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# OLD ENGLISH BIBLICAL VERSE

STUDIES IN *GENESIS, EXODUS AND DANIEL*

PAUL G. REMLEY

*Assistant Professor in the Department of English  
University of Washington*



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This book is dedicated to the memory of  
my grandfather,  
John Ashworth Gardner

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## Preface

The appearance of three publications in 1980 and 1981 – *A Bibliography of Publications on Old English Literature* by Stanley B. Greenfield and Fred C. Robinson, *A Microfiche Concordance to Old English* by Antonette DiPaolo Healey and Richard L. Venezky and ‘A Preliminary List of Manuscripts Written or Owned in England up to 1100’ by Helmut Gneuss – initiated a crisis of sorts in the area of Old English studies. For the first time since the inception of work in their field, scholars of the literature of the Anglo-Saxon period were in a convenient position to consult the bulk of existing research and lexical data pertaining to any topic that engaged their interest and, if they managed to find the time, to strike out for new discoveries in neglected manuscripts. The availability of this wealth of bibliographical, lexical and codicological information had an immediate effect that was somewhat stultifying. The quantity of material available for review on a given point frequently threatened to preclude the completion of an introductory paragraph, let alone an entire project. Greenfield and Robinson, in their endeavour to include every book, note, article and review relating to a given literary concern, had included much that was second-rate, as they seemed to acknowledge with their prefatory quotation from the Old English rendition of the *Disticha Catonis*: ‘feola writað menn unglyfedlices’ ('people write many things which one ought not believe'); the unlemmatized *Microfiche Concordance* would frequently distract users with misleading homographs; and prospective consultation of a manuscript described by Gneuss as containing, say, ‘Vitae sanctorum; Liturgica’ stood an even chance at best of turning up anything of note on a particular devotional point.

An attempt has been made nonetheless in the course of the present study to read as much of the existing research as possible, published and

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### Preface

unpublished, relating to *Genesis A*, *Genesis B*, *Exodus* and *Daniel*, and to the Junius manuscript itself, while surveying a wide range of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts for treatments of the biblical matter reflected in the conventional titles of these engaging poems. Completion of this project thus would not have been possible without the help of the following librarians: Madeline Copp, Alison Sproston, D. J. McKitterick, Roger Norris, Mildred Budny, Timothy Graham, Gill Cannell, Nicholas Bennett, Peter McNiven, Martin Kauffman, Gary Menges, P. S. Morrish and Suzanne M. Eward, among many others whose names I have failed to note.

My single greatest debt is to the following scholars whom I have known as teachers: the late Sherman M. Kuhn, Claiborne W. Thompson, Peter Clemoes, R. I. Page, Michael Lapidge, Patrick Sims-Williams, Simon Keynes, H. R. E. Ellis Davidson, D. H. Green, Geoffrey Cubbin, James J. John, Joseph Harris, Arthur Groos, Thomas D. Hill, the late R. E. Kaske, Frans van Coetsem, Lee Patterson, G. Thomas Tanselle, Robert Hanning, Joan Ferrante, Margaret W. Ferguson and Howard Schless. Special thanks are due to D. N. Dumville, my Director of Studies at Emmanuel College, Cambridge (1978–81), and to my Dissertation Supervisor at Columbia University, David Yerkes (1986–90). When I read through this list of names, I recall that ‘*wyrd bið ful aræd*’ – but I vacillate in my interpretation of this aphorism (borrowed from *Wanderer*, line 5b). It is true that things often turn out much as they should – ‘*wyrd bið . . . aræd*’ (*fate is well-planned*) – but I would hate to think that the scholarly approaches championed by my mentors will ever be exhausted fully (*. . . ful aræd*).

I am delighted to acknowledge the continuing support and encouragement of my colleagues in the Department of English at the University of Washington – above all, Robert D. Stevick, David C. Fowler, Mícheál F. Vaughan, John C. Coldevey and Sally Mussetter and to the University of Washington, which provided a generous award to assist in the typesetting of a complex manuscript. I would also like to thank my early colleagues at University College, Cork, for their camaraderie and advice during my residence in Ireland from 1984 to 1986: Éamonn Ó Carragain, Elisabeth Okasha, Padraig Ó Riain, M. C. Seymour, Donnchadh Ó Corrain and Máire Herbert.

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*Preface*

D. S. Brewer, E. G. Stanley, A. S. G. Edwards, Robin Chapman Stacey, James W. Earl, Robert Stacey, Stephen Jaeger, Eugene Vance, James J. O'Donnell, Christine Rose, Paul Spillenger, Louise Bishop and Thomas Stillinger. None of this work would have reached the press without the encouragement and support of my parents, Frederick M. Remley, Jr and Anne Gardner Remley. In particular, Anne Remley's critical efforts in reviewing draft versions of chapters saved me from many errors and infelicities. Above all, I should acknowledge the contributions – editorial as well as ecstatic – of my wife, Fiona Robertson Remley, for which I shall be ever in her debt.

