 1215". *Innocent III: Studies on Papal Authority and Pastoral Care*, Ashgate, 1995, pp. 53-67.

Bramiette, Edgar Elliott. "The Original Language of the *Ancren Riwle*". *Anglia* 15, 1893, pp. 478-98.

Brock, Edmund. "The Grammatical Forms of Southern English (Ab. A. D. 1220-30) Occurring in the *Ancrene Riwle*". *Transactions of the Philological Society* 7, 1865, pp. 150-67.

Caplan, Harry. "Rhetorical Invention in Some Medieval Tractates on Preaching". *Speculum* 2, 1927, pp. 284-295.

———. "Classical Rhetoric and the Medieval Theory of Preaching". *Classical Philology* 28, 1933, pp. 73-96.

Clark, Cecily. "Early Middle English Prose: Three Essays in Stylistics". *Essays in Criticism* 18, 1968, pp. 363-375.

Clemoes, Peter. *Liturgical influence on punctuation in Late Old English and Early Middle English manuscripts.* Binghamton, 1952.

Colledge, Eric. "*The Recluse*: A Lollard Interpolated Version of the *Ancren Riwle*". *RES* os 15, 1939, pp. 1-15.

Cooper, Josephine G. *Latin Elements of the Ancrene Riwle*. 1956. Birmingham University, PhD dissertation.

Copeland, Rita and Ineke Sluiter, edited. *Medieval Grammar and Rhetoric: Language Arts and Literary Theory, AD 300-1475*. Oxford UP, 2009.

Cronin, H. S. "The Twelve Conclusions of the Lollards". *English Historical Review* 22, 1907, pp. 292-304.

Dance, Richard. *Words Derived from Old Norse in Early Middle English: Studies in the Vocabulary of the South-West Midland Texts.* Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2003.

Dahistede, August. *The Word-Order of the Ancren Riwle: With Special Reference to the Word-Order in Anglo-Saxon and Modern English*. Sundsvell, 1903.

Dahood, Roger. "*Ancrene Wisse,* Katherine Group, Wohunge Group". *Middle English Prose: A Critical Guide to Major Authors and Genre*, edited by A. S. G. Edwards, New Brunswick, 1984, pp. 1-33.

———. "The use of coloured initials and other division markers in early versions of *Ancrene Riwle*". Medieval English Studies Presented to George Kane, edited by Kennedy, Edward Donald, et al, Brewer, 1988, pp. 79-97.

Dobson, E. J. "The date and composition of *Ancrene Wisse*". *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 52, Oxford UP, 1966/1967, pp. 181-208.

———. *The Origins of Anrcrene Wisse*. Clarendon Press, 1976.

Dolan, T. P. " The Rhetoric of *Ancrene Wisse*". *Langland, the Mystics and the Medieval English Religious Tradition: Essays in Honour of S. S. Hussey*, edited by Helen Phillips, Cambridge UP, 1990, pp. 203-13.

Donoghue, Daniel. *Inside Old English, Essays in Honour of Bruce Mitchell*, edited by John Walmsley, Blackwell, 2006.

Donovan, Claire. *The De Brailes Hours: Shaping the Book of Hours in Thirteenth-Century Oxford*. University of Toronto Press, 1991.

Duffy, Eamon, *Marking the hours: English people and their prayers, 1240-1570*. Yale University Press, 2006.

Frances, Beer. *Women and Mystical Experiences in the Middle Ages*. Brewer, 1992.

Fujii, Takako. "Wulfstan's Latin and Old English texts of *De Cristianitate*". *Studies in English Medieval Language and Literature*, edited by Oizumi, Akio, et al, Peter Lang, 2005, pp. 35-47.

Fujiwara, Hiroshi. "What was the Original Language of the Acrene Riwle". *Annual Collection of Essays and Studies* 14, Gakushuin U, Faculty of Letters, 1968, pp. 53-73.

Goering, Joseph. *William de Montibus: The Schools and the Literature of Pastoral Care*. Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1992.

Gilchrist, Roberta. *Contemplation and Action: the Other Monasticism*. Leicester UP, 1995.

Gneuss, Helmut, and Michael Lapidge. *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: A Bibliographical Handlist of Manuscripts and Manuscript Fragments Written or Owned in England up to 1100.* University of Toronto Press, 2014.

