

manuscript is demonstrated by the systematic erasure of ⟨o⟩ in ⟨eo⟩ sequences. This change has been attributed to Orm noticing the loss of front rounded /ø/ and /ø:/ in his own dialect while producing the manuscript, as they converged with /e, e:/.⁴ Instances of this change are identified by using ⟨e⟩, including those cases where a later hand has reinstated the ⟨o⟩.⁵ A further important feature of the orthography is the distinction between Orm's forms of ⟨g⟩, which are exemplified in Table 1.

TABLE 1. *Graphs incorporating Ormulum variants of ⟨g⟩, with pronunciation guide*

Graph	Example usage	IPA value
Ʒ	eggenn v. 'to urge'	/g/
ʒ	egge n. 'edge'	/dʒ/ ⁶
ʒ̄	eʒ̄e n. 'fear'	/j/ ⁷
ʒ̄ ^h	eʒ̄ ^h e n. 'eye'	/y/
ʒ̄h	ʒ̄ho pron. 'she'	/ç/ ⁸

The two Carolingian forms: barred ⟨Ʒ⟩ and unbarred ⟨ʒ⟩, are clearly distinguished in the English texts.⁹ Insular ⟨ʒ̄⟩ can appear alone, in a composite graph ⟨ʒ̄^h⟩—which represents the reflex of an intervocalic voiced allophone of /g/ or /h/—or as part of a digraph ⟨ʒ̄h⟩, a palatalized initial /h/ which occurs only in ʒ̄ho. This distinction is the only instance where 'stacked' graphs indicate a phonological difference from the same graphs adjacent on the baseline. Stacked graphs are otherwise doubles or at the edge of a line and stacked only to make best use of space. 'Nasal strokes' above vowels serve a similar function, each representing a ⟨n⟩ or ⟨m⟩, and are also silently expanded. Such strokes should be contrasted with the vowel diacritics described above, which are here

⁴ Anderson and Britton, 'Orthography and Phonology', 303–4.

⁵ See R. W. Burchfield, 'The Language and Orthography of the Ormulum MS', *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 55 (1956), 56–87.

⁶ Also used for /g/ in the Latin texts. Usually, but not exclusively, doubled in the English.

⁷ The digraph ⟨ʒ̄ʒ̄⟩ is also used to represent the second element /i/ in diphthongs, similarly to ⟨ww⟩, used to represent the second element /u/ in diphthongs.

⁸ The most likely proposed pronunciation in the view of the editors. This digraph must have indicated a different pronunciation from the other initial fricative graphs ⟨ʒ̄, ʒ̄, sh⟩ and also from internal ⟨ʒ̄^h⟩, with which ⟨ʒ̄h⟩ has often been conflated.

⁹ *History of the Holy Rood-Tree: A Twelfth Century Version of the Cross Legend, with Notes on the Orthography of the Ormulum (with a Facsimile) and a Middle English Com-passio Mariae*, ed. Arthur Sampson Napier, EETS, OS 103 (London, 1894).

f. 3^r, D1

Nu broþerr wallterr. broþerr min.
Affterr þe flæshess kinde.

7 broþerr min i cristenndom.

þurh fulluhht. 7 þurh trowwþe.

7 broþerr min i godess hus.

Ƿēt o þe þride wise.

þurh þatt witt hafenn tākenn ba.

An re^hgell boc to foll^hgenn.

Unnderr kanunnkess had. 7 lif.

Swa summ sannt awwstin sette.

Icc hafe don swa summ þu badd?

7 forþedd te þin wille.

∅ Icc hafe wennd inntill ennglissh.

Ƿoddspeless hall^hge lāre?

Affterr þatt little witt tatt me.

Min drihhtin hafeþþ lenedd.

∅ þu þohhtesst tatt itt mihhte wel.

Till mikell frame turrenn.

Ƿiff ennglissh folc forr lufe off crist.

Itt wolde gerne lernenn.

7 foll^hgenn itt 7 fillenn itt.

Wipþ þohht wipþ word wipþ dede.

7 forr þi Ƿerrndesst tu þatt icc.

þiss werrc þe sholde wirrkenn.

7 icc itt hafe forþedd te?

Acc all þurh cristess hellpe.

7 unnc birrþ baþe þannkenn crist?

þatt itt iss brohht till ende.

