

**OXFORD, BODLEIAN LIBRARY, MSS JUNIUS 85 AND 86: AN EDITION OF A  
WITNESS TO THE OLD ENGLISH HOMILETIC TRADITION**

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The candidate confirms that the work submitted is his own and that appropriate credit has been  
given where reference has been made to the work of others.

## ABSTRACT

The thesis is in two parts, 'Manuscript' and 'Text'. The first part considers the post-Anglo-Saxon history of the manuscript, Junius 85 and 86, and then considers the Anglo-Saxon manuscript from the point of view of the activity involved in its production. In Chapter One are noted some of the manuscript's fundamental physical characteristics, its size in relation to other homily collections, the collation of its leaves and the quality of the membrane. Chapter Two deals with the question of the manuscript's provenance, and is ordered in sections each of which considers a particular piece of evidence. A final section summarizes the significance of all the evidence. Aside from a titled transcript made by Junius of part of one of the homilies, all the evidence of the manuscript's history before Junius donated it to the Bodleian Library is that which has accrued to the manuscript over the centuries. The title of Junius's transcript provides evidence that Isaac Vossius possessed the manuscript before Junius, and a key question is that of Vossius's acquisition. It is circumstantially likely that Vossius did not acquire the manuscript in England, and press-marks entered in each volume suggest that the manuscript may have been collected in France by a French bibliophile, Paul Petau, part of whose collection had come into Vossius's possession before the latter moved to England. The evidence of the two volume binding, which seems certainly to pre-date Junius's ownership, does not contradict this, on the face of it, unlikely provenance for an Old English homily collection. Evidence of the manuscript's survival through medieval times resides in a title entered on the first membrane leaf, which is all that survives of a medieval binding, and in a series of jottings. A detailed examination of the writing shows that the title and the jottings are comparable palaeographically, and that both were probably added some time in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century, either in France or England. It seems probable that the jottings, some of whose content gives support to the possibility that the manuscript was in France, were entered while the manuscript was bound, as the title indicates, with a Greek psalter. The manuscript may owe its survival to this binding.

Chapter Three turns to the Anglo-Saxon manuscript itself, and it is established that it was written by three main hands. In the absence of any study of eleventh-century insular scripts, a comparative study of the palaeography has not been possible, but by way of contribution to the

subject I have tried to characterize the script of the manuscript, as well as giving detailed description of letter forms and their variety in the course of identifying the hands. Chapter Three ends with description of decorative features, particularly of ornamental brackets which are a feature peculiar to Junius 85 and 86. Chapter Four considers the compilation of the manuscript, and it is shown in a separate section how the use of ornamental brackets arose when one scribe made regular use of a feature which another scribe had introduced for practical reasons. The main section (section 4) of Chapter Four draws on the physical and palaeographical evidence already described and discussed and relates it to the texts to show how the manuscript was compiled in at least two stages, with the bulk of the manuscript belonging to a final stage and the rest being remains of a previous stage, though no great space of time separates the two stages. One particular point concerns the status of a translated extract from the apocryphon *Visio Pauli*, and it is argued that the text was copied, and possibly translated, specifically to expand Homily 1, there having been doubt hitherto on this point. Chapter Five considers some spelling features which are characteristic of Junius 85 and 86, and constitutes a suggestion of an alternative to traditional language descriptions, based on historical phonology, which are of limited value for late Old English manuscripts.

The second part of the thesis is the edition of the texts. The editorial aim is to enable consideration of whether the manuscript could have been used for preaching. Each homily is followed by a Commentary whose principal function is to address all difficult readings, and assess how often a failure of sense occurs. When other copies of homilies are thus closely examined it should eventually become possible to assess how much textual difficulty a copy of a homily could bear and still be delivered from the page as a preached sermon. How far the Old English Homiletic manuscripts are representative of an active preaching tradition is yet a matter for much debate. Notes describing the condition of the text in the manuscript accompany the texts, and previous editions are corrected where necessary. A novel form of printing Old English prose has been adopted, whereby sentences are spatially distinguished.

## CONTENTS

Abbreviations	1
<b>PART ONE. MANUSCRIPT</b>	
<b>Chapter One. Introductory</b>	<b>3</b>
1. Dimensions	4
2. Collation	5
3. Membrane	7
<b>Chapter Two. Preservation History</b>	<b>9</b>
1. MS Junius 45	9
2. Junius's Note on Fol.1	12
3. The Press-marks 'C.29.' and 'F.29.'	16
4. The Present Binding	18
5. Foliation and Modern Additions	21
6. The Medieval Binding-leaves	23
7. The Title 'pars psalterii greci'	25
8. A Series of Jottings	29
9. Other Jottings or Pen Trials	35
10. Conclusion	36
<b>Chapter Three. Palaeography</b>	<b>42</b>
1. The Hands	42
2. Script	50
3. Decoration	52



Chapter Four. Compilation	55
1. Pricking and Ruling	55
2. Written Lines	56
3. The Use of Brackets	57
4. Compilation	61
Chapter Five. Spelling	77
PART TWO. TEXT	
Introduction	90
Fragment	100
Homily 1	101
Commentary	115
Charms	123
Homily 2	124
Commentary	131a
Homily 3	134
Commentary	147
Homily 4	156
Commentary	168
Homily 5	179
Commentary	192
Bibliography	202

## ABBREVIATIONS

<i>ASE</i>	<i>Anglo-Saxon England</i>
BL	British Library
<i>BT, BSupp.</i>	J. Bosworth and T.N. Toller, <i>An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary</i> (Oxford, 1898), T.N. Toller, <i>Supplement</i> (Oxford, 1921)
Campbell, <i>OEG</i>	A. Campbell, <i>Old English Grammar</i> (Oxford, 1959)
CCCC	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College
CUL	Cambridge, University Library
<i>DNB</i>	<i>Dictionary of National Biography</i>
<i>DOE</i>	<i>Dictionary of Old English</i> , fascicles published for the Dictionary of Old English Project, Centre for Medieval Studies, University of Toronto, by the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies
<i>MCOE</i>	A. DiP. Healey and R.L. Venezky, <i>A Microfiche Concordance to Old English</i> (Toronto, 1980)
EEMF	Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile
EETS	Early English Text Society
Hogg, <i>GOE</i>	Richard M. Hogg, <i>A Grammar of Old English. Volume 1: Phonology</i> (Oxford and Cambridge, Mass., 1992)
Ker, <i>Catalogue</i>	N.R. Ker, <i>Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon</i> (Oxford, 1957)
LWS	Late West Saxon
Mitchell, <i>OE Syntax</i>	Bruce Mitchell, <i>Old English Syntax</i> , 2 vols (Oxford, 1985)
OE	Old English

- Summary Catalogue* F. Falconer Madan, et al., *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, 7vols (Oxford, 1895-1953)
- Wanley, Catalogus* *Humphredi Wanleii Librorum Veterum Septentrionalium ... Catalogus*, volume 2 of George Hickes, ed., *Linguarum Veterum Septentrionalium Thesaurus* (Oxford, 1705)

## PART ONE. MANUSCRIPT

### CHAPTER ONE

#### INTRODUCTORY

Junius 85 and 86 contains one Ælfrician homily (Homily 2), four anonymous homilies and a fragment of a fifth, and the manuscript is thus most importantly a witness to the anonymous element within the OE homiletic tradition. I have accordingly adopted the sigel C from Scragg's list of manuscripts containing anonymous homilies and saints' lives.<sup>1</sup>

I have found no reason to question Ker's dating of C to 's.xi med.',<sup>2</sup> nor have I found evidence to suggest a more exact dating.

The question of where C was written I have left open. The textual relationship of the Ælfrician homily with copies in Bodley 340 and 342, CCCC 198 and CCCC 162, manuscripts of the early eleventh century with Canterbury and Rochester connections,<sup>3</sup> is a doubtful indication of south-eastern origin, since exemplars in that textual tradition could have travelled far by the time of the writing of C. Moreover, the influence of a Canterbury tradition may depend as much upon particular relationships of Canterbury with other centres as upon geographical vicinity. This observation could apply as much to spelling traditions as to textual traditions.

My study of C begins with consideration of some basic physical characteristics.

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<sup>1</sup>D.G. Scragg, 'The Corpus of Vernacular Homilies and Saints' Lives before Ælfric', *ASE*, 8 (1979), 223-77.

<sup>2</sup>Ker, *Catalogue*, p.409.

<sup>3</sup>Malcolm Godden, ed., *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies. The Second Series. Text*, EETS, ss.5 (London, 1979), p.lx.

## 1. Dimensions

What is at first remarkable about C is its smallness. The dimensions given by Ker, height first, are 160 x 115mm (MS 85) and 155 x 100mm. (MS 86).<sup>4</sup> There is some variety in the size of the leaves, and to give overall maximum dimensions 5mm. may be added to the height of MS 85 and to the width of MS 86.

In the introduction to his catalogue, in a section dealing with the preparation of sheets for writing, Ker comments that a 'common size' of the folded sheets in Old English homiliaries is about 250 x 160mm.<sup>5</sup> A few manuscripts do conform nearly to these dimensions,<sup>6</sup> but Ker's figures should rather be seen as giving about an average size, since a survey of the dimensions of homily collections reveals a range from about 300 x 200mm. down to about 200 x 130mm.<sup>7</sup> Most markedly outside the upper limit of this range are the two volume homiliary, Bodley 340 and 342 (Ker no. 309, s.xi in., 315 x 220 and 315 x 210mm.) and the Royal manuscript of the First Series of Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies* (BL, Royal 7 c. xii, Ker no.257, s.x ex., 310 x 205mm.). The former, a mixed collection of Ælfrician and anonymous pieces, was probably written at Canterbury or Rochester. The latter was probably written at Ælfric's scriptorium, since there is agreement among scholars that a marginal note on fol.64r is in Ælfric's hand.<sup>8</sup> Outside the approximate lower limit are Lambeth Palace Library, 489 (Ker no. 283, s.xi third quarter, 184 x 125 mm.) and BL, Cotton Cleopatra B. xiii (Ker no.144, s.xi third quarter, 184 x 125 mm.), which probably are two parts of the same manuscript,<sup>9</sup> and BL, Cotton Vespasian D. xiv (Ker no. 209, s.xii med., c.191 x 122 mm.). The relatively late Vespasian D. xiv, written probably at either Canterbury or Rochester, differs in character from C in that it seems to have

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<sup>4</sup>Ker, *Catalogue*, p.411.

<sup>5</sup>*Ibid.*, p.xxiii.

<sup>6</sup>CUL, li. 4. 6, Ker no.21, s.xi med., c.261 x 150mm.; CCCC 302, Ker no.56, s.xi/xii, c.253 x 168mm.; Cambridge, Trinity college, B. 15. 34, Ker no.86, s.xi med., c.248 x 161mm; Bodleian Library, Hatton 113 and 114, Ker no.331, s.xi third quarter, 255 x 158mm. Rudolph Willard, *The Blickling Homilies*, EEMF, 10 (Copenhagen, 1960), p.19, cites Ker's comment when he gives probable original dimensions of the Blickling manuscript as 250 x 160mm., now c.200 x 145mm. Manuscript dimensions are given from Ker, *Catalogue*.

<sup>7</sup>The lists in Scragg, 'Corpus of Vernacular Homilies' and Godden, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies. Second Series*, pp.xiii-xiv, between them cover all extant witnesses to the homiletic tradition. They include fragments and manuscripts which cannot be described as homily collections: the dimensions of most of these fall within the range indicated.

<sup>8</sup>For references on this point, see Norman Eliason and Peter Clemons, eds, *Ælfric's First Series of Catholic Homilies. British Museum Royal 7 c. xii*, EEMF, 13 (Copenhagen, 1966), p.28.

<sup>9</sup>See Ker, *Catalogue*, pp.184 and 345.

been used for teaching. It contains, for example, the English translation of the *Disticha Catonis*, and much of the homily material consists of extracts.<sup>10</sup> Lambeth 489 and Cleopatra B. xiii, probably written at Exeter, are the remains of what seems to have been a more strictly homiletic collection than *Vespasian D. xiv*, drawing on Ælfrician, Wulfstanian and anonymous material. The collection, which is written by several hands, seems not have been ordered according to the church year. The Wulfstanian manuscript, BL, Cotton Nero A. i, fols 70-173 (Ker no.164, s.xi in., c.165 x 105mm.) is of comparable size to C and contains a few homilies and homiletic pieces, but the contents are mainly legal and regulatory texts.

We may safely say of C that the dimensions of its leaves show it to be the smallest manuscript containing a homily collection in Old English to have survived.<sup>11</sup>

## 2. Collation

In order to facilitate future reference, the following diagram shows the collation of C in relation to the texts.<sup>12</sup> The eighty leaves of the Anglo-Saxon manuscript have been foliated 2-81. Fol. 1 is a later binding-leaf.

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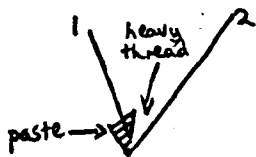
<sup>10</sup>See Rima Handley, 'British Museum MS Cotton Vespasian D. xiv', *Notes and Queries*, ns. 21 (1974), 243-50 (p.247) and Mary P. Richards, 'Texts and their Traditions in the Medieval Library of Rochester Cathedral Priory', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, part 3 of vol.78 (1988), pp.93 and 94, for the view that the manuscript is a collection of teaching materials.

<sup>11</sup>The only homily collection actually smaller than C is BL, Cotton Vitellius D.xvii (Ker no.222, s.xi med.). Ker, *Catalogue*, p.298, notes that it has been 'much shrunken by fire' and that Wanley described it before the fire as 'in quarto'. Wanley, *Catalogus*, p.44, describes C as 'in octauo (ut loquuntur) minori'.

<sup>12</sup>The diagram agrees with the collation given by Antonette DiPaolo Healey, *The Old English Vision of St Paul* (Cambridge, Mass., 1978), pp.6-7, who corrects and supplements that given by Ker, *Catalogue*, p.411, except that she omits to note that fols 54 and 59 are singletons, as Ker notes.

Binding-leaf, fol.1;

Fragment, fol.2r; Homily 1, fols 2v-17r, line 5; Charms, fol.17r, line 5-17v

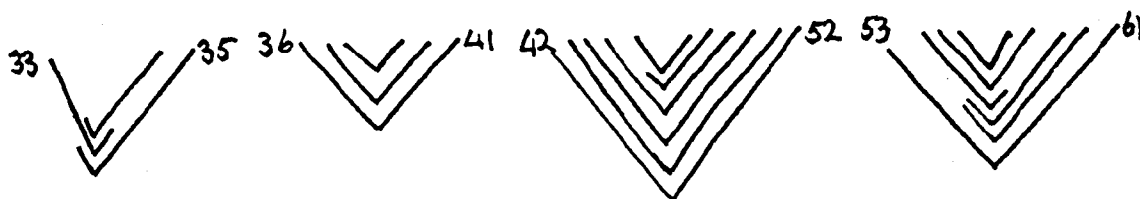


Homily 2, fols 18-24



Homily 3, fols 25r-40r; Homily 4, fols 40v-61

Fols 25-32 are four bifolia



Homily 5, fols 62-81r

Fols 62-71 are five bifolia.



### 3. Membrane

The membrane varies in quality but all is more or less thick and stiff.

Fols 3-11 and 18-24 are conspicuously of a different quality from the rest.<sup>13</sup> In these two gatherings the membrane is of a greyish colour with a matt surface on both sides. The membrane is further distinguished in having white spots (as if bleached) throughout the two gatherings. Similar white spots appear in the gathering, fols 25-32, especially fol.25r, but they are not a regular feature. Fol.24 has a large hole.

Fols 2 and 12-16 are the least thick and stiff, especially fol.16, which has a tear across its width. The tear has been repaired with fine white thread in criss-cross stitching, which is probably to be associated with later binding. Judging by the curved edge depriving the leaf of its lower outside corner, it was from the edge of a skin. Fol.17 is among the thickest of the leaves of the manuscript. It appears to be palimpsest, showing traces of erased writing on both sides and roughening, especially on the verso. Fol.2 is much worn and brittle. It might well be thought that fol.2 had once been conjoint with either fols 16 or 17, but this seems not to have been the case. Fol.17 is certainly too thick ever to have been conjoint with fol.2. The cut inner edge of fol.16 is clearly visible before fol.12, as is the cut edge of fol.2 before fol.1, and neither fol.2 nor fol.16 is narrower than the other leaves, as would be the case if they had been a bifolium which broke at the fold, the two leaves then being trimmed and refolded for binding as singletons.

Fols 25-32 are stiff, generally smooth and shiny, but some sides are roughish. Fol.30 has no outside corner.

Of the three singletons, fols 33-35, fol.34 is slightly thicker than the other two, though perhaps not so thick as fols 17 and 42-81; it has a large hole and lacks a lower outside corner. Fol.33 is comparable in thickness to fols 36-41, which are slightly stiffer than fols 12-16 but not so stiff as fols 25-32.

Fols 42-81 are generally thicker than any other leaves and often have shiny surfaces. Fol.81 lacks a lower outside corner. The collation of fols 42-81 is readily ascertainable, unlike the collation of the leaves in MS 85. This contrast may partly be due to a need, incurred,

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<sup>13</sup>As noted by Healey, *OE Vision of St Paul*, p.4, and Ker, *Catalogue*, p.411, where the membrane is described as being 'softer and whiter than the rest'.



perhaps, by the number of singletons, to bind MS 85 more tightly, but also to the quality of the membrane of fols 42-81, whose number and hardness would resist tight binding.

With regard to fols 42-81, we may further note that they appear to show a preference in principle for a gathering of five bifolia.<sup>14</sup> In C as a whole, the frequency of singletons, sometimes in vulnerable positions on the outside of a gathering, seems remarkable.<sup>15</sup>

The quality of the membrane of fols 3-11 and 18-24 may be regarded as the more typical of membrane prepared in the insular manner, that is, 'roughened on both sides with pumice stone, with the result that hair- and flesh-sides became indistinguishable from one another',<sup>16</sup> and giving a 'suede-like finish'.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>14</sup>Ker, *Catalogue*, p.xxiii, states that the normal gathering in England from the eighth to the twelfth centuries was one of four bifolia; Bernhard Bischoff, *Latin Palaeography. Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, translated Dáibhi Ó Cróinín and David Ganz (Cambridge, 1990), p.20, gives a different view, that 'the gatherings in most Irish and Anglo-Saxon manuscripts consist of five double leaves ('quinio', Old Irish 'cín', Anglo-Saxon 'cine')'. That Bischoff's view may be influenced by consideration of mainly early Anglo-Saxon manuscripts is suggested by T. Julian Brown's comment on the insular gathering, 'usually eight to the quire; but Irish and older Anglo-Saxon mss. may have 10 leaves' ('The Distribution and Significance of Membrane Prepared in the Insular Manner', in *La Paléographie Hébraïque Médiévale, Colloques Internationaux du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique*, 547 (Paris, 1974), pp.127 -35 (p.29)). The dictionary entries in *BT* s.v. 'cine' leave some uncertainty whether the word applies to any folded sheet or to a quaternion; *DOE* gives 'single sheet of parchment or vellum folded twice'. In Ælfric's glossary 'cine' glosses 'quaternio' (Julius Zupitza, ed., *Ælfric's Grammatik und Glossar. Text und Varianten* (Berlin, 1880; rept. with a preface by Helmut Gneuss, Berlin, 1966), p.304, lines 6-7), and given the seemingly strong likelihood that 'cine' derives from 'quinio', as Bischoff suggests, it may be that Ælfric's gloss reflects a change in England from an Irish to a continental model of collation. Of course, the term may yet have been used for folded sheets and gatherings generally.

<sup>15</sup>The use of singletons allows the exclusion from consideration of the possibility that the method known as 'imposition' was employed in the making of C. This method, particularly suitable for small format, whereby pages were copied on to a sheet before it was finally folded and cut, must result in gatherings of conjoint leaves. See Bischoff, *Latin Palaeography*, p.21, fn.9, for a bibliography on 'imposition'.

<sup>16</sup>Bischoff, *Latin Palaeography*, p.9.

<sup>17</sup>Brown, 'The Distribution and Significance', p.128. Anna Di Majo, Carlo Frederici, Marco Palma, 'Indagine sulla Pergamena Insulare (secoli VII-XVI)', *Scriptorium*, 42 (1988), 131-9 (p.137), discuss the technique and describe the resulting membrane as having a suede- or chamois-like quality ('pelle scamosciata'). They regard the technique as characteristic also of central northern Europe throughout the Middle Ages, but this view is not supported by Brown's survey of insular style membrane on the continent ('The Distribution and Significance', pp.129-32).

## CHAPTER TWO

## PRESERVATION HISTORY

Two facts in the history of the preservation of **C** are known. One is that **C** was among manuscripts bequeathed by Junius to the Bodleian Library in 1678.<sup>1</sup> The classification of **C** as a Junius manuscript may satisfy us on that point. The other fact, evidence of which provides a starting-point for investigation of **C**'s pre-Bodleian history, is that **C** had been in the possession of Isaac Vossius, Junius's nephew, before it came to Junius.

### 1. MS Junius 45

The evidence for Vossius's possession of **C** is provided by the heading with which Junius introduces a transcription he made of part of Homily 3.<sup>2</sup> The transcription, now fols 10r-11v of the Bodleian manuscript, Junius 45, begins at the top of **C**, fol. 29v (Homily 3, line 93, 'soplice...'), omits the text of **C**, fols 33r-35r, line 4 (Homily 3, lines 162- 206, the 'Three Utterances' passage and the passage in the style of a prayer which follows it) and ends with the last word on **C**, fol. 35v (Homily 3, line 230, '...mansworan'). The heading is as follows:

OFFICIUM CHRISTIANI HOMINIS. ex per antiquo

codice MSo propinqui mei Isaaci Vossii.

The end of Junius's transcription coincides with the end of the first bound volume of **C** (MS 85), where the last word, 'mansworan', is in the midst of a list of sinners (Homily 3, lines 227-34). It seems unlikely that Junius would have ended his transcription thus abruptly if he had

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<sup>1</sup>Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 411. The bequest is recorded in William Dunn Macray, *Annals of the Bodleian Library, Oxford, A.D. 1596 - A.D. 1867* (London, Oxford and Cambridge, 1868), pp. 102-3.

<sup>2</sup>Noted in *Summary Catalogue*, II.2, pp.974 and 983. Wanley, *Catalogus*, p.44, notes that **C** was a gift to Junius from Vossius, but does not give the source of his information. It may be supposed that Wanley had come across Junius's transcription and noted the significance of the heading, but whether he had other grounds for his note cannot be known.

had before him the continuation of the list on fol. 36r, the first leaf of MS 86. Moreover, Junius ended his transcription with a row of dots after 'mansworan', and under the row of dots he wrote 'Pauca desunt'. He uses a row of dots and the words 'Reliqua desunt' at the end of another transcription preserved in Junius 45 (fols1-8), where he transcribed up to the imperfect end of BL, Cotton Julius A.ii,<sup>3</sup> and it may be thought that he would have used the form 'Reliqua desunt' if he had believed that C ended imperfectly with fol. 35. However, it seems likely that he transcribed from fol. 35 in order to include the list of sinners, and that 'Pauca' refers to the apparent lack of a few words from the list. The list of sinners, giving a negative view of Christian duty, is the only part of the text on fol. 35, the rest of which is a description of hell, that is appropriate to Junius's heading 'Officium Christiani Hominis'. Whatever Junius may have meant, exactly, by 'Pauca desunt', the fact that he recorded the imperfect end of text on fol. 35 indicates that the whole of C was not available to him at the time he made his transcription.

Junius's heading describes that part of C from which he made his transcription as a codex ('codice antiquo'). This suggests that the leaves were in a bound volume at the time, but the suggestion is not supported by the description 'antiquis membranis' in what must be an earlier version of the heading, which is written at the top of fol. 9r of Junius 45 and which is the only item on that leaf. This heading includes a cancelled passage which I give in square brackets, and is as follows:

Officium hominis Christiani, [item officium Regum, principum, sacerdotum,  
abbatum, monachorum, monialum, laicorum,etc.] descriptum

ex per antiquis membranis propinqui mei Isaaci Vossii et distinctum in V capita.

The cancelled passage possibly refers to text in CCCC 201. Thus on fols 12-14 of Junius 45 is a transcription headed 'In eodem codice collegii Scti Benedicti statim sequitur pag. 31, Ælfrici epistola' and titled 'TO GEHADEDUM MANNUM'. Ælfric's letter to Wulfstan begins thus titled on page 31 of CCCC 201.<sup>4</sup> The items of the cancelled passage correspond to CCCC 201, Ker's art. 42 (i) Be cinincge (vi) Be eorlum (vii) Be sacerdam (ix) Be abbodum (x) Be

<sup>3</sup>Ker, *Catalogue*, no.159.

<sup>4</sup>See Ker, *Catalogue*, p.84. This source of the transcription is noted in *Summary Catalogue*, II.2, p.974. I do not know what Junius meant by 'collegii Scti Benedicti'.

munecum (xi) Be minecenan (xii) Be læwedum mannum.<sup>5</sup> The same text occurs also in the Bodleian manuscript, Junius 121, but the sections are ordered differently.<sup>6</sup> In BL, Cotton Nero A.1, the same text occurs with the sections in the same order as in CCCC 201,<sup>7</sup> but since the existing transcription is from CCCC 201, it is likely that the cancelled passage refers to other transcriptions from that manuscript. Junius's phrase 'in eodem codice', referring to CCCC 201, indicates that other transcriptions were indeed made, but the phrase cannot be taken to indicate directly the sections referred to in the cancelled passage, because the heading goes on to say that Ælfric's letter immediately follows (unless 'statim sequitur' can mean 'begins on') and the sections occur after Ælfric's letter. However, it certainly appears that Junius at first thought to include the transcription from C with a transcription of the sections found in CCCC 201 under one heading, but, while writing the heading, it seems he decided to use separate headings for each of the transcriptions, cancelled the reference to one and carried on to specify the other to be from C by mention of Vossius's ownership. Then, it seems, he decided to begin afresh and write the neater heading that now accompanies the transcription. That the existing transcription from C is a fair copy is suggested by the fact that it is divided into five sections, as stated by Junius in the draught heading, and he must have already applied the sections to a working draught otherwise he would not have known how many there would be.

The evidence of the draught heading suggests that Junius was organizing and copying up material he had gathered from different libraries, and it seems reasonable to take his description of C as 'propinqui mei Isaaci Vossii' to indicate that C was still in Vossius's possession at the time. Although the differing descriptions of C in the phrases 'antiquis membranis' and 'antiquo codice MSo' may therefore be drawn from memory, they nevertheless suggest that Junius had seen a number of leaves in some sort of binding.

Although the evidence of it is somewhat tenuous, the association of the transcription from C with CCCC 201 suggests that Junius saw C in England.<sup>8</sup> This cannot have been during the period, 1621-51, when Junius was in the service of the Earl of Arundel, because Vossius was not

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<sup>5</sup>Ker, *Catalogue*, pp.86-87.

<sup>6</sup>*Ibid.*, pp.412-413.

<sup>7</sup>*Ibid.*, p.212.

<sup>8</sup>CCCC 201 seems never to have left England. Ker, *Catalogue*, p.90, states that the manuscript was at Corpus Christi by 1600.

resident in England, with his library, until 1670.<sup>9</sup> There is the possibility that Junius made the transcription before 1670, during the period following 1651 when he was living at Amsterdam and the Hague with his sister, Vossius's mother,<sup>10</sup> and later brought it together with transcriptions from CCCC 201, but it seems more likely that the transcription was made at the time when, to quote Wood's *Athenae Oxoniensis*, 'in 1674 our author Junius returned into England to the end that he might peruse such English-Saxon books, which he had not yet perused, especially in the Cottonian library and elsewhere'.<sup>11</sup> It was after he had retired to Oxford in 1676 that Junius made a deed of gift of his manuscripts to the Bodleian Library, by which time the whole of C must have come into his possession. Thus Vossius had probably already given C to his uncle, and the manuscript was in Oxford, when Junius went, in August 1677, to stay at Vossius's house near Windsor, where, in November 1677, Junius died, aged eighty-eight.

## 2 Junius's Note on Fol. 1

Another piece of evidence, besides the transcription, of Junius's perusal of C is a note written in a column over to the right of the recto of fol. 1, the medieval binding-leaf that is preserved with C.<sup>12</sup> Wanley, who printed the note, identified it as Junius's work,<sup>13</sup> and having compared the hand of the note with that of the headings in Junius 45, I find no cause to question the identification. The note is as follows:

<sup>9</sup>For the biographical details I rely mainly on the entries for Junius and Vossius in *DNB*. K.A.De Meyier, *Codices Vossiani Latini*, 4 vols (Leiden, 1973-84), I, p.x, states that Vossius's library was sent after him from the Hague shortly after he moved to England.

<sup>10</sup>Thus, concerning another manuscript, Junius 27 (a psalter with glosses in Old English), given to Junius by Vossius, Ker, *Catalogue*, p.409, states that 'it belonged to Francis Junius in 1655 and previously to Isaac Voss'.

<sup>11</sup>Anthony A. Wood, *Athenae Oxoniensis*, facsimile of Philip Bliss's London edition of 1817, 4 vols (New York and London, 1967), III, col. 1140.

<sup>12</sup>For the binding-leaf, see below, p.23.

<sup>13</sup>Wanley, *Catalogus*, p.44.

Imperitia possessorum inscriptus fuit huius libelli titulus Pars psalterii rectius enim Homiliarum quam Psalterii partem dixeris. Accensendus etiam est alter sequens eiusdem formae libellus, similiter in charta membranacea conscriptus et materiam tractans poenitentialem. Talis est Dominica illa in quadragesima, quae occurrit huius opusculi pagina decima octava.

Junius substituted 'Homiliarum' for some other word which he so cancelled as to make it illegible: 'Homi' is added at the end of a line, 'liarum' is added above the cancelled word. The note is not neatly written, this being partly due, perhaps, to the difficulty of the worn surface of fol.1r, and it looks as if Junius might have spelt 'Home-' rather than 'Homiliarium'.

The first sentence of the note is most obviously intended to correct the medieval title,<sup>14</sup> 'pars psalterii greci', in the top left corner of the recto of fol.1, but at the tops of the rectos of fols 2 and 36 the words 'Pars psalterii saxonici' have been inscribed in a hand which Ker dates to 's.xvii', and, since the inscriptions would hardly have been entered after Junius had written the note, Junius must have been aware at least of the first of them. Whether or not these inscriptions were entered while C was in Vossius's possession or before is a point to which we will return (below, pp.36-7), but first the note itself, being one of the few scraps of evidence concerning the preservation of C, merits close attention.

I say above that Junius must have seen 'at least' the inscription on fol.2r, because it is likely that the note was written on that occasion when Junius made his transcription and when he seems not to have been aware of the continuation, on fol.36, of the text he was transcribing. The second person singular 'dixeris' in the first sentence of the note supports this view since it implies that Junius intended his information for someone in particular, which person may reasonably be supposed to have been Vossius, the owner of the manuscript. At first sight, the second sentence of the note seems to imply that Junius had seen the two volumes of C,<sup>15</sup> but closer consideration of the wording suggests otherwise. Junius describes the 'alter sequens...libellus' as being 'similiter in charta membranacea conscriptus'. The wording of the phrase does not make it clear

<sup>14</sup>Ker, *Catalogue*, p.411. For the medieval title, see below, pp.25ff.

<sup>15</sup>Healey, *OE Vision of St Paul*, p.16, assumed this was the case: '[Junius] wrote on fol.1 that this book (Junius 85) and the one following (Junius 86) form a collection of homilies "materiam tractans poenitentialem".'

whether writing or membrane is being compared, but if Junius were merely indicating a similarity in writing ('similiter...conscriptus'), he would hardly need to specify that the writing is on membrane leaf, and he is probably, therefore, referring, perhaps rather too concisely, to both writing and membrane. In neither particular, however, is this phrase appropriate to a description of the second volume of C in relation to the first. We have seen (above, pp.7-8) that the membrane of fols 42-81, that is of all but six of the leaves of the second volume, is distinguishable from that of all other leaves of C, and it will be seen (below, pp.43-4) that the writing on fols 42-81 is attributable to one hand, but that this hand is not readily to be identified as that responsible for any of the rest of the writing in C. The phrase does, however, suggest an alternative identification of the 'libellus'. We have seen (above, p.7 and fn.13) that the gatherings, fols 3-11 and 18-24, are of strikingly similar membrane, unlike that of any of the other leaves, and that these gatherings are apt to prompt comment. Moreover, it will be seen (below, pp.42-3) that the Anglo-Saxon writing on each of these two gatherings is as closely comparable and as distinctive as the quality of their membrane.<sup>16</sup> I think that the phrase, 'similiter in charta membranacea conscriptus', is meant to draw attention to both particulars, writing and membrane, of the similarity between the gatherings, fols 3-11 and 18-24. The phrase may be taken to be complementary to the preceding one, 'eiusdem formae'. The gathering, fols 12-17, intervenes between the two gatherings, and the gathering, fols 18-24, would then be indeed 'alter sequens', the 'second one following' the gathering, fols 3-11. The last phrase of the second sentence of the note describes the content of the 'libellus' as 'materiam tractans poenitentialem'. The gathering, fols 18-24, contains the whole of Homily 2, and, while it would not be an easy task to detect a passage in the texts of C that might seem to reflect a chapter or chapters of a Penitential, an impression of penitential material might at once be gained from the treatment of Lenten fasting in the opening of Homily 2, and from the mention of

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<sup>16</sup>It will emerge in the discussion of the hands of C that the hand of these two gatherings can be identified, with a good degree of confidence, with the hand of fols 42-81. But the contrast in the quality of membrane, between fols 3-11 on the one hand and fols 42-81 on the other, is matched by a contrast in the appearance of the writing, and the point does not disturb the present argument.

confession in the first sentence of the homily,<sup>17</sup> thus even from a look through the content of fol.18.

In the third sentence of the note Homily 2 is clearly identified. Not only does Junius cite the title (Homily 2 is the only homily in C to be provided with a title), but he also notes that it (i.e. 'Dominica illa in quadragesima', 'that "Sunday in Lent"') occurs 'pagina decima octava', that is, on the first leaf of the gathering, fols 18-24.<sup>18</sup> The opening of the third sentence, 'Talis est...'; is a difficulty in the reading of the note so far, because it seems to be selecting an example of, rather than supplying further identification of what has been described in the second sentence. But this is a minor difficulty, and one that diminishes if the note is regarded as being spontaneously written, perhaps while opening, to check detail, and closing, to write on fol.1, the leaves of the manuscript. Thus, in the second and third sentences of the note we may observe Junius selecting evidence which would readily provide support for the correction he offers in the first sentence, and which would be quickly appreciated by someone who was not, as Vossius was not, an Anglo-Saxonist.

In the first sentence there are two further difficulties with my reading of the note. The first is that, if I am right and the gathering, fols 18-24, is the 'libellus' of the second sentence, the gathering, fols 3-11, must be the 'libellus' referred to in the first sentence, but Junius regarded the 'titulus Pars psalterii', which appears on fols 1 and 2, as belonging to this 'libellus' and therefore must have regarded at least fol.2 as being part of it as well. The second difficulty concerns the word 'Homiliarum', which appears to be genitive plural of 'homilia', but which would read more easily if it meant 'homiliary', properly 'homiliarium', in which case there would be the suggestion that the 'libellus' of the first sentence is identical with the whole of the first volume of C. The reading as it stands, 'Homiliarum...partem', 'part of homilies' rather than 'parts of homilies', is an infelicitous reading, but it could describe fols 2-11, since the recto and verso of fol.2 contain respectively the end and beginning of homilies. Thus the two difficulties lock together and I propose that we allow the inaccuracy that fol.2 cannot be described along with fols3-11 and 18-24 as 'similiter in charta membranacea conscriptus'. It is inappropriate to be too exacting in the

<sup>17</sup>'...urum gastlicum scriftum geandettan', Homily 2, line .

<sup>18</sup>The title is in fact 'Dominica I in quadragesima'. Wanley, *Catalogus*, p.44, also omits 'I'.



interpretation of a note whose purpose is to indicate the nature of the content of **C**, not to give an accurate description of the manuscript. Nevertheless, although there is no way of clinching the argument, I believe it is safe to assume that Junius wrote the note when **C** was still in Vossius's possession, and that he saw only the first volume.

I believe it is scarcely less safe to assume that the note was written on the same occasion as the transcription was made, that is, some time between Junius's return to England in 1674 and his retirement in 1676, not a long period considering that Junius, by then an old man, was working in at least two libraries (the Cottonian and the Parker libraries: witness the two other transcriptions in Junius 45) with large holdings of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts. It is even reasonable to suppose, since to identify the nature of the first volume of **C** would have been the first thing Junius would have had to do, that on that occasion he wrote the note before he decided, having examined the content more closely, to make a transcription.

The alternative descriptions in the headings of the transcription, that the latter was taken from 'membranis' and from a 'codice', reflect the description to be inferred from the note, that the first volume of **C** is a coherent work, an 'opusculus' (see the last sentence of the note), but one that seems to be made up of 'libelli'. Translating the term 'libellus' as 'booklet', it is interesting to note that a modern scholar has perceived **C** as being made up of 'booklets'.<sup>19</sup>

### 3. The Press-marks 'C.29.' and 'F.29.'

The press-mark 'C.29.' is on fol.1, the medieval binding-leaf at the front of the first volume of **C**, and 'F.29' is on the first of two paper leaves at the front of the second volume.

The evidence provided by Junius 45 and Junius's note on fol.1 of **C** suggests that the two volumes of **C** were not together in Vossius's library after it had been moved to England. If, as Ker believed, the press-marks are Vossius's,<sup>20</sup> the appearance that they are not consecutive would seem to support the suggestion. Thus it might be thought that the letters refer to different shelves, and that it is coincidence that the numbers are the same. But it may be that the non-consecutive press-marks are not connected with Junius's having seen only the first volume of **C**.

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<sup>19</sup>P.R.Robinson, 'Self-Contained Units in Composite Manuscripts of the Anglo-Saxon Period', *ASE*, 7 (1978), 231-8 (p.238). The point is considered below. pp.72-3.

<sup>20</sup>Ker, *Catalogue*, p.411.

It may be that Vossius's extensive library, which is said to have been 'the finest private library in the whole world',<sup>21</sup> had not yet been organized after its removal to England in 1670, or after Vossius's subsequent move to Windsor in 1673. Thus, when the library had been sorted and the two volumes had been brought together again, Vossius gave Junius the whole of C. Some such account, disassociating the press-marks from the separation of the two volumes in Vossius's library, is required because of the possibility, of which I have been recently made aware, that the press-marks belong not to Vossius but to Paul Petau (1568-1614), a French collector of manuscripts who used marks of the same form as those in C.<sup>22</sup> To research the possibility that Petau played a part in the preservation of C would be no small task, and I can only here note briefly the circumstances of the possibility and offer some information that may or may not be pertinent.<sup>23</sup>

In 1650, while in the employ of Queen Christina of Sweden, Vossius bought on the queen's behalf the greater part of Petau's library from Alexandre Petau, Paul's son.<sup>24</sup> In 1654 Queen Christina's library was transported to Antwerp, where Vossius, with assistants, 'libros Petavianos a "non-Petavianos" separavit. Labore finito codices Romam misit; multos tamen eorum numero sibi adrogavit - utrum Christina ignara necne incertum est'.<sup>25</sup> After his death in 1689, Vossius's library was bought by Leiden university. De Meyeier's catalogue of the Leiden *Vossiani* includes an index of the Petau manuscripts showing Petau's marks.<sup>26</sup> From this index and a list of Petau's marks in classical Latin manuscripts at the Vatican,<sup>27</sup> it is apparent that Petau's system of marking employed all letters of the alphabet except I, U and W. The highest number is '79', with the next highest '59'. I cannot suggest what actual system the marks represent, but it is notable that the two '29's, 'B.29.' and 'E.29', in the lists are of very small size, smaller than C. Of eleven '28's in the lists, all are under 200mm. in height. There are five '30's,

<sup>21</sup>See the Vossius entry in *DNB*, p.395.

<sup>22</sup>The possibility was pointed out to me by Dr. Bruce Barker-Benfield of the department of Western Manuscripts at the Bodleian Library.

<sup>23</sup>Further research would begin with study of K.A.De Meyier, *Paul en Alexandre Petau en de Geschiedenis van hun Handschriften*, Dissertationes Inaugurales Betauae, 5 (Leiden,1947).

<sup>24</sup>De Meyier, *Codices Vossiani Latini*, I, p.x.

<sup>25</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>26</sup>*Ibid.*, IV, pp.60-63: this list does not show a point after the number, only after the capital letter, but the list in De Meyier, *Paul en Alexandre Petau*, pp.126-7, prints the marks with both points.

<sup>27</sup>E.Pellegrin, *Les Manuscrits Classiques Latins de la Bibliothèque Vaticane*, 4 vols (Paris, 1978), II.1, pp.520-1.

from 'B.30' at 190 x 140mm. to 'T.30' at 320 x 215mm. and 'Z.30' at 310 x 225. It may be that the numbers relate in some way to the size of the manuscripts.

C, a humble collection of homilies in Old English, looks out of place among the Latin manuscripts in the lists I have referred to, and, moreover, one wonders how Petau could have acquired C, when he seems, according to the entry in *Biographie Universelle*, never to have been in England. Paul Petau was cousin to a fellow bibliophile, Jacques Bongars (1546-1612), a diplomat, who, according to the entry in *Dictionnaire de Biographie Française*, was twice in England on political missions. The Petau entry in *La Grande Encyclopédie* notes that Petau 'avait partagé avec Bongars les épaves de la bibliothèque de l'abbaye de Saint-Benoit-sur-Loire': They bought the Fleury library from Pierre Daniel.<sup>28</sup>

It should be noted that the glossed psalter, Junius 27, given to Junius by Vossius by, according to Ker, 1655, bears a press-mark 'B.19'.<sup>29</sup> This mark is thus in the manner of Petau's, and it is not among those in the lists I have consulted. It has been noted above that Vossius was sorting out Petau manuscripts in 1654. Apart from the occurrence of comparable press-marks in C and Junius 27, I know of no support for Ker's statement that the press-marks in C are Vossius's.

As for the appearance of the press-marks in C, the figures '9' are formed differently, the 'F' is a curious form, with the vertical faint and looped at both ends and with two bold horizontals which the vertical bisects, and there is a faint horizontal mark in the middle of the otherwise bold letter 'C', giving a very slight suggestion that the letter has been altered to 'E'.

#### 4. The Present Binding

The first volume of C (MS 85) has two paper leaves, one at the beginning and one at the end. The second volume (MS 86) has two paper leaves at the beginning and one at the end. All except the first of MS 86 are blank.

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<sup>28</sup>Cp. M.B.Parkes, 'The manuscript of the Leiden Riddle', *ASE*, 1 (1972), 207-17 (pp.212-13, p.213, fn.1): Parkes notes the probable provenance of this Vossius manuscript from Fleury via Daniel from De Meyier, *Paul en Alexandre Petau*, p. 64.

<sup>29</sup>Ker, *Catalogue*, p.409; cp. above, p.12, fn.10.

The first paper leaf at the front of MS 86 has been pasted along its inner edge, which is ragged, on to the second, and is therefore not an integral part of the present binding. It is this first paper leaf that bears the press-mark 'F.29'. That this leaf belonged to an earlier stage of the binding is shown by the fact that its verso bears an off-set of writing from the recto of the first Anglo-Saxon leaf of MS 86, and of course the second paper leaf now intervenes.<sup>30</sup>

The front board of MS 85 is loose, attached to the spine covering but revealing the whole of the inner spine, and the paper leaf at the front of MS 85, glued into the spine, cannot be said to be an integral part of the present binding.

The paper leaf at the front of MS 85 and that bearing the press-mark 'F.29.' seem to be of different manufacture from the other paper leaves. In the latter, chain lines are from about 25mm. to about 28mm. apart, while the chain lines in the other two are about 30 or 31mm. apart. Thus recorded the difference seems not great, but in practice the difference is conspicuous. The detail does not serve to suggest how much earlier the first paper leaves in each volume are, but it does support the evidence of the off-set from fol.36r that the present binding includes remains of an earlier binding.<sup>31</sup> Another feature is similarly suggestive. Because the paper paste-downs on the insides of the boards cannot be held so that light shines through, chain lines are not visible, but the paper paste-down on the back board of MS 85 and that on the front board of MS 86 both have clearly visible watermarks of the same form, a two-fluked anchor in a circle. A great number of examples of anchor watermarks have been collected and illustrated by Vladimir Mošin.<sup>32</sup> The watermark is associated mainly with Venice, though it may have been used by other paper makers around the Adriatic. It has many variant forms, the most notable variations being in the top of the anchor and in additions on top of the circle. Unfortunately the watermarks in C's binding are so placed that the top of anchor and circle are lacking. However, the form of

<sup>30</sup>Healey, *OE Vision of St Paul*, p.8, observed 'some faint lettering' but did not identify it as being, as it certainly is, off-set from fol.36r.

<sup>31</sup>Too much weight cannot be given to the evidence of the chain lines. Thus E.G.Loeber, *Paper mould and Mouldmaker* (Amsterdam, 1982), p.22, comments that 'as a rule...chain wires were spaced at the same distance [within a mould], usually 24 to 26 millimetres, though exceptions to this rule were not infrequent'. But *cp. ibid.*, p.43: 'Although in the earliest European papers the - hardly visible - chain lines seem to be spaced from 40 to 50 millimetres, their distance normalizes in the course of the years to about one inch, or roughly 25 millimetres'.

<sup>32</sup>Vladimir Mošin, *Anchor Watermarks*, Monumenta Chartae Papyraceae Historiam Illustrantia, XII (Amsterdam, 1973).

the flukes places the watermarks of C's binding among examples most of which are dated to the middle decades of the sixteenth century. Some are as early as the later fifteenth century, but only one (and that not closely comparable to those in C's binding) is dated later than 1580.<sup>33</sup>

Thus it is possible that not only two of the paper leaves of the binding but also the boards belong to an earlier binding. Moreover, although all the boards are covered with the same dicoloured, greyish skin, both spines are covered with a different, finer, much whiter skin. In *Summary Catalogue*, C's binding is described as seventeenth century English work.<sup>34</sup> Of course, I am no expert to pronounce on these matters, but it does seem that this work is really repair work. What seems to me most remarkable is that the putative repairer troubled to preserve the paper leaf bearing the press-mark 'F.29.'

With further regard to the paper leaves, it is disturbing that the description in Ker, *Catalogue* (p.411) does not correspond to the reality. For MS 86 Ker noted two, not three, paper leaves, one at the beginning and one at the end. Since he noted the press-mark 'F.29.', and since the other two leaves are secured under strips of skin that edge the boards, it must be assumed that Ker saw MS 86 as it now is and the discrepancy is a mistake, though it is odd, too, that he recorded the final paper leaf as being included in the foliation of the whole manuscript as fol.82, and I see no trace of a number '82' on the leaf. For MS 85 Ker recorded only one paper leaf at the beginning. The paper leaf at the end of MS 85 is not attached to the board, but is pasted on to the inner edge of fol.35v, thereby obscuring some letters at the ends of lines. Junius transcribed complete lines from fol.35v and I am inclined to think that fol.35 was free of paper leaf when he made the transcription in Junius 45, though as an experienced Anglo-Saxonist he could probably have supplied obscured letters without difficulty. The obscured letters are indicated in my edition of Homily 3. It is a little curious that the obscured letters are not indicated as such in Fadda's edition of the Homily,<sup>35</sup> but is not believable that the paper leaf was stuck to the Anglo-Saxon leaf in recent years.

<sup>33</sup>The late example is *ibid.*, no. 1248, dated 1657. The other comparators are nos 346-1256, especially those with the better formed flukes among nos 346-434.

<sup>34</sup>*Summary Catalogue*, II.2, p.982.

<sup>35</sup>A.M. Luiselli Fadda, *Nuove Omilie Anglosassoni della Rinascenza Benedettina* (Florence, 1977), pp.23-5.

Two more details of the binding are to be noted. The spine of MS 85 has three raised bands, that of MS 86 has none. The Greek letters 'a' and 'b' are inscribed on the front covers of MSS 85 and 86 respectively, as Wanley noted.<sup>36</sup>

### 5. Foliation and Modern Additions

Incomplete foliation in MS.85 is perhaps associated with a stage of the modern binding. In the top right hand corners of the rectos of fols 2-4 the numbers 1-3 are inscribed in ink,<sup>37</sup> but they seem to belong to the series of folio numbers, 4-25, pencilled in the same position on fols 5-24. The pencilled numbers are very faint and are not visible on all folios. The absence of some numbers in the series is perhaps due to their having faded completely, or it may be that some numbers were never entered. The latter possibility is likely if fols 2ff. were foliated to ensure that the order in which they were found was preserved. The inking of the numbers 1-3 may have been for a similar reason, that is to ensure that fol.2 was retained in initial position. This fits in with my belief, noted in the previous section, that an earlier modern binding was repaired. Thus the pencilled numbers could belong to the earlier binding and the inked numbers 1-3 to the repair. This would not contradict a possibility that Junius was responsible for both the repair and the main foliation, since the inking can be assumed to have been done by Junius's binder, not by Junius himself.

The main foliation, entered in the lower right hand corners of rectos, I would attribute to Junius, who had included the medieval binding-leaf, fol.1, in his count of leaves when he wrote the note on fol.1. Thus Junius, when the whole manuscript came to him, could have made the foliation agree with the note, which counts Homily 2 as beginning 'pagina decima octaua'. The frequent retouching of writing throughout C I would also attribute to Junius. The retouching is carefully done and is usually accurate, so that rarely does it give cause for comment in the notes to my edition. That Junius was an accomplished writer of Anglo-Saxon script is clear from his transcriptions in Junius 45. He used his own version of Anglo-Saxon script, which he would tend to impose when retouching, and of course retouched writing has largely to be excluded from

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<sup>36</sup>Wanley, *Catalogus*, p.44.

<sup>37</sup>Noted Healey, *OE Vision of St Paul*, p.4.

consideration of the palaeography of C. But from the purely textual point of view the retouching is no great obstacle. To attribute the foliation and retouching of C to Junius's presumable study of the manuscript once it had come into his possession is, of course, merely to state a most likely possibility.

Other traces of modern study of C cannot so naturally be attributed to Junius, though some appear to be in the same black ink of the retouching. When the ink of what I take to be modern additions is not black it is greyish. The black ink of Junius's note on fol.1 has faded in places to grey, and Anglo-Saxon inks in C fade to brown, never to grey. The modern additions are as follows.

Hyphens are frequently added when a word is interrupted at the end of a line.

Some superscript letters are marked by means of a small inverted 'v', which is comparable to the form of insertion marker used by Junius in his transcription from C in Junius 45. The Anglo-Saxon insertion marker for superscript letters, when used, is a comma-like stroke. It is not certain in every case that the superscript letter and the inverted 'v' marker were added at once, but it is safer to assume that both letter and marker are modern. These superscripts are remarked in the notes to the text of my edition. They occur as follows: Homily 1, line 294; Homily 2, lines 58, 72, 168; Homily 3, lines 26, 70, 233; Homily 4, lines 189, 253, 266; Homily 5, line 224.

In Homily 5, faint vertical lines have been added before some proper names to indicate word division. These occur before 'pannanian' and 'arrea', line 5; before 'constantines' and 'iuliani', line 13; before 'ambinensus', line 48; before 'turna', line 148.

In Homily 2, at the beginning of some sentences, small Arabic numbers have been added superscript, presumably to mark off sections. The numbers occur as follows: '2' before 'wutod', line 8; '3' before 'Stunlice', line 22; '4' before 'Beoð', line 34; '5' before 'Of', line 49; '6' before 'God forgið', line 64; '7' before 'Ðu hiwast', line 85; '8' before 'Efne', line 102; '9' before 'Gif', line 114; '10' before 'We', line 131; '11' before 'Ðonne', line 164.

## 6. The Medieval Binding-leaves

Little can be said about the original content of the binding-leaf, fol.1. It can scarcely be ascertained that there was any writing on the recto. Enough writing on the verso is legible to identify the script as Caroline. Ker describes the content as 'part of a closely written early twelfth century liturgical text in Latin'.<sup>38</sup> The text has been identified as belonging to 'Masses for kings and abbots' and listed as 'Missal(?) (Fragment)' by S.J.P. Van Dijk, who gives the date with a double query.<sup>39</sup> Since the script is Caroline, Van Dijk probably had in mind the possibility of a date earlier rather than later than the twelfth century.<sup>40</sup> Because of the condition of the writing, the lack of positive identification of the text and the fact that the outer margins are cut (as Van Dijk notes), the original size of the leaf would be difficult to judge. Its present height as fol.1 was originally part of its width, with the writing running from bottom to top on the verso. It appears that the leaf had been ruled with a point rather too sharp, since the horizontal ruling can be seen either to have scored or later to have resulted in breaking of the surface of the membrane on the present verso.

We owe our knowledge of the existence of the second medieval binding-leaf to A.S. Napier, who, in 1886, transcribed its content, which he had recognized to be part of a copy of the Old English translation of Boethius's 'De Consolatione Philosophiae'.<sup>41</sup> By the time Sedgefield came to assemble material for his edition of the Old English *Boethius*, which was published in 1899, the leaf was lost. In the introduction to his edition, Sedgefield wrote that 'some years ago [the leaf] was taken out and bound separately, but it has since been mislaid, so that the present editor has not been able to see it'.<sup>42</sup> Ker states that the leaf 'is not now to be found'.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>38</sup>Ker, *Catalogue*, p.411.

<sup>39</sup>S.J.P. Van Dijk, *Handlist of the Latin Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford*, Typescript, 5, p.157. I take the reference from Healey, *OE Vision of St Paul*, because I have seen only a photo-copy of the page from the *Handlist*.

<sup>40</sup>N.R. Ker, *English Manuscripts in the Century after the Norman Conquest. The Lyell Lectures 1952-3* (Oxford, 1960), p.2, comments that 'about 1170...English writing and illumination cease to be essentially Caroline and Romanesque and become essentially Gothic'. The manuscript from which fol.1 was taken was not necessarily of English origin, of course.

<sup>41</sup>A.S. Napier, 'Bruchstück einer altenglischen Boetiushandschrift', *Zeitschrift für deutsche Alterthum und deutsche Litteratur*, 31 (1887), 52-4. The binding-leaf is Ker, *Catalogue*, no.337, p.411, the entry being based on Napier's article.

<sup>42</sup>W.J. Sedgefield, ed., *King Alfred's Old English Version of Boethius' "De Consolatione Philosophiae"* (Oxford, 1899), p.xvi.

<sup>43</sup>Ker, *Catalogue*, p.411.



In a paragraph introducing his printed transcription, Napier gives his opinion that the text was written by a hand of the first half of the tenth century.<sup>44</sup> He notes that the leaf was the last of MS 86. From the lacuna in the text between recto and verso it is clear that the leaf had been cut from one larger, whose size Napier gives as 'klein folio'.<sup>45</sup> He estimated that there were originally c.38 written lines on each side, and marks off sixteen lines in the printed transcription of the original verso. Judging by the length of the written lines, which were evidently complete, the lost leaf, like fol.1, was placed sideways in the binding of C. On the condition of the lost leaf, Napier remarked that the writing was much faded ('verblasst') and that the membrane was perforated ('durchlochert') in places, with the holes causing loss of letters.

On the placing of the lost leaf Napier wrote: 'dieses blatt, welches augenscheinlich früher als einband gedient hat, ist erst vom buchbinder an die jetzige stelle gebracht worden'. The evidence for the use of the leaf 'als einband' is presumably that it had been cut to fit C, and we may reasonably assume (with Sedgefield, who translates Napier: 'This leaf, which evidently has been used previously in the binding...'<sup>46</sup>) that Napier did not intend to question the likelihood that the leaf belonged with C before the manuscript was bound into two volumes. I can only think that Napier remarked that the leaf was first placed in its present position by the binder because it was, in fact, the last membrane leaf of MS 85, not of MS 86 as Napier recorded. This would explain how the last paper leaf of MS 85 came to be stuck to fol.35. There is no sign of the removal of the lost leaf at the end of MS 86, but that is to be expected, perhaps, since the paper leaf would possibly have been re-stuck to fol.81 after the removal. However, I do not think there is cause to doubt that the lost leaf belonged, with fol.1, to a medieval binding of C. An indication that it followed fol.81 is that fol.81 has small holes in it, and these may correspond to the perforations noted by Napier. The holes are too small to cause loss of letters on fol.81, but on the lost leaf the letters may have been smaller and the holes bigger.

The correspondence of some brown stains on fols 35v and 36r shows that the tops of the leaves of MS 86, which are slightly smaller than those of MS 85, were aligned with the tops of the leaves of MS 85 when C was in its medieval binding.

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<sup>44</sup>Napier, 'Bruchstück', p.52.

<sup>45</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>46</sup>Sedgefield, *King Alfred's Old English Version of Boethius*, p.xvi.

### 7. The Title 'pars psalterii greci'

In the top left hand corner of fol.1, extending about half way across the page, the title 'pars psalterii greci' is boldly written in a formal script. The writing is only a little faded in places. The title includes no capital letters; '-er-' of 'psalterii' and '-re-' of 'greci' are represented by abbreviation marks. In order the better to assess the significance of the title, I attempt to gain a more positive notion of its date than that afforded by Ker's dating, 's.xiii?'<sup>47</sup>

It has been noted above (p.23) that the Caroline script of the original content of fol.1 was written probably no later than the early twelfth century date given by Ker. The title, therefore, was probably written some time during the twelfth century or later. The palaeographical indications of the title are that Ker did not have a possible fourteenth-century date in mind, but rather that he could not rule out a date earlier than the thirteenth century. Simply, the script of the title is not of a fully developed Gothic style, but rather exhibits two of the four features identified by Ker as being characteristic of the English transition from the Caroline to the Gothic style.<sup>48</sup> These features will be noted in the course of the following assessment of the script of the title.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>47</sup>Ker, *Catalogue*, p.411. The section in *ibid.*, pp.xx-xxi, where Ker sets out his method of dating, does not cover the use of the question mark. It is, of course, to be appreciated that it would be rash to date so small a sample of script as the title provides to within the half-century limits outside which Ker hoped his dating method would not err. I must admit to a slight suspicion that the title is a forgery, intended by some post-Reformation dealer to fool a naive collector, but my examination of the letter forms tends to dispel the suspicion, and I treat the title as genuine.

<sup>48</sup>Ker, *English Manuscripts*, pp.35-7. For a brief overview of the Gothic style of script, see E.A. Lowe, *Handwriting. Our Medieval Legacy* (Rome, 1969), pp.33-5. Bischoff, *Latin Palaeography*, pp.127-36, provides a concise, detailed analysis of Gothic script and its development, from eleventh-century beginnings in Northern France and Belgium, throughout Europe. (Cp. Bischoff, 'La Nomenclature des Écritures Livresques du IXe au XIIe Siècle' in *Nomenclature des Écritures Livresques du IXe au XVIe Siècle*, ed. B. Bischoff, G.I. Lieftinck and G. Battelli (Paris, 1954), p.11: 'L'élan décisif, par lequel l'écriture se transforme dans une direction nouvelle, vers la gothique, vient selon toute vraisemblance du Nord de la France ou de du royaume anglo-normand'. See also *ibid.*, pp.7-8, for comment on the use of the term 'caroline miniscule'.) N. Denholm-Young, *Handwriting in England and Wales* (Cardiff, 1954), pp.26-8, gives a brief but informative view of the script from an English perspective.