Godden, Malcolm, R. "Ælfric's Changing Vocabulary". *English Studies* 61, 1980, pp. 206-23.

———. "Anglo-Saxon on the mind". *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England*, edited by Michael Lapidge, and Helmut Gneuss, Cambridge UP, 1985, pp. 271-98.

———. *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies Introduction, Commentary and Glossary*. EETS ss 18, Oxford UP, 2000.

Greenfield, Stanley B., and Daniel G. Calder. *A new critical history of Old English literature*. New York University Press, 1986.

Greetham, D. C. *Theories of the Text*. Oxford UP, 1999.

———. *Textual Scholarship: An Introduction*. Garland Publishing, 1992.

Gunn, Cate. *Ancrene Wisse: From Pastoral Literature to Vernacular Spirituality, Religion and Culture in the Middle Ages*. University of Wales Press, 2008.

Harper, John. *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy from the Tenth to the Eighteenth Century: A Historical Introduction and Guide for Students and Musicians*. Oxford UP, 1991.

Harrison, Frank Llewellyn. *Music in Medieval Britain*. Routledge & K. Paul, 1958.

Hazenfrtz, Robert, et al. *Ancrene Wisse*, TEAMS Middle English Texts, Kalamazoo, 2000.

Heuser,W. "Die *Ancren Riwle*---Ein aus angelsächsischen Zeit überliefertes Denkmal". *Anglia* 30, 1907, pp. 103-22.

Hope, Emilly Allen. "The Origin of the *Ancren Riwl*". *PMLA* 33, 1918, pp. 474-546.

———. "A New Latin Manuscript of the 'Ancren Riwle'". *Modern Language Review* 14, 1919, pp. 209-10.

———. "On the Author of the *Ancrne Riwl*". *PMLA* 44, 1929, pp. 635-80.

Houle, Peter J. "The Original Language of the Ancrene Riwle". *Massachusetts Studies in English* 3, 1972, pp. 54-64.

Hudson, Ann. *The Premature Reformation: Wycliffite Texts and Lollard History*. Oxford UP, 1988.

Ichikawa, Makoto. "Alfred's Addition of Modal Verbs in his Prose Translation of the First Fifty Psalms—With Special Reference to *Magan*". *Studies in Medieval English Language and Literature*, no.21. The Japan Society for Medieval English Studies, 2006, pp. 97-120.

Inosaki, Chiyoko. "The Intention of Cleopatra Scribe B: What was the Purpose of His Additions to Latin Incipits in Part 1 of *Ancrene Wisse*?". Studies in Medieval English Language and Literature, No.26 , 2011. 12. pp.1-22.

_____. "Secularization in *Ancrene Wisse*, Part 1: The 'Pater noster', 'Credo' and 'Ave". *Anchoritism in the Middle Ages: Texts and Traditions.* (ed. Catherine Innes-Parker & Naoe Kukita Yoshikawa, University of Wales Press) 2013. pp.117-135.

_____. "A Mapping of *Conscience* and Its Vernaculars in the Manuscripts of *Ancrene Wisse*". *ERA* 36&37, The English Research Association of Hiroshima, 2020. pp. 1-28.

_____. "The Expository Apposition Marker *þet is* and Punctuation in the Corpus MS of *Ancrene Wisse*". *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, Modern Language Society, no.2 of vol. 121. 2021. pp.395-421.

_____. "Expressions for *Conscience* in the Ancrene Wisse Group". *ERA* 38, The English Research Association of Hiroshima 2021. pp.1-25.

Jack, G. B. "Relative Pronouns in Language AB", *English Studies* 56, 1975, pp. 100-107.

King, Archdale A. *Liturgies of the Religious Orders*. Longmans, Green and Co., 1956.

Kano, Koichi. "The Katherine Group ni okeru furannsugo shakunyugo karamita 'AB gengo' saikou—ishahon parareru tekusuto wo mochiite" [Revisit to 'AB language' concerning to French borrowed words in The Katherine Group—using parallel text]. Bulletin of Tohoku Koeki University, 27, Tohoku University of Community Service and Science, 2015, pp. 25-42.

