

**Ælfric as Source:**

**the exploitation of Ælfric's Catholic Homilies from the late  
tenth to twelfth centuries**

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from the late tenth to twelfth centuries**

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My thesis is concerned with the investigation of how Ælfric's Catholic Homilies - central to the Anglo-Saxon Benedictine Reform tradition - were received by his contemporaries and successors in terms of the modification of his ideas by incorporating his homilies in mixed manuscripts or by excerpting from them for use in texts which combine Ælfrician and anonymous material.

The Introduction traces Ælfric's attitude to his own sources and his instructions for the preservation and transmission of his work. These are contrasted with evidence for the reaction of scribes and compilers to the Catholic Homilies. I argue for the importance of studying and editing adapted texts, on the grounds that these represent a stage in the development of a text which is as valid as any other; they are important also in that they offer valuable evidence for reader response in the Anglo-Saxon period as well as for the transmission and manipulation of ideas.

I then list details of all manuscripts containing Catholic Homilies material, and details of all homilies in the series, showing in which manuscripts, and in what form, they survive. The central section of the thesis discusses twenty-five Ælfric/anonymous texts. I trace how Catholic Homilies material is used, with what it is blended and how the result compares with Ælfric's style and concerns. I provide interlineated transcriptions of twelve of these Ælfric/anonymous texts which have not previously been edited.

The General Conclusion gives an overall perspective on the use of the Catholic Homilies by compilers, surveying evidence across the period and for different parts of the country. I conclude that the texts studied testify to the adaptability and appeal of the Catholic Homilies, but also that they raise interesting questions about such issues as methods of homily composition; the extent of the influence of the Benedictine Reform; the strength of the anonymous tradition; and the perceived identity and status both of individual Catholic Homilies and indeed of Ælfric himself as source.

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## Abbreviations

<u>Archiv</u>	<u>Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen</u>
<u>ASE</u>	<u>Anglo-Saxon England</u>
BaP	Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa
BL	British Library
CCCC	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College
<u>CH</u>	<u>Catholic Homilies</u>
<u>CMCS</u>	<u>Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies</u>
CUL	Cambridge University Library
EEMF	Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile
EETS	Early English Text Society
<u>ES</u>	<u>English Studies</u>
<u>EStn</u>	<u>Englische Studien</u>
<u>JEGP</u>	<u>Journal of English and Germanic Philology</u>
<u>Leeds SE</u>	<u>Leeds Studies in English</u>
<u>MAE</u>	<u>Medium Aevum</u>
<u>N&amp;Q</u>	<u>Notes and Queries</u>
<u>PBA</u>	<u>Proceedings of the British Academy</u>
PL	<u>Patrologia Latina</u> , edited by J.-P. Migne
<u>SM</u>	<u>Studi Medievali</u>
<u>SN</u>	<u>Studia Neophilologica</u>
<u>TCBS</u>	<u>Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society</u>
<u>VLA</u>	<u>Vetenskaps Societeten i Lund Årsbok</u>

## I INTRODUCTION

By 994, Ælfric had composed the two series of the Catholic Homilies.<sup>1</sup> These consist mainly of exegetical homilies for most Sundays and major church feasts and some saints' days, as he explains in the Preface:

Nec solum Evangeliorum tractatus in isto libello exposuimus, verum etiam Sanctorum passiones vel vitas, ad utilitatem idiotarum istius gentis. Quadraginta sententias in isto libro posuimus, credentes hoc sufficere posse per annum fidelibus, si integre eis a ministris Dei recitentur in ecclesia.<sup>2</sup>

Although Ælfric's career was spent within the monastic life, his prefatory statements make it clear that the CH were

1 P.A.M. Clemoes dated CH I to c.989 in 'The Chronology of Ælfric's Works', in The Anglo-Saxons: Studies in Some Aspects of their History and Culture, presented to Bruce Dickins, ed. Peter Clemoes (London, 1959), pp.212-47 (p.244), and Malcolm Godden dated CH II to 995 in Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The Second Series. Text, edited by Malcolm Godden, EETS, ss 5 (London, 1979), pp.xci-xciii. It has recently been shown, however, that these estimates were based on erroneous dating of the Archiepiscopate of Sigeric, to whom Ælfric dedicates each series. For details of this, see Michael Lapidge, 'Ælfric's Sanctorale', in Old English Prose Saints' Lives and Their Contexts, edited by Paul E. Szarmach (forthcoming) and Simon Keynes, The Diplomas of King Æthelred 'the Unready' 978-1016 (Cambridge, 1980), pp.251-53.

2 The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church, edited by Benjamin Thorpe, 2 vols (London, 1844-46), I, 1, lines 18-22.



intended for use by priests in the secular church. His instructions in the Latin Preface to CH I permit users to amalgamate the two series for a one-year cycle thus allowing some alternatives for certain days. However, in the final prayer of the CH, Ælfric makes a very specific request regarding the copying of the work:

Gif hwa ma awendan wille. ðonne bidde  
 ic hine for godes lufon þæt he gesette  
 his boc onsundron. fram ðam twam bocum  
 ðe we awend hæbbað.<sup>3</sup>

Ælfric's third large collection, the Lives of Saints, was probably composed between 992 and 1002 at the personal request of his patrons Æpelweard and Æpelmær.<sup>4</sup> The LS is an adapted vernacular version of a monastic legendary,<sup>5</sup> excluding those saints for whose feasts Ælfric had already

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3 Catholic Homilies. Second Series, ed. Godden, p.345, lines 7-9.

4 For this date, see Clemons, 'The Chronology of Ælfric's Works', p.244.

5 See Ælfric's Lives of Saints, edited by Walter W. Skeat, EETS, os 76, 82, 94, 114 (London, 1881-1900; reprinted as two volumes, 1966), I, 2, lines 5-9. References to the Skeat edition throughout the present study are to the two-volume reprint. It has recently been shown that Ælfric's principal source for his hagiographies was an earlier recension of a group of manuscripts known as the 'Cotton-Corpus Legendary'. The two main surviving manuscripts of this are British Library Cotton Nero E. i parts 1 and 2 and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 9. For details of this legendary and its use by Ælfric, see Patrick H. Zettel, 'Ælfric's hagiographic sources and the Latin legendary preserved in BL MS Cotton Nero E. i + CCC MS 9 and other manuscripts' (unpublished D.Phil thesis, Oxford University, 1979), and 'Saints' Lives in Old English: Latin Manuscripts and Vernacular Accounts: Ælfric', Peritia, 1 (1982), 17-37.

included homilies in the CH, and it has a more monastic orientation than the CH. The Preface to the LS contains a similar stipulation to that at the end of the CH regarding the copying of its contents. In it, Ælfric asks that:

gif hwa þas boc awritan wille...he hi  
 wel gerihte be þære bysne and þær namare  
 betwux ne sette þonne we awendon<sup>6</sup>

It can be seen from these statements that, whilst Ælfric anticipated that his works would be copied, and indeed established a degree of flexibility in suggesting the amalgamation of the two series of CH, he explicitly discouraged the association of his work with that of others. In this respect Ælfric adopted an unusual position, since modification of texts by recontextualising them in manuscript or by altering them through the addition of other material to form composite homilies was part of the usual process of manuscript transmission, as Ælfric's anxious interjections in fact recognise.

The focus of this study is on the use made of material originating in the CH by compilers of manuscripts and of individual texts. A great deal of work has already been done on Ælfric's own development of the CH, and this has

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<sup>6</sup> Ælfric's Lives of Saints, ed. Skeat, I, 6, lines 74-76.



shown that he reworked the collection extensively, issuing various versions of it and restructuring some of the homilies into a new temporale series.<sup>7</sup> Much less attention, however, has been paid to how CH homilies are reworked by others. My purpose is to describe this reaction to and use of material originating in the CH by anonymous compilers who use excerpts from CH homilies in very different contexts from those sanctioned by Ælfric.

Much recent work on Ælfric has focused on his attitude to his own writings and to his sources, and has shown him operating within self-imposed limits with regard to his choice of material. One characteristic of Ælfric's approach to the selection of material is his habit of taking a personal stance against topics which he believes to be unsuitable for transmission or badly dealt with by others. Joyce Hill has shown that in producing his Life of Saint George, Ælfric made modifications to his source material, omitting what he perceived to be sensational details.<sup>8</sup> His source in this instance was the Latin 'Cotton-Corpus Legendary' which was read and used in Benedictine Reform circles. An even more selective approach can be seen in

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7 See Clemons, 'The Chronology of Ælfric's Works', pp.227-33, and Catholic Homilies. Second Series, ed. Godden, pp.xx-xciv. Godden, 'The Development of Ælfric's Second Series of Catholic Homilies', ES, 54 (1973), 209-16 (pp.212-13), discusses Ælfric's modification of some CH homilies.

8 Joyce Hill, 'Ælfric, Gelasius and Saint George', Mediævalia, 11 (1989 for 1985), 1-17.

Ælfric's treatment of the Life of Saint Thomas. In the short explanatory statement in the Catholic Homilies known as the Excusatio Dictantis,<sup>9</sup> Ælfric acknowledges Thomas' popularity and the acceptance by Augustine of most of the story of his life, yet he still refuses to include a Life of Thomas in this collection. In the Excusatio Dictantis, Ælfric singles out one episode criticised by Augustine as 'incredible', that of the 'cupbearer's hand', and explains that, 'For ðyssere twynunge nolde we hreppan his ðrowunge' although he admits that 'Heo is swa ðeah eall full geleaflic. buton ðam anum þe augustinus wiðsæcð'.<sup>10</sup> When Ælfric is eventually prevailed upon to produce a Life of Thomas for the LS, he uses the Cotton-Corpus Life of Thomas as his source, but omits its version of the cupbearer's hand episode.<sup>11</sup> Here, Ælfric can be seen rejecting traditions sanctioned by the Reform in his adaptation of material. Ælfric also expresses reservations about writing on the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the CH, giving only the barest of details of Mary's feastday and parentage, then stating that he will provide no more detail for fear of

9 Catholic Homilies. Second Series, ed. Godden, pp.297-98.

10 Catholic Homilies. Second Series, ed. Godden, p.298, lines 15-16 and 16-17.

11 Manuscripts Cotton Nero E. i parts 1 and 2 and CCCC 9 do not include the entire year; for the latter part of the year, which includes the feast of Saint Thomas, it is necessary to refer to two other relatively late manuscripts from the group: manuscript F (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 354) and manuscript H (Hereford Cathedral Library, P. 7. vi) both of which date from the middle or latter half of the twelfth century. Manuscript 'H's Life of Thomas is especially close to Ælfric's. For discussion of Ælfric's use of sources in his Life of Thomas, see my unpublished M.A. dissertation, 'Traditions of Saint Thomas in Old English' (University of Leeds, 1987).



falling into 'gedwylde'.<sup>12</sup> This is presumably a reference to the apocryphal Nativity narratives which feature in some anonymous Old English homilies and also, as Mary Clayton shows, in the Cotton-Corpus collection.<sup>13</sup> When Ælfric eventually wrote a homily for the Nativity of the Virgin Mary,<sup>14</sup> it was, as Clayton notes, in response to a specific request, and the homily 'almost entirely avoids its supposed subject'.<sup>15</sup> This, then, mirrors the case of Saint Thomas, with Ælfric writing on a subject he would rather avoid only after external pressure, and even then refusing to include material to which he had strong objections.

These examples of reluctance to provide material for specific saints' days are paralleled by Ælfric's refusal to write homilies in the CH for the Thursday, Friday or Saturday of Holy Week.<sup>16</sup> In her article on this topic, Hill notes that although Ælfric refers to 'circlice ðeawas' to support his argument, no evidence survives for such a practice.<sup>17</sup> It is possible that Ælfric is here trying to introduce a monastic, or even specifically Winchester, practice into the secular church, but in several cases

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12 Catholic Homilies. Second Series, ed. Godden, p.271, line 6.

13 Mary Clayton, 'Ælfric and the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary', Anglia, 104 (1986), 286-315.

14 This homily is edited by Bruno Assmann, Angelsächsische Homilien und Heiligenleben, BaP, 3 (Kassel, 1889), Homily III.

15 Clayton, 'Ælfric and the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary', p.296.

16 For Ælfric's statements on this subject, see Homilies of Ælfric, ed. Thorpe, I, 218, ll.30-31, and Catholic Homilies. Second Series, ed. Godden, p.149, l.357.

17 Joyce Hill, 'Ælfric's Silent Days', Leeds SE, ns 16 (1985), 118-31.

anonymous homilies for these three days are added in manuscripts containing Ælfric's work,<sup>18</sup> and eleventh-century marginal notes criticise Ælfric's statement.<sup>19</sup>

It is evident that Ælfric had a clear idea of his own role and of the identity of his work. This concern for his work's transmission and definition of his own role is unusual. As Hill notes, 'Ælfric seems to stand apart from most other Anglo-Saxon writers in having a strong sense of authorial identity and of the need for an authorially validated text'.<sup>20</sup> Ælfric's aim in selecting his source-material and in explaining his position was clearly validation of his position with regard to tradition and orthodoxy rather than self-promotion as author. The example of the 'Silent Days' shows some instances of reactions by the wider Anglo-Saxon church to Ælfric's work and to his expressed attitudes. However, although extensive study has been made of the main Ælfrician corpus, and of Ælfric's own development of it, much less work has been done on how the CH were received and used by the wider church. There exist two important articles which examine composite homilies in which compilers have combined Ælfric and anonymous passages: Malcolm Godden's study of Winchester composites in manuscript CUL Ii. 4. 6 and Paul Szarmach's discussion of

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18 For example manuscripts Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 340, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 198 and CCC 162 pp.1-138, 161-564.

19 In manuscripts CCC 178+162 pp.139-60, p.229 and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 113 and 114, fol.86.

20 Joyce Hill, 'Authorial Identity and the Changing Text', in The Editing of Old English Texts, edited by D.G. Scragg and Paul E. Szarmach (Woodbridge, forthcoming).



the Jonah story in a group of homilies.<sup>21</sup> In this study I make a large-scale examination of the use of material originating in the CH in composite homilies and other texts by anonymous compilers and copyists, and of what this reveals about attitudes to Ælfric's works.<sup>22</sup> As Martin Irvine notes, 'The main principle of *compilatio* was the selection of materials from the cultural library so that the resulting collection forms an *interpretative* arrangement of texts and discourse'.<sup>23</sup>

Many Old English homilies are compilations of existing material which reuse texts in a variety of ways. As Hill notes, 'the prevailing practice was not to observe textual integrity and authorial identity, but to reuse texts

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- 21 M.R. Godden, 'Old English composite homilies from Winchester', ASE, 4 (1975), 57-65 on CUL Ii. 4. 6 articles 27 and 28, which I discuss on pp.76-89 below, and Paul E. Szarmach, 'Three versions of the Jonah story: an investigation of narrative technique in Old English homilies', ASE, 1 (1972), 183-92, which includes analysis of Cotton Cleopatra B. xiii article 6, which I discuss below, pp.63-74.
- 22 The Ælfrician homilies I discuss include all of the CH, and also In Quadragesima. De Penitentia, which although not part of the CH, and thus not included in Godden's edition of CH II, is one of several extra pieces copied into the final leaves of CUL Gg. 3. 28. This manuscript dates from the late tenth-early eleventh century, and is the only one to include all of CH I and CH II with their Prefaces and final prayer. Godden states that it is probably 'either a product of Ælfric's own scriptorium or a remarkably faithful copy of such a manuscript', Catholic Homilies. Second Series, p.xliii. Excerpts from In Quadragesima. De Penitentia are also used in the composites CCC 198 article 62, CCC 320 article a and Lambeth Palace 489 article 5, which I discuss below on pp.90-93, 105-109 and 50-57 respectively.
- 23 Martin Irvine, 'Medieval Textuality and the Archaeology of Textual Culture', in Speaking Two Languages. Traditional Disciplines and Contemporary Theory in Medieval Studies, edited by Allen J. Frantzen (Albany, 1991), pp.181-210 (p.193).

as the need arose, even if this meant altering the context in which they were transmitted or used, adapting the texts, or plundering them for composite compilations'.<sup>24</sup> Composite compilations which make use of CH material, then, are part of a wider pattern of reaction to written texts and homily compilation in Old English. At the same time, however, they represent exactly what Ælfric had striven to prevent happening to his work, and as such offer a very interesting insight into how Ælfric's self-image contrasts with the place of his work in the wider Anglo-Saxon church.

I have worked from existing identifications of Ælfric/anonymous texts, and have made extensive use of the work of Godden, N.R. Ker and D.G. Scragg.<sup>25</sup> With the exception of the homily on the finding of the True Cross, which occurs in manuscripts Bodleian Auctarium F. 4. 32 article a and CCC 303 article 18 and whose use of CH excerpts was identified by Godden,<sup>26</sup> each of the Ælfric/anonymous texts I discuss survives in only one manuscript copy, unlike many unadapted items from both series of the CH.<sup>27</sup> It is important to note that I have deliberately omitted examples of Ælfric material adapted by Wulfstan, since these constitute a separate field of study involving a perspective on Wulfstan rather than on the

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24 Joyce Hill, 'Authorial Identity and the Changing Text'.

25 See Godden, Catholic Homilies. Second Series, p.362, N.R. Ker, Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon (Oxford, 1957) and D.G. Scragg, 'The corpus of vernacular homilies and prose saints' lives before Ælfric', ASE, 8 (1979), 223-77.

26 This homily is discussed below, pp.148-53.

27 See my homily list, pp.26-46 below, for details of the manuscript preservation of individual CH pieces.



anonymous tradition.<sup>28</sup> There also exist some composite homilies which seem to represent both anonymous and Wulfstan adaptations of Ælfric, and I have likewise excluded these from my discussion for the reasons given.<sup>29</sup> The focus of my examination of each of the Ælfric/anonymous texts in the present study is the use made of Ælfric material, which CH texts are exploited, which parts of these texts are used and which omitted, and how the overall themes and tone of the composite homily compare with those of the CH piece or pieces from which excerpts have been used. This study, in bringing together discussions of many texts which combine Ælfric and anonymous material, adds to existing knowledge both of Ælfric's position and of responses to his corpus.

Any study of composite texts involves issues such as the status of different versions of a text and the ideal of the 'original' version. Traditionally, editorial scholarship has focused on the concept of the original text: the words composed by a text's original author. A desire to recover the author's perceived intentions led many early

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28 Jonathan Wilcox discusses the use of Wulfstan-adapted Ælfric material in two composite homilies in 'Napier's "Wulfstan" Homilies XL and XLII: Two Anonymous Works from Winchester?', JEGP, 90 (1991), 1-19. Professor Tadeo Kabouchi of Tokyo University is also currently engaged in work on Wulfstan's adaptations.

29 An example of such a homily is Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 114, article 52, which Dorothy Whitelock discusses in Sermo Lupi ad Anglos (London, 1939, revised Exeter, 1976), pp.22-23. Whitelock believes that this homily includes excerpts reworked by Wulfstan from CH I In Letania Maiore and CH II FERIA II Letania Maiore.

editors of Old English texts to alter or emend the scribal record of individual manuscript copies.<sup>30</sup> Such editorial practices, as Godden notes, 'may obscure the real nature and history of the texts'.<sup>31</sup> Early editions also obscured the fact that for many Anglo-Saxon works what we have is the record of a changing text. In their examination of attitudes to textual identity in Anglo-Saxon scholarship, Allen J. Frantzen and Charles L. Venegoni state that, 'it is not just through their origins, but also through their transmission, their corruption and revision in time, that texts acquire meaning'.<sup>32</sup> A text's manuscript evolution can reflect various processes. In some cases, a work may be deliberately revised by its author in order to adapt it for different purposes, but in other cases scribal error and miscopying can produce alterations to an original. Ælfric is one of the best known Anglo-Saxon authors to adapt his own work; recent studies have shown that even for him the CH was a changing, not a static, text. As I have stated, my concern in the present study is neither with accidental scribal changes nor with Ælfric's own rewriting and reorganisation of his work, but rather with the changes in a text brought about by its adaptation or excerption by later users. A manuscript version of a text is a moment in the history of its copying and compiling. Frantzen and Venegoni

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30 For details of this, see Hill, 'Authorial Identity'.

31 Malcolm Godden 'Old English', in Editing Medieval Texts. English, French, and Latin Written in England, edited by A.G. Rigg (New York and London, 1977), pp.9-33 (p.17).

32 Allen J. Frantzen and Charles L. Venegoni, 'The Desire for Origins: An Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon Studies', Style, 20 (1986), 142-56 (p.151).



show how the bias of Anglo-Saxon studies has traditionally obscured this evidence for a text's development. Composite homilies, using existing texts, become part of the development of those texts; to see them merely as corruptions or distortions of an author's original is to ignore the place of reader reception in the transmission of a text<sup>33</sup> and to neglect the full study of the utilitarian nature of texts and of the cultural attitudes reflected in the production of composites.

The trend in editing practices in more recent years has been towards the acknowledgement and editing of variant texts,<sup>34</sup> and Godden notes that, 'The importance of recording and analysing alterations and variant readings not deriving from the author lies in what this tells us about the reception of the text and the wider ramifications of learning and culture in the period'.<sup>35</sup> To uncover the evidence for deliberate alteration and re-use of Ælfrician

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33 Frantzen and Venegoni, 'An Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon Studies', p.152, discuss this. For further discussion of reader reception see Allen J. Frantzen, Desire for Origins. New Language, Old English, and Teaching the Tradition (New Brunswick and London, 1990), pp.122-29. The work of Hans Robert Jauss, one of the major theorists in this field, is well represented in Toward an Aesthetic of Reception, translated by Timothy Bahti (Minneapolis, 1982).

34 Examples include Eleven Old English Rogationtide Homilies, edited by Joyce Bazire and James E. Cross (Toronto, 1982), Clare A. Lees, 'Theme and Echo in an Anonymous Old English Homily for Easter', Traditio, 42 (1986), 115-42 and Nuove Omelie Anglosassoni della Rinascenza Benedettina, edited by A.M. Luiselli Fadda (Florence, 1977), which include composite texts incorporating Ælfric material, and Lees, 'The Blickling Palm Sunday Homily and its Revised Version', Leeds SE, ns 19 (1988), 1-30, which analyses an anonymous revision of an anonymous homily.

35 Godden, 'Old English', p.22.

material it is necessary to provide transcriptions of unpublished Ælfric/anonymous texts and to discuss them in the light of existing work on Ælfric and on the methods and style of the anonymous tradition. My focus in studying these re-uses of the CH is on the development and modification of subject matter in terms of its selection and treatment and with the transmission and manipulation of ideas. I am not attempting to trace textual transmission patterns or to establish manuscript relationships.

In my transcriptions and discussions of Ælfric/anonymous texts, I refer for convenience to published editions of Old English texts used by the compilers where these exist. The base text of the printed editions of both series of the CH is manuscript CUL Gg. 3. 28. I refer to this as a standard version of the CH to compare with modified versions; I do not wish to claim that any of the texts I discuss were compiled directly from CUL Gg. 3. 28 or from any other surviving CH manuscript. Clearly variation exists in many cases between different manuscript versions of a text. The published edition of each of the base texts to which I will be referring reflects only one manuscript version and cannot be assumed to represent the exact version of the text available to the anonymous compiler. Some versions of texts used by compilers may no longer survive; others, although close to the surviving version, may have been known to the compiler in a form modified by scribal alterations of which we no longer have witness. In some cases the only surviving version of a text may be a later



copy which has been further modified than the version used by the compiler. An added complication in the case of Ælfric is that, as described above, Ælfrician material circulates in more than one recension developed by him, so some modified versions of CH texts are in fact entirely Ælfric's work. Although, when describing Ælfric/anonymous compositions, I refer to the text of the CH edited by Thorpe and Godden, I have checked wherever possible that variations I identify here in versions of CH texts are not Ælfrician reworkings. My interest throughout is not manuscript relationships, but the general tendency of how Ælfric is treated in terms of subject-matter and ideas, and this tendency is evident even if Ælfric/anonymous compositions incorporate modifications already made to the constituent texts by author or scribe. Some of the texts analysed below have already been discussed by others; I have included them in my study because I wish to show how they are constructed and what use they make of their CH excerpts. The format of the interlinear transcriptions which follow the analyses of Ælfric/anonymous texts should clearly show how CH texts are modified in composite works.

I preface the analyses of Ælfric/anonymous texts which follow with lists of all manuscripts containing CH material and of all CH homilies. These show the range and pattern of transmission of the CH and provide useful reference material for the homily analyses.

## II MANUSCRIPT AND HOMILY LISTS

### Introduction to Manuscript and Homily Lists

The following lists of manuscripts and Catholic Homilies are based on Ker's 'Tables of Ælfric's Sermones Catholici' in his Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon, pp.511-15. To the information given by Ker I have added details of manuscript content and provenance from more recent publications. The first list shows the CH material preserved in each manuscript, arranged in the order in CH I and CH II for ease of reference, even though this is not necessarily the order in which the material appears in the manuscript. This list orders the manuscripts according to the sigla allotted them by Godden, in his Catholic Homilies. Second Series, pp.xiii-xiv; and Pope, in his Supplementary Collection, p.xvii; manuscripts without a Godden or Pope siglum are then listed in order of Ker item number. In the descriptions in the manuscript list, 'siglum' implies that Godden, Pope and Clemons ('Ælfric's Catholic Homilies, First Series', unpublished Ph.D thesis) sigla agree; where this is not the case, I have given all relevant sigla. Scragg's sigla ('The corpus of vernacular homilies', pp.226-28) have only been noted where no others exist. The second list gives individual CH pieces and their manuscript distribution. The homilies are given following the order of the contents of CH I and II as



used by Thorpe and Godden. Within the list of CH I and II homilies, manuscripts are given in the order used by Ker's 'Tables' for each series. For CH I and II homilies, I have followed Thorpe's and Godden's numbering (as given in Thorpe's Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church, pp.xii and xiv, and Godden's Catholic Homilies. Second Series, pp.vii-ix) respectively in my lists, writing out in full the titles of the unnumbered pieces: CH I and II Old English and Latin Prefaces, CH II Ammonitio, and the homily In Quadragesima. De Penitentia, which is listed as De Penitentia. I have numbered CH I In Dominica Palmarum 'CH I 14a', and CH I Cyrclice beawas... which Thorpe does not number, 'CH I 14b' to distinguish them in my lists. When referring to CH II 'double' homilies to which Godden gives only one number, I have used 'a' and 'b' to distinguish the two pieces. For example, I number CH II Dominica in Media Quadragesime 'CH II 12a', and Secunda Sententia de hoc ipso 'CH II 12b'. In indicating how material originating in the CH is preserved in manuscripts, I have adapted the system used in Ker's Tables, using a plus sign to indicate that material has been added to a CH piece; a minus sign to indicate a freestanding excerpt from a CH homily; and italics to indicate the modification of CH material in an Ælfric/anonymous text.

In the manuscript list, the 'Contents' section gives all CH pieces in the manuscript, then other relevant items. The 'Comments' section of the manuscript list

gives a brief account of the general contents of the manuscript as a whole, and details of its arrangement, origin and provenance where relevant. The bibliographical information given at the end of an entry does not include Pope, Godden, Clemoes or Scragg, all of whom have been used in the compilation of all the entries in the list. For the purpose of these lists, references to editions and critical studies are cited in the comments section of the manuscript lists by author and date. Full publication details are given in the Bibliography. In the homily list, the 'Comments' section is used to give details of use of CH material in freestanding excerpts or Ælfric/anonymous texts.

### Manuscript List

Ker 257. BL Royal 7. C. xii, folios 4-218 s.x ex.

Siglum A.

CONTENTS: CH I 1-11, 12+, 13-40. No prefaces. No anonymous material.

COMMENTS: Earliest extant state of First Series. Some corrections thought to be in Ælfric's hand. Probably written and revised in 990. South-western provenance, possibly Cerne Abbas.

Sisam 1953; Clemoes 1966; Dumville 1988.

Ker 310. Bodleian, Bodley 343 s.xii<sup>2</sup>. Pope and Godden siglum B, Clemoes siglum Z.

CONTENTS: CH I 1, 2, 6, 8-10, 13-15, 17-31, 33-36, 38-, 39, 40.

CH II 3-6, 24b, 25, 26, 27a, 28-31a, 32b, 37-40a.

9 anonymous Old English homilies including translation of Pseudo-Matthew on the Assumption of the Virgin, exhortation to confession and two anonymous composite pieces, one unique.

COMMENTS: No obvious principle of arrangement.

Complicated textual history; contains both early and late Ælfric material. Some items have south-eastern links, but also connections with West Midlands, possibly Worcester. Belfour 1909.



Ker 57. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 303  
 s.xii<sup>1</sup>. Pope and Godden siglum C, Clemoes siglum E.  
 CONTENTS: CH I 8, 10-14a, 15, 18-, 21-25, 26+, 27-29,  
 32-38.  
CH II 4-, 5, 6, 8, 13, 14a, 18, 22, 23, 25, 26, 28, 31,  
 35-38.  
 Contains other Ælfric pieces and 11 anonymous items, 5 of  
 them unique. Includes some Vercelli homilies, a unique  
 description of hell recounted to an anchorite by the  
 devil and Latin and Old English forms of excommunication.  
 COMMENTS: Manuscript of mixed lineage, little sign of  
 the range of Ælfric's later work. Probably written at  
 Rochester.

Ker 309. Bodleian, Bodley 340 + Bodley 342 s.xi in. -  
 s.xi med. Pope and Godden siglum D, Clemoes siglum B.  
 CONTENTS: CH I 1, 3-10, 13, 15-28, 33, 35-40.  
CH II 5-, 6, 7-, 9-11, 17-28, 31, 34b-40a.  
 Contains 11 early anonymous pieces, including Vercelli  
 homilies, anonymous Palm Sunday homily and homilies for  
 Maundy Thursday, Good Friday and Holy Saturday.  
 COMMENTS: CH I and II homilies in early form rearranged  
 into one annual cycle. Written in Canterbury or possibly  
 Rochester.  
 Sisam 1953; Dumville 1988.

Ker 48. CCCC 198 s.xi<sup>1</sup>, s.xi<sup>2</sup>. Pope and Godden siglum  
 E, Clemoes siglum C.  
 CONTENTS: CH I 1, 3-11, 13, 15-17, 21-23, 25-27, 29, 31,  
 34.  
CH II 4-11, 13, 15-18, 23-24, 27a, 34, 37-39, De  
Penitentia.  
 Anonymous material includes Vercelli and Blickling  
 homilies and a homily on the Phoenix.  
 COMMENTS: Originally derived from the same homiliary as  
 Bodley 340 + 342. Changed and enlarged during the  
 eleventh century. Possibly written in Worcester.

Ker 38. CCCC 162, pp.1-138, 161-564 s.xi in. Pope and  
 Godden siglum F, Clemoes siglum D.  
 CONTENTS: CH I 1, 8, 10-12, 16, 17, 19, 20, 22-24, 28,  
 33, 35, 39, 40.  
CH II 4-6, 7+, 8, 12-14a, 15, 19, 23, 25, 26, 28, 31.  
 Anonymous material includes Vercelli homilies, 'Sunday  
 Letter' and beginning of unique homily on Saint Augustine  
 of Canterbury.  
 COMMENTS: An orderly collection for occasions other than  
 saints' days. Shows similarly limited acquaintance with  
 Ælfric's work to Bodley 340 + 342 and CCCC 198. Probably  
 from Rochester or Canterbury.  
 Dumville 1988; Lees 1986.

Ker 209. BL Cotton Vespasian D. xiv, folios 4-169 s.xii  
 med. Pope and Godden siglum G, Clemoes siglum F.  
 CONTENTS: CH I 1-, 10-, 13, 18-, 19-, 20-, 25-, 26-,  
 27-, 28, 30, 32, 34-, 36-, 37, 40.  
CH II 20-21, 24a, 27b, 28, 29, 30-, 32a.



Anonymous material includes translations of twelfth-century Latin authors, part of the Gospel of Nicodemus, pieces on the fifteen Last Days, Antichrist and the date of the end of the world, homily on Saint Neot and a prose Phoenix.

COMMENTS: Not a homiliary; pieces perhaps selected for doctrinal interest or as a commonplace-book. Consistently normalized language. Ælfric pieces have comparatively early textual associations. Probably from Rochester (or Canterbury).

Förster 1920; Handley 1974; Richards 1973; Warner 1917.

Ker 220. BL Cotton Vitellius C. v s.x/xi, xi<sup>1</sup>. Siglum H.

CONTENTS: CH I 1-3, 4-, 5-15, 16+, 17-26, 27-, 28-40.

CH II 8, 23a, 23b-, 25, 26, 28+, 29, 31a.

All additions and interpolations in Ælfric's style, except for the beginning and end of Pope XXVII.

COMMENTS: Originally contained CH I homilies. More CH I and II homilies added in two stages. Interpolator had access to a fairly large collection of Ælfric's works in a comparatively late stage. Manuscript badly damaged in 1731 Cotton Library fire.

Ker 144 and 283. BL Cotton Cleopatra B. xiii, folios 1-58 and London, Lambeth Palace MS 489 s.xi third quarter.

Pope and Godden siglum J, Clemoes sigla K and J.

CONTENTS: CH I 1, 2, 11, 15, 17, 18, 19, 36-.

CH II 1, 40a, De Penitentia.

Anonymous contents include 'Sunday Letter', coronation oath and church dedication.

COMMENTS: Anonymous contents ultimately early, but mostly modified during the eleventh century. Could be a bishop's homiliary. Almost certainly from Exeter.

Dumville 1988; Wilcox 1987.

Ker 15. Cambridge, University Library, Gg. 3. 28

s.x/xi. Pope and Godden siglum K, Clemoes siglum L.

CONTENTS: CH I Latin Preface, Old English Preface, 1-34, 35-, 36-40.

CH II Latin Preface, Old English Preface, Ammonitio, 1-40b, De Penitentia.

CH I and II in two books, each preceded, uniquely in this manuscript, by the Latin and Old English prefaces and followed by final prayer. Also includes a number of other pieces by Ælfric. No anonymous contents.

COMMENTS: Only CH manuscript with prefaces and final prayer, and only complete copy of CH II. Probably dates from two to three years after BL Royal 7. C. xii, with pieces following CH added as they were composed. Either the product of Ælfric's own scriptorium or a very faithful copy of such a manuscript.

Sisam 1953; Thorpe 1844-46 (basis of edition); Dumville 1988.



Ker 18. CUL Ii. 1. 33 s.xii<sup>2</sup>. Pope and Godden siglum L, Clemoes siglum M.

CONTENTS: CH I 2-5, 21, 22, 26-, 27-, 29, 31, 32, 37, 38-.

CH II 9, 11, 13-, 17, 21a, 27a, 30, 32b, 33.

Anonymous contents include translation of Alcuin, De Virtutibus, a unique compilation including a Vercelli homily and part of the Canons of Edgar and alliterative verse apothegms.

COMMENTS: A late collection, probably compiled gradually. Mainly saints' legends, not arranged in the order of the liturgical year. Possibly southern scribal language.

Schipper 1981-85.

Ker 21. CUL Ii. 4. 6 s.xi med. Pope and Godden siglum M, Clemoes siglum N.

CONTENTS: CH I 3, 8, 10-12, 14a, 15, 16, 17+, 18, 19, 21, 22, 28, 35.

CH II 4-, 5-8, 12a, 12b-16, 19, 22, 23b, 39.

Includes anonymous 'filler' homilies.

COMMENTS: Well-organised and comprehensive collection. Descended from a set sanctioned if not designed by Ælfric. Written at New Minster, Winchester, but its exemplar could have come from the south east.

Bishop 1971, p.xv, n.2; Godden 1975; Lees 1986.

Ker 153. BL Cotton Faustina A. ix s.xii<sup>1</sup>. Pope and Godden siglum N, Clemoes siglum X.

CONTENTS: CH I 8, 10-12, 14a, 15, 16+, 17+, 20-22.

CH II 4-8, 12a, 12b-, 13, 14a, 15-16.

Anonymous contents include a composite homily unique to this manuscript and CCC 302, Vercelli and Blickling material and a Maundy Thursday homily.

COMMENTS: Late copy of an Ælfrician Temporale. Very close in CH contents to CUL Ii. 4. 6, and very closely related to CCC 302.

Ker 56. CCC 302 s. xi/xii. Pope and Godden siglum O, Clemoes siglum W.

CONTENTS: CH I 2-4, 10-12, 14a, 17+, 18-20, 39, 40.

CH II 5-8, 13, 14a, 15.

Shares some of Cotton Faustina A.ix's anonymous contents, and also contains Vercelli and Blickling material.

COMMENTS: A slightly less accurate copy of the Temporale in Cotton Faustina A. ix. Manuscript has south-eastern connections.

Ker 332. Bodleian, Hatton 115 and University Library, Kansas, MS Y 104 s.xi<sup>2</sup>, s.xii med. Siglum P.

CONTENTS: CH I Old English Preface (adapted to homiletic use), 17, 19, 20.

CH II 19+, 20, 21, 35, 36-38, 39+, 40a.

Anonymous contents include Vercelli material.

COMMENTS: Arranged in no obvious order. No item is tied to any particular occasion in the Church year.



Ælfric pieces represent more than one textual state. Probably mostly written by same scribe as Cotton Faustina A. x.

Ker 43. CCCC 188 s.xi<sup>1</sup>. Siglum Q.

CONTENTS: CH I Old English Preface (adapted to homiletic use), 2-15, 16+, 17+, 18-20, 22-28, 29-, 30-38, 39, 40.

CH I without prefaces and with additional Ælfric material. No anonymous material.

COMMENTS: Early copy of a manuscript which had been in Ælfric's possession. Includes a homily composed for Bishop Æpelwold II of Winchester (bishop 1006x1007 - 1012x1013), so Ælfric must have owned original volume until after c.1006-1007, the date of Æpelwold's consecration as bishop.

Sisam 1953.

Ker 41. CCCC 178 + CCCC 162, pp.139-60 s.xi<sup>1</sup>. Siglum R.

CONTENTS: CH I Old English Preface, 1, 2, 6, 9, 13, 14, 15, 16+, 19, 21, 22, 24.

CH II 3, 7, 14a, 22, 28, 39.

Contents include anonymous homilies and a Rule of Saint Benedict in Latin and Old English.

COMMENTS: CH homilies seem from later rescensions. Links with West Midlands, but more probably written in Worcester area.

Ker 333. Bodleian, Hatton 116 s.xii<sup>1</sup>. Pope and Godden siglum S, Clemoes siglum Y.

CONTENTS: CH I 25-27, 29-32, 34, 36-38.

Anonymous material includes a unique Life of Saint Chad.

COMMENTS: Contents fall into two groups; first fifteen items for the Sanctorale, last eleven on general themes. Possibly written in Worcester neighbourhood.

Ker 331 and 338. Bodleian, Hatton 113, 114 and Bodleian, Junius 121 s.xi third quarter. Pope and Godden siglum T, Clemoes sigla U and V.

CONTENTS: CH I Old English Preface (adapted to homiletic use), 3-7, 9-13, 14a-, 14b, 15, 16+, 18, 19, 21, 22, 25-27, 30, 31, 34, 36, 39, 40.

CH II 1, 7, 9, 13-, 14a, 17, 18a, 18b, 19, 29-.

Anonymous contents include Latin and Old English pieces on Christianity and the Antichrist, translation of pseudo-Matthew on the birth of the Virgin, translation of part of Gregory's Dialogues, unique composite homilies including Vercelli and Blickling material. Also includes Wulfstan pieces.

COMMENTS: All three manuscripts originally the work of a single scribe and intended as a set. Ker 331 contains homilies, Ker 338 is a collection of ecclesiastical institutes. Collection has diverse origins; CH II homilies from different recensions. Written at Worcester.

Ker 86. Cambridge, Trinity College, B. 15. 34 s.xi med. Pope and Godden siglum U, Clemoes siglum S.

CONTENTS: CH I 15, 16+, 17+, 18-24, 28-.



CH II 16, 23a, 25, 26. Entirely Ælfrician contents.  
**COMMENTS:** Seems to represent the second of two volumes of an Ælfrician Temporale. Reflects late stage of many Ælfric homilies. Probably written in Canterbury.

Ker 68 and 69. CCCC 419 and CCCC 421 s.xi<sup>1</sup>, s.xi third quarter. CCCC 419 Pope siglum V; CCCC 421 Pope and Godden siglum V, Clemons siglum T.

**CONTENTS:** CH I 18-22.

CH II 35, 37, 38, 39+.

Anonymous contents include translation of Adso, De Antichristo with additions, a 'Sunday Letter', a composite homily including a translation from the Visio Pauli, and Vercelli material. Also includes Wulfstan material.

**COMMENTS:** Companion volumes. Compiler seems to have had access to a wide range of Ælfric's work, some of which has not survived elsewhere. The textual independence of this manuscript and the range of items included seem to indicate that it was carefully compiled. Possibly originally written at Canterbury, or at a monastery under the influence of Canterbury, with additions made at Exeter.

Wilcox 1987.

Ker 45. CCCC 190 s.xi med., xi<sup>2</sup>. Pope and Godden siglum X<sup>a</sup>.

**CONTENTS:** CH II 36. Also includes Ælfrician letters. Anonymous contents include part of the enlarged Rule of Chrodegang.

**COMMENTS:** A witness to Wulfstan's commonplace book. Manuscript contents seem to reflect the theme of the duties of the clergy. Ælfric homily in later part of the manuscript; thought to have been added at Exeter in the second half of the eleventh century.

Ker 154. BL Cotton Faustina A. x, folios 102-151 s.xii<sup>1</sup>. Pope and Godden siglum X<sup>c</sup>.

**CONTENTS:** CH II 9. Excerpts added to an account of the tenth-century monastic revival in England.

**COMMENTS:** Ælfric excerpts in margin facing text on Saint Augustine.

Whitelock, 1981.

Ker 186. BL Cotton Tiberius A. iii, folios 2-173 s.xi med. Pope and Godden siglum X<sup>e</sup>.

**CONTENTS:** CH II 7, 14a. Also includes other Ælfric pieces. Anonymous contents include Latin works with continuous Old English glossing, translations of some Latin works popular with Old English anonymous homilists including part of Isidore's Synonyma and part of Alcuin's De Virtutibus et Vitiis, Old English confessional prayers, interpretations of omens, a 'Sunday Letter' and a description of hell given by the devil to an anchorite.

**COMMENTS:** Manuscript probably written at Christ Church Canterbury.

Fehr 1912; Förster 1908; Lees 1985; Wormald 1952, no.31.



BL Cotton Vespasian A. xxii s.xii fin. Clemoes siglum G.

CONTENTS: CH I 1, 24-. Also anonymous homilies.  
 COMMENTS: Manuscript probably copied at Rochester.  
 Entries in blank spaces include Rochester place names,  
 possibly dating from the fourteenth century.  
 Richards 1978.

Ker 63. CCCC 367, part II, folios 3-6, 11-29 s.xii.  
 Pope and Godden siglum f<sup>a</sup>, Clemoes siglum f.

CONTENTS: CH I 15-, 19-, 30-, 31-, 34-.  
CH II 16-, 32-.

Includes two anonymous pieces; part of Assman X on the birth of the Virgin and part of Vercelli IV.

COMMENTS: Extensive fragments of a collection of homilies. Manuscript has south-eastern connections.

Ker 74. Cambridge, Jesus College, 15, binding leaves s.xi<sup>1</sup>. Pope and Godden siglum f<sup>b</sup>.

CONTENTS: CH I 18-, 19-, 22-.  
CH II 19, 22-, 28-. All fragmentary.

COMMENTS: Seems to be a general collection of homilies for any occasion.

Ker 117. Gloucester, Cathedral Library, 35 s.xi<sup>1</sup>-xi<sup>2</sup>.  
 Pope and Godden siglum f<sup>a</sup>.

CONTENTS: CH I 26-.  
CH II 24a-. Manuscript also contains part of a LS homily. Includes fragments of an anonymous piece on Mary of Egypt and the Benedictine Rule.

COMMENTS: Fragments from bindings.

Ker 177. BL Cotton Otho B. x, folios 1-28, 31-50, 52, 53, 54(?), 56, 57, 59, 60, 65, 67 and Bodleian Rawlinson Q. e. 20 s.xi<sup>1</sup>. Pope and Godden siglum f<sup>1</sup>, Cotton Otho B. x Clemoes siglum g.

CONTENTS: CH I 1-, 25.  
CH II 18-. Also contained other Ælfric pieces. Anonymous contents included Skeat XXIII, XXIIIB, XXXIII, composite homilies and a reference to the devil and the anchorite. Also contained a considerable amount of Wulfstan material.

COMMENTS: Very badly damaged in 1731 fire. Only charred fragments of disordered individual leaves remain. A collection mainly of saints' lives, not arranged in the order of the liturgical year.

Ker 222. BL Cotton Vitellius D. xvii, folios 4-92 s.xi med. Pope and Godden siglum f<sup>k</sup>, Clemoes siglum i.

CONTENTS: CH I 3, 4, 5-, 13, 26-, 27-, 29-, 30-, 31-, 34-, 37-, 38-.

CH II 2-, 9-, 11-, 17a-, 17b, 18, 27a-, 32, 33-, 34a-, 36-, 38-, 40a-.

Contains two anonymous Old English pieces: lives of Saint Pantaleon and Saint Eustace.

COMMENTS: Very badly damaged in 1731 fire. Only charred fragments remain. Ælfric material all for saints' days, not arranged in the order of the liturgical year.



Ker 336. Bodleian, Junius 85, 86 s.xi med. Pope and Godden siglum f<sup>p</sup>.

CONTENTS: CH II 7.

Anonymous contents include Vercelli and Blickling material, Latin charms with Old English instructions and a translation from a Visio Pauli.

COMMENTS: Fragments of a larger collection whose scribes seem to have had access to an anonymous collection comparable with Vercelli or Blickling. Manuscript possibly south-eastern. Considerably adapted during the eleventh century.

Ker 58. CCCC 320, folios 117-70 s.x/xi. Scragg siglum x<sup>e</sup>.

CONTENTS: De Penitentia, used in one of two composite penitential pieces.

COMMENTS: The Old English contents are on the once blank first and last leaves of manuscript which contained Archbishop Theodore's Penitential. Both Old English pieces on these leaves are composites, one contains the adapted Ælfric material.

Ker 81. Cambridge, Queens' College, (Horne) 75; Bloomington, University of Indiana, Lilly Library, Poole 10; New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Library, Marie-Louise and James M. Osborn Collection; Bodleian Eng. th. c. 74 s.xi in.

CONTENTS: CH I 14a-, 17-, 20-. Also contains LS items.

COMMENTS: Five strips of early manuscript of Ælfric's CH and LS, the following containing CH material:

Marie-Louise and James M. Osborn Collection, Beinecke Library, Yale University, New Haven.

Bodleian Eng. th. c. 74.

Contents belong to the middle period of Ælfric's development of CH I. Manuscript probably kept CH and LS items apart. It is unclear whether or not any other articles came between the CH items.

Collins and Clemons 1974; Dumville 1988.

Ker 118. The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek 133. D. 22 s.xi<sup>1</sup>. Clemons siglum #h.

CONTENTS: CH I 27-, 28-, 29-. No other contents.

COMMENTS: Nine binding strips from CH I, almost certainly originally from a full First Series set.

Ker 174. BL Cotton Otho A. xviii, folio 131 s.xi<sup>1</sup>. Clemons siglum e.

CONTENTS: CH I 29-.

COMMENTS: Single leaf bound up by Cotton in fire-damaged volume containing mostly Latin saints' lives and chronicles.

Ker 235. BL Harley 2110, folios 4\*, 5\* s.xi. Clemons siglum c.

CONTENTS: CH I 3-, 4-.

COMMENTS: Fragments of two consecutive homilies from CH I. Folio 5\* should precede folio 4\*.

Ker 243. BL Harley 5915, folio 13 and Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepys 2981, no.16 s.xi in. Clemoes sigla b and #a.

CONTENTS: CH I 20-, 28-.

COMMENTS: Fragments of two CH I homilies which have been inserted into these manuscripts.

Dumville 1988.

Ker 285. Cologny-Genève, Switzerland, Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, Bodmer 2 s.xi<sup>2</sup>

CONTENTS: CH II 5.

COMMENTS: Fragment of a substantially rewritten version of this item.

Printed with discussion by Ker 1962.

Ker 297. Bodleian, Auctarium F. 4. 32 s.xi<sup>2</sup>. Scragg siglum U.

CONTENTS: CH II 18a.

COMMENTS: Quire containing Ælfric/anonymous homily bound with a manuscript written during the ninth and tenth centuries.

Bodden, 1987.

Ker 352. Oxford, Brasenose College, Latham M. 6. 15 s.xi<sup>1</sup>. Clemoes siglum d.

CONTENTS: CH I 1-.

COMMENTS: A binding strip consisting of the last eleven lines of a folio which must have contained 28-29 lines.

Copenhagen, Rigsarkivet, Aftagne

pergamentfragmenter 637-664, 669-671, 674-698 s.xi<sup>1</sup>

CONTENTS: CH I 26-, 35-, 36-, 37-.

COMMENTS: Fragments used as binding strips. Discovered under the spine of volumes containing the papers of Peter Charisius, the Danish Resident of The Hague 1651-69.

Manuscript probably used in The Hague.

Fausbøll 1986.

Homily List

CH I Latin Preface (Præfatio) Th.i 1-2/10.

Ker 15 CUL Gg. 3. 28 art.1

CH I Old English Preface (Præfatio, Saxonice) Th.i. 2/12-8/18.

Ker 15 CUL Gg. 3. 28 art.2

Ker 43 CCCC 188 art.43

Ker 41 CCCC 178 art.12

Ker 332 Bodleian Hatton 115 art.28

Ker 338 Bodleian Junius 121 art.34

COMMENTS: Ker 43 art.43 and 41 art.12 mix part of this item, adapted to homiletic use, with other Thorpe material, and include two non-Thorpe passages. Ker 332



and 338 include this item adapted to homiletic use. None of the manuscripts which adapt this item situate it in the initial position.

CH I 1      De Initio Creaturæ    Th.i 8/19-28/23.

- Ker 15    CUL Gg. 3. 28 art.3  
 Ker 257   BL Royal 7. C. xii art.1  
 Ker 220   BL Cotton Vitellius C. v art.2  
 Ker 309   Bodley 340+342 art. 33  
 Ker 310   Bodley 343 art.6  
 Ker 48    CCCC 198 art.66  
 Ker 38    CCCC 162 art.1  
 Ker 209   BL Cotton Vespasian D. xiv art.1-  
 Ker 41    CCCC 178 art.1  
 Ker 144   BL Cotton Cleopatra B. xiii art.3  
 Ker 177   BL Cotton Otho B. x + Bodleian Rawlinson Q. e. 20  
           art.1-  
 Ker 352   Oxford Brasenose Latham M. 6. 15 art.1-  
           BL Cotton Vespasian A. xxii folio 54<sup>r</sup>-56<sup>r</sup>

COMMENTS: Ker 209 art.1 ends abruptly. Ker 177 art.1 is fragmentary. Ker 352 art.1 is fragmentary. Vespasian A. xxii folio 54<sup>r</sup>-56<sup>r</sup> is revised and shortened.

CH I 2      De Natale Domini    Th.i 28/24-44/6.

- Ker 15    CUL Gg. 3. 28 art.4  
 Ker 257   BL Royal 7. C. xii art.2  
 Ker 220   BL Cotton Vitellius C. v art.3  
 Ker 43    CCCC 188 art.2  
 Ker 310   Bodley 343 art.34  
 Ker 41    CCCC 178 art.21  
 Ker 56    CCCC 302 art.6  
 Ker 18    CUL Ii. 1. 33 art.3  
 Ker 283   Lambeth Palace 489 art.1

CH I 3      Passio Beati Stephani Protomartyris    Th.i 44/7-56/36.

- Ker 15    CUL Gg. 3. 28 art.5  
 Ker 257   BL Royal 7. C. xii art.3  
 Ker 220   BL Cotton Vitellius C. v art.5  
 Ker 43    CCCC 188 art.3  
 Ker 309   Bodley 340+342 art.2  
 Ker 331   Bodleian Hatton 113, 114 art.34  
 Ker 48    CCCC 198 art.2  
 Ker 56    CCCC 302 art.7  
 Ker 21    CUL Ii. 4. 6 art.28  
 Ker 222   BL Cotton Vitellius D. xvii art.11  
 Ker 18    CUL Ii. 1. 33 art. 21  
 Ker 235   BL Harley 2110 art. 1-

COMMENTS: Ker 21 art.28 includes part of this item in an Ælfric/anonymous composite homily. Ker 235 art.1 is fragmentary.

CH I 4      Assumptio S. Johannis Apostoli    Th.i 58/1-76/24.

- Ker 15    CUL Gg. 3. 28 art.6  
 Ker 257   BL Royal 7. C. xii art.4  
 Ker 220   BL Cotton Vitellius C. v art.6-  
 Ker 43    CCCC 188 art.4

Ker 309 Bodley 340+342 art.3  
 Ker 331 Bodleian Hatton 113,114 art.35  
 Ker 48 CCCC 198 art.3  
 Ker 56 CCCC 302 art.8  
 Ker 222 BL Cotton Vitellius D. xvii art.3  
 Ker 18 CUL Ii. 1. 33 art.11  
 Ker 235 BL Harley 2110 art.2-  
**COMMENTS:** Ker 220 art.6 lacks one leaf. Ker 222 art.3 is fragmentary. Ker 235 art.2 is fragmentary.

CH I 5 Natale Innocentium Infantum Th.i 76/25-90/5.

Ker 15 CUL Gg. 3. 28 art.7  
 Ker 257 BL Royal 7. C. xii art.5  
 Ker 220 BL Cotton Vitellius C. v art.8  
 Ker 43 CCCC 188 art.5  
 Ker 309 Bodley 340+342 art.4  
 Ker 331 Bodleian Hatton 113,114 art.36  
 Ker 48 CCCC 198 art.4  
 Ker 222 BL Cotton Vitellius D. xvii art.12-  
 Ker 18 CUL Ii. 1. 33 art.22  
**COMMENTS:** Ker 222 art.12 is fragmentary.

CH I 6 Octabas et Circumcisio Domini Th.i 90/6-102/34.

Ker 15 CUL Gg. 3. 28 art.8  
 Ker 257 BL Royal 7. C. xii art.6  
 Ker 220 BL Cotton Vitellius C. v art.9  
 Ker 43 CCCC 188 art.6  
 Ker 309 Bodley 340+342 art.48  
 Ker 310 Bodley 343 art.48.  
 Ker 331 Bodleian Hatton 113,114 art.37  
 Ker 48 CCCC 198 art.5  
 Ker 41 CCCC 178 art.22

CH I 7 Epiphania Domini Th.i 104/1-120/5.

Ker 15 CUL Gg. 3. 28 art.9  
 Ker 257 BL Royal 7. C. xii art.7  
 Ker 220 BL Cotton Vitellius C. v art.10  
 Ker 43 CCCC 188 art.7  
 Ker 309 Bodley 340+342 art.6  
 Ker 331 Bodleian Hatton 113,114 art.38  
 Ker 48 CCCC 198 art.6

CH I 8 Dominica III. post Epiphania Domini Th.i 120/6-134/8.

Ker 15 CUL Gg. 3. 28 art.10  
 Ker 257 BL Royal 7. C. xii art.8  
 Ker 220 BL Cotton Vitellius C. v art.11  
 Ker 43 CCCC 188 art.8  
 Ker 309 Bodley 340+342 art.9  
 Ker 310 Bodley 343 art.21  
 Ker 57 CCCC 303 art.2  
 Ker 48 CCCC 198 art.9  
 Ker 38 CCCC 162 art.10  
 Ker 21 CUL Ii. 4. 6 art.2  
 Ker 153 BL Cotton Faustina A. ix art.2



CH I 9 In Purificatione S. Mariae Th.i 134/9-150/34.

- Ker 15 CUL Gg. 3. 28 art.11  
 Ker 257 BL Royal 7. C. xii art.9  
 Ker 220 BL Cotton Vitellius C. v art.12  
 Ker 43 CCCC 188 art.9  
 Ker 309 Bodley 340+342 art.10  
 Ker 310 Bodley 343 art.36  
 Ker 331 Bodleian Hatton 113,114 art.39  
 Ker 48 CCCC 198 art.10  
 Ker 41 CCCC 178 art.24

CH I 10 Dominica in Quinquagesima Th.i 152/1-164/32.

- Ker 15 CUL Gg. 3. 28 art.12  
 Ker 257 BL Royal 7. C. xii art.10  
 Ker 220 BL Cotton Vitellius C. v art.13  
 Ker 43 CCCC 188 art.10  
 Ker 309 Bodley 340+342 art.17  
 Ker 310 Bodley 343 art.27  
 Ker 331 Bodleian Hatton 113,114 art.41  
 Ker 57 CCCC 303 art.6  
 Ker 48 CCCC 198 art.17  
 Ker 38 CCCC 162 art.13  
 Ker 209 BL Cotton Vespasian D. xiv art.53-  
 Ker 56 CCCC 302 art.16  
 Ker 21 CUL Ii. 4. 6 art.6  
 Ker 153 BL Cotton Faustina A. ix art.10  
 COMMENTS: Ker 209 art.53 ends imperfectly.

CH I 11 Dominica Prima in Quadragesima Th.i 166/1-180/29.

- Ker 15 CUL Gg. 3. 28 art.13  
 Ker 257 BL Royal 7. C. xii art.11  
 Ker 220 BL Cotton Vitellius C. v art.14  
 Ker 43 CCCC 188 art.11  
 Ker 331 Bodleian Hatton 113,114 art.42  
 Ker 57 CCCC 303 art.7  
 Ker 48 CCCC 198 art.61  
 Ker 38 CCCC 162 art.15  
 Ker 56 CCCC 302 art.18  
 Ker 21 CUL Ii. 4. 6 art.8  
 Ker 153 BL Cotton Faustina A. ix art.11  
 Ker 283 Lambeth Palace 489 art.5  
 COMMENTS: Ker 283 art.5 uses excerpts from this homily in an Ælfric/anonymous composite.

CH I 12 Dominica in Media Quadragesima Th.i 180/30-192/2.

- Ker 15 CUL Gg. 3. 28 art.14  
 Ker 257 BL Royal 7. C. xii art.12+  
 Ker 220 BL Cotton Vitellius C. v art.17  
 Ker 43 CCCC 188 art. 13  
 Ker 331 Bodleian Hatton 113,114 art.46  
 Ker 57 CCCC 303 art.10  
 Ker 38 CCCC 162 art.23  
 Ker 56 CCCC 302 art.22  
 Ker 21 CUL Ii. 4. 6 art.12  
 Ker 153 BL Cotton Faustina A. ix art.15

COMMENTS: Ker 257 art.12 has a unique extra passage ruled off for omission.

CH I 13 Annunciatio S. Mariæ Th.i 192/3-204/32.

Ker 15 CUL Gg. 3. 28 art.15  
 Ker 257 BL Royal 7. C. xii art.13  
 Ker 220 BL Cotton Vitellius C. v art.18  
 Ker 43 CCCC 188 art.14  
 Ker 309 Bodley 340+342 art.14  
 Ker 310 Bodley 343 art.23  
 Ker 331 Bodleian Hatton 113,114 art.40  
 Ker 57 CCCC 303 art.28  
 Ker 48 CCCC 198 art.14  
 Ker 209 BL Cotton Vespasian D. xiv art.52  
 Ker 41 CCCC 178 art.20  
 Ker 222 BL Cotton Vitellius D. xvii art.36

COMMENTS: Ker 209 art.52 has a unique beginning, and an extract from this homily. Ker 222 art.36 is now lost.

CH I 14a In Dominica Palmarum Th.i 206/1-218/29.