<sup>49</sup>As well as Ker, *English Manuscripts*, principal works consulted are S. Harrison Thomson, *Latin Bookhands of the Later Middle Ages, 1100-1500* (Cambridge, 1969), Andrew G. Watson, *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts, c.700-1600, in the Department of Manuscripts, the British Library*, 2 vols (London, 1979) and P.R. Robinson, *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts, c. 737-1600, in Cambridge Libraries* (Cambridge, 1988). Examples from Robinson's catalogue, and one from Thomson's, are referred to in the text by author's name along with plate number, and place and date are noted as given in the catalogue.

pars psalterii greci

p The descenders of both examples begin at an angle of forty-five degrees; that of the first ends with a horizontal foot to the right. The bow is a single curved stroke, rather high in 'pars', completed on the line by an horizontal stroke, which the descender bisects. This horizontal stroke does not figure in any of Ker's examples in *English Manuscripts*, but a horizontal stroke crosses the descender in Robinson, plate 40, an early twelfth-century manuscript written in Canterbury by Eadmer. The projection of the stroke to the left of the descender may be an attempt to impart a monumental air to the title. I find no comparably exaggerated example in letters p that are not *littera notabilior*. The feature may be considered a Gothic one, since it facilitates the combination of opposing curves (see Thomson, plate 91, 'written probably at Ely, 1247'), although this propensity is not always exploited (see Robinson, plate 107, St. Albans, mid-thirteenth century). The foot which terminates the descender is comparable to the 'horizontal or slightly sloping angular foot', used to finish 'a vertical stroke', which is noted by Ker to be a feature of the mid-twelfth-century English script.<sup>50</sup> s of 'psalterii' has a similarly formed foot terminating the ascender on the line, and this feature will be looked at again under that letter.

a The head of the second a is cramped beneath the head of preceding s; the first a is fully formed and clear and is of the 'trailing-headed' kind which Ker identifies as a feature of change in formal scripts of the twelfth century.<sup>51</sup> Here the a is erect, with the bow somewhat flattened. The curving head stroke encloses an area about equal in size to the total area of the bow, with its 'trailing' end begun just above the level of the juncture of the top of the bow with the back of the letter.

According to Ker, the trailing-headed a developed from the high a 'very commonly' used initially in eleventh-century script, and was emerging as a new form by the time of the *Rouleau Mortuaire*, which contains *tituli* written in France and England in the year 1122.<sup>52</sup> Of a total of two hundred and forty-eight entries in the *Rouleau*, seventy-three of which are from England, I

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<sup>50</sup>Ker, *English Manuscripts*, p.37.

<sup>51</sup>*Ibid.*, p.36.

<sup>52</sup>*Ibid.* For the *Rouleau Mortuaire*, see *ibid.*, pp.16 and 34: the manuscript is available in facsimile edition, Léopold Delisle, ed., *Rouleau Mortuaire du B. Vital, Abbé de Savigni* (Paris, 1909).

count eighteen from England that exhibit the feature. Though few, these entries are widely distributed throughout England. There are two French entries that exhibit the feature (nos 49 and 178). The example from the *Rouleau* given by Ker (*English Manuscripts*, plate 15a) is from Ely, and the feature may be observed in a later manuscript from there, dated 'after 1147' (Robinson, plate 62), and in English manuscripts throughout the remainder of the twelfth century (Robinson, plate 63, Canterbury, 1145 x 1170, to plate 99, 'London?', before 1201?). The trailing-headed **a** is yet to be observed in three St. Albans manuscripts of the middle of the thirteenth century (Robinson, plates 106-108). In one of these (plate 107), the tendency for the trailing head to close on the bow may be seen to be well advanced. Trailing-headed **a** seems to have been used in French writing of the latter part of the twelfth century (Robinson, plates 69-79).

**s** Medial **s** in 'psalterii' is unusual in that the ascender is a simple stroke, lacking the fin-like projection which otherwise seems to be obligatory at all periods for high **s** in formal scripts.<sup>53</sup> The head is a simple broad stroke at forty-five degrees to the top of the ascender, which is short, causing cramping of the head of following **a**. The foot is a bold, horn-shaped projection to the right of the ascender on the line, better formed than that which is appended to the right of the descender of **p**. This feature Ker thought may have been an archaism in the *Rouleau Mortuaire* of 1122,<sup>54</sup> but is to be observed again in manuscripts of the later twelfth century (e.g. Robinson, plate 98, 'Englad, before 1199'). The feature is also to be observed in French manuscripts (e.g. Robinson, plate 69, 'Paris?', 1164 x 1170).

Final **s** of 'pars' is round, with the top two strokes making a circle that is interrupted by the bellying first stroke of the bottom half, which is completed by a horizontal tilde-like stroke.

**l** The shortness of the ascender of **s** in 'psalterii' is matched in the ascender of **l**, which barely rises above the top of the preceding **a**. The shortness of the ascenders may be considered a Gothic feature, inasmuch as it indicates a move away from a four-line script.

<sup>53</sup>But see Thomson, plate 92, where a 'broken-backed' **s** used at St. Albans by Matthew Paris is sometimes written with a plain straight ascender by one of his assistants. The bottom of the descender is turned to the right. The date of the manuscript is given as 1259.

<sup>54</sup>Ker, *English Manuscripts*, p.37.

g The tail seems distinctive, being a horizontal <sup>l</sup> <sub>^</sub> tide-like stroke, extending for about one third of its length beyond the round head. No hair-stroke is visible connecting the end of the tail back to the head. This style of tail should probably be considered a Gothic feature (e.g. Robinson, plate 125, Peterborough, 1295x1299), but a similar horizontal tail may be observed in earlier manuscripts (Robinson, plate 67, Canterbury, c.1155 and plate 95, Winchester, 1192 x 1198).

Other letters are unremarkable, except that final i of 'psalterii' is extended below the line and curves away to the left, while i in 'greci' has been provided with a foot like those of p and s noted above. The two abbreviation marks are horizontal strokes, with hair strokes at either end. This mark Ker describes as an 'innovation' (taking the place of 'a wavy or cup-shaped stroke') in a Canterbury episcopal profession of 1174.<sup>55</sup>

Generally the script of the title is curved, with no positive sign of Gothic fracture, the only angularity being in the feet of p and s.

The palaeographical evidence thus indicates, most particularly because of the trailing-headed a, that the title was written some time during the lengthy period of the development towards the Gothic style. Recalling that the abbreviation marks indicate a date not much earlier than the last quarter of the twelfth century, and giving full weight to Ker's impression of a possible thirteenth-century date (an impression probably due to such Gothic characteristics as the shortness of the ascenders), I suggest a date for the writing of the title before the middle of the thirteenth century, perhaps as early as the latter part of the twelfth century.

The script of the title appears to have been executed by an inexperienced scribe. The cramped a in 'psalterii' is one indicator of inexperience. Another is the contrast between the care with which 'pars' seems to have been written and the failure to maintain an even line for the rest of the lettering. Further, on the execution of trailing-headed a, Ker remarks that 'in practice the new form was difficult to make without raising the a above the general level of the letters: to do this successfully is the mark of a skilled scribe'.<sup>56</sup> The a of 'pars' rises above the level of the bow of p (though the top of r is on a level with that of the a) and a of 'psalterii' rises higher than any

<sup>55</sup>*Ibid.* Ker, *ibid.*, p.39, lists the straight abbreviation mark as one of the 'principal developments of the formal book-hand' at the end of the twelfth century.

<sup>56</sup>*Ibid.*, p.36.

other letter in the word that is not an ascender. It may be noted, in the same connection, that the horizontal abbreviation marks in fact slope slightly down to the right.

### 8. A series of Jottings

For those of the following jottings which he cites, namely 'gaude prole...exultet' on fol.20v and the names on fols 20v and 43v, Ker gives the date 's.xii/xiii'.<sup>57</sup>

At the foot of fols 20v and 21r, but written the opposite way to the main text, that is, with the Anglo-Saxon manuscript upside down, is the following:<sup>58</sup>

fol.21r 'depronite', to the left of centre of the inverted page;

'depronite domino sede [?a]', in the right hand corner of the inverted page;

fol.20v 'gaude prole grecias glorietur gaullia patre dyonisio exultet', in one line across the top of the inverted page. 'gaude...exultet' has been identified by Ker as the incipit of a hymn for St. Denis.<sup>59</sup>

Written along the inner edge of the page, with the manuscript turned sideways, and the writing descending to above the middle of the page:

fol. 20v 'odo de moteroil', followed by a cross-shaped mark; below this, a little further out from the gutter, is a smudged, illegible jotting;

fol.21r 'decid[::]' is written in the inner margin, about centre page, with the manuscript the right way up;

'd[?icit] dominus', immediately below the preceding; 'dns' lacks its abbreviation mark.

Fol.24v of the Anglo-Saxon manuscript is blank. To the right of the hole in the top half of the leaf, the following is written in one line:

fol.24v 'Domine ne in furore tuo arg[u]' Capital 'D' is ornamented with surrounding wavy lines and two single curls, top and bottom, within the bow; 'f' in 'furore' has been altered from't'; only the first minim of 'u' at the end of the line seems to have been written, though there is at least one letter space between preceding 'g' and the present gutter. 'Domine...arguas me' is the incipit of the sixth Psalm.

<sup>57</sup>Ker, *Catalogue*, pp.410 and 411.

<sup>58</sup>Expanded abbreviations in the jottings are indicated by underlining.

<sup>59</sup>*Ibid.*, p.410.

'decidit' is written at the foot of the page, much smaller than the preceding, and with the manuscript upside down.

Fol.30r 'Scritor sum talis' is written, with the manuscript turned sideways and more neatly than other jottings, along the inner edge of the page, the writing running from top to bottom.

Fol.36v 'gaudia monda' is written at the very top of the page;

'am' and two'a's are scribbled between the lines of the OE text.<sup>60</sup>

Fol.43v 'teobaldus ade de richebor', followed by a cross-shaped mark, is written in two lines in the top right hand corner of the page; a few of the letters are partly off-set on fol.44r.

Fol.44v 'decid. omnia vincit amor et nos cedamus amori' is written in one line across the top of the page, with the following written smaller below: 'om on omnia' and 'omnia [four minims with abbreviation mark]cit'. 'Omnia...amori' is line 69 of the tenth Eclogue of Virgil's *Bucolicon*;

'decidit' is written near the the top of the left hand margin, with the following below, in descending order:

'decidit interdum' in two lines, with 'dum' repeated below;

'dum dominus deus', with 'deus' twice below;

's.p. amor uincit omnia et nos cedamus amori' in four lines, the first three of which intrude between two lines of the OE text;

'sermo conuincio deorum no[?]' in four lines; '...nuin...' is written as four minims with abbreviation mark over the last one; letters after 'no' are a mere scrawl.

Fol.45r 'amor' and 'amo' are written in the left-hand margin.

Fol.61r 'decidit' is written in the top margin, with some off-set on fol.60v.

None of these jottings can be said to relate in any way to the OE text.

The jottings have been described in the heading of the present section as a series chiefly because they all appear certainly to have been written by the same hand. Palaeographically the hand is difficult, because it writes casually. It may reasonably be described as a personal hand (considering that the jottings can hardly have been intended to be read by anyone else) based on a

<sup>60</sup>Fadda, *Nuove omelie*, p.25, in her edition of Homily 3, notes the scribbled 'am', but reads it as 'don'.

formal script rather than on a cursive script, although it exhibits at least one cursive feature, namely the continuation below the line and curve to the left of high s.<sup>61</sup> Minims are usually sharply pointed at the top, with a long leading stroke, but less pointed or rounded at the bottom; minims are sometimes not turned on the line at all; in 'conuincio' on fol.44v the minims are written currently, that is, the pen is not lifted between strokes. Tops of ascenders are sometimes treated similarly to the tops of minims, but are sometimes plain. The hand employs round d, of varying length, and without the reverse curve of cursive scripts. Some letter forms exhibit features which make the hand comparable to the script of the title on fol.1. It should be stated at once that it cannot be said that the same scribe wrote both title and jottings. First there are the practical difficulties of having in the title only a small sample of script and of comparing samples executed in different manners. Then there is the point that, while the hand of the title appears to be that of an inexperienced scribe, what I have described as a personal hand may be assumed to belong to a scribe with considerable writing experience, a point underlined by the fact that the writing of the jottings is for the most part readily legible, even though it is written small, with minim height never exceeding 2mm. However, this does not exclude the possibility that the same scribe wrote both the jottings and the title, since the latter could have been written earlier in the scribe's life than the former. Ker's datings are not necessarily an obstacle here, since a late twelfth-century date cannot be ruled out for the script of the title, and Ker's date for the jottings is 's.xii/xiii. Whatever the case, the palaeographical features which the jottings and the title have in common must be noted, and it is convenient to select for description here those letters whose forms in the title have already been described and discussed in the preceding section. The letter forms of the jottings are taken in the same order as those of the title.

p As in the title, the descender is begun at an angle of forty-five degrees, and, more significantly, the bow is completed on the line by a horizontal stroke which crosses the

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<sup>61</sup>For this and other features of the cursive style as it had developed by the middle of the thirteenth century, see M.B. Parkes, *English Cursive Book-hands, 1250-1500* (Oxford, 1969), pp.xiv-xv, and *cp.* Bischoff, *Latin Palaeography*, pp.137-8. Curved long s is a feature of most of the twelfth-century examples of the developing cursive style in T.A.M. Bishop, *Scriptores Regis. Facsimiles to identify and illustrate the hands of royal scribes in original charters of Henry I, Stephen and Henry II* (Oxford, 1961).



descender. This feature is clearest in the first 'prole' on fol.20v. In the first 'depronite' on fol.21r, the stroke is angled down to the right.

**a** The shaft is usually written at an angle, but is occasionally erect. The head is pointed, not curved as in the title, but the leading stroke usually overhangs the bow, giving the letter the 'trailing-headed' appearance which is a feature of the script of the title. In 'amor' and 'amo' on fol.45v, **a** is written with an ascender and a long leading stroke which extends well beyond the bow.

**s** The curved long **s**, reminiscent of the cursive form of the letter, has already been noted, but in 'dominus' on fol.44v the ascender is a plain straight stroke, turned up at an angle of forty-five degrees on the line, and the form is thus comparable to the **s** of 'psalterii' in the title.

**l** Ascenders are rather long, not conspicuously short as in the title.

**g** Perhaps the most marked feature of the hand is the tail of **g**. This is a plain horizontal stroke which extends well beyond the head of the letter, and is thus comparable to the form in the title.

The usual abbreviation mark is a single straight stroke, but is wavy for 'Domine' on fol. 24v and is cup-shaped for the first 'cedamus' on fol.45v.<sup>62</sup> For 'um' of 'deorum' on fol.45v, the foot of 2-shaped **r** is crossed. For 'us' of 'teobaldus' on fol.43v, the mark like an open, round figure '9' is used.

The palaeographical features common to the title and the jottings, then, are the horizontal stroke in **p**, the trailing-headed **a**, and the extended horizontal tail of **g**. Little weight can be given to the single example in the jottings of a high **s** with a plain ascender.

The incipit of the hymn for St.Denis on fol.20v varies from printed texts, which have 'Graecia' for 'grecias' and 'Gallia' for 'gaullia'.<sup>63</sup> 'Exultet' is the first word of the second sentence of the hymn.<sup>64</sup> The hymn was composed by Adam of St.Victor. Adam's dates, according to the

<sup>62</sup>For the continued use at the end of the twelfth century of the wavy and cupped abbreviation marks beside the straight one, see Ker, *English Manuscripts*, pp.38-9.

<sup>63</sup>Ulysse Chevalier, *Repertorium Hymnologicum*, 6 vols (Louvain, 1892-1921), I,423, gives the incipit as far as 'Dionysio'. Full texts are in Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 196, cols 1521-3, Joseph Kehrein, *Lateinische Sequenzen des Mittelalters aus Handschriften und Drucken* (Mainz, 1873), pp.374-5 and Léon Gautier, *Oeuvres Poétiques d'Adam de Saint-Victor. Texte Critique* (Paris, 1894).

<sup>64</sup>'exultet' is spelt 'exsultet' in Migne and Gautier.

*New Catholic Encyclopaedia*, are c.1110-1180, and we may be quite sure, therefore, that the jottings were not written at any time early in the twelfth century. One may note the coincidence that the jotting refers to the people of Greece while the title on fol.1 refers to a Greek psalter: there is the slightest of suggestions here that the writer of the jottings was working with the putative Greek psalter when the hymn occurred to him. That the jotting on fol.24v is the incipit of a psalm scarcely supports the suggestion.

The line from Virgil on fol.44v is the source of the motto on the prioress's brooch in the General Prologue to Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*.<sup>65</sup> The word order is changed in the motto, which appears in Chaucer as 'Amor vincit omnia'. In the fact that the writer of the jottings quotes the whole line, not simply the motto, and quotes it correctly, is a slight suggestion that he may have been at least somewhat a scholar.

A concordance search shows that those jottings for which no source has been noted above seem not to be Biblical. To re-cap, these are as follows: on fol.21r, 'depronite domino sede'; the repeated 'decidit' seems to belong to a clause which, when re-assembled from jottings on fol.44v, seems to read 'decidit interdum dominus deus'; on fol.44v, 'sermo conuincio deorum'. In the last, 'conuincio' does not seem to be a genuine Latin verb and I can offer no conjecture for the scrawled word, beginning 'no...', which follows 'deorum'.

The names on fols 20v and 43v are of interest especially because they include place-names. The second, 'teobaldus ade de richebor', prompted the comment in *Summary Catalogue* (where the place-name is given as 'Richeborg') that the place indicated is 'no doubt' Richborough in Kent. Healey likewise considers that the place-name is an indication of Kentish provenance for C.<sup>66</sup> However, 'Richborough' is a late form of the place-name. In 1197, about the time of the jottings, the name is recorded as 'Ratteburg', and the name seems to have persisted in similar forms through the fourteenth century ('Retesbrough') and at least until the mid-fifteenth century ('Ratb(o)urgh').<sup>67</sup> A search through the volumes of the English Place-Name Society reveals no

<sup>65</sup>Larry D. Benson, ed., *The Riverside Chaucer*, third edition (Boston, Mass., 1987), p.26, line 162.

<sup>66</sup>*Summary Catalogue*, II.2, p.983; Healey, *OE Vision of St. Paul*, pp.16 and 18.

<sup>67</sup>J.K. Wallenberg, *The Place-names of Kent* (Uppsala, 1934), pp.531-2; Wallenberg's earliest instance of the form with the element 'Rich' is from the year 1509. See also Eilert Ekwall, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names*, fourth edition (Oxford, 1960), and

name that is similar to 'richebor', although both 'riche' and 'bor' are to be found as English place-name elements.<sup>68</sup> 'ade' appears to be a form of the surname 'Adam', 'which is found in [Domesday Book and is] common thereafter'.<sup>69</sup> The name on fol.20v is 'odo de moteroil', and again there is no similar place-name in the volumes of the English Place-Name Society, although the elements, if 'roil' is taken to be a form of 'roial', are to be found in English place-names.<sup>70</sup> The first element, 'mote', could be the same as the OE element 'mot' (meaning either an 'assembly' or a 'river-confluence'), but, in conjunction with the Old French element 'roil', is more likely to be the Old French or Middle English element 'mote' (meaning 'embankment' and 'moat' respectively).<sup>71</sup> I think there must be doubt as to whether either of the place-names, 'richebor' and 'moteroil', are in fact English. The second especially could as well be French. It may not be too fanciful to suggest that the thoughts of the writer of the jottings had turned to France when he remembered (or perhaps he was working with) the hymn for St. Denis, the French patron saint.<sup>72</sup> Assuming, that is, that C was still in England.

### 9. Other Jottings or Pen Trials

On fol.24r, 'legem', begun hard up to the present gutter, is written in the next blank line below the end of Homily 2. The 'l' is like a long, thin Roman numeral 'I'. The 'e's and the round-headed Caroline 'g' are not well formed; for example, in the latter the tail stroke misses the stroke connecting tail and head. The minims of 'm' are better formed, and get progressively thicker.

The appearance of the writing, from the spidery 'l' through to the final bold minim, suggests that the word was written as a pen trial. Despite its position relative to the OE text, the fact that there

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G.M.Livett, 'Ecclesiastical History, Part 1', in William Page, ed., *The Victoria County History of Kent*, 3 vols (London, 1926), II.4.

<sup>68</sup>See A.H.Smith, *English Place-Name Elements*, English Place-Name Society, 25 and 26 (Cambridge, 1956), under 'ric' and possibly 'risc', and under 'bor'.

<sup>69</sup>P.H.Reaney, *A Dictionary of British Surnames*, second edition, with corrections and additions by R.M.Wilson (London and Boston, 1967).

<sup>70</sup>Smith, *English Place-Name Elements*, under 'mot' and 'roial'.

<sup>71</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>72</sup>However, David Hugh Farmer, *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints* (Oxford, 1978), p.106, remarks that 'the cult of Denys, bishop of Paris ... resulted in England in the dedication of no fewer than 41 ancient churches in his honour. Four Benedictine abbeys kept his translation feast, including Wilton.' The dedications are discussed in Florence Arnold Forster, *Studies in Church Dedications or England's Patron Saints*, 3 vols (London, 1899), II, 474-483, and listed *ibid.*, III, 351.

is only one word makes it unlikely that a text had begun to be copied and then abandoned. Palaeographically there is nothing to suggest that the word was not written roughly contemporarily with the main texts. However, the letter 'g' is unlike Caroline g found in the main texts, where the first stroke of the head and the connecting stroke appear to be written at once (e.g. 'ignem', fol. 23v, line 5). Between lines at the end of Homily 2, a few neum-like marks are drawn in the same brown ink as that of 'legem', and are therefore likely to be part of the same pen trial. Their position relative to the OE text is noted in the commentary to Homily 2, lines 182-3.

On fol. 24v 'anima' is written in the top left-hand corner of the page, in darker ink than that of 'legem'. Minims are rounded; the 'a's are too damaged for comment.

In three lines in the top half of fol. 81v, the incipit of the first Psalm is written. Where the writing is illegible, due to fading or damage, and where the text varies from the Vulgate, Vulgate readings are supplied in square brackets: 'Beatus uir qui non ha[Vulgate 'abiit'] in consilio impio[rum] et in uia peccarum [Vulgate 'peccatorum'] non stetit et [in] cath[edra]'. The script is a Caroline miniscule.

Below the preceding, in a single line, are written the letters of the alphabet, through to 'stux'. The letters are rather faded and damage has caused the loss of 'hikl'. The script may be described as Caroline miniscule, except that the 'd' is round (round d is short). Below the alphabet are two capitals 'B's, of the same form as that in 'Beatus' above, that is erect, with a small upper and a bellying lower bow.

## 10. Conclusion

One piece of evidence relating to the preservation history of C, the twin inscriptions 'Pars psalterii saxonici' on the rectos of fols 2 and 36, has not yet been considered. The inscriptions are identical in appearance and there need be no doubt that they were written by the same hand, and, with almost equal certainty, on the same occasion. Ker dates the hand to 's.xvii'.<sup>73</sup> The inscription on fol. 36r has been cancelled by means of a single line, perhaps by Junius or perhaps by Vossius when the latter had read Junius's note on fol. 1r. The note, which is likely to have

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<sup>73</sup>Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 411.

been written on Junius's first acquaintance with C (as I conclude in section 2, above, p.16), proves that Junius was not responsible for the inscriptions; but that an Anglo-Saxonist could have made the error could hardly have been entertained as a possibility anyway. When in the note, which I have taken to have been intended for Vossius's attention (above, pp.13 and 15), Junius says 'rectius enim Homiliarum quam Psalterii partem dixeris', there is the suggestion that Junius thought Vossius might have written the inscriptions. However, if this is the implication, Junius may have been unjust to attribute such an error to the renowned scholar Vossius. A comparison with known examples of Vossius's hand might resolve the point.<sup>74</sup> However, even if, on the one hand, it could be shown that Vossius himself did not write the inscriptions, there would still be the possibility that he was responsible for them through the agency of an assistant, and if, on the other hand, it could be shown that Vossius did write the inscriptions, he could have done so at any time while C was in his possession, and it could not then be said that they indicate that Vossius was responsible for the division of C. All that can be said here is that the inscriptions could have been entered at any time between the occasions of C's binding into two volumes and of Junius's writing his note.

The question to which one seeks an answer is, of course, how did Vossius acquire C? Had he come by the manuscript after his move to England in 1670, or when, before his employment with Queen Christina of Sweden, 'he is said ... even to have crossed over into England in his quest of manuscripts'?<sup>75</sup> But the only evidence providing a possible answer to the question, the press-marks considered in section 3 of this chapter, suggests that Vossius did not acquire C in England at all, but rather that he acquired the manuscript, via Queen Christina's library, from the collection of Paul Petau.

In section 4 of the present chapter, we saw that one of the press-marks is on a paper leaf that, judging by its off-set from fol.36r and by the fact that it has been pasted on to another paper leaf, seems to have been preserved from an earlier stage of the binding. That the paper of this leaf, and of the first leaf in MS 85, is of a different manufacture from that of other paper leaves in the binding is a further indication that the present binding is a repair of an earlier one. The full

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<sup>74</sup>Letters and notes in the Bodleian, written by Vossius, may be located by means of the Vossius entry in the index volume of *Summary Catalogue* (vol.VII).

<sup>75</sup>*DNB* (Vossius entry, p.393).

extent of the repair I cannot say, though it might be ascertained by an expert. Unfortunately, the evidence of manufacture of the paper leaves, the spacing of chain lines, cannot be observed in the paper lining the boards, and it cannot be said that the earlier paper leaves belong to the same stage of binding as the boards, that is, to probably the earliest stage of the present binding. The boards themselves at least might be expected to be retained from the binding undergoing repair, and even if their covering had been replaced, paper pasted on their inside would not be easily removed. On two of the boards, the paper bears probably Venetian anchor watermarks, which appear to be of a style that was not used after about 1580, and the two boards may, therefore, belong to C's earliest post-medieval binding. Since one of the two boards belongs to MS 85 and the other to MS 86, and the two volumes are of different size, it is likely that the binding to which the boards with the watermarks belong was also the binding into two volumes. It seems reasonable to postulate that the binding underwent only one repair, and consequently that the earlier paper leaves (including that with the off-set from fol.36r) belong with the paper lining the boards. Since the spine coverings are of different skin from the board coverings, which are of uniform appearance, it is likely that the board coverings, too, are pre-repair and contemporary with the watermarks. My view of the binding has to be set against the *Summary Catalogue* entry, where the bindings are described as English work of the seventeenth century.<sup>76</sup>

The date of the watermarks would suggest a date of the binding perhaps a little earlier than the time when Paul Petau, who lived from 1568 to 1614, was collecting manuscripts, but the possible connection with Petau depends on the press-marks, not on the binding, and of course the press-marks could have been entered at any time between the occasions of the two-volume binding and of the repair of that binding.

With the possibility that Petau had owned C comes the possibility, not only that the manuscript was in France at about the end of the sixteenth century, but also, since Petau is more likely to have acquired C in France than in England, that the manuscript had been in France in medieval times. Since they cannot be shown to be English, the place-names 'richebor' and 'moteroil', which occur among the jottings considered in section 8 of the present chapter, do not contradict such a possibility. That the jottings might be French is also suggested by the fact that

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<sup>76</sup>*Summary Catalogue*, II.2, p.982.

they include the incipit of a hymn for the French Saint, St. Denis. Ker dates the jottings to 's.xii/xiii'.<sup>77</sup> My scrutiny of the letter forms of the title, 'pars psalterii greci', on fol.1 suggests a similar date for the writing of the title (above, p.28), and the fact that the title and the jottings have palaeographical features in common suggests that they could have been written at the same place (above, p.32). When I was working on the palaeography, I was not aware of the possible Petau connection, and my palaeographical investigations in section 7 of the present chapter have an English bias, but I did note that two important features, the trailing-headed **a** and the foot used to finish vertical strokes, are found in French as well as English manuscripts.

The evidence provided by the jottings could hardly be more tenuous, but the possibility that **C** had been in France becomes a little more attractive when Parkes's comments on the manuscript of the 'Leiden Riddle' are noted. The riddle is in the Leiden manuscript, Vossius Lat.Q.106, which bears Petau's mark, 'R.37', and is probably from Fleury.<sup>78</sup> Parkes comments: 'numerous pen trials and in particular pen trials of neums are a characteristic feature of manuscripts which, according to the evidence of *ex libris* inscriptions, were at Fleury in the ninth and tenth centuries ... Not only the neums but also the series of small letters **bcd** and names ... are characteristic additions in Fleury manuscripts'.<sup>79</sup> One cannot help but be put in mind of what appear to be neums which accompany the pen trial 'legem' on **C**, fol.24r, noted with other pen trials in section 9 of this chapter, and even of the names among the series of jottings. Parkes was assembling evidence to indicate that the Riddle was copied at Fleury in the tenth century, and does not discuss additions to Fleury manuscripts generally, but he does incidentally refer to 'neums added to manuscripts whose main contents were copied at the end of the tenth century or in the eleventh'.<sup>80</sup>

An hypothesis that most readily suggests itself to explain the presence of a book in Old English at Fleury is that it could have been left there accidentally by an English pilgrim to the resting-place of St. Benedict's remains. One is reminded of another English book containing Old English homilies, the Vercelli Book, whose presence in Vercelli may be explained by its having

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<sup>77</sup>Ker, *Catalogue*, pp.410 and 411.

<sup>78</sup>De Meyier, *Codices Vossiani Latini*, II, pp.235-7; De Meyier gives the date 'saec. ix/x (f.1: saec. xi)'; the Petau mark is noted *ibid.*, p.61.

<sup>79</sup>Parkes, 'Manuscript of the Leiden Riddle', p.213.

<sup>80</sup>*Ibid.*, p.215.

been left there by an English pilgrim to Rome in the eleventh century.<sup>81</sup> However, whether C was acquired by Paul Petau, perhaps among manuscripts that had belonged to Fleury library, must here remain an open question.

Turning to the medieval binding-leaves described in section 6, one point should be emphasized, that it is unlikely that fol.1 was introduced as part of the present binding. The present arrangement, with fol.1 pasted into the fold of fol.2 (see diagram, above p.6), which suggests that fol.1 was not used as an integral part of the present binding, may be due to the original modern binding or to the later repair, but wear round the outside edges of fol.1 shows that the leaf was not cut to be used in the present binding. Moreover, like fol.2, fol.1 is particularly fragile at its bottom outside corner, and there is the appearance that the two leaves lay long together, before they came to be protected by the present binding. If it could be shown that I am right to connect the script of the title on fol.1 with that of the jottings within C, there would be less difficulty in accepting that fol.1 belonged to a medieval binding of C. But the title itself is a difficulty here.

It is hardly credible that C could have been mistaken for part of a Greek psalter, however strange eleventh-century insular script may have looked to whoever was responsible, probably in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century, for writing the title on fol.1, and the possibility must be considered that the title genuinely indicates that C was once bound with part of a Greek psalter.<sup>82</sup> Indeed the only other possibility that I can think of is that fol.1 was taken from the binding of a Greek psalter and re-used to bind C. This would have had to have been done earlier enough to account for the comparably damaged condition of fols 1 and 2, but the possibility

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<sup>81</sup>Kenneth Sisam, *Studies in the History of Old English Literature* (Oxford, 1953), pp.117-8. Connections between Fleury and English centres at the time of the English monastic reform in the later tenth century are of course well known: see e.g. Nicholas Brooks, *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury. Christ Church from 597 to 1066* (Leicester, 1984), pp.222-3, and Thomas Symons, 'Regularis Concordia: History and Derivation', in *Tenth-Century Studies. Essays in Commemoration of the Millennium of the Council of Winchester and 'Regularis Concordia'*, ed. David Parsons (London, 1975), pp.37-59, pp.38-9. For the visit (985-7) by Abbo of Fleury to Ramsey, see Marco Mostert, *The Political Theology of Abbo of Fleury* (Hilversum, 1987), pp.40-5; I have not been able to see Mostert, *The Library of Fleury* (Hilversum, 1989).

<sup>82</sup>However, Wanley, *Catalogus*, p.44, did think that the title had been entered by one who was 'Saxonismi imperitus'. In his note Junius is less specific when he says 'imperitia possessorum inscriptus fuit huius libelli titulus Pars psalterii', and he might, unless he believed Vossius was responsible for them, have been also referring to the first of the inscriptions identifying C as part of a Saxon psalter.



cannot be ruled out on that count since about four hundred years may separate the writing of the title and the modern binding. However, I think the condition of fols 1 and 2 can be more exactly accounted for if it is postulated that C was at one time bound with part of a Greek psalter, which was removed at a later time, thereby leaving a gap, which need not have been large, between the board, probably with fol.1 attached, and fol.2. I think this could fit both with the fact of the wear around the outer edges of fols 1 and 2, and with the fact that the title itself, on the inside half of the page, is little worn. If I am right about the repair to the modern binding, it might be thought that the repair was necessitated by the removal of the Greek psalter fragment from the modern binding, but I think fols 1 and 2 are too worn for this to be likely.<sup>83</sup>

We may note that small format Greek psalters are not unknown. When Healey was prompted by the title on fol.1 to search English library catalogues for Greek psalters 'which are no later than the thirteenth century', she found three examples, one of which, CCCC 468, is about the same size as C, while another, CCCC 480, is smaller.<sup>84</sup> The dimensions are given in the catalogue in inches, and so for comparison I give C's dimensions in inches from *Summary Catalogue*.<sup>85</sup> C, 6.7" x 4.5" and 6.4" x 4.1"; CCCC 468, 6.1" x 4.5" (thirteenth century);<sup>86</sup> CCCC 480, 4.8" x 3.8" (twelfth century).<sup>87</sup> An earlier example, of unusual format, is the Bodleian manuscript, E.D. Clarke 15, 4.375" x 5.375" (c.1078).<sup>88</sup> An example dated to 961 because accompanying Easter tables are calculated from that date, is Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana, MS.F.12.Sup., at 6.25" x 5".<sup>89</sup> I have not undertaken a search for imperfect Greek psalters, but it seems that small format examples could be multiplied.<sup>90</sup>

<sup>83</sup>There are no small Greek psalters, or fragments of such, among Vossius's Greek manuscripts at Leiden, catalogued by K.A. De Meyier, *Codices Vossiani Graeci et Miscellanei*, Codices Manuscripti, VI (Leiden, 1955).

<sup>84</sup>Healey, *OE Vision of St. Paul*, p.17, fn.76.

<sup>85</sup>*Summary Catalogue*, II.2, p.982.

<sup>86</sup>M.R.James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi Cambridge*, 3 vols (Cambridge, 1912), II, p.403.

<sup>87</sup>*Ibid.*, p.422.

<sup>88</sup>*Summary Catalogue*, IV, no.18377, p.302.

<sup>89</sup>E.A.Bond and E.M.Thompson, *Facsimiles of Manuscripts and Inscriptions*, The Palaeographical Society, 1st and 2nd Series, 5 vols (London, 1873-94), 1st Series, I, plate 41.

<sup>90</sup>I have noted four examples in the Vatican catalogue, *Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae Codices Manuscripti Recensiti*: Cyrus Gianelli, ed., *Codices Vaticani Graeci. Codices 1485-1683* (Vatican, 1950), no.1541 (s.xii, 118 x 93mm.) and no.1542 (s.x, 120 x 95mm.); Paulus Canart, ed., *Codices Vaticani Graeci. Codices 1745-1962. Tomus I. Codicum Enarrationes* (Vatican, 1970), no.1873 (1010-11, 163 x 145mm.) and no.1874 (s.xi-xii, 165 x 145mm.). A list of a selection of Greek psalters, including imperfect examples up to 1100, is given by James

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Mearns, *The Canticles of the Christian Church Eastern and Western in Early and Medieval Times* (Cambridge, 1914), pp.9-11.

## CHAPTER THREE

### PALAEOGRAPHY

Ker dates the style of insular script used in *C* to 's.xi med.', that is possibly to within the twenty-five years and more certainly to within the fifty years centred around 1050.<sup>1</sup> Ker notes that the writing 'varies in appearance',<sup>2</sup> and, as we shall see, the manuscript seems certainly to have been written by more than one scribe. However, there is some conformity of style throughout *C*. Although a 'lateral compression so characteristic of eleventh-century English vernacular script'<sup>3</sup> is not clearly evinced in the script of *C*, there is a certain perpendicularity in the style which is perhaps akin to the characteristic noted by Dumville. However, this impression of perpendicularity depends largely, I think, on the marked tendency throughout *C* to write the back of the usual round or slightly flattened *a* nearly or quite as erect as minims: an erect *a* would have the effect of lateral compression only when viewed in relation to a script using a sloping-backed *a*, and Dumville's impression of lateral compression is derived from a contrast with the proportions of 'English square miniscule' (an essentially tenth-century style), in which the typical *a* is erect.<sup>4</sup>

#### 1. The Hands

Some emphasis has been placed in preceding chapters (see above pp.7 and 13) on the similarity, in contrast to all other gatherings, of the membrane used for gatherings fols 3-11 and 18-24. Once the eye adjusts to the different page format (fols 3-11 with sixteen or fifteen lines,

<sup>1</sup>Ker, *Catalogue*, p.409. See *ibid.*, pp.xx-xxi, for Ker's system of dating.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*, p.411.

<sup>3</sup>David N. Dumville, 'Beowulf Come Lately: Some Notes on the palaeography of the Nowell Codex', *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, 225 (1988), 49-63 (p.54).

<sup>4</sup>See *ibid.*, p.53; for square miniscule, see Dumville, 'English Square Miniscule Script: the Background and the Earliest Phases', *ASE*, 16 (1987), 147-79, and *ibid.*, pp.153 and 172 and plates VI and VII for the typical square *a*.

folios 18-24 with nineteen or twenty lines), the writing in these gatherings is no less strikingly similar than the appearance of the membrane. The even, matt black of the ink is the same in both gatherings, and the fineness of the pen strokes is also marked, in contrast to the writing in the rest of the gatherings in C. These characteristics are, probably, largely due to the comparatively good quality of the membrane, but there is also close agreement in the formation of the letters. The following comments, then apply to both gatherings.

The form of *f* is distinctive with its lower stroke fine, horizontal, on or just below the line and, most distinctively, crossing the descender, often so that the descender bisects it into roughly equal halves. Descenders of all letters are wedge-shaped at the top. Sometimes the top of the wedge is slightly angled but there is a very marked tendency to write descenders with a long, horizontal leading (or 'attacking') stroke, which sometimes all but replaces the wedge.<sup>5</sup> This tendency extends to the formation of the tops of ascenders, but is there much less marked. In *h* the ascender is often with either an angled or horizontal wedge, and in *b* and *l* the ascender is often with either an angled or split wedge, but this distinction is by no means rigorously observed. Round *d* is very short or short. *g* has a fine head stroke; the down stroke is begun at or slightly to the left of the middle of the head stroke, and is, sometimes very gently, curved, though in the gathering folios 18-24 there is a slight tendency for the down stroke to be angular. The tail of *g* is amply open and is typically formed with a fine stroke which seems to continue without break from the down stroke, but sometimes, especially in gathering folios 18-24, the open tail is a thicker stroke, in which cases it is occasionally apparent that the stroke is drawn back (from left to right) to meet the tail. Cross strokes of *ð* and the abbreviation for 'þæt' are typically not steeply angled and are turned at both ends (up at the left, down at the right). There need be no doubt that the writing in gatherings folios 3-11 and 18-24 is attributable to one scribe, who, for the sake of consistency with Healey's analysis of the hands of C, will be called 'Hand B'.<sup>6</sup>

The quality of the membrane of the four gatherings, folios 42-81, is no less uniform than, but quite different from, that of the two gatherings, folios 3-11 and 18-24. Significantly for the

<sup>5</sup>Horizontal tops of descenders, especially when in the vicinity of *t* and *g*, impart to the script a general aspect of horizontality which combines with the perpendicularity of aspect to give an overall impression of squareness.

<sup>6</sup>Healey, *OE Vision of St. Paul*, pp.8-9.

writing, while the latter membrane is matt, the former is smooth and shiny. The ink is black on all these leaves, but in fols 42-81 it often shows brown, especially on the shinier sides; that is, the ink inheres far less evenly than in fols 3-11 and 18-24. However, once the contrasting quality of membrane has been taken into consideration, it becomes apparent that the writing of fols 42-81 may be confidently attributed to Hand B.

Hand B begins this stint with his pen cut thick, but mid-way on fol.46r his writing becomes finer and smaller, and so it continues, but never so fine (comparatively) as on gatherings fols 3-11 and 18-24. It is perhaps the need to execute bold strokes on the smooth surface of the membrane that inhibits his use of fine, horizontal strokes for the tops of descenders. At any rate, tops of descenders are regularly more or less wedge-shaped, and angled at about forty-five degrees. The exigencies of the membrane may also be responsible for the tail of *g* being rarely so finely drawn as it is especially on fols 3-11. On fols 42-81 it is regularly (but not exclusively) apparent that the tail of *g* is drawn back to meet the down stroke. The down stroke of *g* has a stronger tendency than in fols 18-24 to be angular. Tops of ascenders are wedge-shaped, either angled or split. The distinctive crossed *f* is in totally regular use. Round *d* is again very short or short. Cross strokes of *ð* and the abbreviation for 'þæt' are as they appear in fols 3-11 and 18-24.

Fol.34 (the middle leaf of a gathering of three singletons) is of much the same quality as fols 42-81, and again the writing on this folio may be attributed to Hand B, although it is not possible with a rather small sample to be quite so confident in the attribution as hitherto. Moreover, much of the recto of fol.34 has been subject to the attentions of the probably seventeenth-century retoucher.<sup>7</sup> A particular point against the attribution is the form of the cross stroke of *ð* and the abbreviation for 'þæt'. On the recto this is sometimes steeply angled and, instead of being turned at both ends, is in the form of an inverse tick (much in the manner of the accents). However, Hand B's form of the cross stroke is present on the recto and almost totally regular on the verso. It may be that Hand B was trying to adapt his usual form to match the form habitually used by the scribe of the preceding folios. The presence of two rather long round *d*'s (one retouched) is another occasion for hesitation, but the evidence for the attribution outweighs that against, and the writing generally appears very much as that on fols 42-81. In particular, the

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<sup>7</sup>The retoucher is likely to have been Junius: see above, pp.21-2.

tendency of the down stroke of g to be angular is the same, and the variable form of this letter generally is exactly comparable. There are several instances of f, all crossed. Moreover, a drawing of a bird is used to enclose a final part line on the verso of fol.34, and a smaller, rougher, but comparable drawing of a bird is used to enclose the final word of fol.77r. It may be noted in the present connection that fol.34 has fifteen written lines (plus the part line on the verso), whereas fols 25-33 and fol.35 have nineteen lines. In fols 42-81 Hand B writes a page of from thirteen to fifteen lines (sometimes with a part line at the bottom). Fols 36-41 have sixteen lines, plus a part line.

Fols 3-11, 18-24, 34 and 42-81 may safely be attributed to Hand B.

It is convenient to preface the next stage of our investigation of the hands of C with Ker's comment that 'ff.2v, 12-16v, 25-33v, and f.34 [*recte* fol.35], ll.1-4, appear to be in a different hand from the rest, by a scribe who often uses a caroline form of r, which descends below the line: in Latin by this scribe the r is not a descender'.<sup>8</sup> Fols 2v and 35r, lines 1-4, are problematic and must await later consideration. Neither is the identification of the hand of fols 12-16 with that of fols 25-33 quite straightforward. However, each of these two stints is definitely to be distinguished from those of Hand B, and in ways which tend to identify one with the other. Thus in fols 12-16 and 25-33 the writing has an angular aspect, largely due to the angular down stroke of g, but also detectable in minim strokes, which makes Hand B's writing look curvacious by comparison. When, at fols 13v and 14r, a curving down stroke is used in g, it is unlike Hand B's, having an ungainly appearance due to the curve being executed below the line. The angular aspect is complemented by a spikiness due to the sharply angled wedges (which often show splitting) at the tops of ascenders. This treatment of ascenders, which is mirrored (apart from the splitting) in the treatment of descenders, in turn contributes to a perpendicularity of aspect which is further enhanced in fols 12-16 and 25-33 by a round d which is generally both longer and more erect than that executed by Hand B.

<sup>8</sup>Ker, *Catalogue*, p.411. Healey, *OE Vision of St. Paul*, p.8, does not correct the error in Ker's comment. Caroline r with descender was used by Wulfstan: see N.R.Ker, 'The Handwriting of Archbishop Wulfstan', in *England before the Conquest. Studies in Primary Sources presented to Dorothy Whitelock*, ed. P.Clemoes and K.Hughes (Cambridge, 1971), pp.315-31 (p.317). I have not come across any other examples.

Only once does a crossed **f** appear in fols 12-16 and 25-33, and that in the marginal addition of 'for' to the word 'loren' on fol.26r. In fols 12-16 the lower stroke of **f** is slightly angled up, and turned down at its right-hand end, but there are a few instances where the stroke is not turned down. In fols 25-33 there is a reversal of practice, with a straight, nearly horizontal lower stroke being usual, along with a few examples of turned strokes; also in fols 25-33 there are a few instances of a stroke mid-way between the two types.

The usual form for the cross stroke of **ð** and the abbreviation for 'þæt' is an accent-like stroke, but there are instances in fols 12-16 of the stroke being turned at both ends, especially on **ð** at the beginning of lines, where **ð** is extended into the margins.<sup>9</sup> The stroke is then steeply angled, and not so deliberately turned as is the case with Hand B.

Fols 12-16 and 25-33, then, were certainly not written by Hand B, and the overall, similarity between the two sections is sufficiently close that we need no longer hesitate in agreeing with Ker's judgement that they were written by one scribe, who will be called (with Healey) 'Hand A'.

Let us examine the point which caught Ker's attention, namely Hand A's use of a caroline form of **r** with descender, which I will call 'long open **r**'. This form appears first on fol.12v, though a short open (caroline) **r** is used for a superscript correction on fol.12r. On fol.12v there are four instances of long open **r** beside nineteen of insular **r**, and this ratio does not significantly increase during the section fols 12-16, with some pages having insular **r** exclusively. In fols 25-33 long open **r** does not appear until two thirds of the way down fol.29r, after which it is almost entirely regular, superceding the insular form.

The situation is somewhat the same with Hand A's choice of forms of the letter **s**. Thus in fols 12-16 insular **s** (descender with head stroke within the line) is usual, but there is a scattering (not on every page) of the long form of **s** (descender with head stroke curving up well above the line). In fols 25-33, long **s** appears with total regularity, except for the **s**'s in 'clænnesse' (fol.25r, line 3) and 'þis' (retouched, fol.27v, line 1).

<sup>9</sup>Strictly, it cannot be claimed, as Healey does (*OE Vision of St. Paul*, p.9), that 'the general rule for the eleventh century that **þ** should be written at the beginning of a word, and **ð** medially and finally' is observed in fols 12-16 and 25-33, though it is true, as she implies, that Hand B uses **ð** rather than **þ** comparatively frequently. Note that preference for **þ** over **ð** contributes to perpendicularity.

Another feature, with comparable distribution, of Hand A's writing is his use in English of *st* ligature (descender with a vertical extension, to the top of which is joined the extended shaft of *t*). In fols 12-16 the form appears once medially and three times terminally in a total of thirty-six instances of '*st*'. In fols 25-33 the form is much more frequent, appearing twenty-eight times medially and sixteen times terminally, in a total of fifty-four instances of '*st*'. The only occurrence of '*st*' in initial position in either section ('*stæfne*', fol.33r, line6) is not a ligature.

Thus, in contrast with Hand B, who uses standard insular forms consistently for writing English, Hand A seems to be experimenting with letter forms, and the seemingly introduced forms (long open *r*, long *s* and *st* ligature) are more frequent in fols 25-33 than in fols 12-16.

The writing on fol.35<sup>10</sup> (leaving aside for now the problematic first four lines of the recto) is more like Hand A's than Hand B's writing, except that the lower, straight stroke of *f* tends to transect the descender, but rarely so that the descender bisects it into two equal parts as is often the case with Hand B. Although Hand A seems to have been in the process of changing his form of *f* so that its lower stroke is usually straight in fols 25-33, never does the lower stroke cross the descender. *g* on fol.35 is angular (like Hand A's *g*) but the tail is generally markedly less open than it is in the work of either Hand A or Hand B. Round *d* and *ð* are of exaggerated length, except when *d* is inhibited by preceding *l*. *r* and *s* are insular in every instance, whereas Hand A uses long open *r* and long *s* regularly by the end of his stint, fols 25-33 (it will be remembered that fols 33-35 are one gathering). However, *st* ligature of the same form as that employed by Hand A appears twice in medial position on fol.35r (other instances of '*st*' on fol.35 are in initial position), but on balance, and on grounds of general aspect, it is fairly safe to attribute the writing of fol.35 to a third scribe, Hand C.

The writing in the gathering, fols 36-41, contrasts at first sight with that on fol.35, but this is largely due to the change of page format, with nineteen lines to the page on fol.35 and sixteen lines and a bracketed part line on each page of fols 36-41. The detail is identical, with the same maximally extended *d* and *ð* being dominant, the same closing tail of *g* and the same strong tendency to write crossed *f*. *r* and *s* are insular with two exceptions: long open *r* appears

<sup>10</sup>The verso of fol.35 is much retouched, but enough original writing is visible to identify it with the main hand of the recto.



at the end of the fifth line on fol.37r, and a long *s* is the final letter on fol.38v. Occurrence of *st* ligature is limited to fols 38-40, where seven out of twenty instances of '*st*' are so formed, six in medial, one in terminal position: there are a few instances of initial '*st*', none of which is a ligature.

Thus so far it can confidently be stated that Hand A wrote fols 12-16 and 25 -33, Hand B wrote fols 3-11, 18-24, 34 and 42-81, and Hand C wrote fols 35-41.

It is impossible to be confident in the attribution of the writing of fol.35, lines 1-4, but all six instances of *r* are of the long open form used by Hand A, and the one instance of *f*, with a turned lower stroke that does not cross the descender, is in the manner of Hand A. The hand is sprawling and untidy, and contrasts sharply with Hand C's writing on fol.35. Hand B's bracketing of a part line on fol.34v suggests that his stint within the gathering, fols 33-35, is confined to fol.34. It may be that Hand A wrote fol.35, lines 1-4, and that the untidiness of the writing is due to his having tried to match his hand to the larger writing of Hand B, as Hand B may have tried to adjust the appearance of his writing to match Hand A's writing on fol.33 by varying his usual cross stroke for *ð* and the abbreviation for '*þæt*'.

The palaeography of fols 2 and 17 and of additions on fols 2v-6r is still to be considered.

Although fol.2 is in very poor condition, it is evident that the recto is in a different hand from the verso. The small sample of fourteen lines of writing on the recto is made smaller by extreme fading, especially of the top three lines and down the right-hand side of the page. The fact that some of the faded writing has been retouched is a further difficulty, but the retouched writing (here and on the verso) need not be discounted altogether, since the retoucher, though he makes mistakes, seems generally to have taken pains to trace the letters accurately.

Of the hands so far distinguished, the writing on fol.2r is most like that of Hand B, in overall aspect and in detail. There is a good example ('*soðfæstan*', line 4) of a crossed *f* exactly in the manner of Hand B, and two retouched instances of the letter are both crossed. The cross stroke of *ð* is the same as Hand B's. The only point that can be brought against attribution to Hand B is that of six occurrences of *d* (excluding the two instances in the repeated word '*woruld*': round *d* is necessarily short in the combination '*ld*') three are written long, while in the bulk of Hand B's work *d* is dominantly short. However, like fol.2r, fol.81r contains the completed

ending of a homily and has instances of long d: it may be that Hand B was inclined to write d long when approaching the end of a text. The last word before 'Amen' in both texts is 'ænde' and on fol.81r d in this word is only a little shorter than it is on fol.2r. The 'Amen' itself is in closely comparable uncial capitals (except that 'E' on fol.2r has been retouched to look like a revised figure three) and the word is finished in each case with a very similar decorative flourish. Fol.2r, then, was written by neither Hand A nor Hand C, but could have been written by Hand B.

The text of Hand A's stint, fols 12-16, begins on fol.2v. The last two and a half lines of fol.2v have been erased and the reviser who made additions to the text of fols 3-11 (on fols 3-6r) added three lines of text, the last word of which overruns on to fol.3r, to link the text of fol.2v with that of fols 3-11. Ker would attribute the writing of the original text on fol.2v to Hand A, because of the occurrence of long open r. This form appears five times on fol.2v alongside thirteen instances of insular r, a ratio not too different from that in Hand A's stint, fols 12-16 (e.g. six long open r's beside eighteen insular r's on fol.14r). Nearly all the writing on fol.2v has been retraced by the retoucher, but one long open r, in 'ærest' (line 5), has not been retouched. Although the retoucher seems to have retraced r accurately, there is confusion over f, some instances of which are crossed, a form not used by Hand A. However, there are also examples of uncrossed f, where the lower stroke is turned and is therefore the same as Hand A's usual form in fols 12-16. The crossing with a straight stroke may be due to the retoucher: I believe I detect a turned stroke under the crossing stroke in 'leofestan' (line 1), and we may recall that the retoucher will already have encountered crossed f on fol.2r. Apart from this doubt about f, there is nothing against the attribution of the original writing on fol.2v to Hand A.

Healey would identify the reviser with Hand A,<sup>11</sup> but there is palaeographical evidence against the identification. The only evidence for the identification is the reviser's use of long s as well as insular s. Against the identification are two instances of crossed f in the additions on fols 3-6r, and the reviser's use of a nearly horizontal cross stroke turned at both ends for ð and the abbreviation for 'pæt'. Also the reviser's g, though variable, is never angular, as it is in the work of Hand A. All these points are also against identification with Hand C, and the reviser's use of long s is against identification with Hand B. However, the work of the reviser is either retouched

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<sup>11</sup>Healey, *OE Vision of St. Paul*, p.8.

or faded, and on palaeographical evidence alone it cannot be averred that the reviser is not to be identified with any of the three hands which have been safely distinguished. There will be occasion in the next chapter to deliberate the identity of the reviser (below, pp.69-70).

Most of the text on fol.17 is in Latin, approximately in the proportion one and a half line of Latin to one line of English. The distinction, caroline script for Latin, insular script for English, is observed with total regularity, except for insular *s* in 'miles' (line 8 of the verso); caroline *r* is once written with a descender ('peperit', recto, line 7); *s* in Latin is the long form. Insular *f*, of which there are five instances, is crossed, and this point suggests strongly that fol.17 was not written by Hand A. In the rest of C, when, of course, the text is mostly English, none of the hands observes the script distinction strictly, but Hand B is most lax on this point. For identification with Hand B and against identification with Hand C (who uses crossed *f*) is that the cross strokes of *ð* and the abbreviation for 'pæt' are turned at both ends, while against Hand B and for Hand C is angular insular *g*. Insular *d* is short, a point in favour of Hand B, but all instances except one ('mid', recto, line 3) are inhibited by a preceding ascender or descender from the line above. The angular *g* also tells against attribution to the reviser of fols 2v-6r. I find no safe palaeographical grounds for attributing the writing of fol.17 to any other hand in C.

## 2. Script

A feature of the style of script in C which unites all hands is a strong tendency to join the head strokes of *g* and *t* and the tongue of *e* to following letters. *e* joins with following *a*, *i*, *u*, (and sometimes other minims), *o*, *y*, *d*, *ð* and descenders. *g* and *t* generally join less regularly with these following letters.

*e* is usually round, but the straight-backed form is used in combination with preceding *g* and sometimes, especially in the work of Hand B, with preceding *t*. The *ge* combination seems to be fairly common in tenth- and eleventh-century manuscripts and may perhaps be regarded as a genuine (albeit modest) calligraphic ligature, as may be the case with an *ege* combination which occurs in C, where the tongue of the first *e* forms the head stroke of *g*. The *ge* combination is most regular in the work of Hand A. In the work of Hands B and C *g* joins also with following

round e, in much the same way as all hands tend to join horizontal strokes with any following bow.

a, erect backed with a usually fairly well rounded bow, sometimes occurs in a form resembling a caroline a. The form is made by beginning the bow part way down the back, instead of at the top, and occurs most commonly following g and t, the head strokes of which then tend to join with the top of the back of a. ga and ta combinations of this kind are regular in the work of Hand C, who employs the caroline-like a occasionally in other positions, twice joining with the tongue of preceding e, but also where there is no combination. In the rest of C the ga combination is most regular in Hand B's stint, fols 41-81, while the ta combination is never regular. However, it may be that ga and ta combinations were a genuine calligraphic feature of a script familiar to all hands of C (including the reviser of fols 2v-6r). It is important to bear in mind that C is a humble production in which a high standard of calligraphy seems not to have been required: it seems likely that it is due to this circumstance that the tendency to join letters is so marked in C. Not having to lift the pen between horizontal strokes and following bows is perhaps a particularly expedient technique, which would work against the use of special ga and ta ligatures, as well as against the regular use of ge (and te) ligature, where usual round e often takes the place of the straight-backed form.

Note on Combination. Ker, *Catalogue*, p.xxviii, notes that a 'form of a resembling caroline a is used in 106 (s.x) after g and t'. Ker's no.106 is edited in facsimile by T.J.Brown, *The Durham Ritual. A Southern English Collectar of the Tenth Century with Northumbrian Additions. Durham Cathedral Library A.IV*, EEMF, 16 (Copenhagen, 1969). However, I have not been able to find any examples of this feature, and it is not noted in Brown's very detailed palaeographical description.

Combination of letters can be observed in manuscript where a high standard of calligraphy may be supposed to have been required in C.R. Dodwell and Peter Clemoes, eds, *The Old English Illustrated Hexateuch. British Museum Cotton Claudius B.IV*, EEMF, 18 (Copenhagen, 1974), especially in the work of the main scribe, who is responsible for the main text on all except fols 21r-56v. This scribe regularly employs the ge combination (his e is always straight-backed) and a gy combination looks deliberate; te combination is also regular, and t has a very strong tendency to join with following letters, especially descenders and minims (the latter combination may particularly be due to the influence of caroline miniscule: for ti combination see the plates in T.A.M.Bishop, *English Caroline Miniscule* (Oxford, 1971), *passim*, where a variety of combinations may also be observed). The same scribe also uses the tongue of e freely in combination; note, too, his regular use of crossed f. On the origin of the manuscript, the editors conclude, on the grounds of the stylistic evidence of the illustrations, that it was 'made at St. Augustine's, Canterbury, in the second quarter of the eleventh century' (p.16).

ga and ta combination occurs in Old English in the manuscript known as 'Textus Roffensis' (Peter Sawyer, ed., *Textus Roffensis. Rochester Cathedral Library Manuscript A.3.5*,

2 vols, EEMF, 7 and 11 (Copenhagen, 1957 and 1962). This is an early twelfth-century manuscript, nearly all of which is written by one scribe in a script style which is conspicuously later than the eleventh-century style in C, especially in the well advanced stage of its development towards a two-line script: the scribe nevertheless retains insular letter forms, though the **a** is always a caroline form of the letter. The **ga** combination is frequent, but not entirely regular. Thus on fol.3v 'agan' in line 2 does not have the combination, but deliberate combinations can be seen in lines 7 and 15. Deliberate **ta** combinations are on fol.5r, lines 15 and 16, and on this page it may be observed how **g** and **t** are combined with following minims, descenders and other letters, and also how the horizontal lower stroke of high **f** is used in combinations. The preceding examples are from EEMF, 7; in EEMF, 11, **ga** and **ta** combinations may be conveniently observed in several instances on fols 162v-163v. The scribe of 'Textus Roffensis' distinguishes between Latin and OE in his use of script. Combination of letters is perhaps equally free in his version of insular script as it is in his caroline script. Combination of caroline **g** with following **a** can be seen, e.g., on fol.60v (EEMF,7) lines 15 and 23; **ta** combinations in Latin, never far to seek, may also be seen on fol.60v.