Katami, Akio. "Chusei England shinpishugisha no sanbun niokeru settoku no gihou" [Figures of Speech in the Language of Medieval Mystical Prose in England]. *Rekishi goyouron no sekai: Bunpouka, Taiguuhyougen, Hatsuwakoui* [Horizons of Historical Pragmatics: Grammaticalization, Treatment expression, and Utterance act], edited by Satoshi Kinsui, et al, Hituji Shobo, 2014.

Knowels, David. "The Humanism of the Twelfth Century". *The Historian and Character*, Cambridge UP, 1963, pp. 16-30.

Kubouchi, Tadao. "What is the point? Manuscript punctuation as evidence for linguistic change". *English Historical Linguistics and Philology in Japan*, edited by Jacek Fisiak, and Akio Oizumi, Mouton de Gruyter, 1998, pp. 171-81.

———. *From Wulfstan to Richard Role: Papers Exploring the Continuity of English Prose.* D. S. Brewer, 1999.

———. "'Modernity and Archaism in the *Ancrene Wisse*' Revised." *Studies in Medieval English Language and Literature.* no. 21, The Japan Society for Medieval English Studies, 2006, pp. 65-82. [in Japanese]

Lapidge, Michael, and Helmut Gneuss. *Learning and literature in Anglo-Saxon England : studies presented to Peter Clemoes on the   occasion of his sixty-fifth birthday.* Cambridge UP, 1985.

Machan, Tim William. *Textual Criticism and Middle English Text.* University Press of Virginia, 1994.

Madden, F. "The Ancren Riwle", *Notes and Queries* 9, 1854, pp. 5-6.

Magoun, Francis P. Jr. "*Ancrene Wisse* vs. *Ancren Riwle*". *ELH*, vol. 4, no. 2. John Hopkins University Press, 1937, pp. 112-13.

Malkiel, Yakov. "Studies in irreversible binomials". *Lingua* vol. 8, 1959, pp. 113-60.

Matter, Ann. *The Voice of the Beloved: the Song of Songs in Western Medieval Christianity.* The University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990.

McNabb, Vincent. "Who Wrote the 'Ancren Riwle?'". *American Ecclesiastical Review* 36, 1907, pp. 54-85.

———. 'The Authorship of the *Ancrene Riwle*'. *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum IV,* Institutum Historicum FF Praedicatorum, 1934, pp. 49-74.

McNabb, Vincent, et al. "Further Research upon the Ancren Riwle", *Review of English Studies* 2, 1926, pp. 82-9, 197-201.

Meyer, Charles F. *Apposition in contemporary English.* Cambridge UP, 1992.

———. "A diachronic study of pseudo-titles and related appositives in the press reportage of British and American newspapers". *The Variability of Current World Englishes, Topics in English Linguistics* vol. 87.1, Walter de Gruyter, 2014, pp. 239-256.

Meyer, Charles F. et al. *Corpus Analysis: Language Structure and Language Use.* The World Wide Web as Linguistic Corpus, Rodopi B. V., 2003.

Millett, Bella. "The Origins of *Ancrene Wisse*: New Answers, New Questions". *Medium Ævum* 61, 2, 1992, pp. 206-228.

———. "Women in No Man's Land: English recluses and the development of vernacular literature in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries." *Women and Literature in Britain 1150-1500*, edited by Carol Meale, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature 17, Cambridge UP, 1993, pp. 86-103.

———. "Mouvance and the Medieval Author: Re-editing *Ancrene Wisse*". *Late-Medieval Religious Texts and their Transmission: Essays in Honour of A. I. Doyle*, York Manuscripts Conferences, Proceedings Series 3, Cambridge UP, 1994, pp. 9-20.

———. *Annotated Bibliographies of Old and Middle English Literature, Vol. 2: Ancrene Wisse, the Katherine Group and the Wooing Group.* Cambridge UP, 1996.

———. "*Ancrene Wisse* and the Conditions of Confession". *English Studies, A Journal of English Language and Literature*, vol. 80, 1999, pp. 193-215.

———. "*Ancrene Wisse* and the Book of Hours". *Writing Religious Women: Female Spiritual and Textual Practices in Late Medieval England*, University of Wales Press, 2000, pp. 21-40.

———. "*Ancrene Wisse* and the Life of Perfection". *Leeds Studies English* 33, 2002, pp. 53-76.

———. "The Genre of *Ancrene Wisse*". *A Companion to Ancrene Wisse*, edited by Yoko Wada, Boydell and Brewer, 2003, pp. 29-44.