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## Abbreviations

<i>AB</i>	<i>Analecta Bollandiana</i>
abbr.	abbreviated
AbhGött	Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen: philologisch-historische Klasse, 3rd ser.
<i>ABR</i>	<i>American Benedictine Review</i>
abstr.	abstract
Acad.	Academy
ACC	Alcuin Club Collection
Act. SS	Acta Sanctorum
AF	Anglistische Forschungen
AIUON	Annali, Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli: Sezione germanica
ALMA	<i>Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi</i>
ALW	<i>Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft</i>
Amer.	America(n)
Amiat.	Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Amiatino 1
Apc.	Apocalypse, as ed. Weber, unless noted
Archaeol.	Archaeology, -ical
AS	Anglo-Saxon
ASE	<i>Anglo-Saxon England</i>
ASNSL	<i>Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Litera- turen</i>
ASPR	Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records, ed. Krapp and Dobbie
Assoc.	Association
Az	<i>Azarias</i> , as ed. Farrell, unless noted
BAPr	Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa, ed. Grein <i>et al.</i>
BGDSL	<i>Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur</i>

*List of abbreviations*

BL	British Library (London)
BN	Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris)
Brit.	British
Bull.	Bulletin
<i>BullJRL</i>	<i>Bulletin of the John Rylands (University) Library (of Manchester)</i>
<i>cap.</i>	<i>capitulum, -a</i>
CBL	Collectanea Biblica Latina
<i>CBQ</i>	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CCCC	Parker Library, Corpus Christi College (Cambridge)
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina (Turnhout)
CL	<i>Comparative Literature</i>
CLA	Lowe, <i>Codices Latini Antiquiores</i>
CLLA	Gamber, <i>Codices Liturgici Latini Antiquiores</i>
Comm.	Commentary
I, II Cor.	I, II Corinthians, as ed. Weber
Crit.	Critical, -icism
CMCS	<i>Cambridge (later Cambrian) Medieval Celtic Studies</i>
CSASE	Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum (Vienna)
CSIC	Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas (Barcelona)
CUL	University Library (Cambridge)
DACL	<i>Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie</i> , ed. Cabrol, Leclercq and Marrou
<i>DA(I)</i>	<i>Dissertation Abstracts (International)</i>
Dan	<i>Daniel</i> , as ed. Farrell, unless noted
Dan.	<i>Daniel</i> , as ed. in <i>Liber Danihelis</i> , unless noted
Dept.	Department
Deut.	Deuteronomy, as ed. Weber, unless noted
EB	<i>Estudios bíblicos</i>
Eccl.	Ecclesiastical
Ecclus.	Ecclesiasticus, as ed. Weber, unless noted
EEMF	Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile (Copenhagen)
EETS	Early English Text Society os original series
EL	<i>Ephemerides Liturgicae (Analecta Historico-Ascetica)</i>

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<i>ELN</i>	<i>English Language Notes</i>
<i>Eng.</i>	England, English
<i>ES</i>	<i>English Studies</i>
<i>Ex</i>	<i>Exodus</i> , as ed. Lucas, unless noted
<i>Ex.</i>	<i>Exodus</i> , as ed. Weber, unless noted
<i>Ez.</i>	Ezekiel, as ed. Weber, unless noted
<i>FS</i>	<i>Friihmittelalterliche Studien</i>
<i>GCS</i>	Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte
<i>Gen.</i>	Genesis, as ed. Weber, unless noted
<i>GenA</i>	<i>Genesis A</i> , as ed. Doane, unless noted
<i>GenB</i>	<i>Genesis B</i> , as ed. Doane, unless noted
<i>GR</i>	Greenfield and Robinson, <i>Bibliography</i>
<i>Hab.</i>	Habakkuk, as ed. Weber, unless noted
<i>HBS</i>	Henry Bradshaw Society
<i>Heb.</i>	Hebrew; Hebrews, as ed. Weber, unless noted
<i>Hist.</i>	History, -ical
<i>HS</i>	<i>Hispania Sacra</i>
<i>Inst.</i>	Institute
<i>Int.</i>	International
<i>IP</i>	<i>Instrumenta Patristica</i>
<i>Isa.</i>	Isaiah, as ed. Weber, unless noted
<i>Jahrb.</i>	<i>Jahrbuch</i> , -bücher
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JEGP</i>	<i>Journal of English and Germanic Philology</i>
<i>JEH</i>	<i>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</i>
<i>Jer.</i>	Jeremiah, as ed. Weber, unless noted
<i>JMH</i>	<i>Journal of Medieval History</i>
<i>JMRS</i>	<i>Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies</i>
<i>Jnl</i>	Journal
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
<i>JWCI</i>	<i>Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes</i>
<i>Lang.</i>	Language(s)
<i>Lat.</i>	Latin
<i>Lib.</i>	Library
<i>Ling.</i>	Linguistic(s)
<i>Lit.</i>	Literature, -ary
<i>Liturg.</i>	Liturgy, -ical