∅ Icc hafe sammnedd o þiss boc.

þa goddspeless neh alle?

þatt sinndenn o þe messeboc.

Inn all þe Ƿer att messe.

∅ 7 aǷǷ affterr þe goddspelel stannt.

þatt tatt te goddspelel meneþþ.

þatt mann birrþ spellenn to þe folc.

Off þeǷǷre sawle nede.

7 Ƿēt tær tekenn mare inoh.

þu shallt tær onne findenn.

Off þatt tatt cristess hall^hge þed?

Birrþ trowwenn wel. 7 foll^hgenn.

D23

P5

P10

P15

P20

P25

P30

P35

P40

¶ Icc hafe sett her o þiss boc.
 Amang goddspelless wordess.
 All þurh me sellfenn manig word.
 þe ríme swa to fillenn.
 Acc þu shallt findenn þatt min word.
 EƷƷwhær þær itt iss ekedd?
 MaƷƷ hellpenn þa þatt redenn itt.
 To sen. 7 tunnderrstandenn.
 All þess te bettere hu þeƷƷm birrþ.
 þe godspell unnderrstandenn.
 7 forrþi trowwe icc þatt te birrþ.
 Wel þolenn mine wordess.

D53

EƷƷwhær þær þu shallt findenn hemm?
 Amang goddspelless wordess.
 Forr wha se mót to læwedd folc.
 Larspell off godspell tellenn?
 He mót wel ekenn manig word.
 Amang goddspelless wordess.
 7 icc ne mihhte nohht min ferrs.

AƷƷ wiþþ goddspelless wordess.
 Wel fillenn all. 7 all forrþi.
 Sholde icc well offte nede.
 Amang goddspelless wordess don.
 Min word. min ferrs to fillenn.

¶ 7 te bitæche icc off þiss boc.
 Heh wikenn. alls itt semeþþ.
 All to þurhsekenn illc an ferrs.
 7 to þurhlokenn offte?
 þatt upp onn all þiss boc ne be.
 Nan word Ʒæn cristess lare.
 Nan word tatt swiþe wel ne be.
 To trowwenn. 7 to foll^hƷenn.

¶ Witt shulenn tredenn unnderr fót.
 7 all þwerret út forrwerrpenn.
 þe dom off all þatt laþe flocc.
 þatt iss þurh niþ forrblendedd.
 þatt tæleþþ þatt to lofenn iss?
 þurh niþfull modignesse.
 ¶ þeƷƷ shulenn lätenn hæpelig?
 Off unnkerr swinnc lef broþerr.

- 7** all þeḡḡ shulenn takenn itt.
 Onn unnitt. 7 onn idell.
 Acc nohht þurh skill. acc all þurh nip.
 7 all þurh þeḡḡre sinne.
- 7** unnc birrþ biddenn godd tatt he?
 Forrgife hemm hēre sinne. P85
- 7** unnc birrþ baþe lofenn godd.
 Off þatt itt wass bigunnenn.
- 7** þannkenn godd tatt itt iss brohht.
 Till ende þurh hiss hellpe. P90
- Forr itt maḡḡ hellpenn alle þa?
 þatt bliþelike itt herenn.
- 7** lufenn itt. 7 foll^hgenn itt.
 Wiþþ þohht. wiþþ word. wiþþ dede. |
- ¶ **7** whase wilenn shall þiss boc. P95
 Effft oþerr siþe writenn?
 Himm bidde icc þatt hēt wriþe riht.
 Swa summ þiss boc himm tæcheþþ.
 All þwerrt út affterr þatt itt iss?
 Upp o þiss firrste bisne. P100
- Wiþþ all swillc ríme alls her iss sett.
 Wiþþ allse fele wordess.
- 7** tatt he loke wel þatt he.
 An bocstaff wriþe twiḡḡess.
- Eḡḡwhær þær itt upp o þiss boc? P105
 Iss wriþenn o þatt wise.
 Loke he wel þatt hēt wriþe swa.
 Forr he ne maḡḡ nohht elless.
- Onn ennglissh wriþenn riht te word.
 þatt wite he wel to soþe. P110
- ¶ **7** ḡiff mann wile wriþenn whi.
 Icc hafe don þiss dede.
 Whi icc till ennglissh hafe wennd.
 ḡoddspellless hall^hḡe lare? P115
- Icc hafe itt don forrþi þatt all.
 Cristene follkess berrhless.
 Iss lang uppo þatt an. þatt teḡḡ.
 ḡoddspellless hall^hḡe lare?
 Wiþþ fulle mahhte foll^hḡe riht.
 þurh þohht. þurh word. þurh dede. P120