For combination in a manuscript earlier than C, see Rudolph Willard, *The Blickling Homilies*, pp.29 and 35, where Willard notes the use of head strokes of **t** and **g** 'as ties' in the work of both hands of the manuscript.

### 3. Decoration

Each of the five homilies in C is begun with a large, more or less ornamental initial, two or three lines in height and extending into upper and left-hand margins. Uncial **M** on fol.2v is the most elaborate. Though the letter is too discoloured to be sure, it appears to have been written in the same brown ink that was used for the text of fols 2v and 12-16. The plain uncial **M** on fol.18r is in red-brown ink, with the following text in black ink. Initial **G** on fol.25r appears to be in the same ink as the text, a darker ink than that of fols 12-16, but fol.25r is darkly discoloured and it is not possible to be sure. The letter is the form with no post, and is unadorned, except for a round clasp at the lower end of the bow, before the inward scroll. Initial **G** on fol. 40v is the form with a post, which has a flourish from its lower end. There is a round clasp in the middle of the bow and a flourish from its upper end. The letter is in different ink from that of the text. The ink appears brownish, but at the top of the letter shows an orange tinge, which is the same as the colour used to fill the following capitals ('EHERAÐNU'). Initial **H** on fol.62r is a large **h** with a tail which has a round clasp and ends in a flourish. The letter is coloured an orangey-pink, which has faded from the ascender.

Capitals and '7' are filled on all but fols 2-11 and 70v-81r. Of the three instances of '7' on fol.2v (there are no capitals), one is added and hardly has room for filling; no trace of filling is to be seen in the other two, but it must be remembered that the writing on fol.2v was much worn

before being retouched. In the gathering, fols 18-24, the filling is all very faded. The colour in a few filled letters shows greyish, but most appear pale brown. This colour seems to be different from that used in the filled letters on fols 12-17 and 25-70r, where the filling is a dark, sometimes shiny, grey which occasionally shows pink beneath. It looks as though an ingredient of the ink has separated from the pigment, which inheres more effectively in the membrane than does the grey substance. The uniform appearance of the filling in fols 12-16 and 25-70r suggests that it was added at one time, independently of the copying stints. Fol.17 cannot confidently be included in this run of filling, because in the only letter in which the dark grey has faded ('W' of 'Writ', in the second line of the verso), the colour shows brownish rather than pink. On fol.62r, the three '7's and the 's's of 'sanctus' have filling of an orangey-pink colour like the colour of the initial H on this page, and the filling and the initial may therefore have been executed at one time, independently of the main run of filling.

Ornamental brackets enclose part lines at the bottom of fols 36-52 and 77v-79r. The brackets are all of the same form, consisting of two parallel lines which enclose the written line on its left and continue below it, curving up around its right-hand end to finish with a round clasp and a flourish. They seem to have been drawn, apparently in the same ink as that used for the text, by the copyists of the folios on which they occur. Those that occur in Hand C's stint, fols 36-41, are distinguishable from the rest, all of which occur in Hand B's stint, fols 42-81. Thus each of the horizontal pair of lines of the brackets on fols 36-41 is broken by zigzags in three places, with the zigzags one above the other. The bracket on fol.42r is much more loosely drawn and the zigzags are not paired. The zigzags do start to be paired from fol.43r (the bracket on fol.42v is shorter than the rest), but then there are usually four, or even five, pairs. The brackets on fols 42-52 and 77v-79r are never so neat as those on fols 36-41, and always end in a small pendant flourish, quite different from the terminal flourishes of the brackets on fols 36-41.

All the brackets have been filled with colour except those on fols 77v-79r. No colour is visible in the brackets on fol.42, but it may have faded quite away. As with the main run of filled letters, the filling of the brackets on fols 36-41 is dark grey with pink beneath, though the filling of the brackets shows more pink and less grey than that of the letters. The filling of the brackets

on fols 43-52 does not show grey, and the orangey-pink colour is like the colour in the initial **H** and filled letters on fol.62r.

As Ker notes, the brackets are unusual, and certainly I know of no other manuscript where brackets are used as ornament.<sup>12</sup> The use of brackets in **C** is not restricted to those described so far, but other instances are either merely utilitarian or only incidentally ornamental. These will be considered in section 3 of the next chapter.

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<sup>12</sup><sup>12</sup>Ker, *Catalogue*, p.411: 'unusual ornamental brackets mark runovers on ff.11v, 34v, 35v-52v, 77-79'. Ker's reason for including fols 11v, 34v, 35v and 77r will become apparent in section 3 of the next chapter.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### COMPILATION

#### 1. Pricking and Ruling<sup>1</sup>

Pricking is visible on fols 12-16, most clearly on the central bifolium, fols 14 and 15, where some of the punctures appear as vertical slits. They are not in a straight line. Fol.17, the last leaf of the gathering fols 12-17, also shows pricking, but here the punctures, a little larger than those on fols 14-15, appear as horizontal slits and are in a curving line that seems to follow the edge of the leaf; the pricking does not correspond closely to the written lines and since fol.17 is palimpsest, the pricking could belong to the original writing. The only other leaves to show pricking are the singletons fols 33 and 35. The punctures on both these leaves are very small and do not appear as slits. Those on fol.33 are in a straighter line than those on fol.35.

Ruling by dry point is more or less visible on most leaves. The usual practice of ruling double vertical lines in the inner and outer margins of pages appears to have been adhered to, though occasionally only a single line is visible, and often the lines in the inner margins must be assumed to be out of sight in the binding.

On fols 2-35, where the verticals are clear enough to allow measurement, the distance between the double lines is about 7mm. In the gathering, fols 36-41, the vertical pairs are noticeably narrower, though there is, in fact, only about 2mm. difference from those of fols 2-35. On fols 42-81, 5mm. is the widest spacing (fol.45), and 3mm. is about average.

The number of horizontal lines varies within as well as between gatherings. Occasionally the scribe concerned appears to ignore the horizontal ruling. This is noticeable particularly on fol.11, where it can be seen that the writing does not follow the horizontal ruling at all closely,

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<sup>1</sup>The procedure is described by Ker, *Catalogue*, p.xxviii; see also L.W. Jones, 'Pricking Manuscripts: the Instruments and their Significance', *Speculum*, 21 (1946), 389-403.



but is evident at other points in the manuscript where the recto of a leaf has a different number of written lines from its verso. This occurs in gatherings fols 18-24, 42-52, 62-71, 72-81, all of which were written by Hand B.

## 2. Written Lines

**Fol.2r** fourteen.

**Fol.2v** twenty: sixteen and a half plus three and a half, with last line continued on fol.3r.

### **Gathering fols 3-11:**

**3-10** sixteen.

**11r** fifteen.

**11v** fifteen, plus part line in bracket.

### **Gathering fols 12-17:**

**12-16** nineteen.

**17** seventeen.

### **Gathering fols 18-24:**

**18r** twenty, including one for title.

**18v-19r** twenty.

**19v-23v** nineteen.

**24r** twelve, part page blank.

**24v** blank

### **Gathering fols 25-32:**

**25-32** nineteen.

### **Gathering fols 33-35:**

**33** nineteen.

**34r** fifteen.

**34v** fifteen, plus part line in bracket in form of a bird.

**35** nineteen, plus 'sworan' in bracket at end verso.

### **Gathering fols 36-41:**

**36-41** sixteen, plus part line in ornamental bracket.

**Gathering fols 42-52:**

(all pages with part line in ornamental bracket)

42-48r thirteen.

48v-51r fourteen.

51v-52 thirteen.

**Gathering fols 53-61:**

53-61 fourteen.

**Gathering fols 62-71:**

62-65r fifteen.

65v-69 fourteen.

70-71 fifteen.

**Gathering fols 72-81:**

72-75r fifteen.

75v-77r fourteen, plus 'him' in bracket in form of a bird at end fol.77r.

77v-79r fifteen, plus part line in ornamental bracket.

79v-80v fifteen.

81r eleven, part page blank.

81v blank.

**3. The Use of Brackets**

The ornamental brackets on fols 36-52 and 77v-79r, described in section 3 of the preceding chapter, seem to be purely decorative, serving no practical purpose, but the idea for this unusual form of decoration may have arisen from the use of brackets for practical reasons during the compilation of C. Perhaps the most obvious reason for the use of brackets is to be seen in the gathering, fols 18-24, which had to be trimmed for inclusion with the rest of C.<sup>2</sup> The trimming involved the removal of the left-hand margins of the versos. Before the leaves were cut, the ends of lines on the rectos were recopied in the left-hand margins of the rectos, the end of one line being recopied into the margin next to the line below. The recopying was done by the

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<sup>2</sup>As noted Ker, *Catalogue*, p.410.

scribe who made the original copy, Hand B. When he came to the last line, he recopied the word or letters which were to be erased before trimming directly below the right-hand end of the line, and enclosed the rewritten letters in a bracket. Recopying from the last line was not occasioned on fol.23r, and on fol.24r the text ends mid-page with a part line. On fol.19r recopied 'ðearfan' and its bracket were nearly all removed, presumably during trimming, the word being written again, but not by Hand B, further to the left. On fols 18r, 20r and 21r the bracket consists of three lines, a vertical with a diagonal or horizontal at either end, enclosing the rewritten letters on their left. On fol.22r the lower horizontal line is longer than the lower lines of the other brackets. It is broken by zigzag and then curves up round the right-hand side of the letters, to end in a flourish. The letters thus enclosed are 'dan' of 'hæbbendan'. On fol.11v there is a longer and more elaborate version of the bracket on fol.22r.

It has already been mentioned (above, p.49) and it is a point to which we will return in section 4 of this chapter, that text was added on fols 2v-3r, in a hand which cannot be identified with Hands A, B or C, to combine the text of fol.2v with the text in the gathering, fols 3-11. The end of the text on fols 3-11 was adapted to link up again with the interrupted text on fol.12r (see below, pp.65-7), but this time the additional text was written by the copyist of fols 3-11, Hand B. Fols 3-10 all have sixteen written lines per page, but when he reached fol.11, Hand B did not have enough text to fill two sixteen line pages and wrote fifteen lines on the recto. When he had filled fifteen lines on fol.11v, Hand B still had the words 'ðæs synfullan mannes' to write. These words were not enough to fill a whole line, and he enclosed the words in a bracket. To the left of the words the three lines are similar to those of the brackets in Hand B's gathering, fols 18-24, but on fol.11v three wavy lines, or frills, connect the upper and lower lines. The lower line is continued below the words and is broken in four places by, somewhat untidy, zigzags. The line then curves up to the right of the words and ends in a pendant flourish, much like the flourish in Hand B's main run of ornamental brackets.

Fol.34, Hand B's contribution to the gathering of three singletons, fols 33-35, has fifteen written lines on each side, but at the foot of the verso the three words, 'on heofona rices', constitute an extra part line, which is bracketed by a drawing of a bird. The head of the bird is to the left of the words. It has an open beak and a protruding tongue which ends in a pendant

flourish. Head and neck are adorned with frills, reminiscent of those in the bracket on fol. 11v, and dots. The line representing the back and long tail of the bird is drawn horizontally under the words, and is broken where the wing tips might be and towards the end of the tail by zigzags. The tail ends in an upward flourish.

On fol. 77r Hand B drew a smaller, rough sketch of a bird to bracket the last word, 'him', below the bottom line. This seems to have encouraged Hand B to apply the short run of uncoloured ornamental brackets on fols 77v-79r. At the end of fol. 67r Hand B drew lines, like those that begin the ornamental brackets, to the left of 're' detached from 'ðære'. A comparable instance where Hand B kept a word complete at the end of a page, but where no bracket is visible is at fol. 62r, where 're' is written below 'hwæðe'.

The ornamental brackets on fols 22r and 11v, and the bird brackets on fols 34v and 77r suggest that Hand B liked to draw, but the idea of using brackets regularly as decoration may not have been his. Hand C's ornamental brackets in the gathering, fols 36-41, are preceded by a smaller bracket enclosing the letters 'sworan' of the word 'mansworan' at the end of fol. 35v, Hand C's contribution to the gathering, fols 33-35. The bracket is faded, and it is difficult to be sure that the lines are double, but enough is visible too see that it has the same basic form, but without the zigzagging horizontal continuation, as the ornamental brackets. Hand B's brackets in the gathering, fols 18-24, are formed differently. It may be remembered that Hand C's neat pairing of zigzags in the horizontal lines contrasts with the unpaired zigzags in Hand B's first ornamental bracket, on fol. 42r, suggesting that this was Hand B's first attempt to copy Hand C's example.

Hand C's bracketing of 'sworan' on fol. 35v can be explained by his wish to finish the odd gathering of three singletons, fols 33-35, with a complete word, before moving on to a new gathering, fols 36-41, whose leaves are smaller than those preceding and whose pages are formatted differently from fol. 35 (see preceding section). Hand B's brackets in the gathering, fols 18-24, were necessitated by the trimming of the leaves, and his brackets on fols 11v and 34v served to fill space which had resulted from his having to attempt to fill the pages with a set amount of text (too little on fol. 11, too much on fol. 34). All these are practical reasons, but it is

interesting, I think, to see how they prompted the scribes to decorate their work, Hand B as occasion arose, Hand C by designing a perhaps novel form of page decoration.<sup>3</sup>

When on fols 62r and 67r Hand B adds the letters 're', left over at the end of a page, below the line, he shows himself not only to be reluctant to run over into the margins, but also to be careful not to divide words awkwardly. At other points in Hand B's work where words are interrupted by the ends of pages, the words are divided logically: fols 8v/9r, 'ge/seah'; fols 18v/19r, 'witod/lice'; fol.52r/v, 'mæsse/preost'; fol.56r/v, 'an/wealde'; fols 65v/66r, 'an/fealdre'; fol.80r/v, 'ge/feonde'. The bracketed 'him' on fol.77r is the last word of a sentence which introduces a passage of direct speech, and this suggests further that Hand B was alive at least to passing detail of the import of the text. An attractive example of this involves the use of a bracket which has not yet been noted. At the end of fol.58r Hand B wrote 'nesse' of 'oferflownesse' below the line, and drew a vertical pair of curving lines, with a dot in the lower curve, to the left of the detached suffix. Perhaps Hand B's attention was caught by the fitting coincidence that the word 'oferflownesse' was too long for the final line of a page.

I can offer only one other example of a manuscript where there is comparable, though not decorative, use of brackets, BL, Cotton Nero A. i., fols 70-177, an early eleventh-century manuscript associated with Wulfstan.<sup>4</sup> Where the end of a text or a section of text would otherwise overrun on to the next page, words are bracketed on fols 127r, 130v and 135v; part words are bracketed where the end of a page does not coincide with the end of a section on fols 146r and 151v. The form of the bracket on fol.130v is very like the form of Hand B's plain brackets in the gathering, fols 18-24. Cotton Nero A. i. is a small manuscript (c.165x105mm),<sup>5</sup> about the same size as C, and since the smaller the page the less room there is to adjust spacing, it may be that brackets were commonly used in small format manuscripts.

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<sup>3</sup>G.S. Ivy, 'The Bibliography of the Manuscript-Book', in Francis Wormald and C.E. Wright, eds, *The English Library before 1700*, (London, 1958), pp.32-65 (p.58), mentions that catchwords were 'sometimes enclosed in elaborate scrolls'. Ivy's article is concerned mostly with manuscripts later than C, and Robinson, 'Self-Contained Units', p.232, fn.3, notes that 'the system of catchwords was not generally adopted before the twelfth century'. Hands B and C are therefore unlikely to have been influenced by having seen decoratively bracketed catchwords.

<sup>4</sup>Ker, *Catalogue*, no.164, s.xi in., pp.211-15; facsimile edition, Henry R. Loyn, ed., *A Wulfstan Manuscript Containing Institutes, Laws and Homilies*, EEMF, 17 (Copenhagen, 1971).

<sup>5</sup>Ker, *Catalogue*, p.215.

#### 4. Compilation

The overall similarity of the style of script written by Hands A, B and C shows that all parts of the manuscript were written at about the same time,<sup>6</sup> but there are indications that C is not the remains of a homily collection which had been planned and copied all at once. Indications of this which have already been mentioned in the preceding section are that the gathering, fols 18-24, was trimmed to the size of fols 2-17 and 25-35, and that the gathering, fols 3-11, appears also to have been added. But before considering compilation up to fol. 24, it will be convenient to consider the compilation of fols 25-81.

The text of Homily 3, contained in fols 25-40r, can be analysed into four parts which roughly correspond with the collation of the leaves. Thus the first half, approximately, is composed of topics related to the theme of 'clænnes' of body and soul. The theme is stated at the very beginning of Homily 3, restated at lines 78-9 and 84-90, and concluded at lines 146-51 with a list of virtues necessary for 'ura saula clænnesse' (line 146). The list of virtues ends at the top of fol. 32v, the remainder of which contains a passage, centred on a gospel citation (Matt. 13:43, at lines 156-7) and providing a link with the 'Three Utterances' exemplum.<sup>7</sup> Fols 25-32 are a single gathering (it happens to be the only regular quaternion in C). The 'Three Utterances' exemplum occupies fol. 33 and most of fol. 34r (lines 162-198). The rest of fol. 34 contains a passage in the style of a prayer, which ends in the fourth line of fol. 35 (lines 199-207). The rest of fol. 35 and most of the gathering, fols 36-41, contains what may be regarded as the fourth and final part of Homily 3 (lines 208ff.), and this part is made up of various views of heaven and hell. Fols 33-35, containing the 'Three Utterances' exemplum, the prayer and the beginning of the final part, are a gathering of three singletons. Hand A wrote fols 25-33, Hand B wrote fol. 34 and Hand C's writing is recognizable from where the final part of the homily begins in the fourth line of fol. 35.

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<sup>6</sup>CCCC 198 is an example of a homily collection whose palaeography, according to Ker's analysis, shows it to have been compiled through three successive stages: Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 48, s. xi(1) and xi(2), pp. 76-82.

<sup>7</sup>See Rudolph Willard, *Two Apocrypha in Old English Homilies*, *Beitrage zur Englischen Philologie*, 30 (Leipzig, 1935), pp. 31ff., and Mary F. Wack and Charles D. Wright, 'A New Latin Source for the Old English "Three Utterances" Exemplum', *ASE*, 20 (1991), 187-202. The article by Wack and Wright is concerned with the source of the version of the exemplum found in C, and supercedes the comments on C in Willard, *Two Apocrypha*, pp. 118-121.

This albeit rough correspondence of textual analysis, collation and scribal stints must, I think, give rise to a suspicion that Homily 3 in its present form might be a compilation of previously distinct texts. Since no other copy of Homily 3, or of any part of Homily 3, is extant, such a suspicion cannot easily be dispelled or confirmed. However, a spelling feature which in C occurs only in Homily 3 indicates that most of the piece was copied from one exemplar. This feature consists in the *ie* spellings listed in the next chapter (below, p.89). In Hand A's stint, fols 25-33, *ie* spellings occur throughout what I have analyzed as the first part of the homily, in the passage that links the first part with the 'Three Utterances' exemplum ('gehiere', line 161) and in the exemplum itself ('siendon/-an', lines 166 and 168; 'hiere', pronoun dat. fem. sg., lines 171, 183 and 187). In the first sentence of the final part of the homily, written by Hand C on fols 35-40r, is the spelling 'awiergedra' (line 208), along with 'ætiewed' (line 223) and 'hiera' (pronoun gen. pl., lines 219 and 244). The *ie* spellings suggest that Homily 3 was copied from one manuscript exemplar, but there is still the possibility that Homily 3 draws on more than one homily from the same exemplar, and that Hands A, B and C collaborated to make a composite piece. It is not significant that the short passage in the style of a prayer (lines 199-207) has no *ie* spellings (only two words, 'fynd' at line 201 and 'afyrsige' at line 204, could possibly <sup>be</sup> spelt with *ie*), but the passage does stand out from the 'Three Utterances' and the heaven and hell parts of the homily either side of it; it is also compositionally effective, supplying aptly a pause before the declamatory final part.<sup>8</sup> It is interesting that the conclusion of the passage is a version of a passage in the conclusion of Homily 1 (Homily 1, lines 325-6). The analogue (Homily 3, lines 205-7) begins at 'on heofona rices', the words Hand B enclosed in a bird bracket on fol.34v, and is completed in the first four lines of fol.35r, in a hand which cannot be identified with Hands A, B or C, but whose letter forms connect it with Hand A (see above, p.48). It is a strange coincidence that the end of a page occurs at the same point in both analogous passages.

Differences in the thickness of the membrane of each of the leaves in the gathering, fols 33-35, suggest that each scribe drew on his own supply of membrane for his contribution to the gathering (see above, pp.7-8). The similarity in the appearance of punctures in the membrane,

<sup>8</sup>Wack and Wright, 'A New Latin Source', p.196, fn.31, comment on the passage that 'the praise of God and the Trinity which concludes the angels' speech to the just soul ... may well be the homilist's elaboration'.

noted in section 1 of this chapter, suggests that pricking of fols 33 and 35 was done at the same time, but the difference in the line of punctures suggests that the two leaves were not pricked together.

There need be no doubt that Homilies 4 and 5 were already unitary texts when copied for inclusion in C, because copies of both are extant among the Blickling Homilies and another copy of Homily 5 is in the Vercelli Book. The Vercelli and Blickling manuscripts are both earlier than C. It is evident, too, that Homilies 4 and 5 were intended to follow Homily 3, and that their copying belongs with the copying of Homily 3 to the final stage of compilation. Thus the end of Homily 3 and the beginning of Homily 4 are in Hand C's gathering, fols 36-41. A difficulty here is that the leaves of the gathering, along with fols 42-81, are smaller, by about 10mm. in height and width, than fols 2-35. The difference in the size of the leaves could be explained if it were postulated that C was compiled around existing gatherings of different size. Of the extant gatherings following fols 36-41, it can only be those containing the text of Homily 5 that can be postulated to have already existed, since the text of Homily 4 is begun by Hand C in the first smaller gathering, fols 36-41, and continued by Hand B in the gatherings, fols 42-52 and fols 53-61, the first of which is linked to the gathering, fols 36-41, by the use of ornamental brackets (see above, p.59). Yet ornamental brackets of the same form are used by Hand B during his copying of Homily 5, on fols 77v-79r, a point strongly in favour of Homily 5 having been copied after Homily 4. If fols 36-81 were made to conform to the dimensions of leaves containing a homily that had been copied some time earlier, those leaves may be assumed to have been lost without trace. It is simpler to suppose that fols 36-81 are smaller than fols 2-35 either because of a mistake in measurement or because it had been convenient to use membrane which could not be cut and folded to the exact size of fols 2-35.

The only indication of loss from C within fols 25-81 is at the end of the gathering, fols 53-61, where Homily 4 ends imperfectly with the words 'a on ealra'.<sup>9</sup> It may be that Hand B thought it unnecessary to complete the closing formula of the homily, perhaps following the example of Hand C, who omitted the 'Amen' from the end of Homily 3, which concludes with the words 'a in ealra worulda woruld abuten ænde'. But it equally may be that Hand B began a new gathering

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<sup>9</sup>This is the point where Ker, *Catalogue*, p.409, notes loss 'perhaps after quire 8'.



with the end of the concluding formula of Homily 4. There<sup>e</sup><sub>λ</sub> is a gap in the present binding between fols 61 and 62, and though this gap is not wide enough even for one gathering of the thickness of Hand B's other gatherings in fols 42-81, it is possible that the gap was wider before the repair of the present binding (which I propose above, p.24) and that loss occurred in modern times.

Homily 1 comprises two distinct texts, a translation from *Visio Pauli* on fols 3-11 and a homily, the first half, approximately, of which is an address of the soul to the body, on fols 2v and 12-17r, line 5. Healey has presented the case for regarding Homily 1 as a deliberate composite, rather than assuming, with Willard, that the *Visio Pauli* material was at some point misbound within the soul and body piece.<sup>10</sup> Whether one can be so generous as Healey when she says that the combination of texts is 'an intelligent piece of compilation art' is partly a matter of subjective opinion.<sup>11</sup> It may seem a fundamentally bad idea to interrupt the address of the soul to the body with such a lengthy digression as the *Visio Pauli* material provides, but I agree with Healey that the texts were combined deliberately. I shall attempt to expand her argument.

Because in the gathering, fols 3-11, the leaves are the same size as fols 2 and 12-17, and because the width of the margins, which is about the same as in the rest of C (except, of course, for the trimmed gathering, fols 18-24), does not suggest that the leaves have been trimmed, it is intrinsically likely that the *Visio Pauli* material was copied in order to be included in C. Willard did not question the likelihood, nor is there cause in what follows to question it.

The opening of the soul's address to the sinful body ends in the middle of the seventeenth line on fol.2v (Homily 1, line 9). Fols 12-16, with the continuation of the address on fols 12-14r, all have nineteen lines. The remaining three and a half lines on fol.2v can be seen to have been added, in that they extend into the side margins, with the last line in the lower margin of fol.3r (Homily 1, lines 10-12).<sup>12</sup> Though the condition of fol.2v is too poor to allow palpable

<sup>10</sup>Healey, *OE Vision of St. Paul*, pp.4-6; Rudolph Willard, 'The Address of the Soul to the Body', *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, 50 (1935), 957-83 (p.958), states his assumption that 'the manuscript must have come apart and been rebound, with the result that a whole quire [fols 3-11] has got misplaced'. Ker, *Catalogue*, p.410, follows Willard on this point.

<sup>11</sup>Healey, *OE Vision St. Paul*, p.6. In a review article in *Speculum*, 50 (1980), 580-1, Paul E. Szarmach criticizes this judgement of Healey's on the grounds that it is not backed up by 'literary proof and discussion of the Soul and Body text'.

<sup>12</sup>The writing in the left-hand and lower margins is very, in places completely, faded, and has not been retouched. For detail, see Commentary. Willard, 'The Address of the Soul', pp.958-9,

confirmation, it must be that two and a half lines of the original text have been erased to accommodate the addition. Part of the erased text may be assumed to have contained the first part of that restatement of the soul's address whose conclusion is at the beginning of fol. 12r (Homily 1, line 210). None of the restatements which punctuate the address of both sinful and righteous souls is exactly like another, and it cannot be conjectured exactly how long the partly erased one was, but it certainly cannot have filled two and a half manuscript lines.<sup>13</sup> The added text may be an expansion of what has been lost from the end of the soul's speech at Homily 1, line 9. This part of the sinful soul's address is represented in an abbreviated redaction of text from Homily 1, which makes up part of the composite homily, Assmann XIV.<sup>14</sup> Compare Homily 1, lines 7-12, with the following: 'Hwi noldestu gelyfan þinum drihtene þe wæs ahangen for us 7 us alysde fram helle wite' (Assmann XIV, lines 80-1). Specification of the crucifixion and mention of hell in this passage are also in the added text, and both passages possibly, therefore, reflect the same lost text.

The added passage on fols 2v-3r brings to a halt the opening of the address of the soul to the body, so that the text can digress to the complaints by sun, earth and angels about sinful man that constitute the narrative of the opening of the *Visio Pauli* material (Homily 1, lines 13-63). The rest of the *Visio Pauli* excerpt describes the fate of the good and evil souls when they leave the body, and can therefore be understood as background which complements the address of the soul when it returns to the body. The *Visio Pauli* material ends with a particular sinful soul, which has just left its body and which 'drihten' addresses angrily (Homily 1, lines 206-9). It is this soul who is made to take up the address to the body in the sentence (Homily 1, line 210) that effects the transition from *Visio* to address.<sup>15</sup> There is nothing in the address of the soul to the body in the rest of Homily 1 to contradict this timing of the address immediately after death.<sup>16</sup>

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took this 'connective matter' to have been added some time later than and independently of what he believed to have been the mis-assembly of C.

<sup>13</sup>Compare Homily 1, lines 215, 222, 236, 242, 246, 250, 260.

<sup>14</sup>Bruno Assmann, ed., *Angelsächsische Homilien und Heiligenleben*, Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa, 3 (Kassel, 1889; repr. with a Supplementary Introduction by Peter Clemons, Darmstadt, 1964), pp. 164-9.

<sup>15</sup>'7 hio hine ðanne gegretað ðæs synfullan mannes. [fol. 12r] sawl. 7 ðus cwæð'. Willard, 'The Address of the Soul', p. 959, took the connection to be 'sheer coincidence'.

<sup>16</sup>For the timing of the address in this and other OE texts, see Healey, *OE Vison of St. Paul*, pp. 45-8.

That part of the transitional sentence which is on fol.11v may be assumed to represent, though not necessarily to reproduce, that part of the restatement of the soul's address which was erased from fol.2v.<sup>17</sup>

The passage, Homily 1, lines 207-9, immediately preceding the transitional sentence may be compared with the corresponding passage in the Latin *Visio*:

... 7 drihten hir to cwæð.

'nu get ðu wenst þæt ðu sige on wyrolde. swa swa ðu iu wære. Ac eower ælc. lihð on oðrum 7 ðær is synna.'

et dixit deus: Adhuc reputas in seculum permanere? si unus quisque uestrum illic peccans caelat et abscondit peccatum suum proximo suo; uero non absconditur quicquam.<sup>18</sup>

The correspondence of the passages I have underlined is clear. It is no less obvious that the OE 'Ac eower ælc ... synna' is based on the Latin (italics indicate verbal correspondence), but here the brevity of the OE contrasts with the preceding comprehensive rendering of the Latin. The ending, '7 ðær is synna', is particularly terse and involves ambiguity in that either the location 'on wyrolde' or the fact that one 'lihð on oðrum' could be indicated by 'ðær'. In the Latin the possibility of concealing sin in the world is contrasted with the impossibility of doing so before God's throne. The OE alters the sense of the Latin. The sense of OE 'lihð' is 'deceives,

<sup>17</sup>Healey, *ibid.*, p.72, gives a passage from the Latin *Visio*, mentioning 'angelus anime peccatricis', in parallel to the part of the transitional sentence on fol.11v, but *ibid.*, p.5, she notes that the latter is not in the Latin. As Healey notes, *ibid.*, p.5, fn. 12, Anna Maria Luiselli Fadda, 'Una Inedita Traduzione Anglosassone della *Visio Pauli* (MS. Junius 85, ff.3r-11v)', *Studi Medievali*, 15 (1974), 482-95 (p.483), noted the similarity of the transitional sentence to other restatements of the address of the soul.

<sup>18</sup>M.R. James, ed., *Apocrypha Anecdota*, Texts and Studies, vol.2, no.3 (Cambridge, 1893), p.20, lines 1-4. The Latin *Visio* proceeds with the judgement of the now silenced soul. Apart from the manuscript which provided the text of James's edition (Paris, Bibliotheque nationale, Nouv. acq. Lat. 1631, an eighth-century manuscript, probably from Fleury: see *ibid.*, p.2), there is only one other Latin witness to that portion of the Long Latin Version which is witnessed by the OE translation in C. This ninth-century manuscript (St.Gall, Stadtbibliothek (Bibliotheca Vadiana) Codex 317) has been edited by Theodore Silverstein in his *Visio Sancti Pauli. The History of the Apocalypse in Latin together with Nine Texts* (London, 1935), pp.131-47. The cited text is *ibid.*, p.135, lines 1-3. Silverstein's monograph is still, as far as I know, the most recent essential study of the Western (including Anglo-Saxon, *ibid.*, pp.7-11) textual tradition of the *Visio*. See also and for further bibliography, Healey, *OE Vision of St.Paul*, pp.19-26. Silverstein, in a review article, *Medium Aevum*, 50 (1981), 120-2, approves Healey's work and adds useful comment. For an extensive bibliography of the *Visio Pauli* see James H. Charlesworth, et al., *The New Testament Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha: a guide to the publications with excurses on apocalypses* (Metuchen, New Jersey and London, 1987), pp.289-94 and 307-9.

lies', but it seems 'lihð on' can have the sense 'make a false charge against'.<sup>19</sup> Thus 'eower ælc lihð on oðrum' may be rendered 'you make false charges, one against another', and the OE may be read as implicitly contrasting the expectation of getting away with falsehood in wordly disputes with the impossibility of being falsely charged before the throne of God.<sup>20</sup> If 'lihð on' carries a sense of actually making accusation, it may be that this sense seemed appropriate to lead into the address of the soul to the body, with further contrast between false accusation in the world and the truth of the charges against the sinful body.

However one reads the transition from *Visio Pauli* to soul's address, it cannot be argued that the link is well made, but I see no textual grounds to argue that a link was not intended.

At the juncture of the interrupted address and the beginning of the *Visio* material, there is no attempt to make an explicit link. The added text on fols 2v-3r merely truncates the address text and the *Visio* material is introduced at the top of fol.3r with a short passage, not in the Latin, in homiletic style, '7. mæn ða leofestan. hit sægð her on ðisum halgum gewrite. þæt ...' (Homily 1, line 13). Though the address and the *Visio* texts are not actually run together (as they are at the end of the *Visio* material), the homiletic introduction of the *Visio* material precludes argument on textual grounds against the view that the texts were brought together intentionally.

The textual indications that the scribe of fols 3-11, Hand B, knew that the end of his stint was meant to provide a link with the address are supported by the observable evidence of the manuscript. The gathering, fols 3-11, is made up of four bifolia and a singleton, fol.11.<sup>21</sup> The membrane of all the leaves is of the same distinctive quality, the appearance of Hand B's writing and of his ink throughout the gathering is uniform, and there is nothing to suggest that fol.11 has been added to a pre-existing quaternion. The gathering was ruled for sixteen lines, but on fol.11 Hand B ignored the (still visible) ruling and reduced the number of written lines to fifteen. He was left with a part line on fol.11v ('ðæs synfullan mannes', Homily 1, line 210), which he enclosed in a bracket, and thereby avoided leaving a line half empty before the full page, fol.12r.

<sup>19</sup> *BTSupp.* s.v. 'leogan'.

<sup>20</sup> See Healey, *OE Vision of St. Paul*, p.82, for a slightly different reading of the passage.

<sup>21</sup> As Healey, *ibid.*, p.6, fn.15, points out, Ker, *Catalogue*, p.411, mistakenly counts fol.3 as the singleton.

Because fol.11 is a singleton, the possibility must be considered that it was once the second leaf of a bifolium whose first leaf has been removed from before fol.3, where the stub of fol.11 is visible. The speech of the sun at the beginning of the *Visio* material in C occurs near the beginning of the Long Latin Version, and it is possible that a lost leaf bore text drawn from the opening of the *Visio*,<sup>22</sup> though it seems unlikely that the putative removed leaf bore text which so ended that the text on the leaf, fol.3, began neatly with a homiletic introduction of further text. However, there is the possibility that text was erased at the top of fol.3r to accommodate the homiletic introduction. The top two lines of fol.3r are as follows:

7. m. hit sægð her on ðisum halgum ge  
write. þæt sunna is sprecende

The first line is retouched and also shows blurring of ink which might suggest that the surface has been roughened by erasure. But fol.3r is in poor condition, being especially worn around the outside edges, and some ends of lines and the bottom two lines are also retouched and blurred, as is some of the writing within the page. The cross strokes of the two 'ð's are turned at either end, the form used by both Hand B and the hand that added the text on fols 2v-3r. In the second line, only 'sunna is' (except for blurred 'i') certainly belong to Hand B's original copy. 'write' and the large abbreviated 'þæt' may have been carefully retouched. Because of the poor condition of fol.3r, the only point that can be taken to suggest that the text has been fitted in over erasure before 'sunna' is that the latter word begins hard up to preceding 'þæt'.<sup>23</sup> As far as I have been able to see, it cannot be decided whether or not Hand B's copy of *Visio Pauli* material originally began on a lost leaf before fol.3. But the question does not affect the point that the *Visio* material was intentionally combined with the soul and body homily. It can be argued that a decision to begin with the sun's speech was an afterthought, and that the first leaf of a quinion was removed at the moment of compilation. This is a likely possibility, since it might be thought that Hand B, knowing he needed nine leaves for his stint, would have included the extra leaf within the quaternion, rather than placing it at the end.

<sup>22</sup>That the beginning of the OE does not coincide with the beginning of the Latin seems to have led Healey, *ibid.*, p.6, to believe that a leaf has been lost.

<sup>23</sup>The question is complicated by the appearance that 'sprecende' is over erasure: see Commentary to line 14, where reference to a photographic reproduction of fol.3r is given.

Although it cannot be claimed that the combination of texts was expertly executed, there is no reason to doubt that the combination was intentional. Moreover, because Hand B knew that his stint, fols 3-11 (with or without an original leaf before fol.3) was to end on fol.11v in a link with text on fol.12r,<sup>24</sup> it follows that the *Visio Pauli* material was copied for the single purpose of expanding the soul and body portion of Homily 1.

It seems reasonable to suppose that whoever wrote the added text on fols 2v-3r and the additions to Hand B's work on fols 3-6r is the same person whose idea it was to add the *Visio Pauli* material. I disagree with Healey's assumption that Hand A is identical with this compiler, whom she, too, supposes to be the writer of the additions,<sup>25</sup> because I cannot see that the identification can be supported on palaeographical grounds (see above, pp.49-50). I think that the compiler is identical with neither Hand A, B nor C, but is a fourth member of the scriptorium staff. This person I refer to as the 'reviser' of Homily 1, rather than the 'compiler', since the latter term might imply that he was responsible for supervising the compilation of C as a whole, and this, though likely, cannot be shown.

The extent of the reviser's role in the production of the *Visio Pauli* material in Homily 1 should be considered carefully before assessing the significance of the text in C for the textual tradition of the *Visio Pauli*.<sup>26</sup> I offer a few remarks on this point.

In the next chapter it is noted that instances of yo spellings, which are scattered throughout C, are frequent only in the *Visio Pauli* portion of Homily 1 (see below, pp.85ff). It is also noted that in the work of the reviser of Homily 1, yo spellings are almost regular (nine instances, beside one y spelling). Amongst other possibilities it raises,<sup>27</sup> this spelling evidence

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<sup>24</sup>This is the point where Ker, *Catalogue*, p.409, records loss after his 'quire 2'. Of course, in my opinion there is no loss here.

<sup>25</sup>Healey, *OE Vision of St.Paul*, p.5.

<sup>26</sup>A comprehensive study of the *Visio* in Anglo-Saxon literature is yet to be accomplished. Healey's chapter, 'The Old English Tradition of the Vision of St.Paul', *ibid.*, pp.41-57, is broadly concerned with themes and motifs that derive more or less directly from the *Visio* itself, but includes notice of genuine *Visio* material in OE.

<sup>27</sup>For example, one could speculate that the reviser came to the C scriptorium from some centre where yo spellings were traditional, bringing with him an OE *Visio Pauli*, which had been either translated or copied at this centre, and which served as the exemplar for the *Visio* text in Homily 1; bringing with him, too, the yo spelling habit, which was having a slight influence on Hands A, B and C. Since he did revise, it is safe, I think, to base speculation on the idea that the reviser had a senior position in the scriptorium.

suggests that the reviser may have draughted the *Visio* material before he had Hand B make the copy in fols 3-11.

Compared with the Long Latin Version, the *Visio* material in Homily 1 is much abbreviated: it represents less than half of the corresponding portion of the Latin text in James's edition.<sup>28</sup> It may be that the reviser, when he was preparing an exemplar for Hand B to copy, was responsible for at least some omission of source material.<sup>29</sup>

It may be rash to go so far as to suggest that the reviser translated from the Latin, either from a full or, what is more likely, from an already abbreviated version, but it does not necessarily follow from his apparent lack of skill as a compiler of homilies that he lacked competence as a translator. This begs the question, 'how competent is the translation?' For example, did the reviser revise fols 3r-6r having realized the inadequacy of his translation when he saw Hand B's fair copy? Such questions cannot be pursued here. One textual question concerning the reviser's additions on fols 3r-6r should be briefly considered, however.

Healey proposes that the reviser corrected the text with reference to another, 'better copy of the *Visio*',<sup>30</sup> but there is no reason to invoke a second exemplar. Most of the additions could have been invented by the reviser. There are only two points where an addition corresponds to the Latin, and these could as well have been drawn from the original exemplar, with reference to which the reviser could have corrected Hand B's copy. The two additions are '7 wiccacræftas' (Homily 1, line 25), corresponding to Latin 'maleficia',<sup>31</sup> and the repetition of 'gast' (Homily 1, line 75) corresponding to repeated 'spiritus' in the Latin.<sup>32</sup> The reviser's addition of 'ge dæges. ge nihtes' (Homily 1, line 66) is over an erasure and could have been substituted for some other phrase corresponding to the Latin 'indeficienter omnibus diebus uite uestrae'.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>28</sup>James, *Apocrypha Anecdota*, p.12, line 5 - p. 20, line 3. In James's edition the text is divided into fifty-one sections; the OE is drawn from sections 4-17.

<sup>29</sup>Close comparison of the OE text with James's edition shows much reworking besides mere omission. I am strongly inclined to believe that the reviser was not responsible for all the additions, substitutions and rearrangement involved in the production of the OE text.

<sup>30</sup>Healey, *OE Vision of St. Paul*, pp.6 and 29.

<sup>31</sup>James, *Apocrypha Anecdota*, p. 13, line 4; James, *The Apocryphal New Testament* (Oxford, 1924), p.528, line 2, translates 'maleficia' as 'witchcrafts'.

<sup>32</sup>*Ibid.*, p.15, line 6.

<sup>33</sup>James, *Apocrypha Anecdota*, p.13, line 34. For Healey's example, *OE Vision of St. Paul*, p.30, of the addition of 'ðine' before 'halgan stowe' at Homily 1, line 32, to correspond with Latin 'sanctum locum tuum' (James, *Apocrypha Anecdota*, p.13, line 9), see Commentary to line 32.

The fact that fols 3-11 are not included in the run of filled letters on fols 12-16 (and probably fol.17) and 25-70r suggests that the gathering was a later addition. However, as we have seen in the preceding section (above, pp.58-9), Hand B's bracket on fol.11v is closely related in design and execution to other brackets in C and this a good indication that the addition of fols 3-11 was not far separated in time from other acts in the compilation process. Moreover, neither recto nor verso of fol.2 shows filling of letters, and it may be that the filling was done by a scribe (either Hand A or C, say) who had fols 12, etc., to hand, while, say, Hand B was occupied with the addition of fols 3-11 at the end, marked by what is now fol.2, of the rest of the collection, or while the reviser was working with fols 2-11.

There is a fairly sound palaeographical indication of time lapse between Hand A's copying of fols 2 and 12-16 and his copying of fols 25-33. In the latter gathering his use of certain alternative letter forms (*f*, *r*, *s* and *st* ligature: see above, pp.46-7) is more developed than in the former. Another indication of separate occasions is the difference in appearance between the punctures in fols 12-16 and those in fol.33 (see above, p.55), suggesting that the pricking instrument Hand A had to hand when he prepared fol.33 was not the one he used for fols 12-16. Thus it appears that the compilation of C was arrested after the copying of the soul and body homily on fols 2v and 12-17r, and completed, a little later, by the addition of fols 25ff. and the insertion of fols 3-11.

The addition of the gathering, fols 18-24, is distinguished from the addition of fols 3-11 and 25-81 by the fact that the leaves of fols 18-24 had to be trimmed to match the size of the rest of the leaves in MS 85. The recopying and erasure of ends of lines on the rectos has been described in the preceding section (see above, pp.57-8). There are two possible explanations for the trimming of fols 18-24. Either the scribe, Hand B, made a mistake in measurement when preparing the gathering, or the gathering was not originally intended for inclusion in C. Evidence in support of the first possibility is that the leaves were originally cut too wide by exactly the width of the outer page margins: on the versos the writing begins hard up to the edges of the leaves. Thus Hand B could have confused the measurement for the width of a bifolium (fols 19-24 are bifolia) with the measurement for the width between the margins at the outer edges of a bifolium. This seems unlikely since the measurements of a bifolium would be all the



scribe needed at first. He would then have to assess how many leaves were required for his task, and how many lines per page, before he ruled his margins. Moreover, the fact that the rewritten end line at the foot of fol. 19r has been partly trimmed off, and written once again, suggests that the leaves had to be trimmed for height as well as for width. It is possible, but scarcely credible, that Hand B quite mistook the bifolium measurements, but it seems safer to assume that fols 18-24 had to be trimmed because they were not originally intended for inclusion in C.

The gathering, fols 18-24, is distinguished further in that it contains the only homily in C to have been given a title, 'Dominica I in Quadragesima'.<sup>34</sup> Also there is a difference in appearance of the filling of letters in fols 18-24 from the filling in fols 12-16 (and 17) and 25-70r (see above, p.53). The form of the brackets used to enclose rewritten letters seems to have contributed to the design of the ornamental brackets on fols 36-52 and 77v-79r, and this suggests that the addition of the Ælfrician homily belongs to that stage of compilation to which fols 3-11 and 25-81 belong. It will be remembered that the quality of the membrane of fols 18-24 is closely comparable to that of fols 3-11, and there is the suggestion that Hand B drew on the same stock of membrane for both gatherings. Thus Hand B may have copied the Ælfrician homily only shortly before copying the *Visio Pauli* material, which task may have preceded the copying by Hand B of fols 42-81, for which membrane of inferior quality was used.

The gathering, fols 18-24, is made up of three bifolia, with fol. 18 a singleton. Half of the recto and all the verso of fol. 24 were left blank. P.R. Robinson has identified fols 18-24 as a 'booklet'.<sup>35</sup> The gathering fulfils three of the nine criteria she lists for identifying a booklet within a larger collection.<sup>36</sup> Two criteria are that it contains a complete text and that it was originally of different dimensions from the rest of the manuscript. The third criterion is that 'the last page (or pages) of a booklet may have been left blank because the text did not fill the booklet', and here questions arise. Fol. 18 is a singleton, and since it is unlikely that a gathering for which bifolia were available would have been begun with a singleton, it may be supposed that

<sup>34</sup>This is the day for which Ælfric composed the piece. Godden, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies. The Second Series*, p.60.

<sup>35</sup>Robinson, 'Self-Contained Units', p.238. 'Booklet' is Robinson's term for a 'structurally independent production containing a single work or a number of short works'; the booklet 'may consist of several quires and these may be either large or small in dimension ... Nowadays a booklet is usually in a collection with other booklets' (*ibid.*, pp.231 and 232).

<sup>36</sup>Criteria 1, 2 and 9 in Robinson's list, *ibid.*, pp.232-3.

fol.18 was the first leaf of a bifolium the other blank leaf of which, after the mostly blank fol.24, was removed when C was compiled. If the booklet was to contain only Homily 2, not a lengthy text, it might be expected that Hand B would have contrived to fit the text within a quaternion by leaving the recto of the first leaf blank. One hesitates to accept the possibility that the proposed booklet contained homilies preceding Homily 2, because it seems inconvenient to make a homily titled for the first Sunday in the Lenten season of the Church year the final item in a booklet. Another of Robinson's criteria is that 'outer pages may be soiled or rubbed'. Fol.24v does appear dirty in comparison with the other leaves of the gathering, but since the singleton, fol.18, invites postulation of the existence of an original blank leaf after fol.24, the criterion is difficult to apply. None of the leaves of C is in anything like pristine condition, and some leaves may be more soiled than others because dirt has got in more easily between than within gatherings. Thus fol.25r, the first of a gathering and containing the beginning of Homily 3, is more discoloured than other leaves in the gathering until fol.32v, the last leaf. The text on fol.32v ends in the middle of the 'Three Utterances' exemplum in Homily 3, and discolouring of fol.32v cannot indicate the end of a booklet. Fol.36r, the first of a gathering, is more discoloured than following leaves and, again, fol.36r contains the continuation of text from fol.35r.

The possibility cannot be discounted that fols 18-24 had had a brief life as part of a booklet before being included in C, but the alternative possibility can be proposed that Homily 2 was copied with the intention of making the piece the first in a collection of homilies for Lent, and that this project was abandoned when it was decided instead to extend the existing collection, which ended with the soul and body homily.

Robinson proposed that C is 'a collection of four homily booklets',<sup>37</sup> but she did not specify the other three or argue for their identification as booklets, and I proceed according to the view that fols 3-11, 18-24 and 25-81 represent a single, final stage in the compilation of C, and that fols 3-11 and 25-81 were copied with the intention of adding them to a former stage of compilation, represented by fols 2 and 12-17.<sup>38</sup> That the compilation was complete is indicated

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<sup>37</sup>*Ibid.*, p.238.

<sup>38</sup>I do not mean to undermine Robinson's general proposition, *ibid.*, p.235-6, that 'it may have been the practice to keep a collection of homiletic booklets loose in a wrapper rather than sewn into a binding'. For an example of a manuscript containing possible booklets, besides Robinson's examples, see W. Schipper, 'A Composite Old English Homiliary from Ely: Cambr. Univ. Libr.

by the fact that fol.81 contains the last eleven lines of Homily 5 on its recto, with the rest of the leaf left blank. The leaf is a singleton and probably had to be added to the gathering, fols 72-81, when Hand B found that the singleton, fol.77, which he had already included in the gathering, had not been sufficient provision. The remains of the former stage of compilation are still to be considered.

The soul and body homily ends in the fifth line of fol.17r. The rest of fol.17 is taken up with three charms and the beginning of a fourth. The first charm is begun in the fifth line of fol.17r, immediately after the end of the homily, and the whole of fol.17 is written in a hand which cannot be identified with any of the other hands of C. The incomplete text of the fourth charm indicates loss after fol.17. There is a gap in the present binding after fol.17, but this does not necessarily indicate that loss occurred in modern times. The gap is due to the spine having broken open along its whole height. The gatherings in the volume, MS 85, were bound so tightly at the spine that there is spring in the leaves, and the volume does not close flat. If the volume had been in a shelf between other volumes, strain would have been exerted on the spine, and it seems that the spine thus broke at its weakest point. The membrane of fol.17 is thick, the stoutest membrane in MS 85, and this may have contributed to making the point between the gatherings, fols 12-17 and fols 18-24, the weakest point in the spine. The volume is so full that it is most unlikely that a gathering has been lost since the repair to the present binding, though the loss of a leaf cannot be ruled out, and loss could have occurred at any time before the repair.

The gathering, fols 12-17, is made up of a central bifolium with two singletons on each side. It is a possibility that there had been an outer bifolium (so that the gathering was an improvised quaternion) whose second leaf bore the continuation of the fourth charm, and which was removed when the collection was enlarged and the *Visio Pauli* material added. But this would mean that the first half of the bifolium had intervened between fols 2v and 12r, and I have argued above that only the two and a half lines erased from fol.2v are missing from the soul and body address. In the abbreviated version of the address text found in Assmann XIV, the text moves from the point at which the lines were erased on fol.2v directly to a point several sentences

into the address text on fol.12r,<sup>39</sup> and there is therefore no suggestion that a full leaf of address text has been lost from the homily in C.<sup>40</sup> A more attractive possibility is that fol.2, which cannot be said ever to have been conjoint with either fols 16 or 17 (see above, p.7), had been the first leaf of a bifolium whose second leaf followed fol.17 and contained the rest of the fourth charm. When fols 3-11 were added this bifolium would have been removed, and the leaf with the continuation of the charm would then have been cut off, leaving fol.2 with enough of a stub to be sewn on to the outside of the gathering, fols 3-11. Fol. 2 remains problematic, but in order to have survived I think it must have been attached to fols 3-11. If it had belonged to a gathering which preceded an original gathering, fols 12-17, the only way in which I can see it could have survived when the rest of the gathering was lost is if it had been used as a binding-leaf when the putative Greek psalter was bound with C. But then why was fol.1 used as a binding-leaf rather than another leaf from the lost gathering?

Robinson's 'booklet' articles<sup>41</sup> are important generally in that they emphasize that texts were not always copied with the end in view of making a bound codex.<sup>42</sup> Thus the collection up to fol.17 need not be thought of as having been bound before it was extended, and though C seems to represent a completed collection it need not be assumed that completion was necessarily followed by provision of a hard binding. It can be proposed that C remained unbound until, some time in the twelfth century after the manuscript to which fol.1 had belonged had been scrapped, it was found that C could be conveniently used to fill a binding whose primary purpose may have been to preserve a fragment of a Greek psalter. The one or more gatherings containing the text of at least one homily may have already become separated from fols 2ff. by this time, or

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<sup>39</sup>Homily 1, line 220; Assmann, *Angelsächsischen Homilien*, p.167, lines 81-2: 'Gehyr nu earma lichama þu eart deofles hus forþan þu deofles willan worhtest'.

<sup>40</sup>Ker, *Catalogue*, p.410, states that 'a leaf or more is missing between ff.2 and 12', but on what grounds he does not say.

<sup>41</sup>P.R. Robinson, 'Self-Contained Units' and 'The "Booklet": a Self-Contained Unit in Composite Manuscripts', in *Codicologica*, 3, ed. A. Gruys and J.P. Gumbert, *Litterae Textuales* (Leiden, 1980), pp.46-69.

<sup>42</sup>The principal contemporary term for a manuscript kept in a membrane cover is 'in pergameno'; 'in quarternò' may have the same meaning; the terms 'quarternus' and 'libellus' may have been used to refer to 'booklets': see Robinson, 'The "Booklet"', pp.52-3. As Barbara C. Raw, 'The Construction of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 11', *ASE*, 13 (1984), 187-207 (p.199), noted, there are examples of manuscripts described as 'in pergameno' (*sic*) in a fragmentary catalogue of c.1170, from Christ Church, Canterbury, edited by M.R. James, *The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover* (Cambridge, 1903), pp.7-12.

separation may have occurred at the time of binding. Because the lost binding-leaf contained an OE text, it may be assumed (yet tentatively) that the binding was made in England, but the codex may have been taken to France in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century, when the title on fol. 1 may have been added.

## CHAPTER FIVE

## SPELLING

I am uncertain about the value of phonology-based language analysis for the late tenth- and early eleventh-century homiletic manuscripts, and I therefore note some spelling features with the question in mind 'might the feature be a spelling convention that was traditional at certain centres and more or less familiar at others?' rather than questions concerning the relation of spelling features to regional dialect.<sup>1</sup> One is acutely aware of the need for a comprehensive study of the spelling habits and conventions that make LWS a recognizable literary dialect.

A spelling feature which occurs with a high degree of regularity throughout C is the use of *æ* before *n* in words which in LWS would be spelt with an *e*. The feature is limited to words where *n* is followed by another consonant, except that 'mæn' is the usual spelling for the nominative and accusative plural and dative singular of 'man'. The distribution of the feature is as follows.

**Fragment, perhaps Hand B, fol.2r**

2 mæn, ænglas; 5 ænde.

**Homily 1, Hand A, fols 2v and 12-16**

267ff. mæn 9x *beside* 1 Men; 230ff. ængl- 4x; 253 aḁæncen *and* 305 geḁæncept *and* 316 geḁencean; 315 geændod; 324 onwænded.

unattributed, fol.17r, lines 1-5

327 ænde (*the feature is not occasioned in Charms, same hand, fol.17r, line 5 - 17v*).

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<sup>1</sup>Cp. Scragg's comments, *Vercelli Homilies*, p.lxxi.

**Hand B, fols 3-11**

20 *gewāndan beside* 93 *gewendon*; 26 *mæn*; 48ff. *ængel, ængl-27x and* 120, 133 *heahængla, -e*; 49 *gebrængað*; 83, 92 *gesænde and* 192 *gesāndan*; 87 *lændene*; 138 *onfængnes beside* 197 *onfengon*.

reviser, fols 2v-6r

56, 61 *ænglas, -an*.

**Homily 2, Hand B, fols 18-24**

2ff. *længtenlic- 4x*; 29 *bigængum*; 30 *geglængde*; 56, 58 *awænt*; 88 *gewændað*; 89, 126 *mænn and* 178 *mæn (all dative singular)*; 141 *mæniscnesse, mænniscnyss*; 150, 157 *scænctan, scæntan*; 182 *ænglum*; *beside* 80, 81 *onfeng, -on*.

**Homily 3, Hand A, fols 25-33**

1ff. *mæn 7x and* 71 *wifmæn beside* 113, 127 *men*; 3 *acænnedan (MS -endan) and* 63 *acænned*; 9 *ondfænge and* 56 *ondfæncge*; 87 *ændedæg*; 88, 103 *mænnisclice (MS -ilce) and mænnisclean beside* 61 *manniscum*; 92 *þænceað beside* 125 *geðence*; *beside* 80, 81 *onfeng, -on*.

**Hand B, fol.34**

*(the feature is not occasioned)*

unattributed, fol.35r, lines 1-4

207 *ænglum*.

**Hand C, fols 35r line 4 -40r**

216ff. *ænd- 5x and* 281 *ungeændedan*; 223 *ongemænged and* 309 *gemængede*; 246ff. *ængl- 3x and* 309 *heahængla*; 252 *ungeswæncedu*; 253 *unawænededlic*; 277, 299 *sændað, sænedð and* 299 *asænedð beside* 282 *gesende*.

**Homily 4, Hand C, fols 40v-41**

1 *mæn*; 27 *mænnisce*.

**Hand B, fols 42-61**

54, 229 *ænde and* 93 *geændede and* 233 *ændedæg*; 90ff. *ængel, ængl- 3x beside* 88 *englas*; 104ff. *mæn 4x beside* 81 *men*; 124 *acænnede*; 172 *besæncte beside* 88

besencton; 192 idelhænde; 218ff. geðæncean 3x *beside* 36 þence; 244ff. wlænc- 3x; 260 onwænded *beside* 259 gewendon; *beside* 93, 176 onfeng.

**Homily 5, Hand B, fols 62-81r**

23 woruldmæn *and* 25ff. mæn 4x; 24 mæniscum; 32 ændebyrdnesse *and* 240, 315 ænde *beside* 93 endebyrdnesse; 41 ðæncean; 76, 188 ænglum, -as; 148 onfæng *beside* 219, 308 onfeng; 190 gesænde; 263, 267 læng; 279 geswænced.

It may be that the feature should be regarded as being applicable in words where LWS would have e before m plus a consonant, but the verb 'fremman', along with its nominal derivative 'fremmeras', is regularly spelt with e, and examples of other words are very few:

**Homily 1, Hand A, fols 12-16**

300 fremmeras.

**Hand B, fols 3-11**

28 fræmda, fræmdan *and* 166 afræmdod; *beside* 171 stemne.

**Homily 2, Hand B, fols 18-24**

24 gefremme; 60 stæmne *beside* 59 stemne.

**Homily 3, Hand C, fols 35r, line 4 -40r**

239 unwæmman.

**Homily 4, Hand B, fols 42-61**

174 gefremman.

**Homily 5, Hand B, fols 62-81r**

23 fremmað; 37ff. nemne 3x.<sup>2</sup>

It may be noted that in C the word for 'voice' is more often 'stefn' than it is 'stemn'. In the work of Hand A in Homily 3 (fols 25-33) the word is spelt with æ at lines 164 and 165.

Otherwise it is spelt with e:

**Homily 1, Hand B, fols 3-11**

37ff. stefen 4x *and* 115ff. stefna 3x.

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<sup>2</sup>'nemne' may not be a LWS word form: see Campbell, *OEG*, para.484 and Hogg, *GOE*, para.7.91.1.



