GUTHLAC:

an edition of the Old English prose life

together with the poems in
the Exeter Book

[HT 1967]
I. General Introduction

1. Vita sancti Guthlacii
   a. Date
   b. Felix
   c. Sources
   d. Originality of Felix
   e. Date of Guthlac's death

2. The foundation of Crowland Abbey

3. The poems of the Exeter Book
   a. Guthlac A
   b. Guthlac B
   c. Brief comparison

4. The Old English prose translation of the Vita

5. Other pre-Thurkytel evidence for the cult

6. The Benedictine Abbey of Crowland
   a. Thurkytel's foundation at Crowland
   b. A note on the later history of the Abbey

7. Elaboration of the Guthlac Legend at Crowland

8. The cult outside Crowland from the tenth century church reformation onwards

9. Enlargement of minor figures of the cult

10. A note on interest in Guthlac in the modern world
II PROSE LIFE

1 account of the Latin text
   a earlier editions of the Vita
   b choice of Vita text
   c short description of Corpus Christi College Cambridge 389

2 account of the Old English text
   a history of the manuscript of the Old English Life
      and of Laud Miscellany 509
   b short description of the manuscript
   c fuller account of Cotton Vespasian D iii, folios 18–40
   d a note on Richard James's interest in the Old English Life of Guthlac
   e Aelfric and the translation of the Old English Life of Guthlac
   f the Vercelli Book homily

3 critical discussion of the Vita
   a earlier criticism of the Life
   b common ancestry of Life and Homily
   c brief comparison of Homily and Life lines 228–370
   d summary of striking differences between Life and Homily

4 language
   A introduction
   B vowels of accented syllables
   C vowels of unaccented syllables (with notes on accidence)
   D consonants
   E summary of phonological features of Homily
   F vocabulary
   G syntactical notes
   H summary

TEXTS
commentary
glossaries for Life and Homily
III  THE  GUTHLAC  POEMS

1  account  of  the  Guthlac  material  of  the  Exeter  Book  and  of  earlier  editions  of  these  poems
   a  earlier  editions  of  the  Guthlac  poems  58
   b  the  manuscript  67
   c  the  extent  of  the  two  Guthlac  poems  76

2  introduction  to  the  poems
   a  the  sources  of  Guthlac  A  77
   b  the  unity  of  Guthlac  A  776
   c  a  note  on  the  date  of  Guthlac  A  746
   d  Guthlac  B  750

3  metre  of  the  poems
   with  table  of  scansion  777

4  language
   A  introduction  836
   B  vowels  of  accented  syllables  836
   C  vowels  of  unaccented  syllables  (with  notes  on  accidence)  853
   D  consonants  853
   E  vocabulary  869
   F  notes  on  certain  forms  874
   G  syntactical  notes  874
   H  summary  879

TEXTS

commentary  947

1178
APPENDICES

1 St Bertellin of Stafford

2 checklist of Vita texts and other mediaeval Guthlac materials

3 list of persons in the Vita

4 abbreviations used in this thesis

5 bibliography
I

GENERAL

INTRODUCTION
In the early part of the eighth century a certain Felix, catholice congregationis vernaculus, put together materials about Saint Guthlac for the East Anglian king Aelfwald; this life is the primary source for all our knowledge of the saint. King Aelfwald ruled from about 713 A.D. to 749, the date of his death thus providing the terminus ad quem for Felix’s composition of the Vita. At the time Felix wrote two of Guthlac’s friends were, he tells us, still alive, an abbot called Wilfrid and the hermit Cissa who followed the saint in the cell at Crowland, and also many others who had known the saint less well. Yet, as we do not know either when Wilfrid and Cissa died or when Felix met them, this information cannot help us to narrow the upper limit of composition. It seems however to be B. Colgrave’s major piece of evidence for placing the Vita before 740 A.D.

A firmer terminus a quo is possible. Felix tells us that Guthlac died in 714 (the date given in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle), that he was translated (for the first time) twelve months later and that Aethelbald of Mercia visited his sepulchre sometime in the year

1Vita 4 2Vita 4, 7ff., 387 ff., and 1025 ff. 3Colgrave 1956, p. 19  See Appendix 2, section 7/b
before his accession to the Mercian throne in 716. In his chapter about Aethelbald's visit to Crowland after Guthlac's death Felix ends with a sentence which implies that Aethelbald has been king for a considerable time:

Ex illo enim tempore usque in hodiernum diem: infulata regni ipsius felicitas per tempora consequentia de die in diem crescebat; 1278

Felix, in his final chapter, relates a miracle which happened at Guthlac's tomb as an example of the saint's strength and merits even when dead and buried presentem ad usque diem, but there is no indication of when this miracle took place. Felix's indebtedness to Bede's prose life of St Cuthbert, shown both in close word for word correspondences and in the borrowing of entire sentence patterns, helps fix the terminus a quo not earlier than 721, that is not earlier than the recognised terminus ad quem for Bede's prose life of Cuthbert.

It is often argued that Felix's life of Guthlac cannot have been written before Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica because Bede, although interested in Mercian and East Anglian history, makes no reference either to Guthlac or to Crowland. However, there are other notable omissions from Bede's history and it would not be surprising therefore if he omitted a local saint (whose life may not have been written up) from outside the Northumbrian area. The early documentation for Mercian affairs available to him was slight it seems for, apart from

---

1 Vita 1284
2 Colgrave 1956, p. 19
3 Meissner 1929, p. 131

points out that Bede's main concern is with Northumbria, though important also is the connection between Northumbria and the Augustinian mission.
the Chad material which he himself tells us was furnished by the monks of Lastingham, his details of early Mercian events seem for the most part to have been derived from Northumbrian records. His knowledge of East Anglian affairs seems even slighter than his knowledge of Mercia and, despite his acknowledgment of the help given him by an otherwise unknown Abbot Esi, it is unlikely that any great body of material was sent him from that region or indeed that any trustworthy body of historical material was available in East Anglia. The *Vita Sancti Guthlaci*, although dedicated to an East Anglian ruler, shares with the *Historia Ecclesiastica* an ignorance of East Anglian events.

Bede’s omission of all reference to Guthlac may therefore reflect only the unsatisfactory nature of early records available to him from East Anglia and the content of the *Vita Sancti Guthlaci* supports the implication to be drawn from Bede that chronographic materials for seventh century East Anglia probably did not exist. At any rate, his omission of the saint is negative evidence and cannot be taken as firm proof for the date of composition of the *Vita Sancti Guthlaci* after 731 A.D. or even 735. Against such argument indeed can be set the fact that Felix seems not to have depended upon the *Historia Ecclesiastica* as he did on Bede’s earlier writings. With these considerations in mind it becomes obvious that the attractive dates of 730-40 put forward for Felix’s life of Guthlac by B. Colgrave and now
confidently cited by later writers\textsuperscript{1} should perhaps be extended about nine years at either end, that is eighteen years in all, to a. 721-49\textsuperscript{2}.

\textbf{FELIX}

It has in modern times generally been considered curious that Felix’s life of Guthlac should have been written at the request of an East Anglian king, for Crowland was in the earlier part of the eighth century a part of Mercia\textsuperscript{3}. Observation of this sort may have prompted Mabillon’s mistaken heading for the prologue of the Vita:

\begin{quote}
Prologus ad regem Ethelbaldum\textsuperscript{4}
\end{quote}

but there is no need to be surprised that the life was commissioned by an East Anglian and not a Mercian ruler. Not only was Crowland in the borderland area between these two kingdoms, but a daughter of Aelfwald’s predecessor, Ecgberh daughter of Aldwulf, is credited with having sent to the saint a coffin and winding-cloth. This interest in the saint of an East Anglian princess may, although she was by then abbess of Repton, have been communicated to Aelfwald.\textsuperscript{6}

\textsuperscript{1} e.g. by Loyn 1962, p. 287 \hspace{1cm} \textsuperscript{2} allowing the dates to be extended again to include the latest dating for the Vita put forward by Liebermann to between 747-9 (1900, p. 86) \hspace{1cm} \textsuperscript{3} Darby 1940, p. 9
\textsuperscript{4} For an account of the ensuing discussion see Commentary note for Life 2 Vita chapter 46 and see Appendix 3 under Aelfwald especially if, as is suggested below, she was a close relation of Aelfwald; see also Appendix 3
The latest editor of the Vita makes several interesting speculations about Felix:

It is clear that Felix was either an East Angle or at least living in East Anglia when this was written, for besides this dedication he refers to another king, Aldwulf (p. xlviii), without mentioning the fact that he was king of the East Angles. Felix was certainly a monk and perhaps he lived in one of the seven monasteries which Elfwald spoke of to Boniface, but we do not know which one. Why Elfwald should have asked for the Life of a Mercian saint is not clear, though possibly, because Crowland was on the borderland, it was of interest to both.¹

Why should Felix have mentioned that Aldwulf was an East Anglian king? After all he was writing the Vita for the man who succeeded Aldwulf, either his brother or his son². Ecgburg was at any rate the daughter of his predecessor and presumably therefore a close relation. This woman became abbess of Repton during Guthlac's life at Crowland and is given much attention in the life, more than is Aelfthryth, abbess during the two years of Guthlac's training at Repton and the presumed foundress of that monastery³. B. Colgrave has however cleared up the great confusion which earlier produced such declamations as:

To whom should a monk of Croyland dedicate the life of his patron saint rather than to the founder of his house.⁴

Unfortunately he also errs in building too much upon the slight evidence

¹Colgrave 1956, p. 16 ²Plummer 1896, II. p. 107 thinks Alfwald may have been Aldwulf's half-brother, but the genealogy listed in Sweet 1885, p. 171 reads Aelfwald Alduulfing. See further Appendix 3.
³See notes for Life 141 and 706 and Appendix 3 for these women; it is only fair to add here that Felix may have passed over Aelfthryth tactfully.
⁴Plummer 1896, II. p. xxvii
he can cite. He shows that the *Vita* was dedicated to Aelfwald of East Anglia and not to Aethelbald of Mercia, but there is no evidence for his assumption that Felix was an East Anglian.

The tradition that Felix was a monk of Crowland is also very unlikely, especially as there is a lack of any convincing documentary evidence for the existence of an important monastic settlement at Crowland before the Benedictine revival of the latter part of the tenth century. Certainly Felix makes no clear reference to such a monastery, but tells us that in his day Cissa was anchorite at Crowland. There is nothing in his chapter about Aethelbald's vision to indicate that the Mercian king had by the time of the writing of the *Vita* founded a monastery at Crowland and the final chapter may describe only an oratory. Little can be deduced from the phrase in which Felix calls himself *catholice congregationis uernaculus*, beyond the recognition of his vocation, for the words appear also in a preface written by a contemporary, Aldhelm, whose style Felix obviously greatly admired, and the words may be no more than a conventional phrase in such writings. There is indeed scarcely anything in the preface to Felix's life of Guthlac which cannot be paralleled in some earlier text. His method of composition has, so far as this aspect of it is concerned, been well described by Kurtz who could:

".. almost see Felix at work, with the *Vita Antonii*, the *Vita Cuthberti*, and the *Dialogi Gregorii* open before"

---

1See 1.2 for further discussion of this problem. 2Colgrave 1956, p. 15
him, and perhaps the Vita Martini as well, while with the plan and spirit of the Antonius as model he pieces out the details of the Guthlac oral tradition with passages and phrases from his four manuscripts, drawing at first most largely from Evagrius, later most often from Bede.¹

Colgrave calls this preface a 'tissue of quotations'² and gives for the preface alone an even longer list of sources than do Conser and Kurtz; the major sources identified by him are usefully summarised in the introduction to his edition of the Vita³. All we know about Felix is to be deduced from the Vita itself. We recognise that he was widely read and that he constructed an instructive biography which remained popular even after the twelfth century simplified revisions were in circulation.

⁰ SOURCES

Felix pieced out the details of Guthlac's life so thoroughly with borrowings still recognisable that today we are in danger of wondering if the saint ever existed. Yet, there are within the Vita some indications of the nature of the material from which he worked. A very striking break in his narrative occurs at line 385 and, near the beginning of the chapter which begins here, he declares that he will tell of Guthlac's story:

¹Kurtz 1926, p. 126 ²Colgrave 1956, p. 51 ³Ibid, pp. 16-17
These words imply that for many the main events in the story of Guthlac began with his arrival at Crowland, an implication noted by B.

Colgrave:

In fact it is pretty clear that Felix regarded the part preceding as a kind of prologue to the Vita proper which only begins with the establishment of the saint on the island which is to be the seat of his warfare.  

It is worth adding that the homilist who excerpted material from the Old English translation of the Vita chose not to include any of the preceding materials of the life in his sermon, but begins just after these introductory words of Felix. Further support may be found for this identification of the beginning of the main episodes in the Guthlac legend when the problem of the two feasts for St Bartholomew mentioned by Felix is reexamined.

According to Felix Guthlac first arrived at the island of Crowland:

\[ \text{et siuis temporibus die quo missa sancti bartholomei} \]
\[ \text{uenerari debet.} \]

and, having looked about the island, he went back to Repton to report on his chosen hermitage and to make preparations for living there. He stayed at Repton three or four months, before leaving to settle permanently at Crowland. On his second journey from Repton to Crowland two youths accompanied him. Now Felix tells us:

\[^{1}\text{Colgrave 1956, p. 182}\]
\[^{2}\text{See further II.3/b and III.2/a}\]
Dein peracto itinere: die .viii. kalendariu septembrium quo sancti Bartholomei sollemnitas celebrari solet: in cuius suffragio omnia incerta heremi habitandi ex divina providentia incoauerat crugland peruenit; 361

Felix's apparent inconsistency here has worried many editors of the Vita. The Bollandists¹ avoid the problem by omitting altogether from their text in the **Vita Sanctorum** the sentence:

Contigit enim divina dispensante providentia ut astuis temporibus die quo missa sancti Bartholomei uenerari debet insulam crugland beatus glpac deuenisset: cui in sancti Bartholomei auxiliis cum omni fiducia heremum habitare coeoperat; 345

Pointing out this omission, B. Colgrave notes:

It is strange that Guthlac should be said to have reached Crowland on his first visit on a feast of St Bartholomew. This must have been three or four months before his permanent settlement which in c. xxvii is stated to have been on Aug. 25th. But so far as I am aware there never has been a feast of St Bartholomew in April or May. 2

St Bartholomew's feast, now celebrated on August 24th, was celebrated on August 25th until the end of the eleventh century. Both sentences, apparently conflicting, which mention his feast occur in all the extant versions of the Vita by Felix and in the Old English translation from it.

¹ Note (e) on p. 43 of their edition ends ... ideoque hac, ut alieno loco intrusa, e textu removimus.

² Colgrave 1556, p. 181; there is no record of a feast for St Bartholomew any time in April or May other than this passage. The eastern church held June 11th as his festival and some orthodox sects dates in November or December. There is no reason to believe that two feast days were celebrated ever for him in England. See Caecil and Leolero II, column 500, and Appendix 3.
If we regard line 385 as the true beginning of the Vita materials available to Felix, it is easy to see how the apparent inconsistency over St Bartholomew's day crept into Felix's account of Guthlac. The chapter which immediately precedes this second part of the life summarises all that has gone before. It makes two specific statements only: that Guthlac was twenty-six when he became an anchorite; and that he finished his journey and reached Crowland on St Bartholomew's day, August 25th. The rest of the chapter is an amalgam of Biblical texts and eulogy of the saint. Felix draws upon Ephesians vi. 11-17, Romans viii. 30, xi. 33 and Acts ix for much of his imagery and phraseology, and increases Guthlac's stature by comparing him with St Paul the apostle. Thus, although the two references to St Bartholomew's feast appear to contradict one another, the second is merely a repetition of the first in a summary. This duplication can have present little difficulty to mediaeval readers of the Vita, for it appears in all the extant manuscripts. By line 385 Felix has written up an early life for the saint, ending it with an effusive summary, and he now turns his attention to the solitaria vita\(^1\) of Guthlac. He again begins by referring to his chief authorities, Wilfrid and Cissa, declaring that he will relate what they have told him in the order in which he heard it from them. This assertion suggests that the preceding chapters of the life are of much less importance than those which are about to begin.

If we look now at the Vercelli Book homily on Guthlac, we find that the extract from the Old English translation, as well as beginning

\(^1\)\textit{Vita} 387
at this point in the Vita, ends in a curious way:

\[
\text{he he ða se ðadiga weor his ðone getrywan freond geseah ða wæs he mid gastlicre gefeannesæ 7 on heofonscundre blisse swîðe gefeonde 7 þæ after þam fleah se haliga gudlac mid þam apostole sancte bartholomei to heofona rices wuldre 7 hine se halend þær onfeng 7 he þær leofað 7 rixap in heofona rices wuldre a butan ende on ecnesse } \quad \text{amen fiæt:} 7
\]

These lines should be compared with:

Sanctus uero guthlacus aduentum fidelissimi auxiliatoris sui persentiens. spiritali lætitia repletus gauisus est; Tuno deinde bartholomeus cateruis eatellitum iubet ut illum in locum suum cum magna quietudine sine ulla offensionis molestia reducerent;

Whereas the translator of the Vita follows on with the material presented by Felix, as the Life shows, the homilist diverges from Felix at the point where Guthlac is rejoiced by the appearance of Bartholomew and with the clauses following his swîðe gefeonde provides a separate ending for his extract. It cannot be said that the homilist is here anticipating Felix’s account of Guthlac’s death, for Bartholomew plays no part in that scene. However, it is possible that the homilist knew some account of Guthlac’s life which ended with his being taken to heaven by Bartholomew immediately after the journey to the gates of hell. Certainly similar emphasis is laid upon this scene by the author of the earlier of the two Old English poems about Guthlac. Although this poet may, with the apostle’s instructions to the devils and Guthlac’s return to his sigewong⁷, follow the description of this

⁷ Glo 742
incident found also in the Vita more fully than does the homilist, he
does not draw upon any of the subsequent miracles related by Felix in
his account of the saint as the pattern of a good hermit. Chapters
29 to 36 of the Vita deal with Guthlac's various fights with devils
and are very much in the Antonian tradition and in them only the saint's
journey to the gates of hell where he beheld the sufferings of the
damned differs strikingly in content from the Evagrian and Athanasian
lives of St Anthony. Perhaps this episode in which Guthlac's patron
saint plays so large a part was among the most important pieces of in-
formation given Felix by Cissa, Wilfrid and the other acquaintances of
the saint known to him.

A valuable comparison between the two Old English poems is made
by E.P. Kurtz:

At any rate, whether the A poem goes back to Felix or
not, its spirit, its method, and its details are as far
removed from the Antonian tradition as the mood of the
chief incident of the B poem is close to it.

He points out that in the later poem Guthlac is a 'modest, mildhearted,
enduring servant of God' and a 'possessor of mystic wisdom', very like
St Anthony, whereas the earlier poet presents 'a greatly performing,
ever hesitating champion of the Almighty Overlord'. Noting that
the early pictorial representations of Guthlac often show him with a
whip in his hand, Kurtz goes on to speculate:

May not these figures represent an older tradition that
Felix modified?
A scourge must at one time have played an important part in local traditions about the saint. Two of the eighteen illustrations in the Harley Roll give emphasis to scourges. The eighth roundel is particularly interesting for, as well as hell being given the label Infernum, two other headings appear. Usually each episode in the saint's legend represented in the roll has one title only, but in this picture two things are described, both that Bartholomew is giving a scourge to Guthlac and that the devils are carrying the saint to hell. In the next picture of the roll Guthlac has a whip ready in his right hand and, holding a devil by the neck, is about to whip him¹. St Bartholomew gives Guthlac a scourge also in the hell-gates scene in the poem by Henry of Avranches² and the incident is important enough for the scribe to direct special attention to it by writing in his margin:

De adventu Bartholomei cum flagro.³

The tradition that Bartholomew gave Guthlac a scourge is again illustrated on the Longchamp seal⁴, and Guthlac holds a whip both in the statue on the west front of the abbey⁵ and in the central compartment of the quatrefoil over the great west door⁶. Three whips and knives quarterly, presumably in honour of Guthlac and his patron Bartholomew, became the arms of the abbey and appear on stones erected in the Crowland area. These arms were even adopted as the assay mark for Crowland in the seventeenth century. Such details attest at least to the persistence of this legend, but do not prove that it was known already

¹Warner 1928, pp. 11-22 ²Lines 561 ff. ³Bolton (1954 thesis) gives this theme as no. 64 in his 'Distribution of the Incidents' table, citing only this passage. ⁴Warner 1928, p. 23 ⁵Schneebeli 1800, p. 18 et alia ⁶Stukeley 1724, p. 31 et alia
in Felix's time. There is indeed nothing in Guthlac A to indicate that Bartholomew presented St Guthlac with a scourge but, although the poet may not have been acquainted with a tale of this sort, he seems at any rate to have known some stories in which Guthlac revealed more fighting spirit than he does in the Vita by Felix.

Whatever the local traditions may have been, and it is unlikely that these can ever be deduced from the materials now available, they have given way to Felix's highly literary definitive life of Guthlac. His Vita must always be regarded as the primary source for the saint's cult and additional details, as of the scourge or of the psalter, should be held suspect. After all, although Felix is heavily in debt to earlier hagiographic writings (which, in his own day, would not have reflected badly upon him), his Vita has been described as:

... the one historical work which has come down from the ancient Mercian kingdom.

As an historical work the Vita is important, for many valuable details can be extracted from among the elegancies of Felix, not only about Guthlac, but as well about his contemporaries and about the area in which he lived.

Felix tells us that Aethelred was already on the Mercian throne at the time Guthlac was born\(^2\), and from this and the later calculations of Guthlac's age given by him it must be assumed that Guthlac's birth was in about the year 674 A.D. He emphasises Guthlac's noble lineage, tracing his ancestry back to Icel\(^3\) whose name appears five

\(^1\) Stenton 1947, p. 178 \(^2\) Vita 161 \(^3\) Vita 166
generations above Penda in the Mercian genealogies and later in the Vita he again alludes to Guthlac's kingly descent. The child was christened Guthlac ex appellatio illius tribus cuem dicunt guthlac- ingae and other evidence suggests that such a family was indeed once famous. The name Guthlac lent itself usefully to an attractive symbolical interpretation which was to become one of the most popular features of the Guthlac legend, even though this religious explanation of it is not likely to have been the original etymology of this name.

We know nothing of Guthlac's parents beyond their names and we are uncertain even about these. Both, Felix assures his readers, were noble. His father was probably called Penwald, but Penwalh, a form found in many manuscripts, is more generally accepted as the name; neither name is recorded elsewhere. His mother's name is given as Tette and, beyond her nobility, no details about her origins emerge.

A sister, Pege, is first mentioned by Felix in his account of Guthlac's death; she is supposed to have lived as a hermit at Pea-kirk. Other records tell us that she later went on pilgrimage to Rome where she died and was buried. Her holiness was such that all the church bells in Rome rang out for an hour at her arrival. These details however come from a source untrustworthy in many respects and probably represent later elaboration of the few pieces of knowledge about her to be found in Felix. Similar elaboration is found in the

---

1 See the note for Life 48 in the Commentary. 2 Vita 254 3 Vita 208 4 See the note for Life 82 in the Commentary and Appendix 3 5 Ibid. 6 See the note for Life 47 in the Commentary. 7 An early eighth century abbess of Wimbourne was called Tette but the name is otherwise unknown; see Appendix 3. 8 Vita 1123 9 Historia Ingulphi; see Appendix 3.
poem on Guthlac by Henry of Avranches who introduces into his account a temptation by a devil in Pege's form, but there is no evidence to support W. de Gray Birch's suggestion that she may have assumed an great if not greater importance than her brother in some traditions. The name Pege is an uncommon one in Old English records, but is probably cognate with p(æ)ega, a man's name also found infrequently.

Guthlac himself, as a boy, spent nine years as a soldier before entering religious life. He must have become quite a well known leader for, as Colgrave points out, men would not otherwise have come from various races to serve under him. Curiously enough the name Guthlac occurs among signatories in two grants supposedly made during these years by Aethelred of Mercia to bishop Oftor of Worcester, though little reliance can be placed on this charter evidence. We are not told by Felix where Guthlac fought or even for whom and it may indeed be that he followed 'a career of warfare on his own account', although the charter references would suggest his loyalty to Aethelred. He is likely to have fought in the western borders of Mercia, a troubled area in the seventh and early eighth centuries.

At one time, Felix tells us, he was an exile among the Britons, whether as a hostage or to prevent his seeking the throne of Mercia or for some other reason is not told, and he could consequently understand the language spoken by these people. However, although successful

---

1 Perhaps ultimately inspired by Vita 1123–5, though see Bolton 1959, p. 50 fn. 48 for more immediate source in Peter of Blois. 2 See the notes for Florence of Worcester in Appendix 2, section 7/a 3Redin 1919, p. 106 and p. 117 4Vita 243 5Colgrave 1956, p. 3 6See Appendix 2, section 10. 7Whitelock 1951, p. 87 8Stenton 1947, p. 211 fn. 2 9Vita 276
in war, the heroic ideal became insufficient for Guthlac, as for so many of his contemporaries, and at the age of twenty-four he decided to enter religion. From that time he played no further part in the political life of his age, except as counsellor and friend of those who came to him at Crowland, and Felix has therefore little to tell us about historical events after the saint's arrival at Repton. A few details can be picked up about Aethelbald of Mercia because as an exile he often visited Guthlac at Crowland¹ and, after the saint's death, went to his sepulchre to mourn him². Part of this exile coincided with Ceolred's reign³. Aethelbald was most likely related to Guthlac for, although this fact is never stated by Felix, they shared a common ancestry.

Guthlac's connection with Repton, first as a monk and later as a hermit who apparently looked to that monastery as his mother-house, is the only evidence of any value for the existence of a double monastery at Repton in the early Anglo-Saxon period. Although a late tradition records that St David founded a monastery there in the sixth century, there is no evidence to support this legend. Felix therefore is the sole authority for our knowledge about this house. In Guthlac's two years at Repton the abbess was a woman called Aelfthryth but, in fairness to the St David legend, it must be noted that she may not have been the foundress and the origins of the monastery are not known. Aelfthryth is not given the title of saint by Felix and she does not appear in any calendars, but this negative evidence

¹Vita 746 ff., 831 ff., 923 ff. and 1033 ff. ²Vita 1211 ff. ³Vita 1034
should not be overemphasised, especially as the case for the read-
mission of an Aelfthryth to church privileges was considered at the
Council of Mercia in 705. If this is the same woman as the first
abbess of Repton whose name we know, then some misbehaviour on her
part may explain why she is not accorded sanctity by Felix. Her
successor is also named in the Vita, Ecgburh, daughter of Aldwulf of
East Anglia, and she appears to have regarded Crowland as a depend-
ency of Repton. The presentation of her enquiries about the future
of the hermitage at Crowland after Guthlac's death may be modelled
on accounts of Aelffled's questions to Cuthbert about the Northumb-
rian succession after Esgfrith, but the chapter probably owes its
inspiration to the continuance of a close relationship between Repton
and the cell at Crowland. In Felix's time Repton, no matter what its
rather problematical earlier custom had been, accepted the Roman obed-
ience, for Felix tells us twice that Guthlac received the Petrine
tonsure there.

Just as these two abbesses of Repton are casually alluded to in
the Vita, so a few more people are mentioned once or twice. How
far they are derived from reality and how far from Felix's knowledge
of the way in which a saint's life should be written is impossible
to tell. The curious inconsistency found in the Vita over the
shrouds given to the saint occurs in all the extant manuscripts and
is generally therefore ascribed to Felix himself. Yet, the inconn-
sistency may have arisen through some scribal omission or substitution

1Haddan and Stubbs 1869, III, pp. 273-4  2Bokenstein 1896, p.109
3Colgrave 1956, p. 191  4Vita 279 and 282
In the early textual history of the *Vita*, for it is absent from both the Old English translation and Peter of Blois' epitome, indication either of the alertness of both translator and Peter or of an omission made early in the transmission of the text. At any rate, the apparent self-contradiction between Eogburh's and Ecgberht's gifts need not be taken as evidence for Felix's carelessness in gathering together and using his materials.

Felix refers by name to some twelve men not yet discussed. They are for the most part each a central character in a typical hagiographical episode. Among the named companions and servants of Aelhelbald are Eoga and Offa, but we are told as little about them as we are of the unnamed servant of God who was staying at Crowland at the time when a jackdaw stole from Guthlac the parchments he was writing on and we know less of them than of the paterfamilias from the people of the Wissa cured of blindness after Guthlac's death. Offa may, however, still have been with Aelhelbald after he came to the throne of Mercia, for a man of that name is among the witnesses of several of his charters. We assume that the Wilfrid who in one chapter accompanies Aelhelbald to Crowland is that abbot Wilfrid whom Felix twice cites as one of his chief informants and should not therefore be surprised to find him playing a large part in the *Vita*; he appears also in the episode of the swallows. A young East Anglian nobleman Hwætred is the central character in another episode and was,

---

1 See further the note for *Life* 889 in the Commentary.  
3 *Vita* 923 ff.  
7 *Vita* 746 ff.  
2 *Vita* 832 ff.  
8 *Vita* 651 ff.  
6 *Vita* 1287 ff.  
9 *Vita* 722 ff.  
5 *Vita* 49 and 388.
Felix tells us, freed by Guthlac from possession. The name is common enough in Old English records and the incident paralleled in many saints' lives, so we cannot be sure if this Hwstred is anything more than a mere cipher.

The bishop who consecrated Guthlac and his oratory had with him a secretary Wigfrith, unknown except from the two episodes in the *Vita* in which he appears. The existence of Hadda himself is attested by other documents. He was at this time bishop of Lichfield and, as F. Stenton has pointed out, the fact that the bishop of Lichfield dedicated the saint's church suggests that Crowland was within the Mercian kingdom. Yet, the monks of Crowland themselves confused this Hadda with Haddi, a contemporary bishop of Winchester.

Four other men named in the life have all a close connection with Crowland. They are Tatwine, the old man who first ferried Guthlac to Crowland, Beocel who once thought to slay Guthlac but who remained with him faithfully to his death and was entrusted with his dying confidences, the anchorite Eogbert to whom, as to Pege, the secret of the angel of consolation might be told, and perhaps the donor of a second shroud, and Cissa, Guthlac's successor although brought up a pagan and, together with Wilfrid, most valued of Felix's informants. As in Pege's case, stories gathered about these men in later chronicles of Crowland history. It is perhaps as well that only Beocel ever acquired separate *acta* of his own, for the life

---

printed by Wynkyn de Worde well deserves the description given it by Baring Gould:

It is a collection of curious popular legends, nothing more. ¹

The facts Felix gives of person and incident are, when summarised in this way, few, and the overall impression given by the Vita is that he has dealt in types and stock episodes. Yet, his Vita sanoti Guthlacii undeniably contains a great amount of otherwise unrecorded authentic historical material, which has often lent itself to curious interpretation. The tale of Guthlac's persecution by British-speaking demons ² is cited by many historians as evidence for the late survival of Welsh-speaking people in the fens ³, but their airy fabrications should not blind us to the details of Crowland given by Felix.

It has recently been discovered that large-scale Romano-British settlement of the fenland first began in Hadrian's time and that the beginning of the canal system dates from his period. The fens became, for a time, comparatively well settled, both with typical Roman single farms and with larger hamlet units, for drainage produced land suitable for grazing and ploughing. However, as silting in river channels increased, the river levels rose and, despite continual improvements in local drainage, heavy flooding began by about 200 A.D. After that settlements declined, with those who remained retreating

¹Gould 1897, X. p. 139; and see Appendix 1. ²Vita 571 ff. ³See the note for Life 388 in the Commentary.
to higher ground. There may still have been quite a large fenland population in the fifth century as E. Colgrave infers, but both the figures of the Tribal Hidage and Bede's account of Ely in his day indicate that by the early eighth century only a very scattered population existed in the fens. Certainly Felix's picture of this area tallies with the other accounts of it from Anglo-Saxon England. The fens were swampy and desolate, supporting only here and there small clusters of farms. Little or nothing apparently was done towards clearing and draining the country again for many hundreds of years. The wilderness which attracted the ascetic religious of the seventh and early eighth centuries was also a refuge for exiles and outlaws. Later the Danes raided the monasteries which grew up often at the places settled by early hermits but they did not remain to live there. Even in the thirteenth century Matthew Paris describes the fens as inaccessible. Such marshes were the sort of place a man of Guthlac's times would have expected to find devil infested.

At Repton Guthlac read of the solitary life of the monks of the desert and he wished to emulate them. Tatwine showed him the way to an island:

\[ \text{quam multi inhabitare temptantes, propter incognita} \]
\[ \text{heremi monstra et diversarum formarum terrores re-} \]
\[ \text{probauerunt;} \]

331

(The description enhanced the attractions of the place in Guthlac's eyes.) On the island there was a tumulus agrestibus glebis concern-
and there Guthlac lived, building a hut over something like a
cisterna which was let into the side of the mound. This mound,
and Felix by adding this detail incidentally provides us with the
earliest accepted reference to grave-robbing in English history, was
of the sort men often broke into in the hope of finding treasure.
Crowland is out of the way of recognised belts of prehistoric barrows,
so it is likely that this structure in which Guthlac made his home
was either Roman or mediaeval. The remnant of a chapel on this
site is thought to have existed still in the early eighteenth cent­
ury, but by 1856 a little stone cottage stood 'on a little hillock,
where was St Guthlake's Cell and Burial'. Although Stukeley later
changed his mind about the site of Guthlac's hermitage and associated
this mound with St Pege, identifying as Guthlac's cell the south-west
corner of the church, his earlier opinion seems generally to be ac­
cepted to-day.

Felix's account of Guthlac places him in the Antonian rather
than the Benedictine monastic tradition. Like Cuthbert and other
Western followers of the desert fathers, he imposed austerities upon
himself and chose the life of a separate cell rather than the member­
ship of a brotherhood; and after his death Cissa succeeded him as
anchorite at Crowland. Apart from Felix's Vita, the only early doc­
uments of any length concerned with Guthlac are the Old English mater­
ials of the Exeter Book, the Veronelli Book and Cotton Vespasian D xxi,

\[\text{Vita} \ 390 \quad \text{Vita} \ 392 \quad \text{Colgrave} 1956, \ pp. 181-3\]
\[\text{Stukeley} 1724, \ p. 32 \quad \text{Griesley} 1886, \ p. 2 \quad \text{Ibid.} \ p. 3;\]
\[\text{it is worth note that he quotes from Stukeley's papers a comparison}\]
\[\text{with the building of Lichfield cathedral on St Chad's cell}.\]
\[\text{Moore} 1879, \ pp. 132-3, \text{Irish} 1883, \ p. xlii \quad \text{Colgrave} 1956, \ p. 183\]
all glorifying the same tradition. Whether or not we believe in
the existence of an early monastery at Crowland which was sacked by
the Danes, we must recognize that most references to and stories about
Guthlac come from the period of Dunstan's reforms and later centuries.
Thurkytel's foundation was a Benedictine abbey and all the writings
which emanated from it are informed with the ideals of the Benedict-
ine way of life.

ORIGINALLITY OF FELIX

The interesting suggestion is made by C.W. Jones that Felix wrote his
Vita sancti Guthlacii for a lay audience or at least for the public
church rather than cloistered monks. Yet, at the same time C.W.
Jones points out that:

.. of all early English writers Felix is the most obvious
schoolman. His sentence structure, with its measured
parallelism, transposition, and balance, and his diction,
with its academic neologisms, can only have been acquired
by long years in the classroom. What he lacks in in-
spiration (not so much, I believe, as some commentators
would maintain) he compensates for with rule and form.

Felix's dependence on earlier writings has been well illustrated many
times, particularly in the monographs of Conser, Kurtz and Colgrave,

1 Jones 1947, p. 86 2 Ibid. p. 55 3 Conser 1909, pp. 10-14
4 Kurtz 1926 5 Colgrave 1956, pp. 16-18 et passim; a few more
previously unnoted parallels are listed by Bolton (1959, p. 37 fn. 7),
among them two from Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica, but these two are
hardly close enough for the old assumption that Felix did not know
Bede's history to be overthrown.
and their summaries of his literary antecedents should be consulted. He was obviously widely read both in the church fathers and in hagiographical writings popular in his own day. Indeed, as W.F. Bolton has more recently pointed out:

So eclectic, indeed, is his Vita, that the full list of his sources may never be known, and the historical source – the actual life of Guthlac himself – has been pushed into obscurity.¹

In these introductory chapters my main interest is to draw together the evidence to be gathered from outside the texts edited in this thesis for the life of Guthlac. A discussion of Felix’s style is therefore beyond my intention, but some notes on the subject seem necessary. His Latin is, as Colgrave has observed,

.. stylistically as well as geographically between the two contemporary schools of writing, the far-fetched highly elaborate and often almost unintelligible style of Aldhelm whose influence, especially in the south, was great; and that of the north-eastern scholar whose Latin style, though by no means entirely free from rhetorical elaboration, was nevertheless clarity itself, compared with that of Aldhelm.²

Although the Vita remained popular and was still being copied in its original form in the early fourteenth century³, Felix’s prolixity and obscurity seem to have been the reasons which prompted abbot Geoffrey of Crowland to commission from Orderious Vitalis an epitome of the life⁴. This Abbrevatio was, like Felix’s life itself, written into

¹Bolton 1959, p. 37 ²Colgrave 1956, p. 18 ³See Appendix 2, section 1/a. ⁴See Appendix 2, section 3/a
the collection of Growland material extant in the Douai manuscript of the Vita. Yet another new life was made towards the end of the twelfth century at the request of a Growland abbot but, though it was obviously popular, it need not as Bolton suggests it did, have become the textus receptus at Growland after about 1200 for, unless the leaves in which it was written were among those lost from the Douai manuscript, it is not included in the Crowland collection of local historical materials.

A list has been drawn up by B. Colgrave, showing that for almost fifty words Felix is the only authority quoted in Du Cange. His vocabulary reflects also the influence of Aldhelm and through him of the Hisperica Famina. Felix's originality seems therefore to lie in his vocabulary rather than in his arrangement and organisation of the events in Guthlac's life. The preceding paragraphs have shown the slightness of the dossier from which he worked and they suggest that he worked up the main theme, a hermit's struggles with demon tormentors, into something more in key with the Antonian rather than the Irish tradition. This use of other earlier materials to mould his Vita must have been one of its major attractions in the following centuries when listeners would have recognised familiar passages with pleasure. The elaboration of rather thin stories of the saint from well known lives of such men as Anthony and Cuthbert would not have seemed incongruous to them, but would rather have added to their

---

1 Bolton 1959, p. 37  
2 Consultation of Baxter and Johnson 1964 suggests that some ten of these are recorded elsewhere  
3 Colgrave 1956, p. 18  
4 See also III.2/a.
admiration of a saint worthy to be compared with Anthony and Cuthbert.

Felix tells us how Guthlac himself while praying one day recognised the signs of his approaching death:

Septem enim diebus dira egritudine decoctus: octaua die ad extrema peruenit; Si quidem iiii. feria ante pascha egrotare ocepit. et iterum octaua die iii. feria iiii. etiam lumine paschalis festi. finita egritudine ad dominum migravit; 1086

The length of his illness and even the days of the week follow closely the events set out by Bede in his account of Cuthbert’s death but, working from the evidence of the Old English martyrology¹ and of the later Latin calendars² that Guthlac's feast was celebrated on April 11th, his death can be dated to 714. In that year Easter day fell upon Sunday, April 8th³. Thus, the date 714 for Guthlac’s death given in the Anglo-Saxon chronicle⁴ can be supported from Felix by consultation of the Easter tables.

In some sources the date of Guthlac’s death is given as 715⁵ which stems from the reading found only in the Douai manuscript of the Vita⁶ (after emisit in line 1163 of the text here edited):

¹ See Appendix 2, section 3/a. ² See Appendix 2, section 4/b. ³ See for example Table 18 in Cheney 1945, pp. 118-9. ⁴ See Appendix 2, section 7/b. ⁵ e.g. "John of Wallingford" (Vaughan 1958, p. 9). ⁶ See Colgrave’s collations (1956, p. 158 fn. 19); this problem is not discussed by him beyond a statement (on p. 193) 'Guthlac died on 11 April which in 714 was the Wednesday of Easter week.'
The influence of this reading is shown not only in mediaeval documents, for example in the history of Ordericus Vitalis, but also in modern writings, for example in the Dictionary of Christian Biography where Felix is given as the authority for 715 as the year of Guthlac's death. C.W. Jones has noted that:

Felix offers the unique instance in early English hagiography of a reference to the Dionysiac era: "In the seven hundred and fifteenth year from the Incarnation of our Lord." In a note for this remark he observes:

The explanation of the editors of the Acta SS that this is a use of the imaginary Era of the Incarnate Word because there is a mistake of one year in the notice is an early manifestation of a constant tendency to form theories to explain anachronisms.

Yet, a glance at Jones' translation of Felix shows that he does not include this phrase to which he has given so much attention, perhaps because here he follows Birch's edition rather than the Bollandists. These quotations suggest the identification of two anachronisms in the reading of the Douai manuscript: both the misdating of Guthlac's death and the inclusion within the text of words unlikely to have been written by Felix.

---

1 Le Prévost 1838, II. p. 277  
2 DGB I. p. 826  
3 Jones 1747, p. 86  
4 Ibid. p. 219 note 13
Felix makes no mention of an abbey at Crowland in his day, but his chapter on the translation of the saint's body twelve months after his death suggests that already some community of brethren was in Crowland, together with Page, Cissa and perhaps Beocel and Ecgberht.

A monastery of the *laure* type, with anchorites living in separate cells and meeting for services on Saturdays and Sundays, may gradually have grown from the nucleus established by Guthlac. After all, the *Vita* tells how he arrived accompanied by two youths from Repton, refers to his servant Beocel, to anchorites living near-by (Page, his own sister, and Ecgberht) and to many visitors who came to Crowland in Guthlac's days. Occasional sentences suggest that more buildings than Guthlac's original cell in the barrow were there by the time of his death. For example a story is told of a visitor staying at Crowland:

Quadam autem die membranos quosdam scribens, cum ad finem scripturam suam deflexisset. extra domum recedens. quando in quodam oratorio orationibus incumberet:

1A.H. Thompson 1923, pp. 2 and 4
The oratory mentioned here is perhaps the church consecrated by Heddad and the oratory in which the saint's sepulchre was placed. The visiting scribe was given some separate apartment, as was Aethelbald, for we are told that after Guthlac's death he stayed in a room:

\[ \text{quadam casula qua ante uiuente gu\textit{l}lace hospitari solebat} \]

Such references point to the existence of an Antonian-type community at Crowland already in Guthlac's time, and certainly Crowland monks in the twelfth century believed that there had been a monastery on this site before the Danish raids. The Anglo-Norman historian Ordericus Vitalis spent five or so weeks at Crowland during Geoffrey's abbacy, gathering up historical materials. At the request of the sub-prior he made an epitome of Felix's \textit{Vita} of Guthlac. He attributes it to:

\[ \text{Felix quidam, Orientalium Anglorum episcopus, natione quidem Burgundus} \]

This ascription reveals how very slight was the knowledge of early English church history by the twelfth century, for this bishop Felix was at work in East Anglia in the first half of the seventh century. (The identification of Guthlac's biographer with this earlier East Anglian bishop was perhaps prompted by the dedication to an East Anglian king and parallels modern assumptions that Felix was East Anglian.) At the end of Orderic's very accurate paraphrase of the \textit{Vita}, he gives a summary of traditions of the early foundation of Crowland:

\[ \text{Vita 990} \]
\[ \text{Vita 1302} \]
\[ \text{le Prevost 1840, II. p. 268} \]
had learned from Ansgot, the sub-prior. His account of how Aethelbald visited Guthlac as king and granted to the saint much land free of the usual dues is at odds with Felix's stories of the crowned exile, but he does not try to make the two traditions agree. It appears therefore that he retells what was generally believed at Crowland at that time. The arrangement of the Douai manuscript, with the addition of Orderic's account of the foundation of the early monastery at the end of the Vita, is most likely an attempt to reconcile these conflicting traditions.

Orderic's Historia Ecclesiastica tells us what was known to the twelfth century monks at Crowland of their house's early history. They had little enough information to give him: a story of Aethelbald's grant, a memory of his charter confirmed with suo signatam in presentia episcoporum, progerumque suorum, a description of the difficulties of building the first abbey upon boggy ground and the name of the most famous abbot of those days, Kenulph, a quo Kenulfestan adhuc dicitur lapis, quem ipse pro limite contra Deningenses posuit.

Once Aethelbald's abbey was built:

Deinde religiosos ibi viros aggregavit, coenobium condidit, ornamentis et fundis, aliisque divitiis locum ditavit, ad honorem Dei et sancti anchoritize, quem valde dilexerat, pro dulci consolatione, quam ab eo, dum exulabat, multoties perceperat. Hunc et a quo locum omni vita sua dilexit, nec unquam post primam instaurationem, quam idem rex fecit, sedes Crulandiae religiosorum habitatio monachorum usque in hodiernum diem caruit.

1 Le Prevost 1840, II. p. 279

2 Ibid. p. 280
With the coming of the Danes, however:

.. Crulandense monasterium depopulatum est, sicut alia plurima; ornamenta sua sibi sunt sublata et villa devastata, laicisque contra canonicum jus in dominium redacta. 1

Once again, this time of the question as to whether or not there was any continuity between the two foundations, Orderio may record the inconsistencies of his sources.

It is probable that there were no longer any monks at Crowland at the time of the Thurkytel foundation. Orderic states that the abbey was re-founded in Edred's reign (946-55), but here, as so often in his history, his chronology is wrong. Thurkytel was abbot of Bedford at least as late as 971, when he is recorded as having carried off his kinsman Oskytel's body for burial at Bedford because he was abbot there 2. The new abbey must have been founded after 971, and there was most likely some confusion about this date in the abbey records available to Orderic. Miss Whitelock suggests two ways in which the earlier date can be explained: Thurkytel perhaps became an abbot first in Edred's reign, at Bedford; or the Crowland records may have confused Aethelred (in some such form as Aedered) with Edred, thus putting the new foundation into the wrong reign. 3

As Thurkytel was a friend of Dunstan, Aethelwold and Oswald, his foundation must have been Benedictine from the first. It is interesting this proposed date for the abbey coincides with the appearance of

---

1 Le Prevost 1840, II. p. 281
2 Chron. 971 and Historia Eliensis II. 31
3 Whitelock 1941, p. 174; see I.6/a further
Guthlac’s name in early English church calendars\(^1\) and that from about this time a new interest in the saint’s cult arises. The abbey grew quickly. Although Orderic has little to tell us about its possessions, there is fortunately a less muddled witness to the early wealth of Crowland. By 1086, according to the Domesday Book, Crowland Abbey owned twenty-three estates in five counties\(^2\).

Crowland always regarded Aethelbald as its founder and, already by c. 1141 when Orderic gathered together some of its traditions, liked to think that its continuity was never broken. As later historians built upon Felix and Ordericus, more inaccuracies crept into their accounts, together with impossible flights of fancy. The mistakes we can identify in the Harley Roll are easy to understand.

Hedda, bishop of Lichfield and Leicester, is confused (in the eleventh picture) with his contemporary Heddi, bishop of Winchester. (This confusion occurs also in the eleventh and fifteenth century Crowland calendars which include Hedda, presumably as of local interest, but place him under July 7th, the feast for the Winchester bishop\(^3\).) The abbess of Repton, Aelfthryth, has given place (III) to Ebba and, although Redin\(^4\) inclines towards accepting Ebba and Aelfthryth as by-name and real name in independent use for one person because of these examples, the artist may have written in the name of a far more famous early abbess. At the end of the seventh century an abbess of Minster

---

\(^1\)See Appendix 2, section 6; Colgrave (1956, p. 9) notes “by 970 the saint’s name already appears in capitals in the Leofric Missal from Glastonbury under 11 April” but Wormald (1934, p. 43) is less definite in dating this calendar, suggesting c. 970.\(^2\)Page 1934, p. 9.\(^3\)Colgrave 1956, p. 190.\(^4\)Redin 1917, p. 116, 178.
in Thanet had this name, as Colgrave observes, but the foundress of
Coldingham, though earlier (died 683) was even more widely known.
These slips are of the same order as Orderic's identification of Felix
with the first bishop of Dunwich. Again like Orderic, the artist
allows other traditions than those of the Vita into his work: the
scourge and psalter appear in the legend for the first time (scourge
in VIII and IX, psalter perhaps in VI, VIII, XII, XV, XVI and XVII).
The psalter and scourge become important motifs in Henry of Avranches' hexameters on Guthlac, and he adds a new Pag story, no doubt in ex-
planation of words Felix put into Guthlac's mouth:

perge ad sororem meam pagiam. et dices illi.
quia adeo aspectum ipsius in hoc seculo üteli;
vt in sterna coram patre nostro in gaudio
sempiterno ad imnicem videamus;  

In Felix's Vita the monks had a corpus of material about Guthlac,
but documents about their monastery were few. Accordingly they had
greater scope for their embroideries when they wished to relate the
history of Crowland. Later chroniclers than Orderic were unwilling
to reflect the doubts about the continuity of the abbey suggested by
his Historia, and tried to fill in the outlines. In 1189, as H.T.
Riley points out, Abbot Robert relied upon the Felix Vita for proof
of Aethelbald's foundation in boundary disputes with the prior of
Spalding, but the disputes continued. In 1415 Richard Upton was

---

1 Colgrave 1956, p. 179  2 Bede HE iv. 19, Cuthb xii; Redimius Wilf. 37, 39 etc.
3 Page 1914, p. 7 suggests that Algar (XVIII) may be the ninth century great great grandfather of Leofric, Godiva's husband, but, although this suggestion would help to establish an early abbey on firm evidence, there are no convincing grounds for this interesting speculation. 4 See Appendix 2, section 12 5 Riley 1854, p. x
able to take with him to London, in settlement of the Spalding disputes, the muniments of Ethelbald, Ælred and Ælgar. By that time the history of the abbey had been transformed by the hands of pseudo-Ingulf and pseudo-Peter and the continuity of the house established with evidence: a circumstantial list of early abbots, an account of the sempeots and the story of Thurkytel's arrival which gave birth to the proverb 'curteys' Crowland.
the poems of the Exeter Book

GUTHLAC A

Guthlac A is to-day a poem of 818 lines and cannot have been longer than about 900 lines when written into the Exeter Book collection of verse in the latter part of the tenth century. The only gap of any importance within the text occurs at line 368 where a folio has been cut out of the manuscript, accounting for 60 to 70 lines of verse. The beginning and end of one unit of material within the manuscript are distinguished by the scribe's presentation of his texts.

Early accounts of the Guthlac material of the Exeter Book rarely contrast or even identify the two poems about the saint it is now recognised to contain. Thorpe is in a way to be blamed for much of the pointless and weighty nineteenth century discussion which still leaves its mark in modern handbooks of English literary history with odd self-contradictory judgments of these poems. His Codex Exoniensis of 1842 served for half a century as the definitive edition of the Guthlac poems (and indeed of many others contained in this manuscript). Although his edition was superseded by Grein's Bibliothek so far as working editions of the texts were concerned, the manuscript was not consulted again until 1874 when Schipper published

---

Footnotes will be restricted as far as possible in this chapter which for the most part summarises material more fully discussed in the introductory chapters of III.
his collations of the Bibliothek texts of the Exeter Book with the manuscript itself. As Schipper concentrated mainly on amending the published versions of these poems, he did not deal with the need to make available a fuller description of the appearance of the manuscript for which the fullest introduction remained that written by Wanley in 1705. Only with the text prepared by Gollancz for the Early English Text Society publications of 1895 was it possible to gain a fuller impression of the major manuscript divisions of even the first half of the Exeter Book.

Gollancz had earlier, in his 1892 edition of Christ, pointed out that the twenty-nine lines of verse placed by Grein at the end of Christ should rather be regarded as the opening lines of the Guthlac material. In his edition of the first half of the Exeter Book Gollancz places these twenty-nine lines at the beginning of Guthlac A for the first time. The poem continued for some time however to be considered complete without these lines and only with the publication of the facsimile edition of the Exeter Book and of the third volume of the Anglo-Saxon Poetic Record Series does the recognition of a poem of 818 lines make headway. More recently new and interesting discussions of this poem have been published by Schaar\(^1\), Young\(^2\) and Shoo\(^3\), but elsewhere confusion as to the length and content of Guthlac A is still only too apparent.

The dependence of the Guthlac A poet upon Felix's Vita sanoti

---

\(^1\)1949 \(^2\)1950 \(^3\)1960 and 1961
Guthlac\textsuperscript{1} has often been debated and, although few close parallels of any great significance can be found between the two, general critical opinion appears now to favour the poet's knowledge of Felix. A useful summary of the conflicting opinions of the critics on this problem (up to about 1906) is provided by Jansen's Die Cynewulf-forschung von ihren Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart\textsuperscript{1}. A notable omission in the period fully covered by this monograph is a paper by Liebermann\textsuperscript{2} who identifies some few verbal resemblances between this poem and the Vita and later discussions of value have been published by Gerould\textsuperscript{3}, Howard\textsuperscript{4} and Kurtz\textsuperscript{5}. The sources used by this poet still provide one of the most interesting questions raised by Guthlac A. Its relationship to the Vita may indeed never be decided to the agreement of all who give this problem their attention.

Recently critics have been looking closely at Guthlac A in attempts to evaluate it. For Miss Young its 'central theme' is 'self-mastery' and :

"the adversary is not fate in the shape of the outward circumstances of a man's life but the saint's own divided mind."\textsuperscript{6}

L.K. Shook, placing the poem in the debate rather than narrative tradition, does not picture the demons as Guthlac's 'own negative thoughts tempting him to self-indulgence and despair', but considers the poem :

"masterfully constructed around a single concept - that of demons trying to regain their ancient lair"

\textsuperscript{1}1908 \quad \textsuperscript{2}1892 \quad \textsuperscript{3}1916 and 1917 \quad \textsuperscript{4}1930 \quad \textsuperscript{5}1926

\textsuperscript{6}Young 1950, p. 287
from an anchorite who has succeeded in wresting it from them.1

Although he inclines at first to emphasise the dominance of this theme, suggesting even 'a pertinent relationship between the barrow and salvation'2, in a later examination of the poem he recognises the importance of its opening lines and identifies as the dominant theological theme of the poem the 'function of angels in the salvation of man's soul'.3 He now writes:

It is not biography in the Antonian sense, nor heroic adventure in the Beowulfian sense, that inspired the poet to write, but the excitement of mind aroused by reflections upon the doctrines of the Christian church.3

These writers seem however to seek to impose an interpretation on the poem, rather than to draw from it its meaning, and their interpretations do not establish satisfactorily the coherence of the poem.

An interesting observation has been made by Professor Whitelock in her examination of the Anglo-Saxon church:

The author of a poem on St Guthlac went out of his way to create an opportunity to rail at the slackness in monasteries in respect of vigils and prayers.4

The unusual and effective passages which deal with the corruption of the monasteries in the poet's times have often been noted, often with the implication that they are out of place within the poem. Yet, are they out of place? Instead it seems possible that they occupy an important and dominant position within Guthlac A. The poet illustrates from Guthlac's passion one way in which a faithful man may gain

---

1 Shook 1960, p. 2  
2 ibid. p. 8  
3 Shook 1961, p. 295  
4 Whitelock 1952, p. 172
everlasting joy. His poem opens with a short picture of a righteous soul at death. An angel comes to meet him and to carry him to heaven over broad ways, joyfully, amidst great light. What way, asks the poet rhetorically, must a man behave on earth to merit such an end? The rest of the poem provides an answer to his question. He reflects first on the many ranks of men on earth, on the fleeting nature of the world, on the ways of serving God and particularly on the choice between the cloistered and the desert life of service. From this reverie he moves naturally to his account of Guthlac as a pattern of a martyr and for the great bulk of his narrative traces steps in the saint's career. He is interested most of all in Guthlac's struggles with demon tormentors and records their disputes in great detail; within the context he establishes passages on the monastic corruption of the time are not inapposite. Guthlac stands firm in the face of all temptations, so God sends down his messenger Bartholomew who takes the saint in his protection and orders his tormentors to carry him back to the place from which they had brought him; and a scene of triumph is there prepared for him. By these actions, the poet tells us, Guthlac merited heaven, and so may other souls. In the end the themes of the beginning, never entirely lost throughout the poem, become important again and a carefully wrought structure is apparent.
What remains of this poem are the opening 560 lines of a flowery account of Guthlac’s death. How much longer the poem was originally cannot be judged, for the manuscript loss which coincides with the ending of Guthlac B is more likely at least a gathering than the eight lines of verse once thought the amount of material missing from this poem.

Guthlac B was, like Guthlac A, first printed in Thorpe’s Codex Exoniensis where it is presented without a significant break between it and the preceding Guthlac material. Grein, following Thorpe’s division of the texts here, also identifies only one Guthlac poem and, despite later recognition that the manuscript contains side by side two poems very different in many qualities about this saint, as a result of these early editions, the poems are still numbered consecutively. This practice has as well influenced discussions of the authorship of Guthlac B for affinities between it and ‘Cynewulfian’ verse are often identified; those critics who treat as one poem Guthlac A (usually without the opening twenty-nine lines) and Guthlac B are forced to invent plausible reasons to explain why the earlier part of their poem does not so closely resemble Cynewulf.

Much early discussion of Guthlac B centres on the possible lost Cynewulf signature which may have disappeared with the ending of the poem. The poet’s close dependence on Felix’s Vita sancti Guthlacii has always been recognised, but has perhaps sometimes been played down because this poem in sources and treatment contrasts so strongly with
Guthlac A. The poet's use of Felix shows that the poem cannot have been written before 721; his imagery and diction suggest a date of composition considerably later and at any rate contemporary with the poems attributed to Cynewulf. His use of the Vita is not mechanical and uninspired for themes absent from or unimportant in his source are developed by him. From Felix's phrases which begin Sicut morte in ad mare est he takes the hint for an effective description of the fall and his treatment of this theme is reminiscent of similar passages in The Phoenix, yet incorporates the figure of the draught of death where the Phoenix poet moves from apple to tree. This figure, known also to the Andreas poet, he may have been familiar with in some hymn or piece of exegetical writing. His personification of death, however, owes much to Corinthians i. 15 and is a figure developed further in this than in any other Old English poem. These themes are perhaps the most striking additions he makes to the outline account presented by Felix of Guthlac's death, but by no means exhaust a description of his originality. He follows the matter of the Vita carefully, selecting and reshaping the details which interest him. Specific bits of information such as the confidant's name, or Ecgberth's gift of a shroud seem omitted by design, and instead ornament and elaboration take over. The passages in which he describes the coming on of night or Beocel's journey to Pege (the ship description suggests rather wide water ways in the fens) have long been admired, as has Beocel's message to Pege in which the text is interrupted.

1 Vita 1069 ff. 
2 Compare Phr 485 ff. and MBo 27.11; see further III.2/3.
Unfortunately we cannot tell how the poem might have continued and with the extant material are in no position to evaluate the poet's sense of structure. His treatment in such passages as have been here mentioned suggests that he might well have continued with an account of Page's grief, the return of Page and Beocel to Crowland, the scene there, burial and translation at any rate. The older critics who thought some seven or eight lines only missing may have been very wide of the mark.

BRIEF COMPARISON

In theme, sources and style these two poems on Guthlac seem very different from one another. Whereas the A poet's vocabulary appears plain and comparatively straightforward, the B poet strives for decoration and metaphor. This impression is supported by a rough calculation of the proportions in which compound words occur in each poem. On an average the A poet will use two poetic compounds in ten lines and the B poet five (a figure based on 178 compounds in A and 258 in B). Some 38 base elements, accounting for about a quarter of all the base words used in compounds in both poems, are shared by the poets but, as might be expected from consideration of the respective numbers of compounds in use in each poem, the B poet draws upon many more base elements for compounds than does the A poet. Compounds occur in his descriptions of scenery, weather, the ship's journey through the fens to Page, the bitter potion poured for Adam
by Eve and in any other theme developed at some length. For the most part these compounds are *sann-kenningar*, descriptive in the way most of the compounds in Guthlac A are true descriptions. Occasionally they are more tightly packed with meaning, as for example *scearcas* 1145, *bancoba* 1025, *wyncondel* 1213, *waghengist* 1329, *sundhfe* 1186, *deaswage* 991 or *sundplegan* 1314. The A poet's use in his poem of *teunemidas* 205 (similar in effect to *Exo* 43 *bleahtoramipum*) and the phrase *lege besenote* 624 (or even of the manuscript *lege besenote* if that reading is accepted) is striking, but these phrases would be commonplace in the context of Guthlac B.

To a certain extent some of the differences in diction between the poems can be attributed to the different themes found in them. A great number of legal and religious terms appear in Guthlac A, but are not a marked feature of the B poet's vocabulary. Even where both poets draw on the same semantic field, their usage differs: for example the A poet uses the form *tempel* in the plural in the phrase *in godes templum* 490 and the B poet in the singular in *to/in godes temple* 1002, 1113 and 1149. A difference in literary background for the two poets is surely also to be guessed from the B poet's use of *cild* (in *burh cildes had* 1361) beside *bearn*, the only one of these two words used by the A poet. Again, the B poet uses the weak genitive plural *dagena* to fill out his verse (in *on his dagena tid* 949), a usage distinctive only of later Old English poetry.

---

1 Kirkland 1885, p. 45 points out that *cild* does not appear in Cædmonian verse but is found in Cynewulf and other later Old English verse.

2 Compare the note for this line in the Commentary.
Many other interesting differences between the poems are thrown up by a close examination of the metrical forms which appear in each. No attempt will be made here to itemize all the minor variations discussed in III.3/a, for many of these might lose importance if larger amounts of text were handled; only the more significant of the metrical differences will be summarized. Of these the most interesting is the A poet's use of forms generally contracted in later Old English verse. In this respect the poem has affinities with the other long poems considered early, that is with Genesis A, Beowulf, Exodus and Daniel. Such forms were once considered a proof of early composition for this small group of poems and, although recently doubt has been cast upon their value as evidence, they seem still to provide a valuable guide in any discussion of the dating of longer Old English poems. The A poet's love of linked finite verbs need not be considered a sign of the literary milieu in which he worked, for it is more likely to be a personal rather than period feature. In the same way his use of verses of the type gesceah but ge on sordan 712 in the first half-line (indeed of the Sievers A type in general) seems idiosyncratic. So too the B poet has his distinctive traits, for example a greater use of one-word verses (in part the natural consequence of his greater use of compounds). He carefully avoids using auxiliary verbs within the alliterative pattern of his line, a carefulness which is not found in the earlier Old English verse. Verses of the types sceannedne 1361 and all in gawd 946 again mark out the

---

1 See III.3  2 See further III.2/a  3 See the note for Ola 24  
4 See the note for Ola 67  5 See III.3/a  6 See III.3/a
The two poets employ hypermetrical verses in rather different proportions, the A instances exceeding the B in the ratio 2:1, but more interesting than this ratio is the difference in distribution between the poems of the verse patterns used. Whereas the B poet uses only three stress forms in the first half of his line, restricting two stress forms to the off-verse, the A poet uses both two and three stress patterns in his on-verse (though only the two stress variety in the second half line). A few other less easily demonstrable differences seem worth note here also, such as the A poet's greater use of double alliteration in the on-verse or the B poet's employment of more assonance and of more successive alliteration. Generalisations of this sort, if pursued, would however have little value, if the poems were not already so markedly different in other metrical features.

The metrical evidence supports the conclusion to be drawn from the use of word and image in these poems, that they are by poets different both in identity and age. Guthlac A resembles most of all the early poems and, despite the suggestion sometimes made that in content and wording it stands close to the first part of Christ and Satan, the parallels identified between the two demonstrate the dependence of both poets on the alliterative tradition and on similar stories of the devil. By comparison with the second Guthlac poem, Guthlac A is plain. It has no passage like the extended similes found in

1III.3/a. 42  2Clubb 1925, pp. xxviii-xxix
Guthlac B, nothing to parallel the poet's comparison of Guthlac's breath with the smell of honey-flowing herbs in summer. The B poet shares imagery and figures with both the signed poems of Cynewulf and the 'Cynewulfian' poetry, for example as well as his development of the posulum mortis figure his use of the theme of man's fall or of the phrase wopes bring or even of the idea implicit within adloman. W.P. Ker a long time ago recognised the conventional use of a 'Paradise' motive common to Guthlac B, Andreas and The Phoenix, singling out for comment these lines from the Phoenix:

ne forstes fynast ne fyres blast
ne hagles hatu ne hrames dryre 16

He points out that such a mode 'was found out by an artist, before it was repeated by a school'. Since those days opinions as to the extent of verse composed by Cynewulf remaining in the Exeter Book and the Vercelli Book have changed and none indeed of the three poems is now attributed to Cynewulf. Yet, their similarities to one another and their close relationship to the Cynewulf canon must be recognised.

1 Gle 1273 ff. 4 common to Gle B and And and Phx common to Ele, Chr II, And and Gle B compare And 1171 hellehinea and see commentary 912
2 Gle 830 and And 867
3 Gle B
4 compare 6 W.P. Ker 1904, p. 171; compare Gle 830 and And 867
The Old English prose life of St Guthlauc and the homily related to it are edited in section II of this thesis and only a brief note is therefore required on these texts here. Both, it has long been recognised, stem from the same original, but, as each has undergone separate revision during transmission, it is difficult to judge how closely the translator followed the Vita. Together the extant texts suggest that he worked from the Vita itself, rather than some specially made epitome, and many omissions ascribed to him by the earlier editors may well have been made during later reworking of his text.

The translation was, on the evidence of the inclusion of chapters from it in the Vercelli Book, in existence by the latter part of the tenth century. Internal stylistic and linguistic evidence point to its composition in the ninth century rather than the tenth, and indicate that the work may have been undertaken in the late ninth century at a time when Alfred was encouraging scholars to translate Latin writings into English. As the life deals with a Mercian saint, it would be possible to argue that the translation may go back to an earlier Mercian tradition of prose translation which predates the Alfredian outburst of translations, but there are hardly sufficient grounds to

---

1 Compare the remarks made by Harting (1937, p. 301) on the interrelationships of the manuscripts of the Old English Dialogues where the differences between texts are by no means so striking as in Life and Homily: "With the materials at our disposal it is often impossible to reconstruct the text of the Dialogues as Wace wrote it, for in a great many cases there are no means of deciding which variant is likely to have been the original." 2 See Vleeskruyer 1933, p. 37 who thinks it 'almost certainly Mercian'.

---
support this speculation and it must be recognised that the evidence for the provenance, as for the date, of the translation is very tenuous.

Each text, as the comparison to be found in II.3/c will show, includes differences from the *Vita* not found in the other and it is likely therefore that many such variations from the content of Felix’s life may derive from the revisers who stand between the extant Old English texts and their original\(^1\). Differences of this sort are discussed in the Commentary and need not be noted here. Attention must however be drawn to the ending of the Guthlac homily. In it Guthlac’s journey to the gates of hell is followed immediately by the arrival of Bartholomew who carries the saint off to heaven. A fuller story must have been available to the man who selected these chapters of the Old English translation of the *Vita* for a homily, but he seems not to have considered anything outside them important. Perhaps in his selection we may glimpse Bartholomew in his original function as psychopomp within the legend of St Guthlac. The interest of the homilist in this portion of the life may be compared with the attitude of the author of *Guthlac A* to his subject, for both are interested in those aspects of the legend in which Guthlac has more in common with the Fursey-Brichthelm tradition than with the Antonian\(^2\). This coincidence may, as is argued elsewhere, reflect the sort of stories from which Felix worked when compiling his *Vita sancti Guthlacii*\(^3\).

---

\(^1\)A comparison of the texts with the Alfredian group suggests that the original translation may have been similar in quality to the *Cura Pastoralis* (certainly in the features described by Potter 1931, p. 60).

\(^2\)See Kurtz 1926, p. 113 where this incident is described as foreign to both the Antonian and Evagrius lives of the saint.

\(^3\)See further III.2/a.
other pre-Thurkytel evidence for the cult

Outside the Old English writings of some length and the *Vita sancti Guthlacii* of Felix there are few references to the saint from before the period of the Benedictine revival of the tenth century. Some acrostic verses appear in one early manuscript of the *Vita* and may have related to an early shrine for the saint. Notes of Guthlac's death appear in the Anglo-Saxon chronicle and in the early related chronicles. Possible forged records of a Guthlac occur among the signatures in two charters ascribed to Ethelred of Mercia. Church calendar entries of Guthlac's feast do not however seem to appear before about 970 and cannot be included in a summary of early evidence for his cult.

Probably most important of the remaining early sources for the cult is the Old English Martyrology in which entries are found both for Guthlac and for his sister Pege. This text was already in existence by Alfred's reign and may well have been put together in the third quarter of the ninth century. Contents suggest that the Martyrology was made in Mercia, for Mercian saints are best represented and there are notable omissions of expected West Saxon figures, but a second possible explanation of the collection is that it was drawn by some Mercian scholar working within the West Saxon kingdom. Other

---

1 See Appendix 2 section 5/b  
2 See Appendix 2 section 7/b  
3 See Appendix 2, section 10  
4 See Appendix 2, section 8
noteworthy entries are for Chad, Cedd and Hygebald of Lindsey¹.

Guthlac's feast is given as the 11th April and his resting place is given as Crowland. The belli munus interpretation of his name is noted, together with the miracle of the hand from heaven at his birth. As well the entry tells of how, a year after he had dwelt in his hermitage, an angel of God would speak with Guthlac every morning and evening and open to him heavenly mysteries. Pege's feast is given as January 9th, she is described as St Guthlac's sister and reference is made to her part in the miracle of the blind man's regaining sight through the anointing of his eyes. There is nothing in either of these entries that could not have been derived from the Vita by Felix, although it is possible that some intermediary stood between the life and these short entries, perhaps collects or some Latin martyrology since vanished². There is no evidence to connect these short notes on Guthlac and Pege with the Old English translation of the Vita³.

¹See Appendix 2, section 3/a; many of these details depend on examination of martyrology made by C. Sisam 1953, pp. 209-20
²See Appendix 2, section 3/a
³Ibid. and see also II.3/a.
The tenth century foundation of an abbey at Crowland is traditionally placed in Æthelred's reign, sometime between the years 946 and 955, on the evidence of Ordericus Vitalis. This dating of the new foundation was obviously accepted in mediaeval Crowland, for it appears also in the chronicle attributed to Ingulf. The abbey is however more likely to have been refounded after 971, as Miss Whitelock has pointed out, for Thurkytel was very probably abbot of Bedford until about 970. The Thurkytel referred to in annals of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle for 971 and in the Historia Elenensis (ii.31) is probably to be identified with the founder of Crowland; and, as he was a friend of Dunstan, Æthelwold and Oswald, the abbey must have been Benedictine from this foundation.

The earlier traditional dating may be the result of some confusion in the records kept at Crowland. Miss Whitelock puts forward two interesting reasons for the occurrence of the mistake she envisages, either that a scribe confused Æthelred (for Æpelred) with Æthelred or that the date of the foundation of Bedford was by mistake applied

1These details and this interpretation of the early history of the Benedictine abbey at Crowland are to be found in a paper by D. Whitelock (1941, pp. 174-5). 2Knowles and Hadoock (1953, p. 63) state that the abbey was refounded in Æthelred's reign after the foundation of the Winchester monasteries, yet give as the foundation date some time after 966. Knowles (1963, p. 51) suggests that the abbey was founded 'perhaps' c. 966.
to the foundation of Crowland. It is interesting to note that trust-
worthy knowledge of the details of this foundation may already have
been lost by the twelfth century when the chronicler Ralph de Dioeto
lists among descriptions of monastic houses and churches:

Ecclesia quae dicitur Croilande a Walteolfo fundata est. 1

The entertaining history of early Crowland attributed to Ingulf can
be given little credence, particularly as regards the story of the
sempots advanced to establish the continuity of the abbey from the
days of Aethelbald. Even the information given by him that Cissa,
Bettelm (i.e. Becoel), Eogberht and Tatwine remained to the end of
their lives in separate cells near Guthlac's oratory has the appear-
ance of happy invention from the meagre details given by Felix.

A NOTE ON THE LATER HISTORY OF THE ABBEY

Although that part of the Historia Crowlandensis attributed to Ingulf
is untrustworthy in many respects, some of the details it gives have
the supporting evidence of Ordericus Vitalis who tells us categoric-
ally that during the abbacy of Ingulf:

.. pars ecclesiae cum officinis et vestibus et libris,
 multisqune aliis rebus necessariis repentino igne com-
busta est. 2

Little of the history attributed to Ingulf can have been written before

1 Stubbs 1876, II. p. 211  
2 le Prévost 1840, II. p. 286
the late twelfth century and it is more likely that it was put to­
gether at a much later date, perhaps even as late as the fifteenth
century. No trust therefore can be placed in its story of duplic­
ate charters preserved from the fire because they had been removed
from the muniments-room to serve as copies for young scribes, for
there is no mention of any of these charters between the years 1091
and 1415 in sources other than the pseudo-Ingulf. Because of the
1091 fire there is a great gap in our knowledge of the early history
of the Thurkytel foundation and this cannot safely be filled in with
the details given in the Historia Croylandensis, even though some of
its information may stem from earlier sources. Another fire occurred
during the abbacy of Edward in which further historical material may
have been lost.

An excellent account of the possessions of Crowland abbey is to
be found in the monograph by F.E. Page who traces the history of its
inheritances and gifts and points out that the Domesday Book account
is the 'first authentic record of its lands'. By 1086 Crowland
possessed twenty-three estates which lay in five counties. A few of
these Domesday lands were lost and others were acquired until Crowland
reached the height of its glory with fifty-four estates in the thir­
teenth century; by the dissolution only eighteen of them remained.

The earliest genuine charter extant for Crowland abbey is a
confirmation of its possessions made by Henry II. This charter used to be regarded as confirmation also of the record of donations found in the last roundel of the Harley Roll when this was dated to the middle of the twelfth century, but, as the roll is now placed in the last years of the century, it must be recognised that information may have been derived from the charter still contained in the Wrest Park Cartulary of Crowland. It seems likely that the pseudo-Ingulf drew on both these sources.

Details of the church dedications to Guthlac from the mediaeval period and of some of the cells and priories which looked to the abbey may be found in Appendix 2 (section 11) and will not be duplicated here. A glance at these will show that, even if little evidence for the cult of the saint remains from the early period except in literature which cannot be placed with any certainty, by the eleventh century his legend was well known throughout the midland area in which he had lived. The later development of his legend leads, in the post-Conquest period, to the writing of new lives and poems in celebration of Guthlac. Many of these obviously originated at Crowland, but a more general interest in the cult can be inferred from didactic and historical writings which are not of an interest purely localised in Crowland.¹

¹See particularly Appendix 2, sections 7, 8, 9 and 12
The absence of Crowland materials about Guthlac from before the twelfth century can be attributed to the fire of Ingulf's abbacy and it is not therefore surprising to find that compilations newly made in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries provide the first important material for the growth and elaboration of the cult at Crowland itself. It would seem that abbot Geoffrey, as well as undertaking the rebuilding of the fabric, wished to increase the importance of his house. During his rule Ordericus Vitalis was invited to Crowland to put together the historical materials of the monastery and these appear in the Historiae Ecclesiasticae. During his stay at Crowland prior Wulfine asked Orderic to make an abbreviated version of Felix's life of Guthlac. This abbreviation Orderic later inserted into his history where he writes of it:

Felix quidam, Orientalium Anglorum episcopus, natione quidem Burgundus, sed sanctitate venerandus, edidit gesta sanctissimi anchorites prolixo et aliquantulum obscuro dictatu: quæ pro posse meo breviter dilucidavi, fratre benigne rogatu, cum quibus quinque septimannis Cruilandis commoratus sum, venerabilis Gisfredi abbatis caritativo jussu.

The abbreviation is, as le Prévost points out, un extrait très fidèle de celle du moine et non de l'évêque Félix printed by the Bollandists.

---

1 See Appendix 2, sections 4/a and 7/a; also Colgrave 1956, p. 11
2 le Prévost 1840, II. p. 268
3 ibid. p. 279, fn. 1
Unfortunately, with only the Rollandist text evidently available to him, le Prévost cannot have known how true his remark was, for certain details make it clear that Orderio was using either the Douai text of Felix or some manuscript closely related to it. The *Abbreviation*, despite its inclusion among the local materials gathered together in *Douai 852*, seems never to have achieved the popularity of the original from which it was taken.

A translation of St Guthlac took place on August 23rd 1136, during the rule of abbot Waltheof, and an account of this event appears among the materials of the Douai manuscript written at Crowland, followed by a series of miracles (now incomplete but a fuller version is reflected in the life by Peter of Blois). Both these additions were made to the manuscript some twenty years after this translation.

Two new lives of the saint, both of which achieved some popularity, were commissioned by Henry Longchamp, for we read in the anonymous *Chronicon Angliae Petriburgense*:

1237 Obiit dominus Henricus de Longo Campo, abbas Croylandia, ad cuius petitionem magister Petrus Blesensis, archidiaconus Bathiensis tunc eloquentissimus, vitam sancti Guthlacii heroico style, et magister Henricus metrico stylo venustissime dictaverunt.

This is, as Russell and Heironimus have pointed out, 'a plain statement' that 'both Peter and Henry had written biographies of St Guthlac'.

---

1 e.g., the form of Guthlac's father's name in the phrase *ex patre Pegvaldo* (p. 268), or the dating of Guthlac's death *anno ab incarnatione Domini MDCXV*animam ad perenne gaudium emisit* (p. 277).

2 See Bolton (1959 pp. 38–40) for a brief discussion of this *abbreviatio*.

3 See Appendix 2, section 1/b

4 Colgrave 1956, p. 40

5 Giles 1845, p. 135
for Henry Longchamp. Only one manuscript of each of these texts is now extant, although evidence remains that formerly others existed. Peter's life has been printed, but an edition of the poem by Henry of Avranches is yet to be published. The intention of these two biographers was obviously very different. Peter of Blois adds no new incident to those recited by Felix, instead rewriting, simplifying, commenting, incorporating more scriptural references and more direct speech within his narrative. Henry's work, using as its most important base the life by Peter, introduces more striking changes and additions than does his predecessor's. Of particular interest are the passages in which he describes Guthlac's losing of his psalter (lines 440 ff.) and his temptation by Page in the form of Satan (lines 692ff.). Descriptions are more extended and lengthy digressions appear, for example on ambition (after the Beocel episode, lines 621 ff.) and on Lucifer. Interesting observations on the literary value of these texts have been made by Dr Bolton in an article recently published by him.

A third rather different document, the famous Harley Roll, can also be attributed to the abbacy of Henry Longchamp. This manuscript used to be dated considerably earlier, for example it was attributed by Birch to Ingulf, but on internal evidence cannot have been made before 1141 when Frieston Priory, listed among the donations of the final roundel, was granted to Crowland. The contents of the final

---

1 Heironimus and Russell 1935, p. 106  
2 See Appendix 2, sections 4/b and 5/a. An edition of the poem prepared by Bolton 1954 is available in microfilm and has been consulted.  
3 Bolton 1959, pp. 44-6 and 47-51  
4 See Warner 1928, p. 17
picture indicate that this roll was specially designed for Crowland, though to what use the cartoons were intended has not yet satisfactorily been explained. The roll may in some way be connected with the translation of the saint on April 27th 1196, for one writer has suggested that the final scene depicts a ‘shrine newly enhanced and raised on steps’¹ and another points out that the pictures may have been intended to decorate a Guthlac shrine². The series is not, as Wormald makes clear, a libellus of the saint for it does not follow closely enough an accepted life to fulfill this function, and speculation as to its use will undoubtedly continue ³. Apart from the final picture of those extant, the more interesting for the development of the legend are numbers V (Guthlac building his oratory), VIII (Bartholomew gives Guthlac a scourge), IX (Guthlac about to use this scourge on a demon) and XVII (where Ethelbald is anachronistically called ‘Rex’ and given a crown); also worth noting here is a continued emphasis on the saint’s possession of a large book, perhaps the psalter which in some accounts he loses⁴.

¹See Warner 1928, p. 18 ²Wormald 1952, p. 263 ³See also Appendix 2, section 6 ⁴See Appendix 2, section 12 under PSALTER.
Entries in church calendars, masses, offices, church dedications and other evidence of this sort show that Guthlac's fame was rather more widely known than the Crowland area in the later Anglo-Saxon and early Norman periods\(^1\). Perhaps the earliest piece of evidence from this later period is to be found in the Leofric Missal in which Guthlac's name is entered in capitals on April 11th. B. Colgrave makes the interesting suggestion:

> His appearance in this calendar may be due to the fact that some relics of the saint had already by this time reached the monastery there.\(^2\)

It should be remembered also that of recent years there has been a tendency among scholars to place at least the *Vercelli Book* and perhaps also the *Exeter Book* in Glastonbury\(^3\), in which case it is unnecessary to cite as sole evidence for Glastonbury interest in the saint the great part of St Guthlac presented by Henry de Blois\(^4\). P. Wormald has noted strong indications of West Country origins for the earlier English Benedictine calendars\(^5\), and this would suggest either that the saint was well known or that his feast was taken from some such document as the Old English *martyrology* or a *chronicle*. A lasting interest in the saint is shown both in church service books\(^6\) and

\(^1\) For a brief discussion of the writings of the earlier period see 1.5 above. \(^2\) Colgrave 1956, p. 9. \(^3\) See II.1/b passim. \(^4\) See Appendix 2, section 9/b. \(^5\) Wormald 1939, p. vi. \(^6\) See the notes on his inclusion in calendars, missals, collectors, etc. in Appendix 2, section 8.
in writings of a more popular nature\(^1\), although there are signs that his legend became gradually less popular and that in some places dedications to him were superseded by newer more fashionable dedications\(^2\) as early as the fourteenth century.

Notices longer than a mere obit appear in quite a few of the chronicles written on English history from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries and suggest that the saint was in these centuries still widely known. Two important longish epitomes were made by early historians other than Orderic, though it is significant that both may go back to the later part of the twelfth or the early thirteenth century, the period when Crowland seems to have been most famous. Both Roger of Wendover\(^3\) and Matthew Paris\(^4\) drew upon the abbreviatio probably made first by John de Cella, and another chronicler popularly called John of Wallingford\(^5\) includes in his Chronica an epitome of the Felix Vita\(^6\). These epitomes are by nature more like the abbreviatio produced by Orderic than the rewritten life by Peter of Blois. The shorter chronicle entries are of course mostly of a chronographic nature and tend to use only datable material such as the death of the saint or the beginning of the Ecgberht chapter which contains some details of East Anglian history. More popular accounts

\(^1\) E.g., the Resting-Places of English saints noted in Appendix 2, section 97a. Wordsworth 1898, p. 156; see Appendix 2, section 11.

\(^2\) Appendix 2, section 7a.

\(^3\) Ibid.; Bolton 1959, p. 44 seems not to recognise that Matthew's epitome, like the epitome earlier found in Roger, came from a common source.

\(^4\) Ibid.