Ker 15 CUL Gg. 3. 28 art.16  
 Ker 257 BL Royal 7. C. xii art.14  
 Ker 220 BL Cotton Vitellius C. v art.19  
 Ker 43 CCCC 188 art.15  
 Ker 310 Bodley 343 art.38  
 Ker 331 Bodleian Hatton 113,114 art.49-  
 Ker 57 CCCC 303 art.14  
 Ker 41 CCCC 178 art.27  
 Ker 56 CCCC 302 art. 25  
 Ker 21 CUL Ii. 4. 6 art.18  
 Ker 153 BL Cotton Faustina A. ix art.21  
 Ker 338 Bodleian Junius 21 art.33  
 Ker 81 Yale University Library, Marie-Louise and James M. Osborn Coll.-

COMMENTS: Ker 331 art.49 is two excerpts from this item. Ker 41 art.27 and 338 art.33 both contain the same extract from this item in composite homilies. Ker 331 art.49 and 41 art.27 also contain a second extract. Ker 81 is fragmentary.

CH I 14b Cyrclice beawas... Th.i 218/30-31.

Ker 15 CUL Gg. 3. 28 art.16  
 Ker 257 BL Royal 7. C. xii art.14  
 Ker 220 BL Cotton Vitellius C. v art.20  
 Ker 43 CCCC 188 art.15  
 Ker 310 Bodley 343 art.38  
 Ker 331 Bodleian Hatton 113,114 art.49  
 Ker 41 CCCC 178 art.27

COMMENTS: Ker 41 art.27 adapts part of this item with anonymous material.

CH I 15 Dominica S. Pascae Th.i 220/1-228/34.

Ker 15 CUL Gg. 3. 28 art.17  
 Ker 257 BL Royal 7. C. xii art.15  
 Ker 220 BL Cotton Vitellius C. v art.20  
 Ker 43 CCCC 188 art.16  
 Ker 309 Bodley 340+342 art.27  
 Ker 310 Bodley 343 art.39



Ker 331 Bodleian Hatton 113,114 art.50  
 Ker 57 CCCC 303 art.16  
 Ker 48 CCCC 198 art.27  
 Ker 41 CCCC 178 art.28  
 Ker 21 CUL Ii. 4. 6 art.19  
 Ker 153 BL Cotton Faustina A. ix art.25  
 Ker 86 Cambridge Trinity B. 15. 34 art.1  
 Ker 63 CCCC 367 art. 1-  
 Ker 283 Lambeth 489 art.2  
**COMMENTS:** Ker 63 art.1 is fragmentary.

CH I 16 Dominica Prima post Pasca Th.i 230/1-238/8.

Ker 15 CUL Gg. 3. 28 art.18  
 Ker 257 BL Royal 7. C. xii art.16  
 Ker 220 BL Cotton Vitellius C. v art.21+  
 Ker 43 CCCC 188 art.17+  
 Ker 309 Bodley 340+342 art.28  
 Ker 331 Bodleian Hatton 113,114 art.51+  
 Ker 48 CCCC 198 art.28  
 Ker 38 CCCC 162 art.33  
 Ker 41 CCCC 178 art.29+  
 Ker 21 CUL Ii. 4. 6 art.23  
 Ker 153 BL Cotton Faustina A. ix art.29+  
 Ker 86 Cambridge Trinity B. 15. 34 art.4+  
**COMMENTS:** Ker 220 art.21, 43 art.17, 331 art.51, 41 art.29, 153 art.29 and 86 art.4 all have an additional passage.

CH I 17 Dominica Secunda post Pasca Th.i 238/9-244/9.

Ker 15 CUL Gg. 3. 28 art.19  
 Ker 257 BL Royal 7. C. xii art.17  
 Ker 220 BL Cotton Vitellius C. v art.22  
 Ker 43 CCCC 188 art.18+  
 Ker 309 Bodley 340+342 art.29  
 Ker 310 Bodley 343 art.3  
 Ker 48 CCCC 198 art.29  
 Ker 38 CCCC 162 art.34  
 Ker 56 CCCC 302 art.29+  
 Ker 21 CUL Ii. 4. 6 art 24+  
 Ker 153 BL Cotton Faustina A. ix art 30+  
 Ker 86 Cambridge Trinity B. 15. 34 art.5+  
 Ker 283 BL Cotton Cleopatra B. xiii art.2  
 Ker 332 Bodleian Hatton 115 art.18  
 Ker 81 Bodleian Eng. th. c. 74-  
**COMMENTS:** Ker 43 art.18, 56 art.29, 21 art.24, 153 art.30 and 86 art.5 all omit some of this item as given in Thorpe, and continue after its end with an addition by Alfric. Ker 332 art.18 uses part of this addition in a composite Alfric/anonymous homily. Ker 81 is fragmentary.

CH I 18 In Letania Maiore Th.i 244/10-258/6.

Ker 15 CUL Gg. 3. 28 art.20  
 Ker 257 BL Royal 7. C. xii art.18  
 Ker 220 BL Cotton Vitellius C. v art.23  
 Ker 43 CCCC 188 art.19  
 Ker 309 Bodley 340+342 art.34  
 Ker 310 Bodley 343 art.40  
 Ker 331 Bodleian Hatton 113,114 art.52

- Ker 57 CCCC 303 art.42-  
 Ker 209 BL Cotton Vespasian D. xiv art.40-  
 Ker 56 CCCC 302 art.30  
 Ker 21 CUL Ii. 4. 6 art.27, 29-, 36-  
 Ker 86 Cambridge Trinity B. 15. 34 art.9  
 Ker 69 CCCC 421 art.12  
 Ker 74 Cambridge Jesus 15 art.4-  
 Ker 144 BL Cotton Cleopatra B. xiii art.6

COMMENTS: Ker 57 art.42 is a freestanding excerpt from this item. Ker 21 art.29 gives the beginning of this item; art.36 gives the rest. Ker 331 art.52 uses an excerpt from this item in a composite homily which includes Ælfric material modified by Wulfstan. Ker 209 art.40 is a freestanding excerpt from this item. Ker 74 art.4 is fragmentary. Ker 144 art.6 intersperses excerpts from this homily with material from Vercelli XIX in a composite Ælfric/anonymous homily.

CH I 19 De Dominica Oratione Th.i 258/7-274/16.

- Ker 15 CUL Gg. 3. 28 art.21  
 Ker 257 BL Royal 7. C. xii art.19  
 Ker 220 BL Cotton Vitellius C. v art.24  
 Ker 43 CCCC 188 art.20  
 Ker 309 Bodley 340+342 art.36  
 Ker 310 Bodley 343 art.13  
 Ker 331 Bodleian Hatton 113,114 art.31  
 Ker 38 CCCC 162 art.2  
 Ker 209 BL Cotton Vespasian D. xiv art.50-  
 Ker 41 CCCC 178 art.5  
 Ker 56 CCCC 302 art.32  
 Ker 21 CUL Ii. 4. 6 art.37  
 Ker 86 Cambridge Trinity B. 15. 34 art.10  
 Ker 63 CCCC 367 art.3-  
 Ker 69 CCCC 421 art.13  
 Ker 283 Lambeth 489 art.5  
 Ker 74 Cambridge Jesus 15 art.5-  
 Ker 332 Bodleian Hatton 115 art.2

COMMENTS: Ker 209 art.50 is a freestanding excerpt from this item. Ker 283 art.5 uses excerpts from this item in an Ælfric/anonymous composite. Ker 74 art.5 and 63 art.3 are fragmentary.

CH I 20 De Fide Catholica Th.i 274/17-294/10.

- Ker 15 CUL Gg. 3. 28 art.22  
 Ker 257 BL Royal 7. C. xii art.20  
 Ker 220 BL Cotton Vitellius C. v art.25  
 Ker 43 CCCC 188 art.21  
 Ker 309 Bodley 340+342 art.40  
 Ker 310 Bodley 343 art.47  
 Ker 38 CCCC 162 art.3  
 Ker 209 BL Cotton Vespasian D. xiv art.4-  
 Ker 56 CCCC 302 art.34  
 Ker 153 BL Cotton Faustina A. ix art.34  
 Ker 86 Cambridge Trinity B. 15. 34 art.11  
 Ker 69 CCCC 421 art.14  
 Ker 243 Cambridge Magdalene Pepys 2981 art.1-  
 Ker 332 Bodleian Hatton 115 art.3  
 Ker 81 Bodleian Eng. th. c. 74-



COMMENTS: Ker 209 art.4 is a freestanding excerpt from this item. Ker 243 art.1 and 81 are fragmentary.

CH I 21 In Ascensione Domini Th.i 294/11-310/21.

Ker 15 CUL Gg. 3. 28 art.23  
 Ker 257 BL Royal 7. C. xii art.21  
 Ker 220 BL Cotton Vitellius C. v art.26  
 Ker 309 Bodley 340+342 art.42  
 Ker 310 Bodley 343 art.41  
 Ker 331 Bodleian Hatton 113,114 art.57  
 Ker 57 CCCC 303 art.48  
 Ker 48 CCCC 198 art.33  
 Ker 41 CCCC 178 art.31  
 Ker 21 CUL Ii. 4. 6 art.31  
 Ker 153 BL Cotton Faustina A. ix art.35  
 Ker 18 CUL Ii. 1. 33 art.31  
 Ker 86 Cambridge Trinity B. 15. 34 art.12  
 Ker 69 CCCC 421 art.15

CH I 22 In Die Sancto Pentecostes Th.i 310/22-328/8.

Ker 15 CUL Gg. 3. 28 art.24  
 Ker 257 BL Royal 7. C. xii art.22  
 Ker 220 BL Cotton Vitellius C. v art.27  
 Ker 43 CCCC 188 art.22  
 Ker 309 Bodley 340+342 art.43  
 Ker 310 Bodley 343 art.42  
 Ker 331 Bodleian Hatton 113,114 art.58  
 Ker 57 CCCC 303 art.49  
 Ker 48 CCCC 198 art.34  
 Ker 38 CCCC 162 art.39  
 Ker 41 CCCC 178 art.32  
 Ker 21 CUL Ii. 4. 6 art.33  
 Ker 153 BL Cotton Faustina A. ix art.37  
 Ker 18 CUL Ii. 1. 33 art.33  
 Ker 86 Cambridge Trinity B. 15. 34 art.14  
 Ker 69 CCCC 421 art.1  
 Ker 74 Cambridge Jesus 15 folio 9-  
 COMMENTS: Ker 74 folio 9 is fragmentary.

CH I 23 Dominica Secunda post Pentecosten Th.i 328/9-338/7.

Ker 15 CUL Gg. 3. 28 art.25  
 Ker 257 BL Royal 7. C. xii art.23  
 Ker 220 BL Cotton Vitellius C. v art.28  
 Ker 43 CCCC 188 art.24  
 Ker 309 Bodley 340+342 art.44  
 Ker 310 Bodley 343 art.49  
 Ker 57 CCCC 303 art.50  
 Ker 48 CCCC 198 art.35  
 Ker 38 CCCC 162 art.40  
 Ker 86 Cambridge Trinity B. 15. 34 art.19

CH I 24 Dominica Quarta post Pentecosten Th.i 338/8-350/27.

Ker 15 CUL Gg. 3. 28 art.26  
 Ker 257 BL Royal 7. C. xii art.24  
 Ker 220 BL Cotton Vitellius C. v art.29  
 Ker 43 CCCC 188 art.25

Ker 309 Bodley 340+342 art.47  
 Ker 310 Bodley 343 art.50  
 Ker 57 CCCC 303 art.53  
 Ker 38 CCCC 162 art.43  
 Ker 41 CCCC 178 art.4  
 Ker 86 Cambridge Trinity B. 15. 34 art.21  
 BL Cotton Vespasian A. xxii folio 59<sup>V</sup>-

COMMENTS: Vespasian A. xxii folio 59<sup>V</sup> is fragmentary.

CH I 25      Nativitas S. Johannis Baptistæ      Th.i 350/28-364/14.

Ker 15 CUL Gg. 3. 28 art.27  
 Ker 257 BL Royal 7. C. xii art.25  
 Ker 220 BL Cotton Vitellius C. v art.37  
 Ker 43 CCCC 188 art.26  
 Ker 309 Bodley 340+342 art.48  
 Ker 310 Bodley 343 art.43  
 Ker 331 Bodleian Hatton 113,114 art.64  
 Ker 57 CCCC 303 art.19  
 Ker 48 CCCC 198 art.38  
 Ker 209 BL Cotton Vespasian D. xiv art.9-  
 Ker 333 Bodleian Hatton 116 art.2  
 Ker 177 Cotton Otho B. x + Bodleian Rawlinson Q. e. 20 art.24

COMMENTS: Ker 209 art.9 is a freestanding excerpt of the first part of this item. Ker 177 art.24 is now lost.

CH I 26      Passio Apostolorum Petri et Pauli      Th.i 364/15-384/19.

Ker 15 CUL Gg. 3. 28 art.28  
 Ker 257 BL Royal 7. C. xii art.26  
 Ker 220 BL Cotton Vitellius C. v art.38-39  
 Ker 43 CCCC 188 art.27-28  
 Ker 309 Bodleian 340+342 art.51-52  
 Ker 310 Bodleian 343 art.44-45  
 Ker 331 Bodleian Hatton 113,114 art.65-66  
 Ker 57 CCCC 303 art.20-21+  
 Ker 48 CCCC 198 art.41-42  
 Ker 209 BL Cotton Vespasian D. xiv art.10-  
 Ker 333 Bodleian Hatton 116 art.3-4  
 Ker 222 BL Cotton Vitellius D. xvii art.1-  
 Ker 18 CUL Ii. 1. 33 art.9-  
 Ker 117 Gloucester Cathedral 35 art.4-  
 Copenhagen fragments -

COMMENTS: Ker 57 art.20-21 continues after this item with a prayer for the Apostles. Ker 209 art.10 is an excerpt of the first part of this item. Ker 222 art.1 and 18 art.9 are excerpts of the second part of this homily. Ker 117 art.4 is fragmentary.

CH I 27      Natale S. Pauli Apostoli      Th.i 384/20-400/33.

Ker 15 CUL Gg. 3. 28 art.29  
 Ker 257 BL Royal 7. C. xii art.27  
 Ker 220 BL Cotton Vitellius C. v art.40-41-  
 Ker 43 CCCC 188 art.29  
 Ker 309 Bodley 340+342 art.53  
 Ker 310 Bodley 343 art.46  
 Ker 331 Bodleian Hatton 113,114 art.67



Ker 57 CCCC 303 art.22  
 Ker 48 CCCC 198 art.43  
 Ker 209 BL Cotton Vespasian D. xiv art.41-  
 Ker 333 Bodleian Hatton 116 art.5  
 Ker 222 BL Cotton Vitellius D. xvii art.44-  
 Ker 18 CUL Ii. 1. 33 art.7-  
 Ker 118 Koninklijke Bibliotheek 133. D. 22 art.1-  
**COMMENTS:** Ker 220 art.40-41 ends imperfectly. Ker 209 art.41 is a freestanding excerpt from the end of this item. Ker 222 art.44 and 118 art.1 are fragmentary. Ker 18 art.7 gives the first part of this item.

**CH I 28**     Dominica XI. post Pentecosten     Th.i 402/1-414/35.

Ker 15 CUL Gg. 3. 28 art.30  
 Ker 257 BL Royal 7. C. xii art.28  
 Ker 220 BL Cotton Vitellius C. v art.42  
 Ker 43 CCCC 188 art.30  
 Ker 309 Bodley 340+342 art.56  
 Ker 310 Bodley 343 art.51  
 Ker 57 CCCC 303 art.56  
 Ker 38 CCCC 162 art.46  
 Ker 209 BL Cotton Vespasian D. xiv art.14  
 Ker 21 CUL Ii. 4. 6 art 28  
 Ker 86 Cambridge Trinity B. 15. 34 art.28-  
 Ker 118 Koninklijke Bibliotheek 133. D. 22 art.2-  
 Ker 243 BL Harley 5915 + Cambridge Magdalene Pepys 2981 art.2-  
**COMMENTS:** Ker 86 art.28 ends imperfectly. Ker 118 art.2 and 243 art.2 are fragmentary.

**CH I 29**     Passio Beati Laurentii Martyris     Th.i 416/1-436/3.

Ker 15 CUL Gg. 3. 28 art.31  
 Ker 257 BL Royal 7. C. xii art.29  
 Ker 220 BL Cotton Vitellius C. v art.43  
 Ker 43 CCCC 188 art.31-  
 Ker 310 Bodley 343 art.14  
 Ker 57 CCCC 303 art.24  
 Ker 48 CCCC 198 art.53  
 Ker 333 Bodleian Hatton 116 art.6  
 Ker 222 BL Cotton Vitellius D. xvii art.23-  
 Ker 18 CUL Ii. 1. 33 art.24  
 Ker 118 Koninklijke Bibliotheek 133. D. 22 art.3-  
 Ker 174 BL Cotton Otho A. xviii art.1-  
**COMMENTS:** Ker 43 art.31 ends imperfectly. Ker 222 art.23, 118 art.3 and 174 art.1 are fragmentary.

**CH I 30**     De Assumptione Beatae Mariae     Th.i 436/4-454/9.

Ker 15 CUL Gg. 3. 28 art.32  
 Ker 257 BL Royal 7. C. xii art.30  
 Ker 220 BL Cotton Vitellius C. v art.47  
 Ker 43 CCCC 188 art.32  
 Ker 310 Bodley 343 art.55  
 Ker 331 Bodleian Hatton 113,114 art.68  
 Ker 209 BL Cotton Vespasian D. xiv art.16,18  
 Ker 333 Bodleian Hatton 116 art.7  
 Ker 222 BL Cotton Vitellius D. xvii art.35-

Ker 63 CCCC 367 art.4-

COMMENTS: Ker 222 art.35 and 63 art.4 are fragmentary.

CH I 31     Passio S. Bartholomæi Apostoli     Th.i 454/10-476/22.

Ker 15 CUL Gg. 3. 28 art.33

Ker 257 BL Royal 7. C. xii art. 31

Ker 220 BL Cotton Vitellius C. v art.50

Ker 43 CCCC 188 art.33

Ker 310 Bodley 343 art.15

Ker 331 Bodleian Hatton 113,114 art.69

Ker 48 CCCC 198 art.65

Ker 333 Bodleian Hatton 116 art.8

Ker 222 BL Cotton Vitellius D. xvii art.16-

Ker 18 CUL Ii. 1. 33 art.14-

Ker 63 CCCC 367 art.5-

COMMENTS: Ker 222 art.16, 18 art.14 and 63 art.5 are fragmentary.

CH I 32     Decollatio S. Johannis Baptistæ     Th.i 476/23-490/25.

Ker 15 CUL Gg. 3. 28 art.34

Ker 257 BL Royal 7. C. xii art.32

Ker 220 BL Cotton Vitellius C. v art.51

Ker 43 CCCC 188 art.34

Ker 57 CCCC 303 art.25

Ker 209 BL Cotton Vespasian D. xiv art.19

Ker 333 Bodleian Hatton 116 art.9

Ker 18 CUL Ii. 1. 33 art.44

COMMENTS: Ker 18 art.44 has passages from this homily added in the margins of a collection of alliterative verse.

CH I 33     Dominica XVII. post Pentecosten     Th.i 490/26-500/29.

Ker 15 CUL Gg. 3. 28 art.35

Ker 257 BL Royal 7. C. xii art.33

Ker 220 BL Cotton Vitellius C. v art.52

Ker 43 CCCC 188 art.36

Ker 309 Bodley 340+342 art.61

Ker 310 Bodley 343 art.52

Ker 57 CCCC 303 art.60

Ker 38 CCCC 162 art.50

CH I 34     Dedicatio Ecclesiæ Sancti Michaelis     Th.i 502/1-518/34.

Ker 15 CUL Gg. 3. 28 art.36

Ker 257 BL Royal 7. C. xii art.34

Ker 220 BL Cotton Vitellius C. v art.53-54

Ker 43 CCCC 188 art.37

Ker 310 Bodley 343 art.74

Ker 331 Bodleian Hatton 113,114 art.73

Ker 57 CCCC 303 art.29

Ker 48 CCCC 198 art.55

Ker 209 BL Cotton Vespasian D. xiv art.22-

Ker 333 Bodleian Hatton 116 art.11

Ker 222 BL Cotton Vitellius D. xvii art.19-

Ker 63 CCCC 367 art.9-



COMMENTS: Ker 209 art.22 is an excerpt of the second part of this item. Ker 222 art.19 is an excerpt of the first part of this item. Ker 63 art.9 is fragmentary.

CH I 35     Dominica XXI. post Pentecosten     Th.i 520/1-538/5.

Ker 15    CUL Gg. 3. 28 art.37-  
 Ker 257   BL Royal 7. C. xii art.35  
 Ker 220   BL Cotton Vitellius C. v art.55  
 Ker 43    CCCC 188 art.38  
 Ker 309   Bodley 340+342 art.62  
 Ker 310   Bodley 343 art.53  
 Ker 57    CCCC 303 art.61  
 Ker 38    CCCC 162 art.51-52  
 Ker 21    CUL Ii. 4. 6 art.28  
           Copenhagen fragments -

COMMENTS: Ker 15 art.37 lacks one leaf in the middle of this item. Ker 21 art.28 includes excerpts from this item in an Ælfric/anonymous composite homily.

CH I 36     Natale Omnium Sanctorum     Th.i 538/6-556/24.

Ker 15    CUL Gg. 3. 28 art.38  
 Ker 257   BL Royal 7. C. xii art.36  
 Ker 220   BL Cotton Vitellius C. v art.56-57  
 Ker 43    CCCC 188 art.39-40  
 Ker 309   Bodley 340+342 art.70-71  
 Ker 310   Bodley 343 art.56-57  
 Ker 331   Bodleian Hatton 113,114 art.74-75  
 Ker 57    CCCC 303 art.30-31  
 Ker 209   BL Cotton Vespasian D. xiv art.29-  
 Ker 333   Bodleian Hatton 116 art.12-13  
 Ker 283   Lambeth 489 art.3-  
           Copenhagen fragments -

COMMENTS: Ker 209 art.29 is an excerpt of the second part of this item. Ker 283 art.3 is an excerpt of the first part of this item.

CH I 37     Natale S. Clementis Martyris     Th.i 556/25-576/14.

Ker 15    CUL Gg. 3. 28 art.39  
 Ker 257   BL Royal 7. C. xii art.37  
 Ker 220   BL Cotton Vitellius C. v art.58  
 Ker 43    CCCC 188 art.41  
 Ker 309   Bodley 340+342 art.72  
 Ker 57    CCCC 303 art.32  
 Ker 209   BL Cotton Vespasian D. xiv art.36  
 Ker 333   Bodleian Hatton 116 art.14  
 Ker 222   BL Cotton Vitellius D. xvii 24-  
 Ker 18    CUL Ii. 1. 33 art.33-, 8b  
           Copenhagen fragments -

COMMENTS: Ker 209 art.36 uses the second part of this item, with some of the material summarised. Ker 18 art.33 is freestanding excerpts from the beginning and end of this item. Ker 222 art.24 is fragmentary. Ker 18 art.8b adds the beginning of this item and part of the middle to the following homily on Peter and Paul.

CH I 38 Natale S. Andreae Apostoli Th.i 576/15-598/35.

- Ker 15 CUL Gg. 3. 28 art.40  
 Ker 257 BL Royal 7. C. xii art.38  
 Ker 220 BL Cotton Vitellius C. v art.59-60  
 Ker 43 CCCC 188 art.42  
 Ker 309 Bodley 340+342 art.78-79  
 Ker 310 Bodley 343 art.30-  
 Ker 57 CCCC 303 art.33  
 Ker 333 Bodleian Hatton 116 art.15  
 Ker 222 BL Cotton Vitellius D. xvii art.22-  
 Ker 18 CUL Ii. 1. 33 art.10-

COMMENTS: Ker 310 art.30 is an excerpt from the first part of this item. Ker 222 art.22 and 18 art.10 are excerpts from the second part of this item.

CH I 39 Dominica Prima in Adventum Domini Th.i 600/1-606/29.

- Ker 15 CUL Gg. 3. 28 art.41  
 Ker 257 BL Royal 7. C. xii art.39  
 Ker 220 BL Cotton Vitellius C. v art.61  
 Ker 43 CCCC 188 art.43  
 Ker 309 Bodley 340+342 art.73  
 Ker 310 Bodley 343 art.32  
 Ker 38 CCCC 162 art.53  
 Ker 56 CCCC 302 art.2  
 Ker 338 Bodleian Junius 121 art.31

COMMENTS: Ker 43 art.43 uses an excerpt from this item with other Ælfric material.

CH I 40 Dominica II. in Adventum Domini Th.i 608/1-618/35.

- Ker 15 CUL Gg. 3. 28 art.42  
 Ker 257 BL Royal 7. C. xii art.40  
 Ker 220 BL Cotton Vitellius C. v art.62  
 Ker 43 CCCC 188 art.44  
 Ker 309 Bodley 340+342 art.74  
 Ker 310 Bodley 343 art.33  
 Ker 38 CCCC 162 art.54  
 Ker 209 BL Cotton Vespasian D. xiv art.28  
 Ker 56 CCCC 302 art.3  
 Ker 338 Bodleian Junius 121 art.32

CH II Latin Preface (Præfatio) G. 1/1-1/28.

- Ker 15 CUL Gg. 3. 28 art.43

CH II Old English Preface G. 1/29-2/49.

- Ker 15 CUL Gg. 3. 28 art.43

CH II Ammonitio G. 2/50-71.

- Ker 15 CUL Gg. 3. 28 art.43

CH II 1 De Natale Domini G. 3/1-11/303.

- Ker 15 CUL Gg. 3. 28 art.44  
 Ker 331 Bodleian Hatton 113,114 art.33  
 Ker 283 Lambeth 489 art.5

COMMENTS: Ker 283 art.5 uses an excerpt from the end of this homily in a composite Ælfric/anonymous homily.



CH II 2 Natale Sancti Stephani G. 12/1-18/217.

Ker 15 CUL Gg. 3. 28 art.45

Ker 222 BL Cotton Vitellius D. xvii art.10-

COMMENTS: Ker 222 art.10 is fragmentary.

CH II 3 In Aepiphania Domini G. 19/1-28/199.

Ker 15 CUL Gg. 3. 28 art.46

Ker 310 Bodley 343 art.35

Ker 41 CCCC 178 art.23

CH II 4 Dominica II post Aepiphania Domini G. 29/1-40/325.

Ker 15 CUL Gg. 3. 28 art.47

Ker 48 CCCC 198 art.8

Ker 38 CCCC 162 art.9

Ker 310 Bodley 343 art.75

Ker 57 CCCC 303 art.1-

Ker 21 CUL Ii. 4. 6 art.1-

Ker 153 BL Cotton Faustina A. ix art.1

COMMENTS: Ker 57 art.1 consists of the last four lines of this item, erased and pasted over. Ker 21 art.1 beginning now lost.

CH II 5 Dominica in Septuagesima G. 41/1-51/287.

Ker 15 CUL Gg. 3. 28 art.48

Ker 309 Bodley 340+342 art.15, 77-

Ker 48 CCCC 198 art.15

Ker 38 CCCC 162 art.11

Ker 310 Bodley 343 art.24-25

Ker 57 CCCC 303 art.3-4

Ker 21 CUL Ii. 4. 6 art.4

Ker 153 BL Cotton Faustina A. ix art.7-8

Ker 56 CCCC 302 art.13-14

Ker 285 *Cologne-Genève, Bodmer 2*

COMMENTS: Ker 309 art. 77 repeats art. 15 and ends abruptly. Ker 285 is a fragment of a substantially rewritten version of the early part of this item.

CH II 6 Dominica in Sexagesima G. 52/1-59/206.

Ker 15 CUL Gg. 3. 28 art.49

Ker 309 Bodley 340+342 art.16

Ker 48 CCCC 198 art.16

Ker 38 CCCC 162 art.12

Ker 310 Bodley 343 art.26

Ker 57 CCCC 303 art.5

Ker 21 CUL Ii. 4. 6 art.5

Ker 153 BL Cotton Faustina A. ix art.9

Ker 56 CCCC 302 art.15

CH II 7 Dominica I in Quadragesima G. 60/1-66/179.

Ker 15 CUL Gg. 3. 28 art.50

Ker 309 Bodley 340+342 art.18, 76-

Ker 48 CCCC 198 art.18

Ker 38 CCCC 162 art.16+

Ker 21 CUL Ii. 4. 6 art.9

Ker 153 BL Cotton Faustina A. ix art.12

Ker 331 Bodleian Hatton 113,114 art.43

Ker 56 CCCC 302 art.19

Ker 41 CCCC 178 art.25  
 Ker 336 Bodleian Junius 85+86 art.5  
 Ker 186 BL Cotton Tiberius A. iii art.9(h)  
 COMMENTS: Ker 309 art.76 repeats the end of art.18. Ker 38 art.16 has 16 unique lines at the end of this item, ruled off for omission. Ker 331 art.43 uses extracts from this item in a composite Ælfric/anonymous homily. Ker 186 art.9(h) uses extracts from this item in a composite Ælfric/anonymous piece.

CH II 8     Dominica II in Quadragesima   G. 67/1-71/131.

Ker 15 CUL Gg. 3. 28 art.51  
 Ker 48 CCCC 198 art.44  
 Ker 38 CCCC 162 art.18  
 Ker 57 CCCC 303 art.8  
 Ker 21 CUL Ii. 4. 6 art.10  
 Ker 153 BL Cotton Faustina A. ix art.13  
 Ker 56 CCCC 302 art.20  
 Ker 220 BL Cotton Vitellius C. v art.15

CH II 9     Sancti Gregorii Pape   G. 72/1-80/260.

Ker 15 CUL Gg. 3. 28 art.52  
 Ker 309 Bodley 340+342 art.11  
 Ker 48 CCCC 198 art.11  
 Ker 222 BL Cotton Vitellius D. xvii art.18-  
 Ker 18 CUL Ii. 1. 33 art.25  
 Ker 331 Bodleian Hatton 113,114 art.59  
 Ker 154 BL Cotton Faustina A. x art.4  
 COMMENTS: Ker 222 art.18 is fragmentary. Ker 154 art.4 uses extracts from this item in the margins of an account of the revival of monasticism in tenth-century England.

CH II 10    Depositio Sancti Cuthberhti Episcopi   G. 81/1-91/341.

Ker 15 CUL Gg. 3. 28 art.53  
 Ker 309 Bodley 340+342 art.12  
 Ker 48 CCCC 198 art.12

CH II 11    Sancti Benedicti Abbatis   G. 92/1-109/588.

Ker 15 CUL Gg. 3. 28 art.54  
 Ker 309 Bodley 340+342 art.13  
 Ker 48 CCCC 198 art.13  
 Ker 222 BL Cotton Vitellius D. xvii art.16-  
 Ker 18 CUL Ii. 1. 33 art.5  
 COMMENTS: Ker 222 art.16 is fragmentary.

CH II 12a   Dominica in Media Quadragesime   G. 110/1-120/373.

Ker 15 CUL Gg. 3. 28 art.55  
 Ker 38 CCCC 162 art.7  
 Ker 21 CUL Ii. 4. 6 art.13  
 Ker 153 BL Cotton Faustina A. ix art.16  
 COMMENTS: Ker 21 art.13 has a unique extra final passage, possibly by the compiler of two other composite Ælfric/anonymous homilies in the manuscript.



CH II 12b Secunda Sententia de hoc ipso G. 121/374-126/582.

Ker 15 CUL Gg. 3. 28 art.55

Ker 38 CCCC 162 art.8

Ker 21 CUL Ii. 4. 6 art.14

Ker 153 BL Cotton Faustina A. ix art.17-

**COMMENTS:** Ker 153 art.17 is a freestanding excerpt lacking a passage near the end of this item.CH II 13 Dominica V in Quadragesima G. 127/1-136/294.

Ker 15 CUL Gg. 3. 28 art.56

Ker 48 CCCC 198 art.45

Ker 38 CCCC 162 art.25

Ker 57 CCCC 303 art.12

Ker 21 CUL Ii. 4. 6 art.16

Ker 153 BL Cotton Faustina A. ix art.19

Ker 18 CUL Ii. 1. 33 art.2-

Ker 331 Bodleian Hatton 113,114 art.83-

Ker 56 CCCC 302 art.23

**COMMENTS:** Ker 18 art.2 is a freestanding excerpt lacking passages from this item. Ker 331 art.83 is a freestanding excerpt consisting of the first twelve lines of this item.CH II 14a Dominica Palmarum. De Passione Domini G. 137/1-149/356.

Ker 15 CUL Gg. 3. 28 art.57

Ker 38 CCCC 162 art.27

Ker 57 CCCC 303 art.13

Ker 21 CUL Ii. 4. 6 art.17

Ker 153 BL Cotton Faustina A. ix art.22

Ker 331 Bodleian Hatton 113,114 art.48

Ker 56 CCCC 302 art.26

Ker 41 CCCC 178 art.26

Ker 186 BL Cotton Tiberius A. iii art.16

**COMMENTS:** Ker 186 art.16 is a very corrupt and altered version of this item.CH II 14b Swigdagas G. 149/357.

Ker 15 CUL Gg. 3. 28 art.57

Ker 21 CUL Ii. 4. 6 art.17

CH II 15 Sermo de Sacrificio in Die Pascae G. 150/1-160/337.

Ker 15 CUL Gg. 3. 28 art.58

Ker 48 CCCC 198 art.46

Ker 38 CCCC 162 art.32

Ker 21 CUL Ii. 4. 6 art.20

Ker 153 BL Cotton Faustina A. ix art.26

Ker 56 CCCC 302 art.28

**COMMENTS:** Ker 38 art.32 uses parts of this item in a composite Ælfric/anonymous homily.CH II 16 Alius Sermo de Die Paschae G. 161/1-168/225.

Ker 15 CUL Gg. 3. 28 art.59-60

Ker 48 CCCC 198 art.47-48

Ker 21 CUL Ii. 4. 6 art.21-22

Ker 153 BL Cotton Faustina A. ix art.27-28

Ker 86 Cambridge Trinity B. 15. 34 art.2-3

Ker 63 CCCC 367 art.2-

COMMENTS: Ker 63 art.2 omits a line from the middle of this item and most of its end.

CH II 17a Apostolorum Philippi et Iacobi G. 169/1-171/60.

Ker 15 CUL Gg. 3. 28 art.61

Ker 309 Bodley 340+342 art.30

Ker 48 CCCC 198 art.30

Ker 222 BL Cotton Vitellius D. xvii art.4-

Ker 18 CUL Ii. 1. 33 art.12

Ker 331 Bodleian Hatton 113,114 art.60

COMMENTS: Ker 222 art.4 is fragmentary.

CH II 17b De Sancto Iacobo Apostolo G. 171/61-173/135

Ker 15 CUL Gg.3. 28 art.62

Ker 309 Bodley 340+342 art.30

Ker 48 CCCC 198 art.30

Ker 222 BL Cotton Vitellius D. xvii art.5

Ker 18 CUL Ii. 4. 6 art.13

Ker 331 Bodleian Hatton 113, 114 art.61

CH II 18a Inventio Sanctae Crucis G. 173/1-176/61.

Ker 15 CUL Gg. 3. 28 art.63

Ker 309 Bodley 340+342 art.31

Ker 48 CCCC 198 art.31

Ker 57 CCCC 303 art.18

Ker 222 BL Cotton Vitellius D. xvii art.20

Ker 331 Bodleian Hatton 113,114 art.62

Ker 177 BL Cotton Otho B. x art.14-

Ker 297 Bodleian Auctarium F. 4. 32 art.a (adapted)

COMMENTS: Ker 177 art.14 is fragmentary. Ker 57 art.18 and 297 art.a are copies of an homily which mixes excerpts from this item with anonymous material.

CH II 18b Sanctorum Alexandri Eventii et Theodoli  
G. 176/62-179/156.

Ker 15 CUL Gg. 3. 28 art.64

Ker 309 Bodley 340+342 art.32

Ker 48 CCCC 198 art.32

Ker 222 BL Cotton Vitellius D. xvii art.21

Ker 331 Bodleian Hatton 113,114 art.63,84

Ker 177 BL Cotton Otho B. x art.15-

COMMENTS: Ker 331 art. 84 is a longer alternative beginning to art.63. Ker 177 art.15 is fragmentary.

CH II 19 Feria II Letania Maiore G. 180/1-189/301.

Ker 15 CUL Gg. 3. 28 art.65

Ker 309 Bodley 340+342 art.35

Ker 38 CCCC 162 art.5

Ker 21 CUL Ii. 4. 6 art.27, 28

Ker 332 Bodleian Hatton 115 art.7+

Ker 331 Bodleian Hatton 113,114 art.52

Ker 74 Cambridge Jesus 15 art.2

COMMENTS: Ker 332 art.7 has 14 extra unique lines of rhythmic prose, which Pope believes are by Ælfric. Ker 331 art.52 uses an extract from this item in a composite



homily which includes Ælfric material adapted by Wulfstan. Ker 21 arts.27. and 28 use extracts from this item in composite Ælfric/anonymous homilies. Ker 74 art.2 substitutes an excerpt from CH II 26 for part of this item, and adds an anonymous sentence.

CH II 20 Item in Letania Maiore Feria Tertia G. 190/1-198/268.

Ker 15 CUL Gg. 3. 28 art.66  
 Ker 309 Bodley 340+342 art.37  
 Ker 332 Bodleian Hatton 115 art.8  
 Ker 209 BL Cotton Vespasian D. xiv art.37

CH II 21a Alia Visio G. 199/1-203/137.

Ker 15 CUL Gg. 3. 28 art.67  
 Ker 309 Bodley 340+342 art.38  
 Ker 332 Bodleian Hatton 115 art.9  
 Ker 18 CUL Ii. 1. 33 art.43  
 Ker 209 BL Cotton Vespasian D. xiv art.38  
 COMMENTS: Ker 18 art.43 alters the beginning and end of this homily.

CH II 21b Hortatorius Sermo de Efficacia Sanctae Missae  
 G. 204/140-205/180

Ker 15 CUL Gg. 3. 28 art.68  
 Ker 309 Bodley 340+342 art.39  
 Ker 332 Bodleian Hatton 115 art.10  
 Ker 209 BL Cotton Vespasian D. xiv art.39

CH II 22 In Letania Maiore Feria IIII G. 206/1-212/204.

Ker 15 CUL Gg. 3. 28 art.69  
 Ker 309 Bodley 340+342 art.41  
 Ker 57 CCCC 303 art.46  
 Ker 21 CUL Ii. 4. 6 art.30  
 Ker 41 CCCC 178 art.30  
 Ker 74 Cambridge Jesus 15 art.x-  
 COMMENTS: Ker 41 art.30 intersperses this item with additional Ælfric passages. Ker 74 art.x is a fragment.

CH II 23a Dominica III post Pentecosten G. 213/1-217/125.

Ker 15 CUL Gg. 3. 28 art.70  
 Ker 309 Bodley 340+342 art.45  
 Ker 48 CCCC 198 art.36  
 Ker 38 CCCC 162 art.41  
 Ker 57 CCCC 303 art.51  
 Ker 220 BL Cotton Vitellius C. v art.30  
 Ker 86 Cambridge Trinity B. 15. 34 art.20

CH II 23b Alia Narratio de Evangelii Textu G. 217/126-220/198.

Ker 15 CUL Gg. 3. 28 art.71  
 Ker 309 Bodley 340+342 art.46  
 Ker 48 CCCC 198 art.37  
 Ker 38 CCCC 162 art 42  
 Ker 57 CCCC 303 art.52  
 Ker 220 BL Cotton Vitellius C. v art.45+  
 Ker 21 CUL Ii. 4. 6 art.3

COMMENTS: Ker 220 art.45 has additional material by Alfric.

CH II 24a In Festivitate Sancti Petri Apostoli G. 221/1-222/52.

Ker 15 CUL Gg. 3. 28 art.72  
 Ker 309 Bodley 340+342 art.49  
 Ker 48 CCCC 198 art.39  
 Ker 209 BL Cotton Vespasian D. xiv art.13  
 Ker 117 Gloucester Cathedral 35 art.5-

COMMENTS: Ker 117 art.5 is fragmentary.

CH II 24b Item de Sancto Petro G. 222/53-229/253.

Ker 15 CUL Gg. 3. 28 art.72  
 Ker 309 Bodley 340+342 art.49  
 Ker 48 CCCC 198 art.39  
 Ker 310 Bodley 343 art.58

CH II 25 Dominica VIII post Pentecosten G. 230/1-234/144.

Ker 15 CUL Gg. 3. 28 art.73  
 Ker 309 Bodley 340+342 art.54  
 Ker 38 CCCC 162 art.44  
 Ker 310 Bodley 343 art.1  
 Ker 57 CCCC 303 art.54  
 Ker 220 BL Cotton Vitellius C. v art.34  
 Ker 86 Cambridge Trinity B. 15. 34 art.25

CH II 26 Dominica IX post Pentecosten G. 235/1-240/152.

Ker 15 CUL Gg. 3. 28 art.74  
 Ker 309 Bodley 340+342 art.55  
 Ker 38 CCCC 162 art.45  
 Ker 310 Bodley 343 art.2, 82  
 Ker 57 CCCC 303 art.55  
 Ker 220 BL Cotton Vitellius C. v art.35  
 Ker 86 Cambridge Trinity B. 15. 34 art.26  
 Ker 74 Cambridge Jesus 15 art.2

COMMENTS: Ker 310 art.82 uses a passage from this item and adds two anonymous introductory sentences. Ker 74 art.2 has a partially erased excerpt from this item in its copy of CH II 19, and adds an anonymous sentence.

CH II 27a Natale Sancti Iacobi Apostoli G. 241/1-247/181.

Ker 15 CUL Gg. 3. 28 art.75  
 Ker 309 Bodley 340+342 art.57  
 Ker 48 CCCC 198 art.58  
 Ker 310 Bodley 343 art.59  
 Ker 222 BL Cotton Vitellius D. xvii art.2-  
 Ker 18 CUL Ii. 1. 33 art.15

COMMENTS: Ker 48 art.58 has numerous variant readings. Ker 222 art.2 is fragmentary.

CH II 27b Sanctorum Septem Dormientium G. 247/182-248/231.

Ker 15 CUL Gg. 3. 28 art.76  
 Ker 309 Bodley 340+342 art.57  
 Ker 209 BL Cotton Vespasian D. xiv art.12



CH II 28 *Dominica XII post Pentecosten* G. 249/1-254/167.

Ker 15 CUL Gg. 3. 28 art.77  
 Ker 309 Bodley 340+342 art.58  
 Ker 38 CCCC 162 art.47  
 Ker 310 Bodley 343 art.19  
 Ker 57 CCCC 303 art.57  
 Ker 209 BL Cotton Vespasian D. xiv art.15  
 Ker 41 CCCC 178 art.10  
 Ker 220 BL Cotton Vitellius C. v art.44+  
 Ker 74 Cambridge Jesus 15 art.3-

COMMENTS: Ker 209 art.15 omits the last lines of this item and continues. Ker 41 art.10 and 220 art.44 contain an Ælfrician addition; Ker 41 art.10 also has another added passage, probably by Ælfric, and is probably compiled by an anonymous compiler. Ker 74 art.3 is fragmentary.

CH II 29 *Assumptio Sanctae Mariae Virginis* G. 255/1-259/137.

Ker 15 CUL Gg. 3. 28 art.78  
 Ker 310 Bodley 343 art.20  
 Ker 209 BL Cotton Vespasian D. xiv art.17  
 Ker 220 BL Cotton Vitellius C. v art.48  
 Ker 338 Bodleian Junius 121 art.35-

COMMENTS: Ker 220 art.48 replaces the opening sentence of this item with an anonymous sentence. Ker 338 art.35 omits the opening lines of this item.

CH II 30 *Dominica I in Mense Septembri quando legitur Job* G. 260/1-267/240.

Ker 15 CUL Gg. 3. 28 art.79  
 Ker 310 Bodley 343 art.11  
 Ker 18 CUL Ii. 1. 33 art.30  
 Ker 209 BL Cotton Vespasian D. xiv art.23-, 42

COMMENTS: Ker 209 art.23 is a freestanding excerpt of 3 lines from this item.

CH II 31a *Dominica XVI post Pentecosten* G. 268/1-271/107.

Ker 15 CUL Gg. 3. 28 art.80  
 Ker 309 Bodley 340+342 art.59  
 Ker 38 CCCC 162 art.48  
 Ker 310 Bodley 343 art.4  
 Ker 57 CCCC 303 art.58  
 Ker 220 BL Cotton Vitellius C. v art.46

COMMENTS: Ker 220 art.46 has some of the Thorpe text reordered, and includes non-Thorpe passages.

CH II 31b *De Sancta Maria* G. 271/1-10.

Ker 15 CUL Gg. 3. 28 art.81  
 Ker 309 Bodley 340+342 art.60  
 Ker 38 CCCC 162 art.49  
 Ker 57 CCCC 303 art.59

CH II 32a Natale Sancti Mathei Apostoli et Evangelistae  
G. 272/1-274/79.

Ker 15 CUL Gg. 3. 28 art.82  
Ker 222 BL Cotton Vitellius D. xvii art.15  
Ker 209 BL Cotton Vespasian D. xiv art.21  
Ker 63 CCCC 367 art.8-

COMMENTS: Ker 63 art.8 is fragmentary.

CH II 32b Passio Eiusdem G. 275/80-279/225.

Ker 15 CUL Gg. 3. 28 art.82  
Ker 310 Bodley 343 art.17  
Ker 222 BL Cotton Vitellius D. xvii art.15  
Ker 18 CUL Ii. 1. 33 art.16  
Ker 63 CCCC 367 art.8-

COMMENTS: Ker 63 art.8 is fragmentary.

CH II 33 Passio Sanctorum Apostolorum Simonis et Iude  
G. 280/1-287/282.

Ker 15 CUL Gg. 3. 28 art.83  
Ker 222 BL Cotton Vitellius D. xvii art.7-  
Ker 18 CUL Ii. 1. 33 art.17

COMMENTS: Ker 222 art.7 is fragmentary.

CH II 34a Depositio Sancti Martini Episcopi G. 288/1-297/332.

Ker 15 CUL Gg. 3. 28 art.84  
Ker 48 CCCC 198 art.56  
Ker 222 BL Cotton Vitellius D. xvii art.17-

COMMENTS: Ker 222 art.17 is fragmentary.

CH II 34b Excusatio Dictantis G. 297/1-298/17.

Ker 15 CUL Gg. 3. 28 art.85  
Ker 309 Bodley 340+342 art.63  
Ker 48 CCCC 198 art.57

CH II 35 In Natale Unius Apostoli G. 299/1-303/130.

Ker 15 CUL Gg. 3. 28 art.86  
Ker 309 Bodley 340+342 art.64  
Ker 57 CCCC 303 art.35  
Ker 332 Bodleian Hatton 115 art.21, 36  
Ker 69 CCCC 421+419 art.2

COMMENTS: Ker 332 art.36 is a linguistically modified extract from this item.

CH II 36 In Natale Plurimorum Apostolorum G. 304/1-309/143.

Ker 15 CUL Gg. 3. 28 art.87  
Ker 309 Bodley 340+342 art.65  
Ker 57 CCCC 303 art.36  
Ker 222 BL Cotton Vitellius D. xvii art.39-  
Ker 332 Bodleian Hatton 115 art.22  
Ker 45 CCCC 190 art.18

COMMENTS: Ker 222 art.39 is fragmentary.

CH II 37 In Natale Sanctorum Martirum G. 310/1-317/206.

Ker 15 CUL Gg. 3. 28 art.88  
Ker 309 Bodley 340+342 art.66  
Ker 48 CCCC 198 art.49



Ker 310 Bodley 343 art.60  
 Ker 57 CCCC 303 art.37  
 Ker 332 Bodleian Hatton 115 art.23  
 Ker 69 CCCC 421+419 art.3

CH II 38 In Natale Unius Confessoris G. 318/1-326/247.

Ker 15 CUL Gg. 3. 28 art.89  
 Ker 309 Bodley 340+342 art.67  
 Ker 48 CCCC 198 art.59  
 Ker 310 Bodley 343 art.62  
 Ker 57 CCCC 303 art.38  
 Ker 222 BL Cotton Vitellius D. xvii art.40-  
 Ker 332 Bodleian Hatton 115 art.24  
 Ker 69 CCCC 421+419 art.4

COMMENTS: Ker 222 art.40 is fragmentary.

CH II 39 In Natale Sanctorum Virginum G. 327/1-334/219.

Ker 15 CUL Gg. 3. 28 art.90  
 Ker 309 Bodley 340+342 art.68  
 Ker 48 CCCC 198 art.51  
 Ker 310 Bodley 343 art.63  
 Ker 332 Bodleian Hatton 115 art.25+  
 Ker 41 CCCC 178 art.16  
 Ker 69 CCCC 421+419 art.5+  
 Ker 21 CUL Ii. 4. 6 art.28

COMMENTS: Ker 332 art.25 and 69 art.5 contain a rhythmic prose passage not in Thorpe, which is thought to be by Ælfric. Ker 21 art.28 uses an extract from this item in a composite Ælfric/anonymous homily. Ker 41 art.16 is a freestanding excerpt from the middle of this item with an anonymous half-sentence.

CH II 40a In Dedicatione Ecclesiae G. 335/1-345/317.

Ker 15 CUL Gg. 3. 28 art.91  
 Ker 309 Bodley 340+342 art.69  
 Ker 310 Bodley 343 art.73  
 Ker 222 BL Cotton Vitellius D. xvii art.41-  
 Ker 332 Bodleian Hatton 115 art.26  
 Ker 283 Lambeth Palace 489 art.6.

COMMENTS: Ker 222 art.41 is fragmentary. Ker 283 art.6 uses excerpts from this item in an Ælfric/anonymous composite.

CH II 40b Explicit G. 345/1-12.

Ker 15 CUL Gg. 3. 28 art.92.

In Quadragesima. De Penitentia Th.ii 602/1-608/14.

Ker 15 CUL Gg. 3. 28 art.95  
 Ker 48 CCCC 198 art.62  
 Ker 58 CCCC 320 art.a (adapted)  
 Ker 283 Lambeth Palace 489 art.5

COMMENTS: Ker 48 art.62, 58 art.a and 283 art.5 use excerpts from this item in Ælfric/anonymous composites.

### III ANALYSES OF ÆLFRIC/ANONYMOUS TEXTS

Ker item 283. London, Lambeth Palace Library 489, folios 31<sup>r</sup>-38<sup>r</sup> article 5 and folios 38<sup>r</sup>-44<sup>v</sup> article 6; Ker item 144. British Library Cotton Cleopatra B. xiii, folios 44<sup>r</sup>-55<sup>v</sup> article 6

#### Introduction

Manuscripts Lambeth Palace 489 and Cotton Cleopatra B. xiii were copied at the same scriptorium in the third quarter of the eleventh century. Ker proposes and Scragg accepts that they may once have constituted a single volume, and that they were probably copied at Exeter.<sup>1</sup> The scriptorium where the various homilies making up these manuscripts were first brought together is unknown. Lambeth 489 contains both whole Catholic Homilies (articles 1, 2 and 3) and two Ælfric/anonymous homilies which contain excerpts from Catholic Homilies (articles 5 and 6, discussed here). This manuscript also contains two anonymous homilies, articles 7 and 8, which are for the dedication of a church, and one anonymous homily (article 4), edited by Napier in his collection of Wulfstan homilies, which Brotanek suggested could be by Ælfric. This suggestion, however, has been called into question by Jost and Schabram, and in the

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1 Ker, Catalogue of Manuscripts, p.345; Scragg, 'The corpus of vernacular homilies', pp. 255-56.



present discussion I will treat article 4 (Napier LVII) as anonymous.<sup>2</sup> Cotton Cleopatra B. xiii contains two whole Catholic Homilies (articles 2 and 3), Ælfric's 'Pater Noster on englisc' and 'Se læssa creda', one Ælfric/anonymous composite which includes excerpts from a Catholic Homily (article 6, discussed here), and anonymous homilies (articles 1, 4, 5, 8 and 9); and a coronation oath and statement of royal duties (article 7). Clemoes and Godden suggest that the two manuscripts taken together may represent a collection suitable for a bishop.<sup>3</sup>

The three homilies from the two manuscripts which are discussed here are themselves composites. As noted above, we do not know where the anthologies in which they occur were first compiled. We likewise do not know where the three composite homilies were originally composed. Nevertheless, whether or not Exeter was where the two anthologies were compiled or the composite homilies composed, the fact that the manuscripts seem to have been copied there suggests that their contents would appeal to a particular ecclesiastical tradition represented by that centre. This common manuscript provenance, whilst not

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2 See Rudolf Brotanek, Texte und Untersuchungen zur altenglischen Literatur und Kirchengeschichte (Halle, 1913), pp.51-52; Karl Jost, Wulfstanstudien, Schweizer anglistische Arbeiten, 23 (Bern, 1950), p.235; and Hans Schabram, Superbia. Studien zum altenglischen Wortschatz (Munich, 1965), p.101, footnote 29.

3 Peter A.M. Clemoes, 'Ælfric's Catholic Homilies, First Series: The Text and Manuscript Tradition' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Cambridge University, 1956), p.xxxv; Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The Second Series. Text, edited by Malcolm Godden, EETS, ss 5 (London, 1979), p.xlii.

necessarily a key to the intellectual generation of the three Ælfric/anonymous composites, is a clue to their usage.

Lambeth Palace 489 articles 5 and 6 and Cotton Cleopatra B. xiii article 6 all mix excerpts from Ælfric's homilies with passages from anonymous homilies and sections apparently composed by their compilers.<sup>4</sup> Overlaps of substance and theme exist both amongst these homilies and between them and other pieces in the same manuscripts. Lambeth 489 article 5 includes an excerpt (Swan 11.310-16, fol.37<sup>R</sup>) from an anonymous homily, all of which is found as article 1 in Cotton Cleopatra B. xiii. Lambeth 489 article 6 similarly includes excerpts (Swan 11.114-61, fols.40<sup>R</sup>-41<sup>R</sup>; 11.174-251, fols.41<sup>V</sup>-43<sup>R</sup>; 11.251-82, fols. 43<sup>R</sup>-43<sup>V</sup>; 11.285-86, fol.43<sup>V</sup>) from an Ælfric homily printed by Brotanek, which appears as the next item in the manuscript (Lambeth 489 fols.44<sup>V</sup>-51<sup>R</sup>). A compiler-written section in Lambeth 489 article 6 (Swan 11.283-84, fol.43<sup>V</sup>) echoes in theme and wording a passage used in Lambeth 489 article 5 (Swan 11.221-22, fol.35<sup>R</sup>) which is taken from CH I De Dominica Oratione (Thorpe pp.258-74).

As will be shown in the following analyses, despite these overlaps, the three homilies are examples of very different kinds of plundering and reworking of Ælfric which produce three distinct homilies, each of which reveals an individual approach to the process of compilation.

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4 Details of the source homilies used are given at the beginning of the separate homily accounts which follow.



Ker item 283. Lambeth Palace 489, folios 31<sup>r</sup>-38<sup>r</sup> article 5

Text transcribed below, pp.205-23.

This homily has as its rubric Feria III de Dominica Oratione. It is structured around a discussion of the importance of prayer for forgiveness, based on an exposition of the Pater Noster. The Pater Noster is analysed at length in the first half of the homily as an example of how to pray and as a prayer dealing with important issues such as the opposition of good and evil and the importance of forgiveness and of resisting temptation. The homily then focuses on the subject of forgiveness and the prospect of Doomsday. In this context the Pater Noster is presented as essential knowledge for Christians hoping to gain heaven. The audience is instructed on the necessity of baptism and study and on the vices of this world, and is told to think of the future. The theme of prayer is taken up again at the end of the homily, which at this point stresses the importance of intercession and urges its audience to pray to the Virgin Mary.

Article 5 uses most of CH I De Dominica Oratione (Thorpe pp.258-74) but omits some passages, including its last section. Short and long interpolations are made to this core Ælfric homily: two lengthy excerpts from CH I Dominica Prima in Quadragesima (Thorpe pp.166-80) and Ælfric's In

Quadragesima. De Penitentia, included in Thorpe's edition of CH II (Thorpe pp.602-08) as one of the shorter pieces after the main run of homilies in manuscript CUL Gg. 3. 28.<sup>5</sup> Other excerpts are taken from Ælfric's De Natale Domini (CH II, Godden pp.3-11), and from Napier LVII (Napier, pp.291-99), which, as mentioned above, is also found as article 4 in the same manuscript. Article 5 also includes four excerpts of varying length from anonymous and Wulfstan homilies: Napier XL (Napier, pp.182-90), an anonymous homily; Napier XXIV (Napier, pp.119-22), considered by Whitelock to be by Wulfstan;<sup>6</sup> and Bethurum VIIIC and XIII (Bethurum, pp.175-84 and 225-32 respectively), both by Wulfstan.<sup>7</sup> Untraced sections also occur throughout the homily. I shall treat these as the work of the anonymous compiler.

The first seven pages of this fifteen-page homily are taken from Ælfric's De Dominica Oratione (Swan 11.2-192 'se...drifeð'<sup>8</sup> mid-sentence fols.31<sup>r</sup>-34<sup>v</sup>; CH I, Thorpe p.258, 1.7 - p.268, 1.26), with the exception of four passages from the Ælfric homily, which are omitted: CH I, Thorpe p.258, 1.18 - p.260, 1.19, on the relationship of

5 Not included in Godden's edition of CH II, which only prints the Second Series text, and not the other items in CUL Gg. 3. 28.

6 Sermo Lupi ad Anglos, edited by Dorothy Whitelock (London, 1939; revised Exeter, 1976), p.20. The identification is not made in the first edition.

7 The Homilies of Wulfstan, edited by Dorothy Bethurum (Oxford, 1957).

8 For the purposes of my transcriptions I do not reproduce capitalisation or punctuation from composite homilies or their sources (see pp.198-99). I maintain this practice, therefore, when quoting from passages in these homily discussions.



humans to God, following Swan 1.17, fol.31<sup>r</sup> 'heofenum'; Thorpe p.262, ll.5-14, on which direction to face when praying, following Swan 1.48, fol.31<sup>v</sup> 'fotsceamul'; Thorpe p.264, ll.6-15, translating and explaining the scriptural quotation 'cum tradiderit regnum patri suo', following Swan 1.86, fol.32<sup>v</sup> 'geearniað'; Thorpe p.266, l.31 - p.268, l.1, on the penalties for lack of forgiveness, following Swan 1.157, fol.34<sup>r</sup> 'synna'. The Ælfric text selected by the compiler up to this point covers Jesus' teaching the Apostles to pray; everybody's equality before God; a division of the Pater Noster into seven prayers and the outlines of the first six of these, including the importance of obedience and spiritual sustenance. Some of the passages from the Ælfric homily which are omitted by the compiler of article 5 represent expansions on these points. The compiler then interpolates a five-line extract from Dominica Prima in Quadragesima (Swan ll.192-205 'ealle...geworhte' mid-sentence fol.34<sup>v</sup>; CH I, Thorpe p.172, ll.15-21,) on the alignment of good people with God and bad with the devil. The passage is altered by the compiler, who interrupts the Ælfric text (Swan ll.199-203 'oððe...synna' mid-sentence fols.34<sup>v</sup>-35<sup>r</sup>; at Thorpe p.172, l.120) by omitting some intensifying descriptions and adding a list of crimes. It is difficult to be sure whether the compiler has access to and is here working directly from a written copy of the Ælfric text or is drawing upon the material from memory and expanding it.

Article 5 then returns to Ælfric's De Dominica Oratione, resuming just after the point at which it left off. Having omitted a section on God's attitude to the good and the evil and the necessity for Christians of suffering (CH I, Thorpe p.268, l.26 - p.270, l.6), it now takes up the description of the seventh prayer of the Pater Noster (Swan ll.205-250 'ðæt...towerdan' fols.35<sup>r</sup>-35<sup>v</sup>; Thorpe p.270, l.7 - p.272, l.5). The Lord's Prayer is described as deliverance from evil, the division of the different prayers by their role in this life or the next is explained, and the audience is reminded of the importance of prayer for forgiveness. The next break from the core homily is for an excerpt from De Penitentia (Swan ll.250-65 'ne...endeleas' fols.35<sup>v</sup>-36<sup>r</sup>; CH II, Thorpe p.602, l.30 - p.604, l.6). These lines focus on the importance of confession on earth, and provide a thematic link with the mention of forgiveness in the preceding section taken from De Dominica Oratione. The compiler substitutes a new half-sentence, 'andette his synna 7 bete swa his scrift him tæce' for Ælfric's 'anum lareowe his gyltas cyðe' (Swan ll.251-52 'andette...tæce' fol.36<sup>r</sup>; CH I, Thorpe p.602, ll.30-31). The text of De Dominica Oratione then continues with an extension of the homily's themes into the heavenly life and a restatement of the importance of the Pater Noster (Swan ll.265-90 'se...mannum' mid-sentence fols.36<sup>r</sup>-36<sup>v</sup>; CH I, Thorpe p.272, ll.5-21). The end of De Dominica Oratione (CH I, Thorpe p.272, l.21 - p.274, l.16), which discusses Christian unity through the metaphor of the human body, is omitted.