**Homily 3, Hand C, fols 35r, line 4 - 40r**

289 *stefn and 311 stefnum.*

**Homily 4, Hand B, fols 42-61**

231 *stefne.*

**Homily 5, Hand B, fols 62-81r**

76ff. *stefne 3x.*

Words with *-en-* and *-em-* in LWS which have not attracted the *æ* spelling are as follows:

**Homily 1, Hand B, fols 3-11**

60, 62 *ðenian and ðenode*; 208 *wenst.*

**Homily 2, Hand B, fols 18-24**

52 *gecweme*; 71 *wenst*; 74, 76 *renscuras*; 176 *ðenian.*

**Homily 3, Hand C, fols 35r, line 4 -40r**

218 *orwene.*

**Homily 4, Hand B, fols 42-61**

34, 259 *wenan and 36 wen and 74, 227 wenað and 201 wenstu*; 80 *gecwemran and 140 cweman*; 122 *ðenian*; 220 *renas.*

**Homily 5, Hand B, fols 42-61**

43 *weninga.*

It may be confidently postulated that the spelling *æ* before *n* plus a consonant, where LWS would have *e*, was habitual with all the hands of C. The overall ratio of *æ* and *e* spellings is *æ* 152x to *e* 20x (plus one *a* spelling, 'manniscum, Hand A, Homily 3, line 61). In the work of Hand A the ratio is *æ* 36x to *e* 5x, and in the work of Hand B *æ* 97x to *e* 14x, both approximately seven to one, while Hand C's work shows the ratio *æ* 19x to *e* 1x.

The spelling *æ* before a nasal consonant has been noted and commented on with regard to several manuscripts, but it has not been possible to associate the feature with any particular centre or centres, or to locate it in any particular region. When the feature occurs in early manuscripts it is taken to represent an early stage of *i*-mutation of Germanic *a* before a nasal, a sound change which generally came to be represented by *e*.<sup>3</sup> A view that in later OE manuscripts

<sup>3</sup>Campbell, *OEG*, para.193(d), and Hogg, *GOE*, para.5.78.

the æ spelling is to be associated with an Early Middle English dialect in the region of Essex was challenged by C. and K. Sisam on the grounds that the spelling occurs in OE manuscripts written at a range of locations, and no comments or studies have subsequently emerged to refine the Sisams' view that the spelling 'was not confined to OE manuscripts from South-Eastern districts, and that it was at least tolerated over a wide area of Southern England'.<sup>4</sup> The point cannot be clarified until an assessment of the manuscript evidence is undertaken with due regard to the effects of the circulation of texts and the possible movement of scribes in the ecclesiastical network. Here I consider briefly a few manuscripts which exhibit the feature, in order to suggest the level of discernment which I believe will probably be required for the assessment of the spelling evidence of later OE manuscripts.

The text that prompted the Sisams' investigation of the spelling is the gloss to the Athanasian Creed in the Salisbury Psalter. The gloss was written 'by the scribe of the Latin (c.975), presumably at Shaftesbury'.<sup>5</sup> Since the gloss is independent of other glosses of the Creed, they could not show whether the scribe copied the gloss or translated the Latin himself.<sup>6</sup> They describe the scribe's use of the spelling as 'almost consistent'. However, the spelling is limited to the words 'acænned' (5x) and 'mænnisc-' (3x), these beside 'gescendedan' and 'gewende', and therefore the text is witness only to an apparently regular use of æ before nn-.

Campbell notes that there are instances of the spelling in the twelfth-century manuscript, Hatton 116, which contains a collection of homilies.<sup>7</sup> Two of the homilies are edited by Assmann (homilies III and IV) and a look through Assmann's collation with other copies of his homily III shows that the spellings are more regular in another twelfth-century manuscript, CCCC 303, and in homily IV (not in CCCC 303) the spellings are not at all conspicuous.<sup>8</sup> In homily III, for example, at lines 30, 43 and 114, CCCC 303 has 'acænnednesse' while Hatton 116 has '-enn-', and at line 95 CCCC 303 has 'ungewæmmed' where Hatton 116 has '-emm-'.

<sup>4</sup>C. Sisam and K. Sisam, eds, *The Salisbury Psalter*, EETS, 242 (London, 1959), pp.13-14.

<sup>5</sup>*Ibid.*, p.12; *cp.* Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 451, 'perhaps from Sherbourne'.

<sup>6</sup>C. and K. Sisam, *Salisbury Psalter*, p.46; the Creed is Hymn XV, pp.305-8.

<sup>7</sup>Campbell, *OEG*, p.75, fn.2. Hatton 116 is Ker, *Catalogue*, no.333. The manuscript contains glosses by the tremulous scribe of Worcester, and its homily collection is similar to those in other Worcester manuscripts, Hatton 115 and CCCC 178. Palaeographical evidence also points to the West of England, according to Ker.

<sup>8</sup>Assmann, *Angelsächsischen Homilien und Heiligenleben*. CCCC 303 is Ker, *Catalogue*, no.57: the palaeography of the manuscript links it with Rochester and Canterbury.

A manuscript of the eleventh century which exhibits æ spellings is CCCC 201. Ker dates the manuscript to 's.xi med.' and it is therefore roughly contemporary with C.<sup>9</sup> In this case we are fortunate that Raith, in his edition of English versions of the Apollonius legend, notes all the instances in the OE *Apollonius* in CCCC 201 and surveys the manuscript for instances in other texts, all of which were written by the *Apollonius* scribe.<sup>10</sup> On Raith's showing the distribution of æ spellings is not closely comparable to the distribution of the feature in C. In the *Apollonius* text, the ratio is æ 34x to e 23x. The high proportion, compared with C, of e spellings seems to be due to a selective application of æ spellings rather than to a generally weaker tendency to employ (or preserve) them. Thus, for example, the CCCC201 scribe appears regularly to spell the verbs 'wændan' and 'sændan' and their derivatives with æ, but the noun 'ende' and its verbal derivatives are regularly spelt with e; parts of the verb 'acænnan' are regularly spelt with æ, while 'men' and 'mennisc-' are spelt regularly with e; 'engl-' ('angel') is the regular spelling, and so is '-þenc-' ('think').<sup>11</sup> In C æ is usual for all these words. Not only does Raith survey all the work of the CCCC 201 scribe, but he notes the spellings in other manuscripts where there is overlap of content with CCCC 201: these are always e. On the evidence of the æ spellings, the CCCC 201 scribe seems to have been an unusually careful speller.<sup>12</sup>

One manuscript which may be specially mentioned here, because it uniquely contains a full copy of the Latin charm whose first few words are also preserved (albeit with error) at the end of C's fol.17, is BL Harley 585. The manuscript contains, in OE translation, *Herbarium Apulei* and *Medecina de Quadrupedibus* along with the collection of charms titled *Lacnunga* by Cockayne.<sup>13</sup> Ker dates the bulk of the manuscript to 's.x/xi' and two added sections to the first

<sup>9</sup>CCCC 201 is Ker, *Catalogue*, no.49. Its contents connect it with Wulfstan, but its origin is obscure.

<sup>10</sup>Josef Raith, ed., *Die alt- und mittlenglischen Apollonius-Bruchstücke* (Munich, 1956), p.9. The scribe is Ker's Hand (1), the principal scribe of his Part B.

<sup>11</sup>Ker's comment that the work of his Hand (1) shows 'æ regularly for WS e before a covered nasal' is therefore inaccurate. Note, too, that the æ spellings in CCCC 201 extend to such words as 'pænig' and 'wænian'.

<sup>12</sup>Dorothy Whitelock, ed., *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos* (London, 1939; revised edition, Exeter, 1976), pp.37-44, discusses the æ spelling, along with other spelling features, as it occurs in CCCC 201 and other manuscripts connected with Wulfstan. For comments on the feature and for more manuscripts showing it, see Hogg, *GOE*, para.5.78. See also Ker, *Catalogue*, p.xxxvi and Healey, *OE Vision of St. Paul*, p.33.

<sup>13</sup>T.O. Cockayne, *Leechdoms, Wortcunning and Starcraft of Early England*, 3 vols (London, 1864-6); *Herbarium* and *Medecina* are edited *ibid.*, I, pp.2-373, *Lacnunga* is *ibid.*, III, pp.2-80.

half of the eleventh century.<sup>14</sup> In *Lacnunga*, æ spellings preponderate over e spellings in a proportion 95 to 26.<sup>15</sup> All Leonhardi's examples are with n, mostly in words where a consonant follows the n but including 'mæn' and the words 'pænig' and 'hænep' ('hemp'). The latter part of *Lacnunga* (fols 179, line 11 -193) is one of the later additions, and here I count twenty-three æ spellings to two e spellings, all before n plus a consonant (no such spellings with m are occasioned). I have not attempted a survey of the feature in the *Herbarium* and *Medecina* texts, but it is clear from Cockayne's edition that æ spellings are frequent in Harley 585 (Cockayne's 'H') against e spellings in Cockayne's base text (from BL, Cotton Vitellius C. iii, his 'V'), and that the spellings occur in the later addition (the table of contents, fols 115-29) as well as in the body of the text.<sup>16</sup> The æ spellings in Harley 585 are often shared by the other manuscript in Cockayne's collation, Hatton 76 (his 'B').<sup>17</sup>

Since the degree of regularity of æ spellings in Harley 585 and C is comparable, the question is raised whether the two manuscripts, bearing in mind that Ker dates Harley 585 earlier than C, are comparable palaeographically. Judging from the facsimiles of pages at the beginning and end of Grattan and Singer's edition of *Lacnunga*, the script of Harley 585 is not closely comparable to that of C,<sup>18</sup> except that the tongue of e always tends to join with any suitable following letters. Head strokes of g and t also have a tendency to join with following letters, but not with a. Though there are examples of ege combination, the head stroke of g does not usually project to the right of the down stroke and combination is thereby inhibited. In the facsimile of a

<sup>14</sup>Harley 585 is Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 231; its origin is obscure; Ker does not distinguish hands; the later additions he gives as fols 115-29 and 179, line 11 -193. Cp. J.H.G. Grattan and C. Singer, *Anglo-Saxon Magic and Medicine*, Wellcome Historical Medical Museum Publications, ns.3 (London, 1952), p.208: 'whether the bulk of Harley 585, viz. ff.1-114b and 130-90b, is the work of one scribe or more, cannot be stated with certainty'.

<sup>15</sup>The count is by Günther Leonhardi, ed., *Kleinere angelsächsische Denkmäler, I*, Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa, 6 (Hamburg, 1905), pp.163-4. The count does not include the gloss to the *Lorica* of Gildas, where the feature is occasioned infrequently: the *Lorica* gloss has 'ænglas' beside 'heahenglas' and 'strengu', 'lendenu' (2x), 'cæmppum' and 'cæmpan'(2x) beside 'compwerodes'. *Lorica* is edited separately by Leonhardi, *ibid.*, pp.175ff., and is entry no. LXVIII in the edition of *Lacnunga* by Grattan and Singer, *Anglo-Saxon Magic and Medicine*, pp.131-47.

<sup>16</sup>Harley 585's copy begins within *Herbarium*, Cockayne, *Leechdoms*, I, p.93.

<sup>17</sup>Cockayne's B is Ker, *Catalogue*, no.328, Part B, s.xi med.; it contains glosses by the tremulous Worcester scribe.

<sup>18</sup>One of the facsimiles is from the later addition to *Lacnunga*; the text is Latin but letter forms are insular and the script seems to be similar to that in the bulk of the manuscript. Harley 585, fols182v-183r, are reproduced in George Hardwin Brown, 'Solving the "Solve" Riddle in BL, MS Harley 585', *Viator*, 18 (1987), 45-51 (p.51).

page from the later additon, however, head stroke of *g* does tend to project to the right of the down stroke.<sup>19</sup>

Healey has noted another spelling feature which occurs in both Harley 585 and *C*: *yo* for *LWS eo*.<sup>20</sup> In Harley 585, the examples seem to be very few in the *Herbarium* and *Medicina* texts: all I see in Cockayne's collation are two instances of 'hyo', both in *Herbarium*.<sup>21</sup> The next examples occur in the *Lorica* gloss (within *Lacnunga*) where there are three *yo* spellings, and then there are seven examples in the rest of *Lacnunga*, including one within the later addition, fols 179-193: all these examples are cited by Healey.

Healey notes three manuscripts, besides *C* and Harley 585, which have *yo* spellings. Since Healey's edition, a study of one of these,<sup>22</sup> Yale University, MS Beinecke 578,<sup>23</sup> containing fragments of the 'West Saxon Gospels', has been published.<sup>24</sup> The manuscript survives only as binding strips and an endleaf, in a fourteenth-century psalter, but it is of particular interest in the present context because of the appearance of a high degree of regularity in the use of *yo* spellings. Liuzza gives all the examples: '(be)twyox, dyofel, hyofenan, hyora, byo, cnyowum, hryofla, syocnesse, syo, twyonedan', these beside one *eo* spelling, 'eode'.<sup>25</sup> Palaeographically, Beinecke 578 has in common with *C* the use of tongue of *e* in combinations, on which feature Liuzza comments that 'e is low, but the projecting tongue combines with following letters whenever possible, even the back of *d*'; he regards this feature as a 'misuse of *e* ligatures'.<sup>26</sup> The back of *d* is horizontal, within the line, a form unlike any form in *C*. In the facsimile published

<sup>19</sup>Ker, *Catalogue*, p.306, comments that in Harley 585 'high *e* ligatures [are] usual'. Ker comments on *e* ligatures, *ibid.*, p.xxxiii. In the facsimiles, the *e* of such ligatures is not much higher than low *e*.

<sup>20</sup>Healey, *OE Vision of St Paul*, p.37.

<sup>21</sup>Cockayne, *Leechdoms*, I, pp.94 and 268.

<sup>22</sup>The other two are CCCC 162, Ker, *Catalogue*, no.38, where the *yo* spellings are in additions to an early eleventh-century homily collection, and the mid-twelfth-century psalter from Canterbury, Cambridge, Trinity College, R. 17. 1., Ker, *Catalogue*, no.91. Ker, *Catalogue*, p.xxxvii, notes, along with Harley 585, the manuscript of the *Parker Chronicle*, CCCC 173, as having *yo* spellings 'in alterations', but I have not found any examples in the facsimile, Robin Flower and Hugh Smith, eds, *The Parker Chronicle and Laws*, EETS, 208 (London, 1941), nor are any noted in the highly detailed language description in Janet M. Bately, ed., *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. A Collaborative Edition. Volume 3. MS A* (Cambridge, 1986), pp.cxxvii ff.

<sup>23</sup>Ker, *Catalogue*, no.1.

<sup>24</sup>Roy Michael Liuzza, 'The Yale Fragments of the West Saxon Gospels', *ASE*, 17 (1988), 67-82.

<sup>25</sup>*Ibid.*, p.75; 'eode' is noted from line 5 of Liuzza's transcript of the recto of the endleaf, *ibid.*, p.81.

<sup>26</sup>*Ibid.*, pp.73 and 74.

with Liuzza's study (Plate VI) it can be seen that cross stroke of *g* combines with following *e* and *i*, cross stroke of *t* with following *o* and *e*. The angular open-tailed *g* is of the same form as that written regularly by C's Hand C. Ker dates Beinecke 578 to 's.xi' and on palaeographical grounds Liuzza suggests the first half of the century. The origin of the manuscript remains obscure.

In C, *yo* spellings are most striking in fols 3-11 of Homily 1 (the text of Healey's edition). Here there are thirty-four examples (not including those in the hand of the reviser), while the rest of C shows a total of twenty-three examples. The distribution of *yo* spellings in C, along with *eo*, *y*, and *io* spellings of the words cited, is as follows.

**Fragment, perhaps Hand B, fol.2r**

1 *syo*.

**Homily 1, Hand A, fols 2v and 12-16**

323 *lyofe*.

**unattributed, and Charms, fol.17**

*(The feature is not occasioned).*

**Hand B, fols 3-11**

16 *lyoman*; 42 *underðyoded*; 52 *wyorcum* and 182 *wyorc* beside 49ff. *wyrc* 5x; 70 *nyowelnessa*; 79 *gyodan* beside 156 *geodest* and 183 *geode* and 149 *eode*; 105 *ðyostrum* and 192 *ðyostru*; 111ff. *dyofl-* 5x; 114ff. *hyo* 8x beside 118ff. *heo* 5x and 134 *hio* 5x (*all feminine singular*); 122ff. *yorðan* 5x beside 98ff. *eorðan* 3x and 22, 131 *yrðe*; 132, 180 *syo* ('*be*'); 143, 182 *syo* (*demonstrative*) beside 22, 184, 204 *seo*; 134 *nyorxnewanges*; 143 *tryogode*; 166 *byo* beside 132 *beo*; 194 *gehyorde* ('*heard*') beside 119ff. *gehyrde* 4x; 164 *mildhyorta* and 203 *mildhyortnyssa* beside 77 *mildheortnesse* and 73 *hyrtan* and 75 *hathyrtnyssa*.

**reviser, fols 2v-6r**

23, 31, 34 *syo* (*demonstrative*); 24 *yorðe* and 37 *yorðan* and 52 *yorðlic* beside 34 *yrpe*; 27, 40 *hyora*; 63 *hryowsian*.

**Homily 2, Hand B, fols 18-24**

120 *wyofode* ('*altar*'); 156 *geryordodon* beside 20, 149 *gereord-*.

**Homily 3, Hand A, fols 25-33**

165 *hyo beside* 44ff. *heo* 7x; 166 *ðyostre*.

**Hand B, fol.34; unattributed, fol35, lines1-4**

*None; not occasioned.*

**Hand C, fols 35r, line 4-40r**

251 *syo beside* 225ff. *seo* 7x; 273 *aðyostrad and* 296 *ðyostro beside* 216, 269  
*ðeostra and* 250 *geðeostrad*.

**Homily 4, Hand C, fols 40v-41**

29 *tyoðigean beside* 2 *teoðung- and* 8, 17 *teoðan*.

**Hand B, fols 42-61**

49, 52 *syo (demonstrative) beside* 60, 218 *seo*; 53 *hyo*; 161 *hyortan beside* 160  
*hyrte and* 102ff. *mildheortnesse* 3x.

**Homily 5, Hand B, fols 62-81r**

136, 270 *syo (demonstrative) beside* 300 *seo*; 174 *twyonum beside* 238 *betweenum*;  
216ff. *hyortan* 4x *beside* 152 *hyrtan*; 233 *mildhyortnesse beside* 100 *mildhyrt and* 115ff.  
*-heort-* 4x; 251 *hyorde ('flock')*.

Healey provides a phonological analysis of the feature as it occurs in fols 3-11, noting that it 'is not limited to any one condition but ranges freely wherever *eo* [short or long] would normally appear',<sup>27</sup> and similarly the examples in the rest of C cannot be tied to any particular words or groups of words.

In the small sample provided by the hand of the reviser in fols 3-6r, the *yo* spelling is regular, except for 'yrpe', otherwise 'yorð-', at Homily 1, line 34. That the reviser's additions are to the only text in C (the *Visio Pauli* translation in fols 3-11) in which *yo* spellings can be described as frequent is an interesting coincidence (see above, pp.69-70). In the rest of the work of the scribe of this text, Hand B, *yo* spellings cannot be said to be markedly more frequent than in the work of Hands A and C. In fols 3-11, Hand B's *eo* and *y* spellings in words where the reviser has *yo* have been noted when there is overlap, but it may be noted further that for the reviser's 'hyora'(2x) Hand B regularly has 'hyra' (9x) and once 'here' (line 28). For the reviser's

<sup>27</sup>Healey, *OE Vision of St Paul*, pp.36 and 32 and 34.

'hryowsian', Hand B has 'hrywsunge' (line 192), 'hrywe' (4x) and 'hrewē' (line 39).<sup>28</sup> Only in fols 3-11 are eo spellings in a minority: eo 19x, y 21x (not including 'hyrde', 'shepherd', 3x), io 5x ('hio', 'she'), e 2x, yo 34x.

In Hand B's copy of the Ælfrician Homily 2 we find eo 46x (including 'heora' at line 128, the only instance of the word) beside y 7x, io 2x (line 114 'sio' feminine demonstrative and line 182 'hio' plural pronoun) yo 2x. The y spellings in C, where the copy of Homily 2 in CUL, Gg. 3. 28., which provides Godden's base text and is considered to be closest to Ælfric,<sup>29</sup> has eo, are line 74 'wyrce', line 100 'tylunge', line 119 'fyrðling', line 160 'genysodon' and line 2 'scylan' (present indicative plural). In the latter case it seems that LWS had also the spelling 'sculon', the usual form in Wulfstan's work, but eo is usual in Ælfrician texts.<sup>30</sup> In four of five instances of present indicative singular 'sceal, scealt' in the homily (so spelt in CUL, Gg. 3. 28.), C has 'scyl'. Two y spellings in C where CUL, Gg. 3. 28. has u are line 5 'wyrþian' and line 50 'awyrða' (imperative singular). Here the u spelling seems to be usual in Ælfric's work, while eo is usual in Wulfstanian texts.<sup>31</sup> I have not counted C's 'hyrde' for 'scephyrde' in CUL, Gg. 3. 28. at line 137.<sup>32</sup> At line 127, C has 'forleost' where CUL, Gg. 3. 28. has 'forlyst'.

Hand B's stint in Homily 4 shows the ratio eo 79x to y 37x (not including 'hyra', which is regular, 16x beside 'here' at line 105) with two examples of io at lines 68 and 75: 'mæssepriostas' beside '-pryst-' 6x and '-preost-' 4x, and yo 3x. At lines 88, 117 and 167 Hand B has corrected his original ew spelling to eow in words 'cneowe', 'ðeowdom' and ðeow' (cp. 'niogan', with 'o' added at line 205).

In Homily 5, Hand B's work shows the ratio eo 45x, y 32x, io 1x (line 294 'sio' 'be'), yo 9x; e appears twice: 'ðeowdom' at line 15 (beside 'ðeow-' 4x) and 'ætewde' at line 85.

Hand B's work on fol.34, in Homily 3, has only eo spellings: 'heora', 'geornlice', 'heortan' at lines 189, 197, 203.

In the rest of Homily 3 eo spellings preponderate heavily: Hand A's stint has eo 73x beside y 3x (line 23 'wyrcean' beside 'weorc-' 4x, and lines 70, 110 'ætywed', 'ætywde'), e 1x (line 78

<sup>28</sup>Cp. 'æteowode', line 71, 'ywede', 'ætywede', lines 51, 68, 'ætewdon', line 124.

<sup>29</sup>Godden, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies. Second Series*, p.xliii.

<sup>30</sup>Hogg, *GOE*, para.5.67.

<sup>31</sup>*Ibid.*, para.5.184.

<sup>32</sup>For such LWS y spellings, see *ibid.*, paras 5.24. and 5.84.



æteuwe'), yo 2x. Hand C's stint has eo 41x, y 12x (line 238 'wyrcum', lines 251, 305 'geywed', 'ætyweð', line 279 'ahwyrfan', and 'hyra' 8x), io 5x (all 'hiora'), i 1x (line 307 'brihtnes' beside line 246 'breohtnes') and yo 3x.

Hand C's stint in Homily 4 has eo 8x and y 2x (line 27 'hyra' and line 28 'wyrceað') and yo 1x.

Besides the single yo spelling, Hand A's stint in Homily 1 shows only eo and io spellings, in a nearly equal ratio, eo 19x to io 24x.<sup>33</sup>

In C, then, the commonest alternative to LWS eo is y, but y spellings are frequent only in Hand B's stint, fols 42-81r, that is Homily 5 and most of Homily 4, and in the same scribe's stint, fols 3-11, while in his copy of the one text that surely originated in LWS spelling, the Ælfrician Homily 2, y spellings are infrequent.

In the work of Hands A and C in Homily 3 y spellings are few.

There are no y spellings in Hand A's stint in Homily 1, where io is the marginally dominant alternative to eo, but limited to words 'hio' (feminine pronoun, once plural at line 303), 'hiora', 'sio' (demonstrative) beside 'seo', 'bioð' beside 'beo-', 'diofol' beside 'deofol, deofl-' and 'gesionne'.<sup>34</sup>

Hand A's stint in Homily 3 has no io spellings, while Hand C's stint in the same homily shows io only in 'hiora' beside the slightly more usual 'hyra' and one instance of 'heora' at line 215. Hand C also writes the genitive plural pronoun as 'hiera' at lines 219 and 244, which is the regular spelling of this word by Hand A in Homily 3.

In the work of Hand B io spellings are few and are limited to the words 'hio' (feminine pronoun in Homily 1, plural pronoun in Homily 2, line 182) and 'sio' (feminine demonstrative at Homily 2, line 114, 'be' at Homily 5, line 294).

The fact that yo spellings occur in all texts in C and in the work of all hands makes it likely that the C scribes introduced the feature into their copies, even though, overall, the feature

<sup>33</sup>A word of varying frequency which always has eo and has been left out of the counts (for which I cannot claim absolute accuracy) is 'heofon-'; two common words of varying frequency which have also been left out are 'beop' and 'beon', but here Hand A's work, Homily 1, line 304, has 'bioð'.

<sup>34</sup>'gesionne' occurs at a point of textual difficulty, for which see Homily 1, Commentary to line 248.

can by no means be described as a confirmed spelling habit, and therefore stands in contrast to the *æ* spellings considered previously. However, substantiation of the likelihood that the *yo* spellings are to be connected with the C scriptorium is suggested by their almost regular occurrence in the reviser's additions to that part of Homily 1 which has frequent *yo* spellings (see above, pp.69-70).

*ie* spellings, characteristic of West Saxon language written before the evolution of LWS,<sup>35</sup> occur only in Homily 3 and are as follows.

**Homily 3, Hand A, fols 25-33**

18 *aliesde*; 27, 40, 66, 126 (2x), 133 *hiera*, *-e* (*genitive plural pronoun*); 34 *gehieren* and 161 *gehiera*; 39 *tienfealde*; 42 *niehstan*; 44, 171, 183, 187 *hiere* (*genitive feminine singular pronoun*); 97, 166, 168 *siendan*; 118 *piestra*.

**Hand B, fol.34**

*None.*

**Hand C, fols 35r, line 4 -fol.40r**

208 *awiergedra*; 219, 244 *hiera* (*genitive plural pronoun*); 223 *ætiewed*.

A common word which only once appears in its LWS spelling is 'self'.<sup>36</sup> The example in LWS spelling, 'sylfum', is in the Ælfrician Homily 2, line 101, where it occurs beside nine instances of 'self-'. The frequency of the word in other texts, where the spelling is always *e*, is as follows.

Homily 1, Hand A, 3x; Hand B, 1x.

Homily 3, Hand A, 11x; Hand C, 1x.

Homily 4, Hand C, 3x; Hand B, 8x.

Homily 5, Hand B, 14x.

<sup>35</sup>Campbell, *OEG*, para.201; Hogg, *GOE*, paras 5.82-84.

<sup>36</sup>Campbell, *OEG*, paras 325-6; Hogg, *GOE*, para.5.171, fn.2.

## PART TWO. TEXT

### INTRODUCTION

The primary aim of the present edition is to enable consideration of questions concerning the use of the manuscript, the principal question being, was C actually used for preaching? Though other points are necessarily considered (especially for the *Visio Pauli* material in Homily 1, where dialogue with the commentary in Healey's edition is required) the Commentaries to each homily are focussed on the question of the deliverability of the texts: could the homilies be fluently read aloud and consistently understood by both reader and listener? Overall, so many difficulties arise that it seems impossible to answer this question affirmatively, but I suspect that close study would produce similar results for perhaps the majority of copies of homilies. Scholarship has not squarely addressed the question of deliverability of homilies<sup>1</sup> and this edition represents an appeal for consideration of this culturally vital point, though it cannot offer any conclusions.

The commonest sort of correction in C is the superscript addition of letters by the copyist, but there are a few instances when a hand other than the copyist's has made an alteration. These are all minor alterations, however, and what I have found to be difficult readings (those discussed in the Commentaries) are passed by. In Homily 1 one addition by the reviser of the *Visio Pauli* material supplies an otherwise grammatically deficient reading,<sup>2</sup> but attempts to correct are otherwise scarcely in evidence. In Homily 4, the text with perhaps the most difficulties, the additional punctuation suggests that a reader has tried to improve the deliverability of the text. One may postulate that this reader read the homily, recognized that it was particularly difficult, but believed that it could be serviceable if read carefully with sufficient pauses.

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<sup>1</sup>Mary Clayton, 'Homiliaries and Preaching in Anglo-Saxon England', *Peritia*, 4 (1985), 207-42, provides an approach to the question.

<sup>2</sup>The reviser supplies a main clause at Homily 1, lines 48-9.

Besides the deliverability of the texts, the usefulness of C as a collection for preaching is also in question. Only Homily 2 has a title, for the first Sunday in Lent, and one would expect that titles would be required for any reasonably well organized collection of homilies that was to be used for preaching. Homily 3 is clearly a Lenten piece (see lines 18-22<sup>3</sup>). The copy of Homily 4 in the Blickling manuscript is titled for the third Sunday in Lent, but its content (concerning tithes and priestly responsibilities) is not specifically suitable for Lenten preaching, and the statement at lines 4-5, 'þæt nu nealæcep ða dagas þæt we sculan ... ure wæstmas. gesamnian', is particularly inappropriate for a Lenten sermon. In the laws the tithes of young animals is payable 'be Pentecosten' and of crops either 'be emnihte' or 'be ealra halgena mæssan'.<sup>4</sup> The homily to which Fragment is likely to have belonged is titled for a day in the Church year in two of the six manuscripts in which it is extant. In CCCC 302 the long version is for Rogationtide, and the short version is 'quando uolueris' or for the fifth and seventh Sundays after Epiphany in CCCC 302 and BL, Cotton Faustina A. ix.<sup>5</sup> Assmann XIV, which draws on part of Homily 1, is also in CCCC 302 and Faustina A.ix, where it is 'quando uolueris' or for the fourth and sixth Sundays after Epiphany.<sup>6</sup> Homily 5 is for St Martin's day, 11th November. Thus Fragment and Homilies 1, 2 and 3 may be regarded as possibly following the order of the Church year, but there is a gap of several months before Homily 5, and perhaps Homily 4, would be needed. However, though Homily 4 begins in Hand C's gathering, fols 36-41, after the end of Homily 3, there is possible loss of an indeterminate amount of text before Homily 5, and the collection may therefore, if Homily 4 was for Lent, have included homilies that would have bridged the gap between Lent and St Martin's day.

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<sup>3</sup>Noted, Willard, *Two Apocrypha*, p.35.

<sup>4</sup>The tithing laws are extant first as II Edgar 3, and are repeated in the laws of Æthelred and Cnut: F. Liebermann, ed., *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, 3 vols (Halle, 1903-16), I, p.196; see also A.J. Robertson, ed. and trans., *The Laws of the Kings of England from Edmund to Henry I*, (Cambridge, 1925), pp.420-1, where references to tithing in the laws are listed in the Index. The laws are also in Roger Flower, ed., *Wulfstan's Canons of Edgar*, EETS, 266 (London, 1972), p.13.

<sup>5</sup>Ker, *Catalogue*, no.56, arts 33 and 12, no.153, art.6.

<sup>6</sup>*Ibid.*, no.56, art.11, no.153, art.5.

### Fragment, fol.2r

These concluding few lines of a homily have been printed from C by Szarmach, who gives spelling and reading variants from the six other manuscripts which contain copies of the text.<sup>7</sup> In all six the passage concludes copies of the same homily. The manuscripts are CCCC 421, CCCC 302, Bl, Cotton Faustina A.ix and Bodley 343 as well as the Vercelli and Blickling manuscripts, where the homily is numbers X and IX respectively.<sup>8</sup> Blickling IX is fragmentary and has only the less distinctive part of the <sup>6</sup>conclusion, 'cris<sup>6</sup> wunap ... amen.' The homily is drawn upon for a composite in the Bodleian manuscript, Hatton 113 and 114.<sup>9</sup> CCCC 302 has a copy of the latter half of the homily as a separate piece, as well as a full text. Cotton Faustina A. ix has only the shorter text.<sup>10</sup> The homily has a source, *Sermo de Misericordia*, in common with Homily 2.<sup>11</sup>

### Homily 1, fols 2v-17r, line 5

Previous editions have separated the homily in fols 2v and 12-17r from the *Visio Pauli* material in fols 3-11.

Fols 2v and 12-17r have been edited by Fadda, *Nuove Omilie*, Omelia VIII, pp.163-73. Approximately half of the homily has been printed by Willard, 'The Address of the Soul to the Body', pp.961-3.

Fols 3-11 have been edited by Healey, *OE Vision of St Paul*, pp.63-73.<sup>12</sup>

These editions are referred to in the manuscript notes and the Commentary by author's name.

The *Visio Pauli* text is found only in C. Some version of the homily on fols 2v and 12-17r was used for the composite homily Assmann XIV,<sup>13</sup> extant in two manuscripts, BL, Cotton

<sup>7</sup>Paul E. Szarmach, 'MS Junius 85 f.2r and Napier 49', *English Language Notes*, 14 (1977), 241-6 (pp.242-3).

<sup>8</sup>The homily is often thought of as 'Napier XLIX': A.S. Napier, ed., *Wulfstan. Sammlung der ihm zugeschriebenen Homilien nebst Untersuchungen über ihre Echtheit* (Berlin, 1883; rept. Dublin, 1967), pp.250-65.

<sup>9</sup>D.G. Scragg, ed., *The Vercelli Homilies and Related Texts*, EETS, 300 (Oxford, 1992), pp.191-5, discusses the manuscript relations.

<sup>10</sup>See fn.5, above.

<sup>11</sup>See fn.22, below.

<sup>12</sup>Healey's edition supercedes that by Anna Maria Luiselli Fadda, 'Una Inedita Traduzione Anglosassone della *Visio Pauli* (MS Junius 85, ff.3r-11v)', *Studi Medievali*, 15 (1974), 482-95 (pp.486-94).

<sup>13</sup>Assmann, *Angelsächsische Homilien und Heiligenleben*, pp.164-9.

Faustina A.ix and CCCC 302. The material used is the soul and body address and the 'god ælmihtig us lærað ... diofol us lærað' passage (Homily 1, lines 1-12 and 210-287; Assmann XIV, lines 76-112). The material is abbreviated, but there seem to be some additions: Assmann XIV, lines 86-7, 90-3, 94-6, 105-6, 107. Aside from lines 86-7, a mention in the address of the Last Judgement, all these probable additions concern church attendance. Homily 1, lines 313-6, also appear little changed at Assmann XIV, lines 116-19. Assmann XIV, lines 7-76 are redacted in abbreviated form from a copy of Blickling Homily VIII,<sup>14</sup> and Assmann XIV, lines 130-9, are drawn from a copy of Vercelli Homily XV.<sup>15</sup>

The *Visio Pauli* text has not been connected with any known Latin Version of the *Visio*.<sup>16</sup> Wright has noted a Latin text of the 'god ælmihtig us lærað ... diofol us lærað ...' passage.<sup>17</sup>

Charms, fol. 17r, line 5 -17v

The charms have been printed by Cockayne,<sup>18</sup> whose edition ('from a transcript forwarded by a friend'<sup>19</sup>) is corrected in the manuscript notes. The first three charms are extant only in C, but the incomplete fourth charm is extant in full in *Lacnunga*, BL, Harley 585.<sup>20</sup> In Harley 585, the opening is 'Christus super marmoream sedebat petrus tristis ante eum stabat manum ad maxillum tenebat et interrogebat eum dominus ...' The text in C, 'Sanctus petrus supra marmoream', must therefore have introduced a garbled reading.

<sup>14</sup>Richard Morris, ed., *The Blickling Homilies*, EETS, 58, 63, 73 (London, 1874, 1876, 1880), pp.97-105.

<sup>15</sup>Scragg, *Vercelli Homilies*, p.260, lines 184-199. For these and other manuscript relations of Assmann XIV, see *ibid.*, pp.250-2 and Scragg, *Corpus of Vernacular Homilies*, pp.245-6. For the source and analogues of a short passage in the Blickling VIII part of Assmann XIV see Charles D. Wright, 'The Pledge of the Soul: a Judgement Theme in Old English Homiletic Literature and Cynewulf's *Elene*', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 91 (1990), 23-30.

<sup>16</sup>See Healey, *OE Vision of St Paul*, pp.26-8; see above p.66, fn.16. Since the publication of the bibliography, Charlesworth, *New Testament Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*, articles relating to the insular tradition of the *Visio* are M.E. Dwyer, 'An Unpublished Redaction of the *Visio Pauli*', *Manuscripta*, 121-38, and Charles D. Wright, 'Some Evidence for an Irish Origin of Redaction XI of the *Visio Pauli*', *Manuscripta*, 34 (1990), 34-44: the latter article revises the former.

<sup>17</sup>Charles D. Wright, '*Docet Deus, Docet Diabolus*: a Hiberno-Latin Theme in an Old English Body-and-Soul Homily', *Notes and Queries*, 232 (1987), 451-3.

<sup>18</sup>Cockayne, *Leechdoms*, I, pp.392-4.

<sup>19</sup>*Ibid.*, p.392, fn.3.

<sup>20</sup>*Ibid.*, III, p.64; Grattan and Singer, *Anglo-Saxon Magic and Medicine*, p.186.

**Homily 2, fols 18-24**

Homily 2 is Homily VII, for the first Sunday in Lent, in the Second Series of Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies*.<sup>21</sup> Godden's edition is relied upon for textual collation with other copies when these are referred to in the Commentary.

Lines 43-105 are drawn from a Latin source, *Sermo de Misericordia*.<sup>22</sup>

**Homily 3, fols 25-40r**

Fadda's edition, *Nuove Omelie*, Omelia I, pp.7-31, is referred to in the manuscript notes and Commentary by author's name. Willard printed lines 152-203 parallel with other texts of the 'Three Utterances' exemplum.<sup>23</sup>

Wack and Wright have discovered a copy of the Latin source for the 'drastically abbreviated version' of the Three Utterances' exemplum at lines 162-198 (with the Latin *incipit* at line 158).<sup>24</sup> As Fadda first noted, the motif of food and drink for the soul at lines 123-5 and 139-145 has a recognizable Latin source.<sup>25</sup> Though comparison of the body's and the soul's food and drink might provide a useful homiletic motif, I have come across only one other occurrence of it, in Blickling Homily V: 'swa we þonne þa gastlican lare unwærlice ne sceolan anforlætan, þe ure saul bigleofaþ 7 feded bið; swa se lichoma buton mete 7 drence leofian ne mæg, swa þonne seo saul, gif heo ne bið mid Godes worde feded gastlice hungre 7 þurste heo bið cwelmed'.<sup>26</sup> Cross identified a Latin source for the Doomsday passage at lines 258-296.<sup>27</sup>

It should be noted that, just as the homilist cites Latin *incipits* for the 'Three Utterances' exemplum and the Doomsday passage, the Latin at lines 58-60 probably also indicates direct reference to a source. Here a gospel citation (John 15:4) is followed by an exegetical question on Christ's birth. The 'Three Utterances' and Doomsday passages are both quite long, between thirty

<sup>21</sup>Godden, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies. Second Series*, pp.60-66.

<sup>22</sup>Wolfgang Becker, 'The Latin Manuscript Sources of the Old English Translation of the Sermon *Remedia Peccatorum*', *Medium Aevum*, 45 (1976), 145-52; J.E. Cross, 'A *Sermo de Misericordia* in Old English Prose', *Anglia*, 108 (1990), 429-40, edits the sermon from Salisbury Cathedral, MS 179.

<sup>23</sup>Willard, *Two Apocrypha*, pp.39-57.

<sup>24</sup>Wack and Wright, 'A New Source for the "Three Utterances" exemplum', p.188.

<sup>25</sup>Fadda, *Nuove Omelie*, pp.2-3; see further Wright, '*Docet Deus, Docet Diabolus*', p.453, fn.14, and Wack and Wright, 'A New Source for the "Three Utterances" exemplum', p.202 and fn.57.

<sup>26</sup>Morris, *Blickling Homilies*, p.57, lines 8-12.

<sup>27</sup>J.E. Cross, 'A Doomsday Passage in an Old English Sermon for Lent', *Anglia*, 100 (1982), 103-8.

and forty lines of the edited text, and the present unidentified source material may be of similar extent, and may then include a passage of which there are verbal echoes in Blickling Homily I, for the Annunciation. Compare Homily 3, lines 78-9 and 84-6 with the following from Blickling I: 'Wel þæt eac gedafenap þæt he to eorþan astige þurh þa clænan leomu þære halgan fæmnan þæt we þe gearor wiston þæt he is ordfruma 7 lareow ealre clænnesse'.<sup>28</sup> The Latin at lines 100-102 does not exactly quote the gospel (Matt. 23:37-40), and may also indicate a non-scriptural Latin source. Wright has noted, not with reference to Homily 3, a source, the Questions of Bartholomew, for the notion, stated at line 51, that angels were created from fire and water.<sup>29</sup>

**Homily 4, fols 40v-61**

Homily 4 is Blickling Homily IV. In the Blickling collection the piece is titled for the third Sunday in Lent.<sup>30</sup> In the manuscript notes and Commentary, the Blickling manuscript is given the sigel B, after Scragg, 'Corpus of Vernacular Homilies'. None of the text is extant in any other manuscript.

The source of the tithing portion of the homily, lines 4-49 and 193-276, is the sermon 'De reddendis decimis' by Caesarius of Arles.<sup>31</sup> Willard printed the tithing text parallel to the source.<sup>32</sup> Two brief passages, lines 57-8 ('þæt god ... dura') and 86-98, draw on some version of *Visio Pauli*.<sup>33</sup> Lines 182-5 have the scriptural commonplace, Matt.16:19 and 18:18, which is the

<sup>28</sup>Morris, *Blickling Homilies*, p.13, lines 19-22. Mary Clayton, *The Cult of the Virgin Mary in Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge, 1990), pp.222-30, discusses the Blickling homily and its main Latin source, noting (p.229) that the end of the homily, including the passage I have quoted, is not in the source she identifies.

<sup>29</sup>Charles D. Wright, 'Apocryphal Lore and Insular Tradition in St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek MS 908', in Próinséas Ní Chatháin and Michael Richter, eds, *Irland und die Christenheit. Bibelstudien und Mission* (Stuttgart, 1987), pp.124-45 (p.138).

<sup>30</sup>Morris, *Blickling Homilies*, pp.39-53, line 2 and 195 and 53, lines 2ff. Page 195 of Morris's edition contains his Homily XVI, which is actually part of Homily IV. The text is on a singleton which had been misbound, but is now fol.30 of the rebound manuscript. See D.G. Scragg, 'The Homilies of the Blickling Manuscript', in Michael Lapidge and Helmut Gneuss, eds, *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England. Studies Presented to Peter Clemoes on the occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday* (Cambridge, 1985), pp.299-316 (p.301).

<sup>31</sup>Sermo XXXIII in G. Morin, ed., *Sancti Caesarii Arelatensis sermones*, Corpus Christianorum Seria Latina, 103 (Turnholt, 1953), pp.143-7.

<sup>32</sup>Rudolph Willard, 'The Blickling-Junius Tithing Homily and Caesarius of Arles', in T.A. Kirby and H.B. Woolf, eds, *Philologica: The Malone Anniversary Studies* (Baltimore, 1949), pp.65-78 (pp.72-8).

<sup>33</sup>Cp. James, *Apocrypha Anecdota*, p.24, lines 25-8 and pp. 29, line 31 - 30, line 14, and Silverstein, *Visio Sancti Pauli*, pp.138 and 142. Max Forster, 'Zu den Blickling Homilies', *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, 91 (1893), 179-206 (pp.183-5), first noted the source.



only recognizable biblical reference outside the tithing portion. Lines 70-72 may be compared with the following from the so-called *Poenitentiale Pseudo-Ecgberti* (corresponding passages underlined):

se halga apostol Paulus læreð ælcum mæssepreoste þe godes folce to lareowe bið gesett  
 þæt heora nan ne wandige for nanes mannes ege ne for lufe ne for nanum sceatte, þæt hy  
 ne bodian ælcon men hwæt him sy to donne 7 hwæt to forganne, gif hy sylfe wyllað þæt  
heom beo beborhgen on domesdæg beforan gode sylfum.<sup>34</sup>

Two points arising from a recent discussion by Milton McC. Gatch of Homily 4/Blickling Homily IV may be mentioned. First, Gatch is troubled by the use of the the word 'godspel' (line 7) in the phrase 'us crist selfa behead on ðysum godspelle', when only Caesarius's text can be meant.<sup>35</sup> But this use of the word may be compared with instances in Homilies 1 and 3 where 'godspel' is not used of scripture. At Homily 1, line 293, '... cwæð se halga man. þe ðis godspel wrat', the OE homilist apparently invokes a non-scriptural source. At Homily 3, lines 128-9, 'swa ic ær sæde on þissum halchum godspelle', the word seems to refer to the homily generally, though it is not clear to what point in the text the clause refers. At Homily 3, line 164, '7 hit is cweden on ðisum godspelle', the word seems to refer to the 'Three Utterances' exemplum. Thus Gatch may be right to suggest that the Homily 4 homilist thought of "a gospel" in the sense of a text that is being adapted for delivery to a congregation.<sup>36</sup> Second, Gatch regards the piece as mixing 'address to laity and to clergy',<sup>37</sup> but only once are the clergy directly addressed in the homily.<sup>38</sup> I read it that the portion of the homily which treats priestly responsibilities supports

<sup>34</sup>Joseph Raith, ed., *Die altenglischen Version des Halitgar'schen Bussbuches (sog. Poenitentiale Pseudo-Ecgberti)*, Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa, 13 (Hamburg, 1933), pp.44-5. Raith's base text is Junius 121. The *Poenitentiale* is found only in manuscripts of 'Wulfstan's Commonplace Book', for which see Dorothy Bethurum, 'Wulfstan's Commonplace Book', *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, 57 (1972), 916-29 and Hans Sauer, 'Zur Überlieferung und Anlage von Erzbischoff Wulfstan's Handbuch', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*, 36 (1980), 341-84.

<sup>35</sup>Milton McC. Gatch, 'The Unknowable Audience of the Blickling Homilies', *ASE*, 18 (1989), 99-115 (pp.103 and 105).

<sup>36</sup>*Ibid.*, p.103.

<sup>37</sup>*Ibid.*, p.105.

<sup>38</sup>At lines 152-3; in the Blickling text variant (Morris, *Blickling Homilies*, p.47, lines 22-4) the passage is not in the second person plural: '7 gif þa lareowas þis nellæp fæstlice Godes folce bebeodan, þonne beop hi wiþ God swyþe scyldige'.

exhortation of the laity to give tithes by indicating that the duties of the priest are by no means a light burden and that their spiritual role in society is worth paying for.

#### Homily 5, fols 62-81r

Homily 5 is extant in two other copies, in the Vercelli and Blickling manuscripts, for which the sigla, A and B respectively, are adopted in the manuscript notes and Commentary, the sigla being those in Scragg, 'Corpus of Vernacular Homilies'.<sup>39</sup>

The source is the *Vita Sancti Martini* and *Epistola tertia ad Bassulam* by Sulpicius Severus,<sup>40</sup> but an indication that the OE probably drew on an already abbreviated Latin redaction of Sulpicius's work is the Latin citation at line 157: the Latin and the OE text, lines 158-62, it introduces are not in Sulpicius.<sup>41</sup>

Manuscript pointing and capitalization is retained in the edition.<sup>42</sup> An essential aim of the edition of the texts is to allow the modern reader to put him/herself in the position of a contemporary reader. Thus it is an obvious requirement that the manuscript pointing is retained. The normal mark is the medial point. It often marks clauses, though it marks phrases and single words, too. Sometimes it is absent when a grammatical and sense pause is obviously required, and thus, although pointing is frequent in C (relative, say, to the sparse pointing in the Blickling manuscript), it cannot be relied upon to make for an easy read where a modern reader is concerned. The texts are therefore printed sentence by sentence, each sentence spatially distinguished on the page, a paragraph to every sentence. When it is uncertain whether a sentence should include more than one main clause, usually because of the presence of a conjunction, usually '7' or 'ac', the limits of a sentence are decided according to sense. As well as permitting faithfulness to the manuscript without loss of readability, this method of presenting

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<sup>39</sup>Morris, *Blickling Homilies*, pp.211-227 (Homily XVIII); Scragg, *Vercelli Homilies*, pp.291-308 (Homily XVIII), includes collation with C and Blickling, and largely supercedes Paul E. Szarmach, ed., *Vercelli Homilies LX-XXIII* (Toronto, 1981), pp.57-67.

<sup>40</sup>Scragg, *ibid.*, prints the pertinent parts of Sulpicius's work.

<sup>41</sup>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 dissertation, Oxford University, 1979), pp.129-30, lists Latin biographical material for St Martin, from which it appears that no such *Vita* as the OE homily may witness is extant.

<sup>42</sup>On matters of punctuation see especially Bruce Mitchell, 'The Dangers of Disguise: Old English Texts in Modern Punctuation', *Review of English Studies*, n.s. 31 (1980), 385-413; Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe, *Visible Song: Transitional Literacy in Old English Verse* (Cambridge, 1990).

OE prose also has the advantage of visualizing an aspect of the composer's style. It is also easier to locate particular passages.

The pointing in **C** is applied in a manner that does not vary greatly from text to text or from hand to hand, except in Homily 2. The author of Homily 2, Ælfric, seems to have devoted considerable attention to punctuation: Godden is able to present an easily readable text by retaining punctuation from CUL Gg. 3. 28., the Second Series manuscript closest to Ælfric.<sup>43</sup> Homily 2 is the only piece in **C** to have frequent use of the *punctus versus* (printed ';'), as well as one instance of a *punctus elevatus* (printed ':', line 72), and this, along with the similarly relatively frequent use of capital letters, may be regarded as having been copied from an exemplar which also had retained Ælfrician punctuation and capitalization.

I have added inverted commas to passages of direct speech simply because a modern reader is entitled to expect them. This is a fixed convention, whereas other punctuation is, in English anyway, always to some degree a matter of writer preference.

I have not supplied a glossary, but the texts may be read with the aid of *BT* and *BTSupp.* wherever necessary, and wherever I have found that lexical difficulties have remained after consultation, these are considered in the Commentaries.

[ ] Square brackets indicate uncertain readings, omissions supplied from other manuscripts, editorial additions of letters out of view in the binding, probably modern superscripts and the occasional irresistible emendation. All instances of square brackets are commented on in the manuscript notes and further in the Commentary when more space is needed. Where it has seemed unsafe to supply faded or destroyed (as in Homily 5, fols 72-81) letters, a maximum number of lost letters is indicated by the the number of colons (:) in the square brackets.

' ' This sign is used in the manuscript notes to indicate letters added, usually superscript, sometimes at end lines, and usually by the copyist. Whenever added letters are not certainly by the copyist, comment follows the lemma.

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<sup>43</sup>Rudolph Willard, 'The Punctuation and Capitalization of Ælfric's Homily for the First Sunday in Lent', *The University of Texas Studies in English*, 29 (1950), 1-32, collates the punctuation and capitalization of Homily 2 from its manuscript copies.

( ) Round brackets indicate contemporary additions. In Homily 1, fols 3-11, they indicate the reviser's additions. In Homily 2, they indicate the rewritten letters on rectos occasioned by the trimming of the gathering. Pointing is not reproduced when it is associated with rewritten end lines, because it seems that points were used to mark letters to be erased and it is not possible to be certain in every case whether points belong to the text or to this marking that preceded erasure. Not only are there points, probably associated with the trimming, at end lines but sometimes it may be that the copyist reproduced such points when rewriting. At line 9, the rewritten pointing, is regarded as being certainly textual, because it is within the rewritten text. In Homily 4 round brackets indicate additions, subsequent to copying, in a reddish ink, most frequently of the *punctus versus* (or of a 'comma' to an existing medial point) and often of the prefix 'ge-'.

## FRAGMENT

2r song. 7 godes lof 7 [ðæs heh]stan cynincges [hereness] 7 syo birhtness. ða[ra] ha[ligra] 7 ða  
 soðfæstan scin[að swa] súnna 7 mæn rixað swa ænglas. on héofonum 7 [we] wæron ðider  
 gehatene. 7 gelaðode. to ðam halgan ham 7 to ðam cýnelican friðestole; þær drihten. crist.  
 wúnað. 7 rixað mid halgum sawlum; a in ealra worulda woruld. soðlice bútan ænde?~AMEN //

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Letters in square brackets are either supplied or uncertain, due to wear at end lines.  
 4 a] written with an ascender. 5 worulda] 'a' written with an ascender.

## HOMILY 1

2 ✓ Men ða leofestan we geléornodon on godcundum gewritum þæt æghwylces monnes sawul. æfter þisse weorulde scyl gesecegan eft ðane lic[:::]:] þissum wordum

3 ærest þus sprecap 7 cweð þæs synfullan monnes sawle.

'gehyrstu earma senfulla lichoma. ic cyrre to ðe to ðan þæt ic ðe werge. 7 þine ungeleafnesse gesecege.

6 'forhwon earma lichoma lufodesðu þone feond. ðæt wæs se diofol.

'forhwon lyfdest ðu. þæm [::] þé forlærde þurh synne lustas. 7 forhwon earma lichoma noldest þu. gelyfan [::::]m alysende gode ælmihtigum. se for ðinum

9 ðingum manigfeald wite þrowode.'

god gefæste .xxxx. dage[::]os[::]mne 7 æfter ðam fæstene. he self [::::]

3r brm gefæstnod. his fet 7 his hand [:::::]ge næglum 7 ðurh ð[.] ð[::::]nge he [::] //

12 [::]lde of hyll[:::::]lys[::]

3r top 7. mæn ða leofestan. hit sægð hér on ðisum halgum gewrite. þæt sunna is sprecende ofer manna bearnum. (7 ðus) cweðende.

15 'drihten god ælmihtig. hu lange scyl ic lócian ofer manna unrihtdæda;

'ac forlæt me (drihten) þæt ic gehyde lýoman mines mægnes. þæt hi agyten.

þæt ðu eart ána soð god.'

18 ða andswerede drihten. ([:::::]) 7 ðus cweðende. þæt

1 -'ge'leornodon] see Commentary. þæt] retouched as abbreviated form, but space for two letters following. 2 ðane] cross-stroke of ð missing MS. 2-12 For missing letters, see Commentary. 4 gehyrstu] retoucher 'gi-'. senfulla] Fadda emends to 'synfulla', despite Willard's note that 'sen-' is probably the original spelling: the 'e' can be discerned under ultra-violet light.

5 'ge'secge. 6 for'h'won. 'se'. 7 '7'] squeezed in on line.

13 7] in left margin. 14 sprecende] see Commentary.

15 drihten] 'd' in left margin. 18 an'd'swerede. For missing letters see Commentary.

'ealle gesihðe mine eagan geseoð. 7 ealle gehernesse. mine éaran gehéred. Ac  
min geðyld onbit. oð þæt hi gewændan. 7 hrywe don. hyra synna. 7 gif hi nyllað.

21 ic heom (ge)deme. on ðam heardest dóme.'

7 seo yrðe cegde to drihtne. ofer manna bearnum. 7 ðus (wæs) cweðende.

3v 'drihten god // ælmihtig. ofer ealle ges[c]æfta ic eam gesceðed. (cwæð syo

24 yorðe) 7 bær[e]nda manna forhealdnessa. (þæt is) unrihthæmed. 7 morðdæda. 7  
stala. 7 mane aðas. 7 lyblac. (7 wiccacr[æ]ftas) 7 untidætas. 7 oferdruncennesse.  
7 (tielnyssa 7) ealle ða yfel. ðe mæn gedoð.

27 'se fæder arist ofer his sunu. 7 se sunu ofer his fæder. ([þæt] is hyora ægþer  
oðerne oferhogap) 7 se fræmda ofer ðane fræmdan. swa þæt here ánra gehwylc.  
oðerne beswiceð.

30 'se fæder astihð ofer his sunu reste. þæt he ða besmiteð. 7 se sunu hæmð. wið  
his fæder láfe. (syo synne gestigað to hylle) 7 mid ðyllicum manigfealdum  
léahtrum. hi besmitað (drihten ðine) halgan stówe. on ðæm beoð. brihta

4r 33 onsægdnysa on ðinum halgan // naman.

'7 mín mægen.' (cwæþ syo yrþe) '7 mine wæstmas. forðem ic heom unwillum  
gegærwige. Ac forlæt me drihten ælmihtig. þæt ic gebrece mægen minra wæstma.

36 þæt ðu hige swa to ðe gecyrre.'

ða wæs gewórden drihtenes stéfen (to ðære yorðan. 7) ðus cweðende.

'ne mæg ænig man. his synna wið me ged[ig]llian.' (cwæð drihten) 'ac ðas ealle

39 ic wát. ac mín haligdom onbit. hwæðer hi gecyrran willan. 7 hréwe don. 7 gif hi  
nyllað geswican (hyora misdæda.) soðlice ic heom gedeme. on ðæm heardestan  
dóme.'

23 ges[c]æfta 'geseæfta' MS; retoucher emends 'e' to 'c'.

24 bær[e]nda 'bærnenda' MS; Healey's emendation. þæt is] see Commentary.

25 wiccacr[æ]ftas 'wiccacrftas' MS; retouched to read '-cræftas'. 7 untidætas] '7' in left margin. 27 [þæt] supplied (so Healey); one letter space before 'is', at outside edge of page.

31 syo] Healey '7 syo', but traces preceding 'syo' are of one of the reviser's insertion markers, not of '7'. drihten (ðine)] see Commentary.

(to ðære yorðan. 7)] 'ðære' retouched to read 'ðæm'; 'yorðan' at beginning of line over erasure, '7' squeezed in. 38 ged[ig]llian] 'gedwelian' MS; Healey's emendation.

42 (7) geseoð nu mæn ða leofestan. þæt æghwīlc gescæft is gode underðyoded. 7  
þæt mænnisce cyn ðe næfre hyra gebeda. ne geswīcað. (ðara manna sawla.  
becumað [:::]o paradisam) //

45 'Nu ðonne' cwæð sanctus. paulus 'ic lære manna béarn. þæt hi ne geswīcan  
(on) eallum tidum. dæges 7 nihtes. (þæt hi) drihten bletende. 7 (wuldrian. 7)  
ealra swiðest. ðanne sunne to setle gänge. forðæm ðe on ðære tide ealles folces  
48 ænglas. wera. 7 wīfa. farað to drihtne. hi to gebiddanne. 7 hi[ge] (þanne urum  
drihtne)gebrængað. manna wyr. swa hwæt swa ánra gehwīlc bið wýrcende fram  
ærne merigen. uð æfen.

51 'Eac swylce ic geseah' cwæð sanctus paulus. 'on ða tíð ðe sunne. hige. ywede.  
þæt ealle ænglas cóman. to drihtne. mid ðæm wyrcum. ðe ánra gehwīlc (yorðlic  
man;) on ðære nihte wæs wýrcende.'

54 (7) Þa wæs gewórden drihtenes stefen. (to sancte paule. 7 ðus) // cweðende.  
'hwanon cóman ge úre ænglas.'

(7) hi ða andsweredan drihtne. (ða ænglas 7) cwæðan.

57 'we cóman. fram ðæm mannum. ðe on ðe geléfdon. 7 ðinne naman. cegdon.  
Ac middangeardes gelsan hige éarme gedydon. swa þæt hige anne dæg. on eallum  
hyran life. hige wél ne dydon. (ða éarman lichaman.)

60 'Ac tohwan (drihten) scylan we ðénian swa synfullum mannum.'  
drihtnes stéfen ða wæs geworden. to (þam ænglan\* ðus cweðende)

'ðearf is þæt ge heom ðénian. oð ðæt hige. gecyrran. 7 hrywe dón. 7 gif hige.

63 (hryowsia[n]) nyllað. ic heom gedéme. on ðam heardestan dóme.'

44 [:::]o paradisam] Healey supplies 'into' and reads 'parudisum'.

45 Nu] 'N' in left margin. 48 hi[ge] 'ge' erased, at end line; see Commentary.  
(drihtne)] 'd' in margin, 't' squeezed in on line, 'ne' superscript; Healey, "'riht" over  
erased "him", ' is probably right, though I see no trace.