\(^5\) Appendix 2, section 7a.

\(^6\) See Poole 1926, p. 71 for a note on the use made of John de Cella's writings by later St Albans historians.
of the saint appear in the *Cesta Pontificum* of William of Malmosby, the *Chronicon* of John Brompton and in Higden's *Polychronicon*.

A Middle English poem on the life of Guthlac was made for the South English legendary and, although not included in either modern edition of this collection, is reflected in three manuscripts. All three poems extant go back to one original, but they have developed considerable differences over a long period of independent transmission. A few of the details found in this tradition are worth note, for example the poet's knowledge that Guthlac's father was named *Penwald* and that he came of the march of Wales. All share a mistaken notion that Guthlac underwent monastic training at Ripon, whereas the Felix tradition makes it plain that he was educated at the double house Repton and not the more famous single house of Ripon. In all three versions St Bartholomew plays a greater part than in Felix. Guthlac is granted, in the *Corpus Christi College Cambridge 145 version*, a vision of Jesus as well as of Bartholomew. Such independent details show that this Middle English life may have had great popularity.

Epitomes of the *Vita* or lives more nearly modelled on Peter of Blois's life of Guthlac must have circulated also in legendaries in the later Middle Ages. One such collection, connected with the names of Capgrave and John of Tynemouth, has been exceedingly important in post-mediaeval discussion of Guthlac because it formed the basis of the collection of saints' lives printed by *Eynkyn de Worde* in 1516.

---

1 Appendix 2, section 7/a  
2 Appendix 2, section 3/b  
3 Compare the note for Life 47.  
4 Quotations come from text of *Cotton Julius D*ix printed by Forstmann; both these from line 5  
5 Line 25. This notion is so far as I can see to be found in all the writings of Dr Bolton on Guthlac material; see Appendix 3 under Repton for a note on these houses.  
6 See Appendix 2, section 4/b further
Of the minor figures of the cult only Beccel acquired acts of his own. These, put together perhaps by an Alexander Basibiensis in the early part of the thirteenth century, are a strange agglomeration of material in the Felix tradition and of legendary matter.

The life is extant only in the text printed by Wynkyn de Worde.

Other figures of the Vita received some enlargement at the hands of the author of the Historia Croylandensis, but his description of the separate hermitages of Cissa, Bettelm (for Beccel), Bagberht and Tatwine has the appearance of having been added together from the Vita. Cissa may have gained some importance for in later documents than the Vita he is included among Thorney saints. Ingulf's attractive anecdotes about Pegge, discussed already in this introduction, are to be found nowhere else but in this chronicle.

---

1 Pits 1619, p. 295 attributes to this man: Vitam s Bertelini, Librum vnun. Quoniam quanti intellectui nostro. No other record of this manuscript exists.
2 Bolton 1959, pp. 46-7 points out that this life is in the Peter of Blois tradition
3 See Appendix 1
4 See Appendix 2, section 9/a
5 See I.1/0; and Appendix 3 under Pegge.
At the dissolution\(^1\) much Guthlac material must obviously have been lost, for local saints were no longer venerated. In this respect it is worth remembering Foxe's words about St Guthlac:

\[\ldots\ \text{a confessor, who, about the four-and-twentieth year of his age, renouncing the pomp of the world, professed himself a monk in the abbey of Repingdon; and, the third year after, went to Crowland, where he led the life of an anchorite. In which isle and place of his burying was builded a fair abbey, called afterward, for the great resort and gentle entertainment of strangers, "Crowland the courteous." But why this Cuthlake should be sainted for his doings, I see no great cause; as neither do I think the fabulous miracles reported of him to be true; as where the vulgar people are made to believe that he enclosed the devil in a boiling pot, and caused wicked spirits to erect up houses; with such other fables and lying miracles.}\(^2\)

Admittedly Foxe, in drawing his knowledge of Guthlac from Higden's *Polychronicon*, chooses the source which would by his way of thought show up St Guthlac's cult in the worst possible light. Yet, his attitude should be noted, for it marks much writing on the saint even in more modern times. Indeed, as late as the early nineteenth century Holdich's history of Crowland is in the same tradition\(^3\).

---

\(^1\) For Crowland 1539 (see Knowles and Haddock 1953, p. 63)  
\(^3\) Holdich 1816
Many important discoveries, discussed elsewhere in this thesis, were made by antiquarians, and the journeys and collections of such men as Bale, Leland, Hearne, Cave, Dugdale, Stukeley and Schnebbelie have still to-day much value in any study of extant materials relevant to the examination of the Guthlac legend. So far as the historical aspects of the Guthlac question are concerned modern scholarship might be said to begin with the Victorians, although even they have some curious things to say. For example, Baring Gould states that Guthlac:

... saw hairy figures leaping about his island, and talking in British. His imagination caused him to regard them as devils, but there can be no doubt as to who they were, some of the Old British who had been driven by the Saxon invaders into those wilds...¹

Kingsley explains this episode of the life in terms of 'the delirious fancies of marsh fever' and, in his eulogy of the saint, acclaims him as:

... the spiritual father of the University of Cambridge in the old world; and therefore of her noble daughter, the University of Cambridge, in the new world which fenmen sailing from Boston deeps colonized and Christianized 800 years after St. Guthlac's death.²

Such extravagances might be expected from writers of the preceding centuries, rather than from scholars of so recent a date. On the other hand, exceptions must be made in the earlier period and most outstanding among these is Wanley's great cataloguing work of Anglo-

¹Baring Gould 1897, IV. p. 169 ²Kingsley [1868], p. 308
Throughout the whole modern period some continuity of tradition from the mediaeval period can be recognised, for many of the notes and references to Guthlac recorded in hagiographic collections stem ultimately from early (some predissolution) printed legendaries\(^1\) instead of from Felix's *Vita sancti Guthlacii*. Indeed no printed text of Felix's life of Guthlac was available until 1672\(^2\) when a text was edited by the Maurists; it is therefore hardly surprising that early accounts of the saint should often go back to the twelfth century life to be found in the *Nova Legenda Anglia*\(^3\).

---

\(^1\) This question is discussed by Bolton in his 1954 dissertation.

\(^2\) See II. 1/2 for a brief account of the previous editions of the *Vita*.

\(^3\) See Appendix 2, section 4/b.
II

PROSE LIFE
Account of the Latin text

Earlier editions of the Vita

Five full versions of the *Vita* have been printed and a clear account of the editorial history of the text is to be found in B. Colgrave's edition. The earliest edition, by d'Achéry and Mabillon, is based on the manuscript Douai, Public Library 852, probably with an intervening seventeenth century transcript which the editors describe as a manuscript from Lyre. The text in the Bollandist *Acta Sanctorum* is more closely related to the Douai manuscript and includes other Guthlac materials found only in that manuscript in the version given by the Bollandists and not used by d'Achéry and Mabillon. Mr Colgrave points out that this editor, although acquainted with the Arras MS 812 and Boulogne, Public Library 637 as well as with the Douai manuscript, relies heavily upon the earlier edition:

Where he differs from the text of Mabillon, it is mostly to correct the latter's misprints or to give a reading which appears in none of the MSS. now available and would appear to be his own attempts at emendation.

From this Bollandist text Gonser prints below the Old English translation the passages which to him seemed to lie behind that translation.

---

1 Colgrave 1956  
3 v. Colgrave 1956  
4 J. Bollandus and others 1675, pp. 38-50, Aprilis II  
5 v. Colgrave 1956, p. 55  
6 Gonser 1909, pp. 100-73
yet suggests that the translator was working from Felix's Vita and that he himself paraphrased and curtailed that material as his translation progressed.

Both the early English editions of the Vita are based on British Museum manuscripts. Gough uses the Harleian MS 3097, supplying from Cotton Nero E i (part I) the final sentences and list of contents which the Harley text does not contain. Birch's basic text is Royal 13 A xv which contains only the life, and his prologue and list of chapters for the most part come from Royal 4 A xiv and Cotton Nero E i (part I). He notes variant readings from all the British Museum manuscripts as well as from the Bollandist text and his edition remains the most accurate edition of any one version of the Vita. It is used occasionally by C.W. Jones in his translation from the Bollandist text.

The most recent edition of the Vita, invaluable for its discussion of the manuscript relationships, its comprehensive collation of substantive variants and its commentary, is composite in character. Colgrave, because the manuscripts are far removed from one another and from their archetype, attempts:

... to get as close as possible to what Felix wrote, by taking into consideration the various features of his style, his fondness for the unusual word or form, his use of Aldhelmian phraseology and rhythm on the

---

1 v. Gonser 1909, p. 52 and p. 94
2 Gough 1783, pp. 131-53
3 Birch 1881, pp. 1-64
4 Birch 1881, p. xvii, fn 4
5 Jones 1947, pp. 125-160
one hand, and his dependence upon Bede on the other. In his text, which he describes as 'reconstructive', he standardises the spelling so far as possible to an early eighth century norm as revealed in the earliest Bede manuscripts and gives a modern punctuation. This edition also provides the best translation of the life.

A long excerpt from Corpus Christi College Cambridge 382 is printed by F.P. Bolton in illustration of his selection from the Old English prose translation (Vita 1113-1170 and Life 788-851). As the extract is used in an Old English anthology for beginners, the text is presented with modern punctuation and capitalisation (which are much the same as in B. Colgrave's presentation) and expansions, insertions and the transcription of $g$ as $g$ occur silently.

1Colgrave 1956, p. 56  2Bolton 1963, pp. 64-66
Choice of Vita text

Although so many editions of the Vita have been published, it is curious that there is in print only one text separately and efficiently edited\(^1\) - and this edition, limited to one hundred copies, is now almost unobtainable. It is, moreover, based upon an incomplete version of the Vita and therefore includes material from other manuscripts; and like the other available editions, its editor does not use the manuscript system of punctuation. With the appearance of Colgrave's account of the relationship of the manuscripts\(^2\), the task of choosing a Vita text for comparison with the Old English Life became much simpler. It is worth noting at this point that, working independently of one another, W.F. Bolton\(^3\) and I both concluded that the type of text used by the Old English translator is best illustrated in the group B. Colgrave labels IV. Since then W.F. Bolton\(^4\) has printed an excerpt from one of these texts below an excerpt from the Old English translation, preferring Corpus Christi College Cambridge 382 to Cotton Nero E 1 which he had earlier thought closer to the translation\(^5\).

Of the thirteen manuscripts listed by B. Colgrave, one is a fragment, Royal 4 A xiv. It contains the prologue and a list of chapter headings which end part way through the thirty-seventh title. Of the other twelve manuscripts five omit both the prologue and chapter-list (Cotton Nero C vii, Arras MS 812, Royal 13 A xv and its derived Trinity

College Dublin B.4.3 and Gotha, Herzogliche Bibliothek I,81) and a
sixth lacks the list of chapters (Harleian MS 3097), leaving only
seven full analogues for comparison with this fragment; Colgrave
does not therefore attempt to place this manuscript within his group­
ing of the texts. Certainly it is difficult to draw any firm conclu­
sions about its place within his scheme, except to point out that the
readings show it has less in common with Harleian MS 3097 and Douai,
Public Library 852 than with the other texts with which it can be com­
pared. Its affinities are the more difficult to judge because it is
the earliest Vita manuscript extant. It most likely precedes by some
time Corpus Christi College Cambridge 307, a manuscript which also
fails to fit easily into the four neat groups distinguished by B. Col­
grave. These groups are:

I  Arras MS 812, Boulogne Public Library 637
II Harleian MS 3097, Douai Public Library 852
III Royal 13 A xv, Trinity College Dublin B.1,16, Gotha,
Herzogliche Bibliothek I, 81
IV Corpus Christi College Cambridge 389, Cotton Nero E i,
Cotton Nero C vii, Trinity College Dublin B.4.3.

Dr Bolton fixes upon certain major textual variants listed by B.
Colgrave and, from a comparison of these with the Life, concludes:

Of the four, groups I, II and III can be shown to
lack a number of words and phrases which are not omit­
ted in the Old English, and to have errors and variants
which again are not reflected in the translation.

The examples which he quotes follow, but in the form they have in this
edition; the figures in brackets beside each quotation give Bolton's
references either to B. Colgrave's edition of the *Vita* or to P. Con-
serr's of the *Life*. His examples of phrases omitted in the group I
texts, but translated in the Old English version, are:

abrenuntians sacerlarisibus pompis 206-7(82, n. 51-54)
*pa forlet he calle pas woruldglæng* 138(111)

sub abbatissa nomine alfdr³d 280(84, n. 6-9)
under alfdr³de abbédyssan 141(111)

per munitum alterius fidelis fratriis precipientes 1017-8(146, n. 45-47)
*heo gesende pa gretinge be sumum arwyrdæ lifes broþor* 711-2(158)

For group II he cites:

insula media in palude posita 336(88, n. 26a-27)
*was ðæt land on middan þam westene* 185-6(114)

tenus usque 325(86, n. 47-9)
*ðe¹r 175(113)*

paœcis 336(88, n. 28)
*feawe 187(114),*

noting also that both these texts read *insula* where the other Latin
texts read *locum* 335(88, n. 23-4) and the Old English gives *stowe* 183
(114). He cites two omissions peculiar to group III:

*ad perpetuæ beatitudinis militiam* 379(92, n. 17-19)
*to emanphade ðæs eçan lifes* 223-4(117)

(dicta) mæa 1145(156, n. 36)
*min word 825(165)*

Corpus Christi College 307 jofgas group III in omitting:

*regnæm 1263(166, n. 11)*
*þæt rice 929(152)*

and, again like them, reads *roris* instead of *floris* 1150 (156, n. 47).
where the *Life* gives *bloodman* 831(166). Bolton also points out two independent omissions made in this manuscript (the first within a chapter heading):

- A CORVIS 742(124,n.1-2)
- *hrefnas* 499(143)
- *spiritum* 911(138,n.14-17)
- *gaste* 622(152)

In his final example he points out that the translator follows an order found only in the *Vita* texts of groups II and IV:

- *Igitur psalmis, canticis*... 300(86,n.2-3)
- *canticas, 7 hymnas*... 155(122)

These 'errors and variants' prompt Bolton to infer that the group IV manuscripts best represent the type of text used by the translator. In particular two passages allow him to narrow the choice to two texts within the group. In one place all the group IV texts omit *mentis* 414(96,n.2) which corresponds with the *Life on ham mode* 245(119), but it is supplied between the lines in both Corpus Christi College Cambridge 389 (*s,mentis*) and in Cotton Nero E, i. They all also omit *dicoens* 559(108,n.9) where the Old English has *owdon* 379(559) and only Cotton Nero E, i supplies it between the lines, an observation which influences him to emphasise this text as the nearest available source for the translation. Bolton gives no explanation in his *An Old English Anthology* for his choice there of the Cambridge text.

It is unfortunate that Bolton has misunderstood which texts are

---

1 Bolton 1963, p. 64
included in Mr Colgrave's group III and that he has, in any case, transposed groups I and III; because of this it is necessary to point out that the examples of phrases he cites as omitted from group I are in reality phrases omitted from the group III texts Trinity College Dublin B.1.16 and Gotha, Herzogliche Bibliothek I.81 and marked for omission in the interlineations of Royal 13 A xv. It appears that he has not realised the significant difference between B. Colgrave's A, for the latter manuscript, and A², for the changes marked in it; the 'omissions' he cites as common to all the group I (Colgrave's III) texts are not omitted in Royal 13 A xv. Again, Bolton does not mention that some words reflected in the translation have dropped out of the group IV texts but remain in others. For example, where his wester appears in Life 819, the Corpus Christi College Cambridge 389 text of the Vita has heremum 1139: the article bis perhaps answers to hoe in Corpus Christi College Cambridge 397 or to hane in the group II texts. Such divergences are for the most part minor and would scarcely assume enough importance to overthrow his conclusions, especially as they are details which a paraphrasing translator might be expected to supply. This latter consideration indeed makes one wonder as to the true value of certain of the correspondences Bolton cites (Life 175 Ryders, Life 379 owedon or Life 825 min).

Because of the mistaken groupings of texts in Bolton's paper it is necessary to glance again at such evidences for selecting an illustrative Vita text as B. Colgrave's footnotes supply. His collations are by no means full or accurate enough for a comprehensive survey of
this question, but they undoubtedly provide enough evidence for a fairly safe choice to be made. A few requirements necessary for an edition of the translation must first be stated. The chosen manuscript should contain both prologue and life, for it seems best to view the translation against one coherent block of material (and, incidentally, it would be as well to establish at last one text of the Vita). A full text should be printed: the dangers of presenting selections are well illustrated in Conner's edition where an erroneous impression of the translator's nearness to the Vita is conveyed. It is obvious that the translator worked from a Vita more like some extant texts than others; from what has gone before it is obvious also that we do not have his exemplar: we must therefore choose that manuscript which most closely resembles the Life both in content and lay-out. These requirements seem best fulfilled by Corpus Christi College 389, as the following paragraphs should indicate.

In this examination only four manuscripts are altogether omitted. They are:

Royal 4 A xiv first because of its fragmentary nature, but in any case because it shares with other texts the omission (minor) of nos 21 (cf. Life 14 ure). There seems no reason to consider the texts dependent upon Royal 13 A xv.

As well as much of the material available to the translator being absent from these, certain readings they agree in make it obvious that he cannot have worked from any text closely related to them (for example, octo for Vita 243 ,viii., annorum for
Vita 308 mensium and Anglos for Vita 582 illos. In addition they are, like Royal 13 A xv, without the prologue.

The Arras and Boulogne manuscripts alone show the omission

*ad perpetue beatitudinis militiam 379*

to camphade *pas scam lifes 117*

(as noted by W.F. Bolton, though for the wrong group). Also restricted to these texts are the omissions:

*uii dei 976 (dei omitted)*

*pes godes mannas 678*

*haec diota mea 1145 (mea omitted)*

*mis word 825*

Common to them and Corpus Christi College 307 are the readings:

*autem 1098 (omitted)*

*forpon 772*

*enim 1100 (omitted)*

*forpon 774*

*diota sua 1118 (sua omitted)*

*his word 793*

*regnum 1263 (omitted)*

*rice 929*

These three texts agree also in readings against the other texts and the translation:

*Dominus mihi adiutor est ... 506*

*Dominus a dextris est mihi (representative of other texts)*

*Drihten me ye on pa swypran heale 336*

*causas 937 (causam in rest)*

*pone intingan 642*
roris 1150  (floris in rest)
bloetmaa 831

Words reflected in the Old English Life and missing from other Vita
texts as well as these three are:

nos 21  (not in Royal 4 A xiv, Harleian 3097 and Douai 852)
ure 14

illl 1123  (not in Royal 13 A xv)
hyre 798

heremum 1140  (CCC 307 has hoc and Harleian 3097 and Douai hanc)
pis westen 819

transmisit 1012  (The verb is missing in the group I texts,
sende 708  CCC 307, Royal 13 A xv, Harleian 3097 and
Douai 852, but could obviously be supplied
in translation.  Note that misit is
written into Royal 13 A xv and descends
to texts dependent upon it.)

Other readings which may have some bearing upon the choice of a Vita
text for comparison with the translation are:

dei 262  (christi in all texts except CCC 382, Nero E i and
gode 125
gode 125)

psalmis. canticis. ymnis. orationibus. 300
sealmas geleorned. 7 canticas. 7 ymnas. 7 gebeda 154
(order of first two words reversed in group
I texts, in CCC 307 and in Royal 13 A xv)

In a few places, however, the readings shared by the Arras and Boulogne
manuscripts (and sometimes with others as well) appear closer to the
text which must have lain behind the translation:

- 278  (quod Anglorum vocabulo munupatur inserted by them,
Douai 852 and Harleian 3097 might possibly lie behind
the Old English)

be ys geoweden 140
Non me 1031 (Arras, Boulogne and Nero E i read Nonne which is closer to the Old English)

Swylce nys ecc 723

in angustiis 1241 (meis added only in Arras and Boulogne manuscripts)
in minus unynysse 912

It is best to consider next the claims of Corpus Christi College 307 to illustrate the Old English translation for, although it does not appear in any of B. Colgrave's groupings, many of the readings significant in a discussion of its relationship to the translation have already been cited in the preceding paragraph. A few other omissions, made only in this manuscript, should be cited as the translator most likely worked from a text in which these words were present:

ubi 24 / per 18

predestinatum 202 / forestihtod 72

In tantum 789 / swa swype 529

spirituum infestatio : aut commisorum 911

côde frâm þam awyr-dan gaste geswenote 622

Further readings from Royal 13 A xv (the text altogether omitted by W.F. Bolton in his article on this problem) are given next, because of this text's closer relationship to those already explored than to B. Colgrave's second group (Harleian 3097 and Douai 852) and his fourth group (Nero E i, T.C.D. B,4,1, Nero C vii and CCCC 389). The following phrases should be noted in addition to the significant readings quoted above in the paragraph on the Arras and Boulogne manuscripts:

quem dicunt nomine 319 (nomine omitted)

By ylean nama ya namned 168
Although probably only the third of these examples is of significance, they reinforce other pointers already given as evidence against the choice of this text.

The Harleian and Douai manuscripts agree in certain omissions where the translator must have used a different text. One of two of the less important of these have been mentioned as features shared with other texts. The following additional omissions should be considered:

- *munda 214 / pe gife 84*
- *insula media in palude posita 336*
- *was pat land on middan pam westene ... geseted 186*
- *paucis 336*
- *swepe feawe men 187*

(These last two examples are noted by Bolton; in them the Old English is of course without the Latin which may lie behind it in Conser's edition, because of his dependence upon the Bollandist text).

As well as these omissions the word *respondens* 726 has dropped out of these texts alone, but little significance need be placed on this as the translator often supplies a pair of verbs where his original
probably had only one. In four places a reading in which these two manuscripts differ from the rest is not reflected in the Old English version:

\[\text{regi 3 (Harleian and Douai MSS read regni)}\]
\[\text{kyning 3}\]
\[\text{in meditullaneis brittanici 317 (Harleian and Douai MSS give a more specific indication of locality, reading Mediterraneorum Anglorum for meditullaneis.)}\]
\[\text{on bretone lande 167}\]
\[\text{locum 335 (Harleian and Douai insulum)}\]
\[\text{etowe 185}\]
\[\text{famulus 1072}\]
\[\text{peow 748}\]

In a few places these manuscripts share readings which appear closer to the translation than the readings of the other manuscripts; as well as the insertion in Vita 278 (Life 140) and Vita 1140 hano (Life 819) already mentioned, the Life 258 mea appears only in these Vita manuscripts (compare Vita 424). Such points are minor, but rather more important is the agreement between these texts and the translation on the name of Guthlac's father against all the other manuscripts of the Vita (Vita 162, Life 47). However, both these manuscripts come from the fealands where the saint was especially popular and where details of his parentage might therefore be more carefully preserved. For a discussion of this point, see Commentary 47.

The observations so far made, although as evidence largely negative in quality, tend, as do Dr Bolton's, to throw emphasis upon B.
Colgrave's fourth group of texts as representative of the type which the translator may have used. All indeed seem fairly free of the sorts of omissions and changed readings found in the other manuscripts; they are all without hoc or hanc at Vita 1140 (Life 819 bis); they all, except for Nero E i, read Non me 1031 (Life 723). At this point the selection of Vita text for comparative purposes rests largely upon personal choice rather than objective evidence. The principles stated at the outset of this discussion eliminate Nero C vii because it lacks both prologue and chapter list; other pointers against its use are Christi 262 (Life 125 good) where deo appears in the remaining texts of this group, its omission of ante 647 (Life 449 in) which it shares with CCC 389 (not noted in Colgrave's collations) and its omission of mentis 414 (Life 246 on pam modo) which it shares with B,C,D, E,4,3.

Three good and very full manuscripts remain to be considered:

Cotton Nero E i, Corpus Christi College Cambridge 389 and Trinity College Dublin E,4,3. They share in certain readings where the translator had apparently something else before him: for example, Life 47 penwald (which is supported only in the readings of the Harley and Douai manuscripts), Life 42 yldestan (where they have all lost the word antiqua from Vita 166) or Life 463 ad eae aylce (where only Corpus Christi College Cambridge 307, the Arras and Douai manuscripts read sed et against the general Vita 621 et). The Dublin manuscript's omission of nos from line 21 and of mentis from 414 and its idiosyncratic dilecte in line 1 (other Vita texts here have dilectissimo and
Life 2 leofstan) scarcely provide sufficient evidence for disregarding this text. However, as both Corpus Christi College Cambridge 389 and Cotton Nero E i supply Vita 414 mentis above the script, this word becomes Dr Bolton's major reason for suggesting that one of these two texts should be used in the preparation of a critical edition of the Old English life.

My choice is based on other considerations as well as on this particular reading: and most important among these is the earliness of the Corpus Christi College 389 text. The reading mentis 414 which it and Cotton Nero E i share, and the translations of Nerc morë 633 and 759 by Life 437 næs ba nan hwil to ham bat and Life 510 næs ba nanig hwil respectively, lose importance indeed when it is remembered that the interlineations of the Cotton version derive largely from the Cambridge manuscript. Interesting also is the lack of chapter numbering for chapters i to xxvii within the text. Such numbers are found regularly only in Corpus Christi College 307, Cotton Nero E i and Trinity College Dublin B, 4, 3 and cannot have been a feature of the manuscript from which the translator worked.
Corpus Christi College Cambridge 389 is one of the college's Parkerian gifts, being G(2) in the list of the archbishop's gifts to Corpus Christi College in 1575\(^1\). The number G2 appears in the top right hand corner of folio 1\(^r\) and the manuscript contains the marginalia and other markings generally found in Parker's books, for example the note in red at the foot of this folio: *Hip liber scriptus ante com- questum*. The manuscript at one time belonged to St Augustine's, Canterbury, a Benedictine abbey which was originally dedicated to St Peter and St Paul\(^2\), and an old shelf number can still be read at the top (centred) of folio 1\(^r\):

*Distinctio ii gradu tercio V*

The contents are listed lower down by a hand described as twelfth century by James\(^3\) and Colgrave\(^4\):

- *Vita sancti psuli pridi heremite*
- *Vita sancti GUTHLACI*

and below this again what they describe as a fourteenth century hand has added:

*Liber sancti Augustine cant*

The manuscript is number 68 in T. James (1600), 1345 in Bernard (1697), and 389 in Nasmith (1777). The present binding dates from 1953.

The first gathering of the manuscript shows marks left by old clasps.

---

\(^1\)Ker 1957, p. 113  \(^2\)Ker 1941, pp. 25-6  \(^3\)James 1912, II, pp. 239-40  \(^4\)Colgrave 1956, pp. 27-8
The manuscript contains 66 folios: collocation $1^8 - 5^8$, $6^{10}$ (8 cancelled), $7^{10}$ (3, 7 cancelled) and $8^{10}$ (4 cancelled). The page size is given by James as 9" x 5 3/5" and by Colgrave as 9" x 5 1/2" or 228 x 141 mm. It is written in a square Anglo-Saxon miniscule, hesitantly placed in the ninth century by James and described as "Tenth century, probably second half." by Colgrave; Ker has narrowed its dating from the tenth century\(^1\) to the second half of the tenth century\(^2\). Red, green and purple are used in capitals; large capitals in black and red outlines, decorated with biting birds, animal (wolf) heads and interlacing appear on folios 2\(^r\), 6\(^r\), 18\(^r\) and 22\(^v\). A drawing of St Jerome on folio 1\(^v\) uses the same colours as are found in the rest of the manuscript (green, red and purple) but is thought later (c. 1070) by Wormald.\(^3\) Outlines for a drawing are sketched on 17\(^v\); it shows a throned king full-face, sword across his knee and a finger raised towards a beardless tonsured youth on the right. Colgrave suggests that this may represent Felix offering his book to Aelfwald, and this is very probable as the sketch on folio 1\(^v\) depicts the author, not the subject, of the *Vita sancti Pauli*.

The texts are clearly written, nineteen lines to the page, in single column. The pointing in the *Vita sancti Pauli* consists of thin light strokes: three stops (., ; and ́) and the long thin stress sign (⟨⟩); but in the *Vita sancti Guthlac* this punctuation has been superseded by a revising hand. The later system is often

\(^1\)Ker 1941, p. 26  \(^2\)Ker 1957, p. 113  \(^3\)Wormald 1952, p. 61
no more than a heavy remarking of the earlier sparer punctuation, but
many stops, thicker and different in form, have been added and stress
marks appear far more frequently. It would be impossible to recon-
struct the punctuation system of the scribe in these circumstances,
and therefore the reviser's intention is as closely followed as poss­
ible. Glosses in a small neat hand throughout the manuscript are
probably the scribe's whereas those in a thicker hand are later and
may perhaps have been made by the man who revised the punctuation in
the Vita Guthlac. Five Old English glosses (on folios 34\textsuperscript{v}, 35\textsuperscript{v} (2),
41\textsuperscript{r} and 41\textsuperscript{v}) are contemporary with the Latin text\textsuperscript{1}. Names, places
and key-passages (also only in the second life) are underlined with
a thin red line and on folio 55\textsuperscript{r} correland has been scrawled in the
right hand margin against the text's correland: these are the usual
Parkerian marks. At the top of 57\textsuperscript{v} a mostly illegible scrawl begins
Eadu... and its offset on folio 58\textsuperscript{r} seems to show final -\textsuperscript{n}. Folio
17\textsuperscript{r} is blank, as is 66\textsuperscript{v} (given wrongly by Colgrave as 67\textsuperscript{b}), except
for the beginning of an alphabet (A to M) in green capitals and be­
neath it a sixteenth century scribble (the first word illegible, but
the name apparently is edwurde Wyllyams).

The life of St Guthlac fills folios 18\textsuperscript{r} to 66\textsuperscript{r}. Lections for
his octave are marked in the outer margins on 57\textsuperscript{v}, 58\textsuperscript{r}, 59\textsuperscript{r}, the
fourth is missing, 61\textsuperscript{v}, 62\textsuperscript{v}, 63\textsuperscript{r} and 63\textsuperscript{v}, i.e. from chapters I, li and
lii (lines 1072 ff.). The following abbreviations are used:

\textsuperscript{1}Ker 1957, p. 113, but Colgrave 1956, p. 52 assigns them to the eleventh
century.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WORDS</th>
<th>apostolican</th>
<th>a'ptica</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>existum</td>
<td>ëhū</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deus</td>
<td>ëēs [ëē : ëei, ëō : ëeo]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dominus</td>
<td>ëōrs [ëōr : dominum, ëōō : domīno]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deum</td>
<td>ëōm</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gеsleusia</td>
<td>ëccta</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>episcopo</td>
<td>ëpō</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>esse</td>
<td>ëēe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>est</td>
<td>ëē, ëē, ë</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>esset</td>
<td>ëēet</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fratres</td>
<td>ëās</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lectio</td>
<td>ṭ [in othē morāmus et vitā]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liquore</td>
<td>ëgēre</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kalendarum</td>
<td>ëkt, kēkū</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nomen</td>
<td>nōm</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non</td>
<td>ën</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nostras</td>
<td>ërās [èrām : nostram etc]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>omnes</td>
<td>ërēs [èrē : omni etc]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>post</td>
<td>ë</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>proprias</td>
<td>ërēpas</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prepter</td>
<td>ū</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qua</td>
<td>ëq [èq : quam etc]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>que</td>
<td>qō</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quesode</td>
<td>Quōm</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quoniam</td>
<td>qēm, qō</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quoque</td>
<td>ëq</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
reliquiae sancti septembris sicut spiritus sunt supradictum tune uero ustra [uere : uestræ etc]

LETTERS etc

tilde
con-
per-
pro-
pre-
art

\[\text{\textbackslash -er} \quad \text{\textbackslash -er} \quad \text{\textbackslash -er} \quad \text{\textbackslash -er}\]

\[\text{\textbackslash e} \quad \hat{\text{\textbackslash e}} \quad \hat{\text{\textbackslash e}} \quad \text{\textbackslash e}\]

\[\text{\textbackslash a} \quad \hat{\text{\textbackslash a}} \quad \hat{\text{\textbackslash a}} \quad \text{\textbackslash a}\]

"et eût, et eût, et eût scī [scae : sanctus etc]
scti [secat : secula etc]
septemō, septē sīc spē [spin : spiritum etc]
ēt supdīctū ēc uē [uere : uestræ etc]"
A note on the Old English glosses

These have been printed by James 1912, II.240, Meritt 1945, no. 15 and Colgrave 1956. They are:

34V (469) strofus : frate
35V (495) saucosonis : hasgrumelum
   (496) horrescere : hlypan (Colgrave 1956, p. 54 misrecords Meritt's reading for this gloss)
41^ (643) strinebant : scriccottan
41V (660) forcipe : #i. bile

They are completely independent of the Old English glosses in Royal 13 A xv and Cotton Nero E i (part i), as are all from the translation of the life into Old English. As the compound hasgrumelum parallels the Life 322 haerunigendum in the compound, this must be noted here. For a discussion both of this and the possible relationship between hlypan and Life 325 hleoprode : Hly 96 hleodrode, see the commentary.
Account of the Old English manuscript

Manuscript of the Old English life
and Laud Miscellany 509

Cotton Vespasian D xxi folios 18-40 were formerly at the end of
Bodleian, Laud Miscellany 509, a fact perhaps surmised by Wanley who
notes that these manuscripts are similar in format, number of writing
lines per page and script. More recently N.R. Ker has pointed out
that the Laud folios 140 and 141 and the Vespasian folios 22 and 23
were originally bifolia but are now divided. They formed the outer
sheets in a quire of eight folios, the first two leaves of which are
now in Laud Miscellany 509 and the other six in Cotton Vespasian D
xxi. Mr Ker also notes that both manuscripts were similarly pre­
pared for the scribe, although the cutting down of the Vespasian manu­
script obscures this. The separate histories of these membra disiecta
have been admirably described by Mr Ker both in an article of that
name and in his catalogue where the two manuscripts are entered to­
gether under the number 344. This account is largely a regurgitation
of his discussions.

These texts continued to be read at a time when few could or
would read Old English manuscripts. As well as Latin glosses from

---

Wanley 1705, p. 245  Ker 1938, pp. 132-3; it should be noted
that Crawford 1922, p. 441, had already confirmed Wanley's assumption.
Ker 1957
near the time in which the book was first assembled (including once an English gloss of the Latin gloss on folio 66v of Laud), Latin running titles and marginalia in pen and ink have been made in a hand of the thirteenth or fourteenth century. (This writer marked omissions in the translations of Biblical books by the word oblitus and, despite providing the Guthlac life with its ascription to Aelfric, he read with care and understanding.) There is nothing within the manuscript to show where it was compiled, nothing to indicate its early owners.

The Royal Catalogue of 1942 provides the first post-Dissolution date at which the Laud Miscellany 509 and the Old English life of Guthlac are known. At that time the Vespasian folios had not become separated from the rest of the collection, for number 159 in the Royal Catalogue (and the number is still visible on folio 2v of Laud Miscellany 509) is described as 'the Pentatuik & Saints Lyues'. If the collection contained lives of saints other than Guthlac, these have disappeared.

By the early seventeenth century those parts of the collection which now remain had found their way into Sir Robert Cotton's hands. Lists of books borrowed from him, dated 1606, 1612, 1617, 1621 and 1630, appear in folios 148–90 of Harley 6018, the manuscript which is better known for the catalogue of his library it contains, and by 1606 he had lent the manuscript now called Laud Miscellany 509 to Francis Tate. There is no way of knowing if the Vespasian folios
had been cut away from the preceding biblical matter before both were acquired by Cotton, but they were separated by 1606. Tate also borrowed from Cotton the manuscript now called Vespasian D xvi, for the 1617 list records that Cotton had not yet received back

Nennij Historia et uita Sancto Cathlaci.
As he describes this volume as 'bound with my arms', it seems the two remaining parts of the old collection were now in the condition in which they are described in the 1621 catalogue.

This catalogue was drawn up before the Cotton books became known by the names of Roman emperors, though the later shelf marks were subsequently written into the margins beside the older numbers. Beside no. 80 is placed Vesp D xvi, but some confusion arose over no. 81, presumably because it was out on loan to Mr Lyle. The number Claudius B iv is given both to it and to another manuscript of Old Testament translations, no. 264, the manuscript still called by that title. Lisle must have been working on his Divers Ancient Monuments (1623) at this time, and the 1621 list of borrowings shows that he had in his keeping both of the manuscripts mistakenly called Claudius B iv in the catalogue. Both, as S.J. Crawford first pointed out, contain insertions and emendations made by Lisle. The illustrated Liber Genesis, while recorded in this 1621 list of borrowings as held by Lisle, has Selden's name against it within the 1621 catalogue, so may have been requested back from Lisle for Selden. At any rate it was

1 Crawford 1922, p. 3
at some stage returned: its subsequent loan and return are noted twice in the lists of borrowings made from Sir Thomas Cotton between 1637 and 1661 (see folios 8r, 11r and 15r in Bibl. Cott. Appendix xli no.13), and it is still in the Cotton collection, with the mark Claudius B. iv.

The less attractive volume never returned and did not therefore acquire a 'Roman' pressmark. It remained in Lisle's hands, at his death passing to Archbishop Laud with other manuscripts which he had owned (Laud Miscellanies 201, 381 and 636 are listed by Ker as having been acquired by Laud from Lisle's collection). Laud's inscription of ownership, dated 1638, appears on folio 1r and the manuscript was given by him to the Bodleian in 1639. It was there given the pressmark Laud E. 19, the number by which it was known to Wanley. It is still in a binding from the first half of the seventeenth century, with Laud's arms upon it, and is now known as Laud Miscellany 509.
A short description of the manuscript

**Laud Miscellany 509 + Vespasian D** contam translations of parts of the Pentateuch and Joshua, Aelfric's homily on Judges, his letter to Wulfgeat, his account of the Old and New Testaments and a translation of Felix's life of St Guthlac. Aelfric was responsible for parts if not the majority of the Pentateuch and Joshua translations, and it is easy to understand how the thirteenth/fourteenth century writer of marginalia and running titles came to put

*Incipit prologue alfrici monachi in Vita sancti Guthlac* at the top of 18r. If the manuscript ever contained other saints' lives, these have disappeared. The *Vita Guthlac* was separated from the preceding matter sometime in the late sixteenth or very early seventh century, cut down and bound up with a manuscript of Nennius' *Historia Britonum* and with poems by Sedulius.

**Laud Miscellany 509**, a manuscript of 141 original folios and 6 post-mediaeval binding leaves, is written in a hand of the second half of the eleventh century. The folios are sized 211 x 138 mm (the written space 155 x 90 mm), and usually contain 26 lines of long script; folios 1r - 33v have 29 lines. Each sheet was separately ruled with hard point on the hair side, double guide lines appearing at the top and the bottom and to right and left of the writing space. The sheets are folded flesh to flesh and hair to hair, with hair as the centre spread. The miscellany is foliated i-i, i-142, (143); collation of folios 1-141: 110 (6 missing), 2-128 (6, leaves 4 and 5 are half
sheets, as are leaves 3 and 6 in quires 8 and 10), 13¹⁰, 14-17⁸ (a
leaf in quire 17 is misbound and the folios should be read in the
order 132, 134-9, 133) and 18⁶ (only two leaves, folios 140-1, are
in Laud, the rest of this quire being in London). The manuscript is
written mainly by one hand; a second hand is found in folio 15² lines
8-21 and 15⁵ lines 1-10 and a third hand in 17² lines 11-23. Init­
ials are plain, and red, green or purple is used. The titles, written
by the scribe of the text, are red; sometimes metallic and bright
red alternate in the lines of a title. A hand of the eleventh/
twelfth century has added Latin glosses on many leaves (once reglossing
his own Latin gloss by an English word on folio 66⁵), but not in the
Vespasian folios. Someone read the manuscript with understanding in
the thirteenth or fourteenth century, writing in running titles and
marginalia in pencil and ink and marking omissions in the biblical
translations by oblitus. Lisle's notes, collations and underlinings
occur sporadically throughout the manuscript (but are not of course
found in the Vespasian folios).

The six post mediaeval binding leaves are numbered i-iv and 142-
3. Folios i-iv were at some time turned upside down: a binder's
direction, beginning 'Double binds very strong...', is written wrong
way up at the top of iv⁵ and the old Cottonian table of contents ap­
ppears upside down on i⁵. After these leaves were reversed, a new
table of contents was written on i². Folios 142 and 143 are blank.

Laud's inscription of ownership, dated 1638, is written at the
foot of folio 1\(^v\) and the worm holes in this folio show that the book lay unbound for some time. A considerable part of this folio has been chewed away and is now pieced in. Apparently the final folios were loosely held together in the late sixteenth century, for a sheet has been misbound in quire 17. Lines 22-26 on folio 141\(^v\) are blank.

A summary list of contents follows. A fuller description of these is to be found in Ker's catalogue:

1. Folios 1\(^r\) - 107\(^v\) contain Aelfric's letter to Aethelward (1\(^r\) - 2\(^v\)), translations from the Pentateuch and, without any manuscript break, Joshua. Folio 107\(^v\) is blank.

2. Folios 108\(^v\) - 15\(^v\) contain a translation of Judges.

3. Folios 115\(^v\) - 20\(^v\) contain Aelfric's letter to Wulfget of Ylmandune.

4. Folios 120\(^v\) - 41\(^v\) contain Aelfric's discussion of the Old and New Testaments, addressed to Sigward of Eastheolon.

Cotton Vespasian D xxiv is a manuscript of 79 leaves, foliated vi + 71 + ii (folios i-vi and i-ii at the end being post-mediaeval binding material). The folios measure 193 x 132 mm, and all have been cut down to this size. The volume is now in a nineteenth century binding, with the binding title:

Namii Historia Britonum Vita S. Guthlacii Anglo-Sax. Sedulii Poemata.

These three texts were apparently first bound together in Cotton's library, already by 1617, for the Harley 6018 list of books not re-
turned by May 20th of that year records among the books borrowed by
Francis Tate:

Nenni Historia et uita Sancto Guthlacii. bound with my arms
8' clasps

The contents listed under no. 80 in the 1621 catalogue of Cotton's
library correspond with the Cottonian list of contents still bound in
with the manuscript on folio ii. Sir Robert Cotton's signature ap­
ppears at the top of folio i and again on 18, an indication perhaps
that folios 1-18 and 18ff. of Vespasian D. were first placed to­
gether in his library. This suggestion is supported by the older
page numbering in Nennius: this remains on the reverse sides of
these leaves, but has been scored out, with a folio numbering placed
below, on the rectos. The first of the Guthlac folios was at first
given the number 35, following the page numbering of Nennius, but this
is scored out and folio numbering substituted firmly. This no. 35
in the top righthand corner of 18 is the only place in which the Nen­
nius pagination is used outside the first 17 folios.

The post mediaeval binding leaves contain both seventeenth and
nineteenth century writing. These eight pages are all similar, ruled
with 31 fine red lines in two columns separated by a middle space.
Richard James's list of contents appears on folio ii and 1 is pen­
cilled in the top right hand corner of the page. The list of contents
is given here, because it has influenced discussion of the identity of
the translator of Felix's Vita:
Elenchus Contentorum in hoc codice

1 Antiquissimum exemplar Rennij in quo plura continentur quam in alijs.
2 Vita Sancti Guthlacii per Alfricum monachum. Saxonice. ad Alfwoldum Regem Orientalium Anglorum. Translatio est Felicis. Sedulij
3 Juventi versus litteris fugientibus sed vetustis.

The manuscript's pressmark Vespasian D 21 is written in ink on folio i⁴, with VIA lightly pencilled beneath. The number 80 is written in the top left hand corner of iii⁷, that is the number of this manuscript in the 1621 catalogue. The hand which added the 'Roman' pressmark also wrote a foliation on endbinding i⁴: Cons: fol: 72 71.

A nineteenth century count is found on endbinding i⁷ in pencil:
1⁴, 71 Fols. Total 72. Exd T W Inne 1864

The date of this examination is presumably about the time of the modern binding.

Folios 1–17 contain Nennius' history. At the head of folio i⁷ appears the signature Robertus Cotton Bruceus. Two systems of numbering are present in this section of Vespasian D xxl, an older pagination (from 1–34) and the foliation which superseded it. The writing space is 157 x 94 mm, with 30 long lines of script generally. The Historia is written in one hand, perhaps eleventh century, in a mixture of insular and continental lettering. Capitals are plain and alternately in red or green, except for the purple A at the head of folio 15⁷.

Folios 18–40 contain the Old English life of Guthlac and will be
described separately.

Folios 41-71 contain poetry by Sedulius. The leaves are very much cut down, so that often lines are missing (e.g. folio 42). The writing space must have measured approximately 11 x 18 cms. The text is heavily glossed. The capitals are roughed in in the ink of the text and, although sometimes quite elaborate, no colour has been added to them. The text is written in one hand of the eleventh/twelfth century, with late twelfth/thirteenth century glossing. No signs of foliation other than the Cottonian remain.
Vespasian D xxi, folios 18-40, were once 211 x 138 mm, but have been cut down to 193 x 132 mm. These folios are written by the main scribe of Laud Miscellany 509 and show similar thirteenth/fourteenth century marginalia and running titles. The man who added glosses to the biblical materials of the manuscript in the late eleventh or twelfth century was not interested in the Guthlac life which, indeed, contains only one gloss. The scribe himself wrote over twibil (30V, line 5) the Old English gloss bipenne (Life 585). Collation of folios 18-40 is 18\(^8\) (the first two leaves of this quire are in Oxford), 19-20\(^8\) and 21\(^1\) (i.e., folio 40); the collation of Laud and these folios is continuous, as given in Ker's catalogue. Sir Robert Cotton's signature of ownership appears at the top of 18\(^F\) (as Rob. Cotton Brucius) as does a cancelled numeral 35 (mistakenly following the pagination of Nennius' Historia). Other cancelled numbers, made in the Cottonian foliation, are found on 29\(^V\) (30), 19\(^V\) (20) and 39\(^V\) (40 not cancelled). Quire signatures, probably written after these folios had become separated from Laud but before its cutting down, may be seen at the centre bottom of folios 18\(^F\) (A), 24\(^F\) (B) and 40\(^F\) (D). The expected signature on 32\(^F\) has most likely been cut away. The top half of a letter appears at the bottom right of 23\(^V\) and may have been D as a guide to the succeeding quire. The ruling is as for Laud, but more variation in lines of script per page is found in the Vespasian folios: folios 18-32 have the usual 26 long lines, but 32 and 33 have 25, 34-37 only 23 lines, 38 and 39 have 25 again and
40 returns to 26 lines. The variations are confined to one gathering.

Abbreviations found in these folios are $\bar{L}$, $\bar{P}$ (at line 870 but is written out in full), $\tilde{d}$ for bonne (as 19$^V$ line 8, Life 71; but of. 23$^F$ line 22 where it is written in mistake for bone, Life 229); the tilde is used most often for an omitted nasal, but also in $\tilde{g}$ for after, $\tilde{w}$ for cwæð.

The script (except of course for those parts of folios 15 and 17 where other hands can be recognised) is the same in both Laud and the Vespasian folios. A reproduced facsimile of 97$^F$ is given by Crawford$^1$ and a facsimile from 134$^V$ by Ker$^2$. Both long and low $g$ are used; the long form has a 'broken' shaft made in two strokes and does not usually occur at the end of a word. The $\ddagger$ tagged to the left top with the cross-stroke not transecting the up stroke, is found in some other manuscripts of the second half of the eleventh century: Cambridge University Library, Hh. 1,10, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 121 (5232) and Bodleian, Laud Miscellany 482$^3$. The open topped $g$ occurs in a few eleventh century manuscripts, some of them Kentish in origin and in two twelfth century manuscripts$^4$. $y$ is dotted and $d$ has a very short stem. There is a careful distribution of $b$ and $d$. The ends of descenders turn to the left. Separate $ae$ occurs once for the ligature in asciptum on 24$^V$ line 12. More abbreviations are used in Latin quotations than in the Old English text, and among the

---

1Crawford 1922, opposite p. 372  
2Ker 1957, plate vi  
3Ker 1957, p. xxxi  
4Ker 1957, p. xxix
letter forms the topped a is to be noted, because it is not used by
the scribe in Old English words. The punctuation is simple, a full
stop on the base line often accompanied by a following capital. The
hyphen (a short rising stroke) is frequently used where words are
divided at the end of a line, but not at the beginning of the follow­
ing line. Word division illustrates the late Old English tendency to
write each word and prefixed element separately, although the hyphen
is sometimes used between on and following word on the next line (e.g.
20⁷). Steep accentual marks are frequently used, confined for the
most part to syllables etymologically long. They must have been
written in to assist the reader in emphasis (see further II.4/0.5).
An occasional caret indicates the placing of an omission, the omitted
letter(s) being inserted above the line. Sometimes small letters in
the margin point out the place where a large capital was to be supplied
in colour. The most used abbreviations are 7 and 6 but other abbrev­
iations and special letter forms may be used when a line must be prop­
erly filled. Lengthened letters to fill out a line occur occasionally,
for example lengthened diagonal stroke in n of worn (where a capital
is used for this lengthening) 20⁷ line 20, Life 103.

The life is divided into prologue and twenty two paragraphs, each
being introduced by a coloured initial. The first three paragraphs
after the prologue and the prologue are numbered (at the end) from
I. to III. Green, plain red and metallic red are used for the
sectional capitals and the chapter headings are in metallic red. The
saint's name appears to have been filled in for emphasis with metallic
red on folio 34v, line 21. The lines of capitals which introduce
the prologue, the material after the paragraph number •III. (23v,
line 18) and the miracle of the two greedy brothers who hid their
flasks of ale (32v, line 7) are in the same ink as the text. The
life ends at the top of 40v, and a twelfth century hand has added in
lines 3–5 of that folio an alphabet and the first verse of the Lord’s
prayer. The rest of this folio is empty.
Richard James's interest in the Old English life of Guthlac

The Old English life of St Guthlac does not seem to have shared the popularity of the matter which preceded it in the later middle ages. There are Latin glosses of the late eleventh or twelfth century on many pages of *Laud Miscellany 509*, in startling contrast with the solitary - and scribal - glossing of *tuibil* by *bipenne* in line 535 of the Guthlac life. Again, the thirteenth or fourteenth century reader who so generously sprinkled the *Laud miscellany* with running titles and marginalia, noting even the omissions in the translations of the biblical books by *oblitus*, was uninterested in the life of Guthlac, except to point out its beginning and extent in sporadic running titles. Richard James is therefore the first person for whom this life appears to have held any interest from perhaps the twelfth century.

James transcribes extracts from the life into his notebooks (*Ms James 18*), lines 46-49, 128-30 and 106-9. Below his first quotation he notes that the life was translated by Aelfricus. He need not have known that the life was once part of *Laud Miscellany 509* to make this remark, for the thirteenth/fourteenth century reader of the manuscript had written at the top of 18²:

```
Incipit prologue alfrici monachi vita sancti Guthlacii
```

The ascription of the life to Aelfric is found also in the Cottonian table of contents still in *Vespasian D xxiv* (in James's hand) and in the 1621 catalogue of Cotton books (*Harley 6018*). As well as excerpting
these lines from the Old English life, James transcribed into his notebook large passages from Felix’s life. These are from *Cotton Nero C vii*, another Cottonian manuscript, and he has written in the margin of folio 29° beside where the life begins.

Vita Sanoti Guthlacii Croilansis

\textit{Incipit Liber de vita sancti Guthlacii strenu/issimi ac perfectissim anchorit/}

The variations between this manuscript of the Vita and James’s transcript are far fewer than between his transcript and the other Latin manuscripts available to him, and the differences are not so many as to make it necessary to suppose that he used *Cotton Otho C xvi*, a manuscript lost in the 1731 fire.

James wrote a special rubric into another manuscript which contains the Vita, into folio 57° of Harleian 3097:

ffelix croilansis floruit ad 730.

v. Bibl Cott)}

\textit{Vesp D xxi)}

(Incidentally, he agrees with Leland in describing Felix as a monk of Crowland, and his note may have helped reinforce this legend.) In Bernard this manuscript is numbered 628 and described as belonging to the collection of Charles Howard at Naworth Castle. Its history between its entry in a late fourteenth century Peterborough catalogue and Bernard’s statement is unknown, but, if this is James’s hand, we must guess that he saw this manuscript at some time in the seventeenth century, whether at Naworth Castle or elsewhere we do not know.
Aelfric and the translation of the Old English life of Guthlac

Wanley, in his short account of Cotton Vespasian D xxi, quotes from the Old English life lines 1-6 and 45 (the beginning and end of the prologue) and 46-49 and 947-9 (the beginning and end of the life itself), and recognises that this part of the manuscript was in the same hand as Laud Miscellany 509:

Quod scripturam, Tractatus his omnino convenit cum God. Bibl. Bodleianae qui inscriptur LAVD.E.19, adeo ut uterque Cod. videtur ab eodem librario scriptus.

He does not, however, record the thirteenth/fourteenth century ascription of the translation to Aelfric which is written at the top of folio 18r and accepted both in the Cottonian table of contents and in the 1621 catalogue of the Cotton library, instead noting that the life was:

.. per Feliciem Croylandensem monachum primum Latine scripta et deinde ab incerto scriptore Saxoniæ versa...

His wording is followed in the 1802 catalogue of Cotton manuscripts, where item 2 of Vespasian D xxi is described:

Vita et miracula sancti Guthlacæ anachorets, per Feliciem Croylandensem monachum primum scripta, et deinde ab incerto scriptore Saxoniæ versa.

Despite Wanley's early recognition that the Old English life of Guthlac cannot be identified as Aelfric's work, the assertion of his responsibility for the translation, no doubt inspired by the thirteenth/
fourteenth century heading on folio 18r and the early Cottonian ascriptions, appears again and again in accounts of Guthlac materials and in histories of English literature. Schnebbelie describes the life as being:

```
.. per Elfridum monachum, ad Alvoldum, Regem Saxonum Orientalium.¹
```

Goodwin, in the introduction to his edition, remarks on Wanley's recognition that the Guthlac folios were in the hand of the same scribe as the Laud heptateuch and briefly notes:

> When and by whom this translation was made is unknown; the style is not that of Aelfric, to whom it has been groundlessly ascribed. The florid rhetoric of Felix is much pruned and cropped, but without the omission of any material incidents; the writer often paraphrases rather than translates, and in truth sometimes quite mistakes the sense of the original.²

His sensible remarks are curiously elaborated by Klipstein a year later:

> By some the translation has been attributed to Abbot Aelfric, but we think improperly, as it lacks the simplicity of Aelfric's style, and from the excessive and complicated use of particles, shows the author to have had more or less acquaintance with the Greek writers, whom he endeavours to imitate.³

(Unfortunately the latter part of this sentence has not been taken seriously in any writings on this life I have seen.) Yet, the myth died hard and Wilcker in his *Grundriss zur Geschichte der angels-
isohen Literatur gives it new life in a curious form:

Wanley nahm an, dass die Hs. Vesp. in derselben Hand geschrieben sei wie Aelfricos Pentateuch (in der Bodl. Laud. E 19). 1

Although his mistaken reading of Wanley is pointed out by Gonser in his edition of the life 2, the influence of Wulcker's Grundiss is such that even today some writers, believing that Wanley ascribed the translation to Aelfric, are disinclined to deny authorship to Aelfric, for example:

Both this [the Vercelli homily] and the Vespasian version are prose adaptations into English of the Latin Vita Guthlacii ... Some have thought the Vespasian version to be by Ælfric: it might at least be construed as Ælfrician. 3

1 Wulcker 1885, p. 492  
2 Gonser 1909, p. 32  
3 Anderson 1949, p. 347
The Veroelli Book homily

MANUSCRIPT

The manuscript commonly called the Veroelli Book now lies in the cathedral library at Vercelli where it is entitled Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare CXVII. A facsimile (two-thirds reproduction) appeared in 1913, edited by Förster. Most of the accounts of the manuscript are concerned mainly with the verse it contains, except Förster's introduction to the facsimile, two later monographs by him¹ and the description given in Ker's catalogue². Sisam's paper on the marginalia of the manuscript is very important, for his observation that the neumed responses of folio 24⁷ were unlikely to have been written in an English scriptorium suggests with reasonable certainty that the codex was already in Northern Italy by the eleventh or, less probably, by the twelfth century³. Two discussions of the transcript made by C. Maier and of the recognition of the importance of this manuscript in modern times are of value.⁴

The collection of verse and prose contained in the Veroelli Book was put together in this form in the second half of the tenth century. Peterson, from an examination of the unpublished homilies of the collection, concludes that the manuscript:

... represents a compendium of texts from various dialects with greater or lesser dialect leveling.

but by no means uniform in dialect in the final copy. ¹

He finds that the eight unpublished homilies can be divided into three dialect groups, those in each group appearing in sequence, and suggests that at least from folio 75v the collection was compiled by the 'serial copying of sheaves of MS from various sources'.² Whether or not the amount of material considered by him is considered adequate justification for his conclusions, it must be admitted that his suggestion is supported by the scribal numbering of a small group of homilies in the earlier part of the manuscript. There homilies vi to xi (Ker's items 8 to 13) are numbered I to VI. As Ker observes:

It is probable that they were grouped together in the exemplar, since they are unrelated in subject.³

The Guthlac homily is the last item in the Vercelli Book and follows immediately upon the poem Elene. The argument of serial copying cannot safely be advanced, for the groupings observed by Peterson and Ker do not in any case include both prose and verse texts. Although the Guthlac homily cannot therefore be grouped with any others of the Vercelli Book homilies or poems as having stood together in the scribe's exemplar, the interesting parallels in content between the Exeter Book and this manuscript must be remembered.⁴ Identity of origin for these two codices cannot be assumed on the grounds of their similar contents, yet the scribes had available to them the same sorts of materials and both selected to include accounts of St Guthlac.

¹Peterson 1953, p. 559 ²Peterson 1953, p. 565 ³Ker 1957, p. 461 ⁴See further III.2/a : FINAL NOTES
The Guthlac homily begins on the eighth line of folio 133⁷, the preceding line being left empty to mark the end of Elene. The beginning of the homily is marked by a large capital which spans the space contained by five lines of script. This initial is the only large capital of the homily. The text ends on folio 135⁷; the last line of script is filled to the end and probably only three lines were left empty at the foot of this leaf (i.e. there are 28 lines of writing on this verso and 31 on the recto). This folio was formerly the last in the manuscript and the present folio 136 stood, the other way up, at the beginning. The manuscript is almost certainly in one hand throughout according to Ker whose description of the script should be consulted. The punctuation consists of a small low dot, sometimes accompanied by a small capital, and is thinly used.

This edition of the homily has been made from consultation of Förster's facsimile edition in which a few passages are difficult to read. Ker has pointed out that in most places damaged by the reagent used in the last century it is possible to decipher clearly readings unclear in the facsimile and in a few places the original should be consulted: particularly in the last six lines of the text. The homily was evidently hurriedly written, for duplication of words occurs twice within it: at line 82 the manuscript gives a second instance of the phrase Thim for naht dyde and was 118 is written both

---

¹Ker 1857, p. 464  
²Ker 1950, p. 22 and fn 4
as the last word on folio 135⁰ and as the first word on the verso.
This may perhaps explain the unusual repetition in the linked verbs
weest 7 wecest 59, although the phrase is left unchanged in my text.
The readings we 52 (where Gonser records mast), wyta 124 (where Gonser records wita) and soufanne 126 (where Gonser records scoofanne)
also require to be checked. Other places where this text disagrees
with his are examples of simple transcriptional or typographical error.
Because the punctuation of the manuscript is sparing, stops with under-
lining have been supplied as a reading guide after the fuller punctu-
ation of Cotton Vespasian D xxi.

HOMILY

Goodwin had access to a transcript of this homily and prints in
the notes for his edition of the Life extracts from it, listing a few
of the more obvious variant readings. He recognises that both Life
and Homily reflect the same original translation, though stating this
judgment rather guardedly, and says little of the date and authorship
of this original translation beyond 'the style is not that of Aelfric'.
Despite his assertion that the translation is often 'groundlessly a-
scribed' to Aelfric, Klipstein a few years later is less convinced
that Aelfric was not the translator. However, he has nothing to say
about the Homily itself, printing excerpts only from the text of the
Life presented by Goodwin. This homily indeed does not receive any

¹ Goodwin 1848, pp. iv–v ² Klipstein 1848, p. 386
particular attention until its publication together with the Life by Gonser\(^1\). In his apparatus for this edition Gonser gives a brief description of the manuscript\(^2\) and detailed comparisons of the differences between the Homily and Life where the texts are different.\(^3\)

Gonser thinks that the homily would have been read on Guthlac's feast-day and suggests that the opening words:

```
.. in denen von der Besiedlung des Eilandes durch Guthlac die Rede gewesen sein muss, verloren gegangen sind.\(^4\)
```

Little further work has appeared on this homily. Förster, in his discussion of some of the homilies of the Vercelli Book, has pointed out that two other homilies of the collection are without conventional opening phrases and, opposing Gonser's assumption of a fragmentary homily, suggests instead that the first phrase of the Guthlac homily as it now stands was copied mechanically by the scribe from his exemplar\(^5\). This opinion would seem to allow the inference that this particular passage was selected by some scribe as material suitable for one complete homily. The words of the Homily are glossed together with the words of the Life, and a brief account is given of the language of both texts (also together), by I. Geisel in a dissertation designed zur Ergänzung von Gonsers Buch dienen\(^6\).

---

1 Gonser 1909, pp. 117-34  
2 Gonser 1908, pp. 34-35 (reprinted 1909)  
3 Gonser 1908 (and 1909), pp. 36-52  
4 Gonser 1908 (and 1909), p. 35  
5 Förster 1913, p. 86  
6 Geisel 1915; p. 4 quoted
The Old English life of Guthlac is not well known among readers of Old English, despite the publication of two editions of it\(^1\) and the use of extracts from it in two Old English readers\(^2\). Curious judgments and descriptions of it appear even in recent books on mediaeval English literature. For example, in 1949 G.K. Anderson notes that both the Vercelli homily and the Vespasian life are 'prose adaptations into English of the Latin *Vita Guthlacii*', but describes them rather oddly:

> The story in both accounts parallels the narrative of the *Guthlac* poems, except that the prose versions are somewhat fragmentary, particularly that in the Vespasian manuscript.\(^3\)

A few years later R.H. Wilson appears uncertain of the whereabouts of these manuscripts (though admittedly the sentence is incidental in his discussion of the lost Leominster Guthlac roll):

> The three extant Old English versions — the poem in the Exeter Book and prose versions in two Cottonian manuscripts — are all in volumes not in rolls...\(^4\)

Both editions of the life are now apparently unobtainable outside large libraries, and the first is rarely found even in the libraries of the older British universities.

---

\(^1\) Goodwin 1848 and Gonser 1909  
\(^2\) Klipstein 1899 and Bolton 1964  
\(^3\) Anderson 1949, p. 347  
\(^4\) Wilson 1952, p. 98; this repeats his 1936, pp. 12-13 mistake
Goodwin's edition of 1848 provides an accurate text, a translation, a short introduction and a brief commentary. He had access to a transcript of the Vercelli homily from which he prints extracts in his notes, listing variations. Of its relationship to the longer life he concludes that it:

... has almost the appearance of being part of an independent translation, though I believe that this is not really the case.¹

He recognises that Felix is 'usually called a monk of Crowland', suggests however that the dedication of the Vita to an East Anglian king indicates rather that he was a member of an East Anglian monastery, and refutes the Benedictine identification of Felix as a monk of Jarrow.² He has read the account of the manuscript given by Wanley, and quotes his ascription of the Guthlac folios to the scribe of Laud Miscellany 509, and concurs in placing this compilation in the latter part of the eleventh century.³ In his notes he often points to examples of mistranslation, paraphrase and omission from the Vita, but he realises that the translator, for all this, presents the saint's life in English 'without the omission of any material incidents'.⁴

The accuracy of his transcript (which apparently, from the readings common to both, served Gonser as the base for the copy he sent to his printer)⁵ can be seen from the few mistakes recorded in the footnotes.

¹Goodwin 1848, p. v ²Goodwin 1848, p. iii ³ibid. p. v ⁴ibid. p. iv Mistakes common to Goodwin and Gonser are geradne 36 (MS geradne), Swile 37 (MS Swylee), bone 229 (MS bon), bone 460 (MS bone), hafde 781 (MS hafde), gelice 782 (MS gelice), sade 859 (MS sade); forms of the name Guthlac mistranscribed by both are not given in this list. See also Gonser 1909, p.v, for a note on his editorial procedure.
to this transcript.

Klipstein's extracts from the life in his *Analecta Anglo-Saxonica* are derived from Goodwin's edition, but his notes are far inferior in quality. Although he prints well over a third of the life, he adds nothing new to our knowledge of it.

Attention is drawn, if briefly, to non-West Saxon features in the Old English life of Guthlac by Klaeber in his 1902 paper on the translations of Bede's *Historia* into Old English. Although the example Klaeber gives of Anglian vocabulary from the life, the intransitive use of *scyndan* in lines 123 and 621 (*scyndon*), would no longer gain acceptance as a criterion of non-West Saxon origin, this article apparently provides the first identification of Anglian elements in this text.

Gonser's edition of the Old English life of Guthlac appeared in 1909. In the first part of this book, pp. 1-96, is reprinted the thesis he had submitted for his doctorate at Bern in 1907; and a separate printing of his research had already appeared. In the *Vorwort* to his edition he points out the reasons why a new edition of the life was needed: the difficulty of obtaining Goodwin's edition, the numerous emendations in that text, his omission of the Vercelli homily except in occasional allusions, and the necessity of comparing the Old English translation with its source. Gonser adds that his own edition is without the glossary he had originally intended should accompany it.

---

1 Klipestein 1849, I. 171 ff. and 386 ff. 2 Klaeber 1902, p. 304 3 Gonser 1909, pp. v–vi
and states that he hopes to publish it separately later.

Teil I (the results of his research for his doctorate) remains the fullest available introduction to this text. Gonser begins (op. 1-4) by introducing briefly his texts (the life and derived homily), giving a short account of Guthlac material other than the Felix Vita and summarising the contents of Forstmann's Untersuchungen zur Guthlac-Legende of 1902. He points out that Forstmann had not given due consideration to Liebermann's discussion1 of the relationship of Guthlac A to the Vita and adds to the list of Guthlac material noted by Forstmann some writings he had omitted. In his second chapter (pp. 5-21) Gonser describes Felix's Vita of Guthlac. He emphasises the importance of the Teufelspuk in the life and, although explaining the hell journey as hallucination and the saint's early death as the result of fenland malaria, recognises the relationship of the Vita to the lives of Fursey and Drihthelm (pp. 6-8). He illustrates Felix's indebtedness to patristic and hagiographical writings, especially noting his dependence on Bede's Vita sancti Cuthberti but recognising as well the influence of many other writers upon him - for example, Rufinus, Sulpicius Severus, Hieronymus, Gregory and Aldhelm. Several of the individualities of Felix's style are summarised (the ἕαπαξ λεγόμενα and the use of rhyme and repetition which mark particularly the prologue), and the Vita is described as sharing more of the features of Aldhelm's prose than Bede's (pp. 8-14). Felix's identity is discussed (pp. 14-15). The Benedictine description of him as a monk

1Liebermann 1892, pp. 246-7
of Jarrow is taken as interpolation, but weight is placed upon the phrase *vernaculae congregationis catholicae* as evidence of his allegiance to the Roman observance. Conser assumes that Felix was not English because he explains the meaning of the name Guthlac and suggests that he was a member of an East Anglian monastery because he does not bother to identify the kingdom of Aldwulf. He follows Liebermann ¹ in observing that English names are declined with English inflexions and that words spoken by English people are recorded in the third person. Conser also notes (p. 15) that in the late twelfth century epitome of the life by Ordericus Vitalis Felix is wrongly identified with the earlier bishop of Dunwich and that this mistake is not made by Peter of Blois. In pages 15–20 he discusses whether the life was or was not dedicated to Aelfwald of East Anglia ² and places its composition somewhere between the years 716 (the accession of Aethelbald of Mercia) and 749 (the death of Aelfwald of East Anglia). In the last few paragraphs of this section upon the *Vita* (pp. 20–21) he points out that Felix's sources of information on Guthlac can be found only within the *Vita*, mentions the importance of this life as ein wichtiges Dokument der mittelalterlichen christlichen Kirche and asserts that it served as the source for all later writings on the saint. Chapter 3 (pp. 21–31) summarises the contents of the Old English prose life of Guthlac and the footnotes contain many important details about people and events mentioned in the *Vita*. Descriptions of the two texts are given in chapter 4 (pp. 31–35) and he suggests

¹Liebermann 1892, p. 247  
²See Life commentary, line 2
(p. 35) that the opening words of the Vercelli homily have been lost. Chapters 5 (pp. 36-52) and 6 (pp. 52-94), comparisons of Old English life and homily with one another and with the *Vita* and examination of translation technique, are not described here as they will be fully discussed in later sections of this introduction. The final chapter (pp. 94-96) of *Teil I* however must be summarised, for it contains Conser's conclusions about the Old English life and homily. These conclusions are:

1. The Old English prose life is a free and a simple rendering of its original; it is of similar quality to the Chad homily and the Blickling homilies and was made not later than the first half of the tenth century; the translator was unpractised in translating from Latin into English.

2. The Vercelli fragment is an incomplete derived homily; it shows noteworthy differences from the Vespasian life and must stem from a separate revision of it.

3. Neither version lies directly behind the other; instead they are parallel manuscripts which point to the existence of an older original translation.

4. The presence of Anglian traits suggests that the archetype was in the Anglian dialect and was more or less thoroughly rewritten in the southern dialect. Both manuscripts, so far as palaeographical and language details reveal, were written about the middle of the eleventh century.

In *Teil II* Conser presents his texts, together with illustrative material from the Bollandist text of Felix's *Vita*, in pages 99-173.
It is not always possible to agree with Gonser on which passages in the *Vita* the translation does not reproduce, but as he prints only the four fifths of the Rollandist text which he believes to lie directly behind the Old English version, his equation of one with the other and his inference that some early epitome lies behind the translation is generally accepted. His chosen *Vita* text is not that nearest in content to the Old English life and, because of his many omissions, it does not adequately illustrate the material available to the translator—nor indeed to the intermediate epitomiser envisaged by Gonser, if the translation was made from an abbreviation otherwise lost.

The text is more accurately and conservatively edited than Goodwin's. The punctuation is editorial, although the Vespasian manuscript contains its own clear and full pointing. A short account of a few textual features, supplementing his introduction of pages 31–35, appears on pp. 97–99, and a useful index to the names in the text on p. 174; a commentary is found in pp. 177–88. As well Gonser prints (pp. 175–6) the Old English martyrology entries for Guthlac and his sister, the reference to the saint's burial place in the *Heiligen England*, and the chronicle obit for 714 A.D. and presents (pp. 189 ff.) an account of the *Harley Roll*, followed by reproductions of the plates included in Birch's edition of the *Vita*.

Förster, in the same year as the publication of the reduced facsimile of the *Vercelli Book* under his editorship, published an account of the contents of the manuscript, together with discussion of some of the homilies it contains. He describes the Vespasian life of Guthlac.
as eine freie, kürzende Übersetzung of Felix's Vita and writes of the Vercelli homily:

Unser Vercelli-Fragment umfasst die Kapitel 4 u. 5 der vollständigen Vita und verhält sich textlich zur Londoner Handschrift in der Weise, dass es eine ältere, den angelsächsischen Dialekt des Originals besser bewahrende und der gemeinsamen Urhandschrift näherr stehende Textgestalt aufweist.

He points out that the opening of the Vercelli extract from the life shows that it has been taken from some larger exemplar. He disagrees with Consier's suggestion that the beginning of the homily has been lost, noting that two other homilies in the collection do not have a conventional opening formula. Instead he concludes that the first phrase of the Vercelli Book homily was mechanically copied by the scribe from his exemplar.

I. Geisel's Basel dissertation of 1915 was designed zur Ergänzung von Consier's Buch dienen, as she points out in her foreword. She prefaced her glossary with a summary of the grammatical forms of both texts and a brief discussion of the vocabulary (pp. 7-25). The glossary is representative, but not fully so (for example, under £ there is no mention of the forms fulluhtes 92, fulluhtebes 718, fuluitethbes 78, and forban/forbon, whether as adverb, conjunction or accompanied by the be, does not appear). Numerous smaller inaccuracies in reporting Consier's text can be found. The letter £ is never, by intention, recorded, so that to ascertain the correct form of any word

1 Forster 1913, p. 86 2 Geisel 1915, p. 4
in her glossary which contains a text of the life must be consulted. No attempt is made to mark vowel length within the glossary. Both texts are glossed together (including at the same time occasional Latin words) and, although the Veroelli quotations are generally distinguished by the italicisation of line references, it is difficult to recognise these forms quickly. I. Geisel recognises that the translation is **nicht sehr wortgetreu**, yet quotes from Gonser's Latin text where the English may follow it closely. This results in Latin forms being placed immediately after the Old English headword for many entries where these are only in most instances the normal prototypes of the Old English lemmas. It is however perhaps too harsh to write off this glossary as 'unfortunately of little value, even as a merely factual account' in the words of a recent writer.

Gerould agrees with earlier critics in regarding the translation as made in the tenth century. In his brief account of it he labels it Anglian and notes that its survival in two versions, even though one is fragmentary, indicates the survival of Guthlac's cult at least in the midlands. His description of the style of the translation echoes closely the conclusions of Gonser, and he follows him in pointing out that the translation was hardly made at Crowland (though he does not discuss Gonser's alternative suggestions of Lichfield or Peterborough:

> It could hardly have been made at or near Crowland, where the saint was buried, else there would have

1Geisel 1915, p. 6 2Vleeskruyer 1953, p. 55 3Gerould 1916, p. 385 4Gonser 1909, p. 51, fn 1
been added at least some of the later miracles performed at his shrine.¹

In Englische Studien for 1917² Kern discusses the value of certain of the emendations made by Goodwin and Gonser in their editions of the life, often preferring the readings of the Victorian editor. His notes (here discussed in the commentary) indicate the need for a fuller edition of these texts (especially as Gonser's version of the homily is full of inaccuracies), but no such edition has been forthcoming.

Virtually nothing of any length on these texts has appeared since Kern's paper. A few references are made to the translation incidentally in Professor Vleeskruyer's edition of the Old English sermon on Chad and the Guthlac translation, like the other prose texts with which it has long if hesitantly been classed, is assigned by him to the ninth century³ and its original described as West Mercian⁴. He attempts to use the prose Guthlac to bolster up his theories about West Mercian, arguing against Gonser:

... it is intrinsically probable that the prose Guthlac comes from Crowland, in Lincolnshire.⁵

But as evidence for the use of West Mercian in eastern Mercian scriptoria it is negative and justly reserved to a footnote. His belief that the translation was made at Crowland leads him to unwarranted speculation on the eastern extension of West Mercian.

¹Gerould 1916, p. 112         ²Kern 1917, pp. 1-8     ³Vleeskruyer 1953, p. 25 fn 2 and p. 50 fn 1         ⁴Ibid. p. 49 fn 5
The description given by Bertram Colgrave of the Old English life and homily deserves to be quoted in full. First it bears out the statement of my last paragraph, that a new edition of these texts is overdue; secondly, through no fault on the part of Colgrave, it has apparently been misread both by H.R. Loyn and F. Wolpers who date the translation to the second half of the eleventh century; and, last, it provides a useful summary of the contents of this section:

In MS.B.M.Cott. Vespasian D xxi, an eleventh-century manuscript, is an Old English translation of the Latin Life. Two chapters of this same Life occur in the eleventh-century Vercelli Book, one of the most important of the surviving collections of Old English poetry. It also contains some prose pieces, one of which is the fragment referred to. This Old English translation is to some extent a simplification of Felix's elaborate style, and many of his difficult phrases and words are avoided by judicious omissions. But the main thread of the story is followed faithfully enough. Old English scholars have neglected this piece and have hardly done justice to the unusual skill of the translator, or the importance of the piece in the development of translation technique during the Anglo-Saxon period.

1 Loyn 1962, p. 287  
2 Wolpers 1964, p. 151  
3 Colgrave 1956,
b

Common ancestry of Homily and Life

The Vercelli homily and the parallel sections of the Old English life of Guthlac are, as Goodwin first pointed out, very different from one another, but not independent translations. Gonser in his edition of these texts gives over one chapter to a comparison of them. His examination of their relationship to the Vita is very full. In one of his two sections he shows the similarities they share with one another against the Vita: similar changes in meaning, abridgements, extensions and paraphrasing; and in the other he lists examples of the differences between life and homily, again grouping his material under four heads. These detail the places where the Homily has words and phrases not in the Life, where the Life has words and phrases not in the Homily, where different words are used within the same constructions and finally places where one text has changed whereas the other retains a translation of the Vita. From this material Gonser argues that both texts are each at least at one remove from the original translation and that the scribe of the Vercelli homily had before him a manuscript much nearer to the original translation than was the exemplar used by the Vespasian scribe. The chapter ends with a brief examination (under four pages) of the vocabulary of the texts. Some examples are given of the coexistence in the Life of words die ausgesprochen poetischenglischen Charakter haben with the usual equivalents of West Saxon prose texts, the occasional use of mid with the

1Goodwin 1848, p. v 2Gonser 1909, pp. 36-52
accusative is noted as a pointer to the translation's Anglian origin, the sporadic in of the Life is judged another trait of the Anglian original (and one better preserved in the Homily), a few non-West features in the verbal system are pointed out and six instances given of the more archaic nature of the Homily's vocabulary. These four pages are among the most interesting in Gonser's discussion of the texts, even though they contain little detail of the topics touched on.

Gonser's comparisons of the texts with one another and with the Vita clearly reveal that a fuller and very different text lay behind the Vespasian life. The collations show that words, phrases and even sentences have occasionally disappeared from it as from the Vercelli homily, but, although carelessness usually explains loss or change in the Homily, the parallel parts of the Vespasian life indicate that a careful revision of a rather old-fashioned text has been undertaken. It seems that for an eleventh century West Saxon reader certain changes were necessary. The words and syntactical forms unnatural to his own speech were replaced by others more familiar. Unusual dialect forms and spellings were for the most part covered over by late West Saxon characteristics. Difficulties were rationalised, or discarded. The alterations seem to have been made systematically and the modernisation is quite thorough. Indeed but for the existence of the Homily, it would be impossible to estimate that so radical an overhaul had even been undertaken. Unfortunately Gonser does not explore this question, nor does he realise its implication for any examination of the trans-
lation techniques displayed by the Old English prose Guthlac. With these considerations in mind it is difficult to be as certain as he is that the translator worked from a specially made abridgement of the Vita. At any rate, to present only parallel selections from Felix does not constitute a reconstruction of such an epitome, if indeed it ever existed.

As Gonser's account of the similarities shared by the Life and Homily against the Vita demonstrates so ably their relationship to a common Übersetzung, a summary of it follows, together with any further remarks which seem necessary.

A. Materielle Abweichungen

Four examples are given. Three (Life 317 manigre Hly 88 manigre : Vita 489 macilenta; Life 319 woh nebb Hly 89 woh nebb : Vita 490 fronte torus; and Life 339 hi hine leddon on ham ongryligen fiderum betwux ba cealdan faca bure lyfte Hly 109 hine ... lyfte : Vita 511 horridis alarum stridoribus, inter nubiferat gelidi aeris spatia illum subushere coeoperunt) illustrate a material alteration in meaning.

The first example Gonser gives, however, serves only to illustrate the dangers attendant on equating an Old English translation with selections from its Latin original. He regards Life 306 be feng [to ba] medmyeslan bigleofan Hly 76 be ... andleofone as a translation of Vita 473 tune ... victum suum quotidianum uesoi coepit, but it is more likely that the translator was here paraphrasing the phrase Gonser omits (adsumpta oreasiani panis particula), an impression supported by the next words in the Old English texts.
B. Kttrsongen

Life 316-25 (hi ... steftum Hly 87-96 weron ... steftum) is cited as typical of the resümmierenden Charakter of the translation. The Old English passages are placed beside Vita 488-95 (Erant ... raucisonis) and certain phrases are marked as absent from the translation (488 forma terribiles, 492 faucibus tostis, labro late, 493 comis obustia, bucilla crassa, nectore armua, femoribus scabris, and 495 ore patulo).

C. Erweiterungen

Examples are given of words, phrases and clauses new in the translations, in all ten examples. In three cases Gonser compares the translation with words from the Vita:

Life 229 hlaw mycel Hly 1 mycel hlaw : Vita 390 tumulus;

Life 243 Mid by he pa his yfelnyse megen, 7 grymnyse attor [todeglde] Hly 14 Mid ... telda : Vita 410 Cum enim omnes ne-
quitis sues uires uersuta mente temptaret, with enim omitted;

Life 255 he sylfa nyste hwider he wolde mid his mode ge-
gyrran Hly 25 he ... wolde : Vita 421 quo se uerteret nesciebat.

Such additions are normal in a free translation and should be given as a separate group under 'paraphrase'.

As well seven longer passages are placed under the heading Erweiterungen, and given no Vita basis. These are (I do not bother to quote the parallel Homily phrases):

Life 235 7 he swe forðgelæstende wæs : As the translator has changed the preceding constructions, this phrase is necessary to give full force to the exibebat 398 of the Vita.

Life 268 7 hine het bec he ne tweode, so pat he were and : Here the translator may have wished to convey rather more of the meaning of Vita 433 preceptis spiritualibus than given by Life 268 mid wordum.
Life 274 hu be gode geowemlicost wibte lybben: Here the translator adds a new detail in explanation of the more general wording of the Latin he has already translated.

Life 295 bet hu be on swa tala mycole forhefdynse ahebbe: It should be noted that forbon ... ahebbe 294-5 provides a translation for Vita 462-3 Isiunium ... sit and that this clause, described by Gonser as additional, expresses by paraphrase Felix's variation of Isiunium by abstinentia castimonia.

Life 303 forbon ... seypend: Gonser himself notes that the translator is here supplying the second half of the verse quoted by Guthlac, (instead of giving the Vita 468 et reliqua).

Life 305 for pam be he ealle pa ydele ongeast: Against this should be placed Vita 471 ne ullus locus consentiendi illis in sordidetur; the presence of this clause in the Vita is most likely responsible for the translator's attempt to explain why Guthlac despised the devil's advice.

Life 334 obbe gif he bat molde bonne woldon hi hine mid maran byssermum swencan 7 costian: This is new in the translation.

D. Umschreibungen

Eleven examples are given of how in both Life and Homily certain phrases of the Vita are similarly paraphrased. The places cited from the Life are: 254-55 was ... geoyrnan; 257 enfu ... mype; 262-64 7 ... seowode; 275-96 sc ... man; 304-5 beforan ... sidlode; 310-11 se ... costunga; 322 mycole ... grete; 323-25 and ... stefnum; 329-30 hi ... westenes; 358 forwyde tuddre and 367-68 hi ... gehyddon.

All these examples are valid as evidence that both Life and Homily derive from a common Ursatzung, even though the four types of shared similarities suggested by Gonser cannot be so easily differentiated.
as in his edition. Together, however, they illustrate the general principle of the translation — hwilum word be made, hwilum endgit of endgit, in the words from Alfred's preface to the Cura Pastoe-
elix\(^1\) — as well as the common ancestry of the Life and Homily.