After a compiler-written sentence on the need for Christians to know the Pater Noster and Creed (Swan 11.290-93 'ðī...credan' fol.36<sup>V</sup>), the homily moves on to the theme of baptism, for which it uses the first of its non-Ælfric extracts. This piece, from a Wulfstan homily on baptism (Swan 11.293-301 'for...mæge' fols.36v-37r; Bethurum VIIIc, p.183, 11.148-53 mid-sentence) presents the theme of baptism as another vital facet of Christian practice and growth. An excerpt on the perils and joys of Doomsday from another Wulfstan homily (Swan 11.302-10 'hwanon...eala' mid-sentence fol.37<sup>R</sup>; Bethurum XIII, p.225, 1.7 - p.226, 1.12) follows. The next short extract, from an anonymous homily (Swan 11.310-16 'hu...ende' mid-sentence fol.37<sup>R</sup>; Napier XL, p.189, 11.3-7), stresses the transience and misery of this life, with striking use of rhythm and alliteration. (A version of this Napier homily also appears as article 1 of Cleopatra B. xiii, see above, p.49.) Another short extract follows in the composite homily, taken from the end of another homily printed by Napier and assigned to Wulfstan by Whitelock, as noted on p.52 above (Swan 11.317-26 'uton...scylon' fols.37<sup>R</sup>-37<sup>V</sup>; Napier XXIV, p.122, 11.4-9). With small omissions and one alteration by the compiler, this continues the Last Days/Judgement theme with an exhortation to do what we must in preparation for the end of the world. There follows a slightly longer section from another anonymous homily printed by Napier (Swan 11.326-39 'uton...wyle' fol.37<sup>V</sup>; Napier LVII, p.299, 11.16-26). This stresses the importance of true belief and prayer to God and to Mary as intercessor.

The compiler then turns to Ælfric's CH II homily De Natale Domini. From this is taken an extract (Swan 11.339-54 'heo...on' mid-sentence fols.37<sup>V</sup>-38<sup>R</sup>; Godden p.11, 11.293-303) which is used to pick up on the mention of Mary in the immediately preceding passage from Napier LVII. This explains Mary's role as queen of heaven, contrasting her with Eve and reiterating the preceding extract's instruction to pray to Mary. For the last two words of De Natale Domini, 'ecnyse amen', the compiler substitutes a one-line formulaic ending (Swan 11.354-55 'ealra worulda woruld abutan ende amen' fol.38<sup>R</sup>).

Some of the extracts used by the compiler of article 5 and discussed above do not fit with ease into the homily's structure. The extract from CH I Dominica Prima in Quadragesima, which describes all creation except the wicked serving God, contributes little to the rhetoric or themes of the homily. The section of CH I De Dominica Oratione omitted by the compiler at this point addresses the same theme with greater force. Similarly, the discussion of baptism and learning in the excerpt from Bethurum VIIIC adds no especially strong points to the homily's emphasis on the importance of repentance and the evils of this world.<sup>9</sup>

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9 Interestingly, this excerpt refers to baptism 'æt bisceopes handan' (Swan 1.296 fol.36<sup>V</sup>). Ælfric's Pastoral Letters make it clear that baptism was not reserved to bishops, as it had been in the early church. See Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics, edited by Bernhard Fehr, BaP, 9 (Hamburg, 1914), p.11, paragraph 43, which lists the differences in function between a priest and a bishop, and does not include baptism; p.50, paragraph 122, in conjunction with pp.50-51, paragraph 129 (both



Nevertheless, a rationale is often identifiable for the choice of the source extracts in this homily. The reference to heaven in CH I De Dominica Oratione is used by the compiler to lead into the subject of Doomsday in juxtaposition with the excerpt from Ælfric's CH II De Penitentia. This strengthens the homily's focus on repentance and forgiveness. The compiler expands these themes by using the passages from Napier XL and XXIV, which emphasise the inferiority of this world and the need to think and act for the future, and which, with their emotional style, contrast with Ælfric's rational approach to such subjects. The final two source extracts, from Napier LVII and CH II De Natale Domini, provide a thematic frame for the homily in their presentation of prayer as an expression of true belief and the way to heaven. The homily thus begins and ends on the theme of prayer.

In this sometimes confusing but mostly thematically explicable chain of extracts, we see displayed a wide-

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in Latin), which refer to a deacon and a bishop respectively; and p.109, paragraph 107, which states that even a deacon can baptise, in conjunction with p.110, paragraph 115, which defines the bishop's extra duties, and does not include baptism (both in Old English). For further discussion of the right of priests as well as bishops to baptize, see Richard Morris, 'Baptismal Places: 600-800' in People and Places in Northern Europe 500-1600: Essays in Honour of Peter Hayes Sawyer, edited by Ian Wood and Niels Lund (Woodbridge, 1991), pp.15-24, especially p.15 note 4; and Sarah Foot, '"By water in the spirit": The administration of baptism in early Anglo-Saxon England', in Pastoral Care Before the Parish, edited by John Blair and Richard Sharpe (Leicester, 1992), pp.171-92 (p.180). The retention of the wording from Bethurum VIIIC, which is itself a bishop's text, in article 5 thus adds weight to the suggestion that Lambeth 489 and Cotton Cleopatra B. xiii were compiled for a bishop; see above, p.48.

ranging knowledge of Ælfric's writings and those of other homilists and an equal willingness to use them all, perhaps by a compiler who had used the homilies extensively and so was well-equipped to move freely amongst them, motivated sometimes, it would seem, by the kind of theme triggers discussed. The homily is based on an exposition of the Pater Noster, which it augments by repeatedly turning to the basic elements of Christian practice: forgiveness, prayer, and thought for the future and for Doomsday, all subjects on which the anonymous homiletic tradition provides a rich body of writings. The detailed systematic explanations of the Pater Noster in CH I De Dominica Oratione are interspersed in article 5 with what amounts to a listing of ways to behave on earth in order to gain access to heaven. Godden, in his discussion of Old English penitential homilies, states that article 5's compiler 'has used various penitential commonplaces to create a new penitential homily out of Ælfric's original work of instruction and explanation'.<sup>10</sup> The compiler of article 5 thus produces a more all-purpose homily than the main source-text. The composite homily, at the cost of some of Ælfric's didactic thrust and subtleties of explanation, is a lively and thorough treatment of common themes.

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10 Godden, 'An Old English penitential motif', ASE, 2 (1973), 219-39 (p.229).



Ker item 283. Lambeth Palace 489, folios 38<sup>r</sup>-44<sup>v</sup> article 6.

Text transcribed below, pp.224-41.

The liturgical attribution of this homily is In Dedicacione Aecclesiae. The themes of the importance of the church and of respect for it underlie the entire homily. The first third of the homily introduces the subject of the church by reference to the temple of Jerusalem. David and Solomon are described as just rulers, and Solomon's favour with God and his building of the Temple are related. After a statement that the spiritual meaning of this narrative will be explained and that church festivals will be discussed, the homily begins an analysis of the significance of baptism. Respectful behaviour in church is next outlined and good and bad actions are listed. Baptism is mentioned again at this point as an imperative for children and the responsibility of adults. The homily then introduces the Pater Noster as an expression of belief and a prayer for this life and the next, and stresses its importance and that of the Creed. More details of the respect that should be shown towards the church are given, and the homily ends on the theme of how to behave on earth, warning its audience of the penalty for disobeying God's laws, urging them to support God's servants and asking God to cleanse them and admit them to heaven.

Article 6 is framed with the beginning and end of CH II In Dedicacione Aecclesiae (Godden, pp.335-45). The lengthy

extracts from this homily have only minor alterations of spelling and occasionally of word order, and one compiler-written insertion. Several excerpts from another Ælfric homily (printed by Brotanek, pp.15-27)<sup>11</sup> are used. The whole of the Brotanek homily is found on fols.44<sup>V</sup>-51<sup>R</sup> in the same manuscript (article 7). Article 6 also includes excerpts from two other Ælfric homilies: LS De Oratione Moysi (Skeat I, pp.282-306), a homily for mid-Lent Sunday from which one passage is used, and the LS story of Absalon and Acitofel (Skeat I, pp.424-30), which stands in Skeat's edition, as in Cotton Julius E. vii, as the Item alia to the passio sancti Albani martyris.<sup>12</sup> One passage is taken from the Absalon and Acitofel story. Many of these excerpts are linked in article 6 by compiler-written phrases or sentences, which on one occasion summarise the passage just given and indicate the content of the one to come.

Article 6 uses fewer and longer extracts than article 5 to produce a homily framed by one CH piece. The opening extract copied from this homily, CH II In Dedicacione Ecclesiae (Swan 11.2-107 'mine...goda' fols.38<sup>R</sup>-40<sup>R</sup>; Godden p.335, 1.1 - p.337, 1.73), with only minor alterations, discusses the Temple and the story of Solomon. Just before its end, however, the CH extract is interrupted by the compiler, who announces, in a phrase very reminiscent of Ælfric in its vocabulary and sentiment, that the audience has now heard about the Old Law's version, and that it is

11 In Texte und Untersuchungen.

12 Skeat's subdivisions reflect those of the Julius manuscript.



hard for the laity to understand (Swan ll.108-11 'nu...pan' mid-sentence fol.40<sup>r</sup>). The final line of the CH extract follows immediately (Swan ll.111-12 'ðeos... getacnunge' fol.40<sup>r</sup>), explaining, in a phrase which perhaps characterises Ælfric more than any other, that the story's spiritual significance leads to difficulties in following it. Another anonymous sentence follows (Swan ll.112-14 fol.40<sup>r</sup> 'nu...freolse'), leading into a long extract from a different Ælfric homily (Swan ll.114-61 'for...forspilð' mid-sentence fols.40<sup>r</sup>-41<sup>r</sup>; Brotanek p.15, l.16 - p.17, l.18), which begins with the importance of asking for forgiveness and explains the significance of baptism as a second birth and way to eternal life. The reference to the Temple drawn earlier from Ælfric's CH II In Dedicatione Ecclesiae is now echoed in the excerpt from the Brotanek homily, which gives a quotation in Latin and translation from Paul on the Temple of God and the respect that it should be shown (Swan ll.155-56 'we... gewemman' mid-sentence fol.41<sup>r</sup>). The section of Ælfric's CH II In Dedicatione Ecclesiae omitted by the compiler of article 6 contains an identical reference to Paul (CH II, Godden p.338, ll.99-101). The next section of article 6 is taken from De Oratione Moysi (Swan ll.162-74 'nu...sylfum' fols.41<sup>r</sup>-41<sup>v</sup>; Skeat p.288, ll.75-86), which continues the discussion of the importance of the Temple, giving instructions not to eat or drink in church or defile the building. The homily then returns to a slightly later portion of the Brotanek homily (Swan ll.174-251 '7... luf'i'að' fols.41<sup>v</sup>-43<sup>r</sup>; Brotanek p.19, l.3 - p.21, l.18)

and, with a few small additions by the compiler, stresses the importance of good deeds, cleanness of heart and soul, moderation and avoidance of sin. The following lines of the Brotanek homily (Brotanek p.21, l.18 - p.24, l.12) are omitted, and the compiler continues from the homily at a later point (Swan ll.251-82 'nis...pam' mid-sentence fols.43<sup>r</sup>-43<sup>v</sup>; Brotanek p.24, l.12 - p.25, l.15) with a return to the theme of baptism, a statement that failure to have children baptised is a deadly sin, and a description of the Pater Noster as an expression of belief. The compiler follows this with a short section (Swan ll.283-84 'pater...and' mid-sentence fol.43<sup>v</sup>), thematically similar to one of the CH I De Dominica Oratione excerpts in article 5 of this manuscript, on the Pater Noster as a prayer for this life and the next. One more line from the Brotanek homily follows, on the importance of the Creed (Swan ll.285-86 'on...andettan' mid-sentence fol.43<sup>v</sup>; Brotanek p.25, l.15), then the compiler returns to CH II In Dedicatione Ecclesiae for a warning of the penalties for taking money for the church (Swan ll.286-93 'wite...gebete' mid-sentence fol.43<sup>v</sup>; Godden p.344, ll.293-98). The next source extract in article 6 is another passage from the LS, this time from the Absalon and Acitofel story. The extract used (Swan ll.294-300 'syllað ...deope' mid-sentence fols.43<sup>v</sup>-44<sup>r</sup>; Skeat p.430, ll.248-54) reinforces article 6's references to respect for the church. Finally, the compiler returns to CH II In Dedicatione Ecclesiae to give the end of this homily (Swan ll.301-29 'ne...amen' mid-sentence fols.44<sup>r</sup>-44<sup>v</sup>; Godden p.344, l.298 - p.345, l.317), with its explanation



that lay people should not have spiritual power over God's people; a reminder that the church has been discussed through the Old and New Law; and a final prayer, echoing the earlier reference (Swan 1.196 'ure sawle aclænsian' fol.42<sup>r</sup>) to the cleansing of the soul (see above, p.61).

Article 6 concentrates on thematic and didactic messages. It draws on four of Ælfric's homilies, one of which is copied entire as the immediately following article in Lambeth 489. As noted above, the compiler-written section (Swan 11.283-85 fol.43<sup>v</sup>) is reminiscent of the treatment of the Pater Noster in CH I De Dominica Oratione used by the compiler of article 5. In article 6 the moulding of source material to fit the homily's purpose is achieved by the selection and juxtaposition of extracts rather than by overt alterations by the compiler. The few compiler-written sections in the homily serve as links and strengtheners in this skilfully worked chain of source extracts. The principal text provides a good example of this adaptive selection: the central section of Ælfric's In Dedicacione Ecclesie discusses Peter and Paul on temples, Sheba and Solomon and deadly sins. This is omitted in article 6, which thus narrows its range, so that it centres on and expands themes of physical and spiritual respect for the church, and the expression of belief in prayer. The central image of the church is thoroughly treated from a historical perspective by means of a description of the sacrament of baptism and extensive instructions on correct attitudes and behaviour. The theme of respect is present

throughout the homily and becomes its focus at the end as the audience is instructed to follow Christian law and to support its implementation. The diverse Ælfric excerpts used all contribute to the thematic and didactic progress of this homily. The result is a repeated reinforcement of message with no obviously weak or irrelevant sections.

Ker item 144. Cotton Cleopatra B. xiii, folios 44r-55v  
article 6.

Text transcribed below, pp.242-65. Also edited by A.M. Luiselli Fadda, Nuove Omelie Anglosassoni della Rinascenza Benedettina (Florence, 1977), introduction pp.54-69, text and Italian translation pp.70-99.<sup>13</sup>

This homily has as its rubric Dominica ante Rogationum. It centres upon the story of Jonah, which begins approximately half way through the homily and takes up over one-third of the text. Article 6 opens with an account of creation and the fall of Lucifer and Adam and Eve. The audience is urged to turn to God and avoid evil, and the homily encourages the observance of the customs of Rogationtide. These customs are then described, and the importance of prayer and fasting is stressed. The Jonah story is begun at this point, as an example of the threat of

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13 Although this printed edition of the text exists, I re-edit it here to demonstrate its relationship to the traditions represented by the Ælfric and anonymous texts described below, which is not shown in Fadda's edition.



the devil and the power of fasting. After relating Jonah's journey in the whale, the homily describes his teaching in Nineveh, the inhabitants fasting and God's forgiveness. The story of the fast of the people of Vienne, led by their bishop Mamertus, is introduced as a parallel case and as the first observance of Rogationtide, and this reinforces the idea of fasting as penance. Rogationtide is described as a time to pray for heaven, and the homily thus ends with a focus on its central theme.

The main source for this homily is a version of the Jonah story very close indeed to that preserved (without rubric) in Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare CXVII. fols.106<sup>V</sup>-109<sup>V</sup>, homily XIX.<sup>14</sup> Article 6 also makes use of Ælfric's version of the same story from CH I In Letania Maiore (CH I, Thorpe, pp.244-58).<sup>15</sup> Paul Szarmach discusses article 6 in an article on three Old English versions of the Jonah story,<sup>16</sup> where he examines the relationship between versions of the Jonah story in the Vercelli Book, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 162 and Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 303.<sup>17</sup> These represent variant but close

14 Edited by D.G. Scragg, The Vercelli Homilies and Related Texts, EETS, os 300 (Oxford, 1992), pp.315-28.

15 In his edition of Vercelli XIX, Scragg collates with the text of CH I In Letania Maiore edited by Clemons in his unpublished Ph.D thesis, 'Ælfric's Catholic Homilies, First Series: The Text and Manuscript Tradition' (Cambridge, 1956). In my discussion of article 6 however, as throughout the present study, I refer to Thorpe's text of CH I, as this is the only complete published edition.

16 Paul E. Szarmach, 'Three versions of the Jonah story: an investigation of narrative technique in Old English homilies', ASE, 1 (1972), 183-92.

16 The CCC 162 homily (article 35) is edited and discussed by Joyce Bazire and James E. Cross, Eleven Old English

versions of the same text and Szarmach uses the Vercelli homily as the closest version for comparison with Cleopatra B. xiii article 6. In discussing the narrative structure of article 6, In Letania Maiore and Vercelli homily XIX, I too will use the Vercelli homily as representative of the Vercelli/CCCC 162/CCCC 303 group, and will quote from Scragg's edition of it.<sup>18</sup>

The opening eight and a half pages of article 6 are taken up with a continuous extract which corresponds to the opening of the Vercelli version (Swan ll.2-212 'men... hæbbe' fols.44<sup>r</sup>-49<sup>v</sup>; Scragg p.315, l.1 - p.320, l.94). The text deals with creation, the Trinity, the fall of the angels and Lucifer's condemnation to hell, then moves on to describe the creation of Adam and Eve, their temptation, fall and condemnation to hell. Still following the text as in the Vercelli manuscript, the thematic message of the narrative is used to urge the homily's audience to turn to God and avoid evil. The audience is urged to observe the customs of Rogationtide: cleanness of body and soul, good works and fasting. The ever-present threat of the devil is stressed to heighten the appeal to turn to the Church and seek forgiveness. The things people may not do during Rogationtide are listed, and the audience is urged to turn to Christ.

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Rogationtide Homilies (Toronto, 1982), homily 1, pp.3-24. The recension in CCCC 303 (article 43) is unedited.  
 18 In my discussion of these homilies, I am not attempting to establish textual relationships, but rather the treatment of ideas. Scragg's edition is useful for comparison because it is accessible and a good representative of the group.



Throughout this opening section, there are persistent minor variations from the text of Vercelli. Single words or short phrases are added or omitted, and word order differs (for example: Swan ll.20-21 'hy þry syndon an ece god' fol.44<sup>V</sup>, corresponding to Scragg p.315, l.9 'hie þry an god syndon'; Scragg p.315, ll.10-11 '7 ealle þa þe ungesewene syndon', omitted at Swan l.23 fol.44<sup>V</sup>; Swan ll.134-35 'gehalgod for his mæran uppstige to heofenan' fol.47<sup>V</sup>, corresponding to Scragg p.318, ll.60-61 'for his mæran upstige of eorðan to heofonum gehalgod'). Differences of this order could indicate that the compiler of article 6 is altering the Vercelli text for effect, or that the exemplar used does not correspond exactly to the Vercelli text. As mentioned above, the Vercelli text is here being referred to for convenience, as the closest surviving representative version.

After this section the compiler gives a short exhortation to pray at this time, taken from Ælfric's CH I In Letania Maiore (Swan ll.212-18 'we...geornfulnysse' fol.49<sup>V</sup> mid-sentence; Thorpe p.246, ll.27-29). In article 6 this is lengthened with details of prayer (Swan ll.218-21 'biddan...herian' mid-sentence fol.49<sup>V</sup>). The anonymous compiler omits from Ælfric's homily the immediately preceding stories of the troubled people of Vienne and their bishop Mamertus, and of the troubled people of Nineveh, whose salvation is linked by Ælfric with the themes of fasting and Rogationtide. However the compiler elaborates

a little on the exhortation to pray taken from Ælfric. This is followed by comments on the importance of fasting, warning against the devil. At this point the Jonah story begins, following what is described as being told 'on halgum bocum' (Swan 1.248 fol.50<sup>V</sup>). From the comments on fasting, up to and including the description of Jonah's resistance to go on the mission to Nineveh, the Cleopatra homily is very close to the Vercelli version (Swan 11.222-80 'ælcum...sæ' mid-sentence fols.49<sup>V</sup>-51<sup>R</sup>; Scragg p.320, 1.95 - p.322, 1.121), although there are consistent minor differences of the same order as those described above. However, at the point where Jonah has boarded the ship and the storm has begun, by comparison with the narrative in the Vercelli version, article 6 is augmented with the first of a series of very short extracts from Ælfric's narrative in CH I In Letania Maiore. This first augmentation (Swan 11.280-81 'swa...lifes' mid-sentence fol.51<sup>R</sup>; CH I Thorpe p.246, 1.1) provides the realistic detail that the storm was so fierce that the sailors feared for their lives. The compiler then describes the sailors calling Jonah, returning to the Vercelli narrative for this (Swan 11.282-97 'þ...7' mid-sentence fols.51<sup>R</sup>-51<sup>V</sup>; Scragg p.322, 11.121-27). The account in indirect speech of Jonah's reply is taken from Ælfric (Swan 11.297-303 'axodon...fleon' mid-sentence fol.51<sup>V</sup>; Thorpe p.246, 11.5-8). Jonah's realisation that he cannot escape corresponds to one altered sentence from the Vercelli version (Swan 11.303-05 'ac...mihte' fols.51<sup>V</sup>-52<sup>R</sup>; Scragg p.322, 11.128-19). Next, Jonah's suggestion that the sailors throw him overboard is given in direct speech taken



from Ælfric (Swan 11.305-09 'hi...dydon' fol.52<sup>r</sup>; Thorpe p.246, 11.8-10). A short phrase (Swan 11.309-10 '7 him fore gebædon' fol.52<sup>r</sup> mid-sentence) almost identical with Vercelli (Scragg p.322, 1.129 '7 hie him fore gebædon') punctuates the Ælfric text in article 6, which continues with the whale's arrival and Jonah being swallowed up (Swan 11.310-15 '7...witegan' fol.52<sup>r</sup>; Thorpe p.246, 11.10-13). The fact that Jonah spent three days and nights inside the whale is mentioned in a short excerpt corresponding to the Vercelli version (Swan 11.315-17 '7...niht' mid-sentence fol.52<sup>r</sup>; Scragg p.322, 1.130) before a slightly longer description of his expulsion from the whale and God's instructions to him to go to Nineveh, taken from Ælfric (Swan 11.317-28 '7...noldon' mid-sentence fols.52<sup>r</sup>-52<sup>v</sup>; Thorpe p.246, 11.13-18). Although this section is closer to Ælfric, part of it also reads like a shortened excerpt from the Vercelli version (Swan 11.317-20 'to þam...staðe' mid-sentence fol.52<sup>r</sup>; Scragg p.322, 1.130 - p.323, 1.133), and the final phrase of this part is present in the Vercelli version but not in Ælfric (Swan 1.320 'ofer þære sæ staðe' fol.52<sup>r</sup>). Jonah's journey to Nineveh and his instructions to its inhabitants to fast are then related, in an account very close to the Vercelli version (Swan 11.328-41 '7...ymbcrydde' mid-sentence fol.52<sup>v</sup>; Scragg p.323, 11.133-38). The description of Jonah's teaching is then furthered in an excerpt from Ælfric (Swan 11.341-44 'to...sceolde' mid-sentence fols.52<sup>v</sup>-53<sup>r</sup>; Thorpe p.246, 11.19-20). The account of his address is extended with an excerpt corresponding to the Vercelli version (Swan 11.344-47

'7...menn' mid-sentence fol.53<sup>r</sup>; Scragg p.323, ll.138-40). An addition to the description of Jonah's addressees is made from Ælfric; 'ge þa sucendan cild' (Swan ll.347-48 'ge...cild' mid-sentence fol.53<sup>r</sup>; Thorpe p.246, l.21), then after a short compiler-written phrase (Swan l.348 'ge...furðon' mid-sentence fol.53<sup>r</sup>) the detail that his instructions were for a three day fast for God's forgiveness is noted in an excerpt very close to the Vercelli version (Swan ll.349-53 'ealle...forgeaf' fol.53<sup>r</sup> mid-sentence; Scragg p.323, ll.140-42). Next, the fact that forgiveness would come through the fast is reiterated in a brief Ælfric excerpt (Swan ll.353-54 'purh...fæsten' mid-sentence fol.53<sup>r</sup>; Thorpe p.246, ll.23-24). A lengthy description of the inhabitants turning to God and gaining forgiveness follows, and the story of Bishop Mamertus is introduced as a parallel case. This is all very close to the Vercelli version, (Swan ll.354-85 '7... com' mid-sentence fols.53<sup>r</sup>-54<sup>r</sup>; Scragg p.323, l.142 - p.324, l.156). The opening of the Mamertus story, giving an account of the problems in Vienne (following Vercelli), is followed by the compiler-written 'eac wearð on þære ylcan byrig' (Swan ll.385-86 f.54<sup>r</sup>), and is augmented with a short extract from the opening of the Ælfric homily, which was previously omitted by the compiler (Swan ll.386-93 'mycel...mamertus' mid-sentence fol.54<sup>r</sup>; CH I, Thorpe p.244, ll.16-19).<sup>19</sup> The effect of this delay in using Ælfric's treatment of the Mamertus story is to produce a homily with weaker structural

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19 Article 6's first use of CH I In Letania Maiore begins a little way into the homily (Swan ll.212-18 fol.49<sup>v</sup>).



links than his In Letania Maiore. This extract ends with a half-sentence which occurs in both the Vercelli and Ælfric versions (Swan ll.392-93 'þa bæd se biscop mamertus' mid-sentence fol.54<sup>R</sup>; Scragg p.324, ll.156-57; Thorpe p.244, l.19); the compiler of article 6 then goes on to describe the people's fast, salvation and subsequent observance of the Rogation days, almsgiving and good deeds, in an excerpt corresponding to the Vercelli version (Swan ll.392-412 'þa ... afyrrednysse' fols.54<sup>R</sup>-54<sup>V</sup>; Scragg p.324, l.156 - p.325, l.164). More details of the fast are then given in a short extract, again from the opening section of Ælfric (Swan ll.412-16 '7... geleaffulre' mid-sentence fol.54<sup>V</sup>; Thorpe p.244, ll.20-21). The compiler adds the word 'gesomnunge' to end this sentence. The significance of the Rogation days is next reiterated in an extract corresponding to the Vercelli version (Swan ll.417-20 'nu...gehealdene' fols.54<sup>V</sup>-55<sup>R</sup>; Scragg p.325, ll.165-66). Their Latin name is given and translated, and the audience is instructed to pray, in an Ælfric excerpt (Swan ll.420-27 'synd...forgyfennysse' mid-sentence fol.55<sup>R</sup>; Thorpe p.244, ll.10-13). Finally, the theme of prayer is expanded on as a way to heaven and its joys, in an excerpt which corresponds very closely to the end of the Vercelli version (Swan ll.427-50 'ne...amen' fols.55<sup>R</sup>-55<sup>V</sup>; Scragg p.325, l.167 - p.326, l.177), with a compiler-written half sentence, 'swa he us myldera bið', in the middle (Swan ll.435-36 mid-sentence fol.55<sup>R</sup>).

Throughout this flitting back and forth between the two texts, Cleopatra B. xiii. article 6 shows the addition and

substitution of odd words, as discussed above, and provides linking sentences or cements Ælfric and Vercelli extracts by beginning or ending them in mid-sentence. The narrative order of the Vercelli homily is observed throughout, whereas that of the Ælfric homily is not. Instead of taking the main narrative descriptions of Jonah and his exploits from the Ælfric homily, the compiler has augmented the narrative as represented by the Vercelli text with a few Ælfric passages which are less central to the narrative, for example instructions on prayer and its results, in order to expand the homily's thematic and doctrinal concentration on Rogationtide observances and general Christian duties. Ælfric's account of the Jonah story has been used for its dramatic direct speech and heightened descriptions. The compiler of Cleopatra B. xiii article 6 has rejected Ælfric's version of the start of the Jonah story and all of the last two-thirds of CH I In Letania Maiore, which interpret the day's gospel (Luke 11. 5-13) and elaborate on the virtues of faith, hope and love, the significance of the Trinity, the importance of doing good and the roles of rich and poor in the quest for salvation. Szarmach shows in his analysis of this homily that the sections from Ælfric added to the Vercelli version 'strengthen the narrative effect'.<sup>20</sup> Much of the didactic explanation which Ælfric provides after telling the Jonah story, and the careful logical sequence with which he links the various stages of his homily, are omitted in article 6. The Cleopatra homily is more dramatic than the Vercelli version, adds detail to its Jonah story

20 Szarmach, 'Three versions of the Jonah story', p.191.



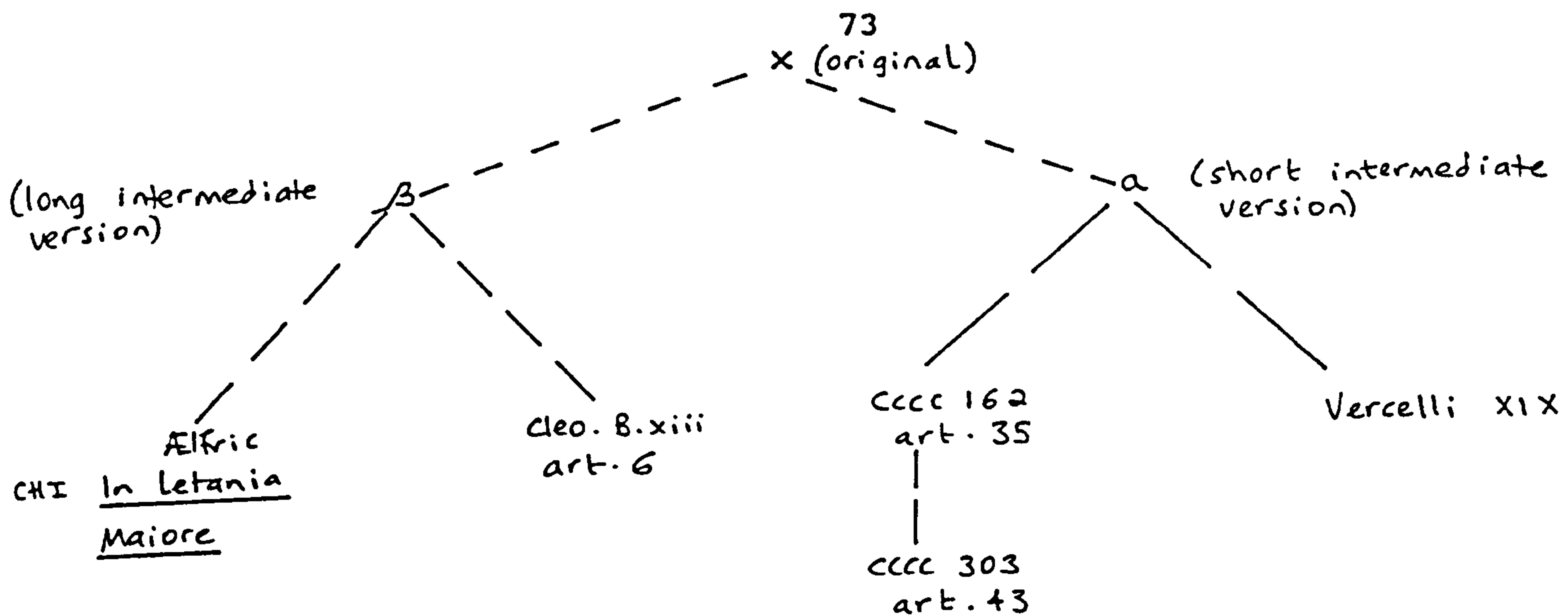
with Ælfric excerpts, and places it in the context of Rogationtide by using the stories of Jonah and of Mamertus as exempla on the power of prayer and fasting. Manifest here is extensive and creative knowledge and manipulation of the two homilies. The Ælfric homily's account of the Jonah story has been made to tally with the other version used, represented in this discussion by the Vercelli text. This very skilful working together and juxtapositioning of the texts raise the possibility of the compiler knowing the Ælfric homily by heart, and thus being able to adapt it freely for use in the different context of article 6.

As noted above, Cotton Cleopatra B. xiii article 6 was earlier edited by A.M. Luiselli Fadda, and in her introduction she discusses at length the possible manuscript relationship between the versions of the homily in Ælfric's In Letania Maggiore, Cleopatra B. xiii, CCC 162, CCC 303 and Vercelli.<sup>21</sup> For ease of reference, I reproduce her stemma:<sup>22</sup>

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21 Nuove Omelie Anglosassoni della Rinascenza Benedettina, edited by A.M. Luiselli Fadda (Florence, 1977), introduction pp.54-69, text and Italian translation pp.70-79.

22 Reproduced from Fadda, Nuove Omelie Anglosassoni, p.66. For the sake of clarity, in my reproduction I have identified texts in the stemma rather than use Fadda's sigla.



As can be seen from her stemma, from her analysis of the correspondences and variations among these manuscripts, Fadda posits a lost original for all of the above texts: Vercelli homily XIX, CCCC 162 article 35, CCCC 303 article 43, Cleopatra B. xiii article 6 and CH I In Letania Maggiore. Fadda proposes that the texts in the Vercelli manuscript and in CCCC 162 derive independently from a lost intermediate, and that the homily in CCCC 303 derives from that in CCCC 162. Ælfric's In Letania Maggiore and Cotton Cleopatra B. xiii article 6 are seen as representatives of another branch, each deriving independently from another lost intermediate.

Despite her close work with the manuscripts, Fadda's implication that the compiler of Cleopatra B. xiii article 6 made no direct use of the tradition represented by the Vercelli homily seems problematic. Fadda's argument is essentially a discussion of manuscript and textual relationships, and my study of the homilies is concerned with their narrative content rather than manuscript relationships, but the degree of correspondence between Cotton Cleopatra B. xiii article 6 and the 'Vercelli



tradition' in terms of ordering and narrative content strongly indicates that the compiler of article 6 had access at least to a version of the story very close to that used in Vercelli, CCCC 162 or CCCC 303. It is of course theoretically possible that the anonymous compiler had access to a source also adapted by Ælfric, but the proposal that Ælfric chose to adapt an English source already in circulation contradicts the conclusions of much recent work on his selection of source-material and on his attitude to his work and to the anonymous tradition. On the level of subject-matter, article 6 clearly has much closer links with the Vercelli homily than with Ælfric's. If this is accepted, then the relationships proposed in Fadda's stemma, which presents Ælfric's In Letania Maggiore as an adaptation of the ultimate ancestor of the Vercelli version via an intermediate version shared by article 6, would mean that Ælfric, as well as reordering the material, systematically screened out all the 'Vercelli' content which persists in article 6. This does not seem likely, and moreover does not tally with the links of subject matter and content discussed above.

My transcription of this homily (pp.242-65) clearly sets out the relationships of subject-matter in its interlinear references to Ælfric and Vercelli. Article 6 can be seen to draw creatively on the narrative traditions represented by both of these homilies.

Lambeth Palace 489 articles 5 and 6; Cotton Cleopatra  
B. xiii article 6

### Conclusion

The above analysis of homilies Lambeth 489 articles 5 and 6 and Cleopatra B. xiii article 6 has revealed anonymous compilers moving freely among Ælfrician and non-Ælfrician texts and traditions, using varied numbers and lengths of extracts, and adding various presumably compiler-written linking and intensifying sections. The status of the CH homilies in these three composites varies from pieces used in alternation with, and of apparently equal weight to, non-Ælfrician extracts, as in Lambeth 489 article 5; to a substantial opening and closing frame, interspersed with excerpts from other Ælfrician writings with few additions of the compiler's voice, as in Lambeth 489 article 6; to lively, authoritative bolstering material employed to tighten up the anonymous tradition's working of a well-known story, as in Cleopatra B. xiii article 6. Thus it is clear that these three homilies do not show the same style or approach to composition, even though it is probable that they were originally collected together in one volume.



Ker item 21. Cambridge, University Library, Ii. 4. 6, folios 215<sup>V</sup>-228<sup>F</sup> article 27 and folios 228<sup>F</sup>-238<sup>F</sup> article 28

### Introduction

Cambridge, University Library, Ii. 4. 6 was written at New Minster, Winchester,<sup>1</sup> in the mid-eleventh century. Its content is almost exclusively Ælfrician. Godden believes that the volume represents 'a more advanced form of the first recension' of CH II, and that its CH I homilies 'apparently show a similar character relative to other manuscripts'.<sup>2</sup> It was designed as a temporale,<sup>3</sup> with CH and other Ælfric homilies from the LS and from those published by Pope making up the bulk of its contents. Apart from a unique anonymous passage at the end of Ælfric's mid-Lent homily (on folio 102<sup>F</sup> at the end of article 13), the only non-Ælfrician compositions in the manuscript are the two homilies discussed here, articles 27 and 28, both of which mix excerpts from the CH with other of Ælfric's homilies and with passages from non-Ælfrician sources. Pope notes that these two articles occur in the 'erratic Rogationtide section' of the manuscript.<sup>4</sup>

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1 T.A.M. Bishop, English Caroline Minuscule (Oxford, 1971), p.xv, note 2.

2 Catholic Homilies. Second Series, ed. Godden, p.xlvi.

3 Homilies of Ælfric. A Supplementary Collection, EETS, os 259, 2 vols (London, 1967), p.40.

4 Supplementary Collection, ed. Pope, p.410. Also see pp.39-48 for fuller details of this manuscript and discussion of its Rogationtide section.

Godden examines articles 27 and 28 in detail in his article 'Old English composite homilies from Winchester'. He believes that the same Winchester compiler is responsible for both the homilies and for the anonymous passage on folio 102<sup>r</sup>.<sup>5</sup> The link between these two homilies, then, extends beyond probable place of copying, and manuscript, to place of compilation. Both homilies use a variety of Ælfric homilies, one of which, CH II Feria II Letania Maiore, they share. Article 28, however, is composed from a far greater number of source-texts than article 27. In his study, Godden shows that both homilies 'deal with essentially the same subjects without actually repeating each other. They use the same techniques of composition'.<sup>6</sup> The discussions of articles 27 and 28 which follow owe much to Godden's work on these homilies.

Ker item 21. Cambridge, University Library, Ii. 4. 6, folios 215<sup>v</sup>-228<sup>r</sup> article 27.

Text edited by Joyce Bazire and James E. Cross, Eleven Old English Rogationtide Homilies (Toronto, 1982), homily 6, introduction pp.79-82, text pp.83-89.

This homily's manuscript rubric is Sermo in Letania maiore. Feria II<sup>a</sup>. It opens with a description of the commandments to love God and one's neighbour, and moves on

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5 Godden, 'Old English composite homilies', p.62.

6 Godden, 'Old English composite homilies', p.62.



to cover various aspects of doing good on earth in preparation for heaven. The threat of the devil is described at length. This, and a dramatic account of Judgement Day and the torments of hell, form the body of the homily, which repeatedly reminds its audience of the importance of correct behaviour and of care for their souls during Rogationtide.

The compiler of article 27 draws on three Ælfric homilies and one anonymous text, and adds four substantial unsourced sections, presumed to be compiler-written. The main source-text is Ælfric's Sermo ad Populum in Octavis Pentecosten Dicendus (Pope homily XI, pp.415-47), an excerpt from which constitutes almost four-fifths of article 27. Two CH Rogationtide homilies are also used; CH I In Letania Maiore (Thorpe, pp.244-58) is the source of a brief extract, and CH II Feria II Letania Maiore (Godden, pp.180-89) is the source of a slightly longer passage. This homily, as noted above, is also used in article 28. Additionally, the Old English Martyrology is cited by Godden as the source of a short passage in article 27.<sup>7</sup> Bazire and Cross also note the close verbal correspondence between part of the Old English Martyrology entry for Rogation Days (Kotzor II, 80 and 82) and the passage in article 27, but state that the

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7 Godden, 'Old English composite homilies', p.59. The Old English Martyrology is edited by Günter Kotzor, Das altenglische Martyrologium, Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, 2 vols (Munich, 1981).

text given in article 27 'reads as from some ecclesiastical regulation'.<sup>8</sup>

As mentioned above, article 27 opens with an account of the commandments to love; this is taken from Ælfric's Feria II Letania Maiore (Bazire and Cross p.83, ll.2-7 'læwede... bec'; Godden p.180, ll.1-7). All of the rest of the Ælfric homily, which expands on the need to love and to respect different social positions and the behaviour appropriate to them, is omitted. Article 27's next few sentences (Bazire and Cross p.83, ll.8-17 'uton...peah' mid-sentence) are compiler-written. The homily's audience is urged to turn to God and act for the good of their souls, and is reminded of the shortness and unpredictability of life. The homily then turns to a consideration of what its audience should pray for during Rogationtide. These lines correspond in general to part of CH I In Letania Maiore (Bazire and Cross p.83, ll.17-19 'on...myrhþe'; Thorpe p.244, ll.11-13). Godden remarks of this section that 'the correspondence is not close, but in view of the many other borrowings from Ælfric it is probably not coincidental, especially since the first two paragraphs of the Ælfric homily occur in Ii. 4. 6, immediately after the two composite homilies'.<sup>9</sup> These two paragraphs from CH I In Letania Maiore are Ker article 29, on folio 238<sup>rv</sup> of CUL Ii. 4. 6. This is the Ælfric homily used by the compiler of Cotton Cleopatra B. xiii article 6, discussed above, pp.63-74, but the parts of the homily

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8 Bazire and Cross, Rogationtide Homilies, p.82 note 10.  
9 Godden, 'Old English composite homilies', p.59.



dealing with the Jonah and Vienne stories used in that homily are ignored in article 29. Article 27 next continues its consideration of Rogationtide in another compiler-written section (Bazire and Cross p.83, ll.19-34 'gif... upastygennysse'). Here the audience is instructed to think of their souls rather than their bodies during Rogationtide and is warned of the danger of doing evil. More specific details of Rogationtide observance are then given in the supposed extract from the Old English Martyrology (Bazire and Cross p.83, ll.34-37 'on... non'; Kotzor II, 80, ll.12-16): the audience is informed that Christians must stop work and walk with the relics. The following unsourced section of article 27 (Bazire and Cross p.83, l.37 - p.84, l.44 'ne...gremiað') extends this information with instructions not to hunt or gallop.<sup>10</sup> This passage goes on to turn the focus of the homily to the treachery and threat of the devil. The devil's tricks and tactics are next vividly described at the beginning of the long extract from Ælfric's Sermo ad Populum (Bazire and Cross p.84, l.44 - p.89, l.247 'ælc...weredum'; Pope p.421, l.139 - p.440, l.454). Lengthy and dramatic descriptions of the devil fighting for human souls, the division of souls at death and the might of Christ at Doomsday, provide powerful emotional focus and add urgency to article 27's discussion of the results of good or bad behaviour. Bazire and Cross note that in this homily a phrase is added to Ælfric's account of a soul being saved by monks (Bazire and Cross p.84, l.67 'and wearð to munuce

10 Bazire and Cross, Rogationtide Homilies, p.82, note 11, state that these phrases are 'reminiscent of the enactments of church councils'.

gehalgod') and they believe that the phrase was added by the compiler, 'since the information is found in Gregory's Dialogues IV.38, in his Homilia XIX In evangelia paragraph 7, in his Homilia XXXVIII paragraph 16, and in Ælfric's homily for the twenty-first Sunday after Pentecost, which is based on Gregory's Homilia XXXVIII'.<sup>11</sup> It is possible, then, that this phrase is a brief extract from another Ælfric homily, CH I Dominica XXI Post Pentecosten (Thorpe, pp.520-38). The beginning of Sermo ad Populum, which deals with church festivals, the liturgy, and Adam's fall, and the end, which deals with hell and heaven, are not used by the compiler, who chooses dramatic extracts which reinforce article 27's exhortatory message. The homily ends with another compiler-written section (Bazire and Cross p.89, ll.248-57 'uton...amen') urging the audience to pray for God's help and do good to earn eternal life.

As noted by Godden in his overview of article 27, despite the fact that most of the homily is taken from Sermo ad Populum, the compiler has not merely reproduced Ælfric's homily, 'but by his choice of extract and by his additions he produced a very different kind of homily'.<sup>12</sup> Godden's characterisation of article 27 as 'that combination of general exhortation with accounts of death and judgement which is characteristic of the many anonymous homilies in Old English produced for Lent and Rogationtide' stands as a useful concluding statement on the homily.<sup>13</sup>

11 Bazire and Cross, Rogationtide Homilies, p.80.

12 Godden, 'Old English composite homilies', p.58.

13 Godden, 'Old English composite homilies', p.58.



Ker item 21. Cambridge, University Library, Ii. 4. 6, folios 228<sup>r</sup>-238<sup>r</sup> article 28.

Text edited by Joyce Bazire and James E. Cross, Eleven Old English Rogationtide Homilies (Toronto, 1982), homily 7, introduction pp.79, 90-94, text pp.95-99, commentary p.100.

Article 28 is rubricated Feria III<sup>a</sup> in Letania Maiore and covers many of the themes common to anonymous Rogationtide homilies, several of which are also found in article 27. For example the importance of doing good on earth, of confession, and the threat of the devil are emphasised. Respect of and love for others are especially strong themes in this homily, and are at the centre of its instructions on how to merit eternal life.

Godden notes that, in comparison with article 27, this homily 'draws on a much wider range of sources, and no single piece dominates it'.<sup>14</sup> In fact article 28 draws on ten identified source-texts, seven of which are by Ælfric, and uses translations of two Latin texts. Most of its compiler-written additions serve simply to link these source extracts, but a few of them are more substantial. The CH I homilies used in article 28 are Passio Beati Stephani Protomartyris (Thorpe pp.44-56), Dominica XI Post Pentecosten (Thorpe pp.402-14) and Dominica XXI Post

14 Godden, 'Old English composite homilies', p.59.

Pentecosten (Thorpe pp.520-38). Two CH II homilies are used: Feria II Letania Maiore (Godden pp.180-89) and In Natale Sanctarum Uirginum (Godden pp.327-34). Extracts from two LS homilies, In Caput Ieiunii (Skeat I, 260-82) and De Oratione Moysi. In Medio Quadragesime (Skeat I, 282-306), occur. One anonymous homily, Napier XXX (Napier pp.143-52), is used, and Bazire and Cross suggest that extracts are also used from Wulfstan homily XIII (Bethurum pp.225-32) and the anonymous homily Napier LVIII (Napier pp.299-306). Article 28 does not consist only of direct copyings from vernacular source texts, however; it opens with an adaptation of part of Alcuin's Liber de Virtutibus et Vitiis (PL 101, col. 621), and later uses another Latin text, Smaragdus's Diadema Monachorum (PL 102, cols 680-81), which appears to have been translated by the compiler.<sup>16</sup>

Article 28 opens with a reference to prayer as a way to salvation, which it attributes to James. Godden identifies these sentences as an adaptation from Alcuin's Liber de Virtutibus et Vitiis (Bazire and Cross p.95, 11.2-16 'se...gesiðam'; PL 101, col.621), in which Alcuin cites James 5. 16, part of an epistle-lection for Rogationtide. The homily goes on to deal at length with the inevitability of death and Doomsday and the need for confession and suffering. This is taken from an anonymous composite homily printed by Napier, used here with some omissions and considerable changes at the end (Bazire and Cross p.95, 1.16

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16 These source texts are identified by Godden, 'Old English composite homilies', pp.59, 60.



- p.96, l.67 'nis...seggan'; Napier XXX, p.149, l.14 - p.152, l.2). In analysing the alterations to this passage in article 28, Bazire and Cross state that 'the composer is continuing with his source-passage, which is equivalent to Pseudo-Wulfstan XXX, but modifying it and inserting phrases in similar style and moral content from memory of Wulfstan and another piece similar to Wulfstan'.<sup>16</sup> They identify 'uton don...pearf is' (p.96, l.63) and 'ponne geearnige... sylfum' (p.96, ll.65-66) as phrases from Napier XXX (Napier, p.152 ll.2,3 and 4,5) although they also note that 'the first phrase is also found within a sentence almost verbatim from Wulfstan XIII ... which is abstracted for "uton don...to rihte"' (Bazire and Cross p.96, ll.63-65; Bethurum p.228, ll.53-55). As the source for the following lines 'ne sceal...gehyre seggan' (Bazire and Cross p.96, ll.66-67; Napier p.306, ll.15-16) they suggest Napier LVIII. The exhortation to confession is extended in the following lines and the homily's audience is also urged to do good and pray (Bazire and Cross p.96, ll.67-76 'soðlice...sculon'). The theme of judgement is now introduced, with a description of the separation of soul and body and a reminder that people will get what they deserve. Godden suggests that this is a translation from Smaragdus's Diadema Monachorum (Bazire and Cross p.96, l.77 - p.97, l.82 'to...geearnodon'; PL 102, cols 680-81).<sup>17</sup> The homily moves on to concentrate on ways

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16 All of the following source identifications for this passage are from Bazire and Cross, Rogationtide Homilies, p.90.

17 Godden, 'Old English composite homilies', p.60. Bazire and Cross, Rogationtide Homilies, p.91, seem less convinced of the closeness of the rendering.

to earn God's favour and protection and the necessity of this in the face of the threat of the devil and urges the audience to continue in steadfast belief in order to be saved. These sentences (Bazire and Cross p.97, ll.82-98 'forði...bocum') appear to be compiler-written. The theme of salvation is now reinforced in an excerpt from CH II Feria II Letania Maiore (Bazire and Cross p.97, ll.98-99 'se...gehealden'; Godden p.188, ll.268-69), the homily from which the opening of article 27 is taken. In excerpts from LS In Caput Ieiunii (Bazire and Cross p.97, ll.100-105 'nu...mage'; Skeat I, 270, ll.122-27 and 135-37), the audience is instructed to love what God loves, hate what he hates, and learn his law. After a compiler-written sentence on loving one's neighbour as oneself (Bazire and Cross p.97, l.106 'god...he' mid-sentence), the theme of love is expanded to include forgiveness of others in an excerpt from CH I Passio Beati Stephani Protomartyris (Bazire and Cross p.97, l.107 - p.98, l.149 'cwyð...is' mid-sentence; Thorpe p.52, l.27 - p.56, l.10). The importance of love, which is necessary for the effectiveness of faith and almsdeeds, is next stressed in a passage from CH I Dominica XXI Post Pentecosten (Bazire and Cross p.98, ll.150-53 'peah...for gode'; Thorpe p.528, ll.28-32). Bazire and Cross consider that this excerpt 'unfortunately breaks Ælfric's logical flow',<sup>18</sup> but it can be seen as a reinforcement of the importance of love, which emerges as one of the homily's strongest themes. The homily now returns to CH I Passio Beati Stephani Protomartyris for a reminder that Christians

18 Bazire and Cross, Rogationtide Homilies, p.92.



must endure hardships as God's children (Bazire and Cross p.98, ll.153 - p.99, ll.163 'mænigfealde...unrihtwisnysse'; Thorpe p.56, ll.10-22). The way of life appropriate to a Christian is then further developed with instructions to follow God's law, turn from evil and do good, in a series of excerpts from LS In Caput Ieiunii (Bazire and Cross p.99, ll.163-71 'se...her' mid-sentence; Skeat p.272, ll.145-48 and 152-53, and p.280, ll.268-72). More instructions on behaviour follow: the wise should not be without good deeds, the old should not be without piety, the young should not be without obedience nor the rich without generosity. These instructions are taken from LS De Oratione Moysi (Bazire and Cross p.99, ll.171-73 'ne...ælmesdædum'; Skeat p.290, ll.116-19); Bazire and Cross identify them as the first four of the twelve abuses of the world and comment on how they fit article 28's structure: 'Three of these four items re-emphasize the preceding ideas of our sermon, and the fourth, the "young without obedience", is an idea taken up in the next paragraph'.<sup>19</sup> After these generalised statements, article 28 directs its attention to its audience, and reminds them, in a compiler-written link, that they must think about how to behave for God on earth (Bazire and Cross p.99, ll.174-75 'ac...cwæð' mid-sentence). This leads into another excerpt from CH II Feria II Letania Maiore, which discusses how to behave and gives more explicit examples of the preceding general references to respect and proper conduct (Bazire and Cross p.99, ll.175-83 'on...helle' mid-sentence; Godden p.186, ll.189-211). The saving qualities

<sup>19</sup> Bazire and Cross, Rogationtide Homilies, p.92.

of love and honesty are then described in an excerpt which is most probably from a later part of the same Ælfric homily (Bazire and Cross p.99, ll.184-85 'þa beoð...hiwunge'; Godden p.187, ll.244-45).<sup>20</sup> After a compiler-written account of God's omniscience (Bazire and Cross p.99, ll.185-89 'forðam... awriten' mid-sentence), and a reminder that the fearful are blessed and the hardhearted destined for evil, excerpted from CH I Dominica XI Post Pentecosten (Bazire and Cross p.99, ll.189-91 'eadig...yfele'; Thorpe p.408, ll.29-31), the homily ends by summing up its main concern: that there is no time to act selfishly in life since death's arrival cannot be predicted, and by urging its audience to fear Doomsday and to do good to gain heaven. This concluding summary and exhortation begins with compiler-written phrases (Bazire and Cross p.99, ll.192-93 'uton...forðam þe') and then turns to an excerpt from CH II In Natale Sanctarum Virginum (Bazire and Cross p.99, ll.193-202 'nan...amen' mid-sentence; Godden p.333, l.207 - p.334, l.219).

As has been shown, the compiler of article 28 moves frequently and dextrously amongst a large number of sources. Godden shows that 'a detailed knowledge of Ælfric's work' is implied by the compiler's use of excerpts from some unlikely Ælfric texts, such as In Natale Sanctarum Uirginum and the two LS homilies, whose main themes seem to have little connection with Rogationtide, in addition to the excerpts

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20 See Godden, 'Old English composite homilies', p.62 and Bazire and Cross, Rogationtide Homilies, p.92.



from Ælfric's Rogationtide homilies.<sup>21</sup> The source excerpts used in article 28 have been treated by its compiler in a variety of ways. Some have been joined together, some translated from Latin, and some adapted with the addition of compiler-written phrases. The use of these various techniques produces a forceful homily which deals clearly with many central Rogationtide themes.

Cambridge, University Library Ii. 4. 6, articles 27 and 28.

### Conclusion

These two homilies, believed to be the work of the same compiler, testify to the knowledge and adaptive skill exhibited in the most successful Ælfric/anonymous composites. Ælfric homilies are used by the compiler of articles 27 and 28 as a useful source of general material on Christian practices offering many examples, lists and descriptions. Godden notes that two of the Ælfric excerpts in article 28 are introduced with the words 'hit is gerædd on bocum' (Bazire and Cross p.97, l.98 mid-sentence), and 'hit is gerædd' (Bazire and Cross p.99, l.184 mid-sentence).<sup>22</sup> These Ælfrician texts are here being signalled as authoritative, reliable accounts, since they are identified as written sources, but Ælfric is not named as their author, and it is possible that the compiler of

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21 Godden, 'Old English composite homilies', p.64.

22 Godden, 'Old English composite homilies', p.64.

article 28 only had access to a source which did not name him either, and so did not know his identity.

Godden believes that the length and accuracy of some of the source excerpts imply that the compiler was not working from memory. He also remarks upon the use of Ælfric for 'homiletic commonplaces' rather than for 'distinctive ideas and facts'.<sup>23</sup> His concluding characterisation of articles 27 and 28 presents them as being typical Old English composite homilies, prescriptive and admonitory. He offers Lambeth Palace 498 homilies 5 and 6 as similar examples, contrasting Cotton Cleopatra B. xiii article 6 as a rare example of a composite homily primarily concerned with narrative. The fact that the compiler of articles 27 and 28 has worked with such a variety of written sources to produce such a typical composite homily shows a very firm sense of purpose, and the use of carefully selected Ælfric passages amongst these sources shows their assimilation into the anonymous tradition.

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23 Godden, 'Old English composite homilies', p.64.



Ker item 48. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 198, folios 311<sup>V</sup>-316<sup>F</sup> article 62

Text transcribed below, pp.266-77.

The earliest part of CCCC 198 was written in the early eleventh century. Article 62 is one of a group of 'nearly contemporary additions in several hands'.<sup>1</sup> Godden suggests that the manuscript may have been written at Worcester.<sup>2</sup> Most of its contents are Ælfrician.

Article 62 has the manuscript rubric De Penitentia. In Quadragesima. It opens with a discussion of baptism and penance, and gives details of methods of repentance and the importance of confession. The audience is advised that they should know the Pater Noster and the Creed, and the persons of the Trinity are described. The homily's focus then moves to Judgement Day, the transitoriness of earthly things, the necessity of preparation for death and of rectifying the evils of the present world.

The main source text for article 62 is Ælfric's homily In Quadragesima. De Penitentia, which is included in Thorpe's edition of CH II after the main run of the CH from manuscript CUL Gg. 3. 28 (Thorpe, CH II, pp.602-08).<sup>3</sup>

- 1 Pope, Supplementary Collection, I, 21.
- 2 Godden, Catholic Homilies. Second Series, p.xxxi.
- 3 As explained in my discussion of Lambeth Palace manuscript 489 article 5 above, Godden does not include In Quadragesima. De Penitentia in his CH II edition.

Almost all of this homily is copied into article 62. To this text is added a lengthy excerpt from the anonymous homily Blickling X (Edited by R. Morris, The Blickling Homilies, EETS, os 58, 63 and 73 (London, 1874, 1876, 1880; reprinted as one volume, 1967), 107-15.) which was intended for Rogation Wednesday, although its manuscript title is erased.

Article 62 opens with the anonymous formulaic phrase 'læwedum mannum is to witane þ' (Swan 1.2 fol.311<sup>V</sup> mid-sentence) with which it leads into Ælfric's De Penitentia.<sup>4</sup> After this opening phrase, article 62 follows De Penitentia from its opening to its penultimate word (Swan 11.2-134 'ælc...ecnyse' fols.311<sup>V</sup>-14<sup>R</sup> mid-sentence; Thorpe, CH II, p.602, 1.1 - p.608, 1.14), reproducing its discussions of baptism, repentance and confession, prayer, and the nature of the Trinity. The compiler of article 62 then changes Ælfric's final word, 'amen', into 'buton æghwilcum ende' (Swan 11.134-35 fol.314<sup>R</sup> mid-sentence). Throughout its version of De Penitentia, article 62 shows minor differences of vocabulary which make no significant difference to the sense of the text. After copying De Penitentia, the compiler turns to an excerpt from Blickling X (Swan 11.135-213 'us...wynsumnysse' fols.314<sup>R</sup>-15<sup>V</sup> mid-sentence; Morris p.111, 1.15 - p.115, 1.8). This passage opens with the importance of Christian teaching, the division of the body

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4 It is interesting to note that this phrase also opens the piece which follows De Penitentia in CUL Gg. 3. 28; Ker item 15 article 96, a passage on lenten duties, edited Thorpe, CH II, p.608.



and soul at death, the transitory nature of earthly things, and human bones talking about earthly decay.<sup>5</sup> From this, it moves on to deal with the necessity of preparing for death by loving God and following Christian laws, and describes the former beauty of the world. At this point, the compiler of article 62 omits a short passage from Blickling X which continues the description of the world's beauty when created. It is possible that this omission is not a deliberate decision on the part of the compiler of article 62, but rather the result of scribal eye-skip.<sup>6</sup> The compiler of article 62 then resumes the Blickling X text for a few short phrases (Swan ll.214-15 'fram...wynsum' fol.315<sup>V</sup> mid-sentence; Morris p.115, ll.12-13) describing the world's beauty. The following phrases in the Blickling X text, which describe how the beauty of the world once withered in the hearts of Christians and now blooms in ours, are omitted

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5 For discussions of the latter two motifs in Old English literature, see J.E. Cross, '"Ubi Sunt" Passages in Old English - Sources and Relationships', VLA (1956), 25-44; and J.E. Cross, 'The dry bones speak - A Theme in Some Old English Homilies', JEGP, 56 (1957), 434-39.