Forr all þatt æfre onn erþe iss ned.
 Crisstene folc to foll^hgenn.
 I trowwþe. i dede? all tæcheþþ hemm.
 Goddspelless hall^hge lare.
 7 forrþi. wha se lerneþþ itt.
 7 foll^hgeþþ itt wiþþ dede?
 He shall onn ende wurrþi ben.
 þurh godd to wurrþenn bor^hrgenn.
 7 tærfore hafe icc turredd itt.
 Inntill ennglisshe spæche?
 Forr þatt i wollde bliþeliḡ.
 þatt all ennglisshe lede.
 Wiþþ ære sholde lissenn itt.
 Wiþþ herrte sholde itt trowwenn.
 Wiþþ tunge sholde spellenn itt.
 Wiþþ dede sholde itt foll^hgenn.
 To winnenn unnderr cristenndom.
 Att godd soþ sawle berrhless.
 7 gif þeḡḡ wilenn herenn itt.
 7 foll^hgenn itt wiþþ dede?
 Icc hafe hemm hollpenn unnderr crist.
 To winnenn þeḡḡre berrhless.
 7 i shall hafenn forr min swinn.
 God læn att godd onn ende?
 3iff þatt i forr þe lufe off godd.
 7 forr þe mede off heffne?
 Hemm hafe itt inn till ennglissh wennd.
 Forr þeḡḡre sawle nede.
 7 gif þeḡḡ all forrwerrpenn itt?
 Itt turrneþþ hemm till sinne.
 7 i shall hafenn addledd me.
 þe laferrd cristess are.
 þurh þatt icc hafe hemm wrohht tiss boc.
 To þeḡḡre sawle nede.
 þohh þatt teḡḡ all forrwerrpenn itt.
 þurh þeḡḡre modigness. |

f. 9^r, P1

Ʒ þiss boc iss nemnedd. orrmulum.¹
 Forrþi þatt orrm itt wrohhte.²

Ʒ itt iss wrohht off quaþþrigan!

Off goddspellbokess fowwre.

P160

Off quaþþrigan amminadab!

Off cristess goddspellbokess.

Forr crist maꝝ þurh amminadap!

Rihht full wel ben bitacnedd.

Forr crist toc dæþ o rode tre!

P165

All wiþþ hiss fulle wille.

Ʒ Ʒ forrþi þatt amminadab.

O latin spæche iss nemnedd.

O latin boc. spontaneus.

Ʒ onn ennglisshe spæche.

P170

þatt weppmann þatt summ dede doþ.

Wiþþ all hiss fulle wille!

Forrþi maꝝ crist full wel ben þurh.

Amminadab bitacnedd.

Forr crist toc dæþ o rodetre!

P175

All wiþþ hiss fulle wille.

Ʒ þatt waꝝgn iss nemnedd quaþþrigan!

þatt hafepþ fowwre wheless.

Ʒ goddspell iss þatt waꝝgn forrþi!

þatt itt iss fowwre bokess.

P180

Ʒ goddspell iss iesusess waꝝgn!

þatt ȝap o fowwre wheless.

Forr þi þatt itt iss sett o boc!

þurh fowwre goddspellwrihhtess.

Ʒ Ʒ iesuss iss amminadab.

P185

Swa summ icc hafe shæwedd.

Forr þatt he swallt o rode tre!

All wiþþ hiss fulle wille.

P21

¹ The English text on f. 9^{r-v} was printed in White (1852) and Holt (1878) as a separate section headed *Preface*. Matthes (1933, p. 36) was the first to identify the elongated T-shaped *signe de renvoi* on f. 9^r and to connect it to the similar shape, yet of very different proportions, on f. 3^v in l. 39. The initial thorn on f. 9^r protrudes slightly into the second line, but is not a true two-line *littera notabilior*. It has nevertheless been rendered as a two-line drop initial here in order to mark the clear break in the text. In the left (inner) margin a seventeenth-century hand wrote 'ORMVLVM.' at the level of the first line.