\(^1\)Sweet 1871, I, 6, line 19
Further notes on the relationship of Life (lines 228–370) and Homily

No attempt will be made here to list as does Gonser the major differences between the texts. His four groups of dissimilarities contain:

- *Zusätze* in the Homily;
- *Auslassungen* in the Homily;
- *Verschiedenheiten* in vocabulary;
- and mistakes shown by the agreement of one Old English text and the *Vita* against the other.

Discussion of the vocabulary of the *Life* and *Homily* will be found in II.4/F where an examination of this problem will not be restricted only to the vocabulary of those parts of the *Life* paralleled in the *Homily*. In II.3/d a summary of the striking differences in content between the texts will be found and should be used as a guide to the discussion of such passages in the Commentary. This summary will be presented under three rough headings:

- evident loss of material from the *Life*;
- evident loss of material from the *Homily*;
- and a supplementary list of passages where different readings also indicate that the original translation was considerably longer than that indicated by the *Life*.

By and large it is obvious from the passages noted in the first of these groups that the *Homily* preserves more fully the content of the original translation than does the *Life* which has undergone quite heavy revision. However, it must be remembered that as the two chapters of the life of Guthlac which make up the *Homily* form part of a collection of vernacular religious prose and verse, the possibility that certain changes have been made to suit this material to the ears of a tenth century congregation must not be overlooked. The rest of this chapter will
be given over to a discussion of the opening and closing lines of the Homily, that is those passages where differences in reading can with rather more certainty be attributed to the intention of the homilist than can the different readings of the central portion of this text.

The Homily opens without one of the conventional formulae found in so many Old English sermons, but it is not alone in so abrupt a beginning among the Vercelli Book homilies. Both numbers xv and xxii, as Förster has pointed out, are ohne besonders Predigteingsformal, and he suggests

Das Wort spreosen mag eben von unserem Homiletten mechanisch seiner Vorlage entnommen sein.¹

Förster apparently considers that this homily is an excerpt made by the scribe of the Vercelli Book from some copy of the Old English life for use as a sermon, but there is no way of knowing now whether or not this was the first appearance of this material as a homily. At any rate, the Vercelli Book scribe did not worry about using in his first sentence the form spreosen without referent (the adjective, although omitted in the Vespasian Life, corresponds to the Vita 390 prefata and was therefore most likely in the manuscript before the Vercelli scribe).

Although he did not supply the Homily with a special opening, the scribe did, however, give to his extract an ending which conflicts strangely with the Vita from which the Homily ultimately derives. The accounts in Life and Homily run parallel to Life 370 Hly 142. The

¹ Förster 1913, p. 86 fn.
Life continues (like Vita 552 ff.) to tell of Bartholomew's instructions to the devils to return Guthlac safely to the place where they had found him, to describe the two weeping devils who next morning told the saint he had overcome them for ever and to relate the following miracles, but the Homily ends with the flight of the devils before the great brightness of Bartholomew:

As hie sylfe in heolster hyddon. þa þe þa se sadiga wer his þone getrywan freond geseah. þa wæs he mid gastlicere gefeannesse 7 on heofoncundre blisse swide gefeonde.* 7 þa after þam fleah se haliga guðlac mid þam apostole sanote bartholomai to heofona rices wuldre. 7 hine se halend þer onfeng. 7 he þær leofað 7 rixap in heofona rices wuldre. a butan ende on eonesse. amen. fiat 7

(At * the two texts part company. Non-manuscript punctuation is silently added in this quotation.)

There is no need to regard the homilist's final formula as borrowed from the end of the Life:

Sy urum drihtne lof 7 wuldor 7 wurðmynt. 7 þam sadigan were sanote GVTHLACE on ealra worulda woruld ā' buton ende on eonysse. AMEN.

The phrase a butan ende on eonesse is common enough among the conventional endings given Old English religious writings and is used quite frequently at the end of other Vercelli Book homilies. Indeed, the final phrases of the homilist are more like the endings of the twenty-first and twenty-second Vercelli homilies:

se leofað 7 rixap mid fadder 7 mid suna. 7 mid þam haligan gaste on wuldre 7 on wurðmynde ā' butan ende on eonesse 7 (folio 116v, end of homily xxi)
Se de leofad 7 ricsæ ðas be[utan ende on eo] nesse;

(folio 120r, end of homily xxii; the part between square brackets cannot be reported with certainty from the facsimile)

Such comparisons show that Gonser is right in regarding the ending of the Vercelli Homily as Selbständiger, sakramentaler Schluss 1.

However, Gonser includes as part of the independent ceremonial ending of the Homily the words:

7 þa after þam fleah se haliga guðlac mid þam apostole sanote bartholomei to heofona rices wuldra. 7 hine se helend þer onfeng.

By so doing, he evades the necessity to discuss the separate ending given to the story of Guthlac's persecution by devils at Crowland in the Homily. St Bartholomew plays no part in Felix's highly literary account of Guthlac's death, so the homilist's after þam cannot be taken as a vague phrase with some such meaning as 'after a while'. Nor can it be argued that the scribe, admittedly careless in the way his eye jumps from line to line in certain places, has left out some words which summarise the rest of the saint's life, as this version of the saint's death owes nothing to Felix. It is possible that some stories of Guthlac with a different ending were in circulation but, if there were any such, all signs of them have vanished. Only the first of the Guthlac poems in the Exeter Book shares with this homily a lack of interest in the Vita material beyond the episode which is dominated by Guthlac's patron saint 2, but, although uninter-

---

1 Gonser 1909, p. 72; on p. 42 he notes the passage is without equivalent in the Life
2 See further III.4, and compare I.3/a
ested in the remaining miracles of the saint recounted by Felix, the
Guthlac. A poet does not follow up the visit to hell gates with an an
ouncement of Guthlac's immediate death and he does not show us
Bartholomew as psychopomp. All we can say is that the Homily begins
just beyond the most striking break recognised in the Vita (at line
385) and ends with the opportune arrival of Bartholomew, giving a
text derived from a translation of Vita 390-552¹. Perhaps the man
who chose this material for a homily knew some traditional account in
which Guthlac's struggles with Crowland demons ended with his journey
to heaven under his patron saint's protection and perhaps he recognised
the subsequent material in the Vita as typical of the elaboration
found in official lives of saints; or his attention may have
flagged once Bartholomew arrives to save Guthlac from hell. Whatev-
ever one decides, it must be noted that the details of Guthlac's death
in this homily are not in the Vita tradition, although the text has
descended from that same translation of the Vita which lies behind
the Life.

The beginning of the Homily is not in any way especially shaped,
and its different ending may be no more than a useful bridge passage
between the chosen extract and the need to give to it a conventional
closing benediction. It would have been so simple for the homilist
to add some bridge words more in line with the Vita tradition, that
his separate ending does not deserve to be overlooked. However,

¹See further I.1
although these few words differ in content from Life to Vita, there is nothing to indicate any similar major differences between the great bulk of the Homily and those lines of the Life it parallels. Instead the separate readings (summarised in III.3/a) of the two texts can be explained mostly as having arisen during the independent transmission of their exemplars. A full description of such differences will be found in the commentary.
In his comparison of the Homily and Life, Gonser tries to explain how they differ from one another by listing four major sorts of differences he finds between them. He lists first Zusätze in the Homily, next Auslassungen from the Homily, then Verschiedenheiten between the texts in their treatment of some Latin word or phrase and last some few Verschiedenheiten where the Vita indicates that one reading rather than the other is correct. These groupings are to a certain extent unsatisfactory, most of all because they are not mutually exclusive. It is obvious that many of the longer omissions of one or the other text could appear also under the headings of readings shown correct by parallels in the Vita. Gonser however treats the Life as his basic text and does not attempt to show that omissions may also have been made from it, so a false impression is given of its quality. Yet, his examination provides material which should have proved useful in a consideration of how well the Life reflects the contents of the original translation but which is not so used. For these reasons it seems better to attempt an independent comparison of the ways in which these texts differ.

This summary will be presented under three rough headings. First a list of places where material has most likely been lost from the Life will be given, next a similar list for the Homily and last a supplementary note of passages where different readings suggest that

---

1 Gonser 1909, pp. 40-47
the original translation was rather different in character from the extant Life. Some other brief notes follow, concerned mainly with examination of misreadings reported by Conser from the Homily and the parallel chapters of the Life. It should be noted that reference should be made from this summary to the commentary and to the texts themselves. An alphabetical list of words which occupy similar syntactic positions in the texts appears in II.4/F.5 where some discussion of the significance of these differences will be found.

MATERIAL LOST FROM THE LIFE

Conser (pp. 40–41) points out ten places where words or phrases appear in the Homily but not in the Life. Eight of these readings are, he states, derived from the Vita:

228: Hly 1 spreecenan / Vita 390 prefata;

239: Hly 10 areset / Vita 400 cooperat (the pluperfect in Old English being rendered often by a preterite + ðæ)

241: Hly 12 gengde geond hat geaswæg / Vita 409 per uasti aestheris spatia (similar but scarcely equivalent);

272: Hly 40–41 sydæan . . sceotode / Vita 439–41 Ex . . nequi- uerunt;

310: Hly 80 7 wide geond hat weddon / Vita 475 late loca mestis questibus iempleuerunt;

310: Hly 83 by gewunelican beowdom / Vita 481 adaueto more;

340: Hly 111 upgeleded / Vita 513 deuentum;
The two remaining passages noted by Gonser as occurring only in the Homily are:

290: Hly 59 7 weocest to forgifenesse hina cylta / Vita 459 ff. does not contain anything equivalent to the phrase following weocest and it may represent expansion of the words of the original translation. It should be noted that Gonser emends into the Homily from the Life the form swenost (itself an emendation made by him in the Life) for weocst in this line. See further the note in the Commentary.

370: Hly 142-6 7 ha . . . fias / this independent ending of the Homily is discussed in II.3/c and in the Commentary.

More examples of phrase and especially of words lost from the Life can be cited on the evidence of the Homily, but only a few of these have the support of the Vita and the differences are in any case less striking than those listed by Gonser. Two places showing a basis in the Vita should be added to his list:

280: Hly 49 ac / Vita 450 et;

311: Hly 81 bara werigra gasta / Vita 476 immundorum spirituum.

Most differences of this sort cannot however be equated so easily with phrases in the Vita. Below follows a summary of the more important words and phrases not found in the Life but present in the Homily. Some comment will occasionally be added where the difference merits a note; points discussed in the Commentary will have a placed after them.
229 bone yloan : Hly 2 bone yloan hlsw / Vita 392 in suiis
(which corresponds only with bone yloan, common to both Old Eng­
lish texts)

232 bus : Hly 4-5 bus 7 eardungstowe (C)

240 mid pan gewunelican beawe : Hly 11 mid by he he by gewune­
lican beowdome (C)

243 : Hly 15 teldad (Life perhaps shows omission due to scribal
error; C)

244 mid pan : Hly 15 mid by atre (C)

254 gewundod : Hly 25 gedrefed 7 gewundod (compare entries for
329 and 332 below and see II.4/3.3)

258 ly pody : Hly 28 7 bus cleopode

270 ða se halga : Hly 37 ða he se haliga (compare entries for
300, 310, 312, 351 and 368 below)

271 mid gastliore blisse gefyllied : Hly 38-9 on gastliore blisse
7 heofonundre gii e swide gefeonde (C)

279 ðra wepna : Hly 46-7 ussa wepna stræla (C)

280 bysmrian : Hly 49 mid brogan bysmrian (compare entry below
for 334; C)

290 eft : Hly 60 bonne eft

300 ða se eadiga : Hly 70 ða he ða se eadiga

305 ða : Hly 75 ða sona

306 ydele : Hly 76 idle 7 unnytte

306 feng nedmysolan : Hly 76 feng to þere teala myolan (C)
310 7 se eadiga : Hly 80 7 he se eadiga

311 : Hly 81 7 him for naht dyde (duplicated by mistake also; C)

312 he : Hly 83 he guilas

323 : Hly 94 sva ungemetlice hryndon 7 (probably expansion in Homily)

329 laddon : Hly 100 baron 7 laddon

332 swenoton : Hly 103 laddon 7 swenoton

334 mid maran bysmerum swenon 7 costian : Hly 105-6 mid maran brogan bysmerigan 7 wæcan (C)

342 : Hly 113-4 ber ða ondysenlican fideru ongen suman . . (Conser gives this as one of four examples of mistaken readings in the Homily; see further in the Commentary)

351 ða se eadiga : Hly 123 ða he se eadiga

356 mid by : Hly 128 mid by he

357 bisum wordum beotodon : Hly 129 byssum wordum sprecon 7 him swa to beotodon

359 bet : Hly 131 bet ðet (perhaps scribal duplication in Hly; compare the note for Hly 118 was in the Commentary)

367 ði ða awyrgeðan : Hly 138 hie ða ða werigan

368 ða se eadiga : Hly 140 ða he ða se eadiga

The curious passage Hly 16-18 of bendum . . ceæpan which by position corresponds with of . . ceæpan 245 is not included in this summary; for a note on it see the Commentary.
MATERIAL LOST FROM THE HOMILY

Gonser (pp. 42-3) points out six places in the Life where phrases not found in the Homily appear. These are:

237-40 *bat he . . organ*: Hly 10 / Vita 400-4 (scribe’s eye has moved from one to another similar word; compare note for 265-7 below; C)

251-2 *7 ba meran . . dyde*: Hly 21 (C)

254 *pri dagas*: Hly 24 / Vita 420 trium dierum (Homily here has swa which does not appear in Life)

265-7 *7 him . . suuma*: Hly 34 / Vita 428-30 (compare note for 237-40 above; C)

304 *after bæs wordum*: Hly 74 (cannot be attributed unequivocally to Vita 469 quo facto)

309 *bat hi oferswìde wæron*: Hly 80 (not in Vita; C)

One other passage noted by Gonser (though as a misreading in the Homily) should probably be included in this group:

332 *ane hwìla*: Hly 104 ana / Vita 504 paulisper (the reading may have arisen through misreading, but need not be emended; C)

Many other words and phrases found in the Homily but not in the Life can be listed. They are given in order of their appearance, for most often it is impossible to judge whether or not the readings of the Life stood in the original translation.

231 *waterseal*: Hly 4 seap / Vita 393 oisterne
235 galle his dagas his lifes : Hly 8 galle dagas his lifes

242 efne swa : Hly 14 swa / Vita 408 see

249 Mid ham he ba : Hly 19 He ba

251-2 la maran . . bonne : Hly 23 (probably expansion in Life, for there the following clause is positive whereas both Hly and Vita contain negative adverbs)

253 ba . . gewunodne : Hly 24 ba / Vita - (this clause appears only in the Life; see further in the Commentary)

256 but he : Hly 27 he

258-9 in tribulatione . . englise : Hly 28 (C)

260 io be to olypiga : Hly 29 io olypiga

274 gode gecewemlicost mihite libban : Hly 43 mihite gecewemlicost (libban added in emendation; see further C)

276 excesson 7 sweden : Hly 45 sweden

278 7 bar : Hly 46 bar

281 er gehoht hefdest : Hly 50 gehoht hefdest

297-8 gehiwe 7 gefremtwode : Hly 67 gehiwe

299 burch six daga festan : Hly 69 gyx daga festan / Vita 465-6 sex diebus

300-1 se eadiga wer guðlac : Hly 70 se eadiga wer (compare entry for line 335 below)

303 forbon he : Hly 73 forðan (compare the entries for 305 and 325)
305-6 for þam þe : Hly 75 fordun

311 heora lára 7 heora costunga : Hly 81 (perhaps independent elaboration in Life as not based on Vita material)

317 mycela heafda : Hly 88 heafdu / Vita 488-9 capitis magnum
(omission from Hly at some stage of transmission must be recognised; c)

320 mid lēga : Hly 91 līga (compare entries for 350-1 and 353 below)

325-6 to þam þet : Hly 97 to þam

335 se eadiga wer guðlac : Hly 106 se eadiga wer

337 fram þe : Hly 108 (c)

345 hi hine gebrohtun : Hly 116 (this phrase varies geladden 344 : Hly 116 geladdon which answers to Vita 518 perducunt)

347-8 ealra þera tinsclega 7 þera wīta : Hly 118 ealra þera tinsclega

350-1 mid manigfealdum wītum : Hly 123 manigfealdum tinsclegum

353 mid mycela cleopungre : Hly 125 micelre olypunge

356 synnum 7 gyltum : Hly 128 synnum

357-8 þus, 7 awk : Hly 129-30 7 him to awk (version in Hly may show influence of preceding clause)

358 dust. 7 sosan, 7 ysel : Hly 131 dustes sosan / Vita 541 failla cineris (c)

361 secolon ge : Hly 133 (clause without finite verb unusual in Hly, so phrase seen in Life may have been omitted by scribe; c)
362 Hig ba sona ba awyrgedan : Hly 134 his ba werigan

366 for here fagernysse : Hly 139 for here fagernesse (with for inserted as emendation in Hly; C)

Not all the errors assumed in the Homily have been included in this summary and relevant perhaps in this respect are: the presumed instances of haplography in Hly 32 on engeliere, MS engeliere and Hly 87 on onsayne, MS onsayne; and of dittography in Hly 82 7 him for naht dyde, MS Thī fornaht dyde Thim fornaht dyde, and Hly 118 wæs, MS wæs / (new folio) wæs.

SOME OTHER DIFFERENCES

An attempt has been made elsewhere (II.4/3.4) to list the rough word for word equivalences which are to be found between Homily and Life. As however the texts differ often in phrasing, a few of these more sustained differences are now noted.

(1) PHRASE

235 forðgelstende wæs : Hly 8 forðgelaste / Vita 398 exigebat

236 to gereorde : Hly 9 semetegung / Vita 399 temperantia (C)

287-8 swcean wylt : Hly 56 ofaswea (C)

295 7 ber : Hly 54 7 ba ar

288 ba ergerfremdan synna : Hly 57 ba erran fremednesse yfelra leahtra / Vita 456 ante omiessa crimina (C)

289 swa mycole swa : Hly 58 swiddor swa / Vita 458 Quanto

291 swa mycole swa : Hly 60-1 swa micole swiddor swa / Vita 459 quanto
293 gestihs : Hly 62-3 bist astreah / Vita 461 prostratus isquieris (c)

352 on bære bystrunge : Hly 103-4 on bære bystran nihte / Vita 503 umbrose noptis

346 pa fulnyssas has aniges 7 pa byrmanda lega 7 bane age bære sweartan deopenhysse : Hly 117 pa smicendan brosas bære byrmandra liga 7 bane age bære sweartan nywylness / Vita 519-20 Ille uero fumigantes. estuantis inferni catuernas prospectane (c)

350 bære arlesara manna sawle : Hly 122-3 bæ sawla arlesara manna / Vita 527 animas immortal

352 wæs , , afyrht : Hly 124 onhreo / Vita 529 horresceret (c)

358-9 dust, 7 ascen, 7 yæle : Hly 131 dustes ascen / Vita 541 feaille cineris (c)

362-3 to ham eadigac woldon : Hly 134-5 to ham gegeawodon / Vita 544 , , orecingentibus (c)

365-6 betwux ba dymnysse bestru : Hly 137 betuh ba dimman bystro / Vita 546 medias furus nootis , , tenebras (c; see note for line 7)

(ii) WORD ORDER WITHIN CLAUSE

255 hwider he wolde , , geceyrren : Hly 25 hwider he , , cyrran wolde

264 7 he , , swipe blipe wæs , , : Hly 33 7 he wæs ba sone se eadiga , ,

290 fastlicor getrymed : Hly 60 getrymed fastlicor
302 Syn mine fynd min drihten god . . : Hly 72 Min dryhten god
syn mine fynd . . / Vita 468 comertantur inimici mei . .

316 hi weron : Hly 87 weron hi

318-9 7 ruge earen, 7 hi hafdon . . : Hly 89 7 hafdon ruge
earan (G)

331 bet him was eal se lichama gewundod : Hly 102 bet eal se
lihona was gewundod

351-2 . . ba micelnesse geseah bare vitu : Hly 124 . . geseah
ba micelnesse bare wyta

356 be ongean : Hly 128 ongen be

359 bet ge min ahton geweald : Hly 131 bet ge min geweald
ahtan

(iii) WORDS WITHIN CLAUSE AND SENTENCE

268-9 bet he ne tweode : Hly 35-6 bet him ne tweode

273-4 mid by . . Be : Hly 42-3 ba . . da

275 to him : Hly 43 per / Vita 443 coram illo

275-6 to him : Hly 44 due / Vita 446 cum illo

279-80 we nu heonorford nelled be . . : Hly 49-50 wene io bet
we be furðor ne wyllan . . (C)

286 ba : Hly 55 ba da

296 ac . . man : Hly 66 ac . . man (C)

299 bam be gelice . . : Hly 68 pane man gelice . . (C)
The differences cited in this chapter reveal two interesting facts...
about these texts. One of these facts might in any case be surmised without detailed comparison of the texts, that by and large the forms of language seen in the Homily are older than those seen in the Life. This is of course better shown in II.4 (and especially F in that chapter), but a few more points are worth note. Where in the Homily an instrumental phrase occurs, three times in the Life a phrase headed by mid stands in the corresponding passage (320 : Hly 91, 350-1 : Hly 123 and 353 : Hly 125). Twice a dative pronoun stands in the Homily, but has perhaps been avoided by the reviser of the Life whose corresponding clause is differently arranged (268 : Hly 35-6 and 315 : Hly 86), but on the other hand in line 324 the Life retains an impersonal construction not kept in the Homily (though Hly 95 hit huhte can be explained as scribal anticipation of hit). Less weight can be given the other features in which the two texts contrast, but probably of some interest are the use of fon with a dative in the Life where in the Homily it is followed by to (306 : Hly 76) and the appearance in the Homily of the older relative ba be in line 55 where Life 286 has ba.

The second fact the differences summarised in this chapter reveal is that both Life and Homily have undergone separate and considerable revision, but that together they imply a fuller original translation than could be surmised if only one were extant. The Life was apparently revised in the late Old English period, but with the intent of retaining a full account of Guthlac in the vernacular. Scarcely any important incident has been omitted, and it seems likely
that the revision was carried out more radically in the later than the earlier parts of the translation. The Homily had reached the form in which it survives by the last decades of the tenth century, but is obviously a popularisation of the more important events of the legend. Certain poetic wording and phrasing may even have found their way into the Homily at the time these incidents were selected as material suitable for a sermon, but it will be seen in II.4/F that the vocabulary found in this older text is for the most part probably a better reflection of the vocabulary of the original translator than is the vocabulary of the Life. Each has examples of word pairs not found in the other, yet the incidence of this stylistic feature is higher in the Homily than in the Life. The Homily contains subject repetition to a degree unparalleled in the Life (lines 270, 300, 310, 312, 351 and 368), although this is one of the marked syntactic features of the Life as a whole. The curious result of their independent shaping is that each preserves structures modelled upon the Latin where the other shows simplification or an attempt at simplification, a question treated more fully in the Commentary.
Examinations have been made both of the phonology and the accidence of the texts contained in the Bodley manuscript Laud Miscellany 509 (Wilkes 1905 and Brühl 1892). Yet, although a description of the phonology of the Old English prose life of Guthlac is available (Geisel 1915) and although those folios in which the Life appears have for a long time been recognised as in the same hand as is Laud Miscellany 509 (Wanley 1705, p. 245), indeed as the folios which originally followed immediately upon the last leaf of that manuscript (Ker 1935), no attention has been directed to the obvious differences in language to be traced between the Aelfrician portions of this material and the Vespasian life of St Guthlac.

The most recent editor of the Old English Heptateuch (S.J. Crawford 1922, pp. 11) describes the Laud Miscellany 509 text as one of the manuscripts of the Heptateuch which 'have few or no dialect features' and which agree closely with standard late West Saxon of the eleventh century. However, he notes that among such texts this particular manuscript:

... departs farthest from the regular orthography of the best manuscripts of the works of Aelfric, its most striking characteristic being its predilection for i instead of y from all sources.
He isolates two scribal features of the manuscript which he regards as 'a departure from the earliest and best of the MSS. of Ælfric'. One of these, the scribe's preference for ye instead of is (and he quotes the figures 315:39 given by Wilkes), is found also in the life of Guthlac where ye is general and is does not occur at all.

The other feature emphasised by him as markedly different from the characteristics of earlier Ælfric manuscripts is not, however, typical also of the Vespasian Life. S.J. Crawford points out that:

... for the pronouns of the third person, hig is much commoner than the normal hy, or hi.

In the Guthlac Life the usual form for the nominative and accusative plural of the third person pronoun is hi, whereas hig occurs infrequently (14 times for the nominative and only twice for the accusative).

The ratio for the accusative singular feminine forms of this pronoun in the Guthlac text is rather more interesting, three instances each of hi and hig. It is probable that the scribe may have found it less easy to reconcile himself to the use of hi for this case than for the plural cases which outnumber by far the examples of the feminine accusative.

Without going any further, therefore, the divergence between Laud Miscellany 509 and the Guthlac folios of Cotton Vespasian D xxi in the forms adopted for these cases of the pronoun of the third person suggests that in the Life the scribe had before him a text with a transmission history different from the biblical materials he had already copied. This fact is, of course, evident on external as well
as on internal grounds, for the existence of the Guthlac homily of
the Vercelli Book cannot be gainsaid as evidence that the translation
of Felix's Vita sancti Guthlac from which they both derive was most
likely made before Ælfric's translations. This assumption gains
support from the obsolescent nature of some of the words found either
in the Guthlac Life or in the related Vercelli Homily. Doubt has
recently been cast on the validity of vocabulary as a dialect test,
unless convincing phonological evidence can be found to support its
conclusions (Campbell 1955, p. 56), but not on its value as an indica-
tion of artificiality. The Guthlac material of the Vercelli Book
is not markedly different in vocabulary, phonology or inflexion from
any other poems or homilies in that collection and, without the exist-
ence of the Life, it would not be possible to describe it any more
closely than that it is in 'the general Old English poetic dialect'
(the phrase used by K. Sisam 1953, p. 138, to explain his use of koine
for such texts). Indeed, the independent evidence of the Life indica-
tes, as would have been guessed without its existence, that the orig-
inal translation has been adapted and changed for its appearance as a
popular homily (see II.4/F for possible differences in vocabulary as
well as II.3/d for the obvious simplification of syntax). The Life
does not, however, suggest that it has been revised in the same way.
In sentence structure especially it retains correlatives and other
methods of clause connection which by position obviously echo Felix's
Latin. Whatever revision the Life has undergone, the weighty sentence
structure which marks English prose translation of the Alfredian school
is still discernible. From a comparison of the vocabulary used in the two texts it becomes evident that the changes which lie between the Life and the original translation were motivated by a desire for a modernised text in the late Old English period and this has been achieved mainly by the excision of difficult passages or by word-substitutions of the sort illustrated by Hecht in his edition of the Old English version of Gregory's Dialogues. Neither Life nor Homily is therefore a good witness to the style and date of the original translator from whose work both texts ultimately are derived, but examination and comparison of them both may throw some light upon these problems.

A brief account of the phonology of both these texts is presented by Ida Geisel in a volume complementary to Paul Gonser's edition of them. Unfortunately, however, Dr Geisel in her glossary to the texts incorporates without comment most of the emendations made by Gonser, thus obscuring both in the glossary and in the examination of the language which is drawn from her glossary many of the most interesting features of the Life. Recently Professor Vleeskruyer (1953, p. 55 fn 1) has written of this work:

The Basel dissertation of I. Geisel (Sprache und Wortsschatz der ae. Guthlagübersetzung, 1915) is unfortunately of little value, even as a merely factual account. Although it is unfair to apply these words to the glossary which gives a fairly comprehensive and accurate representation of the words in use in both texts, a new examination of the language of these texts is
undoubtedly required. Dr Geisel's conclusion (1915, p. 23):

dass die Guthlacübersetzung in die Reihe der angloischen
Denkmäler zu stellen ist

is based on little more than the forms already gathered together by
Gonser (1909, pp. 49-52).

The following sections of this chapter present a summary of the
significant forms in these two texts which stem ultimately from an
Old English prose life of St Guthlac which neither reflects accurately
or consistently. Sections B, C and D are given over respectively
to notes on the vowels of the accented syllables, the vowels of the
unaccented syllables and the consonants of the Life, and a summary of
the more important of such features in the Homily will be found in
section E. Sections F and G contain discussion of the vocabulary
and of noteworthy syntactical features in both texts. An attempt to
summarise the materials presented and to draw from an examination of
them some conclusions will be found in section H.

Cross references made within this chapter will not be given the
prefix II.4, but will begin with the appropriate sectional letter.
Vowels of accented syllables

1 early West Saxon

There seem to be no features in the Life which need be described as characteristically early West Saxon. The ie digraph which is generally held to be distinctive of this dialect is not found in the text. Though a casual glance might lead one to identify it in the participle twiendlisc 667, in this form morphological suture would have been present between root and stem vowels (see Campbell §757 and fn 2, 761 (1)). The letters ie appear side by side also in present participles of second class weak verbs: blissiende 485, eardiende 672, etc, and in an inflected infinitive to eolansienne 296.

2 late West Saxon

The original linguistic character of the Guthlac Life has been greatly obscured by the activity of West Saxon scribes. Although Vleeskrayer (1953, p. 25) suggests that behind it may lie a transmission history similar to that generally envisaged for the Corpus Christi College Cambridge 41 manuscript of the Old English Bede, the Bodley Hatton 76 version of Gregory's dialogues or the Corpus Christi College Cambridge 196 martyrology, few forms will be found in this text which conflict with the phonological structure of West Saxon. No attempt is made to make an exhaustive study of the West Saxon nature of its phonology. Notes are given on the more interesting forms. The first
two entries in this section would be better labelled West Saxon, rather than late West Saxon, as they are to be seen already in early West Saxon texts.

(a) After a palatal consonant i appears for ie < e in begiten 454, begitet 757, forgifenysse 601, forgitende 347, gifu 72, etc (Campbell §185). See further D.7.

(b) Short front vowels are compensatorily lengthened for the loss of e before b, d or n (Campbell §243), for example abred 919, babydine 814, foresnde 460, foresdan 186, onabred 393, ongean 343. Lengthening occurs analogically in the short back vowel of abroden 221 where the g has also been lost.

(c) The West Germanic a before a nasal consonant is usually represented by a in this text, for example srpanas 108, begangende 96, 114, 405, bewand 885. Although owing to metathesis the sound is no longer followed by a nasal consonant a is found also in barn 134 (Campbell §155 and fn 3). In some words, however, a does appear, generally where these are such forms as normally occupy low sentence stress: bonan 23, bonne always, hwon six times, mon 77, 88, tosomme 344 and in the verbal prefix (whereas an- is general in nouns). Instances of a are otherwise sporadic, for example gesommode 106 and togesommode 872, and a similar picture of the Laud Miscellany 505 is presented by Wilkes (1905, p. 82) who notes that there a is general and gives sporadic instances of stsomme and tosomme and examples of words which usually appear in low stress. As Vleeskruyer points out
(1953, p. 104 fn 4), neither Life nor Homily contain more than a few instances of a where it might be expected in a West Midland text; it is to be doubted if the Life contains even a few.

(d) The West Saxon restoration of a before a in the declension of adjectives is seen in rāde 144 (Campbell §643 (1)).

(e) The West Saxon extension of a from the infinitive and present plural of the verb faran into other parts of the verb is reflected in fare 778, fare 779, ferandum 116 (see Campbell §160 (4)).

(f) The sel- group appears throughout the Life as syl-: sylh 734 and sylf- forms 26 times. There are few traces of this development in other dialects than West Saxon within the Old English period (Campbell §256). This group is represented in Laud Miscellany 509 both by syl- and by the earlier West Saxon group nil- (Wilkes 1905, p. 128).

(g) The muj- group is generally represented by ne-, for example nelt 424, 817 and nelled 280, 281. Such forms occur frequently in late West Saxon (and in Kentish), but were already a feature of early West Saxon and are best regarded as arising in low sentence stress (Campbell §265).

(h) Rounding of what is often called 'festes i' is found frequently within this text, usually in the neighbourhood of labials or before y, for example bysene 30, 477, bryttiso 395, bryttiso 388, bysm- rian 280, gebysmrod 385, cyrolice 872; but the rounding is by no means
general in these circumstances and many forms retain \( \ddot{a} \), for example alifian 235, bewinde 802, 806, gebindan 574. This rounding is already well represented in early West Saxon texts (Campbell 318), as is the occurrence of sporadic \( \ddot{y} \) for \( \dot{i} \) in other phonetic environments. In a recent study of the language of the Parker Chronicle it is pointed out that the rounding is most frequent after \( r \), after labials, esp. \( w, h \) and \( m \), after \( g \) and \( p \) and before \( s \) (Sprockel 1965, p. 34). This observation provides an explanation for such forms as byssum 904, hys 6 times, ye throughout, nye 656, 723, etc, and it is likely that they show a darkening of the \( i \) sound because they occur usually in low sentence stress; the four instances of hyne perhaps show a darkening for similar reasons. Stress variation no doubt played an important part in the development of such forms, but it should be noted that byssum 904, because it contains the only instance of \( y \) in the conjugation of this article, may show that the influence of the following back vowel has favoured the appearance of \( y \) (see Gradon 1962, p. 74).

The Life displays the tendency found in some late West Saxon manuscripts for \( \ddot{a} \) to become unrounded by isolative change. Campbell (317) notes that an example of such a manuscript is Laud Miscellany 509. This change is reflected also in the Life where many examples not only of the unrounding of \( \ddot{y} \) from \( \ddot{e} \) or from mutated \( \ddot{u} \) occur (see below B.3/i), but also many instances of the rounding of \( \dddot{a} \) where a phonetic explanation for the rounding cannot be envisaged. Examples for \( \dddot{i} \) are genyberah 739, gesyld 211, scyld 211, scylde 445, synderlice 179.

The rounding is seen less often for \( \ddot{a} \) than for \( \dddot{i} \). Examples in
the neighbourhood of a labial or \( r \) are *bryhera* 437, *swynes* 442 and *tryfealden* 266 (with \( l \), however, becoming \( f \) within the Old English period); the isolative change is seen only in *ydele* 306 where, it is interesting to note, the scribe has added *idel* above this form.

(1) The late West Saxon tendency for \( \tilde{u} \) both from mutated \( u \) and \( u \) to become unrounded by isolative change is found in the *Life*, but is less marked a feature in it than in the *Laud Miscellany* 509 texts. The tendency is best seen in the word *drihten* which appears 14 times with \( i \) and once only as *Dryhten* 336. This, however, most likely reflects the late West Saxon tendency for \( \tilde{u} \) to appear as \( \tilde{u} \) before \( h \), \( ð \) and \( ð \) and groups containing them (Campbell §316). The forms *fílían* 774, *hiht* 139, 624, 742, *gæhihto* 824, *ilce* 134, *bince* 695, and probably *gíngran* 96 (Campbell §316 fn 2), are other instances of this change. It should be noted that *gíngran* 96 is susceptible also of an explanation which would label it Anglian (SB 31 note 2), but in view of the overwhelmingly West Saxon character of the language of the *Life* this interpretation cannot be stressed unduly.

Often \( ë \) reflects West Saxon palatal umlaut (a change found also in Kentish, Campbell §304), as for example *čniht* 731, *čnihtum* 204, *čnihtiðu* 99, *čnihtiðsan* 94, *ríhte* 3, or the West Saxon \( i \)-umlaut of \( ea \), for example *aluhtig* 218, *hlihhande* 611, *miht* 354, 386, or the West Saxon \( i \)-umlaut of \( ie \), for example *forستihhtod* 72, *forستihhtode* 218; these last examples could alternatively be described as the result of Anglian smoothing. The \( ë \) resulting from \( i \)-umlaut appears
as I in digle 179, 187, diglan 216, 509, digelnyse 196, geiged 22, afliged 465, onlihtod 266.

Instances of the isolative change are however few; and the short vowel in gimde 150 and the long in gimde 133, 335 may have fallen in with the forms noted in B.2/a. Apparently I is the normal vowel resulting from the mutation of i0 before w in West Saxon (see Campbell §300 fa 2 and SB 107, note 5) and this is seen in forms such as ge-hiwode 297 or niwnysse 878. See also 3/d for eo in such forms. Examples of isolative unrounding of i are litel 720 and, in a secondary syllable, ansine 146.

(j) In view of the contents of the last two notes, it seems necessary to illustrate the prevailing tendency of the Life for the last West Saxon i to appear as the monophthongisation of ie. The West Saxon i-umlaut of ea is reflected in ahwyrf 428, cyrran 913, ge-gyrran 259, etc, of eo or io in afyrred 740, andlyfne 239, 479, byrhtnyse 365, etc, of ea in alyfæd 822, gebyrum 17, gelyfde 743, etc, and of lo in aneyne 12 times, gesyne 448, bystrum 221, bystro 20, 126, 367, etc. The West Saxon ie resulting from vowel contraction is reflected in fynd 302, frynd 939, getyd 153, brey 517, 535, 556.

(k) As æ from Primitive Germanic ë is peculiar to West Saxon, its retraction to æ before u is a characteristic feature of West Saxon texts. This retraction is seen in blawas 230, ononawe 303, gesawon 56, 60, 102, 878, 880, etc. The breaking of this æ to ea before appears in neah 468, 549, 796 and, with loss of æ between voiced sounds,
161

(1) The late West Saxon levelling of ë into the past system of \( \text{rægon} \) (where Anglian retains ë) is seen in \( \text{gerehte} 516 \).

(m) The vowel in \( \text{hwæn} 813 \) reflects the West Saxon development of \( \text{hwone} \) without mutation in unstressed positions (Campbell §193 (d) fn 4).

(n) The late West Saxon smoothing (Campbell §312) of \( \text{ea} \) appears in \( \text{astrehte} 691, \text{astrehtom} 63, \text{beget} 503, \text{cestre} 168, \text{gefesht} 292, \text{drehte} 543, 566, \text{rehte} 730, \text{gerehte} 592, 730 \) and \( \text{gesek} 122 \). Similar smoothing of ë is probably reflected also in \( \text{nehat} 758, \text{next-an} 4 \) times, \( \text{geneshlice} 645, \text{nehfreonde} 534, \text{nehpeode} 47 \) and \( \text{nehpeode}^\dagger \) 619. Although these latter forms could be explained alternatively as representing the Anglian smoothing of ë, this explanation seems less likely within the context of this text; either must be granted possible. Many instances of this smoothing in \text{Laud Miscellany 509} are listed by Wilkes (1905, p. 138).

(o) The ë-umlaut of ë appears sporadically in forms of \text{morgen} : \( \text{eremergen} 813, \text{eremergen} 820 \). Although this is a feature of some early northern and midland texts as well as of late West Saxon (Campbell §195 (a) fn 6), as the mutation occurs also in \text{Laud Miscellany 509} (Wilkes 1905, §75), it is perhaps best regarded as late West Saxon and scribal. Sprockel (1965, p. 41) points out that the different root vowels in this word 'are due to the interchange of suffixes.
-ins- and -ans-, which are related by gradation'.

(p) The West Saxon tendency to level under wur- the group w + short vowel + y is seen in wurthigan 156, gewurhd 889, wurted 205, wurhtode 98 and wurhtmynt 948. Campbell (§322) points out that leveling when the vowel is y is rarely seen. One instance occurs in the Life : wurma 438; and other examples are listed for Laud Miscellany 509 by Wilkes (1905, p. 126).

3 non West Saxon features

(a) Anglian y appears once for primitive Old English ǣ (where West Saxon has æ or some vowel derived from it, see B.2/k) in gesegon 511.

(b) The second fronting of æ may be reflected in fregn 594 and perhaps in heget 503 which could be interpreted as lacking the West Saxon diphthongisation of æ (such forms without initial palatal diphthongisation are rare in West Saxon texts and are generally to be attributed to the influence of Mercian (Campbell §185), but see B.2/n. The form fregn 594 can also be explained as due to Kentish raising, but there is little other evidence in the Life to indicate that it has passed through a Kentish recension.

The fronting may also be present in cestre 168 where for the West Saxon dialect a diphthong resulting from the influence of the initial palatal consonant might be expected, but again see B.2/n.
Although both Napier (1888, p. 136 note 10) and Brunner (1940, p. 212) think that ceotre may be considered as of little value as an indication of dialect because it occurs in many late West Saxon texts, Vleeskruyer (1953, p. 83) thinks that at least in the context of Bodley, Sutton 116 the Chad instance of cestre 168 is more likely to be Mercian than West Saxon. Within the Life, however, the form cannot be emphasised as evidence of Mercian colouring.

(c) The Anglian ā-umlaut of ēa is reflected in dremdon 581 and also in unēnysse 779 and unēnysse 776, forms listed by Geisel (1915, p. 16) as showing smoothing (Vleeskruyer 1953, p. 91 fn 2, also notes this curious judgment). In nehst 758 and in the four instances of nextan the ē is probably the result of late West Saxon smoothing (see 2/n above) rather than of Anglian ā-mutation or smoothing. The forms lege 320, 349 and lega 346 appear often in West Saxon texts and need not be considered Anglian (SB §106). The forms felde 110 and helde 58 indicate the Anglian ā-umlaut of ēa has taken place. See Campbell §200.

(d) The five instances of the digraph eo in forms of beorhtnys beside byrhtnyse 365 need not be regarded as the failure of West Saxon ā-umlaut, as variation between umlauted and unchanged vowel is found in words formed with the suffix -nis/-nye (Campbell §204 (2) fn 3).

The Anglian ā-umlaut of Io may be reflected in such forms as steowd 58, steowed 64, getreowa 261, getreowan 271, 368, gehseod...
487, 576, etc., but, as Vleeskruyer (1953, p. 115) points out, Æo is not uncommon in such forms in West Saxon texts. If, indeed, the mutation there of Æo is Æo and if Æo had in these words been replaced early enough by Æo in West Saxon for the umlaut to take place, there is no reason to distinguish them as Mercian forms in a text predominantly West Saxon in other phonological features (see Campbell §202).

(e) In the Life forms showing the effect of back umlaut are for the most part those to be expected in a West Saxon text; for example andleofone 592, bigleofan 236, 306, cleopode 67, etc, reflect the back umlaut of j. The umlaut is found in two places other than before a liquid or labial consonant and these forms might not be expected to appear generally in Old English.

In neodan 316 the eo would be expected only in Anglian or Kentish texts (Campbell 212), but, as Vleeskruyer (1953, p. 113) points out, the graph eo appears in underneophan already in early West Saxon texts and it would therefore be unsafe to treat this form as an Anglian feature of the Life.

One form reflects the back umlaut of æ where the restoration of æ would normally be expected. This ægospind 767 shows an umlaut not found in the Mercian dialect of the Vespasian Psalter Gloss where æ resulting from the fronting of æ is retained before æ and æ (Campbell §164). Such forms are found occasionally in the early glossaries and also in ninth century Kentish texts (Campbell §207) and in the Kentish context they may illustrate the influence of Mercian scribal practice.
in Kent, rather than indicate an actual sound change of that dialect. As, however, Professor Campbell notes that \( ea \) appears even more widely in \( hæga \) and its compounds, for example Rushworth Gospels 21, 33 and Lornia Glosses 34, this form cannot be described any more precisely than non-West Saxon.

(f) The Anglian smoothing of \( ea \) is reflected in hercnode 394 and of \( eo < io \), the breaking of \( i \), in berhte 868.

In eghwonea 316 \( ë \) is from \( ë \), the \( i \)-umlaut of \( ë \). The fronting of the consonant \( g \) was presented, or perhaps removed, because another consonant followed; instead Anglian smoothing to \( ë \) appears (Campbell §233).

See B.2/1 and B.2/2 above for forms there described as West Saxon, but susceptible also of explanation in terms of Anglian smoothing.

(g) The effects of initial palatal diphthongisation are not apparent in beget 503, but see further B.2/1 and 3/b). The form seeðnyssé 652 has not undergone initial palatalisation, but is without significance as, although such forms without mutation of \( g \) are often labelled Mercian, they invade West Saxon prose (Campbell §188 and fn 3).

(h) The dative singular form hæle 790 shows Anglian retraction of \( æ \) general before \( l + \) consonant (see Campbell §143). Compensatory lengthening probably followed upon the loss of \( ñ \), although the evidence for this change is derived rather from the interpretation of Old English metre than from the conflicting place-name evidence (Campbell
§ 241 fn 1).

(i) Two instances of ðæ for ðæ appear in læofe 577 and asweald 638. Such forms, though more frequently found in Anglian and Kentish texts, appear sporadically in early West Saxon and are perhaps archaic rather than dialectal (see Campbell §§ 275 and 278 (c)).

(j) The form of the nominative singular feminine third personal pronoun is usually heo, but hi 862 may well be a Mercian feature and should not therefore be emended. See also Commentary.

4 late Old English features

Certain of the features listed under the head late West Saxon would be better termed late Old English traits. Here a few things are noted which are generally considered distinctive even within a late West Saxon context of the late Old English period.

(a) The æ in hwarf 203 and perhaps also in æald 606 is the result of late Old English monophthongisation (Campbell §329). The spelling ea for æ in headdon 65 also illustrates this tendency.

The tendency towards this late Old English monophthongisation of ðæ is reflected also in forms where ðæ is a back spelling for ð: streale 245, 247, salce 315; and in leafe 584.

Although it would be possible to explain the vowel of gleawlice 15 as an inverted spelling due to the effect of this monophthongisation
As the accents of the manuscript occur for the most part over vowels in accented syllables, it seems best to include a note on them in this section of the examination of the language of the Life. The accents are listed in the glossary, so no attempt will be made here to relist them fully.

The 'accent' marks of the manuscript are to be found most often over long vowels. For the majority of instances the mark is placed above the vowel of the first syllable in a word, for example see the glossary under ꚾ, ꚾen, ꚾr, ꚾgefremed, ꚾrra, etc. Rather less often a mark will occur over the second element in a compound noun: forœ-fœre 747, 815, 869, 873, 905, larsewðome 152, morgengebetida 380, nordal 341, norða 172, selægar 97, widsom 683. In some sixty instances the verbal prefix is unmarked and stress is indicated by an accent placed above the root syllable, for example abede 28, abidan 333, abred 919, aheth 795, 841, alæded 772, alædon 475, etc. In a few cases the mark is placed over the second syllable in an adjectival or adverbial form: foresæde 460, gelice 320, gered 186, ormundum 851, ummeta 342 and ummettra 252. The mark occurs also above a secondary syllable which contains a long vowel in the loanword ambrosia 862 and...
above both vowels in the compound adjective anred 269.

The verbal prefix is less often marked for emphasis than is the root, in finite forms seven times in all: 
awswaloden 287, abhengon 399, 
aidlofe 305, awusod 557, 834, abolode 349 and anngyreda 634; and in
non-finite forms six times: unforfitende 732, miscalron 322, 
ne rotterdam 778, ofamumone 744, ungesendedan 839 and unoferswyped 278. The
prefix un- is marked also in adjectives and adverbs: 
ungenlie 847, 
ungenelwlice 847, ungeornfulte 899, ungeswuliscan 921, unmanige 164,
312, etc; and in the noun ununyssse 779.

In a few words the accent appears over a short vowel before one
of those consonant groups which caused lengthening in late Old English:
barn 836, bewinde 802, 806, hamd 61, gelamp 312, 748, 768, niide 802,
sga 784, born 633, 648 and, in a secondary syllable, in ansundne 875.
However, these forms are perhaps best regarded as emphatic, for accent
marks occur over quite a few more vowels where no such explanation is
available: at 585, bed 693, bilwite 101, beforan 801, craft 669,
crefte 279, dege 236, 256, 295, 848, 860, gyrestandege 669, fegernyssse
367, feder 768, 809, 907, fragn 767, gladnyssse 901, hede 253, 781,
hefdom 321, hofonum 801, hrofena 442, laflice 714, mala pet an pet
432, megen 158, 243, magne 891, mesan 784, scdéle 107, scénode 727, ter
533, wes 247 and wrace 397. See the Commentary for notes on godes
678, worulde 949 and Ææ 949. Accent marks appear also in verb forms
where the root syllable is short: 
awhode 624, bewlcan 430, fòl
hogode 308, geören 893, geslægon 852, geslégon 881, gestyred 907,
upahofen 486 and, where a lengthening group follows the vowel, unbarndest
355.
Vowels of Unaccented Syllables

1 vowels of inflexions in nouns

(a) The obscuring of the vowel in the genitive singular and nominative/accusative plural inflexions of masculine and neuter a/ia stems is illustrated by the genitive singular forms fennas 187, sealmsangas 214, hlawa 230 and by the nominative plural forms gastes 362, 387 and laces 935. This change may also be reflected in the manuscript form fugelas 98, but for further discussion of this example see Commentary.

(b) There is in the Life one instance of what is usually considered an early West Saxon development of the dative plural ending to -an in benun 640, and two forms in -an, weoloan 115 (but see Commentary) and twuxan 320, may reflect this earlier change (see Campbell §378). Other instances of -an for -um occur in adjective declensions: ds berenan 307, medmyoclan 306 and dpl manigfealdan 171, heofonlican 823 and probably earman 359 (see also Commentary). In some comparative forms also -an appears in the dative plural: yldran 95, gingran 96 and maran 334. Once -on occurs in the dan pan odron 946.

The levelling of -an, -on and -um can scarcely be more than a tendency in the Life, however, for back spellings with -um for an expected -an occur twice only: ha andweardum 825 and te pan eum gefean 843. One instance of -on in the weak noun declension should be noted here: ds beowon 940.
(e) Some forms described in the glossary as dative singular are instances of the endingless locative: 

_æg_ 300, 772; _wednesday_ 758; and _bæm_ six times. This description should apply also perhaps to the 4 examples of _mæreng_ in the text and to _mærenæger_ 814 and _mærenæger_ 820.

(d) Once _æ_ appears for the normal _æ_ to be expected in a neuter _æ_ stem noun: _wærc_ 514. Final _æ_ for _æ_ is seen also in _mægæ_ 933. One example of _æ_ for the _æ_ general in the genitive plural may appear in _cyrelæc_ _endebyrdnyssa_ 872, but see Commentary. In _purh godes cyfu_ 421 the noun inflexion may stand either for the accusative or dative singular _æ_.

(e) The dative inflexion has altogether disappeared in _bæm_ _ord_ 830 which reflects contraction also in the non-inflected forms of the accusative singular: _ord_ 763, 816, 829. A second instance of the loss of the dative inflexion is noted by Gonser (1909, p. 97), but is doubtful as within its context _bloc_ 842 can be described as an accusative form. Similar loss of inflexion very likely explains the noun form in _of bæm_ in 511, but see Commentary for a longer note on this word.

(f) The weak genitive plural inflexion of _mæddreng_ 441 is unusual in a late West Saxon text, but is probably to be described as a late feature, as this is an isolated example, rather than as a form more to be expected in a late Northumbrian text (Campbell §572). There is no need to give similar consideration to _ylæreng_ 44, 136, for
ylder is a comparative form used both as a noun and as an adjective. Analogical extension of -an to the genitive plural of a weak noun appears in blotstan 831.

(g) Both previous editors tend to normalise manuscript forms where -e appears in the nominative singular of nouns which normally end with a syllabic consonant. Normalisation of these forms is found in both earlier editions in adle 562, 571, 761, 767, westene 282 and in the accusative singular ancoraestle 233.

Although Goodwin changes all nominative singular forms in the Life in -nysse to -nys, Gonser here reinstates the manuscript forms, recognising that the inflected form is often extended into the nominative singular. The examples are: druncennysse 142, mildeortnysse 473, unolennysse 570, untrumnysse 766, mettrumnysse 769, ongitenysse 770, unepnysse 778, untrumnysse 792, godcundnysse 865 (see Commentary) and glednysse 901. It is curious that -y- should appear in all these examples, whereas the sole instance without this extension is rumnes 780. The Commentary for line 142 should also be consulted. It is worth note that whereas in the Life the usual variation in the vowel of this suffix is between y and e, in the Laud Miscellany 509 texts y and i forms predominate with only one instance of e (see Wilkes 1905, p. 155).

(h) A few things should be noted in the weak declension of nouns. Loss of -e appears in the accusative singular hys agene lich-anse 530 but cannot be argued with any certainty for nana 168 which may
be nominative rather than dative singular (see Commentary). In two places -an is found in the nominative singular: ober intingan 585 and Cissan 227 (see Commentary). Some vacillation is found between strong and weak inflexions in proper names: nominative hadda 660 and dative Be ham halgan biscope sancte hadda 655; nominative PEGE 882, a/dative to pege 854, dative pege minre swustor 826 and PEGAN 941. The accusative singular form lufe 900 shows an 3-declension inflexion; it is not unusual for short syllable feminine weak nouns to have such by-forms, particularly in the West Saxon dialect (see Campbell §619 (4)), and this variation may explain the dual forms found in the proper name pege.

The -on of eastron 758 is the inflexion usual in this word (see Campbell §619 (1)). The more unusual -on in beowon 940 is noted in B.1/b above.

(1) In the athematic declension of nouns a mutated form appears where the effects of i-umlaut are not expected: as. beo 33 and perhaps also in tyrf 607 (but see Commentary); conversely the analogical npl. topas occurs in line 317.

The late West Saxon tendency towards the loss of mutation in the dative singular of broder is illustrated in broder 712, but the mutation is seen in broder 786 (the tendency is noted by Campbell §629).

The only forms of nouns in -md- where mutation would be expected show the mutation: npl. fynd 939, fynd 302.
(j) As an inflexion should be expected in nplm. sylf 16, the form is perhaps comparable with forms listed in C.1/g and C.2/a; but see also the Commentary.

(k) Consonant simplification is to be seen in three instances of the strong accusative singular masculine adjective; berene 237, agene 530 and fyrene 846. These forms are all normalised by Goodwin, but are reinstated in his text by Gonser.

2 vowels of inflexions in adjectives

In this section only a summary of apparent inflexional levelling will be attempted; for a fuller discussion of some curious features in the use of the strong adjective forms see section G.1/a below.

(a) In the strong adjective it must be noted here that -e is spreading to forms where it did not stand originally (this is noted as a tendency of late Old English by Sprockel 1965, p. 191): nsm narde 924, forhtlice 919, 921; nsm witedomlice 500, forwyrd 358 (see Commentary); n/spln cuđe 587, towearde 203. Conversely -e is absent where it might be expected in the nplm unhyram 16 (but see Commentary). This latter form, if no emendation in the manuscript form is made, can be paralleled in the Vespasian Psalter Gloss (see Campbell §641).

Some confusion of -e and -a is seen in the declension of strong adjectives as in noun forms (see 1/d above), for example: nsm se
(b) Forms which indicate a tendency within the Life towards
a levelling of -an, -on and -um are included in 1/b above with a dis­
cussion of this tendency in noun inflexions.

(c) Two weak adjective forms show (as Gonser 1909, p. 98
points out) loss of final -m: pa byrnenda lega 346 and pa maran 7
unmettra myrna 252. To these examples can be added hes forespreoena
wracan 933 and perhaps bone eadiga wer 571 (but see note for these
words in the Commentary). Compare the examples of loss of this con­
sonant in weak nouns, see C.1/h above.

(d) The genitive plural inflexion appears in three places as
-a instead of -ra: para andwearda 658; para afwearda 658; and para
wyngumesta blotman stenc 831; and perhaps also with -a for -a in
cyrellice 872 (see also G.1/d).

3 vowels of inflexions in verbs

(a) All instances of the plural subjunctive inflexion -en have
been levelled away to -en in the Life. Distinctive subjunctive verb
forms cannot therefore be recognised any longer in the preterite plur­
al verb forms which are thus ambiguous. (The only overt plural sub­
junctive form in the whole Life is dwelion 21.) It should be noted
that the description subjunctive is given in the glossary only to forms
which may be formally identified as such. This levelling is a West
Saxon trait (see Campbell §735 (f) and (g)).

(b) Although syncoaption is found frequently in second and third person singular forms of the present indicative in strong verbs (for example gesæd 891), forms without the syncope (and some of these showing the effects of i-umlaut) also appear, for example aflég 465, drīgæst 291, dregæd 89, begētest 737, begytest 739. A mixture of this sort can however appear in West Saxon texts (Campbell §734).

(e) Unsyncoipated forms in the second and third person singular present indicative of habban occur occasionally in West Saxon prose but are generally regarded as Anglian (Campbell §762). Examples are hafæst 423 and hafæd 428 in the Life; contrast hafæt 385.

(d) There are no signs of the non-West Saxon -u/-o inflexion in examples of the first person present indicative singular of verbs. Vleeskruyer (1953, p. 142 fn 1) hazards that wëm may have appeared in the scribe's exemplar, despite the absence of any such forms within the Life as it is preserved. See also the note for line 279.

(e) Although such preterite plural forms as eardædon 282, fændon 278 and wunedæn 286 are sometimes regarded as typically Anglian, they are, as Vleeskruyer (1953, p. 150) points out, fairly common also in West Saxon texts. They illustrate the tendency towards vowel harmony to be found in all Old English dialects (see Campbell §385).

(f) In three places the passive participle of a class I weak
verb has adopted the class II inflexion: onbryrdod 163 and onlihtod 266 and gesigafeðmod 310.

(g) Syncope is marked in the uninflected forms of passive participles in dentals, for example: ablend 20, geleadd 93, gefedd 93, gefylat 174, ungegret 200, æfyrht 352, etc. This tendency is a feature rather of West Saxon and Kentish than of Anglian (Campbell §751 (3)).

(h) The late West Saxon -ə- prevails in the inflexion of the inflected infinitive: forlætænne 723, æxianne 811, sæffænne 354, sændænne 356, sæggænne 822 against ælænianne 296 and forlætænne 656. Universal -ænne is a feature only of the Vespasian Psalter Gloss and the Kentish Glosses (see Campbell §735 (i)), and the mixture of the Life might occur otherwise in any area in the later Old English period.

(i) Levelling of verbal -an and -an is suggested by the appearance of pt pl genanæn 380 and inf weopan 382; see the Commentary and compare II.4/C.1(b) above.

(j) An instance of the older -æs inflexion for the second person singular verb is found in stywnæs 449.

4 adverbial inflexions

(a) The adverbial inflexion -ə is absent from fæger 15. Both
(b) The accusative singular neuter adjective lang 172 is probably used adverbially (see also Commentary). It would be possible to regard feger 15 as a second instance of this usage in the text. The use of the adjectival accusative singular in this way is a feature found occasionally in northern texts (see Campbell §668 and fn 1), though of course instances occur in all the Old English dialects in a small group of words.

5 **vowels in affixes**

(a) For the encroachment of -nyse in the nominative singular see l/h above.

(b) The prefix un- appears for on- in untynon 874.

(c) The verbal prefix ë- appears once as æ, in ëber 476, where the digraph most likely represents the scribe's anticipation of the vowel of the accented syllable.

6 **medial unaccented vowels**

(a) The tendency of Old English towards vowel harmony (see Campbell §385-87) is well evidenced in the text, for example auncerum 827, byserum 334, earledon 282, and, in secondary word elements of reduced force, earflum 261, 270, 434.

(b) After short syllables medial vowels are freely dropped. Loss is found particularly frequently where the consonant following
the medial vowel is either 1 or ə, as in micoles 65, micole 647, wetre 558, etc, but is by no means unusual in other circumstances, for example cyron occurs 6 times for one instance of cyrican 556, also egan 352, 400, egsum 180, etc. Loss arises also after a short vowel and before a consonant group, for example abelstan 48, 52, etat 123, eftan 620, mon 935, ord 763, 816, 829; such examples are found more often in late texts than in early texts. See Campbell §388-91.

(c) In late Old English heavy formative suffixes are often reduced and lost after long syllables, for example anora 545, 885, anor 827. It is worth note that, except in the common adjective halig (which may have been influenced by the cognate verb -hælgian), syncopation is absent from the inflected cases of adjectives in -ig; this is a West Saxon trait, for in Anglian syncopation is frequent in such conditions (see Campbell §358).

(d) Typical late West Saxon development of ı and ʊ after a short syllable to ıı and ʊʊ is found throughout the Life, for example awyrigeda 304, awerigedan 247 (and many other examples in this word), and swalawan 481, swalawen 485. Like ɪg of earlier origin this ıı can be monophthongised to ı, as in filian 774, awyrigan 541, 662, etc. The late West Saxon svarabhakti vowel may be seen in seere 5, sumere 436, 455 and bissere 223 and as a connecting vowel in fulwihtesbæg 78, gemyndelicre 887, etc. (See Campbell §365-67).
1  

For the loss of g after front vowels in accented syllables see B.2/b. The late West Saxon tendency for i to become ti is noted in C.6/a. The resultant tendency for i and ig to interchange freely in late West Saxon can be seen especially in the infinitives and present participles of weak verbs, for example eardigan 237, 239, 249, wurdig-an 156, haerunigendum 322, lifigendum 916 beside blissiende 485, bysmian 280, cunnian 671, etc.

Unvoicing of final g is indicated by the form bino 508 and may also be shown by the -go of fenge 702, hringe 927, lenge 25, 543, 929, onfenge 85, bingoe 36, 509, 840, 844. This -go is extended to inflected forms also: ahengoe 470, bigengoe 364, 671, bigengoan 176, kyningoe 903, gretingoe 5, onfengoe 688, 938. Examples of final unvoicing are noted by Wilkes (1905, p. 167) from the Laud Miscellany 509 material, so this feature is probably scribal.

2 h

Loss of initial h from accented syllables occurs both before vowels, orwehtan 329, arfastlice 704, sagospind 776, and consonants, radi 144 and radlionesse 66. Such forms occur sporadically in texts of all periods (Campbell §61) and cannot be allowed any significance.

The loss of h in such forms as healice 553, hearnyse 340, 376,
846, although widely considered as pointing towards an early date (see Vleeskruyder 1953, p. 124 fn 1), appears also in Laud Miscellany 509 (Wilkes 1905, p. 164) where it can hardly be used as evidence for the early composition of that material. In any case the assimilation of *an* to *na* is found in both late Northern and late West Saxon (see Campbell §484).

The appearance of *h* in *gewrihtum* 22 is curious; the scribe may unconsciously have blended into *gewritum* an *h* from *rihtum* with which he confused the form before him.

3 **a**

For loss of final *n* see C.1/h and C.2/c. For simplification of **-nn**- see C.2/f. Many dative forms of the definite article show the late West Saxon change from *hám* to *han*, as for example ds m/n *ban* 18, 175, 445, etc and once in plural *ban* 143 (see Sprookel 1965, p. 59 fn 1).

4 **intrusive consonants**

*Intrusive *h* appears in *symble* 912, a form common in West Saxon texts. The intrusive *d* of *andbidige* 361 is to be attributed to the levelling often found between the prefixes *and*- and *an*- (see also Commentary). In *gestundum* 323, the form *gestumum* has been confused with *gestundum*; *intrusive t* appears in *mistlice* 98.
5 Loss of £

The late Old English loss of £ seen in space 519 and space 727 occurs first in the Kentish Glosses and next in West Saxon (Campbell §475). Loss of £ in medium stress appears also in the Life, in ende-
byrddynesse 156, 228, 592, 854, 872.

6 y

The not infrequent loss of y between another consonant and u (Campbell §470) is seen in turum 440 beside twurn 320.

Negated verbs with loss of y occur only in the declension of the verbs willan and 'to be': for examples of was, are and was see under wesan in the glossary; for nalt, nallæ and nolde see under willan.

7 palatal consonants

The diphthongisation of front vowels after palatal consonants is found throughout the Life. The digraph ie does not appear in the text and the diphthongisation of ï is normally represented therefore by i, for example begite 454, begitst 757, forgifynesse 601 or less often by y, as in scyld 211, scyldæ 445, scyran 417. The diphthongi-
sation of ï is usually ïa, as in forgeat 433, geaf 702, ongean 343, 356, 460, ongeaton 145, oecæt 140, 142, etc. The diphthongisation occurs also in late Northern texts, but less regularly than in West Saxon (Campbell §186).
As a result of late West Saxon smoothing (Campbell §312) the ēe resulting from initial palatalisation can become æ, as in ʾeste 168, beget 503, gesæh 122.

A glide vowel does not always appear before back vowels after the new palatal ēg and is absent for example from scœle 107, scœtungum 210, scœldram 487 and scœnœde 727, but otherwise appears before any back vowel. This distribution of forms is most likely to occur in a West Saxon text.

8. There is little else of particular interest in the graphical treatment of consonants in the Life, except for the syncopation of weak passive participles (see also C.2/g above) which often entails the assimilation of ē + ǣ, for example gefylst 174, ungedæt 200, mistæcroset 322. The final unvoicing reflected in beæsalt bu 796 may be a sandhi feature: contrast geheald bu 825. Occasionally it is argued that the presence in an Old English text of words with -fn- not assimilated to mn (e.g. by Vleeskuyer 1953, p. 120) indicates at least the age if not the provenance of a text. It is safe only to say that mn typical of West Saxon does not appear in Life; both fn and mn do however appear in Laud Miscallany 509 (Wilkes 1905, p. 116). Metathesised forms containing [ks], rare in Old English outside West Saxon (see Campbell §440 and fn 2) appear frequently in the text, for example scœan 359, axiæanne 811, acœode 507, 762, etc, but are shown rather more widely spread by Middle English evidence. The -tl- to be expected in such forms in West Saxon appears in setl 75, setle 238, ancersetle 233, etc.
A brief account of the main phonological features of interest in the Guthlac homily of the *Vercelli* Book will be given in this section.

**VOWELS OF THE ACCENTED SYLLABLES**

1. *Early West Saxon features*

   There is no instance in this short passage of prose of the digraph *ie* distinctive of early West Saxon except in the pronoun form *hie* which is the usual form of the manuscript, and only a few features can be called Alfredian. These are:

   (a) the loss of *g* after front vowels with compensatory lengthening of the vowel: *ongen* 128, *togenes* 115. However, *g* may disappear from *gegn-* forms even in Anglian texts (see Campbell §244).

   (b) *i* in *forgifenesse* 59, *gife* 39 and *ongite* 73 reflects the early West Saxon initial palatalisation of *g* where in later West Saxon *y* might be expected. It must be noted that in forms cognate with the verb *gifan* an alternative root in *gif-* rather than initial palatalisation of *g* may be reflected (see Campbell §300 fn 2).

   (c) The verb forms *meahte* 24 and *meahton* 138 appear both in Early West Saxon and Kentish texts (B&lbring §133).

   The minimal amount and unsatisfactory nature of this evidence suggests that there is nothing distinctive of early West Saxon in this
homily; indeed the few traits noted should perhaps be called rather more simply West Saxon; only the pronominal hie, found throughout the Vespell Book, can be emphasised as evidence for an early West Saxon recension of this homily.

2 late West Saxon features

(a) The £ of nelled 50 has little importance as a pointer towards provenance. Such forms, though already a feature of early West Saxon, are found frequently in late West Saxon and also in Kentish. This change occurs in these words when they occupy low sentence stress (Campbell §265).

(b) In the sel- group y is general: sylfa 25, 127, sylfne 40 and sylfe 140. This development is usual only in West Saxon within the Old English period (Campbell §185).

(c) The West Saxon rounding of ð in the neighbourhood of labials, liquids and y is seen in bysmornesse 81, bysmrian 49, bysmrigan 104, fyr 127, fyres 120, fyrena 23, etc.

(d) The graph y reflects an earlier West Saxon íe in most positions where this would have appeared. The West Saxon i-umlaut of aa (the breaking of ð) is reflected in cyrran 26, geoyrred 73, cyrde 22, etc, and of ea (which arose through initial palatalisation) in sceyppend 74. Palatal umlaut is reflected in syx 69 (see Campbell §305). The West Saxon umlaut of ðe (< su) is seen in brymedon 93,
hrymdon 94, gynde 106, etc, and perhaps in onyne 75, 87, 88 (which may alternatively have developed from *sahni). The ï-umlaut of io is reflected in bystro 138, bystra 130, bystran 103. E.1/b should also be consulted.

(e) The late West Saxon tendency for ß to be replaced by ï before h, g, g and groups containing them is reflected in drihten 28, mihte 43, miht 126, niht 83, nihte 26, 84, 103, etc (Campbell §316).

(f) Examples of the West Saxon initial palatalisation of ß are noted in E.1/b above. This palatalisation of ß occurs in geaf 131, ongeat 76, scéal 64 and of ß in ongeston 78.

Palatal glides are found before all back vowels, for example soccan 92, geond 12, 80, geondstregde 14, seactode 41, etc. In geera 2, 51, the West Saxon restoration of ß before the back vowel has led to subsequent development of the glide vowel (Campbell §162). The glide is not general, for it does not appear in in 2, 51.

(g) The late West Saxon development of ß + nasal in reduced stress to ß is seen in menego 85 and menigre 88 (but see also Commentary) - Campbell §193(d) and fn 4. Alternatively the forms can be explained as representing the ï-umlaut of ß, due to the suffix -ig (instead of suffix -eg) - Sprookel 1965, p. 15.

(h) For the West Germanic ß before a nasal consonant ß is general in the homily: andswarude 129, andweardan 61, began 10, land 80, etc; ß appears only in words usually in low sentence stress
such as ond- prefix, bonne 6 times, tosomne 115, lichoman 70 (see Campbell §333).

3 non West Saxon features

(a) Whereas retraction of a to a before breaking groups is general in unaccented syllables (as nales 31, 120, nales 120), in vowels of accented syllables it is an Anglian feature and appears in stro 110 calden.

(b) Non West Saxon i-umlaut of ea is reflected in telled 15.

(c) The unrounding of the second element of eo is seen in teal 65, 76. Such forms are found frequently in Anglian and Kentish texts, but also occur sporadically in West Saxon (see Campbell §281).

(d) The examples of back umlaut within the homily usually appear in words which contain either a liquid or a labial. Only ofergeo 118 shows this umlaut in a non-West Saxon context.

(e) Anglian i for e appears in wecoean 58, wecast 59 and wescast 59 (see also the note for this line in the Commentary). This trait is a feature more of Mercian than Northumbrian, as Vleeskruyer (1953, p. 79 and fn. 1) points out, and traces of this sound-change can be seen in all the major texts generally considered Mercian.

(f) There is apparently one instance of Kentish y for e in the homily, in brymela 101.
(g) Anglian smoothing appears in leglican 120 and in the eleven instances of the adjective werig 'accursed'.

4

The falling together of ḡ and ða is a feature of late Old English texts and especially of West Saxon (Campbell § 329 (2)). One instance occurs in Hly 18 streale.

5

There is little of note in the treatment of vowels in low stress or in unstressed syllables. West Saxon -ag- for -i- is found frequently in infinitives and present participles: alifigean 8, byamrig-an 104, olansigeanne 66, witigende 107, etc. The breaking of ð is reflected in bitweoh 95, but its by-form betuh 101, 110, 122 shows the reduction usual in low stress (Campbell § 338 fn 1). For o before the nasal consonant in secondary syllables and in words which do not normally bear sentence stress see E. 2/b above. Levelling of -a and -e similar to that illustrated in C. 2(a) is reflected in unmanega 82.

6

Addition of the symbol h is seen in hydē 120 and possible loss of final -a in a 64 and in ða werigea 128 (but see also the Commentary). The compound ansersetl 5 shows the West Saxon ðl rather than the Anglian ðd found so often in the poetic codices. The late Old
English tendency for initial ǣ and ǣ to fall together (Campbell §303) is reflected in ēare 133, geadige 80 and geardoden 51. The older þēo 48 stands beside 7 instances of þe for the accusative singular of þē.
Vocabulary

1 It is now generally agreed that the earliest form of the Old English translation of Felix's *Vita Guthlac* was in an Anglian dialect whose forms were obscured through successive revisions and copying. A text under revision was apparently relieved not only of its accumulation of obvious errors, but also of out-of-date and dialect spellings, of clumsy or unusual syntactical forms, and of unfamiliar words. The Vespsian *Life* shows signs of having been thoroughly overhauled. Its spelling system is late West Saxon, with only a very small proportion of non-West-Saxon features whereas the Verselli homily, giving a parallel text for 142 lines of the life, retains proportionately far more Anglian traits. A comparison of the parallel materials shows that in both structures have been simplified. At first glance the *Homily* has been the more radically treated so far as syntax is concerned, for the connective *7* often appears against the more complicated correlatives of the *Life* (compare *Life* 249, 251, 273, etc with corresponding *Hly* constructions), but it should be noted that examples of 'crib' English visible in the *Homily* are frequently changed in the *Life* (see for example *Hly* 66, 68, 98 etc). Perhaps most striking of all is the difference between *Life* and *Homily* in vocabulary, where the *Homily*, together sometimes with the evidence of the *Vita* as to common ancestry, reveals that numerous omissions and substitutions have been made by the eleventh century reviser of the *Life*.

The manuscript of the *Homily* is dated to the late tenth century.
It contains far more 'poetic' words than the later life (for example earhwimmendan 17, gresswang 13, heolstra 140, onbrec 125), but such forms, though omitted from parallel parts of the Life, are sometimes to be found elsewhere in the later text (Hly 49, 105 brogan, yet Life 180 brogum, Hly 4 eardungstowe, yet Life 177 eardungstowe, Hly 33 feonde, 39 and gefonde 142, yet Life 292 gefehst). It is likely therefore that the eleventh century reviser had before him a much fuller and wordier translation which he has tightened and pruned. Vocabularv features unfamiliar to him were eliminated or changed. Phrases and clauses where out of date words and structures were particularly strong were abandoned (see Hly 12, 17, 40, 59, 80, 113 and 119 especially). Word substitutions and morphological changes were by no means carried through consistently and so Anglian features of vocabulary remain, although far less markedly than in the Homily. These vestiges will be considered with the Vercelli text's examples of Anglian vocabulary.

Although the Old English prose Guthlac is often alluded to in discussions of dialect vocabulary in Old English, no attempts have been made to examine the 'Anglian' words of these texts. Conser (pp. 49-51) gives a brief summary of Anglian traits, including a short list of non-West Saxon words; and his brief note on the Anglian nature of the translation's vocabulary is summarised by Geisel (1917, p. 25). Little attention is paid to these forms in the standard discussions of Old English vocabulary. Klaeber (1902, pp. 257-315) notes a few of the words used in these texts in his account of translation technique, and
Jordan (1906) points out that embedded in the texts is a layer of non-West Saxon words common to the Anglian translations, but the work of both these is based for the most part on an examination of the manuscripts of the Bede translation. Menner's work (1947, 1949 and 1951), examining the vocabulary of late Old English verse and of Wulfstan's prose, has little relevance to a discussion of the Anglian elements in these texts. J.J. Campbell (1951) does not even include the translation of the Vita among those documents he lists as well established to be Anglian by origin (p. 353), although later in his article on the vocabulary of the Bede manuscripts (p. 370) he states that the original dialect of the translation was Anglian. Except for his allusion to the typically West Saxon leaf (which occurs twice in the Life) J.J. Campbell finds no reason to refer to the Guthlac texts. The appearance of the leaf forms he explains in this way:

The Guthlac exists, however, only in copies made by WS scribes, and in the face of such preponderant evidence of Saxon usage [for the leaf forms elsewhere], it is extremely probable that the word got into that document, as it did into the BD., as a WS copyist's substitution for lēfniss.

Otherwise, he mentions no forms from the Guthlac texts, although some of the words he considers specifically Anglian are represented in them (for example abadan, rec, semminga, ware, etc). A more recent examination of much of the recognised "specifically dialectal vocabulary" of Old English, independent of Campbell's article apparently, is to be found in Professor Vleeskruyter's edition of the Chad homily (Vleeskruyter 1953, pp. 23-37). This account gives more weight to the vocabulary
of the Guthlac texts than does any earlier discussion of the subject.

2 Although it is obvious that we do not have in these two texts the clear cut distinction zwischen Originalen und Umschriften which makes the manuscripts of the Old English Bede, of the translations of Gregory's Dialogues and of the Old English Martyrology such important witnesses for the provenance and age of certain elements in the vocabulary, an attempt is here made to display those features of the Guthlac Life and Homily which point to an early placing of the original translation in a non-West Saxon milieu. For the sake of brevity a short summary is first given of words often thought indicative of a text's origin represented in these texts. These words are listed in alphabetical order, together with a brief notation of the authorities who have put forward for them an Anglian and/or an early origin. There follow examples of poetical words, of words obsolescent in late Old English and of late Old English words uncommon in the earlier period. All these lists must perforce be neither definitive nor complete; a full survey of the Old English word-stock is beyond the scope of this section and the existing dictionaries and surveys are not extensive enough for absolute conclusions. However, it is necessary to see in the vocabulary of the Guthlac Life and Homily these different strands. Some of the words discussed point to an Anglian origin for the original translation, putting its composition well before the age in which Wulfstan worked, and the mixed nature of the
vocabulary suggests a transmission history rather similar to that visualised for the Blickling Homilies by Menner (1949, pp. 56-64) and Willard (1960, p. 41).

AC The use of *ao* as an interrogative particle is by many considered an Anglian feature in Old English texts (Napier 1888, p. 137, Miller 1890, p. xxxiii, Sweet 1896 under *ao*, Klaeber 1950, p. xcv, Vleeskruyver 1953, p. 26). There are in the *Life* 12 examples (see glossary for list) of *ao* used as an interrogative particle.

BEARN / CILD In Anglian texts *bearn* is preferred to *cild* (Wildhagen 1905, p. 188, Jordan 1906, pp. 96 ff., Gonser 1909, p. 49), a preference illustrated by the *Life* 9 instances of *bearn* and 3 of *cild*. The concept is not expressed in the Homily.

BROGA This noun and the cognate verb *bregan* are often labelled Anglian. Hecht (1900, II. 167 fn 4) points out that the noun was not used in late West Saxon but that the verb occurs at least 3 times in Aelfric's writings (see also Menner 1949, p. 63 on this). Vleeskruyver (1953, p. 26) describes *bregan* and *broga* as primarily poetic words, but also notes their currency in early West Saxon and in Aelfric. In his discussion of these words he deals with some of the Guthlac instances, pointing out two examples of the noun in the Homily (at lines 49 and 105) and comparing the *Hly* 134 *bregan* with the *Life* 362 *egian*. He does not note *Hly* 16 *brogan* (emended out of the text by Gonser) nor *Life* 180 *brogum*.

(CGE)CYRNEAN This verb and related words in Old English cannot be
allowed as evidence of dialect, but Hecht's examination of the vocabulary of the Dialogues (1900, pp. 142, 161 and especially 157 fn 6) suggests that these forms were obsolescent in the late period. Vleeskruyer (1953, pp. 26 and 191-92) also argues for the obsolescence of these forms. The verb (ge)ojaran is represented 6 times in the Life and 3 in the Homily; it is found also with other verbal prefixes (as oncyrrned x 2 in Life and once in Homily.

CIGAN Jordan (1906, p. 94) observes that cigan 'cry, summon' is already rare in early West Saxon where it tends to be restricted to 'to name'. Entries in Hecht's comparison of the vocabulary of the manuscripts of the Dialogues (1900, II, 136 and fn 2, 146 and 169) illustrate the archaic nature of this verb in the late Old English period. Gonser (1909, p. 51) points out that instances of the archaic sense of cigan have been lost from the Life. Vleeskruyer (1953, p. 26) gives the instances of this usage from the Chad homily. The usage is represented by Hly 29 cigan.

EAC SWILCE This adverbial phrase appears 20 times in the Life and 3 in the Homily. Vleeskruyer (1953, p. 27) suggests that it is rare in West Saxon but extremely common in Mercian translations, pointing out that it is found in the Old English Bede, in the Dialogues, in the Blickling Homilies, in the prose Guthlac texts, in the Epistle to Alexander, the Wonders of the East and the Codex Aureus inscription. It appears also in the second line of the Surrey Charter (Sweet 1896, p. 451). The phrase will be entered again in this summary under
(GE)FEON  This verb was once widely recognised as evidence for the Anglian origin of a text, but is now accepted only as an archaic and infrequent element in the late Old English vocabulary and a probable indication of a text's earliness. Hecht's tables (1900, II. p. 141 and fn 4, p. 148 and fn 8) show the avoidance of these forms in late Old English more fully illustrated a few years later by Jordan (1906, p. 90). Gonser (1909, p. 51) notes that the verb is archaic and lost from the Life (overlooking Life 292 gefehst where Homily reads forgifest). Rauh (1936, p. 58) suggests that the verb is used by Wulfstan, but Menner (1949, p. 59) points out that these Wulfstan examples, being improperly sifted, do not stand up under examination. Menner adds that the verb is among the Anglian elements to be found in Aelfrie's vocabulary. Vleeskruyer (1953, p. 28) notes that the Guthlac Life should be numbered among those texts recognised by Jordan (1906, p. 89) as avoiding this verb: like Gonser he overlooks Life 292 gefehst. He cites the forms used in Hly 33: Life 264 and Hly 142: Life 369 and to these should be added Hly 39: Life 271.

It should be noted that the verb fagnian regarded by Jordan as the usual substitute for gefeon is not found in the Life where other circumlocutions are used. The note for GEFEA should also be consulted.

FORE 'before, on account of'  This preposition is well represented in the texts in both compound and simplex forms. It appears generally as fore, but occasionally as for which is according to Vleeskruyer (1953, p. 27) the West Saxon scribal transliteration of the
Anglian fore. The Anglian nature of this preposition is argued by Sweet (1896 under fore), Hecht (1900, II. 159 fn 1) and Deutschbein (1901, p. 174).

FOREFAR This noun, found 7 times in the Life, seems not to have been current in West Saxon texts, although the related verb is found in them (Hecht 1900, II. p. 155 fn 6 and Vleeskruyer 1953, p. 27).

FRIGNAN / ACSIAN The verb frignan appears to have been preferred to acsian in Anglian texts, a distinction first noted by Hecht (1900, II. 161 and fn 1) and more fully discussed by Jordan (1906, pp. 94-95) and Vleeskruyer (1953, pp. 27-28). Neither verb appears in the Homily. The usage in the Life (frignan forms x 4 and acsian x 9) is not unexpected in a text heavily revised in the eleventh century.

GÄSTLÍNNES This noun, found in Life 916 gæstlínnes, appears otherwise only in the Old English Bede, in the early manuscript of the Dialogues and in the Blickling Homilies. The form appears in the tables presented by Hecht (1900, II. p. 149) and is described as Anglian by Klaeber (1902, p. 282) and Soberer (1928, p. 14). In Ælfric and Wulfstan the word gæmlínes is apparently used in similar contexts.

GEARA This adverb, found 5 times in the Life and twice in the Homily, is described by Vleeskruyer (1953, p. 28) as 'certainly Anglian'; he notes its strong poetical associations and suggests that it may be specifically Anglian, a thesis less easy to uphold. The general
absence of this adverb from West Saxon texts is inferred by Rauh (1936, p. 13) who lists prose examples from Rushworth, the Old English Bede, the Dialogues, the Guthlac texts, the Blickling Homilies and Wulfstan (Napier no. xliii); to these Vleeskruyer adds the Chad homily. Although Menner (1948, p. 4) points out that Rauh's Wulfstan examples are not from the canon, it is difficult to accept this adverb as purely Anglian; the word was most likely obsolete in the later Old English period but earlier had wide currency.