52 (yorðlic)] cross stroke of 'ð' not visible. 56 hi] Healey reads 'hige' with 'ge'  
erased; some roughening of membrane surface after 'hi', just enough space for 'ge'.  
(ða ænglas)] 'ð' lacks its cross stroke; faded traces of 's' at outside edge of leaf. 60  
Ac] 'A' in left margin.

(þam ænglan)] 'þ' altered from 'h', has a cross stroke; 'am ænglan' over erasure: so  
Healey; top of original 'ð' visible over 'g'. 63 (hryowsia[n])] 'n' supplied: one letter  
space between 'a' and outer edge of leaf.



- Ongytað nú manna béarn. forðem swa hwæt swa fram ús bið gedón. gódes  
 5v oððe yfeles. eall þæt fram ænglum // gode bið gesæd. (7) forðan bletsiað. (eow) 7  
 66 gebiddað eow. to drihtne. (ge dæges. ge nihtes.)  
 'Pa æfter ðan' cwæð paulus. 'mé genam. drihtenes ængel. 7 cwæð  
 "'(ge)folga me. 7 ic ðe ætýwe. arleasra stówa. þæt ðu ongyte. (paulus.)  
 69 hwider hige beoð gelædde. ðanne hige forðférende beoð."  
 7 se ængel hine (ða) gelædde (paulus.) on nyowelnessa. ðær hylware wæron.  
 7 he him ðær æteowode. on hwilce. stówe. arléasra sawla. gelædde beoð. ðanne  
 72 hi of ðæm lichaman út (ge)ganged.  
 7 paulus ðær geseah. ondryslic weald. ðara mænaga gásta. ðe manna hýrtan  
 beswicað.  
 75 þæt is tælnessa gást 7 forhealdnyssa.(gast) 7 háhyrtnyssa.(gast) 7  
 leasunga.(gast 7 ofermodignyssa gast. 7 eaðbylhnyssa. gast. [::]ngsum. yrra. gast  
 6r 7 æwergednyssa gast.) 7 ða(s) wæron buton ælcere. // mildheortnesse.  
 78 (ealla) hyra loccas wæron swiðe. gemanigfealded. 7 fýrene spéarcán. of hyran  
 muðan. út gyodan.  
 paulus ða ahsode. ðane ængel. 7 cwæð  
 81 'wealdend. hwæt syndan ðas.'  
 se ængel him andswerede. 7 cwæð. (to pale)  
 'ðis syndon (ða gastas) ða ðe beoð gesænde. to arleasra manna sáwlum. on tide  
 84 hyra forðfore.'  
 paulus ða eft lócode. on hea[h]nesse. 7 he ðær geseah. oðre ænglas. ðara  
 ánsyne scinan swa swa sunne.  
 87 hyra lændene. wæran mid gýldenum gyrdelsum begýrded. 7 palmtwigu on  
 hyran handum hi hæfdon. 7 mycele. manðwearnyssa. hige wæron gefyllede.
- 
- 66 (ge dæges. ge nihtes)] 'ge dæges. ge ni' over erasure at end line, 'htes' in margin. 67 þa] 'p' in left margin. 68 7] in left margin. 75 7 for healdnyssa] '7' in left margin. 7 leasunga] '7' in left margin. 76 [::]ngsum] see Commentary. 80 paulus] 'p' has extended descender in left margin. 85 hea[h]nesse] Healey 'heannesse'; a doubtful reading: an ink blot where ascender of second 'h' may have been written.

- 6v 7 paulus ða ahsode ðane ængel. // ðe hine lædde hwæt ða wæron on swa  
 90 mycelre fægernesse.  
 se ængel him andswerede. 7 cwæð.  
 'ðis syndon soðfæstnyssa ænglas. ða beoð gesænde to soðfæstre sawlum ðonne  
 93 hige of lichaman út gangeð ðe hyra hiht. on drihten gesetton. 7 to him gewendon'  
 7 paulus ða cwæð to ðæm ængle ðe hine lædde.  
 'wealdend. ic wolde geséon soðfæstra. 7 synfulra sawla of lichaman. út  
 96 gangende.'  
 se ængel him to cwæð.  
 'loca of heofonum on eorðan.'  
 99 7 paulus ða lócode. 7 he geseah alne middangeard. ðon gelicost ðe hit niht  
 wære.  
 7c 7 paulus. his wæs ða swiðe wundriende. 7 he cwæð. to ðæm ængle. //  
 102 'wealdend is ðis eall. manna mycelnyssa.'  
 se ængel him andswerede. 7 cwæð  
 'ðis syndon ða ðe singað. fram ærne merigen oð æfen.'  
 105 7 paulus. ða eft locode. 7 he geseah ealne middangéard. on ðyostrum gesetted.  
 7 sume soðfæste sawle of lichaman ut gangende.  
 7 hire ða ongæn cóman. ða góðan gastas. 7 he geseah hi wépende. 7 hige  
 108 cwædon  
 'eala ðu sawul. hu ðu ús nu beflíhst. forðan ðe ðu gewrohtest. godes willan on  
 eorðan.'  
 111 7 se ængel ðe ðare sawle hýrde on worulde wæs. cegde to ðæm dyoflum. 7  
 cwæð  
 'cyrrað on bæcling scámigende. forðan. ðe ge ne mihton ða sawle beswícan.  
 114 ða ða hyo on lichaman wæs.'
- 
- 94 7] in left margin. 95 w'e'aldend. 99 7 paulus] '7' in left margin. 101 'he'.  
 104 s'i'ngað.

- 7v           7 ða æfter. // ðan ða gebyrede hit. þæt paulus. gehýrde stefna on héofonum  
héanyssum. cweðende.
- 117           'gebringað ða sawle to ús. forðon ðe heo gewróhte godes willan on eorðan  
þæt hyo geléfe. 7 ongyte þæt se is soð god ðe heo lufode.'
- 7 mid ði ðe heo wæs ingangende on héofonum. paulus. gehýrde ðusend ængla.
- 120           7 heahængla cygendra. 7 cweðendra.  
              'gewærlice do ðu góde sawul. 7 wes ðu gestrángod. 7 calle we ðe efenlice  
gefeoð forðan ðe ðu gewróhtest godes willan on yorðan.'
- 123           7 hi ða gelæddon to drihtnes. gesihðe. 7 michahel. 7 call ængla werod.  
              gefeollan ða to fotscamele. drihtnes fótum. 7 hi gebædon. 7 hi ætewdon ða sawle
- 8r           drihtne ðus cweðende //
- 126           'ðis is ealra god. se ðé gewrohte. to his anlicnyssa.'  
              7 se ængel ðe ðare sawle hýrde wæs. cégde to drihtne. 7 cwæð  
              'gemune. drihten hire gewinnes. ða ðæ ic ðe ælce dæge gebrohte. geld hire nú
- 129           æfter ðinum dóme.'
- 7 ða wæs gewórden drihtenes stéfen cweðende.  
              'swa he me ne geúnrotsode. on yrðan. ne ic him nú ne geunrotsige. 7 swa hio
- 132           wæs miltsigende swa ic hire nú. beo miltsigende. 7 syo hige. nú geséald michahele  
ðam héahængle.'
- 7 he hige læde o[n] nyorxnewánges geféan. þæt hio ðær syoð domesdæg. æfre
- 135           má nu mid eallum halgum.  
              7 paulus. ða gehýrde æfter ðan. ðusend. ðusendo ængle. lofigendra. 7 god. //
- 8v           wuldrigenda. 7 hérigenda. 7 cweðenda

115 ðan] Healey "'ða" over erasure in original hand'; 'ð' a little blurred, but erasure doubtful.

123 hi] space for two or three letters following, but no sure trace of erasure: so Healey. 124 hi gebædon] space for two letters after 'hi': Healey reads 'hige' with 'ge' erased, but I see no sure trace of erasure.

131 geunro't'sode. 134 o[n] nyorxnewanges] 'onyorxnewanges', MS.

sy] space for one or two letters following: perhaps 'o' erased as Healey's reading; see Commentary.

- 138 'Riht eart ðu drihten. 7 rihte synden ðine domes. forðan nis háda onfængnes.  
befóran ðe. ac ðu forgylst á nra gehwílcum æfter his gewrihtum.'
- 7 se ængel ðe lædde paulus. him to cwæð
- 141 'lóca of dúne'
- 7 paulus ða lócode on yorðan. 7 he geseah. sumes arléases mannes sawule. of  
lichaman. utgángende. 7 sýo. tryogode. drihten. dægges 7 nihtes. 7 hio wæs  
144 cweðende. þæt hyo nán ðinc elles ne cuðe. on ðissum middangearde. buten éten.  
7 dríncen. 7 heo éac wæs cweðende.
- 'hwylc astigeð to hylwarum. 7 eft ðanan astigeð. þæt he ús asecege hwylce ða  
147 dómas ðær sigen.'
- 7 paulus. ða lócode. 7 cwæð
- 9r 'ic ge//seah on ðære tíde ðe hire sawul of hire lichaman eode. ealle hire synna.  
150 7 hire yfel. beforan hire licgean. 7 on ðare tíde ðe heo sweolt. swa yfel dóm be hire  
wæs geworden. swa hire selfre wære selre. þæt heo næfre geboren ne wurde.'
- 7 ðær ætsomne cóman. ða halgan ænglas. 7 ða godan gastas. ac ða haligan  
153 gástas. nan gewéald on ðara sawle næfdon. ac ða yfelan gástas. hige læddon ða  
sawle. 7 cwædon.
- 'Eala ðu éarme sawul. lóca to ðinum. lichaman. 7 ongyt ðin hús ðanon ðu út  
156 geodest. forðan ðe on dómesdæg. ðu scylt eft to ðinum lichaman gehwýrfan. 7  
ðine synna onfón.'
- 9v Se ængel ðe ðara // sawle hýrde wæs on worulde. cegde to ðære sawle. 7  
159 cwæð.
- 'ic eam ðín ængel. 7 ic eardode on ðe ða hwile ðe ðu on worulde wære. 7 ælce  
dæge ðine wyrc gode ic brohte. swa hwæt. swa ðu wyrcende wære fram ærne  
162 meregen oð æfen.
- '7 gif ic geweald hæfde. ðonne ne ðenode ic ðe. ænigen dæge. Ac se  
mildhyorta drihten. 7 se soðfæsta déma. ús bebead. þæt we eow ðenian oð þæt ðe  
165 ge gehwýrfan. 7 hrywe dón.

'ac ðu forlure ðinre hrywe tíð. 7 forðan ic byo afræmðod todæg fram ðe. 7 ðu bist ascáden fram me todæg. to ðæm écan wítum.'

168 7 æfter ðissum' cwæð sanctus paulus. 'ic gehyrde on heofonum heanyssum.

10r ængla stéfnæ // cweðende.

"awyrpað ða earman sawle. þæt hyo wite hwylc se god is ðe hyo his beboden."

171 7 paulus. gehýrde ðusend ðusenda ængla ealle anre stemne. cýgendre.

7cwyðendre.

'wa ðe ðu earne sawul. for ðem wyrcum ðe ðu ofer ýorðan. gewrohtest.

174 'hwæt hæfstu to andsweriganne. ðinum drihtne. þonne ðu cymst. þæt ðu hine gebidde.'

7 ðære sawle ængel cýgde ða. 7 he cwæð.

177 'wepað ealle mid me míne ða léofan frynd. þæt ðeos sawle reste hæbbe. mid me.'

7 ða ænglas him andsweredan. 7 cwæðan.

180 'ac syo hige anumen. of úre mundwiste. forðan ðe mid fúlnesse. hyo wæs ingangende.'

10v 7 æfter ðan. syo sawul wæs // gebroht beforan gode. se ðe hige wrohte. to his

183 anlicnesse. 7 hire ængel hire beforan geode. cweðende.

'drihten god ælmihtig. ðis is seo sawle. ic ðe gebrohte hire wyorc. ða ðe hio gewrohte. dæges 7 nihtes.

186 'geld hire nu. æfter ðinum dóme.'

7 drihten se soðfæsta déma. hire to cwæð.

'hwær syndan ðine wæstmas. for eallum ðæm góðum. ðe ic ðe geséalde.

189 'Ic lét scínan míne sunnan ofer ðe. eall swa ofer ðane soðfæstan. 7 ic

gegearwode ðé. yorðan wæsmas. emne swa ðæm góðan. 7 ðæs ðu wære me

11r unðancful. 7 forðæm ðu syge nú anumen héonan. // 7 ðu sy geseald. on dyofla

171 7 cwyðendre] '7' in left margin. 174 þonne] 'þ' has a cross stroke.

182 wæs // gebroht] 'wæs ge // gebroht', MS. 188 for] '2'-shaped 'r', at end line.

- 192 hand. 7 hi ðe gesændan. on ða utran ðýostru. 7 ðær bið wóp. 7 hrywsunge. 7  
toða gristbitung. 7 ðu ðær gewunige. á oð dómesdæg.  
7 eft paulus gehýorde. ængla stéfn. ðus cweðende.
- 195 'Soðfæst earðu drihten. 7 rihte syndan ðíne dómas.'  
7 eft paulus. locode on ýorðan. 7 he cwæð.  
'ic geséah oðre sáwle. of lichaman út gangende. 7 twa dyofla hire onféngon. 7  
198 hyo wæs swiðe sárlice wépende. 7 cweðende  
"gemiltsa me drihten. forðam ðe ic eam geseald ðisum twám dyoflum. ða me  
||v gelæda[ð]. on ðara stówe ðe ic // næfre ær on næs."  
201 7 se lyfigenda drihten hire andswyrede. 7 cwæð  
'Eala ðu arleasa sawul. hwæt gedýdest ðu ðæt ðu wære geseald. ðysum twam  
dyoflum. ða syndan butan ælcere mildhyortnyse'  
204 Seo sawul him geandswyrede. 7 cwæð  
'ne gesyngode ic næfre. drihten.'  
7 se lyfigenda drihten. ða gewearð. swiðe yrre forðan ðe hyo gecwæð. ðæt hio  
207 næfre ne syngode 7 drihten hir to cwæð.  
'nu get ðu wénst þæt ðu sige on wyrolde. swa swa ðu íu wære. Ac eower ælc.  
lihð on oðrum 7 ðær is synna.'  
12r 210 7 hio hine ðanne gegretað ðæs synfullan mannes. // sawl. 7 ðus cweð.  
'gehrstu hearda lichoma. þu ungeleaffulla. scéawa on me. to hwylcere susle  
ðu eart toward.  
213 'Ic ðe eft onfo. 7 þu me. 7 wit ðonne butu sculon béon birnende in ðæm écan  
fýre.'  
7 hio þanne gyt þus clypæþ. 7 cweþ.  
216 'geherstu forworhta lichoma. forhwan lærde þe deofol to helle. butan þæt þu  
fela yfela dydest.

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193 ðær] 'ð' lacks cross stroke. 197 twa] followed by 'dyof', cancelled at end line.  
200 gelædað] 'gelædad' MS, both 'd's being very short. 202 Eala] 'E' in left  
margin. 204 Seo] 'S' in left margin. 205 gesyngode] erasure between 'g' and 'o':  
possible 'n' discernible. 209 7] in left margin. 210 hin'e'. ðæs synfullan  
mannes] in bracket. 211 hwylcere] between 'h' and 'w', 'y' cancelled.

'forhwon noldest ðu forwordena 7 eac forwyrhta. gehéran ða godcundan láre.

219 þe þe lærdon to godes rice. 7 þu noldest gecerran to him.

'ac þu éarma lichoma þu eart déofles hus. forðan ðu deofles willen worhtest.

'þu wære. yrres hyrde. 7 oferhydig.'

222 þonne cweþ seo sawl.

'wá me forðæm ic þa awirgedan. þinc. mid ðe lufode.

12v 'wá me forðam ic ða tóweardan // þingc ne gemunde.

225 'wa me forðæm. þe ic me helle wite ne ondréd.

'wa me forðam þe ic heofona rice ne lúfode.

'wa me forðæm þe ic geþafode. ealle ða yfel þe þu dydest. forþon ic nu for

228 ðinum gewyrhtum eom cwylmed. 7 for þinum yfelum dædum. ic eom on helle wite  
bescofen.

'Ic wæs godes dohter. 7 ængla swistor gescapen; 7 þu me hafæst forworht. þæt

231 ic eam deofles béarn. 7 deoflum gelic.

'forþon ic ðe wrége. 7 þe ofercyme mid wærginesse. forþæm þu me  
forworhtest. 7 awergedne gedydest.'

234 þonne mæn ða léofestan. ungelice sio gode 7 seo clæne sawl grét þone  
lichaman siodðan hio him ofalæd biþ.

hio hine eft seceþ. 7 þanne him þus to cweð.

13r 237 'gehrstu eadiga lichama. 7 þu un//synnig. ic com to ðe toþan þæt ic þe.  
hyrige. 7 þine geselignesse. þe secge.

'geherstu góða lichoma. 7 þu geleaffulla þu wære godes brytta. forðon þu  
240 godes willan worhtest.

'þu þæt géorne beeodest. dagum 7 neahtum'

hio ðonne. eft seo gode sawl him þus to cwæð

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216 forwo'r'hta. 218 geheran] Fadda sees 'i' added to give 'gehieran', but her 'i' seems to be an inkspot. 228 eom cwylmed] after 'com', 'cyw' (Willard and Fadda 'cyl') erased. 230 godes] 'g' altered from 't'. 232 wærginesse] Napier thought the 'i' retouched; perhaps, but could be 'e' erased and altered to 'i' by copyist. 242 cwæð] Fadda 'cweð', but 'æ' written as abbreviation for Latin 'et'.

- 243 'geherstu gesǣliga lichoma. wel þe wel þe. forðam þu þinum feonde deofle ne  
geherdest se þe wólde forlæran. þurh synne lustas. Ac ðu gytswiðor ongæte 7  
heolde. þa godcundan lāre þa ðe laþedon to þam upplican rice. on héofonas.'
- 246 hio hine ðanne gyt. heræþ sio clǣne sawl þonne lichoman.  
'geherstu gebletsoda. lichoma. sceawa on me to hwilcum setle þu eart toward.
- 13v 7 þin med // is in me fægere gesionne. þæt þu most simble éces éardes brúcan  
249 in blisse.'
- 7 hio hine ðonne get greteþ 7 to cwyð.  
'wel þe goda lichoma. forþam þu me hafast medomne gedon. þæt ic eam máre  
252 manegum siðum þara micelra goda. ðe nis æniges mannes muþes gemet. þæt þæt  
asecgan mæge. ne næniges mannes mod. þæt hit aðæncen cunne. hwilce þa  
geféan éaron þe god gegærwod hafað eallum ðam mannum þe hine her on wurulde  
255 lufiað. 7 lufian willað.
- 'þu eart halig lichoma. 7 wæstmbérende. 7 þu eart godes hus. forðæm þe god  
wunap on þam 7 eardað ðe his bebodu fylgiap. 7 healdap.
- 258 'ðu wære. þæt scearpuste. scyrsex. forþon ðu cuðest. synna þe fram //  
14r acéorfan.'
- 7 hio þonne get cweð seo sawl
- 261 'gehersðu min se léofesta lichoma. ic wæs godes dohter. 7 ængla swystor. 7 þu  
m[e] hafast gemedemod monegum siþum. 7 for ðinum gewyrhtum. ic com in  
heofona rice. þær is leoht. 7 éce lif. 7 unaspringenlic gefea.
- 264 'forðon ic gelomlice cume to þe mid miclum geléafan. 7 mid sibbe þæt ic þe.  
ðancas do. 7 secge. 7 ic þe bletsie. 7 þu bist gebletsad mid me. 7 ic mid ðe á in  
écnesse.'

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244 gyt]space for two letters following: Willard and Fadda see erasure, but I see no trace. ongæte] Fadda gives retouched reading 'ongete', but 'a' of 'æ' clearly visible. 246 ðann'e'. þonne]sic MS. 248 me] followed by erasure of one letter, possibly 'g' (so Fadda). 251 þæt] followed by erasure of one letter. 253 næ'ni'ges. 257 fylgiap] Fadda 'fylgiað'. 262 m[e] 'e' omitted MS. 263 leoht.] followed by erased 'g'.



- 267 þanne. mæn ða leofestan. glæwlice ús is to ongitanne þas word ðe mon us mid grétan wile. godes oððe yfeles. úren ærgewyrhtum.
- Eac gehycgen we. hwæðerne lareaw. we wyllen habban.
- 14r 270 God ælmihtig us læreð // 7 laðað to heofona rice.  
diofol us lærað 7 wile forlæran. 7 eac forlæðan to helle wítum.  
God ælmihtig ús cigeð to heofona rice.
- 273 deofol ús laðað to wite 7 beswiceþ to déape.  
God ælmihtig us lærað. wæccan. 7 gebedu.  
diofol. ús lærað. slæp. 7 slæcnesse.
- 276 God ælmihtig. us læraþ. fæstan.  
diofol us lærað. oferfýlle. 7 untidætas.  
God ælmihtig us lærað. rummodnesse.
- 279 diofol us læraþ gitsunga.  
God almihtig us lærað clænnesse.  
diofol us læraþ derne geligro.
- 282 God ælmihtig us lærað liþnesse 7 gefeohtsumnesse.  
diofol us lærað. yrr. 7 unrotnesse.  
God ælmihtig us lærað eadmodnesse.
- 285 diofol us lærað ofermetto.
- 15r God ælmihtig us lærað. sibbe 7 wynsum//nesse.  
diofol us lærað. unsibbe. 7 wrohte.
- 288 Uton we ðonne tilian mæn ða leofestan. þæt we þas word on gemynde habban.  
7 in singalum gebedum. bidden we godes ælmihtiges mildheortnesse ærest forþam  
þas dagas þisse worulde syndan swiþe mid sare geswæncte. 7 gedréfede.
- 291 Ac uton we nu gedon, ðæt we æfter þisse weorolde in helle ece witu þrowian ne  
ðurfen.

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267 þas] Willard 'pa'. 270 heofona] Fadda gives 'e' superscript. 272 h'e'ofona.  
274 God] 'G' in left margin. 275 slæp] Fadda 'slæw'. 282 7] elongated, perhaps  
added, as Fadda reads. gefeohts'u'mnesse. 285 diofol] 'd' in left margin.  
oferm'e'tto. 286 wynsumnesse] Fadda 'win-'. 287 wrohte] after 'w', 'o'  
cancelled. 289 mildheortnesse] '-nesse' MS, mid-line.

- 'þæt wæron þa mæn' cwæð se halga man. þe ðis godspel wrát. 7 sette. 'þæt ne  
 294 mæg ægþer ge seo fægernes h[e]ofona rices. ne seo grimnes. helle wites. ne ða  
 uneadmodnessa from hyra synnum. acerran.'
- 15v Swa sanctus paulus se apostol. reahte. 7 sæde // 7 þas word cwæþ.  
 297 *usque ad uesperum. tempus omne in secula.*
- 'þæt gelimpeð on ðæm nixtum tidum þisse worulde. þæt beoþ þa mæn þe hie  
 selfe willað herian. 7 oðer feogan. 7 onscunian. 7 beoþ oferdrinceras 7  
 300 unrihtæmed fremmeras. 7 ealra manna éahta him underðeodeð. for leasum  
 tihtlum. 7 for leasungum nyde genymað. 7 þæt get máre yfel bið hiora suna. 7  
 hiora dohtra. 7 hiora mæn unrihtlice him to æhtum nimað.
- 303 '7 hie beoð gitseras. godes. 7 hiora selfra. 7 beoð ahafene on ofermette. 7 hio  
 bioð yrsiende earmum mannum;
- 'ðas ðinc hie doð. 7 þissum gelice. forðam þe hie ne geðæncept þane miclan //  
 16r 306 domesdæg.'
- þas word sanctus paulus sægde. 7 reahte.
- Mæn ða leofestan. þonne magan we on ðisse weorolde oncnawan þi we hie of  
 309 bocum magan areccan. forðam cumað gelomlice on ðisse middangearde. 7 on  
 manna cynn. mistlicu 7 uncuplicu þingc.
- ðæt is þonne uncuþe adla gelóme. swænced æghwæþer. ge mán. ge þa þinc  
 312 þe hie sculon biglibban
- forþan. Mæn ða leofestan. ús is swiþe mycel nyððearf. þæ[t] we glæwlice.  
 ongiten þas scortnesse þisse worulde. 7 þa ecnesse ðære towardan lífes.
- 315 þæt ne bið nefre geændod. ne synfullum ðæt éce wite. ne ðam sópfæstum. þæt  
 ece lif.

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291 gedon] Fadda 'n' 'espunto', but 'n' is in form of capital N and is filled. ðæt] Fadda 'þæt'; followed by erasure of two letters. 294 h[e]ofona] superscript 'e', marked with inverted 'v', probably modern. gr'i'mnes. 297 omne] 'omnen' MS. 298 þæt gelimpeð] abbreviated 'þæt' in left margin. 299 f'e'ogan. 310 þi'n'gc. 311 gelome] possible erased 'm' after 'ge', at end line. þ'i'nc. 313 þæ[t] 'þæ' MS. 314 'to'weardan.

Ealla ðas ðinc. Mæn ða leofestan. uton we geornlice. geðæncean. 7 eal ure  
 /6v 318 lif. 7 ure // þeawas uton we simle to ðam beteran gecyrran. þæt we þurh ðæt godes  
 lufan. 7 mid lichoman. clænnesse. 7 sawle drefnesse we us sceawien 7 gecéosen  
 þone ecean god on heofonum. 7 we ne beon mid ðam synfullum wit[nod]e innan  
 321 helle. ac þæt we motan béon. mid gode 7 mid his halgum ænglum inne ðam ecan  
 rice. þær næfre. lyofe. ne todælað. ne laðe ne gemetað.

witodlice þa mæn. þe þis willaþ gefyllan. mid clænum dædum. þæt we nu  
 324 gehyrdan. befóran us secgan 7 læran hie þanne næfre ne beoð. onwænded. fram  
 ƿr ðam. écean gefean heofona rices. // wuldres. ac hie mótan féran. 7 becuman in ðæt  
 úpplice wuldor. 7 þær brúcan. mid his gecorenum ænglum; a in ealra wurulda  
 327 wuruld; a buton ænde; amen

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317 ð'i'nc. geðæncean] 'ge' very faint, at end line: Fadda 'erased', but 'ure' at end  
 next line is retouched and had been also probably faint. 320 wit[nod]e] 'witodne'  
 MS. 321 ac] 'a' with ascender.

## HOMILY 1. COMMENTARY

Most of the writing on fol. 2v has been retouched. This includes superscript letters (and '7' in line 7) and it is impossible to state with confidence where the copyist was responsible or which additions were made after copying. Accents are also uncertain: of the three shown (there may also be one on the first syllable of 'lustas', (line 7) only that on 'forlærde' is unretouched; others may be lost.

**2** ecegan eft ðane lic These letters are not retouched, and seem to have been added by the reviser of fols 2v-6r. 'lic' is written in the gutter margin and the first half of the next line is illegible. Willard reports '7' at about two letters distance to the left of "þissum": I am not sure about this '7', but a possible reading is '...lichaman 7 mid þissum...'

**3** sawle This nominative singular form occurs also in the *Visio Pauli* material, at lines 177 and 184. See Healey's note to her line 147 for discussion of these and other instances of the form; she notes, too, the nominative singular forms 'synne' used by the reviser at line 31, and 'synna' at line 209, as well as the probably nominative singular form 'hrywsunge' at line 192.

**7** þæm [::] Willard reports that Napier believed the missing letters are 'ðe', and of course the relative particle is to be expected here.

**8** gelyfan [:::::]m Willard supplies '[on þa]m'; '[on þæ]m' is also possible, of course.

**10-12** god gefæste...lys[::] 'god' is not retouched. The whole passage was added by the reviser of fols 2v-6r. Willard, who saw more letters than I can make out, supplies the following, partly conjectured, reading:

god gefæste .xxxx. dage[s?] [t]os[o]mne 7 æfter ðam fæstene he self w[æs on] rode  
gefæstnod his fet 7 his hand ... ge næglum 7 ðurh ð[a] ð[ro]wunge he us [w]olde of hylle  
[witum?] alysan

Willard notes: 'the conjectured letters of "ða ðrowunge ... wolde of helle[*sic*]witum" are Napier's, the rest mine'. 'rode' is perhaps discernible when it is expected, and there is a possible 's' two letter spaces to the left of the word, with two further letter spaces before the edge of the leaf, just

space for 'wæ'. If the line below was also begun hard up to the edge of the leaf, there is a possible maximum of eight letter spaces before 'ge næglum', as I indicate in the text.

The reviser's bringing together of Christ's fast and the crucifixion reflects, of course, the Church calendar, not the gospel narrative.

**14 sprecende** This word is written twice. The appearance is that the second half of the second manuscript line and two or three letters at the beginning of the third manuscript line must have been erased. 'sprende' appears over the possible erasure in the second line, but only the retoucher's ink is visible; the reviser of fols 2v-6r has also written the word, beginning in the left margin and extending into the blank space in the third line, with final 'e' written over 'o' of 'ofer': the whole word (of which 's' has been lost in the binding) has been cancelled. Some of the copyist's original text, a very few words, has been lost from the second and third manuscript lines, but what this might have been remains a matter for speculation. For a possible explanation of how the reading arose, see note to line 46, below. For the possibility that the passage '7 mæn ... gewrite þæt' (line 13) has been added over erasure, see above, p.68. There is a good photographic reproduction of fol.3r in *Old English Newsletter*, 11.1 (Fall, 1977), p.15. This reproduction also shows the reviser's added text at the foot of fol.3r, as well as the ends of added lines that extend into the gutter margin of fol.2v.

**18 drihten** ([:.....]) **7 ðus** Interlinear traces of letters over about a ten-letter space are scarcely detectable: Healey reads 'ðær' as the first three (I see possible 'ðæ') and supplies the conjectured reading 'ðære sunnan'.

**20 hi gewændan** Healey 'hige wændan': the 'hige' spelling of the 3rd person plural pronoun occurs certainly for the first time at line 36. I prefer 'hi' here, in keeping with 'hi nyllað' in the present line, and with the occurrence of 'gewendon' with a similar sense at line 93.

**24 forhealdnessa. unrihtæmed (þæt is)** Healey notes that the added abbreviated 'þæt' is 'probably over erased' '7': aside from the context of the list of sins, some blurring of the letter and the fact that there is space for '7' between the point and 'unrihtæmed' are grounds for the probability; 'is' is superscript. Healey considers that the reviser regarded 'forhealdnessa' (which translates Latin 'fornicationes') as meaning sins in general, and that for this reason he added 'þæt is', introducing the list of particular sins. However she adduces evidence that the stem 'forheald-'

occurs (except for an instance in *Beowulf*) when sexual sin is meant, and the reviser's added 'þæt is' (replacing '7') could as well indicate that the reviser regarded 'forhealdnessa' as meaning much the same as 'unrihtþæmed' (Latin 'adulteria').

30 sunu for genitive 'suna': see note to line 115, below.

32 (drihten ðine) Healey gives only 'ðine' as reviser's addition, with 'drihten' added 'over erasure in original hand'; 'ðine', extending into the right hand margin, is certainly the reviser's, but 'drihten' is uncertain: some blurring of the ink suggests that part of the word, at least, was written over erasure, but the word could as well have been added by the reviser. It seems likely that the reviser added 'drihten ðine' over erased 'ðine'. *Cp.* Healey's reference (p.30) to the reading in her discussion of the reviser's additions.

ðæm in error for 'ðære', agreeing with 'stowe', feminine plural.

46 (þæt hi) drihten bletiende. 7 (wuldrian. 7) Latin 'benedicite dominum deum incessabiliter'. Healey emends by eliminating the first '7' (see her note to her lines 34-5), but another possible explanation for this awkward reading is that the reviser intended 'bletiende. 7' to be deleted and replaced by his clausal construction. The construction, verb of ceasing ('geswican', line 45) plus present participle, is 'not common', but not unknown, in OE: see Mitchell, *OE Syntax*, I, para.979. The translator, it will be observed, makes free use of the construction, verb 'to be' plus present participle.

It may be that the peculiar case of 'spreccende' (see note to line 14, above) is to be explained similarly: the reviser adds 'spreccende' in the margin, leaving a preceding rejected reading to be erased later, which it is, 'spreccende' then being written in the line, and the reviser's marginal addition cancelled. The rejected reading may have been marked for deletion ('expunged': the usual method being to mark the words for deletion with a subscript point) in the case of 'spreccende', but in the present case the reviser may have omitted to do so. A difficulty with this explanation for 'spreccende' is that the reviser seems to have erased two or three letters in the third line to make room for his addition: why then did he not erase the text in the second line? The answer could be that he did not wish to spend the time.

48 hi[ge] Healey assumes that the reviser is responsible for the erasure of 'ge', because he makes an addition at this point in the text, but such an assumption is not safe. It could be that

the erasure occurred before the reviser made his addition, when 'hige' was followed by 'gebrængað'. This erasure would then be comparable to 'hi gebædon' (line 124, Healey, line 102), where there is a possible erasure after 'hi', and where repeated 'ge' may have seemed infelicitous, as Healey herself implies in her comment on this instance. The form 'hige' is retained before a 'ge-' prefix at line 62, but note that there is a point between pronoun and verb in this case. The copyist, Hand B, may have occasionally corrected the probably strange form of the pronoun as he worked. Another possible erasure of 'ge' of 'hige' is at line 123. The spelling 'hige' is used for the accusative feminine pronoun as well as for nominative and accusative plural. At lines 134, 153 and 182, where the accusative feminine pronoun 'hige' precedes a verb, the verbs do not have 'ge-' prefixes.

**52-3 anra gehwylc (yorðlic man;)** The reviser would perhaps have been more correct to add 'yorðlicra manna', in the genitive. *Cp.* the same construction, but with a pronoun, at line 28, and see Healey's note to this line (her line 17) for further examples of this construction with a pronoun. An example with both pronoun and noun is below, Homily 3, line 235, 'hyra anra gehwylc ðara manna'.

**73 mænaga** A peculiar spelling, for 'maniga (manigra)', as Healey notes. Although Healey is right in saying that no other low stress words ("þone, þonne, hwanon") in the text are spelt with 'æ', the copyist, Hand B, writes 'þænne / ðænne' at Homily 2, line 88 and Homily 4, lines 107 and 192. However, all other instances of the word (in Hand B's stint in Homily 4 and Hand A's in Homily 1) have the spelling 'man-', with two instances of 'mon-' (one in each stint).

**76 [::]ngsum. yrra. gast** *Cp.* Healey's note (her line 65). Fadda read '7 angsume ...', perhaps assuming the point before 'yrra' was the trace of an 'e'. Healey read '7 [:::]gsum'. The back of possible 'a' and all of 'n' are clearly visible. Between the edge of the leaf and probable 'angsum' there is space for one letter.

**81-3 hwæt syndan ðas ... ðis syndon** For neuter singular 'ðis' (see also lines 92 and 104) with a plural verb and complement, see Mitchell, *OE Syntax*, I, para.342, and compare the same use of 'þæt' at *ibid.*, paras 323-5.

92 *ænglas. ða beoð* 'ða' is better read as a relative pronoun (Latin 'angeli ... qui'). If read as a demonstrative, the antecedent of the relative 'ðe hyra' at line 93 would be syntactically ambiguous, either angels ('ða') or souls ('hige').

102 *eall. manna mycelnyssa* 'mycelnyssa' can hardly be, as it looks, genitive plural, and must be either nominative singular or (partitive) genitive singular. Healey (see her note to her line 84) prefers the former. For 'eall' plus genitive, see Mitchell, *OE Syntax*, I, para. 455.

104 *singað* for 'syngiað'; *cp.* 'syngode', line 207, and see Healey's note to her line 85.

107 *ða godan gastas* Mention of evil spirits (= 'ðæm dyoflum' at line 111), as in the Latin, is required here for the sense of the narrative in lines 107-14. It is the evil spirits who should weep and address the soul. See Healey's note, where she supplies '... 7 ða yfelan gastas, ac ða yfelan gastas nan geweald on ðara sawle næfdon ...', conjectured from the example of lines 152-3.

115 *heofonum* for genitive 'heofona'. Healey notes the possibility that '-um' may reflect the use of an open *a* in an exemplar. Open-headed *a* is not necessarily a very early form (see Ker, *Catalogue*, p.xxviii), but another possibility is that the error reflects square *a*, a common tenth-century form (see *ibid.*). The same error occurs at line 168, and *cp.* 'sunu', line 30, for genitive 'suna' and 'eagun', line 19, for 'eagan'.

121 *gewærlice* = Latin 'viriliter'. Healey notes an instance (without the 'ge' prefix) of 'werlice' spelt with 'æ' (see her note to her line 99). There is also a possibility that the reading arose from confusion with 'wærlice', 'prudently'.

121-2 *efenlice gefeoð* Latin 'congaudebimus'.

128 *gewinnes. ða ðæ* 'ða ðæ' for 'ðæs ðe' or 'ðæt' after gen. neut. sg. 'gewinnes'. The ending '-nes' could perhaps have been perceived by a copyist as the feminine noun ending. *Cp.* Healey's note to her line 105.

131 *he ... him* for 'heo ... hire' (as Healey emends), although I have not found an instance of '(ge)unrotsian' taking the dative.

132 *syo hige. nu geseald* Here and at line 180 ('syo hige anumen') the accusative form of the feminine pronoun occurs where one would expect the nominative.

134 *sy oð* The possible erasure of 'o' of 'syo' here, as Healey notes, is comparable to the erasure of 'ge' of 'hige' at line 48 (see note to this line), but again it is not safe to assume with



Healey that the reviser was responsible for the erasure. It is, however, admittedly more likely that a reader rather than a copyist would be concerned with this sort of detail, which would only matter when pronounced.

152 *ða godan gastas* for 'ða yfelan gastas', as Healey notes (Latin 'sancti angeli et maligni').

168 *heofonum* for 'heofona': see note to line 115 above.

170 *hwylc se god is ðe hyo his beboden* for Latin 'quia est deus ut contempsit'. Either 'his beboden' is a corruption of the 3rd person singular of a verb meaning 'to despise', or a verb meaning 'to despise' has been omitted and 'beboden' derives from the accusative plural noun 'beboda/u'. Healey offers an emendation: 'hwylc se god is ðe hyo [hyspte] his bebod[u]'.  
 177 and 184 *sawle* See note to line 3 above.

184 *sawle. ic* Strictly, syntax requires a relative particle 'ðe' before 'ic'.

208-10 See above, pp.65-7.

209 *synna* See note to line 3 above.

210 *hine* The pronoun, of course, does not refer to its syntactic antecedent 'drihten', but anticipates 'lichoma' at line 211.

246 *þonne* for 'þone'.

248 *fægere gesionne. þæt ...* If, as it appears, 'gesionne' is an inflected infinitive, preceding 'to' has been omitted: for the strict regularity of 'to' with the inflected infinitive, see Mitchell, *OE Syntax*, paras 921 and 935. The redacted version of the soul and body text in Assmann XIV (line 99) has 'fæger 7 gesyne 7 ...', raising the possibility that 'gesionne' could be read as an adjective, with 'fægere' an adverb.

251 *medomne* acc. masc. sg., for 'medome', acc. fem. sg.

*mare* Fadda considered the comparative of 'micel' difficult and emends to 'mære' ('illustrious'), but the emendation does not seem to solve the difficulty of the whole clause 'þæt ic eam mare ... goda'. The general sense is clear enough, that the body's behaviour has continually increased the soul's share of heavenly benefits, but a close translation is elusive.

282 *gefehtsumnesse* The word occurs uniquely here. A.S. Napier, 'Contributions to Old English Lexicography', *Transactions of the Philological Society* (1903-6), 265-358 (pp.293-4), and thence *BTSupp.*, accepts the word as deriving from 'gefeon' 'to rejoice', but since the stem is

'gefeoht-' and therefore closer to 'gefeohtan' 'to fight' (a wholly inappropriate meaning here) there is the possibility that the word has been misspelt.

**295 uneadmodnessa** Another word which occurs uniquely here, noted only in *MCOE*. The prefix 'un-' must carry here its pejorative, not its negative, sense. The word may then be translated 'humiliations', and included with the preceding phrase 'ne seo grimnes. helle wites': 'nor the ferocity, nor the humiliations of hell's punishments'. The sense fits well with the description of the overbearing persons in lines 298-306.

**299 oðer** for 'oðre', accusative plural.

**302 mæn** for 'manna', genitive, in keeping with 'suna' and 'dohtra', whose possessions, 'æhta', may be understood in following 'æhtum'.

**303 hie beoð gitseras. godes. 7 hiora selfra** Again a noun seems to be understood after the genitives: 'they are misers of god's and their own (things)'.

**303-4 hio bioð yrsiende earmum mannum** Although no doubt these grasping persons would be enraging to poor people, perhaps the sense is rather that they treat the poor angrily.

**308-9 þonne magan we ... areccan** I cannot find directly translatable grammatical sense here: 'oncnawan' seems to require an object, since the clause 'þi ... areccan' does not seem to constitute its complement. I hesitate to postulate corruption, since sense is expressed: the expression may be genuinely elliptical, depending on a grammatical ambiguity of 'þi', which may be here at once pronominal (in instrumental case, complemented by the accusative plural pronoun 'hie') and conjunctival (= 'because'). The general sense must be that 'through books we can be forewarned about evils that visit the world'.

**311 man** for 'mæn', accusative plural.

**314 ðære** for 'ðæs', to agree with 'lifes', gen. neut. sg.

**318-21 þæt we ðurh ðæt godes lufan ... ac þæt we motan beon** This passage does not read easily. 'þæt we ... lufan' may be emended in two ways: either delete 'we' and 'ðæt' to give 'þæt ðurh godes lufan', or emend the noun 'lufan' to the verb 'lufian' to give 'þæt we ðurh ðat godes lufian, with the genitive 'godes' then having a noun (or noun phrase) understood (see notes to lines 302 and 303 above), so that we may translate, 'so that thereby we may love what is proper to

God'. The latter alternative is preferable, since it is the simpler. At line 320 I would emend '7' to 'pæt', particularly in order to fit in with 'ac pæt ...' at line 321.

322 lyofe presumably = 'leofe'.

326 7 þær brucan It seems unusual for 'brucan' to be intransitive, but *cp.* Homily 3, line 206, where an analagous passage has the same phrase.

## CHARMS

wið wif bearn eacenu;

*Maria virgo peperit cr̄istum elizabet sterilis peperit iohannem baptistam; Adluo te*

3 *infans si  s masculus; Aut f mina. per patrem. et filium. et spiritum sanctum; vt  
 xeas. et rec das et ultra.  i non noceas n que insipientiam illi facias. amen;*

*Videns dominus flentes sor res l zari ad monumentum lacrimatus est coram iud is*

17v 6 *et clamabat l zare ueni f ras et prodiit; lig tis // m nibus. et pedibus qui fuerat  
*quatridu nus mortuus; Writ  is on w xe  e n fre ne com to nanen w rce. 7 bind  
under hire swi ran f t;~**

9 *Wi  gestice.*

wri  cristes m l. 7 sing.  rywe   ran.  is. 7 pater noster; *longinus miles lancea  
ponxit. dominum et restitit sanguis. et recessit dolor;*

12 *Wi  uncu um swyle.*

sing on  ine l cefinger. iii. pater noster: 7 writ ymb   t sare. 7 cwe . *Fuge  
diabolus cr̄istus te s quitur. quando n tus est cr̄istus. fugit dolor; 7 eft. iii. pater*

15 *noster. 7. iii. fuge diabolus;*

wi  to   ce.

*Sanctus p trus supra m rm ream //*

---

2 *cr̄istum*] 'xpm' MS. 3 *Aut*] Cockayne 'an'. 6 *lig tis*] Cockayne 'ligatus'. 10  
 rywe   ran] Cockayne ' riwe   ron'. 13 *iii*] Cockayne 'in'. 14 *cr̄istus*] 'xpc'  
MS. *eft. iii.*] Cockayne ' ftur'.

## HOMILY 2

18r

## DOMINICA I IN QUADRAGESIMA

MEN ÐA LEOFESTAN EOW EALLUM IS CUð (ðes) gærlica ymbryne us  
gebringð efne (nu ða) clænan tíð længtenlices fæstenes (on ðam we) scylan úre  
3 gemeleaste 7 forgæged(nyssa. úrum) gastlicum scriftum geandettan (7 mid) fæstene  
7 mid wæccum 7 gebedum 7 ælmes(dædum) fram synnum aðwéan. þæt we  
bealdlice mid (gast)licere blisse ða eastarlican mǽr(sunge) cristes æristes wýrðian  
6 motan (7 ðæs) halgan húsles ðigen mid geléafan (under)fón. úre synna to  
forgifenesse (7 to ge)scyldnesse deoflicra costunga.

(witodlice) þis feowertigfealde fæsten wæs á(steald) on ðære éaldan gecyðnessa.

9 ða ða (se) héretoga moysses fæste . xl. daga (7 xl. nihta. tosomne) to ði þæt he  
moste godes. æ. under(fón)

Eft syððan se mǽre witega. elías. eall (swa) lang fæsten ðurh godes mihte  
18v 12 (afæste) swa swa se oðer gefylde; 7 syððan. he // wearð gefeod lichamlice on  
heofonlicum cræte to ðam uplican life. 7 cymð eft he 7 enoh togænes antecriste. to  
ði þæt heo ðæs deofles leasunge mid godes soðfæstnesse oferstælan;

15 Drihten éac on ðære nýwan gecyðnessa fæste ðurh his godcundan mihte. xl.  
daga. 7 xl. nihta. fram eallum eorðlicum bygleofan;

Ðus wæs úre længtenlic fæsten æstéald. ac we ne magon for úre tyddernesse  
18 þyllic fæsten ðurhteon;

Nu is alyfed ðurh lareowa ealdordom þæt we dæghwamlice on ðyssere  
længtenlican tíde urne lichaman gereordigan. mid forhæfednysse: 7 sýfernesse 7  
21 clænnysse;

11 Eft] 'E' in the original left margin. 12 he] in a bracket at the bottom right  
corner of the page.

- Stunlice fæst se længtenlic fæsten se ðe on ðisum clænan tíman mid galscipe  
hine sylfne befylð;
- 24 Unrihtlic is þæt se cristena man flæsclice lustas gefremme on ðam tíman þe he  
flæsclice mettas forgán scyl;
- 19r witod//lice on eallum tidum gedafenað criste(num) mannum þæt hi góde weorc  
27 begán. 7 ælmes(dæ)da. 7 swa ðeah swiðost on ðisum gemærn(licum) fæstene;  
Se ðe on oðrum dagum. to sláw. wære to gódnysse. he scyl huruðinga (on)  
ðisum dagum acwúcian on gódum bigængum
- 30 Se ðe ær glædlice mid gódum weorcum hine selfne geglængde. him gedafenað  
þæt he (on) ðisum dagum geornlicor mid weallendre lufe his gódnysse gecyðe;  
Ne biþ nan fæs(ten) gode gecweme. buton se man hine selfne fram leahtrum  
33 forhæbbe;  
Beoð gemyn(dige) ðara twégra worda ðe drihten cwæð (on his) godspelle; he  
cwæð;
- 36 'forgifað 7 eow bið (for)gifen;  
'Sellað 7 eow bið geseald;'  
þas (twa) ælmesseana cyn us synd to begánne (mid) micelre gecnýrdnesse. þæt  
39 we oðrum man(num) mid inweardre héortan forgifan (gif hi) áhwær ús gebylgdon.  
to ði ðæt ús god (for)gyfnesse do ure synna.
- 19v 7 uton dón ðearfum // 7 wanspedigum sume hyððe úra góda. þam ælmihtigum  
42 gode to wyrðmynte. ðe hit ús alænde. þæt he ús mare on ðam towéardan forgife;  
Mildheortnyss is synna læcedom; heo alyst ús fram ðam écean deaðe. 7 ne  
geðafað ús þæt we to forwýrde becuman;
- 45 Mildheortnys ana gemundað ús on ðam myclan dome. gif we on andweardum  
life hi oðrum mannum cyðað;  
Witodlice ðam biþ dóm butan mildheortnysse se ðe nu oðrum demð buton  
48 mildheortnysse;

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28 he scyl huruðinga] blurring suggests on erasure, by copyist. 30 Se] 'S' in original left margin. 41 ðearfum] added, not by copyist, at bottom left corner of page; traces of the original rewritten word, cut through, at bottom right edge of leaf.

- Of rihtwisum gestréonum man sceal ælmessan dælan swa swa hit awriten is;  
 Awyrða ðinne drihten mid ðinum æhtum. 7 of ðinum frumwæstmum. syle  
 51 ðearfum;  
 ða ælmessan ðe of réaflace beoð gesealde syndon gode swa gecweme swylce  
 hwa acwelle oðres mannes cild. 7 bringe ðam fæder þæt heafod to láce;  
 54 God bebyt þæt man ælmessan wýrce. 7 forbead fácn 7 reaflac;  
 20r Se unrihtwisa berepð oðre. 7 blissað // hine selfne;  
 Eft gif se ðearfa hine bit (æ)lmessan. þonne geunrotsað he. 7 awænt his (neb)  
 57 aweg. 7 forgyt ðæs witegan cwide;  
 Se ðe (awænt) his neb fram clypiendum ðearfan (he self) clypað eft [t]o gode 7  
 his stemne ne bið (gehe)red;  
 60 Ahylð ðine éaran to ðæs wædlian (béne) þæt god eft ðine stæmne gehyre;  
 Dæl (of ðæm) ðe ðe god forgæf. 7 ðine góð beoð gemænigfalded;  
 Gif ðu forgemeleasost to dæ(lenne) ælmessan. god ðe benymð ðinra goda (7  
 63 ðu) belýfst syððan wædla;  
 God forgifð (ricum) welan genihtsumlice. 7 ðam ðearfan (on)tihð;  
 Hwi swa  
 66 þæt he afándige ða rícan (ðurh) his ðearfena hafenléaste.  
 God ge(wrohte) welegan 7 ðearfan. 7 wolde þæt se ðearfe wære afed ðurh ðone  
 rícan;  
 69 God ge(sette) ðone welegan on his gódum.  
 hwi scyl he (ðonne) him anum geáhnian þæt heom ban for(gifen) wæs;  
 20v Gif ðu talast to ðinum geswince// ðæt ðæt ðu hafast. oððe gif ðu wénst þæt  
 72 ðære eorðan wæs[t]mas þíne synd. þonn cweð se ælmihtiga wealdend to ðe:  
 'efne nu ic ðe oftéo minne fultum. 7 hafa ðe þin geswinc;  
 'Ic oftéo mine rénscuras. 7 ic wyrce ðin land únwæsmbære;  
 75 'Gif þæt land þín is. se rén is min.

58 [t]o superscript 't', marked with an inverted 'v' is probably modern.

71 geswince] 'ce' in a bracket below 'in'. 72 wæs[t]mas] superscript 't', marked with an inverted 'v', is probably modern; see Commentary. þonn] sic. 73 þ'i'n.

'teoh ðu forð rénscuras gif ðu miht. 7 gewætera ðine æceras.

'Gif þu mæge dó þæt sunne scíne þæt ðine æceras rípian;'

78 Witodlice þæt yfele land þæt ðu ðe geahnast. nis ðin ac is ðæs ælmihtigan swa swa se witega cwæð;

*Domini est terra et plenitudo eius.*

81 'seo eorðe 7 hire gefyllednyss is godes;'

God cwæð eft to ðe.

'míne ðéarfán hæbbað ealle ðing gif hi me ænne habbað;

84 'hwæt hæfstu gif ðu me næfst;

'Ðu híwast swilce ðu ðinum cilde hit sparige. 7 nást hwæm hit gescytt;'

Swa swa se witega cwæð;

87 'On ídel swincð se ðe gold hórdað. 7 nát hwam he hit gegaderað;

21r 'ðeah ðin feoh // ne atórige ðeah geándað ðin líf ðænne ðu læst wenst.'

swa swa crist self (cwæð) be sumum ricum mænn on his god(spelle)

90 He cwæð

'sum welig man wæs on worul(de) 7 his wæstmas genihtsumlice ðugon

'(ða) sméade se rica 7 cwæð;

93 "'Hwæt do ic la (nu ic) næbbe hwær ic mæge ealle mine wæst(mas) gegadrian;''

'Eft he cwæð

''ic wille ryman minne bertun. 7 mine bercne gcéac(nigan) 7 ðider gegadrian

96 ealle mine wæstmas 7 cweðan to minre sawle; 'Mín sawul (ðu) hæft fyla góda to

manegra gæra (bryce) Gereste nu. 7 ett. 7 drinc. 7 gewist(fulla)''

'Þa cwæð god to ðam rican;

99 "'Ðu stunta (nu to)niht ðu scylt ðin lif alætan;

''hwæs (beoð) ðonne ðine tylunge;''

'Swa bið se ðe him (sylfum) goldhordað. 7 nis on gode welig;'

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90 He] 'H' in left margin. 91 wæstmas] 't' written over a minim. 96 Gereste] 'G' in left margin. 98 Þa] 'P' in left margin.



- 102 Efne (ðu on)dræst ðe on ðam gedale. ne ondræt (ðu ðe) to dælenne. ðu ðe nast  
 21v hwæðer ðu mergenes // gebist;  
 Cyð mildheortnesse éarmum mannum mid ðinum begæte. ne forlæt se.
- 105 ælmihtiga god ðe se ðe to dælere gesette.  
 be ðisum cwæð drihten on his godspelle;  
 'ne behyde ge eowerne goldhord on eorðan. ðær ðær óm 7 mohðan hit awestað  
 108 7 ðeofas. adelfað. 7 forstelað; Ac hordiað eowerne goldhord. on heofonum. ðær  
 ne cymð ne óm ne mohðe ne ðeofas ne adelfað ne ne ætbredað;  
 'soðlice ðær ðær ðin gold is ðær bið ðin heorte;'  
 111 hu magon we ure hord on heofonum behydon buton ðurh ælmessan;  
 Swa hwæt swa we be anfealdum. godes ðearfum for his lufan syllað. he hit ús  
 forgilt be hundfealdum on ðam toweardan life;
- 114 Gif ealle. men on worulde ríce wæran ðonne næfde sio mildheortnyss nænne  
 stede þæt seo ælmesse úre synne lég adwyscte swa swa hit awriten is;
- 22r *Sicut aqua extinguit ignem ita elemosina // extinguit peccan;*  
 117 þæt is swa swa wæ(ter) adwyscð fyr swa adwyscð seo æl(messe) ða synna;  
 Nis nan ðéarfa fram (ǽlmes)dædum ascyred;  
 Witodlice sum earm wuduwe næfde ealra æhta buton (æne) fyrðling. ðane heo  
 120 brohte to godes ([w]ýofode) on cristes andweardnesse. 7 he hi (ðær)rihte mid his  
 halgan muðe geherede ([7] cwæð)  
 'soð ic eow secge þæt ðeos éarme wuduwe (brohte) máran lác ðonne ænig oðer  
 123 man on ðisum. dæge. forðan ðe heo brohte eall þæt heo (hæfde) mid estfullum  
 mode;'  
 Eft on oðre stowe cwæð drihten on his godspelle;
- 126 'Swa (hwa) swa sylð anum ðyrstigum mænn (ceald) wæter on minum naman.  
 ne forléost (he his) méde ðære dæda;'

103 mergenes] in a bracket at bottom right corner of page. 107 'ge'. 110 soðli'ce'. 114 ðonne] followed by 'wære', which is cancelled and marked with a set of three points before and after. 120 ([w]ýofode)] 'w' presumably obscured in binding. 121 [7] cwæð] '7' presumably obscured in binding. 122 ðe'o's. 125 s'to'we.

Soðlice ne bið ús (to) ælmeſſan geteald gif <sup>we</sup> ~~we~~ <sup>^</sup> ðam mannum sellað ðe heora  
 22v 129 neoda habbað. for(ðan) ðe god ne hét us gewelian ða hæbbendan. // ac þæt we ðam  
 wædliendum gefultumedon;

We willað gét ænne cwide ðære godſpellican gerecedneſſe eow gereccen on  
 132 ðisum ilcan andgyte;

Drihten ſpræc ymbe hiſ tocyne to ðam myclan dome. [7 þuſ cwæð;

'Witodlice manneſ bearn cymð on hiſ mægenðrymme. 7 ealle englaſ ſamod  
 135 mid hiſ to ðam micclum dome.]

'ðanne ſit he on domſetle hiſ mægenðrymneſſe 7 beoð. gegadrode ætforan hiſ  
 ealle ðeode. 7 he toſcat hi on twa ſwa ſwa hýrde toſcæt ſcæp fram gátum;

138 'Ðanne gelogað he ða ſcæp on hiſ ſwiðran hand. 7 ða gæt on hiſ wynſtran;'

We willað eow geſwutuliaſ nu æreſt gif eower hwylc nyte hwæt manneſ bearn  
 ſy. þæt iſ criſt ſelf manneſ béarn ſe ðe iſ aneſ mædeneſ ſunu ðære eadigan marían  
 141 on ðære mænneſneſſe. 7 ſeo mænniſcnyſſ bið geſewen on ðam dôme Þonne he ſelf  
 ſit on hiſ dómſetle. 7 ða rihtwiſan on hiſ ſwiðran hand. 7 ða ſynfullan on hiſ  
 wynſtran;

23r 144 Þonne cweð criſt godeſ ſunu // to ðam ðe on hiſ ſwiðran hand ſtan(ðeð)

*Venite benedicti patris mei percipite (regnum) quod vobis paratum est ab initio  
 (mundi)*

147 'Cumæð ge gebletſode to minum fæder (7 ge)ahniað ðæt rice ðe eow gegærwod  
 wæſ fram frymðe middangeardes;

'Me (hin)grode. 7 ge me gereordon;

150 'Me ðyrſte (7 ge me) ſcænctan;

'Ic wæſ cuma. 7 ge me undorfen(gon) on eowrum geſthúſe;

'Ic wæſ nacod (7 ge me) ſcryddon;

153 'Ic wæſ geuntrumod. 7 ge me (genéo)ſodon;

'Ic wæſ on cwarterne. 7 ge comon (to me) 7 ge me gefrefrodon;'

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128 'we'. hæbbendan] 'dan' in a bracket at bottom right corner of page. 133-5  
 [7 þuſ ... dome] ſupplied, ſee Commentary. 141 Þonne] 'Þ' in left margin. 145  
 Venite] 'V' in left margin. 147 Cumæð] 'C' in left margin. 150 ſcæn'c'tan.