² In the left (inner) margin a seventeenth-century hand wrote at the level of the second line 'ORM.'

¶ 7 goddspell forr þatt illke þing?

Iss currus salomoniss.

Forr þatt itt i þiss middellærd.

þurh goddspellwrihhtess fowwre?

Wagðneþþ soþ crist fra land to land.

þurh cristess lerninngcnihtess.

þurh þatt teğð i þiss middellærd.

Flittenn. 7 farenn wide.

Fra land to land. fra burrh to burrh.

To spellenn to þe lede.

Off soþ crist. 7 off crisstenndom?

7 off þe rihhte læfe.

7 off þatt lif þatt ledeþþ menn?

Upp inn till heffness blisse.

¶ þurh swillc þeğð berenn hælennd crist.

Alls iff þeğð karrte wærenn?

Off wheless fowwre. forr þatt all.

ḡoddspellless hall^hge lare.

Iss—alls icc hafe shæwedd ġuw?

O fowwre goddspellbokess.

7 forrþi mağð goddspell full wel?

Ben sálemanness karrte.

þiss iss to seggenn opennliğ.

þe laferrd cristess karrte.

Forr iesu crist allmahhtig godd.

þatt alle shaffte wrohhte?

Iss wiss þatt soþe salemann.

þatt sette griþþ onn erþe.

Bitwenenn godd. 7 menn. þurh þatt.

He ġaff hiss lif o rode.

To lesenn mann kinn þurh hiss dæþ?

Út off þe defless walde.

7 forrþi mağð soþ crist ben wel.

þurh salemann bitacnedd.

Forr salomon iss onn ennglissh.

þatt mann þatt soþ sahtnesse.

7 trigg. 7 trowwe griþþ. 7 friþþ.

Reğðseþþ bitwenenn lede.

7 foll^hgeþþ itt wiþþ all hiss mahht.

þurh þohht. þurh word. þurh dede.

P190

P195

P200

P205

P51

P210

P215

P220

P225

- ¶ All þuss iss þatt hall^hge goddspell.
 þatt iss o fowwre bokess? P230
 Nemnedd amminadabess waggn.
 7 salemanness. karrte. |
 Forr þatt itt waggnepþ crist till menn.
 þurh fowwre goddspellwrihhtess?
 Rihht alls iff itt wære þatt waggn. P235
 þatt gap o fowwre wheless.
- ¶ 7 tuss iss crist amminadab.
 þurh gastlig witt gehatenn?
 Forr þatt he toc o rode dæp.
 Wipþ all hiss fulle wille. P240
 7 salomon he nemnedd iss.
 Swa summ icc hafe shæwedd?
 Forr þatt he sette griþþ. 7 friþþ.
 Bitwenenn heffne. 7 erþe.
- Bitwenenn godd. 7 menn. þurh þatt. P245
 þatt he toc dæp o rode.
 To lesenn mannkinn þurh hiss dæp?
 Ût off þe defless walde.
- ¶ 7 all þuss þiss ennglisshe boc.
 Iss orrmulum gehatenn.³ P250
 Inn quapþrígan amminadab?
 Inn currum salomonis.
 7 off goddspell icc wile zuw?
 Ʒét summ del mare shæwenn.
- ¶ Ʒét wile icc shæwenn zuw forrwhi? P255
 Goddspell iss goddspell nemnedd.
 7 ec icc wile shæwenn zuw?
 Hu mikell sawle sellþe.
 7 sawle berrhless unnderrfop.
 Att goddspell all þatt lede? P260
 þatt foll^hgeþþ goddspell þwerret út wel.
 þurh þohht. þurh word. þurh dede.⁴ |

¶ **G**oddspell onn ennglisshe nemnedd iss.
 God word. 7 god tipennde.

³ In the right (inner) margin a seventeenth-century hand has written 'ORMVLVM.'

⁴ End of English text on f. 9^v.