GEFEA The noun is according to Vleeskruyer (1953, p. 26) 'more current in Anglian than WS'; in this respect it is comparable with the cognate verb (ge)feoa discussed above. There are 4 examples of the noun in the Life; a curious hapax legomenon, showing also the suffix -nes apparently more widely used in Mercian texts than in West Saxon (see under -NES below, especially remarked by J. Campbell), appears in Hly 142 gefeanaesse.

GEWINN 'toil' The noun gewinn in the sense 'toil' is represented 5 times in the Life and the verb winnan 'work' occurs in the Hly 17 earhwinndan. Hecht (1900, II. p. 151 and fn 6) first points out that gewinn 'toil' is obsolescent in the late Old English period.

The noun in this sense is labelled Anglian as against the West Saxon restriction to the sense Kampf by Wildhagen (1905, p. 184) and Jordan (1906, p. 43 and fn 2). Scherer (1928, p. 17) notes that the archaic connotations are used by Ælfric, but a layer of obsolescent and/or Anglian vocabulary has since been described in his homilies (Menner 1948, p. 3 and 1949, p. 61 for these words). Vleeskruyer (1953, p.
29) notes that gewin 'labor' appears in Saint Christopher 73-4.

HEAR- compounds are, according to Vleeskruyer (1953, p. 29), common in Mercian prose. He gives among his examples Life 47 hehbeode. The same word is seen in the manuscript at line 619 but is emended in the text to nehbeode. The adverb Life 553 healice has greater currency than the other compounds in which heah- is the limiting element. These for the most part have the appearance of nonce-formations and the task of translation may have particularly favoured their composition. The use of heah- as the first element in compounds cannot be accepted as a criterion of dialect origin.

HLEODRIAN The preterite hleoðroðe is found in Life 325 and Hy 96. Both hleoðrian and the cognate noun hleoðor are generally described as poetic and Anglian (Sweet 1896 under hleoðor, Deutschbein 1901, p. 177, Klaeber 1902, p. 302 and Jordan 1906, p. 43 and fn 3), but late Old English instances are observed by Scherer (1928, p. 15). Menner (1948, p. 3) points out that Scherer's examples do not come from those sermons now accepted as belonging to the canon of Wulfstan's original writings and Vleeskruyer (1953, p. 30) accepts that the verb is poetic and Anglian.

HWATHWEGO Both Klaeber (1904, pp. 245-46) and Hecht (1900, II. 137 and fn 4) note the infrequency of compounds with the base element -h(w)ego in West Saxon texts. The element is twice represented in the Guthlac texts, at Life 795 and 835 hwathwego. However, this word is, as Vleeskruyer (1953, p. 30) points out, an exception among these compounds.
Current in early West Saxon texts, it may have become obsolescent in the later period.

In both texts show that in has been largely lost through West Saxon transmission. In the Homily a sizeable proportion of in to on forms still appears (1 : 3 in prepositional forms alone) and many of these are replaced by on in the corresponding portion of the Life (compare the list in F.4 below). A very small proportion of in to on forms occurs (1 : 40 in prepositional forms). Miller (1890, I. pp. xxxiii-xxxiv) gives a very full examination of the proportionate frequency of in to on in Old English prose, but does not discuss the usage of these texts. The Vespasian Life reveals a desire to exclude in. The prepositional usage is similar in the Homily, although there more of the older in forms are retained (signs of a distinction between on and in remain, but both are used for motion 'into': in 97, 132 and on 39, 41, 99, 126).

INTINGA The absence of this form in Ælfric’s texts is noted by Hecht (1900, p. 140 and fn 7) who points out that it is however to be found in Ælfric’s writings. Klaeber (1904, p. 416) also states that the noun is absent from early West Saxon, contrasting this with its commonness in the Old English Bede. Vleeskraayer (1953, pp. 30-31) argues that the word is possibly of Anglian origin and thence borrowed into late West Saxon (Ælfric and the Gospels). He tries further to establish a West Mercian provenance for the word because it occurs 6 times in the Vespasian Psalter Gloss, but himself notes
against this the use of wise (osuoa) in the Dialogues. Examples in the Life are found in lines 554, 585, 643 and 748.

IUMANN This word is discussed in the Commentary note for Life 103 1umanna (ES 9/2). Klaeber (1904, p. 433) suggests that the compound is Anglian, as does Jordan (1906, p. 66 fn 2) who notes that the instance in Life 1.23 is one of four Anglian words in that text. The word may have been poetic.

LEORNIAN Klaeber (1904, pp. 267 ff.) observes that this verb is not used in the sense 'read' in classical West Saxon, but Vleeskruys (1953, p. 31) notes one example in the Epos to the Old English Boethius (goleormode 8) and compares Pastoral Care 4.20. The sense is perhaps obsolete in the late Old English period. Vleeskruys points out that examples occur in the Cathlæc texts; they appear only in the Life (suitable contexts not appearing in the Homily). See examples listed in the glossary under learnere, leornian and learn-ung.

MEDWYL The adjective is described by Hecht (1900, II. 153 and fn 9) as in klassischen we. nicht heimisch and is regarded as Anglian in character by Scherer (1928, p. 16). Vleeskruys (1953, p. 31) thinks the adjective characteristic of Heroism, but finds examples of it also in Northumbrian (in the Durham Ritual) and in the West Saxon Benedictine Rule (one example only: (me)dryocolus 106.6. He points out that, although used by Elfric, the word was obviously unfamiliar to late West Saxon scribes and notes that against Life 306 medwylus
should be set Hly 76 teala. See further the list of apparent synonyms given in F.4.

MID The use of this preposition followed by an accusative was once thought an Anglian trait (Miller 1890, I. pp. xliiv-xliv). Conser (1909, p. 49) counts the examples in the Life as among the poetisch-anglisch features, comparing the Chad homily. One example occurs in the Homily and 5 in the Life. Napier (1888, p. 138) states that no example of mid with the accusative is found in genuine West Saxon texts.

Vleesbruyer (1953, p. 31 fn 3) suggests that the prepositional formulae incorporating mid were unfamiliar to late Old English scribes, for often ba or ba ba may be substituted. He notes examples of simplification in the Dialogues, in the Guthlac Life and between the Vespasian and the Junius Psalters and argues that the obsolescence of these formulae may be in part due to changes in the use of the instrumental. His examples are insufficient to prove that these adverbial phrases were strange to late Old English scribes; for example the three instances of alteration in the Guthlac Homily (see further the list of apparent synonyms in F.4) should be viewed against the general simplification of connectives and adverbs found in that text.

MÆNG / MAN In West Saxon texts mæn is preferred to mænig. A tendency existed for revisers of old writings to substitute mæn for mænig (Hecht 1900, II. 155 enters examples in his lists) which has therefore sometimes been labelled a non-West Saxon feature of Old Eng-
lish (an extreme attitude is taken up by Jost 1950, p. 162, who thinks 
mænig Mercian). Discussion of the forms of the Chad homily will be 
found in Vleeskruyer (1953, p. 32 and pp. 135 ff.) but are subject to 
revision in the light of Sisam's remarks (as Vleeskruyer points out 
1953, p. 32 fn 1). Vleeskruyer suggests that the distinction is a 
valid one, and is apparently later forced to recognize that it can 
indicate age but not dialect, for Sisam (1953, p. 294) quotes Alfred-
ian examples which show that the form mænig was evidently general in 
Old English in earlier times.

NEOSIAN The verb is first described as non-West Saxon by Sweet 
(1896 under neosian), but Jordan (1906, p. 100) notes that instances 
in Ælfric's writings conflict with Sweet's description. Vleeskruyer 
(1953, p. 32) points out that the verb is not found in the early West 
Saxon prose texts, first appearing in West Saxon in the mid-tenth 
century Benedictine Rule and shortly afterwards in the works of Æðel-
wold and Ælfric. On the other hand he observes that it is very com-
mon in the Dialogues and the Old English Bede. The verb cannot serve 
by itself as an indication of dialect origin, but may perhaps be allow-
ed to reinforce the evidence of more certain Anglian forms. There 
are two instances of the verb in the texts, Life 632 and 790 geneosian.

-JES Jordan attempts to draw a clear-cut distinction between Anglian 
and West Saxon use of this suffix, suggesting that in the former the 
ending is often added directly to the verbal stem whereas in the latter
it is added only to substantive forms and the participles, particularly the passive participle (1906, pp. 101-2). Later scholars point out that no such difference can be found. Weyhe (1910, pp. 8 ff.) shows Jordan's hypothesis ill-based and Vleeskruyer, although forced to recognize the great weight of evidence against Jordan, tries to establish that the addition of -nis to an adjective, while not unqualifiedly Anglian, is a feature of the 'West Mercian' ecclesiastical vocabulary (1953, pp. 128-31). His discussion of this suffix is independent of the account given by J.J. Campbell (1951, pp. 367-68) who infers that the distinction visible between Anglian and West Saxon is one of age rather than place, for he observes that -nis is among the chief sources of a late West Saxon scribe's dissatisfaction with the vocabulary of a Mercian text. There are many examples of nouns with this suffix in the Life, often built directly on the verbal stem, but the evidence of the Homily suggests that the later Life reviser may have considerably decreased the volume of these forms in his text. See further the list of apparent synonyms in F.4.

NEOWELNES Wildhagen (1905, p. 184) suggests that the adjective neowol is an Anglian word, but Jordan (1906, p. 100), by listing examples from Aelfric's works, shows this suggestion to be incorrect. Gonser (1909, p. 51) points out that the noun neowolnes, represented twice in the Homily at lines 118 and 127, has in both places been lost from the Life which has instead deopnyssen. These examples illustrate the general tendency for proportionately more obsolescent forms to appear in the Homily than the Life.
The Anglian nature of this noun is suggested first by Deutschbein (1901, p. 3). J.J. Campbell (1951, p. 362) points out that only the earlier manuscripts of the Old English Bede retain this word and that it is replaced by smie in later manuscripts (citing III, 1803). The noun appears once only in the Old English Guthlac translation in Hly 74 reg and the scribe may have expected it at line 121 where he writes receas tunge (for recetunge, see Commentary). In both instances the corresponding passages are absent from the Life.

The verb sceppan appears to have been preferred to derian in Anglian texts (Wildhagen 1905, pp. 185 and 189), but the distinction is by no means so marked as with bearn/gild or frigian/seclian for example (Jordan 1906, p. 7) and cannot usefully be drawn. The root is represented once in Life 652 sceonysse.

Klaeber (1902, p. 304) suggests that the intransitive use of this word is an Anglian feature (the verb being used transitively in West Saxon prose) in the vocabulary of the Life. See lines 123 and 620. Conser (1909, p. 49) quotes the form among those words he groups under the description poetisch-englisch, here referring to Klaeber to justify his inclusion of it in this list.

The form seæl appears twice in the translation, both in the Life and in the corresponding contexts in the Homily; pytt is not used in either text. The preference of Anglian texts for seæl is noted by Jordan (1906, p. 97), on whose judgment presumably Conser depends in placing the word among those given the description poetisch-englisch
These forms can be seen in the glossary.

SEMNINGA This adverb is widely recognised as a feature of Anglian texts (Deutschbein 1901, p. 198, Hecht 1900, p. 162 fn 3 and p. 165 fn 10, Klaeber 1904, p. 253, Jordan 1906, p. 7, Gonser 1909, p. 49, Scherer 1928, p. 16, Menner 1948, p. 3 and J.J. Campbell 1951, p. 364). Jordan (1906, p. 67) notes that the form is particularly frequent in the Old English Bede, the Dialogues and the Blickling Homilies and in anglo-sächsische Texte wie Vita Guthlacii, Ep. Al., and Klaeber that it is replaced by færinga in some revisions of the Dialogues. In the Life there are 13 instances of this adverb as against 3 of færinga and ferlice once at line 64; in the Homily, however, semninga occurs 5 times and the fer- forms not at all.

SMYLTNYES The form smyltnyse occurs twice in the Life, at lines 372 and 373. Vleeskruyer (1953, p. 33) thinks that the word was perhaps restricted to early Old English, noting its currency in early West Saxon as well as in such early Mercian texts as the Old English Bede and the Dialogues.

SNYTTRU / WISDOM Both words are used in Anglian and poetic texts, but West Saxon appears to prefer wisdom. It is likely that snyttreu had become obsolescent by the later Old English period, but Alfredian instances point to its general currency in the earlier period. The noun snyttru has often been described as an Anglian vocabulary feature (Hecht 1900, p. 163 fn 7, Wildhagen 1905, p. 188, Jordan 1906, p. 91 and Gonser 1909, p. 49) but wrongly so. Both words are represented in the
Lifers: anyttro 684 and 901 and wisdom 44 and 683.

STRAEL / FLA There are 6 examples of strael in the Life and 3 in the Homily; fla does not appear in either text. Jordan (1906, pp. 75-76) notes that in the Old English period Anglian texts show a marked preference for strael, whereas forms of fla appear generally in West Saxon manuscripts; he adds that this difference could be reversed from the Middle English distribution of these words. Wildhagen's suggestion (1905, p. 188) that strael characterises pre-Christian poetry is curious and easily if unnecessarily vanquished by Vleeskruyer's statement that the noun is used by Gynewulf (1953, p. 33).

TID / TIMA 'time' A well-marked tendency of Late West Saxon is its restriction of tid to the senses 'hour, season' and its use of tima in the more general sense (Hecht 1900, p. 167 and fn 1, Jordan 1906, p. 92 and Vleeskruyer 1953, p. 33). The more general sense can be found in the instances of tid in Hly 9 : Life 236, Hly 40 : corresponding passage absent from Life, and in Life 615, 724, 796, 811 and 838. In all Life has twelve examples of tid (and two of tima, at 54 = tempus and 462 = hora) and Hly two of tid only.

YMBSLIAN This word has recently been reinstated as evidence for Anglian origin, for the reference to its use by Wulstan given in Raunh (1936, p. 13) does not appear in the corpus now attributed to him (Mennner 1948, p. 4 and fn 4 and 1949, p. 581). Both J.J. Campbell (1951 p. 366) and Vleeskruyer (1953, p. 34) accept the verb as Anglian. The
passive participle *ymbseald* is found in lines 342, 624 and 834.

**WINNAN** The verb is represented in the adjectival present participle *earhwinndan*. See discussion of *gawinn* above.

3. The words so far noted are those often recognised as evidence for the Anglian and/or early composition of an Old English prose text. It should be noted that the Guthlac *Life* and *Homily* contain many other forms most likely obsolescent in the late Old English period. Some of these could be described as 'poetic', for example:

- *Hly 5 ancerstel*, *dremdon 581*, *goldhord 894*;
- *Hly 15 gremswang* (and noted by Gonser 1909, p. 51);
- *helleduru 345, 358*;
- *Hly 140 heolstre* (described by Gonser 1909, p. 51 as archaic and therefore lost from the *Life*);
- *nydpsærf 596*;
- *Hly 125 onbæc* (poetic according to Gonser 1909, p. 51, but see *Commentary*);
- *sigefesta 890*;
- *sundorsetl*—x 3,
- *torr* 846 (MS *topp*; Hecht 1900, II. 167 points out that the word is frequently found in early Old English and poetic texts, but is rare in late Old English);
- *Hly 80 wæddon* (see *Commentary*). The greater part of the obsolescent vocabulary can be identified only through a comparison with the words avoided or replaced in late Old English manuscripts of the *Dialogues*, the *Bede* and the *Martyrology*. A certain amount of evidence may also be gleaned from the successive psalter glosses. A representative selection of such words will be given:

- *adhæsæh* 83 (and 3 instances of *dreogan* forms; the verb is thought obsolescent by Hecht 1900, II. p. 156);
- *eafter bon* in adverbial phrases and prepositional formulae x 19 (compare with entry for *mid* above);
mestynse 672 (Hecht 1900, II. p. 151 fn 3 thinks mfiest infrequent in Old English); maffancas 108; andlyfene 239, 479 and andleofone 592; Hly 134 beotingum and Life 362 (Hecht p. 153 fn 8 suggests that this was not always understood in the late Old English period; the verb appears also in Hly 128 beotodon); bysmr- forms (see substitutions in Hecht's tables p. 144); Hly 94, Hly 125 alypunge and Life 353 cleopunge (compare the best- forms where the eleventh century reviser apparently cuts the earlier instance but finds the second less strange and allows it to remain); shtynsse 113, 726; egyrjan 234 (used in late West Saxon by Ælfric but otherwise infrequent); Hly 14 geondstregde; Hly 116 gomum; geunrotsod 778 and 926 (compare Hecht 1900, p. 142); Hly 120 hyde; intinga 585 and intingan x 3 (Klaeber 1904, p. 282 notes the word is used in Alfredian and Ælfric writings but is not otherwise current in West Saxon); leaslicsetunge 98 (see Commentary); onberndest 355; Hly x 4 ondrysenlic- but Life not at all (see the list of apparent synonyms in F.4); Hly 121 recest-unge (see Commentary); tælnyse 26; Hly x 2 beaw (Hecht 1900, p. 156 shows this word being replaced and see note for Life 240); un-gebesawe 695; Hly 28 witedomlice; Hly 27 wolberendan (see Commentary).

4 apparent synonyms used in the Vercelli sermon and the Vespasian life

This list is an attempt to illustrate words which are different in the Homily and Life; occasionally changes in phrases will also be included. The Homily forms are given first, alphabetically, with the Life equivalent against them. It is more usual for one word in the
Homily to have different words against it in different places in the Life than vice versa, and it is likely therefore that the Homily reflects the words of the translator more often than does the Life. However, each text has undergone independent revisions in their separate transmission and it is often difficult to judge whether changes have been made for reasons of modernisation or individual taste.

A  
*stealh* 12 : *beveal* 241

*afylled* 91 : *gefylde* 320;  *afylled* 113 :  *ymbseald* 342

*aawyrgeada* 74 :  *awyrgeada* 304 (compare entries for *werig- / Hly*)

B  
*bærndest* 127 :  *onbærndest* 355

*begfereda* 78 : *bileofode* 307 (compare entry for *feorn / Hly*)

*began* 10 : *ongan* 238

*bemurmon* 79 : *sorhgodon* 309

*bærón* 108 : *tugon* 327

*betweoch* 95 : *betwox* 325;  *betuh* 101 : *betwux* 330;  *betuh* 110 : *betwux* 339;  *betuh* 122 : *betwux* 349

*bidan* 103 : *abidan* 333

*brogan* 49, 105 : absent in different phrasing of Life; omitted 280 and replaced by  *bysmerum* 334. Life has only one example of this word: *brogum* 180.

*bregan* 134 : *egsian* 362

*bysmerigan* 105 : different phrasing in Life.  *Hly* 105  *mid maran brogan bysmigan 7 wocan* : Life 334  *mid maran bysmerum swenesan 7 costian*

C  
*oige* 29 : in Life 260 only other verb of pair in *Hly* appears

*oyrran* 26 : *geoyrran* 255
ounedon 47 : fundedon 278

cyrme 86 : cyrne 315 (Vita 483 ff. at this point does not mention
noise of demons, but translation here free, so Latin
supports neither.)

D gedafenad 68 + acc. : gedafenad 298 + dat. (Hly here follows
Latin construction)

drefde 119 : abolode 349; gedrefed 20 : gedrefed 248 (only oc-
currence of this verb in Life); gedrefed 25 : Life
254 has only the other participle of pair present in
Hly.

E earhwinnendan 17 : passage absent from Life

egeslice 90 : redelice 319; egeslice 87 : gsalice 319; egeslicum
95 : egeslicum 325 (note different reading in only
one of 3 instances)

eardidan 54 : wunedon 286 (but both use earadian forms in three
other places, v. Hly 10, 20 and 51)

eardungstowe 4 : Life 232 has only second word of pair seen in Hly,
but Life 177 eardungstowe elsewhere; word used by
Wulfstan, so continues into late West Saxon literary
language.

cft swa 27 : efne swa 257; Swylce eft 82 : Swylo eac 311 (Life
does not use eft with either swa or swylce elsewhere)

ege 124 : egsan 352; ege 117 : ege 347; egesum 95 : ege 324 (?)
but passages very different)

F feoste 27 : festlice 252; feoste 39 : feoste 272

feonde 33 : blipe 264; gefeonde 39 : Life 271 differently phrased;
gefonde 142 : blipe 369 (verb gefeon used only once
in Life, at line 292 gefahet)

feond 74 : gast 304 (but both use feond forms in two other places,
v. Hly 12 and 72)
feorn 78 : lif 307 (with verb change, compare entry for begferede / Hly)
feong to 76 : feng 306 (different constructions)
forgifest 62 : gefehst 292; forgigest emended in this edition to gefist.
forgifenesse 59 : Life is here different, without similar passage
forhtlicum 94 : Life 324 unmetlicre (? but passages very different)
frætigeæan 69 : gefrætian 299
gefyldon 86 : fyldon 315
fyren 23 : synna 250 (Life does not use fyren 'sin')
gebundenum 98 : Life 327 gebunden has changed construction
gefænnesse 142 : gefeæan 369 (Life has no instance of this hapax legomenon)
genipa 113 : beostra 342
gemætæung 9 : to gereorde 236 (other differences within passage)
geond 12, 80 : in both corresponding passages the clause containing geond is absent, but geond is used elsewhere in Life both as preposition and verbal prefix.)
geondstregde 14 : clause absent from Life
geswæconnesse 29 : geswæconynesse 259
gomun 116 : -stowum 345 (See entry for tintregea / Hly)
geaf 131 : sealde 359
gæsnæwe 13 : This and the following word are in a clause not found in Life.
grimnesse 14 : see note for previous word.
gylda 59 : in phrase absent from Life.
heofoncundre 39 : gastliore 371; heofoncundre 142 : heofonlican
(but Life 751 heofonundan is one instance of word)

heolstre 140 : heostre 367

braean 91 : brotan 320

brymedon 93 : - runigungendum 320 (Construction as well as wording different); hrymedon 94 : Life passage very different (note that Life has no instance of this verb)

hyde 120 : clause absent from Life


laddon 103 : Life has only other of verb pair shown in Hly.

upgalated 111 : participle absent from Life without other alteration of phraseology.

leglican 120 : corresponding passage absent from Life

man 135 : impersonal construction turned in Life

mid - in only 5 places in either text is t is demonstrably used with the accusative : Life 65, 685, 662, 813 and perhaps 841

miscencerne 93 : miscrecet 322 (see Commentary)

naht in phrase for naht dyde 81 : clause absent from Life

nywylnesse 118 : deopnyse 347; neowolnesse 127 : deopnyse 355; (but otherwise opportunity for either form found only in Life 786 deoplice, an adverb)

of 1 : ofer 229 (? change made within context during transmission)

ofergeotol 118 : forgitende 347

ofaslogon 56 : ofasalgon 287

on - see under in above; in both texts on predominates, but it is proportionately better represented in the earlier manuscript.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ondryenalise</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>fule 319; ondryenalise 92; ongristlie 321; ondryenalicolium 110; ongryrlican 332; ondryenalicolam 114; corresponding passage absent from Life. (The adjective ondryenalise is not used in the Life.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>onhraec</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>was... afyrht 352</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rec</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>smio 304</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>resoetunge</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>corresponding passage absent from Life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seald</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>geseald 354</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>semninga</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>faringa 342 (but Life has semninga forms x 3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seah</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>watersead 231; seape 4; seade 231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>smicendam</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>corresponding passage absent from Life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sprecenam</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>adjective absent from Life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>swefles</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>corresponding passage absent from Life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>swidra</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>swidliora 342</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>swidlice</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>swyde 352</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teala</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>tela 295; teala 76; m/ 306</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teledaļ</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>tedaled 243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tintrege</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>(gromum); tintrehstowum 345; tintrega 118; tintrega 348; tintrega 348; tintregum tintregud 351</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>togenes</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>ongean 343 (ongean found more often than togeanes x 2 in Life)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hohste</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>gebohte 233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gebence</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>ononsawe 303</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beowdom</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>beawe 240; beowdom 83; phrase absent in Life (but compare meaning of Life beowdom 82)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bingum</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>wilminga 230</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
hisma 117 (emended to prosma) : corresponding passage absent from Life
gebydde 77 : bigede 307
hit puhte' 95 : him puhte 324 (construction change)
gebyddon 115 : gegaderodon 344 (note that Life has one other instance of this verb gegaderod 533 and no example of bydan)
nystran nihite 103 : bystrunge 332 (different phrasing)
unngehwernessum 95 : corresponding passage absent from Life
unnytte 76 : corresponding passage absent from Life
upgeledded 111 : see entry for leddon / Hly.
upgeotean 121 : corresponding passage absent from Life
wecean 106 : Life has different verb pair
weodon 80 : corresponding passage absent from Life
weocean 58 : weocan 289; weost 7 weoceast 58 : swinest 290
wurpon 100 : bewurpon 329
werigan 19, 108 : awerigedan 247, 338; werigan 78 : awyrigedan 308; werigra 85 : awyrigдра 334; werigra 114 : awerigedra 343; werigum 119 : awyrgedum 349; werigan 121, 125, 134, 138 : awyrgedan 349, 353, 362, 366; werigea 128 : awyrgedan 357; but awyrgeda 74 : awyrgeda 305. (In all Life has participial forms x 36 and werig- forms x 5).
wolberendan 27 : tweogendum 256
wunode 84 : awunode 313: gewunigean 139 : awunian 367.
yling 96 : yldend 325
ymb 42 : be 273 (Life has no instance of ymb 'about')
yrmingum 131 : earman 359
So far as possible differences in spelling have been kept out of this list, but it should be noted that the *Life* forms between 325 etc (see under *betwix/Hly*) have the vowels to be expected before breaking consonants, either *eo* (*< io < i*) or *u* (smoothing of *io* in low stress—Campbell 338 fn 1). Such differences will generally be treated in sections upon the forms of these texts. Many of the differences given here are in verbal prefixed only, particularly in the use of *ge-* and need not be discussed, except where such variations affect the structure of a passage. Syntactical features will be dealt with in the Commentary to these texts; both texts in different ways demonstrate their descent from a translation far more Latinate in nature.

5 the hapax legomena of the texts

(a) in both *Life* and *Homily*

*gewrid* 'thicket' (?) *Life* 192, 330 *gewrido*; *Hly* 101 *gewridu*; compare *Life* 171 *treowgewrido*.

*witedōmlic* 'prophetical' *Life* 257, 500, 572 and *Hly* 28 *witedomlice*.

(b) in *Life* only

*bīglēofian* 'sustain, nourish' *bigleofode* 239, *bileofode* 307; discussed in the Commentary.

*onihtlic* 'boyish, childish' *onihtlicu* 99, *onihtlice* 96

*onihtwise* 'boy's way' *onihtwisean* 94

*ōrōcetung* 'cawing' *ōrōcetunge* 442; note in Commentary.
earfb 'stream' : earibaes 170; note in Commentary.
efenhæfdling 'equal, comrade' : efenhæfdlingas 107; compare efen-hæafda forms.
geblife 'happy' : geblife 754; discussed in the Commentary.
*gerisen 'seizure, seizing' : gerisne 738; discussed in the Commentary.
gebēot 'howling' : gebect 442; cognate with hēotan 'roar, howl'.
gewitfæst 'sane' : gewitfæst 626
hēbpeod 'noble people' : hebbeode 47 (but not at line 619)
hlūttorlicyse 'purity, sincerity' : hlūttorlicyse 145; compare hlūttornes forms.
leaslicetung 'dissimulation' : leaslicetunge 98; compare WW 388.33
Dissimulari, leaslicettan.
misorocet 'crooked' : misorocet 322; see Commentary for one possible
Middle English example.
nehfreonda 'relation' : nehfreonda 534; compare the Old Norse nafrendi.
*ongrylīc 'horrible' : ongrylīcan 339; ET suggest that this may be
a mistake for ongrylīcan, as ongristliche 321 occurs in
this text. However, it will be seen from 4.4 that the
four instances of the adjective ondrysenliche in the Homily
do not always have the same form against them in the Life.
Although this ongrylīcan 339 appears nowhere else, the
occurrence of the simplex gryrelīc shows that it might
easily have been used with an intensive prefix.

*raxan 'stretch' : raxende 560; this should not properly be included
in this list, but must be noted as the earliest instance
of the verb. See further in the commentary.

*slefand 'slip on' (?) : slefde 645; discussed in the Commentary.
tintrebstow 'place of torture' : tintrebstowum 345
trēowgewrid 'thicket of trees': trēowgewrido 171; compare under gewrid in F.5/a above.

*unāblinn 'persistence'(?): unāblinnu 428; discussed in the Commentary.

unfornitende 'mindful': unfornitende 732; compare simplex forgietan.

unregret 'unsaluted, ungreeted': unregret 200; compare simplex grētan.

unhyrsum 'disobedient': unhyrsum 94; the form ungehyrsum appears frequently in other texts; cognate is Old High German unhōrsam

ungelācnod 'unsured': ungelācnod 625; the passive participle unlācnod is found and the simplex læonian 'heal, cure' occurs often in Old English.

*ungebeawe 'not customary': ungebeawe 695; discussed in the Commentary.

watersteal 'standing water, pool': watersteal 169; discussed in the Commentary.

woruldfruma 'patriarch, church father'(?): woruldfrumena 105

ylend 'delay': ylend 325; discussed in the Commentary.

(c) in Homily only

*begferan 'feed': begferede 78; discussed in Commentary.

earhwinnende 'cowardly conquering': earhwinnendan 17; discussed in the Commentary.

gefēannes 'joyfulness': gefēannesse 142; noted in the Commentary.

leglic 'fiery': leglican 120; noted in the Commentary.

*missecrene 'withered': misscrenence 93; discussed in Commentary.

*onpricgan 'grow frightened': onprico 125; discussed in the Commentary.
1 grammatical concord

(a) a note on noun gender in the Life

Because both previous editors of this text have assumed a high proportion of scribal error and normalised accordingly, the distribution of unhistorical attributive forms within it has not been considered. 'Emendation' of such forms has been avoided in this edition, for it is likely that the manuscript forms in this late transcript of an Old English text indicate the spread of certain inflexion(s) as case-markers.

substantives in congruence with unhistorical feminine attributive forms

Old English masculine nouns

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>EGE</td>
<td>dative singular : unmetliore ege 324</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EGESA</td>
<td>dative singular : for bera egsan 352</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FULTUM</td>
<td>dative singular : mid godcundre fultume 174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MOR</td>
<td>nominative plural: unmetre moras 169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DOFTSCIFE</td>
<td>dative singular : on gastliore boftscipe 483, 575</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NAME</td>
<td>accusative singular : burh ba halgan naman 710</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Old English neuter nouns

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>EGLAND</td>
<td>dative singular : to bera forespresen an eglande 551</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GESTUN</td>
<td>dative plural : ungometliore gestundum 323</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GESWINC</td>
<td>dative singular : mid woruldliore geswince 83</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
substantives in concurrence with unhistorical masculine or neuter attribute forms

Old English feminine nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Old English feminine noun</th>
<th>Gender and Case</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ADL</td>
<td>nominative singular</td>
<td>se adl 757</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GESPRAECE</td>
<td>dative singular</td>
<td>bhhende gesprece 611</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ONGITENYS</td>
<td>nominative singular</td>
<td>bes ongitenysse 770</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SNYTTRO</td>
<td>genitive (?) singular</td>
<td>heofonlice snyttr 683</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TID</td>
<td>dative (?) singular</td>
<td>on arfestlice tide 704</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TURF</td>
<td>dative (?) singular</td>
<td>under ane tyrf 612</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EUNUNG</td>
<td>dative singular</td>
<td>to ham ylcan hemunc 885-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNGEFÆRAYS</td>
<td>dative singular</td>
<td>fram pisum ungefarrownysse 452</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Old English masculine noun

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Old English masculine noun</th>
<th>Gender and Case</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>EODSCIFE</td>
<td>accusative singular</td>
<td>on pet heodscipe 544</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is possible that not all these readings are, as the earlier editors apparently surmised, due to 'scribal error', but that some pattern may be observed, in part explaining the curious distribution of some of these forms. The most strongly marked tendency is to be seen in the first group of phrases listed above. With the form ge-swince 83 it could be argued that the scribe gives this reading in mistake for geswineysse, for this word appears elsewhere in the text (see further the note for this line). Yet, the phrases noted from lines 174, 324, 352, 483, 551 and 575 cannot be accounted for so easily as mistakes. Gathered together, these phrases suggest that -re is spreading in the dative singular to places where it is not historic-
ally justifiable. It would, however, be wrong to talk in terms of 'feminization' (vide Miss Clark's use of 'masculinization' (1958, p. lvii) in her discussion of the language of the Peterborough Chronicle continuations), as other tendencies are shown in the second group of phrases quoted above.

Von Glahn (1918, p. 36) suggests that not all the instances of etymologically unjustifiable congruence in the late Old English and early Middle English texts examined by him are to be regarded as the result of gender change in nouns. Certain attributive forms, he points out, are no longer primarily indicators of gender, but have developed the function of case-marking only. He identifies two such in the 1122-31 continuation of the Peterborough Chronicle: the genitive singular article in bes Owenes 44.68 (Clark's edition, page and line reference) and the accusative bone with nouns neuter in Old English (von Glahn on p. 33 notes it is used with mynster and with four nouns in -rice in this continuation).

Despite von Glahn's observation that in such circumstances an article may be nicht mehr Genus-, sondern nur noch Kasusform, discussion (sometimes quite lengthy) of gender change is still to be found in the introductory chapters of critically edited texts where an examination of the attributive forms might reveal that certain articles or inflexions have become Kasusbezeichnungen. Ross (1936, pp. 325-6) divides Old English texts into two main classes in regard to the problem of sex/gender. His first class contains all dialects 'in which virtually no gender-changes are evidenced', that is 'normal or'. This
first includes also (as I.B) dialects:

.. in which the IndE system of gender is still distinguishable but in which a number of nouns have changed their genders for reasons of form rather than meaning.

In this sub-division of class I he places Layamon, the Middle Kentish Gospels, the Kentish Homilies from Cotton Vespasian A xxii and Vices and Virtues. Ross's second class comprises:

Dialects in which the sex-categories male, female, and asexual have to some extent taken the place of the gender-categories masculine, feminine, and neuter.

He argues that neutralization is to be seen as a tendency of the Rushworth Gospels and of the Ancien Rival, the Avenbite and Orn, but suggests that in the Lindisfarnæ Gospels, the Durham Ritual and the Peterborough Chronicle where 'the use of etymologically unjustifiable forms is not confined to neutralization' there is 'a tendency towards the indiscriminate use of masculine, feminine, and neuter forms'; in a footnote (p. 326, fn 20) Ross adds that the reason for this tendency is 'obscure'. The texts placed by Ross in his classes I.B and II have been examined together by C. Jones who finds (1964 Glasgow thesis, p. 300) that the case-indicative function for certain forms suggested by von Glahn is 'a genuine, and fairly widespread linguistic development in its own right'.

Seven phrases in the instances of substantives in congruence with unhistorical feminine attributive forms show the spread of the feminine dative singular attributive forms to mark case instead of gender:
unmetliore age 324; for bare egean 352; mid god-
cundre fultume 174; on gastliore boftscire 483, 575
and to bare foresperecan eglade 551.

So probably does mid woruldlicre geswine 83. Two other instances
of -re in historically unjustifiable positions do not, however, con-
form to this pattern. In one of these the singular -re marker stands
beside a plural noun and, because there is no reason to assume such
movement from singular to plural, it is worth noting the phrase with-
in its context:

and hi ba swa ungemetliore gestundum foron 7 swa
unmetliore age 323-4

The form may show scribal anticipation of the inflexion of the similar
linked adjective. To explain the occurrence of unmetre beside moras
in line 169 it is necessary to fall back upon the excuse of scribal
error, but again it is possible to find a graphically convincing reas-
on for the error. The scribe had used this same adjective two lines
previously in the genitive form, unmetre mycelysse 167, and he may
unconsciously have repeated this form with -re.

One phrase in this first group cannot be examined against the
pattern displayed within it otherwise:

burh ba balgan naman 710

The previous editors emend ba to bone. Certainly there are no ex-
amples in the Life of burh followed by an unambiguous dative form, a
fact which would support this emendation if a change in the reading
is made. However, because the spread of the attributive dative sing-
ular feminine forms to mark case seems clearly shown within the text, no emendation is made, for *he* here may be an unmarked form of the definite article otherwise unparallelled within the Life (this concept is established by Jones 1964, p. 31 for the Lindisfarne Gospels Gloss, p. 101 for the Durham Ritual Gloss and p. 241 for Layamon's Brut).

No obvious pattern can be discerned among the instances of substantives in congruence with unhistorical masculine or neuter attributive forms, though a tendency for the spread of -e can be observed in oblique cases:

- Blihende gespræce 611; heofonlice snyttro 683; on 704; under ans tyr 612.

Of these four instances only the first is not susceptible of alternative explanation; for the others the appropriate part of the Commentary should be consulted. (An unmarked -e spreading through oblique cases may explain the occurrence of arwyrðe where a form in -es might be expected in be sumum arwyrðe lifes brobor 712.) The examples of ham and bisum with feminine nouns in the dative singular in lines 452 and 885-6 contrast curiously with the tendency observed in the other group, but, as with he of line 710, no emendation is made. Similarly, no change is made in the manuscript forms se adl 757 and bes ongite-ryse 770 as these cannot in this text be described with any conviction as the results of scribal error.

The emphatic demonstrative function of *het* noted first by von Glahn (1918, p. 37) is seen in on *het* heodscephe 544.
(b) A few other phrases in which the possibility of gender change is not a problem should be noted together:

- *See strange sm. 7 mycel 27* (nominative for accusative?);
- *bone brobor sarig 463* (adjective without accusative inflexion?);
- *Eac bone eadigawer 571* (accusative article where nominative to be expected?);
- *hes andlyfene 928* (where the genitive case inflexion does not appear in the manuscript readings);
- *hes sahtoban dege 756* (where previous editors think emendation from bone to se necessary).

Attention is directed to the notes for these passages in the Commentary. See also the note for line 299 on the use of be for late Old English by in proclitic position (for example be near 494, 496).

2 *syntax*

Both texts, where they run parallel, reveal that behind them stood some fuller translation nearer to the Vita in content and it is unlikely that they stem from an abridgement specially made for translation. Vleeskuyrer (1953, pp. 16-17), supporting Napier's suggestion that an earlier Latin sermon lay behind the Chad homily, adds:

It may be added that similar adaptations are not unknown elsewhere in medieval homiletical literature. A notable example is the Latin Guthlao, an imitative and more or less compulsory work, which moreover was later adapted by Orderious Vitalis; but probably his was not the first abridgement, since the OE. rendering in MS Cott. Vesp.
D 21 may likewise reproduce a shortened version, cast into the form of a sermon. Similarly, the Vercelli fragment of this translation is nothing but a derived homily.

Vleeskruyer's assumptions about the Life and Homily are, as he points out, based on Gonser's examination of them (and particularly on Gonser 1909, p. 62). However, Gonser's conclusions cannot be supported so wholeheartedly as these sentences suggest. Gonser's presentation of the texts, with only those parts of the Vita obviously related to the Old English versions given, has helped to foster belief in his conclusions. Unfortunately, however, he says little of the amount of revision which the Life must have undergone during its transmission and does not therefore recognise the possibility that some of the more striking omissions may have disappeared after the original making of the translation (see further II.3/b, particularly the opening paragraphs).

It is argued elsewhere that both Life and Homily have undergone a certain amount of revision, at different times, independently of one another and with different ends in view. Not only are there differences between them in wording and content, but often the sentence structures are by no means similar (see II.3/d). Although an overriding impression given by the Homily is that its sentences are relatively straightforward, it must be noted that often it retains a Latinate phrasing where the Life has moved away from 'crib' English, for example:
Hly 98 sallum limum gebundenum
Hly 68 gedafenað hane man

which suggest a wording more under the influence of the Vita text than do

Life 327 sallum limum gebundenon
Life 298 gedafenað ham

Again, clause correlation has been simplified in Life 249, 251 and 273 rather than in the corresponding passages of the Homily, although it is here particularly that the Homily is strikingly different syntactically from the longer text.

Enough should have been said to make it obvious that these texts deserve separate paragraphs in a consideration of the syntax of the Old English prose translation of the Vita sancti Guthlac. Syntactical points of particular interest will be noted and discussed in the Commentary, but here a brief summary of these is needed.

3 Homily

Like other homilies in the Vercelli Book this Guthlac homily shows through its forms of speech (in Funke's words 1962, p. 20):

Although it is likely that Old English prose, because so much of it stemmed from enge translation work, adopted many phrase patterns originally calques upon Latin into general non-translation usage, the presence of a near source for the Guthlac homily makes it obvious that we are here dealing with a translation. Yet, only a few phrases reflect the influence of Latin on the homily's word order, so thoroughly has the material been reshaped. Of the two phrases quoted above, one (Hly 98) might be expected widely in Old English whereas the other (Hly 68) shows the use of defenian with an accusative instead of the dative usual outside other Old English translations. To these one perhaps be added Hly 95 hit huhte and the place of pet in the clause Hly 7 so on fellenum gegovulan het he wolde ealle... The use of the nominative group in Hly 66 bid to elensegeannes se man may also reflect the attempts of the translator to deal with Vita 466 spiritu reformari, although the choice and order of his English words can scarcely be said to have been determined by the Latin.

It must be pointed out that the scribe (whether because he was generally less careless with prose than with verse, or because he was rewriting his material as he went along, or because he was bored with the task of putting together this collection of prose and verse) is careless. In the few pages occupied by this Hômily he twice, if not three times, duplicates some word or phrase (see the notes for weost 7 weostest 59, 7 him for naht dyde 81 and we 118). Yet, it would be wrong to change his text to conform to the record of the original translation presented by the Life or to introduce into it words and even
phrases if the *Homily* can be understood without reference to either *Life* or *Vita*. The text presented in this edition may err on the side of conservatism, but this is because the mistakes and omissions, whether made by the *Vercelli* Book scribe or by one of his predecessors, are generally rationalised (see further the notes for *Life* 237-8, *Life* 251, *Life* 253, *Life* 254, *Hly* 34, etc, and also II.3/d). In a few places therefore this text preserves readings which can be justified only with overingenuity, for example see the notes for *Hly* 16-17 and for *Hly* 133.

Word pairs, where the Latin has only a single word, occur frequently in the *Homily* and examples, both from it and the *Life*, are given by Gonser (1909, pp. 78-81). This feature is common enough in Old English translations and cannot be allowed any great significance. It should, however, be noted that verbal pairs seem to be used more often in the *Homily* than in the *Life*, for of some seventeen verbal pairs in the *Homily* a single verb appears in the corresponding passage of the *Life* (compare *Hly* 25/*Life* 254, *Hly* 29/*Life* 260, *Hly* 100/*Life* 329, *Hly* 103/*Life* 332 and *Hly* 109/*Life* 337; to these perhaps *Hly* 129/*Life* 337 should be added). The intention of eradicating obsolescent vocabulary may perhaps explain why word pairs are a less marked stylistic feature in the *Life*, for in four of the thirteen places where verb pairs occur words have been changed (compare *Hly* 47/*Life* 278, *Hly* 73/*Life* 303, *Hly* 105/*Life* 334 and *Hly* 119/*Life* 348, and compare F.4 entries for these words. Alliteration appears occasionally in the word pairs used in the *Homily*, for example of *bendum* 7 of *brogan* 16, *clypige* 7 *elige* 29,
dreah 7 drefde 119, cunodon 7 costedon 47, weost 7 weocest 59 (if not regarded as a mistake), idle 7 unnytte 76, but not in the Life passages parallel to Hly 29, 47, 76 and 119. Curiously other alliterative phrases of the Homily, for instance mid brogan bysmrian 49 and .. beotingum me bregean 134, are not paralleled in the Life (compare Life 280 and Life 362 where brogan and related verb bregean may perhaps have been replaced). Unfortunately Gonser (1909, p. 78) finds only five examples of alliterative word doubling in the Life and Homily, three from the early parts of the Life (lines 3, 8 and 67) and two from the Homily (lines 29 and 119), which leads him to conclude:

Alliterierende Wortdoppelung, wie sie sich bei anderen Übersetzungsarbeiten häufig findet, kommt in unserem Stück nur an vereinzelten Stellen vor:

These words can fairly be applied to the Life, but it seems unlikely that Gonser has examined closely enough the wording of the Homily.

4 Life

The Life shows far more of the signs of enge translation than does its related Homily, and the possibility that a much fuller version closer to the Vita stands behind it suggests that its original may have possessed many of the features Potter (1947, p. 117) considers marked in 'a close translation' such as the Old English Pastoral Care:

Its vocabulary is distinctive and bookish. Its style is literary and it lacks the colloquial expressions which are characteristic of Werferth's Dialogues and which appear
in King Alfred's other translations of Orosius, Boethius and Augustine. It was intended to be read by contemplatives, by lettered clerks, and not, like Ælfric's Homilies later, to be declaimed from the pulpit by popular preachers. Throughout it is well sustained.

If this Life was once a highly literary and bookish translation revision has for the most part obscured traces of its original. Yet, in vocabulary and in the use of correlatives and adverbs the text resembles the Alfredian translations rather than the prose writings of Ælfric's age. The purpose of the translator cannot now be conjectured with any certainty, but it is likely that his work would have been read 'by contemplatives, by lettered clerks'. There was obviously, in the ninth century at any rate, sufficient interest in the cult of Guthlac and other Mercian saints for accounts of them to be put into the vernacular and Guthlac seems to have held particular importance, for not only are he and two of the saints connected with his legend included in the Old English Martyrology but two early poems celebrating the saint survive.

Although it is possible that the original translation of the Vita sancti Guthlac was made within the ninth century, it must be admitted little if any specific evidence can be advanced to prove that it was made before the tenth century. In any case, the extant Vespasian text suggests an audience rather than the private attention of contemplatives and learned readers. The material has been reshaped, the words recast in many chapters, and the discrepancy in length between the Life and the Vita may largely be the result of revision instead of an in-
dication of the amount of an abridgement of Felix used by the trans­
lator. This suggestion can be put forward only because loss and ex­
cision of material can be surmised through a comparison of the Life
with the Homily (see further II.3/d). The text, in being brought up
to date, has been simplified and shortened and may, in its present
form, have been intended 'to be declaimed from the pulpit'. As it
stands, it would take an hour or so to read aloud, but selections
might have been drawn from it (as was earlier the Verelli Homily)
for some particular occasion such as the saint's feast-day or the
whole might have been read during his octave (see also II.1/b for a
discussion of the divisions within the manuscript).

The Life, probably as a result of the revision it has undergone,
is very uneven in style. Sometimes its simplicity may stem from the
original translation (as for example 253 or 411, see Commentary), but,
because the Homily supplies evidence that considerable textual simplif­
ication lies behind the Life (see Commentary for Hly 120 or 134-5 for
example), it is possible that simple, straightforward passages may
have undergone much rewriting. Again, where anacolutha are found,
these are perhaps to be attributed to an incompleteness of the revision
rather than to the translator. For example, where the Homily uses
the absolute construction eallum limum gebundenum 98 in translating
Vita 498 ligatis membris, in the Life the participle is represented by
a finite verb and the dative phrase is instrumental in function:

.. hi ḫa soma ḫone halgan wer eallum limum gebundon. 7
hi hine tugon 7 leddon.
In this clause an accusative plural instead of the dative phrase and a descriptive genitive rather than the accusative bone halgan wer would be expected in general Old English prose.

Not all the Latinate features of the original translation have however been suppressed either completely or imperfectly. In certain phrases indeed the Latin verb forms have been closely rendered, with resultant Old English phrases unusual outside translation work, for example:

Vita 1138 sollicitari noli; Life 817 nelt bu beon gemyndig
Vita 1257 noli timere; Life 923 ne wylt bu be onredan

Just as in some words and phrases the Life may reflect the semantic influence of the Vita (for example, see the notes for mid inseglum beclysde 56, taen 517, 552 or hringe 927), so also it may reveal constructions normal in Latin but non-English except in translations (for example, see the notes for gemyndig hae bing 817 or alyfæ 822). Another noteworthy late feature is the use of him 939 in complement position. Such things are dealt with in some detail in the Commentary, but it should be noted here that perhaps in some cases emendations have been made too readily (for example in 34, 135 and 796 where genitives have been changed to nominatives although they might be justified as partitives).

So far as possible the constructions of the Life have been retained. The manuscript punctuation is on the whole a good guide to the phrasing of the text — only twice, in lines 43 and 209, does a striking misdivision of material occur — and at the same time facilitates
comparison of the Old English text with the *Vita* where the two resemble one another quite closely. Close translation of the long rambling sentences of Felix can still be seen in many parts of the *Life*, with the use of many prepositional formulae both as conjunctions and in correlation with other phrases, with anticipation of subjects or of adverbial headwords or with the 'misplacing' of phrases before the headword of the clause to which they belong. Appositional words and phrases are not always in agreement with their antecedents (as in the opening lines of the text, indeed) and sentences do not always seem complete. Yet, any attempt to present a detailed comparison of the *Vita* and the *Life* to illustrate the translator's methods (as conducted by Gonser 1909, pp. 52-94) can produce little trustworthy evidence on this score, because so much of the original translation has been obscured by revision; for this reason a syntactical examination of that sort is not here attempted. Explanation and interpretation of some of the more difficult passages in the text will however be found in the Commentary.
H: Summary

There is little in the phonology of either text to point to the dialect of the original translation from which they both derive. The Homily, like the verse of the collection in which it is found, shows many of the features common in the earlier Old English poetic tradition. The few non-West Saxon traits in its phonology (see E.3) are of the sort which might appear in the literary koine and they cannot therefore be given particular importance as a dialect test, especially as it is possible that this text has undergone a popularising revision which might very well have introduced into it some of these elements. The Life is scarcely any more informative so far as phonological features are concerned, for it is based firmly in the orthographical conventions of late West Saxon. Indeed, arguments from the phonological evidence previously advanced to prove the Anglian origin of the translation have been drawn rather from the Homily than the longer and later Life. A few non-West Saxon features in the accented vowels of the Life are listed in B.3. Yet, in a text so obviously in the well-established late West Saxon literary dialect little might be expected in the way of non-West Saxon features, particularly as the text has undergone considerable revision. However, because it is on phonological grounds predominantly West Saxon the text is best described as a late West Saxon text of Mercian colour. In its treatment of consonants two features are of particular interest: the loss of final ㅎ (see C.1/h and C.2/o) and the indication of the unvoicing of final 꼀 which may be more than sporadic (see D.1). The former would be
expected mostly in more northern texts that this appears to be, but is not completely alien to so late a West Saxon text. The latter, if the rather inadequate evidence is accepted, would point to a non-West Saxon centre for the transcription of the texts in this manuscript.

The evidence from the vocabulary for the Anglian origin of the original translation is perhaps given more weight than the phonological evidence in notes on the provenance of these texts. Both Homily and Life contain many features which can be labelled archaic. The earlier text is as well markedly poetical in vocabulary, but then so are the other homilies of this collection and of other late tenth century collections (for example, the Blickling Homilies). Although Vleeskruyer (1953, p. 24) claims a Mercian origin for such texts, he himself adds (fn 5) a note on Aelfric's conscious use of archaic words which suggests his uneasiness with vocabulary as a major dialect test. Campbell (1955, p. 56) points out the irrationality inherent in using vocabulary as a chief test of dialect in such texts, noting that words of Anglian origin can on the one hand be used to prove an artificial vocabulary in Aelfric and on the other to prove the Mercian origin of texts of unknown origin.

The Life is 'mixed' in vocabulary, for numerous substitutions and omissions have apparently been made by its eleventh century reviser. The nature of such changes can best be understood through an examination of the near equivalent forms listed in P.4: obsolescent words and phrases are, inconsistently it must be admitted, discarded. For
its length the Life is proportionately less archaic in vocabulary than is the Homily, but many examples of 'Anglian words' appear in both (see P.2 for an examination of those in which confidence has often been placed and P.3 for a note on other forms perhaps obsolescent in the late Old English period). In the Life there appear forms typical of the Alfredian translations (for example sfweardan 824, sfweard 658, swyldnesse 11, swurðnesse 865, 884, deabberendan 425) beside words which might be expected rather in Aelfric's homilies (for example, costere 427, forebeacn 64, grymetigende 242, grymetigenda 437, grymetunge 442) and the evidence from vocabulary for the Anglian origin of this text is even less convincing than for the Homily.

Perhaps the most interesting of the linguistic features of the Life is its apparent use of certain inflexion(s) and attributive forms as case-markers (see G.1/a). Although the evidence here is by no means sufficient to justify any assertion beyond the assumption that -re has spread into places where historically it is not justifiable, it is possible that a certain amount of -e spread through oblique cases can also be seen in this text. The development of case-markers of this type is to be found mostly in Anglian texts, but is only a very minor trend in the South East. There is no evidence for the spread of case marking inflexions in late West Saxon where a feeling for gender seems to have been stronger than a feeling for case. Early Middle English texts in which the inflexion originally dative feminine is found marking the dative case with masculine and neuter nouns are Vices and Virtues and Laȝamon's Brut (Caligua manuscript); the spread of -re in the dative
occurs also, it must be noted, in the gloss to the Lindisfarne Gospels, but is there occasional and at the expense of -um (see Jones 1964, p. 96). It seems therefore that, so far as this feature is concerned, the Life can be compared either with an Essex text or with one from the Worcester area. The evidence from phonology advanced in B.3 for the non-West Saxon colouring of the text is slight, but important here as it contains nothing to suggest that the text is South Eastern. If an immediate provenance is to be hazarded for the Life from the evidence of language, perhaps north Worcestershire might be advanced.

So far as the original translation is concerned, there is little definite evidence to consider. Obviously it was in existence by the time the materials of the Vercelli Book were put together, and the probabilities point to its having been made by or in the Alfredian period rather than in the tenth century. Mercian colouring can be claimed for both texts descended from this original translation, but does not inspire confidence as a test of its Mercian composition. The best argument in favour of the Mercian origin of this translation is non-linguistic; interest in the cult of Guthlac is more likely to have led to this translation's being made in Mercia rather than in Wessex. The centre of this cult at Crowland need not be interpreted as proof that the translation was made there for, as will be seen in other chapters (see I. 1, 3 and 5 particularly) the popularity of St Guthlac was well-established in early Anglo-Saxon England and by the later period it extended quite widely, especially from Ely into the
West country. To speculate any further than a Mercian origin as possible for this text would therefore seem fruitless. It indeed poses the same problems as the Old English Martyrology; the translation may have been made within the ninth century in some Mercian centre of learning, but there is no evidence against placing it in the Alfredian revival which was so strongly influenced by Mercian orthography and teaching or perhaps even early in the tenth century, a period about which we know little. As however there are signs of an increase in Guthlac's popularity in the ninth century, this should perhaps be allowed to support an argument from the evidence of vocabulary that the translation was made in that age. The morphological evidence for placing the Life in North Worcestershire does not constitute evidence that the original translation came from that area.
TEXTS
The Old English text of the life of St Guthlac and the parallel passages from the Vercelli Book are based upon independent transcriptions from photostats and the facsimile edition respectively. Expanded contractions are underlined and occasional emendation is marked by a dagger. In the homily, where punctuation is scant and irregular, many stops have been supplied and are underlined to distinguish them from the few found in the manuscript. An attempt has been made to retain so far as is possible the capitalisation of both manuscripts, but the word division follows normal editorial practice.

The text of Felix's *Vita sancti Guthlacii* is transcribed from MS Corpus Christi College Cambridge 389. No attempt is made here to present a fully critical text and only a few obvious changes are made in the forms of the manuscript. Because two systems of punctuation are found in this part of the manuscript, it proved difficult to distinguish with any certainty the lighter marks of the scribe from the later heavier reinforcements of or additions to these. The punctuation given aims therefore at reflecting the intentions of the later hand. The 'accents' of the manuscript are however omitted as of little value in a comparison of the Old English version with Felix's life of the saint. Glosses in the manuscript are relegated to the footnotes which include also one or two important variant readings from other manuscripts (these culled from Colgrave's composite edition of the *Vita*). Although the chapters are not numbered within the manuscript, the appropriate Arabic numerals are supplied in the margin to facilitate reference.
The following abbreviations used in the notes for the Old English texts require explanation: Gdn/Goodwin, Kl/Klipstein, Ger/Gonser and Btn/Bolton; they refer to textual changes made by these men. As Klipstein's selections derive from Goodwin's edition, his readings are presented only where a significant emendation is proposed; forms due to his theories of normalised Old English spelling are not recorded.

The text of the Life is presented at the head of each page, with corresponding material from the Vita below it. In two passages however this practice is not followed: first, as the chapter list of the Vita is not reflected in the Life no Old English text appears on the pages containing it; and secondly, where Life and Homily parallel one another the Homily is printed below the Life and the corresponding Latin text is placed on the opposite page to facilitate comparison. Each text is numbered independently and foliation, indicated by an asterisk, is noted in the numbers which appear within brackets. Emendations are marked within the texts by a dagger and expansions of manuscript abbreviations are underlined.
The Old English life of Saint Guthlac

from MS Cotton Vespasian D xxii, together

with homily xxiii from the Vercelli Book

Vita sancti Guthlacii from MS Corpus Christi

College Cambridge 389
IN DOMINO DOMINORVM domino meo mihi præ ceteris regalium primatum gratibus dilectissimo. aelfualdo regi orientalium anglorum rite regimina regenti. felixatholic congregatiois uernaculus perpetue prosperitatis in cristo salutem; Iussionibus tuis obtemerans libellum quem de uita patris beate memoris gUTHlaci conponi precepisti. simplici uerborum uimine textum. non absque propacitatis inpu dentia institui; Ea tamen fiducia coram obtuli. obsecrans ut si uallatemos ut fore arbitor illic uitiosus sermo aures eruditi lectoris percoulserit. litteram in fronte

Reminiscatur quonque efflagitio
cum regnum dei non in uerborum facundia sed in fidei constantia persistit; \[+\] Salutem dominum quidem seculo non ab oratoribus sed a piscatoribus predicatum fuisse sciat; Sanoti quoeque hieronimi dicta meminerit: qui rem ridiculam esse arbitratus est: ut sub regulis donati grammatici uerba celestis oraculi restringeret.

Sed si forsitan alius animositatis nostre fastibus hoc opus nos arripere inputat: dum alii plurimi anglorum librarii coram ingeniositatis fluenta inter flores rhetorice per uirecta litteraturue pure liquide lucideque riuantur. qui melius luculentiusue concurrente ualuerunt: sciat nos hoc oposculum non tam uolentis quam oboedienti\(\) gratia inediisse. Propeterea laboris mei uotis o lector quisquis es faues. sin etiam. ut adsolet fieri more obtrectatoris successeris: Causa ut ubi lucesm putaueris ne a

16\* redigeret uel reuocaret
tenebris obceceris. id est ne cum rata reprehenderis ignorantia

tenebris fuscis; Moris enim occorurum est cum in luce per-
ambulant: tune in tenebris errare putant. lucem enim nesciunt. (19)
io pe write 7 sade be dare drohtmunge gadeloces 7 his lifes bysene. Ic pe forpon hyrumode 7 ic forpon write swa me pa dihterae sedon pe his lif geornost cuodon. Eroest hwylo were se fruma opp on hylcum onde he hit eft gelædde. for pisum pingum ic pas bec sette. Bas pe his lif pas eadigan were cuodon bat him ponne pig geneahhor his lifes to gemydum come.

7 fish oðrum pe hit er ne cupon swa swa ic him ræmne weg 7 geredne tæhte. Pas pingc pe ic her on write. ic geleornode fram gesegenum pas arwyrдан abbodes wilfrides. Swilce eac

33 beo : Gdn, Ger em. booc
36 geredne : Gdn, Ger geredne
37 Swilce : Gdn, Ger Swilc
manige oðre me þet sadon þe mid þam eadigen were wêron 7 his lif hira eagum ofersawon. Ne tweoge ic aht þa mine dihteras þet hi mhton gemunan 7 eall asecgan þa wundru pisses eadigan weres. wêron hi swide wide cuðe 7 mere geond angelcynnes land. Io forpon þisum bebodum hyrsumede 7 þin word 7 willan hæbbe gefylled þet gewrit þisse andwardan hyrðe†. swa ic mihte mid wisdome minra foregangena † 7 þære yldrena gesette. (19r) þone fruman on þam fruman ic gesette. 7 þone ende in þam ende. .l. 45

43 andwardan hyrðe: MS andwardan . hyrde 44 minra: Gdn minre, em. minra; þære: Gdn em. þéra 45 .l. is maroon

comuersati uitam illius ex parte nouerant; Ergo quantacumque de uitç ipsius ortonomia stilo perstrinxero. minima de magnis.

paúca de plurimis audisse estimare; Non enim ambigo illos dictatores non omnia facta illius potuisse cognoscoere: nec ab illis tota dictata me descripsisse glorifico. sed ut tanti uriri tantique nominis † relatio compleatur prout ubique miracula

ipsius fulserunt percontamini. referentibus ut singulis quæ nouere percontantibus sequentis libelli materia adgregetur; Igitur eximiæ dilectionis tuo imperii obtemperans. textum presentis cartulæ prout potui digessi: Maioris scientiæ auctoris-

ibus maiorem partem linquens. principium in principio, finem in fines conpono;

EXPLICIT PROLOGVS

63 red rubric
INCIPiViT CAPITViLA LIBRi SANCTi GUTiLACI ANACHORITE.

.I. De temporibus parentum illius et uocabulis eorum;

.II. De origine et mansione patris ipsius;

.III. De legali adiunctione parentum illius;

.III. De conceptione et epidendarum dierum cursu;

.V. De prodigio in tempore nativitatis ipsius manifestato;

.VI. De turbis uidentibus et admirantibus signum;

.VII. De manu ab aeris ostium domus in qua natus est signante;

.VIII. De varia sententia stupentis turbæ;

.VIII. De rumigerulo illius prodigii famine;

.X. De baptismate illius et vocabulo sibi ex appellatione patrie indito;

.XI. De nutrimento illius et educatione in aula paterna;

.XII. De modestia infantis illius et puerili simplicitate;

.XIII. De docibilitate et sagaciti mentis ipsius ingenio discentium artium;

.XIII. De illius oboedientia senioribus et dilectione erga illum coetaneorum;

.XIV. De omnibus de illo testimonium referentibus et gratia divina in uultu ipsius radiante;

.XVI. De repentina commutatione ipsius;

.XVII. Quoniam tertiam partem prædatem gaze possessitibus;

.XVII. Quoniam spiritualibus stimulis instigatus se dei famulum fieri deuoverit;

.XVIII. Quoniam relictis comitibus suis solus uiam pergens bypadum
XX. Quomodo tonsumum apostolicam accipiens ab omni sicerat liquor se abstinerit;

XXI. Quomodo ob id omnibus cohabitantibus aspero odio habeatur et postea eius mansuetudinem dinoscentes in affectum sui animos omnium convertit;

XXII. Quomodo psalmis monasticis disciplinis gratia inlustrante inbuebatur;

XXIII Quomodo universorum proprias uirtutes imitare studebat; † (21r)

XXIII Quomodo post biennium clericatus sui heremum petuit;

XXV Quomodo a proximis habitatoribus heremi in missa sancti bartholomei usque in cugland deductus est;

XXVI Quomodo fratres resalutare dehinc hrypadun remesuit;

XXVII Quomodo rursus die .viii. kalendarum septembris qua sancti bartholomei missa celebrari solet crugland reuersus est;

XXVIII Quomodo orthonomiam uite ducebat;

XXVIII Quomodo primam temptationem desperationis a satana petulterit;

XXX. Quomodo illum satanas pseudosodalitate isiunare docuit;

XXXI Quomodo corporaliter maligni spiritus ad portas inferni illum aportarent;

XXXII Quomodo bartholomeus illic sibi apparuit et reportare illum iussit;

XXXIII Quomodo inmensa quietudine ad sedes suas ab inmundis spiritibus reportatus est;
XXXIII. Quomodo fantasticas turbas satellitum cantato primo uersu
    lxvii. psalmi fugauit;

XXXV. Quomodo prophetico spiritu funestas cogitationes alicuius
    uenientis clerici interimcre se uolentis cognoscebat;

XXXVI. Quomodo nocte quadam maligni spiritus in diuersarum
    bestiarum formis illum illum terrebant

XXXVII. Quomodo coruue cartulam in media stagni dimisit nec illum
    aequa uedere ualuerunt;

XXXVIII. Quomodo ad uocem illius alites heremi et pisces paludis
    ueniebant;

XXXIX. De hirundinibus in scapulis iesius se inponentibus;

XL. Quomodo domi sedens duas manicas a coruis sublatas
    cognoscebat et iterum restitutas predixit;

XLI. Quomodo quendam per quadriennium a maligno spiritu uexatum
    saluti restituit;

XLII. Quomodo comitem egogan subzonam suam sibi donando ab inmundi
    spiritus infestatione sanauit;

XLIII. Quomodo cuiusdam abbatis ministrorum longe repositorum
    culpam manifestando prodidit;

XLIII. Quomodo duobus clericis ad se uenientibus binas suas in uia
    abscondebant monstrauit;

XLV. Quomodo comitem postquam melo suo induit uulnere animule
    sanauit;

XLVI. Quomodo uuigfritho uerba quae illo absentee dicebat prouidenti,
    spiritu renarravit;

124 XXXIX added more roughly, without side dots; capital D in red,
    between violet Q of 123 and green Q of 125
XLVII Quomodo ab episcopo headaman officium sacerdotale accedit; † (22r)

XLVIII Quomodo ecgburge interroganti illum quis heres loci eius post se foret respondisse pertur in gente pagana fuisse nee ad hoc baptizatum;

XLVIII Quomodo exulam aethilbaldum ad se uenientem consolatus est et regnum sibi futurum promisit et inimicos suos subtus calcaneum suum redactos prophetauit;

L Quomodo agrotus temptamenta pertulerit uel quomodo de sua sepultura commendauerit quae nouissima mandata sorori commendauerit aut inter uerba orationis spiritum quomodo emisit;

LI Quomodo corpus ipsius sine corruptione post xii. menses repertum est;

LII Quomodo post obitum suum aethilbaldus tunc exuli uisione nocturna se ostendit et regnum sibi a domino per intercessionem ipsius donatum monstrauit et ad hoc confirmanda signum dedit;

LIII Quomodo omous qui tot dierum voluminibus luos a tenebris discernere nequibat tactu salis ab eo sacrati illuminatus est; †

IN NOMINE TRINO ET DIVINO INCIPIT LIBER DE VITA SANCTI GUTHLACI STRENVISSIMI AC PERFECTISSIMI ANACHORITAE
On þam dagum æhelredes þas wæran kyninges myrona. Was sum ælæs man on þære heþþode myrona rice. Se wæs hæten penwalde. He wæs þæs yldestan. 7 þæs æhelstan cynnes þe iclingas wæron genemnedæ. He wæs for worulde welig 7 mycole gestreon hæfde. 7 þa þa he welegost wæs 7 mæst gestreon hæfde. Þa gyrdæ he him his gemecocan to nymanne. He him þa ana geceas on þære medena heape þe þær fægerost wæs. 7 æhelstan cynnes. Seo wæs gehæten TETTE. 7 hi þa samod wæron ðæ pore fyrst þæt god foreseawode. Þat þæt wif mid bearne geæanod wæs. Þa se tîma com þæt hæo þæt

46 O large maroon capital 47 ðæla : Gdn em. æbelh ; heþþode : Kern em. nehþþode 51 ana : Kln, Ger em. anæ ; þære : Gdn em. þæra

1 FVIT ITAQUE in diebus æsthelredi inlustris anglorum regis quidam uir de egregia stirpe merciorum cognomine penuualh : cuius mensio in mediterraneorum anglorum partibus diuersarum rerum fluxu pre-dita constabat ;

2 Huius etiam uiri progenies : per nobilissima illustrium regum nomina ab origine icles digesto ordine ocorrit ;

3 Itaque cum iuuenilis sui uiridante uigore florebat, adoptatam sibi costaneam uirginem † inter nobilium puellarum agmina, con-decentibus † nuptiarum legibus uxorem duxit uocabulo tette : quæ a primeuis rudimenti sui diebus in puellari uerecundia uiuere studebat : * Evolutis ergo aliquorum temporum curriculis quibus se coniugalis uiræ conditionibus indicissent ; Contigit humana cogente natura. ut concipiens pregnant ; Per-

actis uero mensium epidendarum cursibus. cum parturiendi tempus

161 Ù decorated capital, length of written space; VIT large green capitals; ITAQUE violet capitals 165 ☏ green 166 antiqua omitted after nomina only in this and three most closely related texts 167 ☏ violet 169 condecentibus : MS condecentibus, ðæel condecentibus 173 ☏ green
bearn cennan solde. pa samnings com tacn of heofenum. 7 bat
bearn swytelice mid inseglum beolyde. efne men gesawon ane hand
on pam fagerestan readan hie of heofenum cumende. 7 seo hafde ane
gylde rode 7 wase steowod manegum mannum. 7 helde toward toforan
pea huses duru per bat cild inne sceended wase. Da men pa ealle be
bat gesawon piderweard efleton bat hig bat tacen swutelicor geseeon
woldon 7 ongiten. Sec hand pa gewende mid bare rode up to heofenun.
Da men pa ealle be bat tacen gesawon. hi hi pa ealle on eordan

imineret. et viscera nixandi inscis ignota violentia uexarentur: 175
extimplo prodigium diuinum celestis oraculi portentum. circum-
adstantibus et undique concurrentibus turbis uidebatur. Nam pius
omnitenens fururorum praeocius cui omnia presentia persistunt:
sigillum manifestandi militis sui interna memorationis indicium
premisit.

5 Igitur cum nascendi tempus aduenisset: mirabile dictu ecce humana
manus croceo rubri nitoris splendore fulgesens. ab areisis
olimpi rubibus ad patibulum cuiusdam crucis. ante ostium domus qua
sancta puerpera future indolis infantulum enixa est: porrecta
uidebatur.

6 Cumque insolito stupore omnes ad prospiciendum miraculum concurrere
certabant:

7 En subito signato predicto domus ostio. theeras in auras manus
reducta abscessit. Hoc novo stupefacti prodigio. omnes qui
intererant in loco sanctae apparitionis prostrati. supolies

181 I violet 186 C green 188 E violet
Transactis uero orationum deprecationibus : convertentes ad imicum uersari ceperunt : quidnam esset hoc nouum quod scrupulum multis excisuit ; Illis ergo cum inmenso stupore uariis sermocinat-ionibus multa inter se se conferentibus : ecce ex sula propiante qua supra dictus infans nascebatur . mulier inmensa velocitate currens clamabat ; stabilitote : quia futura gloria hinc mundo natus est homo : Alii uero hoc audientes : ex diuino presagio ad manifestandum nascentis gloriam . illud prodigium fuisset per-ibebant ; Alii uero sagaciioris sententiae coniecturis promere ceperunt . hunc ex diuina dispensatione in aeretum beatitudinis promia praeestinatum fore ;
men wihte wundriende be þære wisan 7 be þam taone þe þær stywed
wæs . 7 efne ðon þe sunna on setl eode . hit wæs ofer eall
middelengla land cud and mære . .II.

Da þæs ymbe sahta niht þæs þe mon þæt cild brohte to þam halgan
pœale fulwihtesbæpes . Da wæs him nama sceapen of þes cynnes
gereorde . 7 of þære þeode guplac swa hit wære of godcundlicre
stihunge gedon . þæt he swa genanmed wære . forpon swa þa wisan
leorneras seogad on angelcynne þæt se nama stanced on feawum
gewritum . GæLAC se nama ys on romanisc. beli munus . forpon
þæah he mid woruldlicre geswinec menige earfoðynse adreah . 7

Erat ergo magna admirantium turba : in tantum ut illius miraculi
uagabundus rumor priiusquam luciflua solis astra occiduis finibus
uergentur . mediterraneorum anglorum toto pene terminos impleret ; 205

Igitur decureis bis quaternis dierum uoluminis : cum ad salu-
taris lauacri sacratas undulas propinquasset . ex appellacione
illius tribus quam dicunt guhlaicingas proprietas uocabulum
uelut ex celesti consilio + guhlaec pereoepit : quod ex quali-
tatis compositione assequentibus meritis comueniebat ; Nam ut
illius gentis gnari perhibent : anglorum lingua hoc nomen ex
duobus integris constre uidentur . hoc est guth et lac : quod
romani sermonis nitore personat beli munus . quia ille cum
uitiis bellando munera eternæ beatitudinis . cum triumphali

E violet 206 I green 208 quam : MS quem 209 cele-
esti : MS celeste 213 'superabstæi uel uincibili
peah mid georyrednesse pa gife þære eoan eadignyse mid sige eoes
lifes enfengo . 7 swa mid þam apostolum cweþende . Beatus uir qui
suffert temptationem quia cum probatus fuerit †-accipiet coronam
uicte quam repromisit deus diligentibus se . pet ye on englisc .

Eadig mon bid oswa ðe se þe her on worulde manigfealdlice geswinc-
nyse 7 earfðynnysse dregded forþan mid þam þe he geostod bið and
giwencẹd . þonne onfæð he ecum beage . pet god gehet eallum
þam þe hine lufiað . After þon þe he was apwagen mid þam þweale
þas halgan fulluhtes . ðæ was he eft to þære federlican healde
gelað . 7 þær gefedd . mid þam þe seo yld com þat hit spreacan
mihte after cnihtwisar þonne was he nawiht hefig . ne unhyrum his
yldrum on wordum . ne þam þe hine feddon . manigum opbe yldræn

91 **After : Gdn After**

infāla perennis uite perepisset : seccundum apostolum dicentem :

beatus uir qui suffert temptationem : quoniam cum probatus fuerit
accipiet coronam uicte , quam repromisit deus diligentibus se ;

Postquam ergo sacrati fontis limphis spiritalibus diuino gubernante
numine abluit parentum delicta : infans mire indolentię . nobilibus
antiquorum disciplinis aulis in paternis imbuebatur ;

Igitur transcensis infantie sue temporibus : cum fari pueriliter
temptabet : nullius †-molestia parentibus nutritibus seu costaneis (25r)

215 *indignitate . and in margin i.victoria triumphus 218 p

violet
obbe gingran. Ne he onichtlice galnysse nas begangende. ne idele
spellunge follicra manna. ne angeliclice olصنع. ne less-
licetunge. ne he mistlice fugela† sangas ne wurpode. swa oft
swa onichtlicu yldo begad. Ac on his scearpnyse pet he weox.
7 weard glad on his ansyne. 7 hlutter 7 olene on his mode. 7
bilwite on his pemawum. ac on him was se soim4 gastlicore beorhtnyssse
swa swyde scinende pet salle ba men pe hine gesawon on him geseon
mihton ba ping pe him toswarder weron. Da was after sidfate pet

97 follicra: Gdn folcriora 98 fugela: MS fugelas, Gdn, Gsr
em. fugela. Kln em. fugol(sangas) 103 weron: a squat capital
with long cross stroke to fill out line

paruulorum coestibus fuit: non puerorum lasciuiae. non garrula
matronum deliramenta. non uanas uulgi fabulas. non ruricolarum
bardigiosos uagitus. non falsidicos parasitorum frivulas. non
uariorum uolucrum diversas crocitus ut adsolet illas imitabatur:

14 mansueto animo: simplici uultu: in pietate parentibus: in
oboeidentia senioribus: in defectione contactaneis. neminem
seducens. neminem increpans. neminem scandalizans. nulli malum
pro malo reddens. * equaninis utebatur;
15 Erat enim in ipso nitor spiritualis luminis radescens: ut per omnia
ommibus quid uenturus essest monstraretur;

Igitur cum adolescenti, uires increuissent: † et iuuenili in

224 deliramenta: MS i written over earlier e
225 bardigiosos:
MS bardigiosas, o over subpuncted a; *i, stultas; frivulas: MS
fribolas, v over subpuncted b, a turned into u
*i, lucens. ; *i, alaori. 228 *i, pollens
magen on him weox. 7 gestipode on his geogud. pa gemunde he pa strangan deda par e iumanna† 7 para woruldfrumena he pa swa he of swepe onwoce weard his mod oncuryred. 7 he gesomnode micole scâle 7 wered his gepoftena and his efenhæfdlingas. 7 him syl to wæpnum feng. pa † wræc he his æfpanas on his feondum. And heora burh bernde 7 heora tunas. oferhergode 7 he wide geond sorhan menigfeald wæl felde 7 sloh 7 of mannum heora æhta nam. ba was he seminga innan manod godcundlice 7 læred þet he pa word hete. ealle ba he swa he het priddan dal agifan þam mannum þe he hit er ongenæmdæ. ba was ymbe nigon winter þes þe he pa ehtynysse

sectore egregius dominandi amor fereiuss eret. tunc ualida pristinorum herorum facta reminiscens: ueluti ex sopore eugilatus mutata

ment . adgregatis satellitum turmis sese in arma convertit; Et cum aduersantium sibi urbes et uillas. uicos et castella. igne ferroque uastaret: conrasis undique diueraearum gentium sociis inmensas pradas gregasset:

Tunc uelut ex diuino consilio edoctus. tertiam partem adaggregate gase possidentibus remittebat;

Igitur transcurcis. viii. circiter annorum orbibus. ouibus per-
secutorum aduersantiumcum sibi hostium famosum excidium crebris uastationum fragoribus perregisset: tandem defessis uiribus post tot pradas. cedes. rapinasque arma triuerat;
begangende was . se eadiga GUTHLAC 7 he hine sylfne betweex hiss
andweardan middaneardes weolcan dwelode . pa gelamp sume niht mid
ham he he com of farendum wege . 7 he blys pa werigan lima reste . 115
7 he menig ping mid his mode pohte . pa was he feringa mid godes
ege onbryrd . and mid gastliore lufan his heorte innan gefylled .
7 mid by he geþohte pa ealdan kyningas pa iu wæron . he swoc þurh
earmliene þæt 7 þurh sarlione utgang . þæs mæfullan lifes þe
þæs woruld forleton . 7 pa micelan wealan þe hig er hwilon ahton .
he gesæh on hearlicynsse selle gewitan . 7 he gesæh his agen lif

Itaque cum supradiictus uir beate memorie † guthlac inter dubios (26r)
uoluentis temporis eventus . et atrae calignose uirte nebulas
fluctuantis inter seculi gurgites iactaretur :
Quadam nocte dum fessa membra solitute quieti dimitteret . et adsueto
more uagabunda mente sollicitus curas mortales intenta meditatione
cogitaret : Mirum dictu . extimpte uelut perculsus pectore . spirit-
alis flamma . omnia precordia supramemorati uiri incendere
cœpit ; Nam cum antiquorum regum stirpis sue per transacta retro
secula misirabiles exitus flagitioso uirte termino contemplaretur . 255
necon et caducas mundi diuitias contemptibilemque temporalis
uitæ gloriam perægili mente consideraret : tunc sibi proprii
daghwamlice to hæm ende efstan 7 scyndan. Hæ was he sameinga mid hæm godcundan egesan innan swa swype onbyrned. Hæ he andette gode gif he him hæs mergendages geunnan wolde. Hæ he his ðæow been wolde. Mid þy ðære nihte ðystro gewiton. 7 hit dæg was. Þa æres he 7 hine sylfne getascnode insegle cristes rode. Þa bead he his geferum. Hæ hi fundon him odeerne ealdorman 7 latteow hira geferesicpe. 7 he him andette 7 æde hæ he wolde been cristes + (21 v.) ðæow. mid ðam he his geferan þas word gehyrdon þa waron hi swipe wundriende 7 swype forhte for ðam wordum þa hi þer gehyrdon. Þa hi

obitus sui imaginata forma ostentat. et finem ineuitabilem breuis uitæ curiosa mente horrescoens. cursum quotidie ad finem cogitabat. immo etiam audisse se recordabatur. ne in hieme uel sabbato fugæ uestra fiat. Hæc et alia his similia eo oogitante:

Ecce subito instigante divino numine. se ipsum famulum dei uenturum fore si in crastinum uitam seruasset deuoet. Ergo exultis umbrose noctis caliginibus. cum sol mortalibus agris igneum demouerat ortum. et matutini uolucres suino forcie pipant. tunc induitou artus agresti de spatulo surgens arrexit. et signato cordis gremio. salutari sigillo se comitantibus preceptit. ut ducam alium itineris sui elegissant. nam se divinæ seruituti destinasse perhibebat. Hoc audito comites ipsius. inmenso per
ealle to him aluton 7 hine bedon béte he nfre ba hing swa gelése
swa he mid wordum geoweð . he ba hwæpere heora worda ne gisse . ac
béte ilce béte he er geophte béte he béte fordæstan wolde . barn him
swa swybe innan þere gode lufan béte nalæs béte an béte he þas woruld
forsæð . ac swilec his ylimena gestreone 7 his eard . 7 þa sylfand
his heafodgemacan béte he béte ealle forlet . Þa he wæs feower 7
twentiw wintra eald . Þa forlet he ealle þas woruldleng . 7
ealle his hiht on crist gesette . 7 þa after þon béte he ferde to
mynstre þe ys geoweden hrypadun . 7 þer þa gerynelican scæare onfæg .140
Sancte petres þes apostoles under ælfærde abbodysan . 7 æþðan

132 swa gelése : Ger em. swa ne gelése

culsi stupore . supplicibus observationibus : ne hoc quod dicebat
inoepisset exorabant ; qui contemptis eorum precibus : in eo quod
inoeperat inmotus perstabet ; Ita enim in illo † divinae gratiae
inflammatio flagrabet ; ut non solum regalis indolentiae reuerentiam
despiceret . sed et parentes et patriam comitesque adolescentie
sum contempset ;

Nam cum ætatis sue .xxiii. annum peragisset . abremuntians secul-
aribus pompis . spem indubitatæ fidei fixam in oristo tenebat :
exin cepto itinere relictis omnibus suis . monasterium hrypandun
usque peruenit ; in quo misticam sancti petri apostolorum proceris
tonsuram accept . sub abbatisa nomine ælfæryð ;

271 incepisset . 272 inoperat : first e tall over earlier i
274 uigesimu quartu 278 suis : caret mark with suis supplied
above
Ac deinde accepto clericali habitu: preterita piscula expiare
certatbat: Ab illo enim tempore quo apostolice tonsuræ indicium
suscepit: non ullius inebriati liquoris: aut aliquid delicati
liquaminis haustum: excepto communicationis tempore gustavit:
Hac igitur ex causa omnibus fratribus illum cohabitantibus aspero
odio habebatur: probantes autem uite illius sinceritatem: et
serenæ mentis modestiam: cunctorum animos in affectum um cari-
tatis convexit: Erat enim forma precipua: corpore ostatus:
facie decorus: mente devotus: aspectu dilectus: sapientia in-
bustus: uultu floridus: prudentia preditus: colloquio blandus:
temperantia clausus: interna fortitudine robustus: censura iustitie
stabilis: longanimitate largus: patientia firmus: humilitate
mansuetus: caritate sollicitus: Ita enim omnium uirtutum decorum
sapientia in eo adornabat: ut secundum apostolum sermo illius
semper sale divini gratiæ conditus fulgebat:

142 wætan: Gdn wætan 149 MS lacks full stop
283 delicate: MS delicatæ
Cum enim litteris edoctus psalmorum canticum discere maluisset; tunc frugifera supramemorati uiri precordia roscidis roris celestis imbris divine gratia ubertim rigabat: Summis autem prudentibus \* magistri \* auxiliante gratia divine sanctis litteris et monasticis disciplinis erudiebatur; Igitur psalmis canticis, hymnis, orationibus, moribusque ecclesiasticis per biennium inbutus: proprias singulorum secum ohabitantium virtutes imitari studebat; Illius enim oboedientiam. istius humilitatem. ipsius patientiam. alterius longanimitatem. illorum abstinentiam. utriusque sinceritatem. omnium temperantiam. cunctorum suavitatem: et ut breuis dicoam. omnium in omnibus imitabatur virtutes;

22
23
24

Deoursis itaque bis denis bis binisque alternantium mensium
under munuchade but he ba ongan wilnian westenes 7 sundersetle .
mid by he gehyrde seogan 7 he leornode be ham ancerum . he garsa
on westene 7 on sundorsettlem for godes naman wilnodon 7 heora
lif leofodon . ba was his heorte innan purh godes gifu onbryrdod .
but he westenes gewilnode . ba was sona ymbe unmanige dagas but
he him leafe bed at ham heowum be per yldest waron bet he feren
moeste . .III.