Þonne andswariað (ða) rihtwisan criste 7 cweðað;

156 'Drihten (hwæn)ne gesawan we ðe hungriġne. 7 we ðe ge(rȳor)dodon; Oððe  
ðurstigne. 7 we ðe scæntan

'(oððe) hwænne wære ðu cuma. 7 we ðe under(féngon)

159 'Oððe hwænne gesawe ðe untrumne. oððe (on) cwarterne. 7 we ðæ  
genysodon;'

Ðanne and(wyrt) se cyning. ðam rihtwisum ðisum wordum. //

23 ✓ 162 Soð ic eow secge swa lánge swa ge dydon anum ðisum læstum on mínum  
naman. ge hit dydon me selfum;'

Ðonne cweð he eft to ðam synfullum ðe on his wynstran healfe standað;

165 *Discedite a me maledicti in ignem eternum qui preparatus est diabolo et  
ængelis eius;*

'Gewitað fram me awyrgdon in to ðam ecan fyre ðe is gegærcod ðam deofle. 7

168 his awyr[g]dum gastum;

'Me hingrode. 7 ge me ætes forwyrdon;

'Me ðyrste. 7 ge me drincan ne sealdan;

171 'Ic wæs cuma. 7 ge me undorfon noldon;

'Ic wæs nacod noldon ge me wæda tyðian;

'Ic wæs untrum. 7 on cwarterne. noldon ge me geneosian;'

174 Þonne andsweriað ða unrihtwisan. manfullan;

'Ia leof hwænne gesawe we ðe hungriġne oððe ðurstigne. oððe cuman. oððe  
nacodne. oððe geuntrumodne. oððe on cwarterne. 7 we ðe noldan ðenian;'

177 Ðanne andwyrt se cynig. him 7 cweð;

24 ✓ 'Swa lánge // swa ge forwyrdon anum mæn of (ðisum) litlum. 7 noldon him on  
minum naman ([t]yðian) Swa lange ge me selfum his (for)wyrdon;'

180 Þonne (farað) ða uncystigan. 7 ða (unriht)wisan. into écere (cwic)susle mid  
deofle. 7 his (awyrgdum) ænglum; 7 ða rihtwisan gecyrrað (fram) ðam dome into

159 Oððe] 'Oð' in left margin. 168 awyr[g]dum] superscript 'g', marked with an  
inverted 'v', is probably modern. 169 7] squeezed in on line, by copyist. 171 Ic] 'I'  
in left margin. 179 Swa] 'S' in left margin.

ðam écan life. mid (criste) 7 his gecorenum ænglum; Mid ðam hio libbað. 7  
183 rixiað. on sawle. 7 on lichaman. (á) in ealra worulda woruld amen.:~::~~

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183 a] written with an ascender.

## HOMILY 2. COMMENTARY

Godden's edition, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies. Second Series*, pp.60-66, is referred to by author's name, along with line number.

**1 IS CUð** All other manuscripts have 'is cuð þæt'. The copyist perhaps failed to rewrite 'þæt', causing the ungrammatical reading.

**3-4 7 mid fæstene ... aðwean** (Godden, lines 4-5) Like C, Bodley 340 and 342, CCCC 198 and CCCC 162 omit 'us', object of 'aðwean', before 'mid'.

**8 witodlice** At the end of the preceding line, 'wutod' appears to be written by the modern hand who added superscript arabic numbers at points throughout Homily 2. Superscript '2' precedes 'wutod'. Perhaps 'wutod' was still visible and the modern hand retraced the letters, but no other erased end lines show traces of letters (erasure at end lines is indicated by roughening of the surface of the membrane). '7' at the end line preceding '7 xl. nihta' seems also to have been written by the modern hand. For modern additions, see above p.22.

**22 Stun lice** . for 'Stuntlice'.

**42 on ðam toweardan** (Godden, line 46) Only CCCC 302 has 'on ðam toweardan life'; at line 113 all manuscripts have 'life' in the same phrase and in similar context, and *cp.* lines 45-6, 'on andweardum life', all manuscripts. *BT* does not give a substantive use of 'towearda'. There is potential ambiguity here, since it could be taken that some time in the future is meant, rather than the after-life. *Cp.* Homily 4, line 277, 'ge her on wyrolde. ge on ðære toweardan', where the feminine 'ðære', agreeing with 'wyrolde', indicates that 'toweardan' is adjectival rather than nominal. A look through *MCOE* shows several instances like this in *Ælfric's* work, but none of a nominal 'towearda', the only instance of which I have seen is in a hymn printed by Michael Korhammer, *Die Monastischen Cantica im Mittelalter und ihre altenglischen Interlinearversionen* (Munich, 1976), p.314, where 'on þam toweardan' glosses 'in futuro'. If there is omission error in the present case, familiarity with the use of adjective 'towearda' in a paired phrase referring to present and future could account for its persistence or coincidence in the copies. However, if a nominal usage of 'towearda' is strictly ungrammatical, there is a faulty

reading here, though there is not a failure of sense. On adjectives used as nouns, see Mitchell, *OE Syntax*, I, paras 132-5. Such forms as 'ða uncystigan. 7 ða unrihtwisan' at line 180, of persons, are unexceptional.

**72 wæstmas** The superscript addition of 't' is marked with an inverted 'v' and is probably modern (see above, p.22). At line 91, the copyist, Hand B, began to write 'wæstmas' but altered the first minim of 'm' to 't'; *cp.* also 'unwæstmbære', at line 75. In Homily 4, also written by Hand B, an added 't' in 'wæstmas' at line 189 is marked with an inverted 'v'. The letter 't' is omitted from a consonant cluster at line 22 above; *cp.* also 'scæntan', line 157, and 'scæn'c'tan', line 150, where the superscript is by the copyist. It may be that these spellings reflect the copyist's pronunciation.

**78 þæt yfele land** (Godden, line80) Like C, Bodley 340 and 342 and CCC 162 have 'yfele', while CCC 198 has 'yfe'. All other manuscripts have the plainly correct 'sylfe'.

**105 se ðe** (Godden, line103) All other manuscripts have a further 'ðe', 'you', object of 'gesette'. In Bodley 340 and 342, CCC 198 and Hatton 114 the word is added.

**121-2 [7] cwæð soð** (Godden, line 120) I cannot agree with Godden that 'soðlice' was the original reading for 'soð', as he indicates in his collation. He discusses the point in his notes to the homily (p.351), taking it that 'soð' was cut off when the gathering was trimmed and rewritten on erased 'lice' at the beginning of the next line. '[7] cwæð' has been rewritten and, judging by the smaller numbers of the other examples of rewritten letters, I do not think that there could have been space at the end of the original line for '7 cwæð soð'. Neither is there space at the beginning of the next line for 'lice' where 'oð' now is, 's' being in the margin. It may be that 'S' was erased from the margin to be replaced by 's', making more room to rewrite '7 cwæð'.

However, it is a minor point which does not involve a difficult reading, nor need it raise doubt about the place of C in the textual tradition represented by Bodley 340 and 342, CCC 198 and CCC 162.

**133-5 [7 þus cwæð ... dome]** Supplied from Godden, lines 131-3. Hatton 114 has the same omission, presumably due to homeoteleuton. The omission has not brought about an unserviceable reading, though Ælfric's text is marred by it, particularly by the loss of mention of 'mannes bearn' (line 134), which is explained at lines 139-41.

159 gesawe for 'gesawe we'; CCCC 198 and CCCC 162 also omit 'we' here.

178 forwyrdon for 'forwyrndon'; in CCCC 162 the same error has been corrected after copying. In CCCC 198, CCCC 162, CUL Ii. 4. 6. and CCCC 178 the 'n' has been omitted from the same word at its next occurrence (line 179), where in CCCC 162 the copyist this time makes the correction. The added partial copy of the homily at the end of Bodley 342 has the same error at line 169. In none of these cases is the context suitable for the verb 'forweorpan' in its usual sense 'perish', etc. It is odd that the error is made, in some or all cases independently, at different points in copies of the same passage, especially when it is considered that the preterite plural of 'forweorpan' is commonly spelt 'forwurdon', as well as 'forwyrdon' in LWS.

182-3 What look like neums are drawn over 'criste', 'his', 'ge' of 'gecorenan' and 'ra' and 'wor' in 'ealra worulda'. These neum-like marks are in the same ink as a pen trial that follows the end of the text and cannot therefore be taken to suggest an intoning of the homily conclusion (see above, p.35).

## HOMILY 3

25r Geherað nu mæn ða leofestan. hu ús godes béc moniegap. 7 myndigað to ures lifes  
 clænnesse. 7 licháman 7 sáule. þæt is þæt we hæbben ærest rihtne geléafan. to  
 3 þam acænn[e]dan 7 þam ælmihtigan gode. forðan butan rihtan geléafan 7 rihtum  
 dædum nan man to gode becuman ne mæg.

forðan ús myndigað godes béc þæt we ure ælmessan sellan earmum mannum 7  
 6 to godes circean. 7 dæghwamlice ær we to urum gereordum gesitten þæt we simle  
 hwæthwega gode to willan gedón.

hæbbe æghwilec man be his mæðe þa gód þe god wite þæt he gedón mæge. 7  
 9 seo ælmesse sceal béon symle mid rihte begyten. gif heo gode ondfænge beon scæl.  
 25v 7 simle to halgum tidum we hie // geornost sellen forðan þe hit awriten is on cristes  
 bocum þæt man mid þære ælmæssan mæge his synna adwæscean. swa man mæg  
 12 mid wætere fyr adwæscean. gif hie mid rihte gestrenede beoð.

hu mæg se cristena man beon soþfæst 7 clæne 7 gode gecóren gif he nyle godes  
 cyricean secean. halchum dagum. þam þe we freolsian scéolan. 7 þær þa halchan  
 15 gerýno gehýran. 7 to þan halgestan. 7 to þan héhstan tidum to húsle gárgan.

7 ealle we scéolon anum gode þéowian. þam þe on heofonum is. 7 ealles  
 middangeardes wealdend.

18 he ús mid his þrowunge aliesde of þam heardestan 7 þam grimmostan helle  
 26r witum. forþy we nu on þas halchan tide sculan onfón // an ure [:]nd[:]ton cristes  
 þam halgum gerynum. ond [::]o[::]en we him þis feowertiga nihta on clænnessa. 7  
 21 on forhæfdnesse unrihtlices lichaman lustes. þæt we mægen on þa eastertid rihtlice  
 7 mid clænnesse 7 mid hihte becuman to þam halgan húsle órsorhlice.

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3 acænn[e]dan] 'acænnendan' MS; see Commentary. 4 'ne'. 8 god] Fadda reports a final 'u' erased; space for one letter, but copyist's spacing between words is often generous. Fadda's 'u' seems to be shine-through of first two minims of 'middangeardes' on verso. 15 tidum] followed by two or three letter space: possible erasure. 16 heof'o'num. 18 aliesde] Fadda 'aliesde ond', but her 'ond' (=') is shine-through from recto of abbreviated 'þæt'. 19 and 20 For missing letters see Commentary. 20 f'e'owertiga.



- forþan manige syndan soðfæste weorc. þe man wyrcean scæġ on þas halgan tīd.
- 24 eac þam fæstene.
- þæt synt ure gelyfedan cýricsócna. 7 hálga weccan. 7 halige gebédu. 7  
æġmæssan. 7 dru[n]cennesse to forgánne.
- 27 ne he selfa ne he oþerne ne bidde ðy læs hiera bégra saul þurh ðæt forloren  
wéorþe. forþan þe se druncnesse manige synne weceð on fultum fyrenlustum. 7 on  
26v unrih//tum geflitum. 7 on gitsungum. þe him þurh deofles biswiclesse. þurh þæt  
30 druncen. bið tó bóren. forþan þe he simle wile fram gode atéon. swa fela swa he  
mæst mæg. 7 on þam écum wítum gebringan. ealle þa þe his lárum geheran.  
willað.
- 33 ac us man simle bebeodeð on godes bebodum þæt we genéache ure cyricean  
sécean. 7 þær gehíeren ræðan þa godcundan wórd þe drihten séġfa gescóp. ealra  
codcundra gesamnunge.
- 36 ac beo ge nu geþyldige. þah eow man mid wordum trehege. þæt ge þa ýflan  
word ne forgylden. mid oþrum yfelum wordum. And þeah man gehere oðerne him  
27r on ðweorh sprécan þanne ne geandswerige he na him mid nane // ýfele. þanne bið  
39 his saule eft agyfen tienfealde. wæstmas on godes gesamnunge.
- ac andettað ge eow nu eowra sýnna. 7 doð hiera soðe hréwe þanne beoð eowra  
sáula þurh þæt gehælede 7 ge fīndað eft forgyfenesse. eowra sýnna on þam  
42 niehstan dæge.
- 7 he bið þanne orsórġ forðan þe he ær dyde soðe hréowsunge his sýnna. forþan  
on þa tīd þe his saul of his lichaman gewitæt 7 heo biþ synfull. þanne biþ hiere  
45 ealles gelic þeah heo. þanne wólde hréowe don. forþán heo syþþan naðer ne mæg  
ne synnigian ne hréowsian

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26 dru[n]cennesse] superscript 'n', marked with an inverted 'v', is probably modern. 27 'for'loren] 'for' not added by copyist: 'f' is crossed, unlike the form used by copyist, and tops of descenders are formed differently. 33 ac] 'a' written with a short ascender. 36 tre'he'ge] Fadda prints 'trege', thinking that copyist meant to emend to 'trehe', but no indication that 'ge' should be deleted. 37 And] 'A' in left margin. 40 ac] 'a' written with a short ascender. 43 forþan] Fadda 'forðan'.

- ac bebeorgan we us nu þa niðerlican witu. 7 gegærwian we ús nu þa  
 27v 48 heofoncúndan léoht. 7 þisne héofon 7 þas wæter. // 7 þis fyr.  
 ac we ne magon geseon hwanan hie cumað hider. ac we. magon. scewian  
 þisne heofon 7 þas wæter 7 þis fyr her on eorþan. 7 nis on hefonum gesewen naðer  
 51 ne fyr ne wæter. ac heofona fyr. 7 heofona wæter syndan gódes ænglas gewordene.  
 ac utan nu geearnian þæt we ne becumen. to þam uncuðan wítum ac þæt we  
 geféon mid gode æfter þisse wéorulde.  
 54 7 forþan drihten him sohte fæmnan innoð on to eardianne.  
 þæt he ús þurh þæt ætewde þæt we sculan beforan godes gesihðe drihtnes  
 ondfæncge on him seluum geséon þæt he wæs man gewórdan.  
 57 forþán we þanne nu sculan gode onfón mid ús swa he selfa. cwæð;  
*In me manet[e] et ego in uobis. sed quare deus noster nascendo per*  
 28r *uirgine[m] sic uoluit reformári ad ulta. ut quia // [per] mulierem in hunc mundum*  
 60 *intrauerat:*  
 he cwæð drihten be þissum manniscum kynne.  
 'wuniap on me. 7 ic on eow'  
 63 ac forhwan wæs drihten acænned. þurh fæmnan innoð. bútan þæt he wólde ús  
 gescýppan to þam ecean life.  
 forþan þæt géara gelamp. þurh éuan adames wif þæt deap wæs gangende on  
 66 middangeard. 7 þa wæs þissum middangearde éft hiera hæle agyfen. þurh marían  
 þa fæmnan.  
 7 cuðlice þa drihten þy þridan dæge of déape arás fram hélwarum. 7 þa  
 69 gebædan him ærest wif tó. 7 heom wæs beboden þæt hie úrnon. 7 bodedan his  
 apostolum his ærist 7 he wæs ærest fram þam wimmannum ætywed.  
 28v forþan us ærest deað // þurh wifman ongefeoll. 7 þa éft forþan wifmæn ærest  
 72 bódodan. 7 cýþdan mannum his ærist.

51 ac] 'a' written with an ascender. gewordene] Fadda '-wurd-'. 52 ac utan] 'a' of 'ac' written with an ascender. 58-9 *manet[e]* 'manet' MS; *uirgine[m]* 'uirgine' MS; *[per] mulierem* 'mulierem' MS: emendations follow Fadda. 66 *hæle* 'æ' is written as abbreviated Latin 'et'. 69 h'i'm. to] Fadda omits. 70 w[i]mmannum superscript 'i', marked with an inverted 'v', is probably modern.

ond þæt wíf þæt ærest deaðes byrgde. þa wæs héo éft forþan édwit þrowigende.  
from hire were. 7 þa scýlde þe héo þær dyde. seo hire wærþ on ecnesse

75 ongewrecén. 7 hira synna wéron miclum begoten ofer ús.

7 þa ús wútodlice becom ure drihten þurh marían leoma. þære halchan  
fæmnan

78 þæt wæs þæt drihten cóm to éorþan þurh hie. 7 god ætewde on ðam þæt he is  
ealra clænnessa frúma.

7 þus ús onfeng ure drihten þurh hine sélfne. þæt he wólde þæt we hine  
81 onféngon. on ús.

þis word þanne tacnaþ. þæt se mán onfehþ godes. se ðe rihtlice gehereþ swa  
29r swa // hine wíse gelærað.

84 god ús hafað beboden þæt we him þéowigen on clænan lichaman forþan he  
wæs gebóren þurh þære clænan fæmnan léoma.

forþan he is lareow ælcere clænnesse. 7 ne mæg se næfre wésan clæne se ðe  
87 nyla his sýnna geswícan. ær his ændedaége.

7 nu mænnisc[lic]e. we þe crist wíten. lufian we hine. forþan símlé mid clæne  
lichaman. 7 mid hluttre gepánce. þanne adilgað he ús crist fram eallum urum  
90 synnum. 7 we magon gearnian gif we sélfe willaþ. þæt crist eardað an ús.

þis word þanne tacnað þæt crist selfa. behealdeð þa mæn þa þe tela doð. 7  
29v deofol tíhtað þam þe on þweorh // þænceað.

93 7 sóþlice þa þe crist ne lufiað. hu magan þa cweðan þæt hie sien cristene. ac  
ús gedafnaþ anra gehwílcum þæt he ús ahebbe on þa sóþan cristennesse. 7 forlæte  
þa wéorc þe se earma féond mæn læraþ.

96 hu mæg se mán béon crísten. gif he flíteð wið crístes bebodu.

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72 bododan] Fadda '-dad-'. h'i's. 73 byrgde] Fadda records superscript 'i' after 'r', but not well formed, could be mistaken touch of the pen; not marked as superscript, as superscript 'i's are preceding and following. 73 þrow'i'gende. 78 on] Fadda reports erasure of one letter preceding, but no sure trace. 84 h'i'm. 87 ær] 'æ' written as abbreviated Latin 'et'. 88 mænnisc[lic]e] 'mænniscilce', with 'c' superscript, MS.

ac þa ðe síendan þurh god gewórdene. healdeð ge nu þanne godes bebódu.  
forþan he is swiþe mihtig. þæt he eow forgyfe eces lifes reste. swa he sélfa wæs  
99 sprecénde. 7 he cwæð

*Diliges dominum deum tuum ex toto corde tuo et ex tota anima tua et totis  
uiribus tuis. deinde diligis proximum tuum quam [t]e ipsum. qui enim diligit  
102 proximum totam legem impleuit;*

30r he cwæð ure // drihten be þissum mænniscean cynne.

'lufiaþ ge eowerne drihten. god mid ealre eowre heorten. 7 mid ealre eowre  
105 saule. 7 mid ealle mægne. 7 þanne æfter þissum. lúfiaþ eowre þa nihstan. swa  
eow sélfe. 7 þanne wítodlice sé þe lúfaþ his þane nihstan þanne gefyllað se ælce  
godes æ.'

108 forþan he bebéad ægþær ge on þære ealdan æ. ge on þære niwan æ. þæt we  
heolden ures drihtnes bebodu hælendes. cristes. 7 þa he ús sealde þa niwan æ. þa  
bebéad hé us on þære. þæt we lúfedan us betweenum. 7 þa drihten hine ætywde

30v 111 oft on eor//þan æfter þan þe he up astígen wæs. þa cwæð he be his gingrum

'ge beoþ mine discipulo. gif ge eow lufiað eow betweenum.'

7 forðan men þa leofestan weorþiað eow selfe betweenan eow. forðan we  
114 syndan ealra anra leoman. 7 crist is ure héafod. forþan he ærest gescóp ure ealra  
fader. 7 móder.

7 hé is sóþlice ð[æt] geþwære leohtes béarn. 7 þa beoð wítodlice þeostra bearn.

117 þa ðe willað simle stándan on ðam mæstum geflítum.

ac gehealden we ús þæt we sien þæs leohtestan leohtes béarn. nalæs þiestra  
béarn. forðan se mán se ðe deð manige sýnna se bið þiestra béarn. 7 deofla béarn

31r 120 gecíged. 7 þa mæn // þa ðe dóð gód. 7 beoð ælmesfúlle. þa beoð godes béarn

100 *Diligēs*] 'D' in left margin. 101 [t]e] 'se' MS. 104 heorten] Fadda 'hearten'.  
105 æfter] 'æ' written as abbreviated Latin 'et'. 108 niwan æ] 'æ' written as  
abbreviated Latin 'et'. 116 ð[æt] 'ð' MS. 118 ac] 'a' written with an ascender.

geciged. 7 ða mæn þa ðe dóð gód 7 drihtnes willan; þanne wuniað þára sáula in écum wúldre.

123 7 þare saule méte. biþ wutodlice. þæt se man héalde drihtnes bebodo þa hwíle ðe he lifiende sie. 7 ð[æt] bið ðære sáule drinca þæt man him géornlice to gode gebidde. 7 þæt man gelóme fæste. 7 godes naman geðénce.

126 7 seo ælmesse biþ hiera synna forgifenes. 7 hiere órganan beoð. þa halgan godes wórd þe men síngað. 7 ne seceþ drihten nan þinc mare fram þam mannum bútan þæt hie his naman on ælce wísan wéorþian dægges 7 nihtes. swa ic ær sæde. 129 an ðissum halchan godspéle.

31v 7 we sculan swiðe georn//lice mid urum sáulum. 7 mid urum lichaman ahebban þæs heofonlican cyninges naman. forþan ús wæran of heofonum þurh 132 þane cyning swiðe fægre gifé hider onsænde. 7 gif we géornlice his náman begangað. þanne beoþ úre sáula halie geworden. 7 hiere becymeð swiþe geféalic blis fram þam ecean cyninge.

135 7 ure lichaman. þe of éorþan geworden. wæran beoð ælce dæge fedde fram þam heofonlican cyninge.

þæs mannes saul bið liflic. 7 cymeð fram éorðan. se lichama.

138 forðan he sceal béon. mid eorðan féð.

7 þæs mannes saul bið gódes orodes. 7 heo forðan scéal béon mid codcundum mægenum. 7 mid husle geféded.

32r 141 7 forðan ús is to wilnianne þæt gód us ge//fille mid soðfæstnesse.

hwæt þanne we beoð mid ðurste. 7 mid húngre. gewýrde. ac we willað þanne sóne drincan 7 étan.

144 forþan se lichama ne mæg nane hwíle lyfgean swa ðeah butan mete. 7 drincan. swa þæs mannes saul ne mæg nane hwíle beon butan godcundum weorcum.

ac ge gearwien we ura saula clænnesse. mid lúfan. 7 mid eaðmodnesse. 7 mid 147 arfæstnesse. 7 mid rummodnesse. 7 mid hálignesse. 7 mid smiltnesse 7 mid

121 drihtn'e's. 124 ð[æt] 'ð' MS. 126 forgifenes] Fadda '-ness'. be'o'ð. 131 cyn'i'nges. 135 ælce] 'æ' written as abbreviated Latin 'et'. 140 'ge'feded] superscript not certainly by copyist. 146 'm'i'd lufan.

geðungennesse. 7 mid [bile]hwitnesse. 7 mid rihtnesse. 7 mid godcundnesse. 7  
 geþyldmodnesse 7 geswigunge. þonne ús man on ðweorh to spréce. 7 mid wácean  
 32v 150 7 mid mildheortnesse. 7 mid sigef[:]stnesse. 7 gemetfæstnesse. 7 mid ar//nesse  
 godcundra beboda.

þis ðonne is swiðe gástlic wéorc 7 swiðe hálwendlic. 7 mid þyllicum  
 153 mægenum biþ ðæs mannes saul mid gereordum gefylled.

7 þa mæn þe ðis eall beoþ donde. þanne beoð þára saula bréohtran þanne  
 sunne. þanne heo breohtest scíneð. swa he self wæs cweðende.

156 *Tunc iusti fulgebunt sicut sol in regno patris eorum. qui habet aures audiendi  
 audiat.*

*anima homines. peccatores cum exierat de corpore.*

159 Drihten he cwæð

'soðfæste mæn scinað on hera fæderrice efne swa sunne on héofonum. 7 þanne  
 nu se man se ðe ænig andgit hæbbe þonne gehiere he þisses cwides þearlwisnesse.'

33r 162 hit // gelimpeð. þanne þæs sýnfullan mannes sául. gæð of his lichaman. ðonne  
 bið héo seofon siðum swéartre. ðonne se hræfen.

7 hit is cwéden on ðissum gódspelle. þæt déofla lædan ða sáule.

165 7 þanne heo spreceð. wépéndre stafne. to ðam déoflum. 7 hyo cweþ.

'micle siendon. þa ðýostre þe ge mé. to lædað.'

7 þanne ándsweriað hire ða déoflo. 7 hie cweðað

168 'máran. þe siendan tóweard. in hélle.'

þanne cweð seo saul éft

'micel is ðéos únrotnes þe ge mé to lædað.

171 7 þanne. andsweriað. hie þa déofle. 7 hie cweðað.

'máran gewín. 7 máre unblis. þé is gegearwod. on hélle.'

7 þanne æfter þysum wórdum. hie lædað þa saule. on helle wítu.

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148 [bile]hwitnesse] Fadda 'lilie-'; see Commentary. 149 geþyldmodnesse] Fadda 'geþylmodnesse'. ðweor'h'. 150 sigef[:]stnesse] retoucher '-fest-'. 161 se man] Fadda 'scinan'. 173 s'a'ule.

- 33v 174      ond þanne bið ðæs hálgan mannes sául. wutodlice. // þanne héo of ðam  
 líchaman. gángeð. seofon siðum heo bið béorhtre. þanne súnne. 7 þa hálgan  
 godes ænglas. hie lædað to paradýsum.
- 177      7 þanne cwýð seo sául to ðam ænglum. þe hie lædað.  
 'éala mycel is ðeos blis. þe ic ongelædad éam.'
- Ond þanne ándswergeað. híre. þa ænglas. 7 cweðað
- 180      'máre blis þe is on héofonum gegéarwad.'
- Ond þanne seo sául éft cweð
- 'mícel is þes þrým. þe we on sýndan.'
- 183      7 þanne. andswérgeað. hiere þa ænglas. 7 cweðað
- 'þu cymest. ful ær to máran. þrymme.'
- ond þanne. cwýð seo sául. þriddan siðe.
- 186      'mycel is þis. léoht þe ic on éam.'
- Ond þanne. ándswergeað hiere. þa ænglas. 7 hie cweðað.
- 'þu gemetst. mare léoht mid góde.'
- 34r 189      Ond þanne sýngað þa hálgan ænglas swiðe. gastli[g]ne // sang 7 bérað ða  
 clænan sáwle. to gode on héora fæðmum. 7 hie cwæðað to ðære sáwle;
- Béatus quem elegisti replebimur;*
- 192      hie cweðað.
- 'eadig eart ðu sawl ðu name gode eardunge in ðinum húse; 7 we nu gefyllað  
 mid góde ðin hús.
- 195      'ðin témpl. his hálig. 7 wúndorlicre ðrymnesse;'
- Ond hie cweðað eft be ðare sáwle.
- 'eadig eart ðu sáwl. ðu gehéolde ðines drihtnes bebodu; 7 ðu dydest géornlice
- 198      æfter ðines godes willan;'

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184 ful] Fadda reprts 'u' formed from an erased letter, but no certain trace of erasure; 'f' retouched, 'u' written as 'v'. 187 'c'weðað. 189 gastli[g]ne] 'gastlingne' MS; see Commentary. 193 7 we nu] these words are written again after 'halig', line 195, then cancelled; cancelled 'we' has an accent.

34v Eala ðu halige ðrynnes. fæder. 7 sunu. 7 halig gást // ðu ðe æfre wære 7 æfre  
 bist. 7 nu eart án ælmihtig god. untodæledlic; on ðe we geléfað. 7 hihteð. ðæt us  
 201 ne ðurfe sceamian. 7 ðæt ús úre fynd ne gebísmrian;

Eala ðu god ælmihtig; 7 eala ðu éce drihten; 7 eala ðu undeadlice scýppend;  
 ðe we bidað. 7 halsiað. mid ealre úre heortan. 7 mid callum móde. 7 mid callum  
 204 mægene. ðæt ðu afyrsgie fram ús. ealle úre unrihtwisnesse. 7 we geéarnian. ðæt  
 35r we motan becuman to ðínum ríce. 7 mid ðe rixian on héofona rices // wuldre; 7  
 þæt we mid þe moton féran. 7 becuman inne ðæt uplice. wuldor. 7 ðær brúcan.  
 207 mid þínum. gecorenum. ænglum.

And nu mæn ða leofestan. ondrædan we ús ðara awiergedra deofla  
 sweartnesse. 7 hellebrógan. 7 hiora dracona fulnesse. 7 hiora wyrma grædignesse.  
 210 7 wildeora reðnesse. 7 hiora susla micelnesse. 7 hiora ða écean wítu.

þær biþ eagona wóp. 7 toþa gristbitung. 7 wélera ðurst.

7 þær beoþ saula on miclum geflitum. toslitene.

213 7 þær biþ. héortan fyrhtu. 7 þær biþ saula únrotnesse. 7 þrótena drygnesse.

7 þær biþ singallic cyrm. 7 gelómlic geomrung.

7 þær beoþ ða synfullan saula forgítene. 7 heora éardungstow biþ mid déoflum.

216 7 þær biþ wíte. butan ænde. 7 ðeostra bútan leohte. 7 cleopung bútan  
 gehérnesse. 7 micel wóp. 7 micel géomrung.

35v 7 þær biþ ðæt // éce sar 7 orwéne. þæt him æfre ðæs sár linne. 7 him her

219 næfre ne becymeþ nænig fráfor. ne nænig help abútan sárlic ænde

7 þæt beoð ða árleasan. ðe simle hiera deaðes wysceað 7 him n[:] geseald ne  
 bið na ðy hraðor.

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205 7 mid ðe rixia'n'] squeezed in, with superscript at end line; written by copyist, not added as Fadda reports. on heofona rices] bracketed in a drawing of a bird. 205-6 7 þæt we mid þe] Fadda reports '7' added on erasure and 'þ' of 'þe' added; whole phrase is cramped and shows blurring, could be on erasure; 'e' of 'þe' has tongue extended upwards in form of 9-shaped abbreviation for 's'. 218 'ðæt'] added in margin, retouched. 220 n[:] Fadda prints 'na', but the letter is uncertain.



- 222 7 þær biþ fyrenmere swilce oðru sæ. 7 þæt is swiþe orméte deopnes. ðæs  
grúnd[es] 7 eal yfel ongemænged on ðam grúnd[e] 7 þær nænig gód ætiewed biþ on  
ðam gru[nde]
- 225 7 þær biþ seo eorðe gode ofergyten.  
7 þ[ær] beoð þa earman tintrego. 7 hie ðær þ[a] wuniegað á worulda woruld.  
Þis ðonne [is] synfulra stow ón to éardianne. 7 hi[era] gebunes ðær ðonne
- 228 béop on þisum w[itum] ða forlegeran. 7 þa godwrácan. 7 þa o[fer]welgan. þe mid  
unrihtnesse him [ær] begéatan. 7 þa gitseras. 7 þa struder[as] 7 ða ðeofas. 7 ða
- 36r ðeodsceaðan. 7 ða [man]sworan // 7 þa lógeras. 7 þa gramhéortan. 7 þa
- 231 lyblæccan. 7 þa ðe manige galdor cunnon 7 þa ðe gelóme galap. 7 þa unrihtfullan.  
7 þa arleasan. 7 þa hátheortan. 7 þa æfæstegan. 7 þa yfelan. 7 þa ofermodan. 7 þa  
ðe eall yfel wro[h]tan. 7 þa ðe deofle wæron simle gongende on hiora
- 234 eardungstówe. ðe hie noldan nænige hreowe dón. hyra synna. ær hyra forðfore  
7 hyra anra gehwilc ðara manna. ðe nyle his synna geswican. ðonne onfehþ he  
þyllicum tintregum.
- 237 Swilce on ðisum bócum sægeð. þonne æfter ðon. þa halgan. 7 þa soðfæstan  
mid. criste. mid hyra godum wyrcum.  
þæt þonne syndan ða unwæmman. 7 þa clænan 7 þa rihtwisan. 7 þa góðan //
- 36v 240 7 þa manðwæran. 7 þa gecorenan. 7 þa medoman. 7 mildhéortan. 7 þa  
geðyldegan. 7 þa getréwan. 7 þa caðmodan. 7 ða ðe gode herap on calle tid. 7 þa  
rummodan. 7 þa snotran. 7 þa wísan.
- 243 7 þa þe wæron mid swiðe mycelre godes lufan gefyllede. hie hæfdon. mycle  
forhæfdnesse. 7 forwyrnednesse. hiera lichaman lustes. 7 hie nu eardiað mid  
criste. for hyra godum wéorcum. ðær bið léohtes leoht 7 willa ðæs léohtes.

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223-30 Bracketed letters on fol.35v are conjectural; manuscript readings at end lines are obscured by the paper end leaf, which has been pasted on to the inner edge of fol.35v. Supplied letters agree with those printed by Fadda (without comment) except that at line 229 Fadda reads 'a' for my 'ær'. 230 [man]sworan 'sworan' in bracket at bottom right corner of page. 232 ofermodan] Fadda 'oferniðan'. 233 wro[h]tan] superscript 'h', marked with an inverted 'v', is probably modern. 239 At the foot of fol.36r a part line is enclosed in an ornamental bracket; this practice is continued through to fol.52v.

246 7 þær bið éce geféa. 7 þer bið ængla breohtnes. 7 haligra lufu. 7 þer biþ seo éce ár.

7 þær ne bið nænig bróga. néfre gesewen. ne ne gehéred. ac ðær bið blis  
249 butan áende. 7 iugoð butan ýldo. //

37r 7 þær næfre. niht ne gedéostrað. ac ðær simle. awunað. þæt heofonlice léoht.

7 þær ne beoð nænige tintréga geywed. ac ðær bið seo éce hæþ. 7 syo éce lufu.  
252 swiþe ungeswæncedu.

7 þær bið seo unawændedlic. eadignes. 7 þær wuniað his ða. halgan. on ðam  
hyhstan wuldre. a in ealra worulda woruld.

255 7 þonne ne bið us mid gode ðon máre gewin. gesewen. ne gegearwod. þonne  
þysum halgum wæs. ðe ic big sécge. Gif we willað ure synna geswícan. 7 gode  
eaðmode béon. swa drihten selfa wæs sprecende. 7 he cwæð.

258 *O fratres dilectissimi quam timendus est dies ille. in quo dominus proposuit*

37v *uenire cum flammam ignis. // quod inflammabit in adversarios.*

He cwæð.

261 'eala mæn ða léofestan. hu eow is to ondrædanne. se dæg se ðe drihten.  
oncymeð to éow. mid fyres lígum. 7 he ðonne forbærneð. calle his þa  
widerwéardan.'

264 7 þonne wepað swiðe biterlice ealle ða ðe nu doð. unrihtwisnesse.

7 þonne magon elle eorðlice mæn. geséon. ealra cyninga cyning. cumende  
ofer héofonas wolcnum. mid his ðam miclan ðrymme.

246 breohtnes] Fadda 'breohtenes'. 248 þær'r' ne] long open r, not copyist's usual form, squeezed in between 'æ' and 'n'; Fadda reports by a corrector, but ink and hand look like copyist's; another long open r is at line 253 in the first 'þær', written at the end of a line on fol.37r. 248, 250, 251 ac] 'a' written with an ascender. 253 ða.] between 'ða' and the point an erasure of four letters: first letter appears to have been an ascender, followed closely by possible tail of 'g', then possible 'a' and 'n' (Fadda reports first two letters 'hg'). Thus it seems that copyist at first wrote 'ðalgan' and left space, perhaps, because of damage to surface of membrane, which shows scraping. 254 a] written with ascender. 259 uenire] at end line preceding, 'ueni' cancelled. 262 7] in left margin.

265 7] in left margin, but remainder of lines on this page begun directly below the '7'. elle] Fadda 'ealle'. 280 gemæru.] Fadda reports an erasure of one letter after 'gemæru', but I see no trace; Fadda may have been misled by the point and a stain. 283 grystbitung] Fadda 'grist-'. 288 ðær] 'ðæ' written over 'ne' (Fadda 'na' or 'ne', but tongue of 'e' visible in bow of 'æ').

267 7 þonne beoð ealle gescæfta. swiðe onhrerede. beforan him. 7 heofon bið  
gefealdan on ða tíð swa swa bók. 7 sæ bið adrúgod. 7 ealle gescæfta beoð

38r onhrerede. 7 sunne bið gehwýrfed on ðeostro. 7 mona ne seleð. // his leoht. 7

270 steorran feallað of heofonum. 7 eall héofona mægen bið onhrered.

7 þonne ealle eorðan mægða geseoð. þæt micle sigebéacen. þæt is seo halige  
cristes rod.

273 7 þonne for ðære rode beorhtnesse. bið eall ðes middangeard. aþyostrad. efne  
swa niht. 7 þa synfullan. mæn. beoð ablende. 7 þonne forwyrðað.

7 þonne se mycla dæg cymeð. 7 crist cymeð to ðam dóme. þonne magon ða  
276 wérigan gástas. geséon hwone hie ær oferhogodan. 7 his bebodu. héaldan noldan.

7 þonne sændað drihten his ænglas on feower ændas ðises middangéardes.

38v 7 þonne beoð gesamnode. ealle gecorene. ða ðe // nu soð 7 riht willað. 7 fram

279 hyra synnum ahwyrfan.

7 þonne fram heofones heanessum. oð eorðan gemæru. beoð gesamnode.  
góde. on ða swiðran healfe. in ðone ungeændedan geféan. 7 blisse.

282 7 þa synfullan beoð gesende on ðone fyrenan ofn. ðær bið wóp. 7 toða  
grystbitung. se wæs gæra gegéarwod. deoflum. 7 his ænglum. 7 hæðenum  
þeodum. ðam ðe ne woldan hyra saule geedniwian. on ðam líflican þweale. 7 hie

285 noldan gelyfan. þæt he wære crist godes sunu.

wa la ðonne ðam synfullum ðe hyra gebúnes. bið mid deoflum.

39r Eala þær þonne bið ormetlic seað mid ðam deoflum. 7 næfre ða wyrmas. // ne

288 sweltað ðe on ðam seaðe wuniað. 7 ðær ne bið næfre ðara tintrega fyr adwýsced.

ne ðær næfre nænig stefn bið gehered. butan gnornunge 7 þær nabbað synfulle  
mæn nænige oðre reste butan on helle. 7 nabbað hie næfre nænige clænnesse.

291 butan ðam cealdan snáwe.

Wa la þam mannum. ðe ðær sculan béon onbelócene. on ðam synfullan seaðe.

7 hie beoð bedælde fram eallum ðam timbre ðe heom ær behaten wæs.

294 7 hie beoð gode ofergýtene. 7 hie ne becumað næfre on his gemýnde.

7 hyra méte bið tintrego. 7 hyra eardung bið mid deoflum. 7 þær ne bið næfre.

39v // nænig léoht geséwen. buton ðyostro.

297 seo stów þonne bið gegearwod. ðam yflum 7 þam árleasum. 7 hit is  
gegearwod. ðam mannum ðe hie wæron gefeonde on his ðæs nyhstan yfle.

7 he þonne asændeð. his þa gecórenan. of ðara árleasra. midle 7 sændeð hie  
300 ðonne on his b[e]rn. þæt is ðonne to gerecenesse. seo héofonlice gebúnes.

7 þær ðonne scinað ða sóðfæstan. on hyra fæderríce efne swa sunne.

7 hie ðær ðonne næfre ne ðyrstep. ne ne hingreð. ne hie næfre ofer þæt ne  
303 winnað.

ne ðær ne bið næniges fléames fyrhto geméted. ne ðær næfre nænig man mid  
40r yfele forwýrðað. ne ðær næfre nænig yfel ætyweð. // Ac ðær drihten bið sittende on  
306 ðam écean leohte.

7 þær bið singallice swiðe órmætu. brihtnes. 7 þær bið simle restedæg æfter  
oþrum. 7 þær bið simbel æfter simble.

309 7 þær beoð ða clænan saula. gemængede wið ængla þréatas. 7 heahængla. 7  
hie ealle cumað to criste. on þam héofonlican wuldre. 7 hie ðonne onginnað singan  
drihtne niwne sang swiðe unwiðerweardlicum stéfnun. 7 þær ðonne eardiað mid  
312 gode.

ealle ða ðe him rihtlice hýrdon. Wuniað ðonne mid criste ðam ðe nu lyfað. 7  
ricsað. mid god fæder. ðam sie wuldor. 7 lof. a in ealra worulda. woruld. abúten  
315 ænde.

300 b[e]rn] 'bearn' MS; see Commentary. 309 b'e'oð. 315 a] written with long ascender.

## HOMILY 3. COMMENTARY

2 7 lichaman 7 saule Usually in OE 'both ... and ...' is expressed by '(ægþer) ge ... ge ...'.

The second element can be 'and' instead of 'ge', but a formulation with 'and' (or 'ond') as the first element seems most odd. See Mitchell, *OE Syntax*, I, paras 1742-7. It seems unlikely that the influence, even if it were direct from a source, of Latin 'et ... et ...' would have suppressed the OE expression. There is a possibility that the first '7' is a mistaken reflex on the part of a copyist for 'on' (or 'an'). This could have occurred at any time, but would have been more likely to happen if the copyist were used to 'ond' being written 'on', as it is especially in the Tanner manuscript of the OE *Historia Ecclesiastica*. The form is discussed by Thomas Miller, ed., *The Old English Version of Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, 2 vols, EETS, 95-6 and 110-11 (1890-8), I, Part I, pp.xxvi-viii, where it is considered to be a probably 'Mercian provincialism' (p.xxviii) (cited Mitchell, *OE Syntax*, I, para.1232).

3 acænn[e]dan Fadda further emends the manuscript reading, 'acænnendan', to 'ancænnedan', but compare the following variants in other texts: in the two copies of the poem *Soul and Body*, where the word is used substantively of Christ, Vercelli has 'se acenneda' and Exeter has 'se ancenda', with 'an' a superscript addition (Douglas Moffat, ed., *The Old English 'Soul and Body'* (Wolfeboro, New Hampshire and Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1990), p.52 (line 51); in Godden, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies. Second Series*, p.69, line 69, four manuscripts have 'an-' and four others 'acennedan'. In the latter case, the word is an adjective describing Christ 'sunu', in relation to 'se ælmihtiga fæder', and there need be no doubt that Ælfric intended the meaning 'only-begotten'. Taking both cases together, the variants raise alternative questions. Was 'acenneda' an accepted spelling of the word to mean 'only-begotten', or could the word thus spelt carry the sense 'incarnate'? In Homily 3, at line 63, in a passage (lines 54-64, concluded 84-7) focussing on the virgin birth, the participle 'acænned' has the sense 'born', corresponding to Latin 'nascendo' at line 58. In the present instance the context does not require the meaning 'only-begotten', and indeed the epithet of God, 'the only-begotten and the almighty', seems odd.

Whatever the sense intended here, the variants cited above must make one hesitate to propose

emendation. The original spelling 'acenda' in the Exeter *Soul and Body* provides one suggestion for how the error preserved or made in C (that is, seemingly present for past participle) came about. Fadda suggests that the 'n' of the prefix 'an-' has been transposed.

19 [::]nd[::]ton Willard, *Two Apocrypha*, p.35, fn. 19, reads 'andgiton', noting the poor legibility. It is difficult to decide whether the first letter is 'a' or 'o'. The prefix is spelt 'ond-' at lines 9 and 56, but the word is 'andgit' at line 161. The sense of 'andgit', '(capacity for) understanding', is apt. The ending '-on', where the 'o' is almost certain, is presumably for '-an': a weak form is attested *BT* and *Supp.*

20 [::]o[::]en Fadda reads and supplies 'ðw[ærig]en'; Willard, *ibid.*, p.35, reads 'þeowigen', without comment. I cannot see how Fadda reads initial 'ð', unless in confusion with final 'd' of preceding 'ond'; 'ðwærigen', 'agree', does not give good sense. Willard's 'þeowigen', 'serve', gives good sense: the reading is supported by my reading '[::]o...', and descenders are visible where 'þ' and 'w' would have been.

þis feowertiga nihta An accusative neuter singular noun to follow 'þis', perhaps 'fæsten', may be missing after 'nihta', which would then be genitive; for accusative of extent of time see Mitchell, *OE Syntax*, I, para.1383; thus 'during this forty night's fast'.

27 ne he selfa ne he oþerne ne bidde The sense is 'may he not drink too much himself or ask another to do so'. Either the meaning is to be understood in an elliptical expression, as it stands, or perhaps there is an omission after 'selfa' of words which would have completed a first clause.

27-8 hiera begra saul ... weorþe For singular of 'words denoting (parts of) the body or the human mind or spirit', when more than one person is referred to, see Mitchell, *OE Syntax*, I, paras 87-8.

28 on fultum fyrenlustum The adverbial phrase with a preceding dative pronoun occurs several times in Janet Bately, ed., *The Old English Orosius*, EETS, SS.6 (London, 1980), e.g. p.58, lines 25-6, 'þa getugon Somnite him on fultum Pirrusan, Epira cyning, þone mæstan feond Romanum', and there is an example in Miller, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, I, p.50, lines 13-14, 'hi seaxna þeode ... him on fultum gecysdon 7 gelaðedon', and in the poetry there is one instance with a preceding noun in Robert J. Menner, ed., *The Poetical Dialogues of Solomon and Saturn* (New York and London, 1941), p.88, lines 134-5, '... se geapa [of obscure meaning], ðone God

sendedð freondum on fultum'. *Cp.* also Homily 5, lines 190-1, 'martine on fultume beon'. The phrase 'on fultum fyrenlustum' is unusual in having the noun after the adverbial phrase, and, perhaps more remarkably, in that an abstraction, not a person or persons, is involved.

28-30 *manige synne ... þe him ... bið to boren* 'bið' should be plural ('beoð'). For 'toberan' *BT* gives only senses 'to carry off in different directions, to separate', while here the sense is 'are brought to him, produced in him' (see *BT*, s.v. 'beran', sense II). Accented 'to' is probably not to be read as an affix here.

29-30 *þurh þæt druncen* A better reading may be with '7' before 'þurh'. A noun, masculine or neuter, 'druncen' is attested *BT*.

55-6 *we sculan ... man geworden* I cannot make good sense of this passage; 'ondfæncg' is a masculine noun, here with dative inflection, and cannot therefore be the object of 'geseon' as it stands.

66 *hiera hæle* 'hiera', if genitive plural, seems to have no antecedent, except Adam and Eve, but 'their (Adam's and Eve's) salvation was given back to this world' does not make good sense; alternatively 'hiera' is an echo of 'þissum manniscum kynne', line 61. Or 'hiera' could be genitive feminine singular, referring either to Eve or Mary. Whether singular or plural, the pronoun makes a difficult reading. The '-ie-' spelling suggests that the pronoun was in the exemplar, since '-ie-' spellings are only in Homily 3 in C.

68 *7 þa gebædan* '7' is superfluous, interrupting the 'þa ... þa ...' construction begun at 'þa drihten ...'

88-9 *mid clæne lichaman. 7 mid hluttre geþance* for 'mid clænum ... mid hluttrum ...', both nouns being masculine, except that *BT* notes that 'geþanc' is sometimes neuter.

89 *adilgað* In its more usual sense of 'to do away with, blot out', the object of the verb would be 'sins' not 'us' as here, but *BTSupp*, sense (2) cites a gloss where 'adilgian' has the same meaning as 'gefælsian', 'to purify, expiate' ('gefælsode oððe adilegode *expiavit*'), and this must be the verb's meaning here. The gloss is in the alphabetic glossary in BL, Cotton Cleopatra A. iii., *Ker, Catalogue*, no. 143, s.x med., printed in Thomas Wright, ed., *Anglo-Saxon and Old English Vocabularies*, 2 vols; 2nd edition, ed. Richard Paul Wülcker (London, 1884), I, p.395.

94 **us gedafenap̃ anra gehwīlcum þæt he us ahebbe ... 7 forlæte** One of two alternative emendations is required here: either retain 'he' (= 'anra gehwīlcum') and substitute 'hine' for the second 'us' (as Napier, 'Contributions to OE Lexicography', p.278, tentatively emends), or substitute 'we' for 'he', and inflect the following verbs 'ahebbe', 'forlæte' for the plural.

111 **eft** for 'oft'.

113-4 **we syndan ealra anra leoman** 'leoman' is presumably genitive plural (Campbell, *OEG*, p.125, fn.2, notes the identical form in *Rushworth Gospels*, the 'Mercian' part; Eduard Sievers, *An Old English Grammar*, 3rd edition, translated and edited by Albert S. Cook (Boston, 1903), p.201, note 4, notes a genitive plural in '-an' of weak nouns, for '-(e)na', as a form of 'sporadic occurrence' in LWS). The whole phrase 'ealra anra leoman' I find syntactically intractable. The nearest analogue I have found is the genitive complement in 'manige men beoð heardre heortan', in Morris, *Blickling Homilies*, p.57, line 18 (cited Mitchell, *OE Syntax*, I, para.1584).

139 **þæs mannes saul bið godes oroðes** Another unusual predicative use of the genitive, in 'oroðes', but unlike the phrase in the genitive in the preceding note, here the sense is readily grasped, as a direct translation shows: 'the soul of man [or more literally 'the person's soul'] is of the breath of God'.

142-3 **hwæt þanne we beoð ... ac we willað ... etan** The syntax of this sentence seems unusual. 'hwæt' should probably be read as the interjection, 'What!...', although the Modern English interrogative construction 'What (about) when ...?' may be brought to mind. If the latter were the case, the second part of the sentence, beginning 'ac ...', would also be a question. Whether or not the first clause is taken as a question, 'ac' could be construed as having both interrogative and negative force: 'What! when we are afflicted with thirst and hunger, do we not then want at once to drink and eat?' Mitchell, *OE Syntax*, I, para.1646, is 'reluctant to accept the notion that OE *ac* can serve as an interrogative particle except in literal glosses' where 'ahne' glosses Latin 'nonne' and 'numquid', and in one of the examples from *Vespasian Psalter* 'ah' alone glosses 'numquid' (for the examples, see Bruce Mitchell, 'Old English *ac* as an Interrogative Particle', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 78 (1977), 98-100 (p.98), where Mitchell comments that 'the usage is apparently Anglian'. To Mitchell's examples may be added Assmann XIII, p.162, line 244, 'ac ic hit drihten eom', translating the Latin, which is cited, 'numquid ego



sum domine?'). It is unsound to press the possibility of an interrogative 'ac' in OE usage on grounds of the present instance, not only because in a homily there is always the possibility that we may have to do with a direct translation of Latin, but also because the whole sentence can be translated positively: 'What! when we are afflicted by thirst and by hunger, we want then (nothing) but at once to drink and eat.' However, this translation is somewhat forced, and '(nothing) but' would perhaps be expressed more readily in OE by the phrase 'noht elles buton' (for an example see *BTSupp.*, s.v. 'nawiht', sense I(b)).

144-5 ... swa ðeah ... swa ... A very unusual syntactic construction of apparently correlative clauses, which defies literal translation.

148 [bile]hwitnesse '-hwitnesse' is clearly legible at the beginning of a line on the recto of the leaf; other letters at the end of the preceding line are lost due to what seems to be water damage, except that the first letter, which is retouched, looks like a 'b'. For the damaged letters Fadda reads 'lilie-', without comment, but this would make a nonce-word (it has not been included in *MCOE*). Supplied 'bile-' gives a well attested word, apt in meaning ('simplicity, innocence'). *BT* distinguishes two adjectives, 'bilehwit' and 'bilewit', though the meanings given are about the same. *BTSupp.*, s.v. 'bilewitness', gives a citation with the spelling '-hwit-', from the copy of the OE Bede in CUL Kk. 3. 18. (Ker, *Catalogue*, no.23, s.xi(2), 'written at Worcester'), where 'bilehwitnyesse' (*BTSupp.* '-nesse') is a variant spelling for 'bilwit-, bylwyt-, bylywyt-' (Miller, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, I, p.62, line 1, variants, *ibid.*, II, p.34). Other occurrences of the spelling with '-h-' are in John C. Pope, ed., *Homilies of Ælfric. A Supplementary Collection*, 2 vols, EETS, 259 and 260 (London, 1967 and 1968), II, pp.556-7, in Homily XVI at lines 226, 229 and 249. In the latter instance, Pope notes in his glossary that 'bylewit' has been corrected from 'bylehwite'. At *ibid.*, line 257, there is the spelling 'bylewitnyesse'. All these examples are in Cambridge, Trinity college, B. 15. 34. (Ker, *Catalogue*, no.86, s.xi med.; Ker, *ibid.*, p.132, comments that the connexions of script and illumination seem to be with Canterbury).

150 mid arnesse godcundra beboda Fadda emends 'arnesse' to 'arfæstnesse'. Since 'ar' on its own is a noun it does not attract the nominal suffix '-nes', and some emendation is required.

Although the word 'arfæstnesse' has already been used in this list of virtues at line 147, it is the most likely emendation, giving the translation 'with respect for [literally 'of] divine commands'.

The fact that 'ar-' is at the end of fol.32r suggests that the C copyist may have lost his place in turning the leaf, and that the error occurred in C.

**161** *bisses cwides þearlwisnesse* This phrase, 'the severity/strictness of this saying', can hardly refer to the scriptural citation (= Matt., 13:43) at lines 156-7. The homilist seems to have adapted 'qui habet ... audiat' in his OE rendering to refer forward to the 'Three Utterances' passage which follows.

**189** *gastli[g]ne sang* Wack and Wright, 'A New Source for the "Three Utterances" Exemplum', p.190, print 'gastlignē' for Fadda 'gastlingne', the manuscript reading, and give the Latin 'canticum spiritalem'. Willard, *Two Apocrypha*, p.55, notes '= gastlicne', and cites a note by Napier, who, though the word has been retouched, was 'pretty sure' that 'gastlingne' is the manuscript reading. Napier thought 'a' of 'gastlingne' might be 'æ', but I do not think so. It seems likely that an unusual spelling 'gastlignē' gave rise to the error in C. Campbell, *OEG*, para.452, gives one example of '-lig' for '-lic' ('hulig', 'of what sort') among examples of '-ig' and '-ih' for '-ic' in Lindisfarne gospels.

**193-5** *eadig eart ðu sawl ... wundorlicre ðrymnnesse* The Latin source text, Wack and Wright, 'A New Source for the "Three Utterances" Exemplum', p.190, cites Psalm 64: 5 here: 'Beatus quem eligisti domine et adsumpsisti, inhabitauit in tabernaculis tuis. Replebimur in bonis domus tuae; sanctum est templum tuum, mirabile in aequitate'. Homily 3 quotes from this verse at line 191. As Wack and Wright comment, *ibid.*, p.195, it is 'likely that the [OE] homilist has taken the liberty to remodel the verse to accord better with the context', by having the angels address praise to the soul, rather than sing the psalm verse in praise of God. The homilist was perhaps encouraged in this revision by the following passage, lines 197-8, which in the Latin begins 'et beatus es ...', and is addressed, it is to be inferred, to the soul.

Wack and Wright, with Fadda, take 'gode' at line 193 to refer to the deity, rather than to be an adjective qualifying 'eardunge', so that 'ðu name ... huse' translates 'you kept for God a dwelling in your house'. Willard, *Two Apocrypha*, p.55, prints 'huse' for 'hus' at line 194.

At line 195, Fadda emends 'halig' to 'haligre' and takes 'ðin templ' to be a second object of 'gefyllað', line 193 ('we fill ... your temple with his saints ...'), an emendation whose only advantage is to retain 'his', but, with Wack and Wright, 'A New Source for the "Three

Utterances" exemplum', p.195, fn.30, following Willard, *Two Apocrypha*, p.55, it seems better to read 'his' as an error for 'is'. Wack and Wright suggest an emendation to 'wundorlic in ðrymnese', to correspond with the Latin 'mirabile in acquitate', thereby meeting Fadda's objection to the dative, but in view of the genitive complements of the verb 'to be' at lines 113-4 and 139 noted above, it may be that 'wundorlicre ðrymnese' is another such case: 'your temple is holy and of wondrous majesty'.

**206** *ðær brucan* *Cp.* homily 1, line 326, and Commentary.

**218** *orwene* A noun 'orwene', 'despair', is not attested *BT* or *MCOE*, the noun 'orwennes' being formed from the adjective; without the prefix, of course, the noun 'wen' and the weak form 'wena' are common. Either 'orwene' is a unique occurrence of a substantive form, or omission has occurred, e.g. of 'hie beoð' before 'orwene'. The second possibility is likely in view of the fact that the two dative pronouns 'him' in the same line have no immediate antecedent, and would have to refer back to 'ða synfullan saula' at line 215.

**222** *fyrenmere swilce oðru sæ* 'A fiery lake like a second sea/another sea' has sense, if 'sæ' is taken to be equivalent to Modern English 'the sea', that is the totality of salt water (*BT*, sense III and *cp.* line 268 below), but it is possible that the reading is not original. Fadda notes an echo of Apoc. 21:8 (see also Apoc. 20:13-15), where sinners will be immersed 'in stagno ardentis igne et sulphure: quod est mors secunda'. The latter clause suggests a possible original reading 'swilce oðer deað', supposing, say, that the homilist had recalled the scriptural allusion. However, a reading 'swilce oðer deað' would contradict the sense of the preceding sentence, lines 220-1, where 'ða arleasan' wish for death but are not given it.

**226** *þ[ær] beoð þa earman tintrego. 7 hie ðær þa wuniegað ...* The passage would read more easily if instead of 'þa earman tintrego', 'the wretched torments', 'earman' were a noun, providing an antecedent for pronoun 'hie' which otherwise has to refer back several lines either to 'ða arleasan' at line 220, or, perhaps better because more generally, to 'ða synfullan saula' at line 215. Perhaps an abbreviation mark is missing from 'þa', and the original reading was 'þam earman tintrego', 'torments for the wretched'.

227 þis ðonne [is] synfulra stow on to eardienne The syntax seems idiomatic, literally 'this then [is] the sinfuls' place to live in'. 'on to eardienne' is the inflected form of, presumably, the infinitive 'oneardian'.

230 logeras The word is presumably that with attested spellings (*BT* and *Supp.*) 'leogere', 'legere', meaning 'liar'. It may be that the spelling with a back monophthong is an error. Fadda's emendation 'loge[pe]ras' is presumably based on the adjective 'logeðer', 'plotting mischief', attested in *BT* s.v. 'logðor' only in glosses.

237-8 þa halgan. 7 þa soðfæstan mid. criste. mid hyra godum wyrcum A verb, e.g. 'wuniað' or 'eardiað', of which 'þa halgan. 7 þa soðfæstan' would be the subject seems to be missing. *Cp.* lines 244-5, 'hie nu eardiað mid criste. for hyra godum weorcum', where 'for' instead of the second 'mid' in the present passage seems preferable. The proximity of the two nearly identical phrases 'mid criste ... wyr-/weorcum' raises the possibility that the faulty reading at lines 237-8 originated in error due to eye skip on the part of a copyist.

245 willa ðæs leohtes Either 'pleasure in, desire for' or perhaps better 'source of the light'.

266 ofer heofonas wolcnum 'heofonas' for '-es'; the Latin source (Cross, 'A Doomsday Passage', p.104) and scripture (Matt. 24: 30) have 'in nubibus coeli'.

281 gode Cross, *ibid.*, p.106, fn. 14, is surely right that (accented) 'gode' refers to 'the good', contrasting with 'þa synfullan', line 282, and not to the deity as Fadda reads.