6 This omission covers exactly seven lines of the Blickling manuscript text (fol.69<sup>V</sup> ll.15-21 of Ker item 382, Princeton University Library, Collection of William H. Scheide), and could easily be an instance of scribal eye-skip if we assume that article 62 or its exemplar was copied from a manuscript with the same line endings as the Blickling manuscript. The last word copied in article 62 before the omission is 'wynsumnyse', which is at the end of l.20 of fol.315<sup>V</sup> of CCC 198, and at the end of l.14 of fol.69<sup>V</sup> of the Blickling manuscript; and the last word of the omission from article 62, at the end of l.21 of fol.69<sup>V</sup> of the Blickling manuscript, is also 'wynsumnesse'. This, therefore, may be an accidental omission from article 62 rather than an example of the compiler editing the source text. I am grateful to Professor R.I. Page, Librarian of the Parker Library, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, for checking my readings from CCC 198.

from article 62, which substitutes a few compiler-written phrases (Swan ll.215-16 'gesceapen...scinddende' fol.315<sup>V</sup> mid-sentence) on the former goodness of the world and its present waning. The compiler of article 62 now returns to the text of Blickling X, to follow it through to its end (Swan ll.216-29 'nu...amen' fols.315<sup>V</sup>-16<sup>R</sup> mid-sentence; Morris p.115, ll.15-25), copying its account of the evils of the present world and the importance of rectifying them. As with Ælfric's De Penitentia, the Blickling X extract used in article 62 undergoes minor verbal changes, and some alterations of word order.

Article 62 welds its material together well, to construct a powerful appeal to repentance. De Penitentia's closing account of Judgement and the torment the sinful will suffer provides a strong thematic lead-in to Blickling X's insistence on spiritual preparation for Doomsday. The addition of the Blickling X extract enables the compiler of article 62 to address many themes connected with Judgement in the anonymous tradition, such as earthly decay as expressed in laments for what is past, and personified by speaking human bones. These popular features of anonymous vernacular writing on the end of the world add a lively, imperative tone to Ælfric's treatment of Judgement, and the end of Blickling X brings article 62 to a thematically and structurally striking close with a return to an exhortation to repentance.



Ker item 338. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 121,  
folios 148<sup>V</sup>-154<sup>V</sup> article 33

Text edited by Anna Maria Luiselli Fadda, "'De descensu Christi ad inferos": una inedita omelia anglosassone', SM, 13 (1972), 989-1011.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 121 was probably compiled at Worcester in the second half of the eleventh century, and was originally part of the same volume as Oxford, Bodleian Library Hatton 113+114. The three manuscripts between them have a wide range of contents, including many whole Ælfric homilies, Wulfstan homilies, Latin and Old English pieces on Christianity and the Antichrist, and a translation of pseudo-Matthew on the birth of the Virgin Mary.

Junius 121 article 33 has no manuscript rubric, but a note in the margin in a later hand than that of the homily reads 'De descensu Christi ad inferos'.<sup>1</sup> The homily is centred on a dramatic account of the Harrowing of Hell. Leading into and following on from this are detailed descriptions of the influence and fate of the devil. The early part of the homily describes the devil influencing Adam, Eve and Herod, and intersperses this with Christ's sacrifice and victory over the devil. More discussion of the devil's role follows and this leads into the description

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1 Fadda, "'De descensu Christi ad inferos"', p.989.

of the Harrowing of Hell. The last quarter of the homily reiterates much of what has come before: Christ's right to humans and conquering of death, and adds an account of the Ascension. The homily ends with the focus on Christ's glory and the power of the Trinity.

Article 33 uses an extract from towards the end of CH I In Dominica Palmarum (CH I, Thorpe pp.206-18). The extract used starts approximately three quarters of the way through the homily, after Ælfric's lengthy account and interpretation of Christ's entry into Jerusalem, and of the plot of the priests of the Temple to kill him. All of this is omitted from article 33, as is the last quarter or so of CH I In Dominica Palmarum, which describes Christ's burial, the Harrowing of Hell and the custom of blessing the palms. Material resembling part of Blickling Homily VII is also used in article 33,<sup>2</sup> but the bulk of the homily is unsourced, and consists of two lengthy passages and one short one which I will treat as the work of the anonymous compiler.

The opening two fifths of article 33 (Fadda p.998, 1.1 - p.1002, 1.81 'nu...ende') are unsourced. The homily begins by announcing that the Gospel of the Resurrection has been read, and that the audience will now be told of Christ's descent into hell, binding of the devil and release of the chosen people. The homily goes on to recap, discussing the

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2 Blickling VII is edited by R. Morris, The Blickling Homilies, EETS, os 58, 63 and 73 (London, 1874, 1876, 1880; reprinted as one volume, 1967), pp.83-97.



devil's influence over Adam and Eve and Herod and how the devil incited the elders to kill Christ. The crucifixion is analysed in terms of Christ's hidden divinity and the devil's mistake in thinking himself victorious. Christ's and the devil's exchange is reported in direct speech, and ends with Christ offering the legalistic opinion that the person who damages another's goods forfeits their own. This is used as a dramatic explanation for the devil's fall from power, and the idea of Christ's victory is reinforced with the scriptural quotation 'si exaltus fuero a terra[m] omnia traham ad me ipsum', which is translated into Old English as 'gif þæt gelimpð þæt ic beo on rode up ahafen þonne teo ic ealle þing to me' (Fadda p.1000, ll.55-57). Article 33 now discusses Christ's role as ruler of creation, liberator of humans and defeater of evil spirits. Two more Latin quotations are given and translated, the latter of which describes Christ subjecting the lion and the dragon. This lengthy compiler-written section ends with an extension of this reference to the lion and the dragon to similes for the devil and his treatment of humans. At this point the scene switches to hell, and, in the last compiler-written sentence of this section, the spirits are described witnessing Christ's arrival (Fadda p.1002, ll.79-81 'þa...ende'). The next two fifths of article 33 (Fadda p.1002, l.81 - p.1008, l.160 'þa...worulde') are taken up with a very vivid account of the Harrowing of Hell. Using much dramatic direct speech, the homily relates the fear of the evil spirits, the joy of the good souls and Christ's release of the good souls and of Adam and Eve. This section seems to have links with

part of Blickling VII. Article 33 makes no use of the beginning of Blickling VII, which focuses on Easter, Judgement Day, and the Crucifixion, or of the latter half of Blickling VII with its dramatic account, based on the Apocalypse of Thomas, of the signs of the last days of the world. Blickling VII's account of the Harrowing of Hell, however, is very close to that of article 33. Pope states that the relevant section of article 33 is an adaptation of pp.85-89 of Blickling VII,<sup>3</sup> and Scragg notes that 'the verbal echoes are sufficient to indicate descent from a common source rather than independent translation'.<sup>4</sup> Fadda, however, does not think that the compiler of article 33 draws directly upon the text represented by Blickling VII.<sup>5</sup> She shows that Blickling VII is closer to the section on the Harrowing of Hell in the apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus, and that article 33 represents an amplified and modified version of the narrative. Fadda's stemma for article 33 shows it and Blickling VII descending from an apocryphal text via a shared lost intermediate source. Mary Clayton also believes that article 33 does not represent a reworking of Blickling VII, and states that each text 'seems to have been translated independently from similar Latin material'.<sup>6</sup> Article 33's account of the Harrowing of Hell covers much the same ground as that of Blickling VII, in the same order, but at various points offers either a longer, shorter or modified version of the narrative. The opening sentences of

3 Pope, Supplementary Collection, p.73 note 2.

4 Scragg, 'Corpus of vernacular homilies', p.255.

5 Fadda 'De descensu Christi ad inferos"', pp.990-92.

6 Mary Clayton, The Cult of the Virgin Mary in Anglo-Saxon England (Cambridge, 1990), p.256.



both versions give an indication of the degree of divergence evident throughout the two accounts. Article 33 reads: 'þa wæron þa earman gastas swyðe afyrhte and abregde and þus cwædon hwanon is ðes beorhta and þes leohta and þes stranga middangeard syððan he wæs us underþeod næfre ær he us þyllic gafol ne gegeald ne us næfre ær þyllic[e] lac hyder ne onsende' (Fadda p.1002, ll.81-84); whilst Blickling VII reads: 'hwonon is þes þus strang 7 þus beorht 7 þus egesfull se middangeard þe us wæs lange ær underþeoded 7 us deap mycel gafol geald ne gelomp hit na ær þæt us swylc deap geendod wære ne us næfre swylc ege ne wearþ ær to helle geendebyrded' (Morris p.85, ll.10-14). These two versions can most easily be seen as descending independently from a common source. Article 33's version contains all the more dramatic details of Blickling VII's, except in its account of Eve pleading to be released from hell. In both homilies Eve makes reference to her kinship with the Virgin Mary, but Eve's striking reference in Blickling VII to the Virgin Mary as her daughter (Morris p.88, l.20 'mine dehter') is absent in article 33.

Article 33's account of the Harrowing of Hell is followed by a compiler-written summary of the events described (Fadda p.1008, ll.161-64 'þa...hæfde'). The homily next offers further analysis of the devil's actions through the simile of a fish which swallows bait without seeing the hook. This image, ultimately from Gregory, is taken here from CH I In Dominica Palmarum. The section used in article 33 (Fadda p.1008, ll.165-76 'we...belyfað'; CH I,

Thorpe p.216, ll.4-17) is extremely close to the Ælfric text.

The last section of article 33 (Fadda p.1008, l.177 - p.1010, l.206 'ne...amen') is compiler-written, and returns to Christ leaving bad people in hell. Christ's role as witness to the victory over death is explained, and the Ascension presented as the ultimate manifestation of his glory.

By far the most striking section of article 33 is its central account of the Harrowing of Hell which, as has already been shown, has source links with part of Blickling VII. The dramatic impact of article 33 is weakened by the long lead-in to this account and reiteration of some of its elements in the later parts. The compiler of article 33 seems especially interested in the devil, and repeatedly offers descriptions or interpretations of his role and actions. Although the predominantly interpretative earlier section of Ælfric's In Dominica Palmarum is not used here, the compiler does use Ælfric's analytical devil/fish simile, and links the opening anonymous section of article 33 with this through the devil/lion and devil/dragon similes used there. Ælfric's account of the Harrowing of Hell as given in In Dominica Palmarum is rejected in favour of the much more extended and dramatic version connected with Blickling VII. The CH, for this compiler, seem to offer a convenient, concise and striking addition to article 33's discussion of the devil.



Ker item 38. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 162, pages 382-91 article 32

Text edited by Clare A. Lees, 'Theme and Echo in an Anonymous Old English Homily for Easter', Traditio, 42 (1986), 115-42.

CCCC 162 was written at the beginning of the eleventh century. Its provenance is not known, but Godden states that it was 'probably written and used in the same place' as Oxford, Bodleian Library manuscript Bodley 340+342 (Ker item 309),<sup>1</sup> which he believes to have been written at Rochester or Canterbury.<sup>2</sup> CCCC 162 is a book of 'homilies for occasions other than saints' days',<sup>3</sup> most of which are by Ælfric.

Article 32 has the manuscript rubric In die sancto pasce. It begins by describing the events ascribed to the sixth day of the week, then moves on to describe Easter Day and the seventh day. The importance of repentance and communion is stressed, and the Last Supper described and explained. The significance of baptism is next discussed and some miracles are described, and the homily ends by emphasising the need to be inwardly clean before taking communion and to do good in preparation for Judgement Day.

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1 Godden, Catholic Homilies. Second Series, p.xxxii.  
 2 Godden, Catholic Homilies. Second Series, p.xxviii.  
 3 Godden, Catholic Homilies. Second Series, p.xxxi.

Most of article 32 is unsourced, and will be treated here as the work of its anonymous compiler. To the anonymous text are added three passages from CH II Sermo de Sacrificio in Die Pascae (CH II, Godden pp.150-60).

The first half of the surviving text of article 32 (Lees p.117, l.1 - p.120, l.99 'men...him') is of anonymous composition. The homily begins near the bottom of p.382 of CCC 162; between pages 382 and 383 one leaf is missing from the manuscript or was lost from its exemplar.<sup>4</sup> What survives of the opening anonymous section covers events ascribed to the sixth day of the week: creation, the fall, Cain and Abel, Sodom and Gomorrah, Joseph, Peter's denial of Christ, and the crucifixion. This leads to a focus on Easter day and God's creation of the seventh heaven and the seventh day for rest. References to John's Apocalypse with its vision of hell follow; the Harrowing of Hell is assigned to the Lord's day. This anonymous section ends with the importance of repentance and communion. The first of article 32's excerpts from CH II Sermo de Sacrificio in Die Pascae follows (Lees p.120, ll.100-08 'he...bletsunge'; Godden p.152, ll.76-85). This passage, from an early part of Sermo de Sacrificio in Die Pascae, is used by the compiler of article 32 to pick up on the earlier reference to communion, with an account of Christ's words and actions at the Last Supper. The compiler omits the next paragraph of the Ælfric text as edited, which discusses literal and

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4 For its possible contents see Lees, 'Theme and Echo', p.124 note to ll.3 ff.



symbolic aspects of Christ, and then copies another passage from Sermo de Sacrificio in Die Pascae (Lees p.120, ll.109-13 'soðlice...gerynu'; Godden p.153, ll.101-07). This passage is a discussion of the corporeal and spiritual meaning of the bread and wine of communion. After this point, article 32's version of Sermo de Sacrificio in Die Pascae shows consistent differences when compared to the Godden text: its next section (Lees p.120, l.113 - p.121, l.118 'hæðen... mihte'; Godden p.153, ll.107-16) continues to reproduce most of the substance of the Godden text, but begins by showing alterations of sentence structure, possibly in an attempt at simplification. For example, Lees p.120, l.113 - p.121, l.115 reads 'hæðen cild þe man fullað ne bryt hyt na his hiw wiðutan ac hit bið swa ðeah wiðinnan awend' for Godden p.153, ll.107-08 'hæðen cild bið gefullod ac hit ne bret na his hiw wiðutan ðeah ðe hit beo wiðinnan awend'; and article 32 goes on to shorten the Ælfric text as represented by Godden by omitting reinforcing and descriptive phrases. The compiler of article 32 next omits another section of the Ælfric text, which expands on the discussion of baptism to explore the physical and spiritual existence of the body and to describe Christ's body as truth. Sermo de Sacrificio in Die Pascae is next used in article 32 for the passage following this omitted section. This pasage (Lees p.121, l.119 - p.122, l.132 'we... gerihtlæced'; Godden p.154, l.159 - p.155, l.173) tells of an angel dismembering a child, of God transforming the host, and of Gregory showing a disbelieving woman the host in the form of a human finger, all as 'we rædað on ðære bec þe is

gehaten uita patrum' (Lees p.121, l.119; Godden, p.154, l.159). This passage in article 32 shows some slight differences in word order and vocabulary, but does not omit any of the Ælfric text. No further use is made of Sermo de Sacrificio in Die Pascae, which goes on to give further examples of the physical and spiritual significance of communion as commemoration of Christ's passion, and of the Passover lamb as spiritual sign, and ends on the theme of Passover, instructing its audience that they should pass over from sin to virtue in this life in order to pass to Christ in the next. Article 32's last, anonymous section (Lees p.122, l.133 - p.123, l.180 'forðan...amen') stresses the need to be inwardly clean before taking communion; to fear God and do good in preparation for God's arrival at any time. Judgement Day is described, and the prospect of eternal life offered as the reward for goodness.

Lees notes article 32's lack of 'consistent narrative or a consistent exegetical commentary',<sup>5</sup> and analyses its major themes: earthly paradise, the evils of the sixth day, the Sunday list, the Harrowing of Hell and the Last Judgement. She also examines the compiler's use of Ælfric's Sermo de Sacrificio in Die Pascae and notes that 'the fact that Ælfric's intelligent and sophisticated explanations of the Host are dispensed with suggests an imperfect understanding of Ælfric's homily'.<sup>6</sup> The passages selected from Sermo de Sacrificio in Die Pascae by the compiler of article 62, with

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5 Lees, 'Theme and Echo', p.125.

6 Lees, 'Theme and Echo', p.140.



their accounts of the Last Supper, the dismembered child and the host in the form of a finger, stand out as some of the more dramatic passages in the Ælfric homily, and lead Lees to propose 'an indiscriminate approach to source material'<sup>7</sup> on the part of the compiler.

As Lees shows, no obvious improvement is made to the anonymous sections of article 32 by the addition of the Ælfric passages detailed above. As with a few other examples discussed in the present study, Ælfrician text seems here to have been used not only as clear story material, whose references expand the range of an anonymous homily, but also for its dramatic narrative content. Little is added to any discussion of complex theological issues touched on in article 32; as in most of the Ælfric/anonymous homilies discussed in this study, these are left at a simple level, and little use is made of Ælfric's own potentially useful explanations.

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7 Lees, 'Theme and Echo', p.140.

Ker item 58. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 320 folios 117-70, folio 117<sup>rv</sup> article a

Text transcribed below, pp.278-80.

CCCC 320 folios 117-170 was written in the late tenth or early eleventh century. Its Old English texts are on folios 117 and 170, which were once the blank first and last leaves of Archbishop Theodore's penitential, and both are exhortations to an individual. The provenance of the manuscript is not known.

Article a is a short exhortation to confession. It reminds its audience of the central elements of Christian belief, urges good behaviour and repentance of sins. Major sins are listed, as are methods of doing good by way of penance. The importance of thorough confession of sins in the face of unexpected death and Judgement is emphasised, and the audience is urged not to sin again after absolution.

Ker describes article a as 'a catena of passages from various sources'.<sup>1</sup> It mixes part of Ælfric's homily De Penitentia with excerpts which resemble two anonymous composite homilies on confession edited by Napier.<sup>2</sup> These

1 Ker, Catalogue of Manuscripts, p.106.

2 Napier, Wulfstan, pp.289-91 (homily LVI) and 134-43 (homily XXIX). Napier LVI is edited by Napier from Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 343, and Napier XXIX from Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 121 and Hatton 113+114. Both of these manuscripts are of later date than CCCC 320, which precludes their



Napier homilies are partly based on the Pseudo-Egbert Ordo Confessionalis,<sup>3</sup> and the Ordo Confessionalis itself seems to have connections with the text of article a.<sup>4</sup>

Article a opens with a series of questions addressed to a penitent (Swan, 11.1-4 'gelyfst...geworht' fol.117<sup>r</sup>). These are a form of the standard introductory words of a confessor and closely parallel an early passage from Napier LVI (Napier p.289, 11.18-22 'ilyfst...iworht'), although article a's version does not contain the penitent's responses which occur in Napier LVI. After a compiler-written half-sentence (Swan, 11.4-5 'god...ærest' fol.117<sup>r</sup>) article a urges its audience to live correctly (Swan, 11.5-8 'for...healde' fol.117<sup>r</sup> mid-sentence). The contents of these lines are very similar to a section of Napier XXIX (Napier p.134, 11.12-14 'for...healdon'). From this exhortation, article a turns to a listing of the eight 'heah-synna' (Swan, 11.8-12 '7...gewitnyssa' fol.117<sup>r</sup> mid-sentence), which corresponds to another section of Napier

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texts being the exemplar for article a. The nature of the correspondences discussed below supports the assumption that these are parallel texts which stand, along with the Pseudo-Egbert Ordo Confessionalis, as representatives of textual traditions to which the compiler of article a had access. The discussion which follows uses these Napier texts for comparison with article a in terms of narrative content, not manuscript transmission.

3 Edited by Joseph Raith, Die altenglische Version des Halitgar'schen Bussbuches (soq. Poenitentiale Pseudo-Ecgberti) BaP, 13 (Hamburg, 1933; repr. Darmstadt, 1964).

4 Scragg, 'Corpus of vernacular homilies', p.260. My work on article a has been greatly facilitated by the edition and discussion written by Elaine Treharne as part of an unpublished B.A. dissertation for the University of Manchester, which Ms Treharne has kindly made available to me.

LVI (Napier p.290, 11.24-28 'and...witnessa'). Here one altered phrase distinguishes the two versions: Napier LVI's 'þæt ðu þa ne fremme' (Napier p.290, 1.25) is omitted in article a, which instead reads 'þe se deofol us wyle mid beswican gif he mæg' (Swan, 11.9-10 fol. 117<sup>r</sup> mid-sentence). Article a next urges its audience to love God (Swan, 11.13-14 'ac...heortan' fol.117<sup>r</sup> mid-sentence), in a phrase which closely parallels an earlier section of Napier LVI (Napier p.290, 11.4-6 'lufa...heortan' mid-sentence), with verbal differences. After this, article a focuses on prayer, naming the Creed and the Pater Noster as necessary prayers and listing people to pray for (Swan 11.14-19 '7...folc' fol. 117<sup>r</sup> mid-sentence). The beginning and end of this passage are similar to the beginning and end of another passage in Napier LVI (Napier p.290, 11.13-16 'sing...folc' mid-sentence), although the middle differs: for Napier 'ne nan idel þær ne do ne ne spec' (p.290, 11.14-15), article a has 'to ælcra tide pater noster 7 credan buton þu mare cunne\*\*gif þu ne cunne leorna' (Swan 11.15-17 fol. 117<sup>r</sup> mid-sentence). Article a now describes the importance of thorough confession in a lengthy passage (Swan 11.19-33 'ic...beon' fol. 117<sup>r</sup>) which in places closely parallels a passage near the end of Napier LVI (Napier p.291, 11.2-16 'ic...beon'). Both texts express the importance of the confessor teaching the penitent properly, and of the penitent acting correctly in not omitting to confess any sins, and both remind the penitent that they were born naked and will die alone unless they merit God's love, and that the hour of their death is unknown. In this passage,



article a omits Napier LVI's reference to trickery by the devil (Napier p.291, ll.5-6 'and...mote', at Swan, l.22 'do' fol. 117<sup>r</sup>), and another half sentence referring to life's transience (Napier p.291, ll.13-14 'pa...wylle', at Swan l.30 'gedo' fol.117<sup>r</sup>). Article a next turns to its excerpt from De Penitentia (Swan ll.33-41 'nis...spaw' fols. 117<sup>r-v</sup>; Thorpe II, p.602, ll.19-26). This excerpt is from an early part of the homily, after Ælfric's explanation of the importance of baptism and the power of penance. The excerpt used in article a states that no sin is too great to be forgiven, but that evil deeds should not be repeated after penance. In an image from Proverbs 26:11, Ælfric likens the sinner who repeats evil deeds to a dog that eats its own vomit. Article a omits the remainder of De Penitentia, in which Ælfric furthers his discussion of confession with an account of Judgement Day, the importance of the Pater Noster and the Creed, and belief in the Trinity, and describes Christ leaving the sinful in hell and leading the good to heaven. In place of this, article a concludes with a short prayer for God's help and mercy (Swan ll.41-43 'god...moton' fol. 117<sup>v</sup>). This final prayer in article a, unusually, does not end with 'amen'. This is not omitted through lack of space, since the final two-and-a-half lines of article a are at the top of fol. 117<sup>v</sup>, which is then blank for some twenty two lines.

Despite its apparently complicated composition, article a achieves a degree of unity of theme and message. It covers a variety of issues relevant to good Christian

living, and focuses on penance and good deeds as the most important of these. It moves from one subject to another with the force of a list, building up its central message and reinforcing it in the manner of many anonymous homilies. This piece provides a rare example of an Ælfric text being excerpted for a common and striking image, rather than for a succinct explanation or narrative. The compiler of article a has not used the bulk of Ælfric's treatment of penance in De Penitentia. The use in article a of the details of the Pater Noster and Creed from the text represented by Napier LVI implies that Ælfric's version of this in De Penitentia has been rejected by the compiler in favour of the anonymous homily's version. None of De Penitentia's complex discussion of the Trinity or description of Judgement has been deemed relevant by the compiler of article a, who has instead built a text from a series of basic exhortations to penance, and has turned to Ælfric for a memorable final image.



Ker item 186: British Library, Cotton Tiberius A. iii  
folios 2-173, folios 51<sup>V</sup>-53<sup>F</sup> article 9(h)

Text edited by Hans Sauer, 'Zwei spätaltenglische  
Beichtermahnungen aus Hs. Cotton Tiberius A.III.', Anglia,  
98 (1980), 1-33 (pp.21-23).<sup>1</sup>

Cotton Tiberius A. iii folios 2-173 was written in the  
mid-eleventh century. Ker states that it is 'almost  
certainly a manuscript described in the medieval catalogue  
of Christ Church, Canterbury'.<sup>2</sup> The manuscript begins, if  
we allow for its present misbinding, as an ordered  
collection of Benedictine Reform texts in presentation  
copy.<sup>3</sup> Following this is a miscellaneous collection of  
Latin and Old English material, including Ælfric's Colloquy  
with an interlinear gloss, Ælfric's version of part of  
Bede's De temporibus, and part of CH II Dominica Palmarum.  
De Passione Domini in a 'very corrupt and altered form',<sup>4</sup>  
which I discuss below, pp.162-68. The manuscript also  
contains miscellaneous prayers, regulations,  
prognostications and homiletic pieces. Article 9 (fols.  
44<sup>F</sup>-56<sup>V</sup>) is a series of anonymous confessional prayers and  
directives in Old English and Latin, which can be  
subdivided, and of which I discuss 9(h).

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1 In his edition, Sauer numbers clauses of the homily  
rather than lines. For ease of reference, therefore, I  
refer to his edited text by page and clause number.

2 See Ker, Catalogue of Manuscripts, p.248.

3 For details of the misbinding, see Ker, Catalogue of  
Manuscripts, p.241.

4 Ker, Catalogue of Manuscripts, p.245.

Article 9(h) (fols.51<sup>V</sup>-53<sup>R</sup>) is an untitled exhortation to confession in Lent. The necessity of confession and the reward of heaven are discussed, the audience is encouraged to fast and repent, and the intercession of the Blessed Virgin Mary and other saints is sought.

As Godden notes in his article on the penitential motif, article 9(h) 'is almost entirely made up of passages which occur elsewhere in Old English'.<sup>5</sup> Hans Sauer, in his edition and discussion of the text, identifies several source and parallel texts. The primary source texts are Ælfric's CH II homily *Dominica I in Quadragesima* (CH II, Godden pp.60-66), from which three excerpts are used; the Old English version of the Rule of Chrodegang,<sup>6</sup> which provides five passages for article 9(h); and Vercelli Homily IX, from which one excerpt is taken.<sup>7</sup> Article 9(h) makes use of several common penitential motifs and in this shows similarities with other Old English texts, such as the anonymous Napier homily XIX,<sup>8</sup> the pseudo-Egbert Ordo

5 Godden, 'Penitential motif', pp.223-24.

6 Edited by Arthur S. Napier, The Old English Version of the Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang, EETS os 150 (London, 1916), chs. 29 and 30, pp.38-41. This edited text is referred to hereafter as 'Napier RC'.

7 Edited by Scragg, The Vercelli Homilies, pp.158-90. Dr Scragg has kindly informed me that article 9(h)'s Vercelli text is drawn from the tradition represented by Bodley 340 (Ker item 309), and perhaps even directly from that manuscript. It is interesting to note that Bodley 340 also contains a copy of CH II *Dominica I in Quadragesima*.

8 Edited by Napier, Wulfstan, pp.108-10.



Confessionalis, a version of which occurs later in Cotton Tiberius A. iii,<sup>9</sup> and Ælfric's homily De Penitentia.<sup>10</sup>

An anonymous, and presumably compiler-written half-sentence opens article 9(h), and this leads into the first excerpt used by the compiler; from the Rule of Chrodegang (Sauer p.21, clauses 1-5 'andetnysse...forgefenes' fols 51<sup>V</sup>-52<sup>F</sup> mid-sentence; Napier, RC p.40, ll.2-4). This short passage stresses the importance of repentance for forgiveness of sins. Article 9(h)'s version is slightly longer than that in the Rule, and shows minor differences in vocabulary. The following four lines of article 9(h), which state how much better it is to confess on earth before one person than at Judgement before God, the angels and devils, express a motif very common in penitential homilies. Passages which echo all or parts of this version of the motif can be found in Napier XIX (Napier p.136, ll.1-8 echoes Sauer p.21, clauses 6-9 'micle...yfeles' fol. 52<sup>F</sup>); the pseudo-Egbert Ordo Confessionalis (Raith p.XLII, ll.15-18 echoes Sauer p.21, clauses 6-8 'micle...helwaran' fol. 52<sup>F</sup> mid-sentence); and Ælfric's De Penitentia (CH II, Thorpe p.602, l.30 - p.604, l.5 echoes Sauer p.21, clauses 7-8 'scamige...helwaran' fol. 52<sup>F</sup> mid-sentence). Differences in length and wording between all of these texts and article 9(h) make it more likely that they are parallel examples rather than direct sources. After this passage, the

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9 The Ordo Confessionalis occurs as part of Ker article 21. The edited version of this text is by Raith, Die altenglischen Version des Halitgar'schen Bussbuches, pp.XLI-XLVI.

10 Edited by Thorpe, CH II, pp.602-08.

compiler of article 9(h) (at Sauer p.21, clause 10, fol.52<sup>r</sup>) turns to another excerpt from an earlier part of the Rule of Chrodegang, which is here introduced with the word 'forþam'. This lengthier excerpt (Sauer p.21, 10-19 'se...eagan' fol. 52<sup>r</sup> mid-sentence; Napier RC p.38, 11.9-18) expands on the theme of confession and repentance as a way of counteracting deeds done against God and of gaining heaven. After this excerpt stands another short compiler-written link (Sauer p.21, clause 19 'eallswa...doð' fol.52<sup>r</sup> mid-sentence) which serves to introduce another very short passage (Sauer p.21, clause 20 'and...andette' fol. 52<sup>r</sup> mid-sentence) on the shame of sinning and not confessing which is also excerpted from the Rule of Chrodegang (Napier RC p.38, 11.18-19). This sentence is completed and the next begun with a compiler-written section which states that no human is born sinless (Sauer p.21, clause 21 - p.22, clause 22 'forþam...þeos' fol. 52<sup>r</sup> mid-sentence). The compiler now uses the first extract from CH II Dominica I in Quadragesima (Sauer p.22, clauses 22-26 'clæne...fæsten' fol. 52<sup>r</sup> mid-sentence; Godden p.60, 11.2-10). This passage is from the beginning of the Ælfric homily, and lists aspects of penance as preparation for Easter and communion. In article 9(h) there are minor differences of vocabulary and phrasing which do not alter its sense. The end of this excerpt from Dominica I in Quadragesima is a half-sentence on Christ's forty day fast, which is used here to lead into a compiler-written discussion of Lent as a period of fasting and atonement (Sauer p.22, clauses 26-32 'us...senne')



fol. 52<sup>V</sup>).<sup>11</sup> The following lines of the Dominica I in Quadragesima, which link the establishment of the fast with Moses and refer to Elijah, are omitted, but the compiler picks up the Ælfric homily, with minor variations in vocabulary and phrasing, for a short passage reinforcing Christ's institution of the forty day fast (Sauer p.22, clauses 33-34 'drihten...biglefum' fol. 52<sup>V</sup>; CH II, Godden p.60, ll.18-20). The compiler omits the next part of the Ælfric homily, which explains that humans are not strong enough to fast completely through Lent, but that they should be abstemious and chaste. The Ælfric homily is next excerpted for a third time by the compiler in another short passage which states that it is most suitable to do good at this time (Sauer p.22, clause 35 'witodlice...pissere' fol. 52<sup>V</sup> mid-sentence; CH II, Godden p.61, ll.28-30). The final sentence of the excerpt is completed by the compiler (Sauer p.22, clause 35 'halgan tide' fol. 52<sup>V</sup> mid-sentence). None of the remaining four-fifths of the Ælfric homily, which cover the virtues of forgiveness, charity and mercy and their reward on Judgement Day, are used in article 9(h). The final third of article 9(h) opens with a passage returning to the theme of preparation for the joys of heaven with good deeds; this is close to an early part of Vercelli IX (Sauer pp.22-23, clauses 36-44 'forþam...rice' fol. 52<sup>V</sup> mid-sentence; Scragg p.158, l.8 - p.160, l.20). In article

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11 Sauer notes that his p.22, clause 26 'pis...geares' fol.52<sup>V</sup> mid-sentence resembles another section of De Penitentia: CH II, Thorpe p.608, ll.20-24, but the similarities between the two passages are very general, and it seems most likely that they simply represent two independent versions of the concept of fasting as tithing.

9(h) this passage is slightly shorter and shows minor differences of phrasing, but not of substance. Sauer notes the marked verbal resemblance of part of this passage to a section of the next item in Tiberius A.iii, Ker article 9(i) (Sauer p.23, clauses 41-42 'þe...healdan' fol. 52<sup>V</sup> mid-sentence is very close to part of article 9(i), which Sauer edits in his article, p.26, clauses 91-92). The Vercelli excerpt in article 9(h) is followed by a short compiler-written link (Sauer p.23, clauses 44-45 'mid...ealra' fol. 52<sup>V</sup> mid-sentence) which leads into another excerpt from the Rule of Chrodegang, encouraging the sinner to pray for intercession to the Virgin Mary, apostles, martyrs, confessors and saints (Sauer p.23, clauses 45-48 'ærest...synna' fol. 52<sup>V</sup> mid-sentence; Napier RC p.40, 11.4-9). This passage is followed by another slightly longer compiler-written section (Sauer p.23, clauses 49-51 'þe...gebete' fol. 52<sup>V</sup> mid-sentence) which reinforces the theme of paying for sins on earth. The final source passage, another short excerpt from the Rule of Chrodegang, is now used (Sauer p.23, clause 52 'and... geleafan' fol. 52<sup>V</sup> mid-sentence; Napier RC p.40, 11.9-10) to describe the joy that will result from this. Article 9(h) ends with a lengthier compiler-written half-sentence urging confession of sins in return for prayers and intercession to God (Sauer p.23, clauses 53-55 'and... gehyre' fol. 52<sup>V</sup> mid-sentence).

It is clear that article 9(h) is part of a tradition of confessional texts. With its numerous borrowings from homilies of this type, it reflects many common motifs. The



use by the compiler of existing texts as sources for these common elements accords very well with Godden's description of Old English penitential homilies' tendency to 'borrow not merely ideas but previously formulated expressions of ideas', which reflects a respect for the 'traditional or established way of expressing a particular idea in the vernacular'.<sup>12</sup>

CH II Dominica I in Quadragesima has been used in a variety of ways by the compiler of article 9(h). Its theme of Lent fits well with the subject of confession and, although most of Ælfric's discussion of biblical precedents and present day manifestations of atonement and good deeds are ignored, the anonymous compiler picks out excerpts which support the main theme. The first of these, a well-constructed and comprehensive list of ways to atone, bolsters the homily's discussion of repentance. The second Ælfric excerpt focusses on Christ as an authority for fasting and ignores Ælfric's instructive references to Old Testament characters and explanation of how to fast. The third Ælfric excerpt is perhaps the least obviously useful: a simple exhortation to do good at this time. The nature of this and of the other Ælfric excerpts, with their considerable variations from and substitutions to Ælfric's text, suggests the possibility that, instead of using a written Ælfric text as source-material, the compiler may have heard these snatches of text many times and be using

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12 Godden, 'Penitential motif', p.222.

them here from memory as memorable phrases to add weight to the anonymous passages.



Ker item 331. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 114, folios 49<sup>r</sup>-54<sup>r</sup> article 43.

Text edited by Arthur Napier, Wulfstan. Sammlung der ihm zugeschriebenen Homilien nebst Untersuchungen über ihre Echtheit (Berlin, 1883), homily LV, pp.282-89.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 114 was written in the third quarter of the eleventh century at Worcester. It was originally part of a set with Hatton 113, and also with Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 121, which was probably intended as the first volume.<sup>1</sup> Hatton 113 and 114 both contain homilies, mostly by Ælfric and Wulfstan, including many CH pieces.

Article 43 has no manuscript rubric. Its main topic is fasting and good behaviour during Lent. It opens by stressing the importance of turning from sin, and encourages bishops and priests to preach about this. The audience is urged to do good for their souls by tithing, fasting and confession during Lent. The duty to fast is explained at some length, and the homily ends with reference to Doomsday, when people's good deeds will be taken into account.

Article 43's main source is CH II Dominica I in Quadragesima (Godden, pp.60-66). Three excerpts, which

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1 See Ker, Catalogue of Manuscripts, pp.391 and 399, and Scragg, 'Corpus of vernacular homilies', p.253.

account in total for approximately two-thirds of Dominica I in Quadragesima, are used. Before these Ælfric excerpts, the compiler of article 43 uses material from two other sources, the Wulfstan homily Bethurum VI (Bethurum, pp.142-56), and the anonymous homily Belfour X (Belfour, pp.96-106). One lengthy unsourced passage occurs between two of article 43's Ælfric excerpts, and I treat this as the work of the anonymous compiler.

The first three words of article 43, 'men þa leofestan' (Napier p.282, l.22) are compiler-written, and are used to lead in to a discussion of the importance of rejecting sin and of the role of bishops and priests in encouraging this. This discussion is taken from Bethurum VI (Napier p.282, l.22 - p.283, l.18 'us...asecgan' mid-sentence; Bethurum p.142, l.3 - p.143, l.24). Article 43's version of this passage is very close to that printed by Bethurum, although two short phrases from Bethurum VI, the first expanding a Latin quotation and the second referring to Doomsday, do not occur in article 43. The audience is next reminded that the days of salvation are here, and are urged to do good for their soul by tithing and fasting, in a passage which generally corresponds to two excerpts from Belfour X, with a short compiler-written link (Napier p.283, ll.18-22 'uton...gyf' mid-sentence; Belfour p.104, l.32 - p.106, l.3, and Napier p.283, l.24 - p.284, l.17 'wæs... lifjan' mid-sentence; Belfour p.106, ll.8-24). These excerpts give a considerable amount of detail of Old and New Testament examples of tithing and of how to calculate the length of



time each person should fast. Article 43's version of these excerpts shows many differences of vocabulary and word order to that in the Belfour text, but its content is very similar. The two passages which correspond to Belfour X are separated in article 43 by two compiler-written phrases (Napier p.283, ll.22-24 'we...þæt þæt' mid-sentence). Article 43 now turns its focus firmly to Lent, with the first of its excerpts from CH II Dominica I in Quadragesima (Napier p.284, ll.18-27 'men...costnunga'; CH II, Godden p.60, ll.1-9). This excerpt is from the very beginning of the Ælfric homily, and concerns fasting in Lent and other duties including confession and prayer in preparation for Easter. After this excerpt, a substantial compiler-written section (Napier p.284, l.28 - p.285, l.14 'nu...unhæl') reinforces the discussion of fasting in Lent which has been taken from Dominica I in Quadragesima, and instructs the audience that nobody is exempt from the duty to fast except the old, the young and the sick. Ker notes that this passage occurs again on folio 98<sup>r</sup> of Hatton 114, as part of article 52,<sup>2</sup> where it is used to expand an early part of CH I In Letania Maiore.<sup>3</sup> The compiler of article 43 next resumes using the text of Dominica I in Quadragesima to describe Moses, Elijah and Jesus fasting, thus expanding the earlier Belfour X reference to Old and New Testament examples, and extends the description of behaviour appropriate to Lent (Napier p.285, l.15 - p.286, l.13

2 Ker, Catalogue of Manuscripts, p.395 and 395-96.

3 For a discussion of article 52, which is a composite homily including CH passages modified by Wulfstan, see Sermo Lupi ad Anglos, edited by Dorothy Whitelock (London, 1939; revised Exeter, 1976), pp.22-23.

'witodlice...forhæbbe'; Godden p.60, l.10 - p.61, l.37). In article 43 this passage is punctuated by several phrases stating that it is less sinful for a man to eat meat during Lent than to have sexual intercourse with a woman (Napier p.286, ll.2-4 'and...bruce'; at Godden p.61, l.28 'sceal' mid-sentence). These phrases do not occur in Godden's text of CH II Dominica I in Quadragesima, which is edited from CUL manuscript Gg. 3. 28, but they are found in CCC 178's version of CH II Dominica I in Quadragesima, and Godden states that they were 'probably added by Ælfric'.<sup>4</sup> The compiler of article 43 next omits a lengthy section of Dominica I in Quadragesima which deals with forgiveness, the importance of giving to the poor, the roles of rich and poor, God's control of the earth, the unpredictability of death and the uselessness of storing up earthly goods. Article 43 returns to Dominica I in Quadragesima at the very end of the homily (Napier p.286, l.14 - p.289, l.14 'crist...amen'; Godden p.63, l.89 - p.66, l.179). This excerpt, which explains the importance of giving one's wealth to the poor rather than hiding it, and describes Christ separating the righteous from the sinful on Doomsday according to whether or not they have shown charity to others, forms the end of article 43.

After its opening discussion of preaching, with its specific reference to bishops and priests, article 43 covers several topics and moves its focus from Lenten fasting to Judgement Day. These two themes commonly feature in many

4 Catholic Homilies. Second Series, ed. Godden, p.351.



anonymous Old English homilies. In its use of these, and in its wide-ranging subject-matter and accumulative style, article 43 is typical of many anonymous homilies. CH II Dominica I in Quadragesima has been used here primarily to give details of the importance of, and Biblical precedent for, fasting, and to turn the focus of article 43 to the ultimate results of good and bad behaviour at Doomsday. Interestingly, the compiler of article 43 has omitted a section of Dominica I in Quadragesima which sets up many of the ideas reiterated in the final excerpt used from this homily. This omission is surprising in view of the general tendency of anonymous compilers, discussed in many of the other examples in this study, to repeat and reinforce material wherever possible. Its effect on article 43 is to create a closer balance between discussion of fasting and good deeds by limiting the treatment of the latter.

Ker item 220. British Library Cotton Vitellius C. v, folios 175<sup>r</sup>-77<sup>v</sup> article 46

Text partly transcribed below, pp.281-86, and partly edited by John C. Pope, Homilies of Ælfric. A Supplementary Collection, EETS, os 259, 2 vols (London, 1967), II, 775-79.<sup>1</sup>

Cotton Vitellius C.v was written in stages in the late tenth to early eleventh century. Its provenance is unknown. It contains the First Series of the Catholic Homilies, to which have been added other Ælfric homilies. Ker notes that, 'all the additions and interpolations are in Ælfric's style',<sup>2</sup> but Pope identified part of article 46 as 'not entirely Ælfric's',<sup>3</sup> and notes other non-Ælfrician passages. Cotton Vitellius C. v was very badly burned in the Cotton Library fire.

Article 46's manuscript rubric is Dominica XV Post Octavas Pentecosten XLVI. Its focus is on the importance of confession and repentance of sins. It leads into this topic

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- 1 Although Pope edits part of article 46 as Visions of Departing Souls, Supplementary Homilies, II, 775-79, the early part of article 46 only exists in print as collations to Godden's edition of CH II Dominica XVI Post Pentecosten, Godden, Catholic Homilies. Second Series, pp.268-71. The alterations in article 46 to the ordering of the Godden text, discussed below, make the reconstruction of this homily from printed editions very complicated. I therefore transcribe the homily from fol.175<sup>r</sup>-76<sup>r</sup> below, pp.273-78.
- 2 Ker, Catalogue of Manuscripts, p.285.
- 3 Pope, Supplementary Collection, I, 29.



with a discussion of the dangers of relying on earthly riches, and reminds its audience to turn to God for sustenance and to strive to earn heavenly life. The idea of preparing for heaven by confessing sins is used to lead into a description of the fate of good and bad souls at Judgement, and the homily ends with another reminder to its audience that it is better to confess during one's life than at Judgement.

Article 46 is based upon an amalgamation of Ælfrician material. It uses all of CH II Dominica XVI Post Pentecosten (Godden pp.268-71), although the final section of this Ælfric homily is reordered and added to it is a text printed by Pope with the title Visions of Departing Souls (Pope II pp.775-79). Pope believes that the central portion of Visions of Departing Souls, which is in rhythmic prose, is by Ælfric, but that its opening and closing sections, in ordinary prose, are not.<sup>4</sup>

The first half of article 46 is a continuous extract from CH II Dominica XVI Post Pentecosten (Swan 11.2-103 'nemo... edlean' fols. 175<sup>r</sup>-76<sup>r</sup>; CH II, Godden p.268, 1.1 - p.271, 1.99). This opens with a discussion of the teaching that nobody can serve two masters, and moves into an account of the risks of earthly riches, contrasting these with the importance of reliance upon God and its heavenly reward. At this point, article 46 reorders part of the Godden text, missing out four lines and using one sentence (Swan 11.103-

4 Pope, Supplementary Collection, II, 772.

05 'ðiss...licie' fol. 176<sup>R</sup>; CH II, Godden p.271, ll.103-104) in which Ælfric acknowledges that the text may seem foolish to stupid people, but that some people will like it. Article 46 follows this with the preceding lines of the Ælfric text, which it had previously omitted (Swan ll.105-08 'dæghwamlice...renscurum\*\*\*ð\*\*' fol. 176<sup>R</sup>; Godden p.271, ll.99-102). These lines urge the audience to pray daily for their sins so that they do not mount up. A few words are lost from the manuscript at this point, and the next legible section continues the theme of paying for sins in an anonymous pasage from Visions of Departing Souls (Pope p.775, ll.1-14 'pæt...gebete' fol. 176<sup>V</sup>). Pope notes the resemblance of his lines 1-6 to the Wulfstan homily Napier XXII,<sup>5</sup> and to the version of this passage in the anonymous homily Napier XLIII.<sup>6</sup> He also shows that lines 6-11 are very similar to the end of Napier XXII.<sup>7</sup> His assertion that lines 109-14 are an adaptation of a passage which occurs in Ælfric's De Penitentia and in his LS Ash Wednesday homily<sup>8</sup> is challenged by Godden and Scragg, who both note instead the lines' similarity to part of Vercelli Homily VIII.<sup>9</sup> Pope also notes that lines 114-21 are almost the same as a passage in the anonymous homily Napier XLVI.<sup>10</sup>

5 Napier, Wulfstan, pp.113, l.14 - p.114, l.3; Bethurum, Homilies of Wulfstan, XIII, ll.80-84. The following footnoted references to the possible sources of this passage are from Pope, Supplementary Collection, II, 773-74.

6 Napier, Wulfstan, p.209, ll.9-14.

7 Napier, Wulfstan, p.115, ll.12-15; Bethurum XIII, p.231, l.103 - p.232, l.106.

8 Pope, Supplementary Collection, II, 772.

9 M.R. Godden, 'An Old English penitential motif', ASE, 2 (1973), 221-39 (pp.231-32); Scragg, 'Corpus of vernacular homilies', p.261.

10 Napier, Wulfstan, p.238, ll.10-18.



As a whole, this passage urges the audience to pay for their sins and do good on earth in order to earn heavenly life. After this, article 46 gives the Ælfrician portion of Visions of Departing Souls (Pope p.775, l.15 - p.779, l.107 'we...ende' fols. 176<sup>V</sup>-77<sup>V</sup>), with its stories of the death of good and of sinful people. This is followed in article 46 by the second anonymous passage from Visions of Departing Souls (Pope p.779, ll.107-23 '[ ]bað...beon' fol. 177<sup>V</sup>), which restates the importance of confession and the advantage of confessing to one person on earth, rather than to God and his hosts on Judgement Day. Article 46's final sentences are from the end of CH II Dominica XVI Post Pentecosten (Godden p.271, ll.104-107 'god...amen' fol. 177<sup>V</sup>). These offer a standard closing prayer to God to lead the audience to eternal life.

Pope notes that the original CH II homily for Dominica XVI Post Pentecosten is very short, and that the compiler of article 46 may have decided to expand it because 'it was both excessively short and lacking in force'.<sup>11</sup> His suggested model for the composition of Visions of Departing Souls is as follows: '(1) Ælfric composed the *exempla* for some undiscoverable occasion. (2) Another preacher incorporated these *exempla* into a homily of his own. (3) A third person, possibly the interpolator of MS. H [Cotton Vitellius C. v], lifted out Ælfric's *exempla* and some of the

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11 Pope, Supplementary Collection, II, 771.

surrounding matter to make the addition we find'.<sup>12</sup> In noting the resemblance, discussed above, between the style of the opening and closing non-rhythmical passages of Visions of Departing Souls and various Wulfstan and anonymous homilies, Pope suggests that the author of these Visions of Departing Souls passages may be the author of Napier XLVI, noting also stylistic parallels with Napier XXIX.<sup>13</sup>

Pope's model, then, for the whole of article 46, is that its compiler recognised some Ælfrician text in Visions of Departing Souls and thus chose this to expand CH II Dominica XVI Post Pentecosten. Pope judges this expansion to be 'forceful if not entirely harmonious',<sup>14</sup> and it is true that the two Ælfric texts on earthly humility and the fate of good and bad souls at Judgement are rather forcefully welded together by the anonymous discussion of payment for sins. However, the compiler of article 46 has produced a piece balanced between these two texts, and has succeeded in drawing the moral of repentance out of both of them. The anonymous sections both make use of motifs very common in Old English penitential homilies: the first uses the general exhortation to do good while alive in order to gain heaven, and the second, as a version of the teaching that it is preferable to confess on earth than in heaven, shares both ideas and vocabulary with other homilies.<sup>15</sup> These common

12 Pope, Supplementary Collection, II, 772.

13 Pope, Supplementary Collection, II, 774.

14 Pope, Supplementary Collection, II, 774.

15 See Godden, 'Penitential motif', pp.230-31. See also the discussion of the use of similar material in Cotton



penitential teachings, then, are used to draw one central theme from the two Ælfric texts, and the reordering of CH II Dominica XVI Post Pentecosten is skilful in its repositioning of the reference to paying for sins just before the opening of Visions of Departing Souls, and its holding over of the end of the CH II piece until its closing lines, to provide a useful formulaic ending which echoes the CH text's earlier references to the promise of eternal life.

Ker item 41. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 178 + 162,  
pp.139-60, pages 114-126 article 10

Text transcribed below, pp.287-306.

CCCC 178 was written in the first half of the eleventh century. Ker notes that it shares 'peculiarities of text and selection' with manuscripts from Worcester,<sup>1</sup> and Pope argues that it was at Worcester in the eleventh century.<sup>2</sup> CCCC 178 and CCCC 162, pp.139-60, together form two books of homilies, one for general occasions (pp.1-163), and one for major festivals (pp.164-270).<sup>3</sup> Nearly all the material in both books is by Ælfric.

Article 10 has the manuscript rubric Sermo ad populum quando uolueris. It opens with the parable of the pharisee and the sinner praying in the temple. It then expounds the meaning of this story, analysing the virtues of good behaviour and the dangers of boasting, and gives the example of Nebuchadnezzar's punishments for pride. The story of Theodosius and Ambrose is then related as another example of a proud person punished, the audience is urged to be humble, and the homily ends with a discussion of the virtues of tithing.

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1 Ker, Catalogue of Manuscripts, p.60.  
2 Pope, Supplementary Collection, I, 67.  
3 Ker, Catalogue of Manuscripts, p.60.



This lengthy homily is principally composed of CH II Dominica XII Post Pentecosten (CH I, Godden pp.249-54), which it divides into one long and one short section. To this text are added two other passages by Ælfric, one of which is printed from CCC 178 by Pope as an addition to CH II Dominica XII Post Pentecosten, with the title Theodosius and Ambrose (Pope II, homily XXVI, 762-69). The other Ælfric passage is also printed by Pope from CCC 419 as the second of two passages to which he gives the title From 'De Virginitate' (Pope II, homily XXX, 806-808). This latter passage is preceded in article 10 by a linking sentence (printed as Pope II, 806, note to l.75) which Pope believes to be 'probably Ælfric's'.<sup>4</sup> Godden, however, is 'not convinced that the linking section is by him'.<sup>5</sup> Pope believes, too, that Ælfric probably attached to CH II Dominica XII Post Pentecosten the passages used in article 10.<sup>6</sup> Godden also believes that Pope XXVI is an 'authentic addition' to article 10,<sup>7</sup> but that Pope XXX 'need not have been added by Ælfric himself'.<sup>8</sup>

The first half of article 10 is a continuous extract from CH II Dominica XII Post Pentecosten (Swan ll. 2-188 'dixit...rice' pp.114-20; CH II, Godden p.249, l.1 - p.254, l.159). This focuses on the story and explanation of the pharisee and the sinner, and gives a detailed account of how

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4 Pope, Supplementary Collection, II, 801. See also p.760.

5 Godden, Catholic Homilies. Second Series, p.372.

6 Pope, Supplementary Collection, II, 760.

7 Godden, Catholic Homilies. Second Series, p.371.

8 Godden, Catholic Homilies. Second Series, p.372.

to pray and how to act to worship God whilst avoiding pride, using the stories of Nebuchadnezzar and Belshazzar to exemplify God's punishments of the proud. This extract runs from the start of Dominica XII Post Pentecosten to the end of its penultimate paragraph. Article 10 at this point uses the first of its additional Ælfric passages (Swan 11.188-308 'gyt...hæle' pp.120-24; Pope II, Theodosius and Ambrose, p.762, l.1 - p.769, l.139) to add the story of the emperor Theodosius I and Saint Ambrose as another example. After this, article 10 returns to the end of CH II Dominica XII Post Pentecosten (Swan 11.308-316 'fela...rice' p.124 mid-sentence; CH II, Godden p.254, 11.160-67) for its statement that there are other examples of God humbling the proud, and its encouragement to the audience to humble themselves. Article 10 omits the final half-sentence of Dominica XII Post Pentecosten and adds instead the linking sentence discussed above (Swan, 11.316-18 'ge...secgan' p.124; printed as Pope II, p.806, note to l.75). This refers to the fact that tithing has already been mentioned in the story of the pharisee, and provides a lead-in to the second of the additional Ælfric passages in article 10 (Swan, 11.318-66 'god...rihsað a' pp.124-26 mid-sentence; Pope II, From 'De Virginitate', p.806, l.75 - p.808, l.114). This passage expands on the theme of tithing, stressing its importance as worship for Christians and giving details of methods of dividing goods to be tithed. Article 10 omits the last half-sentence of this passage too, substituting the formulaic phrase 'on ecnyse amen' (Swan, 1.366 p.126 mid-sentence).



Overall, article 10's didactic focus changes from the dangers of pride to the merits of tithing. This shift is carefully engineered by the compiler, who uses the linking sentence to make explicit both the point at which the change occurs and the relevance of the early part of the homily to what is to come. Despite this internal justification, however, the end result of the compilation of Ælfric texts in article 10 is a lessening of the impact of the early discussion of pride. The first two Ælfric passages used, from CH II Dominica XII Post Pentecosten and Theodosius and Ambrose, work well together to produce a strong set of narrative examples, but the theme of tithing is here not sufficiently prominent to give this section relevance in the final discussion of tithing, taken from From 'De Virginitate', although Pope notes that the twelfth Sunday after Pentecost usually falls at the beginning of the harvest season in August, and that this is thus a good date for a homily on tithes.<sup>9</sup> Neither Pope nor Godden believes that the tithing passage was intended by Ælfric as a permanent addition to Dominica XII Post Pentecosten.<sup>10</sup> This belief, the possibility that the linking sentence is not Ælfrician, and the overall structural and thematic weakness of article 10 make non-Ælfrician compilation seem likely.

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9 Pope, Supplementary Collection, II, 760.

10 Pope, Supplementary Collection, II, 760; Godden, Catholic Homilies. Second Series, p.372.

Ker item 41. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 178 + 162,  
pp.139-60, page 229 article 27

Text transcribed below, pp.307-08.

CCCC 178 was written in the first half of the eleventh century, probably in the Worcester area. For a description of the manuscript contents, see my account of article 10 above, p.129.

Article 27 is a short piece of nineteen manuscript lines with no manuscript rubric which stands as a pendant to the preceding Palm Sunday homily (article 26: CH II Dominica Palmarum. De Passione Domini without the 'swig-dagas' notice printed by Godden at the end of the homily). It gives an explanation of Christ's justice in reclaiming humankind from the devil, the devil's defeat by Christ, and ends with a reference to the resurrection and an explanation that no sermons are to be preached on the three 'silent days' of Holy Week.<sup>1</sup>

This passage is made up of two excerpts from CH I In Dominica Palmarum (CH I, Thorpe pp.206-18). The excerpts used are from more than three-quarters of the way through In Dominica Palmarum. The compiler of article 27 has ignored Alfric's narration and explanation of the Palm Sunday story

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1 The 'silent days' notice in article 27 is that which follows CH I De Dominica Palmarum in Thorpe's edition.



of Christ's entry into Jerusalem and of the devil instigating the Jews to kill him. Article 27 opens just after this point, with Ælfric's digression on the nature and purpose of Christ's justice. The tricking of the devil is described through the metaphor of a fish biting a hook (Swan 11.1-19 'we...belyfað' mid-sentence; Thorpe p.216, 11.4-17). The compiler then omits the following lines of the Ælfric text, which describe Christ's passion, death, burial and Harrowing of Hell, and takes up the CH text again with a reference to Easter Sunday and Christ's resurrection (Swan 11.19-22 'and...si' mid-sentence; Thorpe p.216, 11.32-34). This excerpt includes Ælfric's reference to the fact that it will be more suitable to expound this text in seven days' time. The compiler omits the rest of In Dominica Palmarum which includes a description of the custom of blessing the palms and its significance, and explanations that the sinful will pass into torment and the righteous to eternal life, and that the soul and body will be reunited at judgement. Article 27 instead gives an anonymous formulaic ending to its passage (Swan 1.23 'ðam...amen'), and follows this with the 'cyrclice ðeawas' note which Thorpe prints after In Dominica Palmarum (Swan 11.24-25 'cyrclice...swigdagum'; CH I, Thorpe p.218, 11.30-31), in which Ælfric states that church customs forbid preaching on the 'silent days' of Holy Week; Maundy Thursday, Good Friday and Holy Saturday.

This short piece stands as an examination of the nature and threat of the devil and a pointer to the coming feast of the Resurrection (CH I Dominica Sancte Pasce is article 28

in the manuscript). The compiler of article 27 has omitted all of Ælfric's references to Palm Sunday and, unlike most of the anonymous compilers discussed here, has not used the CH for its narrative content. Unusually, this compiler has chosen to excerpt a striking image from the Ælfric homily. Article 27's focus on the power of Christ and the downfall of the devil connects rather strongly with the closing remarks about Easter Sunday. This links article 27 more strongly to the Easter homily which follows in the manuscript than to the preceding Palm Sunday homily.

It is interesting that an eleventh-century note in the margin to article 27, opposite the 'cyrclice ðeawas' sentence, states to the contrary that it is important to preach on the 'silent days'. This is one of several notes in manuscripts of the period which object to Ælfric's 'silent days' notice. In her study of these and of manuscripts in which anonymous homilies for the three days are added to Ælfric's series, Hill concludes that 'on this occasion Ælfric was at variance with some of his major sources and with the practice in at least parts of the late Anglo-Saxon church'.<sup>2</sup> The marginal note to article 27 manifests one example of reader response to Ælfric, and is obviously at variance with the attitude of the compiler of this piece, who chose to add the 'cyrclice ðeawas' statement to the excerpted passage from In Dominica Palmarum.

2 Hill, 'Ælfric's "Silent Days" ', p.125. The marginal note to article 28 is one of those cryptically signed 'coleman', and is printed and discussed by Neil Ker, 'Old English notes signed "Coleman"', MÆ, 18 (1949), 29-31.



Ker item 209. British Library, Cotton Vespasian D. xiv,  
folios 168<sup>v</sup>-169<sup>r</sup> article 52

Text edited by Rubie D-N. Warner, Early English Homilies  
from the Twelfth Century MS. Vesp. D. XIV, EETS, os 152  
(London, 1917), pp.148-49.