Ye on bretone lande sum fann unmetre mycolnysse but onginned fram
grante ea naht feor fram bere cestre . By ylcan nama ye nemned

162 wilmodon ; Gar em. munodon 166 .III. marcon 167 Y
green capital; 168 By ; Kin, Gar em. bare

circulis . quibus sub clericali habitu uitat inmense moderantia
peregit . hererum cum curioso ezimae sollicitudinis animo petere
mediabatur ; Cum enim prissorum monachorum solitariam uitam
legebat ; tum inluminato cordis gremio . suida cupidine hererum
ruerere feruebat ; Nec plura . interuenientibus aliquorum dierum
cursibus . cum seniorum licita uolentia . incepto sterno prosper-
itatis itinere solitudinem inuenire perrexit ;

DE HERENO PALVSTRI .

Est in meditullaneis britannic partibus inmense magnitudinis
sterrima palus ; que a groute fluminis ripis incipiens . hauft

313 *sedico 316 red capitals; beside these has been written finis in ink of underliner
granteceaster. þær synð unmetre moras hwilon sweart water steal
7 hwilon fúle ðæríbas yrnende 7 swyleg eac manige aeland 7 breod
7 beorhgas 7 treowgezwido 7 hit mid menigfealdan bigynssum widgille
7 lang † peneð 7† wunad on norðse/ mid þam se foresprecena wer 7
þære eadigan gemynde guðlaeþ † þes widgillan westenes þa ungarawan
stowe þær gemette þa wæs he mid godoundre fultume gefylst and þa
sona þan rihtestan wege þyder to geferde. þa wæs mid þam þe he
þyder com þet he frægn þa bigengoan þes landes. hwær he on þam
westene him eardungstowe findan mihte. † mid by hi him menigfeald þing
sædon be þære widgilmysse þes westenes þa wæs þatwine gehaten. † sum

169 unmetre : Gdn, Kln, Ger em. unmete 172 peneð : Gdn, Kln, 174 godoundre : Gdn, Kln, Ger em. godounde
† added as em. here after peneð 1/3 guðlaeþ, MS 177 : stop not in MS
 enumerated : Gdn, Kln, Ger em. guðlaeþ 175 godoundre : Gdn, Kln, Ger em. godounde
procul a castello cuem dicunt nomine grontē : nunc stagnis. nunc
flactris. interdum nigri flui uaporis laticibus neono et crebris
insularum memorumque interuenientibus: flexosis riuigarum anfract-
ibus ab austro in aquilionem mare tenus longissimo tractu proterd-
itur; Icitur cum supradictus uir beste memori guðlac illius
uastissimi heremi inculta loca comperisset: celestibus auxiliis
25 adiutus: rectissima callis tramite tenus usque perrexit; † Con-
tigit ergo cum a proximantibus accolis illius solicitudinis exserient-
i iam sciscitareetur: illisae plurima ipsius spatiosi heremi inculta
narrantibus: ecce quidam de illic adstantibus nomine tatsuine.

325 *1.illuo 327 s.locæ 320 flui : MS fusii, 1 above and
caret mark, s subpuncted 320 between laticibus and neo scribe
allows for hole in parchment 321 MS has in margin riuiga dicitur
ubi con/gregatur aqua
man sēde pā pes he wiste sum ealand synderlice digle pēt oft menige
men eardian ongannon. ac for menigfealdum brogum 7 egesum. 7 for
annysse pes widgillan westenes pēt hit nēnig man adreogan ne mihte.
Ac hit mēc forpan befluge. mid pām pē se halga wer gudlac pā
word gehyrde. he bēd sona pēt he him pā stowe getmhte. 7 he pā
sona swā dyde. Eode pā on scīp 7 pā ferdon begen þurh pā rugan
fennas op pēt hi comon to pāre stowe he man hateð crouland. wēs
pēt land onmiddan pām westene swā gerād geseted pes foresēdan
fennas swyðe digle. 7 hit swyþe feawe men wiston buton pām annum
pe byt him þmhte. swyle pēr nēfrē nēnig† man ār eardian ne mihte

184 swā : Gdn swa 187 fennas : Gdn, Elm em. fennes; feawe :
Gdn, Elm em. feawa 188 nēnig : MS nēnig, Gdn, Elm nēnig, Ger
em. nēnig

se scisse aliam insulam in abditis remotioris heremi nartibus con-
fitebatur: quam multi inhabitare temptantes. propter incognita
heremi monstra et diuersarum formarum terrores reprobauerunt; Quo
audio uir beat放在 recordationis gudlac. illum locum monstrari sibi
a narrante efflagitat; Ipse enim imperiis uiri dei annuens*
arrepta piscatoria scaphula. per inua lustra inter stre paludis
margines cristo uiatore ad predictum locum usque peruenit; Crug-
land dicitur insula media in palude posita. que ante paucis pro-
ppter remotioris heremi inculta uix nota habebatur; Nullus haec

333 *i.demonstrante; *i.postulat; *i.consentiens 337 *s.locas:
the other manuscripts have solitudinem after heremi
ante famulum *crísti* gluthlacum solus habitare + colonus ualebat:

propter uidelicet illic demorantium fantasies demonum + in qua

uir dei guðlac contempto hóste. célesti auxilio aditus + inter

umbrosa solitutidinis nemora solus habitare coepit; Contigit

enim déiina dispensante prouidentia: ut sancti temporibus die

quo missa sancti bartholomei uenerari debit. insulam crugland

beatus guðlac deuenisset: qui in sancti bartholomei auxilliis cum

omni fiducia heremum habitare coeperat; Ígitur adamato illius

loci abdito situ uelut a deo sibi donato: omnes dies uite sup

illic degere directa mente deuouet;

Aliquot itaque diebus illic permanens: omniaque ᾧ illius loci

---

189 GVTTHAC: Gdn, Kln, Gsr guðlac 190 guðlac: Gdn, Kln, Gsr guðlac 196 pa: Gdn, Kln, Gsr *bere* 197 by be he: Gdn, Kln by he

ante famulum *crísti* gluthlacum solus habitare + colonus ualebat:

propter uidelicet illic demorantium fantasies demonum + in qua

uir dei guðlac contempto hóste. célesti auxilio aditus + inter

umbrosa solitutidinis nemora solus habitare coepit; Contigit

nenim déiina dispensante prouidentia: ut sancti temporibus die

quo missa sancti bartholomei uenerari debit. insulam crugland

beatus guðlac deuenisset: qui in sancti bartholomei auxilliis cum

omni fiducia heremum habitare coeperat; Ígitur adamato illius

loci abdito situ uelut a deo sibi donato: omnes dies uite sup

illic degere directa mente deuouet;

Aliquot itaque diebus illic permanens: omniaque ᾧ illius loci

---

340 *célesti*: MS *célesti* 348 omniaque illius: MS omniaque, *quicumque illius, quicumque* with almost every letter subpuncted
dagens per was. ha geondscowode he ha ping pe to bære stowe
belumpon. Ha bohte he pet he eft wolde to pam mynstre feran 7
his gebroðra gretan. forban he ar fram heom ungegret gewat. Ha
pes on mergen mid pan hit dag was pa ferde he eft to pam mynstre
ha was he per hundligantig nihta mid pam broðrum. 7 ha syppan he
hig grette. he pa eft hwarf to bære stowe pes leofan westenes mid
twem onihtum. Ha was se sahtda dag pes kalendes septembres. pa
man on pa tid warðad. sancte bartholomei pes apostoles. pa se
eadiga wer guðleoc om to bære forespocrean stowe. to cruglande
forbon he his fultum on eallum pingum ærest to pam sundorsete

diligenti investigatione considerans. uersari coepit: ut ad
sodalium suorum conloquium ueniret: quos sibi eximi fraterniti-
atis caritas in gremio catholico congregatio milungebat: nam
quos ante insalutatos dimittebat. iterum salutaribus preceptis
commendare dispositu: Interea mortalibus agris lux crematina
demouerat ortum: cum ille inde agressus remanece coexerat. Itaque
interuenientibus ter trigenerum dierum curriculisis quis sodales suos
fraternis commendabat salutationibus: ad supradictum locum quasi
ad paternæ hereditatis habitaculum: binis illum comitantibus

pueris unde peruenit regressus est; Dein peracto itinere: die
.viii. kalendarum septembri quos sancti bartholomei sollemnitas
celebrari solet: in cuius suffragio omnia incoepa heremi
habitandi ex divina prouidentia inchosuerat crugland peruenit;
sohte. Hæfde he þa on ylde six 7 twentig wintra þa he ærest se
godes cempa on þam wes·ene mid heofenlicere gife geweordod gesæt.
þa sony wið þam scootungum þara werigra gasta þet he hine mid
gæstlicum wapnum ge† sceylde. He nam þone scoyl þæs halgan gastes
gælefan. 7 hyme on þære byrman gegearowode þæs heofonlican
hihtes. 7 he him dyde heelm on heafod oclanere geþpanca. 7 mid
þam strælum þæs halgan sealmsangas & singallice wið þam awerigedum
gæstum scootode 7 campode. 7 nu hwæt ys swa swibe to wundrianne

Erat ergo annorum circiter .xxvi: cum inter nebulosos remotioris
heremi luocos. cum celesti adiutorio ueri dei miles esse propos-
uit: dein precinctus † spiritalibus armis aduersus teterrimi
hostis insidias scutum fidei. loricam spei. galeam castitatis.
arcum patientiæ. sagittas psalmodiæ. sese in aciem firmans
arrripuit. Tante enim fiducia erat. ut inter torridas tartari
turmas sese contempto hoste inceret; O quam admiranda est
pa diglan mihte ures drihtnes . 7 his mildheartynesse domas . hwa
meg pa ealle asecgan . Swa se spela lareow ealra þeoda sanctus
paulus se apostol þone ure drihten almihitig god forestihtode to
godspellianne his folce . he wes ar þon ehtere his þere halgan
cyran . 7 mid þan þe he to damascum ferde þere byrig þet he wes
of þam þystrum gedwolnum abroden iudea ungeléalynsse mid þam
swage heofonlicere stefne . Swa þonne þare arwuran gemunde guðlac
of þere geþredynsse þissere worulde wes geleaded to camphade
þæs ecan lifes . IIII.

224 IIIII. metallic
diuine miserationis indulgentia . et quantum glorificanda sit
paterne dilectionis providentia . en in quantum laudanda sit
sterne deitatis predestinatio . quam inscrutabilia sunt perpetui
iudiciais arbitria ut apostolum confirmat : quam inscrutabilia sunt
iudicia eius . et investigabilia uis insius et reliqua ; Nam
sicut egregium doctorem gentium damascom pergente quem ante
secula evangelium filii sui nuntiarem predestinavit . de tenebrosa
iudorum erroris caliginis celesti uoce deduxit : sic et sancta
memoriae uirum qui guthlac . de tumido etuantis seculi gurgite .
de obliquis mortalis sui anfractibus . de atris uergentis mundi
faucibus . ad perpetuum beatiitatis militiam . ad recti itineris
callem . adueri luminis prospectum perduxit : et non solum pro-
sentis seculi famosa uenerantia beauit . sed in gudio perpetu
 glorios sterna beatitudine constituit : Sicut apostolica ueritas
deprompsit ; quos predestinavit . hos et uoccavit . et quos uoco-
avit . illos glorificavit . et reliqua ;

361 e.illum

269

QLITER IN SCISO LATERE TVMVLJ SUPERNPOSITO TVGVRIO HABITABAT: 385

VEL QUOMODO ORTOMOIAM VITAE HABVIT HEREMITALIS.

Igitur ut sancti guthlacii solitaria vita, sicut proposui scribere exordior, quas a frequentatoribus eius unilfrido et cissan audiui. eodem ordine quo conperi, easdem rei narrare curabo; (31V)

Erat itaque in prafata insula tumulus agrestibus glebis coaeervatus; us; quem olim suari solitudinis frequentatores, erga causam lucrum illic defodientes adquirendi scindebant; in cuius latere uelut
cisterna in esse uidebatur; in qua uir beat, memori, guthlac desuper inposito tugurio habitare coeperat; Vite scilicet illius

hsec inmota ortonomia fuit; ita ut ab illo tempore quo heremum

habitare coeperat, non laneo nec lineo uestimine, nec alterius

cuiuscumque delicate uestis tegminibus usus est; sed in pellic-
esis uestibus omnes dies solitarum conversationis suæ exigebat;

385, 386 red. except 1, black revision punctuation 387 1 green

1 Homily opens with large capital on eighth line of folio 133V and is preceded by one empty line
7 wolde: Ger. em. wolde

133V
Be þam halgan were hu he eardode on þære stowe.

ONGINNE IC NU BE ÞAM LIFE ÞAES EADIGAN WERES guðlacæs swa swa ic
gehyrde scegan þa þe his lif ouden. wilfrid. 7 CISSA. þonne
secge ic swa after þære endebyrdnysse. þæs þer on þam ealande sum
blaw mycel ofer eorðan geworht þone† ylean men þu geara for feos
wilmunga gedulfon þæs bræcon. þa þæs þer on óþre sidan þæs hlawas
gedolfen swylce mycel waterseed ware. On þam seade ufán se eadiga
ver guðlac him hus getimbrode. sona fræm fruman þæs þe he þæt
ancersetel þægæt. þa þegþote þe þæt he þæt he nador ne wyllenes hregles. (23v)
ne línnenes brucan wolde. ac on fellenum gegyrelan þæt he wolde
calle his dagas his lifes alifian. 7 he hit swa fordægelæstendæ wæs .235

Was þæs þer in þam sprecean ðæs eġlandæ sum mycel blaw of eorðan geworht
þone ylean blaw in geara men bræcon 7 dulfon for feos þingum .
þæs þæs þer on ðære sidan þæs hlawes gedolfen swylce mycel
secæ þæs þam secæ ufán se eadiga werd guðlac him hus 7 eardung-
stowe getimbroðe. sona fræm þæs þæs þe he þæt ancersetel
þægæt þæs þegþote þe þæt he nawðr þara ne wyllenes hregles ne
linnenes brucan wolde. ac on fellenum gegyrelan þæt he wolde
calle dagas his lifes alifigæan 7 he hit swa fordægelæste. 

225 red 226 0 large red capital, followed by black capitals
filling line 228 . This stop not in MS 229 þone : MS
bôn, Gdn, Gar þone 230 hlawæ : Gdn em. hlawæ 231 0 half
size red capital, outside writing space 233 ancersetel : Gdn,
Gar em. ancersetel
Cotidiane ergo uit ipsius tanta temperantia fuit: ut ab illo
tempore quo heremum habitare cooperat. excepta ordeaeii panis
particula. et lutulenta aquae poculamento. post solis occasum
nullius alicuius alimenti iusbus uesceretur. Nam cum sol occiduis
finibus uergeretur: tunc annonam paruam mortalis uti cum gratiarum
actione gustabat;

QUALITER ILLVM ZABVLVS INSTIGATIONIBVS DESPERATIONIS TEMPTAVIT •

Sub eodem denique tempore quo prefatus uir beatu memoriæ heremitari
initiatuit: cum quadam die adsueta consuetudine. psalmis. cant-
icisque incumberet: tunc antiquus hostis prolis humanæ. cee leo
rugiens per uasti aetheris spatio. tetra numina commotens. nouas
artes nouo pectore uersat: Cum enim omnes nequitiae suæ uires
uersata mente temptaret: tunc ueluti ab extenso arcu uene
fluam desperationis sa:ittam totis uiribus iaculavit. quousque
in cristi militis umbone defixa pependit: Interea cum telum
toxicum atri ueneni sucum infunderet: † tum miles cristo totis

---

10 begun: Gar indicates MS loss here, but see commentary 15 ba: Gar inserts after ba pronoun his 16 of bendum 7 of brogan: Gar em. of gebendum bogan: was his costunge 3a he 3a ham earhinnendan strele: Gar em. 3a he 3a his costunge strele
Aloes dage was his bigeofan swylo to gereorde of þære tide þe he
þat westen eardigan ongan þat he nawiht ne onbyrigde buton berene
hlaef 7 water. 7 bonne sumne was on setle. bonne þigedæ he þæs
andlyfenes þe he bigeofode. Sona þæs þe he westen eardigan
ongan. Þa gelam þæs sume dage mid þan gewunelican þæawe his
sealm sang 7 his gebedum befeal. Þa se ealda feond mancyynes
efne swa grýmetigende leo. Þat he his costunga attor wide
todælde. Mid þy þe Þa his yfelynesse wægan. 7 grýmynesse attor[^1]
þat he mid þan Þa menniscan heortan wundode. Þa semninga swa
he of gebendum bogan his costunge streale on þam mode gefastnode
þæs cristes ceumen. Þa he Þa se eadiga wer mid þære gestredan
streale gewundod wæs. þæs werigelgan gastes. Þa wæs his mod

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>236</th>
<th>to gereorde</th>
<th>Gdn. Gar em. gemetegung</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>237</td>
<td>berene</td>
<td>Gdn em. berenne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>238</td>
<td>þæs</td>
<td>Gdn. Gar em. þæs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>239</td>
<td>andlyfenes</td>
<td>MS andlyfenes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>240</td>
<td>mid þan</td>
<td>Gdn. Gar em. mid þan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>241</td>
<td>mancyynes</td>
<td>Gdn. Gar em. mancyynes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

aloes dage was his ondleofenes swylo gemetegung of þære tide þe
he þat westen ærest eardigan began. Þa gelam þæs sume dage
mid þy þe he by gewunelican þæowdome his sealmas sang 7 his
gebedum âttealh. Þa se ealda feond mancyynes gengde geond þat
greywang. swa grýmetende leo. þat he his costunga attor wide
gêondstrægde. Mid þy þe þa yfelnes wægan 7 his grimnesse attor
teldæd þat he mid þy ætre Þa menniscan heortan wundal Þa
semninga swa he of bendum 7 of brogan wæs his costunge Þa he Þa
þam earhwinnendan streale on þam mode gefastnode þæs cristes
ceumen. Þa he Þa se eadiga wer mid þære gestredan streale
gewundod wæs. þæs werigelgan gastes. Þa wæs his mod
sensibus turbatus . de eo quod inceperat desperare coepit : et hoc
illocque turbulentum animum convertens . quo solo sederet nesciebat ;
Nam cum sua ante commissa crimina immensi ponderis fuisset medit-
abatur : tuno sibi de se abluer e non posse uidebatur ; In tantum
enim desperare coepit : ut infinitum et importabile opus se incep-
isse putassest ; Dein cristi famulus trium dierum uicissitudinibus .
quo se uerteret nesciebat ; Die autem tertio aerrenti nocte . cum
ualidissimus miles cristi rubusta mente pestiferis meditationibus
resisteret . uelut propheticu spiriu psallere coepit . in tribul-
atione inuocaui dominum . et relicu ; Eoce beatus bartholomeus

415 inceperat : MS first e changed from i
417 *s.ea

26 afterfyllendan : Gar em. after-
 erylgandan 27 eft : Gar em.
eine
The text is largely in Middle English, with occasional Latin words. It appears to be a religious or historical text, possibly a manuscript or a transcription of one. The text includes references to saints, prayers, and religious ceremonies. The page number 274 is annotated in the margin, and there are occasional Latin phrases interspersed throughout the text. The text seems to be discussing the lives and actions of saints, possibly focusing on their prayers and the duties they perform, as indicated by words like "prayer," "trust," and "sang." The text could be part of a larger manuscript or religious work, given the context and the style of writing.
fidus auxiliator in matutinis uigilios seco coram obtutibus obtulit 425
illius : nec sopor illud erat : sed palam splendentis calicis
agnuit uultum ; Igitur uir prefatus ueluti miles inter densae
acies dimicans : cum coeleste adiutorium angelici lucis adventasse
persensisset : extemplo discussis nefandarum cogitationum nebulae :
inluminato turbulentis pectoris gremio : uelut triumphali uoce
psallebat aenien ; dominus mihi adiutor est : et ego uidebo inimicos
seos ; Exin sanctus bartholomeus coram eo persistens : illum
preceptis spiritualibus confortare coepit : pollicens ei in
omnibus tribulationibus adiutorem sui uenturum se fore ; Sanctus
autem Guthlac his auditis et creditis fidelissimi amici sui dictis . 435
spiritali gaudio repletus : indissolutam eximiae ualitudinis spem
in domino iegu defixit ; Nam ex primit certaminis triumphali
successu : spem future glorie . uictoriae robusto pectore firmabat ;
Ex illo enim tempore numquam adversus illum desperationis
arma arripuit : quia ab illo semel infracta contra illum ultra
preualere nequieverunt ;

32 on engeliore, MS ongelio : Car
em. on engeliore 34 guman : Car
indicates loss of material here
35 hom : Car em. he 39 wide
geseonde, MS wídefeonde with g writ-
ten in over e of wide : Car em.
wide gefeonde 41 wir hine : Car
omits in emendation
him to com sanctus BARTHOLOMEVS. 7 nālas þet he him on sleþ  
etywde ac he ðæccende þone apostol on engellioræ fægernesse gesæah  
7 sceawode 7 he ðæ sanæ se eadigæ wer guðlac swæþe blæþæ ðæs  
ðæs heofonlican ðæman 7 him sanæ his heorte 7 his gebænæ eall  265  
æþæ onlihtæd 7 he ðæ hrydelice ðæ yfelæn 7 ðæ twyfealdæn geþæhtæ  
forælt. 7 hine se heofonlican cuma fæfræðe. sanctus bartholomeus.  
and hine mid wordum tryæðæ 7 strængæðæ 7 hine hæt þet he ne  
tweæðæ ac þæ þæt he wære ænæðæ 7 þæ þæt he him on fultæmæ boæn  
wolæ on eallæm his earæðæm. ðæ se hælægu guðlac þæs word gehyræðæ  270  
his þæs geþæowan freðæðæs. ðæ wæs he mid gastlæcæ blæþæ  
geþællæðæ. 7 his geælæfan fæste on god sylfænæ getryæðæ. 7 fæstæðæ.  
______________________________________________________________________________  
  
264 swæþæ : Gdn swæþæ  

getrywa fultæm him to com sanctus bartholomeus 7 nālas þet he him  
on sleþ ætywde ac he ðæccende þone apostol on en gelæcæ fægernesse  
gesæah 7 sceawode 7 he wæs ðæ sanæ se eadigæ wer swæþæ feæonde  
þæs heofonlican ðæman, fæfræðæ hine ðæ sanctus bartholomeus  
7 hine mid wordum tryæðæ 7 strængæðæ 7 hine hæt þet him ne  
tweæðæ no ac þæt he wære ænæðæ 7 he him on fultæmæ boæn wolæ  
in eallæm his earæðæm. ðæ he se hælægu guðlac þæs word gehyræðæ  
his þæs getrywan freðæðæs. ðæ wæs he on gastlæcæ blæþæ 7  
heofoncundæ gife swæþæ gefæææðæ. 7 his geælæfan fæste in god  
sylfænæ getryæðæ 7 fæstæðæ. syðdan seo tæd wæs þet næfre þæt  
deæææ æft wæþæ hine þære æræðææ æþæææ on hine sceætæðæ.
QUOMODO ILLVM ZAVVLVS PSYCHOSOMDALITATE IEIVSV DOCERE TEMPTAVIT.

Quadam quoque die sum de conversacionis sua cotidiano moderamine meditaretur: subito coram illo uelut ex aere lapsi effereis uultibus duo zatuli: humano habitu se obtulerunt: ac ueluti cum familiae fiducia loqui cum illo exorsae sunt dicentes: nos experti sumus te: et fidei tuae ualitudinem conperimus: perseverantiamque tuæ immiscibilem probantes: uariarum artium adversus te arma suscepimus: propterea insultare tibi ultra desistere conamus: et non solum propositi tui ortonias dis-rumpere nolamus: sed te antiquorum heremitarum conversationes erudiemus: Moyses etenim et helias: et ipse humanae prosapiæi,

43 libban: geometricost stands at the end of a MS line and libban is supplied as em. Car here supplies lifian and also gode after he 43 unoferswïde, MS nu oferswïde: Car records nu oferswïde which he em. unoferswïde 48 bec, MS mec mec : Ger em. þæ; þene ic: Ger em. Þen is 50 þær: Car em. þæs; þær: Car em. þæs 52 þr: Car reads ðæst
Swylo eac gelamp on sumne sal. mid ðy he be þere drohtunge
smeade his lifes. hu he gode geowemlicost mihte lybban. þa
comon semminga twegen deoflu to him of þere lyfte slidan 7 pa to + 275 (24V)
him cuðlice spreocon 7 cwedon. We syndon gewisse pines lifes 7
pines geleafan trumnesse we witon. 7 eac þin gehylde we cunnun
unoferswipde. 7 þer we þin fanddon. 7 costodon. þet we mid
manigfealde créfta úra wépna wið þe sendon. We nu heononforð
nellað þe leng swencan ne þe bysorian. nales þet an þet we þe
þes nu nellað lettan þes þu ær gedoht hæfdæst. Ac we þe eac
wyllað seogan be þam sallum þe inu geara westene eardedon. hu hi
heora lif leofodon. Moyses ærest 7 helias hi feston. 7 swyloce
saluator. primo omnium ad ieiunii fastigia conscenderunt: sed et famosi illi monachi habitantes aegyptum humanae infirmitatis uitia. in abstinentiis framea interimebant; Et ideoque si tu uis ante commissa crimina abluere et imminentia necare; carmem tuam abstinentiis flagellis adflige: et animi tui oleantiam ieiunii frange farcibus; Quanto enim in hoc seculo frangeres. tanto in perpetuum solidarius: et quanto in presenti adfligeris. tanto in futuro gaudebis; Nam cum in ieiunio prostratus iacueris. tune excelsius coram deo eleuaris;

460 *ste 458 farcibus: fascibus in some other texts
eac se helend ealles middaneardes on westene he fæste. 7 eac
swyloc e æaran munecas e æ mid aegiptum æran 7 ær on westenum
wunedon. þa þurh heora forhæfndynesse on heom ealle uncyste
ofaslogon 7 æcowealdon. ponne gif þu þat wilnaest þat þu of þe þa
ergefremedan synna æwæcan wylt ponne scealt þu þinne lichaman
þurh forhæfndynesse wæccan forpon swa mycole swa þu þe her on worulde
swyþor swincst swa þu eft byst on eonysse fæstlicor getrymed. 7
swa mycole swa þu on þisum andweardan life ma earfoða dreigast.
swa mycole þu eft on toweardnesse gefehst. 7 ponne þu on fæsten
her on worulde gestihst. ponne bist þu ahafen for godes eagan.

---

eac se helend ealles middaneardes in westene he fæste 7 swyloc
eac ða æaran munecas ðe æ mid aegiptum æran 7 ðær in westenum
earðodan. ða ðe þurh heora forhæfndnessse in him eallum uncysta
ofaslogon 7 æcowealdon. ponne gif ðu þes wilnaest þat ðu of þe ða
æræþæran fremednesse yfelra þeahtra ofæðæþæ þonne scealt þu
þinne lichaman þurh forhæfndnesse wæcean forþan swiðor swa ðu
ðe her on worulde wecst 7 weccoest to forgifenesse hinra gylda
swa þu ponne eft bist in eonessum getrymed fæstlicor 7 swa micle
swiðor swa þu on þysan andweardan life ma earfoða dregeost swa
micle þu eft in towyrndnesse gefist. þonne þu bist on fæsten
her on worulde astreaht ponne byst ðu ahafen for godes eagan
ieiunium ergo non bidui aut tridui aut cotidiane abstinentiae
castimonia sit; sed septenariarum dierum valida castigatio
ieiunium est; Sicut enim sex diebus deus mundi plasmam form-
suit. et septimo die requieuit: ita etiam hominem decet sex
diebus per ieiunii plasmam spiritu reformari: et septimo (34)
die comedendi carni requiem dare; His auditis beatus guthlac:
exurgens psallebat;convertedur inimici mei retrorsum et
reliqua; Quo facto: hostis strofusus uelut fumus a facie eius
uacuas in auras euamuit; Ille uero zubuliticum magisterium des-
463 *tibi; *ital. septiminarum
465 469 frate
470

64 a: Ger em. an 66 fyrate: Ger em. fyrtestes 69 syx: Ger em. hurh
syx 70 ba: Ger ba
forpon pin fasten ne seofan beon þat an twegra daga fyrist oppe þeora
oppelice dæge þat þu de swa on swa tela mycole forhæfðynesse ahebbe. ac 295
on seofon nihta fyriste faste þ ne bip to olænsigeanne þone man. Swa 296
(on six dagum ærest god ealles middangeardes framhynesse geðiwode 7
gæfrætwode. 7 on þam seofofan he hine reste. Swa þonne gedæfenað
þam þe gelice þurh six daga fasten þone gast gæfrætwian. 7 þonne
þy seofofan dag mete þyogan 7 his licheman restan. Þa se eadiga
wer guðlaes þas word gehyrde. þa aras he sóna 7 to gode olypode 7
hyne gebed þus cwæð. Syn mine fynd min drihten god þ on hinder
gceyrde. forpon io þe ongite 7 ononawe forpon þe þu eart min sceppend.
þa sóna æfter þam wordum se awyrigeda gast efne swa smic beforan
his ansyne æidlode. Þe þa forseah þa deofollican lær. for þam

295 on swa tela : Gdn, Ger em. swa on tela 296 on : MS caret
mark and on supplied above 299 þam be : Ger em. þam man
300 deg : Gdn em. deg ; his licheman : Gdn em. bone lichaman

førðan pin fasten ne seofan beon þat a twega daga fyrist odde þeora
oddelice dæge þat þu de swa on teala micelre forhæfðynesse ahebbe. 65
ac on seofon nihta fyriste fasten bíd þo olænsigeanne þe man - swa
on syx dagum ærest god ealles middangeardes framhynesse geðiwode
7 on þam seofofan hine reste - swa þonne gedæfenað þane man
gelice syx daga fasten þone gast gæfrætwigean 7 þonne þy seofofan
dæge mete þyogan 7 his licheman restan. Þa þa þa se eadiga wer
þas word gehyrde. þa aras he sóna 7 to gode olypode 7 hyne
gæbed þus cwæð. Min drihten god syn mine fynd æ on hinder
gceyrred. forðan io þe ongite 7 geþence. forðan þu eart min
sceppend. þa sóna se awyrigeda feond efne swa rec beforan his
ansyne æidlode. Þe þa sóna forseah þa deofollican lær. forðan
piciens . ne ullus locus consentiendi illis in eo uideretur :
tunc adsumpta ordeacii panis particula . uictum suum quotidianum
uesci coepit : Maligni uero spiritus contemptos se esse intelli-
egentes : lacrimoso clamore . flebili ululatu . diuersisque
singultibus plangentes : late loca mexitis questibus impleuerunt ;
Exinde uir dei innrundorum spirituum fantasmate percepto : ubique
certandi brauoio contempsit ;

3/ QVOMODO CORPALITER MALIGNI SPIRITUS AD PORTAS INFERNI ILLVM

ASPORTAVERVNT ♦

Per idem fere tempus pecuis interuenientibus dierum cursibus . cum
uir beate memoria guthlacus adsueto more uigil ininterrissis oratio-
tionibus cuiusdam noctis intempesto tempore perstaret : en subito
teterrimis inmundorum spirituum ceteruis . totam cellulam suam
impleri conspexit ; Subeuntibus enim ab undique illis : porta

---

76 bre, MS hie : Ger em. he: idle : supplied above script in MS with caret marking its place 80 but : cross-stroke through h is partly obscured in facsimile 82 dyde, MS dyde /him for naht dyde. : Ger omits one instance of phrase in emendation; unmanega : Ger em. unmanega 86 him : Ger em. hie
he ealle ydele ongeat. Ac pa feng medmyoclan bigleofan.

pat was to pam berenan hlaf e. 7 bote pigede 7 his lif bileofode.

Ba pa awrigedan gastas pat ongeaton pat he hig ealle forhodode 7
heora lara. hig pa pat mid wependre stefne sorhgodon. pat hi
oferswilde woren. 7 se eadiga wer swa gesigefestod weard pat he
pa bysmornesse forhodode heora lara 7 heora oostunga. Swylice eac
gelamp on sumne sal ymb unmanige dagas pat he wæcoende pa niht
on halgum gebedum wunode. pa on þere nihte stilnyesse gelamp
seminga. pat þær comon mycelen meniu þara awrigedra gesta. 7 hi
eall pat hus mid heora cyrne fyldon. 7 hi on ealce healf Inguton

306 ydele: MS scribe has added idel above; feng medmyoclan: Gdn
em. feng to medmyoclan, Gr em. feng to pam medmyoclan

he† pa ealle idle 7 unnytte ongeat. Ac pa feng to þere teala
myclan andleofone pat was to pam berenan hlaf e 7 bote gepygde 7
his feorh bigferede a da pa werigan gastas pis ongeaton pat he
forhodode hie 7 heora lara. hie pat mid wependre stefne bæmurnon
7 wide geond pat land wædon 7 he se eadige wer swa gesigefestod
pa bysmornesse ealle forhodode þara werigra gesta 7 him for naht
dyte†. Swylice eft gelamp on sumum sal ymb unmanega dagas þas be
he guðlaoc by gewunelican þeowdom wæcoende pa niht in halgum
gebedum wunode. pa on þere nihte stilnesse gelamp seminga pat
þær com micel menego þara werigra gesta 7 hie eal pat hus
míd heora cyrne gefyldon. 7 him on þæce healf Inguton
patebat; Nam per criptas et cratulas intrantibus: non iunctura 485
ualuxrum, non foramine cratium illis ingressum negabant: sed
colo terraque erumpentes: spatium totius aeris fuscis multibus
tegebant; Erant enim aspectu truces: forma terrible: capite-
ibus magnis: collibus longis: macilenta facie: lurido uultu:
squalida barba: curibus hispidis: fronte torua: trucibus 490
oculis: ore foetido: dentibus equinuis: gullure flammiuomo:
faucibus tostis: labro lato: uocibus horrisonis: oomis (35)
obustis: bucilla crassa: pectore arduo: femoribus scabris:
genibus nodatis: curibus uncis: talo tumido: plantis sueris:
ore patulo: clamoribus raucis: Horrecoer audisbantur: ut totam 495
pene ut oelo in terram inter-
capedinem clangisonis boatibus implerent: Nec mora ingruentes

495 *haesrumelum* 497 *i, clamoribus: *s, erat: *inrumpentes
496 *hlyban*

87 on onyne, MS onyne: Ger em. on
oneye 88 heafdu: Ger inserts miele
before heafdu: manigre: Ger em.
mgere 93 tan: Ger tan
ufan 7 neofan 7 ughwonen . hi foron on onsyne egelice and & hig (25)

heafdon mycel eheada . 7 langle sweoran . and manigre onsyne . hi
foron fulice 7 foryrme on heora bearded . 7 ruge earan . 7 hi
heafdon woh nebb 7 redlice eagan . 7 fule mudas . 7 heora topas
foron gelice horses twuxan . 7 him foron pa proton mid lige gefyld. 320
7 hi foron onegestlice on stefne . hi heafdon woge secancan . 7
myceloneovu . 7 hindan greate . 7 miscroct tan . 7 hrunigendum
stefnum . and hi pa swa ungemetliche gestundum foron 7 swa.
unmetlicre ege pat him puhte pat hit eall betweoch heofone 7
eordan hleodrode pam aegslicum stefnum . nas manig yldend to 325

317 manigre : Gdn, Gar em. megare 318 7 ruge earan . 7 hi
heafdon woh nebb 7 : Gdn, Gar em. 7 hi heafdon ruge earan 7 woh nebb
7 322 7 miscroct tan : Gdn reads miscroctton; Gdn, Gar em.
unmiscrocentan 323 hrunigendum : Gdn, Gar em. hrymedon on;
unmetlicre : Gdn, Gar em. ungemetlicum 324 unmetlicre :
Gdn, Gar em. ungemetlic

ufan 7 neofan 7 ughwonen . wfron hie on onsyne† egeslice 7 heafdon
haefd 7 langle sweoran 7 manigre onsyne . foron fulice † 7 (135)

orförme on haerd. 7 heafdon ruge earan 7 woh nebb .
egeslice eagan 7 ondryselice mudas . 7 heora ted foron horses
90
twux gelice 7 him foron pa hracan lige afyllled 7 hie foron
ondryselice on stefne . 7 hie heafdon woge secancan 7 micle oncowo
7 hindan greate 7 mismatchtan . 7 has hrymedon on heora
oleopunge 7 hie swa ungemetlice hrymedon 7 foran mid forhtlicum
egesum ungbwernessum pat hit puhte pat hit eall betweoch heofone
95
7 eordan hleodrode pam aegslicum stefnum . nas pa manig ylding to
domum ac castellum : dicto citius uirum dei prefatum ligatis membris : extra cellulam suam duxerunt : et adductum in atrum paludis coenosis laticibus inmerserunt : Deinde assportantes illum per paludis asperrima loca : inter densissima uesprium uimina ; dilaceratis membrorum compaginibus trahebant : Inter h-c cum magnum partem umbrosa noctis in illis adflictionibus exigebant : sistere illum paulisper fecerunt : imperantes sibi ut de heremo discedisset : Ille stabilita mente : tandem respondens prophetico uelut ore psallebat : dominus a dextris

500 *s.cum 502 dilaceratis : MS dilaceratis

103 bindan, MS binden with n sub- and superpuncted 104 ana, with second a apparently on erasure 105 hine : not in MS and supplied in em. by Ger 106 wécan : Ger wécan
bam bæt syþran hi on bæt hus comon hi þa sôna þone halgan we

eallum limum gebundem un hine tugon 7 lædon ut of þere cy
tan. And hine þa lændon on þone sweartan fenn 7 hine þa on þa
orwehtan weter bewurpon 7 besencton. efter þam hi hine lædon on
þam redum stowum þæs westenes betuh þa biccan gewrido þara
bremela þæt him wes eall se lichoma gewundod. Mid þy hi þa lange
on þære bystrange hine swa swencton þa læton hi hine ane hwile
abidan. 7 gestandan. † heton hine þa þæt he of þam westene gewite
oppe gif he þæt nolde þonne woldon he hine mid maran bysmurum swencan
7 costian. He þa se eadiga wer gudlac heora worda ne gynde. so
he mid witigende mûde þus cwæð. Dryhten me ys on þa swyþran

329 orwehtan : Gdn. Ger em. horwihtan 332 swa : Gdn swa
333 ð not in manuscript
est mihi non commuear; Dein iterum adsumentes: flagellis ueluti ferreis eum uerberare coeperunt; Cum autem post innum-
erabilia tormentorum genera. post flagellarum ferrearum uerbera: illum inmota mente. robusta fide. in eo quod incep-
erat persistere uiderent: horridis alarum stridoribus: inter nubifera gelidi aeris spatia illum subuehere coeperunt; Cum ergo ad ardua aeris culmina deuentum est: horrendum dictu. ecce septemtrionalis cali plaga fuscis atrorum nubium caligin-
ibus nigrescere uidebatur; Innumerabiles enim inmundorum spirituum alas in obuia illis de hinc uenire cerneres; Coniunctis itaque in unum turmis. cum inmenso clamore leues in auras iter uertentes: supramemoratum cristi famulum guth-
lacum ad nefanetas + tartari fauces uoque perducunt; Ille uero

516 *mutavit personam patientis in personam legentis.
healfe forpon io ne beo oncyrrred fram þe. Þa after þam þa
awerigedan gastas hine genamon 7 hine swungon mid isenum swipum.
7 Þa after þon hi hine læddon on þam ongyrylican fiderum betwur þa
cealdan faca þere lyfte. Þa he þa was on þere heannysse þere lyfte. 340
þa geseah he salne nordål heofones. swylce he wore þam sweartestan
wolcnum ymbseald swidlicra þeostra. Þa geseah he færinga unmeta
werod þera awerigedra gasta him ongean cuman. 7 hi þa sona þer
tosomne gegaderodon. and hi þa sona selle þone halgan wer gełeodon
to þam sweartum tintrohestowum helleduru hi hine gebrohton. Þa he 345

healfe forðam io ne beo oncyrrred. þa after þam þa werigan gastas
hine genamon 7 hine swungon mid isenum swipum. 7 Þa after þam hine
læddon in þam andrysenlicum fiderum betuw Þa caldan facu þere lyfte. 410
þa he þa was on þere heannesse þere lyfte up geleded þa geseah he
salne nordål heofones swylce he wore þam sweartestum wolcnum
afylled swidra genipa. þa geseah he seminga þer Þa andrysenlican
fideru ongen cuman þara werigra gasta 7 unmeta werod hyra þer
coman togenes 7 hie sona þer tosomne gebýddon. hie þa sona þone 115
halgan wer gełeodon to þam sweartum tintreges gomum helledures. Þa he
fumigantes • estuantis inferni ceteras prospectans : omnia

tormenta quae prius a malignis spiritibus perpetuus est :
tamquam non ipse pateretur obliuiscibatur ; Non solum enim

fluctuantium flammarum igniumos gurgites . illio turgescere
cerneret : immo etiam sulphurei glaciali grandine mixti

uortices globosis spargaribus sidera pene tangentes unde-

bantur ; Maligni ergo spiritus inter familiam uoramum

atras cavemnas discurrentes : miserabile fatu . animas impiorum

diversis cruciatum generibus torquetabant ; Igitur uir dei
guthlac cum immemorables tormentorum species horresceret .

satellitum sibi uselut ex uno ore turma clamabant dicentes ;

ecce nobis potestas data est : te trudere in has poenas :

520 ceteras : cavemnas in many other texts 525 *iuoragines

acqua- gloss in outer margin of 36 : Tria sunt flamna inferni .

acheron quod sine gaudio interpretatur . ex quo nascitur secundum

stix i . tristitia rursus exista ortur coidus quod luctas in-

terpretatur

117 brosmas , MS bismas : Gdn suggests

brosmas 118 ogergeotol , MS was ofer

goteotol : Gsr omits was in em . 120 7 :

Gsr em . ae ; recetunge , MS receastunge :

Gsr recetas tunge 122 inhruron , in MS

h supplied above with caret marking its

place 123 tintregudon , MS tintregud :

Gsr em . tintregudon 124 wyta : Gsr

vita 126 owndon : Gsr owdon ; soufan-

ne : Gsr reads scaufanne which he em .

scufanne
pa þær geseah þa fulnyse þæs smyces 7 þa byrnenda lega 7 bone
ège þære sweartan deophyse. he þa sana wæs forgitimende ealra þara
rintrega 7 þæra wita þæ he fram þam awyrgeolum gæstum ær dreah 7
apolode. hi þa sana þæ awyrgeðan gæstas betwux þa grimliccan lege
inhruron 7 seollon. 7 þær þara ærleasra mannæ sawlá mid manig-
fealdum witaum getintregodon. Þa se eadiga GVTHLAC þa micelnyse
geseah þara witu. þæ wæs he for þara ægän swyde afyrht. Þa
cleopodon sana þæ awyrgeðan gæstas mid micelre cleopunge 7 þas
cwædon. us ys miht geseald þæ to sceofanne on þas witu ðisse

346 byrnenda : Gdn em. byrnendan 349 lege : Gdn, Ger em.
lege 352 witu : Gdn, Ger em. wita

 þær geseah þa smicendan brosmasþ þara byrnendra lega 7 bone ege þære
sweartan nywylnesse. he þa sana wæs þþ ofergerotol ealra þara tintrega (135þ)
þæ he fram þam werigum gæstum ær dreah 7 drefde 7 nalas þæt ðæ þæ he
þær þæ leglican hýde þæs fyres uppyddan geseah 7 eac þa fulan resce– 120
tungeþ swefles þær geseah upgeotan. hie þa sana þa werigan gæstas
betwux þa grimlican ligeas inhruron 7 seollon 7 þær þæ sawla
ærleasra mannæ manigfealdum tintregum tintregudonþ þæ he se eadiga
wer guðlac geseah þa micelnesse þara wyta 7 hine for þy ege swiblice
onhræc þa olypedon hie sana þa werigan gæstas micelre olypunge 125
7 þas cwædon. us ys miht seald þæ to sceofanne on þas witu þysse
et illic inter atrocissimarum gehennarum tormenta uariis

cruciatibus nobis te † torquere commissum est ; En ignis quem

accendisti in delictis tuis te consumere paratus est ; en

tibi patulis hiatibus igniflua herebi ostia patescunt ; Nunc

stigi fibres te uorare malunt ; tibi quoque aestiui acherontis

uoragines horrendis faucibus hiscunt ; Illis hoc et alia

plurima his similis dicentibus : uir dei minas eorum despiciens . immotis sensibus . stabili animo . sobria mente .

respondens aiebat ; uobis filiī tenebrarum . semen cain .

fauillē cineris : si uestrē potentiō sit istoris me tradere

poenis . en presto sum : ut quid falsiuomis pectoribus uanas

minas depromitis ? Illis uero ueluti ad trudendum illum

in presentium tormentorum gehennas sese precingentibus :

eoec sanctus bartholomeus cum inmenso caelestis lucis splendore

medias furuē notable infuso lumine interrumpens tenebras :

533 *ilicitum

130 tuddor : Ger em. tuddre 132 hwan
mid : Ger em. hwan sceolon ge mid
deopnyse • 7 her pet fyr pet bu sylfa on pe onberendest • 7 for 355
pirim synnum 7 gyllum • helleduru pe ongean openad • Mid by ba
awyrgedan gastas pisum wordum beotodon • Ba andswerde he heom pus.
7 cwead • wa eow peostra bearn 7 forwyrede tuddre • ge syndon dust • (26v)
7 acsan • 7 ysela • hwa sealde eow earman pet ge min ahton geweald
on has witu to sendanne • hwet ic her eom • andweard • 7 gearu • 360
andbidige mines drihtnes willan • for hwon sceolon ge mid eowrum
leasum beotingum me agsian • Hig ba bona ba awyrgedan gastes to pam
eadigan woldon swylce hi hine per in sceofan woldon • Ba semminga
com se heofones bigenges sa halga apostol sanctus BARTHOLOMEVS mid
heofonliore byrhtnyse • and wuldre scinende • betuwax ba dimnyse 365

355 7 her pet fyr : Gdn em. 7 her is pet fyr 358 bessu : Ger
em. bearnum; tuddre : Gdn em. tudder 361 andbidige, MB
bidige; mines : Gdn nimes 362 gastes : Gdn em. gastes

neowolnesse 7 her pet fyr pet bu sylfa in pe berndest 7 for pirim
synnum helleduru ongen pe openad • mid by ba wa werigea gastas
byssum wordum spremeon 7 him swa to beotodon ba andawrude he him
7 him to cwead • wa eow pystra bearnum 7 forwyrede tuddor • ge
syndon dustes acsan • hwa geaf eow ymungum pet pet ge min
geweald ahton in has witu to sendanne • Hwet ic eom her andweard
7 earo 7 hide mines dryhtnes willan • for hwan [*]mid eowrum
leasum beotingum me bregian • his ba werigan gastas hine to ham
ggegearwodon • swylce hine man ber in scufan wolde • ba semminga 135
com se heofones bigenga • se haliga apostol • sanctus bartholomous
mid heofonliore beorhtnesse 7 wuldre scinende betuhr ba dimman
sese ab athereis sedibus radiantis & olimpi coram illis aureo
fulgore amictus obtulit; Maligni ergo spiritus non sustinientes
coelestis splendoris fulgorem: fremere. fremere. fugere.
tremere. timere coeperent; Sanctus uero suthlacu aduentum
fidelissimi auxiliatoris sui persentiens. spiritali laetitia
repletus gauisus est; Tunc deinde sanctus Bartholomeus
euteris satellitum iubet: ut illum in locum suum cum magna
quietudine sine ulla offensionis molestia reducserent; Nee
mora. preceptis apostolicis obtemperantes. dicto citius iussa
facesunt; Nam illum reuehentes cum nimia susuitate. uelut
quietissimo alarum remigio. ita ut nec in curru. nec in
naui modestius duci potuisset subuolabant; Cum uero ad medii
aeris spatia deuenirent. sonus psallentium comuenienter audie-
batur: ibunt sancti de uirtute in uirtutem et religua; Immin-
ente ergo & aurora cum sol nocturnas celo demouerat umbrae:
prefatus cristi athleta adepto de hostibus triumpho. in eodem
statu a quo prius translatus est. grates cristo persoluens
constitit; Dein cum solito more matutinas laudes domino iesu

555 *s.erst

139 for, not in MS: Gar supplies for
here 145 rixab: Gar rixad; g: Gar a 146 fist; The homily, and
collection, end with these words. The
final three ruled lines of the folio are
empty, save for a couple of illegible
scribbles. The last five or six lines
contain reconstructions where letters
and forms have been darkened by a re-
agent used in modern times.
peostre þære sweartan helle. Hi þa swyrgedan gastæ ne mihton for
þære fægernysse þæs halgan cuman þær awuniaþæ so hi sylfe on þeostre
gehyddon. Þa se eadigæ wer GUTHLAC his þone getrewan freond
geseah. Þa wes he mid gæstlicore blisse 7 mid heofonlice gefean
swede blipe. Þa æfter þam het se halga apostol sanctus BARTHOLOMEVS 370
7 þeom beheadan þæt hi him wëron underpeodde. Þæt hi hine eft
gebrohton mid smyltnysse on þære ylcan stowe þæ hine hine ar ætgenamon.
7 hig þæ swæ rydon. 7 hine mid ealre smyltnysse swæ gealæddon.
7 on heora fiderum þæron 7 feredon. Þæt he ne mihte ne on sceipe
fægeror gefered beon. Mid þæ hi þa cóomon omniddan þære lyfte
heannysse. Þa cóomon him tøgeanes haligra gasta heap. 7 hi
ealle sungon þæs owædon. Ibunt de uirtutute in uirtutum. Æ
religia. Þæt ys on englisc. Halige men gangad of swægene on
mægen. Þa hit þæ pa omegæn dagian wolde. þa asetþton hi hine eft
þær hi hine ar ætgenamon. Þa he þæ pa his morgengebedtida wolde gode 380

369 heofonlice: Gdn reads MS heofonlicre and em. heofonlice
380 genaman: Gdn em. genamon

þystro þære sweartan helle. Hi þa þæ werigan gastæ ne meahton
for þære fægernesæ þæs halgan cuman þær gewunigeæn. Ac hi
sylfe in heolstre hyddon. Þa he þæ se eadigæ wer his þone
getrewan freond geseah. Þa wes he mid gæstlicore gefeesnesse
7 on heofoncundre blisse swede gefeone. 7 ðæ æfter þam fleah
se haliga guðææ mid þam apostole sanctæ bartholomei to heofona
rices wuldra. 7 hine se helend þær onfant. 7 he þær leofað 7
rixæp in heofona rices wuldra Æ butan ende on eonesse amen
fiæt 7
jefyllan. Pa gesheah he þær stendan twegen þara awergira gast
weopon swepe 7 geometerian. mid þy he hi ahsof for hwan hi weopon.
he andswarodon hi him 7 þus cwodon. wit wepald forpon be uncer mag
sæll þurh þe ya gebroegen. 7 we þe nu ne moton to cuman. Ne to be
nane spirece habban. 7c on sallum þingum þu uno hefíst gebysmrod.
7 ure miht eall oferswybed. Da after þam wordum hi gewiton ða
awyragedan gastes efne swa amic fram his ensyne.
hu ne deofla on brytisc spirece.

Bæt gelamp on þam dagum cenredes mercne kyninges. Bæt brytta þeod
angolcynnes feond þæt hi mid manigum gewinnum 7 mid missenlicum
geseohtum þæt hi angolcynne geswencton. Bæ gelamp hit sumre nihte

382 weopon : Gdn, Ser em. wepan 387 gastes : Gdn em. gastas
388 hu maroon, rest of title red 389 þ maroon

imponderet : paulisper lumina deuertens. a sinistra stantes duos
satellites lugentes. sibi pre ceteris aliis notos consipcit; Quos
cum interrogasset quid plorassent. responderunt; uires nostras
ubique per te fractas lugemus. et inertiam nostram aduersus
ualitudinem tuam ploramus; Non enim te tangere aut propinquare
audemus; Hec dicentes. uelut fumus a facie eius eamuerunt;

34 QVOMODO FANTASTICAS DEMONVM TURMAS QVI SE BRITTONICAM EXERCITVM
SIMULARE ORATIONIBVS FVGAVIT.

Contigit itaque in diebus kenredi mercóiorum regis: cum brytones
infesti hostes saxonici generis. bellis. predis. publicis-
quê uastionibus anglorum gentem deturbarant: quadam nocte

569 *s.tibi 571/2 red rubric 573 c green
pa hit wes hænoped 7 se eadiga wer guðlac his uhtgedeðum befeal.

pa wes he sæmninga mid leóhte slæpe swefed. pa onbred he GVBLAC of þæm slæpe. 7 eode pa sona út 7 hawode 7 herænode pa gehyrede

he myœel werod þæra aþrygedra gasta on bryttisc spreccende. 7 he ononeow 7 ongeast heora gereorda for þæm he ær hwilon mid him wes on

wræce. Pa sona æfter pon he geseah eall his hus mid fyre aþryelled.

7 hi hine æfter bon saelne mid spera ordum aþyldom. 7 hi hine on

þæm sperum up on þa lyft ðængon. pa ongeast sona se strænga

cristes cempe þæt þær onægan 7 þæt wita þæs aþrygedan
gastes. he pa sona unforhtlice pa stræle + þæra aþrygedra gasta

him fram æscæf. 7 þone sealm sang. Exurgat deus & dissipentur.

galicinali tempore. quo more solito uir beat, memoria guðlac

orationum uigiliis incumberet: extemplo cum uelut imaginato

sopore opprimetur: uisum est sibi tumultuantis turba audisse

olamores; Tunc dicto citius levi sommo expergefactus, extra

cellularam qua sedebat agressit: et arrectis auribus adstans uerba

loquentis uulgi: britannicaque aegmina testis succedere cognoscit;

Nam ille aliorum temporum preteritis uolumnibus inter illos

exulabat: quoadusque eorum stimulantes loquelas intellegerere

ualuit; Nec mora: per palustria tectis subuenire certantes.

eodem pene momento omnes domus sua flamme superant orde re con-
spictit; illum quoque intercipientes acutis hastarum spiculis:

in auras leuare coesperunt; Tum uero uir set: tandem hostis pell-

acis millenis artibus millenas formas pergesentiens: uelut prophèt-

ico ore sexagesimi septimi psalmi primum uersum psallebat. Exurgat

584 *s.erat; *s.loca
& reliqua. sone swa he pet fyrmesete fers sang pes sealmes. ba
gewiton hi swa swa amicor am his ansyne. Mid hy se eadiga wer
GVBLAC swa gelomlice wið pam averigedum gastum wann 7 campode.
Ba ongeaton hi pet heora magn 7 weorc oferswyped was.
Be beocelle pam preoste.
Was sum preost pes nana was beocel pa com he to pam halgan were 7
hine bed pet he hine to him genaime 7 pet gehet pet he eadmodlice
wolde on godes peowdome be his larum lyfian. He pa se awyrgeada
gast pes yelum preostes heortan 7 gebano mid his searwes atte

407 maroon 408 W red

deus et reliqua; Quo audito. dicto uelocius. eodem momento.
omnes demoniorum turbæ uelut fumus a facie eius eumuerunt;
QUALITER PROPHETICO SPIRITUS COGITATIONES MALIGNAS CLERICI CIVSDEM
INTELLEGEBAT
Post non multum temporis. cum uir uita uenerabilis guthlac. contra
insidias lubrici hoctic sepe certando triumphabat. ecce zabulus
uires suas fractas conperiens. nouas uersutias adversus eum sub
toxicco pectore uersari coepit; Erat enim quidem clericus nomine
beocel. † qui se ipsum famulum fieri tanti uiri sponte obtulit. (39°)
ac sub disciplinis ipsius caste deo uiuere proposuit; Cuius
precordia malignus spiritus ingressus. pestiferis uang gloriæ

592/3 red rubric 594 Π purple
geondsprengde 7 mengde. larde hine se awyrgea gast 

ofelege 7 acwealde. 7 bus on his heartan gesende. Gif ie hine 
ofelea. 7 acwelle. bonne mag io aft agan pa yloa stowe efter 
him. 7 we bonne worulmdmen awurdisa. swa swa hi hine nu doh. 415 
gelapp hit sume dage pa se yloa prest com to ham eadigan were 
het he hine wolde scyran. swa his gewuna woe ymbe twelit nihta. 
het he hine wolde pween. pa was he swyle ofzysted het he pes 
eadigan weree blod agute. he pa sona GUTHLAC geseth pa lare 
hes awyrgedan gestes. swa him ealle pa toweardan ping purh gohes 
gifu waron gecydde. 7 eac swyloe pa andwcan. 7 he mihte bine 
men innan geseon. 7 geondsceawian swa utan. 7 he owed pus to 

412 geondsprengde, MS geond/sprengde: Gdn, Grn em. geond sprengde 419 GUTHLAC: Gdn, Grn Gudlac

fastibus illum inflare cepit: o deinde postquam tumidis inanis 
fasti flatibus illum seduxit. admonere ipsum quoque exorsus 
est: ut dominum suum sub cuius disciplinis deo uiuere initiauit. 
arrepta loetali machina necaret: Hoc ipsius animo proponens: 
ut et si ipsum interimere potuisset. locum ipsius postea sum 
maxima regum principumque uenerantia habiturus foret: Quadem 
ergo die cum prefatus clerious uirum dei guthlac ut adsolebat 
pot his denos dierum cursus tonderare deuenisset. isdem 
ingenti dementia uexatus. uiri dei inmenso desiderio sanguinem 
sitiens. indubius illum occidere successit: Tunc sanctus dei 
guthlac cui dominus assidue futurorum prescientiam manifestabat. 
comperto noui sceleris piaculo: illum scisitari coepit dicens;

609 * i.magna
him. Eala þu min beocel þe hwan hafast þu bedigled under þam
dysigan þroste þone awyrgedan feond. For hwan neit þu þes
biteran attres þa deapberedan water of þe aspiwan. Io þæt geseo
þæt þu eart fram þam awyrgedan gaste beswicen. 7 þa manfullan
smeaunge þinre heortan. Manna kynnnes costere 7 middaneardes feond
hafan sceannd on þe þa unablinnu þæs yfelan gehohtes. Ac awyrf
þe fram þære yfelan lære þæs awyrgedan gastes. Þa ongeat he sona
 þæt he wæs fram þam awyrgedan gaste beswicen. Feeol sona to þæs
halgan weres fotum. 7 þa sona mid tearum him his synne andette.
He þa sona se halga wer guðlac nalæs þæt an þæt he him þa synne
forgeof. Ac eac swylce he him gehet þæt he him wolde beon on
fultume on eallum his earfepum.

430 þam: Gdn þam

O mi beocel. Ut quid hebido sub pectore antiquum hostem occultas?
Quare amari ueneni mortiferas limphas non uomis? Scio enim te a
maligno spiritu deceptum: quapropter flagitiousas meditationes.
Quas tibi generis humani hostilis criminator inseruit. Ab illis
conuertendo confitere; Tum ille cum se a maligno spiritu seductum
intelllexisset: proternens se ad pedes tanti uri guthlac.
Delictum suum lacrimabili uoce confessus: supplex ueniam orabat;
Itaque urir beatre memorië guthlac non solum illius culpa ueniam
indulsit: sed in futuris tribulationibus adivtorem illius se
uenturum fore promisit;
Hu pa deofla ferdon.

Pet gelamp sumere nihte pa se halga wer gudlac his gebedum befeal.

pa gebyrde he grymetigenda hrypera 7 mislicra wildeo. Nes pa

nan hwil to ham pet he geseah ealra wihta 7 wildeo. 7 wurma

hiw inouman to him. Aernest he geseah leon ansyne. 7 he mid

his bliodigum tuxum to him beatode. Swylce eac fearres gelionysse.

7 beren ansyne ponne hi gebolgene beod. Swylce eac nadrena hiw.

QVOMODO NOCTE QUADAM MALIGNI SPIRITVS IN DIVERSARVM BESTIARVM

FORMIS † ILLVM TERREBANT

Verum quia superius quantum isdem uenerabilis uir guthlac aduersus

ueras apertaque diaboliticas insidias ualuit explicauimus:

nunc quoque quid aduersus simulaticias malignorum spirituum

fraudes praeluit exponemus; Isdem fere temporibus. cum uir

sepe memoratus quadam nocte in assiduis orationibus assuetos more

persaret; ingenti sonitu totam insulam qua sedet tremere

circum putebat; Deinde parui temporis intervallo succedente.

eceo subito uelut concurrentium armentorum crepitum cum magno

terre tremore domui suocedere exaudiebat; Nec mora domum ab

undique inrumpentes; uariorum monstrorum diversas figuras

introire prospicit; Nam leo rugiens dentibus sanguineis

morsus † rabidos inminebat; Taurus uero mugitans; unguibus

terram defodiens; cornu cruentum solo defigebat; Vreus

denique infrendens; ualidis ictibus brachia commotans uerbera

promittebat; Coluber quoque squamea colla porrigena.

302

435 maroon title 436 * green 437 grymetigenda: Gdn, Gar em.
grymetunga

* QVOMODO UOCTE Q?ADAM MALIONI SPIRIYV8 Eff BIVERSARVM BESTIAHVM

FORMIS † ILLVM TERREBANT

Verum quia superius quantum isdem uenerabilis uir guthlac aduersus

ueras apertaque diaboliticas insidias ualuit explicauimus:

nunc quoque quid aduersus simulaticias malignorum spirituum

fraudes praeluit exponemus; Isdem fere temporibus. cum uir

sepe memoratus quadam nocte in assiduis orationibus assuetos more

persaret; ingenti sonitu totam insulam qua sedet tremere

circum putebat; Deinde parui temporis intervallo succedente.

eceo subito uelut concurrentium armentorum crepitum cum magno

terre tremore domui suocedere exaudiebat; Nec mora domum ab

undique inrumpentes; uariorum monstrorum diversas figuras

introire prospicit; Nam leo rugiens dentibus sanguineis

morsus † rabidos inminebat; Taurus uero mugitans; unguibus

terram defodiens; cornu cruentum solo defigebat; Vreus

denique infrendens; ualidis ictibus brachia commotans uerbera

promittebat; Coluber quoque squamea colla porrigena.

435 maroon title 436 * green 437 grymetigenda: Gdn, Gar em.
grymetunga

435 QVOMODO NOCTE QUADAM MALIGNI SPIRITVS IN DIVERSARVM BESTIARVM

FORMIS † ILLVM TERREBANT

Verum quia superius quantum isdem uenerabilis uir guthlac aduersus

ueras apertaque diaboliticas insidias ualuit explicauimus:

nunc quoque quid aduersus simulaticias malignorum spirituum

fraudes praeluit exponemus; Isdem fere temporibus. cum uir

sepe memoratus quadam nocte in assiduis orationibus assuetos more

persaret; ingenti sonitu totam insulam qua sedet tremere

circum putebat; Deinde parui temporis intervallo succedente.

eceo subito uelut concurrentium armentorum crepitum cum magno

terre tremore domui suocedere exaudiebat; Nec mora domum ab

undique inrumpentes; uariorum monstrorum diversas figuras

introire prospicit; Nam leo rugiens dentibus sanguineis

morsus † rabidos inminebat; Taurus uero mugitans; unguibus

terram defodiens; cornu cruentum solo defigebat; Vreus

denique infrendens; ualidis ictibus brachia commotans uerbera

promittebat; Coluber quoque squamea colla porrigena.

435 maroon title 436 * green 437 grymetigenda: Gdn, Gar em.
grymetunga

435 QVOMODO NOCTE QUADAM MALIGNI SPIRITVS IN DIVERSARVM BESTIARVM
7 swynes grymetunge. 7 wulfa gebeot. 7 hreftena orcetung.

and mislice fugela hwistlunge. bet hi woldon mid heora hiwunge.

hæs halgan were mod awendan. Ne þa þ se halga wer guþlac hine

gewepnode mid þan wþpne þære oristes rðe. 7 mid þam scylde

hæs halgan geleafan. 7 forseah þa costunge þara awyrgeðra

gasta 7 þus ewæ. Eala þu earma widerweardÆ gast þin megn ys

gesyne. 7 þin miht ys gecyþped. þu nu earma wildeora. 7

fugela 7 wyrma hiw ætywes. þu iu þe ahofe bet þu woldest beon

gelic þam ecan gode. Nu þonne ic bebeode þe on þam naman þes

ecan gode. se þe worhte. 7 þe of heofones heannysse awearp.

bet þu fram þisum ungewærnyse gestille. þa sona æfter þon

ealle þa ætywnysse þara awyrgeðra gasta on weg gewæt.

462 orccetung : Gdn, Ger em. orccetunge 49 earma : Ger em.

earma; ætywes : Gdn em. ætywes 452 þisum : Gdn, Ger em. þisse

453 gewæt : Gdn em. gewæton, Ger em. gewiton

indicia atri ueneni monstrabat; Et ut breui sermone concludam; 640

aper grunnitum. lupus ululatum. equus hinnitum. ceruus anxatum.

serpens sibilum. bos balatum. coruus crocitum. ad turbandum

ueri dei uerum militem : horrissonis uocibus strinebant; Sanctus

itaque cristi famulus armato corde signo salutari. hoc omnia fant-

asmatum genera despiciens. his uocibus usus aiebat; o miserrime 645

satan : manifestæ sunt uires tuæ. nonne nunc miserarum bestiarum

hinnitus. grunnitus. crocusque imitaris. qui æterno deo te

assimilari temptasti? Ideiroo impero tibi in nomine iæsu þi cristí

(41v)

qui te de celo damnauit; ut ab hoc tumultu desistas; Nesc mora

dicto citius universum fantasma uacuas in auras recessit;

643 *soricoettan 649 *s. erat
Contigit quoque sub cuiusdam temporis cursibus. cum alius dei famulus ad colloquium venerabiles uiri dei guthlacii peruenisset; alicuot diebus in insula prefata hospitari coepit; Quadam autem die membranos quosdam scribens. cum ad finem scripturam suam deflexisset. extra domum recedebat. quando in quodam oratorio orationibus incumberet; ecce quidam corvus accola eiusdem insulae intrans domum predicti hospitis. ut cartulam illic prospexit. rapidò forcipe arripuit; Prefatus uero hospes cum uisus suos forte foris deuertisset. uolantem alitem cartulam in ore suo portantem prospicit: confestimque cum cartulam suam defuisse conperit. ab alite coruo raptam fuisse cognoscit; Denique eadem

QUALITER CORVVS CARTVLAM INTER VNDAS STAGNI DIMISIT: NEC ILLAN
ORANTE GUHTLACO AQUAE LEDERE VALVERVNT;

Contigit quoque sub cuiusdam temporis cursibus. cum alius dei famulus ad colloquium venerabiles uiri dei guthlacii peruenisset; alicuot diebus in insula prefata hospitari coepit; Quadam autem die membranos quosdam scribens. cum ad finem scripturam suam deflexisset. extra domum recedebat. quando in quodam oratorio orationibus incumberet; ecce quidam corvus accola eiusdem insulae intrans domum predicti hospitis. ut cartulam illic prospicit. rapidò forcipe arripuit; Prefatus uero hospes cum uisus suos forte foris deuertisset. uolantem alitem cartulam in ore suo portantem prospicit: confestimque cum cartulam suam defuisse conperit. ab alite coruo raptam fuisse cognoscit; Denique eadem
hora sanctus guthlac extra oratorium agrediebatur; qui cum prefatum fratrem subita mestitia correptum prosipiceret, consolari illum coepit: pollicens ei cartulam suam cum dei omnipotentis auxiliis sibi recuperare posse: sine cuius potestate, nec folium arboris defluit: nec unus passerum ad terram cadit;

Inter hae alitem longe in austrum uolantem cernebant: qui cursum suum inter stagnosa paludis lygustra deflectens: sese subito ab eorum obtutibus usulut suanescens abdidit; Sanctus uero guthlac firmam fidem fermo pectore gestans: fratri prefato precepit: ut nauiculam in contiguo portu positam consceonisset: et ut inter densas harundinum compaes: quo uia monstraret incederet; Ille autem preceptis sancti uiri obtemperans: quo se tramis ducebat perrexit: Dein cum ad aliquod stagnum haut procul a prefata insula situm deuenisset: conspicit non longe in
onmiddan þam mere sum hroedbed þa hangode seo carte on þam hroede
efne swa hig mannes hand þer ahengoe . 7 he sona þa blipse feng
to þere cartan . 7 he wundriende to þam godes wære brohte . 7
he þa se eadiga wer GVTILAC saðe þæt þære his geæarnung . ac
godes mildheortynysse . Weron on þam ylcan ygliende twegen
hrefnas gewunode to þes gifre þæt swa hwæt swa hi mihton gegripn
þæt hi þet woldon on weg allædan . 7 he þeah hwæpere heora

media planitie stagni unam harundinem curuato caoumine stantem :
qua stagni tremulis quassabatur undique limphis : in cuius fast-
igio aquiperatas scedulas aquali lance pendentes . uelut ab
humana manu positas cerneres . mirabile dictu . tangi non tactæ
contiguis uidebantur abundis ; At ille frater arripiens de harund
ine cartam . cum magna admiratione grates deo persoluenæ . uener-
antiam ualide fidei . de eo quod contigit uenerabili uiro guthlac
conferens unde egressus domum reuersus est ; Prefatus uero
christi famulus i guthlac : non sui merit i quod contigit . sed
diuine miserationis fuisse firmabet ;

QVOMODO NEQVITIAM CORVORVM PERTVLERIT ; ET QVALITER AD VÆCVM
ILLIVS AVES WEREMI ET PISCES PALUDIS VENIEBANT

Erant igitur in supradiicta insule duo alites corui ; Quorum infesta
nequitia fuit ita . ut quicquid frangere . mergere . deripere .
rapere : contaminare potuissent . sine ullius rei reuerentia
damnantes perderent ; Nam ueluti cum familiaribus ausis intrantes
domus : omnia quecumque intus forisque inuenissent . uelut in-
probi predones rapiebant ; Supramemoratus autem dei famulus .

679 *s.conspicit 688/9 red rubric 690 ę green
gifermysse ealle eber 7 gebolode. 

bysene his gebylde. 7 naes dat an dat him pa fugelas
underpeodde wron ac esc swa pa fixas. 7 wilde deor was
westenes ealle hi him hyrdon. 7 he hym daghwamlice andlyfene
sealde of his agenra handa. swa heora gecynde was.

Hu pa swalawan on him seton 7 sungon.

476 eber: Ger em. eber
480 agenra: Gdn, Ger em. agenre
481 maroon

uarias eorum inuirias perferens. longanimiter pio pectore

sufferebat: ut non solum in hominibus exemplum patienti$ ipsius
ostenderetur: sed etiam in uolueribus. et inferis. manifesta
esse: Erga enim omnia exim$ caritatis ipsius gratia habund-
abat in tantum: ut inculte solitundinis uolucres. et uagabundi
centosi paludis pisces. ad uocem ipsius ueluti ad pastorem
ocius natuentes uolantesque subuenirent: De manu enim illius
uictum: prout uniuscuiusque natura indigebat uesci solebant:

Non solum vero terr$ aerisque animalia illius iussionibus obtemp-
erabant: immo etiam aqua aerque ipse de$ uero familo obodiebant: 705

Nam qui auctori omnium creaturarum fideliter et integro spiritu
famulatur: non est mirandum si eius imperiis ac uocibus omnis
creatura deseruiat: At plerumque idcirco subiecta nobis creatur$,
dominium perdimus:quia d$ino uniuersorum creatori seruire
negligimus: se$endum illud, si oboedieritis et audieritis me:

bona terr$ comedetis et reliqua; item: si habundauerit fides
uestra ut gra$sum sinapis et reliqua;

39 QUALITUR HIRVNDINES IMPERIIS EIVS OBTMPERABANT

708 uocibus: uotis appears in texts other than small group to which this belongs
uero guðlacus e contra respondens siebat; nonne legisti quia qui
deo puro spiritu copulatur. omnia sibi in deo coniunguntur et qui
ab hominibus cognosci denegat. agnosci a feris et frequentari
ab angelis querit? Nam qui frequentatur ab hominibus:
frequentari ab angelis neguit; Tuno adsumens quandam uentimulam:
posuit in eam festucam; Quod cum alites prospicerent: uelut
notato signo intuti. illic nidificare coeperunt; Cumque ueluti
unius horæ spatio transacto. adgregatis quisquiliis nidum fundarent:
sanctus guðlacus exsurgens. sub testitudine testi quo
sederet uentimulam posuit; Volucares uero quasi adopto propriis
mansionis loculo: illic manere coeperunt; Non enim sibie licta
uolentia uiri dei. locum nidificandi sibi eligere presumebant; "
Sed in unoquaque anno petentes mansionis indicium: ad iurum dei
ueniebant; Nulli ergo absurdum sit. a uolucribus formam
obodientiis discere: cum salomon dicit: uade piger imitare
formicam. considera uias eius; et discere sapientiam illius;
wyledomlice wundor be pisum halgan were. wass sum foremara man spelan kynekynnes on myrona rice

pes nama wass spelbald. ba wolde he to pes halgan weres spreoe cuman. beget ba et wilfrid pes he hine to pam godes were gelædhe

7 hi ba sone on scipe eodon. 7 ferdon to pam yglande pes se halga wer GVTHLAC on wes. Ba hi ba to pam halgan were comon. 505

ba hæfde wilfrid forlæten his glosan on pam scipe. 7 hi ba wi3

499 maroon title 500 S green; witedomlice : Gdn, Ger em. witedomlice

40 QVOMODO DOMI SEDENS : DVAS MANICAS SVAS A CORVIS PREDATAS INTELL-
EXIT ET ITERVM RESTITVITAS FORE IN EADEM HORA PRDIXIT.
Neque tacendum quoque esse arbitror. quoddam prefati uiri procur-
uidentie miraculum. Erat itaque sub eodem tempore. quidam

exul de inclita merciorum prole. uocabulo aethelbaldus qui
quadam die ut adolebat uirum dei uisitare malens. comite
prefato uuilfrido: adepto rate usque insulam predictam per-
uenit: Vwilfridus uero ratis de prora saltu terram petens:
ambas manicas suas in puppi dimisit: Ac deinde ad colloquium

742/3 red rubric, i black 744 N green
sancti uiri ueni enientes, postquam ad invicem se salutaverunt:
inter alia sermocinandi colloquia, suoram memoratus uir bestae
memoria guthlacus, cui dominus absentia presentabat: uelut
prophetiae spiritu inflatus, cum domi sedisset et nil aliud
excepto domus uestibulo prospiceret potuisset: subito ab illis
sciscitari coepit: utrumque rem uellam in nau dimisissent:
Cui uuilfridus respondens: duas manicas suas illio obliuisci-
scendo se dimisisse aiebat: Ille vero coruos suos tune manio-
scendit: siuit euentus rei probatit dicebat: Nec mora
extra domum egredientes: conspiciant coruicini sobolis atrum
predonem in fastigio cuiusdam case inprobo forcipe mancam
lacerare: sanctus autem guthlacus alitem leui sermone com-
primebat: ueluti criminis sui conscius esse: ales manicas
in culmine case linquens: ueluti fuga facta ooci duas in auras
uo labat: Vuiilfridus uero de culmine tecti in summitate uirgi

[Page 311]
hrofe þa glofe gerfhte . swyloes nas eac manic hwil to þam sona comon þær dry men to þere hyde 7 þær taon slocon . þa sona cede se halga wer guðlac ut to þam mannum mid blíðum andwite 7 gód mode . he þa spæc wið þam mannum . mid þan þe hi faran woldon . þa brohten hi forð ane glofe sædon þæt heo of anes hreñnes mupe feolle . he se halga wer guðlac sona to smercende feng . 7 heom his blestunge sealde 7 hi eft ferdon . 7 he eft ageaf þa glofe þam þe hi ær ahte .

manicam deducere fecit : ac deinde conperiens tanti uiri potenti fuisse alteram sibi reddere sicut et illam : sollicitus de alterius manicæ damno fieri coepit ; At uir dei illum egrata mente damnum rei grauiiter pertulisse sentiens . ludibundo uerborum famine illum consolari coepit : pollicens ei possibilatis dei fuisse . cito sibi rem perditam recuperari , si fides eorum non titubasset ; Nec plura . inter hec uerba ecce tres uiri fratres pulsato signo ante portam prefate insula steterunt : ad quos dito uelocius sanctus Guthlacus ut adsolebat hilari uultu successit ; Nam semper gratia eximia caritatis in ore et ipsius uultu fulgebati ; Salutatis uero † fratribus : confessim unus eorum inclinata sibi service . efflagitata uenia : forte in uia quandam manicam . de uncis pedibus corui dimissam inuenisse se festebatur : et manicam sibi ostendit ; Guthlacus parumper subridens . de manu illius manicam : tenuit et admiratus divinæ clementiae benignitatem loquente spiritu gratias agit : ac deinde salutatis illis . sicut ante promisit uuilfrido manicam reddidit ;
Hu hwatred his hela onfeng.

Was on eastengla lande sum man æpeles cynnes þæs nama was hwatred. 525

Mid þy þæ þa daghwamlice mid arfæstynisse his ealdorum underbeoded

was . hit gelamp sume side þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þæ þae
Eo autem modo insanire coepit: ut eum prohibere
sunt alligare nullius ausibus impetraretur; Nam quodam tempore
congregata multitudine, cum alii illum ligare temptarent.

arrepto limali bipenni: tris uiorum corpora loetabundis
ictibus humo sternens mori coegit; At cum bis binis annorum
cursibus dira peste uesanis uastaretur. et exerci macilentia
arido in corpore uires distabuerunt: tum demum a parentibus
suis ad sacratas sedes sanctorum adductus est. uti a sacerdotibus
episcopisque sacratis fontibus lauaretur; Cum ergo nullus
ecrum pestiferum funesti spiritus uirus extinguere ualuisset:
tandem exploratis reprobatisque omnium remediorum stigmatibus.

*inciperent 804 *cicatricibus
eft ham unrote mid þam mege ferdon . 7 hi him deapes swydor
upon bonne he lenge þa men drehte . Þa wes ðat nextan gemersod
se hlisa on þat þeodscipe þat on þam fenne middum on amun eglande
be oruwland hatte were sum anora þat missenlicum magnum for gode
weohse . hi þa sona þa hi þer bone halgan wer acsodon . þohton
þet hi woldon þer bone man gebringen gиф þet godes stihtung were
þet hi þer ære findan mihton . 7 hi hit awa gefremedon ferdon
þyder þat hi comon to sumum yglande Þe wel neah wes þam eglande
þe se godes man on wes . 7 þer weron on niht mid þan seocean men
þa hit þa on mergen dag wes . þa comon hi to þære foresprecenan

543 hoc; MS caret mark with he supplied above
544 þat þeodscipe: Gdn em. þone þeodscipe, Ger em. þam þeodscipe
545 þat: Gdn, Ger em. þe

DOMUM REUEREI SUNT; Quadam uero die cum mesti parentes nati
mortem plus quam uitam optarent; fama uolat; quandam heremitam
in medii paludis insula oruland sedisse: cuius rumor diversis
uirtutum generibus fines pene totius britanniae longe lateque
replebat; Quo comperto; orto mane illuc ducere uexatum certo
consilio parant; Excusso ergo opace noctis caligine. cum sol
suresm calo demouerat ortum; ligatis membris uexatum ducentes
ceptum iter radere coeperunt; Vesperascente uero die cum illuc
iter deuertissent. in quadam insula haut procoul a oruland
noctem duxerunt; ac denique iubare exorto; ad portum predicte

810 * tenebrose
812 * arripere
insulæ subuenientes. pulsato signo colloquium tanti uiri efflagitabant: Ille autem more suo eximis caritatis amore feruescens, sese coronam illis obtulit: At cum ipsi causam suas a primordio explicarent: uir dei parentum sollicitudinem, et uexatque humanitatis laURES miserescens. uelut paterno pectore illis propitiari coepit: confestim enim uexati maxum arripiens: intra oratorium suum duxit. et illic continuus trium diexum ieiuniiis. flexis genibus orare coepit: tertia uero die orto solo sacratī fontis undies abluit. et inflans in faciem eius spiritum salutis: omnem usalitudinem maligni spiritus de illo repulit. Ipsae autem uelut qui de estantibus surgites fluctibus ad portum deducitur: longa suspiria isto de pectore trahens: * ad uiriam salutis usalitudinem re- ditione se esse intellexit: Ab illo enim tempore usque in diem exitus sui: nullius molesti, imo uietudinem ab inimico spiritu pertulit:
Be apelbalde gefere.