———. "The *Ancrene Wisse* Group". *A Companion to Middle English*, edited by A. S. G. Edwards, Brewer, 2004, pp. 1-17.

———. "The Discontinuity of English Prose: Structural Innovation in the Lambeth and Trinity Homilies". *Text and Language in Medieval English Prose*, Peter Lang, 2005, pp. 129-50.

———. "The Pastoral Context of the Trinity and Lambeth Homilies." *Essays in Manuscript Geography: Vernacular Sixteenth Century*, edited by Wendy Scase, Medieval Texts and Cultures of Northern Europe 10, Turnhout, 2009, pp. 43-64.

———. *Ancrene Wisse: Guide for Anchoresses: A Translation, based on Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 402.* Exeter: University of Exeter, 2009.

Millett, Bella, and Jocelyn Wogan-Brown. *Medieval English Prose For Women: Selections from the Katherine Group and* Ancrene Wisse. Clarendon Press, 1990.

Minnis, Alastair. *Translations of Authority in Medieval English Literature, Valuing the Vernacular.* Cambridge University Press, 2009.

Mitchell, Bruce and Fred C. Robinson. *A Guide to Old English*. Wiley-Blackwell, 2012.

Morris, Colin. *The Discovery of the Individual 1050-1300*. University of Toronto Press, 1987.

Nakamura, Koichi. " 'Englisc', 'Francois' and 'loquela propria' in *Ancrene Wisse*". *Studies in English Medieval Language and Literature*, no. 12, Peter Lang, 2005, pp. 177-82.

Napier, Arthur S. "A Fragment of the *Ancrene Riwle*". JEGP 2, 1898, pp. 199-202.

O'Donnell, James J. *Augustine Confessions III Commentary on Books 8-13, Indexes*. Clarendon Press, 1992.

Ogawa, Hiroshi. "*Þa* Temporal Clauses in Two Old English *Lives of St Martin*: A Study of Prose Styles in the Blickling and Ælfrician Versions". *Studies in Medieval English Language and Literature*, no.13, The Japan Society for Medieval English Studies, 1998, pp. 45-60.

Ohno, Hideshi. "Chaucer's *Corage* and *Herte*: Mainly from the Viewpoint of the Collocations". *Ful of Hy Sentence*: *Eigo goi ronshuu* [Ful of Hy Sentence: Collection of Essays on English lexemes], edited by Masahiko Konno. Eihosha, 2003, pp.123-136.

Ono, Shoko. "Review for 'A Book of *Ancrene Wisse*'". *Studies in Medieval English Language and Literature,* no. 18, The Japan Society for Medieval English Studies, 2003, pp. 41-50. [in Japanese]

———. "Some Notes on the Loan Words in the *Ancrene Wisse* Group Texts". *Essays and studies in British & American literature*, vol.53, Tokyo Woman's Christian University, 2007, pp. 1-17.

———. "Ishahon parallel text wo mochiita B gengo karano AB gengo kensho: Goi no shiten kara" [A Lexical Study of the 'AB language' with Special Reference to the B language, Based on the Three-parallel-text Corpus of the Katherine Group]. *Tokyo Woman's Christian University Kiyo*, vol.63, no.2, Tokyo Woman's Christian University, 2013, pp. 25-42. [in Japanese]

Pahta, Päivi and Saara Nevanlinna. "Re-phrasing in Early Englsih: The use of expository apposition with an explicit marker from 1350 to 1710". *English in Transition: Corpus-based Studies in Linguistic Variation and Genre Styles*, edited by Merja Kytö and Kirsi Heikkonen. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 1997, pp. 121-84.

_____. "On Markers of Expository Apposition". *North-Western European Language Evolution* 39. John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2001, pp. 3-51.

Parks, Malcolm B. *Scribes, Scripts and Readers: Studies in the Communication, Presentation and Dissemination of Medieval Texts.* Hambledon Press, 1991.

———. *Pause and Effect: An Introduction to the History of Punctuation in the West*. University of California Press, 1993.

Peñafort, Raymond. *Summa de Paenitentia*, edited by Xaverio Ochoa and Aloisio Díez, Universa bibliotheca iuris, vol. 1, t. B, Commentarium pro religiosis, 1976.

Potts, Timothy C. *Conscience in Medieval Philosophy*. Cambridge UP, 1980.