God errnde, forrþi þatt itt wass,
 þurh hallge goddspellwrihhtess,
 All wrohht. 7 writenn upp o boc?
 Off cristess fisste come.
 Off hu soþ godd wass wurrþenn mann?
 Forr all mannkinne nede.
 ¶ 7 off þatt mannkinn þurh hiss dæþ?
 Wass lesedd út off helle.
 ¶ 7 off þatt he wisslike ras?
 þe þridde dagz off dæþe.
 ¶ 7 off þatt he wisslike stah.
 þa siþþenn upp till heffne.
 ¶ 7 off þatt he shall cumenn efft.
 To demenn alle þede.
 7 forr to zeldenn iwhillc mann?
 Afterr hiss a^hgenn dede.
 Off all þiss godd uss brinngeþþ word.
 7 errnde. 7 godd tipennde.
 Goddspell. 7 forrþi magz itt wel.
 Godd errnde ben zehatenn.
 Forr mann magz upp o goddspellboc.
 Godnessess findenn seffne.
 þatt ure laferrd iesu crist.
 Uss hafepþ don onn erþe.
 þurh þatt he comm to manne. 7 þurh.
 þatt he warrþ mann onn erþe.
 ¶ Forr an godnesse uss hafepþ don.
 þe laferrd crist onn erþe.
 þurh þatt he comm to wurrþenn mann.
 Forr all mannkinne nede.
 ¶ Operr godnesse uss | hafepþ don.
 þe laferrd crist onn erþe.
 þurh þatt he wass i flumm iorrdan.
 Fullhtnedd forr ure nede.
 Forr þatt he wollde uss waterrkinn.
 Till ure fulluhht hall^hgenn.
 þurh þatt he wollde ben himm sellf?
 Onn erþe i waterr fullhtnedd.
 ¶ þe þridde godd uss hafepþ don.
 þe laferrd crist onn erþe.

D171

f. 4^{ra}

D199

þurh þatt he ȝaff hiss a^hgenn lif.

P305

Wipþ all hiss fulle wille.

To þolenn dæþ o rodetre?

Sacclæs wipþ utenn wrihhte.

To lesenn mann kinn þurh hiss dæþ?

Ût off þe defless walde.

P310

∇ þe ferþe ȝod uss hafepþ don.

þe laferrd crist onn erþe.

þurh þatt hiss hall^hge sawle stah.

Fra rode dun till helle.

To tākenn Ût off helle wa.

P315

þa gode sawless alle.

þatt haffdenn cwemmd himm i þiss lif?

þurh soþ unnshapignesse.

∇ þe fite ȝod uss hafepþ don.

þe laferrd crist onn erþe.

P320

þurh þatt he ras forr ure ȝod.

þe þridde daȝȝ off dæþe.

∇ lét te posstless sen himm wel.

Inn hiss menniske kinde.

Forr þatt he wolde fesstnenn swa.

P325

Soþ trowwþe i þeȝȝre brestess.

Off þatt he wiss to fulle soþ.

Wass risenn upp off dæþe.

∇ i þatt illke flæsh þatt wass.

Forr uss o rode naȝȝledd.

P330

Forr þatt he wolde fesstnenn wel.

þiss trowwþe i þeȝȝre brestess?

He lét te posstless sen himm wel.

Well offte siþe onn erþe.

D229

Wipþinnenn daȝȝess fowwerrtig?

P335

Fra þatt he ras off dæþe.

∇ þe sexte ȝod uss hafepþ don.

þe laferrd crist onn erþe.

þurh þatt he stah forr ure ȝod.

Upp inn till heffness blisse.

P340

∇ sennde siþþenn halig ȝast.

Till hise lerninngcnihtess.

To frofrenn 7 to beldenn hemm.

To standenn gæn þe defell.

To gifenn hemm god witt inoh?

Off all hiss hall^hge lare.

To gifenn hemm god lusst. god mahht.

To þolenn alle wawenn.

All forr þe lufe off godd. 7 nohht.

Forr erþlig loff to winnenn.

∅ þe seffnde god uss shall gét don.

þe laferrd crist onn ende.

þurrh þatt he | shall o domess daḡḡ.

Uss gifenn heffness blisse?

ḡiff þatt we shulenn wurrþi ben?

To findenn godess are.

∅ þuss hafepþ ure laferrd crist.

Uss don godnessess seffne.

þurrh þatt tatt he to manne comm.

To wurrþenn mann onn erþe.

∅ 7 o þatt hall^hge boc þatt iss.

Apokalypsis nemnedd.

Uss wrát te posstell sannt iohan.

þurrh halig gastess lare.

þatt he sahh upp inn heffne an boc.