Swylce eac gelamp on sumne sael pet pes foresprecenam wreccean
apelbaldes gefere pes nama wæs eoga pet he wæs fram pam
awyrpedan gaste unstill . 7 swa swype he hine drehte pet he
his wylfe nanig gemyn ne hæfde . hi þa his magas hine to pam
godes men gelædon . þa soma þæs þæ to him com . þa begyrde
he hine mid his gyrode . þæs þa nanig hwil to þæn . soma swa
he wæs mid þæn gyrode begyrde . eal seo unclannysse fram him

563 maroon title; gefere : Kln em. geferan 564 s red
566 unstille : Kln em. unstill 569 gyrode : Gdn gyrode
570 unclannysse : Gdn, Vln em. unclannys

A2. QUOMODO COMITEM SUEZONA SVA SIBI DONANDO AB INMUNDI SPIRITVS

INFESTATIONE DICTO CITIUS SANAVIT *

Alio quoeque tempore cum prefati exulis ædelbaldi comes quidam
uocabulo eogga . ab inmundi spiritus ualidissima violentia miser-
abiliter grassaretur * ita ut quid esset . uel quo sederet . uel
quid facere parabat nesciret : Corporis autem et membrorum uigor
inlesus permansit . facultas uero loquendi . disputandi . intell-
egendique penitus defuit ; quadam die propinqui sui formidantes
perpetuam uesaniam sibi uenturam . ad prefati uiri limina duxerunt +
confestimque ut se † cingulo illius succinxit . omnem amentiam de se (49r)

833 *impugnaretur 835 *meditandi 837 s.cum
829/30 red rubric 831 A green
318

Cepit etiam inter ieta uír dei guthlac propheti̇ spiritu pollere. futura predicere. presentibus absentee narrare; Aliquibus enim diebus cum guidam abbas ut adsolebat ad uerbocini um prefati uiri deuenire proposuit: incepto itinere duo ministri ipsius simulata cuiusdam causâ necessitate abbatis licentiam poscebant. ut aliam uiam qua causâ cogebant devortissent; Ille

571 adel: Gdn, Kln em. adl; Eac bon se, MS Eac bone: Gdn, Kln, Gar em. Eac se 574 maroon title 575 † green 576 gastliore: Gdn em. gastricum, Gar em. gastrilce 577 leofe bene: Gar em. leafbene

ablatam. animumque sibi integre redditum persensit: se quoque illo cingulo semper precingens. uscve in ultimum diem utque suè nullem a satana molestiam persessus est;

43 QUALITER CVIVSDAM ABBATIS MINISTRORVM LONGE SE POSITORVM OCCVLTVM CRIMEN MANIFESTANDO PRODEBAT.

840 nullam a satana molestiam persessus est;

845 enim diebus cum guidam abbas ut adsolebat ad uerbocini um prefati
were 7 ecc breaf. pa geuhe him pæs se abbod pæs he hi hine
bedon. Pa he pa se abbod þær com to þære spræce þæs eadigan
weres guðlacies. Mid þan hi þa sylfe betweenum dremond. of
þam willan haligra gewrita. þa betwyx þa halgan gewritu þæ hi
spræcon. Þa owæd GVDLAC to him ac hwyder gewiton þæ twegen þæ
ær fram þe cyrdon þæ andswarde he him 7 owæd. hi bedon læfe
et me. wes heom oper intingan þæt hi hider cuuman ne mihton. 585
He þa guðlac him andswarde swa him god ealle þæ toweardan þing

850 autem illis concessa licentia. quo proposuit perrexit; Ac deni-
ique adueniente illo ad colloquium uiiri dei Guthlac. cum sese
alterutrum diuinaram scripturarum haustibus inebriarent; sanctus
Guthlac inter alia ab illo sciscitari coepit aiens; ut quid duo
isti clerici quos vocabulo nuncupavit. ut absolabant hoc te com-
itari noluerunt? Abbas autem illos efflagitata licentia alterius
causae necessitate. in alteram uiam deuertisse dixit; At uero
sanctus Guthlac: cui dominus ex divina inspiratione absentia
onwreah • pat him wēron swa cuðe swa þa andweardan. Ongan him þa seogan þone sīð para þropra 7 him cwæð to. hi ferdon þer to sumre wydewan ham 7 þer wēron ondrencete mid oferdrynce. 7 nales þat an þat he him þone hæora sīð sēde. Ac eac swilce be heora andleofone. ge eac swilce þa sylfan word þe hi þer spræcon sall he be endebyrdnyse him gæhte. Mid þan be se abbod his bleutsunge hæfde onfangen. he þa eft ferde. mid þy

*presentebat : paulisper demisstä fronte subridens. uultum
deflexit; Abbas autem cum persensisset quod uiero dei aliter
persentaretur: obseorans eum in nomine iēsū. ut euidenter*
monstraret. quod sibi de illis uisum est. suppliciter rogar-
bat; Guthlac uero supplicibus obseorationibus amici. qui
sibi spirituali foedere in crīsto copulabatur adnuens: iter
eorum in ordine sibi pandere coepit; dicebat enim illos ad
ouisdam uīduæ casam deuertisse; et dum non adehuc tertia hora
esset: in delicatis uīduæ fuloris inebriari coepisse; Non
solum ergo uir dei iter illorum a primordio narrabat: quin
etiam uictum eorum et uerba ex ordine monstrando explicavit;
Non aliter enim sibi ex diūino numine presentabatur: quam
ut helismo cognitio furti facti gezi dei manifestante monstrat-
um est; In tantum enim gratia diūina spiritus in eo pollebat:
ut absentia presentibus: et futura preteritis ut presentia
arbitraretur; Abbas itaque perceptis salutaribus documentis
uirī uenerabilis guthlacī. remeabili cursu domum migravit; Cum

858 *inclinata 860 manifeste 863 indicans.
ut adsolebant duo prefati clerici ministerio abbatis obuiarent: omnes de domo exceptis illis duobus discedere iussit; Cumque in domu sederent, ab illis Abbas ubi moram hesterne diei duxerunt: sciscitabatur; illi simulato pectore: in alicuius amici sui casa se moratos esse dicebant; Abbas autem illos fuisse in domu uidum quam proprio vocabulo nuncupavit: alium sibi nuntiasse aiebat: Illi contradicentes: cum maxima procacitate illius dicta negabant: Abbas uero eorum inpudentiam comprimens: nota signa monstrando: culpam suam confite-eri iussit; Ipsae autem cum contra nota indicia recalcitrare nequissent: tandem se solo prementes: iter suum uno eodem ordine: quo uir dei ante narravit confessi sunt;
Be ham broтрum be him to comon.

COMMON EAC SWYLCHE TWEGEN BROBRA to him on sumne saloof sumum

mynstre. pa hi pa byderweard ferdon. pa hafdon hi mid heom
twa flaxan mid wlae gesfyld. pa geweard him betwona nyet hi
pa gebyddon under anre tyrf. nyet hi ponhe ham ferdon hafdon
eft mid him. pa hi pa to him comon. pa trymede he hi mid his
lare 7 mid his manunge heora heortan intimbred. Mid pan be
hi manig ping heom betweonum spraecom. Ba se eadiga wer guelac
mid blipum andwitan 7 hlihhende gesprace he cwep to heom.

Venerunt quoque his fere diebus de quodam monasterio duo uiri
fratres; ut sancti guthlacui uerba doctrine audirient; Nam ⁹
illo tempore tanti uiri fama ubique notabunda uaguit; Deinde cum
insula deuennisent. habentes secum binas fasculas celia*
impletas. facto consilio illas in uia sub quodam palustri
sablone abscorderunt: ut iterum reuertentes. iter suum illa
annona releuarent; Cumque prefati fratres uerbocinio uen-
erabilis uiri potiti uterentur. et salutaribus protonotis
illos ammoneret. hiliar uultu. leuitor subridens. ludibri
famine uerborum. inter alia ab illis sciscitabatur dicens:

QUOMODO DVOBVS CLERICIS AD SE VENIENTIBVS FASCINAS BINAS QVAS IN
VIA ABSCONDERENT LVDIBRI VERBORVM FAMINE PROPHETICE MONSTRAVIT;
For hwon behyconde git þa flaxan under ane tyrfe. 7 for hwon ne læddon ge hi mid inc. Hi þa swýde wundrodon þara worda. þæs halgan weres. 7 to him luton 7 hine bleþsunge þæðon. and he hi geþleþsode. 7 hi þa eft ham ferdon. Weas on þa sylfax tid þæt þone foresprecenan wer missenlices hades men sohton ægðer bara ge ealdormen. ge bisceopas. 7 abbodas. 7 ælces hades. heane. and rice. 7 naþæ þæt æn þære men sohton of þære neþeode† merona rice. ac sac swyloxe ealle þa þe on bretone wæron þe pisne eadigæn wer hyrdon þæt hi æghwonom to him efston 7 scoyndon. 7 þa þe wæron aþer oppe on lihaman untrumnyseyse

619 neþeode, MS neþeode; Kern em. neþeode

ut quid filioloi hic portare noluistis binas flasculas. quas sub agrestë gleþe umbraculo abdidiistis? Quo audito. illi inmenso stupore peculi. se solo sternentes: ueniam perpetrati criminis orabant; sanctus uero guðlaoc subleuatis eorum cerucibus ueniam indulsit; pacem concessit. iter signavit; ✦ (51v)

QUALITER RUMOR VIRTUTVM IPSIVS FINES BRITANNIAE PERVAGAVIT: VEL QUOMODO COMES QVIDAM TACTV VESTIS ILLIVS SANATUS EST. Sub hiedem quoque temporibus. ad uirum dei guðlacaum multi diuersorum ordinum gradus. abbates. fratres. comites. diuites. uexati. pauperes. non solum de proximis merciorum finibus: uerum etiam de remotis britannis partibus. fama nimirum uirtutum eius acciti confluebant: quos aut corporum agritudo. 910

904-5 red rubric 906 S purple 910 *aduocati
to comon . ba betwee opre com ber pues forespreenan wræcon 
æhelbaldes gefera pues nama wæs OVA bet he wolde pone halgan 
geneosian 7 wip gesprecan . ba gelamp hit pan afteran dage pues 
be he hyder on þære fòre wæs ba eode he ofer summe þorn on niht . 
ba besleoh se þorn on þone fot . 7 swa strang wæs se stig þes 
hornes bet he eode þurh þone fot . 7 he þæ unaede bone sib 
geferde . 7 þurh mycel gewinn he to þam foresprenanan eglande 
becom . þer se eadige wer guðlac on eardode . 7 mid þan þe 
þer on niht wæs . þa asweoll him se lichama ofer healf fram þam 
 lendendum of þa fet 7 swa sarlice he wæs mid þam sare geswounced .

quium ab undique confluebant : ueniebat inter alios quidam 
comes predicti exulis æhelbaldi oba nomine . ad uerboconium 
beati uiri Guthlacii : et cum alia die quodam loca spinoea per- 
lustraret . sincelle agrestia rura gradiendo : inruit in quandam 
spinulam . sub incolte telluris herbis latentem : que medilanium 
plantæ ipsius infigens . tenus talum rumpendo totius pedis crate- 
em perforavit ; Ille denique contra uires septum iter carpens . 
ad insulam predictam in qua uir dei domino militavit . laboriosis-
issime peruenit : et cum illic noctem unam exregisset . inflat-
ico tumore dimidia pars + corporis ipsius a lumbis tenus plantam 
turgescabet ; In tantum enim noui doloris molestia augebatur :

927 'iusque 
angebat(ur).

932 augebatur : alternative readings are
326

ut sedere aut stare. Uel iacere nequisset; Nam feruentem membrorum

compagine. Ab imis ossum medullis inmenso ardore coquebatur; ut

moriendi similior quam languenti uideretur; Quod cum uiro dei

guthlaco nuntiaretur; illum ad se duci precepit; ac deinde cum

causam uexationis suae a primordio narraret. Uir dei guthlac exuens

se luterio melote. In quo ille orare solebat. Ipsum circumdedit;

Confestimque dicto citius postquam ueste tanti uiri se indutum per-
sensit; eodem momento spinula uelut sagitta ab arcu demissa statim

de pede ipsius detrusa est; quosque procul quasi iaculata institit;
Eademque hora omnis tumidi feruoris violentia ex omnibus membrorum ipsius conspangibus s secessit; Confestimque exsurgens pede reducto gradiri coepit: et postera die allocuto uiro dei guthlacœ qui totius sui corporis ex unius membris languore damnum patiebatur. hilari animo sine ulius ualitudinis molestia pergebat; Tunc omnes qui testimonio uirtutis intererant uiri dei ualitudinem fidei mirantes gloriam domino reddabant;

QUALITER VIGFRIDO VERBA QVAE ILLO ABSENTE PROMERAT.PRO-
VIDIAE SPIRITV SIBI REMARRVIT

Nec me preterire silentio libet. quoddam miraculum resaæ pro-
videntia uenerabilis uiri guthlacœ cui ex divina donatione largitum est: uel uerba absentium quasi scripta uideret.
cogitationes quae presentium usulit locuta cognosceret; Cum enim quidam episcopus Leadde nomine, quasi celesti consilio inbutus, ad colloquium uenerabilis uiri Guthlacii veniret; habuit quidem secum in comitatu suo uirum librarium uuigfrid nomine; qui cum inter alios episcopi ministros equitabat; alii eorum coram illo de uirtutibus et miraculis tanti uiri Guthlacii mirari coeperunt; alii asperitatem uite ipsius et perseveranceantiam, uirtutesque per illum factas ab uullo alio ante insuditas disputabant; alii in cuius uirtute miracula illa que faciebat dubitante erumeant; uuigfrid autem se posse
discernere et saire: utrum divinæ religionis cultor esse?

aut pseudosanctitatis simulator: si umquam illum uidisset

pollicebatur: Dicebat enim se inter scottorum populos

habitasse: et illic pseudoanachoritæ: diversarum religions simulatores uidisse: quos predicere future et virtutes

alias facere: quocumque numine nesciens conperit: Alios

quoque illic fuisset narrabat: uere religionis cultores:
signis uirtutibusque plurimis pollentes: quos ille orebro

alloqui uidere: frequentareque solebat: ex quorum experientia: aliorum religionem discernere se potuisse promittebat:

Ergo cum predictus episcopus ad colloquium uenerabilis

uir dei guthlacii peruenisset: fraternis salutionibus peractis: sese alterutrum haustibus angelici neotariis circumfundere coeperunt: Erat autem in uiro dei guthlaco
beorhtnys þære drihtnes gife ðwa swyðe scinende þæt ðwa hwæt ðwa he bodode. 7 læde ðwa he of engecellicere spræc þa word bodode 7 sæde. was eac swiðe mycel wisdom on him heofonlice nyttel þæt ðwa hwæt ðwa he gælde þæt he þæt trymede mid þæ godoundan haligra gewrita. 7 he þæ semninga se bishop on midre þære spræce þæ hi heom betwux smeodon. eadmodlice to þæm godes were gælat 7 hine geornlice þæt 7 halesode þæt he þærh hine sacerdlice þæmunge onfæge þæt he hine moste gehľðigan. to mæssepreostæ. 7 to þæmunge drihtnes weofodes. He þæ sona guðlæc his þæm geþafode. 7 he hine ealhne to 690

683 sæde : God neðe 685 godoundan haligra gewrita : God, Gar em. godoundan bysæne haligra gewrita: bishop : God bishop 690 benum : God em. benum

divinis gratias luculentia in tantum : ut quicquid predicaret : uelut ex angelico ore expressum uidetur : Kret in eo tanta sapientis affluentia : ut quicumque dicet . divinarum scripturarum exemplis firmaret : Ergo predictus episcopus . postquam colloquiis illius potitus est . et melius dulciora praedicta sapientius ipsius sustinet : ecce repente in medio sermone submissio et servicie supplice adiurare illum coepit . ut sacerdotale officium per sum susciperet : Guthlac uero petitionibus episcopi nolens resistere . ocius se

979 *4. claritas 980 #4. manifestatum 981 i. habund- antia
solo prosternens: uolentis illius se oboediturum esse pro-
mittit; Episcopus autem cuanti animo exsurgens, consecrata
prius ecclesia. fidelem sacerdotem summo deo sacrasit;

Peractus ergo consecrationum obsequiis: rogatu summi pontif-
icis, contra rem solitam uir dei illo die prandium uenire
ocogabatur; Adpositis ergo dapibus postquam prandere coep-
erunt, aspiciens sanctus Guthlac predictum fratem uig-
fridum propul sedentem. inquit: o frater uigfrid. quomodo
}

995

990

989

*gaudenti
arás 7 ha to eorþan leat. 7 his synne him andette. he þa
sona se halga wer him togeanes fengo. 7 him his milste geaf
7 sealde. Was halgung þæs eglandes crualande 7 eac þæs
eadigan wæres GÝTHLACES on ærfestlice tide. fif dagum ær
sanote bartholomeus nanne.
Be eogburhe abbodysse. *

Swynce eac gelamp sume sibe þæt seo arweorde ðe-mne ECGBVRH abbodysse
aldwulfes dohtor þæs cyninges sende þam æwrunden wære guðlace

exurgens. se totnum solo. tota mente ærosterinit. supplexque
ueniam precatus se se þecasæ fatetur; Mirantibus omnibus
qui intererant. stupescere ad inuicem coeperunt; Sanotus
guthlac dicebat. compobamini alterutrum sciscitantes. si
quis uestrum mihi hæc muntieuit; Contigit ergo consecratio
insule crualand. et constituted beati guðlacæ in officium
sacerdotale. in autumnali tempore. retro computatis quinque
diebus. ab illo die quo missa sancti bartholomei celebrari
solet;

QVOMODO ECGBURGE INTERROGANTI SE RESPONDISSE FERTVR HEREDEM
POST SE VENTVRM IAM PAGAVM FVISSE.

Alterius denique temporis preslabentibus circulis reuerentissimae
uirgo uirginum cristi eogburg abbatissa. alduulfi regis
filia. ad sublimium meritorum uenerabilem uirum guþlacum

1004 *i. enumeratis
sarcophagum plumbeum lintheumque in eo uolutum transmisit:
quo uirum dei post obitum circumdari rogabant: † adiurans per nomen terrible ac uenerabile superni regis. sequae ad patibulum dominici crucis eritensis. in indicium supplicis deprecationis extensis palmis. ut in officium predictum uir per dei illud manus susciperet: per muntium alterius fidelis fratri precipiens. ut hoc indicium coram illo faceret supplici rogatu mittebat; Addidit quoque ut ab illo sciscitaretur: quis loci illius post obitum suum heres futurus foret; Qui cum sancta uirginis fidele munus gratulanter suscepisset. de eo quod interrogatus est respondisse fertur: illius loci heredem in gentili populouisse: nec-
dum ad baptismatis lausaeorum deuenisse . sed mox futurum fore
dicebat ; Quod spiritu providentis dixisse euentus futurum
rei probsuit ; Nam ipse cissa qui munc nostris temporibus
sedem guthlacii uiri deae possident : post annos ut et ipse
narrare solet ; lausaeorum baptismatis in Britannia percipit ;

QUALITER EXVLEM AD SE VENIENTEM CONSOLATVS EST ET REGNUM
SIBI MOX FUTVRVM FORE PREDIXIT .

Non me quoque supramemorati uiri guthlacii . uastedico pectore
quoddam spiritale presagium narrare piget ; Quodam enim tempore
com se forespecera wræcca to him æfelbald. 7 hine ocelred
se kyning hider 7 hider wide aflymde. 7 he his 
hatunge fleah 7 scūnede. þa com he to þære space þæs halgan
weres guðlacæs. þa þæ se mennisce fultum him beswæc. hine
þæah hwæpere se godcunda fultum gefrfrode. Mid þy he þa to
þæam godes were com. 7 he him his earfoda rehte. þæ ccwæd
guðlac þæ to him. Eala min oniht þinra gewinna 7 earfoda
ic eom unforigitende. ic forpon þæ gemiltsode. 7 for þinum
earfodum ic bæd god þet he be gemiltsode. 7 he gefultomode.

mennisce: Gæn, Ger em. mennisca

cum exul ille quem supra memorauimus. æthelbald. huc illuc-
que persequente illum ocelredo rege in diuersis nationibus
iactaretur: alia die deficiente uirium ipsius ualitudine
suoriumque inter dubia pericula. postquam exinanitæ uires
defecere: tandem ad colloquium sancti uiri guthlacì ut
adsolebat peruenit: ut quando humanum consilium defeciss-
et diuinum adesse; Ilo uero cum beato uiro guðlacì
doquent: uir deì uelut diuini oraculi interpæpres: pand-
eræ quæ ventura essent sibi ex ordine coepit diœns: O mi
puer laborum tuo rum non sum ex pers. miseriarum tuo rum ab
exordio uitem tuo non sum inscius. propteræ miseratus calam-
itatis tuo roganì dominum ut subueniret tibi in miseratìone

*so. sociorum
7 he þa mine bene gehyrde. 7 he þe sylēl rice 7 anweald þinre
þeode. 7 þa ealle fleōd beforan þe þa þe hatiað 7 þin sweord
fornymæd ealle þine þa wīþerwædan. forþon drihten þe bit
on fultume. Ac beo þu gehyldig forþon ne begitest þu na þet
rice on geriene wūrldlicra þinga. ac mid drihtnes fultume
þu þin rice begytest. forþon drihten þa genyþæd þe þe nu
hatiað. 7 drihten aþyrred þet rice fræm him 7 harf þe genynt.
7 geteohhod. þa he þas word gehyrde. þe þa sona scealbald his
sua: et exaudiiit me. et tribuit tibi dominationem gentis
tuæ. et posuit te principem populorum: et servius inimicorum
tuorum subtus calcaneum tuum rediget. et possessiones eorum
possidebis. et fugient a facie tua qui te oderunt: et
terga eorum uidebis: et gladius tuus uincet adversarios tuos:
et ideo confortare quia dominus adiutor tuus est: Patiens esto
ne declines in consilium quod non potest stabiliri: non in
præda nec in rapina regnum tibi dabitur: sed de manu domini
obtinebis. Exspecta eum cuius dies defecerunt: † quia
manus domini opprimit illum: cuius spes in maligno positæ
est: et dies illius uelut umbra pertransibunt. Hæc et
his similia eo dicente: ex illo tempore æthelbaldæ spem

1047 *i.reuocabit vel retorquebit 1053 *s.eam
hiht 7 his geleafan . on god sylfe trymede . 7 he getrywode
7 gelyfde ealle ba ping be se halga wer foresæde . *pat rice
beod onwende 7 ofæmmene 7 hit æ to pam ende efrede . 7 se
rica 7 se heana se gelereda 7 se ungelarda . and geong 7 eald
ealle hi gelice se stranga dead forgriped † 7 nymð .
Be þæs halgan weres lifes lenge 7 be his forðwore .
Be gelamp hit on fyrate after hissum þet se leofa godes þeow

suam in domino posuit ; nec uana spes illum fefellit ; Nam eodem
modo . ordine . positioneque omnia quæ de illo uir dei predix-
erat et non aliter contigerunt ; sicut presentis rei presens
effectus conprobat ;

Verum quoniam humanum genus ab initio mortal is miseri cotidie
ad finem decurrit . mvtratisque temporibus generationes et
regna mvtrantur . ad quem terminum dominus et servus . doctus
et iuuenis et senex . pari condione deservitur : (57v)
et licet merit is poenis premiisque disiungamur . tamen nobis
omnibus restat exitus idem ; Nam sicut mors in adam data
est ; ita et in omnes dominabitur : quisquis enim huius
mita saporem gustauerit . amaritudinem mortis euitare ne-
quit ; Contigit ergo inter hæo postquam dilectus dei famulus
red rubrio, internal punctuation and & added in black
Guthlac after pon fiftyne gear he he gode willigende lædde his lif. pa wolde god his bone leofan ðeow of ðam gewinne hisse
worulde ýrmæ geledan to þære ecen reste þes heofoncundan ríces. ða gelamp on sumne ðæl mid ðy he on his cyrcan æt his gebedum
was. ða ðæs he semninga mid ædle gestandan. 7 he sona
ongeæt þæt him ðæs gode hand to sended. 7 he swype geblípe
hine het gýrwan to þam ingange þes heofonlican ríces. ðæs he
seofon dagas mid þære ædle geswenced. 7 þæs eahtopan dagæ

749  pon fiftyne gear; Kln em. þam fiftyne gearum 756 Gdn,
Kln, Gar emend dagæ to dagæs

géplacæ ter quinis annorum uolumnibus deuoto famulatu superni
regis solitariam duxerat uitam: ecce domínuus iesus cum fam-
um suum de laboriosa huius uíte seruítate ad perætus;
beatitudinis requiem adsumere uoluisset. quodam die cum in
oratorio suo orationibus uasane perætæt: subito illum
intimorum stimulatio corripuit; Statimque ut se subita
infirmitate diri languoris uir dei arrestum persensit.
confestim manum domíni ad + se missam cognuít: tunc se
ouante spiritu ad serennis regni gaudia preparare coepit;
Septem enim diebus dira agritudine decoctus; octaua die
he was to Categoria geda 7a gestod hine se adl bon
wodnesdæg næst eastron 7 pa eft pan ylcan dæg on þære
eastornwican he þut lif of þam lichaman sende. Waes sum broðor
mid him þæs nama was beccel þurh pone ic ba forðfore ongeat
þæs eadigan weres. Mid by he þa com by dæg he hine seo adle
gestod. Þa æsode he hine be gehwilcum þingum. Þa andswarode
he him laetlice 7 mid langre sworetunge þat orð of þam breostum
tæah. Þa he þa gesæah pone halgan wer swa unrotes modes.
þæa owæd he to him. Hwæt gelamp þe nywes nu ða. Ac þe on

757  se : Gdn, Klîn, Sar em. seo 758 wodnesdæg : Gdn, Klîn em. wodnesdæge; eastron : Klîn eastran 760 forðfore : Klîn forð-fare 761 adle : Gdn, Klîn em. adl

ad extrema peruenit; Si quidem .iii* feria ante pascha
egratire coepit. Et iterum octava die .iii* feria .iii*.
etiam lumine paschalis festi. Finita egritudine ad dominum
migraviit; Habitabat ergo cum eo sub illo tempore unus
frater beccel nomine: cuius relatione hæc de obitu uiri
dei Guthlacis descripsimus; Qui cum illo die inchoat molestiæ
ad eum ueniret. Coepit illum uirum dei ut adsolebat
de aliis interrogare; Ille autem tarde respondens. dum
cum sermone suspirium traxit; Quis ipse frater inquiens
ait; Domine mi: quid noui tibi accidet? an forte

1083 *ta 1084 *ta; *to 1086 * marked in outer margin
nisse nihte sum + untrummysse gelamp. pa andswarode he him 7 him (36r) owed to. adle me gelamp on nisse nihte. pa frægn he eft hine.
wast pa min fæder bone intingan pinre adle þhpe to hwyllum ende wenest þu þet seò mettrummysse wylle gelimpan. pa andswarode he him eft se halga wer 7 him owed to. þes ongitenysse minre untrummysse ys. þet of þisum lichaman seoal beon se gast alded. forpon þan eahtoban dag bid ende þere minre mettrummysse. forpon þet gedafenað þet se gast beo gægearwod þet ic mag gode filian. þa he þa þas word gehyrde

toote hæo ulla te infirmitatis molestia tetigit ? At ille : etiam inquit molestia me tetigit noote hæo ; Quem item interrogans ait ; sciose pater mi tuæ infirmitatis causam ? aut quem finem huius molestæ agritudinis esse putas ? cui uir dei respondens inquit ; fili me. languoris mei causa est ut ab his membris spiritus reputetur ; Finis autem infirmitatis meæ erit oetaaus dies. in quo peraeto huius uite cursu debeo dissolui. et esse cum oristo; Expedit enim sarcina carnis abieota agrum dei sequi. His auditis.

1098 reputetur : alternative reading is separatur
se foresprecena brodor becel. he þa swyðe weop 7 geomrian
ongan 7 mid mycelre uneðnyssé his eagospind mid tearum
geloglice leohhte. þa refrode hine se godeð wer GVTHLAC 7
him oswæ to. Min bearn ne beo þu na geænrotsod forbon ne bið
me nêñig uneðnysse þat ic to drihtne minum gode fare. Wes
swa mycel rumnes on him þæs halgan geleafan 7 swa mycele he
to þære godeðs lufan hêðde. þat se cûpa 7 se uncûpa calle
him wæs gelice gesegen on godum dædum. Þæ þæs ymbe feower niht
com se forma easterdag. he þa se eadiga wer GVTHLAC on þære

776 eagospind: Kln em. eagospind 777 uneðnyssé: Gdn em.
uneðnyssa, Kln em. uneðnyssa 780 rumnes: Kln em. rumyns
781 hêðde: Gdn, Ger hêðde 782 gelice: Gdn, Ger gelice

predictus frater: flens et gemens. crebris lacrimarum
riuilis meatas genas riguit; Quem uir dei consolans sit;
filii mi tristitiam ne admittas: non enim mihi labor est ad
dominum meum cui serviui in requiem uenire eternam; Tantê
ergo fidei fuit. ut mortem quem cunctis mortalibus timenda
formidandaque uidetur. ille uelut requiem aut premium
laboris iudicaret; Interia decursis quaternarum dierum art-
iculis; dies paschæ peruenit. in qua uir dei contra uires
his mettrumnysse gode lāc onmāgde and ʃēsān sāng ʃ syhban he
pā déorwyrban lāc of ʃ frode cristes blodes. pā ongan he ʃ pām
foresprescan breþer godspellian. ʃ he hine swa swybe deoplice
mid his lāre inseode ʃet he mēfre ʃ ēr ne syhban swylo ne gehyrde.
Mid pān pā seofoda dāg com þere his mettrumnysse. pā com se
foresprescena broðor on þere sixtan tīde þes dāges ʃet he hine
genesian wolde. pā gemette he hine hlēonian on þam hale his
cyroan wīd þam weofode. pā hēwpere he ne mīhte wīd hine
sprecan. forpon he gesēah ʃet his untrumnysse hine swybe
swencte. pā þeah hēwpere he hine after þon bād ʃet he his word
to him forleþ ʃ ēr þon þe he swulte. he þa se eadiga wer guþlac
hwēþwego frem þam wage þa wērgan līmu ahōf cwēð þa þus to
1110 (59”)

exsurgens. immolato dominici corporis sacrificio et ʃ gust-
ato sanguinis cristi libamine. prefato fratri uerbum dei
suangelizare coepit; qui numquam ante neque post tam magnum
profunditatem scientiae ab ullius ore audisse testatur; Deni-
que cum septimus dies infirmitatis ipsius deuenisset; prefatus
frater illum circa horam sextam visuit. inuenitque eum
recumbentem in angulo oratorii sui contra altare; nec tamen
tune cum eo loquebatur; quia pondus infirmitatis facult-
atem loquendi exemit; Denique illo poscente ut dicta sua
secum dimitteret antequam moreretur. uir dei cum parumper
a pariete fessos humeros leuerat. suspirans aiebat;
fili mi quia tempus nunc propincuat: ultima mandata mea intende; Postquam spiritus hoc corpusculum deseruerit, perge ad sororem meam pegan: et dicas illi: quia ideo aspectum ipsius in hoc seculo uitaui: ut in eernam oram patre t
nostro in gaudio sempiterno ad inuicem uideamus*; Dicas quocue ut illa corpus meum inponat in sarcofago: et in sindone inuoluat: quam mihi ecgburg mittebat; Nolui quidem uiuens ullo lineo tegmine corpus meum tegere: sed pro amore dilecte cristi virginis quae hoc munera mittebat: ad uoluendum corpus meum reserved curaui; Audiens autem hoc prefatus frater.

1125 *s.nos  1129 *s.mihi  1130 .III. in outer margin
exorces inquit; obsecro pater mi quia infirmitatis tuam intellego. et moriturum te audio. ut dicas mihi unum de quo olim te interrogare non ausus diu sollicitabar; Nam ab eo tempore quo tecum domine habitare coeperam. te loquentem ues- pere et mane audiebam nescio cumquo; propterea adiuro te.

ne me sollicitum de hac re post obitum tuum dimittas; Tunc uir dei post temporis interiuallum anhelans ait; fili mi de hac re sollicitari noli; quod enim uiuens ulli hominum indicare nolui; nunc tibi manifestabo; A sequendo etiam anno quo

1135

1136 *i.curiosum

1138 *i.curare
westen earcoda pet on 6fen 7 on ernemergen god sylfa þone
engoeł minre froyre to me sende. se me ba heofonlican geryno
openode. þa nanegum men ne alyfað to seoganne. 7 ba
heardynsse mines gewinnes mid heofonlican engellicum spreōum
ealle + gehihte. þe me afweordan gecyddde 7 geopenode swa þa
andweardum. 7 nu min bearn. pet leofe geheald þu min word
7 þu hi nanigum oprum men ne seoge buton pege minre suwstor 7
eogberhte þam anoran gif pet gelimpe pet þu wid hine gesprece.
þa he þas word spreō. he þa his heafod to þam wage onhylde.


heremum habitare coeopperam. mane uesperaeque semper angelum
consolationis meæ ad meum colloquium domimus mittebat:
qui mihi mysteria quæ non licet homini narrare monstrabat.
qui duritiam laboris mei cælestibus oraculis subleuuit:
qui absentia mihi monstrando ut presentia presentabat; 0
fili hæc dicta mea conserva. nullique alio multitueris
nisi pegiæ aut eogberhto anaanchorite. si usquam in collo-
quimium eius tibi uenire contigerit. qui solus hæc sic
fuisse cognoscebat; Dixerat. et cruciæm parieti flectens

1140

1145

1148 *e. hæc
7 mid langra sworstunge þat ord of þam breostum teah. Mid þy he eft gewyrpte. 7 þam ord onfeng. þa com seo swetynys of þam midæ swa þera wynsumesta blostman stenc. 7 þa þære after-fylgendar nihte mid þan þe se foresprecena brodur nihtlicum gebedum befeall. þa gesæh he eall þat hus utan mid mycelre beorhtnesse ymbæald. 7 seo beorhtynys þær ñwunode od ðæg. þa hit on mergen ðæg was. he þa se gode ðær eft styrede hwæþwego 830

7 þa weregan leomu up ahof. þa ovæd he to him þús. Min hærn gearwa þe 7 þu on þone mid ðære þe ic þe gehet. forþon nu þa seo ðid þat se gæst sceal forståtan þa weregan limo 7 to þam

longa suspiria imo de pectore traxit. refociilatoque rursus spiritu cum parumper anhelaret. uelut melliflui floris odorat- us de ore ipsius procedisse sentiebatur: ita ut totam domum qua sederet nectarius odor inflaret; Nocte uero sequenti cum prefatus frater nocturnis vigiliis incumberet: igneo candore a medio noctis spatio usque in auroram totam domum circumsplendescere uidebat; Oriente autem sole uir dei subleu- atis parumper membris. uelut exsurgens cum supramemorato fratre loqui coepit dicens: fili mi: prepara te in iter tuum per- gere; nam me nunc tempus cogit ab his membris dissolui. et
unde...
gehyrde. 7 allan þet ingleand mid mycelre swetynesse wunderlices stences ormadum was gefyllled. He þa se foresprecena broþor sone mid mycelre fyrhte was geslēgen eode þa on scip 7 þa ferde to þere stowe þa se gode wer ær bebead. 7 þa com to pege 7 hire þa eall þa pinge sæde after endebyrdnesse swa se broþor hine het. þa heo þa gehyrde þone broþor forðferedne heo þa sone on sorðan föll 7 mid mycelre hefignyse gefyllled weard þat heo word geowepan ne mihte. Mid þan heo þa eft hig gehyrte. heo þa of þam breostum innnewardum lange sworetunge

851 ormadum: Gdn, Car em, ormatum 854 sæde: Gdn sæde

cere uidebatur; Cantibus quoque angelicis spatium totius seris detonari audiebatur: insulam etiam illam diuersorum aromatum odoriferis spiraminibus inflari cerneres; Deinde supramemoratus frater inmenso formidine tremeractus: eximii splendoris coruscationem sustinere non ualens: arrepta nauticula portum requirit. ac deinde quo uir dei precoperat certo itinere perrexit Deueniens quoque ad sanctam cristi virginem pegian: fraterna sibi mandata omni ex ordine narruit; Illa uero his auditis: uelut in precipitium delapsa se solo preme mens: inmenseroris molestia medullitus emarcuit: linqua siluit: labrum obmutuit: omnique uiuali uigore uelut ex animis suamuit; Post uero interuentum temporalis ceu somno expergefacta: * imis de pectoris fissuris longa suspiria

1170

1175

1180(61V)
trahens, arbitrio omnipotentis grates egit; posterius uero
die secundum praeceptum beati uiri insulam devenientes totum
locum omnesque domus uelut ambrosiano odoris repletas inuen-
erunt; illa uero digna famula trius dieum spatii fraternum
spiritum diuinie landibus calo commendabat: tertia die sec-
undum praeceptum illius felicis membri in oratorio suo hunc
tecta considerunt;

51 QUAEITER CORPUS IPSIVM SINE CORRUPTIONE POST XII. VERSUS RE-
PERTUM EST.
Volens autem divina pietas latius monstrare quanta in gloria
uir sanctus post obitum uiueret. suius ante mortem uita

1188/9 red rubric 1190 V green; in outer margin V.
manna eagum swa manigum wundrum scenan 7 berhte. Mid by he pa
was twelf monad bebyrged aferhis fordore. Ba onsende god
on bet mod bare drihtnes peowan het heo wolde eft pone
brodorlican lichaman on odre byrgene gesettan. heo pa pyder
togesemmode godes peowa 7 messepreosta 7 cyrclice endebyrnysse.
bet by ylean dage pes ymbe twelf monad pe seo fordore pes
eadigan weres was. hi pa pa byrgene untyndon pa gemetton hi
pone lichaman ealne ansundne swa he ar wes. 7 pa gyt
lifigende were. 7 on libo bignyssum 7 on eallum pingum bet
he was slæpendum men geliera mycole ponne forferedum swylice

869 fordore: Kln em. forfere 872 cyrclice: Gdn em. cyrel-
lire, Kln cirliore, Ger em. obre cyroliice 876 libo big-
nyssum: Gdn, Kln em. lipa bignyssum, Ger lipobignyssum

sublimitibus orebrisque miraculorum indiciis populis tribibus
gentibus late ubique fulgebati: addidit eternè commemoration-
is indicium; Transactis enim sepulture eius bis senis mensium
orbibus: + inmisit in animum sororis ipsius: ut fraternel
 corpus alio sepulchro reconderet; Aggregatis ergo fratribus
presbiterisque neonon et aliis ecclesiasticis gradibus. die
exitus ipsius aperientes sepulchrum: inmuenerunt corpus tot-
um integrum quasi adhuc uiueret: et lentes artuum flexibus
multo potius dormienti quam mortuo similius uidebatur; sed
ael pa hraegl pare ylcan niwnyse be hig on fruman ymbe hone
lichaman gedon waron pa hi pas ping gesawon be par sarod et
waron pa waron hi swide forhte for pig be hi ber gesawon. 7
hi swa swyde ne mid pare fyrhte waron geslegene bet hi naht spreac
ne mihton. Ta heo pa seo cristes peowe PEGE bet gesah. pa
was heo sona mid gastlicere blisse gefyllod 7 ha hone halgan †
lichaman mid pare arwurønysse cristes losangum on opre scytan
bewand pa ECGBRIHT se ancræ ar him lifigende to pam ylcan
penunge sende. Swylce ael pa bruh nalmes bet hi eft pa on
sordan dydon, so on gemyndelicere stowe 7 on arwyrøre hi pa
gesetton. seo stow nu eft fram ÆDELBALDE pam kyninge mid

885 ðam : Gdn, Kln, Ger em. ðere

et uesimenta* omnia quibus insolutum erat non solum intem-
erata. uerum etiam antiqua nouitate et pristino candore
splendebant; Quod ubi qui intererant prospezerunt : statim
stupefacti tretentes steterunt. adeo ut uix fari potu-
issent. uix miraculum intueri auderent, et uix ipsi
cuid agerent nossent. Quod ubi crieti famula pegia pro-
spexit. spirituali gaudio commvtata. sacratum corpus cum
diuinarum laudum uenerantia in sindone quam eo uiuente
eogberhtus anachorita in hoc officium mittebat revoluit; †
Sed et sarcopagum non humo terre convidit. i mo etiam in
memoriale quoddam posuit. quod nunc æthelbaldo rege

1201 *uidebantur 1207 commvtata : MS v over earlier o
1208 diuinarum : MS a over subpuncted o
manigfealdum getimbrum ye arwurðlice gewurþod. þer se
sigeſesta lichama þes halgan wæres gærtlice restep. 7 se man
se þe þa stowe mid ealle his magne gesæod. þonne þurh þa
hingunge þes halgan wæres he gefromeð þurhtyhf þet he
wifnað. Se eadiga wer guðlaeg he was goðren man on godoundum
dædum 7 salra gesnyttra goldhord. 7 he was gestæþpig on his
þæsæum. swylce he wæs on oristes þeowdome swa geornfullice
abygode þet him nafre alles on his mæde mæs. buton cristes

894 gestæþpig: Xln gestæþig

miris ornamentorum structuris in uenerantiam divinae potentiae
edificatum conspicuum: ubi triumphale corpus tanti uiri
usque in hodiernum temporis cœlum feliciter pausat. per
ouius intercessionem miserationis divinae indulgentiam quisquis
integra fide pulsauerit inpetrabit; O uirum beatae memorie.
o magistrum divinæ gratiae. o uas electionis. o medium
salutis. o preconem ueritatis. o thesaurum sapientiae. O
quanta granitas. quanta dignitas in uerbis et confabulationibus
illius erat; quam alacer. quam efficax in discernendis
causis fuit; quam in absoluentes scripturarum questionibus
promptus et facilis. quam inremesso famulatu deo seru-
iret. in tantum ut nunquam in illius ðore nisi cristus.

1215

1220 *promptus: *agilis. vel capax
lof ne on his heortan butan ærfæstnes . ne on his mode butan
syp 7 lufu and mildheortnes . ne hyne nan man yrne† gesæah ne
ungeornfulne to cristes þeowdome . ac a man mihte on his
andwitan lufe 7 sibbe oungeyan 7 æ was swætyns on his mode
7 snyttro on his breostum 7 swa mycel gladnesse on him was .
blæste he a þam cuðum 7 þam uncuðum was gelice gesægan .
Be æpelbalde kyninges .
Æfter þyssum geacscede æpelbald se forescægæa wæccoca on
feorlandum þæs halgan weres fóðfóre . sancte gúplaes . forpon
he ana ær þon was his geberh 7 7 frofor . þa was he semninga
(39v)

898 yrne : MS yrre, Kln, Gar em. yrne 901 gladnesse : Cdn,
Kln em. gladns 903 maroon title 904 & maroon

numquam in illius corde nisi pietas . nihil in ipsius animo
nisi caritas . nisi pax . nisi misericordia . nisi indulgent-
ia perstatab ; Nemo uidet illum iratum . nemo alatum . nemo
superbum . nemo commotum . nullus merentem : sed unus idemque
semper permanens lætitiam in uultu . gratiam in ore . susu-
itatem in mente . prodentiam in pectore . humilitatem in
corde preparabat : ita ut extra humanam naturam notis ignot-
isque esse uidetur ;

52 QUALITER POST OBITVM SVVM AEPELBALDO SE OSTENDIT . ET QVE
VERTVRA ESSENT SIBI PER SIGMA MANIFESTAVIT .

Postquam ergo prefatus exul æpelbaldus in longinquis region-
ibus habitans obitum beati patris guthlací auduit . qui ante

solus refugium et consolatio laborum ipsius erat : subita

1232/3 red rubric; VII in outer margin 1230 preparabat ;
alternative readings with verb prefere
arreptus mestitia ad corpus ipsius pervenit: sperans in
domino d arii i uiri gublac i ; Qui cum ad sepulchrum
illius successisset* lacrimans siebat; pater mi: tu scis
miserias meas: tu semper adiutor mei fuiisti: te uiuente
non desperabam: in angustiis adfuiisti mihi: in periculis
multis per te imucoabam dominum et liberavit me: modo quo
uertam faciem mean: unde erit auxilium mihi? Aut quis cons-
siliabitur mecum pater optime? Si me dereliqueris quis me
consolabitur? in te sperabam: nec me spee fefellit: Hec
et multa alia proloquens sese stornebat: et supplex orans:
crebris laorimarum fluentes totum uultum rigabat: Nocturnis
autem adpropiantibus umbris: cum in quadam casula qua

1240 * pervenisset 1248 VIII. in outer margin
ante uiuente gudlacu hospitari solebat : 1250
mentem huc illuoque iactabat . pernoctans mestam
mentem huc illuoque iactabat . parumper nocturnis † oration-
ibus transmissis . cum lumina leui somno demitteret . subito
expergefactus totam cellulam in qua quiesebat inmensi lum-
inis splendore circumfulgescere uidit ; et cum ab ignota
uisione terreretur : extimpo bestum gudlacum coram adstant-
em angelico splendore amictum prosipicit : dicentem ei ; noli
timere . robustus esto . quia deus adiutor tuus est ;

ante uiuente gudlacu hospitari solebat : 1250
mentem huc illuoque iactabat . pernoctans mestam
mentem huc illuoque iactabat . parumper nocturnis † oration-
ibus transmissis . cum lumina leui somno demitteret . subito
expergefactus totam cellulam in qua quiesebat inmensi lum-
inis splendore circumfulgescere uidit ; et cum ab ignota
uisione terreretur : extimpo bestum gudlacum coram adstant-
em angelico splendore amictum prosipicit : dicentem ei ; noli
timere . robustus esto . quia deus adiutor tuus est ;
propterea ueni ad te quia dominus per intercessionem meam ex-
sauduiit preces tuas ; Noli tristari . dies enim miseriaeum

tuarum preterierunt ; et finis laborum tuorum adest ; Nam

priusquam sol bis senis uoluminibus annalem circumuoerit

orbae : sceptris regni donaberis ; Non solum autem ut ferunt

regnum sibi prophetauit . sed et longituninem dierum suarum .
et fines uite suae sibi in ordine manifestauit ; Illo uero e

contra dicebat ; † domine mi . quod signum mihi erit quia

omnia sio eveniant ? Guthlacuus respondit ; signum hoc tibi

erit ; cum orastina dies aduenerit . antequam tertia hora

fiat . his qui in hoc loco habitant unde non sperant solacia

alimentorum donabuntur ; Hoc dicens sanctus uir ; et lux quæ

ocram apparuit ab oculis illius ethelbaldi recessit ; Nec

mora dicta effecta secuta sunt ; nam priusquam tertia diei

hora propinquasset . signum in porta pulsatum sudierunt ;
hominesque illic insperata solacia portantes conspicuunt ;

* propterea ueni ad te quia dominus per intercessionem meam ex-
sauduiit preces tuas ; Noli tristari . dies enim miseriaeum
tuarum preterierunt ; et finis laborum tuorum adest ; Nam

priusquam sol bis senis uoluminibus annalem circumuoerit

orbae : sceptris regni donaberis ; Non solum autem ut ferunt

regnum sibi prophetauit . sed et longituninem dierum suarum .
et fines uite suae sibi in ordine manifestauit ; Illo uero e

contra dicebat ; † domine mi . quod signum mihi erit quia

omnia sio eveniant ? Guthlacuus respondit ; signum hoc tibi

erit ; cum orastina dies aduenerit . antequam tertia hora

fiat . his qui in hoc loco habitant unde non sperant solacia

alimentorum donabuntur ; Hoc dicens sanctus uir ; et lux quæ

ocram apparuit ab oculis illius ethelbaldi recessit ; Nec

mora dicta effecta secuta sunt ; nam priusquam tertia diei

hora propinquasset . signum in porta pulsatum sudierunt ;
hominesque illic insperata solacia portantes conspicuunt ;
Exinde omnia quae sibi dicta erant recordans. Indubitata
spe futura fore credebant: fidemque inseducibitem in uaticiniis
uiri deae defixit; Nec illum fides sese illit; Ex illo enim
tempore usque in hodiernum diem: infusa regni ipsius felici
citas per temporae consequentiae de die in die crescebat;
A QUALITER CECVS QVIDAM POST OBITVM § IPSIVS PER SACRATAM AP EO
SALEM SANATVS EST §
Nec etiam defuncto ac sepulto cristi famulo gudlac, signa vir-
tutum ac sanitatum quae per illum uientem dominus hominibus
donabant: per invocationem intercessionis ipsius ubique candes-
cere presentem ad usque diem cessaerunt: ut qui uiuens pomposus
uirtutum rumoribus se eleuare noluit. quanti meriti uel quanti
ualitudinis erat. post obitum suum per plurima miraculum
trophea monstraretur: Erat namque ouidam uir oterfamilias.
on pere magis visa. hes eagan weran mid fleo 7 mid vimmesse twelf mons offergan. mid by his laces hine mid sealfum lange teolodon, and hit him nawiht to hallo ne fremede. ha was he innan godcundlice namod but gife hine man to pere stowe geleode GUTHANCES but he pone his hallo 7 resibbe onfengoe. hes ha menig hwil to hon but him his frynd on pere stowe brohton to owelanede. and hi ha gesprescon to pere cristis peowan PEGAH, and heo pes menne geleasan trumne 7 fastne gehyrde.


1290 *deliberare* 1292 *priuationem* 1290 *vel lumina*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>945</td>
<td>946 geson : Gdn geson 949 worulda woruld : Gdn, Kl, Ger em, worulda woruld</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

intra oratorium quo corpus beati guthlaci recumbent duci per-
visit ; Illa cuoque partem glutinati salis a sancto guthlaco
ante consecratam arripiens : in aquam offertoriam leui rasura
mittebat ; Ipsa demique aquam cum intra palpebras osce gutta-
tim stillaret : mirabile dictu ad primum tactum prsum gutta

detrusis oculatis nubibus. oculis infusum lumen redditum

est ; Priusquam enim alterius oculi palpebris salutaris limpha
infundetur quicquid domi esset in ordine narrat : uisum-
que sibi in eodem momento donatum fatebatur ; Deinde postquam

diu clausas gratia per gratiam frontis reclusit fenestras .

cognouit inuentum olim quod perdidit lumen ; lux se ducentibus
factus est . reuerens rursus ; Exin ubi lucem de fonte luminis
hausit . ibat quo uenerat . nec sic reuersus ut erat : uidet-
que uidentes . quos prius uidere negauit . grates duo per-
solvens divinas quas nullus reddere nescit ;

EXPLICIT LIBER S.CTI GUTHLACI ANACHORITAE .
The line references given here both at the head of and within entries will be for the Vespasian Life if a number only appears. References to the life by Felix are prefaced by Vita and to the Vercelli Homily by Hly.

Problems concerning the style of the Vita will not be dealt with in this commentary, because their inclusion would make this section unwieldy and because such questions are better treated in B. Colgrave's edition than I could ever hope to deal with them. It should however be noted that the many borrowings from the Aeneid identified by Colgrave could for the most part have been absorbed by Felix from the Evagrian life of St Anthony. The verbal parallels between this Vita and other earlier writings observed by Colgrave provide at once a useful summary of the lists made earlier by Gonser 1909 and Kurtz 1926 and a fuller account of such features than is given by either. A list supplementary to Colgrave's edition is to be found in Bolton (1959, pp. 37-38).

1 Sir Robert Cotton's signature of ownership appears at the top of folio 18r and beside it, in a thirteenth/fourteenth century hand, are found the words:

Incipit prologue alfrioci monachi in uitem sanctae Guthlacæ

The folios containing the Old English life of St Guthlac were at one time part of the Bodleian manuscript Laud Miscellany 509 and were probably first bound up with the other materials of Cotton Vespasian D xxi in the Cottonian library. The text opens with a large green capital Φ, the first of twenty-three sectional capitals, a row of smaller capitals following. See further II.2 (especially c).
The opening clauses of the *Life* are translated by Goodwin:

To the truly-believing in our Lord, for ever and ever, to my dearest lord above all other men, earthly kings - Alfwold, king of the East-Angles, rightly and worthily holding the kingdom - I, Felix, have set forth the true belief, and the blessing of eternal salvation for all God's faithful people, and send greeting.

Gonser, noting that the structure of the opening lines *ist nicht ganz durchsichtig*, quotes Goodwin's interpretation of them as giving tolerable sense. At the same time however he expresses dissatisfaction with this interpretation because it does not answer closely enough to the beginning of the *Vita*.

The Old English translator may indeed have produced a version more closely related to the Latin original than is this, for the two opening phrases may reflect the attempt of the translator to translate Felix's *IN DOMINO DOMINORVM l*. Adjectives qualifying God are frequently placed after the noun, for example *almightig* especially, and *RHTGELYFENDVM* by position suggests that *WEALDENDE* refers to God rather than Alfwold; this explanation gains support from the following phrase *A WORVLDa woruld*. If instead of the present participle the text contained a passive participle, (and dittography after *WEALDENDE* could be argued, or the misinterpretation of some careless stroke
above the first words in the scribe's exemplar), the first three words of the *Life* might be rather freely interpreted 'In the name of our true Lord'. Yet, as these opening clauses of the Old English text contain another reference to *sællum geleafullum godes folcum* unprompted by the *Vita*, it seems that Gonser is wrong in looking for something nearer to the Latin in the *Life* and that Goodwin's interpretation of the passage should for the most part be accepted.

**AVORVLDa worulda** : An Old English phrase *on (ealra) worulda* worulda, a translation of the Latin *in sæcula sæculorum*, appears frequently in religious writings. Sometimes emphasis is given it by an accompanying *a* or *a butan ende* (see, for example, the closing lines of this text), but the *A* which here introduces the phrase is better regarded as the reflection of the preposition *on*. Loss of final *a* occurs occasionally within the text, though not elsewhere from the preposition (see II.4/C.1(h) for examples of its loss) which in any case occurs in the form *an* only in line 294. However, it seems best in a conservative edition of an Old English text preserved in a late manuscript to retain the manuscript *A*, adopting either this explanation or arguing the omission of a nasal stroke.

As the opening line of the text in the manuscript ends with *AVORVLD* and as scribal convention allowed the genitive plural inflexion within this phrase to be prefixed to the following word (compare the note for line 949), the edited text contains an odd-looking *AVORVLDa* in its
attempt to represent as clearly as possible the letter forms used
by the scribe.

2 sordinice kyningas: The placing of this phrase in apposition
to men brings the Old English version into line with the con-
tents of the Vita where Felix prizes Alfwold above all others of
royal rank but, as it stands, the passage cannot be regarded as
close translation.

2–3 alfwold ... healdend: In these parenthetical phrases the
Old English version does not follow the Latin structure and
the words alfwold, cyning and healdend do not agree in case with
minum Pam leofestan hlaforde. Lack of grammatical sequence of
this sort appears frequently in Old English translations and indeed
in other dedicatory passages, as in Alfred’s letter prefixed to the
Cura Pastoralis translation or in many charters.

For a note on Alfwold, see Appendix 3.

3 mid rihte ... healdend: Gonser (p. 78) cites this phrase
as the first of three instances of alliterierende Wortdoppeung
in the Life. His other examples are the word-pairs bone gelaredan
7 bone geleafullan 8 and oleopode. He does not note
that in line 3 the alliteration extends beyond the linked phrases,
including rice, but it is most likely only coincidental that the
translation here appears to reproduce Felix's rite regimina regenti 4.
Discussion of the apparent lack of alliteration as a stylistic device used by the translator will be found in II.3/b and II.4/C.1 where it will also be pointed out that two further examples of alliteration quoted by Gonser from the Homily misrepresent the amount of alliteration found in that text.

4 bone . . . folium. : The translator may have misunderstood the phrase Vita 4 catholic congratiationis uernaoulus which would account both for these words and perhaps also for the opening phrases.

5 gesend : Despite the first person Vita 5 salutem the Old English gesend is in the third person so often used in formal styles. There is no need to emend the form to gesende with Goodwin, for a change from formal third person to first person verb forms occurs in many other Old English texts (see Smithers 1947, pp. 109-13 where quite a few examples are collected together). In the following sentences the Life, like the Vita, uses the first person.

6 tmhteatt, MS ahtest : This emendation is put forward by Goodwin but is rejected by Gonser who, on the suggestion of Brandl, connects the manuscript form with assian. He presents the emendation ahtest as graphically more probable, referring to Sievers (416 note 17) for explanation of the disappearance of the medial vowel. Ekwall (1910, p. 300) points out that the particular paragraph in Sievers' grammar alluded to by Gonser deals with weak verbs of the third class and instead suggests the form ahsodeatt as a more suitable
emendation. Kern (1917, p. 2) also notes Gonser's misuse of Sievers' work here, pointing out that the passage referred to by him contains discussion of an unlikely *ēhate. His preference for Goodwin's *tæhtæt, based on a comparison of it with Vita 7 precepicisti, is followed in this edition.

7 hæs arwurðan gemynende GVBLACES: Both previous editors emend the article here which would agree with the phrase immediately following, arwurðan gemynende. (The noun gemyn, where context makes its gender unambiguous, is in the Life feminine, presumably the reason for the change made here by Goodwin and Gonser). The emendation is unnecessary, for hæs is susceptible of two explanations. First, it can be regarded as showing the use of a non-feminine case form of the definite article with the genitive singular gemyn (the noun appears often with such articles in Old English and is therefore generally regarded as both feminine and neuter, although feminine only in cognate languages), but the expected case form for a neuter genitive does not appear in the noun. Secondly, the article hæs may be regarded as qualifying GVBLACES, in which case the adjective is weak through the influence of the preceding article.

In brief accounts of Old English syntax it is generally ruled that when a noun in the genitive, with the definite article, stands before another noun on which it depends and which would also (if it stood alone) have an article, only the article of the descriptive phrase appears. Yet, when the noun in the genitive is some word for
'God', the article qualifying the word on which it depends often appears, as in:

se godes cempa 209; se godes man 550; se godes wer 720, 777, 835, 853, 864; bare drihtnes gife 681; 
to bam godes men 567; to bam godes were 687; bare 
drihtnes beowan 870; see cristes beowe 882; and 
bare cristes femman 804.

Sometimes the article is accompanied by an adjective:

se leofa godes beow 747; se stranga cristes cempa 399.

This construction is used quite widely in the Life, not only when the 
descriptive genitive denotes some person, as in:

to bam biscopes begnum 696 

but also when it denotes some thing:

ba stowe digelnesse 196; bes halgan gastes geleafan 211; 
ba dimnysse beostru 366; of bam huses hrofe 515

It is interesting to note how these phrases have fared in the 
hands of the editors. Where the descriptive genitive is some word 
for 'God' the article of the manuscript is allowed to stand, for such 
phrases are recognised as frequently found in Old English (see Wulfing 1901, I. p. 50 for Alfredian examples). The phrase to bam biscopes begnum 696 is amended by Gonser to to bes biscopes begnum, whereas 
Goodwin here retains without comment the manuscript's bam. Editorial 
inconsistency is marked in the small group of these forms remaining 
for examination:

ba stowe digelnesse 196: Goodwin, Klipstein and Gonser 
all amend ba to bere.
hals halgan gastes geleafan 211: no change in the article is necessary on account of the genders of the nouns involved. An ambiguity in interpretation is however evident in Gonser's edition. In his text he inserts a comma between gastes and geleafan, yet elsewhere equates the words halgan geleafan with Vita 365 fidei. See further the note for line 211.

ba dimnyse beostru 365: No emendation of ba is made by either Goodwin or Gonser. It should be noted that Hly 138 ba dimman beostru may show a revision of a phrase similar to the reading of the Life.

of ham huses hrofe 365: Both Goodwin and Gonser emend ham to hes. This particular instance only is noted by Kern (1917, p. 7) who, comparing the phrase with to ham biscoles beginum 696, points out that in both these places the manuscript reading should be retained.

In a few other phrases where two interpretations are possible it could be claimed that the article does not agree with the nearer noun (for example, on middan here lyfte heannysse 375, but lyft is demonstrably used in the feminine in this text), but, because of their ambiguity, such passages are not included here. All the examples listed suggest that a phrase composed of a descriptive genitive and the noun on which it depends was felt as a group far more widely than is generally recognised.

8 bone gelaredan 7 bone geleafullan: See the note for line 3.

9 hleahterlic: As Kern (1917, p. 2) points out, this adjective corresponds to the Vita 9 uitiosus and leahterlic would there-
fore be expected here. The manuscript form is however retained
because of the insecurity of initial h before the consonants l, r,
n and w. Forms with the omission of this h appear sporadically in
texts of all periods (see Campbell §61), and the incorrect addition
of h, mostly before initial r and n, also occurs occasionally (see
Luick §704 note 1). Comparable with this bleahterlic 9 is the mix-
ing of bleahtor and leahtor noted by Kern from a vocabulary:

Ww 251.14 and bleahtra 'et uitiorum'
The semantic overlap of 'ridiculous' and 'faulty' possible in some
contexts may also have had some effect upon these forms.

9 us: Although the Old English version is here very different
from the Vita and suggests either the paraphrasing or cutting
of considerable portions of the original, it reflects Felix's formal
use of plural beside singular pronouns of the first person.

11 bat on worde godes rice ne wunad, MS ha/ongodes rice newuniahe:
Goodwin's emendation of this clause by bat on wordum godes rice
ne wunad is accepted without comment by Gonser. As it stands in
the manuscript the text makes little sense and either the translator
must be blamed for his misunderstanding of Felix or loss of some word
or words during the transmission of the Life is to be argued. I
feel that the earlier editors are right in supplying a minimal emenda-
tion for the sake of sense, but prefer to retain the manuscript worde
(instead of their wordum) because it is parallel with Æwylaysse.
The mistake might easily have arisen during the revision of the text.
12 Ac gemine 7 Gebence: Of this phrase Goodwin writes:

The words, ac gemine and Gebence, are repeated apparently by mistake; from idelum bancum, must be wrong; but whether the mistake be that of the translator or the scribe, I cannot determine, and leave the words as I find them.

He does, however, omit Ac and is followed in this emendation by Conser, though Vita 13 guidem can be set against it.

Conser suggests that the structure of this whole passage would be improved by changing ac 13 to mes but does not incorporate this emendation into his text, recognising that the phrases 7 ha halo ...

gesed 12-13 which surround Ac gemine 7 Gebence may be an elliptic imitation of the accusative and infinitive of the Vita 14-15. Probably the Old English does reflect the structure of the Latin text here for, although the late use of ha may appear elsewhere in the text (see the notes for ha in lines 453, 557 and II.4/6.1(a)), there is no certainty that ha in this context is anything other than the accusative article. Like the previous editors I do not add to the text here, but I retain the manuscript Ac as part of the translator’s interpretation of the Vita.

13 bancum: The word banc does not occur in Old English with the sense ‘orator’ and this dative plural cannot be glossed by Vita 13 oratoribus. Goodwin, uncertain whether this reading is a mistake on the part of the translator or the scribe, decides not to make any emendation. Conser does not comment on the form and Geisel simply
lists *pancum* as the dative plural of *pāne* 'sensus, grates', giving no parallel from the *Vita*. It could be argued that some scribe carelessly omitted a mark of abbreviation for *-er* and that *bancerum*, an agent noun paralleling *fiscerum* 13, should be read, but the entire phrase *fran idelum pancum gepaht* can be regarded as an attempt on the part of the translator to paraphrase *Vita* 13 *ab oratoribus*.

14-16 *swa . . . mihton*: Goodwin, pointing out that *gegylde* and *gesette* agree with *boc*, adds:

- *fagere* and *glawlice gesette*, could hardly be said of writers of books.

and compares with the passage lines 119-21.

The words in this passage cannot simply be equated with certain words and phrases from the *Vita* for the phrases *mid . . . gegylde* 15 and *fager & glawlice* must in the present text refer forward to *boc*, but in an earlier stage of its transmission the translation may have reflected more of the material from *Vita* 18-20. The pronoun *hīg* 16 looks back to *menige* 14.

16 *sylf*: This is glossed as a reflexive pronoun although in this text the normal form of the nominative plural masculine is *sylfe* (which would also be the expected form if the form is instead taken with *boc*). Goodwin emends *sylf* to the expected *sylfe* in his text, but see II.4/C.1(j).
16  *swa... gebyrum*: Goodwin emends the text to *swa we neode*
and *hebse gebyrumodon*, giving no explanation of these changes.
Gonser follows this emendation in his text, but is equally silent
about his reasons for doing so. In the apparatus to his edition
(see p. 87) the passage is included among those which require emend-
ation on grounds of sense. The phrases of the manuscript are cert-	ainly clumsy, but it is by no means impossible to make sense from
them with the help of the *Vita* as a guide to their interpretation and
I therefore prefer not to rewrite the passage. Goodwin's *gebyrum-
don* would be an attractive emendation if other examples of so radical
an abbreviation were found in this manuscript, and the examples list-
ed by Schlutter (1929, pp. 264-8) for the expansion of the nasal bar
other than to *m* and *n* include no instances which might support this
emendation as an expansion. The form *gebyrum* is within its context
best described as an adjective; for lack of accusative plural masco-
ulsive inflexion see II.4/c.2(h).

19  *hleahtræs*: Kern (1917, p. 3) suggests that this should be
changed to *leowtræs*, quoting *Vita* 24-25 *Cæne... eocseræs* in sup-
port of his emendation. However, the Old English version cannot
always be equated with the *Vita* in this way and as *hleahtræs* makes
sense within its context, the manuscript reading is retained. The
clause in which it stands follows quite naturally from the preceding
passage in the Old English text and may reflect the translation of
*Vita* 25-26 *id... fucseræs* rather than the earlier words with which
Kern identifies it.

20 heo, MS he: Both Goodwin and Gonser emend the manuscript he to hi but heo is here preferred for, as on follows, a mistaken transcription of this form as he might easily have arisen.

22 unwisdom geaiged: Both Goodwin and Gonser insert blindness to bring this clause nearer to the Vita, but it can be argued that the Old English Life explains simply that ignorance is the root of all evil (Vita 30–31 Origo; uenit) and that in this context a translation of Vita 28 Cesidas is not essential.

27 seo strange sa. 7 mycole: Goodwin, followed by Gonser, substitutes io for seo, emending the Old English text from the content of the Vita, but the change is not graphically convincing. Some mistranslation of the passage may lie behind the present text, for this phrase occupies subject position where it would be expected as complement. However, without emendation the clause can be regarded as comparative, modifying hefige 26.

27 becume: Although this could be interpreted as an optative paralleling Vita 36 pergamus as the verb form is not followed by a pronoun it seems safer not to seek for the structure of the Latin sentence in this part of the Old English text. The verb is without a subject pronoun, but this is perhaps to be supplied silently from io . . hefige 25–26.
to here, \textit{life}es: Gonser, noting that the phrase \textit{GVEILACES lifes} is marked off from the preceding phrase in the manuscript by stops, comments that \textit{die Worte sind auch wohl als Apposition gedacht} but does not introduce into his text the emendation from \textit{lifes} to \textit{life} which he points out this interpretation requires. The manuscript punctuation however marks out these two words discussed by Gonser as a smaller unity within this phrase which represents a telescoping of \textit{Vita 35-36 ad, \textit{uite}}.

\textit{hwylc ware}: It is difficult to see why Gonser should have thought it necessary to compare with this passage these words from the Old English Bede (Miller 1895, p. 384, line 10): \textit{his liif, hwelo were, cu3licor ascined, gif \dots}, for the use of \textit{hwyle} here is by no means unusual.

\textit{obbe}: Gonser points out that both here and in the Chad homily (see Vleeskruyer 1953, p. 162, line 4) \textit{obbe} has the co-ordinating function of Latin \textit{vel}. Compare also \textit{Life 768} and line 162 of the Chad homily. Klaeber (1902, pp. 268 ff.) points out that both the Latin and Old English usages are derived from an originally distributive meaning for this conjunction.

\textit{beo}: For other irregularities in nouns of the 'mutated' class in this text see II.4/C.1(i).
34 **his life:** The nominative singular life would better fit normal Old English sentence structure, but lives should not be amended as it reflects the case of Vita 42 tantui viri. Goodwin compares baram him swa sythe innan hare codes lufan 135 which stands against Vita 272 Ite enim in illo dieum gratia inflammatio flagrabit (see further the note for this passage), as does Conser. To these examples Conser adds mu ye bare tide sythe neah 796 which answers to Vita 1121 tempus mns propinquat. There is however no good reason to compare this clause with lines 34 and 135, for neah may be regarded as governing the dative phrase bare tide; the noun tempus of the Latin should not be used to suggest the interpretation of the phrase as genitive.

36 **on write:** Kern (1917, p. 3) notes that the use of writan with on may here be ascribed to the influence of Vita 48 quantusque scripti. He compares the use of on writing 'inscriptiones' in the Lindisfarne Gospels gloss for Luke I. 10. 8 and refers also to Swaen's remarks on on genenda as a semantic borrowing from Latin. Since Kern wrote this note a fuller discussion than Swaen's of the influence of Latin on Old English vocabulary has appeared, but these forms are not listed in it as of particular interest (see Kroeseh 1927, p. 63).

37 **wilfrides:** See the note for WILFRED 483 and also Appendix 3.

38 **for:** As the text stands for must be referred back to has bine 36.
The scribe's misdivision of the text here indicates either that he gave little thought to the meaning of his copy or else that the word *hyrde* was unfamiliar to him. A similar misdivision occurs in line 209, but otherwise the scribe divides phrases and clauses in a straightforward manner. It seems therefore that he interpreted the form before him as the commoner verb *hyrde* and the punctuation may represent his ad hoc emendation of the exemplar. The phrase, as Goodwin first observed, answers to *Vita* 60 *presentis cartula* and both he and Gonser think that *hyrde* may be a mistake for *hyde* - if *hyde* can be shown used for parchment. However, although the word is used for dressed as well as for raw skins and more particularly for book coverings, none of the examples of it listed either in *BT* or *BTs* indicate that it was used for 'parchment'. *BTs* list a doubtful form *hyrd* with the meanings 'a parchment?', 'a parchment covered with writing?', comparing with it a German dialect form *herdo* 'vellus' also of doubtful authority.

Sohlutter (1909, p. 323) points out that the same word as in this passage may appear in a glossary:

*MrW* 119–29 *aegida caprae pellem* *gatbuocan hyrde*

and infers from his two examples of the form a feminine noun *hyrd* 'pellis', cognate with the Old High German form *herdo*. The glossary entry should however be quoted in this form:

*Capra aegida, gatbuocan hyrde.*

and the noun to be inferred is *hyrd* rather than Schlutter's *hyrd* (but
see Meritt 1954, p. 154 where heorda is advanced; Meritt does not
corroborate given to interpretation of gloss by Old High German
gloss ægida : geizfel).

45 : This is the first of four only sectional numbers, the
last appearing at line 224. From 225 the translator, probably
no matter what text of the Vita he worked from, would have had reg-
ular chapter headings before him. This may explain why the system
of numbering found in the earlier part of the Old English version is
abandoned.

47 abela : Goodwin's emendation of this weak adjective to the
strong form abel, although it secures a poetic sounding com-
pound, is unnecessary as the word is preceded by sum.

47 on bare hebbeode myrnon rice / Vita 162 de egregia stirpe
merciorum : The Old English phrase bare hebbeode may be ex-
plained either as dative singular and in apposition to rice or as
genitive singular, for which compare abelan kynekynnes on myrnon
rice 501 / Vita 746 de inclita merciorum prole. The former inter-
pretation is preferred, for a similar pattern of words appears in of
bare hebbeode merona rice 619 / Vita 908 de proximis merciorum finibus,
whereas the genitive phrase of line 501 recedes the preposition on.

The conflicting use of hebbeode 47 and hebbeode 619 (this manu-
script form is emended to hebbeode in this edition) is first noted
by Goodwin who gives in both places the rather wide translation 'province'. He points out, in his note for line 47, that the Vita reading indicates that the word should describe the principal or royal family of Meroia, and can see no reason why the same word should be used in line 619. Klipstein (1849, I. p. 386) observes that *beod* denotes more than Modern English 'province' and suggests as a translation for line 47 'in the illustrious "theod", the Mercian kingdom'. However, he omits any comment on the manuscript reading *beahbeode* 619, though in all fairness to him line 619 does not appear in the extracts presented by him in his reader.

Neither form is discussed in Gonser's commentary. Both are glossed by Dr Geisel as *Reich* without any further comment. The emendation accepted into the text at line 619 has been put forward by Kern (1917, p. 7); see further the note for that passage. It should be added that the word *beahbeod* is not elsewhere recorded in Old English, but compounds in *heah-* are a common enough feature of Old English prose writings (for example, in the Blickling Homilies alone it appears with the bases -diaco, -angel, -geraf, -setl and priy).

47 **penwald**: The Vita manuscripts disagree as to the form of this name. The Old English version of the life gives the form found also in Harley 3097 and Douai 852 (closely related manuscripts from the fenland monasteries), a fact not noted by Colgrave (1956, p. 176) and one which might have made him waver from his championship of Penwalh. It may be significant that this version contains the form
found otherwise in fenland sources, although it has otherwise most in common with texts not closely related to these two; the form occurs also in the South English Legendary. The variant forms for this name as recorded by Colgrave in his collations are: penualh, Penwald, Penwaldus and, from late manuscripts dependent upon a text which reads Penualh, the forms Penwallus and Penulballus. From these forms it is obvious that the second element of this name must have been either -wealh or -wald, both found frequently as the base element in Old English names. Neither occurs elsewhere with the limiting element pen-. Keary (1887, I. p. 25) lists a Penwald (?) among Offa's moneyers, but this man's name is now generally recognised to be Pehtwald (see Brooke—third edition—1950, p. 26, Blunt 1961, p. 58 and Robertson 1961, no. 323). The phrase patre peuwaldo of the Hereford Breviary (Frere and Brown 1903, II. p. 141) also supports penwald rather than penwalh.

An interesting attempt has been made by Sir John Rhys to prove that Guthlac's father was of Brythonic origin. He points out that some names of others of the royal Mercian race are Brythonic, for example Pybba, Penda or Peada, and suggests that Penwalh should be explained as Pean-Pahel 'a man from Wall's End', but such derivation for the second element in this compound is unlikely (see further Gray 1911, p. 45 and fn 1).

There is little conclusive evidence for deciding which of the forms Penwald and Penwalh is the name of Guthlac's father. The
coincidence of the Old English account in which his father is named
with the forms found in Vita texts from the fenland area influences
me in my choice of Penwald. See also Appendix 3.

48 icingsæ : Vita 166 icles is the genitive case form for Icel.
This name appears in the Mercian genealogies, five generations
above Penda. See further Appendix 3.

51 ana : Goodwin suggests that this form should be emended either
to anæn (if the preceding be is treated as the article rather
than an adverb) or to anæ (with be as an adverb). Both Klipstein and
Gonser adopt the latter emendation, which is however unnecessary as
there is throughout the Life evidence for the levelling of -æ and -e
(see II.4/C.1(d) and 2(a)). Because occasional loss of final -n
occurs also in the manuscript (see II.4/C.2(c)) it would be possible
also to describe ana as the accusative singular of the weak feminine
declension, but this gives a reading without the support of the Vita.

53 TETTE : See Appendix 3.

56 bearn, MS taen : Some emendation is necessary here for the
sense and, as the passage resembles Vita 179-80 fairly closely,
the emendation first made by Goodwin is accepted. Scribal substitu-
tion of one recently written word for the form which appeared before
him in this context may explain the manuscript taen.
mid inseglum beelysde: This is apparently a technical phrase with the meaning 'sealed up with seals' and is paralleled in a passage from a sermon by Wulfstan:


unyðe þe wæs, þat þu hit eall ne miihtest gefastnjan ne mid inseglum beclysan.

(Napier 1883, p. 259, line 20)

The figurative extension of the phrase is curious. The noun insegel is used figuratively again at line 127 in the Life, but is not otherwise recorded used in this way. In both cases the extension is implicit within the Vita 179 sigillum and 267 sigillo, so the Old English forms may reflect a semantic borrowing for the nonce.

Gonser (pp. 91-92) quotes 56-59 efne . . wes as an example of the translator's misunderstanding of the Vita and notes that this falsche Auffassung continues into the next sentence: Life 59-61

Ba . . heofonum. However, the reasonably straightforward syntax of this passage, together with its self-consistency, would seem to indicate that an independent account of the miraculous is given in the Old English version. A different interpretation of these events at Guthlac's birth extends further in the text at this point than Gonser points out, for Life 63-64 7 . . wes does not summarise Vita 192-5 Transactis . . conferentibus; instead other details are again given. Life 65 Ba . . heafdon apparently corresponds to the first few words in Vita 192, but the correlative construction which binds together this and the next clause makes the appearance of the woman with news of Guthlac's birth seem an answer to the onlookers' prayers of enquiry to God.
Goodwin thinks the next two sentences in the translation defective and quotes Vita 198 Alli... fore 202 for comparison. The first of these sentences is a free and simple paraphrase of the Vita sentence lying behind it, but in the second the Old English version follows the Latin more closely in some phrases, translating ex divina dispensatione in perpetua beatitudinis premia word for word, only to pass to another construction without completing a translation of the sentence already begun. The resultant anacoluthon is reminiscent of the prologue where the translation has the air of a skimmed and distasteful task. The Life from line 46 up to this point shows a remarkable improvement in intelligibility. Klipstein omits in 68 from his text without comment and interprets bes haliges taenes 73 'of / by virtue of that holy sign'. The emendation is both simple and neat, but bes haliges taenes 73 does not support the construction put upon it. The phrase must be taken with sec gifu (as the punctuation in Gonser's edition indicates).

Sume hig : Gonser regards this as an unusual usage (solite man 'sume heora' erwarten), comparing with it phrases from the Old English Orosius : hie sume 88.22 and sume hi 17.15. However, Kern points out that the duplication is by no means so infrequent as Gonser suggests, comparing from within the text ham... nanigum 95 and ealle... briddan dal 112.

This .II. is the second of the four sectional numbers written
in his manuscript by the scribe. Compare the note for line 4;.

78 fulwihtebæses: Both Klipstein and Gonser emend this variant form for fulluhtæpæ, giving fulwihtebæses in their texts. This connecting vowel ø (< i) is usually syncopated in compounds with i-nouns, but there are some relatively late examples of such compound nouns in which a connecting vowel -e- appears, perhaps by analogy with compounds whose first element is of the -ia declension for these regularly have a connecting vowel in composition (see Campbell §348 and fn 2; and II.4/C.6(d)).

79 gublae: This gublae is in apposition to nama 78 and should be set against Vita 209 guthlae; the Old English version here presents a shorter and simpler account of the material of the Latin. For a note on the family of the Guthlacingsas (Vita 208 guthlacingsas) see Appendix 3.

80 bæ wisan leornæras: In his edition Goodwin here quotes the parallel passage from the Vita and remarks that this shows Felix was not an Englishman. His note may be the origin of the suggestion which appears later in Liebermann and Conser (see further II.3/a).

81 feawum: The editors emend feawum to twam/ Vita 212 duobus. As, however, gewritum cannot be regarded as exactly equivalent to integris and as the Life does not here reproduce closely the con-
tents of the Vita 210-2 Nam . . uidetur, the emendation is not made
in this edition.

82 romanisc : This adjective, apparently most used in the Old
English translations of Bede and the Cura Pastoralis, is gen-
erally applied to persons. Its use here may show the influence of
the wording used by Felix in Vita 213 romani sermonis nitore. The
form suggests that a neuter noun, for example gebeode, is to be un­
derstood. Compare the note for line 388 and see examples from Alfredian
texts in Wulfing (1901, II. §797).

82 belli munus : This symbolical interpretation of the name Guth-
lac has become one of the most popular features of the saint's
legend, but it is scarcely the way in which the name of illius tribus
quam dicunt guthlacingsas 208 should be interpreted. Although the
noun lac is used in Old English mostly in the senses 'offering, gift',
it could also have the same connotations as Old Norse leikr 'play' and
appears often in compounds with this sense, for example headulac, fecht-
lac, headulac, etc, and in proper names, for example Hygelac. One
instance of the simplex with the meaning 'struggle' is found in Guthlac
B, line 1034. In the Life both this alternative explanation of the
name Guthlac and the belli munus interpretation popularised by Felix
are apparently recognised, for the saint's sufferings in worldly strug­
gles are contrasted with his earning of the gift of eternal life mid
gacyrrednyse 84. In reading the passage a cause should be supplied
between *ye* and *on*; then the lines *forpon . . onfenca* 82-85 in structure parallel the statements set in apposition to one another in *Life* 82. (It should be noted that this interpretation provides a further reason for the retention of *feawum* 81). See also Appendix 3 under *Guthlacingsas*.

83 *beah*: Goodwin suggests either that this *beah* is a scribal error for *be* or that the translator has used *beah . . beah* 83-84 for *Vita* 213-4 *cum . . cum*. The second of these explanations wisely goes unmentioned by Klipstein and Gonser; the first is adopted by Klipstein who silently presents *be* in his text, but Gonser in his notes expresses uncertainty as to whether or not this emendation should be made. There is accordingly no emendation in his text. As the acceptance of this interpretation of *beah* would destroy the antithesis original to the Old English version, it is not followed in this edition.

83 *woruldliore*: Goodwin, Klipstein and Gonser all emend this form to *woruldlice*, to agree with the noun *geswince* it qualifies. Although the lack of agreement might suggest that some form in *-nes* has been reduced during a revision of the *Life* without the additional adjustments necessary in the neighbouring adjective (compare *on minre geswincnymse* 260), it is probable that the form shows the extension of *-re* as a case marker for the dative singular. See further II.4/0.1(a).
85 apostolum: This word was used in Old English either with its Latin inflexions or with the inflexions of an Old English noun (compare the examples listed in BT under apostol). Gonser suggests that the form may here be influenced by Vita 215 apostolum, but prefers to explain it by the extension of -um from the adjectival inflexional system and compares phrases from one Old English text of the Benedictine Rule (Bibliothek text): drihtnum Christe 1.9, and urum scygpendum 25.17 and 133.7. He explains to damascum 220 in the same way and his note for inseglum 56 points also to this interpretation of it.

90 Hit: Although it would be possible to interpret this form as suggesting that hit is used because the antecedent beage is inanimate, the pronoun can be explained as referring back to the whole clause which precedes and is therefore better taken in this way. See BT under se II (2) for other examples.

93 Hit: Gonser notes that hit here ist wohl für 'he' verschrieben, but does not present an emendation in his text. Kern (1917, p. 3) disagrees with Gonser, suggesting instead that in the original translation this form referred back to old/ Vita 219 infans which in unser-er hs, verschwunden ist. Although this may indeed explain the occurrence of hit in this passage, it must be noted that the inconsistency might have presented little difficulty as the neuter personal pronouns were generally used for small children in Old English.
conihtwisan: For a note on this nonceword and on onihtlicu 99 and onihtlice 96 see II.4/F.5(b).

mistlice fugela sangas, MS mistlice fugelas sangas: The -s of the manuscript fugelas is interpreted as scribal anticipation. The indication of a plural form, given by Vita 226 uclorurum is followed and emendation made by both Goodwin and Gonser accepted. This reading is preferred to the retention of the manuscript form and its interpretation as the genitive singular of a collective noun (for the levelling of -as and -es compare II.4/C.1(a)). Klipstein's fugela sangas is attractive (he suggests that -as is the result of dit-toigraphy), but the compound is not elsewhere recorded in Old English.

so on his scearpnyse bet he weox: Goodwin supposes the el-ipsis of da weox or da gelamp to explain the presence of bet. Gonser gives a similar explanation, comparing lines 134, 139, 144, 192, 210, 220, 234, 620, 820, 848 and 870 and noting that similar sentences occur frequently in the Old English translations of Bede and Orosius. There is no need to suppose ellipse in all these cases for the pleon-astic use of bet in Old English is well attested, particularly in translations.

towards: As this word should by position agree with ha hing, the inflexion should be noted. See II.4/C.2(a).

iunanna, MS un manna: This emendation, proposed first by
Klaeber (1904, p. 434), is accepted by Gonser. Comparison with Vita 235 pristinorum heroum supports this reading which is graphically suitable. The form is entered under unmann II in BT where it is tentatively connected with iumann. Only a few examples of the latter compound have been noted from Old English texts: Bwf 3052 iumann gold, MBo 1.23 giomonna gestriom (qui olim vixit), Leechdoms iii. 430, 32 swa geomen owdon and, cited by Wulfing (1901, II. §607), of iumann gewritum from the Old English Bede.