Reveney, Denis. "Middle English writings for women: *Ancrene Wisse*". *Writing Religious Women: Female Spiritual and Textual Practices in Late Medieval England*, University of Wales, 2000, pp. 198-213.

Roper, Sally Elizabeth. *Medieval English Benedictine liturgy: Studies in the Formation, Structure, and Content of the Monastic Votive Office, c.950-1540*. Outstanding dissertations in music from British universities, Garland, 1993.

Russell, Bertrand. *History of Western Philosophy*. Oxford UP, 1961.

Rygiel, Dennis. "The Allegory of Christ the Lover-Knight in *Ancrene Wisse*: An Experiment in Stylistic Analysis". *Studies in Philology*, 73, 4, 1976, pp. 343-64.

———. "Structure and Style in Part Seven of *Ancrene Wisse*". *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 81, 1980, pp. 47-56.

Savage, Anne. "The Communal Authorship of *Ancrene Wisse*". *A Companion to* Ancrene Wisse, Cambridge UP, 2003, pp. 45-55.

Savage, Anne, and Nicholas Watson. *Anchoritic Spirituality: Ancrene Wisse and Associated Works*. Paulist Press, 1991.

Scahill, John. "The Nero Ancrene Wisse and Middle English word-geography". *Text and Language in Medieval English Prose: A Festschrift for Tadao Kubouchi*, Peter Lang, 2005, pp. 215-28.

Schmidt, A. V. C. *William Langland, Piers Plowman, A New Translation of the B-Text*. Oxford UP, 1992.

Scott-Stokes, Charity. *Women's books of hours in medieval England: Selected Texts translated from Latin, Anglo-Norman French, and Middle English with introduction and interpretive essay*. Woodbridge, D. S. Brewer, 2006.

Southern, R. W. *Medieval Humanism and Other Studies*, Oxford UP, 1970.

Spencer, H. L. "Sermon Literature." *A Companion to Middle English Prose,* D. S. Brewer, 2004, pp. 151-174.

Stanton, Robert. *The Culture of Translation in Anglo-Saxon England*, D. S. Brewer, 2002.

Swan, Mary. "Religious writing by women". *Readings in medieval texts. Interpreting old and middle English literature*, Oxford UP, 2005, pp. 257-72.

Swan Mary, and Elaine Treharne. *Rewriting Old English in the Twelfth Century*. Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 30, Cambridge UP, 2000.

Takeuchi, Osamu. *Conscience and Personality*. Kyoyusha, 2003.

Tanabe, Harumi. "Sawles Warde no ishahon parallel text kenkyu: chuukan houkoku" [A Study of Sawles Warde Manuscript

Parallel Text: Interim Report]. Bulletin, no.17, Seikei University, 2013, pp. 45-59. [in Japanese]

Tolkien, J. R. R. "Ancrene Wisse and Hali Meiðhad". *Essays and Studies* 14, 1929, pp. 104-26.

Von Nolcken, Christina. "The *Recluse* and its Readers: Some Observations on a Lollard Interpolated Version of *Ancrene Wisse*". *A Companion to Ancrene Wisse*, D. S. Brewer, 2003, pp. 175-96.

Wada, Yoko. "Dominican Authorship of *Ancrene Wisse*: the Evidence of the Introduction". *A Book of Ancrene Wisse*, Kansai University Press, 2002, pp. 95-110.

———. "What is *Ancrne Wisse*?". *A Companion to Ancrene Wisse*, D. S. Brewer, 2003, pp. 1-28.

Watson, Nicholas. "*Ancrene Wisse*, Religious Reform and the Late Middle Ages". *A Companion to Ancrene Wisse*. D. S. Brewer, 2003, pp. 197-226.

Wenzel, Siegfried. *Macaronic Sermons: Bilingualism and Preaching in Late-Medieval England.* AnnArbor, 1994.

Wogan-Browne, Jocelyn. "Time to Read: Pastoral Care, Vernacular Access and the Case of Angier of St Frideswide". *Texts and Traditions of Medieval Pastoral Care*, York Medieval Press, 2009, pp. 62-77.

Zettersten, Arne. *Studies in the Dialect and Vocabulary of the Ancrene Riwle. Lund Studies in English* 34, Håkan Ohlssons Boktryckeri, 1965.