Bisett wiþþ seffne innseḡḡless.

7 sperrd swa swiþe wel þatt itt.

Ne mihhte nan wihht oppnenn?

Wiþþutenn godess hall^hge lamb?

þatt he sahh ec inn heffne.

7 þurrh þa seffne innseḡḡless wass.

Rihht swiþe wel bitacnedd.

þatt sefennfald godleḡḡc. þatt crist.

Uss dide þurrh hiss come.

∅ 7 tatt nan wihht ne mihhte nohht.

Oppnenn þa seffne innseḡḡless.

Wiþþutenn godess lamb? þatt comm.

Forr þatt itt shollde tacnenn.

þatt nan wihht. nan enngell. nan mann.

Ne naness kinness | shaffte?

P345

P350

P355

P360

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P370

P375

P380

f. 4^{rb}

D257

f. 4^{va}

- Ne mihhte þurh himm sellfenn þa.
 Seffne godnessess shæwenn.
 O mann kinn. swa þatt itt mann kinn.
 Off helle mihhte lesenn.
 Ne gifenn mann kinn lusst. ne mahht. P385
 To winnenn heffness blisse.
- ¶ 7 all all swa se godess lamb.
 All þurh hiss a^hgenn mahhte.
 Lihhtlike mihhte. 7 wel inoh.
 þa seffne innseggless oppnenn? P390
 All swa þe laferrd iesu crist.
 All þurh hiss a^hgenn mahhte.
 Wipþ faderr. 7 wipþ halig gast.
 An godd. 7 all an kinde?
 All swa riht he lihhtlike inoh. P395
 7 wel wipþ alle mihhte.
- O mannkinn þurh himm sellfenn. þa.
 Seffne godnessess shæwenn.
 Swa þatt he mann kinn wel inoh.
 Off helle mihhte lesenn. P400
 7 gifenn mannkinn lufe. 7 lusst.
 7 mahht. 7 witt. 7 wille.
 To stanndenn inn to cwemenn godd.
 To winnenn heffness blisse.
- ¶ 7 forr þatt halig goddspellboc. P405
 All þiss godnesse uss shæwepþ.
 Þiss sefennfald godleggþ þatt crist.
 Uss dide þurh hiss are?
 Forrþi birrþ all cristene folc.
 Goddspellless lare foll^hgenn. P410
 7 tær fore hafe icc turnedd itt.
 Inn till ennglisshe spæche?
 Forr þatt i wollde bliþelig.
 þatt all ennglisshe lede.
 Wipþ ære sholde lisstenn itt. P415
 Wipþ herrte sholde | itt trowwenn.
 Wipþ tunge sholde spellenn itt.
 Wipþ dede sholde itt foll^hgenn.
 To winnenn unnderr cristenndom?
 Att crist soþ sawle berrhless. P420

D315

¶ 7 godd allmahchtig gife uss mahht.
 7 lust. 7 witt. 7 wille.
 To foll^hgenn þiss ennglisshe boc.
 þatt all iss halig lare.
 Swa þatt we motenn wurrþi ben.
 To brukenn heffness blisse.
 AMÆN. AMÆN. AMÆN;

P42

Icc. þatt tiss ennglisshe hafe sett.
 Ennglisshe menn to lare?
 Icc wass þær þær i crisstnedd wass.
 Orrmin bi name nemnedd.

P43

7 icc orrmin full innwarrdlig.
 Wiþþ muþ. 7 ec wiþþ herrte.
 Her bidde þa crisstene menn.
 þatt herenn oþerr rédenn.
 þiss boc? hemm bidde icc her þatt teḡḡ.
 Forr me þiss bede biddenn.

P43:

¶ þatt broþerr þatt tiss ennglisshe writt.
 Allræresst wrát. 7 wrohhte?
 þatt broþerr forr hiss swinnc to læn?
 Soþ blisse móte findenn.

P44^c

AMÆN.

D335
f. 5^{ra}

¶ þa goddspelless alle þatt icc.
 Her o þiss boc maḡḡ | findenn?
 Hemm alle wile icc nemmnenn her.
 Bi þeḡḡre firrste wordess.
 7 tāle wile icc settenn to.
 To don ḡuw tunnderrstandenn.
 Hu fele sinnenn o þiss boc.
 Goddspelless unnderr alle.

P44^b