Cotton Vespasian D. xiv dates from the mid-twelfth century, and was probably written at Christ Church, Canterbury, or at Rochester.<sup>1</sup> It is primarily composed of many entire and partial homilies from both series of the CH, but it also contains some later anonymous pieces. Rima Handley describes the nature of the collection: 'The overall plan of the book is moral and instructive and to this end the pieces which have been selected represent the elementary essentials of the Christian Faith'.<sup>2</sup> The language of this manuscript is 'consistently normalized'.<sup>3</sup>

Article 52 has no manuscript rubric. It is a short piece which describes the visit of the Blessed Virgin Mary to Elizabeth and Mary's singing of the Magnificat.

This homily uses an excerpt from CH I Annunciatio S. Mariæ (Thorpe, pp.192-204) and the gospel reading from

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1 For a discussion of its provenance, see Rima Handley, 'British Museum MS. Cotton Vespasian D. xiv', N&Q, 219 (1974), 243-50 (p.243).

2 Handley, 'Cotton Vespasian D. xiv', p.244.

3 Scragg, 'Corpus of vernacular homilies', p.261.

Ælfric's homily,<sup>4</sup> and adds several anonymous opening sentences which give brief details of Zacharias and Elizabeth and Mary's visit to them (Warner p.148, 11.11-13 'sum...maria' mid-sentence). The CH excerpt used is from almost three-quarters of the way through Annunciatio S. Mariæ. The compiler of article 52 rejects Ælfric's account of creation, God's pity for fallen humans and his decision to redeem humankind through his son. Ælfric's explanation of the meaning of the Annunciation and description of the angel's message and the virginity of Mary are also omitted. The compiler of article 52 takes an extract which in Ælfric's homily forms the central part of the visit to Elizabeth. The passage used (Warner p.148, 1.14 - p.149, 1.3 'and...modigen' mid-sentence; CH I Thorpe, p.202, 11.9-27 mid-sentence and Napier p.106, 11.3-8) describes Mary greeting Elizabeth and John the Baptist rejoicing in Elizabeth's womb, and gives the Latin opening of the Magnificat with an English translation. The opening words of this Thorpe passage are slightly shortened in article 52, with the omission of the words 'his wif' (Thorpe p.202, 1.9, at Warner p.148, 1.14 'grette'). The anonymous compiler leaves the CH text here, omitting its last quarter, in which Ælfric expresses his refusal to expound all of the Magnificat and preaches on the meaning of God casting down the mighty and raising up the humble, filling the hungry, rejecting the rich and receiving Israel.

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4 Thorpe does not print the gospel readings from CH I homilies. An edition of the gospel reading from Annunciatio S. Mariæ exists: A.S. Napier, 'Zum Archiv CI, S.313', Archiv, 107 (1901), 105-06.



Handley remarks that article 52 'has been adapted so that it forms a self-consistent piece, as have many of the extracts in this book',<sup>5</sup> and it does indeed stand as a coherent shortening of Ælfric's version of the Annunciation, which omits almost all of Ælfric's theological explanations, its anonymous opening sentences providing a succinct and relevant lead-in to the central story.

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5 Handley, 'Cotton Vespasian D. xiv', p.247.

Ker item 310. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 343,  
folio 166<sup>v</sup> article 82

Text edited by A.O. Belfour, Twelfth-century Homilies in MS. Bodley 343, EETS, os 137 (London, 1909), p.134.

Bodley 343 was written in the second half of the twelfth century, possibly in the West Midlands.<sup>1</sup> It is a large homily collection which contains forty-eight Catholic Homilies, some Wulfstan pieces and nine anonymous homilies.

Article 82 is a short passage on avarice, with no manuscript rubric. It consists almost entirely of a continuous extract from CH II Dominica IX Post Pentecosten (Godden, pp.235-40), which is preceded by two anonymous sentences.

Article 82 opens with two sentences not in the Godden text, which define avarice (Belfour p.134, ll.7-9 'auarus...istreonæ'). According to Pope, these 'may or may not be by Ælfric'.<sup>2</sup> The added sentences act as a concise opening to the CH extract. The extract from Dominica IX Post Pentecosten follows, with consistent minor differences of vocabulary and word order in comparison with the CH text (Belfour p.134, ll.9-31 'ðeo...unpances'; CH II, Godden, p.238, l.108- p.239, l.133). It is taken from about two-

1 See Ker, Catalogue of Manuscripts, p.375, and Scragg, 'Corpus of vernacular homilies', p.245.

2 Pope, Supplementary Collection, p.16.



thirds of the way through the homily, and deals with greediness, its condemnation by St Paul and its worthlessness in the sight of God. Omitted are the earlier part of the CH homily, concerning false prophets, and describing the nature of good through the metaphor of tree and fruit, and its final part which promotes good deeds as a way to heaven. The extract used in article 82 stands as a self-contained piece which does not deviate from its main subject-matter. The two added opening sentences serve to define the topic of the piece, and lead into it seamlessly.

Ker item 18. Cambridge, University Library, Ii. 1. 33,  
folios 222<sup>V</sup>-24<sup>V</sup> article 43

Text transcribed below, pp.309-14.

Cambridge University Library Ii. 1. 33 dates from the second half of the twelfth century. Ker states that changes in script and breaks in the text indicate that the manuscript was 'written at several intervals'.<sup>1</sup> The provenance of the manuscript is unknown, although Pope notes that its scribal language 'has a prevailing southern look'.<sup>2</sup>

CUL Ii. 1.33 is almost entirely composed of Ælfrician homilies from both sets of the CH and the LS. Article 43 is in the middle of a group of non-Ælfrician pieces (Ker articles 40-42 and 44) at the end of the manuscript,<sup>3</sup> which Pope describes as 'a kind of moralizing and admonitory appendix'.<sup>4</sup> Article 43 is based on CH II Alia Visio (Godden, pp.199-203), Ælfric's account of Drihthelm's dream.

Article 43 reproduces almost all of Alia Visio as printed by Godden, but alters its beginning and end. The opening lines of the Godden text (Godden p.199, ll.1-3 'beda...reccende'), which refer to Bede's account of

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1 Ker, Catalogue of Manuscripts, p.23.

2 Pope, Supplementary Collection, p.39.

3 For a description of article 44, see below, pp.157-59.

4 Pope, Supplementary Collection, p.38.



Drihthelm in the Historia Anglorum, are omitted in article 43. Article 43 opens with a condensed and altered version of the Godden text (Swan, 11.1-2 'her...lande' fol.222<sup>V</sup> mid-sentence; compared to Godden p.199, 11.3-4 'on...lande'). The following lines of the Godden text (Godden p.199, 11.4-6 'bylewite...gebroht' at Swan 1.2 'lande' fol.222<sup>V</sup> mid-sentence) are also omitted, and article 43 then alters another half-line of the Godden text (Godden p.199, 1.7 'he...his'; altered to Swan 1.2 'on...gelead' fol.222<sup>V</sup> mid-sentence). These opening lines of article 43 serve as a brief introduction to Drihthelm which dextrously picks and chooses from the early part of the Ælfric text. After this, article 43 follows the Godden version's account of Drihthelm's vision of purgatory and the end of his earthly life (Swan, 11.2-106 '7...bysnonge' fols.222<sup>V</sup>-24<sup>V</sup> mid-sentence; Godden p.199, 1.7 - p.203, 1.111). Throughout this, article 43 shows many differences of vocabulary and phrasing, and omissions of part and whole sentences, including Godden p.202, 1.107 - p.203, 1.109 'maran... andwyrde' at Swan 1.103 'andwyrde' fol.224<sup>V</sup>. The final paragraph of the Godden text, with its reference to Gregory's Dialogues and their account of a man's vision, return to life and lesson in charity (Godden p.203, 11.112-37 'we...amen'), is omitted in article 43, which closes with one-and-a-half compiler-written sentences (Swan 11.106-108 'to...amen' fol.224<sup>V</sup> mid-sentence) which complete the last truncated sentence from the Godden text and add a formulaic final prayer to Christ.

The compiler of article 43 has made skilful use of CH II Alia Visio, retaining its central story, omitting Ælfric's references to the textual authority of the Historia Anglorum and replacing this with a concise opening and ending. This homily, like several of those under discussion, shows Ælfric's material being used for its narrative, and does not share his interest in and scholarly responsibility towards authorities and sources.



Ker item 209. London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian  
D. xiv, folios 40<sup>r</sup>-48<sup>v</sup> article 15

Text edited by Warner, Early English Homilies, pp.34-41.

Cotton Vespasian D. xiv was written in the mid-twelfth century, and is probably from Rochester or Canterbury. For a description of the manuscript contents, see my account of article 52 above, p.136.

Article 15's manuscript rubric is Dominica XII post Pentecosten. It opens with the parable of the Pharisee and the sinner going to pray, and uses this to discuss ways to pray and the value of humility and good deeds. This is followed by a series of stories concerning Daniel, including the downfall of Nebuchadnezzar and Belshazzar, Daniel's refusal to pray to false gods, his imprisonment in the lions' den, and his destruction of idols. Article 15 ends with reference to other examples of pagan behaviour before the birth of Christ.

Article 15 is almost entirely compiled from Ælfric homilies. It uses CH II. Dominica XII Post Pentecosten (Godden, pp.249-54) and part of Ælfric's homily De Falsiis Diis (Pope, pp.676-712). The only phrases in article 15 not taken directly from Ælfric material are the very last ones,

which seem to represent a compiler-written summary of part of De Falsiis Diis.<sup>1</sup>

Almost half of article 15 consists of a continuous extract from CH II Dominica XII Post Pentecosten (Warner p.34, l.3 - p.38, l.4 'dominica...byð' fols. 40<sup>r</sup>-44<sup>v</sup>; Godden p.249, l.1 - p.254, l.164). This tells the parable of the pharisee and the sinner, instructs its audience on how to pray correctly and stresses the importance of humility before God. The stories of Nebuchadnezzar and Belshazzar are next related as examples of pride humbled, and Daniel is introduced with the account of him deciphering the mysterious message on Belshazzar's wall. The final lines of CH II Dominica XII Post Pentecosten (Godden p.254, ll.164-67 'geunne...amen') are omitted in article 15, which at this point uses an extract from De Falsiis Diis. This lengthy piece of text (Warner p.38, l.4 - p.41, l.21 'on... morðæden' fols. 44<sup>v</sup>-48<sup>v</sup> mid-sentence; Pope p.693, l.300 - p.703, l.496) is used in article 15, with an expanded opening section, to pick up on the reference to Daniel in CH II Dominica XII Post Pentecosten, and adds further episodes from Daniel's life, from his refusal to pray to King Darius to his release from the lions' den. Article 15 reproduces both Ælfric's explanation from De Falsiis Diis that he could say more about false gods, and his description of pagan behaviour; it then switches from direct copying of the Ælfric text to a brief summary of a few phrases from it

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1 Pope, Supplementary Collection, p.759, does not think that Ælfric was responsible for this summary.



(Warner p.41, ll.21-22 'mancyn...becom' fol. 48<sup>v</sup> mid-sentence; abbreviating Pope p.703, l.496 - p.704, l.1 'and...weorulde'). Here, the compiler of article 15 has reduced Ælfric's reference to the fact that the greatest evil was performed by the gods held most dear (Pope p.703, l.497 'and...fylðe') to the phrase 'mancyn dwylden' (Warner p.41, l.22), and has reworked Ælfric's account of Christ's birth.

Article 15 uses the two Ælfric homilies to construct a single piece whose focus seems to be on Daniel. The didactic point of its Daniel stories, however, is somewhat confused by the different contexts from which they are taken. CH II Dominica XII Post Pentecosten uses Daniel as an example of goodness overcoming pride, whereas De Falsiis Diis' accounts of his life serve to highlight the sins of pagans and the triumph of Christian good.<sup>2</sup> Article 15 omits much of De Falsiis Diis, including its attack on pagan gods, but its inclusion of almost all of CH II Dominica XII Post Pentecosten, especially its opening account of the Pharisee and the sinner, makes for a lack of thematic unity. Article 15's structural unity is also threatened by the points at which the compiler breaks off from the source texts. In CH II Dominica XII Post Pentecosten, Ælfric's explanation that he could say more about how God has humbled the proud and raised up the humble (Godden p.254, ll.160-64 'fela..beoð')

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2 Pope, Supplementary Collection, p.759 and Godden, Catholic Homilies, Second Series, p.372 note the inappropriateness of the theme of De Falsiis Diis to article 15.

served to signal the end of the homily, with its implication that no more examples would be provided. In article 15 this explanation stands at the end of the CH II Dominica XII Post Pentecosten excerpt (Warner p.37, l.38 - p.38, l.4), but is here used to lead into further examples from De Falsiis Diis which, as we have seen, do not repeat the theme of humbling the proud. The first phrase expanded from De Falsiis Diis; 'on þære ilcan burh babilonie þe we embe specað was on daries dagen se wytege daniel' (Warner p.38, ll.4-5 mid-sentence; Pope p.693, l.300), is illogical in the context of article 15, where Daniel has already been introduced. Furthermore, the final phrases taken directly from De Falsiis Diis (Warner p.41, ll.19-21 'feale...morðæden' mid-sentence; Pope p.703, ll.494-96) are similarly structured to the last phrases used from CH II Dominica XII Post Pentecosten, with Ælfric stating that he could give further examples of pagan practices. As such, they serve to remind the reader of the incongruity of the last phrases from CH II Dominica XII Post Pentecosten, and highlight the rather forced transition between the two source texts used in article 15.



Ker 297. Oxford, Bodleian Auctarium F. 4. 32, folios 10<sup>r</sup>-18<sup>v</sup>, article a, and Ker item 57. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 303, pages 76-82, article 18.

Auctarium F. 4. 32 article a edited by Mary-Catherine Bodden, The Old English Finding of the True Cross (Woodbridge, 1987), pp.60-112, with collations from CCC 303 article 18.<sup>1</sup>

The quire of Auctarium F. 4. 32 containing article a was written in the second half of the eleventh century. It is now bound with a manuscript written during the ninth and tenth centuries which, Ker notes, 'appears to have been at Glastonbury in s. x'.<sup>2</sup> CCC 303 was written in the first half of the twelfth century, probably at Rochester. It is a large volume of homilies, most of which are by Ælfric. Godden describes it as 'a fairly well organised collection, drawing mainly on Ælfric's early work'.<sup>3</sup>

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1 In the following discussion I refer to Bodden's edition of Auctarium F. 4. 32 article a, and to the manuscript of CCC 303 article 18. I have not followed the references on page 49 of Bodden's book to the line numbers of passages from her edition of article a and to Godden's edition of CH II Inventio Sanctae Crucis, since these contain errors and, even with the errors corrected, I identify different groups of correspondences between the anonymous and Ælfrician texts. Thus where Bodden cites seven phrases in article a which she believes to have been taken from CH II Inventio Sanctae Crucis, I recognise that some of these are in fact continuous excerpts from the Ælfric homily and thus identify three longer passages. Godden too, on p.362 of Catholic Homilies, Second Series, highlights three passages in article a for comparison with CH II Inventio Sanctae Crucis.

2 Ker, Catalogue of Manuscripts, p.355.

3 Godden, Catholic Homilies, Second Series, p.xxxv.

Article a has no manuscript rubric, although Ker states that a 'title on the first line of f.10 has been erased'.<sup>4</sup> Article 18 has the manuscript rubric 'In inuentione Sancte Crucis'. Both are copies of a homily on the finding of the true cross. They are extremely close, showing minor differences of vocabulary and spelling and occasionally diverging for a short phrase, but having no substantial differences.<sup>5</sup>

Articles a and 18 begin by describing Constantine's reign as Roman emperor, his military victory with angelic help, and his conversion to Christianity. The narrative focus then switches to his mother Helena; Constantine sends her to Jerusalem, she meets with Jews, is eventually helped by Judas, discovers Christ's cross and nails from the Crucifixion and orders the people of Rome to honour the day of the discovery of the cross. Articles a and 18 end with an account of the Jews burying the cross for one hundred and thirty-three years and God revealing it, and an exhortation to their audience to honour this day.

In her study of article a, Bodden compares surviving Latin versions of this story of the finding of the true cross, and suggests that articles a and 18 have a common antecedent in an abbreviated Old English homily, possibly influenced by Cynewulf's Elene, and itself at two removes from a longer

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4 Ker, Catalogue of Manuscripts, p.355.

5 Articles a and 18 provide the only example amongst the texts discussed in this study which survives in more than one copy.



Latin version.<sup>6</sup> No known Old English source exists for the great majority of articles a and 18, but inserted into approximately the first tenth of the homily are three short excerpts from CH II 18a *Inventio Sanctae Crucis* (Godden, CH II, pp.174-76). The present study will not be concerned with the potential Latin source of articles a and 18, nor with the possibility of their links with Elene, but will rather examine the relationship between articles a and 18 and Ælfric's homily on the finding of the cross.

Article a opens with an anonymous section announcing that the preacher will tell of Christ's cross and its discovery, and setting the scene by dating Constantine's rule in Rome to one hundred and thirty-three years after Christ's death (Bodden p.61, ll.1-6 'geherap...byrig'). Article 18's opening (CCCC 303 p.76, ll.1-5 'men...byrig') is identical, except for the presence of the opening formula 'men þa leofestan'. After this opening material, articles a and 18 give a short excerpt from the beginning of CH II *Inventio Sanctae Crucis* (Godden p.174, ll.6-7 '; Bodden p.61, ll.6-8; and CCCC 303 p.76, ll.5-6 'wæs...gefullod'), describing Constantine as pious and noble and a helper of Christians, but as yet unbaptized. There are only slight verbal differences between the versions of this passage in articles a and 18 and the CH version. The opening

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6 Bodden, Finding of the True Cross, pp.28-59; stemma on p.36. The assumption that parallels between these texts presuppose direct influences is problematic; such narrative similarities could exist within an established tradition without indicating any direct textual transmission. For a brief survey of this issue and of other problems relating to Bodden's edition, see Joyce Hill's review, Anglia, 108 (1990), 205-09.

of CH II Inventio Sanctae Crucis, which includes the information that 'hieronimus se wisa mæssepreost awrat on ðære bec ðe we hatað ecclesiastica historia' (Godden p.174, 11.3-5) is here omitted. Articles a and 18 now give an anonymous continuation of Constantine's story: a great foreign army gathers to fight at the Danube and Constantine assembles his own army and marches against the enemy (Bodden p.61 11.8-14 'þa on...mode and'; CCC 303 p.76 11.6-10 'þa...mode 7'). The final words of this passage, describing Constantine's state of mind and advance with his army towards the enemy, seem to be an expansion of a short phrase from CH II Inventio Sanctae Crucis (Godden p.174, 1.10 'þa...and'; Bodden p.61, 11.12-14 'þa...and'; CCC 303 p.76, 11.8-10 'þa wearð...mode 7').

After this, a very short phrase directly paralleling CH II Inventio Sanctae Crucis occurs in articles a and 18 (Godden p.174, 11.10-11; Bodden p.61, 11.14-15; CCC 303 p.76, 11.10-11 'gelome...fultum' mid-sentence) to describe Constantine often looking to heaven for divine help. Articles a and 18 then in an anonymous passage describe his unhappiness at the might of the enemy army and the possibility that his troops will die, and his dream in which an angel tells him to look to heaven and shows him a written message of victory (Bodden p.61, 1.15 - p.63, 1.28 'biddende...fiond' mid-sentence; CCC 303 p.76, 11.11-19 'biddende...feond' mid-sentence). In this passage article a contains one phrase which is not in article 18: 'and he þa sona beseah up on þære heofenan' (Bodden p.63, 1.24; at CCC 303 p.76 1.16 'heofonum'). The description of Constantine's dream is followed by the final, longest excerpt from the early part of CH II Inventio Sanctae Crucis,



describing Constantine waking up in pleasure at what he has seen, and marking his head and his banner with a cross. This passage differs slightly in each of the three versions (Bodden p.63, l.28 - p.65, l.31 'he awoc þa bliþelice for þære fægeran gesihðe and for þære mæran behatenan sige and mearcode him on heafde halig rode tacen and on his guðfanan gode to wurðmynte'; CCC 303 p.76, ll.19-20 'he awoc þa bliðelic for þære fægran 7 for þære mæran behatene sige 7 mærcode him þa on his heafode halig rode tacen and on his guðfanan gode to wurðmente'; Godden p.174, ll.15-17 'he awoc ða bliðe for ðære gesihðe and for ðan behatenan sige and mearcode him on heafde halig rodetacn and on his guðfanan gode to wurðmynte'). The remainder of articles a and 18 is anonymous, although their accounts of Constantine's victory and conversion and of Helena's travels and discoveries are broadly similar in content to the remainder of CH II Inventio Sanctae Crucis. The principal narrative differences between the homily represented by articles a and 18 and CH II Inventio Sanctae Crucis are that the former describes the death of some of the enemy army as a result of their looking on Constantine's golden cross, the death of others in battle, and the death of yet others by drowning in the river, whilst Ælfric's version of the enemy's defeat describes the leader of the enemy army, Maxentius, building a false bridge across the river to drown Constantine and his troops, but in fact forgetting the trap which he has made and leading his own army across the bridge which then collapses so that they all die. In the later part of the narrative, articles a and 18 describe Judas eventually finding the cross and nails for Helena, whilst in Ælfric's

version Helena is given the help of a heavenly sign, but no human assistant is mentioned.

The homily represented by articles a and 18 is a straightforward narrative account of the events leading up to, and the significance of, the finding of the true cross. It is hard to account for its compiler's decision to choose three relatively unimportant excerpts from the early part of CH II Inventio Sanctae Crucis, which add little of any importance in terms of plot or theme, whilst ignoring the rest of the Ælfrician version, unless this is the result of the compiler using the Ælfric material from a memory of the opening of CH II Inventio Sanctae Crucis. As with CUL I. 1. 33 article 43,<sup>7</sup> the compiler of articles a and 18 has ignored Ælfric's scrupulous opening identification of his source. Articles a and 18 tell the story of the feastday, and the Ælfric material selected by their compiler reflects this story-based focus.

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7 Discussed above, pp.141-43.



Ker item 209. British Library, Cotton Vespasian D. xiv, folios 4-169, folios 119<sup>r</sup>-23<sup>r</sup> article 36

Text edited by Warner, Early English Homilies, pp.106-09.

Cotton Vespasian D. xiv dates from the mid-twelfth century and is probably from Rochester or Canterbury. For a description of its contents, see my account of article 52 above, p.136.

Article 36 has no manuscript rubric. It relates Old and New Testament stories of Christians persecuted and killed by heathens, which culminate in an account of the Crucifixion and of Christ pardoning one of the thieves crucified with him.

Article 36 uses CH I Natale S. Clementis Martyris (Thorpe pp. 556-76) as the basis of its text. It draws directly on Ælfric's homily for approximately nine-tenths of its narrative, with minor differences of spelling throughout. One short passage of article 36, by contrast, represents an abbreviated version of a section of Natale S. Clementis Martyris.

Article 36 begins half-way through CH I Natale S. Clementis Martyris. It omits all of Ælfric's opening narration of Clement's life, and begins with the Old Testament account of God saving Christians from their

heathen persecutors, following Ælfric's version of these stories of Hezekiah and Nebuchadnezzar (Warner p.106, 1.1 - p.107, 1.24 'oft...7' mid-sentence; CH I, Thorpe p.566, 1.28 - p.570, 1.23). At this point the compiler of article 36 switches from copying the text represented by Thorpe to summarising it. The summarised section of article 36 (Warner p.107, 1.24-29 'se...totæren' mid-sentence) reduces the next part of the Thorpe text, dealing with the persecution of Daniel, Habakkuk's help and Cyrus' belief (CH I, Thorpe p.570, 1.23 - p.572, 1.19), to approximately one-fifth of its original length, relating the outline of the Daniel story and omitting all direct speech and reference to Habakkuk's role. The Thorpe text is picked up again in article 36 and followed through to its end, with its accounts of the Jews' envy of Christ, the persecution of Peter, John and Paul, and a discussion of how God releases the righteous from trials, and of the permanence of eternal good (Warner p.107, 1.29 - p.109, 1.8 'pa...amen'; CH I, Thorpe p.572, 1.19 - p.576, 1.14). Article 36 ends with the end of the Thorpe text: a prayer to be saved from all perils.

This homily draws solely on the latter part of Natale S. Clementis Martyris, which recounts stories of God saving people from heathen persecutors. Since it copies most of this part of the Ælfric story in full, there is no obvious rationale behind its omission of the details of the Daniel section, other than the fact that this is the story related at greatest length by Ælfric. Some of the other incidents



in Ælfric's Natale S. Clementis Martyris contain direct speech and detailed accounts, but in general they are more concisely structured than his Daniel section. This perhaps accounts for their inclusion in article 36, and for the omission of the somewhat longer Daniel section. As mentioned above, article 36 omits all of Ælfric's detailed account of Clement's life, and this omission may be seen with the abbreviation of the Daniel episode as indicative of the anonymous compiler's desire to select from the episodes offered by Ælfric's text to produce a restructured and relatively fast-moving homily which offers a series of examples of persecution and focuses its didactic message on Christ's suffering and charity on the cross.

Ker item 18. Cambridge, University Library, Ii. 1. 33,  
folios 224<sup>V</sup>-227<sup>V</sup> article 44

Text transcribed from folio 224<sup>V</sup>-225<sup>R</sup> below, pp.315-17.

Cambridge University Library manuscript Ii. 1. 33 was written in the second half of the twelfth century. Its provenance is not known. For a description of its contents, see my account of article 43 above, p.145.

The main text of article 44 is described by Pope as 'a crudely versified set of apothegms'.<sup>1</sup> This main text is anonymous and composed in the form of alliterative verse. It is edited and described by James L. Rosier.<sup>2</sup> On folios 224<sup>V</sup> and 225<sup>R</sup> of the main text, excerpts from CH I Decollatio S. Iohannis Baptistæ (Thorpe, pp.476-90) have been added in the bottom and top margins respectively, in a different ink, and probably a different hand, from that of the main text. The first excerpt (Swan, ll.21-22 'se...oferspæcum' fol.224<sup>V</sup>; Thorpe p.486, ll.31-33) is taken from almost three-quarters of the way through the Ælfric homily, which has up to this point told of John and Herod, the perils of false swearing, and of John's suffering and execution. The sentence excerpted in article 44 for this first marginal addition is a quotation from Solomon on the trials of living with an evil and over-talkative woman.

1 Pope, Supplementary Collection, p.38

2 James L. Rosier, '"Instructions for Christians." A poem in Old English', Anglia, 82 (1964), 4-22.



None of the following text of the Ælfric homily is used by the marginal annotator of article 44, who ignores its examples of such threatening women, including the king's wife who wanted John beheaded, description of Herod's fate and consideration of the wretchedness of this life and the frailty of our bodies, and its concluding contrast of true and everlasting life with Christ.

The marginal annotator turns to a slightly earlier part of Decollatio S. Iohannis Baptistæ for the Ælfric excerpt in the top margin of fol.225<sup>r</sup> (Swan, ll.23-24 'þ...wife' fol.225<sup>r</sup>; Thorpe p.486, ll.28-29). Replacing Ælfric's opening phrase, 'nu cwýð se trahtnere' with 'se wisa eft cwæð', the marginal annotator goes on to reproduce the rest of the Ælfric sentence comparing an evil woman to wild animals. The anonymous verses of the main text of article 44 which the Ælfric excerpts surround at the bottom of fol.224<sup>v</sup> and top of fol.225<sup>r</sup> are of a religious nature. They describe the soul's life in glory with God and bemoan the lot of the earth-bound person.

The excerpts from Decollatio S. Iohannis Baptistæ used here serve little obvious purpose in terms of strengthening or expanding the narrative or themes of the main text. The main text of article 44 offers no link with a discussion of women, and the only possible link for the introduction of the Ælfric passages is the section of the main text beginning at the end of fol.224<sup>v</sup>, which outlines the misery of earthly desires. Although no insertion marks are visible

in the main text, the Ælfric excerpts here perhaps serve a similar purpose to those in manuscript Cotton Faustina A. x article 4, discussed below, pp.160-64, standing as an amplifying and possibly well-known comment to increase the range of reference of the main text.



Ker item 154. London, British Library, Cotton Faustina  
A. x, folios 148<sup>r</sup>-151<sup>v</sup> article 4

Folios 148<sup>r</sup>-149<sup>r</sup> line 12 of text transcribed below,  
pp.318-21.

Cotton Faustina A.x folios 102-51 is dated to the first half of the twelfth century.<sup>1</sup> Its origin is unknown. Most of this part of the manuscript is taken up with a copy of Æpelwold's translation of the Regula S. Benedicti. Short Old English recipes and charms and Latin charms are also included. Article 4 begins on fol.148<sup>r</sup>, after four blank lines which were perhaps left for the addition of a title. The main text of article 4 is a prose tract known as 'King Edgar's Establishment of Monasteries'.<sup>2</sup> In an article on Æpelwold, Michael Lapidge refers to the belief that this tract was originally intended as a preface to the Regula S. Benedicti translation, and agrees with Whitelock that Æpelwold is its author.<sup>3</sup> The text as it survives, uniquely

1 For a description of fols.3-101, see Ker, Catalogue of Manuscripts, pp.194, 196.

2 This text is edited by Dorothy Whitelock, Councils and Synods With Other Documents Relating to the English Church. Volume I: A.D. 871-1204, edited by D. Whitelock, M. Brett and C.N.L. Brooke, Part I, 871-1066, edited by D. Whitelock (Oxford, 1981), pp.142-54, and translated into Modern English by her in English Historical Documents I c.500-1042, edited by Dorothy Whitelock (London, 1955), pp.846-49.

3 Michael Lapidge, 'Æthelwold as Scholar and Teacher' in Bishop Æthelwold: His Career and Influence, edited by Barbara Yorke (Woodbridge, 1988), pp.89-117 (pp.102-03). Whitelock suggests that Æpelwold wrote the tract, in 'The Authorship of the Account of King Edgar's Establishment of Monasteries', in Philological Essays: Studies in Old and Middle English Language and

in this manuscript, runs from fol.148<sup>r</sup>-151<sup>v</sup>, although Ker and Lapidge show that one or three leaves are missing after fol.148.<sup>4</sup>

To this main text of article 4 are added marginal and interlinear notes on fols.148<sup>r</sup>, 148<sup>v</sup> and 149<sup>r</sup> which consist of snippets from CH II Sancti Gregorii Pape (Godden, pp.72-80). Godden states that these are in a twelfth-century hand.<sup>5</sup> In his Catalogue of Manuscripts,<sup>6</sup> Ker lists insertion marks in the main text and gives references to Thorpe's edition of CH II Sancti Gregorii Pape for the added passages. Examination of the manuscript, however, shows that Ker has confused some of the insertion marks and passages. I thus list the six visible additions to the main text of article 4 with reference to Godden's edition of Sancti Gregorii Pape:

1. Swan, p.318, 'he...belcta' fol.148<sup>r</sup>; variant of Godden p.73, ll.26-28. The place for this addition is indicated by an insertion mark one line from the bottom of fol.148<sup>r</sup> (Swan l.18), and the addition is written over that line and in the right hand margin. It occurs at a point of the main text describing England's salvation through Gregory, and adds a lyrical

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Literature in Honour of Herbert Dean Meritt, edited by James L. Rosier (The Hague, 1970), pp.125-36. See also Wulfstan of Winchester. The Life of St. Æthelwold, edited by Michael Lapidge and Michael Winterbottom (Oxford, 1991), p.lv.

4 See Ker, Catalogue of Manuscripts, p.195 and Lapidge, 'Æthelwold as Scholar', p.102.

5 Godden, Catholic Homilies. Second Series, p.lv.

6 Ker, Catalogue of Manuscripts, p.195.



description of his learning and teaching at Whitelock p.144, l.5 'genered'.

2. Swan, above l.21 'cepmen...licoman' fol. 148<sup>V</sup>; variant of Godden p.74, l.57. This is indicated by an insertion mark on the second line of fol. 148<sup>V</sup>, and is written over that line. To the main text's description of Gregory's questions to English natives it adds a snippet from Ælfric's account of Gregory meeting English slaves, at Whitelock p.144, l.10 'inlendisce'.
3. Swan, facing p.319 - facing p.320, 'engla...scupenda' fol.148<sup>V</sup> mid sentence; variant of Godden p.74, ll.69-80. This lengthy excerpt is marked for insertion in the third line of fol.148<sup>V</sup> (Swan l.22), and is written in the top left-hand corner and margin of this folio, the edge of which is now missing. The main text of article 4 is at this point describing Gregory's interest in England, and the added Ælfric passage tells of Gregory punning on Angle, Deira and Ælle, at Whitelock p.144, l.12 'wæron'.
4. Swan, above l.33, '7...iustum' fol.148<sup>V</sup>; slight variant of Godden p.77, ll.171-72. This is marked for insertion in line 14 of fol.148<sup>V</sup>, and is written over this line. It adds the names of the messengers sent to England by Gregory. The insertion mark for this addition occurs at Whitelock p.144, l.29 'funde', and is followed by a phrase in the main text with an

erasure: '7 hi\*\* hider asende', which Whitelock gives as 'and hine hider asende' (Whitelock p.144, l.29). It seems possible that the scribe who added the Ælfric excerpts has here altered a pronoun in the main text by erasure so that the addition fits grammatically.

5. Swan, above 1.52, 'edwine' fol.149<sup>r</sup> is added to the main text's statement that 'his broþor' died in line 5 of fol 149<sup>r</sup>, at Whitelock p.146, l.3 'broþor'.
6. Swan, above 1.58, 'englas...peohtas' fol.149<sup>r</sup>. This is marked for insertion on line 11 of fol.149<sup>r</sup> and is written over that line. It adds a list of nationalities to the main text's description of King Edgar obtaining dominion of the English, at Whitelock p.146, l.12 'twislunge'. These words are not in CH II Sancti Gregorii Pape.

No further excerpts are added to this text, although it is of course possible that more existed on the missing leaves, unless these were separated from the rest of the manuscript at a very early stage. The Ælfric and anonymous additions are in a different hand and ink from those of the main text of article 4 and, unlike the main text, are now only visible under ultra-violet light. Intermittent Old English glosses and Latin marginal notes, some now illegible, occur throughout these folios, and an insertion mark on line 14 of fol.148<sup>r</sup> presumably refers to a marginal addition in the ink of the Ælfric and anonymous excerpts



which is now erased and illegible. Most of the glosses and notes listed here are now simply faded, but an attempt has been made at some point to erase the whole of the passage signalled by the insertion mark on line 14 of fol.148<sup>r</sup>.

The sections from CH II Sancti Gregorii Pape used in these additions do not add in any substantial or logical way to the main text of article 4 on the Monastic Reform. Rather like the excerpts from CH II Inventio Sanctae Crucis used in Auctarium F. 4. 32 article a and CCC 303 article 18 (discussed on pp.148-53 above), these almost anecdotal additions strengthen the occasional point and extend some references, and reveal a CH text being used as an authoritative and informed supporting document. What article 4 perhaps represents is a manuscript text marked up for subsequent copying as an expanded text which makes slight supporting use of the CH. Although Ælfric is not named in any of the additions, it is fitting that his work should be used to annotate that of his teacher Æpelwold, on whose influence Ælfric's writing style and attitude to translation can be seen to rely.<sup>7</sup>

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7 See Lapidge, 'Æthelwold as Scholar', pp.107-10.

Ker item 285. Coligny-Genève, Switzerland, Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, Bodmer 2.

Text edited and discussed by N.R. Ker, 'The Bodmer Fragment of Ælfric's Homily for Septuagesima Sunday', in English and Medieval Studies presented to J.R.R. Tolkien, edited by Norman Davies and C.L. Wrenn (London, 1962), pp.77-83.

The manuscript fragment Bodmer 2 is listed in Ker's Catalogue of Manuscripts as item 285 'Collection of Mr. Wilfred Merton, Slindon, Sussex'.<sup>1</sup> It was subsequently bought by Dr Martin Bodmer of Geneva. The fragment is dated as later eleventh century. It is a single folio, complete except for approximately five lines at the head on both sides.

The text of Bodmer 2 is an excerpt from CH II Dominica in Septuagesima (Godden, pp.41-51). The fragment begins a little after the opening of the Godden text, at the end of Ælfric's Latin and Old English introduction to the parable of the vineyard workers (Ker p.80, ll.1-20 '[..]rgen... oððr[.]' recto of folio; Godden p.41, l.5 - p.42, l.23; and Ker p.82, ll.21-40 '[...]unc...geswu' verso of folio; Godden p.42, ll.28-44). Bodmer 2 reproduces Ælfric's version of the Gospel for the day, and gives several lines of Ælfric's account of Gregory's exposition of the Gospel. In his

1 Ker, Catalogue of Manuscripts, p.347. Ker notes this change of location on p.572 of the 1990 reissue of Catalogue of Manuscripts.



article on the fragment, Ker notes that 'unlike the other manuscripts of the homily [Dominica in Septuagesima], it does not set out to be a faithful transcript of what Ælfric wrote'.<sup>2</sup> Consistent verbal differences exist in Bodmer 2: Ker notes 'over forty variations from Ælfric's wording',<sup>3</sup> most of which, like many of the variations in the homilies under discussion, hardly alter the sense of the Ælfric text. Ker, however, also notes some more significant variations in Bodmer 2, and identifies Ker p.80, 11.2-3 'þa...penege' recto of folio; p.80, 1.20 'þa...pening' recto of folio; and p.80, 1.12 'hyraþ' recto of folio as improvements on Ælfric's version (the corresponding phrases in which are CH II, Godden p.41, 11.6-7; p.42, 11.22-23; and p.41, 1.16 respectively). Six further variants in Bodmer 2 are identified by Ker as weakening the Ælfric text. These are the omission of Godden p.41, 1.13 'twa tide' at Ker p.80, 11.9-10 'eft ofer non tyde' recto of folio, which leaves Bodmer 2 without a reference to the time which has passed; Ker p.82, 11.24-25 'soðlice...forþan' verso of folio, which Ker describes as 'bungled',<sup>4</sup> for Godden p.42, 11.31-32 'oððe...good'; Ker p.82, 1.30 'eow...gehyrende' verso of folio, in which Ker notes that 'eow' is out of place, for Godden p.42, 1.36 'þam heorcnigendum'; Ker p.82, 1.36 'gesamnap' verso of folio for Godden p.42, 1.41 'geagnað'; Ker p.82, 1.37 'hig habbað' verso of folio, so that in Bodmer 2, instead of being compared with the vineyard, the

2 Ker, 'Bodmer Fragment', p.77.

3 Ker, 'Bodmer Fragment', p.78.

4 For this and details of the other weaker variants in Bodmer 2 described in this paragraph, see Ker, 'Bodmer Fragment', p.78

church owns it, for Godden p.42, 1.42 'he hæfð'; and Ker p.82, 1.25 'men... leofestan' verso of folio, which gives the impression that the gospel exposition is beginning, added at Godden p.42, 1.32 'good'.

The variations in this fragment are remarkable for their diversity. They range from the substitution of single words to the omission or rewording of complete phrases. Ker concludes that they 'were introduced to make an easier sermon';<sup>5</sup> this seems to justify the more successful alterations described above, but does not account for many of the single-word substitutions, nor the weaker alterations. Some of these less effective variations, noted by Ker and listed above, seem to show either an incomplete understanding of the Ælfric text or, perhaps more likely, the intention of producing a version of CH II Dominica in Septuagesima without rigorous reproduction of the language or more complex details of Ælfric's text.

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5 Ker, 'Bodmer Fragment', p.78.



Ker item 186. London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius  
A. iii, folios 2-173, folios 77<sup>v</sup>-83<sup>r</sup> article 16

Text edited by Malcolm Godden, Ælfric's Catholic Homilies:  
The Second Series. Text, EETS, ss 5 (1979), pp.381-90.

Cotton Tiberius A. iii dates from the mid-eleventh century, and its provenance is thought to be Christ Church Canterbury. For details of the manuscript's contents, see its description in my account of article 9(h) above, p.110.

Article 16 has no manuscript rubric. It gives an account of prophecies of Christ's passion, the appearance of Moses and Elijah to Christ and the apostles, Christ's entry into Jerusalem, the Last Supper, Judas' betrayal, the judgement and crucifixion of Christ, and ends with a description of Christ's body placed in the tomb and a reference to the resurrection.

Article 16 represents a version of CH II Dominica Palmarum. De Passione Domini (CH II, Godden pp.137-49) which Godden describes as 'confused and corrupt...incorporating a vast number of small additions and alterations'.<sup>1</sup> Some of these alterations and additions have no identified source, but some of the longer ones found in the later parts of article 16 correspond with passages in the anonymous passion homily, Vercelli I. This homily exists in several

1 Godden, Catholic Homilies. Second Series, p.lv.

manuscripts, and Godden notes that article 16's excerpts from it are closest to the version preserved in Bodley 340 and 342 (Ker item 309), article 25, folios 134<sup>V</sup>-44<sup>R</sup>. This text is edited by Scragg opposite his edition of the Vercelli manuscript version of Vercelli I.<sup>2</sup> Article 16's excerpts do not correspond very closely with the Vercelli manuscript version of this homily (Ker item 394 article 1, folios 1<sup>R</sup>-9<sup>R</sup>). In his edition of article 16, Godden collates with Bodley 340 and 342 article 25, but does not supply manuscript folio or line numbers. In the main text of my discussion below I compare the passages in article 16 which correspond to Bodley 340 and 342 article 25 with Scragg's edition of it. Clare Lees, in her extensive discussion of this homily, notes that further sources for others of these longer additions are the Bible and texts which she categorises as Testimonies of the Passion. Lees identifies a theme in Old English homiletic writing, which she names the 'so-called Testimonies of Christ, comprising a number of Old and New Testament predictions about the life and ministry of Christ'.<sup>3</sup> The Testimonies used by the compiler of article 16 are all connected with Christ's passion, and Lees finds very close analogues for passages in article 16 in two Latin works: Quodvultdeus's Liber

2 Scragg, The Vercelli Homilies, pp.6-47. Scragg notes that the Vercelli passages in article 9(h) are closer to the version of Vercelli I found in CCC 198 and 162 than to that in Bodley 340 and 342 (p.4). In the following discussion, however, I refer to the Bodley text since this is edited by Scragg.

3 Clare A. Lees, 'Liturgical Traditions for Palm Sunday and their Dissemination in Old English Prose' (unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of Liverpool, 1985) p.102. Lees' discussion of article 16 is on pp.93-110 of her thesis.



Promissionum (Liber III), and Isidore of Seville's De Fide Catholica.

For the most part, the shorter additions and alterations in article 16 take the form of odd words and phrases, including many intensifying phrases and formulaic extensions to the CH text. None of these changes represents any major alteration to the sense or structure of CH II Dominica Palmarum. Many of these shorter variations in article 16 serve to make this stylistically more like an anonymous homily. They reinforce and repeat existing phrases by adding lists or explanatory material which often use formulaic or conventional phrases such as 'sona þarrihte' (Godden p.383, l.109); 'þurh godes willan swa ure þearf wære' (Godden p.381, ll.3-4); 'se mæra heretoga' and 'se witega' added after 'moyses' and 'elias' respectively (Godden p.381, l.7); 'fægran' added to 'gesihþe' (Godden p.381, l.13); 'þa soblice' (Godden, p.383, l.78); and 'halige' added before 'husel' (Godden, p.383, l.79). These stylistic features are all more commonly found in the anonymous Old English corpus than in Ælfric's works, and perhaps reflect an attempt to integrate Dominica Palmarum into this tradition.

The lengthier additions to article 16, however, seem to be of a different stylistic character. Some of these add detailed descriptive passages to scenes described in Dominica Palmarum. Examples include Godden p.385, ll.165-70 'to...men', which extends the homily's account of Pilate's

reaction to the Jews; and Godden p.382, ll.52-53 'and...bescet', which adds a description of Judas leaving the Last Supper. The first excerpt from Bodley 340 and 342 article 25 (Godden p.387, ll.255-58 'pa...awriten'; Scragg p.35, ll.303-07) describes the crowd and Pilate arguing about the wording of the notice to be fixed above Christ's cross; the second Bodley 340 and 342 article 25 excerpt (Godden p.387, ll.259-65 'butan...regl'; Scragg p.35, ll.309-15 'buton...mine') describes the executioners drawing lots for Christ's tunic. One of these passages of detailed description serves to add dramatic impact to a scene described by Ælfric: Godden p.385, ll.175-77 'wolde...sylf' gives Judas' words of repentance at his death, from Matthew 27. 3-5, whereas Dominica Palmarum simply describes his bloody death. Other additions offer explanations for parts of the narrative, for example Godden p.386, ll.205-07 'pæt...wunde' and ll.213-15 'and...alæsednesse', which refer to human salvation through Christ's sacrifice and are paralleled in Quodvultdeus and Isidore; and the final excerpt from Bodley 340 and 342 article 25 (Godden p.389, l.348 - p.390, l.352 'pa...wepap'; Scragg p.39, ll.345-50 'and eac...wepað'), which prophesies that at Doomsday humans will weep for Christ's wounds.

More unusually, many of the longer additions to article 16 use Latin quotations to highlight their theological significance or prophetic content which, as described above, is linked to the Testimonies of the Passion. For example, Godden p.386, ll.233-36 'for...apeniap' gives in Latin and



Old English Christ's description of the nailing of his hands and his feet in a passage closely paralleled in Quodvultdeus and Isidore; Godden p.387, ll.255-58 'pa...awritan', discussed above, which corresponds to part of Bodley 340 and 342, includes Pilate's words 'quod scripsi scripsi' (l.257) with an Old English translation. Latin is also used in Godden p.387, ll.263-64 'diuiserunt...sortem' with an Old English translation provided for the description of the executioners casting lots for Christ's clothes. This corresponds in part to Bodley 340 and 342 (Scragg p.35, ll.313-14), and has parallels in Quodvultdeus and Isidore. Godden p.388, ll.298-300 'eal...drincenne' gives in Latin and old English the prophecy of Christ describing the gall he is given to drink; this too has parallels in Quodvultdeus and Isidore; and Godden p.389, ll.344-46 'pa...mihtan' includes a Latin and Old English statement by Moses to the effect that no bone of Christ's shall be broken.

This use of Latin phrases contrasts with the shorter additions described above, which render Dominica Palmarum more accessible in style and relaxed in tone. The use of Latin quotations, by contrast, adds an element of spiritual instruction and authority to article 16.

In her examination of the additions and alterations in article 16, Lees observes that some of the shorter examples of these 'appear to act as vernacular glosses to the original text' or 'interlinear or marginal glossing,

providing an alternative lexis...or an interpretation'.<sup>4</sup> She suggests that these revisions could be the work of an earlier reviser,<sup>5</sup> and that they were copied by the compiler of article 16 without regard for their status as glosses. She gives Godden p.385, ll.173-77 as an example: Judas' words, discussed above, are here added to Dominica Palmarum after his death has been described, and thus are perhaps indicative of 'hasty copying'.<sup>6</sup> This earlier use of Dominica Palmarum, in Lees' opinion, may have taken the form of a reader using the CH II homily 'as a convenient vernacular account of the Passion for private meditation and contemplation',<sup>7</sup> and adding material to it from time to time. This would account for the mixed content and layering of sources in article 16.

The compiler of article 16, then, has added to CH II Dominica Palmarum various passages dealing with prophecy to construct a homily which incorporates various Testimonies of the Passion into its account of Holy Week. CH II Dominica Palmarum is used both for its prophecies and its strong narrative account, and is altered by the compiler of article 16 to make a homily with a more digressive style, a more incidental narrative structure and an overlay of Latin reference. This apparent jumble of styles and sources may appear to reduce article 16's usefulness as a homily or Passion reading,<sup>8</sup> but in fact article 16 can be seen as a

4 Lees, 'Liturgical Traditions for Palm Sunday', p.100.

5 Lees, 'Liturgical Traditions for Palm Sunday', p.109.

6 Lees, 'Liturgical Traditions for Palm Sunday', p.102.

7 Lees, 'Liturgical Traditions for Palm Sunday', pp.109-10.

8 Lees expresses this opinion in 'Liturgical Traditions



not unsuccessful, if slightly clumsy, example of an Ælfric/anonymous composite piece. Ælfric is used here in a similar way to many of the other composite homilies discussed in this study, but the more ambitious aims of the compiler of article 16 - to construct a piece based on the theme of Testimonies of the Passion from diverse sources whilst maintaining narrative and thematic coherence - and the examples of apparently careless copying leave the final result caught between the sophisticated, formal style of its Ælfrician and Latin source material and the more colloquial tone of the anonymous vernacular tradition.

Ker item 332. Oxford, Bodleian Library Hatton 115, folio 65<sup>r</sup>v article 18

Text transcribed below, pp.322-23.

Bodleian Library Hatton 115 dates from the latter half of the eleventh century. A missing leaf was discovered some years ago in the United States. It is one of several missing after fol. 82, and is of the same date as the rest of the manuscript. It is now housed in Kansas University Library with the shelf-mark Y. 104. This leaf contains part Ælfric's homily De Uno Confessore. Ker describes the leaf in the Supplement to his Catalogue of Manuscripts.<sup>1</sup> The provenance of Hatton 115 is unknown, although Godden notes that it appears to have a common source with manuscript Cotton Vespasian D. xiv, which was written at Rochester or Canterbury.<sup>2</sup> Hatton 115 and Kansas Y. 104 contain a mixture of homilies and admonitory pieces, none of which is assigned to any specific day. The manuscript's contents are almost entirely Ælfrician, and include homilies from CH I and II.

Article 18 is written on an inserted leaf which also contains a five-line piece about the obligation to speak the truth (Ker article 19), written in the style of Wulfstan.<sup>3</sup>

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- 1 Ker, Catalogue of Manuscripts (1990 reissue), pp.572-73. The contents of the folio are described and a transcription printed by Bertram Colgrave and Ann Hyde, 'Two Recently Discovered Leaves from Old English Manuscripts', Speculum, 37 (1962), 60-78.
  - 2 Godden, Catholic Homilies. Second Series, p.lxviii.
  - 3 For the attribution of this to Wulfstan, see Bethurum,



Folio 65 is of the same date as the rest of the manuscript, but Scragg notes that it is written 'in two hands not found elsewhere in the volume'.<sup>4</sup>

Article 18 is untitled in the manuscript. It is an exhortation against heathen practices, which opens by instructing its audience to leave aside sin. A list of various deadly sins follows, then the audience is encouraged to love God and behave correctly. The evil which befell Judas is next used as an example of what happens to those who take the devil's money. The audience is further instructed not to pray to heathen idols nor to heal by heathen means, and is finally encouraged to pray for mercy.

Most of article 18 is of anonymous composition, but excerpts from two Ælfric homilies are used: one from Ælfric's addition to CH I Dominica Secunda Post Pasca,<sup>5</sup> and

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Homilies of Wulfstan, pp.33-34. Article 19 also occurs in manuscript CCC 201 (Ker item 49) at the end of the homily printed by Napier from this manuscript as Napier homily XLI. Napier's edition of article 19 is printed in Wulfstan, p.191, ll.20-23.

<sup>4</sup> Scragg, 'Corpus of vernacular homilies', p.262.

<sup>5</sup> Pope identifies this text as Ælfric's addition to CH I Dominica Secunda Post Pasca in Supplementary Collection, p.58. CH I Dominica Secunda Post Pasca is edited by Thorpe, CH I, pp.238-44, but Thorpe does not give the text of the addition, since it does not occur in manuscript CUL Gg. 3. 28. The addition to CH I Dominica Secunda Post Pasca is listed in Ker's manuscript tables (Catalogue of Manuscripts, pp.512-13) as occurring in manuscripts CUL Ii. 4. 6 fols. 190<sup>r</sup>-202<sup>r</sup>, Ker item 21, article 24; British Library Cotton Faustina A. ix fols. 152<sup>v</sup>-59<sup>v</sup>, Ker item 153, article 30 (this version ends imperfectly); CCC 188 pp.177-89, Ker item 43, article 18; Cambridge, Trinity College, B. 15. 34 pp.58-79, Ker item 86, article 5; and CCC 302 pp.189-98, Ker item 56, article 29.

several from LS De Auguriis.<sup>6</sup> In my edition and discussion of article 18 I refer for comparative purposes to the version of the addition to CH I Dominica Secunda Post Pasca in CCC 302 from the manuscript, since no printed edition of it exists.

The opening of article 18, with its instruction on and list of sins, is taken from the addition to CH I Dominica Secunda Post Pasca (Swan 11.1-3 'forlæte...7' fol. 65<sup>r</sup> mid-sentence). The version of this extract in article 18 is shorter than that in CCC 302, which has a longer list of sins. This excerpt is followed in article 18 by a lengthy anonymous section (Swan 11.3-16 'pa...is' fol. 65<sup>r</sup> mid-sentence) which begins by adding adultery to the list of sins, and goes on to encourage its audience to love God, live well and respect the established social order. A reference to Judas is used to lead into the first of the excerpts from LS De Auguriis (Swan 11.16-17 'to...wille' fol. 65<sup>r</sup> mid-sentence; Skeat I, 372, 11.130-31). In the Skeat text, this passage simply describes the pagan practices of praying to a stone, tree or well, but the compiler of article 18 embeds it in a sentence which states that nobody should perform these acts. Article 18 follows this with an anonymous section (Swan, 11.17-20 'ne...geaxian' fol. 65<sup>r</sup> mid-sentence) extending this list and encouraging the audience to think of God and his healing powers. This anonymous section leads into the next excerpt from De Auguriis (Swan, 11.21-23 'hwæt...stowe' fol. 65<sup>r</sup>

6 Edited by Skeat, Lives of Saints, I, 364-82.



mid-sentence; Skeat I, 372, l.133 - p.374, l.135). This passage in the Skeat text follows Ælfric's description of people who are so blinded that they may perform pagan acts of worship without understanding how unwise these are, and states that such people do not understand how dead stone can help them. The compiler of article 18 has once again altered the sense of the De Auguriis passage by leading into it with an account of the preacher asking wise men how dead stone may help. Article 18 next has another anonymous passage (Swan 11.23-26 'awylton... genyprunge' fols. 65<sup>r</sup>-65<sup>v</sup> mid-sentence) which emphasises the sinfulness of such behaviour. This leads into another excerpt from De Auguriis (Swan, 11.26-27 '7...eorþan' fol. 65<sup>v</sup> mid-sentence; Skeat I, 374, ll.148-49) which gives a further example of and warning against heathen practice, this time of a woman pulling her child through the earth at a crossroads. The compiler of article 18 adds a half-sentence (Swan 11.28-29 'ne...hi' fol.65<sup>v</sup> mid-sentence) stating that such a person will not receive God's mercy, before resuming copying from De Auguriis with a phrase which states that such people offer themselves and their children to the devil (Swan 1.30 'ofriað...bearn' fol.65<sup>v</sup> mid-sentence; Skeat I, 374, l.150). The remainder of article 18 (Swan 11.30-37 'þe...amen' fol. 65<sup>v</sup> mid-sentence) is anonymous, and exhorts the audience to pray for God's mercy and the intercession of the Virgin Mary. The piece ends with a formulaic prayer of praise to the Trinity.

All of the excerpts from De Auguriis show slight differences of vocabulary or word order in article 18. For example Swan l.16 'deadum stane' fol. 65<sup>r</sup> mid-sentence compared with Skeat p.372, l.130 'eorōfæstum stane', and Swan ll.26-27 'þa wifmen þe berað hyra cild to wege lætum 7 teoð þurh þa eorþan' fol. 65<sup>v</sup> mid-sentence compared with Skeat p.374, ll.148-49 'sume gewitlease wif farað to wega gelætum and teoð heora cild þurh ða eorðan'. But their content and order is so similar to Ælfric's homily that it seems clear that a version of De Auguriis has been used by the compiler of article 18. The excerpt from the addition to CH I Dominica Secunda Post Pasca is from very near the end of this homily, and seems, like the De Auguriis excerpts, to have been used by the compiler of article 18 as a useful list to reinforce the piece's message of the nature and dangers of sinful behaviour. Dominica Secunda Post Pasca's main subject-matter is an explanation of the image of Jesus as good shepherd; the addition to this homily furthers the discussion of this image by describing priests as shepherds and Christians as sheep, and instructs on good and bad behaviour. None of this material from the addition is used by the compiler of article 18, and it is interesting to note that the addition to Dominica Secunda Post Pasca in CCC 302 also contains a reference to Judas as an example of somebody who turned from good to evil, which is not used by the compiler of article 18, who instead cites Judas as an example of someone worshipping the devil.



Article 18 is a concise and forceful piece which aims to move its audience to Christian behaviour by focusing on examples and results of heathen conduct. As has been seen with regard to several of the homilies discussed in this study, article 18 uses material from the CH which is not representative of Ælfric's usual prose style. The lists from De Auguriis and from the addition to CH II Dominica Secunda Post Pasca used in article 18 read in this context like parts of an anonymous homily in their accumulative style, striking content and focus on dramatic heathen practices.

## Conclusion to analyses of Ælfric/anonymous texts

It is evident from the examples discussed above that material originating in the CH is adapted extensively by compilers. Many different CH homilies are excerpted, some for use in composite pieces consisting entirely of Ælfric material, and some in texts which mix parts of CH homilies with the work of other writers and with apparently compiler-written linkage material. Yet, although this body of composites and Ælfric/anonymous texts which exploits the CH is diverse in a number of ways, certain consistencies can be observed.<sup>1</sup> Many of the Ælfric/anonymous texts analysed in this thesis contain CH excerpts which present basic Christian practice or instruction on vices and virtues or preparation for Doomsday. Examples of instruction on basic Christian practice include instruction on how to pray or on the importance of prayer (used in Cotton Cleopatra B. xiii article 6 [pp.63-74 above], Lambeth 489 article 5 [pp.50-57 above], CUL Ii. 4. 6 article 27 [pp.77-81 above], CCC 178+162 pp.139-60 article 10 [pp.129-32 above], Cotton Vespasian D. xiv article 15 [pp.144-47 above], and Cotton Vitellius C. v article 46 [pp.123-28 above]; penance and good deeds (used in Cotton Tiberius A. iii article 9(h)

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1 It should be noted that Cotton Vespasian D. xiv article 15 includes all of CH II Dominica XII Post Pentecosten, whilst CCC 178+162 pp.139-60 article 10 uses all but the last lines of this CH homily. In the discussion of patterns of use of CH material which follows, therefore, these two composite homilies conform on the greatest number of points and provide many examples, but it will be clear that many other Ælfric/anonymous texts conform to one or more of the patterns.



[pp.110-17 above] and Hatton 113+114 article 43 [pp.118-22 above]); fasting (used in Cotton Cleopatra B. xiii article 6 [pp.63-74 above], Tiberius A. iii article 9(h) [pp.110-17 above] and Hatton 113+114 article 43 [pp.118-22 above]); and tithing (used in CCC 178+162 pp.139-60 article 10 [pp.129-32 above]). Instruction on vices and virtues includes the importance of love (used in CUL Ii. 4. 6 articles 27 [pp.77-81 above] and 28 [pp.82-88 above]); pride (used in CUL Ii. 4. 6 article 28 [pp.82-88 above], CCC 178+162 pp.139-60 article 10 [pp.129-32 above] and Cotton Vespasian D. xiv article 15 [pp.144-47 above]) and greed (used in Bodley 343 article 82 [pp.139-40 above]). Preparation for Doomsday features in Lambeth 489 article 5 [pp.50-57 above], CUL Ii. 4. 6 articles 27 [pp.77-81 above] and 28 [pp.82-88 above] and Hatton 113+114 article 43 [pp.118-22 above]. Such basic issues are evidently of more appeal to anonymous compilers than are Ælfric's explanations and analyses of more complex theological issues or his systematic exegesis, which are only occasionally used. The few Ælfric/anonymous composites which use relatively complex material from the CH include CCC 162 article 32 [pp.100-04 above], which contains an excerpt analysing the meaning of the bread and wine of communion, and Lambeth 489 article 5 [pp.50-57 above], which contains an excerpt describing and contrasting the Virgin Mary and Eve. The emphasis on basic Christian practice in many of the Ælfric/anonymous texts discussed in this study reflects their designation for use in Rogationtide or Lent; periods which suit the penitential, moral instruction commonly found in anonymous homilies. Many others have no

precise manuscript rubric, and thus offer general moral teaching in a form suitable for almost any preaching occasion.