293 fram eallum ðam timbre 'timbre', 'building', seems an unexpected image of heaven, but it may belong to a compositional theme. In the first description of hell, lines 208-236, there seems to be an attempt to make a figure of hell as dwelling-place: at lines 215 and 227 hell is 'eardungstow' and 'gebunes', and at line 233 sinners are those who have entertained the devil 'on hiora eardungstowe'. This figurative theme occurs again at line 286, 'wa la ðonne ðam synfullum ðe hyra gebunes. bið mid deoflum'. This sentence is drawn from the Latin source (whose beginning is marked by the Latin citation at lines 258-9) identified by Cross: 'Vae illis hominibus qui habebunt mansionem cum diabolo' (*ibid.*, p.106). The sentence with 'timbre' falls within the passage which draws on the identified source, but is itself not represented in the Latin. The sentence can be read as anticipating the sentence at lines 299-300, where God 'asændeð. his þa gecorenan. of ðara arleasra. midle 7 sændeð hie ðonne on his b[e]rn ... seo heofonlice

gebunes', and which renders the identified Latin source, 'separabit Dominus sanctos suos de medio peccatorum et mittit eos in mansiones coelestes' (*ibid.*, p.107).

**298 on his ðæs nyhstan yfle** A plural possessive pronoun for singular 'his' might be expected, to refer back to the subject of the clause. On constructions involving a possessive pronoun plus a demonstrative, see Mitchell, *OE Syntax*, I, paras 103-12. Mitchell distinguishes three patterns for these constructions, and, if an emendation of 'his' to 'hiera' is accepted, gives the closest pattern to the present instance as 'possessive + demonstrative + noun', (para.106: a sub-type of his pattern (a)), an example of which is at line 299, 'his þa gecorenan'. In the present instance, the construction is complicated slightly by the noun, 'nyhstan', being genitive with another noun dependent, but one of Mitchell's examples has a genitive noun, though the dependent noun precedes the construction: 'þæt we þa mod abelge ussa þara neahstena' (Miller, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, I, p.212, lines 30-1).

**300 on his b[e]rn** I emend the manuscript reading 'bearn' because the word is explained in the immediately following clause as 'seo heofonlice gebunes', and if 'bearn', 'children', were in apposition to preceding 'hie' ('þa gecorenan'), 'on' could not be construed. Fadda translates 'da suo figlio', '(home) to his son'. See note to line 293 above, and Cross, 'A Doomsday Passage', p.108 and fn.19.

**304 ne bið næniges fleames fyrhto gemeted** Literally 'fear of any flight is not experienced'; 'fleames fyrhto' may be paraphrased either as 'the (anticipatory) fear of having to flee' or as 'the fear one experiences when fleeing'. Absence of such fear is an unusual attribute of heaven. Fadda reads 'fleam' to mean 'fire', but 'fleam', 'flight', is a very well attested word in OE, and this would be a very early coinage of Modern English 'flame' (*Oxford English Dictionary* gives no instance before the fourteenth century).

## HOMILY 4

- 40v GEHÉRAÐ NU mæn ða léofestan. hwæt her sægþ on ðissum bókum. be manna teoðungcéapa.
- 3 sægð héron.
- cwæð se godes láreow. þæt nu nealácep ða dagas þæt we sculan úre áhta. 7 ure wæstmas. gesamnian.(.)
- 6 dón we ðonne géornlice ðam drihtne ðancas ðe ús ða wæstmas (ge)sealde. 7 sien we gemyndige. þæt us crist selfa bebead on ðysum godspelle þæt we simle. ymb. xii. monað. drihtne agifan ðone teoðan dæl ðæs ðe we on céapa habbað.
- 9 þæt ure drihten þæt getimode. þæt he us (ge)sealde ealle ða wæstmas. ðe eorðe ús forð (ge)bringað. ðeah ðe hé hie mannum mistlice dælde.
- 41r 7 he // hwæðere. bebead on bókum. þæt we simle ymb. xii. monað. gedældon
- 12 for his naman eal þæt we on ceapa hæfdon.
- 7 ne bæd (he) na ðises forðon þæt him þæs ænig ðearf wære. Ac forðon (ðe) he wolde ægðer ge ofer heofona ge ofer eorðan. ús his miltsa gecýpan.
- 15 Ac ús is nyððearf þæt we gebúgen to him. 7 þæt we mótan brúcan his wuldres fægernesse. swa drihten wæs selfa sprecende þurh þone witegan. 7 he cwæð.
- 'bringað ge to mé on mín béren. eowerne teoðan scéat.'
- 18 hwylc beren mænde he ðonne elcora butan heofona rice.
- 7 he swá cwæþ.
- 'gedoð ge þæt eow sie mete gearo on mínum húse.'
- 41v 21 he þonne mænde þæt we gefyllen þæs ðearfan wambe. // mid urum góðum. 7 ðonne ne hingreð ús næfre on ecnesse. Ac he us ontynt heofonas ðeotan. 7 he us seleð his wæstma genihtsumnesse.

- 24 7 on þis[um] ðingum eallum. þu dysega man hwæt ýfela beað drihten æfre.  
 þæt his lár nære þæs wyrðe. þæt hie man gehýr[de]  
 hit is þonne gewriten on ðysum bócum þæt drihten selfa cwæde. þæt þis
- 27 mænнисe cyn(;) ne scólde alátigean þæt hi scoldean hyra wæstma fruman agýfan.  
 7 gif ge þæs alatige[að] þonne wyrceað ge eow synne on ðon 7 is eow gýta  
 wyrse þæt ge eower ðing tyoðigean. gif ge willað syllan eower þæt wyrseste gode.
- 30 7 hit cweð on bocum be þysum cynne.
- 42r 'weorð[e] // ge eowerne drihten god mid gedafenlicum ðingum. 7 onsecgaþ ge  
 him mid eowre soðfæstnesse wæstmum. 7 þonne(;) gefylleð drihten eower bern  
 33 mid genihtsumum wæstmum.'
- 7 ne ðurfon ge wénan þæt ge þæt orceape sellan þæt ge under drihtnes borh  
 mid getriewað(;) ðeah ge hí (s)tæpes þære mede ne onfón.
- 36 7 hit is þonne wén þæt fyla manna þénce hwilcum edleane him eft gespówe //  
 42v æt drihtne. oððe hu god him eft þæt forgyldan wille. þæt he ær for his naman  
 (ge)sealde þam éarman ðearfan.
- 39 gif ge þonne gelyfað broðor mine þa leofestan(;) þæt eow þæt to góde gelimpe.  
 þæt ge her on mínum naman gesyllað. þonne biþ hit eow nyt geseald. 7 hit arisað  
 eowre sawle to hundteontig(um) fealdum góðum.
- 42 gif ge þonne tweogeað be ðon ælmessum(;) þe ge for godes naman (ge)sellaþ.
- 43r 7 ge eow ondrædað // þæt ge eow onfón to litlum léanum. þonne forléosað ge ða  
 ælmessan ðe ge for gode gesellað. 7 hie eow to nænigre áre gelimpað.
- 45 swa hit on ðysum godspelle sægð þæt úre teoðan scéatas sien earmra manna  
 gafol. 7 wæðlendra;

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24, 25, 28, 31 Letters in square brackets are supplied, being obscured in the binding. I let the readings agree with those printed, without comment, by Willard, 'Tithing Homily', p.73. Willard worked from photostats (*ibid.*, p.72, fn.38) and probably did not see the obscured letters. 26 hit] 'h' in left margin, but line below begun in line with minim. 27 agýfan] initial 'a' written with ascender. 28 7 is] '7' in left margin, but line below begun in line with descender. 35 hi stæpes] probable erasure of one or two letters between 'hi' and 'tæpes', with 's' added, in ink which appears to be that of the corrector, close to and with head stroke overhanging 't'.

- Agyfað ge teoðan dæ̅l ealles þæs ceapes ðe ge hæbban. earmum̅ mannum̅. 7 to  
 48 godes cyricum̅. 7 þam earmestum̅ godes ðeowum̅. þe þa cyrican mid godcundum̅  
 43v dréamum̅. // wyrðiað.(.) forðon syo cyrice sceal fedan ða ðe hire æt eardiað.(.)  
 geseoð nu hu bliðe þa éarman beoð(;) þonne hie mon mid mete.(.) 7 mid  
 51 hrægle réteð.  
 micle blipre bið þonne syo sauwul þæs mannes þonne hire man þa ælnessan  
 foredælep.(.) forðon þe hyo bi ðære ælnessan. 7 bi ðon fæstenne lyfian scyl.(.)  
 54 abutan ænde.(.)  
 44r se butan ælnessan 7 fæstenne lyfað se bið on helle (ge)cwylmed. // 7 he næfre  
 reste nafað(;)
   
 57 Swa ðonne se micla larew. sanctus paulus cwæð(;) þæt god þa héte aswæman  
 æt héofona rices dura(;) ða ðe hyra cyricean forléten. 7 forhicgen þa godes dréamas  
 to gehéranne.  
 60 7 ne ðearf ðæs nænig man nan tweogian þæt seo forlætenu cyrice sorgige  
 ymbe þa ðe æt hire on wædle lyfiað.(.)  
 44v 7 forþon (ge)broðor(e) mine sellap ge eowre teoðan sceattas // 7 ðær gode  
 63 dæ̅lan ðam ðe hyre hádas mid clænnesse (ge)healdað. 7 godes lof mid rihte begán  
 willað(;)
   
 swa se láreow bebéad  
 66 þæt man godes æ. mid rihte reahte æt godes cyricean.(.) 7 fæste trymedan.(.)  
 ge læwede ge gehádode.  
 þa mæssepriostas. ðe godes cyricena láreowas beoð. þæt hyra scriftbéc mid  
 69 rihte táhton.(.) 7 lærdon.(.) swa swa hie úre fæðeras ær tahton.(.) //  
 45r þæt se mæssepryst ne wándige. ne for rices mannes ege. ne for æniges mannes  
 lufe. ne for feo.(.) þæt he simle him rihte déme gif he wille self godes dómas.  
 72 gedégian.(.)

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57 Swa] 'S' in left margin. 61 y'm'be] superscript above cancelled 'n'. 68 s'c'riftbec.



ne scyl he beon to géorn(;) déadra manna féos(;) ne to lýt þáncian hyra  
 ælmissena.(;) forðon þe hie wénað þæt hie hyra synna alýsen(;)

45v 75 7 hie sculon synfullum mannum éaðmodlice(;) // tæcan. 7 læran(;) þæt hie  
 hyra synna cunnon rihtlice geándettan. forðon ðe hie beoð toðon missenlice 7 sume  
 unsýferlice. þæt se man wandað þæt he hie æfre asecege buton se mæssepryst (hie)  
 78 æt him geácsige;

'eala' cwæð se godes láreow.(;) 'þæt bið déofles goldhord. þæt mon his synna  
 dýrne his scrifte.(;) forðon þam déofle beoð þæs mannes synna gecwémran(;) //

46r 81 þonne eal éorðan goldhord.'

7 se mæssepryst(;) se ðe biþ to læt þæt he þæt déofol of men adrife. 7 þa  
 sawwle hraðost mid ele. 7 mid wætere(;) æt ðam déofle ahredde. 7 he eac wyrceð  
 84 eal þæt hér bufan receð(;) þonne bið he geteled to ðære fýrenan éa. 7 to ðam  
 iserman hóce.

7 hér segð on(;) þæt paulus gesáwe naht feor fram ðæs mæssepreostes sídan(;)   
 46v 87 on ðære picenan éa oðerne ealdne mannan // 7 hine læddon mid hrædnesse. iiii.  
 awergde englas. 7 hine beséncton on ða fyrenan éa oð his cneowe. 7 hie hine  
 hæfdon mid fýrenum stánnum geðréatod. þæt he ne moste cweðan 'miltsa me god.'

90 7 þa cwæð paulus to ðam ængle(;) ðe hine ledde

'hwæt is ðes éalda man.'

7 ða cwæð se ængel to him.

93 'hit is án bisceop se ne geændede wel his bisceophád. 7 he onfeng micelne  
 47r naman. 7 he ðone ne geheold tela // ðe him þone naman forgæf(;) þæt hine man on  
 wyrolde nemde domine.(;)

96 Ac hér receð on ðissa bóca treahtoðe(;) þæt se biscop nære miltsiende.  
 wuduwum(;) ne steopcildum. 7 him ða wæs gegolden æfter his agenum  
 (ge)wrihtum.

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84 fyrenan] accent added by corrector. 88 cne'o'we. 89 god] 'g' altered from 't'.  
 91 ealdaman] accent added by corrector. 97 h'i'm 'ða'.

- 99 swa her receð on(;) þæt ðam byscopum ðe her on worulde syndon gegángene.  
 gelice ðam biscope(;) ðe paulus on ðære fyrenan helle geseah(;) gif hie nyllað  
 47v héaldan godes æ. swa him háligo // gewrito bebeodað.(.)
- 102 se bysceop sceal se ðe wile onfón godes mildheortnesse. 7 his synna  
 forgifenessa. þonne scyl he ðrafian ða mæsseprýstas. mid lufan. ge mid nýde. þæt  
 hie healdon godes æ. on riht. 7 ðone hyred. 7 ða læwede mæn þe hie ealderas ofer  
 105 syndon. þæt hie ðam ne geðafian(;) þæt hie here lif ón unriht lifigen. 7 þæt hie on  
 heom selfum onstellan(;) þam folce(;) góde bisene.
- 48r forðon se godes láreow // sæde þanne se mæsseprýst(;) 7 se bysceop wære  
 108 gelæded on éce forwyrd. þæt hie þonne ne méahton na hwæðer.(.) ne heom selfum  
 ne ðære hýrde ðe hie ær gode healdan scéoldon. nænige góde béon.
- hwane manað god máran gafoles þanne þane bisceop. forðan se bísceop bið  
 111 godes gingra. 7 he bið euenhálig his apostolum 7 he euenhliete witegum(;) gif he  
 ne geðafað þæt þæt godes folc hyra lif on wóh lýfian.(.)
- 48v swa hér receð // on ðysum trahtoðe(;) þæt crist selfa bebude móyse(;) þæt he  
 114 oðrum larewum bebude(;) gif hie þæt cristene folc. mid lufan ne meahthan  
 gecyrran(;) þæt hie godes æ. mid rihte héalden(;) þæt hit þonne manige yfele mæn  
 mid hyre fyre gebohton. þonne gecyrd þæt oðer folc þe hraðor(;) on godes ðone  
 117 soðan ðeowdom.
- Swa sanctus paulus cwæð(;) þæt se bysceop 7 se cinge sceolden beon cristenra  
 folca hýrdas(;) 7 hie fram eallum unrihtum abædon.(.)
- 49r 120 gif man hie mid lufan. // ne méahte to rihte gecyrran.(.) þæt swa hyra wón  
 dædum geswican woldan(;) þonne scyl gehwíl bysceop. 7 mæssepryst gif hie mid  
 rihte willað gode ðeowigan 7 ðénian(;) gelomlice opþe huru ymbe. vii. niht  
 123 mæssan gesingan. for eal cristen folc(;) ðe æfre fram frýmðe middangeardes  
 acænnede wæran
- 7 godes willa sý(;) þæt hie forðingian motan.
- 
- 106 gode] accent added by corrector. 117 ðe'o'wdom.

- 126 þonne onfehð he fram gode máran méde(;) þonne hie fram ænigum oðrum  
 49v lácum dón. forðon // gode is his folc swyðe léof(;) gif him yrþlice mæn mid  
 ænigum dæle þingian willað. 7 mid ænigum árum gehýran willað.
- 129 7 sé onfehð ealra háligra gebedrædenne(;) þe æfre yrðlice mæn wæron. 7  
 forðy hie ðingiað. se ðe ðis ymbsánge gefylgeð.  
 7 hie beoð on ealra yrðlicra gebedrædenne(;) ðe cristene æfre wæron oððe gét  
 132 beoð.  
 7 hie næfre on hyra synnum ne sweltað. 7 him bið godes mildheortnesse ofer.
- 50r 7 þæt is godes ágen bebod. // 7 eallum halgum þæt is alýfed.(;) þæt yrðlice  
 135 mæn blissian eall cristen folc.(;) 7 him gelóme godcunde lác fore gebringan. forðon  
 hie syndon godes béarn gecwedenene. 7 hie syndon eallra háligra mágas.  
 7 þis wyrð bið deoflum se mæsta téona.(;) forðon ðe hie habbað manige sáule(;)
 138 on hyra gewéaldum. þe him wile god gemiltsian for hyra mága wyrðingum. 7  
 eorðlicra manna gebedum. 7 ealra háligra. 7 for his miclan mildheortnesse. //
- 50v ac ne ablinnen we manna bearn þæt we gode (ge)cweman(;) 7 déofle tynan  
 141 dægese. 7 nihtes(;) [7] mid cristes ródetácne(;) ús gebletsian.  
 þanne afliesað þæt deofel fram manna béarnum. forðon him bið mára bróga fram  
 cristes ródetácne. þonne ænigum mæn sic(;) ðeah ðe hine man slea mid swýrde  
 144 wið ðæs heafdes.  
 7 eallum cristenum mannum is beboden(;) þæt hie hyra lichaman ealne syfen  
 51r siðum gebletsigen mid cristes ródetácne. ærest on mórgene. oðre siðe // on  
 147 únderne. ðriddan siðe on midnecæg. fyrðan siðe on non. fiftan siðe on æucen.  
 syxtan siðe on niht. seofodan siðe on úhtan.  
 7 gif lárceawas ðis nyllað bebedan(;) godes folce fæstlice(;) þonne beoð hie  
 150 wið god scyldige.  
 þæt þæt godes folc wite hu hie hie selfe scyldan sculan wið deofla.

140 ac] 'a' written with an ascender. 141 [7] supplied from B. 146  
 gebletsige'n'. æres't'. 148 seof'o'dan. 151 gode's'.

- 7 ge beoð syððan domes géorne(;) gif ge nyllað læran.(;) þæt hie hyra synna  
 153 geswican. 7 godes bebodu héaldan.
- 51v Se bisceop scyl bebéodan(;) mid ði mæstan bebode(;) ðam mæsseprystum // gif  
 se bysceop hine wile wið godes ýrre gehealden. þæt hie béodan þam godes folce(;)   
 156 þæt hie sunnandagum(;) 7 mæssedagum(;) godes cyrican géorne (ge)sécen. 7 ðær  
 ða codcundan láre géorne gehéran.  
 ne sculan ða lárewas agemeléasian þa láre. ne ðæt folc forhyccgan. hie to  
 159 gehyranne. gif hie willað godes forgifenesse habban hyra synna.(;) forðon ðær man  
 52r þæt godspel segð(;) maniges mannes // hýrte bið abryrðed. 7 god bið on hyra  
 midle.(;) eallum ðam mannum þe mid éadmodra hýortan to gelýfað.(;)   
 162 ðanne sculan þa bysceopas. 7 þa mæssepréostas gehwilces hádes mannan swiðe  
 ðréatigen. 7 bebéodan þæt hie godes bebodu on riht gehéalden. þa godes ðeowas  
 hyra tidsángas. 7 hyra cyrican mid rihte gehéalden . 7 ða læwedan. swa heom mid  
 165 rihte to belimpeð.
- 52v gif him mon ðonne hýran nelle(;) ðanne mót se mæsse//préost hit (ge)wrecan.  
 swa hit hér beboden is(;) þæt se godes ðeow ðe nulle ðære cyricean on riht  
 168 ðeowian(;) þæt he ðonne mid læwedum mannum onfón ðæs héardestan  
 ðeowdómes.  
 7 þis scyl se mæssepréost nýde béodan(;) oððe þæs godes ðeowes synna ónfón.  
 171 7 he bið þanne syððan ðam ænglum gelíce ðe íu gode wiðsócan. 7 ða wúrdan on  
 helle besæcncte
- 53r ðonne cwæð se láreow. þæt be ði ilcan munoce þæt se bisceop // scéolde gelíce  
 174 gefremman. ðæt hie oðre míne munecas be ðon læran méahton  
 7 se bisceop 7 se mæssepriost bið þonne wiþ god gehealden.  
 Moyses onfeng scinendum wuldorhelme. forðon ðe he simle ða genearwode ðe  
 177 god oferhogodan. forðon se oferhygeð god. se ðe godes sacerda bebodum  
 oferhygeð. 7 se bið on hæðenra anlicnesse. 7 manig deofol éardað mid him.
- 
- 154 mæsta'n'. 167 ðe'o'w. 173 Run of ornamental brackets, begun fol.36r,  
 ends fol.52v. 176 Moyses] most of 'M' in left margin. 177 forðon se] followed  
 by two cancelled letters, first perhaps 'o', second 'r'.

Cwæð sanctus paulus //

53v 180 'micel bið þæs apostolican hádes bebod(;)'

forðon ðe drihten cwæð to him.

*Et quodcumque ligaueris super terram erit ligatum et in celis et quodcumque*

183 *solueris super terram erit solutum et in celis.*

Ðæt swa hwilc man swa he on eorðan gebinde.(.) þæt se wære on héofonum gebúnden. 7 swa hwylc swa he on eorðan alýsde þæt se wære on héofonum alýsed.

54r 186 þanne sellað gebroðor mine éowre tyðan scættas // ðam éarmum mannum ðe hér for worulde lýtel ágon. þonne geblissiað ealle halige ofer eow. 7 god selfa bið mid eow. 7 ge mid him. 7 ge onfoð eowra synna forgifenesse.

189 7 swa hwylc man swa þæt deð þæt he nylle his céapes 7 his wæs[t]ma ðone. x. dæl for godes naman gedælan. þonne ne bið þem geseald drihtnes mildheortnesse. ne his synna forgifenesse. ac he bið mid wítum geðréad. æfter his deaðe. 7 ealra

54v 192 æhta // ðonne idelháende. 7 beoð him ðanne ealle nýde genumene.

7 æghwílum mæn biþ beboden(;) þæt he on æghwílum ðingum cræftig sige(;) oððe on ceapingum. oððe on oðrum cræftum.

195 þonne agif he simle drihtne ðone. x. dæl.(.) for his ðam yrðlican gestréonum. 7 for ðæs écean lífes wæstmum.

7 drihten manað simle æghwílne man(;) ðæs ðe he him seleð. 7 gif we ðonne lustlice.(.) 7 rummode ðane welan dælað éarmum mannum. ðe ús god seleð.

55r þanne onfoð we // ægðer ge éorðlicere méde.(.) ge éac héofonlicere.

'Eala' cwæð se wítiga. 'ðu únsnótera man.(.) tohwan bescyredest ðu ðe twyfealdlicre. bletsunge(;) ða ðu forwýrndest godes beboda.(.)

'forhwan ne wénstu þæt hit eal godes sie.

'Eala ðu gitsigenda. 7 þu welega(;) hwæt dest ðu ðe gif ðe drihten on  
204 genymað(;) ða nigon dælas.(.) 7 ðe læteð ðane teoðan dæl ealne habban(;) forðan

180 apostoli'c'an. 189 wæs[t]ma superscript 't', marked with an inverted 'v', is probably modern; see Homily 2 Commentary, line 72. 191 ac] 'a' written with an ascender. 193 ðingum] 'g' altered from 'c'. 194 'on' ceapingum.

þæt bútan synne bið þæt man ða niogan dælas on ðan mæn genime. þanne he ðæs.

55v x. // gode forwyrnað.'

207 7 swa hit is awriten on cristes bókum. þæt drihten selfa swa cwæde. þæt ða x.  
scættas wæran on urum ágnum dómum.(,) ge on lánde(;) ge on oðrum gestréonum.  
forðon þæt simle gegángoð.(,) ðam þe his gode wýrnað.(,) þæt him æt ðam  
210 ýtemestan dæge.(,) eal to téonan gewýrðað.

gif ge ðonne mid bliþe. 7 mid rum mode hie dælan willað. éarmum mannum.

56r þanne ontýneð eow drihten héofonas ðéotan. 7 he eow géoteð ufan // on his  
213 bletsunge. 7 eower hwæte. 7 eowre wíngeardes. 7 ealle eowre yrðanwæstmas(;) beoð  
gebletsode(;) gif ge beoð on riht dónde. 7 he eow éac gescyldeð(;) wið eallum  
féondum.

216 Hwæt æghwílc man wile þæt him drihten selle his ðearfe. 7 him ne lyste his  
willan wýrcean. þæt he on his naman dæle(;) þæt he him ær séalde.

forhwan ne magon we geðæncean. þæt godes is seo eorðe. 7 godes is þæt  
56v 219 yrfe(;) ðe we biglyfiað. 7 we syndan his. 7 an his an/wéalde is eal middangéard.  
7 ða windas. 7 þa rénas. sindan his ðe ealla wæstmas gewecceað 7 ðara sunnan  
háto; ðe ða éorðan hlywiað. 7 ealla gescæfta syndon his. 7 he hi ealla gewrohte.  
222 7 on his anwéalde hafað.

7 he úre drihten hwæðre is gemýndig ealra ðara gifena(;) þe he ús tolaéteð. 7  
we æt ðam ýtemestan dæge. eallum agéldan scylan ðæs þe he ús [ær on eorþan  
225 sealde 7 he ús] ðonne agyldeð swa wé nu hér doð. ge gódes ge yfeles.

57r Mæn ða leofes//tan. forhwan ne magon we geðæncean. gif we áne hwíle beoð  
on hwílcum éarfoðum(;) ðær we úres fyres ne wénað. þæt we þonne his áre biddan.  
228 7 ús biþ þanne léofre þanne eal eorðwela. gif hé us gearian 7 gemiltsian wile.

forhwan ne magon we geðæncean hwílc þæt wíte bið.(,) ðe næfre nænig áende  
ne bið.

205 ni'o'gan. 210 teona'n'. 224-5 ær on ...he us] supplied from B. 228  
'ge'arian.

231 '7 ic ðe þonne nu monige(;) godcundre stefne(;) cwæð se godes láreow(;) 'þæt  
ge eow alýsen of éowrum synnum(;) ær ðonne ge deaðe sweltan.'

57v forðon þe hit // nu swiðe nealæceð úrum ændedæge. 7 ús swiðe uncuþ is hwæt  
234 us úre yrfewardes. 7 lastweardas(;) getréowlice dón willen(;) æfter urum lífe(;) gif we hit selfe ær agémeleasiað. forðan hit swiðe féa ane sindan(;) ðe ðan déaden  
getréowe wyrðen. 7 hit ðanne gesælað oft þæt his æhta wyrðað.(.) on ðæs  
237 anwéalde(;) ðe he ær on his lífe wýrsest geúðe(;) hwilum ðurh wifes geweald.  
hwilum ðurh weres.

58r 7 man ðanne siððan // nahtes wýrðe his saule ne déð. ne his góldes. ne his  
240 sylfres. ne his yrðwelena. gif he nyle ær þan sælestan dæll(,) gode for hine  
gedælan(;) ða hwile. ðe he hér on lífe sie.

þanne ðæs mannes saul út of his lichaman gángeð(;) ðe him wæs ær his æht  
243 léofre(;) ðanne godes lufu to habbanne. ðanne ne gefultumað ðære saule. ne ðære  
gimma frætwednesse. ne ðara goldgearwo wlænco. þe he his lichaman  
58v oferflownesse. // mid frætwað.(.)

246 7 ða eorðlicean wlænco swiðor lufað. ðanne he his gast on god lúfige.  
ðanne wúrþaþ him ealle þa eorðlican spræca 7 þa oferdrúncennesse. 7 þa  
leahtras. 7 þa árleasan gilp.(,) ðe he ær lufode. ðanne wýrþaþ hie on wóp. 7 on  
249 héaf gehwýrfed. gif he ær nolde ongytan ðane towéardan deað 7 ðane towéardan  
ege. 7 ðane byfigendan. domesdæg.

59r forþan broðor míne ongytað nu ðysne // cwide.

252 lóca hwæt ðe sie hér on wuroldes swétest. 7 lustlicost geséwen þínra æhta. 7 ðu  
ðara nylt gode his dæll agifen ðe hit ðe ær gæf. hit ðanne æf[t]er ðinum deaðe. ðe  
gewyrðað swiðe biter.

255 forðan se bið swiðe unsnótor 7 dysig on his lífe se ðe lufað ðas yrðlican welan.  
7 god ne lufað.

hi him ðonne swiðe. fram gescýndað

244-5 lichaman oferflownesse.] 'nesse.' in bracket below 'man o'. 247 eorðlica'n'. æf[t]er superscript 't', marked with an inverted 'v', is probably modern.

- 258 7 manna frýndscipe bið swiðe hwilendlic. forðan úre ylðran swúlton. 7 swiðe  
 59v oft ús fram gewendon. // ac se ðe godes fréondscipe begiteð ne ðearf he næfre wéan  
 þæt he him æfre onwæneded wyrðe ac he á éce standeð.
- 261 Soð is þæt ic eow sécge. swa hwilc man swa nyle drihten lufian 7 his æhta for  
 his naman dælan ðane teoðan dæl. þonne genimeð drihten hie mid téonan.
- 60r 264 7 swa fela éarmra manna. swa in ðæs rícan. 7 on ðæs welgan néawiste hungre  
 (ge)swelteð. 7 he him nyle sellan his teoðan sceat. he bið ðanne // ealra ðara  
 manna deaðes scyldig 7 myrðra.(.) befóran ðæs ecean déman héahsetle. forðan ðe  
 he heold ær his æhta him to wlæncum. 7 forwyrnde ðam drih[t]nes ðéarfum.
- 267 se man se ðe wile þane héofonlican geféan begytan. Agife he simle mid rihte  
 ðane teoðansceat gode. 7 dæle ðeah his ælmessan forð of ðam nigon dælum. 7  
 selle éarmum mannum. his béodlafa. 7 his éalda hrægel.
- 60v 270 næs hit naht ne // forhealde on unrihtne lust. ðanne bið hit him eft togænes  
 gehéalden on ðan héofonlican goldhórde.
- 273 7 swa hwæt swa ús god selle má(;) þonne we nýde brúcan scylan.(.) dælen we  
 þæt simle ðam ðe læsse hæbben.
- 276 ðanne forðan ne selð he hit ús þæt we hit hýden(;) oððe to gylpe syllen.  
 samhwilcum mannum. ðe naht swiðe god ne lúfigen. Ac þæt we hit to godes  
 cyricean ðam éarmestum mannum dælen.
- 61r þæt is þonne gód ge hér on // wyrolde. ge on ðære towéardan.  
 forðan ge welgan wiðsacað ge ðam éorðlican. 7 þam léasan. 7 þam  
 279 oferflowendan welan.
- hwæt syndan ða léasan. 7 ða oferflowendan welan . butan þæt man mæst to  
 gélpe on únrihte gitsiað. þæt hie mæst ágen 7 þam éarmestan forwýrnan.
- 282 Ac wiðsacað ge ðam léasum welum simle. 7 ðam úngeléfedum gestréonum.  
 swa ða halgan dydan ðe on ðysum life naht ne sohtan(;) ne ne gyrndon to

259 'ge'wendo'n'. 261 Soð] 'S' mostly in left margin. lufia'n'. 263 'on'. 266 forwr'n'de. drih[t]nes] superscript 't', marked with an inverted 'v', is probably modern. 272 sw'a' us.



61v hábbanne.(,) bútan þæt hie on // heofona héanessum gebró[h]ton. eal þæt hie on  
 285 eorðan begæton. þurh godes fultum.

Nis eo[w] ðanne forboden þæt ge æhta hæbben 7 ðara mid rihte (ge)strynen. ac  
 on bocum is beboden þæt ge ða gedón éarmum mann[um] nytte. 7 mid eowrum  
 288 æhtum geéarnian(;) þæt ge ðane écean g[e]féan begýten mægen.(,) ðe drihten on  
 [is mid] his halgum. 7 eallum ða[m] ðe his bebódu gehéaldan willaþ. 7 gelæstan.

ðam d[rihtne] sie lof 7 wuldor. á on ealra

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On fol.61v letters in square brackets are supplied, loss being due to wear at binding edge; except following. 289 [is mid] scribal omission, mid-line, supplied from B. 300 d[rihtne] top of ascender of 'h' is visible, with cross stroke as mark of abbreviation. on] retoucher wrote 'i' on the 'o'.

#### HOMILY 4. COMMENTARY

References to B readings are by page and line number to Morris, *Blickling Homilies*, but readings are quoted from Willard, *Blickling Homilies*, fols 22r-31v; references to the Latin source for the tithing portion of the homily are by page and line number to Morin, *Sancti Caesarii Arelatensis Sermones*, I.

**9 þæt ure drihten þæt getimode** The reading in B is 'hwæt ure drihten hine gemedemode' (39/16-17), rendering the Latin 'deus enim noster dignatus est' (Morin, 143/9). The Latin source is similarly glossed in E.W. Rhodes, ed., *Defensor's 'Liber Scintillarum'*, EETS, 93 (London, 1889), p.108, line19, 'god soðlice ure se þe gemedemað', except that the verb is reflexive in B. The only way 'getimode' could be read with its usual sense 'happen', is if it were read transitively, 'bring to pass', but *BT* gives no such usage. There seems to be both corruption in copying and failure of sense here.

**29 eower þæt wyrseste** For this construction, see Mitchell, *OE Syntax*, I, para.106; *cp.* Homily 3, Commentary, line 298.

**11-12 bebead ... þæt we ... gedældon ... hæfdon** Mitchell, *OE Syntax*, I, paras 859-64, takes the view that a grammatical rule governing sequence of tenses (i.e. agreement, whatever the sense, of past or present tense in main and subordinate clauses) is not in evidence in OE, but here the choice of past tense for the verb in the clause dependent on the verb 'bebead' does not seem logical, though past tense 'hæfdon' is logical once the tense has been established in 'gedældon'. B has present tense 'gedælan' here (39/19; 'hæfdon' is not represented), but compare C, lines 7-8, 'sien we ... agifan', with the corresponding passage in B, 'syn we gemyndige þæs þe us crist sylfa bebead on þyssum godspelle he cwæp þæt we symle emb twelf monaþ ageafon' (39/13-16), where past tense 'ageafon' after 'bebead' may have survived despite introduction of 'he cwæp þæt'. Note a comparable case at lines 65-9: 'bebead ... reahte ... trymedan ... tahton ... lærdon', where B has 'bebead ... heolde ... tremede' but 'sceolan ... tæcan 7 læran' (43/5-8); C has present tense 'wandige' at line 70, still dependent on 'bebead' (in B a new clause is begun, 'ne wandige ...'). At lines 113-4 'bebude ... bebude' (B 'bebude ... sægde', 45/20-1) the choice of past tense is logical.

But *cp.* 'cwæde ... wæran' at lines 207-8 (B 51/6-7), and at lines 26-7 'cwæde ... scolde alatigean ... scoldean ... agyfan' (B 'cwæde ... sceolde agimeleasian ... sealdon', 41/4-5). None of Mitchell's examples involves a command, as do all these examples from Homily 4.

**35 hi (s)tæpes** B has 'sona instæpes' (41/13), both words having the sense 'at once'; the Latin has 'cito'. The same tautological expression occurs in two other homilies in B (15/27 and 87/6). In C, even if a nonce word 'stæpes' (not in *MCOE*) is assumed, 'hi' cannot be construed and there is therefore a failure of sense here, despite the apparent attention of the corrector (see manuscript note).

**40 on minum naman** In a direct address by the preacher 'minum' is obviously wrong. B has 'cwæð drihten' (41/17) instead of 'broðor mine þa leofestan', at line 39, and 'minum' is therefore apt. The whole passage, lines 39-46, renders the Latin 'si credis, tibi proficit: si dubitas, perdidisti. Decimae enim, fratres carissimi, tributa sunt egentium animarum' (Morin, 144/2-4), and in C 'broðor mine þa leofestan' is therefore likely to be original, derived from 'fratres carissimi' at the slightly later point in the Latin. However, the Latin continues 'Redde ergo tributa pauperibus, offer libamina sacerdotibus', and this is reflected in lines 47-9 and 62-4, and the OE again has at C, line 62, '(ge)broðor(e) mine' (B, 43/2, 'broþor mine þa leofestan). I would postulate that the OE homilist placed translated 'fratres carissimi' at beginning and end of his greatly expanded rendering of his principal Latin source, and that 'minum naman' is an original error, avoided in the B text by the substitution of 'cwæð drihten' for 'broðor mine þa leofestan'. As will become in some measure apparent, there is abundant evidence that the text in B represents a revision of the text represented in C. Presumably the B text reviser considered the substitution of 'cwæð drihten' more effective than changing 'minum' to 'drihtnes/godes', although there is no exact gospel source for lines 39-41, the nearest scriptural text being Matt. 19: 29 (pertinent passage italicized): '*et omnis qui reliquerit [home and family] propter nomen meum centuplum accipiet et vitam aeternam possidebit*' (cited by Pope, *Homilies of Ælfric*, II, p.509, commenting on Ælfric's statements concerning a hundredfold reward for alms).

**40-1 hit arisað eowre sawle to hundteontig(um) fealdum godum** B has 'hit ariseþ eowrum saulum to hundteontigfealdre mede' (41/18-19), which *BTSupp.*, s.v. 'arisan', sense III, translates 'it will come to be a hundredfold reward for your souls', but in C the sense of 'arisan' is more like

*ibid.*, sense IV, where examples are given from the laws, e.g. 'oð þæt angylde arise to .xxx. scillingum', and 'come to' has the sense 'add up to'. However, the C reading remains awkward. For singular 'eowre sawle', *cp.* Homily 3, Commentary, lines 27-8.

43 *ge eow onfon* B does not have 'eow' (41/21), the presence of which in C may be due to dittography; 'onfon' is not usually reflexive, but 'eow' could perhaps be read as supplying emphasis here.

62 *7 ðær* B has 'þyder 7 ðær' (43/3); lack of 'þyder' makes for a slightly awkward reading.

65 *swa se lareow bebead* The clause is printed on its own, a departure from editorial practice, in order to facilitate recognition of the three 'þæt' clauses, also spatially distinguished and beginning at lines 66, 68 and 70, which are dependent upon it. For the past tense in the first two of these, see note to line 11 above. The following notes consider particular difficulties with the passage, lines 65-78.

66 *trymedan* If my reading, with lines 66-7 as a clausal unit, is correct, the verb should be singular, with subject 'man'. An alternative reading is with subject 'þa mæssepriostas' (line 68), in apposition, along with its relative clause, to 'man', but then the clause 'þæt hyra scriftbec ... lærdon' (lines 68-9) would require a pronoun. The verb 'trymman' commonly has the sense 'to impart moral/spiritual strength to', the most likely meaning here, and thus to read 'ge læwede ge gehadode' as subject of 'trymedan' with object 'þa mæssepriostas' does not make good sense. The whole passage, lines 65-85, is concerned with the duties of priests, and in a later passage there is a clear statement of their responsibility for the correct behaviour of those in orders, as well as of the laity, at lines 162-72. However, the variant in B does make 'ge læwede, etc.' subject of 'tremede' (with sense 'support') in apposition to 'man': 'þæt man godes æwe mid rihte heolde, 7 godes cyricean fæste tremede. ge læwede men ge gehadode' (43/5-7), but here 'man' is commanded to keep ('heolde') God's law, not to expound it ('reahte') as in the C text, where 'man' must stand for 'mæssepriost'.

68 *þa mæssepriostas* Since as object of 'bebead', line 65, 'þa mæssepriostas', should be in dative case, the phrase is rather to be construed as subject of, though standing outside, the following 'þæt' clause, 'þæt hyra scriftbec ... lærdon'. As remarked in the preceding note, this clause lacks a pronoun. There is a comparable construction at lines 163-5; see note below. The

text in B has a new sentence in which subject 'þa mæssepreostas' is restated with a demonstrative: 'þa mæssepreostas þe godes cyricena lareowas beoþ. þa sceolan heora scriftbec mid rihte tæcan 7 læran' (43/7-8).

69 swa swa hie ure fæderas ær tahton 'hie' is possibly ambiguous, referring either to 'mæssepriostas' or 'scriftbec'. The verb 'tahton', with sense 'taught', could make sense with either object. It is only the context, with 'tahton' used with object 'scriftbec' in the preceding clause, that indicates that 'scriftbec' is still the object here. The variant in B is not so ambiguous, having 'demdon' ('decreed') instead of 'tahton' (43/8-9).

73-5 ne scyl he beon ... þæt hie hyra synna alysen (;) 7 hie sculon The sentence begins with a singular pronoun subject, in keeping with 'se mæssepryst' at line 70, but plural 'hie ... alysen' also refers to the priestly role, and this switch from singular to plural is maintained at the beginning of the next sentence, '7 hie sculon ...' The difficulty is not in the variant in B: 'ne sceal he eac beon ... þæt he heora senna alysan mæge; 7 þa lareowas sceolan ...' (43/12-14). In the sentence, lines 73-4, the confusion of singular and plural adds to the difficulty of sense not clearly expressed. The general sense of the latter part of the sentence ('ne to lyt þancian ...') seems to be that the priest should show gratitude for the giving of alms even when alms are given in a spirit of paying for the priestly service of absolving sins. It is uncertain whether by 'alms' here some kind of death-bed bequest or alms generally is meant.

83-4 7 he eac wyrceð eal þæt her bufan receð Literally this does not make sense, because not all of what has gone before has referred to what the priest should not do. If the failure of duty mentioned at lines 82-3 were particularly meant as grounds for the punishment specified at lines 84-5, despite fulfilment of duties mentioned in the passage, lines 65-78, then 'hwæðre', for example, might be expected instead of 'eac'. In *Visio Pauli*, the Latin source for the iron hook and the river of fire, the priest is punished for a different reason, because 'non consummavit ministerium suum bene; cum erat manducans et bibens et fornicans, offerebat hostiam domino ad sanctum altare eius' (James, *Apocrypha Anecdota*, pp.29-30; Silverstein, *Visio Pauli*, p.142).

The text in B does not have '7 he eac ...receð', and thus does connect the punishment with the specified failure<sup>of</sup> duty (43/22-5); '7 he eac ... receð' may be reflected in the next sentence in the

**B** text, where a clause, 'þe we ær bufan emb spræcon', follows 'ðæs mæssepreostes sidan' at line 86 (43/26-7).

**94** 7 he ðone ne geheold tela ðe him þone naman forgæf The Latin source, *Visio Pauli* (James, *Apocrypha Anecdota*, p.30) has 'sed non est ingressus in sanctitatem eius qui dedit ei nomen'. In the Latin it is obvious enough that Christ or the deity is the giver of the name, but the OE is vague, and archbishop, or even pope or king, could be brought to mind for that role. The use of the verb 'gehieldan' particularly makes for a weak reading. Of the sixteen senses for this verb given in *BTSupp.* the nearest is sense XI, 'satisfy, content', but then 'tela' (adverb 'well') seems redundant. The whole sentence, lines 93-5, is variant in the **B** text; for the present reading **B** has '7 þæt eal forheold. 7 his scyppend þe him þone noman forgeaf' (43/35-6), which is also somewhat vague in that 'for eal' has no antecedent.

**99-100** þæt ðam byscopum ðe her on worulde syndon gegangene. gelice ðam biscope The relative clause is 'ðe her on worulded syndon'; 'gegangene' for 'gegange'. Instead of 'gegangene gelice' **B** has 'swyþe gelice gegange' (45/4). Another instance of this impersonal use of 'gegangan' is at line 209; there the **B** text does not have the construction (51/8).

**102-3** se bysceop sceal se ðe wile onfon ... þonne scyl he ðrafian ... Particularly because 'se ðe wile' could stand on its own as a relative clause (as often in Wulfstan homilies), the reading is potentially ambiguous. If 'sceal ... onfon' were construed together, it could appear that a new sentence begins at 'þonne scyl he ...', but it is preferable to read 'þonne scyl' as a restatement of 'sceal'. The variant in **B** is briefer and does not have the potential ambiguity, though 'sceal' likewise precedes the relative clause: 'se biscop sceal þe wile onfon ... þrafian ...' (45/6-8).

**104** 7 ðone hyred. 7 ða læwede mæn Syntactically the phrase reads as if it were a second object (the first being 'ða mæsseprystas') of 'ðrafian', line 103, or as if it were a second object of 'healdon', line 104 (the first being 'godes æ'), but the sense seems to require the phrase, though in accusative case, to be object of 'geðafian', line 105, in apposition to dative 'ðam'. The variant in **B** has the same apparent inconsistency (45/9-11).

**111** he euenhliete *BT* gives a verb 'hleotan', but a compound with 'efen-' only as noun or adjective, and there are no instances of such a verb in *MCOE*. **B** does not have 'he' (45/18).

However, the verb could be genuine, and subjunctive mood is appropriate: 'he may receive equal rank [or 'an equal share'] with'.

113-17 The passage is syntactically coherent, but, even when the anachronism associating Moses with Christian teachers is allowed, its exact meaning is elusive. I find nothing in scripture that could have prompted the passage, but perhaps chapter 48 of *Visio Pauli* (chapters 24 and 34-5 are a source at lines 57-9 and 84-98) contributed to it, especially Moses's words 'miror quia alienigine et non circumcisi et idola adorantes conuertentes ingressi sunt in repromissa dei, Israel autem non est ingressus' (James, *Apocrypha Anecdota*, p.39). The B text is substantially the same, except that the passage is introduced 'Swa sanctus paulus sægde ...' (45/19-20) instead of 'swa her receð on ðysum trahtoðe ...', and 'þe hraðor', line 116, is lacking.

123-4 ... mæssan gesingan. for eal cristen folc (;) ðe æfre fram frymðe middangeardes acænnede wæran Thus is introduced a confusing passage, lines 125 -36, on the power of the Mass to bring all Christians, living, not yet living and dead, into communion. The sentence, lines 137-9, that concludes the passage and which has to do with the effect of the Mass on devils is, however, readily intelligible.

125 hie might be expected to refer back to 'bysceop. 7 mæssepryst', line 121, but in view of the generality of what follows, 'hie' probably refers to 'eal cristen folc', line 123. B also has 'hi' (45/33).

126 onfehð he ... maran mede (;) þonne hie ... Assuming that bishop and priest are no longer being specified, it is possible that the singular 'onfehð he' anticipates the singular subject of the sentence, lines 129-30, namely the participant in the Mass. The B text does not have the mistake: 'onfoþ hi, etc.' (45/33-4).

127-8 mid ænigum dæle ... mid ænigum arum I cannot suggest what might be meant here by 'dæle', or why 'arum' is plural where a meaning 'reverence' might be expected. The text in B (45/34) does not have lines 127-8, 'gif him ... gehyran willað'.

129-30 7 forðy hie ðingiað The clause is parenthetical, seeming to mean that the saints (can) intercede because they used to be earthly themselves. B has simply, for the whole sentence, lines 129-30, '7 þa þe on heofonum syndon hi þingiaþ for þa þe þyssum sange fylgeaþ' (45/34-5).

**131 hie** presumably refers back to 'ealra haligra', line 129, with the following relative clause referring to 'ealra yrðlicra', though this 'hie' could be read as antecedent of the relative clause. Alternatively, in view of the confusion of singular and plural at line 126, 'hie' could refer to the participant(s) in the Mass. **B** also has 'hi' (45/36).

**133 hie** presumably refers back to the earthly Christian community at lines 131-2, at least to those members who are and will be, or (*cp.* preceding note) to the participant in the Mass specified at line 129: there is scarcely a real distinction to be made by this stage. **B** also has 'hi' (47/1).

**134 7 eallum halgum þæt is alyfed** If the clause is to be translated 'and it is permitted to all saints', there is a failure of sense between it and the following 'þæt' clause, which reads as if it is dependent upon it, as well as upon preceding 'þæt is godes agen bebod'. The clause seems quite misplaced, even when read parenthetically. I read it that saints are mentioned in order to maintain the theme that the Christian community is at once heavenly and earthly, and even perhaps to reflect this theme in the composition of the whole sentence, lines 134-6, by providing a mention of saints near the beginning of the sentence in order to balance that at the end. The apparent failure of sense is not in the variant in **B**, which begins after 'sweltað', line 133: '7 godes mildheortnesse biþ ofer hi 7 ealra haligra 7 god hafað alyfed eorþlicum mannum þæt hi motan bletsian eal cristen folc [then as **C** (but 'gecegede' for **C** 'gecwedene') till the last clause of the sentence, line 136, '7 hie syndon ... magas'] 7 on ealra haligra geþoftscipe' (47/1-5).

**135 him ... fore gebringan** There seems to be ambiguity here: either 'bring before God' or 'bring for them (=eal cristen folc)'. **B** has 'bringan' for 'gebringan' (47/4).

**151 þat þæt godes folc wite** Reading the first 'þæt' as standing for the following 'hu' clause (the second being definite article with 'folc'), this use of the subjunctive 'wite' in a main clause instead of a modal, to give the sense 'should know', seems very unusual, but it seems preferable to read thus rather than to take the clause to be dependent upon 'beoð ... scyldige', line 150, in which case the verb 'wite' would lack negation. *BT* has no examples of 'scyldige þæt ...' and there are no examples in *MCOE*. The variant in **B** is 'forþon þat godes folc sceal witon' (47/21-2).

Subjunctive 'wite' may be a misplaced instance of the usage whereby the third person subjunctive carries imperative force (*cp.*, for example, 'Agife ... dæle ... selle', lines 267-9).



152 7 ge beoð syððan domes georne (;) gif ge nyllað læran This is the only point in the homily where the second person plural implies direct address to priests; the homily as a whole is a general exhortation to give tithes, and such direct address is inappropriate. B has '7 þa lareowas ... gif hi ...' (47/22-3).

domes georne It is difficult to read the phrase without an unexpected sense of irony: 'eager for (unfavourable) judgement'. BT gives an adjective 'domgeorn', but with no such pejorative sense as here. B has 'domes wyrpe' (47/23).

160-1 7 god bið on hyra midle. (,) eallum ðam mannum Though 'on hyra midle' fits the context of the preceding two clauses, 'forðon ðær man ... abryrðed', the phrase cannot be construed with 'eallum ðam mannum', and there is a failure of sense here. B has 'god biþ milde þæm monnum' (47/32), which fits the context of the whole sentence.

163-5 þa godes ðeowas hyra tidsangas ... gehealden. 7 ða læwedan swa heom ... belimpeð The construction is comparable to that at lines 68-9 (see note on 'þa mæssepriostas'), in that 'þa godes ðeowas' could be construed as object of 'ðreatigen. 7 bebeodan', with conjunction and pronoun absent ('þæt hie'; only pronoun absent at lines 68-9) from the following complement clause. However, in the present case 'ða godes ðeowas' may, more easily than 'þa mæssepriostas' at line 68, be construed as subject of the following clause. In fact here the construction may be regarded as merely elliptical, with omission of 'þæt' (indicating dependence upon 'ðreatigen. 7 bebeodan') before 'þa godes ðeowas' and before 'ða læwedan', and of a verb (e.g. 'doð') after 'ða læwedan'. The text in B is not variant here (47/36-49/1).

173-4 ðonne cwæð ... læran meahton In the context of the passage, lines 162-75, confusion arises in this sentence with the switch in terms, from 'godes ðeow' to 'munoc', which may or may not indicate a real distinction: 'ði ilcan munoc' suggests that no distinction is intended, but that 'se godes ðeow ðe nulle ðære cyricean on riht ðeowian' (lines 167-8) is meant. The plural pronoun 'hie' may be understood to refer to both priest and bishop. In the phrase 'oðre mine munecas', 'mine' is obviously inappropriate. It is unclear by what the 'oðre ... munecas' are to be taught. Presumably it is that 'se godes ðeow ... mid læwedum mannum onfon ðæs heardest ðeowdomes' (lines 167-9; 'ðeowdomes' (so also B, 49/5) for 'domes?'). The B text variant of this awkward sentence is little less vague: 'þonne sæde þæt se æpela lareow be þæm ilcan þæt hi oþre

men be þon læron mihton' (49/8-10). **B** has mention neither of 'munoc' nor of 'bisceop'; after 'ilcan' there is at least a six-letter space, a probable erasure (Willard, *Blickling Homilies*, fol.27r).

184-5 hwilc ... hwylc The failure to inflect for accusative case is not in the **B** text (49/15-17).

191-2 ealra æhta ... idelhænde *BT* gives only this instance (cited from **B**) of 'idelhende', 'empty-handed', with genitive, and there are no examples in *MCOE*. **B** has 'ealra his æhta' (49/25-6).

193-6 7 æghwylcum ... wæstmum the sense of these lines seems to be that everyone should be industrious (though this stretches the sense of 'cræftig') whatever his occupation, so that he is in a position to pay tithes. The homily takes up the Latin source again at this point, and the sense of the Latin is simply that tithes should be paid whatever the source of income: 'Quod si decimas non habes fructuum terrenorum, quod habet agricola, quodcumque te pascit ingenium dei est: inde decimas expetit, unde vivas. De militia, de negotio, de artificio tuo redde decimas' (Morin, 144/5-9). The **B** text is variant for lines 193-4: '7 æghwylcum men is beboden þe on ænigum þingum cræftig sy. oþþe on maran wisdom e oþþe on læssan' (49/27-8).

195 agif for 'agife'.

198 rummode It would be unusual, I think, for an adverb to be formed by addition of '-e' to a compound adjective, and here 'rummode' may be for 'rumum mode'. **B** has 'rumlice' (49/32). *Cp.* line 211 and note. For formation of adverbs in OE, see Campbell, *OEG*, paras 661-9.

204 ealne is likely to be error for 'anne' in the **B** text (51/3).

211 mid bliþe. 7 mid rum mode apparently for 'mid bliþum. 7 mid rumum mode', but since this is the second instance of 'rummode' (see note to line 198 above) suspicion is increased that an adverb was intended. The two instances of 'mid' here could be additions to an original 'bliþe 7 rummode'. **B** has 'bliþe 7 rummodlice' (51/10).

224 eallum ageldan Dative of thing repaid or paid for is unusual. **B** has 'eall agyldan' (51/24).

224-5 The omission in the **C** text, due to eye skip, has led to a failure of sense.

235 hit swiðe fea ane sindan 'There are only very few'. The idiom seems unusual. **B** has simply 'syndon feawa' (53/1).

239 7 man ðanne siððan nahtes wyrðe his saule ne deð. ne his goldes ... Literal translation suggests that the sense is inappropriate: 'and one then makes his soul worthy of nothing, neither of his gold ...' The required sense might be expected to be that 'one's riches are of no help to his soul'. This is the sense of the next sentence, lines 242-5. The B text is not variant here (195/5-6).

244-5 þe he his lichaman oferflownesse. mid frætwað Preposition 'mid' presumably goes with relative 'þe', 'with which he adorns his body'. A preposition might be expected with 'oferflownesse': this example of an adverbial use of an inflected noun seems somehow unusual, perhaps because an adjective (e.g. 'micclum') does not accompany the noun (for the usage see Mitchell, *OE Syntax*, I, paras 1380 ff., and *cp.* examples at *ibid.*, paras 1410-11 and 1414), or perhaps (similarly, because of the two nouns being next to each other) the reading seems infelicitous because of an expectation that 'lichaman' will be genitive, governed by the following noun, unless an adjective or preposition intervenes.

B has 'þe his lichoma ær mid oforflownessum gefrætwod wæs' (195/11-12). A preposition is not necessarily required with 'frætwan' for nouns specifying adornments (*cp.* examples in *BT* s.v. 'frættewian'), though examples in *MCOE* suggest that a preposition is usual in prose, but it might be expected that instrumentality would at least be expressed in the relative by 'þam ðe' instead of 'þe'. Past tense in B here is more logical than present tense 'frætwað' in C.

There is an analogue to C's reading in B, Homily X: 'hwær beoþ ðonne þa glengeas 7 þa mycclum gegyrelan þe he þone lichoman ær mid frætwode', (111/35-6).

246 Though this line does not stand well on its own as a sentence, neither does it read easily at the end of the preceding sentence, where the sense of the 'þanne ... ðanne ...' construction is complete. The line does not fit the context of the next sentence, where the theme changes from love of riches to drunkenness and boasting, but it could fit within the preceding sentence after 'habbanne' at line 243, though with some duplication of sense. The variant reading in B, at the same point, seems no less disjointed: '7 þa eorþlican gestreon swiþor lufode þonne he his gast dyde, oþþe urne drihten þe hine gesceop' (195/12-14).

270-1 næs hit naht ne forhealde on unrihtne lust. ðanne bið hit ... goldhorde 'forhealde' for 'forhealden'. The first clause of this sentence seems to be an 'inverted conditional clause', but

subjunctive 'nære' might be expected for indicative 'næs'; Mitchell, *OE Syntax*, II, paras 3678-83, is doubtful that a conditional clause with no conjunction and with initial verb was a genuine OE construction. To construe 'næs' as an adverb 'not', and 'forhealde' as a third person singular present subjunctive does not seem possible. Another syntactical difficulty with the sentence is that pronouns 'hit' have no referent: it seems inappropriate that antecedent 'beodlafa' and 'ealda hrægel' (line 269) are 'gehealden on ðan heofonlican goldhorde'; however the sentence may be read as a general statement.

The sentence renders the Latin 'ut ... non luxuriae reservetur, sed in thesauro caelesti per elimosinam pauperum reponatur' (Morin, 146/9-10), where the subject is what is left over from the nine parts once a modest amount of food and clothing has been provided for. The OE renders this modest provision for the tithe payer's needs into 'left-overs and old clothes' for the poor (line 269). Despite the deviation from the sense of the Latin, the sentence, lines 270-1, is logical, but its meaning is vague and its orthodoxy even (no doubt unintentionally) suspect: it is not what is 'not withheld in wrongful pleasure', but what is actually given that earns reward, as the Latin makes clear with the phrase 'per elimosinam pauperum'.

The B text does not have 'næs hit naht ne forhealde on unrihtne lust', but otherwise is not variant here, except for 'nigeoþan' for 'nigon' at line 268 (53/12 and 13).

280-1 man ... gitsiað. þæt hie ... 'gitsiað' for 'gitsað'; the plural pronoun 'hie' referring back to indefinite 'man' is not exceptional (see Mitchell, *OE Syntax*, I, para.377).

287 þæt ge ða gedon earmum mann[um] nytte It might be suspected that the reading is 'to nytte', with 'to' lost to view, with '-um', in the binding, but there is probably not space for the preposition at the end of the line. With 'nytte' as an adjective, the clause may be translated 'that you make them useful to the poor'. The B text variant, which begins after 'hæbben', line 286, has 'þæt ge þa earmum mannum syllon' (53/28-9).

289 The C text omission of 'is mid' leaves an unsound reading.

## HOMILY 5

62r HER we magon hwylcumhwega wórdum sécgan. be ðære árwyrdan gebýrda. 7 be  
 þam halgan life 7 forðfore ðæs éadigan weres. sanctus martínus. ðe we nú on  
 3 andweardnesse his tíð wyrðiað. 7 mærsiað.

wæs ðæt gode swiðe gecóren man on his dædum.

he wæs on pannania ðære mægðe ærest on wyrolde gecumen. in arrea ðam  
 6 túne.

wæs he hwæðere in itália aféded. in ticinam ðære byrig

wæs he for wyrolde swiðe góðra gebyrda 7 æðelra.

62v 9 wæron his ylðran hwæðere. // fæder 7 moder butu hæðene.

wæs his fador ærest cyninges ðegen. 7 ða æt nihstan geðáh þæt he wæs  
 cyninges ðæгна éaldorman.

12 ða sceolde he sanctus martínus nyde béon on his géogodháde on ðære  
 geferrædene ærest on constantines dágum. 7 þa eft on iuliani ðæs káseres.

nalæs þæt he his willum on ðam wyroldfolgoðe wære. Ac he sóne on his  
 15 geogoðe godes ðeowdóm micle swiðor lúfode ðanne ða idlan dréamas ðisse wyrolde.

63r þa he wæs. x. wíntre. 7 hine his ylðran to woruldfolgoðe // tyhton. 7 lærdon.  
 ða fleah he to godes cyricean. 7 bæd þæt hine man gecristnode. þæt se æresta dæl  
 18 his onginnes. 7 lifes wæron to geléafan gecyrred. 7 to fulwihte. 7 he ða sóna mid  
 calle his life ymbe godes ðeowdom abisgod wæs.