*List of abbreviations*

LQF	Liturgiegeschichtliche Quellen und Forschungen
LSE	<i>Leeds Studies in English</i>
LXX	Septuagint(a), as ed. Ziegler <i>et al.</i> , unless noted
M&H	<i>Medievalia et Humanistica</i>
MÆ	<i>Medium Ævum</i>
Matt.	Matthew, as ed. Weber, unless noted
Med.	Medi(a)eval
MGH	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica</i>
Auct. Antiq.	<i>Auctores Antiquissimi</i>
Capitular. Reg.	<i>Leges II: Capitularia Regum Francorum</i>
Epist.	<i>Epistolae Aevi Carolini</i>
Epist. Select.	<i>Epistolae Selectae</i>
Poet. Lat.	<i>Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini</i>
SS. Rer. Germ.	<i>Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum in Usum Scholarum</i>
MHS	<i>Monumenta Hispaniae Sacra: Serie litúrgica</i>
MitJ	<i>Mittelalteinisches Jahrbuch</i>
Mitt.	Mitteilungen
MLN	<i>Modern Language Notes</i>
MLQ	<i>Modern Language Quarterly</i>
MLR	<i>Modern Language Review</i>
mm	millimetre(s)
Mod.	Modern
monog., Monog.	monograph, Monograph(s)
MP	<i>Modern Philology</i>
MS	<i>Mediaeval Studies</i>
N&Q	<i>Notes and Queries</i>
NachrGött	Nachrichten von der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen: philologisch-historische Klasse
Nat.	National
Neophil	<i>Neophilologus</i>
NM	<i>Neophilologische Mitteilungen</i>
NMS	<i>Nottingham Medieval Studies</i>
ns	new series
OE	Old English
OEN	<i>Old English Newsletter</i>
om.	omitted

*List of abbreviations*

OT	Old Testament
I, II Par.	I, II <i>Paralipomenon</i> , as ed. in <i>Biblia Sacra</i> , ed. Weber, unless noted
PBA	<i>Proceedings of the British Academy</i>
Philol.	Philology, -ical
PL	<i>Patrologia Latina</i> , ed. Migne
PLL	<i>Papers on Language and Literature</i>
PLS	<i>Patrologiae Latinae Supplementum</i> , ed. Hamman <i>et al.</i>
PMLA	<i>Publications of the Modern Language Association of America</i>
PQ	<i>Philological Quarterly</i>
PRIA	<i>Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy</i>
Proc.	Proceedings
Ps(s).	Psalm(s), as ed. Weber, <i>Le Psautier romain</i> , unless noted (see p. 177 with n. 25)
ptd	printed
publ., Publ.	published, Publication(s)
R.	Royal
RB	<i>Revue bénédictine</i>
RED	<i>Rerum Ecclesiasticarum Documenta</i> , series maior: Fontes
repr.	reprint(ed)
RES	<i>Review of English Studies</i>
Res.	Research
Rev.	Review
RHE	<i>Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique</i>
S&T	Studi e testi
SC	<i>Madan et al., A Summary Catalogue</i>
SE, SE	<i>Sacris Erudiri</i> , and associated monograph series
sect.	section, sectional division (in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 11)
SEP	<i>Studien zur englischen Philologie</i>
ser., Ser.	series, Series
SettSpol	<i>Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo</i> (Spoleto)
SM	<i>Studi medievali</i>
SN	<i>Studia Neophilologica</i>

*List of abbreviations*

Soc.	Society
SitzWien	Sitzungsberichte der österreichischen (kaiserlichen) Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien: philosophisch-historische Klasse
SP	<i>Studies in Philology</i>
Spicil.	Spicilegium, -ii
ss	supplementary series
Stud.	Study, -ies
supp.	supplement
TAPS	<i>Transactions of the American Philological Society</i>
TE	Textos y estudios
Theol.	Theology, -ical
TOES	Toronto Old English Series
TPL	Textus Patristici et Liturgici
TPS	<i>Transactions of the Philological Society</i>
Trans.	Transactions
TuA	Texte und Arbeiten (Beuron)
Univ.	University
unpubl.	unpublished
VT, VT	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i> , and associated monograph series
YWES	<i>Year's Work in English Studies</i>
YWOES	<i>Year's Work in Old English Studies</i> (annually in OEN)
ZAW, ZAW	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i> , and associated monograph series
ZDA	<i>Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur</i>
ZDP	<i>Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie</i>
ZNW	<i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>