Another important category of CH excerpts seen in the Ælfric/anonymous texts discussed is passages of narrative. Whether or not they were in a predominantly narrative context in the CH, some CH excerpts are used in adapted texts to tell a story in a concise and effective manner. The subject, in such cases, is usually biblical. Examples include Solomon and the Temple (used in Lambeth 489 article 6 [pp.58-63 above]); Nebuchadnezzar (used in CCC 178+162 pp.139-60 article 10 [pp.129-32 above] and Cotton Vespasian D. xiv articles 15 [pp.144-47 above] and 36 [pp.154-56 above]); Daniel (used in Cotton Vespasian D. xiv articles 15 [pp.144-47 above] and 36 [pp.154-56 above]); Jonah (used in Cotton Cleopatra B. xiii article 6 [pp.63-74 above]); Mary and Elizabeth (used in Cotton Vespasian D. xiv article 52 [pp.136-38 above]); the story of the Pharisee and the sinner (used in CCC 178+162 pp.139-60 article 10 [pp.129-32 above] and Cotton Vespasian D. xiv article 15 [pp.144-47 above]); Moses, Elijah and Jesus fasting (used in Hatton 113+114 article 43 [pp.118-22 above]); Jesus fasting (used in Cotton Tiberius A. iii article 9(h) [pp.110-17 above]); and Christ at Doomsday (used in CUL Ii. 4. 6 article 27 [pp.77-81 above]). Examples of non-biblical material from the CH exploited in a similar way include the story of Theodosius and Ambrose (used in CCC 178+162 pp.139-60 article 10 [pp.129-32 above]) and that of the finding of the True Cross



(used in Auctarium F. 4. 32 article a and CCCC 303 article 18 [pp.148-53 above]). The compiler of CUL Ii. 1. 33 article 43 [pp.141-43 above] edits CH II Alia Visio with only its incipit and explicit reworked in a more concise manner which removes all material outside the homily's central hagiography. Some of these examples include Ælfric's explanations of the narrative, but they all focus on the story content of their CH excerpt.

Some of the passages of narrative chosen by anonymous compilers from the CH are especially dramatic in terms of their strength of description or their plot detail, for example the description of Christ at Doomsday in CUL Ii. 4. 6 article 27 [pp.77-81 above]; and the Jonah story in Cotton Cleopatra B. xiii article 6 [pp.63-74 above]. This kind of relatively straightforward narrative-centred account is most often used in Ælfric/anonymous texts without any of the surrounding development or analysis which may exist in the original CH piece, and some of the more detailed passages of Ælfric's biblical narratives are omitted altogether by anonymous compilers. For example, Junius 121 article 33 [pp.94-99 above] omits much of Ælfric's description of the events of Palm Sunday and Holy Week, using only a very short excerpt on Christ's justice and the devil/fish simile which is of course not narrative; and Cotton Vespasian D. xiv article 36 [p.154-56 above] omits a considerable proportion of his Daniel story.

Ælfric's complex imagery is usually avoided by anonymous compilers; for example Lambeth 489 article 5 [pp.50-57 above] uses an excerpt from De Penitentia, but does not include the image of the person who repeats sins as a dog eating its own vomit. The few images which Ælfric does employ in the CH are striking, and three of the texts discussed in this thesis build in images from the CH which are especially dramatic in their original context in the CH, and not typical of Ælfric's didactic or descriptive style: Junius 121 article 33 [pp.94-99 above] and CCC 178+162 pp.139-60 article 27 [pp.133-35 above] do not use identical excerpts from CH I In Dominica Palmarum, but both include the simile of the devil as a fish swallowing bait; and CCC 320 article a [pp.105-09 above] uses that of the dog eating its vomit. Although these images occur relatively frequently in the homiletic corpus, and are not Ælfric's invention, they are in these instances taken from the CH and thus represent compilers' responses to Ælfrician images which they selected either because they were familiar or striking.

The unifying characteristic of the two main types of CH excerpts discussed - basic Christian teaching and narrative detail - is that both are in a way unrepresentative of the CH. It is true that in these homilies Ælfric covers many basic aspects of Christian practice and often narrates exempla to engage his audience, but his concern is always to provide exegesis as well as instruction. He explains both simple concepts such as vices and virtues, and more



difficult doctrinal matters, such as the nature of the Trinity - all the time avoiding sensational examples.<sup>2</sup> This use of the CH by anonymous compilers is thus very selective, since it includes a screening-out of the more theologically complex sections of the texts and of Ælfric's extensions of basic references to Church practices and sacraments.

Examples of CH material screened out from some of the Ælfric/anonymous texts discussed include an expansion of an explanation of love and good behaviour (omitted from Lambeth 489 article 5 [pp.50-57 above] and CUL Ii. 4. 6 article 27 [pp.77-81 above]); analysis of symbolic aspects of Christ and of communion (omitted from CCC 162 article 32 [pp.100-04 above]); the meaning of the Annunciation (omitted from Cotton Vespasian D. xiv article 52 [pp.136-38 above]) and of the Trinity (omitted from Cotton Cleopatra B. xiii article 6 [pp.63-74 above]); and a metaphor of Christian unity as a human body (omitted from Lambeth 489 article 5 [pp.50-57 above]).

CH excerpts are often selected for their thematic content, and are used with excerpts from non-Ælfrician texts to form a discussion of a specific theme rather than for their story content. Examples of such themes include Judgement (in CCC 198 article 62 [pp.90-93 above]); confession (in CCC 320 article a [pp.105-09 above]);

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2 For more detailed discussion of Ælfric's wish to avoid material he considered sensational, see my account of his use of source-material, pp.4-6 above. Also see Milton McC. Gatch, Preaching and Theology in Anglo-Saxon England (Toronto, 1977), pp.12-15, on Ælfric's aims.

penance (in Cotton Vitellius C. v article 46 [pp.123-28 above]); pride and tithing (in CCCC 178+162 pp.139-60 article 10 [pp.129-32 above]); and the listing of sins and of aspects of good behaviour (in Lambeth 489 articles 5 [pp.50-57 above] and 6 [pp.58-63 above], Bodley 343 article 82 [pp.139-40 above], Hatton 115 article 18 [pp.175-80 above], Cotton Tiberius A. iii article 16 [pp.168-74 above] and Hatton 113+114 article 43 [pp.118-22 above]). These are all themes which feature strongly in the corpus of anonymous Old English homilies.<sup>3</sup>

Various techniques are used by anonymous compilers to blend the CH excerpts used in these texts with passages from diverse sources and apparently compiler-written material. Many of the anonymous passages pick up on the Ælfric excerpts' listing of and instruction on points of behaviour, and draw on themes from their narratives. The introductions or conclusions of CH homilies are often replaced with shorter anonymous passages, and CH excerpts are linked with anonymous passages of narrative or exhortation. One further

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3 Useful discussions of the style of anonymous homilies include: Marcia A. Dalbey, 'Themes and Techniques in the Blickling Lenten Homilies', in The Old English Homily and its Backgrounds, edited by Paul E. Szarmach and Bernard F. Huppé (Albany, 1978), pp.221-39 (especially pp.225, 231 and 237); Paul E. Szarmach, 'The Vercelli Homilies: Style and Structure', in The Old English Homily, ed. Szarmach and Huppé, pp.241-67; Charles D. Wright, 'The Irish "Enumerative Style" in Old English Homiletic Literature, Especially Vercelli Homily IX', CMCS, 18 (1989), 27-74, especially pp.49-58 on the Old English enumerative style and Wright's book, The Irish Tradition in Old English Literature (Cambridge, 1993), in which he identifies and examines many aspects of vernacular homiletic style.



characteristic is that anonymous passages are sometimes themselves in the form of lists, with which Ælfric excerpts are combined to extend the elements enumerated. That all of these techniques of adaptation blend Ælfric material into the anonymous tradition is evident, both in terms of their subject-matter, as analysed above, and also in terms of the style of these Ælfric/anonymous texts, which is often repetitive, exhortatory and emphatic.

Some CH homilies are used in more than one Ælfric/anonymous text. For example, CH I In Dominica Palmarum is used in Junius 121 article 33 [pp.94-99 above] and CCC 178+162 pp.139-60 article 27 [pp.133-35 above]; CH II Dominica I in Quadragesima is used in Hatton 113+114 article 43 [pp.118-22 above] and Cotton Tiberius A. iii article 9(h) [pp.110-17 above]; and CH II Feria II in Letania Maiore is used in CUL Ii. 4. 6 articles 27 [pp.77-81 above] and 28 [pp.82-88 above]. Some CH are used to the same effect more than once, presumably independently by different compilers. For example the accounts of the Pharisee and the sinner and of Nebuchadnezzar and Belshazzar in CH II Dominica XII Post Pentecosten are both used in CCC 178+162 pp.139-60 article 10 [pp.129-32 above] and Cotton Vespasian D. xiv article 15 [pp.144-47 above] as examples of God punishing the proud and of the importance of prayer and humility; and the description of the Lenten fast in CH II Dominica I in Quadragesima is used in Hatton 113+114 article 43 [pp.118-22 above] and Cotton Tiberius A. iii article 9(h) [pp.110-17 above] as part of instructions on Lenten

behaviour. Other Ælfrician texts, though exploited more than once, are differently modified for different contexts. Examples of this include CH I In Letania Maiore, used in CUL Ii. 4. 6 article 27 [pp.77-81 above] and Cotton Cleopatra B. xiii article 6 [pp.63-74 above] for its discussion of prayer, but only in Cleopatra B. xiii article 6 for its Jonah story; CH II Dominica I in Quadragesima, excerpted in Hatton 113+114 article 43 [pp.118-22 above] for its account of Moses, Elijah and Jesus fasting and for its discussion of rich and poor and their respective fates at Doomsday, and in Cotton Tiberius A. iii article 9(h) [pp.110-17 above] for its account of Christ's fast and its instruction on forgiveness and doing good in Lent; and De Penitentia, used in Lambeth 489 article 5 [pp.50-57 above] for its discussion of confession at Doomsday, and in CCC 320 article a [pp.105-09 above] for its instruction on forgiveness and its simile of the dog eating its own vomit.

Excerpts from the CH also occur frequently in manuscripts as freestanding pieces, unconnected to any other material. Of course, some CH homilies were intended by Ælfric as two homilies for one day, and are rhetorically signalled as such.<sup>4</sup> Such 'double' homilies as CH II Dominica in Septuagesima, CH II In Festivitate Sancti Petri Apostoli and Item de Sancto Petro, and CH II Natale Sancti Iacobi Apostoli and Sanctorum Septem Dormientium, occur treated as two separate pieces, and are sometimes rubricated

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4 These divisions are not always clearly signalled by Thorpe, particularly in his Table of Contents.



as two distinct pieces even in first recension CH manuscripts. Instances where only one part of these CH homilies is copied out, or where their two parts are copied as separate items into one manuscript, do not qualify as freestanding excerpts, since copyists are simply reflecting Ælfric's composition of these texts as two separate pieces. Passages from these and other CH homilies, which are not obviously divisible from the rest of the text, are also often copied, and are identified in this study as 'freestanding excerpts'. Approximately twenty-six of these exist, not including pieces which are now damaged or fragmentary.<sup>5</sup> These are taken from many of the CH, and range from an excerpt of only twenty-three words to approximately fifty per cent of the original CH homily. These are further examples of the accessibility and adaptability of the CH and of the willingness of manuscript compilers to alter the context and identity of Ælfric's work by excerpting it and not preserving its original context within a homily or the series.<sup>6</sup>

The overall impression given by this review of the use of the CH in adapted texts is that the character of Ælfric's work has been greatly altered. As mentioned, excerption from the CH for freestanding use changes the original nature of homilies and compromises Ælfric's instructions for their preservation as a set and his injunction on mixing them in

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5 Many of these freestanding excerpts are from Cotton Vespasian D. xiv. See manuscript list, p.19 above, for the contents of this manuscript.

6 For the content of freestanding CH excerpts, see my manuscript and homily lists, pp.17-46 above.

manuscripts with other material. The use of CH excerpts in adapted texts represents an even greater modification. In his description of the Winchester composites CUL Ii. 4. 6 articles 27 and 28, Godden remarks 'I do not know of any composite homily which could be described as explanatory or exegetical',<sup>7</sup> and it is precisely the explanatory and exegetical character of Ælfric's work which is eliminated in the use made of CH excerpts in the Ælfric/anonymous texts in my discussion. Godden further notes that most composite homilies are 'prescriptive and admonitory',<sup>8</sup> and elsewhere, with reference to the use of Ælfrician material in composite penitential homilies, he states that: 'the general direction of the changes is away from instruction and explanation and towards the exhortation to repentance and reminders of the Last Judgement which are characteristic of the Old English [anonymous] penitential homily'.<sup>9</sup> The majority of the Ælfric/anonymous texts discussed in this study are indeed strongly admonitory in character, and rely on such typical stylistic features of the anonymous corpus as enumeration and repetition to convey exhortation to repentance and to urge adherence to Christian practices. As has been established, such style and subject-matter are not central to the CH as a whole, but the CH excerpts used in Ælfric/anonymous texts are almost always modified in such a way as to blend with and even augment these features.

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7 Godden, 'Old English composite homilies', p.65.

8 Godden, 'Old English composite homilies', p.64.

9 Godden, 'Penitential motif', ASE, 2 (1973), 221-39 (p.229).



Another example of the way in which composite Ælfric/anonymous texts alter the character of Ælfric's original material is the fact that they rarely include Ælfric's references to his own sources and authorities, with which he often prefaces explanatory or analytical material. Examples of this are CUL Ii. 1. 33 article 43 [pp.141-43 above], where Ælfric's reference to Bede writing about Drihthelm in his 'historia anglorum' and the later citing of Gregory's Dialogues are omitted by the compiler,<sup>10</sup> and the homily represented by Auctarium F. 4. 32 article a and CCCC 303 article 18 uses three short excerpts from the early part of CH II Inventio Sanctae Crucis, but ignores Ælfric's opening identification of Jerome as his source.<sup>11</sup> Ælfric's source references constitute a scholarly signalling system by which he identifies himself in terms of the tradition of which he considers himself a part and distinguishes himself from others.<sup>12</sup> In view of this, it is all the more striking that compilers using CH material avoid all of Ælfric's source references.

The most radical examples of the modification of CH material are provided by those texts which insert it into a non-homiletic context. CUL Ii. 1. 33 article 44 [pp.157-59 above] adds its CH excerpts to the margins of a set of

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10 Catholic Homilies. Second Series, ed. Godden, p.199, lines 1-7 (see lines 1-2) and p.203, ll.112-37 (see lines 112-16).

11 Catholic Homilies. Second Series, ed. Godden, p.174, lines 3-5.

12 For a discussion of Ælfric's self-identification and references to sources, see Joyce Hill, 'Ælfric and Smaragdus', ASE, 21 (1992), 203-37.

verses to which they have no obvious relevance and the compiler of Cotton Faustina A. x article 4 [pp.160-64 above] chooses snippets from Ælfric's account of Gregory's life which do relate to the text into which they are marked for insertion, but this main text is a historical account on the establishment of the monasteries. In both of these adapted texts, the CH material is transposed from the original preaching context and function so carefully organised by Ælfric.

The use of the CH in the examples discussed here is so varied, and the contexts in which CH excerpts are placed so unlike those Ælfric had provided or specified, that the question of the form in which anonymous compilers had access to Ælfric is raised. The surviving manuscripts suggest that the CH did not, for the most part, circulate as two collections, and that Ælfric's explanatory material in the form of prefaces, asides and comments was often not copied. It is likely that often, in using CH material, anonymous compilers were unaware both of its authorship and of its original status as part of a series. Twentieth-century reactions to the CH are governed by the knowledge that they were written by Ælfric, and this affects our attitude to the manuscripts in which they survive. Modern scholars tend to arrange manuscript sigla according to what is believed to be the closeness to or distance from our idea of the authorial original; such an approach is of course necessary in order to gain an understanding of an author's work and of responses to it but the disadvantage is that many



manuscripts contain the work of more than one author, and a siglum can only apply to a limited portion of such a manuscript.<sup>13</sup> The nature of many manuscripts seems to indicate a fundamentally different attitude to authorship in the Anglo-Saxon period. Since explicit marks of authorial identity were rapidly lost in the textual transmission of the CH, a compiler with access to perhaps only one or two source manuscripts which may be mixed in content would have no way of identifying the author of any single piece and would perhaps have had no sense that this was significant. Individual CH homilies, then, may have been regarded by compilers as well-written accounts, containing clear expressions of basic instruction and engaging narratives, whose more complex sections could be side-stepped as unsuitable. In any given instance it could be the case that the anonymous compiler was unaware that CH excerpts were written by Ælfric, and was thus simply modifying them to conform with available anonymous material; or, perhaps only rarely, that the compiler had access to the CH texts in a form which revealed Ælfric's authorship of them and his instructions for their copying, and was thus deliberately editing them in a way which subverted their author's wishes. In a few cases, however, the alterations to the CH text are so extensive and detailed, and its amalgamation with anonymous material is so skilful, that it seems possible

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13 Lees discusses this issue and that of reader response in 'Working with Patristic Sources: Language and Context in Old English Homilies', in Speaking Two Languages, ed. Frantzen, pp.157-80. She notes that 'the same manuscript can have a different siglum according to an individual scholar's priorities in assessing its contents' (p.163).

that the Ælfric and anonymous texts are being used from memory. Cotton Cleopatra B. xiii article 6 [pp.63-74 above] is the most obvious example of this possibility. As described above, it uses Ælfric and Vercelli texts almost interchangeably to produce an extremely complex but seamless result. The use of CH material in the homily represented by Auctarium F. 4. 32 article a and CCCC 303 article 18 [pp.148-53 above] perhaps implies the same technique, since only short and almost random excerpts from the early lines are used.

The use of memory in composition is accepted as a technique used by Anglo-Saxon writers. Cross has made a detailed study of Ælfric's own use of memory in two CH homilies, CH I Natale Innocentium Infantum and CH II Dominica in Septuagesima, and has traced the process of association and strength of memory evident in Ælfric's work.<sup>14</sup> In a recent analysis of Ælfric's use of Smaragdus, Hill has shown that the degree of memory assumed to be behind some of Ælfric's work may have to be modified in the light of study of his immediate Carolingian source-texts,<sup>15</sup>

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14 J.E. Cross, 'Ælfric - Mainly on Memory and Creative Method in Two Catholic Homilies', SN, 41 (1969), 135-55 and 'The Literate Anglo-Saxon - On Sources and Disseminations', PBA, 58 (1972), 67-100, especially pp.86-93.

15 In her article 'Ælfric and Smaragdus', pp.232-33 note 92, Hill suggests that some combinations of material which appear to be attributable to Ælfric's memory of different patristic sources may in fact be explained by reference to Ælfric's use of intermediate sources, where the juxtapositions may already have been apparent within a given Carolingian text, or have been easily arrived at by Ælfric working simultaneously from three homiliaries.



but her findings do not rule out the possibility that Ælfric combined sources from memory on other occasions or that it was memory which prompted him to consult another homily which provided material on the subject about which he was writing. Cross's remark that 'Ælfric's firm control of the material is obvious in all he does, in omission, extension and adaptation, alerted by a knowledgeable mind devoted to the needs of the audience'<sup>16</sup> is equally applicable to the compilers of the more successful Ælfric/anonymous texts discussed above. Mary Carruthers limits her recent study of memory in the Middle Ages to the period 1100-c.1500, but much of her discussion of the '"oral style" of Medieval sermons',<sup>17</sup> and of rumination and meditation in composite composition,<sup>18</sup> applies equally to the texts discussed in this thesis, and one statement in particular may be taken as capturing the attitude of anonymous compilers to the CH, as discernible in some of the examples in my study:

Perhaps because of the familiarity of their language, readers seem especially to have recorded in vernacular texts the ways in which they had made them their own, by adding passages, incorporating comments, respecting the *res* but not necessarily the *verba* in the manner in which *memoria* expands during meditation.<sup>19</sup>

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16 Cross, 'Ælfric - Mainly on Memory', p.155.

17 Mary J. Carruthers, The Book of Memory. A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture (Cambridge, 1990), p.210.

18 Carruthers, Book of Memory, pp.195-200.

19 Carruthers, Book of Memory, p.214.

If individual and sometimes modified Catholic Homilies had the wide use as preaching texts that their manuscript distribution implies, anonymous compilers may well have been able to draw upon them as vivid, well-remembered texts which had, in being preached, become part of an memorialised tradition and which were thus to be thought over, altered, and reproduced. The texts discussed in this thesis show anonymous compilers making imaginative use of the CH, and they raise the possibility that memory was a further resource available to compilers alongside the use of written source-texts.



## IV INTERLINEATED TRANSCRIPTIONS

## Method of Transcription

The transcriptions which follow provide reference material for Ælfric/anonymous texts discussed above of which no printed edition exists.<sup>1</sup> The layout of the transcriptions is designed to show as clearly as possible how vernacular source-material is used by the compilers. The Ælfric/anonymous text is given in roman type. The interlinear italicised material collates source texts used by marking where sourced passages begin and end and by indicating significant differences in vocabulary and word-order. These interlineated transcriptions are intended to show at a glance to what extent an Ælfric/anonymous text relies on Ælfric and other sources, to what extent it modifies them, and which parts are (presumably) compiler-written. The primary aim of my transcriptions is thus not to produce a readable narrative, but rather to highlight the construction of the composite homilies. The layout renders visible the 'scissors and paste' of compilation and shows how united and well-structured pieces can be created out of the skilful editing and combining of texts.

In reproducing the Ælfric/anonymous texts and those of their sources I have followed modern conventions of word

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Exceptionally, Cotton Cleopatra B. xiii article 6 is included, although it has been edited by A.M. Luiselli Fadda, as noted above, p.63.

division except in cases where a word is divided by a manuscript line, have omitted all capitalisation, punctuation and accent marks and, in the case of the Ælfric/anonymous text, have marked manuscript line ends with / and folio ends with //. Where space allowed, I have reproduced the manuscript lineation on the page. These features are intended to give as clear a visual representation as possible of the text in the manuscript and its relationship to its sources without imposing modern punctuation or capitalisation. I have silently expanded the standard abbreviations in Old English and Latin, except for 7 (and/ond) and þ (þæt).

I have not transcribed manuscript additions or glosses to the Ælfric/anonymous texts which are not in the main hand. Thus my transcriptions do not include later corrections to some of the texts; for example on the ninth line of folio 39<sup>v</sup> of Lambeth Palace 489 article 6, where the main scribe has written 'nis', and a later corrector has written a point for erasure underneath the 'i' and added 'æ' above it to correct the word to 'næs', I record the original word 'nis' (1.79).<sup>2</sup> It is sometimes difficult to be sure whether small additions or alterations are in the main hand; in cases of doubt I have only incorporated them when they make grammatical sense, and do not simply provide glosses or synonyms for words in the main text. Cleopatra B. xiii

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At this point the composite homily is following CH II In Dedicatione Ecclesiae and in the collations to his edition of the CH homily Godden gives the Lambeth 489 reading as 'n<i>'æ's' to indicate that the 'i' has been marked for erasure and the 'æ' added.



article 6 has superscript 'c's over the 'o' in almost every occurrence of 'god' and over many other letters (for example over the 'c' in 'ricene', line 42; over the 'm' in 'naman', line 53, p.237 lines 58 and 61; and over the 'ð' in 'forwurðan', l.81). I have omitted them all from my transcriptions since they do not serve any identifiable purpose within the present context.

In the right margin of the transcriptions I give details in roman type of the Ælfric/anonymous text folio or manuscript page numbers as well as the line numbers of my transcription. In the left margin in italics are references to collated source texts. These give an abbreviated reference to the edition of the source text I have collated, and the edition's page and line numbers. When referring to printed editions without line numbering, I have numbered down each page, starting at the beginning of a page, excluding lines with titles of texts.<sup>3</sup> The abbreviations for editions used are:

- Be: The Homilies of Wulfstan, edited by Dorothy Bethurum (Oxford, 1957).
- Br: Texte und Untersuchungen zur altenglischen Literatur und Kirchengeschichte, edited by Rudolf Brotanek (Halle, 1913).
- G: Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The Second Series. Text, edited by Malcolm Godden, EETS, ss 5 (London, 1979).
- M: The Blickling Homilies, edited by R. Morris, EETS, os 58, 63 and 73

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This applies also to texts edited by Brotanek, who does not provide continuous line numbering down each page or through each item.

(London, 1874, 1876, 1880; reprinted as one volume, 1967).

- N:** Wulfstan. Sammlung der ihm zugeschriebenen Homilien nebst Untersuchungen über ihre Echtheit, edited by Arthur Napier (Berlin, 1883).
- Ski, ii:** Ælfric's Lives of Saints, edited by Walter W. Skeat, EETS, os 76, 82, 94, 114 (London, 1881-1900; reprinted as two volumes, 1966).
- Sc:** The Vercelli Homilies and Related Texts, edited by D.G. Scragg, EETS, os 300 (Oxford, 1992).
- Ti, ii:** The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church. The First Part, containing the Sermones Catholici, or Homilies of Ælfric, edited by Benjamin Thorpe, 2 vols (London, 1844-46).

I indicate the beginning of a passage in the Ælfric/anonymous text which corresponds to an Old English homiletic source with [ under the main roman text immediately before the first character or word of correspondence. Similarly, the left-hand margin reference to the beginning of a sourced passage opens with [. For example, Cotton Cleopatra B. xiii article 6 opens with the words 'dominica ante rogationum men ða leofestan us gedafenað', and its source at this point, the Vercelli version, Scragg p.315, 1.1 reads 'men ða leofestan us gedafenað'. Thus lines 1-2 of my transcription appear as follows:

dominica ante rogationum/

men ða leofestan us gedafenað/

[S 69  
1.1

[



The end of a passage of correspondence is marked with a ] under the main roman text immediately after the last character or word of correspondence, and the left-hand margin reference to the end of a sourced passage ends with ]. For example, the first passage of correspondence in Cleopatra B. xiii article 6, whose opening was given above, ends on 1.217 of my transcription, which corresponds to p.71, 1.75 of Szarmach's edition. Immediately after this, a new passage of correspondence, this time with Thorpe volume I, page 246, 1.27, begins. The relevant line appears in my transcription thus:

S 71        gegret hæbbe we sceolon eac/  
 1.75]                                ] [  
 [Ti 246  
 1.27

Within sustained passages of correspondence, phrasal variations are written out in full in italics. In collating the Ælfric/anonymous texts with their known sources I have only reproduced significant variations in vocabulary and word-order. Spelling variations and small grammatical changes have not been recorded in the interlinear material.

The following editorial symbols have been used in my transcriptions:

**Main text**

- \*\*\* approximate extent of letters lost through erasure or damage where text cannot be deciphered.
- '' additions to manuscript in main hand.

**Interlineated material**

- [ beginning of source passage
- ] end of source passage
- ... underneath characters or words in the Ælfric/anonymous text which are not in the source passage.
- e.g. *cyppe* word in source passage which differs from the word which stands above in the Ælfric/anonymous text.
- ^( ) word or phrase in source passage which does not appear in the Ælfric/anonymous text. The insertion mark shows where this fits into the text, and the brackets mark the extent of the omitted passage.

For example, in CCC 198 article 62, lines 175-77, the composite homily text reads:

geomrunge þæs opres deapes ne mihte lenge on þam/  
 lande gewunian ac he unrotmod of his earde/  
 7 of his cyppe gewat 7 of þam lande fela wintra/

The source for this passage, from Blickling Homily X, p.113, lines 11-12, reads:

geomrunga þæs opres deapes leng on þam lande  
 gewunian ne mihte ac he unrotmod of his cyppe  
 gewat & of his earde & on þam lande fela wintra

My transcription of these lines, indicating significant differences only in the Blickling Homily text, reads:



geomrunge þas opres deapes ne mihte lange on þam/

.....

lande gewunian ac he unrotmod of his earde/  
 ^ (ne mihte) cyppe

7 of his cyppe gewat 7 of þam lande fela wintra/  
 gewat 7 of his earde 7 on

Lambeth Palace 489, article 5 folios 31<sup>r</sup>-38<sup>r</sup>

feria iii de dominica oratione/ f.31<sup>r</sup>

[Ti 258  
1.7

[ se hælend crist syððan he to ðisum life/

com 7 mann wearð geweaxen ða þa he wæs/

þrittig wintra eald on þære menniscnysse/

þa began he wundra to wyrceanne 7 ge/ 5

ceas þa twelf leornigcnihtas þa ðe we/

apostolas hatað ða wæron mid him æfre/

syððan 7 he heom tæhte ealne þone/

wisdom þe on halgum bocum stent 7 þurh/

hi eallne cristendom astealde ða cwædon/ 10

hi to þam hælende leof tæce us hu we/

magon us gebiddan ða andwyrde se/

hælend 7 þus cwæð gebiddað eow mid/

þisum wordum to minum fæder 7 to eow/

rum fæder gode ælmihtigum/ 15

pater noster qui es in cælis ðu ure fæder/  
þæt is on Englisc



Ti 258  
1.18]  
[Ti 260  
1.19

þu eart on heofenum forþi nu ealle/  
]]  
cristene menn ægðer ge rice ge heane/

ge æðelborene ge unæðelborene 7 se/

hlaford 7 se þeowa ealle hi synd ge/

20

broðra 7 ealle hi habbað anne fæder/

on heofenum nis se welega na betera/

on þisum naman þonne se þearfa/

\*\*\*1 swa bealdlice mot se þeowa clypian/  
eall

\*od him to fæder eal swa se cyning//  
god

25

ealle we synd gelice ætforan gode buton/

f.31<sup>v</sup>

hwa oðerne mid godum weorcum for/

þeo ne sceal se rica for his welan þone/

earman forseon for þan eft bið se/  
oft

earma betera ætforan gode þonne/

30

se rica god is ure fæder þi we/

sceolon beon ealle gebroðru on gode/  
ealle beon

7 healdan þone broðorlican bend/

unforodne þ̅ is þa soðan sibbe swa/

þ̅ ure ælc oðerne lufige swa swa hi/

35

ne sylfne 7 nanum ne beode þ he/  
<sup>^(pæt)</sup>

nelle þ man him beode se ðe þis/

hylv he bið godes bearn 7 crist and/

ealle halige menn þe gode geþeoð beoð/

his gebroðru 7 his gesweostru/

40

we cweðað pater noster qui es in cælis/

ðæt is ure fæder þu eart on heofenum/

for þan ðe god fæder is on heofenum/

7 he is æghwar swa swa he sylf cwæð/

ic gefylle 'mid' me sylfum heofenas 7 eorðan/

45

and eft þ halige godspell be him þus/

cwæð heofen is his þrymsetl and/

Ti 262

1.5]

[Ti 262

1.14

eorðe is his fotsceamul we sceolon/  
 ][

eac witan þ se synfulla is eorðe ge/

haten 7 se rihtwisa is heofen geh\*\*\*//  
 gehaten

50

for þam ðe on rihtwisum mannum is/

f.32<sup>r</sup>

godes wunung 7 se goda man bið þæs/

halgan gastes templ swa eac þar to/

geanes se fordona mann bið deofles/

templ 7 deofles wunung for ði þonne/

55



swa mycel is betwux godum mannum 7/

yfelum swa bið betwux heofenan 7/  
 ^(*micel swa*)

eorðan seofon gebedu synd on þam/

pater nostre on þam twam forman/

wordum ne synd nane gebedu ac synd/

60

herunga þ is ure fæder þe eart/

on heofenum ðæt forme gebed is/

sanctificetur nomen tuum ðæt is/

sy þin nama gehalgod nis þ na swa/

to understandenne swylce godes nama/

65

ne sy genoh halig se ðe æfre wæs halig/

7 æfre bið 7 he us ealle gebletsað 7 ge/

halgað ac þis word is swa to under/

standenne þ his nama sy on us gehalgod/

7 he us þæs getiðie þ we moton his naman/

70

mid urum muðe gebletsian 7 he us/

sylle þ gepanc þ we magon understandan/

þ nan þing nis swa halig swa his nama/

ðæt oðer gebed is adueniat regnum/





geworhte beon hi þinum willan ge/

hyrsume 7 to þe mid ealre gehyrsum/  
geornful

95

nysse underþeodan on þam mannum/  
nysse .....

soðlice gewyrð godes willa þe godes/  
^(to)

willan gewyrceað ure sawl is heofo\*/  
heofon

lic 7 ure lichama is eorðlic nu/

bidde we eac mid þisum wordum þ̅ god\*\*//  
godes

100

willa geweorðe ægðer ge on ure sawle/

f.33<sup>r</sup>

ge on urum lichaman þ̅ ægðer him/

gehyrsumige 7 he ægðer gehealde 7/

gescylde ge ure sawle ge urne lichaman/

fram deofles costnungum ðæt/

105

feorðe gebed is panem nostrum coti/

dianum da nobis hodie ðæt is on/

urum gereorde syle us todæg urne/

dæghwamlican hlaf ðæt is on þrim/

andgytum to understandenne þ̅ he us/

110

syle fodan urum lichaman 7 syle/

eac ure sawle þone gastlican hlaf/

se gastlica hlaf is godes bebod þ̅ we sceo/

lon smeagean dæghwamlice 7 mid weorce/

gefyllan for þan swa swa se lichama leofað/ 115

be lichamlicum mettum swa sceal seo/

sawl lybban be godes lare 7 be gastlicum/

smeagungum hraðe se lichama aswint/

7 forweornað gif him bið oftogen his/

bigleofa swa eac seo sawul forwyrð gif/ 120

heo næfð þone gastlican bigleofan þ̅ synd/

godes beboda on þam heo sceal geþeon 7 beon/

gegodod eac se gastlica hlaf is þ̅ halige/

\*usel mid þam we getrymmað urne ge/  
husel ge

\*\*afan 7 þurh þæs halgan husles þige\*\*// 125  
leafan þygene

us beoð ure synna forgyfene 7 we beoð/ f.33<sup>v</sup>

gestrangode ongearn deofles costnunge/

ði we sceolon gelomlice mid þam gastlican ge/

reorde ure sawle clænsian 7 getrym/

man ne sceal swa þeah se ðe byð mid/ 130  
...

healicum synnum fordon gedyrstlæcan/

þ̅ he godes husel þicge buton he his syn/



na ær gebete gyf he elles deð hit bið/  
him sylfum to bealewe gepiged se hlaef/  
getacnað þreo þing swa swa we cwædon/ 135  
an is þæs lichaman bigleofa oðer is/  
þære sawle þrydde is þæs halgan husles/  
þigen ðissera þreora þinga we sceolon/  
dæghwamllice æt urum drihtne biddan/  
ðæt fifte gebed is et dimitte nobis/ 140  
debita nostram sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus/  
nostris ðæt is forgyf us ure gyltas swa/  
swa we forgyfað þam mannum þe wið us/  
agyldað we sceolon don swa swa we on þisum/  
wordum behatað þ̅ is þ̅ we beon mildheorte/ 145  
us betweonan 7 for þære mycelan godes/  
  lufe  
lufe forgyfan þam mannum þe wið us/  
godes  
agyldað þ̅ god ælmihtig forgyfe us ure/  
gyltas gyf we þonne nellað forgyfan/  
synna  
þa lytlan gyltas þæra manna þe us// 150  
gremedon þonne nele eac god us for/ f.34<sup>r</sup>

gifan ure synna mycele 7 manega/

swa swa crist sylf cwæð ðonne gestandað/

on eowrum gebedum forgyfað swa hwæt swa/

ge habbað on eowrum mode to ænigum menn/

155

7 eower fæder þe on heofenum is forgifð eow/

Ti 266  
1.31]  
[Ti 268  
1.1

eowre synna is þeahhwæðere getæht æfter/

][ ....

godes dihte þ̅ wise menn sceolon settan/

.....^(gesetnysse)

steore dysegum mannum swa þ̅ hig þ̅ dysi 7/

þa unþeawas alecgon 7 þeah þone mann/

160

lufian swa swa agenne broðor ðæt syxte/

gebed is et ne nos inducas in temptationem/

ðæt is ne geþafa þu god þ̅ we beon gelædde/

on costnunge oðer is costnung oper is/

fandung god ne costnað nanne mann/

165

ac þeah hwæðere nan mann ne cymð to/

.....

godes rice buton he sy afandod forþi ne/

sceole we na biddan þ̅ god ure ne afandige/

ac we sceolon biddan þ̅ god us gescylde/

þ̅ we ne abreoðon on þære fandunge/

170

deofol mot ælces mannes afandian/



hwæðer he aht sy oððe naht hwæðer he/

god mid innewardre heortan lufige/

oððe he mid hiwunge fare swa swa man/

\*fandað gold on fyre swa afandað//  
afandað

175

god þæs mannes mod on mislicum fandun/

f.34<sup>v</sup>

gum hwæðer he anræde sy genoh wel wat/

god hu hit getimað on þære fandunge/

ac hwæðere se mann næfð na mycele/

geþingðe buton he si afandod ðurh þa/  
.. ^ (sy)

180

fandunge he sceal geþeon gif he þam/

costnungum wiðstent gyf he fealle he/

eft astande þ is gif he agylte he hit/

georne gebete 7 syððan geswice for þi/

ne bið nan bot naht buton þar beo ge/

185

swicennyss se mann þe wyle gelomlice/  
gelomlice wile

syngian 7 gelomlice betan he gremað/

god 7 swa he swyðor syngað swa he deof/

le gewyldra bið 7 hine þonne god for/

læt 7 he færð swa him se deofol wissað/

190

swa swa tobrocen scip on sæ þe swa/

Ti 268 færo swa hit se wind drifeð ealle ge/  
1.26] ][

[Ti 172  
1.15 sceafta sunne 7 mona 7 ealle tungla/

land 7 sæ 7 nytenu ealle hi þeowiað/

heora scippende for þan ðe hi farað/

195

æfter godes dihte se lyðra mann/

ana þonne he forsyhð godes beboda/

7 fulgæð deofles willan oððe þurh/

Ti 172 gytsunge oððe þurh gramam oððe/  
1.19] ^ (oððe ðurh leasunge) ]

þurh unrighthæmed oððe þurh//

200

mansliht oððe þurh mane aðas oððe/

f.35<sup>r</sup>

þurh lease gewitnysse oððe þurh oðre/

mislice synna þonne bið he deofles þeowa/  
[

[Ti 172  
1.20

þonne he deofle gecwemð 7 þone forsyhð/

Ti 172 þe hine geworhte ðæt sefoðe gebed is/  
1.21] ][

205

[Ti 270  
1.7 sed libera nos a malo ðæt is ac alys us/

fram yfele alys us fram deofle 7 fram/

eallum his syrwingum god lufað us 7/

deofol us hatað god us fet 7 gefrefrað/

7 deofol us wyle ofslean gif he mot/ 210  
 ac him bið forwyrned þurh godes gescyld/  
 nysse gif we us sylfe nellað fordon/  
 mid unþeawum for þi we sceolon forbu/  
 gan 7 forseon þone lyðran deofol mid/  
 eallum lotwrencum for þam ðæ him ne ge/ 215  
 byrað naht to us 7 we sceolon lufian 7/  
 fylían urum drihtne se ðe us læt to þam/  
 ecan life seofon gebedu swa swa we ær/  
 sædon beoð on þam pater nostre ða þreo/  
 forman gebedu beoð us ongunnene/ 220  
 on þyssere worulde ac hi beoð a unge/  
 endode on þære towerdan worolde/  
 seo halgung þæs mæran naman godes/  
 \*ngan us mannum þa ða crist wearð ge/  
 ongann  
 \*læsçhamoð mid ure menniscnysse// 225  
 flæsçhamoð  
 ac seo ylce halgung wunað on ecnysse/ f.35<sup>v</sup>  
 for þam ðe we on þam ecan life bletsiað 7/  
 heriað æfre godes naman 7 god rixað/  
 nu 7 his rice stent æfre butan ende/



7 godes willa bið gefremod on þisum life/ 230  
 þurh gode menn se ylca willa wunað/  
 a on ecnysse ða oðre feower gebedu/  
 belimpað to þisum life 7 mid þisum life/  
 geendiað on þisum life we behofiað hla/  
 fes 7 laræ 7 huselganges on þam tower/ 235  
 dan life we ne behofiað nanes eorðli/  
 ces bigleofan for þam ðe we þonne mid þam/  
 heofenlicum mettum beoð gereordode/  
 her we behofiað lare 7 wisdomes on/  
 þam heofonlican life we beoð ealle full/ 240  
 ..  
 wise 7 on gastlicere lare full gerade/  
 þa ðe nu þurh wisra manna lare beoð/  
 godes bebodum underþeodde and her/  
 we behofiað þæs halgan husles þigene/  
 for ure beterunge soðlice on þære/ 245  
 heofonlican wununge we habbað mid/  
 us cristes lichaman mid þam he rixað/  
 on ecnysse on þissere worolde we bid/

dað ure synna forgyfenysse 7 na on/

Ti 272

1.5]

[Tii 602

1.30

þære towerdan ði ne sceamige nanum//  
] [

250

cristenum menn þ he andette his synna/  
..... anum lareowe his

f.36<sup>r</sup>

7 bete swa his scrift him tæce for þan/  
gyltas cyðe.....

se ðe nele his synna on þissere worulde/

andettan mid soðre behreowsunge/

him sceal gesceamian ætforan gode æl/

255

mihtigum 7 ætforan his engla werodum/

7 ætforan eallum mannum 7 ætforan/

eallum deoflum æt þam myclum dome þar we/

ealle gegaderode beoð ðar beoð cuðe/

ure ealra misdæda eallum þam werodum/  
dæda

260

7 se ðe ne mæg his gyltas forsceame/

anum menn geandettan him sceal/

sceamian þonne ætforan heofonwarum/

7 eorðwarum 7 hellwarum 7 seo sceamu/

Tii 604

1.6]

[Ti 272

1.5

him bið endeleas for þan se mann þe/  
] [

265

nele his synna behreowsian on his/

life ne begytt. he nane forgyfenysse/

on þam towerdan and on þisum life/

we biddað þ̅ god us gescylde wið deofles/

costnunga 7 us alyse fram yfele/

270

on þam ecan life ne bið nan costnung ne/

nan yfel forþi ðar ne cymð nan deofol/

ne nan yfel mann þe us mage dreccan/

oððe derian ðær beoð geþwære sawl/

\* lichama þe nu on þisum life him betweo//  
and

275

nan winnað þar ne bið nan untrum/

f.36<sup>v</sup>

nyss ne geswinc ne wana nanre god/

nysse ac crist bið mid us eallum/

7 us ealle þing deð butan edwite mid/

ealre blisse crist gesette þis gebed/

280

7 swa beleac mid f'e'awum wordum þ̅ ealle/

ure neoda ægðer ge gastlice ge licham/

lice þaron synt belocene 7 þis ge/

bed he gesette eallum mannum þe æfre/  
^(cristenum) .....

cristene syndon ne cwyð na on þam ge/  
.....^(gemanelice)

285

bede min fæder þu ðe eart on heofe/

num ac cwyð ure fæder 7 swa forð/



ealle þa word þe ðar æfter fyliað/

sprecað gemænelice be eallum cris/

Ti 272  
1.21]

tenum mannum ði ah cristenra/

290

manna gehwylc mycele þearfe þ/

he cunne ægðer ge his pater noster 7 his/

[Be 183  
1.148

credan for þan he ne bið wel cristen/

þe þ leornian nele ne he nah mid/

rihte æniges mannes æt fulluhte/

295

to onfonne ne æt bisceopes handan/

se ðe þ ne cann ær he hit geleornige/

ne he rihtlice ne byð husles wyrðe/

æt his ende dæge ne clænes legeres/

.....  
se ðe on life þ leornian nele huru//

300

Be 183  
1.153]

on englisc buton he on leden mæge 7/

f.37<sup>r</sup>

[Be 225  
1.7

uton gepencean hwanon we comon 7 to/

[ he^(sylv)com ^ (7 hwæt he is)

hwan we gewurðan sceolon of eorðan/  
he sceal

gewurdon ærest geworhte þa ðe we/

ealle of comon 7 to eorðan we sceolon/

305

ealle gewurðan 7 of eorðan we sceolon/

.....

ealle arisan on domes dæg 7 syððan/  
 .....

habban swa ece wite aa butan ende/

swa ece blisse swa hwæðer swa we on/

Be 226  
 1.12]  
 [N 189  
 1.3

life ær gearnodon eala hu læne/

310

][

7 hu lyðre þis lif is on to getruwigenne/

7 hu oft hyt wyrð raðost forloren 7 for/

læten þonne hit wære leofost gehealden/

ðeos woruld is sorhfull 7 fram dæge/

to dæge a swa leng swa wyrse for þan ðe/

315

N 189  
 1.7]

heo is on ofestum 7 hit nealæcð þam ende /  
 ]

[N 122  
 1.4

uton for þan don swa us mycel þearf is/  
 [ .....

habban us aa on gemynde þæne timan/

þe us toward is ðæt is þonne se earma/  
 .....

lichama 7 seo sawl hi todælað þonne we/  
 us

320

witon full georne þ us forlætað 7 nyde/  
 forlætað ealle ure weoruldfreond

sceolon ealle ure woruldfrynd ne magon/  
 .....

hi us þonne ænige gode buton hi for þa/  
 .....

sawle hwæt don wyllon ac bið æt gode/  
 .....

\*ylfum gelang eall hwæt we þonne gefara\*//  
 anum ..... gefaran

325

N 122  
1.9]  
[N 299  
1.16

scylon uton nu forði habban trumne ge/  
] [  
leafan to gode 7 hine biddan þ he us ge/

f.37<sup>v</sup>

unne æfter urum forðsiðe þ we moton be/  
cuman to his mildheortnysse swa swa he/

eallum þam behaten hæfð þe hine lufiað/

330

7 his beboda healdað þ is þ heofenlice/  
uplice

rice þe he sylf on wunað mid eallum his/  
.. ^ (on)

his halgum abutan ende 7 eac we sceolon/  
...

biddan þa halgan fæmman sancta marian/

ures drihtnes moder þ heo us geþin/

335

gige to hyre leofan bearne hyre scip/

pende 7 to urum scyppende þ is god æl/

mihtig for þam ðe heo mæg abiddan æt/

N 299  
1.26]  
[G 11  
1.293

him eall þ heo wyle heo is gebletsod/  
] [  
ofer eallum wifhades mannum heo is seo/

340

heofenlice cwen 7 ealra cristenra man/

na freond 7 fultum ure ealde moder/  
frofer

eua us beleac heofenan rices geat/

and seo eadige maria hit eft us geope/  
halige

node gif we hit sylfe nu mid yfelum/

345



weorcum us ne belucað mycel mæg heo/

æt hyre bearne abiddan gif heo bið/

geornlice to gemynegod uton forþig/

mid mycelre geornfulnysse hig ge/

biddan ꝥ heo us þingie to hyre agen\*//  
agenum

350

bearne se ðe is ægðer ge hyre scippend ge/

f.38<sup>r</sup>

hyre sunu soð god 7 soð mann an crist se ðe/

leofað 7 rixað mid fæder 7 mid halgum/

G 11  
1.303]

gaste hig þry an god aa on ealra worulda/  
]

woruld abutan ende amen/

355

Lambeth Palace 489, article 6 folios 38<sup>r</sup>-44<sup>v</sup>

in dedicatione aecclesiae/

f.38<sup>r</sup>

[G 335  
1.1

[ mine gebroðra ða leofestan we wyllað/

sume tihtendlice spræce wið eow/

habban be þissere cyrclican mærsunge/

7 eow læran þ ge sylfe beon godes tempel/ 5

gastlice nu ge his eorðlice templ wurðiað/

witodlice on þære ealdan æ wæs anlipi/  
anlipig

templ þam ælmihtigan gode to wurðmynte/  
hus

aræred on iudea rice binnan þære/

byrig hierusalem 7 ealle oðre þeoda/ 10

wurðodon mislice deofolgyld 7 þam fela/

templa arærdon 7 mid andgitleasum/

7 lifleasum anlicnyssum afyldon ðæt/

anlipige godes tempel wæs wundorlice/

gecræft þurh gastlicum gerynum dauid/ 15

se mæra cyning hæfde gemynt þ he/

wolde þ templ aræran þam ælmihtigan/

gode to wurðmynte ac he him sæde þurh/

\*\*s witegan nathan þ his sunu sceolde/  
his

\* tempel aræran 7 he wolde him beon// 20  
þæt

for fæder 7 him mid mildheortnysse/ f.38<sup>V</sup>

gyrde styran gif he ahwær unrihtlice/

dyde dauid þa rixode on iudea lande/

feowertig geara 7 his lif leofode gode/

swiðe gecwemlice 7 þurh þone halgan/ 25

gast þa sealmas sette þe we singað æt/  
.....

godes lofsangum æfter his geendunge/  
^(singað)

feng salomon his sunu to rice se lufode/

god sona on his iugoðe 7 geofrode him/

mycele lac þ wæron þusend fealde on/ 30

sægednyssa æt anre offrunge efne ða/

on þære ylcan nihte æteowde him drihten/

on swefne þus cweðende bide me loca/

hwæs þu wylle 7 ic þe sylle ða cwæð salo/

mon to drihtne þu cyðdest me mycele/ 35

..

mildheortnysse 7 þinum þeowan dauide/

minum fæder þ he on soðfæstnysse 7 riht/



wisnyse leofode ætforan þe 7 þu ge/  
 uðest his bearne his cynerices nu eom/  
 ic cnæpling 7 nytende mines færes 7 ic/ 40  
 eom geset betwux þinum folce þe ne mæg/  
 beon geteald for ðære mycelan mænigu/  
 forgif me wisdom þ̅ ic mage þin mycele/  
 folc gewissian 7 ic cunne to cnawan \*\*/  
 twux god 7 yfel ða gelicode gode þ\*\*\*// 45  
 twux þeos  
 ben 7 cwæð to salomone ðu ne bæde me/ f.39<sup>r</sup>  
 langsum lif ne mycelne welan ne þinra/  
 feonda deað ac bæde me wisdomes nu for/  
 gyfe ic þe eac wise heortan to þam swyðe þ̅/  
 nan eorðlic man næs þin gelica ær þan þe/ 50  
 þu wære ne eac æfter þe ne bið 7 eac ic þe for/  
 gyfe þæs ðe þu me ne bæde welan 7 wuldor/  
 ..  
 swa þ̅ nan cyning næs þin gelica on ærdagum/  
 7 gif ðu færst on minum wegum 7 mine be/  
 boda hyltst swa swa þin fæder dyde/ 55  
 þonne gelenge 'ic' þine dagas salomon awoc þa/

7 his swefen understod 7 him forgeaf þa god/  
 swa mycelne wisdom 7 snoternysse 7/  
 bradnysse heortan swa swa sand ceosel/  
 on sæstrande him becomon eac swa myce/ 60  
 le welan to handa þ̅ his bigleofa wæs ælce/  
 dæg mid his hirede þrittig mittan clænes/  
 melewes 7 syxtig mittan oðres meolewes/  
 twelf fætte oxan 7 twentig feld oxan/  
 hunteontig weðera buton huntoðe 7 fuge/ 65  
 loðe 7 gemæstra fugela feowertig geara/  
 he rixode on hierusalem on sibbe buton/  
 ælcum gefeohte feower hund þusend/  
 ^ (and)  
 \*\*æta he hæfde 7 twelf þusend riddena/  
 cræta  
 \*\*eo þusend bigspella he gesette 7 fif// 70  
 þreo  
 þusend leoða 7 asmeade be ælcum treow/ f.39<sup>v</sup>  
 cynne fram þam heagan ceaderbeame/  
 oð þ̅ he com to ðære lytlan ysopan/  
 eac swylce be nytenum 7 fixum 7 fugelum/  
 he smeade 7 of eallum leodum comon menn/ 75  
 to gehyrenne salomones wisdom he/

arærde gode to wurðmynte þ̅ templ/

þe his fæder gemynte to arærenne swylc/

hus swa nan oðer nis næfre on eorðan/

aræred ðæt templ wæs on lenge syxtig/

80

fæðma on widnyse twentig fæðma/

on heahnysse þrittig fæðma ðæt east/

portic wæs on leng twentig fæðma be/

þæs temples widnyse 7 wæs tyn fæðma/

wid ðis portic wæs swa gefadod mid deor/  
weorc

85

wurðum stanum and readum golde swa we/

eow reccan ne magon 7 wæs eall binnan/

seofon gearum geendod salomon þa gegade/

rode ealle his witan to þæs temples hal/

gunge 7 þar geoffrode gode mænigfea\*/  
feal

90

de lac þ̅ wæron getealde twa 7 twentig/  
de

þusend oxena 7 hund twelftig þusend/

sceapa 7 se cyng gebiggedum cneowu\*/  
cneowum

ætforan þam weofode hine langlice/

gebæd 7 þ̅ mære hus gode betæhte \*\*\*//  
him

95



7 his folce to gebedhuse 7 to trymminge/ f.40<sup>r</sup>

7 to gescylnysse wið ælces yfeles on/

scyte he astod þa 7 þ̄ folc gebletsode/

7 cwæð sy ure drihten gebletsod se ðe/

forgeaf reste 7 stilnysse his folce/

100

israhel æfter þam wordum þe he ær spræc/

þurh moysen his þeowan us is langsum/

to gereccenne ealle þa bletsunga 7 þancunga/

þe salomon þa gode sæde on his folces ge/

syhðe 7 þ̄ folc syððan mid bliðre heortan/

105

to þam eahtoðan dæge ham gewende þanci/  
on

G 337  
1.73]

gende þam ælmihtigan gode ealra his goda /  
..... ]

nu habbe ge gehyred be þære ealdan/  
on

cyrchalgunge be þære ealdan æ 7 eow/

læwedum mannum is earfoð to understan/

110

[G 337  
1.73

denne for þan ðeos racu hæfð gastlice/  
[

G 337  
1.74]

getacnunge nu wylle we eow secgan þ̄ þ̄/  
]

ge understandan magon be þissere/

[Br 15  
1.16

cyrcean freolse for þan ðe heo is gode/  
[ gehalgud

gehalgod to lofe 7 to wurðmynte 7/ 115  
gode

ealum folce to swyðe mycelre neodþear/  
neadþear

\*e for þan ðe hig sceolon herinne æt/  
fe

\*ode heora synna forgyfenysse biddan/  
gode

\*\*htlice eall cristen folc þære halgan/  
rihtlice

\*\*\*cean symbelnysse wurðað seo is// 120  
ciercean

ure gastlice modor for þam ðe we/ f.40<sup>v</sup>

synd þurh hi on þam halgan fulluhte/

geedcennede 7 to þam heofonlican rice/

gelaðode witodlice on þære forman/

acenninge þe we þurh wer 7 þurh wif/ 125

on þis lif becomon we wurdon yrres/

fatu ðurh ða oðre acennednysse þe we/

on þam fulluhte geedcennede wurdon/

we gearnodon þ̅ we synd mildheortnysse/

fatu seo forme acennednys us forð/ 130

gelædde to deaðe 7 to ecum tintregum/

seo oðer us ongean gecigde to þam ecan/

life ealle we wæron ær þam fulluhte/

deofles templu 7 gif we geornlice embe/

ure sawle hælo þencað þonne on cnawe/ 135  
 we þ̅ we synd lifigende godes templ/  
 godd eardað on þam templum þe synd þurh/  
 ^ (na þæt an)  
 manna handa of treowum 7 of stanum ge/  
 timbrode ac eac huru þinga he wunað/  
 on þære sawle þe he ær mid his agenre/ 140  
 handa to his anlicnyse gesceop 7 gewor\*/  
 geworh  
 te swa swa se eadiga apostol paulus be þam/  
 te  
 cwæð templum dei sanctum est quod estis uos/  
 þ̅ is godes halige templ is þ̅ gesynd/  
 ^ (on urum geþiode)  
 ðas templ þe we cyrcan nemnað \*\*\*\*// 145  
 sint  
 getimbrode of treowum 7 of stanum/ f.41<sup>r</sup>  
 to þam þ̅ ða lifigendan godes templ hig/  
 þar to gegaderian 7 þar godes word ge/  
 hyran 7 þa halgan geryna þære/  
 mæssan gestandan þe for eallum criste/ 150  
 num folce geoffrod bið us is swiðe/  
 micclum to blissigenne for þam þ̅ we ge/  
 earnian moston þ̅ we synd godes templ/



gehatene 7 us is mid swiðe micclum/  
 .....

ege to warnienne þ̅ we þ̅a templ mid/ 155

nanum yfelum weorcum ne gewemman/

us is to ondrædenne þ̅ þ̅ se apostol pau/  
 . . .

lus be ðam cwyð si quis templum dei/  
 ...

uiolauerit disperdet illum deus he cwyð/

swa hwylc mann swa godes templ ge/ 160  
 ...

Br 17 wemmð god hine forspilð 7 fordeð/  
 1.18] ]

[Ski 288 [ nu doð menn swa ðeah dyslice for/  
 1.75

oft þ̅ hi willað wacian 7 wodlice drincan/

binnan godes huse 7 bysmorlice plegan/

7 mid gegafspræcum godes hus gefylan/ 165

ac þ̅am wære betere þ̅ hi on heora bedde/

lagon þ̅onne hi gremedon god on þ̅am gastlican/

huse se ðe wylle wacian 7 wurðian godes/

halgan wacige mid stilnysse 7 ne wyrce/

nan gehlyd ac singe his gebedu swa he// 170

selost cunne 7 se ðe wylle drincan 7/ f.41<sup>v</sup>

dwæsliche hlydan drince him æt ham na on/

drihtnes huse þ he god ne geunwurðie/

Ski 288  
1.86]  
[Br 19  
1.3

to wite him sylfum 7 swa oft swa ge willan/  
][

to cyrcan cuman 7 eow to gode gebiddan/ 175  
wurþian ciercean symelnesse.....

7 cyrcan freolsunge wurðian healde/  
.....

ælc mann forhæfednyse wið his agen/

ne gemæccan 7 þonne syferlice 7 gesibsum/  
^(swiðe)

lice to þære cyrcan becume 7 ælc man/

be his mihte þe to godes cyrcan cumon/ 180  
æfter .. .. .