ða he wæs fifténe wíntre ða nyddan hine his ylðran toðan þæt he sceolde  
 21 woroldlicum wæpnum onfón. 7 on cyninges ðegna geférredena béon.

14 Ac] 'A' in left margin. 20 þæt] not abbreviated. 21 cyn'i'nges.

63v      ða wæron. iii. gær ær his fulwihte. þæt he wyroldwærna. wæg. 7 he hine  
 24      hwæðere wip eallum ðam healicum wæpnum // geheold ða ðe woruldmæn fremmað  
 on mænniscum ðingum.

          he hæfde micle lúfan. 7 ealle wærnesse to ælcum mæn. 7 he wæs geðyldig. 7  
 éaðmód. 7 gemetfæst. on eallum his life.

27      ðeah ðe he ða gét on læwedum háde beon scolde hwæðere he to ðæs  
 forwyrnednesse hæfde. on eallum ðingum. þæt he éfne munuclife gýt swiðor lifde  
 þanne læweddes mannes.

30      wæs he for his árfestum dædum eallum his ge[fer]jum léof. 7 wyrð. 7 andresne.  
 7 hie hine ealle synderlice mid lúfan wýrðedan.

64r      7 ðeah ðe // he ða gýt wære fullice æfter orenre ændebyrdnesse gefullad. Ac he  
 33      wæs gecristnod. swa ic ær sæde. hwæðere he þæt geréne ðære halgan fulwihte mid  
 godum dædum geheold. 7 fullode.

          he wolde ðam winnendum gefultumien. 7 éarmre fréfrían. 7 hínrendum mete  
 36      sellan. 7 nacode scrydan. 7 eall þæt he on his folgoðe begéat eal he þæt for gódes  
 lufan gedæelde. nemne ðáne dæghwamlican ondlyfan anne. ðe he néde. biglyfian  
 sceolde.

39      gemunde he þæt drihten. bebéad on his godspelle //

64v      *De crastino non cogitare.*

          Ðæt se godes mán ne scéolde bi ðan mærgendæge ðæncean. ðy læs þæt wære  
 42      þæt he ðurh [þæt] ænig ðára góða forylde þæt he þanne ði dæge gedón méahte. 7  
 ðanne wéninga hwæðer he eft ðæs meregendæges gebídan moste.

          magon we ðara árfæstra dæda sume gehéran secgan. ðe he ðés eadiga wer.  
 45      sanctus martinus. sóna on his cnihtháde gedyde. ðeah ðe [his] ðara góðra dæda má  
 wære. ðanne ænig man aseccan mæge.

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29 forwy'r'nednesse. 30 ge[fer]jum] so AB, 'gerefum' MS. 36 sc'r'ydan] here and at 29 superscript 'r' is caroline, not the copyist's usual insular form for OE. 37 'he'. 39 gemun'de'] 'gemun' at end line, 'de' added in left margin, not by copyist. beb'e'ad. 41 Ðæt] 'Ð' = enlarged 'ð'. 42 [þæt] supplied from AB. gedon] 'g' altered from 't'. 43 'ge'bidan. 45 [his] 'he his' MS; AB have neither 'he' nor 'his'.

- þæt gelamp sume siðe. þæt he gefyrde mid oðrum cyninges ðegenum on ða //
- 65r 48 burh ðe ambinensus hatte.
- wæs on middum wintre. 7 wæs se winter ðy gære to ðæs grim þæt efne manig  
man his fyrh for cyle geséalde.
- 51 ðá sæt ðær sum ðearfa æt ðam burhgæte  
sæt éac nacod  
bæd him ða for gode his hrægles on ælmessan.
- 54 ða fýrdon hie ealle forð be him. 7 hyra nán him to gecyrran wólde. ne him  
ænige áre gedón.
- 65v 57 ða ongeat se godes wer. sanctus martinus. þæt drihten him ðone ðearfan  
geheold. þæt he him miltsian sceolde ða ðara oðera manna him // nán árian wolde.  
nyste ðeah hwæðere hwæt he him dón sceolde. forðan ðe he naht elles næfde  
bútan his anfealdne gýrelan. Ac eall þæt he ma hæfde. eall he þæt ær beforan on  
60 gelic wyrc ateah. 7 for gode geséalde.
- geteah ða his sex. 7 genam his sciccells ðe he him on hæfde. 7 tosað ða hine.  
on twá. 7 ða healf geséalde ðam ðearfan. 7 mid héalfe hine besweop.
- 63 ða wæron manige mæn. ðe þæt gesáwon. 7 hie hine on ðan tældon. 7  
66r bismrodan. þæt he his swa an//féaldne gýrelan tosnidan sceolde.  
sume ðanne eft ða ðe beteran módes wæron. 7 ænige lufan to gode hæfdan.  
66 hie sélfe be þan ongæton þæt hie swa ne dydan. 7 wistan þæt hie mete hæfdon.  
þæt hie æghwæðer ge ðam ðearfan hrægel syllan mihtan. ge éac heom selfum  
genóh hæfdon.
- 69 ða wæs sóna on ðære æfterfylgendan nihte. ða he se eadiga wer slép. ða  
geseah he crist selfne. mid ði ilcan hrægle. gegyrwvðne. ðe he ær ðan þearfan  
geséalde. //
- 66v 72 ða wæs him beboden gýrnlicor þæt he hine úrne drihten ongaete. 7 þæt hrægel  
ðe he ær ðam ðearfan geséalde.

47 'ge'fyrde. 59 Ac] 'A' in left margin. 62 ðea'r'fan] 'r' is caroline, as at 29  
and 36 above. besweo'p'. 63 ða] 'ð' in left margin.

*Mox angelorum circumstantium multitudinem.*

75        Ða geseah he mycele mænigo ængla ymbe hine drihten stándan. 7 ða gehýrde he drihten sélfne mid swa cuðre stéfnre. 7 to þan ænglum cwæð.

'martínus nu ðu éart gecristnod ær his fulwihte.

78        'mid ðisum hrægle. ðu me gegýredest.'

wæs on ðære dæde swiðe cuð. þæt ure drihten is swiðe gemýndig ðæs his

67r cwi//des ðe he selfa ær cwæð.

81        *Quam diu fecisti.*

'Swa hwæt swa ge hwilcum earmum mæn. to góde gedoð. for minum naman efne ge ðæt me selfum gedoð.'

84        7 he ða wolde ðane cwide getrymman on ðære godcundan dæda 7 hine selfne to ðan geeaðmedde þæt he hine on ðæs ðéarfan gyrelan ætéwde ðam éadigan were. sancte martíne.

87        *Quo uisv uir non in gloriam elatus est.*

67v Þa he se eadyga martínus. ða gesihþe geseah ða næs he naht swiðe on óferhýdig ahafen. on mænnisc. wúndor. ac he godes gód on ðære. // his dæda ongæt.

90        Ða he ða hæfde twam læs twéntig wíntre. ða gefullode hine man. on ðære cyrican éndebyrdnesse. 7 wæs he beforan ær ðam. iii. gær. gecristnod swa ic ær 93 sæde.

ða forlet he ealne ðane wyroldfolgoð ænne. 7 ða gewát he to sancte hilárie ðam bysceope. ðe in pictáue ðære býrig wæs bysceop.

96        7 wæs þæt swiðe foremære. man for gode. se bysceop. 7 his gód wæs swiðe gecyðe[d]. 7 he ða ðisne ýdigan wer fulfrémedlice on godes æ. 7 on godes 68r ðéowdom // getýde. 7 gelærde. eac ðan ða hine god sél[f] innan gemanode.

99        wæs he swiðe gedúngen on his ðéawum. 7 staðolfæst on his wordum. 7 hluttur. 7 clæne on his life. 7 he wæs árfæst.. 7 gemétfæst. 7 mildhyrt on his

78 m'e'. 83 'ge'doð. ðære] 're' in bracket under 'ðæ'. 91 Ða] 'Ð' =enlarged 'ð'. 95 bysc'e'ope. 97 gecyðe[d] '-eð' MS. 98 sel[f] 'selfne' MS, AB 'sylfa/sylf'.



102 dædum. 7 geornful. 7 be gewyrhtum. ymbe drihtnes lāre. 7 on eallum gódom. for gode fulfrémede.

ða gelamp æfter ðan þæt se eadiga wer sanctus martinus. sum mynster getimbrede. 7 he on ðam mánigra godes ðeowa gástlic fæder gewéarð

68v 105 ða gelamp sume siþe þæt ðær // com sum ungecristnod man. to him þæt he wolde mid his lāre. 7 mid his lifes bisene beon ingetimbred.

ða ða he ðær wæs wel monige dagas. ða wearð he úntrum on féferadle.

108 ða gelámp on ða tíð. þæt sanctus martinus wæs on sumre fóre. ealle. iii. gær.

ða he ða eft hám cóm. ða gemette he ðane man. fórdférendre. ðe ðær ær úntrum wæs. 7 hine éfne swa færlíce deað fornam. þæt he ungefullod forðférd.

111 ða he ða sanctus martinus. þæt geseah þæt ða oðre gebroðre ealle swa unróte wæran. ymbe þæt líc. ða weop he. 7 éode into // him 7 wæs him swiðe micle wýrce þæt he swa ungefullod fórdgeferan scéolde.

114 getrýwde ðæ hwæðere mid ealle móde. on ælmihtiges godes miht. 7 his mildhéortnesse. 7 éode on ða cýtan ðær se lichama inne wæs. 7 hét ða oðre mæn. útgárgan. 7 ða ða duru beléac æfter him. 7 he him ða gebæd. 7 astréahte ofer ða léoma ðæs aswóltonan mannes.

117 ða he ða lánge hwile. on ðan gebede wæs. ða ongæt he þæt ðær wæs godcundlic mægen ándweard. 7 he ðære mildheortnesse únforht // onbad.

120 ða wæs ýmbe hwile ða gefélde he þæt se deada man his léoma. ealle astyrodan. 7 his éagan úp ahóf. 7 fórdlócode.

123 ða he ða sanctus martinus. ðæt geseah ða wæs he swiðe geféonde. 7 ða clýpode he hlúdre stéfn. 7 ealmihtigum gode ðære gife ðanc sæðe.

þa ðæt ða oðre gebroðran. gehýrdan ðe ðær úte wæron ða éodon hie into him.

70r 126 ða gesáwon hie wúndorlice gewýrd ðane man lýfiende ðane hie ær deaðne forléton. 7 hine man ða sóna. gefullode. 7 he fela géara // æfter ðan lifde.

103 gelam'p'] 'p' squeezed in on line, ink less dark than copyist's, like that of '-de' at 39. 105 'un'gecristnod] superscript not by copyist, probably as 39. 110 deað] 'd' altered from 'ð' by erasure of cross stroke. 112 w'e'op. 113 wyr'c'e. forð'ge'feran. 122 ðæt't'. 124 'ge'broðran. 125 gewyr'd'.

wæs ðis ðære wundra ærst ðe ðes eadiga wer openlice. befóran oðrum  
mannum. geworhte.

129 7 ða æfter ðisse dæde his nama wæs syððan á wyrð. 7 mære gewórden. 7 hine  
eall þæt folc haligne. 7 mihtigne ongætan on his dæddum.

swylce éac eft gelamp oðer wúndor. ðisse anlicnesse.

132 he fyrde sume siþe ðes eadiga wer to ánes mannes túne. ðe lupicinus wæs  
geháten.

ða gehyrde he ðær on ðan túne mycelne héaf. 7 wóp. 7 mánige cléopodan mid  
135 miclere stéfnе. //

70v þa gestód he. 7 ácsode hwæt syo clypung wære. ða sæde him man þæt ðær  
wære sum man éarmlice deað geswolten. þæt he hine selfne awyrgde.

138 ða he ða sanctus martinus. ðæs mannes deað swa éarmlice gehýrde. ða wæs  
him þæt sóna swiðe sár. 7 on mycle wýrce. 7 ða eode on ða cýten. ðær se lichama  
inne læg. ðæs aswóltenan mannes. 7 het ða oðre mæn ealle útgangan. 7 ða duru

141 betýnan 7 hine ðær ða on gebede astréahte

ða he ða hwile on ðon gebede wæs. ða færinge wearð se déada man cwyc 7 eft  
forðlocode. 7 tylode to arisanne. //

71r 144 ða genam sanctus martinus hine be his hándan. 7 up heah arærde. 7 hine  
gelædde forð to ðan cauertúne ðæs húses. 7 hine eft ðam mannun halne. 7  
gesundne agéaf. ðe hie ær déadne forléton.

147 ðas wundor. 7 manig oðer ælmihtig god ðurh ðysne éadigan wer gewrohte. ær  
ðanne he æfre wære byscep. ac syððan he ðan byscepháde onfæng. in turna ðære  
byrig Nis ænig man þæt ða wundor call asécge. ða ðe god syððan ðurh hine  
150 gewrohte.

71v 7 ðeah ðe he ða máran had hæfde. 7 éac for wyrolde ríca béon scéolde. ðanne  
he ær wæs // hwæðere he hæfde ða ilcan eaðmodnesse. an his hýrtan. 7 ða ilcan  
153 forwýrmednesse on his lichaman. æghwæðer ge on me[te] ge on hrægle. ge on

130 mihti'g'ne. 139 'on' mycle. 143 arisanne] 'ne' in bracket below 'an'. 145  
'7' gesundne. 147 'ge'wrohte. 148 ac] 'a' written with an ascender. 149 Nis]  
'N' in left margin. 153 me[te] supplied from AB, letters obscured in binding.

æghwīlcum ðinge efne swa he ær hæfde. 7 he his bysceophád swa gedéfelice  
geheold for gode. swa he hwæðer næfre þæt mægen. 7 ða foresetenesse his  
156 munuchádes án ne forlét.

*Omnes namque unanimi[ter] cupiebant.*

7 ealle mæn ða ðe feor ge néah ðyses éadigan weres l[if] cuðan oððe gehýrdan.  
72r 159 ealle hie þæt ánmóðlice wilnodan þæt hi[e] // his word geheran mostan. 7 his larum  
gelyfan. forðan hie swutolice on him ongæton godes lvfe 7 his blisse.

wæs he forðan swiðe mære geond middangéard.

162 7 he manig templ 7 deofolgeld tobræc 7 gefelde ðæt hæðene mæn ær deoflum  
onguldun. 7 ðanne ðær he þæt déofolgyld gefelde. ðanne asette he ðær godes  
cyricean. oððe fullice mynster getimbrede.

165 þæt gelamp sume siðe þæt he ongan bærnan sum déofolgyld. þæt mid  
72v hæðenum mannum swiðe wyrð. 7 mære // wæs.

Pa stóð ðær sum nytwyrðe hús be ðan gelde ðe he ðær bærnan ongan.

168 ða sloh se wind ðane légt on þæt oðer hús. 7 him ðuhte þæt hit eall forbýrnan  
sceolde.

ða he ða sanctus martinus þæt geseah ða arn he sóna up on þæt hús. 7 ða  
171 gestóð ongæn ðam légte.

ða gelamp wúndorlic gewýrd þæt se légt ongán slean. 7 breacan ongæn ðane  
wind. 7 éfne swa se wind swiðor slóh on ðane légt. swa bræc he swiðor ongæn ðam

174 wínde. 7 éfne on ða gelícnesse swa ða gescæfta twá be heom twýonum gefyhton //  
73r sceoldan.

7 swa se légt wæs geðreatod ðurh sancte martines gebyde. þæt he nænegum  
177 oðrum ær scaðian ne méahte. éfne. ðam déofolgyldre ánum ðe he ðær bærnan  
ongan.

Swylce gelamp eft oðer wúndor ðysum gelíc.

180 he com to sumen túne ðe librassa wæs geháten.

158 l[if] so B, letters obscured in binding, 'lif' added in outer margin by retoucher.  
159 hi[e] letter obscured in binding. 179 Swylce] 'S' in left margin.

ða wæs ðær sum geld ðe ða hæðenan swiðe wyrðedan.

ða wolde he sanctus martinus ælce ðinga þæt geld abrécan. 7 gefyllan. ða

183 wiðstóðan him ða hæðenan mæn. 7 hine mid téonan on weg adrifon.

73v ða éode he ðær rihte big on sume stówe // 7 hine ða gegyrede mid hærenu[m]

hrægele swiðe hearde. 7 unwynsume. 7 gefæste. iii. dagas. 7 ælmihtigne. god

186 gebæd. þæt he ðurh his godcundan gemiht. þæt déofolgyld gebræce. 7 gefelde. ða  
he hit for manna téonan gebrecan ne moste.

ða cóman ðær sæmninga. ii. ænglas to him gescyldode. 7 gespýrode. 7 mid

189 heregeatwum gegyrede éfne swylce hie to campe féran woldan. 7 cwædan þæt hie

god self gesænde þæt hie sceoldan þæt hæðene werod geflýman. 7 martine on

74r fultume béon. // þæt he þæt déofolgyld gebrecan meahte. 7 gefyllan.

192 ða eodan hie eft to ðan túne. 7 þæt geld gebræcon á oð ðone grúnd.

7 ða hæðenun mæn. to lócodan. ac hie hwæðere wæron mid codcunde

mægene. gefyrhte. 7 hyra nán him wiðstandan ne dorste. ac hie ealle to drihtenes

195 geléafan gecyrdon. 7 hie cwædan to him. þæt se wære ána sóð god se ðe martinus

gehýrde. 7 þæt hyra hæðengyld wæran ealle ídele. 7 unnytte 7 þæt hie na hwæðere

74v ne heom selfum geðæncan ne méahtan. // ne ænies þara gehelpan ðe to hi[m]

198 ænigre are wilnodon.

swylce gelamp sume siðe þæt he sum gyld tobræc. þæt ðær gearn mycele  
mænego to him ðara hæðenra manna. 7 ealle wæron swiðe yrre.

201 ða wæs hyra sum hreðra 7 hátheortra ðanne ða oðre.

gebræd ða his swyrde. 7 gemynte hine to sléanne.

ða he ða sanctus martinus þæt geseah. ða dyde he sóna þæt hrægel of his

204 swýran 7 léat forð to ðam mæn. ðe hine sléan mynte.

184 hærenu[m] 'm' is worn away. From here readings either side of the top of the gutter in the gathering, fols 72-81, are affected by damage to the membrane, whereby the surface layer or layers is crumbled away. 185 'ge'fæste] superscript not certainly by copyist. 193 and 194 æc] 'a' written with an ascender. 197 hi[m] 'm' supplied, damage to membrane; a superscript marker under 'i'. 200 h'i'm.

ða he ða se hæðena man up aréahte mid ðære swiðran hánd. 7 hine sléan  
 75r mynte. ða feol he fáringa on bæcling. 7 ne ahte his // lichaman nán gewéald ac he  
 207 wæs mid godcunde mægne geðréad. 7 he him ða ðane éadigan wer forgyfenesse  
 gebæd.

Swylce wæs eft oðer wundor ðæs ánlicnesse. þæt gelamp sume siðe ðær he sum  
 210 deofolgeld tobræc. 7 gefylde.

ða gebræd ðara hæðenra manna sum his séaxe

ða he hine ða stíngan mynte. þa nyste he fáringa hwær þæt seax becom. þæt  
 213 he ðær on hánda hæfde.

gelomlice þæt ðanne wæs þæt he ða hæðenan gylð gebræc. 7 him ða hæðenan  
 75v mæn wiðerwéarde wæron þæt hie ðurh his lare. 7 ðurh his drihtnes // gife hyra  
 216 hyortan to godes ge[lea]fan gecyrde. þæt hie ætnyhstan selfe éac mid hyra hándum  
 ða idlan gylð gebræcan 7 gefyldan.

7 to ðæs mihtig he ðanne wæs ælce untrumnesse to hælanne. 7 to ðæs mycel  
 219 gyfe he ðæs æt gode onfeng þæt næs ænig to ðæs untrum ðe hine gesóhte þæt he  
 sóna hælo ne begæte.

ge þæt oft á gelamp ðanne mæn hwilcne dæil his hrægles to untruman mæn  
 222 gebrohte þæt he ðanne ðurh ðæt sóna wæs hál geworden

76r 7 ðæs he wæs þanne éalra swiðast // [to] herianne þæt he næfre nænigum  
 worldlicum mæn ne cyninge selfum ðurh lease olæcunge swiðor onbúgan wolde.  
 225 þanne hit riht wære. 7 éac he á æghwilcun mæn soð 7 riht sprecað wolde 7 dón.

*Vere beatus uir. In quo dolus.*

Þis wæs soðlice eadig wer

228 ne wæs æfre fácen ne inwid on his hyortan ne he ænigne man unrihtlice ne  
 gedemde. ne he wite ne nam ne ænig yfel mid yfele ne geald. ne hine ænig man

206 ac] 'a' written with an ascender.

212 'be'com] superscript not by copyist, as 39; AB 'cwom / com'. 216 ge[lea]fan] damage to membrane, supplied from AB. 217 'ge'bræcan] superscript not by copyist, as 39. 217-8 '7' gefyldan. '7'. 222 geworde'n'. 223 [to] damage to membrane, supplied from AB. 224 wor[l]dlicum] superscript 'l', marked with an inverted 'v', is probably modern.

- 76v yrne. ne grammodne geræhte. ac he wæs á in ánum mode 7 efne // heofonlicne  
 231 blis. 7 geféan man [moh]te á on his andwlitan angytan.  
 ne gehýrde ænig man aht elles of his muðe nemne cristes lof. 7 nytte spræce.  
 ne aht elles on his hyortan. nemne árfæstnesse. 7 mildhyortnesse. 7 sibbe.  
 234 swylce éac ðes eadiga wer mycle ær beforan ðone dæg wiste his forþfærnesse. 7  
 him drihten gecýðed hæfde. 7 he ðam his gebroþrum sæde þæt hit ða ryhte wære.  
 þæt he of ðisse werolde sceolde.  
 237 ða wiste he sumne hýrd on his bysceopscýre ða ðe unðwære 7 ungesibbe heom  
 77r betwéonum // [wæ]ran.  
 ða gefýrde he ðider mid his discipulum ðeah ðe he wiste. þæt [he] ða æt his  
 240 daga ænde wære.  
 þæt he huru wolde þæt hie ealle on sibbe wæran ær he of werolde gefýrde.  
 Ða he ða hæfde ðane hýred gesibbod ðe he ðær to gefýrde. 7 ðær wel manige  
 243 dagas wæs ða he ða eft gemynte mid his discipulum to his mynstre féran.  
 ða wearð he færinga swiðe untrum  
 ða gehet he him ealle his discipulas to. 7 heom sæde þæt he ða forðferan  
 246 sceolde.  
 ða wéopan hie sóna ealle. 7 sárlice gebérdan. 7 ðis cwæðan to him. //  
 77v 'forhwan forlætstu fader us [nu] gyt. oððe gif ðu gewitest hwam bebéodest ðu  
 249 us.'  
*Cui nos páter deseris cui nos desolátus.*  
 'Cumað risende wulfas. 7 todrifað ðine hýorde.  
 252 'hwa forstándeð hie gif ðu hie ne scyldest.

231 man [moh]te] damage to membrane, two minims survive after 'man'; retouched 'te' at beginning next line, in front of which retoucher has written 'moh': AB 'meahte/mihte'.

234 'forþfærnesse] superscript probably by copyist, but retouched; a vertical mark descending from the top of copyist's superscript marker makes marker look like a large inverted 'v'. 238 [wæ]ran] 'wæ' supplied, damage to membrane; retoucher 'we'; AB 'wæron'. 239 'ge'fyrde] superscript very faint, but marker clear, as 39. [he] 'hie' MS. 241 'o'f. 242 'ge'fyrde. 245 'ge'het. 247 [him] bracketed below line in a drawing of a bird. Fols 77v-79r have ornamental brackets. 248 [nu] supplied from AB, damage to membrane; 'n' faintly legible; retoucher seems to have added 'nu' superscript, but faded.

'we þæt witon þæt þæt is ðínes modes willa. þæt ðu móte ðas wyrold forlætan 7  
críst geséon. ac gemiltsa ðu hwæðere ús. 7 gemune úra ðéarfa.'

255        ða he ða ðás word gespræc. 7 ðis gehyrde. 7 he ealle wépende geseah. ða  
wéop he éac selfa. 7 his mod wæs onstýred. mid ðam hera wórdum.

78r        swa he wæs manna mildhéortast // 7 he efne mid wépendre stéfnre ðus to drihtne  
258        cwæð.

*Domine si ad[hu]c populo tuo sum necessarius.*

'Drihten' cwæð he 'gif ic nu gét sie ðinum folce ðéarflic. hér on wórwulde to  
261        habbanne. ðanne ne wiðsace ic ðam gewinne. ac sie ðæs ðin willa.'

wæs he to ðæs árfæst þæt him wæs æghwæðer on wýrce ge þæt he ða gebroðran  
forlete. ge ðanne huru éac þæt he læng fram crístes onsýne wære þæt he ðane  
264        gesáwe.

he ða forðan drihtnes willa sohte. 7 ðus cwæð

'min drihten lánge ic nu wæs on ðan héardan cámpe her on wyrolde. ac ðanne  
78v 267        hwæðere ne wiðsace ic ðan þæt ic on ðan campe // læng sie gif hit ðin willa swiðor  
[bið] ac ic mid ðinum wæpnum getrymed on ðinum feðan fæste stánde. 7 for ðe  
cámpige ða hwile ðe ðin willa bið.'

270        wæs him æghwæðer ðam éadigan were ge syo godes lufu to ðæs hát. ge to ðæs  
byrht. on his hýortan. ði he forðan deaðe. ne fórhode. ac him ðæs héardost  
lángode hwanne he of ðisse wyrolde moste.

273        7 him ðanne wæs éac manna lufu to ðæs mycel. þæt him nænig gewin hér on  
wyrolde to lang. ne to héard ne ðuhte. ðæs ðe hýra sáulum to hælo. 7 to ræde  
gewinnan meahhte

79r 276        ða wæs he wel manige dagas mid // [ð]am fe[f]eradle swiðe gestánden. ac he  
hwæðere næfre gódes wýrces ne blon. ac he hwilum ealle niht ðurhwacode on  
halgum gebedum.

254 ac] 'a' written with a short ascender.

259 adh[u]c] 'ad hunc' MS. 261 ac] 'a' written with a short ascender. 267 [bið] supplied, damage to membrane; B 'bit' with 't' expunged and 'ð' superscript. 268 and 271 ac] 'a' written with an ascender. 276 [ð]am] 'ð' supplied, damage

279 7 ðeah ðe se lichama wære mid ðære untrumnesse swiðe geswænced hwæðere  
his mód wæs á héard. 7 geféonde on drihten.

7 ðanne he reste. ðanne wæs his seo æðeleste rest on his [hæran]. oððe elcora  
282 on nacodre eorð[an].

ða bædan hine ða his discipulos. þæt hie mostan hwilcehwega uncyme  
strætnessa him under gedón for his úntrumnesse ða cwæð he

285 'bearn ne biddað ge ðæs

7a<sub>v</sub> 'ne gedáfenað cristan mæn // þæt he elcora swa he efne on acsan 7 on dúste.

'gif ic éow oðres ðinges bisene. onstelle. þanne agylte ic'

288 7 á ðær he læg. á he hæfde his hánda upweardes. 7 mid his éagnum up to  
héofonum lócode. ðider his módgeðanc áseted wæs.

ða bædan hine ða godes déowas ða ðe ðider to him cóman þæt hie hine móstan  
291 on oðre sídan oncyrran. 7 ða cwæð he to heom.

*Sinite fratres sinite celum potius respicere.*

'Forlætað gebroðra' he cwæð ða spræce. 'forlætað me héofon. swiðor geséon

8Or 294 ðanne eorðan þæt minum gáste sio to drihtne wég // [þyder] ic feran scyl.'

ða he ða ðus [spræ]c. ða geseah he ðane awergedan gást déofol ðær únfeor  
standan

297 ða cwæð he to him.

*Quid adstas cruénda [bestia] nihil in [me] finiste rep[er]ies.*

'Hwæt stándeð ðu wælgrim. wildeor

300 'nafast ðu. méde aht æt me. ac me scyl abrahámes béarm þæt is seo éce rést  
onfón.'

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to membrane. fe[f]eradle' 'feðer-' MS; retoucher has written 'þam fefer' above in the top margin. ac] 'a' written with an ascender.

281 [hæran] 'earan' MS; see Commentary. 282 on] 'nihte' added(?) above by retoucher: uncertain traces of original 'hte'. eorð[a]n] 'eorðran' MS. 294 [þyder] five letter space, supplied from B, damage to membrane. 295 [spræ]c] 'spræ' supplied from B; retoucher has added the word at the end of the top line of the page; there is space for the word at the beginning of the second line, where the membrane is damaged, and final 'c' is visible. 298 [bestia] supplied from B, 'uram' MS. [me] supplied. reperies] 'repperes' MS; see Commentary. 300 ac] 'a' written with an ascender.



ða he ða ðis cwæð ða wearð his andwlita swa bliðelic. 7 his mód swa geféonde.

303 þæt hie éfne méahtan on ðan gære ongytan þæt he gástlicne geféan geseah. 7 þæt  
hine héofonlic werod gefétode.

80v 7 he ða swa ge//feonde ðas sarlican [:::]:] ofogeleþ. 7 hine ða úre dri[hten] to

306 his ðam héofonlican rice [ge]nam.

Hwæt wé nu gehérað hu eaðmodlice ðes éadiga wer his líf for gode gelyfode.

ða hwile ðe he her on wurolde wæs. 7 hu fæger edlean he æt urum drihtne onféng.

309 7 nu á ða hwile ðe ðeos wúrold stándeð his god mæn mærsiað geond éalne

ðisne middangéard. on godes cyricean. 7 hé nu mid callum halgum to wídan féore

81r on heofona rice for drihtnes // [onsyne] gefehð. 7 blissað.

312 ac utan [we la] tyligan þæt we ðyses eadigan weres líf. 7 his dæda onhyrgan

ðæs ðe úre gemet sige. 7 utan hine biddan ðæt he us si[g]e on heofonum ðíngere

wið úrne drihten. nu we her on eorðan his gemynd wýrðiað.

315 to ðan ús gefúltumige ure drihten. se leofað. 7 ricsað. a butan ænde.

AMEN:~

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305 [:::]:] damage to membrane, see Commentary. dri[hten] 'hten' supplied, damage to membrane. 306 [ge]nam] 'ge' supplied from A, space for two letters at end line, membrane partly intact, but no letters visible, 'nam' at beginning next line. 311 [onsyne] seven letter space, supplied from A, damage to membrane. 312 ac] 'a' written with an ascender. [we la] four letter space, supplied from A, damage to membrane. 313 si[g]e] retoucher has written 'site', 'g' not visible. 315 a] written with an ascender.

## HOMILY 5. COMMENTARY

References to **A** readings are by page and line number to Scragg, *Vercelli Homilies*, but readings are quoted from the facsimile edition, Celia Sisam, ed., *The Vercelli Book: a Late Tenth-Century Manuscript Containing Prose and Verse*, EEMF, 19 (Copenhagen, 1976); references to **B** readings are by page and line number to Morris, *Blickling Homilies*, but readings are quoted from Willard, *Blickling Homilies*; references to the Latin source are by page and line number to Jacques Fontaine, ed., *Sulpice Sévère. Vie de Saint Martin*, 3 vols, Sources Chrétiennes, 133 (Paris, 1967), I, pp.248-344.

**13 iuliani** The name, printed here as correctly inflected for the genitive, appears to have been copied as 'iuliam', as Scragg prints in his collation (Scragg, 292/13, but 'l' is not added as there indicated); **A** has 'iulianus', **B** has 'iulius'. At line 2, 'martinus' is not inflected for genitive case, but **B** has 'martines' (**A** has a variant reading), and, as also with 'constantines' at line 13, it seems usual to apply OE inflections to Latin names in this text; *cp.* e.g. line 86, 'sancte martine' (dative, ABC), line 176, 'sancte martines' (genitive, ABC, 'sancte' for 'sancti?'). The Latin is 'sub rege Constantio, deinde sub Iuliano Caesere' (Fontaine, 254/8-9).

**17-18 se æresta dæl his onginnes. 7 lifes** *BT* s.v. 'onginn', sense IV, cites this reading from **B** (Morris, 211/29-30) as an example of a sense 'activity, active life'. Thus the reading has sense, but there is underlying tautology between 'æresta dæl' and 'onginnes' (with sense 'beginning') and between 'onginnes' (with sense 'active life') and 'lifes', all of which perhaps makes for an infelicitous reading. **A** and **BC** have variant readings here: in **A** 'onginnes' is a noun (nominative feminine) meaning 'beginning' and occurs in a parenthetical explanation of preceding 'gecristnode' ('catechumenum fieri', Fontaine, 254/12-13): 'þæt bið sio onginnes 7 se æresta dæl þære halgan fulwihte' (Scragg, 292/19-20).

**18 wæron** for 'wære' (**B** 'wære', Morris, 211/30).

**23 wæpnum** The Latin is 'uitiis' (Fontaine, 256/3); **A** has 'synnum' (Scragg, 292/25); **B** has 'wæpnum' (Morris, 213/5): the **BC** reading can only be regarded as error, resulting in loss of

sense. The only apparent explanation of the error is eye skip from 'healicum' back to 'woroldlicum' (not in A) at line 21.

**25 hæfde micle lufan. 7 ealle wærnesse** The Latin is 'multa ... benignitas, mira caritas' (Fontaine, 256/3-4), and 'wærnesse' therefore stands for 'benignitas'. *BT* s.v. 'wærness' cites B (Morris, 213/7) and paraphrases 'was very considerate', but this stretches the sense 'caution', given by *BT*. A has 'swetnesse' (Scragg, 292/26) which is closer to 'benignitas' (*BT* sense II), although it may be that some other word (e.g. 'pwærnes', with sense 'agreeableness', or some compound with 'wel') lies behind both A and BC readings. At line 29 where A has 'forhæfdnesse' (Scragg, 293/2) and C has 'forwyrnednesse' for Latin 'frugalitatem' (Fontaine, 256/6), B has 'wærnesse' (Morris, 213/10). Perhaps the BC reading in the present case carries the sense 'restraint', but this still seems a forced reading of the OE and is little closer than the sense 'caution' to Latin 'benignitas'.

**32 wære** for 'ne wære' in A (Scragg, 293/33) or 'nære' in B (Morris, 213/14).

**orenre** A has 'cierican' (Scragg, 293/33), B has 'operre' (Morris, 213/14). The clause '7 ðeah ðe ... gefullad' renders Latin 'necdum tamen regeneratus in Christo' (Fontaine, 256/9-10). The reading in A seems best, though B's reading is tenable, recalling the reading in the A text at lines 17-18 (see note above): if to become a catuchumen (to be 'gecristnod') is 'se æresta dæl' then to be baptized ('gefullad') could be the 'operre', the second part. *BTSupp.* s.v. 'endebyrdnes' sense IXa, 'a stated form of rite', accepts the reading in B. *Cp.* lines 91-3, 'on ðære cyrican endebyrdnesse', where ABC agree, except that A has 'æfter' for BC 'on ðære'. *BTSupp.* s.v. 'orne' gives only a pejorative sense 'excessive'. Only if a non-pejorative sense (e.g. 'bounteous') is proposed can C's 'orenre' be other than nonsense, unless Scragg's suggestion in his glossary that 'oren' could be an adjective meaning 'earlier' can be accepted. Sense has already been lost in C due to failure to negate the verb (see preceding note).

**35 earmre** for AB 'earme'.

**43 7 ðanne weninga** 'weninga' here seems to be an adverb, giving the sense 'and then he may await the morrow expectantly (not knowing what it may bring)', but *BT* s.v. 'wenunga' gives only the sense 'by chance'. B has '7 ða weninge' (Morris, 213/24), where 'weninge' also seems to be an adverb (it does not give good sense as a noun: *cp.* Morris's translation). A has 'in weninge', and

the adverbial phrase is unambiguous, though lack of '7 ðanne' or '7 ða' weakens the reading in A (Scragg, 293/42).

54-55 *ne him ænige are gedon* In A, 'woldon' follows 'gedon', and 'ænige' then seems to be subject of 'woldon' (Scragg, 294/53, and see his Commentary note). In C 'ænige' is unambiguously an adjective qualifying 'are'; comparable uses of adjective 'ænig' are at lines 65 and 198. B has 'ne him nænigre are gedon' (Morris, 213/35): it would perhaps be to force the sense of the reading to propose a translation such as 'nor treat him with any mercy', and B's '-re' inflection is probably error.

57 *ða ... wolde* A has 'þe ...', making a relative clause as might be expected (Scragg' 294/55). B has 'ða' with C (Morris, 215/1-2): an adverb clause, 'when ...', makes an acceptable reading, which represents, perhaps more closely than the relative clause in A, the Latin ablative absolute construction, 'aliis misericordiam non praesentibus' (Fontaine, 256/22-3).

66 *ongæton* for 'oncuðon', the AB reading; *BT* s.v. 'oncunnan' gives only the sense 'accuse', and it is hard to believe that 'ongæton' and 'oncuðon' were considered synonymous; 'hie sylfe ... oncuðon' renders Latin 'gemere', which Fontaine translates 'regretterent' (Fontaine, 258/3).

*þæt hie mete hæfdon* 'mete' for A 'ma', B 'mare' (Scragg, 294/64, Morris, 215/12-13); in C the failure of logic between this clause and the following pair of correlative clauses can only be avoided if the latter is read as being dependent, along with the former, on preceding 'wistan'.

72 *wæs ... beboden* translating 'iubetur' in the Latin (Fontaine, 258/9), which, like the OE, does not specify the agent.

*gyrnlicor* B also has the comparative ('geornlicor', Morris, 215/17). A has 'geornlice' (Scragg, 295/69). The Latin has superlative 'diligentissime' (Fontaine, 258/8). The use of the comparative form to intensify an adverb seems unusual in OE.

76 *mid swa cuðre stefne* The Latin is 'clara uoce' (Fontaine, 258/10). B shares C's reading (Morris, 215/21). A has 'mid switolre stefne' (Scragg, 295/72). Although *BT* gives an instance of 'cupre stefne', s.v. 'cup' sense III, in that case the OE translates Latin 'familiari ... uoce'. Though 'cup' can have the Modern English equivalent 'clear', it seems that usually the sense is 'evident, manifest', and the present use of 'cup' to refer to clarity of sound is unusual. *DOE* gives no separate entry for an adjective 'cup', treating the word as only past participle of 'cunnan'; s.v.

'gecup' *DOE* gives only sense 'known. famous', and gives one queried instance of an adverb 'cupe', 'clearly', but with the sense 'clearly to the intelligence'. Of the several instances of 'cuð' in B, there is one instance where the word is used of the physical senses, but there it is of sight not hearing: 'heora eagum aa se weg wære up to heofonum cup to locienne' (Morris, Homily XI, 125/28-9). Again at line 79 BC have 'swiðe cuð' and A has 'sweotol', but there the words are more certainly synonymous (no equivalent in the Latin). At line 160, where BC have 'hie swutolice ... ongætton' (Morris, 219/36, 'sweotollice ... ongeaton') A has a corrupt reading 'he swa cuðe' (Scragg, 299/152), behind which, it is possible, may lie an unusual use of adverb 'cuðe'.

77 nu ðu eart gecristnod ær his fulwihte 'gecristnod ær his fulwihte' renders the Latin 'adhuc catechumenus' (Fontaine, 258/11). In the Latin and in A Christ's speech is in the third person (Scragg, 295/73-4). Like C, B has the speech addressed to Martin, and for C 'his' B has 'þinum' (Morris, 215/22).

89 on oferhyðig ahafen. on mænnisc. wundor The Latin is '[non] in gloriam est elatus humanum' (Fontaine, 258/18-19). A has '... ne in mennisce wuldore' (Scragg, 296/81-2), and the conjunction seems to be required. B lacks the conjunction: 'on mennisc wuldor' (Morris, 215/33). Though AB 'wuldor' translates Latin 'gloria' more exactly than does 'wundor' in C, C's reading is perhaps less difficult than AB's. One might wonder whether 'on oferhyðig' was meant to replace 'on mennisc wuldor'. I follow Scragg in accepting the form 'oferhydig' (AB 'oferhygd') as a noun: see Vercelli Homily II, Scragg, 60/71 and Commentary note.

92 beforan ær ðam. iii. gær. gecristnod The abbreviation mark for 'm' of 'ðam' may be added. 'ðam' is presumably to be read as a neuter demonstrative pronoun, referring to the occasion of Martin's baptism, with 'iii. gær' an example of the accusative of extent of time (see Mitchell, *OE Syntax*, para.1383). In A and B 'ðam' appears as 'þa': 'beforan ær (A ær beforan) þa þreo gear', and 'beforan ær' appears to be an adverbial phrase, with 'þa þreo gear' the accusative of extent of time (Scragg, 296/84, Morris, 215/35-6). The C reading seems to resolve an ambiguity whereby either 'beforan' or 'ær' wants, as it were, to be a preposition before the demonstrative adjective 'þa'.

94 forlet he ealne ðane wyroldfolgoð ænne A has 'forlet ... an' (Scragg, 296/85). B has 'forlet ...' (Morris, 215/36-217/1). The reading in A is presumably based on the infinitive

'anforlætan', and the separated intensifying prefix takes on an adverbial function (*cp.* Mitchell, *OE Syntax*, I, paras 1060-80). In none of the examples in *BT* and *Supp.* s.v. 'anforlætan' is 'an-' separated. The Latin is simply 'relicta militia' (Fontaine, 262/3). In the *C* reading the verb 'anforlætan' seems not to have been recognized and 'an' is perceived as an adjective, possibly analogously to e.g. 'deadne forleton' at line 146. See also line 156 and note below.

98 eac ðan ða ... A has '7 eac þan þe ðæt eaðdæde wæs þa ...' (Scragg, 296/89-90). B has 'to eacan þon þe ...' (Morris, 217/5). The *C* reading appears to preserve the state of the text with omission of 'þe ðæt eaðdæde wæs', which is required for full sense. The omission error is also in the *B* text, and I cannot see that the *B* reading is quite successful in restoring sense. The *C* reading is further corrupted by the error 'selfne' for 'self'. There is no equivalent in the Latin.

101 be gewyrhtum. ymbe drihtnes lare There may be a sense 'true to the Lord's teaching in his deeds', but if so the expression seems very unclear. B has the same reading (Morris, 217/9). A has 'biwyrde in dryhtnes lare' (Scragg, 296/93): 'biwyrde' is not a word otherwise recorded, but it seems possible that there was some such word meaning 'eloquent' (see Scragg's note and glossary entry, and *cp.* the note in Szarmach, *Vercelli Homilies IX-XXIII*, p.64). There is no equivalent in the Latin.

108 ealle. iii. gær The Latin is 'triduum' (Fontaine, 266/26). The error is not in *B*, which has 'ealle þry dagas' (Morris, 217/17). A has 'ealle dogor' (Scragg, 297/100).

109 ða gemette he ðane man. forðferendne The Latin is 'exanime corpus inuenit' (Fontaine, 266/26). A and B have '... forðferedne' (Scragg, 297/101, Morris, 217/18). In *C* present for past participle is certainly error, but the reading still has sense, that Martin found the man dying, who then suddenly ('færlice') died unbaptized, though of course it is not proper that a saint should have permitted such a thing to happen.

111-12 swa unrote wæran. ymbe þæt lic 'ymbe' is ambiguous, either local 'around the body', or figurative 'about the body'. A has 'swa unrote leton ymbe þæt lic, 7 hie utan stodon' (Scragg, 297/103-4). B has 'swa unrote ymb þæt lic utan stoda' (Morris, 217/20-1). The brothers are inside the dead man's cell, as is clear from lines 116-17, and 'utan' in the *A* reading is

inappropriate. Confusion may have arisen if there were an original preposition 'ymbutan', which may have been divided, as in the B reading, which may then be original in this particular.

113-14 wæs him ... wyrce 'was painful to him'. At lines 139 and 261 the usage includes the preposition 'on': at line 139 'on' is a superscript addition, seemingly by the copyist. A and B have the preposition only in the last instance, where in A 'on' is superscript. (Scragg, 306/260, Morris, 225/28). See Mitchell, *OE Syntax*, I, para.1409.

119 A has 'para dryhtnes mildheortnesse' (Scragg, 297/112) for Latin 'misericordiae Domini' (Fontaine, 268/9). B shares the C text omission of 'dryhtnes'.

unforht A has 'unforhtlice' and the adverb seems preferable to the adjective in C. However, C's reading probably represents the Latin, where the adjective is 'intrepidus'. B has 'unsorh' (Morris, 217/29).

120 astyrodan for 'astyrode'.

125 lyfiende The participle is inflected in B, 'lifgendne' (Morris, 217/36). *Cp.* note to line 109, above.

131 oðer wundor. ðisse anlicnesse 'ðisse anlicnesse' is presumably genitive, and the Modern English translation suggests itself 'another miracle of the same kind'. On the difficulties of classifying descriptive and partitive genitives, see Mitchell, *OE Syntax*, I, paras 1288-1303. I take the reading in C <sup>to</sup> <sub>Λ</sub> to be grammatically sound, though A and B have instead 'oðer wundor þissum onlic' (Scragg, 298/124, Morris, 219/7). Similar sentences are at lines 179 and 209 (Scragg, 300/168 and 302/200, Morris, 221/18 and 223/13-14). In the first of these the C reading agrees with that in A and B, 'þissum onlic', except that C has 'gelic'. At line 209, A has 'þyssum onlic' again, but B has 'ðæm onlic, and C has 'ðæs anlicnesse'. There is an appearance that the adjective 'onlic' has been rejected in the tradition represented by C, and that the variation of the reading in B at line 209 has been imperfectly executed ('ðæs' for 'ðære').

137 <sup>a</sup> <sub>Λ</sub> ermlice deað geswolten. þæt ... B has '...deaðe ... swa þæt ..' (Scragg, 298/129; A lacks a leaf). I find both readings difficult.

awyrge B has 'awyrde', 'destroyed', but the C reading is correct: *BT* and *Supp.* attest a verb 'awyrge', 'to strangle', and the Latin is 'laqueo [with a noose] sibi uitam extorsisse' (Fontaine, 270/5-6).

- 138 **earmlice** B has 'earmlicne', agreeing with 'deað', which is preferable to the adverb in C.
- 155 **foresetnesse** The Latin is 'propositum' which Fontaine translates 'profession' (Fontaine, 274/2).
- 156 **an ne forlet** In view of the separated prefix 'an' in the verb 'anforlætan' in the A reading at line 94 (see note above), I print 'an ne', though 'anne' could be read for adjective 'ane', accusative plural agreeing with 'þæt mægen. 7 ða foresetenesse' in line 155. B has 'anforlet' (Scragg, 299/148: A lacks a leaf).
- 159-60 **his larum gelyfan** The reading in B is perhaps more apt: 'his larum fylgean', 'follow his teaching' (Morris, 219/36). A has 'his lare lufian' (Scragg, 299/151-2). There is no corresponding Latin.
- 168, 171, 172, 173, 176 **legt** A 'lig', B 'leg'. *BT* s.v. 'liget' gives only the meaning 'lightning' for the form in C.
- 209 **ðæs** for 'ðære' or 'ðisse'; see note to line 131 above.
- 229 **ne he ... gedemde. ne he wite ne nam** The sense of the latter clause seems to be 'nor did he (wrongfully) exact any penalty'. A has 'ne ne witnode', 'nor punished' (Scragg, 303/217), which seems preferable. B has nothing corresponding (Morris, 223/32), and has 'fordemde' for 'gedemde' in C, 'demde' in A. The Latin is 'neminem iudicans, neminem damnans' (Fontaine, 314/6-7).
- 230 **geræhte** It can hardly be ascertained whether 'gereccan' or 'geræcan' is the verb here. Neither verb suggests an obvious translation, but both are attested in a range of senses, the nearest being *BTSupp.* s.v. 'gereccan' sense VI, 'to reprove, reproach', but one wonders whether this sense is merely incidental to context. Thus *BTSupp.*, *ibid.*, gives the example 'æfter þam þe þa wif hie swa scondlice geræht hæfdon' (now Bately, *OE Orosius*, p.33, lines 23-4), but *BT* gives the same example s.v. 'geræcan', and translates 'geræht' as 'addressed'. The Latin is 'uidit' (Fontaine, 314/13). A has 'geseah', B has 'funde' (Scragg, 303/218, Morris, 223/34). It may be that C preserves an error 'geræhte' for 'geseah', but sense may not have been altogether lost in the error: a translation, no less awkward than the OE may have been, could be 'no one accounted him angry ...'



230-1 heofonlicne blis for AB 'heofonlice blisse'. *MCOE* shows only one instance of masculine 'blis', 'se lytla blis' in Vercelli Homily IV, but this is probably due to copyist error (Scragg, 91/9 and Commentary note). At line 160 'blisse' is accusative feminine.

235 gecyðed hæfde so also in A, but in B the verb is used transitively, 'þæt gecyðed hæfde' (Scragg, 304/224, Morris, 225/3-4).

247 sarlice geberdan B has '... gebærdon', A has '... gebærdon for heora hlaforde' (Scragg, 305/247, Morris, 225/14). Scragg glosses 'gebæran' 'weep', though *BT* gives only sense 'bear oneself, behave' (*Supp.* cites the B reading). The reading with 'for heora hlaforde' in A seems to require the sense 'grieve', but the reading in BC could have the sense 'behaved sorrowfully'. For preceding 'weopan' in A and C, B has 'wæran ... unrote', suggesting that 'weopan' has been avoided because 'wepan' and 'gebæran' could be exactly synonymous. The sentence, line 247, renders the Latin 'tum uero maeror et luctus omnium et uox una plangentium', with three words with sense 'grieve, lament'.

250 In B the Latin (not in A) does not interrupt the OE and correctly cites the source, 'Cur nos, pater, deseris? aut cui nos desolatos relinquis?' (Morris, 225/15-16, Fontaine, 338/18-19).

252 gif ðu hie ne scyldest All three copies have 'hie' here, where 'us' would avoid ambiguity. The Latin has 'nos' (Fontaine, 338/20).

255 ða he ða ðas word gespræc. 7 ðis gehyrde The only way this reading can fit the context is if 'ðas word' is understood to refer back to 'heom sæde þæt he ða forðferan sceolde' at lines 245-6. A's reading is more apt: 'ða he ða heora spræce þyllice gehyrde' (Scragg, 305/254). B shares C's reading, but lacks '7 ðis gehyrde' (Morris, 225/21).

263-4 þæt he ðane gesawe Whether 'ðane' is read 'ða ne', as it may be in A (Scragg, 306/262), or as an accusative masculine demonstrative as it appears in B ('þone', Morris, 225/29), or even as a misspelling of 'ðanne', there seems to be a failure of sense here. Napier, 'Notes on the *Blickling Homilies*', *Modern Philology*, 1 (1903-4), p.307, suggested that 'ða' in A and C is a feminine demonstrative referring to 'onsyne', while Szarmach, *Vercelli Homilies IX-XXIII*, p.66, seems to favour B's reading, with 'þone' referring to Christ and with lack of negation, but both these seem forced readings. The first part of the sentence, lines 261-3, 'wæs ... wyrce', loosely renders the Latin 'nimirum inter spem maeroremque positus dubitauit paene quid mallet', while

the 'ge ... ge ...' clauses (the first of which is lacking in B) render the sense of the rest of the Latin sentence completely: 'quia nec hos deserere nec a Christo uolebat diutius separari' (Fontaine, 340/3-5). A participle (e.g. 'gedæled') might be expected after 'wære', but 'þæt he ðane gesawe' is too long to be a corruption of a single word.

274-5 *ðæs ðe ... gewinnan meahte* B has 'þæs þe he ...' (Scragg, 306/272; A lacks a leaf), but 'gewin', line 273, could serve as subject of 'gewinnan meahte' through the relative 'ðæs ðe'.

However, I find 'ðæs ðe' syntactically difficult in both B and C readings.

281-2 *7 ðanne he reste ...* The sentence renders the Latin 'nobili illo strato suo in cinere et cilicio recubans' (Fontaine, 340/23-4). B also has 'earan' for 'hæran' (= 'cilicio'; Scragg, 307/279; A lacks a leaf).

283 *discipulos* B has the same spelling.

284 *strætnessa* B has 'streownesse' (Scragg, 307/280; A lacks a leaf). The Latin is 'stramenta' (Fontaine, 340/25). *BT* gives two instances of a feminine noun 'stræt' meaning 'bed', noting 'from Latin' ('stratus'). 'Strætness' could, therefore, be a genuine word meaning 'bedding'.

286 *þæt he elcora swa he efne ...* In B the reading is 'þæt he elles do butan swa he efne ... licge' (Scragg, 307/282-3; A lacks a leaf). The whole sentence, line 285, renders the Latin "'non decet ... christianum nisi in cinere mori'" (Fontaine, 340/26) and it may not therefore be postulated that the B reading, with 'licge', lies behind C's reading, though the latter certainly lacks an original verb rendering 'mori'. An elliptical expression, without the B text 'do butan', may not be exceptional.

298 [*bestia*] The manuscript reading 'ura', with abbreviation mark mistakenly placed over '-a', probably stands for 'uestra', as Szarmach, *Vercelli Homilies IX-XXIII*, p.67, suggests, misread from 'bestia'. The Latin source has 'bestia', and continues 'nihil in me, funeste, reperies' (Fontaine, 342/9). B, like C, has 'reperes', but lacks 'funeste' (C 'finiste'), which Fontaine translates 'maudit!'; 'funeste' is not represented in the OE.

305 [:::]:] Scragg supplies 'wyrold' (308/298), but other spellings are, of course, possible. *ofogelet* It seems impossible to account for this form, and I cannot improve on Scragg's suggestion that the 'ge-' prefix has intruded into an otherwise unrecorded verb, infinitive 'ofalætān' (see Scragg's Commentary note to his line 298). 'ofo' is at the beginning of a

manuscript line and the end of the preceding line is lost due to membrane damage. Napier, 'Notes on the Blickling Homilies', p.308, notes 'hoho"?' , but without comment.

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winne þætere zeyonne. þ̅þ̅umost  
 þ̅mble eceþ eader þ̅uican inþlype  
 þ̅iohine. Donne zet zretel 7 to  
 epyð. þ̅elþe zoda lichoma. þ̅orþam  
 þ̅ume haþæt medonne zedon þ̅æt  
 ic eam māne mane zum þ̅idum  
 þ̅ara micclra zoda. deniþ ænizeþ  
 manneþ muþeþ zemet. þ̅þ̅ aþetzan  
 māze. nenægeþ manneþ mod. þ̅æt  
 hit adæncen cunne. h̅ilce þ̅æze  
 þ̅ean eūon þ̅ezod zezæþpod haþad  
 eallum dam mānum þ̅ehine heþ  
 onþ uþulde lufiāð. 7 lufian þ̅illað.  
 þ̅u eapit haliz lichoma. 7 þ̅æþem  
 þ̅epende. 7 þ̅ueapit zodeþ huf. þ̅orþ  
 ðam þ̅ezod þ̅unap onþam 7 eapðad  
 ðeþiþ beþodu þ̅ylzaþ. 7 healdap.  
 þ̅uræne. þ̅rceapþurce. þ̅cyr þ̅ex.  
 þ̅orþon þ̅ucūdeþe. þ̅yūna þ̅eþþam

aceopþ  
 þ̅eo þ̅a  
 lichom  
 7 ænzle  
 zemed  
 danun  
 heapþ  
 lufiþ  
 þ̅on ic  
 micclū  
 þ̅reþe  
 blecþe  
 þ̅icmū  
 ðateop  
 zear  
 z̅rean  
 ærþeþ  
 h̅yadē  
 habþa







þanne heo oþðam lichaman. ganzed.  
 se oþon sidum heobid beoþ hire. þanne  
 sunne. 7 þahalzan godes ænzlas. hie  
 lædad to paradysum. 7 þanne epyð seo  
 saul. to ðam ænglum. þe hie lædad.  
 eala mycel is ðeos blis. þe ic on zela  
 dad eam. Ond þanne andspeyzead.  
 hire. þa ænzlas. 7 cpeðad maýre blis  
 þe is on heofonum. zezeaypad. Ond  
 þanne seo saul eft coed micel is þe  
 þrym. þe þe on synðan. 7 þanne. and  
 speyzead. hie þa ænzlas. 7 cpeðad  
 þu cymest. fulaef to maran. þrym  
 me. and þanne epyð seo saul. þryð  
 dan side. mycel is þis leohc þe ic on  
 eam. Ond þanne andspeyzead. hie þa  
 þa ænzlas. 7 cpeðad þu zeme est. ma  
 ye leohc min. Ond þanne þanne  
 þahalzan ænzlas. 7 cpeðad. zezeaypad.

þan 7 beo  
 zode on heofonum  
 to ðære sylf  
 weplebimur  
 Du sylf þu  
 ðinum huse  
 zode ðin huse  
 7 þe 7 þu  
 neffe. Ond  
 eft be ðære  
 eardu sylf  
 ðiner eard  
 ðe 7 þe  
 zode þillan  
 ner. þe ðe.





quod inflam mabit. ma due sƿapud.  
 he cƿad. eala in dale cƿer tan. hu eop  
 ƿƿ eondƿadan ne. ƿedaz ƿede dƿuh  
 ten on cymed to eop. mid ƿyner. lizum  
 he don ƿop bapned. ealle hu ƿa ƿider  
 ƿapdan. ƿƿon ƿepad ƿƿide biceƿlice  
 ealle dade nudod. unƿiht ƿƿ ne ƿe.  
 ƿƿon mazon elle eoplice man. ze  
 ƿeon. ealra cƿninga cƿning. cumende  
 aƿer heoponar. ƿolcnu. mid hu dān  
 mictan dƿym me. ƿƿon beod ealle  
 ze cƿer ƿƿide on hƿer ƿede. be ƿo  
 ƿan him. heafon. bið ze ƿealdan  
 on dā cīd ƿƿapra bið. ƿƿe bið  
 ad ƿuzod. ze alle ze cƿer ƿeod on  
 hƿer ƿede. ƿƿunne. bið ze hƿy ƿeod  
 on deoƿer ƿo. ƿmona ne ƿeod.

hu leohc. ƿƿe  
 heofonū. ze all  
 bið on hƿer ƿeod.  
 ma zda ze ƿeod  
 ƿƿ ƿeo haliz  
 ƿop dƿer ƿode  
 eall. deƿ mid  
 eƿne ƿƿan h.  
 beod abtende.  
 ƿon ƿem ycla.  
 cymed to dān  
 ƿer ƿzan ze ƿe  
 aƿ oƿer. hoz  
 dan. noldan.  
 hu aƿizlar. c  
 mid dan ze ap  
 node

Fol. 44v  
Hand B

deced. omnia vicit omnia et nos cedamur omnia  
omn on omnia

ƿær zode dælan ðam ðe  
hyre hadar mid dænenre  
healdad. ƿoder lof mid  
rihte began ƿillad. ƿare  
lafeop. ƿl bead ſman zoder  
æ. mid rihte rehte æt  
zoder cypicean. ƿære qy  
medan. ze læpede ze ze ha  
dode. ſamære ƿuor tar.  
ðe zoder cypicena lafeop  
ƿar beod. ſhyra ſpirt  
bec mid rihte tahton.  
lærdon. ƿar ƿa he ure  
ƿæderar ær tahton.

teridre  
nde  
uibu  
Su  
p. An  
et ce omnia  
et nos cedamur  
omnia  
omni  
omni

Amc  
Amc  
ƿære mæ  
dize. ne  
eze. ne  
ner lup  
ſimle  
zif he ƿil  
mar. ze  
beon to  
manni  
pancia  
na. for  
ſhe hy  
ſhe ſe  
ſman