105 he be: Both Goodwin and Gonser point to the clause headed by these words as one of the numerous examples of anacoluthon in the Life. The pronoun he is unnecessary and may be regarded as anticipatory.

107 efenhafldingas: For a note on this word see II.4/P.5(b).

106-7 7 he . . efenhafldingas / Vita 237 sdregatis satellitum turmis: The Old English version of the Vita here expands considerably the information given by Felix. A genitive plural, parallel with geboftena, might be expected here on stylistic grounds, and would answer better to the account found in the Vita. The accusative of the Life may, however, have been carefully chosen to show that Guthlac had among his followers young men in rank his own equals.

107 his sylf: Gonser notes that the construction here is similar
to him sylfa dyde 252. In both places him emphasises the subject of its clause. The use of the dative pronoun with sylf is not unusual in Old English (see the examples given in BT under self III).

108ff. Neither the Vita nor the Old English Life tells us who Guthlac's enemies were, but as in the late eighth century there was continuous warfare along the Welsh borders it is likely that Guthlac fought in that area. Elsewhere Felix tells us (Vita lines 573 ff.) that the Britons were infesti hostes saxonici generis.

112 he swa he het: The first he is anticipatory, but need not be omitted in an attempt to emend the text. Compare the note for line 105 above.

The editors express dissatisfaction with the wording of the text in this line, emending it in various ways. Goodwin presumes scribal omission of genam after swa. Klipstein, in his commentary, gives as Goodwin's text:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{\(pa\)} & \text{ was he semninga innan manod godcundlice and lared pet he \(pa\) word hete, call \(pa\) he swa ge nam he het priddan del agifan pam mannum pe he hit er ongename.}
\end{align*}
\]

Working from this he proposes the passage should be read:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{\(pa\)} & \text{ was he semninga innan manod godcundlice, and lared pet he \(pa\) word hete - ealle \(pa\) he swa het: - priddan del agifan pam mannum pe he hit er ongename.}
\end{align*}
\]

Curiously enough, Klipstein's emendation of the text he misreports from Goodwin's edition produces a text nearer to the forms of the manuscript.
than is Goodwin's. Gonser follows Goodwin's interpretation and emendation of the passage, adding an interesting incidental note on the neutral quality of ongenamde in contrast with bensman 'berauben' and niedneman 'mit Gewalt nehmen'.

112 briddan del: This detail is curious and must be meant to indicate the nobility of Guthlac's character, even as the leader of a marauding warband. The division of goods into three parts may owe something to the division of his possessions into three portions made by Drythelm, for his wife, his children and the poor (see Bede's Ecclesiastical History v. 12). Felix does not tell us what became of Guthlac's possessions when he decided to renounce secularibus pompis 275.

112 hit: The pronoun refers back to del which is masculine. For a similar use of hit in reference to inanimate objects compare line 172 and for other examples see BTs under he B I (3).

115 weolcan dwelode, MS weolo 7welode: This emendation, made by Goodwin, Gonser and Klipstein, is necessary for a word governed by between 114 to appear in the text. Graphically the emendation is suitable, for it presupposes a misgrouping of the letters and (behind the manuscript 2) at some earlier stage in the text's transmission. It seems likely that the Life at one time contained more examples of alliterating word pairs than it now does (see II.4/G.3)
and, if this is so, such a mistake might have arisen easily.

Kern (1917, p. 4) argues well for the retention of the verb pair of the manuscript. He points out that the group *weolc 7 weleda* seems to correspond to *Vita 249 factoratur*, that the formula occurs frequently in Old English texts and that the manuscript *welode* should be interpreted as the preterite of *wilwan* 'waltzen' to be expected in Anglian (see also BT under *wilwan I A*). Unfortunately for this explanation *betwecn* is not normally accompanied by genitive complement.

For other examples of late West Saxon *-an* for *-um* see II.4/c.1 (b).

115 *niht*: Goodwin and Klipstein emend this form unnecessarily to *nihte*. Like *beo* this noun has accusative singular forms both with and without *-e*.

119 *he swéc*: The displacement of these words proposed by Goodwin, Klipstein and Gonser makes the text more readily intelligible, but only partly disguises the difficulties presented by this passage. The phrases *burh .. lifes* 119-20 stand before the relative particle of the clause to which logically they belong. *ba miclan welan* 121 is by position ambiguous, serving both as a second object to *geboht* 119 (the interpretation suggested by *Vita 256 diuities*) and as the object of *gesheh* 122. To change the position of *he swéc* (which probably answers to *Vita 257 per uigili mente*) in such a sentence would
be a first step towards the rewriting of it. It seems best therefore to retain the manuscript order and read he swoq as a parenthesis.

123 scyndan: Klaeber (1902, p. 304) suggests that the intransitive use of this verb is an Anglian feature of vocabulary. It should however be noted that an accusative and infinitive construction is used here and that the infinitive is second in a verb pair. See also II.4/F.2 under SCYNDAN and compare line 620.

127 insegle: See the note for mid inseglum 56 for the unusual extension in the meaning of this word.

132 geleste: Gonser places ne before this verb but Kern (1917, p. 4) points out that this emendation is unnecessary for nefre can occur without an accompanying ne to negate the finite verb of the clause it stands in.

134 wolde: The verb here expresses volition.

135 bare godes lufan: Ekwall (1910, p. 300) doubts the authenticity of the text here and suggests that some nominative noun form such as fyr (which he equates with inflammatio 273) has fallen out, but see the note for his lifes 34 for a discussion of similar structures in the Life.
his yldrena gestreon: Again the Life adds a detail not found in the Vita (compare parentes 274).

wintra: Conser's note for this word suggests that he explains it as an accusative plural form with -a for -u. Kern (1917, p. 4) points out that as the form follows a numeral it may rather be the genitive plural; the form is listed in the glossary as genitive plural as there is no need to multiply examples of inflexional levelling unnecessarily.

hrypadua: Repton in Derbyshire, thought to have been the burial place of the Mercian dynasty, was an important double monastery in the early Anglo-Saxon period; see further Appendix 3. Felix's words suggest that the monastery at this time followed the Roman and not the Celtic church.

alfdrybe: Nothing else is known of this woman but for a discussion of persons who might be connected with her see Appendix 3.

drunennysse: Goodwin normalises such nominative singular forms throughout his edition of the Life, as does Klipstein in his extracts from it. Also normalised in Goodwin's edition are mildheortnyse 473, unclennysse 570, untrumnysse 766, 792, mettrumnysse 769, ongitenyse 770, unenynysse 778, godoundynysse arfæstlice 865 and gladynysse 901; the footnotes for these lines should be con-
suited. Gonser retains these nominative singular forms in -nysse, as is noted with approval by Schlutter (1929, p. 268) in his paper on the abbreviations used in Old English manuscripts.

143 ban: It should be noted that this is the only instance of ban for the dative plural in the Life.

141 Sancte: Old English retained the genitive singular masculine sanoti (from Latin sanctus) before names and, as a result of the reduction in the variety of vowels in unsaccented syllables, sanoti > sancte (see Campbell §519 and 369). Compare sancte in lines 194, 205, 705 and 805.

149ff. As Kern (1917, p. 4) objects to the way in which Gonser punctuates the text at this point, it is worth considering his interpretation of the passage. Gonser treats mid by...melored 149-53 as one sentence, placing a comma after getogen 150, a semicolon after leornianne 151 and a comma after godes 152. Kern suggests that the Vita indicates a need for heavy punctuation after gefyl-lede 152 and wishes to attach the clause 7...godes 152 to the following rather than the preceding material. His criticism of Gonser would perhaps have some validity if the Old English version did not give us something entirely different from Vita 298-9 Summis...diuina and instead parallel with mid godes gifre 152.
157 **on pum life**: This phrase means 'in that [religious] life'; for the restricted use of *life* in this way see Sects under *life*.

III.3. The phrase may answer to Vita 302 *secum cohabitantium*.

Two stops are inserted in this line as the scribal punctuation gives insufficient help with phrasing. At *eadnysse* a new sentence opens with a series of co-ordinate accusatives.

157 **eadnysse**: Goodwin's suggestion that *eadnysse* 157 is a mistake for *eadmodnysse* is interesting, for the translation here follows the *Vita* closely with four others of the five virtues listed first at this point. It is thus possible that *eadnysse* translates *humilitatem* 304 and should therefore be emended to *eadmodnysse*. Kern (1917, p. 4) supports this emendation on phonological grounds, arguing that *eadnysse* is a scribal error for *eadmodnysse* with the *d* of the first syllable the result of a late West Saxon change of *dm* to *dm*. He adds that this emendation is more likely than *eadnysse* because *dm* does not become *dn*.

The combinative change from *a* to *d* occurs before all liquids and nasals, however, and is not restricted to before *m* (see Campbell §424) and Kern's arguments are therefore faultily based. The form *eadnys* occurs once again in Old English, in *Run* 12 where it can be given some such meaning as 'happiness'. Both this form and *eadnysse* 157 are treated in BT and BTs as by-forms of *eadnes*, although they are given meanings which suggest their connection with *eadig*. In BTs 'gentle-
ness' is suggested for Life 157. It should be noted that Felix gives sumitatem 305 among the virtues of Guthlac.

160  westenes 7 sundersetle: Goodwin, noting the inconsistency in case here between the linked words, queries if sundersetles should not be read, but continues to give a curious and inaccurate statement on the use of wilnian and willian. Gonser points out that either the accusative or the genitive case would be expected after wilnian, but not both, and adds that the mixed construction should probably be taken as an example of the Angelsachsen eigentühliche Neigung zur Variation. Similar failures in agreement between linked words are found elsewhere in Old English (for examples, including this passage, see Klaaber 1902, p. 303) and no emendation is therefore made.

Although case-repetition is normal in Old English, its failure here should perhaps be compared with three readings in the manuscript of the Life (all emended in this edition) where a genitive phrase is marked only by the genitive form of the article has (see II.4/8.1(b) for these forms).

162  wilnodon: Goodwin translates this verb as having for its object the group on westene 7 on sundorsettllum. Gonser finds the sentence puzzling and thinks some emendation necessary. He notes that an infinitive form wilnian appears in the preceding sentence and suggests that the scribe, recalling this form, wrote wilnodon in mistake for wunedon. The emendation is, however, unnecessary, for a verb of motion may be understood after wilnodon. Examples of similar
ellipses are to be found in And 283 (after wilnast) and in Bwf 1837 (after gebinge).

166 **III**: This is the third of four sectional numbers found in the early part of the Life; see further the note for line 45.

The chapter heading of Vita 316 is, according to Colgrave (1956, p. 87), found in four manuscripts only, the other instances appearing in Cotton Nero E i (part i), Trinity College Dublin B.4.3 and Douai Public Library 852. It is likely that the Old English version of the Vita derives from some text which contained this division (see further II.1(b)).

168 **By**: Both Klipstein and Gonser emend *By* to *Byre*, as *By* is not in agreement either with *ea* or *sestre*. Kern (1917, p. 5) objects to Gonser's *Byre ylcan* because with it the text acquires the sense *deren name Granteceaster genannt wird* instead of *deren name Granteceaster ist*. He therefore suggests that *de By ylcan naman* is nemnde Granteceaster and considers the relative particle necessary to avoid parataxis. His understanding of the phrase is correct but emendation, in the light of this interpretation, becomes unnecessary. Comparable use of the demonstrative with *ylcan* may be seen at line 230; and the dative singular name shows early loss of final -n in the weak declension of nouns. See II.4/C.1(h).
grantceaster: see Appendix 3 under Cambridge.

unmetre moras: The form is emended to *unmete* by Goodwin, Klipstein and Conser. The manuscript *unmetre* is most likely a mistake of dittography, but no emendation is made here. For further discussion of the attributive adjective see II.4/G.1(a).

sweart watersteal: The other fenland features are described in plural terms in the Life (compare the plural forms in Vita 319 munc...), and it is probable that this phrase also is plural. The noun *steall* is however masculine; apparent examples of its use in the neuter, for example *egl 39* *met wigsteall* and *od met treowsteall* (Kemble 1839, V. 297. 24), show the late Old English spread of *met* to attributive positions where it is not historically justified (see II. 4/G.1(a)). Although there is within the text some evidence for a changing use of the inflexion *-e* in strong adjectives (see II.4/G.2 (a)), the phrase *sweart watersteal* is glossed as singular; within its context this interpretation is not unsuitable.

The compound *watersteal* is recorded only here; similar in formation and meaning is the Vercelli Book form *meresteallum* of the seventh homily (noted by Fürster 1913, p. 169). See also II.4/F.5(b).

earifras: This word is recorded only here; in form it is paralleled by a gloss *waterripaen* 'laticem' (cited in BT from Mpt Gl. 418.25) and by a gloss *waterride* 'aquario' (Meritt 1945, p. 56...
63.2). These two words are the only recorded instances of either rīd or ribe in use as the base element in an Old English compound. See also II.4/F.5(b).

171 hit: The pronoun refers back to sum fenn 167 and the form fenn might therefore be regarded as both masculine and feminine in the Life, but the other indications point to its being masculine. It is better to explain hit in this instance as referring to an inanimate object; compare the note for hit 112.

172 benes 7 wunað on nordē, MS benes wunað on nordē: Goodwin, Klipstein and Gonser all emend benes to burh which they prefer to wunað. Kern (1917, p. 5) points out that not only does this emendation alter considerably the meaning of the passage, but it takes it even further away from the Vita than the manuscript reading would suggest. Kern argues that benes 'sich ausdehnt' should be retained and instead finds a mistake in wunað which he thinks stands for sudan / Vita 322 ab austro. His note on this crux ends:

Noch wörtlicher wäre sudan nordē odē aber diese Änderung ist wohl unmöglich.

The change however from wunað to sudan is perhaps too great. Although reasonable graphically (through confusion of the insular forms of n and s with resultant rearrangement of other letters in the word), the phrase sudan on nordē is unsatisfactory. The adverb sudan in this context needs some further marker before it can be interpreted 'from the south'. As the phrase stands in this suggested emendation of the
passage it must mean 'to the south to the north sea', an ambiguity which Kern's final sentence on the passage recognises.

It is unnecessary to emend wunād to suSan on the grounds that Vita 322 contains the phrase ab austro. Not all the words of the Vita are reflected in the Old English version, but if equivalences are sought between this passage and the Latin text, it is likely that wunād on norsē should be set against Vita 322 ab austro in aquilinum mare [...] protruditur and that the hint for beneS should be found in Vita 322 tractu. The form beneS is to be taken as the third person singular present indicative, hennan 'extend', rather than an otherwise unrecorded noun *peneS 'expanse'. As two finite verb forms standing together in this way are not elsewhere a marked syntactical feature of the Life the sign £ is placed between them in emendation. It is possible that the scribe omitted this for he had just begun writing on a new leaf.

171 bare eadigan gemūnde guðlac. MS bare eadigan ge mynde guð-
laces: The preceding genitive phrase has apparently led to the placing of a genitive inflexion on guðlac and the emendation made by the previous editors is accepted. Alternatively the inflexion may be regarded as the reflection of the Latin -us which could well have appeared in the text of the Vita used by the original translator, but this explanation is discounted because the other Old English names of the Life show no traces of Latin declension.
174 mid godoundre fultume: The adjective is emended to podounde
by Goodwin, Klipstein and Gonser, but perhaps unnecessarily.
For a note on the use of the inflexion -re in the dative singular in
the Life see further II.4/G.1(a).

178-9 ha wes... sade / Vita 328 esse... tatuuine: It is curious
to note that if the Old English words were here moved about
to conform more closely to the order of the Latin, they might seem
less awkward as English, but again new details are given in the Life,
different from those found in Felix. In the Old English version
Tatwine is summoned; one of the men talking to Guthlac tells him that
Tatwine knows of a very remote island. The following sentence deals
very freely with Felix's description of the aliam insulam 329. Loneli-
ess (annysse 181) is not mentioned by Felix as one of the terrors
of the island and where his settlers reprobauerunt 331 the island,
the Life tells us that no man could endure its loneliness, but hit elo
forpan befluge 183.

For a note on Tatwine see Appendix 3. This is the only place
where he is mentioned in the Vita.

180 brogum: The word appears only here in the Life. Compare the
note for Life 280 / Hly 49 and see also II.4/F.3 and 4.

185 Crouland: See Appendix 3 under Crowland.
187 fenæs: The form shows the late West Saxon falling together of -as and -as (see II.4/C.1(a)) and the emendation made by Goodwin and Klipstein is unnecessary.

In the same line feawe reflects the levelling of -e and -a; see further II.4/C.1(d).

188 manig, MS menig: The scribe has either anticipated the first letter of the next word man or else has mistaken the number of minim strokes in his exemplar. The emended namig man answers to Vita 337 Nulius. Although it would be possible to support the manuscript form by arguing litotes, it should be noted that understatement does not often appear as a stylistic device of Old English prose, despite being so marked a trait in the poetic style (see Bracher 1937, p. 919).

193-4 on ba tid sancte bartholomei: For a discussion of the apparent self-contradiction of this statement and line 205 (Vita 343 and 359) see I.1. For a note on St Bartholomew see Appendix 3.

196 ba stowe digelnyssé / Vita 345 adamato illius loci abdito: Goodwin, Klipstein and Gonser all emend ba to bare, but see further the note for line 7.

203-4 mid twam cnihtum: The names of the youths who accompanied Guthlac to Crowland are not given in any source and there is
no evidence to connect with them Beocel, Ecgberht or any other an-
chorites noted in the Vita.

204 se eahtode dag be kalendes septembres ; Goodwin's note, that
Felix here gives die nono Kalendarum Septembrium, is based on
his use of a Vita text dependent on the Douai manuscript in which ix
is written above the viii of the text. This superscribed ix of the
Douai manuscript is recorded by Colgrave (1956, p. 91 and p. 182);
August 24th is the date on which Bartholomew's feast has been observed
from the late eleventh century onwards (see further the note for St
Bartholomew in Appendix 3). Gonser's Latin text, extracted from the
Bollandist version, of course includes the die none dating for the
feast, but the apparent discrepancy between English and Latin accounts
of this incident is not discussed by him in his commentary.

208-9 se godes cempa ; See the note for line 7.

209 gewæcordod gesæt, MS ge/wsæcordod . Ge sæt : The scribe has here
misdivided the words of the Life (compare the misdivision at
line 43). The arrangement followed in the emended text appears in
Goodwin's edition and is adopted also by Klipstein and Gonser. The
alteration required is minor; through its adoption sæt 210 becomes
pleonastic, as in so many places in this (compare the note for line
99) and other Old English translations. It need not therefore be re-
garded as a reason for seeking some alternative means of reading the
text at this point.
210 *scotungum*: The letter *i* has been written in above *ng* in this word, but the reason for this is not apparent and it may well be a doodle. The Life abstract nouns in *-ing/-ung* show a preference in favour of the latter (20: 44); in any case *-ung* would here be the expected form in a noun related to a second class weak verb.

211 *hæo halgan gastes geleafan*: The Vita 365 *fidei* is considerably expanded by this phrase. Gonser (p. 64) gives as the equivalent of *fidei* the words *halgan geleafan* only but, in his text, reads *hæo halgan gastes, geleafan* (with *geleafan* apparently in apposition to *gastes*). The phrase may be interpreted by treating *hæo halgan gastes* as a descriptive genitive, dependent upon *geleafan*, and not in apposition to it; but see the note for line 7 for a discussion of the possibility that *hæo* should be taken with *geleafan* and compare *hæo halgan geleafan* 446. For a similar definition of faith in Old English compare the first passage listed in BT under *geleafa*:

> Se rihta geleafa us teop. Þæt we sceolon gelyfan on 
> done Halgan Cast  
> (Hml. Th. i. 280.22)

213 *heolm on heafod*: Vleeskruyer (1953, p. 111 fn 3) points out that this phrase may be 'an alliterative and probably ancient formula', comparing *Bref* 2973 *ac he him on heafele helm *or* gescer*. The breaking of *e* reflected in *heolm* 123 is unusual, and would not be expected in a West Saxon text (Campbell §146). There is no evidence to suggest that the digraph of *heolm* should be attributed to back umlaut, and it seems best therefore to regard this form as showing
fracture conditioned by the labial consonant which follows e.

213 _olgena_ : For a note on the levelling of -a and -e reflected in the *Life* see II.4/C.1(a); for similar late West Saxon medial syllables see II.4/C.6(d). The form is unnecessarily emended by Goodwin and Gonser to _olgena_ and by Klipstein to _olgna_.

214 _sealsangas_ : This form, emended by both Goodwin and Klipstein, reflects the late Old English falling together of -es and -as; see further II.4/C.1(a).

215 _sceotode_ : Gonser's note for this word (sonst nur des ablautende 'sceotan' belegt) is, as Kern (1917, p. 5) observes, unverständlich. Other examples of the intransitive use of this weak verb of the second class are to be found listed in BT under _sectian_ I (3).

215-20 The compression and rephrasing of the *Life* are well illustrated in these lines. The reference to Tartarus (*Vita* 367 _tartari_) is absent, a much shorter account than Felix's elaboration of Paul's words (*Vita* 368-73 _o . . reliqua_) is given, and the wordy comparison of the conversion of Paul with the conversion of Guthlac (*Vita* 373-84 _Nam . . reliqua_) has been stripped to its bare essentials. All this is imperfectly shown by Gonser (p. 59) and cannot be understood from the presentation of his texts, because of his practice of printing from the *Vita* only those words and phrases which are reflected in

Comparable are the forms of the name bartholomeus (see especially the note for line 705) and damascum 220. Such inflexions do not appear in the Old English names of the Life, although they were most likely to be found sporadically in the text of the Vita used by the original translator.

224 IIII: This is the last of the four sections numbered within the Life; compare the notes for lines 45, 76 and 166. From this point chapter headings appear regularly in all the manuscripts of the Vita, except in Cotton Nero C vii and Royal 13 A xv (and the two texts descended from Royal 13 A xy); up to this point of the Vita the chapter numbers i to xxvii appear regularly only in Corpus Christi College Cambridge 307, Cotton Nero E i (part 1) and Trinity College Dublin B. 4. 3 (see Colgrave 1956, p. 93). The presentation of the Old English version suggests that the original translator did not have before him a text divided into chapters before Vita 385. For a fuller discussion of this question see II.1/b.

225 Chapter headings, for the most part corresponding in place to the titles found in Vita texts, appear sporadically in the Life from this point. They are in the scribe's hand, but are written in metallic ink and were probably added, with the large capitals, after
the text had been transcribed. The chapter headings of the Life are rarely closely similar to the Vita titles, probably because the scribe had to find some title suitable for the amount of space he had left for headings. The next heading appears at line 387 and others follow quite regularly thereafter. Apparently the scribe, if not the original translator, regarded Life 225-386 as one block of material. It is interesting to note that the matter of the Verceili Book homily comes from this section only of the original prose translation, an observation which suggests that the manuscript from which the homily was derived shared a lay-out similar to that seen in the Life.

226 A line of script is entirely filled with small capitals here, as in line 1 and line 606; see further II.2/o.

227 CISSA: Cissa's name has here been written in capitals, as if either to emphasise the importance of his evidence or his own importance. Contrast line 47 where Felix's reference to Cissa in the prologue does not appear in the Life. The scribe may perhaps have chosen to stress this name on its first appearance in his exemplar; it is again marked off carefully in line 719.

Gonsor suggests that CISSA should be amended to CISSAN, arguing that an accusative is to be expected in this position, and points out that the form may therefore show early loss of inflexional -n from the weak declension (compare nama 168 and see II.4/C.1(h)). There is
however no need for his note if the names *wilfrid* and *Cissa* are regarded as in apposition with *be be* rather than as accusatives with *seogan*.

The name may not have been uncommon in Anglo-Saxon England for a Cissa is found among the names entered in the Durham Liber Vitae (see Sweet 1885, p. 158, line 176). It can be argued that the name is of Germanic origin and some scholars have identified in it the element *ksi-* cognate with Old English *ceosel* 'gravel, shingle'. This etymology is however rather far-fetched and the name is probably Celtic (see Redin 1919, p. 89). For a brief note on Cissa see Appendix 3.

---

228 was : Hly 1 was : The Homily parallels material of the Life from here to Life 370. In the commentary references to the Homily will be given the prefix Hly to distinguish them from the readings of the Life. The Homily is numbered separately from 1; because the two texts are different in many features it would prove impractical to use the numbering of the Life. The texts are, for the same reasons, glossed separately, and a list of the forms of the Homily follows the glossary for the Life.

Hly 1 *bam spreconan* : The adjective spreconan, absent from the Life, corresponds to Vita 390 *prefata* and is the first of many indications that the text of the Life had been considerably pruned when revised for eleventh century readers (see further II.3/d).
The Guthlac homily is not alone among the Vercelli Book homilies in beginning without a conventional introductory sentence (see II. 3/c), but the presence in it of this sprecenan without an antecedent suggests that this particular homily has been adapted from some version of the Old English Life which more fully represented the original.

229 ofer eordan: Conser (p. 47) points out that Hly 1 of eordan probably reflects the original translation as it is closer to Vita 390 agrestibus glebis concernatus than is Life 229 ofer eordan. The many indications of the independent transmission of the Life and Homily from the original translation cannot always be so easily evaluated and no attempts are therefore made to emend either text from the readings of the other, except where some passage is completely unintelligible.

229 bon e ylcan, MS bon ylcan: Both Goodwin and Conser print without comment bon. This is the only place in the Life where the scribe by mistake gives for the accusative singular masculine of the definite article an abbreviation for bonne. Compare Goodwin's silent expansion of be 430 to ban.

230 wilmunga: Hly 2 hingum: Either word can be related to the wording of Vita 391-2 and it would be difficult to judge which represents the original translation. A list of such differences in
vocabulary between these two texts will be found in II.4/F.4 and a
discussion of such forms in II.4/F.3.

230 **hlawes**: Goodwin, normalising his text, emends this form to
**hlawes**, but compare the note for line 214 and see II.4/C.1(a).

232 **hæs**: Mly 4 hæs 7 eardungetowe: It seems that the reviser
who prepared the text now extant in Cotton Vespasian D xxx
often cut out words which seemed superfluous: compare also lines
232, 260, 271, 280, 288, 311, 349, etc. The word eardungetow occurs
once in the Life (eardungetowe 177), and so need not be considered
foreign to the vocabulary of the original translator.

233 **anercsetle**: Both Goodwin and Gonser emend this form to anerc-
setel, but see II.4/C.1(e).

Mly 10 **wolde**: Gonser emends this form to **nolde** (the form used in
Life 234), but compare the note for line 132.

235 **ealle his dages his lifes**: Gonser considers the first **his**
in this phrase superfluous because it does not appear in the
Homily and, as further justification of this judgment, compares ealle
dagæs his lifes 196. Compare also such phrases as **his lif þæs eadigan
weres 33; in line 235 the superfluous **his** has most likely been cut
by the homilist.
Both Goodwin and Gonser substitute for this phrase the noun *gemetegung* which appears in *Hly 9*. Goodwin argues that *Life 236 to gereorde* does not agree with the wording of the *Vita* and that it is in any case tautologous. Gonser adopts Goodwin's emendation without comment. The Old English texts are not however close enough to one another for one to be emended from the other unnecessarily in this way. Undoubtedly the *Vercelli Book* text seems nearer to *Vita 399 temperantia* with its *gemetegung*, but the *Homily* does not continue with an account of the food eaten by the saint because the scribe's eye has passed from one like word to another. In its own fuller context however the *Life 236 to gereorde*, although less near the *Vita*, is not tautologous. The opening words of line 236 can be paraphrased: 'Every day he had such food as sustenance...'. Both passages are indeed clumsy and together they may point to the original translator's having had to provide an explanatory phrase for the abstract *Vita 399 tanta temperantia*.

*Hly 10 began*: The scribe has missed out material equivalent to the *Life 237 bat... organ* 240, his eye most likely slipping from one began in his exemplar down to another (compare Gonser p. 43).

*berene*: Goodwin emends to *berenne*, but compare *agene* 530, *fyrere* 846 and see II.4/C.2(f).

*pes andlyfenes*, MS *pes andlyfene*: The strong nouns in *-lifen*
are usually feminine in gender (see BTs under andleofen), but beside such forms are recorded accusative ondlifen and genitive forms in -es. (This -es form appears in Mly 10.) Both Goodwin and Gonser, believing the noun should be feminine, emend bee to be; Toller (BTs under andleofen) suggests that bee stands for bee, but other examples of confusion of these forms are not found in the text. Kern (1917, p. 5), noting that the noun andlifen occurs both in the feminine and neuter, suggests that Goodwin's emendation is therefore unnecessary. Compare II.4/G.1(b) for examples of similar haplography in phrases headed by bee. I have preferred to retain the manuscript bee and argue haplography of final -s in andlyfenea.

239 bigleofode should perhaps be two words; see the note for bileofode 307.

240 mid pan: Goodwin and Gonser emend the text here to read mid by he ban, but do not change the rest of this clause on the pattern of the Homily wording. A full scale emendation according to the Homily version would produce :

mid pan be he pan gewunelican beawe his sealmas sang ...

for sealm 240 does not reflect the number of Vita 407 cantice so well as does Mly 11 sealmas. However, the Vespasian words are nearer to the order of the Vita than are the homilist's and similar examples of asyndeton occur elsewhere in the Life (16, 27, 73, 168, etc). For these reasons no emendation is made.
beawe : Hly 11 beowdome / Vita 407 consuetudine : Conser (p. 46) points out that the Homily beowdome here and at line 83 (where Life lacks the corresponding phrase and Vita has more 481) may replace beawe of the translator. The use of beawe and beowdom throughout the Life and in Old English generally supports his inference. The word beowdom does not appear to be used elsewhere with the meaning 'custom' and would probably not be given this interpretation here, except on the evidence of the Vita and of the parallel Life passages.

manynnes : Conser emends gengde geond but graswang into the Vespasian text from the Homily, although the Vercelli words do not translate Vita 409 per usati aetheris spatia. Indeed the Life, without this clause from the Homily, provides an adequate and more accurate summary than does the alliterative embroidery of the homilist whose words may not have stood in the original translation. In any case, if such words have at some stage stood in the original translation, it is likely that their omission here is due to revision rather than chance. It should be noted that Life 243 tódale preserves the tense of Vita 410 uersat, whereas Hly 14 geondstregde does not.

Hly 14 graswang : This is one of the two poetic words noted by Conser (p. 51) as found in the Homily but not in the Life (the other being Hly 125 onbrae). It is interesting that the compound is found otherwise only in Phx 78 and JIn 6, that is in verse from a
manuscript linked by contents closely with the Vercelli Book.

242 his costunge attor: The translator apparently anticipates the description of the arrow of despair which follows in the Vita.

Hly 14 yfélnes: Life 243 yfelnyssse: Although the Life shows that for the translator yfelnyssse was a genitive dependent upon megen, the homilist may have regarded his yfelnes as in apposition to megen and the first of three objects of telled. No emendation therefore is made to the Vercelli text here.

243 [*] A finite verb has probably fallen out here, corresponding to Hly 15 telled. Perhaps an out-of-date form was cancelled, but the reviser forgot to put in its place some other word, or perhaps the scribe overlooked some form. As the verb found here in the Homily (telled 15) does not appear in the Vespasian text, I hesitate to place Gonser's toldede in this lacuna. Goodwin's toldale, inferring haplography on the part of the scribe, has much to recommend it.

Hly 15 telled: Schlutter (1909, p. 324) attributes Hly 14 his grim-

nesse attor telled to the translator's misunderstanding of Vita 410 necuitis e uires uersuta mente temptaret, suggesting that grimnesse attor may arise from a confusion of uires with uirus (as
perhaps again Life 541 / Vita 803). However, the phrase *grimnesse attor*, like *costunga attor* of the preceding line, looks forward to Felix’s description of the arrow of despair. These words discussed by Schlutter (Mid ... teldâ) are most likely the translator’s own continuation from his previous sentence and have no parallel in the Vita. *Vita 411 temptaret* is not translated by *teldâ* (if I understand Schlutter’s assumption correctly, he thinks the translator misunderstood *temptaret* as *distenderet*; such an assumption was easily made on Schlutter’s part as he was using Nabillon’s text of the *Vita* where the verb is in the form *tentaret*). The verb *teldian* means ‘spread, pitch a tent’ (see BT, BTs and NED under teld) and is used figuratively also.

244 mid þan : Hly 15 mid by atre : Although Life 244 mid þan is glossed by ‘then’ (compare lines 535 and 559) the *Homily* underlines the ambiguity of the phrase in this context, suggesting that *atre* may have stood in some earlier version of the *Life*. Hly 15 mid by atre continues the translator’s anticipation of the figure of the arrow of despair.

244 ha menniscan heortan wundode : Hly 15 ha menniscan heortan wundad : Both texts appear to demonstrate the freedom with which the original translator developed the image of the figure of despair in this passage. If the words again look forward to the temptation of Guthlac, the phrase *ha menniscan heortan* 244 should be
interpreted as the singular; its interpretation as plural (as in I. Geisel's glossary) is also possible as both accounts have just told how the devil scatters his poison far and wide.

245 of gebendum bogan: The phrase obviously translates Vita 411 ab extenso arvou and must, despite the dissimilarities between the Life and the Vita for some lines preceding this, go back to the original translation.

Hly 16-17 An attempt will be made to retain the readings of the Homily, although the closeness of the Life and the Vita at this point indicates that here the Homily and not the Life may show more signs of having been elaborated. The words in question in the manuscript appear in this order:

semninga swahe of bendú 7ofbrogan wæs his costunge ðahēða þam earh winnendan stræle on þam mode gefestnode þæs

Goodwin notes this passage in his commentary to the Life and suggests that earh winnendan should be transposed to stand before mode, being 'a gloss inserted in the wrong place'. He adds that þæs earh wynnendan mode is to be interpreted 'the faintly striving soul', but notes that earh- can also be connected with the Old English earh 'arrow'. Conser follows Goodwin, agreeing that the fault in the Homily may stem from some gloss having been incorporated into the text, but prefers the second suggestion made by the earlier editor and, connecting earh- with earh 'arrow', treats the word transposed by Goodwin as a gloss for stræl.
Dieses ist in der Tat ein in der Pros a wenig gebräuchtes, dem angl. Wortschatz angehöriges Wort, das vielleicht ein späterer Abschreiber erklären zu sollen glaubte.

His note does not however help to make the passage any clearer and in his text he remodels it from the Life:

\[ \text{semninga swa he of gebendum bogan, ða he ða his costunge stræle on ðam mode gefastnode ðes} \]

As a result of this emendation the compound earhwinndan does not appear in BT or BTs and is not to be found even in I. Geisel's glossary to the Life and Homily. The form is first noted in Meritt's supplement to Clark Hall where the sense 'cowardly conquering' is suggested, with, in brackets, 'of a poisoned arrow'.

Meritt probably presents this interpretation from a consideration of the phrase Vita 411-2 uenenifluam desperationis sacittam, but the explanation is perhaps overingenious. A weapon, because it is poisoned, must be thought of as conquering in a cowardly way. In the translation which follows the word is recognised as composed of similar elements but, if this adjective is to be referred to any word in the Vita, it is connected rather with desperationis than uenenifluam:

Then suddenly, as if he (=Guthlac) were in the fetters and terrors of his (=the devil's) temptation, then he (the devil) fastened hold of the mind of that warrior of Christ with coward-conquering arrow.

Hly 16 of bendum 7 of brogan must be recognised as a corruption of the phrase of gebendum bogan 245 which reflects Vita 411 ab extenso arca; yet, within its context, it can with some difficulty be interpreted.
The following clause of the Homily may reflect a fuller translation of the Vita than can now be seen in the Life and should not therefore be emended in the manner suggested by Gonser.

249-51 \textit{Mid hæm . . bonne / Vita 417-8 hæm cum . . tune} : It should be noted that the construction which is shown by the Vita and Life to have stood in the original translation has been simplified in the Homily. Compare Life 273 mid by : Hly 42 ba.

251-2 \textit{pa . . dyde} : This clause, absent from the Homily, apparently picks up the content of Vita 417 \textit{inmensi ponderis}.
For the loss of -\textit{n} in \textit{unmettra} 252 see II.4/C.1(h).

253 \textit{ba . . gewundodne} : This simple statement contrasts with Vita 418-20 \textit{In . . putasset} and again reminds us of the translator's free and vivid development of the figure of the arrow of despair. All of these words, except perhaps for the introductory adverb, are without equivalent in the Homily.

254 \textit{bri dagas / Vita 420 trium dierum} : This phrase is absent from the Homily, but must obviously have stood in the original translation. It should be noted that the single passive participle \textit{gewundod} 254 of the Life is to be compared with the linked participles in Hly 25 \textit{gedrefed 7 gewundod}. For a discussion of the possibility that word pairs (and particularly alliterative pairs) have been to a
large extent removed during the revision that the Life has undergone, see II.4/0.3.

256 tweogendum / Vita 422 pestiferis: The Hly 27 wolberendan, as Gonser (p. 43) points out, entspricht etymologisch 'pestiferis', whereas tweogendum is less near in meaning to the Latin word. This tweogendum 256 may be one of the word substitutions made in his exemplar by the eleventh century reviser of the Life. Certainly the participial wolberende is used for the most part in translations of the Alfredian period, in the Lecchdoms and in other texts which go back at least to the tenth century, and it may have been obsolescent in the late Old English period. See also II.4/F.3 and 4.

efne swa 257: Hly 27 eft swa: Compare Swyloe sec 311: Hly 82 Swyloe eft. It seems that in both cases eft may have replaced the forms seen in the Life, for eft does not appear elsewhere with another adverb in the longer text.

260-1 ac gehyr, earfeSum: The translator has filled in Felix's et reliqua with a free paraphrase of Psalms xvii.7 and it is worth note that the final clause in this verse looks forward to Bartholomew's assurances to the saint (Life 269-70 / Vita 434). The Latin words quoted in the Life 258-9 are omitted from the Homily, an indication perhaps of the popular intention of this text.

Hly 32 on engeliore, MS ongeliore: It would be possible to support
the manuscript reading here only with extreme ingenuity, and to argue that Bartholomew had always the same fairness, no matter whether Gutthlae was awake or asleep (for this sense of gelio see BT under gelio III). The reading of the Life, on engelllocre 263, suggests that a simple error of haplography lies behind the Homily reading (compare Vita 428 angelice). Gonser's emendation of the Hly 32 ongellocre to on engelllocre supplies one letter more than is necessary, for consonant simplification may perhaps have appeared in the form of the scribe's exemplar, influencing him in his mistake.

Hly 33 feonde: The verb (ge)feon appears only once in the Life, in gefehat 292 and may have been one of those words which the eleventh century reviser wished to cut out of the text. Compare the notes for Life 271, Life 369 and see II.4/F.3 and 4.

Hly 34 cuman: The scribe's eye apparently slipped from this word to a form cuma two lines below (compare Life 265-7), as Gonser (p. 43) points out. Compare Hly 10 (Life 237-40) for similar omission. There is no need to amend the Homily text in any way, for an object has been supplied for Hly 34 frefreda which is given for subject sanctus Bartholomus. In the Life this verb has for its subject se heofonlica cuma to which sanctus Bartholomus 267 stands in apposition.

gefylled / Vita 436 repletus: Whereas mid gastlicre blisse gefylled 271-2 answers closely to Vita 436 spiritali gaudio
repletus, the Hly 38-9 on gestlicre blisse 7 heofoncundre gife swiðe ge-feonde is a considerable elaboration of Felix's words. The nearness of Life to Vita suggests that here the original translation is better represented by the Life than the Homily, though if this is accepted gefylled 271 cannot be regarded as a replacement for an obsolescent gefeonde. Compare the note for Hly 33 and see II.4/F.3 and 4.

Hly 39 swiðe gefeonde, MS swiðefode partially corrected: The scribe has only partly corrected his swiðefode; he has squeezed between ò and ë a ë with a tilde above, but no nasal stroke appears above ò.

Hly 40-41 syþan . . sceotode / Vita 439-41: This sentence, absent from the Life, must have stood in the original translation for it represents the contents of the Vita fairly closely. The simple statement ñ e . . gewundodne 253, omitted from the Homily, should be compared. It seems that the original translator gave a very full account of Guthlac's temptation of despair.

Conser omits Hly 41 wið hine from his text, presumably because on hine in the same line seems to duplicate this phrase unnecessarily. It should be noted however that the phrases are not identical and each can be given a different translation within the context of this sentence.

274 hu . . lybben: This clause is one of the places pointed out
by Conser (p. 38) where both Life and Homily share similar elaboration of the Vita wording (lines 444-5). The words of the Homily are differently turned, and the loss of words answering to the gode and lybban of Life 274 may have resulted from this rephrasing of the text. However, as in the Vercelli Book the adverb geowemlicost stands at the end of a line of script, it is easy to envisage loss of the infinitive from this position; the loss of gode is less easy to justify. For these reasons only the infinitive libban is supplied in the Homily text, because it is the minimal necessary emendation.

ELY 45 unoferswidde, MS unoferswidde / Vita 448 imincibilem: Conser emends the manuscript reading of the Homily to unoferswidde. The mistake may be explained as due to a simple misreading of minims and is supported by the forms found in both Vita and Life (where stress is laid upon the prefix of unoferswiped). Kern (1917, p. 6) suggests that the participial adjective of the Homily should be further emended to unoferswided, but this normalisation is not accepted into the text presented here.

279 ure wepna / Vita 449 arma: Goodwin emends this phrase to ure wepna strala, remodelling it on the reading of the Homily. The addition is unnecessary for the sense and is not supported by the Vita parallel; Conser does not incorporate it into his text.

For other examples of the falling together of inflexional -e and -a see II.4/C.2(a).
Hly 48 wifbe, MS wif mep / Vita 449 aduersus te: The Homily reading is curious and cannot be explained graphically; it may represent some anticipation of the unexpected change to first person singular from the plural in the next clause. An emendation to be, rather than Gonser's be, is made because mep stands in the manuscript; these older pronoun forms occur frequently in the Vercelli Book.

Hly 48-9 wene ic bat we Æfurðor ne withan lenc swencan: Gonser recognises that some confusion lies behind these words and, following the suggestion made by Goodwin, emends the opening words to Wen is bat... The agreement between the wording in Vita 449-50 propteræ, . . consensus and Life 279 we ne, . . bysmian suggests that the original translation is better reflected in the Life than in the Homily, yet Hly 48 furðor apparently corresponds to Vita 449 ultra unless lenc is placed against ultra. Again independent revision of the original translation may lie behind each text.

Goodwin's emendation of wene ic to Wen is removes from the Homily the curious change from plural to singular within the speech of the devils, but introduces into it the phrase commonly used in the sense 'perhaps, maybe, probably' (see BT under wen III.a). Logically, the manuscript reading provides better sense within this context. For the most part this speech is a list of the temptations either already undergone or about to be imposed, but there is no reason why the words should be placed in the mouths of both devils once the close connection between Vita and Homily was lost. It is possi-
ible to retain this reading and to argue that one devil speaks to Guthlac of the way they treat him.

Vleeskruyer (1953, p. 142 fn 1) suggests that the reading of the Homily indicates an original wenu 'in at least one case'. He argues that the scribe of the Vercelli Book, or some one of his predecessors, misread his exemplar's wē mū as wēnu and transcribed this as (1c) wēne: being unable to make sense of the passage, he altered ne willað (or ne willan) of his original to bēt wē ne willan.

This hypothesis is framed in order to obtain in these texts one example of the Anglian inflexion -u (-ɔ) for the first person singular; see also II.4/C.3(d). Although it supports only the ability of some person involved in the transmission of the Homily to recognise such a form and not the existence of such a form in the original translation, the description given by Vleeskruyer of how the Homily reading may have arisen is interesting. With the misgrouping of we mn (which would probably stand together in any case) the insertion of io and subsequent reshaping of the following phrases might well follow in the way he surmises.

Hly 49 mid brogan: The word broga appears in the Life only at line 180. It appears once again in the Homily at line 105, but in the Life another phrase occurs. The word may have been a favourite of the homilist for it is found also in his of bendum 7 of brogan 16 which must reflect the mistranscription of something like the of gebendum bogan in Life 245. For further discussion of the word see II.4/F.
Hly 50 der, der: Gonser, following Life 281 bes...bes, makes
the graphically simple change from r to s in the forms of the
Homily. He does not note however that although genitive pronouns
might be expected after Life 281 lettan 'hinder', they are not neces­
sary with the Hly 50 letan 'leave alone'. The Homily reading has
arisen through the misunderstanding of some form of words similar to
those found in the Life. No change need be made in the text as it
stands for, though Hly 50 der du gedöht hafdest is elliptic, the verb
hancan is often used in Old English without a following verb of motion
(for examples see BT under hancan 6(2)).

westene: Both Goodwin and Gonser emend this form to western
which appears in Hly 51, but see II.4/C.1(g).

Hly 51 geadogan: Compare Hly 80 geadige and see II.4/E.6.

Hly 52 or: It should be noted that Gonser records the reading or.
This word is certainly difficult to see in the facsimile edition
but the visible descender does not support his reading. See also II.
2/4.

287 ha ærgefremedan synna: This participial adjective is found
otherwise only in the laws which are given as the sole source
for it by BT. The phrase may represent the revision of some wording
such as the clumsier Hly 55-6 da erran fremednesse yfelra leahtra
(for fremednes appears frequently in the early Old English transla-
tions), but answers more closely to the Vita 456 ante commissa crimina
than does the Homily wording.

waccean: Gonser's emendation of this infinitive to wacean
presupposes a misreading of ge as ge. The manner of emend-
ation may have been suggested to him by the form Hly 58 wecocean, al-
though he finds this form also requiring emendation to wacean. With
these infinitives he compares also Hly 59 wecoest which he emends to
wecest and he notes that some confusion may have arisen between the
verbs waccean 'waken' and waccean 'afflict'. Because this doubling ap-
ppears in both texts which, although related, have been independently
transmitted from their common original, it most likely reflects late
Old English consonant doubling in compensation for vowel shortening
(compare the forms listed by Campbell §287). For the vowel in the
Homily forms see II.4/E.3(e).

swinest: Gonser emends this form to swenest, noting that it
cannot be from the verb swincean which is used intransitively
only. The manuscript form probably reflects the unvoicing of [g]
before the voiceless spirant which Campbell represents by s (see Camp-
bell §480 (3)) and is therefore the second person singular present
indictative of swingan: no emendation is needed.

Hly 59 wecest 7 wecoest: Gonser, following a suggestion made by
Goodwin, changes the first of these forms to *swencost* (the form emended into the *Life* by him) and at the same time emends *wescost* to *wecost*. He points out, in support of his emendation, that the verbs *swencan* and *wecan* are found linked in other religious writings. It must be admitted that the emendation can be explained on the ground that *g* was omitted by mistake and that *n* may have been represented by a macron, but these are inadequate reasons for emending into the *Homily* a verb which does not have the support even of the *Life*. The linked repeated forms of the *Homily* are here retained, as they may point to particular emphasis. However, such repetition is unusual in Old English and it is more likely that the scribe has written the verb twice in mistake. See further II.4/6.3.

Mly 59 to *gylta*: This phrase is, as Gonser (p. 41) points out, without parallel in the *Life* and does not appear to be based on any words in *Vita* 458; it may therefore be an addition peculiar to the *Homily*.

291 *drigast*: In BT a weak verb *drigian* is postulated in explanation of this form (and *drigian* is given as the headword in Geisel's glossary for these texts); a further note is added in BTs, associating this *drigian* with the Old Norse verb *drýja*. Kern (1917, p. 6) points out that this speculation is unnecessary, noting that *drigast* should be taken as a by-form of *drigast*. The inflexion is unusual in a late West Saxon text but, as other inflexional peculiarities of the text suggest it was transcribed outside the West Saxon area.
(see especially II.4/G.1(a)), need not be considered unlikely here
(see also Campbell §735 (c) for the appearance of a in the second and
third singular present indicative in northern texts).

gefehst: This is the sole example of (ge)feon in the Life;
the note for Hly 33 feonde should be consulted.

Hly 62 gefist, MS forgifest: The manuscript form makes little sense
within its context and some emendation therefore seems neces-
sary. Gonser presents gefehst in his text, with h and the first e
printed in italics, apparently assuming that the scribe has misread
the form of his exemplar. It seems possible that the scribe had be-
fore him gefist which he misread and connected with Hly 59 forgife-
nesse. Both Vita 460 gaudabis and Life 292 gefehst support this e-
mandation.

gestihst: This is not from gesthtian 'bestimmen' (as glossed
by I. Geisel), but from gestigen 'climb, descend'. The fig-
urative extension is unusual, so may reflect the original translation
of the Vita, although the simpler Hly 62-3 bist [...] astreaht fol-
lows more closely the Latin prostratus iacueris.

an: Although it would be possible to argue here that an rep-
resents the numeral, it seems more likely to be the preposition
with following accusatives. The only other place within this text
where the preposition may appear with a instead of o (which is usual
in words without sentence stress) is in the phrase A WORLDA woruld
in the opening lines (see also the note for this phrase). It is cur-
ious that a(for an) should appear also in the corresponding passage
of the Homily, but the coincidence cannot be given much significance.

295 on: Because this preposition in the corresponding passage
follows Hly 65 swa both Goodwin and Gonser suggest that the
scribe has placed it wrongly in the Life. There is however nothing
in the Vita to suggest that swa must modify ahebbe instead of tela
and it would be difficult to judge which text has retained the wording
of the original translation.

Hly 66 fyrate: Gonser silently emends this form to the genitive

fyrates which stands in the corresponding passage of the Life,
but on may be regarded as governing fyrate in the Homily and no emend-
ation is necessary. It is interesting to note that where in the Homily
a nominative and infinitive follow bid 66, in the Life the inflected
infinitive has its own object.

Hly 68 bane man / Vita 465 hominem: This impersonal verb is usually
followed by the dative and this accusative in the Homily shows
the influence of the Latin on the original translator. Two examples
of an accusative with this verb are given from Alfredian translations
by Wulfing (1894, I. p. 196). See also II.4/0.
299  _bam be gelice_: Gonser emends _bam be_ to _bam men_, but does not give his reasons for thinking this change necessary, though these can be understood from his note Zu erwarten wäre _'bam men'_ for _Hly 68_ _bane man_. It is possible to regard _bam_ as a pronoun and to treat _be_ as an enclitic before _gelice_; no emendation is therefore considered necessary. For _be_ in both form and use compare _be_ near 494, 496, and see II.4/0.1(b).

_Hly 69_ _syx daga fæsten_: At the head of this phrase Gonser inserts _færh_, the preposition which appears in _Life 299_ and corresponds to _Vita 466_ _per_. The phrase may however be understood as the subject for _gedafena_ _68_. Although it is usual in Old English for impersonal verbs to occur without a subject, the passages listed in _BTs_ under _gedafena_ _I_ (a) show that this verb is sometimes found with subject in the Old English period.

300 _dæg_: Goodwin emends this word to _dæge_, but this is unnecessary as the form is most likely the endingless locative (see II.4/1(c)).

303  _forbon . . sceþpend_: _Hly 73_ _forðan . . sceþpend_: The _Vita 469_ _et reliqua_ has been replaced by a translation for _Psalms lv_. 10 _ecce cognouï quoniam Deus meus es_. Compare the note for line 260.

_Hly 74_ _rec_: _Life 304_ _smíc_: For a note on these words see II.4/3 and 4.
Aidlode: Hly 75. Aidlode: Gonser notes that this verb is used only transitively elsewhere, but other examples of its intransitive use are to be seen in BTs under &-Id(e)l(i)an I.

Hly 76 he, MS hie: Gonser's emendation is accepted as the minimal possible alteration; it should be noted that the scribe may have had before him he hie, in which case the error could be explained as due to dittography.

Feng medmycolan bipleofan: The simplex fon is generally followed by the preposition to in Old English, but, because it governs the dative in Rwf 2989 he bam fr Etsum feng, no emendation is considered necessary. Of the emendations put forward by the earlier editors, Goodwin's to is preferable to Gonser's more elaborate to bam (which suggests he considers that medmycolan is a weak adjective).

For the falling together of -an and -um see II.4/C.1(b).

Medmycolan: Hly 76 to bare teala myolan: Although the adverb tela, because it appears earlier in both texts as used here in the Homily (compare 295 and Hly 65), might be considered the form used by the original translator, Hecht's observation that the adjective medmicel was im klassischen vs., nicht heimisch suggests that the reverse is true. See further II.4/F.2.

Bileofode: Kern (1917, p. 6) thinks this a ghostword and suggests that it should be written as two words bi leofode.
giving as a translation for the passage in which it stands und er nahm ihn und lebte (sein leben) davon, although obviously this is immaterial if bileofode is regarded as a quasi-inseparable verb. The phrase *his lif* seems however to be the object of bileofode rather than of leofode here, an interpretation of the passage supported by the corresponding phrase in the Homily. Schlutter (1909, p. 325) suggests that the origin of the compound verb is to be sought in constructions where the preposition *be* governs the relative at the head of the clause in which it stands (as, for example, in line 239). Holthausen (1921, p. 21) criticises this interpretation of the form put forward by Schlutter, instead noting that the verb is *eine Ableitung von bileofa 'Nahrung', das zu abd. bili bi gehört.*

Hly 78 bigfercde: Conser notes that no other example of this verb is found and the form is glossed ernähren by I. Geisel, presumably on the analogy of beleofode 307, without further comment. Schlutter (1909, p. 324) suggests that the form should be emended to bigfercode, comparing it with fercian 'support' (which verb is given a long vowel by him and compared with fēran). He discusses also the possibility that the phrase may parallel the German *sein leben führen*, but discards this approach because he can find no use of *für* in Old English for 'food', whereas both Old High German *fuore* and Middle High German *vuore* have such a connotation.

Holthausen (1921, p. 21) expresses his strong disbelief in Schlutter's connection of fercian with fēran and suggests in his turn that
**bigferede** is rather to be related to *ferian*.

**Hly 80** 7 wide geond bat land waödon: Some such clause, corresponding to *Vita 475 late loca mestis questibus implorunrunt*, must have stood in the original translation, though whether or not *waödon* stood in that version cannot be known. The verb *waöan* is recorded otherwise only from verse: *Ela 1273, Exo 480, MBo 19.15 and MBo 36.5*. The *Exodus* verse *wide waöde* suggests that some poetical formula may be remembered here; see also II.4/F.3. For the absence from the Homily of any clause similar to *bat hi . . . waöon* see II.3/d.

**Hly 80** *geadige*: Compare the note for *geardodan* 51 and see II.4/E.6.

**310 gesigefastod**: Conser suggests that this participle should perhaps be emended to *gesigefastnod*, but the form is to be connected with the infinitive *sigefestan*. Compare the inflexions of *onbrynod* 163 and *onlihtod* 266 noted in II.4/C.3(f).

**Hly 82** 7 him for naht dyde, MS THX for naht dyde 7him for naht dyde: The scribe apparently wrote this clause twice by mistake as later in the Homily the verb was 118, and duplication may explain also the unusual linked duplicated verbs *weost 7 wecoest* 59. See also II.4/C.3.

**Hly 82** *unmanega*: This form is emended to *unmanege* by Conser, but for
the levelling of -e and -a see II.4/E.5.

Hly 83 by gewunelican beowdom / Vita 481 adsweto more : See the note for Life 240. The absence of dative inflexion from beowdom, unusual in the Homily, should be noted.

315 cyne : Hly 86 cyrne : Gonser does not discuss this difference between the texts. As there is no mention in Vita 482-4 of the noise made by the demons, it is possible that Hly 86 cyrne has been introduced into the account at some time after the original translation was made. It is interesting to note that the same word is used to describe the wailing of Guthlac's attackers in Guthlac A, lines 264 and 392, but the coincidence is not sufficient for any close relationship between the Homily and this poem to be assumed.

Hly 86 him : Gonser's emendation of this form to hie is unnecessary, for him is the attributive use of the dative case and a subject for inguton may be understood from the preceding clause.

Hly 87 on onsyne, MS onyne : Haplography of the preposition on beside the prefix on- occurs elsewhere in Old English manuscripts and the emendation, put forward by Gonser, is accepted; the reading in the Life supports this change. In the introductory matter to his edition Gonser (p. 47) suggests that the form syne of the manuscript (for Hly 87) is an example of the retention of the original translation, whereas the onyne of Life 316 shows subsequent change, but this speculation is not discussed in his commentary.
Some freedom is apparent between *Life* and *Homily* in the wording of this passage. For example, where both Hly 88 *lange* and Vita 489 *longes* are plural, *langne sweoran* 317 is singular. Compare Hly 89 *bearde* / Vita 490 *barba* and *beardum* 318.

The adjectives found in both Old English texts share, as Gonser (p. 36) points out, the same change from Vita 489 *macilenta* and both are, following Goodwin's lead, emended by him to *mager* in his text, without any further explanation in the commentary. The adjective *mager* 'meagre' is little known from Old English texts; one example is given for the *Leechdom* in BT and to this BTs adds a reference to *Life* 317.

This adjective, as the *Vita* reading suggests, may well stand behind the forms now found in *Life* and *Homily* and would imply that they derive from a common ancestor at least one remove from the original translation. However, as it is possible to interpret the adjective *manig* 'many a' in a way not unsuited to this context, no emendation is made in this edition.
Both Goodwin and Conser change the position of this phrase on the analogy of Hly 89, but as there are in the Life other sentences where the object (or some part of the object) precedes the subject and finite verb of its clause (for example lines 11 or 119), this change is not followed here.

Conser (p. 36) suggests that the translator confused the Vita 490 tortus with the adjective tortus. The twisted beaks of the Old English version may however recall other accounts, both narrative and pictorial, of these demons and need not necessarily be ascribed to the translator's misunderstanding of his original. d'Ardenne (1946, p. 45) points out that the Vita 491 ore foetido, dentibus equinis (both phrases translated in the Old English version as the extant texts show) must have appealed to the maker of the Harley Roll, but does not note the additional woh nebb detail of the translation. The adjective woh 'twisted' qualifies nosu in the Alfredian Cura Pastoralis (Sweet 1871, I. pp. 65.4 and 67.5 and 7), and nebb, when so qualified, may be used in the more restricted sense 'nose, beak' rather than the wider 'face, countenance' (for which see FT under nebb III) which Vita 490 fronte implies.

Similar analogical extension of the unmutated vowel and the apparent assimilation of the noun to the masculine strong a-nouns is illustrated by Phx 407 tobas, SBE II tobas and PPs 57.5 tobas. For other analogical changes in the vowels of accented syllables in this declension in the Life see II.4/C.1(i).
Hly 93 missorence tan: Gonser remarks that this phrase ganz gut zu
plantis aversis' passt and concludes therefore that missorence
must have stood in the original translation. The word is glossed as
'aversus' gekrönt by I. Geisel. Neither discusses Goodwin's sugges-
tion that missorence may be related to gescrenean 'cause to shrink,
destroy'. The form is however entered in BT under missorence 'shriv-
elled' where it is compared with gescrene 'withered, dry', an adjec-
tive which occurs only in the gloss hond gescrenece nel dryge for manum
aridom (Skeat 1874, Luke vi.8) and a similar interpretation is given
the forms in the NED under MIS\(^1\) - 8. This explanation of the adjec-
tive gains further support from the description of the onset of an
attack of gout in Leechdoms iii. 48, 28 Da tan scrinced up.

The form *missorence 'aversus' put forward by Gonser and Geisel
is not elsewhere recorded for Old English (and it should be noted that
both appear content with the spelling missorence of the manuscript).
This *missorence must be regarded as cognate with crano-staf 'crank'
and crencetra 'female weaver' and perhaps also with crine '(?) a kind
of shoe'; all are forms noted only once for Old English and should
be regarded as cognate with the causative *orengen which most likely
existed beside oringan 'yield, give way' and which is reflected in the
Middle English orengen, crenchen. If such a form as Gonser implies
stood in the original translation, it may have been a calque upon the
Vita 494 auersis, but it seems best to explain with Goodwin the homil-
list's missorence by 'withered'. 
miscrocet tan, MS mis crocettan: This passage is the source for the OE entry miscrocettan 'to make a horrible noise' (found also in Bosworth's earlier dictionary) and for Sweet's *misoråettan 'croak horribly' (with the asterisk showing that he doubts the existence of the form and a note that a should perhaps be ɔ). Both Goodwin and Gonser find this otherwise unknown verb difficult to believe in and emend the text from Hly 93.

An Old English passive participle georocod is listed as a hapax legomenon by Napier (1903, p. 292) from a twelfth century text and the miscroset of Life 322 is probably cognate with this form. Middle English forms reflecting an Old English *orō are well attested: see MED under crok (and especially the use in nicknames archil Crocot and william Crokefote, from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries respectively) and under croked (especially 2a(a) for the application of this participial adjective to parts of the body). An interesting parallel is the only example of miscrooked noted in the NED from Trevisa in the phrase miscrokid lymes.

The form miscrocet shows syncope and unvoicing of the final dental before the following initial dental.

322-3 7 hasrunigendum stefnum / Vita 495 glamoribus raucisonis: Both Goodwin and Gonser emend this phrase to 7 has hrymedon on stefnum, remodelling it upon the reading found in the Homily. The phrasing of the Life is here closely related to the Vita and the resultant
anacolothum should not therefore be emended out of the text. The compound *hasrunigendum* is by no means an unlikely nonce formation to translate *raucisonis*. In structure it has an interesting parallel in the gloss *hasgrumelum* which stands above *raucisonis* in *Corpus Christi College Cambridge 389*. The adjective *has* is used elsewhere in Old English to gloss *raucus*.

Hly 93-4 7 *has . . cleopunge*. The greater freedom of this clause from the phrasing of the *Vita* than the corresponding passage of the *Life* would suggest that recasting of an earlier version has taken place in the *Homily*. The reading is simpler and easier to follow, but this does not constitute a reason for bringing into line with it the more awkward reading of the *Life*. It is difficult to agree with Gonser's conclusion that the *Homily* has *ohne Zweifel . . die richtige Lesart*. The two clauses which follow next may also have undergone reshaping in the version found in the *Homily*.

323 *ungemetlicre gestundum*: The adjective is emended by Goodwin and Gonser to *ungemetlicum* to agree with the dative plural before which it stands, but for discussion of this form see II.4/G.1(a). The *d* of *gestundum* is apparently a late intrusion and the form may have been affected by confusion with *stund*; see also II.4/D.4.

324 *ungemetlicre ege*: Compare the note for *woruldlicre* 83 and see II.4/G.1(a).
Hly 95 hit puhte: This may be explained either as an early example of the use of the subject hit with the impersonal verb or as a scribal anticipation of the hit which follows almost immediately.

325 hleobrod: Hly 96 hleodrode: The gloss hlyfan stands above Vita 496 horrescere, but is interpreted as for hlydan by Meritt and should not therefore be connected with the finite forms found in the Old English version of the Vita. See also II.1/c.

325 yldend: Hly 96 ylding / Vita 497 mora: Goodwin points out that the -end suffix should be restricted to an agent and suggests that -ing / -ung might be expected in this context. This is noted also by Schlutter (1909, p. 325) who compares with this form yldend other words in -end, for example swelgend 'gurges' and peofend 'furtum', which denote action rather than agent.

Hly 98 eallum limum gebunden / Vita 499-500 ligatis membris: The Latin structure is retained in the Homily, whereas the Life shows signs of having undergone revision (contrast the note for 322-3). The verb gebundon 327 has for subject the second hi of line 326, but the cases of the other forms remain unchanged, that is as they must have been before the revision was attempted. It is possible to translate this clause of the Life by 'and they then straightway bound that holy man in all his limbs', but it must be recognised that some of the anacolutha of this text may be ascribed to the eleventh century reviser rather than the original translator.
329 orwehtan: Both Goodwin and Gonser emend this form to horwihtan (compare Hly 99 horwihtan) unnecessarily. Sporadic loss of initial h before vowels of accented syllables may be seen in many Old English manuscripts (see further the note for line 271 in Commentary of III). The vowel of the medial syllable is that to be expected (e.g., the i-umlaut of o in the Germanic suffix, giving Old English -ehte). Compare eagospend 776 and see II.4/D.2.

Hly 104 ana: This reading must have arisen through the omission of hwile and the consequent recognition of ana as faulty. Life 332 ana hwile and Vita 504 paulisper indicate that ana did not appear in the original translation. The mistake may however have been made first by the Veroelli Book scribe, for there are in the facsimile signs that the second a of ana stands on an erasure.

334-5 obbe . . costian: Hly 105-6 oðne . . wican: Both Old English texts have here clauses without parallel in the Vita. In content they might be compared with Guthlac A, lines 261 ff. See also II.3/b for similar differences shared by Life and Homily, but not found in the Vita.

Hly 105 hie hine woldon, MS hie woldon: The insertion of hine proposed by Conser is necessary for the sense of this passage. The similar order of the Life suggests that the Homily reflects a simple omission of the sort often made by its scribe.
Compare the note for line 280. See also II.4/P.3 and 4. For a note on the adjectival inflexion see II.4/C.1(b).

Goodwin points out that these words do not appear in the corresponding passage of the Homily and adds 'they come awkwardly enough in the text'. This is however no reason to omit them, as does Gonser in his text.

This adjective does not occur in the Life but appears four times in the Homily; compare lines 319:

Hly 90, 321: Hly 92 and 349: Hly 110. Gonser (p. 47) cites Hly 113-4 ba geseah . . gasta as a passage where a mistaken reading is found in the Homily and the correct reading in the Life; against this passage he places Ba geseah . . cuman 342-3 / Vita 515-6 Innumerabiles . . cerneres. He might not have judged these passages in this way if he had quoted as well Hly 114-5 7 . . gebyddon. The original translation is probably better represented in the Homily than in the Life which shows signs of having been abbreviated and simplified. See further II.3/d.

For a note on this noneword see II.4/P.5(b).

This inflexion is normalised by both Goodwin and Gonser, but see II.4/C.2(a).
Hly 116 *golum* / Vita 519 *fauces* : The *golum* of the Homily suggests that it stands nearer the original translation here than does the Life. (It should be noted that Gonser (p. 85) gives *tintrehstowum* 345 / Vita 519 *tartari fauces* as an example of Mythologische Termine durch christliche ersetzt without citing the reading of the Homily.)

The Old English word *goma* must have been used quite frequently in this way, because it developed the figurative meaning 'the jaws of death', as is pointed out in BTs (under *goma* where this usage is illustrated from a sermon by Wulfstan).

The compound *tintrehstowum* 345 occurs only in the Life, but parallel phrases are found often in Old English. See also II.4/F. 4 and 5.

345 *helleduru* : Hly 116 *helledures* : Gonser's punctuation in this passage of the Life shows that he regards *helleduru* as the indirect object of *gebrohton* 345; the resulting contact clauses are unusual. The word is here treated as dative singular and so glossed; for the falling together of *-u* and *-a* see II.4/C.1(d). Hly 116 *helledures* is inflected as a strong *a*-noun. Analogical extension of these inflexions is found frequently in late Old English and in this compound the extension may have been aided by the influence of the parallel and widely used noun *helldor* (compare the note for Glo 559 *heldore*).

Hly 117 *prosmes*, MS *bismes* : Goodwin suggests that *prosmes* should be
read for the manuscript bismae. The manuscript form is however re-
tained by Gonser who notes Goodwin's suggestion in his footnote but
provides no evidence to support his retention of this form, despite
Goodwin's observation that it is not recorded elsewhere; the form is
glossed as Dampf by I. Geisel without comment. Goodwin's suggestion
is accepted here as no evidence in support of an Old English noun bism
can be found.

346 byrnenda: The form is emended to byrnendan by Goodwin, but
for loss of inflexional -a in the Life see II.4/C.2(c).

346 lega: This form must be interpreted as the accusative plural
of a masculine i-stem. For the levelling of -a and -e see II.
4/C.1(d). The note for Hly 122 should be compared.

Hly 118 nywylnesse: Both here and at Hly 128 neowolnesse the word
corresponds to deopnyesse 347 and 355. The Homily word is thought
by some critics to indicate an Anglian origin for the translation, but
it may be no more than a form obsolescent in the later Old English per-
iod. See further II.4/F.3 and 4.

Hly 118 wæs: This verb stands both as the last form on folio 135r and
as the first on 135v and is an obvious duplication on the part
of the scribe. Compare the note for Hly 82.

Hly 119-21 7 nasas . . upgoctan / Vita 522-7 non . . uidebantur: A
passage corresponding to these does not appear in the Life where it may have been cancelled either because of its complexity or because of the density in it of obsolete words. The structure of the original translation is most likely obscured in the Homily. Gonser emends \textit{7 eac} 120 to \textit{so eac} but, though this brings the passage into line with Hly 31 and Hly 49, the homilist's tendency to substitute \textit{7} for the more complicated connectives shown in the Life may explain the appearance of \textit{7 eac} in line 120.

\textit{Hly 120 ba leglican hyde}: Gonser notes that this adjective occurs only in the Life and examples of it do not appear in the standard dictionaries which have appeared since Gonser's edition of the text.

The noun \textit{hyde} should be interpreted in the manner suggested by Kern (1917, p. 6), as \textit{yde} / \textit{Vita} 523 \textit{gurgites}. For the initial \textit{h} compare the note for \textit{orwehtan} 329 and see II.4/D.2.

\textit{Hly 120 ba fulan recetunge swefles}. MS for \textit{recetunge} has \textit{recestunge}: Gonser prints for the form here emended \textit{recestunge}, noting that \textit{tunge} is nicht recht verständlich in diesem Zusammenhange; he makes no suggestion as to how the text is to be interpreted. Schlutter (1909, p. 325) puts forward the word \textit{brêsetung} 'vomitus' as suited to the context, explaining that behind the \textit{recestunge} printed by Gonser might have lain \textit{recestunge}. He suggests that the \textit{Vita} has been very freely translated here and points out that the Old English appears as if it were a translation of.
Neque solum ibi flammaticas ignis undas turgescere vidit, sed etiam fœstitos sulphuris vomitus spargi in aerem.

In addition he speculates that the translator had before him for Vita 525 aeropites the word vomitus, or that he as wenigsten zu finden gegebebt, and that he simply omitted translating Vita 524 glaciali grandine mixti. I. Geisel enters receastunge as one word under the headword reo, does not identify its case, and equates it with hrane-tunge, referring the reader to Schlutter. Holthausen (1921, p. 21) objects to Schlutter's explanation of the form and in his turn suggests that behind tungs lay steorran getenge. The explanation is ingenious and has in its favour its use of the Vita rather than of an original sentence written in its justification.

I prefer to regard the manuscript receastunge as a misreading of receastunge. The word receastung occurs both in simplex form and as the second element in a compound in Old English texts (see BT under receastung the entry from a glossary hramastunga 'coruscationes', under ligreastung 'lightening' the passage cited from the Lambeth Psalter 17.5 and BTs another instance of this compound from the same psalter 143.6). The noun is cognate with rees 'a heavy shower', ligrasoc, ligreasoc, rascan 'move quickly, quiver' and rascttan 'crackle'. The form in the scribe's exemplar may have shown second fronting and metathesis or it may simply have been misread in a context where receas 'reeking flames' might be expected. There is no need at any rate to suppress the g of the manuscript form as Schlutter had to and the form summarises well the weighty description given in the Vita.
Hly 122 ligesas: Kern (1917, p. 6) suggests that lega 349 should be emended either to legas (on the pattern of the Homily form) or to leg (because the noun is used occasionally in the neuter), rather than to the lega put forward by Goodwin and Gonser. He notes however that lega may be interpreted as the accusative plural of a masculine i-stem. It should be noted that the form lega to which Kern objects actually occurs a few lines previously in Life 346.

Hly 123 tintregudon, MS tintregud: The emendation made by Gonser is followed. It is supported by getintregodon 351 and Vita 528 torquебant and is therefore preferred to an explanation which assumes scribal omission of waron.

352 witu: Both Goodwin and Gonser amend this form to wita, but see II.4/C.1(d).

Hly 125 onbreq: Gonser notes that this verb is found only here. He connects it with the weak verb onbracian, but his additional comment zurückgehend auf ein ags. verloren gegangenes 'brahan' oderare is difficult to substantiate. Elsewhere he (p. 51) describes onbraq as poetical in character. I. Geisel glosses the form as the third person preterite singular of the weak verb onbracian without adding any further comment. It will be found listed under the form *onbriogan in the glossary to the Homily. Examples of words cognate with it are onbracung 'fear', onbrecolic 'horrible', geonbracian 'to be afraid of,'
etc. See also II.4/F.5(c).

**Hly 127 neowolnesse**: See the note for Hly 118 nywylnesse.

355 *7 her het fyр*: Goodwin inserts *is* after *her*, but this is unnecessary for *her*, as *Vita 533 En ignis* shows, can be interpreted as an exclamation. The same usage is seen in *Hly 127*. See BTs under *her II* for the adverb in the sense 'behold'.

**Hly 128 da werigea gastas, MS ðaweri / geagastas** with briefly rising stroke from top of *æ* before *g*. The weak adjective does not otherwise show loss of *-n* in the Homily, but compare *Hly 64 a*.

358 *beostra bearn 7 forwyrde tuddre*: *Hly 130 hystra bearnum 7 forwyrde tuddor*: Gonser emends *bearn 358 to bearnum* and *Hly 130 tuddor to tuddre*, presumably to achieve consistency. However, there is no reason to discredit *bearn 358* which can be explained as the nominative plural used in address (compare the vocative of *Vita 540 filii*). *Hly 130 bearnum* shows attraction of the noun to the dative plural through the influence of the *sow* dependent on *wa*.

Goodwin emends *tuddre 358 to tudder* in order to balance with *bearn* another nominative, but this is unnecessary (compare the forms listed in II.4/G.1.g). Like *Hly 130 tudder*, however, it may show levelling of *-re* and *-or*. 
Hly 131 dustes acest / Vita 541 fauille cineris: The Homily reading answers more closely to the Latin than does dust. acest

Lysela 359-60, which may therefore have been rephrased during revision. It should be noted that reminiscence of Job xxx. 19 fauilles

et cineris may be responsible for the wording in the Life.

359 earman: It seems that here as in line 358 the nominative plural is used in address. The corresponding passage in the Homily contains yrmingum, dative plural of a noun generally used in Old English for 'a wretched, or poor, person'. An attractive reading within the context would be earman 'power' with ea for eo (compare II.4/B.3(i)), but the use of the adjective earma 448 confirms the reading of the Life.

Hly 133 earo: Compare the note for geardodan 31 and see II.4/E.6.

361 andbidige, MS 7bidige: Conser points out that the verb bidige presented in both his own and Goodwin's texts is unusual, noting that the Hly 133 bide might rather have been expected. However, as the verb anbidian appears often in Old English with an intrusive d it is possible to identify the manuscript 7bidige with this verb (for example andbidiende cited by Brühl 1892, p. 67).

Hly 133-4 for ... bregean: This clause is without any finite verb; the scribe may well, as Conser suggests, have omitted sceolon
the phrase found in Life 361. See also II.2/£.

362 *egsian : Hly 134 bregoan : Compare the note for 280 : Hly 49 and see II.4/r. 3 and 4.

Hly 134-5 his . . wolde : These clauses, closer to Vita 543-4 Illis . . precingentibus than are the corresponding clauses in Life 362-3, may reflect better the original translation. The first of these clauses corresponds to Illis [ . . ] sese precingentibus and it is likely therefore that Hly 134 his has replaced an earlier his; the phrase to dam is adverbial.

The comparable clauses Hig . . woldon 362-3 in the Life suggest considerable revision has been made independent of any consultation of the Vita. It is possible to imagine the adverbial to dam being read as a preposition + article, with the subsequent extrapolation of eadigan woldon from the gegeawodon of the exemplar. Some such train of events would, at any rate, explain why woldon 363 has the pragnante Bedeutung 'gingen auf ihn los' remarked by Gonser (p. 46). In his commentary, however, Gonser explains woldon as due to scribal anticipation of the woldon which ends the next clause.

362 *gastes : Goodwin normalises this form to gastas, but for other examples of the levelling of -as and -as in the Life see II. 4/c.1(a).
For a note on the agreement of the article with *beostru* rather than with the descriptive genitive in line 365, see the note for *pes arwurdan genymde GVDILLACES 7*. The straightforwardness of the Homily phrase suggests that it may represent a revision of some more complicated wording of the sort reflected in the *Life*.

**Hly 139 for**: This preposition does not appear in the manuscript, but is demanded by the sense. Gonser's emendation, based on the corresponding passage of the *Life*, is therefore accepted. For other omissions made by the scribe compare the note for *Hly 32* and see II. 2/2.

**Hly 139-40 Ac , , hyddon**: This detail, absent in the *Vita*, must have been added by the original translator. For other details of this sort see II.3/b and d.

**Hly 140 ba be**: Gonser reconstructs as the manuscript reading these words and considers the manuscript illegible at this point. Both consonants are apparently visible in the facsimile and only the vowels are in doubt. Much of this final section of the Homily is difficult to read, especially *Hly 141 he mid, Hly 141 fea in gefean-nesse* and *Hly 143 bam apostole*; and conjectural readings are given silently in the presented text. It should be noted that Gonser's *b* as the last letter of *Hly 145 rixab* is incorrect.
**Hly 141 gefeannesse**: Gonser points out that this word occurs only here. The form is not recorded in either BT or BTs, but is noted in Clark Hall. See also II.4/F.5(c).

**Hly 142 gefeonde**: Compare the note for line 264: Hly 33.

**Hly 142 7 ba to end**: The separate ending of the Homily is interesting, for in it the story of Guthlac's persecution by devils at Crowland is ended with a simple statement that the saint then went to heaven with St Bartholomew. The homilist gives no indication that he has brought the saint's life to a sudden close, omitting the miracles, death and translation described in the Vita. See further II.3/0.

**372 smyltnysse**: This word appears here and in the following line only of the Life. It cannot be regarded as a pointer to the Anglian origin of the translation as the word appears in early West Saxon texts, but it is thought to be restricted to early Old English. Vleeskruyer (1953, p. 33) notes that it occurs also in the Old English Bede and in the translation of the Dialogues of Gregory. See also II.4/F.2.

**374 ne on scipe**: Gonser equates this phrase with Vita 557 nec in nani and suggests that some such phrase as ne on wane has fallen out of the text. As the particle ne may however be regarded as
emphatic, it is unnecessary to discuss whether or not a translation of *Vita* 557 *nece in curru* stood in the original translation.

376 *haligra gasta* heap: The collective heap has here a plural verb *comon* 376, either through repetition of *comon* from the preceding line or through the attraction of *haligra gasta*.

377 *Ibunt de ...*: Psalm 83.8 is often quoted in saints' lives, especially in death-bed scenes, and in early eschatological writings. *Vita* 564-70 *Dein ... euanuerunt*, the final lines of this chapter, also contain stock hagiographical materials. Kurtz (1926, p. 114) and Colgrave (1956, p. 185) point out that this incident of the two weeping devils resembles Evagrius's account of the devil who appeared to Anthony in the form of a black boy and wept over his failure to make any impression on him.

380 *genaman*: Goodwin regularises the inflexion, but see II.4/C. 3(i) and contrast the inflexion of *wepon* 382.

380 *morgengebetida*: The compound is recorded only here for Old English. Pogatscher (1899, p. 13) explains this form by *morgengebet(stunde)*.

382 *wepon*: Both Goodwin and Gonser emend this form to the usual West Saxon infinitive *wepan*. The eo digraph does not appear
in the present tense of this verb elsewhere. The unusual infinitive
is therefore most likely the scribe's anticipation of the plural pre­
terite form which occurs shortly afterwards, although it might be ex­
plained as a scribal metathesis for an Anglian woepan. No emendation
is made, for analogical extension of the vowel of the preterite could
be argued for the vowel of the accented syllable; the vowel of the
ending is yet another illustration of the inflexional levelling found
throughout the manuscript.

387  

388  

387 gastes: For other examples of -as and -es being levelled see
II.4/C.1(a).

388 brytise: Here and at line 395 (bryttise) the adjective is used
elliptically for the language as it is also in the preface to
the Laud chronicle where it is mistakenly distinguished from Welsh
(see Plummer 1892). The NED gives (under British a. 1\textsuperscript{tb}) one refer­
ence to the use of the adjective to denote a language, from the 1662
Act of Uniformity:

What the Book [of Common Prayer] hereunto annexed be truly
and exactly translated into the British or Welsh Tongue.

This account of the attack on Guthlac made by demons under the guise
of Britons has sometimes been used as evidence for the survival of
British in the fens at this time and many curious statements have been
based groundlessly upon it. See further I.1/3. Although Felix ex­
plains (Vita 582–4) that Guthlac could understand the devils' words
because he had once been exiled amongst the Britons, it is even argued that Guthlac may have learned their language from a few degraded and savage survivors who were his neighbours at Crowland. Most ingenious among the explanations of his knowledge of Welsh is the conclusion that because his father was Welsh (Penwalh being given a Celtic derivation, further see under Penwald 47 and Appendix 3) it is easier to understand how Guthlac "came to be acquainted with the Welsh tongue" (Gray 1911, p. 45).

389  *genredes*: See under Genred in Appendix 3.

391  *angolcynne*: Conser points out that the final -e should not be expected here. See II.4/C.2(a) for similar examples.

392  *uhtgebedum*: The word is otherwise recorded only in the glossaries edited by Wright: *Matutinum officium*, uhtgebed, uel peowdom. WrW I. 129.32.

400  *bat weron*: For other examples of *bat* for an object of any number or gender see BT under se II(3) and compare lines 38, 96(?), etc.

402  *Exurgat deus & dissipentur*: No translation accompanies these words in the Life, although normally an Old English version is given of any verses from the psalms used by the Felix. Compare 85 ff.,
258 ff. (where Hly 28 ff. omits the Latin), 302 ff. (where both Life and Hly give only a translation) and 336 ff. (where both Life and Hly give only a translation). The absence here of any translation of these words may have arisen through the original translator's rearrangement and paraphrase of the material before him. The words are in the Life regarded as the title of the sixty-seventh psalm and Guthlac is credited with setting out to sing the whole psalm. There is nothing in the Old English version to answer to Vita 588 uelut prophetico ore. Conser (p. 55) points out that the translator very often leaves out uelut (quoting as examples of this lines 275, 336, 373 and 846, but contrast 257); here uelut is not the only word to be neglected in his independent presentation of the story.

404 Mid by ... At this point a new chapter begins in all the Vita texts. The translator treats part of the first sentence of the Beoccel chapter as a suitable ending to the episode in which Guthlac has what have been called "unquiet dreams" (Whitelock 1951, p. 87). This different rendering may perhaps be due to his memory of the defeat acknowledged by demons in earlier chapters (see lines 309 and 383) as well as to the freedom he allows himself in relating the ending of this particular episode.