þearfigendum mannum heora ælmyssan/  
^(7)

dælan 7 gif ge þonne þus mid gastlicum/

weorcum 7 mid gastlicum freolsungum to þære/

cyrcan becumað þonne ge gearnige ge þ ge/

onfoð æt gode ælc þara þinga þe ge hine/ 185

rihtlice biddað and þ gedafenað to fo/

ran eallum oðrum þingum þ ælces mannes/

heorte beo wið ealle leahtras hwit 7/

clæne swa swa ge gewilniað þ ge to cyrcan/

becumon mid hwitum reafum 7 mid clænum/ 190

ne fremað eow nan þing þ ge hwite æt/

eowian beforan manna eagum gif ge mid/

synnum gehoregode beoð on godes gesyhðe/  
 7 his haligra engla ac uton swa oft swa/  
 we to godes cyrcan becuman willan// 195  
 ure sawle aclænsian 7 urne lichaman/ f.42<sup>r</sup>  
 .....  
 mid halgum mægnum þ̅ is mid eadmod/  
 nysse 7 mid soðre lufe 7 mid geþylde 7/  
 mid ælmysdædum 7 mid forhæfednysse/  
 oferættes 7 oferdrinces 7 eac æghwylce/ 200  
 ra lichamlicra lusta 7 mid clænnysse/  
 ealle þa menn þe ðas halgan mæghenu/  
 lufiað 7 gelomlice hi began willað hi ge/  
 gladiað heora drihten 7 hine heom to/  
 gelaðiað þ̅ he on heom wunað 7 eardað/ 205  
 swa swa we ær beforan sædon ða menn/  
 þonne þe unþeawas 7 leahtras lufiað/  
 þ̅ is ofermettu 7 idel wuldor 7 idel/  
 .....  
 gylp 7 anda 7 yrre 7 unrotnyss 7/  
 ....  
 gytsung 7 gyfernyss 7 oferdrenc/ 210  
 drinceas  
 7 unrihthæmed 7 manslihtas 7 mane/



aðas 7 þyfða 7 leasunga 7 morþor/

7 wiccedom 7 þa ðe on ænigum þingum/

wigliað oððe be nytenum oððe be fugelum/

oððe þa ðe heora ælmyssan behatað/

215

to mistlicum treowum oððe to wyllum/

oððe ahwider buton to godes cyrcan/

ealle hi anydað god ælmihtigne of heora/

heortan 7 þone deofol inn gelædað/

7 he on him wunað ealle þa criste//

220

nan menn þe ðyllice synd 7 þas þing/ f.42<sup>v</sup>

lufiað þeah ðe hig to cyrcan gan 7 heo/

ra gebedu singan 7 hi sylfe gelomlice/

senian 7 hi swa þriste beon þ̅ hi to godes/

weofode gan 7 hi þær onfon þæs halgan/

225

gerynes drihtnes lichaman 7 his blodes/

hi synd þeah hwæðere soðlice afandode/

þ̅ hi synd deofles bearn 7 his þeowan/

7 hi sceolon butan tweon æt heora yte/

mestan dæge mid him faran on ece/

230

genyðerunge þ̅ is into helle grunde/  
 .....

buton hi hyt mid mycelre dædbote/

7 hreowsunge ær heora ende gebetan/

eac we witon þ̅ ealle cristene menn/

þe synd eadmode 7 clænheorte 7/

235

mildheorte 7 arfæste 7 ælmesfulle/

7 gesibsume 7 þa ðe nellað gewitan beon/

ne gewyrcean stala ne leasunga ne/

morðres ne mannslihta ne unriht/

hæmedes ne nanes þæra leahtra þe we/

240

ær her beforan sædon ac hi soðlice/  
 bufan cwæðun.....

synd fulfremode godes tempel 7/  
 ^ (anwalge 7)

crist buton tweon on him wunað 7 hig/

witodlice æfter heora forðsiðe/  
 hiononsiðe

mid him on hefena rice wun'i'að 7 þæra//

245

ecera meda 7 wynsumnyssa underfoð/  
 onfoð

f.43<sup>r</sup>

swa mycelra 7 swa mærlícra swa hit næfre/

ne mihte mannes eage geseon ne eare/

gehyran ne heorte ongytan þa mærað/

þe god hæfð gegearwod þam ðe hine mid/ 250  
 ...

Br 21

1.18]

[Br 24

1.12

inweardlicere heortan luf'i'að nis eac/  
 ][

nanum menn torwyrnenne se haligdom/  
 ^ (to)forwyrnanne

þæs fulluhtes 7 huru þinga þone þe man/

untrumne gesihð þa menn þonne þe heora/  
 ^ (þæne man)

bearn to fulluhte bringað 7 to þæs bisceof/ 255

pes bletsunge þ he his hand ofer hig/

sette 7 him sylle þa seofonfealdan gife/

þæs halgan gastes hi gestrynað þonne heora/  
 .....

bearnum heofena rice 7 him sylfum mycele/

mede æt gode ða ðe for yld'i'að 7 for gyne/ 260

leasiað þ hi nellað heora bearn to þam/

fulluhte 7 to þære onasetednyse þæs/

biscopes bletsunga bringan gif him þonne under/  
 .....

þam forðsið getimað witon hi þ hi befeal/

lað on swiðe mycele synne wið god ælmih/ 265  
 hefige

tigne for þam hi forgymelesodon þone/

mann þe hi to gode gestrynan sceoldon/

7 hi sceolon þære sawle gescead agyldan/

on domesdæg beforan gode buton hi/



hit ær mid mycelre dædbote her on// 270  
 ..

þisum life gebetan and wite eac ge/ f.43<sup>v</sup>  
 ..... æg

hwa ælc þæra manna þe oðres onfehð/  
 hwylc

æt fulluhte oððe æt bisceopes handa/

þ hi synd heora borhhanda wið god æl/

mihtigne 7 hi sceolon hi forþig gelomlice/ 275

læran 7 mynegian þ hi rihtne geleafan/

to gode habban 7 þ hi heora lif rihtlice/

7 syferlice lybbon 7 toforan eallum oðrum/

þingum þ hi him geswutelian 7 getæcan/

pater noster 7 credan for þan ðe nan mann/ 280  
 credan 7 pater noster

ne mæg beon fullice geleaffull buton/  
 rihtlice

Br 25  
 1.15]

he þ cunne for þan ðe he sceal on þam /  
 ]

pater nostre him æt gode are biddan ægðer ge/

þises lifes ge eac þæs towerdan and/

[Br 25  
 1.15]

on þam credan his rihtan geleafan gode/ 285

[G 344  
 1.293

andettan wite gehwa cristenra manna/  
 ]]

þ nan ne sceal sceattas niman for godes/

cyrcean gif hit þonne hwa deð þ he godes/

bryde wið feo sylle þonne bið he iudan/  
 ^ (þæt is seo cyrce)

gelic þe for criste æt þam iudeum feoh ge/ 290

nam 7 he sceal mid iudan on ecnysse/

þrowian buton he hit on life wið god ær/

G 344 gebete nu doð swa þeah ealles to feal/  
 1.298 ]

[Ski 430 manna þ hi syllað heora cyrcan to/  
 1.248 [ .....^(eac)

hyre swa swa waclice mylna þæt// 295

mære hus þe wæs gode betæht to his big/ f.44<sup>r</sup>

gencgum 7 to þam cristendome þe crist/

syلف astealde ac hit ne gedafenað þ mann/

do godes hus anre mylne gelic for lyðrum/

Ski 430 tolle 7 se ðe hit deð he syngað swiðe deope / 300  
 1.254 ]

[G 344 ne gedyrstlæce nan læwede mann þ he/  
 1.298 [

wisunge oððe ealderdom healde ofer/

godes þeowum hu mæg oððe hu dear/

ænig læwede mann him to geteon þurh/

ricetere cristes wican ne furðon nan/ 305

gehadod mann ne sceal him to geteon þ he/

crist spelige ofer his halgan hired/

buton him seo notu fram godes lareowum/

betæht sy gif se læweda mann wyle sum/

mynster aræran oððe gegodian be/ 310

tæce he gode swa hwæt swa he þar to deð/

7 gesette þar hired be healicra lareowa/  
ðone

ræde 7 næfre se læweda mann ne heal/

de ealdorscipe ofer gehadedum godes/

þeowum gif hit hwa deð wite he þ he þ deð/ 315  
^(ðonne)

ongean cristes gesetnyse 7 ealra his/

halgena for worulde he mot godes/

þeowum fylstan 7 lætan hi lybban be/

heora boca wisunge 7 heora gastlican//

ealdres tæcunge we habbað nu gesæd be/ f.44<sup>v</sup> 320

godes cyrcan ægðer ge be þære ealdan/

ge be ðære niwan nu bidde we þone ælmih/

tigan hælend þ he us þurh his mildheort/

nyse geclænsige fram urum synnum 7 us ge/

læde to þære ecan gelaðunge heofenan/ 325

rices on þam ðe rixað mid his gecorennum/



halgum 7 mid his ælmihtigan fæder/  
 .

7 þam halgan gaste on ealra worulda/

G 345  
 1.317]

worold a butan ende amen /  
 ..... ]

Cotton Cleopatra B. xiii, article 6 folios 44<sup>r</sup>-55<sup>v</sup>

dominica ante rogationum/

f.44<sup>r</sup>

[Sc 315 1.1 [ men ða leofestan us gedafenað/

ærest þ̅ we gemunan 7 gereccan/

be gode ælmihtigum þe geworhte/

heofenas 7 eorðan 7 ealle gesceaf/

5

ta on ðone we sceolon gelyfan/

..

þrynlicne on hadum 7 anlicne/

on spedum oðer is soðlice se/

had ælmihtiges fæder oðer/

is ælmihtiges suna oðer is/

10

ælmihtiges haliges gastes 7 þeah/

hwæðere we sceolon andettan/

æne god on mægenþrymme/

7 on mihte 7 on godcundnysse/

for þam se fæder is ece god/

15

7 se sunu is ece god 7 se halga/

gast is ece god ealle þry se/

fæder 7 se sunu 7 se halga gast/

wæron æfre efen ece 7 æfre//

beoð 7 hy þry syndon an ece/ f.44<sup>V</sup> 20  
 ^ (an god) . . . . .

god fram þam 7 þurh þane/  
 . . . . .

7 on þam syndon geworhte ealle/

þa þing þe gesewene syndon þa/  
 ^ (7 ealle þa

ne mæg nan eorðlic mann ealle/  
 þe ungesewene syndon)

asecgan ærest on frymðe he/ 25

geworhte heofenas 7 eorðan/

7 sæ 7 ealle þa þing þe on him/

syndon 7 ealle þa englas þe on/

heofenum syndon 7 ealle þa þe/

of englum to deoflum forscea/ 30

pene wurdon ealle he hi of him/

sylfum mid his oroðe ut ableow/

7 þone þe he foremærostne/

hæfde ofer ealle þa oðre englas/

se wæs lucifer gehaten þ̅ is on/ 35  
 þe lucifer wæs

urum geþeode leohtberend/

gereht ac he eft þa he hine/



sylfne his scyppende gelicne//  
 don wolde 7 him þrymsetl on/ f.45<sup>r</sup>  
 norðdæle heofenan rices ge/ 40  
 timbrian wolde of þam he/  
 ricene afeoll 7 ealle þa þe/  
 æt þam ræde mid him wæron/  
 7 him æfter besawon ealle hi/  
 wurdon of englum to deoflum/ 45  
 forsceapene 7 on helle besceo/  
 fene þær hi a on ecnysse witu/  
 þoliað for þam þe hi forho/  
 godon hyra scyppend ælmih/  
 tigne god syððan he geworhte/ 50  
 of eorðan lame þone ærestan/  
 mann þe æfre wæs þone he/  
 be naman adam nemde 7 him/  
 ....  
 onbleow liflicne gast 7 him/  
 ealle eorðan gesceaftu on ge/ 55  
 weald sealde 7 sæs fixas þ̅ hi/

him hyrsumian sceoldan 7 he//

him eallum naman gesceop/

f.45<sup>v</sup>

ægðer ge nytenum ge fugelum/

ge fixum 7 hi ealle gyt be/

60

þam naman fram eallum/

mannum synd genemede/

þe him adam æt frymðe ge/

sceop 7 drihten ælmihtig of/

adames winstran sidan genam/

65

þ̅ ribb þe he þ̅ wif of geworhte/

þe eua hatte of þam twam/

þurh godes mihte ys ealles/

middaneardes folc fram cumen/

7 him god forgeaf þ̅ hi ealles/

70

geweald agan moston þe on/

eorðan wære buton anes treo/

wæs wæstm þ̅ is genemned/  
blæda

lifes treow 7 we hit nemnað/

.....

ficbeam þ̅ treow is on middan/

75

.....

neorxnawonge be þam treowe//

crist sylf forewarnode ægðer ge/ f.46<sup>r</sup>

adam ge euan 7 him sæde þam/

þ̅ on swa hwylcum dæge swa hy/  
..

þæs treowes blæda æton hi sceol/ 80

don for þan forwurðan 7 hi/  
.....

eac swa dydon ac þa se deofol/

geseah 7 wiste þ̅ him god swa/

micel forgyfen hæfde 7 he/

sylf beswicen wæs 7 þa ðe mid/ 85

him of heofenum gefeollon/

þa þohte he to beswicenne hi/

eall swa he sylf beswicen wæs/

he þa gehywode hine sylfne/  
..... gehweorrfdē ^ (þa on anre)

to næddran hiwe 7 hi butu be/ 90  
..

swac 7 forlærde sæde him þ̅/

on swa hwylcum dæge swa hi þæs/  
..

treowæs blæda æton þ̅ hi wæron/

syððan þam gelice þe hi ge/

worhte ac hit him wearð biterlice// 95



forgolden on heora life ge/ f.46<sup>v</sup>  
 eac æfter ægðer ge him ge/  
 eallum manncynne þe him/  
 fram com oð ures drihtenes/  
 tocyme nigon hund wintra/ 100  
 7 þrytig wintra adam lyfede/  
 on þisse worulde on geswince/  
 7 on yrmðe 7 syððan to helle/  
 for 7 þær grymme witu þo/  
 lode fif þusendo wintra 7/ 105  
 twa hund wintra 7 eahta 7 twen/  
 tig wintra men ða leofestan/  
 us is nu for þy mycel ofer/  
   nyd  
 þearf nu we þus þurh godes/  
 mihte ealle ætgædere syndon/ 110  
 þ̅ we gecyrran of yfele 7 don/  
   .....  
 god 7 gehyran mid eallum/  
 ^ (to)  
 eadmettum halige lara 7 þam/  
   godcunde  
 georne fyligan 7 us æt gode 7 æt//

eallum his halgum mihta 7/ f.47<sup>r</sup> 115  
 .  
 miltse biddan þe læs us deoflu/  
 .....  
 æfter urum forðsiðe ongean/  
 wurpon þ̅ we oft ætgedere ealle/  
 wæron 7 us beforan halige lara/  
 gehyrdon rædon 7 we na þe/ 120  
 .....  
 beteran næron ac þe mætran/  
 ac uton us wendan men ða leo/  
 festan to beteran ræde 7 for/  
 þingum  
 lætan ealle yfele þing 7 don/  
 god swa forð swa we fyrmest/ 125  
 magon 7 to gode þæs georne/  
 ^ (7 to eallum his halegum)  
 gearnian 7 to eallum his halgum/  
 .....  
 us is georne to witenne 7 to ge/  
 hlystene for hwylcum þingum/  
 we þas gangdas healdan þe nu/ 130  
 gangdagas .....  
 on þyssere ucon beoð 7 bare/  
 .....  
 fote gað þus on geares fyrste/  
 þas þry dagas se feorða ys driht//

ne sylfum gehalgod for his/ f.47<sup>v</sup>  
 .....  
 mæran uppstige to heofenan/ 135  
 ^ (of eorðan)  
 7 mid hwylcum þingum we hi/  
 ^ (gehalgod)  
 healdan sceolan us is georne/  
 to witenne we hi sceolan heal/  
 dan on micelre eadmodnysse/  
 7 on mycclum gepylde mid/ 140  
 ^ (7) on  
 soðre lufe 7 mid ealre clæn/  
 on  
 nysse lichaman 7 sawle 7 mid/  
 on  
 godum wæccum 7 nytweorðum/  
 7 mid fæstenum 7 mid halgum/  
 on on  
 gebedum 7 mid ælmesdædum/ 145  
 on  
 7 on ealre godnysse 7 on lufe/  
 godes 7 manna manegum/  
 haligum mannum þas gangda/  
 gas syndon wiðmetene ac us/  
 is lang þ̅ eall to reccenne uton/ 150  
 þeah us georne scyldan wið/  
 .....  
 deofol eallum tidum 7 us on//  
 ^ (scyldan)  
 gean his yfelan lara godes/ f.48<sup>r</sup>



mildheortnysse biddan dæges/  
 7 nihtes se deofol dæges 7/ 155  
 nihtes winð ongearon us mid his/  
 geleafleaste uton we winnan/  
 ongearon hýne mid geleafful/  
 nysse he winð mid ofermod/  
 dignysse uton we ongearon mid/ 160  
 eadmodnyse he us gearwað/  
 galnysse uton we ongearon clæn/  
 nysse he gegripð manful/  
 nysse uton we ongearon rihtwis/  
 nysse he us on gebringð yrsun/ 165  
 ge uton we fyligean geþylde/  
 he us on sent gytsunge uton/  
 we began mildheortnysse/  
 he us myngrað to gyferynysse/  
 uton we þær ongearon geheal/ 170  
 ..  
 dan for hæfednysse 7 æfre//  
 ongearon his yfelan wyllan uton/ f.48<sup>v</sup>

wyrcean godes willan ealle/

we sceolon eſtan to godes cyri/  
templum

can swa swyðe swa beon doð to/ 175  
... ^ (ða)

heora hyfe to þam þ̅ we magon/

getrywlice onbyrgean þa swet/

nysse þæs gaſtlican huniges/

of þam godcundum larum we/  
rædingum

gelyfað men ða leofeſtan þæs/ 180

þe we ræddon on halgum bocum/

þ̅ swa hwa swa on þyſum þrim/

dagum to godes cyrcean cymð/  
temple

7 him þær hiſ ſynna forgyfen/

nyſſa æt gode bitt mid ealre/ 185

heortan hylðo 7 mid ealre ead/

modnyſſe þ̅ hiſ god þæra/

ſynna forgyfennyſſa ſylle/

þe he ær on twælf monðum/

gedyde 7 hiſ ys eac awriten// 190

þ̅ nan mann hine ne ſceal ge/ f.49<sup>r</sup>

orwenan þ̅ him god mildsian/

nelle þeah he þusend þusend/

.....

synna ongean hys willan ge/

worht hæbbe þeah hwæðere/

195

ne forgyfð he us na ða synna/

^(hie).....

buton we þe ricenor heom fram/

gehwyrfan us syndon synder/

lice on þisum dagum forbo/

dene þeah hi on ælcere tide/

200

forbodene syn þeah swyðost/  
swiðor

on þysse tyde idele spræca 7/

tæflunga 7 beorscypas 7 þ̅ him/

...

nan mann on þysum dagum/

blod ne forlæte ne ne geprist/

205

læce ænig mann ætes oððe/

wætes to onbyrgenne ær þære/

nigoðan tide 7 ær he mæssan/

gehyred hæbbe 7 barum fotum//  
hæbbe gehyred

cristes bec 7 rodetacna 7 oðre/ f.49<sup>v</sup> 210  
^(his)

halige reliquias eadmodlice/



Sc 320  
1.94]  
[Ti 246  
1.27

gegret hæbbe we sceolon eac/  
                                ][

on þysum þrym dagum swyðe/  
                                .....

geornlice began ure haligan/  
.....

gebedu 7 fyligean urum halig/ 215

dome ut 7 in mid clænum/  
                                .....

geþance 7 þone ælmihtigan/  
.....

Ti 246  
1.29]

god mid geornfulnysse bid /  
  ]

dan ealra ure synna for/

gyfennyssa 7 mid ealre heor/ 220

tan hyne lufian 7 herian/

[Sc 320  
1.95

ælcum menn ge geongum ge/  
[                                .....

gealdum þis fæsten is beboden/

þ̅ hig hit sceolon healice heal/

dan 7 hit næfre nah nan/ 225  
                                .....

mann swyðor to bræcene þonne/  
.....^(þe ma to

þ̅ lengctenfæsten wite gehwa/  
abrecenne nagon þe)

swa 'he' geornor sceal gode þeow//

gean 7 healice fæstenu fæs/ f.50<sup>r</sup>

tan þ̅ þe geornor deofol/

wyle gebringean on þam men/

þ he hit 'ge'healdan ne mæge/

ðy we beodað godes bebode/

7 ealra his halgena þ nan/

þara cristenra manna/

235

þe þis gehyre him beforan/

rædan oððe elleshwara/

hit him gereccan ne geþrist/

læce he þis fæsten to abræ/

cene be þam þe he wille him/

240

for gode geborgen habban/

men ða leofestan uton gemu/

nan þone cwyde þæs eadigan/

apostoles petres he cwæð/

se deofol us symle ymbe/

245

þrydað uton nu gehealdan/

georne þis fæsten neh þam//

þe hit awriten is on halgum bocum/ f. 50<sup>v</sup>

þ þa fæston þe þurh þæs witegan/

lare to gode gecyrdon 7 þ̅ fæs/ 250

ten swa fæston swa he him wi/  
..

sode se wæs ionas haten be/  
haten ionas

þam is on bocum awriten þ̅/

god þurh haligne gast hine/

het faran to sumre mære/ 255

ceastre seo wæs niniuen haten/

7 þær sceolde bodian godes/

bebodu ac for þam þe þ̅ folc/

wæs awyrged 7 æwbræca he/  
æbreca

him swyðe ondred 7 þyder/ 260

faran ne dorste for þam/

þe god wæs swyðe yrre þære/

burhware þa wolde he for/  
ceasterleode ..

þy godes bebodu forfleon/

ac him com to cyððe þ̅ he hi/ 265

forfleon ne mihte he þeah//

on fleame wæs oð þ̅ he to sæ/ f.51<sup>r</sup>

becom 7 him þær scyp gebohte/

7 mid þam scypmannum him/



þohte ofer sæ to segelgenne/ 270

ac he ne mihte swa he gemynt/

hæfde godes wyllan forfleon/

ac sona swa he wæs in agan/

on þ̅ scyp þa gereste he hine/

on anum ende 7 þa sona þa/ 275  
                                   ^(swa)

menn þe on þam scype wæron/

ut on þære sæs dypan gesege/

lod þa onsende god mycelne/  
                                   ^(hæfdon)

ren 7 strangne wind 7 grym/

Sc 322  
1.121]  
[Ti 246  
1.1  
Ti 246  
1.1]

me yste on þa sæ swa þ̅ hi/ 280  
                                   ] [

wæron orwene heora lifes 7 /  
                                   ]

[Sc 322  
1.121

þ̅ scyp ne mihte naðor swym/  
 [                                  ^(ne forð)

man ne forð ne underbæc/  
                                   .....

for unhyrsumnysse þæs wite/

gan þe ionas wæs gehaten// 285

ða for þam þa ondredon þa/ f.51v

scypmenn him swyðe þearle/

hluton þa him betweonon/  
                                   him þa

for hwylces hyra gylton him/  
 swa getymod wære 7 'þa' behluton/ 290

hi hit sona to ionam þam wi/  
 tegan 7 he his nan þing nyste/

þa wundrodon hy sona þ se/  
 hlyt ofer þone godes þegen/  
 gefeoll awehton hyne þa of/ 295

slæpe 7 rehton hit him eall/

Sc 322  
 1.127]  
 [Ti 246  
 1.5

7 axodon hine hwæt he wære/  
 ][

oððe hu he faran wolde he/

cwæð þ he wære godes þeow/

se þe gesceop heofenas 7 eorðan/ 300  
 .....

sæ 7 land 7 ealle gesceaftu/  
 .....

7 þ he wolde of godes gesyhðe/  
 ^ (fleon)

Ti 246  
 1.8]  
 [Sc 322  
 1.128

fleon ac he hæfde þa ongyten/  
 .....][þa ongyten hæfde

þ he nahwar god forfleon//

Sc 322  
 1.129]  
 [Ti 246  
 1.8

ne mihte hi cwædon hu do we/ f.52<sup>r</sup> 305  
 .. ][

embe þe he andwerde wurpað/

me ut oferbord þonne ge/  
 ..

swicō þeos gedræcednyss hi/

Ti 246  
1.10]  
[Sc 322  
1.129

þa swa dydon 7 him fore ge/  
][ ^ (hie)

bædon 7 seo hreohnys wearð/  
][

310

Sc 322  
1.129]

þa sona gestilled 7 hi ofro/  
.....

[Ti 246  
1.10

don heora lac gode 7 tungan/  
^ (gode) ....

þa forð god þa sona asende/  
.. .... gegearcode

ænne mycelne hwæl 7 se for/  
..... he

Ti 246  
1.13]  
[Sc 322  
1.130

swealh þone witegan 7 he/  
][

315

wæs on him þry dagas 7 þreo/

Sc 322  
1.130]  
[Ti 246  
1.13

niht 7 abær hyne to þam/  
][

ylcan lande þe he ær to faran/  
..... ... ..

Thi 246  
1.14]

sceolde 7 hine þarut aspau/  
]

[Sc 323  
1.133]  
[Thi 246  
1.14

ofer þære sæ staðe þa com/  
[ ][

320

eft godes word to þam witegan/

ionam 7 cwæð aris nu 7 ga/  
.....

to þære mycclan byrig nini//

uen 7 boda swa swa ic þe ær/ f.52<sup>v</sup>

sæde he ferde 7 bodode 7 sæde/  
.....

325

þ heom wæs godes grama on/

sigende gyf hi to gode bugan/



Ti 246            noldon 7 he þa sona on þreo/  
 1.18]                    ][

[Sc 323            ra daga fyrste þurh for/  
 1.133

þa mæran 7 þa micclan burh/                    330

niniuen 7 bodude on þære/  
 .....

godes bebodu swa þ̅ se cyning/

mid ealre þære burhware/  
 .....                    ceasterware

on god gelyfde on eallre heor/  
 ^ (mid hire)

tan 7 he bebead þ̅ hi ealle fram/                    335

þam yldestan oð þone gingestan/

þreora daga fæsten healdan/

sceoldon 7 he aras of his cyne/

setle 7 him fram his cyne/

reaf awarep 7 hyne mid/                    340  
 ^ (of)

Sc 323            hæran ymbcrydde to his/  
 1.138]                    ][

[Ti 246            lice 7 dyde axan uppon his//  
 1.19                    ....

heafod 7 bebead þ̅ ælc mann/                    f.53<sup>r</sup>

Ti 246            swa don sceolde 7 to gode georne/  
 1.20]                    ][

[Sc 323            clypode mid ealre þære/                    345  
 1.138

burhware 7 he bead ærost/



symle deð ælc þæra manna/  
 . . . . .

þe he ongyt þ̅ him eallum mo/  
 ^ (on)

de to gecyrð eac we ræddon/

on halgum bocum þ̅ on sumere/

ceastre þe wæs uienna gehaten/ 370

on þære wæs sum biscop se wæs/

genemned mamertus be þam/

is awriten þ̅ þ̅ folc þe he be/

wiste wearð þearle mid færl/

licum deaðe fornumen 7 swa/ 375

mycel wearð seo untrumnys/

7 se færluca deað ofer eall/

þ̅ folc þe he bewiste þ̅ þa þe  
 .. ..

oðre to eorðan bæron þ̅ sume/

hi feollon deade ofer þæs dea// 380

dan byrgene þe hi þonne byrgdon/ f.54<sup>r</sup>

7 sume hamweard be wege forð/

ferdon swa þ̅ nan þæra þe/

oðerne to eorðan bæc ham/



Sc 324  
1.156]

mid þam life ne com eac wearð/  
]

385

[Ti 244  
1.16

on þære ylcan byrig mycel/  
[  
eorðstyrung 7 feollan cyrcan/

7 hus 7 comon wilde bæran/

7 wulfas 7 abiton þæs folces/

mycelne dæl 7 þæs cinges/

390

botl wearð mid heofenlicum/

fyre eall forbærned þa bæd/  
..... [

[Sc 324  
1.156

se biscop mamertus ealle/  
]

Ti 244  
1.19]

þa bisceopas þe on þam ear/

de wæron mid wependre stefne/

395

þ̅ hi ealle 7 heora folc þry/

dagas fæstan sceoldon 7 bæ/  
.....

don heora drihten þ̅ hi ealle/

alysde fram þam mycclan ogan//  
.....

7 þam færlican deaðe þe him on/ f.54<sup>V</sup> 400  
.....

sæt 7 hi þa ealle swa dydon/  
...

7 gesetton þa him betweonan/

þ̅ man æfre syððan þas þry/  
a ^ (sceolde)

gangdagas healdan sceoldon/  
 .....

fullice mid fæstenum 7 mid æl/

405

mæs sylenum 7 mid cyrcsocnum/  
 7 mid eadmodlicum gange 7 mid/  
 reliquiasocnum 7 mid eallum/  
 godum weorcum 7 hi sona æt/  
 gode gegearnodon mid þam/  
 .....

410

fæstene ece hæle 7 þæs færli/  
 .....

Sc 325  
 l.164]  
 [Ti 244  
 l.20

can deaðes afyrrednysse 7/  
 ] [

seo gedrecednys þa sona ge/  
 ....

swac þe heom on sæt se gewuna/  
 .....^(7)

nu þæs fæstenes þurhwunað/  
 ..

415

Ti 244  
 l.21]

gehwar on geleaffulre ge/  
 ]

[Sc 325  
 l.165

somnunge nu we habbað ge/  
 [

hyred for hwy þas halgan//  
 .....

gangdagas ærest bebodene wæron/

f.55<sup>r</sup>

Sc 325  
 l.166]  
 [Ti 244  
 l.10

to gehealdene hi synd ge/  
 ] [

420

hatene letaniæ þ is on englisc/  
 sint .....

gebeddagas on þysum dagum we/

sceolon georne god biddan ure/  
 .....

eorðlica wæstma genihtsum/

nysse 7 us sylfum sybbe 7 ge/ 425  
 .....

sundfulnysse 7 þæt gyt mare is/  
 ^ (7 sibbe)

Ti 244  
 1.13]

ealra ura synna forgyfennysse /  
 ..... ]

[Sc 325  
 1.167

ne beode we nanum mannum nane/  
 [

niwe bebodu do gehwa him/  
 ^ (swa)

sylf swa him gebeorhlicost for/ 430  
 ..... ^ (for gode) ...

gode þince gyf he þylcum by/  
 ....

senum 7 þylcum larum fylgean/

nelle georne we witon þæt gode/

licað swa man mare for his/

lufum to gode deð swa he us/ 435  
 .....

myldera bið 7 us gelæt on/  
 ..... ^ (he)

heofena rices gefean æfter//

urum forðsiðe gyf we his willan/ f.55<sup>v</sup>

her on worulde oð urne ende/

dæg gewyrceað þær is ece med/ 440

7 þær is lif buton deaðe 7 iu/

guð butan ylde 7 leoht buton/



þystrum 7 gefea buton un/

rotnysse 7 sybb buton unge/

þwærnysse 7 orsorhnyss bu/

445

ton deaðes ege to libbenne 7/

þær is ece gesælignyss mid/

fæder 7 mid þam suna 7 mid/

þam halgan gaste abutan ende/

Sc 326  
1.177]

on ecnysse amen /  
..... ]

450

CCCC 198, article 62 folios 311<sup>v</sup>-316<sup>r</sup>.

incipit de penitentia in quadragessima/ f.311<sup>v</sup>

læwedum mannum is to witane þæt ælc man byþ gefullod/

[Tii  
602  
1.1

on naman þære halgan þrynnysse 7 he ne mot na/

beon eft gefullod þæt ne sy forsewen þære halgan þrynnysse/

to clypung ac seo soþe behreowsung 7 dædbot mid ge/ 5

swicennysse yfeles us aþeað eft fram þam synnum/

þe we æfter urum fulluhte gefremodon se mild/

heorta god cwæþ be eallum synfullum mannum/

twa word swiþe fremfulle declina a malo et fac/

bonum þæt is on englisc buh fram yfele to gode/ 10

..... ..^(and do)

nis na genoh þæt þu fram yfele gebuge butan þu//

symble be þinre mæþe god gefremme dædbot is mid/ f.312<sup>r</sup>

..

geswicennysse yfeles 7 ælmesdæda 7 halie gebedu/

7 geleafa 7 hiht on gode 7 seo soþe lufu godes 7 manna/

gehælað 7 gelacniað ure synna gif we þa læcedomas/ 15

geornlice begað god cwæþ þæt he nolde þæs synfullan/

mannes deað ac he wile swiþor þæt he gecyrre fram his synnum/

.....

7 libbe eft cwæp se ælmihtiga god gif se arleasa 7 se/  
 synfulla wyrc dædbote ealra his synna 7 hylt mine/  
 ^ (ealle)  
 beboda 7 rihtwisnysse begæp he leofað 7 na ne swylt/ 20  
 ..  
 yfelum deaþe 7 ic ne gemune nanra his synna þe he/  
 ^ (na)  
 æfre gefremede nis nan leahter swa healic þ man/  
 ....  
 ne mæg gebetan gyf he yfeles geswicð 7 mid soðre/  
 behreowsunge his gyltas be lareowa tæcunge/  
 behreowsað se man þe wile his synna bewepan/ 25  
 7 wiþ god gebetan þonne mot he geornlice hine warnian/  
 ....  
 þ he eft þam yfelum dædum ne geedlæce se man/  
 þe æfter dædbote his manfullan dæda geedniwað/  
 se gegremað god 7 he byþ þam hunde gelic þe spigð /  
 7 eft ett þ þ he ær aspaw ne nan man ne sceal elcian/ 30  
 fram dæge to oðrum þ he his synna gebete for þam/  
 .....  
 þe god behet ælcum behreowsigendum men his synna/  
 forgifenyse ac he ne behet nanum elciendum/  
 men gewis lif of merigen ne sceamige nu nanum/  
 ... ..  
 men þ he anum lareowe his diglan gyltas cyþe/ 35  
 .....  
 for þam se þe nele his synna on þissere worulde/  
 geandettan mid soðre hreowsunge him sceal//



sceamian ætforan gode ælmihtigum 7 ætforan his/ f.312<sup>V</sup>  
 engla werodum 7 ætforan eallum mannum 7 æt/  
 foran eallum deoflum æt þam miclum dome/ 40  
 ðær we ealle gegaderode beoð ðær beoð cuþe ure/  
 eallra dæda eallum þam werodum 7 se þe nu ne/  
 mæg his gyltas for sceame anum men geandettan/  
 him sceal sceamian þonne ætforan heofonwarum/  
 7 eorþwarum 7 helwarum 7 seo sceame him biþ ende/ 45  
 leas witodlice ne begyt nan man his synna for/  
 gifenyse æt gode buton he hi sumum godes men/  
 geandette 7 be his dome gebete se man þe wile/  
 his synna geandettan 7 gebetan he sceal don þonne/  
 forgifynisse eallum þam mannum þe him ær abulgon/ 50  
 swa swa hit stent on þam pater nostre 7 swa swa crist cwæp/  
 on his godspelle he cwæp buton ge forgyfan/  
 þam mannum þe wiþ eow agyltað mid inweardre heortan/  
 ...  
 nele se heofonlica fæder eow forgifan eowre gyltas/  
 ælc cristen man sceal cunnon his pater noster 7 his credan/55  
 mid þam pater nostre he sceal hine gebiddan 7 mid þam/

credan he sceal his geleafa getrymman se lareow/  
 sceal secgan þam læwedum mannum þ̅ andgyt to þam/  
 pater nostre 7 to þam credan þ̅ hi witon hwæs hi biddað/  
 æt gode 7 hu hi sceolon on god gelyfan be þisum/ 60  
 we habbað on oðre stowe gewritan ræde se þe wille/  
 ^ (þæt)  
 ðeahhwæþere we secgað her sceortlice be urum/  
 geleafan þ̅ ælc man se þe wile gode gegan sceal//  
 gelyfan on þære halgan ðrynnysse 7 soþre annysse/ f.313<sup>r</sup>  
 þ̅ is fæder 7 sunu 7 halig gast god ælmihtig fæder/ 65  
 wæs æfre god butan anginne 7 he gestrynde æne/  
 sunu of him sylfum se sunu is his wisdom se þe wæs/  
 æfre of þam fæder acenned 7 þurh þone he ge/  
 worhte ealle gesceafta se halga gast wæs æfre/  
 of þam fæder 7 of þam sunu acenned a forð/  
 ^ (na) ac 70  
 steppende for þam þe he is hyra begra willa/  
 7 lufu ðurh þone synd ealle gesceafta geliffæste/  
 ðas þry hadas fæder 7 sunu 7 halig gast habbað/  
 ane godcundnysse 7 hi synd þry on hadum 7 an/  
 ælmihtig god ælc heora an is ælmihtig god ac na/  
 ^ (swa) 75

beahhwæpere þri godas ac þri synd an ælmihtig/  
 ^ (hi)

god hi wæron æfre þry 7 an þri on hadum 7 an/

on godcundnyse ealle hi synd gelice mihtige/

7 æfre hi þry wyrcað an weorc for þam þe se/

fæder gifþ ealle þinge þurh his wisdom 7 þurh/  
 gefadað

80

his willan se wisdom is þæs fæder sunu æfre/

of him anum 7 se halga gast is heora begra/

willa 7 lufu æfre of him þam næs se fæder/

akenned ne geworht ne of nanum oprum/

ne com ac he wæs æfre se sunu wæs æfre/

85

acenned wisdom of þam wisan fæder se/

halga gast wæs æfre of him þam swa swa/

we ær cwædon seo sunne þe ofer us scinð/

is lichamlic gesceaft 7 næfþ swa þeah þreo//

agennyssa on hire and is seo lichamlice edwist þ̅ is/f.313<sup>V</sup> 90  
 an

þære sunnan trendel ofer is se leoma oððe beorht/

nys æfre of þære sunnan seo þe onliht ealne middan/

eard þridde is seo hætu þe mid þam leoman becymð/

to us se leoma is æfre of þære sunnan 7 æfre/

mid hire 7 þæs ælmihtigan godes sunu is æfre/

95



of þam fæder acenned 7 æfre mid him wunigende/  
be þam cwæp se apostol paulus þ̅ he wære his fæder/  
.....  
wuldres beorhtnys þære sunnan hætu gæp of/  
hire 7 of hire leoman 7 se halga gast gæp æfre/  
of þam fæder 7 of þam sunu gelice be þam is/ 100  
ðus awriten nis nan þe hine behydan mæge/  
fram his hætan fæder 7 sunu 7 halig gast/  
ne magon beon togædere genamode ac hi ne/  
beoð swa þeah nahwar totwæmede nis na se/  
..  
ælmihtiga god na þryfeald ac is þrynnys/ 105  
se fæder is æfre fæder 7 se sunu is æfre sunu/  
..  
7 se halga gast æfre halig gast 7 heora nan næfre/  
of þam hade þe he is ne awent for þam þe god is/  
unawendendlic se sunu ana underfeng mennisc/  
nyse 7 wearð to men geboren þa þa he wolde/ 110  
on sawle 7 on lichaman of sancta marian butan/  
weres gemanan 7 heo þurhwunað mæden/  
a on ecnyse hwæt þa se hælend crist godes/  
sunu wunode on þissere worulde on þære/

menniscnysse ðreo 7 xxx geara 7 mid menig// 115

fealdum wundrum geswutelode þ he is soð god/ f. 314<sup>r</sup>

he þrowode syþþan sylf willes deað on rode ahangen/

7 us alysde fram þam ecan deape mid his hwilwen/

licum deape his lic\*\*\* wæs bebyrged 7 he on þam/  
lic

fyrste helle gehergode 7 aras syþþan on þam þriddan/ 120

dæge of deaðe he astah to heofonum 7 cymð eft/

on ende þissere worulde 7 ealle men þe æfre sawle/

underfengon arisaþ of deape 7 cumað him togeanes/

se ylca god þe ealle þinge of nahte geworhte mæg/

aræran ða formolsnodon lichaman of þam duste/ 125

ðonne betæcþ crist ða manfullan mid lichaman/

7 mid sawle into helle wite a on ecnysse 7 þa godan/

he læt mid him into heofonan rice to þam ecan lyfe/

7 naþrum werode ne becymð næfre nan ende/

for þam þe þa manfullan beoð æfre cwylmiende/ 130

on helle susle endeleaslice on unasecgendlicum/

tintregum 7 þa godan þe gode on þissum life/

gecwemdon rixiað mid him on heofonan rice/

Thii on unasecgendlicre blisse a on ecnyse buton/  
 608 ]  
 1.14] æghwilcum ende us is þonne mycel nydbearf/ 135  
 [M 111 [ .....  
 1.15 þ we þencean us sy'l'fe 7 gemunan 7 þonne geornast/  
 ..... ^ (geþencean)  
 þonne we gehyrað godes bec rædan 7 reccean/  
 ^ (us beforan) reccean 7 rædan  
 7 godspel secgan 7 his wuldorþrymmas mannum/  
 cyþan uton we þonne georne tilian þ we æfter þam/  
 þe betere syn 7 þe selran ðære lare þe we oft/ 140  
 ^ (for)  
 gehyrdon eala men þa leofestan hwæt we//  
 sceolon geþencean þ we ne lufian to swiðe þ we for/f.314<sup>V</sup>  
 ^ (þæt)  
 lætan sceolon oððe for hwon sculan we forlætan/  
 ne þæt huru ne.....  
 to swiþe þ we ecelice habban sculan geseoð we ful/  
 ...  
 georne þ nænig man on worulde to ðam micelne/ 145  
 ^ (nu for)  
 welan hafað ne to ðam modiglice gestreon her/  
 on middan gearde þ se on medmi'c'lum fyrste to/  
 worlde .....  
 ende ne cume 7 þ eall forlæteþ þ him her ær on/  
 ... ^ (her)  
 worulde wynsumlic wæs 7 leofast to aganne 7 to/  
 habbanne 7 se man sylf næfre to þam leof ne bið/ 150  
 ....  
 his neahmagum 7 his woruldfreondum ne he fram/  
 heora nan  
 nænigum men to þam swiþe gelufad bið syþþan/  
 hine ... ^ (ne) ... ^ (þ he sona syþþan)



se lichama 7 se gast gedælede beoð þ̅ he sona/  
 ne sy onscungend) .....

syþpan ne sy onscunigendlic 7 his neawest laðlic/  
 ..... ^ (þ̅incō)

7 unfæger nis þ̅ nan wundor hwæt biþ hit la elles/ 155

butan flæsc syþpan se eca dæl of biþ þ̅ 'is' seo sawul/  
 hwæt byþ la elles seo laf butan wyrmes mete/  
 hwær beoð þ̅onne his welan 7 his wlenca hwær beoð/  
 wista

þ̅onne his wista 7 his idelnys hwær beoþ þ̅onne þ̅a/  
 wlencea 7 his anmedlan his

idlan gegyrlan hwær beoð þ̅onne þ̅a glengas 7 þ̅a/ 160  
 gescyrplan

miclan gegyrlan þ̅e hi þ̅one lichaman ær mid/  
 frætewedon hwær cumað þ̅onne his willan and his/  
 fyrenlustas þ̅e he ær on worulde beeode hwæt he/  
 her

ðonne sceal mid his sawle anre gode ælmihtigum/  
 riht awyrcean 7 agyldon ealles þ̅æs þ̅e he her/ 165  
 .....

on worulde to wommum gefremode we magon/  
 magon we

nu gehyran secgan be sumum welegan men//

7 woruldricum ahte he on þ̅issere worulde micelne/ f.315<sup>r</sup>

welan 7 swiþe modiglicum gestreon 7 mænigfealde/

7 on wunsumnysse leofode þ̅a gelamp him þ̅ his/ 170

lif wearð geendod 7 færlig ende onbecom þ̅ysses/  
 lænan lifes ða wæs his neahmaga sum 7 his/

woruldfreonda þ̅ hine swiþor lufode þonne ænig/  
 oþer man he þa for þære langunge 7 for þære/  
 geomrunge þæs opres deapes ne mihte lengc on þam/ 175  
 .....  
 lande gewunian ac he unrotmod of his earde/  
 ^ (ne mihte) cyþþe  
 7 of his cyþþe gewat 7 of þam lande fela wintra/  
 gewat 7 of his earde 7 on  
 wunode 7 him næfre seo langung ne geteorade/  
 ac hine swiþe hyrde 7 þreade þa hine ongan/  
 ongan hine  
 eft langian on his cyþþe to þam þ̅ he wolde geseon/ 180  
 forþon  
 eft 7 sceawian þa byrgene 7 hwilc se wære þe he/  
 .  
 ful oft ær mid wlite 7 mid wæstmum fægere mid/  
 ...  
 mannum geseah him þa to clypedon þæs deadan/  
 ban 7 þus cwædon to hwon come þu hiþer us to/  
 for  
 sceawienne nu þu miht her geseon moldan dæl/ 185  
 7 wyrmes lafe þær þu ær gesawe godeweb golde/  
 ^ (mid)  
 gefagod sceawa þær nu dust 7 dryge ban þær þu ær/  
 ^ (þær)  
 gesawe æfter flæsclicere gecynde fægere limu/  
 on to geseonne eala for þam þu freond 7 mæg/  
 ..... min  
 man min gemune me 7 ongit þe sylf'n'e þ̅ þu eart/ 190  
 ... mæg gemyne þis  
 nu þ̅ ic wæs geo 7 þu bist æfterfæce þ̅ ic eom nu/  
 nu eom

gemune þis 7 oncnaw þ mine welan þe ic geo hæfde/

syndan ealle gewitene 7 gedrorene 7 mine herwic//

syndon gebrosnade 7 gemolsnode ac onwen þe on þe/ f.315<sup>v</sup>  
onwend to

sylfum 7 þine heortan to ræde gecyrre 7 gearna/ 195

þ þine bene syn andfencge þam ælmihtigan gode/  
gode ælmihtigum andfenge.....

he þa swa geomor 7 swa gnornful gewat fram/

þære dustsceaewunge 7 hine onwende fram ealre/  
^(þa)

ðissere worulde bygengum 7 he ongan godes lof/

læran 7 þ leornian 7 þ gastlice mægen lufian/ 200  
leornian 7 þ læran

7 þurh þ gearnode godes miltse 7 god him forgeaf/  
.....

þa gife haliges gastes 7 eac swilce þæs opres/  
^(him) .....

sawle of wítum gefripade 7 of tintreogan alysde/  
generede

magon we þonne men þa leofestan us þis to gemyndum/

habban 7 þas bysne on urum heortum stapelian/ 205

þ we ne sculan lufian worulde glengas to swipe/

ne þysne middaneard for þon þeos woruld is eall/  
^(þe)

forwordenlic 7 gehrorenlic 7 gebrosnodlic 7 feal/  
gedrofenlic

lendlic 7 eall þeos woruld is gewitenlic uton we þonne/  
.... ^ (eall)

geornlice gepencean 7 oncnawan be þisses middan/ 210



eardes fruman þa he ærest gesceapen wæs þa wæs/  
 he ealra fægernyssa ful 7 he wæs blowende on him/

M 115 sylfum on swiþe manigfealdre wynsumnysse/  
 1.8] ]

[M 115 fram þam ælmihtigan gode 7 þa he þus fæger wæs/  
 1.12 [

M 115 7 þus wynsum gesceapen wæs 7 þa wæs he ealra godnyssa/ 215  
 1.13] ]

[M 115 ful 7 nu he is wanigenne 7 scinddende nu is æghwonon/  
 1.15 ]

hearm 7 wop nu is heaf æghwono 7 sibbe to lyt/  
 tolesnes

nu is æghwonon fyll 7 slæge 7 æghwonon þes middan/  
 yfel

eard flyhð fram us mid micelre biternysse 7 we//

hine fleond ne fylgeat 7 hine feallende lufiað/ f.316<sup>r</sup> 220

hwæt we on þam gecnawan magan þ þeos woruld is/

scyndende 7 heononweard uton we þonne þ gepencean/

þa hwile þe we magon 7 moton þ we us georne to gode/

þeoden uton uron drihtne hyron georne 7 him/

þancas secgan ealra his gyfena 7 ealra his miltsa/ 225

7 ealra his eadmodnyssa 7 frymsumnysse þe he/

us æfre gecyðde ðam heofonlican cyninge/  
 ^ (wip)

sy lof se lyfað 7 rixað in ealra worulda woruld/  
 ..... on .....

M 115 a butan ende on ecnysse amen/  
 1.25] ]

CCCC 320, article a folio 117<sup>rv</sup>

[N 289 1.18 gelyfst ðu on god ælfmihtine 7 on þone sunu 7 f.117<sup>r</sup>  
 [ ^ (þe is fæder) ^ (soðan)

on ðone halgan gast/ gelyfst ðu þ̅ ealle men scealon  
 ^ (ic ilyfe)

arisan on domes dæg ofðincð þe eall þ̅/ þu  
 ..... ^ (of dæðe arisan gea leof ic ilyfe)

N 289 1.22] to yfele hæfst gepoht 7 gecweden 7 geworht god þe  
 ^ (ðu) ]

[N 134 1.12 sylle forgyfe/nysse ic bidde þe ærest for godes 5  
 [

lufon 7 for his ege þ̅ þu þin/ lif mid rihte lybbe  
 ure lif rihtlice libban and mid

7 þinum drihtne mid eaðmedum hyre 7 ðinne/  
 eaðmedum urum ..... urne

N 134 1.14] cristendom 7 ðin fulwiht wel healde 7 beorh  
 ure ] [

[N 290 1.24 ðe georne wið/ þa viii heahsynna þe se deofol  
 ..... hæfedsynna.....

us wyle mid beswican gif he/ mæg þ̅ syndon morðor 10  
 ..... ^ (þæt ðu þa ne fremme)

7 stala 7 mæneaðas 7 unrihtgitsunge/ 7 unrihtþæmed

N 290 1.28] 7 gifernyssa 7 tælnyssa 7 lease gewitnyssa/  
 ]

[N 290 1.4 ac lufa þinne drihten mid eallum mægene 7 mid  
 [ ^ (ærest þinga)mode

N 290 1.6] eallum mode inne/weardre heortan 7 sing þine  
 mægene and mid clænre ] [ ^ (þu ðær

[N 290 11.13-14] gebedu to ælcra tide pater noster 7 credan/ 15  
 singallice)]

buton þu mare cunne \*\*\*\*\* gif

[N 290 1.15 þu ne cunne/ leorna 7 gebide for ðinne fæder 7  
 [

þine moder 7 for þinne hla/ford 7 for eall  
 ^ (for) scrift

N 290 cristen folc ic þe bidde 7 beode þ þu gode  
 1.16] ][ ^ (eac)

[N 291  
 1.2

ælfmihti/gum gehyrsum sy for ðam þe me ys  
 georne hyre

20

micel þearf þ ic þe riht lære/ 7 ðe ys nead  
 neod

N 291 þearf þ þu riht do þ þu ne læte unge\*andet  
 1.5] ][ ^ (nefræ)

[N 291  
 1.6

ænige/ synne ðære þe ðu geworht hæbbe ne si

heo naðer ne to þam micel/ ne eft to þam  
 nefræ .. ...

lytel ne ðe næfre ne þince to ðam hefig ne

25

to þam un/eaðelic ne to þam fullic to secgenne  
 fracodlic.....

þ þu hit læte æfre ænig wiht/ ungeandet 7  
 his^ (effre) .... þing

geþenc þ þu anne nacodne lichaman in ðas worold/

brohtest 7 þu hine scealt eft ana alætan buton  
 ^ (mid þe)

N 291 þu hwæt for/ godes lufon to gode gedo 7 geþenc  
 1.13] ][

30

[N 291 þ þe is seo tid swiðe uncuð 7 se/ dæg þ þu  
 1.14

scealt ðas lænan woruld forlætan 7 to godes

N 291 dome/ gelæded beon nis nan leahter swa healic  
 1.16] ][

[Thii  
 602  
 1.19

þ man ne mæge ge/betan gif he his yfeles

geswicð 7 mid soðre hreowsunge his gyl/tas

35

be lareowa tæcinge behreowsað se man ðe wile



his synna/ behreowsian 7 bewepan þonne mot he  
 ..... ^ (7 wið god gebetan)

georne warnian þ he eft/ þam yfelum dædum ne

geedlæce se man þe æfter dædbote his man/fullan

dæda geedniwað se greman god 7 he bið þam hunde//

40

Tii gelic ðe spið 7 eft yt þæt he ær spaw god ælfmihtig f.117<sup>v</sup>  
 602 ^ (þæt) ]

1.26]

gefultumige us þ/ we moton 7 magon godes miltse

begytan ða hwile þe we on þisum/ earman life beon

moton//



7 to merien beoð  
 ^ (beoð gif god ða wyrta þe nu todæg beoð)

forswæ\*\*\* swa fægere gefrætewað hu m\*\*\*\*/ swiþor mæg  
 forswælede miccle

he eow scry\*\*\* eornostlice ne beo ge hogiende \*\*\*\*\*/20  
 scrydan and cweðen

de hwæt sceole we etan oððe hwæt drincan oððe mi\*\*\*\*\*/  
 mid hwam beo we

ymscrydde ealle þa\* \*ing seceað þa heþen\*\*\*\*\*/  
 ðas ðing soðlice eower

G 268 heofonlica fæder wat \*\*\*\* \*\* ealles þises \*\*\*\*\*/  
 1.21] þæt ge behofiað]

\*\*\*\*\*/ f.175<sup>v</sup>

[G 268 \*\*\* rac\* \*\* sceortlice þiss god s\*ell þ we þas hwilwend/ 25  
 1.25 [

lican þing to \*\*\* bricu habban\*\*\*\*on\*\*\*\*heortan  
 urum bricum na ure

\*\*\*\*\*/ drihten sylf \*\*\*penode hwat þa \*wegen  
 lufe healdan geopenode twegen

hlafordas synd mid þam/ þe he cwæp ne mag\* ge gode þeowian  
 mage

7 eac eowres feos gestreo\*\*/ hyre se gytsere þ\*\* word se  
 ... gestreone ðas

þe leaslice is cristen gecweden gehire/ he þ he ne mæg 30

his \*\*\*sunge þeowian 7 criste samod nis swa þeah/ \*\*cweden  
 gytsunge gecweden

se þe wel\*\* \*æfð ac se þe þeowað þam welum witodlice  
 welan hæfð

se þe/ \*\* þæra æhta þeowa ne þeowað heom swa swa  
 is

hlaforde 7 se þe is/ þæra æhta hlaford h\* \*ælð hi swa swa  
 he dælð

hlaford se þe gitsunge him/ hæfð to hlaforde se \*\*\*syhð 35  
 forsihð

his scyppend 7 se þe his scyppende/ þeowað mid lufe swa swa

hlaforde he forsyhð þa feondlican gytsunge/ seo þe is



wyrtruma ælces yfles drihten us manode þ̅ we næron eal/

les to carfulle ymbe urne f\**dan* oððe ymbe ure gewæda  
*fodan*

we sceolon/ \**id* geswince us metes tilian for adames 40  
*mid*

ofergægednesse ac we/ \**ceolon* þa ymbhidignesse f\*\*\*  
*sceolon* *fram*

us aweorpan betere ys seo sawul/ \**onne* se mete 7 se  
*ðonne*

lichama betere þonne his scrud swilce he cwæde/ \**e* god  
*se*

þe eow þa beteran þing sealde þ̅ is sawle 7 lichaman  
.....

7 eow to/ menn gesceop se ilca mæg eow eaðelice 45  
^ (*forgeaf*)

foresceawian bigleofan 7 hliwðe/ gyf ge his willan

gefremmað wite gehwa þ̅ seo sawul is gast 7 be eorð/  
*eorð*

\*\**cum* mettum ne leofað ac ure hwilwendlice lif byp mid  
*licum*

mettum gefercod/ \*\**r* synnum oftyhð se ælmihtiga wealdend  
*for*

hwilon mannum bigleafan/ \*\* swa þeah se þe hungre acwelð 50  
*ac*

we gelyfað þ̅ he gegæð gode buton he/ \*\* swiþor forscylde  
*þe*

god wære he cwæp behealdað þas fleogendan fu\*/elas þe ne  
*fugelas*

sawað ne ne ripað ac eow\*\* heofenlica fæder hi afet/  
*eower*

gyf þa wacan fugelas þe nu todæg beoð \*\*\*\*\*to  
*7 beoð*

merigen to nahte/ awende habað butan care bigleofan 55



begytan swa swa rose hæfð 7 lilie 7 fe\*\*/ oðre wyrta 75  
 fela  
 þe wundorlice scinað ða wyrta beoð nu todæg\*/ blowende  
 on wynsumnesse 7 tomergen beoð forbærnde me\*\*\*\*\*/  
 merigen  
 is geteald on bocum for toweardre tide þeah þe ge þa  
 bysene \*\*/ cunnon hwi forgyfð god þam wacum wirtum  
 ne  
 swa fægere wlite \*\*\*\*\*/ forbyt þ we ne sceolon 80  
 and us  
 hogian ymbe ure frætewunge buton \*\*\*/ þan þe sceolon  
 for ^ (we)  
 mid wacnesse 7 soðre eadmodnesse þa heofenlic/  
 fægernesse 7 frætewunge geearnian þe adam forleas for  
 þ\*\*/ þe he wolde þurh þæs deofles tihtinge mærra beon  
 ðan  
 þonne he ge\*\*\*\*/pen wæs ne sceolon we wuldrian on 85  
 gesceapen  
 wuldorlice frætewunge/ for þan þe seo frætewung 7 se  
 lichama synd brosnendlice sw\*/ swa þara wyrta bloman  
 swa  
 drihten beað þ we næron bysige 7/ carfulle cwepende hwæt  
 sceole we etan oððe hwæt drincan oð\*\*/ mid hwam beon  
 oððe  
 ymbcrydde and cwæð witodlice eower heofon/lica fæder 90  
 wat þ ge þissera þinga behofiað secað ærest gode/  
 rice 7 his rihtwisnyse 7 ealle þas þing eow beoð þar  
 to geeac\*\*\*\*/ we sceolon ærest secan godes rice 7 his  
 geeacnode



rihtwisnysse þ is þ we \*\*\*/lon swiþor hogian ymbe þ ece  
sceolon

lif þonne ymbe þone ateoriendli\*\*\*/ bigleofan þone us 95  
ateorigendlican

geeacnað god þærto gyf we þæs oðres swi\*\*\*/ cepað ne  
swiðor

cwæð he na þ us beoð þa ateoriendlican bigleofan for/

gyfene ac þær to geeacnode for þan þe he talað

þ ece lif to his g\*\*\*/ 7 þone eorðlican bigleofan to  
gife

hwilwendlicre læne þ ece lif us fo\*/gyfð god 7 þurh his 100  
forgifð

genihtsumnysse us þone hwilwendlican \*\*\*/ þær to eacan  
fodan

wyrpð swuteliende þ se foda nis na ure med a\*\*\*/ ece lif  
ac þæt

G 271 is ures geswinces edlean ðiss godspell þincð dys\*\*\*/  
1.99] ][ dysegum

[G 271

1.103 mannum syllic ac we hit secgað swa þeah weald þeah hit

G.271 s\*\*\*/ licie dæghwamlice we sceolon gewilnian þæs eca\* 105  
1.104] sumum men ][ ecan

[G.271

1.99 lifes \*\*\*/ symle wanian for þan þe hi beoð  
and ure synna

gegaderode to \*\*\*/ hi weaxan lætað oft  
micelre hypan gif we

G 271 of bynnum renscurum \*\*\*/  
1.102] .flewð seo eorðe]

Cotton Vitellius C. v is illegible for most of the top line of folio 176<sup>v</sup>. Article 46 is edited from this point in Pope, Supplementary Collection, p.775, 1.1 - p.779, 1.123 'þæt...beon'. Article 46 then ends with Godden, Catholic Homilies. Second Series p.271, 11.104-07 'god...amen' (edited from CUL Gg. 3. 28).

CCCC 178, article 10 pages 114-126

sermo ad populum quando uolueris/ p.114

dixit iesus ad quosdam qui in se confidebant tamquam/

[G 249[  
1.1

iusti et aspernabantur ceteros parabolam istam et reliqua/

drihten sæde þis bigspell be sumum mannum þe on/

hym sylfum truwodan þ̅ hi rihtwise wæron 7 oðre/ 5

forsawon þus cweðende twegen menn eodan inn/

to godes temple hi to gebiddanne an wæs sunder/

halga 7 oðer wæs openlice synfull þa stod se sunder/

halga 7 hyne þus gebæd god ic þancige þe þ̅ ic ne eom/ ^ (na)

swylce oðre menn reaferas 7 unrihtwise for/ 10

ligeras oððe swylce þes manfulla þe her stent ic/

fæste twegen dagas on þære wucan 7 ic teoðige ealle/

mine æhta ða stod se synfulla feorran ne dorste/

hys eagan up ahebban ac beot his breost þus cweþen/

de god ælmihtig miltsa me synnfullum nu cwæð/ 15

se hælend be þisum soð ic eow secge þes eode ham/

gerihtwisod swiðor þonne se sundorhalga for þam/

þe hyne onhefð bið geeadmet 7 se ðe hyne sylfne/  
 ^ (ælc þe)  
 geeadmet bið ahafen þis godspell mæg beon twy/  
 fealdlice getrahtnod ærest be iudeiscum folcum/ 20  
 7 be hæðenum þeodum þe to cristendome gebugon//  
 7 eft syððan be ælcum menn þe hyne sylfne goodne/ p.115  
 talað 7 oðerne forsihð þ̅ iudeisce folc wæs up/  
 ahafen swylce þurh rihtwisnysse þære ealdan/  
 æ 7 on þære hi sylfe heredon 7 þ̅ hæþene folc þe/ 25  
 ..  
 feor wæs fram gode andette mid eadmodnysse/  
 ...  
 hys synna 7 wearð to gode genealæht 7 ahafen/  
 ..  
 7 þ̅ iudeisce folc gewat fram gode forsewen þurh/  
 heora upahefednysse 7 agenre bogunge ælc/  
 man þe hyne goodne talað 7 oðre forsihð bið/ 30  
 fram gode forsewen swa swa se sundor halga wæs/  
 þe hine sylfne þurh agene gearnunga goodne/  
 tealde 7 þone oðerne hyrwde he eode innto godes/  
 temple hyne to gebiddanne þa nolde he hyne ge/  
 biddan ac herian tealde his goddan dæda swylce/ 35  
 god hi nyste he cwæð ic þancige þe þ̅ ic ne eom swylce/  
 ^ (god) ^ (na)  
 oðre menn ealles to mycel clypung þ̅ he nære/



oðrum mannum gelic huru gif he cwæde þ he nære/  
sumum oðrum mannum gelic ac he cwæð ic ne eom/  
swylc swa oðre menn swylce he cwæde ic ana eom/ 40  
rihtwis 7 þa oðre synd synfulle ic fæste twegen/  
dagas on þære wucan 7 teoðige ealle mine æhta/  
nis her nan gebed on þisum wordum ac is gylp se/  
synfulla stod feorran gecneow hys misdæda/  
7 ne dorste hys eagan up ahebban ac sloh hys breost/ 45  
þuss cweðende deus propitius esto mihi peccatori þ is/  
god ælmihtig gemiltsa me synnfullum her is ge/  
bed on þisum wordum 7 her is synna andetnyss/  
betere bið þ se mann mid feawum wordum mid on/  
bryrdum mode to þam ælmihtigan gode clypige/ 50  
þonne he menigfealdlice sprece 7 hys worda ne/  
gyrne mid anre clypunge wearð þæs synnfulla//  
gerihtwisod swa swa drihten be hym cwæð soð ic eow secge/p.116  
he eode ham gerihtwisod fram þam oðrum is swa þeah/  
swiðe fremfullic þ gehwa hyne gelone 7 geornlice/ 55  
gelome  
to gode gebidde gif hys mod bið to þam swiðe onbryrd/

elles man sceal sceortlice mid onbryrdnysse 7 be/  
                   ^(hine)  
 hreowsunge hyne gebiddan ne sceole we tellan gif/  
       .....  
 we hwæt lytles to goode gedoð ac we sceolan geriman/  
 ure misdæda mid wope 7 geomrunge 7 þara milt/                  60  
 sunge biddan ðeah ðe hwa mycel to gode gedo 7/  
 siððan mid gylpe ætforan gode hys weldæda gerime/  
 þonne beoð hi gode swa gecweme swa him wæron/  
 þæs gylpendan sunderhalgan nis gode nan neod/  
 ure goodan dæda ac hi fremiað us sylfum to þam/                  65  
 ecan life gif hi butan idelum gilpe for his lufan/  
 beoð gefremede he secð goodne willan on urum/  
 dædum na hys neode þeah þe hwa fede ænne þear/  
 fan oððe ma for godes naman hu mæg he þ̅ to mic/  
 clum tellan þonne god afet hyne 7 ealne middan/                  70  
 eard gif he sum hus gode arærð hwæt þ̅ to wið/  
   ^(mæg)  
 metennysse þære healican heofonan 7 þære/  
 ecan wununge þe god hym gearcað on hys rice to/  
 edleane þæs lytlan huses se witega ezechiel/  
 awrat be þam feowor nytenum þe hym æteowede/                  75

wæron þ̅ hi hæfdon eagon hym on ælce healfe/  
 an þ̅ara nytena wæs on menniscra ansyne hym/  
 æteowed oþer on leon ansyne þ̅ridde on cealfes/  
 feorðe on earnes ðas feower nytenu getacno/  
 dan þ̅a feowor godspelleras matheus marcus/ 80  
 lucas iohannes 7 eac ealle godes bydelas þ̅e/  
 þ̅a godspellican lare bododan þ̅a feowor nytenu/  
 hæfdon eagan on ælce healfe heora lichaman//  
 for ðam þ̅e godes gecorenan sceolan foresceawian/ p.117  
 heora dæda on ælce healfe swa þ̅ hi symle good ge/ 85  
 wilnian 7 wið yfel hi warnian ac hyt getimað oft for/  
 ure tyddernysse þ̅ we sume þ̅ing forgymeleasiað/  
 þ̅a hwile þ̅e we ymbe sume hogiað 7 butan tweon næbbe/  
 we nan eage þ̅ær seo gymeleast bið efne þ̅es sunder/  
 ^ (ðær)  
 halga þ̅e we ær ymbe spræcon hæfde opene eagan/ 90  
 to forhæfednysse to ælmysdædum to þ̅ancienne/  
 gode ac he næfde nænne wærscype þ̅ he þ̅a soðan/  
 eadmodnysse on hys weldædum geheolde la hwæt/  
 fremað þ̅ære burhware þ̅eah þ̅e þ̅ port beo trumlic/  
 on ælce healfe getimbrod gif þ̅ær bið an hwem/ 95



open forlæten þ̅ se on winnenda here þurh þone/  
 innfær hæbbe we sceolan on urum weldædum blis/  
 sian mid soðre eadmodnysse 7 urum drihtne/  
 geornlice þancian hys gyfe þ̅ he us geuðe þ̅ we/  
 moston hys willan gewyrcean þurh sume weldæde/ 100  
 ne mæg nan mann naht to gode gedon butan/  
 godes gife swa swa se apostol paulus cwæð þu/  
 mann hwæt hæfst þu þæs þe þu fram gode ne/  
 underfenge hwi wuldrast þu swylce þu nan þing/  
 ne underfenge be þam ilcan cwæð eac ure/ 105  
 drihten ne mage ge nan þing to goode gedon/  
 butan me ðeah þe ure dæda beon goode gepuhte/  
 to hwan magon hi gif hi gode ne liciað ælc þæra/  
 þe hine on hefð bið geeadmet 7 se ðe hyne sylfne/  
 geeadmet bið ahafen ne bið þes cwyde na symle/ 110  
     ^(se)  
 sona gefylled on manna gesihðum bið swa þeah/  
 forwel oft swa swa we on bocum gehwær rædað/  
 þ̅ se ælmihtiga scyppend foroft þa ofermodan/  
 unþances geeadmette an þæra wæs nabuchodo//

nosor oðer wæs hys sunu balthasar 7 manega oðre/ p.118 115

hym to eacan þeah ðe we þas synderlice namion/

nabuchodonosor se hæðena cyning gehergode/

on godes folce on iudea lande 7 for heora man/

dædum god þ̅ gepafode ða genam he þa madm/

fatu gyldene 7 seolfrene binnan godes temple/ 120

7 to hys lande mid hym gelædde hyt gelamp eft/

siððan þ̅ he on swefne ane gesihðe be hym sylfum/

geseah swa swa hym syððan aeode æfter þis on/

ymbe twelf monað eode se cyning binnan hys/

healle mid ormætre upahfednysse heriende/ 125

hys weorc 7 his mihte 7 cwæð hu ne is þis seo miccle/

babilon þe ic sylf getimbrade to cynestole 7 to/

þrymme me sylfum to wlite 7 to wuldre mid minum/

agenum mægne 7 strengðe ac hym clypode to swiðe/  
 ^ (þærrihthe)

egeslic stemn of heofonum þus cweðende ðu nabu/ 130

chodonosor þin rice gewit fram ðe 7 þu bist fram/

mannum aworpen 7 þin wunung bið mid wildeorum/

7 þu ytst gærs swa swa oxa seofon gear oð þ̅ þu wite/

þ se healica god gewylt manna ricu 7 þ he forgifð/  
 rice þam ðe he wile witodlice on þære ilcan tide/ 135  
 was þeos spræc gefylled ofer nabochodonosor/  
 7 he arn to wuda 7 wunode mid wildeorum leofode/  
 be garse swa swa nyten oð þ hys feahs weohs swa swa/  
 wifmanna 7 hys næglas swa swa earnes clawa eft/  
 siððan him forgeaf se ælmihtiga wealdend hys ge/ 140  
 witt 7 he cwæð ic nabuchodonosor ahof mine eagan/  
 up to heofonum 7 min andgit me wearð forgifen/  
 7 ic þa bletsode þone hehstan god 7 ic herode 7/  
 wuldode þone þe leofað on ecnysse for þam þe/  
 hys miht is ece 7 hys rice stent on mægðe 7 on mægðe// 145  
 ealle eorð bugiende synd to nahte getealde on his wið/ p.119  
 metennysse æfter hys willan he deð ægðer ge on/  
 heofonan ge on eorðan 7 nis nan þing þe hys mihte/  
 wiðstande oððe hym to cweðe hwi dest ðu swa on þære/  
 tide min andgit gewende to me 7 ic becom wyrðmyn/ 150  
 te mines cynerices 7 min mennisce hiw me becom/  
 mine witan me sohtan 7 min mærd wearð geeacnod/  
 nu eornostlice ic mærsige 7 wuldrige þone heofon/



lican cyning for þam þe ealle hys weorc syndon soðe/  
 7 hys wegas rihtwise 7 he mæg geeadmettan þa þe/ 155  
 on modignysse farað ðus geeadmette se ælmihtiga/  
 god þone modigan cyning nabochodonosor/  
 balthasar hys sunu feng to rice æfter hys fæder/  
 geendunge 7 næs gemyndig hys fæder swingle/  
 ac wearð ahafen mid modignysse ongean þone/ 160  
 ælmihtigan on sumere tide he feormode ealle/  
 hys witan 7 het beran forð þa gyldenān 7 þa seol/  
 ..  
 frynan madmfatu þe hys fæder on godes temple/  
 binnan hierusalem genam hi druncon þa of þam/  
 halgum fatum 7 herodan heora hæðenan godas/ 165  
 ac þarrihte wearð gesewen swylce anes mannes/  
 hand writende on þære healle wage ætforan þam/  
 cyninge þas word mane thechel phares þa wearð/  
 se cyning to þam swiðe afyrht þ̅ he eall gescranc/  
 7 him man lædde þone witegan to danihel he cwæð/ 170  
 to þam witegan ræd me þis gewrit 7 ic þe forgife/  
 eall purpuran reaf 7 gyldene swurbeah 7 þu bist/

se ðridda mann to me on minum rice danihel him/  
 andwyrde gif þam þe ðu wille þine sylene þis gewrit/  
 ic þe gerecce þu noldest þe warnian þurh þines fæder/ 175  
 þreale ac drunce of godes madmfatum 7 herodest//  
 þine hæðenan godas dumbe 7 deafe nu asende/ p.120  
 se ælmihtiga god þe þis gewrit þe on þissere healle/  
 ðinre  
 wage stent mane thelthel phares mane þ̅ is god/  
 hæfð geteald þin rice 7 geendad thelthel þ̅ is/ 180  
 he awæh þin rice on wægon 7 he hyt afunde ge/  
 wanod phares þ̅ is þin rice is todæled 7 forgifen/  
 medum 7 persciscum þa het se cyning syllan þam/  
 witegan danihele pupuran reaf 7 gyldene swur/  
 beah 7 het cyðan geond eall þ̅ he wære se þridda/ 185  
 mann to him on þære ilcan nihte coman medas/  
 7 ofslogon þone balthasar 7 darias meda feng/  
 G 254 þa his rice gyt we wyllað eow secgan be sumon/  
 1.159] to ][  
 [P 762  
 1.1 gesæligon cyninge þe wearð eac geeadmet na/  
 unþances swa þeah ac for godes ege for hys/ 190  
 agenum gylte þ̅ wæs theodosius þe æfter ures/

drihtnes tocyme cristendom underfeng 7 to/  
fulluhte gebeah mid þam þe se cristendom/  
þeonde wæs constantinus se æpela wæs ærest/  
cristen of eallum þam kaserum þe to criste gebugon/ 195  
7 he ana ahte ealles middaneardes geweald/  
he awarep þone hæðenscipe 7 awende his leode/  
to cristes geleafan 7 to hys clænum biggengum/  
he ne tobræc swa þeah þa deofolican tempel/  
þæra hæþenra goda for hys goodnyse ac for/ 200  
bead hys folce þa fulan bigengas þære deofol/  
lican offrunge ac theodosius æfter feawum/  
gearum feng to þam cynedome ofer ealne middan/  
eard geleaffull casere he het þa tobrecan þa/  
deofollican biggengas 7 ealle þa anlicnyssa/ 205  
þæra ærenra goda 7 gyldene 7 seolfrene for/  
godes geleafan 7 þa mæran tempel þe menn//  
macodon gefyrn þam hæðenum godum to healicum/ p.121  
wurðmyntum he wæs swiðe sigefæst for his soðum/  
geleafan 7 æfre he oferwann his wiðerwinnan/ 210  
gehwær þurh þæs hælendes fultum þe he on ge/



lyfde 7 he adwæscte gedwyld 7 þa gedwolan forseah/

7 he þone soðan geleafan symle arærde the/

salonica wæs gehaten sum heafodburh þa/

on hys anwealde swa swa ealle oðre wæron/

215

on þære gelamp þa for sumere ceaste þ̅ man þæs/

caseres menn mistucode þær 7 sume hys gere/

fan of torfodan mid stanum þa wearð se casere/

þearle gegremod 7 asende his here to þære hea/

fod byrig het ealle ofslean þa ceaster gewaran/ 220

ge scyldige ge unscyldige for hys forsewennysse/

7 man ofsloh þær þa seofon þusenda manna/

ða wæs sum mære biscop ambrosius gehaten/

on medio lana byrig swiðe breme lareow 7 swiðe/

anræde mann þa of ahsode he þiss 7 he swiðe/

225

bemænde þ̅ se mæra casere swylce dæde ge/

dyde ongean hys drihten hit gelamp þa siððan/

æfter lytlum fæce þ̅ se casere com mid hys cem/

pum farende to medio lana byrig wolde hyne/

gebiddan æt þam biscopstole ac se biscop eode ut hym/ 230

togeanes 7 forwyrnde hym innganges ambrosius/

hym cwæð to eala þu casere nast þu þa micelnysse/

þara manna slege þe ðu gefremodest þurh þine/

reðnysse ne þin mod ne oncnæwð þone micclan/

hefe þinre dyrstignysse þe þu gedon hæfst oððe/ 235

hwæper þin miht þe mæge forwyrnan þ þu þas/

synne ne sceole oncnawan hyt gerist swa þeah/

þ þ gerad ofer swiðe þone woruldlican anweald//

7 þu wite þ þu eart mannes gecyndes þeah þu casere sy/ p.122

7 hwanon þu come 7 to hwam þu gewendst þu eart/ 240

mannum gelic þeah þe þu mihte hæbbe untrum swa swa/

mann þeah ðe þu werige purpuran 7 an soðlice is/

ure ealra drihte ealra þeoda cyning se ðe ana is/

scyppend mid hwylcum eagum besceawast þu þæs/

soðan godes tempel mid hwylcum fotum gæst þu on/ 245

godes halgan flore hu miht ðu ahebban þine handa/

to gode of ða gyt dropað þ unrihtwise blod þe ðu/

þurh hatheortnysse nu hete ageotan mid hwyl/

cere dyrstignysse dearst þu underfon þ halige/

husel æfter swylcere dæde gewit aweg gewit þe/ 250

læs þe þe gewurðe þin anwilnyss to deopran synne/

underfoh þone bend þe ure drihten geband he is/

se mæsta læcedom þinre manfullan dæde þa/

wiste se casere wel hwæt he mænde þ̅ he sylf wære/

gebunden þurh þæs bīscopes hæse 7 fram godes/ 255

cyrca ascyred swa wære oð þ̅ se bīsceop hyne eft/

unbende 7 he wæs þa gehyrsum hys hæsum sona/

gewende þa swa ham dreoriglice heofigende/

he sæt þa on hys bure biterlice wepende eahta/

monðas fullice for hys misdæde þ̅ he næfre/ 260

ne geswac þære sorhfullan geomrunge oð þ̅ hit/

genealæhte þæs hælendes gebyrdtide to middan/

wintra þa he to men wæs geboren þa wolde an hys/

þegna hyne frefrian ruphinus gehaten 7 eode/

innto him þær se casere læg on þære flore wepende/ 265

7 ahsode hwi he wolde swa wundorlice heofian/

he cwæð þa mid wope me þincð þ̅ ðu plegast 7 þu/

mine yrmðe naht ne gefredst ic heofige 7 geomrie/

mine hefegan bendas for þam þe þeowum mannum//



to þissere halgan tide 7 earmum mannum is inngang/ p.123 270

alyfed innto godes cyrican god to gebiddanne 7 ic/

ne mot nu gan innto godes huse 7 eac þartoeacan/

me is heofon belocen þis he cwæð mid sicce tunge/

7 mid sarlicum wope ða cwæð rufinus þ he yrnan/

wolde to þam halgan biscope 7 hine georne biddan/ 275

þ he unbunde þone bend þe he gewrað þa cwæð/

se casere ic cann hyne swa geare þ he nele awen/

dan godes rihtwisnysse for minum cynedome/

to nanre wohnyse hi eodan swa þeah begen/

to þam biscope sona 7 fundon hine sittende on/ 280

cumena huse 7 se casere hyne bæd mid soðre/

eadmodnysse þ hys bendas unbindan sceolde/

þa cwæð ambrosius hwi come þu hider wilt þu/

forþegan godes æ nu 7 mid þinum ricceterere wendan on/

gean god se casere hym andwyrde ne eom ic na swa/ 285

dyrstig þ ic durre tobrecan drihtnes gesetnysse/

ne ic nelle inngan into godes huse ac 'ic' bidde þe georne/

þ ðu unbindan sceole mine swaran bendas 7 gebide/

for me þ̅ god me geopenige hys huses inngang þone/  
 þe he geopenade eallum behreowsiendum ða cwæð se/ 290  
 biscop hym to hwær is þin dædbot æfter swylcere/  
 unrihtwisnyse oððe hu hæfst ðu gehæled þa mic/  
 clan wunda þinre manfullan dæde þa cwæð theo/  
 dosius þu scealt me tæcan þone gastlican læcedom/  
 7 to gode me þingian 7 ic sceal underfon æt þe þa bote/ 295  
 hwæt þa se biscop hym bote þæs tæhte 7 het hyne war/  
 nian eft wið swylce dæde 7 hyne unband þa fram hys synna/  
 bendum 7 lyfde him ingang into godes huse 7 se casere/  
 gehyrsumode eallum hys hæsum mid micelre eadmod/  
 nyse 7 eode innto cyrcan læg on þære flore eallum// 300  
 limum astreht 7 beot hys breost biterlice wepende/ p.124  
 7 bæd hym miltsunge hys misdæda æt gode 7 gestod þa/  
 mæssan mid oðrum mannum we magon wundrian þæs/  
 mæran bisceopes 7 hys anrædnyss is swyðe heriendlic/  
 7 þæs caseres eadmodnyss eac þar togeanes is swiðe micel/ 305  
 þ̅ he mihte swa forberan on swylcum anwealde þ̅ he wære/  
 amansumod ac seo eadmodnyss hym becom to ecere/

P 769 hæle fela bysna we mihton eow secgan be þisum andgite/  
 1.139] ][ gereccan

[G 254

1.160 hu se ælmihtiga foroft þa modigan geeadmette 7 þa/

eadmodan geuferade 7 ahof ac ge magon be þisum/ 310

gif ge willað micel understandan 7 þurh þas race/

ge magon eow sylfe gerihtlæcan to soðre eadmodnysse/

gif ge gesælige beoð geunne eow se ælmihtiga þurh hys/

mægenþrym on þissere weorulde gesundfulnysse/

7 soðre eadmodnysse 7 eow ahebbe to hys heofonlican/ 315

G 254 rice ge hyrdon nu þ þiss godspell hrepode hwæthwega/  
 1.167] ]

be þære teoðunge þe man gode syllan sceal be þam we willað/

[P 806  
 1.75

eow sceortlice secgan god sylf behead on þære ealdan/  
 [

æ 7 eac manað on þære niwan þ ælc cristen man sceal/

glædlice gode syllan hys frumwæstmas 7 hys teoþunge/ 320  
 syllan gode

ealra þara wæstma þe hym god to þam geare forgifð/

7 ealre þære geogoðe þe him of his orfe acenned bið/

7 ealra þara gooda þe hym god to þam geare fore/

sceawað to þi þ he mið gesundfulnysse 7 godes blet/  
 mid

sunge þara nigon dæla brucan mote for þam þe/ 325

hyt stent on halgum bocum þus awriten si quis primi/



tias retinuerit aut decimas de laboribus suis male dic /  
 ^ (tus)  
 sit in omni domo sua þ is on englis swa hwa swa hys/  
 frumwæstmas oððe teopunga hys agenre tilðe/  
 gode æt brytt þ he bið awyrged on ealre hys hiw/ 330  
 rædene eft is awriten gyf þu æt hæfst gode þa//  
 teopunga þ his rihtwisnyss benæmð þe þara nigon/ p.125  
 dæla 7 læt þe habban þone teoþan dæl se ælmihtiga/  
 god þe us ealle þing forgifð wile habban æt us þa/  
 teopunga hys agenre gife na for his neode ac for/ 335  
 ure hym to wurðmynte 7 us to þearfe for þære/  
 gehyrsumnyssse swa swa he behet þurh hys wi/  
 tegan þus cwepende betæcað me eowre teoþun/  
 ga glædlice butan ælcunge 7 æfandiað min swa/  
 cwæð god hwæþer ic eow forgife syððan ren/ 340  
 scuras 7 gode gewyderu 7 wæstmas oð fulre/  
 genyhtsumnyssse þa twegen dælas þæra teo/  
 þunga man sceal betæcan godes þeowum innto þam/  
 mynstre þær þær he to gehyrð þær þæ he hys/  
 þær  
 cristendom hæfð 7 þone þridan dæl man sceal/ 345

dælan þearfum 7 wydewum steopcildum 7 æl þeode/

^(7)

gum mannum for þam þe seo teoþung is godes/

dæl 7 he sylf hi betæhte þam ðe hym synderli/

ce þeowiað ælcum menn þe ænige tilunge hæfð/

oððe on cræfte oððe on mangunge oððe on/

350

oðrum begeatum ælcum is beboden þ̅ hi ða teo/

þunga gode glædlice syllon of heora begeatum/

oððe cræftum þe hym god forgeaf se ðe næfð butan/

an cealf on geogoþe oððe an lamb he do swa mycel to/

godes lacum þærfore swa þær to teoðunge gebyrige/

355

þ̅ is se teoða dæl þæs þe hyt wyrð is frumwæstmas/

hatað sume menn ælmes æcer se ðe us ærest geripod/

bið of þam man sceal don ælmessan be hys mihte 7/

bletsian þone niwan hlaf 7 on byrige ærest se godes/

þeowa þæs hlafes 7 ealra oðra wæstma ær þam/

360

^(þara)

ðe se hlaford hys onbite frumwæstmæs synd eac/  
onbyrige

swa hwæt swa us ærest on iuguðe acenned bið 7 þ̅ is//

eall geteald to godès lacum þeah þe hyt eow ungewunelic p.126

si/ on þisum þingum 7 on eallum urum begeatum we sceolan/

wurðian urne drihten þe us þa good foresceawað/

365

P 808 se þe leofað 7 rihsað a on ecnysse amen/  
1.114] ]



CCCC 178, article 27 p.229

[Ti 216  
1.4

leofan men we habbað oft gesæd 7 gyt p.229  
 [

secgað þ cristes rihtwysnyss is/ swa micel

þ he nolde niman manncynn neadunga of þam/

deofle buton he hyt forwyrhte he hyt

forwyrhte þa þa/ he tihte þ folc to cristes 5

cwale þæs ælmihtigan godes and/ þa þurh hys

unsceððigan deað wurdon we alysede fram þam/

ecan deape gif we us sylfe ne forpærað ða

getimode þam/ reþan deofle swa swa deþ

þam grædigan fisce þe gesyhþ þ æs 7/ ne 10

gesihþ þone angel þe on þam æse sticað

bið ðonne grædig þæs/ æses 7 forswylhð þone

angel forþ mid þam æse swa wæs þam/ deofle

he geseah þa menniscnyse on criste 7 na

þa god/cundnyse ða sprytte he þ iudeisce 15

folc to hys slege/ 7 gefredde ða þone angel

cristes godcundnyse þurh/ þa he wæs to

deaðe aceocod 7 benæmed ealles manncyn/nes

Ti 216 þæra þe on god belyfað and crist aras of  
1.17] ] [  
[Ti 216  
1.32 deaþe on/ þone easterlican sunnandæg þe nu 20

bið on seofon nih/ton be þam is gelimplicor

Ti 216 þonne mare to reccenne þonne/ nu si  
1.34] ]  
ðam si wuldor 7 lof a to worulde amen/

[Ti 218 [ cyrclice ðeawas forbeodað to secgenne  
11.30-  
31] ænig spell/ on ðam ðrim swigdagum/ 25  
]

CUL II. 1. 33, article 43 folios 222<sup>V</sup>-224<sup>V</sup>

her was drihthelm sum æpele þegen on norðhumbra/ f.222<sup>V</sup>

lande on æfnunge of þissum life gelead 7 his lic leag ealle/

[G 199  
1.7

þa niht inne besett ac he aras of deaðe on ærne mor/

gen 7 þa lic men ealle mid fyrhte fornumene flugon aweg/

buton þam wife anum þe hine swiðest lufode belaf þær/ 5

afyrht he ða hi gefrefrede 7 cwæp ne beo ðu afared for/

þon ðe ic aras of dæpe 7 me is alyfed eft to libbenne mid/

monnum na swa þeah swylcum life swa ic ær leofode he a/

ras þærrihte 7 eode to cyrcan 7 þurhwunode on gebe/

dum ealne þone morgen dælde syððan his eahte on þreo/ 10

ænne dæl his wife oðerne his cildum þridden þearfum 7 for/

let syððan ealle weoruldþing 7 beah to þam mynstre/

þe is magilros gehaten 7 wearð bescoren 7 þam abbode/

apelwolde underþeod 7 be his lare his lif adreah on/

sume digelnesse on mycelre forhæfednesse modes 7/ 15

lichaman oð his lifes ende he sæde his gesihþe apel/  
þære

rede þam æpelan kyninge 7 gehwylcum eaw fæstan monnum/  
leode cyninge ælfride



þus cweðende me com to an scinende engel on þam æfne ðe/  
reccende

ic gewat 7 lædde me to eastdæle suwiende þa become wytt to/

anre dene þeo wæs ormætlice deop 7 wid 7 forneh on lenge/ 20

ungeendod seo wæs wallende mid anþreacum lygum on anre sidan/

7 on oðre sidan mid hagale 7 grimlicum cyle blawende buton/

to forletennysse þeo dene wæs afylled mid monna saulum/

þa scuton hwiltidum of þam wallendan fyre into þam cyle 7  
^ (anþræcum)

eft of/ þam cyle into þam fyre þa þohte ic þ 25  
^ (buton ælcere toforletennysse)

hit wære helle wite ðe ic ofte//  
þæt ^ (seo)

on life ymbe segan gehyrde ac min lateow f.223<sup>r</sup>  
....

geandwyrde/ þærrihte minum geþance 7 cwæþ nis þis

þeo helle þe þu wenst/ se engel me lædde þa furðor to anre  
^ (wite)

þysterfulne stowe/ seo wæs to þan swyðe mid þiccum oferþeht 30  
^ (þeostrum)

þ ic nan þing ge/seon ne mihte buton mines lateowes scinende

hiw 7 ge/wædu efne þa æteowdan færllice gelom læcende lygas/  
færllice æteowdon

sweartes fyres upastigende 7 min lateow me þær ana for/

let on þam þystrum middan ic þa beheold þone ormætan lig/

'of' þe \*\* þere nywelnyssse up astah seo lyg wæs mid manna/ 35  
.. of ..

saulum afylled 7 hy asprungon up mid þam fyre swa swa/

spærcan 7 oft ongean into þære nywelnyse 7 þær sloh/  
eft

ut ormæte yfel stenc 7 afylde ealle þa byster  
^(of þære nywelnyse) .... .^(mid þam æðmum se)

fullan/ stowe 7 þa ic þær lange hwile stod ormod 7 unwis  
ða ..... .

mines/ færeldes þa gehyrde ic þ̅ þa deofla geleaddon fif/ 40

monna saula hreowlice grornigende into þam sweartan/  
^(and grimetende)

fyre sum þæra was preost sum læwde mon sum wifman/

7 þa deoflu sceagdon hlude lihende þ̅ hi moston ða sau/  
..... .

lum for heora synna habban þa betwyx þam scuton ða/  
moston

awyrgedan gastas wið me ward mid byrnendum eagon/ 45  
.....^(sume of þære nywelnyse wið min)

7 egeslicum tepum 7 of heora nospyrlum stod stinkende steam/  
.....^(muðe and)

7 hi woldon me gelæccan mid heora byrnendum tangum/

ac hi ne mihton for godes gescyldnesse me gehreppan/  
þurh

efne þa færllice æteowðe min lateow swa swa scinende/

steorra feorran fleogende 7 to me efeste ac þa deo/ 50  
wið min onette ða .....

flu sona to scuton þe me mid heora fyrenum tangum//  
.....^(ða deoflu sona) .....

gelæccan woldon se ængel me lædde þerrihte into are/ f.223<sup>v</sup>  
^(to eastdæle on

byrig þær binnon was aswiðe smepe feld 7 brad mid blowen/  
miccles leohtes smyltnysse)

dum wirtum afylled 7 mid beorhtan leohte þonne ænig sunne/  
^(and grennysse eal)

scinnende 7 binnon þam weallum wearun ungerime meniu/ 55

hwitra monna on mycelre blisse ic þa betwyx þam halgan/  
 .....

engele filigende gepohte þ hit weare heofonan rice ðe/  
 ^ (werodum þam) ..

ic ofte ær ymbe geseccan hyrde ac min lateow me to cwæp þ/  
 .....

hit swa ne wære he ða geleadde me gyt forðor þ ic geseah/  
 nære .. ^ (ða) and

mycle mare leoht 7 wynsume stemne ormetes dreames ic ge/ 60  
 ^ (þær ætforan us) ^ (ic þær) ..

hyrde 7 wundorlices bræðes swetnesse of þære stowe ut/  
 swæc.....

afleow hwæt þa min lateow me geleadde ongean to þære/  
 lædde me

blostmbearan stowe 7 me befran hwæðer ic wiste hwæt/

þa þing wearon ðe ic gesewen hæfde ic cwæp þ ic nyste he/

me andwyrde 7 cwæp seo mycle byrnende dene þe ðu ærest/ 65  
 ..

gesage is witnungstowa on þara beoð þære monna saula/  
 gesawe

gewitnode 7 geclænsode þe noldon heora synna þurh/

andetnesse 7 dædbote gerihtlæce on gehalum life ac hi/  
 þingum.....

hæfdon swa ðeah behreowsunge æt hyre endenextan/

dæge 7 swa gewiton mid þære behreowsunge of weorlde/ 70

7 becumað on domes dæge ealle to heofonan rice eac hi/

sume þurh holdra monna fultume 7 þurh ealmesdædum/  
 ..... freonda .....

ðe hi mon fore doð 7 ealra swiðost þurh þa halige mes/  
 .....

san hi beoð alyside of þam witem ær þam myclum dome/  
 ..



witodlice þeo swearte nywelnyssse þe ðu gesage mid þam/ 75  
 gesawe

ormætum þeostrum 7 fulum stence þe is helle muð 7 þe ðe//

æne þæron befællað ne wurð he næfre on ecnesse þanon/ f.224<sup>F</sup>

alysed þeos wynsume 7 þeos blostmbære stowe is þæra/

saula wunung ðe on godum worcum geendodum 7 swa þeah/

nearon swa fulfremede þ̅ hi þærrichte moston into heo/ 80

fenen rice ac swa þeah hi ealle becumað to cristes ge/

sihðe æfter þam myclan dome witodlice þa ðe fulfrede/  
 ^ (and myrhðe) fulfremede

byð on gepohte 7 on worde 7 on weorce swa raðe swa hi of/

weorulde gewitað swa becumað hi to heofonan rice of þam/

þu gesage þ̅ mycle leoht mid þam wynsumum bræðe 7 þa/ 85  
 gesawe

non þu gehyrdest þone fægran dream þu soðlice nu þu/

to þinum lichaman gecyrst gif þu wylt þine dæda 7 þea/  
 .....

was gerihtlæcan þonne underfehst þu æfter forðsiðe/

þas wynsuman wununge þe ðu nu gesyhst 7 þa ða ic þe/

ana forlet on þam bystrum to þi ic swa dyde þ̅ ic wolde/ 90  
 dyde swa

witan ymbe þin fare hu se ealmihtiga godd ymbe þe ge/  
 .... ..

don wolde 7 þa se halga godes engel þus gecweden æfde/  
 ... . ^ (ða) ..... gereht hæfde

þa ofpuhte me swyðe þ̅ ic eft to þam lic'h'aman sceolde/  
 oflicode ðearle

fram þære wynsuman stowe 7 þære haligra geferædene/  
 stowe wynsumnysse

7 ic ne dorste swa þeah nan þing wiðcweðan æfter þisum/ 95  
 .... ^ (ic)

ic wearð gebroht 7 geedcucod betwyx mannum driht/

helm wunede þa on þæs mynstres digolnesse oð his lifes/

ende stiðlice drohtniende he eode gelome on winterlicum/

cyle to þære sæ 7 stod on his gebedum on þam wætere hwilon/  
 ea

to his gyrdle hwilon to his swuran eode him syððan mid/ 100

þam ylcan claðum oð þ hi on his lichaman wearmodon 7

a/drugodon// þa hine mon geaxode hu he mihte þonne f.224<sup>v</sup>  
 adruwodon ^ (ða)

G 202 myclan cyle swa forberan/ he andwyrde 7 cwæp stiðran  
 1.107] ... ] [

[G 203  
 1.109 7 wyrsan he geseah swa he hit ma/code on his life 7  
 ic

manega oðre he gerihtleahte mid worde/ ge mid 105  
 .. and ...

G 203 bysnonge to rihtan geleafan gerihtlæce us drihten/  
 1.111] ]

hælend crist þurh þinran myclan mi'l'dheortnesse swa swa/

þin willa sy amen//

CUL Ii. 1. 33, article 44 folios 224<sup>V</sup>-27<sup>V</sup>, folios 224<sup>V</sup>-225<sup>F</sup>

syle ece gode æhta þinra þone teoðan dæl he getyþað f.224<sup>V</sup>

þe 7 he/ ðe mænigfealðað mycle þa nigone/

syndon feower þing forðsteppende to þara ecan eadignesse/

he ne missað na ða he gemetað an is monnes geswinc oðer/

muðes gebede þridde is leornung on lifes æ seo feorða is þ/ 5

fæsten ðe we gefremmon sceolon/

syndon eac swa some oðer feower þære woruldþinga þ gewi/

tan mæg man fram deofla 7 beon metodes þeing an is ærest/

þ he ofte do wop 7 hreow'si'e for his misdæda þonne is þ oðer

þ he/ æfter þan heofanan kyninge herige georne þonne is þ 10

þridde/ þ he æfre sceal a wilnie eces lifes þonne is þ

feorðe þ he fremman/ sceal þ he gemettige metas 7 drincas/

ne synd þa þrowunga on þissera weorulda monna ænig þara

meda/ weorð ðe us gegearcod is on godes riche ac lytle

hwile on þissere leana/ dagum witena eanig winnað for 15

criste 7 eft swa ðeah in ecnesse gewunað/ in wuldre mid

weroda godd for þi sceal þegna gehwilc geþylde nimon/



for þon is þ̅ seo mæste mæigen þ̅ara saula/

æla ðu ærma 7 þu eorðlica man ofer moldan hwi ne gemynas þu

a þ̅as/

20

[Ti 486 se wisa salomon cwæp þ̅ selre wære to wunienne mid leon '7  
1.31 [

Ti 486 mid draca' þonne mid yfelum/ wife 7 oferspæcum//  
1.33] ... spræcum]

[Ti 486 se wisa eft cwæp þ̅ nan wilddeor ne on feower f.225<sup>r</sup>  
1.28 [ fyðer

Ti 486 fotum ne on creopendum nis to wið/metenne yfelum wife/  
1.29] ]

d'i'æðes hryre ðe us drihten gescop gif þu þisses eorðlican 25

'weles' ane gewil/nost orsorhnesse ne bið þar 'n'oht

betweon þe 7 þam neatum/ ðe naht ne witen hit is idelnisse

þ̅ þu her on loc'e'st 7 eal þ̅ þu her/ sceawast hit is

sceaduwa gelic æll hit gewitað swa þe wanna scur/ ac þu

scealt þ̅ selre lif symble lufian 7 æfre fleon unrihte ge/ 30

streon for þan heo hit forgyldað þam ðe hit georna

lufað on/ þam endedæge mid ece wita/

ne scealt þu þ̅ 'n'æfre ayldan to lange þ̅ ðu beha\*test

heofonan/ kyninge for þan ðe him unþiaw ælc mislicað 7

ealra wyrrest yfela/ getreow'þ'a ne scylen wandian witona 35

ænig þ̅ he is ælmessan/ ofte gesyllæ alning deð oðer twegea

oððe þonne monnan miclum/ aliseð womdæda gehwas oððe his  
wita onleht her oððe on helle/ oððe huru siððan on domes  
dæge þurh drihtnes gifu lissum for/gyldað þam ðe he ær  
lustum gæf gif we us sylfum synna ge'h'wylce/ he gewyrhtum 40  
ne wrecað æfre ða ealmihtig godð on us syððan/ se ðe  
æfter synnum swiðe lange forhæfednesse habben þæncað/  
þ beoð anlicost swylc swa he wære on mægðhade metode  
to willan/ 7 for cristes lufan clæne gehealdan swa  
hwilc man swa mæg/ 7 nu nele geleornian hwæthwugo 45  
he bið lað gode 7 his saul bið/ swiðe scyldig ac þæm  
ðe wællað lufæ on wisdom he hit mid þam/ mod gifeð  
mihtig drihten mid his handum twam þurh þonne halga  
gast/ se forholena cræft 7 forhyded god ne bið  
ællunga gelice/ betere bið þe dusige gif he on 50  
breostum can his unwisdom inne/ belucan þonne se  
snotere ðe symle wile æt his heahpearfe for/helan  
his wisdom//

Cotton Faustina A. x article 4, folios 148<sup>r</sup>-151<sup>v</sup>,  
folios 148<sup>r</sup>-149<sup>r</sup>

geard mid þæm leoman þæs halgan geleafan mild/ f.148<sup>r</sup>  
heortlice wearð gefylled þurh godes gyfe þe on ec/  
nesse libbende eallu þinc endemes ætgædere geworh/  
te 7 eal þæt mid gecyndelicum hiwe on foresceawu/  
dum tidum synderlice to cyppe 7 geswutulunge/ 5  
brohte 7 se mæra wyrhta þe rihsigende wylt 7/  
gemetegaþ eal þæt he geworhte no be þæm anum/  
lætan wolde ac eornostlice ofer þone garsecg/  
þone ylecan leoman þæs fullan geleafan asprin/  
gan let 7 fornean þ ytemeste iglond ealles mid/ 10  
dangeardes mid ongolcynne genihtsumlice ge/  
fylled wundorfullice anlyhte 7 mærsode soðli/  
ce þ ylece iglond on ærum tydum mid æpengilde/  
afylled pearle swiþe beswicyn deofolgilde þeo/  
wude þeahhwæpere þurh fultum þære þancweor/ 15  
þan cristes gyfe 7 þurh sanctum gregorium/  
þæs romaniscan setles bisceop fram þæm þy/



[G 73  
1.26

he hefde geledan mid þurstian moda  
[he hlod ða mid þurstigum breoste

þa flowenda lare 7 for þon  
ða flowendan lare ðe

he eftir firste mid huniswete  
he eft æfter fyrste mid hunigswettre

G 73  
1.28]

ra ceola fremedlica belcta  
þrotan þæslice bealcette]

oða

þa

[G 74  
1.69

engla  
[engla

wlita  
wlite habbað and swilcum

enað  
gedafenað þæt hi

on hof  
on heofonum engla geferan beon gyt

et gregorius ascada  
ða gregorius befran hu ðære

sira noma þa of coma  
scire nama wære þe ða cnapan of alædde wæron him man

seðan þ hio dere wes hata  
sæde þæt ða scirmen wæron dere gehatene

don gregorius wel hio  
gregorius andwyrde wel hi sind

dere gehatan for hio  
dere gehatene for ðan ðe hi

boð from grama generada  
sind fram graman generode and

on godes mildhortnesse  
to cristes mildheortnysse

clepoda þa get cwæp gregorius  
gecygede gyt ða he befran hu

\*\*\* hu is þara ðoda cining ge  
is ðære leode cuning gehaten





**\*\*tan \*\*o onswarod 7 cwedan  
him wæs geandswarod þæt**

**\*\*he were alle gehatan  
se cyning ælle gehaten wære hwæt ða**

**gregorius ða gamenada mid  
gregorius gamenode mid**

**\*\*is worda to þam monnum 7 cwæp  
his wordum to ðam naman and cwæð**

**\*\* gedafenað þ̅ alleluia si  
hit gedafenað þæt alleluia sy**

**ungan on þan eglanda to  
gesungen on ðam lande to**

**\*\* luua þan almahti scupenda  
lofe þæs ælmihtigan scyppendes]**

**G 74  
1.80]**

lian þurh ærendracan manode 7 lærde þ he geor/  
 ne mynstra timbryde criste to lofe 7 weorþun/  
 ge 7 þam godes þeowum þone ylecan þeaw tæhte/  
 7 gesette þe þa apostolas mid heora geferræn/ 40  
 denne on þam anginne ures cristendomes heol/  
 don him eallum wæs an heorte 7 an saul ne heo/  
 ra nan syndrige æhta næfde ne þæt furþum/  
 ne gecwæp þæt he ænige hæfde ac ealle þing heom/  
 gemæne wæron þæs sylfa þeaw forþy lange þurh/ 45  
 myndgunge þæs halgan weres on angelcynnes/  
 mynsterum forþweard wæs 7 wel þeonde ac//  
 derstod 7 wiste getreowne dyhtnere his halegr/ f.149<sup>r</sup>  
 cyricena ær he gewurþe mannum geswutolod he/  
 him forþy mænigfealde 7 genihtsume æhta 7 m\*\*/ 50  
 ta gesealde ne he lange ne elcode ne mihta ne of/  
 teah næs lang to þy þæt his broþor, þyses lænan/  
 lifes timan geendode se þurh his cildhades ny/  
 tenesse þis rice tostencte 7 his annesse todælde/  
 7 eac swa halegra cyricena land incupum reafe/ 55

rum todælde æfter his forðsiþe eadgar se fo/

resæda cynincg þurh godes gyfe ealne angelcyn/

englas 7 scotas brutwalas 7 peohtas  
nes anweald begeat 7 þæs rices twislunge, eft to an/

nesse brohte 7 swa gesundlice ealles weold þæt þa/



Bodleian Hatton 115, article 18 folio 65<sup>rv</sup>

[CCCC  
302  
p.198  
l.15] forlæte ælc cristen man stala 7 leasunge morð/ f.65<sup>r</sup>  
[ leasunge 7 stala

dæda 7 mane apas wyccecræftas 7 wiglunga 7 þa/  
^(7 reafiac

CCCC  
302  
p.198  
l.18] myclan drucennesse þe manslihtas ofcumað 7 þa/  
7 forliger swicðomas 7 syrwinga) ]

fracodan forligra 7 utan habban þa soðan lufa to gode/  
7 to mannum 7 ic bidde eow for godes mihtiges lufe/ 5

7 for his ege ðæt ge eower lif rihtlice libban 7 eower/  
ne cristendom swiðe well healden 7 beoð earmra manna/  
retent 7 miltiend and beo ælc hlaford milde his earman/  
mannum 7 þa men ægþer ge freoh ge geþeowe beon/  
hi hyra hlaforde swa holde swa hi willon þ̅ god ælmihtig/ 10

beo him æt þam gemænon dome on domes dæg ge/  
þenceð hu yfle gelamp iudas scariot þe swicode/  
ymbe crist 7 we biddeð ælcne cristene man þurh/  
god sylfne 7 þuruh þa myclan lare þe he us on his bocum/  
gewissað þ̅ næfre hine nan man to nanum deoful/ 15

gilde ne gebidde þ̅ is to nanum deadum stane ne to/  
[to eorðfæstum stane and eac to

[Ski  
372  
11.130-  
131] nanum dumbum treowe ne nanum wille ne to nanum/  
.....treowum and to wylspringum]

þillicum scandlicum biggen'c'ge 7 oferhogian þone/

soðan hælend þe ealle þing mæg gehelen ic wolde/

æt summum gescadwisum men þe þis gehyrað geaxian/ 20

hwæt se deade stan mihte þam me gehelpan

[Ski [hu se deada stan ^ (oððe þæt dumbe treow) him mæge gehelpan  
372

1.133 þe him/ neod byð 7 ne mæg for þon hine sylfne of þare/  
oððe hæle forgifan þone hi sylfe ne astyriað of ðære

Ski  
374 stowe awylton þeahhwære se ðe swa earmlice be//

1.135] stowe næfre]

beswicen byð þurh deoful 7 geor'n'ful he mæg þonne/ f.65<sup>v</sup>

deoful þyder bespanan him sylfum æfre ecelice/ 25

[Ski to genyþrunge 7 to forwyrde þa wifmen þe berað/  
374 [eac sume gewitlease wif farað to

1.148 hyra cild to wege lætum 7 teoð þurh þa eorþan/  
Ski wega gelætum and teoð heora cild þurh ða eorðan]

374  
1.149] ne begytað hi næfre godes miltsa butan hi ge/

swicon 7 hit æfre beton for þon witodlice hi/

ofriað 'hi' sylfe deoflon 7 hyra bearn þe þis doð uton/ 30  
[Ski [deofle betæcað hi sylfe and heora bearn]

374  
1.150] forðig beþencon us sylfe 7 biddan georne godes/

mildheortnesse 7 uton biddan þa mæran cwene/

sancta marian þ þeo beo us milde 7 arful þingere/

to þam heofonlican cyninge þ we his mildse/

habban drihten us to ðam gefultumie þe leofað/ 35

7 ricsað a in anre godcundnysse fæder 7 þe/

halige gast buton ælcum ende amen/

## V GENERAL CONCLUSION

Having summarised the results of my analyses of specific Ælfric/anonymous texts, I now conclude by reviewing evidence for the response to the CH from the late tenth to the twelfth centuries throughout England, and by showing some of its implications.

The manuscripts containing the composite Ælfric/anonymous texts in my analysis range widely in date, from the late tenth/early eleventh century in the case of CCC 320 to the second half of the twelfth century.<sup>1</sup> It is clear that the unity of CH pieces as Ælfric perceived them was already being infringed very soon after the issue of the two series. In her account of CCC 162 article 32, Clare Lees notes that this composite homily uses excerpts from the CH made soon after Ælfric's composition of the series, and that article 32 therefore represents an early deviation from Ælfric's standards.<sup>2</sup> The manuscript of CCC 162 article 32 is dated to the early eleventh century, and so, with CCC 320 article a, Cotton Vitellius C. v article 46, and CCC 178+162 pp.139-60 articles 10 and 27, it represents an almost immediate reaction to the issue of the CH. It is of course possible that some of the Ælfric/anonymous texts in later manuscripts are copies of earlier versions, and thus that they also represent early reactions to the CH, but the existence of

1 For the dates of individual manuscripts, see the manuscript lists above, pp.17-25.

2 Lees, 'Theme and Echo', p.142.



Ælfric/anonymous texts in manuscripts of such broad chronological spread shows that, whatever the date of their original compilation, they were popular from the late tenth to twelfth centuries. The Ælfric/anonymous texts I have studied do not suggest that the exploitation of CH texts in this way is concentrated at any one point of the period they span. They seem, rather, to reflect a consistently free use of CH excerpts from the late tenth to the second half of the twelfth century.

Kenneth Sisam's statement with reference to Anglo-Saxon calendars that:

The feast-days recognised by all the English churches were the backbone of every calendar; but any church might have its special celebrations, depending on its relations with other churches, or local interest, or the possession of relics<sup>3</sup>

applies equally well to the production of homiletic and other material. Several studies of groups of manuscripts or of specific production centres have shown distinctive slants in the adaptation of CH material for incorporation into mixed manuscripts and for excerption for Ælfric/anonymous texts. Mary Richards has made a detailed survey of Ælfrician manuscripts from Rochester, where she believes that 'a post-Conquest tradition had been established of editing and modernizing earlier vernacular

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3 Kenneth Sisam, Studies in the History of Old English Literature (Oxford, 1953), p.163.

homiletic materials, primarily from Ælfric'.<sup>4</sup> Richards describes Rochester Ælfrician manuscripts as 'a series of Ælfrician homiletic collections modified specifically for the priests serving there and showing an increasing focus on the training of the unlettered clergy'.<sup>5</sup> The manuscripts in Richards' study are Bodley 340 + 342, CCCC 303, Cotton Vespasian D. xiv and Cotton Vespasian A. xxii. She shows that Bodley 340 + 342's substitution of some CH homilies means that this manuscript 'has an increased range of uses beyond Sunday delivery to the people. It would have made an effective tool for teaching the unlettered canons simple exegesis. It could also have functioned properly as a lectionary in the canonical hours'.<sup>6</sup> Vespasian D. xiv and Vespasian A. xxii, according to Richards, are examples of 'the gathering and editing of items of varying length and type on the basic elements of Christian faith',<sup>7</sup> and could have been used 'to instruct the unlettered clergy for pastoral work among the laity'.<sup>8</sup> Vespasian D. xiv is described as 'a collection of thematically related pieces treating the essentials of faith',<sup>9</sup> and Richards notes the special interest in the theme of Judgement, and summarises the manuscript's contents as 'a series

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4 Mary P. Richards, 'MS Cotton Vespasian A. XXII: The Vespasian Homilies', Manuscripta, 22 (1978), 97-103 (p.100).

5 Mary P. Richards, 'Innovations in Ælfrician Homiletic Manuscripts At Rochester', Annuaire Mediaevale, 19 (1979), 13-26 (p.14).

6 Richards, 'Innovations in Ælfrician Manuscripts', pp.16-17.

7 Richards, 'Innovations in Ælfrician Manuscripts', p.20.

8 Richards, 'Innovations in Ælfrician Manuscripts', p.20.

9 Richards, 'Innovations in Ælfrician Manuscripts', p.20. See also Mary P. Richards, 'On the Date and Provenance of MS. Cotton Vespasian D. XIV ff.4-169', Manuscripta, 17 (1973), 31-35.



of lessons rather than a cycle of sermons'.<sup>10</sup> She believes that Vespasian A. xxii has a similarly didactic character, with thematically arranged homilies and a central theme of 'the necessity of faith and obedience to God',<sup>11</sup> and states that there exist 'clear indications that the Vespasian homilies have been edited and glossed for oral delivery to an unlettered, unsophisticated audience'.<sup>12</sup> Richards suggests that Rochester's strong leadership may in part account for its individual approach to revising existing material, and that the provision of teaching material could have served to strengthen the centre's local influence and its independence from Canterbury.

In her analysis of CCC 162 article 32, Clare Lees also suggests that Rochester and Canterbury manuscripts used Ælfric material for a different purpose from that which Ælfric intended,<sup>13</sup> and notes that the Benedictine Reform seems to have had less impact on Canterbury than on Worcester.<sup>14</sup> Clemoes contrasts the use of Ælfrician homilies in Canterbury where, 'typically, they were modified in verbal details, reorganised in ordered sets in combination with items not by Ælfric and given massive circulation', with practice at Worcester, where 'a sense of the identity of Ælfric as an individual author was

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10 Richards, 'Innovations in Ælfrician Manuscripts', p.23.

11 Richards, 'Innovations in Ælfrician Manuscripts', p.23.

12 Richards, 'Innovations in Ælfrician Manuscripts', p.24.

13 Lees, 'Theme and Echo', p.142.

14 Lees, 'Theme and Echo', p.142. For a discussion of the Reform period at Canterbury see Nicholas Brooks, The Early History of the Church of Canterbury (Leicester, 1984), pp.255-310.



retained'.<sup>15</sup> Milton McC. Gatch further defines the nature of adaptations of Ælfric at Worcester, and states that manuscripts such as CCC 178+162 pp.139-60, Junius 121, Hatton 113+114, and Hatton 115 imply that 'exegetical preaching on the pericope was practised only in the chief Dominical seasons and that most preaching there was catechetical; hence the emphasis on materials which are useful at will rather than seasonally'.<sup>16</sup> Gatch shows that many Ælfric homilies for a limited part of the temporale are copied at Worcester and that Ælfric homilies are anthologised as quando volueris collections. It is notable that even the predominantly Ælfrician manuscripts to which Gatch refers mix CH pieces with non-Ælfrician material by juxtaposition.

In his study of CUL Ii. 4. 6 articles 27 and 28, which he believes to have been compiled at Winchester, Godden shows that these homilies, like many Ælfric/anonymous texts, make selective use of Ælfric material to produce homilies which are 'prescriptive and admonitory',<sup>17</sup> and that their 'compiler has picked out from the work of Ælfric and Wulfstan and others appropriate passages of injunction and warning and discarded the rest - the explanation and interpretation and narrative'.<sup>18</sup> These two composite homilies show that the CH were known in Winchester, as one might expect, but that even here the unity of

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15 Peter Clemons, 'Late Old English Literature', in Tenth-Century Studies. Essays in Commemoration of the Millennium of the Council of Winchester and 'Regularius Concordia', edited by David Parsons (London and Chichester, 1975), pp.103-114 (p.106).

16 Milton Mc.C Gatch, Preaching and Theology in Anglo-Saxon England: Ælfric and Wulfstan (Toronto, 1977), p.56.

17 Godden, 'Old English composite homilies', p.64.

18 Godden, 'Old English composite homilies', p.65.

individual CH homilies was infringed within two generations of Ælfric to compile a sort of homily accessible in style and theme, and clearly popular with the wider Anglo-Saxon church.

Godden contrasts these two Winchester Ælfric/anonymous composite homilies with Cotton Cleopatra B. xiii article 6, which he describes as 'rare' in being 'made up mainly of narrative'.<sup>19</sup> Cotton Cleopatra B. xiii article 6 is, as I have described, from Exeter, and may once have been part of the same volume as the Ælfric/anonymous composites Lambeth Palace 489 articles 5 and 6. These three Ælfric/anonymous composites use CH excerpts to achieve a variety of effects,<sup>20</sup> but they all testify to a creative response to Ælfric's work, either for its strong narrative style, thematically organised material or didactic force. As Jonathan Wilcox notes in his study of the related, 'Exeter', parts of manuscripts CCC 421, Cotton Cleopatra B. xiii and Lambeth 489, 'the book they add up to is a handbook for a bishop, a pontifical'.<sup>21</sup> In these examples, then, Ælfric material is being reworked in Exeter for practical purposes apparently dictated by an individual user or compiler of a collection.

As these examples show, different parts of the Anglo-Saxon church shaped material originating in the CH into homilies and manuscript collections which are both distinct from the original

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19 Godden, 'Old English composite homilies', pp.64-65.

20 For a full description of these three homilies, see above, pp.47-75.

21 Jonathan Wilcox, 'The Compilation of Old English Homilies in Manuscripts Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 419 + 421' (unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of Cambridge, 1987), p.34.



CH and remarkably diverse one from the other. Unfortunately, the high proportion of manuscripts whose origin or provenance is unknown means that data for specific scriptoria and their characteristics are mostly quite sparse. Despite these gaps in information, all of the manuscript production centres discussed above rework the CH; no single centre can be shown simply to have copied the collections in their entirety and without adding non-Ælfric material, either in the form of whole homilies or excerpts in composite homilies.

The Ælfric/anonymous texts discussed in this study show CH material being adapted to different degrees. Some, such as Lambeth 489 articles 5 and 6 and Cleopatra B. xii art.6 [pp.47-75 above], CUL Ii. 4. 6 articles 27 and 28 [pp.76-89 above] and Junius 121 article 33 [pp.94-99 above], work their CH excerpts into new homilies, thus retaining the ecclesiastical function of the original Ælfrician material. Others, such as CCCC 320 article a [pp.105-09 above], Tiberius A. iii article 9(h) [pp.110-17 above] and Hatton 115 article 18 [pp.175-80 above] slightly alter the genre of their CH excerpts to use them in pieces which stand as exhortations rather than full homilies. More radical generic adaptation is evident in those Ælfric/anonymous texts which remove CH passages from their original homiletic context: Tiberius A. iii article 16 [pp.168-74 above] incorporates its CH excerpts into a quasi 'Testimonies of the Passion'; Faustina A. x article 4 [pp.160-64 above] uses CH phrases to provide snippets of historical information in the margins and between the lines of a description of the reform of the monasteries; and in CUL Ii. 1. 33 article 44 [pp.157-59



above] CH excerpts are written in the margins of a verse text as some sort of proverbial statements.

As well as these different degrees of adaptation, varied methods of combining CH and non-Ælfrician material are evident. The Ælfric/anonymous homilies and exhortations listed above show deliberate conflation of material from different sources to produce a unified text. Those texts studied which contain marginal additions of CH material to non-Ælfrician texts may be simply texts which have been annotated for personal reading, or perhaps they have been marked up for subsequent rewriting as a single piece with the CH additions incorporated into the main text, like the Ælfric/anonymous homilies and exhortations described above. Cotton Tiberius A. iii article 16 [pp.168-74 above] may even represent an apparently unified text which is in fact the result of the erroneous incorporation of marginal material from an earlier copy of the main text; an 'accidental' composite.

Many of the Ælfric/anonymous texts discussed show CH material selected for its general penitential and moral content and removed from its original lection-based context to form part of pieces designed for Rogationtide or Lent or for use on any occasion. The compilers of such pieces, in not writing for specific feastdays where an audience would expect to hear a biblical narrative related and explained, avoid the necessity of providing a detailed exegetical text like Ælfric's.

The number of surviving copies of whole CH pieces and of CH excerpts both freestanding and used in Ælfric/anonymous texts, together with the chronological and geographical spread of their production and use, reveal the very wide circulation of material originating in the CH, and testify to its adaptability and appeal throughout the Anglo-Saxon church. Scragg, in discussing Ælfric's saints' lives, notes by contrast that there is a much lower rate of duplicate survival of these than of Ælfric's non-sanctorale pieces. Scragg's observation that whereas 'saints' lives had a definable and limited application', 'homiletic prose might be selectively reduced in a scissors and paste manner'<sup>22</sup> is certainly borne out by the uses of the CH I have studied.

The evidence for the breadth of transmission and exploitation of the CH has been known for some time, but the texts I have analysed provide a significant supplementary body of evidence for the breakdown of Ælfric's desired pattern of transmission, and for the lack of response to or respect for the finer points of his ideals throughout the church.

The Ælfric/anonymous texts in this study as a group raise many interesting questions, some of which are addressed here and others of which require further specialised attention. These questions include the accessibility, context and state of the CH as source-material; methods of compilation of vernacular composite homilies and other adapted texts; the audience of vernacular homilies; the extent of the influence of the

22 D.G. Scragg, 'The corpus of anonymous lives and their manuscript context', in Old English Prose Saints' Lives, ed. Szarmach.

Benedictine Reform; the strength of the anonymous tradition both in terms of practicalities such as demand for and availability of material and in terms of its appeal to the popular imagination; the perceived identity and status of individual CH and excerpts from them; and perception and awareness of Ælfric's instructions and views on the transmission of his work. Some of these questions can never be authoritatively answered, but the clearest point to emerge from my study of the use of the CH in Ælfric/anonymous texts is the tension between Ælfric's self-image and representation of the Reform as expressed in his work, and what can be deduced of the real reactions, interpretations and practical needs of the wider Anglo-Saxon church.



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