407 beoccel. This is the only place in the Life where this name is inflected, the other four instances being all the nominative singular seen in line 408. The form of this name is uncertain. The
Vita texts, save for the Crowland Douai 852 which contains Beocel-forms, give forms similar to the beocel of the Life, and this final -m is found in other Crowland documents. As it is not represented in any other Vita texts, many of them much older, and as there is no confusion among these texts (as in the case of Penwale), it is likely that the mistake originated at Crowland. The name may have been corrupted on the analogy of Old English names which end in -helm or its final -m may misrepresent a diminutive -in given to this companion of Guthlac in Crowland traditions. At any rate later writers record this servant's name with -in attached to it. The origin of the name is obscure, but among the suggestions made the Celtic etymology seems most likely. Beocel was apparently important in Crowland tradition, for he is entered in the calendars of the abbey, but no separate life of him is found before the account which was published by Wynkyn de Worde in 1516. For a short discussion of this and other points mentioned in this note see the appendix on St Bertolin (Appendix 1).

411 mid his searwes atte... The simplicity of the Life here and the choice of words owes something to the final phrases in the first sentence of this chapter of the Vita (especially to sub torioo pectore 596). The material of this chapter of the Vita is fully if freely reproduced in the Life. The devil's suggestions to Beocel are turned into direct speech, but otherwise the order of the Latin is straightforwardly followed, with such simple changes only as the summary woruldmen 415 for Vita 606 regum principumque.
412 geondsprengde, MS geond / spreqde: The emendation of the manuscript spreqde made by both Goodwin and Conser is satisfactory. No verb suitable in sense and form can be found in Old English to justify the manuscript reading which may be due to the omission of a nasal stroke by the scribe. The verb sprengen is common enough in Old English but the compound geondsprengen may have been unfamiliar in the late period. It is found perhaps three times in all according to BTs: here, in R.Pen.I.12.1 where the manuscript reads geond­ sprencend, and as an emendation in Rd1 26.8 geondsprengde where the manuscript has geond speddropan and can be interpreted without this insertion.

415 swa... dód: Conser suggests that this dód and déd 677 should be regarded as having almost the force of the later auxiliary, but in both places, as in lines 184, 373 and 695, the verb represents the verb of the preceding clause (see BTs under dón VIII). The Old English foreshadowing of the later auxiliary usage, illustrated in BTs under dón VII, is not represented in this text.

416-18 Conser points out that the translator's sem ... bæt would in German be rendered by um zu and the infinitive, comparing lines 565 and 789. The construction is the usual one in Old English and is used side by side with 'accusative and infinitive' constructions. Conser also notes that bæt he hine wolde bywem 418 appears to be ein überflüssiges (interpoliertes?) Anhängsel. The clause is explanatory
and necessitated by the translator's paraphrase of his exemplar.

428 ba unablinnu: The BT *unablinn, a neuter noun with the meaning 'a not ceasing', is adopted here for want of any better explanation. The word is obviously cognate with linnan 'to cease' and its derivatives. Nearest to it in form is the adverb found twice in the earlier manuscripts of Gregory's Dialogues, where unablinnendlice 86.10 and 117.23 is replaced in Hatton 76 by ungeswilkendlice and untolstendlice respectively. Hecht (1900, p. 150, fn 4) points out that 'blinnan' nebst Zusammensetzungen und Abteilungen wird von B [Hatton 76] gemieden. This observation adds support to the tentative suggestion found in BT that unablinnu 428 stands for unablinnunge. The curious form may well be the result of the eleventh century reviser's work, but the manuscript reading is retained as it is almost impossible to reconstruct what was before him (for example, it would be as easy to put forward *unablinnendnesse as the BT -blinnunge). See also II.4/F.5(b).

430 bam: Goodwin's silent expansion of the manuscript bà to ban is by no means wrong as this scribe uses both bam and ban for dative forms of se (see glossary for examples). The conventional expansion of the macron by m is here preferred although, as Schlutter (1929, p. 264) points out, this general editorial practice is often clearly wrong. Gonser expands the manuscript abbreviation silently to m.
436ff. In this chapter also the material of the Vita is greatly simpliﬁed, here with much cutting. Again the long-winded opening sentence in the Latin is avoided by the translator; this time he uses nothing from it in his own ﬁrst sentence. The Latin account of the demons is summarised skillfully.

Vita 635ff. It should be noted that this chapter, based on Antonian traditions, betrays a closer relationship to the old Latin life of the saint than to the Evagrian version of the Athanasius life.

This other Latin version is described by Garitte (1939, p. 2) as:

... très curieuse, qu'on ne lit plus aujourd'hui que dans un seul manuscrit, un grand légendier du xᵉ—xiᵉ siècle, conservé aux Archives du Chapitre de S Pierre à Rome.

The translation is entitled Incipit uita sancti Antonii monachi edita a sancto Hieronimo presbitero, but internal evidences do not support this ascription. It is a separate and earlier translation of the Athanasius life, made perhaps before 375 A.D. (Garitte 1939, p. 4) and the manuscript containing it cannot be placed more exactly than Western Europe. Its conservation at Rome gives no evidence of its origin.

So that the relevant passages from this older translation and the Evagrian version which superseded it may be compared with the Vita Cuthlac, extracts from each are given below.

Evagrius (PG 26, columns 835 ff.)... rugiebat leo, accedere uolens; taurus mugitu et cornibus mindebatur; serpens sibilum personabat, luporum impetus
ingerebantur: pardinus discolori tergo auctoris sui
callidates varias indicabat: truces omnium uultus,
et uocis horrida dirus auditis.

... leonum, taurorum, luporum, aspidum, serpentum,
scorpionum, necon et pardorum atque ursorum.

Earlier Latin version (Garitte 1939, p. 25) ... leo
rugiebat, volens insilire in eum, taurus uolebat
ventilare cornibus, coluber repens non adtingebat,
et lupus de impetu suo retinebatur (et in toto
omnium) serpens torquebat se et sibilabat super
sum; et simul omnes terribiles erantina et sono
sum.

... leonum et ursorum, leopardorum, colobrium, taur-
orum, aspidum, scorpionum et luporum.

It seems possible that some manuscript of this earlier version was
current in England in Felix's time.

437 **grymetigena**: Both Goodwin and Gonser replace this word by
the emendation **grymetunga**, from the usual Old English noun for
this concept (and used in line 442). However, there are many examples
of adjectives being used as nouns throughout the text and it is there-
fore unnecessary to emend here.

442 **orcetung**: The noun is recorded only here by BT; there is one
example of the cognate verb **orakettan** in the Dialogues 118.25
(in Ratton 76; Cambridge MS has **orcettan**). Both Goodwin and Gonser
emend **orcetung** to **orcetunge**.
earma: Gonser places in his text the emendation earmra because Vita 646 miserarum bestiarum indicates that the translator may have meant this adjective to qualify the following noun. However, without recourse to the original it is easy to translate the manuscript form as Goodwin does: "Thou, wretched one, now display-est..." No matter what the intention of the translator may have been, there seems no reason to go against this simple interpretation of the text. Otherwise the form might be thought yet another instance of -a in the genitive plural of adjectives (see II.4/C.2d).

stywes: Goodwin's emendation to stywest is, as Gonser points out, unnecessary. For a discussion of the inflexion see II.4/C.3(j). It should be noted that here again much material of the Vita is summarised by the use of three genitive plurals dependent upon hiw, as at line 438 where the alliteration is even more striking.

se be worhte: The translation adds a detail here not present in the Vita.

fram bisum ungebærmyse: Goodwin and Gonser follow the accepted Old English rules of agreement in emending bisum to hisse, but the emendation is perhaps unjustified because so much analogical change is seen in the use of inflexions in this text. See further II.4/C.1.
gewat: The subject of the clause suggests that a plural verb should follow. Goodwin suggests the curious form gewaton and Gonser the normal gewiton. However, in two other places in the text ba occurs where a nominative singular feminine is to be expected, at lines 12 (where this interpretation of ba is doubtful) and at line 557 (where the word may alternatively be understood as an example of pleonastic ba 'then') and the usage may possibly be a feature of late Old English. SB (337n.4) point out that ba may occur in the Lindisfarne Gospels among the forms used for the nominative singular feminine of the definite article, although such use of the old accusative is not general until the thirteenth century. If this interpretation is accepted, there is no need to emend the verb gewat (and no need to explain why the scribe makes a mistake over a verb whose stem vowel he carefully emphasises, if the vowel of the accented syllable is incorrect).

It is worth noting that Gonser's desire to emend may have been prompted by the verb-form of the corresponding passage in the Vita, for his Felix text stems from one of the only two manuscripts to have a plural verb here (see Colgrave 1956, p. 116 fn 9 where his collations show that recesserunt appears only in Douai 852 and Harleian 3097). The other manuscripts all have, like Vita 650 recessit, singular forms which Colgrave judges the original reading.

begiten: The began of Goodwin's text is corrected by him on p. vi of his edition.
455-60 This chapter of the Life contains much of the contents of Felix's two chapters on the jackdaws' persecution of the saint. The first, a story, is simply retold in English whereas the second, for the most part rather common-place eulogy, is severely cut. In its present form the amount of Vita lines 690-712 represented does not require a separate chapter heading, but serves as a rider to the account of the theft of a piece of parchment.

456 dagas: Gonser inserts before this word unmanige because Vita 655 aliquot diebus suggests that the word once stood there. In support of his emendation he notes that aliquot is often so translated, comparing Life 164 unmanige dagas (Vita 313 aliquorua dierum). The suggestion may well be correct, but to follow this emendation is dangerous, for the Life is so far removed from its original that insertions, except where essential for sense, may well go against the intention of the eleventh century reviser without achieving what was originally written by the translator.

463 sarig: Gonser suggests that the accusative singular masculine sarigne is to be expected here, comparing lines 814 and 898, but at line 463 makes no emendation. In line 814 the expected accusative forms appear in the manuscript. In line 898 he emends what is apparently a nominative form in the manuscript (see note for 898).

468 neah bat egland: Gonser amends the text to neah bam eglande,
pointing out that neah usually governs the dative. The inconsistency both of the text as to use of case following neah and of Conser in his emendation of accusatives to datives is noted by Kern (1917, p. 7). The emendation is unnecessary.

474 gewunode: Kern (1917, p. 7), by noting that gewunode has here the sense 'dwell', first points to the difficulty inherent in this passage. The form is not glossed by Geisel (1915) and no note is given by the two earlier editors. Toller (BTs under gewunian B.I) suggests the translation "there were two ravens that lived on that same island" for Life 473 kern ... gewunode 474, but points out that the Latin conflicts with this interpretation unless the translator's misreading of Vita 690 alites as aliti is posited. He places in the same entry two verses from Christ and Satan:

Her is nedran swag,
wyrmes gewunode.

against which he puts the explanation "adders have their home here". Comparable also is a verse from the Paris Psalter:

And heora tungan tornowidum
neode serwað, swa oft nedran doð,
and him aspidas, strenæ wyrmæs,
under welerum is gewunad fæste.

In each case the explanation found in GK (under gewunian 1) for the two verse examples (both generally emended by the earlier editors), that gewunod is to be regarded as the passive participle with the sense wohnhaft, gives satisfactory sense, if clumsy and unusual syntax.
ster: Gonser's emendation *aber* brings the form into line with the other examples of this prefix in the text; see II.

4/C.5d.

**Agens:** Both Goodwin and Gonser emend the inflexion to *-re*, normalising the text, but see II.4/C.2(a).

482-98 This chapter of the *Life* represents a fairly close translation of *Vita* 715 *Contigit ... necuit* 730, the opening sentence and the building of the nest being omitted from the Old English version. The chapter thus centres on one theme which is almost obscured in Felix's presentation, the reason why wild creatures were so friendly with Guthlac, and the reference to conversations with angels (*Vita* 729-30) foreshadows the explanation the dying saint later gives Beocel of his unknown morning and evening visitor (*Vita* 1131 ff.). It is a curious coincidence that the Old English rephrasing of Guthlac's words brings them nearer in content to the Guthlac A poet's description of the angels whose duty it is to guard hermits of the desert (*Glo 81 ff.*), but the theme of the saint's guardian angel was an important element in the early legend of the saint (see further III.2/a).

483 *WILFRID:* This *uiri venerabilis* (*Vita* 715) plays a major part in Felix's chapters 39 and 40. Chapter 40 adds to his identification only that he was a companion of Aethelbald; (Aethelbald on one visit to Crowland is accompanied by the *Vita* 747) *comite prefato*
B. Colgrave (1956, p. 175 and p. 204) identifies him with Felix's source of information about the life of Guthlac, named in the prologue and at the beginning of chapter 28, in the former instance as an abbot and in the latter as a man who knew Guthlac well. Although the name was a common one, it is unlikely that two men are to be distinguished here (despite the use in the Life of final -d in lines 37 and 227 only). Felix manages to fit a Cissa incident into the later part of his Vita (chapter 48, based upon Bede's life of Cuthbert) and these chapters (reminiscent of this and other saints' legends) most likely serve a similar function for Wilfrid. See also Appendix 3.

483 gæstlicre: Goodwin and Klipstein present the emendation -um and Gonser prefers an instrumental -a, but compare line 596 where they make similar changes. See II.4/G.1(a) for discussion of this form.

484 gæstlice: Klipstein's emendation gæstlice is without foundation in the grammar of normalised late West Saxon.

492 leornest: The sense 'read' for leornian is by many considered an Anglian feature in Old English; it should be noted that here the words on halgum gewritum may have been supplied to convey the meaning of the Latin 726 legisti more clearly. In this case they must have appeared already in the original translation, for without the Vita context the meaning 'read' is unnecessary here.

500-23 As in the other other miracles connected with birds, the prolix-
ity of the Vita is cropped. The story is as a result slightly different in content. Guthlac's surmise that his jackdaws have Wilfrid's gloves (Vita 759-60) is one important detail missing, but the ending of the incident is suitably reshaped (the glove is given back to pam \[ hi ar ahte \] 523) to accord with this omission and the absence of Guthlac's assurances about the second glove (Vita 766 \[ ... titu- \] -basset 772).

501. \textit{mblen} : No article stands before this weak adjective, a detail not marked by the earlier editors; contrast line 525. However, it is possible to regard the phrase unit as beginning with \textit{sum} and no change or further explanation is necessary. See also II. 4/C.1(b).

500. \textit{witedomlice} : Goodwin and Gonser normalise to \textit{witedomlio}, but for the considerable confusion of inflexions in this text see II.4/C.2(a).

508. \textit{bing} : Goodwin follows the form which occurs soon afterwards for his emendation \textit{bingo}. Both illustrate late Old English unvoicing of this consonant, a common feature of the manuscript. See further II.4/D.1.

511. \textit{ut of ham in} : Vita 760 \textit{extra domum} : Goodwin suggests that emendation from \textit{in} to \textit{inne} is necessary, but we may have here
an endingless form with consonant simplification. In favour of Goodwin's emendation however is the fact that in, the first word on folio 30r, stands before the verb eodon, that is in the place where the separable prefix in would be expected by the scribe, and could easily have been substituted for inne of the exemplar in such circumstances. No emendation is made and the form is discussed further in II.4/C.1 (e). Compare the note for ombam ylcan inne 946. The form is not discussed by Gonser and not glossed by Geisel. The passage appears in BT (under inn) as in Goodwin's edition.

514 **words**: Goodwin's **worde** illustrates again the normalising tendency of his text. See II.4/C.1(d).

515 **of bam huses brofe**: Goodwin and Gonser emend the article so that it qualifies **huses**, the noun nearer to it. See the note for line 7 for a discussion of this order of words.

517 **taon slogan**: The phrase answers to Vita 773 pulsato signo. It is found again in **taen slogan** 552 where the same ablative absolute phrase appears in Vita 815. The word **taon** in these two contexts is glossed in BT (under **taen** III) as 'a sign to attract attention, a signal' and the translation 'gave a signal by striking' is proposed. The word **taon** may however have been extended semantically under the influence of **signum**, as the entry in BTs under bell-taon suggests:
sona swa by *pet* belltacen gehyrad þære nigðan tide,
*pet* is seo nontid \(\text{(Assmann 1889, p. 140, lines 64-5)}\)

In this example the extension is made clear by the limiting element of the compound; see also Padelford (1899, pp. 101 and 103). A similar extension may be seen also in Glo 735 *taecum* (see the note in Commentary for section III).

519 *space*: This form and *space* 172 are the only examples of loss of *r* from the verb *sprecan* and related forms in the text. The loss appears first in the Kentish Glosses and then in late West Saxon texts (see Campbell §475 and Jordan §165 note 2). The forms are noted in II.4/D.5.

524 *hwætred*: The name is found quite commonly in sources from the early Anglo-Saxon period as Colgrave (1956, p. 188) points out, so attempts to identify this man are impracticable. See also Appendix 3.

524 *hæla*: Both Goodwin and Gonser normalise this form to *hælo*, but see II.4/C.1(d).

523-62 These lines represent a fairly full if free account of the contents of Vita chapter 41. Additional or explanatory details not present in the *Vita* are:

533-4 *mycel* .. *nehfreonds*/ *Vita* 796 *multitudine*;

536 *opre manige mid gesarode* ;
543 bonne he lengo pa men drehte;
546-8 hi . . gefremedon/ perhaps inspired by Vita 809 certo consilio parant;
552 mid gewuneliccan beawe/ Vita 815 infers that permission to speak with Guthlac had to be asked of some attendant, but in the Life the saint himself appears in answer to the summons—perhaps this shows influence of Vita 816 more suo;
554 wepende.

The last of these new features is a particularly striking addition. It should be noted that this list by no means exhausts the differences between Vita and Life, for many clauses and phrases have been paraphrased. Noteworthy is Life 560 / Vita 824 ff. where so much verbage is absent from the Old English version that it seems almost to present a new detail.

If an attempt is made to match the Life closely with the Vita, difficulties not implicit within the Old English text may be found. Gonser (p. 92) suggests that the translator misunderstood Vita 792 uesania, but this comment misrepresents the summarising qualities of this portion of the Life and as well overlooks the presence in it of the phrase Vita 793 oris morsibus. Again at line 554 Gonser (p. 92) thinks wepende the result of a misunderstanding of Vita 817 a primordio, although such a mistake is difficult to account for. I prefer to regard wepende as one of the additions made in the retelling of the story in English.

527 hine : The form is omitted by Gonser as an emendation; the
pronoun, although in the wrong case, by position anticipates him and is therefore retained for some word may well have stood here in the scribe's exemplar.

530 *hys agene lichama* : The adjective shows the usual simplification of -m in such forms; compare *berene* 237, *fyrene* 846 and see II.4/C.2(f). The noun is normalised by Goodwin to *lichaman*, but is best left unchanged as the loss of final -a appears sporadically throughout the Life; see II.4/C.1(h).

530 The Old English text here shows a simplification of Felix's catalogue which is perhaps fuller than is strictly necessary for effect; only *Vita* 790 *ferro* and *dentibusque* 791 are represented in the Life.

535 *don hine gewyldne* : The phrase (regarded by Gonser (p. 92) as a new explanatory detail but compare *Vita* 794-5 *Ec*. *in-petraretur* omitted by him in his selections from the Bollandist text) may show an unusual use of the adjective *gewilde* without a dependent dative. Two other passages, both from translations, are comparable (quoted in BT towards the end of the entry for *gewyldan*):

7 hienne exo gewilde ged yd / et captus est (Sweet 1883, p. 132 line 22 and p. 133)

and ponne he hine herf gewyldne, ponne agin he sylf sigan, odde afylô. (Fright 1907, ix. 30) / inclinabit se, et cadet cum dominatus fuerit pauperum. (Psalms (x).10)
The suggestion that these three passages should be interpreted in this way is to be found in BTs under gewilde.

*twibil* : The gloss bipenne, the only gloss in the *Life*, appears above this word, most likely in the scribe's own hand. The word *twibil* is not otherwise found in continuous passages in Old English, but there is no need to think it an unusual loan-translation, for it is the usual gloss for *bipennis*. The word had, according to BT, a later currency in some dialects and the NED entries for TWIBILL show that it was used in the primary sense of 'double-edged axe' into the seventeenth century (with later poetic usage and other specialised use for agricultural implements). The absence of any other glosses from this part of what was originally a collection of biblical translations and saints' lives is in surprising contrast with the preceding part of that manuscript, now *Laud Miscellany 509*. See further II. 2/c.

541 *magna* : Schlutter (1909, p. 324 and fn 1) suggests that *magna* arises from the translator's misunderstanding of *Vita 803 uiruis* as *uires*. The translator may well have misread the *Vita* at this point but, if it were not for the obvious similarity of these words, his *pa gefelan magna* could be regarded as another example of the free treatment of the *Vita* in the *Life*.

542 *bonne . . drehte* : Gonser points out that the construction is unusual, suggesting a translation of the clause should begin
als dass er langer... This embellishment of the tale has resulted in an awkward construction, though it would have been simple to place after bonne the genitive singular of some word with the meaning 'life', to continue the parallelism provided by Vita 806 mortem plus quam uitam.

544 on bet hodescipe: Both Goodwin and Gonser normalise this reading, the former giving an accusative article bone and the latter a dative bam for bet which stands before a noun historically masculine. See further II.4/G.1(a).

546 aosodon: This form is given a separate entry in BTs (under Æcian VII) with the gloss 'to learn, find out by enquiry', perhaps an extension from use of the verb (see heading v) with the senses 'ask, demand to be told'.

545 bet: The relative does not agree with its antecedent sum anora 545 and is therefore emended to be by both Goodwin and Gonser. The occurrence of this form here cuts against the late Old English and early Middle English development (seen best in the Peterborough Chronicle from the year 1132 onwards) by which be is used only when the antecedent is animate and bet when it is inanimate (see McL. tosh 1947, p. 74). Klaeber (in his note for Bwf 15 : 1950, p. 125) points out that the occasional occurrence of for be can be found in late Old English manuscripts but, though this would support the emendation made by the earlier editors, I prefer to retain the usual expansion for
this abbreviation. So far as the minutiae of inflexions and agreement are concerned, the *Life* varies greatly from 'classical' late West Saxon practice (see II.4/G.1 for a note on this problem), and, as *be* is generalised as the relative in early Middle English in texts from a more northerly area than the *Peterborough Chronicle* (for example, *be* has been completely replaced by *bet* in *Orm*, pointed out by McIntosh 1947, p. 77), the manuscript form is best retained in a text of this nature.

550  *se godes man*: See the note for line 7.

551  *hære*: Goodwin and Gonser normalise this article to *bam*, but see further II.4/G.1(a).

552  *tacen slogon*: See the note for *taon slogon* 517.

557  *ha sunne*: In this text *ha* is by position ambiguous, but it is better interpreted as the adverb 'then' used pleonastically than as the late Old English spread of *ha* from the accusative into the nominative singular feminine of the definite article.

560  *raxende*: The meaning of this participle is disputed. The sense 'To stretch oneself after sleep' is given both in *BT* (under *raesan*) and *BTs* (under *raxen*), but Schlutter (1909, pp. 325-6) points out that the verb is recorded also with the sense 'heave a deep
sigh, yawn', a meaning more suitable in this context and nearer to \textit{Vita 825 longa suspiria imo de pectore trahens}. See \textit{NED} under \textit{RAX} and \textit{RASK}; the meaning 'yawn' is given only for the latter of these forms.

Life 560 \textit{ræxende} is the earliest instance recorded of this verb. The word is found rarely in Middle English, for the most part in glossaries and in Midland alliterative texts, but is common both in Older and Modern Scots. A similar distribution is noted in the \textit{NED} for the frequentatives \textit{RAXLE} and \textit{R/SKLE}. The forms \textit{RAX} and \textit{RAUX} 'To stretch' are noted by Halliwell (1878 edition cited) who also records \textit{RAXIL} 'To breathe; to nourish'. Because this word is unusual in Old English a note for it is included also in II.4/F.5(b).

562 \textit{adle} : Instances of \textit{adle} in the nominative singular are normalised by Goodwin throughout his edition and his practice is followed by Klipstein in the extracts printed by him. No further attention will be drawn to instances of this normalisation to be seen in Goodwin's text in this commentary, but it should be noted that similar forms occur in lines 571, 761 and 767. These forms are all noted by Kern (1917, p. 7). See also II.4/C.1(g).

563 \textit{gefera} : Only Klipstein normalises this form to \textit{geferan}. Cons- ser points out that the same form appears in the oblique in the title here printed as line 628 and notes as similar the inflexions of the names \textit{bædde} 655, \textit{bege} 826 and 854 and of \textit{abbodysse} 706. See fur-
564-74 These lines present a paraphrase of *Vita* chapter 42, including also the first sentence from chapter 43 (compare the note for line 404). Felix's description of Ecga's affliction has been cut to a simple statement (line 567) and the miracle itself is differently told. Ecga, in the *Vita*, feels his madness disappear as soon as he binds Guthlac's girdle around him; and, for the rest of his days, he is never again attacked by the devil because he keeps the saint's girdle always around him. In the Old English account Ecga is cured as soon as the girdle is clasped about him (whether by himself or by Guthlac is uncertain for the construction is ambiguous), but there is no reference to his having kept the girdle for the rest of his life.

For a note on Ecga see Appendix 3.

566 unstille: Klipstein normalises this adjective to unstill, but the form unstille is generally regarded as the nominative singular masculine form (for example, see the headword given in BT).

567 hem godes men: See the note for line 7.

571 Eac bon se, MS Eac bona: Goodwin, Klipstein and Gonser all emend the manuscript reading to Eac se which, although satisfactory contextually, seems rather a radical change. An adverbial phrase Eac bon (see the first entry under eac in BTs) with the sense
'moreover' occurs in laws, in glossaries and in the Old English Orosius. This phrase might have occurred in some earlier manuscript of the Life and would have appeared unfamiliar to a late scribe. From this it can be argued that a more familiar demonstrative was substituted for bon and the following demonstrative was as a result unconsciously omitted. The emendation Eac bone se is put forward on these grounds, but with the caveat that in the Life an apparent example of bone for the nominative singular masculine should not perhaps be emended out of the text. See also II.4/G.1(b).

572 fremede: Gonser notes that fremman is used only transitively or with a complement in the dative, but Kern (1917, p. 7) points out that examples of the verb used intransitively may appear in late Old English through the falling together of fremman with fremian and fromian. His suggestion becomes unnecessary when the forms cited by Toller (see BTs under fremman I) for the absolute use of this verb are considered: these examples are drawn both from translations (for example, Life 572 and the Old English Bede) and from poetry (for example, Sfr 75), an indication that the usage was well established in Old English.

575-602 These lines correspond with Vita chapter 43, except that the first sentence of this chapter of the Vita is included in the preceding chapter of the Life. The chapter is one of those in which Gonser recognises a free treatment of the matter of the Vita. He
cites (p. 89) from it examples of changes in motivation and incident found in the Life, emphasising that these cannot be due to a misunderstanding of the original, and as well (p. 94) examines \textit{bæ...sæde} 595–602 to illustrate how freely the Latin is sometimes worked. The outline of the story must have been well known, both from the \textit{Vita} and from the story about St Benedict (see Curtz 1926, p. 117 fn 35 for a comparison of the incident with Gregory's account of the \textit{religiosa femina} of Dialogues ii. 12) on which it is based, as well as from similar tales in other saints' lives. Such knowledge of the story may indeed explain why the Old English version here presents an account so different from Felix's.

In this version the lines of Felix's narrative are greatly simplified, but perhaps only one omission is to be regretted, the inadequately concealed smile of Guthlac (see \textit{Vita} 858) on his realisation of the naivety of the abbot. Material unnecessary to the story, such as the pleasantries exchanged between the abbot and Guthlac or the comparison drawn by Felix between Guthlac's skill in prophecy and El-isha's, have disappeared and reported speech is for the most part turned into direct speech.

\textit{gastlicre}: Compare the note for line 483 where this phrase occurs again with etymologically unjustifiable \textit{gastlicre}. In both places the adjective is normalised by the earlier editors, but see further II.4/0.1(a).
hondbegnas: This compound occurs also in the Old English Bede and inVT 483 (see BT under handbegen). A comparable use of hand as a limiting element in compound words appears in PwF 1481 hondgesellum, PwF 2596 handgesteallan and in other more frequently recorded words such as handpreost, handscolu, handboe. So few instances of hondbegen appear that, with the wide use of hond- in this way indicated by the forms cited, one hesitates to label it Anglian and/or poetic. See also II.4/F.3.

burh leofe bene: The phrase should be interpreted 'through a request for leave'; the form leofe is the genitive singular of leaf with eo for ea (see II.4/B.3(i)). The phrase has been much discussed and the more interesting explanations of it put forward will be listed in the following paragraph.

Conser suggests the emendation leafbene which is, he himself notes, a noncword; he therefore adds rather unhelpfully vielleicht ist 'leaf' als Gloss zu 'ben' aufzufassen. Schlutter (1909, p. 326) criticises Conser's interpretation of the passage and instead suggests the emendation burh lease 'per fraudem' which he thinks answers better to the Vita 848 simulata cuiusdam cause necessitate, an attractive speculation. Holthausen (1921, pp. 21-2) objects to Schlutter's Burh lease because leas is neuter and 'Burh' mit dem Akkusativ verbunden wird. He puts forward burh lease bene, treating bene as the accusative plural, and points out that this answers well to the Latin simulata cuiusdam causee necessitate, licentiam poscebant. J.J. Camp-
bell's observation (1951, pp. 369-70) that leafe 165 and lefe 584 have replaced forms of lefnes, a word found only in Anglian texts and therefore unfamiliar to the eleventh century reviser deserves to be noted here, but for a fuller note on this speculation see II.4/F.2 and 3.

581 dremdon : Gonser accepts Goodwin's emendation drencton, noting that it has the support of Vita 852 inebriarent and comparing drencton 679 (though, it should be added, the wording in Vita 978 which corresponds to drencton 679 is not the same as in Vita 852). Many examples of the verb dreman 'rejoice' (cognate with dræam) appear in the standard dictionaries and are cited particularly from religious verse and psalter translations. The emendation seems unnecessary.

584 lefa : Both Goodwin and Gonser normalise the inflexion to -e, but for comparable forms see II.4/C.2(a). The vowel of the accented syllable shows late Old English falling together of ēa and ǣ, for which see II.4/D.4(a).

585 intingan : Both Goodwin and Gonser give intinga as emendation for the expected nominative form but see further II.4/C.1(h).

593 Gonser suggests that ham may have dropped out of the text, comparing lines 542 and 947 (and for four more examples of similar collocations see glossary under hăm), but does not insert hăm into
his text. Compare the note for line 456 where, for similar reasons, Gonser suggests and makes an addition to the text.

For the capitals made by the scribe himself compare lines 1 and 226. At line 1 they decorate the opening of the text, at 226 they mark the beginning of what appears to have been the most popular part of the legend, but it is difficult to see that they serve any specific purpose here. The scribe may have been working from a text with far more decoration than he gave his and perhaps chance alone is responsible for his placing of a row of small capitals here and even at line 226. At any rate, these divisions are far too far apart and uneven to mark lections for the saint's octave. See also II.3/b.

606-27 These lines correspond with Vita chapters 44 and 45 to pertul-
erat 920, giving first the story of the two brothers who hid their ale before visiting Guthlac and telling then of the many people who sought help and healing from the saint. The next heading in the Old English version begins with another specific incident, the healing of Ofa, and comparable are the divisions in material discussed at 404, 455 and 575.

The story of the two brothers who greedily hid their ale before visiting Guthlac is retold as freely as is the incident of the naive abbot and of his companions who roistered at a widow's cottage, many of Felix's details vanishing. Lines 615-27 Were ... ferde are more closely related syntactically to the Vita 906-19. The ranks of those
who visited Guthlac are differently numbered, but the description of
how they came from far and near, drawn by his fame is closely followed. The clauses in lines 621-5 that...genamon...owe less to the
structure of the Latin than lines 615-21. They are strung together
with a series of simple connectives; the relative...ba be...621 is with­
out referrent, because the clause should be bound to a main clause.
In line 623 the manuscript reading...cwynne...may point to the translat­
or's misunderstanding of the structure of this passage in the Vita
(see note for this line). Felix's recitation of the many types of
afflicted people helped by Guthlac is curtailed in the same way as are
his passages of lavish praise for the saint or his long-winded catal­
ogues (compare 436 ff.).

606...ba geweard him betweenan...Conser suggests that this imper­
sonal construction is found only with the accusative, but see
BT under...gewesorban...III for examples with the dative.

609...intimbrede...The verb seems to have been used only in the Old
English Bede and in the Blickling Homilies (see entries in BT
under...ontimbran...and in BT and BTs under...intimbrian); it is not re­
corded in L.H. Dodd's glossary for Napier's edition of Wulfstan's
sermons. The word may no longer have been current in religious writ­
ings of the late Old English period. Schlutter (1909, pp. 326-7)
deals at some length with Sweet's judgment quoted by Conser (p. 50)
that the word is 'formed in slavish imitation of Latin'. Schlutter
points out that he cannot find these words supposedly by Sweet anywhere in the Student's Dictionary (nor can I) and that in any case the remark would be more convincing if Vita 897 read *instrueret* instead of *ammoneret*.

611 **hlihhende:** Goodwin's emendation, not followed by Gonser, must have been based upon a mistake as to the gender of this neuter noun.

612 **under ane tyrf:** In the other four places this preposition appears in this text it is followed by the dative. Therefore, and because *turf* belongs to the group of 'mutated plural' nouns, it is likely that the inflexion of *ane* again reflects the curious use of *-re* found in this text. See II.4/3.1(a).

619 **nehbeode, MS hebbeode:** The emendation put forward by Kern (1917, p. 7) is accepted, not only because *neh-* is implicit within Vita 908 *proximis*, but because the Old English context demands it. The compound is recorded twice in BT for the Old English Orosius (*nehbeoda* 46.28 and 96.6 : Sweet's edition), but could have been unfamiliar to the scribe who perhaps substituted for it the similar looking word he had used in line 47 (see note for *hebbeode*). Kern suggests also the emendation *Mercarice* (for *merona rice* 619), pointing out that the use of *rice* both here and in line 47 is strange, but this is unnecessary. See further on *rice* note for line 47.
soyndon: See the note for soyndan 123.

cynn, MS cynnes: The emendation made by Goodwin and Gonser is followed here, but it should be noted that the manuscript form may show that the translator here wrote a genitive form through a misunderstanding of genus 913.

menigum: Both Goodwin and Gonser prefer the emendation menigum to the manuscript reading. It is obvious from Gonser's selections from the Vita that he equates 624–5 7 ... genamon with Vita 915 neo illos uana spes feellit, but it is possible to understand the text as it stands without emendation, a position reinforced by consultation of some Latin phrases omitted by Gonser, Vita 914–5 a ... sperabant. The true difficulty lies in the two possible meanings of awacode, 'awaken' or 'fall off'.

gere: See the note for line 563.

The rest of Vita chapter 45 is dealt with in these lines which tell of the miraculous healing of Ofa. The story is quite carefully and fully told, but then the Life seems always to be more interested in a named character than an anonymous incident. The only omissions of any length have little bearing on the story - Felix's elegant emphasis of the pain suffered by Ofa (Vita 933-35) and his flowery 945–6 qui ... patiebatur.
631 *Ofe*: This man may still have been with Aethelbald after he became king of Mercia, for a minister or comes named Oba witnesses several charters from his reign. See further Appendix 3.

638 *ofer healf*: The preposition is to be understood in the sense 'throughout' (see BTs who give it BT classification II(3)) and *healf* is the noun (compare *Vita* 931 *dimidia pars*).

640 *he*: Goodwin and Gonser both give man as an emendation which, though syntactically an improvement and nearer to the Latin passive of *Vita* 936, can be supported only as an anticipation of he from the following clause. As so many examples of misrelated pronouns and relatives, etc., occur throughout the text, I prefer to make no change in the manuscript reading.

643 *burh hwæt*: Gonser points out that this use of *hwæt* is unusual, for the word cannot be described as a relative in Old English, being used generally as an interrogative only in direct and indirect questions. It is probably best to regard the clause introduced by *burh hwæt* as in apposition to *bone intingan* (and compare the co-ordinate clause *7 hu become*).

645 *hæt reaf ... hine*: Gonser emends *hine* to *hit* but the lack of agreement may have arisen through the reviser's substitution of *hæt reaf* for some obsolete word or it may be another illustration of the analogical grammatical changes found in this text. Compare
the examples of unusual agreement noted in II.4/0.1(b).

645 *slefte* : The verb *slefan* is in the *NED* (under *SLEVE v.*) described as 'of uncertain relationship' and this *slefte 645* is noted hesitantly as the only instance of the verb in Old English.

Both Toller (see PTs under *slefan*) and Holthausen (AEW under *slefan*) connect the verb with the Old English words *slīf* and *sliða* for 'sleeve' and Toller suggests also that it is cognate with *sliplan* 'to slip something on or off'. Other Old English words most likely closely related to *slefte* are: WrW I. 47. 22 'Socous', soon, slebescoc; WrW I. 277. 29 'Socons', slypescon (compare Modern English slipshod and the 1615 slip-shoe recorded by Halliwell); WrW I. 16. 47 *Geslefed parumactus usel manicipat*; and the adjective WrW I. 40. 20, 21 *slefe-leas* (also in the Benedictine Rule 89. 13). These forms are all listed in *PT*.

Examples of the verb *sleve* are cited in the *NED* mainly from fifteenth and sixteenth century texts. The form is used transitively for 'To cause to slip (on, down, over or into something)' and intransitively with over in the sense 'slip past'; other examples of fifteenth and sixteenth century usage are to be found under the headword *SLIVE v.*² (a variant of *SLEVE* with its conjugation assimilated to *SLIVE v.*¹ 'sleave'), together with instances of nineteenth century archaising and dialect usage. It is worth note that the *NED* instances from fifteenth and sixteenth century texts are for the most part taken from Scottish writers. Wright in the *NED* (under *SLIVE v.*² and sb. ³)
suggests that in modern English dialects the word is restricted to midland and northern counties. The examples listed by him under 'To put on any article of dress hastily or untidily' are interesting:

Cum. A garment rumpled up about any part of the person is said to be slived (Hall.); Cum. 4 n. Yks. I just slahv'd my cap on (I.W.); n. Yks. 1 I'll slive my brown on and gang wi' the. Whp. Nell slove on her hat, Clare Poems (1821) 208.

Wright also notes that the participial adjective slived is used in Cumberland with the sense 'carelessly or badly dressed'. The noun sliver (see under SLIVER sb.3) is recorded for Lincolnshire and Essex and explained by him 'A workman's linen jacket; a short "slop"; esp. worn by a navvy'; according to Halliwell (under SLIVER in 1878 edition) this is sometimes called a sliving. Wright points out that SLIVING ppl. adj. 2 occurs in the West Riding of Yorkshire to describe a hat with its brim turned down. These examples strongly suggest that they are cognate with slefde 645.

649 astelleh: Konser notes für astielleh?, adding no further explanation. The verb is given the meanings hinstellen, -legen by Geisel who adds in a footnote the observation that the form is unsuited to its context and that Konser vermutet astielleh von stiellan abspringen. No change in form is however necessary. The verb stellan 'leap, spring' is well attested for Old English, though its origin is unknown and its forms coincide with those of stellan 'place'. One other example of the verb with the prefix a- is listed in BTs from the translation of Gregory's Dialogues: 7 be hrape astylde of his
The corresponding clause of the Hatton manuscript reads *he ba of his bedde ford armide. Although the vowel to be expected in West Saxon is represented in the Dialogues form *astylde (as pointed out by Jordan 1906, p. 27 fn), the verb is sometimes labelled Anglian (Jordan ibid.; and Deutschbein 1901, p. 218).

649 *fyrle*: The form *fyrlem* is used both as an adjective meaning 'distant' and as a noun 'distance', both found often in Old English texts. Only one other instance of a noun *firlu* has been recorded and is listed in BTs under *firl(u)* from the Alfredian Soliloquies: for bare *firla* 66.32.

652 *scenysse*: See II.4/F.2 and 3 for discussion of the obsolescent and perhaps Anglian character of this word.

655 *hadde*: Gonser normalises this form to *Haddan* and in line 706 changes *abhodyse* to *-an*, yet retains the manuscript forms of *gefer* 563, 628 and *pege* 826 and 854. See the note for line 563.

For a brief note on Bishop *Hadda*, see Appendix 3.

656-704 This chapter corresponds with the Vita chapters 46 and 47.

As in certain texts of the Vita, there is no break between the two incidents in which *Hadda* figures in the Life. (The manuscripts, listed by Colgrave (1956, p. 144 fn 15) are: CCCC 307, CCCC 382.
Arras 812, Boulogne 637, Cotton Nero E i (pars i) and TCD B.4.3.

The interwoven stories of Wigfrid's doubt of Guthlac's sanctity and Hudda's consecration of the saint and his oratory are very fully and closely paraphrased, the only omission of any length being Vita 999-1002 (a judicious cut for the sentence adds nothing to the story).

656-7 Both Goodwin and Gonser feel some emendation in the first sentence of this chapter necessary. Goodwin supplies a subject for wiste and cydde, omitting the manuscript him which appears before the second of these verbs. Gonser also supplies a subject, and replaces him by mannum. Certainly some subject is to be expected in this clause but, if one ever stood there, it is more likely to have fallen out after bet 656. This place is marked by an asterisk because either a pronoun or the saint's name may have been left out. Gonser's own substitution of mannum for him shows how this pronoun is to be interpreted; it looks forward to the men who appear in this incident. Compare the opening lines of the Old English version (lines 723 ff.) of Vita chapter 49.

658 æfweardæ: For a discussion of this inflexion see II.4/C.2(d). Compare andweardæ 659 and wynsumesta 831.

663 wigfridæ: The name is a common one in Old English, but there is no evidence to connect this follower of Hudda with any particular contemporary. See also Appendix 3.
ferdon: The verb is plural by the attraction of between...

begnas 664. The construction is perhaps to be attributed to this scribe because he may, on turning over his page, have forgotten the singular subject, logical concord resulting. The emendation to ferde is made by Goodwin and Gonser, although with Vita 959 equitabat in its favour, it need not be made.

666–68 The list of Guthlac's virtues is, as always, shorter in the Old English version than in the Vita.

twiendlice: The vowel digraph ie does not appear in this text. This adverb is built upon the present participle from tweogan; morphological suture would have still existed between i and e. See further II.4/B.1.

670ff. The reported speech of the Vita is put directly into Wigfrid's mouth, but with a notable omission. Felix's strictures on the false hermits of the scottia folo have disappeared; instead Wigfrid states that by a comparison of Guthlac with the many good men he had met among them he will be able to judge him. It is curious that a marked feature of the Old English Bede is a softening or omission of many passages which reflect badly on the Irish clergy of Scotland (see Miller 1890, I. pp. lvii–lviii for details). This passage of the Life may therefore help to place its composition in one of the monasteries which looked rather to the Celtic than the Roman tradition.
soetta folq: This phrase describes the Irish either in Scotland or in Ireland, and Wigfrid's words may as easily denote a visit to Melrose or Iona as to Ireland itself. Brief notes on other late seventh century references to false Irish peregrini and to the training received by many Englishmen in Irish schools are to be found in Colgrave 1953, p. 190.

7 on ...: The subject ellipsis, so prevalent in this text, should be noted.

be he purh deofles miht deò: The verb deò stands for wyrcæd; compare the note for deò 415. Contrast 668-70 where no attempt is made to balance the hwmer clause.

be: Both Goodwin and Gonser make the emendation se, but the manuscript form may be a solitary example of late Old English be for se. See further II.4/G.1.

bes godes mannes: Goodwin's emendation Godes may lie behind Gonser's godes which appears in his text without any note or comment. The phrase may be interpreted either as containing the genitive singular of the adjective 'good' or of the noun 'God'. The scribe seems to have regarded the form as adjectival (compare the other forms given 'accents' in II.4/B.5), for he does not elsewhere mark gód with an accent. However, the frequent description of Guthlac in the
Life as a 'man of God' favours this interpretation of the phrase. The accent is allowed to stand in the text, to show the late scribe's misunderstanding of the phrase, but godas is glossed under god 'God'.

681  *here drihtnes gift* : See the note for line 7.

683  *heofonlice snyttro* : If the phrase is regarded as dependent on wisdom 683, the adjective heofonlice would have to be described as another instance of the spread of -a through oblique forms of attributive words in this text (see II.4/C.1(b)). The form is not noted by either Goodwin or Gonser but a difficulty may have been seen by Geisel who glosses snyttro 684 by 'prudentia' Klugheit without stating its case and omits this instance of heofonlice from among the examples of this form listed under heofonlie. As however the phrase may be interpreted as in apposition to wisdom, the inflexion of heofonlice need not be discussed further.

685  *mid ba godcundan haligra gewrita* : Goodwin remodels this phrase upon *Vita 980-1 diuinurum scripturarum exemplis*, giving for it *mid ba godcundan bysena haligra gewrita*, an emendation which is accepted without discussion by Gonser. Some closer approximation may indeed have stood in the original translation, but there is no reason to emend the version now extant as it can be translated 'with the divine writings of holy men'. For other examples of the levelling of -a and -u see II.4/C.1(d).
to *pan godes were: See the note for line 7.

massepreocate: Conser quotes Lingard (1845, I. p. 147) on the general use of preost for all ranks of the clergy, as opposed to the more restricted use of this compound for *masspriest* or *pre­byter*. The findings of MacGillivray (1902, pp. 97 ff.) who points out that exceptions to this rule are rare or poetic should be compared.

benum: Goodwin’s normalisation of this form to *benum is not followed by Conser; see II.4/C.1(b).

Guthlac’s humility is perhaps increased by the addition in the Old English version of *godes willa*, but this extra detail may be no more than the result of the freedom with which this incident is treated in the *Life*. The consecration of the church is not mentioned in this part of the *Life* and the following description of the meal in which Guthlac joins Hadda is summarised shortly, so that the story moves quickly to the saint’s questioning of Wigfrid.

ungeheawe: The adjective is recorded only here and may represent the translator’s invention of a form to convey the meaning of *Vita* 991 contra rem. See further II. 4/F.5(b).

to *pan biscopecs beneum: See the note for line 7.

pince be: Goodwin changes *pince to *pine*, but the manuscript
hence is reinstated by Gonser who points out that there is no reason to emend the form.

703 **cruwlande** : As the name stands in apposition to a phrase in the genitive, a form in -se might be expected here (as Gonser points out). In other places lack of agreement between words and phrase in apposition appears (see for example the notes for **alfwold** . . , **healdend** 2-3 and perhaps **gefere** 563 and **hedde** 655, but this instance might be regarded as a further example of failure in case repetition, for which see the note for line 160 and compare II.4/6. 1(b).

704 **erfentlice** : Compare the note for **orwehtan** 329 and see II.4/D.2.

705 **bartholomeus** : The genitive singular form **bartholomei** appears in lines 194 and 205, but this form has not been adapted to its context unless it indicates an Anglicisation of the name. For the use of Latin inflexions in names in the Life see the note for **paulus** 218.

706 **abbodysse** : Both Goodwin and Gonser normalise this form to **abbodyssan**, but compare the notes for lines 563 and 655. See also II.4/C.1(h) for the possible falling away of inflexional -n.

707-21 These lines, based on chapter 48 of the Vita, give a simplified account of Ecgberth's part in the story of Guthlac: her
presents to the saint, her entreaty that these should serve him at
his death and her desire to know about his successor are all describ-
ed. Colgrave (1956, p. 191) notes that Vita 1016 ad patibulum dom-
inice crucis 'seems to refer to an attitude of prayer common especi-
ally among the Irish, adding that in this attitude the arms were
stretched out in the form of a cross. Stevens (1904, pp. 36-37)
explains that prayer in cruce was the most solemn form in invocation
practised at this time and compares with this passage Bede's account
of Cuthbert's prayer that he and Hereberht might die at the same time
(Historia Ecclesiastica iv. 27; Plummer 1896, I. pp. 274-5). In
the English version of this chapter of the Vita more emphasis is given
to Cissa, and the change from Vita 1026 mun nostris temporibus to
Life 719 eft is surely significant.

707 EGBURH: For a brief note on this woman see Appendix 3.

Colgrave (1956, p. 191) compares with this episode the gifts
made to Cuthbert by Cudda and Abbess Verca and as well Aelffled's
questions to Cuthbert about Eogfrith's successor in Northumbria (chap-
ters 37 and 24 of Bede's prose life of Cuthbert).

708 aldwulfes dohtor / Vita 1010 alduulfi regis filia: Because
Felix does not mention in this passage which kingdom Aldwulf
ruled, his omission of this detail is, together with the dedication
of the Vita to another East Anglian king, taken as evidence that Fel-
ix was 'either an East Angle or at least living in East Anglia when
this was written* (Colgrave 1956, p. 16). There seems however to be insufficient evidence for this conclusion. For a fuller discussion of this point see I.I. For a note on Aldwulf see Appendix 3.

709 forh he halgan naman: For a note on this phrase see II.4/G.1(a).

710 forhfore: This word, occurring six times in these final chapters of the Life, is perhaps one of the obsolescent elements in its vocabulary; see further II.4/F. 2 and 3.

711 be sumum arwyrd₄ lifer brobor: The adjective arwyrd₄ is emended by Goodwin, Klipstein and Gonser to arwyrd₄ to agree with lifer; the adjective may show the attraction of the sumum which precedes it and is therefore retained in this edition. For a further note on this form see II.4/G.1(b). The dative singular brobor, normalised by the previous editors to breber, is also retained because other analogical changes are seen in the declension of mutated nouns. Compare the note for bea 33 and see II.4/G.1(i).

717 come: Goodwin, Klipstein and Gonser amend this verb to come, the subjunctive expected in this context and found in the clauses co-ordinate with the clause in which com stands. However, if a subjunctive is to be emended into the text, the form to be expected would rather be come. No emendation is made, because although this
clause follows a verb which is often followed by a subjunctive it states something which will in the future come true.

719  *cissa*: The name is marked off as if for emphasis; compare the note for Cissa at line 227.

720  *se godes wer*: See the note for line 7.

723–46 These lines correspond closely to Vita chapter 49 and include material from the opening clauses of chapter 50. The story of Guthlac's prophecy to the exiled Aethelbald is paraphrased quite fully, but given a different ending which shows the influence of Vita 1064–70. Lines 743–6 *hæt, hæma* reflect upon the fleeting quality of all temporal power and form a generalising conclusion to this incident. They are not connected with the death of Guthlac, the matter of the next chapter, and it is interesting to note that the theme of the amaritudinem mortis 1071 is absent. This contrasts strikingly with the second Guthlac poem in which the figure of the cup of death is made one of the dominant themes of the story of the saint's death.

725  *geolred*: Aethelbald succeeded peacefully to the throne after the death of this second cousin (see further under Geolred in Appendix 3). This chapter belies later Crowland traditions that Aethelbald visited Guthlac as king, a confusion due partly to the use made of this incident in later times to prove the foundation of an
abbey by Aethelbald (see 1.2 passim).

727 **space**: Compare the note for **pace** 519 and see II.4/D.5.

728 **se mennisce**: This adjective shows the levelling of -a and -e seen elsewhere in the text, but is emended to *mennisc{ca} by both Goodwin and Gonser. See also II.4/C.2(a).

730 **to ban godes were**: See the note for line 7.

732 **/unfogitende**: This participial adjective is found only here and may be a nonce formation, but see also II.4/F.5(b).

738 **on gerisne / Vita 1052 in rapina**: The Old English form *gerisne* is not glossed by I. Geisel and in BT is entered under a hesitant *gerisen* (or *-ne*) which is described as a neuter noun. The word is obviously connected with the verb *(ge)*risan 'seize, take' (cognate according to Holthausen with *rēsian*); in AEW *gerisen* is listed as a feminine noun. Toller (see BT under *risan*) indicates that these forms may be connected also with *rēs*. Few examples of the verb *risan* are cited in BT and BTS and they are noted generally from the Old English Bede, the Rushworth Gospels gloss and vocabularies. See further II.4/F.5(b).

743 **pat rice**: Both Goodwin and Gonser make the unnecessary emend-
ation *rice*, but see II.4/2.1(d) and 2(a). Conser suggests that something may have dropped out of the Old English text at this point, perhaps *ein oder mehrere Zeilen* from before *pet*. His text shows that the *Life* and Douai 852 manuscript of the *Vita* share a similar division of material here, but, because he is dependent solely on the Bollandist edition of Felix, he does not realise that this chapter arrangement does not appear in any other extant version of the *Vita* (see Colgrave 1956, p. 152 and fn 3). No great importance can however be given to this coincidence, for the Old English version often incorporates into the end of an incident material used in the opening lines of the following chapter of the *Vita*.

Whereas Conser argues that some words may have dropped out from before *pet rice*, it is more likely that the scribe's eye leapt from one instance of *rice* to another not far away, with this curious telescoping the result of his oversight.

748-902 There is no break in the *Life* between the materials of *Vita* chapters 50 and 51; the saint's death, burial and the translation of his body by Pega are all treated together here. Most of the material found in the *Vita* remains in the *Life*, though much paraphrased and adapted. A great deal of the piled-up praise of Guthlac found in *Vita* lines 1216 ff. is omitted from the Old English version, but otherwise the contents of these chapters are closely followed. A few interesting differences appear between the two texts and the notes for lines 763, 781-2, 847, 884 and 893-902 should especially be consulted.
500

747 se leofa bylne beow: See the note for line 7.

754 geblibe: Gonser notes that this word is found only here. In
BEs it is glossed as either an adjective or an adverb. Com-
parison with blibe 264 and 369 where this adjective may in both places
have replaced a participial adjective and with 271 where Hly. 142 ge-
feonde has been avoided by different phrasing in the Life suggests that
geblibe 754 is a replacement for some such form as gefeonde in the
original translation and therefore may be the nonce formation of the
eleventh century reviser. See also II.4/F.5(b).

756 hes eahtoban dage: Goodwin, Klipstein and Gonser emend dage
to dages. For similar instances of failure in case repetition
within a phrase in the genitive singular see II.4/G.1(b).

757 se adl: The emendation from se to seo of the previous editors
is not followed for, although se does not appear elsewhere in the
Life for seo, in certain phrases there is marked evidence that some
attributive forms have become case markers. Compare II.4/G.1; it
seems best on the whole to change as few of the inflexional details as
possible in a text of this nature.

758 wodnesdag: There is no need here to change this form from the
locative to the dative, as Goodwin's emendation to wodnesdage
implies; see II.4/G.1(c).
points out this stately expression occurs twice again in this chapter of the Life, in lines 816 and 829. As well a similar order of words describes Page’s reception of the news of her brother’s death in line 858. It is curious that the Old English words are most closely related to Vita 1149 and 1180, that is the passages corresponding to Life 829 and 858. There is however no need to argue that the translator had before him some different recension of the Vita in which Vita 1090 and 1137 (= Life 763 and 819) were remodelled on the later clauses. Such differences might have arisen during the eleventh century revision of the Old English translation or may even go back to an originally free treatment of the contents of the Vita. It is at any rate possible that when one or other of these men came to this part of the Life and to line 763 which happens to correspond with Vita 1090, the words of one of the later passages came into his head and he produced the stylish phrase found in line 763 of the Life. This phrase is afterwards worked into three other suitable contexts.

766 untrumnysse: The emendation untrumysa put forward by Goodwin and Klipstein is unnecessary; see further II.4/C.1(g). Compare mettrumnysse 769, ongitenysse 771, etc, and compare the note for unclennysse 570. Further examples of -nysse for the nominative singular, normalised by Goodwin, will not be noted in this commentary.

770 þes: The nominative singular feminine of this article does not appear elsewhere in the text and, although þes would be
the expected form in classical West Saxon, this is insufficient reason to emend the form into this text. See also II.4/G.1.

772 *dæg* : Goodwin's emendation of this form to *dæge* is unnecessary. Compare the note for *wodnesdag* 758 and see also II.4/C. 1(c).

776 *eagospind* : The omission of *h*- before the vowel of an accented syllable is paralleled in *orwehtan* 329. Klipstein's emendation suggests that he equated the first element of this compound with *ēage 'eye*, *ēag-* occurring frequently as the limiting element of compounds. Grimm apparently takes a similar view of the first element, for he puts forward *eagan-spind* as an emendation for the form *eagospind* misreported from the Leechdoms (see BT under *ēagaswind*). The first element of the compound is now generally accepted as *hagu-*(Sievers-Brunner §109 note 5) or *hecg-*(Holthausen, AEW), but no explanation of the meaning of this limiting word has been put forward. The base word is *spind 'fat'.* The compound is known from glossaries and the Leechdoms and was probably, as Sweet (1896 under *heago-spind*) suggests, obsolete in the late Old English period.

777 *se godes wer* : See the note for line 7.

781-2 *bet . . dedum* : Conser points out that this clause does not translate *Vita* 1106-7 *ut . . uidentur* and compare line 902 / *Vita* 1230-1. In both places the infrequent passive use of the verb
gesseon appears with the sense 'seem' (see BTs under geseon VII (4) examples from the Old English Bede and the Lindisfarne Gospels gloss). The clause in lines 781-2 recalls Life 421, 573 and 587 rather than the corresponding passage in the Vita.

788 be : Goodwin, Klipstein, Conser and Bolton all emend the text here, Bolton changing be to se and the others supplying se after be. The phrase Mid ban is however used in the Life either with or without following be when in correlation with ba (see glossary) and it is therefore possible, if a definite article is thought necessary in this context, to regard be as an example of late Old English be for se. Compare the note for be 678 and see also II.4/G.1.

795 hwathwego : See II.4/F.2 for a note on this word which occurs again in line 835.

796 behealt bu : Conser notes the unvoicing of the final consonant, comparing synt 926. See also II.4/D.8 and contrast geheald bu 825.

798 to minre swustor : Guthlac's sister is first mentioned in both Vita and Life at this point, though her name does not appear in the Old English account until page 826. Redin (1919, pp. 106 and 117) compares this name with the slightly commoner man's name P(a)era (for example pega 337 in Liber Vitae and pega from a charter in Sweet 1885, pp. 163 and 441), but mentions no other woman called Pega from
Both names are of obscure origin. Even in the Life there is some uncertainty as to the declension of the name of Guthlac's sister, both strong and weak forms being used (compare page 826, 854 with Pegan 941). Colgrave (1956, p. 155 fn 32) records for *vita* 1123 *pegean* variant forms found in other manuscripts (*Pegan, Pegean* and *Pegam*) which indicate that the *-i* of such forms as *pegean* 1123 reflects an earlier *e* which followed *g*. Such an *-e* appears also in the genitive singular *pegean* of the Old English Martyrology. Guthlac's sister is not named in the extant portion of *Guthlac B*. For a brief note on the later legends which arose about Pege see Appendix 3.

801 *bidde* : The consonant lengthening in this imperative singular form is noted by Gonser. Other examples of such lengthening will be found in II.4/D.8.

804 *here cristes fæmnan* : See the note for line 7.

804-5 *ic wylle to bon dōn be ic heold* : Gonser notes that the verb *dōn* is used in the sense *verwenden* and a similar view is held by Toller who gives as a translation for the passage 'I will put the gift to that use' (see BTS under *dōn* IV (2)); the words *be ic heold* are to be interpreted 'for which I kept [the gift]'. Bolton's 'I shall put on, what I kept aside' avoids the ellipse of the interpretations put forward by Gonser and in BTS, but does not explain how *to bon*
is to be understood. However, this ellipse of object may go back to the original translator himself, for the order of the Latin text can be seen quite clearly behind the preceding clauses in the Life. The adverbial clause _bonne... todeled_ 805 (the words a cliché in Old English religious writings) modifies _bewinde_ 806 and _het_ may once have stood before this clause, anticipating _het_ 806. My free translation of the passage would run:

.. but out of love for that woman of Christ the gift — which she sent me, which I kept — I wish to be put to that use, so that, when body and soul separate, the body will be wrapped with cloth and laid in that coffin.

The elaboration of this passage need not be attributed to the original translator and this might explain the awkwardness of its syntax.

813 _ic nat mid hwane_: This clause is modelled directly on _Vita 1135 nescio cumquo_ but is best regarded as in asyndeton, for _hwa_ is not a relative pronoun in Old English. Compare the note for line 643.

815 _se gode wer_: See the note for line 7.

815 _mid... teah_: See the note for line 763.

817 _nelt pu beon gemyndig / Vita 1138 sollicitari noli_: A similar use of the Old English verb _willan_ appears in line 923 where _ne wylt pu be ondradan_ translates _Vita 1257 noli timere_; see also II.4/0.4.
817 *gemynig bas bing*: The earlier editors place heavy punctuation between *gemynig* and *bas bing*, obscuring how closely this passage seems to be related to the *Vita*. As a result of this editorial practice *gemynig* 817 is described (in BTs under *gemynig* VIII (5)b) as 'without construction'. It is probable that it should rather be described as 'with misconstruction', for it seems to be followed by an accusative. If this view is taken of the phrase, it is easier to explain the lack of agreement between *hit* 818 and *bas bing* 817; with *bas bing* an integral part of the preceding clause the inconsistency could have arisen simply. Compare the notes for 93, 112, 171, etc.

822 *alyfas*: Gonser, comparing *Vita* 1142 *licet*, explains that -a3 stands for -ad. He notes also that examples of this Latinate construction appear in the Old English *Bede*; many instances will be found listed in BTs under *alifan*.

824 *gehihte*: Goodwin retains the manuscript form, noting that as *hiet* means 'hope, joy', the verb *gehihtan* can here be interpreted 'to alleviate by inspiring hope'. Gonser records this suggestion, but adds that the verb does not appear in the sense given it by Goodwin. Toller (see BTs under *gelIhtan* 'to assuage physical pain' I(1)a) apparently thinks *gehihte* a scribal error for *gelIhte*. Kern (1917, p. 8), comparing *forbon he gehihte* 908 // *Vita* 1237 sperans, prefers Goodwin's explanation to the emendation *gelIhte*. Bolton gives in his glossary *gehihtan vb, 'comfort', but gives no note for
this identification of the form. The entry in Geisel's glossary
under gehihtan is a curious blend of interpretations, for she explains
the verb = sublevare, 'erleichtern'.

The major fault in Goodwin's explanation is that the verb ge-
hyhtan is used only intransitively in Old English, but we may have
here a foreshadowing of the early Middle English transitive verb hiht-
en. This verb, of obscure origin, appears first in the Trinity Col-
lege Cambridge homilies. It is described in the MED as perhaps, like
hyhtan 'to hope', a derivative of hyht 'hope' in the sense 'to make
joyous or delightful'; with it are compared the verb HIGHTIE and the
adjective and adverb HIGHTLY (And 104 hyhtlicost, Gen 146 and 1605
hyhtlic are examples of the Old English adjective). The senses given
for the transitive verb HIGHT, v. 3 are 'To beautify, adorn, embellish,
set off', and the three earliest examples listed will be quoted so that
they may be compared with gehihte 824, although only the first of these
shows a figurative use comparable with that found in the Life:

We shule ... nohm mid faire worde hihten po ateliche singes. 71
at burh folc hihten pe hase strete and be engen it mid palmes.
Alle pos winnen hihten his wurdshepe. 195

If this verb be too late to have been used by the original translator
of the Vita, it may be ascribed to the later reviser (replacing some
such obsolete form as *gehegde ?).

824 mfeardan: The word may be interpreted as a substantival use
of a weak adjective. Gonser's emendation is unnecessary.
508

825 **pa andweardum**: This form further illustrates the inflexional levelling found throughout the text. There is therefore no need to normalise to -an as Goodwin, Klipstein, Gonser and Bolton do. See also II.4/C.1(b).

827 **eogberht**: This is the first time Ecgberht is named in the Life / Vita 1146 eogberht. He appears again at line 885 (Vita 1209). See the note for line 885 for a discussion of the problem of the shroud sent Guthlac by him. A brief summary of the stories attached to his name in later Crowland tradition will be found in Appendix 3.

829 **mici...teah**: See the note for line 816.

830 **ord**: Goodwin and Klipstein emend ord 830 to orde as a disyllabic form would be expected in this position. See II.4/C.1(e).

831 **blosstman**: Conser notes Goodwin's unconscious normalisation of this form in his text to blosstmana. The inflexion shows late West Saxon -an for the genitive plural. See II.4/C.1(f). For the inflexion of the genitive plural adjective wynsumesta (normalised to -ra by Goodwin and Klipstein) compare wæ:rdæ 658, andweardæ 659 and see II.4/C.2(d).

834 **ymbseald**: For a note on this as an Anglian feature in the
vocabulary of the text see II.4/F.2.

835  se godes wer : See the note for line 7.

835  hwæethwego : See the note for 795.

837  geard be 7 be on bone mid fer : Goodwin and Klipstein emend be 7 be to be hat be. Gonser points out that the emendation is unnecessary and explains fer as a late West Saxon equivalent of the singular imperative fer. Such fluctuation in the form of the imperative singular is found in Northumbrian texts and in the dialect of Rushworth as well as in late West Saxon texts (see Campbell §752).

842  blod : Like licham 841 the noun stands in apposition to the dative ham heofonlican mete. The form will be considered together with the other inflexional peculiarities of the text (see II. 4/C.1(e)). It should however be noted that the phrase following mid may in earlier recensions of the Life have been in the accusative (see II.4/b under mid for a discussion of this feature of the original translation); if this is so, the form blod 842 may indicate a certain incompleteness in the carrying out of revision.

843  bone gast : Goodwin, Klipstein and Gonser all emend this phrase to se gast, treating it as the subject of ferde 844. Bolton accepts this emendation, noting that the manuscript reading is 'as though feran were ferian'. It is curious that all choose to
emend against the evidence afforded by Vita 1163 animam ... emisit.

The form ferde 844 is to be interpreted as a late syncopated preterite from ferian. Such preterites occur sporadically in Old English texts (see Campbell §752 for examples) and with this verb conditions would be particularly favourable towards the appearance of syncopated forms in writing, because of its close relationship in written form and meaning with past forms of the intransitive féran. Bolton is right not to regard the form as a causative use of féran (although cognate verbs in other Germanic languages are so used), but he should consider the possibility that it is from ferian. The emendation sende proposed by Goodwin and Klipstein indicates that they think the context demands a word with the meaning here suggested for the manuscript ferde.

846 fyrene torr, MS fyrene topp: The adjective normalisation to fyrenne proposed by Goodwin and Klipstein is unnecessary. Compare berene 237, agene 530 and see II.4/C.2(1).

The word torr is one of the early Old English borrowings from Latin (see Campbell §498). Hecht (1907, p. 167) points out that the word occurs frequently in early prose texts and in verse but is rare in late Old English, noting that in the translation of the Dialogues it is twice replaced by stypel- forms in the later Hatton manuscript. See also II.4/F.3. The misreading of £ as p in an unfamiliar word in Old English script is a simple graphical error. The emendation is made by all the editors.
Gonser (p. 55) quotes Vita 1165 among his four examples of places where the uelut of the Latin has been omitted by the translator, but does not note that instead the English version compensates by adding this phrase to modify the sense of its fyrene torr 826.

As this whole passage seems closely based upon the Latin original it seems that for 847 should be interpreted 'compared with' (see examples of for in this sense given in BTN under B(10)). Without consultation of Vita 1166 in cuius splend- oris comparisone ... the preposition might be given the more widely used meaning 'because of'.

The anacoluthon is due to the translator's close rendering of the Latin and should not therefore be emended. The normalising emendation of the genitive pronoun hira 848 to hire made by all the editors is unnecessary as levelling of -a and -e is found throughout the text; compare the forms listed in II.4/C.2(a).

Both Goodwin and Gonser emend this form to ormatum as the usual form of this adjective is ormate. This intervocalic d is otherwise unparalleled within the word and can scarcely represent voicing of -t-.

See the note for line 7.
855   **ba heo . . forðferedne** : Gonser suggests that the constructions in lines 278 and 834 should be compared with this clause. (Perhaps he singles out these three examples of the participial adjective used absolutely because they may alternatively be described as showing an accusative and infinitive construction with suppression of the substantive verb?) Other examples of this construction could be cited from the text (for example 861-62 shortly below), Gonser's instances by no means exhausting the possible illustrations for the absolute use of the passive participle in the Life. It should be noted that, of the three examples he quotes, in one place only can the Old English participle be equated with a verb *(ymbsæald 834 / Vita 1155 *circumspendesca*). Paraphrase is responsible for the expression in 278 and in 855 the English version gives a specific cause for Pega's grief where the Latin has his *auditis 1176*.

858-59   **of . . teah** : See the note for line 816.

862   **hi** : Goodwin, Klipstein and Gonser emend this form to *heo*, but the manuscript *hi* should be retained as the nominative singular feminine of *hā* appears as *hi* in Mercian texts (Campbell §703 notes the form for the *Vespasian Psalter Gloss*). See also II.4/B, 3(j) and compare *hīg 864*.

864   **se gode weor** : See the note for line 7.

865   **bebyrgdon** : *Vita 1187 condiderunt* : No chapter break is
marked in the Life. See the note for 748.

865-66 A wolde seo godcundynes arfæstlice mannum openlice stywan

(mannum, MS manna) / Vita 1190 Volens autem diuina pietas

latius monstrare: This clause has caused great difficulties to the editors. The first word A Goodwin prefixes to the following verb as a meaningless particle, whereas Gonser puts forward the emendation be. However, it seems easier to accept the manuscript reading as a solitary example of a for ao (comparing Vita 1190 autem). The manuscript form if retained for A may indicate that the scribe's exemplar had ah, but if emendation should be thought desirable, the form Ac must be used as ah, although common in texts of non-West Saxon origin, is nowhere represented in the Life. The only change made here in the forms of the manuscript is from manna to mannum (the scribe's mis-reading of a final -u with stroke for nasal above being argued), necessary for the sense and made in the previous editions. The phrase seo godcundynes arfæstlice is retained. It can be interpreted 'the Godhead divine', translating Vita 1190 diuina pietas. The inversion is unusual but found most often in Old English in phrases descriptive of the Divine Being. The suffix in godcundynes is parallelled sufficiently throughout the text for no further comment to be needed on Gonser's acceptance of Goodwin's arfæstynes.

Goodwin's emendation of the passage leans heavily upon a similar passage in the Old English Bede. This passage, together with the Latin it renders, is given here, so that the reasons behind Goodwin's
handling of the text may be seen. It should be noted that this chapter of the Historia Ecclesiastica is for the most part taken unchanged from the Vita Cuthberti, Bede's prose life of Cuthbert copied by Felix. The Latin should therefore be compared with the Vita Guthlacii, lines 1190-95.

*870 bare drihtnes beowan: See the note for line 7.

872 cyrolice endebyrdnyssse / Vita 1197 aliis ecclesiasticis gradibus: Goodwin, followed by Klipstein, emends cyrolice to cyrolicre, to match the partitive genitives linked to the phrase. Geisel, comparing the Latin aliis, reads ohre cyrolice endebyrdnyssse and thus seems to regard the phrase as accusative plural. For a discussion of the dangers of making insertions where the sense does not demand them see the note for dagae 456 and the note for line 593.
both beowa and meseproesta as accusative plural forms and each of
obre cyrolice andebyrdnas as accusative singular. The manuscript
forms are here retained and interpreted as genitive plural forms.
The adjective cyrolice shows inflexional confusion of a sort already
noted throughout the text (see further II.4/c.2(d) and the noun level-
ing of -e and -a (see further II.4/c.1(d).

874–882 Again a passage from the Old English Bede coincides with
this text in many phrases, because both are translations from
Latin similarly based (compare note for 865–66). Both parallel Old
English and Latin passages are given:

ontyndon his byrgenne 7 ealne his lichoman gemetton onwalhne
7 gesundne, swa swa he þa gene lifde, 7 he was begendlic in
hæm gedæodnessum leoda, þet he was mycole gelicra slæpendum
menn bonne deadum. Swylce eac ealle ða hraegl, þa þe he
mid gegeawad was, nales ðet an þet hie ungewemmed weron,
ah swylce eac swa hwit 7 swa neowe wunderlice steawdon, swa
he ðy ilcan dæge mid gewered wære. a þet þa brodor gesawon,
þa weron hie swiðe forhte gewordne, 7 þa eﬁsston ðam biscope
to dyæenne 7 seegenne ða dyng þe hie þær gemetton. (Miller 1891,
pp. 374–6)

Fecerunt autem ita, et aperientes sepulchrum, inuenerunt corpus totum,
quasi adhuc uiueret, integrum et ﬂexibilibus artuum conpagibus multo
dormienti quam mortuo similius; sed et uestimenta omnia, quibus in-
dutum erat, non solum interemerata, uerum etiam prisca nouitate et
cleritudine miranda parabant. Quod ubi uidere fratres, nimio mox timore
percusi, festinarunt referre aistiﬁi, quae inuenerant.
875-76 *eou; • wera: Conser suggests that two constructions are fused here, noting that it is necessary in Gedanken ein 'swylce' zu ergänzen. The swa at the head of these clauses should however be adequate for the understanding of them.

875 *libe: Goodwin and Klipstein normalise this form to *liba, but see II.4/3.1(d) for levelling of -a and -o. Conser prefers to retain the manuscript form and reads *libobignysam, a compound (and so glossed by Geisel). Apparently his reason for regarding the words as a compound is to avoid making the emendation made by Goodwin.

882 *see cristes beouw: See the note for line 7.

884 *am obre scoytan / Vita 1208 in sindone: Colgrave (1956, p. 194) points out that in all the Vita texts the gift attributed to Egberht in chapter 48 (Vita 1012 and compare Guthlac's words in Vita 1126) 'seems here to have been attributed to the anchorite Egberht'. He considers the possibility that Egberht's gift may have been a different garment unlikely and summarises the problem:

Perhaps the names have been confused; and yet there is no MS. evidence of such confusion, so that such confusion, if confusion there be, goes back to a very early stage in the history of the transmission of the Life.

He does not note that the confusion is avoided in the Old English version of the Vita, as in Peter of Blois's epitome:

Sacretissimum ergo corpus cum multa ueneratione et diminis [laudibus] alia syndone imovulant, quam adhuc co
uiuente, in officium sepulture Egbertus anachorita transmiserat; (Horstmann 1901, II. p. 717)

Both may go back to texts preserving an adjective otherwise lost or both may have independently resolved an anomaly which is to be attributed to Felix himself. The problem is discussed in I.1/a.

885 to hymloan penunge: Goodwin, Klipstein and Gonser emend the article to bare, but see II.4/C.1(a).

888-89 and Vita 1210-12: These lines are sufficiently vague for them to be interpreted as a reference to Aethelbald's foundation of a monastery at Crowland or as a description of his elaboration of the shrine. The latter view is taken by those who hold that there was no early monastery at Crowland. For example Colgrave (1956, p. 194) says of the passage:

But there is no reference to the establishment of a monastery as there certainly would have been if the story of the Pseudo-Ingulf had been true.

See I.2 for a discussion of the possible early foundation at Crowland.

891 gesecd: West Saxon syncopation of this sort is noted in II. 4/C.3(b).

893-902: These lines abridge considerably Felix's wordy eulogy of the saint, as noted in the brief account of the relationship of lines 748-902 to the Vita.
elless: Goneer suggests that _elless_ stands for _elleshwat_, noting that a subject is needed in this clause. It is difficult to see why he thinks the addition of a pronoun subject necessary here, for the clause is directly modelled on *Vita* 1223 and the Old English _buton cistes lof_ should be compared with _nisi cristus_.

yrre, MS _yrre_; This emendation is made by both Klipstein and Goneer. Compare the note for _ear_ 463 where the appositional form has been allowed to stand. Here an emendation is made because the adjective _ungemnfulne_ 899 linked to the manuscript _yrre_ is marked as an accusative masculine form, but the phrase should perhaps have been considered with those noted in II.4/G.1(b).

The clause does not as Goneer points out translate *Vita* 1230–1, although closely modelled on the Latin structure. Something equivalent to _extra humanum naturam_ may have appeared in the original translation, but omission need not be advanced in order to obtain sense from the words as they stand. They can be freely translated: 'so that he seemed always the same to those who knew him and those who did not know him.'

These lines summarise Felix's description of Aethelbald's vision, *Vita* chapter 52, and include a précis of the first sentence of chapter 53. For other examples of the appearance of the opening of a new chapter in the *Vita* at the end of the preceding
incident in the Life compare the notes for lines 404, 455 and 575.

Such divisions suggest that the original divisions of the translation had not always been retained and that the material may in these places show the effects of redivision.

This chapter of the Life centres on Guthlac's prophecy to Aethelbald. The account of Aethelbald's request for a sign of truth of his vision and the miracle of the insperata solacía 1273 are completely omitted (compare Vita 1264–78 Illo ..., crescebat), whether by the translator or by some reviser during the transmission of the text cannot be guessed. The portion of Vita chapter 52 corresponding with the English version is freely and fluently rendered. Aethelbald's words of mourning are somewhat abridged, but otherwise Vita lines 1234–64 are quite fully summarised.

916 gestlifnesse: This noun appears otherwise only in early translations from Latin and may point to the Anglian origin of the text. See further II.4/F.2.

921 forhtlice: Conser points out that the sentence demands forhtlic. The form might be explained as a scribal error for forhtlic (with the -a dittographed through the influence of the adverbial forhtlice 919), did not other forms precluding this conclusion appear in the text; see II.4/C.2(a).

923 ne wylt bu be ondr-dan / Vita 1256–7 noli timere: See the note for line 817.
The Latin metaphor is, as Gonser (p. 85) notes, followed directly in the Life. Comparable retention of this figure can be found in the Old English Bede:

> se hring ealles geares (Miller 1891, I. p. 314, line 22) / totius anni circulis (Plummer 1896, I. p. 241)

> 7 sona sende þurh ealle Peohta meagde þa nigontyalican hringas rihtra Eastra. 7 het fordilgan þurh ealle ða gedwolbringas feower 7 hundeahtatig gea. (I. 470, II. 18ff.)

It is noted in the NED (under RING sb. 14) that *hring* appears in Old English glosses against *orbis* or *spira*, but phrases of the *geares hring* sort occur only in translations. For a Modern English example of this metaphor with the word *ring* compare the NED quotation from Young 1714. The same metaphor, using the word *round*, is common in English literature from the seventeenth century onwards (see NED under ROUND sb. 13).

anrade: See II.4/C.2(a).

bisses rises, MS bisses rice: The emendation adopted by Goodwin and Gonser is here followed, haplography of *a* being argued. Compare the emendation at line 237 and see II.4/C.1(b).
930 *Was taona***: If a corresponding passage is sought in the
Vita, lines 1281 ff. should be compared (*signa***); yet, with­
in the context of the English version this sentence may be accepted
as referring back to Guthlac's prophecies to Aethelbald.

933-47 *Was * ferde*: These lines summarise the account of the
healing of a blind man found in Vita 1287-1313 Erat * rursus.
The episode is without a heading, but is marked as a separate chapter
by a large capital. The end of the preceding chapter coincides with
a line end and, no free line having been left, there was no room for
a heading to be inserted. Felix's account of this miracle is con­
siderably pruned. Even the speech of the *paterfamilias* to his friends
(1295-97) is omitted and only the important details of the story are
retained. One curious detail absent from the Vita is found in line
933, the statement that the blind man belonged to Aethelbald's follow­
ers, and will be discussed below in the note for line 933.

933 *sum hiwscipes man*: For *sum* qualifying the further rather than
nearer of the words in this phrase see note for line 7. The
word *hiwscipes* is emended from the manuscript *hisscipes*, as in the
texts of Klipstein and Gonser. The writing of *w as g* before *g* is a
simple enough error of dittography and the whole phrase obviously is
to be equated with *Vita 1287 uir paterfamilias*.

933 *foresprocena*: For loss of inflexional -n compare *nana 168
eto. and see II.4/C.2(c).
933 *bae foresprecena wræccan, mæhlbaldes*: There is nothing in any manuscript of the *Vita* to correspond with these words which the translator may have supplied unconsciously, remembering lines 564 and 630 in which the subjects of incidents were identified in the same way. The description of the man as a *paterfamilias* 1287 in the *Vita* (and translated in the Old English version at line 933) makes it unlikely that he was one of the followers of the exiled Aethelbald. This detail cannot therefore have been supplied from a fuller knowledge of the story of the saint than now known.

934 *on bera magða wiðsa*: This province is generally placed in the Norfolk area. The people of the *provincia Wiðsa* lived on the lower reaches of the rivers *Wiðsey* and *Wene* and the province was most likely named from the river *Wiðsey*; see Stenton 1947, pp. 291–92, Schram 1950, p. 346 and Colgrave 1956, p. 195. See also Appendix 3.

Gonser notes the dative singular *magða*; for a discussion of the falling together of -*a* and -*a* in this text see II.4/C.1(d).

935 *twelf monð*: For the endless accusative plural see Sievers Brunner 290 note 1. The syncopation is a late Old English feature. See further II.4/C.6(b).

935 *imeæ*: Goodwin and Hipstein normalize this form to *imeæs*, but see II.4/C.1(a).
939  **him**: This early example of **him** as direct object should be noted.

940  **to bare cristes beowon**: See the note for line 7.

944-46  **Goodwin translates this passage**: and ere she put a second drop on the second eye, he was able to see with that eye.

Gonser objects to this interpretation of the passage and, suggesting that the **ober...ober** construction should be equated with the Latin **alter...alter**, translates:

und ehe sie einen zweiten Tropfen in das eine Auge trüfelfte, vermochte er mit dem anderen zu sehen.

The reasoning behind this interpretation of the passage is curious as the **alter...alter** construction cited in its support does not appear in the **Vita**. The quick succession of **ober** forms in the **Life** is certainly confusing and Goodwin's translation, based on Old English usage, is both more straightforwardly rendered and logically closer in content to the account given of this miracle in the **Vita**.

946  **-on**: For **-un** see II.4/C.1(b).

946  **on bam ylean inne**: The word **inne** is glossed by Geisel under **inne** (adverb and **preposition innen**), but see FT under **inn**. Compare also the note for line 511.

947-9  **sy...**: Latin words corresponding to these lines are found in
none of the extant copies of the Vita. These closing words could easily have been added by the translator or by any scribe during the transmission of the text, for they are similar to the conventional endings found in many homilies and other religious writings. See further II.3/6 for a comparison of the endings of the Life and the Homily.

\[949\] woruld\(\text{\`}\) : As the genitive plural ending of this word was often in Old English script prefixed to the following woruld, a mistaken emphasising of the inflexion as if it were the adverb 'ever' arose. Compare the note for this phrase in lines 1-2.

\[949\] \(\text{\`}\) buton ende : This is the only place in this text where the scribe uses \(\text{\`}\) (or indeed \(\text{\`}\)) for the word 'ever' and it could therefore be argued that he wished to distinguish this \(\text{\`}\) from the inflexional \(\text{\`}\) which ad mistakenly marked. However, \(\text{\`}\) is found frequently in Old English manuscripts and the explanation, although attractive, cannot therefore be regarded as more than a speculation.

\[949\] The text ends on the second line of folio 40\(\text{v}\). Below is written in a twelfth century hand an alphabet and the first verse of the Lord's prayer. The rest of the folio is blank. See further II.2/6.